Inscription and Epigram — repositioning a Greek genre

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Vol. 1 — Thesis, two Bibliographies, Topical guide to the Bibliographies

Vol. 2 — Extensive Addenda
The following thesis is hereby claimed to be entirely the work of the submitter, except as indicated in the references.

Every effort has been made to acknowledge all sources. Discussions were held over six years with many scholars, and materials were received from overseas from some. Because the number of persons contacted has grown, and because the quality and the amount of the help they offered does not often match the use here made of it, individuals will rarely be listed.

P. M. McCallum

Peter Maurice McCALLUM
Other acknowledgements:

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I am grateful to a former Provincial of our Congregation, Br. Kevin McDonald, a noted geologist in his own right, who originally allowed me out of harness to begin this long process and has fought for its continuance. I am also grateful for subsequent Provincial Council authorities of the N.S.W. Christian Brothers who have periodically acceded to my requests for a lightening of load as this technical liberal arts project crystallised and grew, despite the misgivings they seem to have shared with a goodly number of the Academic community about the meaningfulness of the enterprise.

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Finally, I would like here to record the inspiration gained over the years from my father Colin McCallum, the "Brain from the Bush", the first member of our Scots-Irish-Australian family to go to university and the first member of any Nanango family to think of blazing that trail. His life's course has made me acutely aware of the pitfalls and the pleasures of trying to remain a committed scholar outside the reinforcement of tertiary academic structures.
INTRODUCTION

This study will focus on Greek epigram and inscribed Greek verse. However, it ranges well beyond the field of ancient Greek. Cultures contiguous and contemporary with that of Archaic Greece are investigated.

It spills over into the literature and epigraphy of later (Byzantine) Greek and of the Greek-influenced Latin West stretching up to the contemporary situation of "epigram" in its various forms, poetic, prose, musical and even culinary.

It comes to terms with the resurgence (or invention) of humanist and modern epigram, neo-Latin and vernacular, and with early modern treatises on the "genre".

It also searches throughout non-European literate cultures for parallels to the phenomenon of highly prized short verse retaining some ongoing connection with inscriptional practice.

One justification for this world-wide spread is that while single examples and perhaps even single periods of Western epigram can be matched with parallels from Arabia, Iran, India, China, Japan and other, less influential literate cultures, closer study will show that the peculiar, overall process of western epigram is unique, and the process did not stop with the Greeks. In fact, it could be argued that no analytical study of the Greek genre can dispense with a study of the Renaissance and the Baroque influence on modern conceptions of it. Nor can a serious claim for the uniqueness of Greek epigram lightly dispense with a close analysis of the main types of short poetry in Oriental cultures, and a general appreciation of the inscriptional practices of the East.

This world-wide perspective will not require the reader to share the author's interest or background in comparative literature and archaeology. It has been decided to provide much of the reference material, particularly for the comparative parts, in the thesis bibliography itself, and in a large second volume of addenda. The thesis bibliography is both descriptive and analytical, and the addenda contain extensive selections from the less accessible texts referred to, or at least summaries of them, as well as statistics and tables. All these subsidia are extensively cross-indexed.

While bibliographic services have much improved in the Antipodes, many informed people live at considerable distance from the great libraries. The writer has spent most of his life in "the country". Some who may be interested in genre studies live at a great distance from many of the languages and cultures here included. Much of the material relevant to this study is found scattered thinly throughout works of different catalogues and collections. Thus it was felt appropriate to follow good archaeological practice, and to excerpt and present as much of the evidence as possible to allow an energetic reader to contradict the thesis-writer's conclusions, on the basis of the very evidence he himself provided.
Australian epigrammatist Martin Haley (1907–1970), retired to Paddington, just North of Brisbane, close to Redcliffe, where I myself grew up in the earlier years of "the" War:

CXI An epigram on "epigram"

A gay vagary, delicate conceit,
True epitaph, jest, lovely lyric — but
Anon a diamond brilliant with hard light
And diamond-powered to cut.
Inscription and Epigram

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Who seeks to please all men each way,
And not himself offend,
He may begin to work to-day,
But God knows when he'll end.

Hamilton, quoting Wits Recreations
A. Part A — Introductory

1. The Thesis of this study

1. This type of study has to be based on a number of doubtful but very useful premisses. It attempts to survey and analyse traditions of short verse, of inscribed verse, and especially of short inscribed verse (whether as a literary or a subliterary tradition) in Greek culture, and in other cultures, related and unrelated. We will display eight necessary assumptions in axiomatic form.

1. The roles of scepticism

1. The project itself arose in naive technicity, and descended through various stages of scepticism, which of course greatly motivates analysis and the search for materials. From a serious attempt to convict one’s elders of inconsistency and error some small evidence for their (inherited) views of a cross-temporal genre of epigram can be painfully gleaned, from the Hellenistic, Medieval West, Medieval East, and the Renaissance period. Oriental “epigram” has been taken more seriously here than in any work yet found on public access. More importantly, a better understanding has emerged of problematic genre terms of this nature, and of the mental frameworks they represent. Even though the long sceptical stage of collecting and thinking could be edited out of this work, some of it will be retained to provide a convenient rhetorical framework. An attempt to trap the full reality of “epigram” in an analytic treatment would require a Hegelian degree of elaboration. We prefer to suggest it, while keeping as close as possible to individual texts, monuments, and their corpora.

2. Although this thesis does close with a quotable conclusion, such “pointed closure” is artificial. The real point of the thesis is a full display of the “problem of epigram”, and this “problematic” will emerge all throughout the body of the discussion.

NOTE: An *asterisk is used to indicate, where such emphasis seems to be needed, a work to be found in the Bibliographies, or the Addenda, also indicating under which part of the author’s name the item is alphabeted.

*From a search for the origins of quantitative verse forms in Indo-European and Semitic. This led into verse epigraphy. This led to an almost terminal terminological confusion. Naturally, in a search for doubtful verse, prosodic reflection is still required, and the nature of various verse forms can also to some small degree be cited as a cause for the poetic design of works using such forms. For prosodic studies here see: Bange, Ellenbein, Elwell-Sutton, Friedrich, Gandjei, Greenfield, Lazard, Mitra, Pellat, Thiesen, Windfuhr, in Bibl. 2, (and, partially, in Browne, Collins, Hakimyanov, Heinrichs, de *Moor, Noja, Rypka, Zieme), and Allen, Gallavotti, Hansen, Haslam, Lidov, Morelli, Page 1976, Peterson, Porter, Smith, Todd, van *Raalte and Zuntz in the classical Bibl. 1.
1. Eight unstable foundational axioms

1. Similar dynamics assumed for all short poems

1. The first shaky but useful assumption is that, over history and over cultures, written texts which display a few crude external descriptors (brevity, verse, explicit connection to some funerary or other ritual function etc.) will also tend to share significant literary elements, either by genetic development or by "convergent evolution". In the latter case the resemblances would not be genetic, but typological. In either case the genre name "epigram" may now be applied to poems right through the Western tradition (whether contemporaries so applied the term or not, or even possessed that term),\(^2\) and also, with appropriate reservations, to poems from outside that tradition. If only for the sanity of the investigator, it is necessary to hold as a working hypothesis that all the differing things actually called "epigram" in Ancient and in Modern times (but not in the Latin Middle Ages) do share sufficient common elements to merit a (provisional) common name. Evidence to the contrary is embarrassingly easy to collect.

2. Different short genres will slowly tend to converge in clusters

2. The second, related, assumption is that the short poems which many cultures display as a sporadic or a settled literary habit will historically tend to cluster into subgenres and these into genres or super-genres, that in discussing short poetry not otherwise assignable to a clear genre, over sufficient periods of time, we will have a sporting chance of discussing one complex thing, not many things only accidentally related by the fact of their being short, or by their possession of a certain pattern, such as that of the very widespread quatrain or quadripartite form.

\(^2\) Doubt surrounds the first date of use, and the extent of Greek use, of "epigrama", in any sense other than that of mere "inscription". The term occurs about a dozen times in the Latin Middle Ages and seems only a little more common in Byzantium. In the Renaissance it seems to have meant almost anything. In the works here studied from Western Europe it remains controversial enough to require a lengthy justification prefixed to most anthologies. When actual texts are examined it is hard at most periods to note any strong sense of genre among them. It is much easier to assign them to short occasional forms of world-wide distribution and considerable inevitability. Given all this, the success of the illusion of a western "epigram" is all the more remarkable, and perhaps, meaningful. See, for example, Herder ANMERKUNGEN (partim in *Addenda) p. 162 [one of many to state the obvious]: Meleager sammelte Blumen, d. i. kleine Gedichte allerlei Art, nicht Epigramme allein, noch weniger Epigramme von *einer*, der witzigen, satirischen,Gattung. Viele Dichter, die er nennt, und die Art, wie er solche characterisirt, lassen daran keinen Zweifel. Wahrscheinlich ging Philippus auf dieser freien Bahn fort, da bei den Griechen so wenig als bei den Latinern die kleinen Gedichte genau von einander getheilt waren. Epigramme, Idyllen, Sentenzen, Sinnsprüche, zum Theil kleine lyrische Stücke, Elegien, Fabeln und Märchen lagen unter oder wenigstens so nahe neben einander, daß man bei einer Blumensammlung zum Vergnügen nicht eben kunstrichterisch unterschied.
3. The format, surface, method and “feel” of writing will matter

1. The third assumption is that the graphic form in which writing is typically presented will eventually matter, even in a “literary” rather than in some ephemeral and easily lost “graphemic” way, and that inscription is a paradigmatic and perhaps an archetypical graphic-literary form. The most essential “inscription” comes from a cutting of graphemes into a hard surface with the intent of creating a very long-lasting text, usually for purposes of public display, often closely related to an artistic and architectural monument designed with similar effects in mind.

2. In various circumstances all sorts of writing partake of this primordial inscriptionality, and situations can be conceived in which even letters cut into stone would not be “inscriptional”. These would be cases where all the writing of a culture was thus produced — where stone cutting was the normal method of writing rather than an option significantly different from others equally available. Where painted texts are allowed considerable permanence by the weather, such as in Egypt, they can be highly “inscriptional”. Graffiti as we define them may be non-inscriptional (functionally considered) or inscriptional, and the form, particularly the size of the lettering may guide us to an assessment of their original graphemic status. However, graffiti, from potsherd to Pompeian plaster, run a smooth gamut from the definitely

3 A further complication is that phoinikeia grammata and their cousins were often themselves coloured. They were in Rome. They were in Viking lands. They were in pre-Nabataean North Arabia (Job 19, 23–24):

Oh, if only someone wrote down my words,
if only they were graven in an inscription (older translations, probably anachronistically, “in a book”), [for which see *Galling]
with a stylus of iron and with lead,
if only they could stay forever incised in rock!).

We may move from the narrowness of the dipinto-graffito question to illustrate the objective possibilities of graffitological studies closer to home. For several decades the pavements of inner Sydney were mysteriously supplied with the one word, “Eternity”, done in perfectly calligraphic chalk lettering. Even before the uncovering of the identity and the strange biography of their writer, an Arthur Stace (or Skase), certain things were clear from the “evidence”: the obvious lack of aggression in both word chosen and form selected (different from the usual motivation for urban graffiti), the impermanent form, the long refusal to expand the message, the craftsmanlike care of each example, and the extended period of production. Judging the epigraphy by considering as many examples as possible, it was possible to predict that the writer would be a sane but eccentric, gentle, hurt, idealistic man, without confessional affiliations. The nature of his graphic statement, and of the semiotic components which constituted its growing force, was entirely individual: the mysterious echoes but still the unexceptionalness and non-accusiness of the word chosen, its repetitions, the fact that it was typically redone by hand without use of any template, the beauty of its production, the secrecy of writing (when no criminal charges would have been pressable) and yet the obvious restraint of the writer. To categorise this event is to impoverish it, yet it did not entirely lack a contributing and contrasting “tradition”.

A. — Introductory
non-inscriptional, to the definitely inscriptional, such as in calls to passers by on the walls of Pompeii, or funeral inscriptions on church pillars and walls placed near old, presumably unmarked graves throughout the early Middle Ages.

3. Other "inscriptions" conventionally so called usually partake of real, functional inscriptionality, even the penned and inked personal signature (often with some comment) in the front of many a printed book, or the name "inscribed", in public, on a legal document. Nevertheless, the further such inscriptions diverge from the pure inscription the more difficult they are to discuss as such.

4. Names and dedications on stained glass are inscriptions, but seem to imitate the form and formulary of texts on more continuously employed surfaces. In Arab culture there are inscriptions on textiles such as banners and flags, and in China and Arab civilization inscriptions on glazed tiles. The moulded lettering on cast bronze and iron seems derivative on lettering actually cut (in depth or in relief) in or on metal, and of course, such letters, like printed letters, are originally "cut" into something, the mould, the wax from which the mould itself is cast, the hardwood or lead alloy of the printer's type, and so on.

As being a normal form of daily writing, the inherited form of the letters indicating this even when they are often painted, as in West Semitic before the Aramaic square letters.

See Golombek CLOTH(ES). Byzantines had writing on precious altar and reliquary coverings, as do Catholics today, and the association of these with the frequent inscriptions on the hard surfaces that they draped may have led to a considerable degree of inscriptional equivalence, as with the Muslim mandil towel. Of course, medieval vestments were a prime locus for inscription-like lettering, both in Greek East and Latin West. Most interesting for us is an indication from the MS literature that verses were placed on the mandils, though no archeological textile has yet been found with such verses. In the 10C al-Wassa reports such verses, including one with the natural self-deixis of the inscription:

I am the mandil of a lover who never stopped
Drying with me his eyes of their tears.
Then he gave me as a present to the girl he loves
Who wipes with me the wine from his lips.

Even if this MS series is fictional (which we have no reason to suspect), it is still a close parallel to Hellenistic epigram. The Muslim napkin-drape was, like seals and mirrors, an intensely personalised item, a concrete locus for emotionality and reflected proprioception whose tone must be allowed to colour inscriptions on "vaisselle", even when such realities are not thematised in words or in obvious implications from words.

Poetry (of a different tendency) also on the equally elevated English funerary textile called the "sampler", DEATHART Llewellyn, p. 9 displays a self epitaph embroidered on a sampler dated 1736:

When I am dead and laid in grave
And all my bones are rotten,
By this may I remembered be
When I should be forgotten.

"Samplers were so named because they were expected to act as exemplars of both skill and sentiment." Concerning samplers, D. King Samplers Victoria and Albert Museum London 1960 (not in our Bibliogg.).
5. Printing itself, both text and lettering, was originally very close to inscription, and in China the craft seems to have grown from a tradition of inscribing important texts in official versions and prestige calligraphy, from which rubbings or inkings were perhaps intended to be made from the very beginning of the process. However, the archetypical inscription is that incised on stone, by a metal tool, for purposes of prestige, permanence and public display.

4. If some members of a family class are inscribed, all are touched?

1. The fourth assumption is that it matters to a text form that it is typically inscribed, even if the influences of such typical graphemic status on its inner nature are complex, standing alongside the relation of such texts to other oral and written texts individualising themselves in that culture, and stemming from the types and purposes of monuments raised (an-epigraphic monuments tend to precede inscribed ones of similar style) and the rituals from which such texts stem, and into which they feed. The inner nature (differences, similarities, specificities...) of texts may not be indicated by anything surviving to our eyes today. They may not be signalled by anything simple and objective but must often be guessed at on circumstantial grounds, or on the basis of the surviving testimony of contemporaries.

5. Equal primacy with first context and co-text, validity of all readings

1. The fifth assumption is that this "inner nature", the full human reality of a text is not totally recoverable either from a reconstruction of its original impact and pregnancy, or from an analysis of its uses and misuses in later times, including our own period. Contextualised, then decontextualised and variously later recontextualised, ancient texts take on different but necessarily related meanings and realities throughout time. Such "citation" and imitation, the historical overlaying of phrases and of forms, is a prerequisite for any "literary" culture. Thus Epigram (as a

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6 We will many times meet the idea of epigram by "contagion", not only as regards inscriptionality or epitaphic purpose and themes, but even as regards length. While epigrams "varietate gaudent", the "house guest" long poem so frequently inserted in a collection of predominantly short ones seems inherent to the Western tradition. Variability in lengths (esp. long poems in an anthology of very short ones). See in bibliographies: *Bradner (for Campanus), *Wither, *Ciocci (for the paradigmatic Martial), *Callimachus & Trypanis, *Gallavotti 1985. This is quite a different matter from the total variability of length of some Sylvae, or from some consistently long "epigrams" of the Renaissance and Baroque: Buchanan/MacQueen, Heath-Stubbs, Nixon & Wither. See *Komines p. 20 in fine for a practitioner's solution to the classification of "long epigram": Addenda.

7 And can of course occur in any oral culture which has text sorts different from the day to day language in any way, if these are felt as old and prestigious.

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A. — Introductory
reality, rather than as a term) does not mean just what Greeks (of any given period) meant by it, nor just what we moderns understand by the term.

6. Fictionalised inscriptionality a strong marker of text type?

1. The sixth assumption is a commonplace of the western tradition, that the fictionalising of *inscriptions*, imitating some recognisably inscriptive form or theme for various purposes, provides a strong element of genre. Even if not all examples of various non-inscriptive corpora show indications of such imitation, the fact that groups of texts obviously related generically to each other (such as modern German "Epigramm") not only contain imitation recognisable inscriptions but may be expected to contain a certain percentage of them, this fact alone may be taken to provide a strong unifying element among the texts.8

7. Nihil humanum alienum?

1. The seventh assumption is that in any wide ranging and critical study of a troublesome genre it is useful and advisable to turn to "world literature". In fact, scholars naturally use the term "epigram" for various short poetic forms found by them in other cultures. They tend not to proceed far into *controversiae* which might justify their use of the term, possibly because applying any term, such as "lyric", over different periods of the same culture is fraught with difficulty, and "epigram" is more controversial and more contested than "lyric". Thus the point of Western comparison is fuzzy and the grounds remain shaky.

2. Scholars are also loathe to discuss details of literatures for which they have neither the languages nor the background. However, high linguistic competence did not bring much empathy for the Islamic and pre-Islamic Ode on the part of centuries of most knowledgeable western scholars. They waded with stoic distaste through oceans of "worthless" oriental literature. This gives the present investigator hope that his patchy footholds in the languages and literatures of the East, as well as an energetic use of libraries, together with consultations with native and near-native

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8 This is one of the many results of (or motives for) anthologisation. For this see: Daub, Quarles 1636, Weever/McKerrow, Cameron AG REVISITED and much of the writing on the "ancient book". Epigrammatic corpora share a Wittgensteinian "family relationship" as much by constant contiguity as from any analysable individual characteristics. The genre (any genre?) is syntagmatic as much as it is paradigmatic, to use somewhat dated linguistic terms. A full study of this complex phenomenon would require enormous codicological expertise. We can only allude to it here. Great variety in the individual members of epigram collections is our best justification for studying whole corpora, just as the unique historical continuities of the "genre" justify a millennial view being taken of it. See also fn° 314.
Inscription and epigram

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scholars, and an attitude, a “project”, for which Greek literature is not automatically unique or superior will make productive such a laborious and perilous comparison of Easts and Wests.9

3. If we are to say that a non-Western culture does or does not have “epigram”, we need to have a very good and frequently renewable grounding in the Western tradition from which the term and its underlying reality may be stabilised, and a reasonable grasp of the dynamics of the oriental literature as a whole, including its social setting (e.g., village folk production or highly conscious court composition), and the part played by short forms in the literary galaxy of that culture. Much depends on how “verbal” a culture is, how “oral”, and whether it has a highly developed “inscriptional habit”. Much also depends on its precise attitude to citation of parts of poetry, and of the separability of the lines or stanzas of its longer poetry, also on whether long poetry exists in its canons and if so, whether any special prestige attaches to extreme length, to moderate length, or to brevity.

8. Inner and outer poetic form — both to be searched for

1. The eighth assumption is that there is something highly specific and individual about poetry, and that poetry usually is recognisable from its outer form, which is typically though not always “verse”. This is not true for traditional Africa, where heightened language is much treasured and long and short forms are distinguishable in oral traditions, such as proverb form. It is also controversial in the West and South Semitic and the Aramaic field.10

2. Controversy surrounds not only the existence, but also the various uses of “verse” — of the formal, thematic and rhetorical options which in some cultures

9 There was in Enlightenment Great Britain a “tradition in the Scottish universities where the ability to explain literary, historical and economic phenomena comparatively was a test of philosophical competence” (see R.J. Smith's *The Gothic Bequest. Medieval Institutions in British Thought 1688–1863* Cantab. 1987, p. 74. Our chosen ideal however is better to be situated in the comparativising German Enlightenment, so influential for the modern theory of epigram, and heavily quoted in our Addenda.

10 With less background in the field, we can say that “prose poetry” occurs on Turkic stelai, see *Kononov* and *Vasil'ev*, which is different from the preference in the 18C West for “centre justified inscriptional prose” for real monuments, as the West had a sanctified verse option easily available for inscribing. As for anthropological evidence, Dr. Robert Bugenhagen told me (ANU Research School of Pacific Studies Canberra 1990) that the Mangap-Mbula people of Umboi Island (PNG, I think) used a song language identical to their daily discourse, except for the filling out of the ends of lines with prolonged syllables like O and A and E. Aboriginal groups seem often to have had a very special dialect for song.

See (from the point of view of anthropological literature, not of language) *Howitt on bardic aboriginal Australia.*
distinguish *song language* or even dream language or trance language. When are such identifiable patterns to be interpreted as empty formalities, and when as pointers to (and arousers of) psychic processes more prestigious, more passionate, more heightened, more "resonant" than those underlying everyday language or indeed, other types of heightened and "special" language, such as story form, mnemonic forms, proverb forms? The uses of poetry are most conveniently discussed by narrowing down the corpus and discussing primarily the uses of verse.

2. **Broad underlying questions**

1. These tend to underlie the discussion of details. They initially dominated this research study, but have proved just as resistant to orderly analysis as great scholars have stated them to be.

1. **The state of the history of epigram**

1. The first large problem is the (unwritten) history of epigram.¹¹ Though not all literary historians have admitted to the conceptual problem involved in giving epigram a history, this includes, concurrently and for each individual scholar or team of cooperating scholars, a progressive clarification of what "epigram" itself really "is".

2. Included in this bundle of problems is the implication of the actual use of the name "epigram" in different places and times by contemporaries, and even more, of its non-use for text forms where it might have been expected. This leads to the study of related modern forms, such as madrigal, sonnet, limerick, tombeau, and of recoverable ancient forms such as the verse oracle.¹²

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¹¹ An unavoidable area of concern for any serious student of the genre, in any period: See mainly Pfohl 1969.

¹² Genre names like epigram, or for poems resembling epigrams: Beischrift, Brievi, Chansons, Chronogram, Cupidines, Desideria, Echoes, Elegiae, Emblemata, Epitaphs, Epitymbia, Genethliaca, Hieroglyphics, Icones, Madrigal, Parentalia, Passetems, Satyres, Schlufreime, Sententiae, Silvae/Hyle, Singgedicht, Sonnet, Stances, Suspiria, Tafeln, Tombeaux/Tumuli/Epitymbia/Tomba, Touches, Trauergedancken, Voeux/Vota, Xenia, and non-identifying descriptive terms like Quatrains, or more vaguely, "verses". A title like "on John Smith", or even the Byzantine and Hellenistic "αλλα " provides another weak form of genre designation. In some periods the mere layout of a page may suggest that some short poem to be found on it is "epigram".
2. To what may epigram be compared?

1. The other group of questions concern typology, not historical continuities. They can be summarised into a question such as: is it only the Greeks (and those who imitated them) who have had “epigram”. We will answer this question in the Thesis Conclusions, always subject to a number of assumptions not universally held by others.

3. Uprooting literary anachronism

1. There is a third set of concerns, summarisable as correcting for anachronism. Basically, what corrections need we put into place when trying to recover ancient epigram (the foundation of this study, conducted under the auspices of a Department of Classics) to allow for the inherited, absorbed and perhaps uncritical understanding of “epigram” which was that of the great modern writers on the topic and of the great collectors of texts. The most generally accepted example of this is the criticism levelled at Lessing, whose understanding of epigram (in which up to his time the literary present was usually mixed with the past) assumed Martial to be the uncontested paradigm, as do moderns who are forgetful of Gregory, Ps. Cato and John Owen.13

13 See Bibli. 1 *Burnickel and Bibli. 2 *Beutler and *Pfohl. Also Addenda.

A — Introductory
1. Artificial demarcations of the "field"

Poetic epigraphy has long been taken as a "field" of study by Classicists. It seems so natural to them to single out verse texts that a focus on this particular form of inscription seems to require little defence. Thus it causes some surprise to find that an emphasis on verse inscriptions seems confined to the Greco-Roman tradition and, to a much lesser degree, to Tamil. Byzantine and Renaissance times bequeath to us a tradition which favours the collection and the study of verse epigraphy, Greek and Latin. Purely literary ("book") epigram has been taken as a natural field of study in modern times, from the Renaissance to the Romantic period in Europe, and particularly in Germany. While retaining enough distinctiveness to allow some separate study of each, "stone" and "book" epigram are multiform realities,

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14 Beginning with Renaissance collectors, whose attitudes can be recovered from the study of *Saxl and perhaps the earlier parts of *Sparrow, growing more systematic and bureaucratised under l'Académie des inscriptions et de belles-lettres. See *Yates and the enthusiasm of *La Fontaine for elegiac poetry recently discovered (p. 387 "Si pensare animas sinerent crudelia fata..." raised by a freedman Atimetus to his young wife Homonoea), and finding a home as "addenda" to the AG which increasingly drew on MS and inscriptional sources. Epigraphic verse collections reached independent status between the additions of Cougny and the self-standing text of *Kaibel. This was stimulated by a widespread procedure of verse composition in education (on classical models since the d'Estouteville Sorbonne reforms of the mid 15C, after an apparent decline in the hey-day of Scholasticism) and a mainstream, European-wide neo-Latin poetry as late as Milton. It also helped that the AG was a prestigious text which still took over 300 years to reach anything like proper publication. Thus even the MS tradition was very slow to present an appearance of completeness and closure until quite modern times.

15 A letter from the director of Archaeology of Tamilnadu, Dr. Natana *Kasinathan 29.1.93, indicated that "at present Pulavar S. Raju of Tamil University, Thanjavur is engaged in the collection of Tamil poetic inscriptions." There is one history of Tamil poetry in inscriptions and one study, listed in Zvelebil's Lexicon of Tamil Literature p. 252. *Owen, in *HIGH TANG, includes taking off walls as a stage of book publication of Chinese poetry in this period, but no class of poetry was associated with this origin, it seems. Literary interest in poetry of inscriptional origin has been found to be no more than sporadic in the great literate traditions of Islam, the Hindu-Jain-Buddhist-Persian Subcontinent, the Han culture area and Central Asia (the latter suffering heavy cultural colonisation from the three previous). In many cases the fact that a poem or poems were originally inscribed was merely an opportunistic way of publishing them rather than the fitting of a type of text to a predictable type of object involved in predictable social and symbolic transactions.


imperfectly conceptualised and researched, and what is more, intrinsically linked with each other in ways that often escape current investigation.  

2. There is plenty of reason to question the suitability of the category “epigram” used in the investigation of all pre-modern literatures, even including the Greek. No ancient reflection survives on such a genre. The anthologies taken as enshrining it can be claimed to display little sense of genre, and the term epigram (in the literary sense, not just meaning “any inscription”) is now difficult to find in use from the period of its birth. There is also a great likelihood of reading the Renaissance-Baroque situation back into the past, particularly in the case of German scholars, whose vernacular culture has been so marked by modern varieties of epigram, and it is Germans who have so dominated the study of Greek and Latin epigram in the period of “scientific” excavation. “Epigram” is regularly used as a first level of classification and description for non-European forms like the Arab *hija and the couplets of Bhartrihari but such terminology does not bear closer inspection. Anything short, relatively pithy or satirical, and not endowed with a famous name of its own will be called “epigram” by someone. By a natural extension English speakers now have prose “epigrams” and, more recently, we find “epigrams” wrought out of wordless instrumental music, and, in Croatian, even culinary epigram.

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18 The floating boundaries of stone and book are nowhere more obvious than in Byzantium, for which *Komines: p. 22 for general genre smudging, p. 37/38 no 2 for the closeness of book and stone epitaph, p. 33 and passim for “codexification”, p. 38 for borrowing epitaphic verse from book poetry of notable contemporary writers. Of course, the Byzantine sections of the AG contain genuine inscribed verse collected by contemporaries of Cephalus.


20 Nixon p. 14. Griesmair MORS IMMATURA p. 93 cannot see commonality of genre even in Peek’s corpus of Greek grave poems, GVI. Also Herder in fn 2. Also Cameron, see fn 141

21 See Bibliography categories under *German. Hansen, Page and Gow, the Bernands, Vérlilac, Walz and Aubreton, and of course, the Roberts break the Teutonic dominance somewhat, as do Italians like Barigazzi, Gentili, Gigante, Guarducci, Longo, Marcovich, Munari, but Italians seem mostly interested in periods later than the formative ones.

22 Prose epigram apparent to me from at least since Oscar Wilde. *Musical epigram mainly since the Second World War, with hints of it in *Debussy and perhaps Prokofieff. It occurs deep in the full title of *The Harmonic Cabinet, but “epigram” is loosely used in many modern book titles, and no song is
2. Non-European “epigram”?

1. Another question highly appropriate for the later 20th century is the relation which the assumed complex unity of Greek epigram-modern epigram bears to the nearest analogues in neighbouring high literatures. German scholars are often open-minded enough to discuss “epigram” with brief glances towards world literature. But it is hard to imagine the western students of Asian literatures spending time and effort on an exhaustive search for non-European “epigram” while their Western point of comparison remains so controversial both in its nature and in the processes which underlie it. The present study is intended to help clear the way for such an effort while reexamining the more puzzling aspects of the Greek tradition by means of a series of “snapshots” taken of primary sources at various periods.

3. “Epigram” bridging millennia?

1. It is part of our programme to accept post-Classical verse inscriptions and short “book” poetry as highly relevant to the study of the ancient tradition. This derives from our sense of common processes at work in all traditions of short poetry, even where there is no mutual influence between periods and cultures. However, in the West we believe that too little credit has been given to continuities in the epigraphic tradition which may underlie interesting revivals of literary forms so called in the only volume of that early 19C work available to me. A search for this new appropriation from literary genres of a genre title by musicians, has revealed that the bibliography of modern music, aimed at nurturing performance rather than scholarship, is more opaque and erratic than the bibliography of literature. See *Musical in Addenda, under *Bibliographic.

Kreleža 1966 (but not the 1977 edition): [U kulinarstvu, način serviranja pečana mesa]. Petronius uses it in perhaps a slightly extended etymological sense, Satyricon 103.4, from which I keep the line-and word-breaks, and the encoded sigla, of PHI #5.3:

Petronius, Satyrica, chapter 103

... audite quid timenti succurrerit: praeligemus vestibus capita et nos 103 1 1 in profundum megarum. 'nec istud dii hominesque patiantur' Eumolpus exclamat 'ut vos tam turpi exitu vitam finiatis. immo potius facite quod iubeo. mer-cennarius meus, ut ex novacula comperistis, tonsor 5 est: hic continuo radat utriusque non solum capita sed 2 1 etiam supercilia. sequar ego frontes notans inscriptio-ne sollerti, ut videamini stigmata esse puniti. ita eae-dem litterae et suspicionem declinabunt quaerentium et vultus umbra supplicii tegent.' 3 1 non est dilata fallacia, sed ad latus navigii furtim processimus capitaque cum superciliiis denudanda 4 1 tonsori praebuimus. implevit Eumolpus frontes utri-usque ingenibus litteris et notum fugitivorum epi- 5 1 grammam per totam faciem liberali manu duxit. unus forte ex vectoribus, qui acclinatus lateri navis explodit, nostri nausea gravem, notavit sibi ad lunam tonsorem intempestivo inhaerentem ministerio, exe- 5 cratusque omen, quod imitaretur naufragorum ultim 6 1 mum votum, in cubile reiectus est.

Pfohl and Häusle, for example, and Enciclopedia Italiana writers.

In this we are extending the project of some trailblazers of the Enlightenment, such as Herder. For them “oriental” literature was Persian, mediated by the Ottoman culture of the Levant. We feel that a thoroughly global view is now possible, if full of perils.
antedating those of the Renaissance. The sources of the highly influential Renaissance “epigram” seem to have been seriously studied by very few scholars.26

2. Gerhard Pfohl27 outlines a programme of study which would try to trace the real channels of western influence in the late medieval and early modern period (when epigram was really formed), particularly as regards two bundles of traditions each assumed to be relatively coherent internally, i.e., the epigraphic path and the manuscript path. He questions whether gaps and breaks in one or the other might have occurred unbeknown to us, and also seems to assume that this move into and out of inscriptionality is a core issue in the nature and the history of epigram. Now the material which would enable even a great team to decide on the microhistories of short poetry in the West, and of all inscriptions in the Muslim East, is imperfectly collected, imperfectly studied and understood, and not very accessible. What is worse, such materials may never be rich enough and informative enough to answer the peremptory questions which we find of interest from our viewpoint. Thus a history or even a characterisation of epigram based on positivistic scholarship rather than an informed historical imagination may always be impossible even if “epigram” really persists to be studied.

3. It is in studies of modern, vernacular, epigram that the ambiguities of theoretical scholarship and severely “correct” method can be appreciated. For the key period of German literary epigram (and indeed, of much European epigram and poetic epigraphy) the Baroque, Jutta *Weisz totally avoids the perils of comparativism, while slighting the comprehensiveness of her main predecessor, the American-based R. Kluger-*Angress. Another important example of documentary and theoretical research covering this crucial period, and the important 18C, is that on ephemeral and occasional poetry by *Segebrecht. If the well-performed Weisz convincingly excludes even the 16C from her study of the 17C, our linking of four millennia would seem to promise a messy and jejune survey.

26 Komines treats the 14C Greek “renaissance” passim, esp. p. 24 and p. 180. It would seem that the parallelism between what he describes and the new humanist winds blowing in 15C verse-writing Europe sufficiently explains the rise of Western Renaissance epigram. See, for the exotic tone of that anti-Gothic and anti-scholastic genre, *Carlson and *Marot and *Hutton. See now *Hausmann's complaint (1972) about the poor state of study of the rise of 15C Humanist epigram, and his remedies for this deficiency in Renaissance literary history.

27 DAS EPIGRAM 1969 p. 5ff.
4. As an initial counter-objection, it may be charged that absurdity in the study of any genre is not avoided by confining one’s study to one insulated, coherent “period”. Apart from doubts about the homogeneity of any such period and of “epigram” throughout the course even of a canonical historical “period”, there arises the problem of what happens at the period boundaries. Is it to be assumed that there are no similarities and influences over the boundaries of, say, the European Baroque, the main period other than the Hellenistic (and, perhaps, the Byzantine), when Epigram was a major literary form? Was the rather different thing often called “epigram” in the 15C and the 16C so incomparable? Were the ancient models universally assumed to underlie the epigram of this early modern period quite incomparable with the results of the influence of these models? Is more recent modern epigram also incomparable, or is it just difficult to compare in any way currently controllable in the most popular forms of discourse?

5. The fact that epigram has gathered the reputation of being an essentially written form opens it up to frequent rebirths, even when a practice of both oral and MS composition has been dead for centuries. As Pfohl reminds us of the later Middle Ages, overlapping of different practices may bridge gaps, and perhaps even, in various dark, sub-literary worlds, there was no “gap” in the inscribing of short poems and thus there may have been seamless continuities of at least some ancient artisanal traditions. Epigram is closely related to traditions of plastic art, though easily able to free itself from them.

6. The epigrammatic gaps in mid-Hellenistic and mid-Imperial times, and the gap evident in the Byzantine Dark Ages did not preclude a rebirth of the old form (in its old metres) in the age of Planudes and Triclinius, the Greek +13C. Not only must “epigram” be seen against the literary context of its day, high and popular (e.g., what other forms were current and what style of textual cosmos they then formed) but because of its long links with occasionality, most short Greek poems (and Latin poems) need to be seen against the inscriptional habits of their age, i.e., both the age

28 For “Epigram” so called (unexpectedly, various reasons why), or in fact not given to poems of epigrammatic appearance, over a wider range of periods, see: Bede, Henry the Archaeacon, Gregorious Magister, Weevers, Altman, Angress, Bête, Buchanan and Ford, Cioranescu, Elys, Faral, Gallo, Gildon, Grecourt, Grolier Club, Hutton, Malleville, Reynolds L.D., Stevenson, Strecker & Fickermann 1970, Whipple.

29 E.g., the tradesmen’s traditions which *Ploss sees as the only explanation for the “speaking inscriptions” occurring in Greece, Etruria and medieval Germany. Note also long continuities in cut (intaglio) gem manufacture and appreciation: GEMS, accessible through the page devoted to them in Bibliographic Categories.
of their first concoction and those of their reuse and later appreciation, and also against the social habits of their and later ages. This endlessly complicates the discourse in which their full reality may be discussed. The work of *Jauß has only to consider concepts of pure and folk literature from the Middle Ages. To add to this the history of art,³⁰ of crafts, and of social customs greatly overloads an already delicate discussion.

7. Let us take three concrete examples of the hydra-like complications which both codicological and epigraphic context add to literary study. The most important is taken from the Medieval (European) East, and to it we add two more examples from the "High Medieval" West.³¹ A decision to comb medieval walls for examples of the genre's most fundamental form, the highly pregnant and very repeatable verse inscription, may seem perverse to those literate in the field. It is most deliberate. It is our thesis that many medievals were forced into writing "epigram"³² by processes similar to those which generated non-explicit and explicit epigram in the first place.

8. The four poems now to be quoted will be briefly appreciated as "occasional literature", something which is not often possible in such a rapid study as this.

³⁰ On the difficult matter of the close links between picture and text (or carving and text), see variously: BariŠić, Elsum, Gigante 1979, Jobling 1990, Kessler, Krishnan K.G. 1981, Lavin, Rousseau A.-M., Schlumberger, Speck, Weckwerth, Winnett & Reid, Yates, Ziolkowski, and of course, Myron's cow (especially where her offspring graze in Rivinus). Also the ancient habit of underposed distichs with every woodcut portrait in *Reusner's ICONES, 1587. The history of funeral monuments is especially crucial to the history of epigram/epitaph.

³¹ As I belatedly obtained some grip on the Byzantine materials, the great similarity of poem types between East and West became more and more striking, particularly in the matter of short verse. There was no "Bosnian curtain" in this, and perhaps the sacred objects imported before the Crusades and the ones stolen during them made Latins familiar with "cultivated" Eastern inscriptive practices on movable objects. To some extent, as we emphasise continually, similar functions would have called up similar forms, independently of literary influences, but it is significant that Latin tombstones and seals both begin to be inscribed fairly widely in the 11/12C and that it is the metrical seals (movable and precious) which so remind us of the Byzantine variety. Hörander is the writer best able to convey the meaningful resources of occasionality in Medieval Greek, and particularly in inscriptions.

³² Without being aware of the fact, as Komines p. 19 somewhat limply admits!
4. Restoring Eastern Christian Art, in two lines

1. Liminary and non-liminary initial position

1. The AP now opens with a fully Christian book of short poems. Is the position of this “book” in the codex particularly important? And is first position in this book an especially important one for a poem to hold? It is not only on monuments that positioning adds significance. It seems to have importance even in ancient codices, an importance and highlighting which may perhaps be totally bound to the poem being seen in its intended position, or which may also survive its being removed from that rich material context.

1. Questions of book context

1. There is considerable doubt if the early 10C (or, with the recanting Preisendanz, but now with Aubreton, mid 11C) compilation of Cephalas began with anything else than Book v, the erotica. It may be however that the compilatory nature of medieval codices allowed other related works to precede the main “work” and still be seen as related to it. Thus the first problem in commenting on the position of the first poem in book i (of our present MS, which is itself probably of 10C date) is to assess the literary realities of “work”, and “book” of a work. If “book” then was an accidental bundle of texts, the opening position in a book and a codex will not be a very significant one. Cameron is one of those who assumes that the ever repeated clash of Christian and Pagan culture encouraged the main compiler of AP (Constantine the Rhodian is one current suggestion) to open his copy of a prestigious compilation with a Christian “book”. Not only would the severely classicising style of the subsequent books have seemed foreign to many influential 9C and early 10C Romaic Greeks, but the Pagan mythology and the erotica, especially the pederastic sections, would offend because of their content. Antagonism towards “pagan” trends recurred in Byzantine culture. There had been a break in many Classical habits in East and West since the +6C, the date of the last major collection of old Greek epigram and of its Latin reflections in the circle of *Symmachus, and in Vandal North Africa. Inscriptional poetry, however, and short book poetry in congenial metres

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33 We might note evidence of special interest to us from as far apart as Ephesus and Marseilles: Gregory the Great Epistola ed. Dag Norberg CCL 140A 1982, P. 873 GREGORIVS SERENO EPISCOPO MASSILIENSI (REGISTRUM XI, 10 Serenum, episcopum Massiliensem, de imaginum eussionem reprehendit et hortatur ut motus populi inde ortos compescat. AD 600, Oct.) See also *Romanos. See also Macquarie University. *Ephesus.

34 The *Bobiens(i)a, Luxorius, see *Speyer and *Mariotti. Also *Munari LATER LATIN EPIGRAM.
continued.\textsuperscript{35} In Byzantium the medieval dodecasyllable, i.e. syllabic trimeters keeping many of the “eye quantities” of the Classical metre but allowing no resolutions, conveniently bridged quantitative past and accentual and syllable-counting present.\textsuperscript{36}

2. The mini-text which we will next quote was placed by a major 10C collector\textsuperscript{37} in a significant position in the codex: as the single, liminary poem to a book itself introductory to his pagan epigrams. Epigram was not only a contemporary habit, but prestige forms from the glorious past had been newly revived by a revered teacher, Constantine “Big-Head”, out of Greek cultural pride, and from a desire to encourage more correct verse composition in Constantinople. There can be no doubt from what still remains of ancient book arrangement (from Martial and some of Catullus and Ovid, and of course, Bede and even Commodianus) that there was a high degree of sensitivity involved in the first (and last) position of a poetic anthology, over a wide range of periods. The poem:

\begin{quote}

\end{quote}
ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΙΒΟΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ
(AP i,1)

"Ας οι πλάνοι καθείλον ἐνθαδ' εἰκόνας,
ἀνάκτες ἐστήλωσαν εὔσεβείς πάλιν.

"The images which the misguided (perhaps, heretical) took away from here
were set up again by pious emperors".

3. A banal enough comment out of any specific context, especially when done in
a verse form itself quite banal to the ears of most lovers of pre- and post medieval
Greek. It reads even flatter in English translation.

1. **Architectural, visual, historico-cultural “positioning”**

1. So much for the position of this poem in a codex. The text would remain a
minor literary achievement if we didn’t know also that it was inscribed, in large
letters, around the drum of an adjunct to the miraculous main dome of the Hagia
Sofia. It was positioned, physically, visually and historically, in the proudest building
of the capital, it celebrated the massive triumph of Christian art and display over
iconoclasm in 843 and the pride of a new, “Macedonian” dynasty. Thus the terseness
and plainness of its two iambic trimeters would triumphantly highlight the expansive
“inner” message sent to many millions, over 500 years, (from Photius to Mahomet II
“The Conqueror”) by its chosen lettering, its known patronage, its historical
relevance, and its supremely prestigious placement. Can it still be said to be a flat and
trite pair of verses?

2. But how much of this physical-historical context should infiltrate the “words
on the page”? How much can be consigned to the non-literary fields of biography and
history? We will consider as being somehow part of the “text” those “exterior”
meanings deriving from a highly specific, concrete, unrepeatable, as yet ungeneralised
context. There is considerable difficulty in sorting out the different ways in which
such contextual “meaning” may cling to a text, the first division of cases being that
between the type of context which a certain style of text tends to inhabit, and any
special, one-off location and “support” actually given to any single text.

3. Today in Istanbul only a few letters remain of the intended state of this far
from “little” inscriptional poem. It was clearly composed for the half dome and its
mosaic, but verses or maxims adopted for use in such a circumstance (from book
poems, or from other epigraphs) may be appreciated in much the same way. How
long the identity of the author remained known in imperial circles is not very important. Despite authors being sporadically mentioned in inscriptions themselves from the -4C, such verses have long remained essentially anonymous. This is even more so for verses of similar “finality” on (or for placing near) icons, precious objects, and (medieval and early modern) seals.

2. Stone to book, or the faint traces of that old path

2. There is a patch of gold mosaic still in situ which has preserved the twelve letters underlined right through the Turkish period to our own days. However, for most of the text we depend on Cephalas or some old supplement to his 10C collection. It was not widely known among modern scholars that anything of the original survived, or even if it were ever really inscribed at all.

1. Voice and echoes

1. These lines would have been interpreted by contemporaries in the light of a host of short building inscriptions known and collected with enthusiasm and devotion throughout medieval periods where secular epigram was close to being dead. The poem had literary existence amid hosts of ecphrastic (and sometimes short) poems which either spoke to the work of art (i.e., to the subjects represented in it) on our, or the maker’s behalf, or spoke to spectators about it, or actually had the work of art itself speaking, in “words which it might have used”. Not only does this poem take some of its coloring from these close relatives and from other less definable elements of verbal, social and physical context, but lesser poems also would have been coloured by the widespread knowledge of a few such exceptional exemplars.

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38 *Komines p. 104 makes the point well for medieval inscriptional verse. It is also true, for some similar and some different reasons, that oracy also works towards the anonymity of works, particularly for short, numerous and much-used texts. See *Sternbach’s studies of subhäshita in India. See further fn° 303.

39 Cameron AG REVISITED p.150: This poem “was inscribed all the way around the face of the apse semidome in St Sophia; indeed, unknown to editors, the first three and last nine letters are still to be read there, in dark blue glass letters 0.40 m. high set in a gold background.” The mosaic to which it more precisely refers was unveiled 29 March 867 (Photius’ homily on the event survives), the “pious emperors” thus were Basil I and Michael II. For the earlier, criticised opinions see in ADDENDA *17. Greek Medieval, Dumbarton Oaks Bibliog. p. 248 Fossati, Mercati 1923 and MS Marc. gr. 498 fol. 180.
5. Belloc's Cefalù and England's monastic seals

1. A modern literary tourist reached Cefalù before our photographers and poster makers, and, among all the natural magnificence and architectural excellence of that site, was impressed by one tiny text. We have poems from ancient times and paintings from early modern times where the inscription is likewise the prime focus of attention.

2. Like the Aya Sofya couplet, this Latin one was set in the half dome of the apse above the high altar, apparently the prestige position for any founder's or restorer's text to hold, facing out towards the people. The language is much more epigrammatic than would be acceptable in the Greek Anthology. Its medieval knottiness looks forward to the Baroque density of Welshman John Owen:

\[
\text{Factus homo, factor hominis, factique redemptor} \\
\text{Judico corporeus corpora corda Deus.}
\]

3. Belloc translates with exuberant enthusiasm “I, who was made man and who was the maker of man, and who am the Redeemer of what I made, / Being of human frame, do judge the bodies and the hearts of men: and I am God”.

4. Typically, the author of such an important inscription is unknown, in a period (12C) when European literati were far less bashful than Gothic sculptors were becoming about seeking personal fame. Also interesting is that the painter John Sargent had “many years ago” modified this couplet to affix to his depiction of the Crucifixion said by Belloc to hang in the public library at Boston. These networks of repetition and transfer, multiplied and modified thousands of times, are the cement of our western epigrammatic tradition. As we have noted, in a literary (which means an imitative, or at least a citational or an allusive) culture, they can suffer long historical breaks and still remain in some sense continuous traditions.

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40 Some of the AG poems quoted in our Addenda, under Classical.

41 The *Et in Arcadia ego*... style of painting, see *Panofsky.

42 *One Thing and Another* p.77.
5. Another matter is the question of the quality of the Medieval verse. Experts on modern epigram like Leicester Bradner write the more disparagingly about the medieval variety the more popular their medium of expression, coming close to denying the Middle Ages any "epigram". In a recent letter (27.3.94) Alan Treloar commented to me on the "impressive verses" of Saxo Grammaticus's writing, after finally succeeding in purchasing an edition for himself. He had no medievalist axe to grind, but no traditional Classics Department to justify either.

6. The pressures of physical and social context – seal texts

1. The same Latin poet and polymath scholar found some other verses, extracted from Monastic seals, rather off-putting. Their context has to be recovered to interpret them, much less "appreciate" them, and this was too Catholic and un-Reformed in tone. Let us take two of the little texts for this most carefully guarded and most loved of personal adornments:

M418 13C — +Cera patens celat quod cartula [scis]sa revelat

M471 12/13C — +Ponimur a tergo signi testes sumus ergo

2. The second, "spoken" by the pictured saints on a counterseal, a seal for the back of the wax whose text is often less formulaic that that of the main seal, is at least highly specific, as most such monostichs or distichs are. Those who read the "ergo" as a mere filler for rhyme will find the second text banal, but surely not the first quoted. The former, more generalising utterance refers with a double antithetic contrast to the typical function of any seal: the seal (wax) is open and frank, but conceals! When the [wax is spread open it conceals but] when the paper is rent it reveals. This presents brevity, "point" and specificity to a support, i.e., it is functionally equivalent to "stone" epigram.

43 *15C Epigram. This particular couplet is of above-average quality, the crowded paradoxes being delivered (until the antepenultimate and penultimate words are jammed together in apposition) with balance and overarching style, and the whole building up to a climactic final word and idea.

44 Ellis MONASTIC SEALS, and see ADDENDA.

45 *Komines conveniently presents this general topos from Byzantine metric seals, p. 147, claiming that a seal is of 11C Ioannes Kossiphes, Metropolitan of Thebes. It is assigned by Laurent to a later John, Ioannes Kaloteknes, but in either case the inscription was almost certainly written by its owner: Θησων Βεβαιω τας γραφας ίωαινου. Schlumberger dates this seal 10/11C. See, for a topos very similar to "Cera patens..." the closely related genre of finger ring: *Ward et al. RINGS — P. 56, & Pl. 134, from 13C/14C France – a ring with a jingling text related to one of its uses, as a seal, like the more elaborate inscriptions of the large, non-ring seals: TECTA : LEGE : LECTA : TEGE. This is naturally epigrammatic, but doubtfully epigram.
3. Only if one has a prejudice against all accentual (and more so, rhyming) verse, in Latin or Greek, will these little texts be ignored in favour of similar ones in the style of Archaic Greece or on the walls of Pompeii. Like the Greek, such texts are not repeated from one medieval monument/seal to another, at least in the corpus investigated here. Even their constituent phrases tend not to be obviously repeated.

4. It would seem that these texts occur on seals from the 12C onwards more because of manifold pressures from high medieval culture than from any explicit desire to imitate the Classical past (admittedly itself one of such 12C “pressures”). In a culture favouring, even demanding verse form in the epitaphs of any significant person, where short verses were commonly inscribed under art works and in many other contexts, where short verses (stichs, couplets and quatrains) were used mnemonically in learning and constituted the format of the commonest beginner’s book for learning Latin, and where the surface of the seal severely limited the length of the text, one and two line seal inscriptions in verse would have developed without the Greeks.

5. There seems to be a definite connection between the choice of original verse for its inscriptions, once such inscriptions were expected to run beyond the simple name, and such matters as the highly artistic nature of the seal (figured art work, the older ones carved also on precious stones); also with the seal’s overtones of

46 Repetition of phrases and part lines is not common, being unexampled in Latin and found only in a few mini-genres of Byzantium, such as verse titles and headings, and, of course, in inscribed or graffitied liturgical fragments. A few whole verses are found repeatedly in colophons and on bath and washing place walls. Komines p. 40, 42, 94. See Turyn in Addenda for: ή γάρ χειρ ή γράφασα σήπετε τάφω.

47 Komines p. 34 n° 3 quotes Niketas ho Eugeinianos on his master Prodromos to this effect, very appositely: ...καὶ κόσμον ἐκδολοπασ σεττῶν εἰκόνων· κοσμούμεναι γάρ ἔκ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων, ὡς κόσμον εἴχον εὑτελῇ σου τοὺς στίχους, καὶ κόσμον ἡ ἀντικρής ἡ στίχοργια τοῦ κοσμοπολίτου μαργάρου τῶν εἰκόνων ... And, as many of our quotes are to be taken, this is a “thematising” illustration of something apparent from any long acquaintance with the tradition, not a proof text. It is however a proof text for the fact that Prodromos did intend much of his own short poetry to grace icons.

48 For something on gems and gem language, See: *Dubin, *Erasmus & Margolin, *Pollitt, *Roberts. Here we may well recall the literary language of the file, used in connection with the careful editing of poetry in Classical Latin. How kinaesthetic such images are is a delicate matter for us moderns to assess.

Cf. inter alios multos Herder ANMERKUNGEN p. 165 (also in Addenda): ...insonderheit scheint die zarte, einfache Vorstellung der Gemme das Epigramm zu lieben. Es ist ein und derselbe Sinn, der diese Kunstwerke und ihre Exposition in Worten hervorbrachte, beide also auch mit einem Siegel anmuthiger Einfalt bezeichnet.

A. — Introductory
possessiveness, appreciation, self-proclamation, and the way medieval culture (like many others) highlighted and prioritised this item of adornment and daily use.

6. It is also significant that the most epigrammatic seal inscriptions, as is the case for monumental inscriptions of many ages, remain in prose. It is just one more paradox of the genre cluster we call epigram that epigram ceases to be "epigram" the more epigrammatic it becomes. There is an optimum degree of terseness beneath which level the motivation for poetry disappears. Indeed, formulaic, figured prose (of any textual length) seems to replicate the functions and the effect of "epigram" in many periods, but, tantalisingly, not completely so.49

1. The overtones and ethos of easily definable forms, specifically of monostich, distichs and quatrains

1. Western epigram has no fixed form, but poems of one, two or four lines have usually been seen as typically epigrammatic. *Lausberg favours the distich, for whatever reason, while I favour the quatrains. If one's favourite texts derive from stone, not books, the monostich is also a strong contender for most typical form.

2. It was originally our impression that Western distichs in hexameter form were much influenced by "Cato's" famous school text, and indeed, other signs of extensive influence from this collection of pairs of hexameters are apparent in the early modern period.50 However, distichs were a habit in Archaic times, and when elegiac verse

49 A 19C reforming cardinal in Southern Italy wanted to reduce the three feasts of Sta. Rosalia to two at the most. Painted on his door post, he found, one morning, four chillingly epigrammatic words: O FESTA O TESTA (The feast, or your head!). From an Australian pamphlet on the culture of the Southern Italian migrant: Cesare Zanconato, Search for Dignity CIRC North Fitzroy, 1979, from F. J. Visentin *La Religiosità Meridionale* Roma, Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1972. See also *Wes for the four word inscription finally decided on for the first equestrian statue of Westernising Russia, and *Etlin (Bibl. 2 and Addenda) for the practices at the Leasowes. See as well the striking Hausspruch collected by *Rüegg: FIDE / SED CVI VIDE, and the agnostic epigrammaticity of the self epitaph of Young: Young / MOULDERS HERE, whose source I have misplaced.

50 The *Disticha or Dicta Catonis. However, our increasing access to late antique and medieval epigraphy may well prove that text scholars have exaggerated the influence of Cato on the whole hexameter distich tradition (the idea of some formal influence on the popularity of hexameter distichs is mine, not theirs). If a tradition of inscriptive distichs continued unbroken in the culture of the medieval elite, and if the interchange among stone inscription, collections of inscriptions, and marginal inscriptive poetry was as vigorous as it seems to this reader of MGH Poetae, there would be as little need to adduce "Cato" as a major influence on the further popularity of such a form as there had previously been to seize on possible imitation of Martial. (Even before Herder, Martial had his detractors: Naugerus yearly sacrificed in the flames one volume of Martial to the manes of Catullus, see *Blount). See *Addenda under BAUDRI, BEDE, CATO, LIMINARY AND PREFATORY VERSES, and Bibliography annotations under: MGH PLMAE volumes by *Bischoff, *Dümmler, *Silagi, *Strecker, *Traube, and *Winterfeld. On seals certainly, one or two lines of verse is all we find. The space available on the rim of Gothic figurative plaques is hardly more generous, see
was adopted (for whatever reason) as an inscriptional metre in the mid-6C, the distich then became the smallest recognisable form of the standard metre. When, in late Antiquity, hexameters again became the standard form in prestige inscriptions, they may have adopted the distich form from elegiacs which they had once given to them. Distich form is also common in (stichic) dodecasyllables, as in the dome of the Aya Sofya.

3. No doubt there were also internal forces making for distich (and monostich and quatrain) form. These shapes had the advantage of instant recognisability and thus of strong form. It is notable in this connection that tristichs are quite rare.51

1. Context bound and context free

1. We ourselves tend to regard “occasional” literature as capable of rising to just as elevated heights as those various grades of more decontextualised work which we moderns have learned to appreciate (relatively recently) as “pure literature”.

2. Ancient verse inscriptions have their own literary importance and are not merely of historical interest. Such things would go without saying to Tamil writers.52

3. Most periods display literary works with different degrees of “bound” and “free” (as regards “situation”). It is my current opinion that freedoms achieved by such “purer” strands of literature allow for the development of richer resonances in more bound, occasional texts of the same period. Non-occasional works constitute a sort of experimental laboratory for what can easily be seen as a more significant literary industry of any aestheticising culture, i.e., the aestheticising of daily life.

*Panofsky and Janson 1984 (1956 vintage), where, however, only prose, or longer poetic forms are pictured in the plates.

The first recorded verse captions to religious art in Sweden, in *Zwierlein are all hexameter monostichs. The relative frequency of inscriptional plaques in these photographs takes some of the force from Burckhardt’s claim (NEULATEINISCHE POESIE p. 214) that it was lack of space on Gothic memorials which reduced the volume and expansiveness of late medieval inscribing of verse. The preferred shape of Gothic monuments may indeed have helped to influence their epigraphic texts, but, especially given the availability of plaques, could not by itself explain the presumed lack of poetic epigraphy in the High Middle Ages. The lack of the fame motive in art and sculpture (*Sauerländer & Hirmer & Sondheimer), but not in the public life of this period, may better explain the poor epigraphy common on Gothic monuments. They were simply not the normal locus for display.

51 Some variegated examples of triple form in: Astel, Astur, Baillet, Bèze, Claudian, [Hansen], Havránek, Laurent, Novák, Priestly, Symphosius (where they are standard), Tsaloumas, Wessel, Windfuhr, Yeats, and perhaps Koutalekes, all in Bibliogg. See also in Thesis § D — Table 1, the tristichs in AP. See *Ueda’s Bashö for the “triphrasal” nature of Hokku.

52 See *Zvelebil in Bibliography 2.
through “occasional” and “social” poetry, also through crafts, stylised manners, and functional decorations. In a sense, ancient Greek lyric was all occasional verse, as were most varieties of Chinese verse before the Song. So were the poets of the Greek 14C renaissance. The world learnt disjunctural wisdom from (or after) the Industrial Revolution.

4. Whatever reality any super-genre of “epigram” may have, it constantly springs out of and sinks back into a persistent western tradition of short occasional verse. Most properly the term is applied to short verse which imitates inscriptional form, and has also reached, or for some reason is awarded, some prestige status in the society. However, literary terminology being what it is, any short poem can be called epigram, and in particular, any inscribed short poem.

5. One might argue that there is something extra, something properly “literary” in some Greek inscribed poems from –520 or so: an expressive intent, a reflection of dramatic poetry, an expansiveness and a generosity of imagination which combines “literature” with the deeply occasional. They seem all to be original compositions as well. It also helps their literariness that Greek epitaphs in verse tend to general (laudatory and elegiac) statements rather than being primarily intended to convey factual detail.

6. Most of all it helps to make them “literature” that later ages began more and more to see them as such.

53 Thus did the élite, thickly classicising form of Russian ”epigram” enter the social struggle and popular use through the conversion of an “intelligent” like Mayakovsky. See *Yershov.

54 Though the Latin practice of quotation of (or heavy allusion to) well-known book poets in the Carmina Epigraphica is also “literary”, it does not make that tradition of inscribed poetry such a distinct, and thus, such an influential, literary form. See Geist/Pfohl in Bibl.1.

55 Calling medieval short poetry epigram requires what is nearly a double anachronism. First, we have to accept the vernacular genre consciousness bequeathed to us by our Renaissance/Baroque, and foist this on an age which knew little and cared less about such things. Then we have to call into play our awareness (no matter how tentative) of the Hellenistic and earlier situations and allow the multifold short occasional poetry of the Middle Ages to be attracted (in our consciousness only) into a super genre under the attraction of an out of focus view of ancient Greek practices.
7. The Epigrammatic perspective chosen

1. The native Australian scholar is certainly under no pressure to see epigram everywhere that nondescript short poetry occurs. His own vital vernacular tradition has always tended to lack any such thing. This resembles the situation in literary America, but we do not have the American tradition of the literary quatrains. In addition, short occasional verse (of the British type) has for some decades been lacking from our own country’s tombstones. Even among the internationalised elite which tends to predominate in our universities, informal enquiries have found that epigram is indeed felt to exist, but is not felt to require verse form. This again would bring us close to the American situation, where it appears that “epigram” is natural enough in prose. Is it an accident that the earliest English example of such a use of the term known to me is Oscar Wilde? He was a great crosser of the Atlantic, in person and in print.

2. A somewhat separate sort of occasional poetry springs up, rather than “survives”, in the funeral (ad memoriam) pages of our papers. This is true occasional verse, and true folk writing, knowing no normative tradition. Only some of it seems to come from pattern books. There is a prose option which is usually more popular, but verse can be selected as the unusually elaborate, expressive clothing for any bewilderingly intense experience of sadness and loss. The personal occasion itself is highly specific and “concrete”, even if the memorial verse is not to be placed on stone but rather published in repeated form in print.


58 I have transcribed two older Jamberoo cemeteries and viewed the ones at Helensburg and Taralga, which support a generalisation made from the study of the few transcriptions which deign to include “verses and terms of endearment”, much less artwork, in addition to the much more prized genealogical material. See in Addenda AUSTRALIAN EPITAPHS. Generally, verse tends to stop after WW I.

59 Even in Modern Poland *Krupka found that the frazka could be taken to mean a prose aphorism.

60 One example, *Bowden 1791. Others could be cited from Baroque Germany.
3. Verse would these days seem to be chosen as expressive and unusual, a special form for a special day and experience. Such “occasionality” is very different from that of the Baroque and the Enlightenment, when verse form was in itself entirely banal, occurring everywhere and very often. Many people then wrote verse daily and in quantity. Those that didn’t were at least surrounded by such activity and could see that the note on a gift, accompanying a gift, in an album or visitor’s book, or “for” (either on or placed near) some architectural or artistic object would naturally be in verse. It is not many generations since the educated would also have been trained in verse making at school, if in the Classical tongue, and would have been aware of a Western “epigrammatical tradition” of considerable depth. Many who weren’t would have been familiar with popular verse forms and capable of tossing together something for a special occasion in these undemanding structures. This exposure and widespread facility has disappeared only in my own lifetime.

4. In contemporary culture the making of verse is not a general practice. This gives to the production of verse the cachet which it now seems to have as an activity only for very special and deeply personal occasions. However, it seems to remain acceptable to present versified texts to the general public, with or without music, in advertising and in popular song, at a time when élite poetry mostly avoids fixed forms.

5. Readers’ reactions to epigram will depend on the prevailing reactions to verse, and the production of epigram will be even more dependent on current cultural practices and attitudes.

3. Paleontology and embryology of the genre

1. Far from causing further confusion to investigators of this particular “genre”, a study of its origins and of the forms which resemble it in other cultures (by “parallel”, or “convergent” evolution) can actually clarify underlying realities and lead to less arbitrary and less naive classifications and identifications.

2. Everyone knows that epigram comes from the Greeks, if not as directly as might be thought. Medieval Greeks are said by notable scholars to have

61 *La Fontaine complains about his many daily trips “up Parnassus”. See Addenda. Also see *Beutler.

62 Hunger SECULAR BYZANTINE, Trypanis MEDIEVAL AND MODERN. See more persuasively, *Komines.
enthusiastically and universally cultivated “epigram”. Our most recent “Renaissance” was highly imitative of contemporary Greek practices, but also hungered for the authority of ancient texts in the more native, Latin tradition, among which there was a sufficient amount of what could be seen as “epigram”, not only in Martial and Ausonius and Claudian, but especially in the Anacreontea.

3. Other likely influences on it would be the long epigraphic practice of the Medieval West, prestige vernacular genres and the short forms current, if less prestigiously, in folk literature.63 However, early Humanists did flock to Byzantine teachers and would have learned to write Greek verses at their feet, and trilingual poets in Southern Italy, claimed as a 13C pre-renaissance movement, vigorously cultivated short forms in Greek.64 The influence of multi-lingual cultural centres in the High Middle Ages seems far from properly canvassed in the question of poetic influences.65

4. It could not be denied even by those who might be inclined to suspect that Epigram was an invention of the early modern period that ancient Greek inscriptions keep on turning up in verse, and that many are indeed short. However, ancient epigraphic corpora, such as that of all Egypt, do not offer a clearly canonical length easily identifiable with later prescriptions for epigram or with what we find in the presumed earlier strata of the AG. The verse inscriptions of Attica in the -4C are however mostly in the quatrain form, which seems to have been Plato’s view of the typical inscription 66 and his published opinion may have had some importance for later genre formation.

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63 Apart from the much-ignored epigraphic tradition suggested in *Favreau, we must allude to the 15C facezie and the contemporary German Priamel, see *Marchi and *Race.

64 See *Anastasi, *Cantarella, *Folliere, and *Gigante, especially for Eugenius Panormitanus.

65 If Norse bards could share formal poetry with Troubadour courts in Occitania (van *See p. 9), if Celtic Norse contacts were responsible for the similarities of Skaldic verse and Medieval Welsh and Irish strict forms, and if the similarities in theme between later Muslim erotic verse and Provençal poetry is no accident (see also *Wulstan), poetic influences between 13C Otranto and Sicily and 14C Northern Italy must be at least likely. We will later suspect similar leakages between literary habits in Buddhist Sanskrit and in Arabic, Persian, Chinese and various Turkic literatures.

66 Laws 958 b 2 and context:

A. — Introductory
5. It was the –4C and –3C which remain the prime candidates for being the periods of the rise of “literary” or “book” epigram. There can be no doubt that Hellenistic and Imperial Greeks retained a preference for verse expression on monuments, and that short verse, almost uniquely in the world, remained the more prestigious option for Greeks throughout many centuries. This uniqueness on the world stage sharpens our sense that short poetry constituted some sort of ancient supergenre.

6. There was provable bilingualism among Roman elites from the Scipios to Ausonius, and the literary remains associated with these bilingual figures indicate that Latin literature and epigraphy long remained open to Greek models, well after it had developed models of its own, such as the short poetry of Martial. When we find Latin and Greek private inscriptions on one frontier site, as at Carnuntum, it is the Greek which retain the more examples of verse. Where there seems to be a great effort to impress, as at Ai-Khanum in modern Afghanistan, the stele has often enough a quatrain, which would be –3C if we follow the Gallic daring of Louis Robert, or –2C if we support the prudence of A.K.Narain. In a brief epigraphic selection from Ephesus made for purely documentary purposes, we find a sprinkling of verse, hexameter and elegiac: a (classicising!) Christian quatrain of the +5C celebrating iconoclasm (I.Eph. IV.1351), a hexameter oracle of at least 18 lines but surely not many more, presumably of the 160s CE (ZPE 92 [1992] 268), and a distich of the +1C honouring a philosopher (I.Eph. 3901 [1981]). This out of 24 select inscriptions, most of them intended to be prestigious, the majority quite long, but some short.

\[\text{See also Cicero, de legibus in Addenda.}\]

67 *Vorbeck, 3 distichs in about 400 otherwise prose epigraphs.


A. — Introductory
7. Oracles in hexameters no doubt formed a continuous tradition from at least the -6C, as Parke and Wormell can document, no doubt forming a "Delphic" genre of their own because of the ethos and continuing function of such texts. Latte\textsuperscript{70} holds that the boundaries between the genre of "oracle" and related forms of prose and verse began to be broken down only around 500 BCE. Around genuine oracles, particularly the dominant, Delphic, forms, sprang up suitably gnomic poems and versified sayings. This fuzziness of boundary outwards (of the preserved inscriptional forms towards less well known non-inscriptional forms) allows later literary epigram to play with grave, donatory and honorific inscription. On the other hand, the long dominance and mutual incompatibility of epitaph and offering inscription laid firm foundations for a varied series of short book genres. AP 14, 71 and 14, 74, quoted by Parke and Wormell, are said to be non-oracular, even if somehow Delphic.\textsuperscript{71}

8. Unlike the English in the 18C, and the Chinese post-Tang, it seems that if a Greek wished to be very honorific and elegant, but also brief, he could not easily choose prose form, in any classicising period. There is indeed much honorific Greek prose, but it tends to be lengthy, and factual in its tactics. Roberts reminds us in Hellenica that when an inscribing Greek just wished to be expansive, he naturally turned to verse.\textsuperscript{72}

9. The right view is probably the reverse of this: a well-known way of being very honorific and elevated in Greek culture was to use brief verse, a tradition sanctified by its antiquity and always likely to undergo a further lift in prestige as the idealised past was periodically revalued. However, it is important to note that there were always other options than verse and brevity, and we see them well illustrated at Ephesus.

\textsuperscript{70} See Addenda, *ORACLES — LATTE.

\textsuperscript{71} *DELPHIC RESPONSES p. 229:

"This pair of poems in moralising elegiacs shows no signs of being addressed to a particular enquirer. Most probably, if the connection with Delphi is authentic, they were inscribed at some late period on two of the gateways to the sanctuary. They are addressed to the worshipper on entering. For such inscriptions (in prose) cf. Ziehen, \textit{Leces Sacrae}, 49, 91, and 49, 148 . . . for an imitation in elegiacs, see the oracle of Sarapis (Cougny, No. 183)."

The gnomic is only one element in early epigram, but the "Delphic" influence on terseness may have been an important factor in the maintenance of brevity in at least funeral inscriptions. Delphic and Heraclitean obscurity is however not part of such suspected oracular influence on epitaphs.

\textsuperscript{72} III 1952 p. 136, see Bibliography 1. So, much less often, did "Vikings": See *Moltke, and in the "Arabic" position, with verse coming last in the epitaphic or honorific text.
10. While papyrus and oral traditions no doubt helped to maintain the epigrammatic option, it would seem that it was the stele fields of post Classical Athens which had the same periodic influence on diasporic epigraphy as did the walls of Late Antique and Medieval Rome on the poetry copied and written in the monasteries of England and Ireland. These could survive more than one “dark age”, to speak again when a new generation regained interest in the prestigious past.

11. The Latin West had three or four “renaissances”, only the last of which whole-heartedly revived Late Antique epigram. It is this final, belated revival and indigenisation which gives rise to our present problem of terminology and genre. A fascinating question is why it did not occur under Charles, Otto, the Plantagenets or at some classicising period prior to the Italian 15C.

12. While this prestigious short poetry often fulfilled some largely informational role, it is most typical that its Greek manifestations escape from bearing the full documentary load which most cultures would require of such an extended text. Sometimes, as in the Ephesian tribute to Ofellius Laetus, this load is shared by introductory prose of roughly equal importance, or as in Aī-Khanum, separately fulfilled by a huge documentary inscription in prose. However, the traditional Greek inscription can consist entirely of verse, and short verse, freely embroidering honorific or pathetic themes, not, as in Latin or indeed on some earlier Arabic stelai, forming merely a decorative addendum to the main business of the stele, which in these cases is predominantly and initially in prose. In this it resembles one aspect of Indian poetic epigraphy, being short on hard facts, but unlike the copious Indians, Greeks were happily sparing of words. In Greek the short poem can itself be the main business of a stele, with documentary elements being kept to a identificatory minimum. In the influential —4C there are many signs that awkward names and information not uncommonly expressed in a title or in a brief addendum tended to be forced into the verse, even if poetic form suffered thereby. A “pressure to versify” is one of the cultural forces we must try to differentiate and to assess.

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73 Carolingian, Ottonian, the 12 C, and the Petrarchan.
74 See fn° 294.

A. — Introductory
13. To claim that epigram is inherently a Greek form would at first seem a difficult task, particularly for anyone with some knowledge of the “comparative” situation of inscribed verse, but it can be done, as we have just tried to do for the nature of the option of short verse. An ever-increasing number of societies since (presumably) the neolithic have developed or borrowed recognisably regular forms for their song language. Many societies have prioritised verse expression, some far more than the Greeks. In most of these latter societies, either circumstance or expressive option have made for various sub-genres of short epigraphic verse. Some have developed short “book-oral” forms of verse which are far more definable and recognisable than the mess of forms and themes which we moderns call Greek epigram.
B. Part B — Comparative

1. "Epigram" which is neither Greek, nor influenced by the Greeks or by Hellenised Romans

1. The Barbarian North-West

Barbarian Europe seems not to have borrowed epigrammatic form from the Romans, probably because of the peculiar performance ethos which surrounds verse in bardic cultures, not to mention the specific uses made of writing in the Dark Age North West. Comparative evidence shows that if it is not always stichic verse that tends to be used in short poetic forms, at least stanzaic verse is rarely dismembered to provide epigram look-alikes. Stanzaic verse strives towards multi-stanzaic verse. The stanza has little form until repeated. Inscribed verse may not have existed in the Roman colonies for barbarians to borrow, as there is no significant genre of epigraphic verse apparent in the Roman Inscriptions of Britain. Isolated stanzas do not appear in the prose sagas of the Irish and the Norse, (along with longer poems) but verse is no more than sporadic on their stones and the poetic inserts in the sagas themselves still seem to be stanzas. Regularly monostanzaic verses found in prosimetric contexts could be called epigram, but their independent status is doubtful in that they have the same form as the stanzas of multi-stanzaic works. Prosimetra are a special case and not likely to have influenced the rise or the perception of "epigram" in any culture which we have investigated. The best candidate for

75 One could not call the inscribed stanzas in *Moltke's corpus typical, though they do indicate, as do the anecdotes in von *See, that bards composed stanza by stanza. The difficulty of the skaldic metres would have suggested this anyway.

76 Triple and pental forms predominate in Japan, independent quatrains and couplets in other cultures, all offer no obvious derivation from longer forms. Arabia, Persia, India, Central Asian Turkic, South East Asian, China, Japan and the Malay world all suggest that independent short forms spring from the brow of Minerva, or at least grow like pearls, rather than being broken off something larger.

77 *Collingwood, in Bibliogr. 1.

78 See, for example, under *Pålsson in Bibl.2, Egil's Saga, in which the verse tends to be more variable in length than I have noticed in the Irish saga literature. See also in Addenda EGISSAGA GRIMSSONAR. Egil was, however, noted as a poet, which may have led to a richer citation style in "his" Saga.

79 See *Elliott and *Moltke.

80 The whole question of "verse in prose" is too large to receive more than passing treatment in this version of our study. It would have to get more attention if it were still our thesis that "epigram" never existed until pressures like that of its constant citation in prose transferred from "citation length" and form some generic reality to short verse in later, forgetful, ages. See de *Moor and Watson for general considerations associated with the difficult search for Semitic literary forms. See fn*103.
barbarian epigram is the older Welsh englyn,\textsuperscript{81} which is often enough conveniently written (nostalgically) about burials, but is never physically placed on graves or indeed inscribed on anything.\textsuperscript{82} And it is not as if the inscribing of standing stones was unknown to the Celts.\textsuperscript{83}

2. The widespread phenomenon of stanzas cited throughout prose texts will not be taken as epigram unless they were somehow epigrams before so being cited. This prudence is all the more advisable for a term which no one has yet satisfactorily defined, and which some take to be indefinable, but which, none-the-less, everyone seems willing to use.

2. Pre-alphabetic written verse

1. The Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic East inscribed their poetry, though in the case of the former particularly it is not easy to recognise poetry from the mere text. There survives no indisputably strict verse from the pre-Muslim period in any Semitic language\textsuperscript{84} and Muslim peoples were long reluctant to inscribe theirs, perhaps for the

\textsuperscript{81} Being extended from three to four lines, it seems, at the beginning of modernity. Developed (quatrain) forms of it have been written by poets in Australia as late as the 19C, but apparently still composed orally, “in the head” (Jenkins). Naturally enough, in periods of classical influence, it “did service” as the vernacular equivalent of the by now extremely prestigious epigram. See Gruffydd WELSH AND RENAISSANCE p.30. To say that englynion were not “true” epigrams begs many questions and ignores the multiformity of epigram over time and its frequent merging and contamination with short oral forms. One thinks of the Polish fraszka, such a vigorous native growth in the land of the liberum veto, unparalleled however in nearby Bohemia and Moravia. To those not steeped in Early modern European literature and also in Welsh, it is a statement based only on the connoisseurship of possibly self-interested parties that the two short forms then had different tendencies and "tastes" to their users, perhaps a different inner dynamic (displayed eventually in different lines of development) based on the differences between an old court society and its self-reinforcing rituals in rural courts, and a transnational urban intelligentsia bent on recovering the Greek past and on remaking contemporary culture in its image.

We agree with *Petzoldt in RLGA that despite the introduction by *Jolles of the “subjective factor” he calls Geistesbeschäftigung into his pioneering genre analysis, modern critics still see his work as stuck in barrenly objective morphological study, with some justification. In his book, despite its depth and its considerable advances over Romantic analysis, the psychological focus which distinguishes superficially similar forms is not given enough weight. It would be interesting to have a Welsh expert detail to us in what precise ways contemporary englyn was not Renaissance epigram.

The earlier type appears in our Addenda: the very ancient Englynion y beddau from the Black Book of Carmarthen.

\textsuperscript{82} See *Evans, *Jenkins and *Williams among our celtica. Also *Diack, *Macalister and *Stewart-Macalister for epigraphy proper.

\textsuperscript{83} We have found one example in Irish saga, in *O’Rahilly, and the “standing stones” of Pictland can be read about in *Diack. See also Addenda. See also a fleeting reference to the bauta stone tradition, under *Snorri.

\textsuperscript{84} It is otiose to dredge up the flourishing bibliography on alleged verse forms in pre-Muslim Semitic languages. See again de *Moor for a partial treatment, which adverts to, but contradicts the general view, once shared with me by the great Chaim Rabin in Jerusalem 1988, — that highly poetic texts like

B. — Comparative Survey
same bardic reasons as the reluctance of the Scandinavians and the Irish. They were by no means reluctant to inscribe, as stones and cliffs from Syria to the Yemen amply testify.

2. A major genre of inscriptions important for the nature and the very survival of western epigram are those on graves. One reason for this is the numerical and cultural importance of funerary monuments in most cultures. It is claimed that the first “cities” were those built for the dead and funerary monuments naturally receive a degree and continuity of attention rarely matched by anything other than temples, and not all postneolithic societies were quick to build monumentally for their gods.

the psalms have no metre, only deliberate rhetoric, parallelism, and heightened literary intent. Contra the minority from Sievers through von *Soden to today's younger Aramaic students, and the “Kampen” school, to which, having diligently read through the Ktuvim (“The Writings”) of the Hebrew Old Testament, for their poetic form, I am belatedly tempted to attach myself. I.e., West Semitic verse has a recognisable and reasonably definable form. As mentioned, this “fact” is still widely contested.

Proverbs, Job and Lamentations give evidence of a clear verse form mirrored in other literatures of the area. Many psalms and the highly poetic Song of Songs are less schematised in stichic structure. Where we cannot easily define the stich or couplet, we may still have clear indications of stanza. The acrostic “poem” looks more like a poem when such an obvious formal structure is seen to have spread from late Aramaic through Iranian and Turki right across Central Asia, see *Zieme and the various works of Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (not in our bibliography), e.g., Hymnen und Gedichte der Religion des Licht..., 1989, a full collection of religious, “versified” Manichaica translated from all the alphabetic scripts of Asia, influenced by Aramaic scribes. Add now to these, *Nitzan, who assumes various loose WS verse forms at Qumran.

Of course, where verse form is loose, it could have been almost as unrecoverable from inscriptions to contemporaries as it is to us, if it occurred in short quotations only. The only way it could ever have been recognised is the case where the short verse citation was recognised as coming from a well-known text, known to be in “verse” because of the way it was typically performed, or because of formal structures impossible to preserve in citation or epigram length, i.e., alphabetic acrostic patterning. In this case it would not favour our interpreting it as “epigram”, as it would have to have been felt as a citation from a longer work (like our one-time interpretation of the Indian subhäshita) and essentially fragmentary.

Other sorts of acrostic patterning (i.e., those based on a name or phrase, not the whole alphabet) might be compatible with poems of epigram length. Shorter (if not short) acrostic poems are not unknown in Egyptian Greek epigraphy, see Bernand PHILAE ROM n° 143 of ten lines of elegiacs, where the first two letters and the last of each line participate in the acrostic — see Peek n° 662, 967, 1185, Kaibel n° 725, 726. Such things were popular in Egypt, see *Graf AKROSTICHIS and H. Leclercq s.v. in Dict. arch. chrét, and they were routine in verse inserts in Byzantine Kanones, see Komines p. 46, 115, etc. They are not uncommon on Latin gravestones: Häusle EINFACHE UND FRÜHE p. 122—

CIL VIII 251 = CE 220, an acrostich in 6 x IambDim
Genitor Iunonem dedicat
Alteque Pompeiae lucat
Levamen hoc doloribus
Lacrimisque pausan credidit.
At nunc videndo iugiter
Et fletum et gemitus integrat.

It is obvious that acrostichs intended to preserve a personal name will be typically short.

Turkic poetry tended to favour initial “rhyme”, actually, initial alliteration, often enough in groups of four lines (*Zieme). Such a quadripartite form opened up the Turkic literatures to genuinely stanzaic verse and potentially, to mono-stanzaic epigram. It may have fed into the literary rubā'it of Persia. See below. One long rupestral inscription from South Yemen seems to preserve an elaborate rhyming poem in Sabaean Semitic. Was inscribed verse as exceptional in Old Arabia as the rarity of this find suggests to us? See *Daum.

B. — Comparative Survey
Tombs often provide the greatest opportunity for epigraphy in a society (certainly the main opportunity for private epigraphy) and, because of their cultural sensitivity, often retain linguistic and literary practices most conservatively over the ages. Thus they can be a major locus for epigraphic continuity and we have laboured long to grasp burial habits worldwide. However, in Babylonia funerary inscriptions meant to be read by those above ground are rare, late, and most atypical. The dead were to rest anonymously and undisturbed. Most types of inscriptions seem to have been documentary or archival. The pious and panegyric cuneiform inscriptions seem to delight in an elevated formulaic prose. Self-referential inscriptions on nail-shaped objects (kak) which are building inscriptions of a special sort seem to be the closest analogues to the Greek prose cousins of early verse graffiti.85

3. In Egypt there is a problem comparing native attitudes to the writing itself as well as separating out a specifically inscribed form of literature because this is a land where the dipinto reigns and painting itself, while long lasting in some climates, should still perhaps be contrasted with inscription, of which Egypt also had a multitude. However, the funeral plaques of Egypt,86 in what is definitely prose, are brief, and inscribed. They remind us of some major themes of the Greek plaques and stelai, their appeals to the passer-by.87 No doubt this stems from common elements in folk religion and in the human situation, rather than implying cultural borrowing in that early literate period when Greeks began to inscribe verse — the 8C and 7C. Asian influence of any closeness would have to have been Phoenician rather than

85 See *Bottéro, *Edzard and Renger, *Kraus, and *Laessøe, in our bibliography, also in Addenda.

86 See the most important article ANRUFEN by *Müller C. See *Assmann, *Gilbert, and *Kaploný for literariness across the enormous cultural distance dividing us from the Middle Kingdom (that of the Nile). See *Haeny, *Martin, *Yoyotte, and even *Schenkel and *Müller M. for architectonica.

87 Plaques were buried in cremation tombs of middle-ranking Japanese for a short period in the +8C. Inscribed funeral plaques, from their conception designed to lie inside tombs, become moderately common about the turn of the +7C into the +8C, precisely when cremation began to spread among the upper classes. There may be a connection between the greater care shown towards commemorating the deceased’s individuality and the new fashion for cremating his body, both in Japan and in Greece, and the move from cremation to tumulus inhumation seems to have gradually extinguished the bautasteinn tradition in the Germanic far North; see RLGA *Beck/Holmquist s.v. Bautastein. Japanese plaques seem to be a borrowing from China and this custom did not take root. Their inscriptions resemble the little we know about those on the much rarer stelai — they identified the deceased and his family: name, title, rank, function, place of residence, date of death or of burial. A few give a more extended cursus honorum. Very few give the biographical or genealogical details familiar to us from Egypt, or the phrases of consolation normal in Chinese inscriptions of this type. Their ritual function is therefore limited, and in fact, tombs soon ceased being a pole of social and religious life (JAPON p. 284). This change, contemporary with the popularising of cremation, seems to have for a while encouraged imitation of a Chinese style of epitaph. Much ink has been spilt (van *Hall, *Andronikos) on the link between the sudden popularity of cremation in Geometric Greece and the contemporary rise (or return) of stelai, soon followed, in the Archaic period, by the first, precocious Greek epitaphs.
Egyptian in that period. Phoenician private epitaphs were definitely not in verse. It is arguable that their kingly inscriptions were also entirely in prose.88

3. Semitic alphabetic (pre-Muslim)

1. The public alphabetic inscriptions and graffiti of the NW, North Arabian and South Arabian groupings are many and ancient, but emphatically in prose.89 Of most interest to students of Greek are the Phoenician remains. They show little that would suggest literary influence from Phoenicia-Canaan to Greece, as the core of the very simple inscription seems totally derivable from the very widespread ritual practices of burial and of donations to the gods, and from the importance of naming.90

2. We find very much the same basic donative inscriptions in India from –3C onwards, less any explicit deixis.91 The differences on the level of phrasing (rather

88 Contra, *Collins KILAMUWA. Let us not confuse poetry and verse.

89 Contra, tentatively, *Noja, OLDEST ARABIC. The “rajaz” verses seen by some in the rare Old Arabic phrase interpolated in Nabataean inscriptions may be even more ghostly than those Hebrew “hexameters” which Jerome saw in the pre-Masoretic Bible. However, *Abdullah’s already-mentioned Himyaritic lines, regular-looking and rhyming, (published in *Daum) must be regular verse.

90 Van *Hall makes much of the impact of a name, which she claims to have been equivalent to that of a portrait, or a statue. Her fifty year old discussion is, like that of Nilsson on the gods of Greece, an excellent example of a search for common (if complex) functions underlying apparently different forms of expression. *Zazoff’s list of the rare verbal inscriptions on inscribed gems makes clear how important the name was to inscription.

91 See the precociously literate Buddhist dedications in our addenda, from Sanchi. Implicit deixis, however, is always likely when a text is specially written on an object and its thesma deals with that same object. Thus genuine grave inscriptions and anathematic inscriptions will always have implicit deictic functions. From what I can understand of Indian inscriptions, the more overt, explicitated types of deixis are foreign to Subcontinental epigraphic habits. For a couple of examples (ignore the deictic supplements added in the translations) see *Krishnan 1989 (?) Bibl.2.

A close search through Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum and Epigraphica Indica has turned up a few deictic words in epigraphic Buddhist Prakrit and one in Sanskrit, but rarely, and only thrice, (one of these in a very late, 10C epigraph), is “this...” used in connection with the movable or architectural object the epigraph is on and which it also refers to, which is the sort of deixis we are thinking of, common in other cultures, including that of nearby Sasanian Iran. Indian epigraphs use (not regularly) “this...” for the time when the gift was made, and much more rarely for a piece of land which a copper grant plate refers to, and on or near which it would have been “archived”: Corp.Inscr.indic. II.1 p. 28, Taxila copper plate year 78, in a long prose inscription: “... atra [de]se Patiko ...”, or, ‘... in this place Patika established...’.

We must give an apparent, followed by two very real exceptions:

Also in the (far NW) Karoshth’ inscriptions of this volume, p. 4, is a Swat, Buddhist “relic vase” of the Meridarch Theodoros:

Thedorena meridarkhena pratithavid(r)a inne šarira šakamunisa bhag(r)avato bahujanastitiye

= “By Theodoros, the meridarch, were established these relics of the Lord Šakyamuni, for the purpose of security of many people”.

It is obvious that the epigraph blends Greek and Buddhist traditions on its 5 inch high steatite vase. Thus, this Afghan/Pakistani find is really only an apparent exception to our generalisation for Indian culture.

B. — Comparative Survey
than content) are of interest. However, native formularies did not have to be borrowed with the letters in which they were recorded, and it is our opinion that the formularies of the Greeks were home grown, arising from the semiotics of the act of burying-memorialising, and of donating-consecrating. It is these functions in West Semitic inscriptive areas which are of more interest than the verbal forms, as Archaic Greek epigram probably shared most of the same functions as the West Semitic and needs to be interpreted quite differently from what later generations have taken it to be. For example, a single verse line on a -7C stone or cliff at Thera is not necessarily parsimonious and “bare”, just as many an ancient list of facts was not as “documentary” as it now reads to us. Bare itemisation can be highly honorific, and certainly is in Chinese epigraphy.

3. Only the NW Semitic materials have any chance of being textually related to early Greek inscriptions which began in the -8C and -7C in the first period of colonisation, the period of pre-epigram. However, any Mediterranean or especially Aegean inscriptions remain of interest for their use of writing, as we have already assumed that there was a large culture area centred on the Mare Nostrum where writing shared very similar functions.

4. Attitudes to writing, and what writing itself was used to say, must affect our interpretation of the earliest inscriptions, and such attitudes seem to be assignable to very broad culture areas such as the Mediterranean littoral, the Subcontinent, or East Asia. It is interesting to find *Moltke attempting to remove the magic and mystery from early runic “speaking” inscriptions. Whether or not he is overreacting, it

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However, perhaps half a millennium later one can find a real exception, in Cunningham MAHABODHI, p. 59, inscription D (Sanskrit) on (and simultaneously referring to) a colossal nirvanah-statue of the Buddha, 400/500 CE: Deya dhammāyam mahā-vihāra chaṁmino Haribalasya Pratimā cha-ayam ghaṭitā Dine ..-mā (?) su (swa)rēna = “This is the meritorious gift of Haribala, the master of the Grand Vihāra, and this image was fashioned by Dine - - Sura.” After this, in the 7/8C at such a famous place, when Buddhism was still apparently thriving, inscriptions do nevertheless dry up for a while.

Finally, Chandra’s Iron Pillar inscription, Gupta period, see further Addenda §27.6: Line 6. — tēn-ayam praṇidhāya bhūṁipatiṁ dhāvēna Vīṣṇu(ḥ shānau) matiṁ praṅsūr- Vīṣṇupadē girau bhagavatō Vīṣṇu-ḥ-dhvajaḥ stāpitah [/] — “having in faith fixed his mind upon (the god) Vīṣṇu, this lofty standard of the divine Vīṣṇu was set up on the hill (called) Vīṣṇupada.” It is to be noted that this sixth and final line has an explicitly demonstrative-deictic word, ayam, referring to the pillar, poetically, the “(lofty) standard”, on which it is inscribed: ayam -dhvajaḥ.

92 P. 81.
reminds us that the Danish state, perhaps arising in creative opposition to the Frankish state, cannot be culturally connected with Mediterranean habits, and that short inscribed poetry in runic form must have quite a different ethos from the one it developed in Latin and Greek.

4. Han culture area

1. Writing was very ancient in China, and while very early it was done with a brush, as in Egypt (the two languages show this etymologically, the Chinese also ideographically), the early mastery of metal working meant that there were many early inscriptions in hard materials. Later ages recognise a specific "bronze script" form of the characters. While at least the "Elegies of Chu" were inscribed early, it seems that poetic inscriptions of a non-documentary nature were rare before the modern era, as were fixed forms of verse. From the approximate regularities of the literatised folk song of the classics, verse oral and brush-written, and then later inscribed) gained in strictness of form up to the Tang, a period taken as paradigmatic of Chinese culture from the next major Dynasty onwards, the Song. Eight line verse became standard, with multiple internal structures.

2. A four line form of verse had long been used, and became prestigious around the Tang period, first in the more standard 5 syllable line, then in the 7 syllable line. All literati tended to write verse, particularly after the inclusion of verse composition in the system of public examinations, and occasional verse seems to have been a

93 The Ch'u Tz'u / Chu Ci: -7C according to long tradition, -600 onwards according to Burton Watson in 1962, EARLY CHINESE LITERATURE p.229, -3C according to conclusive "recent research" as mentioned well before him by Payne 1949 (?), WHITE PONY p.113 where the recoverable 40% or so of the 700 original characters is translated. They were found about 600 CE in Southern Shensi, and removed to Peking in 1126 (for which see *McNair), where they are now preserved in the Confucian temple, incidentally revealing how early the Chinese developed their taste for antiquarianism. The tone of these "Elegies" is more lyric than heroic. The original order of the ten drums and thus of their texts is no longer discernible.

94 Specifically, the examinations intended to open high official positions to minor and non-Capital gentry, the Chin-shii / Jin-shi: Owen HIGH TANG p. 5, quoting (p.320, n°) from Wang Ting-pao / Wang Ding-bao, 1964, a decree of 680 CE. Not long after this a decree of Hsüan-tsung / Xuan-zong, of 722 CE, was directed against the large entourages of old families of imperial princes. This closed off one sort of patronage, and thus of taste, but helped spread serious poetry writing ever more widely among the ambitious, and even the merely cultivated scions of non-aristocratic families. See passim in *Ching for examples of non-ambitious literati capable of taking the exams, and thus of some valuing of literary culture for its own sake.
normal and almost unbroken practice up to our century, spreading downwards to a considerable extent through society, like most aspects of Han high culture.95

3. We can see that the omnipresence of verse in any culture tends to make short verse somewhat banal but not necessarily a completely automatic and empty gesture. However, strict, "bound" forms of the shortest compass seem to have always had a special "resonance" in Greek tradition.

4. In China it seems that the shortest recognisable verse form, the *couplet* of 5 or 7 character lines (characters = syllables, and practically, "words" in classical Chinese), was freely written and very freely inscribed, but it was never a prestigious literary form in its own right like the quatrain, which in its turn seems not to have been much inscribed. Thus the Chinese inscribed what Persians would have called *fard* or *qifa*, fragment, on the prominent parts of their formal gardens, their door posts and street arches,96 without such verses being anything more than fragments. Certainly, we have not found couplets treated in Chinese literary histories. Nor do they appear in well-known anthologies accessible to me.

5. When prestige Chinese poetry was inscribed, it was as much for the calligraphy as the wording, and from at least the Song (a period of antiquarianism), scenic spots were commonly graced with stone replicas of the calligraphy of famous poets from which rubbings or inkings could be made. That the Japanese followed this habit is apparent from one of Hokusai’s prints,97 which shows just such a stele at Asokayama near Edo.

6. Given the general concision of Chinese classical style and the fairly rigid forms which became canonised by the Tang, most non-narrative Chinese book poetry could also be called epigrammatic. Poetic style in the shorter forms more and more omitted the verbs, becoming noun-based and imagistic. Most poetry in many periods

95 For example, funerary (rather than burial) practices and the an-iconographic "spirit tablets" as representatives of the deceased, containing only their bare name. See *Watson and Rawski, 1988 DEATH RITUAL passim, esp from p.16 onwards.

96 *Ching and *British Museum. I believe that traditional couplets adorned the paper gifts of Chinese New Year, this one (sc. mid-1995 perspective) being "of the Pig". See COUPLETs in Addenda, based on tentative submissions of an anonymous Chinese-Australian.

97 Tōto shōkei ichiran, Fine views of the Eastern Capital at a Glance' Edo 1800, in *Brown 1988 p.39-41. This large stone "still stands today", an important thing to be able to say about monuments. K.-J. Kampmark notes: "This practice is still alive and well in Japan. I personally know of a club which promotes this activity, telling its members where to find what inscriptions."
was “occasional”, bringing it close to what is generally thought to be epigram. The Chinese quatrain is epigrammatic also in a structural sense. It often strives for “closure” (of various sorts, not only Western “point”) in the last line, about which see our extracts of Owen’s HIGH TANG.

7. However, there is no prestige form of Chinese poetry specifically associated with inscriptions.

8. Despite the problem we find in separating their dipinti and graffiti, the Chinese did have a rich tradition of *epigraphy* on stone, bronze and wood. But Japanese and Chinese short forms tend to the condition of the imagistic or evocative vignette. Their attempt to suggest the most evanescent impressions and ideas situates the book poetry of the Chinese at quite a distance from Western epigram. It is based on quite a different philosophy and esthetic from even medieval and modern Platonism. European book epigram does not typically combine subjective expressivity with imagist description in a context of rather mystical philosophy and aesthetics, certainly not the *ἐπιγραμματείον* of Byzantine tradition or of Baroque vernacular piety. The Western sort is a “poetry of objects” in quite a different sense. Such poems cherish, for their own sakes, objects thrown up by history. They do not use object or scene as a pretext to penetrate to a mystical realm in which self and world may merge.

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98 *Komines. See perhaps HOSPER PELEKAN in Romanos? Neumann 1976 p. 2 goes to considerable lengths to contrast epigram with aphorism:

...das Epigram steht bis zum 20. Jahrhundert in einer sonst beinahe beispiellosen Tradition, es besitzt feste, aus der Antike ableitbare Gattungs normen, deren Bestand zwar unablässig angefochten wurde, aber eben darum zugleich etablierend sich auswirkte; es bedient sich bewusst und ausdrücklich bestimmter rhetorischer Mittel zur Erreichung seiner Absichten und steht in einer streng definierten „Haltung“ zur Wirklichkeit; es macht sich in eigentümlicher Weise das „Typische“ zunutze, als Form satirisch-verdeckten Angriffs einerseits; es verfügt über ein ganz besonderes, vom „eigentlichen“ Wesen des gemeinten „Gegenstandes“ her nie in Frage gestelltes Figuren-, Themen- und Objectreservoir (das sich /p.3 mit dem der Komödie berührt); seine Stoßrichtung geht nicht auf Erkenntnis eines bislang nicht Bemerkten oder auf die individuelle Nuance, sondern eher auf die Vervollkommnung der Kunst, ds „Altbekannte“ neu zu sagen und Überraschend zu pointieren, und zwar gewissermaßen im Wettstreit mit anderen Autoren der Gattungsgeschichte; zwei zentrale Bestimmungen des Aphorismus, zum einen seine vielfach komplizierte Bezuglichkeit auf das Ich des Autors und dessen unverwechselbare geistige Individualität, zum anderen sein denkexperimenteller Charakter, fehlen dem Epigramm ganz; auch in den Bereich der Moralistik gehört das typenpsychologischen, literarischen Traditionen weit mehr als der „Beobachtung“ verpflichtete Epigramm nur bedingt...

B. — Comparative Survey
5. **Japanese**

1. Japanese poetry is even further from our reach. From *Ueda and *Jin'ichi, consistent with the influence of esoteric Zen on Japanese art (to which poetry is so often linked) and from *Brown, *Menzies, and *Tokue, it seems that Japanese poetry was even more determinedly evanescent and rejecting of external form than its continental parent.

2. A brief period of sinicising Japanese funerary epigraphy was dry and curt. In the pre-Buddhist period of the great tombs (like those still visible from Osaka airport), burials were flamboyant, in almost an Egyptian or European Celtic style, and inscriptions of a sort are found, a few on stone stelai and plaques, but mostly the *kinseki bun (*Hiraga) and *mokkan (*Kano). Japanese also wrote evocative death and burial poetry which has survived in MS. However, its genre (or, which is the same thing, contemporary social etiquette) seemed antipathetic to funeral verse being “inscribed”, even if any writing on slips of wood is classed as “inscribing”. Nor is anything preserved on the few inscribed stone remains which would seem consistent with poetic afflatus or the expression of human feeling. It is their modern tendency to combine short poems with paintings and book art, one poem per picture, which brings the short poems of the Japanese closer to the long-lived ecphrastic epigram of the West. See JAPANESE ILLUSTRATION in our Addenda for materials and a sketchy discussion which effectively denies to Japan the “epigram” assumed for it by Pfohl and by other tentative comparativisers in our classical mainstream.

6. **Subcontinental**

1. Epigraphy in India is also old, but the Subcontinent makes up a culture area where the book has quite a different role than it had in China. Canonical oral tradition, as in Ireland, long retained major prestige. Not that the myriad courts (many of them as itinerant as those of medieval England) did not write and make

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99 Much used in *Macé for reconstructing ancient burial customs, and accessible in the Manyoshu: stelai and funerary plaques (mainly of the +8C, see p. 95, some few are actually dated) p. 123–127, and p. 281–284, notes p. 294; p. 133–138 and n° p. 169, the funerary poem of the Manyoshu, called *banka, may have had efficacious power at the beginnings of its evolution, see also also tanka and *chō-ka (short poems, long poems = *tan-ka, also naga-uta, “long songs”); p. 49 “In Kudara and Shiragi the family will not look upon the corpse” (this in Korea, however); p. 79 funerary plaque in the tomb indicates a secondary burial after open-air cremation; p. 108, naming the corpse or *kabane, was a ritual element in burial, but was orally done; p. 127 lamentations and *éloges funéraires; p. 246 the “mountain tomb” closely connected with real mountains in poetic imagery and shape, and (p.255) Taika's largest tomb was 7 days' work for 1,000 workers. See a quite different emphasis on man-hours in the Archaic Greek epitaph CEG 139, still standing at Troezen: ...κεραμεον ἐξετέλεσαν. Measurement by man hours also in Plato's Laws and in the philosophical works of Cicero. See Addenda under *Classical.

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archives, but in times of confusion there was less emphasis on books than one might have expected, and there was almost no native tradition of antiquarianism as we understand it. For this, Bharata and Tamil-land had to wait for the writing and archiving Muslims, and the Classically trained Germans, French and English.

2. Poetry has long been much favoured in India, and seemingly more and more so from the turn of the Christian Era. Is this cult of cultivation a universal tendency of court culture especially where — see *Kowalski/McCallum, the life of the Buddha and many an anglo-Indian novel — there is typically a rapid drop off in comfort and conspicuous display from the palace to the nearby hovels? Court culture is suspected of generating the elusive poetry of the ancient Fertile Crescent, see de *Moor.

3. By “medieval” times, which in India we might better call early modern, the cult of verse had reached almost Persian proportions (for which Persia could have been partly responsible) and verse is found everywhere, on many a stone and many a copper plate. Art objects are heavily inscribed at various periods, but rarely, it would seem, in verse. Verse occurs more and more commonly in prose documents of many dynasties and can overwhelm the prose.

100 Tibet and Kashmir have fine annals. See: Tucci, Richardson, and Addenda Studies in Indian Epigraphy, Vol. 7 (Deambi) for Kalhana.

101 Tibetan antiquarianism seems to rely more on Chinese tradition, Kashmiri antiquarianism on an elite Muslim tradition. See the 18C Lama whose works preserve the texts of inscriptions now neglected and very damaged, the Ka-Thog Lama Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu, for which see Richardson’s A Tibetan Antiquarian of the XVIIIth Century in Sikkim Bulletin of Theology IV (1967), mentioned in his TIBETAN INSCRIPTIONS. Also Kal Deambi in INDIAN EPIGRAPHY vol.8 1981 p.39–43 (See addenda under *Indian — Indian epigraphy) on Kalhana’s carefully sourced Kashmiri Chronicle, a remarkable flowering of the Indo-Islamic tradition (much underestimated) of contemporary historiography. However, much of our impression of a Hindu distrust of the book (no one has accused Buddhists of this!) may be exaggerated by taking too olympian a view of subcontinental history. For many generations individual Hindu kingdoms may have felt that they did have an archiving and antiquarian culture (hence all those copper plate grants, and the large inscriptions in temples such as those of Vijayanagar), but chaotic interregna may not have allowed such traditions to be continuous, and it is certainly true that for the great classical texts, mnemotechnic methods of preservation seem to have played a larger part than they did in the West since Plato, and in the Arab world since the Abbasids. It is significant that the great tradition of Indian linguistics, influential on the writing systems of Japan and of Ethiopia and on the linguistic consciousness of at least Tang China, probably owes the quality of its phonetics to early and continuing independence from the written letter. See *Mishra, SANSKRIT PHONETICS 1972.


103 Verse in prose generally, including Indian: Bazin, Filliozat, de Moor, Renou, Tibbetts, Rypka in medio, Regel & Novosadski, Sarma, Smoor.

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4. There is also a tradition of small genres in India, in long couplets, which tend to break apart at their internal caesurae into quatrains. The most common metre falls into four padas of an equal number of syllables. These are written and oral. As in older Greece, the difference is not great, with palm-leaf texts presumably functioning as prompt texts or performance scripts. Such poems are not to my knowledge ever inscribed, despite the title of *Diskalkar's article. It is more difficult for us than it was for *Renou or even *Sternbach to characterise these omnipresent little poems, called subhāṣīta-s in the oral tradition, (Sanskrit plural subhāṣītāni). They seem to have been typical of the period when fine (court) literature was still common in Prakrit, i.e., the first Christian millennium. Since then many have been linked into what may be considered single long poems such as the *Kural (in Tamil) the Buddhist *Dhammapada (Pali) or the Maharashtrian Sattasaī which or have been considered as beautiful fragments from longer poems which are felt as “original” and prior to the short poems. Like much oriental and Western bardic poetry, fine literature in Sanskrit tends to be structured loosely, the infamous “pearls on a string” pattern, and thus its beautiful verses are eminently detachable. So of course were those of many western “Classical” poems, particularly works of the Silver Age. Many subhāṣītāni are gnomic, others are lyric or technically mnemonic, as were many verses in the Latin Middle Ages still poorly studied by scholars. Poems in medieval Sanskrit often

104 The “Subhasitas” of his Subhasitas in inscriptions are merely gnomes, in prose. For Subhas(h)ita: native anthologies by *Harikavi, *Iyer, *Jha; various crucial works by *Sternbach and the mega- (= Mahā-) anthology (about half finished at his death), and a native anthology, updated, our main source of information about anthology form, by *Vallabhađeva and later editors. Comments by *Renou, Renou and Sternbach tend to study short poetry as Oikonomides, Boas and Sellheim study Greek, Late Latin and Arabic gnomic fragments or short texts. Sternbach collects all three groups under the one head of “subhasita”: i.e., the gnomic, the mnemonic, and, the ones which most interest us and may be the least typical, being discoverably fragments, the lyric “pretty bits”. So did my own Pundit, Mr. Dhupkar, past secretary of the traditionalist Tilak Society and a life-long participant in Sanskrit literature, as I sat incorrectly at his knees, (rather than at his feet) during 1988 in Pune.

105 “Indian” literature is only beginning to be studied regardless of language type, (*Warder Indian Kavya Literature I – VI boasts of initiating and pursuing this project) a type of achievement which still seems beyond the strength of most European historians working in their own “national” literatures and certainly is beyond the mental strength of “multicultural” Australia. Historians of the “literatures” of older states generally leave out the boring, trivial, repellent or “international” Latin literature which was the seed bed for much that grew alongside it in the vernaculars. For the legendary and easily available Kural see *Rajagopalachari, *Sanjeevi, *Sreenivasan, and *Tiruvallavar. My edition of the Dhammapāda, endlessly reprinted, is that of *Buddharakkhita. The *Sattasaı is more difficult, being on the borders of Tamil, Prakrit and Sanskrit literary history. See *Hart and *Mirashi, and *Zvelebil The Poets of the Powers. See now *Zvelebil's Lexicon of Tamil Literature, in the Avant-propos, and ssv. inscriptive poetry; Tirukkural.

106 Guessable from the medieval fragments we have turned up here and there and from the appropriate sub-headings of the chapters of *Manitius and *Groβer. It must be noted, for India and for Medieval Europe, how close devotional verse was to scholastic and mnemonic verse. For typical examples see *Ziolkowsky for some recently published Merk-verse of Nigel of Canterbury, and the verse on the order of the stations of the Cross in Jerusalem in what we have extracted from *Baldi.
change metres every "verse" or long couplet, which as we noted comes closer to a quatrain if the lines are long, as they typically are in the lyric metres. Thus the Subhashita may be short merely by virtue of its being the minimal quotable "fine line". If so, it would provide one shadowy example of the strengthening of genre which short poetry may be awarded world-wide by accidentally coinciding with "convenient quotation length".

5. Yet they also float around unattributed in the oral tradition in their tens of thousands, with every appearance of being independent texts. We have also found self-referentiality in some. See Addenda for *Parab's Subhāśīta-ratna-Bhāṇḍāgāra. This is a conclusive argument for a strong sense of genre.

6. What I learned to call "subhāśīta" while studying in India and have long thought to be independent texts may, in the minds of scholars, have indeed retained the air of being fragments. Sternbach has been able to identify the sources of many of them and to suggest sources for others. However, this must not have been the case for the majority, either of the poems, or of their connoisseurs.

7. Given the split personality of the subhāśīta, it is not easy to claim for the whole tradition the required status of independent texts.

8. It may well be, as van Gelder has usefully emphasised, that the mode of existence of "the work" is fatally misconstrued by Western students of Asia. A fragment to us may not have seemed so fragmentary to the Indians. Nor are the short Indian poems taken as subhāśītāni never inscribed, and indeed, Indian poetic epigraphy tends to great length and copiousness in every way. There does survive a prestigious 6 line verse inscription on an iron column for a Chandra (sometimes thought to be Chandragupta II Vikramaditya, fl. 400CE), but this is in the common long metre called Sārdūlavikrīdīta, and thus is not as short as any term like sixain might suggest.

9. I have failed to find a consistent practice of inscribing short poetry of any sort in India, and our Australian collections of Indian epigraphy seem to be sufficiently

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107 p.208, in fine.

108 Through searching all the epigraphic primary materials available in the National Library Canberra. The most suitable synthetic work I could find (*Dani is of little help), was Arati *Mitra Origin and Development of Sanskrit Metrics Calcutta 1989, (INDIAN WALLS REVISITED), which has a dozen

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rich for us to make the general claim that non-Muslim India had no tradition of short inscribed poems, other than as inserts into prose texts or conclusions to such, colophonic or imprecatory. And while poetry was more and more lavishly inscribed as centuries rolled on, I know of no kāvyā literature which copies any specifically inscriptions. Stone poetry seems merely to parallel preexisting oral forms and those of palm-leaf MS mahākāvyā and praśasti.109

10. There was an age-old practice of giving ownership documents or tax exemptions or grants of money to the interested parties on portable (and buriable) copper plates, it would seem that there were many text types in India felt to be primarily inscriptions. Some were also typically inscribed on temple walls. Given the inscriptions culture of the Subcontinent, it is significant that no poetic form appears to have been primarily inscriptions.

11. Despite the myriad short forms to be found in India, its seas of poetry and its rich epigraphy, the Indian subcontinent can be denied epigram if our idea of this form has to follow the Greek tradition and require a genre which merges (brief) non-epigraphic poetry with the epigraphic, both part-genres retaining some traces of their native origins, but freely overstepping the boundary between them. Both deixis (extra-linguistic referentiality) and self-referentiality make literary classification easier for us when we meet wandering Greek texts in books. Such tactics are absent on pages on early epigraphic “verse”, but much of it is dubiously analysed. His treatment does not suggest that isolated verses or half verses were commonly inscribed free-standing in the early period, or perhaps, assumes that the fact of verse in inscriptions is not worth noting. Metrical studies in India seem slow to cast off the prescriptions of later manuals, so painfully acquired and appropriated in the course of traditional Sanskrit learning, and used throughout life for writing verse. The half verse in apparently clear Āryā metre on the coin of Kacha (p.217) is of interest to us in our pursuit of verse on gems, seals, medallions and coins, also for our reading of long Indian couplets (“verses”) as really (not just theoretically) quadripartite in form.

EP.IND. (from the library of J. Darmsteter, donated to him by the Govt. Ind. Dept. of Revenue and Agriculture), p.369 ff., second series of Inscriptions from Sanchi. Of interest to us are the three “later” inscriptions on the bases of statues at this shrine, the third of which is made up of a single “verse”: Inscription 1. Kushana 78: 2. 8/9C letters, text features the very commonly inscribed Buddhist creed; 3. 9/10C Nagari letters, what was originally apparently a single Śradghārā verse, ("verse" here = couplet) “of which only 2 paddas (i.e., half of it) are at present completely legible”. Thus verse, and short verse, as one would expect in that case, was used on some Buddhist anathematic art objects. I have failed to date or to quantify this Indian habit.

See also *Plant’s ARABIC COINS.

109 Buddhist traditions might prove a happier hunting ground, as Buddhists commonly made archival copies of the more sacred texts on gold leaf (IMAGES OF SRI LANKA) or monumental stone. However, the texts they typically inscribed stand every chance of being limited in nature (major canonical texts and prayers), and thus, highly repetitive and non-literary.

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from the surface statements of Indian donative inscriptions, and anathematica are not found in verse at any period of the great Buddhist site at Sanchi.¹¹⁰

12. Given the burial practices most common in India, there are practically no epitaphs to be found there either,¹¹¹ and we have suspected that the sobriety and decorum of the grave situation may have been an influence on the formation of Greek epigram, as well as the commonness of inscribed graves providing an extensive and trans-secular opportunity for the writing and the reading of epitaphic poetry, one which at least made for continuities in the phenomena, if not explaining all the Greek genres' specific characteristics.

7. Early Arab and Muslim

1. The Arabs of the "Times of Ignorance" are the only people other than the Indians and the Greeks to have developed strictly quantitative poetry, as their Muslim offspring were the only non Indo-European culture to elaborate an independent linguistic theory.

2. I am not yet ready to suggest that quantitative verse is one of the triggers of the development of epigram.

3. They also had a formulaic literary prose quite distinct from the "prose" of everyday life, and rather more incantatory and less deliberate than the prose of Greek rhetorical display, the saj.¹¹² Thus, like the Greeks, they had a tripartite division of

¹¹⁰ At Sanchi, a prestige site which preserves inscribed offerings (architectural) from over 1,200 years, the inscribed anathematic inscriptions collected in C.I.Indic. and Ep. Indic. are in Prakrit prose. We will mention this major site several times more under a variety of aspects. See Addenda under INDIAN, SANCHI DONATIVE... for a selection of the texts.

¹¹¹ Though the law books surveyed by the incomparable polymath *Kane did tend to shake our generalisation somewhat (about the absence of permanent Indian graves), he confirmed our suspicions about epitaphs by his lack of (comment on) grave inscriptions. By contrast, the Chinese Codes are quite explicit on epitaphs from their very inception, as are Plato's Laws. See in Addenda CHINESE-JAPANESE LAW CODES. *Hart suggested to us that Tamilnadu was somewhat different, and then we found *Sontheimer's collection on Memorial Stones, where it is obvious that before the 1970s Indian archaeology ignored a whole, traditional, nation-wide corpus of funerary monument. Could it be that western influence from *Arrian (cf. the p. 1113 Tusculum ed. commentary) caused some of this blindness? See Addenda for Arrian extracts.

¹¹² That this difference preceded the Qur'an is indicated by the twin offices of tribal poet and tribal speaker, the KHAtb, see *Pederson. As regards quantitative verse and its consequences for the length and form or poems, it is perhaps significant that unrhymed verse is recognisable in the single stich, and even part stich, particularly if it is quantitative. Rhymed verse must usually extend to a couplet to possess clear poetic form.
the "literary". Poets held an honoured position in Pagan society, as did speakers in heightened prose and the saj, in fact, a pair of such spokesmen featured prominently in the lengthy verbal exchanges which, very much as in Aboriginal Australia and PNG, precede tribal fighting. The fame of one's poets remains as important in Muslim society as the reputation of one's warriors, horses, camels and women. We have noted that despite the formal and informal epigraphy long common in pagan Arabia and its surrounds, we have less indication that poetry was inscribed any more there than it was in Scandinavia or Ireland. Islam brought the literary focus on saj-like language, because the Qur'an is written in this general style (while being by definition unique, if variously so), and both music and the traditional poetry were somewhat downgraded.

4. Cultural pressures quickly led to a "baptising" of the old poetry as a guide to the interpretation of the Qur'an. The real motives probably lie in the ongoing passion for poetry which has remained part of all Muslim cultures and which no suspicions or strictures could extinguish. In this it is like the building of above-ground tombs, more or less forbidden in the law codes, yet more and more practiced. The more successful prohibitions against iconic art of many kinds also must have helped emphasise the verbal element of culture, as of course they may originally have sprung from a preference for the verbal.

5. Like most Semitic religions, Islam quickly sought for itself the validation of writing. The new creed spawned an intensely literate group of cultures, though their literacy came in modes different from our own. Muslims wrote indefatigably, though they also retained excellent memories, and the great Akbar could be both educated and illiterate as late as the 16C. They quickly turned to epigraphy, though public epigraphy of a political nature does not survive from before the Abbasids, and Abbasid public epigraphy survives often on banners and textiles, hardly typical surfaces for what we call inscriptions. The very concept of epigraphy in a culture

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113 I have read of stories that the pre-Muslim Ka'aba had its walls hung with inscribed (lettered) drapes. Traditional scholars take this very lightly. There is also what is (in?)effectively a counter tradition that there were 17 fully literate Arabs (able to write) in the major centre of Mecca in Muhammad's time.

114 *Tritton, *Ali and *Rogers and references, in Bibliography annotations. This is rather similar to the western Christian ban on burials inside churches, which it took mid-modern concerns (for a return to simplicity, and fear of infection in growing industrial cities), to have, very belatedly, respected. See *Benrimo CAMPOSANTOS, and works on medieval western burial (findable through BURIAL in BIBLIOGRAPHIC CATEGORIES).

115 *Bierman, see Bibliography annotations. Also, more generally, *Golombek.
which delighted in imitating the forms of one surface on that of another, and where the ceramic tile became the common base for the most prestigious inscriptions is a difficult one to delineate. As in China, inscriptive writing in Islam imitated that done freehand with pen or brush. A form which was undoubtedly inscriptive in its origins (Kufic) was used in MSS as a prestige option. However, a Qurʾān is more decorative and archaising than it is inscriptive by being done in Kufic letters.

6. The extensive transfer of craft genres, taking a form designed for one surface or material and convincingly imitating this effect in a different material, complicates the definition of inscription, graffito and dipinto. However it does not completely destroy the reality of genres clearly designed for one material or one type of surface, always preserving signs of such an origin.

7. All this, of course, becomes relevant only on the assumption that “support”, the surface inscribed, and the characteristics of and social attitudes to such surfaces are a part of the birth of epigram, of its interpretation at various times, of some a-temporal “deep and simple form”, or all these at once.

8. Suffice to say at this stage that monumental inscriptions and incised private inscriptions on stone abound from all around the Muslim world. Here we must anticipate our Persian materials to some extent, as interactions between the two culture areas were so intimate.

9. Early investigations suggested a strong Arab antipathy to inscribed verse, e.g., Herzfeld MCIA I,1, (we have called it more conveniently MCIA 2, because of the confused state of the proper numeration). This presents a corpus limited to Aleppo. Taking this corpus as typical of the earlier periods, and wide ranging, since it did not confine itself to epitaphs only, we found just one verse in the 119 inscr. of Vol. 1, and only one in the 163 inscr. of Vol. 2. Thus, 2 out of 282, 0.7%, allowing even for the likelihood of our missing some. I am a shaky Arabist.

10. Increasingly, however, and from the 9C CE, we began to find verse on Arabic epitaphs,116 and there is an explosion of verse after the Ottoman conquest in the 16C.

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116 See *Schneider, *Moaz, *Gaube, *Kalus, *Hanaway, *Blair, *Lévi-Provençal. Sporadic and placed late in the epitaph, i.e., 15% on Dahlak 9C–12C, peaking in the later 12C; 64% at old Zafar, 13C–16C, in the Yemen; hardly appearing from 11C–16C in the major cemetery of old Damascus, just 3%, with spectacular non-epitaphic explosions in Granada and the very Far Eastern provinces. In Gaube’s selection of not previously published Syrian epigraphs (plus epigraphs published only in Arabic works) our interpretation of the figures might have been complicated by his acceptance of

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On consistently Arabic stelai at least, (formulaic Arabic often preceded and followed Persian or Turanian texts in later times) the verse seems to remain subordinate, or at least it is exceptional for verse to predominate or even to begin the text. There is a formulary for Muslim epitaphs which consists primarily of Qur'anic or Hadithic dicta (which have to be in Arabic), repeated ad nauseam,\(^{117}\) and documentary material. Sometimes there is a freer section for expressions of piety and of grief. Only in the far East of Iran and in the far West in Sicily and Grenada did I find much monumental poetic epigraphy in Arabic. Only in areas in contact with Romance, native Persian or Turkic traditions do we find wholly poetic epitaphs, and these tend to be quite a late development, notably of the Ottoman 16C. Thus there seems to be a fair amount of inscribed poetry, but no poetry typically designed for inscribing.

11. Greek epigram was a form adapted for inscribing. It does not seem to have been one essentially adapted to making ritual poetic contributions in the archaic symposium, for instance. It is often enough taken as the first European (written) literature, and most likely is.
1. Muslim book-epigram?

1. Does epigrammatic poetry, then, survive from the Muslim "book" tradition? The question is difficult to answer from available evidence and may be too ethnocentric to be worth asking. The separability of the Arabic line or bayt is legendary and the same applies to the "passage", variously: gharad (theme, genre, even monothematic shorter poem), *qit'a (semi-independent monothematic quotation or even "whole" short poem, as the 9 line qit'a (of p.155/6 van Gelder, the most modern and most accessible guide in these things), and many words which may, in certain authors, be translated "passage": jiha, maqṣad, fasl, all these from the one Muslim author! It is normal to find one or a few lines interspersed in prose contexts, a practice not confined to the Muslims of course. Of itself such insertion does not constitute a poetic short genre, but it may help the birth of one.

2. Editions and citations of early poetry indicate by their variety of the order of lines and variety of length of poem that the model poem for all of Arab culture was oral, additive and open ended — not a closed form or a set text. "Improvised" music is of course somewhat like this, where recognisably the "same" work of traditional Arab music today has an equally stable name undisturbed by all the variations of performance. Typical and original Arabic poetry was also stichic, not stanzaic, and eminently excerptable in single lines because it was so strongly end-stopped (except for occasional playful uses of the "fault" of enjambment).

118 Van Gelder p. 192, esp. n° 246 usefully summarises Arab prescriptions, which vary in their urgency but not in their general agreement that a line should be self contained. Again, *Kowalski.

119 Van Gelder p.183.

120 E.g., van Gelder p. 76 n° 40 and p.81, body text. Also Abbott 1972, in which there is papyrus evidence for the variability of lines between an early unofficial version to those of the now official divan. Suggestions are there given as to the place in transmission of the memoriser and the official reader of well known Arab poets. See *Kurpershoek's ad-Dīndan for complete stability of the oral text over long periods, as long as the originator was its reciter. Presumably, a serious "rembrancer" or "reciter" (not the poet himself) would also maintain even a jumbled text in the right order and without shortening, though he might sometimes recite only selections from the whole. But once the poem spread more widely, one would suspect that its order, and its length, would not be so respected at the majlis, or in MS.

121 Van Gelder p. 79. While improvisation can occur anywhere, it was typical of the old, rough, *RAJAZ metre. This reminds us that the qaṣīda was an immensely élitist poetic form in a culture area still much given to extreme, pre-modern styles of dignifying a literary language and literary forms, freezing them, and ignoring more mundane styles of expression, while still having to use the latter in ordinary life. Under this apparently hegemonic cultural patina, and now largely lost from the records, lay all sorts of more popular poeticising. See through Bibl. Cats. JĀZĀ/TAMLĪT, IRTIJĀL, and of course RAJAZ.

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3. The major writers to discuss poetry typically quote impressive lines, even much shorter units, and only more rarely groups of lines, and these collections of lines may not correspond with the combination found in surviving divans. Whole poems are very rarely quoted in discussions, and passages “from” them are cited without any indication whether there was any more to the poem. Short poems are indeed referred to in quotation or discussion and they occur in divans, but each example can usually be suspected of being a fragment, broken off by excerptors of “fine lines”. Were any consciously composed as “fragment”? This would make it even more difficult for us to separate the status of qiṭ'a from that of “whole poem”.

4. Like many an idea from one field, this is now applied to late Latin/Greek poetry by M. Roberts. Arabs were obviously not concerned with this question. They wrote in a cultural context where semi-independent lines and sections of poems were long treated as a more important sort of unit than the “poem”. This is rather like some “receptions” of some Indian subhasita, where the poetic gem seems more important than the jumble bag of the originating poem. Indeed, it is useful to plunge more deeply than is usual into “reader criticism” and to enquire with van Gelder whether this highlighting of sections and of fragments is not the manner in which even a good contemporary reader (not just an auditor-participant in oral literature) actually enjoys a text, not giving equal attention to all the text, nor “simultaneously possessing” it in any effective way.

5. Nevertheless, western scholars constantly allude to “epigram” in Arab poetry. We are not inclined to agree with them on the level of the single line, though the Arab metrical line, like that of many Indian metres, is remarkably long by world standards. It is also the case, as we have repeated already, that the status of a

122 LATER ART AND POETRY p.58.

123 Suggested in van Gelder p.196. Arab literary discussion constantly suggests this, and the overwhelming practice of anthologies (van Gelder p.166 bottom) is another good guide to Muslim literary taste. Anthologies predominantly present fragments, sections, passages, which (given the extreme separability of the line) we can recognise to be such only if fuller versions are preserved in each poet’s divan. Muslims of some periods would have had many such “full poems”, in one or other canonical version, off by heart, and they would then have been aware of the incomplete nature of much mainstream anthologised material. Such an awareness is easily lost through time.

124 P.199–201.

125 This judgement was even expressed by medieval native commentators, van Gelder p. 123, e.g., in the course of an argument justifying why enjambment was felt, and proscribed, as a “fault”. Significantly, even the caesura was pretty strictly observed.

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"whole poem" and its sub-parts is a lowly one in the hierarchy extending from the expression and the line up to the universe of all Arab poetry. It seems that many short passages are likely to be finished poems, that some poetic types were often short and monothematic, and that some poets were well known for writing short poems, whatever status these may have been given by later theorists.

6. The last argument is the most powerful for the existence of some sort of Arab epigram. Let us mention the most prominent names: Abü 'l-Muhawwish, an early but an Islamic poet, felt the need to justify why he wrote in *hijā' form, that is, invective poems, rather than odes. The former were obviously short, as his justification was that most memorable passages were usually one liners. Al-A'sha, and other early poets, seem to have used the word qaš̱da in the sense of "epigrammatic poem". Al-Jāḥiz preferred spontaneous poems, which are mostly short, and praised *al-Farazdaq for his short poems and denied the claim of al-Kumayt that a poet who can make good long poems is therefore also capable of producing good short ones. All these come from the very early centuries of Islam. From the 9C Khalīd Ibn Yazīḍ al-kātib was advised not to advance from the making of "qiṭa-'s to the longer qaš̱da as he would run out of poetic inspiration writing at the greater length. Ibn al-Mu'tazz was revered as the master of the qiṭa, which term seems rephrased by van Gelder and modern critics as "short epigrammatic or 'ecphrastic' poem". The Aristotelian Ibn Rushd (Averroes) agreed that some Arab poets excelled in short poems and short qaš̱das, "those that are by us called muqatta'āt" (i.e., like the related word qiṭa, "cut down" or "cut up" poems). In the 9C the qaš̱da tended to break up anyway into its

126 Say about ten-line units, an approximation derived from modern attempts to study the psychology of the writing process and observations of Arab texts. We must beware of Arab prescription here, which, as often, does not closely match practice. Van Gelder noted recommended minimum lengths for some prestige "qaš̱da" as: 7 lines, 20 lines, 16, 15, and even 3 lines, while even many non-acrostic poems are noted as tacitly keeping to the length of the extended Arab alphabet, i.e., with the last letter being lam-alif, see van Gelder p. 113, and EI2 sub vocibus kāsīda, marthiya. See Addenda.

127 Van Gelder p.25.

128 Though the absence of his signalled note n° 44 confuses van Gelder's text on p.28.

129 Van Gelder p.40.

130 Van Gelder p.111.

131 Van Gelder p.66.

132 p.136/7.

133 Van Gelder p.169.
alleged traditional “parts”, and “descriptive poetry became independent in the form of 'ecphrastic epigrams'... Miniature poems...”.

Even when it [a qasīda] is not polythematic, [it] tends to be a collection of self-contained bon-mots and conceits within a broad thematic register.

7. Apart from the “genres”, “themes”, “passages”, “sections” classed as essentially part of the prestige form, but separable in various ways, other types of poetry were mentioned as being wholes, and also short.

8. The oldest is the satire, invective, the aforementioned *hijā5. Mentions of this go to the very earliest periods of Islamic poetry recoverable, and El² (sub voce hidjā5) assumes that tossing off short satiric verses later became a widespread accomplishment of the cultivated. Van Gelder feels no need to annotate his comment: "the relation of hijā5 with brevity is obvious". Other shortish forms (it is hard to obtain firm critical opinions on the actual lengths at various periods) are the wine poem or *khamriyya, and of course, the descriptive poems mentioned above. Other semi-separable "parts" of the qasīda which may be relatively brief are mentioned, separately, in *Fischer, but for our purposes it is the hijā5 which is closest to "epigram". Threnetic ("elegiac") poetry in Islam is not a contender, because it tended to great length, see *marthiya in El².

9. The literary discussions of Arabs and Persians remained relatively unsystematised, but their omissions were remarkably consistent. They ignored much of the compositional reality of their own times in favour of an old, prestigious form, the multi-thematic panegyric ode or qasīda. Poetry which told a story never reached this level of prestige, and receives very short shrift. It was to be more common in Persian and much more respectable in the eastern half of the Muslim world. The many short poems which we know, from chance references, to lie hidden among the

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134 Van Gelder p. 54.
135 Van Gelder p. 58.
136 See *Ahmad.
137 P. 25.
138 See *Bencheikh.
139 See *Pellat et al.

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poetic flotsam and jetsam preserved in quotations and divans never seemed to attract much educated attention, as such.

10. Apart from socio-economic reasons connected with the position of professional poets in courts, vying for patronage (as they did in Welsh and Irish courts right up to the Enlightenment), it would seem that an "inability" to maintain the poetic afflatus was often regarded as a fault, while paradoxically, long poems were systematically rifled for their few gems of high price, which alone were commonly traded. Indeed, Syriac, Persian and Indian poets usually indulge in great copiousness and were praised for it. "Poetry" for such performers was perhaps more a process than a product.

11. The present author is in no position somehow to get behind the reflection of the whole Muslim tradition and to discover unrecognised "epigram" in the divans. This is probably even an invalid procedure, as van Gelder has agreed with Jauß in assuming that a contemporary and native critical tradition is essential to the processes of composition and of reception:

...while the ancient standards are not decisive, at least a knowledge of them is essential for the appreciation of Arabic poetry. To study ancient Arabic theory and criticism is not merely a subsidiary activity for students of Arabic poetry: it is to study the poetry itself.140

12. Apart from some (contested) Arabic exemplar thought by some to lie behind the Persian Rubā‘1 (i.e., some form regularly occurring in long rhyming couplets or shortish quatrains of "hemistichs", which can be almost as independent as the "Arabic" long line), we may say that pre-Ottoman Arabic short poetry may never have gelled into a "form" even as indefinite as that Greek epigram which we assume for early Hellenistic, pre-Meleagran times. The latter was apparently quite variable in length, and the recipient of an extremely vague genre name.141 We can assert this because of the lack of any specific corpus in Arabic, the lack of native critical interest, and of a lack of any consistency in the length of short poems/passages which do survive.

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140 P.208, his concluding sentence.

141 Especially Cameron p.13, p.15. However, the forthcoming publication of over a hundred epigrams "of Posidippus" may shake our agnosticism on this point, if they are all found to be quatrains, or even if no long poem is ever likely to have been among them.

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13. More important than an investigation of the poems, their descriptions and their names, may be what other poetry was current at the time. It is hard not to connect the vast difference in the later situations of Greek and Arabic poetry with the pre-eminence of continuous, narrative poetry in the former culture and its near absence in the other. The punctual is a much more recognisable form when set against the clearly continuous. Interestingly, in Persian, where we meet clearly defined forms of short poetry from very early periods, we also find long narrative poems. Chinese poetry displays quite lengthy songs and narratives in the same periods which saw the popularity of lapidary quatrains and octets. There could well be an inherent bipolarity in the epic-epigram distinction. However, such things cannot be over-generalised. Japanese poetic forms are all short, if we reject Miner's thesis of the essential concatenation of haiku.

8. Iranian

1. Our emphasis on Arabic was necessary because of the difficulty of the question asked of the materials and the problems of the materials themselves. We have taken Arabic as an extreme case, and even some sort of a paradigm for all "Asian" literatures in Semitic, Indo-European and Turkic languages. Certainly, many of the central Asian cultures, especially those which were late to write and inscribe, show heavy Muslim influence. The questions of atomicity (or better, molecularity), of orality, performance and constantly re-improvised poetry, of the favouring of "sections" and fragments of longer poems, will recur in less dramatic ways as we move from Persia to India.

2. Middle Iranian leaves us only a little verse, and that seems far from regular in its prosodic form. However, the courts of the Parthians and Sasanids must have encouraged that versifying which seems long to have been endemic in Persian culture, both folk and courtly. When muslimised, Persians were even more addicted to poetry than their Arab mentors and quickly emphasised their poetic differences from them.

3. In Muslim Persia there existed two short forms, one at least of great age, the quatrain. The other, the ghazal (i.e., "love poem") had sonnet length in one formative


143 E.g., Rādīyār's Tarjumān al-balāgha of post 1088 CE, where even the basmala is in the Persian language. Van Gelder p.142. Poetry seems to have become an icon of Persian nationalism, Robinson ATLAS passim, and not just the nationalist epic/scripture of the "Doings of the Kings".
period, though at other times it was somewhat longer. It differs from the western sonnet, which is arguably an epigram, but rarely called such, in that there is rarely any definable internal structure in the content or rhetoric. Like most non-narrative poetry of the Arabs and Irano-Indians, it proceeds like pearls being dropped on, or off, a string.

4. The ghazal is no candidate for a Persian epigram, whatever its outer similarities to the sonnet. In any case, the whole ethos of the western, renaissance sonnet seems to be what prevented its total absorption into "epigram", rather than its restriction to a length of (mostly) 14 lines.

5. We have mentioned that poems of ghazal length are all that we have found on pre-modern Muslim graves (in Persian and Turkish environments). However the quatrains groupable under the well known title of rubā’iyyāt, or dubayti-s, are a far more relevant phenomenon. Like Japanese haiku, they are a major literary form in their society, strictly definable, and textually independent. Only secondarily are they arranged in collections, and it is rare for them to be interpretable as a highly coherent series, such that they could be seen as mere stanzas of a longer poem. Given the historical reality that they became a major form for the Sufi movement, and that this movement greatly encouraged monumental and memorial architecture connected with saint-worship, it is no surprise to find that some were inscribed in the most prominent positions.

6. It is on the monument constituting the head house of the Mawlawiyya order at Konya that *Rumi's ecumenical rubā‘ī is flaunted against the conservative forces of the ulama, reminding us distantly of the anti-iconoclastic Greek couplet in the Aya

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144 Van Gelder p.207 quotes, courtesy of Hillman and Rehder, a 16C text purporting to record an authentic accusation made by Shah Shuja against Hafiz that he displayed even more incoherence in his famous poems than the Muslim average:

"Not one of your ghazals is constituted in one particular manner from the opening to the closing, but rather three or four couplets in each ghazal are a description of wine and one or two on Sufism and one or two on the qualities of the beloved. And such capricious shifting in a single ghazal is contrary to the practice of the eloquent."

Hafiz is made to admit the charge, but also to point out that his poems remained far more popular than those of his "more eloquent" rivals.

145 Admittedly, only in *Mujezinović and *Rogers.

146 ATLAS p.39. *Halman:

Come, come again, whoever, whatever you may be, come:
Heathen, fire-worshipper, sinful of idolatry, come.
Even if you broke your penitence a hundred times,
Ours is not the portal of despair or misery, come.

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Sofya with which we began. It is a far deeper text, summarising the ethos of a whole, controversial, religious movement, but it existed and presumably was famous before it was ever inscribed. It is therefore not primarily inscriptive.

7. Theoretically, early Greek "epigram" itself may have preexisted somehow in various forms of short oral poetry, perhaps also in encomia used in funerary or post funerary rituals, or in short interventions traditionally sung during the archaic symposium. Thus the inscribed rubā'ī might be no less epigrammatic for existing in oral and paper environments well before it became inscribed. However, the highly specific and specialised phrasing of its earlier examples, and the consensus of scholars, suggests otherwise for the Greek.

8. Single and small groups of Persian verses seem also to have been inscribed. It is impossible to get any quantitative grasp of all this in Australia, or even, outside Iran. It is significant that Persian epigraphy seems to favour ghazal-like poems, wherever we can catch it from photos of stelai. Short inscribed verses can be found, but they do not seem to be preferred as they were in Greece. It would at first seem that external form is no guide to the meaning and impact which may better define "epigram", see Weisz as summarised by *Hess* for approval of a subjective definition. However, to select *epigrammaticity* instead of the too indefinable term "epigram", (a suggestion also of the frustrated and rather guilty historian of late antique Western "epigram", Bernt) would take our discussion into impossibly wide and deep waters.

9. In fact, long line (bayt) of the archetypical Arab form, the qaṣīda, is highly separable in Persian as well, and is supposed to have a degree of "non-controversial" epigrammaticity called balāgha, "a wealth of meaning in a few words", in the paraphrase given by Abdülkadir Karahan. But the single bayt is not felt as "a work", (rather as the Chinese couplet is not) — it is not an epigram.

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147 p. 66–68.
148 p. 5.
149 EI2 Kasida p.714 b near bottom. See *Krenkow* et al. On the question of seals and coins, which is treated next, Kalus in MUSLIM SEALS reports (repeated) quatrains from his corpus: 231 pieces presented. Verse occurs, but of a repeatable nature, rather than the original verse typical of Medieval Latin Seals. The "Shi'ite shahada" in quatrain form is common enough, repeated verbatim from cachet to talisman to sealing, as it was and is obviously much repeated orally: P. 36 n° 2.14; p. 43–44 n° 2.2.15 & 2.2.16 (these items "cachets" and post-classical); p. 84–86 n° 1.23 B, 1.25, 1.26 (these "talismans"). This quatrain has the couplet rhymes, AABB, of the indigenous Persian
10. As Byzantine and then Western die cutters added short poems to seals from the 12C, so Safavid cutters added them to coins and one of the Shah's great seals by the 17C.150 In both civilisations these self-contained short poems can be taken primarily as offshoots of a general cult of verse. These indeed are short mainly because of the size of their support and the length of attention expected to be awarded them under conditions envisaged for their daily use. However, any consistent practice of composing short poems for such surfaces would tend to give some individuality to whatever form was chosen. An increasing aestheticisation of life (spreading to circles beyond the court and traceable perhaps through the history of Art and crafts) is a factor in the spread of inscribed and placarded verse. These are precisely the origins of Archaic Greek epigram.

11. It might be noted that medieval Latin seals typically have many short poems (each) on the larger, richer and more elaborate examples, rather than a single longer poem. Such seals could be as large as a saucer. Whatever their size, they accept no "text" longer than a couplet, in the Monastic corpus from England at any rate.151 Thus in the West the single line of stichic verse and all the more so the couplet were recognised inscriptive forms for thousands of years, whether they were popular in book poetry of a given period or not, despite their lack of recognition in theoretical manner. It will be remembered that Shi'ites have only ever reached political power in Persia.

The other repeated quatrain does not come from the core texts of revelation or of ritual prayer, but apparently from later devotional prayer — p. 45 n° 2.2.19, said to be a quatrain by Ludvik quoting Reinaud II p. 283: "ce quatrains se trouve souvent «sur les piettes gravées, particulièrement sur les sceaux des grands visirs et d'autres grands personnages»" —

O mon Dieu, par la vertu de l'existence
envoie-moi six choses en aide:
Le savoir, la pratique, l'aisance,
La foi, la sécurité, et la santé.

150 Plant ARABIC COINS, and Allen KHÄTa/iM. Around the edge of one of the Shah's three great seals (reused by every new Shah with only the name replaced, hence all official documents for a long period bore the poetic text), was a quatrain! Frehner 1882 counted only two, doubtfully intentional, metrical legends on Classical (Roman or Greek) coins (Schlumberger SIGILLOGRAPHIE BYZANTINE p. 33, see Addenda): Expectate veni on a coin of Carausius, and Equester ordo principi iuventutis on a medallion of Nero. See Addenda, Schlumberger SIGILLOGRAPHIE BYZANTINE p. 33.

151 Ellis MONSEALS. See Addenda under SEALS, ENGLISH, MONASTIC. I have found only one text longer than a couplet on my admittedly cursory survey of Byzantine metrical seals, n° 17 of Schlumberger's "Most variant" series of seal inscriptions. Even this, however, is no more than a (dodecasyllabic) tristich. From Addenda:

17. ΠΡΟΤΩ ΚΥΝΗΓΩ ΒΟΥΖΗΝ ΤΑ ΠΡΑΚΤΕΑ
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΠΟΙΕΙΡΑΡΙΟΥ ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ
ΦΥΛΑΤΤΕ ΠΑΥΜΝΗΤΕ ΤΟ ΑΟΓΩ ΠΥΑΗ
[a rare dodec. tristich]

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works on poetics.\textsuperscript{152} While both may be taken as merely the smallest and most typical \textit{fard}, or minimal form of their respective metres, it is significant that they (and the even more surprising hexameter couplet) retained such trans-secular popularity as closed, independent text forms.

12. The \textit{rubāf} is and always has been complete in itself, not dependent on an inscriptive tradition for any aspect of its genre. It is not a fragment, but unless all short verse is epigram, it is not an epigram either.

9. Turan

1. The quatrain in Central Asia calls for a massive study linking all the surviving literatures of the region with the study of folk traditions, and these cultures were late to use writing. It is apparent that quatrain form (in relatively short lines, unlike the more elevated poetic long lines of Arabs and Indians) is old in Central and Central-Western Asia, though it is impossible to do more than guess at the interplay of influences and independent creation which appear to link Iranian and Turanian quatrains.\textsuperscript{153}

2. The music (at least) of the steppes greatly influenced Chinese song in the Tang, and Turkic quatrain form may have influenced the pre-existing Chinese quatrain as much as it did the the music used for performance of frontier poetry. In a period when Chinese poetry was linked to social situation, "exile" and frontier poetry was one of the few personal options open to the court poet. Such poets could have been bilingual and could have been influenced by the vivid culture of men used to living hard, in the immense flatness of grass-covered steppes. Then again, the Chinese might not have been deeply influenced at all, but have drawn on frontier life mainly for exotic colour and as a pretext for lament and for oblique criticism of the Capital. Behind them all may stand the Buddhist religious poetry so notable in Dunhuang as the original of the translations made into Turkic languages and into Chinese, and Buddhist poetry takes us back to the versified maxim of India of well before the Common Era, for example, the Dhammapada, now supposed to be in the

\textsuperscript{152} This is the more surprising as a favoured model for the \textit{Poetria Nova} of the 12C, which influenced thought and practice well into the modern period, was the late Antique author, Sidonius Apollinaris, from whom survived the greatest volume of comment explicitly directed towards "epigram".

\textsuperscript{153} Remains are very late compared with what may be thought to be Indic and Semitic and Iranian "influences"; and, in the West, genuine Turkic traditions have been swamped by Persian ones, except in the poorer areas of Anatolia. See the articles on *MANI, and \textit{Kitab-i Dedem Qorqu} in *Krstović.

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possession of every educated Mahāyāna Buddhist, and most commonly read in the form of Pali quatrains of the later pre-Christian era.\textsuperscript{154}

3. These Silk Road finds are rather late, but where Uighur Turkish texts translate Buddhist verses, obviously felt as quatrains, into four line units (stanzas) marked out as such by their initial Turkish alliteration, it is hard to avoid the impression that a quatrain interpretation of the Pali and an intense taste for parallelism in literary Turki reinforced each other.

4. To find Turkic quatrains from Manchuria to Asia Minor, in high and popular literature throughout the last millennium, reinforces this opinion. The strong parallelism is native Turki, not Indian, and wherever strong parallelism is favoured, the quatrain form is highly likely to appear. Of course, it is couplet form which is the most basic building block of parallelism, and couplets are indeed the basic form of the oldest recoverable Central Asian proverbs, still imperfectly studied, as they are said to be the ancestors of the much later Malay Pantun.

5. Parallelism has long been taken as inherent to the Semitic poetry of the Bible, and to have generated widespread quadripartite forms even in the "prose" Prophetic books.\textsuperscript{155} In China a most sophisticated elaboration of parallelism apparently led to the eight line "regulated" poem. Eight line verse was very prominent in the prestige period of Chinese poetry, the High Tang, and common belief derives the literary quatrain from such eight line "regulated" verse. It would seem however that Chinese quatrains have their own fairly ancient history. Quatrain form seems to be preserved as stanzas of long poems in Turfan and Dunhuang, but later Turki phenomena suggest that four line poems may also have been free-floating from an early period and not have derived from stanzas of longer poems. Of course, quatrains are a very common popular stanzaic form in the West, and simultaneously provide a non-stanzaic form for the poems of vernacular plaques and inscriptions. The longest Australian verse epitaphs tend to be eight liners, not always spaced into two quatrains, but probably deriving from such a duplication.

\textsuperscript{154} See *Sternbach, FOR LUDWICK STERNBACH, and CANAKYA'S DIFFUSION.

\textsuperscript{155} For quadripartite structures in general in poetry: Ronit Shoshany \textit{Prosodic Structures in Jeremiah's Poetry} Folia Linguistica Historica, Acta Societatis Linguisticae Europae VII/I 1986 p. 167–206 She also lists supporters of very different attitudes to biblical Hebrew verse, including those, like Driver, which assume that none such exists.

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6. Whatever the interaction between Turk and Iranian and Indian missionary, it is obvious that quatrain form was suited to the literary habits of the Turkic peoples. Otherwise it would not have taken root. It is found as a purely formal structure in Mongolian, and as a widespread and more discrete form in folk poetry of the Ottoman Turks, spanning the whole width of Asia. There is no doubt that the four line rubā‘f and the *mani are somehow connected in the literary past of the steppes, and the Persian-Sanskrit bilingualism which so long prevailed in India has already made us suspect some mutual influence of Persian rubā‘f and Prakrit-Sanskrit subhāshita in later times. However, while the later Turkish Muslim grave is typically provided with verse, the verse used does not seem to be anywhere near as folksy as the mani, which is emphatically oral literature.

7. In the folk laments for the dead, and such things as watchman’s cries, the semi-independent or independent mani (and its cousins) were very common, but they were oral poetry, and what was suitable for inscription came from quite a different world, that of the Osmanli-Persian litterateur. Like the Persian mother culture, Ottoman culture seems to have preferred a poem of ghazal length, and these involved such a heavily Persianised language and form as to deprive them of independent interest for our investigation into origins.

10. Malay world

1. Although the now famous pantun seems to be a modern development, indeed, of the 17C, its origins, dynamics and even its existence are instructive for students of short occasional poetry elsewhere. Indian and Arabo-Persian influence may always be suspected, but Wilkinson derives this popular form from responding and nearly isosyllabic couplets, particularly the question and answer pattern of playful riddles. Hamilton summarises usefully: Pantun texts are essentially independent, though they can be strung together; they are essentially oral; they are impromptu; they are thus essentially anonymous; they are used as “insets” in other literature and used as starters or highlights in the composition of love letters; they “replace” song (are most basically spoken verse), but can be sung to common tunes, and often are; they are

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156 p.6ff. For prose gnomica, also heavily bipartite in structure, see *Winsted.

157 Introduction.

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used in theatre, on festive occasions, in which latter case the audience may match them or cap them.\textsuperscript{158}

2. Pantun are quatrains rhyming \textit{abab} with the first couplet often vague and playful or suggestive, and the meaning dependent on the final couplet. As Wilkinson\textsuperscript{159} remarks, "oriental" poetry is closer to conundrum than post-Baroque European verse has commonly been. It stretches more widely through society than did the English limerick at the height of that form's popularity (seemingly about 1900). An issue of interest in itself, if not to our precise topic here, is that this widespread and apparently ageless genre is rather convincingly claimed to be no more than a few centuries old.

11. Thailand

1. Old Siam provides yet another type of isolable short verse, which no doubt demonstrates similar patterns of use and development to those of improvisational court verse elsewhere, in similar cultures. We might mention the courts of Iran, India, China and Japan in connection with the 19 syllable (?), acccentual khlong. In the treatment of \textit{chanta}, \textit{kap}, \textit{khlong}, \textit{klon} and \textit{ray} by John M. Echols in PEPP, all Thai forms are treated as either stichic or stanzaic, however, in the contribution of Madame Kasem Sibun-Ruang in the Pléiade Encyclopedia the khlong is mentioned as if it possessed textual independence. We prefer to follow her, given the lack of serious critical interest in short forms among both Western and native scholars and the commonness of short occasional poetry in courtly life. Thus we take it as improvisational, involved in capping and courtly retorts, inserted into other texts without losing its identity, and able to be extended into series, usually the fruit of poetic interchanges. Echols takes khlong as stanzaic poems:

\begin{quote}
Khlong, meaning "to rhyme", has been the most popular among poets in spite of the fact that its requirement of rhyme [Thai is a five-tone language] renders it quite difficult to manipulate. The khlong may be of 2, 3 or even 4 stanzas [no indication is given here of the length of a "stanza". \textit{Perhaps by it Echols means a couplet or even a quatrain}, see above for a claimed length of 17 syllables], but must conform to the tonal and rhyme requirements. P.854. PEPP
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{158} This is nearly a compendium of the processes at work in any living corpus of short oral poetry.

\textsuperscript{159} P.8

\textit{B. — Comparative Survey}
2. Such ambiguous and unusable treatments constantly meet those who try to study literatures entirely in translation. The information given even by a single author seems either vague or self-contradictory, especially when no overall analysis is given of terms and native theories. Of all the literatures treated in this research, Thai (along with Tibetan) is the main one in which the writer has no linguistic knowledge.

3. The chief poet of this tradition is said to have been 17C Siprad. Of some further interest for epigram is the legend that he traced his last khlong with his toe in the dust before his execution, on charges of which any Celtic bard would have been proud.160 At this date we would expect poetry to exist in MS, even if the status of books were quite different from ours, closer to Malay attitudes and perhaps to those of Archaic and even Classical Greece. “Ownership” of even oral poetry (collective, if not individual ownership) is an interesting question for the literatising of poetry, which is essentially song language, de-musicalised. In later centuries Thai poets (Sunthon P’hu) charged a fee for the copying of their poems. Some objectivisation of the poem itself, whether this involves its materiality as a scroll or bamboo slip, or more African ideas of the super reality of the oral “Word”, affects the full reality of gift poems throughout the ages and of dedication poems.161

12. Provisional Generalities on origins

1. While court or religious poetry in India and South-East Asia can be written, and that of more calligraphic China and Japan is essentially written, there is not anywhere in Asia the early and widespread cult of inscribed poetry which we find in Greek culture. For this there had to be the “Mediterranean inscriptional habit”, a love of oral verse, and a fine balance between other factors harder to isolate. One of these is that breakdown of the culture type generally called “the bardic”, already noted, which seems to have inhibited much inscribing of poetry in quite literate Celtic and Scandinavian kingdoms. A second element was an unusual, sudden urgency to monumentalise a (cremated) deceased and to individualise his monument.

2. Inscriptionality or some significant relationship to inscribing has been a characteristic of our Western awareness of “epigram” for as long as we have records. It is explicit in the very term epi-gram. Ambiguities between the inscriptional and non-inscriptional types of verse remain all through the Western tradition, and topoi

160 Queneau p.1365ff.

161 See Byng, Collingwood and Wright, Erasmus/Margolin, Guarducci on proscynemata.

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appropriate only to a real inscription (most typically, the appeal to the wayfarer) continue to be used in poems that are never meant to be inscribed. Not one of these characteristics is known to me from the literature of any Asian tradition.

13. Mature, Eteo-Japan (Edo period 1600–1868) notably haiku

1. Japan had inscriptions (of a sort, see Addenda under JAPANESE...) and death poetry from its earliest possession of literacy, but in the Heian period, with the intensification of specifically Japanese strands of their culture, there grew a cult of non-Chinese forms involving the use of triple or quintuple line (or at least “phrase”) patterns.

2. It is remarkable how few short poetic genres of world literature accept the inherently “musical” triple form of the Haiku (theme, variation, restatement of theme). At least on works of art and in the remarkable colour printed books of Japan the mixture of haiku and painted scene is common. This is a major subgenre of epigram in all periods before the Enlightenment in the West: poems physically on or “on” (ecphrastically “about”) works of art. There seems to have been little scope for burial poetry in China and less in Japan, where “the horror of the corpse” is legendary. Haiku commonly occur on paintings, where the Chinese usually placed a longer poem but could also use one of their quatrains. It can be difficult to decide which is prior, the poetic text or the artistic image, but paintings on haiku (or haiku on paintings) do resemble the ecphrastic inscriptive poetry of the West even in a culture which prefers the brush, and which imitates the most idiosyncratic brushwork, even when it inscribes texts on hard surfaces.

3. A matter of some general interest must here be raised, even if rather summarily. It applies to haiku, rubāyāt and perhaps to Western epigram of any sort. Earl Miner has recently argued at some length that the typically short forms of Japanese literature are misinterpreted by Westerners. His underlying intent seems

162 For this particular thematisation of the publicising function of all inscriptions not directed to any restricted audience, ie., their function of publishing, see in: Astur, Colvin, Duemmler 1881, Favreau, Traube 1964/1896.

163 The older Welsh Englyn was also a syllable-counting three liner, 7 – 8 syllables, with monorhyme. One fragment of Michaelangelo’s Italian verse is thought by some to have been, not a fragment of the sestet of a sonnet, but an independent epigram, however anything Italian in terza rima is likely to have suggested continuity to readers rather than closure after three lines: ?... / Amore è un concetto di bellezza / immaginata o visto dentro al core, / amica di virtù e gentilezza / See fn° 51.

164 JAPAN LITERARY SOCIOLOGY p. 29ff. and p. 53. See also *Ueda in the same volume.
to be to save Japanese verbal art from the accusation levelled against its graphic and plastic productions, that of being "merely" an art of miniatures and perhaps, not as serious as that of those cultures (the vast majority) which prefer larger or longer forms. To do this Miner argues that haiku (Senryu, Tanka as well) are originally designed as parts of a future collection and have no textual independence. Thus the literary "work" is the anthology or series, not the atomised short poem. Ueda's book on Bashô details the growth of haiku/hokku/haikai from the longer *renga*, or linked verse, an emergence which is indeed not even now complete. However Miner has erred by appealing to the Greek Anthology for a Western model of his theory of "linking", as only the Cycle of Agathias seems to have had a majority of its poems written in view of their being anthologised in that, or indeed in any other multi-author collection in Greek. Meleager's and Philip's Garlands seem to have been collections of poems not originally written for their anthologies. Some may have been written for other more limited types of anthology. However, we have too few papyri to suggest that most epigrams were written in view of a major collection of them.

4. There was a living (Greek) tradition of short inscriptional poetry written for unique situations and locations. The AG groupings seem typically to be secondary, posterior and editorial, except in the rare cases where a collection of inscriptions from one place is grouped, (a church, or a series of charioteer monuments) and even then the individual poems of longer *series* (say, for example, AP iii) must originally have been written without their fellows coming into more than very general consideration.\footnote{The theoretical problems posed by short texts in series are extreme for India but less so for Byzantium. In the Greek East such elements are much more excerptable and detachable, and apparently intended to be so by the majority of writers. See *Komines in Addenda. The related problem is the status of long texts in a tradition where the poetic line, or section, seems to be more valued than the whole work. We have discussed this once and for all in connection with Arabic literature, but the phenomenon is a widespread one, applying to Archaic Greek and late-antique verse, as well as to oral Celtic poetry.}

5. Where, as in the Latin Middle Ages, a series of verse captions shows by their unusual similarity of form (distichs or quatrains) that they were conceived as a series, they are still attached to separable objects in the church or palace, and it would seem that poems lifted from graves could never be conceived as "a series" whatever pressures there may have been on their authors to conform to some general pattern and to introduce limited variations from other known epitaphs. The small verses inscribed on such movable objects as seals are often enough intended just for that person's seal and are obviously not composed with an anthology of their fellows in...
view. Anthologising them or their like does not make such a collection into one coherent text. The same goes for dedications. The concrete occasionality of such inscriptions is made obvious enough by the specific nature of many or most of them, at all periods, and funeral inscriptions are the most persistent component of Western epigram.

6. Nor do the very ordered subhāshita-samgraha-s of India make no claim to be one coherent poetic text. Even the old Kural and the Dhammapada, with runs of connected “stanzas” in some parts of their topical subdivisions, are doubtfully unified “works”.

7. When such mini-texts are then anthologised, or even just imitated in book form, they cannot be understood as having been composed in view of a larger super-text. Nor, indeed, are Western aphorisms, which are often enough collected into or even written in series. They seem to have been written as largely independent texts, and to be as happy on their own as in a collection of their fellows. The haiku assigned one to a page, or one to an opening, (hence, in some sort of series) in Japanese illustrated books seem, to an outsider at least, to have considerable textual independence. The theory surrounding modern aphorisms actually favours their not being in any series of definable sequence, being flashes of insight intended to escape systematic thought.\textsuperscript{166}

8. Modern German writers seem to write aphorisms with theories of aphorism in mind, theories which emphasise the atomicity of that form, as well as relying on more concrete memories of a Germanic corpus which exhibits characteristics of textual brevity, independence, lack of sensuous figures of speech, rhetorical obliquity and surprise in meaning. They contrast, it is said, with those massive, continuous texts which stem from the great systematic thinkers.\textsuperscript{167} Aphorism is a more recently developed form than epigram, but the two are still closely related, and the theory of one may appeal to much of the theory of the other.

9. Bypassing systematic thought is held in even more honour in Asia, particularly China and Japan, where this anti-idea is important in most systems of aesthetics.\textsuperscript{168}

\textsuperscript{166} *Bibl. Categories on Aphorism
\textsuperscript{167} See *Horstmann.
\textsuperscript{168} Owen *HIGH TANG *Lin and Owen, passim.
No doubt such an aesthetic and philosophy favours the mantra, the haiku, the imagistic vignette.

10. Thus, despite respect for what Miner is trying to systematise from his remarkable grasp of classical Japanese culture in a war against what are undoubtedly deep Western prejudices, we cannot accept his analogies and cannot accept even his basic assertion. Where all the literary forms of a culture are short, shortness does take on a different meaning, and perhaps the faintest of grouping arrangements then become more important. But to claim that all apparent shortness is a secondary and subordinate feature in Japanese poetic texts does not seem a productive one, and it cannot be extended to the Greek Anthology even if it is true in Japan. It is also demonstrably untrue for somewhat comparable short forms in Persia, perhaps Thailand, and definitely untrue for the Malay World, China and even perhaps Central Asia and India.

11. Thus western “epigram” would still have many oriental cousins even if the “most genuine epigram”, haiku, were loudly claimed to be more of a text subunit than a fully independent text.

1. Epigram?

1. The issue being investigated here is not epigrammaticity but epigram. Western epigram is a short poetic form periodically conscious of its Greek and Latin origins, and marked by a long interplay of inscriptive and non-inscriptive forms. Whatever coherence it has over time is caused by a combination of processes inherent to inscriptive and occasional forms, added to specific memories of short forms being awarded some prestige from previous stages of Classical culture.

2. The set of “processes” which constitute the non-imitative (i.e., non-Classical) series of influences on later epigram are many. Perhaps we may divide them into popular traditions and independent creation. There were many situations where verse was wanted, and reasons of a physical or a psychological nature existed for keeping this verse short. No tradition would be needed for short verse in such situations. Overlapping with this, there were unquestioned traditions of inscription and of occasional verse where shortness was long acceptable, perhaps deriving from (physical or psychological) situations constituted by former pressures: the sort of
surfaces once available for each type of verbal inscription, the type of materials, mode of making, or the anticipated reading conditions.\\(^{169}\)

3. All of these could apply together, as in the early modern traditions of album verse. Something short and stylish was called for in albums, something rather ornate. The inscriptions on Byzantine doors seem an old tradition, whose continuing brevity is largely explained by the situation of the reader's "being in transit". As the ornateness of the supporting structure "went without saying", such inscriptions could be far simpler than those of album verse.\\(^{170}\)

4. In purely oral situations a common influence on short verse seems to have been a dialogic or conflictual tradition of occasional verse. Where the units interchanged are more than a line or a couplet, this process tends to produce something between an independent (if concatenated) short form and a dependent stanza, as there is an understandable tendency for (delayed) courtly replies to mimic the form of the first poetic approach, whether its intent and content be frivolous, amatory, laudatory or derogatory, and to be somewhat later in time than the first sally, i.e., to constitute a separate if related (short) text.\\(^{171}\) Cappings and verse retorts generate somewhat similar processes.

\[\ldots\]

\^{169} Of course, any settled tradition of micrography plays with (= "subverts", a worse word) the expectation that the area used is not comfortable with the text crammed onto it, and thus the nature of wordy inscriptions fitted into a small space has to be assessed. Similar to this are three non-micrographic examples crowded onto small objects, taken from our Addenda's extracts of the Dumbarton Oaks bibliography. P. 258 has half of a couplet from a small ink casket in the Duomo at Paduan, not here quoted. P. 272 has the following couplet around a picture of Virgin and Child on a pigeon-egg sized gem, only 35mm x 29 mm in size, set on an altar cloth, a far more impressive case:

\[4\rightarrow\text{epo})\]
\[\text{fev} \sigma\varepsilon \tau\nu\text{ fevou} \text{\acute{a}gno} \zeta \tau\nu\text{ L\ddot{a}gon} \]
\[\varepsilon\nu \sigma\tilde{t}\text{i}\theta\varepsilon\zeta \sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\tilde{o}\zeta \varepsilon\varepsilon\kappa\xi\varepsilon\varsigma\varsigma\]

And p. 286 has a quatrain on a 30mm diameter, 18 gram weight, equalling the 4 nomismata of gold which was supposed, by decree, to be paid to its owner:

\[\Sigma\nu\varphi\alpha\gamma\varsigma \delta \chiak\delta\varsigma \chi\nu\upsilon\varsigma\varepsilon\omega\nu \nu\mu\nu\iota\mu\mu\mu\tau\alpha\nu\nu\varsigma \kappa\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\nu\varsigma \nu\kappa\rho\omicron\upsilon\chi\varsigma\iota\varsigma.\]
\[\text{'O} \delta' \text{\'e}mip\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron \text{t}e\zeta; \text{M}a\nu\nu\mathrm{\upsilon} \text{a}u\text{t}o\kappa\varphi\tau\acute{a}t\acute{a}r\mathrm{w}.\]
\[\text{H} \text{\sigma} \nu\varphi\alpha\gamma\varsigma \alpha\iota\delta\varepsilon\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\omicron\omicron; \delta \text{\'X}r\upsilon\tau\varsigma\text{'s} \text{pr}^{\grave{a}}\text{t}h\varsigma.\]

The quatrain totally covers each side of the small metal object.

\^{170} See *Komines P. 36 ff.

\^{171} See *Kuka (Persian), and *Lin (earliest Chinese quatrains).
5. Where verse has the function of decorating or elevating a prose (or even another verse) text so that this longer, frame text is psychologically primary, the verse inserts will typically be short, so as not to interrupt the run of the main text.

2. **Less-known literate cultures, and Oral traditions**

1. The “literary” situation in non-literate cultures other than that of the Muslimising Beduin is of less relevance to our study, except as a horizon for thinking of the similarity of some processes in the development and use of short forms world-wide. Some snippets from the comparative history of oral literatures are of general interest in the contextualising of written epigram. We may note the difficulty of identifying “genres” from texts alone, and even from the comparison of literary form and anthropological function of texts in the Malay world.172 An impossible variety of “genres” are claimed for traditional Laos,173 and for this country song was once unusually common in folk culture. Poetry is, of course, song language, never quite merged with music, but never fully detachable from it. The situation claimed for French Africa is quite different.174 Verse forms are not favoured, but the “word” has great power and figured language in approved forms is much prized.

2. Many sub-Saharan cultures, like those of Asia Minor which gave to the Greeks Dionysus and dervishes to the Turks, tended to favour exalted states of soul. Hence song and vision language. Such language cannot be denied the function of poetry, whatever its lack of strict form. Another comment from Africa is the awareness of the proverb hoard of a people, and proverbs and short poetry are often closely related. It is like the archaic awareness of the “way” of a people and its value. Proverbs are said to be felt as a major component of this “way”. It would appear that durable gnomic traditions, versified or not, cause some of the durability of Western forms which may be called epigram, ancient and especially medieval.175 In its formative years the short Greek poetic inscription must have been supported by the popularity of the somewhat similar literary phenomena of riddles, oracles, and perhaps the shortened poetic components of mourning rituals (like the Turkish mani at funerals, each contributed by a different person), and indeed any inherently short

172 *Cuisinier INDONÉSIENNE.

173 *Bernand-Thierry LAOTIENNE.

174 *Balandier NÉGRITUDE.

175 See *BERNT in Addenda for the predominance of proverbial short verse in the Latin 10C and later.
contribution in play or rituals, as was likely to have been the case in the symposium. We know that some such forms did co-exist with early verse inscriptions, but there were also influences which may have operated directly on the early burial and donative poems themselves.

3. These were the complex of laconicism, aristocratic minimalism, sobriety in public display, and a search for prestige forms from a re-interpreted past.

4. How are we to regard the poetic inscriptions from Archaic Greece in this world context? The question is perhaps less relevant than how later Greeks came to view them (as it was this later native view which formed our tradition), but it remains a valid one for those seeking understanding of the whole process.
C Part C — Greek formative periods, epigraphic traditions only

1. Greek dawn

1. We must first emphasise a fact whose importance for the progress of later traditions and whose influence over the "inner reality" of short poetry can hardly be exaggerated. The Greeks inscribed verse almost as early as they began to use alphabetic writing, and they inscribed it consistently and in quantity.

2. In this they differ from the superficially similar "Vikings" (and the pre-Viking Scandinavians) and Arabs, as well as from the Indians. While the verse from the -8C could be called graffito, public and "private" display epigraphy on fixed objects was well entrenched in the -7C, a period well before great monuments were being built. In highly literate Han culture poems do not seem typically to have been inscribed at earlier periods, perhaps because they were still "song", and words were not felt to be separate from performance, despite being proclaimed as being worthy of collection in the Shih Ching. We may assume that in epic (perhaps merely "hexametric") koine, or in epichoric dialect, stichic hexameters were felt as the very acme of "literature" because it is these hexameters that early graffiti and inscriptions imitate. Other metres must have been available, even in the -8C.

3. Second, despite evidence of long prose inscriptions and reports of long verse inscriptions (dipinti, Solon's verses on wooden axones) in the -6C, the characteristic Greek verse inscription was short, and remained shortish ever after, with variations towards length, but retaining the tendency of returning to shortness.

2. Upper boundary of the period searched for "processes"

1. Even if a far earlier date for an introduction of alphabetic writing into Greece proves to be the correct one, it is the -8C which marks a discernible increase in the use of the alphabet all around the Eastern end of the Mediterranean, and which also provides the first verse inscriptions. To call these graffiti assumes that they were scratched by "runemasters" who had knowledge of a more formal method of writing.

176 Devoid, that is, of stone monuments. Van Hall makes a strong case for wooden monuments, possibly inscribed in the -7C.

177 *Bernal, also the discussions and summary in *Jeffery, *McCallum SCHOOLS IN ANCIENT ISRAEL, also *Sass who, with Cross, provides the best Semitic background.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
but the latter is notable by its absence from all our digs. Greece is thus different from early South Arabia. To call the funerary inscriptions on island cliffs "graffiti" assumes more — that these are somehow not connected with ritual or ongoing social practice, that they are "informal". Both of these are gratuitous assumptions.

2. We do know that early verse inscriptions are in a prestige metre but in local dialect, or more accurately, in one of the then existing regional koinai. Very quickly they appear on the changeable architectural forms of Greek tombstone. The fact that any expansive or expressive epitaph in Greek tends to be in verse, from the earliest to quite late times, may be claimed to result from the long-admitted tendency for literary form and "quality" to involve verse form in the early periods of many cultures. However, there are non-poetic forms of high literariness in early Semitic and Turkic inscriptions. Significantly, few early verse epitaphs come from Ionia, where reports and some fragments indicate that a specifically literary prose was early in use.

3. It does not seem likely that the epitaph of the "Lyric Age" was the complete copy of, or a significant extract from any other folk form, whether extemporised funeral elegy like the mani (of fixed length) or like the ancestor of the literary mersiye (the latter Muslim form variable in length, usually long), or some memorial poem in a putative annual celebration of the clan, some more sporadic literary reverencing of ancestors in the older symposium (thus combining encomium, elegy and self-praise), and so on. The shorter and earlier verse epitaphs and dedications give every sign of growing out of the written name, which is the most basic form of inscription in most early genres, and from the very nature and purpose of the object inscribed.

4. If not precisely from the name, then it is from brief "inscriptions of ownership" that both epitaphs and dedicatory texts may theoretically be derived. This

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178 *Ryckmans SOUTH ARABIAN CURSIVE has found signs of a chancellery cursive hand lying between the painstakingly geometrical inscriptive script of "Himyar and Qataban" and the "Nabatean" sloppiness characteristic even of Southern rupestral graffiti.

179 *Heinze WARRIOR GRAVES p.52. We may add on our own account that the name often came first in the earlier verse epitaphs, presumably from the early tendency to additive composition (assuming that the bare name chronologically preceded the phrase on graves, as it seems to have done) and not merely to avoid metrical infelicity. Thus, the important things originally came first, other things being added. Very soon stylistic variation intervened, though other beginning patterns also survived, such as regularly beginning with explicit or implicit deixis — either a here/this word, or with a "tomb" word. 20% of the epitaphs in CEG 1 have their versified part beginning with the name of the deceased, that is, 35 times. The other (5) times the initial Proper Name is that of the burier. N°° 14, 16, 19, 23, 30?, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, [54], 65, 69, 70, 71, 73, 92, 93, 110, 122, 123, [124], 130, 132, [136], [137], 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, (143, a name-phrase not beginning with the main name), (144, likewise), [150], 152, 157, 162, 164, 165, 169.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
first occurs in the smallest available verse unit, the hexameter line, just as many prose inscriptions also occur in a minimal phrase. Verse was literary, but apparently, not extraordinary enough, not so far removed from normal considered expression to escape from the short-windedness of early private writing. Hexameters were not necessarily epic, and certainly not necessarily “Homerish”, perhaps not necessarily hymnic either. Throughout the culture of lyric Greece hexameters were used in epics and lays, in hymns, but also in versified proverbs and perhaps also quite early in Delphic responsa, as well as in mildly elaborate and moderately expressive annotations like the “graffiti” on the Dipylon vase.

5. The origins and antiquity of the hexameter itself is relevant to this set of assumptions, but we cannot pursue that issue here. Pentameter and half-pentameter forms (e.g., what followed “Another from Hipparchus…”180) are also likely forms, but seem to have been oral and gnomic. The single pentameter is a sparse but perhaps continuous tradition right into the modern period,181 while the half pentameter is fairly rare.

6. As changing times suggested a greater fulness, epic tags or descriptive, and honorific, biographical and sorrowing phrases are added, usually as a verse filler for the second or later lines when the first overflows a little, as it already did on that dipylon vase of the –8C. While the monuments themselves reached a size, expense and workmanship which must have seemed almost obscenely flamboyant to the kakoi by the –6C, verse placed on them still remained restrained. One mystery of early “epigram” is the length of time for which this atypical restraint lasted, and thus its availability to more verbose later ages (such as the Hellenistic and the Roman) as a model of pristine excellence.

7. Really restrained Greek peoples did not develop a verse epitaph tradition. They are almost unknown for example in Sparta. Anecdotes certainly forbid them to the Spartans.182 Somehow we have to assume that the model of aristocratic minimalism (common in the growth of many codes of courtly politeness and

180 Hipparchus, in Plato Hipparchus §229 a, Demodocus/Phocylides in Page EG lines 21, 23. See for isolated pentameters in general fn° 370 and our various tables of lengths in §D.

181 Our epigraphic haul is small: Batsford 1672 plate 20, Blount & Estienne, Pfohl GPOS, Rüegg again, Weever 1632.

182 Most conveniently, *Cartledge in SPARTAN LITERACY. Page FGE p. 440, thought that there were no public Spartan verse epitaphs, and only about three and a half private ones.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
behaviour under extreme stress even today\textsuperscript{183}) coexisted with the increasing display and social stratification echoed in Solon, the prophet Amos, and the cemeteries of pre-democratic Attica.\textsuperscript{184}

8. These short poems often seem to be a minor part of the monument, but their persistence suggests that they were, like the small but central inscription plaques of Ulster mausolea in far later times,\textsuperscript{185} of an importance greater than their proportionate size. There was for a long time no formal and monumental script for them, but perhaps the power of the "runes" themselves did not originally require prettification. Nor may field stones originally have been a less precious alternative as "support" for the inscription.\textsuperscript{186} Later tendencies to geometrification and regular (stoikhedon)...

\textsuperscript{183} The stoicism of the Gandhi family at the death of Sanjay was not British but Irano-Indian — perhaps archetypically aristocratic. The absence of expressions of sorrow in some epitaphic corpora would make for an interesting socio-cultural study. See fn\textsuperscript{405}.

\textsuperscript{184} Chapter II of Cicero's de Legibus place perhaps a nostalgic Roman interpretation on the sumptuary restrictions evident in Greek laws and practices, but Cicero's obsession with such things no doubt reflects a recurring concern of ancient societies, in which the magnificent grave was a tool of post-modern influence and legitimacy on the part of wealthy and established families.

\textsuperscript{185} *Curl BURIAL ARCHITECTURE IRELAND, also *Clarke.

\textsuperscript{186} Moltke p. 206 pictures a magnificent kingly stone whose decoration and text follows the curving face of the natural rock. It is the Jelling stone 2, (Harald's Stone, the great Jelling stone) North Jutland, face A 140 x 110 cm: "the biggest and most magnificent rune block in Scandinavia. ... Set up in the 960s in memory of Gorm and Thyre by their son, Harald (Blacktooth, the Good). In ornament and runic script a unified work of art and a literary masterpiece - a monument worthy of a great king." The inscription: King Harald commanded this monument to be made in memory of Gorm, his father, and in memory of Thori (Thyre), his mother that Harald who won the whole of Denmark for himself, and Norway, and made the Danes Christian. — Face A (inscription side): haraltr: kunukR: bap: kauru: / kubl: pausii: afruit: kurnfupursins / aukaft: pauru: mupur: sina: sa: haraltr [:] las: saR: uan: taumnauerk — Face B (the beast side): ala: auknuuriak — Face C (the Christ side): aukt(a)ni(karpi)kristnq. (Unregularised runes, p. 207). However, it is this Jelling stone which is the sole Bildstein in Denmark. See RLGA Bildendenkmäler [K. Hauck et al.] p.540–598 mainly for the Bildsteine [Holmquist] therein included P. 561–570 §6. (The article on Runensteines has not yet been reached by the publication of RLGA.)

This long article also includes from p. 552 H. Roth Grapplatten und -Steine mit Inschriften. This contributor quotes especially the window on the Pagan-Christian continuities given in the cemetery of St. Albanskirche Mainz, where monuments can be found from the entire period 4–8C. Their inscriptions remain bound by old tradition, and the graphic element is usually simple, presumably secondary, sometimes just an architectural sketch.

Rothe p. 556 also: Karolinska Bildsteine – 1. Grabmonumente: This reclassicising period improved the standard of artwork, and continued the late Antique custom of providing sculpted stone monuments for notable deceased people.

All this mostly on the Roman influenced Continent, not eteo-Germanic.

p. 561 §6 Bildsteine der VWZeit bis WZeit in Skandinavien. They are predominantly Swedish, mainly in Gotland. The magnificent Jelling stone in Denmark is unique. One must then ask about the inspiration for such kingly magnificence, and the article does not help us. Perhaps it was to match the iconic richness of the prestigious south, perhaps it was just an attempt to do something kingly and magnificent without any thought of the south, borrowing motifs from other northern art, that on ships and movable items, and perhaps from the Swedish stones. I do not have the knowledge to do more than suggest.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
arrangement seem a natural move towards an architecturalisation of the form of writing used on prestige monuments.

1 Impact, literary form, graphic form

1. For alphabetic writing around the Mediterranean, full geometrising of the script occurs first in South Arabia and reaches a later independent peak in Augustan Rome. It never happens in India, where a somewhat greater spacing of the Brahmi letters is the only sign I have noted suggesting studied inscriptionality. In any case, to our eyes there is little correlation between the quality of the few archaic Greek monuments which we can reconstruct and the poems on them. Still, from archaic writing like Phoenician to the Ionic "capitals" and the stoikhedon used to architecturalise inscriptions from the Peisistratid period, and then later when neater alinement was practised, there is a belated move towards matching the graphic form to the inherent regularity and beauty of the verse text.187 In letter form and layout we have the overlapping of different but related sorts of "monumentality". High seriousness, proportion and emphatic restraint make for an inner monumentality.

2. Even in Classical times the epigram may occupy just the upper sill of the picture frame, in quite tiny letters, such as on the beautiful stele for Ampharete.188 Considerable evidence189 suggests that in the -4C many epigrams on elaborate public monuments were added later, perhaps much later, than the main (prose) inscription and the artwork. The style and later placement of such poems suggests that more than a little care was taken with their writing and selection.

3. It is not possible to judge how the prominence and the expense of a good text by a reputable poet compared with those of the best Attic grave reliefs. However, if poets like Simonides took commissions for epitaphs and other inscriptions, in the age of the tyrants or for later great family tombs, and it is most likely that they did, texts would not have come cheap. Court poets were professionally mercenary, whether bardic or not. *Grose’s 1792 *Olio gives us, in passing, the high cost of Latin verse epitaphs in the English 18C. The text cost a fifth as much as the common marble monument on which it was to be placed.

187 Note in our translation and commentary on the stone poems of Pfohl’s GPOS (in Addenda, under *Classical) the strong tendency to use, first, word dividers, then line breaks, to pick out elements of the verse structure, and the PN.

188 Viewable in Canberra in 1990: *Potts ANG.

189 Collected by Hansen CEG II for the -4C on: p. 236, *in capite, ad n° 827, also p.231.
4. A productive tradition of inscribed verse probably requires a settled tradition of monument building, not just the use of cliffs and field stones, and it had to be the wealthy and prominent who typically set up monuments, of which only those done in stone can survive in any quantity. Luckily, Greek bronzes were set on stones and the latter, not the bronzes, were the normal recipients of standard inscriptions. We would hardly need *Morris's painstaking studies of class and burial to suspect that in Athens at least, the middle and lower classes tended to adopt prestige forms from their betters. No matter how small a percentage of monuments were supplied with verse, it seems that verse was an ever-present option, if not an automatic choice. If it had been automatic there would have been no epigram. Poetry, and specifically short poetry, has to be set against other options before it can become a “form”.

3. Detail — Archaic Greece

1. The earliest inscribed poetry in Greek survives in quite limited quantity but is spread over generous stretches of space and time. This suggests one of two things: either it was far more widespread than our remains indicate, or it was far more coveted than meagre ancient usage would suggest to us.

2. We get very little help from the book tradition, which provides a few paltry remains of doubtful value even for the Classical period. The remaking of Greek identity which seems to have gone on in the -5C, especially when confidence about political and economic success began to be undermined by the Peloponnesian War, and the extensive survival of written texts from that century, left it to Classical (democratic) epigraphs to become paradigms of the later genre. There is no real predecessor to Simonides. Yet stone poems were already an old custom before the Persians entered Greece and before growing interest in inscriptions (sparked, as in

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190 Depending on the particular editor of AP, few or no surviving poems are awarded to Plato and Simonides, much less to Sappho and Homer.

Although “the history of the epigram has not yet been written”, the formative periods are well treated by Peek’s semi-popular Einleitung in GG and Lausberg’s Dritter Teil, p.433 ff. of EINZELDISTICHON, with much reference to earlier parts of his important book. Older and heavier is the excellent RE article by Reitzenstein, and for the post classical and Christian periods Keydell’s RAC article is recent and also excellent. Detailed studies abound, and many book-literature studies call on epigraphic evidence, which however remains refractory to synoptic study of a literary sort.

Friedländer’s Epigrammaton, short articles in ZPE, mainly on Hellenistic and Roman finds, and the less severe studies found in some of the introductions by the great scholars, are find places for literary-critical study. We have noted that our broad brush treatment precludes more than the occasional literary comment in the body of this thesis.

191 Epitaphs at least had become pessimistic by the -4C, Peek GG p.37.
China, Kashmir and Tibet, by antiquarianism?) helped lead to an elevation and expansion of the genre.

1. Gaps hiding continuities?

1. In all this material it is common to be able to find a securely dated precursor for some theme or formal element, and then a lengthy gap before the flowering of a sub-genre which is apparently derived from this predecessor. One apparent example is the dialogue inscription CEG 120, which is -5C, while the next representative of this precise type quoted in Peek's GVI, n° 1832, is from the -2C.192 While such habits could of course have been reinvented after dropping out of popularity, there is a hint here of the existence of ways of continuity over time and certainly over space which we can now only guess at. It is likely that the aristocrats of the -7C and -6C were very sensitive to what their peers in other poleis were doing, and these peers were at least sporadically inscribing short verses. Aristocrats met frequently at the major games and can be assumed to have provided the supra-tribal context for the widespread popularity of short inscribed verses of rather similar style.

2. That unpretentious “geometric” jug from the Athenian Dipylon is dated to the later -8C, and despite all its over-exposure still astonishes the student of texts of Lyric Greece by its early hexameter and tantalising continuation:

\[
\text{hoc \ νυν \ ορχεστών \ παντον \ αταλοτάτα \ παιζει} \\
\text{το \ τοδε \ κλίμιν} \quad 193
\]

3. to give it the form accepted in CEG 432. There is ongoing discussion of the fragmentary second line which we have no reason here to pursue. A century passes before another sure Attic verse is found on a vase, CEG 287.

4. It is easy to get the general drift of those -8C scratched letters, but harder to guess what formality and prestige the text may have had in its original situation. Was it an exceptional practice to reinforce by writing that the jug was in fact a prize in one of those many competitions which were so intimate a part of Greek culture, in this case, a dancing \textit{agon}, which of course involved music? Was the use of verse, soon to

192 Of course, there are many more dialogue inscriptions than those which fall squarely into this section and Peek's division of text types is the most controversial and confusing aspect of his great work, but our point is exemplary.

193 We will not usually award Attic accentuation to inscribed texts dating from before the -4C, even to those from Attica. Translation: \textit{Whoever now dances the most wildly of all, his...}

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be such a characteristic element in stylish expression on stone, merely an experiment, a game (thus a true graffito), or was it rather an attempt to dignify and give polish to the occasion? Did it echo any ritualised uses of oral verse in the situation of the dancing, singing agon? From all that we know about the higher reaches of Greek culture and of the ritualised exchanges of short verses in the late Archaic symposium,¹⁹⁴ impromptu and “canonical” oral verse could easily have been essential to the conduct of such gatherings.

5. It is highly likely that preciousness and elaboration in an object evoked similar elevation and formalisation in literary form, or at least, that the elevated occasion required “class” in all its components. The bond between art and verse was to be a long one, and a natural one. Both connect increasing formal elaboration with the heightening of experience.

6. Before the relative riches of the -6C there is little to compare with the Dipylon hexameter. Nestor’s cup from Southern Italy is often discussed as another early verse inscription, but it is more convincingly dated as of mid -6C (see Hansen n° 454).¹⁹⁵ This is on archaeological grounds, not from any suspicions about the earliness of the iambics of its opening line, though very early iambics are prima facie suspicious.

7. Graffiti from the Agora are only sporadically preserved and very incompletely edited, though the growth of writing on vases in the -6C helps make up for this. Let us argue from the unbroken nature of traditions like this¹⁹⁶ that the practice of writing

¹⁹⁴ Reitzenstein E U SK is still quoted on this, but has not been translated into English, perhaps because of his later admission that to explain the survival and even the genesis of most pre-classical verse by way of the symposium was too exaggerated a claim.

¹⁹⁵ CEG I p.252, quoting Metzger 1965 and Buchner 1955, citing “both stratigraphical and archaeological evidence” for the earthenware scyphus belonging to 525–520 BCE. This is highly suspicious, but we will tentatively follow it. The bibliography on this is enormous, see *Heubeck SCHRIFT p.109 ff., who also engages in a most exhaustive survey of literary interpretations of the inscription. Most down-datings of the inscription on “Nestor’s Cup” come from literary epigraphists. It could of course be dated later than the cup. Almost every feature of the text looks late: the metre of line 1, the geminated consonants, the graphic alineation by stich, and other matters, such as the most likely rhetorical-literary tactics in the text. Hansen has changed his mind on dating, but is probably still working from the literary-graphic side, rather than the archaeological, despite the archaeological evidence which he has found to support his suspicions.

¹⁹⁶ Though, as at Pylos and other Mycenean sites, and at Pompeii for its graffiti/inscriptions, one must note the results of students of “hands” and the way they have restricted the numbers of actual writers more and more. This itself is not evidence against a much more widespread ability to read. Henry VII’s writing is as painful to read as he said it was for him to write and he was the model of a Renaissance Prince, Defender of the Faith. *Prescott ENGLISH HIST DOCS p. 36 gives the facsimile referred to. Practices like the centralised writing of sherds for ostracism, though probably deriving

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must have been widely known of, even if its uses were restricted to certain tasks, people and occasions. The practice of writing in verse was put to more formal use in solemn inscriptions on stone from an early period, inscriptions whose generic form may have been clear to contemporaries, but which to us, especially where the monumental context has not survived intact, seem to spread over a continuum ranging from graffito to self-conscious graphic art, from funerary epitaph to honorific proclamations and to religious dedication. 197

8. Long traditions of grave art preceded the epitaphs, and *Day198 is one of the voices which are periodically raised against too much importance being given to verse epitaphs, when most of the semiotic impact could have been made by the monument itself. Indeed, not all prestigious inscriptions are in verse. Yet as far as fragmentary remains allow us to judge, the kernel of the epitaph, the name of the deceased, which may be extra-metrical or occasionally even omitted, typically appears within the confines of the verse. Great efforts seem to be made to put it and less crucial personal matters inside the Greek verse even where there is some accompanying list or continuous prose. 199 Assuming that names on tombs were more psychologically prominent than the percentage of the total surface area assigned to them might suggest, we can assume that verse epitaphs remained an important and a focal point of the whole monumental complex, not least because the name typically appears in it. 200

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197 In EINFACHE UND FRÜHE p.54 – 58 Häusle gives insessional classifications in which funerary, dedicatory and laudatory are admitted to have no clear boundaries.

198 EPIHISTORY p.32.

199 Omission of names, Guarducci II p.154 – 155 (mainly Imperial period), Page MIXED METRES: only 66 out of 711 pre-Christian epitaphs clearly omit the PN of the deceased.

200 AP fictive epitaphs seem to emphasise the inscription over the artwork and monument, see vii, 465, quoted in our AG part of the Addenda. Of course, verbal art may well tend to prioritise verbal monuments over architectural ones, but so, perhaps, did the average Greek.
2. **Typical omissions in Greek**

1. What is not said in epitaphs sometimes requires careful consideration, if only as internal evidence of genuineness. It is easiest to explain why grave inscriptions do not contain the proper name of the place where the grave is built, though the grave inscription is not shy about many other details of its own materials and siting. In inscriptionsal epitaphs we are merely told that *here*, or *in this place*, lies so and so. The physical description of the site may also be given, but in general terms. One acceptable specification is the very common *by the road*, which may in any case already be implied, when verbally absent, by the fact that a wayfarer is addressed. “Above the sea” is sometimes mentioned in the redundant and self-referential way of epitaphs, but perhaps only as a kind of boast, or as a reinforcement of the fact that the cenotaph in question was designed as a guide to sailors, i.e., with some practical aim in view, or pretended.\(^{201}\) To mention the place of burial by its toponym (or by some “uniquely determining description” or epithet) was not normally relevant to the concerns of burying relatives, and its appearance in book epitaph instead of bare deixis always suggests that the poem in question is no true inscription, at least in the form in which it survives.

2. There are other, more subtle tendencies in true inscriptional epitaphs, e.g., the precise use of κατάκεφαιμα, and of ὅδε rather than ὁτός. Naming the place of burial is only common in the case of those buried outside their ancestral territory,\(^{202}\) in which case the name of the burial place does not occur without mention of the nationality of the deceased. What was of more concern than the toponym was for the living to name themselves, to gain prestige from the “service” of having made the grave, to reinforce the bonds of friendship or blood, or simply as a reflex of naming the deceased, whose full title involves a patronymic, and later, an adjective or toponym (in the genitive) indicating the chora, village or deme of origin.

3. Much that could have been said in the oldest grave inscriptions, and which is in fact later said in epitaphs, does not appear in archaic times. The social status of the

\(^{201}\) See the final poem quoted in this thesis for this topos being most naturally used on a Viking stone.

\(^{202}\) Leaving the question of verse aside, this tendency to memorialise outsiders, and those who died through unusual accident, or by criminal violence, is also a feature of the Marterli-like Denkschriften of *Riicgg’s Protestant Prättigau. This popular tradition seems largely independent of the high culture of medieval or early modern Europe, and hence innocent of Greco-Roman origins, an independent creation, perhaps “natural”. Paul Brixius has reported the dominance of Haussprüche directed to favourite Saints in Catholic Germania, and all the more so might we expect a considerable Protestant-Catholic difference in any funerary habit, such as that of Marterli.

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deceased is slow to appear. First mentioned were warriors, but any patriotic, able-bodied citizen was a warrior before Hellenistic times. There are doctors (Pf.49, 146), the occasional tradesman (Pf.96, 98), a priestess (Pf.109), and in Pf. 65 the picture makes it likely that the deceased is a priest.

4. It is periodically claimed that the main reason for omissions of information was the lack of space available for long inscriptions on early monuments.203 However, those which do survive show that there is usually much more space than is used, and where there is a reason for inscribing at length, as in the law codes, space is found. Certainly the larger archaic monuments did not seem to lack space, even if only some spaces on them were felt to be appropriate for inscriptions.

5. Another version of the “lack of space” thesis may turn it into a “subordination” thesis. That is, that most early inscriptions were intended either as a minor part of the whole, or at least as a harmonious part of a complex whole, rather like the labels on 6C vase scenes. Clairmont’s studies show that Classical inscriptions and graphic representations are usually not very closely linked in theme, which breaks one possible bond between picture and words, but there may have been a generally preferred visual and architectural balance between the outer forms of the (typical) stone and of the (typical) inscribed block of text. A further explanation might be sought in a sense of decorum which restricted the emotion expressible in the grave reliefs and kouroi, tying in with a general cult of (or pretence of) laconicism in public life,204 which at least twice led to the type of sumptuary restrictions known to us from Ancient China to modern Sweden.205 In England too, there have been loose

203 Clairmont lukewarmly takes this up. *Lessing, does not consider it, and moves straight to our next suggestion, p. 448 (at the end of our selection in Addenda):
... daß die Kürze ebenfalls die erste und vornehmste Eigenschaft des Aufschlusses in dem Singgedichte werde seyn müssen. Diese Ursachen aber sind die: einmal, weil es nur Personen oder Handlungen von einer ohnedem schon genugsamten Bekanntheit und Berühmtheit sind, oder seyn sollten, denen Denkmähler errichtet werden, und man daher mit wenig Worten leicht sehr viel von ihnen fragen kann; zweyten, weil die Denkmähler selbst, auf offenen Straßen und Plätzen, nicht sowohl für die wenigen müßigen Spatziergänger, als vielmehr für den Geschäftigen, für den eilenden Wanderer errichtet werden, welcher seine Belehrung gleichsam im Vorbeigehen muß mit sich nehmen können.

204 Brevity suits praise, because deeds speak louder than words, see *Ecker p.128. *Cartledge 1978 tries to get behind the classical charge of illiteracy against the Spartans, whose laconicism, when the inter state rivalries and myths are stripped away, may well be taken as characteristic of all archaic Greek elites, on the mainland at least. Most private Spartan inscriptions are on ex-votos (p.31), gravestones and reliefs are very few. Pre-3C Spartan verse only in CEG 367, 368, 819, 820, 821, 822.

205 See addenda under Han, Chinese Stone, for the codes of idealised law recommending to the Chinese extreme sumptuary parsimony. The Swedish film interview/documentary *Sagolandet* by Jan Troell, 1983, provides an interesting reappearance of this tendency in our days. Shown as The Land of Dreams on SBS TV Friday 28 June 1991, it featured a local official justifying laws about the height
regulations which tried to preserve the dignity of the epitaph, which in fact meant preserving brevity and a highly ritual format and content. Lausberg has written at length on such brevity.

4. Brevity is relative — Olbia and surrounds taken as typical.

1. The Black Sea colonies of the Greek diaspora had a reputation for literary primitivism not shared by Magna Graecia, towards the other end of the Greek culture area. This might seem to be the reason why graffiti from these often rich Crimean cities tend to be very short. However, brevity can be assumed for all very early writing, and most not-so-early private writing. Words do not usually appear fully written out in these documents and the number of words per sherd is severely restricted, except in a few magical texts. Verse in the form of graffito is very rare from the Euxine — only CEG 903 has come to my notice. Full phrases are rare. This is the prevailing graphic background against which the brevity of our archaic verse inscriptions may perhaps be appreciated. From what we know about the availability and cost of papyrus in the periods covered, the majority of every day writing would indeed have been on such ostraca, and possibly on small writing boards.

and proportions of gravestones in contemporary public cemeteries. He explained that a couple could not use a strangely formed field stone which they had collected for a family grave because “in the past people competed with each other for elaborate tombstones, and thus the law was made...” (I quote approximately). It was not clear to me whether this current Swedish sumptuary law sprang from local communal values which may or may not have been shared by European peasants in general, or from the values of an educated elite which may have been influenced by what they had been taught about Ancient Greece.

206 GRAVE HUMOUR early (unnumbered) pages, quoting the Churchyards Handbook of its period.

207 EINZELDISTICHON p.118 ff.

208 If only on the basis of the exiguousness of the overwhelming number of non-official texts surviving on ostraca, and lead. Even when the first surviving records are extensive public texts, it is obvious that private texts preceded them, if not of the same type. Baines, in his sweeping survey WRITING EGYPT p. 575 & 591 notes the “original restriction of writing to tables, marks of ownership and captions”, and notes that this restricted use (no full utterances written, no concept of a “text”) continued in Egypt until the 3rd Dynasty, i.e., for 500 years in a culture which initially, like the Greeks, had adopted writing very rapidly. Deep cultural and graphemic differences must underlie the different paths of the nativised writing systems in Archaic Greece and in pre-Greek Egypt. New Kingdom Egypt seems to have lacked no specific graphemic item or literate trait that the -8C Greeks possessed, but the overall “cognitive styles” of each society were worlds apart. Babylonia shows a much longer record of prewriting and proto-writing than Egypt, since Nilotic society seemed to have reached full complexity before quickly taking the step to administrative writing, and we know from South America, Meso-America and Africa that very complex societies can continue with little, or with no use of writing. It is convincingly claimed (Schmandt-Besserat for Babylonia and the Sudan, Schenkel a full survey) that all sorts of marking and tallying systems were in place through the neolithic, and that these provide the real prehistory of many forms of “original” writing, a past still preserved in the etymologies of words like the Hebrew SOPHER, translated “scribe” and meaning many things, according to the state of culture, but appearing originally to have meant tallier, counter. See for this, *Galling.
2. We will discuss remains from the –6C, the –5C and the –4C. These are the centuries covered by the vast majority of the corpus. We will merely glance at later times. By this choice of Tolstoy's corpus as our sample of common inscriptive practice we are assuming that it is fairly typical of non-elite writing on sherds in other Greek areas, especially the large colonial fringe of earlier Hellenism. Unfortunately, the Athenian graffiti have been published very selectively by Lang, and we did not have the time to make a full study of the holdings of IG, especially in view of the comments of *Bakker, *Galsterer-Kroll, *Lebek and *Oikonomides concerning the current state of study of the graffito.

1. Stated, suggested or merely assumed elements — dedications around Olbia

1. Where a cultural event, such as the giving of an object to the god, (the most common inscription discernible in Tolstoy's corpus) is rich with fairly obvious meaning, it becomes less relevant how much of this meaning was originally spelt out in words unless the letters themselves add something, rather than repeating and reinforcing the obvious.

2. Words may add something not implied by the ritual and the monument, perhaps a specific appeal to the living, but this could always be standing for a dumb but nonetheless clear appeal which might have been felt to inhere in earlier uninscribed memorial stones because of custom and oral tradition. Both in Egypt as well as in later Greece we find that the appeal to the living predominates on gravestones. Tolstoy's sherds, predictably, are innocent of funerary inscriptions. Such texts were not normally intended for common and movable objects in Greek culture, except (mainly on one island) for sacred disks, and Tolstoy's corpus is confined to ostraka.

3. Thus it presents texts less formal than careful public inscriptions. In interpreting them we must make some cultural adjustments. Mauss and Cristofani remind us that "gifts" and sales are one and the same in societies of "total prestation"

209 Guarducci III p. 121, Kasos, and they were set in firm holders in a place which seemed significant, over the precise spot where the head of each of the deceased would have been lying under the ground.

210 DONO ARCHAICO. Cristofani is looking for some explanation for the convergence of the formularies used in religious and secular gift inscriptions before the decline of religious inscriptions in Etruria. Such rapid changes in the phrasing, the occurrence and the use of inscriptions are of more interest as a parallel and contrast to Greek anathematic inscriptions than is his rather speculative theory explaining them. Inscriptions on Etruscan gems present a different story, see *Zazoff.

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and that the meaning of giving gifts can change fairly rapidly, as can that of “ownership” in different cultures. The difference between giving gifts to the gods and giving them publicly to significant humans seems also to have fluctuated over time and over cultures.

4. Tolstoy's Crimean collection of graffiti seems heavily anathematic. The object offered is hardly ever named in its own inscription, removing the element of explicit self-deixis which is common enough in developed epigram. As on tombstones, the basic inscription found is a personal name, that of the offerer, that of the God, or both. A verb may indicate the dedicatory act, but such verbs are also very rare on dedications found in the Black Sea cities. A phrase may indicate the hopes of the offerer, and even be intended to express these to the god.

5. No prayer is ever appended to anathematic phrases on sherds around Olbia, nor would space and/or the normal length of an inscription allow for such an addition. The offering itself is a prayer.

1. Offerings on ostraka compared with those developing on stone

1. As regards outer form, one might expect the nominative and genitive for the name of the offerer, and the dative, the genitive and perhaps the nominative for the name of the god. A possible sign that the offering act remains largely unverbalised is provided by the lack of consistency as to which personal name is written, when only one appears. Of course, it is usually obvious from the name itself, even much abbreviated, whether it is that of a god, or of some human offerer. The dedicatory act is expressed by the expected ἄνεοθεκε only four times, n° 124, 186, 223, 251, (−5C, −4C) where the editors sometimes expand the gaps to include a dative of the god’s name, sometimes the nominative of the donor’s name, and once both names. Rarely, as in n° 247, −5C, we have what may be a gift inscription to a family member, not to a god: ἀριστε μετρι i.e. ἄριςτη/, without personal names, unless this is a divine title.

2. In what are classed by the excavators as religious dedications the genitive of the dedicator occurs fairly clearly in n° 24 with εμι (−5C); n° 41 (−6, −5C) without any added word; n° 44 (−5C) PN + patronymic; n° 46 (−5C) just a single name; n° 48, 49, and 50 of which the first is −5C and has emi, the latter two are −4C and are bare names. N° 216 and 217, both −4C, also show bare genitive forms of the donor’s name. As can be seen, the god’s name can freely be omitted at “Olbia”. By contrast,
it is almost always mentioned in versified offering inscriptions from CEG, except in
the case of those commemorating athletes.

3. It is assumed by its editor that the cup inscription n° 129, \( \kappa \varepsilon \omega \kappa u \lambda \xi \epsilon [ \), is also
a religious dedication which mentioned the name (in the genitive) of a god, not of a
living human, which would have made this text into a simple owner’s mark. This
name preceded the only surviving part, the inflection \( \varepsilon \omega \ldots \), with a part (1st or 3rd
person) of the verb “to be” enveloping the final \( \varepsilon \). It is –6C. It has been claimed that
a function of \( \varepsilon \tau i \) in verse and prose epitaphs (and owner’s marks) is to bring the
name of the object into the phrase in the briefest way possible, and the added function
of the more normal archaic \( \epsilon \mu \) is to intensify such a presence of the object. It is not
clear whether “is” or “am” appeared here, but this rare and fragmentary example at
least shows that the dedicated (or possessed) object at Olbia can be named in its own
dedication: i.e., “I am the cup of ...es”, whoever ...es may be, a functional
redundancy in a text which can be read (or vouched for) on the cup itself. The
owner’s name, of course, is never redundant.

4. N° 22 presents the only example of \( \pi a r a \) replacing this bare genitive of the
name, this time that of the donor: \( \delta i o u c o l \ \pi a r a \ \kappa \lambda e u t o \). It also leads us to the few
examples where both donor and god are named, the former in the nominative, the
latter again in the dative, without a verb being expressed: n° 25, and 85. Even this
seems unusually wordy for Olbia and its surrounds. Similarly brief alphabetic
inscriptions can be found at least from this time in South and North Arabia, and it is at
this time that more distinguished, or more pretentious Greeks are inscribing verses
which seem quite verbose by comparison with this rather private and apparently
informal writing.

5. If we compare the Greek verse examples to the long tradition of Buddhist
Prakrit dedicatory inscriptions at distant Sanchi, the greater variety of the Greek
phrasing is notable, from their very beginning. Perhaps this stems from preceding
prose variations similar to the ones we are reviewing from Olbia. Greek inscribed
verse is explicitly deictic.

6. The small beginnings of later variation are not always recoverable. A lack of
many inflectional endings, because of constant abbreviation (very much like Archaic
Latin, and late medieval inscribed languages of all sorts) means that we cannot
securely assign grammatical case to most of the names of gods. The nominative is
nowhere clearly evidenced. For the dative we have n° 21 ΔII, which appears with one

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iota in no 29; 22, 25 and 86 where the nominative of the donor is added; and in 112. For the genitive there is no 79 ἰδεως, apparently free of any dative iota; and the same word in no 164, where there is definitely no final iota, nor any following word. Such case endings do not tell the full story as to the illocutionary act represented by the inscription, but they do help in narrowing down merely syntactic variations.

7. No 123 includes with the genitive of Demeter’s name the adjective ιερός. Clearly, this implies the object grammatically qualified by the adjective, e.g. *πίναξ. As the same adjective implies that a dedication has been made, it may be seen as equivalent in function to a perfect of the verb of offering, an example of the disparity of superficial form and deeper function. In a more fragmentary way no 172 presents the same with its κοινέρη. [Dionys]us is suspected by the editors to be that god (ω with its iota missing, or conflated with the initial of the word “holy”) to whom the unnamed object is dedicated or sacred or, “of whom” (without iota), it belongs.

8. Any of these mini-texts could quite simply be expanded into the sort of phrases which constitute the earliest metrical inscriptions of offering. We assume that such prose fragments preceded, or at least, accompanied, verse dedications. It does not seem necessary to assume any Phoenician influence on the phrasing itself. Of course, there is massive Phoenician influence on the script!

9. Decorative (epic-hymnic) epithets for the god are totally lacking in this early corpus, whereas they are normal in verse dedications. They would presumably be familiar from the hymns chanted and the better known titles under which the god was commonly worshipped. It was not the custom to write them down in this format. We note that there is even a paucity of names of Isis, who had “a thousand” of them, inscribed at her huge temples at Philae.211

2. **Expected patterns, and variety**

1. The overall impression given by this corpus of remains, roughly contemporary with the flowering of verse inscription, is that the normal form of Black Sea graffito comprises two or three letters, or at most, part of a word or two. Letters are often

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211 Bernand, see fn 356. Her proper adjective was, however, not forgotten by pilgrims and travellers, see DESERT PAN p. 62 no 22 Gebel Dokhan (Mons Porphyrites), on a round pillar or altar 137/8 CE

a) Ἠεισεθόι Μυρωνó θυμου φάνον Σευμρό

s (ἐκατόναρχος) ἀνέθηκεν

(ἐπους) κφ 'Αδρελανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Ἕπειφ

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monogrammed together, sharing common structural strokes. Yet in a -4C magical text, shaped into two outer circles and an inner spiral form, n° 63, there are 20 words. Brevity was thus not compulsory, though in claiming this we are admittedly conflating varied texts and occasions merely because their findplace and centuries are similar. Another magical inscription, heavily reconstructed, gives distant warning of the isopsephic poems of later times. N° 242: \[\varepsilon\nu\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma\sigma\varepsilon\eta\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\nu\] . It is interesting that it is the magical inscriptions which tend to be the more developed.

2. Nor are the contents of non-magical texts always predictable. The sherd n° 245 seems to give a -4C address: \(\kappa\varepsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\varsigma\upsilon\pi o\ \omicron\), where Kephalos seems to indicate that he lives under a hill. N° 151, -5th or -4C, has the liveliness of the early graffitos of personal abuse, proclaiming to a possible future audience (it is on the outside of the vessel) that it will then have been stolen from Hikesias by an unnamed future usurper: \(\upsilon\kappa\varepsilon\varsigma\iota\omicron\ \iota\kappa\lambda\varepsilon\nu\pi\varepsilon\). In n° 108 we are reminded of the fascination shown by Ancient Greeks and Early Modern Germans for their ritualised drinking, and for inscribing drinking vessels. Cups also feature prominently alongside traditionally prestigious belts and daggers on many of the anthropomorphic Turkic stelai of the Middle Ages, and no doubt such tendencies were very widespread. A -5C black figure cup proclaims, more or less, \(\varepsilon\nu\phi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\nu\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma\kappa\upsilon\lambda\xi\), with the \(\epsilon\mu\iota\) written \(\iota\epsilon\mu\iota\) and the article \(\eta\) doubtful. Not the banal owner's mark, but something more celebratory and poetic than n° 7 \(\varepsilon\phi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\nu\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma\), given that the first word of the former text is feminine and that, in this context, it cannot be a PN, and thus must refer to jollity and conviviality. N° 7 however adds a common erotic tag to its pragmatic owner's mark: \(\kappa\omicron\lambda\alpha\nu\delta\alpha\kappa\pi\varsigma\kappa\varsigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\varsigma\), the only erotic example in our corpus, involving a boy with a Scythian or other foreign name. Greek book verse was to be much infected by symposiac eroticism, and Greek inscribed verse first appears on a cup.

3. Four words occur on the same place of a similar cup in n° 14, of which the final two really cohere in one common expression: \(\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\varsigma\iota\omicron\varsigma\varphi\omicron\rho\omicron\ \omicron\alpha\gamma\theta\omicron\omicron\ \Delta\upsilon\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\). Similar long-windedness appears on another -5C black figure vessel, n° 161: \(\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \omega\pi\nu\tau\iota\omicron\rho\omicron\ \varepsilon\mu\iota\mu\epsilon\omega\ \alpha\gamma\theta\omicron\), where the same Good Spirit was obviously mentioned in the now damaged ending. Zeus, Hermes and the Good Spirit were ritually invoked as the gods of the symposium and the symposium was a major cultural institution in archaic times, setting its stamp on the cult of cups and on cup

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212 As in many of *Rüegg's Early Modern Swiss examples! A recurring trend in epigraphy, then.

213 See for the Altai region *Kubarev's ALTAI STELAE.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
inscriptions, and no doubt on the ethos of celebratory literature, even if it was not the major channel of transmission of ancient poetry once claimed by Reitzenstein. These inscriptions presumably parallel an oral practice, some sort of prayer or even toast to the Good Spirit, or Hermes, or Zeus himself, the writing of the phrase perhaps reinforcing such a ritual act, perhaps just redundantly echoing it.

4. N° 13 seems to reflect toasts to a girl musician: Αναγόρης | Αναγορη ποτε[ου]. This was ~5C. In this and the following century rather more fragmentary drinking inscriptions can be reconstituted, n°° 15, 16: [πων μ]ε Πολυκρατης | ευθυμερετα, and a rather more doubtful but still likely [melv κατα διώκων | εγχει, of which the γχ of the last lacuna appear on the hand sketch as plausible strokes and should perhaps have been underdotted by the editors in their transcription. Love, drink, and graffito are regularly connected in old Greece, and love was again to rule in the new form of book epigram after Alexander.

5. The 255 items in Tolstoy come mainly from the ~5 and ~4 centuries. We have kept our selection of examples to this time scale and to the few from the ~6C. Later Black Sea graffiti do not grow much more verbose than the early examples we have just discussed.

6. Now Greek verse inscriptions are sporadically preserved from the ~7C and were clearly common in the ~6C. In the two available volumes of his CEG, Hansen includes 15 verse "inscriptions" from the three sites of Olbia, Panticapaeum and the Taman peninsula. As we have noted, only one is on a vase, ~6C (n° 903). The rest are on marble or limestone, and thus can be assumed to be more planned and considered texts. One of the latter (n° 463) is ~6C, four ~5C (n° 173, 464, 175, 176), and nine, n° 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, possibly 739, and 883, 884 and 885, are ~4C. From three of the findspots of Tolstoy's graffiti Hansen lists no verse remains.

7. Our aim here has been to illustrate from graffiti of the South Scythian frontier the nature of that more informal archaic inscriptional practice against which the ~8C and ~7C inscriptions of more cultivated areas are best read,214 and in the process to emphasise that the rich cultural complex which we might entitle "votive offering" can be made explicit in writing by various (usually incomplete) expressions, and that the most uninformative syllables may be sufficient to convey by suggestion the full

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214 *Lang 1974 from the Athenian Agora gives the same general impression with a short, popular collection which generalises on the rather earlier remains of this rich site, illustrating the generalisations with a few chosen texts.

C. — *Formative period of Greek — Stone only*
meaning of a ritual act. We will return to the verse offering-inscription after dealing with what is a more central type of epigraph, at least for Hellenistic and modern epigram, the epitaph.

3. Were early epitaphs as short?

1. Early epitaphic texts present, or embroider upon, a far more complex ritual event, the burial of honoured family members from significant families. How much (at different periods) went without saying, or, more relevantly for a study of the texts themselves, "could be read between the lines"?215 The shortest phrases can capture the meaning of such an event, when properly understood. Typically we find the deceased's most personal name (though not always for daughters) and some reference to the burial place or monument. The amount of redundant self-referentiality in verse inscriptions confirms that the fact of being written on is at least as important as what is written on a monument. See our later treatment of the earlier verse epitaphs for the various redundancies between monument and inscription. However, that particular deixis by which it is emphasised that this is, or here lies, is by no means redundant. It has the function of differentiating an actual grave from the very similar monuments (and inscriptions) of a memorial nature.

2. As in Old North and South Arabian, Greek memorials and their inscriptions may be funerary without being sepulchral. Hansen has reclassified as non-sepulchral all the memorial inscriptions on statues of the dead which Athenians placed on their Acropolis,216 the phrasing of which closely resembles that of the grave inscriptions, as do inscriptions of the early-modern German (*Bild-)Epitaph. Despite the difficulties of separating memorials from the narrowly sepulchral, and the occasional geographic distance of the "primary (socially primary) grave" from the place of burial, as well as distractions provided by multiple burial of dismembered corpses and by serial burial places of whole bodies, Western and Middle East cultures typically pay very special attention to the precise place where the body or its ashes are currently laid. This is a special place of awe and cult, far more important than a mere memorial can be. I do not know how much of this transferred to cenotaphs for the bodies of Greeks which

215 The name could not forever survive in communal memory for an uninscribed grave. See for this in Addenda some admittedly quite late *Cicero and *Arrian extracts. The idea was presumably just as vividly before the minds of whatever generation first inscribed tombs.

216 CEG2 p.179 sub n° 747 et ad n°° 746, 757, 780.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
were irrecoverable. The keenness of Classical Greeks to recover their own dead and to allow opposing armies to gather theirs suggests that a cenotaph tended to be thought inferior to a grave actually holding (holding down? κατεχον) the body.

3. In any case, while the relative frequency of Greek cenotaphs may blur the boundary of the grave-memorial distinction, it cannot obliterate the radical specificity which attaches to the place of burial, and this is mirrored textually by the fact that the epitaph and the funerary memorial are in the vast majority of cases quite distinguishable one from the other. See later for the small percentage of “varia” in collections of early inscribed verse.

1. Early epigram is not brief

1. Compared with the normal number of words and the themes represented in such traditional graffiti, early verse epitaphs are not as brief as they seem, and the rare verses on ostraca and on whole vessels take on a character of considerable elaborateness. Of course, the sherds from the Black Sea would have been just one form of writing done at that period. There would have been writing of a more continuous nature on more perishable materials. However, private inscriptions on rock and the less formal inscriptions on stone would have been done by the same sort of writers as those who were responsible for these ostraka. One sort of text would have been “received” in a context provided by the other, a context in which a written line of hexameter verse would have been felt as “extensive”.

2. For the earliest periods the normal length of verse inscriptions was one or two lines. In later periods the proper length seems to have been four lines, whether because of the formal possibilities of patterns of four (so common in folk verse, at least when sung), or simply because, once elegiacs became standard, a single elegiac couplet was rather too short for the few elaborations which were now expected, and two such distichs were the next shortest unit of this now popular metre.

3. We claim that all early (private) Greek writing tended to be as short-winded as the graffiti printed by Tolstoy suggest. We claim to have in these a representative sample of the normal, daily use of writing. Names, often abbreviated to the first few letters, and short phrases predominated. Labelling and listing were the basic uses of

217 Van Hall seems to be going out on a limb in treating the secondary burial place, or the primary burial place of the ashes of the cremated, as equivalent to a cenotaph.
literacy, it seems, for a long time, despite the ever-present possibility of long texts where the motivation for length and continuity was strong enough.

2. Epitaphs are, interiorly, far more than inscriptions of ownership

1. Epitaphs and dedications do seem to spring from labelling, but not from "mere" labelling in a modern sense. They must spring from all sorts of pregnant meanings resident in the deceptively bare name added to a tomb or to an offering at a shrine. Such rich content flows into the name from the funerary or religious context in which it is used, while the form of the expression remains that of a label on a cup or on some such personal possession.

2. The most pragmatic "labels" might at one time have been widely understood to be pregnant with the following unthematised meanings: that any thief or usurper would be accursed (the bare name of the owner implying all this), that the person is present in his name (some merging of the individual identity of owner and owned), as he is in his picture, and so on. Friedländer emphasises several times how the use of poetic form allowed to the inscribers a freedom to embellish, beyond what would have been normal in a prose inscription.218 This use of verse to say anything beyond the minimum is also apparent in Greco-Roman Egypt, by which time inscribed poetry had acquired plenty of freedom to be longer, but did not often seize on such freedoms. In Archaic times it was under various pressures to be shorter than any other literary form. This does not mean that it was as factual or banal as it appeared to later generations. In the surviving poetic texts there is a scent of aristocratic pride, and it would be wrong to read them as purely factual and pragmatic statements, if only for the reason that they and their verse form were increasingly associated with monuments of great physical flamboyance.

4. **Semitic terseness and Greek alternatives**

\[\text{Ἀντιπατρὸς Ἀφροδισίου Ἀσκα[λωνίτης] Δομαλὼς Δομανῶ Σιδώνιος αὐνάθηκε 219}\]

1. The Phoenician accompanying these Greek lines on a –4C (? see note) marble stele can be translated:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I (am) Shem, son of Ebedashtart, of Ascalon. (this is) which } \\
\text{I-erected, I, } \\
\text{Da'amtsalah, son of Da'amchana, of Sidon}
\end{align*}
\]

2. The few surviving Phoenician-Greek bilinguals come from a range of centuries, the first being –4C according to the most recent information available, Hansen. If we may merely count words, the Phoenician prose is surprisingly longer than the Greek prose, composed of two full names and the one verb “dedicated” (i.e., “this marble stele which you see”, involving implicit self-deixis). Even the verb might be otiose, though it may have been useful in showing that the monument was not over a grave, which freed it and its visitors from various strong taboos and the performance of various rituals. The Phoenician uses “I” pronouns, the Greek prose doesn’t, but a 6 line Greek epigram added to the monument (but not found in Magnanini) typically does.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Μησείς ἀνθρώπων θαυμαζέω εἰκόνα τήνδε, |} \\
\text{Ως περὶ μὲν μὲ λέον, περὶ δὲ γρήγορος ἑγκτεράνως ταῖς |} \\
\text{机电 γαρ εἰκὸνας τὰμα θέλων στοράσαι; |} \\
\text{Ἀλλὰ φίλοι τῇ ἡμιονα καὶ μοι κτέρισαν τάφον οὕτη, |} \\
\text{οὐς ἔθελον φιλεῖν, ιερὰς ἀπὸ υπῆς ἀντεστεί |} \\
\text{Φολίκην καὶ ἐλιπόν, τείδε χολι αἴσχα κέκρυμαι.}
\end{align*}
\]

3. (Text from Hansen CEG no 596, differing considerably from CIS no 115.) The writer(s) of this epigram obviously struggled to accommodate themselves to Athenian

\[\text{219 Antipatros son of Aphrodisios from Ascalon / Domalos son of Domano from Sidon set (it) up. Note the equivalence in the father's Greek and Phoenician names of Ashtarte and Aphrodite. No such obvious equivalent between to Greek and Semitic names of Antipater/Shem. CIS PARS PRIMA, Tome I, Fasc. 2 1883. Antipatros from Aphrodisias in no115 has in addition to the brief Greek inscription proper and the lengthier Phoenician, a 6 line epigram in Greek letters of the –2C (according to the 19C editors) and a picture showing a man on a bed, a lion near him, another man, standing and defending the recumbent figure from the lion, and prows of ships in the background. While the relationship of picture to epigram to real situation to ritual is fascinating and apparently unresolved, the very presence of an epigram in conjunction with the very curt (and quite sufficient) Greek inscription proper is indicative of the prestige attaching to the poetic inscriptive habit. Also bilingual are no114, 116, 117, 120, 122, and 149. No 143 is trilingual. It is significant that the plates of CIS show several times a Phoenician inscription heading a stele which contains imagery and Greek text as well.}\]

\[\text{C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only}\]
-4C custom, without full success. In the poem the deceased himself speaks, perhaps identified with the image of him displayed just above. Only 8% of -4C funerary epigrams have as many as five or six lines and less than 1% have more, so this one is a substantial effort, particularly for authors or commissioners who did not have perfect Greek.

4. For the earliest periods of the genesis of Greek epigram the Phoenician connection is worth investigation under the following headings, all derived from elements of Greek phrasing which are claimed to be characteristic of that culture.

1. I am — only Greek?

1. Much attention has been given to the Greek literary preference for the speaking object, and, with the speaking stele, it may be a key to understanding many or all of the old inscriptions. The device already has been quoted from Olbia’s sherds. The Phoenician kingly inscriptions on pp. 27, 31, 45, 51 and 66 (-8C to -5C or so) also typically begin with the pronoun “I” and the PN of the prominent person. A copula is not available for this sort of phrase in Semitic. The tendency in Phoenician to add “my” to the proper names of gods is a different matter, and in any case this particular “I” occurs as a suffix. It may indicate an intensity of religious devotion foreign to the Greeks, or it may just be a verbal habit. The Phoenician erector of stelai names himself in the first person, whereas Greek inscriptions prefer the third person for the erector, as we have briefly noted already. But there is no evidence in Magnanini’s selection of texts, other than an ambiguous fragment of uncertain date, that Phoenician “I” is ever used to make the object “speak”. In ... on a vessel from Thebes in Egypt (p.70, 6A) the letter lamed could just conceivably be the beginning of a proper name rather than the common preposition before such: ANAK L..., or *“I (the vessel) belong to PN”.

2. The supposedly Greek “speaking object” is most unlikely to have been borrowed from Phoenician inscriptional style. In fact, given the considerable variety of phrasing in Phoenicia, it is difficult to imagine a canonical form of sufficient prestige to have dominated Greek practice in the formative -8 and -7C, after which it is clear that developments in inscriptions, differently from those in music and religion, proceeded by way of internal development in Hellas.
2. **This**

1. Deixis of the tomb occurs in later Phoenician and Greek, but typically in Greek verse rather than prose — *this* tomb, *here*, and so on. The Phoenician *ez* or *ze* appears in the -2C with third person verbs: “This (is the) stele which ... , or of...”, and the rather similar but prefixed *ha* with first person verbs on p.30 n° 5 at Byblos, perhaps the century before. In an undated inscription from Kition p.92 n° 25 we have *ze* again in the formulaic “This stele (is that) which I-erected, I, PN”.220 Something of the same is found in the late BCE period at Memphis P.63 n° 2, with the difference that the object is not called a stele, but an offering: “This *offering* I-erected, I PN...”. Both *ze* and the proclitic *ha* are used together in these two expressions, as they are on p.89, n° 16, of uncertain, date from Kition: “This stele (is that) which I erected, I, PN...”.

2. *Ha* is more of a definite article, but presumably has, like articles in earlier Greek and earlier IE in general, considerable demonstrative force, as it is used occasionally without *ze* where we would expect the latter on its own. *The* was closer in meaning to *this* than it is in modern languages. Notable is the interchange of *stele* and *offering*, suggesting that the boundaries between epitaph and dedication were even more fluid in Phoenician than they were in Greek verbal culture, or that the words had meanings more shifting than those of the ritual acts. It must be admitted that much of the phrasing found in Greek epitaphs, honorific memorials, and

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220 No hint of this first person of the erector or of the word of deixis in the formula which Friedländer quotes from Albright, *EPIGRAMMATA*, p.7 n.l, as being normal “from the eleventh century on”. As the latter is entitled simply “An American Genius” in the long title of his biography, and as I have worked for the Institute which bears his name, it ill behoves me to question this rather old opinion. Though CIS pars prima is available to me, more recent materials would be hard for me to find consistently in Australia, in my present situation.


But some interest on other topics in III, Lepcis e dintorni

p. 35 n° 10 A local limestone block 28 x 27, text has some word dividers (single puncts) Roman period, height of letters 6 cm — 1.2 cm

1  P'LM'QR HR'S  fece (questo) Macer il R'S/RDS
2  LQM'PM W'LHYL'  per se stesso e per l'i/i suo/i fratello/i
3  'GY' W'LW'L'S  'YG' e per W'L'S
4  LKN'HRRBBRYT  per essere in avvenire incolumità (?)

(There is no word for “this” in the original)

p. 39 n° 14 XVII From the surviving copy by Girard 1685. Word dividers indicated:

1  [B]JMDLQRT BN. HHH'B'L...QY P'L:LBNY' 'QY.
   Ebedmelqart figlio di Hanba'al il ... lo ha fatto per i suoi figli...
2  LMBM HY'  essendo ancora in vita
   (= L'M+M' + MiHYeH?)

p. 45 n° 18, p. 72 n° 30: “a sue spece” = PKH BTM, a not uncommon claim in this corpus.

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C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
dedicatory inscriptions is interchangeable, and a small percentage of Greek inscriptions are still differently classified by different experts.

3. Formulaic language and fixed word orders are characteristic of many stages of formal Semitic. Greek expression is much more flexible. And for the text of an inscription to refer to its own support as “this stele, this offering” could so easily have been a habit created afresh in another culture rather than borrowed from the East. We meet it for example in middle Iranian,221 (we have noted its absence from Buddhist Prakrit dedications on the railings of the Sanchi stupa),222 and it seems inherent to the specificity of the act of marking a vessel or a particular, named, person’s tomb.

4. Only if the “I” of the speaking inscription is taken as mainly deictic in force (“I am” = “this is”), and as somehow equivalent to, and influenceable by, the Phoenician “this”, does this element of the form of Semitic inscriptions on dedications and stelai become relevant to Early Greek formulae.

5. Another understanding of Greek “I” is that it is an abbreviation for the name of the object where brevity (and perhaps generality) is at a premium (“I am of Qorax” = “Kalyx of Qorax”). We have looked at this for the Black Sea Greek graffiti. It is doubly irrelevant for any thesis of Phoenician influence. While the object is usually given its own name in Phoenicia, objects never (at least in Magnanini’s exemplary selection of texts) provably speak.

221 Addenda §24 PRE- AND PROTO-PERSIAN: In *Frye’s article we meet again the deictic ZH (or the like) a linguistic function so basic to Early Greek epigram and indeed to its later transformations, and the causative verb combination: “ordered to be made”. This is commonly found on Sasanian vessels and in much older Achaemenian royal inscriptions, but here it is on two dakhmas, funerary monuments (the deictic ZH on only one, “auto-referential” NPSH on only the second). See Addenda for the full texts. The addition of: “… himself ordered to be made” is especially interesting, if it means anything more than a simple emphasis (= for himself). NPS was a common word for “spirit-stele” in the country of origin of the Aramaic litterati:

i. ZNH dlmt[y]... plm[w]kr[t]n3
   this dakhma of … ordered to be made

ii. dhmk[y]...
    NPSH plm[w]t krt[n3]
    the dakhma of … <for?> himself ordered to be made

6. The object may well have been considered to be somehow living, like figured sarcophagoi from Gaza and iconic stelai from early barbarian Europe and the Medieval examples from Turkic Central Asia, but since this never emerges in the Phoenician formulae themselves, it is not relevant to questions of literary borrowing. Such a concept, if not inherent in that entire stage of Aegean culture, could indeed have been transmitted by extra-literary borrowing of some sort. But a concept of the living stele is more likely to have been carried along with the Dorians or even the Achaeans from Danubian cultures rather than have been borrowed from across the water in the orientalising period of the –8C, so even a borrowing of the idea from Phoenicia without the formula is also unlikely.

7. *Svenbro reminds us that the rhetorical device of a speaking object does not necessarily imply a belief that the object was really animated. It would seem more useful to discuss precisely how each period and area imagined anthropomorphic and other stelai to “represent” the deceased rather than consign the speaking object formula to empty rhetoric, as all evidence from comparative cultures suggests that there was indeed some “presence” of the deceased in the stele. Unfortunately the transition from a study of phrasing to the nature of ancient conceptions is a perilous one.

8. There may well have been, at various periods and places, various modes of a presence of the owner in the object owned, and of the offerer (perhaps also the god to which the offering was made) in material dedications. What is required is a continuing debate of the sort engaged in by Eugene *Stockton in his thesis on Arabian Cult Stones.

3. Function and “personality” of stones, key to their inscriptions?

1. The actual functions of stelai are of interest to anyone studying their epigraphy. Stockton lists five for his Semitic area of study: funerary monuments (cairns or graffiti placed as near to the burial as was practicable, on existing cliffs); covenant and witness stones (medieval and modern English tombs were also used for

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223 I have seen them, but I have no bibliographic reference. The majority are in the private collection murkily obtained by Moshe Dayan from the soils behind Gaza. A few are in the Israel Museum.

224 P. 374. Van *Hall still seems to be a useful stimulant for the theoretician of Greek Stelai. The “personality” of the stele of course affects questions of the “voice” of the inscription, which, being varied on stone, we take as an important stimulus to the variations later active in “book” epigram.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
“swearing” and legal validation); 225 “memorials”; companion stones (enabling the devotee to come and stay in the company of a god); and circle stones. It will be seen that the precise function of many of these is not analysed but merely suggested, and then only to readers unusually familiar with the archaeology, the literature and the ethnology of the Arab and Aramaic Near East. Stockton goes to more depth in his Appendix II, inspired by his Catholic background and long traditions of Eucharistic practice and speculation. 226 Here he tried to distinguish several gradations of “personal” presence in material objects. Predictably, the nearest parallels for Greek that we have discovered involving this sort of investigation (perhaps those of Svenbro) tend to cling to the level of text and rhetoric. Philologists will speculate as philologists. This is where we must leave the Greek “I am…”.

5. What does Phoenicia explain?

1. The fragmentariness and late date of non-kingly Phoenician material is well known. If Greek letters had not come from Phoenicia it is doubtful if scholars would have ever been tempted to connect the style of early Greek epigrams with that of Semitic stelai and offerings. Haüsle’s attempt to compare the cases of inscribed Greek nouns with the Semitic construct case, (a parallel to the genitive) and with the prepositions she (more or less of) and le (more or less to/for) 227 does not seem promising as a way of tracing provable formal influences, whatever the universality of a (deep) Case Grammar, which is not one of his arguments anyway. The main relevance of any comparison is provided by a broad perspective — not formulae, but long processes. As the poetic Greek inscription became more verbally expressive, the outer body of Phoenician style remained spare, and even became sparer. 228

225 Sawyer in Wormald and Bullough, and also Brown M.P., for the laws of Ine, and Weever: p. 37 On Swearing by sepulchres.

226 P.464. On p. 378 he notes that the presence of the devotee in a stone (rather than of the god, which is not relevant to the stones currently under discussion) is not merely commemorative or substitutive, but is also less than the highest possible stage short of total identity (never assumed by idol worshippers for their idols, despite the age-old accusations of their religious opponents) which would be a “definitive” mode of presence. He has an intermediate, second-highest stage which he invokes, calling it “representative”. Such attempts to demarcate very fluid attitudes on the basis of rather fragmentary evidence need to be widely canvassed by scholars in different fields before they can be taken as terminology rather than as impressionistic descriptive terms.

