

**A COMPARATIVE AND STATISTICAL SURVEY
OF THE LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY MEDIEVAL
LATIN INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTH EASTERN
GAUL (C.300-750 AD)**

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BY

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ABSTRACT

The *corpus* of late antique and early medieval inscriptions from South Eastern Gaul number more than 700, almost half the total recorded in Gaul, yet they are here concentrated largely along the valley of the rivers Rhône, Isère, Drôme and Durance. It is the greatest concentration outside of Rome itself. The aim of this study is to make a comparative survey of these inscriptions from the Metropolitan Dioceses of Lyon, Vienne and Arles between the fourth and eighth centuries AD. It will take into account associated elements such as decor, palaeography, orthography, but concentrate on language and formulae. They will be examined further with the purpose of relating them to the documentary and archaeological sources.

Roman civilisation had penetrated South Eastern Gaul more than any region in Western Europe. It is where Christianity gained its first converts and the first episcopal sees were established. For these reasons alone Gallo-Roman traditions might be expected to linger longer than elsewhere, but there is a marked transition: inscriptions set up during the Gallo-Roman period are predominantly votive or honorific as well as funerary, after c.300 AD they are almost exclusively funerary, suggesting a change in emphasis of purpose. Sentiments expressed on an inscription exposed to public view were expressly designed to be read by the passer-by, thereby recording something of the *mores* of the society that inscribed them, the spread of literacy and fashions in orthography and palaeography. Moreover, such a *corpus* may be expected to reflect demographic changes during a period encompassing Germanic invasion and subsequent settlement; did such changes affect the numbers of inscriptions set up and even their textual content over time? This *corpus* offers an invaluable mirror to the evolving society of South Eastern Gaul during the transition from the Gallo-Roman to early medieval period.

Chapter One describes briefly the sites where inscriptions have been discovered, Chapter Two discusses the dating methods employed, Chapter Three describes the most common funerary formulae employed. Chapter Four proposes and employs statistical methods for the reconstruction and dating of those epitaphs where some or most of the data discussed in Chapter Three are no longer extant. Chapter Five discusses the social background of the recipients of the epitaphs and the themes and eulogies inscribed. Chapter Six provides a conclusion explaining the reasons for such a concentration of epitaphs within their cultural and historical contexts.

**PART ONE: A COMPARATIVE AND STATISTICAL SURVEY
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LIST OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	2
PART ONE: A COMPARATIVE AND STATISTICAL SURVEY OF THE LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY MEDIEVAL LATIN INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTH EASTERN GAUL (C.300-750 AD)	3
LIST OF CONTENTS	4
LIST OF FIGURES	10
LIST OF TABLES.....	12
PLATES	15
ABBREVIATIONS	20
Primary Sources.....	20
Secondary Sources and Collections.....	21
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	23
INTRODUCTION	24
SOUTH-EAST GAUL: TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE	25
POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	27
THE CHURCH IN SOUTH-EAST GAUL	33
Early Christianity.....	33
The Earliest Bishoprics	34
Church Administration and the Evangelical Process	36
Relations between the Church and the Barbarians	37
MONASTICISM.....	38
The Spread And Effects Of Monasticism	39
Monasticism under the Burgundians and the Merovingians.	40
SOURCES	41
Urban Archaeological Evidence	41
Rural Archaeological Evidence	43
Documentary Sources	46
Chronicles.....	47
Law Codes.....	48
Hagiography (<i>Vitae Sanctorum</i>).....	49
Consular <i>Fasti</i>	50
Homilies and other Religious Works	50
Epigraphy and the Distribution of Inscriptions in South East Gaul	51
CHAPTER ONE.....	63
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SITES	63
INTRODUCTION	63
AGNIN, Canton de Roussillon, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).	63
AIX-EN-PROVENCE, Bouches-du-Rhône (<i>Ciuitas Aquensium</i> : Aix-en-Provence).	63
ALBA/APS, Ardèche (<i>Ciuitas Albensium</i> : Alba/Viviers).	64
ALBIGNY, Rhône (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium</i> : Lyon).	65
ANDANCE, Canton de Serrières, Ardèche (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).	65
ANSE, Rhône (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium</i> : Lyon).	66
ANTIBES, Alpes Maritimes (<i>Ciuitas Antipolitana</i> : Antibes).	66
AOSTE, Canton de Beauvoisin, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).	66
AOUSTE, Canton de Crest, Drôme (<i>Ciuitas Valentinorum</i> : Valence).	66
APT, Vaucluse (<i>Ciuitas Aptensium</i> : Apt).	67
ARANDON, Canton de Morestel, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).	67
ARLES, Bouches-du-Rhône (<i>Ciuitas Arelatensium</i> : Arles).	67
ARRAS-SUR-RHONE, Canton de Tournon, Ardèche (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).	70
AUBAGNE, Bouches-du-Rhône (<i>Ciuitas Massiliensium</i> : Marseille).	70

AUTUN, Saône-et-Loire (<i>Ciuitas Aeduorum/Augustodunum</i> : Autun).	70
AVIGNON, Vaucluse (<i>Ciuitas Auennicorum</i> : Avignon).	71
BANON, Alpes de Haute Provence (<i>Ciuitas Segesteriorum</i> : Sisteron).	73
BELCODENE, Bouches-du-Rhône (<i>Ciuitas Aquensium</i> : Aix-en-Provence).	73
BELLEGARDE, Gard (<i>Ciuitas Arelatensium</i> : Arles).	73
BOURG-EN-BRESSE, Ain (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium</i> : Lyon).	73
BOURGOIN, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).	73
BRIORD, Canton de Lhuis, Ain (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium</i> : Lyon).	74
BRUIS, Canton de Rosans, Hautes-Alpes (<i>Ciuitas Vappincensium</i> : Gap).	76
BRUNET, Canton de Valensole, Alpes de Haute Provence (<i>Ciuitas Reiensium</i> : Riez).	76
CARCES, Var (<i>Ciuitas Foroiuliensis</i> : Fréjus).	76
CHALON-SUR-SAÔNE, Saône-et-Loire (<i>Castrum Cabillonense</i> : Chalon-sur-Saône).	76
CHARMES, Canton de La Voulte, Ardèche (<i>Ciuitas Valentinorum</i> : Valence).	78
CHAVANOZ, Canton de Pont-de-Chéruy, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).	78
CIMIEZ/NICE, Canton de Nice, Alpes Maritimes (<i>Ciuitas Cemelensium</i> : Cimiez/Nice).	79
CLERIEUX, Canton de Romans, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).	80
COLONZELLE, Canton de Grignan, Drôme (<i>Ciuitas Tricastinorum</i> : Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux).	80
CORENC, Canton de Grenoble-Est, Isère (<i>Ciuitas Gratianopolitana</i> : Grenoble).	80
CRUSSOL, Commune et Canton de Saint-Péray, Ardèche (<i>Ciuitas Valentinorum</i> : Valence).	80
DAUPHIN, Alpes de Haute Provence (<i>Ciuitas Segesteriorum</i> : Sisteron).	81
DECIZE, Nièvre (<i>Ciuitas Aeduorum/Augustodunum</i> : Autun).	81
DIE, Drôme (<i>Ciuitas Deensium</i> : Die).	81
DIJON, Côte d'Or (<i>Ciuitas Lingonum</i> : Langres).	81
ECULLY, Rhône (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium</i> : Lyon).	82
ENTRECHAUX, Vaucluse (<i>Ciuitas Vasiensium</i> : Vaison).	83
EYZIN, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).	83
FAUCON-DE-BARCELONNETTE, Alpes de Haute Provence (<i>Ciuitas Vappincensium</i> : Gap).	83
FENAY, Canton de Chevigny, Côte d'Or (<i>Ciuitas Lingonum</i> : Langres).	83
GENÈVE, Switzerland (<i>Ciuitas Genauensium</i> : Genève).	83
GIGONDAS, Vaucluse (<i>Ciuitas Arausicorum</i> : Orange).	87
GRENOBLE, Isère (<i>Ciuitas Gratianopolitana</i> : Grenoble).	87
GRIGNY, Canton de Givors, Rhône (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium</i> : Lyon).	88
GRUFFY, Canton d'Alby-sur-Chéran, Savoie (<i>Ciuitas Genauensium</i> : Genève).	89
GRESY-SUR-AIX, Savoie (<i>Ciuitas Genauensium</i> : Genève).	89
GUILLERAND, Canton de Saint-Péray, Ardèche (<i>Ciuitas Valentinorum</i> : Valence).	89
JONGIEUX, Canton de Yenne, Savoie (<i>Ciuitas Genauensium</i> : Genève).	89
LA BAUME-CORNILLANE, Canton de Chabeuil, Drôme (<i>Ciuitas Valentinorum</i> : Valence).	89
LA CÔTE-SAINT-ANDRE, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).	89
LA GAYOLE, Canton de Brignoles, Var (<i>Ciuitas Telonensium</i> : Toulon).	90
LA ROQUEBRUSSANNE, Var (<i>Ciuitas Telonensium</i> : Toulon).	90
LA TERRACE, Canton du Touvet, Isère (<i>Ciuitas Genauensium</i> : Genève).	90
LA TRONCHE, Canton de Grenoble-Est, Isère (<i>Ciuitas Gratianopolitana</i> : Grenoble).	91
LE BUIS, Hautes Alpes (<i>Ciuitas Vappincensium</i> : Gap).	91
LE FAYET, Commune de Saint-Marcel, (today de Barraux), Canton du Touvet, Isère, (<i>Ciuitas Gratianopolitana</i> : Grenoble).	91
LE PIN, Bouches-du-Rhône (<i>Ciuitas Aquensium</i> : Aix-en-Provence).	91
LE POIL, Canton de Senez, Alpes de Haute Provence (<i>Ciuitas Reiensium</i> : Riez).	91
LORGUES, Var (<i>Ciuitas Foroiuliensis</i> : Fréjus).	91
LUC-EN-DIOIS, Drôme (<i>Ciuitas Deensium</i> : Die).	91
LUGRIN, Canton d'Evian, Haute-Savoie (<i>Ciuitas Genauensium</i> : Genève).	92
LUZINAY, Commune de Vienne-Nord, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).	92
LYON, Rhône (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium</i> : Lyon).	92
MACON, Saône-et-Loire (<i>Castrum Matisconense</i> : Mâcon).	101
MANE, Canton de Forcalquier, Alpes de Haute Provence	

(<i>Ciuitas Segesteriorum</i> : Sisteron).....	102
MARSEILLE, Bouches-du-Rhône (<i>Ciuitas Massiliensium</i> : Marseille).....	102
MELLECEY, Saône-et-Loire (<i>Castrum Cabillonense</i> : Chalon-sur-Saône).....	104
MOIRANS, Canton de Rives, Isère (<i>Ciuitas Gratianopolitana</i> : Grenoble).....	104
MONTFORT, Canton de Volonne, Alpes de Haute Provence (<i>Ciuitas Segesteriorum</i> : Sisteron).....	104
MONTFORT-SUR-ARGENS, Canton de Cotignac, Var (<i>Ciuitas Foroiuliensis</i> : Fréjus)....	104
MONTJUSTIN, Canton de Reillanne, Alpes de Haute Provence (<i>Ciuitas Segesteriorum</i> : Sisteron).....	105
MOUTIERS, Savoie (<i>Ciuitas Tarantensium</i> : Aime-en-Tarantaise).....	105
NACON, Commune de Saint-Pierre-de-Chérennes, Canton de Pont-en-Royans, Isère, (<i>Ciuitas Gratianopolitana</i> : Grenoble).....	105
NARBONENSIS SECUNDA, Canton de Forcalquier, Alpes de Haute Provence (<i>Ciuitas Segesteriorum</i> : Sisteron).....	105
NOTRE-DAME-DE-BEAUREGARD, Canton d'Orgon, Bouches-du-Rhône (<i>Ciuitas Cabelllicorum</i> : Cavaillon).....	105
NOTRE-DAME-DU-BRUSC, Commune de Châteauneuf, Canton de Bar-sur-Loup, Alpes Maritimes. (<i>Ciuitas Antipolitana</i> : Antibes).....	106
ORANGE, Vaucluse (<i>Ciuitas Arausicorum</i> : Orange).....	106
OURCHES, Canton de Crest-Nord, Drôme (<i>Ciuitas Valentini</i> orum: Valence).....	107
PACT, Canton de Beaurepaire, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).....	107
PARNANS, Canton de Romans, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).....	107
PEYRUIS, Alpes de Haute Provence (<i>Ciuitas Segesteriorum</i> : Sisteron).....	107
POTHIÈRES, Canton de Châtillon-sur-Seine, Côte d'Or (<i>Ciuitas Lingonum</i> : Langres)....	107
REILLANNE, Alpes de Haute Provence (<i>Ciuitas Segesteriorum</i> : Sisteron).....	107
REVEL-TOURDAN, Commune de Revel-Tourdan, Canton de Beaurepaire, Isère. (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).....	107
RIEZ, Canton de Riez, Alpes de Haute Provence (<i>Ciuitas Reiensium</i> : Riez).....	108
SAINT-ALBAN-DE-BRON, Rhône (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium</i> : Lyon).....	108
SAINT-GENIEZ-DE-DROMON, Canton de Sisteron, Alpes de Haute Provence (<i>Ciuitas Segesteriorum</i> : Sisteron).....	108
SAINT-GERMAIN-DU-PLAIN, Saône-et-Loire (<i>Castrum Cabillonense</i> : Chalon-sur-Saône).....	108
SAINT-GERVAIS, Commune de Portes-lès-Valence, Canton de Valence-Sud, Drôme (<i>Ciuitas Valentini</i> orum: Valence).....	109
SAINT-JEAN-DE-BOURNAY, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).....	109
SAINT-JULIEN-EN-QUINT, Canton de Die, Drôme (<i>Ciuitas Deensium</i> : Die).....	109
SAINT-LAURENT-DE-MURE, Canton de Meyzieu, Rhône (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).....	109
SAINT-MAURICE-DE-REMENS, Canton de Amberieu-en-Bugey, Ain (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium</i> : Lyon).....	109
SAINT-MAXIMIN-LA-SAINTE-BAUME, Canton de Saint-Maximin-La-Sainte-Baume, Var (<i>Ciuitas Telonensium</i> : Toulon).....	109
SAINT-RESTITUT, Drôme (<i>Ciuitas Tricastinorum</i> : Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux).....	109
SAINT-ROMAIN D'ALBON, Commune d'Albon, Canton de Saint-Vallier, Drôme (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).....	110
SAINT-SIXTE-DE-MERLAS, Commune de Merlas, Canton de Saint-Geoire-en-Valdaine, Isère (<i>Ciuitas Gratianopolitana</i> : Grenoble).....	110
SAINT-THOMÉ, Canton de Viviers, Ardèche (<i>Ciuitas Albensium</i> : Alba/Viviers).....	111
SAINT-VALLIER, Drôme (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).....	111
SOYONS, Canton de Saint-Péray, Ardèche (<i>Ciuitas Valentini</i> orum: Valence).....	111
SUZETTE, Canton de Malaucène, Vaucluse (<i>Ciuitas Vasiensium</i> : Vaison).....	112
TOULAUD, Canton de Saint-Péray, Ardèche (<i>Ciuitas Valentini</i> orum: Valence).....	112
TOURNON, Ardèche (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).....	112
TREPT, Canton de Cremieu, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).....	112
URBAN, Canton de Beaumes-de-Venise, Vaucluse (<i>Ciuitas Vasiensium</i> : Vaison).....	112
VAISON-LA-ROMAINE, Vaucluse (<i>Ciuitas Vasiensium</i> : Vaison).....	113
VALENCE, Drôme (<i>Ciuitas Valentini</i> orum: Valence).....	114

VALENCE, (BOURG-LÈS-VALENCE), Canton de Valence-Nord, Drôme (<i>Ciuitas Valentinorum</i> : Valence).....	114
VENASQUE, Vaucluse (<i>Ciuitas Carpentoratensium, nunc Vindausca</i> : Carpentras/Venasque).....	114
VERENAY, Commune d'Ampuis, Canton de Condrieu, Rhône (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).....	115
VÉZERONCE, Commune de Vézeronce-Curtin, Canton de Morestel, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).....	115
VIENNE, Isère (<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne).....	116
VIF, Isère (<i>Ciuitas Gratianopolitana</i> : Grenoble).....	122
VILLENEUVE-LÈS-AVIGNON, Gard (<i>Ciuitas Auennicorum</i> : Avignon).....	122
VIVIERS, Ardèche (<i>Ciuitas Albensium</i> : Alba/Viviers).....	122
VIX, Canton de Châtillon-sur-Seine, Côte d'Or (<i>Ciuitas Lingonum</i> : Langres).....	123
YENNE, Savoie (<i>Ciuitas Genauensium</i> : Genève).....	123
CHAPTER TWO	124
THE DATING METHODS EMPLOYED ON THE EPITAPHS	124
INTRODUCTION.....	124
THE CONSULATE IN LATE ANTIQUITY.....	126
INSCRIPTIONS AND CONSULATES.....	128
SENIORITY BETWEEN CONSULS.....	129
PROCLAMATION AND DISSEMINATION OF CONSULS' NAMES.....	130
DISSEMINATION IN ROME AND GAUL.....	140
HOMONYMS AND FORMULAE.....	144
INSCRIPTIONS DATED BY THE REGNAL YEAR.....	149
INDICTIONAL DATES.....	151
NON-CONCORDANCE BETWEEN CONSULAR / P.C. DATES AND INDICTIONAL YEARS.....	156
INSCRIPTIONS DATED BY MONTH ALONE.....	160
EPITAPHS AND HISTORY.....	162
CHAPTER THREE	167
THE FORMULAE EMPLOYED ON THE EPITAPHS	167
INTRODUCTION.....	167
CATEGORIES OF FORMULAE.....	167
INITIA FORMULAE	170
1) <i>HIC REQVIESCIT</i>	170
2) <i>HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE</i>	170
3) <i>HIC REQVIESCIT BONAE MEMORIAE</i>	171
4) <i>HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE BONAE MEMORIAE</i>	172
5) <i>BONAE MEMORIAE HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE</i>	174
6) <i>HIC IN PACE REQVIESCIT BONAE MEMORIAE</i>	174
7) <i>IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT</i>	176
8) <i>IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT IN PACE</i>	176
9) <i>IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT BONAE MEMORIAE</i>	177
10) <i>IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT IN PACE BONAE MEMORIAE</i>	178
11) <i>IN HOC LOCO REQVIESCIT / IN PACE / BONAE MEMORIAE</i>	180
12) <i>REQVIESCO -ERE</i> VARIANTS.....	180
13) <i>REQVIESCO -ERE</i> UNCLASSIFIED.....	181
14) <i>DATIVE/OPTATIVE INITIA</i>	182
15) <i>NAME OF THE DECEASED IN THE NOMINATIVE AND THE INITIA GOVERNED BY RARELY EMPLOYED VERBS</i>	183
16) <i>METRICAL/PROSE INITIA</i>	185
17) <i>CONDO -ERE</i>	188
18) <i>IACEO -ERE</i>	189
19) <i>QVIESCO -ERE</i>	192
AGE FORMULAE	194
1) <i>QVI VIXIT ANNOS + AGE</i>	194

2) QVI VIXIT ANNOS ... MENSES ... DIES.....	196
3) QVI VIXIT ANNOS PLVS MINVS.....	197
4) QVI VIXIT IN PACE ANNOS.....	199
5) VIVO -ERE VARIANTS.....	200
6) VIVO -ERE UNCLASSIFIED.....	201
7) AGE FORMULAE EXPRESSED AS A PHRASE WITHOUT A GOVERNING VERB	202
8) METRICAL/PROSE AGE FORMULAE.....	203
DATE FORMULAE	204
1) OBIIT + DATE	204
2) OBIIT DIE + DATE.....	206
3) OBIIT SVB DIE + DATE.....	207
4) OBIIT IN CHRISTO / XPO + DATE.....	208
5) OBIIT IN PACE + DATE	209
6) OBEO -IRE VARIANTS	210
7) OBEO -IRE UNCLASSIFIED	211
8) DATE FORMULAE EXPRESSED AS PHRASES NOT GOVERNED BY A VERB.....	212
9) METRICAL/PROSE DATE FORMULAE.....	212
10) DEPONO -ERE	214
11) RECEDO -ERE.....	215
12) TRANSEO -ERE.....	216
PHRASES EMPLOYED IN CONJUNCTION WITH INITIA, AGE AND DATE FORMULAE.....	217
1) CVM QVO/A VIXIT	217
2 and 3) FACIO -ERE and PONO -ERE	217
4) RESVRGO -ERE and SVRGO -ERE	218
CHAPTER FOUR	220
METHODS FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF FORMULAE AND DATING OF UNDATED EPITAPHS.....	220
INTRODUCTION.....	220
METHODOLOGY FOR THE PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION OF MISSING FORMULAE	221
Descriptive and Distributive Statistics and their Confidence Limits.....	223
Tests of Distribution and Association of Formulae with Date Ranges, Provenances and other Formulae	226
The Reconstruction of Incomplete Epitaphs.....	234
METHODS FOR DATING INSCRIPTIONS WITH NO DATE OR WHERE NO CONSULAR, P.C. OR REGNAL DATE IS EITHER EXTANT OR LEGIBLE	239
(i) Epitaphs bearing an Illegible Consular or P.C. Date where only the Name is Extant in Part.....	239
(ii) Epitaphs bearing a Consular or P.C. Date where the Name may be Attributed	239
(iii) Epitaphs bearing a Consular or P.C. Date where the Name is Illegible	240
(iv) Epitaphs Which May Have Borne A Consular Or P.C. Date	240
(v) Epitaphs which may have borne an Indiction - <i>Arelatensis</i>	240
(vi) Epitaphs Dated by the Indictional Year	241
(vii) Inscriptions datable by Analogy with Dated Examples from the same Site	241
(viii) Inscriptions Datable on Documentary, Genealogical or Historical Grounds	242
(ix) Epitaphs Bearing no Indication of the Date	244
(x) The Dating of Undated Inscriptions other than Epitaphs	245
REGIONAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORMULAE	247
<i>LVGDVNENSIS</i>	248
<i>VIENNENSIS</i>	251
<i>ARELATENSIS</i>	255
CONCLUSION	258
CHAPTER 5	261
THE RECIPIENTS OF THE EPITAPHS AND THE THEMES INSCRIBED	261
INTRODUCTION.....	261

Secular Offices - State, Military and Professional.....	262
The Episcopal Epitaphs	264
Episcopal Epitaphs from <i>Arelatensis</i>	264
Episcopal Epitaphs from <i>Lugdunensis</i>	265
Episcopal Epitaphs from <i>Viennensis</i>	265
The General Structure of Episcopal Epitaphs	265
<i>Initia</i> and <i>Exordia</i>	267
Social Status.....	268
Conversion / Dedication to God	269
Ecclesiastical and Secular Legal Duties.....	270
Pastoral Care.....	272
Chastity and Piety.....	272
Education, Learning, Dogma and Orthodoxy	274
<i>Obita</i> - Ascension to Heaven Secured by their Merits and Divine Selection	276
The Epitaphs of the Aristocratic and Clerical Orders	279
Introduction.....	279
Life Expectancy	280
The Members of the <i>Presbyterium</i>	281
The Clergy and the Genesis of the Parochial System	283
Religious Orders outside the <i>Presbyterium</i>	286
Social Status of the Deceased	288
<i>Obita</i> - Christian Immortality and <i>Invida Mors</i>	290
Grief and Lamentation	291
The Merits and Virtues of the Deceased	292
Conclusion.....	294
PART TWO: APPENDICES	308
APPENDIX ONE: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS	309
TECHNICAL APPARATUS FOR THE TEXT.....	309
Texts and Translations	311
APPENDIX TWO: INSCRIPTIONS EXCLUDED ON THE GROUNDS OF FORGERY, INCORRECT PROVENANCE OR PREVIOUSLY INACCURATELY ATTRIBUTED TO THIS PERIOD.....	581
TEXTS	581
APPENDIX THREE	588
THE ACTUAL AND POSTULATED DATES AND FORMULAE OF THE EPITAPHS	588
APPENDIX FOUR: PLATES	604
BIBLIOGRAPHY	700
PRIMARY SOURCES	700
SECONDARY SOURCES.....	701