227 EINFACHE UND FRÜHE pp.114, 130, 151.

228 Not so spare in other West Semitic epitaphs of roughly the Greek late Archaic or Classical period, and there is evidence of considerable cross language influence in (alphabetic) Semitic epitaph vocabulary. A remarkable range of cultural backgrounds seems to be evidenced, and it is our thesis here that the underlying rituals and cultural ideals gave rise to the texts, or could have, independently. The Aramaic-using Persian nobility of Anatolia come close to providing Greek style epitaphs in the 5

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
2. About the meaningfulness, the soul of the Semitic phrases, we cannot here speculate, other than to remark that laconicism on tombs and on important offerings to the gods does not of itself prove any lack of emotional involvement on the part of inscribers and offerers. All that we know of ancient and modern Semitic religion suggests an intensity and a passion foreign to public Greek culture.

3. It is with these considerations in mind that we will revisit Greek verse epigraphy from the beginnings, and from the outside inwards.

data

examples so far known, of which we print the most recently discovered, that set up for Adda by the noble “Light of the Aryans”, Aryabama. The second here to be quoted, from Jerusalem and all but one word of it in Hebrew (if I read 'imato correctly as Aramaic for his mother) is entirely Semitic in tone and intent, and thus, in phrasing. See Addenda for the former, under §24.2, also Bibl. under *Akurgal, and see in Bibl.2 under *Abiuv for the latter.

Aramaeco-Persian:
1: znh smP zy 'dh [m]rdwS zy 'rybm
   (that 5th word could be — [m]rdws, [m]rrws, [m]ddws, [m]rdws...)
2: kzy hw tbd wkn 'bd lbh bmyt
3: [w]kn 'rybm tbd whmr zylh

1. This is the stele of Ada, of ..(A/mar(-)duh?).. of Ariyabama
2. Since this man did good, he for his part treated the deceased thus
3. And so Ariyabama shows that he too is good. And it is at his expense.

Early Hebrew epitaph, found around Shiloah, the site of palace gardens of the times of the kings, now an Arab village under the Turkish walls of Jerusalem, near the Kidron and overlooking its junction with the Gei Hinnom:

This is the tomb of Shevnamahu, which is over the dwelling. [bvt = Early Gk oiqos ?]. There is here no silver nor gold, only his bones, and the bones of his mother with him. Cursed the man who opens this.”

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
5. The Greek –8C

1. This is the century most likely to have seen the development of alphabetic writing itself so as to suit Greek, and languages with similarly important vocalic systems. From it we have the Dipylon Jug and possibly another Attic verse graffito. Just what a long chance this is will become apparent in our survey of prose-verse percentages in the next century.

2. Jeffery ed. 1 adds a few other 8th C remains, all in prose. The few inscriptions she accepts, often with a tentative question mark, to be from –700 or earlier, are: a neat painted inscription on an Aeginetan sherd, possibly a dedication (Pl. 16, 1); neat graffiti on Corinthian sherds c. 700 (Pl.18, 1), entirely made up of proper names; a painted inscription on a vase from Ithace c.700 (Pl.45, 1) which has substantial text; likewise running text on rocks at Thera (Pl.61,1); then from Rhodes, possibly from the –8C, and possibly metrical, a graffito on pottery once more (Pl.67, 1) “I am Qorakos’ cup”. Jeffery ed.2 adds a fragment scratched on a Euboean sherd c.720 – 710, (Pl.73, 4); some Ionic island graffiti scratched very roughly on a sherd (Pl.78, 5 – 6). A meagre but significant haul. Note that only at Thera is rock the support of the inscription.

3. It is natural for the modern investigator to assume from these scanty remains that the place of writing in this period was a very minor one. A useful corrective is provided by modern studies in marginal literacy, e.g. Goody 1968, to show that where there is a need to list and label, the most elementary skills can be of benefit to the individual and to society. And as writing was already endemic, and not confined to any hierarchical élite, it can be assumed to have been well known about, even if not well known, in the sea ports, the newer tradesmen’s areas and markets and the larger country estates of go-ahead places like Corinth, Thera, Melos, Attica, and their surrounds. Either from the Greeks or parallel with the Greeks the Mediterranean of this period developed an “epigraphic culture” whose semiotics it is easy to confuse with those of a later period when papyrus provided easier but still expensive opportunities for private writing at length. Letters, for example, seem long to have been an adjunct to oral messages and interestingly, short.

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229 As, indeed, it seems not to have been in the West Semitic backcountry from Syria to Yemen.

230 Little on this in *Greene MESSENGER but his emphasis reminds us that the “voice” of many an epitaph may have been “messenger language”. The passer-by is often enough invited to be a messenger, the stele is a messenger.
4. As early buildings and statues seem to have been of wood, the graffiti and
dipinti which remain to us from the -8C, and even the rather fuller haul surviving on
hard supports from the -7C probably underestimate the degree to which the
mysterious signs of the Phoenicians were paraded before the eyes of Greeks of this
period. It may well be that early writing was predominantly casual and private, as far
as anything in that sort of culture could be private.231 However, engravings on
drinking cups show an early aim to display it, and the first legal codes quickly used
the proclamatory possibilities of monumental writing, even if the support was not
fixed in a public place but was a movable object periodically used before a select
company.

5. It is likely, from sheer probability, as well as from the direction of
developments in the following century, that writing in verse was quite widespread on
lost objects contemporary with the -8C items listed above. Of course, it was not yet
“epigram”, but the seeds of epigram were there.

6. The -7C

1. We have noted that only one sure verse fragment survives from the -8C, and
only about half a dozen prose fragments. In the -7C we have 15 metrical survivals,
six of them funerary (which involves some monumentality), 9 dedicatory, and a
doubtful wreck of something which once consisted of a number of hexameters. The
latter, CEG 453, from Ithaca, reminds us that even at this period we must accept that
well-known poems could have been secondarily inscribed or imitated, as happened for
famous book epigrams at Pompeii and later. Inscriptions are also less inscriptional if
they are written on a “normal” and not an exceptional type of support. Some of the
scribbles on ceramics may only improperly be termed inscriptions if sherds and hard
materials were the predominant writing surfaces in archaic times.

2. The 8th C verse fragments were from Attica, whose traditions were to prove
so influential for the whole Greek world. In the 7th C only one comes from Attica,
the others are from Corinth (three), Aetolia, Corcyra (two), Sicinus, Boeotia, Argos,
and Ithaca. Their metres are all hexameter, apart from the strong possibility of iambic
at Naxos (CEG 401, 402). Most are one or two verses long, basic lengths for the early

231 “Privateness” of a clannish sort would be guaranteed if a literate minority were sending written
messages, openly, through a totally illiterate majority. This does not seem to have been the nature of
writing in Archaic Greece. It seems to have been sporadic, and not limited to the traditional elites or
the major traders. In any case, as with Hammurabi’s “Law Code” (or moral exhortations) the illiterate
viewer always had the option of asking a reading compatriot to con such a document for him.
inscription. However, n° 403 has three hexameters, and to upset our too easy expectations, n° 453 seems to have had at least six.

3. This is possibly not an epitaph. However, a famous Corcyran six liner is epitaphic, n° 143, and in these six lines information about Menecrates can be given which could not have been the contemporary pattern. Length and thematics influence each other to some extent. And even apart from the content, the length of the epitaph and the size of his circular monument themselves proclaim that here lay no ordinary man, “friend” of no ordinary state. We get his patronymic, his state of origin, the fact that the monument is provided by the state to which he was a proxenos, a sort of early legate or ambassador. His manner of death is given (he died at sea, a mode of death which was mentioned very early in epitaphs, but not in the quantity with which death in war was noted) and there is the added detail that his brother came from afar to join the Demos in the funeral arrangements. This may have been especially significant, as may be the very mention of the Demos, but it is not necessarily an emotional touch. Whether the (nominalised?) adjective in δαμοῦ φίλος is to be taken in its emotional sense also seems doubtful in such an elevated and political epitaph. This monument illustrates the natural tendency to monumental and textual elaboration, size and length, one which the Greeks soon choked off.

4. Much the same can be said about what is perhaps the earliest verse dedication, from Thebes, CEG 326 and also untypically lengthy for this period, being of two full hexameters. Mantiklos is said to have offered to Apollo the bronze statuette on whose thigh the two lines are engraved. Two of the god’s epithets are added.

Μαντικλός μ’ανεθέκε Ἀισαβάλοι αργυρωτοξόλοι
τας ἑξ’ ἔκατας τι τοῦ Φοίβος εἰδοὶ χαριφέτταν ἀμοίβα

232 In Pfohl’s GPOS (complete corpus, combining stone and stone-like book epigram) there are, excluding sea battles, less than half a dozen mentions of death at sea before 400. Three times that number of poems clearly imply or state that the deceased died in battle.

233 Ecker pp. 118–119 summarises various treatments of this word.

234 Mantiklos dedicated me to the far-shooter of the silver bow from the tithe. You, Phoebus, make me a gracious return for this! Compare the inscription Μὸν ΚＲΒ on the chest of a metre-high bronze statue “of” a much more powerful figure, the approximately contemporary Sabean prince Ma’di Karib. The size of the item, the highly-geometricised Old South Arabian script and the “neutral” brevity of expression all differ from the Greek. See *Daum p. 180. The statue was found in the national temple of old Saba and is the finest plastic remnant of the art of the ancient period. Its purpose had to be at least partly anathematic.
5. In the second line we are told that the offering is part of a “tithe”, a word commonly included in later dedications, and there is the fairly standard appeal for a favourable response from the god. Many later and shorter dedications select from these elements to achieve a monostich. All the elements of Mantiklos’ poem are of course implicit in the meaning of the act of offering, even when not explicitly mentioned. Putting them into two enjambed (or apposed) hexameters adds at least some style, and perhaps some pretensions to nobility. Even if the opening of the second verse line may be taken as strongly paratactic, thus weakening the enjambment, the syntactic weakness of the trochaic caesura in foot three, combined with the very strong break after the first two words of the line, pleasingly breaks up the stichoi in a way foreign to the longer and lumbering epitaph of Menecrates.

6. The offering inscription of Mantiklos comes from very early in the -7C.

1. Elaboration and eloquence

1. The basic information which is known from prose tituli to be sufficient for dedications and epitaphs begins to receive considerable elaboration (a further form of variation) in the verse of this century, of which this poem can be taken as a fairly standard form. The Corinthian Dwenias was destroyed by a ποντος αναδεκ. Promathos the Aetolian’s tomb is that of a φιλοξενον ανδρος. The former is poetic colour indeed and the latter is conventionalised but probably real praise. The most likely editorial supplements to the fragmentary epitaph of Polynowa refer to the groans of her son, who buried her, hence to the emotion of grief. Friedländer suggests that this is somewhat of a metrical tag resulting from the fact that the phrasing of the first line did not allow for the longish name of the deceased to be mentioned there. This impression is strengthened by the repetition of the word “mother” in the remains of the second line. However, two lines are as common a length as one line in this century and studied reference to emotion was here to stay, to become more unfettered as time went on (until the -5C briefly stemmed it) and perhaps serve as the foundations of Hellenistic sub-genres. What remains of the tomb of Pasidqos of Sicinus has a loosely dactylic distich which proclaims that the whole monument (more especially the missing sections from above the inscribed base) form a καλον κεχαρισμενον εργον, introducing that praise of the tomb which is so common later,

235 di Tillio 1969 p.155 is one of those who makes the plausible point that verse form itself, rather than any verbal or thematic devices in the text, is what signals that the expected “reception” of the text will be in some elevated, non-prosaic mode. He goes on to suggest that verse might free a poet from the “artificialities” of rhetoric and style current in his period. This second part of his understanding of the poetic impact of verse is not relevant where, as in Archaic mainland Greece, no other form of literary language had yet been elaborated.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
and which is no doubt also intended to be indirect praise of the deceased and even more so of the organisers of the monument, in this case Antidotos (possibly others of his family), and the contractor and craftsman Eunos. Praise all round! The bronze aryballos dedicated at Sparta by a Chalqodamans is also praised as being a περικαλλές αγαλμα, or rather, praises itself (με) as such. In the culture of their time and against the current literary alternatives, such flourishes were probably themselves eloquent, and not mere formalities.

2. This may seem a meagre haul of literary overtones when approached from the riches of later Greek, but when one arrives by way of Semitic epigraphy, particularly that of the Phoenicians, (and even via Greek prose tituli), it shows the resources of a literary language, which at this period means verse, in quite a sharply lit way.

2. Implicit eloquence?

1. Some other verse inscriptions seem to include fairly full but still basic information in verse form, without any overtones being apparent in the phrasing. Friedländer would call these examples versified prose, which they would be if written centuries later. In the -7C they surely had more of a ring to them than that. If archaic art is to be taken on its own terms, and the famous archaic smile is more knowing than naive, the simpler verse epigrams should be awarded a similar treatment, for example, the early Corinthian dedication on ceramic, CEG 357, later than mid century, with pictures of Poseidon and Zeus, both originally labelled with their names. There follows a single hexameter, which reads:

\[
\text{Σιμίων οινοθεσκε Ποσείδαφοι} | \text{Fαλακτι} \]

2. While the high gods’ names could be guaranteed to fit dactylic verse, together with their proper adjectives and appositional attributes, the same did not apply to Simion, but as often, the offending cretic occurs first in the line. However, the donor’s name normally comes first in such short dedications, which makes the question difficult to solve as to whether there was any conscious attempt here to reduce metrical clumsiness by placing an intractable word in the least offensive position.\(^{237}\) In any case, the fact of verse may be more important than its felicity. As

\(^{236}\) Simion dedicated me to Poseidon the Lord

\(^{237}\) An assumption that the name is primary, and that archaic epigraphy proceeded largely by “additive composition”, allows the name quite naturally to stand first.
Friedländer claims in his comments on p.21, some heroisation of the donor-suppliant is probably suggested by the mere use of hexameter in these early cases.

3. It is no longer possible for us to be sure how widely verse may have been inscribed on tombs and offerings in the –7C. The fact that the tendency continued, and grew rapidly, reinforces the apparently slender evidence provided by 15 poems over 100 years. At least we can say that verse was a constant option. A lot of it could have been displayed on wood, as was much of Solon’s. Like early literacy, it could have been an endemic cultural trait rather than an epidemic. The historical question is complicated by the possibility that the needs of the culture could have produced epigraphic verse more than once, in more than one place, that is, that verse could have developed without formal models in various times and places, perhaps, sometimes, where it had died out. For develop it did, according to deep cultural needs and preferences which preceded or developed along with it.

7. The –6C — Full Bloom

1. It is a mere accident of documentation which hides from us the cultural brilliance of the –6C. Architecture and epigraphy only partially lift the veil and we must rely on imaginative reconstruction. About 30 sites (compared with the 8 of the –7C) provide 183 inscribed poems, against the 15 surviving from the previous century.

   Funerary: Attic 53, non-Attic 13
   Dedicatory: Attic 58, non-Attic 57
   Varia: Attic 6, non-Attic 10

2. The Attic predominance is obvious, particularly in funerary inscriptions. Of course, from all the long-used sites of Hellenism only Delphi, Athens, Ephesus and Rome have as yet been heavily excavated. If we continue our 6C survey a little to include the two decades following –500, when epigraphic poetry continues in very much the pattern of the –6C, we must add 24 funerary inscriptions, fully 70 dedicatory ones, and 6 varia. Statistics limp for various reasons, but it is clear that inscribed short verse was well established. Just as clearly it falls into two main classes, and outside Athens it is dominated (quantitatively, if not in matters of prominence and prestige) by verse dedications appended to the object offered.

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238 Van Hall’s convincing argument for this appeals to the suddenness of the appearance of both ashlar (or carved) stone monuments and verse inscriptions in the –6C.
3. As often, we run into isolated and distant precursors of much later trends. CEG 458 is dated no later than -600. It is taken as an elegiac fragment, surprising at this early period (there are no clear examples from the previous century) but that metre was soon to be the normal verse form for short inscribed poems, pushing out the iambics which appeared at about the same time, and perhaps changing their ethos for all time. The relevant fragment reads:

| γαλής αυτί φιλήμι |

of course, without the word breaks given here, but boldly enough written (LSAG PL.63, 1). The lebes, a vase, was found in the Heraeon at Samos, and the words on it are apparently neither a dedication nor an epitaph. The αυτί φιλήμουσιά might be thought to be only accidentally a half pentameter, but the preceding μεγάλη makes chance unlikely. Even less likely is the possibility that it is a unique survivor of lyric colon “D”. Friedländer ad loc. suggests that this, unclassifiable fragment is in fact another extract from some existing (elegiac) poem. As a glance at CEG n° 13–65 will show, Attic taste from the middle to the end of the -6th is more for elegiacs than for contiguous hexameters in epitaphs, and the mid -6C is when private epitaphs first appear on Attic stones.

4. Yet again, we find among the earliest inscriptions a precursor of subsequent tastes, this time the double distich, the four-line elegiac poem. A Tettichos is mourned and celebrated in four rather stylish lines which will be quoted somewhat further below. It is not until following centuries that this length of poem becomes at all common on Attic graves. If there is a standard -6C form it is in fact already the elegiac distich.

5. The 30 localities listed in Hansen as findspots for inscribed verse in this, the -6C are: Amorgus, Arcadia, *Argus, *Attica, *Boeotia, Cea, Cephalenia, Chius, Cleonae, Cnidia, *Corcyra, *Corinthia, Cyrene, Euboea, Himera, Laconia, Locri Opuntii, Melus, Metapontum, Methana, Mycenae? *Naxus, Olbia, Parus, Phocis, Rhodus, Samus, Sybaris, Thasus, Thera. We have kept Hansen’s Latinised forms. Only the asterisked ones have previously been mentioned for the -7C. From that -7C group Aetolia, Sicinus, and Ithaca are now missing. Attica, as mentioned, now predominates, and 25 new sites have appeared.

6. As has been noted, the surviving Attic inscripational activity is to be set in a timescale beginning with the lengthy elegiac poetry of Solon, publicly displayed on
wood supports, and overlapping with the earliest elaborated Attic plays, which no doubt involved long sequences of iambics. Early inscribed iambics are CEG n° 26 and 49. The former, which is of three verses, on the surface seems fairly factual in tone, and the traditional *ethos* of the metre inclines us all the less to assume high poetic colour. It is one of the earliest iambic inscriptions, coming about mid-century, dated by the *floruit* of Phaidimos. The latter monostich appeals more to refined taste, whether the first word is reconstructed as “By famine” or “ alas”. Even in iambics, there seems to be a continuing refinement of style and the possibility of emotion. Explicit emotion in the –6C is important, both for the interpretation as archaising of the “classical restraint” which accompanies democracy and the period of the Persian invasion of the –5C, and for developments in the resurfacing private epitaph of the –4C and later. These provide the presumed origins of the later book epitaph tradition. Our old iambics:

\[...\muοι θανούςεσ ειμί | [...\]μα Μυρινές\] 239

7. This is from the last quarter of the –6C. Perhaps under the spur of a need to fit names and information into strict verse forms, there is a constant variation of how even essential information is phrased, and room for unexpected additions. If our verse epitaphs are formulaic, the formulae must be understood as residing at some linguistic and literary depth under the word surface, for even in the conservative epitaphs verse texts were always to be marked by considerable variety. Such constant variation within a limited repertoire of themes and rhetorical tactics was to remain characteristic of verse epitaph.

8. Local alphabets are used exclusively up to the –5C, and do not entirely die out until the dominance of Attic culture in the –4C. Peek suggests that the intervening –5C put an end to playful experiment and to a large extent to private epitaphs. 240 Thus, in the act of establishing forever the prestige of what had been a specialised and sub-literary genre, the –5C popularity of the genre also retarded its development. This is entirely plausible when we note the many “distant precursors” of later trends within this tradition. Many such trends seem to have gone underground for a while in the later –5C, to reappear later.

239 *Alas* (or, *by famine*) Dead Myrine’s...*ument am I*

240 GG Einleitung p.18, one of the many plausible insights he feels free to suggest in his less technical publications.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
9. On the other hand, a nervous attachment to the prestige forms of the aristocratic past on the part of the fledgling Athenian democracy may have been the major influence which canonised brevity for every subsequent classicising period of Greek epigraphy, setting restraint over against the urge towards elaboration which seems inherent in verse itself, making them nearly equal partners. This creative tension was to remain the soul of epigram.

8. Developed epigram just before Attic drama — the first three quarters of the –6C

1. Funerary

\[ \text{εὔτε ἀκτὸς τὶς αὐρὸς ἐντε χεῖνος | αὐθεν εὐθὺν} \\
\text{Τεττίχος οὐκτίαρι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν παριτο} \\
\text{ἐν πολεμοὶ | φύλισιν νεαρὰν ἥβεν ὀλεσαφτα} \\
\text{ταῦτα ἀποδυραμένοι νεόθε επὶ πράγμα αγαθον} \]

1. Tettichos’ four line elegiac epigram (CEG 13, before mid century, his name given as Tettix by Lattimore, whose thematic study is focussed on later times) elaborates on two very popular themes: the wayfarer, and the “youth” of the deceased.242 Although the graphic layout does not respect verse cola, great care is taken with the tripuncts (which I have reproduced) to indicate where the verse lines end. Archaic engraving in the –6C, while it does not have the squareness of Roman majuscules, is increasingly carefully done. We have already claimed that such outer, graphic form is likely to have been both a symptom of “inner monumentality” and a contributor to it.

2. Additive structure is obvious here, despite our attempts to scent some closure. The first distich could stand alone, as is common on stone 243 and is potentially the seed of the whole poem. The reverse of this is that many inscriptions have been suspected of including (in their surviving, extended forms) subsequent additions. However, lines 2 and 4 repeat the instructions to grieve, and to pass by, which may be taken as rhetorical-structural devices productive of “closed form”, especially as they end the shorter lines, the pentameters, and elaborate on, or are illustrated by, the “lost

241 Whether a man from (the nearby) city or a foreigner from abroad, / pass by, but mourn Tettichos, a good man./ He died in war, losing his fresh youth./ Weep for these things and go; may you do well.

242 Which Griessmair shows in MORS IMMATURA to be a very complex concept.

243 One explanation of this applies to post-classical inscriptions as well. For “Inscriptions only an excerpt of an intended longer poem”, see: Favreau, Cosenza, Ahmad, Stevenson, Weaver, Wilde & Redman.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
youth” theme. Also important for the unity and coherence of the poem is the fact that it is in the third line, thus early in what might seem to be an appendage, that we find such a very prestigious, expected reference.

1. Whose voice? Seed of later rhetorical variety

1. It is not clear precisely whence the “voice” of the quoted epigram is to be imagined as emanating from. In the 25 texts selected from CEG I for closer comment it is clear that dedicated objects nearly always speak in their own voice.

2. Within the subset of 13 epitaphs, the matter is not so clear. Often their voice is of vague and uncertain origin. It is unlikely that such disembodied voices were ever assignable to the deceased, the mound, the stele, statue, vase, or the whole, undifferentiated funerary monument because there is greater variety in speakers when such happen to be specified.

3. A further complication arises where, as in CEG 19, the deceased is addressed directly: σεμα τον προσδον. Although the stele might be thought to do this, it is more likely that the inscription takes on the “voice” of the surviving relatives. In CEG 24 the deceased speaks in the first person: κορε κεκλεομαί αιεί. In CEG 18, 25 and 137 the tomb speaks: με ... κατεθεκεν | καλον ιδεν, μνεμα ... με ... πατερ επεθεδε, Ευμαρες με πατερ Ανδροκλεος ενταδε σαμα | πολεανε καταθεκε. It has never been possible to prove an exclusive definition of the trio

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244 Ecker takes the line-final verbs of CEG 139 and CEG 19, κατέχει, ἐκτελέσαν, as providing several overtones of finality, both because the deep semantics refer to an irreversible act, and because the verb preposition “thematises”, explicitly indicates this finality of state.

245 We mean “voice” in a more dramatic and less lyrical sense than the one Crane, 1986 uses in deference to modern critical idiom. However, the “voice” which means persona easily leads to the “voice” meaning mode of self-presence of that persona and mode of communicative relationship to the reader, i.e., tone. Ruegg has the clearest assumption that the (early Modern Swiss vernacular) inscription is just as “communicative” as a shout in the street to someone present, or as a letter to someone absent, i.e., involving a specific originating personality and hence tone of voice, and some sort of envisaged audience. He then goes on to subdivide such “voice”. We go further, to claim a greater variety of “voice” in Greek epigraphic rhetoric than in any other epigraphic tradition, and to make the added claim that this variety is likely to have assisted the developments of literatised book epigram, as already mentioned in fn° 224 and more than once in the thesis text itself.

246 Van *Hall’s interpretation of the stele would have all voices emanating from the tomb to be somewhat similar, the voice of the soul of the deceased. This approach does nothing to illuminate the literary variation in the texts.

247 I will translate the following fragments together, separating them with the sign #: seeing your sema # I will have the name virgin-girl forever # ...X set me down... beautiful to look on # ... (the) father set me up on... # (the) father Eumares made the sama of Androkles and set it down here # I am the stala over the tymbos of Mheixis son of Xenwares.

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sema, mnema, and tymbos. In the early monostich CEG 146 it is the stele which explicitly speaks: κτάλα ΞενΦαρεος του Μηνείιος εἰμι ἐπὶ τύμβοι. From comparative studies it might have been assumed that the stele, or the prominent element of the ἐπιτύμβιον, is always the speaker in the early funerary monument. See our next section.

4. These first examples of variety in "voice" provide an instructive introduction to other forms of variety characteristic of the contents and phrasing of 6th C epitaphs.

1. By the road

Αρχενεος τοδε [ειμι ......................] εκτενει γνυς θοβοι αγαθου και [σοφονος ανθρος] 249

1. In this early distich, ca. -550 (CEG 16) the millennial topos "address to the wayfarer" appears in a very old and perhaps "pregnant" form. The tomb is stated to be by the road, by the track, which would seem to be as pleonastic as if it were to mention in which city state it was situated. However, the latter is never mentioned (for those dying in their own country), and the former is, rather like the epigrams which unnecessarily proclaim themselves to be over the harbour, or just to be finely made and prominent. Being by the road is thus no idle detail, it would seem, and it is often verbally implied even when not stated. It is no doubt implicated in the very purpose of the Greek funerary inscription, and in the prominence of the monument itself, resembling that of the "Anrufe an Lebende" on Egyptian funeral walls, stelai and statues from most periods. The dead, or his family or the local community itself, speaking for the dead, appeal to the living. About -540, -530 a

248 Depending on one's theoretical (arbitrary?) stance, one might add to this list kouros, kolossos, meilikhios, hermes, and of course stele.

249 Archeneos set up this sema ... near the road <of ...> a good and <careful man>

250 For that was where tombs were very often placed, as was, indeed, any publicity claiming general relevance, rather than inscriptions meant only for some isolated discoverer, such as those buried in hidden tombs, or those in no-name rural shrines. The latter may have been intended to surprise and delight precisely an occasional chance discoverer, as their literatised forms in AP suggest. See *Moltke for the same topos, surely independently and "naturally", found in runic Denmark. The Asokan Sanchi inscription concerning a "road" is not relevant here, as one interpretation of it suggests that it was memorialising the re-laid road itself, and the other claims that it referred to the (abstract) "way of the Buddhists".

251 Early -5C, Thasos, CEG 162: εἰμι μηνια ... κειμαι δ επ ακρο ναυσταθμο. Also found in runic Denmark.

252 The wayfarer device is the most enduring indication that a modern writer is alluding to epigrammatic tradition in otherwise nondescript short verse.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
famous epitaph implies it so vividly that implication is just as forceful as statement, but what it appeals for is pity, not any ritual offering or prayer:

\[ \alphaν\thetaροτε \ ηοστειξε\{η: \ καθ’ \ οδον: \ φρασιον: \ αλα \ μενονον: \\
\cevte: \ και’ \ οικτιρον: \ ce\mua \ Θρασονος: \ ιδον \] 

2. This engraver made very free use of word dividers, and they do not occur at random. As often in the early period, they pick out important caesurae in the verse, and in one case the (end of the) proper name.

3. The interesting mention of the "O man" and his preoccupied state show once again the thematic variety of the epitaph in this period, and suggest a rich store of oral poetry behind all the variations. Our interest at the moment is primarily the situation of the tomb, and how it is vividly expressed. Every command to "Stand and grieve" implies it as well. As the contemporary CEG 28 illustrates, the exact same words neatly fit the pentameter too. The ποτε σει... [ ... ] καταρχον of CEG 34 has similar force, but precisely what force depends on whether the brackets are to be filled with a vocative, ξενει, or the noun δακρυ. This depends on whether we understand καταρκέω or καταρχω. Only slightly later CEG 39, stele of Philodemos and Anthemion, begins: ceμα τοδ ενγυμο hodo. There are some repeatable phrases, but variation is more common, on the basis of themes which can be conceived to lie at some depth under the text. Such strong tendencies both to restriction and to variation are origins of the most archetypical processes of epigram. The use of apparently redundant thematics is a meaningful device in Greek inscribed verse, and their main function seems to be the oblique expression of praise.

1. Prominence of the tomb — praise of the tomb — proclamation by the tomb

1. Most tombs which were likely to have an epitaph flaunted their prominence and quality without having to put it into words. "Monument language" was of itself clear enough to contemporaries, who knew what certain sorts of monument were made for, yet the topos is made explicit from time to time, and is easily seen as related to the statements that the stele will proclaim, whether in the words of the epitaph or by "monument language", much of what it was put there to symbolise. Very early in

\[ O \ man, you who stride along the road preoccupied by other matters / stop and grieve as you see the tomb of Thrason. CEG 28. \]

\[ In the -4C CEG n° 680, Cyrenaica, even exhibits one after the main name in the prose heading: ΑΡΑΤΑ : ΚΑΛΑΙΚΡΑΠΕΙΤΩΙ | ΕΣΠΕΡΙΤΙΣ. None occur in the following pair of epigrams. The same tripunct, but used thrice, appears in a similar position in n° 523. \]
the Cyclades, on Sicinus, CEG 165, a late 7th C poet overloaded his second hexameter by two metric feet, leading Hansen to assume that even so early, lost items from a corpus of previous epitaphs were a model for τοι̯ει σαμα καλον κεχαριμενον ἔργον, in the middle of which the old Cycladic poet has allegedly inserted (with omission/elision of the final alpha of σαμα) Ευνος εκτας. In the already mentioned CEG 18 the stele itself says that it is καλον ιδεν. Late in the 6th C a disembodied voice addresses a certain Alkimachos, saying ευδοξον εσ χαυτε και δα γαι εκαλφην, at the half way point of an elegiac couplet. The “heap of earth” split by the disengaged verbal prefix κατά is the tumulus, unless vagueness allows the old phrase to refer also to what is on top of the heap, of which all that survives, this base, is indeed made of marble. At the turn of the 6th C and 5th C from Thasus CEG 161, the father, or the relatives together (certainly the living), exclaim about the beauty of their memorial for the girl Learete:

η καλον το μνημα [πα]της εκτης θανος[ης]
Λεαρετην ου γαρ [ετ]ης ζωαν εεοφοσμεθα 255

2. Exclamations are rare enough in epitaphs but they occur at least 7 times before the end of the 5th C. In the same time period this affirming exclamation, or particle, η, is more common before an adjective in the choruses of tragedy than in the dialogue sections,256 which may give some indication of poetic and emotive coloration. By the last hemiepes the combined effect here is of overt emotionality, a tone foreign to older epitaphs.

3. Later in the 5th C a presumably prominent Phrygian wood cutter, no doubt a successful contractor, stumbles into verse and states, among other things, μνημα τοι̯ει καλον. Our overall point is that if the prominent sort of tomb was expensive and fine, and if this is mentioned in the inscription, which is in verse, there is likely to be an inherent fineness and beauty adhering to the carefully wrought inscriptions themselves, if only by association.

255 Fine indeed the monument which the father set up to dead / Learete, for we will not look upon her alive any more.

256 Eckers p.220. Guarducci spends a considerable time III, 150, also 186, on initial ομοιοι [οι] and final, more syntactically disjunct ομοιοι, always mainly found in prose epitaphs, and then mainly in Selinunte territory, and only later at the founding polis, Megara Hyblaea. Here we have a problem: ομοιοι occurs very infrequently in epigram (four only by her count, out of 2,000, over many centuries), and the earliest case is a restitution. The problem is twofold and insoluble without more examples: generally, how much more localised were the prose tituli (as late antique Syracuse constantly used τόπος for the name of the tomb) compared to the more international tradition of verse epitaphs, and specifically, how likely is it that ομοιοι was used in a higher proportion of epitaphs than happen to survive to us.
4. Late in the -6C the father of Stesias set up a “tomb” (we can be no more precise) on which a limestone base no doubt supported a stele or a statue. As usual, it is the base which has the epitaph, even though it is often likely that the missing stele is supposed to be speaking. The father set up, εθέκευ, (with the forms prefixed with κατα and επι, quite a common word in this context and apparently not found in this sense with κατά except on stone) σεμα τοδε ... ἰδεν, to be seen. Very late in the -5C, CEG 93, a tomb is called a τηλαυγες μνημα. Just after the mid century, in CEG 124 from Thessaly, a speaking stele proclaims that it is θαυμαστον προκιην. Just a little earlier, in mid 5th century, from Eritria, the tomb of the Aiginetan Mnesitheos has a rough limestone stele, but this is graced with 7 elaborate lines of elegiacs (making 15 graphic) which are more emphatic than most about the non-stop proclamation which was to be expected from a prominent tomb. (CEG 108, the second half):

... επεθεκε ... μετερ ...

τυμιολ επι ακροτιατοι στελεν ακαμιατον |

ηατις ερει παριοσι διαμερες αματα παιντα

Πημαρετε με εκετεε φιλοι επι παιδι θανοντι 257

5. Note that the stele here is differentiated from its tumulus, and that despite the voice in the epitaph at least for a time being that of the deceased, it is the stele which has the job of unceasing proclamation.258 Deaths away from home, like premature deaths, seem to have encouraged greater elaborateness in burial. In this one the passers by are greeted and called (by the deceased, as we have noted) to come and read, it seems (ἀνανεμαι). Most of this is implicit in the earlier, more tight-lipped epitaphs. Likewise in the mid -5C we catch pride about the type of stone used in CEG 153, from Amorgos in the stone-rich Cyclades:

αντι γυναικος εγω Παριο λιθο ευθαδε κειμαι

μυημοσυνον Βιττης μητρι δακρυτον αχος 259

257 ... mother ... set upon ... upon the top of the tymbos a tireless stele / which will for all days say to the passers-by / “Timarete set me up on her dear dead son”.

258 εγω δε θανο | κατακειμαι | ανερ τις τεδε τεθαπται

259 Instead of (in exchange for?) a woman I lie here made of Parian stone / monument of Bitte, tearful anguish to her mother.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
6. The speaking stone is an old Greek topos,\textsuperscript{260} unknown to Phoenicia, as we have seen. Somehow we would like to pin down the source and tone of this voice, and to be able to judge how much of its accent continues into later epigram. The expression of emotion is somewhat newer — midway between Archaic stylisation and -4C sentiment, but those intriguing first two words cannot be interpreted until it is decided whether this tomb actually lacked a body. In whatever way the precise meaning may be decided, “Instead of a woman” is unique both for this period, before it, and at least 150 years afterwards. The expressions\textsuperscript{261} \textit{εργον αντ’ αγαθον, αντ’ αγαθον εργον, μεγαλη αντι φιλημοσυνη,} indicate the expected use of \textit{αντι}, and this word is even rarer in -4C verse epitaphs, occurring only twice, never in the sense that the tomb is “instead of” a body, much less that it is there containing, indeed, a body, but “instead of” the living person.

7. More than 60 years earlier, late in the -6C (CEG 136, on a Doric capital) a certain Qossina buried a Hysematas near the hippodrome at Argos τοιολος μναμακαὶ ἐπεμνεως. Here the concrete sense of “memorial” is surely suffused with the etymological, broader one of “reminder” and even perhaps of warning. This sense seems rather stronger here than in the \textit{μνημοσυνη} of Bitte, though in all the other three appearances on early stone of this rare word, all in the -4C,\textsuperscript{262} some broader sense such as “reminder” is likely because the monument is already given its name in CEG 708, almost as in the dedication CEG 773, an object, \textit{δορον}, is named immediately after \textit{μνημοσυνη}, in the same line. Finally, the phrase in CEG 690 is \textit{μνημοσυνη φαλαξ}.

8. The material reality of “memorial” and the function “acting as a reminder of” open up a Pandora’s box of many culturally-skewed modalities of “remembering”.\textsuperscript{263}

\textsuperscript{260}See Ploss, Svenbro and Agostiniani. Against them, Colonna. See also *Kornbluth for Dark Age English and Frankish “speaking inscriptions/objects” (Latin and Anglo-Saxon), and Rüegg for medieval, early-modern and mid-modern German (or Latin) ones.

\textsuperscript{261}Again, for convenience, I translate the fragments of these paragraphs together, separating them with the sign #: \textit{for instead of his good deeds,} # \textit{for instead of great friendship # and a monument to many yet to come # memorial of friendship #}

\textsuperscript{262}Ecker p.225 gives literary and some later epigraphic parallels. The historians use the word of the deliberate attempts of Asian monarchs to leave their (concrete) mark on the world.

\textsuperscript{263}Augustine’s much quoted (e.g., *Weever) etymologising could be old (monumentum = monere mentem), but a reading of the context in \textit{de cura mortuorum gerenda} shows that monere mentem means simply “remind”, not “warn”. Not all scholars seem to have concluded thus, so for reasons of presentation we leave open a possible mix of “remind” and “send a warning” in the harmless-looking word ‘monument’. At the risk of being tiresome, we should note that “warn” itself has at least a few different semantic modalities.
Perhaps the word family of μυημ - could be played with in poetry to suit metrical constraints. If so, this would be another type of variatio, brought into Greek by epigram itself, the verse form where mention of memorialising is most expected. As for voice, in Hysematas’ epitaph it seems to be that of his burier Qossina (if we accept the stone text with Hansen against the θαψαλν of Peek) and the fact that Hysematas died bravely in battle must have been a major factor in his being granted prominent burial and four lines of epitaph, and being made into an example for future ages (if we have caught the flavour of the “monument word” correctly). The theme, the deep theme of ἀρετή gives birth to many surface expressions.

9. In the two line CEG 19, already mentioned, its much contested second line can be agreed to contain at least:

\[
\text{cēμα το \ σον προσιδουν \ γυν[σετ]αι ευ[ ]} \quad 264
\]

from which we can be sure that in mid-6C Xenocles had a tomb, or an object on his tomb, which made obvious (almost “proclaimed”) his manliness, or his social prominence. This is in practice the same thing as if he boasted of it himself, considered from the viewpoint of a passer-by who will not hear his voice but only see the magnificence of the tomb. Self-praise is expressed with considerable variety, “objectively”, as this is one case where the epitaphic words, even if “told out” aloud by the viewer, cannot be that viewer’s own words because of the use of a third person verb.

2. Reminding — advising — warning, continued

1. Finally we return to the difficult CEG 34, on Antilochos. It is generally agreed that gnomic utterances appear very late in surviving epitaph, despite what might have been expected from the paraenetic tendencies of elegy. Once again there is a distant precursor. Whatever the unnamed passer-by of about 530 BCE is asked to do, he is asked to do it (because) επεί καί εή μενεί θανατος.265

264 Seeing your sema he will know your manliness>

265 since death waits for you too

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
2. As Peek is forced to do for the *manche Gedanken, Vorstellungen, Bilder* which seem to appear in post Hellenistic times,266 so are we encouraged to see many topoi which apparently emerge in the late –5C, the –4C or in Hellenistic times, as inspired by the prolific and creative epigraphy of the –6C or at least as springing naturally from the same sort of cultural seed bed as it did. The most immediate impression of any survey is the variety of surface expressions of matters relevant to burial. After spending some years with these texts it is natural to be affected by an increasing desire to read them aright. This sensitive honesty with the past may also help us imagine how such inscriptions later developed into a festoon of oral or written forms not primarily intended for tombstones.

2. What is not at first said — restraint and elaboration in choice of topics

1. *Chthonica*

1. In CEG 301, literary indications in EPIGRAMMATA no 49, we seem to meet Persephone for the only occasion in all the epigraphic verse from the –8C to the end of the –5C. In fact, her name is only a restitution, competing with [καὶ θυγατέρος τᾶς θυγατέρας] alongside a clearly engraved *Demeter*. In the –4C she appears nine times, very frequently thereafter. If she was mentioned around –550, it was in a dedication, not an epitaph, and not specifically in her role as goddess of the underworld.267 In the same period of three and a bit centuries Hades appears eight times, Acheron once, and a sphinx is said to be the dog of Hades. Θάνατος has nine mentions, receiving various degrees of personification, difficult to determine on the basis of each individual epitaph. Thus the rich underworld imagery of later epitaph is lacking. The development of such a trend may be the result of largely literary elaboration, or of changes in popular beliefs. The αἰθήρ to which Orphic and philosophical groups seem to have imagined souls to go is only once mentioned in the mid –5C and once more in the mid –4C (CEG 10 and 535, with a strong parallel in the Peplos of “Aristotle”). Peek (GG p.41) notes that philosophical notions never had right of entry into epitaph, at any period of Paganism. Interestingly, few Hellenistic and Imperial book epigrams were attributed to philosophers.

266 GG p.34, where he assumes (most plausibly!) that much more was available from Hellenistic epigram than survives for us.

267 Van *Hall suggests that unmarried women were presented as the brides of Hades, so Persephone may be identified with the deceased, to some unrecoverable extent. See Geffcken STUDIES p. 36 for the bridal chamber of Persephone.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
2. The dark (-blue?) house or the fields of Persephone are a characteristic development of the -4C. This is something of a “discontinuity” because of the suddenness with which Hades’ realm is then elaborated. One would suspect that the early stages of this process are hidden from us, rather than that they did not take place. Many of the axial developments of epigram are thus hidden from modern eyes, and have to be guessed at.

2. *Grieving words — overt and more generous emotionality*

1. Simonides may be a paradigm of the elegiac mood for Catullus, but the Simonidean *epigrammatic* corpus is marked by extremes of restraint and aristocratic dignity. The freer treatment of emotions perhaps brings the grave poem closer to occasional threnodic and eulogistic poetry (which must have existed) and thus to Hellenistic epigram of an “Asianic” type, such as Meleager’s.

2. Before the Persian wars we find a restricted vocabulary of grief, but quite explicit emotion. In the heroic -5C there is a fine balance between the old positive emphasis on honour and dignity and the more explicit expression of loss. This tension is as old as the 6th book of the Iliad. As we have suggested, the contemporary cultural context of archaic epitaphs may have allowed their words and the very monument to breathe grief as well as glorification. Using the numbers from the convenient selection of Pfohl, GPOS, we will quote direct and indirect expressions of grief. From the -7C the ποντος αναδεικτικός (Pf.5) is surely more than a local epic tag. What seems to be an “objective” way of referring to grieving is to refer to the physical acts accompanying it, to use terms which always allow of a concrete, observable interpretation. Once again, we should not easily assume that at the earlier periods the χολοχαρτία assumed in Pf.9 by Kaibel and Hansen and the late -5C εταλμοι ... βαρεα στεναχοντες of Pf.160 as they laboured at the mound they had to build in one day (groans of effort and of grief? the context of effort certainly blunts and objectifies any emotionality) are “material”, “factual” or “distanced” as expressions of emotion.

3. We have already admitted that the δαμοσιον καρον of the death of -7C Menecrates may have been more stilted than emotional, but this was because of its context, not because of its wording.

4. As already noted, only 15 verse inscriptions survive from the -7C. Monumental supports for considered inscriptions survive much more commonly from the -6C and helped their preservation, as well, perhaps, as their composition. Words for grief which do not seem to have had an exclusively “concrete” meaning (groaning,
wailing, tearing garments) are led by πένθος, often with an interesting verb or adjective, and κατολκτείρω (mostly imperative, but also in participial form). The next most common (and none is very common, it must be emphasised) is a verb whose "concrete" meaning may have been more prominent: ὀλοφύρομαι. Twice found is ποθεύς (but not yet πόθος or ποθεύν), a most subjective and specialised emotional word, twice perhaps the exclamation οἴμοι, which because of its syntactic class is a special case, despite being an exclamation specialised for grief and woe, and once each for the closely associated ἀποδύρομαι and γοῦς.

5. Not until late in the -5C does anyone κλαίει even once (Pf.100, CEG 97, with much other emotional vocabulary around it). Before the -4C we get δάκρυα and its derivatives only once. Its derivatives compare with the base word 6 to 1, the one early example being doubtful. Thus perhaps "tear(s)" are only found in the guise of the derivative adjectival forms δακρύδες, δακρύτος, e.g. Pf.100, μνημήν γαρ αεὶ δακρυτον εχοσ, late -5C, Pf.4 δακρυτον αχος, mid -5C. In four limping-hexameters from Thessaly which Peek and Pfahl put at the dawn of the -5C (but Hansen CEG 119 puts 50 years later), Αχέρων is said to be πολυδάκρυον.

6. A serious study of the linguistic resources available for the expression of emotion would have to go beyond such easily manageable items of vocabulary to take in more extended figures of language and their contexts, phrases like Pf.20 ὠν γαρ ἐτι ζοιαν εἰς ὀμομοίωσον, early -5C, Pf.40 ἡλεῖθον νοσελευσακα, late -6C, Pf.47 ἢσ δι το φιλον ὀλεεν ελπαγαθεν (late -6C, the strangest of non-standard compounds!), Pf.107 Μητρῖξη αἰνομορος, late -5C, and all the expressions concerning ΑΠΟΙ, such as Pf.192 ἡ προλιπος ηβης ανθος πατροθεν ὦλετο μουγυνης, early -5C.

7. Only in the -5C do we meet on the surviving stones πόθος, ποθεύω, αχος, λύπη, ανία, ὀδύνη, all of which are heavily psychologised words, not primarily

268 Thasos Pf.17 πενθος πελει, Athens Pf.46 πενθος θεκας αποθμενος, Pf.51 * πενθος αλαςτον, Pf.117 λεπωτε ... μεγα πενθος; this latter from the -5C.

269 Soph. Tr. 50 – 51: κατείδον ἦδη πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα | τὴν Ἡράκλεεον ἕξοδον γοιμένην

270 As before with fragmentary quotations, we translate a paragraph of them together, separating with the sign #: for we won't look on her living again # nursing him in vain # who wrecked the goodhope of his friends # ill-fated Metriche # who leaving early the flower of youth died only daughter of her father

271 Ecker notes p. 226 – 227 that αχος involves none of the external signs of suffering which are easily implied by πενθος.
referring to body movements or observable states. This sort of language is of course richly developed in Attic Tragedy, but emotion in epitaphs did not have to wait for tragedy, it would seem.

8. Griessmair summarises the verbal side of the increase in affectivity in -4C epigram, which may be largely due to the passing of the dominance of public monuments. That is, something of the sort may have been on monuments before. He mentions words like γλυκέρος, Ἰδώς, ἰμερτός, ποθητός, εὔτερπής and others.272 Suffice to say that even in the surviving epitaphs from the -6C there is a solid basis for the later development of emotional expressiveness. If pre-Classical non-epigraphic poetry provided more emotional resources than these epigrams, even before the date of Thespis and tragedy, this background would have to be considered when appreciating the "literary" impact of contemporary stone poems. It would make their classical restraint even more artful by comparison with the available options.

"Simonides" was in fact later read in this way, if Catullus was not alone in taking his "tears" as exemplary: maestius lacrimis Simonideis. Later Antique ages would well have known that Simonides, architect of prestige epigram, was a poet of many voices. The fragments we have of him now show the most unclassifiable variety.273

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272 MORS IMMATURA p.21.

273 See *Kegel. The choice of verse or of verse-like fragments the better to express emotion is sparsely sporadic in non-Classicsising Denmark, so opposed to anything Frankish, and thus to any aping of the Romans. *Moltke: Expressions of feeling of any kind are actually quite rare on runestones and in runic epitaphs (see also fn° 183) p. 190 “one emotional outburst in a verse couplet may be a quotation, but seems nevertheless to have caused some embarrassment since the man responsible had the words carved backwards.” This on the Rimsø stone, set up for a mother: ... mofur is taupi sam uarst maki, or better (seeing that Germanic, like the apparently unrelated Turkic runes, constitute a slightly more deficient writing system than our own):

Moffur es døphi
sem wørst meg

Same page, i.e., 190, to 192: “Young warriors express their grief and admiration in lines of verse on their dead leader”: quoted to conclude this thesis.

P. 192: “Inscriptions often end with a stanza which declares that the stone will stand for ages to come.” “… A couple of inscriptions have laudatory expressions in rhythm form: Tryggevælde: FaIr wørp au/ fæddIÆtem bøtri = Few will now be born better than him; Århus 5 (DaRun 6): SaR do manna/ mæst unipinR = He died of men the greatest un-dastard.” It is this heroic and honorific group of topoi that predominate in the more elaborated runic inscriptions.

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C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
2. Anathematica — related but different

1. Peek and Pfohl are not concerned with the narrower genre of the dedication, which was however to flower into quite a free Hellenistic poetry of nature and of the lower classes, who often are depicted through the simple offerings they leave in shrines. Let us briefly check the earlier –6C dedications to note that they show signs of the same creativity, the same freedom, as we have seen in the aspects of the epitaphs so far selected.

2. We have noted that the dynamics of restraint, particularly the restraints of length, are equally at work in anathematic verse epigraphy as they are in epitaphs.

3. Writing on simple objects because they are to be offered to a god constitutes perhaps the most clearly epigraphic and non-oral kind of text. Tombstones (and letters) occasionally make clear that they are to be read, rather than themselves to speak. It is far more likely that the engraved object in a shrine was meant of itself to speak to the god. Only when it was a lavish offering, the suppliant naturally having half an eye on his own fame, could he hope that his peers would also read the inscription (aloud of course). There is little evidence that the Greek anathematic inscription parallels some ritual and oral phrase supposed to have been uttered by the offerer as he performed his dedication.

4. The prose texts, some of which we have seen at Olbia, and many one- or two-line verse texts, fall into very fixed patterns, but there is always the likelihood of variety. From Eleusis, perhaps mid –6C, two fragmentary hexameters on a lead jumping weight proclaim that Epainetos won because of them. There seems to have been considerable enthusiasm for an original style of phrasing in agonic dedications. No doubt these inscriptions were extremely prestigious, and many are preserved or imitated in the AG. At letter B, it is assumed that the text ran onto a second, missing weight. CEG 299:

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274 This continues into what are mostly pseudo-inscriptions of the AG, see our selection in Addenda.

275 See our section on the Greek offering inscriptions at Philae. Their editor regards them as records of a private transaction between each worshipper and the local Isis.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
5. Hansen rejects the possibility of elegiacs here, and takes τοδὲ as τωδὲ, against Wilamowitz, who rejects the second line. In either case, it is no standard dedication verse. About −540 we have 5 iambic trimeters (CEG 302) on an unfluted column which begin \( \phi ου \beta ο \ \mu ε \nu \ \epsilon i \ μ ι \ \alpha γαλμα \ \Lambda \lambdaατ\οι \delta \alpha \ \καλ\ον \), and continues to proclaim (in the voice perhaps of the tripod or statuette once on it) that the column was put up by Alcmeonides, because he was victorious with his own horses at the Panegyris of Pallas at Athens, and names the jockey. The metric form of the victor’s name probably encouraged the use of trimeters, available, like elegiacs, at least by −560, and not yet necessarily redolent of satire or of banality. Possibly, in CEG 236 and 280a, and clearly in 348 (early −6C) the object offered says that it was made by the donor \( χερ\varepsilon \iota \phiιλαι\iotaν \), or the like. In this latter dedication Hansen assumes that the engraver had a mind of his own, chipping in with \( \alpha δαναι \ \alpha\gammaιο\xchiοι \), involving a proper epithet of \( Ζευς \) and against the metre. The reconstructed original is given with another form of Athene’s name, common on stone, and this time an epithet proper to her:

\[ ... \varepsilon\deltaο\iotaκε \ \tau\iota\alpha\iota\varepsilon\αι\iota \ \kappa\o\l\iota\chiοι \ \] 277

6. This plausible supposition is of interest to us in as much as it is made against the background realisation that metrical infelicities are rare in dedications.

7. CEG 362, from Nemea in the earlier −6C, begins with a standard one-line dedicatory phrase, continues with one of the earliest elegiacs to be found on stone. In this case the stele seems to have been the main dedication. The information added in the pentameter gives what was to become a common detail, in Pindar and on stone before him, the precise number of victories:

\[ \text{Αριστις με ανεσθήκε Δι ζροουιάν} \ \text{Φανακτι} \ \\
\text{πανκρατίου υφούν τετρακαί} | \text{εν Νεμεαί} \ \\
\text{Φειδοφυς} \ \text{Φιλοκ γο} \ \text{Κλεοφαίου} \] 278

276 In the jumping event Epainetos won because of these two whe ...l second weight (ght)

277 gave to Athena keeper of the city.

278 Aristis offered me to the god, the son of Kronos, the Lord, winning four pankratia at the Nemean games / (outside the metre) — son of Pheidon from Cleonae.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
8. Δι = Δι as on the sherd at Olbia. The final line is in rough iambics, or, according to Friedländer (n° 103 of EPIGRAMMATA) in no meter at all, the athlete having failed to include all his name (the patronymic and toponymic) in the elegiac distich. CEG 379 has a fragmentary elegiac distich from the late -6C where the pentameter mentions six hippic victories in the Nemean games and the first line probably once had what we take as the standardised form of a dedication.

9. The freedom available even in a single elegiac distich is evidenced on a ceramic stele from Southern Italy in the late -6C, CEG 396. Again it seems to be the stele itself which is offered, which is appropriate, as it represented its dedicator’s trade. Going against Kaibel Jeffery, Guarducci, and others, Hansen orders the six short lines as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Νικομαχὸς ὁ ἐποιεῖ} & \quad \chiλωρ Ἡρακλῆς \quad \text{o τῷ κεραμεὺς ὁ ἀνεβέκε} \\
& \quad \text{δόε δὲ Ἄμπροποιος} \quad \text{δόξαν ἔχει αγραθαν}^{279}
\end{align*}
\]

10. \( Fe = \dot{e} \). Note that the imperfect of “made” is not forced by any metre here, and imperfects may appear in and out of metre for the work of artisans, perhaps emphasising the work process (“fientive”?) and not the finished product.\(^{280}\) Discussions passim in Ecker. The pride of the artisan seems to be expressed even more often in dedications. The poet, of course, is not mentioned on stone during our period, except accidentally, if he happens to be the erector of the monument (a possibility envisaged, unprovably, by many experts for some incompetent epitaphs) or its sculptor. Of more interest to us is the way in which the first verse line innovates on the pattern “PN dedicated me/this artwork to God N + adj”. Hercules is greeted, a novel opening, for which see EPIGRAMMATA n° 111. Nicomachus does not need to include his name in the verse as it is already given, but he gives his trade. The expected prayer in the pentameter asks for business success, in innovative phrasing.

11. Originality in second lines comes early, for example from Naxus, possibly in the late -7C, and most likely in iambics. Even assuming that the first line of a dedication has been lost here, it is still surprising to find the second line choosing to

\(^{279}\) Nicomachos made me [this is outside the metre]/Greetings Lord Herakles, the potter offered me / grant that he have a good public reputation Note that the extra metrical artisan’s “signature” may begin the poem.

\(^{280}\) PN ΕΠΟΙΕ and PN ΕΠΟΙΕΣΣΕ alternate in two related Archaic gems handled by *Zazoff p.101 ff. See Addenda.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
emphasise that the base is of the same sort of stone as the missing *agalma*, in this case a statue of which a few fragments survive. CEG 401, with the first two syllables in crasis, and the 5th elided:

\[
\tau\alpha \alpha F\upsilon\tau\omicron \\lambda\iota\omicron \varepsilon\iota \ \iota\nu\iota \\alpha\nu\delta\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \ \tau\omicron \ \sigma\phi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma
\]

12. The earliness of the iambic metre may be contested, but this reused monument (a -4 or -3C inscription is also found on it: *Ναξιοί Ἀπολλώνι*) is clearly a dedication, the linguistic form for which is quite fixed whenever it appears in prose, and also tends to be fairly predictable in verse. Despite such predictabilities, it does not surprise us that a line as unusual as this should be a fragment of a dedication in Greece.

3. Honorifica et varia

1. The first significant thing about this commonly agreed on modern class of short verse inscriptions is the way its members are completely outnumbered by specifically funerary and dedicatory epigrams. Nor, except for the poorly evidenced -8C, does the situation ever seem to have been different, on “stone”. Book epigram, of course, was to spread over far more categories, running into distant cousins (e.g., verse puzzles) as it spread.

2. Two closely related and fragmentary limestone stelai from Attica, before the middle of the -6C, CEG 434, 435, seem to concern the institutors of a footrace to Athena. Thus the inscriptions are honorific. The final line of each, after confusing fragments giving names and other information, show the flexibility with which the long hexameter line can be manipulated, particularly its first colon:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[hol τον άγολνα θελεται ρωτοτρι} & \gamma\lambda\alphaυ{φ}οπηλι \ : \ \phiορ(ει) \\
\text{[ηροτοξι} & \text{τον αγονα θελε ται} \ \gamma\lambdaαυφοπηλι \ : \ \phiορ(ει)
\end{align*}
\]

3. Keeping to the varia, it is worth noting the appearance of artists’ signatures extra-metrically, part metrical (i.e. a part of a line not continued with) and well integrated into the full metrical line, such as the -540/-530 signature on a fine vase

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281 Seemingly: *I’m a statue of the same stone as the base* sed de sensu viri docti certant (Hansen ad loc.)

282 *These people instituted the competition in honour of the green-eyed Maiden* and *The sacred magistrates set up the competition in honour of the green-eyed Maiden.*

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from Etruscan territory featuring Achilles playing dice with Ajax, which includes the heroes’ names in caption form, and the following (CEG 437):

Εξεκλας εγραψε καπολεκεμε (καπολεκε εμε ? καπολεκε εμε?) 283

4. A neat trimeter? After mid century the commonness of verse on such objets d’art indicates an equation of verse with refinement. Perhaps verse brought efficacy with the dedications, rather as a better finished statue might be expected to render the god the more compliant.284

5. Finally, a very early –6C Rhodian stone, CEG 459, shows some difficulties of categorisation. The voice is that of the erector (as in Phoenicia),285 the purpose that of giving fame (common to honorifica and to epitaphs) — fame presumably to the erector? Was he also the deceased? If not, neither the name of the deceased nor the precise reason for the monument is given — Greek inscriptions were rarely concerned with detail, but their precise function was clear enough to contemporaries. The use of sama reminds us that it does not inherently mean “grave”, and the imprecation also reminds us that this Anatolian (mainly Phrygian) habit, which resurfaces in Gregory the Theologian’s Christian epitaphs, is not a central feature of Greek style. Ζευς = Ζεύς = Ζείς δέ. λειολη = λεωλη = τελειως εξώλης.

καμα τος ιδαμενευς ποιησα ηνα κλεος ειιη
Ζευς νυν οστις | πημαινοι λειολη θειη 286

6. If this really belongs to the varia we would be less surprised at the level of thematic variation. For epitaphs and dedications more standardisation might have

283 Exekias wrote/painted and made me.
284 “Care” = lack of errors and also a more heightened sense of style than in many epitaphs.
285 Ecker p.190 ff. suggests that the erector, like Nicomachus, was an ambitious craftsman, rather than the deceased (requiring a genitive in -ευς which is common enough in literary Doric) or the deceased writing while still alive, pre-fabricating his tomb. The latter was the strong opinion of Friedländer, n° 33. This would be a very “distant precursor” of what next appears in Greco-Roman times. Another possibility less favoured by Ecker is that this is a funerary inscription after all, with the deceased unnamed, perhaps because it was a woman. Hansen emphatically says “non epitaphium est”, giving five reasons. Once again, all this is a tribute both to the modern scholars’ conviction that there were reasonably definable genres of early inscription, and that border-line cases and totally atypical cases did occur.

286 I made this sama, I, Idomeneus, so that there would be fame. If anyone damages it, may Zeus obliterate him!

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
been expected as there was a prose and, no doubt, a mental "template" for their contents. General honorifica show no such generic stiffening.

7. With the widespread contacts of aristocratic and leading groups shown by the popularity of the various athletic games in the -6C, echoes of which have come into our own collection, it would be expected that the use of epigraphic verse and even a considerable amount of the techniques would quickly be copied. The extent and the formal stability of surviving examples surely indicate that such verse was a prestige item.\(^{287}\) The variations they exhibit bring them half way from the hieratic repetitions of Nabataean inscriptions towards our modern idea of "literature".

8. It is clear that variety was always sought for in verse. Social polish and perhaps heroic overtones also. From what *West suggests about the way genres were perceived in this period it seems anachronistic to search in any simple way for the ethos of any particular metre.\(^{288}\)

9. Concerning the "tone" of hexameters as such, discussions in Dihle's 1968 Hardt collection often reveal considerable doubt about how much of what we now know as "Homer" was available to the epitaph writers, and how many varieties of local heroic poetry there might have been. There were also early hymnic hexameters, perhaps very early oracular and gnomic hexameters.

\(^{287}\) E.g. Vérilhac in AQPOI p.411 From the -4C to the +4C, from the Euxine, Mesopotamia and Egypt to Britain and Spain, epigrams do not reveal to her their place of origin, though they often give indications of their general period. Vérilhac finds only three of her 200 inscriptions to have any local colour. Her corpus begins in the -4C because, although pre-adolescent children may be mentioned earlier, as in the epitaph for Ampharete, and the "untimely deaths" of youths and warriors are also mentioned before the -4C, it is claimed that no epitaph before this century is explicitly consecrated to a child. Early epitaph featured many deaths of sons and daughters, at least 32 in Pfohl GPOS, probably because for children to predecease parents was taken as an example of extraordinary death. Warriors are said to have lost or wasted their "youth". Pf. 28, 41, 647, 77, 137, and 179 use a form of ἄνωπος. Even unmarried girls may not be "children", but the Thessalia who calls herself ῶεριλα in the early or mid-5C escapes both adolescence and Vérilhac's restriction of such epitaphs to the -4C or later: Pf.139 = CEG 119. Whatever the detailed accuracy of Vérilhac's generalisations on periodisation, the sub-genre of children's epitaphs is obviously a major one and most suitable for indicating pan-Greek cultural unity. See *Griessmair, *Hafeez, *Johansen.

\(^{288}\) ELEGY IAMBUS p.7 In Archaic Greece it was the occasion, not the metre, that conferred the name — paean, dithyramb, hymenaeus, parthenion, skolion. p.20 The period at which this happened (i.e., Simonides' epigrams reached full literary status) was one at which Greek literature was coming to be ruled by the concept of the genre. The underlining is mine, i.e., genre in the modern sense (at least, shallow genre, pre-Jolles), and even in the Alexandrian sense, is not a -6C concept.
Epigrammatic traditions in nuce

1. The first century (i.e., the -6C) which left us a lot of short poetry on stone was also the first century to make widespread use of monumental stone constructions. It was obviously permeated by a rich stream of epigrammatic expressiveness which contained in germ both the poised and proud tones of the public epitaphs of the -5C, and the more personal emotionalism which resurfaced, as it were, from the -4C onwards. To see -6th century epigram as primitive or inexpressive seems anachronistic. To see it as chaotic ignores the underlying sameness of the two great ritual complexes which inspire the majority of the poems: burial and offerings to the gods, as well as the complex unity obvious enough in the corpora which continue these genres in later centuries.

2. The maturity of the -6th century needs to be recognised from what remains written on its stones and bronzes, and epigram should be seen as an overlapping group of “simple” literary forms which were firmly established well before reactions to the Persians briefly disturbed its development.

4. Two Axial centuries

1. — the -4C

1. In the Classical period there was clearly much occasional poetry designed for permanent public display. Minor and ephemeral oral forms now mostly escape us, but it is impossible to credit that a rich epigraphic tradition of verse would exist without a lively oral tradition paralleling it, if not necessarily of exactly the same type. Elements like versified gnomes and honorific cola could easily have migrated as freely between “genres” as did the epic tag. The hesitations which our editors show when assigning inscriptions to the dedicatory or the truly funerary indicate that poetic texts (mostly short) might not easily disclose their precise function merely from their wording. We could have guessed this from the following three sets of imprecisions.

1. Three monumental uncertainties

1. What epitaphs do

1. The first is that of the epigraphic functions themselves: commemorating, marking, showing ownership, warning off land, honouring, enhancing family pride and solidarity, proving ancestry (and thus inheritance or eligibility to hold office), moralising, and expressing sorrow, essentially overlap, at least in practice. They are
not confined either to a true grave epigraph or to any variety of memorial or honorific inscription. The dead, for instance, are honoured, they warn us about our mortality and also not to disturb their rest. We regret their passing, but rejoice in the magnificence of their monument (which gives us pride, both direct and reflected) and in the honours of their lives. Affiliating ourselves with them qualifies us the better to claim high public office in our polis.

2. Progressive additions to monuments

1. The second series of imprecisions deals with mechanics. Monuments are not made overnight. Though the Greeks apparently did not delay burial as long as many Chinese of medieval and modern times, monuments over the grave could be progressively made. There is evidence that poetic inscriptions on the more elaborate monuments could be rather tardily added. Some of these may have been added so late that they must be taken as “epideictic”, having not been made by participants in the burial or dedication, nor even by their sons. Tombs were made before the death of the intended occupant (this is very common in Imperial Roman culture, see se vivo etc. in CIL Index), and thus “funerary” inscriptions could also have been made during the life of that person, resembling the true funerary ones, whose identity came from being “over a body”. If public monuments had their inscriptions chosen by a committee, there would have been various contenders, from the same or different authors. From later times we have Greek papyri with what look like alternative versions for use on graves.289 The practice of putting more than one short poem on a stele or larger monument must derive at least in part from the frequent embarras de richesses following on a call for epitaphs. Also, like the multiplication of stichs and of distichs on the more elaborate medieval seals, it points to a generic intuition. Two lots of four lines breathes “genre”.290 Eight continuously composed lines (on stone) do not.291

289 E.g., FGE p. 457, n° CXLVI. See *Griessmair MORS IMMUTA P. 54 on Parallelgedichte.

290 The reading of the Old Testament in Hebrew reminds us of the fundamental nature of chiastic structure from the level of the “verse” up to that of the whole “book”. Macro-chiastic structures are most notable in the Song of Songs. For chiasmus, of course, there need to be four elements.

291 Eight lines are not generically abnormal on Australian stones, though very infrequently found, apparently because of a certain stanzaic sense in the popular cultivation of verse, and stanzas are overwhelmingly quatrains, in our traditions of hymns and folksongs. Thus, the “deep grammar” dealing with the length of verse which later 19C Australians felt happy to put on their tombs would have been: “a line, a couplet, a stanza-or-two”. Rarely more. Some such “deep grammar” ruled the textual proportions of early Greek stones.
3. When is a monument not a tomb? not the tomb?

1. A third series of confusing factors involves the definability of the tomb itself. While the very existence of a burying culture and of specialised burial places and regulations strongly imply that a tomb is a definable object, attracting special attitudes from the living, this is not entirely so. In Greek times the bodies were not always recoverable even after land warfare, or distinguishable. However, it was the death at sea, where there was no body, that gave rise to the cenotaph, the empty or surrogate or token tomb. Han Chinese custom awards to the simple “spirit tablets” kept in an ancestral shrine or temple many of the functions which tomb-visiting cultures award to the architecture of tombs, though it had already by the Tang developed a dual tradition of simple above-ground stelai and twin, buried, grave tablets. In medieval and modern times a body could be buried at some distance from whatever monument was equivalent to the superstructure of “the grave”.

2. In modern times there is evidence that the primary, the “social” grave, can be differently located from the resting place of the body. Where graves are disturbed and reused (standard behaviour for the medieval and early modern poor, and sometimes for the elite), such a distance is inevitable. Customs and social acceptance make a monument into the primary tomb, and there can be several such, as with the double and triple burials of the dismembered body parts of medieval kings and saints.

3. In any culture which meditates much on death, such as the late Middle Ages in Germania, pious memorials almost merge with actual graves. At least in the inscriptions on German (Bild-)Epitaphs the crucial phrase hic iacet (and equivalents) is omitted. This lack is the sole surviving indicator that a monument is not a grave.

2. Verse varia rare, grave and dedication poetry — varying proportions —4C

1. There are only 14 (—4C) Varia in CEG2 (counting monuments, not poems), and three or four from this number should have been in CEG1. The monuments with “dedicatory” poems number 158, according to Hansen, and the truly funerary monuments number 276, that is, over 60% of all surviving —4C monuments with verse. The increasing predominance of the (surviving) grave poems is obvious when

292 Weckwerth BILDEPITAPH p. 157, media in pagina: „In der Inschrift (sc. des Bildepitaphs) werden in der Regel nur Name und Todesdatum mitgeteilt, nicht aber, daß der Verstorbene unterhalb der Tafel ruht.”

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
we note that it was anathematic poems which were beginning to predominate in Attica in the early -5C. The importance of short epitaphs in the growth of the literary tradition is further shown by the large size of book vii in AP and the retention of a funerary option in epigram writing right up to the present. It is also likely that some of the recurring pressure on Western "epigram" to be short derives from the restraint felt suitable for tombs.

2. There has never been one rigid form or length for epigram in Europe. It escapes the definability of the short forms of Persia, India, China, Japan, the Malay world and just possibly Thailand: perhaps its restricted extent resembles those approximately short forms from earlier Muslim Arabia which are so hard for us to recover. Thus its brevity was more open to assault. When established and maintained, its retention seems a more significant achievement, requiring more powerful cultural forces than those which produce more highly-defined and inherently stable forms.

3. It seems most reasonable to agree with Alan Cameron293 that literary epigram hardly existed in the -4C. This means that there was no regular system of MS transmission of short poems, that such poems had quite specific purposes and little wider interest, and were not seen as prestigious, and that they were not modified to be of interest outside their specific situation (and material context) of origin. Nor may there have yet existed the widespread, leisured, book culture required to isolate epigram from subhäshita, from poetic gem, poetic citation, quotable quote, or from a host of short oral poetic forms. No doubt there existed much occasional poetry (practices of it rather than settled corpora) which was open to being literatised in the new conditions of the -3C. The recoverable conditions of this sub-literary poetry is of interest for explaining the genesis of the Hellenistic corpus. Now, in the epigraphic poetry of the -4C there are further signs of diversification and variety of approaches and of expression, despite the forces of tradition leading to a fair degree of genre-stabilisation.

3. Seeds of later literary variety

1. Epitaphs in particular tend to work everything into the verse, including such optional details as age and origin, and the main name is usually inserted into the verse even when it already stands outside in larger letters. However, we also find that verse can be linked syntactically to a prose part of the inscription (before, or after it,

293 Passim in AG REVISITED.

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sometimes just the bare name\textsuperscript{294)}, that various metres are used in the same "poem" to accommodate difficult words (or so it would seem), and that hexameters and pentameters are still quite often not "properly" paired. This latter phenomenon seems to be more significant than being merely a sign of a metrical preference common at that time.\textsuperscript{295} It would seem to indicate considerable freedom felt even by competent versifiers on stone.

2. A most interesting source of variation continues to be the "voice" of the poem.

2. "Voice" in the period which provided the foundation for literary epigram.

1. The most problematic "voice" can be disposed of first. It is case A.

1. A – Really speaking objects

1. In this type of discourse, not a person, but some \textit{object} speaks. The oldest forms are the common ownership inscriptions, "I belong to X", or maker’s signatures "X made me". Perhaps an artistic object can represent the person who owns it ("represent" being capable of different modalities\textsuperscript{296}) and/or is celebrated by it, who is making it his offering, for whom it is offered, whose body it keeps safely underground, protects, and so on. We are interested in the stele, the most prominent part of the tomb, which marks the place of burial and is the display element for less obvious but perhaps more important parts of the tomb, in particular the mound. Etymologically, the Greek \textit{sema} seems to have been intended to be prominent, unlike the early Chinese monumental tombs\textsuperscript{297} which, even more than the pyramids and the buried Macedonian magnificence of Vergina, were primarily intended to protect and even to hide burial complexes.

\textsuperscript{294} For names tacked intra-syntactically but extra-metrically onto verse see quoted in CEG2 p.131: n° 176, Preger 55 from Paus.5.27.2, 394, 655, 755, and including prose: 744, 321, 445, 454.

\textsuperscript{295} One particular and perhaps "regular" form of it is almost unknown before the –4C, i.e. that where a solitary pentameter closes a run of hexameters: 472 and 742, while the –4C has 14 Attic and 3 others so closing. From CEG1 we find few mixtures of Hx and Pnt which suggest deliberate regularity: three lines with Hx.Pnt.Hx: n° 87 (probably) 89, 156 (most likely), 205; other: 93, 108, 171, 347. Again, an isolated example in AP viii, 29. Interestingly, such mismatches in elegiac alternation are also common in the epigraphic Latin of the high medieval Abbot Suger, see *Panofsky and, for the texts, Addenda.

\textsuperscript{296} See Stockton.

\textsuperscript{297} See Thorpe.
2. The stele reminded people of the numinous and perhaps taboo type of site they might be approaching, for whom it was made (even who caused it to be made), and its proclamation typically extends far and wide, even including comments on its own composition, value and position. The standing stones of the European Iron age seem to have been given humanoid form, and some of those of the Old Arabian kingdoms explicitly call themselves NFS (Hebrew nefesh, Arabic nafs), which commonly provides the word for soul, self in Semitic. There are inscriptions which mention in one text and phrase both NFS (the vertical, prominent, marker) and QBR (the "grave", i.e., the horizontal and underground parts of the burial place) as different items. However, some sort of third speaker, mediating between the living and the dead, is involved in many Greek examples, particularly the archaic ones gathered in CEG1 and Pfohl.

3. Speaking animals are common subjects of fable, and speaking objects are found in the Greek world, the medieval Germanic world, and in kindergartens. The only fable surviving in Biblical literature features speaking trees, but that solemn corpus at least has one such form.

1. The tomb's own tongue...?

1. The speaking tomb (voice A) may be more defined (sometimes) as the voice: of the mound A.1; of the basis of the statue or further expensive superstructure, usually iconic, A.2; of the stele itself, A3 (in the last two cases, the specifically...
inscribed object), or even of the letters themselves so laboriously cut, which it would not be useful to separate from the poem itself as a mental or oral reality, though to contemporaries it might have been so isolable.\textsuperscript{301} Greek linguistics at the higher level seems to have failed to distinguish letter and sound, falling far behind India in that. Oral cultures often enough conceive of the poem or song, the Word, as an object which can be owned and stolen. I have discovered no evidence to suggest how such essentially written poems as the funerary epitaph were originally “heard” or “read”.\textsuperscript{302} Many cases where part of the tomb might actually speak are to be relegated, for the moment, to our undefined category D. Clear –4C examples are:

2. Archaic sounding ones like n° 699 Σίμα εἰμὶ τάφος, and n° 728 = 171b (the σήμα speaks, calling itself a μνήμη) ‘Ἀντικράτης μ’ ἔστησ’. Then one which mingles the sort of language by which the earth (or soil, or dust: γαῖα, χθόνι, κόσμος) is said to cover, hold (down) or hide a body, with that used by the archaic stelai of themselves in many an inscription: n° 687:

\[
\text{Ζωίπυρον Εἰφικράτους ὑπ’ ἐμοῖς στερνοῖς κρύφεντα | φρουρῷ δακρυτόμ μητρὶ λπόντα πόθον}
\]

3. The highly unmetrical n° 487 is marked into approximately hexametric segments by dipuncts and one trippunct after the tripartite name. Such dividers are less common in the –4C than before, possibly because verse endings are by now commonly marked by a break leading to a new graphic line, as shown in the example just above. Only the first “verse” end coincides with the end of a graphic line in this poem. This first line is a gnomic commonplace about the universality of death. The next two give the common “Here lies...” with names. The final line jumps into dialogue, presumably in the voice of the tomb, perhaps, more precisely, of the stele, as the decoration on this tomb is a relief, not the guardian sphinx of archaic times which itself could bark out a warning: χαίρετε οἱ παρικώντες, ἐγὼ δὲ γε τάμια φυλαττώ.

4. More obvious are two occasions where the image speaks. This may preserve an old sense of stelai being animated, in which case both paintings and sculptures

\textsuperscript{301} The verses, of course (does this equal the “poem” in its unity?) may speak, even obliquely, in the third person, and not just in Greece: *Moltke p. 298–299 has a linguistically archaic inscription beautifully done on the Randbpl stone which begins: *The overseer set up this stone in memory of the wife* (literally either “playmate” or “equal match”) of the overseer. These staves for Thorgun will live very long. This last sentence is proclamatory, self referential verse! The later inscriptions are clearer, but of course — later!

\textsuperscript{302} The evidence of our AG selections in Addenda is indirect and late.

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would merely make explicit the meaning of old standing stones, not change this meaning. No 693 (Rhodes) exhibits two very similar quatrains

[εἰκὼν Παρμενίδος θυγάτρος σφετέρας με Δαήμων |
[καὶ Κλεινὼ] μάτηρ μνάμ' επί παιδι θέσαν;]

and...

[εἰκώνα Παρμενίδοστάσειν θυγατρός μιε Δαήμων ] |
[καὶ Κλεινὼ μάτηρ [...]

5. Also from Rhodes is the dedicatory distich no 859, on the base of a lost statue:

υίδον Δαμοκράτευσ στάσει μάτηρ Πολυάινα |
Στασα([σα)]γόραν εἰκὼν δ' εἰμι σαφῆς ἐσορᾶν.

6. As an example of the general ambiguity to us of the wording of epitaphs, we may next quote the second of two quatrains from a stele of Cyrenaica. The voice could be that of the stele, but it could also be a “general” and disembodied one, (this latter sort of option would lead to literatisation and freeing from a specific occasion) or more “existentially”, the voice of each anonymous viewer, or that of living relatives not imagined as present at the grave, but whose sentiments are thus preserved for the deceased, and/or for passers-by.

7. Arata comes from the town variously called Hesperis, Hesperides, Euesperides, Berenike or Benghazi. We tend to take expressions of personal grief and pity as identifying the “voice” heard in the poem as being that of relatives, but rarely find textual or iconic support for this view. CEG 680 iii:

[o]υκέτι τὰν ἀβρόπαιδα πάτραν σὰν Ἐσσπερίδι ὄψη |
οὐδὲ τὸν ἐστέργας σὸν πόσιν, οὐδὲ τέκνων |
στρώσεις νυμφιδίαν εὐνάν τεῳ. ἤ μάλα δαήμων]
['}Α]ράτα, κρυεράν σοι τιν' ἐδείξεν ἁράν.

8. The remaining main categories are clearly human voices, usually the voice of one person.

2. B – The living speak

1. Some relative B.1 (or occasionally, a group of them), the person who arranged, was responsible for the tomb, who “set it up”, i.e., the payer, the dedicator, even the physical maker, form a puzzling group of speakers, B.2. For males, a syssitia or some club or group of associates may speak, B.3. A particularly difficult case is the possibility that the viewer may speak (“call out”, “tell out the letters of”) the
inscription in more than a trivial sense. He certainly would have read the letters aloud, and it is clear than at some periods in both Egypt and Greece he was expected to offer to the grave a formal greeting, perhaps for superstitious purposes. What is usually no more than an intriguing possibility is that the inscription, or parts of it, are written in the voice of the viewer/reader of it! B.4.

2. No more clear examples here than that of the speaking tomb in the -4C. When the deceased is addressed, as in n° 680 iii from Cyrenaica, every possibility is open except that of the voice being that of a deceased talking to himself. Deep personal emotion ("leaving deep grief to your mother" etc.) does suggest a third person mode of speaking by a living relative, but uncertainty remains.

3. This uncertainty seems to grow less the more the individuals affected are a sharply defined group, such as the deceased’s grandparents, Aristokles and Timagora, and little Eukleia of n° 522, from an Attic grave relief:

Τιμαγόρας θύγατροι καὶ Ἀριστοκλέους Φιλοκυί, χαίρε ποθεὶ σε Εὐκλεία ἡν ἑλπὶς προγόνοις.

4. Onesimos, husband of dead Melite, is shown to own the “voice” of n° 530, because, making this an early dialogue inscription, she addresses him in reply. A further point of great interest here is that it is first the tomb, not the deceased, which is greeted (even though taphos is not put into vocative morphology), suggesting an important mediating role for the whole burial complex. It was, after all, the site of piety and the means of honour being paid to the dead. Note Melite’s prompt “reply”. The deceased are not uncommonly addressed, and greetings directed towards the monument may have been understood as (indirectly?) meant for them:

χαίρε τάφος Μελίτης· χρηστῇ γυνῇ ἐνθάδε κεῖται· ν Φιλούντα | ἀντιφιλούṇ τόν ἄνδρα Ὠνήσιμου ἡσα κρατίστῃ· ν τοιγαροῦν ποθεὶ | θανατοῦσαν σε, ἡσα γὰρ χρηστῇ γυνῇ· ν καὶ σὺ χαίρε φιλτατ’ ἄνδρων, ἀλλὰ | τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλει.

5. In this there should be two Hx followed by two TetTrochCat, but someone has tacked “loving” onto the end of the second graphic line, after the space which shows verse end. Inevitably this was Onesimos or someone writing in sympathy with his sentiments and situation. In the light of such rarely explicit poems, we are tempted to read some more ambiguous ones in the voice of persons left behind, e.g. n° 559, this one lacking a relief:

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
6. That Semitic foreigners used a struggling sort of verse, as in n° 596, and the fact that difficult names are often imperfectly woven into the verse, that polymetria of an apparently non-literary sort occurs, seemingly to aid in the introduction of names, that verses have metrical or semi-metrical additions (CEG2 p. 295 for n° 54.1, 530.2, 599 and 900) and prose sometimes is syntactically joined to the verse, all indicates a strong attempt in the -4C to versify anything more than a list of names or the odd legal formula. Occasionally we can even guess the precise author of the verses. It is very rare for an author to be named, but see CEG2 p.283.3

7. Our next unusually assignable poem is by, and presumably in the voice of, a child, for her dead nurse, n° 571. There is another later addition to the first line, a prose list of names, which seems to indicate intervention by young Hippostrate. The name Melitta once occurred at the very beginning, but was partially erased and put in the next line, a significant position as then it came just over the relief. The poem is clearly in the voice of Hippostrate, and given the clumsiness of the verse, she may well have composed it. If so, this further widens a window on Attic epitaphic practice at this time. The lack of the duplication of any full line throughout the -4C corpus (CEG2 p.90) is proof enough of the fact that such poems were “original”, written for the occasion and the monument, and the variety of treatments would also have suggested that this would be the case. This is all the more striking, perhaps, because our -4C corpus derives so heavily from the one city.

8. The poem and (iii) (τίτθη) are placed beneath the relief, text (ii) is placed within the relief itself, in the space over the head of the seated nurse, and above the relief in larger letters comes the name, (i). Daux takes both Μέλιττα and τίτθη as later additions (on the “insistence” of Hippostrate) intended to “frame” the relief graphically, which is also of interest as long as the materiality of the poem is a significant matter, which would seem to hold true at least as long as such poems were in the first place intended for writing and visual display, and only secondarily, if at all,  

303 *Komines makes the point that Greek epigraphic verse in much of the Middle Ages was inevitably anonymous. It certainly was very often anonymous. *Stembach alludes to the essential anonymity of “floating” Indian subhāṣṭiṇī, which is characteristic of any well-worn corpus of oral forms, when they become numerous enough. That well-established Soviet book epigram is much less often anonymous (*Yershov) is a result of the demands of modern periodical publication, and perhaps, of the needs of Soviet censors. See also fn° 38.
for oral repetition long enough to encourage a later papyrus or parchment transmission. N° 571 then:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ Μέλιττα ] 'Απολλοδώρου | ἰσοτελοῦ θυγάτηρ |} \\
\text{Μέλιττα | (written on the relief)} \\
\text{τίτθη.}
\end{align*}
\]

ἐνθάδε τὴν χρηστὴν τίτθην κατὰ γαία καλύπτει
Πιποστράτης, καὶ νῦν ποιῆσαι εἰς.
καὶ ζώσαν σ' ἐφίλουσιν, τίτθη, καὶ νῦν σ' ἔτι τιμῶ
οὕσαν καὶ κατά γῆς, | καὶ τιμήσω σε ἄρχω ἢν ζώ.
οἴδε δὲ σοὶ καὶ κατὰ ἑπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἔστιν,
πρῶτει σοι τίμαξι, τίτθη, παρὰ Φερσεφόνει Πλοῦτωνι τε κείνται.

9. Apparently a heptameter and octameter in the final pair of lines, or more accurately, a “dactylic run” of indeterminate length. Once again, it is this sort of explicit voice of the living which can then be applied to less explicit grieving poems like n° 655, Megara:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{χαίρε Ἔπινικη} \\
\text{Φιλτώνος θύγατερ Μεφδαιίου καὶ Θεστίμης,} \\
\text{οὗς ἀπέλευσε} | ἀπαιδᾶς ἐν οἴκτροῖς πένθεις γῆρως.
\end{align*}
\]

10. There is always the possibility that, as the epigrammatic poem has a range of dialect and topoi rather specific to itself (for the dialect CEG2 p.231: n°° 786, 823, 844, 847) it may also have a generalised voice which by custom and tradition sounded unchanged no matter what surface indications there might be of authorship and speaker. As this seems impossible to prove, and as generalisation of place and of occasion seem to be more consistent with a later stage of literatisation and repeatability of a poem (i.e., an applicability, if less intense, to many contexts, not to a single highly specific and emotionally charged one) we will continue to suggest different “voices” on –4C epigraphs on the basis of their rhetoric.

11. N° 624 tells us, in the third person: τεῦξε πατήρ σοι μνημείον θυτητοῖς
πάσιν ὅραν φανερῶν. The father would have arranged the tomb, and it is hard to avoid hearing his voice, directly or transmitted by the writer/carer, in what is only superficially a third person, objective statement. Perhaps even in cases where the statement is about a whole demos, the same still holds, e.g., n° 633 from Boiotia, where an Ariston enjoyed the beautiful benefit (ὡραία χάρις αὕτη) of: δήμου


12. At the very beginning of this century we find clarity of voice in no. 689 = 169a, where an 'Antigoni is directly addressed as leaving πένθος ἀείμνηστον μητρί τε σὴν και ἐμοί, but this is clear only because of ἐμοί.

13. In no. 698 from Peraea Rhidia there are a host of peculiarities. Hansen (p.141 line 12 down) writes as if the poet is not the bereaved father, but someone writing in empathy with him. He, and all commentators mentioned, take ἐςασαο as necessarily from ἵζω (thus from the language of dedications, e.g. AP vi 143) rather than from ἐννυμι, which has Homeric uses in the language of burial. It must be the alpha which causes this preference. However, as the person addressed is dead, and what was “offered” by him is his tomb, high above the sea, I would like to entertain the meaning “For your father D, and for yourself, you have wrapped yourself in a fine tomb”, like the λάινον ἐςαο χιτῶνα of Homer II 3.57, the καὶ ἀπάντων γὰν ἐπιεσούμενος of Pindar Nem xi.21 (Bowra OCT line 16), and Sophocles Oedip. Col. 1701 ὁ τὸν ἀεὶ κατὰ γὰς σκότον εἰμένος. Kühner-Gerth I.ii p.421 assumes that the Epic aorist forms derive from ἕφέσατο. It is probably as a reaction against the fault of dittography rather than out of unfamiliarity that the cutter originally wrote ἙΣΦΑΟ and had to correct one letter. In either case we have the tomb of a man placed on a point for mariners to see, and to bring honour to the whole genos in the eyes of ages of men to follow, and a poem tied precisely to this situation and occasion:


14. The themes of a prominent tomb, the honour of its prominence, and the piety of the burier (connected only with the ceremony or with the value and quality of the tomb?), appear in an Attic distich, and is one of the few which puts the main emphasis on the pride of the living. No doubt this emphasis was often implicit in other phrasings, or at least, in the architectural and artistic display made by the tomb itself.
15. In n° 592 the nonagenarian Hedution, nicknamed “Chirpy” (Kerkope), emphasises in the last line of her epitaph that the way her daughter buried her was “proper”, but perhaps this is to be read obliquely: a daughter praising herself in the words she attributes to the old lady: εὔσεβια τυγατρός δὲ ἐτάφην ὤσπερ μὲ προστήκει. It is likely from the taste for plays on names304 that the name of the pious son of n° 533, now to be quoted, was indeed “Worthy” (“Αξιός):

Βελτίστη Νομηνίο | Ἡρακλεώτης
μητέρα Ἕθηκα | ὀσίως ὑσιαν, τοῖς | πάσιν ἰδέσθαι, |
ἀνθ’ ἡν εὐλογίας | καὶ ἐπαίνων Ἀξιός εἶμι.

16. We may close the section on fairly specific voices of the living with a poem from Macedonia in which either “I the father, am” or “he the father is ‘magnifying’ you, the good wife, O Auge, with a fine tomb”, CEG 726, -4/3C. The missing ending of the verb could be third or first person, and between the supplements of Peek and Perdrizet Hansen chooses third person without discussion, as if the meaning (to him) would be practically the same. Svenbro would object!

3. C—The deceased speaks.

1. In later times such is the normal source for all “voices from the grave”. The probative phrase for such a classification of the voice is often confined to just a few lines of the Pagan Greek epitaph, the rest being undefined or of another sort. Nevertheless, the clear examples are far more numerous than those of types A and B.

Many inscriptions play with the etymology of the personal name, and more may be suspected of it (i.e., that a word occurring in them may be an unrecognised personal name as well as the common noun assumed on a first reading). We have discussed the rich pregnancy of bare names on graves and dedications, deriving much later epigrammatic phraseology from such unthematised early “meanings”. Quoted in Salvadore (but not available to me) p. 14: U.D. Woodhead Etymologising in Greek Literature from Homer to Philo Judaeus diss. Chicago 1928, and L.P. Rank Etymologisering en verwante Verschijnselen bij Homerus. Also see Cicero de oratore II, 257 for his discussion of ‘interpretatio nominis’. See the play on Ram (Κρίος, proverbial (later?) for ingratitude) in CEG 105, where I am tempted, against the whole pattern of the earlier Greek epitaph, to assume some allusion to derogatory overtones of the name:

Κρίος
οὗτος ὃς ἐνθάδε κείται | ἔχει μὲν τὸνομα κρίο | 
ψωτός δὲ ψυχήν ἔχε | δικαστάτο.

C.—Formative period of Greek.—Stone only
The speaker is made clear by words like: ἑθανον, κείμαι, εἰμί, θυήσκω, ἐκαλούμην, ἐκλίθην. Often enough the voice states that it leaves grief to "my" loved ones, and we suspect that a third person statement to the same effect is also to be "heard" as being in the voice of the deceased at this period. The same idea (leaving grief) can be expressed in the second person, being then in the voice of the living. In 545, 599, 606 and 680 at least were noted a change of person within the poem, for which see Hansen's wider list in CEG2 pp. 68 and 20. It is worth quoting no 545 for another variation, the preamble device of "If you want to know my name...". The poem also displays a not uncommon epitaphic statement concerning the different fates of the ψυχή and the σώμα as well as the commonly irregular placement of pentameters and hexameters during all the -4C:

οστέα μὲν καὶ σάρκα ἐξελε ἔχον πάλαι τὸν ἥδυν,  
ψυχὴ δὲ εὐσεβέων οὐχέταί εἰς θάλαμον. ὥν 
εἰ δὲ δομοί ζητεῖς, θεογείτων θυμόχου παῖς  
θηράτιος γενεάν κέμαυ κλειναίς εὖ Αθηναῖς.

2. No 671 gives the "straight" form of this sort of personalised declaration: Κρίνωνος παῖς εἰμί... while no 532 clearly separates the voices of the deceased and the stele in a rather unusual way. Archaic stelai can say "I hold-under X...", but here the direction of reference is reversed. It is the deceased who refers the viewer to the stele, granting two voices (potentially) to the monument, though the deceased goes on in his own voice to supply the information, incidentally playing on his own nickname, so that the stele does not get to speak until the postponed formal title, in the typical three-word form:

[τόνο]μα μὲν τόμον καὶ ἐμὸν πατρὸς ἡδε ἀγορεύει] 
[στή]λῃ καὶ πάτραν πιστῶν δὲ ἔργων ἐνεκα ἕσχον] 
[Πίστος ἑπωνυμίαν, οὐ σπάνις ἀνδρὶ τυχέ.]  
Πραξίνος | Τερεία | Αἰγυπτής.

3. No 861 is a dedication where a living person called Hermes speaks in the initial pair of trimeters, and the first pair of the following tetrameters refers us, more precisely than no 545, to the inscription, though the voice of Hermes does not actually break off: ὀτίνες δ' οἱ προστάται, γραφὴ παρόος σημανεῖ, and 15 names follow. Luckily for us, the author marked the ends of his rough tetrameters with dipuncts. Verse-end coincides with (graphic) line end only for the trimeters, which have no puncts, no doubt because they were felt, even by the carver, to be more identifiable as verse.

C. — Formative period of Greek — Stone only
4. In about 25 poems it is clearly the deceased who is speaking, at least according to surface grammar and rhetoric. Whether the dead "speaks for" the living on occasion is not easy to prove, it seems better to allow to the language of many epitaphs some literary complexity and depth. We have already noted more than once that things not verbally expressed might still have been quite clearly expressed by the very semiotics of tomb building or of dedicating, and by the nature of the physical object chosen or constructed. If and when such poems were to be literatised, most of these implied meanings would have to be verbalised, the most obvious one, and the most useful, being the bare deixis of "Here lies..." which in an anthology has somehow (by the addition of a title or some modification of the early verse lines) to acquire the place name which is usually quite otiose on a monument, unless that monument be for someone who died outside his or her patris. However, we have noted that there are elements of self-description in epigraphs (such as the type of stone) which at first sight are equally as otiose as naming their geographical site might be, and that significant aspects of the site are in fact mentioned, most notably that it is "near the road...".

4. ___D – Unspecified, "third person".

1. While this may in fact be a generalised and highly impersonal "voice", thus, not a voice at all, statements of the form "Here lies X..." may once have been felt to be in the voice of someone precisely imaginable, in fact, anyone other than X. It could be the tomb, or a distant relative, or those responsible for the tomb. Perhaps we should not have excluded the deceased himself. The inscription on inscribed stone

305 Lessing was the first western theoretician known to me to treat literary titles in depth, though he quotes a Morhofius or Morhosius on titles and Scaliger discusses the matter: Poetices Libri VII ed — p.335, inscriptio et titulus quals i.e., in titles of books and works. See also, in general, Minturnus DE POETA p.394 and surrounds. See for a more modern perspective Lessing–Lachmann vol. 8 p. 447–448, and our Addenda, where this matter closes the selection we give of him. Byzantines had been more artistic with them (*Komines, p. 40–42), and Tang Chinese needed them to maintain the fiction of occasionality in their high verse. HIGH TANG. *Rothe deals with the literariness of titles to whole books. Book titles in Classical Arabic usually assonated, and were verbally far-fetched. See Jampa Losang Panglung UDDANAS for a complex tradition of significant Buddhist title-epitomes, typically in "epigrammatic" verse, set in prose body-text. "The Uddana (Tibetan sdom) in the MSV is a verse composed of keywords which are arranged according to the context which follows it. As the Uddana is put ahead of the context, it serves as an index." "All the Uddanas of a section of the MSV are again summarised in such a way that each Uddana is covered by one keyword. These keywords are arranged according to the proper sequence of the Uddanas and thus form another Uddana, which is called Piṇḍoddāna (Tibetan = bs dus-pa'i-sdom, or, spyi' sdom). Thus the Piṇḍoddana enables us to check the Uddanas.

There is another type of Uddana to be met with in the MSV, the so-called Antaruddana (Tibetan = bar-sdom), which is inserted between the Uddanas. The question of the Antaruddana is a crucial one as no reference is made to it in either in the Piṇḍoddana or in the Uddana, and, unlike the Piṇḍoddana and the Uddana, it may even summarise the preceding context."
may be the one who/which makes an apparently anonymous statement or calls out to the passer-by. It is hard not to hear a specific voice in the address to the deceased, but such calls are often so vague that we cannot now hear whose voice it was, from lack of knowledge of the original circumstances. When there is a great, thundering generality from the gnomic tradition, often opening the epitaph, it may be heard as coming “from the tripod”, but on the other hand, wisdom language may have, or be coloured by, the voice of the rest of the poem. Much depends on how proverbs and the Sayings of the Sages were “heard” in everyday life and in the literature of contemporaries.

2. Of course, complications and elaborations occur. The oldest one is whether “I am the tomb of X” is the same “voice” as “This is the tomb of X.” The deceased may refer any passer-by who seeks to know his name to read the writing on the stele, CEG 532, thus upholding the curious fiction that the dead can, but also cannot, speak directly to the living. One could take such contradictory suggestions as being purely rhetorical, but we think it more faithful to the mass of evidence to treat inscriptions on stelai as capable of suggesting the vivid (if idealised) personalities of individuals. If many inscriptions have a “voice”, the rhetoric which mirrors this in clear cases must be treated as likely to be expressive even in encounters which could not have occurred in the world as we know it. The stele itself and all the more so, the picture of the deceased painted or engraved (and then usually painted as well) on the Classical tablet may, to a greater or lesser extent, have merged in people’s minds with the deceased.306

3. The various parts of the grave may not have had enough separate identity in Classical times to claim a sectional voice of their own. The mound seems to have been very important, originally more important than its marker, the stele or column, but perhaps most important in the lavish –6C was the sculpture placed on top. The basis became the convenient and common locus for an inscription, which perhaps then spoke as a sort of caption to and for the expensive artwork placed above it (which it was not practicable or appropriate to cover with dozens of letters of an inscription), or perhaps spoke for the whole physical assemblage, and increasingly spoke for itself, “representing” the grave as a whole.

306 Of course, and rather embarrassingly for our tentative thesis of individuality or at least definability of voice, the Attic Grave relief and the kouroi which preceded it are ideal, generalised representations. Still, they seem to have been portraits in the eyes of contemporaries, if not in ours. For the task of each medium, art and poem, see van Hall p. 22, and for their merging, see van Hall p. 58, p. 77 ff.
4. Other variations which can be seen on inscriptions but will not here be discussed involve the mixing of (grammatical) persons of the utterance, the use of reported or indirect speech, and the interactivity, fictional or not in intent, of dialogues on stone.

5. The observable varieties of voice indicate a high degree of inner variation in the inscribed poems of the –4C, and suggest that if such a tradition were ever more freely literatised and freed from specific occasion that many different compositional approaches could be taken to the subject matter. At least in the funerary poems, their function individuated them sufficiently without too much rigidity of form being needed. Often with occasional poetry, it is the social and ritual situation rather than the form which confers “genre”.

6. Nevertheless, if we consider just length, –4C poetic epigraphs show also remarkable similarities of exterior form.

3. Length –4C

1. Funerary (truly sepulchral):
   - 41% (of 273 recoverable poems) have two lines
   - 38% four lines
   - 8% have 5 or 6 lines,
   - 6% have three lines
   - 5.5% have just one line.

   Most significantly, poems running to more than 6 lines provide only 0.7% of the corpus.

2. For the dedicatory corpus of 157 recoverable poems, which include funerary memorials on the Acropolis not intended to mark any grave, the main difference is that longer poems are relatively more common among the anathematica. There are:
   - 11% of 5/6 lines but fully—
   - 7% of more than six lines,

   with eight lines being not uncommon and some poems quite lengthy. There are no lengthy poems on Greek graves in this crucial century. Thus Plato was making a fairly unadventurous utopian claim in his Laws. In effect he was banning only 9% of its (surviving) stone epitaphic corpus.
3. It is quatrains which slightly predominate over distichs among the dedicatory poems (quatrans of all metres, hexameter, elegiac, iambic and trochaic) with:

- 38% of four lines, followed by
- 35% of two lines
- 6% of a single line and only
- 4% of three lines.

The figures for poems from one to six lines are similar, the longer possibility seems ruled out on tombs and is relatively uncommon even on dedications. Some monuments have several short poems, which is a very significant and typical phenomenon indicating the existence of some early genre for epigram and demonstrating a willingness to multiply ways of decorating a grave with appropriate and stylish words.

4. Some poems are of uncertain length because of the loss of important parts of the monument, though we can be sure of the length (if not the precise metre) of some very fragmentary texts only because we know the inscribed area and the size and spacing of the letters.

5. 75 – 80% of –4C inscribed poems in the major categories are in the most epigrammatic lengths, i.e., quatrains or distichs, though often enough clumsy and incorrect ones. These come in various metres.

6. Nowhere in the non-European world is there evidence of such non-compulsory regularities in the length of inscribed poetry. We have remarked that at first sight such a long-standing limitation seems all the more notable in stichic verse, for which there was no natural limit above the single line, as it is in principle endlessly extendable. However, a line of stichic verse, even in Greek, may not call so imperiously for a companion (or two) as would a stanza from some established stanzaic form, which at first sight might seem to be a more natural ancestor for epigram. In this light we must recall the extreme separability of the line in most Arabo-Persian verse, and of the couplet in Chinese and Malay verse. Actually about 25 cases of single verse lines are still found among the Greek inscriptions of the –4C, by which period such a practice was highly optional. Some even appear in the AP.307 The quatrain was also just a tendency rather than a necessity, even for “elegiacs”. Single pentameters occur, pentameters are irregularly scattered in among hexameters.

307 Over 50, for the breakdown see the table on the page after next.
three and five line poems are common enough, and poems made up entirely of hexameters are quite common at all lengths. This tends to make the predominance of distichs and quatrains, even within the group displaying elegiac metres, even more significant.
D. Three tables of interesting lengths of poems

1. Monostichs and tristichs in AP

These are rare forms in polished poetry, but evidenced. As far as clarity of external form goes, at least in the European tradition, the monostich is traditional and recognisable, the tristich not. Only the former has “strong form”.

2. The influential corpus of Gregory Nazianzen, length and metre

Perhaps no writer after Simonides has so shaped the medieval and modern tradition of short poetry. Although his corpus was never intelligently prepared for publication, and includes countless drafts as well as finished poems, it is worth analysing the superficial tendencies of the form in which we now have it.

3. The influential corpus of Damasus, whole poems or recoverable poems, length and metre

Damasus baptised the old poetic inscriptional habit for Latins. His epigraphs for the tombs of the martyrs were perhaps the most prestigious of the Roman inscriptions collected so assiduously in the 7/8C, spread to the monasteries of Hiberno-Anglia, and copied and imitated so extensively until a new millennium brought new tastes and styles.
Table 1 – AP Monosticha & Tristicha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MONOSTICHA AP</th>
<th>TRISTICHA AP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We list the monostichs easily findable in AP, by book.</td>
<td>As another indicator of the character of the books we might here present the same information for tristichs, which however need a more detailed study by metrical type and topic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book i, Christian epigrams: n° 6; 21; 29 x 5 monosticha; 51; 95; and 115.</td>
<td>Book i, Christian epigrams: n° 4; 9; 20; 25; 26; 93; 102; 110; 122; 123. SUBTOTAL 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBTOTAL 10.</td>
<td>Book ii Christodorou ekphrasis: none, unless we were to break up the long poem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book ii Christodorou ekphrasis: none, unless we were to break up the long poem.</td>
<td>Book iii On the Temple of Apollo at Cyzicus: none.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book iii On the Temple of Apollo at Cyzicus: none.</td>
<td>Book iv Long prooimia: N/A (= none)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book iv Long prooimia: N/A (= none)</td>
<td>Book v Erotica: n° 1; 77; 305.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBTOTAL 3.</td>
<td>SUBTOTAL 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book vi Anathematica: n° 6 only.</td>
<td>Book vi Anathematica: n° 311; 695.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBTOTAL 1.</td>
<td>SUBTOTAL 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book vii Epitymbia: n° 177; 746.</td>
<td>Book vii Gregory’s: n° 54; 56; 57; 58; 195; &amp; n° 85b. SUBTOTAL 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBTOTAL 2.</td>
<td>Book viii Gregory’s: n° 389; 399; 465; 467; 468; 471; 472; 473; 480; 528; 579; 582; 593; 616; 655; 827.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book ix Epideictica: many: n° 125; 402; [431 frag.?]; 454; 455; 491; 492; 493; 494; [503 frag.?]; 505 e and f? 509; 529; 531; 534; 536; 538; 539; 547; [595a?]; 635; 673; 694; 759; 825.</td>
<td>SUBTOTAL 16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBTOTAL 26?</td>
<td>Book x Protreptica: n° 107b; 110.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book x Protreptica: n° 32; 38; 106; 107; 111; 115. SUBTOTAL 6.</td>
<td>SUBTOTAL 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book xi Symptotica: n° 447; 448; 449; 450. SUBTOTAL 4.</td>
<td>Book xi Symptotica: n° 344 [which may be numbered also 345: Metrophanes, kyknopi...]. SUBTOTAL 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book xiv Arithmetica et gryphoi: n° 8; 80. SUBTOTAL 2.</td>
<td>Book xiv Arithmetica et gryphoi: n° 37; 45; 51; 67; 68; 94; 110; 112; 113; 130; 147; 149. SUBTOTAL 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAND TOTAL MONOSTICHA = 52.</td>
<td>GRAND TOTAL TRISTICHA = 58.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Monostichs are archaic (or fragmentary) in epitymbia, but to be expected in gnomica. Their frequency in Book ix may depend on mnemonic habits as well as on wisdom genres.

Again book ix shows a great number of this “non standard” length. The number of tristichs in the gryphoi (Book xiv) may point forward to Symphosius.
Inscription and epigram — ANU Thesis 22 December 1995
P. 147

Table 2 - Formal preferences of the axial figure
Gregory the Theologian, Nazianzenus,
as posthumously collected and published in Book viii of the Palatine Anthology — perhaps 259 poems, mostly elegiac, mostly
quatrains, distichs and sestets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elegiac Metre (or predominantly so)</th>
<th>238 poems; 92% of whole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lines:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>238 poems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot. Poems</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poems listed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elegiac Metre (or predominantly so)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238 poems</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hexametric Metre (+ hex with one pentameter)</td>
<td>19 poems; 7% of total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lines:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>19 poems</td>
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<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot. Poems</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poems listed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>19 poems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Other metres — 2 poems: 1% of total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lines:</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2 poems</td>
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<tr>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tot. Poems</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poems listed</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>85b</td>
<td>2 poems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Other metres — 2 poems: 1% of total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lines:</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2 poems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The predominance of quatrains is notable, as is that of elegiac verse. In hexameters, some lack of sense of modal length is obvious, and 3 liners and 5 liners occur, each surpassing the scant total of hexametric quatrains. Only 3% of Gregory's poems, assumed to be self-conscious models of the old manner, "surpass the three" in length, i.e., as commonly understood, go over 6
lines of elegiacs.

There is only one irregular elegiac, and we have classed it as a hexametric 7 liner. Interestingly, the solitary pentameter
closes this poem, presumably with artistic intent.

This then was the model set before Byzantium. The term "epigram" is not uncommonly found in the body texts
of the poems. As with Martial, there can be no doubt about the sense of genre at this time.

D.3 Tables of Greek and Latin poem lengths — from Arxial corpora
Table 3 — Damasus – poems whose extent and form is recoverable

Horizontal — number of lines. *Italics* — doubtfully genuine poems. "+" means that a poem could have been longer than is indicated, and in totals, it indicates that there could be more poems than those indicated of that length.

|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx| Hx|
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|   | 61 | 44 | 31 | 32 | 47 | 43 | 48 | 64 | 42 | 25 | 35 | 50+ | 63 | 77 | 20 | 18 | 35 | 40 | 15 | 2  | 17 | 3  | 28 | 37 | 39 | 60.1 | 62 | 68 |
|   | 72 | 21 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 35.1 | 59 | 64 | 72 | 12 | 47 | 31 | 32 | 472 | 25 | 35 | 50+ | 57 | 63 | 77 | 20 | 18 | 35 | 40 | 15 | 2  | 17 | 3  | 28 | 37 | 39 | 60.1 | 62 | 68 |
| frag|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Hx tot| 2 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 9- | 4+ | 4+ | 7+ | 2- | 2+ | 1+ | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| El tot| 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 El|   | 4 | 6 | 8 | 10 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 58 | 33 | 33 | 45 | 41 |

*D. 3 Tables of Greek and Latin poem lengths — from Axial corpora*
E. Part E — Appearance of a dual tradition, “stone” plus “book”

1. — the Axial -3C — Hellenistic papyrus and echoes in the MS tradition

1. We excuse ourselves from a comprehensive study of Greek poetic epigraphy after that of the -4C and turn to the book tradition.308

2. The “Greek epigram” long known to western scholarship and literature practically equals the Planudine Anthology, as the less bowdlerised309 and much more extensive Palatine Anthology was not fully published until the 19C.

3. These are closely related anthologies, and it might seem that a tradition heavily relying on the survival of just one work, their common lost ancestor of the 10C, could never be a major one. However, it seems that at various times short poetry, often enough called “inscription” even when it obviously wasn’t, constituted a major branch of literature. In +6C Byzantium it seems that the ancestors of the AP/API vied for popularity with Homer and with the Nonnians. This was also the case in the 17C European Baroque, in the Renaissance, in late Antiquity on the Latin side of that bilingual culture, perhaps earlier in the age of Hadrian, and certainly in that of Callimachus, the earlier Hellenistic period. Thus the dominance of the work of Byzantium’s “Cephalas” may simply be due to the diligence of his search and the availability to him of a very full body of sources. His 300 year lack of competition in

308 Our bibliography retains a number of titles from the late antique period found to be inaccessible, but still worth a reference, against our usual practice. The editorial coverage and quality of early Christian epigraphy is widely admitted to be patchy.

309 Just one indication of the depth of feeling against the pederastic poems: Herder ANMERKUNGEN p. 167 & fn * [the whole passage in our Addenda]:

Mehrere Dichter spielen auf die allgemeine Gewohnheit der Liebhaber an, den Namen ihrer Schönen auf Blätter und Bäume zu schreiben, ihre Thür mit Kränzen und Blumen zu schmücken, sie mit Lobliedern und Versen zu beehren. Ein Theil der Anthologie enthält dergleichen süßes Geschwätz der Liebe. Da sind feine Lobsprüche und Schmeicheleien, Erklärungen und Geschenke in mancherlei Gestalt, bald Wendungen aus der Mythologie, bald kleine Umstände aus dem Umgänge oder von der Person des Geliebten. [and H's fn on the last-quoted word]:

the task of anthologising old epigram may be put down to understandable lack of interest in "redoing" such a reputable classic.

4. It is no accident that few poems in the AP are clearly pre-Hellenistic. Real inscriptional poems are sporadically quoted in the older historians, philosophers and orators, and were no doubt collected (perhaps on the same basis as prose inscriptions) by the pre-Christian antiquarians called Attidographers. Enough -3C papyri have now become available to indicate that the -3C attributions given in AP titles are eminently plausible. There can now be no doubt that the -3C was a great age for short poetry and it now seems that the term epigram was indeed used for non-epigraphic occasional poetry as early as this age, and not anachronistically applied to its products by later centuries.

1. Stabilising a fashion: Callimachus, Hedylus, Nicander, Nicaenetus, Mnesalces, Philetas, Posidippus

1. The most secure big names for an efflorescence, or a raising of prestige of short occasional poetry in the -3C are Callimachus, Hedylus, Mnasalces (from Cameron's interpretation of the new P. Köln 204), Nicaenetus, Nicander, Philetas, and Posidippus. He puts the important Simonidean corpus into the too hard basket. It is hard to believe that not one (or only one or two) of the many poems attributed to Simonides were genuine, or even that few or none derive from his approximate period, just as it is hard to believe that such -5C and -4C poems were collected from stones only in Hellenistic times. There is little we can add to the mature debate on the genuineness of poems attributed to Simonides, Plato or his earlier followers, Aristotle, Aeschylus and the later tragedians, and even to "Homer". Suffice to note here that Markwaldt regards some of the Homeric epigrams as pre-Classical, if not actually Homeric, and Plato does quote one of the 15 versions of the Bronze Maiden poem. That this poem could have 15 surviving versions is in itself suggestive of early date and popularity, and deep textual differences show that it must have been preserved by several transmission paths in addition to the one passing through Plato's works. However, let us take the convenient way and follow Cameron's agnosticism, at least as a methodological ploy, until the debate can be reopened with less tenuous evidence. This involves our ignoring the Doric poetesses Erinna, Anyte, Nossis, Moero and Duris, and looking only to the -3C.

2. Evolution?

1. How such a burst of short poetry developed from the writing and reciting of the previous century may never be known. Two approaches are possible, the
currently less popular one is to assume that a vital tradition of short occasional verse retaining some connections to what continued to be engraved on graves and offerings to gods goes back at least to the -5C and perhaps to the Peisistratids but has left no remains. Such a claim would fit well enough into what we know of cultures favouring verse expression, even if Athens did not long retain a “court” culture like the orientals. It had an influential aristocracy, and other classes were understandably keen to ape their prestige symbols and way of life. However, the references we have to short poetry in Attic literature, while not as patchy as references to short Muslim or Indian poetry in theirs, are marked by considerable lack of enthusiasm for the poetry as such. Even the legendary Spartan school of -4C epigrammatists, who appear briefly in the AP, may be denied many (apocryphal) poems. Light dawns only in the -3C.

3. Revolution?

1. The alternative tactic is to assume that literatising of the old inscriptional poetry (short for many complex reasons), took place very suddenly in the search for new forms attendant on the upheavals which followed Alexander. Whatever occasional poetry had paralleled the old inscriptions (while this itself did not have to have been short) would also have been a source. The general tendency for short billets-doux, quips, retorts, invective and so on which we have noted as part of hot-house court culture would have favoured short poetry of some sort under the Greek Pharaohs, the major patrons of the arts in the formative period of the Hellenistic age, even if they imported their poets from other centres. Papyrus finds may never resolve the debate, as papyrus finds (in any quantity) tend to be post Ptolemaic. It would be an interesting social-literary study to go into the influences on scholars’ opinions, ranging from the life-long confidence of Trypanis to the scepticism of Cameron, and into assumptions which led them to such clear-cut views on essentially open questions, views which must largely be based on socio-cultural speculation, not on evidence.

2. Two recent treatments will absolve us of a need to analyse the book tradition for ourselves, as well as being a guide to the papyri and to speculation on the rise and consolidation of book epigram. We will be following Cameron’s Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes much more than Frazer’s Ptolemaic Alexandria.

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310 The novelty of the cultural situation is much emphasised by Wilamowitz, HELLENISTISCHE DICHTUNG.
2. What preceded Meleager?

1. Papyri

1. We now have (according to Cameron) a dozen or so epigrammatic papyri which seem definitely pre-Meleagran and five which are post-Meleagran or uncertain. More lie unpublished, and a few more will no doubt be found. Of course, a papyrus written after 90 BCE could still depend on texts deriving from well before its own date, but later papyri lack probative force on pre-Meleagran anthological formats, and it is claimed that those currently available for study tend to show the influence of Meleager's (presumed) arrangement. Earlier ones tend not to name the authors of their epigrams, perhaps because they were collections of the one author, named once only, in the lost colophon or introduction. No doubt there were many anthologies of short poetry in Hellenistic times.

2. It is claimed that “epigram” was a major genre of the -3C, though our term then meant: “occasional poetry of various sorts in various styles, lengths and metres” (p.15) rather than what Meleager and Philip sharpened it to mean. P.10 alludes to a -3C Vienna papyrus not as yet published which indicates the length and first lines (but not the authors) of about 240 “epigrams”. By far the most common length of the decipherable examples is 4 lines (106 poems). This spread is fairly typical of Egyptian stone poetry as well. Poems of all these lengths were apparently called “epigram” in the -3C, though I have not confirmed this from the available papyri as the most important ones are out of my reach.

3. When the term “epigram” occurs, with reference to a quoted short poem, on datable papyrus, it must be taken seriously. In MS there must be great suspicion that such a term is added by medieval or even modern editors. At least in Meleager’s time (ca 100 BCE) elegy ≠ skolion ≠ epigram. Polymetria had long been epigram but iamboi, gnomaica and some varia apparently still weren’t. Theognis was not excerpted in Meleager, despite the Theognidea easily falling into elegiac distichs and quatrains. Apparently Theognis was still strongly felt as “elegy”. Nor, really, were the Anacreontea “epigram”. Nor were iambs apparently felt as epigram, for all their shortness. Something like this situation seems to prevail in the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, but this at the end of Antiquity, where short poems display an extreme variability of length and a restriction of modes and topics.
2. Ephemera bad evidence, but still needed

1. There seem to be four types of early “epigram” papyrus: individual editions of a single poet, probably by the poet himself, thus mostly slim volumes not likely to survive on their own except as waste papyrus; small private commonplace books made by readers, even less likely to be recopied; didactic collections, for the schoolroom; and “miscellaneous” (p.9), some of these perhaps author’s own drafts like P. Köln iii. 128, two draft epitaphs with interlinear corrections in the same hand. I.e., there are as yet no likely signs of major (multi-author) anthologies before the Tyrian-Gadarene editor of about 90BCE. Quite a few poems preserved in papyri re-occur in “Meleager” (i.e., in our reconstruction of his collection on the basis of various hints in the AP).

2. This encourages us to believe that he did very heavily excerpt from what was current in his day and the echoes of AP poems in Late Antique Latin encourage us to believe that “Meleagers” of some sort were still available and respected half a millennium after the original compilation. Even in AP we have fully 800 poems likely to have been in his Garland. He was more comprehensive than previous collections and apparently an innovator in the arrangement of poems.

... it was in its comprehensive range, chronological, geographic, and thematic alike, that its true novelty and importance lay. Meleager collected material from all areas of the Greek world, from Italy to Syria; from Simonides and Anacreon down to Antipater and Archias; from the sympotic and erotic to the dedicatory, anathematic, and funerary; from the most humdrum inscriptions to the purest poetry.

3. In this Cameron softens the restrictions he claims (p.13/15) to have been introduced into epigram “genre” by the selectivity shown by Meleager:

It was Meleager’s selection from this material that has shaped our perception of the character and limitations of the classical epigram. It was Meleager’s selection that influenced the practice of later epigrammatists; Meleager’s Garland that determined the character of later anthologies.

4. Most important for the Byzantine use of him, Meleager does not seem to have divided his love poetry into heterosexual and paederastic chapters. Cephalas hurried to do this, if it had not been done before his time. The latter seems unlikely, as the erudite and crusading Byzantine’s sources must have been late-antique rather than genuinely Byzantine.

E. — Hellenistic — Book joins Stone
1. Cephalas and the later Planudes use of some sources

1. The 13C Planudes accepted no poems into his reorganised anthology from the 11C and 12C, a period (p.320) of much more extensive and competent cultivation of “epigram” in Byzantine circles than the 920s and 930s, from which we do have some poems added to the AP. Apart from some transcripts of existing Church inscriptions, Cephalas himself seems to have devoted his main collection to classicising epigrams, and to non-Christian ones at that.

2. Our 10C Cephalas seems to have had two versions of the “Garlands”, bound with the more recent one at the front, i.e., Philip followed by Meleager. See Cameron p.46-47 (re-emphasised p. 144 fn° 38 & p. 365) and his useful introductory tables of the structure of the Cephalan books of AP, modified from F. Lenzinger 1975. The Garlands seem, with Homer and Nonnus, to have been very popular Classical texts in earlier Byzantium, and it is plausible that more than one copy would survive the Byzantine “dark ages”, in variant forms, as anthologies were highly “unprotected” texts. He had an early Agathias and probably a Palladas (p.96). He had the Theognidea. On p.141 Cameron cannot go further than Gow in pronouncing on the precise manner in which Bucolic MSS were used to make up AP’s Theocritean epigrams, in books vi, vii, ix and xiii. Then Cephalas had a shadowy collection or group of collections of the Imperial period which we can sense in the imitations of the Latin poets of the Bobiensia and of Ausonius. This seems to have been made by one of its authors, i.e., Diogenian, and to have contained also Rufinus, Palladas and the genuine Lucianic epigrams. Perhaps it was a large document also containing one of the above-mentioned versions of the two Garlands (Philip and Meleager). He had Strato’s Boyish Muse, by itself or in another collection and offers it largely unbroken in two long blocks of book xii, except only that the tail piece of Strato is delayed to the very end of Cephalas’ book xii, to be the tail piece, the envoi, of the whole paederastic “book”.

3. Cephalas may have had access to the surviving poems of Gregory Nazianzen, but Cameron assumes that he excluded them. If he did deliberately exclude them (as Christian), they were immediately added in the first generation of copies of his magnum opus (as classicising). Cephalas also had transcripts of currently displayed classicising epigraphs made by his senior contemporary, Gregory Magister (p.290). Directly or through sub-collections he would have had access to short poems occurring in prose texts of the Classical period, such as those in Herodotus and Thucydides.
3. **Before Meleager again**

1. Meleager’s own sources, a thousand years earlier, are naturally much more shadowy. As we have already noted, informal and private collections, probably often without titles and poets’ names, would have been easy enough to find. From the period of first flowering of short poetry, the -3C, there seem to have been individual poets’ anthologies. We have references of the type “(as says) Callimachus, *in the epigrams*” for about half a dozen of his contemporaries: e.g. *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. P.608, roll publication is assumed for all authors referred to later in such terms as: “in their Epigrams”, for which see then n° 405 (p.859 Vol. 2) — Hedylus, Posidippus, Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Nicaenetos of Samos, Philetas of Cos. Cameron’s list is, as we have noted: Callimachus, Hedylus, Mnasalces (from C’s interpretation of the new P. Köln 204), Nicaenetus, Nicander, Philetas, Posidippus. There was “No sign of publication in the -4C, and it existed by the time of Posidippus”, thus Cameron assumes, as did Wilamowitz in his *HELL. DICHT*, a rapid change of tastes under the Ptolemies, or at least during their period. It may also be that three of these early Alexandrians were closely enough associated to produce an official combined edition, though such a practice seems to have been rare. Hedylus it would have been who collected his own poems and added those of his more prolific seniors Asclepiades-Sicelides and Posidippus.

1. **Pre-Ptolemaic?**

   1. All this is Hellenistic. From the -4C Cameron will accept little that is of interest, except vaguely delineated “collections of inscriptions”. He denies to these collections any literary intent and even denies it to poems thus collected, though “by the fourth century inscriptive poems became more elaborate”, and even though fictive epitaphs seem to be this early (p.2, the mock epitaph on Hermias, friend of Aristotle, said to be contemporary with him c. -344). Unlike Dihle and Fraser, he denies any erotic epigrams to the real Plato, and is inclined to date even the crucial Simonidean collection(s) to Hellenistic times. He does not mention other possible collections suggested by Page, e.g., that of “Sappho”.

   2. Of the sub-anthologies, “Anacreon” at least was collected by the time of Meleager, and surely “Simonides” and other foci of pseudepigraphical writing as well.

2. **Novelty**

   1. Literary development of the epitaph and dedication was not a startling novelty of early Hellenistic times. This may have been taking place already in the Attic -4C.
It was sympotic and erotic epigram (or the fact that sympotic and erotic poetry were now felt to constitute "epigram"?) — that was really new. Cameron concurs with Giangrande and Hutchinson that whatever poetry came to them on these topics was recast by the Alexandrians and "invested... with that combination of allusiveness, conciseness, and wit that were to become the hallmarks of the genre." (p.3) It is significant that Leonidas (like Martial, but like few other major figures of antiquity) seems to have written only epigrams, and Posidippus in his lifetime or shortly after his death was honoured publicly (p.371, IG ix 12 17.245 of 262/3 BCE) as "the epigrammatist". The occasional surviving commentary on epigrams in this period also suggests that their subjects quickly became a major and "canonical" genre, and under that title. We have noted that such poems were probably a mixed bag, even as regards length, but any common genre name indicates some unity among its referents and conduces to the further strengthening of a sense of genre.

3. Other ancient collections of inscriptional and pseudo inscriptional poetry

1. Some shadowy collections attributed to antiquarians receive varying amounts of attention from Cameron. He treats the most recent one the most seriously, Polemo(n), early -2C, "on (types of people from?) various cities". These are presumably book epigrams. A century before this Neoptolemos seems to have left a book "about epigrams", rather than "of epigrams", the one fragment being a quote from a stone epitaph, and there is the famous but now lost collection of Philochorus, even earlier, which is taken as a documentary mish-mash of prose and poetry of no interest for literary history. Cameron does not go into the collections of verse oracles likely to have been current well before the Attidographers, nor the possibility of a corpus of versified gnomic and paroimiac modifications, but some oracles are mentioned from L and AP on pp.211-213, some apparently genuinely from Didyma, mediated heavily through the Theosophia (ca. 500CE) and Porphyry (Περί τῆς ἐκ λογιῶν φιλοσοφίας). 

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311 *Weinreich 1918 makes us nervous about the reconstruction of the text itself. After recovering from that uncertainty, strengthened or perhaps led astray by the consensus omnium, we are faced with the possibility that another Posidippus than the one lemmatised in AP was the one herein designated as "epigrammatist". To deny this we need to assume that Posidippus was a rare name (untrue, see Pape-Benseler, Fraser 1987 and Osborne 1994) or that the characterisation of anyone as "epigrammatist" was rare at the time, and this depends on an exclusive interpretation of the word as title. Thus, it seems that we should not base weighty argument on this particular proxeny decree.

312 In FGE n° CXXXVI b, Page comments that it offers meagre evidence that Polemon's lost book contained "literary" epigram: Ἡλιας καί μεθοί και ψευδεται Ωδος έκ Χιλιων. 

313 See: Deichgräber, Laqueur, Byng, Schwartz, Latte, Cahen, Parke and Wormald, all in Bibl.1, some also in Addenda.
2. For much later times he notes (p.294, & p.341) that, apart from the very narrow channel of the Garlands, verse epigraphy is quoted by Byzantines for purely historical and documentary reasons, thus resembling the practice of the Attic writers and speakers of the -5 and -4C. It seems that a “uselessly” artistic anthology of short poetry was as rare in Ancient times as it was to be in the High Middle Ages. If so, we may assume that the few successful examples became and remained widely known, though if so, one would have to explain why these weren’t imitated.

3. The explanation could be that the resources to compose such a large, purely literary anthology were not often available to a single scholar. Perhaps other more prestigious poetic endeavours continually swamped ones which could have been directed towards mini-poetry, which already may have had sufficient ways of transmission and “life” in daily converse, or on stones and precious gifts, a literary world little considered by the hyper-textual Cameron. More disturbingly, it may be that the concentration on poetry of a certain length was rare in ancient culture, and that shortish poetry came in many lengths from the epyllion and love elegy downwards, many of which were not easily accepted as epigram in later, more timid times.

4. The other two main AG anthologies according to Cameron

1. Sequels to Meleager — Roman

   1. They are not as important as the first and presumably trend-setting collection of the Syrian-Tyrian. Nevertheless, they indicate by their existence and survival two more periods of intense interest in epigram.

   2. Not many ancient anthologies seem to have been carefully arranged in order. Such a procedure of course involved great labour, and required simultaneous possession of a great volume of poems, probably in different texts, or of a whole bundle of careful copies of them. The Gaian/Neronian anthology of Philip was originally two or three large rolls, though no doubt it was quickly excerpted and reduced in size to omit boringly similar poems, which Philip’s system tended to group together. Its main principle of order was the letters of the alphabet, thus in principle providing 24 “books”, arranged only by the initial letter of each poem. Within such “books” there can be little doubt that Philip attempted to make subgroupings based on similarity of theme or of wording.
3. There is an AP (+10C, Byzantine) lemma noting that Philip’s anthology was "alphabetically" arranged, and long alphabetical sequences do exist in our AP, in which the names to which poems thus ordered are ascribed are usually the same as those mentioned in Philip’s prefatory poem, AP iv, 2. He himself apparently used the long-common separate “editions” of single (notable) poets as well as more informal and obscure sources. As we know from Owen’s book on the better preserved literature of the High Tang period in China (+7/8C), the methods by which MS or inscriptional poetry came to be collected and available for perusal (before printing, but in a paper-using and highly literate culture) were many, and confused. At least Philip’s drew on relatively recent poets, from Philodemus to himself, that is, only from 150 years of Roman/Greek literary history.

4. The fact that he made his book at all points to a Roman enthusiasm for short poetry which helps us contextualise the work of Catullus and Martial, and presumably, to the paradigmatic position of short poetry in Hellenistic culture.

5. Philip seems to have had in mind the success of his predecessor’s labours. Cameron assumes that Meleager was a very large work for its time, say, 6,000 lines, in four rolls or “books” probably subdivided thus: I erotica II funerary III dedications and IV “epideictic”. Alii aliter. He assumes that Philip reacted against Meleager’s order of arrangement, choosing alphabetic headings. The Gadarene seems to have included no scoptic, protreptic, or simply-sympotic (non-erotic) poems, though such may have been rare in his time. Within these presumed subject-based books he seems to have followed a pattern of a regular sequence of the “major” poets, sprinkling the minor poets in between these. In each book he allows “formal intruders”, it is claimed, i.e., poems better placed in another “book” but linked by theme, expression, or just mechanically by a catchword.\footnote{We must pass over most of the pressures (for variety and for regularity) brought about by artistic anthologisation. They are touched upon passim in this thesis and in any detailed discussion of AP. See however, fn° 8, and the following instructive example from unpublished popular poetry of Australia in the 1980s and 1990s.}

On ABC AM 702 on the afternoon of 9 Mar 1995 could be heard some verses from the bush poet of Warren, NSW, Mavis Appleyard. She is unpublished, except for one other ABC broadcast which collected the writings of women in “the bush”. Most of her writings are of quite moderate length, less than the standard Bush Ballad, but rarely very short. One poem was of two (or, if we divide the 7 beat line of the ballad meter into two, perhaps four) lines. She exemplifies the occasional use of brevity in a corpus which knows nothing of epigram, but may accidentally fall into it.

I have to reconstitute the poem myself (no doubt in my own style more than hers), but this infidelity also suits the processes of folk transmission. I give it a title, i.e.:

Country toilets
(best delivered in a tone mid-way between the rueful and the dead-pan)

At home you only find relief by tearing down the track

L. — Hellenistic — “Book joins “Stone”
that Archias or some other traveller brought a copy of this Garland to Rome early in the -1C, where it was imitated with what he reads as “callow” enthusiasm in the poets quoted in Gellius xix. 9 10–14 and *Cicero De Nat. Deor. i. 79, the circle of Catulus: Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus and Q. Lutatius Catulus himself, cos. 102 BCE.

2. The last gasp of Pagan-style epigram — early Byzantine

1. About the Cycle of 6C Agathias there is less uncertainty than those of his predecessors. His anthology features his own contemporaries, arranged in 7 chapters according to theme/content, and indeed seems to have arrived to the century of Cephalas still close to its original version. Again, literary history suggests that non-religious classicising poetry would not have attracted much attention between the +6C and the later 9C, which would make plausible a lack of intervening copies, and hence, the lack of rearrangements and copyists’ corruptions for the Cycle. It also seems that Cephalas followed Agathias’ 7 thematic subdivisions, which is another reason for the lack of disturbance of long runs from this work.

I kicked two hoses going out, — one hose coming back.

Its allusiveness also anticipates in the reader/listener a close personal familiarity with the reptilian wildlife attracted to out-house toilets, or else a good knowledge of the sub-genre of country toilet jokes. It is essentially a pointed epigram which is not an epigram, since it was not written in that tradition or anthologised with its fellows, but, like perhaps much Hellenistic “epigram” in its original context, and like much of the shorter poetry of the Middle Ages, was simply the lower end of the variation of length in collections (or in corpora whose elements were not initially intended to coexist in time and place) of what are essentially medium-long poems.

If one were, secondarily and later, to extract from the primary collections just the shorter poems in them, one would magically make epigram out of the lot, even if some small minority of them were long poems. What would be possible reasons for such a biased collection, other than some preceding tradition that it was a “good thing” so to single out brevity? Possibly that a writer’s short poems ended up (unconsciously) being different in nature, impact and technique from her longer ones, or more superficially, that length merely provided a convenient category for crude grouping of the otherwise ungroupable, as the suras of the Qur'ān are conveniently grouped from long to short, regardless of content.

If short poems were more collectable, memorable, etc., than long ones, we might think of a three stage process for their concentration into an anthology: first the original sea of poems of varying lengths, only some of the corpus falling at the lower extreme; second, random collection of the shorter ones because of something like the commonplace book tradition, because of their quotability, memorability, and because of their fitting the frame felt appropriate for any improving or significant “excerpt”; thirdly, a super-collection of the best short poems and quotable quotes taken from many commonplace books. As the short poems are collected for being short, their contents and techniques would vary enormously, yet they would need a collective name. “Flowers”, “pearls” and other metaphors would suit. Merely descriptive words like “snippets” would also do. If there was a vague name floating around already associated with short poems in general, not too bound to any single definable form or purpose, that would be the most likely to be pressed into service.

I.e., “Epigram”? 

E. — Hellenistic — “Book joins Stone”
2. Meanwhile, the Greek tradition of carving short poems on stone continued unabated. We will consider only the well edited corpus from Egypt, which covers the period of the three major epigrammatic anthologies, contrasting somewhat with their often highly literary selection from the tradition.
1. Epigram on its natural support — Egypt only

1. Although the single richest site for poetic epigraphy in Egypt contains nothing from before the Roman occupation, we will treat it in detail before extending our analysis to the whole of Egypt.

2. Apart from the fact that poetic epigraphy, unlike poems on papyri, is rare in Hellenistic Egypt, one colossus at Thebes retains verses that are neither funerary or dedicatory, nor encomiastic or thankful or hymnic, nor notably precatory. They would fit into the varia of most ordered collections, and as a result give an idea of the situation of short occasional poetry in general, Latin and Greek, among the educated classes of the first two centuries of our era. The specificity of the site obviously coloured whatever poetry was inscribed, seeing that visitors were usually turning aside from a tour to a more familiar site, the temple of a healing figure, to hear the god sing shortly after it was struck by the rays of the rising sun.

2. Memnon — occasional verse, and/or epigram?

1. The singing colossus is the perfect topic for a lecture or seminar, but only by the most insensitive scholarship can he be fitted into one presentation. Barry Baldwin summarises, jokes, and points out how works on prosopography, vocabulary and history have not fully exploited the graffiti/inscriptions on giant legs and loincloth. Our aim is to straddle two stools: the specificity of the “Memnon experience” in the first two centuries of our era (the period of the inscriptions) and the inner nature of the tradition of short verse writing.

315 Few call them “epigram”. Short varia were usually not “epigram” until anthologised! Ausonius’ practice in giving varied titles to his books of short verse may have been based on an older tradition where not even anthologised short poetry was felt as, or at least, stated to be epigram. We cannot excuse ourselves a serious gaze at the specificity of the Memnon poems by their being classifiable in the widespread class of proscynemata. Nevertheless, the summary by Guarducci EP GR (III p. 198–219 Proscynémi, attestazioni di visite a luoghi insigni, ecc.) does situate them in the right epigraphic galaxy.

316 Prudentia 1983 I disagree slightly with his figures and do not share his approach. Peter Levi’s Penguin Pausanias has a good note on p.117 Vol.1. I would suggest that the Latin prose inscription no1 comes from 20CE, thus invalidating his restriction of datable inscriptions to the period from “Nero to Septimius Severus”. He was probably working from summaries based on Letrenne’s great but somewhat dated work.

317 One of the many warnings we noted early in our research came from the reluctance of scholars closest to the Memnon texts to call them “epigram”. The more generalised the treatment of them, the
2. This site is exceptional in the percentage of the inscriptions which are in verse — 38 (only 5 of which are Latin) out of a total of 107 ancient inscriptions there.\textsuperscript{318} There is the odd engraving of more recent date (n° 106) and one in unknown characters and language (n°108). The percentage of Latin is also exceptional — fully 45 compared with 61 in Greek. Information is often given of the date when the person heard the statue sing, and the name of the tourist-pilgrim himself is mandatory. Thus it is often possible to combine textual and historical hints with the evidence of superimpositions and apparent sequences of inscriptions on the stone to arrive at quite plausible datings. All this is unique in Greco-Egyptian epigraphy.

3. So is the metrical mix: 15 elegiacs (as often on stone, with little concern to keep the line numbers even); 11 hexameters; 9 trimeters; 3 doubtful; 1 lyric — out of the 33 Greek and 5 Latin poems. We can find a much greater variety of metres than this in Egypt, but not in the one place, and Egyptian elegiacs vastly outnumber hexameters and trimeters overall. If we accept any hexameter sequence as elegiac so long as it contains at least one pentameter, then elegiacs in Egypt are three times more common on stone (taking as our counting units the whole “poems” in which they occur) as hexameters and trimeters combined.

4. Memnon is individual even in this.

5. He was more accessible to travelers than Syene and Abu Simbel, but still required quite a pilgrimage. Thebes was legendary enough, the Syringes were over the river with many another impressive ruin, including the healing temple of

\textsuperscript{318} To the degree that they are to be classed as proscynemata, this is to be expected, in Greek. Guarducci III p. 198ff. groups these “tourist inscriptions” alongside the pure proscynemata, which tend to be the most explicitly graphological of Hellenistic-Imperial language acts. See fn° 337.
Amenophis son of Hapu — in fact, this whole area was called the Memnoneia. All this is of some importance for the full meaning of the poems, and so is their placement on the statue. Once practical considerations have been allowed for, there seems to be a tendency to try to put the inscription in a place where it will get the early rays of the sun. This reminds us that the two enduring elements of what may be called the tradition of epigram are brevity and concreteness. Concreteness itself is not a literary quality, but becomes so if facts themselves speak eloquently enough, or if pretending to allow them to speak can add a sense of vividness, poignancy or seriousness to the discourse.

6. Of course, the legend is part of all this. It would take us too far to follow the suggestions and labours of Holland, Pley and Kees on the lost tradition of the king of light and of the Ethiopians, who appears as an ally of the Trojans and the opponent of Achilles in the Iliad. There is great depth to the legend, and it was apparently much developed, not just in the Aithiopis. Minor literary references and especially vase paintings indicate this. Memnon was involved in a raising of spirits, and his mother, the Goddess Dawn, long bewailed his death. All this gave colour and atmosphere to a night’s incubation at the mysterious statue of Amenophis III, whose first cartouche name was pronounced something like Nibmuaria, Nimmuria, Mimmuria (N.b-m R-R): The Lord of Maat is Re) and whose great temples were very close to the kingdom of those Ethiopians. And on his plinth were carved female figures, actually the mother of J.m.n-h.t.p, or Amenophis (Amon is pleased): that is Mutemwia, junior wife of Thutmosis IV, and his own daughter Tije. As the statues faced the rising sun, it would not have been hard to come up with the idea that here was indeed the Son of Dawn.

7. At some stage the 720 ton monolithic statue had suffered damage to the head and entirely lost the crown. There is no better explanation for this than an earthquake of 27BCE. The poetic tradition was full of laments for Memnon, remembering his bloody defeat by Achilles and “his” enormous tumulus on the Aesopus River, near Cyzicus, (no doubt a favourite resting place for some of the great flocks of birds which have always migrated up and down the narrow corridor of the Lebanon and the Judean highlands, and birds were souls in popular belief), and the tears of his mother, Eos. In fact, Egyptian belief may have held that the stone of the statue’s body,

319 Strabo 17.1.46 τά ἄνω μέρη τά ἀπὸ τῆς καθέδρας πέπτωκε σειλιμοῦ γεννήτους, οὐκ ἀντικρισία. See *Bataille MEMNONEIA for a most extensive discussion of literary evidence for the activities of the singing colossus. See *Theodoridès for a rehash of Letronne’s analysis of the inner motivations for the pilgrim inscriptions, including those traditionally claimed to have caused their cessation.

Ε. — Hellenistic — “Book” joins “Stone”
quartzite or a hard sandstone according to which authority one consults, was actually created by the rays of the sun. It came from Gebel el-Ahmarr, and as this Arabic title suggests, it was coloured red.

8. Coincidentally, its construction was supervised by the other Amenophis, son of Hapu, whose mortuary temple became such a place of the healing cult in later times. Pilgrims often went to “Memnon”, on to the “Memnoneion”, and came back past the statues the next day. Another part of the eventual symbolic complex was the linking of the damaged state of the statue with the ravages Cambyses was believed to have wrought on the land, its temples and its inhabitants. This may be implicit in Strabo’s account.

9. It is not thought that the statue cult precedes the Roman period, though in such matters little is certain. About their ending, historians have drawn certainty out of a few faint indications: first a vague comment in the Historia Augusta that Septimius Severus had a close look at Memphis, Memnon, the pyramids and the labyrinth. Then the theory that Septimius tried to conciliate the fractious Egyptians. Finally that the inscriptions seem to dry up about his reign, though the literary references continue into the Middle Ages. Inscriptions of all sorts tend to dry up in the third century (though not, I am informed, in Syria) so this “epigraphic gap”, the firmest evidence for the ending of Memnon’s singing, is also weak proof.

10. As I suspect that a lack of sympathy with marvels and pilgrimages, and too great an emphasis on what I call exploitative or extractive scholarship make Baldwin’s dismissive judgements less respectable than the slightly reverential acceptance of Bernand, I prefer to assume that Memnon’s song was heard for only 200 or so years, not much longer than the period of the inscriptions. This gives a narrower epigraphic timeband than that of any other major site in Egypt. The writers’ topics are also quite limited, as at Philae. Both are very unified epigraphic sites.

11. Tama is the right hand statue as you face them with the the Nile at your back, hence the northernmost one, and it is he who has acted as the literary lightning conductor, pulling poetry out of the cultural ether and modifying it in the process. It is no accident that the reign of Hadrian provides the richest haul, nor that the “wonder” did not develop much of a personality until then. Apart from his personal devotion to Greek culture, Hadrian saw as much political and social advantage in a refined and resurgent Hellenism as Constantine was later to see in Christianity.

E. — Hellenistic -“Book” joins “Stone”
12. We now have as much cultural background as is needed for interpreting the words on the stone. Next, some facts. First, the earliest datable inscriptions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>CE 20</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>16 Mar 65</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>71/72</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>18 Mar 72</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>75/76</td>
<td>Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>12 Nov 79</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. So, 47 are undated, 13 Latin, 26 Greek and one impossible to distinguish. Latin was the language of military occupation and of the high administration. Presumably most of the high officials also knew Greek. The latest datable inscriptions are (in reverse order of time):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>ca 205 CE</td>
<td>Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>ca 205 CE</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>3 Mar 198 or 208</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>24/25 Feb 196</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>24/25 Feb 196</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. The Greek language predominates in verse inscriptions, and Greek authors are typically less careful about dating:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Latin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poetry/Prose (=doubtful)</td>
<td>18.5 / 10</td>
<td>4 / 28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undatable</td>
<td>16 / 17</td>
<td>0 / 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. A rough distribution in time helps show the bulge in all datable inscriptions about the time of Hadrian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Tot</th>
<th>Lat</th>
<th>GK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before Hadrian's reign</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadrian in Rome</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadrian in Thebes</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadrian has left Egypt</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Hadrianic</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. Hadrian ruled 117–138 CE, went on tour 121–126 and again 129–134. The travelling Emperor was in Egypt 130 CE and lost his Antinous there in a most ill-omened drowning in the Nile. His influence must be largely responsible for such later

E. — Hellenistic - "book joins "Stone"
phenomena as an undatable but possibly late poem by a Procurator. Only the last of the three distichs of n°62 justifies Baldwin's designation "Homer cento" (p.55):

\[\text{Αςκληπιοδοτοῦ}
\]
\[\text{Ζωεῖν εὐαλῆθ Θετὶ Μεμνώνα καὶ μεγὰ φῶςεν}
\]
\[\text{μανθανει μυτρωῇ λαμπαδὶ ϑαλπομενον}
\]
\[\text{Αὐγυπτω Λιβυκηνὶν υπὸ ϐορυκὴν ϑω αποταμιε}
\]
\[\text{καλλιποὺλον Θηβὴν Νείλος ελαιομενος}
\]
\[\text{τοὺ δὲ μαχῆς ακορητοῦ Αχιλλεὰ μὴτ εἰν Τρώων}
\]
\[\text{φθεγγεσθαι πεδῶς μὴτ εἰν Θεσσαλη}
\]
\[\text{ποιητοῦ εἰπτροποῦ 320}
\]

17. The poem is laid out exactly as indicated, in majuscules of course, with a deep hole in the stone preventing Asclepiodotus from following his name at the top with his titles of poet and procurator. Thus he puts his titles neatly at the bottom.

18. The basic type of prose inscription looks like a mere "we wus there" but possibly they were more than that. Representative examples are n° 59 and 69:

- V NONAS MARTIAS
- FELIX AUGG LIBERTVS
- PROCVRATOR VSIAVCVS
- HORA PRIMA SEMIS
- MEMNONEM <A>
- AVDIVIT 321

19. The crucial elements to mention are: the date but often without a year; one’s name; whether the divine singing was heard, if so when (always within half an hour to a couple of hours after dawn) and how many times. The many years adorned by duo Augusti leave a fair range of conjecture for the dating of this inscription. It is documentary, not literary, but as we have noted already, the kind of text or speech act which it represents will require some comparison and sensitivity to rediscover. When discovered, it will underlie our interpretation of the poems.

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320 Of Asklepiodotos / He lives, O sea-dwelling Thetis, and he raises his great voice — know ye this — when the maternal torch warms him, at the foot of the Libyan mountain chain of Egypt, separated from Thebes of the beautiful gates by the surge of the Nile, whilst Achilles, never satisfied with battle, says nothing (i.e. now) either on the plain of Troy or in (i.e. his native) Thessaly / of the poet and Procurator. We remember, perhaps, that the supreme warrior Achilles killed Memnon, King of the Ethiopians, son of Dawn, in the Trojan War.

321 5th of the Nones of March / Felix, freedman of the Augusti / at the first-and-a-half hour / heard Memnon <1>

E — Hellenistic — "Book" joins "Stone"
20. Heliodorus from Banyas was lucky enough to hear the god, and he follows the standard procedure in such distant places, remembering (surely not just happening to remember) his brothers, one of whom has a Semitic name, presumably Hayyan or the like. We do not know when he was there, but there is a strikingly similar inscription, in five lines with almost the same division of the text (influenced by the different formulary required at a traditional shrine) and the very same lettering, up river at Philae, n° 170, Pl. 15. The different placement of the word “brothers” may possibly indicate more psychological immediacy in his act purely of recalling them than in his ritual offering for them:

ΗΑΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΖΗΝΩ
ΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΚΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΠΙΑ
ΝΙΑΔΟΣ ΗΚΟΥΣΑ Δ ΚΑΙ
ΕΜΝΗΣΘΗΝ ΖΗΝΟΝΟΣ
ΚΑΙ ΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ

21. This is on a flat surface, unlike the Memnon text, but it retains not only the letter size, linelength and general form (the only difference I can see is in two of the deltas at Philae — these have upward, left-inclining continuation of their right side beyond the apex) but the general sentiments and phrasing. There is even a repetition of the diaeresis over Ai'on, which is the only accent indicated. The differences are those of the different situations. Memnon was not a cult centre, and meditation (or gawking) was all that could be done there.

22. Several things emerge from this chance finding, dozens of which would be needed to construct a theory. First, this individual or party did not use the services of a professional carver at Philae, unless the practice was to provide a full-size fair copy which was faithfully imitated. The letters are bold and pretty regular but not professional-looking. It is almost certain that he cut them himself or brought someone

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322 (1) Heliodoros son of Zeno, from Caesarea-Banyas heard it 4 times and remembered Zeno and Aian my brothers in letters 25mm high, in 5 lines, as shown, but without word divisions of course.

323 (1) Heliodoros son of Zeno, from Caesarea-Banyas came and made the adoration-act of (i.e., for, and perhaps instead of) my brothers Zeno and Aian in letters 20mm high, in 5 lines, as shown, but without word divisions.

L. — Hellenistic "Book" joins "Stone"
along to do so. It is only slightly less likely that he had a copy prepared in five lines. Otherwise we would have to assume that letter size and approximate length of line were in his memory all the way up the Nile from one place to the other, which may be more likely than modern scholars might admit, but still is the least convincing explanation of the remarkable graphic similarities. Thirdly he made two mistakes at Philae, ἠλθὼν and προσκυνημα, and none at Thebes. The former involves letters with a similar outline, the latter may just have been induced by fear that he would run out of space, though it is not until the next two lines that he really comes up against the edge of the Philae wall, where some letters are now damaged. It may reasonably be assumed that he didn’t just have a bad day, but that the atmosphere for inscribers at the Colossus was considerably less hurried.

23. The whole process of a public inscription at Philae was almost certainly (given their relative rarity) more difficult to arrange, and time may have been limited there. We may assume that as long as such people actually did their own inscribing or could easily imagine themselves doing it, there was opportunity for the kinaesthetics and the complex semiotics of inscribing to influence the genre of literary compositions which were inscribed, just as the prospect of inscribing seems to have led to the choice of fairly similar layouts for the two proscynemata here. If this is true, the influence could either come out in themes and topoi, or less explicitly lie in the generalised tradition requiring that certain sorts of non-engraved poems were in principle “supposed” to be engraved, treatable as “practically” engraved.

24. Kinaesthesia may well be one of the hidden anchors of epigrammatic genre stability.

25. There is little sense of strong epigrammatic form in the poetic examples among these remains, nor is there much visible in other collections from stone.

26. One of the Greek poems illustrates that the convenient “distich”, in the German sense of an elegiac couplet, was felt to be a special sort of unit. It can be

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324 See Yates MEMORART for orators’ ability to memorise passages for speeches according to their physical disposition on a visually remembered page.

325 *Caban is useful on the insufficiency of the Stone/book dichotomy. He sets up for the Callimachean corpus a “peri- or para-inscriptional” class for all poems whose nature approaches that of real inscriptions. They could be intended or possible inscriptions, fictive inscriptions, or poems commenting on, inspired by monuments and inscriptions, preserving some of the flavour of their subject. A problem for the classification of Greek epigraphy arises from the fact that apparently non- or un-inscriptional poems can be found inscribed!

E. — Hellenistic “Book” joins “Stone”
dated to the day before the Ides of March of the 16th consulate of Domitian, i.e., 14 March 92CE, and the author, or the master of the author, was the highest-ranking person in Egypt, the Prefect Titus Petronius Secundus. He heard Memnon at, in or after the first hour, and passed the order to Titus Attius Musa, Prefect of the second cohort of Thebans, to have a Greek distich inscribed in the middle of the Latin prose. It is hard to believe that this Greek is not his own, nor is it likely that he was unable to manage more than two lines of it, though the clumsy placement of the word “son-of-Leto” suggests he was struggling with his medium. Our suspicion that distichs were still felt to be a prestige form, independently of anthologies or prescription, is reinforced by the fact that there are 10 of them on the Colossus, compared with 5 six-liners, 4 four-liners, 3 three-liners, 2 monostichs, and 1 five-liner. We quote the main part of Petronius’ memorial inscription, and follow it immediately with just the distichs placed by other authors:

...T Petronius Secundus pr Aeg audit Memnonem hora l\pr Idus Mart et honoravit eum versibus Graecis infra scriptis Φθεγξευω Λατοίδα σου γαρ μερος ως καθηται Μεμιμιων ακτειων βαλλομενος πυρινας curante T Attio Musa praef coh II Thebaeor (n° 13)327

326 Without wishing to delay on this point, I must indicate my uncertainty as to what “at the X hour” means: in the course of this hour? Right on its conclusion? After it has ended but before the next one “arrives”? It is rare in Classical literature to have to worry about these precisions, but for our Memnonian studies the proximity of the strange sound to sunrise is of importance, and close examination of this point does homage to the intensity of the situation-boundness of all such stone poetry. N° 18 is illuminating, where Memnon was heard twice: “before” and “at/in” the first hour. This is in Greek prose, and so is n° 32 in which Memnon was said to have been heard twice “within” (ἐντός) the first hour. It is this first hour which poses the problem. It is hard to believe that only 4 hearings come from “before” or “within” it while 14 come from “at/in” it. Later auditions: 4 come from the first-and-a-half hour; 12 from the second hour; 1 from the second-and-a-half hour (such half hour precision is naturally less common); and 10 from the third hour. Some hour indications are damaged and unreadable. One was unfinished. There remain 32 inscriptions telling us the hour when Memnon’s voice was heard. Since the main reason for ancient precision about hours, a concern for astrological accuracy, seems not to be relevant here, this sort of precision indicates a high degree of expectation on the part of those awaiting the other-worldly sound. It also indicates a heightened awareness of the sunrise, but then, any visitor who has waited up for it in that country will share a similar sense of intensification, without the slightest inclination to heliolatry.

See again Bataille MEMNONEIA (p. 158) for detailed discussion in a different style concerning the singing times of Memnon.

327 T. Petronius Secundus Praetor of Egypt heard Memnon at the 1st hour on the day-before the Ides of March and honoured him with the Greek verses written below: You have sounded, Memnon, for part of you sits here, By the son of Leto’s fiery rays struck, By the care of T.A.Musa, Prefect of the 2nd Theban Cohort.

E. — Hellenistic — “Book” joins “Stone”
[Ἀνδησεντα σε Μεμνον εγω Παιων ο Σιδητης
to πρων επισυναφιμη νυν δε παρων εμαθου
(nº 12) by a professional poet 89/91 CE, (found 50 years later
to be prominent and presumably wealthy at Ephesus)328

Θειοτατου νυκτωρ | ομηρυ επι Μεμνονος | ηλθου
εκλυν νη Κατουλος ταγος | o Θηβαιδος
(nº 21) perhaps by the Epistrategos, before 122CE.
Bernand has changed his mind on these difficult issues.329

Τρεβουλλης
Της λεπας ακοουνα φωτης Μεμνονος
εποδουν σε μητερ και εξακουειν ευχουμην
(nº 92) signed. Undated, but its place suggests that it
immediately preceded the epigraphic activity associated
with Hadrian330

Απον[ις ωρα σ ηκουμα
Αφροδειταρου το προσκυνημα γεγραφαμεν
εμης δαμαρτος την εχομεν συν φθεγγη
(nº 98) engraved over a part of one of Trebulla’s poems
and hence posterior. The PNn are vulgar ones so the
origins of the writer must be lowly. The explicitness of
his wishes survives its translation into lapidary trimeter
verse.331

Μαρκιος Ερμογενης εκλυν μεγα φωνηζευτος
Μεμνονος ΑΝΤΕΛΛΟΥ……[ΔΑΟ βαλουτος
(nº 39) signed by the author of the Latin prose inscription n° 38
of 134CE, in charge of the σωτομοφυλακιαδ and based at
Alexandria.332

328 I, Paion of Side, once heard from others that you spoke, Memnon, but now I am here and know.

329 I came by night to hear the voice of the most divine Memnon and I heard it. Catulus, in charge of
the Thebaid.

330 Of Trebulla (a female poet of some prominence) While I heard the holy voice of Memnon I felt
desire for you, mother, and prayed that you might hear it.

331 (I) Aponis heard at the 1st hour. I have written this act of adoration of (=for) Aphroditarion, my
wife, and would I held her each time you sounded.

332 (I), Markios Hermogenes, heard Memnon sounding loudly at ... ...rise.

Ε. — Hellenistic—"Book" joins "Stone"
Memnonen vates canorum Maximus Statilius audit et donat camenas Musa nam cordi deis (nº 54) in a stesichorean verse — rare but not unknown to the stone tradition. If the author was the epistrategos known under this name, the date is 156CE.334

Meas quoque auris Memnonis vox accidit nomen cieto quisque vatem Maximum (nº 55) probably in 156CE like nº 54 which is close by and in the same "hand". The father of this Maximus was T. Statilius Maximus Severus, Idiologue, and he signed here (nº48) and in the Syringes (Baillet vol.l nº 76). The senior Maximus wrote in prose. His son twice calls himself vates, being obviously very proud of his poetic skills, in which area he presumably surpassed his father. He values his poems as "gifts", claims that the cultivation of the Muses is dear to the gods, and looks for fame or pious remembrance (or both) for himself. Like Trebulla, Maximus uses an emphatic style of poetic signature which is quite atypical on stone.335

27. Despite the infinitesimal percentage of the occurrences of verse on stone generally, it is clear that a tenacious tradition of the public writing of verse runs through the Early Empire in Egypt. Whatever the special situation in Egypt, this is likely also to be true of other cultivated areas of Hellenism and the massive amount of quotation of short poems in the literature of these two centuries,336 and the great number of poets' names surviving from this time (see the list of names at the end of our Addenda) confirm the impression gained from any close study of the stones.

333 To Fidus and Galla Memnon willingly spoke, (for) he already knew (who were) the two Protectors of the Thebaid.

334 Maximus Statilius the poet hears tuneful Memnon and offers poems, for the Muse is dear to the gods.

335 Memnon's voice has struck my ears as well. Let everyone pronounce the name of Poet Maximus.

336 See in Addenda #44.3.2 for a table made up from the New Clavis of Trois-Rivières University. The greatest number of names per half century (we subdivide thus: mid century / crossing century boundaries — for classification we can then assume arbitrarily that the time divisions are half a year each): [50 names –3C; 36 names –1C]; 31 names +2C; 25 names +1C; [21 names –4/-3C transition (allegedly); 21 names +6C; 20 names “–4C” (allegedly); 20 names –2C; 19 names –5C (allegedly);] 18 names –1/+1C transition…

E. — Hellenistic "Book joins "Stone"
28. There seems no material or situational reason here for the predominance of distichs. At Philae the brevity of proscynemata in prose might have explained the brevity of the verse forms, but brevity seems here to be a conscious choice, part of "genre". In the case of educated bilinguals, so was the use of Greek.

29. Even if we had no manuscript literature we might assume that there were models in the tradition that validated this sort of deliberate brevity, and perhaps the 4 and 6 line elegiac poem as well. The poem, suitably concretised by being engraved, is a sort of object which can be offered in a religious context to a god.\footnote{No other sort of offering was traditional or perhaps even suitable at the Colossus, as there was no established ritual there. Priests seem not to have used the statue in their line of business. The ability to write verse is found among contemporaries of the most varied origins, but was usually a sign of cultivation. It could be a life-time occupation and lead to fame,\footnote{more so than the skill of writing high class advertising copy does today.} High ranking officials might not possess this skill, as today they may easily excuse themselves for not being good musicians. We simply do not know whether the writing of elegiac poetry, and especially of anything that we would call epigrammatic poetry, was formally taught, or was passed on informally in various cultivated traditions — even in ordinary social intercourse, as Arab poetry has been and still is in many places.} No other sort of offering was traditional or perhaps even suitable at the Colossus, as there was no established ritual there. Priests seem not to have used the statue in their line of business. The ability to write verse is found among contemporaries of the most varied origins, but was usually a sign of cultivation. It could be a life-time occupation and lead to fame,\footnote{more so than the skill of writing high class advertising copy does today.} High ranking officials might not possess this skill, as today they may easily excuse themselves for not being good musicians. We simply do not know whether the writing of elegiac poetry, and especially of anything that we would call epigrammatic poetry, was formally taught, or was passed on informally in various cultivated traditions — even in ordinary social intercourse, as Arab poetry has been and still is in many places.

30. There was something about the ambience of the singing statue that attracted an unusual amount of verse and thus provided us with a unique probe into unaffected ancient verse writing.

31. The Bernands' works on the epigraphy of Egypt dispose of two major sites of poetic epigraphy independently of the rest — Memnon and Philae get separate treatment. We must follow our glance at Memnon with an updated survey of the remainder of inscribed-Greek poetry in Egypt. If Memnon was somewhat epigrammatic, we will gain a different impression from Philae, and even more so from the whole Egyptian corpus of Greek inscriptions.

\footnote{N° 13, n° 98, and most explicitly, n° 54. See fn° 318. See also *Bernand THÈBES–SYÈNE. See in Addenda AP vi 227, 321 for thematisations of the poem-itself-a-gift.}

\footnote{As we have noted, n° 55 does this most blatantly. But Paion may be assumed to be advertising his trade in n° 12, perhaps in the hope of "going professional".}

L. — Hellenistic —"Book" joins "Stone"
3. Epigrammatic Egypt

1. Availability, continuity and illustrative background

   1. The stones of Egypt rightly are chosen as a good guide to the functional poetic literature of the Hellenistic and Imperial world. While Syria might have been more hellenised, Egypt has left us more remains, and it provides papyri in quantity which supply linguistic and social background for the meagre offerings of the stones. Egypt also has the advantage of being beautifully edited, annotated and published by the French. They did the verse epitaphs separately, well in advance of the full publication of regional corpora. Egypt also has a few great individual sites where continuities can be studied.

2. Philae, and all the rest

   1. The 900 year stretch of Greek inscribing at Philae produced less than (an average of) one Greek inscription every three years. Of these only a dozen were in verse, but that dozen is informative and has the background of the prose inscriptions to illuminate them.

   2. The Colossus of Memnon was such a special site that we have already treated it on its own.

   3. There are the Tombs of the Kings, where Baillet's indexes give not many more than a dozen poetic graffiti among several thousand short Greek scribbles. Again, the fact that verse occurs is informative in itself. It always seems to occur, even if in smallish quantity.

   4. Alexandria is the richest site for recovered stones, while the Jews at Leontopolis/Tell el Yahoudiye showed some liking for inscriptions. Even allowing for the possibility of a lot of inscriptions lying undiscovered in the Delta muds, this is a small harvest. From before the Roman period very little remains. Literacy in Greco-Roman Egypt has also been extensively studied (on the basis of papyri, but with the emphasis on the Imperial period), and Nilsson has a final chapter on the special experience of gymnasium and of schooling which he assumes for that province. It provides tantalisingly meagre pickings. The poetic inscriptions are of course in Peek GVI, broken up into his attempted thematic-formal groupings.
5. The Early Empire is the richest period for this special sort of epigraphy — Augustus to Hadrian. It is in this period too that poems tend to appear of quite unepigrammatic length. Late in the period there is a growing predominance of the hexameter over the elegiac. Metrical and language experiment is not unknown — Balbilla’s aeolic dialect poems and the sotadeans of IME 108 are the high points of this linguistic and literary daring.

3. **Extent**

1. At least the poems themselves tend to be complete and relatively undamaged. There are (minus Memnon and Philae corpora) about 1600 lines of verse on stones. This for the whole of Egypt, covering a period of more than 1000 years. The two major sites excluded from this particular corpus would add fewer than 50 poems to this total, all quite short ones. Yet, despite the meagre amount surviving, there is evidence that writing verse, whether epigrammatic in style or not, was a privileged sign of Hellenistic education and group membership. The communications possible in Egypt, and the undoubted glories of Alexandria, suggest that we see only the tip of a verse iceberg, to which the few poems surviving on papyrus add another significant touch.

2. No religious syncretism is apparent in the major sub-group, that of funerary inscriptions. This is a tribute to the conservatism of private cult and of the funerary complex, and the closed and threatened situation in the world of Hellenism, first under pressure from Egyptians, then under the heel of Roman rule. Verse of any kind remains more informative than Greek prose inscriptions and for the French “cultural” approach to epigraphy, this is a god-send. The editors of the Greek remains of Egypt are able to be more effusive over their texts than the equally Robertian editors of Arabic epitaphs in Egypt, published in the same style. There is great originality in the “less figured” pre-Imperial inscriptions, which are not numerous, but even these must have been part of an immense amount of casual verse writing. An interesting point about the self-conscious artistry noticeable in Imperial times is

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339 IME p.7, and Baldwin (1983) p.56 n°14, criticises Bowersock’s opinion that poetry writing had a low status in the Early Empire, taking his stand on Memnon’s versified legs.

340 IME p.8, but see *Cameron (already mentioned) on the papyrus haul.

341 IME p.30, p.32

342 IME p.25 and Bulletin Epigraphique III 1952 p.136

343 IME p.41

'E. — Hellenistic —’Book’ joins ’Stone’
that this still did not lead to the poet’s name being mentioned, except where, as on Memnon or in the Philae proscynemata, the dedicator/pilgrim, whose name had to be mentioned, was incidentally the poet.

4. The verse remainder (non-Philae, non-Memnon) — crude general survey

1. IME contains 176 numbered items, some of which comprise more than one poem, some of which may not be poetic at all. At Philae there are about 193 Greek inscriptions, but only 9 of these are poetic.\(^\text{344}\) The categories chosen by the IME editors for the 176 poems not at Philae or on Memnon are:

- epitaphs (most numerous and the widest-spread geographically)
- acts of adoration (second widest-spread, even not counting the masses of them at Philae)
- dedications
- honorific
- hymns (often quite long)

2. Of the first category, more than half (\(62/102\)) surpass six lines in length, 44 of these have ten or more, 17 have fifteen or more lines (all these concentrated in the middle two of our four periods, EH, LH, FF, LE), 9 have twenty or more, and 3 have thirty or more. As often on stone, there is little clear sense of a generic length in post-4C Greek verse epigraphy. Such a sense seems to come from collections and anthologies, if not from lost literary doctrines, which would in any case be inapplicable to poetry on stone.

3. Two-line poems are much more common among the acts of worship, perhaps because the prose proscynema itself was traditionally short. There are 12 disticha, but only 2 in Early Empire (Augustus to Hadrian), which has the greatest concentration of poems. This period also has few monosticha, two in fact, out of the 10 such. There are few dedications on Egyptian stones, surprising when we consider how many survive from the rest of the Mediterranean. One long one survives, but two- and four-line poems predominate in this nine poem group. The honorific inscriptions number 13, of which fully 9 have either two or four lines. There is a tantalising approximation to a standard length in this.

\(^{344}\) The 38 new Greek inscriptions discovered in the resiting of the threatened Philae temple to a higher island, Agilka, are in prose and all very short. See Bernand THÈBES–SYÈNE 1989 n° 307–344. Note that the Bernands' large corpus of Greek inscriptions in Egypt and its surrounds has grown rapidly in recent years. See Bibl.1 s.v. *Bernard for a conspectus. However, diligent perusal of the later volumes has turned up few new epigraphic verses. These were carefully extracted from a variety of sources for IME.
4. Of all the thematic types, only the verse epitaph is a totally non-Egyptian form, and even there we must take account of the old custom of inscribed funeral plaques, begging the passer-by for a sacrifice. The first epigram in IME mentions the common Greek χαίρε, which we can see from its rich variations in the epitaphs to be more than a casual greeting:

\[ \text{"'Αλλά τὸν ἐν πάσιν λόγον, ὦ ἔρνη καὶ μὲ προσεύπας χαίρειν τὸν κατὰ γῆς, διπλῶον τοὺς ταῦτα λαχολ."} \]

5. In this matter some poems of the Greek Anthology provide an illuminating parallel.

1. **Egyptian to Greek: Written appeals to the living? [Anrufe an Lebenden]**

1. What we have from the Old Kingdom of native Egyptian "appeals to the living", on tomb chamber walls, on stelai and statues, differs from this Greek custom. Hieroglyphic (and later perhaps Demotic) appeals are addressed to "You living ones" or "All you who pass by", or to the priests, particularly when warnings are issued against violations of the grave. These two types rarely occur together in the Old Kingdom. The Middle Kingdom saw the fashion of memorial stones, but predominantly at one site, Abydos. These stelai are over cenotaphs, which "speak" like inhabited graves. The address is still to a plurality of passers-by, often divided into subcategories. The stele refers to itself: "this monument", "this gravestone". The necessity of a gift, or of a prayer, is emphasised. A wish begins to appear for the name to be preserved. The increasing mention of scribes among the ranks of possible visitors leads to the topos that "those who love reading" will find interest in the life

345 "Greetings", in the senses of "hello" and also "goodbye". See CEG2 n° 520 χαίρετε κοινῶν γὰρ ὅμα τὸς ἔστι βροταῖ — 4, said by the deceased in (through) their epitaph to their living friends), n° 868 in syllabic Cypriote, a dedicatory votive relief beginning and ending with an extra-metrical κατο- re-te, and of course, Meleager's famous poem playing with the Semitic equivalents of the standard greeting, AP vii 419. Note the lively interchange of χαίρε in AP v 46, the revealing pun on it in Callimachus AP vii 318, the strong suggestion in the closely preceding n° 316 that not to say χαίρε to the deceased or the stele was unlucky, and the Delphic play on the idea in "Simonides" AP x 105. See the once enormously popular *Rohde (Bibl.1) for the most naive view, not necessarily wrong for all that. See Guarducci EG III, p. 153 for all the most common encouragements and greetings. *Zazoff p. 102 notes XAIPE as one of the two more "common" greeting-Sprüche on Greek gems, seemingly not quite as used as ωθεμίς ἔστι. However, on such supports verbal epigraphy is only spasmodic.

346 ...But speak to me, stranger, that word we say to all / "Greetings O man under earth!". May you then be blessed with twice the benefits (which I have just recounted from my own life story).

347 See the Addenda under Classical for relevant poems from the AG: vii 355 Damagetus.

348 ANRUFÉ p.294.
details on the stone, suggesting a basic cultic-practical topos was well on the way to becoming literatised, if we can apply the category of "fine literature" to Egypt. See Kaplony, MEDET-NEFERT.

2. The New Kingdom has fewer such inscriptions in "graves". Previously such things were on the inner walls of graves or on wooden or other plaques inside them, so the visitors expected may have been official ones. Most now are on temple statues or stelai. Biographical details shrink, the appeal becomes stronger, the entire discourse stays in the second person. It is more insistently demanded that the name be mentioned in the sacrifice-prayer. The late period seems very this-worldly. It is essential for one's good name to live on, and to be remembered in the world of the living.

3. The magnitude of such a parallel tradition seems to have escaped students of Greek epitaphs and their themes.

4. When the Bernands commented that little or no syncretism can be discerned in Greek funerary practices in Egypt they refer to (possible) native Egyptian influence on Greek text and image. There are superficial resemblances in the type or outward form of monuments which may be the result of local Egyptian traditions. The common use of a little funerary plaque by the Egyptian Greeks, with side measurements from 15cm to 50cm, must have been influenced by some visible model, and it is unlikely that this came from Rome. However the size of the plaques and of their lettering does not seem to have influenced the length of epitaphs, as letter sizes I was able to calculate from the first geographical groups of plates in IME range quite widely (letter sizes are not explicitly given in the otherwise very full commentary of IME) and space available is in any case not always filled.

5. Kloos (1981, p.897) remarks that wall burials with a Schriftplatte are a Medieval innovation in Europe, i.e., non-Classical. Though plaques are smallish in Egypt, the variety of letter sizes available suggests that this smallness had no influence on the length of the epigram. We have tried to survey some of the photos of IME for letter size, calculating a proportion for the enlargement of the pictured lettering by comparing the stated size of the stone with its size on the photograph:

E. — Hellenistic — "Book joins Stone"
We stop our pilot survey at this point.

6. It may well be felt that such details prove very little, particularly when a corpus is not subdivided into period, but it is at least suggestive. Notable tendencies are the occasionally fine lettering to be found on stones (especially on those which are for other reasons suspected to be Late Hellenistic, i.e., “early” in this context of discussion), the general tendency to cramp text towards the top and left edges, and to avoid white space.

7. Yet frequently enough the stone is filled with text without too many problems of crowding. Half-metric lines are occasionally left unbroken by the graphic line-end.

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349 The plates are grouped by site, which partly justifies our lack of selectivity.

E. — Hellenistic — “Book” joins “Stone”
but full metrical lines are usually broken up. Nor are words respected as a rule. Nor can I draw generalisations from the letter types, though I have compared “hands” in one pair of widely separated inscriptions, which were discussed above under “Memnon”.

8. This little matter of the plaques suggests a tradition which may or may not have the same nature as the long traditions governing the extent of wording on stones. The possibility of a graphic and practical constraint on the length of poems had to be considered, even cursorily. Our general view tends to be confirmed: that a common ethos and sense of decorum kept both monument and poem small, rather than that the one was the main cause of the other’s exiguousness.

9. The following table gives a crude conspectus of the disposition of poems (larger numbers) and lines (smaller numbers) over the main periods of Greek Egypt. Thus there are 176 poems (more or less, as some are multiple) and about 1668 lines (again approximately, for various reasons) we indicate this by the coding 176/1668, i.e., number of poems followed by total number of lines. About 50 short poems, from Philae and Memnon, are, we repeat, not included and are treated elsewhere, the Philae ones further below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periods</th>
<th>Early Hell -4-3 (and -5C)</th>
<th>Late Hell -2 -1</th>
<th>Early Emp +1 +3</th>
<th>Late Emp +4 +6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Epitaph</td>
<td>Hellenistic - undifferentiated</td>
<td>Imperial - undifferentiated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101/1,011</td>
<td>6/46</td>
<td>19/246</td>
<td>36/444</td>
<td>19/106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedict.</td>
<td>1/10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4/61</td>
<td>4/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorif.</td>
<td>2/6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8/93</td>
<td>3/19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts of Adoration</td>
<td>1/1-5C</td>
<td>1/3?</td>
<td>20/162</td>
<td>6/20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50/272</td>
<td>3/23</td>
<td>7/12</td>
<td>12/52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hymns</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1/152</td>
<td>1/30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. — Hellenistic — Book joins "Stone"
10. As has been mentioned, the first two centuries CE are the richest. Other broad tendencies are fairly clear. The were major cemeteries, of course, outside old Alexandria, but the mysteries of the antiquities market confuse everything and I also find that their actual location has to be studied with the aid of rather doubtful maps. In front of me as I write are those of Mahmoud-Bey 1844, Néroutsos-Bey, Sieglin 1883 and Adriani. Since then the modern city has expanded over sites once desolate and inspectable. The way most stelai and plaques were acquired leaves considerable doubt concerning their original find places, and here it is worth mentioning that although “Alexandria” predominates in finds of verse epitaphs, it has only one metrical inscription of any other category. This immediately indicates how much epigraphy has been lost. It may also show that verse varia remained as rare as they were in the Classical period.

11. Also worth notice is that series of stelai occur in styles specific to their particular sites, where sites can be determined for them, and that local style is basically a matter of shape and decoration, with the presence or absence of verse not corresponding to such artistic styles. Verse is thinly spread but very widely so. It is evidenced from the Delta, through Middle Egypt and the Fayyum, to Upper Egypt and the desert shrines and oases. From the recoverable writers (or commissioners) of verses we get an impression of a Hellenistic culture well supplied with cultivated people of less than high rank. We have epitaphs or other poems for an astrologer (?Philastros), a cynic philosopher, a lawyer, two poets, a paidótrie, an architect/builder\textsuperscript{350} and a quarry manager (?). Lower castes are mentioned: a sailor, an inn-keeper, a proprietor of farms, a merchant, a perfume seller, a goldsmith, but no peasants (this is a standard omission all around the Greek world) and one slave attached to a decurion, head of works at Antinoe.\textsuperscript{351} Egyptian verse epitaphs and proscynemata are, we repeat, widely spread, over social classes and over territory.

\textsuperscript{350} Werner *Müller's book on "architects" in Egypt and the classical world may correct our anachronisms here.

\textsuperscript{351} IME pp.11 – 23, and for what follows, p.19, 27, 35.
12. The Jews were the biggest inscribing group among foreigners, but their stelai lack plastic style. Few imprecations arise from the Greek graves of Egypt. We have mentioned "native" Egyptian customs in this matter. In native epitaphs curses are not unknown from the Old Kingdom onwards. In later times we are informed that Pagan peculiarities in one region's epitaphs were also adopted in the Christian texts which followed. This sort of transfer is more understandable when the borrowers, though perhaps knowing Greek, felt themselves to be natives, rather than superior, though threatened, colonists. Significantly, Bernand notes that the ideals of glory and renown were not limited to the Greek upper classes. Few may have been educated, and poetic skill may have been spread very thin, but it could crop up unexpectedly, like a new temple or a new religious movement in disorganised India. It is also possible that the small number of Egyptian literary papyri and the paucity of stone finds are misleading. The percentage of the finds may not indicate the extent of ancient literary activity, carried on in small circles and coteries, and perhaps wondered at by the vulgar. Even more importantly, the amount of activity, even if it could all be recovered, may not even indicate how intensely it was prized, its public profile, what impact it made on the rest of society.

352 Jewish epigraphy, however, remains very poor in verse. This was clear enough from the old CIJ. It was confirmed by Greg Horsley's paper at AULLA XXVIII = ASCS Feb. Tues. 7th 1995 at Armidale Towards a new Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum? A Propos W. Horbury and D. Noy, Jewish Inscriptions of Greco-Roman Egypt. He mentions Leon, Lewis and Lifshitz from the 1960s, Lüderitz, and some ad hoc publications, Reynolds and Tannenbaum, Trebilco, B.J. Brooton, Schnur and Peter van der Horst, Clarysse (Ptol. papyri) et al. In all these corpora only 19 or 20 metrical texts are identified as Jewish in Egypt, and only two or three others from outside Egypt. Of the 19/20 so identified in Egypt, 12 come from Leontopolis, and are rough, obviously by amateur poets. My thoughts are as follows. Jews were apparently excluded from the Gymnasium in Egypt on ethnic grounds, see Nilsson HELLENISTISCHE SCHULE, in fine, for an inscription which rules that gymnasium entrants must have both their parents deriving from ethnic Greek bloodlines. Jews would not normally enter the gymnasium anyway, if only because of their circumcision. Thus they would not be brought up on Homer. Perhaps more importantly, they would not relate to occasional verse making as would the Greeks, for whom it had apparently become a badge of pure Hellenism. Paul quoted poetry at Athens, but perhaps it was a strain for him, and he does not come near such quotation to Jewish, or gentile Christian communities. Jews could be quite educated of course, and attempt verses themselves, but they had considerable ground to make up both regarding skills in and "connaturality" towards the activity. The deficiencies of their youthful training would have been exacerbated by the fact that their Greek-language sacred texts (probably not felt as inferior to the Hebrew "originals"), were non-metrical. They may also have retained the "Semitic" sense of the dignity and self-sufficiency of brief epigraphy, in prose, or in texts so short that their form escapes the verse-prose dichotomy.

353 Antinoopolis, see Martin *Krause s.v. Coptic Inscriptions in *Atiya COPTIC ENCYCLOPEDIA Vol. 4.

E. — Hellenistic — "Book" joins "Stone"
4. **Philae, special considerations about a special place**

1. Verse remains are surprisingly scanty from Philae, the richest site for Greek epigraphy in the whole of Egypt. As we noted, 9 poetic graffiti/dipinti for 900 years at its great and remote temples. Few are clearly pre-Augustan, but the following one is, and it became a model:

   Νελου περαςακ καρποφορον μεγαν πορον
   Μενελαος ηκω προς μεγαλην ισιν θεαν
   μελαν επ αγαθων των ιδιων πολομενος
   Ετους λ Θωυθ (p43.)

2. From the pre-imperial period there are few developed texts as far up-river as Philae: 4 monumental and 16 parietal, mostly in the forecourts and not in the temple. It seems that the possibility of engraving one’s name on the walls (I am not considering verse for the moment) was a far from widespread privilege. Presumably one paid, or pulled rank for this right. As far as can now be established, no high Alexandrian officials are evidenced there in prose, but provincial officials from the Thebaid and the Dodecaschoene do appear. Priests are rarely discoverable in the inscriptions. Other people to whom we can attribute social status are secretaries, engineers of sacred boats, parhedroi. Soldiers are rare, except in complaints against them. The onomasticon lacks ethnics and demotics, and it is fairly homogeneous.

3. With the conceptual ambiguity that makes his introduction harder to quote, Bernand says that Philae was less “democratic” than the Colossus of Memnon. At least the Colossus attracted more Romans. Yet he also says that few of the thousand names of Isis appear at Philae, and that (thus?) the Isis of Philae is a “familiar” goddess. The prime consideration of those writing, or having written, on Philae walls seems to have been family love, particularly fraternal love.

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354 *Traversing the great passageway of Nile which provides harvests, / I, Menelaos, have come to the Great Goddess Isis / Making a memorial towards the happiness-and-success of my relatives. (plus extra-metrical date).* Note the opinion in the Bernands' series on the Eastern Desert that such graffiti were cut surreptitiously in remote shrines, while the guardian's back was turned. This is deduced from their absence from positions of the highest cultic sensitivity, but the seeming attempt to place epigraphs close to such central parts of the shrines: KOPTOS TO KOSSEIR, and EL-KANAIS p. 23. The more populated great temple of Philae must have been a rather different challenge to the would-be engraver.

355 PHILAE HELL p. 54. This section summarises pp.46 – 58.

356 PHILAE HELL p.60ff.

E. — *Hellenistic -"Book joins Stone"*
4. Ancients had more formalised rituals of remembering than we transplanted Anglo-Celts are familiar with. These little writings are "texts", gestures, "language acts" of a specific sort which needs to be respected. Their literariness is limited, but in pre-modern Greek culture, anything, particularly anything situation bound and "existential", had a family of short verse forms available to enhance it. The crucial words were the PN with ηκω, with εγω gaining in popularity in later times. Epigraphic style was remarkably stable. Inscriptions seem to have been grouped on Phia'e's monuments rather than sprinkled about randomly. Some were dipinti, to which the Nile floods have not been kind.

5. Seven of the 9 Imperial epigrams are on the same wall, the south pylon. Greek inscriptions of all sorts amount to about 193, contrasting with 2 or so in Latin, some Demotic, Meroitic and a few Coptic. Imperial inscriptions in all languages at Philae can be broken down into the following main types:

- acts of adoration (two thirds of the total) 196
- epigrams 9
- dedications 15 (surely many more were once displayed on movable objects)
- commemorative 17
- Christian 10 (fragmentary)
- 75 more, presumably a mixed bag, to equal a grand total of 322 (Bernand)

6. We know the names of the writers of 8 of the verse epigrams, a fact which is connected with the linguistic function of the writing and the need to mention a name in this sort of text-gesture, not with any desire to announce authorship as such. Two borrow the Ptolemaic Νείλου περακας of PHIL HELL n°43, presumably from the walls themselves or from oral transmission of it or its ancestor. The following is the distribution of the Greek texts in time, disregarding the verse-prose distinction (this difference being a secondary matter from most perspectives other than that of this thesis):

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357 PHILAE ROM p.9. The rest of this treatment: PHILAE HELL p.87, 172. — ἡλθον is found in the desert. Bernand FAYOUUM III
n° 175 Δημιου ηκω
n° 176 Απολλων ηκω
"Le nom propre suivi de ηκω est la formule la plus simple de proscynèse".

358 Philae Rom p.4ff.

359 IME p.7, where from the current perspective of its author, it is said to be arbitrary to treat verse as a separate category. No doubt it often is.

E. — Hellenistic — "Book" joins "Stone"
7. There are 75 mostly short texts of the late +6C, towards the end of the life of the Pagan sanctuary. Pagan inscriptions do, however, continue datably to CE 577, 60 years after the decree of Theodosius! The inscription of 577 indicates that the place is now the pronaos of a Basilica of Stephen. The native Blemmyes and the iconoclastic Arabs were less tolerant of the age-old cult place than were the Christians, and the great, isolated sanctuary grew empty and silent.

8. A factor never to be ignored in these and earlier times is the mere prestige of writing. The specific prestige of the Greek language also has to be taken into account. Demotic Egyptian signatories to these acts of offering all seem to have been actual or potential employees of the temple. Christians also seem to have been less obsessed with the "inscriptional habit" than Pagan Greeks, though the factors that may have influenced this are obscure to us. Perhaps it was associated with the shortness of the post-Pagan period of inscribing. As is suitable both to the type of writings on the walls, and to the loose genre of epigram, precise indications of time are common, and not surprisingly the month of Mechir, January-February, is the common time for visits. Those who have been in Egypt will know one reason why. We must now mention the rest of these sparse Philae poems.

360 PHILAE ROM p.26ff.

361 Traversing the great passageway of Nile which provides harvests, I, Demetrios, have come to the Great Goddess Isis / Making memorial towards the happiness-and-success of my parents, and of my brothers and friends, whom I mention(ed) by name. This is neatly "justified" to the left margin, another sign of lapidary care.
9. Nearby, same date, equal height, close on the right, same name, similar formulae — i.e. by the same remembrancer Demetrios, there occurs a prose parallel:

Δημητριος Δημητριου
ηκω προς ην ηυριαν
Ιευ και προκυνησας
επ αγαθω μνειαν πεποιη
μαη των γνωεων και αδελφων μου και φιλ
ων Λβ Μεξειρ τ. νο 132

10. Bernand is convincing in seeing such a juxtaposition as evidence of the high status of jewelled language (my phrase) or of epigram. Note that no 43, the model for this far from original poem, was of only 3 lines. This pre-Augustan model is nicely “stepped” and justified in its layout, which divides the first two trimeters into almost exact halves, not according to metre, but graphically, according to the number of letters in each, the third trimeter somewhat less accurately. Such graphic precision is a rare thing at this period on Egyptian stone, and interestingly enough is roughly contemporary with Meleager of Gadara, perhaps indicating the way epigram was written in the best manuscripts of Ptolemy XII and previous. Later imitators only had to change the PN which opened the second hexameter line (the third of the graphic layout) and add anything they could in fourth and subsequent lines. Not all succeeded even in this basic operation.

11. It is much more likely that the writer of no 132 had the previous poem pointed out to him on the spot than that it was famous enough for him to have known it previous to his pilgrimage. Conceivably the Greek-speaking temple guardians were proud of it and a prized text could have been in very local circulation from mouth to mouth. We will pass over an elaborate triple (or double) acrostich (no 143) and

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362 (Prose) Demetrios son of Demetrios, (l) have come to Lady Isis and worshipped. I have made memorial towards the happiness-and-success of my parents and brothers and friends. (plus date)

363 PHI LAE ROM p.12

364 Mevelaos, to Δημητριος, and (see the subsequent reworkings) to Καρπων (the latter PN caused some troubles, as did the obvious desire to insert the patronymic passed over by Menelaos).

365 See Courtney, Philologus 134 (1990) p. 3–13 on epigraphical acrostics. The oldest Greek examples seem to go back no further than the –2C. The vast number of (epigraphic) acrostics seem to be funerary, and versified. We are reminded of the settled Byzantine custom of indicating the author of a long liturgical poem by an early acrostic, usually in a different metre.

E. — Hellenistic — "Book" joins "Stone"
some fine poems (notably the pair grouped as 158) to look at one more reworking of this same model in 151:

Neiou perasas karpoforou mean poron
Saraiw Arestomachou tetai
pros megalen Eisiv thean twn ev fiaic
mveian ep agora twn gouewn poloumenos
kai twn adelphiwv kai filwv mou kat oyma

no.151, of 4 CE

12. The metre collapsed at line 2 with the proper names, but the writer picks it up somewhat from then on. The engraved text cuts into others, and seems to be from 4CE, as the one previously quoted is perhaps 28CE. Years here were irrelevant to the inscribers. The month is important, as is commonly the case in religious matters. All these poems are early Imperial, few seem to come from after the 2nd century.

13. It would be interesting to know what leisure the pilgrims had to inscribe, and whether they came back to touch up those things which haste or distraction had not allowed them to do in the first place.

14. A writer from Ptolemais of Hermes, or of Thebes, an up-river outpost of very pure Hellenism, has left a four line elegiac poem of the sort that we take as archetypical for the epigram because of its doubly balanced closed form. It is in two different letter sizes, larger for the first distich, and smaller for the second. Fascinating is the layout on the stone, which almost manages to match the metric lines (i.e. the four obvious in our transcription) with graphic lines, but they consistently overflow by 4, 6 & 3 letters as the right hand edge of the block approaches. The distichs are independent, there is a clear LH justification. One of the three spill-overs,

Acrostic and alphabetic acrostic poems were older than this in West Semitic, and spread right to the borders of China under the influence of the Aramaic scriptoria. We find them in the Turkica of Dunhuang, see *Zieme. I am not sure if acrostics are closely related to isopsephia in all cultures and periods where these co-occur. Their relationship is not proved by the fact that they are most conveniently squeezed into the one treatment by hurried synthesers. Both can provide higher grades of epigrammaticity and "strong form". We have isopsephia in the Anthology, but Guarducci EG IV p. 311 mentions the Pagan-Christian cult of "il gusto dell’artificioso e dell’arcano" without dating it. Magical texts of somewhat this tendency have turned up in our study of the late-archaic Black Sea "graffiti". See above in Thesis: N°242: [πεπολυμα εις ου ονομα] εικοσι και εν | γραμμα]των εκ[πεν]

366 Traversing the great passageway of Nile which provides harvests, / (I) Sarapion son of Aristomachos have come / To Great Goddess Isis, the Isis who is in Philae, / making memorial towards the happiness-and-success of my parents, / And my brothers and friends, whom I mention(ed) by name.

367 Under the site of Arab Menshiyeh.

E. — Hellenistic — "Book" joins "Stone"
the only one which is a full word, is centre justified (φιλιων), and hexameters are
separated from pentameters, the first pair by a kind of angled dash, and the second
pair by a white space of one letter’s width. Of course, words are not otherwise
separated. Thus, apart from φιλιων, the stone layout looks rather like our
conventional presentation below. It was no doubt intended to appear as four LH
justified lines, except that the carver began slightly too far right to fit in his lines.
This shows three possibly significant things: that this poem was not carefully
sketched out before carving, that the carver was indeed concerned about matching
poetic line with graphic line, but that he was not excessively worried about not quite
achieving such a general preference:

Iςεδι καρποτοκω Κελσος τοδε γραμμι ανεβηκα
μητθεις ης αλοχου και τεκεων φιλιων
και πατρις γλυκερης Πτολεμαιδος ην επολικεν ν
Σωτηρ Ελληκων κλογενες τεμενος ην. 166, of mid +2C CE?368

15. Perhaps he just had to change official engravers. Maybe he came back a
second day, or season. Additions to Classical Attic epigrams seem to have been made
at later times. Notice that it is possibly the physical writing which is dedicated, and
that we have here a combination of dedication and proscynema. Like perhaps all the
proscynemata369 it was not written for posterity, but for the moment, or for some
eternal present.

16. Verse form adds prestige of itself, without any intention of display. It is part
of the offering, as a tradesman would offer up material improved by his specific skill
without any intention of showing off his talents. There may have been many common
people visiting the temple whom one could impress with one’s skill in composition,
witness the 2 cinaedi, 2 mimi, 1 perfumer and 1 sculptor (ἀγαλματογιλυπτης) who
left inscriptions, though these could have been insiders, resident for a time in the
temple and even employed in the cult and thus not worth impressing because they
were not significantly part of outside, emulatory society. Some Greeks took to living
in Egyptian temples, as we find from the documents collected by Napthali *Lewis,
though their access to the traditional cults could be troubled or hindered. Perhaps
even if there were few Greeks to impress with one’s verse at Philae, there remained
the option of recalling what one had written there throughout the rest of one’s life,

368 (I,) Kelsos offered this writing to Isis the harvest bearer / Remembering his wife and dear children /
And his sweet homeland Ptolemais which the Saviour of Greeks settled, a sacred enclave, Nile-born.

369 PHILAE ROM p.195 bottom on n°180, and for our following points, p.170 and 177.
thus adding laudable flamboyance to a single act of piety. However, the full meaning of verse itself is clouded by the possibility that forms which grew up in the heat of competition for family or personal prestige eventually became traditional, and were sometimes used without any intention of honouring the pilgrim/engraver. As we have noted, the "value added" language of careful verse may have been meant purely to do greater honour to the god.

17. Greek visitors made this site the greatest Egyptian repository of Greek letters outside those rubbish heaps where mountains of papyri have been recovered. The nine shortish poems which survive among the nearly 200 non-Egyptian texts on Philae walls (hardly any of them Latin) indicate the durability of the Greek cult of lapidary verse.

1. Leaving Philae and back to the general picture

1. In view of the next chapter, it is necessary to descend to details of form. For this I could work on only 187 poems, leaving out some of the numbered items of IME and subdividing others. Then I subdivided by metre, where this could be established. There are some very mixed and some very confused items, but not very many which are really indefinable. Then the subdivision is by length, i.e., number of lines. This takes no account of the differences influenced by purpose and location. For example, it is natural that the 19 poetic graffiti inside the Tombs of the Kings, the Syringes, would be shorter than average. It must again be emphasised that neither the Colossus of Memnon nor the walls of Philae enter into the immediately following calculations, which are made on IME, that is, all the other verse remains. Such things as mummy labels are also omitted, since their texts are not classified by the Bernands as truly inscriptional.
5. **IMF tendencies in meter and length**

I.e. the bulk of stone poems from Egypt — not including the 50 or so on Memnon and from Philae, which are major sites but highly unrepresentative ones.

In toto, **187 definable poems**, some grouped on the one monument, even lacking graphic dividers to show the boundaries between one poem and the others.

The most common lengths of poems come first, which means usually the shorter possibilities, the more interesting lengths are in **bold** type.

**118 elegiacs**, even one pentameter qualifies such a series as elegiac, many are irreg.

- 25 of four lines
  - 18 of two lines
  - 18 of ten lines
  - 15 of six lines
  - 12 of eight lines
  - 5 of fourteen lines

**4 single pentameters**

- 3 of twelve lines
- 3 of sixteen lines
  - 2 of three lines
  - 2 of seven lines
  - 2 of thirteen lines
  - 2 of fifteen lines
  - 1 of eleven lines (only one pent!)
  - 1 of eighteen lines
  - 1 of twenty lines
  - 1 of twenty two lines
  - 1 of twenty four lines
  - 1 of twenty six lines
  - 1 of thirty four lines
  - 1 of forty two lines

**39 hexametric**, though some of the so-called “elegiacs” contain mainly hexameters

- 7 of two lines
- 7 of three lines
  - 3 of one line
  - 3 of four lines
  - 3 of six lines
  - 3 of nine lines
  - 2 of twelve lines
  - 2 of thirteen lines
  - 2 of thirty four lines
  - 1 of five lines
  - 1 of seven lines
  - 1 of eight to ten lines confused
  - 1 of ten lines
  - 1 of fourteen lines
  - 1 of sixteen lines

**20 iambic trimeters**

(see over for their break-down)
IME tendencies by meter and then by length — cont’d.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>20 iambic trimeters</th>
<th>(their break-down)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 of two lines</td>
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<td>4 of one line</td>
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<td>1 of three lines</td>
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<td>1 of thirty one lines</td>
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</table>

1 iambic tetrameter catalectic
=1 (that is) of fourteen lines

1 stanzaic paean with four stanzas of four lines and three two-line refrains, plus a single line refrain to close

1 possibly lyric, with short, variable lines

3 sotadeans
   1 of nine lines
   1 of eighteen lines
   1 of twenty two lines

4 mixed, confusedly polymetric
   1 eleven lines of 1 sot. 2 pent. 11 hex
   1 seven line polymetric cento of everything
   1 eight line polymetric 2 iambic 6 irregular hexameters

1 three-liner starting as iambic, with an interjection and possibly a hexameter close.
2. This then is the general Egyptian situation with regard to metre and length of stone poetry. Further subdivisions may or may not be useful. Let us note the enormous predominance here of elegiacs, the obvious importance of the distich and the double distich, i.e., the preference for short poems in the three common metres, but also the prominence of the ten-line elegiac poem. It is surprisingly more common than the six-line poem so popular in the Anthology. There are no trochees. Great freedoms are still taken with the integrity of the hexameter–pentameter sequence. Contiguous hexameters, or pentameters, are common. The single pentameter is more common than I would have thought from the literature.370

3 Despite evidence of imitation, there is great thematic variety in this corpus. Relatively few poems have more than ten lines — 37 out of 196, and some of these belong to genera in which length is only to be expected.

370 Single pentameters have proved to be a most durable, if sporadic phenomenon, both in Greek East and Latin West. They appear on devises of the 17C, see *Blount/Estienne, and perhaps on bells, see *Rüegg. Half pentameters were a gnomic tradition, often appearing together with a first half known to be entirely formulaic and unchangeable, see fn° 180, fn° 181, Ellis MONSEALS §4, Ellis PERSONAL SEALS I & II, in Addenda.
F. Part F — Searching for epigram form into the Common Era

1. Lengths of pre-Flavian Greek epigrams

1. The most uncontestable and most measurable feature of "epigram" is its brevity. While this typical characteristic does not prevent even late and sophisticated writers of what they themselves call "epigram" from including long poems under that title, it does keep the proportion of long poems very low, except for Sidonius, and even he praises brevity in others. While compression and allusion may allow many a short poem to be full of matter, the crudest measures of brevity are still very important: foot count, syllable count, word count, or even, as here, counting metrical lines. As most epigram is written in lines of roughly the same compass, line count is actually a good guide for the real length of Greek epigram. Latin epigram complicates this because of the popularity of hendecasyllables of Catullan inspiration.

2. The usual length occupied by a poetic genre influences what themes it will be chosen to express, and how these will be elaborated. While there is evidence that very early and very late literary epigram could run to considerable length, as could poetic epigraphs in the medieval period, particularly in Latin (under Damasene influence), there is even stronger evidence that brevity was periodically prized, and that short poems predominated in artfully chosen collections.

3. We have selected all book epigram assigned to the pre-Hadrianic period by Gow-Page (with the uncertain addition of Rufinus, whose date Cameron brings back from Page's 4C to the -1C). It is this corpus that we have analysed for the gross length of poems, subdivided by putative author.

4. We provide all this information as column graphs at the very end of the Addenda and it is to this graphic presentation that the present section is a commentary. More commentary can be found towards the end of the same Addenda.

5. There are 219 categories in our graphs, one category per graph. Some of these are more coherent than others. Some claim to be a single, historical author, some

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371 Damasus/Ferrua: relatively few poems over 10 lines, clearly so only 5 out of 52, but one of 26+!
372 AG REVISITED p.80.

F. — Survival of Epigram (form and name) into Late Antique and Middle Age periods
conflate the alleged works of various authors of the same pre-name. Some offer wider groupings, such as the corpora of "Plato" or of "Simonides". Even wider corpora are the anonyma, which I have subdivided as narrowly as possible, i.e. by thematics. Our main calculations concern elegiac verse. We include isolated hexameters as elegiac. It is obvious that non-elegiac verse is sporadic and rare in the AG, and thus any figures for it would mean very little.

1. **Hellenistic — distichs and quatrains**

   1. A few authors or corpora are of special significance. The mass of poems assigned to "Simonides" (more from the fatigue of editors than from any great conviction) favours two lengths to a remarkable degree: 4 lines and 2 lines (Card 199). Let us presume that the ancient tradition which aggregated these poems was blessed with refined connoisseurship, and that the exemplary ones were fairly early. What we have again is a strong sense of appropriate length. Note that 6 liners are extremely rare in all the Simonidean corpus though they are overall the third most common length. However, we must admit that their prominent position in total statistics is bolstered by post –3C poems.

2. **Late Hellenistic and Roman — sixains and quatrains**

   1. Philip (Card 98) illustrates the late Hellenistic-early Imperial preference for 6 liners. So do many of the closely following Cards, all representing poems presumed to come from his anthology (Cards 99, 104, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112), and the secondary preference here is often for 8 liners. Crinagoras and Biánor, a gaggle of Antipatri, Antiphilus, Apollonides, Argentarius and to a lesser extent Diodorus (all between Cards 72 and 83, likewise from Philip's anthology) can be seen as similar in their general preferences for poem length.

3. **Meleager's own writing — no strong preferences for one length**

   1. Meleager himself has one of the most rounded distributions (Card 67). He shares in the later preference for 6 liners, but only just, as 4 liners are almost as common, and 2 and 8 liners are far more significant than the pattern of other poets would have led us to anticipate. It is also important that ascriptions to him are justifiably assumed to be far more secure than the usual, and that the large corpus of his poems allows general tendencies to come through to us whatever inaccuracies might remain in the matter of individual ascriptions. Before him (from his anthology too) only Phanias (Card 49), Hedylus (Card 26), Dioscorides (Card 20), Damagetus (Card 17) and Alcaeus (Card 3) show distinct preferences for 6 liners. Antipater

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* F. — Survival of Epigram (form and name) into Late Antique and Middle Age periods
Sidonius actually prefers the 8 liner (Card 6), which is very rare for any “poet” or recoverable “category”. However, his preferences are skewed left, suggesting the remains of some taste for brevity. Those of the prolific and influential Leonidas Tarentinus (Card 32), who prefers the 4 liner, are skewed right, so that both their corpora share a secondary preference for the 6 liner, without being bimodal.

2. Possibly the latest corpus, that of Rufinus, also prefers 6 liners, but it is skewed left towards the shorter end. When we remember the extreme preference shown to the 4 liner by Gregory the Theologian, who is presumed to have been attempting to embody the true spirit of Hellenism in the transition from Pagan to Christian culture, we can claim that the tendency to poetic elaboration was periodically restrained by some sense of an appropriate length situated around line lengths 4 and 6, and included some relation to 2, which may, as Lausberg intimated but was too careful to claim, have a special status as a paradigm, or even a “simple form”. See “Anacreon” (Card 185) and the previously mentioned Card 210.

4. Anthological Prejudice against the distich

1. It may be assumed that in cultivated society, as on the surviving stones from Egypt (see our Sections on that corpus) distichs were commoner than they now are in the Anthology. Poems of this length immortalised in prestige corpora of the culture encouraged regular returns to the length, if not to the archly classical style, of the great poems. The extreme concentration of 2 and 4 line poems in, say,

373 Gregory: 4 liners 47% of his corpus, 2 liners 25%, 6 liners 20%, 3 liners 2%, and, last in the main group, 8 liners, 2%. If he himself had artfully anthologised and selected his own minor, occasional poetry, the percentages would no doubt be different. The general picture would probably not change. On the processes involved in the collection, preservation and publishing of the shorter poems, see Keydell RAC V sv. Epigramm. The poems are preserved in other MS sources as well as in the family of AP. But how, when and by whom they entered the folia of Heidelbergensis itself is a complicated and confused question, resting on a house of cards argument about the reconstruction of “Cephalas” itself, for which see Cameron AG REVISITED, through his own index.

374 Ignoring content (epitaphs, dedications and honorifica, the relevant categories of content here, are all closely related to Anthology genera) we find the distich (equal) second most common in elegiacs, (equal) most popular in hexameters, and clearly the most popular in trimeters. And this in a culture area where communications were probably better than elsewhere and there was more opportunity for Greek elites to inspect what was going on epigraphically. Quite long poems were possible, and moderately long poems common on stone. Thus the inscribed distich seems to have been choice, not accident.

375 The same seems to be the case in China of all periods, though the choice of a “distich” of 5 character, 7 character, or looser stichoi would be heavily influenced by the Chinese taste for rhyme (surely ruling out monostichs as anything more than fragments). It is couplets which are the common “inscriptions” on garden architecture and on New Year presents, but I have never seen a couplet in a formal anthology or discussed as such (rather than as a component) in a work of literary criticism.

F. — Survival of Epigram (form and name) into Late Antique and Middle Age periods
“Simonides”, means that the sense of epigrammatic genre could survive periods where such poems were felt as too short for current taste, because “Simonides” himself was rarely out of fashion. Such is the very nature of a classical tradition.

5. Sidonius

1. For our major late-antique commenter on epigram, see the Addenda. Suffice to say that this author illustrates both the enormous variations of length of poems so called, and the variety of terms used to refer to poems which to us seem clear-cut epigrams.

2. It is also of interest that a versifying Middle Ages, which admired Sidonius, seems to have ignored his literary use of the term “epigram”.376

6. The term and the implicit theory (in epigraphy & MS…)

1. It is a highly suggestive fact that the term epigram, if it were not for Martial, could easily be regarded as an anachronism when applied to pre-15C book poetry in Western Europe and to pre-10C verse in the Greek East. Let us pass over the East, as its influence on modern epigram remains uncertain and, apparently, unstudied. Modern Greek literature seems to have adopted its “epigram” from Latin and French, though *Keramopoullos377 indicates a continuation of the long practice of writing Classical short poems, which was strong enough to survive and continue after the arrival of the Turks.378

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376 See anything on the Poetria Nova: In *Faral, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *Nims, *Ghelinck, *Gallo, *Woods. See however in *Bald 12C John of Wurzburg, who uses the word thrice for Latin inscriptions, which happen to be mainly in verse. He normally uses versus or some other expression, and once the MSS deliver the word as emigramma. Unless he was flaunting a “hard word” which he had recently encountered, either in his reading, or from his contacts in the Greek-Saracen East, he shows the term to have been part of current Latin discourse.

377 In ΑΘΗΝΑ 50 (1940) p.250–258, 1940, Keramopoullos presents a few epigrams (which he had been accustomed to write from his youth, i.e. from 1918). They are in Hex, Eleg. Distichs, and longer Elegiacs. He notes that he had predominantly used the “old metres” for panegyrical verse. Also relevant to this general issue: Hörander, Lavagnini and Ševčenko on medieval Greek occasional poetry, and Krantheimer for Latin, all in Bibl.2, all somewhat in advance of their fellow scholars on “occasionality” and its peculiar resonances in life and in literature.

378 Dumb Oaks bibliog. in Addenda: p.226, K.K. on J. Laurent 1898 Sur la valeur des inscriptions grecques postérieures à 1453. Not in CIG, though the post 1453 materials, like those previous, are mostly grave and dedication inscriptions. There is no formal change or change of content in Greek epigraphy after the arrival of the Turks. Kein formaler oder inhaltlicher Unterschied trennt die Inschriften der „bitteren Jahre“ von den früheren; selbst die alte Vorliebe für metrische Fassung dauert fort.
2. In the Latin Middle Ages the term is hard to find. It is quoted in Manituus as the title of a very few medieval collections. However, it is a difficult matter for the non-specialist to detach the body text of the older editions, such as Migne, from the later headings, titles, notes and so on. A search through the only CD Rom disk of Migne's PL available to me found 11 citations of the term, but only one from body text. When investigated, this was (Vol. 53) Auctor anonymus praedestinati, a pseudo-Augustinian tract which appears quite scholastic and therefore, presumably, quite late: Arius, in tertio libro suo epigramma hujusmodi posuit dicens..., and prose follows.

3. Literary epigram in the Latin Middle Ages was sporadic and unsure of genre, though highly epigrammatic occasional poetry was in fact widespread on seals and other gems, precious objects like crosses and reliquaries, pictures, Gothic tombstones and wall plaques, rings, trew-loves, gifts, buildings, in

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379 See Bibliography: Epigrammata scholastici (MS Gent 528 11C); epigrammata Mortuini. See Hutton in Bibliography for a 14C French citation from the dictionaries, epigramme for the «souscription», not in any literary sense, which did not emerge until the 1530s in the vernacular.

380 Covering volumes to the mid-50s, i.e., the first quarter of the corpus. Some texts in later volumes of Migne Latina have subsequently been found to use “epigramma” for “inscription” and perhaps, typically for “verse inscription”. Though we are now unable to pursue this matter, our own limited investigation retains its suggestiveness. Migne Latina is also not a complete harvest of Medieval Latin texts, though still a very good one.

381 See Addenda for Henricius Archidiaconus and a certain 12C use of the term epigramma beside actual verse epigrammata in medieval Latin. The frequent titles in Godfrey and other satirists collected by Wright lie under the suspicion of being later editorial lemmata, not terms used at the time. See below for Weever's citation from pre-Renaissance (?) stone. See Gregorius Magister for his mention, and the ps. Augustine for his (Migne PL 53). Bede, of course as well, HE in fine. Again, John of Würzburg.

382 E.g., Public Record Office corpus, from which we have the fascicules of Ellis.


384 E.g. *Panofsky, and *Weever.

385 E.g. *Ward and Cherry.

386 Wenzel, in Addenda.

388 Petrarch's six lines for a tower at Parma are medieval in tone:


F. — Survival of Epigram (form and name) into Late Antique and Middle Age periods
illustrated books, and both inscribed and written into historical works in the specialised form of chronograms. Verse expression was nearly *de rigueur* in many areas of medieval epigraphy, and some of this was short.

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**TURRIS PARMENSIS**

Imperiosa situ victrici condita dextra
turris ad astra levor, spectabilis intus et extra.
Corrigie splendor, fulget quo principe Parma,
bellipotens Azo me vult munimen ad arma.
Me videat securus amans hostisque tremiscat:
Subdere collo iugo, vel poscere federa discat.

There does not seem to be anything else like this in the remains of Petrarch. It is of course unlikely that this was the only inscription that the proto-humanist prepared for powerful friends.

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389 *Brown AS MSS

390 Pritchard. Two inscriptions three feet apart, imitating each other, and drawing on verbal devices of turning dates into verse which we have seen on Monastic Seals. The first, the higher, of AD 1349:

\[ \text{P<ri>\text{mula pestis in M ter CCC fuit L minus uno}} \]

XLIX, a very messy inscription of the 1360's, matching the above hexameter on plague, recorded for Melcombe in Dorset, 1348 and 1361). There is a storm recorded for St. Maurus 1351 – 1362, near enough to the Hertfordshire where this inscription is found: (p.181) we can disentangle a highly "occasional" Leonine hexameter which apparently lapses into prose and is glossed in smaller (later?) letters:

\[ \text{pestile(n)cia I quinque [glossing penta] M ter X penta miseranda ferox violenta superest plebs pessima testis ventus validus in fine ije oc anno maurus in orbe tonat LXI} \]

The hexameter line may be additional. It and its gloss are in smaller letters. MCCCL takes up from the date three foot above: *Primula pestis in M ter CCC fuit L minus uno*, which clearly preserves the more natural word order *Ter C*. The very Roman attempt to force dates into verse reminds the editor of a Malmesbury annalist's witty book epigram on Edward III’s 1359 crossing to France:

\[ \text{M simplex C ter X triplex V semel I ter belligerans Ed. ter trans mare carpit iter} \]

MCCCXXXVIII, i.e. 1338, does not suit the context into which the annalist inserts this poem. Such texts are like the real chronogram in later Latin and Muslim languages. Either through carelessness or ignorance he has taken a poem applying to Edward’s 1338 crossing to Antwerp and used it here, 22 years later. This mini-genre was still (or again) popular in the Baroque, see the printed collection by *Sicton.*

391 *Favreau, notably memorial roll-poems and inscribed epitaphs for major figures, particularly churchmen, Bibl.2 and Addenda.*
4. In major works on medieval Latin Literature the term is hardly found, except as an example of a modern author's preconceptions. In an early edition of du *Cange it is absent. In high medieval body text, after a long search, I have found it only 392 in an 11C work of *Henry the Deacon, where he emphasises, like many a modern commentator, that epigrams can be on any topic,393 in an inscriptional poem preserved in John *Weever's great antiquarian collection,394 which may be from the early Renaissance, in the 12/13C *Gregorius Magister, and in John of Würzburg, both the latter using it (but rarely) to refer to inscriptions. Yet in the late antique author most popular with the developers of the influential Poetria Nova, in the 12C,395 the term epigram had frequently used and its examples presented and discussed. From time to time medieval writers studied and distantly imitated Martial, where it is also easy to find.396

5. The fact that a fair quantity of short poems now in the Anthologia Latina are preserved in Carolingian or Ottonian MSS means that epigram (or epigram-like poetry) was still worth recopying well after the end of the Antique.

392 For "Epigram" so called (unexpectedly), or in fact not given to poems of epigrammatic appearance, see fn° 28 above.

Johannes Wirziburgensis (several times previously mentioned because of the embarrassment which our discovery of his Itinerarium causes to our thesis), in his Descriptio Terrae Sanctae 1165, uses the term several times, and of inscriptional verse. Taken with the uses in Gregorius Magister in the 13C and those in the 12C English verse satirists, this makes it clearer that the term "epigramma" was fairly widespread in Latin at this time, at least in its older acceptation of "inscription" on stone, and among some scholars. Their origins and libraries could well be the subject of an interesting investigation for medievalists. Presumably CD ROM Discs 2, 3, and 4 of Migne would bring up some more examples.

393 Epigrammata varietate gaudent. Also his initial poem: .../ ...Nec pravum tamen effice; et nos hoc studium tenet,/ Ut rumpant epigrammata, se discenübus otia. .../ See Addenda.

394 See in Addenda for Weever's possibly medieval citation on stone:
Siste gradum clama qui perlegis hoc epigramma
Paulinum plora quem substraxit brevis hora
Nobis per funus : de Presulibus fuit unus,
Prudens, veridicus, constans & verus amicus
Anni sunt rati Domini super astra regentis,
Quadriginta dati quatuor cum sex quoque centis

395 Sidonius again.

396 See Wright's introduction and texts, and our Addenda. See J.P. Sullivan's works on Martial, listing echoes and mentions of the poet's name, but not assessing the real influence of the Bibilitanian on verse-writing practice, or rather, because of the focus he has chosen for his two books, tending to exaggerate such influence.

F. — Survival of Epigram (form and name) into Late Antique and Middle Age periods
6. The mostly late Latin Grammarians have a few references to epigram, even including it in one list of genres.397

7. The main stumbling block to denying the ancient (Latin) world the term epigram and a settled genre corresponding to it are the prose prefaces of Martial and indeed some of his poems. He had no doubt that he was writing something which was (traditionally) called just that. That this certainty comes from Greek tradition cannot be doubted. The circle of Symmachus, Ausonius, Sidonius and the Bobiensa shows that this usage lasted throughout Antique Latin(-Greek) culture, perhaps being sharpened in Latin and in Greek as the old civilization turned fragile. It was available to some writers of the High Middle Ages.

8. The +1C Plutarch, whose contact with Latin culture must have been as tenuous as his grip on that language, occasionally uses “epigram” to refer to poems that he clearly regards as non-inscriptional and “literary”. If not precisely “book-epigram”, they were occasional poetry, much repeated, and eventually (secondarily?) written down. Cicero is somewhat more consistent in his use of terms for verse.

397 See Addenda, Late Antique s.v. *Grammarians.
G. Part G — Modern period

1. The development of a genre name "epigram", and the new prestige attaching to many forms of short poetry in the Renaissance and the Baroque is a very complex phenomenon. The continuation of epigraphic verse, in various modes and on various surfaces, is hard to study, if not as difficult to grasp as the epigraphy of the Middle

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398 Both from its enormous quantity and because it is often poorly collected and edited. Perhaps one exotic example will illustrate the situation. The discovery of a relatively modern Chinese inscriptional complex, with casualty lists and poems, rather like the 5C Athenian texts, or of a relatively isolated quatrain on stone from the same 17C, proves nothing without a wide conspectus of normal epigraphic practice in NW China at the time, which was no doubt closely modelled on that of the Centre. See Richardson CHING LHASA. First the casualty list, decorated with short epigraphic verses:

P. 19 n° 6 "Fragrancy left in a Foreign Land", "1721, Auspicious day in middle of the spring of the iron-ox year 60th of K'ang-hsi." This long, six-part inscription in Chinese is distantly reminiscent of the Greek casualty list inscriptions, with its mixture of short verse, titles, and name lists:

i. [Introductory Verse - no longer than quatrain, perhaps a couplet]
   The great strategy is everywhere made known
   Our Army set out.
   The enemy were shaken with fear.
   We have been far away in distant lands

ii. [Names of 14 officers, beginning with that of the Mongol commander in charge of the Green Banner Mongolian troops]

iii. Short title "In honour of the virtuous policy of the great master Nien [etc. etc.] the Governor of Szechwan".

iv. [Short eulogy in verse, much more in the "Chinese" tone of the prose honorific inscriptions, and possibly a quatrain, perhaps a couplet]
   His military strategy was equal to public expectation.
   His merit is double that of Wu-Hsiang [= the 2nd Han. yu?]
   The Barbarians all look to him with respect.
   He has pacified the West for ever.

v. [30 more names]

vi. Colophon in prose. The above complex of related inscriptions and the monument they occur on and for are colophonically described as being by the 5,000 soldiers of Mongolian, Szzechwanese and Yunnanese troops stationed in Tibet.

The apparent epigrammatic poem, without very clear indications of the prose frame almost compulsory in Chinese:

P. 22 n° 9 Inscription of 1729 by Mai-lu
Ma-ji-shu, assistant commander of Shensi and Yün-nan, inscribed the following in the First Summer Month of the Wood-Bird Year of Yung-Chêng [in fact says Richardson, he got the date a little wrong – it was more likely to be the Earth-Bird Year = 1729]. This peaceful-looking epigraph of the frightful pacifier of the Tibetans seems to have been in no more than quatrain form, perhaps a couplet (or exceptionally, a haiku-like triplet?):
   The south Hill gives shelter
   The Wind and a tree make a flurry (?)
   By military courage keep the Tibetan frontier forever.

This follows n° 8, of 1728, the Jalangga inscription of Chin-chii Li-bu Shang-sheng.

G. — Back to a modern standpoint
Ages. Texts and bibliographic summaries are given in the Addenda to illustrate many of the generalisations on epigram which are made *passim* in the earlier parts of this thesis. Materials are selected on three grounds: their importance for the modern understanding of the genre; their inaccessibility; and their contribution to the genesis and progress of this study.

2. An attempt has been made thereby to illustrate the epigrammatic and epigraphic situation of Europe, particularly as it involves epitaphs and short verse. From the Antipodes these things have to be done laboriously and incompletely, but some view of the literary climate and of the fashions applying to the making of monuments must underlie any long view of epigram.

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Vernacular epigram lives in Russia, in Germany, and perhaps still in Poland. It is a classical remnant in France and England, apparently not much cultivated today. Popular forms once thrived in dialectal Spanish (EUI) and has been called epigram, but today's Romance world does not seem to cultivate it. I am not informed about contemporary Holland, but suspect that epigram there also belongs to the past. The Orthodox half of Europe does not generally seem to have adopted it, apart from Russia, whence it arrived through Ukrainian/Polish and also direct from neo-Latin and from the AG. It never took root in Czech. I have heard nothing from Scandinavia or Hungary.

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G. — Back to a modern standpoint
H. Part H — Conclusion

1. After a Western medieval "gap" a belief grew up in modern Europe that "the ancients" had a short poetic form which "may be called", and perhaps was called, by the name epigram. Buffeted by many influences, it rose above the purely epigraphic and citational (in commonplace books) and was anthologised. More in the Latin West than in the Greek East the tradition had been de-literatised for lengthy periods, but short verse continued in many forms through the Middle Ages, often over a graphological spectrum we call "inscriptional", sometimes beyond it.

2. Medieval inscriptional: epitaphs for clerics, prestige inscriptions in great churches, verses on icons and works of art, especially on books, verses captioning works of art, short verses on the more precious moveable objects, inscriptions on seals, versified mottoes, verse graffiti and other epigraphic verse of the most varied kinds (but generally the latter was lengthy). Also liminal, colophonic, marginal and entitling verse in manuscripts, the site for the anagram preserving an author's name, some short letters in verse, and the dedicatory verses at the beginning of the early printed books, which partake of inscriptionality, as does album verse of various sorts.

3. Non-inscriptional or minimally inscriptional: Versified proverbs like "Cato", pragmatic mnemonics for educational purposes, chronograms in verse, verse tags which rise above the mnemonic, like the choristers':

\[
\text{Non labor sed amor sonat in aure Dei;} \quad 401
\]

verse puzzles, and whole galaxies of witty, curious, satiric occasional verse of the scattered types which exist in other cultures, sometimes in greater profusion. However, no other culture area had developed early a super-genre like "epigram" to

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400 Gröber: summarised in Addenda, p. 169, 367, 369 (Gröber's pages). See also a Merkvers using severe abbreviation in *Baldi.

401 Rüegg HAUSSPRÜCHE p. 313 quotes the first four words of this in such as way as to suggest that it was a traditional bell inscription. Most (western) bell inscriptions hug traditional phrasings, see also Kluger-*Angress in Addenda. «...Begreiflicherweise beziehen sich manche davon [sc. seiner Glockensprüche] auf den Dienst der Glocke: <Non clamor sed amor...> u.ä. Dies entspricht einem allgemeinen Brauch.» I found it first on an Italianising choirmaster's door (Colin Declan Smith's). He was not sure of its origins. Eastern bells can have verse, apparently less formulaic, for which see Richardson TIBETAN INSCRIPTIONS p. 145 for a 9C sloka on a great bell at Surendrabodhi/Bzang-spyod.

H. — Clearer conclusions
attract such naturally-occurring forms into various stages of loose and perhaps illusory unity. A successful error rises to becoming a grade of truth.

4. Its tone in recent centuries has always been slightly precious, redolent of high culture. It is associated with formal schooling, but this does not reduce the delight experienced in the exercise of hard-learnt versifying skills. In Jesuit training verse making was regarded as the treat of the school day. Nevertheless, it remained a serious sign of class and cadre membership.

5. Explicit epigram always seems to involve some reference to a distant past, in topoi, in form, sometimes just in a diffused consciousness of historical depth.

6. No other genre so evokes uncertainties about its nature, combined with high certainty about its existence.

7. No other genre so spans the Classical past and the modern present of European culture.

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403 Being as much a part of their influential curriculum as was Latin drama. See the Ratio atque institutio studiorum societatis Jesu Antwerp 1635, quoted in Kluger-Angress: while the master is correcting papers, his pupils may spend the time imitating a passage from a poet or an orator, in varying the same sentence in many ways, in turning one kind of poem into another, or in writing epigrams, inscriptions and epitaphs. In his Greek prelections the master may once a week introduce a few epigrams.

404 The frequency of justifying prefaces to anthologies, and their disagreement on many an issue, is a symptom of this. Essays placed before anthologies (or after), variously, and not all showing the required uncertainties: A Collection of Epigrams, The Christmas Treat 1767, Epigrammatum Delectus 1683, Senec, De la Faille, Nicole, Bruzen de la Martinière (in *Cioranescu 1969), Colletet 1658, Graves, Gregson, Neumann, Oldys. The pure treatises might also be listed, as they often approach the state of anthologies by their practice of copious citation. The security displayed by Rivinus (no justifying preface), is atypical.

H. — Clearer conclusions
8. Other cultures often had the materials to construct a similar genre, but could not look back to anything like the Greek experience. It was not unknown elsewhere for a love of oral verse to intersect with a well-established but flexible inscriptive habit. Once some young Northern fighting men left a very Greek stone in memory of their leader, Toke Gormsson, on the point of a Danish island. After some typically business-like prose the bard ruminates out a perfect scaldic stanza, and like Egil in Icelandic retirement, writes it down.405

...on Hällestad stone I, in Skåne. This verse ends the inscription in question (normalised here from the slightly deficient runes):

405 *Moltke: Expressions of feeling are rare on runestones and runic epitaphs... p. 192/3. *Pucciarini notes how rare they are on private Phoenician epitaphs, see his half an exception, further below. For the former see now RLGA Vol. 7 p. 130–136 K. Reichl and G. Kreutzer s.v. Elegie The word elegiac is naturally applied to a group of 9 Old English poems all preserved in the Exeter Book. [It seems however artificial not to mention the extremely elegiac Middle Welsh in this context.] The OE poems are the Wanderer, the Seefarer, the Rhymepoem, Deor, Wulf & Eadwace, Complaint of the Women, Lament of an exile, Message of a Husband, Ruins. To these we could add sections of Beowulf, V 2247 and 2444. For our purposes (P.M.Mc.) it is most important that such elegiac tendencies are agreed to be (generally) foreign to skaldic poetry, on or off stones:

p. 135 Reichl/Kreutzer: „Insgesamt gesehen war der Skaldendichtung ein Lebensgefühl, das sich in elegischen Betrachtungen Ausdruck verschaffte, fremd. Nicht einmal in einer Gattung wie dem erfitväöi (see erfidrápa) dem Erbgedicht auf einen verstorbenen Fürsten, bildeten schmerzvolle Gedanken einen Teil des konventionellen Themenskatalogs."

For the various Semitic traditions:

Pucciarini in fine: Un’eccezione può essere costituita dall’espressione K ‘NK NHN «poiché io sono da compatire», contenuta alla linea 12 della iscrizione di Eshmun‘azar (KAJ, 14), ma si tratta di una iscrizione regale e non a carattere privato. In Safaitic they are, on the contrary, to be expected: Winnett and Harding, 1978 — in their 3936 texts love and sadness seem to predominate, at least at some sites, causing us thoughts of the compulsory emotionality of the opening of the classical qaṣīda.

148b. ḥḥd ṣb’s by Hadd. — he was miserable
the common agentive 1- with PN, but an uncommon emotional addition — no cause of pain being expressed. It is either a funerary emotion, or one of frustrated eroticism, as perhaps further below.

154. [text not here given] “...found the inscription of his grandfather and was sad”
2030. ṣrkr bn ᵇd bn ᵇdy ᶽkr r l by Shuraik b. Shaddad b. Zabday b. Shakar‘il
wṣjd ṣbr gyyr r l fnj’ He found the grave of Gāyiya‘rāil and suffered pain.

Also Winnett and Reid 1970, non-funerary, probably but not certainly erotic (one of many similar graffiti):

2. ṣw bn rš
wdd ḥhbb
*Taymanite “not later than –6C”, p. 69. This particular group from Jawf:
*‘Uwa b. Rasha’
loves the mouth of Ḥabīb

H. — Clearer conclusions
SaR flo ægi
at Upsalum.
Sattu drengiaR
eftiR sin brɔpur
sten ə biargi
stopen runum
þer Gorms Toka
gingu næstiR

He fled not
at Uppsala.
Warriors set up
after their brother
the stone on the hill
standing firm with runes.
Toke, Gorm's son,
they followed nearest.

9. In this quatrain we read no dark kennings, which only increases its closeness to the monumentality of Greek Archaic verse and later imitations.

10. Outside the sphere of Greek influence such a conjunction of influences (and its results) was sporadic and uninfluential. In Greek territory it was society-wide and formative.

11. The literary-inscriptional complex we may call epigram is indeed unique to Europe, and to Classically influenced Europe.
Preface to the bibliographies and Addenda

Somewhere in the linguistic ferment of the 1960s Fred W Householder (p.8 of his introduction to *Syntactic Theory 1 structural*, Penguin 1972) sounded two discordant notes in the midst of that perverse, but productive in-house American debate on the task of General Linguistics and the discipline of "English Grammar".

The first was that traditional linguistics and even Classical Philology had much to say to the New Age on the real problems of the nature of language, and that in fact, syntactic study of quality from before 1940 was almost entirely concerned with Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, and with Romance and Germanic studies. The second was that many seminal insights were hidden away in chance comments on Classical texts by such editors as Wackernagel and "the witty" Gildersleeve.

It is the second suggestion which is most subversive to a *thesis*, a genre placed at the extreme of the continuum from incompatible flashes of insight through to systematic, synthetic, concatenated presentations of a problem area. It may well be in the nature of things that the best ideas are more commonly found outside systematic thought, but my current position on explicit mental systems is that they provide a lattice, a scaffolding, a leafless tree (green or dry according to subtle and most obscure prerequisites) which provide a greater range of surface areas, ramifications and nodes along which insights may freely bud.

Perhaps in a thesis on epigram, the tension between the coherent system and the opportunistic flash of mental light is quite appropriate. We have occasion several times to note the Germanic use of philosophical aphorism as a counterbalance to hegemonic constructions of thought. Of course, the two modes of mentality need each other.

In any case, the comments and cross-references in the annotated and critical bibliography may be of more use than the systematic thesis itself to some readers not primarily concerned with the problem of "epigram", and there are few of the latter in Australia. It was in and for the Australian cultural context that this study has been done, and from this derives its contemporary and comparative perspective.

It was necessary to cast the bibliographic net very wide to gain some sort of overview of subliterary practice both in inscriptional and occasional poetry. A book yielding a few examples of either sort has of course to be cited in one or other Bibliography, though its main direction could be quite other.

The problematic of epigram also touches on many fields, because it is occasional, and because it is inscriptional: art, burial customs and beliefs, social structure, poetic forms, codicology, music, graphemics, literacy studies, genre theory, and arcane bibliography.

The riches of this Bibliography are probably essential to supply the sense of the richness and fragmentariness, the indeterminacy of the corpus itself, and to suggest what a confusion of interpretations is available.
Harmonies in Babel

Given the spread of the materials referred to and quoted, it may be as well to clear up some possible misconceptions about exotic languages.

Meillet once complained that it was impossible to explain to non-linguists that the general linguist had different sorts of smattering of many languages, often no more than a few key items of vocabulary and a disembodied skeleton of the grammar, focussing on the main points of comparison between this and better known languages. Even when the philologist has a good grasp, it is usually of the written language.

To avoid implying too ambitious claims, we here list the languages which may be encountered in this thesis, roughly classifying the writer’s competence in them by using four grades. The use being graded is library use, reading for information and argument, not colloquial mastery or literary awareness. In some of these languages he has been reading poetry for years, but literary experience is not graded. He does not have an equal grasp of the native writing systems of all the exotic languages.

The grades:

1. Full library (reading) competence, sufficient comprehension to read long books continuously and to secure the author’s full meaning in most extracts
2. Can decipher efficiently, and read reasonably extensively (up to article length), though with some loss of comprehension and some unreliability about fine points
3. Can decipher painstakingly (or hopes to be able to when needed) but cannot scan long passages, only phrases
4. No practical facility, perhaps some general knowledge about the type of language and of its writing system, perhaps not

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Professional philologists may need to be reminded that language competence sometimes is but a small part of translational and editorial competence. Halley’s edition of difficult Arabic astronomical texts surprised both contemporary and modern Arabists with their accuracy and were used until recent times. Halley was a poor Arabist but a fine astronomer. We have translated Kowalski from a background of being well versed in the controversies he is treating and some familiarity with Russian.

We apologise for some inconsistencies in transliteration. Sometimes we have used a non-scientific sort, but mostly a scientific sort (of which there can be more than one variety), and of course, sometimes those of our source, whether quoted or merely summarised.

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Two bibliographies

continuously paged

followed by groupings under author according to 40 subject categories relevant to the Thesis

Groupings also alphabetically arranged

And an alphabetic list of short titles concocted for convenience of citation, but also to elucidate the contents of the bibliography item where its language is exotic, its main thrust is not relevant to this study, or is not apparent from its own full title.

*Italics* are used for *journal articles*, and *underlinings* for *book titles*. No typological signal is usually given for headwords in encyclopaedic works. No underlining or italics may be used in cases where the words have extensive diacriticals, especially *under* the letters.

Alphabeting mixes Continental and English library conventions, as the citation styles mix the Harvard (sociological) conventions and the more traditional ones. Seriation by position in a series or by chronology may interrupt alphabetical order slightly. Ease and clarity of citation has been the rule, hopefully ease and clarity, also, for the reader.

For the English epigram entries, in Bibliography 2, every available title has been cited, even when one is only a slightly different printing of other cited items.

For the Early English Books microforms, it was important to cite the "Wing number", as place and date do not sufficiently indicate which edition is intended. This citing of library numbers has spread, not always consistently, to other entries.

The main libraries consulted were: The Menzies and Chiefly libraries and the Store of the ANU; the Australian National Library; Sydney University's Fisher, Medical, Architecture and Art libraries and its Library store; Macquarie University; The Har ha-Zofim and Giv'at Ram libraries of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; the library of the École Biblique, up from the Damascus Gate, East Jerusalem; the library of De Nobili College Poona (the Jnanadipavidyapeeth).

While still subsidised by a full-time student's status at the A.N.U. the writer made considerable use of overseas inter-library loans, particularly as the topic of poetic epigraphy is but patchily covered in Australia. Allen's and Boas's works were not on public access and Peek's GVI only in photocopy. Others (e.g., Lausberg) were so catalogued locally as to be unfindable without knowledge of the name of their series, something not given in many standard bibliographies. Some works, such as Komines, were wrongly numbered and long unfindable. It was notable that the end of the cold war accelerated the availability of the libraries of Eastern Europe to the Antipodean student.

Some of the most important books mentioned, and a number of others, were in the possession of the writer while this thesis was being devised and developed. All these ("My Book"), whether copies or originals, have since been donated to Macquarie University Library.
Bibliography 1

Classical
He who treasured volume lends
Loses two friends

Martin Haley
Classical — primarily Greco-Roman works (including general works mainly focussed on the Greek and Latin speaking world of ~8C — +6C)

PHI CD ROM DISK #5.3 Packard Humanities Institute 1991
Latin book literature from the Antique period.
  My Disk  Latin  PHI #5.3

PHI CD ROM DISK #6 Packard Humanities Institute 1991
Greek Inscriptions, Papyri and (intentionally unreadable!) Coptic texts.
  My Disk  Greek Epigraphy  PHI #6

TLG DISK D University of California 1992
Almost all Greek antique literature, and almost all Byzantine Greek literature in classicising language. Does not have Physiologus.
  My Disk  Greek  TLG D

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Vol. I2 Pt. 2 1918 2nd ed.  P. 56 Sectio Prima —
Instrumenta publica populi Romani
  Epistula consulum ad Teuranos de bacchanalibus a. 568/186
(Bronze tablet once fixed with nails)
  23... eorum
24... sententia ita fuit sei ques esent quei arvorsum ead fecisent quam suprad
25... scriptum est eis rem caputalem faciendam censueru atque utei
26... hoc in tabolam ahenam incider.etis ita senatus aiquom censuit
27... utique eam figier ioubeatis ubei facilumed gnosier potisit ...
  Latin Epigraphy  CIL 12, 2

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Vol. III Pt. 1 n° 21, p.8
Boldensete’s 1336 Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam, ed. Canisiu 1604 and Grotefend 1852. Repeated by Ludolfus de Suchern ca. 1350 CE contains a Latin poem claimed to have been copied from one of two great pyramids “beyond Babylon and the river of Paradise towards the desert” which displayed “scripturas diversorum idiomatum.” I.e., the Giza Pyramid, corrected text:
Vide pyramidas sine te dulcissime frater
et tibi quod potui lacrimas hie maesta profude
et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo querelam
sit nomen decimi centianni pyramide alta
pontificis comiti que traiane triumphis
lustra sex intra censebas consul is esset...
  Latin Burial Epigraphy Egypt  CIL III 1

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Vol. VI Pt. 7 fasc. 4, fasc. 5. 1975 Indices.
  fasc. 4 p. 5177–5178 for tombs made in the lifetimes of, therefore by, their intended occupants. Who made their epitaphs is usually a more complex question. Sometimes the text tells us.
  se sibi fecit
  se vibis fecit;comparavit/posuit
also se vibo, se vibus, se vibi, se vibos, se vibum
& p. 5178–5180
  se vific
  se vica—
  se vica—
  se vica—
fasc. 5 p. 5871–5878
(along many other more common vib— expressions, esp the name Vibia)
Vibos, vibus sibi comparavit, etc.
p. 5926–5932
  viva fecit; viva posuerunt, vivo fecit sibi &c., vivos fecit, vivus fecit, vivus fecit (sibi)
  Latin Burial epigraphy  CIL V VI 5

?  Epigraphica: rivista Italiana di epigraphia  Milano 1939–
S 913.3 EPI  Epigraphy Classical  Epigraphica
Latin *Satira*

Adkins, A.W.H. *Poetic Craft in the Greek Elegists* Chicago 1985
Greek Poetry *Elegiac craft*


Agostiniani, L. *Le “iscrizioni parlanti” dell’Italia antica* Firenze 1982
Italic Epigraphy speaking *Speaking Inscriptions*

Ahlert, also Kroll, P. & Wilhelm *Phokylides, Ps. Phokylides* in RE XX 1 503–505 1941
Greek poetry *Phokylides*

Heft 1 1983 has an Aramaic inscription (much commented by R. Altheim-Stein) of an Aryabama, an early –6C inscription on a plate from Smyrna, an 8 line Hellenistic epigram of Kallinos, much commented by Drew-Bear, and some short prose epitaphs, the only dated one which I copied being –2/1C.
Greek Aramaic Epigraphy *Callinus*

Allen, F.D. *On Greek Versification in Inscriptions* in American School of Classical Studies at Athens — Papers V.4 p.35–204 1888?
The picture provided by this inaccessible and oft-quoted old work seems not to have substantially changed despite the flood of new discoveries of epigraphic verse. See Addenda.
My Copy Greek Prosody Epigraphy *Epigraphic Versification*

Aly, Wolfgang *Theognis (1)* in RE V A2 cols 1972–1984 1934
Here let us only note the use in Suidas of the terms "a gnomologion of hypothekai and other paraeinetic hypothekai, the whole in epic manner" to indicate what terminological confusion we have to face from at least the late tradition. Isocrates (1973.48, II 43) calls them hypothekai. Col. 1974.57ff. reminds us that the discernible fragments into which this work falls stretch from single distichs to 15 distich elegies, but quatrains are common, as West's text agrees. The importance of Theognis is, first, the age of the collection, then, that it is in elegiac verse, and then that this elegiac verse falls into pieces of epigrammatic length. However, the style and content are more like the gnomologia than like anything which earlier times could have called epigram. It may still be the case that the poems were sung as skolia, and in 1975.42ff. Aly agrees about the sympotic nature of some verses. It is highly likely that Archaic Greek poems and sayings were inscribed at and for shrines, and handed to the keepers of shrines on parchment, or on wooden tablets. Let us note that the book was not known to the Romans or to the Middle Ages. Its current form is accepted as being that which it had in the –4C, and it is cited in the –5C and –4C, more in its earlier (–v. 469) than its later parts., See Cameron 1993 p. 14 and index for Theognis and the AP. As the Delian epigram mentioned by Aristotle in Eud. Eth is also Theognidean (177, 255), so inscriptionality, proverbiality, and gnomic poetry are quite compatible in the Classical Age of Greece.
Greek Poetry *Theognis*

Hebrew Books *Hebrew Books Italy*

Anastasi, Rosario et al. *Cristoforo di Mytilene Canzionario* Catania. 1983
11C. His στίχοι δήφοροι show 145 poems with a total of 2855 lines, i.e., about 20 lines per poem on average.
Greek Byzantine Poetry *Christophoros*

Ancient History Documentary Research Centre see Macquarie University North Ryde

Sidonius wrote, but may not have published, short speeches or addresses (contestatia runciule) and Masses (missae), but he does not seem even to have begun his promised historical work on the glories of Anianus. No doubt he wrote many more poems than those preserved in, and just after, his letters.

We transcribe verbatim Anderson's fn°2 p. lxvi–lxxi on the meaning of "epigram":

In Epist. II. 8. 2., before quoting the epitaph on Philomathia, he says to Desideratus: quam (sc. neniam) si non satis improbas, ceteris epigrammatum meorutn voluminibus applicandam mercennarius bybliopolis suscipiet. Ceteris is loosely / used: he means "the existing books (or perhaps 'rolls') of my epigrams." It is probably a case of "transferred epithet"; ceterorum would have been more logical: "the books containing my other epigrams."

Klotz (in Pauly-Wissowa, R.-E., s.v. Sidonius) understands epigrammata to mean "small poems," hence "trifling verses" (nugae). He takes the reference to be to the extant Carmina. This view may well be correct, although there does not seem to be any passage in Sidonius where the word epigramma must necessarily have such an extended meaning. It generally means a short poem; see especially Carm. 22 epist. § 6, where paucitas is mentioned as characteristic of an epigramma; cf. Epist. IV. 8. 4, IX. 13 2 v. 16, IX. 13. 5 (where there is a competition in the production of epigrammata and Sidonius composes a poem of 120 lines), and IX. 16 v. 56. It is certainly found in Alcimus Avitus, who humbly speaks of a quite lengthy poem as an epigramma; see especially Poem. VI. prol. (p. 274 v. 7, Peiper). The source of this use is probably Pliny, Epist. IV. 14. 9.

878.9 S569 B1 Syd Fish Latin  Sidonius-An

Andreae, Bernard  Studien zur römischen Grabkunst  Heidelberg 1963  Separate studies on a few items, iconic emphasis.

731.7609376  Latin  Burial art  Römische Grabkunst

Andronikos, M.  Archaeologia Homericia III W – Totenkult  Göttingen 1968

The emphasis is clear from the title. Andronikos was the long time associate of Hammond in the Macedonian excavations. We excerpt him in the Addenda under burial, but not the commonplace that the Homeric poems describe the Geometric Period while purporting to describe the Mycenean. See PREPROTOHISTORY as well.

SUMMARY

Personal graves for a single deceased are all that is referred to in the epics, except Od. 24,78, for a group. Mycenean graves were communal (familial?) and did not involve the Homeric cremation, and this change is shown to be a sudden in the archaeological record, with the extension of cremation occurring in the protogeometric period. The grave mound connected with cremation (and the personal grave), e.g., in Athens, Colophon, Assarlik, Thera and Eleusis. Grave mounds known since at least the Middle Helladic, and not quite disappearing in Mycenean times. However, these old mounds (like those of China we might note) contained ossuaries and family vaults. The epic mounds cover the place of incineration, or (possibly with secondary burials) the urn of ashes. Epic poets knew of the old grave mounds (but not of their difference from their own).

The stele was also known since Middle Helladic, but was more common in the Geometric. It is stated that beliefs and feelings changed more rapidly than techniques and customs, which contradicts a thesis of van Hall that beliefs and attitudes lagged behind the fashion for cremation, and that this disjunction provided the impetus for the very early addition of a speaking and identifying (and encapsulating?) verbal epitaph, or at least a portrait of the dead, on Greek –7C stelai.

See also *Dickinson BRONZE AEGEAN.

Burial Greek  Totenkult


Largely for the epigraphic references, and the up-to-date notes both to the grave of Cyrus and to the altars established at the easternmost campspot of the Grecian advance: ΑΝΑΒΑΣΗΣ V, 29 (p.446 — altars); VI, 29 (p. 526 — epitaph of Cyrus); VII, 14 (p.568 — Hephaisston's tumulus). ΤΩΝ ΔΙΚΗ 10 (p.637 — Indians have no tomb monuments). See notes pp. 932 & 1113. See also our Addenda.

My Book Greek  Arrian-WH

Aubreton, R.E.A.  La tradition manuscrite des épigrammes de l'Anthologie grecque in Revue des Etudes Anciennes 70 (1968) 1968

Greek Epigram AP  AG MSS


Marinoni’s short articles are referred to with reverence (on A’s treatment of his Greek sources, where these survive of course). As is to be expected, the term "epigram" is used uncritically. The poems which Ausonius himself calls "epigram" are treated p.376–413.

Classical

Epistulae n°16 uses a line of verse as the heading of a letter, which is unique. We are interested in this because of Sidonius verse letters and editorial notes which almost certainly show the same phenomenon at work. Secondly, this suggests that some lemmata do go back to Ausonius himself, something that can rarely be assumed of editorial flags of any sort. Verse titles to books, and to chapters or sections are common enough in Byzantium, see *Komines in Addenda.*

871.9 A932 A1 Latin Epigram  
Auszonius Gr

Auszonius and Pastorino, *Decimus Magnus & Agostino: Opere di Decimo magno Ausonio*  
Torino 1978 (1971)

My Book

Baille, J. *Inscriptions grecques et latines des Tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes à Thèbes*, Cairo 1920–1926

As the Title states, this is a corpus of Greek and Latin inscriptions or graffiti (as in most older corpora such a distinction is taken as a "given") in the Syringes, a very specific site. 1297/1374 treat of Memnon but are in prose, 1380 1C, 1394 6C, 1732 3C. There are very few (28) Latin ones, and the grand total of Greek is 2017 numbered inscriptions. From my eye-scan the Baillet numbers subdivided a, b, c etc. are thought by the editor to be the one inscription and here will be counted as such.

Also found are 147 (unedited) exotica: 2 Hieroglyphic, 9 Hieratic, 75 Demotic, 40 Coptic, 14 "Asianic", 4 Phoenician, the Latin being divided into 14 in capitals and 14 in cursive, and there are 3 in Arabic.

Baillet's thoughts on his laborious researches are quite choice, Vol. I p. xlviii–li. He disposes of the hopes of 1920's Classicists that he might find autographs of the Classical authors they had been taught to reverence, many of them recorded as once being visitors to Egypt. Some of these names do occur (Solon, Themistocles, Socrates, Xenophon, Hippocrates) but must have posthumously been added, or, more likely, they were of homonymous historical inscribers. Poets could name themselves without their inscription being in verse, the most likely being Isis of Egypt, "scholastikos". Poetic epigraphy is quite concentrated: two in Syringe 5, one in Syringe 8, fifteen or so in Syringe 9. The account given of the metres vol. 1 p. xlixi differs somewhat from that in the index: five or six "distichs"; eight pieces in hexameter verses "isolated or grouped"; one in anapaests; one or two in trochees; three in iambics. Writers, mostly highly literate visitors, tried to put their name, their patris, and their profession inside the verse. Philosophers are proportionately (!) well represented in the ranks of verse graffiti writers, surprisingly the Cynics p. 1, Ouranios n° 562, Bésa for Tatianos n° 1380, Demetrios n° 319. While Dion of Prusa and Chrysostom called the Cynics eloquent propagandists, it is unusual for us now to find them as poets.

There are up to 8 Hx inscriptions, up to 7 El, up to 3 Iambic, and possibly 1 Trochaic.

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<td>245</td>
<td>3 x Hx</td>
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<td>319</td>
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<tr>
<td>562</td>
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<tr>
<td>901</td>
<td>16(?) x Hx</td>
<td>fragmentary and most unusually long</td>
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<td>2 x El?</td>
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<td>1087</td>
<td>6 x Hx?</td>
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<td>3? x Hx</td>
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<td>1277</td>
<td>+ 2 x Hx</td>
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<td>1285</td>
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<td>1380</td>
<td>4 x Tr</td>
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<tr>
<td>1403?</td>
<td>1 x Tr??</td>
<td>very doubtful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1403</td>
<td>1 x Hx</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1427</td>
<td>2 x El</td>
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<td>1 x Tr??</td>
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<td>1 x Trochaic</td>
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<td>777</td>
<td>2.5 x El??</td>
<td>hardly justifiable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1743</td>
<td>2 x Hx??</td>
<td>unjustifiable</td>
</tr>
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Egyptian graffiti  
*Syringes*

Bakker and Galsterer-Kröll, L. & B. *Graffiti auf römischer Keramik im Rheinischen*  
Landsmuseum Bonn Köln 1975

P. 4 n°1 lists recent publications of graffiti. The text bewails the poor status and development of a possibly rich field of investigation. P. 7 fn°7, in fine, notes one "metrische Ritzinschrift" from the site of Gellep: for which see *Classical.*

Latin Graffiti  *Bonn Graffiti*


Greek epigraphy  *on Memnon*

Barigazzi, Adelmo  *Sopra alcuni nuovi epigrammi ellenistici* in *Hermes* 80 (1952) p.494–496 1952

Rendel Harris n° 56, see Hombert and Webster, both 1951, preserves some epigrams: note AP XVI 327 and VII 658, and XVI 293, 294 for topoi, and IX, 776. The following translation of the reconstruction suggests a simpler epideictic text than most in the AP:

'See and admire, all of you, this marvellous work. The famous Apelles or another artist made it. "Greetings" to the painter and the flowers. I do not know his name, but he made a fine picture.'

E.G. Turner studied in 1950 the papyrus fragments of anthologies of poems, claiming 100 such, noting the sort of headings (our present poem has *allo*, it seems), and epitaphic vocabulary. There is a scolion on p.81 of the AP on the alphabetic order of the Meleagran collection.

P.496 reconstructs tentatively a quatrain *eis Artemin*:

'If you had brought to a secure term the son which X's bosom had conceived, we would have publicly crowned your bosom with purple, but...'

VAL 518  *Greek Epigram Nuovi epiigg.*

Barkowsky, Otto  *Sieben Weise* in *RE II A 2 2242–2264* 1923

See Addenda

Gnomica  *Sieben Weise*

Bataille, André  *Les inscriptions grecques du Temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari* le Caire 1951

188 verbal inscriptions, one line of verse opening a lengthy, prose text. Inscriptions generally very crude, very short, except in the Chapel of the Queen itself. P. xxv, methods of writing: *dipinti* (in red), graffiti (stone points, e.g., *silex* on the soft limestone), and two 'crayoned' on with dry ochre.

P. 86, n°126 26 graphic lines of *prose* possibly of the 1/2C, *opening with a single Hx*, for which phenomenon see CIG 4742 = Letronne Stat. Voc. XLIII p. 208–209:

Χαίρε ταίκος Φοίβου 'Ασκληπιέ, χαίρε Αμενώθη...

For this temple in Pharaonic times see Mlle M. Werbrouck  *Le temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari* Bruxelles 1949.

f CN 360.16 157 ANU  *Egypt Greek Epigraphy Hatshepsout Grecque*

Bataille, André  *Les Memnonia*.  *Recherches de papyrologie et d'épigraphie grecques sur la nécropole de la Thèbes d'Egypte aux époques hellénistique et romaine* Cairo 1952

Mainly for the background of the Colossus of Memnon, in Ch. IV, p. 153, Les pèlerinages touristiques. It must be remembered that Bataille did not have the Bernand's new text edition of the inscriptions, and in fact, Bataille called for a redoing of the Colossus corpus from the stone. The visit of Septimius Severus is in Spartian §17. It is likely that he would have put the top back on the monument, which is likely to have stopped the god's singing, which was presumably the sound of a slow splitting of the stone when warmed most mornings by the sun.

P. 158 treats in detail, as we did in our Thesis, the times of day for the singing of the god.

P. 160 states that the stone is a quartzite conglomerate, variously said to be from: Gebel el-Ahmar (Warille); Gebelein (Daressy); Silsileh (Steindorff).

P. 163 makes the obvious comment, which we did not think of making explicit, that one parietal inscription attracts others, and thus that such texts relate to each other in quite an intimate way. They are not graffiti, but are carefully and deeply cut, and a surprising number are in verse, often pretentious verse.

P. 164: according to the text then available to B., the verse/prose ratio was: Greek 22/60, Latin 3/45. Lucian *Philopseudeis* §33 gives Memnon 7 verses, but these are reported by a notorious liar!

P. 167: The proof that this was a numinous but not a specifically religious site is that the Greeks never viewed it as oracular.

P. 169: Baillet's edition found 2,100 Greek graffiti in the Syringes, whereas Letronne's collection listed only 124! Thus the need for the new editions of other sites, which the Bernand brothers have nearly brought to completion.

P. 177: The three sites in this area awarded Greek graffiti (or formal epigraphy) are the Colossus (northernmost), the Syringes, and Deir el-Bahari, which had apparently 10 Greek and 1 Demotic in the editions used by B. There is very little Greek at the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu. The former three sites were all viewed as doing special homage to Hellenism!

The bare text of Bekcy (plus lemmata but not marginalia, and certainly not variants) is the one used in TLG D.

Greek Epigram AP  *AG Beckby*


(Epitography Classical  *Einführung*

Benziger, Gadara 1) in RE VII (1912) 436–437  Stadt der Dekapolis

On the Jarmuk, on its southern bank, on high ridges. Mentioned in Eusebius, Jerome, Josephus, Pliny, Ptolemy, Strabo, Itiner. Ant., Tab. Peut. Anton. Plac., Hierocl. Synecd., Thedosius, CIL III 181 = 6697. 4660. Confusible from a distance (Polybios V 71. XVI 39) with the Gadara in Peraea. Pompey "freed" the northern Gadara from Jewish control and the era indicated by its (first!) coinage begins in 64/3, and many coins have on them Πεμπτης in its abbreviations or its portrait. In 30 BCE it was given by Augustus to Herod, as Josephus and the coinage (the portrait of Augustus with the term Σεβαστος) both agree. After Herod's death the city became independent again as it had apparently been in Meleager's time, before Pompey's campaign. In the period of the Antonines it bore on its coinage the name Τηβαί άδαλος αυτόνομος. In the late Empire an inscription calls the town *colonia Valentina Gadara*. Another inscription calls it χρυσοτομόσως.

Strabo names as its most famous products: Philodemus the Epicurean, Meleager the epigrammatist satirist and anthologist, the satirist Menippus, and Theodoros the orator. Stephanus Byzantinus adds that the city was also awarded the otherwise unexampled names Αντιχεία and Σελείχεια. Pliny tells us that the city lay on the Hieromycies, Itin. Ant. says it was 16 Roman miles from Tiberias. Josephus tells us that its chora or contrada (affiliated district) joined that of Tiberias and that "Gadara" stretched to the shore of the Sea of Tiberias, the Lake or See of Galilee. Textual confusion surrounds its mention in some versions of Mt 8, 28; Mk 5,1; and Lk 8, 26, however the alternative NT reading "Geradenes" is much less appealing. The Arab geographers preserve a name Jadar, and the people call the burial caves of the region Jadar Merkes.

For Gerasa 2) see RE 7 (1912) Benziger 1242–1244, the Jordanian Jerash.

Meleager's  *Gadara Be*

Bernal, M. BASOR 267 1987 p.179 1987

See Suppl Ep Graec. 1987 = 1990 xxvii\(^4\) n° 1756 where under "Alphabet" Bernal is here reported as claiming that the "new" letters in Greek come from Thamudic/Safaitic, i.e., opting for a 14C adoption of the alphabet!

Alphabet  *Oldest alphabet*


The importance of context, physical, social, historical, is obvious when it is a corpus of minor graffiti which is being studied. Of course, the Abu Simbel corpus is of interest for its early date and relevance to both paleography and the history of the mercenary forces in Egypt, but little of the latter is illuminated. Significant is the absence of Egyptian graffiti. Semites, Carians and Greeks had more reason to inscribe, and two lengthier inscriptions indicate that the Greek contingent had gone as far up the Nile as imagination could reach, and come back to tell the tale, perhaps up to the 5th Cataract, at least as far as the 4th. We have argued in the Thesis for the importation of such contextual matters into the "meaning of the text", as text. Another matter of interest is the difference between this colossus and his inscriptions (most inscriptions are on his legs), and the more mysterious one over from Luxor. The only two of length, 36 and 14 words, relate to the up-river campaign of Psammetichus II, r. 594—588 BCE, for which see S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, *La campagne nubienne de Psammetique II et sa signification historique*, BIFAO, 50 (1952) p. 157 – 207. They are clearly scratched in capitals, the first treated being inscribed in 5 long lines of variable letter height, the second in 2, without word dividers, but the former, longer inscription respects word divisions at line ends, and is thus obviously a semi-official one. From the same Archaic period we have a speaking inscription, n° 4: Τιλεφος μι' ἤγαφε ἵνα Ἀλλόσοις, and similarly n° 6 .......... καὶ / Κράθης ἄραβατιαν ἢμελ.  

1 Varr actually Γερασημων, Γεργυσημων, Γαζαρημων, Γεργυστημων. Sorry Herr Benziger, no "Geradenes" in the apparatus of Aland/Nestlé 1967\(^4\).
The Ptolemaic graffiti are 26 in number, all what Champollion called "visiting cards", often just one-word PNn. Of some note is n° 14: Σκρανθέκ ηπανδρ, where the latter word is taken as a trade term, "mahout", elephant driver. Evidence of Ptolemaic desert and riverine hunting appears here, e.g., in n° 20: Κράτερον / Λεοντοπολ / Ελεφαντ / οφίσια, where the same term in n° 27. A similar but different trade is named in n° 26: Τάουον Ζημιοπαύον Καλέο / ορινοθήρια, in which inscriptions, as in the whole group of Ptolemaic graffiti, we note a high degree of unwillingness to break words at line end.

As for onomastics, 7 have the bare PN, 8 add to this a patronymic, two add to the bare name only an ethnic, two more have name, patronymic and ethnic, 3 add to the bare name the trade designation, one adds to the PN and trade term the patronymic, and only two have all four elements, bare PN, patronymic, ethnic and trade. As far as the ethnic allows, we can say that the origins of these Ptolemaic inscribers were: an "Indian", a Chalcidian from Euboea, an Athenian, a Cilician, and two Cypriotes from Kourion. The PN Σαρδάδαξ son of Κότος is apparently Thraco.

No military ranks are given. Apparently only lower and "other" ranks signed here, differently from Memnon. The diversity of origins matches that at the Memnoneion of Abydos, for which see Perdrizet-Lefebvre, Les graffites grecs du Memnoneion d'Abydos, 1919, the only work on the Greek epigraphy of Egypt that we have not managed to sight and to analyse.

Egypt Greek epigraphy Abu Simbel

Bemand and Bernand, André & Étienne Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon Paris 1960

Greek Latin Epigram Colossus

Bemand, Étienne Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherche sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte Besançon 1969a

P. 8 — 10 dated texts out of 176, excluding anything of papyrus, mummy labels, school tablets, wood tablets, ostraka, pottery and anything Christian. P. 9 private texts show unskilled cutters.

Epitaphs 103 (out of 173 metrical inscr., hence epitaphs 59% of verse totals) subdivisible as: 17 for men, 34 for women, 21 for young boys, 9 for young girls, 9 for children, 1 for unknown, 1 for an animal (a sacred snake).

Dedicated 9 to gods, 13 honorific, 49 general acts of adoration, and 2 lengthy hymns.

P. 8 mentions the epigrams on papyrus with perhaps out of date bibliog., the unpublished studies of Cl. Decoux and G. Deflassieux.

P. 11 Funerary stele can come in coherent series, different according to site. To divide prose from verse texts is artificial for such series.

Most epigrams come from Alexandria (as far as can be established), but only one metrical inscr. of any other category is from Alex. From the Delta inscr in verse from: Naukratis, Terenouthis, Tell el Yahoudiyeh / Leontopolis (very severe stele, but «appel à la lamentation» more common there) and El-Arish. From Middle Egypt, from: Gizeh, Memphis, Saqqarah, Achoris, Antinooupolis, Hermopolis magna (Tuna el Gebel, Abydos — a very rich site), and Tell el Amarna. From the Fayyoum... Medinet Madi, Karanis, Hermopolis Magna, Hawara and widely in the antiquities market! From Upper Egypt: Panopolis / Achrom, Ptolemais / Menouthis. From Nubia: Kalabshe / Talmis. From the Deserts: Alexandria and G. Deflassieux.

Onomasticon not useful, for men name + origin/trade adjective or phrase (this gives his social grouping), for women just a name (with that of husband or children). Jews were the biggest group of metrically-inclined inscribers from among identifiable foreigners.

P. 21 Verse inscriptions come from cultivated people, but not necessarily those of high rank: P. 22 A "Philastros" (astrologer?), cynic philosopher, layer, 2 poets, a paidotribe, 2 architect/builders, a quarry manager. Even lower "castes": a sailor, an innkeeper, a proprietor of farms, a merchant, a perfume seller, a goldsmith, and as is usual in Greek, no verse for peasants. There is one for an important slave, attached to a decurion, head of works at Antinoë. Few (p. 23) for local families. The style can resemble that of indigenous stele (only n° 5, 6, 7, 35 are of indigenous Egyptians). N — 108 is bilingual, seemingly unique for Greek verse inscr.

Verse inscriptions have more information than Greek prose inscrr. P. 15—26, some details of the funeral rite are gleanable.

P. 26—27 Dialogue (if onesided) is found. "Stop!" or "Greet me" and a concluding Chaire are found here, as well as the good wishes from the grave. Chaire also in prose. Few imprecactions from the grave are found in Egypt.

P. 32 Funeral cult seems to have been somewhat private, and for this reason to have maintained Greek traditions more than did the syncretising public cults.

P. 35 Ideals of glory and renown are not limited to the upper classes!

More self-conscious artistry in Imperial verse, but still no authors' names on inscriptions. However, perhaps more originality is found in the less "figured" pre-Imperial inscributional verse.

Greek Epigraphy IME

Many Greek inscr. are prior to the hieroglyphics which overlap with (i.e., cover) them! -4C — +5C. See Temples immersés de la Nubie. Service des Antiquités de l’Egypte. Philae is now newly submerged each year.

Inscriptions (p. 46) common in forecourt, rare inside the temple. The possibility of engraving one’s name on the walls was not a widespread privilege. P. 48, suggestions as to how such a privilege was gained.

Signatories and dedicators: Seemingly no high Alexandrian officials; some provincial stratègoi/epistratègoi of the Thebaid; Phrourarchs; priests rare; secretaries, naval engineers (of sacred boats), parhedroi. Complaints against gendarmes and troupiers, but few signs of these having dedicated inscriptions. Homogenous onomasticon (ethnic and demotic names rare).

Acts of allegiance to sovereigns (p. 55) a quarter of all texts. P. 57—58 most inscriptions other than these are for members of one’s own family, particularly fraternal love.

P. 60 Isis "of a thousand names" has few of them on Philae walls. Here she is a familiar goddess. Quote indicating typical reference to her: οἱ οἰερεῖς τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀβάτῳ, καὶ ἐν Φιλαίοις ἵσσας γέμισται.

Harpocrates, Sarapis, Horus, and unnamed gods and goddesses are mentioned. (Also the temples of Asclepius, Aresnouphis, Aphrodite, and Herakles, Lolanths, Pan of good journey, Saviour God, and Mandoulis.)


P. 11 (epigrams, 7 on the same (South Pylon) wall: n° 139, 142, 143, 144, 151, 158, 159, 166, 168. Payment was made for inscriptions, and there were official engravers.

P. 170 and surrounds, painted inscriptions not unconnected with lowly status and impecuniousness.

P. 195 in fine, n° 180 "This, and perhaps all proskynemata, not written for posterity."

Greek Epigraphy Philae Hell.


185 inscriptions, none in verse. This the first of three volumes of an epigraphic pursuit of Pan in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, between the Nile and Red Sea. The area was used by the Pharaohs, but it took the road-building and well-building Romans to open it up permanently, and to short-circuit the old, diagonal road down to Berenice. Shrines were set up in the desert with paid guardians, in whose absence or by whose collusion, presumably, Greek speakers inscribed proskynemata.

The three tracks along which hunters, travellers, mine workers (usually convicts) and pilgrims risked their lives were:

Kénah to Hourghada
Koptos to Kosseir
Edfiou to Bérénice, via the Paneion of El Kanais (vulgo, "Rédéisyé")

See G. Goyon 1957 Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat.

Three chapters: p. 1–37 from the valley to the entrance of Wadi Hammamat
38–140 The Paneion of Wadi H.
141–185 Paneion of El-Bouib, on the road to the well at Bir el-Sidd.

P. 6-13 Testimonia antiqua provided.

P. 14 Chronology — Augustus—Maximin for the Wadi H, i.e., three centuries of Roman occupation. There are desert inscriptions in Hieroglyphics from the Haut-Empire, but no Ptolemaic Greek inscriptions. Exceptions are few to this generalisation, some doubtful Ptolemaica in El Kanais, and one Lagid in inscription in Wadi H.

P. 15 Romans built up the more direct road across the desert and dug and defended wells (against the aboriginal Trogodytoi and Omophagoi), whilst the Lagids had preferred the smoother, much longer route angling south.

P. 17 The desert epigraphy is sparse, and of mainly onomasticon interest. Very few tria nomina are found in the desert.

P. 44 in Kasr el-Banat we find Μνησθείη ὁ γη (Μνησθείη ὁ γάφας, with itacism): usually we find the Middle of this verb in graffiti.

P. 200 in 127 and p. 64/65: A thematically notable inscription (anything a little notable is rare in the desert, but this epigraph is so notable as to have led former commentators to deny the evidence of their eyes) — on a small stone, buried in the sand, once in a little drystone temple backed up on the cliffs. The pictured stone looks like a now fallen part of the drystone wall itself. The inscription is in "landscape format" on its only flat face.
Bernard, André  

**Le Panticon d'el-Kanais, les inscriptions grecques**  
Leiden 1972

90 inscriptions, 8 in verse. P. xvii-xviii discusses the problems with the name of the wadi and matches it against the descriptions of an early discoverer, F. Calliaud, who reported its contents from a visit of the 3 Nov 1816.

P. 23 mentions Bernard's theory of Greek inscriptions taking place only in the absence of the priest or guardian of shrines, the latter having a house beside the religious site. All but three of the 90 inscr. are parietal, but none are in places of honour in the shrines. This seems fair proof of surreptitious inscribing, though reverence would also be a possible explanation.

Bernard divides the text types into: 1. dedications 2. «procès-verbaux» = "attestations" 3. signatures 4. acts of adoration.

Note to Bernard and O. Masson  
*Les inscriptions grecques d'Abou-Simbel*  

Most notably, there are 8 Ptolemaic epigrams from el-Kanais, beginning in the early −3C (this site was on the old Ptolemaic road to the coast), one of 14 x El, one of 4 x El, two of 2 x El, two of 2 x Tr, one of 1 x Hx, one of +1 (1 preceded by prose) x Tr.

P. 31 The traveller had no need to speak/write much or long to Pan, as this helping god "understands quickly".

P. 35 ff.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>El-Kanais n°</th>
<th>compass</th>
<th>IME n°</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 x El</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 x El</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5? x</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 x Tr</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 x Hx</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2 x Tr</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>+1 x Pnt</td>
<td>163, see just below for its restitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Text of n° 7:  

\[\text{ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ} \]

\[\text{διδοὺς εὐτυχίαν, γράμμι ἀ [ιεθηρο τότε] —}

note the (admittedly loose) syntactic bond between lemma-PN and single Pnt verse line.

P. 96 n° 34, and Pl. 34.2 A Jewish graffito/inscription, significantly placed (inside a little frame) at some small distance from the (Pagan) sanctuary, but in the desert, a shrine is a shrine is a shrine...

Eὐλογεῖ (eὐλογεῖ?) τὸν θεόν
Πτολεμαῖος
Διονυσίου
Ἰουδαῖος

N° 36, 37, 38 all have the phrase ἵππος αὐτοῦ = "for himself".

N° 42 Another Jewish inscription:

θεόν εὐλογία
Θεοῦ ὀδύτους Δωρίωνος
Ἰουδαῖος ἀσθεῖς ἐκ πελάγιος

No 59 bis is an interesting response to a dream which the inscriber had inviting him to "make the banquet of Lord Sarapis"; on which ritual Bernard waxes illustrative.

BL 820 P2 B48 ANU  
Egypt Greek Epigraphy  
el-Kanais

Bernard, André  

**Pan du désert**  
Leiden 1977

87 inscriptions, 1 only in verse. The introduction breathes disgust against the combative and unpredictable Louis Robert, whose last (critical) letter (p. xvi) Bernard threw unopened into the waste paper. The dedication is bluntly made to recently deceased Henri Seyrig "in whom the savant did not swamp the man". Bernard is lured into belabouring the point that a much lauded project for a corpus of the Greek epigraphy of Asia Minor had hardly even started, whilst his and his brother's corpus of Egypt had progressed regularly. Of course, Egypt was an easier task, physically and politically! Nevertheless, it is refreshing to see that Robert did not confine his barbs to German epigraphers, and that his neuroses were catholic in orientation.

P. 1–2 Inscriptions come from at least as early as Ptolemy IV Philopater, possibly from earlier reigns: Ptol II Philadelphus and Ptol III Euergetus, and continue through Imperial and Byzantine periods. This desert was a hunting ground, for ostriches, and far more surprisingly, for elephants, certified by a number of texts offered by hunters. In the Imperial period Roman quarry settlements like Mons Porphyrites gave more regular life to the desert. Inscriptions show they were worked at least from 29 CE under Tiberius and 138–138 CE under Hadrian. Apparently there was no progress on the via nova hadriana planned to run down the coast of the Red sea.

This desert has no long texts, no decrees. It does have short prosynemata, mostly to Pan (but see one to Isis of the Thousand Names n° 22), dedications, graffiti, and a very few epitaphs, despite the numbers who must have perished.
there. We mention a few that show some glimmer of individuality.

Wadi Bir el-Ain (Bir means well)

p. 43 n° 16 - IME 116 4 x El 10925p

p. 62 n° 22 Gebel Dokhan (Mons Porphyrites), on a round pillar or altar 137/8 CE

- Εἰσοδὴ Μυρων
υίου Φάν
τος Σευρῆ
τος Λεκανίφοιος ἀνέθηκεν
(Λέτος) ΚΒ Ἀνδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Επείφ

b) Έπι δ' Ἀνδριανοῦ τοῦ ἔπιτρόπου

P. 76 n° 29 Epitaph of Ioannes, see also p. 108 n° 46 and p. 109 n° 47 at Gebel Dokhan = Mons Porphyrites, the fraternal, or perhaps erotic:

Σφακος καλὲ

CMNIK

P. 75 n° 31 On the stone of an inner wall, graphically "framed' by a rectangle, at

N° 46 Gebel Fatireh = Mons Claudianus, in a cemetery of 30-40 tombs, n° 46:

- τὸς β
- οὐλομεν
- ἐνα
- γἐρρω
- σθαι

n° 47, a Latin epitaph beginning with PN and titles, and ending with the abbreviations (here expanded) H. S. Ex. E. S.

The Wadi Meneh Cave and the Station of Aphrodito

p. 161 n° 64, on the wall of the sacred cave, the following "proces-verbal" by a poor Latinist (why then in Latin?), set, as often, within a graphic frame:

- Τοῦ Νομιδίου Ερός ήταν ουσία
- Χαίροντας διάδοχον τοῦ τάξους ἐπείφ

The book has useful maps towards its end. It concludes the Bemand trilogy on Pan of the Desert.

Bemand, Étienne Inscriptions Grecques d’Égypte et de Nubie: répertoire bibliographique des

OGIS Paris 1982

Greek Epigraphy Répertoire

Bemand, Étienne Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum T. I La «Mérès» d’Hérakleides

Leiden 1975

Crocodilopolis—Arsinoé 1—32
Narouārah 33—68 (many of these funerary)
Soknopaiou Néssos 69—82
Karanis 83—97
Philadelphia 98—101

No verse noted.

f CN 441.535 B47 Greek Epigraphy Egypt Fayoum I

Bemand, Étienne Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum T. II la «Mérès» de Thenustis

Paris 102—131 (n° 131 being of Nasléh)
Euhéméria 132—136
Dionysias 137—141
Médinet Qūta 143—144
No verse.

Greek Epigraphy Egypt Fayoum II
Bemand, Étienne Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum T III La «Méris» de Polémon Paris 1977

Tebtynis 145–146
Talei 147–148
Magdöla 150–154
Narmouthis 155–192
175 Δημας ἦκω
176 Ἀπολλωνίς ἦκω "Le nom propre suivi de ἦκω est la formule la plus simple de proschèse"
Indeterm. 193–217

No verse. Most texts very short.

Greek Epigraphy Egypt Fayoum III

Bemand, André Les Portes du désert Paris 1984


Antinoupolis 1–22
verse no 6 & 20 = IME nº 123
Tentyris 23–46
Koptos 47–103
verse nº 77 = nº 105 IME
Apollonopolis Parva & Ar. Magna 104–127

Greek Epigraphy Egypt Portes Désert

Bemand, Étienne Inscriptions Grecques et Latines d'Akhôris Paris 1988

Total 177, Latin few: 2 dedicatory, 1 only epitaph, 1 fragment, Greek 41 dedicatory, 132 epitaphs. Not placed in this corpus: a large bilingual, a poetic inscription on an amulet, another on a bronze disk, and the Christian inscriptions edited by G. Lefebvre. Actually listed is only one metric inscription, nº 17 = IME nº 104, dedicatory. Thus the proportion of Greek verse to Greek prose found in this region is 2 to 176, and thus verse is 1.2 % of total.

fCN441 T86 B37 Greek Epigraphy Egypt Akhôris

Bemand, André De Thèbes à Syène Paris 1989

The 17th volume of Greco-Egyptian epigraphic texts edited by the Bemand
Ch. I: 2 from Tughium, 2 from Hermontis, 6 from Pathyris, 9 from Latopolis, 17 from Eileithyiaspolis
Ch. II: 150 graffiti from Gebel Silsileh
Ch. III 35 from Kom Ombo (of which 3 Ptolemaic)
Ch. IV: 17 from Syène
Ch. V: 105 from the isles of the 1st Cataract: e.g., 62 from Elephantine; 2 from es-Sehel/Satis; 1 from Salib; 2 from Bigeh; 38 new ones from Philae on its transference to the isle of Agilka.

Again no verse. Note the formula in nº 277, late Imperial, suggesting explicit consciousness of the type of double language act/gesture envisaged in the inscribing of an oral act of adoration — the formula is more commonly found in Nubia see IME nº 169 lines 10–12, which provides yet another case of the regionalisation of formularies: τῷ προσκύνημα τινων ἔχουσιν τοῖς ἀναλαμβάνοντας τοὺς δώρους ταῖς ἐπαθειν θεοίς. Propositional use is one of the most fluctuating elements in even closely related Western European languages and is one of the last things mastered by foreign students.)

fCN440 B46 Thèbes–Syène

Bertelli Lucio L'epigramma per i morti di Tanagra (IG II 946 = Simon. 117 D.) in QUCC 1968 p.52–1968

Greek Epigram Tanagra

Classical
Perhaps his most important opinion for the history of cousins of epigram is that where B. considers (p. 97) that ἐνομικαί gnomica were typically in verse (presumably like the Hesiodic examples) until Isocrates, where the latter’s "to Nicocles" 3, 13 & 42 is explicit on the change. See Iliad II 402–, VII 313–, IX 89–, (IX 201 is not traditional), XXIII 35–, IX 642–3 is unique, ῆποιαν and wine. See also Od. I 339–40, 369–. Also II IV 259–, VIII 161–, I 225 οὐνομικαί, VII 479. Also Od I 152, IV 238, IV 597. Convivial excess without drunkenness: Od I 225, II 55 = XVII 534, XIV 93, XVI 110, XXXIII 304. Oldest version of a maxim XXI 293–4.

Hesiod is less rich: Works, 704, against διηνισσεῖς. Also 722–3, 190, and 596 adds water, 744–5. Eoiai Fr. 121 Rz Menampodia Fr. 123 (Homeric origins?)


Greek Poetry Convivi

Boas, M. De epigrammatis Simonideis Amsterdam 1905
See Addenda
My Copy Greek Epigram DESim

Boas and Botschuyver, M. & H.J. Disticha Catonis recensuit et apparatu critico instruxit M.Boas: opus post Marci Boas mortem edendum curavit H.J. Botschuyver Amsterdam 1952
Latin Epigram Gnomica Disticha Bo

Bolgar, R.R. The Progress Of Classical Scholarship in Grant and Kitzinger p. 1819–1832. 1988?
P. 1828 Free composition in Latin prose fell out of use (it had been useful for controversial writing while this was normally in Latin) in England, and verse composition (by translation from the vernacular?) took its place, apparently in the 18C. We have noted R.L. Stevenson’s interest in what Eton boys were turning his verses into in Latin. He adopted one of their phrases for "his motto": nitor aquis.
P. 1830 The much-maligned practice of "prose translation" became so established because it suited the 19C training of civil servants.

I do not see the importance of the change in style of Latin verse teaching. All ages would have some composing painfully by rule and others more fluently. Even vernacular poets of distinction compose in slow or rapid manner according to temperament, style and preferences. Few since the Hellenistic period ever seem to have been good extempore poets (Archias was one). What may be more important than the style of composition encouraged is the fact that "neo-Latin" fine literature suddenly dropped out of its prime position somewhere in the 17/18C, affecting not only current production, but affecting how the learned and literate viewed the Latin writing of the last several centuries.

Latin Verse Composition

Bollmer and Baehrens. Fridericus & Aemilius Poeti Latini Minores Vol., II fasc 3 Homerus
Latinus Leipzig 1913
871.08 Latin Literature PLM.II.3

Bott, H. De epitomis antiquis (Diss.) Marburg 1920
My Copy Epitomi antiqui

Brecht, Motiv- und Typengeschichte des griechischen Epigrams 1930 Philologus Supp. Bd. 22 Motiv und Type

Bremmer, Jan An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty in Arethusa 13,2 1980 p.279–298
1980 Symposium IE Pederasty

Classical  *Tusculum Lex*.


Greek Epigraphy  *Asia-Galatia*


n° 495–638 p. 59 ff. Carmina duodecim sapientium, monosticha

P. 62 Epitaphia P. Vergili Maronis disticha

P. 69 Tristicha de arcu caeli

P. 72 Tetrasticha de Vergilio

P. 83 Pentasticha de duodecim libris Aeneidos

P. 86 Hexasticha de titulo Ciceronis

P. 167 ff. n° 690–699 (even –707?) Petronii Arbitri

P. 174 n° 709, among the poems by Germanicus, one De puero glacie perempto Thrax puer adstricto glacie..., note Martial IV 18, and AP IX 387 "Adrianou Kaisaros, ho de Germanikou", and Paul the Deacon PAI C ed. Duemmler p. 50 mentions it too. See also AP VII 542 Flakkou.

n° 850, p. 307 Epitaphium Iulii Caesaris, in which Caesar speaks.


II,2 fasc. 2 [Elegiaci, hendecasyllabi, ionici, choriambi, polymetri, commatica] Amsterdam 1964 = ?

II,3 Carmina Latina Epigraphica conlegit F. Buechler fasc. 3 Supplementum curavit Ernestus Lommatzsch Amsterdam 1964 = Leipzig 1926.

871.08 6 Latin Poetry  *Anthologia Latin*

Burnikel, W.  *Untersuchungen zur Struktur des Witzepigrams bei Lukillios und Martial* Wiesbaden (= Palingenesia Bd.15) 1980

Lukillios is presumably of Neronian date. He is the first well-known Greek scopic poet, and perhaps one of the first to write consistently satiric epigram in Greek. Burnikel builds on O. Autore’s three degrees of literary influence or borrowing. Only one poem of Martial is massively dependent on Lukillios (V 53 — AP xi 214), but higher level tendencies like the mention of the name of a satirised person, and tripartite subtext structure in jokes may be adduced to show more thorough-going dependence than is allowed by Autore. Burnikel is strong on the idea that both writers intended to write epigram, not jokes, "oder witzige Sinngedichte", an almost untranslatable German distinction, and perhaps a meretricious one. He warns against finding in either writer the "ideal form of the Epigram", as Lessing once did and as continues to be done in Germania. He takes epigram to have been an open form which over many centuries developed many sorts of expression and structure, including many forms of witzigen expression and language use. Martial came closer to "Textsorte Witz" than Lukillios. Disturbingly for all this treatment, Lukillios, though writing in Greek, was still a Roman poet writing for a Roman audience. Confusingly too, German Witz means predominantly "joke", "funny", though it would be closer to wit than to humour, retaining considerable connotations of cleverness and none of warmth and human acceptance, such as might hang around English "wit", though none of the opposite either.

Lucillius, though obviously standing in a Greek linguistic and artistic tradition, was, it must be emphasised, none-the-less a Roman poet, writing for a Roman audience, and not likely to have been ethnically Greek. Thus he could easily be argued to have been an integral part of a poly-glossic Roman culture. On p. 122 the author warns against too easy a use of 20C theoretical concoctions on "Textsorte Witz", having just spent three and a half pages enjoyably doing just that. It is a false approach to apply constructs and concepts to material rather than coaxing forms out of such material.


...Man wird nur sagen können daß sich Martial der Textsorte Witz eher angenähert hat als Lukill. Ganz zwecklos ist es, bei dem einen oder dem andern die Idealform des Epigramms finden zu wollen, ganz einfach.
weil es sich nicht gibt. 'Witz'-epigramme hat man zunächst einmal als Epigramme zu respektieren, d.h. eine in vielen Jahrhunderten gewachsene, für eine Vielzahl von Aussagen und Strukturen offenen literarische Form, offen auch für eine Vielzahl von witzigen Aussagen und Sprachverwendungen. p.122–123.

Geffcken and particularly Kruse have treated Lucilius as a lowly stepping stone to the perfection of Martial.

Burnickel tries to rehabilitate the graeculus.

Greek Epigram Witzepragram

Burzachechi, M. Oggetti parlanti nelle epigrafi greche in Epigraphica 24 (1962) p.3–54 1962

Criticised by G. Colonna Epig. XLV 1983 Iscrizioni di possesso dell'Italia preromana.

Speakers are: statues, animal figures, household objects, stele, weights for lifting, measuring vessels, money, weights for weighing, the carved letters themselves. An old habit in Asia (? p. 47, starting from Gudea, 1300 years scattered examples), found in Greece from -8C — +4/5C, most common -6/5Cc. Many in prose.

P. 22. A conflation of formulæ IG 12 548, 663: μ’ άνέθηκε Ν τοίς δαγάλια

P. 24 WORDS ATTRIBUTED TO THE INSCRIPTION ITSELF (?) ABU SIMBEL εγραφει / εγραφε μ’ / αμε / εμε PN. Also’sema’ on coins. See Zazoff for “sema” on gems too.

Greek Epigraphy Speaking Speaking objects

Byng, P The Well-Read Muse, Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets Göttingen 1988 Hypomnemata 90 Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben

This important book boasts of giving evidence (from the Hellenistic texts, esp. papyrus fragments and AP epigrams) for what other scholars have taken on intuition, i.e., the "bookishness" of Alexandrian culture. This overlaps our own efforts to give figures and references for graphological and literacy-connected generalisations about Greek cultures. See Addenda.

P.11 Quotes an attempt to put the adoption of the WS alphabet in Greece back from the 8C to the 11C (it has been put as far back as the –14C): that of the influential Semitist J. Naveh Early History of the Alphabet, and Introduction to West-Semitic Epigraphy and Paleography Leiden 1982 p. 175–186.

Also quoted: Suppl. Hell. 705 Poseidippus γραφήματα (sc. Μοίσαι) δέλτων εν χρυσάεις σελίας lines 5–6. Byng does not rely on bare citation, but tries to argue from emphasis and such more subtle aspects of the texts and their presumed contexts and contexts. P. 16 notes that Solon wrote, but also that this was probably in his capacity as a lawgiver, as inscriptions indicate a close tie between new laws and inscriptions by the early –6C. Also quoted is Critias Diels-Kranz n° 8835. P. 17 notes that the Hellenistic epigram, like the "hymns" of Callimachus, appear at one remove from their original context, in the former case, their "original chiselled setting". Admittedly, Wilamowitz (HD 1 p.129–132) "encountered" non-inscribed epigram in the early –5C, but it is not evidenced in any quantity until after Alexander.

Actually, what Wilamowitz mentions in HD1 p.129 are ‘symptic maxims’, scornful, reverential, witty little texts, also aphorisms, cast in elegiac form’, and the inevitable Athen. 454 ff. quote recalling that "Neoptolemos" who once wrote, it is said, 'about epigrams', taken by W. as being the early Sophist. Then the Critias almost-epitaph, indicating, allegedly, that the –4C generally had found public uses for fictive epitaphs, and some distichs from the Peplos which may well be old. As evidence, leaving aside the general soundness of the intuitions of the great man, this is far from convincing and it is misleading to quote 'Wilamowitz' so curtly on such matters, as if his suggestions were secure.

P. 19: "Song is indeed now a concrete object in the form of papyrus or tablets". Aetia frag. 7, Hymn to Artemis αὐτίκη ... τῇ ἐν μέν ... ἐν δέ συ ... (two of ἐν emphatic, and significant?). Book 3 of Aetia [fr. 75] Ἰησοῦς Διμώνακας γέρων ἐνθηθατο δέλτος. Batrachomyomachia proem. AP IX 151.1 = 1.1 Garland Philip. P. 19–39 contain many such quotes and arguments. P. 56 makes much of the proliferation of Hellenistic poems for the dead (in fact, only for dead writers) in the form of fictive epitaphs: Theocritus XVII on Anacreon, XVIII on Epicharmus, XXI on Archilochus, and XXII on Pisander.

884.8 X 5 Greek Epigram Well Read Muse

Cahen, Émile Callimaque et son œuvre poétique Paris 1929

P. 205–225 deal with the epigrams. Cahen sets the scene right by emphasising that for the French culture of his time "epigramme" "évoque pour nous l’idée d’une poésie légère et sans consistance". P. 206 notes 7 fragments indicating some sort of citation ἐν Ἐπιγράφωσι, which suggest (if later) or even indicate (if earlier) collections by author of epigrams pre-Meleager. Archibios (Suidas s.v.) made a commentary on Callimachus' epigrams. However Cahen lengthily rejects the suggestions of Hauvette on the publication of the epigrams and the gravepoem, (and on resulting interpretations) claiming only: «que Callimache avait réuni, ou qu'on avait réuni pour lui, en dehors des Aitia, avec ou sans le titre d' 'Exegelia, ses pièces de circonstance en mètre élegique.». P. 210 discusses the nature of the problematic collection κατά πόλεις ἔπιγραφατα of Polemon. Those of Callimachus are either inscriptions (real or fictive), or "notations". The very good point is made low down on p. 211 that the distinction of "real" and "fictive" epigrams leaves many epigrams out of consideration. Better to make three classes: the paignion, the dedication or the epitaph made to be inscribed, and the poem inspired by a death, the viewing of a notable or atmospheric ex voto, or by reports of such. These are too close to real inscriptionality to be mere paignia,
too close to hard human reality. The distinction between paignia and "real dedications" is more difficult than the same question about epitaphs (p. 219–220). "Real" and "fictive" should here be replaced as prime categories by "serious" and "flippant/playful." See also Herder ANMERKUNGEN p. 173:

Sind manche, zumal die ältesten Epigramme, nicht wirkliche Aufschriften gewesen? und nicht viele der schönsten in der Anthologie als Aufschriften gedacht und verfertigt worden? Gleichviel, ob sie auf Gräbern und Bildstülen, auf Bäden und Tempeln wirklich standen oder nicht standen, wurden sie als Inscriptionen erfinden, so blieben sie solche auch in der Schreibtafel des Dichters.

The chapter ends with comments on the most obscure and unclassifiable epigrams: 1, 8, and 59.

Greek Epigram Callimachus Ca

Callimachus and Cohen, • & Émile Callimachus épigrammes, hymnes, fragments Texte établi et traduit par... Paris 1961 Budé 5th ed. see also Loeb Trypanis.

884.8 CAL Greek Epigram Callimachus 2


1958 Loeb bilingual.

Introduction p. ix discusses the mostly lost Alexandrian conflict of long vs. short poetry, and the epigrams on brevity may well not be self referential, but be weapons in favour of idyllia and epyllia, directed against epic (see *Hutchinson), not against over-lengthy "epigrams" of the period.

884.8 Greek Epigram Callimachus 1


Greek Epigraphy Laws Codified laws

Cambiano, G. La démonstration géométrique in Detienne 1988 p.251–272 1988

Geometric graphics


Cameron, Alan The Garlands of Meleager and Philip in Greek and Roman Studies 9 (1968) p.329ff 1968 Greek Epigram AP Garlands

Cameron, Alan Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius Oxford 1970

P. 419 Ch. XIV Conclusion: Mainly on Fortleben, an unctuously humble survey. Cameron has found that Claudian's works have indeed had a remarkable influence (without subdividing much by work and certainly without singling out the epigrams), but rather spoils this by seeming to claim that the height of C's popularity occurred in more than one period: p. 424 "the 13C" (especially as he was then a school author); p. 425 "Renaissance"; p. 437 "17/18C England" (this was the height of English popularity, but he was always very popular in England). The Carmina Minora (Genser vol. 2) were handed on in the "Claudianus Major" collection during the Middle Ages. P. 423 claims that snippets of his longer works were excerpted widely (this was the custom for all standard or popular authors) and makes the interesting statement that "there were not a few epigrams in the invective" of Claudian, emphasis mine, not Cameron's. The Raptus Proserpinae was apparently the most popular work in Renaisance times, the panegyrics in some other periods. Gibbon's high opinion of C. is well known.

PA 6374 C3 Late Classical Epigram Claudian-Ca

Cameron, Alan The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes Oxford. 1993 Mostly written in the late 1970s, submitted first to press in 1980, fitfully added to (it has eight appendixes) and presumably not greatly affected by any missed discoveries of the '80s and '90s, this is a revolutionary book.

This is the first treatment for some time to revisit the MS, which according to Cameron have never been transcribed or described with satisfactory accuracy. A.C. goes against received orthodoxy in major matters. He identifies the Constantine who is said to have been responsible for the present form of the AG with a Rhodian, not the traditional Cephalus. He claims that Planudes had the "Cephalian" (Constantinian) anthology at his disposal when he produced his much later collection. Cameron is a master of the period just after Gow and Page, and whatever his general conclusions, his treatment of the poems, the lemmata and the codexes will be of enormous

Classical
interest.

My Book AP AG Revisited


Carletti, Carlo Iscrizioni cristiane di Roma. Testimonianze di vita cristiana secoli III–VII Firenze 1986

Of the paleo-Christian (Roman) inscriptions, 75% are funerary. Pre-Constantine there are 40,000 in Latin, and 5,000 in Greek. The most homogenous corpus is the 300 taken from the cemetery of Priscilla. Carletti’s book offers a selection of 142 texts, of which only 7 are in verse, hence, on the basis of this selection, to which verse seems irrelevant and may be under or over represented for topical or geographical reasons, 5% are in verse, a common enough order of magnitude for verse in the older Greek funerary corpora. All the verse here is in Latin. This corpus has only 12 inscriptions fully in Greek. A few interesting prose inscriptions are: n° 9 Filumena, not the infamous inscription leading to the manufacture of an apocryphal saint Philomena in the 19C, but one of the contributing factors towards this over-creative devotional mentality. Also n° 139 +4C non fuimus et fuimis non sumus non desideramus. usque hic deducitur Felumeneti in Pace – this being one of those Christian modifications of the famous agnostic n.s.n.f.n.c… which we find even on Swiss house walls, see Ruegg. Also, 91–118, imprecations.

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Carletti, Carlo Iscrizioni cristiane di Roma. Testimonianze di vita cristiana secoli III–VII Firenze 1986

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Carput, Quintus Marcius Roman Imperial Period +2C

Found (1993) in the Palazzo Altemps near the Piazza Navona, in a 10C wall, an Imperial epitaph, perhaps originating in a sanctuary of Cybele in the Vaticano or the Campus Martius.

Text reconstructed P.M.Mc (for further information, see below):

(graphic lines numbered)

0. FECIT. Q. MARCIUS. CARPUS. PATER. FILIO (on the raised rim, in smaller letters)

(all that follows is now on the face of the plaque)

1. QUI COLITIS CYBELEN NOVI QUI PHRYGA PLANGITIS ATTIN
2. DUM VACAT ET TACITA DINDYMA NOCETE SILENT
3. FLETE MEOS CINERES NON EST ALIENUS IN ILLIS
4. CARPUS ET HOC TUMULO MYGDONIS UMBRA TEGOR
5. HIC LEGO QUI MAGNI PARVUS COGNOMINIS HERES
6. CORPORE IN EXIGUO RES NUMEROS A FUI
7. FLECTERE DOCTUS EQUOS NITIDA CERTARE PALAESTRA
8. FERRE IOCOSA SITUS FALLERE NOSSE FIDEM
9. ETSI NON FATORUM ERAT POSTERA IURA FUISSENT
10. PATER IN HOC TUMULO DEBUIT ANTELEG
11. AT TIBI DENT SUPERI QUANTUM TITIENA MERERIS
12. QUAE FACIS EXIGUA NE IACEAMUS HUMO
13. A<ULO>.AMPLO.CARPO.I.PISSIMO.FECIT.PATER.CARPUS
This text reconstructed (via a reasonable photocopy showing an 11cm x 6.5 picture of the stone) from the illustration in Il Messaggero. 10.08.1993 p.29 and sent to me by an Italian co-worker on West Semitics. The associated article contains a paraphrase of the meaning in Italian. See also the following brief summary in Archeo n.12, Dec.1993, p.23:

ROMA, In memoria di un fanciullo SCOPERTA A PALAZZO ALTEMPS UN'ELEGIA FUNEBRE DEL II SECOLO D.C.
Durante il lavori di restauro in corse a Palazzo Altemps, una dimora storica di Roma situata nei pressi di Piazza Navona e destinata a divenire sede di iniziative espositive, è stata ritrovata una lapide sepolcrale romana del II secolo d.C. Il reperto, reimpiegato all'interno di un muro del X secolo d.C., è ricavato nel marmo e reca incisa una raffinata elegia funebre composta dal patrizio Quinto Marcio Carpo in memoria del figliuolo Aulo Amplo prematuramente scomparso.

Il componimento poetico, redatto in distici elegiaci, fa riferimento al culto di Cibele e di Attis e dunque a una vivida testimonianza del clima religioso nella Roma del tempo, in cui si affermarono numerose divinità di origine orientale. Quanto al fanciullo a cui l'elegia fu dedicata, questo è il suo ritratto affidato al testo: «Piccola persona erede di gran nome/sono stato una cosa molteplice in un gracile corpo./ Sono stato educato a condurre i cavalli, a combattere nella bella/palestra, a gioire, a evitare gli inganni, a conoscere la fede».

Latin Epigram Burial Carpus Carpo

Cartledge, P.A. Literacy Spartan literacy

Cawley, R.R. The History and Nature of the Early Epigram in Journal of Historical Studies 1 (1968) 1968 ad me nondum pervenit
Greek Epigram Early Epigram

Cavallo and Fedeli and Giardina, Guglielmo & Paolo & Andrea Lo Spazio letterario di Roma antica Volume 1 La Produzione del Testo? Spazio Letterario [vol.] 1 N.B. the other volumes are: II- Circolazione; III- Ricezione; IV- Attualizzazione; V- Cronologia e bibliografia.

Though not versified like "Cato", Sextus is early and influential, and part of the world of gnomic which we take to have paralleled and supported epigram in many periods. Dated at late +2C, its sources various. Βραχυλογία and βραχύλογος are praised:
"Clitarchus": 31. βραχυλογία σφόδρα παρακολουθεῖ (= S 156); 32. μακρολογία ήμετέραι αμάθας (= S 157); Pythagorean sentences: 10. βραχύλογον μελίσσα ή θεού γνώσις ποιεί κτλ 16. γνώσις θεού ποιεί βραχύλογον (= n° 430 which is one word longer, adding Διαφωτιστ). BR 45 T43 Gnomica Sextus

It is significant that a poem of 51 lines could be entitled "epigram" even by Martial. Such would not have been surprising in early Hellenistic times (see *Cameron 1993), the Greek Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and even afterwards. He is obviously a fully "professional" and self-conscious epigrammatist, defends himself in X 59 for writing long page epigrams, and alludes to the inherent brevity of the genre in I 45, I 110, II 77, II 83, IV 82, VI 65 & 82. Ciocci gives the mean length (in lines of whatever metre) for the 8 categories into which she breaks the Martialian corpus, and all these averages are short: autobiografici 10.6 vv [6.48%]; epideittici 9.8 vv [6.14%]; occasionali 9.7 vv [5.11%]; ad imperatorem 8.8; sul tema 'poesia' 7.9; encomiastici 7.9; osceni 6.6 vv [10.06%]; & scopitici 5.9 vv [44.92%]. The bracketed percentages are the degree to which epigrams from such categories bulk in the total corpus. How then to explain the long poems:
autobiografici 22vv, 24vv, 26vv, 28vv, 32vv (VIII 28, VIII 35, X 48, XII 18, XII 57 & V 78; epideittici: 22vv, 23vv, 24vv, 26vv, 36vv & 51vv (IX 61, I 109, VI 42, X 30, IV 64 & II 58); occasionali: 20vv, 24vv & 42vv (X 87, V 37, I 49); ad imperatorem: 22vv & 24vv (I 104 & IX 101): sulla poesia: 21vv, 21vv, 29vv & 32vv (X 20, X 35, VIII 3, IV 55 & VI 64); encomiastici: none over 16vv; osceni: 22vv, 27vv & 33vv (XI 104, III 93 & II 82); and scopitici: 20vv, 21vv, 22vv, 23vv, 25vv, 26vv, & 27vv (I 41, III 20, VI 39. VII 20, IX 59, XII 28, II 41, XI 98, XII 32, VIII 33, & XI 18)? Most of the assigned subdivisions include poems over 20 lines, and three poems are of more than 30 lines. Crude comparisons with the AP are given p.190, and none there surpass 30 lines, only four surpass 20 lines (often the longish poems are not built like epigrams anyway), and a "long" epigram has 14 or 16 lines. Martial's long poems come by preference "nel genere epidittico ed occasionale" which tended to have longish poems even before his time (no figures given). The
exceptional III 58, of 51 lines, is not constructed like an elegy or "anderen literarischen Gattungen... zwar der Satire... und des Gelegenheitsgedichts in der Art der 'Silvae' des Statius", pace Szelest p.191. The majority of its lines describe in a largely additive though patterned way the delights of Martial's Baiana villa. The last line brings sudden closure: Rus hoc vocari debet, an domus longe? Perhaps Martial is playing with the reader, exceptionally postponing closure. See his technique in I 49, IV 64, VI 64. Perhaps he is being consistent with an established pattern of giving longer format to poems on life in the country and to those on poetry. There were certainly plenty of the latter poem in his corpus to establish an expectation that they be short, if indeed they were ever perceived as a defined sub-group except by scholars — 173 poems, second most common subdivision to the scoptici, making 14.76% of the corpus by poem. In any case, this 51 liner is now famous, appearing in the manuals of Marchesi, Rostagni-Lana, and in Croce and Marmorale. It can serve as a whipping boy, or a conundrum, for theorists of epigram.

Latin Epigram Durate


Greek Epigram AP AG Index

Clairmont, C.W. Gravestone and Epigram. Greek Memorials from the Archaic and Classical Period Mainz on Rhine 1970

Greek Epigram Burial Gravestone

Clairmont, C.W. Patrios Nomos: Public Burial in Athens during the 5th and 4th Centuries B.C. BAR 1983

Greek Burial Patrios Nomos

Claudianus and Genser, • & M. Cl(audii) Claudiani quae extant varietate lectionis et perpetua adnotatione illustrata a Jo. Matthia Gensero... Leipzig 1969 =1759 Two vols.

Older editions tend to be more generous in accepting the "epigrams" attributed to many authors, and in Medieval and Early Modern times often appended to their longer works. This was certainly the case for Claudian and Ausonius.

Genser quotes all the epigrams of the tradition, but suggests that only the first 28 are genuina, while the following 22 seem not to be by Claudian's hand. Greek poems occur in both sections of the Epigrammata, but the majority of both are in Latin.

The other minor works are rather lengthy, the Epigrammata rather short. All poems in Latin unless Greek is indicated:

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beginning of poems "perhaps by other hands":—

PA 6372 A2  Latin Epigram  Claudian Ge.

Claudianus and Hall, • & J.B.  Claudii Claudiani Carmina  Leipzig  1985

Latin Epigram  Claudian Ha.

Collingwood and Wright, R.G. & R.P.  The Roman Inscriptions of Britain. Vol. I. Inscriptions on Stone  Oxford  1965  2314 inscriptions if we exclude as irrelevant some dozens of Aliena and Falsa, though the fact that Aliena were brought to Britain at all would have been interesting, if verse had occurred on them to any notable extent, as the verses would have been a prominent part of the object. I found only three clear poems among all this matter, and two quite doubtful fragments.

The Dubia first: p.199 n° 594 put in the Carm. Epig. 419 by Engström, but on the assumption that a line or two of Hx were intended in the middle of a prose inscription. P. 458 n° 1405 has [...] [si]t tib[ / terra] <leaf> levis, where the levis has also been read as legio. Even though the leaf suggests an epitaph, the phrase is so common that its metrical status (as a penthimere) may have been accidental and the words used as if they were prose.

Certain poems:

P.230 n° 684 (Büchler Carm Epig 395)  5 x Hx + prose
[D(is) M(anibus)] / Corellia Optata an(norum) XIII/
Secreti Manes qui regna / Acherusia Ditis
incolis/tis, quos parva petunt post / lumina vite
exiguus cinis et similacrum corpo(r)is um/bra.

Classical
insontis gnate geni/tor spe captus iniqua
supremum hunc nate / miserandus defleo finem.
Q(uintus) Core(llius) Fortis pat(er) f(aciundum) c(uravit)
P. 558 n° 1791

A panel, with 10 iambics:
Imminet Leoni Virgo caelest/i situ
spicifera iusti in/ventrix urbium conditrix
ex quis numeribus nosse con/tigit deos:
ergo eadem mater divum / Pax Virtus Ceres
de Syria / lance vitam et lura pensitans.
in caelo visum Syria sidus edi/dit
Libyae colendum: inde / cuncti didicimus.
ita intellexit numine inductus / tuo
Marcus Caecilius Do/natianus militiae (?)
tribunus / in praefecto dono principis.//
P. 630 n° 2059 A dedication slab
[Matribus deabus aedlem / [Ant]jonianus dedico:/
[se]d date ut futura quaestus / suppleat votis fidem;
aureis sacrabo carmen / mox viritim litteris
See Vergil Eclogues vii 35–36. Note also the seeming materiality of the golden song, and its letters.
The smallness of such a harvest of inscriptive verse seems typical of even wealthy frontier regions. See also

Latin Epigraphy British stone

No verse, however, many items bear an inscription which is non-verbal, especially weights, and most non-precious objects have very curt epigraphy.

471.109361 Latin Epigraphy British inscribed objects II

One would anticipate verse on some of these more precious objects, despite the general brevity of words on movable items. One verse noticed was n° 2414.2, p. 31 Silver cup/bowl:
AXPto //Sanctum altare tuum, Domine, subnixus honoro.//
This is the only verse I could find among the short texts on movable objects of Vol. II. It is significant that the verse is on silverware, and that it is a speaking inscription or speaking object.

471.109361 Latin Epigraphy British inscribed precious objects I

Commodianus, Martin ? Commodianus Corpus Christianorum Series Latina CXXVIII Turnhout 1960
Again the first poem is a preface, relatively short, i.e., 9 x Hx.
PRAEFATIO
Prima praefatio nostra uiam erranti demonstrat
Respectumque bonum, cum uenerit saeculi meta,
Aeternum fieri, quod discredunt inscia corda.
Ego similiter erraiu tempore multo
Fana prosequendo parentibus insciis ipsis;
Abstulit me tandem inde legendo de lege,
Testifico Dominum : doleo pro ciuica turba,
Inscia quod pergit periens deos quaerere uanos ;
Ob ea perdoctus ignaros instruo uerum.
NOTE: FAR FROM EPIGRAMMATIC (SEEMINGLY ONLY ADDITIVE IN STRUCTURE).
NEVERTHELESS, the custom of relatively short prefatory verses is of importance for us to trace in any collection

Classical
whose structure survives.


Greek Historians

Couat and Loeb and Cahen, Augustine & James & Émile Alexandrian Poetry under the First three Ptolemies 324–222BC Translated by James Loeb, with a supplementary chapter by Émile Cahen London/NY 1946  The French book stated as '47 years ago' from the 1930 Preface, hence ca 1883.

p.178–198 "The Epigram" contains nothing novel, as we would have expected, adding the confusions of Classicists not au fait with their own societies' modern literatures to those of the French-English divide: P.178 "of an epigram we only demand that it be clever":

Cf. AP vii 447  ὀθωοι or ὀθωοει? Only one makes the required "point".

p.197/8 "quite by itself it occupies the place held in our literature by epigram and sonnet — it comes even closer to the sonnet than to the epigram, both in the nature of its subject matter and in the finish of its workmanship."

881.09 Syd Fish Greek Epigram  Alexandrian

Crusius, Otto Anakreon 1). in RE I,2 2035–2050 1894  Greek Poetry Anacreon

Daly, L.W  Contributions to a History of Alphabetisation in Antiquity and the Middle Ages Bruxelles 1967  

The Garland of Philip certainly was, and that of Meleager was long claimed to be, alphabetically arranged. As often, this sort of early alphabetical order took account only of the first letter.

Alphabet  Alphabeting

Damasus and Ferrua, Pope & Antonio Epigrammata Damasiana recensuit et adnotavit A. Ferrua Vatican 1942  

Let us distil the lengths of poems attributed to this influential Pope, the Gregory Nazianzen of the West as far as the transmission of "epigram" goes. 47 poems are (entirely) hexametric, only 5 elegiac. We are counting 52 whole poems, of which 14, all hexametric, are possibly later imitations and two may have been longer than we assess them as now. There are 23 quite fragmentary poems and 6 more fragments possibly by later hands, these 29 of uncertain length being omitted from our calculations. Counting only the more genuine poems, the most common length for Hx is 7 lines (7 poems, though one of them could have had 8, 9 or even 10 lines), followed by 5 lines (5 poems) 8, 9 & 10 lines (4 poems each). The full range is from 2 lines to 26 (or more) lines, but only 5 poems out of 52 clearly have more than 10 lines. Actually, when the possible spuria are included, the most popular Hx poem lengths are 7 lines (9 or less poems), 10 lines and 5 lines (7+ and 7 poems), and there is another 10 liner among the El poems, which have lengths of: 2 lines, 4 lines, 6 lines, 8 lines, and 10 lines, and only one poem of each "epigrammatic" length, which is indeed striking.

This is the pattern of verse inscriptions most imitated in the poetising North West on the basis of +7C and +8C syllogae. See Addenda for Late Antique and medieval epigram.

BR 65 D34 E6  Latin Christian Epigram  Damasiana


p. 32 "...Friedländer and others have failed to consider the extent to which the monuments mounted on the bases, together with any prose inscriptions, predominated over the epigrams in importance." ... " Hence, the epigrams must be considered, in an important sense, decorative additions to the monuments, and this attitude is precisely what one finds confirmed in three famous epigrams of the period."

Greek Epigram  επι history


Latin Epigram Medieval  ICUR

Deferrari et al, R.J.,  A Concordance of Ovid Washington 1939  References only, not verbal context, for the more common words. Verbs are lemmatised under their citation form, not alphabetically under their conjugational form. The order of references under a general lemma is...
that of the works of Ovid, modified slightly from the traditional one by the editors, to put Metamorphoses before the Fasti.

p.93 3.3.75 At tibi qui transis ne sit grave quisquis amasti / dicere...

871.2 Latin Poetry Ovid concordance

Deichgräber, Karl Polemon (9) von Ilion, der Periheget in RE XXI2 1288–1320 1952 Greek epigraphy Polemo


709.391 Greek Art Aegean Art


Detienne, M. Les savoirs de l’écriture en Grèce ancienne Villeneuve d’Asq 1988 Greek Graphemics De l’écriture

Devambez, P. Antiquité classique in Devambez 1961b p.547–852 1961a Classical Art Classique

Devambez, P. Histoire de l’Art I, Le Monde non-chrétien Paris 1961b Art Art Pléiade


Dickinson, Olivier The Aegean Bronze Age Cambridge 1994

Before summarising the material relevant to pre-Dorian burial customs, let us note that the contribution of a knowledge of the pre-alphabetic burial customs to our understanding of the earliest inscribed Greek graves may always be slim. It is however tempting to try to illuminate the self-understanding of the erectors of the lettered graves by using the archaeology of previous periods in the same area.

It was necessary to try to view some recent survey of pre-Archaic Greek archaeology to check on the generalisations of van *Hall and *Andronikos. As usual, more information does not facilitate understanding, particularly in archaeology, and in this case it did not reveal any simple errors in the discussions of its predecessors. Dickinson is elaborate and slightly skeptical, and well illustrated — seemingly a competent and independent guide.

P. 208 Burial customs in general

"Accounts of practice have tended to be normative, minimising variations observable within cemeteries, and to focus on features of tomb construction and types of object found, but have rarely related these to ritual/ceremonial considerations; a rather pragmatic picture has been the result. Systematic studies of social and ritual dimensions of burial customs are at last beginning to be undertaken, but few studies have been published so far."

P. 209

"There is a high degree of variability in burial form in the Aegean, but underlying this variability are many elements of uniformity in custom. Most obviously, until the Postpalatial period [beginning somewhere in the ~13C? P.M.Mc] virtually all burials were inhumed; cremations are so rare as to invite special explanations."

P. 212 Crete and the Minoan region

"Although two major types of tomb, the predominantly south Cretan circular tombs and the rectilinear 'house tombs' of the north and east, have received extended study, the amount of detail available on individual tombs and cemeteries varies considerably, and even where contents are well published there is often little but a vague estimate of the number of burials, with no data on age or sex. ... It is noteworthy how often funerary material is grouped in specific areas which show considerable continuity."

P. 215

"Apart from the types of tomb already mentioned, many others occur sporadically in the Prepalatial Period. The Neolithic tradition of using caves and rock shelters continued in north and east Crete, and even fissures in the rock..."
might contain burial remains, as at Mallia. Cists, pits and simple interments are sometimes reported; at Ayia Photia they are rare occurrences among the large cemetery of rock-cut chamber tombs, itself a unique type for the period, and may have been used only for children's burials, but on Pseira they are quite common (Catling 1989: 106; French 1990: 76). It seems rare for any type to have been used for only one or a few burials; however, from EM III onwards [-2,300?] the custom of placing the skeletal remains of individuals in clay pithoi and lamakes (coffin-like lidded tubs) became increasingly common in all parts of Crete, although these could also hold collected parts of several burials."

P. 220  Helladic region before the Mycenaean Period

"Evidence of burial customs from the mainland, almost all apparently relating to 'Lerna III' (EH II), [-2900 to -2650?] is startlingly varied."

P. 222

"Careful study has suggested that some of the Lerna graves had markers; traces of such a custom have rarely been noticed elsewhere, but the general impression is that, like the provision of grave-goods and the reuse of a grave (hardly ever more than once), it was rare. Along with variations in the size and quality of graves and other details of burial, these features may represent distinctions in status..."

p.229  Mycenaean

"There is evidence for rites associated with the funeral, though none is as well documented as one would like. Normally a burial would be laid out on the tomb floor or placed directly in a pit or built grave, with goods arranged about it. The occurrence of drinking vessel fragments in association with tombs, especially in dromoi, has often been interpreted as indicating some kind of libation or toasting ceremony to the dead. The scenes of the Tanagra lamakes (Pl. 6.2) suggest a procession to the grave, with ritual lamenting by female mourners, very much as on the monumental Athenian vases of the eighth century, and given the requirements for mourning by kinswomen in Classical Greek practice it seems likely that this was a very old and widely observed custom. But there are no traces of any general cult of the dead, and the position even in special cases like Grave Circle A /p.230 at Mycenae remains unclear: the so-called 'altar' certainly seems from the stratigraphical data to be a feature of the original use of the circle in the sixteenth century, not a constant site of cult activity through into later Mycenaean times" (Dickinson 1877: 47).

p. 231

"To a great extent the Postpalatial Period in the Aegean saw the continuation of the older customs. Cremation became a minority rite at several centres, but normally such cremations are represented by pots containing ash, found alongside inhumations within tombs of the traditional types; only a tumulus recently found at Khania near Mycenae (Catling 1985: 210), which held pot-cremations exclusively, seems a new type of tomb, though its contents are purely Mycenaen. The rite is commonest on Aegean islands and coasts, as at Perati (where the ashes within pots often seem to belong to two or more persons, Musgrave 1990: 285), on Rhodes and on Crete, but isolated examples can occur in chamber tombs as far away as Elis (Agrapidochori) and Achaea (Kallithea). The chamber tomb remained the dominant sort of tomb..."

P. 232

Apart from the introduction of cremation, customs remained much as before, although the range and value of goods placed with the dead continually decreased and many types eventually disappeared. As in other fields, Crete preserved more of its BA traditions into the Dark Age than other areas of Greece, although group burial also continued to be practised in the small stone-built tombs of Thessaly and Messenia. But the association of particular types of tomb with 'ethnic' or tribal groups remains hazardous, and other explanations need to be sought for the changes. In Cyprus, however, the appearance of chamber tombs of Aegean type and of cremations, generally in tombs of this type and contained in amphorae, at the very end of the BA may plausibly be associated with the immigration of Greek-speakers, though, as earlier in the Dodecanese and Crete, they rarely contained more than two burials (Vandenabeele 1987).

Old Mediterranean Archaeology  Bronze Aegean

Diehl, Erich  Ion 12) Ion aus Samos  in RE IX.2 — 1916

Easily confused with the more widely known and very prolific Ion of Chios. Wilamowitz strongly suggested that the one poetic inscription which used to make the Samian Ion so famous (among students of epigram, at least) proved that he was an oligarch in exile. This epigram was for a dedication of Lysander at Delphi, a statue, for the latter's victories of 405/4 against Athens. It is still claimed by some to be the first surviving inscriptional sphragis of a poet. There had been a century and a half of (prose) artists' signatures before Ion, sculptors and potter/painters. His elegiac poem ends: εξημου [= έκ Σαμου] ἀμφώτριτης τεῦξε ἐλεγείου "Iou. Diehl suspects that it was this Ion who wrote the AP VII 43 epitaph on Euripides, as the Chian would have predeceased E. See Athen X 463B. Also some verses in Kleonides isagoge har. 12. p. 282 Jan, Diels Vorsokratiker I.3 288n" (=1.5 p.381 n° 6, by which time Diels is lengthily quoted against the authenticity of the ascription, and even against the early date given by Wilamowitz): P.381 1.5 n° 6— Diels... über die Verse (4 verses, incomplete) "Sie sind nach Inhalt und Form weder dem Ion von Chios noch dem von Samos zuzutrauen. Andererseits hat natürlich Kleonides diese ganze Partie aus alter Tradition genommen. Da nun das vorhergehende Terpanderfragment, das denselben Stoff behandelt, nachweislich in alexandrinischer Zeit (vermutlich von einem Pythagoreer) gefälscht ist und dieses wiederum durch das vertrackte πυθαγορεια mit dem berühmtten Dekret der Spartaner gegen Timotheos zusammenhängt (es handelt sich auch hier wieder um die Leiersaiten), so ist dies ganze Zitatennest der Unechtheit verdächtig (gegen Classical
Wilamowitz Timoth. S. 75.1). Das Epigramm ist übrigens, wie Z. 8 πρώτο μέν zeigt, nur teilweise zitirt. Über die falschen Aeolismen vgl. zu 44 B 23: Pomtow's stone epigram on Arakos the Spartan J 405 may also be by this Ion. So might the anonymous verses in Diod. XI 14. Thus the powerful opinion of Wilamowitz and Diehl.

WARNING: the dating of Ion's poem has long been felt by epigraphers to be 50–100 years later than the 402 BCE monument and its prose epigraphy, see Hansen CEG ii p.224ff. esp. p.226. Such later addition of a finished poem was quite common in the Classical period. An early –4C signed inscription of a Symmachus CEG (ii) no 888 may then be the earliest such authorial sphragis on stone. Ion's could be as late as 300 BCE, and thus all Wilamowitz's theorising is futile. Roux and Pomtow had sounded the alarm by 1906, apparently ignored or discounted by Wilamowitz but belatedly accepted by Hansen. See also no 189, 889 of CEG (ii) and the post –4C signed poems also noted there.

Greek Epigram Ion of Samos

Diehl, Ernst Poetarum romanorum veterum reliquiae selegit... Berlin 1961 Kleine Texte 69

12 Naevii "Inmortales mortales..." Gell 1,24,2
58 Pacuvii "Adulescens tametsi properas..." Gell 1,24,4
164 Plauti Gell 1,24
149 Q. Lutatius Catulus Epigrammata Gell 19,9,14
149 Pomplius Epigrammata Varro Ling 7,28
148 Valerius Aedituus Epigrammata Gell 19,9,11; 19,9,12
871.08 1/1 Latin Epigram Reliquiae romanae


Greek Vorsokratiker

Dihle, Albrecht Die griechische und lateinische Literatur der Kaiserzeit. Von Augustus bis Justinian München 1989

Befitting the Carl Beck series in which it appears, this is a semi-popular work in the German tradition, which means still quite a solid work, but lacking the full fury of the Teutonic footnote. It is indicative of the personal project of the author that he combines Greek and Latin literature, and that he is happy to study the still-denigrated period of later antiquity. The bilingual Roman Empire is taken as a cultural unity, up to its brief revival under Justinian.

P.136 Epigrammatik. A brief potted history. Like Trypanis and Fraser, D. tends to accept very early dates for contested phenomena, e.g., collections of verse inscriptions by the –5C, the fictive epitaph by a Theokritos and many others (now lost) in the –4C, the term epigramma meaning "witzige Pointe" as early as the –3C. (All this p.137 — perhaps over credulity may stem from the synthetic and popular mode of composition, as hyper-criticism seems to be in that of the detailed refereed article). The major Hellenistic poets all were said to have written epigrams. P. 138: «Keine literarische Gattung hat eine so lange und ungebrochene Tradition gehabt wie das literarische Epigramm. Sie umfaßt auf griechischer Seite die ganze byzantinische Zeit.»

Also, from the early Hellenistic era public inscriptions had been collected for antiquarian motives, and thus were available through literary channels. The Roman scene in literary epigram (thus assumed to have been much more continuous than the gap after Martial would suggest) is not so richly documented as the Greek, since the collections are not rich. (Dihle means, from literary sources, it seems). The 7C Codex Salmasianus is taken to have retained many genuine epigrams of major poets (Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Germanicus and Seneca), some of whom also wrote in Greek, and its omission of Catullus' epigrams is most remarkable. The addition of medieval collections to this MS to make the ca.1900 Anthologia Latina is taken as a valid attempt to illustrate the ease with which Romans took to the genre. The 14C Humanists are said to have taken "just as easily" to the genre, because of their familiarity with the poetic language of the great authors. This does not explain why the Latin 12C did not jump at the genre.

Kaiserzeit


Das Denkmal-Epigram — Raubitschek
Epigramma ed elegia — B. Gentili
Sympotic literature and Epigram — Giangrande
Les Épigrammes satiriques de Lucilii sur les athlètes: parodie et réalités — L. Robert
Die Kunst der Variation im hellenistischen Liebesepigram — W. Ludwig
Aspects gnomiques de l'épigramme grecque — Labarbe
Witz und Sentiment im griechischen Epigramm — Luck
Greek Epigram Hardt épigramme
Donohoe, A. A. *Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture* (APA) Atlanta Georgia 1988

Greek Art *Xoana*


Greek Epigram Forensic *Verse in Trials*

Eichler, F. *Σήμα und μνήμα in älteren griechischen Grabinschriften* in Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts (Athenische Abteilung) XXXIX 1914 p.138ff. 1914

Greek Epigraphy Burial *Sema mnema*

Elian and Bălan and Chircă and Diaconescu, Alexandru &Constantin & Haralambie & Olimpia *Inscriptile Medievale ale Romaniei cu studiu introductiv, Repertoriu cronologic, note explicative, indicații bibliografice și indici Volumul I 1395–1800 București 1965* 1253 numberd inscriptions, predominantly in languages other than Rumanian: Greek, Armenian, Latin, Old Slavonic, Arabic, Turkish, Hebrew, German, Hungarian, and in all the scripts naturally suggested by that list of languages. There is not much before the 18C, it would seem, on a cursory survey.

Formularies are common, easier to pick as inscriptions are to some extent grouped. See n° 70ff for "Under this plaque...". *Supt această piatră...*. See n°237 p.300 for 12 x Greek Elegiacs plus a line of final prose, of 1723 CE. See n° 332 for the common formula "If you desire to know who lies here...".

Q417 /3 Syd Fish *Romanian Epigraphy* Arabic Old Slavic Turkish Hebrew Hungarian

*Rumanian inscriptions 1*

Ernout, A. *Recueil de textes latins archaïques* Paris = 1957 1966

Old Latin *Latin Archaique*


CN 750 D52

Ferrua, Antonio *Sigilli su Calce nelle Catacombe* Vatican 1986

P. 72–73 discussion of XMI. The cult of initials seems to be late antique and Byzantine.

165 stamps are studied, including the 12 illegible ones. Most are of men, whose tria (26 stamps) and duo nomina (20 or so stamps) seem to escape cases other than the nominative, however, there are a dozen clear names of women: 5 in nominative; 4 genitive; 1 vocative; 2 uncertain. The stampings on clay on the tombs have been claimed to be of the fossatores, but Ferrua states that they are of parents/proprietors. P. 112 deals with the minority of inscriptions which are acclamations, little "Sprüche" which were to have a great future in epigraphy and to become metrical at least in oral use at the Byzantine court. The practice of sealing tombs occurs in the NT, Matt. 27,66 signantes lapidem....

CN 535 F47 *Catacomb Seals* *Catacomb seals*

Ferrua, Antonio *The Unknown Catacomb, A Unique Discovery of Early Christian Art* New Lanark Scotland 1991 (1990 Florence) The chance discovery in the Via Latina in 1955 has been painstakingly excavated and has made much contribution to the history of artistic motifs.

Short general introduction on catacombs. Many paintings dated to a period from 310–410 CE. P. 152–154 attempts to date by formulary of inscriptions. The Catacomb mainly used 310–360CE and the inscriptions have mostly been lost, as they were in the arcosolia, in the upper chambers, for wealthy deceased. Down below where preservation has been better, the uninscribed poor were buried.

New Book 1931998 Via Latin Catacomb *Via Latina Catacomb*

Firatli and Robert, Nezih & L. *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romain* 1964

All come between the –4C and the +4C, and the majority between the –2C and the +1C.

Greek Epigraphy *Stèles Byzance*

Fowler, Barbara Hughes *The Hellenistic Aesthetic* Madison Wisconsin 1989 Parallel discussion of literature and art.

The simple technique herein employed is to divide what she calls "affects" into chapter headings, and to exhaust an author (illustrating with art works) before going to the next author. Thus single authors tend to become...
Fraser, P.M. *Ptolemaic Alexandria* Oxford 1972 V 1 Text, V 2 voluminous notes (including Greek texts), V 3 Indices.

P.608 roll publication assumed for all authors referred to later in the terms: "in their Epigrams", for which see then n° 405 (p.859 Vol. 2) — Hedylus, Posidippus, Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Nicaenetus of Samos, Philetas of Cos. "No sign of publication in the -4C, and it existed by the time of Posidippus". This page concludes the study of literary epigram and (up to p.617) turns to the better papyrus and stone epigrams, anonyma, 5 papyrus epigrams and 9 stone epigrams only.

Papyri typically preserve anonymous epigrams for their literary merit. The "finality" of stone epigrams does not so prioritise pure literary merit, and the survival of the latter is even more chancy. Papyrus epigrams occur from the -3C, and are not particularly funerary, whereas the stones are, and are sprinkled over the entire period continuously. Verse inscriptions found in the chora were often, no doubt, composed in the capital.

F. quotes 5-3C papyrus poems, which use inscriptional topoi and seem mostly (apart from the funeral elegy of Philicus) to have been intended for stone.

p.612 turns to stone. These are predominantly funerary, and few, barely 50 for the three centuries or more of Ptolemaic Egypt. They may have been the preserve of quite wealthy patrons. Tombstones of the Alexandrian -3C are predominantly figured, but with the curtest epigraphy (name of deceased). The very rare epigrams seem to have been on plaques. [n.b., it was an old Egyptian custom to have smallish inscribed plaques without iconography, most of which appeal to the living for some sort of aid: C. Müller, ANRUF]. Even consolatory epitaphs seem to have been added only in the Augustan age. Interestingly, the few early surviving epigrams surviving seem not to echo the surviving "great Alexandrian poets", though some of this occurs later (n° 444) when they had become classics.

"Epigrams" can be seen as growing longer and longer. There are few surviving epigrams from the -2C, for which we have to go to Syria. Julius Leonidas in the +1C is of no significance, and Palladas in the Byzantine era is isolated. He did not gather around him Egyptian writers of talent as did Nonnus, by which time "the epigram had become the representative poetic medium of Byzantion itself, in the hands of consuls and other high officers of state." (p.617).

MORE GENERALLY AND SPORADICALLY

P.306/7 Deals with the obvious fact that there already existed in the -4C many of the influences canonised by the Ptolemies in the -3C, and then forever associated with their era. Particularly the court intellectuals and the patronage of libraries.

Ch. 10 iii p.553-167 deals with "the epigram". Vol.2 p. 794 n° 34 has something on Philetas of Cos, then the main three are said to have been Asclepiades, Posidippus (a public epigrammatist) and Hedylus. V 2 p.809 n°115 assigns early fictive epitaph to "Plato".

V 1 p.567 (and V 2 p.809 n°120) on AP vii 11 = Gow 942— "not liminary or even prefatory but a new 'commendatory' genre". Cf. n° 129 Gow 3099 from Papyrus Didot.

P. 575 lists the three later epigrammatists of influence, [Theocritus], Callimachus and Dioscorides, and immediately omits Theocritus. No early reference to his epigrams survives and PMF is unusually demanding. p.574 notes that the "epigrammatists" can be taken, at least for the most part, to have written poetry in other genres and metres.

V 2 p. 821 n° 183 notes from Reitzenstein's Ep. u. Sk p.87 an interpretation of the sympotic Callimachean phrase σιννει καιρα συγγελάσαι. Callimachus is taken not to have been personally (or in his literary persona) a carouser, and this is taken as a technical term (approved by PMF) for the important word παίζειν. There is a differentiation between άοδης and παίζειν.

V 1 p. 577 Callimachus' self-epitaph (he wrote more epitaphs than the others) AP vii 415 or Gow 1185—

V 1 p.580 the funerary elegy (not epitaph) for Herakleitos vii 465 = Gow 1935— Note again 1.3 γράφαμα διακρίναντες, a graphological topos taken up by Cavafy — see V 2 n° 210.

In general, PMF distinguishes REAL from DERIVATIVE epitaphs and PMF is unusually demanding. p.574 notes that the "epigrammatists" can be taken, at least for the most part, to have written poetry in other genres and metres.

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V 1 p. 595 passes over Theaetetus and Damagetus to get to the last important pre-Imperial Alexandrian epigrammatist, Dioscorides. RE by Reitzenstein the best treatment coll. 1125–8. Abusive epigrams AP xii 42 = Gow 1523—, and a new genre, openly fictive literary epitaphs in series on the "great writers", p. 599. It is likely, despite the lack of hard evidence for illustrated papyri (in Greek) so early, that these were intended to be published under small pictures of such great men, instituting a millennial literary custom.

V 1 p. 606 makes the important point that Dioscorides, like Asclepiades, was primarily (it seems) an epigrammatist.

V 1 p. 607 & V 2 p. 858/9 n° 403/4 deal with the famous P Lond Lit 60 (verso) early -3C and its promise of: ομεικτα ἐπιγράμματα Ποσεδίππι. On the papyri note: P Harris 56; P Teb. 3; P Oxy = P Lond Lit 61 Page GLP 107, also Barns CQ 44 [1950] p.135 & Kirkwood TAPA 92 1960 p.278—

U912.32 280 2 Greek Epigram AP *Ptolemaic Alexandria*

Fraser, P.M. *Rhodian Funeral Monuments* Oxford 1977

Greek Epigraphy Burial *Rhodian*
Greek Latin Hebrew Epigraphy CIJ


A long period is covered by these finds (presumably dedicatory). 32 of the examples are fairly useful, in that they are all lacking in any inscription. Such seems to be the case generally with ivories, cross culturally and cross millennia.

736.6 10 Greek Phoenician Egyptian Ivories Seals Samian ivories

Friedländer and Hoffleit, P. & H.B. Epigrammata, Greek Inscriptions in Verse From the Beginnings to the Persian Wars Chicago (= Lond/Berkeley 1948) 1987
Greek Epigram Epigrammata

Greek Pythagorean

Fuchs, W. Zu Neufunden klassisch-griechische Skulptur Wiesbaden 1987
Greek Art New sculpture

Gaisser, Julia Haig Catullus and his Renaissance Readers Oxford 1993
The construction of our present "book" said to be three or more libelli joined only at the codex stage:
Book I — poems 1–60 — 848 lines
II — poems 61–64 — 795 lines
III— poems 65–116 — 646 lines, included "elegies and epigrams" and presumed to have been so entitled. See also *Harington, *Wheeler, *Metteer and *Ferguson on Catullus ?874.2? Latin epigram Books Renaissance Catullus

Gallavotti, C. Metri e ritmi nelle iscrizioni greche Roma? 1979
Greek Prosody Epigraphy lyric?

Greek Epigraphy Revision

Galling, Kurt Tafel, Buch und Blatt in Goedicke 1971 p. 207–223
There is mention in long-known Assyrian colophons that in the time of Sargon and Sanherib the astrological series of omens entitled Enuma Anu Enlil was transferred from wooden tablets to the more expected clay tablets. In 1953 luxury edition of these omens was found in a shaft at Nimrod on tablets both of ivory and of walnut wood, 33.8 x 15.6 cm in dimension. Fn°4 fills us in on relevant journal articles concerning the methods and surfaces of writing in Israel, as known up to the 1960s.

WOODEN TABLETS p. 208
These can be single, folding face to face, hinged etc. While three of the woods used for tablets in influential Babylonia (tamarisk, cypress and walnut) also occur naturally in Israel, grave finds in the Israel indicate that other woods were used for furniture. It would seem that wood was the material expected in very ancient writing tablets because of the way the tablets of the Decalogue are so explicitly noted to have been "of stone", 'even. Thus it seems that luchot or luchot (tablet or tablets) used without any modifying expression (usually a clarifying noun, in the construct case, following "tablet-") implied that normal tablets were of wood. Luchotayim, dual, were presumably diptychs, which in Ez. 27:5 mean ships planks (if the text is sound), presumably either because these are laid in mirror images of each other, each side of a keel, or because they overlapped clinker style for watertightness (Galling Classical

Fraser and Matthews and The British Academy P.M. & E. A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names ed. by ... Volume I The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica Oxford 1987
P. 382/3 have Pos(e)idippos names in quantity.

GREEK PERSONAL NAMES I

Galling, Kurt Tafel, Buch und Blatt in Goedicke 1971 p. 207–223
There is mention in long-known Assyrian colophons that in the time of Sargon and Sanherib the astrological series of omens entitled Enuma Anu Enlil was transferred from wooden tablets to the more expected clay tablets. In 1953 luxury edition of these omens was found in a shaft at Nimrod on tablets both of ivory and of walnut wood, 33.8 x 15.6 cm in dimension. Fn°4 fills us in on relevant journal articles concerning the methods and surfaces of writing in Israel, as known up to the 1960s.

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takes the second possibility as the only likely one, but Casson reconstruct Mediterranean hulls not as clinker built, but as made of planks bound edge to edge!). Debates on the dual form may be otiose, as, on the evidence of the versions, the dual could be a textual corruption. I Kings 7: 37 mentions Temple "plates" in the plural, *luchot*, mainly for the pictures of animals and trees engraved on them. *Luach* means, then, board, plank, tablet, though writing tablet is a very common specialisation, as in Habakuk 2: 2 — *luchot* which are to be publicly displayed with their *inscriptions*, and the inscriptive aspects of legibility, prominence and proclamation are as strong here as they are in any Greek epitaph or honorific epigraph. Galling assumes that these particular *luchot* are only two, forming a hinged wooden diptich, as is common for larger tablets in many periods [and, P.M.Mc., like the pair of tablets buried face to face in, or in front of the mature Chinese tomb].

Isaiah 30:8 (from not long before 701 BCE?) puts (probably into synonymous parallelism) writing on a (sg.) *luach* and engraving on a *sepher* (vulg. "book", but really any writing surface) to publicise and eternalise an inscriptive message. Galling rejects the opinion (intended to save the later meaning of "sepher") that this implies two texts, a public one on wood, backed up by an archival one on leather. Double texts are implied by the pairs of scribes found in Assyrian reliefs (see below) but there need not be two texts here. The common word to write, KTB, is here used in Isaiah for the *luach*, taken as a collective singular, but the specific word for engraving, gouging, *scribing*: *hāqaq* or *hāqā*, is used for the *sepher*, which must thus be of hard material in this context, as would *luach*, if they are of the type whitened with chalk. Thus both halves of the expression seem to refer to stylus on hard surface. The need for double texts was either the bilingualism of the culture or the need for an available (or sendable) document and another for the archives. Only the latter motive seems relevant to Is. 30:8, and it is not necessarily what he intended. The duplication can be mere poetic elaboration of a command referring to only one written surface, for one single purpose.

Galling seems to leave undecided many matters concerning the corruption of the MT, some supporting his opinions, some not. He goes on to Greek usage through the loanword *pndgs* in Shabbat XII, 5. As in Iliad VI, 168 f. *en pinaki pytktō*, a dipich is probably meant. The word *deltos* ("door") is more common in Greek for "folded tablets", see Her. VII, 239, Aristophanes Thesm. 776. Euripides Iph Taur 727 speaks of many-doored folds of writing tablets. It has long been thought that *deltos* is a Semitic loan from *delet*, "door". A -5C variant evidenced from Cyprus and implied to be significant is *daltot*.

In Jer. 36:23 the famous picture is presented of Yehudi the reader throwing a document "leaf" by "leaf* into a brazier. The word translated "leaf" in the Koren "Jerusalem" Bible is *dlatot*, "doors", but as the document must have been a roll, not a codex, it had no pre-set leaves. Thus it must have been "column by column" (or groups of columns by groups of columns), involving cutting off sections of the roll (papyrus? for easy burning?) as each column was read. The word here used for *column* must have been further specialised from the meaning of *deltos* "side of a diptich". "Column" of course etymologically means (inscribed) *pillar*. The diminutive "columella* means little pillar, but is said to be first evidenced to us in its now-familiar derived meaning, "column of writing", quite late, in Rufinus apol. adv. Hier. 2: 36. Indeed, in PHI #5.3 it occurs 52 times. Only about half of these are common nouns, and the latter all refer to *architectural columns*, these mostly in lengthily architectural contexts.

*Megilla* is the Hebrew word for "book roll", *meqil* in Aramaic, and it occurs in late Babylonian (Persian period) as *magallatu*, meaning a leather roll. *Luach* and *delet* — Babylonian, Anatolian, Levantine and Aegaean.

A Lachish letter (nº 4) says "I have noted everything on the tablet ("lhdlt") exactly as my lord commanded me to do." In Ugarit we find once, on the reverse of a clay tablet the single word *dlt*, taken here as meaning "exercise tablet". Also in Ugarit we find twice *lh*, and more often the feminine *lht* (no plural is found in Ugaritic remains) and seeing that only clay tablets seem to have been used there, the word must have that meaning. On the basis of the phrase *lh tlm*, the Ugaritic term *lht spr* is not to be translated "letter tablet", but "tablet containing a *spr*," which latter word seems to mean, in its use at Ugarit, as it most likely does etymologically, a *list* of persons or of items. See well below here.

In Babylonian letters from Sargon to a commandant in Ur, of Aramaean descent, we find that the subaltern has previously asked to be allowed to write his letter on a leather surface (i.e., therefore, and also, from the comments of the King in reply to him, in his own, Aramaic language): *ina lbbi sipri*. In another letter the phrase *ina nibzi arma-a-a* does not clearly indicate to us the material on which the Aramaic writing is made, but such is commonly on skins. Akkadian *nibzu* (also found in Aramaic) is an term like *sepher* in the OT, indifferent to the sort of writing surface. The same indifference applies (in the older language) to *egirta* Heb. *qiggeret*.

Illustrations from —9/8C Assyrian reliefs show scribes, working in pairs for accuracy, writing on clay and wood tablets, and also on leather and papyrus, in the same scene. The former pair of surfaces was for cuneiform, the latter for alphabetic Aramaic. Galling claims to be able to tell the differences between pictured leather and papyrus from Classical
faint indications in the way they hang in reliefs. Ez. 9: 2 & 11 has the word QST, the Egyptian writing box, geset. A beardless scribe on a 730 orthostat from Cingirli has one of these objects in his left hand, containing no doubt brush and ink. Thus he was using either relatively permanent whitened diptychs (of wood) as writing surface, or those smooth ones that are more easily wiped and reused: Num. 5:23 and Ps. 69: 20 (sic. — actually, line 29, not line 20)— umahah el mey hammarim, and he shall blot out (the curse he has just written) with the bitter water, yimmaṭu missepher hayim, "let them be blotted out of the 'book' of the living".

"BOOK" p. 217

Sepher in Hebrew, from the verb SPR, tell out, count, account for, has many meanings, from letter (kätab sepher) to writing surface (kätab 'al sepher) to script or manner of writing, as in Daniel 1: 4, where sepher is twinned with lashing as two things which youths must learn to do "like the Chaldaeans". The term sepher does not specify what surface its writing is on. It can be papyrus, leather or ostracon, the latter inked though, rather than scratched on (cf. Lachish letter n° 3). Perhaps it can be clay as well. Stamped clay bullae are being found from the time of Jeremiah. In Job sepher once obviously means hard stone.

Papyrus surfaces are poorly evidenced for pre-exilic Israel, but must have been common enough. (Note p. 218 has quite a few misprints which I was able to pick without chasing every matter and reference to its sources, and that the complex arguments of previous pages may hide others.) Literary references: Jer. ch. 36, the burned roll is assumed to have been papyrus, shakily, I think: leather also burns, and the roll was not used to start a fire, but was cast, in fragments, into an already glowing brazier. Equally doubtful to me is the unexplained claim that the roll of the end of Ez. ch. 2, written on both sides, is papyrus (because the prophet is able to eat it??). At least Galling shows some doubt that the twenty cubit by ten cubit flying roll of Zechariah ch. 5 is papyrus. Of course, any 5 x 10 m scroll would have to be (imagined to be) made of papyrus, if it is to be taken in realistic mode rather than as vaguely visionary.

Archaeological remains

Galling claims some papyrus remains of the 8C from Wadi Murabbaṭ and some 4C remains from a cave called Abu Sinjeh east of Samaria, and of course, impressions of now decayed papyrus documents survive on the backs of clay bullae from Lachish and, (P.M.Mc., see Glueck, above) from the area of Eilat, both from the period of the kings. Odyssey xxi mentions a hawser as a hoplon byblimon, i.e., made of papyrus, as Herod. V, 58 calls chartes byblos/biblos. Herod. VII 34 says that the large ropes for Xerxes' bridge were supplied by Egyptians (of papyrus) and by Phoenicians (of hemp). It seems that papyrus writing materials did not become common among the Asia Minor Ionians until the 7C. The 500 imported papyrus rolls mentioned in 1076 in the story of Wenamoon could well have been mats.

Jud. 1:12 and Jos. 15:15 mention a desert town south of Hevron called qiryat sepher, in Gk Kariathisophar, or polis grammaton. Albright opts for tell beit mirsim as a localisation for this ancient site, where Galling himself worked in 1930 as a digger. Noth however chose to identify this Biblical site with tell jarrāme, and Galling prefers chibret rabūd, where surface surveys indicate a bronze age date. The business of a town so named in the old sources must have been the special preparation of leather as a writing surface. In Ezr. 2: 55 we read of a clan descended from the slaves of Solomon who are entitled bēnē hasṣōperet, interpreted as "descendants of those whose trade is the preparation of skins". A sopher is thus, here, taken as one who physically makes a sepher.

Even when papyrus became commoner, leather (and as we have noted in Qumran, metal) would have been preferred for archivage and for letters which had to be sent long distances. Presumably the old scroll found by Josiah 2 Kings 22: 8 ff and Dtn. 31: 24 ff is a good example of the former use, and the letter of Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylon and their response (Jer. 29: 1 ff. and 25 ff) would have been examples of the second, as would the

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2 P.M.Mc. — I have traced this (alleged) equivalence (only) as far back as R.J. Williams Scribal Training in Ancient Egypt: An Egyptologist Looks at the Old Testament Congress memorial volume: Edinburgh 1974 (VT Sup 28; Leiden 1975, p. 238–252. Crenshaw in JBL 1985 p. 610 n° 37 gives Williams the responsibility of equating Heb. geset with Eg. gsti and that author also reads the Heb. term deyo in Jer. 36: 18 as a copyst's error for reyo, which "might also be an Egyptian loanword" p. 239. No doubt Egyptologists could point to a longer ancestry for the equation. Enthusiasm for making links between Egyptian and Semitic waxes and wanes, and was at a nadir during my short time in "the field". The linking of geset with the alleged geset intrigues me in itself: the former word is an unexplained hapaq in the MT, the latter not in MT. Nor is it exactly available to me in Egyptian: P. 292 of Paulkner's A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian does give a homonym, gst, from the verb "to run", gst, meaning 1. speed and 2. a run, a course, but only in the form cited as "gsty" does anything of the like mean "scribe's palette". It would be interesting for comparative attitudes to scribes and to the spread of clichés concerning scribes if the etymology of Egyptian geset and gesity were both from the verb gesty, as scribes in action become a literary topos for rapidity and fluency of operation. Classical
document for the exiles of the North, Jer. 30–31. Sanherib and Merodach-Baladan both sent letters to Hiskiah, and Galling argues that as it was Assyrian and Babylonian practice to use Aramaic to outlying provinces, these would then have been on leather, not on clay (clay involving cuneiform script). In 2 Kings 19: 14 and Isaiah 37: 15 we read that such letters could be unrolled and spread out. Letters sent in duplicate or triplicate are called "letters" in the plural (which does not seem surprising!) — 1 Kings 21: 8 ff, and 11; 2 Kings 10: 1 ff and 6. Details of the singular and plural of the words for documents can be found on p. 220 of Galling.

The " Annals " consulted and quoted by the Deuteronomist were surely leather, not tablets, and thus like the archives of the Persian court (Esr. 4: 15; g: 1f), and the documents deposited in Jerusalem listing the sacred vessels returned in Esr. 1: 7 – 11. The " sopher " in Jer. 50: 61 seems to be a single sheet, and, as it is to be sunk in the Euphrates, is probably leather, not papyrus.

" SHEET " p. 221

Isaiah 8: 1 mentions a strange word, vocalised in the MT as gillayön. It is however translated "great roll" in the Koren "Jerusalem" bilingual Bible. The fewness of the words commanded to be written on it are in favour of Galling's understanding of it as "sheet", and the word comes from gālā, "smooth, polish", though some tentatively take it from gālāl. He goes on to emend the MT more thoroughly than most to achieve gilīyôn gōrdāl, fate-sheet. He takes the purpose of the writing as being that of an inscription into a sort of Jerusalem register of births, of a sort common at the time, for which see Jer. 22: 30. His arguments are of the usual, esoteric sort, based on assumptions piled on assumptions of the relationships among the versions and variants, GaDoL from GoRaL (R and D often confused in square script), and kainou from klerou. B and S even see in the "sheet" a wooden tablet. Aquila (diphtheroma), Th (kephalis) and perhaps Sym (teuchos) see a leather sheet, or larger. Just as late as these is the Mishna's unreliable interpretation of the plural gilīyōnim as the outer margins of a roll (leather or parchment) commonly left unlettered. Galling plumbs for papyrus, with D. Diringer, G.R. Driver prefers a tablet. Can the writing instrument, a "stylus of a common man", help us decide on the writing material here?

Galling again wants to emend, from be heret anōs to beberet anātā, same consonants of course, making the meaning the opposite, "with a soft stylus". This reconstruction is supposed, "for causes of metre"(!), to have been used as a periphrasis for the commonest word for writing implement in Hebrew, 'et. That the latter is commonly soft is indicated by Jer 17: 1, (strangely and daringly linked to an interpretation of the "stony hearts" of Ez. 11: 19 and 36: 26) and of course, Job 19: 26 again, where a stylus for graffito or inscribing is qualified as being "of iron", 'et barzel.

Scribe? — Sopher again p. 222

Jer. 8: 8 suggests the ancient existence of official Torah scribes, as there are still today in Jewish culture. However, as anyone who has pursued the meaning of titles through many centuries of any culture (such as marshal in Frankish-English courts, protopapas in Byzantium), one is not surprised to realise that sōphēr, like mazklr (teller, accountant, and speaker) can be the name of a high official without clearly indicating his activities, which can in addition change considerably through time. The sopher of Jer. 36, of 2 Kings 12: 11; 19: 2; 22: 3 & 8 & 12 is clearly a Grand Vizier. Later, in the Persian period, "scribes" are close assistants to regional governors (Esr. 4: 8 ff; & 17 & 23; Neh. 13: 13). The provincial and financial "scribes" of the texts from the Elephantine are close parallels. No doubt literate, such sopherim were more like managerial types than scribes of profession. Sōphēr māhīr may not mean a "skilled scribe" either (i.e., fast, rapid writing tradesman) but a politically and socially savvy high official. Ps. 45: 2 may not present this term with the same meaning as it has when used as a title for Minister Achikar. Papyrus Anastasi has a st mhr, but this occurs in a military context, and a tpr ydp, = sōphēr yōde3, knowledgeable scribe (?). The first decision is whether these terms are common descriptions or technically used as titles, always difficult to determine from ancient languages which lack any linguistically flagged technical lexicon, as English has with its own always exotic "technical" register, obviously redolent of a Greek or Latin origin.

The second problem is, if they are titles, what precisely does such a title mean in that context. In the Aramaic text reported in Esr. 7: 12 (from Artaxerxes II) Esra is called (entitled officially?) "Scribe of the Law of the God of heaven". Esr. 7: 6 brings a phrase of perhaps less official tone, but still a title or an indication of a very small class: "Skilled writer in the Law of Moses", perhaps a scribe specialised in Law, like the Rabbis of the Mishna.

Galling implies (lengthily) that for the real meaning of simple-looking titles one must know the structure of honours at each place and time — which anyone other than a scholar lost in the book learning of one period would have realised from the start.

ANE Writing Materials Tafel-Buch-Blatt

The honest struggles of an American scholar to read Meleagran erotica as anything his own culture would accept as being romantic or "genuine". These commendable labours would have been much lightened by a glance at "love poetry" in oriental literatures, even in translation. Their severity seems strange in our 20C, when neo-Alexandrian artifice has elevated writers like T.S. Eliot and James Joyce to the literary pantheon. Any attempt to bridge the widening gap between vernacular literatures and the Classics, without any more generous world perspective, is indeed now a perilous and curious one.

PA 3123 G3 1978

Geffcken, J. Meleagros (7 von Gadara in RE 15.1 (1931) col.481–488

Recommends Radinger, *Meleager von Gadara* 1895, and the same author in Eranos Vindob. 1893, 304 ff., also Wilamowitz, Berl. Klassiker texte V 1 (1907), and especially *Witstand Studien z. griech. anthol.* 1926 (for which see Tarâr). See among the ancients, Athanaios 157b 502c, and Diogenes Laertios VI 8 100. The Deipnosophist says of Meleager 157b: έν ταῖς χάρεσιν ἐπιγραμματέως ἐγένοτο τὸν Ὀμήρου Σέρον ὡς τὸ τένον κατὰ τὰ πάτρικα ἱγθών ἀπεχομένως ποιήσας τού τοῦ Ἀχαίου δαιμονίου πολλὴς ὑπης κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήστροντων; ή μὸνον ἀνέγγυες συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ τὸ περίχον λεκίθου καὶ φακῆς σύγκρασιν,

and in 502c: καὶ τοσούτω πρόσποισά αὐτὰ αραβέλα διδώκει, χυτικά βαθέα δίδεκε, a quote from his *Synopsis*.

M. was according to his own biographical poems son of Eucrates in Gadara, and according to a lemmatist in the Pataline codex, ἡμιαν Εὐκράτου τοῦ ἔσχατον, giving his approximate date. He mentions in VII 428 the poet Antipater of Sidon, who was born 160–150, we think, and this backs up the 10C lemmatist. He spent his adulthood in Tyre, and his old age in Cos. His cynical connections are proclaimed in his statement that his first literary efforts were in Menippean satires, and he bewails the little honour given to his own, Syrian, race, VII 417. G. warns against taking the work of any eastern Hellenistic Greek as "oriental". The tradition is primarily Greek. He mentions "Roman dishes" in a metaphorical mode (XII 25, 10, "a mixed serving — of boys for love") but it is most unlikely that he knew anything of Roman literary traditions, even the *laxus satura*.

His literary lives are to be suspected as fictional. many boys' names are mentioned, but also (very often) Heliodora, and also Zenophila, Timo, Demo, Asklipiadas, Tryphera, Phanion etc., female loves. Lists (of women in this case) such as that in V 197 seem to be a literary device.

G. also accepts that M's Stephanos was something very new in Greek book production, not allowing the possibility of lost books of the same sort that may have been larger, as Peek seems to do s.v. Poseidippos. His arrangement of poems is described as "grouping a major poet with a series of minor poets under thematic heads". See however the lemmatist: οὗτος ὁ Μελέαγρος ... ἐπιτρέψας ... τοῖς τιμίασις συνισκότα τῶν τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων στέφανον; συνέταξεν δὲ αὐτὰ κατὰ στοιχεῖα. This 10C statement has generally been regarded as a mistake, contaminating the picture of M's work from what is more convincingly reported about the later Garland of Philip. His prologue does not claim to mention all the poets he anthologised. Agis, Aristodikos, Karphyllides, Herakleitos, Theaitetos and perhaps others survive in the Palatine Codex from his original Stephanos without being mentioned in the preface. The book was composed in his old age (VII 417–419) and dedicated to Diokles — see IV, Prologue, i.e., I, 3; and also what seems to be his colophonic poem, XII 257, 5, which is grouped with the colophonic poem (just following, and book-final) of Strato, to conclude the 12th book of AP. In another Book XII poem, n° 256 (clearly imitating the far more explicit Rhianos XII 93), love-boys are "anthologised" from Tyre, which seems, like Rhodes, to have been well supplied with them, or with dreams of them. The metaphors of flower collection and *circular flower arrangements* ("garlands") give us some clue as to his artistic methods of arrangement of the first great short poem anthology in the history of the western world.

Presumably the slabs (or even individual poems) of the great names were kept spaced apart as much as one would position prominent and large flowers in a garland, and in between these were placed a selection of smaller, lesser, not so prominent poems, i.e., poems either anonymous or by less regarded authors.

G. lists the AP poems that he regards as belonging to the Stephanos, and adds Anec. Par. IV 385, 11 Cramer. AP V 152 and XII 76–78 are found in papyrus. That "Meleager-like" poems are found in papyrus (or even in the AP) is interesting, but as M. imitated older, anonymous poems and later writers anonymously imitated both these and him, it is difficult to assign poems to his Stephanos merely on their stylistic and thematic similarity to poems which seem to be securely set within unbroken Meleagran "sequences" of AP. He can be seen to imitate at least "Sappho" (V 172), Anakreon (V 214), and then Erinia, Asklepiadas, Kallimachos, Leonidas, Poseidippos, Mnasalkes, Alkaios mytilenaios, Antipater etc. Some useful motifs: "the lover burned to ashes" in XII 48, 72, 74, 79 = Asklepiades XII 166; Eros dices with M's life in XII 47, significantly placed after Askl's XII 46; Eros has flown off and now rests in another Book XII poem, n° 256 (clearly imitating the far more explicit Rhianos XII 93), love-boys are "anthologised" from Tyre, which seems, like Rhodes, to have been well supplied with them, or with dreams of them. The metaphors of flower collection and *circular flower arrangements* ("garlands") give us some clue as to his artistic methods of arrangement of the first great short poem anthology in the history of the western world. Personally the slabs (or even individual poems) of the great names were kept spaced apart as much as one would position prominent and large flowers in a garland, and in between these were placed a selection of smaller, lesser, not so prominent poems, i.e., poems either anonymous or by less regarded authors.

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G. lists the AP poems that he regards as belonging to the Stephanos, and adds Anec. Par. IV 385, 11 Cramer. AP V 152 and XII 76–78 are found in papyrus. That "Meleager-like" poems are found in papyrus (or even in the AP) is interesting, but as M. imitated older, anonymous poems and later writers anonymously imitated both these and him, it is difficult to assign poems to his Stephanos merely on their stylistic and thematic similarity to poems which seem to be securely set within unbroken Meleagran "sequences" of AP. He can be seen to imitate at least "Sappho" (V 172), Anakreon (V 214), and then Erinia, Asklepiadas, Kallimachos, Leonidas, Poseidippos, Mnasalkes, Alkaios mytilenaios, Antipater etc. Some useful motifs: "the lover burned to ashes" in XII 48, 72, 74, 79 = Asklepiadas XII 166; Eros dices with M's life in XII 47, significantly placed after Askl's XII 46; Eros has flown off and now rests in another Book XII poem, n° 256 (clearly imitating the far more explicit Rhianos XII 93), love-boys are "anthologised" from Tyre, which seems, like Rhodes, to have been well supplied with them, or with dreams of them. The metaphors of flower collection and *circular flower arrangements* ("garlands") give us some clue as to his artistic methods of arrangement of the first great short poem anthology in the history of the western world. Presumably the slabs (or even individual poems) of the great names were kept spaced apart as much as one would position prominent and large flowers in a garland, and in between these were placed a selection of smaller, lesser, not so prominent poems, i.e., poems either anonymous or by less regarded authors.
poor people into the mainstream of the erotic, note also M's XII 23 and L's VI 293. See also M's VI 163 & L's IX 322; M's VII 421 & 428 and L's 422 as well as Antipater Sidonius' VII 427; M's VII 470 and L's VII 422; M's VII 419 & L's 408, 1. Thus it is understandable that VII 13 is lemmatised M or L, with Page EG awarding it to Leonidas. It seems less useful to pursue resemblances to Rhianor, Moschos, and Alkaios of Messene.

The articles ends with some discussion of the general literary stockpile of M's time, and notes that the only clearly Asianic feature of his language is the taste for new compounds: ἐπημολαίος, ἐπημογραφός, ἐπηποπλανός, ἐπηποπλανέω, λαγυππέργυς, μυροβότρυχος, μυροφεγγής, ὁφροβόας, σταχυθῆρες, ὑπνασάτις, φρεναιλῆς κ.τ.λ. Finally, a half-hearted attempt is made to present the poetry of M as not belonging entirely to the "decline" of the Greek tradition.

Greek Epigram  Meleagros Ge

Geffcken J. Studien zum Griechischen Epigramm in Pfohl 1969. (Shortened, from 1917) 1969 = Studien zum griechischen Epigramm in N J d K A n 20, 1917 pp. 88-107. P. 22 Details the job of "The History of the Epigram" at Geffcken's period. P. 23 calls the Dipylon vase verse a mere graffito. P. 25 suggests (which seems incredible today) that verse dedications preceded verse epitaphs in time, and warns us against -6C forgeries! A timely, but a totally devastating warning, as we would have no way around such a corruption of the literary-historical record. See Herod. V 59. P. 36 deals with an interest of ours, the "bridal chamber of Persephone" topos, in the context of the increasing variation in the -4C, as we did, independently. P. 53 is one of those detailed studies of the Marathon distich of Simonides in its two Greek versions and in Cicero's translation. P. 55 makes the point taken up by Häusle, that Greek epigram was the only poetic genre destined from its origins to be read in solitude, not produced and received in performance mode. He says also that it was the events of the Persian war which gave rise to an experience so great that it could be trusted to have its effect, by itself, on a reader, without need for literary elaboration or flourishes. Thus the main origins of literary monumentality are to be found in men's hearts, and the outer forms came from a return to archaic inscriptive style, which otherwise would have seemed bald and banal by the -5C.

Greek Epigram  Studies


Greek Latin Graffiti  Pompeianische

Geist and Pfohl H. & Gerhard Römische Grabinschriften München (1969) 1976 In Prose and in verse. The author travelled around museums from Spain to Illyria before returning to the syllogai. They are: CIL, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin 1863 ff.; CE Carmina Latina Epigraphica F. Büchler I, II, III, of which there is a fine new index available, DE H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latiae Selectae I, II.1, II.2, III.1, III.2; DI'E. Diehl Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres; as well as GVI, GG, Syll3 (Dittenberger) and IG. P. 9-10, the carmen funebre is truly Roman graveyard poetry, often of fairly ordinary people, whose only literary element is often mere versification. Inscriptions are rare in Old Latin, occurring from the -3C to the +1C. Literary echoes are common, from Vergil, Propertius, Catullus, Tibullus and Ovid, mainly. See Addenda *Lateish Antique Stone.

Latin Epigraphy Burial Römische Grab-Inschriften

Gentili, B. Epigramma ed elegia in Dihle 1968 p.37–81 1968 Greek Epigram  Elegy and...


Giangrande, G. Symptotic Literature and Epigram in Dihle 1968 p.91–174 1968 Symposium Greek Epigram Drink songs

*Greek Epigram AP  AP Sources*

Two volumes
*Greek Epigram AP  HE*

Two volumes
*Greek Epigram AP  GP*

Graf, Ernst Akrostichis in RE 11 1200–1207 1893
*Greek Epigram  Akrostichis*

Grant, Michael *Greek and Latin Authors 800 B.C. – A.D. 1000* London 1980
A volume in the Nelson Authors series, cf. European Authors 1000–1900
p.389 Seneca's "epigrams" — 3 out of 77 have some claim to be genuine. Lucius Annaeus Seneca.
880.9 50/1 Syd Fish Ref. *Greek and Latin Bibliography  Greek and Latin Authors*

Vol. 1 p. 386 Alison Burford is constrained to make Manes a "wood-worker", apparently as his verse inscription does not seem suit a lowly axeman and carrier of sticks. While not being up to date with Greek craft names, I am inclined to take ὅξατος in the more normal acceptation. See thesis. A "fisherman" could easily be a fishing contractor, so why not a wood cutter.
*Classical  Greece and Rome*

Griessmair, E. *Das Motiv der Mors Immatura in den griechischen metrischen Inschriften* Innsbruck 1966
P. 10 about half of the verse epitaphs in Peek's great collection relate to "ahori", but never do we meet on stone the phrase ὅξατος, and "those whom the gods love die young" does not appear until the –IC, recurring in the +23C: Peek GVI 2003, 1029, 130, 961 and 1646. See p. 101. Many phrases from stone are practically equivalent: πρόβλορος (rare in MS literature), ὁχύρωρος, even more common on stone, ταχύμορος, ἀσφαλζος, (most of these words allow either μορος or μορος forms) ὄμηκληθείος, βαυλύρων. The final four are hapaxes.
Other age terms or phrases suggest, or state, the same theme: ὅμηκληθείος, τόπος, νήμας, μνεῖαθενίος, παῖς, ἀμφος, πρωθήκης, νοελητής, νέος, παρθένος, νήμας, κούφος, κούρη, ἱέθεος, ἑφιδεία, ἱβή, ὀφρα, ἕλικα, νεότης, ἄκμη.
Age in years is never given in the –6C, is rare in the –5C, and is frequent in the –4C. It is very common in Hellenistic and Roman epitaphs.
P. 21 deals with the very important –4C increase in affectivity, notably "sweet" or "desired/desirable" terms. P. 28 deals with the fear of, and threats against grave desecration common in Asia Minor, particularly Phrygia. P. 54 n° 1 deals with the phenomenon of Parallelgedichte, often by the same author. P. 61: Post-Classical epigrams mix mere information with emotionally charged stylistic devices, seemingly at random.
By the –IC the private affairs of men get more mention.
P. 87 makes the important point that "consolatio" form and epigram form differ widely in ethos, style, form and tendency. Epigrams, in a messy and unsystematic way, seem more designed to honour the dead than to console the survivors, though they express the latters' grief more and more.
P. 93 admits that it is hard to find one literary γένος for the grave inscriptions collected in Peek GVI.
*Greek Epigraphy Burial  Mors immatura*

*Poetics  Classical Criticism*

Groningen, B.A.von *La Composition littéraire archaique grecque, procédés et réalisations* Amsterdam 1958
*Greek  Composition*

II pp. 104–120 Epistle ufficiali
*Classical*
Guiraud, Hélène  Intailles et came des de l'époque romaine en Gaule (Territoire français). Paris 1988  48e Supplément à Gallia  P. 215 Index des Inscriptions (3 'aves': 923, 924, 706) Typically very short p. (n°?) 28. I Intaglios: collectors' items, seals, amulets. p. 62 the Gaulish repertoire resembles that of other regions of the Empire: Nudity is common. The % of motifs is similar. The main dates seem to be +1 - +3 C, with this art form pretty well


Greek Epigraphy  Ep Gr


N.b. p. 105 Ps. Proclus de forma epistolari: ἐπιστολή μὲν οἶν ἐστὶν ὀμίλια τῆς ἐγγράφματος ἀπόστος πρὸς ἀπόντα γνωρίμην καὶ χρειῶδες σκοποῦ ἐκταλλόρεσα...

III 119-197 Epigrafi sepulcrali [sc. privati, di carattere pubblico – II pp. 162-176]

N.b. p. 120 the rough tombs of Thera, a very ancient cemetery at the site now called Sellâda: -7/6C epitaphs on rock faces, on very roughly shaped stones, either placed on or stuck upright in the bare ground, with a few more shaped stones, ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας, used no doubt as altars and offering tables. This archaic roughness persisted on Thera. At Kasos the funerary disk seems to have been standard in the 4/3C, diameter 20–30cm, thickness 5–20 cm. They were seated in a socket of stone, just over the spot under which the skull of each deceased was buried. They have the deceased's PN in the nominative, sometimes his patronymic, and perhaps they represent his head. P. 129 the earliest Greek sarcophagi in Aegina —7C. P. 145 οἰκός / οἰκία. The adjective αἰώνιος often used with οἰκός surely points to an oriental origin, and not just for the adjective: see bay in Ahîjby Bibl.2

P. 150 deals with οἶμοι. Though rare in surviving archaic epigram, it appears to be common in early prose, particularly at Selinuntum, and later in its founding city, Megara Hyblea. It can begin a prose titulus, usually οἶμοι ὀ + vocative PN, or end a titulus. Three well known archaic epigrams begin with it, a Selinuntine text at Delphi, a pair from Attica, one also of the -4C found in Egypt. Peek has since found another, if later, example in verse, -4/3C at the Chersonesos in the Crimea, beginning with οἶμοι. "Evidently" the exclamation was inspired by the θείμορος or perhaps the γῦνος sung over the dead at the rite of showing, the πρόθεσις. See also p. 160.

P. 154/155 deal with the occasional epigraphic absence of the PN, more common in Imperial epitaphs, perhaps from a growing sense of the nefandum. P. 156 inclines to a belief in pattern books. In Eumeneia in —3C Phrygia a certain Gaius, a lawyer, prepared his own tomb and "certainly" his epitaph, with these interesting thematics... οἰκία ταῦτα λαλεὶ καὶ λόγος, οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ. P. 157 also deals with multiple verse epitaphs separated by ἄλογον.

III pp. 198-219 Proscynêmi, attestazioni di visite a luoghi insigni, ecc.

Some useful generalisations. P. 199, "È certo veramente che nella maggior parte dei proscinèmi la parola προσκύνησις s'identifica col testo stessos. Only a few cases clearly indicate that the real act of homage preceded the inscribing of the document. P. 200 deals briefly with the formula: "the proskynêma of the writer and of the reader". If the reader participates in the potency of this inscriptional type, why not also in that of the epitaph? This would explain much of the formulary of the pre —2C dialogue inscriptions, those where there is not yet a developed interchange between deceased/stele and passerby. Even more important, such texts seem to be more often in verse than most other types are: p. 201 «Abbastanza spesso, poi, egli preferisce di manifestare l'ossequio... than in prose...». P. 223 deals with the formula: εἰμι/μοι/μὴμοι, usually in the 2nd or the 3rd person, μητρὸς, μητράδα, μητράδος, μητράδος, more or less equivalent to ἐπι' ἀγαθή, often found with ἐμφυσιά in tituli memoriales, which these really are (?). The former two terms especially are found on the stones of Syria, Palestine, Arabia, but also in Egypt and Italy and elsewhere, both in Jewish and Christian epitaphs. See also below *Scherling 1918 for ΜΝΗΣΟΧ on gems, much quoted. See also *Bernard KOPTOS TO KOSSEIR.

III pp. 317-321 Epistole

IV pp. 301-2315 Elementi di epigrafia greca cristiana

P. 305 κατ/οικτήρων and the Pagan οἰκός/οἰκία. The insufficiencies of the corpora of Christian inscriptions are canvassed towards the end of this section. It was written too long ago to take account of the second edition of Wessel (which is not such a notable improvement over the 1936 thesis, after all), and, like the manual of F. Grosso Gondi, excludes the whole Christian East. For that East, not well collected or analysed: Bayet, Creaghan-Raubitschek, Bees, Bandy, Cumont, Grégoire, Canova, Lefebvre. No doubt there is much new activity in this underploughed and extensive area.

Greek Epigraphy  Ep Gr

Classical
disappearing in the 4C.

736.223 1 Syd Fish Classical Latin Epigraphy Gems Intailles gauloises

Hafeez, A. el- Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou Paris 1985 From Egypt, a peculiar cemetery of small pictural stones, with very curt inscriptions, or none:

One-site corpus of 163 stelai from Augustan times onwards (I – III C) many anepigraphic but with characteristic images (2 featuring inscriptions only, 49 with orants, 88 with recumbent figures, 2 with figures sacrificing, 2 with figures sitting, only one figure pictured on each little stele), those with epigraphy are mostly in Greek, but some are in Demotic. el-Hafeez is mainly interested in the iconography of the corpus. The epigraphy, like his treatment of it, is most curt. Interestingly, here we find another example of “untimely” death, as Griessmair noted, not being confined to either the young or even the middle aged. Mention is made of Hooper 111, 189 at Terenouthis, where two durable ΑΔΩΠΩ called Thais and Achilleis were aged at death 73 years and 82 years respectively!

Store 58 3308 Syd. Fish. Greek Epigraphy Burial Kom Abu Bellou

Hall, E. van Over den Oorsprong van de grieksche Grafstele Amsterdam 1942

A book on "the Greek stele" based only on research from the half century up to 1940 would seem to be very dated. However, even though Nilsson's History of Greek Religion made some of this thesis obsolete before it was published, the expansive discussion of a topic which remains vague and insoluble is of great value. The topic is the origins, and the function of the various periods of grave stele in Greece. The discussions on the function seem to be the least dated.

Every conceivable function had been suggested, or even stated, with the highest scholarly authority, and limited evidence. Some of these functions have merely been taken from old synthetic works of descriptive anthropology and applied to superficially similar features of the Greek monuments. The Homeric archaeology treated in *Andronikos does not greatly add to the evidence used by van Hall.

It is refreshing to have a serious and fairly critical treatment of the comparative evidence. Van Hall naturally concentrates on Indonesia (called confusingly Indië by the Dutch, while the Subcontinent is called British India). Any visit to the fine displays of the Queensland Museum will convince the student of past burial practices that agricultural and hunting peoples from the eastern side of New Guinea also have the most elaborate burial beliefs and practices. The other great point of comparison is the Chinese tradition, which van Hall approaches through a synthetic work of the turn of the century, not, as we have done, through the law codes of the San Ji and the philosophers, and through corpora of inscriptions, most of which were not available in her time. The only difference is that there would seem to have been greater variety in practice than can be suggested even by the best synthetic treatment. Standardisation, however, seems to have been increasingly the result of the dominance of official Han culture.

The author supports a sophisticated diffusionist hypothesis for such similarities in burial practice and belief, while we lean to independent creation, by peoples with similar inner needs, in vaguely similar states of culture.

Van Hall's suggestion is that the cultural tensions deriving from the Dorian invasions led to a particular pressure to provide a "substitute" monument for the soul of the deceased, once cremation was adopted. This would neatly explain why Greek grave inscriptions were, comparatively, more eloquent than was the early stage elsewhere, and this urge to early eloquence would naturally enough have led to the precocious verse found on them. That this verse remained mostly short is not her task to explain.

My Copy Greek Burial Grafstele

Hansen, P.A. Carmina epigraphica Graeca saeculi IV A.Chr.N. Berlin/N.Y. 1989
My Book Greek Epigraphy CEG 2

Hansen, P.A. Carmina epigraphica Graeca saeculorum VIII – V A.Chr.N. Berlin/N.Y. 1983
My Book Greek Epigraphy CEG 1

Greek Epigraphy anti-Gallavotti

Happ, Heinz Luxurius I Text und Untersuchungen Stuttgart 1986 = Tübingen Diss. 1957 Vol. II to be Kommentar (said to be the main part of the Thesis)

p. xxii quotes inscriptional evidence for the spelling Luxurius, even by Christians. Interestingly, the citations often are of the names of large animals, particularly of horses, but also leopards. P. xxiv deals with the question of the grammarian called Lisorius in the Middle Ages. xxx has the bibliography, and p. 112/4 has the auctores. Texts numbered according to Rosemblum’s 1961 edition, but said to be significantly “improved”.

ANU PA 6497 L1 1986 Bd. 1 Late Latin Epigram Luxurius Ha

Classical
Harris, W.V. *Ancient Literacy* Cambridge (Mass.)/London 1989

A massive study focussing, as is natural from the nature of the evidence, on Egypt of the mid-Imperial period. Despite all its sophistication and learning, it seems to have rather a univocal understanding of "literacy". See *Wongar.*

P. vii discusses newly arrived rivals to the Dipylon Vase graffito for the claim of the earliest inscription. P. 31–32 go on to the methods and implications of quotation, quoting W. Helmbold and E. O'Neill *Plutarch's Quotations* 1959, seemingly on the Moralia. P. 46 claims that there are about 100 inscriptions of all sorts in Greek from the -8C and -7C, and Jeffery's selective corpus of -6C inscr. comes to 450. Official city secretaries may be behind the swelling volume of inscriptions surviving from the mid-6C.

Laws inscribed from -600, treaties from -550, public weights and measures and coins from 40 "states" by -500. Blackfigure vase inscriptions rare in the first quarter of the -6C. P. 52 "nonsense" inscr. die out early in the -5C. The SE Aegean was apparently a very literate pocket, Chios to Rhodes. The functions of writing in public life increase from -480 (p. 75). P. 80: Herodotus is more faithful than later writers in preserving verse inscriptions. Precise transcription can never be proved, and sometimes is disprovable. P. 83, epitaphs said to have been "commissioned". There is a lack of surviving Classical letters, and the tone of those quoted does not suggest that the practice was always neutral. Harris suggests 5% – 10% literacy in Classical Athens.

Harris goes on to the Italian peninsula. P. 200 ff. criticise the earlier assumptions about literacy at Pompeii. See also p. 260 ff. P. 220: Christians, Jews and philosophical sects were those most likely to use writing to communicate. P. 221 criticises *Häusle's Das Denkmal als Garant des Nachruhms* as "unhistorical". P. 287 no 8 suggests that Imperial literacy is much easier to assess for the Latin half of the Empire. There are epigraphic gaps in some places but not in others. The peak period for the production of literary papyri is the +2C. Decline is then steep. Functional literacy in Egypt seems however to have peaked in the +3C and +4C.

The book ends with much discussion of tenuous but important matters like the "mentalité" which can be assumed to underlie the inscribing of the nomadic Safaitic and Thamudic writers (over 12,000 inscriptions already listed for each group), the Phoenicians, the Etruscans, and various periods of the Latins and the Greeks.

Literacy


P. 168–169: θρήνος seems to have been a gnomic and consolatory "form", not wild or unrestrained (from the few examples that remain, Stobaeus excepting only Simonides' θρηνος for his preferred gnomic fragments). This does at least match the Attic grave relief's dignity and restraint. Note O 720 ff. and ο 60 ff. and the distinction between that of the professional δαοδός and the simultaneous lament (γύος) of the women. By the end of the -5C the former, ritualised lament was so professionalised that Carians were hired to perform the ἐπικηθεδεύω φαξι at funerals. Grammarians preserve another meaning for θρήνος, i.e., a dirge sung subsequently in memory of the deceased. This seems to be the lyric poet's form practiced by Simonides and Pindar. They had to contain an ἐγκώμιον. P. 170 returns to the much discussed *four* iambic lines ending the passage of Agamemnon (beginning 1322) a pathetic comment on human affairs, which may be turned by a shadow or erased altogether by the touch of a damp sponge. She calls the passage to which this is a climax ῥήσιν ἤ θρηνον ἐμύν. Of course, threnos commonly had a general meaning, but there do seem to have been technical uses of the word. If the threnos was "a philosophical reflection on the conditions of human life", we can better understand why early elegy is far from the dirge, and yet is said by ancients to have derived from lament. Non threnodic elegy could then more easily be imagined as deriving from "threnodic" elegy, sharing a common mood "of advice, exhortation and reflection."

One could then see how the elegiac grave epigram (mid –6C only, in our remains however) could have grown out of an elegiac dirge, and why Plutarch tends to call grave-epigram ἐπικηθεδεύω.

"Elegy" is then not only a metrical term. "θρήνος and elegy are sufficiently alike to bear, without undue harshness, the same name".

P. 174 disposes of ἐγκώμιον, originally only used of ἐπινίκια, and goes on to the important σκαλι. Skolia are normally thought of as monostrophic, and thus suitable for eventual absorption into Hellenistic epigram, but the word means almost any song sung after a feast, and may have been multi stanzacic, at least sometimes. παροιμία is equivalent to σκέλα, and σκόλα were collected among the ἐγκώμια. Most of this group of poems which survive are in dactylo-epitrite metre (though many may have been in other metres), and in this metre "the distinction between the style of choral lyric and Lesbian monody is at vanishing point".

"Our knowledge is just sufficient for us to be able to see the inadequacy of the Alexandrine classification of secular poetry." Even the ἐπινίκια or paean is not easy to reconstruct just from the remains of Pindar.

Thus a search for non inscriptional cousins of earlier epigram lacks almost any evidence.

Genre *De-classification*


Prosody *Sstesichorean*

Prosody *Stesichorus 2*

Häusle, H. *Das Denkmal als Garant des Nachruhms. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Thematik eines Motivs in lateinischen Inschriften* München 1980

Greek Burial *Das Denkmal*

Häusle, H. *Einfache und frühe Formen des griechischen Epigramms* Innsbruck 1979

P. 88–91  Speaking letters in Horan? 16.5, and in Cicero de secuncte 21, but the epigraphic quote n° 16 5ff. is more explicit than anything I have previously found:

.../ quodque meam / retinet vocem data l/litae / ra saxo, voc[e] tua vivet / quisque leg[e][s] titu[l]os

P. 91 CE 2296,20 [et di]jeet titulo nomen per saec[u]l[a] saxum

P. 105  Der Name: Bild des Toten

P. 110  Die Inschrift: ein Porträt des Toten


Hauvette-Besnault, Amadée *De l'authenticité des épigrammes de Simonide* Paris 1896

This "authenticity" is treated as one of the few then-remaining questions in Greek literature which were felt by Hauvette as being suitable for open-minded treatment by his advanced students in the 1890s. Such is the inherent constriction of any "classical" studies.

884.4 HAU Greek Epigram *Simonides authentic*

Heinze, Richard *Von altgriechischen Kriegergräbern* 1915


A study of this sub-corpus emphasises the immense stimulus to the growth of epigram given by the Greek reaction to the Persian Wars. P. 48 notes (as do others) that the original value of metrical form itself was to elevate expression and to make it "unusual". The first literary epigrams claimed anywhere in the surviving Greek tradition are from this period. It is fairly certain that any epigram on this subject was classed, much later perhaps, as "Simonidean". This group of epigrams named only places, and instead of individuals, it was the Demos which was named. (p. 49).

The earlier Athenian dead (of the early Democracy) have no epitaphs on their funeral monument on the fields of: Marathon, Salamis, Plataea, but may have had them early on dedications and memorials in their native cities. (p.50).

There is quite a time gap before the efflorescence of democratic epitaphs in verse. [This would explain, (P.M.Mc) why so many verses noted in Hansen give signs of later application to their monument]. Cf. Lycurgus "Ελλῆνων προμαχώντων... Years later Kimon triggered off the use of casually lists as epigraphic honorifica. But (p.51) there are early epitaphs for the *Dorians*: Spartans, Peloponnesians, Corinthians, and Megarians.

Heinze, p.52 discusses the famous early epitaph: Ὡ ξένου ενυδρίου... (where he assumes that the original epitaph was just one word, i.e., Κοινάθου) and also: ἀκμὰς ἐστακτὴν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ Ελλάδα πάτας... He discusses the motivations for such assumed expansions.

P.37 discusses dialogues in his chosen sub corpus. Also the movement of the PN from front position towards the end. P. 40 Plato illustrates the growth of the concept of "epigram", ἐπίγραμμα, according to Heinze, when he used it interchangeably with ἔλεγχον. AP vi 352 (Erina) is the first recorded poem on a work of art, i.e., neither funerary or dedicatory. The authenticity of this poem and the date of Erina greatly concern historians of epigram:

The first self epitaph is said to be AP vii 718 (Nossis): Ὡ ξένου εἰ τὸ γε πλεῖς ποτὶ καλλιχρόνον Μιτουλάνῳ τὰν Ζαπφοῦς χάριτις ἀνύψωσεν εἰπειν ὁς Νοῦσας φίλαιν τῆρα τε λοκρίς γὰ τικτε μ ἵππαν χῶς μια τούναμα Νοοσίς ἢθ.

Classical
Anyte brought new winds into the genre. Asklepiades naturalised the short love elegy. P. 44 indicates that Heinze regards some groups of epigrams as Chreiae in epigrammatic dress.

[Early AP poems have variously been considered as fables, proverbs/gnomes, elegies, drinking poems, love poems, all wrongly viewed as epigrams in later times, or forced into an approximately epigrammatic shape because of some prestige currently attaching to the "Simonidean" war inscriptions, or simply from a desire to develop a form of shorter poetry in opposition to traditional but vital forms, which were all quite long. P.M.Mc]

P. 41–45 have the AP citations. It is obvious that H. attributes much of the innovation which led to Ptolemaic epigram to the "Doric school" assumed by many (but not by Cameron) to go back into the –4C, and whose purported and poorly preserved representatives are mostly female: Erinna, Nossis, Moero and Anyte.

Greek epigram Warrior graves

Heitsch, Ernst Die griechische Dichterfragmente der Römische Kaiserzeit Bd. 1 Göttingen 1983 2. veränderte Auflage
881.08 H Greek Poetry Roman Greek

Helm, Rudolf Kynismus in RE XII 13–24 1924 See Addenda for literary activity of the cynics, and the possible influence of their cult of minimalism on epigram.

Kynismus

Helm, Rudolph Valerius 233) M Valerius Martialis RE 15, col. 55–85 1955
MartialMartial RE

Helm, Rudolf Priapeia in RE XXII 1908–1913 1954
Latin Epigram Priapea H

Helm, Rudolf Properz I.21 in RhMus 95 (1952) p.272–283 1952
A much misunderstood type of poem. It is a short epos, not an epyllion or epitaph.
Latin Epigram Properius H


The site is now called Umm Qeis. The gems in the collection number 488, but they come from a variety of periods and traditions, up to modern forgeries. They "may be taken as a sample of the usual types of signet employed in the Roman Levant" – p. 1. The Greek examples come mostly from the early period of our Era, and among them I counted only 16 with any lettering on them.

Only two (apart from the small collection of Syrian and Phoenician gems) provably date from before Pompey’s conquest. Italic gems reached the East in some quantity. Aquileian gems even reached South Russia. Local manufacture is hard to discern, and many of the standardised themes suit legionaries and their taste. Few show Eastern deities, and the gods of Syria are very poorly represented, while Egypt has a strong presence by means of Zeus Ammon, Z. Sarapis, Harpokrates and the suckling goddess, Isis. Fewer gems were cut after the +3C in the Roman West, while the revived Persia of the Sasanians moved into sympathetic production, mainly of ringstones. P. 5 has a subject index of the Hellenistic and Roman intaglios. Added to the Paste Intaglios, Cameos, Paste Cameos, Magical Amulets and Sasanian Seals, they make up the majority of the corpus, 400-odd items. Thus, of these "Classical" and Late Antique gems in related styles, only 4% have inscriptions.

P. 5 has a subject index of this 400. 67 categories, mainly of individual gods, but also more general ones, e.g.: arachnid; athletes; auspicious motifs; cocks, crustacea, caged, erotic, felines, fishermen, goats, griffins, harvesters, heredmen, horses, hounds, insect, mice, parrots, portraits, ram, sphinxes, stag.

The 7 Islamic intaglios (Tilsam) are entirely covered with words. Among our "400" relevant items it is the magic amulets which seem more likely to have words on them:
Hense, Otto zum Art. Ioannes ist einzuschieben (18) Ioannes Stobaios in RE IX 2 2549–2586 1916

The florilegium was complete still in the time of Photius but now is fairly fragmentary. 2549.20 suggests that ordinary schooling used citations from the poets, gnomai and chria-like stories, but that this work was designed to provide a far richer and more serious fare. Early divided into two rolls, the former less popular and traditionally called Eclogae physicae et ethicæ, the latter better preserved, because better used and copied, called Florilegium or Sermones, the Wachsmuth and Hense edition seems still standard. Of course, as with Diogenes Laertius and Athenaeus, large slabs of this work reappear in topical collections like Diels-Kranz, fragmenta editions of major poets and writers (annoyingly not edited with their fuller texts in OCT, except for Aristotle), the Fortenbaugh Theophrastus, and epigram editions which go beyond the AG, such as Page and Preger.

Greek Epigram Gnomica Stobaeus

Heubeck, A. Archaeologia Homerica X. Schrift Göttingen 1979

Table on P. 1, no script EM (Early Minoan), Proto A and Proto B (the same time scale covered by Hieroglyphic) Middle Minoan, Linear B Late Minoan, a gap, Late Minoan III c 1200–1100.

Linear A was not restricted to the Palace nor to professional writers (but see The Scribes of Pylos). There were formal variations and a wide range of styles. P. 46 ff. deal with the yearly shedding (effectively, the "shredding") of Linear B archives, a very likely practice, as our remains, preserved by one destruction, all seem to come from one year.

P. 50 Knossos 75–100 'writers' for the year of our preserved corpus, and a high percentage, say 90%, of that year's written production seems to be preserved. Pylos has 40 writers, Mycenai 12, and most hands wrote only a few tablets each. The palace staff were all literate, as there were mini-archives on the site of each industrial activity.

P. 52 Typical three word tribute inscriptions: 1. (Nom.) name of producer; 2. Place of production; 3. (Gen.) collector of tax, this person being perhaps the writer. There is no need to assume widespread literacy outside this tribute paying system. See J.-P. Olivier, Les Scribes de Cnossos Inc. Gr. 17. P. 52 n° 309: it is unlikely that there were schools for scribes, or schools of scribes.

The Cypro-Minoan script n° 1 was widespread –16C to –11C, short, rough inscriptions/writing remain. CM2 (cuneoid in form) was restricted to Eukomi and to the –13/12C, perhaps representing a different language from that of CM1. CM3 is in all North Syria around 1400, influenced from Ugarit or from cuneiform itself. CM1 arose no later than –17C, and its signs are like Cretan Linear A and the Pictographic cursive.

P. 61–62 The line of inheritance from CM1 to the later Cypriot syllabary may be hidden from us, but we must assume it. For CS see p. 64, 67, 71 ff. Decipherments have been helped by PNn found in Ugaritic. Perhaps CM2 was Hurrite, as this people may have been late –13C rulers in Enkomi/Salamin. P. 64, there were 300 years between (our current evidence of) Cypro-Minoan and the Cypriot Syllabary, e.g., from the –8C to the late –3C. CS was the first script of Cypriot Greeks to be used for all purposes. P. 67 there was a common syllabary and a Paphian syllabary. At Amathus (and Golga and Kition and Kourion and Paphos) the script represents the "Eteocretan" language which is never written in Greek letters. It reminds us of Eteocypriot.

P. 71 the scriptless gap is (at present) evident on Crete, on the Mainland, and on Cyprus. Note that Old Paphian is closest in appearance to CM1. CM3 is in all North Syria around 1400, influenced from Ugarit or from cuneiform itself. CM1 arose no later than –17C, and its signs are like Cretan Linear A and the Pictographic cursive.

P. 75 Clay tablets were normally used, of course, in Babylonia, and then in Minoan and Mycenean areas. Papyrus/leather/stone/wood were used, of course, in Egypt, and by the Phoenicians and the Archaic Greeks. At Ischia some writing precedes the (oldest) dating of the Nestor cup, i.e., were (on the assumption of a –8C origin for it) pre –8C. At "Pithekussa" and Cyne, on Chalkis and Eretria, the early writing appears at least by the
2nd half of the -8C. P. 78, the first Etruscan tablet, of Marsiglione of Albegna, comes from about -700. Old Phrygian and Lydian come from the second half of the -8C (Gordion).

P. 79–80 The correspondence of letter forms found in the earliest Greek with matching forms in Semitic is best for the NW Semitic of -9C to -8C. P. 81 there are traces of Phoenician writing in the mainland and in Crete in the 2nd half of the -9C, and Ionian (?) Greeks followed there in the 1st half of the -8C. However, the two groups have not yet been evidenced together, except at Cyprus and at al Mina, which was not a colony, but more like Naukratis, or colonial Shanghai.

P. 89 discusses qoppa, p. 92–94 the group which allow the division of epichoric writing into areal groups: qof/phi, tau/chi, kaf (in the form of a fasces of three strokes meeting at the bottom) and later omega.

P. 109–126 analyses the oldest inscr., with hand copies and normalised Ionic versions, the most elaborate and controversial part being the section on "Nestor's cup", which, despite Carpenter (internal evidence, on the modernity of the lettering, the interpuncts, and the alinement), Buchheit, Pfohl, Solin, who date to the -6C, Heubeck insists is later -8C, supported by Jeffery, Guarducci, Schefold, Peruzzi, and even the 1976 P.A.Hansen! Just as important is Heubeck's lengthy attempt to assess the literary intent and "speech act" of the text, to which the restitution of the second word(s) is very important.

P. 127 looks at the relation of the Homeric heroes to writing.

ASIA MINOR shows Old Phrygian -8 to -6C, New Phrygian (inscr. disc. 1926) 4/3C, Lydian -8C+ (with a -7C graffito in Upper Egypt), Para-Lydian -4C, Carian 4/3C (but graffiti common in Egypt -7C onwards), Para-Carian (?), Lycian (-67) 5/4C and common, (Sidetan -5C to -2C).

EGYPT displays: Hieroglyphic (of course) Demotic and later Coptic, and also Greek, Latin, (Aramaic), Phoenician, Carian, Lydian and Eteo-Cypriot.

P. 115 discusses interpunctuation.

P. 133 discusses the pairs of Bellerophon and Chimaira, Herakles and the Hydra, and Oidipos and the Sphinx. See T.J. Dunbabin and also Hesiod Theog. 313–326.

P. 140 There were of course many non linguistic symbols in the Aegean, such as the widespread "Topfermarken".

Heubeck assumes that writing on small tablets was widespread among commercial and other Greeks of the late -8C, and that the double consonants, sporadic word separators and stichic alinement of the Nestor's cup inscription (as opposed to the more archaic-looking Dipylon vase inscription, taken by him as somewhat later in time than the former) presents the image of very early written copies of Homer, designed as prompt texts for performance, or even for performing from. The rhapsodes and the Rhapsode constructed a heroic and archaic illusion by deliberately not mentioning this widespread and mundane activity in their poems, or by occasionally giving the "old" equivalent of later -8C writing when presenting their heroes: viii, 175 ff., vii, 181 ff.

Alphabet Schrift

Hicks and Hill, E.L. & G.F. A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions Oxford 1901

Greek Epigraphy Manual H.H.

Highet, Gilbert The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature N.Y. and London 1949

Classical Tradition

Hiller von Gaertringen, Friedrich Frhr. Delphoi in RE IV2 circa 2534–2537 1901

Delphoi

Hiller von Gaertringen, Friedrich Frhr. Historische griechische Epigramme ausgewählt von... Bonn 1926

Small text brochure, but richly annotated and clearly printed. ca. 600 BCE — 527 CE, thus breaking into that later Classical period which Classicists are criticised for unjustly ignoring, in many a BZ review.

888.08 Greek epigram Historical epigrams


Burial mort romaine


Rhetoric Chreia

Holland, R. Memnon in Roscher (1894–) 2653–2687 1894– Memnon-Hol
Holzberg, Niklas  **Martial** Heidelberg  1987/88
1988 877.6 x 5
Martial **Martial Ho**

Greek Art  *Archaic Art*

Homer and Buckley, & Theodore Alois  *The Odyssey of Homer: with the hymns, epigrams and battle of the frogs and mice, literally translated with explanatory notes by...* London  1853
DESAL 658  *Homer Bu*

Homer and Chapman, & George 1559?–1634  *The whole works of Homer: prince of poetts, his Iliads, and odysseys, translated according to the Greeks by...* Oxford  1930–31  5 volumes in a prestigious Blackwells reprint.
Vol. 5 has The crowne of all Homer's workes: Batrachomyomachia; hymns; *epigrams*; Achilles shield; three sonnets. Ed. A.S. Mott
RBq MOD 262  Greek English Epigram  *Chapman's Homer*

Hommel, H.  *Der Ursprung des Epigramms* in RhM 88 (1939) p.139–206  1939
Greek Epigram  *Ureipigramm*

Greek Epigram  *Diogenes Laertius*

Horna, Konstantin  *Gnome, Gnomendichtung, Gnomologien* in RE S VI 74–89  1935
Gnomica  *Gnome*

Horsley, G.H.R.  *A Bilingual funerary Monument from Dion in Northern Greece* Macquarie University  1993 Paper given at the July Conference Ancient History in a Modern University
A prestigious monument for a Marcus Domitius Pyrilampes, died aged only 23 years, is inscribed mostly in a rare vertical stoikhedon, like the Rieti Herm. Presumably this text orientation is meant to be distinctive and arresting. The lineation is also careful, leaving blank letter-spaces at the bottom of six of the eight rows. The brief prose on top is Latin and horizontal, left to right, as is the Greek name and age at the bottom. In between comes an elegiac quatrain (the ends of whose full lines are the cause for the blanks in the vertically oriented text). On the left face is a brief prose imprecation in Greek. Dion Museum 5788. The more fragmentary Rieti Herm is 2023 in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, and shows three Greek trimeters which criticise uppity servants, perhaps from some comedy. There is no respect for verse line length in the recoverable layout of the Rieti Herm inscription. The variety of design in Greek funerary architecture and inscriptions, the relative textual expansiveness of the poetic sort of inscription (and its frequency and prominence), the quatrain (combined with an obvious attempt to produce a "classy" monument, and the respect for the verse lines are all of interest to a study of an implicit genre of "epigram" in perhaps the time of Plutarch.

Note however that *kionedon* (vertical) epigraphy is said to be common in *Antourakes p.20, also calling it steledon. This author's period seems to be byzantine, and his orientation artistic. If vertical writing (with horizontally oriented letters, of course) is as widespread in ancient and in later times as A. briefly notes, the fact of its being also stoikhedon in this case would seem hardly to be of great importance, even if that particular combination were rare.

Left face, prose imprecation: ό δέ μεταράπῃ ἐπίθεις τι τῷ βῶμῳ ἐστὶν ἐπάρατος καὶ αὐτός | καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὸ γένος | (leaf) τὸ αὐτὸν (leaf)
Greek Epigram Burial  *Kionedon*
Houhaud, M.  L'Utilisation de l'histoire par les orateurs attiques  Paris  1982  Forensic Epigraphy  Orators' history


881.09 37 Syd Fish  Hellenistic Poetry

Immerwahr, S.A.  Early Burials from the Agora Cemeteries  Princeton N.J.  1973  Greek burial  Agora Cemeteries


Jacoby, Felix  Krateros (1) ὁ Μακεδών in RE XI2 1617–1621  1922  Greek Epigraphy  Craterus


Dated to the early +2C by Abbé Jean Starcky, the freehand letters read: SLM ZYNWN BR GYMT KLYRK' BTH L' LM: "Peace! Zenon son of Qayamat, chiliarch in good [sc. memory] forever". This indicates a considerable degree of Hellenic penetration of the Nabatean community. The words at beginning and the end of this text are commonly found in such formulae. All that is left is the name, the patronymic and the title. Zenon is a significant name. It is a Greek name given to the son of a Semite. Perhaps he had a double name, as did many of the persons featured in bilingual inscriptions at Palmyra, Hatra and Ruwwāfa, and in the NT. Qayamat is good Nabatean, often appearing in Greek dress in the genitive (which Greek case is the substitute for the patronymic use of the word BR) — καλαμαδόν. The title KLYRK', has no such Greek ending, and Jobling questions whether the semitising of the Greek title chilariarch(os), by dropping the Greek element and adding the Aramaic definite-emphatic suffix -A, is a sign of a deeper level of penetration of society than the mere use of double names.

The Nabatean name behind Zenon must be theophoric, and possible Semitic deities behind "Zeus" are Du Sharā, 'Ilāh, and 'El.
Jobling assumes that Zenon inscribed this greeting/salutation himself. This is an important assumption, as it influences the view we have of the all-important function of such writing. He refers much to A. Negev in Qadem 6 1977. His own article fits into a small recent tradition of reassessment of the situation in, and even the meaning, of the "times": border, or possibly "Frontier", in the American sense.

Such research may eventually allow a fairer comparison of Greek and Semitic purposes and styles of inscribing the NWS alphabet.

North Arabian Epigraphy  in Wadi Ramm

Johansen, K.F.  The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period: an Essay in Interpretation  Copenhagen 1951

This study is not much more modern than van *Hall, but a world separates them. The Dane's is still a classic while the Dutch woman's is largely forgotten. Epigrams are mentioned p. 17, 25, 27, 38, 52, 59, 63, 108f., 119, 159, but the focus here is on art.

The period mainly treated is significantly bounded by the process of the building of the Parthenon 440 BCE and the activities of Demetrius of Phaleron 317/6 BCE.

Johansen discusses, not whether all figures on the stelai are human, but whether all pictured humans are dead, which becomes quite a problem when there are three or more juxtaposed figures.

p. 23 fig. 9 shows a slave boy demonstrating more grief "than would become a free man", the exceptional nature of (a picture of) such abandoned behaviour indicates very well the Classical taste for emotional restraint and stylised public stances.

In the -4C more figures begin to appear on the one relief, and the style of carving moves from the old linear incision to the tridimensionalism of high relief, and to family groups. A notable motif is δηθέος. Two categories can be set up of reliefs: one showing the elements of the daily life, and the other where the groups are stylised and probably not realistic. The Attic reliefs are a homogenous genre.

For χαίρε in inscriptions, see E. Rohde Psyche II 345.

P. 65 ff. Origins and history up to 500 BCE.

Athens was an-epigraphic in the -10C, Thera has later examples with a vertical PN, and the -6C Cyclades are a rich field for the iconic stele. Homeric stelai seem to have been aniconic, "only mazzeboth". The stele and a ceramic jar were commonly set over geometric and archaic burials, seemingly as a grave gift.

p. 71 Inscribed Assyrian stelai all call themselves $LM ("image" in the non technical meaning of the word), but are in fact aniconic, indicating the humanoid nature, perhaps, of many ANE mazzeboth, even if they are just rough fieldstones. [We look at this term in *Höfner's Beleg-Wörterbuch, and it is mentioned in *Noja and also passim in Stockton of course]. Stele leads to relief which is a kind of "portrait" of the deceased. ἀργυρός ἡδονή. Those of Ionia begin as aniconic, though there are some anthemia from Sardis, height about 2 m. At Samos we find casual inscriptions, mainly the name.

P. 79 "connections with Egyptian grave steles, whose functions and character are entirely different, cannot be thought of." [It is not clear if by 'stele' Johansen means the door-stele of the upper level of the mortuary temple only, leading to/ blocking the way to the lower burial chamber, or if he also included in his comment the memorial plaques in the sacred courts of relevant deities, whose Anrügen an Lebenden remind us more of the Greek inscriptions.] See Addenda, *Egypt, e.g., under ὑψί.

P. 80: Cretan stelai appear in the early archaic period, one 72 cm high, 36.5 broad. P. 82, stelai represent the "divine dead", but roughly, or perhaps, numinously: many have rough edges and back, and even a rough base. Hero reliefs are found from mid -6C to Hellenistic Laconia, some showing couples, more individuality being attempted in the portraiture. The rough slab changes to being more regular.

P. 87, fig. 40 shows a youth (Geronthrai) lost in deep sorrow, which Johansen calls "un-Laconian".

-10/9C favoured unshaped mazzeboth, but by -600 there had developed a taste for grandeur. P. 81: a transition in Attic stelai occurred in the -7C, from stele wider at the top than at the base (indicating the shoulders of a human?), to the more common, rounded-top stone of later centuries, slightly wider at the base than higher up, and often led into a stone base. In the -6C pillar-like stelai were popular, with a solid base, and a figure, often a sphinx, sitting on top. Before the mid -6C the deceased appear on the front of the shaft, naked, with sword and staff. There is Ionia influence on the style of capital, and the thickness of columns. In the 3rd quarter of the -6C the capital assumes another shape. Attic palmette stelai, unlike the Ionia ones which they are reminiscent of in style, usually represent the deceased.

Stelai to aoroi are also exceptionally artistic, as a rule. [As their verse epitaphs are frequent and eloquent, see *Vérlhac for a corpus]

P. 109 11 examples of signed stelai are quoted, by the finest artists, which was to change in Democratic Athens of the -5/-4C, when lesser artists signed. P. 111 figures are shown κελάτισσα: racing being the hobby of the élite? See also Wolters Die goldenen Ähren in Festschrift Loeb, on corn as sepulchral and chthonic, as corn ears are a decorative (?) figure, as is the dog, the snake, and the cock, the latter being an animal of sacrifice to chthonic deities.

1st half of -5C, p. 120: in Attica an epitaphic "gap" begins about -500, for private burials, which suddenly turn into modest, pillar-like tombstones, with only a brief name inscription, very poor-looking after the magnificence of the previous century. However, outside Attica (p. 122) there is no gap, especially in the South Aegean Islands. The so-called "strong style" is relatively homogenous, occurring in the 1st half of the -5C. Stelai get slowly squatter,
elderly men are presented, scenes from daily life, grasshoppers (not cicadas?), and hares. P. 131, young warriors are rare, women appear more but are still in the minority, and most are young women. P. 137 returns to the "handshake" (or offer of it), which first appears on late archaic reliefs.

P. 146. The Classic relief seems to have been influenced by older Attic and Laconian habits, and by the immense artistic production of the period just after mid century, the Parthenon being put up 447–432, itself showing (Schuchhardt) the hands of more than 70 craftsmen in the friezes alone. This no doubt encouraged new forms of stele.

P. 155, taenia, woollen bands to tie about gravestones. Note the use of the pictured lecythos, and images of pomegranate and mirrors.

P. 159 & p. 63: The Ampharete epigram [CEG 89] is rare in that it refers to the iconography (van *Hall suggests that such a reference is not quite so rare, but she is handling the whole period of the iconic + lettered stele).

P. 164 there are questions which need to be raised concerning the difference between the "competence" and the "performance" of both the sculptors and the ancient viewers. P. 165 notes in conclusion that what early and mid-moderns took as representational and perhaps realistic, is in fact totally religious art. It works on themes of veneration and devotion and avoids individualistic portraiture, which was presumably present in non-sepulchral art, and available for use as an artistic category.

This inner purpose perhaps explains the long adherence to general, idealised types.

Greek Architecture Burial Grave Reliefs

Josephus and Dindorf Flavius & William 1845 ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥ ΙΟΣΗΠΙΟΥ ΤΑ ΕΥΙΣΚΟΜΕΝΑ, Flavius Josephi Opera, Graece et latine, recognovit Guilelmus Dindorfius, accedunt indices nominem et rerum locupletissimi. Volumen primum Didot Paris

Kaiibel and Peek, G. & W. Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus conlecta edidit Georgius Kaiibel and somewhat corrected by W.Peek, Hildesheim 1965 = Berlin 1878 1965 Greek Epigram Kaiibel

Kassell, R. Dichtkunst und Versification bei den Griechen ("Germany") 1981

500 or so names of dramas survive, and only three authors provably wrote both tragic and comic trimeters. Thus there was a strong sense of genre, and perhaps a strong sense of guild.

Greek Poetics Prosody Poetic craft

Kassell, R. Quod versu dicere non est in ZPE 19 (1975) p.211–218 1975

Epigram P.Nn.versu

Kayser, François Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non-funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (Ier – IIIe s. apr. J.-C.) IFAO Cairo 1994

What is of present interest to us is the lack of any poetic text among these 124 inscriptions. Some matters of lesser importance (echoing concerns emerging in our peripheral discussions in Bibliographies and Addenda), are also here noted:

n° 3 mentions the term laterculus
n° 60/p. 200 Isis of the Thousand Names: Τῇ κυρίᾳ Μυριατόνας etc.

n° 102 List of names of veterans demobilised in 157 CE. Of the 130 names whose origins are expressed, we have an unusual number of North Africans:

88 Africans
15 Italians
1 Dalmatian
1? from Germania Inferior
6 Asia Minor
18 Syro-Phoenicia
1? Egypt

The imbalance may be explained by the Jewish Revolt of 132–133, pretty well 25 years before, which must have drained off Egyptian troops in a "rapid response" and required recruitment from further afield than is indicated by, say, the inscription n° 105 of 194 CE. This latter text names more demobilised veterans, 40 of known origin, as follows:

31 Egypt
6 Syria
2 Africa
1 Bithynia

I.e., these particular men were recruited locally in 168 CE, again 25 years before their demobilisation.

Classical
Our own interest in veterans is limited to their tendency to inscribe in the Syringes and on various colossi, the question of their intentions, and of why non-military persons inscribed less.

**New Books**

ANU 2 016 709  Greek Epigraphy  *Alexandria – non-funerary*

Kegel, W. J. H. F.  *Simonides* Groningen  1962

Born about 557, died 468/7 or so. Native of Cos, then lived at the courts of Hipparchus and the Thessalian Scopas. Frequently in Athens 490–477, then a guest of Hiero at Syracuse. Must have met Anacreon and Lasos in Athens. In Syracuse must have met his nephew Bacchylides and also Pindar. An axial figure in many ways, lived a long life in tumultuous times, and was close to the major historical events from 492–479. As in the case of other famous figures, legends of his personal failings seem rather facile.

Some generalities and detailed study of the fragments of the lyrics. "Conclusions" on his role in developing *epinikia* p. 73.

Epigrams and Elegies p. 77 ff. Anacreon’s claim to be the first to have both sung (worthwhile and recordable) elegies and also written epitaphs in elegiacs is put forward, and then withdrawn. Simonides is given that honour, p. 78. Boas is cited to the effect that only 11 poems are likely to be genuine, Diehl’s *ALG* n° 77, 79, 83, 90–92, 95, 96, 104, 111, 122. After some comments of his own Kegel proceeds to the more manageable general likelihood of some elegiac poems by Simonides being genuine, even if we don’t know which ones. His services were apparently used by Corinthians, Athenians and Spartans. Then he discusses some of the alleged genuine poems and agrees, like most other investigators, that they are no more than possible or likely to be his.

Little or nothing is said on the reputation of Simonides as an originator of systems of "artificial memory", for which see Yates *MEMORART.*

My copy Greek  *Simonides Ke*


Latin  *Gram.Lat.*


Greek Latin Rhetoric  *Rhetoric*

Kent, R.G.  *The Textual Criticism of Inscriptions Linguistic Society of America* 1966 reprint

Kraus Reprint Corporation. NY  1926

Epigraphy  *Inscription text*

Kenyon, F.G.  *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* Oxford 1932

P.58 "Titles, when they appear at all, are appended at the end, as in early printed books". However, in the *ODB under *Headpiece, we read that pre-12C Byzantium *did* have book titles at the front, and quite prominently, until they were pushed out by the "headpiece" part of the frontispiece. See also Komines p. 42, on metrical titles.

091118 Classical Books  *Classical Books*

Keydell, Rudolph  *Bemerkungen zu griechischen Epigrammen* in Hermes 80 (1952)?  p.497–500 1952?

Tries to determine the direction of influence: first the point of AP 5.63 Marc. Argent. is suggested, then Plan 212 is put first by Jacobs and Dübner (Placcus of Alpheios?), and AP XII 200 (229?) Strato is put before V.42 Rufinus because of the necessity of the *viv.*

Greek Epigram  *Antigone Sikele*

Keydell, Rudolph  *Epigramm in RAC (1950–) V, 539–577*  1962

Very full on Nazianzen. Emphasis on Christian times but brief consideration of the antecedents.

Greek Latin Epigram  *Epigramm K*

Kirchner and Klaffenbach, J. & G.  *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum; ein Bilderatlas epigraphischer Denkmäler Attikas* Berlin 2nd. ed. 1948

Greek Epigraphy Art  *Attic graphs*

Kirkhoff, A.  *CIG IV Berlin 1876 Nr. 8606–9926, "Inscriptiones christianae"* ed. A. Kirkhoff. 1876

Greek Epigraphy  *CIG Christian*


The tomb which seems most central to the complex is anepigraphic (a pauper's tomb) and made of a ridge line of opposed stone slabs. It is surrounded by, and supplies the alinement for, richer and richer tombs as pre-Constantinian decades wore on. Our interest is in the type it presents of a poor man's tomb, well preserved but anepigraphic, rather than its claim to be that of Peter.

Burial *Tumba*


Kolbe, W. *Thukydides im Lichte der Urkunden*. Stuttgart 1930

Kroll, Wilhelm (Ps.) Phokyldes *γνώμαι* in RE XX1 p.506–510 1941

Kroll, Wilhelm Sextos in RE2 II4 2061–2064 1923


Lactantius

The CD Rom version of PL available to me in Sydney (Melbourne now has all four disks, Syd Fish has the first, sample disk) reached only up to the first quarter of the corpus, over 50 volumes, not to Sidonius Apollinaris at Vol. 58. More than four dozen citations of epigram(...) were thrown up, all ascribed to the modern preface and note writers except for those attributed to Lactantius. On closer investigation even these were from the "apparatus", which includes notes and all foot of page materials. The interest of all this is that Lactantius, whose short poetic quotations are from the Sibyl and Pagan authors, never seems to use the word "epigram", while his more modern annotators and commentators use it with gay abandon. This in itself is the motive for a study of both periods. We have noted that, except for Sidonius, the title "epigram" is extremely rare in Medieval writing, though many Medievals must have known something of Martial, Ausonius, Claudian, Sidonius, and other authors and anthologies which used the term in late antiquity. This difference too is worthy of closer speculation and collection of information.

Latin Verses *Migne PL 6*

Lafaye, G Catulle et ses modèles. Paris 1894

Lafaye’s old book expresses elegantly an old admission:

p.225 "l’épigramme ainsi compris vit des miettes de l’élégie; entre les deux genres, il n’y a qu’un différence de proportions." As one quickly finds from the naïve presenters of epigram, which usually means the non-German, "epigram" is verse, but may be prose; is short but may be quite long; has "point", but its best examples (in the thousands) have no point; is cultivated but is the poetry of everyday events and people; is non lyric and non sung but can be sung; non-erotic but also predominantly erotic in some periods; depends on its even shorter title, but often comes without such a title; and can be in any "voice", in any type of verse and on any topic. In fact, Priamel and Sonnet are epigram, as epigram is elegy, and madrigal too. The real epigram is the Tanka and Haikai of the Classical...
Japanese, not what we have misguidedly been calling epigram for two millennia. There is no epigram in the Middle Ages, though Latin writers of that period wrote short poems and even sometimes thought they were writing “epigram”. There is epigram in the Renaissance, though they called the majority of poems which they let into this category (based on all external signs) by other names: icones, sylvae, tultum, vota, and of course, elegiae. And all this when they had a chapter of epigrams elsewhere in the same book.

Such are the disjectae ideae of the less theoretically-inclined critics. We may finally decide on complex evidence that they were not talking total nonsense and were embroidering a real intuition of genre and a real tradition of practice, but we cannot take what they say on its face value.

Lafaye also remarks on the absence of satire in Greek epigrams, mentioning the Strabo XIV,1 crucifixion epigram, and “Daphnidas” as the earliest. His comment on the former:

p.229 “Un roi qui répond à des distiques par des distiques doit, même quand il menace, être disposé au pardon.”

And he mentions the following poems within the Catullan corpus as showing internal quotation and variation, a very old characteristic of epigram:

XCII & LXXXIII, LXXII & LXXXVII, CXV & CXIV.

Latin Epigram to Catullus

Lang, M. Graffiti in the Athenian Agora Princeton N.J. 1974

A restricted selection.

Greek Graffiti Agora Graffiti

Laqueur, Richard Philochoros aus Athen in RE XIX2 2434–2442 1938

Greek Epigraphy Philochorus

Larfelt, W Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik Hildesheim/N.Y. = 1902 Leipzig 1971

Greek Epigraphy Handbuch

LaRue, R. Clavis scriptorum graecorum et latinorum 4 voll. Quebec 1985

Greek Latin bibliography New Clavis

Laser, Siegfried Archaeologia Homerica Kapitel T Sport und Spiel Göttingen 1987

P. T11 δύσω — originally "gathering", as etymologically

T21 Feste zu Ehren Toter


T38 (f) Diskoswerfen (very heavy when of stone), a recoverable type 28cm diam, 6 cm thickness, weighing at least 7kg. A lighter bronze one 24 cm diam, 3.5 cm thickness, 3.8 kg. No doubt a prestige object in the earliest games, including funerary games, originally flat riverstones, later shaped stone, later bronze, perhaps explaining the cult of the inscribed funerary disc, of which a few survive. Their connection with the sporadic funerary disk is not discussed.

DF13 A72 Bd.s Kapitel T Homeric Games Sport und Spiel

Latte, Kurt Orakel in RE XVIII 1, 829–866 1939 See Addenda.

Greek Epigram Oracles

Lattimore, R. Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs Urbana 1942

Greek Latin Epigraphy Burial Themes

Lausberg, M. Das Einzeldistichon. Studien zum antiken Epigramm München 1982

Greek Epigram Einzeldistichon

ΛΑΖΑΝΑΣ, ΒΑΖ. Ι ΒΑΖ. Ι ΛΑΖΑΝΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΠΟΙΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΓΑΙΟΥ ΩΛΑ ΤΑ ΣΧΕΤΙΚΑ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ Αθήναι 1986 Selected text with Demotic translation and notes.

Most useful for the introduction, in which Lazanas quotes (in translation) W. Christ, F. Jacobs, K.O. Müller, Albin Lesky, K. Trypanis (very valuable this, I think, as his early work on Greek Alexandrian Poetry Athens 1943 may not be accessible, and the following two items will almost certainly not be), Kostes Palamas and G. Theanesis. The most surprising assumption of the author seems to be based on Epigramm und Skolion: that from the year –600 epitaphs were already being sung to music (presumably in the archaic symposion, as eulogies or threnodies, see p.7). His Jacobs quote takes Anacreon as an epigrammatist, indicative of the Western attitude to Anacreonics and to epitaph from the Renaissance to the early 19C at least. It is also indicative of a very generous treatment of often meagre evidence by Greek scholars, even great ones like Trypanis. They tend to assume great age,
comprehensiveness and continuity of epigram in the face of the scepticism of non-Greek scholars.

Greek Epigram  ΑΡΧΑΙΟΙ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΠΟΙΟΙ


Not available through the channels now open to me. A corpus without any competitor, which is treated and praised by many authors. Presumably mixing verse and prose texts, unlike Pfohl.

Treated as the (improved) anathematic equivalent of Pfohl's GPOS by Svenbro in Detienne. GPOS has 198 epitaphs, M.-L. Lazzarini has five times that number of anathematic texts from the same period, 1000+ from the –8C to the end of the –5C, apparently some numbers are extended by inserts in the form of a, b, c etc., which lemmatise texts clearly separate from each other.

Leach, Eleanor Winsor  Poetics and Poetic Design in Tibullus' First Elegiac Book  in Arethusa 13,1 Spring 1980 p.79–96. 1980

Latin  Tibullus one


Cf his comment ZPE 23 (1976) p.30, but in a context where Latin literary scholars are implied: Im allgemeinen begegen inschriftlich erhaltene Verse keinem Interesse. Sie sind verstossen in das Niemandsland zwischen der Epigraphik, die so gut wie ausschliesslich historisch orientiert ist, und der Philologie, deren Aufmerksamkeit vornehmlich der grossen Literatur gilt.

I will be forgiven, I hope, for paraphrasing: In general, epigraphically preserved verses are of little interest, falling between the historical interests of epigraphy and the high-literary interests of Philology.

The poetic "graffiti" selected by Lebek seem to indicate that the two-line elegiac "distich" was a standard length to write on walls. Unfortunately, it is hard to date such epigraphs, but they are at the very least pre- or para-Martialian. This alone makes them of interest, especially as Lebek's reading of one, in particular, gives it a surprising sharpness of final "point". He also treats the process of wall placarding as no different from that of MSS distribution of poetry. He leaves in considerable doubt the process, context and motives of the composition of such popular and often scurrilous little poems. Interestingly, he also regards the former, four line graffiti as a pair of related, fictional, epitaphs. See Addenda §30.2 in medio et in fine.

Latin Epigram Graffiti  Crudity

Lebek, W.D.  Ein lateinischen Epigramm aus Pompeii (vellem essem gemma eqs) und Ovids gedicht vom Siegelring (am. 2.15)  in ZPE 23 (1976) p.21–40 1976b

See Addenda §14.9

Latin Epigram  vellem essem


Note that Vol. I runs from A–V, covering only selected works. Vol. II covers letters A–V again on the remaining works.

We looked in this for Augustinian evidence of funerary practice and verse, but found that the book opens with the usual prose Epistola, and then goes on to matters of more interest for our survey of occasional, and even of "inscribed" verse. There is the not uncommon Carmen acrostichum (common in Byzantium) giving the name of the author, in a length greater than what we would regard as epigrammatic, and under it a distich which gives the name again in what must have been a popular anagram: DAVID LENFANT = ludit nefanda ("toys with the unspeakable")! [Both contain the same letters: a; a; d; d; e; f; i; l; n; n; t and u/v, by whatever system these be counted "gematrically".]

NOMINIS ANAGRAMMA  David Lenfant – ludit nefanda

(and then the distich, in Baroque taste) We were directed to the small treatise de cura pro mortuis for the monumentum/monimentum idea. For it, see Addenda.

ANU G fBR65 .A9 L45 1982  Latin  Augustine Concordance

Lenz, T.M.  Orality and Literacy in Hellenic Greece  Carbondale 1989ca.

Text-based, rather than primarily sociological like Harris.

Greek Literacy  Oral and Lit.
Leo, F. *Die griechische-römische Biographie*
Anecdotal *Classical biography*

*Egyptian* *Ptol Egypt*

Lewis, Naphthali *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* Oxford 1983
*Egyptian* *Rom Egypt*

Mentions modern treatments up to Cole’s *Epiploke*.
*Greek Prosody* *Alternating Rhythm*

Lindsay, J. *Song of a Fallen World: Culture during the Break-Up of the Roman Empire AD. 350–600* Lond. 1948
*Classical* *Fall of Empire*

Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, Hugh & Peter *Supplementum Hellenisticum* Berlin and NY 1983
P.482–506 “Epigrammata” (which is a purely editorial title). No mention of “epigramm-“ in the index
verborum. P.487 n° 975 n° 977ff.
and n° ‘epigrammatum tetrastichorum series, unicuique praecessit titulus –3C?’
*Greek Epigram* *Suppl Hell.*

*Greek Literacy* *commercial literacy*

Longo, V. *L’epigramma scoptico greco* Genova 1967
Mainly on the xi-th book of AP. Mime is taken as an influence. The place (or absence) of direct personal attack
discussed, and the rise and fall of the genre. It is noted that Atticism spread more slowly in the "real world" than
did among grammarians.
*Greek Epigram* *Scoptico*

*Greek Solon writing*

Loyen and Sidonius, André *Sidoinie Apollinaire Tome II Lettres Livres I–V* Paris (Budé) 1970
P. viii: the 146 letters were written at a point in history when barbarian groups, accepted as "con-federates" in
Gallia, began their self emancipation and the establishment of separate kingdoms. Thus, for the educated and
traditional minded, it was a traumatic period of history.
Sidonius uses interesting vocabulary, all, says Loyen, to denigrate his own works, in the interests of a chinesestyle
*urbanitas*: menu fretin (*quisquiliae*), des chansons (*nugae*), des contes de bonne femme (*neniae*); son style est
celui d’un paysan, d’un ignorant (*stylo rusticante... indocto*), lui-même n’est qu’un bavard, qui jappe à tort et à
travers, semblable à ces jeunes chiens qui n’ont même pas la force à aboyer.

Sidonius boasted inflatedly of what he had done to some desecrators of graves. Most naturally the words meant
that he actually killed them. Anderson and Loyen have difficulty with this common view on the grounds of their
understanding of propriety at the time. "Abbreviating" Sidonius’ phrasing is always a possibility.

P. 225 on the Poems: sub. 49: Sidonius’ verse works were probably published in several successive editions,
the final one in 469 (t. I, p. xxx). The Letters, at least their first book, were already published when S. wrote to
Placidus, which Loyen thinks was in 469–470. See his introd. p. xlvi.

sub. 50: Sidonius’ literary detractors were apparently numerous, particularly in his early days of publication.

Sub 51: Sidonius is taken as epitomising what he thought to be the central qualities of his writing: scientia, pompa, proprietas langue latinae.

878.9 S569 BF 1/1 Syd Fish Latin Sidonius–Lo

Luck, G. Die Dichterinnen der griechischen Anthologie in Pfohl 1969 (= 1954) 1969

Names: Erinna, Anyte, Moero, Nossis, all said to be —350 — —250. Erinna is praised (at least) in 6 poems, though three only of hers are preserved. Anyte has 5 on objects, 5 landscape epigrams, 5 epigrams for men or girls, and 5 for animals in AP. G. Herrlinger hazarded the opinion that Anyte initiated the Hellenistic genre of epigram, with her unique “serious-sentimental” style. Perhaps she invented two forms. Her style is otherwise close to that which we find on stones. Moiro is influenced by Anyte, “but frostier!” Nossis was “influenced by Leonidas”.

Greek Epigram AP Poetesses

Luck, G. Witz und Sentiment im griechischen Epigramm in Dihle 1968 p.387–408 1968 Greek Epigram Wit and sentiment

Lüderitz, Gert Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika, mit einem Anhang von Joyce M. Reynolds Wiesbaden 1983 CN 745 L82


One might assume that where poetic inscriptions abounded in a culture, they would appear on extremely prestigious objects like swords. Ploss claims that Western swords lacked the me fecit style of inscription. Legendary, and no doubt real swords each had a name. Muslim swords, and even Byzantine swords, are found with epigraphy, admittedly of the modern period. See in Addenda *Greek Medieval, *Weapons, also in Addenda, Dumbarton Oaks Bibliography, Epigraphy, p.257, where the inscribed swords are 17C, and possibly from Turkish-Muslim sources, thus likely to have been influenced by the now mature Muslim inscriptionsal habit.

Latin Epigraphy On arms


Macquarie University, Ancient History Documentary Research Centre Ephesus and the World of St. Paul. The inscriptions of an ancient metropolis and the social context of early Christianity North Ryde 1993

Note the quatrain form of the classicising inscription boasting of iconoclasm!

[Δαϊμωνος Αριτέμιδος καθελων | ἀπαθήλου εἴδος
| Δημεας ἀτρεκής | ἄνθετο σήμα τόδε
| εἰδώλων ἐλατήρα | θεόν σταυρὸν τε | γερέρων
υικόφρουν Χριστοῦ σύμβολον ἀδανάτου

cf. New Docs 1979, 125

I. Eph. V.1520, late I BC/AD I init.

The only other short poem quoted, this time in iambics.

tō τέμενος τής Ἀριτέμιδος ἄσυλου
πάν ὄσον ἐσω περιβόλου ὃς ἡ ἀν
παραβαίνην αὐτὸς [αὐτὸν αἰτιάσεται]
cf. new docs 1979, 78, p.168

Greek Epigram Ephesus

* Classical
Thesis Bibliography 1 — 22 December 1995  P 260

Maffi, A. Écriture et pratique juridique dans la Grèce classique in Detienne 1988 p.188–210 1988
Greek Forensic law writing

Malherbe, Abraham J. Moral exhortation a Greco-Roman sourcebook Philadelphia 1986
For NT students, a work of "vulgarisation" by an expert.
P. 19 Hierocles "early +2C Stoic"; p.109 Gnomes "pithy sayings or maxims"; p.111 Chreiai (similar); p.115 Poetry "compilations of quotations", maxims from Menander, and Euripides used as school/tutors' copying exercises quite early. (P. 158 slavery and freedom in ancient moral thought.)
170.938 11 Gnomica Classical Classical gnomica

Marangou, Evangelia-Lila Lakonischen Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien Tübingen 1969
Of all the corpus, only one inscription in Greek is found, taken up in LSAG as a -7C text, 188 n° 1. Inscriptions are very few:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>page</th>
<th>piece n°</th>
<th>inscription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>503*</td>
<td>LSAG 188 n°1 -7C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>1200*</td>
<td>Aramaic, in find from Senjirli, Syria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>1204*</td>
<td>Syro-Phoenician from Arslan-Tash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G NK 5860 .M3</td>
<td>Laconian Ivories</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Greek Epigram Earliest


Collections like this lie behind the influence of "Greek" epigram on the early Renaissance. It is late 4C early 5C, and shows coherence as a collection. The proportion of hexameter epigrams suggests lateness. Parts of it appear variously published, usually as "Ausonius". Epigram is a form of literary play, as with the genuine Ausonius. The Greekness of style and tone, and occasionally of clear dependence, provided later ages of Latin writers an alternative model to that of Martial. See F. *Munari and *Cameron 1993, p.82ff.

Latin Epigram Bobiensa–Ma

Markwald, G. Die homerischen Epigramme, sprachliche und inhaltliche Untersuchungen Königstein 1986

All 15 epigrams are in the "Herodotean" Life of Homer, which itself is Hellenistic or late Hellenistic. Opinions differ enormously about their age and genuineness. 1865 Welker: "High Alexandrine or earlier"; 1972 Bergk: ca. 335BCE; 1876 Schmidt: ca. 140CE; 1915 Wilamowitz 130–80BCE, i.e., very late Hellenistic; 1916 Ludwich +2C; 1933/1961 Jacoby: "a lightly reworked text on a prearistotelian Vorlage, i.e., -5C; 1942/1959 Schadewaldt: "not before +1C, in Ionic and archaising style, taken from a work on Homer of the Platonist Herakleides."

No. 11, 12, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15 are also in Suidas; n° 3, 12 are in Certamen, the former in three places. Only n° 2, 4, 5, 7 are confined to the Vita.

As the poems are not fully comprehensible (p.16) without the prose text which most assume to be later than them, the question is basically the age, not of the version in the Vita Homeri, but of the oral story which it takes up. Melanopus from Magnesia married a daughter of Omyres at Cumae. Their daughter Kretetis had an illegitimate child and she went to Smyrna, recently founded. She gave birth by the river Meles, and called the child Melesigenes. He eventually went to Phemios and became the best student, and then the leader of the school. The poet had four periods of wandering: his learning years, P. to Chios, S. to Phokaia, Ch. to Hellas. He died at Ios. Now Herakleitos knew some of this story. Plato knew the Midas epigram and so perhaps did Simonides.

Ludwich (p.17) calls them, not epigrams, but occasional poems like many of Simonides and Callimachus!

— "Inscription", lament, "sentence", prayer, admonition, prophecy, beggars' song, rules for the farmer, frivolous jokes, solemn Priamel — all have a "point". P. 18 — The hexameter was not used for such small poems after Archilochus.

The number of versions of the Bronze Maiden "epigram" (fifteen, representing quite divergent traditions) leads M. to place it in the -7C, to make it genuinely inscrptional, but not necessarily referring to the same "Midas" which it was later taken to proclaim.

All these poems have some point, but point is lacking in stone epigram. "Epigram" comes in the most varied types.

The author identifies typical epigram with the corpora of Callimachus and "Simonides".

Greek Epigram Homeric Epigrams

Classical
Martial and Boirivant and Maspero

Marziale Epigrammi a. c. di Giuliana Boirivant, Presentazione Francesco Maspero.

First, Maspero, 1988, on Martial.

Not read much in the Middle Ages, for "ethico-religious" reasons. Ed. princeps 1470, and much contemporary polemic: Niccolò Perotti, first full commentary, Roman, 1473, opposed by Domizio Calderini of the same Studio Romano, himself originally of Verona. He published his commentary the next year, 1574. Also involved in the dispute was Giorgio Merula, official historian of the Visconti. Maspero declines to indicate the "many" Italians who imitated Martial. He goes to (more prestigious?) England, Germany and France for names to cite. England: Ben Johnson, John Davies of Hereford (The Scourge of Folly 1611), Jonathan Swift 1677–1745, e.g.: // He gave the little wealth he had / To build a house for fools and mad, / To show by one satiric touch / No nation wanted it so much.// Germany: Goethe 1749–1832, who called the man from Bilbilis: "unser Vorgänger Martial", and quoted also 'hominem pagina nostra sapit', with some verses from Horace, in the introduction to Venetianische Epigramm 1790. N.b. Xenien 174, against Newton: // Newton hat sich geirrt? ja doppelt und dreifach! und wie denn? / Lange steht es gedruckt, aber es liest kein Mensch.//, also the epigram mocking (?) the a priori categories of Kant: // Raum und Zeit, ich empfind es, sind Blosse Formen des Denkens.// Schiller also wrote epigrams, which he published in his Musenalmanach.

We must note the extreme randomness of both the English the German exempla, though perhaps Goethe had to be mentioned. From France Maspero cites only Clément Marot 1496–1544 and Victor Hugo 1802–1885, whose youthful translation of viii, 74 is: // Autrefois médecin, et maintenant soldat, / Vous n'avez pas changé d'état.// A paraphrase of x, 8: // Barbaphon me parlait d'hymen ces jours passés/ J'ai refusé... de lui son âge me dégoûte.// Schiller also wrote epigrams, which he published in his

Of more interest in what Maspero writes on his own vernacular epigrammatic tradition, particularly his mention of a Discorso preliminare sopra l'epigramma of Leopardi, and his citations from it: «non sono molto communi in Italia» [sc. gli epigrammi], and his summary of Leopardi's judgement that it was a Luigi Alamanni 1495–1556 who first tried to introduce [vernacular?] epigram into Italy, without his own poems having much success «per la loro insulsaggine e per gli inetti pensieri di cui sono ripieni.». On Martial: «ebbene con una maravigliosa dolcezza faccia uso assai spesso de' sali epigrammatici, ha nondimeno degli epigrammi assai mediocri e pieni d'oscenità.»

Same volume, the editor Giuliana Boirivan adds: Ausonius 310 ca. – 393/94, uses Martialian echoes in his book of 114 epigrams, and also in the Epistulae. Note in Ausonius 94, v.6 and Martial, v, 11, 10 (actually, vii, 11), the same final "point": Marce, ut ameris ama; ep. 36 has the same theme as Martial I, 57, a refusal of too facile 'love'; Ausonius 69 takes up the theme of doctors who accelerate the death of patients (but surely such a topos is not likely to have been unique to Martial, whatever its absence in surviving Latin literature). As a general influence, the editor cites also the PNn of Galla, Lais, Glicera, and a general taste in Ausonius for final "point". In the Cento Nuptialis (11) Ausonius makes the same declaration as Martial I, 4, "if my verses are lascivious, my life is pure, as says Martial".

Of more interest is a snippet from Spain, though in the Italian language, as Martial is said to have been very popular in that country in the 16/17C. Sonnet 29 of Garcilaso de la Vega (1501–1536, quoted from his Sonetti, a cura di G. E. Sansone, Parma 1988), recalls De Spectaculis 25b:

Solcando il mare Leandro animoso,
nel fuoco dell'amore tutto ardendo,
il vento rinforzò e ribellendo
l'acqua s'alzò con impeto furioso.

Fiaccato dallo sforzo tormentoso
e ai marosi oppressi non potendo,
più del bene perduto, l'È. morendo,
che del suo stesso vivere ansioso,
come poté, un alito esalando,
alle onde parlò con stanca voce,
che tuttavia non venne percepita:

"Poiché non può evitarsi morte atroce,
laciatemi arrivare, e ritornando
la vostra furia stronchi la mia vita."

Cf. Cum peteret dulces audax Leandros amores
et fessus tumidis iam premereetur aquis,
sic miser instantes adfatus dicitur undas:
'Partite dum propero, mergite cum redeo.'

Finally, as often in Italy, whose scholars tend to see these days as honest brokers of all European culture, some Russian reflections. Quoted: Mikhail Lomonsov 1711–1765, Petr Vjazemskij 1792–1878, and of course,
Aleksandr Puškin 1799–1837. Also mentioned, a translation into verse by Afanasij Fet in 1891, the recent version of N. Satnikov of 1937, and the most recent Russian version to the date of writing, done by a team of translators, in 1968.

877.6 J1 PI Latin epigram Martial Bo

Martial and Citroni, Marcus Valerius & Mario
Firenze 1975 Latin Epigram Martial Ci

Martial and Howell, Marcus Valerius & Peter
A Commentary on Book One of the Epigrams of Martial
London 1980 Latin Epigram Martial Ho

Martial and Kay, Marcus Valerius & Nigel M.
Martial Book XI, A Commentary
London 1985 Latin epigram Martial Ka

Martial and Killigrew, & Henry
Epigrams of Martial, Engished with some other pieces, ancient and modern
mfm 791 607:11 M830 Latin English Epigram Martial Englished

Martial and Lindsay, & W.M.
M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata
Oxford 1989 = ed. altera 1929, cf. 19031, 1898 Latin Epigram Martial Li


Amid much praise for Baillet's collection (1883–1889 and again 1913–1914) and edition (Cairo 1920–1926) of the Greek and Latin graffiti of the Syringes, some corrections. It seems that Baillet was rather daring in his reconstructions.

Most of the more than 2,000 little texts are made up of a name, often a single name, but also with a patronymic. Some few (100 or so) indicated their ethnic name. Batalla, Clarysse and Bingen know more about onomastics than the editor did, and can presumably be trusted in their opinion that many of the names graffitoed without any ethnic expressed are those of locals, Thebans, even Memnonites and Hermouthites: Πέτρος, Παύλος, Ψευδόμοι, Φύλοι, Μικρός, Παλαιός, Αμύνοι, and Ψευδόμοι. Clarysse indicates the Theban importance of the Demotic name Bouchis, explained or corrected by Baillet into (a variant of) Baki and Bixis. In Greek and in Demotic Syringes graffiti, even more Pibouchis names are extant than those collected in 1984 from various sources by Clarysse. Baillet alludes to the non-Greek graffiti but does not edit these. Those names which Clarysse did study show that in 59 filiations out of 65, the onomastics for two generations is entirely Egyptian. A famous exception is a Pétrochouis son of Lysimachos, from a restored P. Mich. XV 705. No 1145 has Φύλοι, Αυλικόι, surely the same family. Mixed filiation was, by Imperial times, non-predator of race or of language.

Martin claims to have found two onomastic ghosts in Baillet, this the only original part of his article: Θεός, n° 2119 = SB I 1825) and Κτίσμα, n° 1439 = SB III 6624. A photo makes it clear that the second ghost should be the common Επος. In addition, n°° 764 and 764a were restituted and explained as having been made by "Scythian" signatories, from Tanais, and from Tomi, but without having seen the original, Martin takes the crucial former adjective as referring to the local Tanite name. Mixed filiation was, by Imperial times, non-predator of race or of language.

Dates are rare, only 60 or so in the Syringes, and only 30 of these allow for the recovery of a precise year. Now a third of this thirty come from the age of one emperor, admittedly a long-ruling one, Augustus: years 4 (2001 - SB III 6621); 5 (1587), 10 (382); 14 (1206 = SB III 6639, 1491 = SB III 6635, 1492 = SB III 6636, 1628); 29 (1443 = SB III 6631) and year 37 (371). This drop-off is not properly described or explained by Baillet. It was immediate. The rest of the 4-1C has only two dated inscriptions, under Claudian (1679) and Vespasian (1439). It is wrong procedure to use the pattern of these 30 dates to speculate about the temporal scatter of the whole corpus of 2,000+ graffiti, and if the following speculation is correct, the dated inscriptions are of an atypical sort. Martin does not mention any special proclivity of soldiers towards dating their graffiti. His lack of attention to this likely tendency is a major logical weakness in this little offering to Chronique d'Egvpt, n° 66.

M.P. Speidel provides a hypothesis in CE 57 (1982) p. 120–124 = Roman Army Studies I Amsterdam 1984 pp. 317–321: Augustus' Deployment of the Legions in Egypt. No 1733 mentions an ἑπαρχος καστρων Θηβων. It is proposed to make Thebes the location for one of the three legions stationed in Egypt under Augustus (Strabo XVII 1, 12). If there were thousands of exotic soldiers half way up the Right Bank of the Nile, it would easily explain the sudden rise in Greek names in the nearby Syringes, where the normal inscriptive pattern seems to be to have local names and a smaller number of habitual tourists. The Greek names are no obstacle to this theory. H. Devijver 1974

Classical
treats the origins of 54 legionaries who served in Egypt from Augustus to Caligula. There are 9 Italians-westerners-
Africans; 36 Orientals, and 9 Egyptians. One soldier is, in effect (371), called Γαλάτης Λουκᾶς. After 23 CE
(Tacitus IV 5, 2) only two legions remained in Egypt, "no doubt" grouped at Alexandria.

The final footnote gives the Baillet numbers of the thirty inscriptions treated in this unoriginal article. Its only
originality lies in connecting the general pattern of Syringine onomastics with some independent work of Clarysse,
the detection of more Pibouchis names than those in Clarysse's article, and the rooting out of two ghosts. The doubt
thrown on the "Scythians" is too diffuse and unsupported to be credited to the author.

Egypt epigraphy Syringes 2

Marucchi and Willis, O. & J.A. Christian Epigraphy, an Elementary Treatise with a Collection of
Ancient Christian Inscriptions, Mainly of Roman Origin. Translated by J.Armine Willis
reprint Chicago 1974 = 1974? (19052)
913.376/52 Syd Fish Greek Latin Medieval Epigraphy Christian epigraphs

Marx, Friedrich Anthologia 2) Lateinisch, in RE 1,2 col 2391–2392 1894

As Auct. ad Her. IV 3 makes explicit and as is inherently likely anyway, Romans followed the common later
practice of collecting notable extracts from literature: στημεῖοσθαι, notare. Marcus Aurelius asks his teacher
Fronto (105N) Mitte mihi ... etiam sic Lucretii aut Enni excerpta habes εἴφωρα ... et sicubi ήδονος εἴρησες.
Collections of such sententiae were extensively used in schools. See Ad Herr. IV 7. Out of all this useful
and popular book production we now have only the sententiae of Publilius Syrus . Collections of the works of a number
of poets are to be expected, and are rather a different matter from " commonplace books". See Catullus 14 for an
allusion to one such. Porphyry on Horace ep. I 13 recalls a collection of satires of Augustan period made from the
works of Ennius, Lucilius and Varro. Obviously, the most suitable texts for commercial collection and publication
were short poems or short moralising texts in prose. See Galli XIX 9, 7 (Apul de mag. 9) and Ovid trist. II 433 ff.
See also Pliny ep. V 3, 5, Martial praef. and the Priapea.

We know of no great ancient anthology of Latin short poems. In the 6C an unsystematic collection of North
African writers, especially Luxorius, does survive in the cod. Salmasianus. It has fallen to moderns to compile a
"Latin Anthology", no doubt inspired by the Greek progeny of Meleager. See Anthologia vet. lat. epigrammatum et
poematum sive catalecta poet. lat. ex marmor, et monum. inscr. et cod. mscr. eruta cura P. Burmanni (Secundi)
Büchsel's collection of Latin poetic inscriptions. See also Poetae latini minores by P. Burmann the elder, Leid.
1731 2 voll, apparently continuus in 8 voll, by I. C. Wernsdorf, Altenburg 1780–1798, and in 5 voll. by E.
Baehrens Lips. 1879–1883, and see also Baehrens's Fragmenta poetarum Romanorum Lips. 1886. There are of
course 20C "Latin anthologies" of similar tendency. We have named only the earlier ones.

Marx says nothing of collections of short poems made in the Carolingian period which are now part of the so-
called Latin Anthology. The emphasis in this article of the turn of the century is instructive when compared with the
one on Mukhtarat (anthologies) in the ("New") Encyclopedia of Islam. See also Preisendanz, Anthologie, below.

Latin Epigram Latin Anthology

Mentzu-Maimare, K. (Neugr.) Datierte byz. Inschriften des Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum IV.
2 in : Deltion tes christianikes Archaeologikes Hetaireias Per.4, tom. ( Athens 1977/8) 77–131
(geographisch geordnet mit Bibliographie). 1977–8
Greek Byzantine Epigraphy Dated Byzantine

Meritt, B.D. Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora, Princeton N.J. 1966
Greek Epigraphy Agora Inscriptions

ωίμοι στ' γε γε Φαλήνη Άνωρος έι όως ύπόκειται should be ωίμοι στ' γε Φαλήνη ή Άνωρος έι όως ύπο
κείται ... with the name of the deceased elsewhere, but now lost. See Page Five Hellenistic epitaphs... for
omission of names or sidestepping of a cretic name.
Greek Burial Names Phalene?


The article opens with 16 possible fragmentary survivals of N's works, one or more references given for each,
but almost no texts (these the writer "will publish" in Rheinisches Museum). Athen III 23 gives him a Διώνυσις ;
Achill. Eiaay. 22 p. 51, 29 M gives him a Τριψυχος, Porph.; Horat. Art Poet. I a poetae; Athen X 81 a Περί
ἐπιγραμμάτων; Schol Gei Hom II XXI 394 a third book Περί γλωσσών Όμηρου; Athen XI 53 [Eustath Hom
Od IX 346] a-(nother? the same? erroneous proofreading in RE?) third book of the Γλώσσα. Strabo XIII 1, 19
names "him" as ο γλωσσαγράφος, as does Eustath Hom II IX 378. Philodemus in Π. Ποιημ. V p. 27, 33–33
(another proofreader's error in RE?) 28J mentions ...αλλα μην ο ποιησηλόμενος ...which is "ohne Zweifel"
Diogenes Laertius and his Hellenistic Background Wiesbaden 1978

Meyer, J. Diogenes Laertius and his Hellenistic Background Wiesbaden 1978

Greek Epigram Diogenes’ Laertius

Meyer, J. Diogenes Laertius and his Hellenistic Background Wiesbaden 1978

Greek Epigram Diogenes’ Laertius


Greek Hellenistic Syria

Morandi, A Epigrafia Italiana Rome 1982

A selective and very well illustrated corpus of all inscriptions from the Italian peninsula, of most interest for the speaking inscription.

P. 47 The furiously contested (lost) inscription on the Praenestine fibula: MANIOS ME VHEVHAKED NUMASIOI is taken, tentatively, as genuine. It certainly fits the type well.

P. 57 See ECO (=ego) QUTON and MI QUTON.

P. 126 HERENTATEIS SÜM (Oscan)

P. 172 … DOUHENA EMI... (this and the remaining come from the north, which may be significant, if Germanic Runes came from the north of Italy as well, given that the speaking inscription is common in the Germanic North and centre)

P. 180 ff. me(o (= mego) donasto + PN, also mego doto

Classical
Latin Prosody  *Late metricology*

Symposium  *Simposio*

Munari, Franco *Ausonio e gli epigrammi greci* in Studi italiani de filologia classica 1956.
Latin Greek Epigram  *Greek Ausonius*


+4C onwards, after a short introduction on the formative centuries of this genre. Scattered texts and insufficient commentaries bedevil the study of late Latin epigram. (N.b., the update of *Favreau needs to be compared with this 1950s* statement). Because of the way this genre imitated and modified previous treatments, it is important even for literary analysis to have some idea of the chain of imitation, of the models each author and his intended readership had in mind. Luxorius stands in the very important tradition of Martial. Ausonius and the Bobiensa stand clearly in the traditions known from the AG. Each was aware, however, of the other tradition, and it seems that the later Empire had a decidedly “mixed culture”. Despite his reputation as a “long, flat” writer (outside of his generally praised *Mosella* and the *Bissula*), Ausonius uses very little traditional material in the Epitymbia, the Parentalia and the *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium*. This is poetizing “from experience”, whatever we may think of the results. The idea of a complete cycle of epigrams in honour of parents and colleagues seems to have been his original contribution. He uses borrowed material in other books, such as the *Epitaphia heroum qui bello Troico interfuerunt*, and the *Epigrammata de diversis rebus*. Catullus and Martial both used Greek materials, even from Greek-writing contemporaries, such as Lukillianos for Martial, and Ausonius at least avoids slavish imitation [as Munari illustrates in more detail in his article of 1969]. On p.130 Munari gives a valuable identification of general epigrammatic practice: metre, subjects, tone, including the originality and personal resonance of some topics and the largely conventional treatment of others, and the sorts of subjects chosen for series of epigrams on the same topic by the same author. The Bobiensa poems show that Ausonius was known at Rome, not surprising in view of his tutorship of Valentinian’s son Gratian. Domitius Marsus, Naucellius, a senator connected with Symmachus are evidenced, and Symmachus was a correspondent of Ausonius, mentioning in one of his letters the popular Greek theme of the statue of Myron’s cow, treated in 4 consecutive epigrams from the Bobiensa’s 19 on works of art, and in a cycle of 8 in Ausonius. Other more general similarities of approach between Ausonius and the Bobiensa can be distinguished (p.132), the most important being that 5 Greek poems still preserved in our time are the originals of imitations both by Ausonius and by the authors of the Bobiensa collection. The Bobiensa is here said to be a later emulatio of the work of Ausonius by a person or persons in the entourage of Symmachus. Not only was Greek writing from the past imitated, but (Bob. 50) at least one distich by Palladas, born 360 CE. See Siedschlag for more detail on the contrast of later collections with that of Martial, especially in the mixture of metres.

The Anthologia Latina is another important source for later Latin epigram writing, a collection of collections (382 poems from Augustus to the 6C), quite well preserved and apparently written in Carthage about 530 CE. See F. Marx in RE. Martial is much imitated as a skeptic writer, but also for his *de spectaculis*, apparently a popular genre in Latin and Greek in the later Empire. Erotic poetry, as with the Christian Bishop Ennodius, is popular, also ecphrastic epigram. Luxorius (of Carthage, 89 poems) is the main figure, but some adespota are noteworthy. The name of Symphosius (ca.400CE) takes us to the riddle literature, and this is the only ancient collection we know of by the one author. His book is a century of three-liners (Hx). See CXXXIIIA of Corpus christianorum. The relationship of riddle to epigram is probably to be compared with that of epigram with any other more narrowly-distinguished short form — the more distinct form usually hives off, retaining a sufficiently vague family relationship with the mish-mash which is “epigram” to bemuse later theoreticians and anthologists. Because of the social occasion of their use as much as their individual theme, tactics and form, riddles were collected and grouped, as in Athenaeus X and AG XIV. For the somewhat more serious Latins, Ausonius produced a 90 line *Gripphus*
ternarii numeri, still a nuga, with a considerable prose introduction, in the form of a verse letter to the destinee. Symphosius is the Martial of the ænigma and the griphus, with a long progeny. His style is full of rhymes and assonances, and of course, plays on words. He is credited by Munari with initiating the device of the “century” of gnomai or riddles, though I note centuries of poems and gnomai in Medieval India and Japan. See Krishnamachariar’s index under saha, and Bhartrihari. See the century of translations of Paul Elmer More. See Brown’s Japanese Book Illustration (also in Addenda) and Miner’s COMPANION.

The final major figure treated in this short overview is Claudian. Despite his concern with Roma aetema, his epigrams can be highly topical, quoting a satirical quatrain, and many are “from experience”. M. ends with a translation of the “Old man of Verona”, a 22 line poem of idyllic tone on the theme of “beatus ille qui procul negotiiis…”, n° 20 of the Carmina minora. M. does not know what it should be called today, but he notes that “the Ancients” called it epigram, perhaps with some justification, because of its pointed final line.

Latin Epigram Later Latin epigram


Widely based on Classical, Indian and Chinese sources. A political, and not a cultural history of the Yavanas.

My book Indian Greek Indo-Greeks

Natanson, Joseph Early Christian Ivories London 1953 P. 1 — these are few in number, but other Early Christian art works are even fewer.

5/6V Alexandria, Rome, Milan, Arles, Antioch, Constantinople, Ravenna, and lost materials no doubt.

"Ivories" can be small carvings, larger single (or double) plaques, or plaques continuously covering larger objects, such as furnishings, thus their size is uncertain from their description. Size is one relevant factor involved in whether they are inscribed with words. Function is of course another. When these are adjusted for, we arrive at matters of literacy and cultural attitudes to inscriptionality in general.

In the 4+3C it was common to have "faire-part" (?) tablets in diptych form, but these were soon confined by a law of 384CE to the 2 Consuls.

Plate 44 shows a 517CE Consular diptych inscribed at the top in prose. See *Sidonius in Addenda, (*Col.595 Ep. VIII,vi Nammatio et note).

"Consular diptychs" normally have Consular names on them.

P. 29 displays a single verse (Trim/dodec.) (p.20 as well?) which makes up only half of this particular inscription. It was possibly offered to the Emperor of the East in an attempt at reconciliation in 518 CE and now is in the British Museum:

\[ \text{AEXOTTTAPONTA} \\
\text{KA1MA0QNTHNATI1AN} \]

("ACCEPT WHAT LIES BEFORE YOU AND EVEN PENETRATE ITS MEANING")

736.6 Ivories Early Christian Ivories

Nilsson, M.P. Die hellenistische Schule München 1955

Greek Schooling Die Schule


Greek Griechische Religion

Nollé, Johannes Side im Altertum I Geschichte und Zeugnisse Bonn 1993

§ 4 Greek and Latin inscriptions (there was also a Sidetic language)

P. 261 Παίον, a common PN in Side, hence the identification of any one poetry-writing Paion with any other, as is done by the Bernards for the writer on Memnon with a later professional poet, is a bit risky. It is suggested that this name arose from local worship of the healing god, Παίον, Apollo, because of strong and long local traditions of medical training.

P. 245/6 The two poems on Memnon by a Paion of Side, one of three verses, the other of two.

New Book 1 894 586 Anatolian Greek Side I


Latin Greek Kunstprosa

A re-reading of a five word archaic inscription variously interpreted (Duemmler, Hoffman, Delamarre) and now reread by Oik. as "Erasis sodomised me in an-open-sunny-field (or, in-a-site-by-the-sea)". The verb is said to be κρούω ("banged") with a homosexual interpretation newly supported by a rupestral Naxos inscription (S.E. Parros in Horos 3, 1985, 11-18), accompanied by drawings of a phallus and a plough. Our inscription also seems to have a "perfectly visible sketch of a plow" at the end of the final line, and Oikonomides apparently feels reinforced by AncW 13 (1986) 14, on inscriptions accompanied by the drawing of a plough. Oikonomides' text, from the facsimile drawing to IG XII 7,414:

It is fatally easy to treat ancient "graffito" as we do that of our own time. Nevertheless, the existence of seemingly informal private writing says something about the at least sporadic literacy of archaic times. One might speculate if the function of such a publicly displayed text, even allowing for different cultural attitudes to eroticism and to copulation, is even remotely like what the naive modern would assign to it on the basis of his own experience of graffiti.

Greek Epigraphy


Brief survey of the neglect of graffiti, most especially from the Kerameikos, Eleusis, Amphiparion, Rhamnous and Brauron (p.73). Lang's edition corrected towards a more natural text. One is from the base of an alabastron mid-6C, "Antheme is beautiful; a Gr[ace] among the women of Ceos" it seems. The final two are both on a black glazed skyphos from Boeotia [Tanagra?] which proclaim that "Kallina is good to drink from", where according to Oik. we have a conflation of the praise of the cup and the praise of the beloved, as the second says "I am of Tures the lagnas", where Poll.6.188 is quoted to show how sex-crazed a word this is. Aristophanes does not use this word, but Equites 1284-1289 has a man doing shameful things with his tongue in the battles of love and an Ariphrades is criticised by the Scholiast to Pax 883 as a λεικτης. This at least evidences the overtones of the suggested love-madness of Ariphrades in the scholiast's time, even if the apparent suggestion of Oik. that λεικτης and λάγνος are etymologically related holds no water. Perhaps I read the implication into his connection of the drinkability of Kallina with the λάγνα status of the cup's owner.

The specifically Greek links between wine women and song are worth adverting to here, even if the texts in question happen not to be in song language.

Greek Epigraphy Graffiti


Published 1962 M.G. Tsoukalas and the original lost! First identified as a "a school exercise" but in 1980 (ZPE 37 1980 p.179-183) identified as the oldest known MS fragment of the Commandments of the Seven (in a welter of new interest in gnomologia stemming from discoveries in Afghanistan treated in the next article of CB, p. 67ff). This text and three inscriptions, all -3C, are used to try to reconstruct a canonical order and form of the Delphic Maxims. They follow the order of Euripides frag. 853 = Stob. Flor 1.8, which takes the order represented here to the -5C. "early" according to Oik., and as the Euripides fragment and 1.8 of the papyrus seem to mention the koinos nomos Hellados, that order can be taken back to Delphi itself.

The fragment is Pap. Univ. Athen. 2782, first thought (1967) to be a school exercise, then (1980) re-read as the oldest MS of the commandments of the Seven, becoming of considerable interest again. Three of the commandments appear in the same order in a fragment of Euripides (Nauck, FTG2 853 = Stob. Flor. 1,8), giving a -5C date to this version:

The assumptions on which these statements are made are not totally secure, but they seem highly likely: that the nature of such texts in the culture favoured the order of maxims being as significant or as memorable (thus, at least as stable) as the wording of the maxims themselves, that the Euripides fragment is likely to preserve the order learned or taught in early education and thus that a similarity in the order of just three moral maxims in -5C Athenian literature and -3C Egyptian papyrus gives evidence not of mutual borrowing, but of a common gnomological ancestor, presumed to be a widespread practice as well as a set text, of the early -5C and no doubt the Classical

Greek Gnomica *Commandments of the Seven*


A major addition to the Hypothekai literature. Edited Wilcken 1897. Oikonomides 1980 and (this one, in Classical Bulletin 63) 1987. See ZPE 37 (1980) 179–183 The Lost Delphic Inscription with the Commandments of the Seven. New evidence has enhanced the importance of the Commandments of the Seven in Stobaeus III 80. See also the seminal Louis Robert article CRAI (1968) 416–457. This article notes the Deir el-Bahri -3C ostracon, a conflation of Greek "wisdom" under the name of the great Egyptian wisdom writer, Amenope son of Hapu, actually purporting to be a translation of the latter's famous work, for syncretistic Greeks. I have a Modern Hebrew translation of the Amenope in Tekstim mesifrut hahochmah vemizrach haqadmon for the seminar of Prof. Moshe Weinfeldt Jerusalem p.157–206, 27 chapters of it. Oikonomides quotes Isocrates frequently, and assumes that the conflation of separate sayings of the Seven evidenced in some parts of the -3C ostracon coexisted with the older, separate sayings at least as early as the –4C. See also Addenda.

880.5 9 Greek Gnomica *Amenotes*


Earlier cutting was often more careful than that of later centuries.

Greek Epigraphy *Attic Cutters*

Osborne and Byrne and Frazer and Matthews and The British Academy M.J. & S.G. & P.M. & E

A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names ed. by ... Volume II Attica edited by M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne Oxford 1994

P. 377 has more Pos(e)idippos names, in quantity. See *Frazer.

GREEK PERSONAL NAMES II

Pack, R.A. *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* Ann Arbor 2nd. rev. and enl. ed. 1965

This is a grossly outdated work. A replacement is said by the Emeritus Professor of Paleography at Durham to be sitting unpublished in Leiden awaiting a sponsor. I found on p.99, 104, 108, of Vol. 1 (n° 1749–71) and p.90 and 99 of Vol. 2 quite a few fragments of "epigramma", in anthologies. Precious scraps until the arrival of Cameron 1993, who summarises much unpublished or recently published papyrus material relevant to epigram. 016/88 12/1 Syd. Fish. Greek Latin Papyri *Pack 2*


Dactylic-iambic metres, of the most varied combinations, "epodic" poems, were literary and traditional, e.g., Archilochus, Hipponax. Anacreon. Of the 1938 stone poems in Peek GVI (he includes also 200 epigrams preserved only in literary sources) six have this combination of metres, five of them Hellenistic. In the AP there are 20 pre-Christian epodic epigrams: "Simonides" 5; Simonides (or Bacchylides) 1; "Theocritus" 4; Callimachus 3; Hesegusippus 2; Nicaenetus 1; Parmenon 1; Phaedimus 1; Phalaecus 1; Anon 1; plus 1 in Diogenes Laertius by Arcesilaus.

The problems of inserting nomina propria featuring a cretic did not lead to pure iambics for many of the poems in which they occur. P. 169, only 9 pure iambic poems survive from 600–200 BCE, plus 3 purely in Trochaic Tetr; 1 in TrochTet + Choliamb, and 1 in pure Choliambs. There are six strategies to fit cretic PN into dactyls, the last and very common one being to ignore prosody. First: use an artificial form of the name; Second, describe the name; Third, divide the name between two lines; Fourth, use an acrostich; Fifth, append only one iambic line to elegiacs; Sixth, damn the metre! very common at all periods on stone, almost unknown in literary epigram until a relatively late era. P. 169, epitaphs refer to superscript names, and thus there can be omission of names in the poem, significantly, of a name that did fit the metre. See Peek for omission of pre-Christian proper names, "Of 711 inscriptive epitaphs of the pre-Christian Era in Peek only 66 certainly omit the name". It is rare in Meleager: vii 728, 260, 496, 737. 50% of the AP epodes are not forced into iambics by metrically difficult names. Most examples come from the –3C or earlier.
Dialect (p.170) suits the place of all the 5 Hellenistic epodic inscriptions. Exceptions to the fit of dialect with locality of the stone are very rare in all epitaphs from the early period 9 only 3 from the –6/5C, 1 from the –4C, and from the end of the –4C exceptions become less rare, to be common from about –22 onwards.

Note that 277 of the 1938 stones referred to in Peek are "lost", and thus cannot be checked for the placing and interrelationship of items. Three of the stones for the following five epitaphs are lost:

Peek 1502 Interesting differences between stylish stone and AP, e.g. an opening: η μάλα... and bold phrasing.

Peek 1501 conventional but pleasing, and capable of standing up in AP.

Peek 102 Dignified and conventional.

Peek 553

Peek 1512

P. 176: "The application of epithets to relatives of the dead in sepulchral epigrams is not common in the pre-Christian Era".

Greek Epigram Prosody  Mixed Metres

Page, D. The Epigrams of Rufinus Cambridge 1978


All epigrams ascribed to authors from Archilochus to Meleager, and anonyma likely to come from those same centuries, plus –1C notables Philodemus and Crinagoras. Page admitted to one inexplicable mental aberration on Plato xxii p. 53, where he (see FGE p. 180) printed Μοίρασαν in the middle of line 3 for the correct and metrically equivalent Νίψασαν. OCT editors have not yet caught up with this, a matter of little consequence for most lines of investigation, but not for their revision programme of what are now highly-priced texts. Page's posthumous work FGE tends to correct and change positions on some OCT texts.

My Book Greek Epigram EG


Greek Epigram FGE

Palaima, T.G. The Scribes of Pylos Roma 1988

Identification of hands in Linear B allows scholars to assess how many writers were active in the palace for that year, which gives some sort of idea of the extent of bureaucratic literacy. To extend this to all literacy is to make some plausible but still shaky assumptions.

Myc-Minoan Epigraphy Pylos

Pape and Benseler, W. & G. Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen. Nachdruck der dritten Auflage reprint Graz 1959^3

PA 449 P3 Greek Names Pape-Benseler


After Herodotos, different versions are cited of the oracles which he was the first (surviving writer) to quote. p.xvi (Birds: "labe to biblion") oracle books seem to have been jealously guarded possessions of (in Greece) itinerant professionals, and not likely to have been "published" before the mid –4C. See AG Book 14: 74, 71, probably from inscriptions, since not otherwise evidenced in the MS tradition (p.xvii and p.229 of this book), but they are moralising maxims in verse, not responses, and in quatrains! This book is not timid in pointing out connections between the oracular responses and: Epigram, Hesiod, Theognis, Herakleitos, to mention the most interesting, though the hints are not developed. This confuses oracle, maxim, proverb, and many other short forms.

The book does not equal Hendess in extent, but its modernity and its commentary more than make up for this, and it is easily available. It seems that oracle books, though they were early, were not for publication. This is inherently plausible. The mid –4C is the period assumed for the first opening up of the oracle books to the general reading public (p. xvi). The authors assume that the only two poems in the oracle/riddle section of AG, 14.74 and 14.71, were taken from stone, and that these are not oracular responses but moralising maxims. As we have above (under *Oikonomides) looked closely at the Commandments of the Seven, let us quote them, all the more so as they are quatrains in elegiac metre p.229:

Mythos ἄνθρωπος ἀνάπετταται, οἶδα καθαρμῶν
χρείαν: τῆς ἁρετῆς ἡματο οὐδὲν ἄγω.

ὅτις δὲ οἶνος ἰτορ, ἀπόδαμη: οὔποτε γὰρ σὴν
ψυχὴν ἔκεισε σώμα διανόμεινι.
And:

And:

If Delphic inscriptions, these were probably late. Whether "genuine" or not, they closely follow the prose warnings at sanctuaries, see Ziehen Leges Sacrae 49,91, and 49,148, with references to other analogies. Elegiac analogy: the oracle of Sarapis, (Cougny, No. 183). In any case they fall into the category of (modern, if not ancient) "epigram".

We have been trying to keep as many of the ancient short forms, prose and verse, separate. Thus it is interesting to find easy references to the similarities between oracles, epigrams, Hesiod’s gnomic poetry, Theognis, and the prose sayings of Heraclitus. No discussion from Parke and Wormell smooths the way we had nervously and painfully been treading long before finding their book.

938.3 2 Greek Epigram Delphic responses


Latin Epigram Priapea

Paulinus and ?, of Nola & S. Paulini nolani poemata in PL 61. Parts of a poem validating the use of elaborate plastic art by Christians. See also Gregory the Great. The Western acceptance of art and architecture allowed Christian public inscriptions to flourish without the iconoclastic break shown by the East around the 7C.

Poem 27 648–663 is the locus classicus (with Gregory Mag. Ep. xi.10) for the place of art in (Latin) Christian theology and practice. L. 585–595 provide some vivid phrases: POEMA XXVII After much description of the architectural and artistic magnificence of the martyr’s shrine: 1.580–598 .../ Propertea visum novis opus utile, totis / Felicis domibus pictura illudere sancta;/ Si forte attonitas hac per spectacula mentes / Agrestum caperet fucata coloribus umbra,/ 584 Quae super exprimitur titulis. ut littera monstret / Quod manus explicuit: dumque omnes picta vicissim / Ostendunt releguntque sibi, vel tardius escae / Sunt memorias, dum grata oculis jejuna poscunt;/ Atque ita se melior stupefactis inserat usus,/ Dum fallit pictura famem: sanctasque legend / Historias, castorum operum subrepit honestas / Exemplis inducta piis; potatur hiand / Sobrietas, nimii subeunt oblivia vini./ Dumque diem ducunt spado majore tuentes,/ Pocula rarescunt, quia per miraculo tracto / Tempore, jam paucae superant epulandbus horae./ Quod superest ex his, quae facta et picta videamus,/ materiam orandi pro me tibi suggero, poscens;/ Rem Felicis agens, ut pro me sedulus ores/...

Art Migne PL 61


Classical RE


Useful for the notes. The many verses quoted by Pausanias are far from literary in one sense, though they have the virtues of inscriptive poetry.

Greek Epigram Guide to Greece

Pavan, M. La scuola nel tardo antico in (Simonetti) 1981 p.553–574 1981

Schooling Scuola tardiva

Peek, Werner Attische Versinschriften Berlin 1980

127 epigrams, few photos, very few inedita.

Peek, Werner Griechische Grabgedichte, griechisch und deutsch Berlin 1960 Tacitly uses a reconstructed Greek text.

A quarter of GVI, so, about 500 poems, normalised spelling except that digamma is given. Not for scholars. 12 non GVI texts however are offered, some previously unedited.

"Epigram" for the influential Lessing was based on Martial, who based his ideas on Neronic Greek, not even on

Classical
Hellenistic Greek practice!

"Line fillers tend to follow the core inscriptions". P. 10, Why verse?

P. 13, if elegy is evidenced from the -7C, why not in epigram until the -6C? Possibly initially too lyrical, too unrestrained. P. 14, funerary epigram never "turned into" elegy. Perhaps however the "Du-rede" was aided by the example of elegy, the dialogic nature of much early lyric is noted here, as is the fact that the speaking stone, speaking corpse, occurred in prose before it was evidenced in verse.

Greek Epigram Burial GG

Peek, Werner Griechische Vers-Inschriften aus Thessalien Berlin 1974

40 inscriptions, 10 pp. of photos, further revisions of the texts of GVI. A few generalisations are offered, such as the regional taste (Thessalian) for mentioning Hermes Chthonios on epitaphs.