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The political divisions in Gaul in 475 (after Musset 1975: Fig.2).	28
Figure 2: The approximate political divisions of Gaul after the death of Clovis in 511 (based in part on James 1988: Figs. 12 and 19).	29
Figure 3: The political divisions of Gaul in 587 after the treaty of Andelot (after James 1988: Fig.22).	30
Figure 4: The political divisions of Gaul in the seventh century (after James 1988: Fig.25).	32
Figure 5: Distribution of inscriptions in South Eastern Gaul by Diocese and Metropolitan.	56
Figure 6: Approximate limits of the <i>ciuitas</i> boundaries in South Eastern Gaul at the end of the sixth century (after James 1982: Figs. 2 & 3. The rivers are removed from the topography to provide clarity).	58
Figure 7: Distribution of inscriptions within their <i>ciuitas</i> boundaries (boundaries are after James 1982: Figs. 2 & 3. The rivers are removed from the topography to provide clarity).	59
Figure 8: Distribution of inscriptions in South Eastern Gaul between the fourth and eighth centuries AD.	60
Figure 9: Distribution of inscriptions north of the Durance.	61
Figure 10: Distribution of inscriptions in Provence.	62
Figure 11: AIX-EN-PROVENCE (after Guyon 1986: 19).	64
Figure 12: ALBA: simplified plan of the church and associated burials (after Esquieu and Lauxerois 1975: Fig.2).	65
Figure 13: ARLES (after Février 1986: 75).	68
Figure 14: Distribution of inscriptions at Arles.	69
Figure 15: AVIGNON (after Biarne 1986: 115).	72
Figure 16: AVIGNON: plan of the abbey of Saint-Ruf and associated burials and sarcophagi (after Gagnière and Grenier 1979: 108).	72
Figure 17: BRIORD: map of the modern village and its environs (after Cornua and Perraud 1986: Fig.2).	74
Figure 18: BRIORD: the cemetery at Les Plantées (after Parriat, Laugrand & Perraud 1980: Fig.1).	75
Figure 19: CHALON-SUR-SAONE (after Beaujard 1986: 67).	77
Figure 20: CIMIEZ: schematic plan of the baths and church (after Février 1986:87).	80
Figure 21: DIJON (after Picard 1986: 57).	82
Figure 22: GENÈVE (after Bonnet 1986: 12).	84
Figure 23: GENÈVE: the cathedral complex (after Bonnet 1986: 1).	85
Figure 24: GENÈVE: the four major construction phases at La Madeleine (after Bonnet 1986: 45).	86
Figure 25: GRENOBLE (after Colardelle and Février 1986: 51).	87
Figure 26: GRENOBLE: the successive construction phases at the church of Saint-Laurent (after Colardelle 1986: Fig.19).	88
Figure 27: LYON (after Février, Picard, Pietri and Reynaud 1986: 17).	93
Figure 28: Distribution of inscriptions at Lyon.	94
Figure 29: LYON: the Saint-Irénée district (after Alssam and Joubert in Reynaud 1986: Fig.8).	96
Figure 30: LYON: the cemetery of Saint-Irénée as excavated in 1980 (after Reynaud 1981: Fig.14).	96
Figure 31: LYON: the Saint-Just district (after Alssam and Joubert in Reynaud 1986: Fig.19).	97
Figure 32: LYON: plan of the first two construction phases of Saint-Just (after Reynaud 1981: Fig.12).	97
Figure 33: LYON: the crypt of the church of Saint-Nizier (from an original sketch made by Steyert 1895-99 and reproduced after Reynaud 1986: Fig.66).	98
Figure 34: LYON: reconstruction of the plan of the church of Saint Laurent de Choulans (after Reynaud 1981: Fig.17).	99
Figure 35: LYON: plan of the excavations undertaken in 1949 at the church of Saint Laurent de Choulans (after Wuilleumier, Audin and Leroi-Gourhan 1949: Fig.9).	100
Figure 36: MACON: schematic plan of the church of Saint-Clement (after Sapin 1986: Fig.3).	101
Figure 37: MARSEILLE (after Guyon 1986: 123).	102

Figure 38: NOTRE-DAME-DU-BRUSC: the three main construction phases (after Février in <i>Premiers Temps Chrétiens en Gaule Méridionale</i> 1986: Fig.322).....	106
Figure 39: SAINT ROMAIN D'ALBON: schematic plan of the church and its associated burials and sarcophagi (after Colardelle 1983: Fig.98).....	110
Figure 40: SAINT SIXTE DE MERLAS: schematic plan of the church crypt (after a drawing by Girard 1964 and reproduced by Colardelle 1983: fig. 88.2).....	111
Figure 41: VAISON-LA-ROMAINE (after Février 1986: 91).....	113
Figure 42: VENASQUE (after Biarne 1986: 104).....	115
Figure 43: VIENNE (after Descombes, Février and Gauthier 1985: 19).	116
Figure 44: VIENNE: composite plan of the interior of the church of Saint-Pierre with the associated burials and sarcophagi (after Jannet-Vallat in Jannet-Vallat, Lauxerois and Reynaud 1986: Fig 7).	117
Figure 45: VIENNE: the first construction phase of the church of Saint-Pierre (after David and Joubert in Jannet-Vallat, Lauxerois and Reynaud 1986: Fig 38).	118
Figure 46: VIENNE: the second construction phase of the church of Saint-Pierre: a schematic plan of the church at the end of the fifth century (after David and Joubert in Jannet-Vallat, Lauxerois and Reynaud 1986: Fig 40).	119
Figure 47: VIENNE: the sixth century mausoleum and oratory adjoining the church of Saint-Pierre (after David and Joubert in Jannet-Vallat, Lauxerois and Reynaud 1986: Fig.42).	120
Figure 48: VIENNE: schematic plan of the church of Saint-Ferréol (after Reynaud in Jannet-Vallat, Lauxerois and Reynaud 1986: Fig.48).	120
Figure 49: VIENNE: schematic plan of the church of Saint-Romain-en-Gal (after Reynaud in Jannet-Vallat, Lauxerois and Reynaud 1986: Fig 52).	121
Figure 50: Distribution of inscriptions at Vienne.	122
Figure 51: Distribution of epitaphs bearing date formulae including the name of the Eastern consul.....	144
Figure 52: Distribution of epitaphs bearing a regnal date.	151
Figure 53: Distribution of epitaphs bearing an indictional date.	153
Figure 54: Distribution and Box-and-Whiskers plots of dated epitaphs.....	224
Figure 55: Cumulative distribution of dated epitaphs in <i>Lugdunensis</i> , <i>Viennensis</i> and <i>Arelatensis</i>	226
Figure 56: Box-and-Whiskers plots of the date ranges within which the major <i>initia</i> formulae fall.	228
Figure 57: Box-and-Whiskers plots of the date ranges within which the major age formulae fall.	229
Figure 58: Box-and-Whiskers plots of the date ranges within which the major date formulae fall.	230
Figure 59: Predicted distribution and Box-and-Whiskers plot for epitaphs at Lyon.	250
Figure 60: Predicted distribution and Box-and-Whiskers plot for epitaphs at Vienne.	255
Figure 61: Predicted distribution and Box-and-Whiskers plot for epitaphs at Arles.	258
Figure 62: Predicted distribution and Box-and-Whiskers plot for epitaphs in South Eastern Gaul.	260

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The Metropolitans of South Eastern Gaul according to the <i>Notitia Galliarum</i>	54
Table 2: The <i>Ciuitates</i> of South Eastern Gaul at the end of the Sixth Century	55
Table 3: Totals of Inscriptions and their Provenances	57
Table 4: Totals for each category of inscription and date system	125
Table 5: Totals for each category of date system for the Metropolitan dioceses of Lyon, Vienne, and Arles.	126
Table 6: Inscriptions bearing consular or post-consular dates.....	140
Table 7: Western consuls with homonymous names (compiled with data from CLRE: 25-50).....	145
Table 8: Inscriptions recording fragmentary consular and post-consular dates (illegible dates).....	148
Table 9: Inscriptions recording a regnal date.	150
Table 10: Inscriptions dated by the indiction.	156
Table 11: Inscriptions recording more than one date type.....	160
Table 12: Inscriptions dated by the date of the month alone	162
Table 13: The major categories of formulae inscribed upon epitaphs.....	169
Table 14: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>hic requiescit in pace</i>	171
Table 15: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the <i>initium hic requiescit in pace</i>	171
Table 16: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>hic requiescet bone memoriae</i>	172
Table 17: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the <i>initium hic requiescet bonae memoriae</i>	172
Table 18: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae</i>	173
Table 19: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the <i>initium hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae</i>	174
Table 20: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>bonae memoriae hic requiescit in pace</i>	174
Table 21: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the <i>initium bonae memoriae hic requiescit in pace</i>	174
Table 22: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae</i>	175
Table 23: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the <i>initium hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae</i>	176
Table 24: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>in hoc tumulo requiescit</i>	176
Table 25: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the <i>initium in hoc tumulo requiescit</i>	176
Table 26: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace</i>	177
Table 27: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the <i>initium in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace</i>	177
Table 28: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae</i>	178
Table 29: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the <i>initium in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae</i>	178
Table 30: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae</i>	179
Table 31: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the <i>initium in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae</i>	179
Table 32: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>in hoc loco requiescit / in pace / bonae memoriae</i>	180
Table 33: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the <i>initium in hoc loco requiescit / in pace / bonae memoriae</i>	180
Table 34: Provenance and date range for variant <i>requiescit</i> formulae.....	181
Table 35: Provenance and date range for unclassified <i>initia</i> governed by <i>requiesco</i>	182
Table 36: Provenance and date range for dative/optative <i>initia</i>	183
Table 37: Provenance and date range for nominative <i>initia</i>	185
Table 38: Provenance and date range for metrical/prose <i>initia</i>	188
Table 39: Provenance and date range for <i>initia</i> governed by <i>condo</i>	189
Table 40: Provenance and date range for <i>initia</i> governed by <i>iaceo</i>	192

Table 41: Provenance and date range for <i>initia</i> governed by <i>quiesco</i> .	194
Table 42: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>qui/quae vixit annos</i> + age.	195
Table 43: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula <i>qui/quae vixit annos</i> + age.	196
Table 44: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>qui/quae vixit annos ... menses ... dies</i> .	197
Table 45: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula <i>qui/quae vixit annos ... menses ... dies</i> .	197
Table 46: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>qui/quae vixit annos plus minus</i> .	199
Table 47: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula <i>qui/quae vixit annos plus minus</i> .	199
Table 48: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>qui vixit in pace annos</i> .	200
Table 49: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula <i>qui vixit in pace annos</i> .	200
Table 50: Provenance and date range of variant age formulae governed by <i>uiuo</i> .	201
Table 51: Provenance and date range of unclassified age formulae governed by <i>uiuo</i> .	202
Table 52: Provenance and date range of age formulae bearing the age within a phrase not governed by a verb.	202
Table 53: Provenance and date range of metrical/prose age formulae.	204
Table 54: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>obiit</i> + date.	205
Table 55: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula <i>obiit</i> + date.	206
Table 56: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>obiit die</i> + date.	207
Table 57: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula <i>obiit die</i> + date.	207
Table 58: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>obiit sub die</i> + date.	208
Table 59: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula <i>obiit sub die</i> + date.	208
Table 60: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>obiit in christo / xpo</i> + date (normally).	209
Table 61: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula <i>obiit in christo / xpo</i> + date (normally).	209
Table 62: Measures of position and variability for the formula <i>obiit in pace</i> + date.	210
Table 63: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula <i>obiit in pace</i> + date.	210
Table 64: Provenance and date range of variant date formulae governed by <i>obeo</i> .	211
Table 65: Provenance and date range of unclassified date formulae governed by <i>obeo</i> .	211
Table 66: Provenance and date range of date formulae bearing the date within a phrase not governed by a verb.	212
Table 67: Provenance and date range of metrical/prose date formulae.	214
Table 68: Provenance and date range of date formulae governed by <i>depono</i> .	215
Table 69: Provenance and date range of date formulae governed by <i>recedo</i> .	216
Table 70: Provenance and date range of date formulae governed by <i>transeo</i> .	216
Table 71: Provenance and date range of epitaphs recording the name of the spouse and the number of years of marriage in a phrase beginning with <i>cum quo/a vixi/it</i> .	217
Table 72: Provenance and date range of epitaphs recording the name of the dedicator in a phrase governed by <i>facio</i> or <i>pono</i> .	218
Table 73: Provenance and date range of epitaphs bearing a phrase expressing the hope of the life hereafter governed by <i>surgo</i> or <i>resurgo</i> .	219
Table 74: Provenances of the earliest dated examples for each of the major <i>initia</i> , age and date formulae.	227
Table 75: Actual and expected frequencies for original and predicted frequencies for the major <i>initia</i> formulae.	232
Table 76: Actual and expected frequencies for original and predicted frequencies for the major age formulae.	233
Table 77: Actual and expected frequencies for original and predicted frequencies for the major date formulae.	234
Table 78: Provenance and totals for combinations of <i>initia</i> , age and date formulae where three or more examples are known.	235
Table 79: Provenance and totals for predicted combinations of <i>initia</i> , age and date formulae where four or more examples are either known or predicted.	237
Table 80: Provenances of the major formulae and their earliest occurrence within <i>Lugdunensis</i> (both within and outside Lyon).	251

Table 81: provenances of the major formulae and their earliest occurrence within <i>Viennensis</i> (both within and outside Vienne).	254
Table 82: provenances of the major formulae and their earliest occurrence within <i>Arelatensis</i> (both within and outside Arles).	257
Table 83: Frequency Distribution of Age at Death.....	280
Table 84: The Earliest Occurrence of Epitaphs Outside the <i>Ciuitates</i>	285

PLATES

Plate 1: No.3 Aix-en-Provence.. Dimensions: 25 x 25 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	604
Plate 2 :No.4 Aix-en-Provence.. Dimensions: 53.5 x 38 x 8 cm. Letters: 2 cm.	604
Plate 3: No.18 Albigny.. Dimensions: unknown.	605
Plate 4: No.21 Andance.. Dimensions: 93 x 73 x 9 - 11 cm. Letters: 6 - 7 cm.	605
Plate 5: No.24 Anse. Dimensions: 43 x 60 cm. Letters: 2 cm.	605
Plate 6: No.25 Anse. Dimensions: 33 x 48 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. average.	606
Plate 7: No.30 Antibes. Dimensions: 29 x38 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.4 cm.	606
Plate 8: No.31 Antibes. Dimensions: unknown.	606
Plate 9: No.35 Aoste. Dimensions: 75 x 45 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	607
Plate 10: No.38 Aoste. Dimensions: 60 x 58 cm. Letters: 4 cm.	607
Plate 11: No.40 Aouste. Dimensions: 82 x 60 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 4 cm.	608
Plate 12: No.44 Arandon. Dimensions: 45 x 165 x 27 cm. Letters: 3.5 - 4 cm.	609
Plate 13: No.49 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 31 x 38 cm. Letters: 2 cm.	609
Plate 14: No.63 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 50 x 45 x 3 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.	610
Plate 15: No.64 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 40 x 30 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	610
Plate 16: No.66 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 34 x 29 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	611
Plate 17: No.67 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: unknown.	611
Plate 18: No.68 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: unavailable.	612
Plate 19: No.69 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 35 x 40 x 2 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.	612
Plate 20: No.70 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 40 x 16 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.	613
Plate 21: No.71 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 26 x 19 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm.	613
Plate 22: No.73 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 53 x 45 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.	614
Plate 23: No.74 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 49 x 34 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm.	614
Plate 24: No.88 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 45 x 59 x 2 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.	615
Plate 25: No.93 Arles, Alyscamps. Dimensions: 13 x 23 cm.	615
Plate 26: No.97 Arles, Alyscamps. Dimensions: 52 x 54 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.	615
Plate 27: No.98 Arles, Alyscamps. Dimensions: 39 x 33 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average.	616
Plate 28: No.99 Arles, Alyscamps. Dimensions: 36 x 25 cm. Letters: 4 - 5 cm.	616
Plate 29: No.101 Arles, Alyscamps. Dimensions: 71.5 x 26 cm. Letters: 4 cm.	617
Plate 30: No.102 Arles, Saint-Honorat. Dimensions: cartouche : 23 x 37.5 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.	617
Plate 31: No.104 Arles, Saint-Honorat. Dimensions: 17.5 x 23 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.	618
Plate 32: Sarcophagus of No.104, Arles, Saint-Honorat.	618
Plate 33: No.105 Arles, Saint-Honorat. Dimensions: 26 x 26 cm. Letters: 2 cm.	619
Plate 34: Sarcop[hagus of No.105, Arles, Saint-Honorat.	619
Plate 35: No.112 Arles, Saint-Honorat. Dimensions: 28 x 59 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.	620
Plate 36: No.118 Arles, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès. Dimensions: unknown.	620
Plate 37: No.119 Arles, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès. Dimensions: 48 x 27 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 4 cm.	621
Plate 38: No.120 Arles, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès. Dimensions: 44 x 22 cm. Letters: 2 cm.	621
Plate 39: No.121 Arles, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès. Dimensions: 25 x 37 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	622
Plate 40: No.129 Arles, Trinquetaille. Dimensions: 46 x 52 x 3.1 - 4.5 cm. Letters: 3.2 - 3.5 cm.	622
Plate 41: No.130 Arles, Trinquetaille. Dimensions: cartouche 30 cm. diameter. Letters: 2 cm.	623
Plate 42: Sarcophagus of No.130, Arles.	623
Plate 43: No.140 Banon. Dimensions: 25 x 25 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	624
Plate 44: No.141 Banon. Dimensions: 25 x 25 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	624
Plate 45: No.143 Bellegarde. Dimensions: 44 x 20 x 2 cm. Letters: 2.2 cm. average.	625
Plate 46: No.150 Briord. Dimensions: 52 x 26 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	625
Plate 47: No.152 Briord. Dimensions: 60 x 1.90 x 16 cm. Letters: 1 - 2.5 cm.	626
Plate 48: Epitaph of Arenburga on No.152 Briord.	626
Plate 49: Record of manumission for Manno on No.152 Briord.	626
Plate 50: No.153 Briord. Dimensions: 60 x 220 cm. Letters: 2 - 4 cm.	627
Plate 51: No.171 Chalon-sur-Saône. Dimensions: 39 x 24 x 10 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	627
Plate 52: No.173 Chalon-sur-Saône. Dimensions: 22 x 29.5 x 4 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.	628

Plate 53: No.175 Chavanoz. Dimensions: 25 x 68 x 8 cm. Letters: 4 cm.....	628
Plate 54: No.176 Cimiez. Dimensions: 18 - 21 x 65 cm.....	628
Plate 55: No.186 Crussol. Dimensions: 30 x 16 - 20 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 1.7 - 2.5 cm.	629
Plate 56: No.187 Crussol. Dimensions: unknown.....	629
Plate 57: No.192 Die. Dimensions: 107 x 52 cm. Letters: 4 cm.....	630
Plate 58: No.194 Die. Dimensions: 30 x 69 cm. Letters: 3 cm.....	630
Plate 59: No.196 Ecully. Dimensions: 54 x 36.5 cm.	630
Plate 60: No.200 Faucon-de-Barcelonnette. Dimensions: 26 x 39 x 8.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.....	631
Plate 61: No.217 Grenoble. Dimensions: 72 x 42 x 15 cm. Letters: 3 cm. approx.	631
Plate 62: No.218 Grenoble. Dimensions: 97 x 45 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.....	632
Plate 63: No.220 Grésy-sur-Aix. Dimensions: 56 x 61 x 23 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.....	632
Plate 64: No.223 Gruffy. Dimensions: 24 - 15 x 25 x 4.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. avg.	633
Plate 65: No.224 Guillerand. Dimensions: 51 x 18 x 2 cm. Letters: 2 cm. approx.....	633
Plate 66: No.225 Jongieux. Dimensions: 21 x 49 x 7.5 - 9.5 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.	634
Plate 67: No.226 La Baume-Cornillane. Dimensions: 19 x 32.5 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	634
Plate 68: No.227 La Côte-Saint-André. Dimensions: 30 x 43 x 3 cm. Letters: 2 cm.	634
Plate 69: No.233 La Tronche. Dimensions: 59.5 x 36 x 4.5 cm. Letters: 3 - 3.5 cm.....	635
Plate 70: No.239 Lorgues. Dimensions: 48.5 x 28 x 11 cm. Letters 3 cm.....	635
Plate 71: No.242 Luzinay. Dimensions: 40 x 29 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.	636
Plate 72: No.243 Luzinay. Dimensions: 38 x 32 x 5 cm. Letters: 1 - 4 cm.	636
Plate 73: No.244 Lyon, Cathedral District. Dimensions: 1.35 x 92 x 21 cm. Letters: 4 - 4.5 cm....	637
Plate 74: No.251 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 46 x 42 x 5 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm....	637
Plate 75: No.253 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 35 x 25.2 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 2 cm....	638
Plate 76: No.254 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 29 x 22 cm.....	638
Plate 77: No.255 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 40 x 31 x 9 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	638
Plate 78: No.256 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 19 x 45 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 3 cm.	639
Plate 79: No.257 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 21 x 31 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	639
Plate 80: No.262 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 41 x 20.2 cm. Letters: 1 - 3.5 cm....	640
Plate 81: No.263 Lyon, Saint-Just. Dimensions: 57 x 42 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average.	640
Plate 82: No.264 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 22 x 40 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.	641
Plate 83: No.265 Lyon, Saint-Just. Dimensions: 22 x 28 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.....	641
Plate 84: No.266 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 20 x 36.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm average.....	641
Plate 85: No.267 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 31 x 32 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.	642
Plate 86: No.268 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 35 x 59 cm.....	642
Plate 87: No.269 Lyon, Saint-Just. Dimensions: 43.5 x 59 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 3 cm.....	643
Plate 88: No.270 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 24 x 26 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 3 cm.	643
Plate 89: No.275 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 25 x 25 cm. Letters: 1 - 3 cm.	643
Plate 90: No.276 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 35 x 30.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm....	644
Plate 91: No.277 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 20 x 33 x 44 x 7 cm. Letters: 1.2 - 2 cm.	644
Plate 92: No.278 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 1.35 x 50 cm.....	644
Plate 93: No.279 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 42 x 45 cm. Letters: 3 cm.....	645
Plate 94: No.281 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 53 x 48 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm.	645
Plate 95: No.282 Lyon, Saint-Just. Dimensions: Originally 25 x 53 cm. now 32 x 28 cm. Letters: 2.5 average.	646
Plate 96: No.284 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 45 x 1.20 cm. Letters: 6 cm.	646
Plate 97: No.285 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 22 x 34 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.	646
Plate 98: No.289 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 21 x 45 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.	647
Plate 99: No.290 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 21 x 25.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm.	647
Plate 100: No.291 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 39 x 33.5 cm. Letters: 2 - 3.5 cm.	647
Plate 101: No.292 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 80 x 1.96 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	648
Plate 102: No.294 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 33 x 21 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	648
Plate 103: No.295 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 34 x 42 cm. Letters: 3 - 3.5 cm.	648
Plate 104: No.296 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 42.3 x 45 cm. Letters: 2 cm.	649
Plate 105: No.301 Lyon, Saint-Just. Dimensions: 43 x 29 x 12 - 15 cm. Letters: 2.4 - 1.7 cm.	649

Plate 106: No.314 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 32 x 26 x 2 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	650
Plate 107: No.315 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 47 x 39 x 5 cm. Letters: 2 cm.	650
Plate 108: No.317 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 30 x 22 x 5 cm. Letters: 4 cm.	650
Plate 109: No.322 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 29 x 18 x 4 cm. Letters: 2 cm. average.	651
Plate 110: No.336 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 43 x 49 x 21 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	651
Plate 111: No.339 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 29 x 60 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average.	652
Plate 112: No.343 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 25 x 25 cm. Letters: 3 - 3.5 cm.	652
Plate 113: No.349 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 39.5 x 33 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 3 cm.	652
Plate 114: No.351 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 40 x 27 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.	653
Plate 115: No.356 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 48 x 44 cm. Letters: 4 cm.	653
Plate 116: No.360 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 62 x 43 x 4 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.	654
Plate 117: No.361 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 27 x 48 x 5.5 cm. Letters: 1.8 - 2 cm.	654
Plate 118: No.362 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 94 x 23 x 4 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.	655
Plate 119: No.363 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 50 x 25 x 6 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	655
Plate 120: No.364 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 43 x 23 x 7 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.	655
Plate 121: No.365 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 33 x 32 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	656
Plate 122: No.366 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 56 x 26 x 8 cm. Letters: 2 cm.	656
Plate 123: No.367 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 90 x 31 x 3 cm. Letters: 4 cm.	656
Plate 124: No.370 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 30 x 25 x 4 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	657
Plate 125: No.371 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 37 x 34 x 4 cm. Letters: 4 - 4.5 cm.	657
Plate 126: No.372 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 27 x 18 x 3 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.	657
Plate 127: No.373 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 29 x 30 x 10 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average.	658
Plate 128: No.394 Lyon, Saint-Nizier. Dimensions: unknown.	658
Plate 129: No.399 Lyon, Saint-Nizier. Dimensions: 33 x 50 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.	658
Plate 130: No.401 Lyon, isolated finds. Dimensions: 29 x 38 cm.	659
Plate 131: No.406 Lyon, isolated finds. Dimensions: 19 x 21 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	659
Plate 132: No.407 Mâcon. Dimensions: 42 x 34 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm.	659
Plate 133: No.411 Marseille, Southern Cemetery. Dimensions: 23 x 19 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 2.5 cm.	660
Plate 134: No.412 Marseille, Southern Cemetery. Dimensions: height 31 cm. diameter 13.5 cm. Letters: 2 cm.	660
Plate 135: No.414 Marseille, Southern Cemetery. Dimensions: 36.5 x 22 x 2 - 3 cm. Letters: 2 - 3.5 cm.	660
Plate 136: No.415 Marseille, Southern Cemetery. Dimensions: 12 x 6 and 25 x 12 cm. Depth 1.5 cm. Letters: 1 - 1.5 cm.	661
Plate 137: No.416 Marseille, Southern Cemetery. Dimensions: 75 x 38 cm. Letters: 4.5 cm.	661
Plate 138: No.417 Marseille, Southern Cemetery. Dimensions: 47 x 43 to 66 cm. Letters: 4 cm. average.	662
Plate 139: No.426 Marseille, Northern Cemetery. Dimensions: 32 x 21 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 3 - 6 cm.	662
Plate 140: No.427 Marseille, Northern Cemetery. Dimensions: 25 x 9 x 4 - 7 cm. Letters: 2 cm. average.	662
Plate 141: No.431 Marseille, S.E. Cemetery. Dimensions: 55 x 34 x 5 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.	663
Plate 142: No.434 Mellecey. Dimensions: 40 x 51 x 9 cm. Letters: 2 - 4 cm.	663
Plate 143: No.438 Montfort. Dimensions: 42 x 45 x 3 cm. Letters: 4 cm.	664
Plate 144: No.441 Nacon. Dimensions: 42 x 30 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 4.5 cm.	664
Plate 145: No.442 Nacon. Dimensions: 64 x 59.5 cm. Letters: 4 cm approx.	664