Peek, Werner Griechische Vers-Inschriften Bd. 1 Grab-Epigramme Berlin 1955

The still standard work, much criticised by the Robertian school. Replaces Kaibel, except for the later periods. The most justified criticism involves doubtful restitutions and proper signalling of their status. *Page 1976, just above, gives percentages of types of poem and of losses of their original form: 1938 stone poems plus 200 book poems presumed to be genuine inscriptions. 277 of the relevant stones are now lost, which means that for the texts of these 277 "stone poems" we must rely on apographs of varying age and reliability.

Greek Epigram Burial GVI

Peek, Werner Poseidippos 3) von Pella, Dichter des Meleager-Kranzes, Zeitgenosse des Asklepiades Hedylos, Callimachos und neben diesen der Hauptvertreter des klassischen hellenistischen Epigramms. in RE XXII 1 (1953) 428–446.

[See, first, the old Pape-Benseler EIGENNAMEN for a manageable first taste of the commonness of this name (meaning "Horse of Poseidon" of course): p. 1239 Stob. flor. 98, 57, 99, 29, 30, Anth. v, 134, tit., Suid. s. v., Et. M. 764, 48, Clem Alex. propr. p. 16.17, Inscr. 2, 3193 (see Ahr Philol. 23, 2, p. 199.)

For the name Ποσειδιππος: 1) Athenians: a) Isae. 1, 3 – 23, b) son of a helmsman, Dem. 50, 50. c) subject of a speech by Lysias, Harp. s. ἄπολαχεψ, cf. B. A. 217, 3. 430. d) subject of a speech by Isaeus, Harp. see Θόρκυς. e) spoken against by Dinarchus, D. Hal. Din. 12 (vulg Ποσειδιππος), Harp. see οὔκ. iμμα. f) others: Inscr. n. 169. 2155, 10, Schiff. 713. x. 1, 151, Rang n. 1238. n. 2298, Ephem. Arch. m. 3760. 4104, 109.

2) Comic poet (ὁ κωμικός, Ath. 14, 652, c, or ὁ κωμικοδιάλογος, Ath. 4, 154, f, D. L. 7, 1, n. 24, Stob. 14, 1 – 118, 17 Exc. Io. Dam. & 24, Harp. see θήτες, Suid. see Ποσειδιππος and ἐπιμελήτης. νεωλυκευταί, Apost. 18, 59, d and 17,33, a, not., Wel. v. h. 1, 26, Inscr. 6104, Gell. 2, 23. See Mein. 1, p. 482.


7) Others: Anth. vii, 389, Inscr. 2, 2193. 2007, b, 13, add.] Many more in *Frazer and in *Osborne, both to be found above.]

It is obvious that Posidippos is not an uncommon name. This must be kept in mind when we identify the person referred to in any document with our favourite "Posidippos", e.g., the "epigrammatist". Nor is "epigrammatist" entirely without its problems of meaning in the Hellenistic period.

Weinreich's treatment of the Thermos Proxeny list IG IX 17 has led to erroneous ideas on the "homeland of Poseidippos". This face of the stone has 71 names of proxenoi of the Aetolian League inscribed under the title Δωδεκάνων καὶ ἐκγόνων ταύτα. In I. 24 we allegedly find listed a Ποσειδιππος τῶν ἐπιγραμματοποιῶν Πελλαίων "...to Poseidippos the epigrammatist of Pella" (see *Weinreich, below, in this Bibl. 1 for problems with such a confident reading of the name). A second list begins (I. 97) on the other side of the stone with ἐπὶ στραταγοῦ Πολυκρίτου. The second "Strategy" of this Polycritus is dated by inscription 2A to 263/262, and this gives a fairly tight period in which the first proxeny list must have fallen, e.g., 264/3 or not long previously. G. Klaffenbach has
dated the first text 280, against Weinreich. The other Proxenoi named have a patronymic attached, Poseidippos only the designation "epigrammatist", and this indicates that his making of "epigrams" was the reason for his being honoured by the Aetolian League, and that they were made for the League. Peek rightly goes on to note that a committee would not thus honour any raw newcomer to the trade of making (verse? surely so) inscriptions. Thus by 265 Poseidippos must already have made his name and must then have been born no later than about 300 BCE, probably about 310 BCE. AP V 134 is attributed to Poseidippos and mentions Zeno the Wise (wise swan) and Kleanthes, still as alive (? this is not so obvious to me, P.M.Mc). Now Zeno died 263/2. Another anchoring point in history occurs in Papyrus Didot, which has what look like transcriptions of inscriptions on the Pharos and the Temple of Arsinoe-Aphrodite on Cape Zephyrin, which places P. in Egypt between 284—270, pushing back his probable about 310, as his poem does not have to be as late as the completion of the Pharos. [The 1995 discovery of stones from the Pharos does not reveal these inscriptions, it seems.] See Page EG XI and XII, Ελλήνων σωτήρα, Φάροι σκοτών...(after the title...επειγράμματα) and μέσουν ἐγὼ Φαρής ἀκτής...(after the title ἀλλό). Both these poems are ten liners. The two which immediately follow these in EG come from Athenaios, as do the pair following next but one. Peek's article mentions an elegy of some Ποσείδιππος on "the Berlin wax tablet", which does not appear in Page's EG, for which see below.

Peek assumes that Asklepiades of Samos did not go to Egypt, and that Poseidippos had to have become acquainted with this influential writer before his own ascent to Alexandria, where he himself probably did not stay.

P. is entitled ο ἐπηγραμματογράφος in the Schol to App. Rhod. I 1290 (p. 116 Wendel) to distinguish him from the writer of comedy with the same name. Note that in Athenaios three of the poems are introduced with the significant words Ποσείδιππος ἐν ἐπηγράμμασιν. This indicates a formal collection of short poems or of inscriptions. An older indication is retrievable from another scholion, A, on Α 101 (Dind. II 376): μὴ ἐμφέρεσθαι δὲ ψηφιν ο Ἀρίσταρχος νῦν ἐν τοῖς Ποσείδιπποι ἐπηγράμμασι τῶν Βήρανος, ἀλλὰ ἐν τὰ λεγομένα οὐρὰ εἰρεῖν εὐλογον δὲ ψηφιν ξελελυχόμενον αὐτὸν ἀναλέψαι. Meleager's poetic preface groups together the poems of Asklepiades, Poseidippos and Hedylos as "wildflowers of the fields", a rare grouping of poets in this preface. Six times ascriptions of poems in AP indicate "either P. or Asklepiades", and once "A. or Hedylos".

Strabo's comment in XIV 683 points us in the same direction: τὸν Ποιήσαντος τὸ ἔλγειου τὸτὸ—, ἐιθ' Ἡλιοὺς ἐστίν εἰθ' ὁστοίν.

There is no need to push the point. It is highly likely that Poseidippos was published in two works at least, one the Soros, of three poets, not clearly distinguished by poem, and the other a one-author book of P's epigrams. In col 431 Peek goes through the sources for P's verse, AP(I), Athenaios, Schol. to Apoll. Rhod., Steph. Byz., Tzetzes. Then papyrus Didot, Tebtunis Papyri I, Berl Klassikertexte V 1 etc. All these are pre-WW I sources. We will not then follow Peek through his detailed arguments, other than to note that the Didot papyrus is of 160 BCE and the second poem from it (with its "allo") suits known inscriptive practice. However, who is to deny the book tradition such a linking-delimiting device as well. It is common in the AP. The papyrus does not seem to have been a public document (not "published", then) but a private collection. This assumes that the distinction is easy to pick for poetic excerpts, which it certainly wasn't, even by as late as Renaissance times in England, when, despite the low popularity of printing, poets passed around MS copies of their poems in a form of "private" publication. The next two documents mentioned seem to be taken from older collections of epigrams, the Tebtunis papyrus is of early –1C, and in it there follow poems from an unknown poet, then Alkaios of Messene (IX 588: οἶνον ὑδρᾶς, ο ἐξεύθεν, τὸ χάλκεον εἰκόνα λήμα / Κλειτομάχου...), then Poseidippos, then Asklepiades. The papyrus poems in Berliner Klassikertexte V 1 (1907) 75f. come clearly from an older anthology. This papyrus is from +1C, and has AP XII 76, 77, 78 and X 106 and V 152, in this order. In an article by Aly of 1914, another papyrus, of the late +1C, has poems in the order: two on Homer, another not now identifiable, Theodidas AP IX 743, another non-identifiable poem, then Poseidippos. This text could have been made from Meleagor's anthology.

It is interesting that Peek accepts that not only (cf. his col. 432 line 31) could there have been collections before and after Meleager which offered different materials from the Stephanos, but that there could have been some which offered more, i.e., these would have been larger. This seems never to have been scholarly orthodoxy, and it is surprising to find it slipped in here in the following rather off-hand comment:

Es ist also auch hier wieder deutlich geworden, daß es vor und neben Meleager andere Sammlungen gegeben hat, die mehr oder anderes boten als der Stephanos und wir von den einstigen Reichtum auch im Fall des P. nur noch einen Bruchteil besitzen (vgl. auch was Wifstrand 33ff. über die Anthologie des Oxyrh. Pap. IV 662 ermittelt hat, die vordem für ein Fragment des Meleager-Kranzes gehalten worden war). Einen
weiteren Hinweis bietet die Aufschrift σύμμετρα ἐπιγράμματα (?) auf den verso des Papyrus 589 A des British Museum, wo auf dem Recto allerdings kein Epigramm, sondern ein Epithalamion (?) auf Arsinoe steht...

Interesting is the agreement that the two poems in the Didot papyrus are genuinely inscriptional. The Pharos lighthouse was built in 289 (Suidas) or 284 (Jerome) by Ζωάρτρατος Δεισιφάνους Κύδιασ and dedicated to the θεῖαι σωτήρες. See the problematic notice in Pliny NH XXXVIII 83. The second poem, on the founding of the temple of Arsinoe Zephyritis by ναυάρχος Καλλικράτης (Βοίσκου Σάμιους) must come from before 270, as the term βασιλιάς cannot have be used in an official inscription for a deceased sovereign.

Col. 438 presents Peek’s tentative ascriptions of five inscriptions to P. These come from publications of the 1930s to the 1950s, and some literary papyri are also mentioned from a later period than that of the earlier discussion. Other, longer poetry by P. is hard to ascertain (col. 439) though there is hint of it and it is highly likely that he would not have confined himself to occasional poems and inscriptions of little length. Col 440 l. 35 returns to the "elegy of Poseidippos of Thebes", of at least 25 elegiac lines, first published by H. Diels in 1898, from a wax tablet – see D. L. Page Greek Lit. Papyr. I 470ff., 114 for the text). The writer presents himself as Ποσειδίππος, and eleven lines later claims Πεζάλαυν γένος ἀμύν. While the work could be an imitation, it is taken by Peek as an attempt to write down a favourite poem (exactly) from memory, and the original "could well be" by our P.

Coll. 445–446 offer opinions about (later) literary echoes and imitations. Peek’s method of referring to Poseidippos’ poems is unclear to me, as he gives the poems according to their number in the edition of Schott: “5, 1” — Meleager XII 92, 3; “8” — Automedon XI 50, Marc. Argent. VI 248 and XI 28; “16” Rufinus V 93; “21” Agathias V 302 and also an anon. IX 360. Peek does not so easily accept the following claimed influences: “13, 3ff” — Nikainetos VI 225, 5f., nor that of “1” on Rhianos XII 58. “20” is used in an inscription at Notion. In a Nachtrag to the main article a few other possible influences are noted.

Greek epigram    Posidippus Pe

Peek, Werner Verzeichnis der Gedicht-Anfänge und vergleichende Übersicht zu den Griechischen Vers-Inschriften I Berlin 1957 non vidi - partim supplevi
Greek Epigraphy Burial Verzeichnis GVI


Perlman, S. Quotations from Poetry in Attic Orators of the Fourth Century in AJP 85 (1964) p.115–172 1964
P. 156: see Aesch. I 141 on "listening", and Dem. XIX 243, 245, 251 about the "tone" of quotes of poetry. The audience was (p.157) egalitarian, and used to public performances of a poetic nature.
Forensic Greek Poetry    Oratorical quotes

P. 368 See Curtius EL&LMA, and also A. Scaglione (The Classical Theory of Composition 1972) for the lack of any overall idea of “composition” in Antiquity.
Symmetry (as discussed variously) may be the only valid ancient idea of construction, but symmetry of what! Note the predominance in ancient theories of metaphors taken from the visual arts.
Poetics    Symmetry

Latin Epigram    Damasus P

Classical
Much discussion of problems of classification and/or ordering, which (p. 10) has normally been, since Kaibel, 
chronological. Friedländer (p.12–13) ordered by verse type, Peek by formulae, type of address: "Greeting, 
Address, Invitation, Encouragement, Advice, Warning". There is apparently (p.14) a 1957 first line Index of Peek 
GVI. To Peek's 2138 "stone" poems (for the 200 of these not actually preserved on stone, see Page MIXED 
METRES 1938) we could add another 2,000 post Hellenistic ones, making 4,000 sepulchral poems currently 
available from ancient Greek. Kaibel has 1,200 of all types, of which about 780 are sepulchral, (and there are 52 in 
Preger) thus from Kaibel to Peek there has been at least a four-fold increase in the corpus of grave poems. L. 
Roberts bitterly criticised Peek's divisions (in 1959), especially the criss-crossing of chronological and thematic-
rhetorical (could we say, "literary"?) classes.

Real regional types are rare.

Greek Epigram Bibliography  Pfohl's Bibliography

If not the major modern editor, then perhaps the major modern commentator of Greek epigraphic poetry, Pfohl 
outlines some of the tasks ahead. Highett merely touches on the epigram, Hutton studies individual authors, not the 
whole situation, and theirs are the greatest modern works in this general field. The time for a study of styles and 
epochs has not yet arrived, it seems. The project of Viétor's 1923 book on the German Ode has not been attempted 
in the field of epigram, which merges so easily into Spruch and elegy. A flexible subdivision of the field is a 
prerequisite for renewed study, and 9 classical types of subdivision are presented, with their advantages and 
advantages. They can, of course, be combined. Like many students of that Western tradition sporadically but 
persistently called "epigram" he accepts both that its history has not been written satisfactorily, and that the non-
western tradition cannot be ignored. Periodisation, metrical and stylistic studies in the various philologies, 
historical background needs to be studied, in many fields, from scratch. "Grundsätzlich mag man fragen, ob es bei 
den abendländischen Völkern eine Verbreitung des inschriftlichen epigrammes in der Traditionalität gibt, wie wir 
sie bei Griechen und Römern kennen. Oder versiegelt das inschriftliche Epigramm, so daß nur das literarische 
Epigramm die Linie weiterführt?" This latter question concerns mainly the period of High Gothic and pre-
Renaissance, to judge from the present stage of my own investigations. We have seen overlapping traditions of 
considerable stability and continuity in all other periods since the –7C.

P.5 at least admits that possibilities lie hidden in Persian, Indian, Chinese and Japanese literature, but avoids less 
academically prestigious possibilities in Malay, South-East Asian and Central Asian. "Natürlich existieren 
epigrammatische Formen auch im außereuropäischen Bereich (persische, indische, chinesische, japanische 
Epigrmme bzw. Weisheitsprüche), aber diese sind nicht Gegenstand unserer Bemühungen. Auch wird die 
Eimaligkeit, Großartigkeit oder doch wenigstens die Besonderheit des Phänomens 'europäische Epigramm' 
dadurch nicht gemindert." In notes to this section Pfohl states that Haiku is a type of epigram; Matsuo Bashō 
(1644/1694), and refers to a debate concerning the importance of "openings to the East" in art history.

The Western epigram, no matter how defined, has a dual tradition, stone and MSS, with oral transmission 
sometimes important in ways hard to demarcate without an intimate knowledge of social groups and of the 
dynamics operating in the period of each. One branch of epigrammatic tradition can suffer a break while the other 
continues, and both can be revived from their earlier remains in literate periods undergoing new enthusiams for the 
antique, or for such a genre itself. Developments can be generative/genetisch or mimetic/mimetisch, i.e., native, 
original, continuous developments in a culture, many of which may look alike though independently arrived at, or 
diffusionist, that is, based on a conscious modelling of new literature on that of the past, over some sort of gap. G. 
Soyer:

"Vergleicht man die Disticha [sc.das volkstümliche Distichon bei den Neugriechen] ihrem Inhalt nach mit 
den altgriechischen Epigrammen, so fällt auf, daß gerade das, was bei den erhaltenen antiken Zweizeilern 
den Hauptinhalt ausmacht, in den modernen fast gänzlich fehlt: Die Grabschrift und die Weihinschrift. Das 
erklärt sich einsteils aus dem inneren Gegensatz der christlichen Religion zur heidnischen, andernteils aus 
dem äußeren Umstand, daß das alter Epigramm, wie schon seine Name angibt, vor allem eine 'Aufschrift' ist 
und an den Gegenstand, dem es aufgeschrieben ist, gebunden bleibt, während das Distichon der Neugriechen 
im Verkehr der Menschen untereinander entsteht und in der Regel mündlich weiter verbreitet wird."

In relation to humorous and curious epitaphs (Alonzo C. Hall: Grave Humour. A Collection of Humorous Epitaphs 
Charlotte North Carolina 1961) Pfohl lemmatises: "Vgl unsere Marterl!" for which word see Bildepithaph in 
German art history in the major paper of Weckwerth, summarised in Addenda, and the Encyclopedia section of 
Addenda for the Brockhaus definition of Marterl. See also Rüegg in fine and note there Brixius's interest in 
Wegkreuzsprüche.

In the tradition of Jauß, Pfohl raises the matter of the influence of theoreticians on poets, or the lack of it. We 
must remember that no theory survives from the Middle Ages or the Ancient world. In fact, it seems that no theory of 
"epigram" was ever developed in either period. Thus this question concerns only Western Europe from 1550
onwards, and the theoretical authors mentioned are J.-C. Scaliger, Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux, Charles Batteux, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Johann Gottfried Herder, also Friedrich von Hagedorn, leading to the author's favoured German 18C, to Kleist, Kästner, Gleim, Klopstock, Weiße, Haug, and Schlegel, also mentioned being Voltaire, Goethe and Schiller, as well as Lessing and Hagedorn as writers of poems. As we have noted many times, modern perceptions of "epigram" must be taken into account in reading the rich secondary literature even on the "epigram" of ancient times.

P.8 calls not only for detailed studies, but also for a general discussion of the whole field which would look for the elements which make for the building of such a literary system, comparing the various literatures. There is need for more light on many parts of the history of our form, and on its borders with otherGattungen. The interplay of popular and artistic literature is particularly notable in this field of investigation, but as we have seen, particularly in our Polish and Iranian investigations, such a crossing of hierarchical borders may underlie the development of the majority of "folk" literatures and song. Let us cite only the "Carol" and the "Fairy tale".

9 pages of distilled and essential bibliography follow, from a 1960's viewpoint, from which period a reasonable number of the studies do date, interesting to look at from the perspective of the 1990s.

CONSPECTUS OF THE VERY IMPORTANT CONTENTS:

Geffcken, Johannes — Studien zum griechischen Epigramm
Heinze, Richard — Von altgriechischen Kriegergräbern
Ludwig, Walther — Platon’s Liebesepigramme
Luck, Georg — Die Dichterinnen der Griechischen Anthologie
Tolkiehn, Johannes — Die inschriftliche Poesie der Römer
Stoessl, Franz — Catull als Epigrammatiker
Seel, Otto — Ansatz zu einer Martial-Interpretation
Munari, Franco — Ausonius und die griechische Epigramme
Bradner, Leicester — Das neulateinische Epigramm des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts in Italien
Burckhardt, Jacob — Die neulateinische Poesie. Das Epigramm
Rothberg, Irving P. — Covarrubias, Gracian und die Griechische Anthologie
Fuchs, Friedrich — Beitrag zur Geschichte des französischen Epigramms 1520–1800
Beutler, Ernst — Die Renaissance der Anthologie in Weimar
Skreb, Zdenko — Grillparzers Epigramme. Ein Beitrag zur Lehre von der reinen Form
Whipple, T.K. — Das englische Epigramm vor 1590
Ketton-Cramer, R.W. — Lapidare Grabdichtung
Schöne, Annemarie — Nonsense-Epigramme
Tschizewskij, Dmitrij — Slavische Epigrammatik
Brückner, Alexander and Tuwim, Julian — Vier Jahrhunderte des polnischen Epigramms
Tschizewskij, Dmitrij — Das ukrainische Epigramm der Barockzeit
Manujlov, V. — Das russische Epigramm

OMITTED FOR LACK OF SPACE:

V. Garthausen — Wieder gefundene Originale historischer Inschriften des Altertums 1914
Federico Carlos Sáinz de Robles — Epigrama = Ensayo de un diccionario de la literatura Tomo I 1954
J. Jarislowsky — Der Aufbau in Goethes 'Venetianischen Epigrammen'
S. Slomke — Hebbels Schaffen auf dem Gebiet der Epigrammdichtung

P.1 notes that epigram writers (in his Germany) were thrust into a very minor role. Aber allerlei Verschwommenheiten des Gattungsbegriffes Epigramm scheinen im Spiel zu sein, daß in Wirklichkeit epigrammatische Kurzgedichte nicht als solche begriffen und in den Literaturgeschichten erfaßt werden. This displays Pfohl's colours clearly. Without saying that the older authors did not know that they were writing real epigram (as Komines admits for many Medieval Greeks) he makes two good points: moderns have lost the requisite feel for the genre, not just their liking for it, and, it has gone missing from literary histories.

Epigram Das Epigramm

Mostly from the author's Probevorlesung an der Universität Innsbruck 10 Juli 1967.
Greek Epigraphy Ältesten griechischen

Pfohl, Gerhard ed Die griechische Elegie Darmstadt 1972
Einleitung and 20 papers from 1899–1972
Greek Elegie

Pfohl, Gerhard Greek Poems on Stones. I Epitaphs. From the Seventh to the Fifth Century B.C. Leiden 1967
Contains not only stone poems but book poems (inevitably from the AG), which Pfohl takes as being derived from stone. While his choices are sometimes contested by other scholars, they are at least highly plausible, and the difficulty of deciding if a poem is a real
or a pseudo inscription points to the nature of the genre. The standard corpus of older Greek inscribed verse, post-Peek but before Hansen.

Greek Epigram  


Athens 1974 (Greek ed. 1970) 1974

We read this for indications of early burial patterns and early monuments.

Greek  

Pigeaud, J.  

Le style d'Hippocrate ou l'écriture fondatrice de la médecine  


Nothing of great use on the Apophthegms, which interest us for their being a very early short (prose) form.

Greek  

medical writing

Pippidi and Popescu, D.M. & EM.  


417.7 I61  

Classical Epigraphy  

Epigraphica

Pircher and Pfohl, Josef & Gerhard  

Das Lob der Frau in vorchristlichen Grabepigramm der Griechen, unter Mitarbeit von Gerhard Pfohl  

Innsbruck 1979  

Commentationes Aenipontanae XXVI Philologie und Epigraphik · Band 4  

929.50938 1/1 Syd Fish Greek Epigram  

Greek praise of women

Pleket and Stroud, H.W & R.S.  

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 1950–? 1953–?  

Texts and secondary studies from the third year previous to publication.

Greek Epigraphy  

SEG

Pley and Kees, Jacob & Hermann  

Memnon. in RE XV1 638–652 1931  

Greek  

Memnon

Ploss, E.  

Der Inschriftentypus "N.N. me fecit" und seine geschichtliche Entwicklung bis ins Mittelalter  

in ZDP 77 (1958) p.25–46 1958

German inscriptions (Latin and German) on buildings, weapons, vessels, coins and clocks. They are sacral, legal, concern the history of buildings, are genealogical etc. Formularies, however, are not easily correlated with the above two sets of categories.

Popular inscriptions prose and verse run for centuries in constant forms, especially house and grave inscriptions. Endless variations of a restricted repertory of types, which itself is common enough in inscriptive corpora. This from Panser's great corpus. P. 26.


"Ego NN feci/scripti/dedi" is a characteristic double reference to the craftsman. p. 27. It occurs in Greek from the -6C, and Latin from the -7/6C. (p. 28) Variations include eimi/sum, all apparently to curse possible thieves, and dialogic inscr (QUOD VIS EGO VOLO on a gold brooch). Venetic corpus: -6C to -1C. me xo zoto... = me dedit (Greek origins?)

There is a 1000 year gap between the first Greek and the Germanic examples. P. 31, note the address of the artist to his work: feci te, fecit te, also in superior and inferior Germania. See also reple me... bibe... de me, etc.

The early Middle Ages are poor in inscriptions. In High/late MA we find on bells, me fecit, me fudit, machte mich, guß mich... The glassmaking traditions of ancient times survived in the Rheinland (see H. Aubins), and so may have other old workplace habits. It is hard to generalise about Latin inscriptions from the poorly charted early MA. In 11C the first inscribed bell (large bells occurred for the first time around then) with Wolfgerus me fecit.

p. 34: Belief in the might of writing: Gothic: milch Merila worta ansus. Runic: Andrill gerti mik. It is Runic inscr. which fill the gap in the occurrences of this formula. Gudrid mec wortha, Aelchfrith mec ah. P. 35 refers to "I-magic" for which see the sceptical *Moltke. See F.X. Kraus for old Christian inscr. in the Rheinland, the first examples on bells, which was a technology which came from the East! The first bells were small and without
inscr., and not made of bronze. See Musik in Geschichte u. Gegenwart V p. 282 and Dictionnaire d'Archéologie et de Liturgie. P. 38–41 examples, and in the 13C most bells carry this sort of inscr. up to the 18C, see *Rüegg. Weapons have their own personal name in the MA, but very few carry "me fecit" "NN fecit" is commonest, some in the 17C. cf. p. 42 Isabella’s Sword.

Was a pragmatic wish for brevity a factor, e.g., "me" = hunc campanum, hunc annulum? Provably NOT, as short inscriptions are common in soft supports, as long inscriptions are in hard surfaces. The Germanic attitude to script was similar to that in Archaic Greece. P. 44 Tradesmen "talk with" their work. The nature of this "talk" is complicated in dedications, if the gift was meant to = the giver.

EGO NN FECI (p. 45) found only among the Venetans and the Germans, possibly connected with NN ME FECIT. The former type, according to Ploss, predated script, as perhaps illustrated in Plautus Rudens 478 "nam haec [sc. urna Veneria] litteratass, eapse cantat cuia sit". (P.M. Mc — this reads quite normally in Plautus, though it seems a useful proof text in Ploss. This type of inscr. is not found in Celtic or in Indian languages (apparently) Ploss quotes J. Rhys The Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy Proceedings of the British Academy 1905/6 p. 273.

The Asine brooch –1200 is doubtful, as its IE status. P. 46 has a summary of the argument.

Epigraphy

Pöhlmann, E. Griechische Musikfragmente Nürnberg 1960

Greek Music Greek music


Both are important supports for inscriptions in some cultures, though Greek and Roman intaglios tend to be anepigraphic. Statuary calls forth poetic inscriptions to accompany them, or to wonder over it (Myron’s cow!), and gems and gem cutting, like the finishing of polished stone statues, are an important icon of epigram.

Epinomes, a gem signed by him. Syrius and Onesimos famous. Also Dexamenes of Chios.

Greek Art Carvings

Porter, H. N. The Early Greek Hexameter in YCS 12 (1951) p.3–63 1951

Greek Prosody Early Hex.

Potts, T. Civilization: Ancient Treasures from the British Museum. ANG Canberra 24 March – 11 June 1990 Canberra 1990

Classical Art ANG

Preger, T. Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae ex scriptoribus praeter anthologiam collectae Chicago 1977 = Leipzig 1891 1891

Prehistory: Scipione Maffei (posth.) de inscriptionibus quae in graecorum libris feruntur, and Fr. M. Bonada Carmina ex antiquis lapidibus dissertationibus ac notis illustrata a Fr. M. Bonada eloquentiae professore 2. voll Rome. Both these bad on metre and editing.

Allen Greek Versification of Inscriptions, papers of the American School of Athens IV 1888 p. 174–204. Stephano and Brunck (and Dorvillius and Jacobs?) included inscr. in their poetic anthologies. Welcker Sylloge epigrammatum Bonn 1928 and in Rheinisches Museum also. Finally, Cougny, esp. vol. II.

Preger omits: all AP/AP1 except where Suidas or other sources indicate that an AP poem was inscribed, all oracles, all poems supposed only by modemns to have been inscribed (on the basis of their form).

Helcker 1852 assumed that 50% of the AP was originally inscrional.

THE BOOK-PRESERVED STONE INSCRIPTION ACCORDING TO PREGER:

SEPULCHRALES: verse is as plain as prose in the –6C and –5C. ALWAYS PRESENT: Name of the deceased + the fact that the deceased is in the same monument as that on which the inscription appears. OPTIONAL: exhortations to passers-by, praise of the deceased, who raised the monument etc. In the –5C a change occurred: the name of the deceased is repeated outside the verse. In the –4C the name can be absent from the verse, and there are some purely decorative inscr.

ANATHEMATICA: The name of the dedicator can be omitted, esp. in athletica. The notion of dedication itself is absent only in prose. The name of the god, the reason for the dedication are typical. In the –6C and –5C the dedicator’s name is always present, if only outside the verse.

AGONISTICA: The reason for the dedication is never omitted, but the notion of dedicating is often absent/not expressed.

HOMINUM HONORES: a quo & ei cui required, though the former is less necessary. A prose adjunct to this class of inscriptions is more common than it is to the other types.

XIX Preger is not partial to the idea that epitaphs were written in the life times of their subjects.

SIMONIDES: contra Kaibel, Preger agrees with Schaumberg and Weishäupl that there was no Simonidean anthology until well into Hellenistic times.

Greek Epigram Preger
Preisendanz, Karl  Anthologie in Ziegler and Sontheimer ("Der kleine Pauly") 375–377  1964

See below the older treatment of Schmidt and above for that of Marx, 1894 RE 1,2. Luc. Pisc. 9 uses the word for a collection of logoi, Vett. Valens uses twice 'Ἀνθολογίαι' and Diogenian is credited with an 'Ἀνθολογίων ἐπιγραμμάτων', Stobaeus with an "anthology" in his work. Krumbacher 253–264, 600–604 discusses the terms ἔκλογαί, συμφόροι, ἐπιτομαί, often used along with symbolic names such as Melissa, Anthos, Ionia. Democritus uses συμμικτὰί, Aristoxenus uses συμμικτά συμφόροι, and such titles are early. We find in Pap. Brit. Mus 589 (–3C) συμμικτά ἐπιγραμματα, see Fr. Lasar. RhM 102, 1959, 222–249. Pack has many epigram collections which are now without title, along with syllogai of Tragedy, Comedy and hymnic literature. Pictures of early papyrus syllogai in W. Schubart Pap. gr. Berol., 1911, Nr. 3, 4b, 6c. Menander leaves syllogai of sentences. Collected gnomai on papyrus again in Pack. In the Heidelberg Phoenixpap. n° 310 (–2C) A.D. Knox sees "The First Greek Anthologist", Cambridge 1923, and on fragments of the "oldest" anthology, of Kerkidas, under Philip I, Pack 1952 n° 1265. Traces of anthologies of epigrams are traceable back to the –3C, even in the first edition of Pack.

The three great anthologies (two stephanoi and a kyklos) are then mentioned, the former pair on papyrus, the last no doubt on parchment. Then K.P. gets straight onto Kephalas, claiming that this (lost) work was so obviously unfinished that it was quickly supplemented. K.P. then spends most of his space on the nature and the fortunes of AP, noting that the codex suppl. graec. 384 which remained in Paris contained the anacreontea and the figure-poems, while 38 Palatine codices, including the major and former part of AP, went back to that principality.

Planudes is said to have done his anthology before 1300.

Latin: Florus anthologised Satyrai of Ennius, Lucilius and Varro (Porph. on Hor. ep. 1,3.1), Catullus mentions an "anthology" of bad poets. Apulius published some lectures under the name Florida (ἀνθοθάσι). Auctor ad Herenn. 4.7 notes that gnomic extracts of the dramatists (Ennius, Pacuvius) were much in demand, and also extracts of the Mimes of Publilius Syrus. There was long an anthology circulating under the name of Varro, and another "of Sextius". The Priapeia are a sylloge which survives. +1C Suetonius wrote his Prata or Pratum recalling the Greek title λειμών, (Suda s.v. Pamphilios: περίκοιλος τοιούτου) and a youthful work of Cicero was apparently called Limon.

However, Latin epigram and short poetry has left only one comprehensive anthology, and no others are mentioned as having existed, a 7/8C codex Par. 10318, the 'Salmiasianum', from North Africa, featuring the late Vandal period poets Luxorius, Flavius Felix, Florentinus, Coronatus and the riddles of Symphosius. This so-called "liber epigrammatum" has lost B. 1–5. [Cave: It may not legitimate to turn the sectional lemma liber epigrammaton into a title for the whole MS. —P.M.Mc.]

Anthologies Anthologia


Raalte, M. van  Rhythm and Metre, towards a Systematic Description of Greek Stichic Verse  Assen/Maastricht 1986  Greek Prosody  Stichic metre

Race, William H.  The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boethius  Leiden 1982

Deals with the varying definitions of the "phenomenon", which can be one "typical" example or one "curtailed list" example) and a conclusion. The conclusion can, in some understandings of the trope, come first! A work by W. Kröhling gives as a gloss for priamel «Beispielreihung». The phenomenon is closely allied (like riddles) to epigram. P.109 deals with the connections, and the terms 'foil' and 'climax'. Quoted as AP Priameln are: AP 9,110 11,58 12,2 15,12 and with wit, 12,43. As adynata, the Midas epigram and AP 11,227 9,575. As ironic/satiric AP 11,239 12,94 11,31 14,73. Also AP 5,169 5,246 16,357 16,337 12,128 9,58 and 9,363. P. 153 deals briefly with Martial. These undiscussed references seem peripheral to an analysis of longer and more canonical texts.

Priameln

Radermacher, L.  Artium scriptores (Reste der voraristotelischen Rhetorik) Vienna 1951  Rhetoric  Oldest Gk. Rhetoric

Ramage, E.S.  Urbanitas. Ancient Sophistication and Refinement  Norman 1973  Urbanitas

Reagan, Christopher J.  A concordance to the epigrams attributed to Seneca the Younger
Text: Buechler-Riese-Lommatzsch Anthologia Latina Amsterdam 1964
In Grant, AUTHORS, the statement is made that only a few have any chance of being genuinely written by L.
Annaeus S.
878.01 S475R Latin Epigram  Seneca epigram concordance

Reitzenstein, Richard  Demodokos (7) von Leros RE IV 2 col. 2875
Greek Epigram  Demodocus

Reitzenstein, Richard  Epigramm und Skolion, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alexandrinischen
Dichtung  Hildesheim 1970 = Gießen 1893  1893
See Suidas sv. σκόλιον  τό ῥάδιον κατ' αντίφρασιν, μέλος τι οἰδιγόστιχον εἰρήθαι δε αὐτὸ σκόλιον
κατ' αντίφρασιν ὅτι ῥάδια καὶ οἰδιγόστιχα ὡς ἐπηγράμματα
Greek Epigram Symposium  E.u Sk.

Rengstorf and Schreckenberg, Karl Heinrich & Heinz  A Complete concordance to Flavius
B = Bellum, A = Antiquitates, Ap = Apion
ἐπιγραφή 3 citations: B 4,341; A 14, 36 & A 15,272.
ἐπιγραφέντι 15 citations: B: 1,7; 5,233; 5,444; 5,556.
A: 3,74; 3,270; 4,63; 4,64; 4,213; 5,301; 7,160; [11,331]; [12,416]; 17,224.
Ap. 1,43.
Significantly, in all this voluminous author there is no mention of the term "epigrama". Nor is there in the Index
Hippocraticum.
Greek  Josephus Concordance

Lydia passim.  V.7, p.126 (glads.) 197.  V.8 (Caria) p.39 glads.  V.9 passim (Asia Minor).  V.10 p.175 (cenotaphs),
289,  VV.11–12 p.267–349 Épigrammes.  V.13 (Aphrodisias etc.) passim p.239.
Vol. III (1952) p. 136 In a critical review of M.N. Tod ABS 46 (1951) 182–190 Laudatory epithets in Greek
epitaphs, the potent comment is made that only poetic epitaphs are expansive. «Les épigrammes donnent une image
bien plus nuancée et plus intéressant, parce que les survivants ont recours à la poésie dès qu’ils veulent dire quelque
chose; elles sont souvent le commentaire indispensable pour préciser le sens de telle épithète dans la prose».
P. 136–137 details the geographic limitations of some epitaphs. «Les épitaphes de la colonie juive de Leontopolis
en Égypte sont prolixes en épithètes peu répandues ailleurs...».
Vol. IV (1948) in Épigrammes d’Aphrodisias, p. 133, has some quatrains and distichs honoring (not all are
funerary) the commissioner’s father or parents. Robert mentions the papyrus in Florence which has the rough drafts
of six funerary epigrams on this subject: A. Calderini Studi Papyri Milan 1915, 19–44.
The most interesting in this particular sub-sub-genre is one raised in the sanctuary of Apollo by a Diotimos to his
father in the 3C at Kalamina: // πατρὶ δὲ πρῶτος ἑως ἑπετήρια καὶ χάριν ἤδας ἡπάσει, ἀφ’ ὧν πατέρων
ναϊμον ἀτυ τόδε / οὐδέλθ γάρ τιν πρῶν δοσι ναίομεν Κάλυμναν / τῆδε ἔτοιχεν τιμής παιδός ὑπὸ
σφετέρου //.  Note the quatrains and the distichs, and the reversal of the AOROI theme.
913.38 160 Syd Fish Epigraphy Classical  Hellenica

Robert, L.  Les épigrammes satiriques de Lucillius sur les athlètes: parodie et réalisités in Dihle
1968 p.179–291 1968
Greek Epigraphy  Lucilius

Epigraphy  Bulletin Épigraphique

Greek Epigram  from Aphrodisias
Greek Epigram Art on Gladiators


Robert, Michael **The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity** Ithaca/London 1989

Poetry and art have very close areas of interpenetration and influence.

p.52 Jewels (in one mention, “jewelled flowers”) allegedly first mentioned in Martial, at least in any literary context. 5.11.3–4.

p.58 “fragmentation and miniaturisation” of the poem, the “string of pearls” metaphor used by a modern critic and approved by R.

p.152 R. alludes to Geoffrey, and the latter’s attachment to Sidonius, particularly for “determinatio”.

871:9 2 Latin Poetics **Later Art and poetry**

Rohde, E. **Psyche, Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsgläube der Griechen** 1907 Tübingen 1907

P. 345 § 634 [and notes]: The Voraussetzung alles Seelencultes, dass an der Stätte ihrer letzten Wohnung die Seele wenigstens in dumpfen Grabesleben fortduarte, ist durchaus verbreitet. Sie spricht, mit antiker Naivität, zu uns noch aus der ungezählten Menge der Grabsteine, auf denen der Todte, als menschlichen Laut noch vernehmend und verstehend, mit dem üblichen Worte des Grusses angeredet wird. fn²

Aber auch ihm selbst wird bisweilen ein ähnlicher Gruss an die Vorbeigehenden in dem Mund gelegt. fn³ Und es entspint sich wohl zwischen ihm, der hier festgebaut ist, und dennoch in Lichte Wandeln ein Zwiegespräch. fn⁴ Noch ist dem Todten nicht aller Zusammenhang / p. 346 mit der Oberwelt abgeschnitten. Es ist ihm ein Erquickung, wenn ihm sein Name, den er einst im Leben führte, den jetzt nur sein Leichenstein noch dem Gedächtniss aufbewahrt, zugerufen wird. Die Mitbürger rufen wohl bei der Bestattung ihm dreimal den Namen nach. fn¹ Aber auch im Grabe vernimmt er noch den thüren Klang. Auf einem athenischen Grabsteine fn² forderte der Todte die Genossen der Schauspielerzunft, der er angehörte, die ihn bestattet hatte, auf, beim Vorüberwandeln an seinen Grabe im Chor seinen Namen auszurufen und ihn (wie er es im Leben gewohnt war) durch Händeklatschen zu erfreuen. Sonst wirft wohl der Vorübergehende dem Todten eine Kusshand zu; fn³ das ist eine Begräbnis, die Verehrung eines Höheren ausdrückt. fn⁴ Nicht nur lebendig ist die Seele; sie gehört nun, wie der uralte Glaube es aussprach, zu den
Höheren und Mächtigern. fn²⁵ Vielleicht, dass diese Steigerung ihrer Würde und Macht sich ausdrücken will in der Benennung der Todten als der Guten, Wackeren (χρηστοτέ), die schon in alter Zeit üblich gewesen sein muss, fn²⁶ erst in diesen p.347 späteren Zeiten aber im Anruf des Verstorbenen auf Grabsteinen sehr gewöhnlich zu dem schlichten Grussworte hinzutritt, nicht überall gleich häufig: seltener in Attika (wenigstens auf Grabsteinen dort Eingeborenen); in Boötien, Thessalien, in kleinasiatischen Landschaften sehr oft und fast regelmäßig. fn²¹ Es liegt in der That nahe, anzunehmen, fn²² dass diese ursprünglich wohl euphemistisch gemeinte Anrufung des Seelengeistes, der seine Macht auch benutzen könnte, um das Gegentheil der ihm hiemit zugetrauten Güte auszüben, eben die Macht des also Angeredeten, als eines nun in eine höhere Natur Hinaufgehobenen, scheu verehrend bezeichnen soll. fn²³

Greek  Psyche

Rolshoven, J  Concordanze delle poesie italiane di A. Poliziano Firenze 1986 ca.
Not one citation of epigramma. I tomba.
q 871.04 P769 R Humanist Poliziano Concordance

Roser, W.H.  Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie Leipzig
(reprint 1965 Hildesheim) 1884–1897
Menmon by R. Holland et al. col. 2653 – 2687
Classical  Mythologie

p. 22/3 Notes the prevalence of verse in North African epitaphs, partially blunting our criticisms of Cagnat's "pattern book" theory, which seems to be based on North African inscriptions.
Late Latin Epigram  Luxorius Ro

Orality, social context, music, the ethos of metres... p. 197 says that much work remains to be done reassessing the communicative function of all ancient lyric. P. 200 raises a question equally relevant for inscribed poetry — How and why were poems presumably designed for just one occasion re-recited? The answer can perhaps be sought in China, for which see *Owen.
Greek Poetry  Early lyric

fn²⁵ [n° 5 βελτίωνες καὶ κρείττονες. Aristoteles, Ἐθιμός, fr. 37.]
fn²² [n° 2 Mit Gutscher a. a. O. 124; II 39. — Daraus, das in Attika Eingeborenen dieses Beiwort nicht gegeben zu werden pflegt, folgt indessen noch nichts für die Vorstellung der Athener von ihren Todten (etwa als eine weniger verklärende). Das Wort war einmal nicht herkömmlich in Attika für diese Verwendung. Dagegen spezifisch attisch war z. B. das Wort μακαρίτης als Bezeichnung für die Verstorbenen. (s. I 308, I), das ja ganz unwendig, die auch in Attika verbreiteten Vorstellung der Todten als "Seliger" Zeugniss gibt.]
fn²³ [n° 3 χρηστῶν θεών. Herodot. 8, 111. — ὁ ἄγαν (Protesilaos), χρηστός ἄν ἔγχειρει (dass man in seinem τέμενος sich hinsetzte) Philostrat. Heroic. p. 134, 4 Ks. — andere begüternde Anrufungen der Todten sind: ἀλπε, χρηστή καὶ ἀλπε, ἀριστε, ἀμειπτε, etc. χαίρε (z. B. Inscr. of Cos 165. 263. 279; s. Loch a. a. O. 281).]

Classical
Greek Poetry Symposium Di Alceo

Rupprecht, Karl Παρομοιότης, Paroiomographoi in RE XVIII, 4 1707–1735, 1735–1778 1949
See Addenda.
Gnomica Proverb

Poetics Poetry's Place

Greek Epigraphy political writing

Salemme, Carmelo Marziale e la «Poetica» degli oggetti – struttura dell' epigramma di Marziale Napoli 1976
A most disappointing book. Merely a "reading" of some poems with copious reference to a highly rhetorical sort of literary theory.
Latin Martial Poetry of objects

Non inveni.

Latin Epigraphy Latin Epigraphy

Book Horace's book

Sartre, M. Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie tome XIII fasc.1 BOSTRA BAH 6 113 1982
Greek Latin Epigraphy from Syria


The 7 famous tables, later 2C, are revisited. They are all clearly pictured in the Appendice, their modern history is given (p.77ff. Pucciariini). The summary and analytical discussion is up to date. On p. 11 Filippiani-Ronconi notes the old practice of "animating" or "enspiriting" a sacred image, a consecrated area, a house or a whole settlement, naming all its major parts aloud during the ritual. Prayer could be aloud (GUTEF) or "silent" (TAŒZ). Pucciariini from the end of p. 22 notes the importance of the town gates in the expiatory ceremony of the earlier tablets — "piaculo". On p. 27 he notes that the word PERSKLO means prayer+ceremony+rite, it is prayer as formula and as form. It is words and acts, or words as acts. See the polysemy of the Hebrew Davar.

P. 36: Lattanzi notes that the formulation of the law is structured as as magical-religious deed.
From our point of view, the interesting element is the thought experiment of imagining archaic funerary inscriptions as if they were similar to the "prayers" preserved and referred to in these not so old but very archaic-looking ritualistic tablets. Of course the Iguvine Tablets are texts for official, group ritual and the Archaic Greek epitaph, if intended as a prompt for ritual activity on the part of the passers-by (verbal or sacrificial), is a private text, for an individual, for the most part.
Italic epigraphy Umbria

Eleven gems in the sub-corpus, all Imperial in period. The word is interpreted, not as an abbreviation of the imperative μνημόσυνη, but as the 2 sg. middle (as regards inflection) passively formed aorist subjunctive. Many stones show a picture to a hand to an ear. They are symbolically equivalent to the many stones inscribed μνημώνευ (often with μου, seldom with PN, as the stones seem to have been prefabricated and cheap). Usually a pet name is added, e.g., ἦ καλῆ ψυχῆ. Such a word can apply to the beloved, instead of to the owner: μνημῶνευ μου τῆς καλῆς ψυχῆς. The Latin form *memento* is not frequent. All this is of interest for students of funerary texts and the ring and trewe-love inscriptions of medieval times, though, despite the ambiguity of the German word Steine, it seems that all the inscriptions discussed are from gems.

For the topos generally, see Guarducci, above, Vol. III.

Gems epigraphy *MNHΣΘH*

Schmid and Stählin, W. & O. *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur Teil 1 Die klassischer Periode der griechischen Literatur. Teil 2 Die griechische Literatur vor der Attischen Hegemonie* München 1959 = 1929

Greek Schmid-Stählin

Schmidt, Leopold (Johannes?) *Anthologia Griechisch in RE 1.2 (1894) 2380–2391, [Lateinisch 2391–2392 hic desuper, separatim]*

This late 19C article still mostly agrees with scholarly orthodoxy on AP and API, even if there is now much more information available about papyri and about the contextualising of that occasional poetry which survives to us from the periods of Justinian's reign, and from High Byzantium.

Only the Anacreontea and epigram anthologies remain today. Most of the article is devoted to the "Greek Anthology", i.e., to Meleager, and his tradition down to Cephalas and Planudes. The origins of "epideiktische Spielerei" on themes well-known from contemporary inscriptions is set in the -4C. In the -3C poets from Cos and Alexandria, and one (Leonidas) from Tarentum, began a new movement. Collections of historical inscriptions (attributed to the Aristotelian movement!) were at that period added to from epigraphy and from pseudo-epigraphy. Geographically based collections are assumed, from Lacaonia by Polemon, for Attica by Philochoros, for Theban territory by Aristodemos. Neoptolemos is here assumed to have used epigrams as *examples of brevity* in his much mentioned book "On epigrams". Small publications of one poet or small circles of poets (such as that lying behind the epigrams of Theocritus) were common. In the -2C the habit of imitating older epigram led to a need for a much more catholic and extensive anthology. Schmidt holds, if only tentatively ("perhaps") to the old opinion that Meleager's Stephanos was alphabetically arranged, as an AP scholion tells us, rather improbably.

A century later, "under Caligula", came the additional Stephanos of Philip of Thessalonica. His Corona is much more uniform, and influenced by rhetorical teaching.

Next was Strato Sardianos, perhaps Hadrianic in date. It is here assumed that Book XII of the AP was worked over before the time and the activity of Cephalus to break up the poems of Strato (whose liminary and colophonic poems mention only his own compositions) with other material. This editor is said (by Schmidt) to have softened the pederastic reference of many poems.

Also of the Hadriatic period (in birth) was Diogenianos Heracleota whose ἄνθολογον ἐπιγράμματα is mentioned by Suidas. This may the first mention of the term "anthology". However the 6C controversialists in Byzantium and surrounds use the term for collections of prose texts such as those which suddenly flourished in the Greek 6C, fuelled by theological controversy. Cf. Patrick Gray, at the AABS Conference Brisbane 11.10 a.m. Sun 9 July *From Patristic to Byzantine Theology: The Transformation Effected by the Sixth Century*. Diogenian is said to have "probably" ordered his poems alphabetically. Scopica seem to have been the main sort of poems, and the authors: Ammianus, Lukian, (of Samosata?), Lukillius (Neronic), Nikarchos and others. Hecker denies Diogenianos any anthology, awarding it to Palladas.

Diogenes Laertius put together a lost anthology called the πάμμετρος (βίβλος). This title may have referred only to the first book of that collection. The AG uses the poems in this author's βιβλίον, not those from the πάμμετρος. [Many may have been repeated.]

After the +2C a long period passed without any surviving anthologies, until we arrive at the 6C. Iulianos, Christodoros, Leontios, Paulos Silentarios, Makedonios, and the somewhat older Kyros belong to a revival of epigram at Byzantium, no doubt a sort of court poetry drawing on the scoptica. Agathias of Myrine, a famous historian under Justinian, put together a new collection, seemingly (see Suidas) called a Κυκλος, and was the first, says Schmidt, to divide poems by subject matter (surely, better, sub-genres?): I – poetic dedications – fictional; II – descriptions of art works; III – epitaphs; IV – "poems on different happenings"; V – mocking and satirical poems; VI – love poems; VII – poems on the joys of the table and of wine. He seems to have broken up blocks by the same
poet and interspersed other works, but surely this was not new, or surprising. The name we have for his anthology from Suidas (but not from others) presumably means that one could meet the same names, recurring, over and over, by reading straight through the collection, but coronae/stephanoi were themselves as circular as any wheel.

It seems that the coronae of Meleager and of Philip were put together as one work in the late antique period and this combined work (end to end, surely?) was passed on independently of the more integral Cycle of Agathias.

In the 9/10C Schmidt takes the Syllolge Euphemiana, dedicated to Euphemios by a banished Thessalian working in Byzantium in the time of Leo the Philosopher, as the next surviving anthology. This is the general opinion of scholars since his time, but not that of Cameron in his Ch. XI. Also early, the Syllolge Parisina, "S", which Cameron 1993 is prepared to concede may be earlier than AP. Schmidt makes the main compiler of the 10C, Constantine Cephalas, follow several earlier attempts to gather old poetry, an inherently plausible lead-up to such a major collection, but one mostly denied by Cameron. The name occurs in the marginalia to the AP, and also in the continuations of Theophanes and Georgios Monochos in connection with a historical event of 917 (see Theophanes Continuatus p. 388. 24 – 389. 1 Bonn). He is called a Protopapas. His collection is preserved in a later codex, containing much material obviously not attributable to Cephalas, but how much is difficult to judge. Books V, VI, VII and IX (erotic, anathematic, sepulchral and epideictic) are definitely his, and are attested by a scholion on p. 81 of the Palatine codex which claims that only these are his books. However, X, XI and XII seem also to be from him, i.e., the protreptic, the satirical and the pederastic books. Col. 2385 of Schmidt summarises the "alphabetical series" still left in Cephalas, mostly from the presumed Corona of Philip and the shadowier Anthology of Diogenian. He seems to have left together sequences of poems which fitted his thematic/generic subdivisions, which categories he must have taken straight from Agathias. Thus the sections in AP from Agathias are the most faithful representatives of the order of poems in their source. He also used Byzantine collections of poetic inscriptions made mainly by the several times mentioned Gregorios Magister. The amount of poems occurring in short sequences by that "Palladas" who wrote under Arcadius leads Hecker to count him as an anthologiser who combined his own compositions with those taken from other sources.

Cameron 1993, p. 263/4, discusses the issue of whether this Palladas was in the Cycle of Agathias or separately transmitted to the 10C Byzantines. Cameron p.95 assumes a 4C antholgy containing mainly Lucian and Palladas. This anthology, "suddenly appearing c. 390" was, claims Cameron p. 92, the cause of the "awkward treatment" of Greek themes in Ausonius and his contemporaries, rather as he also assumes that the circle of Q. Lutatius Catulus, Valerius Aedituus and Porcius Licinius made "unoriginal adaptations" of the Callimachean and Melegran poetry recently revealed to them by a copy of Meleager's Stephanos, brought to Rome by Archias. This is meant to explain why the epigrams in Ausonius and in EB are so unlike those of Martial. Robert (quoted by A.Cameron) notes that the honorific inscriptions in the earlier Empire are usually in prose, and in the Later Empire heavily in verse. Agathias allegedly rode on this wave of competent Greek inscription writing. Cameron it is who quotes a lemma by scribe J at ZP vii. 339 stating that the dedicatee of that epitaph is unknown, that its author is not Lucian, but that it was handed down among the poems of Palladas.

Planudes' autograph collection of epigrams is to be found in MS Marcianus graecus 481, folios 2f – 100f. Cameron says p. 345 that printed editions of "The Greek Anthology" since the editio princeps have never seriously consulted this MS, but have instead used early printed editions or late MS copies. In any case, this ἀνθολογία διάφορων ἐπιγραμμίτων was in 7 books: 1. epideictic; 2. scoptica; 3. epigrammatic; 4. captions from works of art and descriptions of landscapes and animals; 5. The poems of Christodorus describing the gymnasiun of Zeuxippos and some other related poems; 6. dedications; 7. love poetry — this last is the only section not to be subdivided into dozens of chapters. Schmidt also notes that the careful arrangement in Planudes' MS is disturbed in all the printed editions by progressive additions (particularly to the first four books) and changes. It is notable that only the Planudean 4th book is rich in epigrams which do not appear in AP. Others explain this by one whole signature dropping out of AP. The other Planudean books provide little in the way of new texts. Planudes also favoured poems from the early periods of Byzantium.

The printed history of the API is then treated, from the careful editio princeps of Lascaris, Florence 1494, "from a MS", and the (Venetian) Aldines of 1503, 1521, 1551, to the Juntina, Florence 1516, and the edition of Badius Ascensius, Paris 1531. Not much new in the single edition of Jo. Maria Nicolinus Sabiensius, Venice 1550. Poor commentary by Vincentius Opsopoeus, Basel 1540, a much better one along with text Johannes Brodaeus, Basel 1549. A new approach in the edition of Henr. Stephanus,Paris 1566, modifying the order of Planudes, adding new epigrams, and making many conjectures. This is not as good an effort as the editions of other authors made by Stephanus. However, his text, specially in the bilingual and newly commented reprint of it done by Wechel, Frankfort 1600, was the form in which the "Greek Anthology" was long read. Hieronymus de Bosch has a five volume bilingual edition (Latin translations by Grotius), Utrecht 1795–1822. Only slowly did attention and access to the older, 10C AP grow in momentum. The contested history of this latter 10C MS need not be retold in detail. Some problems with this codex are that it is on two different sorts of parchment. Its "last part", p. 1–452 & 645–707, shows a single parchment type and a single
hand (a single primary hand, there are other, later ones). The middle part, p. 453–644, has exactly the same numbers of lines per page (31 in fact) but displays a different parchment and script. Salmasius transcribed as yet unedited poems from it in Heidelberg, in the "Palatine" library, and collated these with the API. General Tilly took Heidelberg in 1622, and, as part of the spoils, the "Palatine Manuscript" of Greek epigrams were sent by Prince Maximilian I of Bavier (with the rest of the Palatine library) to Pope Gregory XV in Rome. Where it may have lain before that, its purloining or purchase from Greece, is an almost impenetrable mystery, attacked imaginatively by Cameron 1993. Anyway, the next year, 1623, the Vatican "librarian" Leo Allatius had the large AP cut into two unequal parts, p. 1–164 & 615–711, and brought it to Rome. After the peace of Tolentino in 1797 the rampant French sent both parts to Paris as war spoils. On the fall of Napoleon the AP was supposed to go back to Heidelberg, but only the former, larger part was sent, in 1816, the smaller, later part remaining in Paris, lying unnoticed there until Dübner found it in 1839 and provided a photographic copy in 1873 to the Heidelberg "Palatine library". Note that Allatius's slicing of the large codex into two did not occur at the the above-mentioned change in parchment type and some hands. In any case, as Cameron and other moderns note, the volume we have now was probably wrongly bound in very early times, perhaps from its first making. It was probably the fruit of a process of simultaneous copying by two different scribes. There are two sheets pasted to the end of it with added epigrams. Between the Cephalan books of epitaphs and epideictica (VII and IX) come many short poems from Gregory of Nazianzen (now book VIII). Before the Cephalan books and after them come other sorts of poems, and the table of chapters, on p. 1, is not entirely accurate for the MS as we now have it. Before the Cephalan sections (1 as if we could be sure of them) come: the poem of Paulos Silentarios on the Hagia Sophia, a pair of biblical-theological poems of Gregory Nazianzen, the descriptions of statues by Christodoros, and a collection of inscriptions from Cyzicus. Following the Cephalan books come: a collection of polymetria, a collection of arithmetical problems riddles and oracles, the descriptions of paintings by Ioannes Gaza, the so-called technopaignia (e.g., the Syrinx of Theocritus) the so-called Anacreontea, a few more poems by different authors (Gregory the main one), and on what are called p. 708–710, the two added leaves at the end, some inscriptions taken from the racecourse at Constantinople. The original copist(s) produced quite a bad text. Other hands add corrections, lemmata and marginalia of contested value and accuracy. This is a complicated codex.

The main early printing of the AP was, like most, fragmentary, that of Reiske, Leipzig 1754. R. F. Ph. Brunck tried to collect all surviving epigrams, including those known only from AP, in his Analecta veterum poetarum graecorum editor. Argentorati 1776 3 voll. Neither his arrangement (by presumed poet) nor his text is helpful. He did not have a good collation of the "Vatican MS". At least his work aroused interest, and Friedrich Jacobs published one along more or less the same plan, Anthologia graeca sive poetarum graecorum lusus ex recensione Brunckii, indie, et comm, adiecit Frid. Jacobs Lipsiae 1794–1814, 13 vols! The excellent commentary was in voll 6–12. In vol. 13 is provided a Who's Who of the poets. For his new edition he had access to a careful copy of the Vatican MS, done by Joseph Spaletti, secretary of the Vatican library, in 1766 and bought by Prince Ernst von Gotha. This new edition of "Brunck" was entitled Anthologia graeca ad fidem codicis olim palatini nunc parisiini edita, curavit Frid. Jacobs, Lipsiae 1813–1817 3 vol. Through the graces of A. J. Paulsen he even had, for the critical matter placed in vol. 3, the original AP MS, only recently returned (in major part at least) to Heidelberg. In this major re-edition he left out only the descriptive poems of Paulos Silentarios and John of Gaza, the theological poems (not the epigrams) of Nazianzen, and the Anacreontea. He had 15 "chapters" now, to which he added as an addendum 388 non-AP epigrams from Planudes and 394 epigrams taken from Greek writers and from inscriptions.

Thus only in the 19C did AP reach print in a satisfactory manner. Using the studies of Boissenade and Jacobs, and of G. Hermann, Meinecke, Hecker and others, an updated edition of this major work was produced by Fr. Dübner in Paris in 1864 and 1872: Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova epigrammatum veterum ex libris et marmoribus ductorum, annotatione inedita Boissonadii etc. et apparatu critico instructi Frid. D. vol. 2 voll. The second vol. appeared posthumously and the promised addenda were much poorer than intended. However, many supplements to the AG had already been appearing: Sylloge epigrammatum gr. ex marmoribus et libris coll. et ill. F. Th. Welker Bonnæ 1828; Supplément à l'anthologie grecque par N. Piccolos, Paris 1853; F. G. Schneidewini Progymnasmata in Antholog. graecam Gott. 1855; and the long-used Epigrammata graeca ex japidibus collecta ed. G. Kaibel 1878, recently enough re-printed by Peek, 1965. Also: E. Hoffmann Sylloge epigr. gr. quae ante medium saec. a Chr. n. II incisa ad nos pervenerunt, Halle 1893 (only valuable for its extension of Kaibel); and the still valuable Th. Preger Inscriptiones metricae e. scriptoribus praeter anthologiam collectae, Leipzig, an author who missed very few unanthologised MS epigrams indeed. K. Diltby presented progressive additions to the existing collections of epigrams in many of his "Universitätsprogramme" at Zürich and Göttingen. Then the last major contribution to the task of a full addenda to the AP was made by Ed. Cougny's vol. III of Epigrammatum Anthol. Pal. etc. instructi, Paris 1890. For other 19C editions and especially for the many chrestomathies we refer the reader to col. 2390, l. 35 of this article and to its references. They begin with Oecalampanicus, Dragmata graecae literatae Basil. 1521. As for translations into German, pride of place is given to the "ground-breaking" selection by Herder. Greek Antholog(ies) Anthologie-Sc
Schneider and Mayer, Karl Z & Herbert, Imagines maiorum in RE IX1 1098–1104 1914

Schwartz, Eduard, Aristodemos (27) von Elis and Aristodemos (28) in RE XXI2 925. 1954

Schwartz, Eduard, Atthis (Aτθίς) 3. in RE II, 2; 2179–2183 1896


Selbman, Charles, Greek Coins London 1965 =19552 (19331)

Note the continuing debate on the date of introduction of "full coinage" into Greece, ca. 700 CE or later!

737.11 S Greek Greek Coins

Senarius and Gillett and Burmann and Mommsen, • & Andrew & P.(?) & Th.

Epitaph of Senarius, vir inlustris and, early +6C, known of by the variae of Cassiodorus (30 diplomatic letters edited for general exemplary use), contemporary of Boethius, and like him, proof of the survival of ancient literary skills. There is no reason why the surface indications of authorship (self-epitaph style) should be misleading, though it could perhaps be by Ennodius of Pavia. This is one of only three (poetic?) epitaphs from Ostrogothic Italy. It comes in 18 x Hx of quite competent composition.

From a paper of the second mentioned at the AABS Conference, Brisbane, July 1995, "The Sixth Century, End or Beginning?" The translation is presumably by the conferencier, Gillett. The text was published by Burmann in Anthologia latina2 II, ep. 133, and revised by Mommsen MGH AA 12, 499. All of these editions stem from the 17C Pierre Petois (?), and Austrian antiquary. The stone is lost. Its findplace was somewhere around northern Italy. The unusual use of viator at the prominent position of the end of the first line seems literary and deliberate. It typically indicates the living, here, most exceptionally, it refers to the deceased.

Ille ego sum mundi quondam sine fine viator
Senarius, membris tumulo, non nomine clausus,
principis invicti semper sublimis amore,
cuius in orbe fui vox regum, lingua salutis,
foederis orator, pacis via, terminus irae,
semen amicitiae, belli fuga, litibus hostis.
Novit et hoc Oriens, hoc ultimus axis Iberi,
hoc scit bruma rigens, scit et Africa solibus usta.
Bis denas et quinque simul legatio nostra
signat in orbe vias et numquam strata labore.
Cursus erat volucer, namque anno pervigil uno
bis maris Oceani, bis Pontica, litora vidi
Europamque Asiamque sequens duo limina mundi.
His etiam meritis sociavius agmen honorum:
aulica quippe comes rexi patrimonia clarus
et mea patricio fulserunt cingula cultu.
Me pietas, me sancta fides, me fovit honestas.
Saecla canant titulos: nam moribus astra tenemus.

I am that former, ceaseless wayfarer of the world./ Senarius, my limbs, but not my name, imprisoned by the tomb./ ever distinguished by the love of my unvanquished prince./ In the world I was the voice of kings, the language of security,/ the orator of alliance, the path of peace, the boundary of wrath,/ the seed of friendship, the banishment of war, the foe of strife./ This the East also knows, this the furthest clime of Spain,/ this the numb North knows, this knows sun-scorched Africa./ Twice ten and five times our embassy / marked its paths upon the world and never failed in its task./ My passage was fleet, for, ever-watchful, in one year,/ twice I saw the shores of Ocean, twice those of Pontus,/ traversing both Europe and Asia, the two limits of the world./ To these services we also joined the host of honours:/ for, to my renown, as comes I guided the patrimonia of the palace / and my belt of office shone with patrician splendour./ I was fostered by piety, by sacred faith, by honesty./ Let the ages sing my
titles: for by our virtues we grasp the heavens.
Latin burial epigraphy Ille ego sum ... viator

Sibson, R.B. Some Thoughts on Cicadas in Prudentia XI (1979) 105–107 1979
A good example of the right and the wrong way to “read” ancient poetry is provided by the author’s appeal to
antipodean childhood memories of deafening cicada trilling in hot summers. Northern Europeans must
painstakingly construct such an emotive reaction and often don’t. Gold cicadas were common jewellery items, and
cicadas, whether wild or domesticated are frequently enough mentioned with affection in Hellenistic epigram.
Greek Cicadas

Sidonius Apollinaris and Sirmonde and Migne, • & • & J.P. Epistolaram libri ix 443–660 [C. Solli
Apollinaris Sidonii epistolea], Carmina 660–6... Migne PL 58 Paginatio epistolaram expressa
est sicut in edizione Sirmondeana habetur, crassiori charactere
No earlier author in Migne seems to mention “epigramma”, and few later ones. Sidonius mentions the form
many times, with honour. He gives the traditional recipes for it, but his practice allows epigrams of considerable
length, even though he writes quite a few quatrains. Epigram and other terms often enough double up for the same
poem. Many of these poems are preserved only in his letters, which suggests that other authors may have written
them freely without having them included in the major publications of their works. Roman Gaul, with its preciousness
and its links with the Roman upper classes seems to have been highly aware of “epigram” as a form and
sporadically used the term. The term itself is extremely rare in the Middle Ages, but must have been known among
those who had access to Ausonius, Sidonius and Martial, not to say Claudian, the Bobiensa and parts of the Latin
Anthology. Among these we know to have been numbered most of the authors of artes poeticae in the 12C, the
most famous being Geoffrey de Vinsauf, and his most famous work: Poetria Nova. It is interesting that 50 odd
citations come up in the CD Rom for the first quarter of Migne, all from modern prefaces and notes, except for
those, over a dozen, from Lactantius. On inspection, it seems that Lactantius himself avoided the term, which was
liberally applied to his short verses (mostly quotes) by the footnoting scholars of the 18C and 19C. Therein lies our
reason for studying the background of these scholars’ ideas and categories.
See also Addenda
Latin Epigram Sidonius Epistulae

1936 reprint
878.9 S 569 B 1 Latin Epigram Sidonius Loeb 1

Sidonius and Anderson and Semple and Warmington et al., Apollinaris & W.B. & W.H. & E.H.
Latin epigram Sidonius Loeb 2

Sidonius and Loyen, Apollinaris & André Sidoine Apollinaire Tome II : Lettres livres I – V,
Tome III Livres VI – IX 1970
878.98569 BF 1/1 Latin Epigram Sidonius Budé

Siedschlag, E. Zur Form von Martins Epigrammen Berlin 1977
In six of Martial’s poems we have some idea of his treatment of Greek “sources”. How original his idea was to
compose a corpus entirely of short poems, mostly satiric, depends on what sources he had in Latin and in Greek.
Hendecasyllables and choliambic are rare in modern reconstructions of the Coronae of Meleager and Philip. Of
Catullus’ short poems, 48 are elegiac, but 44 hendecasyllabic, and 8 choliambic. After Martial, the latter two metres
are not common. They are not favoured in Ausonius, the Bobiensa, Claudian or Ennodius, though Luxorius returns
to them. It is the hexameter which becomes popular in later short poetry: Martial has only 4, Petronius 19, perhaps
not all intended as “epigrams”, and in Claudian, Ausonius and Ennodius they come second only to the standard
elegiacs in number. Luxorius uses hexameters as much as hendecasyllables, and the Bobiensa as much as trimeters.
Martial, the Priapeia and later Latin epigrammatists seem all to have included a few poems of rarer types of metre,
with the actual pattern of these occurrences being inherited. The varietas itself may have been inherited, probably
from Greek, as Asclepiades 13,23; Callimachus 13,25; Phalaeus 13,5 and 13,27 and Theocritus 7,664 would
suggest. Catullus does not present this variety in his short poems but is more varied in his long poems. Of course,
only Martial’s books are entirely preserved, in the order of the author’s own choice.
Latin Epigram Martial’s forms

Classical
32 mentions of "epigram" in the poems of Martial themselves:

- epigramma 5
- epigrammata 23
- epigrammate 1
- epigrammaton 3 (– linguam; argutis – libellis; – libellum).

The predominance of the plural use reminds us of (it may be unconnected with) the enormous importance of anthologisation for the sense of genre of what the Alexandrians called "epigram". The importance of that process takes up again, perhaps independently, in modern times, where occasional poems, called (and thought to be?) everything but epigram, become just that, by the simple process of being thrown together and given such a title, and perhaps, not even that title exclusively.

A certain self referentiality in a proportion of poems in such collections seems inherent to the western "process of Epigram". It also occurs in the rather different process of Indian Subhäshita.

Skiadas, Aristoxenos D. Homer in griechischen Epigramm Athen 1965 Hellenike Anthropistike Hetaireia [Demosieumata] Seira deutera: meletai kai ereunai 4

A very important introduction on the struggle to provide a "history of Epigram" and on the shaky nature of the materials on which such an attempt must be made. The worst problem seems still to be a theoretical one. Skiadas is studying epigrams on, or mentioning, Homer. In N. Jbb. 39, 1917 J. Geffcken has a short history of the Greek Epigram which does go through to the Byzantine period. Perhaps there is nothing between this and the ODB's meagre offerings.

883.01 H766S Greek Epigram Epigrams on Homer

Skutsch, Otto Dicta Catonis in RE V1 358–370 1903 Latin Epigram Gnomica Dicta disticha


Smith, A.J.P. Some Irregular Forms of the Elegiac Distich in AJP p.165–194 1901 Greek Prosody Pentameters


Starr, Chester G. The Aristocratic Temper of Greek Civilization NY/Oxford 1992

We take epigram as an aristocratic development aped and further popularised by the middle classes, particularly those of Athens. It seems that the aristocratic influence on Hellenism is not a popular or even a "correct" topic in the publishing processes of our Ancient World industries. Starr's small book appears to us merely to state and illustrate the obvious, but perhaps citing it will protect the obvious from those who might like to have that otherwise.

My Book Aristocratic Greece


Important for an understanding of "publication" in ancient times and of the niche which commercial and non-commercial books had at various times. Epigram did not depend on formal "publication" for its importance, but formal and considered collections of any genre is a sign both of genre stability and status, and an influence on that genre's further development, not just its preservation.

Latin Books Text circulation

Stobaeus, Johannes Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium recensuerunt Curtius Wachsmuth et Otto Hense Volumen quinto Anthologi Libri Quarti partem alteram ab Otto Hense editam continens = Ioannis Stobaei anthologiae libri duo posteriores recensuit Otto Hense volumen III accedit indicem auctorum libri tertii et quarti continens editio altera ex editione anni MCMXII

Classical
Thesis Bibliography 1 — 22 December 1995 P 289

lucis ope expressa Berlin 1958
Introd. p. xxiii about the cod. Trincavellus, important for an emendation p. 558, Caput xxix per του γνωθι σαυτων ἐγγενῶς Γ. no.12, see apparatus where "as a proverb" is added because of the lack of any lemma, and the general willingness to make "proverb" the lemma, in the late tradition.
P. 117 ff. ΠΕΠΙ ΤΑΦΕΣ, Caput LV of D' [Flor. C. CXXIII G.M.] of little note, but it is of interest to know what such an influential author preserved and offered to the Middle Ages and Renaissance on this topic.
888.9 Greek Stobaeus WaHe 2

Stobaeus, Johannes Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium recensuerunt Curtius Wachsmuth et Otto Hense = Ioannis Stobaei anthologii libri duo priores qui inscribi solent Eclogae Physicae et Ethicae rec. Curtius Wachsmuth 2nd ed. 1884 = Berlin reprint 1958
888.9 Greek Stobaeus WaHe 1

Stobaeus, Johannes IOANNOY ΣΤΟΒΑΙΟΥ ΕΚΛΑΓΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ Β. Ioannis Stobaei eclogarum physicarum et ethicarum libri duo accedit Hieroclis commentarius in Aurea Carmina Pythagoreorum ad MSS. Codd. recensuit Thomas Gaisford Oxford 1850
A better text is that of Hense. Note that the word Hypomnema is used for the commentary of Hierocles.
888.8 Greek Stobaeus

Latin Poetry Love elegy

Sullivan, John Patrick Martial 1993
p. 4 Note reference in Sidonius Carmen IX
p. 6 Luxurios used 13 metres, Martial only 8
p. 8/9 Godfrey of Winchester (ca. 1050–1107) called a "Martial" and also "Cocus", See Wright II.103
p. 10 fn° 20 "for Martial and Quintilian, Catullus is primarily an epigrammatist"
p. 11 Padovan humanism heavily responsible for recovery of the full Martial Gracian and the Spanish tradition.
p. 42 The success of Martial in England said to be due a) to the normalness of patronage there up to the Augustan Age (were things any different in Europe??), and, b) because the 16th Century was the great age of the amateur poet, causing a great hunger for good models (ditto).
p. 51 fn° 83 the history of Portuguese epigram is still to be written.
PA 6507 S84 1993 Essays on Martial About Martial

Sullivan, John Patrick J. P. Sullivan Martial: the unexpected Classic. A literary and historical study Cambridge etc. 1992
Reviewing Martial Martial A Classic

Latin Epigram Epigram and satire

Like much of the French tradition, Svenbro’s article is full of, if not totally constituted out of, Barthesian-rhetorical embroidery, from which we may excise the following substantial points:
First, if we take the rather wilful position that early writing is naturally constituted from the reported speech of living individuals, we would be surprised to find on stone direct speech such as "Aglaos made me" not easily reducible to such an origin in the real world of speaking persons. From this perspective the formula is typically written, surely a perverse understanding of its specificity, no doubt "deconstructing" the common and natural view that the speaking object is imagined as animated.
Secondly, the sub-class of inscriptions which have "Aglaos made me this statue" are not necessarily 'contaminations' of "Aglaos made me" with "Aglaos made this [statue]", as is commonly stated, since first person pronouns occur in apposition to demonstratives in the epics and the tragic literature. Thus, when the 'person' of the verb is not discernible, because the verb is damaged, or more often, because we find inscribed a verbless sentence, it is not legitimate to assume that "Of PN this" is to be expanded "Of PN this is". It could almost as easily be "Of PN..."
this [I] am". *Lazzarini's 1000+ dedications have 200+ examples of explicit 1st person, and only one éoti. There are rather more 1st person examples in Pfohl, making about 25% of all inscr. τὸσε occurs in 20% of Pfohl's funerary corpus but only in 7% of Lazzarini's donative one. Thus from 20%-24% of all pre —4C Greek donative inscriptions (prose or verse) and Greek verse epitaphs have the 1st person explicit in the syntax. The "speaking inscription" of *Burzachecchi's article is surely alive and well.

This fact may be accepted, as well as the first-level generalisations made on the basis of it. The deeper explanation suggested is that "ego" in older IE was a demonstrative, and thus that a proportion of the Archaic Greek speaking inscriptions preserved the closeness of 1st person and demonstrative — See Svenbro p. 478 trying to neologise: Je/ego = «icitd», or "Hierheit", i.e., thisness.

We could add something comparative Svenbro did not know, and may tend to despise, at least until the study of pidgins becomes fully fashionable and academicised. The word for "I" in Melanesian Pidgin has spontaneously become dispela, i.e., this-fella.

Epigraphy Speaking  
Ego on stone

Sykutris, I  Epistolographie in RE S V 185–220 1931
Letters Letters

878.9 S987 J1 PF 1 Syd Fish Latin Epigram Letters Budé

Symmachus and Seeck, Quintus Aurelius & Otto Q. Aurelii Symmachi opera quae supersunt edidit Otto Seeck Berlin 2nd ed. 1961 MGH AA VI 1 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum, edidit Societas Aperiendis Fontibus Rerum Germanicarum Medii Aevi) Auctorum antiquissimorum Tomi VI Pars Prior First ed. 1993
Q. Aurelius Symmachus, Letters edited by Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus, his son.

[Bold type is ours, indicating matters of the greatest interest to this study.]

Letter I, the son to his father, anno 375:

Ne mihi vitio vertatur intermissio litterarum, malo esse promptus officii quam longa expectatione vicissitudinis desidere: tum quod parentibus non ad lancem neque ad demensum vera tribuenda sunt. inuius videar, si summo lobisium iure contendam: nam praeter aequum censet, qui inter dispares obsequium par requirit. itaque vester sermo ex beneficio proficiscitur, noster ex debito. haece me atque alia huismodi oppido perpulerunt scribendi minus insuper non habere. nunc vobis actum nostrorum ordo pandendum est: libet enim non minus oii qum negotii praestare rationem. Baulos Lucrina sedem mutavimus: non quod eius deversorii satias ceperimus, quod cum diutius visitur, plus amatur, sed quod metus fuit, me si Baulorum mihi inequivisset adfecto, cetera, quae visenda sunt, dispercerent. ibi Acindyno conditori eiusque majoribus em metra verba libavi et picturae licentiam, quae vestitum disparem singulis tribuit, in rationem coegi. protelarem te paululum, ni vererer, ne dilatatione expectatio nutriatur. quaere elaboratam soloci filo accipe cantilenam:

Attica palla tegit socerum, toga picta parentem:
prefuit iste sacris, hic dixit iura Quiritis:
at mihi castrensem quod mordet fibula vestem,
Aurorae in populis regum praetoria rexi.
sed fasaces picturae facem: tuo respice fastus. /p. 2

scio te, simul atque haec legeris, actum poetae spectra moturum. nullus feceris, ne mei pericolo gloriere! ego te nostri vatis exemplo quasi quadam lege convenio: liceat inter olores canoros anserem streper. silentium mihi, nisi praestiteris, imperabis, quam nihil abs te metuam. vis probare? en tibi alius alucinationis meae probo secretum, adhuc sollicitus de priore. audi versus ad Baulorum historiam pertinentes:

Huc deus Alcides stabulanda armenta coegit
eruta Geryonae de lare tergemini.
inde recens actas corrupta boaulla Baulos
nuncupat occulto nominis indicio.
ab divo ad proceres dominos fortuna cucurrit,
fama loci obscuros ne pateretur heros.
hanc celebravit opum felix Hortensius aulum,
contra Arpinatem qui stetit eloquio.
hic consul clarum produxit Acindynus avem
qui que dedit leges Orfitus Aeneadis.
host inter juvenile decus, sed honore senili,
bei seno celsus, Symmachae, fasce cluis.
sced te Baulorum necdum lenta oitia quaerunt;

.Classical
curae habeat iuvenem publica pervigilem.

Nempe derides, quod de me aliqua iusto indulgentius praedicavi? est haec vera et digna reprehensio. omnis quiquie ostentatio non caret suspicione mendacii, quia quidquid iactantia avara laudis mutum decoquit de pudore. si possem dicere, ut verecunde in nos cadfit ab altero profecta laudatio. sed video opusculum non esse paeniendum, ita res crepera atque ances dubium me habet, utrum verecundiae praemetuendum sit discrimen an gloriae. tibi igitur, qui prudentia antistas ceteris, optionis huius delego provinciam. quid facto usus sit, ipse videris; ego et infantiae et imprudentiae meae patrem conscium non imprudenter elegi. vale.

Letter II, by Symmachus Senior to his son, Symmachus, anno 375:

Hoc est munus, quae de non sola possit iactare Campania: †sed praeteritis Roma aut Athenae, si in Graecum loquendi honorem huiusmodi lingua vertatur. quid enim concinnius epistula tua, quam nuper accepi? quid versuum admixtione iucundius? vere dicam tibi, plura legere volentibus celeriter terminata est. quod utinam sensus aliquid eorum supersit, quorum imaginibus praescripta videmus epigrammata! facile laudabant tales successores laborum suorum, qui picturae nitorem pulchrioribus versibus inluminarint. et ego igitur gratulor non magis ostreis et peloridibus abdomen quam pectus /p.3 tibi eloquio esse satium: et quoniam pudorem meum ipsum oriendo solvisti, a nobis quoque accipe honorum aetatis meae exarata nuper elogia. nam quia nihil est, quod agam, et si nil agam, subit me malorum meorum misera recordatio. inveni, quod illis libellis, quos nuper dictaverim, possimus adicere. scis Terentium non comicum, sed Reatum illum Romanae eruditionis parentem, hedebamadon libros epigrammatum adlectione condisse. illud nos, si fors tulerit, conamur imitari. sed quod prima conpegi, interim pauca misi, obtestatus te per deum, ut si quid in his displicebit, emendes. quod mihi pudendum non est: nam sive quid ex me sive ex te placuerit, mea laus est, nec vito consortium, in quo talem non erubesco consortem.

ARAVIS RVFINVS
Princeps ingenio, fortunae munere princeps aetatis, Rufine, tuae, cui prospera quaque admiranda tuis sequens gloria rebus. unus amor cunctis et praesidium trepiderum principibus, quorum virtutis tempore, doctus aut calcari aut ferre bona aut frena tyrannis.

VALERIVS PROCVLVS
Cum primis, quae non oneravit gloria patrum, ponemus Proculum, vitae morumque decorum haud umquam indignum magnorum Publiciorum. olli semper amor veri et constematis simplicem caelicolium cultus. non illum spernere posses, et quamquam reversendus erat, non inde timere.

ANICIVS IVLIANVS
Cuius opes aut nobilitas aut tanta potestas, cedenti ui non praexerit Amnius unus? acer ab ingenio cunctisque adcommodus idem hic et carus erat, conferre iuvare paratus: nam dives, tum celsius honoribus, et tamen illis grandior, aeterno c SLOTubnate nomine Romam.

PETRONIVS PROBIANVS
Facet se Fortuna alius, quos judice nullo lucem ad Romuleam sua sola licentia xest; te, Probiane, pudor, te felix gratia teque Italae simplicitas morum et sollertia iuvit. asidue quocirca, Augustis notus et hospes, praemia magnorum tetulisti dignus honorum. /p. 4

VERINVS
Virtutem, Vernine, tuam plus mirer in armis Eos exl Armenios cum caede donares an magis eloquium morum vitaque leporem, et — nisi in officiis, quotiens tibi publica curae — quod vitam innocuus tenuisti laetus in agris? nullum ultra est vivus opus, nam si esset, haberes.

Octoginta personis nescio an solus occurram, et ideo in socerum atque avunculum nostros tibi delegamus epigrammata, nam et Varronis libri diversis notantur auctoribus.

Letter III, from Symmachus to his father, anno 375:

Classical

[We skip over the short letters VI (III), and VII, all by Symmachus junior to his father, on personal matters, the impending visit of the father, and the autumn harvests in the surrounding Campania.]

Letter VIII ante annum 376, Symmachus to his father:


Letter VIII ante annum 376, Symmachus to his father:

In metu fuimus, ne vos imber inhiberet. Sed verum illud est, quod poëta noster scriptum reliquit, it ter durum vici sive pietatem, quae ad ventum vestri in diem placit um praestolamur. Dii modo auctores sint, ut quae animo destinatis, nullis causationibus obstrepantur. Vale.

Letter X (III) ante annum 376, Symmachus to his father again:


[. . . and I did not notice more verse in the preserved correspondence of the two Symmachi. Unlike Sidonius, they do not seem to have been notable versifiers at any stage of their lives. A typical time for this was during the irresponsibility of youth. Significantly, however, they both felt impelled to try. What they tried is also of interest, five lines of Hx for a picture, six lines each, of Hx, on famous men (a branch of the de viris illustribus tradition), part of a projected series of 80 such, probably intended for, or vaguely projected for, placement under pictures of the same.]

940.105 3 Syd Fish Latin Epigram Letters Symmachus Se
Symphosius (Ps.) and Tullius, Aenigmata Tullii (Bernensia), Aenigmata Symphosii (ps.), Versus de nominibus litterarum CC(L) cxxixia 1968 Annotated and translated edition. Ed. princeps of Symphosius Paris 1533.

The Bernensia all 6 (lines) x Hx; Symphosius all 3 lines of Hx except for a 15 line verse preface; de nom. litt. are all 3 liners.

I.e., 63 x six line Hx poems for Tullius, 15 lines praefatio emphasising that the enigmata are trifles, jests, party games, then precisely 100 three-line poems for Ps. Symphosius, and the Versus are also in three line poems. The closing poem of Symphosius is on "monumentum" or "sepulchrum":

C. // Nomen habens hominis post ultima fata relinquor./ Nomen inane manet, sed dulcis uita profugit./ Vita tarnen superest morti post tempora uitae.// It is hard to avoid the thought that this very prominent medieval poem would have affected the expression and the thought of many later writers on burial and on fame. The Classical echoes listed in the notes are: Prop. Eleg. II i 72 (et breue in exiguo marmore nomen ero); III vii 30 (non iuuat in media nomen habere uia); Verg. Aen. VI 428 (quos dulcis uiae exsortes); Lucret De rer. nat. II 997 (ducem ducunt uiae... lumina uiae): e.a., however, none precisely for "nomen inane". Perhaps Schumann has it. See the Petrarch quotes on the three deaths, of which one was the effacement of one's tomb inscription, quoted in our notes to Parkes *Weber.

Gnomica Riddles Latin Symphosii & Tullii CXXXIIIA


Tarán, S.L. The Art of Variation in the Hellenistic Epigram Leiden 1979

The author counts 120 "families" of AP epigrams, and has chosen to discuss only 2 erotic families, 1 dedicatory, 1 funerary and 1 epideictic.

Greek Epigram Variation

Tarán, S.L.ed. The Greek Anthology LII N.Y. 1987

Vol. I

1926 Studien zur griechischen Anthologie — A. Wifstrand
1889 Die Grabgedichte der griechischen Anthologie — R. Weisshaüpl (charts, and treatment of grave art)
1912 Das Sprichwort im griechischen Epigramm — von Prittwitz-Gaffron (with an index)
1914 Ad Topica Carminum Amatoriorum Symbolae — Lier (with index of topics)

Vol. II

1935 Die Epigramme des Asklepiades von Samos — Knauer
1895 Meleagros von Gadara. Eine litterargeschichtliche Skizze — Radinger
1942 Untersuchungen zur Epigrammsammlung des Agathias — Mattson

Greek Epigram AP Tarán

Thallheim, Theodor öpol in RE VIII2 2414–2416. 1913

They can be inscribed, but such epigraphs are highly specific to the often unexpected purposes for which they were used, such as that of recording debt.

Greek Epigraphy Horoi


Written under the encouragement of Prof. Baudouin van de Walle by a highly deferential and rather light-weight scholar. The writer sticks very close to his major secondary sources. This is a very pro-Christian article, merely sharpening the Levronne view that the alleged repair of the statue under Septimius Severus was aimed at the revalorisation of Paganism against the surge of christianisation of Egypt, and that the likely effect of this alleged repair, the cessation of Memnon's post-dawn singing, was then seen as a Christian triumph over the forces of the old gods, and led to a sudden boycotting of the statue, by both groups. More useful than such a "Conference focus" is Th's update on the bibliography, much of it derived from the suggestions of others. It is significant that the oldest treatment remains unshaken, despite its being based on very poor epigraphic accounts of the statue: J.A. Levronne, La statue vocale de Memnon considérée dans ses rapports avec l’Egypte et la Grèce 1833, reprinted in Oeuvres choisies de Levronne I, 2 1881 pp. 1–236. Jacques Schwartz has a review of the A & É Bernand edition of 1960, which can be found in Bull. Fac. Lettres de Strasbourg 1960 pp. 190–191, which adds more information and testimony. G. W. Bowersock has The Miracle of Memnon in Bull. of the Amer. Soc. of Papyrologists 21 (1984) pp. 21–32. See also, on the general problem of the tours of Hadrian and Septimius: Helmut Halfmann, Itinera Principium: Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich 1986. Alan Gardiner offers an Egyptologist's view (full of ifs and buts) in The Egyptian Memnon in JEA 47 (1961) pp. 91–99. See of course the bibliography in Lexikon der Aegypten IV 1980 col 23–24, Robert S. Bianchi s.v. Memmonskolosse. See G. Haeny in BIFAO 64 (1966) pp. 203–212 for L'origine des traditions thébaines concernant Memnon. Of course, Bataille Classical
1952 and the Bernards' edition of 1960 (note the activity which this latter quickly sparked off!) are to be noted. The articles of R. Holland, s.v. Memnon in Roscher (1894—2653-2687, and Baldwin (in Prudentia 1983) are not referred to by Théodore. He does present many more peripheral bibliographical references in his footnotes.

It is instructive on p. 268 to be told that the growth of the identification of the northermost statue of Amenophis III (18th Dynasty) with the Greek "King of the Ethiopians", and the matter of the "restoration" are still as clouded as they were in the 1960s. The former was apparently based heavily on partial homophony, as is said to have been the Greek name of "Thebes" (though Egyptians called this city Noi): see Alice Leroy-Molighen Homère et Thèbes aux cent portes CE 60 (1985) pp. 131-137.

An interesting matter is taken up p. 273, that the statue may have retained two identities rather than a single, syncretising one. This somewhat depends on whether the statue was, in the Greco-Roman period, still called by the pre-name Nimmuria/Mimmuria, as the Pharoah in question had been in the tablets of Tell el-Amarna (for Nebmaatra). Pierre Gilbert, in Homère et l'Egypte CE 14 (1939) p. 49 daringly suggests that if there was an identification based on the name, this could have occurred from the setting up of the statue, i.e., the —14C. In any case, he regards the old, Homeric Memnon as already a legendary reflection of Amenophis III, a Pharoah regarded as a son of the god Amon-who-is-at-No, whether in the 14th century or later on. Such questions do somewhat colour our reading of the less explicit poems. Despite the statue's homeric affiliations, Balbilla's poem (n° 28) calls the statue "Memnon the Egyptian". How Egyptian is an interesting question which has a lot to do with the debate on whether Alexander had brought about a truly mixed civilisation in Egypt, or two parallel ones. The personal nature of the Egyptian concept of deity is said to foreshadow Christianity. The divinity as conceived by Greeks was more passive and more abstract by this time. Caecilia Trebulla's poem n° 93 does not even treat the statue as divine. "Memnon" is half human, says Théodore, in this poem, in fact, he is a somewhat Frankensteinian figure.

Hadrian is said to have first firmly inserted the Theban Memnon into the Greek pantheon. The volume of inscriptions around the time of his visit is reasonable proof of such an intent, and it would be consistent with his policies of unifying the culture of the Empire under an umbrella of a hellenised civilization and religion. Inscription n° 100 makes the god into an oracle. He is asked to provide the favour of longevity n° 72, 4. Th. sees Memnon's new rôle as being to proclaim the glories of the old Pagan culture against the surging waves of Christianity, p. 280, and his non-original view is that this led, paradoxically, to the silencing of the voice of Memnon for ever.

Thébes was certainly a centre of Christian proselytising in very early times. See Eusebius' view of the work of Septimius Severus in Hist. Eccl. VI, 1. Even the anachronism needed to connect Jerome's assertion (i.e., that Memnon went silent at the birth of Christ) with the presumed policies of late +2C Septimius is not too great for Th. In his favour is the total absence of inscriptions provably dating from the 199 CE visit of Septimius Severus to this area. Previously this lack of an inscription by a visitor (visitor to the statue) was a sign that the god had not "spoken" to the great man. Only when the statue had sounded were such previous failures to hear him ever immortalised on the stone. For this last emperor to be connected to Memnon, see A. Birley Septimius Severus 1971 pp. 205-209, and Danielle Bonneau in CE 36 (1961) p. 381 ff. Only Spartan mentions his presence at the Colossus, while Cassius Dio states that he was an attentive visitor to Upper Egypt at a time which we can date to the span September-October-November of 199 CE. In the last datable inscription on Memnon we read (n° 61) that Memnon can also be silent (nothing new, of course!), but because he knows the power of silence. Ammianus Marcellinus wrote at the end of the +4C and speaks of both Thébes and the Syringes, but says not a word of Memnon. The Letronne thesis is that both Pagans and Christians now had their own opposite reasons to "damn the memory" of Memnon.

The theory of a failed restoration of the head of the statue is as plausible as many another construction (concoction?) of ancient historians. More importantly for us, it would require us to read the pre-Hadrianic poems in a very different way from those around the time of, and after his visit. The later inscriptions would/could have a more propagandistic tone than those of purely private pilgrimage, at least those whose authors wanted to support the Imperial project. It is difficult of course to tell, from the onomastics alone, which writers were native Egyptians and which were Greeks. It is more difficult to recover their inner thoughts on the question of Memnon's identity and of his propagandistic rôle.

We have noted in our thesis that such contextualisations of inscriptive poetry are for us an important part of the actual "meaning of the text".

Egypt Greek to Memnon

Thom, Johan C The Pythagorean Golden Verses, With Introduction and Commentary Leiden etc. 1995

From our present point of view the main virtue of this treatment is the emphasis on the structure of the 71 hexameters of the "poem", see p. 59—64 ff. Thom is in touch with the debate in Arabic studies on "unity" and coherence of "the poem". Here let us note that al-Dindan, the traditional Nejdi oral poet treated by Kurpershoek,
almost never repeated his own poems in a different phrasing or order of lines from that in which he first gave them out. Thus his relatively structureless "texts" were highly stable, as long as he was their reciter. Kurpershoek does not treat the vicissitudes of the al-Dindan poems once they had become common property and done the rounds of the majalis, repeated, probably modified and interpolated, on many a desert mat.

[Tradition recalls that famous and favoured Beduin poets had an official or semi-official "repeater" and remembrancer as a repository and guarantor of the precious texts. Nevertheless, the Dutchman's recordings point to an important sort of poetic and textual unity, that where a succession of phrases is taken as "one", whatever structures or lack of structure the individual performance-utterance may be deemed to have in itself.]

The Golden Verses, of course, are most likely to have arisen within a fairly literate, if still highly mnemonic culture, Hellenistic, according to Thoms, though the dating of the work is as difficult as it is for most gnomic. P. 47 notes that GV 4 κατακαθισμὸς δαίμονας would be Hellenistic, if this is to be interpreted as 'souls of the dead', "since the worship of the deceased became more common in this period". A problem with dating is whether the early "citations" of GV are in fact nothing more than citations of free-floating gnomic in a pre-GV period, or from pre-GV gnomic-spiritual texts.

The author-editor's focus is on peri-NT culture and ancient spirituality. P. 25 has some notes on Linley's posthumous work on Ibn al-Tayyib's rendition of Proclus' commentary on the verses.

The interpretation of many innocuous phrases is doubtful, some depending on date, some on the function of the work, taken as the script for a "psychagogic" procedure, a practical instrument, not just an introduction to and summary of middle Pythagoreanism. (This interpretation has recently been applied to other philosophical-religious-moral texts). It was probably meant for use within a community which, unlike the earlier Pythagoreans, participated fully in the normal economic and social life of their time.

A not unimportant fact is that this poem was for a long time an enormously popular work, and apparently is still fairly popular in some theosophical circles (p. 3 fn^2).

My Book Greek verse gnomica Golden Verses-Th

Thomas, R. Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens Cambridge 1989

Greek Literacy Oral Tradition


Wills and the form and function of epitaphs are always likely to have some connections, explicit or not. Greek Athenian Wills

Threatte, L. The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions I Phonology Berlin 1980

Greek Epigraphy Inscription Grammar

Todd, Otis Johnson An Inelegant Greek Verse in CQ 33 (1939) p.163–165 1939

Greek Todd's

Tolkiehn, J. Die inschriftliche Poesie der Römer in Pfohl 1969 p.113–136. (Shortened from 1901) 1969

Latin Epigram Epigraphy Roman stone poetry

Tolstoy / Толстой, И. И. Греческие Граффити Древних Городов Северного Причерноморья Москва/Ленинград 1953

Greek Epigraphy Black Sea graffiti

Tosi, R. Studi sulla tradizione indiretta dei classici greci Bologna 1988

Greek Indirect tradition


Symposium Del bere

Trypanis, C.A. Greek Poetry from Homer to Seferis London/Boston 1981

Perhaps understandably, Trypanis sees Greek literature from Homer to Seferis as a seamless robe, and usually uses the "longest" possible chronology for the origins of any development. His knowledge of medieval and modern MSS intimidates his critics.

See Ch.12 for the Epigram, 4th and early 3rd C, influenced early by rhetoric, tragedy and convivial poetry. Asianic influence, Antioch and Pergamum. T. Assumes that some epigrams survive from the great Plato.

Classical
In the richer Alexandrian age there is a two-fold division, the Ionian (Samos & Alexandria, Epicurean in tone) and the Dorian (Stoic). This development ended ca. 240 BCE. In the late -2C we note the rise of the Phoenician school.

p.335 Signed stone poems by Herodas Peek GG 164, 165.
p.337 T. accepts some Theocritean epigrams as genuine.
p.338/9 Leonidas partially revalued, first satirical dedications AP vi.293, 298, 305.

+ priapeia, + ecphrastic poems on art, + apophthegmata.
p.340 Alcaeus of Messene.
p.341 Technopaegnia—3C.
p.342 Graffiti lead to Priapeia, see H Herter Kleine Pauly iv p.1131.
p.376 In the Classical age (of epigram??) erotica predominate. Epitaphs and dedications decline.
p.377 Nicodemus of Heraclea +1C or +2C, analecta.
p.466 Considerable amounts of (Byzantine) religious verse remain unpublished in MSS.
p.474/5 Johannes Maupropos ca. 1050 self-epitaph.
p.478 The verse calendar of Prodromos is "the only Byzantine verse calendar that can boast of some grace and feeling".
p.489 [also 465] Greco-Italian poets.
p.517 Only Manuel Philos has any quality in the period 1204–1453. He is the last noteworthy Byzantine epigrammatist (p.519).

881.09 14 Syd Fish Greek Epigram Classical Byzantine Homer to Seferis

Greek Poetry Jewish Greek

Ullman and Brown, B.L. & Julian Ancient Writing and its influence Toronto 1989 = 1980, but the text itself is from the older 1932 ed.
Classical Literacy Ancient writing

Classical Bibliography Survey

Largely on the MSS tradition. See Guarducci for "inscriptional" and papyrus letters.
Classical Letters Classical

Väänänen, V. Recherches et récréations Latino-Romanes Naples 1981
Graffiti with stylus or carbon, we must remember their functionality in an age lacking commercial postal services for the majority! Pliny Jun. VIII 8, Martial XII, 61, Suetonius Ner. 45, and the implications of CIL VI 52 = ILS 4335.
p. 75 Admiror paries te non cecidisse minis
Qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas
This distich is found thrice at Pompeii, CIL 1904, 2461, 2487. See Matteo Della Corte on repeated inscriptions. P. 76 notes that the script is "cursive majuscles", used both on tabulae and papyrus by the 3C. P. 81 middle: accusations in a distich. P. 84 "Seneca" bought a slave who knew Homer by heart and another who knew Hesiod. P. 85 Quisquis amat..., CIL 1173 3199 & 4091, is another repeated, hence, "favourite", verse.
p. 86 partly repeated: Venimus hoc cupide multo magis ire cupimus
AND THEN EITHER 2a: ut icecat nostros visere Roma lares
OR ELSE 2b: Set retinet nostros illa puella pedes
The age, the type (e.g., scoptic verse preceding Martial) the number of "hands" evidenced, and the degree of repeatability are of enormous interest to the study of book epigram. It must be noted too that the surviving verse graffiti must be the tip of an iceberg (in a seal!) of casual verse, even if little of such was ever inscribed elsewhere, which is most unlikely in itself.
Latin Latino-Romane

Greek Epigram Burial  ΠΑΙΔΕΣ ΑΟΡΟΙ


Vorbeck, E.  Zivilinschriften aus Carnuntum  Wien  1980

In this collection, which excludes the military inscriptions, apparently already very thoroughly studied and unlikely to be metrical, the only metrical inscriptions are those in Greek, and they are few — THREE ONLY, all single distichs, out of 400-odd epigraphs, admittedly most in Latin:

N° 138: T Pomponius / [T f?] / Protomachus / leg Augg pr pr / Acquitati / πρήξεως ετνεκα / προτειμήθεις ανέθηκεν / Πρωτομάχος βαμών / Ευάκιθι θειανη — on an undecorated altar mid +3C. The accents were printed as here reproduced!

N° 181: Florus P Vedi / P f Fab Germa /ni ser an XXVI / h s e / [domi]nus ob meritis / [eius] fecit / [ōw γάμον / οὐχ ῥέμανον ίδων ου νύμφα λεκτρα / [κειμαι] πῦρ στῆθη κεκλημένος παρ ὁδῷ χάρε / [Φ]λύρε χαίρε καὶ σὺ / τίς ποτ εἰ ἐξέι — gabled stele, niche with portrait of deceased, under this portrait a pair of shoes toe to toe, +1 C grave. Again we have dared to indicate the editorial accentuation.

N° 200: naΣπούζα / οιοτιτοί / Διοκάρη βο / πᾶς Διόδωρος / ιοχόμενος βιοτ/τον τῆς ἔβη/εις

— a damaged altar of +3C, to which the editors have added their own damage: their reconstruction of the Greek accentuation, as I cannot believe that there was this degree of inscriptions accentuation on the stones. One hopes the actual Greek letters are given accurately.

Compare with the wholly military corpus from Dacia (Marinescu 1982) and the mixed inscriptions from Roman Britain (Collingwood), and PREMIER BELGIQUE, all three of these likewise being frontier provinces.

Latin Greek Epigraphy  aus Carnuntum


Pfohl n° 57 and 169: Jean Bosquet considers all these “partially iambic” laments to be non-metrical. What would he have thought of some of the “poems” indexed by Baillet from the Syringes!

οὖμοι + bare facts is a prose tradition at Selinus, not part of the more international verse tradition, though there are some local fashions in verse epitaphs too. The Greek West and East are unfortunately under-represented in the current corpus. On the long Menekrates epitaph, (CEG 143, –7C) W. takes it as a manifesto for the Corcyran demos, thus highly political.

P. 100 Sculptors rather than mourners are thought (by W.) to have sometimes (?) been responsible for the composition of the verse. P. 102 notes the vague explanations for the fashion for humbler tombstones under the Peisistratids, while the erection of kouroi continued. The possible Cleisthenic law of about –500 is yet again discussed.

P. 104 Verse tends to accompany “other elegances” in the monument


Greek Epigram Early epitaphs

Walser, G.  Römische Inschrift-Kunst. Römische Inschriften für den akademischen Unterricht und als Einführung in die lateinischen Epigraphik, ausgewählt, photographiert und erläutert
Wiesbaden 1988  Selection, fine photographs, notes.
VERSE on 107–109, PROSE on 76. Note the clear verse on n°° 12, 65, 68, 107, 120. Greek verse on n° 12: 4 Latin lines with one more in Greek.
Lettering is a bad guide to date, see the clash of lettering style and actual date on n° 81. The same comment is made about Indian epigraphy, with more sophistication, by Ramesh.
Latin Epigraphy Roman Epigg.

Walz, C. Rhetores graeci voll.1–9 (vol. 7 in 2) Osnabrück 1968 = 1832–1836
Greek Rhetoric Rh.Gr.

Walz and Aubreton and Buffière, P. & R. & F. Anthologie Grecque vol.1 Books I–IV 1960
Vol.2 Book V 1960
Vol.3 Book VI 1960
Vol.4 Book VIIa (–363) 1960
Vol.5 Book VIIb (–748) 1960
Vol.6 Book VIII 1960
Vol.7 Book IXa (–358) 1957
Vol.8 Book IXb (–827) 1974 (no Vol. 9 = Book X)
Vol.10 Book XI 1972 (Aubreton) (no Vol. 11 = Book 12)

Walts, Calvert Indo-European Studies II Cambridge Mass. 1975
Contains a rather non-standard view of the fragmentary and partly indecipherable second line of the verse inscription on the Dipylon Vase.
Greek Epigram IE2

Weber, Leo Solon und die Schöpfung der attischen Grabrede Frankfurt am Main 1935 Text followed by 18 short excursuses.
Many annotated quotes from standard authors, e.g., Aesch Ag. 1541–5 & 1547–, Homer.
884.9 Sol Greek Burial Grabrede

Weber, L. Steinepigramm und Buchepigramm in Hermes 52 (1917) p.536–557 1917 Greek Epigram Stone and Book

Webster, T.B.L. Greek Theories of Art and Literature down to 400 BC. in CQ 33 (1939) p.166–1939 Greek Poetics Art Theories

Alexandria? an island near Miletus? Born ca. –300? See AP v, 133. Our interest is not in this, but in the inscription whose finding is detailed p. 436, found in Thermon (in that museum n° 68), with fragmentary Proxeny decrees (no date survives). It is in the supplement to IG IX 1, approximately dateable to –280. Under the Aetolian proxeni in column A, 23ff, we read:
ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ ΤΩΝ ἙΠΥΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΠΟΙΩΝ ΠΕΛΛΑΟΙ ἘΓΙΝΕ ΚΛΕΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ἩΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΑΣ
However, only the underlined letters were clear to Rhomaios, the excavator. Hiller saw the Po..., and Weinreich claims to see σειλιτ so clearly on the squeeze, in the proper light, that he will not underdot them. He holds the name as now assured. There were two known literary Poseidippoi at this period, the epigrammatist and the comic poet. It is unlikely that there was another, homonymous epigrammatist, from Herakleia, or from elsewhere. Weinreich imagines (p.439) Poseidippus, the one we know of from the Anthology, as contributing grave or dedicatory poems to the Aetolian League, and laudatory poems for its leaders and favourites. Nikander was honoured for something of the sort. Poseidippus would have been born about 312, and the dialect of the epigrams in the AP is claimed to indicate a NW Greek origin, but Page is agnostic on the reliability of the dialect presented to us in the 10C Heidelbergenis.
Greek epigrammatists Poseidippus proxenus

Classical
Weinreich, Otto  Die Distichen des Catullus  Darmstadt 1975 = 1926 Tübingen  1926
One eighth of the elegiac poems in Callimachus and in Catullus are distichs.
See Martial II,77 3ff; IX,50 5ff; on epigrams and art. See III,83 & VIII,29 on brevity. Note Plato's Laws 958 E).
See also II,1; IX, 50; X,59; VI,65; X,1; II,77; XIV,2.
See AP IX 566, VII 447, IV 2 10ff, VI 327, IX 342, IX 369, XI 312, and Lucian Demonax 44.
Latin Epigram Catullan disticha

Greek Epigram AP AP Epitaphs

Wellington, Jean Susorney  Dictionary of Bibliographic Abbreviations found in the Scholarship of Classical Studies and Related Disciplines Westport (Conn.) and London  1983
No Cyrillic methodianum found, a reference in the Dumbarton Oaks Bibliography – Epigraphy and occasionally elsewhere.
PA 99 W44 1983 ANU Classical Bibliography  Acroabbreviations

Wellmann and Marcovich, Eduard & Miroslav  Herakleitos 10. in RE VIII,1, 504–508 and S X, 246–319. 1912 & 1965
Greek Aphoristic Heraclitus

Wentzel, Georg  Athenaios (22) in RE II2 2026–2033  1896
Greek Epigram Athenaeus

Wessel and Ferrua and Carletti, Carolus (posth.) & Antonius & Carolus  Inscriptiones graecae christianae veteres occidentis curaverunt A. Ferrua, Carolus Carletti Bari 19892 (The author left his corrections on sheets of the Halis Saxonum edition of his thesis of 1936 before being caught up in the war and wounded on the Russian front. He returned to convalesce and revise the first edition, sending the last corrected proofs to Ferrua 25 Mar 1941 with permission to correct and add, and his last letter was 6 Dec 1942. In vain after the war did Ferrua try to contact the family and inquire about the remains of the devastated works of Weidmann and the status of the second edition. Then, being requested by Oronte Ceglie of the Bari house of Edipuglia to edit the corrected sheets he had been sitting on for 50 years, Ferrua set Ada Campione and Antonio Felle to do the work, and himself took the credit, dedicating the work to his own parents.)
1421 numberings of inscriptions, plus the extras that might lie under those few which are subdivided a, b, etc. Thus about 1430 actual texts, of which no more than 28 are in verse, it would seem from a quick reading of them. Thus 2% verse, a normal enough percentage for funerary verse in corpora from many of the earlier centuries.

First some prose notabiliora: n° 184 Syracuse οὗτος ὁ τῶτος + ἡ ἀσφέρι ἡ Πελεγρίνου ἡ Φωλώνος for a typical regional word for "grave", and the invasion of the previously-unused οὗτος, for which ἦδε would long have been required. N° 208 the not uncommon but late explicitation of the reason why the inscription remained short: λέξε τάξισι δ' ἀποθέτα. N° 522 + χαίρε πιστὲ παροθέτα etc 557 CE.
Of course, hanging over all such corpora is the problem of classification, but that should not unduly ruffle collectors of "epigram".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N°</th>
<th>lines</th>
<th>verse</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>2 El +</td>
<td>This epitaph could have had 4 x El, or even more. The initial/final &quot;+&quot; indicates other, extra-metrical, text at beginning or at end, according to the placement of the symbol. Thus the lack of such a plus sign at the beginning indicates that an epitaph starts with verse, which all but three clearly metrical epitaphs do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>2 Hx +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>1 Hx ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>344</td>
<td>2 Hx +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351</td>
<td>1 Hx +</td>
<td>likely to be only accidentally metrical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>11 El + consecutive Hx II. 7/8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>8 Hx</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>379</td>
<td>8 El</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>380</td>
<td>6 Iamb Dim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>393</td>
<td>3 El = Hx+Hx+Pnt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classical
Note that only one or two go beyond ten lines of verse. See also *Damasus and *Carletti for similar Christian restraint.


P. 278—3 of Herodotus' inscr. have been wholly or partially preserved, and he probably uses epigraphic evidence in other places without citing the epigraph, though arguments from his silence about inscriptions are shaken by his ignorance of the Archon list, publicly displayed from ca. 425. Volkmann 1954 is too naive about H's accuracy. Detlev Fehling doubts even his honesty.

Delphi 1.51.3–4, 8.82.1 (survives)
Bosporus 4.87.1
Samos 4.88.2, 4.14.3
Athens 5.77 (2 frag. stones, lines differ)
Euboea 8.22 (carelessly paraphrased)
Thermopylae 7.228 (3) could not be real epitaphs, & H does not claim autopsy
Thebes 5.59–61 n.b. 2.26.4 shown that H. did not think Gk writing could run retrograde, a bad sign for claimed autoptic evidence here

Herodotus cites as many oriental inscriptions as he does Greek! A significant fact indeed:
Lydian 1.93.3, 7.30.3
Babylonian 1.187
Persian 3.88.3, 4.87.1 (Hecataeus?) 4.91
Egyptian 2.102, 2.106, 2.125.6, 2.136.4, 2.141.6

Where H's descriptions can be checked, considerable confusions arise.

"So far as more recent history [sc. than the Trojan War] is concerned, he gives the impression of setting relatively little store by inscriptions; he reports them because they are in some way curious, or because, as with the epigrams commemorating the Athenian victory over Boeotia and Chalcis and the fighting at Thermopylae, they add a certain formal grandeur to his narrative. His epigraphical studies appear to have been more for ornament than for use." This is surprisingly, mutatis mutandis, like the attitude of Byzantine collectors, and most unlike the attitudes prevalent among Muslims, or in Han culture.

Greek Epigraphy Herodot-epigraph

West, M.L. Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus Berlin/N.Y. 1974
Greek Elegy Iambus

Wheeler, A.L. Catullus and Ancient Poetry Berkley 1934

Wheeler gives us an unsourced but probably informed opinion on Liminary and dedicatory verses (a major line of transmission of epigram, particularly the quadristich) which I was unable to trace in Diringer or any related work on the ancient book: Diringer D. 1982 The Book Before Printing, Ancient, Medieval and Modern NY = 1952 Lond. The Hand-Produced Book.

I give Wheeler's comment:
p.220 "Among the Greeks and Romans the custom of composing poems or bits of prose to accompany a book of poems (sometimes a single poem) or a prose work was well established and was practiced in considerable variety. The dedication, the preface, the introduction, the epilogue, the program poem may all be grouped together as varieties of one general type."
Latin Poetry  Catullan

Whitehead, D.  The Demes of Attica – a Political and Social Study  Princeton  1986
Toponyms  Demes

Greek Epigram  Studien

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U.von  Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos  Dublin/Zurich  1973² = 1962² which is a “verbesserte Auflage” of 1924¹  1962
Greek Epigram  Kallimachos

The stone on which the poems are so well preserved is itself (and the poems?) a dedication to a certain Apollo and to Asklepios. One poem is short enough to be considered an elegiac epigram.
881.9 ISY Greek Epigram  Isyllos of Epidaurus


P. 15 On Simonides XLIX (EG Page). The Abschrift is by Achilleus Postolakkas, published U. Köhler CIA II 1617, the former usually accurate, the latter with errors. Probably stoikhedon, typically without off-setting of pentameters. Stone and Abschrift both unfindable in 1899.

P. 30 Sim. XI, on the second distich added by Plutarch and Favorinus, W. notes (assumes?) that many epigrams were added to later. The Markopoouo Herm (AP vi 144, EG XV “Anacreon”) is said to be the first monument to split the Hx and Pnt (L – R, vertical), but both W. and Page reject the second distich in AP, W. making the interesting comment that (p.28f.) this distich was probably expanded after some circulation on papyrus. The place needed to be named in the book version, 1. 2 Hermes + Charites suggest “Academia”, which was known to be true anyway, and other details were invented. In the mid–5C inscriptions contained only material directly related to the monument (Wilamowitz and Kaibel).

III On the apograph of Sim. XVI and the matter or the names of the poets of stone poems, to add them to the stone was common by Roman times, either in the genitive, or shown by acrostic: Kaibel n°° 618, 647, 810, 990, 993, 1001, 1009, 1026, and 218, 1003, 1007. The apograph is from a roughly “reconditioned” or copied inscription done in the 44/5C, which has a verbose prose introduction ending: Σήμερον άνερ ο Απολλώνης... Page does not regard W’s rejection of 1. 3–10 as justified on this occasion. Note that W. always tends to reject later distichs, if no hard evidence exists for more than one x El in epigrams on the Persian Wars.
On Sim. XII, AP vii 250, there is debate even about the first distich. Two more appear in AP and Aristides. The whole question of the period, the reason, the taste, in which verses were added to old and even “genuine” –5C epigraphs is important, but suffers from lack of evidence. W. takes this as possibly an original Überschrift set over a long list of names.

In his papers on “Anüphon” of Athens, W. notes that “Die erste Hälfte des Pentameters ist wie in so manchen anderen Gedichten um zwei Silben verlängert.” The poem // Ούναμα Θερρότας έμι τι [νουσών δ’ οὔκ ἄλλος 

| Latin Poetry | Catullan |
| Whitehead, D. | The Demes of Attica – a Political and Social Study | Princeton | 1986 |
| Toponyms | Demes |
| Greek Epigram | Studien |
| Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U.von | Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos | Dublin/Zurich | 1973² = 1962² which is a “verbesserte Auflage” of 1924¹ | 1962 |
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| In his papers on “Anüphon” of Athens, W. notes that “Die erste Hälfte des Pentameters ist wie in so manchen anderen Gedichten um zwei Silben verlängert.” The poem // Ούναμα Θερρότας έμι τι [νουσών δ’ οὔκ ἄλλος ἁμίμων] / ἀστήρ τέχνης πολλαὶ μαρτυρεῖ ἵναι ἐμῆς. Its position is significant, the word is important to have in the epitaph, as is πολλαὶ, and the composition is highly “additive”. P. 698 mentions Αρτίνας named Domnis, Pantheia and Antiochis, and guilds of doctors, the men sometimes marrying doctoresses! |
| P. 697 mentions the many spondaic second halves of inscriptional pentameters. See better *Allen. |
| III p. 76 discusses the interesting Φεργον αὐτ σαγαθόν κεπαμερον εξετελέσαν, (= CEG 139) as it was the ἑταίροι or ἤλικες of members of the θαῖος, συμφήλικες, who buried a friend. |
| On such delicate things as guessing the original stone state of book-preserved epigram, and of interpreting fragmentary or unusual stone epigram, the opinions of the great 19C practitioners like Wilamowitz, Wilhelm, and Kaibel need to be read in extenso. |
| Greek Epigraphy | Wilhelm’s |
| Greek Epigram | Wilhelm posthumous |
Wilkins, Eliza Gregory "Know thyself" in Greek and Latin Literature Diss. 1916 Chicago private ed. 1917, facsimile reprint Menasha Wisconsin 1979 1917

Good discussion of the relationship of the gnomological tradition to the excavations at Delphi, and of course, newer discoveries in Afghanistan have made the subject far more interesting. The inscribed sayings must have been visible in the temple built at the end of the -6C, and may have been on the stone temple destroyed in -548. The mysterious letter E is discussed. Wisdom literature and its descendents are discussed. P.9–10 give a survey of the early impact of the maxims on the 5C literature. P.100–104 lists all citations or clear allusions to this maxim in Latin and Greek authors, chronologically arranged.

880.9 53/1 Gnomica Know Thyself

Youtie, H.C. Αγράμματος: An aspect of Greek Society in Egypt in Scriptiunculae II Amsterdam (The paper of a lecture presented on March 5 1970 at Harvard University under the title "ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ: The Two Worlds of Greco-Roman Egypt") 1973a

Greek Literacy Agrammatos

Youtie, H.C. Βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and illiteracy in Scriptiunculae II Amsterdam (The paper of a lecture presented on 1 March 1971 at Brown University) 1973b

Greek Literacy Slow writers


1. Pictorialism; 2. preoccupation with low life of an every-day kind; 3. if MYTH is still treated, it is set against a horizon of credibility in the face of "modern research," with aetiology providing an important link between past and present

Greek Epigram Realism

Zazoff, Peter Die Antiken Gemmen München 1983

Inscriptions on carved (intaglio) gems are very rare in Archaic and Classical Greek times, despite the many captions placed on -6C and later Greek vase scenes. For some, see examples a) and g) on p. 105: Captions inscriptions are common enough on Etruscan gems, but Italic and Roman gems are only "sporadically" inscribed. The same goes for Hellenistic Greek, some few of which are captioned. Words are far from uncommon on Sasanian gems, which seem to have imitated much of the style of the West. Every Muslim gem, Khattam or "talismanic amulet", Tilisam, is of course inscribed with words. Muslim gems have no images. Their texts are the longest encountered, though Hindu and Buddhist seals seem wordy, particularly, the latter, in Tibet. Despite their apparent similarities, seal-gems and coins stamped from intaglio gems differ diametrically in their function, ethos and human reality: coins are ultimately public, seal intaglios intensely personal and like epitaphs, and the similarities in phrasing are more than superficial: on an agate scarab in Breslau we read "I am the seal-sign of Thersis don't open me up", the text however not for the gem, but for the seal eventuating from its use: ΘΕΡΣΙΟΣΧΕΜΙΣΑΜΑΜΕΘΕΝΟΙΤΕ. Nevertheless, "of PN am-I sama" is also on coins, e.g., from Ephesus: ΦΕΝΟΣ (Φόνος) ἐπις ὀμήγα, p. 100.

Gem "Beischriften" present the signatures of either the carver-artist or the owner of the gem (the grammatical case of these can be interesting), there are what are called "Sprüche", but very short ones, Grußwörter, initials (to be assigned to one of the above categories where we can understand them), and Erklärende Beischriften, or captions to pictured scenes. See Addenda (Seals) for a selection of the texts and some reflections.

G NK 5525 .Z39 1983 Ancient Gems Antiken Gemmen

Ziegler, Conrat (Konrat) (2) Plutarchos von Chaironea in RE XXII 638–962 and somewhat in the Nachträge to XXI2 1951–1971 Really of book length, by the most recent editor of the Vitae.

Greek Plutarch

Ziegler and Sontheimer, C. & W.eed Der kleine Pauly Stuttgart 1964 Classical Kleine Pauly

Zuntz; G. Drei Kapitel zur griechischen Metrik Wien 1984 Greek Prosody Metrica

Zuntz, Günther Persephone: Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia Oxford 1971

No. 277–393 the gold leaves from southern Italy and elsewhere. P. 207 ff and 277 treat the latest discussions of these "Orphic" fragments: Orphic frg. 32a–g, Diels Presokratiker 1B17–20. Zuntz argues for Pythagorean rather

Zuntz gives his own texts, but these are of interest mainly for his reconstruction of an "Utext", as he remarks both on the fine job done by the 19C transcribers (as far as we can now see!), and on the hard-heartedness and nervousness of museum curators, who would not allow him to make as close an inspection of the leaves as the first editors would have had. He had to inspect most of them through dirty glass cabinet tops. See his p. 340, "The basic poem a-b", plus p. 368 (B1 and B2), and also p. 346/7 for the fragmentary C. We give Diels after this, but first we list "The basic poem a-b" (selon Zuntz):

1 "Ερξομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρά, χβολών βασίλεια.
2 Εὐκλεῖς Εὐφουλεῖ τε καὶ ἀπαντάτοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι.
3 Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ὡμὸν γένος ὅμιθεν εἴχομαι εἶναι..."

Then the "poem" would have continued either with a 4–6, or with b 4 (and possibly b 5):

a 4 Κύκλου δ' ἐξεπτα αριστερός ἀργαλέος,
a 5 Ἰμερτοῦ δ' ἐπέβαινε στεφάνου ποιεί καρπαλμοει,
a 6 Δεσποίνας δ' ὑπὸ κόλπον ἐδών χβολῶν βασίλειας

b 4 Ἕνω δ' ἐκέτησε ἥκω παρ' ἀγαθῷ Εὐροσφόνειαν
(b 5 'Ως με πρόφρων πέμψῃ ἐ.γ. εἰς εὐβαγών λειμάνω.)

See: Diels Gold Leaves Vol. I p. 15–16: n° 17 is of 14 Hx, and it begins in a way that suggests that other text was known to precede (εὐσφάσεις δ' Ἀιδών δομῶν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κρήσῃς, παρ' δ' αὐτῷ...), so perhaps it is an extract including merely the principal instructions for a dead soul to find her way in the underworld. Zuntz denies this at length, as he does the Orphic origins of the texts. N° 17a is of 3 Hx, and is a dialogue inscription surviving in three copies. N° 18 is of 10 Hx plus a prose tag. N° 19 seems to be of 8 Hx, 19a of 4 Hx with the last line a quotation of the response of the chthonic gods to μημοσύνης τὸ δορον, i.e., the tablet itself, precious in its materials and perhaps also because of its text. The gods are made to respond to the soul’s claims: "Caecilia Secundina", (this tablet is Roman and much later) "come in — you have become a goddess according to the law". Only the final tablet in Diels is not dominated by through-composed verse — this one, n° 20, has in toto four Hx, though at least one "prosaic addition" needs to be excised to make these into Hx. After the third line and before the last Hx there are 12 prose words, apparently highly formulaic ones. The Prose tag at the end of n° 18 was ἡρωφός ἐς γάλα ἐπετευ. The opening of the third Hx in n° 20 seems also to be a repeatable formula, in the verse: χαῖρε, παθῶν τὸ παθήμα, but the lines which follow it are not in any clear verse: θεὸς ἐγένος ἐς ἀνθρώπον ἡρωφός ἐς γάλα ἐπετευ. χαῖρε χαῖρε δεξιὰν δοξολογίαν. (Is this latter an irregular Trimeter?) The word ἡρωφός is an "Orphic password", 'young kid goat' = genuine neophyte (?) It can also mean a young bacchos, says Diels in his note.

The relationship of these texts to those publicly displayed on tombstones is not clear. Perhaps the similarities are merely due to the fact that they treat similar matters using the rather similar resources of the Greek of their times (~5C onwards).

What must be borne in mind is the difficulty of dating them archaeologically, for which see Zuntz.

Greek verse on metal *Gold Leaves*
Hincmar p.409 tituli of variable length.

Heiricius p. 428 introd. short poems.

Iohannes Scottus p.527: p.531 4 x El tailpiece in mid-poem to Sec II) and note the liminary verse by a librarian 4 x El Caesare sub Karolo... P.541 Greek and Latin distichs in imitation of each other: ερημη πιστο δημω, and pax fido populo ....

P.553 Elegiac distich on a contemporary — ironic epigram & fictive epitaph:—

Hic iacet Hincmarus cleptes vehementer avarus

Hoc solum gessit nobile quod periiit.
Edwin Arnold in a London paper concerning the early stages of the uncovering and restoration of Bodh Gaya. It seems to refer to an early visit of his in 1885:

"I was grieved to see ... thousands of precious ancient relics of carved stone inscribed with Sanskrit lying in piles around."
De conviviis barbaris

Inter eils goticum scapia matzia ia drincan
Non audet quisquam dignos edicere versus.
Bibliography 2

Non-Classical
A thrice speaking tomb from Michelangelo's pen —

In agonised memory of Cecchino (Francesco) Bracci, died at 15 years of age:

In many poems Bracci himself speaks, in others his remains speak, quite generally, or, in 219, his head. In no 212, 214 & 216, at least, it is his tomb which speaks:

212 Perc'all'altrui' ferir non ave' pari
col suo bel volto il Braccio che qui serro,
morte vel tolse e fecel, s'io non erro,
perc'a lei ancider toccava i men chiarì.

[ sc. Poiché il Braccio che qui serro non aveva rivali nel ferire altrui col suo bel volto, la morte ve lo portò via e lo fece, se non erro, perché altrimenti a lei non sarebbe rimasto che uccidere i meno belli]

214 Era la vita vostra il suo splendore:
di Ceccin Bracci, che qui morto giace.
Chi non vide nel perdé e vive in pace:
là vita perde chi 'l vide e non muore.

[Lo splendore di lui che qui giace era la vostra vita. — c'èi non vide, non l'ha perduto e vive in pace; chi lo vide e gli è sopravvissuto, ha perduto ogni senso della vita]

—Michelangelo to no 214, in his autograph: «La sepoltura parla a chi legge questi versi. Cose goffe; ma a voler ch'ne faccì mille è forza che ci sia d'ogni cosa».

216 Qui serro il Braccio e sua beltà divina
e come l'alma al corpo è forma e vita
è quello a me dell'opra alta e gradita;
c'un bel coltello insega ta vagina

The autographed note says that this poem was to be written "Sopra il deposito", i.e., over the "tomba" which "speaks" it. [...] e come l'anima è forma e vita al corpo, così il Braccio è ciò che ha mosso l'artista a far di me, sepolcro, un'opera alta e gradita; ché dalla guaina si può presumere la bellezza del coltello.]
Peri- and non-Classical.

A Collection of Epigrams, to which is prefixed, a critical dissertation on this species of poetry, the second edition, with additions, printed for J. Walthoe 1735 1735

Inserted in David Nichol Smith's edition of William Oldys's 1727 collection of similar title from a different antiquarian's catalogue than the Oldys's notice also pasted there. — Oldys n° 115 and £4/-/-, this title n° 131, 12mo and half calf, but 12s 6d = $2.50 non vidi

English Epigram Collection of Epigrams

BBC Music Library Song Catalogue III Titles A – L London 1966 Q016.78 52 ConSyd Quay Musical Epigram BBC Song Catalogue


Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya / Большая Советская Энциклопедия, главный редактор Б. А. Введенский, второе издание 1957.

Russian Great Soviet Encyclopedia


Brockhaus Enzyklopädie, in zwanzig bänden, siebzehnte völlig neuarbeitete Auflage des grossen Brockhaus Wiesbaden 1971

German Brockhaus

The Christmas treat, or the Gay Companion, being a collection of Epigrams, with an essay on that species of composition. Dublin 1767 12mo, board, 10s ($2.00) n° 132 in the catalogue cut and pasted in David Nichol Smith's Oldys, from whose allegedly unprecedented collected work the phrasing of the title seems to derive. non vidi

English Epigram Christmas Treat?

Den Engelsche bokkum gebraden of een France Rooster 1688

Dutch poems, "on the picture of ..." mfm 791 E738 Dutch epigram On the pictures

Description des tombeaux et sépultures qui existaient autrefois dans l'abbaye de Citeaux 1622–1634

Addendum to St. Bernard's works. See our Addenda. Latin Medieval Epigraphy Migne PL 185

Écritures, Systèmes idéographiques et pratiques expressives. Actes du Colloque... (1982+) Graphemics Écritures

Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana Madrid 1958 Spanish EUIEA

Epigraphica Anatolica Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und Historische Geographie Anatoliens herausgegeben von Ekrem *Akurgal [see Bibl.1], Reinhold Merkelbach, Sencer Şahin, Hermann Vetters, in Zusammenarbeit mit... (11 scholars, many Turkish) Bonn Heft 1 1983 Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Türk Tarih Kurumu. Many articles in Turkish.

Non-Classical
mfm 791 430:17 Latin epigram Epigrammatum delectus

The French Rogue being a pleasant history of his life and fortune, adorned with variety of other adventures of no less rarity: with epigrams suitable to each stratagem. London 1672 as for next title (copy of precisely this printing?) of the same year.
mfm 791 1653:21 F2196B English verses French Rogue I

The French Rogue being a pleasant history of his life and fortune, adorned with variety of other adventures of no less rarity: with epigrams suitable to each stratagem. London — Centum Fabulae ex Antiquis Auctoribus Delectae et a Gabriele Faerno, Cremonensi, Carminibus explicatae. Lond. 1672 Incorrectly attrib. to Charles de Fieux, Chevalier de Mouhy (1701–1784). Possibly not a translation but an original English work, perhaps by Richard Head, author of The English Rogue; with "Centum Fabulae ex antiquis auctoribus delectae et a Gabriele Faerno. Antoniano Silvio (1540–1603) & Walter Pope d. 1714

Londini Impensis H. Brome 1672 (not connected in mfm version with the former title).
p.14–15 10 short verses, end ch V. p.18 1 Lat. Pent. ends ch. VI. P.21 a Greek distich and 6 ll. Engl. verse in the middle of the narrative. etc. etc. p.119–123 is entirely Latin, and one poem. Often the English of the story translates the short Latin and Greek verses, and the quotes are not always metrically complete.
mfm 791 143:7 [F885 cancelled no. in ed. 2] English verses French Rogue 2

Fun for the million: the laughing philosopher, consisting of several thousand of the best jokes, witticisms, puns, epigrams, humorous stories, and witty compositions, in the English language, intended for the fun of the million. London 1835 a new edition The Introduction contains a mock debate on "wit".
827.7 F979–2 English Epigram Fun for the Million

Genre Initially published by the Chicago circle, by 1977 (vol. 10) published by the University of Oklahoma


Genre Genre Sources

The Harmonic cabinet, or, Vocal harmonist, in miniature collection of the most admired glees, catches, duetts, canons, epigrams &c.: selected from the best authors, ancient and modern
London 1832? Music for mixed voices in min. format (3, or 2 voices). 6v. but vol. 4 only in ANL.

Though "epigram" is mentioned in the title, no song in vol. 4 is so titled. Most are called: GLEE, CATCH, DUETT, ROUND, and less commonly: Serenade, Chorus, Epitaph (!), Extempore and Madrigal. The Extempore is a curiosity displaying clashing sentiments between the two vocal parts: the normal 3 part partition is tragic, if mock-tragic, while a high voice part superimposed on the piece is clearly in a jesting style.
MUS mm 782.542 H288 Musical Epigram Musical Epigram

hrvatska Enciklopedija Zagreb 1941–2 Seemingly incomplete.
Svezak IV Cliachit-Dictis p.386–8 presents a map of Csemica and an article on Cesmički, Ivan (Johannes de Chesnicze), the multi-nominal Janus Pannonius. Such variability of name, common among early Humanists, has been preserved more confusingly than most for a man claimed by Poland, Hungary and Croatia.
p.287–8 Ivan Cesmički. See also Cosenza and Tezla.

Humanists Croatian Encyclopedia

Non-Classical
Illuminated Manuscripts. The Book before Gutenberg  
London 1988
P. 21, Headings and endings treated, prime loci for poems in many traditions.
091 122  Books  Before Gutenberg

The Ink-Slinger’s Anthology: epigrams & aphorisms.  
Calligraphy by members of the  
Lettering Arts Society of Queensland Moorooka 1989ca.
English Epigram  Ink Slinger’s

Ma bibliothèque poétique. Éditions des XVe et XVIe siècles des principaux poètes français  
Première Partie de Guillaume de Lorris à Louise Labé. (Droz) Geneva 1973
016.841  French bibliography  Bibliothèque

The Mirrour of complements, or, A Manuall of choice, requisite, and compendious curiosities wherein gentlemen, ladies, gentlewomen, and all others may practise complemental and amorous expressions, in speaking or writing letters, upon any subject or occasion: exactly performed with addition of witty songs, sonnets, poems, epigrams, essays, characters, &c. The fourth edition with very many additions: also a dictionary and explanation of hard words frequently in use, taken out of the Greeke, Latine, French and other tongues.  
London 1650
[22], 240 ff. [i.e., because of pagination errors, 244], [20] p. 4th Ed.  
p.142–155 “epigrammes” with many distichs. P.156 “What verse is and what it is not”? P.157 contains several poems classified as “epigrammes.”
mfm 791 1553:1 M2223  English Epigram  Mirrour of complements

Pantoen Meiaioe oidn Balai Poestaka Djakarta n.d.  
Introd in Bahasa, and 1575 poems.  
899.221/3 Malay  Pantuen Melajoe

Peter Pauper’s epigrams and aphorisms illustrated by Susanne Suba  
Mount Vernon N.Y.  
1950 ca.  108 p. ill.  
7 chapters, all of prose aphorisms or, better, winged words, since their authors are given.
808.882 P478pe  English Epigram  Peter Pauper’s

Phrases poeticae sev poeticaarvm locypletionum thesavрывs vberrimvs cui accessit poeticarum descriptionum libellus a precipuis Poetis excerptus. Accessit & index luculentus (ultra latinum solum) Gallico-latins ante hac desideratus Virdvni  
1612  12o, very small but thick book.  
Jesuit Logo IHS with a cross standing on the cross bar of the H. On the top of the title page, clipped by the binders, is the bottom half of an ink owner’s inscription: “…Waterford 1818”
RB Misc 367  Poetics  Phrases Poeticae

Quaeerendo Cumulative Contents and Index to Volumes 1 (1971) to 16 (1986)  
Brill 1989
Nothing was found on dedicatory or liminary verses.
090.5/1  Books

Sigillographie Byzantine des ducs et Catépanes d’Antioche, des Patriarches d’Antioche et des Ducs et Catépanes de Chypre  
1884
736.3  Byzantine Seals  Byzantine Seals VI

Song ci san bai shou yi zhu = “300 of the best Tz’u (or, Ci ) from the Song Dynasty with a Commentary on their meaning”  
1988² (1961)
We are interested in the status of the more epigrammatic 8 line and especially 4 line poems in the Chinese tradition. The freer Ci are less relevant, but this modern anthology can be compared with the one four entries below, from the Tang. The “300” is also of comparative interest.
 Chinese Verse Anthologies  Song Ci

Non-Classical
Thesis Biography 2 (22 December 1995) P 309

1. 1597 Inscribed three sides
2. 14C late
3. 16C late
4. 14C late and a 15C inscription!
5. & 7. 1643 only PNN inscribed
6. INRI
7. IHS
8. 1597 Inscribed with words.
9. 1552
10. 1692/3, all inscribed.

736.5094189 2/1 English Epigraphy Burial Art St. Canice's

Subject Index Accessing Early English Books 1641–1700 Ann Arbor 1981 From Donald Wing’s Short Title Catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books printed in other countries.

Titles of epigram collections in England

It seemed appropriate to go title counting in the field of early modern bibliography, having viewed a considerable number of the books easily available in Sydney and Canberra. So, from the Ann Arbor Subject Index 1641–1700:
p.274 Epigrams Richard Flecknoe 1673, and 1670, and 1671. Sir Thomas Urquhart 1646. Robert Vilvain 1654. anon 1650 & anon 1663
Epigrams English Henry Harflete 1653, Sir Thomas Urquhart 1641.
Epigrams Greek (AP), anon 1653, Thomas Farnaby 1671.
P.277 Epitaphs Wits Recreations 1650, Wits recreations, Recreations for Ingenious Head-Pieces, Or, A Pleasant Grove for their wits to walk in. Of Epigrams, 700, Epitaphs 200, Fancies a number, Fantasticks abundance. With their new Addition, Multiplication and Division London 1663.
See also 18C English Books, i.e., Averley and Flower, and the new Pollard and Redgrave.

English Epigram Bibliography EEB Subjects

The summer miscellany: a present for the country: containing. The pin, and epigram; Physick and cards: Epigrams on Pope Cibber. [etc.]: many of which were never before printed.

1742 [2], 54 p. 22 poem titles on t. p.
Verse and prose pamphlet. Notable biblical parodies in it.
RB DNS 8694 English Epigram Summer miscellany

Tang shi san bai shou yi zhu A modern anthology of "300" Tang poems, only painfully decipherable to me. We have very specific uses for our limited reading of it.

Even for the non-Sinologue, it is instructive to decipher the section headings and note the proportions of types of poem in standard anthologies. Pp. 1–40 have Wu Yan Gu Shi (Five syllable Ancient Poems, of variable length). Pp. 50–146 have the Seven syllable Ancient Poems, again of variable length. Pp. 148–227 have the Wu Yan Lu Shi, or Five Syllable Regulated Poems, and length is regulated as well, as we can read in the Addenda under *Han....

*Chinese Quatrain. Pp. 228–272 have the Qi Yan Lu Shi, the Seven Syllable Regulated Poems. P. 273–307 have the Wu Yan Pa (?) Ju or 5 syll. quatrains, and pp. 308–352 have the Qi Yan Pa (?) Ju, or 7 syll. quatrains, which are thus at the end of the anthology.

Note that the quatrains come last, but still form a considerable volume. They are far more than afterthoughts or "fillers". It is sufficient for us that this anthology, whether its compilation be modern or ancient, gives them last place but still a substantial one. Going only by pages: QUATRAINS: 7 syll. (60 poems) take 45 pp., the 5 syll. (36 poems) take 34 pp. Thus 96 poems and 80 pp. or so for quatrains. Against this: 50 pp. and 42 poems for the Five Syll. Ancient, and 97 pp. and 44 poems for the Seven Syll. Ancient. Also, the near cousins of the Tang ("Regulated") Quatrain, i.e., the more standard, 8 line Regulated Poems: 5 syll. – 44 pp. and 80 poems; 7 syll. – 80 pp. and 51 poems. It is clear that the 5 syllable Regulated Poem is here taken as the prime example of Tang verse, and High Tang verse is the paradigmatic corpus for all subsequent Chinese verse.

Unless I have miscounted or misread the table of contents and the limited photocopies I have retained of the join pages of each genre, this makes 313 poems. Thus, the "centuries", as often, are not exact. The device of "centuries" of poems in anthologies is found in medieval Latin, in Sanskrit, in Chinese, and in Japanese, and who knows where

Non-Classical
Chinese Verse Anthologies  *Tang Shi*

? **A Third Collection of the Newest and most ingenious Poems, Satyrs Songs &c Against Popery and Tyranny relating to the Times Most of which never before printed.** Lond. 1689

Pamphlet, containing 21 metrically rough poems, mostly longish.

A fair percentage of these poems are by Sir John Denham, and we have two epitaphs, one of 11 lines on a Harry Cave (A true dissenter here does lye indeed...), and one of 61 lines in irregular, odic stanzas, on the Lord Fairfax (Under this stone does lye...).

On the basis of a perusal of such controversialists’ collections, we may assume that similar books of satires and songs accessible to us only in long title are not likely to have contained much short epigram. The same goes for the numerous "Poems on various occasions..."

mfm 791 T902  English Epigram  *Third collection*


The *Stasis Prote* is made up of 72 x 35-syllable poems, similar to the 60 x 36-syllable poems of *Stasis Dheftera*. *Stasis Trite* is shorter and has shorter poems, 46 x 19-syllable ones. *Hosper Pelekan...* is n° 44 of the *Stasis Dheftera*. The totals given may have to be extended, each by three little poems, because shortish texts precede each *Stasis*, and three or more conclude each one. For example three texts at the end of the First, similar in form to the 72 in the main body of that *Stasis*, are interspersed with a *Gloria Patri*, then, [Kai nun] a *Theotokion*, and finally [kai palin] the first *Troparion*, identical to the n° 1 item of the *Stasis*: (He Zoe en tao...". A similar pattern occurs at the end of *Stasis Dheftera* and *Stasis Trite*, with one small closing addition, apparently, added to the latter. Of course, the structure of the *Staseis*, as well as the metrical structure of the "troparia" (for thus they are called by *Epiphanius Bishop of Cyprus, and in the Liturgical lemmata themselves) are provided by the music, which I do not have. Nevertheless, the "troparia" are obviously somehow metrical when viewed in series.

Thus isolated examples of them appearing elsewhere could be called "Sacred Epigram" even if Komines and Greek tradition do not. They are (a-historically) as much epigram as are the short German poems of the mystic Angelus Silesius. It is the easily identifiable origin of winged excerpts like *Hosper Pelekan...* which is the main argument against its textual independence, even when it is inscribed on or under a pelican image. This little text was known by almost everyone to belong to a popular liturgical ensemble of similar texts, and one that was heard every year at the high point of the Orthodox Calendar.

My Copy  Byzantine Liturgical Poetry  *Triodion*

? **Yorkshire Contested Election. Part First. Containing all the Songs, Epigrams, &c issued during the contest betwixt William Wilberforce Esq. Lord Viscount Milton and the Honourable Henry Lascelles and which terminated on the Fifth of June 1807 in the two former gentlemen being declared duly elected  Leeds price 8d.** (Back cover) In a few days will be published a complete and entire collection of the Speeches, Addresses, Squibs and other Prose productions which have been printed in the different towns of Yorkshire during the late County Election (Printed in the same sized paper and calculated to bind up with the songs.) Price 2s 6d. [Any songs or epigrams published during the Election and which are not inserted in this Pamphlet will appear in the oral poetry of a controversial and ephemeral kind. See Addenda.

RB CLI 5568  English Epigram  *Yorkshire contested*

Abbatt, W.  *The Colloquial Who's Who: an attempt to identify the many authors, writers and contributors who have used pen-names, initials, etc. (1600–1924) also a list of sobriquets, nicknames, epigrams, oddities war phrases etc.** NY first edition 1924–5, hardly altered in ours. 1966

RF 802 A123  English Epigram  *Colloquial Who's Who*


Arabic papyri  *Arab Papyri*

Non-Classical
Abernethy, F.E.  What's Going On (in modern Texan folklore). Austin 1976  n° 40 of Pubs of the Texas Folklore Society  398.209764 W555  English Epigram  What's going on

Acharya, Paramananda  Studies in Orissan History, Archaeology and Archives. Cuttack 1969  P.319ff. Ch.25 Chronology. First inscr. from Asoka, then Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills caves near Dhauli and Bhubaneshwar, –2C and –1C. Jaina caves with much sculpture. No art from –1C to +5C, but there is the Bhadrakali Temple inscription +3C or +4C and a rock painting. Then another gap of 2 centuries until the mid +7C, though copper plates abound in the late +6C, it took the stability and wealth of the Bhauma dynasty to provide the patronage necessary for a high artistic tradition. 300 years of these Bhaumas and 150 more of the Somakuli Kesari kings is the golden age of Oriyan art, developing in at least six local schools and expressing three religions. Inscriptions are only mentioned by the author for the purpose of dating temples and the emphasis is entirely on art and architecture. The Gangas came in the early 12C, and after them the Suryavamsi kings, who were not such enthusiastic builders, and hence opportunities for sculpture and monumental epigraphy decreased. One notable fact is the presence in Orissa of a very fine stone for carving.

915.41303 A176  Indian epigraphy  Oriyan

Adhelm and Lapidge and Rosier, • & M. & J.L.  Adhelm The Poetic Works. Translated by Michael Lapidge and James L. Rosier, with an appendix by Neil Wright. Cambridge 1985  General discussion and bibliography on Rätsel. Symphosius has a century of three liners, Adhelm also a century, and Tatwine 40 with additions, making eventually a century as well. Adhelm's Enigmata do not include anything on the pelican. LXXII is on the Colossus, XXX on the Alphabet, XXXII on Writing Tablets, and XIII on the Organ — to take some that caught the eye.

879.1 A 362 G 1/1  Latin Poetry Medieval  Works


879.1 A 362 G 2  Latin Poetry Medieval  Adhelm Riddles

Agius and Hitchcock, Dionisius A. & Richard  The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe. Reading 1994  New Books ANU 2 016 714

Agrawal, Jagannath  Researches in Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics. Delhi 1986  P.79 and p.91 verses (long poems, reread and discussed).

934 A277  Indian epigraphy  Epigraphy and numismatics


One may perhaps quote one of the most verbose of the few surviving early epitaphs, found around Shiloah, the site of palace gardens of the times of the kings, now an Arab village under the Turkish walls of Jerusalem, near the Kidron and overlooking its junction with the Gei Hinnom: "This is the tomb of Shevynayah, which is over the dwelling (bayt = Early Gk oikos ?). There is here no silver nor gold, only his bones, and the bones of his mother (?) seemingly an Aramaic form) with him...Cursed the man who opens this."

My Book Hebrew Epigraphy and Ostraca  Early Hebrew Inscriptions

Ahir, D.C.  Buddhist Shrines in India. Delhi 1986  Slim volume. An academically responsible pilgrim's guide. Full of incidental references to inscriptions. There is no lack of mention of inscriptions when one goes to this educated Buddhist's Baedecker. Much of the history of discovery, excavation and renewal of worship is sketched in this useful book. He quotes Edwin Arnold in

Non-Classical
a London paper concerning the early stages of the uncovering and restoration of Bodh Gaya. It seems to refer to an early visit of his in 1885:

"I was grieved to see ... thousands of precious ancient relics of carved stone inscribed with Sanskrit lying in piles around." p.14

Inscriptions are mentioned at: Sarnath p.24,26-7; Kushinagar p. 36, 38; Sravasti p. 44 (Pagodas, each with its name inscribed), p.46ff; Rajgir p.66 (miniature clay stupas featuring a tablet inscribed in 8/9C letters with the Buddhist Creed); Nalanda p.72 dedic. inscr. and p.74; Sanchi p. 77, 83, p.85 (fully 208 inscriptions seen at Barhut by Sir Alexander Cunningham, all but two of these by common worshippers and pilgrims); Amaravati p. 86, 92, 93, 102; Kanheri p.113; Karla p.115. See also *Härtel.

726.1430954 6 Indian Architecture Buddhist shrines

Ahmad, Qeyamuddin  Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar (A.H. 640–1200) Patna 1973 K.P. Research Institute, Historical research series

This fine corpus is important because of the early date of Muslim inscriptions in this pioneering province. The first inscriptions period shows brief Arabic prose, in fragmentary remains. With the Tughluqs of the 14C comes Persian language and verse in great quantity. P.367 'The quatrain' (qitra' = qita'! see Steingass Dictionary p.977b bottom) very often used for the composition of chronograms, which are lengthily discussed, abjad and other systems. P. 35, p.36, p.37 each have 6 Persian couplets of 753 AH; p.41 has 2 Pers. Couplets of 761 AH; p.42 has 6 Pers. couplets of 761 AH; p.49 has 2 Persian 'verses' and 2 Arabic verses on the 760s; p.62 has one line of Persian Verse surviving from what seems to have been a couplet of Firuz Tughluq; p. 64 has 2 Persian couplets of 792 AH; p.65–6 have 4 Persian 'verses' (the same as what was called 2 couplets above) of 798 AH; p.68 has 2 Persian couplets of 799 AH; p.69 has 6 Persian verses under 1 line of Arabic prose of 799 CE; p. 71 has 2 Persian couplets of 810 AH, and p.83 has 7 Persian verses which, with the evident rhyme, constitute a Ghazal of the most classical type. This is early evidence for a cult of epigraphic verse in Persian which appears in Damascus cemeteries a little later than this time, see Gaube. It is also good evidence for the use of quatrain, couplet and ghazal for inscriptions. These texts are as functional as the versified land grants of Vijayanaga, and perhaps equally florid. What I have not yet found is any amount of "book poetry" designed as possible or fictional epitaphs or inscriptions. The latter is the core of the uniqueness of the Greek 'epigram'.

q 915.412032 A286, Series 1), v.10 Indian Persian Arabic Epigraphy Perso-Arabic Bihar

Ahmad, A.  Hidjä (satire, curse...) in EI² III p.352–359 1971


Arabic poetry Hija'

Akurgal, Ekrem see Bibl.1.

Alexiou, Margaret The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition Cambridge 1974

Basically a folkloric study, but with extensive foundations in the Ancient Greek world, as such traditions themselves tend to have.

P.14 Discusses legislation against prominent burial, in general, and tends to assume that such legislation is historical if there is the slightest evidence for it, on the basis of a continuing tendency for such things to arise. This is connected with the multiple social meanings of prominent burial. P.102 deals with classifications of laments.

GT 3251 A 43 Greek Burial Threnos

Ali, Maulana Muhammad A Manual of Hadith Lahore (the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam) 1993? 2nd ed. of an introductory bilingual work, the first edition of which is "8 years after the war-time internment of Mr. Muhammad Asad, an Austrian convert to Islam." The work is, like the earlier and unpublished one of Asad, mainly taken from the Bukhari, or the Sahih Bukhari, or the Jam'i of Muhammad Isma'il al-Bukhari, (Wensinck's Indices would excerpt all these – I have them but have not learned to use them sufficiently well), and also relevant passages from the slightly less prestigious "Six Reliable Works", the Sihah Sittah.

P.188–207 lists the most important hadith on burial: n° 28 Sufyan the date-seller reported: he saw the grave of the Prophet,... gibbous shaped (i.e., raised from the ground like the hump of a camel); n° 29 Jabir said: The messenger of Allah... forbade the plastering of a grave, and the construction of a building on it, and sitting on it." Thus the earliest tradition allowed for some uncertainty about grave monuments, the distinctive development of which did not happen in a vacuum, or in Islamic isolation, but which turned the strong Islamic traditions (themselves fluid and at first quickly developing) onto deep preexisting tendencies among Armenians, Iranians, and Turki peoples. The result was classical Islamic culture. See also *Rogers and *Tritton.

My Book Arabic Burial Hadith

Non-Classical
Allen and Sourdel and El² editors, J. & D & • KHätam, KHätim seal, signet, signet ring, Persian 
muhr, in El² vol. 4 1978 p. 1102–1105 = fasc. 77–78 also of 1978

The term applies both to seals (and their impressions) and to seal-like devotional objects, which lacked a personal name and thus were mere amulets, for which, more specifically, see Ruska TILSAM. Anything with an inscription stamped on it may be called a Khätam. Like "seal-clay", qargas, the word seems Aramaic. There were clay, metal and ink "impressions" of seals in various places and periods.

The tradition of seals is very long and unbroken in the East, not being totally replaced by widespread literacy and the signature. It can be worn on the right (or, less commonly, the left) hand, generally is of silver (the Prophet forbade gold), and is usually a carnelian with the wearer's name, generally followed by the phrase "His servant" and then often by words expressive of trust in God. It is used on moistened paper these days, inked. Even the lowest classes had them in Lane's time, the later 19C. The Muslim seal operates in a wider range of functions than that of the West. It is also a lock, as goods can be left publicly, as they still are today by Beduin hanging in trees, and city dwellers will seal such exposed storage items for safety. Muslim society abhors theft. A seal impression also acts as a coat of arms in its function as an owner's mark. To carry it is a guarantee of the delegation to yourself of the dwellers will seal such exposed storage items for safety. Muslim society abhors theft. A seal impression also acts as a coat of arms in its function as an owner's mark. To carry it is a guarantee of the delegation to yourself of the

In Persia the Shah had three great seals and two small seals, and three "seal keepers" (muhrdär bashi), whilst the seals were actually kept in a box signed with the King's personal seal inside the palace) and formally sealed on Fridays. The appropriate muhrdär usually did the sealing in front of the Shah, and the type of the inscription was banda Shäh wilüyat Sulaymän ast 1080 (A.H. of course). The name (and date of accession?) of each Shah was erased on his death and the same seal reused with the name of the next incumbent. The small seals have (A.H. of course). The name (and date of accession?) of each Shah was erased on his death and the same seal reused with the name of the next incumbent. The small seals have (A.H. of course). The name (and date of accession?) of each Shah was erased on his death and the same seal reused with the name of the next incumbent. The small seals have (A.H. of course). The name (and date of accession?) of each Shah was erased on his death and the same seal reused with the name of the next incumbent.

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Timur's seal survives in an impression, with the motto rusti rusti, and Imperial Turkish seals preserve the memory of the old sign manual of the Orkhân-s, which was originally an impression of the ruler's own hand in red ink.

Early seals were modest. The inscription was pious and brief. They were of course aniconic. If its owner's name was one mentioned in the Qur'ān, the appropriate verse was usually cited in the inscription. Reinaud 1828 and Hammer-Purgstall 1849 have many examples of the texts of inscriptions. Persian and Indian seals later became verbose and bombastic.

Today in the Maghrib the term khatam refers to all finger rings, whether sealstones or not. The seal, on a ring or a handle-stem, is called tāba. It is used for official documents, except for judicial acts, where the flourish of the name has now taken over.

The historians of the Umayyad caliphs and the mulik al-tawātif give a physical sketch of each ruler, a list of his honorific titles, and then the legend inscribed on his seal. From Spain, however, no matrices or even impressions seem to survive.

Arabic seals rings KHÄTa/iM

Allen, Philip Schuyler  
Medieval Latin Lyrics  
Chicago  
1946?

P. 195 wonders about the lack of novelty in the forms of pre-12C Medieval verse satire, seeing that Fescennine and Saturnalian verse must have been part of the traditions of Late Antiquity. The French and English satire of the 12C does not heark back to any known and separate lyric tradition of the early Middle Ages (selon lui).

P. 200–201 remark on the likely continuities, first between the Greek East (productive of Kephalus' Anthology) and the Latin West, and more interestingly for us, of the Medieval Present with the Antique past, and specifically in the matter of "epigram": "... for Rome with face turned backwards was caput mundi throughout the Middle Ages." Note the display of ancient knowledge in an early 9C poem by a monk written to be sung by soldiers of the watch on the walls of threatened Modena [however, the 'mater of Troie' was also very common in the vernacular traditions, as was that of Britain, and of Alexander]:

O tu, qui servas armis ista moenia,  
Noli dormire, moneo, sed vigila.  
Dum Hector vigil exiit in Troja,  
Non eam cepit fraudulenta Graecia.  
Prima quie te dormiente Troja  
Laxavit Synon fallax claustra perfida.

Non-Classical
Fortis juvenis, virtus audax bellica,
Vestra per muros audiantur carmina.
Et sic in armis alterna vigilia,
Ne fraus hostilis haec invadat moenia.
Resultet echo "comes, eia vigilia,"
Per muros "eia" dicit echo "vigila,"

Latin Medieval Poetry *Medieval Lyrics*

Allen, Margaret Prosser *Ornament in Indian Architecture* Newark London Toronto 1991

720.954 15 Indian Architecture *Indian ornament*


Excerpted for verse epigraphy in our Addenda.

Greek Byzantine Epigraphy *DOBb Epigraphy*


These useful volumes make both Pollard and Redgrave, and Wing, accessible from the book title, and give us a chance to prove that, for example, "The Olio", is not popular in titles before the 18C. They are in fact the Index volume of Pollard and Redgrave ed. altera. There is a good chronological index, but for titles go to Allison and Goldsmith. The problem with the latter, as with Averley and Flower, 18C Subject Catalogue, is that only short titles are given. Allison and Goldsmith Vol. I (covering the old Pollard and Redgrave) has Epigrams titles (i.e., where "epigram" is the main word) p.56, and Epitaph titles (very rich section this) p.57. The Vol. II (Wing) "epitaph" section is much poorer, and is on p. 100, while the Epigrams titles are on p.98. Publishing epitaphs in pamphlet or broadsheet form seems to have been a habit mainly of the period before 1640.


English Bibliography *Pollard Redgrave Titles*


Pica notes that the isolated mausoleum (in Italy and near surrounds?) declines in the High Middle Ages, presumably coterminal with the "Gothic", to be revived in the Renaissance. An English connection is suggested when it is said that in France and England of the 13C the *edicola* is more commonly inside the church than it is in Italy at the same period, but that the precursor of Italian edicole inside churches was the mural monument precisely for Hadrian V in San Francesco at Viterbo.

Burial Art *Arte funeraria*

Alster, B. *Proverb Collections, Riddle Collections* in drafts of Dictionnaire de la Bible projected for publication Paris ? (1991+, sent to me before publication, in draft form)

Proverbs are a common mini-form in many cultures, and are often versified in later times. Their interest for students of short poetry reaches into the patterns put into anthologies of them, see *Weeks.

My Offprint *Gnomica Proverbs*

Altmann, Klemens *Deutsche Epigramme aus fünf Jahrhunderten* München 1966

A supplement (for us) to Neumann. Topically arranged. Very useful sections contain introductory poems, poems on epigram, poems *An den Leser* [p.9], and the closing poems [432], indicating how important some sort of opening and closing structures were to BOOKS of epigrams. The Nachwort [427–441] is much more pedestrian

Non-Classical
than Neumann's and seems to adopt the thesis of Epigramm und Skolion abandoned by its own author. P. 429 mentions the tendency in many vernacular traditions called "epigram-" to have a fairly close family of topoi and themes. Wolfgang Preisendanz is praised for his Die Spruchform in der Lyrik des alten Goethe und ihre vorgeschichte seit Opitz 1952, said to be of great importance for the history of German epigram. The Greek Anthology only affected German epigram directly in the 18C, perhaps reinforced by the Anakreonerner, helped by the French. P. 434 for this, and for the definition of "epigram", said to be an impossible project: naive, reflective, satiric are said to be the main groups, going back to the Greeks. Logau began to call his 'epigrams' Reimensprüche [p.435], in the 17C the word Überschriften was common, also Beischriften, Denksprüche, Singgedichte... Opitz shows [p.436] that he has a clear idea of epigram— a short satire, much followed, e.g., by Meister 1698, and the influence of the Anthology 'retreats' as the 17C progresses: printed entire 11 times from 1494–1600, and thrice, in short runs, in the 17C. Herder and the printing of Codex Salmasius (or, of his first German translation of the full Anthology? p.437) gave Greek epigrammatic style a new popularity in the 18C. Our anthologist finishes with a long battle against taking German 'epigram' as anything else but satiric, relegating Spruchdichtung and the inclusiveness favoured by Preisendanz outside the pale of theGattung. However, satiric E. and 'reflective' E. do not have firm boundaries.

831.008 A 468German Epigram Epigramme 5Jhrhndtn

Anderson, Alastair Scott Roman Military Tombstones Aylesbury, Bucks. 1984

The pamphlet is as selective as all others of its useful series, with some typical plates. There are about 450+ examples, apparently, from Roman Britain, some having been published since Collingwood's corpus. It seems unlikely that any were in verse, and this resembles the complete corpus from another frontier, that of Dacia 2/3C, of Marinesca.

731.76 15/1 Syd Fish Latin Burial Epigraphy Legionary epitaphs


My Book Ukrainian Ukrainian Dictionary

Angress, R. Kluger- The Early German Epigram, a Study in Baroque Poetry Lexington 1971

The German "epigram" is claimed to be more native than imported, and this affects the polyform uses of the term Spruch in German writing, often contrasted with epigram, often partly identified with it. It has a patterned polysemy unique to Germanic culture and thus is as untranslatable as the German art-history term "Epitaph". The native German inscriptive tradition is perhaps the most developed in Europe. See Rüegg on the Prät(j)igau. From the earliest modern times it was felt respectable for scholars to collect, not only Classical inscriptions, as Italian Humanists would have done, but native inscriptions on buildings and utensils, and p.41. n° 2 takes this back to the 16C. Hans Sachs, a major scholar, actually composed for such a popular medium. This has some relevance to the apparent birth of modern German poetic literature in native epigram. Friedrich von Logau, Christian Wernicke, Martin Opitz and Johann Scheffler (Angelus Silesius) are the famous names, but in the addendum by Zingg to the first collection of such works, Opitz's Teutsche Poemata 1624, there are older materials, the oldest apparently from an Ambrosius Lobwasser, †1586. Whether Lobwasser himself actually called his short poems "epigrams" in the mid 16C is uncertain, as the first edition of his work comes to us from the 17C, and it may well be the later editor who is alone responsible for the wording of its title, which is: D. Ambrosii Lobwassers Deutsche Zierliche Epigrammata von allen Ständen vnd leuten in gemein.

Some of R.K.-A's works were published under her maiden name. See also Lindqvist, Weisz and Beutler on the centrality of epigram to German literature and theory. Jutta Weisz hurls surprisingly systematic criticisms at Angress's work, p.18–21, asking for a very high level both of bibliographic access and theoretical complexity for anyone trying to take the study of German epigram to the "next stage". It must be remembered that Angress worked in the USA, and that even German writers cannot claim to have looked at all MS German poetry, all neo-Latin, or even all Latin and Greek influences from the antique periods (Early, Middle and Late). Neither does Angress's incisive critic follow her good example by showing much interest in contemporary or contemporarily known epigraphy. See further, Addenda.

German Epigram Early German Epigram

Anitourakes, Georgios B. Επιγραφικ Ελληνικ Χριστιανικ Αthens 1988 Excellent illustrated overview of Pagan and Christian epigraphy in Greek.

My Copy GK 2432 Greek Byzantine Modern Epigraphy Christian Greek epigraphy


Translations, with very brief notes.

V 1 p.193 — "On the day when you pass over my grave..." a phrase suggestive of the older, more severe type of Muslim grave, with no above-ground structure to hinder its being walked on or over. This is uncaningly like the

Non-Classical
early Medieval Church floor grave in the West. Furthermore, the opening quoted indicates that actual graves could become topics in elegiac and other poetry, though fictive epitaphs do not seem to have been composed in Arabic or in Persian.

PK 6480 E5 A7 ANU Menzies Persian Poetry  Rumi Ar.1

Translations and brief notes, posthumously published, with autobiography of the translator and comments on his teacher, Nicholson.

PK 6480 E5 A72 ANU Menzies Persian poetry  Rumi Ar.2

Arbour, Romeo L’âge baroque en France Répertoire chronologique des éditions de textes littéraires  Premiere Partie 1585–1615 Tome I Genève 1977–
French bibliography

Archaeological Survey of India, Department of Archaeology, Hultzsch et al. South Indian Inscriptions, Delhi, Madras 1890 <1983> (from electronic catalogue — does not easily match with the holdings, e.g., where is Vol. 3 part 4?) V.1; V.2 pts 1–5; V.3 pts 1–3; V.7; V.10; V.11 pt 2; V.13–19; V. 20 pt 4; V.22 pt 1; V.23–24 in 22 The Coedes collection in ANL has only I; II,1.2, &3; III, 1,2,3 &4.

COEq 225 ANL Asian Collection  Indian Epigraphy  South Indian Inscriptions

951.5 I 61 ANL & DS 785 A116 1979 ANL Tibetica for Hugh Richardson

Arnold, Ivor Le Roman de Brut de Wace two vols. Paris. 1938 & 1940
French Medieval Poetry  Wace Brut

Seemingly under the auspices of Dr. Adrian Snodgrass, the Australian expert on Buddhist architecture. The intense iconicity, the load of meanings conveyed by small visual details, would seem to preclude any epigraphy other than perhaps makers’ or owners’ signings, and no epigraphy at all is noted. P. 26 illustrates the worship of the word by Buddhists, some of about 35 long gold leaves written in the +9C as a faithful copy of a palm leaf MS of one of the earliest Mahayana works, the +2C Sutra on the perfection of Wisdom: the Pancavimsati-sahasrika Prajna-paramita-sutra. Such precious copies were revered rather than read. They are still worshipped in Sri Lanka and elsewhere, and given equal importance with the Buddha’s bodily relics. It is no wonder then that such sacred texts were very early engraved, and very early printed.

My Book Indian Art Images of Sri Lanka

Assfalg and Krüger, Julius & Paul Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients Wiesbaden. 1975
My Book Byzantine Syriac Ethiopic Georgian Coptic  Christian Orient

Assmann, J.ed. Fragen an die altägyptischen Literatur Wiesbaden 1977
Egyptian Literary Egypt

Egyptian Epigraphy  Grab Vorschule

Graphemics Schrift und Gedächtnis

Non-Classical
Association for the preservation of the Memorials of the Dead, lists of grave information entitled
Memorials of the Dead 1888–1888–
Burial epigraphy Memorials of the Dead

Association pour la conservation et la réproduction photographique de la presse (France) Joumaux
ephémères de 1848–1849 Tray of seven rolls of microfilm.

We were originally led to this jumble of rather indigestible material because one of the publications was
catalogued (separately) as Micromega...en epigrammes historiques. This proved to be a single broadsheet, filled
with a single, quite continuous satirical poem. This argues against there being any strong sense of meaning for the
term "epigram" in the France of the Year of Revolutions.

Unlike the Russian Revolution(s), the French Revolution of 1848 did not produce propagandistic epigrams at all.
It did produce a goodly crop of prose dramas, verse dramas, verse broadsheets, and collections of songs, as well as
prose news sheets and diatribes. The self-consciously literary parts of the ephemeral news sheets tended to be used
as a lower "banner", or broad footer, taking up the lower part of the front page and a similar position, page wide, on
subsequent pages. It was interesting to pick out in these sheets some vivid memories of "the great" revolution, and
of the constitution produced in the 1790s. Also interesting is the range of religious and political opinion which
generated these sheets, and the social and cultural range covered by the publications. We have not viewed all seven
"bobines", and perhaps have introduced a bias into our comments by such selectivity. We have gone for variety of
titles, checking page by page (skimming, not reading word for word) only the first two spools, which contain the
shortest-lived, most ephemeral publications, running to 54 titles, as against only 18 titles in all the remaining five
spools, these obviously filled with much more successful publications. Spools 1 & 2 feature titles which often
appeared on "Sunday and Thursday", this promised rhythm of publication sometimes prudently being qualified with
"en principe". Sometimes a sheet appeared only on Sundays. One rather artistic sheet appears hand written and
drawn in its first issue, but thereafter quite artistically and expensively printed. The microfilm rolls do not always
contain the first issue of a sheet, which must then be totally lost to history, if such earlier numbers ever existed.
Some of the titles are really broadsheets, never intended to have a second issue, though the "Anger of an Old
Republican" led to a subsequent publication of the same name, the second one not as gloomy and ranting in style.

Our search focussed on a considerable sample of the total bulk of informational, propagandistic and celebratory
text, (about 30% of all text in the collection) on what we thought to be the most ephemeral, and therefore, the most
different, potentially, from material more easily available to us through standard books and bibliographies: i.e., as
stated above, the first two bobines.

Bobine n° of titles
1 25
2 29
3 11
4 2
5 1
6 1
7 3

I did not check to see the extent to which the contents of bobines 3 – 7 actually filled up those later reels.

The only short poems occur in stories, a typical "verse in prose" sort of occurrence, or in the shape of explicit
citations, which are by implication fragments, and of these there are very few.

Table of contents of Bobine 1, all pages scanned by us

Le croque-mort de la presse [lists of publications, contemporary!]
Le courrier du soir [both this and the preceding very dark, with bad print-through]
La dépêche
Journal des sans-culottes [n° 2, Sun 4th/Tues 8th June – combined issue – 1848, quotes four lines of a longer poem
on the "Great" Revolution]
L'ami du peuple en 1848
Journal des travailleurs
Le pilier des tribunaux [court reports in some detail]
L'unité nationale [has, among the more normal content, short literary 'dramas']
Le tocquin des travailleurs [n° 21, 21 June 1848 & 24 June, includes among its material one solitary, longish poem]
Le canard [opens with a long poem, includes much literary material, and has a short poem included in a prose story
18/25 June '48]
La colère d'un vieux républicain contre tout le monde
La montagne [has some long, satirical poems, "bannered" across the lower third of the front page]
Le républicain rouge [longish satirical poems, similarly banded, and I seem to remember that the editors of this sheet connect it with the former]

Le travail: journal d'un travailleur [the first n° handwritten, later issues printed, with poems and large engraved illustrations]

Le communiste

L'omnibus

L'opinion des femmes [one poem included – there are a few sheets which inevitably have a feminist tinge. Though they are seemingly not the most revolutionary of these documents, they are still quite assertive in tone]

La colère et le désespoir d'un vieux républicain [our tetchy old republican returns to the barricades, but, rather surprisingly, not in the long unbroken diatribe of his former sheet, but with the light relief of a considerable number of poems, intended to be sung to music]

Le démocrate égalitaire

Le peuple [has a poem among its articles, not an uncommon inclusion, but in many sheets the single poem is all there is]

Le colporteur parisien

Le scorpion politique [an explicitly literary sheet, like some few others – p. 1 is all poem]

Les saltimbanques [poems along the bottom of the pages]

Mayeux [longish poems in number]

La constitution comme je la voudrais

Table of contents of Bobine 2

Le persifleur

La France libre

Le républicain lyrique, journal des chanteurs, politique, comique et satirique, rédigé par nos meilleurs chansonniers [all songs, presumably cabaret style, with the tune suggested for each named, just after its title]

L'ordre social

L'ordre

L'ordre public

L'organisateur du travail

L'organisation du travail

Bulletin de la république

Le réformateur

La tribune populaire

Le défenseur du peuple

Le père André [the first issue included here is n° 2, but the publication may, by some error, have begun with this misleading number on its first issue. It has the Constitution républicaine de 1793, and, of more interest to us, Chansons républicains de 1848]

Le guide des électeurs

Micromega<sl> ou le miroir des Paris Civil et Politique en epigrammes historiques [one continuous poem, on a single broadsheet, undated] The title reminds us of a well-known satiric book of the 18C, of the type of "Gulliver's Travels".

Le cauchemar

Les humanitaires [has a poetic drama called Prométhée ou le martyr de Sainte-Hélène! The shadow of Napoleon!]

L'orient européen, publication de la société slave de Paris [n° 1 1er juin 1849, thus, considerably after the greatest revolutionary events, perhaps riding on the tails of the popularity of Parisian broadsheets of 1848 to commend to the French quite a different agenda. Of course, the revolutions of central Europe were initially of immense interest to those in the de facto capital of Europe. In the earlier 1848 sheets, foreign and local news was often "broken" with a great freshness and a clear sense of the axial character of the early revolutionary situation.]

Contents of Bobine 3 (which we did not go further to scan page by page)

Le voyant – pourvoyeur de travail

La vérité

Le montagnard satirique

Le petit messager du village

Le laboureur

Le travail affranchi

La commune sociale

La solidarité

Le positif

Le salut public

Non-Classical
Astel, Arnfrid 1933- Klaranlage: 100 Epigramme München 1970ca
Presumably all taken up in Neues...
He has written, the blurb says, "Deutsche Grabschriften".
p 838.914 A853 German Epigram Klaranlage


Triple form is common here. Very short lines are usual, and very short poems, printed high up each to its own page. Prose and verse, with only the sign of verse sometimes being the arrangements into short lines. A few translations of AP, some epitaphs (one in five words for a flea!) and reflections on grave stones and on the dead, a ring inscription, some acrostichs remind us of the epigrammatic tradition. One on the strangeness of reading an 1807 Inschrifttafel while being conscious of remaining a stranger to the concerns of its long-gone writers, but living in the same house as they once did [p.553]. Not all poems have titles. The longer ones are still short, e.g., very long in the context of this prestige collection are the translations of sonnets and short stanzaic lyrics of Gerald Manly Hopkins (p. 780): p.321 //RINGINSCHRIFT // Am Finger / dein Auge / aus Lapis.// P.532 // GRABSCHRIFT AUF EINEN FLOH // Hier liegt / der springende Punkt.// P. 417 /GRABMAL - DENKMAL / für Wilhelm Genazino // Grab mal / den unbekannten Soldaten aus / denk mal.// P. 739 // WIE DIESE INSCHRIFTTAFEL // Wie diese Inschrifttafel dort am Haus / so zeichnet die Erinnerung dich aus. / »Hier hat im Jahre achtzehnhundertseiben...« / Nur diese Tafel ist zurück geblieben / Es ist dasselbe Haus, das ihn umfing / Es ist dieselbe Frau, die mit mir ging. / Ich bleibe auf der Straße sinnend stehn / und lasse dich bestaunt vorübergehn. / Erstaunt, daß ich ein Fremder bin. / Als läse ich zum ersten Mal der Tafel Sinn. (1959)//. In this latter poem it is of importance to record its layout — the couplets are picked out, and the reader slowed down, by a line of white space between them.

G 25048 German Epigram alle Epigramme

Astor, Baloneus 1967 Colomba da Rieti "La Seconda Caterina da Siena" 1467–1501 Roma

In our attempt to gain (from the 20C Antipodes) some general impression of the inscriptional practice of the West of all periods, we have been forced to quote some books of merely tangential interest to our study. It would have been more central to this purpose to be able to quote from the same author's history of the Perugian nobility Condottieri e Signori del Rinascimento Italiano - 1 BAGLIONI Firenze. Instead, we are happy to have at our disposal another work of 15C Umbrian history, in which there is mention of the non-Humanist inscriptional practice of that axial period.

Colomba (p.100) imitated the current festive practice of "rhyming in verses" at the banquet celebrating her departure from Rieti. It may seem trivial when such extemporising is socially respectable, even expected, but it still is significant to note evidence for it. Rhymes were also traditionally inscribed under or on the holy images still common along the roads of Italy, and n°45 p. 120 gives one exasperated admonitory example from near Miralduolo, significantly in quatrain form:

Per due volte coi sassi lapidata,
ecomi nel mio posto ritornata
Belva infernale, chiuonce tu sia.
cessa una volta di lapidar Maria.

Even more important for us is a distich which is "molte commune" in various variants:

Non-Classical
Fermati, o passager, la mente inchina,
alla Madre di Dio, del ciel Regina.

In the codex of the life of Colomba L. V. XXVII: f. 27r. (p. 121 Astur), there is a three verse marginal poem in Latinising volgare, apparently added by the 15C author, "perhaps proverbial":

Circumdata de vigne como mare
e di grano più che arena
e di ogni frutto amena.

This was a patriotic tag concerning Perugia, perhaps a quote as well from some known longer text.

Many of the most formal quoted inscriptions are in prose, one on p. 154 which we will not quote, in 54 Latin words plus the Roman numeral date M.C.C.C.XI, under or on a stained glass window in the Gothic San Domenico in Perugia, a building which lasted from the 13C to some time in the 16C. Fra Bartolomeo was famous for supplying such a fine window, as the note in a genealogical book makes clear to us:

FRA BARTOLOMMEO (di Piero) CHE FECE L’INVETRIATA COS’ CELEBRE.

P. 233 recalls another inscription in Latin prose, showing the "wayfarer" topos. It is from Viterbo, on the palazzo which was once called La Fontaine:

SISTE VIATOR AD CONTUBERNALIUM COELITUM
UBI B. VIRGO NARNIENSIS LUCIA
SACRO D. DOMENICI GYNACEO SATIS EXTRACTO
PASSI NUMINIS MERUIT STIGMATA
EXPRESSA VIRTUTUM INSIGNIA
MOX FERRARIAE JUSSU ALEXANDRI VI P.O.M.
RELIGIONIS ANTISTA PIETATEM AUXIT
FAMILIA PATRICIA VITERBIENSIS
TUTELARI OPTIMAE AMORIS OBSEQUIUM POSUIT
A.D. MDCLXI

The famous Lucia da Narni received the stigmata in 1496 at Viterbo, and left there in 1499. She died in Ferrara in 1544.

P. 306 has two verses (perhaps a couplet, perhaps the first lines of a longer poem) connected with the cult of the crucifix, the importance of which cult Astur is emphasizing. The verses are from an unedited parchment codex, written by "a learned and patient hermit" of about the same period as Colomba. Hexameter form is taken by Astur as perhaps ("quasi") a direct attack on the growing cult of paganising verse in the Renaissance. The writer illustrated the MS with miniatures of his own cell. The crucifix is intertwined in the first large initial letter:

Hanc dum cerno tuam, Jesu crucifixe, figuram
mens stupet admirans tantae bonitatis abyssum (…?)

The tomb of Sta. Colomba herself has a Latin inscription in prose, which is significant. As she was such a famous figure, it seems that even the most prestigious non-Humanist graves (at least those not of the highest clergy) did not have verse. P. 308:

BEATA COLOMBA DE PENITENTIA SANCTI DOMINICI
INVICTA VIRGO CHRISTI
INNOCENS HIC ET HUMILIS PATIENS
DEVOTISQUE PREDITA EXEMPLIS
JAM FELIX FULGET IN EXCELSIS INTER ANGELICOS CHOROS
ETHEREIS REDIMITA ROSIS
PERUSIAMQUE URBEM INCLITAM
QUAM SUA PRESENTIA
CLARAM FECERAT
APUD DEUM ADVOCATIONE PROTEGIT
SUISQUE PIIS RELIQUIIS DITAT.

OPTIME VIRGINI AC BENEMERENTI

F.S.P. MAGISTER

(sc. Fra. Sebastiano Perugiano, Maestro, given in the note in the form F.S.P. MAGR.). There was a second epitaphic inscription by a F.B.F., apparently Fra. Bartolomeo Fiorendno, Priore, not here quoted.

My Book Modern Inscriptions Italy Colomba da Rieti

Atiya, Aziz S. ed. The Coptic Encyclopedia N.Y. etc. 1991

Vol. 4 Inscriptions (Martin Krause) The majority are on buildings and tombs, and are mainly in the form of memorials to the dead, even if on walls of monasteries (thus, such graffitii come closer to being tombstone inscriptions rather than the Totenroteln of medieval Latin monasteries. See Addenda. Vol. 6 Nubian Inscriptions, Medieval, William Y. Adams. See *Wietheger for a corpus of 8/9C, Greek and Coptic, from one site at Saqqara.

Coptic Coptic Encyclopedia

Non-Classical

From the Philosophy chapters only,

(Dewey 100s)

Vol. I p. 86ff, p. 88– Aphorisms Zimmermann J.G.
p. 107 Aphorisms Lavater
p. 121 Spartan Manual, Table Morality collection apothegms [J.Ritson] 1975

English Bibliography English 18C Books

Avigad, Nahman *Bullae and Seals from a Post-Exilic Judean Archive* Jerusalem 1976

Qedem Monographs n° 4

Appearing on the antiquities market, this trove of 70 bullae and 2 sealings in a pot is definitely from the Jerusalem region, and resembles the Ramat Rahel "Yehud" materials. It is no later than -6C. The official nature of the archive is apparent, and it is unique in that every item bears a verbal legend. The point is made that YHD is Aramaic, and VHDH is Jewish/Hebrew.

f CD 5354 A 93 Hebrew Seals Judaean Seals


Predominantly epigraphic (involving words, not iconography)

737.6 7 Hebrew Seals Jeremiah Bullae


Persian Middle Epigraphy Inscriptional Middle Persian


Seems to be largely a one-theme issue, with a few "études libres" at the end.

The editorial summarises the articles and to some extent situates them. See Rágib's treatment of the early papyri and Solange Ory's study of the religious aspects of early epigraphy. Note also the discussion of a new French translation of the Qur'an by J. Berque.

411.0917671 1 Arabic Écritures islamiques


Persian Middle Epigraphy Seleucid Parthian

Baines, John *Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society* in Man 18 (1983) p. 572–599

Absorbed into Journal of the Royal Anthropological society of Great Britain and Ireland

Literacy rates are misleading when applied to a society where they may have been as low as 1%, but where writing totally pervaded and defined the culture, and whose importance was never questioned. In Mesopotamia writing and complex society had developed in tandem, very slowly. In Egypt society developed to a high stage of complexity, as it did without need for writing in Inca realms and elsewhere. It was late in this process that Egypt suddenly adopted writing. P. 595: writing originally (in earliest Egypt, and in Linear B) was confined to tables, marks of ownership and captions. Tabular presentation had a long and profound influence on oral language and on thought, see fn° 7 for the literarising struggle of "language versus layout". In the later Egyptian-Greek situation it is claimed by Youtie that there was a mutual dependance of literate and illiterate, Baines tends to think that in native Egyptian society literacy served always to divide. There is, for example, an almost total lack of cemeteries for the poor in the Central Old Kingdom, contrasting with extensive finds from the Pre-Dynastic and very early dynastic periods. The writing of continuous texts did not develop until the 3rd Dynasty (Old Kingdom), thus literate Egypt went half a millennium without continuous writing while the volume of writing constantly increased. In the 3rd Intermediate Period, and later, the amount of inscription in public places continues to increase until Roman times,
but what this means is difficult to assess. See further below for a similar trend on movable objects, "instrumenta". Baines sets this in the context of all writing in Egypt (of which only an infinitesimal amount has survived), and its changing purposes. Prominent in his discussion is the hegemonic power of a changing system of decorum in which images and pseudo-pictographic script long formed one, integrated, product and presentation. A kind of verse is common in texts but the whole tone of Egyptian literacy and the heavy ritual-hymnic-biographical bias in the main text types is too foreign for us to compare with the mind view which produced epigram. We are however interested in all Anrufe an Lebenden, and in their graphic and cultural context.

Note the "crossword inscription" device, c. 1360 BCE, where two hymns are written with the same signs, one to be read horizontally, the other vertically. Fn"24, such paignia become common in Greek-Egyptian texts. The damnatio memoriae, chiselling out of the PN or even of pictorial signs of animals (fn° 44, so the animals pictured would not come to life) is a tribute to the power of the symbols themselves: p. 588–589. Both the italicised terms just used may of course be quite anachronistic when applied to Egyptian literacy.

Fn"28: "The range of objects with inscriptions increases, especially in the New Kingdom, with unquantifiable implications for writing among craftsmen and reading among patrons." An opposite trend is that of the diminishing size of inscriptive graphic signs, taken by Baines as a result of the diminishing numbers who used native Egyptian writing, and of their increasing, inward-looking, paleographic expertise.

P. 590–591 attempt to sketch differences between Archaic Greece and later Eteo-Egyptian (or, Egypt from Akhenaton) in the matter of the place of literacy in society and its influence. "Egypt, where change was aborted, was monolithic, only partly urban, and had a storage economy. Greece, where it took hold, was scattered, urban, monetised (fn" 47. Because of the possibilities it creates in social intercourse and because of its being 'good to think with', money is a likely contributor to both social and cognitive change. These aspects are not discussed by Crump (1981) The Phenomenon of Money, in comparison a new culture, and the status of writing in it was less well defined.... Murray, who has considered the matter for Greece (1980 Early Greece) decides as I do that literacy is a necessary factor, but one among many, and Greece was a relatively 'open' society before writing spread widely in it."

Egyptian literacy  Writing Egypt

Indian Architecture  JESI 12

Bakewell and Drummond and Lawson, Joan & John & Andrew A Fine and Private Place: a collection of Epitaphs and inscriptions chosen by Joan Bakewell and John Drummond, with photographs by Andrew Lawson. London 1977 Illustrations primary and of high quality, opposite artistic transcriptions.

This book seems to be the source for many a quoted epitaph, given the security provided by the photographs of the originals and the frequency with which one finds in it poems and prose widely quoted elsewhere by responsible writers who would have been reassured by this. The prose epitaph of Johnson for the musical Phillips is there, the railwayman's epitaph embroidering on the bursting of the boiler of his train, part-copied in the Newcastle Cemetery Australia (see Sheehan in Burkhardt and Proctor 1986), and many others.

English Epigraphy Burial  Fine and Private

African Négritude

Baldi, P. Donatus Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum, documenta S. Evangelii loca respiciientia reimpressissae secundae editionis Jerusalem 1982 (1955², 1935¹)

See Addenda for further contexts, discussion, and a full list of relevant authors:

Bethlehem

Johannes Wirzburgensis 1165
P. 113
2. In loco nativitatis Domini et musivo opere deaurato hi duo versus leguntur appositi:
Angelicae lumen virtutis et ejus acumen.
Hic natus vere Deus est de virgine matre.

P. 163
Fragments in P. Franciscus Quaresmi 1626 + texts from Fr. Iacobus de Verona, p. 123/4, Ludovico de Rupecavardi, p. 137:
P. Abel's restoration of the 16 words preserved by Franciscus (appended here in italics) to make the following

Non-Classical
inscriptional octet:

...In laeva et e regione illius, primo videntur Christi Apostoli sanctam Deiparam ad tumulum deferentes in feretro sive loculo, et infra sequentes litterae latinae:

Rex Amalricus, custos virtutis, amicus
Largus, honestatis comes, hostis et impietatis [...comes hostis et inretatis.]
Justicie, cultor pietatis, criminis uitor
Quintus regnabat; et Grecis imperitabat [... et Grecis imperitabat]
Emmanuelle, dator largus, pius imperitator
Presul vivebat hic, ecclesiamque regebat [... hic ecclesiamq. docebat]
Pontificis dignus Radulphus honore, benignus,
Cum manus his Effrem fertur fecisse suavem [...s Efrem fertur fecisse tu autem]
(Picturam...)

Templum Domini

Johannes Wirziburgensis 1165
p. 449

... ut hi versiculi docent ibidem inscripti:

Virginibus septem virgo comitata puellis.
servitura deo, fuit hic obleta triennis.
Ibi quidem saepe solatium percepit. Unde versus:
Pascitur angelico virgo ministerio.

... qui lapis adjunctus est lapidi, super quem tamquam in altare depingitur Dominus noster oblatus fuisse, ut, demonstratur in pictura et superscriptione, quae talis est:

Hic fuit oblatus rex regum virgine natus, quapropter sanctus locus est hic jure vocatus.
Hic Jacob scalam vidit, construxit et aram.
Hic locus ometur, quo sanctus jure vocatur.

Quod vero ibidem in lapide eodem Jacob depingitur caput posuisse, quando dormiens vidit scalam in coelum porrectam, per quam angeli ascenderunt et descendenter, salva templi reverentia, non verum est: ubi et hic versus appositus est:

Haec tua sit terra Jacob cum prole futura.
Sed hoc non eo loco accidit...

... In superliminari imago Christi:

Absolvo gentes sua crimina corde patentes.

P. 450

... cui adjuncta est capella in honore sancti Jacobi consecrata; nam ab ea parte, de tecto templi ipse praecipitatus, pertica fullonis fuit occisis: qui primus pontifex fuit sub novae lex gratia in Jerusalem. Unde et hi versus sunt appositi in eadem capella, in latere parietis:

Jacobus Alphaei, domini similis faciei, finit pro Christo, templo depulsus ab isto.
Sic Jacobum justum, praedicantem publice Christum, plebs mala multavit, fullonis pertica stravit.

Hi in circuiu quasi ciborii ejusdem capella intus et supra continentur:

Jacobus Alphaei, frater Domini nazarei, piscator via, vere fuit israelita.
De templi pinna compulsus fraude maligna, ad Christum laetus migravit, recte peremtus.

P. 451

... aliquantulum etiam versus septentrionem eidem atrio forinsecus adjunct in plano ...

Palatium Salomonis, aedes templariorum, stabulum, hospitium Simeonis justi, Christi incunabula. [Epodic/Archilochean, i.e., dactylic + trochaic catalectic, with resolutions]

Praetorium

Johannes Wirziburgensis 1165
p. 588

...Quod indicat epigramma ibidem positum sic continens: Iste coronatur quo mundus jure regatur.

Eundem locum designat capella ante majorem ecclesiam Sion, rubea induitur, spinea corona pungitur. Quod indicat epigramma [male]:

Non-Classical
Sanctus sanctorum damnatur voce reorum.  
Pro servis bellum patitur Deus atque flagellum.  
Hace bona crux Christi Simoni subvenit isti.  
Non vehit hanc gratis, quae dat bona cunctis beatis.

P. 599  A Merkvers of William Wey (1485) recalling the "sanctus circulus" of the Way of the Cross in the Jerusalem of his day (not inscriptive):

"Loca sancta in Stacionibus Jerusalem"

Lap strat di trivium flent sudar sincopizavit  
Por pis lap que schola domus her Symonis Pharisey

Calvaria et S. Sepulchrum

Theodericus 1172  
P. 662  
... Inter ipsum quoque foramen et ipsum sepulchrum linea per hemicyclum in longum porrigitur hos continens versus:  
Christo surgenti / locus et custos monumenti.  
Angelus et vestis / fuit estque redemtio testis.

p. 663  
... nos tamen sex in tribus arcubus tantum ad planum valuiusim comprehendere:  
Venit in hunc loculum, / qui condidit antea saeclum.  
Ejus adis tumulum, / cito fac, ut sis mihi templum.  
Cernere gratum / quem cupit agnum / concio patnim,  
Ephrata natum / Golgatha passum, / petra sepultum.  
Hic proproplastum / vexit ad astrum, / daemonis astum  
Vicit et ipsum / surgere lassum / dans, ait, Assum.  
Circa ferreum vero parietem ad caput, ut diximus, constitutum, cui cancelli superpositi sunt, linea per circuitum porrigitur hos continens versus:  
Mors hic deletur / et nobis vita medetur.  
Hostia grata datur, / cadit hostis, culpa lavatur.  
Coelum laetatur, / flent tartari, lex renovatur.  
Ista docent, Christe, / qui sanctus sit locus iste.

P. 665  
... sua scilicet matre et beato baptista Johanne et omnibus apostolis. Sub cujus pedibus linea de muro ad murum per ipsum hemicyclum porrecta hanc continet scripturam:  
Crucifixum in carne laudate  
Et sepultum propter nos glorificate  
Resurgentemque a morte adorate.

P. 667  
... Post claustralis autem ambitus ciruciationem ex alia parte ecclesiam intrantibus occurrit imago crucifixi supra ipsam claustralem portam ita depicta, ut cuncti<-> intuentibus magnam inferat compunctionem, circa quam isti versus descripi sunt:  
Aspice, qui transit, qui tu mihi causa doloris,  
Pro te passus ita, pro me tu noxia vita.

P. 668  
... 13 Exinde ad meridem ante ipsius ecclesiae januam quinque sepulchra videntur, quorum unum pretioso opere factum de pario marmore et choro contiguum fratis est regis Hierosolymorum nomine Baldewini, secundum regis Baldewini, fratis ducis Godefride, super quod tale scriptum est epitaphium:  
Hic est Balduvinus alter Judas Machabaeus,  
Spes patriae, decus ecclesiae, virtus utriusque.  
Quem formidabant, cui dona, tributa ferebant  
Cedar et Aegyptus, Dan ac homicida Damascus.  
Proh dolor in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.

P. 669  
... Nam propter circumstantes fabricas locus idem aliquantulum obscuratur.

Non-Classical
Thesis Bibliography 2 (22 December 1995)  P 325

[footnote from Joh. Wirtz. (Tobler, 145): "Extra in introitu Calvariae (versus leguntur):
Hic locus insignis Calvaria sanctus habetur
Pro duce pro pretio, pro cruce, pro lavacro.
Nempe Jesu cruer et titulus, sacra corporis unda
Nos salvat, redimit, protegit atque lavat."

P. 670
18 Practer super arcum ipsam Golgatham concluentem vel in latere Calvariae versus occidentem constituto tabula quaedam in pariete depicta perspicitur, in qua hi versus aureis litteris descripi esse videntur:
Est locus hic sacer, sacratus sanguine Christi.
Per nostrum sacrare sacro nihil addimus isti.
Sed Domus huic sacro circumcruceædificata
est quinta decima quintilis luce sacrata
cum reliquis patribus a Fulcherio patriarcha.

19 Ante fores ecclesiae inter duas januas Dominus Christus reverendo habitu quasi jam a morte resurgens consistit,
ad cujus pedes Maria Magdalena... jacet, cui Dominus chirographum porrigit hos versus versus continens:
Quid, mulier, plorans? Jam jam quem quaeris, adorans.
Me dignum recoli, quem jam vivum tu modo tangere noli.

Fr. Niccolo da Poggibonsi 1347
P. 684
... sopra le colonne si è scritto sei versi, tutti di lettere d’oro, e in ciascuna canto del civorio si è uno verso, e è si alto che apena si può leggere; e li versi dicono così:
Vita mori voluit et in hoc tumulo requievit
Mors qui vita fuit nostram victrix abolevit
Nam qui congregit inferna sibique subiecit
Et redimendo suos cujus dux ipse choortis
Aduque triumfator hinc surrexit leo foras
Tartarus inde gemit Mors jugens spoliatur.

P. Franciscus Quaresmi 1626
[many inscriptions, often fragmentary, most of them in prose, often in Latin from the Vulgate. Greek sometimes.
Many mere captions.]

We will reproduce all the middle section, where verse seems to be common, but at times, only probable:
P. 701
Adverto, omnes scripturas et picturas esse opere musaico descriptas et appictas, etsi antiquitate et fumo lampadarum multum consumptas ac denigratas.

In capite et orientali parte hujus sacelli crucifixionis Domini circumdant fomicem sequentia verba:
a] caris car[a Dæ]t[a] lacrim(a)ta levatur/a cruce; pro miseris rex/haec patitur — f...
A dextro latere et aquilonari circa arcum sequentia tribus lineis exarata habentur ...
† ...a]sinum pueri servant sub imagine veri —/servant Iudei duritiam/fidei— ignem cu(m) gladio/portat
patriarcha fidechi — fi. ... [elegiacs, as are the following two sets of fragments]
† liginis Ysaac oneratur, de cruce Chr(istu)s — stat/pater estq(ue) puer lign(o)/sup(er)os isti(us) — hic gladium
levat, hic iugulum parat ante ligat(us) — sic parvis imp(er)io fil[i]us obsequitur.
† ...angelus allubrens (?)/Abraha(m) vocat atq(ue) cohercet — conversus sutor hic vixq(ue) manu(m) retinet —
cornibu(s) in spinis/h(a)eres aries iugulat[ur] - -/sic caro sola luit...
Sub arco est historia in adducta sententia indicata... E regione hujus arcus, et meridionali parte hujus sacelli, veteres picturae penitus corruerunt... tantum sub arcu formicis sequentia leguntur:
[Conditur in tumulo conditus/ar]omate Christus — tollit(ur) ad sup(er)os meriti modo?amine i(us) — gaudet
hosto manes trepidant, etq(ue) o(m)nis abiss(us) — est excessus Ad(ae) Chr(istus) — veniente remiss(us). [these a
hexameter quatrain]
Sub fome, sive camera, est historia adscensionis Domini... cum sequenti inscriptione:...
(Latin prose from the Vulgate, and some Greek, not here quoted)

P. Franciscus Quaresmi 1626 cont’d.
p. 702
... In occidentali parte ejusdem arcus e regione Danielis, est Oseas propheta, cum sententia (13, 14):
O mors, evó mors/tua, moorsus/tuus evó infern(e) (?)

... Ciceroca alterum arcum, qui tunc e regione respicit... sequentes visuntur literae:
Hic humilis [vero clamabat: te Deus] oro — iure quide(m) morior./Digna satís patior —/tu pie, cur pace .../...
— respice? .../miserere mei —/en eris in cael[o]/(Tu vere eris in paradiso/mecum ho)die merito Chr(istu)s ait
subito.

Non-Classical
S. Maria in Valle Josaphat

Johannes de Wirziburgensis 1165
p. 764
... cujus sepulturae, licet corpore absente, egregia tamen in tabulatu marmoreo quam in argento et auro in modum ciborii superposita extat structura, cui tale apposition est emigramma [sic liber]:
Hic Josaphat vallis, hinc est ad sidera callis,
In Domino fulsi, fuit hic Maria sepulta.
Hinc exaltata coelos petit inviolata.
Spes captivorum, via lux et mater eorum.

p. 765
... In introitu ejusdem cryptae talis pictura et scriptura cemitur:
Haeredes vitae, Dominam laudare venite,
Per quam vita datur mundi salus reparatur.

... ubi in ejus honore fabricata est ecclesia miro lapideo tabulatu, in qua sepulta fuisse ab omnibus affirmatur. In dextra vero ejusdem introitus imago beati Basilii continet haec:
Matris Christi dignitate
et excelsa potestate
est repertus Julianus,
saevus hostis et profanus;
nam defunctum hunc prostravit
sicut mater imperavit,
Salvatrici sit reginae
laus et honor sine fine
Quae elegit hie humari.

My Book Medieval Latin Verse epigraphy Holy Land Epigraphy

Baldwin, B. An Anthology of Byzantine Poetry Amsterdam 1985
Greek Byzantine Poetry ByzAnth.

Balzac and Le Clercq, H. de & J. Epigrams on men, women, and love. Honoré de Balzac: selected and translated by Jacques Le Clercq; with wood engravings by Derrick Harris Mount Vernon NY 1959 ca. 60 p. ill.
All prose extracts, one of purely thematic interest: "With monuments, as with men, it is position that counts."
848.701 B1948ep French Epigram Balzac's

Bandy, A. Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete Athens 1970 (4C – 9C) non vidi — de eo legi
Greek Byzantine Epigraphy Christian Cretan

Banerji, Rakhal Das The Palas of Bengal by... with 26 Inscriptions Varanasi = Calcutta 1915
1973
Repeated verses p.7 quoted from various copper plates of the Palas referring to Gopala I. No stone inscrr. of this king were known to the author. P.70 quotes colophons of MSS from the time of the Muslim conquest. A peculiar turn of phrase (that a King or his dominion had 'ceased') is studied in these and in stone inscriptions. Our interest is in any tradition of MSS colophons in India, and p.72 quotes one from 1197 CE of Govindapala, and 'gata' and 'atit' seem not to mean "dead" or "completely out of power" in this context. 'Vinasta' means that all control had been lost. A random addition on p.72 is a two-line prose (?) inscr. of the time of Vigrahapala III on the pedestal of a Buddha image, saying that on a certain date, in the reign of that king, the object was the religious gift of the goldsmith Deheka, son of Sahe. This reminds us of similar donative inscriptions in older Europe, and of the phenomenological similarities of folk religious practices world wide, commented on by Dr. *Thomhill in Australian Catholic Record Jan. 1992.
q 954 B215 Indian Epigraphy Palas Bengal

The reason for including this title is its connection of the growth of so-called "matres lectionis" in the previously spare WS consonantal writing with assumed developments in Canaanite/Hebrew verse forms, on the pattern borrowed from Stan Segert, Versbau und Sprachbau in der althebräischen Poesie. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Non-Classical

On the central issues of the book, not those we have extracted from it, see Frank Moore Cross and D. N. Freedman Early Hebrew Orthography, a Study of the Epigraphic Evidence Am. Or. Ser. 36 N.H. 1952. There seem to have been two motivations for the use as "vowel letters" of old consonant letters which still functioned, in other contexts, in their prime role. One was the desire for better representation of texts where the phonic element was important (PN and poetry??) and the other was more mechanical — where there was phonetic change, e.g. post-Lachish, the weaker consonants softening into glides or full vowels, or even being lost and leading to the amalgamation of the vowels on either side of them, notably in closed syllables, a tenacious graphic tradition made it inevitable that the consonants still written in these word positions would be taken (also) as spellings of the new vowels.

Now, to our extracted items, the possible link of graphic system and the state of formal verse structure (the same arguments are banal for "Homer" and early Greek inscriptions):

STAGE ONE: up to the -11C, i.e. -1700 — -1000, "word metre" and no semiconsonants written.

STAGE TWO: -1000 — early -6C, "accentual metrics". Between -10C and -7C semiconsonantal glides began to be written and then became established in the graphic system.

STAGE THREE: -6/5C to -2C, "alternating metric" (= parallelism) actually from the early -6C, and vowel letters more and more fully written, though as the Masoretic text shows, not completely systematically. A policy for the writing out of the letters assisting the reading of hidden vowels in Modern Hebrew was not finalised until shortly before I got there in the late 1980s.

As mentioned above, the needs felt in writing prestigious verse and possible pressures applied by this tradition on the type of graphic system developing at the dawn of the alphabet is a fascinating, but elusive topic. See the debates in *Heubeck over the Nestor's Cup inscription, and also the work of Ian *Morris on the scriptio plenissima allegedly adopted for writing Homer, not only the vowels, and the marking of length in some vowels, but gemination of consonants, even alignment by stitch.

Bange quotes the elusive Phoenician corpus of N. Slouschz, noting that (p. 35) the allegedly poetic kingly inscription of Kilamuwa was in an Aramaean-ruled state, but its Phoenician language illustrates how that tongue was still a lingua franca in the late -9C, only to be swamped by the all-conquering Aramaic 100 years later, at the end of the -8C, e.g., the Bar Rekub text). According to Cross and Freedman, Old Phoenician spelling was not historical. It constantly was tinkered with by scribes to fit morphological and phonetic changes in the spoken language. Thus the needs of writers of poetry might have been able to make themselves felt on other WS scribal traditions as well.


Barnes notes that he has quoted the Richard of Ware monostich from Haskins, and indeed on the cited p.120 we find this line introduced confusingly by the words: "...as the inscription neatly tells us." However, the inscription

Non-Classical
on the tomb was one line longer, and is quoted p.486 of John Weever 1631, as well as presumably being visible still at Westminster. The first line in Weever is: “Abbas Richardus de Wara qui requiescit...” and there are many hexameter distichs in the London materials of Weever. Richard is said to have died 1283 CE.

We may here note the difficulty in many modern, not just ancient works, of being sure whether the piece of poetry quoted is the entire original work or a fragment.

Medieval Epigraphy  *Antiquarians Medieval*


Many obscurities in Ellis, Monastic Seals, are removed by reading this plan for a complete project.  p. xi 25,000 seals in Ancient Deeds section alone. Hundreds of thousands of seals altogether in the PRO.

P. 1 Wax seals 10C 3,644 from all document classes. French seals from the date 997 onwards, wax seals (stamps) being bigger than those of the anulus type. In England there were at least royal seals before the Norman Conquest. Generally, however, the 12C is a practical terminus a quo when we try to date seals.

p. 7 Seal matrices passed from father to son.

p. 8 Most are made of latten (a bronze)

p. 9 reverse countersealing = oversealing!

p. 12 waxes discussed.

p. 21 forgeries.

p. 28 Rhyming verse said to be particularly popular with Ecclesiastics.

p. 59 Monastic Seals discussed and put into context.

p. 61 "ad causas" mentioned, if not explained (an ecclesiastical type)

737.6/8 1968 SydFysh  *Guide to PRO Seals*


Berber

Bataille, André  *Bibliothèque byzantine Tracté d'études byzantines II Les Papyrus par...*  Paris 1955

Q 949.5 Greek Byzantine  *Byzantine Papyrus*


Major poets under their own name, also “Minor Verse” under author and a few genre or group names. Miscellaneous and collections not analysed, just a medium length title and scanty added comments, subdivided under year of publication. However, there are nearly 90 close printed pages of such miscellanies, song books, verse collections of multiple authorship. While this standard bibliography enables additions to be made to our list of titles which highlight epigram, its main use is to give an impression of the volume and general character of publication in those mainstream works which are most likely to contain epigram. Periodical and ephemeral literature do not seem to be included. See *Bush for comments on the importance of this sort of literature to the Baroque reader.

English Bibliography  *Cambridge Bibliography*

Batsford, Herbert  *English Mural Monuments and Tombstones. A collection of eighty-four photographs of Wall Tablets, Table Tombs and Headstones of the 17th & 18th Centuries; the subjects specially selected by HERBERT BATSFORD as representative examples of the beautiful & traditional types in the English Parish Church and Church-yard, for the use of Craftsmen and as a guide in the present revival of public taste; with an introduction by WALTER H. GODFREY F.S.A.*  London n.d. but preface dated Jan 1916. 1916?

P.3 notes that the wall tablet derives from the inscription panel of earlier monuments. They are of course more adaptable to placement inside churches than are larger monuments. Shield forms are a subclass, often retaining their own traditional insignia and devises. Inscriptions are in Latin or English of varying lengths, none of the 84 examples showing real funerary verse, with one showing 3 lines of Greek ligatured in the Renaissance manner [pl. 48 1729CE] and another one adding a Latin aphoristic pentameter on a second, smaller panel, pl.20 1672: Disce mori mundo / Vivere disce Deo.

The impression given is that really artistic monuments of recent periods are resistant to the graphically recalcitrant verse epitaph.

Burial English Epigraphy  *Mural Monuments*

Bataille and Boileau-Despréaux, Charles &  *Les Quatre poétiques: d'Aristote, d'Horace, de Vida, de Despreaux avec les traductions et des remarques en 2 Voll*  1771  Professeur Royal de
l'Académie Française et de celle des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. See Addenda. See also his Traité de l’epigramme et de l’inscription = Principes de la littérature Paris 1774.

Poetics Quatre Poétiques


P. 4 III [De Incarnato Verbo] II - 28, i.e., 26 poems are tituli, 5 out of this 26 are elegiac distichs, and only 3 out of the remainder are of more than two lines. See tituli, de Fortunatus, in MGH Auxc. Ant. IV.

IV
Flos natus est pueri, flos mater, flos puer ipse
Flos quoque virginei forma puerperii

XXXIII and XXXV a fragment of a 2 line (Hx?) inscription.

L (6 x Hx) LI (10 x El) de Natali Abbata. LIV Epitaphium (8 x El). LVI 6 x El.

LV 2 x El:

Pausat in hoc tumulo sanctus pro corpore praesul
Praesulis obtimeat spiritus astra poli.

P. 65 ff. epitaphic LIX, LX, LXII, LXIII, LXI, and the following poems, LXXI in titulo domus
Qui fabricis inhians Romana palatia laudas,
Hoc potius lauda grande Johannis opus.
Hic sculptura decet, saxorum convenit ordo.
Quantum marmoreis laudatur Roma columnis
hoc si quidem rerum copia desit opus.

P. 158 ff. has letters in verse, including many short ones, but no "point".

CLXXVII (full of medieval heaviness of expression, pardonable because inscribed)
circa crucifixum (inscriptus)
Nec deus est, nec homo, praesens quam cernis imago,
Sed deus est et homo, quern sacra figurat imago.

CXCV
in mensa itineraria (inscriptus)
Quem mensae species invitat et allicit huius
Si conviva venis adhibe tibi sobrietatem,
Sobria verba decent et sobria mensa fidelem,
Sobrius ergo cibus tibi sit, sint sobria verba
Christus edet tecum si Christum vivis edendo.

See also p. 266 ff. for interesting poems. P. 316, n° 217–222 are all on the death of Cicero!, and all six poems are in the same form, 6 x El.

I.e., there are a considerable number of short and shortish poems in Baudri.

879.1 Bal Baudry Latin Medieval Poetry

Bausani, Alessandro Malesia. Poesie e leggende a cura di Alessandro Bausani Milan 1963

It may be useful to have a non Anglo-Saxon perspective on Malay culture.

899.221 /2 Malay Malesia

Bawcutt, Priscilla New Light on Gavin Douglas in MacDonald et al 1994 p. 95–106

This has, on p. 102 and ff, an extended run of comments on the medieval Latin word ens, which may have been the intended reading on one of our (Latin of course) Monastic seals, M715, taken by its editor Ellis as a mistake for DNS — ENS./LEX-HENRICVS VMME:DEITAT*:AMICVS ECVR*:DEGTV:ENTVM:DOM:ISTE:PREGTV — While being, King Henry (UMME? <= umme? = most highly?) is divinised, a friend. / He lives [removed] from care[s] of beings — this man has (?) completed [our] House. ENS (apparent on the photo given in the plate) is taken by Ellis, on other unexamined evidence, be taken as a carver’s mistake for DNS. See in particular E. Gilson,

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P.917 neatly mirrors the confusion of terminology in Iranian and Turanian poetics in calling a lively poetic form, the *mani*, a "couplet of four verses of seven syllables with mono-rhyme". Such four-line couplets are apparently found with 11 syllables in the 16C Stories of Koroghlu, I know not with what degree of regularity. If such forms are used for the short bursts of eulogy, lament, satire and biography said to be the traditional occasional extemporisations at Turkish funerals, we have perhaps pre-epigram. However, the poetry which eventually appears on Turkish gravestones cannot be from this tradition. Oghuz Turks seem never to have had their own literary koine, or even runic writing, so their oral folk traditions, though evidenced late, may meet some of the folklorists' wishes for the pure and the ancient. The contrast between Persianised court genres and the presumed habits of the countryside could not have been more extreme and must have helped remove them from the play of the mutual influences noted or at least likely throughout the written history of the steppe cultures. A collection of romanised modern Turkish epitaphs exists in Fisher. I have been unable to recover it.

Turkish *Turque*

Beattie, James Dr. see Currie


Beck, literary and linguistic: The term is not usually used for runestones today, but this seems to have been possible in ancient times. See strophe 72 of the Hávamál: *Sonrn er betri, pott té std of alinn eptir genginn guma; sialdan bautasteinar standa brauto narrative, nema reisi nidr at nid "A son is better, even when he first is born after his father's death. Seldom stand bautasteins near the road if a relative does not erect them for a relative."

The "near the way" topos (ner braatu, brautul/brauto narrative) is more than a topos in the Scandinavian north as we see from two identical inscriptions on Swedish runestones, Sv R8, 1, 467, the stone from Ryda, Uppland, and Sv R3 1, 27, the stone from Tjuvistigen, Södermanland: *Her mun standa stceinn narrative near the path*. Egils Saga §22 recalls the no doubt original purpose of such stones, their being erected in memory of notable people. Snorri has some ancient history in his Heimskringla prologue, where he recalls a period of cremation *(brunagold)* in which bauta-stones were quite appropriately a memorial for the incinerated bodies, and he notes that this practice of erecting tall stones continued after cremation had given way to the tumulus period of burials, the *hauugold*.

Etymologically the word seems to come from *bauta = strike, hit*, but in what derived sense? S. Bugge takes the form in the Fagrskinna to be the original one: *bautadrsteinn*, featuring in its first formant the genitive of *bautadr*, "striker", "hero in battle". Fritzner thinks the word means a struck stone, one struck into the soft soil, and indeed, most of them are sharp ended. M. Olsen is attracted to the inevitable phallic interpretation by the vague similarity of *beytill*, phallus. Neither *bautasteinn nor bautadrsteinn* are found outside Islandic.

Holmquist, archaeological: Three forms given: bautasteinn (compound noun), bautarsteinn (compound with first formant in genitive, thus perhaps phrasal), bötasten. The stones are north Scandinavian, rarely found in Denmark except in Bornholm. They are most usually anepigraphic, and are a Bronze Age custom which diminished with time. Most are found in the RKZeit = Roman EZeit, and they continue until the WZeit in diminishing numbers. They are usually found in considerable numbers in a burial field, and burned remains and vessels will be found at their feet. In the later EZeit they occur with tumuli, and mostly beside a path. 14 were recently found at Anundshügel, in Badelunda, Västmanland, and this group were in a row alongside the path to a very ancient fort.

See also Runenstein and Bildsteine in this same Reallexikon. The term can be given to all standing stones in large burial grounds and at ship burials. 600 or so were found in the early 19C in the burial ground of Vätteryd, Norra Melby, and 200 of these are still in situ. Large finds also at Fjärras Bräcka in Halland, and at Greby in Bohuslän. The illustrations included in this article are of tall, narrow stones lacking both pictorial iconography and words.

Norse *stelai Bautasteinar*

Becker, C.J. *Einzelgrabkultur* in RLGA Vol. 7 p. 43–47

A group of Neolithic cults, see Schnurkeramik and Streitaxtulturen, found for a while especially in Jütland and Schleswig-Holstein.

Viking burial *Singlegraves*
Bede, Ven.  
Latin Medieval  **Bede CXIIIC**

Bede, Ven.  **Bedae de temporum ratione**  Turnhout  
Latin Medieval  **Bede CXXIIB**

Bede,  
Ven.  **Opera exegetica II**  Turnhout  
CCL  
P.137 *Retractatio* in *Actis Apostolorum* — quote of Iuvencus?  
p.83 *Expositio* — 4 x Hx from *Aretus*  
Latin Medieval  **Bede CXXI**

Bede and Colgrave and Mynors,  
1972  
The lost liber epigrammatum is listed in the catalogue of the final chapter, providing one of the few uses of this word in the Middle Ages. Notes cite some epigraphy of relevance to our search for inscriptions of the Saxon and the Celtic periods, either in modern transcripts or in medieval literary dress.  
Latin Medieval  Epigram  **HE**

Bede and Fraipont,  
Ven. & J.  **Bedae Hymni reliqui, Psalterium paruum**  Turnhout  
1955  
CCL  
Fraipont discusses in his introduction the remains of the book of hymns and the book of epigrams known to have been left by Bede but which have been lost or broken up:  
Latin Medieval Poetry  **Bede CXXII**

Bede and Hudson,  
Ven. & J.E.  **Bedae Opera exegetica**  Turnhout.  
1983  
CCL  
*In canica Canticorum* p. PL 1065D 2 lines of Vergil Ec. Ill 92–93.  
Latin Medieval  **Bede CIXXB**

Bede and Hurst,  
Ven. & D.  **Bedae De Tabernaculo, De Templo, In Ezram et Neemiam**  Turnhout  
1969  
Latin Medieval  **Bede CXIXA**

Bede and Hurst,  
Ven. & D.  **Bedae In I Samuelis, In Reges**  Turnhout  
1962  
Latin Medieval Verses  **Bede CIX**

Bede and Hurst,  
Ven. & D.  **Bedae In Lucam, In Marcum**  Turnhout  
1960  
CCL  
In Lucam xi 27 quote from Sedulius.  
In Lucam Prol PL 302 a proverb in distich form.  
Latin Medieval Epigram  **Bede CXX**

Bede and Jones,  
Ven. & Ch.W  **Bedae In Genesim**  Turnhout  
1967  
CCL  
Latin Medieval  **Bede CXVIIIA**

Bede and Jones,  
Ven. & Ch.W  **Opera didascalia I**  Turnhout  
1975  
CCL  
Good introduction. P.v: Boethius, Isidore, Alcuin, Notker, Balbulus left texts, but Bede is the only important teacher between Quintilian and the 12C whose writings come to us complete and unaltered. For 3 centuries his works ruled the higher education of Europe.  
P. 189 Begins Bedae de natura rerum liber, which opens with Versus Bedae Presbyteri, 4 x El: // Natura rerum varias labentis et aest / Perstrinxii titulis tempora lata citis / Beda dei fanulus. Tu fixa obscecro perennem / Qui legis astra super mente tuere diem.//

Non-Classical
CXXII B & C have no verse.
Latin Medieval Epigram  Bede CXXII A

Bees, N.A. (Béns) *Corpus der griechisch-christlichen Inschriften von Hellas I* Die griechischen-christlichen Inschriften des Peloponnes. 1. Isthmos-Korinthos, Athen 1941 (Nachdr. 1968) Teilweise Neuüktion durch Kent 1966. 1968 non vidi — de eo legi Greek Byzantine Epigraphy  Bees's


Beit-Arié, Malachi *Hebrew Codicology* 1976 Hebrew Books *Hebrew Codicology*

Belke, H *Literarische Gebrauchsformen* Düsseldorf 1973 Genre *Gebrauchs-formen*

Belloc, Hilaire *One Thing and Another* London 1955 Hollis and Carter FACTUS HOMO, FACTOR HOMINIS, FACTI REDEMPTOR JUDICO CORPOREUS CORPORA CORDA DEUS "I, who was made man and who was the maker of man, and who am the Redeemer of what I made, Being of human frame, do judge the bodies and the hearts of men: and I am God." Roger's princely epigraphy at Cefalù was apparently flamboyant in style, so this is indeed a contrast. It is of interest that Sicily was a site for flamboyant Arabic epigraphy under the Norman kingdom there, see *Blair 1992, lOff.*

Cefalù Couplet

Bencheikh, J.E. Khamriyya in El² IV p.998–1009 1977 Arabic poetry Symposium  Khamriyya

Bencheneb (or Ben Cheneb), Moh. Abu 'Ali Isma'il b. Al-Qasim b. 'Aydhun b Harun b. 'Isa b. Muhammad in El¹ 693–694. 1987 Born 901 CE, in Manāgird, Armenia, died 967. Townsfolk of Qallqalā gave him the Western "sobriquet" of al-Qali. In the East he was known as 'Abī 'Alī al-BAGHDĀDI. His book Kitāb al-Amār wa'l-Dhail wa'l-Nawādir has notes on proverbs, language and poetry. Arabic poetry  al-Qali 1

Bencheneb, M. Mu'amma (anagram, enigma) in El¹ VI p.616 1987a Arabic riddle  Mu'amma

Bendrey, V.S. *A Study of Muslim Inscriptions* Calcutta 1944? Indian Persian Arabic Urdu Inscriptions  Muslim

Benrimo and James and Boyd Dorothy & Rebecca Salsbury & E., *Camposantos. A Photographic Essay by Dorothy Benrimo with a Commentary by Rebecca Salsbury James and Historical Notes by E. Boyd* Fort Worth 1966 New Mexico in its Spanish period, with "Indian trouble" and such insecurity that (p.1) no permanent marking of individual graves (inside churches) was done (to prevent their desecration), and information concerning place of burial survives only in occasional vague references in archival burial records. Thus, on this European frontier there were no early monuments to the dead. The wooden crosses which followed this period (when gradually burials inside churches were, as in Europe, eradicated??), are a unique form of open air burial monument. Some few are stone or iron. 731.88 Spanish American Burial Art  Camposantos

Berchom and Wiet and Sobemheim and Herzfeld and Edhem and el-Hawary and Elisséeff, M. van & G. & A.M. & B.E. & H. & H. & N. *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* general editor and real editor of the Jerusalem materials Max van Berchom. I selected only the

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Any investigation of epigraphy needs at least a token reference to archaeology, sculpture and graphic art, and having been at Ellora, I have personal impressions to contrast with this book. It contributed nothing to an understanding of epigraphy, which is to be sought more at Ajanta. However, the rarity or lack of epigraphy in large areas of an architectural and inscribing culture is even more significant in India than it is in Gothic Europe. Indian public carving is heavily iconic rather than epigraphic, inscriptions being largely documentary and separate. Public inscriptions in India (of a non documentary and non legal sort) seem to have been mostly captions to art and architecture, or at least secondary to such expressive means.

My Book Indian Architecture  Ellora 2

Cambodian  Cambodgienne

Bernard and Mabillon and Migne, St., of Clairvaux & Johannes & J.P.  epistolee coll. 67–716. 1862
Opening with the canonical collection of the Monks, Dom Mabillon adds increasingly diverse and doubtful collections made by others and by himself. See Addenda for Bernard's change of seal from an anepigraphic sort (with just a crozier, the Abbey seal common to all Abbots) to an epigraphic (personal, bearing his name, and therefore to be broken and/or buried with him), but not poetically epigraphic.

Latin Medieval Epigraphy  Migne PL 182

Laotian  Laotienne

Bernt, G.  Das lateinische Epigramm in Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter
München 1968
See Addenda for the complete list of writers treated, in their historical and geographical periods.
My Copy Latin Epigram  Late epigram

Beshevliev / Besheveliev, Veselin / Веселин Пъвобългарски надписи, София 1979

Българска академия на науките, Археологически институт
The author admits that the present edition is largely the same as his standard and definitive work: Die Protobulgarischen Inschriften. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für griechische-römische Altertumskunde. Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten, Band 23 Berlin 1963. However, he seems to claim that this is not just a modified edition (commentary and introduction modified for native consumption) but also is "improved". For some reason he felt the need to emphasise to Bulgarian readers in 1979 that he is the resident expert in this field, having had a long association with the texts and their attendant "issues". Perhaps it is the problem of a prophet in his own country. In 1964 he published Spätgriechische und Spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien, Band 30 of the same series as the above, also from Berlin, thus having an epigraphic command of the whole Bulgarian area.

In Bulgarian, long preliminary study-discussion and full corpus, 94 examples. Despite the traditional name given them, the memorial inscriptions I had time to peruse are basically in highly formulaic medieval (not neo-Classical) Greek, with Bulgarian personal names and titles. The common template for the "memorial" examples of these inscriptions is tripartite: “Khan Subigi Omurtag — FN + title was my man and died in war/in the Dnieper etc. — His tribal group was Y”. Omurtag, ruled 814–831, was son of the great Pannonian Bulgar Khan Krum, ruled 808–814, who favoured Slav elements against the fractious Bulgar aristocrats.

It is notable that the Khan puts up the memorial-funerary stele for his warrior companions. It is also notable that

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one might read as bald prose what in that culture must have been a signal honour. Thus, we need to read the inscriptions with trumpets blaring in our heads. This is what they “meant”. What we know of Turkic oral culture and early Turkic-Mongol epigraphy suggests that such epitaphs derive from a rich popular tradition of funeral lamentation and eulogy, and from an almost African sense of dignity, glory and limitless opportunity felt by persons placed close to their Khan. In “states of military patronage” epitaphs for soldiers take on a higher significance.

In the summary given in the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium 100 Bulgarian inscriptions “in popular Greek” are mentioned in the time range 691–864/5 CE, and the categories offered are identical with those under which this corpus is organised by Beshevliev (no doubt deriving from his German edition): res gestae, military inventories, triumphal, building, sepulchral and commemorative, treaties and boundary markers, graffiti, and inscriptions on seals and other portable objects.

It is notable how few have been uncovered. Was epigraphy so exceptional among the Turkic-speaking Bulgars in the Balkans? If so, that fact also changes the way we interpret their remains.

491.817 B 554 Bulgarian Proto Epigraphy Proto-Bulgarian Inscriptions


Lessing, Herder and Goethe are treated, in the usual way. It is worth re-emphasising Herder’s view of the primacy of plastic art. More important is the note taken of the 18C being the period of the Almanach, which was an important locus for short occasional versifying. See in general Segebrecht, GELEGENHEITSGEDICHT. Knebel sent “epigrams” for all birthdays, though one might a priori doubt their epigrammaticity. People are said to have crowded into Weimar to have an inscriptive epigram made for a garden, a beloved or for a gravestone (p.383), and the so-called genre is said to have provided a convenient poetic formula for the literary circles of this self-consciously cultivated society. Similar motives may have been operative in the adoption of ‘epigram’ by the literary sets of Syracuse, Alexandria and Renaissance Italy. The literary debate in short Xenien between Goethe and Knebel (?) was a landmark in the history of the German genre.

It is worth noting from *Wes that Goethe’s ideal of classicism was a dream built on a fair degree of sometimes wilful misinformation and ignorance, perhaps growing all the stronger for that. The approach of Niebuhr and Ch. G. Heyne would not have nourished a poetic muse very much. Even then, the influence of the AG in Goethe’s work diminished with time. It had not been widely available in his youth, and Herder’s life-long enthusiasm for Greek epigraphic poetry (which little of his own original writing imitates, however) was rare for his time, and for any time.

German Epigram AP Anthologie in Weimar


My Book Aramaic Palestine epigraphy


Silvae, Elegiae, Icones, Epigrammata, Epitaphia (some of the "generic titles" common in the Renaissance for short poems, and there are more, see *Marot).

Silvae p.9–28 are longish poems. No. I–IV

Elegiae p.29–54 average 2pp each. No. I–XII

Epitaphia p.55–101 (I–XXIV) are quite long, except for three of them: IX “Amplissimus vir hic jacet...” of Antonii Pratensis cancellarii Galliae, a very fat man, hence a humorous epitaph; XV, a quatrain on Jacques Belneus Grand Treasurer of three Kings “/Hunc sibi Belneus ? tumulum, quem cernis immanem ?/ struxerat; invidat qui laqueus tumulum/ Debecrat certe, sors si foret omnibus aequa / Tardius hie fieri, vel prius ille mori//; and back near the beginning, IV, is a poem in Greek on Budé, short.

Icones p.102–105 some distichs and 1 tristich.

The EPIGRAMMATA are on p.106–255 I–XCVIII Latin Modern Poetry Juvenilia


Indian Epigraphy Indian Epigraphy

Non-Classical
Bhartrihari and More & Paul Elmer 1864–1937 A century of Indian epigrams, chiefly from the Sanskrit of Bhartrihari by... Boston 1898


Bierman I.A. The Art of the Public Text: Medieval Islamic Rule in Lavin 1989 p.283–289

Billingsley, Nicholas 1633–1709 A treasury of divine raptures consisting of serious observations, pious ejaculations, select epigrams, alphabetically rank'd and fil'd by a private chaplain to the illustrious and renowned lady. Urania, the divine and heavenly muse: the first part... 1667


Birrell, T. A. Some Rare Scottish Books in the Old Royal Library in MacDonald et al 1994 p. 404–416 has some interesting insights into the past histories of the post Reformation libraries of Scotland. James VI was the first monarch on the English throne who set himself to collect printed dossiers, and the British Museum under Panizzi was very active in collecting such “State papers” in printed form, as well as from the sales of

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libraries of deceased Scottish collectors.

P. 405 remarks on the great output of congratulatory and commemorative Latin verse by an Alexander Yule, *latein* Julius, master of the grammar school at Stirling from 1578 to 1612. A. F. Hutchinson *History of the High School of Stirling* (Stirling 1904) is the "best account" of him, but significantly does not mention the publications in Latin verse! Just as well that the modern, antipodean investigator does not take silence about such writing, even in the best historical and literary accounts, as proof of literary inactivity! Another book owner who wrote Latin verse is John Leech (MA Aberdeen). In his remains (little is known of the man, and he is confused with homonymic figures by even the most meticulous biographers) there are MS Latin verses to the King, and an interchange of verse with the Jesuit George Chambers (Fintraeus'), which indicates the international freemasonry of Humanistic culture, one which transcended even the bitter post-1560 religious split in Scotland. Leech's collected *Poemata* were published in London in 1620 in two different issues. Some verse was exchanged with Leech by a John Scot 'adolescens', these printed by the young man's proud father, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvart. Other congratulatory poems are mentioned by other authors. The Northern monarchs had been famous for literary endeavour for over a century, and James VI / I was met, and followed, by verse on his various tours, it seems. Of course, as it is James's library which provides the bulk of the old books here studied, it is natural that poems to him, and thus deposited with him, will predominate. As he was such a meticulous conserver of printed and MS materials, it may well be that his body of "Scots" materials will give the best window now available on the occasional poeticising around 1600, in England as well as in Scotland.

Another verse writer was David Drummond, verses to many famous and well-placed people, from a man in search of preferment. Another poeticon indulged in the uncommon use of verse for theological controversy, John Gordon (1544-1619), kinsman of the King by "bar sinister". As with all the verse mentioned, length of poem is not indicated here, and was probably not important to the writers, but a title of a unique work of Gordon's, probably in verse (I judge from the context only), is *Papa-cactus*, thought to be too strong a title to encourage the collection of the broadsheet!

Another unusual figure, also a versifier (what leading figure wasn't at that period?) was James Maxwell (1581-1640), who was called "mountebank Maxwell" by Laud, and whose 1611 work *The Golden Art, or the Right Way of Enriching...* was annotated on its flyleaf in an old hand, unfortunately not that of James VI/I. 'This golden art is not worth a fart'. Is this itself verse?

Let us merely note the predominance of poets in this catalogue of early Scottish books, and poems in Latin, something we knew already, but which it is periodically useful to re-annotate and not live entirely by epitomes and synthetic summaries of history. Strangely, Arthur Johnston (1587-1641) is underrepresented in James's library, as A.J. was the preeminent Scottish Latin poet of his day. His *Epigrammata* were printed in Aberdeen in 1632. See below under *Skene for a translation of them. His funeral elegy on James VI survives in only one copy, a significant hint as to the enormous sea of such verse which has now dried up. What survives is indeed scattered widely. It will be useful to quote the summary paragraph on p. 415 and then summarise ourselves the few comments that follow.

"It should be possible to draw some tentative conclusions from this very miscellaneous list. Firstly, most of these rarities are ephemeral, being 'occasional' verses or university theses. it may be argued that these are of little intrinsic importance, yet they testify to a vigorous literary sub-culture. If they had not survived, we should have lost part of an historical pattern."

Secondly: printed ephemera are very vulnerable as physical objects. Already by the 18C early Scottish printing had become a collector's item, but of course, what survived to be collected had already been enormously reduced. Ephemera did not survive outside a few quite special 17C libraries, and the former were hunted as the latter were dispersed. Now of the 17C libraries which did collect ephemera, that of James VI was nearly the only one surviving which had been consciously enriched with printed ephemera. The situation of MS preservation seems to me to have much worse, except for the Humanist presentation MS, which, even if not illuminated, was still likely to be kept for a while, but which still has the odds stacked against its survival on the first breakup of its original harbouring library in the 18C and 19C.

Thirdly, such "presentation books" were done in small print runs, something which the high cost of materials and the very low cost of labour made much more economic than it is at the moment, or has been for some centuries. No doubt electronic publishing is reversing the trend, but in the age of what we may well call without anachronism "vanity publishing" in the 17C, often for preferment, or for the maintaining of one's own public image once social position had been achieved, shortness of run is not often indicated on the TP and is now often irrecoverable. A print run of 50 would have been quite acceptable for the purposes for which presentation copies were made.

"Finally", (p. 416) "a most striking feature in this study is the tightly-knit web of patronage and friendship among the Scottish latinists. Their hard-won latinity was their principal asset in a hostile world. And at the centre of that web was James VI and I."

On the matter of chance survival of collections of ephemera, on 2 April 1995, on SBS Television, there was played Part 4 of a series on the 17C English Civil War. This mentioned a George Thomason, 1645, and a very large collection of pamphlets from that volatile and extremely "levelling" period, resident in an English library.

My Book Scots Latin versifying *James VII's Library*
Blacher, B. *Epigrams of Omar the Tent Maker/ Sinnsprüche Omars des Zeltmachers*

Musical Epigram *Sinnsprüche B*


Famous satirist and panegyrist, born in Eastern Arabia after 20/640 (it is likely): "Laudatory-epigrammatic compositions in the Beduin style". He hated Jarir, who was also a Tamimi, but of another branch. Most of his poems have survived, perhaps because the "comparison" of Jarir and Akhtal was long a theme for discussion among the cultivated. Tamimi particularism provided the all-important early oral preservation. Learned circles in Basra helped. Then his poems were well received at Kufa. Whether all are genuine or not, his poems make up the largest Divan ever.

His career was complicated by the shifting political situation, as he had attached himself to the Umayyads. "Like his contemporaries, al-Farazdak treated the epigram in short impromptus or developed it as a thematic element in a kasīda. (This opens up almost every longer formal poem to the charge of containing "epigram"!) In all his works only 5 metres are used.

See also Addenda

Arabic *al Farazdaq*


Arabic Epigraphy Graphemics *Legibility-Decoration*

Blair, Sheila S. *The Monumental Inscriptions from Early Islamic Iran and Transoxania* Leiden etc. 1992

P. 10, Persian was replacing Arabic in inscriptions from the 11C and particularly the 12C CE, beginning from the East. A continuous tradition of Persian foundation inscriptions in rhyme stretches from the tomb at Safid Buland (1055–1060 CE) onwards. On the reports of Ibn Bibi (p.11) verses from the voluminous Shahnama were used on the walls (secular) of Konya and Sivas. The Shahnama, of course, is epic, and Persian epic verse or *māthnāvī/mesnāvī rhymes in couplets of rather short lines. The Mongol Sultan called Abaqa in the 13C uses Persian verses on a frieze. In the 12C at Palermo and Messina, Roger II, William I and William II's buildings carry Arabic verses praising the structures they are inscribed on. Of course, in the 14C the vizier-poet Ibn Zamrak adorned the walls of Granada's palaces with lengthy verses. Were the latter imitative of a Western habit, merely using the Arabic language?

P. 154 Ribat-i Malik, 1078/9 CE restoration, has verses over the entrance portal (always a prime site) of an isolated caravansera. A cousin of this is the difficult inscription of 1111 CE set up by Mas'ud II at Ghazna around the court of his palace. Bombaci assumes that these Qarakhanids were imitating lost verses set up by the Samanids, patrons of things Persian, and verse was quickly seen, apparently, as exquisitely suiting the native language, Persian. On this page (154b) Blair repeats word for word the comparative statements from her p. 11 already summarised above. More informatively, she notes a dramatic change in the function of epigraphy: "the text is now proclamatory and rhetorical, addressed to the building and to the viewer." Just this emphasis underlies --6C Greek epitaphs in verse. She also makes an important reference to Melikian-Chirmani's work on verses on Persian metalwork which become common from this period. The final generalisation is useful: "From this time on [sc. 12C and 13C CE] Persian verses will also adorn objects and monuments from the eastern Iranian world."

However, the use of the word "epigram" on p.169b in reference to the single word 'God' set in a geometric grid (1081–1089 at Tirmidh, dedicated to al-Hakf m al-Tirmidhr) is a sign of the terminal confusion of meaning suffered by this Greek word.

My Book Persian Epigraphy *Iran-Transoxania*


BGM '87 p.209. German Epigram *Epigramma B*


Indian Modern *North neo-Indian*

Blount, Thomas Pope Sir *De Re Poetica or remarks upon poetry with characters and censures of the most considerable poets whether ancient or modern extracted out of the best and choicest critics* Lond.1972 1694 (Scolar Press facsimile) = Lond 1694

Largely a tissue of quotes from previous critical opinions, predominantly those of the Jesuit Rapin, but Scaliger, of course, is mentioned. P.71–74 treats of epigram, claiming that point is a sign of decline from a pure Latin style. Naugerius of Venice sacrificed every year a volume of Martial to the manes of Catullus. Boileau is rendered: // The

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epigram, with little art compos’d. Is one good Sentence in a Distich closed. These Points, that by Italians first were priz’d. Our Ancient Authors knew not, or despis’d. Boileau’s Art of Poetry, pag. 21. Sir William Temple is quoted on the Priapeia being epigrams of 2, 4 or 6 lines, antecedent to Martial and Ausonius. Conceive overwhelmed Italian, French, Spanish and English poetry, which for want of spirit, offered only salt. Conceive and rhyme are the signs of decadence. P.32 has Scaliger’s epigram on Buchanan: Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia finis / Romani eloquii Scotia finis erat.//

Poetics De re poetica

Blount and Estienne, Thomas Pope & Henri The Art of Making Devises, treating of Hieroglyphicks, Symboles, Emblems, Aenigma’s, Sentences, Parables, Reverses of Medals, Armes, Blazons, Ciniers, Cyphers and Rebus. Written in French by Henry Estienne, done into English by Tho. Blount Gent., Whereunto is added a Catalogue of Coronet Devises both on the Kings, and the Parliaments side in the late Warre. Lond. 1648 First French edition printed at Paris 10 March 1645. Thus the translation was rapid.

P. 26 Mottoes, and p. 51 "of mottoes". P. 86 quotes some devises noted in the Civil War, recently concluded: CORONET DEVISES FOR IRELAND "The Lord Inchequin figured for his Devise an Irish Harp, with this Motto: CONCORDES RESONEM DA DEUS ALME SONOS."// I.e., one of those ubiquitous single pentameters, meaning: Grant O God that I may ring with harmonious notes. The verse is not known to me from any common work of reference, and does not occur in Classical Latin literature (PHI CD Rom #5.3) or in the Hexameterlexikon of *Schumann. The harp became a symbol of revolt against England, but perhaps this devise was more original. It is the only devise of this selected series to be in verse, and as the examples are quoted for their being "notable" and interesting, we may assume that verse in the unquoted ones was rare or nonexistent. The late medieval "devise", of course, was essentially in prose, accepting minor amounts of elaboration as time passed.

English Latin French Devises Heraldry Mottoes Making Devises

Böhtlinck, Indische Sprüche Sanskrit und Deutsch Osnabrück/Wiesbaden 1966 = St. Petersburg 1870–1873\(^2\)

7613 verse gnomes alphabetically arranged in 3 vols, with sources noted. Their sources are more often complete texts than collections or anthologies of textually independent gnomic verses. The overwhelming number of them are in the common sloka metre.

PN 6570 S3 B6 Sanskrit gnomes Indische Sprüche


Latin Modern Earliest Anglo-Latin


This continues a previous study by the author on that percentage of documents which have a προικίμων, an introduction which develops more general topics than the strictly functional text which follows. The period of this study is from the death of Alexis I Comnenos (August 1118) to the entry of Michael VIII Paleologos to Constantinople (July 1261). His previous study dealt with the period 867–1118, and appeared in Prédication et propagande au Moyen-Âge, Islam, Byzance, Occident Penn – Paris – Dumbarton Oaks Colloquia III, Paris 1980/1983 p. 133–147.

P. 92 mentions an attitude whereby the insecurities of this sinful world are contrasted with the value of the (legal) "document" (ἐγγραφα καὶ στυνογραφία), an instrument of clarity and serenity, in the service of the law given to kings by God. A "convention" between two Calabrian monasteries rather exceptionally philosophises on the value of γραφή:

"pour que la mémoire des faits subsiste et pour que le temps et l’oubli ne détruisent pas les actes des morts, l’écrit est justifié."

This appeal to long-lastingness is to be placed beside the many made on stone, the famous one in Horace’s Odes, which may have as its focus “text” rather than materially, physically written marks.

S 949.5 BYZ c. CON (1966–) ANL Byzantine Acts Préambules Byz.


The most similar word is badtha, adverb also common, badthh. The metre typical of real or simulated extemporisation was, pre-islamically, rajaz, see *Ullmann & Heinrichs. "Genres" in which both these could be found were the camel-driver’s song (hidat?), cradle songs, curses/stories. See Ullmann Untersuchungen zur Rägazpoezie Wiesbaden 1966 for the thematics and the genres. However, some sources mention improvisation (irtijal/badtha) in connection with non-rajaz metres. The only native work directly on this seems to be that of 19C

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As noted in *Kuka (Addenda), the chain composition of a long work, and especially the alternate, "capping" style of composition, common in many cultures, may have led to the development of isolated quatrain form in China and perhaps to epigram-like forms elsewhere. See IDJÄZA in EI² *Vajda & Goldziher & Bonebakker.

Arab improvisation  *Irtijäl

Bonnard and Dru, M. & E. le Les Rituels de mort dans la Chine ancienne Dynastie des Tcheou 700 à 200 av. J.-C. Paris 1986 N.B. French System Tcheou = WG Chou = Pin Yin Zhou A selection of the three early rituals in translations made by others. There is an index of very large characters important for the survey, with French and Pin Yin romanisations. A valuable element of the book is the characterisation of the Three Rituals, notably the *Li Ji, as "rolling compilations", which remain open, and thus incomplete.

GT 3283 B65 Chinese Burial Chou death ritual


*For Bede

Bonomo ?, Lorenzo (at least he was the writer of the preface) Le parole in medicina: epigrammi, aforismi, frasi e brani sul medico, la salute, la malattia. Roma 1988 Almost all are prose quotes, from authors ancient and modern YYp 610.2 P257 Italian Epigram in medicina


Boratav, P.N. Mâni (Ar. ma'nâ), a form of Turkish popular poetry in EI² Vol.VI p.420–421 1988 1991 = fasc 105–106 of 1988 See Addenda Turkish Poetry Mani-Bor


Bosch, Frederik David Kan 1887–1967 Een Oorkonde van het Groote Klooster te Nalanda door... Weltevreden 1925 [Bound with many other offprints of this period in Indonesie Mélanges. See Coedès Mélanges for a list by order of appearance in the present binding.] COE 413 ANL Asian Indian Epigraphy


Bose, Nirmal Kumar Canons of Orissan Architecture 1932 Architectural prescription based on the local Silpasastras Indian Architecture Oriyan Canons


Boudiba, A. La sexualité en Islam Paris 1975 non vidi sed de eo legi Deals with the concept of "ritual status" which is of interest for the virulence of abuse in a culture which prioritises extremely elevated forms of expression and behaviour. Invective was literatised as hijâr, which is quite equivalent to Roman-Greek skeptic "epigram". Though I have been unable to gather any common range of lengths for hijâr, it is termed "short" both by ancient and by modern commentators on Arabic poetry. Does the poetry of

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praise generally lend its forms to the poetry of blame?

_Elevation degradation_

Bourgain, P. *Poésie lyrique latine du Moyen-Âge* Paris 1989 Latin Medieval Poetry

M-A lyrique

Bourne, Vincent *The Poetical Works of Vincent Bourne* London and Oxford 1826

Bourne was very highly regarded in some circles, and Cowper’s adulatory comments are on the title page of this prestige edition: “I love the memory of Vinny Bourne. I think him a better Latin poet than Tibullus, Propertius, Ausonius, or any of the writers in his way, except Ovid, and not at all inferior to him.” It is useful to have Mark Storey’s critique of Bourne (Ch.V of *Binns 1974*).

Latin Modern Poetry Works

Bouteiller, Marcellle *Littératures indiennes d’Amérique de nord* in Queneau 1967 p.1513–1523 1965 Amerindian Amerindian

Bowden, J. *The Epitaph Writer: Consisting of Upwards of Six Hundred Original Epitaphs, Moral, Admonitory, Humorous and Satirical...* Chester (non vidi, sed exempli causa) 1791 English Epigram Burial Epitaph Writer

Bowra, Maurice Sir *Primitive Song* London 1962 Poetry Song


Boyce, Mary *An Old Village Dakhma of Iran* in Gignoux– 1974 p.3–9 1974 Persian Middle Epigraphy Old dakhma


P. 56 Collected epigrams on the death of the brothers Brandon.

See also p. 44, 94, 187. Also p. 340 — Since Landor, e.g., after 1864.

P. 77 “Epigram” in the 16C a broad term indeed.

879.1 Syd. Fish. Latin Modern Poetry Musae Anglicanae


Thousands of MS epigrams from the 15C are mentioned but not treated. This is a fatal flaw in any study of poetry in this early period of printing. Printed editions were for at least a century not the commonest nor the most prestigious way of circulating one’s verse, see *Tottell, *Carlson, and John *Donne. By 1490 there were a few entire books of printed epigram, and more around 1500. Topicality was no doubt one virtue of epigram form, and there were many stone models visible or easily available in collections, see *Saxl. A clear idea of “epigram” is lacking. Campanus 11477 wrote epigrams of 30, 50 and 100 lines. Bradner confesses to ignorance of Medieval epigram (p.199), unfortunately without elaborating on possible paths out of this sorry state. He mentions that epitaphs were a form favoured in the 15C “epigram”, which fills in a gap in our own coverage, see *Gröber. Encomia on famous figures of the past or famous cities of the present were apparently felt to be a distinct form.

These do not appear in series in the 15C, but scattered. The influence of Cato and Ausonius was joined at least in the later decades of the century by the API, appearing in Italy by the 1460s, and printed 1494. Many of its themes do not appear in the Italian 15C but do appear in More, who is also credited with the first English pointed epigram (see Wharton quoted in *Nixon p.59*). Campanus was the first Humanist to choose to print in several volumes, but his book 1 was mostly composed of love poems (frequent in the 15C) and epitaphs. Cantalicius printed 14 books of

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epigrams, Codrus one only, and that a small one. Despite the mastery of distich and quatrain form shown by Politian and his rival Marullus, the former’s occasional poetry was a small percentage of his work, and not published separately. The latter did publish separately ca. 1490, which was rare before 1500. Florence and Naples felt Greek influence the most. Brief, pointed poems (p.211) were a counterweight to the love elegy and other forms, not doubt filling some sort of generic gap, but the themes were limited, and tended to be lyric, not satyric. Medieval style (presumably rhyme) is said to have finally disappeared about mid-century. We have seen it in *Petrarch’s *Imperiosa situ... 

Having placed indirect AP influence and Cato on the level of that of Martial or above it, it is unfortunate that Bradner cannot do more than name possible Medieval influences, or otherwise explain the Humanist passion for epigram. Others assume that the satiric and topical possibilities of the tradition were suited to the innovative but threatened position of the early Humanists, trying to break a scholastic stranglehold on secretarial and ambassadorial positions, see *Draper and Person, Northern Humanism, and Italian Humanism, but it would seem from Bradner that early Humanist epigram was not very satirical. If this is true, taste must have changed before the corpora of More and Celtes, both keen satirists in the late medieval manner, only the former published in his own lifetime.

Latin Modern Epigram Italian 15C Epigram

Detailed, extensive and recent.  
850.3 4A Italian DCLI

Brand, Gerd *Die Lebenswelt, eine Philosophie des konkreten Apriori*. Berlin 1971  
A surprisingly rare book-length treatment of "the concrete", the "existential", for which the exploratory terminology is so abstract and difficult. When "literature" operates on this level it is also hard to speak about. It is easier to deal with the typical, the decontextualised, the "essential", or even the very different concreteness of ritual or dead habit, to which "social gesture" literature may sometimes be assigned. The aesthetics of "occasional" literature needs an entirely new cut to be sliced (rather similar to Frank Birch *Brown's* 1990 trailblazing ride through many strata of modern philosophy concerning the aesthetics of religious expressivity), but it also needs to be based on more fundamental sociological and philosophical theory.

My Book Philosophy Lebenswelt

Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, W. & M. *Handbuch des Altpersischen* Wiesbaden 1964  
Persian Old Altpersischen

Brasch, R *Permanent Addresses, Australians Down Under* Sydney 1987  
Australian Burial Epigraphy Down Under 1

Australian Burial Epigraphy Down Under 2

See under *Allison..., *Holzmann, *Barbier, *Passano and *Shaw... details of our bibliographic search for titles like "Horae... (sc, Vergiliane, Paulinae...) and what links these languid titles (of quite dense and tense books, most commonly) to the status of occasional poetry and epigram.  
P.182 has many 18C tides from America: Horae lyricae: 1741 (4833); 1748 (6263); 1750 (6620); 1762 (9299 & 9300); 1772 (12604); 1777 (15702); 1781 (17422) 1790 (23041); 1792 (24988 & 24989); 1793 (26439); 1795 (29845); 1798 (34966). Horae solitariae or, Essays upon some remarkable names and titles of Jesus Christ (this book from London) 1799 (36289). 13 such titles in 60 years, and there were to be 16 in the next 20 years in America.  
Bibliography 18C American of Charles Evans

Studies in Literature and Religion  
The "religious" expressions for which Brown tries to provide both intuitive assessments and an up to date theory and analysis are modern. However, Much of his discussion provides a window on general aesthetics. The early (Greek) epigram was probably highly religious in any case. Medieval and Modern "epigram" has often had strong religious strands, and the strong element of practice in religion brings its "aesthetics" close to the unwritten 

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aesthetics of occasional literature.

My Book Philosophy Religious Aesthetics

Brown, Michelle P. Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts London 1991

It is better to take Irish, English and other documents from what is now GB-and-Eire all under the same heading, "Insular". The connection of the prestige book with christianisation is clear in the North. P.2 has a picture of the careful writing on the early 7C Springmount Bog tablets, showing selections from the Psalms. P.8 mentions the popularity of the works of the great romanising scholars Bede and Adhelm. P.25 deals with the mechanisms of book production, mainly in the monasteries, by the better products of monastic schools. Lectors and scriptors were the job classifications, best respected by the Irish, and in that culture the 'hero-scribe' was a major figure. Thus, it is the Irish colophons which more freely mention individuals: Wigbald, Cuthbercht, Godeman, Aelsinus, and especially Eadui Basan, monk of Christ Church Canterbury, mid 11C. From the late 9C patrons were more readily recorded as well, but book owners were seldom mentioned (p.27 for some notable owners who were). P. 30 deals with the content and type of books. Important for us is the p.34 mention of the 10C trend towards making poetic anthologies. Adhelm and Tatwine's Latin Riddles were designed, apparently, to teach proper prosody as well as to divert a readership apparently used to vernacular riddling. P.36 displays a magnificent 10C copy of the Riddles of Adhelm (ca.700). P. 39 shows f.78 of the less well illustrated Exeter Book of vernacular verse. It was prayer and Gospel books that were the most adorned. The chapter ends with many examples of more pragmatic literacy, thus overlapping with the book of Historical Documents, chief among which is for us the p.45 Laws of Ine of Wessex, drawn up between 688 and 694, and imitated by Alfred. See above for their mention of an oath at a grave, which proves that some graves were distinguishable and findable. 7C laws also survive from various Kentish rulers. As we have also noted elsewhere, few of them mention anything connected with burials or graves, except as regards the crime of grave robbing. P.46 begins a short chapter on materials and techniques, notable pictures of styli occurring on p. 49, with the claim that wax tablets were continuously in use "almost up to the present century". They could be used as "exotic, formal items" it appears, not just as mundane things. Like the rarer tablet finds, many of these excavated styli are elaborately carved, no doubt another piece of evidence for the formality and craft-specificity of the writing act in that culture. See below for the rarity of anything like an informal letter before the 15C, and in our Addenda (Middle Ages and Early modern). *Pritchard for an account of late medieval graffiti around Cambridge, whose line and lettering reminds us of the work of the best manuscripts of the time, and which is so different from what we call graffiti today. The early bindings, now mostly lost, were of heavy board. One late 7C binding which did survive is pictured on p.47. It is covered with tooled leather. There are no words visible on the outside, nor would we expect any. The binding technique is not the normal one which scholars reconstruct for early England but resembles what was common in Coptic Egypt! P. 46 shows in colour f.V of the late 7C Codex Amiatinus, so-called because it ended up in Italy at Monte Amiato and its classicising style long disguised its Anglo-Saxon origin. It was made in this Italianate style perhaps because its destinee was intended to be the Pope. Above a full page picture (though the framed scene does not go very close to the edges of the vellum page) of the Scribe Esra, writing in a large folio codex (rested on his knee) seated in front of an open cupboard with five, forward-tilted shelves well covered (flatly) with large red books, and surrounded with the furniture and the tools of his trade, we can hardly fail to be pulled up by an off-centre couplet:

Codicibus sacris hostili clade perustis
Esdra dò fervens hoc reparavit opus

What two syllables lie hidden in the abbreviation do? Surely not deum!? Notably this is an elegiac couplet, the only words on the illustrated page, and sits prominently above and to the left of a framed scene of the famous Hebrew Scribe. When one finds such verses listed in MGH or in Migne there is little indication of their intended prominence or function in their original context.

My Book Graphemics Epigram AS MSS


The native and fairly recent tradition of the artistically illustrated book (in multi-colour printing) interests us mainly from the point of view of the relationships of poem to picture. Because of the extremely high quality of the colour reproductions of this period, we may take the illustrated book as more representative of all painting than would be the case in any other country or period. While not compulsory, it is common to have a poem (in Japanese, short) and a colour picture on the same page, or on facing pages. The relationship of these and their respective priority varies, often according to "school". The haiku is a common form of poetry to add to an image, or vice versa. See Addenda.

My Book Japanese Art Poetry Japanese illustrations


V I p.83 introduces Baba Tahir's quatrains, with the not uncommon suggestion of "dialect" or folk connections Non-Classical
for this native Persian genre. V II p.22 goes into verse forms, initially repeating what is basic Arabic orthodoxy: The bayt (dwelling, building, pl. in prosodical/poetical meanings abyat, pl. in other meanings buyut, see Pellat, Khayma, for the real tent) is the theoretical basic unit, a long line of 8 feet or 6 feet for the most part. It is made up of two "flaps" or doors, each called a misraa’, balancing around the caesura, which are given independence as "lines" themselves in Browne’s account p.22–23, taken from Rückert, Gladwin and ultimately from the Haft Qulzum. The fard is really the basic unit, though called a "hemistich", technically and metrically a misraa’. The qi’ra is here said to be a fragment of bayt length, and both bayt and misraa’ can be quoted and composed as little independent works (p.25). The differing attitudes to what is the basic line in Persian verse (short lines predominate, it seems, in folk verse), leads to the four-liner called the Ruba’i overlapping with the Dubayti, or two liner. Browne writes p.25: “It would therefore seem to me much better to render bayt by “verse” and misraa’ by “half-verse,” though there would be no objection to continuing to call the bayt, or verse, stichos; in which case the ruba’i, or quatrains, which consists of four hemistichs, or two stichoi (hence more accurately named by many Persians dubaiü), would be the distich.” The Ruba’i has half line patterns of great regularity (given the essential symmetry of Persian abyat (bayt-s) around their caesura, and the vocalic supplements allowed in poetic pronunciation, and the fact that the first half line of each nominal bayt is as calectactic as the second suggests that there are in fact four lines of 11 syllables of strict quantitative pattern, with only the rhyme schemes allowing for some variation. The name Ruba’i seems to fit some rhyme schemes more than others, though I doubt that usage was strict. P. 259 confuses the issue by mentioning in the plural: “usual Ruba’i metres”. It explicitly states that Ruba’iyat are not composed in a series. It seems that the manuals at least had names for five line poems, and so on up to ten line poems presumably counting the shorter lines of three or four feet (called by the Arabs the tent pegs which give the desert dwelling both its usability and its style, watad). The lack of a commonly found 5 foot bayt suggests at least a need for symmetry around the caesura, or a native sense that poetic lines were shorter than those which Arab theory and court practice had brought to Iran. The possibility of a rhyme (monorhyme) not only at end of bayt but even at half bayt in Arabic verse further confuses the issue of the basic building blocks of stichic verse in Persian, and most of it is stichic. Epic narrative rhymes consistently in half-line couplets, i.e., aa, bb, cc. Vol. II p.246 treats four early practitioners of the Ruba’i, ‘Umar Khayyam, Baba Tahir, Abu Sa’id and al-Ansari.

More confusion about the Ruba’i stems from the four Arabic lines said to have been engraved upon the tombstone of Abu Sa’id: "I ask thee, nay, command thee,... To carve upon my tombstone...". Trabulsi p.237 mentions that Arabic literary critics (bound to even more normative treatiments than were the late Antique Greeks) ignored much of what was actually being written in their times, thus the gnomic verse that he specifically mentions presumably included poems as short as this (based on our expectations of the length of versified proverbs, and from the shortness of gnomic verse in India and in Greece). There is however no canonical Arabic form of this length, though Arabic poems were often dismembered for their “best” verses. And while verses are not uncommonly said to have been placed on tombs of famous Pirs (Abu Sa’id was an early Sufic poet), and even taken from their own works, this is the first I have found which is possibly a deliberate self-epitaph.

On closer investigation of the English (all that is given) it appears not only that it was not the full poem that was intended for inscription, but that the whole self-epitaph topos may be fictional or at least not strictly intended. Where poetry commonly treats topics of death and burial, literary fantasies about one’s tomb may be expressed in ways that are indistinguishable from a self-epitaph but which were not intended as such. Of course, when some extract from the poet’s works is being sought for his tomb’s epigraphy, ambiguous topoi like “bury me this way...”, or “People will say at my grave...” are likely to gain a new function. It must however be admitted that for the “ask, nay command” of Abu Sa’id to have originated in a non-epitaphic poem, there would have to been have been a pre-existing sub-tradition of fictional epitaphs to prepare the reader/listener for a fictionalising interpretation. Thus, we have either the evidence for a once considerable body of fictional poetic epitaphs, or a very famous and inevitably influential example of a real poetic epitaph of four lines by a saint famous for his four line poems. What we do not know is how normal this practice was.

I gather from the reference that the author of Halät u Sukhanän quoted what he thought was the whole of Abu Sa’id’s epitaph, but so far I have never found in epigraphic collections any four line poem inscribed on a normal Muslim grave before the modern period, Arabic, Persian or Turki. The versified Persian funerary epitaphs which I have actually noted in photograph or transcript tend to be of Ghazzal length, i.e., reach double figured numbers of (short) lines.

Persian Persian Literature

Brunel, J Le Parnasse latin moderne ou choix des meilleurs morceaux des poètes latins qui se sont le plus distingués depuis la renaissance des lettres, avec la traduction française et des notices biographiques 2 vols Lyons 1809

Latin Modern Epigram Parnasse latin

Brunhöltzl, Franz Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters erster Band von Cassiodor bis zum Ausklang der karolingischen Erneuerung Munich 1975

Latin Medieval Mittelalter Br.

Buchanan has been better treated than Owen. The *d'Estouteville reforms* at the University of Paris were promulgated in 1452 and gradually enforced over the next 40 years. They laid great emphasis on Latin verse writing as a means of improving the general standard of Latin. I would like to get my hands on Thomas Gaisford's 1837 *Scriptores Latini rei metricae* for texts which were not in Keil. Ford's introduction is excellent on the changing standards of Renaissance Latin versification. Artes poeticae were much rarer, he says, than artes versificatoriae. He lists quite a few. P. 13 notes that Classical genres were adequate for 16C cultural needs in prose, but not in poetry. An interesting comparative glimpse is given by the following event and its associated texts:

Buchanan writes in Fratres fraterrimi 34: "I translated an old epigram written in Scots into Latin verse." The so-called epigram has fully 50 lines (it is by Dunbar), and although it is made to fit into 40 l.l. of elegiacs, there is one section where Buchanan shows how much the Renaissance was conscious of inscriptions:

5... /I n haly legendes haif I hard allevin,/ Me sanctis of bischoppis, nor freiris, be sic sevin / Off full few freiris that hes bene sanctis I reid;/ Quhairfor ga bring to me ane bischopis weid,/ Gife evir thow wald my saule zeid unto Hevin./

This is supposed to match line 29 ff. of the Somnium: / Pervia sed raris sunt coeli regna cucullis,/ Vix Monachis illic creditur esse locus/ Mentior, aut peragra saxo fundata vetusto/ Delubra, et titulos per simulacralege:/ Mutus honoratis fulgebis episcopus aris,/ Rara cucullato sternitur ara gregi./

Ford is also interesting on the imitatio debate and on occasional verse and epigram. If epigram is taken to be a literary reality, it overlapped with traditions of occasional verse, school composition practices, the widespread custom of illustrative or merely indulgent poetic citations, popular literary short forms of various types in different countries, Martial, Cato, and for many, Planudes' selection of Greek epigrams. See p. 62 ff.

879.1 B918 X 1/1 Syd. Fish. Latin Modern Epigram Works


P. 440 inscriptions. More than 300 of the corpus of 1286 have verbal inscriptions, and Hallo tries to treat "the seal inscription as an inscriptive genre", a task long despised by students of more recent cultures. The seal cutter was a BUR.BUL.

42 texts are of doubtful reading for this literary purpose, 26 are not treated, 291 end up being analysed in the tables constituted by Hallo. 359 were originally considered for treatment.

No 681 is the longest text noted.


f CD 5344 B75 Cuneiform Seal Early Cuneiform Seals

Buckley, John *Epigrams* 1985 [Chamber Music]
p.167 BGM '88 Musical Epigram Epigram B

Buddharakkhita, Sri A. ed. *Dhammapada* Bangalore 1986

Indian Dhammapada


Art Chinese Art far east


The period treated is the 8/9C, Alcuin's age. P. 178 J. T. Lang promises a 'future account of sculptural stones'. P.179. The importance of the traditions from Tours. St. Martin's alleged "late 5C tomb inscription". Burial *ad sanctos* there as early as the +5C and +6C.

P.180–181 City burials well studied, rural burials less so (the latter presumably involve more Pagans). By the

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end of the +11C even rural deaths were usually buried in the graveyard of a village church. Presumably this was a change from the tribal Feldfriedhofen. Cf. Rahtz, Dickinson, Watts *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries* 1979.

P. 183 5/6C Germanic invasion from the NW brings the rural or "field" cemetery and the "row-grave". Peculiar to South England at this time, say about 600CE, is a pattern of individual mounds. But (p. 185) from about 700CE the Germanic lands themselves saw the change from the *Feldfriedhof* to churchyard burial.

P. 185 The writings of Gregory of Tours are "full of (references to) tombs”. However, in the law codes of pre-Carolingian times there are few references to graves and burial places. When reference is made to these, it is normally only in discussions about grave robbing. Such references to tombs are not much more frequent in the Anglo-Saxon law codes.

P. 186 In the +8C the word *tumulus* refers to any sort of burial place. *Coemiterium* derives from Tertullian (in Latin).

P. 187 n° 24: "Pre-Christian Latin prefers to speak of the individual tomb, though Catullus, (and no-one else) uses sepulchre for "burial area". Coemiterium, from the Greek for "sleeping chamber", occurs first in Tertullian; but as a glance at any Medieval Latin dictionary or word-list will show, it is much rarer in early medieval texts than one might suppose — *as I believe, because the church graveyard was itself uncommon…".

Actually, the plural used by Catullus might indicate "in among the individual tombs", collectively:

Carmina, poem 59, verse 2:

LIX
Bononiensis Rufa Rufulum fellat,
uxor Meneni, saepe quam in sepulcretis
vidistis ipso rapere de rogo cenam,
cum devolutum ex igne prosequens panem
ab semiraso tunderetur ustore.


Comparing Pagan and Christian habits: the Pagan cemetery was unconsecrated and extendable, while the Christian one was a consecrated and a definable precinct. However, while there are 190 surviving texts for consecrating cemeteries, they are Carolingian and 10C. So perhaps doubt still remains on the early differences between Pagan and Christian.

Note the final important quote for the barbarian and other areas:

"Burial is a matter of public concern in defence of private and kin right.” This applies to all of Germanic Europe, particularly the early Danish State, to the Athens of the Ath. Pol., and to +8C Japan (*Macê*). No doubt it is a very widespread use of burial monuments (or, if no monument, of carefully preserved folk *memories* of burial).

**Burial Medieval** *Early medieval burial*

Buonarotti and Testori and Barelli, Michelangelo & Giovanni & Ettore Michelangelo Buonarotti

*Rime introduzione di Giovanni Testori, cronologia, premessa e note a cura di Ettore Barelli*


The Rime ed. G. Testori Milan 1981 (text from Girardi’s 1960 edition, Bari) are a revelation. Most superficially they provide vernacular Renaissance examples of three notable things: quatrains, the "speaking tomb" (to which I was led to them, by Panofsky’s article), and a less definable but no less real thing, the poem as sculpture, rather than as picture (or as song, or as story). Very important to our search for the genesis of Renaissance epigram, and its offshoots, is the editorial dispute over a terzina at the end of 17 scribbled lines of the '20s. Three terzine come first, (n° 37) then two quatrains, rhyming suitably for a sonnet, to be immediately followed by a single quatrains (making n° 38). Guasti felt that the initial terzine were to be placed under the quatrains to make a sonnet, and the final triplet taken as separate, "un epigramma a sé", but Girardi kept the order of writing, especially as n° 38 is in red pencil, and n° 37 is pennè.

That notable editors would suspect a triplet "epigram" and call it epigram is of interest in this period. The triplet itself is startling enough, apparently equivocating on the various meanings of concetto, (idea/ideal picture, offspring/by-product, perhaps even literary "conceit" and artistic elaboration, though one would expect this to be more appropriate to the reverse relationship: "beauty" being the artistic elaboration of a more essential "love"), and also platonisng the imperious love praised and absolutised in the same red pencil just above, without any of the obscurities of the preceding lines:

...?/ Amore è un concetto di bellezza
immaginata o visto dentro al core,
amica di virtù e gentilezza //...? 

This does fulfill all that Michelangelo's age would expect of epigram, though its sting in the head would not have suited the Baroque taste in epigrams, and epigrams in terza rima do seem to be very rare until more recent times, and rare enough even now.

And speaking of love: the great man with the guilty half-secret wrote 48 separate epitaphs (quatrain), a madrigal and a sonnet for young Cecchino (Francesco) Bracci † 8 Jan 1544 at the age of 15 years, all poems composed that year and sent piecemeal to the boy's uncle, Luigi del Ricchio. Here the extraordinary number of
reworkings of a basic theme is partly to be explained through forces commonly operant in the process of short poetry itself, and partly in human terms, as the knotty little poems were no doubt intended more to assuage grief than to eternise the mignon. Seriously or not, M. claimed he would eventually write a "thousand" of them.


n° 179 (the first written, it seems)
Se qui son chiusi i begli occhi e sepolti
anzi tempo, sol questa ne conforta:
che pietà di lor vivi era qua morta;
or che son morti, di lor vive in molti. (Sc. ... che quando i suoi occhi erano vivi, taceva quella pietà che ora, che son morti, fanno vivere in tanti.)

N° 179–191 are all quatrains, like this, many mentioning the eyes. The first to be explicitly erotic is n° 182:

182 Non volse Morte non ancider senza
l'arne degli anni e de' superchi giorni
la bélta che qui giace, acció c'or torni
al ciel con la non persa sua presenza
(sc. La morte non volle uccidere con l'arma degli anni e della vecchiaia la bellezza che qui giace
affinché essa tornasse al cielo col suo aspetto intatto)

In many poems Bracchi himself speaks, in others his remains speak, generally, or, in 219, his head. In n° 212, 214 & 216, at least, the tomb speaks:

212 Perc'all'altru' ferir non ave' pari
col suo bel volto il Braccio che qui serro,
morte vel tolse e fecel, s'io non erro,
perc'a lei ancider toccava i men chiairi.
[ sc. Poichè il Braccio che qui serro non aveva rivali nel ferire altrui col suo bel volto, la morte ve
lo portò via e lo fece, se non erro, perché altrimenti a lei non sarebbe rimasto che uccidere i
meno belli]

—Michelangelo adds to 214, in the autograph: «La sepoltura parla a chi legge questi versi. Cose goffe; ma a uoler ch'i' ne facci mille è forza che ci sia d'ogni cosa», and thus he regarded this ancient topos, the "speaking tomb", as strange and unusual in his culture and day.

214 Era la vita vostra il suo splendore:
di Ceccin Bracci, che qui morto giace.
Chi nol vide nol perdε e vive in pace:
la vita perde chi l'vide e non muore.
[Lo splendore di lui che qui giace era la vostra vita. -- chi non vide, non l'ha perduto e vive in
pace; chi l'vide e gli è sopravvissuto, ha perduto ogni senso della vita]

216 Qui serro il Braccio e sua bélta divina
e come l'ama al corpo è forma e vita
è quello a me dell'opera alta e gradita;
c'un bel coltello insegna tal vagina.

This poem was supposed to be written "Sopra il deposito", as the autographed note says, i.e., over the "tomba", which again speaks. [... e come l'anima è forma e vita al corpo, così il Braccio è ciò che ha mosso l'artista a far di me, sepolcro, un'opera alta e gradita: ché dalla guaina si può presumere la bellezza del coltello.]

Note the use that *Panofsky makes of these poems in his works on ET IN ARCADIA EGO..., where it is question of a speaking object, or, as was later more commonly assumed, of a speaking deceased person.

And again, the premature gnarledness of Michelangelo's poetic style, more like that of a sculptor than that of a writer of his age, reminds us of the on-rushing Baroque. No doubt it was not imitated from any literary model, but rather dragged up, "originally", out of the depth of need of a most troubled spirit.

My Book  Epigram Italian  Rime


p.212, oral or on marble, a good epigram made the fame of the composer in the fame-hungry Renaissance. Guido da Polenta was overwhelmed with offers for the inscription(s) for Dante's grave, see Boccaccio Vita de (di?) Dante p.36. Also, for (and on?) the grave of Archbishop Giovanni Visconti †1354 there were 36 Hexx done by

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Gabrius di Zamoreis, and Burckhardt states that there was apparent in the 14C and 15C the gradual building up of a new genre under the influence of Martial and Catullus. For debates about the early influence of Catullus see Meteer.

A sign of the importance of self advertisement both of poet and of patron was the price of 600 ducats paid to Sannazaro for those famous three distichs praising that increasingly fame-hungry Republic.

Epigram and epitaph were genres open to intense public scrutiny. Rome was the city of inscriptions and epigrams (p.213), Pius II and Campanus, satiric epigrams Alexander VI, Leo X (standard form for publicity and for real or fictive occasions and situations), Paul III. After him the Roman fashion faded (for literary epigram), but inscribed poetry was still done in this general style till mid 17C. 120 authors offered poems for exposure on Andrea Sansovino’s painting Mater Dei, Sancta Anna e Gesù.

Back to the all-important Venice: the mottoes in the Doge’s palace, called brieve, gave the cursus honorum of the eulogised person and were in length only 2-4 x Hx. In the 14C they had been in prose with effusive Hxx (often Leonine) added. In the 15C the style became more recherché. In the subsequent periods bombast was common, and finally there were a few late epigrams.

P.214 North of the Alps inscriptive poetry long had little space to develop. Gothic tombstones were inscribable only around their edges. Thus it seems that Italy has to be treated separately in the history of late medieval epigram and inscribed poetry. This would certainly be the case after the short lived Roman republic of Cola di Rienzo.

Latin Modern Epigram Neulateinische Poesie

Burgess, Frederick English Churchyard Memorials London 1979 SCM?

As is indicated by its inclusion in a recognised scholarly series, this is a definitive overview of many more partial and amateur studies of English Churchyards, i.e., the preindustrial period of burial, or at least, the pre-Reform period, before 19C public cemeteries took over from the smaller church burial grounds after the explosion of urban population caused by the Industrial Revolution. The book reads just like this. Churchyards continued to the present day in the countryside, of course. See Kenneth *Lindley 1965.

P. 216 has a chapter on Inscriptions and Epitaphs. The great English antiquarians of funeral epigraphy were, in order: Stow 1598, Camden 1617, WEEVER (q.v.) 1631, Le Neve 1718–1729, and Gough 1786–1799. The best reviews of epigraphical literature are rather old: Pettigrew’s Chronicles of the Tombs 1857 and T.E. Ravenshaw’s Antiente Epitaphes 1878, but so are the corpora they treat, so they may not be easily surpassed.

P.218 takes us back to the Anglo-Saxon Ruthwell Cross (See Elliott RUNES) which has engraved on it in runes part of the OE poem the Dream of the Rood. Burgess interprets this to be the cross “speaking” the poem, rather like the Greek speaking stele.

P.208 "Most Anglo Saxon and Danish monuments are uninscribed, and with few exceptions this is also the case with churchyard monuments of the medieval period." Of course, from the late 11C the plaques inside churches commonly receive at least a flat relief engraving of the torso of the deceased. Apparently they had a cross and a name before that, and indeed, plaques and slabs inside churches would commonly seem to have been inscribed with at least these two elements, from their inception. Burgess does not comment on the early period very much and does not indicate his sources.

P.248n° 39 Latin tags were common mainly in the Midlands, on slate stones, and with the rare couplet, e.g., for James Rubens 1761 at Grantham Lines:

// Tu memor humanae Sortis qui tollite eosdem //
Et premit, incertas ipse verere vices //

731.760942 3 Syd Fish Burial Art Epigraphy English gravestones


There are several excursus in this volume.


V.11 p.97, also p.370–402: Donative Inscriptions from Sānci. I have transcribed a selection of the larger series (see Addenda), Tope I n°1–378, Tope II 1–78, i.e., from an additional sub-corpus of 456 inscriptions which are unusual in that many are donations by monks and nuns, who must have begged wealthy persons to supply the resources for such architectural donations.

More foundations for a rethink of the artistic nature and varied purposes of functional literature. The most relevant to a previous stage of this thesis was a presentation and criticism of the mutually exclusive ways

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philosophers and philologists treat the study of proper names.

My Book Philosophy Speech Acts


Australian Burial Epigraphy Genealogy

Burns, Robert see Currie


2nd rev. ed

P.108/9 mention the popularity of epigram in the author’s time (Jonson is being discussed), and implies the lack of interest in “modern times” in such a genre. Jonson’s poetry is divided into the songs interspersed in his dramatic works (plays and masques), and the independent poetry: epigrams, lyrics and reflective pieces. Jonson pronounced the epigrams as “the ripest of my studies”, but Bush tacitly disagrees, without any attempt to explain the difference in 17C and 20C taste, much less to criticise the latter. He mentions as Latin epigrammatists Campion and Owen, and as epigrammatists in English: Sir John Davies, Guilpin, Bastard, Harington, Weever, Donne, Peacham, Parrot, Davies of Hereford, Rowlands, and “Jonson’s despised Heath”. In most of these writers the epigram inclined more or less toward social satire and a popular manner”, but Jonson was the most serious, complete, artistic and original disciple of Martial, and “a Roman epigrammatist in temper”, writing his plays and even his lyrics in terms of the epigram. One would have thought from this that it merited more attention.

English Bibliography Early 17C

Bush, Geoffrey 1920– *Epigrams for piano* Stainer & Bell London 1987 original ca. 1952?
in BCM '88 p. 79 mu 880700 7 786.2
MUS B015/4173 ANL Musical Epigram Epigram B


P.479–12/–10C: a “standard form” of Middle Babylonian epitaph running to 7 lines of German, with blanks for names. The custom of writing public epitaphs for the monuments of the dead seems to have arisen late in the -2 Mill, probably under Aramaic influence. Such cuneiform epitaphs are always very rare. See *Botéro. p.624 NFS on a South Arabian stele reminds of the extra- and post-biblical nefesh = STELE, “in which the soul of the dead dwells”.

Burial Epigraphy TUAT II/4 inscriptions


More foundations for the treatment in one, unified discourse, of cultural phenomena from different centuries. Philosophy historicité


English Epigram Bumper Crop


1925


820.9007 L695 English Epigram The Liberal

Čyževsky, Dmytro (Dmytro Chyzhev's’ki 1894–) *A History of Ukrainian Literature (From the 11th to the End of the 19th Century) Translated by Dolly Ferguson, Doreen Gorsline and Ulana Petyk. Edited and with a Foreword by George S.N. Luckyj Littleton Colo. 1975. This is a translation of "Istoriiia ukraïns'ko'liternuy vid pochativ do doby realizmu". 1975

Ukrainian and Ruthenian hived off Polish literatures, it would seem, rather distinctly by the Baroque period, whose poetry this author begins with a 10 line poem by the monk Klimentij, and epigrams on p.296ff, limited to

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couplets or quatrains, it is said, though the example quoted from the “master of secular epigram”, Ivan Velyčov's'kyj has 6 lines! Every verbal and graphic device associated with Baroque wit is to be found in Ukrainian. Epitaphs were apparently common. After the Baroque the literary language changed, and we have seen how unpopular the Baroque authors became, even inside literatures which experience seamless continuity from that time to our own.

My Book  Ukrainian  Ukrainian

Cagnat, R  Sur les manuels professionnels des graveurs d'inscriptions romaines  in Revue de Philologie XIII (1889) p. 51–65  1889  See Addenda  Cutters' manuals

Calder, W.M.  [MAMA 1] Eastern Phrygia  Manchester.  1928
Mostly grave stones, most recent dated stone in this collection 509/519 CE.

Greek Epigraphy  Phrygia

Callicle and Romano, Nicola & Roberto ed.  Nicola Callicle Carmi  Napoli.  1980
11/12C  Many on icons, some short.

Greek Byzantine epigraphy poetry  Callicles

Cambridge and Cambridge, Richard Owen  1717–1802 & George Owen  The works of Richard Owen Cambridge, esq.: ... with an account of his life and character by his son. George Owen  Cambridge  London  1803
The Epigrams p. 349–357 only, but at least they have a section to themselves. Some are translations of originals, which are provided – an old Renaissance habit! E.g., p. 355, "The following French Lines being put into Mr. Cambridge's hand, by a Friend who seemed somewhat too partial to this species of French Writing... " etc.

RB DNS 5660  English Epigram  Works

P. 59 Topham Track, West Head:  FISH // Trapped on a blue hill above blue bays / The stone shoals move one way:/ From rock ledge through the blue heads,/ It is light years to the open sea //. P. 24 BALLS HEAD // The city towers and rumbles. At Ball's Head / On a flat rock among / The wharfs and tankers at the town's back door,/ Is a carving; Jonah swallowed by the whale //. P. 33 SUBURBIA (Beacon Hill) // They built a bungalow beside the man / Of brick veneer. The trench / For the septic tank cut off the tail of the fish./ A Picasso may yet be used to bung a wall//. P. 61 America Track – West Head:  WOMAN AND WHALE // A whale blows from the sandstone, and a girl / Dreams naked in those jaws / Where she is doubly lost, for see the whale / Is sinking through the rock face like a ghost //. P. 98 Devil's Rock Maroota:  KANGAROO AND SHIP // The boomerangs hit home, yet the kangaroo,/ Shy sandstone beast,/ Is already vanishing, a sailing ship / Tattooed like a cancer on his chest.///

Aboriginal Epigraphy  Poems

Cange, C. de Fresne, Sieur du  Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Tres in Tomos digestum  Paris  1678
The fact that this 17C edition does not lemmatise the word epigram is perhaps indicative, not of the fact that the word did not “change its meaning” in the Middle Ages from the Classically evidenced one, but that it did not reliably occur at all. We have ourselves noted no more than a few occurrences, and poetic collections which are the most “epigrammatic” of the whole Middle Ages never provably seem to be called epigram by contemporaries. See *Manitius and *Gröber.

Latin Medieval  Glossarium Lat.

Canova, R.  Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab  Vatikan.  1954
(200 teilweise datierte Grabinschriften frühbyz. Zeit. Keine Berufsspangaben.)

Greek Byzantine Epigraphy  Moab

Cantarella, Raffaele  Poeti byzantini  Milan 1948  V. 1 & 2.
Nothing of obvious interest, as most poems here are medium-long.

PA 5180  C3  Greek Byzantine  Poeti Byzantini

Non-Classical

There is a recent reprint of this/these, the basis of studies of Ancient North Arabian, see also †Jobling, whose own dictionary is in press.

North Arabian *Nabatéen*


Splendours of the Baroque AGNSW 1993. This exhibition covered about 250 years of art history. Thus it was able to illustrate the arrival of the tomb painted in an arcadian setting. P.68 and 69 present and discuss the Allegorical tomb of Boyle, Locke and Sydenham, 1729, by Donato Creti (the human figures), Carlo Besoli (the architectural tomb), and Nuzio Ferraiola (the prominent arcadian landscape). The work was commissioned for the Duke of Richmond as one of the series of Allegorical Tombs dedicated to famous people, the arrangements being made by an Owen McSwiny. The same three artists did an Allegorical tomb of J. Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. Other artists in the project of this same series were Sebastiano Ricci, Piazzetta, Pittoni, Antonio Balestra, Mirandolese (i.e., Pietro Paltroniero), and Francesco Monti. Each work was painted by three artists, and thus the three elements (people, tomb and landscape) were thought of as semi-independent. Our text claims that this painting is a "prelude to the more mournful and intense memento mori 'arcadia'". We recall that Guercino and Poussin (a century apart) had as their inscription on such a scene *Et in Arcadia ego*, words whose expansion has tested the many art critics whose modern Latin is patchy. We also remember that this sort of idealisation of the landscape with ruins was strong in England, but contrasted shockingly with the realities of burial in the growing cities of that country, especially in London. It was rationalistic France that set up the first truly modern cemetery, Pére-Lachaise, and apparently, America and Scotland also realised English ideals before England itself. See *Etlin and Addenda for the poet Shenton and the Leasowes park with its garden tombs.

In the painting under discussion, the foreground is artfully scattered with figures and realia of a scholarly and scientific nature, and one figure is pointing to what should be an inscription, but no words were visible to me on the painted tomb (even on the original painting). Nor is there a genuine inscription panel in the direction in which the hand points, only a smoothly curved surface to the scrolled pediment. Yet the gesture indicates that the inscription was not secondary to the architecture, which looks massive and would have been hugely expensive to realise in stone.

My Book *Baroque Bologna*


Quotes Wilks, Goody (of course), M. Bloch and K. Basso p.216.

Graphemics *Ethno-graphemics*


Inheritance laws are complex in Zoroastrian tradition, indicating the importance of inheritance as an every-day issue. This was triggered by the extreme pressure placed on any Zoroastrian male to provide an heir. When the marriage seemed infertile, the man could contract a surrogate, a stür (or several stürTh) and so could the woman (but only one). A widow or daughter of a deceased head of household could become a stür. The author assumes that not only religious and familial reasons lie behind such elaborate arrangements (not all of which have been excerpted here), but perhaps also the confiscation of property by the state from families dying without heirs.

We believe that the written epitaph may always be suspected of taking on the functions of validation of inheritance, particularly in 10C Denmark and 8C Japan. See *Randsborg and *Macé.

Iranian Laws *Cakar Marriage*

Carlson, David R. *English Humanist books, Writers and patrons, Manuscript and Print 1475–1524* Toronto etc. 1993

The most interesting part of this new work is the prehistory of More's influential 1518 edition of his *epigrammata*. The materials from which it is made are even more varied than we suspected. Carlson adds literary to bibliographic analysis, studying the difference made to the text by the changed context (and title) of the anthology. Also of interest are his discussions of liminary verse in the early and middle Renaissance.

The work is an example of the new "study of the book", which, like our study of inscriptions and of ancient collections of epigram, tries to include in the "meaning of the text", even today, much of the original concrete context. It takes the middle English Renaissance, the period of Henry VII, when printing and manuscript were in an interesting state of competition, and the Renaissance in England was still in a formative state. It will be noted that the history of texts hereby takes on some of the procedures of the history of artworks. Epigram and visual arts are, of course, connected in many ways. Any emphasis of the concreteness of texts interests the student of epigram.

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Thus, literary sociology makes inroads on literary criticism. If one is to study inscriptions in their totality, this is of course unavoidable. Let us quote Carlson's justification p.3:

...writings exist not in the abstract, but only in the form of particular texts — real, material objects, products of the labours of various individuals, working together, within historically determined institutions and class structures. Writings always have material, social contexts that inform their meanings; the means by which pieces of writing are built and circulated are themselves meaningful, and impinge on the sense of the writings.

See Addenda # 11 for a fuller series of extracts, and incidental discussion.

Books Epigram Humanists  Humanist Books

Carpi, A.-M. Paul Fleming, de se ipso ad se ipsum Milan n.d. but printed 1973 1973?

879.1 F598 X 1/1 Syd. Fish. Latin Modern Epigram about Fleming

Casparis, J.G. de Indonesian Paleography, a History of writing in Indonesia from the Beginnings to c. AD 1500 Leiden/Köln 1975

Indonesian Indonesian Paleography

Castelvetro and Bongiorno, A. Castelvetro on the Art of Poetry An abridged translation of Lodovico Castelvetro’s Poetica d’Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta, in the editions of 1570 and 1576 (collated) NY 1984

Andrew Bongiorno’s abridged translation of Lodovico Castelvetro’s Poetica d’Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta, in the editions of 1570 and 1576, collated by the translator/editor, continuing the honoured American tradition of Renaissance studies. Obviously, I could expect only gleanings from a commentary on Aristotle, or one on any ancient poetical theorist. I was interested in 1.8, Metre does not make the poem or determine its species. 1.10 Metre conceded to oracles and for other reasons, V.5 Nomenclature, as this treats of Proper Names in poetry.

Poetics Castelvetro Art

Castro Calvo, J.Ma. Historia de la literatura Española Barcelona 1965

Very little mention of "epigram" in the index, despite the well-known taste of (later?) Spanish writers for the genre and the period covered in this volume, when epigram was European wide. A note on Ledesma Buitrago 1562–1623 is all there was to find from the index: 'Conceptos espirituales, Juegos de Noche Buena con cien enigmas, Romancero y monstruo imaginado, Epigramas y Hieroglificos'. This illustrates the bibliographic problem of the student of minor genres, particularly of occasional poetry, as epigram is well known to have been widespread in Spain. See Giulian under *Green and Ausonius, also *Nixon, and Jürgen Nowicki under *Weisz.

BELATED NOTE: The works of J.P. Sullivan on Martial spend most space on Spanish epigram and theorising, particularly Balthasar Gracián. So does an important source of Sullivan, Frank-Rutger *Hausmann.

Spanish HLEsp

CCRAI, Aspects du contact suméro-akkadien = CCRAI 9, in Genava 8 (1960) 1960

My Copy Sumerian Accadian sumero-accadian

Celtes and Foster, C. & L. Selections from Conrad Celtis (sic) 1459–1508, edited with Translation and Commentary Cambridge 1948

Latin Modern Epigram Selections

Celtes and Hartfelder, C. & K. Fünf Bücher Epigramme von Konradus Celtes Hildesheim 1963

= Berlin 1881 1881

Most modern writers use the spelling Celtis. Zedler has Celtes. Celtis will appear when the author intended the citation form (nominative case) to be Celtis, as it was traditional in book titles (and still is in Greek and Russian and other Slavonic) to put the author’s name in the genitive. I will use Celtis. The posthumously published poems of Celtes (Oden 1513) did not include his epigrams. It was only in 1813–1827 they appeared, with his Collected Works. Many are real Aufschriften, it seems. Like many other poets, he wrote his own epitaph. The poems are mostly 8 liners, elegiac, or rather long poems. There are some very long poems, but how much this mix is due to chance and the late collector, and how much it is the preference of the writer, no one may ever know. I have mentioned the un-Classical themes and tone of this early Renaissance poetry.

879.1 C166 E 1/1 Latin Modern Epigram Epigramme

Chadwick and Chadwick, H.M. & N.K. The Growth of Literature (Vol.1 Early Europe; Vol.2 Russian, Yugoslav, Early Indian, Early Hebrew; Vol. 3 Oral) Cambridge 1932–1936 1940

Growth

Non-Classical
954 C435 Indian Epigraphy *Gupta inscriptions*

Chamberlain, Robert (1607–1671) *Nocturnall lucubrations whereunto are added Epigrams and epitaphs*. S.l. 1652 [S. 1.] 1652
[2]. B? [2? p. A separate half title page preceding the Epigrams and Epitaphs gives the author's name. Page header Nocturnae Lucubrat... Prose, with verse inserts. The section of Epigrams and Epitaphs is notable for the length of most poems, say about 12 lines would be common.

mfm 791 176:18 C1815 English Epigram *Nocturnall lucubrations*

Not a single inscription was noted on these ivories — a significant finding, like most ivories other than the Islamic, see *Grabar and *Freyer-Schauenberg. Ivories (like seals) might be expected to be a preferred support for prestige or even pragmatic epigraphy.

736.6 15/1 Ivories Indian *Indian Ivories*

When one moves from Indian to European circles (even though remaining bibliographically in Bombay) the tone of writing and thought both change. Studies in Indian Temple Architecture 1975 gives a survey of the history of investigation, done by the editor, Pramod Chandra. It seems that the discipline has reacted against a purely epigraphic and instrumental use being made of architectural remains, and this means that we will expect better treatments of the architectural forms and their function, and those of the iconography, to be treated in their own right, as well (*cf. *Coomaraswami's crusade) as the meaning which such things had for their original builders and users. Where epigraphy is not a major part of such forms and functions, we may expect it to be increasingly hard to access it from studies in this discipline, but without a knowledge of the general function of the buildings and the objects, it will be impossible to rest secure that we have tried to study the full meaning of the inscriptions.

R.G. Krishnan has an article and a glossary of architectural terms in South Indian Temple Inscriptions (p.307ff).
From it we glean that in the South at least, donors had engraved on the actual part of the temple that they had "donated" their name, and the fact that this benefaction was their contribution to dharma and hope of punya.
P.315 has the term pallipadai, 13C, meaning a shrine in memory of or over the dead. Remember that the terms in this glossary have been found actually engraved, so this could be from a self-referential inscription, though it could also be from some narrative on a memorial separate from the actual grave. See *Sontheimer MEMORIAL STONES.

K.V. Soundara Rajan has an article on the stone revolution in the South in which he mentions that old inscriptions (from brick temples, and thus he assumes (p. 247) that they were prevalent before stone) were carefully recopied and bodily fixed to the revetment of veneered walls of the new structures, i.e, 9C. This happened in the very short period of a few decades.

K.R. Srinivasan (p.198) repeats the common idea that there had been a 1,000 year megalithic tradition in the South which associated shaped stone, if not with inauspiciousness, then at least with purely funerary monuments. This was broken for temple building in the very late 6C, and for making images of the gods in the mid 7C. However, everything is complicated by the early development of the Buddhist stupa, which was unashamedly funerary (a Buddha tomb) and also a shrine-temple. Thus, the dates of the spread of well-supported Buddhism and the degree to which Saivite and Vaishnava rulers were prepared to be influenced by its artistic forms constitutes a sine-qua-non for any further study by us of inscriptions on stone in India. There can be little doubt that Buddhism spread down the East coast very early.

726.1450954 5 Indian Architecture *Indian Temple*

Another part ed 1614, and a one vol. ed. 1616.

English Epigram *Chapman's Homer*


Burial Viking Epigraphy *Of death*

Chari, V.K. *Sanskrit Criticism* Delhi 1993 = Hawaii 1990

A major effort by a professor of English in the Western tradition to bring the Sanskrit rhetorical and aesthetic tradition into a form where it can be compared with the aesthetic philosophies of Euramerica.

My Book Indian Poetics *Sanskrit Aesthetics*

Non-Classical
Chevalier, Ulysse *Repertorium hymnologicum* 1988
Latin Medieval Poetry *Hymnologica*

Chhabra, Bahadur Chand *Facets of Aryan Culture* 1988 Papers collected from journals.

Non-Classical
Chicorel, Marietta  
**Chicorel Index to Poetry NY** 1975 in Anthologies and Collections: 
Retrospective  
p.504/5 epigrams, 2 epigraphs, and p.506-509 epitaphs  
English Epigram  
**Chicorel Index Poetry '75**

Chicorel, Marietta  
**Chicorel Index to Poetry [Poetry in Print] in Anthologies and Collections [in print] NY** 1974 
Vol. 5 of the Chicorel series.  
p.438 epigrams, Eng, Ital, Russ, Fr, Span, also 4 "epigraphs", and p.439 epitaphs.  
English Epigram Bibliography  
**Chicorel Index Poetry '74**

Ching, Frank  
**Ancestors, 900 Years in the life of a Chinese Family** London 1988  
The Qin (Dialectally, and in older romanisation Ching) family became prominent in the Song Dyn. and 
documentary and epigraphic records allow a continuous history of the main branches right up to the contemporary 
expatriate journalist, Hong Kong and USA, Frank Ching, whose researches are presented here. Many of the 
documents quoted are difficult of access or even unpublished, and being primarily documentary, preserve popular 
poetic practices not accessible to foreigners or even to an average Chinese, educated in standardised literary 
traditions. Couplet writing was obviously not accounted as high literature in China (though quartain writing became 
so in the Tang) but it is sufficiently evidenced in Ching’s documents to be recognisable as a universal custom. 
Funerary practice is also sporadically evidenced, and especially epigraphic and epitaphic practice. Literary epitaphs 
and laudatory biographies, and the different sorts of inscribed tablet for family shrine and for tomb (below and 
above ground) are evidenced for the capital and for the provinces where the major Chings were officials. See *Mao 
for the Tang. Public epigraphy on arches, steles, door posts and movable tablets is partially evidenced. The cult of 
composition in view of Garden inscription, surely very close to Western Epigram, is also evidenced. It must be 
remembered that Qin was a Southern family and that their local practices, and even the practice of the capital, 
cannot automatically be extended to the rest of China. Other evidence however suggests that the fairly unified high 
culture cultivated compositions for garden epigraphy all over China, and it is likely that rather similar sorts of 
poeticising were practiced, despite evidence of Southern and Capital practice differing somewhat in the Tang. What 
is likely to have shown most variation is non-official epigraphy.  

My Book Chinese **Ancestors**

Churchill and Czarnowski, W. Sir & F.B.  
**The Wisdom of Winston Churchill:** being a selection of aphorisms, reflections, precepts, maxims, epigrams, paradoxes and opinions from his 
parliamentary and public speeches 1900—1955 edited by F.B. Czarnomski [sic] Lond 1956  
All these extracts are prose, which we find significant for the growing polysemy of the term "epigram". 

329.942 CHU  
English Epigram **Churchill's**

Chyet, M.L.  
«A thing the Size of your Palm» A Preliminary Study of Arabic Riddle Structure  
Riddles, like oracles and proverbs, are suspected of stiffening the shortness of short genres in some cultures.  
Arabic Riddle **Riddle**

Chyzhevs'ki, Dmytro  
see under Cyžev'sky, Dmytro. 1975  
cross reference

Cioranescu, and Saulnier Alexandre & V.-L.  
**Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle** Paris 1959  
While it is predictable that indexes of such works mention under épigramme only books primarily concerned 
with this genre, I was astounded at how few books were mentioned. One reason for this is the variety of terms used 
for short poems, satiric or not, in French literary history. The term épigramme seems to have been rare in book 
titles. Pp. 63–68 mention it only in connection with a modern (German-language) treatment of the topic, which is 
not much for the whole 16C, so marked by the tradition of Marot!  
French Bibliography **16e C**

Cioranescu, Alexandre  
As expected, the 17C brings, if not more "epigram", at least a greater literary prominence for the genre. There 
are ten citations in the index: n° 1792, 5835, 5836, 5839, 5884, 10349, 17285, 20003, 21967 & 38034.  
Three of these (italicised) are in fact the same work. P. 162, n° 5835 is *Colletet, 1658, Paris; n° 5836 is 
*Mercier, 1653, Paris; n° 5839 is P. Nicole, 1673, apparently a second edition of the one treatise, translated from the 
Latin, mentioned in the three italicised headings, which is itself Toulouse 1689. N° 5844 is Antoine Bauderon de

*Non-Classical*
Séneçé (1643–1737) *Épigrammes et autres pièces, avec un traité sur la composition de l'épigramme* Paris 1717, and there are lot of titles including "satire" which probably also contain epigrams, but do not mention the term even in the long title. P 302 n° 10349 is the same title, Paris 1717, as the previous. P. 505 n° 17285 is interesting as not featuring the word épigramme in the titles listed for J. de Cailly, but mentioning a study of him as an epigrammatist: G. Mongréndien *Un épigrammatiste du XVIIe siècle J. de Cailly (documents inédits)* in *R[evue de] F[rance?]* I, 1931 p.300–333. What is mentioned in his long titles here is the looser term "petites poésies". P. 588, n° 20003 is interesting: Colletet (1598–1659) *Épigrammes du sieur de C, avec un discours de l'épigramme* Paris 1653. The P. Nicole treatise was actually by Germain de la Faille, and included in a posthumous book of the Martial selections of Pierre Costar (1603–1660). The title is, in full: *Recueil des plus beaux endroits de Martial, par le feu M. C, avec un traité de la beauté des ouvrages d'esprit, et particulièrement de l'épigramme, traduit en français par P. Nicole* d'une dissertation latine par le S.G.L.A.C. Toulouse 1689, 2 Voll. This last work gives the flavour of fully literatised vernacular epigram in the French Baroque.

**French Bibliography 17e C**

**Cioranescu, Alexandre** *Bibliographie de la littérature française du dix-huitième siècle* Paris 1969 Three Vols.

The index leads us only to: [Vol. 1 p. 413] Bruzen de la Martinière (Antoine - Augustin) 1682–1746, n° 14407 Nouveau recueil des épigrammatistes français anciens et modernes, avec la vie des auteurs, des notes historiques et critiques, une digression sur le stile marotique et les règles de la versification française par MBLM, Amsterdam 1702.

It is notable how often an anthology of epigrams contains a lengthy theoretical introduction or Nachwort. This fact is a pointer to the persistent strangeness of the genre in the vernacular, even though its representative texts were often indistinguishable from naturally-occurring short poetic forms.

**French Bibliography 18e C**

**Clark, Vincent Anthony** *A Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan* Melbourne 1980 Diss. University of Melbourne 1979

1197 new inscriptions from 16 sites studied and photographed 1976/7. This makes about 14,000 Safaitic texts published so far, but many of the older publications are likely to be unreliable, given the lack of information available to their editors, who may not even have had autopsy of the originals, and later scholars have reprinted and used such texts without proper photographs and hand copies, and without the opportunity to revisit the sites. Clark's introduction gives a history of study and issues many warnings about use of the current corpus. P.31ff. discusses the debates over the funerary nature of cairns. That of Hani and of S'd the son of $bh are said to be certainly funerary, but many others cannot be called funerary with any certainty. They would not all have been, in any case.

**492.7 63/1 Syd Fish North Arabian New Safaitic**

**Clarke, R.S.J.** *Gravestone Inscriptions* Belfast 1966–

*English Epigraphy Burial Ulster epitaphs*

**Claus, Manfred ed.** *Epigraphische Studien: Sammelband mit Beiträgen von Manfred Claus et al.* Köln 1976 Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn Latin inscriptions in Germany YY 411.7 E54 Latin Epigraphy *German Latin*

**Clements, J.** *Family History and Tombstones* in Burkhardt 1986 p.98–117 1986

*English Australian Burial Epigraphy Downs Tombstones*

**Clermont-Ganneau, Ch.** *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémite* ? 1900– Vols 1–V? About a quarter of the fascicules are missing from the Fisher bound volumes, including some which contained indices.

**492.016 3 Semitic Epigraphy RES**

**Clobery, Christopher** *Divine glimpses of a maiden muse being various meditations and epigrams on several subjects: with a probable cure of our present epidemical malady if the means be not too long neglected* London 1659 [8] (errata), 163 p.

Many quite long poems, and despite this, quite a few still are entitled "The Epigram:"! The definite article is of interest here.

**mfm 791 1121:15 C4722 English Epigraphy Divine Glimpses**
Coëdès or better, Coedès et al. (only spine title, i.e., Mélanges, above) 1916–1926. An artificial binding together of 19 disparate articles, mostly offprints, not always dated, in the Coëdès collection of ANL. Authors Krom, Kern, Vogel, Bosch, Schrieke, Blagden... Many or most are annotated by hand as being sent, signed, from Krom to Coëdès, and thus those without author's name may mostly be by Krom.

1. 1920 Journal of the Straits Branch. C.O.Blagden. The Empire of the Maharaja.
2. 1924 F.D.K. Bosch, B. Schrieke. Het lingga-Heiligdom van Dinaja.
8. a repeat of n°5.
10. 1920 Epigraphische Aanteekeningen XIV–XVI.
13. 1924. ?. De beteekenissen van Tjandi Djadi.
15. 1919 ?. De Sumatraansche Periode de Javaansche geschiedenis.
17. 1920 N.J. Krom Een belangrijke Vondst op Bali.
18. 1926 N.J. Krom De ondergang van Čirīwijaya.

COE 413 ANL Asian Collections Indonesian Epigraphy Indonésie Mélanges


English Epigram Hesperides


Genre Kind


Various other "computational" senses of the word hisāb immediately precede and follow ours in this fascicule, including dactylonomy and "calculation by means of dust" on a specially marked board called takht using the ghubār numerals. See also the alphanumeric (not merely alphabetic) form of divination called hisāb al-nfm, where the numbers of the letters comprising proper names (of the competing kings, or competing tribes??) are added up to predict the eventual winner of a battle. Our type of hisāb is alphabetic and is used mainly for historical dates. It is common in inscriptions (notably the very common inscriptions recording and celebrating the foundation of a building), generally in verse, and particularly common in those didactic historical summaries called uijuza, particularly obituaries (wafayät). We may compare it to the chronograms popular from the High Middle Ages to the Baroque in the West, which use only the Roman letter numerals and we note the efforts expended in this same period in the West to fit dates expressed in words into the brief verse of documentary inscriptions and chronicles (the mobility of Western chronograms between these two types of frame, or mother text, parallels the Muslim situation, and bridges the divide between document and historical inscription).

The chronogram is purely additive, position not counting, and of course, one counts only the essentially written letters, which are the consonants and long vowel matres lectionis, with some minor exceptions: 1. double consonants (written singly but capable of accepting a diacritical) may be counted as they appear, singly, or as they are said, double. 2. 'alifs, initial and terminal, may be omitted. No doubt there are local styles in such confusing options but Colin does not often distinguish times, regions or traditions. 3. the t.t-être marbīta, the final H which is pronounced Zero or T, can be counted as ha or t.e according to whether it is in mid text or in pause, thus to some extent following its pronunciation.

The additive alphabetic chronogram is called ramz, and in Turkish, ta'rīkh. The latter word gives access to one of the few Western treatments of chronograms previous to this, at the end of B. Carra de Vaux's 1934 EI¹ article on ta'rīkh.

One may sometimes know when a chronogram is included in an otherwise normal-looking short phrase by (in inscriptions) a different colour being used for the relevant letters. The situation is usually easier in MSS, where it is picked out by being written in larger letters. There are also strong syntactic clues, as chronograms tend to be Non-Classical
immediately preceded by *ft* ("in"), *nana* or *sanata* ("in the year...").

For some reason, Colin’s examples all come from Morocco, where the procedure became popular in the 11/17C. We ourselves have noted the universality of this practice in Muslim Bihar and Gujarat (see *Ahmad 1973 and *Desai 1981). It matters not for the chronogram whether the language underlying the Arabic letters be Persian or Turkish, and the *P*, *Z* and *G* letters added to these latter alphabets are counted like the Arabic letter from which they were modified.

Arabic Persian Poetry Alphabet  
Arabic Persian Turkish Chronograms

Colletet, G.  
*Tratté de l’épigramme par le Sr. Colletet seconde édition Reveué par l’Authent*  
The other 5 sub-books have their own title pages and pagination, but all seem to be first editions built around the revision of the epigram treatise, which had its origins in an introduction (for his son) to the author’s own epigrams. This is the usual locus for a theoretical treatment of epigram, though separate treatises and treatises within more general artes poeticae do occur. When they do, they are usually liberally enough illustrated to approach the status of an anthology.

An important book by an important Academician which gives epigram centrality among the minor poetic genres. There is a liminary verse of four lines of octosyllables praising “mon Prince”, which is entitled "ce petit Madrigal". Madrigal, and polished, courtly epigram may often be indistinguishable to us, but no doubt each age smelt some fine differences on the basis of close knowledge of the contemporary cultivated corpora of both, for both existed in all these periods. See *Malleville. The Sieur is well acquainted with Sédilet, a century his predecessor, with Scaliger of course, with Robortello, with Mintums, and with most of what had been written and memorably said for the preceding hundred years. His work on epigram seems smooth and assured in contrast with his section on moral poetry. Seemingly he was breaking new ground in his treatment of the latter "genre". It is necessary to take into account the other treatises alongside that on epigram, as they try to demarcate the genres they discuss from the first one treated in the whole volume, i.e., epigram, and actually include genres (such as those of the 70 authors whose quatrains are discussed under Poésie Morale) which many other classifications would award to “epigram” itself. See also Addenda.

Poetics French Epigram  
Art poétique

Colley, Ann C.  
*The Limerick and the Space of Metaphor*  

This is quoted only for its mention of limerick, and its limitation of treatment to the archaic ones of Lear. However it does go on through Ovid’s Metamorphoses, claiming that metamorphosis stories are a mid stage between nonsense verse and metaphor. It then goes on to the sparer Dantean poetry. The treatment is far from “generic” but limerick is important in any study of modern epigram.

Collins, T.  
*Line Forms in Hebrew Poetry. A Grammatical Approach to the Study of the Hebrew Prophets*  
Rome 1978

Hebrew Poetry  
Line forms

Collins, T.  
*The Kilamuwa Inscription: a Phoenician Poem*  
In *Welt des Orients* 6 (1971) p.183—188 1971

My Copy  
Phoenician Epigraphy  
Kilamuwa

Colonna, Giovanni  
*Iscrizioni di possesso dell’Italia preromana*  

PN occur in Genitive, dative (of belonging) and nominative in the sense of possession. Example of the latter non-explicit possession phrase, wrongly said to be typically Greek is «Io sono il tale» p. 50–51. See Guarducci III fig. 111 ἐφετειμαθέ Παιςόπλας ὄδε.  
P. 52 compares "OF PN AM" vs "I OF PN" — two typical phrases related to this.  
P. 53–54 10 Etruscan examples. Also there are isoglosses: Latin up to the –3C "Sota sum", i.e., merely = "feci"?, but from the late –3C "Sotae sum". P. 56 "PN feci", Latin and Greek, see Guarducci III p. 203ff. In Scandinavia the formulary is "ego PN feci" [see *Ploss, P.M.Mc's summary, in Addenda*] P. 68 tries to claim that the singular PN is in the Nominative in Archaic Latin if it is an owner’s mark, but in the Genitive if on a votive offering. P. 61 "EGO SUM PN" is found in central Italy and Campania, much more in Latin than in Etruscan or Illicic, where it seems to be –4C exclusively. No isoglosses found, this seems a genuine Archaic trait. P. 62 On possession and "gift". N.B. dialogue inscriptions seem common in Etruria, where literacy is assumed to
have been low. The donor's name is essential, but not that of the destinee. cf. H. Mauss *General Theory of Magic.* "Gifts" to the deceased are found in Central Italy, not in Latium and Veii) from the mid -6C. P. 64 The name is put on a "sacrificed" gift for "affective or commemorative" ends, and is not a sign of continued possession, even though it may look like that. P. 64 A postscript from Celtic inscriptions in the South of France (mid –1C), 2 Celtic inscriptions of the type "Sotae sum". Quoted from Gallia, Lejeune. No doubt these were affected by the Greek and Latin habit. Indeed, it is unwise to take any formula from Celtic stones as being "native", the whole Celtic archaeological assemblage being so influenced by Latin/Greek models, even in insular Ireland itself.

Italic Epigraphy Owners marks


Divides burial monuments into those meant to conceal, protect and preserve the "rest", and those meant to proclaim and to attract attention and praise from the living. Around p.130ff the author discusses Saxon royal burials and those of kings, bishops and heads of religious houses in general, the only Dark Age persons to have originally had prominent burial monuments. P.137 seems to suggest that there was no need for a verbal inscription. Inscriptions seem sometimes to have been carved on the outer walls of churches on the Continent to memorialise otherwise unidentified burials "ad sanctos". It is debatable whether every Christian burial ground had some sort of chapel. Extra-mural cemeteries did continue in some places, notably at Arles and Bordeaux. By the 11C most were in the yard, or near, a parish church. Architectural and sculpted tombs seem to have disappeared in this process by the 10C, except for those of some saints. Monuments begin to reappear in the Classical revival of the 12C, including the "siste viator..." topos at Brive. Roger II of Sicily speaks most un-humbly in the inscriptions on his tomb in the cathedral in Cefalù, (see, and correct, *Belloc) but pious anonymity was the norm outside the triumphalist senior clergy. P.138 suggests that this triumphalism of one class gave rise to the effigy, and by the 13C they were being posthumously awarded to the monarchs of the past. Louis IX did the same for 16 of the Carolingian and Capetian kings at St. Denis. The treatment of later ages is better followed in other books on this general topic. See *BURIAL in *Bibliographic Categories.

Burial Architecture Architecture and afterlife

Combe, E. *Répertoire chronologique d’épigraphie arabe* Ét. Combe et al. vol. 1–16 Cairo 1932–1964 (Blair states dates as 1931ff, and voll. as 1–17) 1932–

Arabic Epigraphy RCEA

Combs, Diana Williams *Early Gravestone Art in Georgia* Athens and London 1986 University of Georgia and South Carolina.

P.116, in the illustration, presents some verse, but this fact is not commented on in the text. Perhaps it is unimportant in the great epigraphic scheme of things.

736.509757 1 American Burial Georgia Gravestones

Compagnon, A. *La Seconde main: le travail de la citation* Paris 1979

A theoretical work which gives an excellent idea of the "layering" of language, every-day and literary, by less and less explicit citations, i.e, allusions and echoes. The uses of the more explicit types of citations are canvassed and illustrated.

Syd Fish Citation


These well-known earliest post Asokan inscriptions are possibly graffiti, though they seem to have been intimately associated with the rich carved images of the Buddhist temple. With so many, I will simply total them by plate, though some figures display more than one epigraph. More than 60 pp. display epigraphs. Thus the early Buddhists (if –1C is not early for the religion, it is early for its public remains), favoured not only images, poetry, music and stories, but inscribed their images. The impression gained of both the Jains and the Buddhists is that their early groups (at least around the turn of the Era and onwards) used inscriptions around caves and on images as Non-Classical
a normal thing. We note that image inscriptions are quite common later as well. It seems to have been a very long tradition. See R.G. Krishnan in Chandra 1975.

913.34 COO, Series 1), 6 Indian Art Bharhut

Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum/КИН See Orbeli.

Cross-reference

CIS Syd Fish

Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum Paris On the loose back cover of one early volume there is the conspicus of the 5 Partes. Fisher has only tattered and unbound Pars Prima: Phoenician Inscr., and not all of those. Some seem to be duplicated (by reprints? I did not recheck). Tome I: ? 1881 no doubt = fasc. 1 1881; fasc. 2 1883; [no fasc.3 on shelf]; fasc. 4 1887. Tome II: no doubt ("?") 1890 = fasc. 1 of that date; fasc. 2 1899; fasc. 3 1908; fasc. 4 1911. Tome III: fasc. 1 1926; fasc. 2 1947; fasc. 3 1962.

PARS PRIMA, Tome I, Fasc. 2 1883 concerns our work as there are some bilinguals, edited with more context than we were able to use previously from Magnanini. That of Antipatros from Aphrodisias n° 115 has in addition to the brief Greek inscription proper and the lengthier Phoenician, a 6 line epigram in Greek letters of the -2C and a picture showing a man on a bed, a lion near him, another man, standing and defending the recumbent figure from the lion, and prows of ships in the background. While the relationship of picture to epigram to real situation to ritual is fascinating and apparently unresolved, the very presence of an epigram in conjunction with the very curt Greek inscription proper is strong evidence of the difference in Greek and Phoenician taste, and the (by then) cultural dominance of the Greek way of verse. Also bilingual are n° 114, 116, 117, 120, 122, and 149. N° 143 is trilingual. There may be more but I did not cut more pages.

N° 116 is of Artemidoros Heliodorou Sidonios, and the Phoen begins with MTzBT....

N° 117 is of Noumenios Kiteus, and the Phoen begins LBNHDSh... .

The vast majority of Phoenician inscriptions in this inconvenient work are repetitious donative texts. For the private funerary corpus see Pucciarini.

Phoenician CIS

CIS ANU

It seems possible to look up any reference to CIS by getting access to the "Rare Books" store under Menzies library at ANU. Some volumes of Phoenician and Aramaic texts are missing (the Phoenician generally present in their original printing in Sydney's Fisher), but there is apparently a complete series of the plates at Canberra. As at Sydney, one needs to be provided with a good quality paper knife, as the majority of the signatures of the text volumes remain uncut. The plates volumes, as is the case with many other epigraphic plate collections, are often hard to check quickly because the pages are bundled loosely in an elephant-foio folder.

The missing volumes are: Pars Prima— Tom I Fasciculus 1 (Phoenicia/Cyprus) TEXT and TABB. Tom II Fasciculus 1 (Assyria, Babylonia, Asia Minor, Atropatene, Graecia, Arabia, Aegyptus) TEXT only, also Tom II Fasc. ii TEXT only.

Missing from ANU's Pars Secunda — Tom I Fasc. i TEXT only and Fasc ii TEXT only. More doubtfully deficient are Tom II Fasc ii, iii & iv, all both TEXT and TABB., if these were ever printed. The fact that they are not in the otherwise very good collection at ANU Menzies is suspicious.

Pars Quarta — Tom I Fasc i TEXT and TABB, Fasc. ii TEXT only, Fasc. iii TEXT and TABB.

List of CIS suggested by various conspectuses seen in the course of the publication (they do not mention Pars Quinta, apparently not planned until well into the 20C, but we add it from what we found on the shelves):

Non-Classical
PARS PRIMA inscriptiones phoenicias continens
Tomus I
   Fasciculus i
   Fasciculus i Tabulae
   Fasciculus ii
   Fasciculus ii
   Fasciculus iii
   Fasciculus iii
   Fasciculus iv
   Fasciculus iv
Tomus II
   Fasciculus i
   Fasciculus i
   Fasciculus ii
   Fasciculus ii
   Fasciculus iii
   Fasciculus iii
   Fasciculus iv
   Fasciculus iv
Tomus III
   Fasciculus i
   Fasciculus i
   Fasciculus ii
   Fasciculus ii
   Fasciculus iii
   Fasciculus iii

PARS SECUNDA inscriptiones aramaicas continens
Tomus I
   Fasciculus i
   Fasciculus i
   Fasciculus ii
   Fasciculus ii
Tomus II
   Fasciculus i
   Fasciculus i
   Fasciculus ii
   Fasciculus ii
   Fasciculus iii
   Fasciculus iii
   Fasciculus iv
   Fasciculus iv
Tomus III [Palmyrenae]
   Fasciculus i
   Fasciculus i
   Fasciculus ii
   Fasciculus ii [+epilogus]

PARS TERTIA
(for Hebrew, not used)
APPENDIX

PARS QUARTA inscriptiones himyariticas et sabaeas continens

Tomus I
Fasciculus i
Fasciculus i
Fasciculus ii
Fasciculus ii
Fasciculus iii
Fasciculus iii

Tomus II
Fasciculus i
Fasciculus i
Fasciculus ii
Fasciculus ii

PARS QUINTA inscriptiones saracenicas continens

Tomus I
Fasciculus i
Fasciculus i

Detail of ANU collection:

PARS PRIMA inscriptiones phoenicias continens

Tomus I

Fasciculus i TEXT Phoenicia, Cypru
(Missing from ANU collection, as are all subsequent fasciculi not presented in bold type)

Fasciculus i TABULAE i-xiv Byblus, Sidon, Templum Baalis ad L, Citium, Idalion, Lapethus, Golgi

Fasciculus ii TEXT
Paris 1883

Paris 1883 Tabb. xxii & xxiii, n° 116 Artemidoros, n° 117 Noumenios [Phoenician significantly on top, then the picture, Greek underneath], n° 115a Antipatros Aphrodisiou

Fasciculus iii & iv TEXT
Paris 1885 & 1887, but apparently a reprint. Uncut in ANU. Index

Fasciculus iii & iv TABULAE xxxvii-lvii, index for fascc. i, ii, iii. 1885, 1887 but apparently a facsim. reprint.

Tomus II

Fasciculus i TEXT Assyria/Babylonia, Asia Minor, Atropatene, Graecia, Arabia, Aegyptus
(Missing from ANU collection)

Fasciculus i TABULAE 1-xi
Paris 1890

Non-Classical
Fasciculus ii TEXT
Paris 1899 p. 139§115 Athenae Μηθείς αυθρώπων κτλ., p. 141§116 Αρτεμίδωρος

Fasciculus ii TABULAE xii-xxxvi
Paris 1899

Fasciculus iii TEXT
Paris 1908

Fasciculus iii TABULAE xxxvii-liv
Paris 1908

Fasciculus iv TEXT
Paris 1911

Fasciculus iv TABULAE lv-lxviii
Paris 1911

Tomus III

Fasciculus i TEXT Carthago...
Paris 1926 Dans ce fascicule est encartée la dernière feuille du Tom II (feuille 73) destinée à remplacer les pages 577-579 du précédent fascicule, qui sont à supprimer complètement. + emendanda et addenda

Fasciculus i TABULAE i-xxii
Paris 1926 Dans ce fascicule est encartée des planches du Tom II

Fasciculus ii TEXT
Paris 1947

Fasciculus ii TABULAE xxiv-lxxxix
Paris 1952

Fasciculus iii TEXT
Paris 1962

Fasciculus iii TABULAE xc-cxviii
Paris 1962

 Pars Secunda Inscriptiones aramaicas continens


Fasciculus i TEXT

Fasciculus i TABULAE i-xix
Paris 1889

Fasciculus ii TEXT

Fasciculus ii TABULAE xx-xliv
Paris 1893

Fasciculus iii TEXT Petra ff.
Paris 1902

Non-Classical
Fasciculus iii TABULAE xlv-cvi
Paris 1902 + Index tabularum. A few examples of MNESTHE, e.g., Tab. lxxxv from Wadi Mukatteb, Sinai, MHNΣΘΘ ΒΟΥΡΕΟΣ ΣΑΔΑΛΑΟΥ - in three graphic lines which respect word ends.

**Tomus II**

Fasciculus i TEXT Nabataeae + tables
Paris 1907 Note the frequent formula "be-Tov" = BTB as the only wish expressed?

Fasciculus i TABULAE i-lxx
Paris 1906

Fasciculus ii TEXT ?
Fasciculus iii TEXT ?
Fasciculus iv TEXT ?
Fasciculus iv TEXT

**Tomus III**

Fasciculus i TEXT Palmyrenae
Paris 1926

Fasciculus i TABULAE i-xxxiii
Paris 1951 Palmyran Aramaic letters, generally well squared up, and ornately recurved.

Fasciculus ii TEXT
Paris 1947 + epilogus Note the common, completely formulaic and unchangeable, expression of grief Hevel = 'heu', alas, = ΗΒΛ.

Fasciculus ii TABULAE
Paris 1954

**PARS TERTIA**

(intended originally for Hebrew, not used, because publication proceeds better elsewhere)

**PARS QUARTA** inscriptiones Himyariticæ et Sabææs continens


See n° 721 ff for thematics: p. 145 n° 727 "wrote his own name", and n° 728 "se inscripsit".

**Tomus I**

Fasciculus i TEXT Ṣaḥa, Dūrán, Kaš Djahrān, Ghaimān
Fasciculus i TABULAE
Fasciculus ii TEXT 'Amrân

Fasciculus ii TABULAE xiii-xviii
Paris 1892 Word dividers and generous spacing

Fasciculus iii TEXT Regio Hamdânensium

Fasciculus iii TABULAE

Fasciculus iv TEXT
Paris 1908 Hamdân + corrigenda.

Fasciculus iv TABULAE xxviii-xl
Paris 1908

Tomus II

Fasciculus i TEXT
Paris 1909 deo 'Imaqaḥ

Fasciculus i TABULAE
Paris 1909

Fasciculus ii TEXT Inscriptiones sabaæae deis 'Athhar, Wadd et Haubas dedicatae
Paris 1914

Fasciculus ii TABULAE
Paris 1914

Fasciculus iii TEXT
Paris 1920

Fasciculus iv TEXT
Paris 1920 deis minoribus

Fasciculi iii & iv TABULAE
Paris 1920

Tomus III

Fasciculus i TEXT
Paris 1929 Monogrammed letters, p. 120 ff. funerary inscr.

Fasciculus i TABULAE xxxvi-1
Paris 1930

Fasciculus ii TEXT
Paris 1931 Addenda et corrigenda, + Index Tom III

Fasciculus ii TABULAE iii-lix
Paris 1932

We have only belatedly approached CIS for himyaritica & sabaea. Tom I ff, p. 145 n° 727 "wrote his own name", and n° 728, likewise, even more strikingly expressed in the Latin, "se inscriptis".

Funerary, pars 4 Tom III fasc. i: there are various words for the funerary monument, which we will give first in their Latin glosses, then in transliteration L–R, then in Sabaean font from R–L. In the case of one phrase we will give the transliteration in Hebrew letters R–L, as is not uncommon with more exotic semitica: CIPPUS (N$B – ꞌlḥ), IMAGO (SWR – ꞌrḥ), IMAGO ET CIPPUS (小心翼 – ꞌrḥ), THECA (HLT – ×‘), HABITATIO (TΛT – ×‘), and of course, NFS (h$ v) and QBR (isoner), which we might translate MONUMENTUM and/or TUMULUS, the latter in its

Non-Classical
generalised medieval sense. Note also a "MONUMENTUM" named BLWT, *betulah/betulat*, a famous Semitic word family.

N° 707 CIPPUS/MONUMENTUM (the translations wander a little), n° 704 IMAGO & 705, IMAGO ET CIPPUS, n° 714, THECA, n° 715 MONUMENTUM & SEPULCHRUM (*betulah/betulat*), n° 717 HABITATIO.

P. 122 ff, we note the combinations NFS W QBR in n° 699, 700, 710, 702, and the reverse, QBR W NFS in n° 702. As will be apparent from the relevant parts of our descriptive and critical bibliography, the NFS is an anthropoid stele, centre of cult, separate from the QBR, or burial place. Their combination in reality, and in one phrase, is noteworthy for the history and nature of the stele, see *Stockton for an introduction.

PARS QUINTA inscriptiones saracenicas continens [Safaiticas]

Tomus I

**Fasciculus i**
Paris 1950

**Fasciculus i TABULAE i-ciii**
Paris 1951

44 ef PJ 3081 C 673 ANU Rare Books


Those "not in the field" may be unaware of the forest of different names by which Humanists were known in their own day, or have been awarded in more recent centuries. Our original motive in searching this great work was to investigate Janus Pannonius. As well-annotated editions and commentaries of neo-Latin writings become more available, such basic research will become less necessary for the panoptic scholar.

Vol. 3 p.2574–2577 Janus Pannonius Major (also Giovanni Vitez) 1408–1498, the maternal uncle of Janus (Johannes) Pannonius Minor, 8.29.1434–1472, born in Hungarian Csewicz / Cezmicze (various other spellings). Despite his current disgrace, Matthias Corvinus allowed his formal burial because of his literary fame. Like all the northerners, he studied in Italy, in this case under Guarinus at Ferrara. See, as commonest variants of his name: Johann von Cisinge, Johannes Vitez (?), Giovanni Pannonio, Gian., and Giano..., and in "Slavonic", e.g., Croatian, ...CesmiCi. For the un-Latined, it is worth noting that "Pannonius" simply means 'from Hungary'. Also Erdösi Janos.

His tomb is of interest, as it was to display an extract taken from his own writing by some one else, and with the permission of King Matthias Corvinus. See Rosmini Vita... di Guarino HI pp.95, 104, n° 31. The first two lines appear (separately, and in a different version) in Pälinkás Contribuito... in Rinascimento I n° 3–4, Dec 1950, pp 285–286:

```
// Hie situs est Janus partium qui primus ad Histrum / duxit Laurigeras ex Helicone Deas.//...
```

The whole extract to appear on his tomb is:

```
// Hie situs est Janus, patrium qui primus ad Histrum / Duxit laurigeras ex Helicone Deas / Hunc saltem titulum, livor, permitte sepulto / Invidiae non est in monumenta locus.//
```

It is obvious how suitable the first distich is as a sphragis, and how in certain types of self-glorifying poetry there are rich epitaphic possibilities. However, Janus seems himself to have written these lines as a real or fictive epitaph: judge by the **Hic situs est...**

Humanists  **Dictionary of Italian Humanists**

Cosgrove, Denis  **The Palladian Landscape. Geographical Change and its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy** Leicester and London 1993

Apart from giving a good idea of the prestige and the pattern of neo-Classical domestic and civic architecture in the Renaissance, and up to the 18C in England (so much influenced by Palladio) this book helps with a crucial period of the history of Venice, when the Serenissima was turning definitively towards its land empire, and also documents the intense theatricality of Renaissance public life and building. An interest in building inscriptions goes hand in glove with an interest in classicising building.

Modern Architecture  **Palladio**

Cotgrave, John fl. 1655  **Wits interpreter, the English Parnassus**, or. A sure guide to those admirable accomplishments that compleat our English gentry, in the most acceptable

Non-Classical
qualifications of discourse or writing in which briefly the whole mystery of those pleasing witchcrafts of eloquence and love, are made easy in the following subjects, viz. 1. Theatre of courtship, accurate complements. 2. The labyrinth of fancies, new experiments and inventions. 3. Apollo and Orpheus, several love-songs, epigrams, drolleries and other verses. 4. Cyprian goddess, description of beauty. 5. The muses elizium, several poetical fictions. 6. The perfect inditer, letters ala... (etc.)

London 1655 A large book of many parts

128 pp. of model letters, formulae, mythology, cryptic codes. Logic, Dialogues, "labyrinth of fancies" incl. poetry, Love-song, Drollery. The heading to one of the sections (not the "title" of it?) reads "Love-songs, Epigrams & " Many poems are entitled "song", while a few are short, with no title or a "content title". From p. 170, esp. p. 172, there are some EPITAPHS, short, epigram-like poems predominate in this section, from p. 173–317. Not until P. 297 do we find the first title "epigram", and it is 28 lines of narrative! P. 321ff. have Love Songs and Drollery.

The Stationer to the Reader: "The mode of clapping an Epistle before a Book is to acquaint the reader what is therein provided..." (Nath. Brook)

mfm 791 23:18 C6370 English Epigram Wits interpreter or The Perfect Inditer or Letters a la mode

Cottrel, James Ex ungue leonem, or, a proof (by ten dozen) of sixty one gross epigrams designed for the year 1656 1656? 1656? 76 p. only

He seems to have collected 12,000 "for my own recreation", and to present "six score" of these. Many display obscenities, and some are macaronic.

The Latin phrase used as a title is not found, even remotely, in the Classical Latin literature extant on PHI #5.3. Even "ex ungue" is a rare collocation, being found only 12 times. However, the saying is in Erasmus's Adagia, does occur in Greek gnomologia, and I have noticed it used in Robert J.*Clemens 1965 The Poetry of Michelangelo. Presumably the use made of it here is the "proof" by selection (61? 120?) either of the quality of the 12,000 in his unpublished papers, or of the lasciviousness of some of these latter.

In the earlier parts of the Epistle to the Reader, before the quotation in our Addenda begins, he says, as already noted, that he has collected 12,000 "for my own recreation" and plans to offer six score of them. Later he offers a very general discussion on how to judge epigrams, and notes that in anthologies and commonplace books they lie "torn from their fellow members", and that is why the Lemmas are so important. The pages are not numbered, but some have signature marks:

See the *Adagia of *Erasmus.

mfm 791 E3558 316:9 English Epigram Ex ungue leonem


726.1450954 Indian Architecture Deccan Temples

Couvreur, S. Li ki. Mémoires sur les bienséances et les cérémonies Paris 1950

We may quote the Latin and French translations concerning the all-important inscribed burial tablets revered, not at the grave, but in the house shrine, or ancestral temple, and so much a part of the symbolism of continuity of the Chinese family, their regular care and reverence constituting one of the most sacred duties of the male first-born. Vol. One p. 201, Ch II, Tan koung Partie II, Art. I, §25–26: (Latin translation followed by French paraphrase) / (Filius mortui patris nomen ac prænomen inscribit in funebri signo. Quia mortuus est, fit ut non queat discerni jam; ideo (filius) utens illo signo signat eum. Quia amat eum, ideo inscribit ejus (nominia); quia reveretur eum, ideo omnes adhibet suas rationes. / Temporaria tabellæ (ratio est) perennis tabellæ ratio. In (regum tempore, apposita) perennis tabella, fasciis (instructa suspendebatur) temporaria tabella; Tcheou (regum tempore, apposita) perenni tabella, temporaria tabella tollitur. / Otherwise: Ausisset après le décès, la hanière funèbre portant le nom de famille et le nom d'enfance du défunt était fixée au bord du toit de la salle de réception, au-dessus des degrés qui étaient à l'ouest. / Après la mort d'un homme, on inscrivait son nom de famille et son prénom sur une tablette de bois tch'öung, qui servait jusqu'à l'enterrement. Après l'enterrement, on faisait une autre tablette tchou. Un mois après la fin du deuil, on la plaçait dans la salle destinée au nouveau défunt dans le temple des ancêtres, et les descendants de génération en génération lui présentaient leurs offrandes. Sous les In, la première tablette était suspendue dans la salle du nouveau défunt: sous les Tcheou, elle était enterrée dans le temple des ancêtres. / It will be noted that the French is indeed a paraphrase or even an informative note, drawing on information perhaps not in the Chinese text: §25 has 32 Chinese words, and § 26 has only 14. Note that already there are buried tablets and tablets for the shelf of the temple. We find both by the Tang.

Volume Two, Premiere Partie, p. 139, Ch. XVIII TSA KI Art. II §18 (6 Chinese words only, and the first, Tch'öung, is its lemma): // Tabella mortui temporaria, postquam facta erat oblatio humationem subsequens, tunc humabatur. // Otherwise: // Tch'öung. Tablette provisoire sur laquelle on inscrivait les noms du défunt peu après sa mort. Après les funérailles, elle était enterrée dans le temple des ancêtres, ou ne sait pas en juste en quel endroit.//

K.-J. Kampmark notes: This is also a Japanese custom. On the 7th day after death the dead person is given a posthumous name which is inscribed on a tablet and kept in the Buddhist shrine of the household. See also Macé, Non-Classical
whose list of early Japanese funerary terms is given in this Bibliography 2.

Chinese Burial Li Ji-Co

Cox, Leonard The arte or crafte of Rhetoryke... ca. 1530 (1524 vulgo) a reprint edition by F.I.Carpenter Chicago 1899 1530ca.

"Rhetorics" typically do not help the study of poetry. However, to check this it seemed useful to look at the earliest vernacular rhetorics. This is the first of them in English and one of the first printed English school books, cf. Traversanus 1480 for a Latin first in the genre. Cox drew mainly from Melanchton's Institutiones Rhetoricae 1521, despite all his own allusions to Cicero. See Sêbillet for a more literary type of work.

Rhetoric Cox Rhetoric


"Authoritative" epigram seeks to embody poetically the moral authority of Humanists and Reformers. The term "epigrammatist" seems mostly to have been used for those who published collections, not for those who wrote much short occasional poetry. "Point", first evidenced in an epigrammatic sense in OED as 1643. It = 'epiphonema'. References to Colie, Hutton, Hudson, Fowler and Whipple.

"Classical epigram" is rarely serious or didactic. Thus we must seek other sources for seriously moral or didactic epigram, and for its legitimacy as "literature". "Epigrams" were published from 1518–1577 by More, Wm Lily, John Constable, John Heyward, Robert Crowley, John Parkhurst, and Timothy Kendall. Heyward 1555 wrote informal epigrams, perhaps a reaction to the preceding tradition, perhaps reflecting the mood of England under Queen Mary.

P. 166–167 offers various half proofs that the Disticha Catonis were regarded as "epigrams" at this time and were imitated and alluded to in 16C epigram. Epigrams were a sort of Humanist manifesto, illustrating pure Latin style, and sincere moral purpose.

Pasquil, or Pasquinade was popular with Reformers and Protestants. Puttenham mentions it (see J.W. Spaeth Martial and the Pasquinade TAPA 70 (1939) p. 242–246). Cf. Pasquil's Apologie, Pasquil's Return, and "Pasquil" became a pseudonym (in England) for any prose satirist. The Basel 1544 Pasquillorum tomi duo are mostly rather Martial-like, but include real names. The stance of "Pasquil" is that of the anonymous mud-slinger, but was employed more sincerely by More.

Cowley's 1550 "Exempla" are hardly epigrams, but he called them "31 epigrammes" and Parkhurst agreed.

P. 175 the "voice" of wisdom books, e.g., in the Bible. Heywood avoids this voice of authority, going back to Martial's tone: homely native proverbial wisdom, a more personal voice (e.g., personal pronouns), flippant/cynical attitudes to "advice", rough verse forms, and little religious content. Perhaps this is a reaction to the heavy Protestant pasquinade.

Later, there were differing views of the genre, the two poles being that of frivolity and juvenility (non-professional) and that of Humanist manifesto. See Parkhurst and Kendall.

P. 183, summary of strategies. The 1590s came closer to Martial. Ben Johnson wrote few aphoristic distichs, but was concerned with the authoritative stance and making serious judgements. He had read Parkhurst and probably knew, or knew of, the Disticha.

English Epigram Intret Cato

Cranz see Kristeller


mfm 791 23:24/183:12, C6832 Latin Modern English Epigram Sacra selecta 1

Crashaw, Richard 1613?–1649 Epigrammata sacra selecta, cum Anglica versione Sacred epigrams Englished London 1682

mfm 791 23:24/183:12 Latin Modern English Epigram Sacra Selecta 2


mfm 791 841:36 C683 Latin Modern Epigram Sacred poems

Creangă, Ion Opere București. 1963

The stories vividly present the situation of clerical literacy in the first period of struggling modernity in this

Non-Classical
(culturally) Slav country. Of course, "epigram" seems not to have migrated with the more central and sacred Orthodox church traditions from Greek to Slav or Rumanian literary traditions.

My Book Romanian Romanian stories


Part 1 = Vol. I of a pair of very large, very heavy folios.

Foundation inscriptions are those mostly mentioned. The degree of falsification and of rebuilding and renovation of the oldest monuments is remarkable, and not easily defined. No mention of polemical epigraphy, but inscriptions, Kufic inscriptions, and Naskhî inscriptions merit 28 references in the index.

723.3 Syd Fish Folios Arabic Architecture EMA 1


Part 2 = Vol. II of a pair of very large, very heavy folios.

18 index references to Kufic inscriptions and Naskhî inscriptions. Note that vol. 2 takes us to the early 10C, by which time, Grabar has stated, calligraphic script had just become an expected ornamentation on public buildings. The fragmentary evidence for such a generalisation is seen in all its doubtfulness in Creswell's plates and treatments. The inscription bands ('turuz, sg. 'irtâz) of the Great Mosque of Cordoba were said to be renewed (the same term often means simply "built"), in 241 H = 855/6 CE. There is doubt too if qubba (Vol. I p.65) means the dome, or the whole domed building, in literary references. Short documentary inscriptions predominate in his treatment, as one would expect. Some unrenovated windows have preserved the original inscriptions that once stood on all.

723.3 Syd Fish Folios Arabic Architecture EMA 2

Cristofani, Mauro Il 'dono' nell'Etruria archaica in La Parola del Passato 30 (1975) p.132–152 1975

Anathematica Etruscan Il dono

Cristofani, Mauro Rapporto sulla diffusione della scrittura nell'Italia antica in Scrittura e civiltà 2 (1978) p.5–33 1978

P.10 Scribes wrote the texts on Etruscan dedications of VII–VI C. South Etruscan inscriptions are mainly from sacred sites, not from domestic ones. P.29 the "Polis" had a very public character. Inscriptions are instruments of public life. 29–30 Why are 70/100 VIIC Etruscan inscriptions anathematic ones? The"ceremonial" of prestige and goods of prestige explain this. See the author's Il dono... .

Italic literacy Diffusione

Crompton, Hugh fl. 1657 Poems by Hugh Crompton, the son of Bacchus, and god-son of Apollo being a fardle of fancies, or a medley of musick, stewed in four ounces of the oyl of epigrams. London 1657 P.1, title page, has "three" ounces!

P.111–120 Epigrams. 4, 6, 8 lines and slightly longer, but not much so.

mfm 791 62:5 C7029 English Epigram Crompton's

Crutwell, N. Bristol drollery, poems and songs 1674

No epigrams. Either longish poems or stanzaic in form.

mfm 791 C7447 English Poetry Bristol Drollery

Cuisinier, Jeanne Littérature indonésienne in Queneau 1967 p.1425–1445 1967

Indonesian Indonésienne


Ca. 600 CE the Bodhi tree was cut down by Raja Ṣaṅgka, and it was 'restored' 620 CE by Raja Pûra Varma. P. 14 deals with inscriptions on Asoka's railing, i.e., the original parts of the shrine.

P. 47 Ch. XIII The custom of memorialising visits to such major places of pilgrimage led, on the part of the poor, to gifts of fruits and flowers ("offerings"), and inscribed slabs (memorials). The rich left small votive stupas.

Non-Classical
One would assume that when there was need, they also left railings, which were often inscribed, perhaps because they were an integral part of the shrine, more sacred than the adventitious elements normally available for dedication, such as stupas and statues.

P. 50 Ch. XIV Seals were found with both figurative and verbal inscriptions.

P. 53 Ch. XV Sculptures

P. 56 ff Inscriptions in detail.

P. 69 Chinese inscriptions at Bodh-Gaya are in verse, and the frame text explicates that what is offered are hymns, of which there are seven, clearly separable. I had time only to check their photo and their translation. A seems to be in 4 x long lines, B, C, D, E, F, & G seem clearly to be eight line poems of the most classical type, stacked one after the other. They were the work of the visiting Chinese Buddhist priest Yun-Shu in 1021 CE.

Buddhist Indian epigraphy  Mahabodhi

Cunningham, James Vincent 1911– Collected poems and epigrams by... London 1971 3–142 p. 23 cm.

811.54 C973 English Epigram Cunningham's

Cunningham James Vincent 1911– The exclusions of a rhyme: poems and epigrams by... Denver 1960 American edition of the previous?

811.54 C973 English Epigram Exclusions of Rhyme


Little attention is given to the inscriptions, which are hard to pick up from photographs of Gothic art. *Panofsky is better for this. P.96 and 97 have the Rosamundi distich and a variation of the Roman n.f.n.s.n.c. It is said that Louisiana and India saw the first modern European cemeteries not associated with churches. On p.358 Curl reproduces an unpublished letter of Vanbrugh, showing early English awareness of the monumental tendencies being revived in Surat. Dissenters were freer to establish unattached cemeteries (see *Lindley's Of Graves and Epitaphs for detail on Quaker graveyards, which initially even lacked monuments). It is said that in the first quarter of the 19C everyone aspired to a mural tablet memorial for himself.

Burial Architecture *Celebration of Death*

Curl and The Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, James Stevens Mausolea in Ulster Belfast. 1978

Detached mausolea are said to have been more common in Ireland than in England. Anglo-Indian nabobs, non-Catholic by law, led the way at Surat and Calcutta. The sectarian and the economic motives may have increased the Anglo-Irish enthusiasm for large and impressive funerary architecture. Classical, Gothic and Mughal inspiration is found in Ulster. Despite the prominence of the monumental, it seems that the relatively small inscription panel was still felt as central to the design.

Burial Architecture *Ireland Ulster Mausolea*


Eleven titles by Currie, often repeating elements of each other, in ANL, and with quite a few titles of the prolific and prominent Dr. James Beattie (1735–1803) e.g., The Poetical Works of Dr. James Beattie, and, The Grave by Robert Blair [1699–1746], with biographical memoirs, Edinburgh 1830(?), with The Life of Robert Burns, with a criticism on his writings, by James Currie = ANL Rare Books FERG 758. ANL's collection of Currie's publications of Burnsiana in the British Isles begins with his *Works and Correspondence 1816?*, then the *Life of 1826, Works and Account of his Life of 1835, the above compilation of 1838, the National Edition of the Works comprising the poems 1859, and *Works. Life. Criticism* on published in America in 1804, 1815 & 1816. As can be seen in the publication history of the 1838 edition, there is

Non-Classical
more, even in the 19C. For 18C publication, see Averley and Flower p.3123, e.g.: Robert Burns 1786 Kilmarnock; 1787 Edin.; 1787 bis Edin.; 1787 ter Edin.; 1787 Dublin; 1787 Belfast; 1788 Philadelphia; 1789 Dublin; 1800 2v. Edinburgh, and then the many 19C edd (the latter not listed in A & F)

See Addenda for quotes. Note the many quatrains, p.139 for "written on a pane of glass". (See *Whistler for the practice).

NK 5611 ANL English Epigram Burns' s


First, from the 1961 reprint: Despite the concerns we share with other recent medievalists (e.g., *Gallo below) about Curtius' conclusions (see ↓ below), his book does treat topics near to our study and must be cited. Exc XIII p. 479: Kürze als Stileideal

Isocrates led the West to enumerate brevity as a virtus narrationis, not a virtus dicendi. This (Halm Rhetores latini minores) gave a legal context (Narratio) to the value of conciseness. For other indications of its value in letters, see: 2 Mach 2: 24–32, Daniel 7: 1, Eph 3: 3. Medieval theoreticians followed Plato: Phaidros 267B, and Gorgias 449C, and Aristotle Rhet. III 16,4. Latin terms common for this virtue were "dilatare/coartare, abbreviare, premere". P. 489 Rivard quoted that "a distich could contain longueurs". There is a tendency to use as a structural device the naïve transition, the "quid iuvat" topos, both in Medieval Latin epic and in Old French Epic. XVII p. 503: Nennung des Autornamens im Mittelalter p. 505 Autorenstolz — French and Provençal writers tend to name themselves. Also p. 295 on epigram and the pointed style, and p. 309 on epigram.

Only Gröber has yet attempted a total coverage of the MA up to 1350 (p. 655 + bibliographic notice). Curtius' work filled me [P.M.Mc] with instinctive horror when I first read it, in German, as a budding medievalist in the mid-1960s. It is now a relief to read in the enormously rich and quite extensive Godman Epilogue that more competent voices have since been raised against the considerable achievements of ELLMA - Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter, as indeed, others were against the monumental work of Manitius, bringing the latter to a premature close. After thirty years it is time to try to put such prejudices into a more balanced context. Curtius seems to have been more sensitive to the content and the social context of the texts he dissected and compared in the most arid mandarin manner than he once appeared to be (see p. 601, Fritz Ringer The Decline of the German Mandarin: the German Academic Community 1890–1933 Cambridge Mass. 1969), and his initial steps into Sanskrit (which he seems to have remained far from competent in) now endear him to me. I well know the lack of employment opportunities in the Indological area, and such were even fewer in his time. Being a Romanist and Francophile did not make Curtius any the more popular in his turbulent country of origin, and he seems to have been something of a pioneer in that area, see p. 611 his German-French opposition of Bildung-Kultur to Zivilisation-(French matters).

PN 674 C8 1961 Medieval literatures Latin Curtius ELLMA


Pp.110–111 feature the tomb on Mt. Vaea, from which I copy the (centre-justified) text, seemingly unpunctuated, inhabiting the easternmost bronze plaque:

1850 ROBERT LOVIS STEVENSON 1894 /

(LHS circled star three lines deep) VNDER THE WIDE AND STARRY SKY (RHS circled star three lines deep)

/ DIG THE GRAVE AND LET ME LIE /
/ GLAD DID I LIVE AND GLADLY DIE /
/ AND I LAID ME DOWN WITH A WILL /
/ THIS BE THE VERSE YOV GRAVE FOR ME /
HERE HE LIES WHERE HE LONGED TO BE /
HOME IS THE SAILOR HOME FROM THE SEA /
AND THE HVNTER HOME FROM THE HILL

The Plaque is larger in size than is the European custom. The penultimate line is here (as often) misquoted. It was published by Stevenson with the lectio difficilior "Home is the sailor home from sea".

For the other monuments to Stevenson see *Hammerton p.308 (San Francisco), *Rankin p.205 (Bournemouth/Skerryvore), and most biographies for Edinburgh. Also the poem Skerryvore (Coll. Poet. p.142 Underwoods XXXIV), which announces in seven lines the inscription of just one word: "Skerryvore", on the lintel of the cot(tage). See also p.485 of the poems for reference to two other inscriptions for Skerryvore not listed in that

Non-Classical
work. *Furnas p. 433 describes the monuments in full, as they were in the 1940s.  
ANU Burial Stevensoniana Da

London 1909  
Q 736.6 Ivories Christian Ivories

Dani, A.H. Indian Paleography Oxford 1963  
Indian Indian Paleography

Daub, Antoinette B. Herrick's Foul Epigram in Genre 9 (1976) p. 87–102  
Heavily psychologising after an interesting start in which the pressures of anthologisation, the need for considerable variety when short poems are put together, are cited for the appearance of obscene or crude epigrams among the sweet ones. No reference to the history of crudity in English, neo-Latin or Classical epigram. No close look at the structure of anthologies.  
Foul Herrick

Daum Werner ed. 1988 Die Königin von Saba. Kunst. Legende und Archäologie zwischen Morgenland und Abendland Stuttgart/Zürich The book has many fine illustrations, important for an idea of the scripts of ancient Arabia, and is of interest for the epigraphic article of *c Abdallah.  
ANU G fBS580.S48 K66 1988 Arabian Queen of Sheba

Davidson and Davidson, Flora & John An Inventory of the Seventeenth Century Tombstones of Angus Arbroath 1977 Photocopied photos of stones and transcriptions. The area lies between Dundee and Aberdeen. See Addenda for Latin, English, and a little Greek and Hebrew epigraphy.  
731.76 11 Syd Fish Burial Epigraphy Angus 17C

P. 316 While his position in only the third generation of the Mughal occupation makes his illiteracy understandable, in this truly great man such a "deficiency" is still a puzzling fact, for moderns.  
Muslim literacy Akbar

Davies, C. Writers of Wales — Latin Writers of the Renaissance Cardiff 1981  
John Stradling was not predominantly a satiric writer, he treated religious themes and wrote complimentary works on royalties, politicians, academics, and other VIPs. Not all his poems are elegiac.  
John Owen of Plas Du, Llanarmon near Pwllheli wrote all in elegiacs. The best reference style to his poems is by Martyn's numeration, covering all the eventual 10 books/ Eventually he wrote 1500 epigrams in four installments. 1.168: // Nostra tibi brevitas ignavia forte videtur / Crede mihi, labor est non levis, esse brevem.// Non facio ut multi qui multa et stulta loquentur / Sermo meus stultus forte, tarnen brevis est.// Some of his poems show a new devotional note with some "Welsh" assonance and word-play  
// p.51 III.37: // Tecum participant in nomine Scotus et Anglus / Iam tu non solus, Walle, Britannus eris.//  
The longest poem is III.39  
Welsh Latin Latin Wales

Dayalan, D Early Temples of Tamilnadu. Their Role in Socio-Economic Life (c. A.D. 550–925) 1992  
Dayalan gives a good idea of the periods and styles of temple building, of the use made of temples, and indirectly, of the frequency of documentary inscriptions. Let us quote the translation of an inscription giving the oath or contract of temple guards from, it seems, the time of the Chola king Rajaraja:  
... the vēlāikāras agreed as follows: We protect the villages belonging to the temple pālli, its servants, property and devotees (abhayampukkar), even though, in doing this, we lose ourselves or otherwise suffer. We provide for all the requirements of the temple so long as our community continues to exist, repairing  
Non-Classical
such parts of the temple as get dilapidated in course of time, and we get this our contract, which is attested by us, engraved on stone and copper so that it may last so long as the moon and sun endure. [p.60]

Sun and moon symbols are commonly engraved as decoration for panels and stelae, right up into Tibet. They were more than a decoration — being numinous symbols of constancy.

My Book Indian Architecture Tamil Temples

de Bray, R.G.A. Guide to the Slavonic Languages 19692 1969

The purpose of listing this book is to serve as an anchoring point for a hurried search for the reflections in Slavic (Orthodox) cultures of the epigraphic and poetic habits of their mentors, the Byzantine Greeks. The same motivation underlies our citation of Paul *Diels grammar of Old Slavonic.

My Book Slavic Slavonic

Deambi, Bushan Kumur Kaul  Corpus of Sarada Inscriptions of Kashmir: With special reference to origin and development of Sarada Script Delhi 1982

P.97/Pl.1 has a 1OC inscription around the pedestal of a bronze Bodhisattva in a Sanskrit whose spelling seems influenced by Prakrit. P.140 Another under a bronze Buddha, anathematic. P.125/Pl.11 1476 C.E. stone inscription or graffito, by a Muslim leader who both discouraged idol worship and encouraged Sanskrit learning. P.128/Pl.9 or 10, Perso-Sanskrit bilingual funerary inscription 1484 C.E. PL.15 has some well-formed but fragmentary inscriptions on stone mortars. See more by Deambi in the Addenda, Studies in Indian Epigraphy, Vol. 7.

491.211 K21 Indian Epigraphy Kashmir Sarada

Debussy, Claude Six épigraphes antiques: pour petit orchestra Amsterdam 1978 c. Suite, originally for piano, 4 hands. 1914 ed presumably this rewriting of the work. Pour invoquer Pan, dieu de vent d'été. — Pour un tombeau sans nom. — Pour que la nuit soit propice. — Pour remercier la pluie au matin.

This work we suspect to be the main origin of the musical title "Epigram...". It does not seem to occur before Debussy, and he does not use it, but the related "epigraph". Of course the tendencies in musical form and in styles of nomenclature (deriving musical genre terms, or at least titles, from prestigious and consciously archaic forms of literature) may have been a general mood leading various early 20C composers to seize on the term quite independently. Prokofieff is one who also approximated to the term. By the 1950s there can be no doubt that it was a mini-fashion, and perhaps, a genre. One would suppose that it would mainly be used for minimalist compositions, but my musical literacy is not up to checking this in the available libraries.

MUS G015/2288 Musical Epigram Epigraphs antiques arr.

Dehajia, Vidya Early Buddhist Rock Temples, a Chronology Ithaca N.Y. 1972

Note Ch.2 p.32-44: Early Indian Paleography (its history, some corrections to *Dani, and charts); Ch.3 p.45-70: Inscriptions from the early Buddhist Caves.

This is a work quite European in spirit. Ch.2, p.32-44 deals with Early Indian Paleography, seen as one of the main dating devices. Dehajia tends to accept the older dating of some important inscriptions, i.e., placing them around the period of the breakdown of the unified Brahmni scripts (of the centralised Mauryan scriptoria) into recognisably regional styles, about the turn of the Christian Era. This is against some +1C datings of Dani, based to some degree on the date of the introduction of the reed pen into Indian scribal writing boxes. Ch.3, p.45-70, goes on to Inscriptions from the early Buddhist caves. There are many "railing inscriptions" in all of this, and p. 45 adumbrates a "changing function of script and inscription" about 150CE. This is the period of the first poetic (Sanskrit, kavya) epigraphy.

726.143 3 Indian Architecture Epigraphy Buddhist Rock Temples

Dermenghem, Émile Littérature arabe in Queneau 1967 p.825-885 1967

Arabic Arabe


Indian Burial Dharmasastra


Gujarat has some of the earliest Muslim inscriptions in India, some from its pre-Muslim period, 12C, out of Bhadreshwar in Kutch. From the Kach-ni-Masjid at Ahmedabad comes the presumed earliest Arabic inscr. of Guj., AH 445 = 1055 CE, but it seems to have been set up later than the date which appears on it. Another 20 inscrr. come from the 13C (still pre-Muslim). In the 14C Gujarat became part of the Delhi Sultanate, and there are about 130 Muslim inscriptions. In the 15C Gujarat became an independent Sultanate, leaving 150 inscrr, and the 15C left

Non-Classical
From Mughal times, we have 150 from the 17C, and from the period of decline, 18-19C and the coming of the Marathas, 250. Interest in Muslim epigraphy has been sluggish, despite its importance for the history of an area from which paper archives have not survived, even for the higher reaches of history. New inscriptions are being found all the time, even from Ahmedabad. Gujarat still needs something like the one volume *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar* by Qeyamuddin Ahmad 1973.

Indian Arabic Persian epigraphy  
*Gujrat EpiArabPersian*

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Nominative of the deceased (contrasting with the Irish genitive) and deixis (ci or col) is claimed for Pictish epitaphs, which are few and contested in the reading. The Newton stone is however more verbose than any Irish stone, and is of high importance to Celtic epigraphy. In the final analysis, Diack is not even sure whether Pictish is p-Celtic or q-Celtic.

Note that Nominative of the deceased is characteristic (*Macalister II*) of all Celtic epitaphs in Roman script. See also Addenda.

Pictish Epigraphy  
*Pictish inscriptions*

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*Heterograms*

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Diels, Paul  *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik mit einer Auswahl von Texten und einem Wörterbuch* Heidelberg 19632. 1963

Epigram and liminary verses came to the Slavs from Latin, not from Greek, and thus the situation in early Slav poetry is less relevant.

I have as yet failed to find detailed information on or a text of the Old Slavonic "poem" prefixed to a Gospel translation by Cyril or his pupil, such as *Obolensky mentions on p.9 of his Variorum collected articles, a remarkable Old Church Slavonic poem ascribed both to Cyril and to his pupil Bishop Constantine, who wrote in Bulgaria around 900*. It is said to be a prologue to the Slavonic version of the Gospels, in which he eulogises the Slavonic vernaculars. Such a verse prologue would, of course, closely parallel and stem from Romaic Greek custom. See *Komes.

NOTE: Alexandr Grishin suggested that the poem could open the *Khludov Psalter*, "available in any major library". It wasn't, nor was it to be found in the standard catalogue of facimile publications, *Zotter. The editor was said, from memory, to be a certain Shepkina — Шепкина. Nondum inveni.

My Book Old Slavic  
*Old Church Slavonic*

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Dikshit, V.R. Ramachandra  *The Gupta Polity* Delhi 1993 = Madras 1952

Famous for its antedating of the great poet Kalidasa to the -2C, this later work of Dikshit, produced after his index of the Puranas, relies on varied evidence, of which the inscriptive and numismatic interest us most.

My Book Indian  
*Gupta Polity*

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Dikshit, V.R. Ramachandra  *The Mauryan Polity* Delhi 1993 = Madras 1932

My Book Indian  
*Mauryan Polity*

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*The Hand-Produced Book*, 1982

P. 132 Size of Classical scrolls.

P. 134 The smallest papyrus roll (then) known contains epigrams — Berlin Pap. 10571, 2 inches wide.

Books  
*MS Book*
Diringer, David  The Origin of the Alphabet
Alphabet  Origin of the Alphabet

Diskalkar, D.B.  Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions (2nd C BC to 8C AD) Text, Complete Translation into English, Historical, Poetical Importances, Introductory and Literary Notes. Containing also portions from Dr. G. Bühlcr's Essay on Indian Inscriptions and Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry  New Delhi  1977
Indian Epigraphy  Sanskrit Sell.

These "subhashitani" are not in verse.
Indian Epigraphy  Subhasitas

Georgian  Géorgienne

Dodd, H.P.  The Epigrammatists. A Selection from the Epigrammatic Literature of Ancient, Medieval and Modern Times, with Notes, Observations Illustrations and an Introduction  Detroit 1969 = Lond 1876² 1896
Criticised for its antiquarian interpretation of "epigram" by Brander Matthews and mentioned somewhat coolly also by J.P. Sullivan in his Martial, as is understandable for one whose publishing project is intended to make Martial central to the tradition, which he isn't. See Kluger-Angress (in Addenda) for a greater influence of Owen, at least in Germany, and Cato can be found right through the Baroque in Central Europe.

Some interesting comments are made passim on the lack of rational or artistic order of some of these collections. In his Appendix Dodd lists many another work which contains some epigrams, and this list is useful as it advances into the 18C and 19C, while our researches were concentrated on the more formative periods of the Renaissance and Baroque, see Addenda § 11, Books and Bibliography, and Grolier Club in Bibl.2.

He mentions the book Epigrams Ancient and Modern by Booth, very coolly, noting that he has not used this work in the making of his own collection. His criticisms of the earlier collections mentioned are that they suffered from cultural amnesia, not recalling any of the foundational writers except Ben Jonson and Sir John Harington.

Dodd has done some of the bibliographic research that we have pursued through more modern instruments, beginning with "Oldys" 1735² (the attribution taken as doubtful), which wrongly claimed to be the first miscellany of epigrams ever to appear in English, and goes on to list Skialethia 1598 & 1641, Recreation for Ingenious Headpieces... 1654, Hackett 1757, The Poetical Farrago 1794 and "the selection in Elegant Extracts". Also The Festoon 1787², Select Epigrams 1797, and "last of the old colelctions", Panorama of Wit 1809. And for Epitaphs: Toldervy 1755, Hackett 1757, A Collection of Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions 1806, and Pettigrew's Chronicles of the Tombs, 1847. Dr. Johnson had planned to get out a "Collection of Epigrams, with Notes and Observations", but never did so.

A protracted bibliographic investigation of the versions (and origins) of a famous old sonnet which also turns up some interesting codicological matters. P. 360–361 mentions a MS lot sold by Southeby 19 July 1960, lot 404, under the title "Epistolae, Elegiae, Epigrammata, etc.", now NLS MS 20759. The only published writings of Mark Alexander Boyd (if he is indeed the M.A. Boyde, writer of Fra banc to banc) were printed in 1590 and 1592 in Bordeaux and Antwerp. It is not clear to me whether the part title "epigrammata" of the Southeby MS lot 404 was assigned by the original writer or by the Southeby's annotator.

P. 363 has a few reported comments and p. 362 some acidic judgements by Hailes on the value of the Latin verses of Mark Alexander. He seems to have written in Latin and Scots, but little of his Scots poetry, if any, has survived — not more than a faint whiff of it, apart from this sonnet, if indeed it is his. The adulatory epistle to his Epistolae heroides et hymni notes his ambitions in this area, and the "preeminent talents" in vernacular poetry of James VI, the addressee. Petrarch, Tasso and Ronsard are also mentioned as models.

Scots Latin and Vernacular verse  M.A.Boyd

Donaldson, Robert  "M. Alex: Boyde." The Authorship of "Fra bank to banc"  in MacDonald et al 1994 p. 344–366
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Scots Latin and Vernacular verse  M.A.Boyd

Donne and Milgate, John 1573–1631 & W.  The satires, epigrams and verse letters edited with introduction and commentary by W. Milgate  Oxford 1967
p.111 has a few poems in Latin.  P. 50–54 have the epigrams, 20, I think of which 13 are distichs showing the

Non-Classical
extremes of Baroque "point", rather like Owen.


Doresse, Jean Littérature copte in Queneau 1967 p.769–779 1967 Copte Copte

Dornseiff, Franz Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie Berlin 1922 p.139 Rambam etc. pp.54, 69, 145 nomina sacra, 146 Akrostichis. This very sketchy treatment of Dornseiff is still ritually quoted in many a scholarly work.


Draper and Person, J.P. & J.E. Jr. edd. Literature Criticism from 1400–1800 Detroit/NY/Lond. 1990 LC 12 1990 p.281 Northern Humanism. P.295 [Stefan Zweig] Poetry universal 'oratio ligata'; p.296 Huge anthologies of poetry in the Netherlands; p.338 Spread of Jesuit Schools; p.342/3 John Rothwell Slater on Renaissance Publication and book trade — medieval practices compared — hiring of books; p.345 Pierre Butler on the history of printing. "Reading" as opposed to study was unknown in the Middle Ages; p.351 Paul F. Grendler — early books lacked title pages. Most information suitable for TPs was first put in the colophon. Modern TPs only reached the majority of books about 1520s; p.351 print runs; p.352 the number of reprints presents a truer measure of a book's diffusion than hypothetical reconstructions of print runs.

Driver, G.R. Semitic Writing from Pictograph to Alphabet London 19542 1954 19481, 19763 (text not changed in our sections) Semitic Alphabet Semitic Alphabet


Dubin, Louis Sherr The History of Beads from 30,000 B.C. to the Present New York 1987 The pretext for citing this rich work is to recover some of the sense of the important image for Persian (and Arabic and Indian) poetic construction, often enough mentioned in appreciative works and even inside the poetic texts themselves, of a fine poem being made like pearls on a string. The interesting light thrown on this by a study of strung gems and beads (p. 188, & plate 197) is that pearls were typically not on strings! Even where this queen Non-Classical
of gems was very common, to pierce them was to lessen their value to a remarkable extent, and hence to string pearls was a sign of very conspicuous consumption. Mughal India had the highest cult of pearls and pierced them most, it seems. P. 296 deals with pearls in detail. Of course, beads and gems share a common, messy boundary.


Chinese Burial *XunZi-Du*

Duchesne, L *Flores epigrammatum ex optimis quibusque authoribus excerpti* Paris 1555

Also Paris 1560 See Thompson p.415, and Ilsewijn

Latin Epigram *Flores epigrammatum*

Duchesne-Guillemin and Lecoq, J. & P. *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce* Leiden 1985

Persian *for Mary Boyce*

Düchting, R. *Sedulius Scottus, seine Dichtungen* München 1968

Latin Medieval Poetry *Sedulius Scottus Düb*


p 818.5202 D845ep English Epigram *Dudek's*

Duemmler, Ernst *MGH PLÆE PLÆC VOL. II rec. E. Duemmler* Berlin 1884 = Zürich/Berlin 1964 1884

NOTABILIA

Candidus p. 96 de vita Ägili has a 12 x Hend. Poetic Preface. P.117 two epitaphs: 12 x El (Hrabanus on EIGIUS) and 6 x El (Egil on self).

Gerwardus p. 126 in a 6 x El poem in praise of Charlemagne refers to the lector...

Hrabanus Maurus p. 162. In a 12 x El poem "Accipe librum" donat.

169–170 n° v 12 x El, a book preface, refers to "lector optime".

186 n° xxi *Ad Egiulum de libro quem scripsit* has in line 9 "grammata sola carent fato", and there are quite a few short verse letters, e.g. p.193.


Walahfrid Strabo p.338ff. Shorter Hx poems from de cult. hort. P. 353 Enigma, 4 x El de campano (and some of his letters are also short). P.365 de festibus, is short. P.382 de osse Dammulae is 6 x El, with the final Ave giving a sense of strong closure. P.392–398 Epitaphs (and tituli?). P. 40ff. prayers. P. 40ff. tituli. P. 417, 420 Varia, short. P. 424 Epitaphs.


Floridugdenensis p.530ff. Epigrammata Libri Omeliarum, some very long! cf. Brunhöltzl p. 434ff "the genre is that of the favourite Carolinian metrical Aufschriften and Inhaltsangaben." P.551–552 poetic letter to Bernhard of Vienne, thanking him inter alia for some epitaphs which he had sent! P.546 Tituli.


Carmina Salzburgensia some short.

Carmina varia p. 649 many short, cf. a real epitaph in a single distich n° viii.

Tituli romani collegit Baronius.

NOTE: More short verse letters. The MSS purporting to preserve genuine tituli from Fulda and from the "Church of the Cemetery" can be taken as genuine transcripts on the basis of the brevity of the verses contained. Literary "inscriptions" tend to the length of the verse epitaph, a dozen to five dozen verses, and certainly Brunhöltzl accepts the practice as being quite banal at this period. It would seem that the composition of short verses on the movable objects and the buildings of monasteries and cathedrals was a settled custom, at least from the Carolingian period to the High Gothic of Suger, and that such verses were widely preserved in transcripts.

Latin Medieval Poetry *MGH PLÆE PLÆC II*


Bonifatii p.3ff. riddles on virtues and vices Hx.

Pauli Diaconi p.45 2 longish epitaphs; p.50 de puer in glacie (!Hellenistic in origin) 6 x El.; p.56–60 Epitaphia 12 x El and 10 x El.

Dubia — p.64 short fables and some long epitaphs. P. 77ff verses for objects; p.85–6 38 line an acrostic epitaph for Paul the Deacon, but with a 4 x El tailpiece. P.89 poetic subscriptions to books, long. p.101 Tituli saec. viii (of

*Non-Classical*
which only the minority are short). P.206 Alcuin’s epitaph on Aelberht. ca. 239 letters in verse, some short. P. 248
xxx is a distich. 267ff e.g., n° III. P.292 Alcuin poems on pictures in codices. P.304 n° iv is a distich. p.308ff.
many quatrains and distichs among the inscriptions on St. Vedast’s. P.322 Inscriptions in a monastery (in
monasteries?). P. 338 n° xv In cimiterio Sancti Amandi (?) 22 lines l.16–17 "timete — qui legitis versus". P. 340 n°
cx 1–17 are all quatrains, cf. n°18 of 12 lines: "Hic fessus veniens primo subsiste viator...". P.350–351 is a 24 line
epitaph of Alcuin which was definitely inscribed.
Fardulfi Abbatis p.353.
Angilbert p.355. A quatrain on four stones, one line per stone, requesting that his tomb be trodden on by all!
Hibernici Exulis et Bernowini p.395 a 6 x El tailpiece to a 28 II Hex poem. P.401ff. where poems of 2, 4 and 6
lines occur, seemingly epitaphs.
p.415 n° viii 12 x El "Viator / legat titulum..."
Tituli saeculi noni ineuntis p.429. P.432 14 lines x El Epitaphium Riculfi "Te precor ex tumulo" P.443–444
Short and long epitaphs are preserved for Theodulf, but of the poems of Theodulf, very few are short. P. 489 Super
sepulchrum Hadriani papae makes 42 x El, but is not the same one as we find on the surviving stone, see p.113,
which has fully 50 lines! Incipits: P. 489 "Aurea funerea complectit littera carmen" and p.113 "Hic pater
ecclesiae, Romae decus, inclytus auctor". P. 530 three examples of 12 x El on three tablets 7C to 9C.
(Theodulf) p.540 two distichs as verse colophons. P.552–557 shorter "carmina" and tituli.
Smarragi d p. 605 — 8 x El posthumous (i.e., delayed) epitaph.
Appendix ad Theodulfum: riddles of 4 x El. and see p. 650, Index rerum memorabilium.
NOTE: Literary epitaphs quite easily run to numbers of lines in the double figures. Like poetic letters, they can
occasionally be short, seemingly without the shortness being meant to have an expressive or generic function. The
St. Vedast inscriptions illustrate the frequency of quatrains and distichs in a really inscriptional context, but the
motives for this shortness must depend on the artistic decorum of the whole monument, to a lesser extent on
practicality, and on the sort of functions intended for the verbal inscriptions, none of these easily accessible to the
non-medievalist. Verse colophons, presumably themselves Carolingian, show the short verse which we saw in
colophons of the Byzantine 14C and 15C. This could have been the result of diffusion of a habit, or of the common
forces at work in colophon environments, as short citations can be said to have been short because of an intrinsic
need to avoid an illustration becoming a digression, in most literatures, all over the world, without any necessity to
invoke diffusionist theories.
However, contemporary trends in Byzantium do cause one to suspect some sort of influence.
Latin Medieval Poetry MGH PLMAE PLÆC I

Early "professionals" in ANE villages, doctors and diviners.
Non-Modern Civilizations

Dunn, J. The Parramatta Cemeteries: St. Patrick’s Sydney? Parramatta and District Historical Society 1988
Australian Burial Epigraphy St.Patrick’s

Dupont-Sommer, André Littérature araméenne in Queneau 1967 p. 631–646 1967
Aramaic Araméenne

Durand, Maurice Littérature vietnamienne in Queneau 1967 p.1318–1342 1967
Vietnamese Viêtname

Duroiselle, Charles ed. Epigraphica Birmanica: being lithic and other inscriptions of Burma
Rangoon 1919–1936 4 v. in 7. + 2 portfol. plates. V.1 pt.1 Myasedi; pt. 2 Môn I–VIII; v.2
ptt.1–2 Tailang plaques on the Ananda Text by Chas. Duroiselle
[See below under KO for: Tau Sun Ko and Chas Duroiselle Epigraphia Birmanica I Pt. 1 1972
= 1919 and part 2 ed Chas Duroiselle 1960. ]
In Vol. 2 p.155 we read of a set of Pali verses B15–21 in a Mon inscription dated to AD 1093. It would seem
that the poetic epigraphy influenced by India nowhere favoured consistently short poems, and that was basically my
interest in checking the facts in areas influenced by Indian culture. See the letter of Dr. Nadana *Kasinathan,
Director, Dept. of Archaeology, C.P.T. Campus, T.T.T.I. Post, Madras 600 113, India. See Addenda.
Asian Coll LUCEq. 511 Burmese Epigraphy Burman

Duroiselle C. see KO, Tau Sun (or Taw Sein) cross reference

Non-Classical
Dwivedi, R.C. ed *Principles of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit* Delhi 1969

Eaton, Nathaniel 1609?-1674 *De fastis Anglicis, sive Calendarium Sacrum* The holy Calendar: being a treble series of epigrams upon all the feasts observed by the Church of England: to which is added the like number of epigrams upon some other more especiall daies, which have either their footsteps in Scripture, or are more remarkable in this kingdome, composed by...

London 1661

mfm 791 210:6 *English Epigram Calendar* *Fastae anglicae*

Eberling and Meissner, E. & B. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* Berlin and Leipzig 1932-.

Reprinted 1981- Incomplete. 1932-

Cuneiform *RLAss*

Ebin, Lois *Vernacular Poetics in the Middle Ages* Kalamazoo Mich. 1984. 1984

Medieval Poetics *Vernacular Poetics*


Much more recent than the San Ji (see Li Ji, Couvreur) but still "medieval", this fills in our knowledge of Chinese prescription about funerals and monuments. See Addenda.

Chinese Burial *ZhuXi-Eb*


None actually in verse, a few had added honorific poems of moderate length. See Addenda, *Han stones*

My Copy *Chinese Epigraphy* *Han stones*

Ecker, Ute *Grabmal und Epigramm. Studien zur frühgriechischen Sepulkraldichtung* Stuttgart 1990

My Book *Greek Epigram Burial* *Grabmal und Epigramm*

Eckhardt, Caroline D. *The Medieval Prosimetrum Genre (from Boethius to Boece)* in Genre 16 (1983) p.21–38

"Verse in prose" concerns any wide-ranging student of epigrams, as the verse in prose can come in typical lengths. In Boethius it is of lyric length, multi stanzas. Verse insets in prose occur in the Middle Ages in 1. Philosophical works, particularly those using personifying allegory. 2. Historical works and vitae of the saints or of kings, and also in a mixed category (and so hardly a useful one). 3. "Fictional", i.e., hero tales, popular anecdotes, international folktales, and even non-traditional, freshly-composed narratives. Some general bibliography is to be found on p. 32. Comparativism is only to be found in the notes. See, more solidly, Wieland's *Geminus stilus*, in Manitius passim, and *Klopsch "Opus geminatum".*


See, elsewhere in the Reallexikon, also LEHRVORTRÄGE (of slave-apprentices) H.P.H. Petschow, KUDURRU J.A. Brinkman, and KUDURRU – BILDSCHMUCK U. Seidl.

**KÖNIGSINSCHRIFTEN**

We are mainly interested in stelai and in transcripts of texts on stelai.

P. 64 Abschriften were commonly taken off stelai, statues and so on, onto clay, in Ur III, Old Babylonian, and New Babylonian times. These are not dual texts, which would be the best characterisation of Entwürfe oder Vorlagen for monumental inscriptions, but rather form a separate phenomenon. However, their intention is not "archaeological" or antiquarian, but didactic, perhaps also conservatory, and catalogic.

The article does not deal in detail with clay tablet law codes whose texts appear also on stone stelai. These however form independent documents.

P. 74 deals with *Stelen* from III millennium Mesopotamia and I millennium Assyria, where they eventually reached a typical form.

p. 75 deals with Archivstücke.
KUDURRU

Found especially around 1000 BCE, esp. 1307–1047. Kudurru begin without relief in the -14C, but the earliest period does have some with crude verbal inscriptions. Note the term narû ta ḫabî – "clay stele", "clay monument". They are also on stone. From 1139–1047 reliefs increase and become standard on them, together with inscriptions. Post 1047 the phenomenon enters into a decline to die out by 648 BCE (Ṣamaš-sum-ukīn). The kudurru was not itself a legal document (p. 269) and was essentially designed, "for display", in a temple, but it was based on a sealed legal document done on clay and archived as usual. There is only one piece of evidence that Kudurru were ever set up in fields.

In the -12C and early 11C they were occasionally (p. 271) given their own, personal, name. Generically they are called narû, abnu (stone), asumittu (stele), but rarely kudurru.

[P.M.Mc] The nature of the "display" for which kudurru were intended, and the degree of personalisation of these stelai-standing stones would repay more discussion with the experts in this field.

See Addenda §36.3 p. 800 for a more general treatment.

Sumerian Cuneiform Epigraphy

Royal Inscriptions

Elders Willem Symbolic Scores, Studies in the Music of the Renaissance Leiden etc. 1994

Vol. V of Symbola et Emblemata, Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Symbolism

The book follows the author's more general Studien zur Symbolik in der Musik der alten Niederländer Bilthoven 1968. The 1994 work generalises theoretically, but specialises as to examples. All these are discoveries or investigations of the author. He alludes in passing to hidden symbolism alleged by others, usually to warn us against being too daring, or to disprove their theories.

While many sorts of hidden meaning are sought out, gematria has an honoured place.

The medieval history of gematric and other symbolic interpretation can be followed through his text, and his bibliographic references. Number and music were very closely connected in the Medieval mind because of the way music (theory) was taught: mathematically.

The types of "symbolism" claimed range from simple melodic quotation to the most arcane and non-apparent countings of notes, morae, and the strangest studies of the vowels of words and sol-fa syllables. Even graphemics are treated.

For us the most interesting graphemic phenomenon is the small number of engravings where a whole composition is clearly depicted in very meticulous and tiny notes as part of the picture, for which see below.

The book incidentally reveals the gematric values assigned to Latin letters by the author, which is not as in the "theoretically possible" table below, added for contrast. We summarise it by taking the modern English alphabet of 26 letters. Omit of course the letter j. Apparently both u and v are to be kept. The letters w and y are to be omitted. This leaves 23 letters, with the units series dominating: a = 1, k = 10, but 1 does not equal 20 to initiate a tens series, but merely = 11. Thus u is 20 and the final letter, z, merely 23. I do not know his sources for this, nor what other systems there might have been which required combinations of the tens and hundreds series to be added to the units, represented in Greek by alpha to iota, and in Semitic by aleph to yod, or equivalents.

Theoretically possible grid of number values applicable to the Roman alphabet:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Units</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tens</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundreds</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>[v]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>[y]</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A strange gematric one-off is the use of 10 for Jesus Christ. In Greek (and Semitic) iota = 10, in Greek, by the addition of digamma or stigma to the units series, and the mechanical transfer of the X (Chi) of the Greek Christos gives the Roman numeral for 10 as well, a coincidence which to some people was not coincidental, and the whole issue indicates much switching of systems for the making of numerical equivalences, an irresponsibility much magnified by the opportunistic use of systems and techniques on the part of modern searchers for number symbolism. We may remark on the intensive use of initials in inscriptions on Greek icons, and on Western seals. The gematira of initials was likely to be noted.

A couple of Latin verses are of interest:

p. 86 Ut re mi fa sol la ascendunt, sic pervia coelos

Transtulit volitans nomen ad astra tuum

O Praenestine [...]?

This is called "an epitaph on the death of Palestrina in 1594", but it is likely to be merely an extract of a longer poem, as the metrical O Praenestine is unlikely to have been left without any more text following the caesura. Its interest for Elders is different from our concern with epitaphs and short verse.

P. 168 reports that "Mater Dei memento mei" occurs in medieval books of hours and on various tombstones and portraits of the time. We have noted the phrase on seals and speculated on its origins and metricality. Perhaps the
Middle Ages had what pre-Vatican II Catholic piety called "aspirations", short pious phrases for repetition, often countable repetition, leading to the cultivation of a pious mind, to merit, and of course, to "indulgences". P.187 mentions that the "throne of mercy" image occurs on medieval gravestones. The image is a naturalistic representation of the Trinity — God the Father as an old man, holding before him the body of the dead Christ, or Christ on the cross; the dove — a symbol of the Holy Ghost — is placed above the head of Christ of that of the Father. We have some general interest in the iconography of gravestones, in case it occasionally relates to the epigraphy of these stones.

P. 200 has another verse, this time in a published Mass of P de Villiers, fl. 1532–ca. 1550, found in Moderne's Liber decem missarum of 1540. The versification of a performance direction is of interest for our search for semi-literary uses of verse, and can also be regarded, at this stage of printing, as semi-inscrptional. The canon section is to be sung according to this versified suggestion:

\[ \text{Incipe parve puer cantus proferre suaves.} \]
\[ \text{Ad duplam bassus quartam tenor apte sequentes.} \]

[The boy soprano begins the canon, after two breves the bass follows, after four breves the tenor comes in as well!] This is obviously a couplet written precisely for this occasion!

P. 234 mentions the so-called "picture motet", fig. 37 has an example from 1587. Antwerp between the 1580s and 1590s was the centre of this short-lived tradition. The polyphonic motet eventually pictured was usually composed especially for the engraving. Eight of the thirteen examples from this period were engraved by a Johan Sadeler. The impact of the fine engraving of the notes is to be understood as depending on ideas of heavenly music, and is an extraordinary case of emphasis on the purely graphic. One wonders about the degree to which various stone inscriptions (of words) were intended to be mainly "graphic", rather than (prompt?) texts for reading or for recitation, even memorization. It is most significant that this type of late 16C pictured music displays a complete work, not just fragments of one. Glimpses of musical score and notes were not uncommon in the illustrations of books of hours in earlier times, we have even found musical staves graffitoed in English churches, in Pritchard, but not reproduced in our Addenda. It is difficult to decide which of the engraved musical works were not designed for actual performance. Elders finds it hard to prove that any particular piece was definitely musica non exsequenda, but he assumes that there did exist music, mostly religious and "celestial", of that sort and that the mental category also existed.

Elders's treatment of the significance of various numbers deals with inherent virtues of certain numbers, such as 40 and 6 (Good Friday, 6th hour). Those which have simple gematric interpretations may be represented by the following cases: Ockeghem = 64 = the number of notes of a musical section assumed to refer to this musician, p.144, and the same goes for Jacob Obrecht = 97 = the notes of a final musical section, as well as, p.72, Hercules Dux Ferrarie = 210, = ten times the 21 repetitions of the "miserere" inserted into his funeral Mass. Elders finds subtle indications that these coincidences were intended by the composers. Of course, such things are not apparent in performance, and thus are extra-musical messages, to initiates only. What we note in non-gematric number symbolism is the floating nature of interpretation. Devotional traditions fluctuated, such as concerning the number of the Sorrows of Mary: 5, 7, 12, or 15. Occurrence in the scriptures and the early Fathers made various numbers likely to become a symbol in certain periods and contexts, such as 8 for salvation (Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday), and to a limited extent, multiples and near misses (one more or one less) of these numbers may have significance, though this sort of play is thought to have been restricted. Manipulating and combining well-known symbolic numbers to manufacture less certain symbols, a not uncommon hermeneutic procedure, is a practice warned against in the introduction.

My Book Musical Musical Scores

Elfenbein, J. Popular Poetry of the Baloches in (Duchesne-Guillemin) 1985 v.1 p.159–178 1985

We have searched around for any help on defining "poetic form" in Avestan, Middle (literary) Iranian, and folk Iranian.

Persian Poetry Baloches

Eliot [By no body must know whom, to be had every body knowes where, and for any body knowes what], John Poems or epigrams, satyrs, elegies, songs and sonnets, upon several persons and occasions 1658

Variable lengths. The word "epigram" is much used in the titles, and there are a few epitaphs.

mfm 791 1668:6 E521 English Epigram Eliot's

Elliott, Ralph W.V. Runes, an Introduction Manchester/N.Y. 1989

My Book Viking Graphemics Epigraphy Runes Runes


Mostly 13C and 14C, but a few earlier and later (later 12C or 15/16C). Thus the corpus breaks off earlier than

Non-Classical
that of our Monastic Seals study. Some legends recur whereas they were unique in the Monastic Seals, especially those involving Sta Katerina and Thomas A'Beckett, and some Marian tags. There are more in the vernacular, sometimes, apparently, in verse. But only 14 out of 2318 seem to be in verse, i.e., far fewer than the Monastic Seals corpus, as we would expect from the predominance of Latin verse on clerical epitaphs. There is far less variety of expression on the personal seals, but those which are daring are quite daring. See Addenda.

737.6 G? 786 ANL. English seals Personal Seals I


The blurb states that 1437 seals are treated. 2318 are countable and this is the base figure I take. See Addenda for the texts.

737.6074021 1/1, English Seals Personal Seals II


There are about 50 short poems available to us from this corpus of nearly 1,000 seals. It is not useful to be more precise. See Addenda. See also *Barnes and Hector 1954/1968. 993 headings (= original seal matrixes) are inferable from the 1434 impressions representing seals used by or in religious houses in England, Wales and Scotland, but not elsewhere, from the 12C to the 16C, the full period of English monastic use, but only those in the keeping of the Public Records Office: e.g., Ancient Deeds Series; Acknowledgements of Supremacy; Surrenders of the Monasteries; Loose Seals; and in addition all monastic seals entered previously in the card catalogue of the PRO, from whatever varied sources this may originally have been done. 429 are illustrated in the plates. Sometimes various impressions are called upon to reconstruct the original matrix, which is what is really being catalogued, on the evidence of the best or most datable impression actually kept (or copied? this is not sure) in the PRO itself. Arranged alphabetically under the name of the Monastery, Male, Female or M/F.

My Book Latin Medieval Epigraphy Monastic Seals

Ellis, Colin Dare Bernard 1895- Mournful numbers: verses and epigrams by... London 1932 xii, 126 p. signed by the author

Colin Ellis Mournful Numbers, Verses and Epigrams 1932. Cf. The Dispassionate Pilgrim. The collection is a very good one, full of quatrains, with many "epitaphs". P.16-17 are "from the Chinese". We quote just a little of the others:

p.14 // International Conference // To kill its enemies and cheat its friends./ Each nation its prerogative defends;/ Yet some their efforts for good will maintain / In hope, in faith, in patience, and in vain?/

p. p. 37 // Unforgiven // With Paul I have not lately dined;/ My jokes were broader than his mind.//

p. 92 // The Suicide // To wait the farce' s ending I refused./ The jokes were dirty: I was not amused.//

p.99 // An Epitaph (twopence coloured, penny plain) // He worshipped at the altar of Romance / (Tried to seduce a woman half his age) / And dared to stake his fortune on a chance / (Gambled away his children's heritage) / He valued only what the world held cheap / (Refused to work, from laziness and pride) / Dreams were his refuge and he welcomed sleep / (He failed in business, took to drink, and died.) //

RB MOD 395 English Epigram Mournful numbers

Ellis, Rennie The All New Australian Graffiti South Melbourne 1985

Elsum, John fl. 1700–1705 Epigrams upon the paintings of the most eminent masters, antient and modern with reflexions upon the several schools of painting by J.E. Esq. London 1700 133, [3] p. This work has been wrongly attributed to John Evelyn

Some are translations from neo-Latin: Michael Silos de Romana pictura et sculptura. They are usually of 8+ lines, but always of moderate length. P. 58 LXXVII on the Massacre of the Innocents by Rubens has 20 II.

RB CLI 716 English Epigram Art On the Paintings

Elvin, C.N. A Handbook of Mottoes (= 1860) 1963

Mottoes Mottoes

Elwell-Sutton, L.P. The Persian Metres Cambridge 1976

Appendix II p.243, Verse Forms, basic divisions: monorhyme, couplet rhyme, stanzaic. The mathnawi is purely Non-Classical
Persian and endlessly extendable for epic or other narrative. P.251 the qi’fa is of any length, 2 to 170 couplets have been thus titled, but it is more usually short. The fard is necessarily just a single verse, used in two ways: either as a quote, or more independently “as an epigram”, but it is still a sort of fragment, and in a different way from the qi’fa. P.252 discusses the complex of rubāt/fātūbat/tarāna, “fourer-couplet-singing verse”. The classical metres for it are § 5.1.13 on p.110 (apparently the older) and § 3.3.13, on p.99, which start and end the same way, differing only by one displaced long syllable in the middle. Elwell-Sutton and others have claimed this rhythm to be easy to master and to recognise, but this was not Finn Thiesen’s experience, for which see his later work. There are explicitly four hemistichs. The metre 2.1.11 on p.92 was what I thought to be rubāT metre, but apparently is exceptional, occurring in a few well-known quatrains. P.258 deals with the “foursome” or murabbā’, which is one of a wide variety of stanzaic forms called by the number of hemistichs they contain, and is a derivative of the musamma’t.

PK 6353 E4 1976 ANL Menzies Persian Prosody Persian metres


[Nathaniel Eaton?]
P.21–47 “Epigrams & by E.E.” Extremely variable in length, however, the corpus includes many distichs and quatrains. Two sections contain ‘epigrams’, but only the second is so titled.

mfm 791 353.5 E667A English Epigram Dia poema

Epiphanius and the Holy Transfiguration Monastery, Bishop of Cyprus The Lamentations of Matins of Holy and Great Saturday, and also An Homily On the Burial of the Divine Body of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, on Joseph of Arimathaea, and on the Lord’s Descent Into Hades Which, After His Saving Passion, Wondrously Ensued on the Holy and Great Saturday, by our Father Among the Saints... Boston Mass. 1981 Tr. from the Greek.

This is one part of our search for the history of Hosper Pelikan..., which is our leading example of the "repeated fragment" of liturgical poetry, the "wandering" liturgical verse, found variously inscribed and displayed even outside liturgical contexts. Such "verses" never seem to be called epigram and are not included in Komines. The popular Hosper Pelikan fragment is one of a long series of semi-independent "Lamentations" (Gk. "laudations"), which, like the frequent use of the picture of the pelican in sacred art, seems to be a late medieval development, though the Triodion section they occur within is old enough. I do not know how much older it is than its context today. The texts are each said to be shorter than what is normally counted as a troparion, but in this text they are indeed called troparia. I quote the Bishop:

...One of the most compunctionate services of Holy Week is that of the Lamentations of the Matins of Great and Holy Saturday, which, by anticipation, is generally chanted on Friday evening in parish usage. The Lamentations (in Greek, 'Eyκοίμια lit. "laudations") are of a later origin than most of the Triodion hymns, in that they date from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. However, they quickly became one of the favourite services of the Orthodox Catholic Christians.

The number of the troparia of the Lamentations corresponds to the number of the verses of Psalm 118. This Psalm, known also as the "Blameless" because of the appearance of this word in the first verse, is used in the Church's funeral service, whence also its association with the service of the Lamentations before the Epitaphios shroud of Our Saviour. Because of its length, the Psalm is divided into three sections, or stases, when it is read in church; hence, the Lamentations are likewise divided into three stases. The intoned verses of Psalm 118 alternate with the hymns of the Lamentations.

These hymns are especially beloved by those who have been deemed worthy to become pilgrims and to worship at the very grave of Our Saviour in Jerusalem, the holy City...

This from the first page of the Foreword. I do not know the page number as it is unnumbered and I have no more of the work.

Byzantine Liturgy Triodion-Enkonia


S 736.50954 STU Indian Epigraphy Purabhilekha


Because of the unavailability of the early volume I turned also to the bilingual ed. of Mynors. Erasmus continued to add to and modify his best seller in various editions.

879.8 E65 A1 Gnomica Adagia HeKi

Non-Classical
Erasmus and Margolin, of Rotterdam & J.-C. Erasmi Opera Omnia 1-5 Parabolae sive similia ed. J.-C. Margolin Amsterdam/Oxford 1975 Text and long introduction.

Introduction gives indications of the intention of the author in a letter of 15 Oct. 1514 to Pierre Gilles, mentioning "plurimas in uno libro gemmas" cf. Seneca Epistolae & Quaest. Nat. and this use of gem imagery had a rich following in the emblematics of the XVI-XVIII C. P.4 cf. διαδοχησεις. Cf. M. Mann Phillips The Adages of Erasmus Cambridge 1964 for further discussion about the connection of the Parabolae to the Adagia. The parabolae were apparently visualised as little gifts, "souvenirs", or "symboles", in the traditional understanding of the latter. Thus the materiality of the text was alive and well in the 16C, apparently detached from the materiality of its support.

879.8 E65 A1 Gnomica Parabolae

Erasmus and Mynors, of Rotterdam & R.A.B. Collected Works of Erasmus 32 Adages I vi 1 to I x 100 Tr. and annot. R.A.B. Mynors Toronto etc. 1989 Bilingual and rich notes.

p.405 I ix 34 Leonem ex unguibus aestimare p.200 text, p.356 notes. Note the plural of the claw(s). This affects the interpretation: rash or premature judgement? lively and creative imagination? perceptive judgement? clever and accurate extrapolation (if this is not merely a stronger version of the former)? = Diogenianus 5.15 (Tilley L 313); Lucian Hermodotus 55 cited as "sects" by Erasmus; Plut. Mor. 410C cites Alcaeus Z 115 (438); Philostratus (see here I vi 75 & n1) Life of Apollonius 1.32; Basil the Great PG 32.268C and Epistulae 9.1; and Aulus Gelius I.1.2 citing Vitruvius (? I could find nothing of the sort).

The problem had arisen from an intriguing title to a book of English epigrams by *Cottrell (1654? 1656?) and the chance that the title might contain some information as to how epigrams were regarded at that period. A selection from the work of Robert J. Clements on Michelangelo (*Buonarotti and Testori p.31 q.v.) included our puzzling ex ungue leonem, used in the sense of "you know the lion from his handiwork", whether in the process of tracking him, inspecting his kill, or, less likely, looking at him "in the fur". It is in the nature of such things that the ellipsis of the verb, or of a whole phrase, made it impossible to capture the intended meaning unless one is lucky enough to find the phrase in living use. This use may not be the original one, but it will give the sense of the 17C English book title where we first met it. The phrase could, for example, mean that a single claw not quite sheathed gives away to a close viewer the identity and the danger of a lion (presumably masquerading as something else, in a fabular context). There are many other possibilities. The phrase is predictably found in Erasmus, Adagia, and it is extant in the Greek παρωμια, see *Rupprecht.1714.10 has (from Diog. V 16) the convenience of the plural: εκ των ὀνύχων τῶν λέοντα, and again, this time from C 197, on 1725.43, εξ οὐνύχων τῶν λέοντα, "aus einem Teil läßt sich das Ganze erkennen".

879.8 E65 C 1 Gnomica Adagia My


Genre Zhanres

Esdaile, Arthur Moments: Epigrams and Verses London 1932 facsimile of the handwritten MS RB DNS 3717 English Epigram Moments

Estienne, H. Paris. see. Blount, Thomas, Gent. 1645 cross reference

Etheridge, R. jnr The Dendroglvphs or "Carved Trees" of New South Wales Sydney 1918

P. 6 Milns’s typology into 1. funerary 2. commemorative (of a tribal event) and 3. Symbolic-totemic “Used in Bora or other ceremony, or in tribal education” is reduced to two by denying the possibility of separating the funerary from the commemorative, as Milns’s “funerary” types are merely somewhere near burials, not closely connected with them. Etheridge thus arrives at two types: Taphoglyphs (i.e., funerary) and Tele-te-dendroglyphs (i.e., initiatory).

Plate III top half purports to show a scene at Mt. Wayo near Goulburn. There are many plates. He quotes Dr. John Fraser, of course.

572.9944 Syd Fish Aboriginal Burial Art Epigraphy Dendroglyphs

Étiemble, deficit praenomen Littératures cléricales. Littératures laïques in Queneau 1967

p.27–60 1967 Cléricales-laïques

Non-Classical

On English “gardenists” and Père-Lachaise, mainly. The blending of the funerary and the elegiac required changes in Baroque funerary style, as illustrated in the misinterpretations soon given to “Et in Arcadia ego” paintings. The inscription seems primary in the garden memorials (and also the actual tombs) Shenstone having prose on his tomb and verse written about his burial, but never inscribed. The classicising influence of Palladio and of the French Baroque led to these countries having a great influence on the rest of Europe (see *Memmesheimer*).  

Burial Architecture Epigraphy  

*Architecture of Death*

Ettinghausen, R. *Arabic Epigraphy: Communication or Symbolic Affirmation* in Lavin 1989, non vidi, sed plura de eo legi 1974  

Arabic Graphemics  

*Symbolic Affirmation*

Evans, J.G. *The Black Book of Carmarthen (Lvyyr Du Kaer Myrddin)* Reproduced & Edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Vol. v of the Series of Old Welsh Texts) Pwllhelf 1906  

Welsh  

*Black Book*

Even-Shoshan, Avraham *Ha-Milon he-Chadash* Yerushalayim 1987 The four vol. ed with reduced print, in Hebrew letters and language.  

V. 2 p. 869 col. 2 NEFESH, signification 95 mazzevat zikkaron la-met, ziyyun la-miftar, i.e., the Aramaic and particularly the South Arabian meaning of primary funeral monument in general and perhaps of stele. The meaning seems late and fairly uncommon, but late Hebrew long subsisted macaronically with Aramaic, in which the meaning, though still likely once to have been imported from the West and South, had long been domesticated.  

My Book


Barbarian Art  

*Art barbare*


*Arthurienne*

Faral, Edmond *Les Arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle* Paris 1924 Study, followed by many texts, including Geoffrey de Vinsauf Poetria nova.  

p.xv 80 MSS of the Poetria Nova alone survive, and these 12C artes seem to have ruled poetic theory and perhaps poetic practice right into the Renaissance, when new ones began to be written.  

p.99–101 The three paths to poeticising: by rules, by constant personal practice, and by models. The latter is the most interesting, as it seems to have prevailed, and would pass on “implicit form” and genre not mentioned in the rules. Faral seems to be the common source for the appreciation of Sidonius (“that neglected author”) in the poetriae novae. Those who later mention this seldom refer to hard facts or show any appreciation of Sidonius or his period. Faral works from the number of citations given to model poets and the general tone of these allusions, and these are found in Evarard the German 645/6, Geoffrey in several places, and Alain de Lille 1825–7.  

p.102 The elaboration of written poetry was done orally, thus there were no drafts to be lost or to survive.  

p.103 The letters of Sidonius preserve the oldest description (theory) of “recurrentes”.  

Here it may be useful to note that the exempla of figures of style and of thought offered throughout the texts are often enough of two lines in length, as is not surprising. However, they are surprisingly discrete and unintegrated (syntactically) into their prose context. “Epigram” is never even mentioned, and the genera seem not to be of any interest to these theorists. They are working on the level of verbal, phrasal, and sectional technique.  

Latin Medieval Poetics  

*12C artes poeticae*

Faulkes and Woty, F. & W. *The Poetical Calendar containing a Collection of the Scarce and Valuable Pieces of Poetry with Variety of Originals and Translations by the most Eminent Hands Intended as a Supplement to Mr. Dodsley's Collection, Written and Selected by Francis Pawkes MA and William Woty in Twelve Volumes* Lond. non vidi nisi Vol. 1 Jan et Vol. 2 Feb. 1763  

Presumably a popular miscellany. Some Greek epigrams were explicitly imitated. There was some graveyard poetry, from one of which I extracted this meagre gleaning, indicative both of the physical nature of pre-19th C graveyards, and of the attitudes people held to them. The nature of the “support” for the stone-to-stone transmission
of epitaphs is of importance to me. By the Reverend Mr. Moore, of Cornwall:

...Around me as I turn my wandering eyes / Unnumbered graves in awful prospect rise, / Whose stones say only when their owners dy'd, / If young, or aged, and to whom ally'd. / On others pompous epitaphs are spread / In memory of the virtues of the dead: / Vain waste of praise! Since, flattering or sincere,/ The judgement day alone will make appear./

Such sentiments are common, in Western Medieval and Baroque, and some Muslim periods forming part of the Vanitas tradition (or de contemptu mundi).

English Burial Calendar Poetical Calendar


940.1 159/1 Syd Fish Latin Medieval Epigraphy


I found no satiric or ironic poems in this corpus. Nevertheless, even amatory or laudatory madrigals were closely related to epigrams. One would expect that the satiric exceptions of which I think I read in the Penguin History of Choral Music would come from the Baroque end of the tradition.

Madrigal Madrigals

Fergusson, Robert see Currie

Fernyhough, Brian Lemma - Icon - Epigram London 1982 [piano]

D10/FER 2, P10/FER 2 ConSyd Quay Musical Epigram Lemma F

Feuerbach and Massey, Ludwig 1804–1872 & James A. Thoughts on death and immortality: from the papers of a thinker, along with an appendix of theological-satirical epigrams, Ludwig Feuerbach; edited by one of his friends; translated, with introd. and notes by... Berkeley 1980 ca.

"A kind of reflection that opposed systems of thought." Such anti-systematic philosophising was to have a long future in Germany. This collection is of aphorisms and epigrams, the latter mostly in distich form. Macaronism is common.

218 F423 German Epigram Thoughts

Filliozat, Vasundhara L'épigraphie de Vijayanagar du début à 1377 Paris 1973

46 pages or double page openings exhibited some poetic epigraphy, almost always as a part of a prose text, and usually at the beginning or very near the end, if not at the end of that particular prose text. Such verse inclusions are mostly quite short.

q 954.792 F486 Series 1) v. 91 Indian Epigraphy Vijayanagar

Fischer and Gätje, W. & H. Grundriss der arabischen Philologie Bd.1 Sprachwissenschaft 1982, Bd.2 Literaturwissenschaft 1987, Bd. 3 published subsequently 1982–1987–?

Arabic GAP

Fisher, Payne Deus et Rex Elogia Sepulchralia nonnullorum primipilariarum 1675 Latin prose, set out in the form of inscriptions, and also verse, long. Cf. "Iusta Sepulchralia"

mfm 791 F1015 Latin Modern epigraphy Inscriptional book
Fisher, Payne  The tombs, monuments and sepulchral inscriptions lately visible in St. Paul's Cathedral, 1684. p.3—a tablet had quoted verses of James I, in vellum. There are some very early epitaphs in Latin prose, e.g. King Sebba of the East Saxons, 677 CE. See below, from p. 64, for the epitaph of Owen. Also, p.72 has W. Lilly on Colet, 8 x Eleg. There are a fair few in verse, but not the majority. Verse epitaphs and memorials are seldom longer than 8 x El. Prose epitaphs longer.

p.64: 6 x El. on Owen: // Parva tibi statua est quia parva statura, supellex / Parva; volat parvus magna per ora Liber. / Sed non parvus honos, nec parva est gloria, quippe / Ingenio haud quidquid maius in orbe tuo. / Parva domus textit, templum sed grande; Poetea / Tunc verè viam, quìm moriuntur, agunt. //


Read merely to get in contact with modern Italian "epigram", about which I know little. It may be less important to know of it than of French, German, English, Polish, Russian etc. even though it seems that French and German vernacular epigram came "from Italy". P.68, Martial's two line reply from Bibilis, and p.144–145, 7 short LAPIDI, or Baroque style prose epitaphs, wryly biting, verging on poetry by the occasional rhyme. They make great use of the traditional machinery of the genre for highly modern purposes. They are for: Pasolini, Moravia, Raffaele La Capria, Juan Rudolph Wilcock, Alberto Arbasino, "un pittore impegnato", and for himself: // Qui giace / Ennio Flaiano / tra il materiale raccolto / del suo romanzo inedito / Le memorie di un giorno / non durano di più.//

YY 858.91409 F576no Italian Epigram Uovo di Marx

Flecknoe, Richard d. 1678? Epigrams of all sorts written by Richard Flecknoe London 1669 [4], 46p. mfm 791 1206:15 F1217 English Epigrams Of all sorts 2

Flecknoe, Richard d.1673? Epigrams of all sorts, made at divers times on several occasions by... 1670 [8], 92 Loosely grouped by the author. RB DNS 6357 Wing F1218 English Epigrams Of all sorts 4

Flecknoe, Richard d.1673? Epigrams of all sorts, made at divers times on several occasions by... 1670 [8], 92 [20] unpaged with special title page for final pp.[1–20] — "epigrams divine and moral, dedicated to Her Majesty"
mfm 791 594:3 English Epigrams Of all sorts 3

Flecknoe, Drydeniana I The Life and times of Seven Major British Writers' Early Career 1668–1671 esp. for Richard Flecknoe Epigrams of all Sorts 1671 and his Epigrams Divine and Moral dedicated to Her Majesty 1670. 1670 1671 for these dates The prolific Flecknoe is represented, apparently, in this Dryden-centred series because Dryden made him into MacFlecknoe, not for any intrinsic merits or demerits of his own.

Many encomia of 15–20 lines. P. 65 Prose introduction to the 5th book has a recipe for 'true epigram': "for their length or shortness, they take the measure from themselves". See also Addenda.

English Epigrams Of all sorts 1

Flecknoe, Richard d. 1678? Epigrams made at several times upon several occasions and continued to the year 1673 by Rich. Flecknoe. London 1673 123 p. in various pagings. Typed note: "said to be an R.C. Priest"
mfm 791 1357:4 F1216 English Epigrams At several times

Flecknoe, Richard d. 1678? A collection of the choicest epigrams and characters of Richard Flecknoe being rather a new work, then a new impression of the old — Characters made at several times on several occasions 1673 Two parts, two title pages, the second title given is that of Pt. 2. A much published work, under varying titles. N.B. "These Epigrams, which I aptly couple with the Characters, since these are onely Epigrams in prose, as the others are onely characters in verse..."
mfm 791 29:8/211:3 F1210 (1216?) English Epigrams And Characters
Flecknoe, Richard d.1678? Euterpe revisited, or. Epigrams made at several times in the years 1672, 1673, & 1674 on persons of the greatest honour and quality most of them now living: in III books. London 1675 [2], 98p. mfm 791 1357:5 F1222 English Epigrams Euterpe

Fleet, John Faithfull Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. III. Gupta Inscriptions Calcutta? 1888 P.139–142 and the nearby plate xxi contain the funerary ? sestet/sixain from Chandragupta II ? noted in Smith, Burgess and Fleet 1975. This was first published by Prinsep in 1834, from Lieutenant William Elliot’s 1831 poor facsimile. In 1838 Prinsep published a more satisfactory lithograph, on the basis of a copy made in that same year by Captain T.S. Burt. Dr. Bhau Daji revised these in 1875, apparently from a copy on cloth made by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraj, and reading for the first time the king’s name as “Chandra”. The question is which of the many Chandras. The inscription is pretty immovable at Maharoli, Mahroli, Muhrolee of the old English maps, i.e., Mihirapurul, corrupted to Mêharaui, Mênharaui. This is 9 miles S of Dehli, and the inscription is on the west side of a tapering iron column, 16” in diameter at the base and 12” at the top, 23 feet 8 inches high, always called the Dehli pillar, and standing near the well-known Kutb Minar in the ancient fort of Rây Pithârâ within the limits of this village, chief town of the Dehli district in the Punjab (as then constituted, this would make Dehli (Dihli?) most likely to be Delhi). [The village Mihirapurul is given as being of Lat 28° 31’ N, Long. 77° 14’ E, which is indistinguishable from the position of modern Delhi on the biggest map currently available to me] The writing is on quite a small patch of this iron pillar: 2’ 9 1/2’ broad by 10 1/2’ high, the bottom line of the inscription being 7’ 2” above the stone platform around the lower part of the column, thus there is almost 15’ from the inscription to the top of the pillar, meaning that it is a third of the way up, and that it is looked up to by a man on foot, directly at by a man on a horse, and somewhat downwards at by anyone riding a camel or an elephant. It is in 6 graphic lines, constituting 6 lines of Sanskrit verse, all in the long metre called Sardulavikridata. It is a posthumous elegy (how does this differ from a “prashasti”?) to a great conqueror called Chandra, whose deeds remain on earth to remind us of him as the coals of a forest fire remind us of past conflagrations. It is not dated. Prinsep said 3/4C, Bhau Daji post-Gupta. Ferguson, one of the early Chandraguptas of the great Guptas, i.e., 363 or 400. Hultzsch first said Chandragupta I, but there is no reference in the text to any overthrow of the Indo-Scythians, which must have been the major achievement of his reign. His second tentative thought is an unnamed younger brother of Mihirakula, referred to in Hiuen Tsiang. The name of the village suggests something like this, assuming that the pillar is still somewhere near its original location. Smith/Burgess/Fleet 1975 say Chandragupta II 415 CE. They note that the pillar weighs six tons. The object of this Vaishnava inscription, on a hill which it calls Vishnupada, i.e., “...marked with the footprints of Vishnu” is to record the erection of the pillar, which is called a dāvaja, or “standard” of that god. Thus it could be considered as very secondary to the symbolic architecture itself, whatever the prominence of the florid verse and the clarity of the latter’s engraving. The lack of ancestral and genealogical information would seem to detract from the formality and seriousness of the inscription, as would its brevity. Serious inscriptions, particularly those in verse, tend to be very long in India. It is possible that this is starkly simple and a paradoxical tribute to the great man, which would make it atypically epigrammatic. Only one enemy is mentioned, the Vâhlikas, and one journey, crossing the seven mouths of the River Sindhu. No horse sacrifices are mentioned. Perhaps this Chandra did not achieve any, despite being an eka-adhirajya (a sole supreme emperor), as indicated in the derivative of this word in the poem, aikâdhirajya, with adhiraja being a technical feudatory title, probably like Maharaja). Another factor to be considered is whether the monument was set up in a culture which expected inscriptions on iron pillars. There seems not to have been one on the one at Dhrâ, but the Persian inscription now on that may replace one which could have been effaced by the first Muslim invaders into Central India. It would seem that many periods of Indian architecture and culture easily tolerated anepigraphic monuments. An iron pillar was in those days a remarkably precious object. Court traditions and perhaps folk memory would be expected to retain the story of the monument. The letters are cut very carefully and regularly spaced, but not achieving anything like Greek stoikhedon. The left margin is sharp, the right varied (the writing, of course, is from L to R). The lines are careful and straight. Only the first line, much shorter than the rest, has something like the usual slightly crowded disposition of letters, the second shows much more expanded spacing, and the other four are slightly more even than the second. See Addenda for the text.


Non-Classical

mfm 791 F1247 Greek Latin Epigraphy Sylloge antiqua


Many meanings, originally = basically "ahad"?, also technical meanings later. I.e., "only, solitary, unique, incomparable, one of a pair = a half", a very polysemic word, but so are many poetic terms in this tradition. "In poetry it denotes a line of verse taken in isolation (intact or reduced to a single hemistich)", thus to be defined as a line or a half-line according to other considerations not apparent to me. We are referred to Lane, and to Tahänawr, Dictionary of technical terms.

Arabic Poetry Fard

Fleming and Lappenberg, P. & J.M. Paul Flemings lateinische Gedichte Amsterdam 1969 = Stuttgart 1863 1863

Paul Fleming (1609–1640) was an important public figure, and a major if today an unimpressive poet, one of the last to use Latin by preference: See also Anna Maria *Carpi Paul Fleming de se ipso ad se ipsum. Note, in an oldish history of German literature, Richard M. *Meyer Die deutsche Literatur bis zum Beginn des 19 Jahrhunderts Berlin 1920² (1912¹) p.278–80. The author notes more than once that Fleming's work lacks the sense of "individual experience" shown by that of Gryphius. The verse is almost entirely elegiac, seemingly measuring 8 lines every epigram. There are other categories (or, at least, other generic titles) than "epigram": Miscellanea, Cupidines, Vota, Desideria, Suspiria, Tumuli. The Epigrammata however come in XII books, p.285–475. All this was published, and this from 1630 onwards. Fleming's most interesting and varied life seemed not to tempt him to break the firm mould of the traditions of expression and treatment that he had inherited, and valued.

891.1 F598 E 1/1 Syd. Fish. Latin Modern Epigram Fleming's


The once important macaronic phenomenon may be hard for us to take seriously, but it may be crucial for understanding the diglossic situation of the Renaissance. Folegno wrote epigrammatic poems too. How many non-medical people (and non-Renaissance scholars) have heard of Fracastoro's Syphilis, so studied for the history and myths of this early modern plague? It is a long poem, and not directly relevant to our topic, but it does show the degree to which really vital and totally modern issues were handled in Latin verse. See *IJsewijn.

Italian Macaronic Folegno

Folliere, E. I calendari in metro innographico di Cristoforo Mitileno Brussels (vol.2 later) 1980

Metric calendars are a Byzantine phenomenon encouraging the composition of very excerptible short verses. However, short verses were popular before and independently of such calendars.

Greek Byzantine Epigram Calendar Christophoros' metric calendar

Fowler, A. Kinds of Literature, an Introduction to the theory of Genres and Modes Oxford (ad me non facile pervenit — exempli causa) 1982 Genre Kinds


It is the devises which primarily interest our study. However, where non-epigraphic heraldic iconography immediately precedes and/or accompanies a tradition of inscriptions on monuments, we must take the force and role of the non-verbal epigraphy into account in our "reading" of the inscribed words.

Heraldry Heraldry

Fracastoro and Eatough, Girolamo & Geoffrey Fracastoro's Syphilis Liverpool 1984 ed. Pr. 1555, this from 1583³, tributes to this unique work are quoted, one from Scaliger. Cited here as an extreme of Renaissance innovation in classicising forms.

879.1 F797 J1P 1/1

Frangeš, Ivo Povijest hrvatske književnosti Zagreb/Ljubljana 1987

Croatian South Slavs were, like the Polish, enthusiastic Humanists, and thus necessarily cultivators of epigram.

My Book Croatian Croatian

Non-Classical
RB 1588.62 Fisher, Ferg/1790 ANL Burial *NSW Aboriginies 1*

Fraser, John *The Aboriginies of NSW*. 1892. Fully 12 different types of burial are said to be mentioned among the 19C tribes of that state. The book is not the pamphlet of 1888, in which nothing of the kind is mentioned, only the supposed proof that Aboriginal customs give of their racial ancestry. See also *Gason* and *Howitt.*

Ch. VIII p.78–90 deal with Death and burial, and the variety of modes is used to suggest great antiquity for such differing customs:

1. Full length interment
2. interred lying on side, shins folded up behind
3. interred trussed up in a bundle
   ALL THREE found in the ONE TRIBE, The Kuringai. The following all found in separate tribes:
4. interred standing erect in grave
5. interred by being pushed into a side cavity of a pit
6. placed in a hollow tree and covered with bark
7. put up in a high, raised platform, and left there, or the bones may be gathered for the next form of burial, or be merely scattered
8. The bones may be carried about for a time, and then may be interred
9. no interment but some forms of covering, either by being laid on the ground and covered with logs, or by being laid on the ground and covered with earth, and in this case a special blason being made in nearby trees (e.g., "dendroglyphs")
10. the body is dried over a slow fire, survivors rub themselves with the juices and then carry about the dried body with them for a while, finally burying it
11. the dead body is eaten, according to elaborate rules
12. the dead body is burned.

572.9944 Fish, FER F9741 ANL, also pamphlet 346 of N 080 PAM Burial *NSW Aboriginies 2*

Latin Modern Poetry *Urbane Latin*

Fricke, Harald *Aphorismus* Stuttgart 1984
PN 6269 A2 F74 German Aphorism

Old Persian Prosody *Old Persian metre*

Friedrich and Gaynor, J. & F. *Extinct Languages* N.Y. 1989
My Book *Extinct*

Fründt, Edith *Tilmann Riemenschneider, mit sechs farbigen Tafeln, und elf einfarbigen Abbildungen* Berlin 1975
Brochure ca 50pp. with quality full page reproductions
A master from the end of the great Gothic tradition of church and civic sculpture, late 15C early 16C. The brochure features examples of the German "Epitaph" or "Bildepitaph" for which see *Zedler* s.v. and *Weckwerth.* See Addenda as well, for the inscription.
My Brochure Gothic Art *Riemenschneider*

Persian Middle Epigraphy Burial *Pahlavi epitaphs*

Fučić, B. *Glagoljski natpisi* Zagreb 1982
From 10/11C we find inscriptions in the Glagolitic alphabet in this Adriatic coastal area, so open to Latin influence, and short graffiti appear from the 12C. This collection ends about 1800, because that seems to mark the period of the end of original rather than antiquarian Glagolitic. Latin verse is twice found translated into Slavonic.

Non-Classical
once in a jingle which may itself be verse, two richly rhymed lines of 7 syllables for a (rhyming) Leonine hexameter. Bare author inscriptions such as "X wrote this" and the addition "...as he was taught to write" indicate some pride in literacy, among other possible functions of these phrases. Istria is the region in which the inscriptions predominate in many centuries, especially in the early period, and 15–17Cc. Grave inscriptions are of short sentence length, 7 or 8 (mostly short) words each. Some ask for prayers, others merely document a death. See in Addenda *Slavonic.

Old Slavic Epigraphy  GlagolHadriatic


French Epigram  French epigram

Fuller, Thomas  Abel Redivivus 1651

Title page (opposite a portrait page, in the same opening) displays a recumbent skeleton with a banner reading: "Mors ultima linea rerum est" and beneath, also this Latin quote (Pers. Sat 1.37) / Nunc levior cippus nunc imprimit o/ba / Ludet posteritas, nunc non e manibus illis. / Nunc non e tumulo fortunae favilla / Nascuntur Violae / mfm 791 F2400

English Books Latin Epigram  Abel Redivivus

Fuller, Edmund 1914— Thesaurus of epigrams, edited by Edmund Fuller. A new classified collection of witty remarks, bon mots, and toasts ... N.Y. 1943

808.8 FUL English Epigram  Thesaurus

Furnas J C  Voyage to Windward, the Life of Robert Louis Stevenson New York 1951

On the Road of the Loving Heart cut by one of the warring Samoan factions for Stevenson to get to his jungle house, the Mataafa clan (losing out at that time to the Malietoa and the Tamasese clans) the builders placed a signboard (perhaps in Samoan) giving their names after an honorific and explanatory prose inscription. Some of these very aristocratic men six weeks later carried the body of the Tusitala to its grave on top of Mt. Vaea, and themselves dug a grave there. P.432–433 tells of Furnas's climb to the site "five years ago", i.e., in the mid 1940s. The gabled concrete grave has plaques designed by Californian Gelett Burgess, whom Fanny Stevenson knew in California after the death of Louis. The east plaque carries part of "Requiem" (misquoted in the penultimate line, or quoted from another copy), the west has the speech of Ruth to Naomi in Samoan language, on the northern face is a plaque for Fanny, with her favourite flowers pictured and another selection from the verses of R.L.S., those beginning "Teacher, tender comrade, wife...". It so happens that the track comes up to the grave from this north side, but such could not have been part of the intentions of the designers of the monument, and it is accidental that the visitor sees Fanny's plaques first. However, the Samoan diggers of the original, earth grave placed Louis's head to the north. This could not have been accidental.

For the other monuments to Stevenson see Daiches p. 110–111 (Mt. Vaea, pictures), Hammerton p.308 (San Francisco), Rankin p.205 (Bournemouth/Skerryvore), and most biographies for Edinburgh. Also the poem Skerryvore (Coll. Poet. p.142 Underwoods XXXIV), which announces in seven lines the inscription of just one word: "Skerryvore", on the lintel of the cot(tage). See also p.485 of the poems for reference to other inscriptions for Skerryvore not listed in that work. The Edinburgh monument has a large bronze medallion on it, with extensive verse from R.L.S. in very fine, raised lettering, in front of and above an image of the great man sitting and writing.

ANU Burial  Stevensoniana Fu


Vol. II 1965 but these fascs. 8–10 1957.

Very early Islamic, 1/7C, born ca 40/660, died 82/701 and lived in Hijaz & Nejd. He was mainly a love poet, but good at fakhr and hijb. His divan is lost, but 800 anthologised verses and fragments survive. The difference between fragments and whole poems is, of course, hard to make now.

Arabic Poetry  Jamil

Gaechter, P.  Die Gedächtniskultur in Irland  Innsbrück 1970

The mnemonic athleticism of the bards and presumably, the druids, is treated. In this, as in other significant matters, the Atlantic Celts resemble the Indian fringe of Indo-European society.

Irish  Filidl

Galliou and Jones, Patrick & Michael  The Bretons Oxford 1991  The Peoples of Europe

My Book  Bretons

Non-Classical
Gallo, Ernest  The Poetria Nova and its sources in early rhetorical doctrine  The Hague 1971  p.188-9  Of the pair amplificatio and abbreviatio, the former was the main one found treated in the ad Herennium and other available Classical sources. Medieval theorists did not appreciate that the main meaning of abbreviatio was "diminishing the praise and prestige" of a person. However, "shortening" was also a Classical meaning of this word.

Curtius's contemptuous excursus on this in ELLMA ("Brevity as an ideal of style") is heavily criticised, p.189–191, with some telling elucidations and counter examples. Many great medievalists of the older school seem often to have approached their subject matter with considerable antecedent distaste. We must beware of accepting any more than the most positivistic comments on their say-so.

While epigram is never mentioned in all this medieval praise of abbreviation, the results seem epigrammatic, as happens in the Documentum II.2.43, where (p.195 of G.) a five line story is reduced to two hexameters, which as we know, was a specific form all through the Middle Ages and even later.

808.1 87 Latin Medieval Poetics  Poetria Nova

Gandjei, T.  The Prosodic Structure of an Old Turkish Poem  in Boyce 1970  p.157–160  1970  As Turkic inscriptions are not uncommon, Turkic metre is of interest to our project. See Zieme.

Turkish prosody  Early Turkish metre


492  South Arabian  Minee


Accompanied by a letter to D. Nichol Smith signed M. D.  

Generally heavy and turgid in style. N.B. p. 12: 

"//Tell them at home, there's nothing here to hide;// We had our orders, asked no questions, died.//"

RB DNS 1255  English Epigram  Garrod's

Gason and Isaacs, Samuel Police-Trooper & George  The Diverie Tribe of Australian Aboriginies  Adelaide 1874

P. 22 funeral rites.

Aboriginal Burial

Gaube, H.  Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien  Beirut 1978  A new collection of Mamluk inscriptions from Syria unpublished (at least in western language editions), or ones so far published only inaccurately. The CIA was shown to be incomplete even for Aleppo. Unpublished pre-Mamluk inscriptions were also collected. Post-Mamluk (Osmanenzeitlichen) inscriptions have been widely ignored by scholars, but Gaube also collected them as far as he could. These Ottoman inscriptions allow us to study the last four centuries of urban history from inscribed annotations still visible along Syrian streets. Previous collectors of the earlier materials: Max van Berchem, Moritz Sobernheim, Ernst Herzfeld, Jean Sauvaget, and before them, Bischoff, Schefer, Waddington. Herzfeld's "Damaskus-Band" seems to be not going to appear. RCEA and other selections (p.2) take us up only to the 15c CE. Inscriptions contained only in the works of the native scholars Badrân, Dahmân, Munağğîd, Taşâ, Nûayîmî are republished here for European readers. Unfortunately, the parallel work of *Moaz and Ory on one ancient Damascus cemetery appeared about the same time, in 1977, seemingly independently of Gaube's Syrian work, both lying unpublished some years because of the Lebanese War. The materials for the latter were collected in 1973, and the MS done in Beirut in 1974, then the outbreak of the civil war in 1975 disturbed the scholar's life for some years. Most of these inscriptions are short. They come from the 13C – early 20C. There are 251 texts, and fully 48, or almost a quarter, seem to be in verse, and what is more, entirely in verse, in the Osmanli Turkish manner, not verse added at the end of a prose inscription in the Arabic manner. In fact, all the verse I could find came from a timeframe of the 16C – 20C, none from the 13C, 14C or 15C. This tends to prove, even to the non expert, that at least free-standing epigraphic verse is not an Arabic but a Central Asian custom. With Arabs, verse was an option in the freer subsections of their relatively standardized epitaphs.

My Book  Arabic Epigraphy  aus Syrien

Gauthier N.  Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieure à la Renaissance carolingienne, publié sous la direction de Henri Irénée Marrou, I Première Belgique  Paris

Non-Classical
There are a very few metrical inscriptions in Gauthier, one of them Greek, and some useful general comments on changing customs in the whole field. See *Vorbeck, *Marinescu and *Collingwood, and Addenda.

Latin Medieval Epigraphy  Gaule chrétienne

Gauthier Paul Théophylacte d'Achrida Discours, Traités, Poèmes Thessalonika.  1980

Few poems very short, none seem inscriptive.

Greek Byzantine Poetry  Theophylactos


Mesopotamian Seal Typology  Cuneiform Seal Typology

Gelder  G.J.H. van Beyond the Line: Classical Arabic Literary Critics on the Coherence and Unity of the Poem  Leiden  1982

Mentions Kowalski, and treats Heinrichs and Trabulsi, of course, with great attention. A major revisiting of Arabic literary reflection, with reedited texts, translations, many quotations, and much intelligently arranged detail. A crucial matter for us is the somewhat greater attention given to short, "end stopped" poems, which, either as whole poems or as migratory fragments almost equivalent to whole poems in the old additive style, were ignored by Arab literary theorists, whose comments largely concern the prestige form, the polymorphic, polythematic and prominent qasida.

The usually free use of the term "epigram" or "epigrammatic" common to Arabists is somewhat more controllable in van Gelder, because of the detail of his treatment and his attention to the precise meaning of terms in each author and period. It must be admitted that much confusion and pretence attended literary systematisation in all periods, and that what seem to us the more promising discussions were often not taken up by later authors. The state of editing and even publishing of texts, and even of availability of published texts, is apparently still poor. However, greater historical, social and critical awareness has apparently allowed western scholars to differentiate moods, styles and situations in a literature which, like all classical literatures, tended to be treated a-historically and as existing in some supra-human world.

What is not emphasised but must be seen as assumed and implied, is the gap between reflection and prescription in literary matters and the rich, important and on-going literary practice. Poetry was more and more important to Muslims as the driving forces of their culture were situated further and further East. For an even deeper split between practice and theory we might compare both pre-Modern Western Music and all Arab music, where the "science of music" was an elevated one, close to astronomy and mathematics, while its practice was a lowly trade passed on by imitation among despised castes, and not worthy of the close attention of the educated, who were more concerned with understanding the complexities of what the ancients had  said  about "real music", themselves under the influence of purism, archaism and over-intellectualisation.

My Book Arabic Coherence

Genet, Jacqueline  William Butler Yeats, les fondements et l'évolution de la création poétique, essai de psychologie littéraire  Villeneuve-d'Ascq 1976

There is a photo of Yeats's tomb facing P. 65, with the self epitaph on top in three lines, the name in larger letters in mid stone, and two lines nearer the bottom giving the bare dates (of birth and of death).

PR 5906 G4 ANU  Yeats essai

Gennep, Arnold van  Essai d'un classement des modes de sépulture  in Actes et mémoires de congrès (sic) d'histoire religieuse  1923.  1925  From Professor Eric Sharpe, Oct. 1, 1993: "... the 1923 Congress ... was a highly respectable gathering of leading scholars, one in a series which had begun in Paris in 1900, and continued in Basel in 1905, Oxford in 1908, and Leiden in 1912. Paris 1923 was however not counted as one of the sequence, probably because it was not properly international. The series continued with Lund (Sweden) 1929, and then lapsed, to be taken up again after the war. At the 7th Congress, at Amsterdam in 1950, the International Association for the History of Religions was created as an umbrella organisation, partly to keep the Congresses going. The 1985 Congress was held here in Sydney, incidentally. It was n° 15 in the sequence. The bibliography of my book Comparative Religion: A History (London: Duckworth 1975) lists: Actes du Congrès international d'histoire des religions tenu à Paris... 1923 Paris 1925."

Modes of burial affect the meaning of the burial monument as well as their bare existence and type. Burial by disposal in rivers, on towers of silence, in the desert, or at sea require little or no monument, though a memorial may be set up it is not a grave, and a monument's actually being a grave seems to be highly significant in most cultures. Multiple burials of the same corpse (serial or simultaneous) also affect the nature of monuments. The presence,
quantity, nature and meaning of monuments is important for the nature of monumental epigraphy.

Geoffrey de Monmouth see Faral for an edition of his Historia Regum Britanniae, also Rolls Series cross reference

Geoffroi de Monmouth see Faral for an edition of his Historia Regum Britanniae, also Rolls Series cross reference


P.475: Sidonius Apollinaris features prominently in the Poetria Nova of Geoffroi de Vinsauf and is praised in Evrard l'Allemand, Alain de Lille, and Matthieu de Vendôme.

JOSEPHUS mentioned pp. 95, 123 (Gérouch extr.), 133 (Pierre de Blois, or John of Salisbury), 303 (Josephus texts widespread, along with Sallust, Cassiodorus, Bede, Paul Deacon), 309, 331 (Othonian), 334 (Othonian), 436 (in the Alexandreis of Walter de Chatillon).

P.309? Josephus was very widely found in all countries from the Carolingian age in Germany and France, and a little later in Italy, in the 12C in Durham etc., becoming rare in the 13C. Mentions multiply again in the 14C and 15C. Thus the WONDROUS STELE topos (see Addenda) could have been influenced directly by him. In fact, the "stelai of Seth" seem to have been a hermetic concern in the MA.

879 Latin Literature Epigraphy L'Essor

Gianturco, Professor Lecture on Sacred Cantatas given at the Canberra School of Music late 1989.

For 65 years the Papal court mounted musical banquets of a type not well known today. Our interest was largely in the words inscribed (added to) the sweetmeats provided, which would fit in with the Baroque spectacle and its cult of verbal display on every possible surface, the lecturer's interest was in uncovering a new sub-genre of sacred music in the riches of the Vatican Library. The words were appropriate to the season, and to the musical performance of that day.

The period was 1676–1740. Benedict XIV did away with the custom. It fits into the spiritual "Trionfi" tradition. The Papal Christmas Cantatas (also in Holy Week) were begun by Cardinal Cibo with 5 soloists, later 3, sometimes with soloists representing abstractions. Stradella produced "Sacred Cantatas", not oratorios, as late as the 1770s. They were also called Dialogues, Pastorals, Concertos. There is some interest in the identification of such a sub-genre which Signora Gianturco has made from the Vatican library collections, though genre studies in music are not our main concern.

Gibb, H.A.R. A History of Ottoman Poetry
OS 3Z.7096.C25 ANU Turkish Poetry Ottoman Poetry


El²


El¹

Gibson and Biggs, McGuire & Robert D. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica Volume Six, Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East Malibu 1977

This mainly for I.J. Gelb's Typology of Mesopotamian Seal Inscriptions p. 107–126.

f CD 5344 S4 Seals ANE Sealing

Gigante, Marcello Eugenii Panormitani versus iambici Palermo. 1964

This edition was announced in Gigante 1953ca, as part of a corpus of the Greek-writing poets of medieval Italy. See Gigante's second edition of 1979. Many of the other poems of these latter anthologies are epigrammatic. See Non-Classical
Greek Byzantine Poetry  

Eugenio di Palermo has an edition to himself.

See again the important work of *Komines: A. Δ. Κομίνης Το βυζαντινόν ιερόν επίγραμμα και οί ἐπηγραμματοτοιοί.

The article on Letteratura Byzantina in Enc. Ital. was written (eventually) by Giorgio Pasquale after MG (?) had declined to write it.

I. Medvedev, Byzantine Humanism in Voprosy istorii 1972 nr. 4 p.214–217

A number of poems are added to the corpora of Ioannes Graecus/Grasus and George of Gallipoli, which we have noted in bold Roman numerals in the notes to the 1st ed. Here we have decided to note the poems of Nectarius Casulanus, none of which appear in ed. 1, and an epigram (7 x dodec, found both in Vat. Gr. 1276 f35r–v, and Laur V 10f. 220 v, in margine) by a certain Marcus on the translations of Nectarius. It is to be noted that these mostly ekphrastic poems do not seem to be designed for actual inscription on icons, though they often vividly present a scene which could well be that of an existing painting.

NECTARIUS CASULANUS p.73
I 4 x dodec
II 4 x dodec
III 4 x dodec
IV 4 x dodec
V 4 x dodec
VI 4 x dodec
VII 4 x dodec ("To himself", quoted below)
VIII 4 x dodec
IX 1 x Hex & 2 x dodec (see p. 93 notes)
X 8 x dodec
XI 8 x dodec
XII 6 x dodec
XIII 4 x dodec
XIV 4 x dodec
XV 2 x dodec
XVI 1 x dodec
XVII 2 x dodec
XVIII 2 x dodec
XIX 1 x dodec
XX 1 x Hx
XXI 2 x dodec
XXII 4 x dodec
XXIII 9 x dodec
XXIV 12 x dodec (quoted, despite our decision to quote only epigrams below 10 lines in length, because this writer's corpus is so marked by brevity)
XXV 10 x dodec.

Eις έμαυτόν
Καὶ Νεκτάριος ἐβδομον μέτρου φέρει
οὐ τῇ πατρίδι συχνὸν ἐμμείνας χρόνον,
ἀλλ’ ἐν ξένως οἴς ἄπερ ἀλήθες ξένος
κόπον ὑπέστη καὶ τόνως καθ’ ἡμέραν.

See the notes on μέτρον and on other matters.

PA 5180 G5 ANU Byzantine Epigram Italian  

Italobyzantini 2

Gigante, Marcello  

Poeti italobyzantini Napoli 1953?  

More to follow (in fact, Otranto Greek 13C, 1979), adespota perhaps and Eugenio di Palermo. Introduction and then corpus, but the introduction itself contains many texts. From MS Laur V 10.

Prehumanism (i.e., from an Italian viewpoint) esp. the Monastery of San Nicola di Casole. As only a few of these poets have poems added (and renumbered) in the second edition, we list them all here. We keep the corpus of Nectarius Casulanus for the 1979 second edition (above) as none of this writer's poems appear in the first, 1953? ed. We list poems of less than 10 lines, even though there are poems of only slightly more than 10 lines which could be classed with these.

Non-Classical
IOANNES GRAECUS/GRASSUS p.56ff. in brackets we give the numerations of the second, 1979, edition:

iii (II) 9 x dodec
iv (III) 4 x dodec
vi (V) 9 x dodec
vii (VI) 4 x dodec
viii (VII) 9 x dodec
ix (VIII) 2 x dodec
? 7 x dodec
The last two only had been previously published by 1953.

IOANNES HYDRUNTINUS p.65ff.
(numbers identical in both editions)
1 4 x dodec
II 4 x dodec
III 4 x dodec
IV 4 x dodec
V 4 x dodec
VI 4 x dodec
VII 4 x dodec
VIII 4 x dodec
IX 4 x dodec
X 4 x dodec
XI 4 x dodec
[XII] 5 x dodec

Georgius Chartophylax Callipolis GEORGE OF GALLIPOLI poems added in Ed. 2 and some uncertain.

ii (II) 4 x dodec
0 III 6 x dodec
0 IV 4 x dodec
iii (V) 9 x dodec
v (VII) 6 x dodec
vi (VIII) 37 x dodec (but the title is possibly also a dodec, making 4 x dodec. No discussion of this possibility in the notes. The practice of the versified title was occasionally used in late antique Latin, see Sedulius and Ausonius, and they may have got it from the Greek writings available to them. I rarely found a Byzantine epigram of three lines. However, see *Komines p. 124, 165.)

vii (IX) 4 x dodec
x (XII) 4 x dodec
0 XIIIa 5 x dodec
0 XV 6 x dodec

p.221 mentions two poems also discussed in the introduction, xiva and xivb, 7 x pol and 4 x dodec respectively.

It is clear that a good deal of the cultivated book poetry of this place and period was consciously epigrammatic, but not in the most Classical metres. The dodecasyllable keeps some quantity laws (when the quantity is clearly indicated in the spelling of the vowels), does not allow resolutions, and is discussed very fully by Maas in Byz. Zeitschrift XII 1903 p.278 ff. Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber and much quoted after that.

PA 5180 G5 Byzantine Epigram Italian Italobyzantini I

CD 5344 C37 T2 Seals Sasanid seals

Gignoux and Tafazzoli, Ph. & A. Mémorial Jean de Menasce Louvain 1974 Iranian for de Menasce


Non-Classical
Gildas  see Faral for his de excidio et conquestu Britanniae

Gildas Fa

Gildas and Winterbottom  • (516?-570?) & Michael  The Ruin of Britain and Other Works ed. and tr. Michael Winterbottom  London and Chichester 1978  (largely Mommsen's text)  1978

1. 13 has the topos 'left out in the interests of brevity', one form of rhetorical 'brevitas'.

6. 2 has the topos "become a proverb", but this bit of Semitic rhetoric is less interesting than the proverb itself: "Cowards in war and faithless in peace". There is no mention in Gildas of the mysterious column of the Brut tradition.

FUG936.104/8  Gildas Wi

Gildon, Charles ed. 1665-1724  Miscellany poems upon several occasions: consisting of original poems by the late Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Cowly, Mr. Milton, Mr. Prior, Mrs. Behn, Mr. Tho. Brown, &c. And the translations from Horace, Persius, Petronius Arbiter, &c. With an essay upon Satyr, by the famous M. Dacier  London 1692  [xxxii], 112 p.


RB CLI 1504, RB DNS 6023  English Epigram  Miscellany poems

Gillel'sona and Kumn / Gillel'sona and Kumpan / Гиилельсона и Кумпн  М.И & К.А. / М.И и К.А.  Russkaya epigramma / Русская Эпиграмма (XVIII - Начало XX Века)  Ленинградское Отделение 1988  Советский Писатель, Библиотека Поэта, Основана Максимом Горьким в 1931 году, Издание Третье  и.e., Ленинград 1983

The lead author seems to be of Jewish "natsional'nost". The first surname is then to be pronounced, perhaps, Hillel'sona. There is an introduction of 44p. on the History of the Russian Epigram, text XVIII-XX, bibliographic Essay (a previous volume published the very earliest epigrams in Russian, 17C); notes, Authors alphabetical, Addresses, Foreign Authors, and Incipits.

Russian authors mentioned in the formative period of the late 17C are: [Simeon Polotzky], Feofany Prokopovich, A.D. Kantemir, and especially A.P. Sumarakov, and his 1748 Letter on Poetic Composition:

Let us examine the nature and force of the epigram.

It lives by the dye-stuff of its own riches
When sharpness and knottiness combine
To be long is to be short, and its strength lies in this
Never to speak insultingly about anyone.


Derogatory E., friendly E., and self-epigram are mentioned as sub-genres or modes. The crucial thing is the control of the relationship between subject and object, that is, of tone. P. 9 notes that occasional (= amateur) epigrammatists can produce excellent poems, and the importance that this has for the "genre". Authors themselves mention the brevity, "swiftness", originality and aphoristic nature of the tradition they were inheriting from the Baroque south and west.

Russian Epigram  Russkaya Epigramma 2

Gketakos, M. Ch.  Anekdotoi epigraphai kai charagmata... Corpus of inscriptions and graffiti of Byzantine and postbyzantine period, Athens 1957  (in byz. Zeit fallen 24 Inschriften ab 921).

Greek Byzantine Modern Epigraphy Graffiti  Added epigraphs

Gloger, Zygmunt  Encyklopedia staropolska  Warsaw 1985  1985  = (photo-reproduction and new introduction) 1900-1903 Leipzig(?)

Separate articles on fraszka and epigramat, but no explicit differentiation between the two forms. Many quoted poems, mostly of distich and quatrain form, for Epigramat, and going to eight lines for Fraszka. 15 quotes for fraszka,14 for epigrammat. Kochowski 17C referred to his book of Polish Epigrams as "our Fraszki", and it would seem that any differences would be vague indeed. Perhaps they can be sought in a less imitative and more relaxed attitude in fraszka writers, and in a tendency to imitate the early model corpora somehow named fraszka. Names of fraszka writers given in Gloger: Rej, Kochanowski of course, Kochowski, Kowalski, Szydłowski, and Potowski. For epigramat: Rej, Kochanowski, Potocki, Kraśicki, Węgielski, Legatowicz, Brodziński, Czeczol, Kraśicki, Horain, Muśnicki, Omieszko, Szahin, Sasowski, Legatowicz, J.K.W.B., A.N.B., N., and some apparently anonymous. In the more modern WEP, these names occur in addition to those in Gloger— for fraszka: Szaryński, Morsztyn, Kraśicki, Trembecki, Wegierski, Mickiewicz, Fredro, Norwid, Gależyński, and Tuwim, taking us up to the 1930s. Also in parentheses Lec and Sztudynger. For Epigramat are added in WEP: [Simonides, Martial, Pope

Non-Classical
and Goethe]. Janicki, Kochanowski, Potocki, Trembecki, Wegierski, Zablocki, Mickiewicz, Słowacki, and in parentheses, Lec.
Polish  Polish Encyclopedias

Glueck, Nelson  Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions  in Goedicke 1971 p. 225–242
On the Red Sea, in the centre of the north shore of the Gulf of Aqabah, ostraca and seal impressions survive from a variety of periods of trading, in the scripts of peoples from Phoenicia to Arabia. Minaean, Judean, Edomite, Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, from the late –7C to the –5/4C are roughly datable from their findspots in recognisable levels of deposition.

Level IV is an entirely Edomite level, dated to the –7/6C. The Edomites regained control of Elath in 733 (II Kings 16:6) and held it until near the end of the –6C. There is evidence of a cursive script, in ink, and a "lapidary script", well represented in a series of seal inscriptions with qws'nl, i.e., Qaus'anal. The lapidary graffito mentioned p. 234/5 is variously read as Pmgn, or Pmyrn(m), the former "belonging to 'Am(§m)", the latter, the preferred reading, "belonging to 'AmIrū or to 'Amiran. This at least gives the flavour of the very curt epigraphy.

P. 237 ff. deal with the seal impressions, frequent, lipws'nl 'bd htnlk, "to Qaus'anal, (the) servant of the king". This is the lengthier sort of WS inscription!

One clear, retrograde inscription on the stone of a seal signer read lytn, i.e., "belonging to Jotham", one of the precious fragments of pre-exilic Jewish epigraphy. All the inscriptions, in any WS language and script, are short, and their number is not great. This is a consolation to me, who came in to the Miqne/Eqron digs in their seventh year, by which late stage not one WS inscription had yet been found, such that our methods of handling the voluminous finds of sherds (washing) were being more and more questioned. The paucity of WS inscriptions needs to be a factor in our estimates of the frequency and the purposes of –8/7C alphabetic writing, which would initially have been very similar to this in Greece. One must assume that writing tablets, leather, and perhaps some papyrus were used as well as the sherds and seal impressions which have survived in the soil. See Kurt Galling TAFEL.

Seals Graffiti Semitic  Tell el-Kheleifeh

Burial  mort/s

Godman, P.  Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance  Lond. 1985
Latin Medieval Poetry  Carolingian Poetry


Goehr, Alexander  Five Poems and an Epigram of William Blake  1965  B13/Goe2 ConSyd Quay Musical Epigram  Epigram E

P.45 Hebrew scribes, unlike Latins, tried to "fully justify" columns of text. Passim also much on micrography. See also *Beit-Arié.
090.7401471 Hebrew Books  Hebrew Scribal

Pamphlet, summary rather than a corpus.
P.27 quotes one piece of verse, a humorous quatrain for Thomas The?tcher: "Here sleeps in peace a Hampshire Grenadier..." which is much quoted elsewhere.
731.7609422 2 Syd Fish  Burial Art  Winchester Army Tombs

A very important article for "inscriptionality" on textiles. Clothes, hangings and carpets had unexpected functions in Islam (and not just in Islam), aided in this by the residual nomadic living styles and the strain of asceticism in village and urban Islam. Textiles were widely prized and possessed, were noticed and commented on, and were in fact the main small and medium item of exchange. Thus, like coinage, they were controlled by the government, and often bore the Caliph's name in legitimation of his rule, just as his name had to appear on coins (legitimating both them and him), and be mentioned every Friday in the khutbah, or mosque sermon (p. 33). By their necessary use in the bare rooms of early palaces and mansions, wall (and floor) perceptions of Muslim textiles were architecturalised. Textile decoration clearly affected the decorative styles of wall tiles and even of calligraphy, with the interlaced Kufic stemming from the general use of interlacing in decoration. P. 36, Thus book bindings.

Non-Classical
wood carvings, architectural faience, and Koran pages all look like carpets. There was a "textile mentality" in other crafts.

Thus writing on Islamic textiles was truly inscriptional, we might add.

A particular case is that of the mandil, see Franz Rosenthal Four Essays in Art and Literature in Islam Leiden 1971 n° IV A note on the Mandil. P. 32–33 of Golombek note that the napkin/towel called mandil was both a garment (being carried on the person) and a furnishing (being placed or hung). Even more so than mirrors, rings, gems and the earlier seals, and like the older Egyptian cosmetic plaques, the mandil's close association with mouth, eyes, nose, ear and hands made it notoriously an instrument of communication, and thus it was "inscribed". No doubt its simple inscription matched an inscription on the ceramic or metal plate which it was often used to cover when food and drink were served. Writing has iconic and magical uses of itself, as did images, and this prefigures the mystique that later attached to the writing of invocations in the tirâz of Islamic textiles. The mandil was normally white and otherwise blank, a linen cloth with only a thin tirâz band crossing it.

More interesting for us is the indication from the MS literature that verses were placed on the mandils, though no archeological textile has been found with such verses. In the IOC al-Wâṣâṣ reports such verses, including at least one with the natural self-deixis of the genuine inscription:

I am the mandil of a lover who never stopped
Drying with me his eyes of their tears.
Then he gave me as a present to the girl he loves
Who wipes with me the wine from his lips.

Even if this series is fictional (which we have no reason to suspect), it is still a close parallel to Hellenistic epigram. More disturbingly, seeing that whole fields of Islamic textile inscriptionality have obviously now perished, it is difficult to judge the extent of poetic epigraphy on woven surfaces, and the extent to which this supplemented the sparse poetic inscriptions on walls.

Arab cloth inscriptions Cloth(es)


If we accept Grabar’s denial of "iconography" to Islamic ornamentation, we may wish to accept that the functions of iconography were fulfilled by the Qur’anic texts added to the almost universal foundation inscription. However, these were directed to the literate, and to the literate in Arabic, and the Muslim literate, as non Muslims would not have been steeped in The Book. The most famous calligraphers sometimes have their names added to their public inscriptions, mirroring the fame they had based on their book art. In the 14C and 15C (Timurid times) the polemical inscription seems less common. Poetic epigraphy (Persian of course at this period — it had long been the official language) is found often enough, though original verse seems confined to a few mausolea. Older epigraphy seems better preserved on small movable objects than on architecture: shrouds, grave covers, litters. These suggest that some sort of "vanitas mundi" tradition was older than the Timurid period. Such a tradition would tend to encourage shorter encomia in inscriptions, and short verses, one would think. Poetry seems to become common in inscriptions of this period, to increase in popularity even more under the Safavids. While there are "decorative" (non-Grabar use of terms) inscriptions with presumably some of the meanings of the riddle and the dhikr hypnotic chant (those with many repetitions at least), public epigraphy seems to have been meant to be read by, or to, visitors, the latter perhaps for a small fee, as one would pay to have one’s own letters read in the suq by the professionally literate. One decorative technique, the “thousand weave” or hazarbaft is not conducive to legibility, but one must take into account its restricted corpus and the familiarity of the texts chosen for such a treatment.

Tombs, and buildings raised (as was common) over and near tombs, make up about 50% of surviving Timurid remains. Buildings (and thus inscriptions) for saints of pan-Islamic significance did not depend on local kinship groups for maintenance and rebuilding and thus will survive longer, and perhaps be retrospectively recreated on shaky evidence. Archival "evidence" of an ancient tomb of ‘Ali (†661) at Mazar-i-Sharif led to a whole town appearing there after it was brought to the notice of Sultan Husayn in 1480/1, and indeed, his 15C excavations found a tombstone of (an) ‘Ali. The projecting entrance portal (pishtaq) to madrasahs was a favoured place to sit, and to have inscribed. The architectural magnificence aimed at by Timur and his descendants obviously offered new fields for public epigraphy.

Persian Architecture Timurid Iran

Goody, Jack ed. Literacy in Traditional Societies Cambridge 1968

Literacy TradLit

Goossens, E Epigram Songs 4 op. 19/2 Chester 26741 BBC SC Musical Epigram Epigram G

Non-Classical
Grabar, Oleg The Formation of Islamic Art New Haven 1973

Grabar's comment (p.135) on the paucity of information on iconography used on private graves must be linked to the Zajadacz-Hastenrath and Ali papers, the last two in Maxwell's Eastern Approaches, which do study a cemetery each, but not from the period of formation of the Islamic styles. Grabar characterises Islamic art in general as essentially ornamental (rather than, in his understanding of the term, decorative), and it is certainly not essentially iconic. There is no widespread system of iconographic motifs/motives. The Madrasah becomes a specific form in the 9C, and burial architecture seems to come in from Central Asia to Bukhara by the 10C. Only in the 9C does (calligraphic) writing become almost a compulsory element of display and ornamentation (Grabar does not seem to hold to the ornament-decoration dichotomy in his own relaxed language) on public buildings. What may seem to be an inscription of information, as most notably in China, can really be honorific and validative in function. There is also the epigraphy of explicit "symbolic affirmation". Texts in this are fairly predictable, though local traditions can be traced. Of course, where the text corpus was so widely known, and compositional practices were so set, the slightest variation could be significant in ways that are now hard to appreciate. Private epigraphy produced motifs that travelled well to the West, and eclecticism seems to have been deliberate in upper-class Muslim taste in "art". This supports Grabar's denial of any high degree of "iconicity" to its forms.

Ivories are the most commonly inscribed princely objects. Their epigraphy is not always very literate, but cross-culturally, ivories tend not to be inscribed at all — see *Chandra and *Freyer-Schauenberg.

Ceramics display much writing in East Iran where a mercantile class likely to buy fine household goods may have developed earlier than elsewhere. City art (of a bourgeoisie) was more localised and inward-looking than the art of the transnational princely class (typically lacking in strong bonds with their current territory) or the widely dispersed art of religion.

Inscriptions on objects that were meant to be readable (though not all were) typically contain a series of good wishes for the owner, who is not named. Early artistic Qur'ans must have been unreadable to those who did not already have the text by heart, and the same sort of "legibility" and "readability" may have applied to the more flamboyantly obscure public and private inscriptions. They could have been recognised rather than read, rather as a beginner can recognise a few Chinese characters from a very restricted list, e.g., numbers, names of a few countries, denominations of coins and so on. As in many cultures riddles were symbols of the hiddenness of truth, so may such styles of inscription have been for the Muslims. The restricted nature of the texts used seems to help to rule out poetic epigraphy from the private sphere, and the heavily religious and propagandistic nature of the more legible public epigraphy (this overlaps with the comment just made on private epigraphs) seems to similarly exclude poetry from most monumental inscriptions. We have in fact found Hanaway noting how rare a poetic public inscription is, even in the poetry-loving East of Iran. His exclusion of funerary art (and thus, incidentally, funerary epigraphy) is a notable gap to be filled in from other sources, but the general lateness of epigraphy in Islam, and the apparent equivalence of mediums and of supports for inscriptions (fabric banners seem to be as inscriptional as more solid objects, glazed tiles as epigraphic as chipped lettering, in depth or in relief) requires us to "read" Islamic epigraphy in a unique way, even when we can find and classify it.

Arabic Art Islamic Art


Mostly quite short.

The Festoon is used as a source in The Soul of Wit G.R. *Hamilton 1924 e.g., p. xxxiv, and no doubt in other 19C and 20C collections. It has an introductory essay on the genre. The poems anthologised are mostly quite short.

iv. He refers to 'the two volumes published near fifty years since', i.e., ca 1740?

vi. As the most striking thoughts, indeed, are the most easily retained, many of the best epigrams have been the most frequently repeated in company.

viii To Malherbe is attributed the apparently universally famous comment, somewhat mangled here in orthography and transmission: «Voila' la potage a la Grecque, s'il en fut jamais!'"x. Simplicity and truth as qualities. Yet it must be granted likewise, that there are many (perhaps the greatest number of epigrams both ancient and modern) which give us great pleasure upon less rigid principles, …

Puns are discussed. then, p. xv 'length' is discussed ('as some Dutch poets have extended it to many pages'). P. xvi 'Song vs. Epigram.

xvii (to its being an innocent amusement to young people): But further; I think an epigram may be considered, according to the most general division, either as a satyr in miniature, or as a panegyrical in epitome; and may, like those more important branches of poetry, be employed to encourage the practice of virtue by applause, or deter from vice by censure and ridicule: And, as many of them contain some precept of morality, recommended to the fancy by a concise spirited manner of expression, they are easily learned in our youth, and usually retained for life.

p.159 Poem VI On a bad singer:
When screech-owls scream, their note portends/to frighten mortals, death of friends;/ but when Corvino strains his throat./ E'en screech-owls sicken at the note. //

p.152 has Johnson's fine epitaph for a musician: "Philips! whose touch..." as LXIV, but lists it as anonymous!

p.129 LXVII Written on a Pane of Glass, at Littlemore, near Oxford, (see *Whistler for the practice)

Book VI "Monumental" includes funeraria:

P. 139 Self epitaphs xx Pope's (quatrain); xxii Prior's (quatrain); xxiii Gay's (distich).

p.145, xlii On Sir Francis Drake, drowned at sea:

// Where Drake first found, there last he lost his fame, /And for his tomb left nothing but a name: /His body's bury'd under some great wave/ The sea, that was his glory, is his grave; /Of him no man true epitaph can make,/ For who can say, "Here lies Sir Francis Drake"?//

RB DNS 6327 English Epigram Festoon

Gray, D. The Oxford Book of Late Medieval Verse and Prose Oxford 1985

Latin Medieval Verse Oxford LMVP

Grecourt, Jean Baptiste Joseph Willart de (1683–1743) Oeuvres diverses de Grecourt nouvelle édition, soigneusement corrigée, & augmentée d'un grand nombre de pièces qui n'avoient jamais été imprimées Luxembourg 1768 V.2 épigrammes p.5–16, and madrigaux p.16–22 in same section, without a break.

The section entitled Epigrammes opens with a quatrains, and then the poems tend to be 10 or 8 lines, or occasionally shorter. P. 23 opens Poésies mêlées, showing that epigrams are not just sundry verses, in the 16C, 17C or earlier 18C, and that they are consistently mixed with madrigals, and not with sonnets, in French tradition.

RP PEL 195 French Epigram Oeuvres


Coptic psalms and Parthian and other Manichaean poetry are now beginning to be studied, but with a considerable time lag. Lidzbarski and Säve-Söderbergh began the study before mid-century, Mary Boyce took it up soon after. Also Schaeder for proto-Syriac. Only 7 inscribed verses are suggested (for early Syriac), by the author, on p. 102 n° 7, though more might be claimed. Greenfield summarised his previous studies of WS poetry and claims that "Aramaic" poetry stands squarely in this tradition, marked by: 1. parallelism (various well-recognised types); 2. word pairs and paired words; 3. accentual/stress metre, not syllable-counting; 4. set topoi; 5. chiasmus; 6. alliteration; 7. repetition. Examples are given. A full text is commented on p.106. Lidzbarsky noted the frequency of the WS hemistich of three "words", and G. adds other groupings than the 3:3, e.g., 2:2 and 4:4, other combinations like 4:3 and 3:2, and on rare occasions 2:3 and 3:4. "This conforms with earlier West Semitic practise (sic) and may have behind it rhythmic and melodic reasons that escape us." An important comment on all "performance" prosodies.

W Semitic Versification Mandaic Poetics

Greenfield J.C. Scripture and Inscription: The Literary and Rhetorical Element in Some Early Phoenician Inscriptions in Goedicke 1971 p.253–268 1971 "Scripture" here means sacred texts, not "any canonical or prestigious corpus".

P. 253 There was no "literary" use of terms in the Phoenician inscriptions of the Biblical period, it seems. There is of course a link between some inscriptive texts themselves and "psalms".

P. 234/5 Abiram Inscription. The conjunction of Staff and Seat of Judgement (fairly predictable as it would appear to us) seems to be one of those word pairs which link poetry to honorific prose, or vice versa, according to Greenfield. Staff = ṭr, (of) judgement = mšpt (and other possibilities). Chair/throne = ks. See Amos I 5 yōeb ... tömek šeṭeb. The durability of the throne and the justness of the royal sceptre contrast with the breaking of the sceptre and the overturning of the throne. While the latter pair of images for the end of a reign or a dynasty may seem natural to us they do not occur together in Akkadian, and rarely appear even separately in that literature.

ON DISTURBING THE DEAD (the rephaim) FROM THEIR REST

This is of more material interest to us as it mirrors, verbally, the architecture of tombs in cuneiform-using cultures, and the lack of proclamatory epigraphy on them. "Disturb/move" = ẞ RGZ. See Tabnit KAI 13 & Eshmunazar I 12, the full formula p. 258, = that from the Tabnit text line 5/6. See also I Sam 28.15; 14.9; Job 3.17, 26.

zy<wt3r> bhm tht šmŠ & wmškb 't rpŠm (For wt'r Esh. has: w'l yqbr bqbr)
& — k Pbt 'šrt hdbr h? — which approximates to Deut 25.17,1
Eshmunazar and Tabnit are unlike all other Phoenician inscriptions.

For example, the Eshmunazar vocabulary is highly idiosyncratic, and the phrases "dabar leemor" (=spoke, saying) and ngzl bl ‹ty" = "snatched away before his time" are formally interesting as well. As regards the Phoenician root GZL, note in Hebrew Ps. 31.23 mgrzat, and Ps. 88.6 & Is 53.8 ngrzt, showing GRZ and GZR. Note Hebrew "belo rittika" (Qoh. 7.17) and "weloc et" (Job 22.16) for 'before your/their time', i.e., premature death.

P. 260 "PREMATURE DEATH IS OFTEN NOTED IN THE EPITAPHS ON TOMBS", presumably private

Non-Classical
epitaphs, such as those treated by Pucciarini.

KARATEPE: Note the Indian-sounding phrase "lasting like the Sun and the Moon, and on p. 267 reference is made to Ps 89.37/8; Ps 72.5 & 17.

While such phrases may again seem natural, they do not occur in the majority of the world's epigraphic corpora, at least, not as repeated and standard items in them.

Phoenician Epigraphy Scripture and inscription


Notably, almost all slabs with a figure also carry a text. The principle of selection of this work excludes few items of interest to us, but it does exclude standing gravestones. As the study is so important, the nature of the corpus must be indicated here.

First, the author had intended to make a complete inventory of the materials from England, and war stopped him after about 6,000 churches were treated. After the war he was able only to exhaust Leicestershire and Rutland, because of the death of his companion, his own illness, and the severe restrictions of private motoring. However, during his military service in France he was given a perspective on the English materials by chance visits to continental cathedrals, where the stone slab was more important by far than the brasses then popular for study in England, and often more artistic. Thus the present study is a West European survey, weak on Central Europe, based on an excellent knowledge of the English slabs. The corpus is quite comprehensive, though it omits mosaics, headstones, slabs which are predominantly inlaid with other materials or made of other materials than stone, and of course, high relief and sculpture in the round. It accepts:

1. All slabs mainly of plain stone where human or animal figures are pictured.
2. All slabs without animate representations, but with the representation of any object, notably the cross.
3. All slabs with pre-Reformation inscriptions (i.e., with or without representations)?
4. All post-Reformation inscriptions on slabs down to the 18C which imitate major elements of the older style, e.g., the Blackletter, or the disposition of the lettering around the margins.
5. Compound slabs with inlays other than brass on which inlay the whole design is incised. (e.g., plaster of Paris, lead).
6. Non-stone "slabs" which seem to imitate the styles common on stone incised slabs, e.g., tiles, wood, cast iron.

The very important matter of unfigured but inscribed slabs (i.e., with just a verbal inscription is summarised on p.5, no doubt not with full authority, but with some. He admits to having failed to study the non-effigial slab.

Initially, he assumes, the Christian slab displayed just a cross and a name, and had the function of covering a floor grave. The human figure, at least, does not seem to have been put on Western slabs before the late 11C. The best collection of pre-effigial slabs are still the ravaged 200 or so from Clonmacnoise, 8C to 10C, with crosses or inscriptions. Some similar slabs come from Iona, Whithorn, Govan (Lanarkshire). A NOTABLE ANGLO-SAXON INSCRIPTION (Ch.8) is at Stratfield-Mortimer.

It is useful to use his neologism of FLAT-RELIEF, including that relief where the subject is left and its surrounds roughly chipped down, called in French taille d'épargne. This restriction of his subject does not exclude some modelling of the flat relief, particularly of the features of the face. In fact, such mixed forms seem to be common enough. However, the preservation of the original flat surface of the slab is massively typical of High Medieval style and contrasts quite strongly with Gothic sculpture in the round or in the very high relief which is more like a semi-detached free sculpture.

731.549 4 Syd Fish Burial Epigraphy Grave slabs Latin


My Booklet Latin Medieval Epigraphy De mirabilibus


GREGORIVS SERENO EPISCOPO MASSILIENSI

Litterarum tuarum primordia ita sacerdotalem in te esse beniuolentiam demonstrabunt, ut maior nobis fieri et de fraternitate tua laetitia. Sed tanto eorum finis a suis dissentit initiis, ut non unius sed diversarum esse mentium talis crederetur epistula. Ex illo autem, quid de scriptis nostris, quae ad te misimus, dubitasti, quam sis incautus apparuit. Nam si diligenter ea quae fraterno amore monimus attendisses non solum minime dubitasses sed immo, quid te sacerdotali grauitate oporteret agere cognouisses. Neque enim Cyriacus quondam abbas, qui scriptorum nostrorum portitor existit, istius disciplinae vel eruditionis fuit, ut ut ipse aliud facere, sicut putas, auderet ut te de eius tibi persona suspicionem falsitatis assumeres.... Etc. See Addenda for this anti-iconoclastic text, so important, with a poem of Paulinus, for the continuity of religious art in the West, and thus the

Non-Classical
continuity of a tradition of words on art.

Art CC(L) 140A

Grieshammer, R. Miindöffnungs(ritual) in (Helck and Otto) 1975 IV, 223. 1982

Egyptian Burial Opening the Mouth


Makes (p. 173) the good point that closure techniques in classicising satire are affected by the chatty nature of such writing. P. 174 has some bibliography on "narrative ending". See better *Peckham.

Grigson, G. The Faber Book of Epigrams and Epitaphs London 1977

P. vii: from William Camden — epigrams are "short and sweete poems framed to praise or dispraise". 821.08 333 Syd. Fish. English Epigram Burial Faber Book


Tasos Ath. Gritzopoulos reproduces 12 iambic lines from a Peloponnesian inscription of 1635 which is the foundation inscription, ή κτισματική έπιγραφή, The building founded by Νέοφυτος Καρατάλλος was apparently a church of the Archangel Michael in Demetsane, or δέ διεμετάδων ναός τοῦ Ταξιάρχου Μιχαήλ. The point of the article seems to be historical and prosopographical, but late (especially Turkish period and post-Turkish) manifestations of the verse inscription phenomenon remain of interest to us.

Greek Epigraphy 17C Iambics

Gröber, Gustav Übersicht über die lateinische Litteratur von der Mitte des VI Jhdts bis zur Mitte des XIV Jhdts Munich 1902 See Addenda.

Latin Medieval Medieval works


Full titles, a good number of facsimiles of title pages, portraits and illustrations, with sometimes very full descriptions of the subsections of the early books, from which the title "epigram" can occasionally be rescued even where it does not appear in the title. The concluding discussions of the editions can be useful, particularly when printings come in a long series. My first perusal collected 164 titles either mentioning "epigram" or likely to contain epigrams so titled, otherwise titled, or untitled. A reasonable proportion of these books were already known to me by ANL Rare Books or Microforms, though the microform sources so far studied cover only the later Wing (1641–1700), not the earlier Pollard and Redgrave period (1474–1640). From the 1650s books containing epigram tend to be more clearly indicated as such. In the Pre-Commonwealth periods, those of the Tudor Renaissance, miscellanies and pirated editions flourish, and genres are floating, and it is for the 16C that a full descriptive catalogue is essential. Even there it is often impossible to establish the sort of poetry listed without being able to access the book itself.

English bibliography Grolier Club Catalogue

Grolier Club and Bruce, David A Description of the Early Printed Books Owned by the Grolier Club, with a Brief Account of their Printers and the history of Typography in the Fifteenth Century New York 1895

Rev. ed. of the Catalogue of early printed books presented by David W. Bruce ... 1894

Descriptive and historical notes by R. H. Lawrence: translations from colophons etc., by N. G. McCrea. Limited ed. of 400 copies on handmade paper and 3 on vellum. From "the typographical library of Mr. David Wolfe Bruce and his father ... George Bruce.

Basically a typographic selection, as the title and notes indicate, but of interest to us for its descriptions of 15C books. We are not used to handling originals from this particular era. The collection is from the typography library collected by George Bruce and his son, Mr. David Wolfe Bruce, donated to the Grolier Club and displayed in selection as part of a history of typography. The printers represented are, among other lesser names:

Gutenberg
Peter and John Schoeffer
Mentelin
Koberger
Jenson
John of Speyer

Non-Classical
"Title-pages were rarely used by the early printers. They began their books at once with the text proper, with only a heading briefly indicating the title of the book and beginning *Inciplt, Here begins*, etc. In this respect as well as in the form of the characters and the general appearance of the book the printer followed closely his predecessor the scribe, making his work resemble as nearly as possible the manuscripts hitherto in vogue."

John Gutenberg of Mainz set up with financial backing from John Fust and with Peter Schoeffer, who, with his son John Schoeffer, worked successfully until 1531. Gutenberg himself died in poverty. Another very early printer was Mentelin in Strassburg, 1459 or so. The historical evidence for the earliest printers is given in some detail. This history is not as clear as the compendia of historians tend to make it.

P. 39. Günter Zeiner of Reutlingen printed at Augsburg 1468–1475, and he was the first to make woodcuts a general practice. There were over 20 printers active at Augsburg pre-1500. Note n° 31: *Vocabularius latino-germanicus* 1471 ca., Folio, Gothic characters, 35 lines (a page), 138 leaves, which on fol 138b, thus, the last face, has a colophonic verse line: *Lauds deo pac vivis requies eterna sepulcis.*

Aldus Manutius at Venice, bom at Bassiano (?). Note n° 79 the early Status: *Statii Sylviarum libri quinque Thebaidos libri duodecem Achilleidos duo 1502*, Octavo, 40 + 256 leaves. The example described is Melancthon's own copy, "with Latin verses at the beginning and end, written in a beautiful hand". This practice of "inscribing" an early book fore and aft with calligraphic *verse* seems to stem from MS owners' habits, and is of interest as a possible reflection of the earlier genres of liminary and envoi verse, as well as the later ones of title page and dedicatory verse.