Plate 146: No.458 Pact. Dimensions: 23 x 37 x 9.5 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.	665
Plate 147: No.459 Pamans. Dimensions: 33 x 40 cm. Letters: 3 cm approx.	665
Plate 148: No.460 Peyruis. Dimensions: 18.5 x 20 x 5 cm. Letters 1.5 - 2.5 cm.	666
Plate 149: No.463 Revel-Tourdan. Dimensions: 28.5 x 27 x 6 cm. Letters: 1.7 - 2.5 cm.	666
Plate 150: No.464 Revel-Tourdan. Dimensions: 29 x 29 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 2 cm.	667
Plate 151: No.465 Revel-Tourdan. Dimensions: 20 x 33 cm.	667
Plate 152: No.467 Saint-Alban-de-Bron. Dimensions: unknown.	667
Plate 153: No.468 Saint-Geniez-de-Dromon. Dimensions: 180 x 225 cm. Letters 7 - 8.5 cm.	668
Plate 154: No.469 Saint-Germain-du-Plain. Dimensions: 40 x 28 cm. Letters: 4 cm. average.	668
Plate 155: No.471 Saint-Jean-de-Bournay. Dimensions: 40 x 100 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	669
Plate 156: No.472 Saint-Jean-de-Bournay. Dimensions: 23 x 21 cm.	669
Plate 157: No.479 Saint-Maurice-de-Rémens. Dimensions: 20 x 40 cm.	669
Plate 158: No.482 Saint-Romain-d'Albon. Dimensions: 67 x 60 x 21 cm. Letters: 2.8 - 5 cm.	670
Plate 159: No.484 Saint-Romain-d'Albon. Dimensions: 10 x 22 cm.	670
Plate 160: No.488 Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas. Dimensions: 1.30 x 60 cm. Letters: 2.3 - 4 cm.	670
Plate 161: No.489 Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas. Dimensions: 148 x 50 x 20 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.	671
Plate 162: No.491 Saint-Thomé. Dimensions: 28 x 90 cm. Letters: 2 - 3.5 cm.	671
Plate 163: No.493 Saint-Vallier. Dimensions: 65 x 38 cm.	671
Plate 164: No.500 Soyons. Dimensions: 12 x 6 x 3 cm. Letters: 1.5 cm.	672
Plate 165: No.504 Touloud. Dimensions: 15 x 26 cm.	672
Plate 166: No.506 Trept. Dimensions: 26 x 30 cm. approx.	672
Plate 167: No.507 Urban. Dimensions: 27 x 25 x 6 cm. Letters: 1 - 1.5 cm. average.	673
Plate 168: No.508 Vaison-la-Romaine. Dimensions: 24 x 32 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	673
Plate 169: No.514 Vaison-la-Romaine. Dimensions: 48 x 39 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	673
Plate 170: No.520 Vaison-la-Romaine. Dimensions: 67 x 1.35 x 16 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.	674
Plate 171: No.521 Vaison-la-Romaine. Dimensions: 1.14 x 33 x 18 cm. Letters: 3.5 avg.	674
Plate 172: No.526 Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence). Dimensions: 31 x 20 cm.	675
Plate 173: No.530 Valence. Dimensions: 26 x 44 cm.	675
Plate 174: No.535 Venasque. Dimensions: 60 x 110 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.	675
Plate 175: No.537 Vézeronce. Dimensions: 84 x 60 x 22 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.	676
Plate 176: No.538 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 79 x 45 x 18 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	676
Plate 177: No.540 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 27.5 x 46 x 4 cm. Letters: 2 cm. approx.	677
Plate 178: No.541 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 26 x 40 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 3.5 cm.	677
Plate 179: No.543 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 33 x 55.5 x 4.5 cm. Letters: 4 - 6 cm.	677
Plate 180: No.545 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 32 x 29.5 x 4 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	678
Plate 181: No.546 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 24.5 x 27 x 4 cm. Letters: 2.3 cm.	678
Plate 182: No.547 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 26.5 x 24.5 x 3 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	678
Plate 183: No.548 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 68 x 29 x 10 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. approx.	679
Plate 184: No.549 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 38 x 85, (fragment : 19 x 27 x 8 cm), Letters: 4 cm.	679
Plate 185: No.550 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 32.5 x 34.5 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.	680
Plate 186: No.551 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 60 x 46.5 x 4 cm. Letters: 2.8 cm.	680
Plate 187: No.553 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 60 x 47 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.7 - 3 cm.	681
Plate 188: No.554 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 85 x 40 x 15 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	681
Plate 189: No.565 Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère. Dimensions: 74 x 41 x 4 cm. Letters: 3.5 - 3.8 cm.	682
Plate 190: No.568 Vienne, Saint-Sévère. Dimensions: 60 x 40 x 20.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	682
Plate 191: No.570 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 98 x 48 x 23 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	683
Plate 192: No.572 Vienne, Saint-Sévère. Dimensions: 106 x 56 x 13 cm. Letters: 3 - 3.8 cm.	683
Plate 193: No.579 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 55 x 38 x 1 cm. Letters: 1.7 - 1.9 cm.	684
Plate 194: No.581 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 42 x 37 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	684
Plate 195: No.585 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 94 x 40 x 7 cm. Letters: 3.5 - 3.7 cm.	685
Plate 196: No.588 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 30 x 40 x 13 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.	685
Plate 197: No.589 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 34 x 53 x 9 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.	686
Plate 198: No.593 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 78 x 178 x 25 cm. Letters: 2.2 cm.	686

Plate 199: No.594 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 105 x 39 x 6 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.	686
Plate 200: No.599 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 73 x 112 x 25 cm. Letters: 2.8 - 3.5 cm.	687
Plate 201: No.601 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 15.5 x 53 x 9.5 cm. Letters: 2.2 - 2.8 cm.	687
Plate 202: No.605 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 60 x 59 x 10 cm.; Letters: 3 - 4.5 cm.	687
Plate 203: No.609 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 73 x 112 x 25 cm. Letters: 1.6 - 2.4 cm.	688
Plate 204: No.615 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 47 x 183 x 29 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	688
Plate 205: No.617 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 37 x 29.5 x 5.5 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm apprx.	688
Plate 206: No.622 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 207 x 90 x 12 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 3.5 cm.	689
Plate 207: No.651 Vienne, Saint-Georges. Dimensions: 68 x 75 x 25 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	689
Plate 208: No.653 Vienne, Saint-Georges. Dimensions: unknown.	689
Plate 209: No.659 Vienne, Ste.Colombe. Dimensions: unavailable.	690
Plate 210: No.660 Vienne, Ste.Colombe. Dimensions: 48 x 56 cm.	690
Plate 211: No.661 Vienne, Ste.Colombe. Dimensions: 45 x 28 x 5 cm. Letters: 5.5 cm.	690
Plate 212: No.662 Vienne, Ste.Colombe. Dimensions: 25 x 45 cm. Letters: 4 - 5 cm.	691
Plate 213: No.668 Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal. Dimensions: 33 - 41 x 50 x 11.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm avg.	691
Plate 214: No.669 Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal. Dimensions: 66 x 103 x 9.5 cm. Letters: 3 - 4.5 cm.	691
Plate 215: No.673 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 34 x 30 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.8 cm.	692
Plate 216: No.674 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 24 x 60 x 9 cm. Letters: 2.3 - 3 cm.	692
Plate 217: No.676 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 18 x 50 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.2 cm.	692
Plate 218: No.678 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 45 x 58 x 15 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	693
Plate 219: No.682 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 46 x 30 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.	693
Plate 220: No.693 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 17 x 25 x 4 cm. Letters: 1.8 cm.	694
Plate 221: No.697 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 51.5 x 51.5 x 10 cm. Letters: 4.5 - 5 cm.	694
Plate 222: No.698 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 24 x 21 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 2.2 - 2.5 cm.	694
Plate 223: No.701 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 60 x 34 ^{top} x 29 ^{low} x 8 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm average.	695
Plate 224: No.705 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 40 x 33 x 9 cm. Letters: 4.5 cm.	695
Plate 225: No.710 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 30 x 38 x 6.5 cm. Letters: 3 - 3.5 cm.	695
Plate 226: No.711 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 32 x 70 cm.	696
Plate 227: No.715 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 32.5 x 24.5 x 2 - 2.7., Letters: 2.7 - 3 cm.	696
Plate 228: No.731 Vif. Dimensions: 47 x 45 x 9 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.	696
Plate 229: No.732 Vif. Dimensions: 26 x 19 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	697
Plate 230: No.734 Viviers. Dimensions: 35 x 22 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.	698
Plate 231: No.735 Viviers. Dimensions: 50 x 105 cm. Letters: 3 cm.	698
Plate 232: No.736 Viviers. Dimensions: 23 x 28 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 2 cm.	699
Plate 233: No.741 Yenne. Dimensions: 49 x 51 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.	699

ABBREVIATIONS

PRIMARY SOURCES

<i>BG</i>	Procopius, <i>Bellum Gothorum</i> , in <i>Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia</i> , ed. Haury, J. 3 Vols. (Leipzig, 1905-13).
<i>Chron.Gall.</i>	<i>Chronica Gallica, anno. 452</i> , in <i>Chronica Minora</i> 1, ed. Mommsen Th., in MGH.AA, IX. (Berlin, 1892), pp.615-66
<i>Chron.Min.</i>	<i>Chronica Minora</i> . Vols. I-III, ed. Mommsen, Th., in MGH, AA IX, XI and XIII (Berlin, 1892, 1894 and 1898).
<i>CLRE</i>	<i>Consuls of the Later Roman Empire</i> . Ed. Bagnall R.S., Cameron A., Schwartz, S.R. and Worp, K.A. (Atlanta, Georgia, 1987).
<i>Fredegar</i>	<i>Fredegarii Chronicorum Liber Quartus cum Continuationibus</i> , ed. Wallace-Hadrill, J.M. with translation, (London, 1960).
<i>GC</i>	Gregory of Tours, <i>Liber in Gloria Confessorum</i> , ed. Krusch, B., in MGH.SRM,I.2, (Berlin, 1885), pp.744-820,
<i>GM</i>	Gregory of Tours, <i>Liber in Gloria Martyrum</i> , ed. Krusch, B., in MGH.SRM,I.2, (Berlin, 1885), pp.484-561.
<i>HF</i>	Gregory of Tours, <i>Historia Francorum</i> , ed. Krusch, B., W.Levison and W.Arndt in MGH.SRM,I,1, (Berlin, 1937-1951). English translation by Thorpe, L., for Penguin Books, (Harmondsworth, 1974).
<i>Hydatius</i>	Hydatius, <i>Chronicon</i> . <i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. Migne, J.P. = PL.LI, Cols.873-890, (Paris, 1846).
<i>Leges Burg.</i>	<i>Leges Burgundionum</i> , ed. de Sallis, L. R., in MGH <i>Leges</i> , II,1 (Hanover, 1892).
<i>Lib.Hist.Fr.</i>	<i>Liber Historiae Francorum</i> , ed. Arndt W., in MGH, SRM, II (Hanover, 1884).
<i>Marcellinus</i>	Marcellinus Comes, <i>Chronica Minora II</i> , ed. Mommsen, Th., in MGH.AA.XI (Berlin, 1894), pp. 37-108.
<i>Marius</i>	Marius of Avenches. <i>Chronica Minora II</i> , ed. Mommsen, Th., in MGH.AA,XI (Berlin, 1894), pp. 225-239.
<i>Martial</i>	Martial. <i>Martial, Epigrams</i> , text and translation by Ker, W.C.A., two volumes for the Loeb Library Edition, (London,1919-20).
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> (Berlin, Hannover and Leipzig).
<i>MGH.A.A.</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi</i> (Berlin, Hannover and Leipzig).
<i>MGH.SRM</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</i> (Berlin, Hannover and Leipzig).
<i>MGH.SS.VII.</i>	<i>Chronologica regum Francorum stirpis Merowingicae</i> , ed. Krusch, B., in MGH.SS.VII, (Hanover, 1919), pp.468-515.
<i>Not.Dig.</i>	<i>Notitia Dignitatum Accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Latercula Provinciarum</i> . Ed. Seeck, O. (Berlin, 1876, reprinted 1962).
<i>P.L.</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. Migne, J.P. (Paris, 1846).
<i>Prosper</i>	Prosper Tiro, <i>Chronicon</i> , <i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. Migne, J.P. = PL.LI, Cols.534-608, (Paris, 1846).
<i>Rusticula</i>	<i>Vita Rusticulae siue Marciae Abbatissae Arelatensis</i> , ed. Krusch, B. in MGH.SRM.4, VII, (Berlin, 1902), pp.337-351.
<i>Sermones</i>	Caesarius of Arles, <i>Sermones</i> , Morin, G., Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CCIII-CIV, (Turnhout, 1953).
<i>Sidonius, Ep.</i>	Sidonius Apollinaris, <i>Poems and Letters</i> , text and translation by Anderson, W.B., two volumes for the Loeb Library Edition, (London, 1936 and 1965).
<i>Strabo</i>	Strabo, <i>Opera</i> , text and translation by Jones, H.L., 8 Volumes for the Loeb Library Edition, (London, 1917-33).
<i>Victor</i>	Victor Tununnensis, <i>Chronica</i> , ed.Mommsen, Th. in MGH.AA. <i>Chronica Minora saec. IV – VII</i> , (II), (Berlin,1892).

<i>Vita Auiti</i>	<i>Vita Beati Auiti Episcopi Viennensis</i> , ed. R. Peiper in MGH.AA.VI,2, (Berlin 1883).
VJ	Gregory of Tours, <i>Liber de Passione et Virtutibus S. Iuliani Martyris</i> , in MGH.SRM, 1.2, (Berlin, 1885), pp.562-583.
VM	Gregory of Tours, <i>Libri I-IV De Virtutibus S. Martini Episcopi</i> , in MGH.SRM, 1.2, (Berlin, 1885), pp.584-660.
VP	Gregory of Tours, <i>Liber Vitae Patrum</i> , in MGH.SRM, I.2, (Berlin, 1885), pp.661-743.

SECONDARY SOURCES

A.E.	Année Epigraphique.
C.E.	<i>Anthologia Latina, pars posterior, Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> , 2 Vols. Ed. Buecheler F., Riese A. Leipzig, (1895-1897); supplement: <i>Anthologia Latina, pars posterior, Carmina Latina Epigraphica, Supplementum</i> . Ed. Buecheler F., Riese E., Lommatzsch F. (Leipzig, 1926).
CIL.XII	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Vol. XII, ed. Hirschfeld, O. (Berlin, 1888).
CIL.XIII	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Vol. XIII, (Berlin, 1899), ed. Hirschfeld, O. Supplement, ed. Hirschfeld, O. (Berlin 1916).
e.q.f.n.	<i>et qui nuntiatus fuerit</i> (= and whomsoever will be appointed).
FEAG	<i>Fastes Episcopaux de l'Ancienne Gaule</i> . 3 Vols, Duchesne, L., (Paris, 1907, 1910 and 1915).
ICG	<i>Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e Siècle</i> . 2 Vols. Ed. Le Blant, E. (Paris, 1856 and 1865).
ICMAMNS	<i>Les Inscriptions Chrétiennes de Marseille, Alpes Maritimes et Narbonnaise Seconde (des Origines jusqu'à l'An 800)</i> . Mémoire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (IV ^e Section). Two Vols. Guyon, J. (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis), (Paris, 1972).
ICVR	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores</i> , 2 Vols. Ed. Rossi, G.B. de, Rome 1857-1861, 1886; <i>Supplementum</i> to Vol. 1, Gatti J., (Rome, 1915).
ICVR.NS	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, Nova Series</i> , 9 Vols., ed. Silvagni, A. and Ferrua, A. (Rome, 1922).
ILCV	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> , Vols I-III, (Vol. IV supplement published in 1967), ed. Diehl, E. (with supplement by Moreau J. and Marrou H.I.), (Berlin, 1931 and 1967).
ILGN	<i>Inscriptions Latines de Gaule Narbonnaise</i> , ed. Espérandieu, E. (Paris, 1929).
ILN	<i>Inscriptions Latines de Narbonnaise: Fréjus</i> , 44 ^e supplément à Gallia, ed. Gascou, J. (Paris, 1985).
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , ed. Dessau, H., (Berlin, 1892-1916).
ILTG	<i>Inscriptions Latines des Trois Gaules</i> , 17 ^e supplément à Gallia, ed. Willeumier, P. (Paris, 1963).
NR	<i>Nouveau Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e Siècle</i> , ed. Le Blant, E., (Paris, 1892).
p.c.	Post Consulate.
PIL	<i>Paléographie des Inscriptions Latines du III^e Siècle à la fin du VII^e</i> , ed. Le Blant, E. (Paris, 1898).
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> ed. Minge, J.P., (Paris, from 1850), and supplements, ed. Hamman, A., (Paris, 1958-1974).
PLRE	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , Vol.II, A.D.395-527, Martindale, J.R., (Cambridge, 1980).
RICG.I	<i>Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule, Volume I, Première Belgique</i> , Gauthier, N., (Paris, 1975).

- RICG.XV *Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule, Vol. XV, Viennoise du Nord.* Descombes, F., (Paris, 1985).
- Riv.Arch.Crist. *Epitaphes Chrétiennes Récemment Découvertes à Lyon.* (Rivista Archéologia Cristiana, Descombes, F. and Reynaud, J-F., (Rome, 1978), pp.265-302.
- S.H.A.B.E.
TC.I *Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Briord et ses Environs. Province Ecclésiastique de Treves (Belgica Prima). Topographie Chrétienne des Cités de la Gaule des Origines au Milieu du VIII^e Siècle, Vol.I,* Gauthier, N., (series ed. Gauthier, N. and Picard, J.-Ch.), (Paris, 1986).
- TC.II *Provinces Ecclésiastiques de Aix et d'Embrun (Narbonensis Secunda et Alpes Maritimae). Corse par Pergola P. Topographie Chrétienne des Cités de la Gaule des Origines au Milieu du VIII^e Siècle, Vol.II,* Duval, Y., Février P.A., Guyon and J. Pergola P., (series ed. N.Gauthier and J.-Ch. Picard), (Paris, 1986).
- TC.III *Provinces Ecclésiastiques de Vienne et d'Arles (Viennensis et Alpes Graiae et Poeninae). Topographie Chrétienne des Cités de la Gaule des Origines au Milieu du VIII^e Siècle, Vol.III,* Biame J., Colardelle R., Février P-A., Bonnet C., Descombes F. et al., (series ed. N.Gauthier and J.-Ch. Picard), (Paris, 1986).
- TC.IV *Province Ecclésiastique de Lyon (Lugdunensis Prima). Topographie Chrétienne des Cités de la Gaule des Origines au Milieu du VIII^e Siècle, Vol.IV,* Beaujard B., Février P-A, Picard J-C. Petri C. and Reynaud J-F., (series ed. Gauthier, N. and Picard, J.-Ch.), (Paris, 1986).
- TC.V *Province Ecclésiastique de Tours (Lugdunensis Tertia). Topographie Chrétienne des Cités de la Gaule des Origines au Milieu du VIII^e Siècle, Vol.V,* Pietri, L. and Biarne, J., (series ed. Gauthier, N. and Picard, J.-Ch.), (Paris, 1986).
- TC.VI *Province Ecclésiastique de Bourges (Aquitania Prima). Topographie Chrétienne des Cités de la Gaule des Origines au Milieu du VIII^e Siècle, Vol.VI,* Prevot, F. and Barral I Altet, X, (series ed. Gauthier, N. and Picard, J.-Ch.), (Paris, 1986).
- TC.VII *Province Ecclésiastique de Narbonne (Narbonensis Prima). Topographie Chrétienne des Cités de la Gaule des Origines au Milieu du VIII^e Siècle, Vol.VII,* Février, P-A. and Barral I Altet, X, (series ed. Gauthier, N. and Picard, J.-Ch., (Paris, 1986).
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INTRODUCTION

Badian's introduction to the English translation of Susini's *The Roman Stonecutter* (1973: 1) provides a most succinct case for the study of inscriptions:

The study of inscriptions gives us an opportunity for an immediacy of contact with ancient life, such as no other discipline within the field of ancient studies (except for the special and limited case of papyrology) can provide. Literature provides valuable access to a privileged elite; archaeology can give us something of the feel of daily life by revealing the objects of the physical environment. But the elite was relatively small and not representative of ordinary people, and the objects are mute. It is only the inscription that actually speaks to us as it did to contemporaries. The epigraphist, for this very reason, cannot isolate himself within an autonomous discipline. he must be a historian and an archaeologist, a palaeographer and a philologist, drawing on - and in turn contributing to - all these disciplines and others. In a sense, he stands at the centre of ancient studies.

The *corpus* of late antique and early medieval inscriptions from South Eastern Gaul comprises almost half the total recorded within France, where they are concentrated largely along the valley of the River Rhône. In the Western provinces of the Roman Empire only Trier, in *Belgica Prima*, has yielded an equivalent number of inscriptions and numerically it is the greatest concentration outside of Rome where more than 1500 are known. The aim of this study is to make a comparative survey of the inscriptions (in stone) from the Metropolitan Dioceses of Lyon, Vienne and Arles between the fourth and eighth centuries AD, taking into account associated elements such as decor, palaeography, orthography, language and formulae. They will further be examined with the purpose of relating them to the documentary and archaeological sources.

In the West, Roman civilisation had penetrated South Eastern Gaul more than any other region (Geary 1988: 143) and it was here that Christianity gained its first converts and where the first episcopal sees were established (FEAG.I: 1-29). For these reasons alone Gallo-Roman traditions might be expected to linger longer than elsewhere, but there are marked differences between inscriptions set up during the Gallo-Roman period and the early medieval: during the Gallo-Roman period many are votive or honorific as well as funerary, but in the early medieval they are almost exclusively funerary (Heidrich 1968: 167). This suggests a notable change in emphasis regarding why they were set up, not least of which is the adoption of Christianity. Moreover, such a *corpus* may be expected to reflect demographic changes during this period of Germanic invasion and subsequent settlement; did such changes affect the numbers of inscriptions set up and even their textual content over time? As already stated, sentiments expressed on an inscription exposed to public view are expressly designed to be read by the passer-by, thereby recording something of the *mores* of the society that inscribed them, the

spread of literacy and fashions in orthography and palaeography. In sum, this *corpus* offers an invaluable mirror to the evolving society of South Eastern Gaul during the transition from the Gallo-Roman to early medieval.

SOUTH-EAST GAUL: TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

It is a commonplace that the topography and climate of South Eastern Gaul, as elsewhere, have a direct bearing on settlement and land use; in consequence, the distribution of inscriptions is directly related to these factors and therefore a brief description is justified together with some general observations on settlement (more fully covered below). The region is vast, one quarter the size of modern France, and displays an enormous diversity of topography and climate. To the north is the Great European Plain, south of which the Roman province of *Gallia Narbonensis* (which included Provence, Languedoc, Roussillon, Foix, the Dauphiné and Savoie) came into being chiefly because it is well defined geographically by the Mediterranean to the south, the Alps on the east, the Cévennes and the Massif Central in the north and the Pyrenees in the south-west. The main geographical feature is the valley of the river Rhône, meandering from Lake Genève south-westwards to Lyon, where it is met by the Saône, whence it turns south, eventually meeting the sea south of Arles (Rivet 1988: 3).