P. 63. Aldus Manutius at Venice, born at Bassiano (?). Note n° 79 the early Status: *Statii Sylviarum libri quinque Thebaidos libri duodecem Achilleidos duo 1502*, Octavo, 40 + 256 leaves. The example described is Melancthon's own copy, "with Latin verses at the beginning and end, written in a beautiful hand". This practice of "inscribing" an early book fore and aft with calligraphic *verse* seems to stem from MS owners' habits, and is of interest as a possible reflection of the earlier genres of liminary and envoi verse, as well as the later ones of title page and dedicatory verse.

P. 70. Facsimile n° 25, cf. p. 50, n° 55: Berthold Ruppel, *Conradus de Mure Repertorium <vocabulary*> 1473 ca. Basel has 10 elegiac verse lines containing the printer's name [Bertholdus] and the town [Basilea] — a Folio of 147 leaves:
As in Italy, the delayed Northern Renaissance trickled down from courts and semi-formal academies and circles to universities and eventually to schools. To this can be added in England the Inns of Court and Chancery, training grounds for England's non-clerical, non-aristocratic ambitious elites.

Bosworth field 1485 and the Acts of Union 1536, 1543 joined the Welsh nobility to the English nobility in this crucial period. Welsh noble families sent their sons to be educated in Oxbridge and the Inns of Court. Catholics went in lesser numbers to European universities. P.18–19 give the names of heads of "Renaissance courts" in Wales. There was equal enthusiasm for Latin and Welsh, and the myths of Antique Welsh origins were long debated: Samothes, Brutus, Joseph of Arimathea, and Ysgolan. A great scheme for the renewal of the Welsh literary tradition was developed, but much hampered in its execution by the restriction by law of all printing to London and the smallness of numbers of the able and interested participants.

The more recent histories depended more on the traditional lore of the poets. Humanists were influenced by the myth of lost Welsh books and collected MSS assiduously.

The second part of the paper deals with the linguistic studies and publications concerning the Welsh language itself, and the third part deals with the Humanist influence on Welsh poetry, and the clash between the Humanists and the declining colleges of professional poets, who were to die out in the chaos of the Civil Wars.

P. 30 "You will have noticed that few of the characteristic Renaissance poetic genres took root in Welsh, in spite of the hopes of the Humanists: there were no heroic epics, no long philosophical and scientific poems, no sonnets, no lengthy pastorals, no true epigrams (though the englyn was pressed into service to fill that particular gap)."

Much material remains unpublished. Wales had only a "limited Renaissance" (Miss Morfydd Owen) and even its vernacular Bible had a rocky passage before achieving something of the quality of the KJV. Welsh society was agricultural and pastoral. There was no Welsh Renaissance state. Their gentry were drawn to England. Yet the religious products of the period of limited "Awakening" fed into the creation of the 19C "Protestant nonconformist civilization".

**Welsh and Renaissance**


A major technical term for the inimitability and uniqueness, in both content and form, of the Qur'àn.

Qur'àn is Qur'àn 1'djäz

Gruter, J Deliciae C poetarum Gallorum huius superiorisque aevi illustrium 3 vols Frankfurt 1609 [Janus Gruterius 1550–1627]

Latin Modern Epigram Deliciae C

Gryphius, Andreas (1616–1664) Gesamtausgabe der deutschsprachigen Werke Andreas Gryphius: hrsg von Marian Szyrocki und Hugh Powell Tübingen 1963–1972 9 Bände, 1 (Sonette), 2 (Oden und Epigramme), 3 (vermischte Gedichte) of interest to us, i.e., the short poetry.

Frontispiece has 6 x El Latin. Also of general interest are his gedancken Üben den Kirchoff und Ruhestädte der Verstorbenen, which he calls "Trauer-Gedancken", a series of 8 line, 4 beat stanzas, apparently imitations of the Latin verse of Balde. I have not closely investigated the various books of Epigrams. There is a first series, then a second series starting with Book 1 on p.171, this time subtitled 'oder Bey Schriften', and with a liminary sonnet on p.170! These are quite short. The excellent work of Jutta *Weisz covers this period.

831.5 G895 German Epigram Werke

Guidi and Pagliaro and Ballini and Vacc a and Bonelli and Beguinot and Cardinali and Devoto and Mancini and Silvagni and Natali and Bignone and Giarratano and Mazzoni and Gabetti, M. & A. & A & G & L & F & G & G & G & G & A & G & E & C. & G. & G Epigrafia & Epigramma in (Sanctis) 1949 =Enc It 1 1949 Epigraphy Epigram Italian Epigrafia & Epigramma

Guillaumont, Antoine Littérature syriaque in Queneau 1967 p.751–768 1967

Syriac Syriaque

Guilpin and Carroll, Everard fl. 1598 & D. Allen Skialetheia: or, A shadowe of truth, in certaine epigrams and satyres, by... edited by... Chapel Hill 1974 1598?

p. 7 Skialetheia is "a product of the Inns of Court", where over-powered wits aggressively waited for 'advancement'. Donne, Hall, Marston, Davies and Harington are mentioned. Epigrams 1598 [70 epigrams]. Satyres have: 7 formal verse satires Marston? 1 of ? Davies, 6 of ? Harington. One third of the epigrams are based on...
They show a taste for virulent invective.

821.3 G962 English Epigram Skiaethia


Companion to the author's Geography in Ancient Indian inscriptions up to 650 A.D.

934 G977 Indian Epigraphy Toponyms Indian toponymic inscriptions


Greek Arab Gnomica Greco-Arab Wisdom

Haeny, G. Scheintür in (Helck and Otto) 1975– 1984

The so-called Egyptian funeral stele in the upper part of a monumental tomb is placed, and often enough designed, like a door. Thus it is functionally different from the Greek stele, placed out of doors, on, or in front of a mound. See *Martin and *Müller C. for stele-related matters.

Egyptian Burial Architecture False Door

Hakimzyanov / Хакимзянов, Ф. С. Язык Эпитафий Волжских Булгар Москва / The language of the Epitaphs of the Bulgar peoples settled along the Volga. 1978

Long systematic study, then corpus of 43 tombstones, with photo, transcription, translation and notes.

13C/14C epitaphs on stone stelai, Arabic script of course. Some few are in "flush relief", as in India. There is a very limited range of opening formulas in Arabic, lapsing sometimes into Bulgar later in the shortish epitaph text. Some limited decoration at the top of many stelai. There seems to be no verse, though Old Turki verse is hard to recognise in writing. The formulary always begins and sometimes end as a standard Muslim epitaph, with the Bulgar formula sandwiched in between these: “of X the son () of Y the son () of Z the son () the bälükü”, i.e., the grave marker of the bälükü whose personal name is never, apparently, mentioned, only his genealogy. [Is it bälük, with the west-Turkic genitive ending -ii<n>?. Before that comes a limited series of Qur’anic or Hadithic formulae: 1. He is alive who does not die”, 2. “Judgement belongs to the most High, the Great”, 3. “I will be saved from accursed Satan”, 4. “Every soul will taste death”, 4. “Death is a door and all must pass through it”, and 5. the Basmala. After the non-Arabic, bälükü part, usually comes “May Allah have mercy on him with the broadest compassion”, and there follows the date of death, carefully annotated, often to the day, ending usually with the Turkic verb iti, or aki, “it was”, i.e., that he died. A few stones are for daughters. Most are for sons. The order of elements varies somewhat about one or more normal types. Six to ten shortish lines are standard. There is usually a floral or other type of ornament on the narrower top of the stone. These are normally three quarters of a metre to a metre and a half in height, and approximately twice as tall as they are wide. As often, the writing itself is usually incised but may sporadically be in Indian-Muslim flat relief (called "flush relief" by us somewhat above — where the surface is left intact to bear the lettering and the picture, and the non-lettered space is removed from around these to a shallow depth). Compare these with the anepigraphic and quite vividly anthropoid Altai Turkish stelai in *Kubarev. See *Zimonyi for a little political-geographic-economic background on this state.

My Book Turkish Epigraphy Arabic Burial Bulgar Volga epitaphs

Haley, Martin 1905– 1950 Good measure: a century of epigrams by... Brisbane 1950 31 p

Note the device of the "century", which adds up to more than the expected 100 in this edition. Centuries of short poems are found in Medieval and modern Europe, in India and in Japan and in China. A Classical tone is conveyed in the introduction, and it is Martial who is praised. Though there are many translations, many poems are original, and these tend to the joyous and celebratory rather than to the ironic. Rhythms are often rough. XCIX deals with a place of residence common to myself and Martin, i.e., pre-boom Redcliffe, and CXI is yet another epitaph on "epigram" which fairly neatly represents the impression made on the reader by the anthology as a whole: // A gay vagary, delicate conceit, / True epitaph, jest, lovely lyric — but / Anon a diamond brilliant with hard light / And diamond-powered to cut.//

HHP 4884 English Epigram Good Measure

Hallade, M. Inde, sud-est asiatique et Tibet in Devambez 1961 p.1089—1298 1961

Indian Art Art indic


It emerges from a survey of Rumi’s work that the famous "epitaph" on his magnificent tomb at Konya is no epitaph, being selected, apparently by others, from a wide range of poems envisaging his death. The "epitaph": Non-Classical
Come, come again, whoever, whatever you may be, come: Heathen, fire-worshipper, sinful of idolatry, come. Even if you broke your penitence a hundred times, Ours is not the portal of despair or misery, come.

See more fully, Addenda.

PK 6097.P47 Menzies Persian Poetry Rumi-Ha

Manchou

Mongol

Iranian Central Asian IE

Turki Central Asian Turkish


Four page general introduction neatly situates this literary phenomenon and the social rituals and attitudes underlying it. Openness to (optional) music is important, and their improvisatory nature, as is the typical anonymity of the genre and the degree of freedom felt in plagiarising them.

899.221(1?) Malay Malay Pantuns


P.10 Conrad Celtes Protuccius was 1st poet laureate of Germany. Though Chaucer was a Laureate, this title was self-styled, as was the title of Gower. p.13 Especially at Oxford, wreaths (laurels!) were granted the winners of various poetry competitions. In 1512 a Richard Smyth was to gain 'University laurels' if he would affix 100 hexameters to the gates of St. Mary's Church.

821.009 H222 Verse English Laureates

Hamilton, George Rostrevor Sir 1888– The soul of wit; a choice of English verse epigrams made by... London 1924 xxxvii, 192 p.

Has a good introduction. A liminary quatrain "Praise not the epigram nor censure it..." quoted in Addenda.

828 HAM English Epigram Soul of Wit

Hammerton J A Stevensoniana Edinburgh 1907 p.308 has the San Francisco memorial pictured, facing the description, in which the prose inscription is quoted, from R.L.S.'s Christmas sermon, a moralising piece.

For the other monuments to Stevenson see Daiches p.110–111, Rankin p.205 (Bournemouth/Skerryvore), and most biographies for Edinburgh. Also the poem Skerryvore (Coll. Poet. p.142 Underwoods XXXIV), which announces in seven lines the inscription of just one word: "Skerryvore", on the lintel of the cot(tage). See also p.485 of the poems for reference to two other inscriptions for Skerryvore not listed in that work.

ANU Burial Stevensoniana Ha


Arabic Persian Anthology Mukhtarat


Non-Classical
P.2 (Introduction) Inscribed lines in the Nishapur foundation inscription and around the dome of Masjed-e Shah are in verse, and appear to have been composed for their use there, while most of the other verses on the "facade" of the Masjed-e Shah and the dome of the Madrasa-ye Do Dar are clearly quotations. It is not usual for poetic inscriptions of this type to appear on religious buildings, and those which do come only from the 50 years at the end of the Timurid period. What "other types" of poetic inscription might appear on religious buildings (and most large buildings seem to have been religious in some way), is not explained. Perhaps the author means that poetic inscriptions, as a type, do not usually appear.

Persian Epigraphy  C.I.Iran IV

Hardy, Jason  Fightings: epigrams etc.  Epping  1975  28 p.
Crude modern verse epigrams.
RB 821.914 H269  English Epigram  Fightings

Hardy, Thomas  The Levelled Churchyard  1882.  Mentioned in secondary literature, but does not appear in the Collected Poems.
English Burial Poetry  Levelled Churchyard

Harikavi and Pathaka, & J.  Subhasitaharavali  Prayaga  1984
Indian Poetry  Aharavali

Persian Epigraphy  Sasanian vessels

Harris, R.  Ancient Sippar. A Demographic Study of an Old-Babylonian City 1894–1595 B.C.  Leiden  1975
Cuneiform  Sibiyar

Hart, G.L. III  The Poems of Ancient Tamil, their Milieu and their Sanskrit Counterparts  Berkeley etc.
P. 82–83 evidence from Old Tamil poetry and archaeology of the SE of India (Tamilnadu) that both cremation, and exposure and collection of the excamated corpse in pots, were practised. See further articles in *Sontheimer. Thus Tamil country had tombs, and we have been told by archaeologists that stone was inauspicious for a long time as a building material in Tamilnad because of its funerary associations. Thus Tamil country did have stone tomb monuments in early times. Before the famous hero stones, however, there do not seem to have been funerary inscriptions.
P.202 ff. The Maharashtran Prakrit Sattasal, in Arya metre, and the first 25 poems of this work are analysed for metre in his Appendix I. Hart (p. 206) regards the "musical" metres like Arya as having come to both Prakrit and Pali from Tamil poetry and music.
See the two works of *Krishan. Also *Warder Pali Metre.
Tamil Poetry  Old Tamil

On old coping stone inscriptions, which, like all "railings" were a favourite site, it seems, for epigraphy, unless it is the many fragments of this single structure which gives that impression. Of great interest was that the wording can be identical, thus presumably reproduced verbatim all along the length of the architectural feature. Such repetition of texts is rare (p.101, Ch.8), five more have been found since the first discovery of a duplicated phrase. All come from a railing with similar decoration, hence, seemingly the same railing or one made by the same sculptor, from which uninscribed fragments are also found. 7 are inscribed on the front, on the slightly curved part just above the border ("bell and bud"), 3 are inscribed on the undecorated back. P. 102 quotes the words. Only the Gomitra brick inscriptions of the Ganesa mound come close to this ten-fold repetition: "Caused to be made by Kaspitras Yasa, the confidant of king Suryamitra, the son of Gopali". This is also the only known inscription mentioning the 'pathamardha', "one who is ribbing the seat", known from the dictionaries only as a dancing master who instructs courtesans, or an assistant of the heroine in her search for a lover. The photos of the inscriptions show them to be very clear still. See also *Krishnan SANSKRIT EPIGRAPHS II, and, of course, SANCHI DONATIVE in our Indian Addenda.
Indian Epigraphy  Mathura stone

Non-Classical

Part of the renewal of genre studies in various strands of off-modern literary criticism. **Genre Beyond Formalism**

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Note Wordsworth's 1795–1797 "Lines left upon a Seat in a Yew Tree", which he placed as the first of his contributions to Lyrical Ballads. Akenside, Shenstone and Wharton are quoted to illustrate the genre "inscription". P. 221, Wordsworth transformed the "inscription" to an independent nature poem, He brought the detail of the "support" and original context into the poem. Natural feeling was present in the literary "inscription" already. Wordsworth moves (p. 222) from INDICATION to EVOCATION. P. 223 deals with the "speaking monument", and 224 with wayside interments. Dedications are an ignored element of wayside poetry. P. 224 differentiates self-generated forms from forms prompted by tradition and notes the "English spirit of place". P. 228 Modern lyric suffers from a paradox: to merge language with life and to produce "spontaneous literature", but self-consciously and in a deeply recherché manner. P. 229, unrhymed lyrics were a new development. P. 229, Romantic lyric still moralises!

**Genre Inscriptions and Nature**

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Harmatta, J **Prolegomena to the sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia** Budapest 1979


N° 12, by Russian B.A. Litvinsky, is quite unreadable, perhaps clearer in Russian. The impression given is of bibliographic richness and rich collections, masked by bibliographic chaos, which is understandable in view of the enormous spread of space, time and cultures covered by "Soviet archaeology", and the low state of computerisation in 8lite culture there. We will return to him.

Sundermann, on Middle Persian and Parthian, spends a long fn° on p.149/50 concerning the Iranian word But, "Wort, Spruch" > "Geist", in which other words (e.g., w' 2x', from w'c, presumably Indic 'vac', semantically rather like Ossetic 'uac') are said to follow the same semantic slide throughout this wide Irano-Semitic culture area: 'created by word' > 'spiritual'.

Humbach, on Aramaeo-Iranian, concentrates on the new Ashokan inscriptions from Kandahar, and remarks p. 193 that the later common type of inscription in India, whereby royal land is officially granted to subjects and this is recorded on stone, or more often on portable bronze, does not apply to the Ashokan documents. Either they are not concerned with that practice, or the practice did not yet exist. It is later responsible for the majority of Indic epigraphy.

G. Uray., on Old Tibetan, lists only 14 surviving epigraphic texts (including fragments) from the second half of the 68C and the first half of the 9C. Their gaps can often be filled from old copies and annalistic versions. Incidentally, in the next but previous note, fn° 4, he lists, among laws from Tun Huang, Pelliot tibetain 1073, Law of Indemnity for Dog Bite (no doubt the remote cause for the recent interest shown by publishing tibetologists for the doggy, situation, today, "on the ground". P. 285/6 deals with a stratum of the Old Tibetan Chronicle, the Zit-po-rje Narrative. This part of it tendentiously but realistically treats wars and land-grabs of the 67C. What interests us at this relatively early period is the way the episode is made to end with a verse insert, apparently of five Tibetan syllabic short lines (judging from the translation-transliteration of the fifth line, 9 syllables verse, assuming all were regular in count), "which eventually originates from an earlier historical or folkloristic work" (eventually no doubt a gallic calque, read into it some meaning between "no doubt" and "possibly"): The river was too much raised up, against the wall, to open it, flooded. The fort Yu-sna was reduced, Dgu-gri Zit-po-rje overthrown, Man-po-rje Sum-bu fled to Dru-gu-yul.

Returning to the Soviet Archaeological scene (Americans and Europeans also dug there): p. 336/7 notes that the Mt Mug(h) finds are in the "State Ermitage" Museum. P. 388 notes an archaeological platitude, still usefully confirmed by digs and descriptions, of the "manyfoldness of the burial rites and their evolution". Archives were found at "Nisa, Topprak-Kala and Mug". Litvinsky loyally begins his summary of results by noting that "[t]he study of the material production, the level of technology and economics as a whole, all this circle of questions is enabled by the archaeological materials in a very detailed form, which in this context allow an entirely definite and unambiguous interpretation." Having laboured to provide this support to the then-ruling ideology, he turns to the same archeological deficiencies as those remarked on in a better-ploughed area by *Dickinson, in his very recent BRONZE AEGEAN: "Another thing is the social interpretation of the certain finds, burials or structures. Here the interpretation may be alternative in a considerable part." He goes on to note the non-artistic uses of discoveries of art, art being a way of approaching culture, history, "influences" and "synthesis", in the absence of texts. He notes **Non-Classical**
that the project of publishing Soviet archaeology in an accessible form had not begun, despite the works of Frumkin and van den Berghe. We hope our quotes have also illustrated the delightful alterité of Litvinsky’s English style, which retroversion into other languages often clarifies quite satisfyingly.

**NOTE on the state of publishing of Soviet Archaeological advances:**—

I [P.M.Mc.] was able to obtain in Brisbane January 1994 an illustrated quarto, Soviet Archaeology, part of what claimed to be a massive corpus of dozens of volumes of recent production, and this may relieve the information-block somewhat, for readers of Russian: 


DS 785 A34 ANU Centrasian Sources


See Barnes, and Weever 1631 p.486 concerning p.120 and the single line of verse from the London (?) tomb of Abbot Richard of Ware, which featured semi-precious stones brought back from Rome for this purpose by the Abbot himself and celebrated in the epitaph. The original was a hexameter couplet. Haskins quotes one line ambiguously and Barnes seems to think the original was a monostich. Weever’s treatment, at least as printed, quotes both lines, but the second with *hic — hic*, rather than the better *hic — huic*.

Latin Medieval 12C Renaissance

Hauck, and Holmqvist, K. & [et al.] **Bildendenkmäler in RLGA** p.540–598 mainly for the Bildsteine [Holmqvist,] therein included P. 561–570 §6. The article on Runensteine has not yet been reached by the publication of RLGA.

Includes also p. 552 H. Roth Grabplatten und -Steine mit Inschriften. He quotes especially the window on the Pagan-Christian continuities given in the cemetery of St. Albanskirche Mainz, where monuments can be found from the entire period 4–8C. Their inscriptions remain bound by old tradition, and the graphic element is usually simple, sometimes just an architectural sketch.

Roth p. 556 also: Karolingische Bildsteine – 1. Grabmonumente: This classicising period improved the standard of artwork, and continued the late Antique custom of providing sculpted stone monuments for notable deceased people.

All this mostly on the Roman-influenced Continent.

p. 561 §6 Bildsteine der VWZeit bis WZeit in Skandinavien. They are predominantly Swedish, mainly in Gotland. The magnificent Jelling stone in Denmark is unique. One must then ask about the inspiration for such kingly magnificence, and the article does not help us. Perhaps it was to match the iconic richness of the prestigious south, perhaps it was just an attempt to do something kingly and magnificent without any thought of the south, borrowing motifs from other northern art, that on ships and movable items, and perhaps from Swedish stones. I do not have the knowledge to do more than suggest.

Norse picture stelai Bildendenkmäler

Haugen, E. **The Scandinavian Languages** London 1976

My Book Viking Scandinavian


Abbreviation of the author’s Habilitationsschrift in the University of Freiburg im Breisgau of 1974.

p. 174 Only 3 medieval authors show any extensive knowledge of the work we now know as Martial’s: Isidore of Seville (c. 570–636), and he only of X and A and books XIII & XIV, using them for illustration of realia; wider citation or allusion in the works of John of Salisbury (c. 1115–1180) and Vincent of Beauvais (†1264).
Godfrey of Winchester (c. 1050–1107) was known as Cocus, also as Martial. Petrarch knew more Martial than has generally been supposed and stated, especially in the period 1363–1365. Petrarch knew and praised the earlier Frühhumanist Albertino Mussato †1329, one of three who cultivated Martial, significantly, from a circle at Padua.

Giovanni Aurispa to (on?) Antonio Beccadelli

<Est hie Martialis pulcherrimus, voluminis parvi, completus et minus corruptus quam alii inveniri soleant. Eum quidam venalem habet, quem tibi offerrem, nisi putarem decern aureos, tot enim ille petit, libentius ac liberalius pro nugis quibusdam muliebris te daturum quam pro Martiale>

Sicco Polentin (1375/6–1447) wrote up Martial in his Scriptorum Illustrium Latinae Linguae Libri (xviii), finished ca. 1437. Ed. B.L. Ullman Rome 1928 (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 6). Two editions of this survive, an earlier and a later, fuller, version, the latter resting on 25 years of study and collection. It does not seem to have been printed in the Renaissance), in which Martial is briefly mentioned, but enough to put him in the canon of early Humanists. Ullman edited Polentin n°2 from an autograph MS in the Vatican. He imitated the format and intentions of Jerome and Petrarcha (De viris illustribus), and he was viciously rumoured to have plagiarised his literary comments from Suetonius' De viris illustribus, and then destroyed the Suetonius. No living author is treated in it. Martial gets this brief mention:

Versu item ludit Valerius Martialis, cognomine Coquus etiam appellatus. Marsum patria se fatetur iste ac vixisse sub Traiano dicit. Poema vero suum epigrammaton inscribit. Libri sunt XII epistolis iocosis eisdemque brevibus ad diversos pleni. Sequuntur eas distichon, hoc est versus bini multi; Xeniorum est id opus inscriptum. (p. 71)

Lorenzo Valla, arch-Humanist (c. 1407–1457) wrote his Elegantiarum Latinae Linguae Libri VI in 1435–1444. In a letter of 1441 to Giovanni Serra (L. Barozzi e R. Sabbadini, Studi sul Panormita e sul Valla. Firenze, 1891, p. 81 ff. Letter 41 b) he notes:

Publice non legantur Iuvenalis, Perseus, Martialis Cocus, Propertius, Tibullus, Catullus, Priapeia Virgilii [not Vergilian o f course], Naso de arte amandi et de remediis amoris, sed relinquantur studio camerario videre eos volentium, ut plurima sciantur, non ut quisquam adolescens tyro eorum lectione contaminetur.

Enea Silvio Piccolomini wrote his De liberorum educatione about 1449, calling Martial <pemitiosus, quamvis floridus et omatus> (Opera omnia. Basileae, ex officina Henricpetrina, 1551, p. 984).

Ludovico da Ponte (Ponticis Virunius c. 1467–1520) was forced by the Elders of Lugo to give a lecture on Martial not long after 1500, and perhaps they got more than they bargained for:


also: "et quidem sanctissimi viri in cella sua nihil habent pretiosius Martiale, nihil moralius!"

Ugolino Pisani of Parma (c. 1405–1445), ca. 110 Martial MSS survive from the 15C, all from Italy.


See his poetic interchange with Pius II, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, I, 381, the begging poem of a northern Humanist feeling the lack of libraries:
Si Biblitani tibi sunt epigrammata vatis,
Protninus hoc ad nos, fac precor, illa volent.
Nonne vides quantos moveat fortuna tumultus,
Nec sperare sinat nos meliora timor?
Tempore sollicito tragicos deponere luctus
Convenit ut levibus pellere moesta iocis.

The Humanist Pope (r. 1458–1464) replied by sending a MS with a complimentary poem of 30 lines of elegiacs, printed (as often) in Pannonius's works just after his own, thus Epigr. I, 392, incipit: Venisti latia madibus graecaque
Minerva / Ut qui Guarini discipulum referas __

The much repeated account of the book burning done by Andrea Navagero (1483–1529) goes back, it is claimed, to Paolo Giovio, though perhaps it was legendary as well: «... Martiali severus hostis, ut quotannis stato die Musis dicato multa eius volumina tanquam impura cum execratione Vulcanico dicerentur». See Paulus Iovius, Elogia doctorum virorum ab avorum memoria publicatis ingenii monumentis illustrum authore Paulo Iovio Novocomense, episcopo Nucerino, Antverpiae: apud Ioan. Bellerum sub insigni Falconis, 1557, (sub voce). The Jesuit Famiano Strada (1572–1649), said to be a precursor of the "Barockkonzeptivismus", elaborated the story a great deal further in his own Prolusiones, see Famiano Strada, Prolusiones academicae, oratoriae, historicae, poeticae, Coloniae Agrippinae: apud Ioanem Kinckiun sub Monocerote, 1617, p. 320 ff.

D111 S8 Martial in 15C Martial in Italien

Hausmann, Frank-Rutger

Untersuchungen zum neulateinischen Epigramm Italiens im Quattrocento


p. 1 It is extraordinary that Latin epigram in the Italian 15C has so far been so poorly treated, especially its origins.

p.1/2 There is of course a problem with the definition of the matter under investigation, a bipolarity in the term. It is commonly taken to mean just about any short poem, or a specific type (or close-knit group of types) i.e., Martialian, satirical and "pointed". Martial wrote — Epitaphe, poesiche Briefe, Dankesbriefen, Fürstenlob, Persönliches oder historisches Erlebnisse, but the pointed satirical poem predominates and is fairly taken as his type of poem par excellence.

p. 3 Pfohl's Das Epigramm is an attempt to handle this problem, but even his careful definition is a "mixtum compositum". The two sorts of methodological approach recommended by Pfohl are the genetische and the mimetische, the former being the history of the continuous development of epigram, and the second like the work of Hutton, looking for long periods of influence of one corpus or writer, which must depend on the completion of the major studies of the "genetic" study. Leicester Bradner 1954 "nur ein erster tastender Versuch ist", all the more annoying as it is printed without the slightest commentary, long after its use by date, in Pfohl's anthology of criticism and literary history.

p. 4 The names who have worked this field are Sparrow, Burkhardt, Symonds, Ellinger, van Tieghem and others, the latter's La littérature latine de la Renaissance, étude d'histoire littéraire européenne Genf 1944, reimp. 1966, is still sketchy.

p. 5 Croce is typical of later Italian opinion setters, concentrating on idillica etc, not on epigram, and certainly not on the voluminos of the versified period of the. See L.G. Rosa and F. Arnaldi Poeti Latin del Quattrocento Milan Napels 1956

p. 5 Bernt is criticised, after much praise <da sie zuweit gespannten Epigramm Begriff zugrunde legt.>

p. 6 Praised also is Kurt-Henning Mehnert's Bonn Diss. apparently included in Romanistische Versuche und Vorarbeiten 33, Bonn 1970 Sal Romanus und Espirit Français — Studien zur Martialezeption im Frankreich des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts See the review of this (p.13 of article) by Jürgen Nowicki in Romanische Forschungen 83 (1971) p. 385–389. This periodical is not in ANU. It is on p. 3666 of Ulrich's 33rd catalogue of world periodicals, having begun in 1883 and being quarterly. Martial's spirit is taken as eminently (and antecedently) suiting the "French spirit", unfortunately, precisely because he was much imitated and translated in that land.


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See also Ulrich Schultz-Buschhaus Das Madrigal. Zur Stilgeschichte der italienischen Lyrik zwischen Renaissance und Barock in/= Ars poetica etc Texte und Studien zur Dichtungshlehre und Dichtkunst 7 Bad Homberg-Berlin-Zürich 1969, esp. Ch. V Das epigrammatische Madrigal.

It is simply wrong to say, as does Schultz-Buschhaus, that "the 16C madrigal grew pointed and led to Baroque epigram".

P. 9 Schultz-Buschhaus, like other rash generalisers, is too poorly-read in these matters, and prematurely arranges too few authors into an artificial sequence.

P. 9 The article then specialises on one 15C author, unusually well-published for the 15C, but nevertheless poorly treated by Bradner, Giovanni Antonio Campano (1429—1477). From this famous Humanist's Epistolae et poemata rec. Jo. Burchardus Menckenius, Lipsiae 1707, p. 179, on Ep. III, 56, we read:

"Poscunt collectam et rotundam brevitatem epigrammata, et tunc probantur maxime, cum excucuntur spiculis et sale"

p. 10 A poem of Landino smells more of Martial's tradition:

"Esse tuum dicis quern dant unguenta colorem
Alda. Quod emisti, quid negat esse tuum?"

This is pretty standard stuff, always likely to become highly pungent, however, in the right, foppish, environment.

P. 32 Campano frequently uses the "speaking object" technique.

p. 33 For 'interpretatio nominis' see Cicero de oratore II, 257. For a particularly rich example see next:—

p. 34 Poem on the German printer Ulrich Han of Ingolstadt, in whose shop Campano was for a long period a corrector. Ulrich was, like any self-respecting Humanist, usually known by a Latin form of his names, either Uldaricus Gallus, or Huldericus Gallus. The poem is particularly topical and, I suspect, particularly rich. The interpretatio nominis in poetry did not have to wait for Cicero or other theorists to introduce it. It is common from quite early times in Greek poetic epitaphs.

"Anser Tarpeii custos Iovis, unde quod alis
Obstreperes, Gallus cecidit, ultor adest.
Huldericus Gallus, ne quern poscantur in usum
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis
Imprimit ille die, quantum vix scribitur anno,
Ingenio haud noceas, omnia vincit homo."

This is only tenuously to be linked to the oeuvre of Martial, in that it is short, pungent, and well sequenced. The punch line is more pseudo-Ovidian then reminiscent of Martial, and Ovid's jewelled phrases had infinitely more influence on the Middle Ages than anything written by Martial. The comic-serious tone, as far as I can recapture it, is only vaguely like the possible tones of the elusive persona of Martial, the writer. In England at least, prestige and presentation copies of texts were done by choice with quill pens, by hand, for at least a hundred and fifty years after the introduction of printing (Carlson). We need to recover the real or affected attitude of Campanus to printing technology to be able to divine the tone of his poem accurately. I suspect that we are to conflate to some extent the cock (der Hahn, Gallus) and the goose (Anser), in that both are large and winged, and they are mentioned in the highly generalising discourse typical of classicising poetry. The final tag of the poem is essentially Humanist and largely commendatory of the invading Gaul-Cock. Thus Ulrich Han's name may mean that he is both barbarian invader and protector of civilization, neatly expressing the ambiguous position in high culture of the early prestige printer. In this approximative, generalising, poetising type of writing it is not important that the Geese on the Capitol actually squawked rather than flapped their wings at the secretive incursion of the Gauls.

If you, the goose who was watchman for Tarpeian Jove, made a din with your flapping wings, the Gaul (Gallus) fell, the avenger arrives.

"Huldericus Gallus won't have anyone use your wings. He has taught you that your feathers are of no use.
In a day he prints more than a scribe can write in a year. Don't strain your brain. Man conquers all."

p. 25 in the 15C <das Epigramm ist Sammelbezeichnung für verschiedene Arten der Kleinpoesie.> There was not yet the concern for genre and distinctiveness, though no doubt there existed even in this formative period (as in today's quick changing TV interview styles) floating "real genres" sensed in and through the practice of poetising.

"Pa 2801 H8 v. 21 15C Epigram Quattrocento Epigram"

Havránek and Hrabák and Daňhelka, B. & J. & J. Výbor z české literature doby husitské Praha. 1963—1964

Seems to lack anything of the Czech Alexandreis, which is said to be epigrammatic in parts, but of course is not epigram. In fact, nothing like the Polish fraszka seems to occur in older Czech literature, for all the "epigrammaticity" claimed for its prose and folk verse.

"RL 891.8608/3 Czech Czech"

Reprints

Poems Occasional—71–96 (length quite variable); Epigrams 1. p.111–146, and Epigrams 2. p.147–178 (couplets to about 14 lines in length, one of 16 lines, and a smooth scatter of lengths in between). Satyrs p.179–193 (lengthy, one of 56 lines, then 57, 58, 168, 168, 70). See [p.113] = p.1 "To the reader of my epigrams and Satyrs", line 10 and last: ". . . Read as I writ, having nought els to do."

821.4 H438 English Epigram Clarastella


Mostly longish or medium length, i.e., not notably epigrammatic in form.

821.914 H438 English Epigram Heart-Stabbe's

Heinrichs, W. Arabische Dichtung und Griechische Poetik Beirut 1969

Arabic Poetry Greek Poetics Arab Greek

Heinrichs, W. Poetik, Rhetorik, Literaturkritik, Metrik und Reimlehre Ch. 4.3 of Fischer et al. 1987 p.177–207 1987

Arabic Poetics Arab Poetik

Heiss, John Epigrams Boston 1987ca. BGM '88 p.167

Musical Epigram Epigram H

Helck and Otto, W. & E. Lexikon der Ägyptologie Wiesbaden. Complete. Also, Indexes nearly complete when last checked. 1975–

Egyptian Lx.Äg

Helm, E Four Epigrams MS 25117

Musical Epigram Epigrams H


Includes a large corpus of presumably typical texts and woodcuts. Contains also indices to texts not included in the volume, notably to the rare Physiologus Graecus and to a 1681 Latin edition of emblemata, enlarged from Philippo Picinello's 1653 compilation, viz. to Agustinus Erath Mundus symbolicus in emblematum universitate etc. R704.946 4 Syd Fish Latin Modern Epigram Emblem encyclopedia

Henricus Archidiaconus see *Wright, Thomas.

Herder and Düntzer, J.G. & H. Herders Werke, nach den Quellen revidirte Ausgabe, sechster Theil. Morgenländischen Literatur Berlin 1868 Suphan's edition is the standard, but it was not complete on the shelves which I was forced to use.

Vol. VI–VII Allowed me to read Blumen aus der griechischen Anthologie gesammelt, Herder's free translations of Planudes. The Vorrede is by the great Heyne. P. 47 brings another Vorrede, in the form of a dialogue between Theano and Demodor, the latter being Herder, the former Lessing. P. 51 brings the poems. After the poems, p. 157 for the title page, p. 159 for the text, comes Anmerkungen über die Anthologie der Griechen, besonders über das grieschischen Epigramm. That runs to p. 198, and is immediately followed by Hyle kleine griechischer Gedichte, said in the original edition to contain Fabeln, Idyllen, lyrische Stücke, Fragmente von Lehrgedichten, Hymnen U. S. W. It was the author's intention that they be taken als eine Sammlung verschiedener Dichtungsarten. This apparently preceded the Anthology translations in the second collection of Zerstreute Blätter,

My Copy PT 235A11 German Greek Latin Epigram Herder-Dü


We used this edition for two letters, nos 74 and 75, from Briefen zur Beförderung der Humanität. Inscriptions and epigrams are incidentally mentioned there in the course of a discussion of the Greek "Muse", heavily based on the study of art and of morals. See Vol. XVII p.379, 383.

Suphan's next Vol., XVIII, p. 150 ff., no 110, has a prose satire on a subject important for the development of German vernacular epigram and literary culture. It deals with the revolt of Germanus against Gallus, quoting (in German) Premontval, a Frenchman, "against Gallicomandia and false French taste". This was read in the Akademie

Non-Classical
der Wissenschaften in Berlin in 1759. As the main models for vernacular epigram were French, Marot in particular, the German writers (e.g. Wernicke) struggled to develop an indigenous form. See *Lindquist, *Angress, and the *German section of our *Bibliographic Categories.

My Copy  PT 2351 A1  German Greek Latin Epigram  Herder-Su

Herr, Larry G.  The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals  Missoula Montana  1978
Revised from a Harvard Diss. 1977
P. 171 ff list 33 inscriptions taken as benchmarks for the development of letter forms in Phoenician, –10C to –5C. J. Brian Peckham and F. M. Cross are the authors cited on dating of letter forms. The seals themselves follow, studied only under this aspect. We ourselves have wider aims.

As Seal inscriptions are inscriptions, though miniature ones, and as they lead to an important form of high medieval poetic epigraphy in both Latin and Greek, their ancestors are of interest. The present mini-corpus is of added interest for its story of letter types in the period when the Greeks most likely borrowed the phoinikeia grammata.

A GENERALISATION OF SOME NOTE: p. 173: "Regarding the seals themselves, the first thing that is apparent is the small number of Phoenician seals, only 20 in number. Perhaps the fad of inscribed seals never really became established in Phoenicia, as it did to the east and south. Not one inscribed seal has been found at Carthage (except the clearly imported, probably Aramaic seal, lywḥb – not treated here for the lack of a photograph), even though a copious number of uninscribed seals have come to light. Most seals in Phoenicia proper may have been uninscribed as well.

"On the other hand, some of the latest seals we have are Phoenician, such as the rather lengthy bślyn seal (n° 5 [ślyn bś mś šmlḥry], in a rare four graphic lines, filling the seal) from the last half of the 5th C. It would thus seem that the idea of the inscribed seal had a longer life in Phoenicia than elsewhere, perhaps because of a better quality of dependence on Persia."

See Addenda for the 20 texts, mostly L + PN, "inscriptions of ownership", some apparently L + Divine Name, "dedicatory-apotropaic-amuletic inscriptions".

NW Semitic Seal writing

Medieval Latin  Insular Latin

p.29–41  1984
English Epigram  Milton Johnson


A manageable sub-area of the Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, general editor and real editor of the Jerusalem materials Max van Berchem. Predominantly monumental inscriptions. It is such inscriptions which Blair's work suggested would be the most likely to be in verse, and the city is the only one covered in MCIA which we have yet found to have been subsequently resurveyed for more recent inscriptions in any systematic manner, see Heinz GAUBE Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien 1978. Gaube is interested in the Mamluk period and later. He expresses doubt whether Herzfeld’s work on earlier Aleppo will be extended to Damascus, for which he has an extensive section within his own time frame and restrictions. The Damascus funerary stelai of one important cemetery were actually published a year before Gaube’s work by Khaled Moaz and Solange ORY, Inscriptions arabes de Damas, Les stèles funéraires. 1. Cimetière d’al-Bab al-Sagir. Presumably, given the long process of making such books, this work was unknown to Gaube in the formative stages of the publication of his own particular work. The older work of Herzfeld remains fundamental. In it I found one verse example in vol. 1 (containing 119 inscriptions) and just one more in vol. 2, containing 163 inscriptions. One might suggest that the type of inscription at Aleppo did not favour display forms like verse and that only a small percentage of Greek inscriptions were poetic too, thus that verse might be no less characteristic of Arabic epigraphy than it was of Greek. However, I think that even without a major statistical analysis certain divergent trends are clear.

Arabic Epigraphy  MCIA 2

Hess, P.  Epigramm Stuttgart  1989
A major treatment in paperback, naturally treating German literature as central.

My Copy  German Epigram  Epigramm

Non-Classical
Hetzenhauer, P. Michael Biblia Sacra vulgatae editionis Sixti V Pont. Max. iussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita... editio altera emendatior Ratisbonæ et Romæ 1922

Used for checking the originality (deviation from at least the best known form of the standardised Latin scriptures) in the poetic and prose epigraphy on English Monastic seals. Such use is dangerous, as there was not complete uniformity of the Vulgate text over eras and areas. To assume on the basis of a Latin text regularised in the Baroque period that one can restore "sicuti" for the synonymous "sicut" of the Susanna Crystal, as does *Kombluth, is hazardous scholarship.

Bible Vulgate Sixtine-Clementine

Hiraga, N. Inscriptions (kinsekibun) in (Itasaka) 1983 1983

See Addenda Japanese Epigraphy Kinsekibun


Shortish poems but even so, variable in length. P.110: "Additions — divine Epigrams such as cannot be referred to any particular place of scripture."

mfm 791 1150:14 H2295 English Epigram Sion and Parnassus

Hodgkin, John Eliot Rariora, being notes of some of the Printed Books, Manuscripts, Historical Documents, Medals, Engravings, Pottery, etc. etc., collected (1858—1900) by... London 1902

090 18/1 Books Epigraphy Rariora

Hodgson, B.H. Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet 1874 & 1971

Indian tibetan Nepal Tibet

Höfner and Schaffer and Scherer(-Nagler) and Stiegner, Maria & Brigitte & Helga & Roswitha Beleg-Wörterbuch zum Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum Pars IV Inscriptiones himyariticas et sabaeas continens (CIH) Wien 1980 Note that this is not a glossary to the whole published corpus of South Arabian, only to the CIS materials, but the latter must be reasonably comprehensive to allow of this editorial restriction.

Pirenne in vol. viii p.199–258 of the Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique has a glossary for his sub-corpus. The 3 Bde of CIS iv contain about 1000 inscriptions. The Corpus Inscriptionum Himyariticarum was said to be unavailable in Australia, but is in the CIS available in ANU Rare Books. The shift of meaning of NFS seems to be a South Arabian innovation in Semitic (breath/spirit/self/person to primary ritual monument of prominent burial, i.e., stele) and spread from there to Phoenicia and even some parts of Aramaic Syria.


Q B R Verb

viii Qbrn 619,3; 71/1, 68

Q B R Noun

Qbr 391,2 ; 82, 129 ff.
qbr 619,3,4
qbr 702, 1 u. 6.
Qbrn 369,2
Mqbr 20,2,4
mqbr 21, 3
mqbr 286, 3
Mqbrtn 46,5; 91/vii 50, 52.

Non-Classical
Hollander, John

Rhyme's Reason, a guide to English Verse New Haven 1989 ca

Brief discussions of, and original, self-referential examples of various forms of verse.

My Book English Verse Verse Forms

Hollander, J.

Various Images of Writing; Notes towards a Classification in Lavin 1989 p.319–328 1989

"On, in, under, around, about" prime classifying categories. See. Dario A. Cove The Inscription in Fifteenth-Century Florence NY 1986. Butler sees 13 "orders" of inscriptions in the Ghent altarpiece. See also R.W. Lee Names on Trees Princeton 1977 for that well authenticated and lively tradition. P. 324 He criticises Sparrow's assumption about the inscription being equally comprehensible both to artist and to viewer.

Graphemics Writings

Holmes, B. The London Burial Grounds. 1896

English Burial London's Cemeteries


There long existed an affection in England, or even a paradoxical conviction, that heavy literary labour, prose and verse, was done in "extra hours", leisure moments, and by implication, was not heavy or "professional". Languidness is still de rigueur, I am told by Australian Military Brass, in English officer training schools. It is a typically aristocratic affectation. A search for book titles which clearly express this attitude is of some relevance for the importance of occasional poetry and of epigram, whose widely-accepted "triviality" and low standing is sometimes the real attitude of a society, but sometimes merely a pretence, such poems, like those of Martial, being regarded as quite significant texts, and their corpus as quite an important cultural product. We have done a long bibliographical search on this.

Vol. II p.301 has 10009 Horae latinae 1838; 10010 Horae Marianaee, Angelicae, seu de salutatione Angelica 1670; 10011 Horae successivae (our main research lemma) 1652; 10012 Horae, Duodecim diei Austriaci felices 1708, which is possibly not the poetic use of "horae". The side issue of the history (and tone) of the family of titles

Non-Classical
stemming from "horae succesivae" led us to various bibliographic sources. The reference works are often divided into those which treat authored works, and those which treat anonyma. More recent works treat both, but of course, the anonyma and ephemera are still harder to find. See *Rothe on the mini-genre of the literary title in the mid-modern period. For French anonyma see *Barbier. There is not much in him. For Italian, *Passano. Generally, see *Allison... *Wing 2. For general American: see *Shaw, *Bristol.

On the more important issue of publications entitled "Epigramm" and "Epigrammata", see in our Addenda under §11. Bibliographic & Buchwesen.

Bibliography German

Nugatory and Paignic

Hoops, Johannes Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde Berlin/NY 1973

RLGA Vol. VIII lief.3/4 p. 336–367 has a not very relevant article on Felsbilden, from the Alps to the far north. The more relevant items, as is our own practice with major and differently dated contributions to the great encyclopaedias, are here listed separately under their authors.

Germanic antiquity

RLGA

Hörander, Wolfram Theodoros Prodromos Historische Gedichte Wien. 1974

12C, p.372ff. on κύκλοι, p.495 Weihinschriften, p.497ff. Epitaphen

Greek Byzantine Epigram

Prodromos

Hörander, Wolfram Customs and Beliefs as Reflected in Occasional Poetry, some Considerations in Byzantinische Forschungen XII 1987 p. 235–247.

This humble title conceals an article of high importance for the nature of medieval poetic inscriptions in Greek. Far more promising titles offer much less. Of course, the main focus here is the contribution of a branch of literature to the rather new study of "daily life" in Byzantium, the conferences at Birmingham in 1983 and Vienna in 1981 being recent occasions breaking with a "strictly historical" approach to the past, and adopting a "more structural approach". We will annotate in the order of pages and summarise at the end.

P. 236 Secular (mostly occasional poetry) is a useful but limited source of information on the materiality and reality of the past. Two very useful groups of phrases are used to discuss, and to bring almost under the same head, the twin semiotic areas which we have called "occasionality" and "inscriptionality":

An occasional poem is either itself part of a process or of an object, or it describes a process (or object) or refers to them in any way whatsoever. For the modern reader these texts belong to literature; but originally, most of them were made for a special purpose. The German term, rather en vogue of late, is "Gebrauchstexte" (see A. Garzya, Testi letterari d'uso strumentale in XVI Int. Byzantinistenkongreß. Akten I/1 (Jahrh. d. österr. Byz. 31/1) Wien 1981 263–287.), texts intended for use. Consequently, these poems are characterised in disposition and contents by their function. (Cf. Paola Volpe Cacciatore, l'epigramma come testo letterario d'uso strumentale, in XVI.Int.Byzantinistenkongreß. Akten II/3 (Jahrh. d. österr. Byz. 32/3) Wien 1982, 11–19).

As to the original purpose of a poem, we are nearly always left to conjecture. If an epigram which we read in the manuscripts was in fact intended as an inscription and really did function as such, we can only know for sure if the same poem is also preserved in a contemporary - and thus possibly the "original" - inscription. This case is extremely rare; I know only a few examples from late antiquity (AP I 10 and the famous Porphyrios epigrams) and a single one from the Palaeologan period (Manuel Philes, Epitaph for the protostrator Michael Glabas.2

1 Some fragments of this poem which, according to the scholia in the manuscript, had been inscribed on various parts of the church of St. Polyeuktos were discovered and identified by Sevčenko; see C. Mango – I. Sevčenko, Remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople. Dumbarton Oaks Papers 15 (1961) 243–247 – a highly valuable find, all the more as a priori one would not presume an inscriptional use for this rather lengthy poem of 76 verses.

2 Manuelis Philae carmona, ed. E. Miller, I. Paris 1855, 117–118 (Cod.Esc., No CCXXIII). The verses were written to be placed on the κορύφης, i.e. cornice of the church erected in memory of the deceased on behalf of the widow; this church is obviously to be identified with the parekklesion of the Pammakaristos church in Constantinople where the verses are still to be seen inscribed in the above mentioned manner; see the reproduction in Σ. Α. Σιδηρίδης, Επιγραφικά και αρχαιολογικά άνακοινώσεις. Ό εν Κοσταντινουπόλει Έλληνος Φιλολόγος Σύλλογος Παράρτημα του κ'τ' τόμου (1892) 28 and pl; A. van Millingen, Byzantine Churches in Constantinople. London 1912, 138–163; a photograph of the inscription in Th. F. Mathews, The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul, University Park 1976, 359 (n° 36-25); cf. C. Mango, The Monument and its History, in: H. Belting – C. Mango – D. Mouriki, The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul. Washington D.C. 1978, 1–42.

Non-Classical
The emphasis rests upon the word "contemporary", for there is an example for a Byzantine poem preserved in an inscription of much later date, the poem by Theodore Prodromos "On an Image of Life" (Eις εἰκωνισμένον τὸν βούλ...).

This inscription and fresco are 18C in date, but both may have been copied from an earlier, now lost monument. P. 238 mentions "quotations" of book poetry in inscriptions, such as some distichs out of a metrical Calendar of Saints composed by Christophorus Mitylenaios in the 11C and used as inscriptions (called here διδασκαλία), in frescoes, in more than one Palaeologan church.

P. 239 The matter is slightly different with the metrical Synaxarion by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos. Here, in one of the manuscripts dating from the lifetime of the poet, the verses are used as frames for the miniatures. Taking into account the small interval between the making of the manuscript and the composition of the verses, one could assume that they were intended for this purpose, i.e. the functional, not literary use, from the beginning.

Also on p. 239 is a discussion of the plans of "Mr. Kominis" for a Corpus of Byzantine Epigrams. Hörander hopes that the concentration will be on inscriptional poems. This is hoped to be in the manner of Laurent's Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine, Athens 1932, itself now in need of augmentation. Hörander then passes to "poems that were part of a process, e.g. hymns sung in ceremonies", and notes that we know something about the intentions of the recorder of the poem, but very little about the actual realizations of such processes and ceremonies. However, although "In discussing occasional poetry we can hardly ever be a hundred percent positive about the original use of the poems; however, we can rather often class them with a high degree of certainty, especially when there is a close affinity between a poem included in manuscripts and a similar one preserved as inscription, or when a festival poem lacking details about its function is exactly defined in this respect by a related one.

Scholars also sometimes are confident enough to assign inscriptional poetry to the Corpus of a known poet, as in the case of Frolow and Voordeckers, who incorporated inscriptions from reliquary crosses into the works of Nicholas Kallikles, and H. Grégoire, an inscription found at the castle of Smyrna, accepted into the "works" of Nicephoros Blemmysides.

P. 241 Some authors wrote a great number of epigrams originally destined for inscriptional use on icons or other objects, (which is particularly true of Nicholas Kallikles and to a certain extent also of Theodore Prodromos), whereas in the oeuvre of other authors "poems of a descriptive character" prevail.

This means, surely, ekphrastika. Several most important generalisations follow. P. 241, poems on "various" objects are typically on special objects, though it is not easy to de-Germanise the statement:

"as a matter of fact, these objects hardly ever are 'ordinary' ones, i.e., objects related to everyday life in the strict sense; however, they are objects that play an important role / in the life of the Byzantine people, and to which the latter had a close mental affinity. Most of these objects belong to the religious sphere and thus reflect religious customs and beliefs of the Byzantines."

Thus, most objects inscribed (with verse) are religious ones, in Byzantium. Elsewhere, especially precious and highly wrought objects have verse on them far more often than do the more everyday items. P. 242 takes as an example of the processes involved in verse inscriptionality two poems from the sepulchral epigrams (preserved in MS) of the aforementioned Nicholas Kallikles, for Andronikos Palaiologos [I, P.M.Mc., try to imitate the strangely confused spelling of Greek which appears in Hörander's article, as I suffer from the same sources of confusion myself]. Nº 11 has as title Eις τὴν εἰκώνα τὴν ισταμένην ἐπάνω τῶν τάφων, and the text of this poem

3 This is made more likely perhaps by the poor spelling of the inscription, and some misunderstandings apparently discernible in it. If Bouras is right in his assumption, "we have to presume, beside the manuscript tradition of the poem, an inscriptional and partly oral one" — surely both always likely to have been a "contaminating" influence on the transmission of repeated inscriptions.

4 An exhaustive typology of Byzantine epigrams is still missing, the most important steps taken in this direction so far being the book of Kominis and the chapter on secular poetry in H. Hunger, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner, II München 1978, 87-180. — An attempt to collect and classify poems relating to pictures (including sculptures, drawings, etc.) from the entire European literature of all times has been made by G. Kranz, Das Bildgedicht. 2 vols Köln 1981. Byzantine literature, though not principally excluded, is represented in some scarce examples and dealt with in a thoroughly unsatisfactory way; nevertheless the methodological approach of this comparative study is of interest also for Byzantinists. [N.b., P.M.Mc., the misleading Germanic phrasing in this note of Hörander's!]

See also N.B. Τομαδάκης Βυζαντινά και Βυζαντινή τέχνη. 'Αθηνα 65 (1961) p. 3-10. See also P. Magdalino and R. Nelson The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century Byz. Forschungen 8 (1982) 123-182 (probably featured also in the collected work of the same name). Also mentioned, a thesis in progress "on these problems" by a Miss V. Nunn at the Courtauld Institute, London.

Non-Classical
reinforces the idea that it was from the beginning intended (and was?) inscribed on an icon of the Virgin Mary, to whom the mother of the deceased commended his soul. The next poem, no 12, has a strange title, one easily corrected to make inscriptional sense as well: els την χρυση εικων την κεκλημενη ειν τω ταφω. It is said by the author (on the basis of rich archaeological evidence and high likelihood) that the participle should be the similarly pronounced κεκλημενη, or perhaps, the slightly different βεβηλημενη, i.e., that the poem was from its inception and conception designed for a gold "icon", but even more, that this icon was intended for deposition in the tomb. Crosses in tombs are well attested, if painted icons are not. The "icon" then is most likely to have been one of those golden crosses which served as a pendant to the more common earthen or bronze crosses.

To this may be added an epigram preserved in cod. Marc.gr 524, fol. 108v:

Ελς τυμλον σταυφων τεθεινα ειν τω ταφω της σεβαστης κυρας Σοφιας της Κομνηνης και της σεβαστης θυγατρος αυτης κυρας Εληνης
Τυπω παγετων εν λυσοστρωτω ξυλω
λυν ταφου νυν έντεθη εξ αργυρου
δολη μετασχευ ένθεου ζωης ξυλω
τας εντου αυτου την Κομνηνη Σοφιαν
και πατα αταυτης παναεβατου Εληνη
και συναυτηις της Έδειν χωνυ μεσου
τας συμπινως προ τω αναγρατου παθου
χεισας τε κουνου στετεις και των ταφων.

Τεθεινα ειν τω ταφω may seem to require deposition/burial of the item, but Hörander also accepts the possibility of the cross being attached to a tombstone, above ground, as a kind of inlaid work. He then goes on to ex votos, some of which, even those of reasonable length (e.g., 26 verses) seem most likely to have been inscriptions, both from internal evidence and from the frequency of rich material offerings in thanksgiving for a recovery from illness or from other mortal danger. The poem first discussed, pl 243, is in fact thought to have been on an expensive cloth, called here peplos, as is the one in the treasure of S. Marco, this in its own inscriptions. Opinions differ if this was to be hung like tapestry, or placed on or wrapped around a precious object, in which case it would have been an endyte. Another poem mentions the offering of a cloth called encheirion in its title, and peplos in its own text. The word encheirion is also used in the poem title for a cloth offered by Theodore Styppeiotes and his wife in thanksgiving for the survival of their little son, unhurt, after a fall from a high triklinion. Obviously, encheiria were favourite votive offerings of the very rich, and may, like Muslim mandil-s, have often been inscribed with verse. The term often occurs in the titles and headings to "book" epigrams which were probably inscriptional in intent. The encheirion itself was originally an item of episcopal vestments, a square cloth hanging from the belt. Later it developed towards the epigonia. See J. Braun, Die liturgische Gewandung in Occident und Orient Freiburg 1907, 551 f. However, in the cases just mentioned it seems to be some object rather more general, or perhaps, has a specialised meaning, in either case being given to a cloth, perhaps square, purely ornamental and attached to an icon, c.f. a poem in cod. Marc. XI 22 ed. Miller (Theodoros Prodromos): ουτω οι στιχοι εισον ηγγαμμενοι ειν τω άγιω έγχειρι της Άγιαςοροτιθος, κατα την έορτη τω άγιω τω άγιω, τω γεγονων παρα της σεβαστοκαταρτοσεως. The fact that Hörander rejoices so much that this lemma is a "highly welcome proof for the original use of the poem as an inscription" suggests the paucity of such indications today. These cloths, by the way, were all offered to the Hodegetria, three of them in the same church. This aspect of the Virgin Mary was particularly resorted to in cases of eye trouble, we are told, and in any case, she was most popular under this title in the capital. Note our treatment of some seals, after Schluemberger.

Hörander goes on to discuss other objects offered, with proven or likely inscriptions on them (in verse), and pursues his discussion further into the likely purpose of such objects, if this purpose and symbolism was not "merely decorative". We have ourselves discussed the degree to which the purpose of the object (beyond its "nature" in more basic, non-symbolic and non ritual use) is to be imported into the "meaning" of the inscription designed for it precisely in such a derived use.

A very important point is made that votive poems reflect only the concerns of the upper class of Byzantine society (p. 246). This is obvious from prosopography and from the value of the items known to have been offered. What the humble peasant, or the artisan, brought as an offering, and the precise colour and pattern of his popular cloth, called here peplos, as is the one in the treasure of S. Marco, this in its own inscriptions. Opinions differ if this was to be hung like tapestry, or placed on or wrapped around a precious object, in which case it would have been an endyte. Another poem mentions the offering of a cloth called encheirion in its title, and peplos in its own text. The word encheirion is also used in the poem title for a cloth offered by Theodore Styppeiotes and his wife in thanksgiving for the survival of their little son, unhurt, after a fall from a high triklinion. Obviously, encheiria were favourite votive offerings of the very rich, and may, like Muslim mandil-s, have often been inscribed with verse. The term often occurs in the titles and headings to "book" epigrams which were probably inscriptional in intent. The encheirion itself was originally an item of episcopal vestments, a square cloth hanging from the belt. Later it developed towards the epigonia. See J. Braun, Die liturgische Gewandung in Occident und Orient Freiburg 1907, 551 f. However, in the cases just mentioned it seems to be some object rather more general, or perhaps, has a specialised meaning, in either case being given to a cloth, perhaps square, purely ornamental and attached to an icon, c.f. a poem in cod. Marc. XI 22 ed. Miller (Theodoros Prodromos): ουτω οι στιχοι εισον ηγγαμμενοι ειν τω άγιω έγχειρι της Άγιαςοροτιθος, κατα την έορτη τω άγιω τω άγιω, τω γεγονων παρα της σεβαστοκαταρτοσεως. The fact that Hörander rejoices so much that this lemma is a "highly welcome proof for the original use of the poem as an inscription" suggests the paucity of such indications today. These cloths, by the way, were all offered to the Hodegetria, three of them in the same church. This aspect of the Virgin Mary was particularly resorted to in cases of eye trouble, we are told, and in any case, she was most popular under this title in the capital. Note our treatment of some seals, after Schluemberger.

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A very important point is made that votive poems reflect only the concerns of the upper class of Byzantine society (p. 246). This is obvious from prosopography and from the value of the items known to have been offered. What the humble peasant, or the artisan, brought as an offering, and the precise colour and pattern of his popular piety, are not immediately available to us. The tin objects used by modern Greeks as offerings, called tamata, may reach back quite a distance into the past, but these could also be a re-introduction from the Latin west. Festival poems also concentrate on officials, imperial or ecclesiastical, but they can offer indications of the participation of the "minor people" as well.

Byzantine epigram Byz. Occasional Verse

Horst, H. Bildungs- und Unterhaltungsliteratur Ch.5 of Fischer et al. (1987) p.208–220 1987

Arabic Adab


P. 36: "Das Labyrinth der Wortgeschichte allein nun hätte kaum einen Philologen entmutigt, existierte nur — wie etwa im Fall des Epigramms — der Ariadnefaden einer traditions- und konventionsgesicherten objectiven

Non-Classical
Gattungskonstanz."

P. 37 generalises on the monadic nature of aphorism, and on its middle placement between poetry and philosophy, rhetoric and speculation, aesthetics and logic. It is a historical-geographical phenomenon.

P. 43 n° 37 excerpts Peter Krupka's work on the Polish aphorism, listing aphoristic techniques as: Delexicalisierung, Demetaphorisierung von Metaphern, Aufhebung der Selektionsregeln, Etymologisierung, Paradoxie.

A fascinating parallel with modern epigram is the "Gattungsnarzismus" of the genre. Aphorisms on aphorism are like epigrams on epigram (and subhashita on subhashita). P. 64 emphasises the anti-systematic politics of literary aphorism.

It would seem that the term aphorism comes from Hippokrates, via the diagnostic-therapeutic interests of his "definitions" and of Renaissance social criticism. P. 35. Other German words are: Apothegma, Gnome, Maxime, Sentenz, Pensée, Reflexion, Fragment. Of course, the main cultures favouring aphorism at the highest literary level are those of France and Germany. At a sub-literary level, bon-mots, winged words, quotable quotes, witticisms, wise sayings and such-like merge with the fragmentary.

Aphoristic Aphorism

Houck, Margaret Sources of the Roman de Brut of Wace Folcroft 1974 = 1941 Berkeley.

Howitt, A.W. Notes on the Songs and Song Makers of Some Australian Tribes London 1887 P.327–335 of Journal of the Anthropological Institute Feb. 1887


Huddesford, George ed. The Wiccamical chaplet: a selection of original poetry, comprising smaller poems, serious and comic: classical trifles: sonnets: and inscriptions and epitaphs: songs and ballads: mock-heroics, epigrams, fragments etc. etc. edited by... 1804 xv, 223 p.


What we have is less than a quarter of his planned work. See his Cornell Dissertation of 1923 Elizabethan and Jacobean Epigrams.

Ch. 1 The Nature of the Epigram
Ch. 2 The Epigrams of Sir Thomas More
Ch. 3 Scholarly Epigrammatists after More
Ch. 4 The Epigram in Schools and Colleges.

Hudson is a forerunner of the 20th Century attempt to recapture the Renaissance and Baroque. Like many forerunners, his overall perspectives seem to be broader and more balanced than those of his more specialised followers. P. 16C writers "seem careless in their use of literary terms", e.g., "sonnet" = 30–40 lines of any metrical pattern.

4 examples: Samuel Rowlands Generalised satire
John Davies Particularised by pseudonymous satire
Ben Johnson Sepulchral Epigram
John Weever Adulatory and complimentary epigram

Non-Classical
Not 'wit' but sententiousness was sought, epiphenomena, acclamatio. The intersection of compression, ingenuity and paradox.

"Greek soup" style, elegance and purity.

What is a "perfect comment" changes rapidly with culture. Note that pure lyric is a very modern idea.

What are the paradigms for Renaissance satiric epigram? Tucker uses the characteristics of 'complete, concrete, specific-occasional'. We may divide the surrounding field into:

1. Maxim, proverb, gnomic verse
2. Satirical essay
3. Lyric
4. Verse epistle, or elegy, commendatory
5. Dirge-threnody

The anonymous Arte of English Poesie 1589 mentions "posies" which were variously: New Year gifts; engraved in dishes or panes; painted on trenchers; engraved on rings.

Quotes F.E. Schelling The English Lyric 1913; [Rev. Richard Graves] The Festoon 1767; [Wm. Oldys?] A Collection of Epigrams 1735, and p. 18 mentions Jean Vauquelin, quoting De l'épigramme:

Mon Grand Duc, une belle ame
Tousiours court fait l'Epigramme;
Car qui trop long le feront
Une poeme ce feroit.

Followed, "like dessert", a main meal of elegy, ode, epistle, and even some epic.

Latin poetry of the Renaissance came under many names: 'Poemata'; carmina; odae; epigrammata; epitaphia; epithalamia; hymni; eclogae; encomia; and elegiae (= personal meditative poem), /p.26/

More's poems bulk the largest in Leger Duchesne / Du Chene / Leodegarius a Quercu Flores Epigrammatum Paris 1555. Therein are to be found 83 poems of More.

More's own epigrams first published at Basel 1518. 5 poems were presented to Henry VIII on his marriage and accession, incl.: 1 ode, 3 "epigrams". More's epigram for himself and his two wives. First English translations of More's Latin in Timothe Kendall 1577 Flowers... John Leland praised More. "Literary conventions demanded that a man of learning should produce epigrams, whether mainly to display his wit or to pay a tribute to a new book, a noble patron, or a great man recently dead." This neatly sums up the situation!


P. 104 Walter Haddon, and p. 108, George Buchanan, 183 + 27 + 25 = ca. 235 "epigrams", which are really versified jokes, Pasquinades. Sir Thomas Chaloner, Thomas Drant, Thomas Newton, and perhaps almost all the scholars of the 16C, such as Daniel Rogers, wrote epigrams. Not all these would have survived, not even a good selection of them. John Parkhurst translated Lond 1573 Ludicra sive Epigrammata iuvenilia. In printed versions, each poem is headed by a phrase or proverb (this often given in Latin even if the poem itself is in English) = the school "theme" for composition! An illuminating comment. Ca. 1800 at Winchester school (long a prime location for the writing of Latin verses) epigrams were set to boys without writing materials. An excellent exercise!

"Vergil's epigrams". PROTEUS phenomenon:

Est mea spes, Christus solus qui de cruce pendit

Even more Protean the sea-herd headed by this seedling text: Tot tibi sunt dotes, Virgo, quot sidera coelo. I.e. the "Proteus Parthenicus", eventually spawning a total of 3376 little poems, and 40,327 furher permutations in prose. No doubt, though Hudson does not have the need, or the taste, to say it, such ingenuity was not always empty. It was, for a period, wit at the service of intense and genuine devotion.

Other popular tours de force in verse.
Ingenuity did not equal "wit". Importance of Winchester school and the Wykehamists, and especially Christopher Johnson, headmaster 1560–1571.

These are a couple of the more discoverable lighthouses of the new verse, which was also cultivated in most of the darker recesses of Europe.

ANL 828.202 H885 English Epigram H.H. Hudson


Asoka fl.259 BCE King of Magadha.

COEf 5 ANL Asian Collection Indian Epigraphy C.I.Indic

Hultsch et al., Eugen South-Indian Inscriptions 1890–1925 V.1 1890; V.2 pt.1 1891, pt.2 1892, pt.3 1895, pt.4 (Venkayya) 1915; V.3 pt.1 1899, pt.2 1903, pt.3 1920, pt.4 1929.

Indian Epigraphy South-Indian Inscriptions


My Copy Persian Epigraphy Paikuli

Hummel, Bertold Epigramme für Streicher op.69a Frankfurt Schott in BGM '91 p.150; BCM '89 p.138 1987ca.

QX4/Hum2 ConSyd Quay Musical Epigram

Hunger, Herbert Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner Bd.1 and Bd.2 Munich 1978 & 1978 Replaces Krumbacher

Vol. 2 (?). P. 172: "There was hardly one literarly active Byzantine who did not try writing epigrams."

Greek Byzantine Secular Byzantine

Hunger, Herbert Johannes Chortasmenos Wien. 1969

P.190ff Gedichte, many shortish. Note the epitaphs and even epigrams. I have not as yet assessed the likelihood that the term "epigram" was in fact an old title rather than here again being assigned only by more recent editors.

Greek Byzantine Poetry Chortasmenos


Greek Byzantine Books Byzantine book culture


Visual memories of the Alhambra. A short, impressionistic treatment from a Western, in fact, a narrowly French literary viewpoint. The Alhambra inscriptions were very evocative to generations of western litterateurs and travellers, who could not however read them, and sometimes got Latin or other translations, the accuracy of which our author does not pronounce on, but still questions. n°3 p.350 says that the majority of the non-Qur'anic inscriptions were poems by Ibn Zumruk (1333–1393, apparently not in either El 1 or 2, and Hure seems not to mention Ibn Jayyab), and the mysterious and totally circular inscription, now much worn, which most intrigued some of the literary visitors, was first published quite recently (p.344) in Cuadernos de la Alhambra, n°3, 6, and 15, 16, 17. Other inscriptions were published first in the 19th C by Lafuente–Alcantara, Inscripciones árabes de Granada, Madrid. One Egyptian visitor and commentator is briefly mentioned. I suspect that this is the material which was alluded to on the phone to me by Dr. Shboul. I hoped that they would all be in Lévy-Provençal 1931, but have not identified them there. I am surprised that M. Hure did not mention this latter standard text, so perhaps he is not an Arabist.

700 117 Arabic Epigraphy Mythe de Grenade

Hurwitt, Samuel Jacob 1894– A treasury of epigrams: twenty-two hundred forty-five epigrams consistent with modern thinking and living... N.Y. 1961 330 p. 2nd ed. rev. enl. and indexed.

818 HUR English Epigram Treasury

Hutton, J. The Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin Writers of the Netherlands to the Year 1800 (=1946) 1967

Non-Classical
P. 46: The word 'epigram' throughout the sixteenth century carried Humanist connotations, which must have been very distinct in the minds of Marot and Amboise when they gave this title to their verses. Its use to designate a poetical form seemingly begins with them, though Du Bellay asserts that it was first so employed in French by Lazare de Baif. [n° 42 Deffence, ed. by Person, p. 160m and see Chamard's ed., p. 334. In an etymological sense the word is found in the fourteenth century: "Epigramme, c'est la superscription" (J. Le Fèvre, quoted by Hatzfeld and Darmesteter.) Possibly earlier is its occurrence in the title of the first of the Rouen *Palinods*, which may be as early as 1525. At the time when Amboise was preparing his *Cents Epigrammes* for the press (1532) Rabelais speaks of writing 'epigrammes en latin' which are then to be turned into rondesaux and ballades. Though Marot's epigrams were assembled in his *Adolescence Clémentine* of the same year, they are so called only in his *Œuvres* of 1538, and similarly the well-known *Recueil de tout solas*, appearing in three editions, c. 1530, 1535, and 1552, shows the word 'epigrammes' on its title page only in the third edition. Apparently no other multi-author anthology of the sixteenth century carried the word in its title, and one comes to suspect that it was purposely avoided. In the books of individual poets it is more common, at least after 1550 (e.g., Peletier, Forcadel, Doublet), but here too it is a conscious Latinism or Graecism used only for small groups of verses; when a poet composes an entire book of epigrams his impulse is to seek a native title, as the *Passatem* of Baif, the *Touche* of Tabouriot, or the *Quatrains* of Pibrac. Only with Vauquelin de la Fresnaye (1605) do we have, after Marot, an entire book of *Epigrammes*. Significantly, the word, which was later to pass to the feminine gender, remained masculine throughout the sixteenth century in constant reference to the neuter Greco-Latin *epigramma*."

Greeke Epigram French *Anthology in France*

Hutton, J. *The Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800* Ithaca N.Y. 1935

Greek Epigram Poetics *Anthology in Italy*


For Hutton's "That Most Justly Celebrated of Modern Epigrams" (a phrase of Joseph Wharton), p. 132ff., the much imitated quatrain of Girolamo Amalteo of Oderzo (1507–1574), medical theorist and practitioner at Padua, Ceneda, and Sarravalla, who later refused a position as personal physician to the Queen of Poland. He was a famous man in his own right, from a famous family. His fame as a poet was even more extraordinary, and yet he did not publish. The poems were first collected in Giammateo Toscano’s *Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italorum* (Paris 1576) and adequately published only in *Trium Pratrum Amaltheorum Carmina* (Venice, 1627) by the younger Girolamo Aleandro. What seems to us a trivial and overwrought quatrain, *Lumine Acon dextro, capta est Leonilla sinistro...*, was first printed before either of these collections, in 1563, simultaneously at Milan in G. P. Ubaldini's *Carmina Poetarum Nobilium* (f. 29v) and at Venice in the *Opera* of Publio Francesco Spina (p. 79 of *Epigram*). The popularity of this relatively unpointed piece is a guide to the mood of its age. It holds together the eroticism, the off-beat wit, the love of roundedness and polish and of Classical reference which was connatural to that age and so distant from our own.

Latin Epigram *Hutton articles*


From Brockelman GAL 12 635 and Supplement I 885: Abu 'l-Faraj 'Abdallah b. at-Tayyib al-'Irâq secretory to the Catholicos Elias I, physician and teacher at the 'Adud Hospital in Baghdad 1435/1043 [+ al-Jâthâ'Iq.]
The hospital seems to have been named after its founder, 'Adud ad-Daula.

Hamza tends to disappear, with or without a bearer. Defining dots and hamzas are often omitted, so that the naskhi approaches the minimalist condition of Kufic in some words and phrases. No doubt this illustrates the medieval scholar's oral and mnemonic grasp of his text. The Arab author may have freely translated from the Greek, rather than using previous translations. Gnomica passed fairly freely into Arabic, unlike Greek poetry in general.

Gnomica *Arab on Golden Verses*


Head of Mâlik school, mainly a lawyer.

Arabic *al Qayrawani*
IJssewijn, Jozef  
**Companion to Neo-Latin Studies**  
Amsterdam etc. 1977

After one has done shelf searches and searches provoked by chance footnote citations, and also tried to find the few synthetic works like those Binns which deal with post-medieval Latin, the work of IJssewijn takes on great importance. To have discovered a proportion of his titles independently and read them, or dipped into them, makes the rest of his enormous body of information less opaque. The bibliographies were so rich that one can only slowly appreciate their value.

My Book  
Latin Modern  
*Neo-Latin Companion*

Il'ina, M.  
**МОСКВА: ПАМЯТНИКИ АРХИТЕКТУРЫ XIV – XVII ВЕКОВ**  
— Moscow: Architectural Monuments 14C to 18C. Moscow 1973

Architectural stone was late arriving in Moscow, with the first stone church being the Cathedral of the Assumption 1326. While paintings are common, and have their own epigraphy, I noted very little epigraphy publicly displayed on the monuments themselves, and they are clearly and fully photographed here, particularly their facades.

Russian Epigraphy Art  
*Monumental Moscow*

Ioannes and Markos ho Eugenikos  
Epitaphs in ΑΘΗΝΑ 56 (1952) p.3–9. 1952  
Scattered epigraphic comments on related matters with incomplete texts.

p.4 18) 1st of 15 lines of John Eugenikos, a well-known hymn-writer and epigrammatist.

Greek Epigraphy  
*Eugenikoi*

Irik, Michael W. 1953—  
*Five epigrams for saxophone quintet voor Henri Bok en het Rijnmond Saxofoon Kwartet*. 1989 ms.

Musical Epigram  
*Epigrams I*

Istituto per la civiltà fenicia e punica  
**Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici Roma 5–10 Novembre 1979. Volume Secondo**  
Roma 1983

Phoenician  
*1st Punic Congress*

Itasaka, G.ed.  
**Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan**  
Tokyo 1983–

Japanese  
*Kodansha*

Iyer, K.A.S.  
**Subhasitasamgraha Pratham Bhagah** (of 7 vol. series Sahitya Ratnakosa) New Delhi 1971

P. ix gives Iyer's definition of "subhashita", = the Vedic sūkta, sukti, sadukti. He regards them as essentially independent texts. However, they can be in prose. The Dhammapada is a bundle of them, arranged, as such anthologies usually are, by subject. They are gnomic, part of "nīti". This 7 vol. series selects them from the Upanishads (prose treatises), the verse works Mahabharata (epic) and Purana-s (mythology). The 7 vol. series is a search for "popular wisdom".

PN 6307.S2 S8 part 1  
Indian Poetry  
*Samgraha*

Jack, Thomas  
**Onomasticon Poeticum**  
1654

Part of the reference material which supported widespread verse writing in the Renaissance and Baroque.

Poetics Names  
*Names in poetry*

Jackson, Holbrook  
**The Anatomy of Bibliomania**  
London 1950 2nd ed.  
An elaborate commonplace book in archaising language.

Many prose and verse quotations in an archaising text. Useful for the length (short) and the nature of its very frequent citations, which are themselves used in an antiquarian way, making them into one of the many cousins of epigram.

My Book  
*Bibliomania*
Jacob, G.A. Lokinyavanjali – A Handful of Popular Maxims Current in Sanskrit Literature (=1900, 1925?) 1983

Indian Gnomica Maxims


Heterograms, cross cultural polygraphism in Iran, see p. 99ff. Included in this is a response from Diakonoff himself, p. 100, applying to the early literate periods of up to 1732 BCE:

Most of the reasonably well-to-do Babylonians sent their sons, and even, sometimes, their daughters, to school.

A shepherd who was chief of four to five cowboys would be able to account for the cattle entrusted to him, in writing.

The respected author of Vavilonskiy Pistsi has an optimistic idea of the limited, listing literacy of ancient societies.

DS 57 S 57 ANU Literacy Oral to Written

Jamberoo Cemeteries

Transcripts of the Jamberoo Public Cemetery and the Jamberoo Catholic Cemetery done by P.M.Mc. as a sample of South Coast N.S.W. epigraphic practice in the 19th and earlier 20th Century.

Developing from simple, small stones, with just initials boldly carved in rough sandstone, from the late 1840s and 1850s, the once very isolated Jamberoo communities developed a fulsome epigraphy, often many family members being progressively added to the one large monument, and family monuments sometimes being gathered in a definable, or actually fenced precinct. Poetic epigraphy, sometimes of more than one stanza (such length is rare in older Australia) is often carved in italics which can be very hard to read on the flaking sandstone.

The public cemetery seems to display 293 freestanding monuments from 1889–1992, of which no more than 18 show some verse. Thus, 6%. The older Catholic Cemetery has about 68 monuments, of which no more than 9 now show verse, thus 13%. See in *Addenda* Australian epitaphs.

My Transcript Australian Burial epigraphy


See Hrvatska Enciklopedija and Cosenza’s Dictionary of Italian Humanists for the forest of different names by which this famous man, like many another "Humanist" of his time, was identified.


877.04 P194ep Latin Modern Epigram Pannonius

Jaubert, M-J Slogan mon amour Paris 1985

The pressures of competition for publicity may have kept early epigram short, as they kept it prominent.

Slogan

Jauß, H.R. Ästhetische Erfahrung und literarische Hermeneutik Frankfurt am Main 1982

Poetics Ästhetische Erfahrung

Jauß and Bahti, H.R. & T. Towards an Aesthetic of Reception Minneapolis c.1982

Poetics reception

Jean and Hofstijzer, Charles-F. & Jacob Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest Leiden 1965

P.183/4 NFS (spirit/self/stele, according to language and period).

Q492 West Semitic Jean-Hoftijzer

Jeffares, A.N. A New Commentary on the Poems of W.B. Yeats Stanford 1984

p. 407 notes and materials on n° 356, Under Ben Bulben, with the final triplet (lines 92–94) actually engraved on Yeats’s stone: Cast a Cold Eye / On Life / Death / Horseman pass by. Notably, the idea of making one’s own epitaph and tomb design may have come from his grandfather William Pollexfen, who superintended ‘the making of his tomb’. Drumcliff is a village on the Bundoran Road to the north of Sligo, under the slopes of Ben Bulben. Yeats died at Roquebrune 28 Jan. 1939. His body was brought from France back to Ireland and reinterred in Drumcliff

Non-Classical

PR 5907 J39 Yeats Commentary Yeats Je


Joseph Jenkins's Australian diaries 1869–1894, bardic name Amnon II, (see introd. xi for some of his achievements in Wales). He was a man of quite frightening independence of mind, and emigrated to Australia for a few decades, arriving here in 1869, aged 51. As an itinerant worker he documented the life of rural Victoria in this period, recording many of his Welsh and English poems in his voluminous diaries. He composed his own epitaph, and was proficient in the 4 line old-style Englyn.

Welsh English Epigram Welsh Swagman

Jens, Walter hrsg. Kindlers Neue Literatur Lexikon München 1988

Uses the spelling Celtis, not Celtes. The latter is Zedler's form. I also prefer the latter, on the chance that this confusion arose from the habit of putting authors' names on title pages in their genitive form. See also Vol. I 405–406 Anakreon aus Teos, but not much on the anacreontics of modern times.

803 10A Latin Modern Epigram Kindlers


PN 6307 S2 S9 V.1 ANU Indian Poetry Subhasitavali

Jin'ichi, Konishi "Michi" and Medieval Writing Ch.6 of Miner 1985 1985

Artistic vocation ('michi') was not easily imported as an ideal into high-born circles. It did become associated with the writing of Kanyaku and Waka in some families. P. 196 The characteristics of Medieval Japanese Expression: retrospection, subtlety, profundity, fragmentation. P. 197 deals with the 'renga' or linked poetry phenomenon.

It seems that as in China, poetry writing was the most accessible of all the arts to the upper classes.

895.609 16 Japanese Poetics Michi


Reassigning of some values in a North Arabian abecedarius on the basis of graffiti accompanied by animal drawings, which allow a firmer identification of the vocabulary. The result is to bring the order of this recent ostraco into line with the standard WS order of letters: AM86/102E/21 (two inscriptions) and AM86/115E/15. North Arabian Alphabet Abecedarius North Arabia

Johannes Secundus and Endres, & C. Johannes Secundus; the Latin Love Elegy in the Renaissance Hamden (Connecticut) 1981

Latin Modern Secundus


English Burial Epigraphy Swift's Epitaph

Johnson, Ralph d.1695 The scholar's guide from the acceptance to the university or, Short, plain and easie rules for performing all manner of exercise in the grammar-school. &c. rules for spelling, orthography, pointing, confirming, parsing, making Latin, placing Latin, variation, amplification, allusion, imitation, observation, moving-passion: as also rules for making colloquies, essays, fables, prosopopeia's, characters themes, epistles, orations, declamations of all sorts: together with rules for translation, variation, imitation, carmen, epigrams, dialogues, echo's, epitaphs, hymns, anagrams, acrostichs, chronostichs, &c. by... 1665/1971 Facsm. Scolar Press 300, Menston 1971 English Linguistics 1500–1800. [9], 43 p.

s300 420 Eng =J786 Poetics Scholar's guide
Jolles, A. Einfache Formen: Legende, Sage, Mythe, Rätsel, Spruch, Kasus, Memorabile, Märchen, Witz Tübingen (=1958, 1930) 1965

A most influential book of literary and aesthetic archaeology and analysis from the '20s and '30s, a period of intense interest in genre, as was the post-war period again to be, influenced by the Russian formalists. A famous attempt to get behind the surface of literary realities, without forgetting those surfaces. Epigram is not mentioned, but the related Rätsel and Spruch are.

Three general aspects under which the study of literature may be conducted and has been conducted: A. BEAUTY - aesthetic, inspiring 18CGattung theory, "thought" realising itself, which aimed at influencing practice; B. MEANING - historical, the "Genie" theory and the emphasis is on the "ars poetae". There was no intention of any practical outcome; C. FORM - morphological, with a new emphasis on language, which remains Sign while becoming Picture.

Forms are often found aggregated, constituting another form. Jolles claims that his field of study is not treated by stylistics, or by rhetoric, or by Poetics and Lit. Crit, or by Graphology (?). P. 11 Speech as "Work" can also have a tripartite division according to other sorts of work, PRODUCTION, MAKING and GIVING MEANING. The peasant produces, but is isolated in his family circle. The craftsman makes, and has usually developed a guild mentality, spanning families and borders. The priest gives meaning, being alone and stable, and a focus of "meaning". Note the semantic development of the following series of related words: 1. heil: heilig: heilen; 2. colere: cultus: Kultur. Speech produces, and makes, and leads to literature.

P. 45 warns against too much emphasis on the "Motiv": "Motiv ist ein gefährliches Wort". Scherer took the literary use of this term from music, note Nietzsche's term Sprachgebärde, used for music! Jolles himself will use it for Gattungsforschung.

Example: Legend is a simple form, but develops into the more explicit form Vita, which is a "currently present simpleform" of speech-work, as legend is not currently vital. P. 126 RÄTSEL/riddle: a question and answer form in its deepest essence. See Richard Wossidlo 1897. P. 141 it stretches the meaning of language and develops as a result a special language. The pure form may not occur in a culture: P. 148 Riddles were not popular in 19C European (= German?) culture, and Boas says that NE Siberia and America lack the riddle form [as the Chadwicks claim for proverbs in some cultures]. The riddle stands at the origins of the detective story, an elaborated form.

Important for our investigations, riddle is essentially a short form, says Jolles. [We might note that many AP epigrams are riddles, and so are Delphic responsa] p. 149 cf. the idea "rune" and its semantic development.

P. 150 SPRUCH/saying/proverb/gnome/epigram/etc./etc./in German

Like riddle, Spruch is an essentially short form. In modern times note Erasmus, Sebastian Franck, Agricola, and Heinrich Bebel. See also Friedrich Seiler 1922 Deutschen Sprichworterkunde. Selecting from a forest of German terms which are all "there or thereabout" equivalent to the old term Spruch, J. mentions Sprichwort and Denkspruch, also the Maxime-Spruch.

P. 156 There is a necessary "atomisation" of experience involved in this form. As for its subjects, we have 1. rules of politeness and moral precepts (though see below, p. 157); 2. "Sentences"; 3. "Winged words", Homer and Georg Büchmann 1864; 4. proverbial styles of speech; 5. Apothegms. [Does this exclude cliché?]

P. 157 notes that the proverbs of special interest groups are Sprüche. P. 158 emphasises that the Spruch is not primarily didactic, nor a mnemonic verse, it is a conclusion, not an opening to a life process, and it is not moral either, its aim being to induce resignation, not action. P. 162 refers to the corpus of 200,000 German Sprüche. P. 163 calls it a statement, no doubt as a Speech-Acct category, in this it is unlike Myth and Riddle. P. 164 notes that it is apodictic and non-discursive, [one reason no doubt for its brevity]. It involves an unusual stretching of word-classes, and of syntax (parataxis, but avoiding sentence form), of style.
and its love of rhythmic schemata like: —  —  —  —  (quantitative), and (accentual): x x / x x / l x x / x x /.

Presumably the bipartite structure suggested in the latter is also part of many Sprüche, and it certainly is of many proverbs. Its tropes are a sort of metaphor and abbreviation, and in no way like those of the riddle.

P. 167 returns to the Persian chestnut of a structure "like pearls on a string". See, for example, *Kowalski/McCallum, and *Dubin, also in our Thesis the section on Muslim poetics.

The Spruch includes Winged Words and Proverbs, the former being divisible into citations from authors, especially what they write at the ends of sections [i.e., Spruch as closure!], and sayings attributed to famous historical figures, = Apothegm. Note also the Emblema, which like a symbol, is a "Sinnbild".

P. 262, "Ausblick" suggests that riddle and Spruch are anti-scriptual.

P. 264–5 the Geistesbeschäftigung of the origins of these forms. They are indeed simple forms, even if not recognised as such by contemporaries, as Märchen did not have to wait for the Grimms' discovery of their fundamental nature to become "Simple Forms". There are single gestures of speech which allow simple forms to be realised.

P. 266 some forms are easier to recognise than others from outside the culture and the language. Notably, Spruch is more easily recognisable, cross-culturally, than Légende. For instance, in the Spruch, the speech gesture is the entire form, and verbal accuracy is prized.

P. 267 has a subdivision helping to characterise the above two forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>long</th>
<th>short</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moving on</td>
<td>stopping forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>open</td>
<td>closed forms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P. 268 returns to Jolles' campaign against systematic Motivforschung.

[The question of suitability for verse expression, or antipathy to poetic devices, does not seem to be raised.]

"Proverb", of which Spruch is a super-genre (though still being "simple!) is variously defined as non-poetic.]

[There is some indication that in a special way, though textually independent, Sprüche tend to group together more, perhaps, than other "Simple Forms"]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Einfache Formen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Bede was long a standard author and his extensive works are still (as a result) almost fully preserved. Thus the loss (or truncation) of his Liber epigrammatum is the more surprising. Perhaps this is a warning to us not to assume ignorance of epigram in High Medieval times, but rather a loss of the taste for such things.

Schooling  Famulus

| Jones, Barbara | *Design for Death* London. 1967 |

Modern practices in England, America, and elsewhere, with p.146 dealing with the funeral business magazines The Sunnyside and The Casket. Debates about the public health of London are referred to, with the sources of those tracts of the Cambridge Camden Society in which quite lurid descriptions of current evils are supplied. The author favours brevity in all epitaphs. Some verses are included in her varied materials, but very few.

Burial Art  *Design for Death*


Jouveau-Dubreuil and Aiyangar and Rau and..., G. & S. Krishnaswami & K. Amrita & ...


Translated under the supervision of the author.

The 1972 reprint of the 1917 English edition of Jouveau-Dubreuil's Dravidian Architecture is significant in being by an author whose early works were on Pallava inscriptions and the inscriptions of Mahendravarman. His field is fairly narrow, Tamilnadu, but more precisely Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot. Thus it is an intensive work, compiled with the advice of local tradesmen and literati. P. 1:

Religious edifices are extremely numerous in the South of India. They are found everywhere, in big towns, in villages, in the forest; almost all these monuments are covered with inscriptions.

P.3 "There has never been foreign influence" on the architecture of South India according to this still-respected author. P.37 gives a good contextualising photo of the famous RajaRaja inscription of Dâdâpuram of the early Chola period, 10C, discovered by the author. It shows it to be as prominently displayed to worshippers ascending the staircase as other accounts suggest.

Indian Architecture  Dravidian Architecture


| Non-Classical |
An annotated and illustrated corpus of inscriptions most of which had already been published elsewhere. Introduction, Greek texts and extensive commentary, Indices, plates.

50 painted, 15 carved (on marble), 4 set in brick. Half the carved and all the brick inscriptions are found in the Despotate of Epirus. Such inscriptions are found on the outside walls of churches. Painted inscriptions are more on the central apse (continuing an old Christian tradition) than over a main entrance, the second possibility. Most are in uncials. Symbols and monograms are very rare. The 13 Donor Portraits are occasionally funerary as well. Some donors (p.35) are common folk, which is characteristic of the social conditions of the 13C.

VERSE (fairly common):—

DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS ON CHURCHES:
P. 51 Arta (on a stone pilaster) 2 x Dodec. + Πύλας ημών ανακάλεσεν ὁ θεόλογος Μητρεία: τῆς μετανοιάς του φωτός οὐσία τοῦ πύλη
P. 53 Arta (on an arched marble lintel, see also *Naveh) 4 x Dodec. 1. Κοπροβαλαστος δεσποτης Νικεφόρος / Ἀνα βασιλεύσα Κομνηνοδουκαίαν / 2. Κοπροβαλαστος δεσποτης Θεωμας μένας / Κομνηνων κλάδος αυτελευάζων? = Κομνηνων κλάδος δοεθέμαν 'Αγγέλων?
P. 55 Bougareli (painted on wall of nave above entrance door) 12 graphic lines, making, it is claimed, 8 x dodec. but very fragmentary.
P. 57–59 Hagia Sophia (formely Mokista) in Aitolia: a) Stone on outer wall of apse, 8 x dodec.; b) stone block, 8 x dodec.; c) on old stone, 15? x dodec. fragmentary.
P. 60 Kalybia Koubara, fresco, a) 14 x dodec. Possibly c) (painted and fragmentary) is also dodec., it is in 15 graphic lines.
P. 78 Chrysapha (Lakonia) (painted above entrance) very fragmentary dodec in about 4 long graphic lines.
P. 79 Mistra b) (carved on slab outer wall) 9 x dodec.
P. 80 Mistra (carved on architrave) fragmentary beginnings of a dodec. text.

Donor portraits — no verse noted

Appendix (inscriptions for various reasons excluded from main corpus)
P. 104 Thessaly (lost stone inscription) 3 or 4 x dodec.

SUMMARY: about 10 out of 70 inscriptions are in verse. All this 13C mainland-Aegean church verse is dodecasyllabic. Very short verse texts are rarer than those around the ten line mark.

**My Book** Art Byzantine Epigraphy **Donor portraits**

**Kaltenmark, Max** Littérature chinoise in Queneau 1967 p.1167–1296 1967
Chinese Chinoise

**Kaltenmark, Max** Littérature man in Queneau 1967 p. 1301–1304 1967
Man (adj., = Mon?) Man


231 pieces presented. Verse occurs, but of a repeatable nature, rather than the original verse typical of Medieval Latin Seals. The "Shi‘ite shahada" in quatrain form is common enough, repeated verbatim from cachet to talisman to sealing, as it is obviously much repeated orally: P. 36 n° 2.1.4; p.43–44 n°° 2.2.15 & 2.2.16 (these items "cachets" and post-Classic); p. 84–86 n°° 1.23B, 1.25, 1.26 (these "talismans"). This quatrain has the couplet rhyme, AABB, of the indigenous Persian manner.

The other repeated quatrain does not come from the core texts of revelation or of ritual prayer, but apparently from later devotional prayer — p. 45 n° 2.2.19, said to be a quatrain by Ludvik, quoting Reinaud II p. 283: "ce quatrain se trouve souvent «sur les piettes gravées, particulièrement sur les sceaux des grands visirs et d'autres grands personnages»":—

O mon Dieu, par la vertu de l'existence
envoie-moi six choses en aide:
Le savoir, la pratique, l'aisance,
La foi, la sécurité, et la santé.

It will be remembered that a "couplet" is found on one of the great seals of every Shah, and that couplets in Persian (usually) are found on 17C Persian coinage. We will not here repeat what we have thrashed out in the Thesis and the Arabo-Persian parts of the bibliographies, and also in the relevant parts of the copious Addenda, concerning the frequent equivalence of (long, hemistich rhyming) couplet and quatrain, except to note that the Persian poetic long line is typically divided by a strong caesura into two completely symmetrical hemistichs, and that the submerged and obscure old folk traditions in Iranian and Turkic seem to have favoured a short line roughly equivalent in length to the more refined and elevated Arabo-Persian hemistich.

f CD 5513 F 72 1981 Muslim seals

Non-Classical
Kalus, Ludvik  
Inscriptions arabes des Îles de Bahrain. Contribution à l'histoire de Bahrain entre les Xle et XVIIe siècles (Ve – Xle de l'hégire)  
Paris 1990  
A belated corpus of easily visible inscriptions on tombs and mosques from a period overshadowed in the 19C by the quest for the Sumerian "land of Immortality". 49 inscriptions, plates, maps, notes, excursus. From the 9C–17C CE.

No 14 from Sūk al-Hamls, 1413/4 CE is a horizontally laid sarcophagus covered with panels of script like tattoos. After the initial deictic formula "This is the tomb of..." there follow Qur'anic quotes for many panels, the rich epigraphic panels conclude with the name of the writer and of the two sculptors, then four small panels with a line each said to be in the metre kāmil, but not seeming to me to rhyme.

The editor classes the verse as coming last, though this depends on a knowledge of the likely sequence of the four faces. I could find no more verse inscribed on Muslim Bahrain.

Arabic Epigraphy de Bahrain

Kane, P.V.  
History of Dharmasastra (Ancient and Medieval Religious and Civil Law)  
An epoch-making book on the Indian law codes. We looked into it for prescriptions about mourning and burial. Given Indian cultures, there are a lot more of the former than of the latter. See briefly in Addenda, see also Sontheimer.

Indian Burial HD

Kano, H.  
Mokkan in (Itasaka) 1983 1983  
See 1986 Supplement under Nishimata for yet another discovery of 400 late 7C mokkan in a Palace excavation in Asuka village, Nara prefecture.

Wood slips with writing found in archaeological digs, not necessarily "inscriptions" but close enough to such. Like the Vikings and the Chinese (and, no doubt, many other peoples) the Japanese used long strips of wood for ordinary writing purposes, not as uniform in length as were the slips of their teachers, the Chinese. 30–45cm was the common length in China. In Japan it was 10–25cm long, 2–3 cm wide, the length being decided by the length of the message. Only since 1961 have they been excavated in any quantity. In the mid '80s 40 sites had produced 32,000 of them, mostly from the 7/8C, and stretching from the mid 7C to the 15C. They are equivalent to the Western ostraca and their texts include: Labels, directives, records, practice calligraphy, notes and jottings, talismans, title tags for scrolls, medical prescriptions, lists of Chinese characters, labels for taxable goods.

Japanese Epigraphy Mokkan 1

Kant, Shashi  
The Prakrit  
in Ramesh 1984, Ch.11, p.93–98 1984  
Prakrit not a linear or pure Indo-Aryan development of Skt. Sanskrit originally a minority language, jealously guarded. Some early koine was used in daily life, over a huge area, spoken and written. It was fossilised before its grammarians could describe it: +5C Vararuci, Bhamaṇa 7C, Hemachandra Suri 12C. Asokan epigraphy gets us behind such bookish developments, and shows four groups of koinei. Sanskrit inscriptions: 150CE Sudarshana Lake of Rudradamana, the first lucid prasasti is that of Harishena for Samudragupta ca 360CE. Only three small Sanskrit inscriptions precede that of Sudarsana Lake: one from Ayodhya by a Dhana, two called the Ghosunci and Hathiwara grants from near Jaipur, hardly earlier than the Common Era. Prakrit inscriptions become rare after the Gupta, say after +500. A Jain Prakrit kavya in 23 verses survives from as late as 861CE (record of Kakkuka, found near Ghatala in Jodhpur District. Why is Jain Prakrit different from Buddhist Pali, when the leaders came from the same area? Pali is not Magadhi. Both now exist in the forms they had evolved into (by missionary activity and continuing of the early practice of adapting to local culture and speech) at various later stages: Pali was apparently codified in the form the scriptures had taken by the time of their arrival to Sri Lanka, and the Digambara and later the Svetambara Jainas at a much later stage (i.e., respectively, for Buddhist and Jain "Prakrits"). A new approach to Prakrit will regard the forms of the Jainas (and more remotely, the Buddhists and the classical dramatists) as a super-koine marked by the influence of the regional koinei through which the sects have passed. The article promises much, but delivers little, alluding loosely to the classical treatments. NOTE the importance of Prakrit studies for earlier (pre-Gupta) epigraphy.

Indian Prakrit

Kao, Yu-kung (Princeton)  
The Aesthetics of Regulated Verse  
p.332–385 of Lin and Owen.  
1986 ca.  
See Addenda.

Chinese poetics Regulated verse

Kaplony, P.  
Die Definition der schönen Literatur im alten Ägypten  
In later periods, there may have existed in the sensibilities and minds of Egyptian litterati something like our Non-Classical
concept of "fine literature".

Egyptian Medet-nefert

Karashima, Noboru South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions A.D. 850–1800 Delhi 1984 13 articles, mainly on the Chola period. (+7C) 9C — +17C. Studies Karl Marx’s idea of a ‘stagnant society’ and the ‘Asiatic mode of production’ on the basis of documents (epigraphic) not available to Marx. 40% of inscriptions surviving are of grant or sale of land or of entire villages, and of their revenue, levied or remitted.

Though not about inscriptions, this study uses them in a way that illuminates their nature.

954.8 K18 Indian Epigraphy South Indian


Greek Byzantine Bibliography Byzanz-Quellenkunde

Karykopoulos, Panos Πάνος Καρυκόπουλος Συμβολή στην Ιστορία τής Ελληνικής Τυπογραφίας 1476-1976 ΑΘΗΝΑ 1976

Despite the prominence of Venice in this field, the first Greek printing was by an Adam Aumbergau 1471 in Vienna (p.15, Χρυσωλάφας Ἑρωτήματα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης and another by a Lođjare = Λαζάριους at Milan 1476.

686.218 Syd Fish Greek Modern Books Greek Printing


Thai SEAsian Siamoise

Kasinathan, Natana Letter to P.M.Mc from N. Kasinathan Director of Archaeology Tamilnadu 1993

50,000 listed inscriptions from the –4C onwards. The first eight centuries leave us only inscriptions written on cliffs. (Professor Dihle summarises that there was no early native coinage in the South, but that Roman Imperial coins were used where necessary). If they were also on very old temples, the walls supporting them, not being of stone at that period, have not survived. Most of these early inscriptions are in three or four lines, and give no chronological information apart from the occasional naming of the reigning "king". From the +5C there begin to be inscriptions on the newly acceptable architectural stone, and increasingly in temples, particularly on the granite buildings of the 9C onwards. The interesting phenomenon of “hero stones” appears about the same time. Poetry, though highly valued in Tamil society of these earlier periods, is not generally found in the early stone epigraphy. Copper plates preserve inscribed verse, lengthy Tamil prasastis in the case of the earlier Pandyas, short poems appear only in the stone inscriptions from the late Pallava period. Pallava, Chola and Pandya inscriptions in verse are apparently fairly common. Iyengar and Vankatasami (?) have published some. Pulavar S. Raju of Tamil University Thanjavur is collecting them. I have written to this scholar, but he has not as yet answered. I was surprised by the early dates mentioned for Tamil inscriptions in this letter. My survey of libraries suggested that the +6C was pretty much the starting period for the Jaina inscriptions and although it is likely that Buddhists (at least) inscribed stones on the South East coast of India quite early in our Era, I have found no evidence of this in the available literature.

Personal letter Indian Epigraphy Kasinathan

Kauffmann, C.M. Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik Freiburg. 1917

Greek Latin Medieval Epigraphy Old Christian

Kaulacāra and Boner and Sarma, Rāmchandra & Alice & Sadaśiva Rath Śīlpa Prakāśa translated and annotated by Alice Boner and Sadaśiva Rath Sarma Leiden 1966

Edition of an Oriya Silpasastra in verse, 18C copies, 12C ca. text, by a practitioner, with narrow focus on one area and type of buildings, some of which are still standing. Thus the text escapes from the vagueness attending similar materials in the Puranas (and Late Epic?)

As far as I could see, the most practical of the extant Silpasastras says nothing at all about inscriptions. Ornamentation and iconography seemed to be assumed to be anepigraphic, and p. xxvii notes in passing that the inner walls of the shrine were usually completely bare, i.e., of iconography. Many epigraphs which I previously have uncovered all around India are foundation-donative inscriptions, though some are pilgrims’ graffiti. These would be expected to congregate on the outer walls of the shrine, and are not discussed.

726.145 2 Indian Architecture Silpasastra

Non-Classical
My (partial) copy Chinese Burial  *Lo-Yang*

Kazhdan, Alexander P.  *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* Berkeley 1985 ca.
889.09171 Greek Byzantine  *Byzantine 11/12C*

See Addenda for selections relevant to Inscription and Epigram.
Greek Byzantine  *ODB*

Kehrlein, Joseph  *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Drucken* Mainz 1873 = Hildesheim 1965 (photofacsimile)
P.71 has n° 66 beginning: // Salve crux sancta,/ Salve lignum triumphale…
The text survives in about 14 MSS.
Again, this is one of the often unsatisfactory reference books used by us to check the "originality" of phrases found in verse on English Monastic seals. See *Ellis ad num.
879.108 5 Latin Medieval Poetry  *Sequences*

An important stimulator for short occasional verse and preserver of its traditions is the album, perhaps descending from the autograph album, of which an example is shown on p. 16 from Milton's, to the visiting German scholar Christophorus Arnoldus, 19 Nov. 1651. The text is in honorific Latin prose.
My Book English  *English Lit. MSS*

Kemal, S.  *The Poetics of Alfarabi and Avicenna* Leiden etc. 1991
Highly philosophical, this treatment supplements the more broadly literary surveys of Arab thought on literature such as those by *Trabulsy and van Gelder.*
My Book Arabic Poetics  *Arab Poetics*

Ker, N.R.,  *Medieval Libraries of great Britain, a list of surviving books* London 1964
Up to approximately 1540 CE.
xxvi– the custom of “inscriptions” and "ex libris" annotations.
xxv– a list of words used in inscriptions of gift.
Medieval Books  *Medieval Libraries*

Keramopoulos, A.D.  *Ποιηματα και Έπιγράμματα* in ΑΘΗΝΑ 50 (1940) p.250–258 1940
The emphasis is nationalistic and recent.
Keramopoulos presents a few epigrams (which he had been accustomed to write from his youth, i.e. from 1918).
They are in Hex, Eleg. Distichs, and longer Elegiacs, the later probably not to be classed among the "epigrams" of the double title. He notes that he had predominantly used the "old metres" for panegyrical verse.
Greek Epigram  *Keramopoulos'*

An interesting revision of common assumptions on the Medieval works of art. He makes the interesting point that the vernacular obscenities on that fascinating 11–12C fresco in San Clemente ("fili dele pute, traite etc."="Sons of bitches, traitors...") was in volgare but directed at the highly literate just the same. The volgare and the vulgarity are probably meant to be "in character" for the devils pictured, and if so, their presence is one more sign of the vivid impact of the medieval picture and how the tituli were meant to do justice to this, or perhaps to enhance it. Pictures were accepted as replacements for writing in Paulinus of Nola’s Carmen 27,586 and Gregory the Great’s Epistola XI 10 CSEL 140A p.874. Nevertheless, there are in fact words in or near almost every medieval picture, and "Full descriptive tituli are found during all periods of the Middle Ages, many introduced by the inscriptional formuale:

*Non-Classical*
Hic..., Sic... Come..., and Ubi.... At a deep semiological level, the picture makes a claim, asserts authenticity, is a witness to the events it portrays (one thinks of the "making real" done by Egyptian pictures) and the caption explicitly asserts this claim of authenticity: "Xy is/are really here, and you can be sure that these things really happened because of the reliability of this picture." There is apparently an important contemporary text in Suger's De administrazione XXXIII 4 ed. E.Panofsky in his Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Art Treasures. Princeton 1979 p.63.


Latin Medieval Epigraphy Art Words on art


P. 464 Antiquarian interests of Thomas Gray and Horace Walpole

p. 466 Elizabethan and Jacobean custom of hanging wood plaques showing epitaphs and epigrams in churches, sometimes even paper. Important events could get plaques hung "in all the churches of London."

p. 469 Jowett is laden with the traditional dictum that nowhere does one get a greater genuineness of feeling combined with such a minimum of good taste as in churchyard inscriptions.

p. 470 Johnson 1756 criticised some epitaphs of Pope in The Lives of the Poets, and Wordsworth 1810 wrote his Essay upon Epitaphs (see also his early poems, on inscriptions in rural settings).

p. 472 Classical influence (e.g., "Passer-by...", "...stranger...") arrives only in the 17C.

p. 476 As 18C tombs lose much of their decorations, so do epitaphs lose much of their variety, in a classicising period. Distichs and quatrains common.

p. 479/80 1746 The first group epitaph, Collins's How sleep the brave...

p. 481 Johnson's fine English epitaph on the musician Charles Claudiox Phillips unusual: he probably did not know the musician, did not like music, and preferred epitaphs in Latin!

p. 481/2 19C decline of inscriptions, especially of verse. Many more quotes now come from scripture or from hymns.

p. 482 Landor's on Southey. Some further notes to Belloc and Auden and Betjeman, who apparently has re-established (or strengthened) a new wave of antiquarianism and visiting of old churches. (back on p. 465 Pfohl).

Extracts in our Addenda.

English Epigraphy Burial Lapidary verse

Khan, Abdul Waheed *Stone Sculptures in the Alampur Museum* by... ed. by N. Ramasan. 1973

Introduction, tests in Telugu script and transliteration, extensive summary of each in English.

Introductory sketch map.

South of Hyderabad, Alampur has a collection of sculptures, and p.21 discusses their inscriptions, about 98 from this village, from the Badami Chalukyas to Vijayanagar, in Telugu script. An interesting colophonic snippet from p.50/p/55 n° 9 comes from 106 CE, "Chakaraja composed [this inscr.] = 'Baradaja Chakaraju...", in the final place of the final, 48th line Most inscr. are donative, the earliest of Vikramaditya I, 655–680 CE. The following dynasty of Rashtrakutras also patronised Brahminical Hinduism up to Govinda III 793–814 CE, and after that it seems to have been pro Jaina. Then came the Western Chalukyas or Chalukyas of Kalyani in the later 10C. After them and the Kalachuris, came the Vaishnavite Yadavas of Devagiri, driven out by the Katakayas of Warangal towards the end of the 13C. Their inscriptions reveal that there was now lay leadership at the local Brahmesvara temple, "rajus", and the gift was no longer placed in the hands of the priests or administrators, but into the possession of the ascetics there. It is not known how Alampur village fared when the Katakayas fell to the Muslims. Various local revolts drove back the Muslims and then arose Vijayanagar (1336). So did the Amir of the Deccan rise in rebellion (about the 1330s and 1340s) against Delhi, and a Muslim kingdom called Bakhani was established at Gulburga in 1347, Ala-ud-Din Hasan Gangu Bahmani was the first sovereign. Alampur lay on the borders of both religious realms, finally (in 1564 CE) reverting to the Muslims.

q 736.5 K45 Series 1) no. 39 Indian Art Alampur

Kielhorn, Franz 1840–1908 A List of Inscriptions of Southern India from about A.D. 500 Calcutta 190?

COEq 132 Indian Epigraphy South Indian List

Kiessling, Th. *Tzetzae Historiarum Variarum Chilliades* Hildesheim 1963 = Leipzig 1826

p.452 Chil XII 404–406/335–356, for the poem on ancient pinakes.

Greek Byzantine Poetry Chilliads I

Non-Classical
Killigrew, Henry  A Book of new epigrams by the same hand that translated Martial  London 1695 Title page "Epigrammatarius Omnium Scenarum Homo". 15 [i.e., 151], [2] p. Eight lines or longer, for the most part, but n° 42 (p.28) the first quatrains, n° 46 first distich. Note the final epigram no 265 // Altho' I ne'er cou'd please thee heretofore, / Yet now I can, To write I do give o'er.// mfm 791 1095:21 K443  English Epigram  Book of new

Killy, W.  Elements der Lyrik  München 1972 Brevity is, as often, seen as an inherent characteristic of lyrical poetry, not just of epigrammatical style. Genre Lyrik

Kitamura, Bunji  Kozuke in (Itasaka) 1983 1983 Stone monuments in Gunma Prefecture from 7C to 8C. A mounded tomb with corridor chamber = KOFUN. Japanese Burial Kozuke

Kittay, J.  Utterance Unmoored — the changing interpretation of the act of writing in the European Middle Ages  in Language in Society 17 (1988) p.209–230. 1988 From the 9C to the 14C, concentrating on the 12/13C. P. 210, in the 11/12C English epitaphs can have (what is a world-wide tendency) day and month, but typically show no year. The "self-repeating commemorative event" is not sensitive to year, and perhaps writing itself, on the relatively rare and prestigious tomb monument as also in charters, is not yet validation. It became so in the Domesday book. P. 214/4 "Dictare" = 'to write'. The marking of word boundaries became general writing practice only in the MA. P. 217/8 Scholia "participate in monumentality while not ... monumental themselves." P. 219 In 1230 CE we find the first-ever verbal concordance of the Bible. P. 225, deals with a topic we have tried to raise for more ancient times, with limited success, the graphemics of the way in which writing was, or was typically done. Somewhat the same can be done for reading and prepared speaking: speaking from notes emerged only in the Middle Ages. It was not among the techniques of Antiquity (see *Yates MEMORART for Artificial Memory). P. 227 spends some time on the semiotics of the "my pen" group of literary topoi.


Kloos, R.M.  Einführung in die Epigraphik des Mittelalters und des frühen Neuzeit  Darmstadt 1980 Medieval Epigraphy MAE Einführung

Kloosch, Paul  Pros a und Vers in der mittel lateinischen Literatur  in Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 3 (1966) p. 9–24. The great cult of verse in the Latin MA is variously, and often wrongly interpreted as stemming from: the result of blind tradition, a prop for memorisation, a playful joy in versifying regardless of its needfulness, crypto-Paganism, and occasionally, some "higher reasons". Kloosch is fairly destructive of such trivialising explanations. In "opus geminatum", where there are verse and prose versions of the same, often lengthy text, the original version is most often that in prose. In the 9C, perhaps in Northern France, a more usable and more indigenised form of the hexameter was developed and became acceptable, and this led to greater ease of composition. The frequency with which serious works were given a versified version is a significant pointer to the purposes behind the practice. As an example, the article looks at the 12C Bernhard of Morlas de contemptu mundi. A final (epigrammatic!) quote contains the unarticulated "reasons" suggested by K. for such a practice – a bundle of "higher reasons" inherent both to versification and to strong literary form itself: In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister und das Gesetz nur kann uns Freiheit geben. See also *Wieland.


Non-Classical
Knöös, Börje  L'Histoire de la littérature néo-grecque, la période jusqu'en 1821  Stockholm/Göteborg/Uppsala. 1962  Greek Modern  Néo-grecque


Komines, A.D.  Το βυζαντινόν λεύκον ἐπίγραμμα καὶ οἱ ἐπίγραμματοποιῶν in 'Αθηνα, Σελίδα διατριβών καὶ μελετημάτων 3 (Athens 1966) pp.27, 151f. 1966  889.108 / 39 (wrongly numbered in Syd Fish catalogue as 888... and thus long unfindable.)

This was a book worth searching for, nothing like it has come to my notice in Latin epigraphy and book epigram. Nevertheless it leaves largely out of consideration the extensive fields of scribal poetry (treated by us for the 13C after *Turyn) and also seals. The only weakness of the book is methodological. Like Bernt's, which it surpasses by several worlds of quality, it assumes that all non-liturgical short poetry is epigram. See extensively in Addenda.

My Copy Greek Byzantine Epigram  Greek Religious Epigram


P.3 quickly picks up Malov’s designation of the formulaic epitaphs of the Yenisei as “graveyard poetry”. However, they seem to be in prose (unless they alliterate, initially, like standard Turkic and Mongolian poetry as we see it in inscriptions in later scripts, in Turfan and in later folk traditions.) The first are dated to the end of the +7C, more precisely, that part of the first Turkish Kaganate from 688–691CE. The history of Central Asia is a specialist field, seemingly left to Hungarians and Scandinavians. The history of pre-Muslim Central Asia is a real specialty, requiring an intimidating range of languages and writing systems.

The so-called runic alphabet of the Turkic peoples is now seen as having been very well adapted to the morphology of Turkish, but representing its phonemes rather poorly and approximately. It is not logographic, like Chinese, but neither is it truly alphabetic, like Norse runes. It cannot be read letter by letter, if indeed, Archaic Greek was read in this fashion. Non-linguists may need to be reminded that the widespread and numerous Turkic languages have proved remarkably resistant to change over their observable history, and that the “word”, in Turkic, is individuated not only by stress and morphology, but by a system of vowel harmony which operates only within “word” boundaries. Russian authors seem to me to confuse this, at least in their explanations, with the hard/soft distinctions of Slavonic vowels and consonants. There have been such systems in Celtic, and even a tripartite (see Alf Sommerfeldt) hard/neutral/soft system, which have left their confusing echoes in the spelling of Irish with its vocalic glides and markers of consonant quality. The writing system of TRP (Turkskiye runicheskie pam’atniki = Turkic runic monuments) is as efficient as the Slavonic for indicating such systems, aided by the fact that the vocal harmonies apply to every syllable of a word in Turkish, whereas they are less systematic in Slavonic. P. 58–59 display the full character range of the system based on finds from three areas: 39 basic graphs with a predominance of linear forms (the ones to be expected in “runes” originally cut on wood) but also quite a few constituted from, or involving, circular, semi-circular, lunate and clover-shaped forms, one word divider, only 4 of the 39 signs allocated to vowels, twin (or triple) sets for many consonants (rather as in Archaic Greek we get ο only before back vowels, and k before mid and front vowels) and four signs indicate consonant clusters.)

This book is to be taken with that of Vasilev, which concentrates on the purely graphic variations between areas. The tables mentioned show the richest variety of graphs from the Yenisei, some strong differences in the shape of some forms from the Orkhon, and very few variants from the Talassian column, which may have been

Non-Classical
based on a very small number of finds, as there are 7 gaps in it. On the other hand, the writers in that area may have used a simplified system, as all the gaps in its repertoire occur in non-essential variant forms (of j, q, k, nj, lt, and n). A great deal of the phonological discussion, as in the prehistory of Semitic, concerns the sibilant series.

It would seem that, unlike North and South Arabian, opinion concerning the allocation of runes to sounds (from reconstructed Early Turkish) is now fairly stable. The highly regular morphology and the slow rate of change of these languages, with the great number of dialects still available for study, probably makes the reconstruction of these runes easier than that of the less appropriate Aramaic consonantal scripts in the case of the more aberrant middle Iranian languages.

It would be nice to get one's hands on one of the up-to-date 1980's corpora of these inscriptions, seeing that they appear to have been convincingly deciphered and explained. In the Secrets of Siberia exhibition runic writing was almost entirely passed over.

Early alphabetic inscriptions are of interest as a comparison with the uses and ethos of the NWS and Greek, alphabet, the Scandinavian runes, and alphabetic writing arriving late in history to oral cultures, as in the African cultures studied by Jack Goody. The possibility of heightened, even poetic language on these Central Asian stelai and objects is of interest in interpreting "dry" prose funeral inscriptions from Ireland to China.

My Book YY 494.3 K82 ANL  Turkish Epigraphy Runes  Runic Turkish grammar

Konow, Sten  Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. II part 1 Karoshtl Inscriptions. Calcutta 1929

Many short donative inscrr. and other inscriptions on "vaiselle", 'instrumenta', and imagines.

Genuine grave inscriptions and anathematic inscriptions will always have implicit deictic functions. From what I can understand of Indian inscriptions, the more overt, explicitated types of deixis are foreign to Subcontinental epigraphic habits. For a couple of examples (ignore the deictic supplements in the translations) see *Krishnan 1989 (?) Bibl.2.

A revisiting of Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum and of Epigraphica Indica does turn up some more deictic words, in epigraphic Buddhist Prakrit, but rarely, and only twice, once in the Gupta Iron Pillar inscription for Chandra, Addenda §7.6, and once, in a very late (10C) epigraph, is "this..." used in connection with the movable or architectural object the epigraph is on and which it also refers to, which is the sort of deixis we are thinking of, quite common in other cultures. Indian epigraphs use (but not regularly) "this..." for the time when the gift was made, and much more rarely for a piece of land which a copper grant plate refers to and on or near which it would have been "archived": Corp.Inscr.indic. II.1 p. 28, Taxila copper plate year 78, in a long prose inscription: "... atra [de]se Patiko ...", or,'... in this place Patika established...'. We now give one apparent, followed by the two very real exceptions.

Also in the (far NW) Karoshthl inscriptions of this volume, p. 4, is a Swät, Buddhist "relic vase" of the Meridarch Theodoros:

Thetidorena meridarkhena pratithavid(r)a ime śarira śakamunīsa bhag(r)avato bahuja nastiītye

= "By Theodoros, the meridarch, were established these relics of the Lord Śākyamuni, for the purpose of security of many people".

It is obvious that this particular epigraph blends Greek and Buddhist traditions on its 5 inch high steatite vase. Thus this Afghan/Pakistani find is really only an apparent exception to my generalisation.

However, perhaps half a millennium later there is a real exception, in Cunningham MAHABODHI, p. 59, inscription D (Sanskrit) on (and simultaneously referring to) a colossal nirvana-statuette of the Buddha, 400/500 CE:

Deya dharmam āyam mahā-vihāra chāhmino Haribalasya Pratimā cha-āyam ghaṭitā Dine ..-mā (?) su (swa)rēna

="This is the meritorious gift of Haribala, the master of the Grand Vihāra, and this image was fashioned by Dīne - - Sura." See Pl. xxvii D, and note that after this, suddenly, in the 7/8C at such a famous place, when Buddhism was still apparently thriving, inscriptions nevertheless dry up for a while.

Chandra's Iron Pillar inscription:

Line 6. — ten-āyam pranidhāya bhūmipatinā dhāvēna Vīṣṇūḥ(śnau) matim prānsur-Vvīshnupadē girau bhagavatō Vīṣṇūrdhvajāḥ stāpitaḥ //

— having in faith fixed his mind upon (the god) Vīṣṇu, this lofty standard of the divine Vīṣṇu was set up on the hill (called) Vīshnupada.

It is to be noted that the final line has an explicitly demonstrative-deictic word, āyam, referring to the pillar (poetically, the "lofty standard") on which it is inscribed.

C.I.Ind II.1

Konwea, Fred Okonicha 100 apophthegms and epigrams by... Nigeria 1976 20 p.

Short, rather rough in form, political and social gnomai in (standard) English.

E pam 2608 English Epigram  African century

Non-Classical

The plates of the original are all totally blacked out in this photocopied publication of the thesis. Thus we have had to work verbally, but this is not such a great loss as the descriptions are full, and apparently some of the originals are damaged. Judging just from the number of corrections Kornbluth feels obliged to make to previous transcriptions of the verbal inscriptions, even a good series of photographs would not allow accurate reading of the texts. This is usually the case with seals, which are best viewed from a good, physical, "impression", which can be turned around in the light.

The carving of hard and precious stones in intaglio was widespread in ancient and Classical times, and had a late blooming in Carolingian times, perhaps resembling that age's taste for the MSS and literary forms of the past, including epigrammatic poetry. After this the only common form of such carving was cameo making.

First, generally, on the importance of gems for our study: the continuities in epigraphic practice interest us, and gems are both so prized and so permanent that they are a good line of influence to look at. Gems were not melted down, they could not be improved by being tampered with, and were relatively impervious to normal wear and tear. Old gems were prized and reused. One scholar claims that today we still have a quarter of all Carolingian carved gems.

Second: there has been a lively debate about the "originality" of the Carolingian gems and of the Carolingian "Renaissance". Most students of most "renaissances" these days seem to emphasise that such periods are not mere revivals, but new creations on the basis of hints from previous styles. It matters little. Carolingian gems use Classical gems as models and their influence can be seen in the later High Medieval seals. The latter were usually iron matrices, but gemstones were reused (or made) at this time as well, usually anepigraphic, and either themselves ancient, or else good imitations of ancient motifs, from the 13C onwards. See the corpus of *Ellis.

Third, how epigraphic are gem inscriptions? Well, the lettering on Carolingian stones is the square capitals found rarely in MSS, and there only for headings and incipits, but common on stone. Thus at least for this period gems are epigraphic, and yet, despite their method of manufacture, equally favouring calligraphic and freehand writing. Any design could be sketched on impermanently, and no shape was more difficult to drill out than any other. Straight lines are not inherently easier than curved lines for drill-using gem carvers (the Carolingian technique, different from the thin grinding-cutting wheel of Byzantium, Iran and the Muslims). Straight lines are natural in chiselled stone inscriptions. They are, of course, even more natural for wood carving, and in modern times Swiss peasants have redeveloped their own modified numerals for just this purpose, see *Rüegg.

Finally, the expense of a well worked gemstone is hard to imagine today. They were very prized possessions, and the barbarian kings very much favoured them. Gems used as seals seem to have been inherently kingly items at this time. Very large gems were often set in the crossing point of the arms of crucifixes, and these tend to be inscribed. Usually the crucifix itself is lost, the gem having been wrenched out, and the surviving settings are all more recently altered ones. A number of such separated gems still survive, however, in old mountings, which are themselves, of course, incredibly expensive remnants of the jeweller's art.

Of the 30 gems described (not all of which survive, but at least pictures do of those which are lost) 16–17 have words on them, a big difference from the Hellenistic/Imperial gems of *Henig's corpus, where only 4% are inscribed with words. Some, like the High Medieval seals, have many words. None have verse:

**CATALOGUE p. 400–487: GEMS 1–30**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. in Cat.</th>
<th>Name of gem</th>
<th>number of texts</th>
<th>size of gem (cm.), (first size quoted)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Susanna Crystal</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11.5 cm diam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rouen Baptism</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Paris Crucifixion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.1 x 5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cini Crucifixion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.5 x 4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Freiburg baptism</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lothar Seal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8 x 3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Freiburg Crucifixion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.1 x 6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Radpod Seal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.5 x 2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Theodulf Seal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.0 x 2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>St Paul Crystal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.9 x 3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Berlin Man</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nopertus Seal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6 x 1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Reginboldus Agate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.3 x 3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>British Museum Crucifixion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Victoria and Albert Crucifixion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Conques Crucifixion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Toledo Evangelist's Crystal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>St. Denis Crucifixion (Br.Mus)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Esztergrom Crucifixion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Louis Seal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.0 x 3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Hincmar Crucifixion</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A by-way of medieval and early modern inscriptionality, with its own peculiar influences and traditions. The attitudes and beliefs of people concerning the later medieval bell are far from irrelevant in interpreting the inscriptions which are more informative than these. The carefulness of casting of bells meant that very fine lettering was possible, and the actual placement, weight and shape of lettering affected the sound of the bell to some degree. Thus, bell inscriptions were perhaps the most deeply contextualised of all, affected by look, practicality, techniques available, tradition, beliefs, cost, and even their unique and subtle contributions to a very expensive and valued instrument's sound. See also *Rüegg, *Ronge and *Richardson 1985.

61 bells treated. s.v. Kirchenweihe. AG?

Bells Epigraphy Alphabet ABC on Bells

Köster, H. "Hsün-Tsu ins Deutsche übertragen" Kallenkirchen 1967

Used as a check on the other translations, which we investigated for philosophers' prescriptions concerning Han burial epigraphy.

Chinese Burial XunZi-Kō

Koutellakes, Kharalampos Mikhail ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ ΜΙΧ. ΚΟΥΤΕΛΛΑΚΗΣ ἘΥΛΟΓΙΤΑ ΤΕΜΙΠΑ ΤΗΣ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΝΗΣΟΥ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΟ 1700 'Εκδοσεις Δωδώνη, 'Αθήνα - Γάιννινα 1986.

The 1986 (Athens) book by Kharalampos Mikhail KOUTELLAKES called (in Modern Greek) Wood-carved temples of the Dodecanese up to 1700, has much on the eagle and the pelican from p. 157 onwards. Apart from representing the lowly but important form of wood art in its earliest recoverable forms (that is, in any quantity and representativeness) it does supply us with one small tristich, modern in inscription, but who knows how original or how traditional. Verse on art works seems to have been a major means of the maintenance of a sense of genre in short poetry in the Greek Rome, as it was in Latin lands. *Greenhill notes wood as used in "effigial slabs" in Early Modern England. Laurence *Weaver mentions a wood tablet from 1594 on his p.240, and goes on in the following pages to praise wood epigraphy, much of which, of course, tends to be lost over long periods of time, removing large amounts of important graphic and epigraphic tradition and biasing the surviving samples. We remember Solon's axones only because of literary evidence. See *Manwani for India. We remember also Vindolanda.

Though the book has as its focus Greek wooden churches of the Dodecanese, art from outside this island area is also discussed, to provide a context, and also art other than that of carved wood. A strange impression is conveyed by the small number of exemplifications of such very common images as the eagle and the pelican. No doubt they were once prominent on objects now lost, and were also more impactful (because of their place in story, politics or liturgy) than the percentage of exemplifications now suggests.

p.157 Eagle and Pelican (not always easily distinguishable!)

"The Eagle and especially the two headed eagle has been a common decorative theme since the Byzantine period (i.e., since at least the 16C). The wings were first closed, then, from the 13C, open. It was widely used as a family emblem for the upper classes, and was a hidden symbol of the resurrection of the Greek people. (n° 181 refers lengthily to the Greek Physiologus). Thus it passed from sculpture, to "kentetike" and painting, to silverwork, wood carving and metalurgy.

"In the temples of the Dodecanese there are only two examples for the period under investigation. The first is a small two-headed eagle midway across the upper zone of the /p.158/ temple of the Hypapante of Malandrakes in Patmos (Plate 29), very schematised, with small open wings and lacking any characterisation in the head. Perhaps it was copied from a model put together out of metal."
"Similar examples to this (from outside the chosen limits of this study) can be seen in a temple of the same age 
(17C) on the epeirotika (mainland?) of the Hagia Paraskeue of Pateros and Hagios Georgios of Vagenetios, and also 
as toppings for pillars around the Beautiful Gate (Oraia Pyle).
"Formally closer to our topic is a small two-headed eagle of the wood-carved temple of Hagios Sozon in Apollonia 
of Siphnos, a work of 1663 A.D.
"We know of older examples of the two-headed eagle in temples from the wood-carved "bemothra" of Serbia of 
the 15 and 16C, and from the temple of Panagia of Amasgos Kypros with the difference that in the temple on 
Cyprus it occurs "skalistei" as a suitable decoration atop a great cross on a pyramid.
"We cannot entirely pass over those two-headed decorations of later times in temples, images which contain the 
symbolic meaning of the two natures of Christ. Note the inscription evidenced much later (19C) over the door of 
the church of Kea, accompanying a representation of the two-headed eagle:

Look at the eagle, know I am Christ
Βλέπε αετόν τον Χριστόν εμέ νοεί
With two heads, my two natures
δυσι κεφαλαίς τας φύσεις εμάς δύο
I portray to you in one hypostasis
εἰκονίζω σοι ἐν μία ιύποστάσει...

(three lines of dodecasyllabic verse)
My Book Greek Byzantine Art Epigram Woodcarved Churches

Kowalski, Tadeusz Mani in EI1 Vol. 6 (1987) p. 245-246
More useful for us than the later and more detailed EI2 article of *Boratav, see Addenda for both. Mani comes 
from an Arabic word meaning "thought, idea", perhaps = 'concetto', minus its refractory laryngals and any long 
vowels, though Ottoman Turkish has adopted some of the exotic long vowels from Arabic and Persian into its 
modern phonology. In many areas isolated quatrains, and ballads made up of linked quatrains, are instead called 
türkü. "Songs in quadrains are known among almost all Turkish peoples: they must therefore be considered to have 
been known to the original Turkish stock."
"The "quatrain was originally a distich", according to K., because the oldest rhyme is abcb. Ottoman 
versification made this richer, aaba, but the second and fourth line "a" rhymes are often fuller and more distinct, 
apparently still marking the ancient line ends.

Ottoman mani are often erotic, but can be satirical, and also soldiers' and robbers' songs are cast in this form. 
Most mani have an introduction dealing with nature (= descriptive?), which can be borrowed from other mani, and a 
 personalised concluding part, typically original, often not closely depending on the opening lines and topos.
K. believes that the mani was originally an isolated quatrain, but that they are now often strung together to form 
balleads of some length, so that (today at least) mani and türkü are not two fundamentally different classes of songs.
The Ottomans have a peculiar form of mani called "punning mani", jinasti mani. In these quadrains the rhymes 
are made up of identical syllables, which, however, each have a different meaning.

Turkish poetry 
Kowalski, Mani
Kowalski, Tadeusz Próba charakteristiki twórczości arabskiej in Rocznik Orientalistyczny or 
Ojrjentalistyczny, 9 (1933) p.1–20 Warsaw? 1933
A major essay by a major scholar, excerpted but not previously translated.

My Copy Arabic Próba

Kowalski and McCallum, Tadeusz & P.M. An Attempt to Characterise the arab Creative Faculty 
(Polish) translation of Kowalski (1933) unpublished 1990
My translation appears to be the first. It was also my own first incursion into Polish and appropriate caution 
needs to be taken in building interpretations on its phrasing. It is my claim that at least the facts and the argument 
are accurately reproduced.

Arabic An Attempt

p. 317–320.
The text surviving in the Einsidlensis:
In absida
Justitiae sedes fidei domus aula pudores
Haec est quam cernis pietas quam possidet omnis
Quae patris et fili virtutibus inclyta gaudet
Auctoremnque suum genitoris laudibus aequat

See also ICUR II, 1 21.10 passim.

Non-Classical
Krantheimer suggests: Triumphal Arch of Constantine: and the connected problem of whether father and son are meant to be understood as trinitarian (Ruysschaert, and Krantheimer in 1976, an opinion he hereby rejects), or as Constantinian in reference. Note the text on the mosaic, because we know there was a mosaic in the apse, from which the lemma in Einsidlensis informs us that the text was taken. What was a visitor to the basilica supposed to notice as he entered, what was he prompted to notice by the text itself? This is part of the “meaning” of the text.

The text was, claims K, an inscription for artwork, as was common, rather than a text referring to the whole building, which I [P.M.Mc] assume would have been placed either under the cupola, or else outside, across the top of the doors, as at the Pantheon. Thus the haec quam cernis includes in its reference a picture of the auctor’s father, Constantine. Both Ruysschaert and Guarducci agree that, in the apse vault, near the entrance of the Old St. Peter’s there was originally an aniconic decoration, ex trimma auri. This was replaced in the reign of Constantius by a pictorial mosaic, probably the traditio legis, a picture which could have many interpretations. About 1200 this itself was replaced by a (better known?) mosaic of Innocent III, and of course, the whole structure was demolished in 1506.

Haec is taken to be singular feminine, standing for camera, or imago, or historia, but most likely for iustitiae sedes. Another coded reference, a way of saying “ecclesia” (in the symbolic or abstract sense), is the phrase fidei domus. Neither of these phrases are found verbatim in patristic literature, but aula pudoris is. In Ambrose it means the womb of the Virgin Mary, and then easily means the Ecclesia as well.

In fact, as the discussion rolls by, Krantheimer seems to make haec mean almost everything. The problem for his reader is how to put the many feminine singular referents into some sort of hierarchy, and thus discover the prime, “grammatical” referent.

The generalisation of haec is performed thus: the scene Dominus legem dat can have the meanings of establishing and strengthening the current imperial family or incumbent, it can refer to the Second Coming of Christ, the Mission of the Apostles, or the institution of “the Church”. Haec is “what is understood in the scene of the traditio legis”. Hence a more accurate translation-paraphrase is offered, incorporating these assumptions: Ecclesia, the Church, which is inhabited by Mercy, rejoices in the virtues of father and son and equals the praise of the donor of the mosaic, Constantius, to that of his sire, Constantine, the builder of St. Peter’s.

The allusiveness of much inscriptional poetry requires such extended investigations and assumptions. See Hörander BYZ. OCCASIONAL VERSE for attempts to do the same for high Byzantine verse.

Krantheimer, Richard Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture Harmondsworth 1965
p.220 The Balkans. 9C and 10C Bulgar Slav buildings quite different from Byzantine Architecture in both style and decorations.
p.228 Dedicator inscriptions common in Armenia.
709 Pel Architecture Early Christian and Byzantine
Kraus, F.R.  
*Altmesopotamische Tonnägel mit Keilinschriften*  
in *In Memoriam Halil Edhem*  
vol. 1 Ankara p.71–113 (= Halil Edhem Hatira Kitabi from Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarindan  
VII Seri n° 5 Ankara)  
1947

Inscribed "nails" are perhaps the nearest thing Babylonia had to the deictic or self-referential building inscription which is so closely related to grave inscriptions in later cultures, cultures which did not hide graves like the Babylonians, but displayed them.

My Copy  
Cuneiform Epigraphy  
*Tonnägel*

Kraus, F.R.  
*Ein zentrales Problem des altmesopotamischen Rechtes: Was ist der Codex-Hammurabi?*  
in *CCRAl* (1960) p.283–296  
1960

In the Code it is decreed that all should read it, or that one should get a literate person to read it. How we interpret this depends on the nature of the code itself. It would however seem that modern assumptions about cuneiform illiteracy are anachronistic. See Diakonoff.

My Copy  
Cuneiform  
*Hammurabi*

Kraus, F.R.  
*Vom mesopotamischen Menschen der altbabylonischer Zeit und seiner Welt: Eine Reihe Vorlesungen*  
Amsterdam/London  
1973

P. 36  
II Inschriften. — The old ones are presumably "kingly". The first appearance of continuous sentences is followed by a sudden flowering under the great ensi of Lagas-Girsu. Uru-ka-gina gave new directions to epigraphy. After the III Dynasty of Ur, a formalised remnant.

p. 37  
Sumerian inscriptions show connections with "fine literature". Old Accadian kingly inscriptions were the first literature of that culture. Not all scribes had access, it seems, to the old models.

P. 38  
Von Soden's "hymnic-epic" dialect was used in inscr. Very long sentences develop quickly. Kraus calls it a purely written Kunstsprache. Mosaic composition is sometimes obvious.

DS 69.5 K 73 ANU  
Cuneiform  
*Mesopotamier*

Kravitz, N.  
*Hebrew Literature from the Earliest Time Through the 20th Century*  
Chicago 1972  
089.924 2

Krenkow, F.  
*Al-Tughrä?i [+ 11 more names!] in EI*  
Vol. 4 p.827ff.  
1934

A famous calligrapher, maddeningly slow in his work, always ambitious to become vizier. Alchemist, poet and finally vizier, quickly being defeated, captured and executed. P.827a states that he improvised verses before the firing squad and thereby delayed his execution, but was taken out again later and killed. He was translated into Latin by Golius and became the first widely read Arab Poet in Europe.

Stories about improvisation are legion in Arabic and Persian anecdotes, they must correspond to the general situation of occasional poetry, if not necessarily accurate about the event which they purport to recount.

Arabic Poetry  
*Al-Tughrä?i*  
EI 1

*Kaṣṭa?i in EI*  
1974  
Vol. IV 1978, but these fascs.  
65–68 = 1974  
See Addenda, also van Gelder.

Arabic  
*Qasida*

Krishnamachariar, M.  
*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*  
Delhi 1970

My Book  
Indian  
*Sanskrit Lit.*

Krishnan, Kodaganallur Ganapati  
*Studies in South Indian History and Epigraphy*  
Madras 1981 ca

Jains first brought monuments to Tamilnad, caves in wild areas, in the 6C moving closer to settlements. At this stage sculptures on rocks began to be worshipped, if only by the ascetic(s). Jains survived as an influence until the 9C, and even after they had given way to the Saivite and Vaishnava revivals, villages grew up around their once inaccessible shrines. Early inscriptions connected with the rupestral bas-reliefs (near the caves of ascetics) refer mainly to the maker, not even mentioning the latter's gaccha, gana, anvaya and sangha. Most monuments so far found come from North Arcot and South Arcot, the point of contact between Karnataka and Tamilnad, whence came Jainism on its route E and S. It is hoped to find their centre of missions and of operations by investigation of parts of Salem and Dharmapuri districts, once under the patronage of the Gangas of Talakkadu. Uniquely Jain words in inscriptions are discussed. The earliest Jain inscription is +6C (p.111). The last inscription presented is from 1919CE! A list of 51 identified villages (findspots) concludes the work.

954.8 K92  
Indian Epigraphy  
*Early Tamilnad*

Magnificent sylloge in a promising series: gives — date, script, language, donor/king, dynasty, location, reference, text (in Nagari) text sanskritised, summary/translation and notes. Cf. n° 43, —3C stupa inscr. from Sanchi: earliest imprecation in Indian Inscr. and n° 216, 217 both ca. 317CE Guntur, memorial pillars, the first for a victorious commander and the second for a soldier killed in battle, with notes about the other cases of such common memorialising.

N° 43. —3C stupa inscription from Sanchi, Prakrit: "He who takes away or allows to be taken away from this Kakānāvā [= Sanchi] an ornamental arch of railing or allows it to be transferred to another temple of the teacher shall incur (the sin) of those who murder mothers, fathers, saints, of those who create schism in the Sangha and of those who cause bloodshed……and of all such sins." This is the earliest known Indian imprecation against vandals who desecrate sacred places. See also n° 378, whose phrasing is used for the restoration of this.

N° 216 Pillar 317CE (ca.) in Prakrit on a pillar at the gate of the citadel: "Success! The memorial pillar for Sri Chantapula of the Kulahaka family, the great commander of the army who subdued the enemies by destroying their arrogance and camps and who captured the wicked elephant, i.e., Olba." The name for the "pillar" here is the common 'Chhayastambha = shadow pillar' as it is in the next quoted:

N° 217 Broken pillar, same date as the previous: "The memorial pillar erected for Sisaba a soldier under Prernādi, son of noble Dharmaśarmaka, a resident of Matghalāryaya, belonging to the Rājamiśī family, of the Marhabhāvan, who was killed (i.e., in battle)." This sort of inscription is common.

YY 954.02 U93 Indian Epigraphy Sanskrit epigraphs II

Kristeller and Cranz and Hausmann, Paul Oskar & Ferdinand Edward & Frank-Rutger (Ferdinand Edward Cranz Editor in Chief, Paul Oskar Kristeller Assistant Editor) Catalogus translationum et commentariorum Medieval and Renaissance Latin translations and commentaries Annotated lists and guides Washington D.C. (Catholic University of America) Vol. 4 1980 Vol. 4 p. 249–296 Martialis by Frank-Rutger Hausmann, English generalities and then Latin excerpts. The series deals with Latin and Greek authors from before AD 600 translated and/or commented on up to AD 1600. The card index of Humanists' names prepared by *Cosenza was part of this massive project. Z7016 K96 v.4 Martial to 15C Martial's aftershocks

Kreleža, Miroslav Opća Enciklopedija jugoslavenskog leksikografskog zavoda Zagreb 1977 8 voll. (the same work appears as the Croatian Encyclopedia, Enciklopedija leksikografskog zavoda Zagreb 6 voll 1966, in which “epigram” is taken as a piece of meat)

Germans are given the preeminence among vernacular epigrammatists. Indian and Persian forms are at least mentioned, and an attempt is made to differentiate the ethos of Greek, Roman, French and German varieties of epigram. For Croatia (I doubt that Serbia and the Orthodox populations would have much cultivated it): Vraz, Prešern, Preradović, Zmaj, Nenadović, Matoš, three of whom are mentioned in the literary history of Franko as 19C writers, but none is there called an epigrammatist.

In the 1966 edition of this article a sentence is appended giving a derived meaning of “epigram”: a serving of roast beef! [U kulinarstvu, način serviranja pečana mesa] One can only speculate why was this edited out for 1977. The most likely reason is that that phrase is very colloquial or very regional, rather than having been found to be a lexicographical ghost. See our Addenda §10.1 for the full text in Croatian.

Croatian Epigram Encyclopedias Jugoslav Encyclopedia


p913.922 KRO Indonesian Epigraphy Epigraphische aanteekeningen I

Krom, Nicolaas Johannes 1883–1945 Epigraphische aanteekeningen [XI–XII] Batavia 1916

p913.922 KRO Indonesian Epigraphy Epigraphische aanteekeningen 2

Indonesie mélanges
Asian Coll COE 413  Indonesian Epigraphy  Epigraphische aanteekeningen 3

Krom, Nicolaas Johannes 1883–1945  Epigraphische bijdragen door... Weltevreden 1919
Offprint from Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, deel 75, afl. 1–2, 1919. Spine title: Indonésie mélanges
Asian Coll COE 413  Indonesian Epigraphy  Epigraphische bijdragen

Contains Juvenal, Kitab-i Dedem Qorkut, Plato, Le Roman de la Rose

Contains Meister Eckhart, Menander, Mabinogion.

Krüger, Heinz  Über den Aphorismus als philosophische Form, mit einer Einführung von Theodor W. Adorno München 1988 (19571 in Studien und Texte, then entitled Studien über den Aphorismus als philosophische Form, Frankfurt)
Adorno's introduction mentions "denken in Brüchen", alludes to the subversion of logical thought in the genre, its hunger for higher (or more inner) truths, its refusal to end in the closure of judgement, but in that of "concrete form". It is inherently non-conformist. To the culturally disaffected it provides "philosophical salvation". No doubt in the atmosphere of theoretical over-kill endemic in Germany, the genre is indeed "ein Stück erfahrener Freiheit", but who is to blame for that?!

Krupka, Peter  Der Polnische Aphorismus, Die "Unfrisierten gedanken" von Stanisław Jerzy Lee und ihr Platz in der polnischen Aphoristik München 1976 Slavistische Beiträge Bd. 104
This important, long-awaited and much quoted book is of double interest to us. It looks closely at the growth of a short form towards some sort of independence of genre. Because aphorism in Poland is still not fully recognised as an independent genre, its overlap with fraszka/epigram is illuminating for our study of Polish indigenous epigram as well.

The Polish word aforyzm (p. 47) is like the German words Maxime and Sentenz in its meaning, where Maxime is textually independent, but Sentenz is felt as an extract from a longer text. Of course, by a long process of memorisation, citation and anthologisation, the latter can develop the independence of the former German genre. Even today in Poland, the word fraszka can mean aphorism, particularly if the aphorism is satirical. Fraszki of course are in rhymed verse. When verse fraszki are translated into prose aphorisms, the loss of the phonic parallelism (rhyme and strict rhythm) seems to be made up for by a strengthening of the semantic parallelism.

Fraszki were derived from the satirical and humorous Eulenspiegel literature in the 16C (p.41), the facezie tradition. Polish: old spelling facecje, new spelling facece, leads to the more nugatory title of fraszka. See Andrusyshen's Ukrainian dictionary for frashka in that closely related literature and language.

French and German have a much more settled tradition and genre of aphorism.

P. 48 contains Krupka's famous table of characteristics of aphorism (atemporally), 18 columns of characteristics, and 10 literary forms so analysed. His book began with the generalities and historical treatment which interest us. The central third is analytical and theoretical. The final section is an application of the theory to the analysis of Lec's aphorisms, in which many of the tactics of the genre are illustrated.
Like Lützow, and unlike Novák and Welleck for Czech, Krzyżanowski treats both Latin and vernacular texts as "Polish" literature. While Jesuit epigram and longer Latin writing flourished in the colleges, short vernacular forms were also common: In 1543 the Folk Almanac must have contained short verses, p.47 treats Mikołaj Rej and his 8 line Figiński, p.73 mentions Kochanowski's famous Fraszki, and the latter writer actually, like Marot, preferred the short poetic forms. Diocesan reforms of about 1600 CE turned out of work many clerks, and (p.88) set off a flood of mostly anonymous works in fraszka form or longer satirical songs, often ribald in the extreme. These are the "Owl Glass writers". Of interest to us is the combination in them of biting satire and of song. The late 17C Kochowsky wrote explicitly non-nugatory nugae, lyrics and epigrams, but preferred religious poems and historical ballads. Krzyżanowski declines to summarise the Polish Baroque, preferring to wait until the critical dust has settled. In the later 18C Trembecki (p.180) wrote much occasional poetry for the court, as did many others, such as Czaplic, no doubt in something like the style of La Fontaine, for such styles would have been heavily influenced by French courtly traditions.

Tuwim has anthologised the fraszka from periods where it is not mentioned by these heavyweight literary histories. Modern educated Poles seem to retain a residual awareness of it, but as an élite form or as archaic. Much of course remains in MS and it was no doubt associated with social practices no longer current, as Tuwim's article in Płodi would seem to suggest. See of course *Krupka.

Kubarev / Кубарев, Владимир Димитриевич Древнетюркские изъязвления Алтай / Old Turkic Carved Images of the Altai, Novosibirsk 1984 Over 200 anthropomorphic stelai from the Altai region are studied in their ancient (archaeological) and modern (ethnographic) context by Kubarev. Book obtained at the Secrets of Siberia Exhibition in Brisbane January 1994.

From anecdotal literature and commonplace books, individual attributions not given. Texts in unvowelled Farsi (not always very legible) and translation. The anecdotal parts illustrate what would be common, if not in these precise forms, in any culture where verse was frequently used in socially elevated settings, such as around courts. One and two bayt (couplets and four liners) are common. Half lines (one short verse) are found, seemingly composed as such. Longer poems also are quoted but the short ones predominate, befiting the needs of citation and passing reference. Phrase schemes of the dubaytis or rubā'yat are: aaba (standard, it seems, similar to the first two bayts, or aqabat of a Ghażal or a Qasida), aaaa (song form, tarana?) and xava (sounding like a mid-poem fragment? or actually a specific form, a rhyming couplet of long lines?). Kuka gives us a window on actual practice, if not that of the anecdotalised great names, at least that thought appropriate to them, and thus likely to have been something like the urbane practice of the writers and purveyors of such narratives. Modern practices in Pakistan and in India confirm much of this. Playful forms like those of the 13th book of the Greek Anthology or of the European Baroque are common. They all seem to be couplets or quatrains. Because of the importance of proverbs and riddles, I will mention p.184–200, in which separate categories are set up for Arab-derived mu'amma and chistan (native Persian, meaning "what is that"), the former said to be about names recoverable from the instructions given in the verse, the latter giving hints about the appearance of the thing which is to be guessed. Thus it seems that at least in latter times there was much theory about short forms. Versified riddles and epigram are close relatives. See Addenda.

Persian Poetry Wit in Persia Kunstmann, Heinrich Lehrgang des alttschechischen Literature Teil I Denkmäler der alttschechischen Literatur von ihren Anfängen bis zur Hussitenbewegung Berlin 1955 Czech Old Czech

Lačamon and Madden, • & Frederic Lačamon's Brut, or Chronicle of England a Poetical semi-Saxon Paraphrase of the Brut of Wace now first published from the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum, accompanied by a literal translation, notes, and a grammatical glossary, by... Lond. 1847 The ed. princeps, with translation and notes. Brut Ma

La Fontaine, J. de La Fontaine Œuvres complètes. Préface de Pierre Clarac Présentation et notes de Jean Marmier Paris 1965 A reputed writer of "epigrams", but not a specialist in them like Marot. Their Classical French manner makes his different from neo-Latin, English, and even earlier French varieties. As can be noted from a sampling of the
very influential French tradition, from Marot to the dawn of Romanticism, the term "epigram" changed its meaning often enough, but tended to revert to an earlier, paradigmatic one with time. This parallels the processes observed in pre-Christian and Christian Greek. See Addenda.

My Book French Epigram Euvres

Lachèvre, Frédéric Bibliographie des recueils collectifs de poésies publiés de 1597 à 1700 Genève 1967 = Paris 1900? 016.8414 French Bibliography Recueils collectifs

Læssøe, J. Literacy and oral tradition in ancient Mesopotamia in Studia orientalia Ioanni Petersen septuagenario AD VII id. Nov. anno MCMLIII a collegis discipulis amicis dicata Hauniae, p.205–218. 1953

My Copy Cuneiform Literacy Oral and written

Lalou, Marcelle Littérature tibétaine in Queneau 1967 p. 1118–1152 1967 Notable for the Gu6sar cycle, longish epic lays about the same hero. These have never been codified into a Homeric type epic. Tibetan Tibétaine

Lanata, G. Poetica Pre-Platonica Firenze 1963 Poetics Old Greek Poetics

Lang, Karen Æryadeva on the Career of the Bodhisattva in Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi 1980, p. 192–198 15 x quatrains of 7 syllables, and 1 x quatrain of 9 syllables. The entire Tibetan work contains 400 "verses" in 16 chapters "bZhi brgya pa". Tibetan Buddhist quatrains Tibetan Buddhist quatrains


Langosch, Karl Mittellateinische Dichtung, ausgewählte Beiträge zu ihre Erforschung Darmstadt. 1969 Latin Medieval Poetry Middle Latin Selections


Laroche, Emmanuel Littérature hittite in Queneau 1967 p.332–344 1967 From the point of view of Latin poetry, a distant comparison may be suggestive. Hittite literature is claimed to be what Latin would have been without Greek influence: meticulous, ritualistic, apparently dry, prose. Hittite

Latyšev, V.V. Sbornik gréceských nadpisej christianskich vremena južnoj Rossi St. Petersburg 1896. Strong on 11C inscriptions. 1896 Greek Byzantine Epigraphy Russian Greek

Laurens, P. ed Musae reduces; Poésie latine de la Renaissance two vols. Leiden 1975 Laurens's anthology and that of Perosa and Sparrow are major contributions to a renewed study of neo-Latin literature, the backbone of the epigrammatical tradition. Despite each being planned and built without the slightest mutual coordination, they cover quite different ground. Laurens is far more receptive to epigram, while Perosa and Sparrow privilege what were probably the more common genres, i.e., poems closer to the length of Roman elegy.

Non-Classical
My epigrammatical selections from these volumes constitute:

Michele MARULLO (1453–1500) three poems from his four books of epigrams
Jacopo SANNAZARO (1456–1530) nine poems from his epigrammaton libri tres.
Andrea NAVAGERO (1483–1529) six poems from his Doctissimorum nostra aetate Italorum epigrammata
André ALCIAT (1492–1550) fifteen of his emblematic verses, without the images.
Euricius CORDUS (1486–1535) seventeen of his Epigrammes.
John OWEN (1567–1622) thirty-two of his distichs from the epigrams.
Richard CRASHAW (1612–1649) twenty-nine of his quadristichs from the Epigrammata Sacra.
George HERBERT (1593–1633) ten poems from Passio Discrupta and from the Lucus.
Jean KOCHANOWSKI (1530–1583) six poems of varying lengths from his Foricoenia, sive Epigrammatum Libellus.
Iacobus EYNDIUS (1575–1614) twelve from his erotic book Hydropyricon Liber, but none from his Epigrammes.
Hugo GROTIUS (1583–1645) two of his Epigrammatum.
Joaquim DU BELLAY (1522–1560) three from his Tumuli.
George BUCHANAN (1506–1582) four from his Epigrammata, and only two from his Fratres Fraterrimi.
Thomas MORE (1477–1535) ten of his Epigrammata.

Latin Modern Poetry Musae reduces

Laurent, Donatien Tradition and Innovation in Breton Oral Literature Ch. 5 of Williams 1990, p.92–99. 1990 Not really connected with "the" Renaissance, but with the 1830's attempt of some Breton aristocrats and gentleman-farmers to open up their old literature to the educated world outside Brittany.

More important for folk studies and the phenomenology of oral literary production and reception than for the history of Celtic poetics, though the three and four line forms are interesting, considering that the Welsh englyn had made the same transition in late medieval times. The phenomenology of oral literary production is of some interest for the origins of the Greek poetic inscription, or at least for whatever life it had off the stone.

No one today doubts that some of the roots of the Breton oral literature only collected in the last 100 years do indeed go far back into the past. The problem is proof. 150 Latin MSS prior to the 11C survive from Brittany, 100 of them prior to the 9C. No old Breton MS survives. All evidence for an important role in the Arthurian cycle for Breton composers is indirect. Fragments of such evidence are claimed to be continually turning up.

In the Breton ballad Gwerz Skolan (more than 30 independent versions) are three lines reminiscent of a Welsh englyn in the Black Book of Carmarthen: //Du dy varch du dy capan, / Du dy pen du du hunan, / I adu ae ti ySkolan//. P.93Breton Skolan tradition falls into two different branches: one has stuck to the very archaic englyn milwr metre (three seven- (or eight-) syllable lines with one rhyme) and is also closer in tone and in colour to the Welsh poems in the Black Book of Carmarthen. The other branch has its metre displaced and transferred into a quatrain by adding a new melody with four lines—a type which had come to be more in favour than the old-fashioned three-lines melody."

Some of the 5 examples chosen come from areas outside Brittany, even from as far as Switzerland (no doubt by diffusion) while one at least is narrowly Breton. Even that one (The Falcon) has layers from the 11C, the 15C and the 1790s, during the French Revolution. It was collected in 1840.

Interesting also is the native folk poetics which concentrate not on the formal aspect of literature (cf. Mauss 'Il y a littérature dès qu'il y a effort pour bien dire' p.91) but on the truth of the matter related (prose or verse). This is what gives the emotional impact, whether we would class such an impact as "literary" or not. P.97 La Villemarqué remarked in 1845: "when a singer wants to praise a song, whatever it is, he does not say: 'That's beautiful!', he says: 'That's true!'.

Breton folk poetry is intended to perform two functions (surely they overlap!): to retain the memory of things and to tell the truth about them. Five quotes from poets are selected to show their awareness of these functions. The 19C Breton folk poetry is taken as an exact extension of Medieval lays. At least two of the current gwerziou (sg. gwerz) may be modern versions of such lost medieval lays.

It must be noted that "tradition" assumes innovation as well as preservation. The old songs have to "speak" to later and somewhat different generations even to be preserved in the oral tradition. The Welsh proverb 'Na ro' goel i newydion oni bont yn hen' may be translated "Innovation is not a good thing except when it becomes tradition".
Laurent, Vitalien

Les sceaux Byzantins du Médailleur Vatican Vatican 1962

Having taken our treatments of the Byzantine bullae from the first efforts of the 1870s and 1880s, we felt obliged to scan more modern corpora and treatments that we did not have as much time to master.

CD 5381 L34 1962  Seals  Vatican Byz. Seals

Laurent, Vitalien


Cameron, in AG REVISITED, mentions this Laurentine corpus p. 2 fn° 6, where he expresses support for Reitzenstein on early epigram and does not even mention Pfohl, with whose work he must have been familiar. What sort of tendentiousness is thus indicated? We are grateful that at least one mainstream writer on epigram mentions medieval seals, and will forgive much for this opening up of the canonical references permissible to the more obscure sort of scholar (of epigram).

It was the church hierarchy and the great monasteries that took up the Byzantine cult of verse on seals from the 11/12C in the Latin West. It was the Latin hierarchy which favoured, and almost demanded verse epitaphs for their tombs from an earlier period. This provides the most appropriate point of comparison between West and East for one who is not in a position to master the entire corpus of medieval Greek and Latin seals.

CD 5381 L32 t.5, v.1  Seals  Byz. High Churchly Seals

Lavagnini, Bruno


This caught our eye because of the Greek and Arabic texts, and its promise of general insights into Sicilian epigraphy in such languages. It is actually a very narrow monograph on some inscriptions at Palermo, in the chiesa della Martorana, founded by George of Antioch, who was brought in from Syria as a factotum to Roger of Sicily, and whose pietry and artistic enthusiasms may reflect his Antiochene origins. The inscriptions treated all concern the founder and his family, and are doubled by archival documents which express the intentions of the "committente" and, as we would express it, allow us to reconstitute, with reasonable certainty, much of the rich context of the texts.

Quando, in conformity alle proprie origini, l'epigramma non è un fittizio componimento poetico ma una vera e propria iscrizione destinata a conservare su materia durevole la memoria di una persona o di un evento...

A sub text to most in-depth discussions on epigraphy is the difference between commissioner and author. The question is here raised of relationships between them, for which there is some rare evidence. The promise in the opening paragraph is only fulfilled for a reader prepared to dig deep into the ifs and buts of L's argument. George was presumably not only a consumer of "good" Greek verse, but a player in this prestige activity as well. More than this, he must have had influence on what was written for the graves of his mother and his wife, whom he richly buried in the entrance to "his" church of the Virgin Mary. He may also be thought to have extended his inevitable managerial foresight for his own burial (near the rich tombs of his mother and his wife, it seems) beyond selecting the text which would sharpen the impact of his mosaic, to the longer poem which, later it seems, perhaps on the sarcophagus itself, constituted his official epitaph. The promise:

... t... 

Treated, in widely differing detail, are: 1. a short external verse inscription, top of North wall; 2. a short internal verse inscription on a surviving mosaic; 3. a 25 line funerary epigram preserved only in MS; 4. another such for Theodoule, the mother of the great man; 5. another funerary epigram for a consort of Admiral Irene, preserved in shortish form epigraphically, and in a long but apparently still imperfect form in MS, i.e., both of these said to be incomplete; 6. diplomas in Arabic and Greek, these languages interspersed; 7. a long anonymous poem written from prison to George by some unfortunate Maltese literatus of his secretariat.

The North wall epigram is made up of 5 lines of dodecasyllables. Another five liner occurs in a mosaic on the left of the internal entrance portico, once in the narthex. Its words are worked into the open roll held out by Mary to her young Son. These both preserve the name of their donor. The church, despite renovations and repairs, still has the original Norman mosaics, if not in their original positions.

QUOTES & NOTES:

1. High on the north wall:

Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὃς ἔσπειρα Μήτερ τοῦ Λόγου δόρων μικρών Σοι τόνδε ναὸν προσφέρω
Γεώργιος Ἔσσο οἰκέτης πολλῷ πόθῳ
eis mikrōn antirateψuv oO yap áxetan,
pollhaw ye Σοῦ λέογχα τῶν διαμιμάων.

Non-Classical
These topoi of humility must have been most striking when first seen, high up on the magnificent building, in its early days of use.

2. On an internal mosaic near the entrance portals. In it we see the admiral himself, prostrated in prayer before the Virgin, who is standing, showing an unrolled document to her Son, who is bestowing blessing from on high. On the open roll the following five lines are clearly visible and are obviously meant to be read:

TÖv C K ßd0ptov SeipavTa TovSe poi Sopov
Fetopyiov uptoTiaTov dpxdvTtov oX cov
tekvov
4>uXaTToig Trayyevei Trdarjg ßXdßr|g
vepoLg T £
vvXuTptoau' dpapTripaTcov,
yap iaxuv cos Oeog povog Aoye.

It is claimed that the Virgin Mary's prayer to her Son in this inscription echoes, in abbreviated form, the prayer set down to be repeated, daily, in the church for the safety and salvation of George and his family members. Is the inscription itself funerary? A facing panel to this part of the entrance mosaic once had the funerary inscription for George, said to have been placed "well after the death of the Admiral" but still, in its final phrases, "representing his last wishes" (as reflected in surviving MS). Actually, this inscription itself survives only in MS transcription, along with two others, the epithic poems for George's mother and wife, who predeceased him. All three poems were transcribed by some interested party on the verso of the parchment of a document arranging for the endowment of the church, dated 1146. This habit seems to be an important one to note for the Greek Middle Ages: the sporadic and chance addition of occasional poems and epigraphic poems (the difference is small) to large codices or shorter legal documents which deal with the events treated, or are the property of the people concerned. Such was medieval Greek epigraphy, when we can catch it in process, rather than merely run up against its ambiguous products in, for example, the Palatine Anthology Book 1, and sparsim elsewhere in AP.

3. 26 lines of dodecasyllables. The MS title surely refers, in the transcriber's mind, to other prose documents dealing with the business of burial. P. 346 deals in more depth with the "atto di compravendita" of 1146, by which the original endowment of 1143 was increased by large purchases of land close to the church, to the cost of 1,000 tari of gold. The heir of the Emir, Eugenio, transferred to the church the patrimony of their relative Zoe, who had died intestate. A corrected version of the document is there given, but the poem is treated well before this, p. 343. Four conventional lines of grief open it, then the celebration of the virtues, the successes and the social utility of George's life's work. Three verses before the final lines giving the date are a prayer to Mary, and indicate that the great man is/will be buried "near Her house", "in an ark of stone", presumably a sarcophagus placed in the pronaos right under the original position of the mosaic, which shows the Virgin interceding with her Son. It is plausible that with the passing of time, and particularly with the decline of the Greek rite and the eventual handing over of the church to Latin Benedictines of a neighbouring monastery, the pronaos was progressively remodelled and the sarcophagus itself (or sarcophagi, see below) was more and more ignored, or just lost, or actually destroyed:

'Εστερον εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ ἀμήρα Γεώργιου
Καὶ τὸς τοσοῦτον σκληρότατος τὴν φύσιν,
περὶ ψυχῶν τὰ σπλάγχνα χαλκείσας φλόγα,
ὡς μὴ λεβάδας ἐκκενθᾶσα δακρών
ἐν τῇ τοσάτῳ συμφορᾷ πεσάτας;
Ὁ παυνυπερείσθατος ἐκ τῆς ζῆσις,
ὁ ταγματάρχης, γῆς ὁ λαμπρός φωσφόρος,
τὸ σεπτὸν ἐμφύτευμα τῆς Ἀντίχου,
τὸ τερτοῦν ἀγλάαμα τῶν Ἐστερέων,
Γεώργιος, τὸ βαθιὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης,
φοινίκη ὁ λάμψας χρυσιαντῶν τῷ γένει,
προτέτιρ ὁ φίλας χαριάριων πλείστας πόλεις
γῆς καὶ βαλάσσῃς ἐγκατασχῶν τὸ κράτος,
ὡσπερ κεραυνὸς ἐκτεθρῶν ἐν ἄνδρᾳ
λιμήν ὁ κοοῦς τῶν πεπατομένων,
δυκαίος ἀφρεῖς ἤπατταις τοιχουσίν,
πάσιν ὑπαρχῶν ἀθέους χορηγεῖται,
βασιλεῖς ὁ λόγιος, ἡ θυμήδα,
ὁ τίμιος μάργαρος αὐτοῦ τῶν στέφους
καλύπτεται, φεύ. λάρνακα νῦν λιβήν
καὶ νεκρός, οἷον, φαινεῖται παρ' ἐλπίδα,
Ἄλλ᾽ ὁ βρώτων ώσπερ, Μήτηρ τοῦ Λόγου,
δέχοι τὸν ἀγάπης κατά Δωμήν,
ἐξελευσότοι προταράλδοτοι χρόνου
ἰσαί σ εκατοντάς προβηθημένου
καὶ σῶν δέκα πεντάς εἰνάδε μόνα.
Arab sources preserve some of the previous history of this George, "scourge of the Saracens": his father Michele had done service with the Zairite Emir of Mahdia! Not only that, but George himself also had been in such Infidel service. Between 1108 and 1111 Michele and George "of Antioch" had to take refuge from the suspicions of a successor of their employer (Tamûm 1062–†1108). Thus the family was quite newly established in Sicily, and very well qualified linguistically, politically, administratively and personally to take over the helm in that cockpit of the Mediterranean world. Antioch itself had been successively Muslim (634–969) and Byzantine (969–1084), in a fairly comfortable atmosphere of coexistence, and only after Manzikert (1071) did Muslim overlordship become oppressive. This change occurred under the Seljuks, especially under the Turcoman governor of Antioch, Yaghy-Sijan, who finally became ruler by personal right. An exodus of talent from Antioch seems to have begun even before the First Crusade (1096–1101). Dating is difficult, but it was in 1140 that the mother of George died, obviously a participant in all these transplantsations, known to us only by her religious name Theodule. She was "very old" at death. George died in 1151, and was probably about 18 years old on the first transfer of the family, that from Antioch to the court of Mahdia. Thus she was old enough to have an excellent grounding in both Antiochene and Arab ways, and in administration.

The importance of a nun called Marina in important donative documents suggests that she was the superioress of the convent in which "Sister Theodule", Sister 'Servant of God', spent her last days. The donative document for the support of the "pious old ladies" comes from the royal chancery, and is full of solecisms in its Greek. Documents from the personal secretariat of George show a higher level of "culture". No doubt he was surrounded by Antiochene litterati. George, and they, would have been enthusiastic about both "good Greek" and about poetry.

P. 248b returns to the other two verse epitaphs preserved on the back of the 1146 document. One was for Sister Theodule, the other for Irene, wife of George of Antioch, whom two indications in the poem show to have predeceased him.

4. Epitaph for George's mother, a text never actually quoted by Lavagnini.

5. Irene's epitaph is preserved in two versions. Like the longish epitaph for a gentleman of Messina, CIG IV 9540, it could well have been broken up into sections to fit onto various sides of the lady's sarcophagus. There is no evidence that she was buried in one, but the καρπαζή of her husband was almost certainly a sarcophagus, and he probably followed the style of burial which he had given to his mother, probably placing her in the same part of the church (as he intended to occupy himself). A piece of pavement (part of the destroyed sarcophagus itself?) showing verses was transcribed in the 17C by an epigraphist called Gualtherus and thus comes down to us. The date of Irene's death is missing from all examples of this epitaph, a datum which must have stood in the original, as might have other details. Neither Gualtherus's transcription nor the longer version on the back of the parchment of 1146 is complete. 26 verses are quoted on p. 349a, which we will not transcribe, merely noting that if these 26 verses are a fragment, the epitaph for the mother was (considerably?) longer than that subsequently arranged for himself. There is probably an influence from Antiochene piety on these literarily unimpressive, but epigraphically prominent, and situationally meaningful epigrams. In Antioch the major centres of cult were the Cathedral of St. Peter and the nearby church to Mary the Virgin. In Norman Sicily the most important churches preserved for our study happen to be the Palatine Chapel, dedicated by Roger to St. Peter in 1129, and the church of the Martorana erected to the Virgin Mary by his powerful Prime Minister.

The Archimandrite of San Salvatore in Messina had been set up in 1134, and this provided another concentration of Greek culture alongside that of the Antiochene imports surrounding Roger. The latter was crowned king at Christmas 1131, and called to his side, as δρωχω τῷ δρωχωτῷ, Prime Minister, Giorgio di Antiocchia.

There is probably an influence from Antiochene piety on these literarily unimpressive, but epigraphically prominent, and situationally meaningful epigrams. In Antioch the major centres of cult were the Cathedral of St. Peter and the nearby church to Mary the Virgin. In Norman Sicily the most important churches preserved for our study happen to be the Palatine Chapel, dedicated by Roger to St. Peter in 1129, and the church of the Martorana erected to the Virgin Mary by his powerful Prime Minister.

7. The long moral poem of the anonymous Maltese, formerly a member of George's secretariat, is not reproduced, but a small selection from it is quoted p. 346. Tsolakis found it in codex maitrense 4577 and cited "some particularly significant passages". Lavagnini treated it in RSBS 2 (1982) = Miscellanea Agostino Pertusi, II p. 323–331, under the title "Versi del carcere" di un anonimo poeta italo-bizantino di età normanna (1135–1151).
Layamon and Bzdyl, • & Donald G. Layamon's Brut. *A History of the Britons Translated by Donald G. Bzdyl* Binghamton N.Y. 1989

*Brut Bz*

Lazard, Gilbert *La métrique de la poésie parthe* in (Duchesne-Guillemin) 1985 p.371–399

1985

Persian Prosody *Parthian metrics*

Lazard, Gilbert *Les Premiers poètes Persans IXe – Xe siècles* T 1 Teheran/Paris 1964 T 1

the only volume sighted. Introduction, translations and rich notes.

PK 6449 F 5 L 3 1964 Vol. 1 ANU Menzies Persian Poetry *First Persian*


Persian *Persane*


Iranian Persian *Ancient Iranian*


Latin Medieval Epigram Burial *Elnonensis*


My Book Chinese *romanise*

Styled a rolling compilation, this early book of precepts has influential things to say about burial practices and monuments. It is to be compared with the other two San Ji books, and also with the prescriptions of philosophers. Chinese Burial Li Ji-Le

Leibovici, Marcel Littérature élamite in Queneau 1967 p.326–331 1967

Elamite Élamite

Leonard and Menestò, Claudio & Enrico Rhetorici e poetici tra i Secoli XII e XIV. Atti del secondo Convegno internazionale. ai studi dell'associazione per il Medioevo e l'Umanesimo Latini (AMUL) in onore e memoria di Ezio Franceschini Trento e Rovereto 3–5 ottobre 1985 Perugia? 1988 Quaderni del "Centro per il Collegamento degli studi Medioevali e Umanistici nell'Università de Perugia" 18.


Leone, P.A.M. Ioannis Tzetzae Historiae Napoli 1968 p.481, for the same little poem on the ancient use of pinakes as is listed in Kiessling's ed. Greek Byzantine Poetry Chiliads 2

Leonidas and Labellarte, of Tarentum & Rocco Leonida di Tarento Antologia di Epigrammi Bari 1969 Gk., Prose Italian version, a page or more of discussion each. Beckby's text.

888.0109 L585 Greek Epigram Leonida

Leroi-Gourhan, A. Préhistoire in Devambez 1961 p.3–92 1961 Art Art prehist

Lessing, G.E. Gotthold Ephraim Lessings sämtliche Schriften, neue rechtmässige Ausgabe ed. Karl Lachmann Berlin 1839 Vol. 8, p 424, has his Vermischte Schriften. Erster Theil 1771 (originally published 1753–1756 12 vol. in 12°), of which the first is Zerstreute Anmerkungen über das Epigramm, und einige der vornehmsten Epigrammatisten (p.425), Catullus begins the "famous epigrammatists" list on p.459, Martial follows at length p. 469, the Priapeia briefly p. 508, the Greek Anthology p. 512–528.

Herder *Suphan, Vol. 5, p. 338–345, has a review, including a considerable, if critical summary of Lessing's views on epigram, i.e., on G.E. Lessings vermischte Schriften. Erster Theil. Berlin, bey Boß, 1771. 8. 1 Alph. 1 Bogen).


e.g., in III Lepcis e dintorni p. 35 n° 10 A local limestone block 28 x 27, text has some word dividers (single puncts) Roman period, height of letters 6 cm – 1.2 cm

1 P'L M°QR HR° S fece (questo) Macer il R'S/RDS
2 LQN'M WL°HYL° per se stesso e per i/1 suo/i fratello/i
3 'YG WLWL'S 'YG e per WL'S
4 LKN'SHRBBRYT per essere in avvenire incolumit(?) (i.e., a se vivo tomb, and most likely an epitaph ordered by the erector, if not in the precise words which we see on the monument. The similar interpretation of the last line of the next to be cited is linguistically uncertain, but semantically most likely):—

Non-Classical
p. 39 n° 14 XVII From the surviving copy by Girard 1685. Word dividers indicated:

1 [C B]DMLQRT BN. HHB'L.H.QY P'L.LBNY? QYQ.

2 LMBMH HY

Ebedmelqart figlio di Hanba' al il ... lo ha fatto per i suoi figli...

(= L+M+B + MiHYeH?)

p. 45 n° 18, p. 72 n° 30: "a sue spese" = PKH BTM, a not uncommon claim.

Of course, the "Roman" habit of se vivo tombs and the epigraphy naturally flowing from this habit considerably preceded the Romans, and could have sprung up anywhere from similar social and personal concerns. Nevertheless, to have such phrasing as the above, similar to Roman epitaphs, in a Roman influenced area does suggest verbal influence as well, through the many bilingual persons of the client cultures. The same goes for the Nabatean epitaphs.

Phoenician epigraphy Tripolitania

Levy, Reuben An Introduction to Persian Literature N.Y. 1969

Persian Introduction

Lévy-Provençal, E. Inscriptions arabelles d'Espagne Leiden/Paris 1931 Repeats the Répertoire and Catalogue materials, adding to these inedita and otherwise edita.

Total of 225 inscriptions, the last 34 being inscriptions on furniture. The specifically funerary inscriptions among these epigraphs range from the 3 AH to the 9AH, i.e., from the 10C–16C CE, up to the Reconquista. Verse is unusual, but some very notable inscriptions at Grenada, many no longer preserved on stone, contain(ed) verse.

The most interesting inscriptions, though not all are versified, are here listed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N°.</th>
<th>AH date</th>
<th>Place and/or notable features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Rhymed prose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Signed (artist's signatures are sporadic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Also signed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>A rare appeal to the reader: &quot;O you who read...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>3rd person reference to the writer and reader, of the sort &quot;Allah be merciful to...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Grenada 14 verses on back of large epitaph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>20 verses on the back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 verses on the back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 verses on the back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td></td>
<td>11? verses on the back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>27 verses on the back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>rhymed prose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>open with verses!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>IX +30 verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This means that there are 14 verse inscriptions in all the Spanish material up to the IX C AH, and none of these are on movable objects. Some are funerary as an addition to exceptionally long epitaphs, on the reverse of the stones of the latter, according to the chronicler. The verses can be a variation on the prose formulae, or freer in content. Remember that Spain (Sicily) and Persia are supposed to be the Muslim areas most favouring poetry in inscriptions. No doubt the prominence of the epitaphs at Grenada helped lead to this idea, but a statistical count of surviving remains does not favour the generalisation.

NOTE: The frequent references to wall poems by the best poets of the day, Vizier Ibn Zumruk and Ibn Jayyab are hard to chase here. Such poets are not easily findable elsewhere, even in EI, though they do get mention in Salma Khadr Jayyusi, The Legacy of Muslim Spain, 1994. We are apparently referred to the Arabic MSS sources for the purely poetic epigraphs, unless (which is most unlikely) the medieval transcriber, like the present author, consistently reproduced only the main inscription and referred to the "poem on the back" merely by quoting its first line.

Arabic Epigraphy IAE


Introd.: summarising Alistair Fowler 1982, there are five meanings of "genre".

Non-Classical
Radicals or strategies of presentation (e.g., narrative, dramatic, lyric)
Historical kinds of genres
Subgenres (divided by subject matter and motifs)
Modes (e.g., 'heroic' (subject, attitude, tonality, topoi)
Constructional types (e.g., catalogue form).
Genre Renaissance genres

Lewis, T.J. Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit Atlanta Ga. 1989ca.
Burial Caananite death cult

Li Long Tsi Litterature coréenne in Queneau 1967 p. 1305–1317 1967
Korean Coréenne

Lidzbarski, M Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik Gießen [1900–1915, of which I have seen only—] III 1909–1915.
492 Semitic Epigraphy Eph S E

Lin, Shuen-fu (Michigan) The Nature of the Quatrain from the Late Han to the High Tang p.296–331 of Lin/Owen. 1986 ca.
"Modern poetry" in the T'ang was predominantly in 8 line and 4 line forms, the latter being called "curtailed" or "broken off lines". The name "regulated" given to the former disguises the fact that tonal patterning (restrictions) of lesser complexity can also apply (or not apply, or partially apply) to curtailed verse, as it was also called "little regulated verse". Lin denies that the fully regulated eight-line poem was constructed by combining quatrains (a view held by some), though the double couplet (quatrain) was indeed older than fully regulated (necessarily 8 line) verse. The radically different aesthetics of each form preclude a genetic development. In fact, (following Lo Ken-tse's 1955 study), Lin takes the origins of the quatrain back to scanty survivals of the sort of linked verse common in the Eastern Chin (44C) and to the spread of such practices in the Six Dynasties (3–6C) based on the literatising of a form of folk song from the end of the Han, which was, as is usual in poetry which is primarily for singing, stanzaic rather than stichic. Isolable quatrains (5 syllable) were composed in a kind of poetic relay (rather than the poetic ripostes of later linked verse), with each poet often writing just a stanza, and hoping for additions by someone else at another place, and even another time. When such a poetic chain was broken, the poet would call his quatrain(s) "broken-off lines", "miscellaneous". Thus this became a standard form, much imitated, and not as yet associated with the contemporaneous 7 syllable quatrain, but preserving its folk song origins and ethos.

Seven syllable quatrains, also songs, are said to have been very old, allegedly being found before the Han, rhyming every line, rather than as in the 5 syllable poems of later times, every couplet. Pao Chao in the +5C seems to have been the first (recorded) as writing 7 syllable lines to rhyme, less richly than before, in couples. Such verse became used in symposiac songs (of considerable length?) by the +8C, with tunes from Central Asia, and perhaps some of the structures of Turanian popular poetry also influencing the text. Seven syllable quatrains began, like the five syllable ones, to be sung. Both tend to be song words in the T'ang, and to favour simplicity of style. There is a considerable transition from the first couplet to the second, and often a surprise in the final line of the four. During the Six Dynasties period the quatrain was made sententious, becoming "the most concentrated and energetic poetic form in Chinese literature." Thus it is very comparable to literary "epigram" in Alexandria, and is notably more "epigrammatic". More so than Greek epigram, but rather like the epigram of the European Baroque, the Chinese quatrain leans heavily on the information provided in its title and associated notes. However, most Chinese poetry shares this reliance on a recreation (or manufacture) of the concrete occasion and motive for the composition of the poem. Only the literary ballad is openly fictional in these periods. The quatrain was much cultivated in the T'ang and styles changed, notably the sorts of "closure" to be expected.

Lin's article takes the literatised 5 syllable line quatrain back much further, and suggests that it was joined late by a seven-syllable form of different aesthetics and ancestry which developed increasing fellowship with its smaller, and more universally-accepted foster brother.

Chinese Poetry Chinese Quatrain


Lindley, Kenneth Of Graves and Epitaphs London 1965
Mainly Southern England. Confined to local churchyards, does not treat the 19C public cemetery.
731.71 6 Power English Burial Epigraphy English Churchyards
German Epigram  *Motive und Tendenzen*

Phoenician  *Stud.Phoen.V*

Littmann et al., E. *SYRIA Southern Syria by E. Littmann, D. Magie jr., D.R.Stewart* Leiden 1907–1921. 1907–1921
Post-Christian inscriptions showing age at death — 735?
Greek Epigraphy  *Syrian ages*

The replacements for the medieval rituals of death are interesting and revelatory of the societies in which they had suddenly to grow up. See Addenda, *Burial.
My Book  English Burial  Deathart

Lloyd, A.L. *Folk Song in England* St. Albans 1975
Stanzas (influenced by hymns?) are predominantly four-lined.
My Book  English Burial  *Deathart*

282.02 L825ep English Epigram  *Of Eve*

Lomanto and Marinone, V. & N. *Index grammaticus* 3 voll. Hildesheim/Zurich/N.Y. 1990
Grammar  *Indx Gramm*

Longo, A.A. *Il Calendario giambico in monostichi di Teodoro Prodromo* Genova 1983
The introduction is excellent, discussing this type of calendar. More so than in the West, a type of short occasional poetry was associated with Romae calendars.
Greek Byzantine Epigram Calendars  *Prodromos iambic calendar*

Of the 13 stones pictured, mostly for convicts, dating from 1854 to 1861, only two have verse. One of these has the most aberrant form I have yet seen of "Affliction Sore...": Affliction sore / Long time I bore / Physicians were in vain./ Till God did please / that death should ease / Me from my pain. This for the convict Edward Spicer 1854.
NP 929.5099464 L867 ANL  Australian Burial  *Port Arthur*

Australian Burial Epigraphy  *St. David's*

Malagasy  *Malagache*

Eskimo  *Eskimo*

modern additions. 1981
Burial  Laying Out

Lowrie, Walter  Classical Cemeteries as Works of Art  second edition  Albuquerque N.M. 1983,
first edition much earlier, and unstated  1983
Burial Architecture  Art Cemeteries

Luck, Robert 1674–1749 A.M. Master of Barnstable school.  A miscellany of new poems, on
several occasions by... Containing also. The loves of Hero and Leander, translated from the
Greek of Musaeus: to which are added Poemata quaedam latina... London 1736 vi, [14],
192, [2], 46 p. Eight pages of subscribers!
Note the claim of the poems being "disjecta membra" and having to be recovered from friends for this edition.
Also p. 7 on writing in a window with a diamond. See *Whistler for the practice, generally.
See Addenda for Detail
RB DNS 7251 = C & C 5279 Latin Modern Epigram  Luck's

Lugt, P. van der  Strofische structuren in de Bijbels-Hebreeuwse Poëzie  Kampen  1980
Since our effort has been to search out inscriptive poetry throughout the world, the "Kampen school" of
interpretation of West Semitic poetic form is mentionable.

Bible Poetry  Stroficha

Luria and Hoffman, M.S. & R.L.  Middle English Lyrics  N.Y.  1974
My Book  English Medieval Poetry  Middle English

Lützow, F. Count  A History of Bohemian Literature  London.  1899
The count accepts Latin writing as Czech literature, unlike Novák. He quotes a liminary Latin verse prefixed by
Gregory Gelenius to Pisecký's translation of Isocrates in 1512, which is entitled "Bohemian Epitaph", even though
in apparently disavowing quotation marks, by the Count. An epitaph as a liminary verse is not common. The
golden age centred on the 16C was dominated by Lomnický, a man who, like many others, made money from
writing occasional verse for the domestic events in noble families. Of course, such verses did not have to be short,
and none are quoted in this book, so they may bear only a distant relationship to epigram. Smil Flaška is mentioned
as author of didactic and satirical verse, including proverbs in verse. P.41 mentions “Cato” as omnipresent in
(Latin) education.

Czech  Czech lit.

MÁO / Mao, Hán Khuâng / Han Guang  Tâng dài mì zhi ming hui biàn fù kào / Tang tai mu chih
ming hui pien fu k'ao  Tai-pei  1984  Taipei, Chung-yang yen chiu yüan li shih yü yen chiu
so. 12 vols with plates. The title means, in the order of the Chinese: "Tang dynasty epitaph
collection [with] appended researches".
Volumes contain 100 epitaphs each, the order being chronological: Vol. I, epitaphs 1–100, 619–
646 CE; II, eff. 101–200, 646–652 CE; III, eff. 201–300, 652–656 CE; IV, eff. 301–400,
656–660 CE; V, eff. 401–500, 660–663 CE; VI, eff. 501–600, 663–666 CE; VII, eff. 601–
700, 666–670 CE; VIII, eff. 701–800, 670–675 CE; IX, eff. 809–900, 675–680 CE; X, eff.
901–1000, 680–686 CE; XI, eff. 1001–1100, 686–691 CE; XII, eff. 1101–1200, 691–697
CE. See Addenda for details and terminology. See also letter Madeleine.

Chinese burial epigraphy  Tang epitaphs

Mac Craith, Micheál  Gaelic Ireland and the Renaissance  Ch. 4 of Williams 1990, p.55–89.
1990  English and Irish quotes, the latter with translations.
Edmund Curtis, Daniel Corckery, David Mathew and Christopher Dawson are quoted (without full approval,
but without alternatives) on the antipathy of Ireland to the nearest representative of Renaissance culture, the Tudor
state. Manus O'Donnell, lord of Donegal 1537–1563 could be seen as a Renaissance prince, mentioned are: (p.58)
"...O'Donnell's well-documented taste for sartorial splendour, his renown as a love-poet and composer of humorous
epipgrams, and the fame of the castle he built at Lifford..."

P.60 contrasts the Renaissance political models set up by France, Spain and England with the more decentralised
ones of Italy and Germany, the regional principalities which were such an important cultural stimulus in Germany
until the 19C.

Mac Craith then discusses the influences on the few surviving informal poem collections of the peri-Renaissance
period, especially the Dánta Grádhla of O'Rahilly. Tudor influence is strongly suggested for a number of them.

Non-Classical
P.63 deals with an "echo poem" of Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh, "a genre that was itself a product of the Renaissance world". The same p.63 notes that John Harington visited Ireland twice, meeting Hugh O'Neill on the second visit. It seems that one of Harington's translations of the Amores was used by Riocard do Büre for a Gaelic poem of his, "...since the Englishman's reasonably free approach to the original and his adaptation of the Latin metre into four-line verses could readily accommodate itself to Gaelic prosody."

P.64 notes the "glaring weakness" which many critics have noted in Gaelic poetic craft, "a seeming inability to consider the totality of the poem as a cohesive artistic unit. Gaelic poets tended to concentrate their talent and art on the individual verse, while neglecting the poem as a whole. A certain formlessness pervades much of their work, leaving the modern reader with the impression that their poems would not be unduly affected by either the addition or omission of a number of verses."

There seems to be much "Old" English influence (long-resident English families) on Gaelic love poetry 1550–1650. One striking feature of the poems preserved in the Dánta Grátha is that they seem to have been intended for private reading, not public recitation. Given the very limited use of printing, this would have involved reading from MSS.

P.73 deals with the collection of MS, of organisation of studies, and of some printing carried out on the Continent in the Irish colleges (in which Biblical and Renaissance learning usually coexisted with native studies): Alcalá 1590, Salamanca, Lisbon, Santiago de Compostella, Seville, Madrid, Douai and Louvain, also Antwerp, Lille, Charleville, Tournai. Also Rome and Paris. Among other matters, there was the cultivation of plain and simple Irish (not the elaborated, poetic koine) by the enlightened, and a new interest in scientific history. Campion and Stanihurst (1571, 1577/1584) did not know Gaelic. Luke Wadding of Waterford was encouraged to continue his researches on the Franciscan order (1625, 1654) in the direction of national Irish history. Camden, Ussher and Ware also published relevant works. In fact, Protestant dignitaries seem to have welcomed Catholic scholars (p.81) most of the time. Dr. Ussher opened his famous library to Irish friars.

Much of the materials collected under James and Charles soon perished. Louvain itself found funds drying up after the military campaign of 1642/9. Much of what survives is still in MSS.

Ireland and Renaissance

Macalister, Robert Alexander Stewart

Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum

Dublin 1949

Latin and Celtic (Irish, Welsh etc.) inscriptions in Half Uncials, i.e. necessarily Christian. Indexes and plates.

A different formula set appears for Irish epitaphs in half uncials compared with that of the Ogham: A. single name usually in nominative (not genitive); B. Name with parentage (X Mac Y); C. Rarely, name + predicative matter, e.g., Episcop Dathal, Colman Bocht at Clonmacnois n° 640, 749; D. Request for a prayer (Oroit do X, Oroit for/ar X) Oroit= OR, OT, ORT; E. Request for a blessing (Bendacht for/ar X, Bendacht for/ar anmain X). These inscriptions are usually on flat slabs, not pillar stones, and after 1000CE they begin to be shaped carefully. No poetry is apparent on these, Roman-script stones, just as there was none on the ogham monuments.

Dryer 487 ANL Celtic Epigraphy Celtic Roman Inscriptions

Macalister, Robert Alexander Stewart

Studies in Irish Epigraphy Part 1, Part 2

London 1897–1902

Irish Epigraphy Irish

Macarthur, W. Trade Union Epigrams: some reasons for the faith that is within us Washington DC 1904 14 p. All prose, and not all are short.

E.g., 1. Man's first duty is to organise. Morals of the Strike: The manhood of the striker must take precedence of the comfort of the public. The Shorter Workday... is also a heading. Few "epigrams" are as short as the ones quoted.

P 331.88 MAC English Epigram Trade Union


Generally disappointing for our purposes. As befits a John Durkan Festschrift, the general run of articles is narrowly codicological, with none of the broad intellectual sweep of the volume on the Welsh Renaissance. Nevertheless, this collection of bookwormic researches does well represent the "new study of the book", apparently more vital at the moment in Scotland than in England, and as such it is important for the study of epigram, a form of poetry more often printed than was the average situation for verse in early modern times.

My Book Humanists Latin Renaissance-Reformation Scotland

Non-Classical
Japanese customs link in with those of the mother high culture of China and that of the transmitter, Korea. Three archaeological periods precede, based on series reconstructed from the pottery remains: the YAYOI, the JOMON (in which there were extensive interchanges within the Japanese island group, and rice was cultivated), and the KOFUN, -3C to +3C, marked also by the extension of rice growing and the use of bronze and iron. In the 5C Korean emigrés were used in local dynastic struggles, and writing no doubt got a foothold, 12 centuries or more after it took root in Greece.

Macé’s work is based on literary, the much rarer epigraphic, and the rich archaeological remains of the formative period of the 7C and 8C. The three sorts of evidence are particularly hard to reconcile in this period, and of course, only two of them survive from before this period, making interpretation deceptively simpler. This is a post-literate period, just before Buddhism got a strong hold, and the remains of its high culture show great differences from the periods before and after. In and after the following Nara period a great change seems to have taken place, seemingly permitting a reconstituted Shinto to express extreme “horror” and denial of the corpse and a suppression of “death”. Buddhism celebrated (even non-Buddhists, it seems, for a fee) while Shinto ignored. The older periods available to us, and thus the direct and non-defensive (native) ancestors of Shinto, did celebrate, and did cremate, bury, and reverence tombs, sometimes inscribing them. Of course, the Chinese were by now also inscribing. Popular customs today show little of the attitudes of the earliest texts, which are 8C. Buddhism was fairly well established by then, but perhaps the texts themselves look backwards to the kofun-jidai, the period of the great burials, 4C – 7C. The funeral rituals for Emperor Mommu were the last imperial mogari. P. 246 notes the importance of mountain imagery in the interpretation of the great tumuli called variously: haka, tsuka, okutsuki, misasagi (or misasaki or misazagi). Surviving literary and documentary texts come from later periods, but contain earlier materials. The most important are: Kojiki, Nihonshoki, Manyōshū, and the Fudoki. Early Japanese law codes are also quoted, (p. 325–326), specifically the Yorö, (p.492–498) and also various chronicles. The law codes read very much like the San Li Ji of Chinese tradition, naturally enough.

A list of the more evocative glossary items will give some introduction to the importance of this study for comparative burial study and its epigraphy, thus for a major component of “epigram” as it appears (or not!) in Japan:

- aishōka: elegy
- ara haka: abandoned tomb
- asobi: divertissement
- bai-zuka, bai-chō: secondary tumulus
- banka: funerary poems of the Man-yo-shū
- chō bun: temporary tomb covered with cut grass
- chō-iki: surface, domaine of the tomb
- en fun: round tumulus
- eraki kanashite: playing and weeping
- fun: funerary tumulus
- funa udo: one in charge of a funeral
- hajibe, hanishi-be: group of potters
- haka: tomb
- hana gasa: chaplet of flowers
- hana kago: flower decoration on a tomb
- haniwa: earthenware cylinder put on tombs
- hitsugi no shinobigoto: funeral eulogy and imperial genealogy
- imina: personal name, cf. the importance of a posthumous name, or okurina
- ishi(ki) tsukuri: stone mason
- kari mogari: provisional burial place
- kayō: chants, particularly ancient ones
- kishin: souls of the dead
- kofun: “old” burials
- kokugakusha: learned in national studies
- kurai: the “ill-omened rites”, i.e., funerals
- mogari: primary and provisional burial rite
- nara jidai: the Nara period
- shinoigigoto: funeral eulogy
- sui: funeral “by water”, i.e., by being cast away in sea or stream
- tokoyo: eternal night
- uta gaki: antiphonal or alternate song
- yama gakuso: “disappear in the mountain”, i.e., to die

Sarcophagoi are pictured in the forms of boats, cupboards, houses and sliced bamboo (p. 8–11). One giant tumulus is shaped like a key (p. 44). One phallic figure is pictured, p. 65, and see p. 341 for phallic exhibitionism in a funerary context. P. 86 pictures the inscribed stela of Hayato, fresco paintings appear on p. 111–114, and p. 123–127 picture the inscribed stela of Nasu, the funerary plaque of Gyōki, and of two others.

P. 282 notes that the first record of a funerary inscription, even for an emperor, is quite late, coming from the...
Shoku-nihongi. Emperor Gemmei left in his last requests one for a stele to be erected with an inscription over his tomb. He was also the first emperor to be interred direct, without mogari, in a modest tomb, and merely a week after his death. Even in the 20th C (see *Ching, in fine) we find Chinese families waiting decades or generations before arranging appropriately lavish final burial for their father or mother, kept all that time (metaphorically) "on ice". Thus, Gemmei's innovative inscription seems to have replaced and to some extent made up for the absence of the Pharoah-like funeral rituals of preceding emperors. We have lost the stele, but apparently we may trust various reports of it, the first being in the Todai-jyokudai:


P.282

The same concision, says Macé, loc. cit., is apparent in other surviving inscriptions of funerary nature, the Chinese style plaques. The sole aim seems to be save the tomb from oblivion, and no religious preoccupations are apparent, much less any signs of human emotion, such as in the literary funerary poetry. Worse still for Japanese parallels to Greek practice, excavations have so far revealed no signs of the inscribed monument prescribed in the Japanese law codes: a stele, hi, bearing the name, na, and the title, kaban, or the function, gukan, on it, and the whole to be placed on the burial spot. The words of the codes of course were mechanically and perhaps only hopefully copied from the Chinese tradition. See *Couvreur or *Legge for the LLJi; Mei for MoZi; *Watson, *Dubs, *Knoblock or *Köster for XunZi; and *Ebrey for the medieval (12C) ZhuXi. These give a good idea of the canonical tradition, but not of regional variation, or of the statute law passed from time to time by the imperial court, for which see *Ching, and the Addenda under CHINESE-JAPANESE LAW CODES AND BOOKS OF RITES.

P. 282–283 struggle to find, in epigraphy or in documentary records, many more funerary inscriptions on stelai, though from the Nara period comes a story in the Nihon ryoki of an honorific stele being raised over the grave of a Sugaru. On his death there was supposed to be placed over his grave the inscription: "This is the tomb of Sugaru who seized hold of the thunderbolt." "Thunder" was furious, and wanted to strike *his* funeral stake, but was frozen and bound. The emperor freed Thunder, and raised another inscription: "This is the tomb of Sugaru who, living and dead, seized hold of the thunderbolt". The term for "stele", hibun no hashira, does not indicate a stone pole, but it is intriguing that Japanese redactors of the Nara period, like Geoffrey of Monmouth, would tell stories about a wondrous stele, raised over the grave of a hero. Not only stelai are found, but funerary plaques called boshi. They are akin to the name-like Babylonian steleai (*Bottero) and the later Chinese "twin plaques" (*Mao and CHINESE STELAI in our Addenda) and only 15 or so have so far been recovered. Their appearance seems to have been about 700CE, just when cremation was beginning among the upper classes. They were always a Chinese import (beginning in the Han and spreading under the Chin, being found in Korea — Koguryo. Their texts are as curt as those of the rare stelai, and resemble them in their formulary. These plaques died out in the later 8C in Japan, to go on to at least the Tang and the Song in China (*Mao and *Ching again).

All this tends to prove at least that the path to short inscribed funerary poetry was blocked in Japan by many strong attitudes, those to burial, to poetry, and to writing on graves, or on funerary objects. The path of honorific epigraphy seems to have been blocked by the prestige of prose, as in China. I know nothing of anathematic practice in older Japan. There does not seem to have been "monostanzaic" verse in Japan anyway, or consistently short verse, until well into the medieval period.

Japanese Burial *Japon*

Machado and [Mairena] and Bellit, Antonio 1875–1939 & [Juan de] & Ben *Juan de Mairena: epigrams, maxims, memoranda and memoirs of an apocryphal professor, with and appendix of poems from the Apocryphal Songbooks Antonio Machado; ed. and transl. by Ben Bellit. 1963

P.ix introd. has no mention of 'epigrams' except 'a handful of fugitive poems from his later years.' Another 'double' was Abel Martin, "my teacher". These other identities are not exactly pseudonyms, but 'complementaries'. p. 15 begins 'Proverbs and admonitions', and p.38 'concepts and intuitions'. These seem to be mere "pensées". 868.62 M149j Spanish Epigram Machado Mairena

MacQueen, John *The Renaissance in Scotland* Ch. 3 of Williams 1990 p.41–56. 1990

Many quotes in "lowland" Scots with unrevised spelling.

In Scots Gaelic, the Book of the Dean of Lismore, Buchanan and Boece are the main contributions to the Renaissance. The Dean's book was patiently antiquarian, Buchanan was critical and perceptive, and Boece popular and fairly meretricious, but perhaps always more epidetic than Thucydidean in intent. However, the latter author did realise that Inchtuthil on the Tay was potentially an important archaeological site. P.44 [On George Buchanan] "He is aware of contemporary vernacular literature in Scots; he describes his anti-Franciscan poem, the Somnium, written in 1535, as a translation of an old Scots epigram into Latin verse: 'epigramma vetus nostrate lingua scriptum in Latinos versus transtuli.' The *epigramma vetus* is easily identifiable as the first six stanzas of William Dunbar's 'How Dunbar wes desyred to be ane Freir', composed some thirty years earlier. Interestingly, Buchanan's literary terminology shows that he linked Dunbar with such Classical figures as Non-Classical
Martial and the poets of the Greek Anthology. I have indicated elsewhere a similar sense in which Dunbar may be regarded as a Renaissance poet. "N°: to Macfarlane's Buchanan p.52 and James Kinsey (ed.) The Poems of William Dunbar Oxford 1979 pp.165–166. The Middle Ages also "saw" Martial as part of (to us) strange poetic company.

Renaissance and Scotland

Macuch and Müller-Kessler and Fragner, Maria & Christa & Bert G. STUDIA SEMITICA NECNON IRANICA Rudulpho Macuch septuagenario ab amicis et discipulis dedicata Wiesbaden 1989 (The Hebrew means: "Wisdom has built herself a house", Prov. ix.1) See Naveh, Greenfield and Noja.

for R. Macuch


There is a lot on the Emperor and his cultural aura.

949.503 Greek Byzantine Byzantine progress


Greek Byzantine Art and Emperor

Magnanini, P. Le iscrizioni fenicie dell'oriente Roma 1973

A compendious Phoenician-Italian selection which one of its reviewers doubted should ever have been published.

Misleading on Greek-Phoenician bilinguals. The example I chose to illustrate the brevity of Greek as compared with Phoenician has a 6 line epigram in Greek and a related Relief, not mentioned by Magnanini. In other words, whatever his advantages over SIG Pars Prima, and that is doubtful, he strips a lot of the context from his texts.

Phoenician East Phoenician

Mahalingan, T.V. Inscriptions of the Pallavas New Delhi 1988 Large compilation, excellently annotated. Tamil language.

The +6C—Hero stones, no 272–313, record the death mostly of soldiers, also fighters of wild animals, with short texts and carved iconography illustrating the event. Funerary, eulogistic, but not epitaphs (set up in temples). No 284 mentions the death of Karundevakkatti, and also praises a dog named Kovivan who bit two thieves, a rare reference to faithfulness in early Tamil, and not at all funerary. No 313 also mentions an Akkaljimmallan, who "set it up".

q 934 M214 Indian Epigraphy Pallavas

Maheswaran Nair, K Epigraphica Malabarica Trivandrum 1972 954.8392 M214 Indian Epigraphy Malabarica

Malaparte, Curzio Il Battibecco inni satire epigrammi Milan 1949

Epigrams have a section to themselves, not all are monostanzic, but many single stanzas are four-liners. Satiric. Some 'epitaphs'. Shows that the Germans do not have a mortgage on very modern epigram.

857.91 MAL Italian Epigram Battibecco


The subdivisions and the titles of the works of this leading writer are instructive for the sense of genre in the mid 17C, the Classical age of France. Epigrammes in our (rearranged) edition p.135–162, run into the madrigals on p. 131, as is common in France, and have a common introduction, where epigram is discussed far more than madrigal, see later discussion. P.3 discusses the practice of 17C collective editions, financed by the printer, a good guide to popularity of a writer at the time. Malleville was popular in epigram and rondeau, even after his death, and much represented in anthologies, also in sonnets, sometimes without any attribution, leading to the preservation elsewhere of 10 poems not in his own edition. His epigrams were praised by Colletet, along with those of Maynard. His Marinist poems however dropped quickly out of popularity, to be revived only in the 20C.

P.109 discusses the problem of epigram and madrigal, quoting Y Fukui. Mainard and Gombauld seem to have

Non-Classical
drawn the common perception of 'epigram' towards satire and gnome, and so 1620 Malleville's generation needed another light galant form under that of the sonnet, and it was the new 'madrigal', also introduced from Italy by Marot and Saint-Gelais and somewhat forgotten in the second half of the 16C. Ronsard used the word madrigal for an irregular sonnet.

Both Marot and Malleville [still p.109] used 'madrigal' and 'epigram' for the same poem in different editions of it, but the Parisian poets of the 1620s and '30s tended to specialise its use «à de petites pièces galantes. Trente ans plus tard, l'abbé Cotin, prenant acte de l'évolution, affirme: <Je ne luy défens pas les autres sujets, mais la galanterie est son principal employ.> (Oeuvres galantes, 1663, p. 472).»

Finally [p.110 now], some of Malleville's "epitaphes" also closely resemble epigrams, and they come in the two strands claimed to span the period from the AG to the 17C (!), the serious and the joking, the second class here being used to contain all fictional uses of the form. Others of Malleville's epitaphs are included elsewhere according to their outer form — sonnets, series of strophes.

THE STANCES [page n° lost] begin with another discussion. Ronsard wrote some at the end of his life, Desportes made it one of his major genres. Bertaut, Malherbe and Racan perfected the 'genre'. The stance was still popular in the 1620s, with love being almost its compulsory topic. See Henri Chamard's article on 'stances' in Dictionnaire des Lettres — out of series and out of context it seems that they can conjointly be epigrams as well. CC—CCIII are called chansons, and here there is little difference either, and neither poets nor theoreticians of the 16C and 17C considered the chanson as a distinct literary form.

In the 1630s Malleville, like many others (Malherbe, Boisrobert, Germain Habert, Chapelain), wrote paraphrases of psalms. Already (see also Yates) the abbé Goujet remarked on Louis Mauduit, one of the group called les Illustres Bergers, «Il a toujours été ordinaire à nos poètes de traiter également le sacré et le profane». Malleville's psalms are very Baroque and very free, and some of them follow the Hebrew numbering of the Psalms, others the Septuagint/Vulg.ule.

Finally, on p. 560, there is a long-unpublished Latin epigram, a quatrain on Elise (Didon): CCXLV DE EADEM / Dum videt incautus pulchram spectator Elisam / Obstupet, et visü fixus ut ilia, riget. / Ars mira! ipsa silex animam spirare videtur / Quique animam spirat, creditur ipse silex. //

YY 841.4 M253uv French Epigram Oeuvres poétiques

Mallon, J. Analyses in Scrittura e civiltà (1978) p.43 1978

Graphemics Writings


The indexes of the two later volumes of this work mention "epigram", but infrequently. There are plenty of epitaphs. The word Epigramm is applied to some of the shorter poems of Micon (9C) and the Ruodlieb (11C), without any apparent critical intent, just as a convenient descriptive tag. In our search for contemporary uses of the word epigram in titles and library lists we found little but confusion. Migne's indexes threw up very little uses of any antiquity. V. II p.422 mentions the 23 tituli entitled Epigrammata scholarstci from MS Gent 528 of no later than the 11C. They may be lengthy poems on pictures, alleged to have come from the very foundation of the Monastery of St. Maximinus by Agricius 1335, a period when the founder of monasticism in Gaul, Martin of Tours, would have been not much more than 20 years old and beginning his first career, as a soldier. V. I mentions a title of lost poems lifted from a Cluny catalogue: epigrammata Mortuini. We think that many of the poems of Modoin of Autun have been lost, and these may have been some of them. See also *Reynolds 1983.

Thus the title epigram in the Latin Middle Ages was rare, and despite the sporadic appearance of short poems, even of the occasional collection of them, and despite a thriving inscriptional practice, it takes a post Renaissance mentality to actually see very many "epigrams" of that period. The conventional use of this protean term allows a writer like Bertm to collect a largish corpus and to criticise it. This is a procedure of doubtful legitimacy. In themselves, most of these short poems are not of literary value. In their concrete situation, and given contemporary values put on poetic writing and on inscribing poetry, they may have had an impact and a prominence which largely escapes the non-medievalist. However, we must also allow for the possibility that they differed little from prose inscriptions and from longer poems, inscribed or not, given the frequent doubling of prose texts with a verse text throughout the period and an extremely widespread use of verse for most purposes. See *Wieland's Geminus Stilus for a defence of the special ethos of verse against the majority of big names in the Medieval field who have discussed the issue. His obvious point is that verse versions were made of prose texts (the reverse is much less common) precisely because verse was felt to have (= had) a different series of functions and a different impact.

Latin Medieval Manitius

Manning, Eugène Tables générales de Scriptorium T. XXXI—XL 1977—1986 par...

091 Bibliography Books


My Copy Russian Epigram Russian epigram

Non-Classical
Manwani, S.N. Evolution of Art and Architecture in Central India (With special reference to the Kalachuris of Ratanpur) Delhi 1988

Immediately we were interested in the phenomenon of early inscribed statues. Such things are common from later periods, as the ANG Asian collection shows us (though its curator did not respond to my written questions on this). The –1C inscribed image of Visnu (p.8) is of interest, and is mentioned several times, once more on p.17 and n° 28 on this, D.C. Sircar Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society Vol. 46 p. 221 ff. for the dating, no doubt on the basis of the script. If it is not –1C, we may take it from Dani that it is +1C, which for our purposes, is not much different. It is pre-Gupta inscribed verse, found at Burhi Khar, a village near Malhar, and ancient town in the Bilaspur district. P. 8 mentions a rare find of a –1C wood inscription (the same comments apply to its script) preserved in mud at Kirari in the Raigarh district. No doubt, as in Greece, many early dipinti and incisi-dipinti were on wood. P.22 mentions the inscr. of Vilastunga of the Nala dynasty, of interest to us by the fact of its being on the side wall of the temple of Rajivalochana at Rajini. One presumes that this means the outside of that wall. P.23 quote: "The chronology of some early temples has been discussed- on the basis of the few inscriptions that have been found in the temples." From this there might seem to have been fewer inscriptions on Northern and Deccan temples than in the South. P. 35 mentions two 10C inscriptions on stone slabs, fixed (originally or later) in the Prakar wall. P. 38, p.61 (inscr. on a mandapa wall), p.75 mention inscriptions. P. 88 has another inscribed statue, this time of a ruler. It is at Bakala, represents a Jaina Trthahkara Pärshavanätha, and is inscribed with the name of the donor-builder:

NAVELA SUTA AAHILA PARSHA VA PRATINA KARAPATIYAM

This 11/12C three line epigraph (original lineation not given here) is interestingly translated as: "Aahila son of Nâvila causes the erection of the God Pärshavanâtha." See also p. 176 for more scattered discussion of this. P. 90, Ratanpur inscr.; p.101 6C inscr. at Arang, near Raipur; p.104; p.113; p.120 pillar inscription.

P. 130 an inscribed statue of a king and a queen (at Sahaspur). The epigraph is short, and gives the monarch's name, Yasaraja, and a date, 34, which is assumed so to fit into the eras available as to equal 1182 CE. P. 137 also. In general, at Kosala, modern Chhatisgarh, there have been rich finds, and inscriptions were found outside and in front of temples.

Sally Mapstone  
*The Scots Duke of Phisnomy and Sir Gilbert Hay*  
in MacDonald et al 1994

p. 1-44 notes on p. 10: "...from the thirteenth century the dissemination into popular literature of theory on the humour through short groups of mnemonic verses, first in Latin, then in the vernaculars, through treatises such as the *Regimen Salernitatum*, had become widespread. Fn° refers to R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, & F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (1964) 112–123."  

Medieval mnemonic verse  
*Short verse on humours*

Marchi, Gian Paolo  
*Facezie del Quattrocento*  
in DCLI II p.211–214 1986

The Facezia is just one vernacular form whose influence on neo-Latin and vernacular epigram seems to have been poorly studied. The most studied late medieval form has been the Priamel.

Modern Epigram  
*Facezie*

Marinescu and Hampartumian, Lucia Täeposu & Nubar  
*Funerary Monuments in Dacia Superior and Dacia Porolissensis*  
London? 1982  
BAR International series Tr. Hampartumian.

A complete corpus. +2/3C. Four subdivisions: Stelai, Altars, Independent Medallions (large), and Aediculae or funerary buildings. These may be broken down with enumeration of items, making up a total of 546 items, showing no verse, only short prose epigraphy, in Latin, along with a preference for carved portraits. The stone is local, and the workmanship no doubt local and also done by outsiders travelling with the army, if not by soldiers themselves. Stelai— S — 229 items; Copings C — 31; Altars A — 61; Pedestals P — 34; Copings truncated or pyramidial CP — 22; Medallions M — 43; Aedicular AE — 111; and fragments of funerary constructions F — 15. The epigraphy of this frontier military society is to be compared with that of Britain (Collingwood) and Carnuntum (Vorbec k). As we have only slowly become aware, North Africa, a far better settled area, could have been very different in its epigraphy.

731.7609398 1 Syd Fish  
*Burial Art Epigraphy*  
*Dacian Stelai*

Marinone, N.  
*Concordanze e indici dei grammatici latini tardo-antichi e alto medievali*  

Index Grammaticus forecast, which is now in fact complete, and used in our *Addenda to excerpt what the grammarians have to say on epigram and on brevity.

Grammar

Marot, P.  
*Recherches sur les pompes funèbres des Ducs de Lorraine*  
Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg. 1835

The Renaissance-Baroque court entertainment and pageant was one major motive for the striking of medallions (including the correct composition of classicising inscriptions), and the labelling of architectural features, even with
short epigrams and the composition of verse in general. The ceremonial for the "obsèques" of Ronsard was another major court event of which we have some record.

See Sparrow and Carlson for the practice of collecting well-turned epigrams from perishable "macchinae" and publishing them afterwards, GianTurco for lettering on sweetmeats at the papal Court.

French Burial  
\textit{Pompes funèbres}

Marot and Mayer, C & C.A.  \textit{Oeuvres complètes} ed. C.A. Meyer vol. 4 \textit{Les épigrammes}  
London 1970? for IV

It is well-known that Marot wrote many of what he later called épigrammes under different titles. P.5, 8, it seems that he used the title épigramme only from 1536. P.9 suggests that he got the idea on his trip to Italy, and/or through his long friendship with the most notable French Classical scholar, Etienne Dolet. P.10 questions whether Marot was the first so to call his short poems: Jean Bouchet de Poitiers had printed in 1538 poems he may have written around 1536, some entitled épigrammes in the printed version, and a Michel d'Amboise printed epigrams in 1533, these said by Hutton to be all mere translations from the Latin.

847.31 X 3  
\textit{French Epigram Marot épigrammes}

Marrasio and Altamura, G. & A.  \textit{I Carmi latini di Giovanni Marrasio}  
Palermo? 1954

\textit{Latin Modern Poetry Marrassis}

Martial and Mostar and Rüdiger, Valerius & ? & Horst  
\textit{Freie Epigramme: Mostars freie Übersetzung, mit einem Nachwort von Horst Rüdiger}  
München, Bern, Berlin 1966

print, one epigram per page, much free space.  
Horst Rüdiger's excursus on Martial, p.102-107, is worth reading.

877.01 M378  
\textit{Latin German Epigram Freie}

Martin, K.  
Stele in (Helck and Otto) 1975– VI, Iff. 1986

See Addenda.

\textit{Egyptian Burial Architecture Stelegypt}

Martyn, J.C.  \textit{New Poems by Buchanan from Portugal}  
in McFarlane 1986 p.79— 1986

Note the new Buchanan poetic variation on the one-eyed boy and his young one-eyed mother. It was collected in an edition of 1980. From the bibliographic chaos of the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, at n° 2209, we now have another variation of the most famous of all neo-Latin epigrams, claimed by the late 16th C writer of the MS to have been composed by the harried Buchanan, who had escaped the inquisition by leaving Portugal in 1552:  
/Lusce puer, faciem luscae concede parenti; / ut tu verus amor, sic erit illa Venus./  
See Hutton.

\textit{Latin Modern Epigram new Buchanan}

Marullus and Perosa, M. & A.  \textit{Michaelis Marulli Carmina}  
Turici n.d. (printed 1951) 1951?

\textit{Latin Modern Poetry Marullus Pe}

Mary, A.ed  
\textit{La Fleur de la poésie française depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin du xve siècle}  
Paris 1951

My Book  
\textit{French Poetry Fleur de poésie}

Matthews, Brander 1852–1929  \textit{Recreations of an anthologist}  
Freeport N.Y. 1967 1904 first ed.


See p.110, "no American anthology of Epigrams".

See Addenda.

Mauss, Marcel  \textit{The Gift tr. W.D. Halls with a foreword by Mary Douglas}  
London 1990

Le Don Paris 1900?

Useful at least for English attempts to translate "total prestation" and comments on their inadequacy.

GT3040 M 3813  
\textit{Ethnology Gift}

Delhi 1992

Commemorates Klaus Fischer's 25 years in the Department of Oriental Art History, Bonn, a third of the contributors are resident in Asia, and most have "conducted arduous field explorations". The chapters move Eastwards from Gandhara, but submitted articles dealing with

\textit{Non-Classical}
China, Japan and other regions of East Asia have had to be excluded from this volume. Transliteration of Asian words and names is popular in form, omitting all diacriticals, except in the index-glossary. 23 contributors.

The field is exclusively Indian and Indo-Greek. Two papers deal with necropoleis, Muslim at Makli Hill, and Lal Mahra sharif (also Muslim, 11C and 12C, very early). An unpublished MS is listed by M. Kevran: 'Les structures funéraires et commémoratives en Iran et en Asie central du 9ième au 12ième siècle' which would be of great interest if it were obtainable. Most of the bibliography items are very specific studies, but note D. Wilber’s 1955 The Architecture of Islamic Iran. The II-Khan Period Princeton. Of the detailed references, prefer: M. Amin 1987–8 ‘Inscriptions on the Tomb of Hansa Bai at Makli Hill (Thatta)’ Pakistan Archaeology 23: 269–71.

My Book Indian Art


A recently-opened byway of the massive Chinese antiquarian tradition. It reminds us that much, perhaps most, of antiquarian interest in China was calligraphic, and pragmatic. Prestigious calligraphy, based on long study and imitation of famous models, was a badge of upper class membership and legitimacy, not always open to provincials or to those outside ruling cliques, as long as facsimilies of the canonical styles were not openly published and purchasable.

Proof of control of the "tableaux and registers", as the translation quaintly has it, was also a sign of imperial legitimacy, and the publishing of the cream of them, held close either in official histories or in selections of the finest calligraphy, was in itself an indication of such control and possession.

More specifically, the Emperors tried to centralise in the court and among their favourites the prestige of writing more beautifully than anyone else. No doubt this effort to set and even to monopolise taste went beyond calligraphy, but that art was of very high significance, perhaps more than manners and dress. Naturally, there was a contrary reaction from scholar/oficials, as fine writing (and power) was their territory as well, and also because highly centralised government creates many malcontents.

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Ironically, the first, 992 (Imperial) compendium of model letters seems to have been commissioned out of genuine dissatisfaction with contemporary writing styles. It was one of those periodic returns to the past, common enough in literate cultures. After this book (as a reaction to a reaction?!, a book most commonly called the Chunhua ge tie, courts tended to favour calligraphers of more recent times, even contemporaries, with considerable selection on the basis of political allegiance. The older collections, particularly the imperial ones, disregarded almost everything except the style of the writing collected, though one notable scholar, Yan Zhenqing, never had his calligraphy accepted in the trend-setting Imperial compendia. This naturally provided later disaffected intellectuals with a subtle means of revolt against the Court and the Centre — i.e., to include Yan’s hand (and name) in a scholarly compendium and to imitate Yan's style themselves.

Note, by the way, Inscriptions tombales des dynasties Tang et Song ed. Jao Tsung-i Paris/Hong Kong 1981. Add this to the work of *Mao, which no doubt draws on it.

We cannot assume from a high degree of interest and publication of (copies of) epigraphic texts that their content was of much importance to the buyers of such books. Nor can we assume that the possession of inscribed artifacts was a sign of any interest in epigraphy. It seems generally to have been more sign of a search for prestige and the passion to collect old and curious items, inscribed or not.

Summarising:

Jin period (1115 – 1234) few collections-compendia, but interest still shown in the content of epigraphs
Yuan period (1279 – 1368) few in this period
Ming period (1368–1644), some, i.e., hundreds of wide-ranging surveys, of studies of the hands within single dynasties, and of the calligraphy of single individuals.
Qing period: The category of epigraphy reappears. It had been largely quiescent since the Song. We find a few compendia of Portraits, paintings, inscriptions on paintings (p. 224!), poetry, and catalogues of seal impressions.

Non-Classical
It is important that Qing litterati even occasionally collected epigraphic (?) poetry, and inscriptions originally placed on paintings, many of which must have been in verse. What the Chinese then did with them might be complicated to describe. Like all native traditions of antiquarianism, those of the Song and post Song Chinese seem to us very limited in perspective. But even today, in the West, there are epigraphic areas, such as the proper study of graffiti, where modern scholars are far from facing up to the full meaning of the texts at their disposal. *Llewellyn also states the much-ignored obvious that funerary and other "engaged" art cannot be satisfactorily treated by the rather effete standards of fashionable art criticism. We have made similar claims regarding the proper interpretation of monumental and funerary epigraphy.

Chinese model letters  *Fatie*

Mehta and Thakkar, Ramanlal Nagarji & A.M.  *M.S. University Copper Plates of the Time of Toramana* Vadodara 1978  Introd., text and translation.

3 plates of about 500 CE of the time of the Hunas. These plates were long the subject of negotiations between authorities and a certain family, who had no doubt found them and kept them for monetary or for religious reasons. Many accounts of the recovery of buried plates give a vivid insight into the realities of archaeological studies in India. The plates had to be chemically and electronically cleaned, but then were clearly legible, as such finds usually are. The plate from a regnal year 3 records the decision of foreign merchants, local inhabitants and travelling traders (under the name of the businessman Sasthi and in his house, in perpetuity: "until the Moon, the Sun the Ocean and the Earth endure") to contribute a fixed proportion of their goods for the repair and the conduct of the offerings in the temple of Jayaswami, built by Queen mother Viradhyika, and the inevitable imprecation (a relatively mild one this, to our ears) comes just before the names of the guaranteeing merchants and their places of origin: "If any businessman, resident or travelling tradesman dishonours these, which are being given in perpetuity in accordance with the above-mentioned conditions, he shall be committing the five great Sins."

sq14 913.34 MAH Series 1) no. 14 Indian Epigraphy  *Toramana Plates*

Mei, Y.P.  *The Ethical and Political Works of Mose* London 1929

Chinese Burial  *MoZi-Me*


Indian  *Dravidennes*


In this we read that the "railing" around a "sacred area" was called *vedika*, around its *sthana*. (p.6). See p. 11 too. P. 22 notes that before the Guptas timber structures predominated in the North, or stone caves imitating timber forms. We would like to check the periods and places when brick became common, for which see allusions in *Kasinathan*. On the Ganges plain it seems to have been used early, because of the lack of old growth forests, but the presence of clay and burnable wood. P. 59 mentions the Pune plates of Prabhavatigupta, said to have settled the chronology of the main Vakataka line at Vidharbha. These are of no other interest to us, except to note that copper plate documents were a very common form of archival text, and would be preserved by burying them against such time as, like Medieval monastic charters, one's family might need to produce evidence of exemption or of ownership to some new Pharaoh who knew not Joseph. I presume that some of the donative inscriptions on stone reproduce what might well have stood on copper plates. P.110 Mentions the small votive stupas surrounding the upper temple of Nalanda, some inscribed with 6C Buddhist sutras. P. 112 mentions the Pilgrim graffiti at Nalanda. Illustrations showing some inscriptions p. 8–9. Fig. 6, Bhrāhur, relief showing pillared pavilion labelled (on its own dome) "Suddhamma-devasabha", in the expected Prakrit language –2C. Also –2C: Amaravati, Relief labelled (on one of its own three little domes, the middle of three Jetavana in mid-picture) "Sāvathi", and Fig. 8, Bhrāhur, relief of a large Sabhākāra pavilion, so labelled on the long roof pictured.

Indian Architecture  *North India EITA*

Meleager and Whigham and Jay, of Gadara & Peter & Peter  The Poems of Meleager verse translation by Peter Whigham, introduction and literal translation by Peter Jay Whitstable Kent 1975


881.9 M519 F 1/2 Greek Epigram AP  *Meleager WhJa*
Memmesheimer, Paul Arthur  Das klassizistische Grabmal, eine Typologie  Bonn 1969  (Diss.)

Begins from about 1785. However, in the effort to give the meaning of the forms, their previous history can also be sketched. Some interesting inscriptions are recoverable from the illustrations, including a poem in Italian for the girl Penelope Brothby buried in Ashbourne Derbyshire 11792. Inscriptions are given passim throughout the text. It is interesting what architectural forms were very late, the Grabmonopterus, for instance, was a 19C rediscovery. In the period covered it is French influence (and possibly English influence) which is most influential for the specifically classicising grave (how many graves were classicising is not estimated), because the French Baroque had a special taste for the antique. The Palladian influence on the English Baroque gave a very Classical cast there too.

The history of monuments, particularly of those imitating the Greco-Roman past, is an adjunct to the study of modern epigram, which is also a backward-looking corpus.

731.76 Power  Burial Architecture  Grabmäler

Menasce, Jacques de  Quatre chansons pour tenor et orchestre à cordes [music]  Paris 1962ca

Publ. Durand. Vocal score 10p. 32 cm. (composer lived 1905–1960)

Contents: Chanson — Epigramme de Soy-Mesme — Ballade des femmes de Paris — Qui la regarde de mes yeux

MUS G045/1026  Musical Epigram  Chansons M

Mennes, John Sir  Wits Recreations, containing 630 epigrams, 160 epitaphs, variety of fancies and fantasticks good for melancholy humours  Lond.  1641

Epitaph 142. on Io. Owen  // Well had these words bin added to thy herse,/ What ere thou spak'st (like Ovid) was a verse.//

mfm 791 M1720 or STCII Unit 54 Reel 1531 M684–M2480A?  English Epigram  Wits' Recreations 1

Mennes, John Sir  Recreation for ingenious head-peeces. or, a pleasant grove for their wits to vwalk in of epigrams 700, epitaphs 200, fancies a number, fantasticks abundance; with their new addition, multiplication, and division  [1663]  1640, 1641 edd. entitled "Wits Recreations". Added t.p. here 'Witt's recreations refined & augmented with ingenious conceites for the witie, and Merrie Medicines for the melancholie. Printed by M. Symmons and S. Symmons 1663, and another 1663 ed. has a printed title page, by S. Simmons, in Aldersgate St. 1663. Ascribed to Sir John Mennes (1599–1671) and James Smith (1605–1667) but contains the work of others. Other title: "A Pleasant Garden for their wits to walk in", and unified title of all edd. suggested: "Wit's Recreations".

mfm 791 608:5 M1715  English Epigram  Wits' Recreations 2

Mennes, John Sir  Recreation for ingenious head-peeces. or...  1683

mfm 791 M1718  English Epigram  Wits' Recreations 3

Mennes, John Sir  Recreation for ingenious head-peeces. or...  1654  see 1645 ed.

mfm 791 M1714  English Epigram  Wits' Recreations 4

Mennes, John, Sir  Recreation for ingenious head-peeces. or, a pleasant grove for their wits to walk in of epigrams 700, epitaphs 200, fancies a number, fantasticks abundance; with their addition, multiplication, and division  1654? 1650?  Short and traditional forms. 8 line poem 'ad lectorem'. I am confused about the number of editions of this popular work and have perhaps confused different ones.

710 epigrams, 193 epitaphs, first distichs, then quatrains in nearly pure runs. n° 170 2 lines on Owen: "Well had these words..." and n° 173 on Shakespeare: // Renowned Spencer lye a thought morre nigh...//. Fancies and fantasticks include riddles. I quote the poem To the Reader: // Excuse mee Reader, though I now and then, / In some light lines, doe show myselfe a man; / Nor be so sower, some wanton words to blame, / They are the language of an Epigramme.///

mfm 791 1508:9 M1713?  English Epigram  Wits' Recreations 5


My Book Japanese Chinese Art  AGNSW Asian
Mercier, Nicholas  Nicolai Mercerii Pisciaci, Proprimarii. AC Professoris Navarrici De Conscribendo epigrammate opus curiosum in duas partes divisum quarum prior continent artificium & praecepta in Epigrammatum compositione usurpanda. Posterior verò delectum venustissimum & acutissimum quorumque Epigrammatum, ex Authoribus cùm vèteribus, tum recentibus, accuratissimè excerptum, & ad praemissas præceptiones regulasque redactum Parisiis 1653 There is also a reprinted version facsim. Fisher Library ca. 1970s. See Addenda.

My (partial) hand copy RB DNS 7373 Poetics Latin Modern Epigram De Conscribendo epigrammate

Merkelbach, R. Über die relative Gültigkeit literarischer Kategorien in (Festschrift A.HAIN) diused frustra quaesivi 1967 Genre Gültigkeit

Mettee, C.M. The Catullan Influence on Renaissance Poetics. Ann Arbor 1978 There was of course a considerable historical gap in interest in Catullus, though some of his poems remained copied, and appreciated, in other works. P. 165 notes that there was "little Catullan influence on the Epigram in England." More's Epigrammata pretty well begin the English Renaissance genre, appearing in 1518. Note John Le(ylland's work from 1542, and in 1589 Principium ac illustrum aliquot & Eruditorum in Anglia V encomia trophaea genebliaca & epithalamia.

874.2 X 29/1 Poetics Catullus in Renaissance


Meyer, R.M. Die deutschen Literatur bis zum Beginn des 19 Jahrhunderts Berlin 1920²=1912¹. 1920 P. 278–280 Paul Fleming (1609–1640) lacked Gryphius' "individual experience". 830.9 402.1 Syd. Fish German Literatur Meyer

Meynell and Meynell, Francis & Vera The week-end book Bloomsbury London 1939 560 p. ill., map, music, plans Great poems — Hate poems — State poems — Epigrams — The zoo — Songs [with music] — Games — Travels with a donkey — Bird song at morning — Starshine at night — Architecture — on food and drink — The law and how you break it — First aid in divers crises — A list … RB 655.442 N812 94 English Epigram Week End

Miłosz, Czesław The History of Polish Literature 1983² (1969¹) 1983 A more tolerant and panoramic history than that of Krzyżanowski Political power, extent of territory, a court anxious to cut a good figure though based in areas not possessing their own ancient myth, Sigismund I's marriage in 1518 to Bona Sforza of Milan, the arrival of the Jesuits in 1564, are relevant events for the study of Polish epigram. Early Latin poets mentioned: Andrzej Krzycki (1482–1537), Jan Dantyszek or Dantiscus (1485–1548) and the famed Klemens Janicki or Janicius (1516–1543), the former and the latter at least writing Latin epigrams. The Chaucerian ribaldry and joie de vivre of Rej (1505–1569) is emphasised, which no doubt affected his vernacular verse trifles and the later tradition of such things. Some of his fraszki were in sonnet form, continuing the ambiguity between epigram and sonnet which we have noted in Elizabethan England (Whipple). P.118 refers to the vast seas of occasional verse which have been lost. Surviving social verse is to be found in commonplace books, silvae rerum. Unpublished verse may still have been very influential, passing from hand to hand, however it is common for verse too tightly bound to social occasion, as in the Early Tang in China, to share a great sameness, and thus not to be capable of being influential. P.143 mentions that fraszki are indeed short epigrams following 16C models and inclining in the Baroque to the bizarre.

Kochowski's several thousand epigrams on the titles of the Blessed Virgin indicate that his were often religious and serious, as we have noted in the Non-idle idling collection mentioned under Krzyżanowski. It is important for the history of these two interrelated genres (related somewhat like limerick and epigram, perhaps) that the popularity of Kochanowski seems never to have faded, and he was much imitated by the main figure of 18C poetry, Krasicki, many of whose fables, parables and satires are quite short. It is also noted that the 18C respected the paradigms of French literature, and epigram was quite healthy in Enlightenment French at least up to Voltaire. Trembecki (173–1812) brings epigram by notable writers up to the 19C. Most of his occasional poetry is either lost or of doubtful authorship (p.183).