In the north-east is the mountain range of the Jura, the southern hills of which encroach upon the Metropolitan of *Lugdunensis Prima*. This limestone range is heavily eroded, resulting in many underground river courses and caves. Heavily wooded in parts, it is sparsely populated today and must have been inhospitable during the early medieval period. To the west are the plateaux and plains of the northern reaches of the Saône. This river eventually joins the Rhône at Lyon and subsequently forms an enormous channel between the Alps to the east and the Massif Central to the west - a distance of some 500 kilometres and a climate moving from continental to Mediterranean. The plateaux and plains of the Saône are predominantly agricultural today, but further south, around Lyon and the Dauphinoise, the land is topographically more complex, today supporting more industry than agriculture. The further south one travels, the more frequent are fluvial plains where rivers such as the Isère meet the Rhône, eventually terminating in the Rhône delta. Again, the predominant industry is agriculture (Le Lannou 1964: 119-21, 131-5).

The region between Dijon and Bourg-en-Bresse is gently undulating and monotonous, supporting today a large agricultural industry. Around Dijon and Mâcon the predominance of vine production continues to be as famous as in Gregory of Tours' day (*HF: III*, 19); however, around Bourg-en-Bresse the land is often marshy and though partly drained today, cannot have been much inhabited - few Gallo-Roman villa sites are known (Rivet 1988: 302, Fig.42). Settlement close to the banks of the Saône is rare; though a large, slow moving river, its flood plain is wide and settlement therefore vulnerable. However, the vast plain around Chalon-sur-

Saône today supports cereal and sunflower crops in profusion; the former must also have been the agricultural mainstay during Late Antiquity since the large cities of Langres, Dijon, Mâcon, Chalon-sur-Saône and Lyon would have consumed vast supplies.

The area stretching from Bourg-en-Bresse to around Lyon is agriculturally poor and at Lyon itself, where the Saône and Rhône converge, the foothills of the Massif Central to the west and the Alps to the east restrict access. The strategic importance of Lyon as a natural cross-road was seized by the Romans as it provided access to the north via the Saône, the south via the Rhône, the Massif Central and the Loire via the cols des Sauverges, de Tarare and des Echarmeaux, and the east (and consequently Italy) via the pre-Alpine valleys. To the south-east of Lyon is La Dombes, a region dotted with small natural lakes. Their number has been reduced since the nineteenth century and few Gallo-Roman villas are known (*ibid.*). The only major town is Revel-Tourdan (*Turedonnum*) but the distribution of early medieval cemeteries placed close by Gallo-Roman habitats shows that although sparsely inhabited, peripheral regions were not, especially around Bourgoin and towards Valence (Colardelle 1983: 364, Fig. 132). This is borne out by the epigraphic evidence and the increasing number of rural cemeteries through to the eighth century suggest there may have been increased occupation of the region (*ibid.*: 367, Fig. 134).

Further east, the foothills of the Alps provide more pasture than arable land, though today the Isère valley is dotted with walnut groves; Gallo-Roman and early medieval settlement was sparse and beyond Grenoble few villas are known in the Isère valley. Further west, in the Rhône valley, the only town of importance is, and was, Vienne: today an industrial town, its development has always been circumscribed by its slender river plain and the proximity of the valley sides. South of Vienne the Rhône valley narrows and Gallo-Roman and early medieval settlement on the right bank was confined to the river banks as far as Avignon, much as today. The left bank differs in that the river confluences of the Isère and Drôme, for instance, provide flat alluvial plains suitable for the production of fruit and vines (Le Lannou 1964: 142). On the right bank, where the river Escoutay meets the Rhône at Viviers, and further south where the Ardèche and Cèze also join it, the alluvial plains and river valleys supported Gallo-Roman estates and the small town of Alba (*Alba Heluorum*). Further west, the hills of the Ardèche rise to the Massif central which were too rugged to support settlement, much as today. On the eastern side the Alpine summits are more distant and particularly important water courses are the Arve, the Isère, on which Grenoble stands, the Drôme with Die, the Aygues, with Nyon, the Ouvèze, with Vaison-la-Romaine, and the Durance. The Durance has special significance as its valley provided the main communication route between the lower Rhône and Italy through the passes in the Cottian Alps. On this left bank, the plains of Montélimar and Valence today support an enormous fruit growing industry which, with their proximity to the Mediterranean, suffer summer drought and thus require extensive irrigation (*ibid.*: 143). The influence of the

geography on settlement patterns is especially marked here: Rivet (1988: 5) notes Strabo's comments (*IV*, 1, 14) that the Rhône was not ideal for navigation; early traffic passed not upstream but high up the valley to the east.

Further south, at Avignon and beyond, Provence proper is reached stretching along the coast to the Italian border. When the Rhône passes west of Arles at the apex of the Rhône delta it is bounded on the south by the Chaîne des Alpilles. Only two mouths of the delta are of any significance; the Great Rhône to the east and the Little Rhône to the west. To the east of the Great Rhône is the agriculturally poor plain of La Crau. Only four rivers have any importance, the Var, traditionally forming the boundary between Gaul and Italy, the Argens, which flows down to Fréjus, the Gapeau, which flows out to the sea near the Hyères, and the Arc, which feeds the Etang de Berre. Provence was doubtless more heavily wooded then though the presence of many iron age *oppida* suggest that the region was heavily populated by the time of the Roman occupation (Rivet 1988: 7), though evidence for rural occupation during the late antique and early medieval period is slight at present (see below). The inland mountains are not high, though some summits behind Digne rise beyond 2000 metres: nearer the coast the Lubéron and Alpilles are generally less than 1000 metres. The most profound geological factor (and one that had political ramifications) is the vast depression of the valley of the Durance. A vast gulf in a semi-mountainous terrain, olive cultivation is possible as far north as Sisteron (*ibid.*: 168). Doubtless this phenomenon, together with their location within the only easily navigated valleys in the region, explains the presence of the Gallo-Roman cities of Embrun, Gap, and Sisteron itself amongst others.

The Alpine region proper extends from Genève to Digne-les-Bains. The French Alps are substantially lower than their Swiss counterparts with an average height of about 1100 metres. The northern and southern Alps are generally regarded as having their border at the col del la Croix Haute and the col du Bayard (*ibid.*: 185). As might be expected, the southern region contains more settlement; in the north sites are confined to the valley floors of the major passes. Nevertheless, several small way-stations and other settlements are known from the Gallo-Roman period, even if their strategic or commercial importance was never great; no doubt their survival was aided through their proximity to the Mediterranean. In the north winter conditions impeded large scale settlement until modern times except at Moutiers, Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, Albertville and Briançon, all of which lie on major valley routes between France and Italy.

POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The modern literature is extensive and only an outline is presented here in order to emphasise how political changes affected South Eastern Gaul. The period embraces the years between the promulgation of Constantine I's so-called Edict of Toleration in 313 and the fall of the

Merovingian dynasty in Gaul in the middle of the eighth century. The intervening centuries witnessed both the spread of the Christian faith throughout the Western Roman Empire and the invasion and subsequent take-over of this by Germanic tribes. Many tribal groups took part in these invasions, but only three were to emerge in Gaul as coherent political powers towards the end of the fifth century: in northern Gaul the Franks settled between the Rhine to the east and Brittany to the west, establishing their capital at Paris from about 500 (Figure 1); the Visigoths held Aquitaine from the south of the Loire to the Pyrenees and Provence as far as the modern Italian border, establishing their capital at Toulouse; a third group, the Burgundians, occupied an area centred between Genève and Lyon (the royal family resided first at Genève and later at Lyon). This situation was not destined to last as by the end of the third decade of the sixth century the Franks had gained ascendancy over all Gaul except for a narrow strip of land to the north of the Pyrenees which remained under Visigothic control (Wallace-Hadrill 1967: 9-43; Musset 1975: 6-85; Goffart 1980: *passim*; James 1982: 13-41; Geary 1988: 39-77; Wood 1994: 5-19).

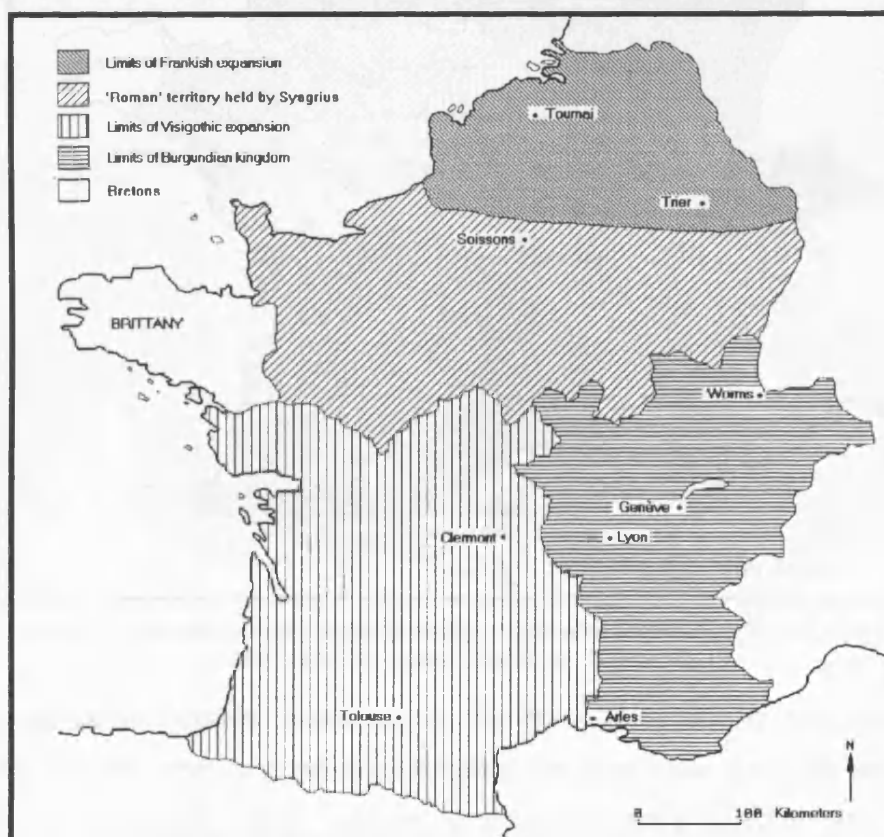


Figure 1: The political divisions in Gaul in 475 (after Musset 1975: Fig.2).

In the fourth century the defence of the West had become increasingly dependent upon mobile field armies, the *comitatus* (rather than the old-style Legions), to confront increasing barbarian raids across all the frontiers. These *comitatus* were augmented by groups of allied barbarians, known as *laeti* or *foederati* and *gentes*, settled in depopulated regions within the

Empire itself, primarily in the exposed frontier provinces. Modern scholars have argued that the system of *hospitalitas* meant that the Germanic tribes were ceded land, whilst others have proposed that they were granted rights to collect certain taxes (cf. Goffart 1980). Nevertheless, evidently sufficient military strength remained to ensure that any settlement was favourable to the Roman authorities during the first quarter of the fifth century (*ibid.*: 58). The process of re-settling entire *gentes* had begun with the Goths in Thrace in 376; subsequent vicissitudes at the hands of the Roman officials led to the destruction of a Roman army at Adrianople in 378. Further treaties with the Roman authorities did not last and under their king Alaric they moved into the Peloponnese in 395 and thence into Italy in 401 (Geary 1988: 20-24).

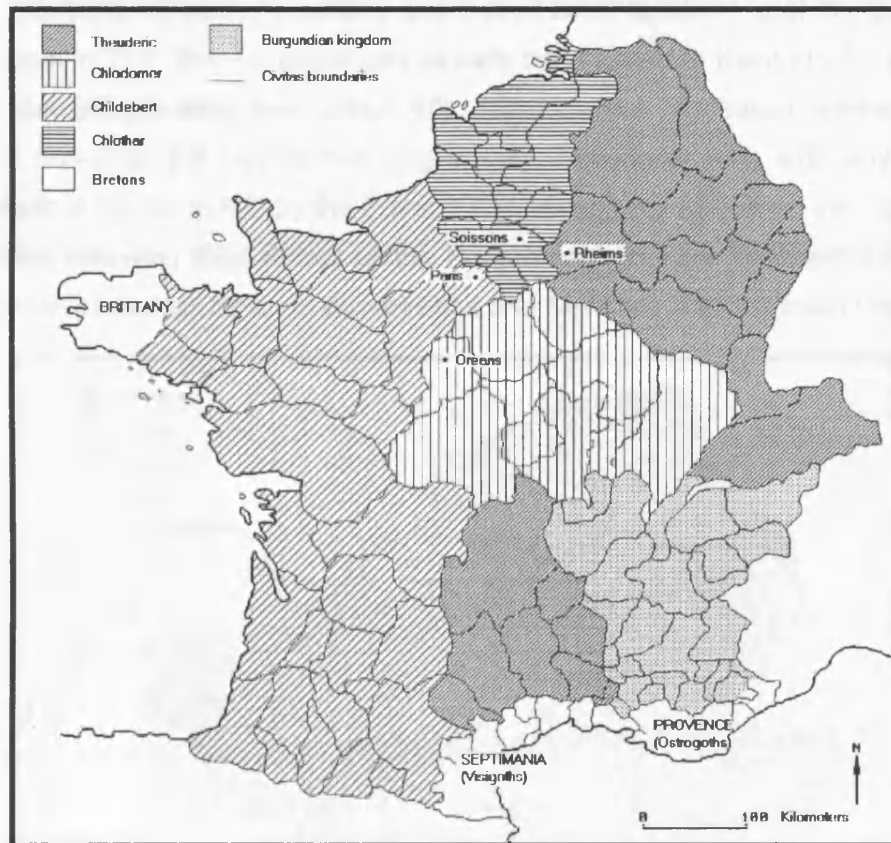


Figure 2: The approximate political divisions of Gaul after the death of Clovis in 511 (based in part on James 1988: Figs. 12 and 19).

A massive barbarian incursion overwhelmed the Rhine *limes* in 406, principally comprising Alans, Sueves, Vandals and Burgundians. Of these, the Burgundians sought land in Gaul and supported the unsuccessful Roman usurper, Jovinus, but were defeated and subsequently settled under a *foedus* in 418, possibly near Worms. Their attempts to expand were crushed in 436 by the Roman general Aetius who subsequently resettled them in 443 under another *foedus* in the area of *Sapaudia*, whose exact geographical location remains unknown but was probably centred around Genève in the Southern Jura (Musset 1975: 62). However, by the third quarter of the fifth century the Roman authorities had lost control of the West forever, though one field army stationed in Northern Gaul held out independently for 25 years after the death of

Majorian in 461, first under its commander Aegidius and then under the leadership of his son, Syagrius. It was defeated by the Franks under Clovis at Soissons, probably in 486 (HF, 2: 18-19).

Only South Eastern Gaul remained truly 'Roman' - that is tied to the Western Roman Emperor whose power was vested in the Praetorian Prefect at Arles. However, Provence was ceded to the Visigoths once it was abandoned by the Italian leader Odoacer in 477. The Visigoths had occupied Aquitaine since concluding a treaty with emperor Honorius, designed to regain Gaul from the usurper Jovinus. In 413 Athaulf had led his army into Aquitaine and seized control of Narbonne, Toulouse and Bordeaux (Geary 1988: 70). The Visigoths were to retain their hold on Aquitaine for nearly a century and indeed held Narbonne until the collapse of their Spanish kingdom in 711. The Auvergne had already been ceded to them in 475, and Lyon was occupied by the Burgundians from about 472. Nevertheless, an Italian connection was re-established in 508-9 by the Ostrogothic king of Italy, Theodoric, who took advantage of the Visigothic defeat at Vouillé in 507 by the Franks. This lasted until 537 when the region fell under Frankish control following their defeat of the Burgundians in 534. Thenceforth the Visigoths resigned themselves to their Spanish possessions and *Septimania* in Southern Gaul.

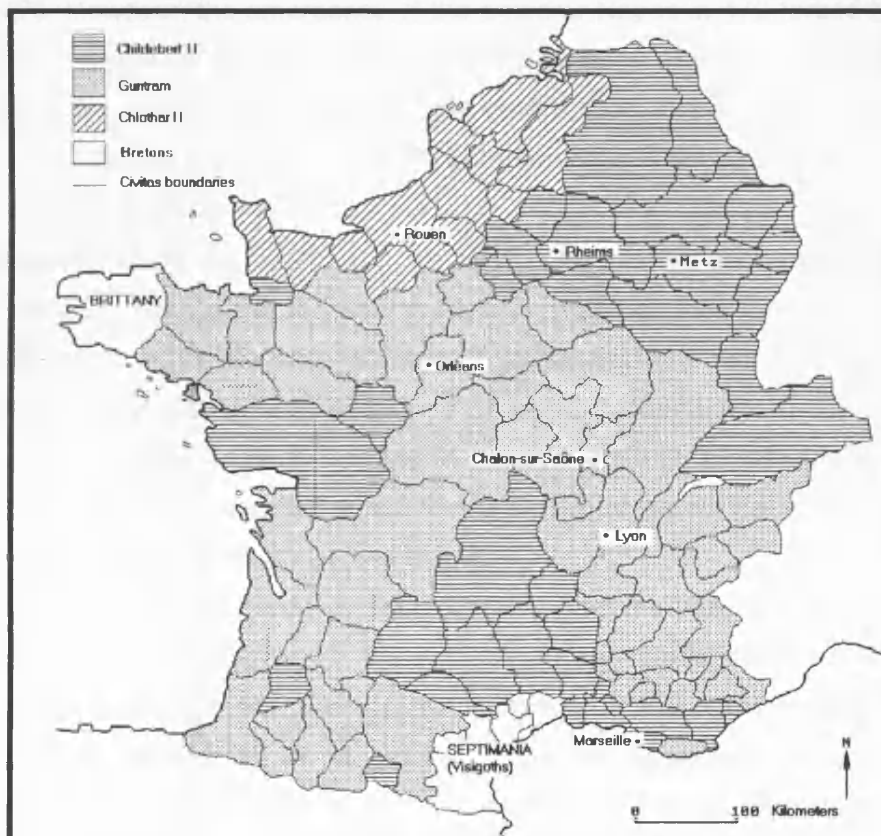


Figure 3: The political divisions of Gaul in 587 after the treaty of Andelot (after James 1988: Fig.22).

The Burgundians arguably formed that Germanic kingdom most likely to preserve *Romanitas* since they had lived within the Empire as defeated subjects; certainly they accomplished much

towards the creation of a peaceful successor state during the second half of the fifth century (Boyson 1988: 91). Significantly, the lifetime and geographical position of their kingdom also embodies nearly half of the inscriptions from South Eastern Gaul; it therefore merits further scrutiny. Following their grant of lands in 443 in *Sapaudia*, they fought loyally for the Romans against Attila in 451 and the Sueves in Spain in 456. Nonetheless, upon their return in 457 they seized much of *Lugdunensis Prima* and *Viennensis* as payment in kind for their services (Musset 1975: 63 but *cf. Marius: a.456* where the previous year is cited). They withdrew when the Emperor Majorian brought his army to bear but as soon as the Roman forces withdrew they once again took Lyon, c.461. Thence they extended their control of the Rhône region towards the south, taking Die in 463, Vaison-la-Romaine c.474 and Langres before 485 (Musset *ibid.*) Effectively, by the end of the fifth century, their kingdom extended from the southern Champagne region to the river Durance in the south and eastwards towards the *Alpes Maritimes*.

The Burgundian kingdom may have had two capitals, the king residing at Lyon, his heir at Genève (*ibid.*). King Gundobad (480-516) had previously been of high military rank in Italy, second-in-command to Ricimer, and had helped put Olybrius on the throne in 472, and Glycerius in 473. However, the emergence of the emperor Nepos in 473 forced him to return to his own domains in Gaul. In 490 he supported Odoacer against Theoderic, but without success. The Burgundians were Arians but appear to have been largely tolerant and on good terms with the Catholic Gallo-Roman population; Gundobad in particular enjoyed a good relationship with the Metropolitan bishop of Vienne, Avitus.

Their settlement (using the distribution of cemeteries) shows a concentration in western Switzerland, the Jura and plain of the Saône; however, they are rare in modern Burgundy and Savoy and even more so south of the river Isère (Colardelle 1983: Fig. 141). The Burgundians adapted well to urban life as archaeological research undertaken at Genève and Lyon demonstrate (see Chapter One): ecclesiastical building projects of considerable scale were carried out under the kings, supporting the few glimpses of urban life offered by the literary sources such as the letters of Sidonius (see below).

The Burgundian kingdom suffered constant pressure from the Visigoths and the Franks; their numbers were too few to counteract this and the Franks could capitalise on their recent conversion to Catholicism, in turn winning the sympathy of the Gallo-Roman population. As early as 500 Clovis penetrated as far south as Vienne, exploiting the civil war between Gundobad and his brother, Godegisel. In c.516 Sigismund, heir to Gundobad, converted to Catholicism but by 523 the Burgundians had lost control south of the Drôme (and possibly south of the Isère). Subsequently the Franks captured and assassinated Sigismund. His successor, Godomar, defeated the Franks at Vézeronce in 524, and managed to keep the kingdom intact until 534, when the Franks are recorded as seizing the entire kingdom (*Marius: a.534*).

Subsequently the Franks respected both the institutions and the nationality of the remaining Burgundians (James 1988: 94).

In 537 the Ostrogoths were forced to withdraw from Provence, ceding it to the Franks (Wolfram 1988: 344). Thus, within three generations the Franks had become masters of all the old Roman provinces of *Gallia* and *Germania* and had achieved a measure of stability which endured until the middle of the eighth century. However, the Frankish tradition of dividing up the realm between sons led to a series of sporadic fratricidal wars which ultimately led to the demise of the Merovingian dynasty.

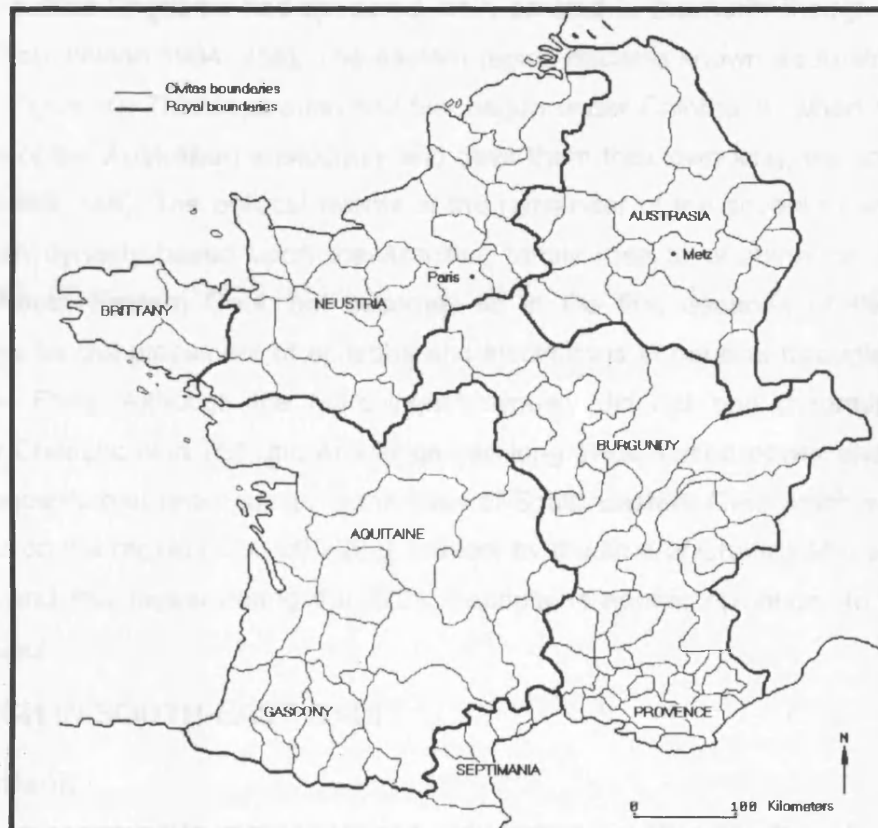


Figure 4: The political divisions of Gaul in the seventh century (after James 1988: Fig.25).

Following the death of Clovis in 511, his four sons (Theuderic, Childebert, Chlodomer, and Chlothar) divided the kingdom between them (Figure 2). Their reigns were marked by further consolidation of Gaul and several military ventures: against the Visigoths in *Septimania* in 531, a campaign which reached as far as Saragossa in Spain; Burgundy in 534, south of the Durance in c.538; and campaigns in Italy during the 540s. Whilst nominally extending the power of the individual kings concerned, no region appears to have been colonised in depth by the Franks, whose leaders appear to have been content to allow the *ciuitates* to remain administered according to the old Gallo-Roman system (James 1988: 108-117). The death of Chlothar in 561 presaged a further redistribution of land between scions of the royal family but in 584, following the death of Chilperic, Guntram remained sole adult king; his nephew,

Childebert, had not yet attained majority. In 587 the two came to terms over the division of lands in what is known as the treaty of Andelot (Figure 3), where, notably, they agreed access to Marseille (*HF: VI*, 33 - notable since events in South Eastern Gaul are rarely mentioned in the Chronicles). Guntram died in 592 and Childebert in 596; they were succeeded by Chlothar II (until 629) and his son, Dagobert (died 638). As documented, major political events for the remainder of the seventh century seem to have largely passed by South Eastern Gaul.

The kings that followed are generally regarded as weak: certainly, from the middle of the seventh century the aristocracy, led by the mayors of the palace, were making their presence felt and two distinct kingdoms had appeared, both centred in the north though their domains included all Gaul (Wood 1994: 255). The eastern region became known as Austrasia, the west as Neustria (Figure 4). This separation had first begun under Chlothar II, when he acceded to the demands of the Austrasian aristocracy and gave them their own king, his son Dagobert in 623 (Wood 1988: 146). The political events of the remainder of the seventh century, whereby the Austrasian dynasty based upon the Arnulfing family rose to prominence, is not directly relevant to South Eastern Gaul, but becomes so in the first decades of the eighth, with consequences for the placement of epitaphs and inscriptions in general throughout the region (see Chapter Five). Although the Merovingian dynasty did not end theoretically until the deposition of Childeric III in 751, the Arnulfings had long since seized power and had begun a series of conquests and reconquests in the case of South Eastern Gaul which were to have a marked effect on the region (*ibid.*: 290-292); indeed, by the time of Charles Martel's reconquest of Aquitaine and this region during the 720s, inscriptions appear no longer to be erected in South East Gaul.

THE CHURCH IN SOUTH-EAST GAUL

Early Christianity

Some Christian communities in the West had early beginnings though information is scarce: at Lyon a persecution during the episcopate of Saint Irenaeus attests an established community by the middle of the second century whilst others later grew rapidly through imperial encouragement at urban centres such as Arles. The Christian communities had suffered sporadic persecution in Gaul, particularly during the reigns of Decius and Diocletian in the second half of the third century, but were never so vigorous as to have a lasting effect. In sum, the Christian Church in the West during the first four centuries AD progressed from a scattering of small communities to become the dominant religion with its own highly articulate and literate leaders possessing the ability to express its doctrine relatively clearly. Nevertheless, this did not allow the Church to escape from the acrimony, internal bitterness and strife that ensued with the schisms developed over points of doctrine and other matters though Donatism was never important in Western Europe (mainly affecting Africa), and Priscillianism only briefly came to

notice in Gaul at the trial of Priscillianus at Trier. At the start of the fifth century the effect of the barbarian invasions was of far greater importance to the Gallic Church, effectively pushing aside (temporarily) issues of doctrine (Chadwick 1967: 224).

Some Church leaders assisted the resistance against the barbarian invaders though only the Auvergne stood firm against the Goths until the third quarter of the fifth century thanks to the leadership of its bishop, Sidonius Appollinaris. Other regions had to come to often compromising terms; south of the Loire the effect was that the Gallo-Roman aristocracy now lived side by side with Goths and Burgundians who were Arian Christians. Nevertheless, northern Gaul suffered more than the southern regions due to far greater Germanic settlement; in Aquitaine and the Rhône valley immigration was less numerous and therefore less disruptive which helped preserve ecclesiastical traditions almost intact. This lack of disruption allowed the issue of Pelagianism to continue, particularly in Provence. It had arisen at the time of the Germanic invasions and had become a force through the speculative thought of a British monk, Pelagius. His proposition, that man could attain grace through his own efforts, was in direct conflict with Augustine of Hippo whose *Ciuitas Dei* expounded almost an exact opposite, predestination. This difference in doctrine was of far greater importance for the West than any other question of orthodoxy apart from Arianism (*ibid.*: 228). However, Augustine's standpoint was received with much reservation in southern Gaul, most strongly in the communities founded by John Cassian. The history of Pelagianism is important because it provides an insight into the theological thinking in the region during the fifth and sixth centuries. As an issue it was a long drawn out affair and the Gallic bishops did not come to a compromise agreement until the council of Orange in 529, where it was decreed that divine grace is prior to any human response (Pontal 1989: 95). The frequent yet irregular church councils became the main forum by which the Metropolitan and *ciuitas* bishops met, partly to discuss orthodoxy but mainly to maintain order within the orthodox Catholic Church. Such organisational capacities had come about slowly; thus it is necessary to outline something of the manner by which the earliest bishoprics came into existence.

The Earliest Bishoprics

The embryonic Church system by the mid-second century was urban based, though its small communities had to keep secret their activities for fear of persecution; an urban base was to be expected in a world that looked to the city as its focal point. The circumstances surrounding the establishment of the early bishoprics are unclear. There were probably about one hundred bishoprics in Italy c.AD 250 but for Spain and Gaul the first authentic glimpses of Christianity are found in those cities with Greek-speaking communities such as Lyon and Vienne (Latourette 1975: 77-78). Nonetheless, a relatively swift diffusion of Christianity can be envisaged and by the early fifth century most *ciuitas* capitals had become an episcopal see and

the Metropolitan bishop at the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was generally based in the major city of each diocese (1992: 144). However, even the position of the Metropolitan sees themselves was not immovable as the primatial claims of the bishop of Arles during the early fifth century demonstrate (*FEAG I*: 84-85).

The curial offices had become financially onerous during the third and fourth centuries, although the high honour and social status of the rank were still esteemed. This resulted in fewer candidates willing or able to meet the expense of city government, a trend exacerbated by the senatorial class increasingly retiring to their rural estates. Public service in one's own city is regularly recorded on official inscriptions to benefactors and in personal statements on funeral monuments during the Gallo-Roman period, a practice that swiftly terminates in the fourth century (see Chapter Five). Conversely, the incoming Germanic tribes were quickly assimilated into Gallo-Roman society and their own languages were replaced with Latin - ensuring the supremacy of the classical languages and facilitating the replacement of tribal organisation with new social relations based upon Imperial and Christian patterns.

The urban based episcopacy promoted an integrated urban lifestyle and consequently had a vested interest in the survival of ancient patterns and social organisation; but in so doing the Church grew further away from early Christian teachings of poverty and began to resemble an arm of the secular administration (Herrin 1987: 48-59). The disruption created by the early fifth century invasions naturally had their effects on the episcopacy and the population as a whole, but actual destruction could be remedied within a short space of time, even if the political and social effects were deep and lasting. Subsequently, the cities closed in on themselves, local problems becoming more urgent: the city's inhabitants, both within its walls and in the surrounding *territorium*, became the most identifiable social unit of value or purpose (Wallace-Hadrill 1983: 2). The stiff resistance to the barbarian invaders offered by some bishops on behalf of their cities created a close identification of the clergy with their cities and in turn to the inhabitants identifying with the bishops (Herrin 1987: 48-59.).

The sixth century saw the emergence of secondary ecclesiastical centres such as Genève, and Marseille, which began to enjoy a position of greater importance than that of being an episcopal see based upon a *ciuitas* capital. Genève had been a centre of the royal Burgundian household and the continued importance of Marseille as a trading centre and port doubtless contributed to its status. Conversely, the importance of Arles diminished subsequent to the Frankish take-over of Southern Gaul and by the end of the sixth century both the papal vicariate had become unimportant and the city itself had lost its trading pre-eminence to a resurgent Marseille (Loseby 1992b: 180-181).

Church Administration and the Evangelical Process

The day to day organisation of the Church does not appear to have been overly complex since it was not yet the owner of the vast estates that became a hallmark of the later medieval period, though it was beginning to acquire land through royal and private gift. Bishops invested priests who were aided by deacons and sub-deacons, who in turn took charge of suburban churches and rural parishes. Theoretically, upon the death of a Metropolitan bishop the bishops elected his successor; likewise, on the death of a bishop the priests would oversee that election. However, in practice a Metropolitan bishop was often invested by the king, particularly from the sixth century onwards, and several scandals involving bribery and even violence are recorded by Gregory of Tours. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Gallic church modelled its organisation on the former Roman secular administrative system; differences or changes made were usually to take into account local conditions. Thus, the faithful provided the necessary finance for church buildings, their bishops officiated in them and the church was able to celebrate its festivals. In this way an ecclesiastical hierarchy arose, ultimately advancing the episcopacy and leading to the creation of an ecclesiastical government in parallel with the secular (Herrin 1987: 48-59).

In time the bishops undertook the administration of an increasing income through donations made by the wealthy and the documentary sources (including inscriptions) suggest that the accumulated finance was generally put to good use (see Chapter Five). Ultimately, through the good offices of the bishops the Gallic church was transformed from a collection of small cemetery churches (often gathered around martyrs' shrines and outside of the city walls), to one where the major cities contained large cathedral complexes which archaeology has begun to confirm and illuminate (see Chapter One). The efforts of the bishops on behalf of their cities and their civic pride did not go unrecorded at the time; proof of this continuity of Roman aristocratic ideals in the Gallic episcopate may be read on their epitaphs, as will be shown (see Chapter Five). The virtues expressed upon these epitaphs were not dissimilar to those often expressed on the epitaphs of their secular forebears, and the panegyric composition of the epitaphs show many similarities.

The process of evangelisation in the countryside (and in the smaller towns) was doubtless undertaken with vigour but the adoption of Christianity took place slowly. The *Historia* of Gregory of Tours is replete with miraculous and fantastic stories whereby he makes clear the fact that many religious eccentrics were at work who imposed themselves upon the peasantry and enjoyed a good trade in false relics, moles' teeth, bears' claws and the bones of mice (Wallace-Hadrill 1983: 41). This presented a problem for the urban based church authorities because they were not easily controlled and witchcraft is portrayed as ever present. For Gregory, phenomena such as the weather could presage a disaster but this could both be remedied and God's displeasure appeased through allegiance to the saints, whose relics, together with prayer and repentance, existed for that very reason (*ibid.*). If a Metropolitan bishop

took such a view, it is no surprise that the rural peasantry clung to (similar) pagan beliefs and classical traditions centuries old: even today in rural Spain the ritual slaughter of pigs at harvest time is maintained (personal observation). The academic and literary traditions of the Roman Empire remained at the heart of society and the Gallo-Roman church only slowly became accepted as the organ of guidance in public affairs and secular education was gradually replaced by a new (proto-medieval) syllabus, where Christian learning replaced pagan, albeit very slowly and without ever replacing an aristocratic attachment to classical poetry and rhetoric. Families continued to commit their sons, and more rarely their daughters, to this late antique culture where they would be taught by private tutors after the demise of the great schools of Autun and Bordeaux. Thus the works of Virgil and Caesar continued to be taught down to the seventh century, by which time the Church had assumed the leading role in public education and was the main force behind the employment and patronage of artists. Within this milieu a vigorous line began to be taken against pagan customs and literature (Herrin 1987: 75).

One of the major stumbling blocks to overcoming paganism in the West had been in Italy where the obdurate pagan faction in the Roman senate in the late fourth and early of the fifth century proved tenacious of their beliefs. Efforts to remove pagan superstition continued throughout the West and persuasion through preaching, missionary work, threats, bribes and finally direct force were recommended in letters by pope Gregory to bishops in Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica (Herrin 1975: 171-172). The documentary evidence suggests that Christianity was not deeply rooted and that the Catholic hierarchy's main efforts were directed at the removal of pagan and pre-Christian customs. Even epitaphs continued to make reference to the pagan practice of the funeral feast (Vives 1969: No. 353, dated 570-580; see Chapter Five). In Gaul, a famous passage from a sermon of Caesarius of Arles (*Caesarius, Sermones* XCIX) shows concern with paganism in the countryside (Riché 1976: 86). The case has been made that the organisation of Christianity remained the preserve of an elite and that the majority of the population lived a rural life (often poorly served by Christian leaders based in the cities) where recurrent idolatry was common (Herrin 1987: 171). However, it can be shown that there is mounting archaeological and epigraphical evidence to suggest that by the mid-sixth century the more arable (and therefore populated) rural areas may have been adequately served by local churches (see Chapter Five).

Relations between the Church and the Barbarians

The incoming tribal groups were Arian and whilst the Franks converted to Catholic orthodoxy in the early sixth century it was not until later that the Burgundians, Suevi and Visigoths successively changed from Arianism to Catholicism. However, bishops found it possible to work with their Burgundian and Visigothic rulers without compromising their religion; in Italy much the same thing occurred under the rule of Theoderic (493-526) where ironically it helped him

preserve his independence against the orthodox Byzantine empire since the Catholic factions in the West shared a vested interest in independence from the East (Chadwick 1976: 249). The compromises reached by the Catholic church in Gaul may explain in part why little or no development of speculative theology took place in Gaul. Indeed, speculative debate may have seemed too dangerous to Catholic theologians because disagreement may easily have confirmed Arian monarchs in their suspicion of Catholic orthodoxy (Wood 1979: 60-61).

There remained such diverse groups as Photians and Bonosians but much of our source material comes from Avitus, bishop of Vienne, who directed his theological tracts mainly against the Arians; through these it is possible to discern some of the undercurrents of political life. He was an intimate of the Burgundian king Gundobad (an Arian) and his position was never secure. This gave him good reason not to upset the Burgundian aristocracy who were presumably predominantly Arian; doubtless the Arian church exerted pressure even following the conversion of his son and successor, Sigismund, for even Avitus could envision the restoration of Arianism after Sigismund's death (Wood 1979: 156-157). Nevertheless, it is difficult to explain the strength of Arianism given the number of Catholic Burgundians at court and the possible references to Burgundian nuns on epitaphs at this period (*ibid.*: 153; see Chapter Five).

The Frankish take-over of Burgundy made a permanent difference. Catholicism became the Church for Germans made for them by Gallo-Romans; the Church then undertook to change the Franks by channelling what was distinctly Frankish about them to its own ends which it achieved in the seventh century (Wallace-Hadrill 1983: 41). The Arian doctrine continued to be followed by the Visigoths in Spain until later in the sixth century; this is relevant here since the Spanish epitaphs bear many similarities to those from South Eastern Gaul. In Spain the first national council of 589 following the conversion to Catholicism makes no decree as to the fate of Arian works nor of the Arian clergy, but the chronicle of Fredegar describes how Arian bibles and service books were collected and burnt (Fredegar *VIII*, 7; Herrin 1987: 231). No Arian documentary sources survive from this region thereby promoting the possible Arian epitaphs mentioned above to historical documents of the first order.

MONASTICISM

In the early fifth century the first clear instructions for the organisation of monasteries became available in the West where Saint Jerome's translation of the rule of Saint Pachomus and John Cassian's *Institutiones* became influential. Their written works and a mass of other information about the holy men of Egypt were put into circulation and had a formative impact on the development of the monastic foundations in Southern Gaul. The strong intellectual life and classical tradition of learning amongst the early Christian communities may explain in part why monasticism arrived only in the early years of the fifth century. There had been some instances in the West of individuals withdrawing from worldly affairs in order to live as religious recluses

but the increase of population in the wake of the barbarian settlements to the north and west appear to have had a marked effect. Such small scale religious retreats as already existed, for example that founded by Theodorus, later bishop of Fréjus, on the Iles de Hyères, were unable to meet the needs of an increased population.

The most important and influential foundation was that created at Lérins by Honoratus and his friend Eucherius; it provided numerous bishops, the prime example being Caesarius of Arles, and thereby extended desert asceticism into Western urban ecclesiastical institutions. Slightly later John Cassian arrived at Marseille to set up his own foundation based on Eastern principles and thence the monastic concept quickly spread, for example bishop Castor of Apt sought advice from Cassian when he was himself in the process of creating a monastery. Thus from an early date ascetic bishops were closely associated with monasteries, often as their founders and patrons. However the monastic phenomenon was not confined to South Eastern Gaul; the first Western monastery founded on entirely Eastern lines was probably that established by Martin later bishop of Tours (372-397). Inspired by bishop Hilary of Poitiers' teaching, he was primarily a monk though he agreed reluctantly to fill the vacant see of Tours. Subsequent to his efforts Tours grew to become a major centre of Christianity in the late fourth century, and where ascetic and episcopal roles were totally intertwined (Herrin 1987: 67-69).

The Spread And Effects Of Monasticism

The spread of monasticism in South Eastern Gaul can be seen in many respects to be analogous with the phenomenon of estate owners retreating to their country villas; the Senatorial aristocracy in South Eastern Gaul found the rules of Lérins amenable in view of the traditions of classical learning upon which it drew. This ensured that monasticism in this region was not one for the ordinary citizen and remained the preserve of the aristocracy until later in the fifth and sixth centuries; thenceforth foundations were created in the major urban centres such as Lyon and Vienne, where greater numbers could be catered for, usually under episcopal or royal patronage.

Lack of uniformity in administration and liturgy from one diocese to another in the established church was exacerbated by the range of both monastic observance and the existence of many private churches. Even the rules laid down by Saint Basil and Saint Benedict, which were widely adopted, were frequently adapted and elaborated. Some communities grew up haphazardly around the cell of a holy man, particularly in rural areas where episcopal control was not so easily maintained.

There were therefore two major monastic traditions in Gaul at the end of the fourth century, that of Saint Martin of Tours and that of Saint Honoratus of Lérins. That propagated by Saint Martin had no closely defined rule of discipline nor an elaborate system of economy, which has been seen as an expression of his dislike for the aristocratic episcopal system, reflecting his

background as a former soldier (Van Dam 1985: 125). Early Martinian influence, which is comparatively rare in Burgundy, is shown by the epitaph of Foedula from the cemetery at the church of Saints Gervasius and Protasius at Vienne (No.540; Plate 177). On the other hand the tradition founded by Honoratus was founded upon an aristocratic, classical basis, in part due to the close contacts he maintained with Rome as opposed to Saint Martin, whose influence was centred in Aquitaine. This difference is important because the aristocratic traditions maintained in South Eastern Gaul lead directly to the continued employment of Latin epitaphs in the region (see Chapter Five). Nevertheless, not all intellectual life was centred upon Marseille and Lérins; at Narbonne there was a flourishing intellectual atmosphere, due as likely as not to its old Greek culture, similar to that at Marseille. Here too several inscriptions have been recorded in addition to several from its environs. The first half of the fifth century can therefore be seen as a short term renaissance in learning at just the time when the Imperial Administration was withdrawing. The monastic foundations of Lérins and Marseille are therefore of importance not only in that they had great influence in the Rhône valley but because they were able to flourish at all, demonstrating that South Eastern Gaul was not visited by the devastation that hallmarked the north and to a certain extent Aquitaine. The nascent monasticism in the region together with the established episcopal sees were to combine to produce a distinctive culture during the sixth and early seventh centuries under Burgundian and Merovingian rule successively.

Monasticism under the Burgundians and the Merovingians.

The later monastic foundations of the Rhône valley illuminate the ascetic interests of the aristocracy and especially those of the aristocratic bishops. However, for neither Lyon nor Vienne is there evidence comparable to the *Vita Martini* for Tours or the *Vita Caesarii* for Arles. In the *Vita Clari*, a late biography of a seventh century saint which may contain authentic evidence, a figure of 1525 monks and nuns in Vienne is given during the saint's lifetime. The next foundation was probably at Grigny, which comprised an association of houses for monks and nuns from which the first Abbot of Agaune was drawn in 515. These *Monasteria Griniscensia* were perhaps founded by a bishop of Vienne, possibly for the preservation of the relics of Saints Ferreolus and Julianus, translated there by bishop Mamertus. Two further monasteries are recorded at Vienne (see Chapter One). The monastery of the Milanese saints, Gervasius and Protasius, had close connections with the family of Avitus, which provided it with at least one abbess, his sister Fuscinula according to her *Vita*. Earlier Sidonius had shown great interest in the monastery founded by Abraham at Clermont, urging Volusianus to reform according to the rule of Lérins or Grigny after the founder's death.

There is also an indication of Martinian influence at Lyon where the abbey on the Ile Barbe had Maximus, a disciple of Martin, as one of its early abbots. Like Grigny it also provided Agaune with an abbot and a *turma* of monks in 515. There is also the foundation at Ainay,

apparently restored by Salonius, son of Eucherius and himself later bishop of Genève. Bishop Sacerdos has been seen as the founder of the monastery of Saint-Pierre but there may be some truth in the tradition ascribing its foundation to the Arian Godegisel or his catholic wife, Theudalinda. That both Lyon and Vienne were major monastic centres serves to emphasise that many of the monasteries in the cities of the Rhône valley were closely associated with bishops and, if not actually founded by them, the bishops and their families were concerned with existing monasteries.

The early Arianism of the Burgundian rulers does not seem to have affected the prosperity of the Catholic monastic foundations; once converted, the Burgundian king Sigismund became patron of the foundation at Agaune dedicated to Saint Maurice and the Martyrs of the Theban legion. In northern Burgundy there was a relative lack of sophistication although Autun witnesses the expansion of the cult of Saint Symphorien in the mid-fifth century and Chalons-sur-Saône became a cult centre of Saint Vincent of Saragossa. Throughout Gaul bishops were interested in the Christian origins of their dioceses and churches, but the literature surviving from Autun and Langres from the late fifth and sixth centuries is concerned only with this, whereas that associated with Mamertus and Avitus at Vienne includes theological and exegetical subject matter as well. Moreover the culture of the south is associated with the towns, whereas the saints' lives from north Burgundy from this period tend to relate to rural monasteries such as that founded by the Jura Fathers. The quality of agricultural land in the north is greater than that in the south but any cultural and geographical divide should not necessarily be pushed too far (Wood 1979: 101-126). The history of monasticism in southern Gaul is primarily an urban history, suggesting that the bishops had some success in controlling the destiny of monasticism but the aesthetic traditions in these urban monasteries are rarely recorded.

SOURCES

Urban Archaeological Evidence

The great public monumental structures of the Gallo-Roman period remain the most evident and striking features of the major towns of the region even today. Such buildings as the amphitheatres at Nîmes and Arles and the theatres at Lyon, Vienne and Orange were built as a tradition of government-inspired public munificence on the part of the senatorial class grew up during the first and second centuries AD. Though this public munificence by the wealthy declined drastically in the face of the political and economic vicissitudes that faced the empire during the third and fourth centuries, further public building took place in the form of hastily constructed defensive town walls as can be seen still today at Autun.

The study of the historical, hagiographic and other literary sources during the last century and a half has widened greatly our knowledge of both the ecclesiastical and political

organisation during the fourth to eighth centuries, but such evidence only provides information concerning the aristocratic class by whom, and for whom, it was written. An understanding of the day to day life of the population and the conditions in which they lived can only be gained by the systematic study of the archaeological remains. This has only been undertaken on any scale since the Second World War, which can be said to be largely true for the study of the archaeology of any period in Europe, but the results so far have been encouraging. Until recently the immediate post-imperial period has often been regarded as one of cultural and economic decline in the wake of the loss of political and military control of the western provinces by the central Roman government, followed closely by the emergence of the barbarian kingdoms. However, the literary sources demonstrate that there remained more than a semblance of classical culture, albeit far removed from that of the first century AD; this has begun to be confirmed by the archaeological evidence, particularly in the major urban centres. Unfortunately some of the major discoveries were made during the last century, particularly during the expansion of the railway system in France, where the impact of industrialisation came later than in most western European countries, and scant regard was paid to the archaeological remains unearthed during such operations. For this reason the Alyscamps cemetery at Arles and the Saint-Gervais cemetery at Vienne were destroyed with the consequent loss of evidence, to give two examples. Although the pressures of urban redevelopment remain, it is fortunate that in recent years there has been an increase in the undertaking of large scale, systematic excavations, although the exigencies of modern urban development has necessitated many excavations to be undertaken under rescue conditions.

The pertinent archaeological discoveries made during the past three decades are summarised in more detail in Chapter One and are discussed in relation to the inscriptions in Chapter Five. Therefore it suffices here to describe simply a synthesis of what has emerged. The major feature to have been identified so far is the existence in the major towns of the episcopal group. This has usually been found to comprise two large churches aligned side by side, together with a baptistry, and placed in a prominent position within the Gallo-Roman town walls. The building of these groups can generally be dated to the fifth century, although the successive stages of rebuilding that have taken place often lead to difficulties with their interpretation. Such groups have been identified and particularly well excavated and studied at Genève, Lyon and Vienne, but are also attested archaeologically at Grenoble, Fréjus, Aix-en-Provence and, from literary sources alone, at Arles.

The Metropolitan sees of Lyon, Vienne and Arles are to be expected to have possessed the most impressive ecclesiastical buildings (confirmed at the former two cities), but that at Genève has been found to have been equally impressive, suggesting that further work in other former *ciuitas* capitals may be expected to reveal structures of similar architectural merit and ecclesiastical importance.