My Book Polish Polish Literature

Non-Classical
Michael, Frank  _Epigramme für Posane solo_ Opus 48 1979  _BCM '83_ p.113
Musical Epigram  _Epigramma M_

Indian Architecture  _Penguin Guide India_

Greek Byzantine Epigram  _Manuel Philae_

Migne, J.P.  _Patriologiae…_ See under editors. Where possible (and convenient), MGH, CC(L) and separate, more modern editions are used, however, newer editions are not automatically better, just different, and for some scholarly purposes may be worse than those of the great scholars from the Renaissance, Baroque and Enlightenment periods.
Here we note some generalities. PL 218 is notable for fairly full indices.
Other important volumes: XXXI (ccxxxi) Paul Orosius (ca. 390-420); XCVI (dxciv) Anonymes 8C; CV (dcxxvi) Le livre diurne (epistolographia); CXXIX (dcclxii) Anonymes 9C (cf. poems VI); CXXX (dcclxv) Vers anonymes carolingiens; CLXXI (mccix) Marbod; CLXXIX (mccxcii) William of Malmesbury; CLXXXVI (mccxix) Suger; CCX (mcclxii) Alain de Lisle 3. Tomb poetry; CCXII (mcclxvii) Peter of Riga.

Excellent Preface and Introduction by Earl Miner. The individual articles do loosely satisfy the expectations aroused in the title. The order of treatment is roughly chronological, and the first two articles (Miner, Ueda) deal with Ancient Japan. An important point is made that the spread of Buddhism brought a new regard for causality and coherent sequence into the theory and the practice of literature. The clear distinction between Modern, Medieval and Ancient Japanese literature (for much of which Poetry was primary), melts into relative uniformity when viewed from a Chinese perspective, and the two East Asian literatures begin to look much alike when viewed from Europe. Such things are relative indeed.

Somewhat surprising is the early concentration on "collections". P.21 Collections of 100 poems actually called "hyakushuuta" were fairly common, and more common than other fixed numbers; p. 23 "Linked Verse" or 'renGA' (grouped with haiku) usually comes in collections of 100. p.24 "Triple form" or three line verse borrowed from music and is common outside the Haiku. p.29–30 In a survey of presumed ancient "books" it is the "Greek Anthology" which is the only one closely resembling Chinese/Japanese "collections" in Miner's sense. p.53 Westerners have always commented on the brevity of Japanese forms, see for discussion Konishi  _History of Japanese Literature_ Vol. 1. 10–12. With the following closely-related article of UEDA Makoto, Miner challenges the atomistic/molecular theory of Japanese Literature, questioning whether the same could not be said of Homer and other long Western works. His contention is that the short forms were never meant to exist (for long) outside a fairly large collectivity, and that their grouping was part of them.
The slow and irregular development of Haiku from Renga (Japanese "linked verse") summarised by Ueda in his Bashô, seems to be the historical stimulus for Miner's theory.

p.348 for Renga and Haikai collections, and many other matters of interest, of course.
Ref PL 726.1 M495 1985 Macq  Japanese Poetry  _Japanese Companion_

Minturnus, Antonius Sebastianus  _Antonii Sebastiani Minturni de poeta, ad Hectorem Pignatellum, Vibonensium duce._ Libri Sex Venetiis 1559  Latin text, entirely continuous except for special alinement of poetic quotes, in italic type with many printer's abbreviations of the MS type, regular or intermittent (no doubt to aid in justifying the line): q; for -que, q for some -ae, ' for final -ur, and superposed ~ for final and some medial nasals, with occasionally longer abbreviations such as n. for nobis and pót for possunt. In the old manner which was to

Non-Classical
last for at least another century, marginal notes are apposite and rich, though, unlike those of Colletet's book, they do not add information, but merely summarise and highlight the main points of the body text. The type and layout show this to be a prestige printing. Because of the variation and the complexity of abbreviations I have forgone the opportunity to make a letter by letter copy of the text as presented. However, I preserved the (expanded) spelling, even its very occasional errors. Likewise [see Addenda] I preserved the consistent and fairly transparent punctuation. I introduced the v/u distinction, but preserved the way the original setter(s) used i and j, the latter only in the equivalence ij/ii.

De Poeta Venice 1559 is one of the very earliest treatments of epigram, with Robortello and Sébillet — his considerable treatment p.411ff. shows the recent critical tradition which Scaliger was soon to be working from, no doubt stretching back to the discussions of quite early Humanists, most of whom collected inscriptions and cultivated epigram with passion. The 1559 edition is reminiscent of MS format, being innocent of any table of contents, index (of course, at this date) and even of frequent paragraphing. I was able quickly enough to find the epigram portion deep in Book V of this unmapped territory. Notable is the ancient date, and the contemporary prominence attributed to "epigram", explicitly, despite its small size. See Addenda for text.

RB DNS 7411 ANL Latin Modern Epigram Poetics De poeta

Mirambel, André Littérature byzantine in Queneau 1967 p.697–750 1967
Greek Byzantine Byzantine lit.

Greek Byzantine Greek Christian lit.

Mirashi, Vasudev Vishnu The History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas Bombay 1981 Texts and Translations.

Mirashi, Vasudev Vishnu The History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas Bombay 1981 Texts and Translations.

[p.177] literature. [p.179–180] Prakrit, "kosa" originally meant an anthology of separate verses, not, as now, a 'lexicon'. King Hala is said to have selected 700 isolated verses for the Sattasai out of a crore! [This is actually indicated in the opening verses of the work, see *Hart and also *Krishnan].

P.282 Language of the inscriptions all in Prakrit. Much scattered and incidental discussion of short Prakrit poetising in the process of discussing the documents surviving for the history of this dynasty. It looks as if the Sattasai, early though it seems to us, is the end of a long process of literatised short verse in the regional koinai, and thus must be relevant (given the galloping sanskritisation evident in the epigraphy and book literature of the middle ages) to the rise of Skt. Subhashita.

E 165926 Indian Epigraphy Satavahanas Ksatrapas

Mishra, V. Sanskrit Phonetics Varanasi 1972 Chowkamba Sanskrit Series no 83
The most advanced phonetic tradition in the world before the later 19C, surveyed.

Sanskrit Phonetics

Mishra, Ratan Lal 1925– The Mortuary monuments in Ancient and Medieval India New Delhi 1991
Stronger on detail than on coherent argument, tending to favour Harappan influence on Vedic Indians.
My Book Indian Burial Architecture Samadhi-stupa

A useful guide to the then current situation in the excavation and publication of Greek remains from Turkish soil.
Greek Epigraphy Bibliography Asia Minor

Mittra, Arati Origin and Development of Sanskrit Metrics Calcutta 1989
Compares the theories of the manuals with the realities of the literature and inscriptions, also takes into account influence from other Indian languages, particularly Prakrit. The overwhelming impression of the material in Sydney in the Dewey classification 726.143 is that inscriptions were very common in North and particularly in South India, even before the use of stone in temples, but that large public inscriptions were not the norm, and that art works were very seldom "captioned" as they usually were in the Christian Middle Ages, both Greek and Latin. I have information that there is a good sprinkling of poetic inscriptions in the South, and this suggests that there should have been quite a few poetic inscriptions also in the North.

For this Arati Mitra's book brings a short chapter p.214–220 on the poetic inscriptions, and he covers Pali, Prakrit, Canarese and, to some extent Apabhramsa. The authorities which he quotes are often old, and they (and he) often disagree on both metre and dates. However, it is useful to have even contested examples discussed, as on p.

The first part of an integrated French plan to survey all the funerary inscriptions of Damascus, starting with this, the largest cemetery. There are 15 other cemeteries. The text was finished in 1975, but lay for some time unpublished because of the Lebanese war which began in that year. Thus both this work and that of the German *Gaube were done independently, it seems, when the cut-off date (1516 CE, the Turkish conquest), but not the starting date, was theoretically the same for both projects. There are 80 inscriptions here, as against 151 in Gaube.

The order is chronological, from n° 1 of 439H/11C CE, to the cut-off date of the capture of Damascus in 922/1516 by Sultan Selim, marking the start of Ottoman period. Many names on the current stelai have been renewed in the interests of more modern use of both stone and old inscription. The formulary is as follows: 1. basmala 2. a Qur’anic verse 3. the tahāda. Then follows the body of the epitaph: 4. reference to the tomb 5. the name of the buried person, often accompanied by a pious formula 6. titles of the deceased 7. sometimes his "official station" 8. the date of death 9. a final pious formula.

Only two pre-Ottoman epitaphs (n° 12, 45) have verse, and then as a replacement for element n° 1, the basmala, for which there are other very occasional substitutions. The epitaph proper begins, say the editors on p. 163, with the designation (deixis) of the tomb. Typically, this comes well down in the text. In the text on p. 46, we find that the (now lost) Arabic verse(s) (judging from the surviving translation, a couplet), enlivened the otherwise extremely sober epitaph of the famous historian of Damascus, Aḥf b. Aṣṭākir, author of the Tāʿlīl Dimāṣq in 80 volumes. He died 1176 CE, and this initial verse would have been very interesting from a comparative viewpoint, despite the editors’ assurance that the variation in order of the elements of the formulary did not seem significant and that the omission of the basmala occurs sporadically at all periods from the 12C to the 16C CE.

P. 100, n° 45, is a stone with two sides, both inscribed, but the brief text on the East side is for the burial of a person in 1959, and thus involves a very modern reuse. The West side is poetic and original, and again the poem begins the text, and only in lines 6 and 7 do we get the year of death and the name of the deceased. Of course, the makers of this stele could have had some contact with now Ottoman Byzantium. Let us quote the comments of the editors on the rapid growth of this tradition of long couplets, or perhps, quatrains on later Muslim tombs. In a corpus of recent Ottoman epitaphs in Turkish (which I cannot now recover in Fisher library), the habit seemed to live on: "Cette formule compris de deux vers est la première de ce type que nous rencontrons au cimetière d'al-Bāb al-Šaḡir. Elle deviendra très usitée par la suite. Nous l'avons déchiffrée sur un grand nombre de stèles de l'époque ottomane." p. 100.

Arabic Epigraphy Burial *Bab al Sagir*


The photos of the standing stones are impressive. The Table of Inscriptions p. 516-554 gives bibliographic

Non-Classical
references for all the inscriptions in the main text, but also text and translation (plus other summary information) of all others known to the author.

The most important matter to emphasise is that there is more poetry in the inscriptions than I would have assumed from reading *Elliott. The famous and now lost horns from Gallehus do not have verse, except accidentally, says Moltke p. 81: ekhlegwastiR : holtijaR : horna : tawido

+ (with the word dividers actually four dots, not two) I Lagast, son of Holte, made the horn.

Makers' signatures are common, p. 83, in the forms "I, NN, made this" or "N.N. made this".

Expressions of feeling are rare: p. 190 "one emotional outburst in a verse couplet may be a quotation, but seems nevertheless to have caused some embarrassment since the man responsible had the words carved backwards." This on the Rimsø stone, set up for a mother: ...

tnupur is taupi sam uarst maki,
or better:
Mopur es d0pi

Death of a mother is the worst that can happen to a son

Same page 190 to 192: "Young warriors express their grief and admiration in lines of verse on their dead leader on Hällestad stone 1 in Skåne. The verse ends the inscription (normalised here):

SaR flo ægi     He fed not
at Upsalum.
Sattu drängiR    Warriors set up
eftiR sin bropür after their brother
sten a biargi     the stone on the hill
stoton runum     standing firm with runes.
þer Gorms Toka  Toke, Gorm’s son,
gingu næstR      they followed nearest.

P. 192: "Inscriptions often end with a stanza which declares that the stone will stand for ages to come.... A couple of inscriptions have laudatory expressions in rhythmic form: Tryggevælde: FaiR wcerpa nu / f0ddiR þem bcetri = Few will now be born better than him; Århus 5 (DaRun 6): SaR do manna / mcest unipingR = He died of men the greatest un-dastard.

P. 298–299 has a linguistically archaic inscription beautifully done on the Randbøl stone which begins: Tue the overseer set this stone in memory of the wife (literally either "playmate" or "(equal) match") of the overseer. These staves for Thorgun will live very long. This last sentence is self referential verse:

þer stafaR munu
þorgunnr
miok længi lifa

P. 320 ff. has the Karlevi stone, which ends in perfect skaldic verse, in the drøntkvætt stanza, with elaborate kennings. The author was an Icelander or a Norwegian on an expedition south and raised the memorial on the southernmost point of Öland island for his viking companion. One side of the stone has Latin letters: ...NINONI / ...EH+. The other side is full of runes: This stone is placed in memory of Sibbe the good, son of Foldar. And his follower placed on the island this (memorial) of death. Hidden lies he whom — most knew it — the greatest virtues accompanied, tree of the goddess of battle (i.e., the warrior) in this mound. No strife-strong chariot-god of wondrous side ground of sea-king (i.e., no god of the ship, no captain) will rule more uprightly land in Denmark. The italicised part is now given in normalised original:

...Folginn liggr hinn’s fyg¢ru
- flestr vissi þat - mestar
døpir dolgar þrápar
draugr þeinsi haugi.
Mun-at reip-Vipurr þapa
røgstarkr i Dannmrku
Endilis i qrmungundar
øgrundari landi

Here it must be emphasised that this book primarily concerns Danish runes. It would seem from the inscriptions just reproduced that a Norwegian corpus might contain more verse. P. 387 has a fine rune stone which is the only one in Denmark to be reused. However, in that State, grave stones were, at least from the 12/13C, commonly used more than once. See further, Addenda. See of course, *Randsborg. See RLGA Hauck & Holmquist BILDENDENKÄLTER, Beck and Holmquist BAUTASTEINAR.
The stones pictured have little or no iconography.

41128 Viking Epigraphy Runes Runes Denmark

Moor and Watson, Johannes de & Wilfred G.E. Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose Neukirchen-Vluyn 1993 AOAT 42

The preface and the general introduction, by the editors, treat far more than the problem they have set themselves (sc., verse inserts in prose contexts throughout the ANE). In fact, the search for "poetic" structures in Sumerian, Egyptian, Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Punic and earlier and middle Aramaic raises very general questions about the nature of verse and the universality of the category. The phenomenon of verse embedded in prose contexts is an important general one. Some of the texts studied (E. Lipiriski on Punic ex-votos) are inscribed on objects, which brings them closer to our topic. We do not limit our search for epigraphic verse to Indo-European languages.

My Book Verse in Prose

Non-Classical
Moore, Tod *Epigrams to confusion* Armidale N.S.W. 1983
Short and fragmentary. The longer poems (still shortish) are in very short lines.
Np+ A821.3 M823ep[29] p. English Epigram *To confusion*

Moravcik, Gyula *Byzantinoturcica I Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*
Greek Turkish *Byzantine turkica*

More, P.E. See: Bhartrihari and More 1898
cross reference

Latin Modern English Epigram *More's*

Morris, I. *Burial and Ancient Society. The Rise of the Greek City-State* Cambridge 1987
Greek Burial *Burial*

Morris, R.L. *Runic and Mediterranean Epigraphy* Odense 1988
Viking Epigraphy Runes *Med.Runes*

A Cultural history, background for the assessment of Dark Age texts (including references to stelai and inscriptions, and the oral Welsh englyn tradition) and epigraphy. Highly optimistic about "Arthur", but an example of a critical mix of text-based history with dig-based history. Especially Ch. XXI p.406ff. Letters, i.e., literature and learning.
P.407 Styli are common finds in the excavations of towns.
P. 417–20 Welsh literature restarts 'from scratch' in the 6C, leading to a hunger for tradition and for history and the consciousness of the value of a dying age. Of course, A-S literature is also quite elegiac.
P. 423 The last traditional Irish bard, Duald Mac Firbis, murdered in a Sligo pub 1670, aged 80.
P. 467 Graves, English.
P. 55ff. Vortigern: p. 59 Pagan cemeteries; p. 98 'Cumbri' comes from 'combrogi' which is merely "cives" in older Celtic; p. 108 +Ambrosius (and Arthur?); p. 112 the Battle of Badon. Note the medieval derivation of Cumbri from Cimbrí. Hence the fascination with old "Marius" in some circles. *Arthur's Age*

Facts and descriptions, which are useful for this study.
090 5/1 Bibliography Books French *Harvard MSS & Books*

Mossé, T. *A miscellaneous collection of poems, songs and epigrams by several hands, publish'd by T.M. gent* Dublin 1721
2 v. In vol. 2 the II has been altered to I and the date also erased. Attributed to T. Mosse, cf. O'Donohue's Poets of Ireland.
Mostly songs, ballads and longish poems — p.40. Two Latin Prose epitaphs — p. 183. One verse epitaph — p.80. Only a few of the short poems are not songs, and none is specifically called epigram. However, p.68 has a quatrain which is one of the many offspring of a famous Latin poem chronicled by Hutton: // An half-blind boy born of an half-blind mother / Both wondrous fair; and each so like the other: / Wouldst thou, fair Boy, lend her thy eye, she'll prove / The Queen of Beauty, thou the God of Love. // This Poem is obviously an "epigram", being the translation of a Latin quatrain specifically called "epigram" both by contemporaries and later ages alike.
RB DNS 7466 English Epigram *T.M's.*

Mujzezinović, M. *Islamska epigrafika Bosne i Hercegovine Kniga III — Bosanska Krajina, Zapadna Bosna i Hercegovina* Sarajevo 1982
Modern period. Some verses of ghazal length. One more insight into the variable patterns of Muslim burial epigraphy and art.

*Non-Classical*
"U cjelini se obljavljuje 317 epitafa, od toga u stihu 59" i.e., 19% of Muslim epitaphs from this corner of the Balkans are in verse! The predominance of the funerary is shown by the total inscriptions in this volume being 544. Thus 58% funerary. In 34 of the epitaphic poems there is mention of the name of the poet.

Mujezinović himself died during the printing of this book.

Bosnian Epigraphy Arabic Turkish

Müllenbach, Alexander Epigramme Wien 1984ca
p.209 BGM '87 Musical Epigram Epigramme M

Müller, C. Anruf an Lebende in (Helck and Otto) 1975–p.294–299 1975–
A most important article on the native Egyptian tradition of small inscribed grave (or memorial?) plaques, standing stones, statues and wall paintings, whose inscriptions call for the attention of the "living", i.e., address the passer-by. See Thesis, see also Addenda.

Egyptian Epigraphy Anrufen

Müller, W. Architekten in der Welt der Antike Zürich and München 1989
My Book Architecture Architekten

Murdoch, Robert b.1836 A complete work of Robert Murdoch, P.L.P., containing his poems, songs, toasts and epigrams with a sketch of the life of the poet, from his school days up to the time of the publication of this work Halifax Nova Scotia? 1890
Irish ancestry. Pictou Island. Un- or self-educated. Autobiographical introduction. Toasts. p.97–98 Epigrams (i.e., very few) one quatrain being an imitation of Burns. Most poems are lyrics.

CIHM/ICHM 09811 English Epigram Murdoch's

Mutsopulos, N. La morphologie des inscriptions byzantines et postbyzantines de Grèce in Cyrillomethodianum 3 (1975), 53–105 (Vergleich griech. und slav. Schriftentwicklung in Inschriften) 1975 I have found no such journal in Australia, though it appears in some bibliographies.

Greek Byzantine Modern Epigraphy Greek and Slav

Myers, David ed. The Great Literacy Debate Melbourne 1992
My Book Architecture Debate

Pillars and monolithic temples of all periods, mainly ancient and medieval, are treated together. The literary references give some limited authority to trace pillar use back to Vedic times, but I think that any very ancient stūpa would be a wooden post (of a tent or hut), which would have all the uses and symbolic potential required for the uses which it has in literature as a sign of fundamentality and stability. It is of course the use of pillars, lats, by Asoka and the Buddhists, which needs some explanation. The habit seems to be entirely native, and indeed, there seem to have been few cultural borrowings of any lasting type from Indo-Greeks to Indians. P8 quotes Fergusson on the 2,000 year fashion for these rather frail monuments in India. They are often, of course, inscribed with important texts. Perhaps they were inscribed almost as soon as stone was used for them (Mauryan period?). It seems at least likely that wooden posts also sometimes inscribed, before Asoka, like Solon's axones. Their form and uses began to vary a great deal in medieval times. The modern period seems to have given up the practice.

My Book Indian Art Monoliths

The initial year of Bhaskara Ravi Varman; The Asiyamans of Thagadur and their Chera descent; The date of the Mushikvamsa kavya; Select inscriptions from Malabar.
914.8302 M214 Indian Epigraphy Malabarica 2

Natanson, Joseph Gothic Ivories of the 13th and 14th Centuries London 1951
P.9 Gothic Ivories add little to the richness of Medieval iconography, as most of their subjects are found in other art forms. The cutters were typically illiterate, and copied large sculpture and art. They generalised dress styles in their carving of garments. There were two peaks of the art: the 12C and the 14C (with the late 13C). Treated are 64 ivories 13C to 15C, Plate 61 shows the common crozier heads (common on Abbatial seals) 61 (7) shows a recumbent Mary (+Child) pressing her right breast to lactate.
These are of interest to us for inscriptions (even if inscriptions are not found, that is still of interest) and for the Non-Classical
comparisons they suggest with 12C and later seals. Contemporary Islamic and Byzantine ivories were typically inscribed, no doubt because of the limitations which Islamic traditions placed on iconicity. See *Grabar.

736.6 Ivories Medieval Gothic Gothic Ivories


Samaritan epigraphs, liturgical-biblical in nature, seem to have derived from the doorposts and lintels (see also *Kalopissi-Vert) of private houses, rather than from synagogues. In Israel to date, except for Peace be upon Israel, no biblical inscriptions are found within Jewish synagogues in their floor mosaics, or engraved on their walls. Presumably, then, Jewish epigraphy was on lintels and pillars, as there is a lot of it surviving. Copts and Chinese also favoured door posts as a surface for important inscriptions. See in Addenda *Dumbarton Oaks Bibliography, Epigraphy, p.258. Perhaps the liminary verse is more than metaphorically so called.

Oldest Samaritan

Nawani, K.P.  Inscribed Potsherds (A.D. 100–400): A cultural Study  in Ramesh 1984 Ch.10. p.87–92 1984

Pre-firing ink and stamp legends, Buddhistic, Karoshthi or Brahmi, Prakrit and Sanskrit. A meagre (post Harappan) haul, mainly of interest for the sects of not-so-early Buddhism (mostly +2C +4C). The names on the fragments are interpreted as donations, without the name of the donor, but with the name of the donee, or of him in whose honour the gift in the container was made. Given the inscribed labels on sculpture at B(b)arhut, this does suggest widespread literacy in at least post-Asokan Buddhism.

It is intriguing that Classicists often enough plunge into Semitic epigraphy (admittedly contiguous with their field), but shy off analogies from Indian epigraphy. Yet some Indian epigraphy is found along coastal regions of the Red Sea, within the limes.

Indian Epigraphy  Potsherds India


Persian Burial  Burial daxma astodan


See Petrarca

Neumann, Gerhard  Deutsche Epigramme. Auswahl und Nachwort  Stuttgart 1969

P.161 Goethe n° 59:// » Seid doch nicht so frech, Epigramme! « Warum nicht? / Wir sind nur // Überschriften: die Welt hat die Kapitel des Buchs.://

P.170 Schiller and Goethe. "Xenien" // Distichen sind wir. Wir geben uns nicht für mehr noch für minder. / Sperre du immer, wir ziehn über den Schlagbaum hinweg.://

Nachwort p.285–287: It is hard, as often, to match its satisfying generalities (e.g., of Lessing's writings on "epigram") with the actual poems of the epigrammatic corpus.

P. 287 "Das Epigramm nimmt dabei in gewisser Sinne ein Sonderstellung ein; kaum eine Gattung reicht in so unmittelbarer, sich ihrer Traditionen stets bewußte Folge aus der Gegenwart bis in die römische und griechische Antike zurück."

831.08/18 German Epigram  Deutsche Epigramme

Neumann, Gerhard  Der Aphorismus, zur Geschichte, zu den Formen und Möglichkeiten einer literarische Gattung  Darmstadt 1976  Wege der Forschung Bd. 356

P. 2 n° 5 has some bibliography on Epigram, a genre against which modern literary Aphorism has had to measure itself and hive off. A great work by a van Rimbach is announced. There is also a fine and condensed statement of the differences between the two genres, which is repeated almost word for word (particularly as the passage progresses) in IDEENPARADIESE p. 36–37. Here p.2-3:

So hält beispielsweise die immer wieder behauptete Verwandtschaft des Aphorismus mit dem Epigram der Überprüfung kaum stand. Viel entscheidender noch als die metrische Struktur des Epigrams gegenüber der Prosaförmi Aphorismus sind hier gattungsgeschichtliche, strukturelle und motivische Abweichungen: das Epigram steht bis zum 20. Jahrhundert in einer sonst beinahe beispiellosen Tradition, es besitzt feste, aus der Antike ableitbare Gattungsnormen, deren Bestand zwar unablüssig angefochten wurde, aber eben darum zugleich etablierend sich auswirkte; [here fn° 5 and both expected and new bib. on history of Epig.] es bedient sich bewußt und ausdrücklich bestimmter rhetorischer Mittel zur Erreichung seiner Absichten und steht in einer streng definierten "Haltung" zur Wirklichkeit; es macht sich in eigentümlicher Weise das "Typische" zunutze, als Form satirisch-verdeckten Angriffs einerseits; es verfügt über ein ganz besonderes, vom "eigentlichen" Wesen des gemeinen "Gegenstandes" her nie in Frage gestelltes Figuren-, Themen- und Objectreservoir (das sich /p.3 mit dem
der Komödie berührt); seine Stoffsichtung geht nicht auf Erkenntnis eines bislang nicht Bemerkten oder auf die individuelle Nuance, sondern eher auf die Vervollkommnung der Kunst, das "Abtakten neu zu sagen und Überraschend zu pointieren, und zwar gewissermaßen in dem Gattungswandel mit anderen Autoren der Gattungsgeschichte; zwei zentrale Bestimmungen des Aphorismus, zum einen seine vielfache komplizierte Bezüglichkeit auf das Ich des Autors und dessen unverwechselbare geistige Individualität, zum anderen sein denkexperimenteller Charakter, fehlen dem Epigramm ganz; auch in den Bereich der Moralistik gehört das typen-psychologischen, literarischen Traditionen weit mehr als der "Beobachtung" verpflichtete Epigramm nur bedingt: "Our life experiences", schreibt F. H. Bradley, "fixed in aphorisms, stiffen into cold epigram." Umfassende Ordnungen werden vom Epigramm nie in Frage gestellt; es lebte, wie die Komödie, oft geradezu aus dem Einverständnis mit einem "durchsichtigen", "vernünftigen" Verhaltenskanon; der Aphorismus dagegen bezieht seine Kraft eigentlich nur aus dem dialectischen Bezug zu solchen vorgegebenen Ordnungen.

**Terminology:** It is worth the space here to list the variety of terms used for what most moderns class as "Aphorism": Sporaden (Hilsbecher); Blutenstaub (Novalis); Splitter (Jellinek & Bukofzer); Brocken (Hamann); Späne (Goethe); Grillen (Hamann); Lichtstrahlen (Bruno); Apokryphen (Seume); Senker (Novalis); Fingerzeige (Jean Paul); Ideenwürfeln (Jean Paul); Brokardika (Jean Paul); Sprikker (Wilhelm Busch); minima Moralia (Adorno); Fermente (Ritter); Monogramme (Adorno) — and there are more. Ludwig Fuhröller has a dissertation on the religious aphorism. *Krupka's thesis on Lec was at this stage still in MS, but was much quoted and highly regarded.

Though the opposition of aphorism to systematic thought is banal, (perhaps the "highly original" attempt of Heinz Krüger is damned by that adjective p. 11), this circle of commentators makes much more out of the opposition of thought, in general, to experience, "[der] Widerspruch zwischen Leben und Denken" p. 18.

PN 6269 A2 A6 German Aphorism *Der Aphorismus*


Herder, again, in Zerstreuten Blätter 1972, 4th collection, writes seminally on what is now most often called Aphorism. Two great streams seem to have influenced aphorism "before Aphorism": the Senecan, or philosophical stream, retreating from the world of action, leading to La Rocheafoucauld and Diderot, this a distinctly Stoic tradition, and the Tácitean, leading to political and engaged aphorism such as those that can be extracted from the prose of the great early modern writers on political practice and theory, and occur in the influential Spaniard Antonio Pérez. P. 14 mentions the "deiktische Energie des Details" of the Gattung, a fine, ringing phrase with something to recommend it. P. 20 reminds us of the close relationship of the Aphorism to the marginal gloss or *proverbiis* ex *autorebus Graecis et Latinis*. T # 1 S # 1 Subjungitur alterius delectus specimen, ex *proverbiis* ex *autorebus Graecis et Latinis*. P. 26 Apparently, according to the grand master of such investigations, F.H. Mautner, in German, Spanish and Italian the word Aphorismus/aforismo has generally risen to become a collective title and super-idea for the related maxims, sentence, fragment, whilst in French maxime is the term which has risen to the top of the semantic hierarchy. In English, it is claimed that "aphorism" and "maxim" are still disengaging itself from the *frashka*/irasTka, a vernacular verse form of 16C origins.

PN 6269 Az N4 German aphorism *Ideenparadiese*

Nicole, Pierre Epigrammatum delectus ex omnibus tum veteribus, tum recentioribus poetis accurate decerptus, &c. cum Dissertatione, de verà pulchritudine & adumbratâ, in quà ex certis principiis, rejectionis ac selectionis epigrammatum causae redduntur. Adjectae sunt elegantiae sententiae ex antiquis poetis parce sed severiori judicio selectae, cum brevioribus sententiis seu proverbiiis ex autoribus Graecis et Latinis. [#] Subjungitur alterius delectus specimen, ex nuperis, maxime, poetis ab electoibus praetermissis, in usum scholae Etonensis Londinii (s.n.) 1686 [cf. editions 1689, and the 5th, 1699] From [#] the words occur on an added title page. mfm 791 1640:19 N1133 Latin Modern Epigram *Epigrammatum delectus*

Nienhauser, William H. The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature by William H. Nienhauser Jr., Charles Hartman (Poetry), Y.W. Ma (Fiction), Stephen H. West (Drama) Bloomington 1986

Many useful general articles as well as much detail, characters provided.
Ref PL 2264.152 Coy 1 Macq; 895.109/22 C/R Fish. Chinese Literature Chinese Companion

Nigel and Ziolkowski, of Canterbury (or, Wireker, or, of Longchamps) & Jan The Passion of St. Lawrence. Epigrams and Marginal Poems. Edited and translated by Jan M. Ziolkowski Leiden 1994 Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 14
See *Ziolkowski My Book Medieval Latin Epigram St. Lawrence

Nilsson, Sten European Architecture in India 1750–1850 London 1968 Mainly of interest for the adoption of mausolea of Mughal style by the nabobs, which then spread to their retirement regions, such as Protestant Ulster. See *Curl and *Colvin.

Architecture European Indian

Nims, Margaret E The Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf translated by ... Toronto 1967 879.1 V788 JIT 1 Latin Medieval Poetics Geoffrey of Vinsauf


Nitzan, Bilhah Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry tr. Jonathan Chipman Leiden 1994 The category of poetry is assured for at least the hymnic texts of the caves, and the category of verse is assumed for them by Nitzan and by many other investigators. Uncertainty mainly surrounds the music-words connection in this community (and therefore, at this period). This may be less relevant if non-sung “hymns” were still half chanted, or at least had some special production style, as does the muezzin’s call in Islam.

ENGRAVING as a metaphor:
The use of “engraved” and “engraved for ever” as an emphatic topos is found variously at Qumran. We give the page n° of the book, and the occurrences according to the usual quotation method from the texts. The “heavenly book” belief may explain the first and the last of them, but not the middle one. The word taken as “engrave” is, interestingly, thought to be a hapax and an MT error in BDB: HRT for HRT according to the usual weakening and confusion of gutturals in Qumranic Hebrew, and claimed to be a confusion from HRS. However, HRT or forms weakened from it occur more than once in Qumranic texts, whether from a genuine old Hebrew word, or from a very early corruption of such in Ex 32:16, or from the Aramaic cognate of HRS which is indeed HRT.

P. 52 “... I will praise Him according to an ordinance which is engraved for ever” [IQS x 1–8 and 1QH xii 1–11] See also p. 58. [Two parallel hymns: from The Manual of Discipline and the Thanksgiving scroll, the quote is from the former version of the hymn]
p. 266 4QS11 frags. 63 ii 1–5 “... I will recount your marvels, and I will engrave them as precepts of Your glory’s praises” [Thanksgiving of the Maskil]
p. 336 1QH i 21b–27 “What can I utter that is not foreknown and make known that is not foretold? Everything is engraved in Your presence with the ink of remembrance unto all the appointed times of eternity...” [The Thanksgiving Scroll (Hodayot)]

Music language, SONG LANGUAGE. "verse" has inherent and added religious value (?):
P. 190 refers to a link between verse (or song) and the holiness of God. Licht’s interpretation of 1QS x 9, translated as: “is [tuned] to the fixed measure of His holiness... in tune with His justice” accepts two underlying conceptions of the “tuning” metaphor, possibly both intended. First, the tuning of sorts of prayer to the “fixed measure of time”, the appropriate daily and monthly order of ritual, second the fixed measuredness of metrical verse or song itself, and he quotes 1QH i 28–29 and Sir 16:29 (?) [See Nancy van *Deusen for a 13C Latin intelligentsia which similarly viewed measuredness as an explanatory category over the whole of creation and human production. Such would seem to be the way in which theories of music fitted into all societies before our modern one.]

WORDS ARE ACTS? Or merely accompany acts and only exceptionally substitute for ritual acts?
P. 285 refers to the identification of a particular recitation of a prayer text and a "Burnt Offering". Nitzan assumes that 2 Chronicles 29:26–30 implies singing during the normal Sabbath sacrifice. M Tamid 3:8 & 7:3–4, and Sira 50:22–28 describe the bringing of the daily sacrifice to the accompaniment of song, instrumental music and horn blasts. Of course, the idea that a song can be a substitute for a ritual sacrifice, for an action (which normally it would merely accompany), may be derivable from the attempt to recreate temple ritual without a temple, either at Qumran (where the current management of the Jerusalem temple was rejected) or after 70 CE when there was no temple. The aggadic mysticism of the "heavenly temple" resultant on the events of 70 and 130 CE (Optowitzker and Urbach) would provide a special context for the seeing of a spoken or sung text as ritual action in Non-Classical
Nixon, Paul  Martial and the Modern Epigram  N.Y. 1963

Nixon admits that there has long been a failure to define "the epigram". P. 4 raises the problem of prose epigrams. None of its traditional characteristics are necessary for a poem of any length under 200 or 300 lines, and seemingly, on any non-narrative topic, to be entitled epigram. Highly epigrammatic forms like the limerick are not given the title of epigram. Brevity can, of course, be variously defined, but the 112 lines of Francis Thynne's "The Courte and Countryne" and the 196 lines of Samuel Jonson's "On the famous voyage" may have brilliance and polish, but are not brief in any useful sense of the word. "Sting" may be, as in Jonson's Book of Epigrams, pointed praise, not satire. P.11–12 tries to describe: "brief tender little elegies, little love poems ending with some gay vagary, some delicate conceit, pretty trifles like The White Rose, deft rhaposodies, blithe plaints." Obviously the unanimous conviction of the modern period that it had epigram and could recognise its presence will force critical minds and pens to unusual gymnastics.

P.14 makes the important admission that there is no evidence of any set genre in the API anthology of short Greek poems, the Greek book most influential on the vernacular genres because of its early (late 15C) printing. Another series of comprehensive descriptions follows for this API, running over the elegiac, gnomic, philosophical, panegyric/odic, paraenetic, pessimistic — in fact, the AG sanctions almost everything (p.20) except the modern, satirical acceptance of the term! This clash of the presumed ancestor of epigram with its progeny has been the trigger of unending debate up to our own day. It is all the more remarkable that the existence of the genre is still believed in and the genre still fairly widely valued, if somewhat sporadically since the accession of Queen Victoria.

Until Boccaccio, Martial = epigram. (p.54) P.55: from mid 15C to mid 17C there was a very fertile 200 years of epigrammatic writing. P.59 Wharton claimed that the first pointed epigram in the English language was More's "On a student's marriage". German language epigram after Opitz turned into a flood which has not stopped. The literary 17C of course was in love with point, elaboration and denseness in all forms. However (p.61–65) Spain seems to have followed Greek models more than did Germany (epigram there is undoubtedly a short satire) and literary 17C of course was in love with point, elaboration and denseness in all forms. However (p.61–65) Spain seems to have followed Greek models more than did Germany (epigram there is undoubtedly a short satire) and France

Unfortunately, I failed to find many references to Spanish epigram in a major history, *Castro-Calvo, and was forced to rely on the 1958 Encyclopedia Universal. Sullivan refers heavily to Spain in his works on the influence of Martial.

Claudian and Horace seem to have been more influential in the 18C than they were before, fitting into a greater concern for urbanity and naturalness of phrasing.

Our own survey of English publications suggests that, in that country at least, there was little slackening of interest in epigram, and Fuchs indicates a similar resurgence of the genre, going back perhaps to 16C roots, in the last years of the French Ancien Régime.

Our main interest in this book is what it tells us about the influences and developments which do not involve Martial. However, it is useful to have a chart of some modern echoes of the best preserved "epigrammatist" of the ancient world.

English Epigram Martial and moderns


Apparently in 1988, a Nabatean cliff inscription including some early Arabic was found which was older than that of Nenara, i.e., from –7C to 125CE (! almost a millennium of uncertainty!). Found on the sides of Nahal Zin, near the Byzantine Avdat. The hejra (al-Hijr?) inscription in Nabatean and Thamudic has a host of Arabisms, but cannot be earlier than 267CE. The Nahal Zin one has two entire lines of "Arabic" (proto-Arabic, Rabin's AWA 1951 still valid). A proverb may explain the meagre signs of literary elaboration (mainly repetition) in the text as interpreted. Levi della Vida has noted the similarity of a verse by Akil (?725ca., visited Damascus) with Theognis I. 313–314. This is the stimulus for Noja's wonderment whether Aeschylus Agamemnon 437 is echoed (having sunk into vernacular Syrian proverbiality) in the Arabic phrase in the inscription: "and if death claims us, let me not be claimed". This and the next, parallel phrase are seen as "verses" of the 'rajaz' type (rough and popular). It is suggested that the Arabic parallelised proverb, or even verse distich, is used as a special attempt to emphasise (to express even) the special nature of this dedication (a statue, SLM, of the king) of Garm'alali, "not for benefit or favour". Some other phrases common enough in such dedications are also of comparative interest, so we quote the whole inscription:

Non-Classical
1. May he who reads (?) be remembered in good (memory) before Obodas the god, and may there be remembered
2. whoever ...  
3. GarnPalahi son of TaynPalahi [set up] a statue before Obodas the god.
4. And he acts neither for benefit nor for favour. And if death claims us let me not be claimed. And if affliction seeks, let it not seek us.
5. GarnPalahi wrote this with his own hand.

Line 4. athar ("tpt"), is taken as "admonition", not as "favour".

See Aeschylus Ag. 437: ἁρπάζων ἂπειρον τὰ χρήματα καὶ ταλαντών ἐν μάχῃ δορὸς. This for the possible verb abäca, bring to market, exchange. Ares was worshipped in Petra.

On the basis of assuming, among other things, the roots I bagä and radäda, Noja reconstructs tentatively:

fakin hina yabgina J-mawtu la ṣabghu
fakin hina3 aruddu gurhun la yarudduna

= perhaps: «And if death seeks us, in return seek I him not
And if I here reject (i.e., injury), in return injury rejects us not.»

The verses of Akil:

No doubt Noja has used more than he alludes to of Levi Della Vida's book Versi Antichi d'Arabia Milano 1967.

The "join" between Muslim and pagan Arab literacy and inscriptionality is of interest for us, as is the possibility of inscribed Arabic poetry, bring to market, exchange. Ares was worshipped in Petra.

North Arabian | Oldest Arabic


Latin Medieval Prosody | Late Latin metre

Normand Fils (!) | Monumens funéraires choisis dans les Cimetières de Paris | Paris. 1832 de eo legi, exempli gratia

French Burial Architecture | Cimetières de Paris

North East London Polytechnic | Cemeteries: Today and Tomorrow | 1977

Michael Bach’s article gives details on the history of legislation accompanying the rise of the public (and independent 19C private) cemetery. Kensall Green was the first and famous Private Act cemetery. London was very tardy in catching up with France, Scotland and America in these innovations.

Burial | Future of cemeteries 2

North East London Polytechnic | Have our Cemeteries a Future? | 1976 | Collection of short symposium papers.

Potted histories, current difficulties.

Burial | Future of cemeteries 1

Non-Classical
Norton-Kyshe, James William The dictionary of legal quotations: or, Selected dicta of English chancellors and judges from the earliest periods to the present time. Extracted mainly from reported decisions, and embracing many epigrams and quaint sayings. With explanatory notes and references. London 1904 Detroit 1968 A reprint of Lond. 1904.

Very little verse is quoted: p.189 (Latin quote), 174 (English quote), and 175, four English lines from the Beggar's Opera, quoted as late as 1899. See Addenda.

RF 340.08 N885 English Epigram Legal quotes


Czech vernacular literature is one of those which, like Ukrainian and English, suffered a break in its tradition. However, no vigorous early vernacular experienced a break longer than that which followed the Hussite wars and the Battle of the White Mountain. The early prose Alexandreis (from Gualter de Castillion's 12C work?) had verse insertions in the form of gnomic triplets. The first poem in the anthology of *Havránek and Hrabák and Daňhelka, B. & J. & J., Výběr z české literatury doby husitské Praha, 1963–1964, is in running, rhyming triplets, perhaps based on terza rima. “The gnomic sparseness and epigrammatic directness of our lyric poetry" is noted on p.16. Latin verse making gets little respect.

Czech Czech officially

O’Rahilly, C. Táin Bó Cuáilnge Recension I Dublin 1967

A stele is set up and ceremonies gone through for a fallen warrior. Most important for us, an inscription is set on the "stèle". See *WONDROUS STELE in Addenda.

Irish Táin


Oceanian Océaniennes

Öberg, J. Two Millennia of Poetry in Latin. I, The Late Classical Period and the Early Middle Ages Lond. 1987

In 4 vols. Vol. I P. 244 has a few High Medieval epigrammata

QUOD ROMA MUNDO PRAEFUIT DONEC LEGIBUS OBOEDIVIT

Praefuit Ursb orbi, fuerat dum subdita legi;
justitiae spretis regnum contraxit habenis.

DE PAPA ET HILDEBRANDO

Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro:
tu facis hunc dominum, te facit iste deum.

DE HILDEBRANDO

Vivere vis Romae, clara depromito voce:
plus domino papae quam domno pareo papae.

DE EODEM HILDEBRANDO

Qui rabiem tigridum domat, ora cruenta leonum,
te nunc usque lumpum mihi mitem vertat in agnum.

QUI CASTRATUS EST, NON DEBET EPISCOPARI

Qui nequit abscidi, non debet honore potiri.

QUI NON UXOREM...

Qui non uxorem nisi prolis tangit amore,
etsi mirandus, non omnibus est imitandus.

DE ILLO QUI GLORIATUR IN ALTITUDINE VOCIS

Voce satis celsa vocalis rudit asella –
dulce melos placidis format vox cygnea bombis.

Latin Poetry Öberg


It is private inscriptions (for which see Pucciariini) that interest us from Phoenicia, to compare with the early Greek epigraphs, which themselves are all (or predominantly) private. However, the long kingly inscriptions need to be compared with the less formal Phoenician texts. Only the former can be used for the study of early poetic

Non-Classical
Obolensky, Dimitri *Byzantium and the Slavs: collected studies* London (Variorum). 1971

Slavic *Byzantine and Slav*

Okasha, E. *Hand-list of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* Cambridge 1971

Old English Epigraphy *Anglo-Saxon*


Pictish Epigraphy *Pictland*

Oldfield, H.A. "Ch.8" of unnamed, cited book 1880

This a hint taken from a note in Snodgrass on early Buddhist epigraphy, inscribed poetry *inside* the stupa! Such references are very rare.

Indian Epigraphy *Stupa epigraphy*

Olynys, William 1696–1761 *A Collection of epigrams to which is Prefix’d a Critical Dissertation on this species of Poetry* Lond. 1727 xiii. [1], [264] p.

Liminary quatrain: // If true that notion, which but few contest, / That in the way of wit, short things are best;/ Then, in good Epigrams two virtues meet / For tis their glory to be short, and sweet.//

RB DNS 7602 English Epigram Collection 1

Olynys, William *A collection of epigrams: to which is prefixed, a critical dissertation on this species of poetry*. London 1735 2 v. 2nd ed. with additions.

From information found pasted onto the fly leaf of the previous book, i.e., Olynys W. 1727 *A Collection of epigrams to which is Prefix’d a Critical Dissertation on this species of Poetry* Lond.

The eye and diligence of David Nichol Smith, to whom this latter, ANL volume of Olynys once belonged, pasted inside its flyleaf the antiquarian bookseller’s notice advertising the Olynys at £4/-/-, and also, from some different list it would seem, two other titles, anonymous or acephalous because of the author’s name being listed only once in a series of his titles and not appearing in the snippets of the bookseller’s list pasted in, are much cheaper. Their phrasing and project seemed to be imitated from that of Oldys’s. Are they re-editions of Olynys, either anonymous, or with their author’s name higher up the list (now cut off) and not repeated? The Olynys notice gives the work I viewed as 115 of some sale list. I quote the pasted in slips with their catalogue numbers:

131. **EPIGRAMS** A collection of Epigrams, to which is prefixed, a critical dissertation on this species of Poetry, the second edition, with additions, 12mo, half calf, 12s 6d ($2.50) Printed for J.Wiltshire 1735

132. **————————** The Christmas Treat, or the Gay Companion, being a collection of Epigrams, with an essay on that species of composition, 12mo, boards, 10s ($2) Dublin 1767.

Or is just the 1735 critical dissertation that of Olynys? Anyway, it is of interest that Olynys felt the need to write such a long introduction, and also that he thought that his anthology was the first in the English language. His Critical Dissertation does not repeat ad nauseam the ideas and the examples of the Baroque theorists and is a tribute to the amount of theorising available about literature in the vernaculars. His poems come from all periods, without their authors being noted, and they are typically longer than his Critical Dissertation recommended, which is interesting. See also Addenda

RB DNS 5838–9 English Epigram Collection 2


870.9 50/1 Latin Medieval Classical *Copying of Classics*

The doctor and the reader of oracles were revered specialists. Doctors are the first non military, non family members to be explicitly honoured in Greek epitaphs. Oracle reading soothsayers were common in Greece in the Classical period, and it is suspected that many oracles in these collections would have been in hexameters from quite an early period. The versified oracle-riddle was then one of the forms somewhat similar to verse epitaph, dedication and honorific inscription.

Cuneiform *Intellectuals*


Merely photos of the Mt. Mug(h) finds, dated to the 1st quarter of the +8C, the first such Soghdian finds in Soghdian territory, many of them on sticks and stick shaped bone (antlers etc). Very large folio sheets in a folder.

76 items found in 1933, Tadjikistan, 36 leather, 17 paper, 23 wooden sticks: 71 in Soghdian, 1 Arabic, 1 Chinese, 1 "Runic" (the other two?). [See *Harmatta 1979, above, for some contextualisation of these famous finds]

It is the use of sticks and bones which interests us, as in Greece, South Arabia, and India from quite early times, and Scandinavia, writing on perishable materials is highly likely to have long antedated the remains which survive on hard surfaces.

N° XVI, a seal still attached to its document. N° LV tassels hanging from 2 holes on an extension of doc., the latter written both sides, in full).

Iranian epigraphy *C.Iiran*

Orlandos and Vranuses, or Vranoussis ΟΡΛΑΝΔΟΣ ΒΡΑΝΟΥΣΗΣ Α.Κ.& Λ. TA ΧΑΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΝΟΣ ΗΤΟΙ ΕΠΙΤΡΑΦΑΙ ΧΑΡΑΧΘΕΙΣΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΙΟΝΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΝΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΥΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ 1973 Modern Greek text Introduction, corpus in hand transcription and printed expansion, plates exemplary only, not complete.

235 (?) numbered graffiti, richer and far more reliable than CIG Vol. 4 1977 pp. 482–494, n° 9350–9421, but despite discovering a surprising number of inscriptions missed by previous editors, Orlandos is forced to use his predecessors’ texts where the original has flaked off or otherwise deteriorated: some of them drawn in black, but mostly engraved, either carefully or not, the careful ones filled with chestnut or black color. 5 are in Latin, 230 are in Greek. As to topics, the majority (235) are prayers to God (or the saints) for help, next come funerary inscriptions (64), and there is a residual minority of mere names (32) and varia: 20 church texts, including some liturgical poetry (20 "whole troparia"), 12 unclassifiable or unclear, and 6 iconic, with or without letters. 72 prayers are directed to Christ, 25 (?) to Mary, including 4 of archaic lettering using the Hail Mary, and two using the Pagan-looking title Δεσποινα Α'ηριων.. The language is reasonably limited, as one might expect. Some epikleiseis are in favour of the dead. Most named persons are clerics or connected with the Church.

The dated inscriptions peak in the 9C, 10C and 11C and about a quarter are dated, though the year can be hard to find because of the use of "indications". Three or more inscriptions may be earlier than the 6C.

The really funerary inscriptions are very formulaic. Many of these are dated to a greater or less accuracy. From this corpus a list of the (Arch-)Bishops of medieval Athens has been recovered, from the 6C to the 12C.

Dated (60 of them) or datable inscriptions range from the late 6C to the late 15C. There were medieval burials around and inside the Parthenon, now a Christian church, and also in the Theseion (p.25) where similar graffiti have been found. The funerary inscriptions are mostly carved with great care, and may perhaps be considered as epigraphs, even though not placed over the grave. Inscriptions 1, 3, 173, 183, 185, 197 variously constitute: troparia, an apolytikion, Psalms, hymns to the Theotokos, readings and prayers from the Liturgy. There is one "με ημηρικάς φράσεις ἀναειμένας ἱπού ἀπὸ κάποιο ἐπίγραμμα ἡ μητρικήν λόγον ...").

Leaving aside liturgical texts (which are doubtfully metrical), there are two metrical texts, one of which is of the repeatable sort which we note (Turyn, Romanos) in some sorts of scribal verse — the dodecasyllables of n° 25 have "6 or more" reappearances elsewhere, in whole or in part:

Θεοδόξε Νέσσανα, πιστῶν τό κέρας; οἶκε, φυλάττε τόν σών πιστῶν ἱετην ... κτλ.

There is at least one of the common Byzantine name-acrostics:

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The same p. 38 has indications of MS scribal habits when, in n° 27 and 45, the careful writer has finished his epiklesis, he adds the colophonic tag: ‘Γεια τῷ γραφώτας, χαρά τῷ ἀναγνώσκοντι...

P. 20 notes that a similar reference to the writer, here more obviously and explicitly by the writer himself, is not epitaphic or funerary, despite the opening word ‘Ἀνάπαυσον.... and the fact that the only clearly discernible word is the next, χροτέ. The full version appears to be ‘Ἀνάπαυσον, χροτέ, τὸν Διήμητρον ὥς ἔγραψεν τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα...., which proves that the writer was alive, though envisaging his death, as would many generations in the late Middle Ages and earlier modern periods in the Latin and vernacular West, see *Llewellyn’s DEATHART and also BILDEPITAPH in our Addenda. We have noted in *Fueché the Byzantine-Slavic enthusiasm for indicating that one was in fact himself the writer of some inscription or graffito, and we speculated that this showed pride in educational level. It could also have more practical intentions, investing the writing act with proskynematic force, as did the Pagan Greeks in Egypt.

Arabs used stone inscriptions for the same purposes as their conquered predecessors: and also for islamisation, for didactic-apologetic aims, and finally for piety. The continuities from Latin and Greek practice are fascinatingly detailed, both for private graffiti and for official inscriptions (see p.36). The massive loss of early Islamic (Umayyad) epigraphy is noted in n° 1. Interesting are the non-standard “Qur’anic” texts common in early pious graffiti. Also the evident copying of formulae from stone to stone.

Owen, John Epigrammatum Johannis Owen oxoniensis cambro Britanni libri tres editio quinta Londini 1622 [144]
RB CLI 1718 Latin Modern Epigram Owen 2a
Owen, John 1560?–1622 Epigrammatum Ioannis Audoeni Cambro-Britanni Oxoniensis editio nova, libello duodecimo auctor quibus accesserunt in <f>ine... 1659
mfm 791 1337:2 Latin Modern Epigram Owen 3
Owen, John 1560?–1622 Epigrammatum Ioannis Audoeni Cambro-Britanni Oxoniensis editio nova, libello duodecimo auctor quibus accesserunt in <f>ine elegantiss<ima> nonnulla recentioris cujusdam poetae epigrammata Londini 1671 [6], 193 p.
mfm 791 1533:7 Latin Modern Epigram Owen 4
It is inappropriate here to excerpt such a major book. The treatments of *Kao, *Lin and *Zhou will be taken into account in what follows, and we will confine ourselves to isolated points of the highest relevance for “epigram”.
Again, Owen emphasises that the “occasional” poetry from which T’ang high literature (“with both eyes on posterity”, not with one on the recipient) remains live today in China. It seems to be in this context that isolated couplets can be written. Occasional poetry itself can be, as in the T’ang, an integral part of social intercourse, to being, as early as the Song Dynasty, an amusing, aesthetic pastime, in fact, nugae, lusus, even facetiae. Of course, under the cover of nugae writers like Martial could attempt a greater aim. Decrees of 680 and 722 CE opened the circles who would be expected to write acceptably and well in poetic form, however, “without a motivating occasion conventionally associated with poetry” most poets still did not write. The equivalent of Owen’s ongoing analyses of “occasionality” would be crucial to a critical history of epigram in the West. By the 8C informal “occasionality” was the norm, no doubt caused by the predominance of poetic exchanges of friend to friend. “Ancient mode” poems were available in the High Tang for emotional effusions and philosophical meditations not at all tied to occasion. Seven syllable song could be used for mood pieces on the theme of impermanence. Quatrains assumed great importance in the South East, often “old style” and unregulated, with regional flavour. The joint work called The Wang Stream Collection written on the new estate of one of the pair of authors (who are said to have written in turn, thus recalling the origins of the quatrain as interpreted by Lin) set off many series of

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quatrains. This Wang Wei seems to have been a key figure in the development of the quatrain, and he was an experimenter, trying the rare 6 syllable line, and reverting to the ancient 4 syllable line of the Shi Ching. Closure, says Owen, is more typical of the quatrain, and in this it resembles the inner couplets of the 8 line verse. His examples then explore various types of closure, including such paradoxes as “open closure”. Despite this, he emphasises the vignette as a common type of quatrain. I am not sure what this implies, but Owen seems to take the sung (lower-case ‘s’) quatrain (and this can mean the 7 syllable one, even if the type of song was quite different) as a significant means by which truly occasional poems moved towards more general referents. Later expectations and the provision of a title giving the details of the composition of the poem could recreate occasionality, and often did. The titles of the poems could not always have been original, and in some collections most of them may have been concocted later, when details of the original occasion and purpose of the poem could not have been known, and were not apparent from the text of the poem. Quatrains were produced by most major and many minor poets of the influential High T'ang. There was much variety in them. Frontier quatrains seem to have been even better established than the long frontier song. Hermit poetry (poetry of seclusion) was periodically a major genre in China, as it was to be in Japan and in Ireland. Li Po and Tu Fu elevated poetry in general to greater heights than it had ever had and both wrote quatrains. The so called huai-ku tradition concentrated on evocative ruins, and with the popularity of historical reminiscence and themes of impermanence, it is no surprise to find that Wei Ying-wu wrote a song about the famous stone drums (inscribed with old poems).

It is the emphasis on impermanence and on performance of the poetry and on either vivid description or profundity that makes the formally epigrammatic quatrain most unlike a western epigram in content and ethos.

Chinese Poetry  High Tang

Owen and Harvey, John 1560?–1622 & Thomas John Owen’s Latine epigrams English’d by Tho. Harvey, Gent.; dedicated by the author Mr. John Owen unto the Lady Mary Nevil, daughter of the Earl of Dorset. London 1677

Owen and White, John & Robert Epigrams english’t 1677

Oxtoby, Willard Gurdon Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Beduin Newhaven 1968 (North Arabian–Aramaic group, Palmyrene to Nabatean. These are actually Syrian)

These seem to be a part of the materials of the Winnett expedition. They are said to date from the –1C to the +4C, and number in all 480 inscriptions.

44. ... whrdy c wr mc wr blind any effacer

This is one of the commoner imprecations in Safaitic, usually ending the texts in which it occurs. See also Winnett.

North Arabian Epigraphy  Some Safaitic


See Addenda

This was our sole attempt to branch into the muddy water of the reliability of the 13C saga as a mirror of a Viking lifestyle to be situated more than 500 years previously. For the less controversial matter of inscriptions see *Molike and *Elliott.

Viking Poetry  Egil’s Saga

Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna Warszawa 1964

Names for fraszka writers given in Gloger (q.v.): Rej, Kochanowski of course, Kochowski, Kowalski, Szydłowski, and Potowski. For epigramat: Rej, Kochanowski, Potocki, Krasicki, Węgierski, Legatowicz, Brodziński, Czeckel, Krasicki, Norain, Muśnicki, Omoszko, Szahin, Sasowski, Legatowicz, J.K.W.B., A.N.B., N., and some apparently anonymous (as we would expect).

In the more modern WEP, these names occur in addition to those in Gloger— for fraszka: Szarzyński, Morsztyn, Krasicki, Trembecki, Węgierski, Mickiewicz, Fredro, Norwid, Gałązynski, and Tuwim, taking us up to the 1930s. Also in parentheses Lec and Sztaudinger. For Epigramat are added in WEP: [Simonides, Martial, Pope and Goethe]. Janicki, Kochanowski, Potocki, Trembecki, Węgierski, Zablocki, Mickiewicz, Stłowacki, and in parentheses, Lec.

Polish WEPow


A very important comparative insight into versified titles and epitomes in Buddhism, a typically oral device, but
also intensely graphic, in its latter functions being designed for the preservation of the integrity or MS treatments, in the former, no doubt, as a check on the accuracy of memorisation. Short verses typically subdivide the prose texts, and these verses are perceived as structural elements of such religious texts. Skt. Uddāna = Tib. sdom. P. 226:

"The Uddāna (Tibetan sdom) in the MSV is a verse composed of keywords which are arranged according to the context which follows it. As the Uddāna is put ahead of the context, it serves as an index."

"All the Uddānas of a section of the MSV are again summarised in such a way that each Uddāna is covered by one keyword. These keywords are arranged according to the proper sequence of the Uddānas and thus form another Uddāna, which is called Pindoddāna (Tibetan = bsus-pa'i-sdom, or, spiyi-sdom). Thus the Pindoddāna enables us to check the Uddānas. There is another type of Uddāna to be met with in the MSV, the so-called Antaroddāna (Tibetan = bar-sdom), which is inserted between the Uddānas. The question of the Antaroddāna is a crucial one as no reference is made to it in either the Pindoddāna or in the Uddāna, and, unlike the Pindoddāna and the Uddāna, it may even summarise the preceding context."

Of interest to us is the use of verse inserts in any continuous prose text, the different functions of such inserts, and their differing origins (these Uddānas are obviously designed precisely for the text into which they are integrated), and also their subsequent or contemporary degrees of independence from this frame text.

Tibetan Indian verse Uddānas

Panofsky, Erwin "Et in Arcadia Ego" et le 'tombeau parlant' in Gazette des Beaux Arts 1938 (1) p.305–306. 1938 Two dense pages of reply to a critic, with additional proofs.

The original article was Et in Arcadia Ego, Philosophy and History, in Essays presented to Ernst Cassirer, Oxford 1936 p.223ff. The critic was M. Werner Weisbach, Gazette des Beaux-Arts 18 (1937) p.287ff.

Modern Art Epigraphy et in Arcadia

Panofsky and Janson, Erwin & H.W. Tomb Sculpture, its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini London 1984 Basically some 1956 lectures given at the Institute of Fine Arts N.Y. University

*Burckhardt thought that the paucity of High Medieval epigraphy known in his times derived from the exigencies of Gothic art. Thus it is worth searching in any source for such, its nature, and what proportion of the haul might be in verse. We searched in the photos and the explanatory text and found:
Fig.348/9 Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne "en transi", with vividly carved sutures roughly holding together the puckered edges of their long visceral slits; fig.333 longish 12 line Latin inscription filling small panel in the middle of the upper register of the wall niche grave of Guillaume, Cardinal de Braye †1282 in S. Domenico Orvieto; fig.312b 8 x El poem, with a line in prose giving the date, of Canon Hubert Milemans †1558 Ste.-Croix, Liège; fig.281 Hans Burgkmair’s Sterbebild of Conrad Celtes, a woodcut from a printed page, with banners inscribed and books lying closed and flat. One of the four which are inscribed on their page tops (not spines) facing the viewer reads EPIGR.8., and underneath is an elegiac quatrain surmounting a few lines of upper case Latin prose; fig.260 4 x El on tomb of Felix Oehler †1506 Cathedral Merano; fig.256 3 lines of French Prose on Tomb of Jacques Germain †1424 Museum Dijon; fig.234 three lines of French prose on "Epitaph" of Jacques Isaac †1401 Tourai Cathedral; fig.230 four lines of French prose on the "Epitaph" of Jean du Bos †1438 and Cathérine Bernard, Cathedral, Tournai; fig.229 three lines of French prose plus some on banners on "Epitaph" of Jean Fiévez, Royal Museum Brussels; fig.206 Woodcut for Publii Virgilii Maronis Opera Strasbourg 1502 showing arcadian scene with a block tomb central in the foreground and on the edge of its upper tablature one reads "Daphnis ego in silvis", showing the Renaissance enthusiasm for this Vergilian fictive epitaph.

It is perhaps accidental that photos presenting the best or the most typical examples of funerary art do not show any verse inscriptions from before the 16C. We have noted in *Tummers that 13C gisants in England are (now, at least) bare of any inscription but that Weever and others have indicated that inscriptions once on brass and other plaques attached to gisants were vandalised in the Reformation. However, the typical Gothic tomb inscription, around the rim of a floor plaque, seems to have been in prose.

Q731.76 Power Medieval Burial Architecture Art Tomb Sculpture

26 or so verse units on windows, statues and architectural features of the reconstructed Abbey, by the enthusiastic Suger himself. 13 distichs, the predominant form, and elegiac in metre. Quatrains, sestets and octets also found. Some evidence of themes from the inscriptions of Roma and of Montecassino. See Addenda for texts.

Latin Medieval Epigram Art Suger on St. Denis

Panser, Friedrich, Die Deutschen Inschriften Stuttgart 1942– Hgg. von den Akademien der Wissenschaften Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Leipzig, München und der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. If previous German practice is any guide, these area

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corpora would contain all the Latin finds as well as the vernacular ones.

I: Die Inschriften des badischen Main- und Taubergrundes (1942); II: Die Inschriften der Stadt Mainz von frührömischer Zeit bis 1650 (1958); III: Die Inschriften des Burgenlandes (1953); IV: Die Inschriften der Stadt Wimpfen am Neckar (1958); V: Die Inschriften der Stadt und des Landkreises München (1958); VI: Die Inschriften des Naumburger Doms und der Domfreiheit (1959); VII: Die Inschriften der Stadt Naumburg und der Saale (1960); VIII: Die Inschriften der Landkreise Mosbach, Buchen und Miltenberg (1965). All from *Pfohl Das Epigramm p.7. See *Favreau for a more complete and up to date list.

German Epigraphy  *Die Deutschen Inschriften*

Parab, Kashinathan Pandurang  *Subhäsita-ratna-bhändägära or, Gems of Sanskrit Poetry. Being a Collection of Witty, Epigrammatic, Instructive and descriptive Verses. Selected and arranged by K.P.S.. Revised by Wasudeva Laxman Shastri Pansikar* Delhi 1991 A reprint. As often in India, the original version is not easily findable.

The poems are set out as prose, with line markers, no doubt to save space. There are six very large divisions, the first of which is to the gods. The second begins with a subdivision praising subhashita itself, a self-referentiality which brings it close to epigram and aphorism in the developed literatures of Europe.

My Book  *Linguistics  Text Coherence*

Parisotti, Alessandro  *Cecilia Bartolo Arie antiche Se tu m'ami* Decca 436 267-2 D/H ? Decca CD and notes, selections from the 1880s volumes of Parisotti. The performer was stage-shy but much recorded Bartolo.

Leaving aside the fact that poetry is, or at least flirts with, song, we have long believed that a good parallel to the processes at work in the formation, preservation and development of epigram can be found in musical literacy and developments even in our own day. For many keen on music, for example, note literacy is useful even when of a very low standard, and in many situations is highly optional, especially for performing singers. Even the status of musical bibliography is quite different from that of the rest of humanistic scholarship, which we found to our cost in investigating the occurrence of "epigram" as a title for musical pieces.

The CD's notes illuminate some things connected with the 19C editing of Baroque music. Every singer knows of the neat songs like *Caro mio ben*, used in training voices and as a warm up to more highly-regarded music in performance. They were fished out of libraries in the 1880s by Alessandro Parisotti in a period when the disregarded music of the pre-classical period was just beginning to arouse interest. In 1871 Verdi made his notorious statement that in musical matters at least "A return to the past would be progress". The folk movement hit Italy late in every field, but in 1879 Tosù produced his *Songs from the Abruzzi*, in 1880 Gialdino and Ricordi their *Eco della Lombardia*, and in 1883 Frontini his *Eco della Sicilia*. Thus the director of Rome's Santa Cecilia was working at the vanguard of rediscovery. It seems that the old music in the libraries is assumed to have been as remote and as lacking in prestige as the folk traditions of the Abruzzi, of Lombardy, or of Sicily. This is at least plausible in Italy, where the courtly and the classical entered deeper into the common soul than they did in the North. The clean melodic lines of the stile nuovo seem first to have been collected in print in *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scrivella*, 1602, di Giulio Caccini. This new writing was apparently the figured bass. Parisotti's three volume collection extended from Caccini to Spontini and Cherubini, i.e., 1600–1800. Apparently the latter were close to the beginnings of the period which his age knew about and valued. The record draws only from the first two volumes, the earlier music, all Baroque, up to Paisiello. Of interest to us is the fact that the careful editing was not "scientific" in the modern sense, though carefully done. Its aim was to present the music in a way that would reintroduce it to the repertoire, to scholars of "authenticity", of which there weren't any, it seems, at that period, at least in music. Thus the editor would have felt free to rewrite it a little. Perhaps Baroque performers would have done this far more than he, and he was being authentic to the processes of the music, if not to the marks on the page. More than that, he slipped one of his own imitations into the second volume, without admitting it, the aria *Se tu m'ami*.

As I have many times used the analogy of musical literacy and tradition in our own times to illuminate the written tradition of "performance poetry" in the earlier Greek world, let us note that a conscientious reviver of old music could feel free to insert one, and just one, of his own compositions into his three volume magnum opus. Nor, as with good imitations in the graphic arts, does the artistic world seem to mind a great deal, however much critical scholars and collectors and commercial auction houses may grimace. The crucial factor is the nature and purpose of the artistic form in question. Anecdotal and hagiographic literature is notoriously inauthentic from a historical point

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of view, because in it the good story and the impact on the listener is paramount. Historical accuracy is quite secondary, though not despised. Even after epigrams were collected on papyrus, they continued to pass from mouth to mouth, as indeed most quotation of prose was from memory, and in the form which seemed most memorable, even if not quite that of its original. This is an inherent tendency in a freely citing culture. Alistair Cooke in a Letter from America reminds us that Southern US Senators used expansively and spontaneously to cite fine literature and high thoughts, until petty clerks started to check the ever more accessible sources and niggle and quibble over discrepancies. However, to the extent that fidelity to the past is associated with literal accuracy of citation, and from time to time this will seem to be essential, contemporary reperformances themselves will increasingly be haunted by this need to be faithful. This may or may not kill off the lively need to cite the words of the past. We have seen that in the Indonesian shadow theatre, the Wayang Kulit, extreme verbal accuracy can coexist with liveliness, even with a sense of spontaneous production of the lines, as perhaps evidenced on a good night in scripted Western theatre and with verbatim retellings to children of their favourite fairy stories. Where "epigram" was becoming the mark of the educated/cultivated, both concerns could also coexist reasonably happily, but a total fabrication would lead to the shame and obscurity unjustly attending Macpherson's fine Ossian rather than the indulgence which accepts Se tu m'ami.

Arte antiche


This fine book deals with Latin traditions, though necessarily it briefly refers also to the Greek practices which concern our study the more, because we regard graphic form as possibly part of genre, or at least, an influence on genre. The author does not become too analytical or inquisitive, and thus is able to lay out the facts with admirable clarity and keep to fairly safe ground in his speculations. Some of these concern the evidence which layout has for the way in which texts were "received".

As any reading of Augustine will suggest, the pre-medieval style of writing was still an "oral" one, and texts were largely scripts for performance, despite the high levels of literacy among the elite.

N° 11. on p. 122 gives useful references for the two competing books for teaching elementary literacy in the West, "Cato" and the Psalter. Cato was in hexameter distichs, and its influence on the Western sense of distich form must have been incalculable. The question is during what periods Cato predominated over the Psalter. See P. Riché Le Psautier, livre de lecture élémentaire in Études mérovingiennes. Actes des journées de Poitiers 1–3 mai 1952 Paris 1953 pp. 253–256; P. Riché Education et culture pp.515–516; and A. Petrucci Scrittura e libro nell'Italia altomedievale in Studi medievali x (1969), pp.157–207 esp. 164 ff. (non vidimus)

It is significant that the "grammar of legibility" in Greek inscriptions was developed rather early. Verse breaks and proper names are most distinguished by various types of markers, in ways which we suspect were not used in MSS, which were designed to be pre-read by trained slaves and only recited to the wealthier sort of reader once the sense of the passage had been pieced out from the scriptio continua.

My Book Literacy and Alphabet Latin Punctuation

Parnell, T.  An Essay on the Different Stiles of Poetry London 1713

Published anonymously

Poetics Essay on Stiles

Parrot, A.  Asie occidentale ancienne in Devambez 1961 p.383–556 1961

Art Art mesopo-anatol-levantine

Partridge, A.C.  A Companion to Old and Middle English Studies Lond. 1982

English OE-ME Companion


mfm 791 1510:12 P692 Latin Modern Epigram Epigrammata et psalmorum

Pathericke, Jenkyn Amorea, the lost lover, or, the idea of love and misfortune being poems, sonets, songs, odes, pastoral, elegies, lyrick poems, and epigrams, never before printed, written by... London 1661 [16] 88, [4] p.

mfm 791 151:2 J631 English Epigram Amorea

Passano, G.  Dizionario de opere Anonime e pseudonime NY? 1887 Ancona = 1888 Naples P. 243 "Le ore sentimentali e solitarie del bel sesso. la almanacco (novelle) 1839. See what is noted under Non-Classical
Payne, R. The White Pony, an anthology of Chinese Poetry from the earliest times to the present day newly translated London 1949

Chinese Poetry White Pony


Indeed a belated review of this important book, also referred to with respect by Stephen Owen. Peckham very gently suggests that Classical rhetoric, not just modern psychology, should be asked how texts may best be ended, and he argues that the "prose/verse" distinction is artificial in this study. "Rhetoric" is a despised term, but still the best to be applied to the close study of literary prose or verse. The opaque 'sacred cow' term, "imitation", is heavily handled by Smith, while she uses the much more transparent and useful term "pretence", an excellent term for fictionalisation, taken from child's play. Peckham also criticises the traditional distinction of formal and thematic closure types, arguing that in practice the two are rarely distinguishable. His most useful throw-away generalisation encourages us about the potential of even Lukillian epigram: "One has the feeling that modes of poetic closure might well be infinite."

On Poetic Closure

Pederson, J. KHatib in EI2 Vol. IV, fasc. 77–78 1109–1111 1978

The Islamic KHatib is a preacher in the mosque. The ancient KHatib was a representative of his tribe in verbal jousting with other tribes, and thus was a functionary like the poet, the sha'ir. The two roles were only occasionally filled by the same man, the KHatib being more of a story-teller, a kâys, not forming any guild or caste and using fine and fluent prose or sometimes saj'. "Lampoons" survive on such people which indicate to us, in the reverse, their expected virtues. Early Islamic rulers took on this role for their people, retaining even in the mosque the staff or lance of the ancient KHatib during his own khutba. This latter became more and more religious, i.e., preaching, and even some Fatimids preached thus. There was an official KHatib for mosques, whose differing functions are sketched in the article. Besides this official preacher, the wā'iz also exercised the function of an edifying preacher, when he pleased.

Arabic Khatib


This headword has been chosen instead of bayt/bêt to enter information on the homes of all Islamic peoples who were not completely sedentary. It has been extended from its localised use in the areas of North Africa and the Near East. Note that the broken plural of bayt is usually buyut, but that an alternative form abyat is more commonly used for prosodic bayt-s or full lines of verse.

ANCIENT ARABIA

Bayt never means a nomad's tent on its many appearances in the Qur'an. In speech today bayt sâ'ar is common, though it has a Beduin flavour. One wonders if the great ambiguity of early or more recent Arabic graphics may have influenced the abandonment of this phrase in cities, where it now refers to the occasional nomad-like booths or tents of city dwellers, and even to their permanent houses, displacing the older bayt/bêt. The phrase which was punningly confused (vowels not considered) with bayt sâ'ar (house of hair) is very important for us, as it supplies the basic terminology for all Muslim prosodic form: bayt dîr, house of song. The two door flaps are the hemistichs, the multiple tent pegs are the metrical feet, and so on, the whole tent being the poem. I doubt if prosodic terminology exhausts the dozens of terms available for the various parts of the tent. The tent is made in woven or leather strips, or in large mats of felted wool.

It is of no interest to us to follow the reconstruction of tent words and types from medieval evidence. However, the use of the word kubba for the hide tent (adim, and the hide tent is the one sort not later covered by khayma) is of architectural interest. The word khayma may have begun as a lost term for awning, and by the middle ages it meant the whole tent, possibly via the warm-weather practice of "abduling", raising one side of, a tent, towards the shady or down wind prospect. P.1147b goes through the sub-parts of the tent and how it was pitched, terminology and facts which are of importance for prosodic terminology.

In North Africa the ridge pole does not have a name attested in the old Arabian evidence. It is likely that in Ancient Arabian tents did not have ridge poles. One ancient word for vertical posts or poles was, predictably, *amûd.

NEAR EAST

Khayma is city terminology for all tents. Nomads use bayt (sâ'ar). Styles vary little and tents are rectangular. The material is the hairy "skin" (perhaps hair, since the bands are later said to be woven) of a black goat, sometimes mixed with camel's wool (sîf or wabar). Terminology differs among the beduin groups, but of interest to us is the use of terms like a diree-er, a fourer, a fiver, a sixer and even a sevener for tents of dial number of central poles. The last-mentioned tent is unusually large, and is either for a great chief, or for very sedentary beduin of middling status.

Beduin tents are made by the women, and can last for a whole generation. Foundation sacrifices and rites accompany the erection of a tent, which is an event overlapping that of founding a new hearth. The central pole is
sprinkled with sacrificial blood. The enlarging or decommissioning of a tent also are occasions which often call for some sacrificial ritual. There are very powerful rules about hospitality, (both the giving and the taking of it), asylum and inviolability of the tent.

NORTH AFRICA

Berber terminology is complex and interesting, but much tent vocabulary is borrowed from the Arabic. P. 1149a on materials: ”In some regions, the wool and goat or camel hair which make up the main material are sometimes mixed with palm flock (Ilī) or vegetable fibres.” Also of some interest is the wide use of the ridge pole (more important in areas where rain is common and can be heavy) and its symbolic value, deriving from the importance of its function in this climate. It can be ornamented with designs which have magical origins.

CENTRAL ASIA

Circular tents of felt predominate on the windy steppes. To the west their use merges with the black goat hair tents more suitable for the damper mountains. The archetypical Turkic word for tent seems to have been əlaq, the tents of two Turkmen tribes, the Yomut and the Goklen, are white houses when new, and black houses when old: əq əy and qara əy. The largest tents can be 12m diameter, and this requires up to 128 roof struts coming from the trellis wall. Specialist tradesmen made the wooden struts for such Turkmen tents, and these lived in more agricultural communities — they were semi sedentary. This too is of interest for the history of specialisations. The Mongol high, framed tent requires a great deal of wood which is rare on the Steppes, and this is of interest for the history of trade. Siberian forest peoples had tents like the American wigwam. Of interest for the Chinese cult of the stove is the centrality of the hearth in the Mongol household. Its function in this climate. It can be ornamented with designs which have magical origins.


Arabic Persian Turkish Urdu Poetry Martiya, Mersiye


Doubts but does not deny such a musical "genre" as the chanson, notes that there were three supra-local forms of music in the early 16C, polyphonic Mass, Motet and Chanson. P.426/7 "by the second or third decade of the sixteenth century, the style and diction of the poetry did not necessarily determine the nature of the musical setting provided for it." In 15C fixed forms predominated, rondeau, bergerette. Courtly decasyllables (caesura after 4th syll) and octosyllables in the 16C, and for lighter matters, lines of 7 syll and 5 syll, and occasionally 6 syll. The Quatrains seems to have been a basic building block for the verse of the 16C, forming the basis for the huitains, septains and even dizains upon which the majority of the chansons were composed. Note a corpus by Isabelle Cazeaux Opera Omnia 1974 III/IV, also the modern theories of Théodore Gérold, Howard Mayer Brown, Lawrence F. Bernstein on the disputed specificity of "Chanson". Literary scholars and musicologists work out of different agendas in their studies of these periods, and cooperate little, it seems.

As epigram, though supposedly not sung, is part of this tumult of short genres in the Renaissance and shortly after, it is instructive for us to be made aware of our ignorance of literary intuitions in that period, of the floating state of genres, and of the mutual influence of musical styles and poetry.

Poetics Song Renaissance Chanson

Perosa and Sparrow, Alessandro & John Renaissance Latin Verse An Anthology London 1977

Beautifully printed. Short but important introduction by experts in a field which is just being reborn. Discreetly annotated and introduced.

Few epigrams or epigrammatical epitaphs in toto, perhaps corresponding to the situation in published verse of a prestige nature (though we have noted large collections of epigrams). Nor does their appearance sprinkled in anthologies give much idea of what must have been their specific identity and recognisability.

My Book Latin Modern Poetry Perosa Sparrow

Petrarca, Petrarca: rime, trionfi e poesie latine edd. F.Neri et al. Naples n.d. 1951?

For the six-line inscriptive poem in medieval style: Imperiosa situ..., which interestingly enough is the speech of a "speaking object". Notes, then text:

internamente ed esternamente. 4. Azzo da Correggio fu per breve tempo signore di Parma, ed ivi ospitò il P. nel 1341.

**TURRIS PARMENSIS**
Imperiosa sita vicitrici condita dextra
turris ad astra levor, spectabilis intus et extra.
Corrigie splendor, fulget quo principe Parma,
belliopotens Azo me vult munimen ad arma.
Me videat securus amans hostique tremiscat:
subdere colla iugo, vel poscere federa discat.

Latin Modern Poetry  *Petrarca-Ne*

Petropoulos, Elias  *The Graves of Greece*  Paris 1979  Hand drawings from dated visits. Almost all post Turkish period. Enormous variety, clear local fashions. Epigraphy only incidentally shown, and usually brief.

731.7609495 Burial Art  *Greek Graves*

Petzoldt, L.  *Einfache Formen (einfache Erzählformen)*  in *RLGA* Vol. 7 1989
This sort of discourse began in 1929 with the famous work of Jolles, and his nine basic folk genres. It was based, of course, on the Romantic sundering of natural poetry and art poetry. Despite the subjective incursion indicated by Jolles' interest in Geistesbeschäftigung, modern critics see it as stuck in objective morphological study, and the psychological focus which distinguishes superficially similar forms is probably not given enough weight. However, their criticisms seem a little self-serving. Jolles established a line of study which still thrives, and it seems to have led to the "Conduit theory" of folk transmission and genre definition produced by Linda Degh and Andre Vaszonyi, 1971. Petzoldt criticises Jolles for assuming that the basic medieval form of the Spruch developed into the Sprichwort (Proverb). The claim is that important differences can be found between the two. Bausinger has investigated "cliché-wisdom", and M. Hin has studied the use of proverbs in the daily life and discourse of a single village, a line of approach which must add more to our appreciation of their "meaning" than even the most refined study of written texts.

Folk genres  *Contra et extra Jolles*

Phillips and Allen, James E. & Don C.  *Neo-Latin Poetry of the 16th and 17th Centuries*  Los Angeles 1965
Allen on Milton.
875.109 5/1 Syd. Fish.

YY 881.01 P566ep Greek Epigram  *Philodemus*

Pickles, J.D.  *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, in five volumes, Vol. 5 Index*  Cambridge 1977

Pilz, Kurt  *Der Totenschild in Nürnberg und seine deutschen Vorstufen*  Stuttgart 19503. 1950
Another medieval support for epigraphy, or a heraldic/iconic substitute for it.
Medieval Burial Art  *Totenschuld*

Pinto, Emilio ed.  *Teodoro Gaza Epistole*  Napoli 1975
— some poetical quotes in these letters
Greek Byzantine Verses  *Theodore of Gaza*

Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, M.  *The Han Civilisation of China*  Oxford 1982
Some inscriptions are mentioned.
Chinese  *Han*

Arabic Art  *Art preislam*

Plant, Richard  *Arabic Coins and How to Read Them*  London 1980 (19731) Arabic language for the numismatist, based on Spanish, North African, Sicilian, Turkish, Persian, Indian and

Non-Classical
Malay coins in Arabic script and, mostly, Arabic language. Some Persian. Dating systems clearly explained with full lists of rulers names and dates of reign, and plenty of historical notes.

P. 94 begins a period, post-Illhanid Persia, which introduces couplets onto coinage. P. 96 translates (but, atypically, does not transcribe) one apparent couplet in Arabic.

"With Ismā'īl and the rise of the Safavids there now enters a new factor into the numismatics of the Persian-influenced world [sc. the whole Eastern part of Islam, P.M.Mc]. This is the use of "the Persian Couplet". The earliest Persian couplet was on a coin of the Indian ruler, Mohammed Kerim, King of Gujarat (note the Indian connection with poetry!), 1443–51 CE, and the idea was taken up by the Safavid Shah, Ismā'īl II, 1576–8 CE., who did not wish the sacred formula of the Kalima, which was on all coins of that time, to fall into the hands of unbelievers, but yet did not want to be thought to be intending to leave the name of Ali off his coins. He thought of a way of solving his difficulties — he put his couplet on the obverse:

*If an Imam there be between the East and West,*

Ali alone, with Ali's house, for us is best.

The couplet idea then dropped until Abbas II, 1642–67 CE, revived it — not for use on the obverse instead of the kalima, but on the reverse as a way of including his own name and title. From this point on, though by no means used on every coin, couplets are very commonly used on Persian coins until the 1790s. They were already being used before this by the Moghul Emperors, e.g., Akbar used them very occasionally (sic) and Jahangir very frequently and later they were to be used by several of the rulers of the native states, as well as by the Durrans of Afghanistan. ... The couplets tend to be similar in pattern, and the knowledge of comparatively few Persian words will go a long way."

It is notable that the couplet writing was in no way as free as that on Western medieval seals, and that it was limited to one mid-modern "couplet period" of Muslim epigraphy. See *Kalus EI 2 for verse on one of the Shah's great seals, and his other work for sporadic verse on seals and "talismans".

Five out of the seven Perso-Arabic couplets quoted in full by Plant rhyme (approximately) in the influential ah/ah syllable, perhaps because it matches Shāh (King) and Ilah (God). I quote just one to give the taste of the formulaic and documentary nature of this form of epigraphic poetry. They come in different metres, but most begin with *sikkah zad bar, sikkah zad dar, sikkah bar zar*:

*Coin he struck on silver and gold, like sun and moon / Did Sulaiman Emperor, son of Ahmad Shah *=

\[sikkah zad bar \text{sim wa zar \text{chün mîhr wa mâh}}\]

Sulaiman bādshâh ibn Ahmad Shah. (ezafe not put in by Plant, thus there would be more syllables than this)

My Book *Arabic coins*

Playford, John *Catch that Catch Can*, 1667

No epigrams at all despite the ludic title, a situation which is not uncommon with such English non-seria.

mfm 791 P2456 English *Catch*


We have been investigating sword inscriptions. See also Dumbarton Oaks Bibliography, Epigraphy, p.257, also

*Macmullen, and in *ODB- *Weapons.

Slavic *Avar Swords*


My Book *Ethnologie Pléiade*


RB ANL Humanists *Politian MS*


*Non-Classical*
Aphorism and epigram sections of the new Pollard and Redgrave 1475-1640 Vol. II (I-Z)

p.24 Aphorismi - of/on Jesuits
p.30 [14710] Epigrammata in verse Arthur Johnston 1632
p.32 [14765-6] Ben Johnson Epigrams 1640, 1601?
p.38 [14927] Kendall Flowers of epigrammes 1577
p.49 [15224] T. Laut (on the death of Sidney)
p.54 [15365.7] John Leech Epigrammata 1620, 1623 (Leuchaei, Johannis)
p.62 [15606.5] Will. Lily Epigrammata 1521

168+ LITURGIES
p.73-80 HOURS AND PRIMERS

I stopped the search here.

All this from Pollard and Redgrave ed altera, Index volume. This is a good chronological index, but for titles go to Allison and Goldsmith. The problem with the latter, as with the next work to be mentioned, is that only short titles are given. Allison and Goldsmith Vol. I (covering the old Pollard and Redgrave) has Epigrams titles (i.e., where "epigram" is the main word) p.56, and Epitaph titles (very rich section this) p.57. The Vol. II (Wing) "epitaph" section is much poorer, and is on p.100, while the Epigrams titles are on p.98. Publishing epitaphs in pamphlet or broadsheet form seems to have been a habit mainly before 1640.

English Bibliography Pollard and Redgrave

Pontanus and Oeschger, I.I. & J. Joannis Iovani Pontani Carmina, ecloghe-elegie-lyriche Bari 1948
Latin Modern Poetry Pontanus Oe


While these inscriptions almost all appear elsewhere, they do so scattered and presumably without the useful sketches presented in this nationalistic publication. In 447 inscriptions only 2 have verse, and those are +4C Greek, n°18 and n°19. Admittedly many of the texts, like those in the latter volumes of "Collingwood's British corpus, are on small objects and never likely to have had verse, in any period or region. Many are initials and monograms, and casual graffiti, such as the famous XM" n°187, n°243. However, lack of verse in border regions is important for us. As a matter of interest on mirror inscriptions, n°305 displays the contested text of a +4C to +6C mirror, already discussed in our Addenda (*Dumbarton Oaks annotated Bibliography, p.266) a) Κορά and b) καλέ / η / τη / καλέ / τη καλω of course, without the accents. We are interested in the link later between verse and preciousness, stylish objects, and items of deep personal significance like mirrors, seals, icons and reliquaries, in fact in the full group of motivations for verse (where verse is an option, rather than unavoidable, even though the latter is also of interest). This is not in verse, but it is a jingling octosyllable, rather daringly expressive and most condensed in expression, resembling the sort of thing we have on the more expressive prose legends on later seals.

949.801 P826 ANL Romanian Epigraphy Latin Greek Dark Age Romania


Burial Art Death

Posner, Raphael The Hebrew Book, edited by Raphael Posner and Israel Ta-Shema foreword by Dr. Jacob Rothschild Jerusalem 1975

p.18 "Book" of Proverbs; p.38 Owners' signatures and their notes on texts; p.70–71 "short poems" of the end page see also p.182; p.86 Early Mod. Hebrew words for printing; p.170ff. TITLES, FOREWORD (Hakdamah, some poetic), RECOMMENDATION (Haskamah); p.180 "Colophons were sometimes rhymed verse with an acrostic giving the name of the printer or even of the proofreader.; p.182 pictures the last page of Sefer Yeven Mezulah by Nathan Nata of Hannover, printed by Vendramina at Vienna 1653. It ends with the comments by the proofreader Jacob ben Naftali of Giezo, and a poem by him joining in the grief of the author for that particular destruction of Polish Jewry.

686.21924 2 Hebrew Book Hebrew Book


We chose the earliest part of the corpus for Late-Antique to MA continuities, having a good guide to the Non-Classical
Carolingerian revolution in seal inscriptions through *Kornbluth. Remember also that inscribed seals were largely, or perhaps entirely, a kingly preserve in the West up to the 10C or 11C, after which time ecclesiastics, monastic foundations, merchants and then other individuals pick up the habit. Thus the kingly seals provide the entire corpus of some periods.

While formulaic prose seems to have always ruled the inscriptions of the King of France, first in Latin, then in French, we find one verse, repeated, on a number of the German imperial seals:

*Roma caput mundi regit / Orbis frena rotundi*  
as it appears on one of them, obviously reinforcing the claim to be Holy Roman Emperor by the form, as well as the content of the inscription! It is also literary in its riddling and metaphoric tactics.

If CD 5949 S5 1981 Bd. 1–2 Seals  German Imperial Seals

Poetics  Topoi

Prang, H.  *Formgeschichte der Dichtkunst* Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz  1968  
P. 9–11, the trinity of Epic-Dramatic-Lyric is as valid as that of Painting-Sculpture-Architecture. Kürze is a feature of all lyric. Epigramm is treated p.163–169. Prägnanz on p. 157. P. 160 claims that all the small forms are more the subject of folkloric studies, not of literary ones. The 8–14 verse Priamel is really "epigram".

PN 45.5 P.7 ANU  Genre  Form-geschichte

Prasert Na Nakhon  *Epigraphic and Historical Studies* Prasert Na Nagara, A.B. Griswold, Bankok  1992  

YY 959.304 P911  Thai Epigraphy  Thai

Prats, Ramon  *On Burying Sacred Items in Periods of Religious Ferment*  P. 256 of Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi  1980  
It is well known that monsoonal Indians buried their inscribed copper plates and other relatively uncorrodable riches in fear of pillage, or when departing on pilgrimage, and archaeology today benefits from the hoards of those who did not return. Of course, metallic riches were commonly buried world wide, and still are. In Egypt and Palestine documents were preserved in caves, or buried in dry sand, inside their storage jars. It is useful to have detailed studies of other motivations and patterns of the burial of archaeologically interesting goods.

Burying objects Indian  Burying objects

My Book  Poetics  PEPP

Prescott, Andrew  *English Historical Documents* London  1988  
As compared with Michelle Brown's *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* and Kelliher and Brown's *English Literary Manuscripts*, this British Library publication offers more prosaic ancient books and sheets. Some charters and grants, however, are very brightly illustrated, rather like the "illuminated address" of recent generations in Australia (and no doubt, many other countries). The bureaucratic efficiency of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom by the 11C is noted. England seems to been ahead of the Romance world in matters of literate administration at this time, and many of the documents remain in the Records Office. In most areas of pragmatic literacy, such as in conveying, it was the Church which was the pioneer. Interestingly, few informal letters seem to have been written before the 15C. One again remembers the formality of the Cambridgeshire "graffiti" (style, not necessarily content!) even of that century. P. 14 shows the 'mark' of William (The Conqueror), of his wife, and of some of his nobles, affixed to a grant of land of 1072–1076. Five wobbly crosses, three at least having little cross pieces or serifs at top and sides, are authenticated by being overwritten in what is presumably a non-noble hand. The otherwise very literate Henry VIII "found penmanship arduous" and this is well illustrated by his scrabled and complaining letter reproduced on p.36. The sophisticated legal system of medieval England is preserved in the documents long attributed to the 13C Henry Bracton, illustrated on p. 22. An early parish register is shown on p. 39, initiated by Cromwell's 1538 decree. An early bill of mortality from the plague year 1665 is reproduced on p. 50.

My Book  English  English Hist. Docs

Priestley, J. B.  1894–1984  Brief diversions; being tales travesties and epigrams by...  
Cambridge  1922  60 p.  
Epigrams p. 55–60 = 12 quatrains, 1 distich. 1 tristich.  
English Epigram  Brief diversions

Non-Classical
Prior, Matthew 1664–1721  Miscellaneous works of His late Excellency Mathew Prior esq: consisting of poems on several occasions, viz. epistles, tales, satires, epigrams, &c: with some select Latin performances: Now first published from his original manuscripts revised by himself and copied fair for the press by Mr. Adrian Drift... London 1740 vi, iv, 380, xcv p. P.61–92 (Poems on sev. occ.): p.61: 'An Epigram' 2 responding stanzas, John's and Nell's; p.63, 64, 65 and 66: "Another", "Another", "Another", "Another". Most of this section are short poems, and line length is short too, 2, 3 or 4 beats. In the MISCELLANEA there are Latin eulogies, verse letters, epigrams? and songs. "Solomon" is a long poem in Latin. At chapter O there are INSCRIPTIONES &c, which are Latin Prose epitaphia, "centre justified". At end of "O"—we find Engravings for 3 sides of "an antique lamp given by me to Lord Harley": 4 lines Latin Prose + 4 lines English verse + 3 1/2 lines of Latin Asclepiads.

RB DNS 7931 English Epigram Prior's miscellany


Some few in verse, some of these echo or imitate MS verse. Some few involve musical staves of various types.
One Runic. One Hebrew. Many purely pictorial. See Addenda.

English Medieval Graffiti English graffiti

808.51 PRO English Epigram Toastmaster

Prynne, William (1600–1669) A pleasant purge for a Roman Catholick to evacuate his evill humours consisting of a century of polemicall epigrams, wherein divers grosse errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome are discovered, censured, refuted, in a facetious yet serious manner by... 1642 [14], 184 p. Seemingly semi-continuous verses, on similar topics, such as Angels, Ave, etc. "Poems" are discreetly numbered in the margin and separated by one white space. Generally only few are short, but in the middle of the collection shorter poems are a little more common. This is polemical verse with scholarly marginalia.
mfm 791 223:6 P4038 English Epigram Pleasant purge

Prynne, William Rockes Improved comprising certaine poetical meditations extracted from the contemplation of the nature and quality of rockes: a barren and harsh soyle, yet a fruitful, and delightfull subject of meditation by William Prynne, late exile, and close prisoner in Mount-Orgueil castle in the Isle of Jersy. London, printed by T. Cotes for Michael Sparke, dwelling at the blue Bible in Greene Arbor 1641 Many shortish pieces, numbered centre page!
English Rockes

My Offprint Phoenician Epigraphy Burial private Phoenician

My Book Religions 1 Pléiade


Non-Classical

Under the head of “bitter taunts, and priuy nips, or witty Jcoffes and other merry conceits” the author treats epigram and then epitaph, in the vulgar, of course, from p.43–47 of the facsimile ed.

Poetics Puttenham Arte .b

Quarles, Francis 1592–1644 Divine fancies: digested into epigrammes, meditations, and observations... London 1636 [12]. 206 p. ill. Many are short poems, but with only a weak sense of closure, or none at all. End of Book IIII, the final book, just as weakly reminds us of Martial.

Quarles is almost as prominent in bibliographies as Flecknoe. I take from Averley and Flower’s 18C Subject Catalogue the 17 editions listed just of the Divine Fancies: 1632, 1633, 1636, 1641, 1652, 1660, 1664, 1671, 1675, 1722, 1723. His popularity and his reflections are of interest, even if his poems are not, being un-epigrammatic in their lack of closure, even if many happen to be short. The image of wax, honey and of stings (waspish or of bees) are in the line of the traditional critical vocabulary used to discuss epigram, but Quarles seems to extend Scaliger’s. His reflections on the “shuffling” and mixing of poems and genres are interesting, as is his clear distinction between the different effects of a meditation and an epigram. Finally, it was interesting that he initially intended the epigrams to have a major section all to themselves. No doubt this was the common expectation at the time, and is the clearest sign of a strong contemporary sense of genre.

B3 (Epistle) To the Readers ...I here present thee with a Hive of Bees; laden, some with waxe, and some with Honey: Feare not to approach; there are no Waspes, there are no Hornets here: if some wanton Bee should chance to buzz about thine aeres, stand thy Ground, and hold thy / hands; there's none will sting thee if thou strike not first:...

[on the Fancies] ... I had once thought to have melted the title, and cast it into severall bookes, and have lodg'd Observations, Meditations, and Epigrams by themselves; but new thoughts have taken place: I have required no helpe of Herauld, either to place, or to proclaim them. Cards, well shuffled, are most fit for Gamesters: and often times, the pastime of Discoverie adds pleasure to the Enjoyment: the Generous Faulkner had rather retrive his Partridge in the open field then meet her in his covered dish. Only this: when you read a Meditation, let me entreat thee to forget an Epigramme. Farewell.

RB 821.4 Q1 = S.T.C. 20531 English Epigram Divine Fancies 1

Quarles, Francis 1592–1644 Divine fancies digested into epigrammes, meditations, and observations by... London 1641 [17], 204 p.
mfm 791 224:1 Q64 English Epigram Divine Fancies 2

Quarles, Francis 1592–1644 Divine fancies: digested into epigrammes, meditations, and observations... London 1652 English Epigram Divine Fancies 3

Quarles, Francis 1592–1644 Divine fancies: digested into epigrammes, meditations, and observations... London 1657 [34], 178 p.
mfm 791 1534:2 Q64 English Epigram Divine Fancies 4

Quarles, Francis 1592–1644 Divine fancies: digested into epigrammes, meditations, and observations... London 1664 English Epigram Divine Fancies 5

Quarles, Francis 1592–1644 Divine fancies: digested into epigrammes, meditations, and observations... London 1671 English Epigram Divine Fancies 6

Quarles, Francis 1592–1644 Divine fancies: digested into epigrammes, meditations, and observations... London 1675 English Epigram Divine Fancies 7

Non-Classical

Raabe, Paul Dr. and 11 others Museum. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Braunschweig 1978. [from the blurb] — »museum« ist eine Zeitschrift die in jeder Ausgabe eine bedeutende Sammlung* vorstellt. / Wie moderne Museen sich zu Informationszentren und Experimentierfeldern neuer Ideen entwickelt haben, bringt auch »museum« mehr als nur nüchterne 'Bestandsaufnahme': Sie erfahren alles über die Entwicklung der Sammlung, Sie finden anregende Lektüre und ästhetischen Genuß. / Die Herzog August Bibliothek, 1572 als fürstliche Sammlung begründet und im 17. Jahrhundert mit 13,000 Schriften die größte europäischer Büchersammlung, verfügt heute über etwa 600 000 Bücher, Schriften, Manuskripte und Dokumente. Namen wie Leibniz and Lessing stehen in enger Beziehung zu dieser einzigartigen Sammlung bibliophiler Kostbarkeiten, die ständig erweitert und zu einem "Bibliotheks-Campus" ausgebaut wird. / * Zum Beispiel: Alte Pinakothek, München (1/76); Deutsches Schifffahrtsmuseum, Bremerhaven (1/77); Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg (2/77); Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn (3/77); Schloß Charlottenburg, Berlin (4/77); Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (5/77); Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (6/77); Landesmuseum Oldenburg, Oldenburg (1/78); Ostdeutsche Galerie, Regensburg (2/78); Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, München (3/78); Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg; Neue Pinakothek, München...

P. 10–11. Lessing was the last famous writer to be a librarian of this collection, a position he took up in 1770, well after the movement of the Court to Braunschweig in 1753 had greatly impoverished Wolfenbüttel. Even the library paled in the face of that of Göttingen. Not only did Lessing make the world envious of the riches of Wolfenbüttel, but there he wrote many of his theological works, also the plays Emilia Galotti and Nathan der Weise. My Book Books Lessing Wolfenbüttel


Raghavan, V. Subhasita samgraha Dvitiyo Bhagah — An Anthology of Subhasitas part 2 (Sahityaratnakose Saptamah Khandah) vol.2 1971 and 1983. New Delhi 1971. Vedic, kavya verse excerpted, plus Jain and Buddhist literature. PN 6307 S2 S8 v.2 Indian Poetry Sangrahe

Ragib, Y. L’écriture des papyrus arabes aux premières siècles de l’Islam in RMMM = Édisud 58 p.14–29. 1911. Long discussion on the surprising prejudice against use of available vowel and consonant points, and the sometimes disastrous ambiguities which resulted. P.18 discusses the use of papyrus in preference to paper (paper triumphed only in the 10C). Parchment discussed p.20. Many palimpsests, mostly undated, the first dated one from 784. Archival value of paper p.22, where attempted and malicious erasure damaged the surface and could be the more easily detected. Same page, textiles as writing surfaces. Also palm leaves and various barks of trees. Ostraka far less common in finds and allusions from literature, bones (shoulder blades and flat ribs) now rare despite (perhaps) having been a standard tablet form for teaching. The calamus called by "some": "the tongue of the hand", lisan al-yad. These scattered notes conclude with the question as to whether Egypt represents the situation in more famous centres and to their East. Only new discoveries will settle this, in Arabic as in Greek "papyri", a term which should be extended to include at least leaves, paper and animal skins, if not textiles, bone and wood.

Arabic papyri Early Arab papyri

Ragon and Sheridan, Michel & Alan, The Space of Death translated Alan Sheridan Charlottesville 1983, from the 1981 L’Espace de la mort: essai sur l’architecture, la décoration et l’urbanisme funéraires. Paris. 1983. Investigated as part of a general study of the history of Western burial as a prelude to the study of the occurrence of funerary epigraphy and to its proper interpretation. Of course, included in this was a search for inscribed verse. The period before the 12C is particularly obscure, many tombs having been rebuilt in more magnificent style in that very literary age, and very old epigraphy is difficult to isolate and identify. p.312 has the elusive van Gennep reference of a typology of modes of burial. Ragon claims the the first gisant was provided for Phillip 1,†1108 and buried in Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire. They begin as awake, perhaps beati, then sleepers with cushions, then go on to being corpses, often decomposed and skeletal by the 15C and 16C to die out.

Non-Classical
(1) in the 17C. The French Revolution brought into the open various revolutionary and philosophical attitudes to burial, sometimes, as with the English Quakers, denying the deceased any individual monument. P. 216ff: Fouche die most puritanical in these matters, Robespierre favouring the preservation of eternal memory. Texts are quoted. Calvin rejected even a coffin and a grave marker, Lamennais rejected a grave marker for himself too, and Bossuet inveighed against the vanity of tombs, as did many a Classical and Chinese moralist. Barère got permission to desecrate the St. Denis tombs of the French kings in August 1793, during which a former monk, Dom Drouon, noted what he could see of the contents. Normans and Armagnacs had already looted them, and Sugers replacements were then attacked by later Huguenots.

Burial Art Space of Death

Raiser, R. Ueber das Epigramm 1950

Epigram Über das Ep.


Indian Literature Kural Ra

Rajan, K.V. Soundara The Ellora Monoliths Rashtrakutra Architecture in the Deccan Delhi 1988

The Ellora Monoliths by Rajan, 1988 and thus recent, mentions on p. 37 a 14 line inscription above a jati window of the monarch Dantidurga.

726.1450954 14 Indian Art Architecture Ellora

Rajendra and Krishnan, Chola King †1044 & K.G. Karandai Tamil Sangam plates of Rajendrachola I New Delhi 1984

P.53 mentions that on the larger Leiden plates and the end of the Tiruvalangadu charter share a common hemistich in Sanskrit. The composer is presumed to have been a court poet. He is not mentioned, but the engravers are, carpenters who were rewarded for their extra skills on copper. 1083 donees are mentioned, with place of residence, gotra, Sutra, place of origin, name, plus a serial number, all in columns.

YYq 954 K92 Series 1) no. 79 Indian Epigraphy Tamil Sangam Plates

Ramalho, Ámérico da Costa Latin renascentista em Portugal. Antologia Coimbra From 1481 to 1580. Note the reference p. 185 to Antonio dos Reis and Manuel Monteiro Corpus illustrius posterum Lusitanorum qui Latin scripsitum Lisboa 1745, quem non vidi.

P. 184 has an epigram on Coimbra in 12 x El, and p. 208 14 x El in the "Gymnasium Comimbricensis", but these are the only two obviously Portuguese epigrams in the whole anthology, perhaps typical of copious Portugal, home of the epic and of the lovesong.

P. 180 has a epitaphic quatrain on Andrea Goveanus, but «Este epitáfio em dois distícos elegíacos encontra-se no Epigrammatum Liber II, incluido nos Opera Omnia de Buchanan, atrás citados, p. 383.»

ANDRAE GOVEANO

Alite non fausta genti dum rursus Iberae Restituis Musas, hie, Gouveane, iaces.

Cura tui Musis fuerit si mutua, nulla Incolet Elysium clarior umbra nemus.

Syd Fish 879.09 12/1 Portuguese Latin Portuguese Latin


Indian Architecture Southern Temple Origins

Ramesan, N. Copper plate Inscriptions of the State Museum General Editor Md. Abdul Wahed Khan Hyderabad 1962–1972 2nd vol. on this topic, the first = vol. 6 of Andhra Pradesh Govt. Arch. Series, 1962. This vol. is intended as a continuation.

5 x 14–15C series of plates bound together with ring and seal are discussed (first and last of first series actually written both sides, a practice usually confined to the inner plates) in this vol. II: 2 of King Sadasivraya of the Vijayanagar period, 1 of Anavema Reddi of the Kondavidu dyn., 1 of King Mallideva of the Telugu Chola family, and 1 of a King Trinetta Pallava. The history of these dynasties has been given in vol. I. I noted verse p.2, 12, 21, 30, and 34: Plate I, II—[p.2] The Prasasti, date, names and details of the donees are all in elevated Skt verse. —[p.12] These five plates all in (mixed) verse, all apart from two Telugu Invocations, in good Skt. —[21] a third series of five bound/sealed Vijayanagara plates, again almost all in mixed Skt. verses, with the boundaries being described in Telugu. The inside of the last plate has addenda such as the description of the grant, the name of the engraver, and the "usual imprecatory verses found at the ends of grants". The final "signature" is one quite common Non-Classical
in all the Vijayanagara plates: "Sri Virupaksha". —[30] another charter of grant of land, in 16 Skt. verses in which King Mallideva is said to have been born "like a moon in the ocean". Then imprecations and signature of King Mallideva. Carefully dated to 1251 Saka = 1329 CE, so redundantly that details of the date can be seen to be contradictory. —[34] three plates in Skt verse, except for the final description of the village and its boundaries, in Telugu. Some "biruda-s" praising the King 'usually found in Vijayanagar plates' are quoted in part. The predominance of verse and of Skt in these pragmatic documents is notable, showing the strong brahmanical infiltration of court and countryside typical of the second millennium of our Era.

q 954.84 R172 Series 1) no. 6, 28, 19 Indian Epigraphy Copper plate

Ramesh, K.V. Indian Epigraphy vol. 1 Delhi 1984 Indian Epigraphy Ind Epig 1

Ramesh, K.V. ed. Inscriptions of the Western Gangas New Delhi 1984 Indian Epigraphy Western Gangas

Ramesh and Prasad and Tewari, K.V. & Agam & S.P. Svasti Sri. Dr. B.Ch. Chhabra felicitation volume Delhi 1984 E 153999 Indian Epigraphy Western Gangas


Randolph’s

Randsborg, K. Burial, Succession and Early State Formation in Denmark in Chapman, Kinnes and Randsborg 1981 1981

The late appearance of verbal epigraphy on Scandinavian funerary stones which long had featured fine carving is here put down to a need to validate inheritance. This need must have been triggered off by the loosening of old methods of affirming the right to inherit from a deceased Danish parent. The form of the Danish inscriptions would agree with this interpretation. They curtly indicate who made the tomb for whom. Nothing more. Under this interpretation there would be no call for poetry in the inscription, though the inscribers came from a poetry loving elite. See *Moltke, *Elliott.

The use of a recognisable and findable family funerary monument to secure one’s own social status is common to Denmark, Athens, Japan and seemingly China, though in China archives may have been the primary source of validation. In Japan (*Mac6) we can actually trace the end of a period which had made the tomb a focus of social and ritual practice, a period in which oral traditions could be presumed to remain strong. Such cultural changes usually involve widespread turmoil in a society. Once ancestral tombs were no longer ritually and regularly visited, there was great pressure to provide a verbal inscription to "preserve memory". See, for popular Indian memorialising practices, usually an-epigraphic, *Sontheimer.

Viking Burial Epigraphy Denmark

Rankin, Nicholas 1987 Dead Man’s Chest, Travels after Robert Louis Stevenson London P.204–205 describe the model lighthouse raised in 1954 over the site of the bombed Skerryvore house (Nov. 1940 on the night of Bournemouth’s second worst air raid). A narrative plaque in front of it explains the importance of the house.

For the other monuments to Stevenson see *Hammerton p.308 (San Francisco), *Daiches p.110–111 (Mt. Vaea), and most biographies for Edinburgh. Also the poem Skerryvore (Coll. Poet. p.142 Underwoods XXXIV), which announces in seven lines the inscription of just one word: "Skerryvore", on the lintel of the cott(tage). See also p.485 of the poems for reference to two other inscriptions for Skerryvore not listed in that work.

ANU Burial Stevensoniana Ra

Rao and Shulman and Subrahmanynam, Velcheru Narayana & David & Sanjay Symbols of Substance, Court and State in Nayaka Period Tamilnadu Delhi 1992

Tries to link politics and economics to literary themes of that time, and literary quotations and summaries appear frequently.

South India, 16C to 18C, i.e., medieval. Leads into a discussion of the effect of these centuries on the famous kingdom of Tanjavur. Materials for the history of these periods have been unjustly limited to native chronicles and

Non-Classical
inscriptions. Jesuit letters and even more so, the archives of the Dutch East India Company are full of vivid and unused materials. The literature of the period is in Telugu, Sanskrit and Tamil, and many works have not yet been published.

Indian Nayaka States

Raskin, Victor *Semantic Mechanisms of Humor* Dordrecht/Boston/Lancaster 1984

Most of this does not concern us, but p. 170–177 have an extended treatment of the *chatushka*, the Russian equivalent of the obscene limerick. Obscene epigram has been an important strand since Martial, and has been much discussed in Renaissance and Baroque times, lasting in fully literary form at least up to *Herrick*.

The *chatushka* is only 100 years old. It is verse. It is a quatrain usually rhymed (sometimes not), which can be sung, possessing less metrical freedom (i.e., laxity) than "the other Russian forms". See *Preminger sv.* It tends to be trochaic especially in the odd lines, while the rhythm of even lines can vacillate, and these tend to lose their last unstressed syllable. The rhyme is AB AB. The etymology of the genre's title is from *chatit*', a verb from *chasto*, "fast", and there is in fact a characteristic, hurried delivery of this genre. The very form, as that of the limerick, attunes the listener to the expected obscenity, to some extent defusing it. Those that are not obscene are frivolous, familiar or presumptuous. Becoming the preferred joke form of dissident intellectuals it was never sung in that context, but recited.

PN 6147 R33 Chatushka *Mechanisms of Humor*

Raze and Lachaud and Flandrin, Henricus de & Edmundus de & Joannes Baptista *Concordantiarum SS. Scripture manuale 7th ed Lugduni/Parisiis* 1863

Used to identify the biblical texts of English Monastic seals. Though there were other versions of the Latin scriptures used in different liturgies and scriptoria, it seems that on the seals the wording of texts, even when prose is used, often diverges from that of the sacred text, perhaps depending on devotional rephrasings in common hymns or prayers not available to me, perhaps original.

My Book Bible *Concordance to Vulgate*


Looked at for the poetic citations in 12C Greek orators. Index Lociorum p. 394–399 shows the overwhelming majority of the poetic quotations to be derived from Homer, and only one from AP.

Greek Byzantine 12C Greek Rhetors

Reichl and Kreutzer, K. & G. *Elegie, in RLGA Vol. 7 p. 130–136*

The word elegiac is naturally applied to a group of 9 Old English poems all preserved in the Exeter Book. It seems artificial not to mention the extremely elegiac Middle Welsh in this context. The poems are the Wanderer, the *Seafarer*, the Rhympoem, Deor, Wulf & Eadwace, Complaint of the Women, Lament of an exile, Message of a Husband, Ruins. To these we could add sections of Beowulf, V 2247 and 2444.

For our purposes the most important thing is the comment that such elegiac tendencies are generally foreign to skaldic poetry, and we have seen how rare expressions of regret and sorrow are, prose or verse, on "Viking" stones: p. 135: "Insgesamt gesehen war der Skaldendichtung ein Lebensgefühl, das sich in elegischen Betrachtungen Ausdruck verschaffte, fremd. Nicht einmal in einer Gattung wie dem erfillkveði (see erflóðra) dem Erbgedicht auf einen verstorbenen Fürsten, bildeten schmerzvolle Gedanken einen Teil des konventionellen Themenskatalogs."

Old Germanic expressivity *Elegie 2*


There is much verse associated with these Satirical graphics.

741 3 English Drawings Verse *Satirical prints and drawings*

Reisner and Wechsler, R.G. & Lorraine *Encyclopedia of Graffiti* NY 1980

Macq *Graffiti American*


P.955 on lyric: l'unité du poème est la strophe. & p.960 on subhaśitāni, disturbingly without giving them any genre name:

«La poésie gnomique se distingue des formes précédentes moins par le fond que par la facture, qui d'ordinaire est simple et sans afféterie. Les petits chefs-d'oeuvre abondent dans cette masse de strophes gnomiques qu'on rencontre dans tous les domaines, non seulement dans les contes et les œuvres proprement Non-Classical
littéraires, mais jusque dans les traités les plus techniques. Comme la lyrique, elles se présentent tantôt isolées, tantôt en groupes plus ou moins compacts. Le style sanscrit, susceptible d'une étonnante concision, se prêtait éminemment à ces aphorismes poétiques, contenant sous une ore piquante un condensé de moralité pratique, de sagesse mondaine ou religieuse.»

As can be seen, Renou refers to "subhāshīṇi" as independent texts, "strophes", emphasising the gnomic corpus. There was also a lyric subhāshīṇī. See the many works of L. Sternbach.

Indian Sanskrit


Indian Moyen-indiennes

Reusner, Nicolaus Icones / sive / Imagines virorum / sive / Imagines virorum / illustrium / quorum fide et do- 

ctrine et patronum memo- riā, in Germaniā præsentim. in / integrum sunt resti-/ tuta. / Additis eorumde elogiosis / diversorum auctorum. / Recensente / Nicolao Reusnero IC. / Curante 

Bernardo Iobino. / Privilegio Caesareo. / Argentorati. xiici Straßburg 1587 apud Bernhard Jobin, facs. reprint with additamenta postposita Manfred Lemmer Leipzig 1973

A most important Who's Who of the German culture area and the late Renaissance-Baroque. Typically, the woodcut portraits are accompanied by a short poem, in this book, a distich, which is one of the oldest practices of the cohabitation of epigram and art work since the hellenistic period. Typically of the Renaissance, laudatory poems are printed when much other poetry was more commonly kept in MS and thus distributed. Poems intended for rulers or for other Humanists were the main occasional verses to be printed in earlier times. Typically, they are of various lengths, from long odes down to shortish epigrams, with the shortish type predominating in number, indicating that this was a prestigious form in many Renaissance periods, as everyone felt no shame or difficulty in versifying longer. We will take one example to indicate the treatment, which is, of course, of intense interest for biography and for the history of scholarship.

First page: on top, the title of the person, Simon Grynaeus Philos & Theologus Basiliensis. Then, the wood cut portrait, which takes most of the page, and under it, the verse titulus: // Quam pius & doctus, tarn suavis moribus // Vrbs Rheni iuncta est quä Basilea vadis //

Second page: 27 lines of (centre-justified) Latin prose giving the life and works of Grynaeus. At the bottom, a signature mark G iiij

Third page: In Simonem Grynaeum / Theol. & Philos. / Epigrammata / (a, but these serial letters are ours, not R's) Theod Bezae (10 x El + "Suos Deus tegit"), (b) Ioan. Lauterbachii ("non deserit malis timentes se Deus" then 10 x El).

Fourth page: (c) Michaelis Toxitae (9 x IambDim); (d) Ioannis Sapidi (carried over page, but in toto 27 x IambTrim) then the signature mark G iiijii

Fifth page: contd.; (e) Ioach. Camerarii (16 x El, carrying over the page)

Sixth page: contd.; (f) Iosephi à Pinn Eteostichon which we quote: //Grynae es duro resolutus carcere carnis: / Vrbs Rheni iuncta est quà Basilea invent sunt quæ. Obviously, only the final distich is indisputably an "epigram" according to the prescriptions of the time (three rows are probably epigrams by the average maximum length prescribed, which allows for up to dxain form, but all are so called by their anthologists! The verso of the TP has what are presumably the arms of Frederick, or of a city, with the dedication to FRIEDERICVS SECVNDES, above which is a pious distich: // RARA FIDES AVIS EST: / FIDVS Musarum CURIS, RE coepta & Bezae. breviter & summalim compositas: turn etiam aliorum clarorum virorum subiunxi Elogia elegantissimd de nostrae, & Galliae & Angliae...
Thesis Bibliography 2 (22 December 1995)  P 499

VIRVM: DN. NICOLAVM REVSNERVM, I.C. & P.C. de opere Iconum, ODE HIERONYMI TREVTLERI SILESI.

The work proper begins with Albertus Magnus. Second is Ioannes Hussus Boemus Academiae Pragensis Theologus comes, so the order seems to be chronological.

At the end of the main lineup of savants come two and a fraction pages with an index of those mentioned, signatures given, and three and two fractions of pages of the authors QVORVM EPIGRAMMAT A HOC IN opere sparsim leguntur, no page reference being provided here. Then FINIS, with the handwritten book inscription of the owner of the version chosen for photo-reproduction, in final, colophon position: Sum ex Libris Christiani Wermunthii Abt (?) Med. Priv. Gothami. ??: 1726 (?) et. 65.

All is not finished, as there is an addendum made up just of some few Icon pages, including the expected title and the subscribed distich on each, some of these in German language, ending up with one for Reusner himself, under which is found: // Effigies homo parva tua est, DEVS: effigium fac / Me quoque, dum vivo, semper habere tuam.//, this piouis distich on ) 5. The next page is numbered 431, and begins the modern Nachwort, which is quite extensive. In it the artistic talents of the printer himself are mentioned, and indeed, the composition and the use of ornate borders for every page is quite impressive. It is a beautiful, small book.

From other sources we gain the impression that the verses subjoined to the leones could themselves be called "icones", and that they could retain this designation when anthologised without the pictures. It is also clear how close the Icons books come to being Emblemata books.

CT 93 R5 1973 ANU German Humanist Epigram Reusner Icones

Reynolds, Henry  Mythomystes, wherin a short survay is taken of the nature and value of true poesy and depth of the ancients above our modern poets, to which is annexed the tale of Narcissus briefly mythologised  London [1932] = Menston 1972 1632ca.

A remarkable non-technical work from a neo-Platonic background in the genre of Longinus, i.e., seeking poetry outside rules, classifications, recipes and definitions, hence of little direct value for us but of great importance to an understanding of the varying directions taken by the early modern critical tradition. While not entirely antipathetic to epigram (as the emblemata and mystical rubayyat might confirm), wide-spread neo-Platonism would appear to favour longer poetic forms.

Poetics Mythomystes


Josephus is mentioned on p. 346 n° 25 only, but he was well known in the Latin 12 C according to Ghellinck. This is relevant to our study of sources for William of Malmesbury's *WONDROUS STELE, for which see Addenda p. 9 Anthologia Latina: Salmusius MS 8C, 'epigrammatum liber', found several times in MS = Paris Lat 10318, see n°3: "Liber <epi>-grammaton occurs in the colophon of the section preceding the Pervigilium Veneris (200) in the titulus to the poems of Luxorius (287) and in the colophon to item 379". Also p.9 "but Riese's use of epigrammaton libri as a title for the entire codex is purely speculative." SEE ALSO Luxurius I Text und Untersuchungen Heinz Happ Stuttgart 1986. p. 43 echoes of Catullus 9C to 12C, Heiric of Auxerre, William of Malmesbury. See also Ghellinck and Manitius. Texts and Transmission


Coinage said to have begun in the +13C, which seems to be the use of coinage from neighbouring states, as Tibetan minting was very slow to develop. We are more interested in Tibetan seals, which were common — see *Schuh.

Tibetan Currency Tibetan Currency

Richardson, H.E.  Early Burial Grounds in Tibet and Tibetan Decorative Art of the VIIth and IXth Centuries in Central Asiatic Journal 8 (1963) p.73 1963

Phong-rgyas is 65 miles SE of Lhasa in a confluence under a mountain ridge. Here the first BANG-SO (burial mound) was made. p.76 10 mounds survive (more than the 5 Tucci saw), all apparently once square. Looted in the 9C and 18C. So far undiggable because of local attitudes. It also seems that nobles had burial mounds around Lhasa, which have not yet been identified, but R. suggests some valleys with likely remains above ground.

Also in 7/8 1962–1963 (bound together) are some items of interest: the Latin-Turkish-(Russian)-English Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, J. Deny, K. Grönbach †, H. Scheel, Z. Velidi Togan Tome I Aquis Mattiacis 1950 (Language; V 2 Lit; V 3 Hist; V 4 Epig/Numismat.). Also Robert E. Ekvall p.163–173 The Role of the Dog in Tibetan Nomadic Society; p.104–154? John R. Krueger? The Epilogue and Gnomic Colophon of the Erdeni-Yin Tobti — the latter was not recognised as verse by the previous editor of the work, and was omitted, but it runs to 79 alliterating quatrains in the Turkish-Mongol manner. Incidentally, recent travellers do not share Ekvall's elaborate fears concerning the dogs guarding Tibetan encampments: Nick Danziger Danziger's Travels, Beyond Forbidden

Non-Classical
Frontiers London 1993, not a comment on dangerous dogs in all his Tibetan section. He does however have a note that older burials, for the rich, were expensive (60 yuan) Zoroastrian-style "sky burials", while the poor were normally thrown into a mountain stream, p. 319. For this reason fish are "unclean" in Tibet to this day. Also in a now unknown article of this collection p.311 there are poems by Mamluk Kipchuk Sultan Qansü Gaurd 1500–1517 including a "Turkish rubāT" and a "Turkish murabbā'.

950.05 CEN ANL Tibetan Epigraphy Architecture Burial Tibetan royal burials

Richardson, H. E. Ch‘ing Dynasty Inscriptions at Lhasa Rome 1974

The book is not complete, as it concentrates on Tibetan language, with Chinese texts presented, but not as fully. Manchu and Mongolian texts are merely alluded to. One Chinese inscription is in the form of a rare epigraphic quatrain (? or shorter), at first reading an isolated epigraph (but the date must have been on the stone extra- metrically). Most poems listed are introductory to much longer prose texts, and are in Tibetan.


P. 19 n° 6 "Fragrance left in a Foreign Land" "1721, Auspicious day in middle of the spring of the Iron-Ox year 60th of K‘ang-hsi." This long, six-part inscription in Chinese is distantly reminiscent of the Greek casualty list inscriptions, with its mixture of short verse, titles, and name lists:
   i. [introductory Verse — no longer than quatrain (in fu form?), perhaps a couplet — no characters given] The great strategy is everywhere made known Our Army set out. The enemy were shaken with fear. We have been far away in distant lands
   ii. [Names of 14 officers, beginning with that of the Mongol commander in charge of the Green Banner Mongolian troops] He has pacified the West for ever.
   iii. Short title "In honour of the virtuous policy of the great master Nien [etc. etc.] the Governor of Szechwan".
   iv. [Short eulogy in verse, much more in the "Chinese" tone of the prose honorific inscriptions, and possibly a quatrain, perhaps a couplet] His military strategy was equal to public expectation. His merit is double that of Wu-Hsiang [= the 2nd Han yu?] The Barbarians all look to him with respect. He has pacified the West for ever.
   v. [30 more names]
   vi. Colophon in prose. The above complex of related inscriptions and the monument they occur on and for are colophonically described as being by the 5,000 soldiers of Mongolian, Szechwanese and Yünnanese troops stationed in Tibet.

P. 22 n° 9 Inscription of 1729 by Mailu Ma-ji-shu, assistant commander of Shensi and Yünnan, inscribed the following in the First Summer Month of the Wood-Bird Year of Yung-Cheng [in fact he got the date wrong — it was more likely to be the Earth-Bird Year = 1729]. This peaceful-looking epigraph of the frightful pacifier of the Tibetans seems to have been in no more than quatrain form, perhaps a couplet (or exceptionally, a triplet?): The south Hill gives shelter The Wind and a tree make a flurry (?) By military courage keep the Tibetan frontier forever.

This follows n° 8, of 1728, the Jalangga inscription of Chin-chih Li-bu Shang-sheng.

P. 43 re. the Imperial Edict of 1792, the quadri-lingual Gorkha edict, the unusual Tibetan translation "Ming Byang" is given for 'memorial inscription', the correct meaning is assured from its equivalent in the Chinese original — this Tibetan phrase usually means a mere catalogue of names or of words, which neatly captures the "factual-honorific" style of Chinese epigraphy. In this epigraphic text one would have expected the more standard Tibetan term byang-bu or tshan-byang, meaning normally a memorial wooden tablet for a dead person. Note as a matter of side interest n° 5 "A ruler should not neglect his duties by playing with his dogs"! The Gorkha Inscr. is in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan, on a stone tablet which stands in Chinese fashion on the back of a carved stone-tortoise (funerary and solemn documentary steals commonly stood thus from at least the time of the Later Han, it seems), in a pavilion 30 yards from the similar Dzungar edict of 1720.

P. 64ff. Stone tablets of 1808 at the Ju-khang concerning the selection of the Ninth Dalai Lama. Note the indigenous nature of the Tibetan epigraphic habit!

P. 68 Lhasa edict in 4 parts, each on a separate stone tablet, each introduced by a passage in verse (presumably Tibetan language). We give the approximate extent of each inscription from its printed lines in the format taken by the English transliteration. We follow this with the stichs and syllable count of the four Tibetan verses:

Tablet 1: Introd &Verse 10 lines, prose 56
Tablet 2: Verse 8 lines, prose 52
Tablet 3: Verse 9 lines, prose 55
Tablet 4: Verse 8 lines, prose 68

Actually, tablets 2, 3 & 4 all begin with 8 lines of 9-syllable verses. The situation for a non-Tibetologist is more Non-Classical
difficult in Poem 1. Perhaps the first apparently poetic line is a versified (or even short prose) title. It has 9 lines of what look to be verse, but of partially irregular syllable count: its first three lines have 15 syllables, the next four have 9 syllables, the eighth line has 22 syllables, and the last, the ninth, has 18 syllables.

Richardson, H.E. A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions Lond? 1985 Royal Asiatic Society, James G. Forlong Series no xxix

Covers 764–840 CE, three pre-Manchu Reigns. Texts and translations, with studies.

P.36: As in China and in Muslim countries, and indeed Byzantium, but reputedly not in India (apart from Kashmir) some sort of antiquarianism predates European influence in Tibet. One exciting example is the 18C Lama whose works preserve the texts of inscriptions which are now neglected and very damaged, the Ka-Thog Lama Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu, for which see Richardson’s A Tibetan Antiquarian of the XVIIIth Century in Sikkim Bulletin of Tibetology IV (1967).

P.35, 83 & 145 treat early (8/9C) inscriptions high up on great bells, these far more ancient than their present architectural surroundings. The last mentioned features a sloka from Surendrabodhi, popular under the name of Bzang-spyod.

p.84 deals with the great tumuli (bang-so) of the recently identified burial ground of the Tibetan kings at ‘Phyong-rgyas.

p.101 is one of a number of early decrees where the making of copies is ordered and their intended locations given (4 copies here, ca. 820CE.) This one at Lcang-bu.

p.106ff the famous bilingual treaty with the Chinese.

P.111 it seems most likely that the Tibetan text of the bilingual treaty refers to the Chinese as “barbarians” thus responding in kind to the normal Chinese characterisation of the non-Han.


There is a lesson here for the non-specialist student wandering into Dark Age epigraphy. The rapid growth of legends about royals (the nascent Edmund cult was almost immediately adopted by his Danish assassins!) and the way cults were influenced by deep-seated contemporary needs and manipulated, consciously or not, by powerful groups, suggests that the graves of the surprisingly holy Anglo Saxon royals would frequently be redecorated and rebuilt. Their remains were often enough “translated” (= moved to a more appropriate site) We meet Edmund among the figures popular on high Medieval seals, where he attracts some original verse inscriptions.


The Verso of the TP is crowded with prose dedications.

In these note the essentially scholastic origins of the collection, but that school verses can be published in a prestige form as well and thus bridge the private, the coterie, and the grand public domains.

To... etc. Hunc II Librorum Prim. Millenariu(m), & quicquid est operae atq. impensae, in Schola femrâ pridem, sed non pro Scholasticis saltem, quamvis & ipsa præcipuë commodaturum spes sit, elaboratum, constipatum, & adornat D.D.C. 2. & pubbli studiose, ipsorum fidei concreeditaie suffragante erudendum benevolentia, de meliori notà commendat Dignitatum & Cltum eorum studiosius Editor D.A.R.

There are X "Centuries", broken over the two "Books", bound together and involving a continuous numeration of the sub heads, the "Capita", which are subject heads running up to 53 in total, some repeated. Rivinus' book has 1600 pages. The detailed subject division is highly significant. A lengthy Index precedes the texts, indicating the names of the Latin poets whose translations are used.

Significantly, the Preface contains not one comment on the nature or the origins of epigram, on the problem of the form or of its name. This is unusual in the collections I have found, whether vernacular or Latin. No doubt the presence of the Planudine Greek texts relieved the editor of any doubt about the existence or definition of the form.

In the Praefatio ad Lectorem Rivinus concentrates on the "great collectors", naming Athenaeus, Stobaeus and Agathias, and quotes the full Greek T.P. of the Aldine edition of Planudes Venice 1503. The qualities praised in Planudes are that he is argutos, festivos and absolutius. His amatory book is full of lepor, venus and venustas

Quoted also are Vincentus Obsopoeneus, Caesar Scaliger and Elias Cuchlerius, from whom, as from Rivinus himself,
come many of the Latin translations. A feature of this book is the enormous number of Latin versions of the same Greek poem, a fact commented on by Hutton. He quotes Cicero on Archias... quoties idem cum literam scripsisset nullam, magnum tamen numerum optimorum versorum de ipsis rebus, quae tum agerentur, dixisset ex tempore...

We note the same emphasis on extemporising in the case of Bernard André, in the early English 16C (Carlson p.64ff.), but André was blind. Nevertheless, it seems that extemporising was as rare in the age of Cicero as it was at the court of Henry VII (and in Baroque Paris). Perhaps the nature of literacy (in the élite) was not very much different in the two ages.

ANU Rare Books AA 41PA3458.A3 1657 Greek Anthologies Florilegium epigrammatum


A major statement by the French leader in the field, translated into German as a booklet. The French style of publication deriving from the Roberts makes the Arabic and the Greek epigraphy of Egypt a joy to study.

Epigraphy Épigraphie

Robinson, Francis Atlas of the Islamic World since 1500 NY/Oxford 1989 Facts on File, a heavily illustrated semi-popular series in which text illustration and cartography seem roughly equivalent in importance. Illustration and information is in fact more important than cartography, to a degree that the title is a misnomer.

P. 39, The famous lines: "... Come back, come back, even if you have broken your repentance a thousand times." are inscribed on the mother convent of the Mawlawiya order at Konya, under which blue-tiled Seljuk mausoleum lies its founder, Jalal al-Din Rumi. The quote in this Atlas is incomplete, but the inscribed poem is short, a rubā‘ of Rumi himself. See *Halman.

Calligraphy, p.202 and surrounding pages, is very scantily treated. The very important expansions and consolidations of Islam in recent centuries are well illustrated, as is the part played by various "Brotherhoods" in this. Most of these were Sufi in spirit. As later Sufism cultivated both tombs and the Persian quatrain, this recent spreading of the Brotherhoods into missionary territory is of intrinsic interest for the history of epigram-like forms.

My Book Arabic Later Islamic World

Robortello, F Forum omnium quae ad methodum et artificium scribendi epigrammatis spectant explicatio in Weinberg vol. I, 1970, p.508–516, as part of an early neo-Aristotelian series Explicationes de satyra, de epigrammate, de comœdia, de elegia 1548

The first systematic treatment of (Western) epigram ever to be published in the history of the world, as far as our present knowledge can reach.

My Copy 808.1 209 Syd Fish Epigram Poetics de epigrammate Robortello

Robson, S. Principles of Indonesian Philology Dordrecht/Providence 1988

A useful revivification of the concept of a total "philology" applied to a developing culture, one with some past records heavily influenced by Islamo-Persian models but apparently containing also much native material. In some ways Indonesian culture a generation ago seems to have been at a similar stage to Greek culture before the -5C. "Philology" should link the most technical details of languages, scripts and codicology to the highest realms of theorising and literary appreciation.

My Book Indonesian Indon.Phil.

Rodger, Alex(ander) Scotch poetry: consisting of songs, odes, anthems and epigrams by... 1821 24 pp. only, a pamphlet

Very few of these poems are short, one being p.20, 6 lines, The Heaven-born minister. They are highly political. The publisher/editor asks for information on the whereabouts of this "operative weaver of Glasgow", as his poems came to R. Carlile in London, without the writer's express permission, after the latter had failed to find a publisher in Scotland. Carlile offers to pay him for publishing his poems, if the new whereabouts of the poet can be advised. It seems that personal preference, or poverty, had driven him into vagrancy.

mfm 913 English Poetry Scotch


The problems of Islamic epitaphic practice change according to the ethnic substratum, the distance from the periphery, and the period. The calligraphic question is just one of the matters treated in this article, and not the most important. Apparently the marking of tombs was frowned on, though done, (p.107, see conveniently now a few items (not as clear as the immediately following summary of JMR) in *Ali, Hadith). Grave cults came in from people such as the Armenians (and Asiatic Turks).
P. 107: "The collections of traditions janā'iz or muhaddithin like al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī, ibn Māja, all roundly condemn the marking of graves by inscriptions or in any other way, and the 'Ulama' distinctly proclaimed their disapproval long after public opinion had completely accepted the cult of graves."

One could boast about one's refusing burial under a domed mausoleum. This is actually a roundabout way of reconciling an old taboo with new, proclamatory realities. See Monneret de Villard's introduction to Dhū al-Nun al-Misri, 1966, 1968. Epitaphs ante mortem were common from at least the 14C at Aswan, where there are burials from the 9C. The formularies are not the expected ones, but of course, most large urban cemeteries have been so ravaged that comparisons will always be delicate.

In Armenian Akhlāt, dated tombs begin in the 12C. Females there are characterised at the most as having been "modest" (al-mazlumah). Youths are a topos here, said by Wheeler Thackston to derive from Persian literary topoi. There are pessimistic epitaphs (p.111), and there is the "characteristically Armenian" practice of signing works of art (p.115). I found little verse, but on the headstone of Abu al-Barakat Sahih 18 Jan 1261 there is some scribbled verse in Persian, and elsewhere, a most beautifully engraved footstone (the headstone is much poorer) shows a final elegy in Persian verse for an 'Ālā' al-Din Uthman, †Oct 1269. The 8 line Persian elegy has this whole stone to itself and is in a mixture of qif'a (?) and rubā'ī metres. (The former is incomprehensible as a metre, it most commonly means any half line or line used independently, but such confusion is normal in secondary works on Persian versification). The author is interested in the calligraphic nature of the footstone and its being unique. I am interested mainly in the verse, but there is a connection between the carefulness of the verse writing and the care taken in embodying the writing, particularly in such a deeply calligraphic culture where inscribed and even printed forms imitate the cursive. A purely Islamic taboo was that of breaking verse lines to fit on the stone. This constituted the vice of tahrif and, especially in the defective script usually employed, such lack of integrity of the engraved verse line was likely to encourage bad readings of the Book. Thus, proper lineation may have had non-graphic and non-aesthetic motivations. Akhlāt is one place which shows an evolution of detailed epitaphs from the status of being merely permissible to that of being necessary. On p.212–222 the author considers the thuluth inscriptions under the late Timurids, and long texts in conspicuous form. Jalayirid calligraphers praise the monumental inscriptions of Tabriz, Shiraz and elsewhere, all of which are now lost to us. This is like the Chinese concern for beautifully engraved stones in evocative places. There are apparently monumental thuluth inscriptions extant on Timurid buildings at Hashshad, Samaqand, Khargird and Herat. I have no indication of which are in verse. See however *Hanaway and *Blair. Verse form apparently mattered much less than how exquisitely the texts were engraved, though the two matters, as I have said, seem often to be related.

The writing of these tombstones, despite its beauty, falls in a third category, one between those of calligraphy and "common script".

Arabic Epigraphy Burial Aswan and Akhlāt

Rogers, James Edwin Thorold 1823–1890 Epistles satires and epigrams by... London 1876 [183] p.

Contents.—To George Waring (poem). —Horace. epistles: i.xx, vi, v., x.: Satires: ii.ii. —Juvenal. Satires i, iii, xiii. —Lucilius, —The wisdom of the Ancients. —Epigrams. —General Subjects. A distich on the title page from Petronius. Intr. poem (no prose preface) to George Waring. Horace p.1, Juvenal p. 47, Lucilius p.147 (in Lactantius =2C? invented Roman Satire?). Political epigrams p. 169–173; Epitaphs p. 174–175; General Subjects p. 176–182 — all three sections being mainly in quatrains, except for 7 distichs, one of the latter in Latin. At the end is an Envoy, one page of verse, like the verse introduction. I quote one of the epitaphs, p. 175: / Pass traveller on: no need to linger here — / This monument no history reveals; / Truth writes no virtue on this wretch's bier / His vices Charity at last conceals. /

821.8 R727ep English Epigram Rogers's


Not directly on our topic, but p. 58, and p. 61–64 have examples of "lyrische Humor", where the motivation for use of verse is not analysed, but examples are given. P. 58 deals well with some of the ludic uses of rhyme, and p. 61/2 with the antithetic uses of Schüttelreim, incidentally praising brevity, as in:

Du bist

Buddhist

or:

Weinachten Christmas night

Ein Sternenfall A star fall

im fernen Stall In a far stall

By any standards except that of the author's, this is epigram.
After a section on the German limerick, its position in the literary constellation of that country, and the similarity of its stanza to that of some German children's jingles and folksongs, P. 63 deals with the "so called Klapphorn-Verse". P. 63/4 notes that such rigid, formulaic rhyming schemes and habits rise, bloom and fall, an example of a deceased popular form being the Leber-reim, rising even before the 16C, flourishing in the 17C, aging notably by the end of the 18C. In 19/20C writing it hardly survives, but orally it was healthy in the 19C, and in the specific situation of niederdeutschen Bauernhochzeiten it still seems to be quite healthy. It includes joke and nonsense, and also instruction, wishes and riddling, two examples of the formula:

Die Leber is vom Hecht und nicht von einem Kauze,
Wer keinen Schnabel hat, dem gab Gott eine Schnauze

Die Leber is von einem Hecht und nicht von einem Biber
Dem einem ist sein Weib, dem andern andre lieber.

Apparently, a certain Hermann Helmer has now thoroughly studied the once lowly and neglected phenomenon of humour in verse, "lyrische Humor".

See some more examples of the Leberreim from Weisz in Addenda.
PN 6147 R6 German Humour Der Witz

Rolle, Renate Totenkult der Skythen Teil I: Das Steppengebiet – Katalog Berlin/NY 1979
Teil I Das Steppengebiet – Text und Tafeln Berlin/NY 1979

P. 377 fn° 15: The earliest Phoenician inscriptions are short, on arrows and spearheads (KAI 20-22) and a short Byblos text, and they come from the late –12C or the –11C, i.e., after the upheaval of the Sea Peoples. The latest dateable Punic inscription comes from the period 162–217 CE.

Phoenician
Phoenician

Rolshoven and Fontana, Jurgen & Alessio, Concordanze — Poliziano — Italiane 1986

No epigramma in the concordance, and only one mention of tomba. It is an interesting matter to speculate why some Humanists leave many epigrams and others few or none. While much of this must be the result of the hazards of collection and transmission of occasional verse, the prestige attaching to much epigram in that period makes it the more likely that preservation has not been so poor, and thus, that some major Humanists actually refrained from writing in that style and at that length.

Humanists Politian

Romanos? Plaque at St. Edmund’s

There is a Byzantine inscriptional plaque at St. Edmund’s Canberra – anonymous? Attributed to Romanos by some authorities. It could be a Troparion (monostanzaic liturgical poem)
I was not able to find it in the selected texts of Romanos available on my shelves (Christ and Paranikas), or in the ANU library (Carpenter), or in ANL (Maas and Trypanis).
A Lemma on the example at St. Edmund’s Canberra argues for its anonymity:

"This hymnic quotation relating to the crucifixion, from a contribution to the Liturgy of the Byzantine Church."

Greek script:

ΩΣΙΠΕΡ ΠΕΛΕΚΑΝ ΤΕΛΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΛΕΥΡΑΝ ΣΟΥ, ΔΟΓΕ, ΣΟΥΣ ΘΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ΕΞΩΣΑΣ, ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣ ΖΩΤΙΚΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΡΟΥΝΟΤΣ

Note the syllable count: 5, 10 (iambic), 10, 9, 2, at least as here alienated. Translation given (fairly literal):

Just like a pelican, Thou Lord, wounded in Thy side
Thy dead children didst revive,
by dropping blood on them from the fountains of life.

*Kouellakes 1986 in his treatment of the wooden churches of the Aegean area called the Dodecanese quotes just this stanza on p. 159 as a well-known "saying", ἦ ρήγη, Pelicans and eagles (not always distinguishable) were

Non-Classical
popular enough in the post-Turkish period from which most wooden churches survive, and Koutelakes mentions churches outside his selected style, area and period which illuminate the examples he found in wood from the 17C and later. Presumably then, as he does not cite the poet's name, the saying was frequently encountered either in the liturgy or in popular piety.

I note that the St. Edmund's plaque has only one small picture of monogram size, and that it is basically a calligraphic inscription tablet. The (copy of the?) original is framed like a photograph, behind glass.

See Addenda for more discussion of the likely epigrammaticity of this, and the place played in such a question by the fragment's origin and common use.

On the history of the Pelican motif itself, see the article in the older edition of the Catholic Encyclopedia. See also the immediately following Bibliography item.

Byzantine epigram  Hosper Pelekan


Note Kontakion 33 on Pentecost, strophes 16 & 17, extremely anti-sophist and anti-philosopher, as an illustration of the attitude against which classicising poetry had to struggle, even if not explicitly pagan and "licentious". = Carpenter I p.366-367. The same in Vol. II for the Akathistos, strophe 17 (p).

I did not find the pelican citation anywhere in these translations of the "genuine" Kontakia. Dr. John Chryssavgis informed me that it comes from the lengthy lamentations in the liturgy of Good Friday, a series of short verses whose metre repeats itself after each three, so, A, B, C, A... (the music varies a little more). These verses are very short indeed, miniature troparia?

Dr. Chryssavgis says that these moving verses are shorter than troparia. This particular one is sung twice on Holy/Good Friday, once inside the church before the body of Christ in the grave, the "Epitaphion", and outside the church during the solemn procession symbolising the funerary procession.

The textual independence of the pelican verse is reduced by being well known as part of these "Lamentations" (what textual independence are the components felt to have in the liturgy?), but its independence is increased by its floating nature, and its possible frequency of use in inscriptive or oral contexts. I know little of the former and nothing of the oral culture of modern Greece.

ANU G fBV467.5 R6M313 Byzantine Christian Poetry  Romanos Kontakia

Romanos and Maas and Trypanis  Melodos & Paul & C. A.  Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica Genuina Oxford 1963

p. xi on ΚΟΨΟΤΟΛΟΥ, or essentially short preludes to long liturgical hymns.

245.8 ROM  ANL

Ronge and Ronge, V & N.G.  The Casting of Bells  P. 269–276 of Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi 1980

Bells are inscribed in the East, sometimes with verse, for which see Richardson's corpus of Tibetan epigraphy. The large bells of the East long precede the large bells of the Medieval West, which replaced the small cow bell type (kodones) only in our High Middle Ages. P. 270: Inscribed-moulded mantras were spaced, syllabic sign by syllabic sign, (or unified group of them), alternating with appropriate decorative motifs, around the top ridge of the large bells pictured.

Bells are intricately interconnected with many strands of their circumambient culture, see, for earlier modern England *Llewellyn: Death in early Protestant England was viewed as educative to the survivors, and as a return to life for the deceased, [the pealing, tolling bell was long heard in the west not only as funerary, but as the harbinger of extraordinary and imminent crisis, and as protection against the fearsome numinousness of lightning strike]. The use of the bell in earlier literature sounds penetratingly enough even to puncture the cultural self satisfaction of our 20C, through the rumbling prose of John Donne, "Noe man is an yland...". P. 81: A small English handbell cast in 1608 is inscribed: "I sound to bid the sick repent / In hope of life when death is spent," and is a "solid metal version... of a theme pursued by a dozen poets: 'The beating of thy pulse (when thou art well)/ Is just the tolling of thy Passing Bell.'" Asian bells  Asian Bells

Roos, P.  Sentenza e proverbio nell'antichità e i 'Distici di Catone': il testo Latino e i volgarizzamenti Italiani, con una scelta e traduzione delle massime e delle frasi proverbiali

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Thesis Bibliography 2 (22 December 1995)  P 506

latine classiche più importanti o ancora vive oggi nel mondo neolatino  Brescia  1984

Gnomica  Proverbio


Italian  Lett. It.

Rosenthal, Franz  Humour in Early Islam  Leiden  1956

Generalities and translations of early texts dealing with the first discernible humorist in Islam, the 8C, Umayyad singer, joker and contortionist nicknamed Aš'ab ("Greedy").

Adab manuscripts of their nature cannot contain savage satire. They are civilized and "improving" collections.

P. 2 mentions the Hoja stories, of Nasreddin (Nasr-ad-din). Also the still famous Juḥā, about whom I heard much in Arab-speaking Palestine, see p. 9/10 and their notes.

Ch. 2 deals with Aš'ab, early 8C. P. 22 He was a singer praised by Jartr. P. 38.n° 1 details a competition among contemporaries in improvising boasting verses in rajaz between ʿUmar al-Wādīl, Abū Ruqayyah and Aš'ab himself.

P. 46 includes the comic device of spelling a word out to a presumably semi-literate woman to delay its impact.

Throughout the translated stories there are many short verses quoted, and just one longer series of verses, with some indications of the tune and even of the ʿad fingerling to be used. Verses are even recited on someone else's instructions.

This Adab style of cultivated and subtle humour is far removed from the biting hijāj which latter was usually, it seems, in verse. Thus Rosenthal's treatment of humour serves to delimit the short satiric poem, while not mentioning it.

892.77 Ros ANL  Arabic  Early Arabic Humour

Rosenthal, Franz  "Sweeter than Hope"  Complaint and Hope in Medieval Islam  Leiden  1983

Important to us mainly for the "Death connection" in poetry, p.107–112.

Arabic  Sweeter than Hope

Rosenthal, Franz  The History of an Arabic Proverb  in JAOS 109  p.349–378

Though the focus of the study is on the origins and meanings of this old proverb, our interest is in the apparent versified nature of its latest forms.

Affliction may come from talk / Affliction controls talk. Really and originally: ";(fated) Affliction controls (= is inherent in/ attaches itself to) what (a person) says", thought by R. to be connected with oracles and omens, and to have drifted from a magical context into the present non-magical one. "Affliction" itself is connected with fa'il, omen, by R.

THE PROVERB:—  inna l-balā'a muwakkalum bi-l-mantiqi

Echoes and parallels—

See also  Iḥdar / (iḥfāz) līstnāka lā / (an) taqṭūfa fa tuṭbāla.

See also  al balā'a muwakkal bi-l-qawl, [a prose proverb and the oldest form attested].

Two verbs with different prepositional regimens may underly muwakkalum:  WKŁ II + ILA = entrust obj to obj., but WKŁ + BI = entrust object with object. Thus the verb may mean "is entrusted with", and if from root TKL, inherent in, attached to, inclined to, given to, vowed to....

Muwakkal bi is probably itself in origin a poetic and self-conscious use, an idiom losing its precision with time, leading to a "zero value" phrase, one which must now take on an arbitrary translation (meaning), purely from its context.

Arabic Gnomica  Arab proverb


P. 10. While philosophy, medicine and the sciences (including the occult sciences like alchemy) were freely translated into Arabic from Greek, the Arabs had no interest at all in Greek rhetoric. "Nothing of Greek poetry, tragedy, comedy or the historical literature was translated into Arabic."...

On the other hand, didactic poems like the 'Golden Words' of Pythagoras, the gnomic verses of Pseudo-Menander, the 'Phenomena' of Aratus, or the astrological work of Dorotheus found their way into Arabic as part of a school tradition familiar to the translators."

P. 261 Greek wisdom in Arab verses.

P. 263 Classical jokes.

P. 265 Paintings in baths

089.927 2 Arabic  Classical & Islam


P.116 Burials.

Non-Classical
Péron supposedly saw (he described it at length) a memorial wigwam over a recent cremation.
P.108/9 A spear laid in a grave, or planted in/over it. Also burial in trees.
Various sources discussed and reproduced at length.

572.9946 3/2 Syd Fish Aboriginal Burial Tasmanian Aboriginies

Rothe, A. Der literarische Titel: Functionen, Form, Geschichte Frankfurt-am-Main 1986

It is individual poem titles and titles of anthologies of short poems which most concern us, and this study deals
more with the titles of whole books. Still, fashions in naming whole books of imaginative literature are of general
interest to the importance of titles of literary texts, small and large.

See also Paul Lehmann Mittelalterliche Büchertitel 1948 Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischen Akademie der
Wissenschaften Philologische-historische Klasse Jahrgang 1948 Heft 4, & Jahrgang 1953 Heft 3.

002 12/1 Syd. Fish. Books Book titles

Rousseau, André-M. ed. Art et littérature: actes du congrès de la Société Française de Littérature

Reduced copy of the typewritten papers, unformatted.

Surely not the first work of its type in French, but it claims to be one of the first and has been cheaply and
amateurishly edited, suggesting a hand-to-mouth existence for French scholars working in this field. Good preface
by the presumed editor, laying out the trials of the French comparativist and the current ideals and practicalities of
the "field".

700 117 Art Art et littérature

Rousseau, Jean Baptiste 1670–1741 Œuvres de Rousseau Londres 1753 new ed. 12mo 5 vols
v. Poésies diverses. 3. Le Flatter, comédie. L'hypocondre, ou La ceinture magique, petite
comédie. 4. Les ayeux chimériques, comédie. La Mandragore, comédie. Jason, opéra. Venus
et Adonis, etc.

Rousseau's Epigrammes (p.241–316) are predominantly dizains, which matches with the tradition set at the very
beginning of the modern vernacular epigram by Marot.

RB PEL 1145 French Epigram Œuvres

Routh, Pauline E. Medieval Effigial Alabaster Tombs in Yorkshire Ipswich 1976

Discussion and plates.

Two classics are quoted, only the second of which is referred to in Burgess: F.H. Crossley English Church
Notable in this corpus is the lack of significant epigraphy. One gisant had an INRI or IHS and a word or two for the
Saviour. We must remember the indications from John Weever and F.A. Greenhill that much English epigraphy
was on brass, and much of the latter has definitely been torn off. The documentation cited is all "documentary",
from wills. The indication on the tombs are entirely heraldic, without devises, it appears, though this is not sure
from the discussion. It seems that full escutcheons are not as common as are isolated symbols, but again, this is not
easily checked from the book or its plates.

P. 43 There is independent documentary evidence for some despoliation of brass. An "original inscription" is
quoted: the "original inscription on a brass fillet round the tomb... torn off in the Civil War." The tomb in question
was for Sir William Gascoigne #1419.

P. 141 The 17C antiquarian Dodsworth, whose MS notes had not long before been published, describes a tomb
of Sir Robert Scargill and his wife Jane c 1547 and quotes the black-letter inscription in full. The lateness of this
inscription is notable and significant.

The corpus is mainly 15C, with some from the 14C and 16C. Many are in a poor state of preservation, much
graffitioed, and most are under threat.

731.820942 2 Burial Art Yorkshire gisants

Rüegg, R. Hausssprüche und Volkskultur. Die thematischen Inschriften der Prättigauer Häuser

See Addenda for a detailed survey of this model study. It shows how to transmute a despised folk phenomenon
into categories respected in high culture. Inscriptions surviving from more than 400 years of Medieval and modern
history in the one Swiss canton, bordering on Liechtenstein and on Catholic Austria, are here provided in a
complete corpus with the most detailed and illuminating analyses. Let us summarise.

The majority of the corpus are "house inscriptions" often running the whole width of the gable wall of large
houses. They are carved into wood, or painted. The majority of these (if more than a few words, such as «Grüß
Gott» and the like) are in verse, mostly distichs (the minimal element of rhyming verse) and quatrains, running up to
octets, 10 liners, and 12 liners. The significant thing is that medieval inscriptions in this remote area were

Non-Classical
apparently not in verse, and were apparently an elite phenomenon, on churches and bells. The Reformation seems to have democratized the inscription. Another very significant thing is that inscriptions tend to run for centuries in long series obviously using the same topos, with sometimes minimal variations in wording, sometimes much more creative treatment. This too seems to be a characteristic of pure, genuine inscriptionality, and it appears in the book epigram of the Anthology, whether borrowed from a period when short poetry was predominantly concerned with the likelihood of being inscribed, or from a process of oral and written imitation/variatio, more noticeable in short book poetry than in the longer varieties. Thirdly, many inscriptions are not "original": some come from hymns, some come from dialect poets or litterateurs in the Bühnensprache. Many come from the Bible or from Luther’s works. However, there is a large bulk of original inscriptions (within the lines of a conservative tradition), and the usual small crop of atypical ones. A sign not only of imitation of Classical models but of the fact that some texts were assumed to be very well-known is n° 351, dating from about 1800: *L M S v T K S V V A P*. The editor has no trouble recognising this: "Lauter Müh sind Vnsre Tag / Kreuz, Sorg vn Viel Andre Plag." A famous agnostic Roman inscription type turns up much christianised *n.s.n.f.n.c.* in n° 75 (plate p. 216 too) *Tales fuius tales sumus tales erimus. Tales fuiusis // Tales estis, tales q eritis; si pie vixeritis, 1665.* A worldly-wise n° 81.1 shows the ultimate level of (non-verse) epigrammatically wrongly ascribed solely to Latin: *FIDE SED // CUI VIDE* (1673). Despite all his learning, and the considerable support he has received from experts, I am not confident of all the ascriptions of the editor. His transcriptions of the occasional theologian’s Hebrew can be laughable, and for n° 482, ca. 1875: *IN VINO VERITAS / IN AQUA SANITAS*, he gives a Roman period allusion to the common medieval-early modern tag of the first line, and nothing for the second line, which would seem to be no more original.

Finally, many of the bells, in particular, themselves "speak" in their inscriptions. This is the continuation of a medieval habit which caused *Ploss* some far-reaching suspicions. More importantly, p. 289 ff. have a long and elaborate analysis of the “sender” of the message in all texts. This is what I independently tried to do for the earlier Greek verse inscriptions, as I had not seen it done outside the context of the “speaking inscription”. *Rüegg* has no hesitation in assuming that the inscription is equivalent in function to an oral statement or a written letter text, i.e., that it assumes a sender/originator of definable personality and one or many “receivers” equally identifiable. A matter of interest when comparing this folk tradition with the earliest verse traditions of Greece is that the author (inevitably the builder/renovator of the building) is commonly named, but that it is a tradition in the Prättigau (while not always elsewhere) not to include this PN in the “Spruch” itself. Such a name or names come usually in the form of a caption, more often an Unterschrift than either a Beischrift or Oberschrift.

**Periodisations:**
1. 1250–1516 – on bells and churches only; 2. 1565–1722 – Reform, Orthodoxy, Renaissance; 3. 1723–1799 (when inscriptions become very common) Pietismus, zum Ende des alten Bündner Freistaates; 4. 1800–1896 – first appearance of holiday houses and less serious inscriptions, first return of organised Catholicism; 5. 1897–1964 – modern period, a mixture of nostalgic revival, decline and innovation.

P. 188, Section E, has a small corpus of Denkmal-Inschriften, note esp. the sub-corpus of p. 190 "für Verunglückte oder Begrabene. Section D is of Bild-Beischriften, Section F of Kritzel-Inschriften, but no section other than that of the Haus-Spruch is of much significance. See Addenda.

(f) GT 328.P72.R83 ANU Menzies German Epigraphy Hausspräche


Rybkář, Ctibor *Jewish Prague Gloses (sic) on History and Kultur — A Guidebook Prague* 1991 1st ed. In cooperation with PhDr. Jiřina Šedníková CSc. (Prague Hebrew Literature), PhDr. Gabriela Veselá (The Jews in Prague German literature), Ph.Dr. Arno Pařík (The Jewish Museum in Prague), Drawings and photos, Trr. Joy Turner-Kadečková and Slavoš Kadečka. Much on the standing stones of the Prague Jewish cemetery, going back to the 14C. The stones do have iconography, sometimes humananoid (Adam and Eve, for instance), but the overwhelming impression is of stones and sometimes larger monuments covered with prose text, seemingly Hebrew, not Aramaic or Yiddish.

My Book Czech Hebrew Epigraphy Jewish Prague

Ryckmans, J. *Une écriture minuscule sud-arabe ancienne récemment découverte* in for J.H. Hoppers p.185–1986

This is a paleographic article, but some general issues arise.

The writer claims not to know of a regular use of sticks to write on outside of the Sumatran Batakas and now Arabia. He has never heard of Mt. Mugh, it seems. Two wooden sticks dug in 1970, were deciphered by the excavator, Mahmoud Ghul in 1972, then Ghul died and no doubt confusion involving intellectual property rights followed. Beeston presented the twin texts in a lecture in 1984, and this 1986 article of Ryckmans is their first publication. Later discoveries around Sarf’ have turned up at least 7 more such sticks, stored apparently at Marburg in the Seminar für Semitistik of W.W. Müller. The author worked on these latter sticks in 1985 with N. Nebes, Yusuf Abdallah and the god-professor W.W. Müller.

Apparently he has no right to speak of the more recent finds, but knowledge of them influences his generalisations about the two found in 1970 by Ghul. Before this discovery South Arabian epigraphy was divided into two clear genres, the highly geometrised letters of the public epigraphy, whose design was not to be
approached until (the unrelated) Augustan Roman lettering, and sloppy personal graffiti of minimal content. Though lengthy and beautiful and quite old, the public inscriptions of what Muslims later lumped together as Himyar are in the third person and may not represent the language or the society very well.

The stability of the more fluid lettering of all the sticks so far found suggests that this "miniscule" was consistently used, no doubt on tablets. The sticks present a more cursive form of the monumental lettering, but nothing like the idiosyncrasies of the graffiti. The former two forms use word separators (like Italic inscriptions, and rather unlike Greek, though they are sporadic in Archaic Greek), and unlike the South Arabian graffiti. The so-called cursive is found in the same contexts as the monumental writing, the graffiti are found in the back country. Characters, however, are merely juxtaposed closely in it, not ligatured. The article concludes with a study of the few graffiti which seem to show minuscule influence.

Kings of Qataban "signed with their hand their decrees on wood and on stone", now there are no such signatures on the many monumental inscriptions. Thus, there must have been archivage, and it was less monumental but still official copies which were so signed. These would have had either an imitation of the monumental capitals, or more likely (given the amount of writing likely to have gone on in such rich incense exporting states and this new proof of the existence of a more convenient formal script) they would have displayed the "minuscule".

The sticks measure from 12–20 cm long and are about 3 cm in diameter. They are of different woods. They may have been inscribed freshly debarked, and hence while soft. The tool wasn’t a pointed burin but some two-faced cutting tip, triangular shaped at the end. Yet the letters seem almost as supple as writing with the later reed pen. This fluency of ductus is what tends to support the existence of writing surfaces less recalcitrant than sticks (the writers struggle with the grain of the wood on some looped letters) and the assumption that the former were also more widely used.

For the devil of it I give the consonants of Inscription B:

\[
ystrn \text{lk} \text{lysrn} \text{l`h`} - kbbknh \text{R}. \]

is not interested in commenting on the content of this. That must be someone else’s job at Marburg or San‘a‘.

Greek writing seems long to have lacked a minuscule. If it did, this means that writing was highly formal, and slow.

South Arabian South Arabian cursive


Klima on pre-Islamic can offer only monumental epigraphy as hard evidence for the earlier, Sasanian period, and for poetry only the doubtful assertions of later times. Tradition takes artistic poetry back to the court of Bahram V Gor 420–438, ascribing a heptasyllabic quatrain to that time. Bahram the Wild Ass was supposed to have spent his youth at the poetry-loving court of al-Hira. Rhyming quatrains and couplets are also claimed as a tendency in the Middle Iranian hymns of Mani, by Nyberg. P.50. A 15C author claims to have read in his source of a 7C couplet inscribed on a wall of king Khusrau II’s palace, still supposed to be readable there about 950CE. It seems that what gives some credence to these shaky traditions is the conviction that Sasanian courts did indeed have poetic forms like those later recovered from Persian high literature, various late Iranian folk traditions, and from the folk traditions and early manuscripts of the Turkic peoples. How many of the scattered comments on pre-Islamic Persian poetry are distorted by a desire to give Classical verse the antiquity and dignity of the Arabic is very hard to say. Verse does not seem to feature in Middle Iranian colophons, where we might expect it.

Rypka’s general history gives a hint of the comparativism which might support some extrapolated generalisations: Tadjiks and Persians originally used the same literary koiné and had similar literary traditions. Their native traditions seem to have fitted fairly well into the imported Arab forms. Rypka defined qiṣaṣ as any fragment (of any length?) rhyming (short lines) xava. As all stichic forms must have their rhyme twice in the first long line, the first long couplet (quatrain of short lines) of any regular poem would rhyme abab. The “fragment” or qiṣaṣ is free of any restrictions on its topic or treatment, and is used in improvisations, normally of a philosophical, ethical, meditative or confessional character. P.96 connects the rubā‘I with folk traditions, found in the earliest poets, reaching literary status in the East, Khurasan and Transoxania. Separate verses (obviously abyaṭ) with or without “rhyme” are called fard and are a recognised option, if not a strict form. I am not sure if the fard has to be a single line or if it can be a series of them. P.97 mentions the extremely common “epigrammatic quatrains of the most diverse kinds.” P.99–100 discusses the idea of “point” in Persian and Arabic literature. It in no way requires a “sting in the tail”, but a twofold sharpening: the first being that of the conception ruling the verse, the second being that of an appropriately elaborated expression of this conception. The direct expression of emotion is not thought to be “poetic” in “the Orient”. P.122–123 discuss possible Arab and Turkish origins of the quatrain. Suffice to note that it is widely found all over the steppes, whatever the literary language. P.232ff throws much doubt on the authenticity of the divans of the earliest Quatrain Poet and another of his contemporaries also famous for quatrains: in order, Baba Kuhi and Abu-Said b. ‘Abu‘l-Khayr of Mihane (Mahayana), in the 9C and 10C. The other Quatrain Poets were Baba Tahir, Ansari and Baba Afdal, according to Rypka. Doubts are thrown on the date of Baba Tahir, who is said to have used, not the “customary” rubā‘I metre, but dubayt in hazaj. Now hazaj (catalectic form) is the quantitative metre of the rubā‘I, so the difference indicated must lie either in the rhymes or in the addition of a (long?) syllable to resolve the catalexis. Most Persian syllables are in fact long. No such doubts about the 12C Baba Afdal, noted for “witty verse and pithy quatrains”, with a touch of rebelliousness looking forward to the equally philosophical Omar Khayyam. Like the free-thinking Avicenna, Baba Afdal was a translator.
of Aristotle, belonging to a line of earlier Muslim thought soon to be snuffed out by the orthodox reaction. The alleged Sufi Sana'i (grouped with 'Attar and Maulavi) is in n° 47 dated from a pillar inscription mentioning his death, but possibly inscribed considerably later.

Cejpek on folk verse notes that folk quatrains usually have verses of the expected 11 syllables, but may have 12 or 14. Presumably the folk forms are syllable counting, not quantitative. They rhyme aaab, aaaa and aabb. The latter short couplet rhyme is typical of the mathnavi (masnavi) epic narratives. Many traditions of quatrains have a particular, drawn out, performance style, even when they appear inserted into prose romances. The author discusses various oral forms on p.697ff, but has to go as far as the Pamirs to claim habits uninfluenced by court and written literature. The remote Shughnanians have strophic verse (with refrains) of various degrees of strictness, syllable counting and not quantitative, with from 7 to 15 syllables in the poetic "line". No doubt it is isolable strophic verse which lies behind (and also beside?) the classical Persian quatrains.

Marck deals with Indian poetry in Persian. One must suspect some mutual influence in this bilingual world between the isolable long couplets of Sanskrit and Prakrit and the Persian quatrain forms.

A very important page is p.99ff, on point. The native word is nukta, an Arabic word meaning the sharpened tip of a stick, or metaphorically, "acutum dictum" (Freytag sv.) This entire issue is central to the literary discussion of epigram and of some other Western literary forms, but it seems to be crucial to the quality of every verse of Persian poetry. The idea embraces both content and form, and differs from the "point" of Western rhetoric and epigram allegedly in that (p.99–100):

The real difference lies rather in the spontaneity of the West and its contrary in the Orient. While the Idea in each verse must have its pointe (nukta) — and a very emphatic one at that — there must also be a mutual relationship between the separate concepts in one and the same verse, whether it be in connection with the contents of the verse or without regard to the latter. This law of the twofold nukta may nowhere be disregarded because it is this in the first place that, in the eyes of the Iranian, marks the verse as real poetry. The pointe of the thought subordinates emotion to intellect. The importance of the expression of emotion thus occupies a place far behind that accorded to it by the West. The second nukta, that of expression, demands the use of one of the exceedingly numerous figures or tropes created by oriental theory, as an integral completion of each of the verses. Tropes which consist merely of a transference of the literal meaning into imagery do not as a rule suffice to bring a Persian or Turkish verse to perfection. While the occidental poet is able to transport his reader by a simple metaphor or a single simile, in the case of the oriental poet both belong rather to the thought as such. But in addition the thought demands a formal completion in the manner of a rhetorical embellishment (melismus), in many cases a combination of several.

Persian Iranian Literature

Ruska, J. Tilsim in EI 1 vol. 4 p.767ff 1934 Also tilsim, tilism, tilasm etc. = Greek τέλεσμα talisman: inscriptions with astrological and magical signs, and also any object covered with such inscriptions. See also Allen & Sourdel KHÂTa/iM, and Chhabra COINS YUPAS SEALS. Also Kalus.

Arabic Epigraphy Tilsim EI 1

Sabatier, J. Plombs, bulles et sceaux byzantins Paris? 1858? Rev. Archæol. p.82–100. 736.3 Byzantine Seals

Ševčenko, Ihor Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture Cambridge Mass and Napoli 1991 Byzantine Slavic Slavs and Greeks

Ševčenko, I. Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium London 1981 DF 541 S48 Greek Byzantine Byzantine Intellectuals


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Týmbo\'s \varepsilon\gamma\omega\nu \pi\rho\lambda\epsilon\gamma\nu\gamma\nu, \tau\rho\omicron\omicron\nu, \omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron \omicron\uomicron\omicron.
\end{align*}
\]

Non-Classical
I am the tomb, recounting the [way of] life, character and the name of this man: Michael, a synkellos and a monk here, wise and fortunate, cast off the burden [of his body] — for he was uneasy with the shackles that weighed him down — and moved over, with nimble feet, [to a place] where he is [now] rejoicing. He was a servant of the great-hearted and wise Archpriest, Nikolaos, who had this temple built in honour of the Highest heaven-ly Ruler.

The commentary begins almost immediately, line by line. Nonnos’s influence on 10C writers (in MSS) is today exemplified only by some few phrasings in this inscription. The epitaph here can be juxtaposed with three AG poems, two epitaphs which are contemporary, and which most likely stood on the tomb of this Michael’s superior, Nikolaos Mystikos, possibly from the pen of Alexander, Metropolitan of Nicaea, 945 ca. The third is one of those bath inscriptions in verse, for one at Prainetos, by “Alexander priest of the Nicaeans”, surely the same Alexander Metropolitan of Nicaea. See Planean Anthology epp. 21 & 281, with Cameron’s change of the lemma of the former from εἰς Νικόλαον πατριάρχην Ἀλέξανδρειάς to εἰς Νικόλαον πατριάρχην Ἀλέξανδρου (= Alexander of Nicaea).

The initial Τῦμβος, or Τῦμβος ἐγώ is a topos worth noting. See Gregory Nazianzen AP viii 224, 230 and 239, plus (+4C?) Metrodoros AP 14 125, also Byzantinobulgaria 5 (1978) p. 307 for a 1428 CE inscriptional epitaph from Nesebär beginning τῦμβος ἐπάθα... (non vidi).

The use of hexameters is one thing seized on for dating the inscription. They were not common in inscriptions, but are evidenced in the time of Leo VI. Letter forms point to the earlier 10C, and the findplace of the stone is "surely" near the monastery "founded" by that Nikolaos surnamed Mystikos, not him surnamed Chrysoberges, the other main contender on chronological grounds. The sarcophagus was found at Erenköy. The precise location of Galakrenai itself remains somewhat uncertain.

It is significant that S. considers the author to have "flipped through" the AP, as well as Nonnos, for ideas and phrases, and that he associates this 10C inscription with a poem in the 13C Planudine collection. We remember that Cameron and others assume that Planudes had access to a fuller "Cephalan anthology" than that preserved in our MS, even if we include in the Heidelbergenisis-Parisensis complex all its syllogae minores, minor collections. P. 464a: "this... creates a serious presumption that the author of our inscription leafed through the seventh and eighth books of the Palatine Anthology, both containing funerary epigrams, in search of inspiration."

The inscription would not want to have been too early in the 10C, unless its author had access to progressive drafts of "Cephalas"! Also: p. 467, on πυντοφρονος, non-Homeric, four times in the Dionysiaca, also in the Nonnan Paraphr. Ev. Ioh. 10:103, but:

"a more likely source of inspiration for our epigrammatist, however, is the fictitious funerary epigram by Simias for Sophocles in the Palatine Anthology, 7:22:5 ... Cf. also ibid 1:17:3 (an inscription in the St. Polyeuktos church that may have still existed in our author's time) and 3:8:1. In all three instances, πυντοφρονος stands in the same position as in our line. The word, along with two other compounds, in ἑφραω, is first attested in Greek letters through epigrams included in the Palatine and Planudine Anthologies... and is rare outside these collections; this creates a further presumption that our author culled it from there."

Of course, the statement that any verbal form appears "first" in the AP/Pl must rest on some immensely tenuous questions of dating, if it be individual poems (i.e., those in which the form happens to occur) which are to be given a date. If the first appearance of a word is being dated merely by the date given to the closing of the whole collection in which it occurs, it means that πυντοφρονος does not appear in any Greek text until a band of time from earlyish 10C to early 11C, the date range accepted by modern scholarship for the AP. It is through this generous window that we must guess at the extent and contents of the Cephalan mother anthology. A good Byzantine dictionary is required.

Sq 909 Dum ANL Byzantine epigraphy AP Tymbos egon

Greek Byzantine Epigraphy Sinai Greek

Šišić, F. Enchiridion fontium historiae Croaticae I.1, Zagreb. 1914
Croatian Croatian history

Škreb, Z. Grillparzers Epigramme. Ein Beitrag zur Lehre von der reinen Form in Pfohl 1969
German Epigram Grillparzers Epigramme

s'Jacob, Henriette Idealism and Realism: a study of sepulchral symbolism? 1954 (maxime me poenitet hunc librum adhuc non invenisse) Sepulchral symbolism
Sahai, Bhagwant *The inscriptions of Bihar: from the Earliest times to the middle of the 13th century A.D.* New Delhi 1983

A list, analytical and descriptive, with introd. on the epigraphic riches of Bihar. See Addenda.

954.12 S131 Indian Epigraphy Bihar

Salvatore, M. *Il Nome, la Persona: saggi sull’etimologia antica* Genova 1987

Many inscriptions play with the etymology of the personal name, and more may be suspected of it (i.e., that a word occurring in them may be an unrecognised personal name as well as the common noun assumed on a first reading). We have discussed the rich pregnancy of bare names on graves and dedications, deriving much later epigrammatic phraseology from such unthematised early "meanings".


880.05 1 Syd. Fish. Names Name


My Book *L’histoire Pléiade*

Sanmuel, G. John *Tamil Poetry* Madras 1978

894.8111009 J65 tu ANL Indian Literature Tamil Poetry

San Vincente, Angel *Tiento sobre la Musica en il espacio tipografico de Zaragoza anterior al Siglo XX* Zaragoza 1986

Richly illustrated quarto.

Though a printed publication of poems and words for songs would perhaps be more likely to have liminary verses than other books, it is still worth checking the situation in the early modern centuries. What was more interesting was the facsimile bound inside the board cover and folded around the back of the signatures, of two "song words" brochures from, it seems, the Renaissance or shortly afterwards. The poems come in various lyric forms, the shortest being, and these are quite common, Soneto, Decima and Quintilla. The latter form is not common outside Spain, to my knowledge.

686.219 1 Spanish Poetry Spanish occasional verse


Italian Enc It I

Sanjeevi, N. *First All-India Tirukkural Research Seminar Papers May 1972* ed. Dr. N. Sanjeevi Madras 1973

= śrisūktka
P.33 Didactic works in Maithili cf. Kṛttītā of Vidyāpati
p. 75 Sanskrit didactic works p. Subhadra Jha
p. 81 Telugu
p. 87 Parallels in Urdu

894.81111 T 597 Th ANL Indian Literature Kural Research

Sankaranarayanan, S *The Vishnukundis and their Times: an epigraphical study* New Delhi 1977

Deccan, 4–7C. Between the fall of the Satavahanas in the +3C and the rise of the Chalukyas in the +6C, this was once a dark period. A major dynasty was the Vishnukundis, first known from the Chikkullu plates 1896. This book studies 18 of the family's inscriptions and other illustrative documentary material.

934.06 S227 Indian Epigraphy Vishnukundi

Saraswati, J. *Canakyanitidarpanah* Dilli 1983

Indian Gnomica Canakya 1

Sarkar, Himansu Bhusan *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum) (Up to 929 AD)* Vol. II Calcutta 1972

Vol. I appeared "almost simultaneously" with this.
Standard Indian type epigraphy, in Sanskritised Old Javanese.

959.82 S245 Indonesian Epigraphy Java inscriptions

Non-Classical
Sarma, K.V. Canakya-Saptati ed. Kautilya Hoshiarpur 1965

Indian Gnomica Canakya 2

Sarma, Mallampalli Somasekhara Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts by... ed. by R. Subhramanyam Hyderabad 1973 Part iv (Chalukya) only in ANL

Verse and prose in same inscription is common. P.3 starts 7 lines Skt. verse, continues prose (Kannada script); P54 one long line of verse for the imprecations, = the combined length of 4 ordinary lines, Saka 1117 = (I think) ca. 1205 CE. P63 The imprecation of 1217 CE: '28 crores of hells for those who fail to protect this charitable gift of land' (summary, not a translation). P.68 Long inscr. 1260 CE in Skt verse and Telugu prose. P. 78 Telugu verse in Champakamata (fragmentary). Thus although Sanskrit seems highly preferred, there is local language verse in inscriptions of the 13C.

491.217 S693 Series 1) no. 32 Indian Epigraphy Telangana Districts


Assam. Quite a few short seal or image inscriptions, usually prose, the seals relatively verbose and formulaic, mostly PNN. Plenty of verse (p.148–9 first numberings) on copper plates praising Vishnu, Siva and Hari. Rulers of Assam seem to have praised great gods and consorts other than those they themselves worshipped. P.167 notes that much of the verse is quite elevated. Not so the first inscriptions quoted, that of Surendravarma on the rock at Umacal: it baldly states that the cave temple of Lord Balabhodra was constructed by this Surendravarma. P. 167 (second numbering) has a copper bell inscriptions of Srikumara: "Sri Kumara who was like Indra, was the killer of elephants of the kings of gods and demons and was the protector of worship of him (i.e., Indra) gave this bell for the worship of the deities." Other 'icons' with inscriptions connected with this bell have not yet been released for study by the owners, and readings are tentative. Nevertheless, the length of the bell inscription (really just an anathematic inscription) is notable. P.180–181 give a similarly disputed pair of texts on images, about twice as long as that on the bell, the dispute over the last line of the former educes from the current editor a generalisation of interest: "...it is not possible to imagine that the engraver engraved something on the body of the image just to record his own name without marking any other occasion." (such as a gift — Sarma's translation is "Balabhod... is the engraver ... on this piece of stone"). At the end of the long inscription on p.189 (second numbering) are seven lines of English indicating the boundaries of the grant: a mound, seven trees with their types and twice their location in relation to a field and a "mound". Note that these boundary markers are far from permanent, but presumably likely to last long. Nevertheless, this is how land ownership is defined in N.S.W. under Old Title. Torrens Title is more scientific and may be exported to the modernising states of the SSSR-RF.

421.2047 K15 Indian Epigraphy Epigraphic Assam

Sarma and Varaprasadarao, I.K. & J. Early Brähmi Inscriptions from Sannati New Delhi 1993

Gulbarga district has given post-independence Indian archeology some very old remains, most notable being the recovery from a medieval temple in 1989–90 of a slab containing an Asokan edict. The restriction to Brahmi script inscriptions needs to be remembered when reading the editors' claim to offer all the inscriptions of this site. That effectively limits the period covered to the half millennium from the –3C to the +3C.

Indian Epigraphy Sannati


Alphabet Ur-Alphabet


The 12C and 13C rise of the tomb figure is very important for Gothic plastic art, and the carved tomb slab of the 11C is important for that. Though such traditions eventually led to the modern portrait, Gothic sculpture hovers between shallow and deep relief and had few of the functions of ancient sculpture, perhaps out of a conscious rejection of a still dangerous "Paganism". Of interest to us is the nearly universal lack of the fame motive in Gothic funerary art. This is crucial for understanding the epigraphy. Interestingly enough, this reticence is not found in literature, and so we have a motive for a deep rift between actual epigraphy (which is seen to be fairly common in the illustrations, if not prominent) and book epitaphs, memorials, and praise poems. It is worth repeating that any Gothic epigraphy is far from prominent to the eye, and it seems that it was also far from prominent in intention.

730.944 6/2 Power Gothic Art Sculpture gotique

Non-Classical
Saunders, J.W.  *A Biographical Dictionary of Renaissance Poets and Dramatists 1520–1650*  
Sussex/Totowa, New Jersey  1983  
A more convenient and of course more English work, often delaying the need to consult Cosenza.  
My Book  *Humanists Saunders*  

Sawyer, P.H.  *Names, Words and Graves*  in Wormald  1983 p. 195  1983  
This is on Medieval Settlement. Mentions Irish 'boundary burial' customs. I remember from my distant reading of Old Irish saga that the boundary was a special place in that culture. It was where one expected one's young men to lie in wait for, and hopefully kill, one of the warriors from the next tribal groupings.  
P. 195 The early law code of Ine of Wessex required for the proper sealing of some agreements an 'oath on a distinguishable grave', which is evidence (in Wessex at least) for a late 7C, public, legal transaction at a grave, and for some official status of such graves. As we have noted, early medieval evidence for these things is rare.  
P. 197 On Pagan barrows, there seems to have been a "Pagan post" marking the apparent centre.  
P. 200 This deals with the revival of the epigraphic tombstone. One was made for Isancrim (Isancoim?), others for Abbot Alcuin, for Bishop Hitto. It was one possible response to the newly-crowded churchyards of the 9C, but is not obvious to us now until the 10C, 11C and 12C.  
Burial Epigraphy Names  *Names graves*  

Saxl, Fritz  *The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics*  in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes vol.4  1941 pp.19–46.  1941  (I used the reprint Vaduz 1965)  
It is a hazardous enterprise to give the origins of Italian interest in Ancient Roman inscriptions. We have seen the 8C medieval interest in transcripts of Christian epigraphy, and the use of these as models for the very popular medieval form of the versified obituary poem and the real epitaph. The interest in Roman Incriptions in the 13C by Gregorius Magister shows that the classicising enthusiasms of the 13C did not die with that particular "renaissance". However, the political upheaval started by Cola di Rienzo (or di Rienzi, his republican revolution 1347, his demise at aristocratic hands 1352) were based to a remarkable degree on non-Christian Roman inscriptions. The early Humanists were uncritical admirers of and dealers in any insciptional material. Another peak of enthusiasm was experienced in the 19C in the days of Mommsen and de Rossi, but Saxl laments that the old fires had burnt down to coals in his day, and that the practices and the agenda of those who preserved now-lost inscriptions had not been understood by 19C compilers of corpora. These generalities disposed of, Saxl makes a rather rough transition to the real matter of his article, a single fragmentary MS of the 15C associated with Francesco Sassetti, written by Bartholomaeus Fontius, who makes many annotations (p.21) about his copying of inscriptions on many a voyage. Very few of these have been shown to be fakes, though the invention of interesting or shocking epitaphs was then, as in more recent times, not uncommon: CIL VI 43, 47. Ancient sepulchral poetry was, says Saxl (p.23) extremely influential on the Renaissance, as "is well known". Fontius did not confine his collection to ancient epitaphs, though the millennium roughly demarcated by Simonides and Pope Damasus is the main field. P.24: "As in all similar collections the bulk of the epigraphic material contained in our manuscript consists of epitaphs." Saxl goes on to a source of Fontius, Ciriaco d'Ancona and his contemporaries. Fontius himself eventually discarded worldly ambition and settled down to become a modest priest of S. Giovanni Battista at Montemurlo. His epitaph is characteristically a monumentally impersonal distich:

*Spernere qui docuit mundum superosque verere*  
Hic iacet Antistes Fontius Ecclesiae.  

Latin Epigraphy  *Renaissance antiquarians*  

Scaliger, Julius-Caesar  *Julii Caesaris Scaligerti a Burden viri clarissimi poetices libri septem I*  
*Historicus II Hyle III Idea IV Parasceve V Criticus VI Hypercriticus VII Epinomis ad Sylvium filium*  Heidelberg 1617 = 1561 Lyons 1617  
Libri septem 5th ed Heidelberg 1617 is the first edition of this famous work supplied with even a rudimentary index, but there is a full table of contents, which seems to take away the excuse from modern scholars who don't seem to realise how often "epigram" is mentioned in this long and sometimes discursive text). Ed. princeps Lyons 1561, which has apparently been facsimiled by the Germans in recent decades. The proof-reading of this 5th ed. is excellent, but I was slowed down by some Latin abbreviations, the Renaissance Greek fonts (with variant forms and compound letters sometimes involving three Greek letters), and by the punctuation, especially the use of puncts between words in mid-sentence. Some small inconsistencies in spelling may be due to different setters. Abbreviations seem to be used to help justification of lines. They have no other rationale, that I could discern.  
A work of an influence and importance that is hard to overestimate. See Addenda 2 for the sections on  

*Non-Classical*
epigram.
Poetics  Poetices


With al Akhtal and al Farazdaq the most important of writers of Hijāj of the Umayyad period. Jarir had a 40 year long dispute with al Farazdaq.

Arabic Poetry  Jarir


See Addenda
Latin Medieval Epigram  Urbana

Scharpe, A. et al  Corpus topographicum Indiae Antiquae: a sodalibus Universitatis Gandavensis et Universitatis Lovaniensis editum curantibus A. Scharpe  Gent  1990?

A technical work of considerable use when reading Indica. I copied 45, 46, 47, including Abu; Ellora and the Tapti R.; and the Bombay-Pune region and surrounds. The introduction expatiates on the spelling differences in various sources. This makes it hard to recover from databases and libraries information on such important sites as B(h)arhat.

Egyptian  Hieroglyphs Why

Slouschz, N./ YunD, . >1 3 liP f mnninmm  / Treasury of Phoenician Inscriptions

Long pursued in and around the National library of Israel, Giv'at Ram, but so often unavailable there that by now I can only report this collection, which I left John Jarick to keep a year and a half long watch for after my departure from those parts. He finally regained sight of it, but I was then in Australia.

See comments by M. Sznycer p.392 of Rapport sur l'épigraphie phénicienne... of Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici Rome 1983. Slouschz’s notoriously inaccessible work was the first significant corpus for half a century, presumably now replaced by Donner u. Röllig KAI 1962 – 1964.

Phoenician  Punic Epig.

Schuh, Dieter  Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufschriften in 'Phags-pa Schrift  Sankt Augustin  1981

The most notable thing from our perspective is that Tibetan seals are extremely wordy, more so then the few Indian samples that we had first viewed. The seals, however, found by Cunningham and reported in MAHABODHI are Indian-Buddhist, and often quite wordy.

Tibetan Seals  Tibetan Seals

Schlumberger, Gustave  Un Empereur byzantin au dixième siècle. Nicéphore Phocas  Paris  1890

Richly illustrated, which gives some idea of 10C epigraphy, at the time when some of the inscriptions (mostly monumental, however not from “vaisselle” like these) were being included in the great epigrammatic collection of Cephalas. Included are: medals, seals, miniatures, bas reliefs, enamelled plaques, coins, ivory plaques, reliquaries and helmets, which gives an idea of the movable objects likely to be inscribed in Byzantium.

Phocas  Greek Byzantine

Schlumberger, Gustave  Sceaux et bulles des empereurs latins de Constantinople  Caen  1890

Richly illustrated, which gives some idea of 10C epigraphy, at the time when some of the inscriptions (mostly monumental, however not from “vaisselle” like these) were being included in the great epigrammatic collection of Cephalas. Included are: medals, seals, miniatures, bas reliefs, enamelled plaques, coins, ivory plaques, reliquaries and helmets, which gives an idea of the movable objects likely to be inscribed in Byzantium.

Latin Seals  Latin Seals Constantinople


Latin Seals
Schlumberger, Gustave  Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin avec 1100 dessins par L. Dardel  
Paris  1884  The major work by this famous scholar, well illustrated, full of expressed  
uncertainties about his subject, as he was close to the first generation of students of the matter,  
and had to be his own collector.  

Schlumberger 1884 provides a good conspectus of the seals, metrical and otherwise, of Byzantium.  
It seems that less than 1% of surviving Medieval Greek seals are verbose, and many of these are metrical.  
There seems to be far more repetition of similar phrases (with substitution only of a limited number of the words) than we  
noted in the English Monastic seal corpus. The "anonymous seals" play with the previous tradition, many of them  
showing anti-texts, e.g. : "If you want to know my name just read what is enclosed." Verses are always one or two  
dodecasyllables, unless some fragmentary stichs are also to be accepted.  

Of course the iconography, onomastics, titles and toponymy revealed by seals are of great importance, but we  
are interested in matters textual. Nevertheless, we will note all matters concerning seals in our Addenda, as  
inscribed texts cannot be studied without a study of their immediate, concrete, context. The study of contemporary  
spelling is also a matter not to be despised. Many "anonymous" seal verses involve a puzzle, wholly or partly hiding  
the name. In this they resemble the Western devise or motto. Many seals have as text merely a monogram, a bare  
Christian name, or some nondescript title. 90% of the legends are an invocation to Mary or to Christ, and of this  
90% of the total, nine tenths begin and end in the same formulaic way, followed by the given name, titles, dignities  
and family name of the titulary. In the 10% or less which are not invocations, nine tenths have another formula:  
"Sphragis/ma of PN" or the like. A small minority of large seals have interesting texts. Most texts begin, as in the  
West, with a little cross. Longer legends can run from front to back. Larger seals usually begin the legend around  
the rim, encircling the iconography, but there are many variations. Seals of extensive periods (e.g., that of  
iconoclasm) have no images, only text.  

Some few sorts have no text, only images. Imagery is common of course. Most of the imagery is devotional.  
Very few images of owners appear on seals. The overwhelming number feature the Virgin Mary in different guises,  
and St. Nicholas comes second. Then St. George and St. Demetrios, and the Archangel Michael, and the cross being  
popular. Christ appearing on his own is surprisingly rare. Animals of various sorts are often featured.  
Most seal impressions are on soft metals, most commonly lead, sometimes gold. Over 1,000 years 99% of  
sealings were made by this standard method, not by wax.  

Large seals are, as in the West, from 55 – 60 cm in diameter, and usually belong to important persons. Private  
seals, and especially seals of humbler persons can be 8 – 9 cm in diameter.  
The study of metrical seals seems to begin with M. Froehner, and for seals in general M. Mordtmann is much  
quoted by Schlumberger. A problem now obviated by the Dumbarton Oaks collection was the actual purchase and  
collection of items. Almost no matrixes survive. This gap in the remains worried Schlumberger, but the same is  
true for Western, wax sigillography. For texts and more detailed information see our Addenda.  

Byzantine seals  Sigillographie byzantine  

Schlumberger and Blanchet, Gustave & Adrien  Collections sigillographiques de MM Gustave  
Schlumberger et Adrien Blanchet, six cent quatre-vingt-dix sceaux et bagues  Paris  1914  

All that we found of note here were the Pelican images, with 2 or 3 chicks, and in the last seal, with three  
branches: n° 36, 67, 585, & 656.  
736.3  Seals  Schlumberger’s seals  

Schlumberger and Chalendan and Blanchet, Gustave & Ferdinand & Adrian  Sigillographie de  
l'Orient Latin  Paris  1943  

Q 736.3  Latin Seals  Eastern Latin seals  

Schmidt, Andrea B.  Kanon der Entschlafenen. Das Begräbnisritual der Armenier: Der  
altarmenische Bestattungsritus für die Laien  Wiesbaden  1994  Edition of the Armenian with  
extensive commentary and a translation.  

Muslim burial practices have roots in the Christian (Levant), Central Asian (Turkic-Mongolian) and  
especially in the Armenian cultures which they lived beside, mastered, or were mastered by. The practices and  
monuments of burial affect the presence and the sort of texts placed on burial objects. The availability of  
"occasions" for inscribed verse greatly affects the processes of any sub-literary tradition of epitaphs.  

My Book  Armenian Burial  Kanon der Entschlafenen  

Schmidt, A.-M.  La poésie scientifique en France au seizième siècle  

Mentioned in Yates Academies 16C, but of negative (and, perhaps, contrastive) interest as all the poems turned  
out to be long. It is in Fisher.  
French  Poésie scientifique  

Non-Classical
Schmidt-Glintzer, Helwig  *Chinesische Manichaica: mit textkritischen Anmerkungen und einem Glossar* Wiesbaden 1987

This collection, from our present point of view, is mainly of interest for the use of stanzaic quatrains, in Chinese, of the 8/9C CE, in the "Hymnenrolle". The poetic texts were translated into Chinese from Iranian and from Turki, where quatrains are later to be found routinely. See Peter *Zieme's works, and are at least influenced by Buddhist traditions ("Jesus-Buddha" is an important Manichaean figure). In Buddhism long couplets-cum-quatrains are the source of much of the literature translated at or for Turfan and Dunhuang, especially the popular gnomicia of the Dhammapada.

The Central Asian to Chinese path of poetic influence is important when we are considering the rise of the Tang quatrain. The facsimile of the Chinese edition used shows the original verse form to have been 7 syllable lines. The German translation given suggests that the four line stanzas often have some moderate thematic independence, but they are still obviously linked to each other, and form a long poem.

*My Book Chinese Stanzaic Quatrain Manichaean Chinese*

Schmitt, Otto  *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* Stuttgart 1937—German Art

Schmitt, R  *Altpersische Siegelinschriften* Vienna 1981

Ancient seals were typically either inscribed in prose or anepigraphic and strongly iconic.

Old Persian Epigraphy  *Old Persian seals*


Persian for H.Humbach

Schnapper, Edith B.  *British Union Catalogue of Early Music printed before the year 1801* London 1957

It is notable that no "epigram" title is listed.

Musical Epigram  *Early Printed Music*

Schneider, Roger  *Littérature éthiopienne* in Queneau 1967 p.780–802 1967

Ethiopian  *Éthiopienne*

Schneider, M.  *Pierres tombales des cimetières arabes de Zafar-Dj. Btn* Leiden 1988 22 stelai from this legendary spot in North Yemen, 14 of them with verse, thus 64% have verse, which is as poorly identified for the weak Arabist as it is in the author's Dahlak. Periods range from the 13C to the 16C, which is also of interest

It may not be important that only 2 out of 7 of the earlier stelai have verses, as the entire period covered is short: 1234CE – 1246CE. The first two so endowed are n° 3 of 1242CE and n° 6, of 1246 CE. Some verses may be by professional poets, one only is proven to be identical with the text of a MS divan: from Abu 1'Atăhiya (see Sarh dîwān Abi i'Atăhiya Beyrouth 1389/1969 p.75 and Schneider's Zafar p. 23). This quote is only a hemistich in length, which is of interest for the possibility of Arabic short poetry on inscriptions and the growth, even if stunted later, of something like Greek epigram. Also of interest are Schneider's two suggestions about other sorts of origin for the verses. Either there could have been "collaboration" between poet and the epitaph writer, i.e., writing by conferencing and team work, probably by purely oral interchange, or the deceased may have left verses for his own tomb. No shred of evidence is given for either process, no doubt assumed more on the basis of Western experience than from knowledge of tendencies in past Arabic practice.

*My Book Arabic Epigraphy Burial Zafar-Yemen*

Schneider, M.  *Stèles funéraires musulmanes des îles Dahlak (Mer Rouge)* Cairo? 1983

Corpus of 260 stelai from the islands low on the West side of the Red Sea, near Asmara. Periods: 9C — 12C CE.

There are 14 stylistic elements of the formulary, the centre of which is the constantly used: "This is the tomb of X; "he/she died"; "God have mercy on him/her"; and "God bless Prophet Muhammad".

The full list of elements, many optional: 1. the basmala (almost compulsory) 2. a text separating the basmala from the name of the deceased 3. Name of deceased (the name not only "introduced" but mentioned/included in this rubric at Dahlak almost always by "hāda qabr ʿX = this is the tomb of X, an old but not universally popular formula in Egypt) 4. expressions and descriptors preceding the name 5. "introduction" of the date, mostly by "he/she died" = tuwuffia(t), never by the phrase originally popular in Egypt kutiba fi = "was written in" 6. the date itself 7. eulogies 8. «l'eulogie à report», or blessings called down on those who remember the deceased: *rahima man*
tarabhama "alay-hi/ha = God have mercy on the one who calls down mercy on him/her, or rahima-ha man da'a la-hi b i-lrahma = God grant mercy to anyone who invokes Divine mercy in his/her favour" or varying alternatives. 9. Blessing the Prophet 10. final exclamation (ejaculation?) e.g., Â'min 11. texts with a tendency to final poetry 12. mention of the profession and titles of the deceased 13. places, of work of the deceased, and/or of death 14. Stonecutter's signature.

The important thing for us is the poetry. It comes in 18 stelai of the 264, thus in 15%, at all periods, but was particularly in vogue in the later 12C CE, still well pre-Turkish in period. It is also placed in the "Arab" position, later in the funerary text. The poetry is said to be of a "few lines" only, but unfortunately, its reading and interpretation is often difficult, verse lines are erratically identified by the editors and even in this publication are sometimes not even printed (n° 231, lines 9–14), and additional stele n° 9 (found in Portugal) is assumed to be from Dahlak because its fragmentary opening reminds the editors of "verses" at the end of Dahlak stele n° 229, while verses are supposed not to be repeated much on that site! Stele n° 223 has in the middle of its epitaph four short lines rhyming abab, perhaps a tell-tale sign of things to come to the North and East. It may not be incidental that very strong expressions of emotion are far from unknown on these Dahlak stelai. This tendency would surely encourage verse, especially given the popularity of the *marthiya/mersiye throughout Muslim cultures. Also of significance as a suitable context for epitaphic verse is the tendency towards moderate length of these epitaphs, most approaching 10 lines or even coming closer to 20 (graphic) lines.

My Book Arabic Epigraphy Burial Dahlak


831.914 S359vo German Epigram Schlagkraft


Schoeck, O Epigramm op. 31/5 Breitkopf 24059 Musical Epigram Epigramm S


Scholem, Gershom Kabbalah N.Y. 1987 = Jerusalem 1974, a collection of the author’s contributions, particularly to the Encyclopedia Judaica.

While important for its being mixed in with Platonising mysticism in the key period of the Renaissance (and before), Jewish mysticism is important for our history of epigram in only an indirect way. It is cited by us under Yates Memorart as one of a number of traditions retrojecting engraved letters to the early moments of cosmic creation, or of revelation, even, as in the Sefer Yetzirah, deriving the phenomenal world from them. To the extent that this literal (sic) cosmogony reflects, or once enhanced, a more vivid “reading” of religious or ritual texts than would at first seem to us to be natural, it is important for the “reading” of early funerary epigrams, and as hermetic, it probably captures the spirit of some Imperial Greek epigraphy.

While such letter worship appears in late antiquity, we mention it as possibly related to another cultural practice which does go back to the origins of Classical epigram, the memory system attributed to Simonides himself. Our aim is to revaluate low estimations of the “literacy” levels of Classical Mediterranean culture. Slowness of reading and a different relationship of the written to the oral culture does not automatically mean “illiteracy”, but can accompany a different sort of literacy in which writing was valued more highly than it is today and in which the choice of a written form could be motivated by a desire to make a specific impact on the recipient of the message. It is the suggestion of Françoise Le Roux in La Religion des Celtes, Puech I, p.810, that the function intended for the writing of the extended name of the deceased (in Ogam script) on their stelai was to “fix” in his assigned place and thus keep dead and harmless the individual so treated. Living words, says Le Roux, were never written in early Irish culture, as that would have been to terminate their vitality and continuity. Thus the monumental ogam inscription, surely not much harder to “tell out” than archaic Greek, despite its modern commentators, has something of the function of the long nails found in Breton tombs, said to be intended to keep the spirits of the dead

Non-Classical
in their place. See also Galliou and Jones. The Bretons p.114.

My Book Kabbalah

Schumann, and Bischoff and Bookmann and Wesche, Otto & Bernhard & Friederike & Markus

4,1 A–C 1979
4,2 D–H 1980
4,3 I–N 1981
4,4 O–R 1981
4,5 S–Z 1982
"4" (=5?) Ergänzungsband — Stellenregister, Dirk Kotte, Benedikt Konrad Vollmann & Andreas Schubert. 1989

6 Register 1983

With no claims to be a complete concordance to Classical, late and medieval Latin poetic phraseology, this seems to reach up into the later Medieval period, with some "important" authors, to include the Carmina Epigraphica and later inscriptions of interest to Schumann, and to treat only those collocations which are likely to provide some chance of tracing influences and borrowings, the original purpose of this private collection. Presumably this underlying purpose focussed the interest of Schumann towards quite distinctive phrases and collocations, leaving the commoner expressions and images uncatalogued.

871.05 / 3 Latin Poetry Hexameter-Lexikon

Schützeichel, R. Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters Bonn 1979

German Studien


Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought Vol. LIV

Quite a resounding title for what is an unexceptional commentary on selected religious texts. The "situating" of the poetry as poetry remains ambiguous. Is it fun and elegant badinage, or poetry of burning zeal for the Gospel. I found the book more interesting for its "Sixteenth century background" than for any fresh insights it may throw on Marot, the founder of vernacular epigram. Screech's reworking of his French book on the topic is after all aimed squarely and narrowly at the confessional question. Other obiter dicta of use include the ongoing new edition of Marot's poetry by Gérard Defaux "in many respects a marked advance on earlier editions. So far volume one only has been published (Classiques Garnier, Paris, 1990)." (p. 8 fn) Our own edition has been the standard one of C.A. Mayer 1958, 1962, 1964, and 1966.

Of interest here, but not in connection with "epigram", is the way biblical allusions are alleged to have been "received" by literary Hugenots of the time. Screech claims without ever showing very clearly that many psalms, Pauline and prophetic references had a particularly powerful "resonance" for the persecuted Protestants.

Much of the book seems to be concerned with tracking biblical allusions for those moderns who know little of the Bible. The instinctive suspicion aroused by many of the uses to which Screech has put them must remain unconfirmed, as long as we lack a wide reading in the vernacular and Latin controversial literature of the period. However, any check on the suspicion of allusions having been common, "floating", indirectly received, and thus not automatically meaningful is almost ruled out by the small size of the work of Screech and the sharp focus adopted in his project. We must just take it on trust that the "influences" and "echoes" which he selects are in fact distinctive, characteristic, and highly meaningful. Many of them do not look it.

We do however recover some of the meatiness of Marot's controversial verse. Some of this weight and intensity is to be assumed for his epigrams, which were no mere juvenile throw-aways.

French Humanist Poetry Marot Sc


Non-Classical
Francois Paris 1988 = (more or less) ed. princeps Paris 1548.
A very early Art of the epigram, almost contemporary with that of Robortello in Latin.
Sebilet/Sibilet/Sibillet/Sybilet/Sybile is aggressively nativistic. His section on epigram p.102-114 draws heavily on Marot, who had been writing such things (though initially without using the title epigram ) since the late 1520s. He refers to ancient practice but concentrates on his own national scene: as to why 8 lines was a frequent length both among les Anciens and les jeunes: p.108 Pourcqe il ha je ne sey quel accomplissement de sentence et de mesure qui touche vivement l'oreille; p.104 Pourcqe régulièrement les bon Poetes Francois n'excedent le nombre de douze vers en epigramme; p.110 Le dizain est l'epigramme aujourd'hui estimé premier; p.114 Sus tout, sois en l'épigramme le plus fluide que tu pourras, et estudie à ce que les deux vers derniers soient agus en conclusion: car en c'es deux vers consiste la louenge de l'épigramme. Note that in France appeared the first independent vernacular book of prescriptions entirely devoted to the epigram, that of Colletet, a century later. The advantage of using the reprint of Goyet is the up-to-date bibliography it provides after the long modern introduction. See also Addenda.

French Epigram Poetics Sébilet Art


See, K. von Skaldendichtung München und Zürich 1980
Used to approach the specifically skaldic verse of the northerners. It is suggested that this verse, which has a strictness of form unknown to other Germanic peoples, comes from contact with the Celtic bardic tradition. It is in any case extremely oral and performance centred. Despite this we find a key Saga (Egil's) mentioning many times the engraving of verses, and we have found a whole stanza of it in Denmark, see *Moltke.

My Book Viking Poetry Skalden-Dichtung

A most important and fundamental study and revalidation of the preserved ephemeral poetry of early and mid-modern Germans. The theoretical part questions the low status of this sea of literary practice and of any attempt to study it. The study is based on a very energetic process of collection of unpublished and rare texts.

–6C "Casualcarmen" – Machwerk, also "Occasio" treated.
P.212 Nebenstunden = Nebenarbeit, Neben-werk
P.261–262 & p. 389 [n° 45] Gottsched coined the word Gelegenheitsgedichte in 1746, no doubt drawing on the then common sort of title "Poems on several occasions..."
[263] das Problem der >Menge<
[186] Topos of the eternal, or lasting, praise of: writing-poetry-inscriptions.
[189] Benjamin Neukirch’s Anthologie, in his Vorrede he addresses these poems to poor writers of poems for weddings and Leichnam(en?)
[91ff] on Sylvae
German Epigram Poetic Occasional

Seibt, Werner Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich, I Teil, Kaiserhof Wien 1978
Having taken our treatments of the Byzantine bullae from the 1880s, we felt obliged to scan more modern corpora and treatments that we did not have the time to master.

CD 5381 S44 T1 Seals Austrian Byz. Seals

Sella and Ehrle, Pietro & Francesco Inventari dell’Archivio Segreto Vaticano pubblicati per ordine di S.S. Pio Papa XI sotto la Presidenza dell’ Erno Card. Francesco Ehrle: Le Bolle d’Oro dell’Archivio Vaticano a cura di Pietro Sella Vaticano 1934

CD 5381 S44 T1 Seals Vatican Gold Seals


Q 736.3 Seals Sigilli Vaticani


Non-Classical

All anthologies of small texts interest us, as do proverbs in particular. There does not seem to be a tradition of versified proverbs in Arabic, so we will not search outside Australia for this.

Arabic Gnomica

Serlo of Wilton see Öberg cross reference


The first few pages give a vivid impression of the first stage of antiquarianism in British India, and its difficulties.

q 954.82 S516  Indian *Amaravati Tope*


The Solanki and Vaghela rulers and their ministers did much shrine and temple building in a time of stability in Western India. 118 inscr. come from Satrunjaya, all 16C. Kumarapala's Jain temple at Girnar was perhaps the first there, but it has been very much restored. That of Neminatha, repaired in 1278 CE, is next, and the largest Jain temple on Girnar, also much repaired. Another is a triple shrine built by Vastupala in V.S. 1288 = 1232 CE, and despite renovations, 6 inscriptions remain dated V.S. 1288 embedded over many doors of this temple which give an idea of the religious activities of two brothers, Vastupala and Tejapala, who are supposed to have raised one crore of temples throughout the land. 34 inscr. overall survive from the Girnar temples, 12 informative ones only from the period CE 1148–1463. Temples seem to have been relatively few prior to the 15C CE. The brief article ends with an individual note on 16 "informative" inscriptions of the 13C and 14C. Of most interest to us is n° 13, B.S. 1330 in the style of a copper plate grant, on the western side of the temple of Sri. Neminatha. It gives the right "to Haripala to write the inscriptions on the Mount Girnar to all the temples including temple of Sri. Neminatha."

Indian Epigraphy  Gujarati temple epigraphy

Shah, N.S. *LakshmanaSuktiratnakosa* Ahmedabad 1982  Indian Poetry *Suktiratnakosa*


Shahid, Irfan *Byzantium and the Semitic Orient before the Rise of Islam* London. 1988  Greek Byzantine Syriac  *Greek and early Arab*


As for other cultures, when we investigate inscriptions in Middle Iranian we need to know what recognisable structures of verse there may be. It seems that they are few indeed, or that verse was not felt suitable for inscribing, perhaps because Aramaic habits prevailed in scriptoria.

Benveniste has three important articles on prosodic problems in the relatively new field of Middle Persian. The great Henning plumped for a stress rhythm, interestingly, as stresses may forever be irrecoverable in middle Iranian. From the Gatha period of the Avesta we can pick lines of what seem intended to be verse, and their variations in syllable length are limited. The standard deviation is constant over different sections of the Iranian corpus. The phrasing of this is difficult: "... the variation of minimum and maximum in length of lines as against the average..."
was approximately identical" — perhaps Shaked was thinking in Hebrew! No doubt music provided the base regularities of poetic pattern. P. 401 suggests schemas.

CONCLUSION: Middle Iranian did not have a stress based verse. There was a rough regularity of syllables (and of the less important stresses?). Caesura was important. The article ends with the compulsory quote from 10C Hamza al-Isfahānī, on his impressions of the old sort of poetry now so despised in muslimised Iran.

Persian Prosody  Mid Persian metrics

Sharma, L.P.  History of Ancient India (Pre-historic Age to 1200 A.D.) 1987

P.17 summarises the inscriptive material of use to historians. Mostly on stone or copper, and heavily connected with official grants of land and revenues, and freedoms from taxation. Many royal inscriptions are elaborate prashastis in court verse. Inscriptions by private persons are mostly engraved in temples or on images of stone or of metal. Our survey of materials available in N.S.W and the A.C.T. indicates that though verse is by no means typical of any form of private (or local official's) inscription, neither it is unknown in North or in South India.

Pages 16–19 indicate in general what sorts of inscriptions abound in India and what use historians have made of them.

The sources as summarised by Sharma are:

- "mostly engraved on stone and metal, particularly copper. Practically all of them are either commands, records of conquests, descriptions of achievements or sale and gift of lands by different rulers." p.17.
- "The inscriptions which were engraved after the reign of the Emperor Ashoka have been divided into two categories, viz., inscriptions engraved by emperor or kings and inscriptions engraved by certain other people or local officers."
- "The inscriptions engraved by emperors or kings are either Prashastis composed by court writers or grants of land assigned to individuals. Among the Prashastis of emperors, the most prominent ones are the Prashasti of the emperor Samudra Gupta engraved on the Asoka pillar at Allahabad which was prepared by his court-poet, Harisena, the Hathigumpha-Prashasti inscription of king Gautami Balasree, the Gwalior-inscription of king Bhij, the Guirnar-inscription of king Rudradaman, the Aihole inscription of the Chaulukya king, Pulkesin II, the Bhitr and Nasik inscriptions of the Gupta ruler Skanda Gupta and the Deobara-inscription of the Sen ruler, Vijaya Sen."
- "The inscriptions which were used for the grant of lands were mostly engraved on copper-plates. These inscriptions describe the area of land, by whom it was granted, to whom it was granted and also the date when it was granted. Some of them also describe the achievements of the rulers who granted lands."
- "The inscriptions of private individuals or that of local officers are mostly engraved in temples or on images of stones or metals". "Some of them give descriptions of the rule of contemporary rulers, the duties and rights of their different officers and their revenue-system as well."

Apart from the use of inscriptions for language history, dating, social history, the history of administrative systems of rulers who were known of from literary works, epigraphy has resurrected some of the history of great imperial lines like the Satavahanas, the Pallavas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutras, Cholas and Pandyas, almost unknown to older historiography. Coins are also very important in this recovery of lost histories.

My Book  Indian  Ancient India


Riches of Gujarat, up to 1972, 439 Prakrit-Sanskrit on stone and copper plates, and also 688 image inscriptions dated up to 1300 CE.; 443 Sanskrit, Sanskrit-Gujrati and Gujrati inscr. on stone and copper plates, and 3,695 image inscriptions from 1301–1860 CE.; 623 Arabic and Persian inscr. 920–1953 CE, equalling 5,868 published inscriptions in all. Images and memorial stones whose inscriptions have since then been published have added "an immense increase in this number". After some Harappan sites, it is Girnar 225 BCE which is the first epigraphic site (Ashokan), then the Western Ksatrapas Saka Era 11 and 52; then Junagadh, the first (150 CE) Sanskrit record (in high prose) of Rudradaman I on the Sudarsana Reservoir, which strangely records names of Mauryan local governors 400–450 years older than the inscription; then the 455–457 CE rock inscription in Skt. verse of Skandagupta, also on the Sudarsana reservoir at Girinagar/Junagadh; then copper plates of the Maitrka kings of Vallabhi 502–766 CE, in high prose; then copper plates of the Rashtrakutra kings of the Lata branch; then many stone and copper plate inscr. from the Chalukyas (942–1304 CE) some involving praśasti-s in ornate verse, such as that of blind poet Sripala for King Kumaraapala and his erection of the fort wall of Anandapura Valabhi (or Vikrama?!) Era 1208, and that of the poet Somesvara on the erection of a marble temple on Mt. Abu by minister Tejapala in V.E. 1287 (Ep. Ind. III p.200f.) and many others, and the praśastiinscriptive practice outlasted this dynasty [p.4 end]. Very common in Gujarat are inscriptions on stone and metal images, mentioning the names of the patrons and the priests who constructed them, and the dates. See our selections from Sanchi donative inscr. Image inscriptions occur in hundreds in Jaina shrines on Mts Satrunjaya, Girnar and Abu, though on my 1987 visit to the latter series of temples I did not notice any epigraphy, so it must be discreet. Also common are PALIYAS or memorial stones for dead warriors or satis, especially at Saurashtra and Kathicha, or the medieval and early modern periods, and these give the reigning king's name and the date of the event commemorated. P. 6–9 mention
compilations, notably Corp.Insc.Ind. IV 1955.
Indian Epigraphy  Gujrati episurvey

Shaw and Shoemaker, Ralph Robert & Richard H.  American Bibliography. A Preliminary
Checklist 1801–1819  Vol. 21. Title Index  1958–66 the series

also *Bristol for American indices relating to the 18C. The search is for the history of the book title "Horae…", with its expression, or affectation, of amateurishness. P. 218: Horae juridicae subsecivae 14624. Horae lyricae:
multi titles, e.g., 3503, 5550, 7709, 27474, 27475, 30485, 30486, 30487, 33606, 36500. Horae Paulinae 46714;
Horae poeticae 47474; Horae Solitarie 1309, 35900, 35901. Thus, in the first two decades of the American 19C this
type of title was common, mainly for biblical and literary works, but it was also used for one legal work.

Bibliography 19C American  American Bibliography Checklist

Sheehan, E.  Local History from Headstones  in Burckhardt 1986 p.341–349.  1986
Australian Burial Epigraphy  Newcastle Tombstones

Sheppard, Samuel  Epigrams theological, philosophical and romantick also the Socratick session,
or, the arraignament and conviction of Julius Scaliger: with other select poems, by…  1651

[22], 257 p. ill. separate t. p. for "The Socratick session" and "A mausolean monument".

Among the epigrams, only Martial and Ausonius, and Bastard and Harington are significant. Many
congratulatory verses precede Book I. A great variety of lengths (Book IV has monostichs). Some few Latin
poems. P.209 has Funeral Ellegies (+ Epitaphs follow each Elegy, in larger print). P.227 Pastoral.

mfm 791 12212:19  S3161  English Latin Epigram  Theological philosophical romantick

Shreck, R.J.  Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bononiensis, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and
Studies 37 NY 1985
Latin Modern  Bonn Latin

Shrimali, Krishna Mohan  Agrarian Structure in Central India and the Northern Deccan c. AD
300–500: A Study of Vakataka Inscriptions  New Delhi 1987
YY 339.10954 V134S  Indian Epigraphy  Agrarian Structure

Sicton, Jan.  Chronometra aliquot memorabilia  1645

Chronograms picking out the requisite (Roman numeral) letters in upper case, all distichs, Title page has on it
the word "Epigramma", last page has a title "Emblemata" (this poem has no illustration) and also "Epigramma". The
rest are called chronostichon, chronogramma, eteostichon, and they have a chapter or section heading called
chronologicon, indicating, in centre-justified prose (all the prose headings are centre-justified), the general period
next being treated. See Pritchard for an inscribed medieval Latin chronogram and Colin for the Muslim Hisab al-
Jummal. See Addenda §7.3 for examples of Sicton's texts.

mfm 791  S3751  Latin Modern Epigram  Chronograms S

Sigley, Vivienne  Australian Mottoes  Canberra 1989
4,000-odd items, English and Latin mostly. General introduction and corpus. The Bible and Vergil the main
sources for quotes, and poetry, though occurring, seems fairly rare and incidental in devises and mottoes.

Australian Mottoes  Australian Mottoes

Silagi and Bischoff, Gabriel & Bernhard  MGH PLMÆ Die Ottonenzeit  Hrsg. Gabriel Silagi &
Bernhard Bischoff  München.  1979
P. 634 Aufschrift eines Gürtels aus Ottonenbesitz = 2 x Hx.
P.635 Grabschriften und Persönliches
P. 643 Didaktik und Schule (var. lengths)  P. 649–650 on vices and virtues, seven poems all 4 x Hx plus one of 18 x
Hx.  P. 652 An acrostic to BADALECTOR = 10 x Hx. beginning, very alliteratively, Bieda dei famulus facundo
famine fretus…
P.659 Kreuzeslob und Figurengedichte
P.668 Widmung und Schreiberverse
P.673 Verse zu Miniaturen und Goldschmiedarbeiten
NOTES: Verses from scribes/librarians are often short. So are verses on miniatures and precious movable objects.
It is interesting that the MÆ maintain the most elaborate word play and figure poems.

Latin Medieval Poetry  MGH PLMÆ Otto

Non-Classical
Silvagni, A. *La Silloge epigrafica di Cambridge* in Rivista di Archaeologia Romana 20 (1943) p.49–112 (texts begin p.84) 1943
Latin Medieval Epigram of Cambridge

Latin Modern Poetry Latin Milton

*Cultura in Italia*

Simpson, W.K. *Kenotaph* in (Helck and Otto) 1975–1980
The word is used by moderns of Egyptian burial monuments but is a term singularly maladapted to Egyptian beliefs and practices.
Egyptian Burial Kenotaph

Irish Literacy Ogam literacy

Latin Medieval Epigram Mildred

Siraisi N.G. *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy. The Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities* Princeton 1987
My Book *Avicenna medicus*

Sircar, Dineschandra (B?) 1908–
*Epigraphic Studies in East Pakistan by...* Calcutta 1973 §80
§56 of series Calcutta Sanskrit College research series [studies]
954.021 S619 Indian Epigraphy East Pakistan

Sircar, D.B. *Indian Epigraphy* Delhi 1965?
Indian Epigraphy *Epig Ind*

Sircar, D.B. *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation. Vol. 1: 6C BC–6C AD* 1965 
Indian Epigraphy *Sell. Ind.*

Sircar Dineschandra *Some Epigraphical Records of the Medieval Period from Eastern India* New Delhi 1979
See esp. pp.54/5, 81/2/3. In the former we encounter a single and isolated anustubh stanza from Saka 1503 (= 1581 CE) seemingly on, and explicating, a sin offering. Its graphic form is three lines of 17C Bengali characters. The latter page group offers another anustubh couplet in Skt in the first part of an Oriya inscription of 11 lines. It is followed in its turn (p.81) by "the representations of the crescent moon and the sun which are found in many medieval epigraphs (north and south of the Himalayas) to indicate the permanent character of the grants recorded in them, which were expected to last as long as the sun and moon would endure". After the 11th and final line of the previously-mentioned Oriya text are three graphic lines of Sanskrit verse, called a "stanza", in fact a long couplet or quatrain, depending on the strength given to the caesurae (Sanskrit full verses come in "quarters", according to native reckoning). Many of the longer patches of verse interspersed in the prose texts of these plates have each "stanza", long couplet or quatrain (equivalent terms in this context) in a different metre. This is common in formal kavya, and no doubt, as the meters were individually savoured for their different rhythms and associations, this adds to the separability of such double verses, and to the oriental sense of a long poem as "pearls on a string". However it is notable that in these materials we could find so few individual verses thus isolated, in fact, only the two extracted above.
Indian Epigraphy Medieval Eastern India

Non-Classical

Persian *Middle Iranian*

Skene, Alexander. *Memoirals for the government of the Royal-Burghs in Scotland with some overtures laid before the nobility and gentry of several shyres in this kingdom: as also, a survey of the famous city of Aberdeen and epigrams of Arthur Johnstoun. Doctor of Medicine, upon some of our chief burghs translated into English by I.B. by Philopolitaisus (or), a lover of the publick well-fare. Aberdeen 1685* Arthur Johnstoun 1587–1641

*cf. p.137 Ch.XXI "Concerning the Office and Duties of the Bailies", and Skene is called "Baillie Skene" in a handwritten note on p.11. He is also called Philopolitaisus. There are very few poetic quotes in this part. In the second part, Latin is given for some few "epigrams", see. p. 256 Ch. VIII, but the poems are quite long. See above under *Birrell for some context on Arthur Johnston, premier Latin epigrammatist of Scotland (of his age).*

*Persian Epigraphy  Epigraphic gap Persian*

Smith, Peter. *Architecture in Wales during the Renaissance* Ch.6 of Williams 1990, p.101–146. 1990

Many drawings and photographic plates.

A useful reminder of the different "Renaissance" periods, even in the same country. The architectural Renaissance came many centuries later than the literary, and depended on the discovery of the orders of Roman architecture. Paradoxically this particular Renaissance ended with the Greek revival of the period of the French Revolution. Also, the process of building in accord with the discoveries of the architectural Renaissance had to wait, even in England, for the Restoration and the Great Fire. It was the 18C before English churches and country houses began to catch up with the Veneto (and other Italian areas) of the 16C.

Before the 18C (p.105) Welsh Church architecture was influenced by the Roman Renaissance only in the matter of funerary monuments and memorials, The new style gained ground fast only in this area. It was in the 18C that some notable Renaissance-Classical buildings were constructed, see summary on p.112. However, the predominant influence was always "Gothic", apart from tombs in churches, and details like screens and panelling. Bramante, Serlio, Sangallo and particularly Palladio had not penetrated very far.

Much of this paper describes the non-Renaissance architecture of Wales, which is of great oikodomic interest, but not for us.

*Architecture in Wales*


P.2 Only some epigraphs were ever painted on their supports, and very few were done by *ink.* P.3 prose, verse, prose+verse. P.19 Introd. and colophons P.25 materials. Note in F.GI (*Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions C. Inscr. Indicarum iii 1888) 139, the "epitaph" of "Chandragupta II" [415 CE if the identification is to be accepted] on 6 tons of iron pillar, a "short" poem of six lines.

934 S662 Indian Epigraphy *Antiquities of India*

Smith and Spear, V.A. & P. *The Oxford History of India* 1985

Currently regarded as imperialist-colonialist and old-fashioned. It is still solid.

My Book Indian *Oxford India*


Born 363/973, died 449/1058. Famous late Abbasid poet and prose author, much of whose works were lost as a result of the Crusades. Prosimetrum p.934, Mulqâ ʾl-sâhil: "tiny paragraphs containing rhymed prose, which alternate with other paragraphs containing some poetical lines, with, however, the restriction that each paragraph is more or less identical with the subsequent paragraph of poetry as far as its contents are concerned." I.e., opus geminatum reciprocum?

Arabic Poetry *al Ma'arri*
Smyth, R. Brough *The Aboriginies of Victoria* with notes relating to the habits of the Natives of other parts of Australia and Tasmania Melbourne 1876 1876 2 Voll. Melbourne 1876 = South Yarra 1972, facsim.

If we compare and contrast European non-epigraphic monuments with those of the Greeks, we may be justified in looking also at those of our own indigenes. Non-epigraphic burials may add to our understanding even of the ancient epigraphic ones, and to our informed guesswork concerning the precise tone and function of the earliest inscriptions.

P.98 Death and Burial. Notes (like the Beduin whose intrusive graves I had to break through at Tell Patish in the Negev) on the carrying of a dead favourite child, and of the severed hands of an adult.

P.99, a great variety of burial styles but interment seemed the commonest. A long footnote on NSW based on the observations of Major Mitchell, then more from explorers' journals on SA, WA, Fraser Island, and Cooper's Creek.

572.9945 3/2 Syd Fish Aboriginal Burial *Aboriginies of Victoria &c.*

Snodgrass, Adrian *The Symbolism of the Stupa* 1985

A few references only are made to Buddhist epigraphy in this architectural text. We must understand the importance of various parts as well as of the types of ancient buildings when "reading" architectural and monumental inscriptions. In Egypt, China, India, Timurid Iran and Turan, and in Byzantium there were traditions of the disposition, alignment and design of buildings that gave to them and their parts a significance now not easy to recover. See the Indian Silpasastras.

**Indian Architecture**  *Stupa Symbolism*


A part of our search for poetic epigraphy in all cultures, the reflex of an attempt to test the uniqueness claimed for Greek poetic epigraphy. In *Moor* it is assumed that non-quantitative Semitic metrics (before Syriac syllable counting) shared major features (e.g., with the Psalms).

**Cuneiform Prosody**  *Babylonian metre*

Sokoloff, Michael *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* Ramat Gan 1990

P. 355 s.v. יומא יומא יומא יומא יומא יומא יומא — soul, living person, self, tomb, monument (the latter sense = meaning 4 in Sokoloff's article). See review in JAOS 144.2 1994 p.239–248 by Stephen Kaufman *A Scholar's Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, in which the first, restrictive adjective sums up his criticism. Actually, Kaufman is director of the whole project of redoing Jastrow! The technicalities of the computer generation of this work from a complete corpus of un-normalised texts is of some interest.

**My Book**

Sontheimer and Settar (vice versa on TP), Gunther D. & S. *Memorial Stones. A Study of their Origin, Significance and Variety* New Delhi 1982 This is a collective work on a brand new field in archaeology, much ignored until the 1970s.

The texts of the small number of such hero stones or memorial stones known in the past are seldom cited in studies, as compared with those of dāna-tāsana-s and vijaya-tāsana-s, and this gives the impression to scholars that such stones and their inscriptions are unimportant. The terms used for them, like their styles and whether they are inscribed with iconography (usual) or with words (not uncommonly) are subject to great regional variation. The phenomenon seems quite indigenous in India, being found among the Tribals (no verbal inscriptions there, but much folk lore and mythology being centred on the memorialising and interpretation of the stones or wood posts). They are commonly the focus for ritual and cult, and for family self-assertion. Thus, like some few terms, they show wide commonalities over large areas of Indian culture. The first name may have been those of the earlier Buddhists and Jains. Buddhists had a chhiyā-stambha, or shadow-pillar, and the Jains had their nisidhi, marking the ritual death (by starvation) of a Jain saint, and shaped like the seat on which he would accomplish this, perhaps being that very seat. These terms are limited to a single denomination, but the term vīragal crosses many denominations, if only in the South. Pāliya, kṛiti-stambha, and the more descriptive and generic khatri, stambha devali etc. cover the huge region of the North and Centre, "between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas". Other terms are njajkal and govardhan-stambha, and many more less common ones can be found in the individual articles. All this from the generalities of the introduction.

P. 45–46 A. N. Upadhye on the meaning of nisidhi. It appears often on the inscriptions of Karnataka, and is the square raised seat used for the saliekhana. The word has a dozen or two forms in Prakrit and Kannada and Sanskrit, and is obviously a derivative of the V ni-sad, or sit down. It is a post-mortem memorial (this is very important for our theorising of the "real grave", not supposed to exist in most of India) EITHER at the place of death, OR at the place of cremation, OR at the place of burial of the bones and ashes.

P. 47–58 D.R. Patil on the origins of Memorial Stones. He makes the comparison with the wooden stakes of Vedic tradition and of the law codes: laṣṭi (Prakrit), = Sanskrit yaṣṭi, also the word for pillar, sthāya. He discusses

**Non-Classical**
the implications of the early Buddhist cāyāstambha, "shadow pillar") found in Andhra Pradesh in the +2/3C, and the
"presence" of the deceased in them. See *Kane in Addenda.

P. 58–76 K.V. Soundara Rajan on the Origin and Spread of Memorial Stones in Tamil Nadu. There are many
very early literary references to them. P. 74 conclusion: they did not occur before our Era, they are not connected
with primitive megaliths and menhirs, and they are largely confined to West Tamilnad.

SECTION 2 Folk, Tribal, Local traditions and Memorials

Summarising: wood and stone are both used, and the stelai are often iconic. They are the focus of cult. Folk
stories and verse preserve the memory of the person and his deeds. They are predominantly, it seems, either for
famous persons, or for persons dying unnaturally, including prematurely, such as victims of murder. They mediate
between the dead and the living, between whom there is close commerce. In some places stones are surrounded
with small temples. They receive either regular or periodic rituals and worship, e.g., "Would you like to see my
grandfather?" one scholar was asked in a village, and was taken, with an armful of the usual puja materials, to a
stone in the fields.

P. 157 Saryu Doshi on the Paliyas of Saurashtra. They occur in thick clusters, as shown in the numerous and
intriguing photographs, and are the most numerous memorial stones in India, but all seem to be recent, from the last
three or four centuries! Their inscription is very brief, and the iconography spare and stylised, showing the deceased
and the sun and the moon. They "fell for their country", all of them, and the verbal inscription is a bare name and a
date. The similarity with Greek stelai is obvious, but these are modern developments in Saurashtra!

P. 171 mentions the *cago*, or loose cairn of stones, onto which it was customary to throw a small stone as one
passed. Nilsson has much to say on Greek Hermes of this nature.

P. 182 Poshpa Bindra on Himachal mentions the northern fountain slabs, some of which (they are not numerous
among finds) have fine verse inscriptions.

P. 194 S. Settar on South India. Karnataka is the heartland of hero stones. They memorialise deaths resulting
from: 1. cattle raids; 2. rape and molestation of women; 3. in defence of land and lord; 4. in rescue of friends and
relatives; 5. in defence of town or village; 6. fighting against outlaws or wild animals; 7. de ceased of pets, often those
who died in defence of people. To this we could add 9. from self-immolation of Jainas; 10. Satt tablets for dutifully
suiciding wives; 11. Death at any eclipse (which was supposed to allow for a rapid ascent of the grades of the
reincarnational ladder).

P. 251-254 D. H. Khare on memorial stones in Maharashtra, uses vocabulary which confuses: "upward tapering
stones" are taken as prehistoric, "downward tapering stones" as historical in period. The one very regular icon is
that of two footprints on top. Hands and especially feet are not unknown in Greece on memorials, Guarducci. Also
K.M.D. Dumbabin JRA 3 (1990) p. 85–106. The wedge shape of stelai is known from Europe, perhaps being (the
top-heavy wedge) anthropomorphism of a very simple type. They are common in pre-Classical Attica.

P. 274 quotes a "famous ślokā from inscriptions in Karnataka (found in the critical edition of the Mahabharata
only in the apparatus, after 5.33.32, and also in the Pāñcaratana I.345. It compares the war-hero and the hero-yogi:

dvāvimau puruṣau loke
parivrāḍ yogayuktāśca
sūrya maṇḍala bhedinau
raṇe cābhimukho hatah.

P. 294 develops 19 classes of such stones in Karnataka, with added categories for miscellaneous and uncertain.

P. 319–338 S. Settar and F. A. Ganchar deal with artists' signatures on the stones, of the Cālukya-Hoysala
period and in this and the following article, by S. Settar and H.B. Sunkad, on those of Vijayanagar of the 14C – 16C,
we find similar things. "Artists' signatures" are sporadic on stone, 100 from the former period. P. 323: however,
artists were not very literate if at all, and teamed up with scribes or engravers (actually, the village "accountants"
or senabova-s) for any provision of text. In the latter period (p.344) approximately half the stones show this
collaboration of sculptor with scribe.