Rural Archaeological Evidence

It is a commonplace that distribution maps can reflect only the state of current knowledge, and even then are likely to be distorted given the imprecise nature of current dating techniques. Unfortunately this holds true for the rural archaeology of this region, where, despite advances made during recent years, very little is as yet known.

As in the urban centres, our knowledge of the rural sites is largely derived from excavations and surveys undertaken during the past three decades. Documentary evidence comparable with that which exists for most urban centres is scarce and of variable quality. This is to be expected: the majority of the documentary sources are concerned with ecclesiastical affairs which at this time primarily revolved around the urban based ecclesiastical sees. The almost total conversion of the old Roman aristocracy to Christianity ensured that this could hardly be otherwise and where literary references to affairs in the countryside exist, they are concerned primarily with ecclesiastical affairs. However, though we now know that the migration period was not as catastrophic to municipal organisation as was once thought, we are far from having other than a vague outline of how this affected conditions in the countryside. Recent excavations in Arles have suggested an influx of population during the fifth century, presumably from the surrounding countryside which may have resulted in a degree of depopulation (pers. com. M. Claude Sintès). One factor that must have had an impact on the family life of the rural population, as it did on the urban, was the meeting of the Roman and Germanic cultures. Both ethnic groups had to take account both of one another and of Christian ideas of behaviour and morality. When literary sources make reference to the countryside it is usually as a group, as for instance is the case when Gregory of Tours describes the effects of famine on the population in 585 (*HF.VII*, 45).

The decline of the rural economy in the early fifth century was probably only temporary; the urban centres which depended upon the produce of the countryside do not seem to have suffered greatly. The extent of recovery in the urban centres did not reach levels of prosperity known during the Gallo-Roman period and thus represents more of a transformation than simple continuity. The decline of the villa system was probably linked to the general economic and social collapse at the end of the fourth century and the invasions merely aggravated the situation. It remains difficult to assess the extent of the damage.

The problems facing the rural economy will most likely have been different both in extent and duration from one area to another. In Northern Gaul, where one might expect any depredations to have been most severe, excavations have shown that in the early fifth century at Berthelming (Moselle) a villa was partly rebuilt after a destruction at about this time (Percival 1976: 169) but as Percival emphasises, the continuation of rural life based on the villas is not the same as the continuation of the villa system (*idem*. 171). The many references to rural life in the law codes

and the fact that many aristocrats continued to live on their estates show that rural life continued to flourish, a phenomenon which is also attested by the epigraphic evidence, as will be seen.

One source of evidence that has been taken to demonstrate continued use of villa sites and the estates connected with them is the oft quoted survival of the place names ending in *-acum*, the use of which is well attested in the documentary sources. The fact that the names have survived in the names of modern villages suggests their survival in some form or other, for a time. The archaeological material is rarely of a satisfactory nature due to subsequent building on sites resulting in modern villages, but this is precisely what should be expected if continuity of use is to be demonstrated. Furthermore, any survival was likely to be concomitant with an evolution into something else. Conversely, villa sites that have been fully excavated are precisely those that failed to survive beyond the Gallo-Roman period. Additionally, it is becoming common to discover villa material under churches or in church yards, where the church has been built over the villa, as happened at Sion (Haute-Savoie), Néoules (Var) and La Gayole (Var; see Chapter One), for example, and thus these sites represent not just an evolution but a transformation of usage.

It is becoming evident also that many villas remained pivotal in the survival of an area as a centre of population. A minority may have survived more or less intact, others will have struggled in reduced circumstances and some will have changed their character completely; the latter concern us here primarily. Some villas survived as religious centres, cemeteries, chapels or even monasteries. The practice of using villa sites for burials is now known to be extremely common in France and Belgium and to a lesser extent in the former Danube provinces. At Callas (Var), for example, a small ruined chapel was superimposed exactly on one of the buildings of a large villa the walls of which were thus partially preserved. The building which seems to have provided the focal point of attention was a small shrine or mausoleum. At Villecroze (Var) there is a villa below the church of St-Pierre-du-Cimetière with burials of both the Roman and Frankish periods (Percival *idem*. 217).

The large cemetery sites of the row-grave type so common in northern France during the migration period are not a feature in the south. However, a cemetery of this type was discovered at La Grande-Bastide à Cadarache (Commune de Saint-Paul-lès-Durance, Bouches-du-Rhône) was excavated in 1964-65 prior to modern development. Only 14% of the tombs contained grave goods such as oval belt-buckles, jewellery, bracelets and pottery dating to between the end of the fifth and the end of the sixth centuries. What is clearly possible here is that there was a fusion of cultures, because the nearby Gallo-Roman villa at des Convents was reoccupied in the fifth century, and therefore we may have here an example of the system of *hospitalitas* postulated to have been employed during the migration period (Goffart: 1980).

The same system may have been applied to Briord (Ain; see Chapter One), where unusually for the late fifth century the names on the epitaphs for nearly every individual is Germanic,

although to what extent this reflects ethnic origin as opposed to fashion amongst the senatorial classes remains a moot point.

The picture emerging away from the major urban centres is complex, but at the same time it is one which reflects in microcosm that found in those major urban centres. It is often difficult to distinguish between a small town that has shrunk in population and physical size for whatever reason and a truly rural community growing up on the site of a villa. The purposes were identical: to form a focal point for the local community and its economic efforts. Doubtless this explains why an early church is often found in such locations as the slow process of evangelisation began to reach out into such areas at precisely the same time that the episcopacy was becoming increasingly concerned with control beyond the immediate environs of the episcopal sees in the sixth century..

The political collapse of the western Roman empire did not presage the total collapse of the rural economy, and many communities continued and indeed flourished, albeit at a lower economic level. Their continued success is demonstrated by the fact that of over a hundred find spots in South Eastern Gaul where inscriptions have been found, not one has been found at a site that has not also developed into a modern community, however small it may be today.

Of course, many of these communities were long established, some dating to before the Roman occupation of Gaul, and it is as yet impossible to comprehend to what extent these communities contracted or expanded during this period. Further, we know little of the relationships established between urban and rural communities and the extent to which the one depended upon the other. Similarly, most excavation work has been undertaken on identifiable ecclesiastical buildings to the detriment of studies on the closely related topics of the local environment and land usage at the time. Often this is due to the fact that many excavations are undertaken under emergency conditions prior to modern building construction, as was the case at Seyssel and Saint-Julien-en-Genève, for example. Furthermore, we know far less of the impact of the migrating Germanic tribes upon the rural communities in this region than we do for Northern France. It needs to be borne in mind that the numbers of incoming migrants seems limited and not likely to have created long term problems in terms of available land for agricultural use: this is attested in the law codes which are more concerned with general laws regarding property disputes under peaceful conditions, indicating that by the early sixth century at the latest, relations between the indigenous Gallo-Roman population and the incoming groups were cordial if not quite assimilated. Much more fieldwork is required if the picture is to become clearer; a recent study covering the Var has shown that almost nothing is known of the rural districts, only seven villas and five cemeteries are known to have been in use in this period (Brun *et al.* 1985: 244-251), which merely provides a starting point for further investigation.

Documentary Sources

The documentary sources remain the largest *corpus* of material available for study. However, whilst its scale is large, doubtless it represents only a small proportion of what once existed and its survival is due to its perceived value as literature or to its practical use to succeeding generations. These documents fall into seven major groups: historical chronicles, law codes, hagiography (the lives of saints), letters written by leading clerics, religious treatises, canons promulgated at ecclesiastical councils and the epigraphic sources. We largely lack documents such as lists of donations to ecclesiastical foundations, or capitularies or charters comparable with those from Northern Gaul.

The main source for the Late Roman military organisation is the *Notitia Dignitatum*, probably written between 400 and 430. Despite some difficulties faced when using it as evidence, it shows that the defence of the West was becoming increasingly dependent upon the mobile field armies, the *comitatus* (Seeck 1876; Goodburn and Bartholemew 1976). More directly relevant here is a document complementing the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the *Notitia Galliarum*, a list of the Metropolitans and their associated *ciuitates* within Gaul (Seeck *ibid.*). It is this list which enables us to reconstruct the approximate Metropolitan and *ciuitas* boundaries for our period. The major reason for the survival of certain classes of documents is that the monastic institutions had the resources for copying manuscripts and to ensure their dissemination as part of the processes of general evangelisation and the edification of the clergy. Furthermore, the clergy became increasingly involved with governmental administration, so the need for properly maintained archival systems grew. Unfortunately little other secular material has survived, restricting us towards a clerical bias in point of view, especially in the chronicles, homilies and other works written in religious institutions.

The principal sources for political and ecclesiastical history are the chronicles and letters; the latter became fashionable amongst Christian writers in the fourth century. These writers were educated in the classical tradition and thus tended to imitate such writers as Tacitus, but there was now the added inspiration of the teachings of Christ and the Bible (Chadwick 1955: 105). Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea, published his *Historia Ecclesiae* in 324 or 325; it provided a narrative history of the church whilst seeking simultaneously to convince its readership of its divine origin. The same theme is expounded in the *Historiae* of the Spanish monk Orosius, written in the early fifth century; its intention was to demonstrate that the ills that had befallen the world in the aftermath of the barbarian invasions was not due to the adoption of Christianity (*ibid.*: 105-6). However, the non-Christian tradition of historical writing was by no means at an end by the fourth century; the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus provides the principal source for the political history of the Roman Empire during the latter half of the fourth century.

Chronicles

The first half of the fifth century is poorly documented for Gaul but two chronicles are important: the *Chronica Gallica*, which forms a record down to 452, and the chronicle of Prosper Tiro of Aquitaine. The latter comprised an epitome of Jerome's chronicle continuing until 455, with consular dates inserted (several brief anonymous continuations extended to 466). Both are annalistic in style and terse in content, offering little more than a brief résumé of the period. The chronicle of Marius of Avenches runs from 455 to 581: that he consulted an Eastern chronicle is shown by the inclusion of Eastern consuls during the first two decades of the sixth century and usefully often includes information of Eastern origin. More useful still for the purposes of this study is the further inclusion of the indictional years and he is invaluable for dating the movements and settlement of the Burgundians.

In the second half of the fifth century the letters and eulogies of Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont from about 469 to sometime in the 480s, provide the principal documentary source. He was an aristocrat by birth and the son-in-law of the emperor Avitus, whilst his grand-father and father both had been Praetorian Prefect of the Gauls (*Sidonius Eps. I, xii, 5* and *VIII, vi, 5*). He was able to retain his estates in spite of his opposition to the Gothic king Euric during the 450s and 460s. His many letters to the leading bishops of the day, especially to those presiding over sees in South Eastern Gaul, provide an invaluable picture of the social and political changes of the period. Furthermore, they allow us some insight into the daily life and the material and spiritual concerns of the aristocracy and leading clergy of this time. His correspondence demonstrates further the ease of communication between various sees; bishops Sidonius, Patiens of Lyon, Faustus of Riez and many others were not only known to each other personally but actually met from time to time despite the fact that South Eastern Gaul was politically split between the Burgundian and Visigothic kingdoms. Such ease of travel permitted him to record eyewitness accounts of events such as the wedding of the young Burgundian prince Sigismer to a Burgundian princess in Lyon (*Sidonius Eps. IV, xx*).

In the sixth century Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum* stands out; the scale of it is far greater than any other chronicle and for this reason it is generally regarded as the starting point for the study of early medieval Gaul. Gregory came from a distinguished senatorial background, was ordained deacon in 563 and became bishop of Tours in 573. His chronicle begins with a history of the world from the beginning in similar manner to the chronicles written by the Christian writers of the fourth century, but there the similarities end. The major part concerns the first Frankish king of importance, Clovis, and his descendants, and thus centres chronologically on the 120 years or so prior to Gregory's death in 593. Without this chronicle the history of the sixth century would be almost inaccessible and little would be known of the early Merovingian dynasty. Gregory's chronology is sometimes at fault but the general train of events is accurate; nevertheless, care has to be exercised even when he talks of events close to his own times

(Wood 1988). Despite the obvious value of Gregory's *Historia Francorum*, events in Gaul are confined to the north and, to an extent, Aquitaine; he rarely found cause to mention South East Gaul, and then only in connection with a major event such as the fratricidal war between the Burgundian king Gundobad and Godegisel (*HF*,II,33). This was because the *cultus* of Saint Martin (to which Gregory was devoted) had taken hold in the north and the west of Gaul, that of Lérins in the south-east (Van Dam 1985: 172). These two *cultus* were diametrically opposed: Saint Martin's attitude was anti-episcopal, whereas Honoratus, the founder of the monastery at Lérins, was an aristocrat by birth and the monastic rule which he instituted reflected this. The *Liber Historiae Francorum*, considered to be a Neustrian chronicle, perhaps written at Saint-Denis or Rouen in 727 (Wallace-Hadrill 1960: xxv), and the anonymous *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici libri IV, cum continuationibus* (Fredegar) provide much valuable ancillary material and continuations, but all of these are dwarfed by the sheer scale of the work of Gregory.

Law Codes

The Burgundian law code, or *Lex Gundobada*, is a collection of customary and statutory laws the codification of which was undertaken by Gundobad, the Burgundian king from 474-516. It seems to have been the product of evolution and does not appear to have been frequently revised although both Gundobad and his son, Sigismund, who succeeded him as king, are named as lawgivers in the titles. The codes reflect attempts made to explicitly define the body of unwritten customary law under which the Burgundian (and presumably other Germanic tribes) had lived for perhaps many centuries. It was evident that laws for both Romans (now compiled under the title *Lex Romana Burgundionum*) and Barbarians needed to be more clearly defined in order for them to be applied uniformly. Thus the ancient Germanic customs were written down for the first time and that they were written in Latin reflects the influence of indigenous Roman law. The *Lex Romana Burgundionum* dealt with criminal, private and procedural law and appears to have been intended as a supplementary instruction to judges and not a complete recodification (Fischer-Drew 1949: 1-13)

Thus the *Lex Gundobada* consisted of laws governing both relations between Burgundian and Roman and also covered most other aspects of law that might be expected to arise: acts of violence, robbery, disputes over inheritance and, most usefully, laws governing property in a rural context, such those concerning the theft of animals, ploughshares and crops. Whether the problems legislated against were real and widespread or more a figment of the imagination of the legislator is difficult to ascertain, rendering the codes difficult to use as social history (James 1988: 19). However, with so little archaeological work having been undertaken on rural sites as yet, as a source the codes may not be ignored; the volume of material referring to rural affairs suggests that the countryside was well populated, as evidenced by the distribution of

cemeteries drawn up by Collardelle (1983: Figs. 140 and 141), and, in Provence by the distribution of inscriptions.

Hagiography (*Vitae Sanctorum*)

The biographical lives of saints present similar problems as evidence to the chronicles and have to be employed with care. There are a great many of these, mostly by anonymous authors, although the *Vitae Patrum* by Gregory of Tours (VP) and the *Vita Germani* by Constantius provide us with the names of two. The early Frankish Church was not as concerned with intellectual and theological affairs as that in the East. The Bible was regarded more as literature with an hagiological, edifying message provided by the examples of prophets and holy men who had performed miracles through the grace of God. In this context the lives of the Merovingian saints grew up as a literary genre, the purpose of which was to demonstrate how these holy men dealt with contemporary problems. Most of the *uitae* are known from collections of manuscripts dating from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, although some are earlier. A very few date even to as early as the eighth century, one of which, the *Passio* of the martyrs of Agaune, was probably written at Lyon. Thus it is difficult to ascertain how useful they were at the time, but the fact that they were copied later is suggestive. The style is reminiscent of the *laudationes* recited at the graveside of the aristocracy, an example in the early seventh century is that of bishop Bertramn of Le Mans, who requested in his will that his obsequies should be recited to the people. As will be seen, this theme is employed in condensed form on the episcopal epitaphs from South East Gaul. According to Wallace-Hadrill, the *uitae* are a literary attempt to 1) attract and hold popular devotion, 2) define the nature of sanctity, and 3) retain the cults of holy men within the structure of the church. The Gallic saints are thus portrayed as living by the precepts of ancient, traditional example with their sanctity determined by their conformity to that pattern of life. Furthermore the saints' lives provided a patron for the common man through the personification of supernatural powers, thus affording protection against the demon world. This may help explain why more Merovingian period churches were dedicated to Gallic saints than to any other. The saint and his *cultus* will have been made more accessible through these *uitae*, enabling it to proliferate throughout Gaul. Ultimately, the *uitae* provide more information about the religion of the time than any other single source (Wallace-Hadrill 1983: 78-93).

Furthermore, the *uitae* also offer incidental information regarding urban and rural life, an example being the life of Saint Caesarius of Arles, the *Vita Caesarii*. Arles is one of the few major urban centres which still lacks any archaeological information on the churches known to have existed. The *uita*, written shortly after his death in 542 or 543, describes some of the buildings that constituted the town's ecclesiastical complex, though the descriptions are often ambiguous.

Consular *Fasti*

Two consular *fasti* are of particular importance (see Chapter Two), that by Marcellinus *comes* and another by Victor, bishop of *Tunnuna* in North Africa. Marcellinus compiled a chronicle from 379 to 518 as a continuation to that of Jerome, but within a consular framework. Working at Constantinople, he subsequently published a continuation up to 534. A further continuation up to 548 is by another author (CLRE: 1987: 56). Victor compiled a chronicle from the beginning of the world until 566. The extant portion runs only from 444. He wrote in various places and eventually arrived at Constantinople. The hybrid nature of his consular pairings is clear from the fact the he lists them now in Western, now in Eastern order. Most importantly he had the unique habit of counting the consular year itself as the first p.c. (CLRE: 1987: 52).

Homilies and other Religious Works

The major problem that presents itself is the sheer quantity of the output which has come down to us. However, the works of bishops Avitus of Vienne and Caesarius of Arles are paramount. Avitus has been discussed above, but his output of sermons, homilies and his extant letters, many on behalf of the king, emphasise that he was a central figure in the Burgundian kingdom. Caesarius' extant work is largely confined to sermons which illuminate the difference between the Eastern and Western Churches. The immediate impression is that there was no great theological thinking or speculative thought in the West, where the Church was more concerned with day to day issues such as the regulation of clerics. The curious work *de Gubernatione Dei* by Salvian of Marseille is an important document of the early fifth century since he "describes" in a sometimes hysterical language the ills that have befallen his times - refugees (from the north and Trier) and exhortations to do "good works" fill his pages. This is relevant since some contemporary epitaphs describe the deceased's "good works" (see Chapter Five), one of which, the epitaph of Eugenia from Marseille appears contemporary with Salvian, though is probably slightly later (No.420). He considered that one should give all one's wealth to the Church for the benefit of the poor - a theme which appears as part of the eulogy on some epitaphs (see Chapter Five). The general importance of this genre of literature for an understanding of the intellectual and spiritual concerns of the higher clergy cannot be overstated - Avitus of Vienne, like Jerome in the East, used many classical allusions in his work, particularly from Virgil (as did Gregory). This is reflected on several inscriptions (see Chapter Five): indeed the literary circle that can be discerned at Vienne can be shown to have influenced the eulogies in hexameter or pentameter on epitaphs found within the Metropolitan of Vienne, as will be seen. At first sight many of the *uitae*, sermons and homilies may seem to be of peripheral interest, dwelling as they do on affairs of a religious nature, but the work of Mme. Vieillard-Troiekouroff (1976) on the religious monuments described by Gregory of Tours has shown what may be accomplished.

EPIGRAPHY AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF INSCRIPTIONS IN SOUTH EAST GAUL

There has been antiquarian interest in, and copying in manuscript form of the episcopal epitaphs at Vienne since the ninth century (*RICG.XV*: p.27) and the twelfth at Lyon (*TC.IV*: 32). The importance of these copies is paramount because few actual epitaphs are extant except as fragments. Increased interest between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries by antiquaries such as Peiresc (m.s. B.N. 8958), Spon (1678) and Chorier (1828) saw the publication of many inscriptions no longer extant. In the second half of the nineteenth century several large scale surveys were published: those by Allmer (1861, 1865, 1875, 1876), Allmer and Dissard (1888-1893), and particularly Le Blant (1856, 1865, 1892) are the most relevant for South Eastern Gaul. Volume XII of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*), published in 1888, covered *Narbonensis*, and was followed by Volume XIII in 1889, which covered *Lugdunensis*. A supplement to the latter was published in 1916. These volumes relied much on the work of Le Blant published in 1856 and 1865 for the Late Antique and Early Medieval, but Le Blant relied in turn on *CIL* for his 1892 publication. *CIL* contributed particularly in the case of episcopal epitaphs by publishing the original (correct) manuscript copies for those from Lyon, which Le Blant had classicised. Le Blant's work still remains the starting point for any survey though it often requires careful use since he often relied upon correspondents of varying reliability and expertise for his information.

During the first half of the twentieth century interest continued in late antique inscriptions, if sporadically. Espérandieu published a further continuation to *CIL.XII* for inscriptions from *Narbonensis* (1929); he had previously published several important articles, notably concerning several inscriptions from Lyon which now seem lost (1904), and a catalogue of the inscriptions in the museum of Avignon (1899). The majority of the inscriptions recorded in the above works were recorded by Diehl in the three volumes of his *Inscriptiones Christianae Latinae Veteres* (1927), supplemented by a further volume which included an updated index and corrections by Marrou (1967). Thus for the first time the Christian inscriptions from every province within the Roman Empire and its successor states was made available in one series.

Scant attention was paid to the precise circumstances and provenance of inscriptions until after the Second World War. However, despite several scientifically rigorous excavations undertaken within the region since then, inscriptions are rarely discovered and are often fragments. Only one site has revealed a large number of complete or near complete inscriptions *in situ*, the church of Saint-Laurent de Choulans at Lyon. As is often the case throughout Europe, the history of late antique and early medieval cemeteries within modern conurbations is a catalogue of destruction: we have already seen that at Vienne the cemetery of Saint-Gervais was destroyed during the construction of the railway station and that the same fate befell the Alysamps cemetery at Arles.

It has been long recognised that the epigraphic evidence should be assembled in modern critical editions (Musset 1975: 155), and the *RICG* group (Recueil de Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule) was formed in Paris for this purpose. Two volumes have been published, covering *Belgica Prima* (Gauthier 1975) and northern *Viennensis* (Descombes 1985). Further volumes on *Lugdunensis Prima* and southern *Viennensis* are in preparation. These volumes have catalogued and edited all the Christian inscriptions currently known. Guyon's 1972 thesis (unpublished) on the inscriptions of Marseille and *Narbonensis Secunda* (*ICMAMNS*) is also of great importance, forming the basis for a forthcoming volume in the *RICG* series (pers. comm.); a volume on *Lugdunensis Prima* is also in preparation (Mme. Soulet - pers. comm.). These volumes are exhaustive in their studies of the individual inscriptions in terms of their formulae, orthography and palaeography within their respective provinces, but no work has yet appeared which attempts a synthesis of the inscriptions in the context of the other documentary and archaeological sources.

The inscriptions have been occasionally employed by historians (e.g. Heidrich 1968: 167-183; Courtois 1951: 155-164) and by linguists (e.g. Gaeng 1987: 77-86). Heidrich recognised that epigraphy is an important and much exploited subsidiary subject for the ancient historian, but that the inscriptions of the migration and Merovingian periods have been largely overlooked by historians, even if frequently used as sources for linguistic history. However, she was doubtful that these inscriptions could yield any new historical information, given that they are for the most part private funerary monuments, containing simple, repetitive formulae which record the name of the deceased, the age and the day of the month, and less frequently the name of the consul(s) for that year. Part of the purpose of this thesis is to show that the study of these epitaphs can indeed yield new historical information, albeit in general terms.

Much of the data discussed in the following chapters is statistical in nature and therefore the distribution of the inscriptions under study within the Metropolitans and their *ciuitates*, whose borders changed in time, needs to be made clear. Furthermore, the distribution directly concerns the categorisation of data such as formulae and nomenclature. South Eastern Gaul, as defined here, equates to the Late Roman provinces of *Lugdunensis Prima*, *Viennensis*, *Narbonensis Secunda*, *Alpes Graiae et Poeninae*, and *Alpes Maritimae* as they were at the beginning of the fourth century. However, the political and ecclesiastical changes which took place during the following two hundred years resulted in the disappearance of the three latter provinces as they were subsumed within the Metropolitan Dioceses of Lyon (*Lugdunensis Prima*), Vienne (*Viennensis*), and Arles (*Arelatensis*). Therefore, by 600 the political and ecclesiastical map had changed (Figure 6). The 741 inscriptions which fall within these boundaries probably equate to 99% of those known - few more have recently been discovered (Figure 7 and Figure 8). This series provides the greatest concentration of inscriptions for this period outside Rome! Such a concentration within a clearly defined geographical region can be

expected to increase the accuracy of any statistical analyses undertaken; the infrequency of new discoveries suggests that the results arrived at are unlikely to change in the near future.

The geographical divisions of the fourth-century provinces followed here are those according to the *Notitia Galliarum* as published by Seeck (1876; Table 1). The edition published by Mommsen is almost identical, though he discussed the document in greater depth (*CHRON.MIN.I*: 552-612). The division of the provinces at the beginning of the fifth century followed here is that presented by Rivet (1976: 127-133), with the exception of the province of *Lugdunensis Prima*, where Seeck is followed. Throughout this study the names of cities and towns retain their French orthography.

Other *ciuitates* were either new creations (e.g. Toulon), or were added to the Metropolitans of Arles or Vienne. Maurienne (*Ciuitas Mauriennensis*) was almost certainly under the authority of Vienne by the end of the sixth century (Fevrier 1986: 146). Aosta (*Ciuitas Augusta*) probably came under the authority of Vienne, although no bishop is recorded at any council. Toulon (*ciuitas Telonensium*) was probably added to Arles by the beginning of the fifth century since a bishop is attested between 441 and 450 (Rivet 1988: 201). On the right bank of the Rhône, Uzès (*ciuitas Vticensium*) became detached from the province of *Narbonensis Prima* and joined *Arelatensis* by 536 (Pontal 1989: 116), although the evidence is somewhat ambiguous.

By the end of the sixth century the ecclesiastical map of South Eastern Gaul had changed once more. *Lugdunensis Prima* remained, but the *ciuitates* to the south had come under the authority of just two Metropolitans, Vienne and Arles, and the provinces of *Narbonensis Secunda*, the *Prouincia Alpium Maritimarum* and the *Prouincia Alpium Graiarum et Poenninarum* ceased to exist (Figure 6 and Figure 7).

All the inscriptions in this study are grouped within the *ciuitas* boundaries as they stood at the end of the sixth century (Table 2). This may appear arbitrary because a proportion of the inscriptions are dated prior to the later Metropolitan partitions but it is the only division which makes sense as a working model. The majority of the inscriptions remain within their original Metropolitan boundaries and inscriptions from those *ciuitates* later added to *Arelatensis* can be shown to date after the divisions between Arles and Vienne. Only one inscription known from these *ciuitates* is added to *Viennensis*. Furthermore, it will be shown that the formulae of inscriptions from the fourth century are homogeneous, displaying no great differences in style. The codes preceding each *ciuitas* are those which are used for the tables of distribution throughout this study provides a full list of the *ciuitates* within their Metropolitans together with the totals of inscriptions and the numbers extant and lost.

In provincia Lugdunensi prima ciuitates num. IIII
Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium : Lyon
Ciuitas Aeduarum (Augustodunum) : Autun
Ciuitas Lingonum : Langres
Castrum Cabillonense : Chalon-sur-Saône
Castrum Matisconense : Mâcon
The listing for the province of <i>Viennensis</i> represents the divisions prior to the controversy concerning primacy of some <i>ciuitates</i> between the Metropolitans of Arles and Vienne.
In provincia Viennensi ciuitates numero XIII
Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium : Vienne
Ciuitas Genauensium : Genève
Ciuitas Gratianopolitana : Grenoble
Ciuitas Albensium : Alba
Ciuitas Deensium : Die
Ciuitas Valentinorum : Valence
Ciuitas Tricastinorum : Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux
Ciuitas Vasiensium : Vaison
Ciuitas Arausiacorum : Orange
Ciuitas Carpentoratensium, nunc Vindausca : Carpentras / Venasque
Ciuitas Cabellicorum : Cavaillon
Ciuitas Auennicorum : Avignon
Ciuitas Arelatensium : Arles
Ciuitas Massiliensium : Marseille
Seeck places the <i>Ciuitas Carpentoratensium, nunc Vindausca</i> (Carpentras/Venasque), between Orange and Cavaillon (Seeck 1876: 269) but Rivet points out correctly that it appears only in a revised, later edition (Rivet 1988: 99-100).
In provincia Narbonensi secunda ciuitates num. VII.
Ciuitas Aquensium : Aix-en-Provence
Ciuitas Aptensium : Apt
Ciuitas Reiensium : Riez
Ciuitas Foroiuliensis : Fréjus
Ciuitas Vappincensium : Gap
Ciuitas Segesteriorum : Sisteron
Ciuitas Antipolitana : Antibes
In provincia Alpium Maritimarum ciuitates num. VIII
Ciuitas Ebrodunensium : Embrun
Ciuitas Diniensium : Digne
Ciuitas Rigomagensium : Barcelonnette
Ciuitas Soliniensium : Castellane
Ciuitas Sanisiensium : Senez
Ciuitas Glannatena : Glandève
Ciuitas Cemelensium : Cimiez (coupled with Nicea: Nice)
Ciuitas Vintiensium : Vence
In provincia Alpium Graiarum et Poenninarum ciuitates num. II
Metropolis ciuitas Centronium : Aime-en-Tarantaise
(later recorded as the <i>Ciuitas Tarantensium</i> and under the authority of Vienne)
Ciuitas Valensium, Octodorum : Sion (later under the authority of Vienne)

Table 1: The Metropolitans of South Eastern Gaul according to the *Notitia Galliarum*.

LVGDVNENSIS	
L01	<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium</i> : Lyon
L02	<i>Ciuitas Aeduarum (Augustodunum)</i> : Autun
L03	<i>Ciuitas Lingonum</i> : Langres
L04	<i>Castrum Cabillonense</i> : Chalon-sur-Saône
L05	<i>Castrum Matisconense</i> : Mâcon
VIENNENSIS	
V01	<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne
V02	<i>Ciuitas Genauensium</i> : Genève
V03	<i>Ciuitas Gratianopolitana</i> : Grenoble
V04	<i>Ciuitas Albensium</i> : Alba/Viviers
V05	<i>Ciuitas Deensium</i> : Die
V06	<i>Ciuitas Valentinarum</i> : Valence
V07	<i>Ciuitas Valensium Octodorum</i> : Sion
V08	<i>Ciuitas Tarantensium</i> : Aime-en-Tarantaise
V09	<i>Ciuitas Mauriennensis</i> : Maurienne
V10	<i>Ciuitas Augusta</i> : Aosta
ARELETENSIS	
A01	<i>Ciuitas Arelatensium</i> : Arles
A02	<i>Ciuitas Aquensium</i> : Aix-en-Provence
A03	<i>Ciuitas Aptensium</i> : Apt
A04	<i>Ciuitas Reiensium</i> : Riez
A05	<i>Ciuitas Foroiuliensis</i> : Fréjus
A06	<i>Ciuitas Vappincensium</i> : Gap
A07	<i>Ciuitas Segesteriorum</i> : Sisteron
A08	<i>Ciuitas Antipolitana</i> : Antibes
A09	<i>Ciuitas Ebrodunensium</i> : Embrun
A10	<i>Ciuitas Diniensium</i> : Digne
A11	<i>Ciuitas Telonensium</i> : Toulon
A12	<i>Ciuitas Sanisiensium</i> : Senez
A13	<i>Ciuitas Glannatena</i> : Glandève
A14	<i>Ciuitas Cemelensium</i> : Cimiez/Nice
A15	<i>Ciuitas Vintiensium</i> : Vence
A16	<i>Ciuitas Tricastinorum</i> : Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux
A17	<i>Ciuitas Vasiensium</i> : Vaison
A18	<i>Ciuitas Arausicorum</i> : Orange
A19	<i>Ciuitas Carpentoratensium nunc Vindausca</i> : Carpentras/Venasque
A20	<i>Ciuitas Cabellicorum</i> : Cavaillon
A21	<i>Ciuitas Auennicorum</i> : Avignon
A22	<i>Ciuitas Massiliensium</i> : Marseille
A23	<i>Ciuitas Vticensium</i> : Uzès

Table 2: The *Ciuitates* of South Eastern Gaul at the end of the Sixth Century

Christian funerary inscriptions constitute the overwhelming majority of the epigraphic evidence. The majority of the inscriptions have been found in the cemeteries of the major towns, with Arles, Lyon and Vienne accounting for 442 inscriptions, 60% of the total. The inscriptions from these towns have been subdivided into the cemeteries and/or locations where they were found, eight at Lyon, nine at Vienne and seven at Arles. The distributions of the inscriptions from the three Metropolitan sees reveals a total of 144 sites from 120 separate towns or villages. Although the majority of the inscriptions are located within the actual Metropolitan capitals and only 40% provenance from the *ciuitates*, there remain a sufficient number of inscriptions known at other find spots to permit statistical conclusions to be drawn regarding distribution, the formulae employed, ages of the deceased, dates and ethnic diversity, as will be shown. Apart from the 24 sites recorded within the three Metropolitan capitals, 45 inscriptions are known from

18 sites in *Lugdunensis*, 137 from 55 in *Viennensis* and 117 from 47 sites in *Arelatensis*. However, the numbers of inscriptions found at each site differs greatly.

Only at three sites are more than ten inscriptions recorded, namely 18 at Briord, 24 at Marseille and 18 at Vaison-la-Romaine. Furthermore, only 15 sites have between five and ten inscriptions, leaving 102 sites of which 69 have produced but a single inscription. These sites with few inscriptions are generally not well documented nor have been the focus of archaeological research or excavation. Only a few sites such as Briord or La Gayole have been extensively excavated and published; elsewhere research has been of varying quality (detailed distribution maps are provided by Figure 9 and Figure 10). Nevertheless, in the absence of any other information, even a single epitaph reveals the presence of a cemetery and therefore one may reasonably postulate the existence of and often a *terminus post quem* for the establishment of a church. Furthermore the inscription itself may add details concerning the ecclesiastical organisation in that district, as will be seen.

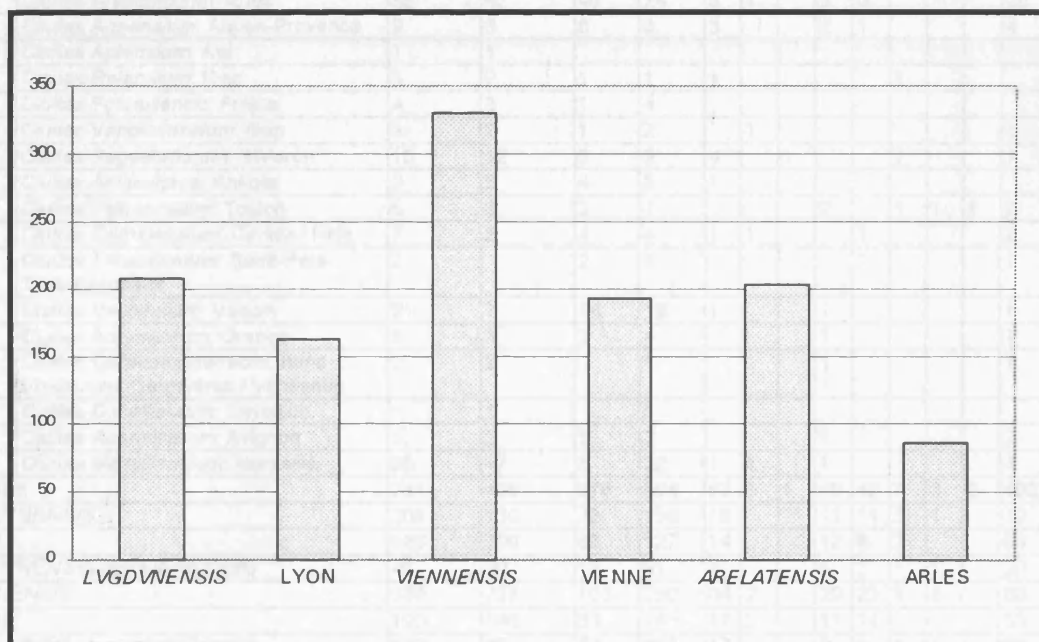


Figure 5: Distribution of inscriptions in South Eastern Gaul by Diocese and Metropolitan.

Besides dates these inscriptions provide valuable information: many of the names of the deceased are Germanic in origin, thereby demonstrating settlement of immigrant groups and their cultural assimilation by Roman traditions on the one hand, and the possible use of such name forms by the indigenous population on the other. This suggests a cultural phenomenon which also has a political dimension. A firm chronological sequence of the inscriptions is therefore essential if they are to yield new information. However, before discussing the date systems, the formulae and establishing a chronological sequence, each site where inscriptions

have been found requires a brief description and discussion, which may help ascertain why so many settlement sites or cemeteries have yielded no inscriptions.

CODE	CIVITAS	TOTAL	EXTANT	LOST	INSCRIPTION TYPES									EULOGIES
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
L01	<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium</i> : Lyon	192	119	73	148	16			15	11	2			67
L02	<i>Ciuitas Aeduarum (Augustodunum)</i> : Autun	5	2	3	4				1					1
L03	<i>Ciuitas Lingonum</i> : Langres	4	2	2	3				1					1
L04	<i>Castrum Cabillonense</i> : Chalon-sur-Saône	6	6		2	2					1	1	1	1
L05	<i>Castrum Matisconense</i> : Mâcon	1	1		1									
V01	<i>Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium</i> : Vienne	243	169	74	183	22	2		19	17				67
V02	<i>Ciuitas Genauensium</i> : Genève	15	10	5	10	3					1	1	1	1
V03	<i>Ciuitas Gratianopolitana</i> : Grenoble	21	10	11	20					1				1
V04	<i>Ciuitas Albensium</i> : Alba / Viviers	17	13	4	8	6				3				7
V05	<i>Ciuitas Deensium</i> : Die	5	5		4					1				1
V06	<i>Ciuitas Valentinarum</i> : Valence	28	20	8	24	3			1					3
V08	<i>Ciuitas Tarantensium</i> : Aime-en-Tarantaise	1		1	1									
A01	<i>Ciuitas Arelatensium</i> : Arles	88	42	46	74	3	1		3	6				28
A02	<i>Ciuitas Aquensium</i> : Aix-en-Provence	9	3	6	3	3			2	1				4
A03	<i>Ciuitas Aptensium</i> : Apt	1	1											
A04	<i>Ciuitas Reiensium</i> : Riez	3	2	1	1	1					1			
A05	<i>Ciuitas Foroiuliensis</i> : Fréjus	4	3	1	4									
A06	<i>Ciuitas Vappincensium</i> : Gap	3	2	1	2		1							1
A07	<i>Ciuitas Segesteriorum</i> : Sisteron	15	12	3	9	4		1			1			1
A08	<i>Ciuitas Antipolitana</i> : Antibes	9	5	4	8	1								
A11	<i>Ciuitas Telonensium</i> : Toulon	5	3	2	1				2		1	1	1	2
A14	<i>Ciuitas Cemelensium</i> : Cimiez / Nice	7	3	4	4	1	1			1				2
A16	<i>Ciuitas Tricastinorum</i> : Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux	2		2	1					1				1
A17	<i>Ciuitas Vasiensium</i> : Vaison	21	7	14	19	1			1					1
A18	<i>Ciuitas Arausicorum</i> : Orange	5	3	2	4				1					1
A19	<i>Ciuitas Carpentoratensium, nunc Vindausca</i> : Carpentras / Venasque	2	2		1				1					1
A20	<i>Ciuitas Cabellicorum</i> : Cavaillon	1	1		1									
A21	<i>Ciuitas Auennicorum</i> : Avignon	3	2	1	2				1					2
A22	<i>Ciuitas Massiliensium</i> : Marseille	25	17	8	22	1	1		1					4
TOTALS		741	465	276	564	67	6	1	49	42	7	3	2	198
LVGDVNENSIS		208	130	78	158	18			17	11	3	1		70
LYON		163	100	63	127	14			12	8	2			50
LVGDVNENSIS (excluding Lyon)		45	30	15	31	4			5	3	1	1		20
VIENNENSIS		330	227	103	250	34	2		20	22	1	1		80
VIENNE		193	140	53	143	17	2		17	14				53
VIENNENSIS (excluding Vienne)		137	87	50	107	17			3	8	1	1		27
ARELATENSIS		203	108	95	156	15	4	1	12	9	3	1	2	48
ARLES		86	41	45	72	3	1		3	6			1	28
ARELATENSIS (excluding Arles)		117	67	50	84	12	3	1	9	3	3	1	1	20
HORIZONTAL KEY:														
1. Christian epitaph														
2. Christian epitaph fragment														
3. Pagan epitaph														
4. Pagan epitaph fragment														
5. Christian metrical epitaph														
6. Christian metrical epitaph fragment														
7. Christian or pagan dedication inscription														
8. Christian or pagan dedication inscription fragment														
9. Inscription forming part of the decoration of a sarcophagus														
EULOGIES: denotes that an epitaphs contains a description of the deceased's merits, often inscribed in metre														

Table 3: Totals of Inscriptions and their Provenances.

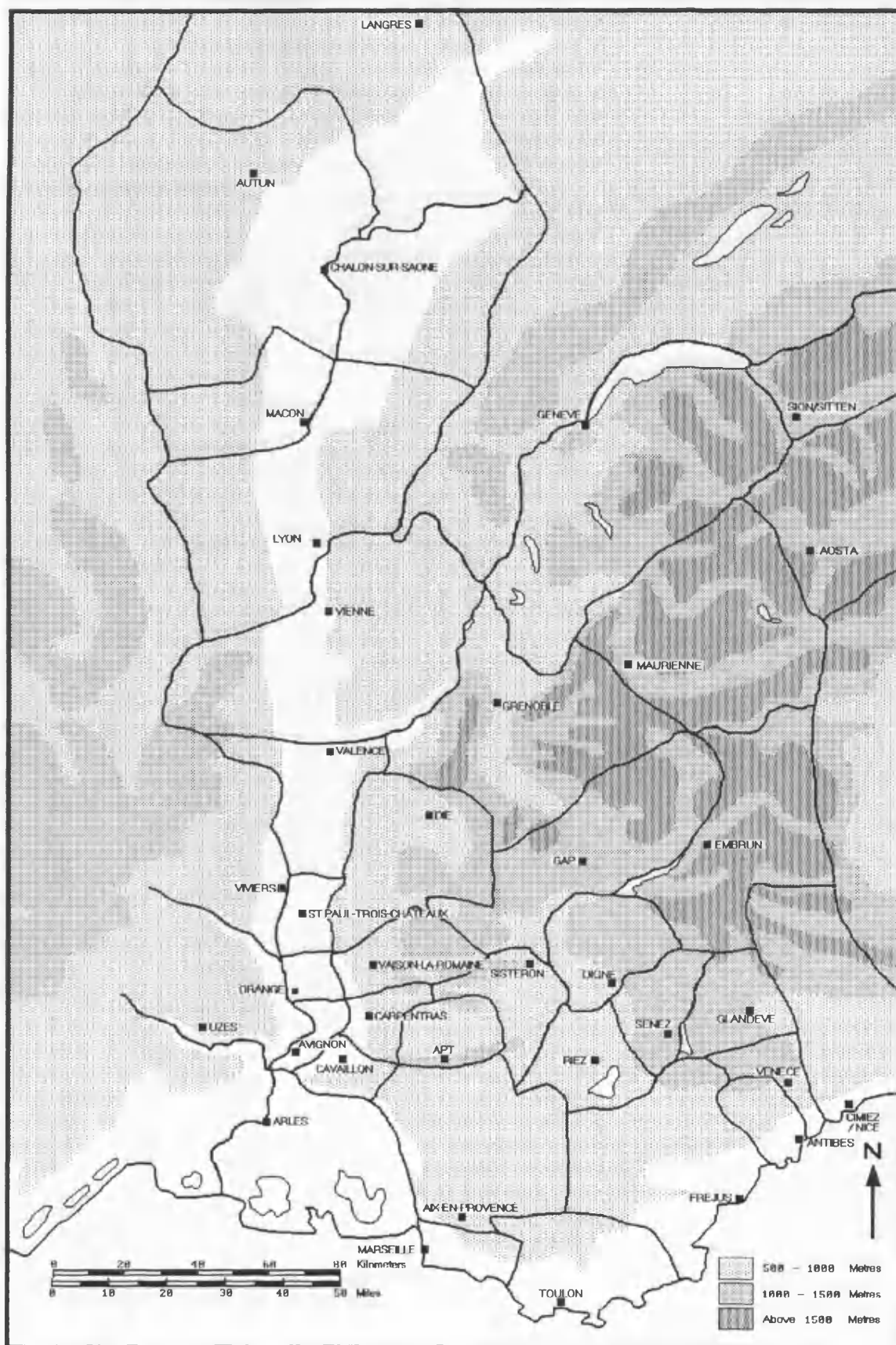


Figure 6: Approximate limits of the *ciuitas* boundaries in South Eastern Gaul at the end of the sixth century (after James 1982: Figs. 2 & 3. The rivers are removed from the topography to provide clarity).

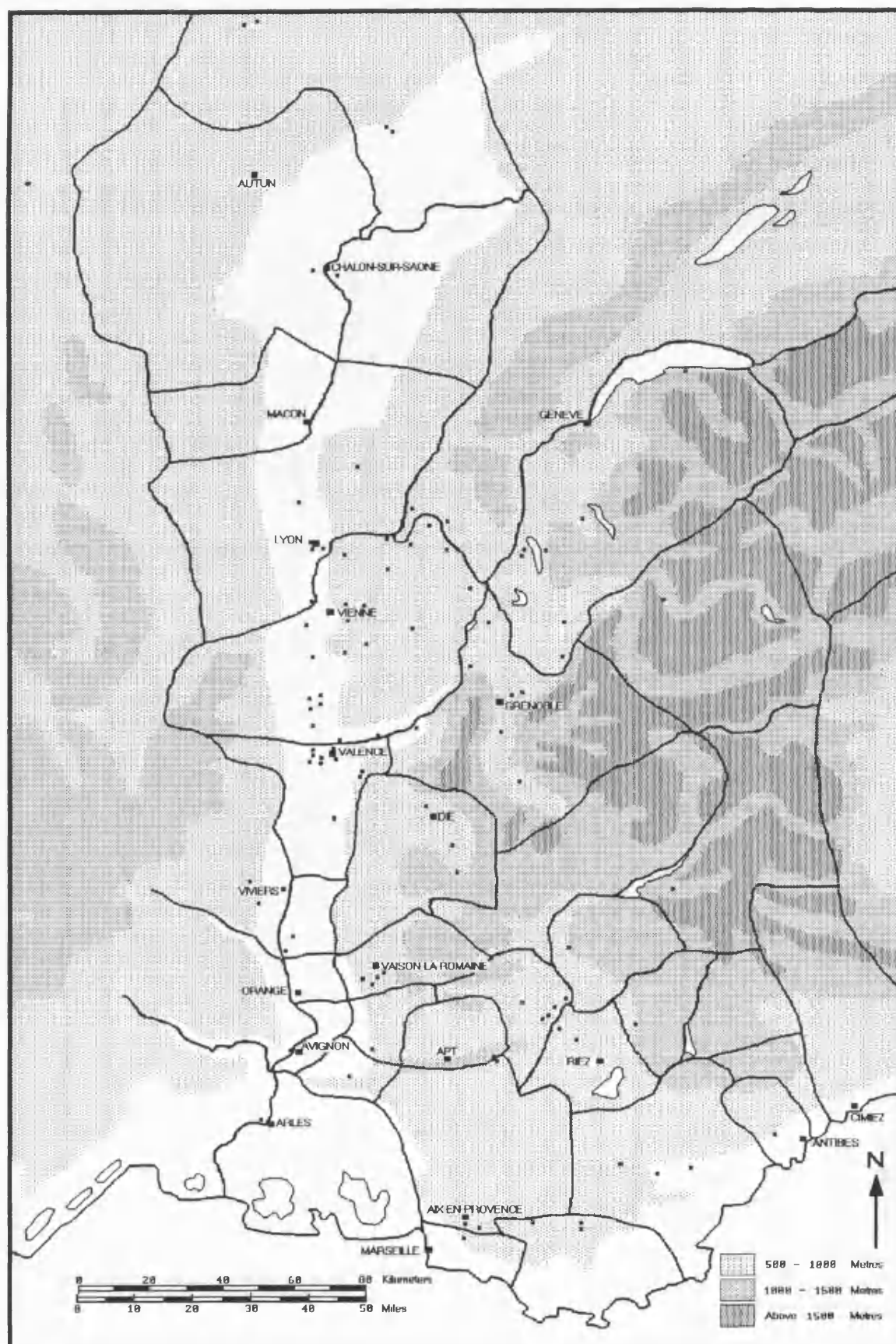


Figure 7: Distribution of inscriptions within their *ciuitas* boundaries (boundaries are after James 1982: Figs. 2 & 3. The rivers are removed from the topography to provide clarity).