732.44 M533 ANL Indian epigraphy burial Memorial Stones

Soucek, P.P.ed. Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World Papers from a
Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University,
2–4 April 1980, planned and organised by Carol Manson Bier; ed. by... 1988

Arabic Art Artistic context of Islam

Sourdel, D DJARASH, the ancient Gerasa in EI2 p.458.

Gerasa


Arabic Art Art islam

Sourdel-Thomine and Alparslan and Abdullah Chagatai, J. & Ali & M. KHatt in EI2 Vol. IV

Arabic Graphemics Khatt

Non-Classical
Arabic Burial Qabr

Arabic Persian Turkish Epigraphy Kitabat

Mesoamerican Mesoamerican

Sparrow, John Visible Words, a Study of Inscriptions in and as Books and Works of Art Cambridge 1969

The stimulus for this study was the corpus of “lapidary books” common enough in the 17C, when epigram was so popular. We have found them in England. They are typically in a prose which is more succinct than verse. Even in the 16C & 17C some verse was aligned without regard for its metrical cola and lines. The concern for graphic layout seems to have been a Roman thing, and verse epitaph seems to have been squeezed out mid 15C by the rebirth of this Roman preference. (p.12ff.) See Saxl for the generalisations but here we need to note the rise of books of inscriptions in the line of the great collectors Ciriaco of Ancona and Pirro Ligorio. There were as many minor collectors as there were Humanists, it seems. 1521 Giacomo Mazochi Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis, actually 3rd ed, purporting to be the 1st ed. Inscriptiones Sacrosanctae Vetustatis 1534 by Petrus Apianus and Bartolomaeus Amantius. Modern inscriptions were quickly collected as well, sometimes of a single composer. 1592 Lorenz Schrader Monumentorum Italicae... libri 4, Siegfried Rybisch and Tobias Fendt, Nathan Chutraeus Variorum in Europa Itinerum Deliciae, Franz Sweerts, Camden, Valens Arithmaeus, and John Weever q.v. below.

Architectural inscriptions are said not to have been so common in the Middle Ages (p.39), in fact, according to our efforts to master the matter by means of descriptions, studies and illustrations, in the Gothic period any epigraphy seems to have been small, scant, and not intended for reading at a distance, much less intended to be an element of public display, or to demonstrate “figured writing” as a distinct form of art. P.83 freshness is gradually lost in Picture inscriptions, an old tradition. P.84–85 notes the beginnings of the 18C cult of atmospheric ruins, on which deliberately fragmentary and half-obscured inscriptions were placed. P.92 makes the important comment that the inscription tablet is at least in part assumed to be an answer to some tension between the sculptor and the epigraphist, and it is often separated from the image. P.102 reminds us of the Renaissance and Baroque cult of courtly entertainments and carefully planned celebrations, in which macchinae were often built of temporary materials, covered with Latin inscriptions, and burned with fireworks, the inscriptions often being collected. [See Carlson and Giantronco]. The inscriptions were increasingly “argutae”. P.106 Guarini criticised Pola’s modernistic style of inscription writing, which makes it clear that the writing of such texts was a fully literary activity. By the end of the 17C a new witty trend had developed. See p.107ff Christian Weise De argutis inscriptionibus 1688, aided by the policies of the Jesuits: “ut ubique Lector plura inveniat cogitanda quam videt legenda”. Jacobus Masenius of Mainz divided the sources of wit or of point, the “fontes argutiarum” into four: Repugnantia, Alienatio, Comparatio and Allusio. Emanuele Tesuaro in his Canoniche Aristotelico 1655 found 77 “figure patetiche”, and classed the old Roman type of inscription as being purely oratorical, not truly lapidary like the modern sort. P.113 Evidences the contemporary aim of turning Cicero from ascollabile to leggibile, a key factor in the rise of scriptuality in modern literacy. The motto is treated as irrelevant to most of this discussion (p.117). By 1666 there were official editions of inscriptions, and thus they had fully migrated from stone to paper. The lapidary book became a fashion, Aloysius Juglar, Giovanni Alberti 1638 perhaps the earliest. Criticism was not long in coming, e.g., Ottavio Boldoni, in his Epigraphica, speaks of “asthmatic writers”. P.127 Elogiae turn more political north of the Alps, and lampoon and satire took inscriptional forms in broadsheet publication. Except for Johann Frischlmann and Francis Quaries, the lapidary book died, Classicism returned, illustrated by the project of Antonio Morcelli, De Stilo Inscriptionum 1779.

Sparrow easily accepts as being an example of “epigramma” any inscription, and any pointed text. The part played in this whole movement by typographical experimentation needs to be appreciated; there were compositional pressures and preferences which stemmed from the method of literary mosaic making encouraged by Latin versifying (and only Latin? surely not!), and the mosaic nature of composing a graphic layout. Perhaps presence of the one “spatiality” increasing the effect of the other. Later “concrete poetry” has ploughed a somewhat parallel furrow, Mallarmé, Apollinaire, Lewis Carroll... Inscriptional texts are periodically caught up in a whole development of epigraphic art and graphic design. At least some influences can be traced operating across the
boundaries of the literary and the graphic worlds. This trend seems to go back to Augustan Rome.

Graphemics Epigraphy  Visible Words

Speck, Paul ed.  Theodoros Studites. Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände. Berlin. 1968. All these 8/9C poems are short (Studites is known as a major link in the Eastern epigrammatic tradition) and all seem to be "on" icons or paintings. The title epigram is used. See Trypanis's Anthology p.xxii, p.40ff. Note also his 1986 corpus of Berliner Bleisiegeln.

Greek Byzantine Epigraphy Studites


Epigrammata are not uncommonly (cf. Sidonius in his later letters) treated as something a mature person outgrows, whether from their obscenity, their lack of care or content, or the contemporary low status of short poetry, however well composed.

mfm 791 1390:10 S4908 Latin Modern Epigram Epigrammata juvenilia


Selected as a culture which does not name the dead but which does bury, also, like the other old Australiana included in this bibliography, to make sure that funerary rites and memorials from my own country are not omitted from the broad comparative sweep. They also serve to fill out the non-literate forms of burial monument, and to represent all the world's hunter-gatherers.

See p.429 Death, Burial and Mourning.

p.432 There were degrees of silence about the dead, depending on closeness of relationship. (I am told by a student of Aboriginal history (Steve Morelli) that the extremes of silence about the dead, tabooing their name and thus any toponym or common word identical to the name of the deceased, occurs predominantly in the "North and West" of the country.)

p.433 Duty of a woman to her dead father-in-law.

Obviously, in cultures where the dead are not named, as well as in those where the place of burial is either hidden or avoided (as in Babylonia), there can be no epitaphs, whatever the standard of literacy. Presumably there could still be iconography (dendroglyphs in some Aboriginal cultures?), at least to warn off intruders (one function of the Greek stele).

Speller (?), Berthold Handbuch der Orientalistik Dritter Band Semitisük  Leiden 1954 Abt. 1 Vol. 3 (?) Abs. 1.3 (?) 492 9.??) South Arabian Hdb d. Or. Semitistik


Sreenivasan, Kasthuri Tirukkural (An Ancient Tamil Classic) Translation in Verse by... Bombay 1969 Replaces Pope's translation, according to the author.

In the 2000th year of the author's birth! Tiruvalluvar was a native of Mylapore (now well within a spreading Madras), a weaver, married. "Kural" means 'anything short', or 'a short poetic form with a complicated meter'. This work is a uniquely long work for epigrammatic couplet form. "The couplet with a complex meter is used to express ethical ideas in an epigrammatic manner."
Valluvar is a caste name, and the Tiru is apparently an honorific, thus the "name" of the author may be merely a title and the famous work be, in effect, anonymous.

894.811 T 597 T1 ANL Indian Literature Kural Sr

Stahl, Paul Henri Ethnologie de l'Europe du sud-est, une anthologie Paris/la Haye 1974

Used to "situate" inscribing Balkan cultures sociologically.

My Book Slavic Balkan ethology

Stanbury and Clegg, P. & J. A Field Guide to Aboriginal Rock Engravings with Special Reference to those around Sydney Sydney (employs David Campbell's short poems) 1970

Contains with the illustrations and directions to those wishing to find and visit the sites, many of which are on private land, the highly epigrammatic poems of David Campbell, inspired by his visits to many of the carvings with Douglas Stewart.

Aboriginal Epigraphy On rock

Stark, F. The Southern Gates of Arabia – a Journey in the Hadhramaut (1936) 1946

Passim we find references to the extempore poetising of this branch of Arab culture.

Arabic Hadhramaut

ΣΤΑΘΗΣ, ΓΡ. ΤΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΓΡΑΦΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΠΤΗΡΙΚΟΘ... ΤΟΜΟΣ Γ 'Αθήναι 1993

The numbers of MSS treated in this particular volume are no 733–no 1085. In the index we find that ἀθηλογία is a very common name for a musical MS, though there may be equally common "anthological names", as we did not count. Νο 777 is called ἀθηλογίαν, which is exceedingly rare. No 1024 has it after another reasonably common anthological name: ἐμπόλυγοι - Ἀνθολόγιαν. See also in our Addenda for the excerpts on "anthology".

New Books ANU 2 009 625 Byz Mus MSS III Anthologi- Byz Mus

Steevens, Thomas A miscellany of poems upon several occasions, both moral and amorous with many odes, songs, acrosticks, epigrams, and elegies, as also divine hymns, composed by T.S. London 1689 [5], 135 p.

Short poems (acrostichs) appear p.58–. P.59–63 "Epigrams", in 4 and 6 lines, Latin and English (facing pages, but not connected i.e., not original-translation).

mfm 791 1213:21 S5399 English Latin Modern Epigram Stevens's miscellany

Stein, Aurel Sir Annual Report of the archaeological survey of India frontier circle 1911–12 Peshawar 1912

See also SMH Saturday April 27, 1912, p. 4 col. 3, for a contemporary Australian newspaper report on this expedition. Our modern knowledge of Central Asian matters largely depends on this, and on one or two other relatively recent expeditions. Central Asia, at least since the Scythian development of cart nomadism, has been a political and cultural influence on the sedentary cultures of China, NW India, Iran and Europe, and has been a great donor and transmitter of cultural influences.

COEq 234 ANL Asian Collection Indian Epigraphy Frontier India

Stein Callenfels, Pieter Vincent van Epigraphia balica I Batavia? 1926 d. 66 3 stuk Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen Bound with stukken 1, 2 and 4.

Sq. 919.2 LEM Indonesian Epigraphy Balinese

Sternbach, Ludwik Mahasubhasitasamgraha voll.1–6 all at Delhi? I 1974, II 1976, III 1977, IV 1980, V 1981 & VI 1987 There was a change of publisher somewhere in the history of this incomplete work. It ended with Motilal Banarsidass. It continues Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche (7613 selected verses from longer works), but with a clearer sense of the genre being selected. Most Subhashita-Samgrahah-s are "mixed", and "useful" verses extracted from other works: the related terms are sükti, sütra-s (didactic verses), lokokti, lokyaväkya, präcinaväkyas.... Detached verses, like riddles, are a specific art form in Sternbach's eyes. They are didactic, gnomic, erotic.

The collection to end all collections, interrupted by Sternbach's death. Very usable because of the translating of each poem, and notes from the greatest Western expert in these matters.

Vol. I p. lxviii Subhashita is usually in "4 pada" verse, and predominantly in the common sloka metre, which
has four isosyllabic padas to the full "verse", or long couplet. P. lxix treats Bhartrihari as being as a most unlikely author of the subhāṣīta-s fathered on him, as is the more legendary Cāṇakya. There follows an important quote: "In other words, a subhāṣīta-samgraha is a collection of stray verses composed by various poets and divided according to subject matters; how that division is to be done depended on the compiler of the collection."

The collection is called a koṣa. The thematic subdivisions are called vṛājyā. The anthology was thus defined in the Sāhityadarpana 6.308 (typically, for medieval India, this technical work is itself in verse form): "A compilation of verses independent of one another and arranged according to divisions, this is particularly beautiful."

P. lxiii again returns to ascriptions (they are a great problem for the textual independence of the subhāṣīta if they are ascriptions, not to a person, but to longer poems). The great scholar's terminology is confusing. He says that individual poems are "often" ascribed to a poet, to a poem, or generically to 'someone', and then he goes on to say that the "large majority" are anonymous. P. lxvi ff. deals with Hala's Sattasat, lyric and amatory subhāṣītāni in Prakrit, a long work which displays only 430 items common to all recensions. These 430 are the only ones which S. takes as genuine. He is the most skeptical of all editors in this matter.

Indian Poetry Subhāṣītas


Vol. I p. xxiii again illustrates the complications of attributions in Anthologies of subhāṣītāni. As was epigram in the West to "Simonides", "Plato" and the dramatists, they were quite naturally attracted to the names of famous poets, especially to Kalidasā.

P. xxx Inscriptional preservation. The project of this work is the recovery of belles-lettres poetry (kāvya) from inscriptions, and the majority of verse inscriptions are too banal and unliterary for Stembach's purposes, and much of his treatment is consequently here ignored.

Sternbach, Ludwik The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over "Greater India" Calcutta 1969

At least 245 of the sayings of this legendary wise man "migrated" to the literatures and languages of surrounding countries. These are listed in full tables in Appendix I, and in the next two of Sternbach's Appendices come the sayings which reappear in the much loved Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa.

Central Asia: P. 29, "As far as is known to me, no texts containing collections of maxims, Subhāṣīta-samgraha-s, or nīti works in Sanskrit, Kharoṣṭhī, Kuchianness, Khotanese, Sogdian, Uigur, Turkt have been found in Central Asia."

East Central Asia: P. 30 "Unlike Central Asia, we find in Mongolia and Manchuria great interest in gnomic and didactic literature. The Tibetan Subhāṣīta-ratanidhi which was translated into Mongolian and West Mongolian (Kalmuck) was one of the most popular works in this part of the world."

We are interested in Indian influence on Turkic-Mongolian quatrain formation.

Sternbach, Ludwik Subhāṣītas, gnomical and Didactic Literature (part of vol. IV of A History of Indian Literature) Wiesbaden 1974a

Sternbach, Ludwik Subhāṣīta Canakya's diffusion

Indian Kāvya

Sternbach, Ludwik The Katha Literature and the Purāṇas Varanasi 1965

Indian Kāthā


P. 60 Vol. I: The origins given for the verses in the Pañcatantra make the whole "genre" of subhāṣīta somewhat elastic: verses come 1. from known works; 2. from other collections of verses, including Kathā (narrative, anecdotal) potpourris; 3. from the huge floating treasure of oral tradition; and 4. inserted by the compilers/composers of the larger works themselves.

P. 245 Vol. II The Vikramacarita is also in a sense a subhāṣītasaṃgraha, but it differs from other collections of tales in that its inserted verses display a more learned compiler (p. 246) who excerpted epics, dramas, purāṇas and dhāmastra-s. Thus this work displays a disproportionate percentage of verses that are clearly extracts.

P. 135 Vol. III Note Jayavallabhā's Vaijālājagam, a very important and little known Cāṇakya Prakrit subhāṣītasaṃgraha, prepared after the model of Halaand his Sattasat (but see Warder Vol. 2 § 771, 777, 832, 837) sometime between 750 and 1337 (!).
literary works of Sanskrit literature. Thus this side of the subhä$ita (the textually derivative aspect) is again displayed in a very popular work. The oral tradition, naturally, is mostly anonymous, and forms a huge sea. This displays the other, textually independent side of the literary phenomenon.

891.21009 S839 ANL Subhasita Kavya inserts in Stories

Stembach, Ludwik ed. Vyvasubhasitasamgrahah Varanasi 1969

Or VyasaSataka. Unknown to Aufrecht and Krishnamachariar and C.E. Godakumbara. All in anus'tubh metre, oral sources, no ascriptions. Two Buddhist maxims: 49 and 82.

PN 6307. S2 V9 ANU Indian Poetry Vyasa

Stembach and Sinha, Ludwik & J.P. (or vice versa) [DEVNAGARI FOR-] Ludvika Stembakha Abhinandana-Grantha / Ludwik Stembach Felicitation Volume ed. J. P. Sinha Lucknow 1979

Part One and Part Two, continuously paginated.

Vol. I Section IV Literature n° 30 p. 239 Heinz Bechert on Sanskrit Subhä$itas quoted in classical Simhala literature.

In Sri Lanka there was a trilingualism of Pali-Sanskrit-Sinhala. P. 240 — thus, it so happened that all verse quotes in classical Sinhala texts are in fact in either Pali or Sanskrit. Sinhala verse is not thus excerpted.

P. 253–258 Jean Filiozat, sur quelques désignations de textes sanskrits. The term sukta is Vedic, coming from √ vac, "speech, voice" while subhä$ita is different, used for secular verse, and coming from √ bhas(ā), meaning "talk". He skims through such terms as stūra, tantra, āgama, and Tamil terms including nāl, paṇuval, ilāi (interestingly, meaning both thread and jewel, i.e., that which is threaded).

P. 325–330 Marie-Claude Porcher on Prahelika, or riddle. The only native classification is in Daṇḍin, 3rd parichedha of Kāvādaśa. He makes in effect 15 subdivisions. See also the not very useful article on p. 361–369 by Walter Ruben on Ancient Indian Riddles.

P. 334 Saveros Pou on Khmer sayings and proverbs of Indian inspiration. There are two sorts, the older and more indianised are called bhāsīt or subbāsīt, with the su- prefix ("good", "well") having no literary connotations in Khmer. These words are understood as "the sayings of the elders". They are short, memorable, and rhyme, and mostly are also in verse, made up of one internally parallellising line.

The other sort is more recent, and lengthier, called CPĀP. This comes from the √ cāb, meaning take, seize, begin; begin a work; compose a work. It is in moderately expansive gnomic verse, intended for young boys in monasteries and for unsophisticated adults. The oldest are only 16C, i.e., High Middle Khmer. Each has a nickname-like title. Though the earlier ones are rarely attributed to an author, the later ones are, either in their preamble or in their colophon. They are confined to didactic-ethical themes, not scholarly or scientific ones. P. 343–348 have examples in translation, short lines, sometimes a dozen or more per poem.

Not very useful is the apologetic article p. 409–413 by Eugeniusz Sluszkiewicz purporting to discover some "new subbāsīta-s". L.S. had a private library of 7,000 books, E.S. less than a tenth of that number. Stembach still missed (at least, does not quote in the introduction to vol. 1 of his Mahasubhasitasamgraha), a text once edited by E.S. himself, which is here excerpted for some harmlessly gnomic sections, which are called maxim, sentence, adage, and subbāsīta by E.S., but merely in the sense of proverbial saying. So did Diskalkar in his article on such things said to be findable in inscriptions. However, unlike Diskalkar, E.S. quotes only verses, and only from the Campūramāyaṇa of Bhoja. If these are subbāsītas, anything is, a lack of precision which resembles that which attaches to epigram itself.

954 S839 ANL Subhasita For Ludwik Sternbach

Stevenson and Smith Robert Louis & Janet Adam 19712 Robert Louis Stevenson, Collected Poems London 19501, and it seems that there is quite a problem with the text and quality of the poems Stevenson did not himself publish, of which Smith selects only some to produce here.

The most significant thing for our study is that despite the fact that Stevenson wrote much occasional verse, and published some of it, and despite his proven fascination for three occasional (if major) poets — Horace, Martial, and Herrick, he never called any of his short occasional verses "epigram", whereas Burns had done so. This is all the more surprising when we see the pretentiousness of much of Stevenson's serious verse. Perhaps it is the relaxed, vernacular attitude he maintained in finding the right words "for a birthday, a parting, a gift, a death, a letter, a rejoicing" which prevented him from using the still widespread term epigram. Verse writing was also secondary to prose in this writer's mind, though his verse is very carefully crafted, including some in imitations of Classical metres. As R.L.Š's tomb plaque shows, he is surprisingly easy to misquote. P.49 of the introduction captures well the attitude of poets for many a long century to copies of their own poems, which they kept with them but did not publish. The point is well made and might be applied to Gregory Nazianzen, so important for the continuity of Pagan epigram to the Christian Greek east, and no doubt, less directly, to the west as well. Such copies might be carried around for sentimental reasons and with the intention of perhaps revising them some time. To publish them holus bolus on the death of the writer, for Robert as well as for Gregory, does harm to their reputations. This is the reservation we must have in mind when reading Gregory's corpus and the collections of Stevenson's poems which fall between his own death a century ago and the first critical edition of Smith.

Despite the lack of a single epigram in the book, Book I is preceded by a deprecatory quatrain, and begins with

Non-Classical
an Envoy of six lines. Such mini-genres are often pressed into the epigrammatic basket.

Underwoods XV is entitled *Et Tu in Arcadia Vixisti*, indicating the longevity of this painting type (and its inscriptions) treated by Panofsky. It is suitably directed at an artist relative. See the notes on p. 475.

**REQUIEM:** The printed form of the poem is of two stanzas, four-beat quatrains each ending in a short, three beat final line. As the entire eight lines were actually engraved on the tomb, and were at least tentatively meant for the author's tomb *se vivo*, the prehistory of the published version is of interest for the whole process, which as we know was common enough in Roman times. Two main stages precede the Underwoods text, and the inscribed text comes much later, perhaps going through two stages itself.

1. Version dated *Train August 79*, when Stevenson was in fact very ill (he was often desperately ill), but was on his way to California to marry Fanny Osbourne. It is not really epitaphic, but belongs to the loose genre of the elegiac poem in view of one's own, or another's death. We have found plenty of this in Persian and Japanese:

   Now when the number of my years
   Is all fulfilled, and I
   From sedentary life
   Shall rouse me up to die,
   Bury me low and let me lie
   Under the wide and starry sky,
   Joying to live, I joyed to die.
   Bury me low and let me lie.

   Clear was my soul, my deeds were free,
   Honour was called my name,
   I fell not back from fear
   Nor followed after fame,
   Bury me low and let me lie
   Under the wide and starry sky,
   Joying to live, I joyed to die.
   Bury me low and let me lie.

   Bury me low in valleys green
   And where the milder breeze
   Blows fresh along the stream,
   Sings roundly in the trees—
   Bury me low and let me lie
   Under the wide and starry sky,
   Joying to live, I joyed to die.
   Bury me low and let me lie.

2a. Extant in MS dated 1880 Jan S.F. The middle verse of this version was later rejected by Stevenson when he was revising **REQUIEM** for publication, and it all reads:

   Under the wide and starry sky
   dig the grave and let me lie
   Glad did I live and gladly die
   And I laid me down with a will

   [Here may the winds about me blow;
   Here the clouds may come and go;
   Here shall be rest forevermore,
   And the heart for aye shall be still.]

   This be the verse you grave for me
   Here he lies where he longed to be
   Home is the sailor *home from sea*
   And the hunter home from the hill

2b. In a letter to Colvin, San Francisco, February 1880 we read:

   "Sketch of my tomb follows:

   ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON
   BORN 1850, OF A FAMILY OF ENGINEERS,

Non-Classical
DIED ...........................................
'NITOR AQUIS'
HOME IS THE SAILOR, HOME FROM SEA.
AND THE HUNTER HOME FROM THE HILL. ... I may perhaps try to write it better some day; but
that is what I want in sense. The verses are from a beautiful poem by me." He had taken "nitor aquis" from a
translation into Latin elegiacs made of his own Inland Passage by an Eton boy and adopted it as his "device in life".
Thus he toyed with an inscriptive couplet for his tomb

3. The tomb on Mt. Vaea, from which I recopy the (centre-justified) text from the photo in
Daiches, seemingly unpunctuated, on the easternmost bronze plaque — apart for the addition of one
word, it is the final, Underwoods text of Requiem.

1850 ROBERT LOVIS STEVENSON 1894 /
(LHS circled star three lines deep) VNDER THE WIDE AND STARRY SKY (RHS circled star three lines deep/
DIG THE GRAVE AND LET ME LIE /
GLAD DID I LIVE AND GLADLY DIE /
AND I LAI'D ME DOWN WITH A WILL /
THIS BE THE VERSE YOV GRAVE FOR ME /
HERE HE LIES WHERE HE LONGED TO BE /
HOME IS THE SAILOR HOME FROM THE SEA /
AND THE HVNTER HOME FROM THE HILL

The Plaque is larger in size than is the European custom. The penultimate line is
here (as often) misquoted. It was published by Stevenson with the lectio difficilior "Home is the
sailor home from sea".

Subsequently, memorial and funerary poetry of a non-epitaphic sort was written on the death of Stevenson by John
Davidson, Richard Garnett, Richard Le Gallienne, and J.M.Barrie. The phrase in Underwoods and a variation recalling
the one word expansion of it on the tomb at Mt. Vaea both occur in a poem by Housman written in the same month as
Stevenson died. We italicise the echoes.

R.L.S.
Home is the sailor, home from sea:
Her far-borne canvas furled
The ship pours shining on the quay
The plunder of the world.

Home is the hunter from the hill:
Past in the boundless snare
All flesh lies taken at his will
And every fowl of air.

'Tis evening on the moorland free,
The starlit wave is still:
Home is the sailor from the sea,
The hunter from the hill.

ANU Burial Stevenson's Poems
Stockton, Eugene Daniel Arabian Cult Stones Sydney 1982 Diss. University of Sydney 2
Vols.
A most important thesis covering most of the evidence, though it appears at times to be not much more than
diligent compilation accompanied by tentative and unoriginal conclusions. The main conclusions possible from this
corpus concern the type of "presence" of the deity in the stone, of the devotee in the stone, and of the prayed for or
much loved person in the stone. The thesis goes through all the sites and dialect/script areas of alphabetic Semitic,
finally summarising and drawing tentative conclusions. See also Addenda.

Arabian Semitic Burial Art Epigraphy Semitic Stelai
Latin Epigram Catullus epigram
Non-Classical
Stokes and Oengus, Whitley & the Culdee, Saint


Anecdota oxoniensia... Medieval and modern series v. 1 pt. 3. Wrongly attributed to Oengus the Culdee. The title (which appears, in less regularised orthography in the MS) means "Psalter of the staves, or of the quatrains".

Medieval Irish verse stanzas were typically quatrains. See Gerard Murphy Early Irish Metrics Dublin 1961 esp. p. 63.Oengus Celide

As a scribal note following l. 7788 indicates, the MS, all in stanzaic quatrains, includes "thrice 50 poems", i.e., the "Psalter" of religious poems, of varying lengths, and some others, not distinguishable from them in any way: a poem on repentance, a poem on confession, and 10 poems on the Resurrection. Thus, 162 poems in all. Each poem is concluded by a repetition (purely scribal, not compositional) of its first line. The scribe thought this work was to be entitled Psalter narann inso sis dorigni Oeng<us> Celi-De, but modern editors know better.

Mostly in the metre called deibide, 7 syll lines, the 2nd and 4th lines must terminate with a word exceeding in its syllable count that of the word ending the previous lines (1 and 3 respectively). There is much alliteration, and much middle rhyme with middle or end of adjacent lines.

Poems can be long. The "Most important" poems singled out by the editor are I (Creation and sundry astronomica) which is of 336 lines, 84 stanzas; XI (the penance of Adam and Eve) 552 lines; and XII (Adam's Death) 368 lines. No poem is shorter than 3 stanzas (i.e., 12 lines), some have 4 stanzas, 5, 6, one has 7 stanzas and we have some of 8 and 9 stanzas. Shorter poems come together or reasonably closely grouped in the "psalter". All the final, non-psalm poems (151–162) are shortish.

We had hoped to find semi-isolated quatrains in this MS, but the picture of "poem" here is that of any western medieval work, Latin/Greek or vernacular, where shortness is merely (non-inscriptionally, and even inscriptionally, in many cases) the lower end of a scatter of sizes, not a formal option, if we exclude the riddle literature and some minor genres such as book inscriptions and captions.

Irish stanzaic free "Psalms" Saltair na Rann

Stone, Beth Guide to the Microform Research Collection in the National Library of Australia Canberra 1992

(p.15) 049 Early English Books 1475–1640 ANL mfm 790
050 Early English Books 1641–1700 ANL mfm 791
(p.16) 051 The 18C ANL mfm 1651
Also Older German, French, Italian, and only 18C Russian
070 Harleian MSS Selections.
720 Architecture (p.167)
489 Inventories of historic monuments 1910–1975
732 (p.168)
492 ACSAA South Asian Art
Bibliography ANL mfm

Stow, John The Survey of London 1598 apparently in Everyman's library now.

English architecture Epigraphy Survey of London


More daring than the ODB, which largely avoids Slavonica and Turkica. The DMA plunges into the Muslim field as well all the European vernaculars and Latin and Greek.

Death and Burial: effigies 2-384b, consecration of cemeteries 3–540b
Dome of the Rock: Calligraphy 3-53a
EIGEL: The 8 tombs 1-135b
Anglo-Saxon Poetry: 1-254b
Epigraphic studies: 1-336a/b
Eugenius Vulgaris: 4-520b
Gregory VII Pope: 5-568b
GNOMIC LITERATURE: Pádraig P. O’Néill. [gnome-proverb-epigram-maxim] The 12C vernaculars prefer stanzaic forms, and they usually envisage a musical setting.
Baudri of Bourgueil: 2-132a. Abbot of Bourgueil 1089CE, archbishop of Dol 1107CE.
Brethren of the Common Life: 2-367b
Optatusian Porphyrius, Publius: 1-45b
Poetry Armenian: 1-511b
Proverbs of Seneca: 1-204b
SALTAIR NA RANN: {10-not yet published} also 1-347b, 1-110b, 1-111b, 1-112a

Non-Classical
Celtic art: 3-221b
Bailiff: 2-52a
Syrian verse: 2-510b
ANTIQUARIANISM: 1-332a.

Medieval 

Strecker, Karl  

MGH PLMÆ PLÆC VOL IV.2 rec Karolus Strecker  

Berlin 1896 =  

Zürich/Berlin 1964 1964

All Rhythmi, none short

NOTE: The preserved high poetry of much of the Middle Ages is stichic rather than stanzaic, which might lead one to think that it gave little opportunity for epigram to develop from or be preserved in isolable stanzas. However, further consideration has led us more and more to discount the importance of stanzaic origins for "epigram". Hymns of course were stanzaic, but they were a genre distant from "epigram". Apart from a general tendency to length, the MÆ favoured continuity in its non-Classical rhythm.

Latin Medieval Poetry  

Strecker, Karl  

MGH PLMÆ PLÆC VOL IV.3 rec Karolus Strecker  

Berlin 1896 =  

Zürich/Berlin 1964 SUPPLEMENTS 1964

P.914— 927 many short. P. 933 2 x El tail-piece or colophon after a poem of 4 x Hx which itself was the epilogue to a 53 x Hx poem.

Tituli italic! p.1006. These include many epitaphs and vari.

Sangallensis & Augienses p.1108 Tituli, versus arithmetici.

NOTES: The tailpiece and epilogue poems listed are short because of their function. The same could be said for versus arithmetici, which partake of the enigma and the mnemonic.

Latin Medieval Poetry  

Strecker und Fickermann, Karl & N.  

MGH PLMÆ Ottonenzeit edd. K. Strecker & N. Fickermann  


epigrammata <cuiusdam> scolastici pictureque... p. 147—152

P. 281 Grabschriften (und kleineres) cf. p. 350 no133 on Hubert of Verona.

P.354 Inschriften und Aufschriften

P. 372 Bücheneinträge cf. no72 p.409 Hunc titulum laudis oculis vel ore probabis / Lector, scriptori, rogito, des munus amoris.

P.425 V. in Miniaturenhs. These are more standard in length.

P.464 Otto III, short poems.

P.550 e.g. no x Grabschrift für Ekkehart III Inferus invisus cadat...

See also MGH PLMÆ Die Ottonenzeit Hrsg. Gabriel Silagi & Bernhard Bischoff München 1979

NOTES: The rare use of the word “epigrammata” in a title is remarkable here. The frequency of short verses in librarians’ notes and additions likewise. Regularity of length of short verses in illustrated MSS is observable, and easily explicable from the function of a caption. It is hard to decide if the greater number of short inscriptions in verse surviving from the Ottonian period (compared with the Carolingian) is the sign of an increasing taste for the poetic inscription, a greater number of prestige inscribed objects being made, or merely the loss of a much greater number of the more ancient objects. The latter seems the most likely explanation, judging from the impressions of early barbarian crafts and habits (e.g., the crown of Recesvint found near Toledo 7C) gained from attending the seminar entitled "Digging Up the Dark Ages", delivered by Jonathan Wooding, 1993.

Latin Medieval Poetry  

Strecker and Schumann, Karl & Otto  

Nachträge zu den Poetae Ævi Carolini mit Unterstützung von Otto Schumann† Hrsg. Karl Strecker† Weimar. 1951

P.83 4 x Hx tailpiece to Waltherius.

P.151 Epigrammata super operibus Apostoli Petri 22 distichs, separatim!

P.140 [1 x 1 1] x 6 Versus in calice, and 8 x Hx Epitaphium.

P.144 de mundi formatione (variable lengths)

P.154 Grabschriften

P.159 Inschriften und Aufschriften

P.163 in Miniaturenhs.

P.167 Bucheinträge, see the apology for bad sigla (or spelling ?) in p. 169 3 x El incipit: Da veniam lector si quid male puncta notabunt...

P.191 de Mensibus Ebreorum, Aegyptiorum, Graecorum etc. rhythmica

And see MGH SS 1,370 ( 856 ) for the necrology of the monastery of Fulda, as an example of the Roteln or

Non-Classical
Totenroteln into which poems seem to have been added in the 12C at least.

NOTES: Any medieval series of isolated distichs is worth noting. Otherwise we have the usual loci for short verse: tailpiece poems and poems introducing books (introducory poems to a collection of short poems are potentially quite different from introductory poems to either long poems or a prose text), poems on precious objects, verses on the illustrations of MSS, and, seemingly not as commonly as in the Greek East, poems adorning calendar-like texts.

Latin Medieval Poetry MGH PLMÆ Nachträge PÆC

All are quatrains abab rhyme, pentam., and very literary in diction and theme. Exx. p.21 A Sailor who died at sea: // He knew no home except the changing deep / Where he a vagrant homeling used to roam! // We felt that one who wooed unrest, would sleep / The better should we leave him still at home. // p. 41 The Churchyard Epitaph: // Push back the tangled grass, and read the stone, — / His life's one sorrow breaking into rhyme, — Where he, the singer of a day alone, / Had worn our iron crown his little time. //</ndex>

mc 756 CIHM/ICMH 24400 English Epigram Stringer's

P.372 discusses the specific function of inscriptions, which may be summarised as sharpening precisely which branch of a family had the right to subsequent (re-)use of a tomb, and the worldly prominence or heavenly advantage thereby accruing.
GT 3252 S77 Burial Architecture Epigraphy Florence Tombs

Snorri and Pálsson, Sturluson & Steingrimur Snorri Sturluson Heimskringla Reykjavik 19444 (Steingrimur Pálsson bjó undir Pretun), and ed princeps Stockholm 1697. This ed illustrated.
P. 107, the Hákornar saga goða is here illustrated with Pálsson's (or his publishing house's) idea of bauta stones, tall, thin, and clustered together on a point or long neck of land plunging into the sea. The text here says: Hálir bautasteinar standa híð haungi Egils úl serks. See RLGA *Beck and Holmiquist, Bautastein, Bautastein.
889.6 Syd Fish Viking bauta stones Heimskringla Pá

Sundarapandya and Jayasree, • & S. ed Nitidvisastika of Sundarapandya Madras 1984 Possibly an old collection. 120 verse maxims, all bar the last of them in Áryā, with English tr.
PN 6307 S2 S96 ANU Indian Poetry Nitidvisastika


Targ, William 1907– Carrousel for bibliophiles: a treasury of tales, narratives, songs, epigrams and sundry curious studies relating to a noble theme edited with an introduction by... 1947 xii, 400, 13 p.
002.075 319 English Epigram Carrousel

Tarthung Tulk u (?) Ancient Tibet, Research materials from the Yeshe De Project
P. 155 Tombs of the 7–9C Dharma Kings are still visible at Phyongs-rgyas, resembling the Pharaonic burials of the Old Kingdom in function and style. The writer of the preface seems to be the coordinator of the volume.
P. 189 The Writing System. P. 190 Very early there were inscriptions in the new script of Thon-mi, e.g., the pious duplication, Buddhist-style, of a doctrinal-devotional mantra, the early and ageless Om Mani Padme Hüm. P. 299 The "famous" 822 CE treaty with China at Jo-khang in Lhasa, bilingual, on a pillar.
DJ.786 A68 1986 ANU Tibet Yeshe De

P.20 Like all writers known to me, Tatlock takes Geoffrey's reported MARI VICTORIAE inscription as genuine. There were several later Mariuses, see William of Malmesbury gesta pontificum 1125.
P.371–375 Burial customs.
P.463 Wace said to be the earliest vernacular writer in French who could be called a literary man and not a

Non-Classical
jongleur or popular story-teller or minstrel. P. 464 He had a unique eye for reputation (compared with other early Medieval writers) and the fact that he dated his works is significant for a writer of this period.

P, 466 Wace's Brut has much 'gnomic sentence', which was thus popular material in a poem, if properly inserted. Legendary Britain

Ternovskaya and Yefimenkova / Терновская и Ефименкова О А and Б Б Исследования в области балто-славянской духовной культуры — Погребальный обряд Москва 1990

22 articles on Indo-European and Balto-Slavonic burial practices and beliefs, including some on Greek. Much on horse burial.

GT 3256 I 87 Baltic Slavonic Burial Balto-Slavonic Burials


The Alhambra p.1016–1020, epigraphy is only fleetingly mentioned, and then for its decorative value.

Arab Architecture Art Grenada


Greek Latin Archaeologia cristiana


R894.5111 016 Hungarian Bibliography Hungarian Authors

Thakur, Upendra India and Japan, a study in interaction during 5th Cent. –14th Cent A.D. New Delhi 1992

In keeping with our decision to pursue Indian epigraphy and literary history more enthusiastically than that of the rest of Asia, this book is excerpted for gleanings and suggestions. India is really the mother of cultures, if not as dominantly as the Bédier thesis would have had it. Japan did not have direct contacts with Tenjiku until modern times, but it was known that India was the origin of Chinese Buddhism, and very old Sanskrit MSS and Indian art are treasured in Japan. Worth noting is the influence of Sanskrit-Chinese bilingualism in Japan on the development of the kana writing, and various epigraphic practices. [Ethiopia may also have benefited from this stimulus.]

My Book Indian Japanese India and Japan


P.166ff. Traditionally and rather artificially the famous rubāT metre is derived by the standard rules from the quite different bahr e hazaj. The author then gives two identical skeletons of it, which suggests that there is some printing error, as his text implies that the 1942 version of Mas'ud e Farzād and that of "Western Scholars" differ.

The two schemes he offers, as we have noted, present the same number of syllables (10–13 depending on the next matter) the same resolutions of longs to two shorts, and the same possible transpositions of some longs with some shorts in mid line. A caesura is marked after the first "long + choriamb" (5 syllables in, or 4, if the double short is resolved into one long). Lazard is quoted with approval on p.172 to the effect that the RobāT metre is a reinterpretation of a popular accentual Pahlavi metre. P. 141 deals with the Dobayti separately, unlike Elwell-Sutton. Thiesen found the RobāT rhythm hard to "appropriate", unlike earlier scholars.

Persian Prosody Classical Persian Prosody

Thompson, Thomas The Poemata of Théodore de Bèze in McFarlane 1986 p.409–415 1986

The first biographer of Calvin and logical successor to him, not readily identified by the literary establishment as a poet, yet a considerable writer of most of the the forms of secular verse abounding in the vernaculars and also in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, in the 16C and 17C: liminary verses, silvae, birthday poems, translations and adaptations of the AG, epitaphs serious and humorous, epithalamia, love elegies and epigrams in the Ovidian manner, and Catullan and Martialian epigrams, also emblemata texts, if these are not covered by the preceding list of genres. He was translated, adapted and cited in English, French, German, Dutch and Italian works. Machard's edition and Maigron's thesis do not indicate the importance of the great amount of re-editing done in Bèze's four later (and authorised) editions. In the second edition of 1569, the now converted Bèze expunged many of the love poems. Other authors were included in this Estienne edition: Buchanan, Poliziano, Sannazzaro, Flaminio, Secundus and Estienne himself. New, more Protestant epigrams and icones of a controversial or laudatory type were added. Third ed. 1576, contains more new epitaphs and epigrams, indicating the usefulness of these two genres for the most serious poetry. A fine quarto of 1597 is the fourth authorised edition, and the fifth and final authorised edition, in
16mo was issued (when?) and reissued in 1614, by which Bèze had added over 200 poems to the Juvenilia. Pirate versions, particularly of the earliest, unexpurgated edition, were issued on the Continent until 1600 and complete posthumous reprints of this first edition appear into the 18C. Of course, Bèze was frequently anthologised. Some unpublished poems survived in MS c. 1544, and were published in 1953 (p.412). There are various other ephemera, and MS notes by the author.

The critical interest to us of these rather technical prolegomena to a proper edition of Bèze lies in the categories. P.414 finds a wandering poem in the letter-preface of the 1560 Confessio christianae fidei which is version of the epigram “Descripito virtutis”, later to become both an icon and an emblem entitled “Vera Religio”. This gives some idea of how leaky genre boundaries could be at this time. It is also of some interest that Bèze revised frequently to remove metrical infelicities and especially those criticised in the Greek words used in his Latin poetry.

Latin Modern Poetry  Poemata latina of Bèze


P. 7 quotes from Pierre Delooz (Pro Vita Mundi Studies Nov 1988 "Popular Religions") p. 47 esp., and Rosemary Haughton The Catholic Thing Springfield II, 1979 in support, among other things, of a commonality of popular religious practices across denominations and traditions. While funerary traditions differ enormously, we might strengthen our non-diffusionist interpretation of the use of stelai, and of naming them, and of "appeals to the living" explicitly placed on them, from Delooz.

Popular Religious Practices


Grave goods are often enough inscribed, particularly the lacquer ware, and this can bear the names of every traderman and official involved in its production. Inscriptions of ownership (?) are usually quite short. Some tombs had large stones inscribed, or graffitied, by artisans. Dates are not uncommon in inscriptions on movable objects, such as the crossbow (p.150) dated 56CE. Bricks became more popular in the later Han and bricks themselves are frequently inscribed. Some items have inscriptions naming themselves, i.e., self inscriptions, or autoreferentiality. There is at least some degree of continuity of practice despite all the regional variations of rich burials, and there were plenty of graves both massive and rich at all periods studied. Mounds from about the –5C, perhaps derived from the Central Asian kurgans. For new treatments of these see now Kubarev. Mortuary temples of the Wei –3C. By the mid Han not only does the uniformity of rich burials seem to intensify, but the sacrifice hall becomes a specialised area inside the more spacious tombs. It would be interesting to know when this turned into the above-ground ancestral hall or temple which we find in the Song in Ching’s account, placed near the grave but not on it. The degree of tomb desecration and official and unofficial tomb robbing seems equivalent to that of Ancient Egypt. Although ancient Chinese tombs are now apparently marked only by their large covering mound, the accuracy of robbers’ shafts seems to indicate that the mound’s inner structure was known either from tradition or from central above ground markers no longer surviving. Given the relatively late regulation of Chinese verse which we see in Lin, Zhou, Kao and Owen’s books, it is not to be expected that inscribed verse would be found in a documentary context in the Han. Ebrey’s article indicates that it was not commonly found above ground at this time. *Macé assumes that the stelai arose in the China of the Han Dynasty. If the Nineteen Ancient Poems mark a period of slow regularisation of Chinese verse structures, we might not expect to find verse commonly engraved on stone until the antiquarian Song. The “stone drums”, however old they are, are engraved because they are classics and perhaps in imitation of the classics, and the massive engraving efforts of the Buddhists from the mid-first millennium quickly turned into block printing. It seems from Dunhuang that the Buddhists printed verse, so perhaps they also inscribed it for some time before printing, as the Confucians had for the canonical texts. From at least the Song, by which time Chinese culture had a new classical age, that of the High T’ang, poetry was commonly enough inscribed in scenic places to preserve the calligraphy of the master as well as his words, which would often have been available in archives and published editions. We see an example of this practice in relatively modern Japan, in the foreground of a print of Hokusai (Brown 1988) From Ching’s book we may take it that the collective composition of appropriate poems for a new garden, and to be inscribed in various parts of it, could include quite short forms, even couplets. This also seems to have begun about the Song, becoming a settled tradition celebrated in art.

It is important to our survey that the Chinese had a developed inscriptive habit connected with burial goods, and buried inventories of them, quite early, but grave stelai and any other opportunities for biography or eulogy seem to be totally lacking in the tombs pre-Han. *Ebrey has collected traditions concerning above-ground funeral stelai from the Later Han. Verse seems rare on her materials, and one might doubt if it would be easily recognisable at this period even if intended by the inscriber.

Syd Architec Chinese Burial Architecture Old Chinese Tombs


Non-Classical
This text has three aspects of importance for us. The most tenuous is to illustrate the post-Roman Indian trade and its sea routes. Another is the literatisation of rules of thumb, scattered practical wisdom and information about navigation, and crude documents by a practitioner, or one writing in his name. Finally, it is instructive to observe the use of poetic citation in this attempted literatisation, not as supported by literary tradition as were the Classic Latin-Greek genres of georgics and cynegetica, and that (in prose this time but still with literary pretensions) of architecture and aqueduct building. We do find in Ox Pap, however, Greek papyri on glassblowing. The poetry used in this Arabic work is, like that of many popular anthologies, citational and fragmentary. Though this fragmentation is typical of Arab-Persian poetics, it is almost demanded anyway because of the primacy of the prose text into which it is inserted.

Widespread citation of verse, as in Greek works of later periods, no doubt encourages the assumption of some textual autonomy of the more popular pieces, but this could previously have been brought about by practices of oral citation.

See Tolmacheva, just below, for an updated treatment of the poems "of" ibn Majid.

My Book Arabic ibn Majid

Tiruvalluvar and Aiyar, • & V.V.S. Tirukkural Tiruchirapalli 1984

Indian Poetry Kural

Tiruvalluvar and Bharati, • & Yogi Shuddhananda Thirukkural Couplets with Clear Prose Rendering First Ed. 1971

Kural — venba metre of two lines of 4 feet or 3 feet. The Holy Kural is called variously: Tirukkural, Tiruvachakam, Tirumandiram.

894.81111 T 597 Th ANL Indian literature


Pope's introduction of 1886 "the order of maxims and their selection seems to be that of the author". Tiruvalluva-nayana" is not a personal name, but a generic one = 'Sacred - Paraya caste (member) - Devotee or priest or soothsayer', of Mayilapur = Mayilai = "town of peacocks".

E 72277 Indian literature Kural Po

Tkatsch, J Zafär(i) in EI 1 Vol. 4 p.1185ff. 1934 Used to search for the Zafar dhi Bin of Madeleine Schneider's epigraphic corpus. There are various towns called Zafar:

1. 10 miles SW of Yartm, i.e., the ruins of the ancient Himyarite capital, South Yemen, nearest Times Atlas site to this being al-Darbah. p.1186a mentions a famous inscription on the gate of Zafár. There was the Royal Castle of Rāsdān (memories of Imrū’ u’l-Qais) Confused with Ṣanā‘, and in Muslim times very subordinate, merely a fortified place.

2. A ruined site SW of Ṣanā‘.

3. A fortified hill about 20 miles NW of Ṣanā‘ near Kawkabān.

4. In quite a different area from the above, i.e. 2/3 way East along the southern coast of Arabia, = Zofā, Zīrār, Zīfr. The area between Oman and South Yemen/Hadramaut, called Zofā/Dhofār on the Times map "now usually reckoned to Mahra" (an area still shown on its W side, at least thrice, in different typefaces, in the Times Atlas), on the "bay of the moon", 'Ghubbat al Qamar', cf. Raisūt, Taqa. It is the remotest town of Yemen on the coast. Tkatsch refers to the meaning of the word zafār "aromatic plant" and to the incense trade in this and the other places. More recent dictionaries of South Arabian give quite a different story: outing area of a town, surrounds of a tomb, etc. (or is this for Brn?) Tkatsch mentions accounts of the coast road from Aden via Safat to Oman, passing Raisut on the left, also the battles which saw it taken and renamed as Mansūra, Al Ahmadṭya.

The Zafar Dhi Bin of Madeleine Schneider's inscriptive corpus is in North Yemen, and so must be one of the first three mentioned in EI 1. It is "still called" Zafar al-Zāhir, Zafar al-Asrāf, and sometimes Zafār Dāwūd. Mention is also made of the "fort of Zafār" but none of this assists us to locate it on the Times Atlas map. It can however be clearly located from the end maps in *Daum.

R297/31 Syd Fish Arabic Toponyms Zafar EI 1

Tokue, Meizaki Aesthete-Recluses during the Transition from Ancient to Medieval Japan Ch.5 of Miner 1985 p.— 1985

The opportunity to be both in and not in the tight society of the time favored the vocation of priest and monk. Reclusion was not total. Important for the fact that artistic traditions were long passed on through this social channel in times of pessimism and chaos.

895.609 16 Japanese Aesthete-Recluses

Non-Classical

See of course, *Tibbetts for a fundamental study of the Kitâb al-Fawâ'id* ft usûl 'ilm al-bahr wa'l-qawâ'id, the best known and most important text from the famous navigator Ahmad ibn Majid al-Sa'dî al-Najîdî, dated to 895 AH = 1490 CE. It is interesting to us that this is the only *entirely prose* work of Ibn Majid, and even it has many verse quotes inset. The famous man's other works are in verse, or heavily prosimetric. *al-Fawâ'id* exists surrounded by other works of Ibn Majid in two late 16C MS, one at Paris, the other at Damascus, of interesting history. The Damascus MS itself, says T., (but the sequel shows that it was the Library of Congress *copy of it*) was once the property of the Manchurian Railroad! Tibbets had a microfilm of his assumed "Damascus MS", and regarded the MS shown in the microfilm as a close copy of Paris MS 2292, de Slane. Tolmacheva claims to get microscopically closer to the sources, and has access to a 1344/1925 hand copy of the Damascus MS, which she calls the "Library of Congress *copy" (SM 53, NE 137, uncatalogued), and describes it interestingly. The copyist was a very good one, his name, Najm al-Dîn Bey, professor at the Damascus Higher School of Arabic, under the orders of Commandant Malinjoud, Director of the School. He also seems to have had available some copy of the Paris MS and annotates occasional variant readings in his transcription of "Damascans". The Paris MS (2292 de Slane) was itself dated 984/1576, the Damascus (Zahiriyya/Assad library) MS is dated 1001/1594. The the direction of any copying or correction between these two (assuming always that no other MSS of *al-Fawâ'id* were accessible to their writers) is assured.

**Damascus MS Tradition**

Fols. 1–99 of the Library of Congress *copy of Damascus MS Zahiriyya/Assad library* are occupied by the Kitâb al-fawâ'id. The rest of the MS 'repeats' poems by ibn Majid on various aspects of astronomy and navigation, all known from the Paris and Damascus MS. These poems are indexed in the MS. We list them here as it is the matter of Muslim poetry, high and low, which interests us. Titles are differently given, and some "titles" may be merely the earliest surviving *descriptions* of the poem in question, never intended to be a title:

1. *The gathered briefing regarding the basics of the naval science*: Háwîyat al-ikhtisâr ft usûl 'ilm al-bihâr, in eleven sections, a conspectus of all navigational theory, found also, in much abbreviated form in MS 2559, de Slane, Paris, which seems to contain poems not in the main MSS, for which see below. The poem, all in rajaz, is in fact the earliest dated composition (866/1462) by ibn Majid. He himself makes the verse count to be 1,105, while Tibbets, on the basis of his reconstructions from differing MSS, has recovered a 'poem' of slightly less, i.e., 1,080 verses.

2. al-Mu'arraba, or al-Mu'arrab bi-l-Khalīt al-Barbârī — an urjüza poem (see *Ullmann & Heinrichs, RAJAZ, not far below) on navigating the gulf of Aden

3. Qiblat al-Islâm, or Qiblat al-Islâm ft jamîs al-dunyâ — a poem with an introduction in prose, on the direction of Mecca from different locations

4. Urjüzat barr al-îArab fl khallj Fâris — another urjüza, of 100 verses, on the "Persian" Gulf, listed by Tibbets as "unnamed"

5. Urjüzat al-Jamma (Tibbetts's), or Urjüza ft qismat al-jamma 'alâ banât al-na'ash (lemmatic, & Maqbul Ahmad) — 68 verses on the use of the Big Dipper for summer sailing, dated 900 AH = 1494/5 CE

6. Urjüzat kanz al-ma'âlim, descriptive "title": Kanz al-ma'âlim wa-kibratihim ft 'ilm al-ma'âlim ft bahr wa-l-nûjûm wa-l-bûrûjî, title accepted and used by M. Ahmad: Kanz al-ma'âlima ft dhakhî ratihim — an undated "urjüza" with qaṣîda rhyme pattern, in 'L', 71 verses

7. Urjüza ft l-natakhtât li-barr al-Hind wa-barr al-îArab min al-Jâh — another urjüza on the *landfalls* of India and Arabia and the guidance of the Pole Star (not the "sea" of India and Arabia, *barr* for Tibbetts's *bahr*), of 255 verses

8. Mi'miyya (-t) al-abdâl — a qaṣîda (not urjüza) rhyming in "M", 64 verses on the *badal* form of latitude measurement by some northern stars

9. Urjüza mukhammasa — a stanzaic urjüza dated 906/1500, according to Tibbets, which was after the presumed date of death of the (presumed) author! It is on astronomy, specifically navigation by the northern stars

10. Nûniyya, or (even more descriptively) 'wa-lahu aidân fl ciddat ashhur al-rûmiya' — short poem rhyming in 'N' on the Byzantine ("Roman") calendar

11. Dari bat al-darâ'îb — an undated urjüza in qaṣîda form on the values of different star combinations for certain values of the Pole Star

12. Untitled poem on the lunar mansions, to, (or by? *li* is ambiguous right through the
13. Qaṣīda Makkiyya — a qaṣīda da on sailing between Jidda and various places in eastern Arabia and western India


15. Dhababiyā — a qaṣīda da with prose introduction, rhyming in 'B', often quoted in the Fawāʾīd, where it is dated 893/1487/8, on coastal sailing

16. al-Fāṣīqa — a qaṣīda da on measurements using α Pisces Australis (al-Ḍifdāf), dated by Maqbul Ahmad in El2 to before 880/1475.

Paris MS tradition

Poems from another MS, 2559, were published by Ferrand Paris 1925, vol. II of his Instructions nautiques, alongside another prose (?) text, "perhaps the clearest of all the navigational works" (Tibbet), i.e., the *Umdat al-mahrīyya fi dabt al-ṣulām al-bahriyya = "The Mahri support for Control of Nautical Sciences", of Sulaymān al-Mahri.

— plus Leningrad &c

It appears that more ibn Majid poems exist. A long one on the topic of sailing from Gujarāt to East Africa, the conflated and controversial Saḍāf al urfūza as well as two other poems, one on sailing to Malacca, and the other on the route from Jeddah to Aden were published by Teodor Adamovich Shumovakii in 1957 from an unnamed Leningrad MS. The first mentioned poem, Urfūza Saḍāfīya, is now fat with 805 verses and has been studied by Ibrahim Khoury, Centro de Estudios de Cartografía Antiga, série separata 143, Coimbra 1983, and translated (but only from the Russian of Shumovakii, not from his facsimile of the Arabic!) by M. Malkiel-Jirmounsky in Três roteiros desconhecidos de A. ibn-Majīd, Lisboa 1960.

The Kitāb al-Fawāʾīd was a source for the still imperfectly edited encyclopedia Muḥtār of the renowned Turkish admiral of Suleyman the Magnificent/the Lawgiver, Sidi Ah Qelebi (†1562)

It interests us for its window onto the semi-literary, Fach-Poesie of 15 century Islam, almost all of it in rajaz, or qasidised rajaz, meters. This general interest in sub-literary Arabic verse is heightened by the separate propensity to quote such poems throughout quite technical prose texts. Verse in prose!

On the common criticism of rajaz poetry as rough and incomprehensible, let us note that some of the difficulty simply comes from the the fact that the subject matter is typically technical. Those familiar with simple methods of wind-driven navigation in the areas of Roman "India" would find ibn Majid's verses far more comprehensible. There may also be a misunderstanding of the poems' dialect. Saṭīd al-Karmī noted briefly in his Naṣīfs al-ṭahrār, 35, that ibn Majid's native dialect was "ṣajūtī". The master navigator was, however, a native of Julfar in Oman, and also sailed extensively all around that area. This opens up the possibility of dialectal colouring from Omani, Ḥadrami and even Gujarati. All this is far removed from the "purified" upper reaches of Arabic verse.

Arabic rajaz verse ibn Majid's poems


Poetics IE poetic

Torii, Ryuzo *Sculptured Stone Tombs of the Liao Dynasty* Peking? 1942 Harvard-Yenching Institute

+10C Northern Sung/Liao dynasty tombs studied while Japan ruled Manchukuo. The Khitan Mongol people had their southern capital in Peking, and were influenced by the culture of the immediately preceding and overlapping Five Dynasties, but their mostly looted tombs today seem to show no epigraphy. The tomb type is familiar to us from the archaeological survey of *Thorpe 1980:* underground stone tombs with a strong, domed chamber, no significant tumulus or indeed marker above ground.

P.86 is the only stone I noticed with Chinese characters, and these were meaningless decorations. All the stones however do have a picture engraved on them.

731.76 Syd Fish Chinese Turki Burial Liao Tombs

Tottel and Arber, Richard & Edward *Tottel's Miscellany. Songs and Sonnettes by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder, Nicholas Grimald and uncertain authors,* first edition of 5th June, collated with the Second edition of 31st July 1557 London Bombay

*Non-Classical*
Sydney 1921 English Reprints n° 24, first ed collated with 2nd ed 1557.
Miscellany of songs and sonnettes by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt, the elder, Nicholas Grimald, and uncertain authors: ed. Edward Arber London 821.208 TOT English Poetry Anthologies Tottel


Trapp, Joseph Praelectiones Poeticae in Schola Naturalis Philosophiae Oxon. Habita in authore Josepho Trapp A.M. 3 Voll, 1711, 1715, 1719, Oxonii I used Vol.2, which I found bound with Vol.1, with its own pagination. I do not know if this was the original format of Vol.1–2 or one introduced later in the life of the books. 1715 There exists an early English translation of the work as well.
In Vol. 2, p.55–65 Trapp is quite cavalier about definitions of genres. P.63 “8 lines at most” are best for epigram, and you can’t be too short. However, good epigrams can be prolixiora, which illustrates the mess that more logical minds, like those of Lessing, were left to sort out. Like the treatments of Robortello and others, this is rounded and perceptive, not given to the exhaustiveness of Scaliger’s. See also Addenda.
Poetics Epigram Praelectiones poeticae

Traube, Ludwig MGH PLMÆ PLÆC Vol. III.1 rec. Ludovicus Traube Berlin 1896 = Zürich/Berlin 1896 1896
Pauli Albani Carmina (of a famous Jewish convert) p.126, some quite short.
Cipriani et Samsonis Carmina, p. 143, many short.
Sedulus Scottus p.153ff. quite a number are short poems.
Bibliothecarum et Psalteriorum Versus p.241, long and short poem There is an elegiac distich prefaced to the Hex poem.
NOTES: A sprinkling of quite short poetry, but the significance of this depends on the original purpose of such short poetry, and on how contiguous ages “read” them.
Latin Medieval Poetry MGH PLMÆ PLÆC III.1

Heirciucus p. 428 introd. short poems.
Iohannes Scottus p.527: p.531 4 x El tailpiece in mid-poem to Sec II) and note the liminary verse by a librarian 4 x El Caesare sub Karolo...P.541 Greek and Latin distichs in imitation of each other: ἐφη Πιστῶ δῆμου, and pax fido populo....P.553 Elegiac distich ironic epigram: Ih icac Hincmarus cleptes vehementer avarus / Hoc solum gessim nobile quod perit.//
Milo p.610 one 4 x El, but very few other poems are short.
Appendix ad Milonem p. 676 many short.
NOTES: Very short epitaphia are worth noting. Short tail piece poems and introductory verses are notable as well, but most worthy of note is that ironic (and fictive) epitaph in the style of Martial p.553.
Latin Medieval Poetry MGH PLMÆ PLÆC III.2

Legends, stories and some legal opinions about the funerals of early Muslims. Wailing and paid mourners forbidden, and of interest to us, p.655, “One gave orders that no poet should be employed to sing his praises.” A typical prayer at the grave is quoted. No doubt such early Muslim customs influenced later epitaphs. As for the grave and “the instructions of A.H. 105, which have been quoted so often” (but not by Tritton himself here, and the Hadiths available in *Ali are not “instructions”), they apparently demanded a brick grave with a niche, not a vault, which is implied by Tritton to have been an innovation, perhaps as soon as the Arabs reached urban Syria.

Non-Classical
Trypanis, Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry, an Anthology Oxford 1968

Its Introduction makes the strongest possible claim for "epigram" being important and widespread in medieval Byzantium.

My Book Greek Medieval Modern Poetry Medieval and Modern


Most have 14 iI. some 12, some 16. There is one tristich:

ANABOLI
Mø Moyas pjuo studaxa na steilas to padi sou
To skeftika kai th syl pi
alla na xelou proso sõ xkoloi me dasabolou

[in two decapentasyllables bracketing an octosyllable] "You ask where I studied, so you can send your son / I've taken thought and will tell you / But first let him go to a school with teachers." P.M.Mc. from TaaXoupas.

N+ 889.134 T877bo Greek Modern Epigram Tsaloumas'


Ukrainian Epigram Ukraininan Baroque epigram


Slavic Epigram Slavic epigram

Tucci, Giuseppe The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings Rome 1950 Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente Serie Orientale Roma sotto la direzione di Giuseppe Tucci Volume I. Tucci travelled to Tibet in 1948 explicitly to identify the location of the first kingly tombs, known of from legend and literary sources. He looked for them near what he calls qP'yön rgyas. Much literary information can be found in modern Tibetan language guidebooks, part of which he translates. Unlike the later Richardson (who was in Tibet about the same time) Tucci assumes that the current mounds utilised pre-existing, natural hillocks. The first great centraliser in Tibet seems to have had the first great mound: Srot btsan sgam po. One has a Buddhist pillar, a rdo rin, of a sort which often contains a copy of the edict constituting the King's profession of faith, the edict being then widely copied through the land. This reminds us of Ashoka.

P.34 Tucci expatiates on the general Asiatric sense of "magic centre" given by the planting of a pillar, the making of a new cosmos, and axis mundi, assuming that the pillars at the tomb site mean the same as the pillars in temples. Special workers were needed to cut the stone and to engrave upon it the inscription or decorations. Then there was the ceremony of consecration, the rab gnas. P.39 discusses briefly the reliability of the book KT, which was edited by O rgyan glint pa in 1347CE, contains older fragments adapted to the changed state of the Tibetan language but faithful enough to allow restitutions on the pillar of K'ri ide srot btsan Sad na legs. P.40 Tucci assumes that O rgyan glint pa had access to an intermediary text using the same inscription.

P.43 Tucci then edits the texts on an old pillar and bell from bSams yas and K'ra adrug, the temple which now houses them being much more recent. He compares them to information from the old chronicles. Richardson's corpus contains these texts.

By the way, on p.1 we get the name for the tomb: "In the guide-book of dBus and gTsang written by a Sa skya lama Kun mk'yen brtse, we read below that the royal palace of aP'yön rgyas there was a stone image of Srot btsan

Non-Classical
sgam po and his tomb (*bat so*) as well."

Tibetan Architecture Epigraphy Burial  *Tibetan Kingly Tombs*

Tummers, H.A.  *Early Secular Effigies in England, the Thirteenth Century*  Leiden etc.  1980

Apart from the greater survival rate of such medieval remains in England, what interests us is Tummers' doubts about whether such monuments ever were typically accompanied by an inscription. We feel that they were, but that this was detachable and therefore, with the passing of time, usually detached. See Addenda.

Gothic Art  *Seculeffigies*

Turyn, Alexander  *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain*  Washington (Colombia).  1980  68 MSS written from 1214–1391 CE, plates of selections from these, 84 facimiles (photographic plates) of subscriptions and scribal notes. Text has transcriptions and extensive studies of scribes and MSS.

37 verse blocks (any interruption to the verse or verse type has been taken as beginning a distinct "block") which appear in colophons, scribal notes and lemmata: 29 dodecasyllable, 6 political (some of these, and some not classed as verse, are doubtfully thus), 2 hexameters, the same line repeated in MSS of the same monastery. Political verse was the popular verse of this era, so the rhythmic and to various degrees "quantitative" iambic trimeters are to be taken as a prestige form, even if their spelling and accentuation, and their lineation (or lack of it) fall below the standard of the preceding copied texts. Blocks of one, two and three lines predominate, providing half the discovered examples, without any sense of a standard length or lengths. The absence of elegiacs is notable, as is the use of verse itself, along with much short prose. The motives for use of verse in colophons are to be sought in the sense of role of the scribe, verse writing being an icon of class membership as well as a cultivated pastime, in the general popularity of verse form in literate and oral culture, and in a desire to dignify and ornament, not the status of the scribe, but the MS itself, a tendency which would presumably spill over into layout, illustration and binding, other things being equal. Verse in colophons or colophon-like passages is found from Medieval Central Asia to early modern Hebrew printed books. Even in societies which freely used verse in social intercourse and in private and public writing, its presence (or non-appearance) in any demarcated functional unit is not without intrinsic interest. See especially *Komines.*

Greek Medieval Poetry  *Dated Late Byz MSS in GB*

Tuwim, Julian  *Cztery wieki fraszki polskiej* 1936, 1957

Large anthology of Polish fraszki by a reputable poet.

Polish Epigram  *Fraszki*

Uden, Grant  *Anecdotes from history: being a collection of 1000 anecdotes, epigrams, and episodes illustrative of English and world history compiled by...*  Oxford  1968  xiii, 530 p.

About 11 verse quotes only, and one prose epitaph on John Byng, transcribed by Boswell 1781, p. 63. See Addenda for extracts suggesting the "sea of oral tradition" in such English matters.

English Epigram  *From History*

Ueda, Makoto  *Literary and Art Theories in Japan*  Cleveland 1967, UMI 1987 Xerogr.  1967

On comparative poetics — Japanese

One could justify a little search in this area because of the frequent claim that the Japanese had "the only real epigram", and because of our studies of their epigraphy and early funeral customs (Mac6).

The Japanese theorist or prescriptivist did not often linger over the formal shell of a poem, like the rhetorical critics of the West, or over its moralising power, like the Chinese and others. There is an esthetics of Emotional Expression, from Tsurayuki, Yūshō (who includes the calligraphic in the very concept of the poem) Bashō (the impersonality of his haiku is legendary), and Norinaga. There was thought to have been no fixed poetic form in "the age of the gods". Form of a sort came from the Chinese (p.9) said to be: 1. allegorical 2. enumerative 3. metaphorical 4. allusive 5. plain 6. congratulatory. Narihira (Ariwara no Narihira ca. 825–880) is said to have written the following deathbed poem, which is as close as the Japanese tradition came to a self-epitaph:

I had heard, often enough
This was the road every one of us
Must eventually take
But I had never thought
It was a matter of yesterday or today.

(Tanka. This is the last poem in the "Tales of Ise", which begin: Long ago there was a man..., which makes it unlikely that the closing Tanka is the "man's" deathbed poem. A.n.N's authorship is apparently not certain, and others say that the story, and the poem, are about Ariwara, not by him. Deathbed poems, says K.-J. Kampmark, are *Non-Classical*
not uncommon in Japanese, being called Jisei, lit. "goodbye world". Hence there may be more fictive and poetic "last words" in Japanese that we knew of, but because they did not correspond to any inscribed form, they are not parallel to the Western self-epitaph.

The great Basho (Basho Matsuo, 1644—1694) p. 145 also wrote a deathbed poem, in typically impersonal style (Renku):

On a journey, ill —
My dreams roam
Over a wild moor

The last pre-Buddhist period treated in this collection, after which ideas of "sequence" changed. P.65: Six types of "sequence" illustrated more from English literature than from Japanese— 1. mere REPETITION; 2. TEMPORAL sequence; 3. NARRATIVE; 4. LOGICAL; 5. DOUBLE MOOD (mood played off against a contrasting one, e.g., bathos, irony); 6. QUALITATIVE PROGRESSION (or 'associative sequence', a sequence of changing subjective states.)

The poems themselves remain, butterflies in amber.

Japanese Poetics


Ueda's Introduction details the growth of hokku/haiku from renga, "linked poetry" of the 14/15C especially, and its partial independence of such sequences, where it was, and could always be, treated as the "introduction" to a loosely-, but still provably-linked, sequence, for which it had to suggest the season of the year.

In the 16C a more playful form of this "writing in linked sequence" was called haikai. The early ones, like those of Bashō himself, use rather simple, vulgar devices: puns, witticisms, parody, slang, or non-U subject matter. This democratisation of poetry writing was itself deepened and elevated by Matsuo Basho (officially and politely called by his given name, as is not uncommon for poets and litterateurs: i.e., by the haigō) in the 17C). Already before him the "opening verses" were often anthologised separately from the long renga sequences which they were intended to introduce. It is of course of three phrases (rather than "lines", lines claimed to be an anachronistic concept), of 5-7-5 syllables. In renga it was alternated with the offerings of many poets, small poems or part-poems, couplets in 7-7 syllable verses. Often the whole alternating sequence, either impromptu, or collected and printed, reached up to 100 little texts and sometimes to the thousand(s).

To put the matter briefly, (p.11) I believe that a hokku, when appreciated by itself, is a short, three-phrase poem intended to charm the reader into contemplating an aspect of nature or the human condition, usually through the help of a seasonal image. I also share the view that the seventeen-syllable poem presents an observation or sentiment in all its immediacy, before it is intellectually conceptualised.

"To put the matter briefly, (p.11) I believe that a hokku, when appreciated by itself, is a short, three-phrase poem intended to charm the reader into contemplating an aspect of nature or the human condition, usually through the help of a seasonal image. I also share the view that the seventeen-syllable poem presents an observation or sentiment in all its immediacy, before it is intellectually conceptualised."

[Ueda]:

The poems follow this long introduction (romanised only), with two types of translation, and a commentary by Ueda, and then selections of the best comments (often clashing strongly in their approach and opinions) from Japanese readers of four centuries, including Bashō himself, who did not always award first place to his own poems

Non-Classical
when put in the position of competition judge, and had to explain his decisions to those present.

His verse is no longer deified, as is still the case with Shakespeare's in some English circles. But its survival and significance now seems assured, perhaps inextricably connected with his exemplary life project, where poetry is commentary on an agonised existential (and non-religious) search, as well as being the arena in which this search is thrashed out.

Japanese poetry *Haiku-hokku-haikai*


"Makedonska kniga" Publishers and in a series of the Society for Macedonian Literature.

In our search for hard evidence of Eastern epigraphy and poetic form in Slavic cultures, we stumbled here on an early epitaph (992/3 CE) in the ancestor of the last Slavic language to reach literary form. Of course, it was in Macedonia and the Macedonian regions of Bulgaria that Old Church Slavonic was first developed as a literary language, without, apparently, adopting the poetic and rhetorical forms which Byzantine high culture has preserved from the ages of Paganism.

See *de Bray for the linguistic and literary history. It is doubtful if the appropriation of texts left in generalised Old Church Slavonic for their own national-based corpora by modern Slavic states is a useful trend for scholars to follow in dividing up the field of Slavic epigraphy for publication purposes. However, national pride at least leads to publication of the monuments and texts, and we are attempting to supplement *Fu£i£ for Slavic epigraphy. Most of the material in this book, however, is made up of extracts taken from old chronicles, from the century or two around the 13C. One must assume, with the author, that such chronicles were interested in accurate transcription, even if they may fail to achieve it.

Macedonian Slavic = Macedonian Slavic epigraphs = Croatian epigraphs


Significantly, RADJAZ did not occur as a headword in El1. This must have been because popular and technical literature did not at that period suit the tastes of Arab litterati, or even of their epigones in Holland and Germany.

Two etymologies are suggested for rajaz: one from 'convulsions', the other from 'thunder' and rumbling. In the second case, one could imagine the more sophisticated (this metre was never used for high poetry in pre-Islamic times) calling their simplest metre "rumbling", with its "iambic, monotonous, pounding" rhythms.

The poem in any form of rajaz is named urjüza, sharing the same root of course, RJZ.

SUMMARY: Originally monopartite and in lines roughly half the length of the long lines of the elevated metres, its most common form averaged 3 or 4 words only per stich, and it tended to be used for "short-winded" poetry, of three to five verses in length. It was used for work songs, games, trivial and erotic verses, and the more or less genuinely improvised verse of verbal jousting between tribes, involving alternate salies of both fakhr and hijâp (self-praise and virulent jibes). Later it was modified for subliterary and less dignified literary purposes. The shortness of its lines and the consequent frequency of its rhymes led to the later forms being the most difficult to interpret of Arabic texts. Metre and rhyme tend to be preserved in preference to vocabulary, semantics, morphology and syntax, all of which can be wildly aberrant.

DETAIL: The building block of rajaz metre is an iambic metron of four syllables, the first two ancipites, the second two syllables making an iambic foot, short+long. The commonest stich is the trimeter of these, it can be catalectic, rarely brachycatalectic. Dimeters also occur, and they too can appear in a-catalectic form, catalectic and brachycatalectic. One monometer is cited, perhaps a rare tour de force.

In more urbanised and self-conscious times two of the tristichs were often considered as a long stich, with the original odd-numbered stich ends being perceived as the classical long line caesura. Ullmann is not clear whether this leaves the rhyme after every 24 syllables or still after every 12 (in the "doubled" trimeter version). The first rhyme was (in this form? in the most original form?) monorhyme of the most dignified sort. See MUZDAWI(d)J for rajaz rhyming in couplets in the Persian manner, a looser form, sub-canonical, but apparently widely used for popular and non-prestigious genres and modes: narrative, history, anything at all didactic (e.g., Ibn Majid's work on Red Sea and Arabian Sea navigation), and for proverbs and aphorisms. The strophic tendencies which were to appear in Muslim verse, no doubt under the pressures of the contiguous literatures of Iran, India, Turan and Romania (Sicily and Spain) appear in the urjüza muthallatha (rhyming in threes), maribbâ'a (in fours), mukhammasa (in fives), and mufâstara (in tens). Of course, such strophic tendencies may long have been present in the popular substratum of high Arab verse, but not have survived in the written tradition.

See *Bonebakker IRTIDJÄL. for the improvisatory nature reported for pre-Muslim rajaz poetry. No pre-Muslim qastida survives, or is reported, in this metre, which is a significant fact. We have mentioned the trivial mocking verses, erotic and/or obscene, which seem to have used rajaz for dialogues, such as that conducted between a man and his beloved while mating. Rhythmic games have also been mentioned, and see further GHINÄ5 for work tunes. Incantations were also in this metre.

Literatisation began with the above-mentioned lengthening (doubling) of the stich and particularly with the lengthening of the poems themselves, first to 30–40 lines, then to closer to the 100 lines, i.e., qastida length. This tendency occurred early, e.g., al-Aghlab b. Djusham al-Idjil + 21/641 ca. In the later part of Islam's first century the literatisation of rajaz culminated with al-Ajşâj +91/710 and his son Ru'ba + 145/767, the latter using rajaz exclusively, and for poems which were clearly meant as tripartite qastid-o-s.
A notable later use was that of Kušajim (; 350/961), who used rajaz often for descriptive poetry, e.g., ekphrasis or wa$f.

Another notable sub-genre of verse was that of the courtly version of the old hunting poem, the tardiyyät, and these were apparently almost exclusively in rajaz, whatever their courtliness.

The longer form of (doubled) rajaz, called qarld, had an average of 8/9 words per stich. Thus even here, and all the more so in the common trimeter, the vice of tadmln, or enjambment, explicitly proscribed for high poetry, was common, even typical.

More difficulty of terminology is introduced by the tailpiece added by Heinrichs, who notes that the term rajaz is sometimes used also for "very early non-metrical poetry". As he immediately refers to halved rajaz, maštūr, calling it "three-foot lines without caesura", we realise that this is the same standard trimeter as has been treated as fully metrical by Ullmann just above! Perhaps Heinrichs is using "non-metrical" in imitation of two native authorities to whom he alludes on the divisions of all poetry, both (?) of whom attribute their own characterisations of rajaz to the old Beduin. They note that the meaning of the term had changed by their time. These precious hints of old practice and theory come from: al-AkhfaŠ al Awsat = +215/830 or +221/836, whose division of poetry was tripartite, into qa$tād, ramal and rajaz, and the later al-DJawharl post+393/1005, whose division was quadripartite, into qa$tād (sung, tağanna, e.g., during the caravan's progress, which was apparently quite an elevated public situation in Arabia), ramal, rajaz (chanted, tağannama, e.g., to accompany work, to drive animals), and fourthly, manhūk.

I have not had the confidence to follow Ullmann into his speculations and insinuations based on fragments in the old divans, and have here treated the prescriptive/descriptive evidence together with that more solid sort which derives from actually surviving verses.

See *Tolmacheva above for a corpus of scientific verse in rajaz, or rajaz smelling of qasida, or perhaps qasida smelling of rajaz.

Arab short verse Rajaz

Urquhart, Thomas Sir (1611–1660) Epigrams divine and moral by Sir Thomas Vrchard, Knight

44 epigrams, many have 6 lines, many have more. "First Two Books". "I here tender to the favour of your Honours acceptance a bundle of Epigrams; which though they be but flashes of wit..."

Väänänen, V. Recherches et récréations Latino-Romanes Naples 1981

Graffiti with stylus or carbon. We must remember their functionality in an age where the majority of citizens lacked commercial postal services! Pliny Jun. VIII 8, Martial XII, 61, Suetonius Ner. 45, and the implications of CIL VI 52 = ILS 4355

P. 75 Admiror paries te non cecidisse minis
 Qin tot scriptorum tædia sustineas

This distich is found thrice at Pompeii, CIL 1904, 2461, 2487. See Matteo Della Corte on repeated inscriptions. P. 76 notes that the script is "cursive majuscules", used both on tabulae and papyrus by the 3C. P. 81 middle: accusations in a distich. P. 84 "Seneca" bought a slave who knew Homer by heart and another who knew Hesiod. P. 85 "Quisquis amat...", CIL 1173 3199 & 4091, another repeated, hence, "favourite", verse.

P. 86 partly repeated: Venimus hac cupide multo magis ire cupimus

AND THEN EITHER 2a: ut liceat nostros visere Roma lares
OR ELSE 2b: Set retinet nostros illa puella pedes


The age, the type (e.g., scoptic verse preceding Martial) the number of "hands" evidenced, and the degree of repeatability are of enormous interest to the study of book epigram. It must be noted too that surviving verse graffiti must be the tip of an iceberg (in a sea!) of casual verse, even if little of such was ever inscribed elsewhere, which is most unlikely in itself.

Latin Latino-Romane


This word etymologically means "authorisation", "license", but it is a technical term for the 3rd of the 8 methods by which one may receive a "genuine" hadith. More loosely it concerns various grades of oral testimony, and their certification patterns. This involved chains of tradents and brief notes about the circumstances of each link of the "chain", the istad, transmitted with the text itself. The "list of authorities" was variously called: muřjam, mašyaka, thabat, fad?rasa, barammāj.

By the second half of the 39C some of these were in verse.

Goldziher notes that some were also in sajf, rhyming prose. This term was also used in prosody, mainly for
faults in rhyme, see KÄFIYA. In rhetoric it had another, more interesting meaning: "when a poet builds lines or a whole poem on a single line of hemistich suggested by someone else", but see Dozy Suppl. s.v. adjaza.

This modelling one's poem, one's reply or retort, on the metre and the rhyme of a preceding short work (see *Kuka in Addenda), is a common courtly pastime and an expectation in many cultures. The modelling may even involve repeating a whole phrase from the little work being replied to. Such "answering poems" or retort poems are themselves separate texts, though obviously related.

Alternate composition of the same text by two poets is also a form of idjaza: two poets compose alternately a hemistich of more lines of the same poem, often as a contest, which is properly called tamlt, mumälata, imlä.t etc., see the Tāj al-‘Arūs v. 227.

However, as often for terms which are of crucial interest to our search for shadows of epigram world wide, the Muslim tradition preserves many terms in which the meanings apparently prescribed seem different from those actually found in use.

Muslim chain composition Ijaza/tamlt

Musical Epigram  Epigram V

Vallabhadeva and Peterson and Durgapurasad and Karmarkar, • & P. & & R.D. Subhasitavali of Vallabhadeva 19612 (18861) Poona 1961

A 19C subhäshita anthology with literary emphasis, most of whose poems are obviously fragments from major works. Whatever lack of coherence we may ascribe to Indian kavya, this proves that literary, if not gnomic or mnemonic subhashitani, are not textually independent.

Indian Poetry Vallabhadeva


An attempt to treat Akkadian texts both from their own viewpoint and also from angles defined by modern concerns. The master theory is that of Zumthor. It might be a guide to the proper treatment of the first Greek inscriptions, particularly the first poetic texts, as "literature". Influences on text in general are 1. operational, 2. functional, 3. material, and, somewhat more recently formulated, 4. literary (treated just below). The latter overlaps with the three previous and also escapes from them.

Perhaps the first literary corpus in the history of civilization, or at least the first surviving for our attention, Assyriological "literature" can and should be considered as literature, despite all criticisms of this approach. Humanistic idealism demands that we consider literatures as intrinsically interesting, whatever their cultural or temporal distance from us. It offers comparative perspectives to students of other literatures, and although non-documentary texts, the minority of "literary" texts were once a constitutive part of Mesopotamian society and their remains help us to reconstruct its culture, being the only texts to "speak immediately about aspects of the system of society, or the interpretation of the world, or the framework of history — in short, about Mesopotamian Man himself" (p.218).

Ostentatiously (humbly and otherwise) V. chooses the modish word écrites, but quickly reduces its reference to justify a study of the (physical) mode of writing on lumps of clay. Angles under which writing" may be considered are operational, functional and material. To these has been added the "literary", 'mode of writing' — on the intersection of the "horizontal" of language constraint and the "vertical" of expressive style. While it partakes of the former three aspects, it properly resides in the manner in which the linguistic form of literary language is put to actual use, "thus having its own indication of social and historical meaning". It is a compromise between freedom and remembrance. [Our summary is in a somewhat tame version of the original semiotic style of writing.]

Thus, very practically, it is claimed that the tablet format (manageable size and therefore numbers required) had some influence on the length of texts as its consistency had an effect on the 90° range taken up by wedge forms of the writing. Taking some Standard Sumerian texts from OB times it is noted that (in this selection) maximum length of a "text" is about 650 lines, and the range is from 60 lines up to 650. 60 lines seems normally to be the shortest length for a composition written on one tablet, by itself. There seems to be a preference for lengths around the 280 lines. Now OB literary tablets come in quite different sizes, typically having 25, 30, 35 or even 40 lines per side. Texts on several single column tablets are normally broken at a subdivision mark, where the text has such dividers. The most popular single column size seems to have been (at this period) 70–80 lines.

It is argued that this tablet size and preference for lines per column influenced the typical length of shorter literary compositions (60 lines upwards), not vice versa.

See van Sickel in Arethusa for rather different attempts made on the early written forms of Homer. V. goes on to "writing" puns and intertextuality, and ends with questions on the orality of oral literature, all discussions where his pretentious theoretical discourse seems not greatly to illuminate well-known facts, but at least these facts are re-ordered and viewed from a different perspective, which is the main activity of Ancient World textual students these days.

The segments into which major texts are typically composed and thought of would seem to be the most minor

Non-Classical
element of cuneiform écriture. They are however more important for "epigram".

Cuneiform écritures


Primarily for *Ryckmans on South Arabian writing on wood strips. Also for te Velde on Ancient Egyptian literacy, on Mandaean script from Klugkist, on surviving names of scribes in Hebrew and in Ugarit from Lipinski, on the role of post-biblical Jewish studies in interpreting the Bible by Sawyer and on an 18C Jewish "ode" by Vos. The most promising was the above article by Vanstiphout himself, combining Barthès/Zumthor and Sumerian/Akkadian literatures, Some remarks on Cuneiform écritures (above), but it proves rather barren and predictable.

492 31 Syd Fish Graphemics for J.H. Hospers

Vasil’ev / Васильев, Д. Д. Графический фонд памятников тюркской рунической письменности азиатского ареала (пыт систематизации) / The graphic basis of the Turkic runic writing of the Asian area, essay at a systematisation Mockva 1983 Long systematic introduction, and area tables of variant forms.

We are more interested in the author’s Корпус рунических памятников бассейна Енисея, “in press” at the time of his introduction and presently unattainable. Apparently there have been many discoveries since the classical views on such things were formed. Vasil’ev concentrates on the central area of finds, the Yenisei (upper?) and Orkhon, on the Mongolian-Russian border, S and W of Lake Baikal. Recent finds have been widespread: Altai, Semirech’e, Central Asia, basin of the Lena, Povol’zhe, north Caucasus, Priazov’е, basin of the Don, and even as far West as Asia Minor). He regards the East European finds as derivative on a central area of formation and use of Turkish runes. He treats: the Pribaykal’-Lena areas (the Easternmost), the Yenisei basin, Mongolia (southernmost), the Altai, East Turkestan, North Kirghizia and Kazakhstan, Fergan, Ala and North Tokharistan.

A great percentage of finds are (p.15) epitaphs, often with individual and even aberrant graphic features. S.E. Malov is quoted with approval on p.12 that the epigraphic texts are not colloquial or relaxed Turanian, but archaic, regulated and possibly sacral, and, in Malov’s words, “graveyard poetry”, despite their apparent lack of strict verse form.

494.3 v 334 ANL Turkish Epigraphy Runes Runic Turkish Graphology

Vida, Marco Girolamo in Batteux 1771 vol.2 from 1517ca.

Poetics Vida Ars

Vida and Williams, Marco Girolamo & R.G. The De Arte Poetica of Marco Girolamo Vida translated with commentary, and with the text of c.1517 ed. by... NY 1976

Also to be found in Batteux. This virtuosic verse Ars by the author of the Christiad not only illustrated how much (to some, now little) the best of the moderns could do in the style of the ancients, but was widely imitated as late as Pope. See Addenda for extracts.

Poetics De Arte Poetica


A few things emerge from these tetchy essays. On p.154 he raises the important question of the sense which poetry had for 7C and 8C intellectuals. He notes on p.157 that there is a mutual suitability of “il metro e l’enigma”, in his discussion of Adhelm. He mentions some epitaphs of not much more than 10 lines, and on p.233 quotes an important line from Giovanni Immonide. The thought should be widely exampled, but here are the Medieval Latin words:

Postquam prosa fugit, musa iocosa redit.

Joy in versifying was an important element in medieval, as in Persian and Urdu literature.

Latin Medieval Poetry Alto-Medioevo


Cuneiform Assyro-babylonienne


Phoenician Phénicienne

Viscardi, A. Un epitaffio francese a Vicenza Sec.XIII in Ricerche e interpretazioni mediolatine e romanze Milan p.251– (first published 1941) 1970

Non-Classical
An octosyllabic quatrain (an explicit self-epitaph) from the century when French language was commonly entering epigraphy and seals. Octosyllables are typically stichic in French, helping to strengthen our view that stanzaic forms do not give rise to Western epigram. The formula for deixis is *Ci gist*, deriving of course from *hie jacet*. See *Favreau* for other dialect forms of this important (verbal) grave marker. See also Addenda.

French Medieval Epigraphy

Burial

Vorstand der Vereinigung der deutschen Hoch-schulgermanisten


Articles on a variety of genres and corpora emphasising the literariness of texts normally classed as technical or pragmatic, for example, Freud's semi-formal and most lively lectures.

Genre Textsorten

Vovelle, Michel La Mort et l'Occident de 1300 à nos jours Paris 1983

Burial Mort occidentale


Old students of Latin culture in Croatia: Rački, Körbler, Cronia, Graga, Tovarina, Deanović, and Kombol. Newer students of the Latin strand include: Krsčić, Golaniščev-Kutuzov, Cale, Zorić, Slamnic, Tomasević, et al. The interdependence of literary culture in Latin and the "volgare" is taken for granted in old areas of humanism. Some details are given of, among others, Marko Marulic = Marulus, of Split (Spalatino), Antun Vrančić = Vrancius of Selenico, Stepan Zec = Leporinus, of Zagreb. Anecdotal and fragmentary. Croatian "epigram" obviously has deep roots.

Vries and Bikai and Jobling, Bert de & Pierre & William J Archaeology in Jordan in American Journal of Archaeology, the Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America Vol. 97 n°3 1993 p.457/8, p.514/5. 1993 Initial comment p.457 (news item, not technical, as are the reports in the Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, ADAJ) and Jobling's report p.514f. on the 'Aqaba-Ma'at Archeological and Epigraphic Survey.

10 years of field work are now completed. Pottery has been analysed. Grinding stones are being studied in conjunction with ethno-technical investigations of the local Beduin. A video archive is being used for continuing study of the North-Arabian-Thamudic and the Nabatean epigraphy of the area. Onomastics and other indications illustrate the occupation of the Hisma in Roman and Early Islamic periods. A standardised Thamudic font for computers has been designed. A provisional lexicon to replace Cantineau (1930–1932) and later partial glossaries has been compiled, entitled Nablex. A new deity seems to be indicated by at least 23 inscriptions beginning RB . SQM...[then usually SRR B ...]. RB is well attested as a title in Thamudic and Nabatean. SQM is tentatively identified as from root SWQ, whose derivatives in related languages are: leg, shank, street, market, all with some idea of narrowness, and as these inscriptions are found on walls or scree of inselbergs, they may just refer to a straight walled and narrow wadi, i.e., "Lord of the narrow places", perhaps Dushara. The inscription given as typical:

RB . SQM . SRR . B . MTMN . HTT . KLL

or, tentatively, "Lord SQM gladden MTMN, he engraved it all.

From our point of view, this tentative translation would indicate quite clearly a special value in actually writing the invocation. One minor variation in some inscriptions is that the PN occasionally precedes the verb SRR (or other verb?). It is notable that most Greek poetic epigraphy has no sphragis or takhallus, no maker's signature for the poem, but only (from time to time), a "signature" for the monument.

My Offprint North Arabian Epigraphy in Jordan

Vryonis, Speros Jnr The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the 11th through the 15th Centuries 1971

Greek Arabic Islamisation

Wade, A The Letters of W.B. Yeats ed.... London 1954

Note, in two letters to Ethel Mannin, p. 913–914, 15 Aug 1938 (four line version of epitaph, "Draw rein, drae breath...") and 22 Aug 1938 (final, three line version).

PR 5906 Z4 ANU Yeats Letters Yeats Wa

Wagner, Guilelmus Carmina graeca medii aevi Lipsiae 1874 = (facs) Athens n.d.

889.108 17 Syd Fish Byzantine CGMA

Non-Classical
Wales, K. *A Dictionary of Stylistics* London and N.Y. 1989
My Book Poetics Stylistics

Latin Medieval Epigram Urbana 2

Waller, Edmund 1606–1687 *The poetical works of Edmund Waller...* from Mr. Fenton's quarto edit. 1729: With the life of the author Edinburgh 1777 12mo 2 v. From Mr. Fenton's Quarto Ed. 1729.
Note that Waller was much republished. The second volume of this pocket size edition has, beginning on p.80, "Epigrams, Epitaphs and Fragments", with the epitaphs quite long. Of a little interest for my co-religionists is poem LII p. 139 "On the invasion and defeat of the Turks in the year 1683": The modern Nimrod...
RB DNS 8974–75 English Epigram Waller's

Walls and Hajj, A.G & A.A. *Arabic Inscriptions in Jerusalem, A handlist and Maps* Lond. 1980
Arabic Epigraphy Jerusalem Handlist

Walter of Wimborne and Rigg, • & A.G. *The Poems of Walter of Wimborne (Gauterus de Wymburnia) Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts: 42.* Toronto 1978
Walter's poems are generally lengthy.
Appendix 2, p. 307–314, has 30 items added on the blank pages at the end of the 6th quire by the scribe who added to this MS Walter's *De Mundi Scelere*, and who had access to (more of?) Walter's work. However, the short poems here used as fillers are an anthology from many sources, but n° 2, 4 and 9 may be by Walter. N° 9 does not concern us, being of 53 lines. Most of the gnomica are also to be found in Walter's *Sprichwörter*, including this "retrogradus":

Odo tenet mulum madidam mappam tenet Anna.
and this thought:
Mens ad plura ruens minor est ad singula prudens
There are a good number of mnemonic verses of all sorts.
Latin Medieval Poetry Wimborne

Waltharius and Langosch, & Karl *Waltharius Ruodlieb. Märchenepen* Darmstadt 1960
Extracts with some useful comments in the introduction.
Latin Medieval Poetry Ruodlieb

Walther, Hans *Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris latinorum. Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen 2nd ed.* 1969 1000 poems in Migne PL are left out of this guide (all of, or only some of the Migne poetic corpus?). Also omitted are versified proverbs (of which there will be a suitable repertorium among general proverb collections), also the many Medieval mnemonic verses, also epitaphs found only on stone, and many hymns, still leaving about 22,000 incipits. A Sachregister is promised "at the end of the volume", but it is neither there nor on the Fisher shelf.
To be used with Ulysse Chevalier's *Repertorium hymnologicum*. However, as Favreau notes, poetic incipits are useless when, as often, the anonymous quotation comes from deep within a poem. It seems that for all the past labours of scholars, the digitising of corpora will overtake the making of traditional reference books on medieval literature, which remain quite insufficient.
879.19 Medieval Latin Poetry ICVMÆL

Wanek, Friedrich K *Fünf Epigramme für Streichquartett* Mainz/London Schott 1988ca in BCM '89 p.138
Musical Epigram Epigramme W

Ward and Cherry and Gere and Cartlidge, Anne & John & Charlotte & Barbara *The Ring, from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century* London 1981
The four authors deal in sequence with the following four periods, only two of which interest us: 1. Antiquity; 2. Medieval; 3. 1500–1900; 4. 20C. The point is made that rings, being the most common personal adornment

Non-Classical
totally viewable in situ by its bearer, are probably one of the oldest forms of jewellery. The study of rings, of course, overlaps with the study of gems and of seals. P. 16 (Cherry) a striking feature of medieval rings is the wide range of inscriptions that occur. Antique Latin and Greek rings were typically without any inscribed words, though beautifully decorated with iconography. P. 56, & PI 134 13C/14C France a ring with a jingling text related to one of its uses, as a seal, like the more elaborate inscriptions of the large, non-ring seals: TECTA : LEGE : LECTA : TEGE. P. 58, like seals, the pious phrase AVÉ MARIA GRACIA PLENA was common, in various selections, in the 13C.

Vernacular verse is found on rings, sometimes repeated on several surviving examples (rings were very likely to be melted down, with only the gem being saved, thus our surviving corpus is likely to be a very poor guide to the past situation, since verse is found on the inside or/and on the outside of the metal hoop itself). As this book is not a full corpus, I will not give percentages, though long texts seem to have been unusual, while still falling "within the tradition". See n° 111–202 — see French verse in n° 124, 13C English: + IE . SUI . DE . DRUE . RIES . SI .

NE . ME . DO . NEI . MIE [I am a love token, do not give me away — found on other rings] n° 136, 14C French: + QUI PLUS DESPENT QU'A LAFIERT / SANS COLP FERR A MORT SE FIERT, said by Cherry to be unusually elaborate [He who spends more than belongs to him / Kills himself without striking a blow.]

n° 159 15C Italian: the jingle, perhaps intended as verse: KUTE DORMIO, TUTE VIGILO, VICTIS PARCO, NULLUM FUGIO (the inscription, obviously, of a Condottiere).

n° 196 15C English: MOST IN MYND AND YN MYN HERT / LOTHEST FROM YOU FERTO DEPART n° 198 15C French, has, outside and inside, two French inscriptions in the joking grammatical mode, reminding us of much medieval Latin verse and of some of the conceits of Charles d'Orelans (1391–1465) and other 15C vernacular poets: Outside — UNE FAME NOMINATIF A FAIT DE MOY SON DATIF PAR LA PAROLE GENITIVE EN DEPIT DE LACCUSATIVE. This Cherry (rather simple-mindedly, we think) translates as: A nominative report is given to me the dative by the genitive word in spite of the accusative. Only the second line escapes the status of regular verse, and I think that reading MOY as moy – disyllabic – will make the inscription into a quatrain. The text is fairly obviously a punning/allusive amatory message. Inside, in what is even more clearly rough octosyllabic verse: + M(on) AMOUR EST INFINITI(v)E GE VEU ESTRE SON RELATIF.

Medieval Ring epigraphy

Ward, Edward ed. The poetical entertainer: consisting of epigrams, satyrs, dialogues &c. London [1712]–1713 "To be publish'd as often as occasion shall offer" — cover RB DNS 7758 English Epigram Entertainer


Warder, Anthony Kennedy [1924– ] Indian Kāvya Literature vol. 2. Literary Criticism Delhi 1974

See § 771, 777, 832, 837 for the legendary emperor of early Maharashtra called Häla, said by Warder to be a Prakrit form of Sātavāhana, with the first element being non-IE, perhaps meaning "horse". He was a +2C emperor of this famous dynasty. In verse 2 of the Sātavāhana anthology it is noted (and much repeated afterwards) that "Häla, fond of kavis, selected 700 gāthā-s (Skt gāthā-s, songs) from a whole ko.tre of them (10 million, a symbolic numeral of plenitude). 950 are in the anthology (which is supposed to be only 700 strong), and others are scattered in other works. The name of the collection is in Prakrit GāhāsattasaT, in Skt GäthäsaptaSatI. Bāna (in his Harṣacarita introduction verse 3) includes Sātavāhana's anthology of subhā$ita-s [things well-said] in his list of great classics. See also Hart.

My book Subhāśita Prakri Kavya 2

Warder, Anthony Kennedy [1924– ] Indian Kāvya Literature, Volume Four, The ways of Originality (Bāna to Dāodaragupta) Delhi etc. 1983

P.121–128, § 1877–1888 deals with (probably +7C) Bhartrihari's Trīṣāti, three centuries of stanzas, much interpolated. Most are sardonic and worldly wise. The first hundred is supposed to be on niti, "policy", the second "sensitive" (literary and amatory) and the third on renunciation. From our perspective it is important that the stanzas are a collection of relatively unrelated mini-texts, indeed, of "Subhāśita-s". No MS of them is more than 500 years old, and versions differ greatly, the first hundred seemingly the most genuine. One verse (quatrain) mentions the Tantric and occult use of cemeteries, which is unusual, I think, in Indian culture. It is, however, indicated to be an extreme and unusual option even in the poem:

(p.184):
I dug up the earth, suspecting buried treasures, I smelted the ores of the mountain, I crossed over the ocean, I courted kings with great effort, I spent nights in a cemetery, my mind intent on worship with incantations.

Non-Classical
but I didn't win even a perforated cowrie: O desire, now be off! (n° 149).

As can be seen from the translation, "quarter verses" in many Indian metres translate almost to the content of hexameters.

P. 211 ff. deals (only from secondary sources) with early Tamil literature. For that see, better, *Zvelebil.

My Book Indian Kavya 4

Warners, J.D.Ph. Het Ned, kwatrijn (Diss.) 1947 non vidi Dutch Epigram Dutch Quatrain


Watson, Burton Hsün Tzu – Basic Writings N.Y./London 1963 Chinese Burial XunZi-Bu


P. 1333/4 IX Epigrams and Formal Satire.

English Bibliography New Cambridge Bibliography

Watson and Rawski, D.L. & E.S. Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China Berkeley 1988

P.12 has NINE elements of the funerary ritual.
P.16 has the statement that the study of burial customs is far less developed than that of the funerary rites which precede burial.

Passim: we get the idea that the spirit tablet, written, not iconic, is a key to the funerary ritual, that even illiterates now (?) feel they need one, and that the State has subtly unified the main structures of the placating-mourning ritual since the Tang. This assumes that more regional and social variety can be assumed before the year 1000. However, given the great age of the San Ji group of ancient ritual books, one would assume that such a unification, among anyone at all aspiring towards membership of élites, goes back at least to the Han.

The book suggests that it was only a small number of notables whose graves remained known and became revered, and that this result was greatly influenced by the construction of a temple, and the dedication of land to the upkeep of the site. This of course depended on the length of influence and thus the wealth and prominence of the clan. See Frank *Ching’s *Ancestors. His clan established an ancestral temple in this way, preserving the reputation of their first famous member (of Song Dynasty vintage) until the period of the Red Guards.

See also Bonnard and le Dru 1986 GT 3283 D43 Chinese Burial Chinese death ritual

Weaver, Lawrence Memorials and Monuments Old and New: Two hundred subjects chosen from seven centuries. London. 1915

Only 3% show verse. Included are headstones, table tombs (only those without effigy), floor slabs and the rectangular wall monument, mostly with a prominent and centrally placed inscription.

6 only show English verse, mostly original, sometimes quoted. P.347 states that the use of quotations from “the poets” for memorial inscriptions is a fairly recent phenomenon. Sir Henry Newbolt’s epitaph for the Cliftonian war dead is a quatrain, which seems a rare form on prestige graves in England. Lord Tennyson wrote a very simple prose epitaph for Henry Hallam, and the most succinct epitaphs, quoted with approval by Weaver, are of course in prose. Later 17C honorific writing on tombs was apparently restrained in comparison with the habits of the 18C. Interestingly, Weaver goes on to offer some poetic extracts (from the book tradition) which he regards as suitable for grave inscriptions. See Addenda.

English Burial Architecture Epigraphy Weaver’s Monuments


Based on medallions (of which the distinguished and prolific Doctor of the German Hospital seems to have had quite a collection) and literary byways. We must remember that in early modern times the design of medallions was a very serious concern of major institutions, such as the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres.

Medallions were an important part of Renaissance and Baroque court entertainments and celebrations. Devises and Non-Classical
mottos are quoted, and I have found the sources of those from Classical Antiquity and not yet identified by the
author. Epigrams on doctors are extensively quoted, moving on to the humorous epitaph. Weber usefully unearths
quite a few versions of some of these, showing the oral tradition at work. One of these is Petrarch’s idea of the
three deaths, one’s physical demise, the passing of one’s funeral monument and inscription, and, worst of all it
seems, that of one’s writings and the fame that attaches to these. It is worth noting that doctors feature very early in
Greek epigrams. In the Renaissance dissection was treated as theatre, as were anatomical lectures in general.
However, *Cosgrove claims that public life in North Italy was generally treated as theatre in the 16C. Weber quotes
some interesting Latin passages from the de contemptu mundi tradition. As the thirst for fame notable in Gothic
literature is not carried over onto Gothic burial monuments and epitaphs, we may not assume that the popular de
contemptu tradition (= the vanitas tradition?) affected epitaphs, but it is important to know what forms of expression
were contemporary with the epigraphy of each period.

English Epigram  Art and Epigram 1

Presumably an expansion of his long article in Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine
Section of the History of Medicine, vol. 7 (1913–1914).

English Epigram  Art and Epigram 2

559. 1956

Letters from what we would call semi-literate forced labourers from the Balkans (but see *Wongar) show many
verses at the beginning and the end. One is entirely in verse, ten pages of epic description of a terrible air raid
endured by the writer. The motives for resorting to verse seem not to be to display one’s cleverness or education,
but to continue an oral practice well evoked in *Wongar’s article on his Serbian youth, when education was
communal, largely based on a large stock of oral ballads. It is the Croats who featured most in this German censor’s
collections, and there are regional differences, with Medjimurje and the whole of (Croat?) Bosnia providing a great
amount of the verse. Some verses are in German. The mostly short verses seem original, but some phrases and
topoi frequently appear. It would seem that the authors were unused to letter writing, as formulae are common
“starters”. Eight different verses survive the post-war dispersal of Weber’s materials, all meaning simply “turn the
next page”. Like the interspersed poetic greetings, they are in couplets. In this academic byway we capture on the
edge of 20C Europe a type of predominance of verse which is quite different from that based on court cultures and
the pursuit of personal fame, refinement, excellence and literary achievement. As in Laos, Croats of the 1940s used
verse unselconsciously and naturally, and fell back on it when asked to write personal letters to absent family,
something they rarely would have done at home. It would seem to be the formulaic nature and the familiarity and
communal feel of verse which made it preferable to prose, and perhaps the fact that song words evoked a higher
degree of mental exaltation was suited to the state of tension produced by, and required for, their putting pen to
paper at all. No doubt the writers were moved into a specifically literary experiential state, and moved out of
embarrassing individual isolation, by falling into the routines of the public literature of their folk tradition. The
absorption in the group noted by Plato of this sort of folk poetic experience helped overcome the exposed
uncertainties of trying to communicate to someone whom one could not see or hear, and who could not give
feedback. Weber notes that in the Germany of his time the semi-educated often started letters with prose formulae
such as, “To start my writing I pick up the pen and dip it in the ink to write a few lines...”. Thus, some of the
functions outlined above are not the prerogative of (folk) verse alone. Nevertheless, the preference of Archai
Greek inscribers for verse can be partially explained by the sort of folk tradition revealed in these letters. It also
probably needs comparing with the widespread cult of court verse in Thailand, Indo-Irania-Arabia, and among the
"Vikings". Whereas some of these cultures gradually inscribed more and more verse, the Greeks did so from the
beginning of their public writing. See Addenda, *Folk and Pre-literary.

Croatian Poetry Letters  Folk poetry in war letters

Weckwerth, A.  Der Ursprung des Bildepitaphs  in Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 20, 1957,
reprint 1972, Nendeln/Liechtenstein, p.147–185. 1957 A very long and analytical
treatment.

The German Epitaph is not an epitaph. The quotations from 18C Zedler and the 20C Wahrig dictionaries (s.v.
in Addenda) indicate this clearly enough. However, most aspects of the “picture-epitaph” and even of its
compulsory inscription resemble a grave’s, but the actual grave (i.e., with body) is never underneath, and may or
may not even be nearby. After canvassing all major contributions to the debate, Weckwerth manages, by tacitly
narrowing the corpus, to reduce the history of Gothic art to some sort of order and clearly specify what a
Bildepitaph or simply an Epitaph is in Germany, Burgundy and perhaps the Low Countries. He derives these
unoccupied funerary memorials from Eckhartian mysticism (even though Eckhart himself denounced praying for
the dead) and from late medieval devotion to the Souls in Purgatory, and assumes that their purpose is to benefit
the person mentioned in the next world by attracting prayers from the living. In the period under discussion, real grave
monuments (which contain all or part of a body) are still horizontal, set in the floor or forming a sarcophagus-like

Non-Classical
German Burial Epigraphy  Bildepitaphs

Weddigge, H.  Einführung in die germanistische Mediävistik  München  1987

The liet/spruch distinction has been said to run through the whole German Middle Ages. An important matter for all periods of epigram is that of its non-singability. The liet (or minnesang)/spruch distinction criticised by Weddigge is partly based on this, but Sprüche were in fact sung: p. 227 "Sprüche ... wie Minnelieder gesungen." Medieval lyric cannot be studied in total isolation from Medieval music, it seems. Despite first appearances, the Epigramm und Skolion theory of symposiac transmission and perhaps composition, and the closeness of the Anacreontea to epigram both raise comparable sets of questions.

German Poetry Medieval  Mediävistik

Weeks, Stuart  Early Israelite Wisdom  Oxford  1994

In the central section of this book an attempt is made to illustrate the possible close groupings of sayings presumed to be atomistic, but secondarily put into patterns. Various criteria (verbal, formal, and semantic) are selected and exhaustively pursued, and put into diagrams. Such patterning of collections of short texts is relevant to early poetic anthologies as well.

Gnomic Anthologisation  Proverbs Patterns

Weever and McKerrow, John 1576–1632 & Ronald Brunlees  ...Epigrammes in the oldest cut and the newest fashion 1599 Reprinted from the original edition with notes &c. by R.B. McKerrow. Original t.p. reads: Epigrammes in the oldest cut and the newest fashion. A twice seven-hours (in so many wekees) studie no longer (like the fashion) not unlike to continue. The first seven. John Weever, at London, printed by V.S. for Thomas Bushell, and ... to be sold at his shop 1599 London 1911 reset reprint.

The main value of these epigrams to this study is documentary and historical-onomastic. There is a very short prose dedication and on p. 5 a liminary sonnet. P. 7 has an Ad librum poem, of which the fifth line reads: "These epigrams the buds of thy first spring..." suggesting that they were juvenilia. P. 8 has a Greek effort, and p. 9 a Latin, and throughout these early poems there is much punning on Weever/weaver. We can quote from him a classic reference to truly "occasional" poetry, which Weever takes his epigrams to be.

p.13: Epigrammes are much like unto Almanacks serving especially for the yeare for which they are made, then these (right judging Readers) being for one yeare pend, and in another printed: are past date before they come from the Presse...

p. 17 Epigram 2  // Ad Lectorem /Of all my Epigrams, Reader, reade not one./ Ne yet reade two, but rather reade just none;/ Then read them all, or let them all alone.//

Many of Weever's poems have 8 lines, there are of course distichs and quatrains, and 10 line poems. P. 75 has a rather famous sonnet on Shakespeare, but any "literary" value with which it may have been credited seems rather to have been conferred on the poem by the great name of its subject. Many poems are entitled "In tumulum".

EB DNS 3181  English Epigram  Oldest cut

Weever, John  Ancient funerall monuments with in the united monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Flandres adiacent, with the dissolved Monasteries therein contained: their founders, and what eminent persons have beene in the same interred. As also the death and buriall of certaine of the bloud roiall, the nobilitie, and Gentrie of these kingdomes entombed in forraine nations with other matters mentioned in the insuing title  London  1631 = (facsimile) Amsterdam and Norwood NJ 1979. The TP has the usual architectural design, and facing it is the usual author's portrait and liminary verse, which we will give first: // Lanchashire gaue him breath, / And Cambridge education./ His studies are of Death./ Of Heauen his meditation./ Disposed around the title page are many typical Latin tags. Over a cloaked skeleton holding and looking at a skull we read (from a small plaque obviously hanging from the architrave by means of half a metal chain link set in both): // Primus / Adam de terra / terrenus./ and on the other side, balancing it is a half medieval, half Renaissance Christ with banner, cross, largely naked, with his plaque above him reading: // Secundus Adam Domi:/nus de Ccelo.// Under Adam on a plaque set in the plinth we read: // Vi in Adamo omnes / moriuntur.// and opposite it under the Christ: // Ita in Chrijto omnes / viuificabuntur.// Also on the plinth is a horizontal oval showing a funeral scene involving a crown entering a church and 5 monumental tombs around it, a pyramid, a pillar, a cone with a small ball surmounting it, a flat tomb with the cover plate slid partially down, and another flat tomb which may be the coffin for the next, a sixth tomb which lies open and ready, with the caption on the upper part, the sky: // Hic iacet

Non-Classical
&.//, and on a banner under it and a wide plaque which the banner overlaps the top of and surpasses in width: // Sunt nisi pragmijsi quos perijjse putas./(// Mors haec reparatio vitae est//. In the middle above the central title is a shallow and wide plaque between the two for Adam and Christ, likewise hanging freely from an improbable central pair of half chain links, reading: // Stipendium peccati Mors./ Gratia Dei vita aeterna, per Dm. N. I. Chr// While the Pauline tags are well known to older Catholics from the funeral ritual of the Roman Church, it is useful to note their presence here, and the pentameter is of interest. We will search for it. In the actual title we read: // Composed by the Travels and Studie of John Weever. / Spe labor leuis// All the unquoted part of the long title concerns the printer and the location of sale, as is usual. See Addenda.

731.760941 Syd Fish Burial Epigraphy Epigram  Ancient Funerall Monuments


From the mists of the past, the Arabs remember two closely related mnemonics which order their alphabet differently from their current “dictionary” order. This difference has long puzzled native scholars, but western semitists note that the presumed older, Eastern Abjad (ABC) lists sounds in the age-old “Cadmean” order of the other West and South Semitic languages, including now North Arabian, for which see W. Jobling 1990. Only then does the abjad list the letters peculiar to Arabic, “riding on the rump” or rawâdîf.

Unlike the Ancient Greeks, and the Hebrews to this day, the Arabs prefer the Hindu-Arabic cipher numerals to letter numerals, except for restricted uses: 1. on astrolabes, 2. for chronograms (versified, usually, in the so called al jummal system), 3. for divinatory purposes, where the alphabet has more potency than numerals would, and 4. for pagination.

The 8 words of the Eastern abjad: ‘abjad, hawwaz, huttiy, kalaman, sa’fas qaraṣat, thakhadh dazagh. The last two words "ride on the rump" of the older 6.

The Western Abjad differs in words 5, 6 and 8: ‘abajid, hawawaz, ḥutiyin, kaiamin, sa’fadin, qurisat, thakudh zaghsin.

See Colin Hisâb al DJummal for the rules of writing inscriptions by abjad.

Arabic Persian Poetry Alphabet   Arab abecedaria

Weinberg, Bernard  Trattati di Poeti e Retorici del cinquecento  Bari I & II 1970  Texts with brief introductions.

p.493  F. Robortello  Explicationes de satyra, de epigrammate, de elegia.

808.1 209  Epigram Poetics  16C Poetics


Tries to attach the 17C German Epigram to the Hampfer Gattungtheorie of the 1970s. There is plenty of theoretical difficulty with Gattung itself [p.1 gives 10 alternative terms]. The first 170 pp. of this work are of high importance for the theoretical side of our study of world 'epigram'.

838.502 W433de  German Epigram  Epigramm 17Jhrds

Welleck, René  Essays on Czech Literature  The Hague. 1963

Discounting some long-famous MSS forgeries, Welleck places the origins of Czech literature in the 13C and its first period of stability (when its prose character and almost all the common western styles were settled) to the 14C. He regards the early metrical systems, not as rude and imperfect, as others have stated, but as “completely different”. Poetic literature in the vernacular was rare, early, the glories of early Czech being in prose writing. Welleck shows little sympathy for Latin verse writing. Czechs and Germans, says Welleck, did not participate very deeply in the northern Renaissance which so affected the neighbouring Croats and Poles. The once despised Czech Baroque has recently been rediscovered, to Welleck’s delight. Folk traditions remained strong under the crust of the German dominance of the 18C, and this can be noted in detail in the debates recorded in Jewish Prague. Monostanzaic verse does not seem to have been an important form in Czech. It was, of course, common in Polish.

Czech  Czech updated

Wenzel, S.  Preachers Poets and the Early English Lyric  Princeton N.J. 1986

Studies the use of vernacular verse inserts in Latin sermons, or in sermons preserved only in Latin, and the guide this gives us to verse felt to be popular by the preachers. Some of these verses are, or are related to, inscriptive verse on amatory gifts and precious objects.

The book favours short verse as a result of this emphasis, and short verses always existed as the lower end of the scattering of lengths of citational poetry. It classifies "reported inscriptions" among the varieties of 'message verse' P. 81, 121 (couplets and quatrains). Other varieties of 'message verse' are short poetic exclamations at key points of stories used as exempla. Other uses of verses in the scholastic sermon are: 1. Renditions of the sermon theme (rather like a looser Buddhistuddâna); 2. renditions of the division (i.e., the forecast plan) of the sermon (ditto); 3. Non-Classical
prooftexts (often classifiable as message verses too); 4. prayers; 6. memory verses (for the audience to retain).

Thomas Waleys, in *De modo componendi sermones* (1340), is translated (p. 72) as remarking: "What use such rhythmic devices have I do not see, unless it is that they delight the ears of those who hear them ... I do not dare, nor am I able, to forbid it, since even in holy Scripture some writings are found to be in meter."

Finally, it is worth noting that the punning verses found in later Latin and Greek are not absent from the medieval vernaculars, as is evidenced by a famous quatrains (p. 133) of MS Harley 2253 on the topos "earth to earth...":

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{Erpe toc of erpe erpe wypr woh.} \\
& \text{Erpe ope erpe to pe erpe droh.} \\
& \text{Erpe leyde erpe in erpene proh.} \\
& \text{Do hevede erpe of erpe erpe ynoh.}
\end{align*}
\]

It must be admitted that the textual independence and integrity of citational verse is weak, but it would seem, not totally non-existent. We know that mnemonic verses and riddles were commonly short, even if the normal state of medieval vernacular verse was polystanzaic.

*My Book*  
*English Medieval Verses*  
*Preachers and Poets*

Wenzel, C.P.  
*Von der Struktur des Witzes zum Witz der Struktur. Untersuchungen zur Pointierung in Witz und Kurzgeschichte*  
Heidelberg 1989

Werner, E.T.C.  
*A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*  
Shanghai 1932  
With characters. Strong Buddhist emphasis. Chinese Dynasties listed, also with characters.

Some comments on burial customs and beliefs emerge from the treatments.

p.80 Ch'in-Juang Wang  
p.84 Frog-spirit  
p.100 Large tablet [Chung K'uei] for exorcisms  
Golden bearded turtle, see Chun T'i  
p.308 Masons, the god of— Chang Pan  
p.311 Mên Shen — Door Gods  
p.313 Mêng T'ien — God of writing brushes  
p.381 prêta — ghost. It was an 8th C Chinese Buddhist innovation to feed ceremonially the "hungry ghosts" of the deceased.

p.391 Rain God. Officials worshipped tablets in honour of rain, wind etc.  
Saintly Mother tortise — the Transcendent, see Kuei-Ling Shêng-mu  
p.421 Shên T'u — Yü Lei / Shên Shu — Yü Lü: Door gods, Door spirits.  
p.427 Shih Kan-Tang — transcentend and preservative stone  
p.476 Chih-ma: also p.551  
p.514 Ts'ai Lun — God of papermakers/stationers  
p.518 Tsao Chün — God of the Stove/Hearth  
p.547 The two stroke character for "man" inverted = "man lost" Wang Pa? Pa  
p.601 Yü-Lan Hui festival of the Prêtas (hungry ghosts) on the 15th day of 7th moon.

p.476 chih-ma: The ones used in the ceremonials in honour of 7C Ta Sheng usually have a tower printed on them. In general, chih-ma are portraits of deceased persons printed on small sheets of thin unmounted paper, generally used by the poorer classes. The portrait having been placed in a suitable place, the Spirit is supposed to descend from heaven and take up its temporary abode in it. After he has been worshipped, the paper portrait is burnt and he is sent back to heaven.

Thus presumably rather like spirit tablets.

p.518 TSAO CHUN, God of the stove, God of the Hearth. Kitchen god. A Taoist invention, but universally worshipped by all families in China — about sixty millions of pictures of him are regularly worshipped twice a month — at new and full moon. "His temple is a little niche in the brick cooking-range; his palace is often filled with smoke; and his Majesty sells for one farthing."

*Chinese*  
*Chinese Mythology*

Wes, Marinus A.  
*Classics in Russia 1700–1855. Between Two Bronze Horsemen.*  
1992

The equestrian statue raised to her predecessor by Catherine the Great is of interest for the beginning of (Latin) Classical influence in Russia, and so is its extremely epigrammatic inscription. It is in prose: *PETRO Primo / CATHERINA Secunda.* P. 57. Many inscriptions were considered for the first (highly classicising) equestrian statue of Russia, the least mediocre were those sent by Diderot: Petro nomine primo monumentum consecravit / Catharina nomine secunda (Prose, containing the idea so epigrammatised in the four carved words), and: Conatu enormi saxum enorme advezit / Et subjiciet pedibus heros rediviva virtus (said to be "a kind of distich"). The designer Falconet got Catherine's approval to select an inscription which avoided le "bavardage" moderne.

*Non-Classical*
Classicism almost inevitably brought epigram in verse, see especially Pushkin, p. 139, and p. 134–135, also p. 168, where a poem of Pushkin’s (Arion, 15 iambic trimeters) is said to have “the subdued detachment of a Greek style”.

P. 233–235, reminds us that the model for the Grand Inquisitor of Dostoyevsky, the great Pecherin, submitted his Master’s thesis in 1835, precisely on the topic of the Greek Anthology. P. 237 show us Turgenev, wrote a paper in 1837 in Latin entitled de epigrammate Homeri. Thus the interests of the earliest professional Classicists in Russia were well focussed on epigram, and the creative writers among the Westernisers wrote epigram in imitation of the Baroque Latins, the Greeks, and of course, the Frenchman Marot.

P. 12 ff. The influence on Russia of Dutch shipbuilding and of Dutch antiquarian styles, the viri antiquarii were rich scholar-collectors, like Rubens. The discovery of Palmyra shortly before the cataclysmic arrival of Peter the Great in Holland (August 1697) was one focus of their interest in Latin-Greek, and also Oriental archaeology. The mixture of Classical and Oriental was to mark Russian scholarship and collecting. In 1718 the Czar issued an ukaz that all finders of unusual objects, stones, bones, weapons and utensils were to be rewarded. Hundreds of books were translated from Polish. The Ukrainian Simeon Polotsky (1629–1680), an axial figure in the history of the move of French/Latin epigram to the East, became the greatest scholar of Russia, closely associated with Czar Aleksei, and came to Moscow in 1664. He was also the first court poet of Russia. (p. 19).

Johann Benedikt Scherer (1714–1824) published in Frankfurt am Main in 1776 a series of Nordische Nebenstunden, on p.107–134 of Vol. 1 of which he treated the newly-opened libraries of the Moscow Patriarchate, apparently without arousing much scholarly interest.

It is relevant to our “nugatory and paignic” investigations that in 1776 a Classicist collecting information from exotic Moscow, and commenting on it, entitled his work Nebenstunden (horae vacivae vel subsecivae). This sort of title seems particularly common in the 18C, and particularly for Philosophy and Philology, the more abstruse of the humane “sciences”, perhaps to try to retain them within the ambit of the old humanitas rather than letting them stray into the severer world of incipient 19C Wissenschaft. The matter is of some importance for the whole tone of intellectual life at that time and for the related question of the contemporary “reception” of the Classics. See p.69–83, and 125–127.

My Book Classics Russian Classics in Russia

Wessel, K. *Byzanz München 1979* Byzantine *Byzantium*


Whipple quickly cuts the gordian knot of defining epigram and accepts “a short poem ending with a witty point” as describing the most usual 16C and later, modern, understandings of the genre. He thus excludes other poems, some of which are almost universally called “epigram”: verse puzzles, acrostichs, emblems, devises and the sonnet. He looks at the sources, equally dividing the main recoverable influences among Martial, the API, and a mixed bag of Medieval and Renaissance “content, epigram forms”: exempla, fabliaux, facetiae, Catonis di(sti)<(ca), P. Syri Sententiae, Adagia and Apothegmata of Erasmus (thus, the whole Greek gnomological tradition, as therein augmented and reshaped), fables, joke books and type satires like the Narrenschiff, also traditions of neo-Latin poetry, and vernacular lyric in French and Italian, and Lyric is very hard to demarcate from epigram, especially from amatory epigram. (p.436 Pfohl). Thus, as a first approach to the problem of sources and influences, we have five areas to consider. In England at least before 1590 there was no stability of genre. There were three vague tendencies, says Whipple p.438. First, the popular-medieval short satire, reminding him of the Narrenschiff, of Robert Crowley and John Haywood, both 1550, more serious and less form-conscious than mainstream Renaissance epigram, but using titles like One and Thyrtye Epigrammes, or An Hundred Epigrammes (actually 600 of them!). The former was the first collection of “real” epigrams with that title, no doubt influencing the later tradition. P. 441, Haywood’s verse is rough and his approach popular, many based on proverbs, some of fables, apologiae, comparisons. Second, the New Poetry of Wyatt and Surrey (contemplative in inspiration and courtly in style, except for Kendall). Third, Elizabethan, which was mainly madrigal and sonnet rather than epigrammatic, though a taste for concision and pregnancy of style is obvious in the final couplet of the “Shakesperian” sonnet and in other parts of current lyric forms. Elisabethan dramatic dialogue is also very witty and pointed, in verse or prose. The Elizabethan period was perhaps too euphuistic and “copious” for a cult of anything we would call epigram. Raleigh’s work does contain some “real” epigram, as perceived by Whipple. Drummond of Hawthornden Poems 1616 has a section Madrigalls and Epigrammes. Poetic subjects were in this period taken from epigram and given to madrigal.

English epigram Early English epigram

Whistler, Laurence *The Image on the Glass* Lond. 1975ca.

P. 13 The author had read and heard of the Elizabethan and Jacobean custom of engraving on glass, but had never seen any concrete example of this art form before attempting it himself. His own efforts are often in the form of couplets or quatrains, the epigraphical verse forms par excellence. He went on to publish and to make a business
of engraving glass, see his *Engraved Glass 1952-1958*. See Currie/ Burns, Graves, and Luck for the famous practice.

748.6 3 English Epigraphy Glass *On the Glass*

Wickremasinghe and de Zilva, Martino de Zilva & Senarat *Epigraphia Zeylanica V. I 1904—1912* Lond. 1912

In this the editors indicate short Buddhist cave ‘dedications’ at Vessagiri (?) p.18, Records of life in a monastery in an inscription p.98, comments on the Brahmi, of and on Prakrit, both said to be –2, –1 (B)CE. On p.252, it is said that the ancient Sinhalese inscriptions (+3CE?) resemble the oldest inscriptive Prakrit in India in both style and phraseology. Thus epigraphic novelty in Sri Lanka has to be home-grown, and late.

Indian Epigraphy *Celonese Epigraphy*


Wieland, G. *Geminius Stilus; Studies in Anglo-Latin Hagiography* in Herren 1981

Some modern works on the geminus stilus works (i.e., those where a prose and a poetic version are made by the same author or scriptorium): Colgrave, Curtius, *Klopcsch (above, quite a general treatment), Strunk. The influential opinion of Curtius, that metrical and non-metrical discourse were felt to be interchangeable arts, and were in fact felt to be the *same form of expression*, through "Antiquity" is here contested.

The words and practice of contemporaries suggest otherwise: Adhelm (p.115) *De virginitate*:

iactis iam retorici fundamentis et constructis prosae parietibus, cum tegulis trochaicis et dactyllicis metrorum imbricibus firmissimum culmen caelesti confisus suffragio imponam

... metrical leporis elegantia et retoricae disciudinis eloquentia tantum altrinsecus discrepent, quantum distat dulcis sapa a merulento temeto.

In the poetic version he returns further to confound Curtius:

Qui latebras mundi geminato sidere demis;
Nempe diem Titan et noctem Cynthia comit;
Piscibus aequoreos qui campos pinguis ornas
Squamigeras formans in glauco gurgite turmas;
Limpida praepetibus sic complens aera catervis,
Garrula quae rostris resonantes cantica pipant
Atque creatorem diversa voce fatentur:
Da pius auxilium Clemens, ut carmine possim

Inclita sanctorum modulari gesta priorum^<sup>50</sup>
Ut prius ex prosa laudabat littera castos....

Note the twinning in the heavens! Yet the pairs are not equal, not mirrors of each other.

...Nunc in fine precor prosam metrumque legentes,
hoc opus ut cuncti rimentur mente benigna,
Dum patulis lustrent textum sub fronte fenestris,
Quod geminum constat discretis forte libellis.

Bede translated Paulinus of Nola's *Vita S. Felicis* from verse into his own prose, because:

Metrical potius quam simplicibus sunt habiles lectoribus, placuit nobis ob plurimorum utilitatem, eamdem sancti confessoris historiam planioribus dilucidare sermonibus, ejusque imitari industriam qui martyrium beati Cassiani de metrico opere Prudentii in commune apertumque omnibus eloquium transtulit.

Alcuin presents a similar reason for a duplication of his own:

duos digessi libellos, unum prosaico sermone gradientem, qui puplice fratribus in ecclesia... legi potuisse;
alterum Piereo pede currentem, qui in secreto cubili inter scholasticos tuos tantummodo ruminare debuisset.

In his preface to the poetic version a similar idea:

Aera minuta duo diversi ponderis ista,
Sancte pater, supplex in tua templia fero,
Sed prius aes retinet textum sub fronte fenestris,
Quod geminum constat discretis forte libellis.

As regards the nature of the twin works themselves: (p.117) "Neither of the poetic versions of the three authors is an exact versification of the prose."

Prosimetrum *Prose and verse*

Wiet and el-Hawary and Rached, G. & H. & H. *Catalogue général de Musée Arabe de Caire.* *Stèles funéraires tomes I—X* Hassan el-Hawary and H. Rached (voll.1 and 3) G.Wiet (vol. 2 and

Non-Classical
voll. 4–10) Cairo 1932–1942 1932–
Arabic Epigraphy Burial CMAÇ Stèles funéraires

Wieheger, Cäcilia Das Jeremias-Kloster zu Saqqara unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Inschriften Altenberge 1992 Arbeiten zum spätantiken und koptischen Ägypten 1
We have noted sporadically tendencies in the post-Classical funerary epigraphy of Egypt, Greek/Coptic, but only in the most general summary (*Atiya and *Assmann, mainly in our Addenda). This book supplies a corpus, one of the 8/9C.

P. 134: The grave monuments of this spot treat text as primary, images as secondary.

P. 141: Group monuments are quite common. Out of 150 inscriptions, 27 are definitely for more than one deceased, and 33 more possibly are.

P. 146: Here, as is common but not universal in native Egyptian and Greek Egyptian epitaphs, the word "die" is not used. Euphemisms here used, Greek and Coptic: ἀναπαύειν, κοιμάν and ΡΤΩΝ ΦΜΟ (lay oneself down to rest): ἑκάστος έπαι (lay down one's body).

P. 154: Dating can be difficult, but the recoverable dates are from 695–831/849, and the undated inscriptions seem to be from the same general period. Arabs were of course in Egypt by this time. It is to be noted that Coptic MSS and Coptic plastic art had wide influence in early medieval Europe, as far afield as Ireland and Germany.

Wiggers, A.J. Grote Winkler Prins 196810 Amsterdam/Brussel 1968 Dutch Winkler Prins

Wilde and Kredel, Oscar 1854–1900 & Fritz Oscar Wilde Epigrams, illustrated by Fritz Kredel NY 1955 808.882 W671wi English Epigram Oscar's

Wilde and Redman, Oscar Fingali O'Flahertie Wills 1854–1900 & Alvin The Epigrams of Oscar Wilde, an anthology by Alvin Redman; introd. by Vyvyan Holland 1952 "Table epigrams", according to the introduction's reporting of the words of Wilde himself. None, of course, are in verse. However, on Wilde's tomb in the famous Père-Lachaise cemetery in Paris, made by Epstein, four lines were inscribed, selected from his long poem The Ballad of Reading Gaol: // And alien tears will fall for him / Pity's long-broken urn, / For his mourners will be outcast men, / And outcasts always mourn.// This tomb was "put up" by an anonymous Englishwoman.

828.89 WIL English Epigram From Oscar

Wilkinson, Theon Two Monsoons London. 1976 (for Indian funerary monuments of the Nabobs) Indian Architecture Nabobs' tombs

Wilkinson and Winstedt, R.J. & R.O. Pantun Melayu collected by R.J. Wilkinson C.M.G. and R.O. Winstedt Singapore Historical and literary introduction followed by corpus and translation. Apparently the term was transferred from a short proverb or simile to the now current rhyming quatrains in the 17C. Condensation and cultural-literary allusion are emphasised in the long introduction. The same form extends from popular song and verse to vers-de-société, and through all the dialects of Malay. The dynamics of such a form are instructive for movements like the limerick and the "epigram".

The forms cited have regular lines of 8 or 9 syllables (up to 12) rhyming abab and otherwise assonating. The first couplet is often quite vague and playful, the second more pointed. It is likely that the Q/A poem made up of couplets, or the Riddle/Solution pair, is the origin of the popular quatrain form. The possible influence of Persian and Indian quatrains is not mentioned.

899.2211 /3 Malay Poetry Pantun

William of Malmesbury and Hamilton, • & N.E.S.A. Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis pontificum anglorum libri V ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, Rolls Series 942 Lond. etc. 1870 English Latin de gestis pontificum anglorum

William of Malmesbury and Stubbs, • & W. Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum anglorum libri V. Historiae novellae libri iii ed. W. Stubbs Vol. I (Book 1 and 2) Lond etc.
A more than usually relevant keynote address. "Rinascita" first in Vasari 1550, but associated rebirth and reawakening metaphors can be traced to Petrarch.

"Ad fontes". Niccolò Niccoli of Florence said to have possessed 8,000 MSS.

Genres which had long dropped out of fashion were revived (p.4) DIALOGUE, ESSAY, FAMILIAR EPISTLE, DRAMA, LITERARY treatment of HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, MORAL PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL THEORY. P.5 purely literary training (non-philosophical) was instituted, bonae litterae. Italy and increasingly its Roman Papal court was a magnet and a cultural clearing house for all of Europe. John Colet in Italy 1493–1496, Erasmus 1506–1509, Conrad Celtis (sic) 1487 for long stays. Francis I of France patronised Humanists, in 1530 he created chairs of Greek, Hebrew, Latin and oriental languages, encouraging translations. [Note, this was the date of the creation of vernacular epigram in France]. Printing perhaps was the major advantage this "Renaissance" has over previous ones.

Despite Erasmus's hope for vernacular scriptures, Renaissance culture had become irreducibly courtly and snobbish. Traditional Celtic patrons of literature (particularly long-cultivated vernaculars like the Celtic ones) might baulk at this and at the innovations introduced to uplift the vernaculars: (p.12) sonnet, essay, drama, history. They certainly would not have favoured the great increase of prestige prose writing. Prestige writing also tended to gravitate to Humanist Latin, p.13 top for names of Celtic Latinists of note. However, even in Italy, (p.14) there were many links with the Medieval past, e.g., the universities there, rather than the innovative academies. Renaissance changes began in an elite minority and only slowly captured the attention of the masses. Printing itself and overt Renaissance influences were very slow coming to the Celtic West.


Renaissance

Williams, Franklin B. Jr. Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641 London 1962

The practice only became really established in the mid 16C, as MS traditions wore thin. Before that most books carried verse and added information at their end, in the traditional colophon, though Caxton (see *Carlson) had initiated the practice with some success. Jewish books kept this end position for comments, and sometimes for poems. Such Jewish book additions were not made by the scribe or the setters, but by the proof reader.

English Epigram L 引用

Williams, I. Sir Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry Dublin 1954

Welsh Poetry Early Welsh Poetry


See also R. Geraint Gruffydd. John Macqueen, Micheál Mac Craith, Donatien Laurent, and Peter Smith. Welsh Irish Breton Humanists Celtic Renaissance Celts

Willsher and Hunter, Betty & Doreen Stones, a guide to some remarkable Eighteenth Century Gravestones Edinburgh and Vancouver 1978 Liberally sprinkled with citations from stones. Scotland only.

P.121–126 Specifically deals with Epitaphs. P. 111 (i.e., outside this rather sketchy treatment) mentions "Affliction Sore...".

731.76 13/1 Syd Fish Burial Epigraphy 18C Gravestones

Non-Classical

This went through fully eight editions before the end of 1585 and was the first complete Rhetoric in English. It was the one directly aimed at courtly ladies, if I remember rightly, showing a high degree of vernacular "outraghe". Leonard Cox's work dealt mainly with invention, and Richard SHERRY'S 1558 A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes was limited to the topics indicated in its title. Wilbur S. Howell has written a synthetic work Logic and Rhetoric in England 1500–1700, and the Nat. Lib. catalogue is full of works from this period on rhetoric, most of them presumably directed at secondary school users. The printed continental precursors were perhaps Jacobus Publicus Ars Oratorica Venice 1490, and particularly Albrecht von Eyb Margarita Poetica Basel 1503. Notably, poetics and rhetoric are here mentioned together by the modern commentators. I presume that, at this early period, manuscript artes poeticae and rhetorics were also likely to have been very important. The burst of treatments of epigram in mid 16C no doubt has to be seen in the context of the popularity of books on rhetoric and composition of this time.

Rhetoric  Arte of Rhetorike

Wimsatt, W.K.  Versification: Major Language Types N.Y. 1972

Prosody  Versification


Mention here of the Iranian speaking tribe called Baharvand, and their folk poetry, including isolated 2, 3 and 4 liners. The problem of pre-Muslim Iranian metres is considerable. P. 272 mentions the inevitable German theory of "stress" metre, even for classical, quantitative Arabic, unfortunately by the great Weil. P. 276 "Names, like negatives, vocatives, and imperatives, appear to allow for irregularities, as in Iranian."

Winnett and Harding, Fred V. & G.Lankester  Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns Toronto/Buffalo/Lond. 1978

Beside a few inscriptions from other languages and periods, there are fully 3936 texts here.

148b. lhd wb s by Hadd he was miserable

the common l- with the PN, but an uncommon emotional addition without the cause of pain being expressed. 151a. and ff. See Cairn 7 too.

154

2030. lsrk bn std bn zbdy bskr l

wwjd qbr gyrr l fnf

This is like n° 154, summarised and excerpted just above. Some of the uses (intended or not) of inscriptions on
tombs and the literacy of this nomadic society are suggested by such inscriptions. One wonders if it were possible for literacy to be restricted to any social élite in the desert. Such questions might upset theories of a highly illiterate society in Archaic Greece.

See Oxtoby and Winnett & Reid.

North Arabian  Fifty Sabaitic Cairns

Winnett and Reid, F.V. & W.L.  Ancient Records from North Arabia, with Contributions from J.T. Milik and J. Starcky  Toronto  1970

Thamudic, Lihyanite and Sabaitic inscriptions are occasionally mentioned by Classicists (as in *Harris Ancient Literacy) in connection with the alphabetic practices of Greeks and Latins. The place of such literacy in a nomadic society (from 600 BCE onwards, at least) gives food for thought, and would provide a corpus for comparing with the roughly contemporary ostraca available from the Black Sea. Also of interest is the independence of this tradition of early borrowing from Greece, and the signs of a pan-Mediterranean inscriptive habit, even of common concerns in alphabetic epigraphy. Also signs of direct late influence from Greek. Finally, although we would prefer to bracket Greek studies with Indian studies, it seems that the viable though sickly partner for Classical studies, in Australia, is in fact Semitic studies. The pre-Muslim Arabian inscriptions also had until recently an expert working on them from a Sydney base. Early this year he died suddenly on his beloved Bondi beach. Bill Jobling, R.I.P.

Taymanite  “not later than –6C”, p. 69. These particular ones from Jawf:

2.  w bn r  *Uwa b. Rasha*  
wdh b lb  *loves the mouth of Habib*

Though many of these inscriptions are taken as erotic (see the topos in 8, 36, 49, 54 and many others) the editors suggest that kissing males on the mouth is a formalised greeting among some groups of Beduin.

45  l sk't hkkrm  *the two young she-camels are by Shakiyat*
(a drawing, then, was beneath or near these words—) The combination of drawing and inscription is notable, and very common.

Tayma’

5. A long one for this subsection of the corpus, 5 lines.

63. wzn z’(g) wfr  *And Zg and Zfray have committed adultery* 
w’mn zt fl mth hm  *And this deed stinks worse than a stinking fart.*

Rather more lively than the common bare name, or name with the barest of other indications (Abdul was here, This is Abdul’s etc.) The dedications or invocations to gods are as terse as the shortest Greek examples. Expressed in more polished form, this would, I presume, make up a typical Muslim Hijā’ (Poetic satire, squib, quip...).

al ‘Ula, Lihiyanite

7.  lntcnb 1  *To Natanba’al* 
bn wny hn  *b. Wany* 
qb r d–h hm  *this tomb belongs. It has been protected* 
’lm ymn  *on the right* 
w’y y[mn]  *and on the left* 
mn qy(h)  *from thieves.*

I have presumed to change the phrasing of the editors’ translation to fit it to the text as I understood it without the use of any dictionaries. Many of the cairns investigated by Winnett were probably tombs. The imprecations familiar from all literate cultures in Southern Asia Minor reappear here, in a form probably influenced by the Greek and Roman habit.


13. A contested funerary inscription of Mata’’il

16. wny bn fsy  *Wany b. FSY* 
tq’t n’  *has inscribed his name with* 
d–m’t ly frdyh  *Him-on-high (?). So may He favour* 
w’s dh w’lbrt  *and bless him and guide him*

The same word for inscribe also in no. 18. If we could be sure of the expression *d–m’t* ly we would have an interesting parallel for the “heavenly inscription” and perhaps the “heavenly book”.

Madai’n Salih

77. wddt f’ sm  *I love the mouth of ‘Asim* 
w kttm  *and I have concealed*

Presumably, given the commonness of PNn, “concealed my own name”. An interesting topos, if such an interpretation of the phrase does not suffer from circularity of argument.

Upper Wadi as-Sirhan, Thamudic

81. Very long

84. Likewise very long for this group of genres.

Nabatean, Palmyrene, Hebrew (presumably well into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Though energetic in constructing longish genealogies on the basis of these epitaphs, our editors are coy about suggesting dates):
16. (+1C?) Funerary and prolix
79. Very long in this company (10 lines) and explicitly funerary.

North Arabian  Ancient Records

Winstanley, William 1628?-1698  The new help to discourse, or, Wit, mirth, and jollity intermixt with more serious matters consisting of pleasant astrological, astronomical, philosophical, grammatical, physical, chyrurgical, historical, moral, and poetical questions and answers: as also histories, proverbs, songs, epitaphs, epigrams, anagrams... &c.... together with the country-mans guide, containing directions for the true knowledge of several matters concerning astronomy and husbandry... by... London 1684 344 p. The Third edition, with many new additions.

Latin verses 'stuffed into text', with no white spaces. Despite being quite early printed and "published", this work is classed in the ANL SUBJECTS among "Commonplace Books"
mfm 791 1255:22(1244?) W3071 Latin Modern Epigram  New Help

Winsted, Richard Sir  Malay Proverbs chosen and introduced by... London 1950

Good comparative introduction indicating the migration of proverbial material in the East, and corpus. The bipartite nature of most proverbs is clear, though there can be other patterns.

PN6379 M20 W5  Malay Proverbs

Winterfeld, Paulus  MGH PLMÆ PLÆC VOL. IV. 1 rec Paulus De Winterfeld  Berlin 1899 = Zürich/Berlin 1964 1964

P. 137 Epitaph Aymoini p.138–140 Carmen de transl. s. Vinc. 6 x 10 "captions", note the unusual regularity of length.

Radbod p.162 These are short. P. 165 4 x El super Benedictus Antiphona. P. 176 Titulus rhythmicus (2 x ) and Epitaph 16 x El). P. 198 prayer 8 x El, which is a tailpiece to Carm. de s. Benedicta. P.322 short poems (both quantitative and rhythmic). P. 344 some short.

Carmina potatoria p.350 P. 402 Appendix to Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris, short.

Eugenii Vulgarii p.414ff. sylloge (other writers) See Brünholtzl p.95 E. von Toledo? collected his own verses, stands in a late antique tradition. See also Manitius I, 433: "Vulgarius" 9C mostly short poems, and polymetra, from Boethius and/or Porfrius.

NOTES: Note the fact that a collection of short(ish) poems of regular length is rare. It occurs of course in the riddle literature. One might expect it in versified calendars and in collections of tituli, but in Aymoinus's Carmen... the phenomenon is that of stanzaic vignettes. The decasyllable form may be influenced from vernacular habits. Eugenius Vulgarius has many short poems taken from, or imitated from late antique authors like Boethius and Porfrius Optatianus — this in the 9C.

Latin Medieval Poetry  MGH PLMÆ PLÆC IV.1

Winters, Geoffrey  Five Epigrams for string quartet or string orchestra op.62  BCM '81 p.100

Musical Epigram  Epigrams W

Wirgin and Mandel  Wolf & Siegfried  The History of Coins and Symbols in Ancient Israel  NY 1958

An early Byzantine epitaph is given in facsimile and transcription, in the context of the use of the 7 year, "shmitta" cycle of the "year of exemption", for expressing dates on Jewish coins and epigraphs. In our search for continuities in all literate epitaphic traditions we willingly transcribe it. See Mishnah, Sanhedrin 5.1 for the institution. Dating by it, which resembles the later practice of dating by the Byzantine "indictions", is variously evidenced from Hasmonaean times onwards.

Rested be the soul (nefsah)

of Saul son of יי הנש

who died on the first of the month

Marheshwan of the year

the first of the shemitta

the year three hundred and sixty

and four years after the destruction

of the House of the Sanctuary. Peace!

Non-Classical
Aramaic language. Date ca. 434 CE? All this with words divided by approximately one single white space, the promised name of the father of Saul does not seem ever to have been inscribed, which is strange. Certainly no sign of any lettering appears on the rubbing in the four or five letter-space gap at the end of line n°2. Line 1 has at its end a sort of continuation sign, larger than a normal letter and made up of a wavy T shape lying on its side, indication perhaps of some nervousness about breaking the construct case. Another continuation mark of half this size and made up of only one stroke ends line 3, a mere downward slanting line beginning at mid-letter, possibly for the same reason. However, a construct case phrase split over lines 7 and 8 is not marked by any continuation sign. The lettering, layout and the two helps to the reader obviously reflect MS practice. This text is said to be taken from Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, Oct. 1925, pp. 207 ff. Place not given.

CJ 1375 W5 1958 ANU Jewish coins and symbols [+burial] Shmittah

Wither  P.ed. Realllexikon der Byzantinistik Amsterdam 1968— (Aborted?).

RLByz

Wither  George 1588–1667 Abuses stript. and whipt: or Satirical essays, divided into two bookes: Also the Scourge: Epigrams by... London 1613 8o I v. unpaged i illus. signature or section letters are used below instead of page numbers.

A4 dedicatory epistle, but to himselfl, B to the Reader, B3 Epigrams, which open this book, but there are only 5 pp. of them. They also close it. C3 an Introduction in verse.

It is notable that the frequently apologetic tone in introductory epistles is here transmuted into a sort of arrogance. We must see this arrogance in context, but first let us indicate in what it consists. It consists in the author subverting the nature of the dedicatory epistle and writing one to himself! Of course, the writer of such an epistle is supposed to grovel before the greatness of the addressee, but quite a few of them express humorous doubts about the usefulness of the tradition of dedicatory epistles themselves. The witty Wither has his cake and eats it in a most dramatic way. Then he goes on to a more traditional Avertisement au lecteur. We have also noted that this is the only miscellany so far sighted by us which opens with the section devoted to epigrams. This is all the more notable as the epigram section is very short, just 5 pp., and a surprising opener for the book unless the poems were felt to be important in themselves. Some epigrams also close the book: "Certaine Epigrammes to the King's most excellent Maiestie, the Queene, the Prince, the Princesse, and other Noble and Honourable Personages and friends to whom the Author gave any his bookes." And all these epigrams are long. Let us quote the opening of the introductory poem:

// Come then invention, and call Iudgement in, / Knowledge, and Reason, fie, where have you bin?// Goe whistle off my Muse that wanton plaies,/ With Epigrammes, Love-Sonnets, Roundelaies,/ And such-like trifling game; Bid her come on, /I have found braver prey to seize upon // ...

RB DNS 9082 cf. STC 25894 English Epigram Abuses stript


My first discovery in the Chinese quain form, paling into insignificance because of floods of such texts later found to be available to us. Valuable for the extracts of high Chinese literary theory included in the notes, and for the allusions to such things as the importance of archived obituaries and collected funeral inscriptions for the recovery of biography of the great old poets, even in Yuan’s time. Pp.22–24 give the editor’s evocative list of writers influenced by this ars poetica/lives of the poets, up to the mid-19C.

Chinese Poetry Poetics Poems on Poetry


Wongar, B. Aboriginal Literacy for an Ethnic Immigrant in Myers 1992 p. 13–18 1992

The author believed himself to be “educated”, but not very literate, on his arrival in Australia from Serbian communities in Yugoslavia. The apparent contradiction came from his education being the semi-formal and communal participation in the singing and reciting of the local corpus of ballads and oral literature. We have heard more than enough on this from the restricted perspectives of Lord, but the whole phenomenon is worth attention. Thus, when Wongar went out into the desert with an aboriginal, he was ready to learn from a man “educated” in the matters of his society and his country, but even less literate. This is a good companion piece to Weber’s article on the verse in Balkan wartime letters.

Literacy Aboriginal and Serb


My Book Chinese books & Epigraphy Chinese Illustration

Non-Classical
Woods, Marjorie Curry  An Early Commentary on the Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf ed by... NY/London 1985 809.1 V788 J1X 1 Medieval Latin Poetics  Poetria Nova commentary


Wright, A.  [incomplete reference]  1637 a "garland woven out of Modern Latin Poesy in 1637 by ",..., presumably the Abraham Wright credited with Delitiae delitiarum, n.d. in my source, and perhaps the very same book.  Latin  Reported collection

Wright, Abraham  Delitiae delitiarum ? quoted *Nixon p.55 Latin Epigram  Delitiae delitiarum

Wright, James (1643–1713)  Sales epigrammatum being the choicest disticks of Martialis fourteen books of epigrams and of all the chief Latin poets that have writ in these last two centuries; together with Cato's Morality, made useful for all schools; being a more speedy and reader way to the speaking and making of true Latin, by J. Wright 1664 [8], 179 p. — (Unif. title "Catonis Disticha") Title page has five portraits in a quincunx pattern: Top Left clockwise for the outer four: Ovid, Cato, Tibullus, Horace, but in the middle is — Grotius!  English and Latin on facing pages. Selections from Martial and the two recent centuries of Latin poetry, plus Cato. Very short poems, all distichs (?127p.?). Bilingual. Cf. his translation of the supposedly corrupt (see *Boas) Cato 49: Miraris verbis...// You ask why I this way of writing take/ Know brevity did bid me Distichs make.// mfm 791 1321:28? W3699 Latin Epigram  Salt from Martial

Wright, Thomas  The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century, now first collected and edited by... Vol. II London 1872 = Kraus reprint Wiesbaden 1964 B8 vol. 59 pts. 1, 2. of Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages  Introd. xi: "The Teutonic populations of Western Europe soon began to study and imitate the old Latin poets, and no one more than the satirists and epigrammatists, who, indeed, were the favourite poets of the later Roman period.  P. xii, on aenigmata, especially epigram in general ("but the imitation of the pure Latin epigrams in the West seems to have belonged to a rather later period"!)

Symphosius was the first model. Adhelm the "first Anglo-Latin epigrammatist known". Tatwine followed. P. xv the Normans preferred a more Classical style.

Godfrey of Cambrai? of Winchester? imitated Martial, and leaves a series of elegiacs in increasing length: 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and over. His long series of similar lengths shows clearly a sense of genre, as do his thematic reminiscences of the Latin epigrammatists.

Popularity of such a tradition in the 12C, e.g., Henry of Huntingdon. Then William of Longchamp, Nigellus and Wreke of Canterbury (see *Ziolkowski) and John de Hauteville.

P. 163 has the well-known eleventh book of the Historiae of Henry the Archdeacon. It contains a variety of satirical poems: Prose introduction commenting on epigram (the only such comment surviving from the whole Middle Ages?); De veritate Libri 14x Lyr which also mentions epigrammata; Satira communis 74 x Hx; then a mixture of short poems in runs, interspersed with longer satires. Only a very few are in rhythmic metres. There are 10 distichs (El.); 4 quatrains (El.); 3 sestains (El.); 1 only octet, some of which we quote in the Addenda

This book provides plenty of evidence for medieval literary epigram, but the titles (i.e., including the word "epigram") seem to have been affixed to them by later, post Renaissance scholars. We quote in the Addenda the famous Incipit, and four poems of interest.  DA 25  Latin Epigram Medieval  Satirical Anglo-Latin 12C

Wulstan, David  Boys, Women and Drunkards: Hispano-Mauresque Influences on European Song in Agius and Hitchcock 1994 p. 136–167P. 158:

Peire Cardenal (Riquicr III 149 – a corpus of Troubador poems) wished (in typically succinct style, unique to Provençal among the medieval vernaculars) that he could have command of the language of the Saracens while being faithful to Christianity, to have at once the law of Christ and the craft of the pagans:

dig vuclh aver de Sarrazi

Non-Classical

Yates, Frances A. The Art of Memory Harmondsworth 1969

The relevance of this exploratory book to epigram may seem to be slight, but the subject is evocative of an ancient world many of whose most educated and prolific members possessed the visual memory of a Sherlock Holmes. This is a useful corrective to the facile assumptions made about a “more oral” culture in Antiquity. The main contribution is the importance of inner visualisation in many systems of memory training, and the depth, the continuity and the importance of such systems, the “Simonidean” artificial memory of ancient times, the author of ad Herennium, the Dominic scholastics, and then Lull, Petrarch, Bruno, Camillo, Ramus, Fludd and others in the modern period. Even when such systems were used more for theosophical meditation than for actual feats of memory in recitation, speech making from “notes” and argumentation, they were prominent, respected and influential. All of them used vivid and spatially ordered mental images to aid recall, and in ancient times these were architectural and sculptural images, in which imaginary inscriptions played a major part. See p.122, and p.126, where visual alphabets (and there were many medieval Insular works in epigrammatic form on the letters of the alphabet) are claimed to have been used to make inscriptions in memory. While Quintilian and other famous figures did not support the systems of artificial memory or “local” memory, these still seem to have been widespread enough to be yet another indicator of the importance of the Mediterranean inscriptive habit. The fact that Simonides is associated with the origins of such a movement is important. This is not much emphasised by Kegel who is nevertheless aiming to give a rounded appreciation of the Simonides phenomenon. Even non-poetic sources of Simonides’ prominence would have further motivated later ages to father on him anonymous verse inscriptions, giving focus to what may not have earlier been a “genre”.

In De Oratore ii,88,360 Cicero mentions a Metrodorus of Scepsis, said to be still living, who wrote down what he wanted to remember in his imagination just as he would have written these things down on a wax tablet. Cicero admits that only those with a good visual memory could use this system, but if poetry writers did use it in any bulk, say for their poetic quotes in speeches (though full verbal recall is not likely to have been the predominating practice in oratory) it would reduce the distance between oral and inscribed poetry. The interpretation of lightly epigraphic or anepigraphic Gothic illustrations may also be affected by our suspicions that many were memory aids for undisplayed texts. It is a matter of some debate why the High Gothic did not inscribe verbal texts as much as the period before and the period following it. The undisplayed but associated texts were probably consigned to auditory memory (p.108, virtues and vices), but their evoking images would have been intended for an intense inner...
visualisation even in the absence of the physical representations. At least some of the texts would have been drawn from the great stock of Medieval mnemonic verse, see p.106 for one example and Gröber for a survey. However, in the medieval case the importance for discovering the agenda of the users is more relevant to the history of art than that of literature. Artistically vivid images were encouraged, and to "read" them we would have to be aware of the load that they carried for initiates of their day.

A passing comment on the High Middle Ages, the age of the Gothic and of reduced public inscribing: scholasticism did downgrade the meaning content and the status of art compared with the lush imagery and respect for the symbol which we find in the preceding and the following brands of neo-Platonism, but its theories still allowed for considerable uses of the symbol in the search for goodness and truth. See Yates p.89, and ST I, 1, q.1, art. 9. P.139 mentions the making of "mottoes full of subtlety" as a praiseworthy activity for a highly intelligent gentleman retired from Milan to his villa. We remember the enormous importance given to mottoes on medallions in the Renaissance, see Parkes *Weber and *Yates French Academies. In the Renaissance the spaces used for local memorisation methods were usually theatres, leading to one of the few drawings of the Globe theatre in London. The theatre was, being Greek, a particularly powerful icon of the Renaissance, a period which like the Baroque was keen on well-justified and researched public displays, and in which, at least in the North of Italy, public life took on the explicit atmosphere of Palladian theatre. See Cosgrove.

Crucial to all of this thesis is the importance of writing in ancient and medieval times. While perhaps not very literate in the modern sense, earlier Mediterranean man is best thought of as being highly visual and literate in his own way. It is a failure to accept that very different sorts of literacy can each have their high as well as their low levels which vitiates the whole project of even the best-researched books, such as Ancient Literacy, by Harris. It matters little that the passer-by who encountered an early inscription would have to stop and very slowly, "tell out the letters/syllables" aloud, if he was more impressed than us by the visual impact of the inscription and perhaps could long remember most of its layout as well as its general wording. The boundaries of oracy and literacy can take different lines without necessarily diminishing one side of the opposition, which probably should not be thought of as an opposed pair in any case. Silent and skim reading is also "illiterate" to the degree that it does not favour the tasting of words and phrases, discourages certain sorts of syntactic and discourse structures which may be very expressive, leads to greater difficulties in proof reading, tends to encourage a once only attitude to reading texts rather than the personal possession of a valued text, tends to create a gap between reading and talking about the text, thus reducing the level of understanding of the underlying matter, and leads to much less wrestling with the text itself. Fast silent reading is not the measure of literacy, only a specialised part of it. The mental visualisation of written language is at least as literate a skill. The more widespread the cultivation of local and artificial memory, the more important and the more impactful were inscriptions and public writing in Antiquity, and the more alive were the public sculptures and paintings of the post Carolingian Middle Ages.

Even more shadowy than the extent of heightened visualisation of text such as that encouraged by "artificial memory" systems and practices is the extent of the influence of "heavenly book" beliefs, which are nearly equivalent to heavenly tablets, heavenly or primordial inscriptions. The Kabbala may be taking up from Egyptian letter magic in deriving all of creation from primordial letters engraved in primitive elements or in "the power of Din", see Scholem pp. 24, 132. However, other late antique and early medieval religious beliefs also involve primordial inscriptions. The vitality, heightened significance and "weight" of engraved sacred language in Egypt is well brought out by Derchain’s contribution to Puech I. Doresse in Puech II (p.481) indicates briefly the myth of the rediscovery of primeval tablets, in this case the tabula smaragdina, emerald tablet, recalling Memphite traditions of the sanctuary of the temple of Imhutes (Imhotep?) and the associated discovery of the posthumous revelations of Ostanes. It seems that a revealed or discovered inscrptional tablet was not an uncommon element in the theological myth of late antique sects, perhaps going back as far as the heavenly book connected with Ishtar in the Sumerian myths. The problem in all this is the degree to which the mythical reverence for at least one inscribed tablet corresponds to the value and degree of attention given to carefully-inscribed tablets in daily life, over many centuries and Mediterranean lands.

Rhetoric Art Epigram Memorart


Somewhere between the Italian accademie and the later, paradigmatic Académie(s) Française(s) are the French circles of the previous century to which belonged Dorat, Baif, Pontus de Tuyard and the Pléiade members, and the Vincennes circle of Henry III, containing a variety of enthusiasms and talents now concealed from us by the tendency to vilify Henry's legendary mignons. These were polymath, "musical" in the Greek sense, and mystical. Poetry was valued and, with all the human sciences, art and dance, was seen as a subdivision of "music". There was little specialisation until the 17C foundations of Richelieu and Colbert. The correct words, iconography and movements for the great court pageants, and the iconography and devises for medallions were concerns of early academies to a degree hard to appreciate today. Ronsard’s funeral was particularly elaborate and carefully planned (p.180). The 17C Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres was an influential specialisation of the 16C encyclopedic circles. Prefatory poems, poems to go under images of printed books, and Latin epigrams placarded on walls were frequent occurrences. P.106 mentions the popularity of the moralising Quatrains of Guy du Faur de Pibrac, 1582. They were even set to music by the Huygenet Paschal de l’Estochart. The Protestant La Primaudaye was also the author of quatrains, bringing together the traditions of the versified proverb and the the versified psalm.
The French épigrammes mentioned are of 10 and 14 lines. The Palace Academy was strongly influenced by the young Jamyn, who spoke much (p.144) about fine inscriptions in prose and verse and the memorialising of those who had honourably served the state. Plate 13a reproduces an old series of drawings of Henry III's Maison de Charité Chrétienne (p.157–158) showing its interior covered with inscriptions. Martin Mersenne, in informal contact with so many of the intellectuals of Europe, had been a disciple of Jacques Mauduit, a musician of Baif's academy. He argued for the formalisation of such institutions in the early 17C, and was one of the few figures trying to bridge the gaping divide between Catholic and Protestant at this period.

Yates goes on to give the story of the foundation and some of the early dramas of the 17C academies. It is not possible to read Renaissance poetry aright without some appreciation of the hothouse circles in which it was written and appreciated. It is apparent that épicrirm was far from a minor form in the French Renaissance and Baroque, and that Latin inscriptions were also very frequent among the glitterati. See Fritz Saxl. Note the point on p.49 that Marot, so crucial a figure for the modern épicrirm (which is so crucial a development for the reconstruction of ancient "épicrirm") belonged to the circle of Marguerite de Navarre and thus to a Ficinian atmosphere, and would have been equally committed to uniting poetry and music, the latter taken sensu stricto. His popularity and the continuations of the tradition he started in French show that there was a deep-seated need for something like the forms he concentrated on. Where there's a niche there's a genre.

My Book  French pre-Academies


Our Thesis Addenda have a discussion of the self-épitaph of Yeats ("Cast a cold eye / On life, on death, / Horseman, pass by.").

Our interest here is in comparable texts in his corpus: the many short, late poems, of 4, 7 and 8 lines, e.g. n° 42, 51, 68, 70, 101, 102, 103, 120, 170, 172, 202, 203, &c. Some of these are in his diary, or in his letters, some are no doubt fragments, others complete "squibs" (complete but non-serious and non-formal), or even complete serious works:

n° 103 (in the Diary between 22 and 26 April 1909)

You say, as I have often given tongue
In praise of what another's said or sung,
"Twere polite to do the like by these;
But was there ever dog that praised its fleas?

n° 203 ("To be carved on a Stone at Thoor Ballylee", many variants of lines 2 & 5, this version in a letter of 23 July 1918, published 1912)

I, the poet William Yeats
With old mill-boards and sea-green slates,
And smith work from the gart forge,
Restored this tower for my wife George
And may these characters remain
When all is ruin once again.

n° 256 Swift's Épitaph

Swift has sailed into his rest;
Savage indignation there
Cannot lacerate his breast.
Imitate him if you dare,
World-besotted traveller; he
Served human liberty, (presumably served)

n° 280 extract line 4: "And laid them on Love's lettered tomb:..."

W.B. Yeats  Yeats Fi

Yermanskaya and Netunakhina / Ерманская и Нетунахина, В. В. и Т. Ф.  Русская мемориальная скульптура 11 – 20 в. Москва 1978

Viewed for the epigraphy, which was not poetic.
Russian Art Epigraphy  Russian statuary

Yershov / Ершов, Леонид Ф  Сатира и современность «Современник» 1978

Satira i sovremennost' of Leonid Yershov (Satire and Contemporaneity) has its first half entirely on épigram: Ch.1 "Epigram and Russian Society 18th–early 20th C."; Ch.2 "Soviet Epigram of the 20s and 30s", and

Non-Classical
“Evolution of the Epigram in the Post-War Years”. Thus this particular aspect of the post-Petrine invasion of Latin culture has remained a concern of Russian humanistic elites. Typically, epigram is essentially satirical rather than being memorial, celebratory and panegyric. It does not often mean “vignette” or mood piece in this cultural context.

The most remarkable thing about Soviet epigram seems to be its vitality and relative definability. No doubt this is fed from the high regard felt for poetic form and expression in the pre-capitalist period, and a concern in revolutionary times (as in the 5C Athenian democracy) not to be outdone by the culture of the past. The democratising of high culture, the perhaps independent development of short occasional poetry of the most engaged sort, and the intense Eastern European love of the monuments of the national culture, all combined to allow any short verse to be seen as epigram, and no doubt to be influenced, to various degrees, by “Classical” epigram, itself so influenced by the French and German traditions, the Anthology, and no doubt, though Yershov hardly alludes to it, by the great Martial, and by the oceans of Renaissance and Baroque neo-Latin writing. See Addenda.

Russian Epigram  Russian Satire

Russian Satire

Yip, Wai-Lim  Chinese Poetry, Major Modes and Genres, edited and translated by wai-lim vip

Yip calligraphy by kuo-hsiung chen Berkeley etc. 1976ca.  Anthology of calligraphic texts, translations and short essays.

Charts a succession of poems from the very codified verses in the Shih Ching, through literary ballad (stemming from the 19 Ancient Poems or the tradition which these represent), “mountains and rivers” poetry of the 3C and 4C, then the growth of regulation in 8 line verse. The rise of 5 syllable and then 7 syllable quatrains concern us, rather than the sections from the Song and later. It would seem that quatrains, apart from being named ‘chiieh’, or “curtailed”, were also felt to be expressively brief. They seem always to have been the shortest form of “high”, and thus, anthologisable poetry.

Chinese Poetry  Chinese Poetic genres

Young, R. V. jnr.  Jonson, Crashaw, and the Development of the English Epigram in Genre 12


Quite a solid, if a rather limited approach to genre formation. The “anomic” approach of Martial troubled the moralising high Renaissance, and he quotes Praz p. 145. Jonson provided a model of the tightly closed form, closed on itself. Crashaw is at the opposite extreme, providing a model of the epigram of disclosure, insufficient in itself, always tending to overflow into other forms. Young suggests, without illustration, that such a dichotomy strengthened the sense of genre of later English epigram.

English epigram  Jonson-Crashaw

Yoyotte, J.  Égypte ancienne  in Devambez 1961 p.95–380  1961

Egyptian Art  Art Egypt


Different attitudes to humanism have often been noted on either side of the Alps. The latinity of the North was more deliberate and hedged with theory, their vernaculars were more precocious, and Humanists were more didactic and less playful. Poets like More and Celtes show few Renaissance themes in their Latin poetry, which to us has a late-Medieval freshness. Some of the realities of Humanist life are given by Zablocki for Poland, an important state in this period, and one in which the king wished to surround himself with a pléiade of literary and scientific talent.

Clemens Ianicius/Klemens Janicki 1516–1543 knew Celtes and the great Italian Humanists. See his Carmina Dziela wszystkie  Wroclaw 1966 p.148 for his Epig.xxvi on Cricius: // Pollio Vergilio quod erat, Messala Tibullo, / Maecenas Flacco, tu mihi, magne Crici es / Sed tarnen iis tantum praestas pietate, Camenis / Quantum illi praestant ingenioque mihi.//


Humanists Polish  Polish Humanistic poetry

Zaccaria, Vittorio  Latina del Cinquecento, Poesia  in DCLI II p.534–546.  1986

21 columns of treatment, 4 columns of important bibliography.

Omitted here are those mainly Italian writers like Ariosto, Barbaro, Bemmo, Berni, Castiglione, Della Casa, G.B. Giraldi Cinzio, Navagero, Tebaldeo, Varchi, Vettori and Vida, who have full treatments elsewhere in the Dizionario.

Also omitted are many poets who overlap the Quattro- and Cinquecento: B. Fonzio, G. PONTANO, SANNAZARO, Battista Spagnoli, T.V. Strozzi, U. Verino.

Treated are (main authors only here extracted):

[I MAGGIORI— qui in grossi caratteri]

Non-Classical
There are extended treatments of (LYRIC):

Giovanni COTTA; Marco Antonio FLAMINIO; Francesco Maria MOLZA; Jacopo SADOLETO; Gian Piero Valeriano BOLZANIO

Altri LYRICI:
Francesco FRANCHINI; Paolo BALMESSERI; Girolamo ANGERIANO; Antonio TELESIO; Giano VITALE; Benedetto ACCOLTI; Benedetto LAMPRIDIO; Lilio Gregorio GIRALDI; Paolo MANUZIO

More rapidly again:
Celio CALCAGNINI; Niccolò D’ARCO; Elio Giulio CROTII; Basilio ZANCHI; Ippolito CAPILUPI; Girolamo AMALTEO; G. B. AMALTEO

DIDACTIC:
Girolamo FRACASTORO; Pier Angelo MANZOLLI (= Marcello Palingenio STELLATO); Ludovico PARISETTI; Scipione CAPECE; Adamo FUMANO; Aonio PALEARIO

RELIGIOUS – said to be close to the "didactic", a contiguity common in the Middle Ages in the West as well as in all Oriental literatures:
Cesare DELFINO; G.B. FIERA; Ambrogio Novidio FRACCHI; Girolamo MALIPIERO; Francesco MAURI; G. Aurelio AUGURELLI; Zaccaria FERRERI.

EPIC:
Francesco ROCOCCIOLO; Francesco MODESTI; Girolamo FALLETTI; Riccardo BARTOLINI; Pietro CONTARINI; Pier Angelo da BARGA; Gis. Maria CATANEO; Stefano Dolcino SECONDO; Blossio PALLADIO; Lorenzo GAMBARA; G. Cesare STELLA; Andrea DAZZI; Francesco SFOND RATI; Baldassarre (Tranquillo) MOLOSSI.

The author makes a point which tends to escape the calculations even of investigators into the modern period, and vitiates the historical imagination of most professional Classicists, which is more pardonable. One loses the feel of a period by confining oneself to "i maggiori", particularly in poetry.

Latin Modern Poetry Cinquecento latino

Zacos and Veglery, G. & A. Byzantine Lead Seals Basel 1972
Vol. I has Plates and monograms. Having taken our treatments of the Byzantine bullae from the 1880s, we felt obliged to scan more modern corpora and treatments that we did not have the time to master.
CD 5381 Z3 1972 Vol. 1 Seals Byzantine Seals

Byzantine 7C Greek Break

Zedler, Johann Heinrich Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon Graz 1961 = 1732 ff. Halle and Leipzig 1980 With some posthumous additions, it seems to go to 64 voll in the Graz photo reprint. Four supplements to the early alphabet letters were printed at Leipzig 1751–1754, which I Jessewijn 1977 p. 307 implies were the only ones to be issued. "Quod non est in Zedlero, non est in toto mundo".

No Bildeptaph. However, the word Epitaph has its expected two meanings. Zedler seems almost to apologise for the "common usage" of the mid 18C, and notes that no study had yet been made of the monuments which he states to be wrongly called "Epitaph". See also in Bibliography Categories *Nugatory, and *Celtex in this Bibliography 2. See also Addenda s.v. Bildeptaph.
German Zedler Universal Lexikon

Non-Classical

A refinement of the meaning of a problematic use of nbš in one Phoenician inscription. Our interest lies in any refinements of the meanings of *nefesh* and its close cognates in Semitic, even if the meanings discussed are not immediately of interest to our project. The two psychologising physiological terms NFS and LB seem to have opposite developments in Phoenician and Hebrew. P.341 "In stark contrast to Hebrew usage, Phoenician lb refers only to the emotional center of the personality". Z. takes the hapax here as an Aramaic loan-meaning, or even an Aramaic loan. P.343 "...in light of the fact that of all the contemporary related Canaanite dialects and Northwest Semitic languages only Aramaic nbš demonstrates the semantic nuance of "mind" it must be the source of this word in Kilamuwa's Phoenician. The form with B is the older, and the form with P is later and "to be explained": p.343 "In the light of the Aramaic orthography/phonology of the word, it is possible, as suggested above, that the word was borrowed into Phoenician and that we are not dealing with a mere semantic calque on a Phoenician word. See Haddad I. 17, 21, 2, Panammu I. 18, Sefire KAI 222:C.2–3.

A summary of half his argument p. 343/4 "Were both a Phoenician and Isra'elite asked 'What word in your language refers to the seat of the emotions and what to the seat of the intellect?,' the /Phoenician would respond, 'Emotions, lb; intellect, nbš.' The Isra'elite would respond, 'Emotions, nepeš, intellect leb." We are more interested in a rare meaning, "gravestone", rare in Phoenician because listed by Zevit in only two late finds, from around the turn of the Era: KAI 128.3 from Libya and KAI 136.1 from Tunisia. Zevit is concerned with KAI 24:13 of the –9C from Zinjirli: *w'nr št nbš km ytm b'm*.

We may note that "heart" in Thailand has a connection with anger and impatience, at least in the idiom "to lose one's heart", against which there is a great social taboo, as there is in most of Asia and as there was one in Egypt. The expression of often quite complex or finely differentiated or intensely particular emotions by the linguistic means of BODY PART + VERB (intrans. or reflexive) is normal in "primitive" languages and colloquial vernaculars.

To the foreignness of Phoenician in this small area of semantics we may add the received orthodoxy which claims that its use of NFS to mean memorial funeral stele is equally out of tune with that language's Canaanite and Aramaic hinterland environment, but very much in line with South Arabian practice. One may also remember that strange feature of early Palestine burial figurines which exaggerates to a startling extent the nose of the faces moulded competently enough in the clay.

See Lidzbarski Ephemeris III 1909–1915 p.265 for *spn*. See also Clermont-Ganneau Répertoire d'Ep. Sém. 1900, I–II, p.230 for Sabean-Minaean *spn*, Donner-Röllig KAI V 3. p.17, i.e., 128,3; 136,1, i.e., only limited Canaanite and New Punic, and Jean-Hoftijzer p.183 for the full horror of the situation, the required meaning "stele" coming mainly from CII ii, not originally available to me.

*Stockton's* survey is convenient and his fairly standard opinions seem to be as well founded as they were before he saw fit to adopt them. 492 40 Syd Fish *Phoenician North West Semitic Aramaic Epigraphy Burial Nefesh-Lev*


(Beginning in the early centuries of the Common Era) Zhou charts the rise of the seven syllable line and resulting embellishments (by +2C), parallelism and antithesis by the Chin (+4C), tonal patterning and ornamented style during the Ch'i and Liang (+5C and +6C). Simplicity returned in the early T'ang. Satire in the High T'ang. Chinese Poetry *Yueh-fu*.

Zieme, Peter *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang. Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung* Budapest 1991

Turfanoturkic studies involving also Buddhist Sanskrit and Chinese. An analysis of the verse structure is given, noting the preference for quatrains and the care (Manichaean in origin?) to indicate verse graphically. Though occurring much later than Sanskrit long distichs and Chinese quatrains, the arrangement of most Uighur poetry into four line groups corresponds with the general form of verse common in other Turkish literatures.

Turkic Poetry *Uighur alliterative*


Pressed on the east by the Mongols and on the west by Russian principalities, the Volga Bulgars chose to make truce with the latter, despite a number of annoying and damaging incursions. They several times beat off the outriding forces of the Mongols but succumbed in 1236 to the full force of the main army.

We have looked at the surviving funeral stelai of this people and the inscriptions on them, see *Hakimyanov*. At the western edge of Islam, this region was for some centuries a transit centre for trade, in fact, from the 10C. It was the last station for Muslim merchants coming in from the east, as well as being on a mighty river.

Volga Bulgar History *Volga Bulgar demise*


*Non-Classical*
See Addenda for the shorter examples of "epigrams."
P. 43 quotes nothing that would suggest that the term "epigram" is given in the MSS. It is likely to have been added by Ziolkowski, perhaps in imitation of other scholars' practice. The old table of contents mentions only *versus* and *epitaphium."

P. 248 mentions epigram collections by one poet, which are rare in the middle ages: Marbod, Baudri, Geoffrey of Cambrai, Hildebert, Hilary of Orleans, Walter of Châtillon, Serlo, and Peter Riga being others. Nigel's poems do not imitate any other collection, individually or in their arrangement. He does not imitate Martial, as did some others. His are entirely occasional poems, presumably short under the pressures of occasion and of sub-literary practice, rather than out of any formal sense of genre.

These poems are of different lengths, from 5 lines to 54 lines. There is no sense of artistic closure, though the liminal poem has a sense of rhetorical finality coming from its typical contents and its purpose. Such are always short. We will not quote them all in Addenda, just the least un-epigrammatic.

The misuse of the term "epigram" by medievalists needs closer criticism than I can give it. Perhaps the practice is merely *faute de mieux.*

My Book  Latin Epigram Medieval  *Nigel of Canterbury*


A 14 line liminary poem of this very early printed book from East Slavonia. The first such grammar was printed in 1586. The typical Western layout of a printed book is followed, title page, frontispiece small, a framed female figure with a large key. Over this, in a larger, more elaborate frame, is a quatraining *xava,* with syllables 6+5 (4 if elision or crasis) +7+4, and possibly stressed 3+2+3+2. On the page just after these, and before the introductory letter, is a page with a 14 line liminary poem rhyming in couplets. The liminary verse which became popular in the 16C has imposed itself on languages which seem not to have had native secular verse, apart from folk forms.

**Slavonic  Hrammatika Slovenska orig.**

**Zizanij and Freidhof, Laurentij & Gerd  Lavrentij Zizanij Hrammatika Slovenska  Wilna 1596 herausgegeben und eingeleitet von... München/Frankfurt-am-Main (in transcription) 1980**

*Scientific transcription and notes.*

The 14 line liminary poem rhyming in couplets, *Grammatikapicma vce naouCaet...* just after the title page and frontispiece, and before the introductory letter. Over this small framed frontispiece (a female figure with a large key) and within a larger, more elaborate frame, is a quatraining:

Prožno ty s'a kousiš"  / pismo oun'erti./ kotoriš nexoč"  mene  / rozum'erti.

This is a typical European arrangement of the time, but of more interest is the title given to the liminary poem:

**EPIGRAMMA na Grammatikou**

...or, Epigram on Grammar. The grammatical treatment is heavily influenced by the Greek tradition. The script is Cyrillic, and I have no confidence that the MSS grammars which these early works imitated had an introductory short verse, so perhaps the motive to add such verses came from the printer, or came across the language divide from Latin works like Melanchthon's (Lugduni 1554), which so influenced the internationalised educated classes in these centuries. The language may be Belorussian or it could be Ukrainian. At this period the differences are small, particularly when the Church Slavonic influence is strong on literary language. The treatment of grammar follows Greek tradition.

**Slavonic  Hrammatika Slovenska**

**Zotter, Hans  Bibliographie faksimilierte Handschriften Graz 1976**

*N° 477 the Salmasianus which is the basis for the Anthologia Latina: Paris Bibl. Nat. MS lat 10 318. We have been unable to find the Khludov Psalter, said to be edited by S(c)epkina.*

016.091 Z89 ANL  Bibliography  *Zotter faks.*

**Zvelebil, Kamil V.  The Poets of the Powers Lond. etc. 1973**

On the Siddha-s (citta) of +7C onwards.

294.55 Z96 ANL  Indian Literature  *Tamil Poets.*

**Zvelebil, Kamil V.  Lexicon of Tamil Literature  Leiden etc. 1995**

Handbuch der Orientalistik zweite Abteilung, Indien, neunter Band.
Single verses (or "stanzas") are inscribed in Southern India and Sri Lanka, e.g., s.v. Inscriptioinal Poetry p. 252. We hear of a single quatrain (virthattam metre) on the walls of a Siva temple A.D. 1014, and another "verse" of A.D. 1014, both detailing (and celebrating) donations of animals to the temples. Native litterateurs treat many of them as being of high literary value. However, it seems that fine poems tended to length, as in Sanskrit, witness 200 lines praising the Pandyas from A.D. 768. Proof of this is perhaps that the longest inscription yet found (p.253) is 15m in length and 2 m in height, and it is early, probably A.D. 270, though "published" only in 1981.

See p. 669 ff. for the Tirukkural, like the much earlier Dhammapada, a collection of isolated but related verses (quatrain, or at least, long couplets in quadripartite form). As for Bhattirhari and the legendary Canakya, the Tiruvalluvar (probably +6C) was writing in a gnomic tradition which extended somewhat into the realms of the amatory (which can be seen as a sub class of the gnomic in India) and the lyric. The present arrangement of his fine work is likely to be that of its ancient author. Thus, the little poems were to some extent composed in view of their place in an orderly collection. This is proved by the fact that some stanzas run on one from the other, reducing the total independence of text which westerners require of epigram, without making the Tamil sub-units into a through-composed major work.

My Book Indian Tamil Literature


P. 218 Stele of Björn Svensson (the brother of St. Botwid?) from the 1130s, at Botkyrka, the oldest verse inscription in Sweden, it is claimed. A text corrected from S. Gardell's 1954 ed. (Gravmonument från Sveriges Medeltid Göteborg 1945 p. 163 and 177f., II (photographs) p. 64–67), quem non vidimus:

Qui legit et nescit vir nobilis hic requiescit
Sit mundus sorde Biom dictus

— for syntax and semantics of pre morte see variously in E. Diehl. Inscr. lat christ. vet. Berlin 1961? Nr. 4837 quisquis ades, lector, causam qui nascere benis, / funde, precor lacrimas.... More specifically, pra(a)ce causal: Küh-Steg. I 513, II 636, see p. 220 n° 8, and Hofman-Szantyr 134.269. For praec short, Norberg p. 8. Gardell read the end of line 2 as PRECOR TE, against which, as on some other matters in the epitaph, Z. argues rather elaborately.

There are 24 single hexx., under 24 emblematic scenes of the Bible, around the choir at Biskopskullakapan, this at Uppsala, late 12 or early 13C, presumably a sign that Bible MSS, illustrated often enough, also had tituli under the pictures at this place and time. That Z. shows doubt of this might suggest that no such MSS survive (or are known to him?).

Possibly isolated and incomplete lines of some of Gardell's Swedish grave epitaphs are cited (many seemingly in verse, though the selection here is skewed by the purposes for which they are quoted) to illustrate the textual discussion. The fragments are worth quoting for their phrasing and for the variatio in common motifs, e.g., of the wayfarer, who can now specifically be addressed as literate, as "lector". We omit the patristic parallels and copy only the extracts given from the phrasing on graves. Not having access to Gardell, this is our only guide at the moment to the general situation with texts on the graves themselves. Note that not all of them were placed for clerics:

Nr. 2 qui legis ista vide
Nr. 5 cinis et ossa ... Elene claris natalibus orte
Nr. 7 cernat qui nescit, ubi Sigmundus requiescit

20.42 – 2 (?) nil parcit nobilitati (s)
Nr. 10 nobilium proles
Nr. 12 vos qui transitis eius memores rogo sitis / in precibus vestris...
Nr. 16 parce precor triste petra quem tegit ista [? legendum potius criste pro triste?]
Nr. 22 Si transis versus ... pro me precor ora
 Nr. 29 quisquis ades ... sta perlege plora / ... pro me precor ora

S. 168 Nr. 40 in hac tumba sepelitur / miles honoratus Jens Fleminger vocatus...
S. 170 Nr. 57 Hic iacet humatus Echardh Krundyk nominatus...
S. 171 Nr. 61 Norwegie nata Petro quondam sociata / hac pausat cripta de Tunsberg Helena dicta...
Nr. 64 egregius natus Thuronis Steno vocatus...
Nr. 66 nobilis in pleno vir corpore laudis...
Nr. 78 nobilis domina
Nr. 296 hic iacet nobili[s] vlijr Thomas Synterson

Latin Medieval Epigraphy Swedish Latin
...Et inscriptio ista à neoterico quodam facta, & vestibulo palatii regis Galliae affixa:

Non orbis gentem, non urbe gens habet  ullam,  
Urbsve domum, dominum nec domus ulla parem.

Favreau

At Trèves, on a 13C portal

A verse describes the making of the cast bronze object:

QUOD FORE, CERA DEDIT, TULIT IGNIS, ET ES TIBI REDDT.

There could be nothing more epigrammatic than this!
Bibliographic Categories

&

Alphabetic list of Short titles

(selective, but fairly full listings)

40 subject heads

Relating to the Thesis discussions
This collection of authors under 40 topical heads, & then of short titles alphabetical, provides an independent way of checking the entries of our large bibliographies, something like the facility offered by the contiguities of Dewey or Library of Congress "shelf order" in libraries, but using a wider variety of criteria than that of the single, definitive catalogue order.

Primarily & specifically, it allows for the finding of an author from a book's SHORT TITLE, whose form is usually chosen for more convenient, or more illuminative, citation than what might provided by the mere abbreviation of a full title. SHORT TITLE listings, however, come at the end of this section.

It also allows a reader to check if a work has been read for the thesis. A very few works which do not appear in the Bibliographies are fully cited in the Thesis footnotes, also a few which are in the Bibliographies, for clarity's sake. Some are cited in footnotes only by author's name or by SHORT TITLE, such as in a list of works supporting a certain contention, or at least dealing with it, for brevity & rapidity's sake. Others are mentioned only in the cross referencing of the Bibliographies, to which one could come via some major title
mentioned in the Thesis or in its footnotes. Thus, Indian bibliography, particularly epigraphy, is only cursorily mentioned in the Thesis, but is required in large quantity to support a negative generalisation about the lack of short inscribed verse, free-standing at least, in India.

Some works are categorised under just one facet of their contents, e.g., SHMITTAH, which is a side-issue in a book primarily concerned with numismatics but which includes a facsimile of an epitaph of interest to our project, displaying continuities in funerary epigraphy. Subcategorisations are mainly chosen to smooth the occasional user's way through the footnotes of the Thesis. Repetitions are avoided as much as possible. As AP, for instance, is itself a subcategory of EPIGRAM, Gow-Page's GP & HE will appear only in one or the other category.

Originally it was thought best to concoct a unique short title for each item, but later it was found that context would adequately differentiate the HE of Gow & that of Bede, & the practice was abandoned at a late stage of production. For a work that crosses so many subject boundaries, it was felt otiose to stick religiously to abbreviations standard in each specialty, but they have been reasonably well adhered to.

It was initially hoped that the style adopted in the choice of SHORT TITLE & Subject Key Words would provide a cursory but manageable index to the whole of Vol. I. While this now seems less likely, it was felt that the limited guide here provided would still be more useful than the full bulk of a word index to the Thesis & Bibliographies, which WP technology would make relatively easy to supply. This grouping of authors under 40 topical heads, followed by the listing of short titles alphabetically, allows for some checking of a book's material by subject, & thus provides a crude index to the Bibliographies.

Some titles will be given multiple listings, when their content significantly affects the present project in more than one way.

For very small groups like "Bells", there is no listing. One must first happen upon some relevant title in the Thesis footnotes & then rely on the cross indexing usually provided in the Bibliographies. "Ivories", however, have belatedly been provided with a listing, as their lack of epigraphy in many traditions has been treated as significant for the thesis.

Very large groupings like Epigram, Greek or -medieval will only be scanned by a reader in extremis, perhaps with an eye also on the information suggested in the short title & secondary subject keywords, trying to find a work which treats some content that he can only vaguely remember. We have perhaps used different standards over time in deciding when a work is to be bundled into such wide categories, & when it would best be omitted from them.

Because the bibliographies are so large & rich, there needs to be a guide to them. This guide needs to be fairly schematic to be usable.

Thus, we hope that the format here chosen is more useful than an overloaded index to the whole volume.

Even if it will be rarely used, it does serve to illustrate the topical range of the bibliographies, & may alleviate a few frustrations for more critical readers. Apart from consuming some time, electricity, carbon black & paper, it will in any case do no harm. It was generated in the long process of sorting very complex & most voluminous information, & may have been more useful in the production than it will be the reading of this thesis & its appended riches.
Bibliographic antechambers. Major groupings of one version of the Thesis bibliography to assist generalised citation & search.

**Heading**

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1. Greek Anthology
**Aphoristic** (While classicists see no leakage between the boundaries of aphorism & epigram, almost everyone else does)

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**ARAB-** (Muslim, which means mixtures of Arabic with Persian & Osmanli Turkish, & even Urdu, Malay, medieval Turkic & African languages & cultures. Old Arabian titles are to be found in the immediately following category, but matters close to the Muslim period, i.e., from the remembered "Times of Ignorance", will be included here.)

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### Arabian-Semitic-Phoenician

(Alphabetic — Non-Arabic West & South Semitic generally, incl. Hebrew)

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Semitic Aramaic Epigraphy Burial

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4. Arabian-Semitic-Phoenician (pre- and non-Muslim, and West Semit generally)
Art & architecture (Not only does the "support" of epigram affect its nature, development & even its origins, but there seems to be a frequent inner similarity between highly wrought objects & surfaces & highly wrought words, so that art tends to attract verse captioning & companion creations. A complex, perhaps four or five stage historical process seems to be suggested. Iconicity was obviously the prior development. As is most obvious in Egypt, textuality must have sprung from image & may long have struggled to be free of iconicity, only to reforge more equal partnerships with image once independence had been won. The "decorum" of image intimately combined with pseudo-iconic script long survived on Egyptian walls. In cultures which were iconophobic & even iconoclastic, textuality & its subset, inscriptionality, take on enhanced meanings once more. The presence or absence of words on coins, paintings, carvings & so on is a matter worthy of comparative note, as is the issue of when these words are in verse.)

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5. Art and architecture
Books  (A mixed bag of titles — real bibliography & also examples of the "new study of the book", which looks at the semiotics & sociology of the concrete, material, historical aspects of texts, which older bibliography treats as "pure fact". It is clear that the "new study of the book" is a close cousin of our study of inscriptionality. Many paleographers, & some epigraphers, like Lebek, delight in denying to inscriptions any processes & semiotics typical of themselves.)

? Before Gutenberg 1988 Books
? Querendo? 1989 Books
Allison & Goldsmith Pollard Redgrave Titles 1976 English Bibliography
Amram Hebrew Books Italy 1963 Hebrew Books
Arbour 1977 French Bibliography
Averley & Flower English 18C Books 1979 English Bibliography
Bateson Cambridge Bibliography 1969 English Bibliography
Beit-Arié 1976 Hebrew Books
Bristol of Charles Evans 1959 Bibliography 18C
American
Bush Early 17C 1962 English Bibliography
Carlson Humanist Books 1993 Books Epigram Humanists
Chicorel Chicorel Index Poetry 1974 & 1975 English Epigram

Epigram
Cioranescu 16e C 1959 French Bibliography
Cioranescu 17e C 1965-66 French Bibliography
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Diringer 1982 Books
Fuller Abel Redivivus 1651 English Books Latin

ANE Writing Materials
Gold Hebrew Books 1988 Hebrew Books
Grolier Club & Bruce Colophonic verse 15C 1895 Bibliographic
Hodgkin Rariora 1902 Books Epigraphy
Holzmann & Buhatta Nugatory & Paignic 1961 German Bibliography
Hunger Byzantine book culture 1988 Greek Byzantine Books
Karykopoulos Greek Printing 1976 Greek Modern Books
Kenyon Classical Books 1932 Classical Books
Ker Medieval Libraries 1964 Medieval Books
Lachèvre Recueils collectifs 1967 French Bibliography
Mortimer Bibliography Books French 1964 Harvard MSS & Books
Raabe Wolfenbüttel 1978 Books Lessing
Rothe Book Titles 1986 Books
Shaw & Shoemaker American Bibliography Checklist 1958-66 Bibliography 19C
American
Starr Text circulation 1987 Latin Books
Van Sickle Poetic book 1980 Greek Latin Books
Watson New Cambridge Bibliography 1974 English Bibliography
Wellington Acroabbreviations 1983 Classical Bibliography
Zotter Zotter faks. 1976 Bibliography
**Burial** (This headword is to be taken to include funerary epigraphy among all the aspects — material, social & psychological — of laying one’s dead to rest.)

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Virgin & Mandel  

[+burial]  
Zevit  

Semitic Aramaic Epigraphy Burial

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7. Burial
Byzantine or Medieval or Middle Ages (We did not satisfactorily solve the problems of lemmatising the Middle Ages. This was partly because we refused to accept impermeability for the Bosnian curtain, & wished to bundle at least Latin, Greek, & Slavic & West Barbarian vernaculars together. The border between Late Antiquity & the Middle Ages has been rather better respected here. Orientalia have been erratically included, though the Moorish influence on the High Middle Ages, & that of "the Arabick" on the Renaissance & Baroque, was longer & deeper than these scattered references may suggest.)

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Strecker & Schumann MGH PLMÆ Nachträge PÆC 1951 Latin Medieval Poetry
Strecker MGH PLMÆ PLÆC IV.2 1964 Latin Medieval Poetry
Strecker MGH PLMÆ PLÆC IV.3 1964 Latin Medieval Poetry
Szövérffy Secular Medieval 1970 Latin Medieval Poetry
Ševčenko Byzantine Intellectuals 1981 Greek Byzantine
Ševčenko Sinai Greek 1966 Greek Byzantine

Epigraphy
Ševčenko Slavs & Greeks 1991 Byzantine Slavic
Traube MGH PLMÆ PLÆC III.1 1896 Latin Medieval Poetry
Traube MGH PLMÆ PLÆC III.2 1896 Latin Medieval Poetry
Trypanis Homer to Seferis 1981 Greek Epigram Classical
Trypanis Medieval & Modern 1968 Greek Medieval Modern

Byzantine Poetry
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Vinay Alt-Medioevo 1978 Latin Medieval Poetry
Viscardi Vicenza 1970 French Medieval

Epigraphy Burial
Wagner CGMAE 1874 Byzantine
Wallach Urbana 2 1975 Latin Medieval Epigram
Walter of Wimborne & Rigg Wimbourne 1978 Latin Medieval Poetry
Waltharius & Langosch Ruodlieb 1960 Latin Medieval Poetry
Walther ICVMÆL 1969 Medieval Latin Poetry
Wenzel Preachers & Poets 1986 English Medieval Verses
Winterfeld MGH PLMÆ PLÆC IV.1 1964 Latin Medieval Poetry
Woods Poetria Nova commentary 1985 Medieval Latin Poetics
Wright Satirical Anglo-Latin 12C 1872 Latin Epigram Medieval
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8. Byzantine Greek-Medieval Latin-Medieval Vernacular
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CHINESE (The romanisation preferred here is Pin Yin. Wade Giles & even the French system may also appear in citations. Unfortunately, our technology & the main emphasis of the thesis has not encouraged us to include Chinese characters.)

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4. Chinese = "Han" culture in Classical Chinese, and antecedents
**CLASSICAL** (Western Antique left-overs from other categories, usually general Lat-Gk works)

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11. Classical (see also Bibl 1) = Greco-Roman and its periphery
CUNEIFORM (Syllabic/logographic Semitic & Sumerian provided little for us, but we entered into these fields energetically to avoid the blindness to broad cultural issues which is typical of traditional linguists — a blindness to relationships between cultures, such as those of Iran, Arabia, Turan, India, Africa & Malay territories, whose language types happen to be studied in diverse and poorly-communicating Tertiary departments.)

Bottero
  Cuneiform Epigraphy Burial
Buchanan & Hallo
  Cuneiform Seals
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  Literacy Cuneiform
Dietel
  Cuneiform Grammar
Eberling & Meissner
  Cuneiform
Edzard & Renger
  Sumerian Cuneiform Epigraphy
Gelb
  Mesop seal typology
Harris
  Cuneiform
Kraus
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Lassæe
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Oppenheim
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Soden
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Virolleaud
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Waetzoldt
  Cuneiform Schooling
Waetzoldt
  Cuneiform Schooling
Waetzoldt
  Cuneiform Schooling
Cuneiform epitaphs 1982
Early Cuneiform Seals 1981
Heterograms 1982
Lexical lists 1988
RLAss 1932-
Royal Inscriptions 1983-
Cuneiform Seal Typology 1977
Sibiyar 1975
Tonnägel 1947
Hammurabi 1960
Mesopotamier 1973
Oral & written 1953
Intellectuals 1975
Babylonian metre 1982
Assyro-babylonienne 1967
Keilschrift-Schulen 1986
Science education 1988
Scribe-teachers 1989

12. Cuneiform (Sumerian, Akkadian)
EGYPTIAN (Our later Greek epigraphy is mostly taken from Egypt, where it coexisted with Demotic & a resurgent Hieroglyphic inscriptionality. Egypt was no doubt a vague general influence on the plastic art of the age of the tyrants, when Greek epigram really bloomed. Because of its highly individual culture, Egypt provides a useful contrast to the alphabetic cultures of the eastern Mediterranean littorals. Some general similarities in funerary epigraphy may go back to a widespread commonality in the Neolithic.)

Assmann
Egyptian Epigraphy

Grab Vorschule 1983

Assmann
Greek

Assmann
Egyptian

Literary Egypt 1977

Baillet
Egyptian graffiti

Syringes 1920–1926

Baines
Egyptian literacy

Writing Egypt 1983

Bataille
Egypt Greek Epigraphy

Hatshesout Grecque 1951

Bataille
Egypt Greek Epigraphy

Memnoneia 1952

Bernard — see Bibli 1, where the major works are grouped. The following works are those not treated in detail in the Thesis:

Bernand & Masson
Egypt Greek epigraphy

Abu Simbel 1957

Bernand
Egypt Greek Epigraphy

Koptos to Kosseir 1972

Bernand
Egypt Greek Epigraphy

el-Kanaís 1972

Bernand
Egypt Greek Epigraphy

Desert Pan 1977

Gilbert
Egyptian

Égyptienne 1967

Goyon
Egyptian Burial

Rituels funéraires 1972

Grieshammer
Egyptian Burial

Opening the Mouth 1982

Haeny
Egyptian Burial Architecture

False Door 1984

Helck & Otto
Egyptian

Lx.Äg 1975–

Kaplony
Egyptian

Medet-nefert 1977

Lewis
Egyptian

Rom Egypt 1983

Lewis
Egyptian

Ptol Egypt 1986

Martin
Egyptian Burial Architecture

Stelegypt 1986

Martin
Egypt epigraphy

Syringes 2 1991

Müller
Egyptian Epigraphy

Anrufen 1975–

Schenkel
Egyptian

Hieroglyphs Why 1983

Simpson
Egyptian Burial

Kenotaph 1980

Théodorides
Egypt Greek

to Memnon 1989

Wietheger
Egypt Epigraphy Greek-Coptic burial

Jeremiah Mon Inscrr. 1992

Yoyotte
Egyptian Art

Art Egypt 1961
ENGLISH  (We have attempted reasonable completeness for earlier English epigram, & have dug up perhaps the majority of later epigram anthologies as well. For a list by category & by date, see Addenda *Bibliographic & Buchwesen.*)

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English Epigram
Churchill's
1956
Clarke
English Epigraphy Burial
Ulster epitaphs
1966–
Clements
English Australian Burial Epigraphy
Downs Tombstones
1986
Cloberry
English Epigraphy
Divine Glimpses
1659
Coiro
English Epigram
Hesperides
1988
Cotgrave
English Epigram
Wits interpreter or The Perfect Inditer or Letters a la mode
1655
Cottrel
English Epigram
Ex ungue leonem
1654? 1656?
Crane
English Epigram
Intret Cato
1986
Crashaw
English Epigram
Sacra selecta 1
1682
Crashaw
Latin Modern English Epigram
Sacra Selecta 2
1682
Crompton
English Epigram
Crompton's
1657
Crutwell
English Poetry
Bristol Drollery
1674
Cunningham
English Epigram
Exclusions of Rhyme
1960
Cunningham
English Epigram
Cunningham's
1971
Currie & Burns
English Epigram
Burns's
1838
Dodd
English Epigram
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1896
Donne & Milgate
English Epigram
Donne's
1967
Dudek
English Epigram
Dudek's
1975 ca.
Eaton
English Epigram Calendar
Fastae anglicae
1661
Eliot
English Epigram
Mournful numbers
1932
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English Epigram Art
On the Paintings 1
1700
Elsum
English Epigram Art
On the Paintings 2
1700
Elys
English Epigram
Dia poemata
1655
Esdaile
English Epigram
Moments
1932
Faulkes & Woty
English Epigram
Poetical Calendar
1763
Fisher
English Epigraphy Burial
St. Pauls'
1684
Flecknoe
English Epigrams
Of all sorts 1
1670 1671
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Of all sorts 2
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English Epigrams
& Characters
1673
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English Epigrams
At several times
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Of all sorts 4
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14. English (modern traditions)
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14. *English (modern traditions)*
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14. *English (modern traditions)*

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Randolph's  
1652

Rodger  
English Poetry  
Scotch  
1821

Rogers  
English Epigram  
Rogers's  
1876

Sheppard  
English Latin Epigram  
Theological philosophical romantick  
1651

Skene  
English Latin Modern Poetry  
Royal-Burghs  
1685

Spiegel  
English Burial Epigraphy  
Grave Humour  
1971

Steevens  
English Latin Modern Epigram  
Stevens's miscellany  
1689

Stevenson & Smith  
Burial English  
Stevenson's Poems  
1971

Stow  
English architecture Epigraphy  
Survey of London  
1598

Stringer  
English Epigram  
Stringer's  
1896

Targ  
English Epigram  
Carrousel  
1947

Tottel & Arber  
English Poetry Anthologies  
Tottel  
1921

Uden  
English Epigram  
From History  
1968

Urquhart  
English Epigram  
Divine & Moral 2  
1646

Urquhart  
English Epigram  
Divine & Moral 1  
1641

Waller  
English Epigram  
Waller's  
1777

Ward  
English Epigram  
Entertainer  
[1712–1713]

Watson  
English Bibliography  
New Cambridge Bibliography  
1974

Weaver  
English Burial Architecture Epigraphy  
Weaver's Monuments  
1915

Weber  
English Epigram  
Art & Epigram 1  
1913–14

Weber  
English Epigram  
Art & Epigram 2  
1914

Weever & McKerrow  
English Epigram  
Oldest cut  
1911

Wenzel  
English Medieval Verses  
Preachers & Poets  
1986

Whipple  
English epigram  
Early English epigram  
1969

Wilde & Kredel  
English Epigram  
Oscar's  
1955

Wilde & Redman  
English Epigram  
From Oscar  
1952

Williams  
English Epigram  
Liminary  
1962

Wither  
English Epigram  
Abuses stript  
1613

Wing  
English Epigram  
Wing 1  
1945–51

Yeats & Finneran  
Yeats Poems  
Yeats Fi  
1983

Yeats & Jeffares  
Yeats Comm  
Yeats Je  
1984

Yeats & Wade  
Yeats Letters  
Yeats Wa  
1954

Young  
English Epigram  
Jonson-Crashaw  
1979
**EPIGRAM**  (A mixed category, focussing on the genres so called, at both ends of the scale – the more exotic & peripheral, such as modern musical "epigram", & the central tradition, that developed in Greek and Latin. Works on epigram in the main languages considered by this study will also be found listed under those languages, but the present Category brings together a wide range of epigrammatic text collections, & of more theoretical works in which much analysis is focussed precisely on the genre, as genre.)

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Epigram B 1985

Buonarotti
Epigram Italian
Rime 1981

Burckhardt
Latin Modern Epigram
Neulateinische Poesie 1969

Burnikel
Greek Epigram
Witzeepigram 1980

Bush
Musical Epigram
Epigram B 1987

Byng
Greek Epigram
Well Read Muse 1988

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Greek Epigram
Callimaque Ca 1929

Callimachus & Cohen?
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Callimachus 2 1961

Callimachus & Trypanis
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Cameron & Cameron
Greek Epigram AP
Agathias 1966

Cameron
Greek Epigram AP
Garlands 1968

Cameron
Late Classical Epigram
Claudian-Ca 1970

Carletti
Christian inscriptions
Iscrizioni cristiane 1986

Carlson
Books Epigram Humanists
Humanist Books 1993

Carpi
Latin Modern Epigram
about Fleming 1973?

Carpus
Latin Epigram Burial
Carpus Carpo [Imperial Roman]

Cawley
Greek Epigram
Early Epigram 1968

Celtes & Foster
Latin Modern Epigram
Selections 1948

Celtes & Hartfelder
Latin Modern Epigram
Epigramme 1881

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Latin Epigram
Durate 1985

Citti & Degani & Giangrande & Scarpa
Greek Epigram AP
AG Index 1988

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Greek Epigram Burial
Gravestone 1970

Claudianus & Genser
Latin Epigram
Claudian Ge. 1969

Claudianus & Hall
Latin Epigram
Claudian Ha. 1985

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Poetics French Epigram
Art poétique 1658

Couat & Loeb & Cahen
Greek Epigram
Alexandrian 1946

Crashaw
Latin Modern Epigram
Sacred poems 1670

Damasus/Ferrua
Latin Christian Epigram
Damasiana 1942

Day
Greek Epigram
Epi history 1985

De Rossi & Silvagni
Latin Epigram Medieval
ICUR 1922

Debussy
Musical Epigram
Epigraphs antiques arr. 1978 ca

Diehl
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15. "Epigram" — mixed titles
**FRENCH** (While challenged for the position of the most precocious of the western European vernaculars by Irish, Czech, English & Scandinavian, French was certainly the most central & influential, & the establishment of a vernacular epigram tradition in French in the 1530s by Marot & others was an axial development in the whole process of short, backward-looking poetic genres.)

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**Gems & Seals & Coins** (A byway of epigraphy, emphasised by us because it seems to be down-played & partitioned off from the study of "epigram" in most contemporary scholarly practice.)

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**Genres** (This Category should repeat the analytic titles already entered under "Epigram", but it is reserved for current discussions of genre in the vernaculars, & in general, of which only some aspects explicitly treat the ancient world.)

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18. Genre and Genres
GERMAN  (Perhaps the most continuous & most significant vernacular epigram tradition is in German.
Naturally, so are the best analyses of aphorism & epigram. Popular epigraphy is also very rich in German,
including much verse, & it is better edited than that of any other country or tradition.)
Weisz
German Epigram
Zedler
German

Epigramm 17Jahrts 1979
Zedler Universal Lexikon 1980

19. German
**Gnomica** (While gnomes, even when versified, are not classical epigram, they preceded, surrounded, & followed it, & no doubt stiffened its sense of genre. They also present one of the few windows opening from the world and corpus of Greek verse onto Arabic culture, so keen to absorb all the non-literary aspects of Greek.)

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Strayer (O'Neill)
Medieval
Symphosius (Ps.)
Gnomica
Thom
Greek verse gnomica
Weeks
Gnomic Anthologisation
Wilkins
Gnomica
Winsted
Malay Proverbs

al-Qali 2
Arab gnomica
Dicta disticha
DMA
Symphosii & Tullii CXXXIIA
Golden Verses-Th
Proverbs Patterns
Know Thyself
Malay Proverbs

1981
1903
1903
1982-
1968
1995
1994
1917
1950
**Graffiti** (Difficult to define, poorly collected & utilised, the graffito is still a continuing graphemic-semiotic strand from quite early times to our own.)

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*21. Graffiti*
GREEK  (Concentrates on the classical & the classicising. Includes early Christian epigraphy.)

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Adrados  Greek  DGE  1980–
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Akurgal & Merkelbach & Şahin & Vetters  Greek Aramaic Epigraphy  Callinus  1983–
Allen  Greek Prosody Epigraphy  Epigraphic Versification  1888?
Aly  Greek Poetry  Theognis  1934
Arrian & Wirth & Hinüber  Greek  Arrian-WH  1985
Baldwin  Greek epigraphy  on Memnon  1983
Bataille  Egypt Greek Epigraphy  Hatshepsout Grecque  1951
Bataille  Egypt Greek Epigraphy  Mennoneia  1952
Barigazzi  Greek Epigram  Nuovi epigg.  1952
Bataille  Greek Byzantine  Byzantine Papyrus  1955
Bernabé  Greek poetry  Cycle  1987
Bernand & Masson  Egypt Greek epigraphy  Abu Simbel  1957
Bernand & Bernard  Greek Latin Epigram  Colossus  1960
Bernard  Greek Epigraphy  IME  1969a
Bernard  Greek Epigraphy  Philae Hell.  1969b
Bernard  Greek Epigraphy  Philae Rom.  1969c
Bernard  Egypt Greek Epigraphy  Koptos to Kosseir  1972
Bernard  Egypt Greek Epigraphy  el-Kanaîs  1972
Bernard  Egypt Greek Epigraphy  Desert Pan  1977
Bernard  Egypt Greek Epigraphy  Répertoire  1982
Bertelli  Greek Epigram  Tanagra  1968
Bièlohlawek  Greek Poetry  Convivi  1983
Boas  Greek Epigram  DESim  1905
Boyaival  Greek Epigraphy  Âges  1976
Buckler & Calder & Guthrie  Greek Epigraphy  Asia-Galatia  1933
Burnikel  Greek Epigram  Witzepigram  1980
Bzuchechi  Greek Epigraphy Speaking  Speaking objects  1962
Byng  Greek Epigram  Well-Read Muse  1988
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Sibson Epigrams on Homer 1965
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Stobaeus Stobaeus WaHe 2 1958
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22. Greek
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Gold Leaves  
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22. Greek
Humanists  (In a sense a Humanist invention, modern "neo-Latin" epigram remained much coloured by narrowly Humanist concerns.)

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**Indian** (An attempt was made to exhaust the eastern Australian holdings on Indian epigraphy, while being far more selective for works on "book" poetry & literature. "Indian" is here made to include the whole Indic culture area, omitting however older Indonesia, but including western Indo-China, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan & Tibet.)

Acharya
Indian epigraphy

Agrawal
Indian epigraphy

Ahir
Indian Architecture

Ahmad
Indian Persian Arabic Epigraphy

Allen
Indian Architecture

Archaeological Survey of India, Department of Archaeology, Hultzsch et al.
South Indian Inscriptions

Acharya Oriyan
Indian epigraphy

Agrawal Epigraphy & numismatics
Indian epigraphy

Ahir Buddhist shrines

Ahmad Perso-Arabic Bihār
Indian ornament

Allen Indian Architecture

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South Indian Inscriptions 1890 <1983>

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Art Gallery NSW Images of Sri Lanka 1994

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Banerji Palas Bengal 1973

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Bhartrihari & More Indian century 1898

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Chandra Indian Architecture Indian Temple 1975

Chari Indian Poetics Sanskrit Aesthetics 1993

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Chhabra Coins Yupas Seals 1988

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Cousens Indian Architecture Deccan Temples 1985

Cunningham Buddhist Indian epigraphy Mahabodhi 1961

24. Indian
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Telangana Districts
1973

Scharpe
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CTIA
1990?

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Tibetan Seals
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Indian
Amaravati Tope
1880

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Indian Epigraphy
Gujrat temple epigraphy
1981

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Indian Epigraphy
Sukirtanakosa
1982

Sharma
Indian
Ancient India
1987

Shastri
Indian Epigraphy
Gujrat episurvey
1981

Shrimali
Indian Epigraphy
Agrarian Structure
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Indian Epigraphy
East Pakistan
1973

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Epig Ind
1965?

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Indian Epigraphy
Medieval Eastern India
1979

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1965–1983

Smith & Burgess & Fleet
Indian Epigraphy
Antiquities of India
1975

Smith & Spear
Indian
Oxford India
1985

Snodgrass
Indian Architecture
Stupa Symbolism
1985

Sontheimer
Indian Epigraphy Burial
Memorial Stones
1982

Stein
Indian Epigraphy
Frontier India
1912

Stembach
Subhasita
Canakya’s Diffusion
1969

Stembach
Subhasita
Kavya Inserts in Stories
1971–76

Stembach
Katha
1965

Stembach
Subhasita
Lost Kavya Fragments
1981–85

Stembach
Subhasita
Subhashitas
1974 & 1976 &

Stembach
Indian Poetry
Subhasita
1974a

Stembach
Indian Poetry
Vyasa
1969

Sundarapandya & Jayasree
Indian Poetry
Nitidvisastika
1984

Thakur
Indian Japanese
India & Japan
1992

Tiruvalluvar & Aiyar
Indian Poetry
Kural
1984

Vallabhadeva & Peterson & Durgaprasada & Karmarkar
Vallabhadeva
1961

Warder
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Kavya
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24. Indian
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<td>Himansu Bhusan (Up To 929 AD) Vol. II Calcutta</td>
<td>Corpus of the Inscriptions</td>
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<td>Stein Callenfels Batavia?</td>
<td>Pieter Vincent van</td>
<td>Epigraphia Balica I</td>
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IRANIAN (The pre-Islamic states of Persia, & Iranian languages, other than Persian, of other periods & places. Too much of the Iranian materials were found passim in other treatments, & too much of the epigraphy of old Iran is Aramaic, for this section to be large. Large works on classical Persian culture will usually include attempts to study its "Iranian" "origins" & these are rather to be sought under *Persian.)

Back  Persian Middle Epigraphy  1978
Bailey  Persian Middle Epigraphy  1968
Boyce  Persian Middle Epigraphy  1974
Elfenbein  Persian Poetry  1985
Frye  Persian Middle Epigraphy Burial  1970
Golombek & Wilbur et al.  Persian Architecture  1988
Gignoux  Persian Seals  1978
Hambis  Iranian  1967
Harmatta  Persian Epigraphy  1974
Humbach & Skjærvø  Persian Epigraphy  1978 & 1980
Lazard  Iranian Persian  1967
Negahban & Grenet & Russell  Persian Burial  1989-90
Orbeli  Iranian epigraphy  1963
Schmit  Old Persian Epigraphy  1981
Shahbaz  Persian Burial  1987
Shaked  Persian Prosody  1970
Skalmowski & Tongerloo  Persian  1984
Skjærvø  Persian Epigraphy  1985

26. Iranian (non-Islamic)
**Ivories** (The starkness of the split between cultural choices: to inscribe carved ivories with words, or, more usually, *not* to, makes it advisable to allow a separate section for epigraphy on ivory, though this is a Category very close to our *Gems...*)

- Chandra
  - Indian Architecture
  - Indian Temple
  - 1975
- Dalton
  - Ivories
  - Christian Ivories
  - 1909
- Freyer-Schaumberger
  - Greek Phoenician Egyptian Ivories Seals
  - Samian Ivories
  - 1966
- Grabar
  - Arabic Art
  - Islamic Art
  - 1973
- Marangou
  - Laconian Ivories
  - Laconian Ivories
  - 1969
- Natanson
  - Ivories Medieval Gothic
  - Gothic Ivories
  - 1951
- Natanson
  - Ivories
  - Early Christian Ivories
  - 1953
- Schlumberger
  - Greek Byzantine
  - Phocas
  - 1890

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27. Ivories
**JAPANESE** (Japanese culture depends on Chinese rather as Latin culture does on Greek, Akkadian on Sumerian, or as earlier western European culture does on Latin. In relatively recent centuries more euto-Japanese manifestations are found.)

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<td>Japanese poetry</td>
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28. Japanese
Latin (Unlike the Greek Category, our "Latin" does run through the whole Middle Ages & well into the modern period. The reason for this is our search for continuities in Latin language epigrammatic writing, & inscriptionality, these continuities suspected to be greater than is usually admitted, & the centrality of the "neo-Latin" tradition for our modern conception of epigram.)

? Latin epigram
Abbott Latin epigram
Adhelm & Lapidge & Rosier Latin Poetry Medieval
Adhelm & Stork Latin Poetry Medieval
Allen Latin Medieval Poetry
Anderson & Sidonius Sidonius-An
Bakker & Galsterer-Kröll Latin Graffiti
Baldi Medieval Latin Verse epigraphy
Baudri de Bourgueil & Abrahams Latin Medieval Poetry
Bede & Colgrave & Mynors Latin Medieval Epigram
Bernard & Bernard Greek Latin Epigram
Bernt Latin Epigram
Bèze & Machard Latin Modern Poetry
Binns Latin Modern
Binns Latin Modern Poetry
Boas & Botchuyver Latin Epigram Gnomica
Bolgar Latin
Bolton Latin Modern
Bourgain Latin Medieval Poetry
Bourne Latin Modern Poetry
Bradner Latin Modern Epigram Italian
Bradner Latin Modern Poetry
Brožek Latin Poetry Names
Brunhöltzl Latin Medieval
Buchanan & Ford & Watt Latin Modern Epigram
Burckhardt Latin Modern Epigram
Cameron Late Classical Epigram
Cange Latin Medieval
Carpi Latin Modern Epigram
Carpus Latin Epigram Burial
Celtes & Foster Latin Modern Epigram
Epigrammatum delectus [1683?]
Satira 1979
Works 1985
Adhelm Riddles 1990
Medieval Lyrics 1946?
Latin 1980
Bonn Graffiti 1975
Holy Land Epigraphy 1982
Baudry 1926
HE 1972
Colossus 1960
Late epigram 1968
Juvenilia 1879
English Latin 2 1990
English Latin 1974
Disticha 1952
Verse Composition 1988
Earliest Anglo-Latin 1967
M-A lyrique 1989
Works 1826
15C Epigram 1969
Musae Anglicanae 1940
Names in Roman elegiacs 1987
Mittelalter Br. 1975
Works 1982
Neulateinische Poesie 1969
Claudian-Ca 1970
Glossarium Lat. 1678
about Fleming 1973?
Carpus Carpo Rom Imp.
Selections 1948
Celtes & Hartfelder
Latin Modern Epigram
Ciocci
Latin Epigram
Claudianus & Genser
Latin Epigram
Claudianus & Hall
Latin Epigram
Clauss
Latin Epigraphy
Collingwood & Wright
Latin Epigraphy
Crashaw
Latin Modern Epigram
Curtius
ELLMA
Damasus/Ferrua
Latin Christian Epigram
Davies
Welsh Latin
De Rossi & Silvagni
Latin Epigram Medieval
di Bernardino
Latin Medieval Poetry
Draper & Person
Latin Epigram Modern Humanists
Draper & Person
Latin Epigram Modern Humanists
Duemmler
Latin Medieval Poetry
Duemmler
Latin Medieval Poetry
Düchting
Latin Medieval Poetry
Emout
Old Latin
Fisher
Latin Modern epigraphy
Fleetwood
Greek Latin Epigraphy
Fleming & Lappenberg
Latin Modern Epigram
Freeman & Low
Urbane Latin
Frey
Latin Modern Poetry
Gauthier
Greek Latin Hebrew Epigraphy
Geist & Krenkel
Greek Latin Graffiti
Geist & Pföhl
Latin Epigraphy Burial
Gianturco
Latin Modern Epigraphy
Godman
Carolingian Poetry
Gray
Oxford LMVP
Gregorius Magister Anglicus & Huygens
Latin Medieval Epigraphy
Gröber
Latin Medieval
Happ
Late Latin Epigram
Haskins
Latin Medieval
Husmann
Quattrocento Epigram
Helm
Martial
Helm
Latin Epigram

29. Latin (all periods)
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Mapston
Medieval mnemonic verse

Mariotti
Latin Epigram

Marrasio & Altamura
Latin Modern Poetry

Martial & Boirevant
Latin epigram

Martial & Citroni
Latin Epigram

Martial & Howell
Latin Epigram

Martial & Kay
Latin Epigram

Martial & Lindsay
Latin Epigram

Martial & Mostar & Rüdiger
Latin German Epigram

Martyn
Latin Modern Epigram

Marucchi & Willis
Greek Latin Medieval Epigraphy

Marullus & Perosa
Latin Modern Poetry

Marx
Latin Epigram

McFarlane
Latin Modern

Mercer
Poetics Latin Modern Epigram

Minturnus
Latin Modern Epigram Poetics

Morelli
Latin Prosody

Munari
Latin Greek Epigram

Munari
Latin Epigram

Nicole
Latin Modern Epigram

Nigel & Ziolkowski
Medieval Latin Epigram

Norberg
Latin Medieval Prosody

Norden
Latin Greek

Owen & Harvey
Latin Modern Epigram

Owen
Latin Modern Epigram

Owen
Latin Modern Epigram

Owen
Latin Modern Epigram

Owen
Latin Modern Epigram

Owen
Latin Modern Epigram

Owen
Latin Modern Epigram

Owen
Latin Modern Epigram

Owen
Latin Modern Epigram

Owen
Latin Modern Epigram

Öberg
Latin Poetry

Pack
Greek Latin Papyri

Panofsky & Panofsky-Soergel
Latin Medieval Epigram Art

Parker
Latin Epigram

Parkes
Literacy & Alphabet Latin Graphemics

Paterson
Latin Modern Epigram

Péron & Sparrow
Latin Modern Poetry

Short verse on humours

Bobiena-Ma

Marrasius

Martial Bo

Martial Ci

Martial Ho

Martial Ka

Martial Li

Freie

New Buchanan

Christian epigrams

Marullus Pe

Latin Anthology

Saint Andrews Latin

De Conscribendo epigrammate

De poeta

Late metricology

Greek Ausonius

Later Latin epigram

Epigrammatum delectus

Nigel of Canterbury

Late Latin metre

Kunstprosa

Owen English'd

Owen 1

Owen 2

Owen 2a

Owen 3

Owen 4

Öberg

Pack 2

Suger on St. Denis

Priapea

Punctuation

Epigrammata et psalmorum

Pérona Sparrow

1994

1962

1954

1988

1975

1980

1985

1989

1966

1986

1974

1951?

1894

1986

1653

1559

1981

1969

1958

1683

1994

1981

1958

1677

1622

1622

1622

1659

1671

1987

1965

1979

1988

1992

1678

1977

29. Latin (all periods)
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**Literacy & Alphabet** (The most basic contribution of literacy studies would be to suggest whether, by how many, & in what way earlier epigraphs were read. Unfortunately, most ancient world studies of literacy concentrate on Imperial Egypt, or else have to rely on purely literary & fragmentary evidence, for older times.)

<table>
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*30. Literacy and alphabet*
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30. Literacy and alphabet
Malay (The Pantun, like the Mani in popular Ottoman Turkish, is an epigram-like phenomenon.)

- Pantoen Melajoe oleh Balai Poestaka Djakarta
- Malesia, Poesie e leggende a cura di Alessandro Bausani Milan
- Malay Pantuns Pantun Melayu Singapore
- Pantun Melayu
- Malay Proverbs

31. Malay (see also Indonesian)
### Musical

A search for the origins of the use of the title "epigram" for musical works has cost us a labour & a correspondence out of all proportion to this topic's eventual importance. Nevertheless, we have chosen to search out all semantic developments of the word, & this cannot be done without reasonable knowledge of things. As noted in our Addenda, under *Bibliographic...*, the dating of musical works is a different matter from scholarly dating of published books, & we have often not pursued this matter to the death.

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<td>Heiss</td>
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<td>Helm</td>
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<td>Hummel</td>
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<td>Michael</td>
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<td>Schoeck</td>
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<td>Stathes</td>
<td>Byz Mus MSS III</td>
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<td>Vale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winters</td>
<td>Musical Epigram</td>
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PERSIAN  (One of the main candidates for oriental epigram is to be found in classical Persian. It must be remembered that until the 1820s Persian was the language of administration of the whole Indic area, & that until Atatürk it was the dominating influence in Ottoman Turkish culture, leading to such a degree of macaronism, on every level of language & literature, that high literature in “Turkish” was to all effect & purposes Persian. There is no guarantee that popular literature was not also influenced, although folk studies, particularly those done on the more remote regions of Anatolia, usually assume that it wasn’t. In any case, on the most basic level, it is obvious to the linguist that there has been long & fairly intimate interaction between the three very different language families of Semitic, Iranian & Turanian, because of milling contacts between their communities since at least the Neolithic.)

Ahmad  Indian Persian Arabic Epigraphy  Perso-Arabic Bihar  1973
Arberry  Persian Poetry  Rumi Ar.1  1968
Arberry  Persian poetry  Rumi Ar.2  1979
Bendrey  Indian Persian Arabic Urdu Inscriptions  Muslim  1944
Blair  Persian Epigraphy  Iran-Transoxania  1992
Brandenstein & Mayrhofer  Persian Old  Altpersischen  1964
Browne  Persian  Persian Literature  1928–9
Colin  Arabic Persian Poetry Alphabet  Arabic Persian Turkish Chronograms  1967
Desai  Indian Arabic Persian epigraphy  Gujrat EpiArabPersian  1981
Duchesne-Guillemin & Lecoq  for Mary Boyce  1985
Elwell-Sutton  Persian Prosody  Persian metres  1976
Elwell-Sutton  Persian Prosody  Persian metres  1976
Friedrich  Old Persian Prosody  Old Persian metre  1967 & 1928
Hamori & Brujin & Kut & Haywood  Arabic Persian Anthology  Mukhtarat  1992
Hanaway  Persian Epigraphy  C.I.Iran IV  1977
Hanaway  Persian Epigraphy  C.I.Iran IV Khorasan  1977
Kuka  Persian Poetry  Wit in Persia  1937
Lazard  Persian Poetry  First Persian  1964
Lazard  Persian Prosody  Parthian metrics  1985
Lazard  Persian  Persane  1967
Levy  Persian  Persian Introduction  1969
Pellat & Hanaway & Flemming & Haywood & Knappert  Arabic Persian Turkish Urdu Poetry  Marthiya, Mersiye  1989
Rypka et al.  Persian  Iranian Literature  1968
Schmitt & Skjærøe  Persian  for H.Humbach  1986
Thiesen  Persian Prosody  Classical Persian Prosody  1982
Weil & Colin  Arabic abecedaria  1960
Yarshater  Persian Poetry Alphabet  Persian articles  1988

33. Persian
**Nugatory & Paignic?** (The "non-seriousness" of short poetry, or the shortness of non-serious poetry, merges with more artistic "playfulness" & with obscenity to provide a confusing complex of semiotic traits for the investigator. While there is nothing light or trivial about a Greek grave epitaph, or about many a Humanist epigram, such strands are apparently intimately intertwined with the whole western epigrammatic tradition. In the light poetic games of courtly cultures, paignic tendencies are far from nugatory, as they seem to constitute epigram-like genres by themselves. They may also have done this in China.)

| Allison & Goldsmith | English Bibliography | 1976 |
| Barbier et al. | French Bibliography | 1963 |
| Bristol | American Bibliography | 1959 |
| Cahen | Greek Epigram | 1929 |
| Cottrel | English Epigram | 1654? 1656? |
| Daub | Greek Epigram AP | 1976 |
| Fraser | Greek Epigram | 1974 |
| Holzmann | Bibliography German | 1961 |
| Kuka | Persian Poetry | 1937 |
| Marchi | Modern Epigram | 1986 |
| Mennes | English Epigram | 1650 / 1654 |
| Owen S. | Chinese Poetry | 1981 |
| Passano | Bibliography Italian | 1881 |
| Raskin | Obscene Russian verse Humour | 1984 |
| Röhren | German Humour | 1977 |
| Rothe | Books | 1986 |
| Shaw & Shoemaker | Bibliography 19C American | 1958–1966 |
| Stevenson & Smith | Burial | 1971 |
| Vinay | Latin Medieval Poetry | 1978 |
| Wes | Classics in Russia | 1992 |
| Wing | Bibliography English | 1982 |
| Wither | English Epigram | 1613 |

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34. *Nugatory and Paignic*
**Runes — Viking & Later** (Despite the rage of serious students of Scandinavia when the short & doubtful, & always wilfully distorted "Viking" period is made into the badge of the whole, we have ourselves done so, for practical purposes. This is also the reason for including here non-Scandinavian "runes", which do share many typological features with the former, & may be discussed under the same graphemic umbrella.)

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<td>Vasil'ev / Baciniev</td>
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35. *Runes, either Viking or Turkic-Mongol*
**Russian** (Adopting short Latin, then short vernacular epigraphy with its belated efforts at westernisation, Rus also enthusiastically adopted literary epigram. The models which were selected from western vernacular epigrammatists are instructive. Russians favoured fable writers, such as La Fontaine, who also wrote short occasional poetry. Strange events in the revolutionary period led to short poetry, which could not escape the influence of a string of high-literary epigrammatists going back to Pushkin, nor the 19C enthusiasm for Pagan Greek. The tradition turned into a popular mode in the hands & mouths of converted intellectuals, notably Mayakovsky. In the cauldron of popularising publicity & propaganda, short verse, often linked to comic & cartoon forms, was an art form bridging high & low culture. It also no doubt swam in a verse-loving environment which was much enamoured of other short, oral forms, like the prose joke & the versified Chatushka.

The degree of artificiality of all Latin-Western cultural imports into 18/19C Russia is still debated.)

<table>
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<td>Russian statuary</td>
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<td>Yershov / EpuioB</td>
<td>Russian Satire</td>
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Schooling & school texts (When a verse text is used for teaching beginners, the forms of that text, Homer, Cato or Gregory, will have a particular resonance in the inner ears of adults. When a collection of short poems has long so been used, its influence on the sense of genre must be profound.)

See Thesis fn° 399, e.g., Schooling & school texts:

SLAV- (The Slavonic literatures are remarkably different from each other, & much interrupted historically by political turmoil. Except, seemingly, for Czech, all the developed ones adopted pan-European epigrammatic forms by the Baroque. Polish & Croatian did so from the dawn of the Renaissance. Epigraphy in Slavic from Orthodox lands tends to mirror Byzantine Greek practices, but with a much greater use of prose.)

dé Bray  
Slavic  1969

Diels  
Old Slavic  1963

Elian & Bălan & Chircă & Diaconescu  Rumanian inscriptions 1  1965
Romanian Epigraphy  Arabic  Old Slavic  Turkish  Hebrew  Hungarian

Fučić  
Old Slavic Epigraphy  1982

Krupka  
Polish Epigram  Aphorism  Frasza  1976

Obolensky  
Slavic  Byzantine & Slav  1971

Pleiner  
Slavic  Avar Swords

Ševčenko  
Byzantine Slavic  Slavs & Greeks  1991

Tschižewskij  
Slavic Epigram  1969a

38, Slavonic (minus Russian)
Symposium (Symposiac verse, short or shortish, bears a close but puzzling relationship to developed epigram. Some have thought that it actually gave birth to archaic epigram, & their fame has led to such opinions flourishing in the isnād-s of book scholarship for a full century after their own authors abandoned them.)

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<td>Eros simposiaco</td>
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<td>1983</td>
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<td>Pellizer</td>
<td>Zuffa</td>
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<td>Del bere</td>
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<td>Symposium</td>
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<td>Simposio poesia</td>
<td>1983</td>
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**Turkish-Turki** (We include here any Turanian-speaking community as well as Mongol & Manchu, & vaguely similar language groups.)

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40. *Turkish/Turki*
SHORT TITLES (As mentioned elsewhere, our policy in selecting short titles has been semantic & classificational, rather than a consistent attempt at any verbal imitation of the long title.)

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Section 41 — SHORT TITLES ALPHABETIC (Some lesser works not therewith provided)
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| Recreations | English Epigram Anthologies | Matthews | 1967 |
| Refinding Greece | Greek | Tsigakou | 1981 |
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| Religion &amp; Art | Art | Seta | 1912 |
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Section 41 — SHORT TITLES ALPHABETIC (Some lesser works not therewith provided)
RINGINSCHRIFT

Am Finger
dein Auge
aus Lapis.

GRABSCHRIFT AUF EINEN FLOH

Hier liegt
der springende Punkt
Late medieval wayside shrine distich which was "molto commune" in various variants:

Fermati, o passager, la mente inchina,
alla Madre di Dio, del ciel Regina.

Remembering that:—

† ἂν χεῖρ ἡ γράψαςα σήπετε τάφῳ.