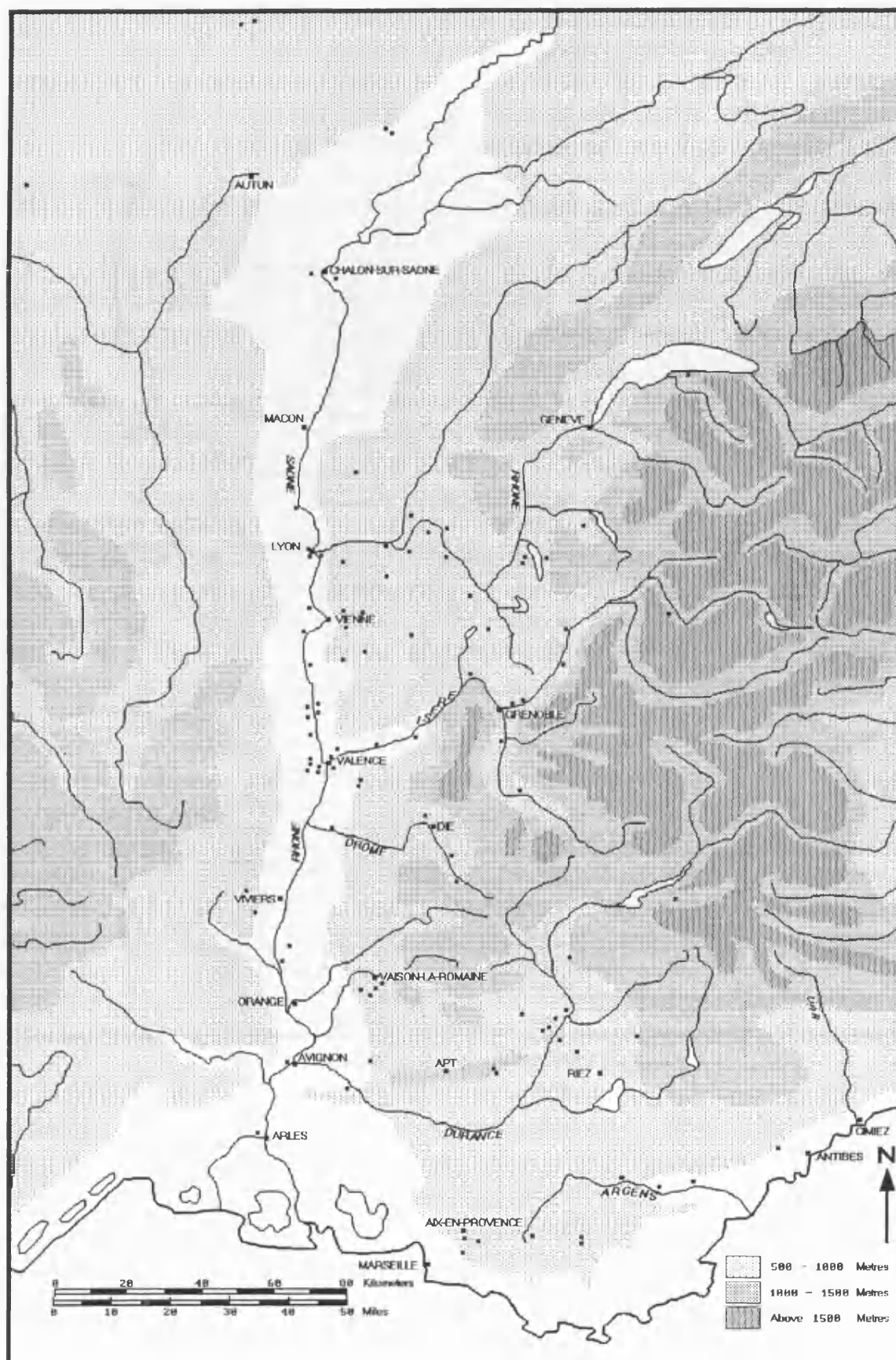


Figure 8: Distribution of inscriptions in South Eastern Gaul between the fourth and eighth centuries AD.

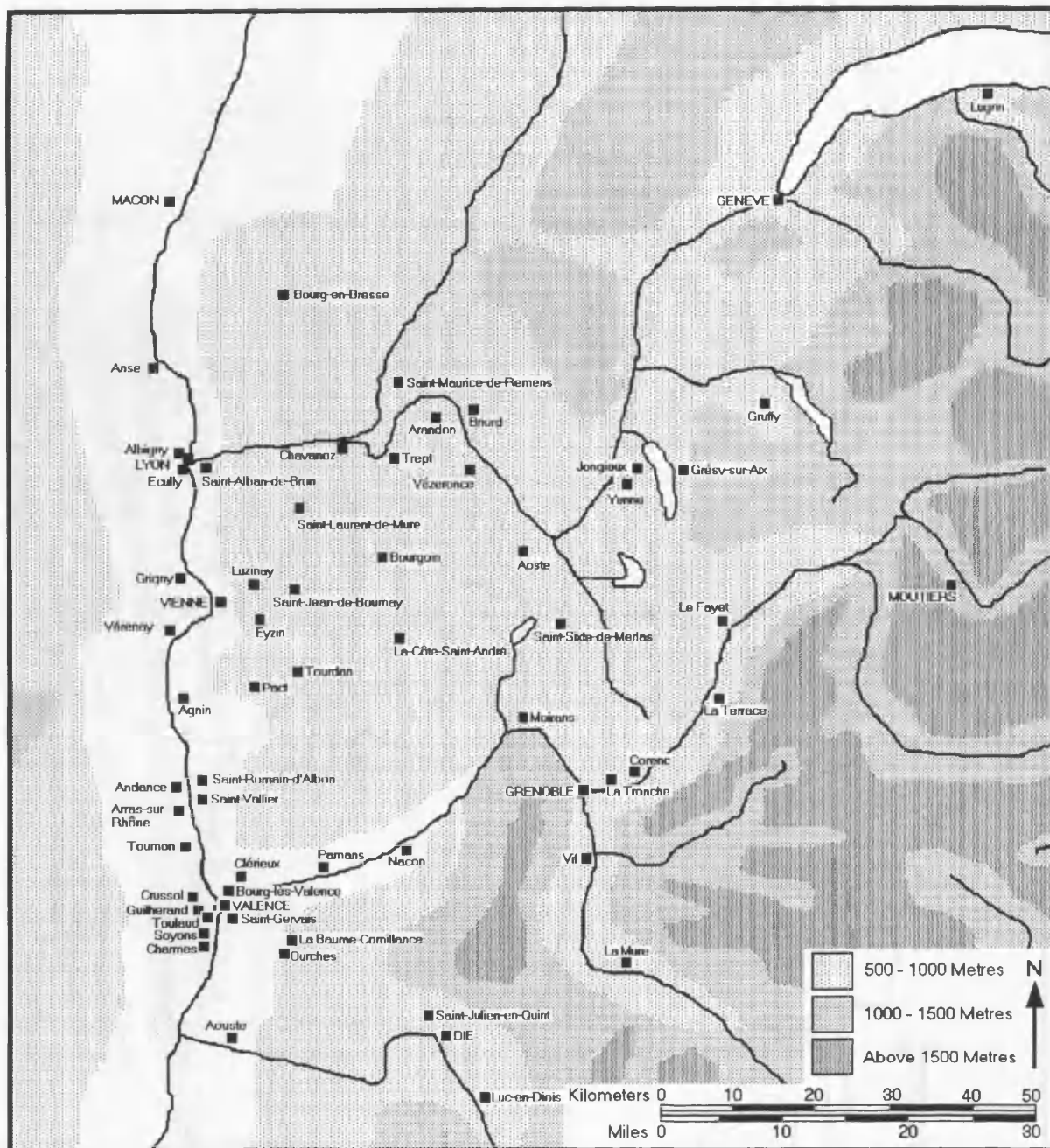


Figure 9: Distribution of inscriptions north of the Durance.

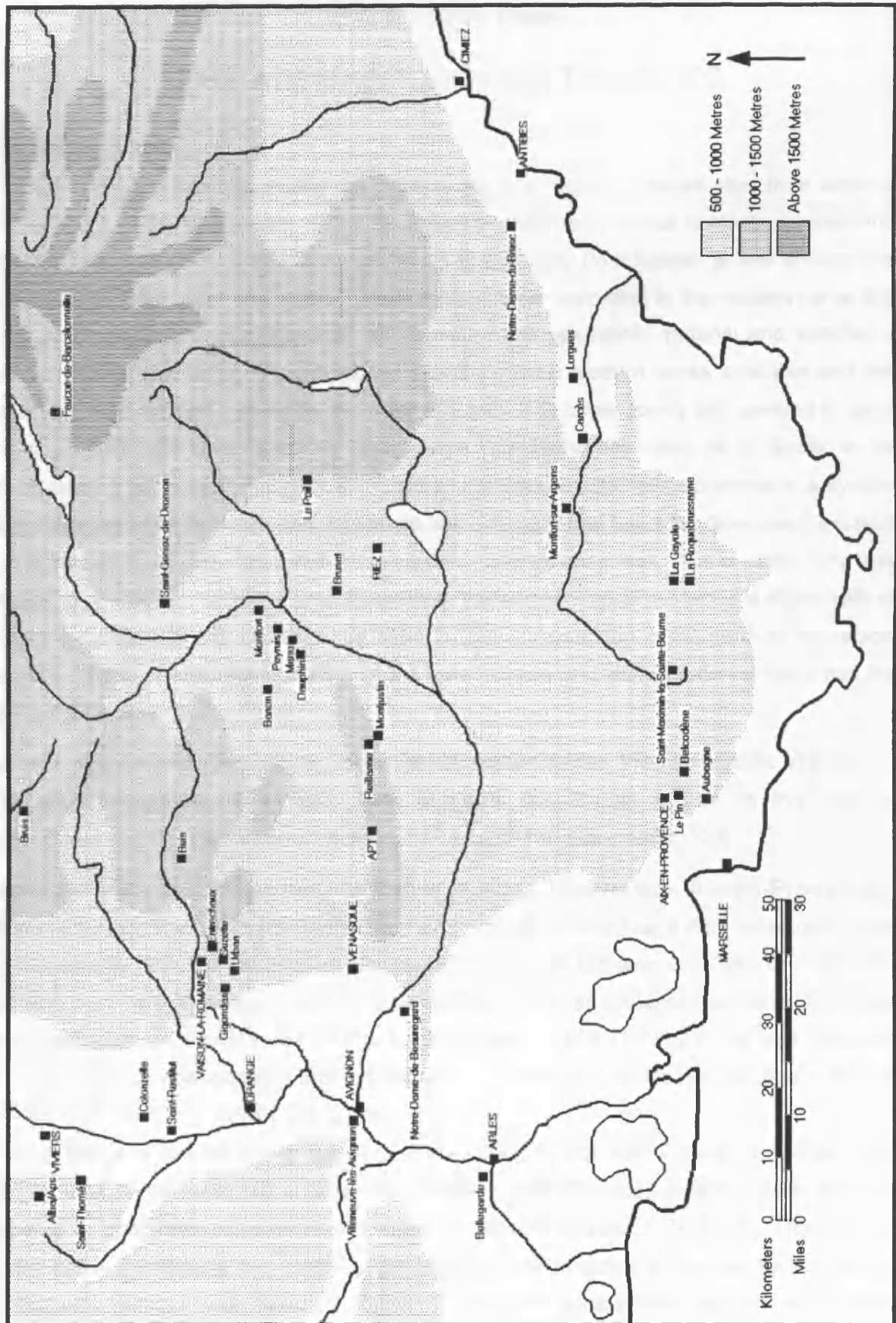


Figure 10: Distribution of inscriptions in Provence

CHAPTER ONE

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SITES

INTRODUCTION

It is valuable to summarise briefly the archaeology and history of those sites from which the inscriptions under consideration derive. By understanding their physical contexts we learn more of settlement patterns overall in terms of levels of continuity from Roman to late antique times (and beyond). Here each site is listed in alphabetical order according to the modern name. Each entry summarises the archaeological, documentary and epigraphic material and includes the key bibliographic sources. The references are to the most modern works available and many older works have been ignored for the sake of brevity; the larger towns are covered in greater depth by published series such as *Topographie Chrétienne des Cités de la Gaule*; in most cases original excavation reports are not referred to if the results have appeared in a synthesis (e.g. Colardelle 1983). However, it should be borne in mind that few sites have been excavated sufficiently so as to allow more than an overview of their development. This is particularly true in Provence, where, whilst towns clearly persisted, the archaeological evidence is slight, with only Cimiez examined in any detail (Février 1964: 3, 25). An exception in the north of the region is Genève, where a substantial portion of the Late Roman and early medieval town has been studied (Bonnet 1986).

AGNIN, Canton de Roussillon, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne*).

The single inscription, No.1, found here, suggests post-Roman survival of this presumed Gallo-Roman villa (attested by inscriptions, *CIL.XII*: 2183-4; Blanc 1969: 223).

AIX-EN-PROVENCE, Bouches-du-Rhône (*Ciuitas Aquensium: Aix-en-Provence*).

There is disagreement about the date of the establishment of the see. It may have been created simultaneously with the province of *Narbonensis Secunda* between 370-380, or even later if Lazarus was the first bishop. He is the first recorded but most authorities consider that the see was created at least thirty years prior to his episcopate in 408 (*TC.II*: 23). He was deposed in 411 and if he is to be identified with the deceased of that name on No.418 he died in Marseille in either 441 or 452 (*ICMAMNS*: 8, p.15).

The site and nature of the early episcopal group is not well known. It perhaps lay at Notre-Dame de la Seds, but a better alternative is Saint-Sauveur, whose original dedication appears to have been *ecclesia beatae Mariae et Gloriosi Saluatoris* (*TC.II*: 24). This is the site of the present cathedral and baptistry (the latter has been dated to the late fourth century – Formigé in Benoit *et al.* 1954: 14; Figure 11). Recent excavations suggest an underlying palaeochristian basilica or pagan temple. The cathedral may have been a double cathedral if the two naves of Sainte-Marie and Saint-Maximin preserve the plan of the early Christian

construction. The baptistry overlay a building at the north-west corner of the forum. In plan the baptistry closely resembles those of Cimiez, Marseille, Riez, and Fréjus. Other elements of the episcopal group have been identified: an oratory dedicated to Saint-Sauveur, likely annexes to the baptistry, and a possible *praefurnium*. The episcopal *domus* has not been precisely located. A third or fourth century cemetery is known and several tile-built tombs have been found in and around the cathedral (Février 1964: 53-57).

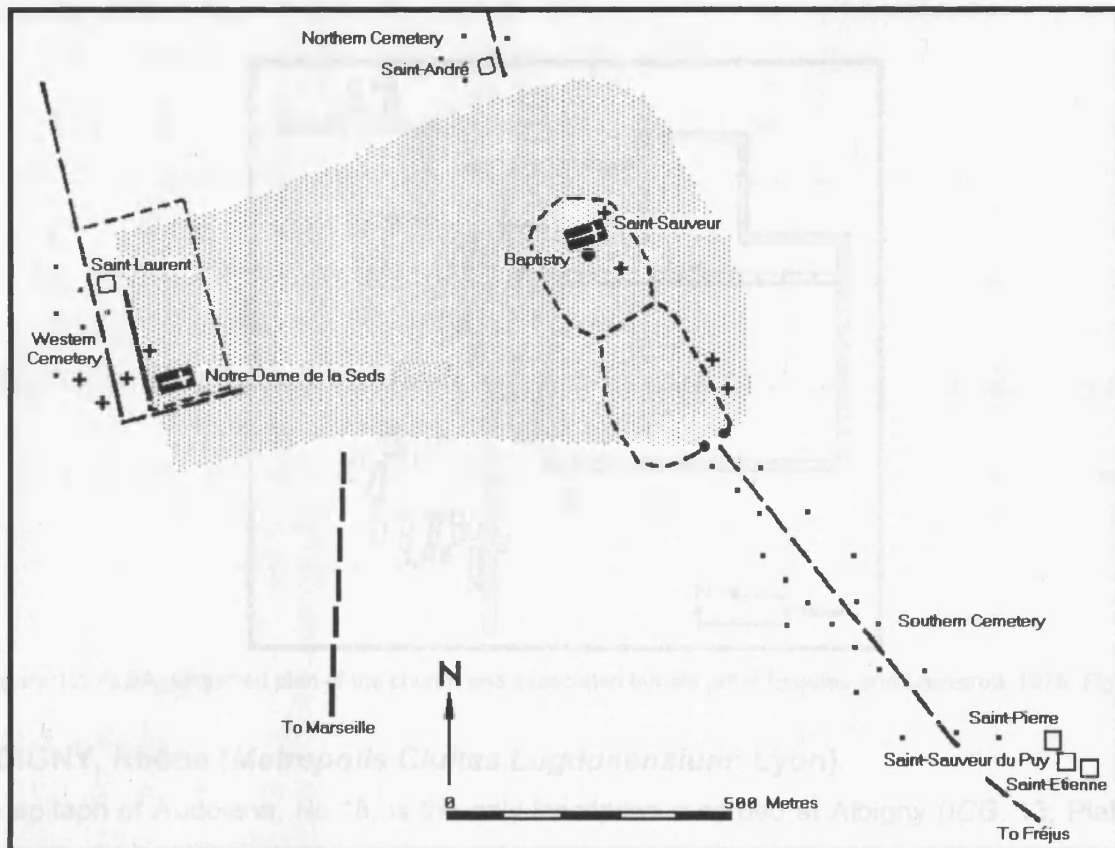


Figure 11: AIX-EN-PROVENCE (after Guyon 1986: 19).

Several ecclesiastical buildings are documented and the approximate limits of the extramural cemeteries are known. In the southern cemetery three churches are recorded, Saint-Pierre, Saint-Sauveur du Puy and Saint-Etienne; only Saint-Pierre (much rebuilt) is extant. In the western cemetery the church of Saint-Laurent is known from an inscription recording the transfer of remains of Menelphalus and Armentarius *ab ecc(lesi)a b(e)ati Laurentii*. This inscription is probably dated to the ninth century and is not included in this study. In the northern cemetery the church of Saint-André is attested first in the eleventh century but may have been an early foundation (TC.II: 27-28).

ALBA/APS, Ardèche (*Ciuitas Albensium*: Alba/Viviers).

At the western extremity of the Gallo-Roman town of Alba are the remains of the Romanesque chapel of Saint-Pierre, beneath which a small church dated to fifth century has been partially excavated (Figure 12). Its single nave was found to contain several tombs, mainly sarcophagi,

and several fragments of inscriptions. Immediately south of the church is a smaller rectangular building with nave and apse, interpreted as a *martyrium* or even a baptistry, although it is possible that there may here have been the beginnings of an episcopal group based upon the model known at Lyon or Genève. The transfer of the episcopal see to Viviers in the late fifth century (Loseby 1992a: 148) did not result in the church losing importance as a burial site for the local population. All the inscriptions have been dated to the sixth century (Esquieu and Lauxerois 1975: 5-44).

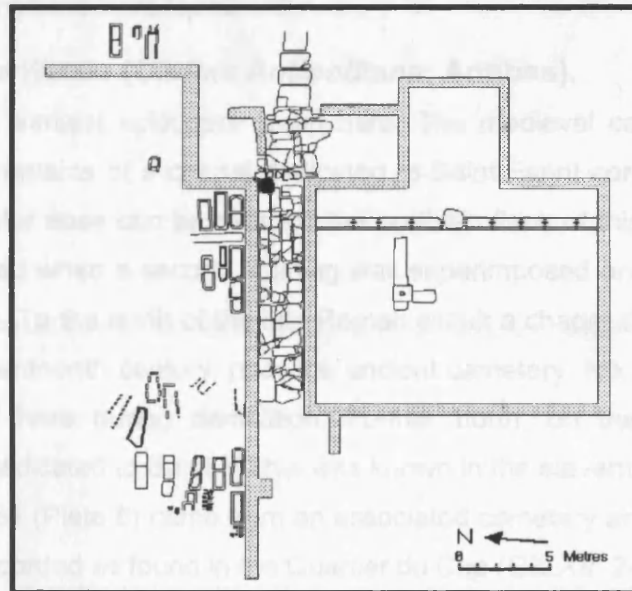


Figure 12: ALBA: simplified plan of the church and associated burials (after Esquieu and Lauxerois 1975: Fig.2).

ALBIGNY, Rhône (*Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium*: Lyon).

The epitaph of Audolena, No.18, is the only inscription recorded at Albigny (*ICG*: 13; Plate 3), although this possibly derives from the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery at nearby Lyon. It is possible that Albigny may be identified with *Albiacum* (Beck 1950: 82).

ANDANCE, Canton de Serrières, Ardèche (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium*: Vienne).

A Gallo-Roman temple, possibly built over an Iron Age temple, on the summit of the hill of Le Châtelet, was apparently later converted to church. The large *mausoleum* at La Sarrasinière, three kilometres to the south, suggests that this was a cult centre of above average importance during the Gallo-Roman period (Rivet 1988: 314). All the inscriptions were discovered at Le Châtelet during the nineteenth century except for No.23 whose exact provenance is unknown. Unfortunately the work undertaken at the time was poorly recorded and nothing can be deduced as to the nature of the church at Le Châtelet during the early medieval period (*R/ICG*.XV: 258). For the mid-sixth century a sub-deacon, Santolus, is recorded on inscription No.19.

ANSE, Rhône (*Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium*: Lyon).

Gallo-Roman *Asa Paulini* was fortified in the third century (Gruyer 1984: 301-321). Nothing is known of the town during the early medieval period except for the existence of five epitaphs. The earliest dated and legible example is No.26, dated 22 March 486, the epitaph of Vistrigilde. All were first recorded during demolition and re-building work on the church during the nineteenth century (*ICG.I*: 546-549). *ILCV* records all of them as lost but they are today set into the interior of the south wall of the modern church. The church should date back to the fifth century since the inscriptions were found within.

ANTIBES, Alpes Maritimes (*Ciuitas Antipolitana*: Antibes).

Little is known of the earliest episcopal group here. The medieval cathedral is dedicated to Notre-Dame and the remains of a chapel dedicated to Saint-Esprit consisting of a rectangular nave and a semi-circular apse can be seen on the northern flank of this. This building appears to have been unfinished when a second building was superimposed on a similar plan, perhaps in the seventh century. To the north of the late Roman circuit a chapel dedicated to Saint-Pierre still existed in the seventeenth century, near the ancient cemetery. No.29, dated 27 December 476, was discovered here during demolition. Further north, on the western flank of the Fort-Carré, a chapel dedicated to Saint-Michel was known in the eleventh century (*TC.II*: 57-60). Nos.30 (Plate 7) and 31 (Plate 8) came from an associated cemetery and the other inscriptions, Nos.32 and 33, are recorded as found in the Quartier du Cap (*CIL.XII*: 246; Février 1964: 64).

AOSTE, Canton de Beauvoisin, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium*: Vienne).

The *uicus* of *Augustum* has been investigated sporadically since the 1960s. Remains of several buildings, a pottery workshop and kilns have been identified dating from the first century onwards. The modern church is dedicated to Saint-Laurent but since no tombs have been found in the vicinity the original church site remains open to question (Colardelle 1983: 167-168), yet more than two dozen inscriptions have been recorded overall (Rivet 1988: 312), of which six are included here. Only four are extant, all set into the exterior wall of the modern church; the earliest dated example is No.34 of AD 523.

AOUSTE, Canton de Crest, Drôme (*Ciuitas Valentinorum*: Valence).

Confusingly named *Augusta*, *Augustum* and *Auguston* in the sources, there was a substantial Gallo-Roman settlement here and the modern street plan may reflect the original layout (Rivet 1988: 292). Only three relevant inscriptions are known, two of which are fragments, Nos.41 and 42. No.40 is a rare double epitaph to a husband and wife (Plate 11). This inscription was erroneously attributed to Aoste (Isère) by Allmer (1875-6: 1766), but corrected by Rougier (1978). The exact provenances of all the inscriptions are unknown.

APT, Vaucluse (*Ciuitas Aptensium*: Apt).

The medieval cathedral is immediately south of the site of the Gallo-Roman theatre. As at Aix-en-Provence, there are signs of an earlier edifice. Tradition identifies the medieval chapel of Saint-Jean with a baptistry. To the east a temple dedicated to Mars has been tentatively identified (Rivet 1988: 258) and to the west a church dedicated to Saint-Pierre is attested. Three churches to the south of the town are documented, dedicated to Saints Genesius, Vincent and Paul. A *terra sanctuaria*, evidently a cemetery, is also attested in this zone (TC.II: 29-33; Février 1964: 55-56). The provenance of the only inscription recorded, No.43, is unknown and consists of a series of names incised above the busts of apostolic figures carved upon a sarcophagus.

ARANDON, Canton de Morestel, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium*: Vienne).

The single inscription known, No.44, dated 23 May 546 (Plate 12), is today set into the exterior wall of the modern church but may have originated from the nearby cemetery in a locality known locally as Saint-Martin, suggesting the original dedication and site of a fifth- or sixth-century edifice. About a dozen tombs have been uncovered during agricultural work in this locality; whilst none were recorded scientifically, construction types and the fragments of pottery indicate an early medieval date (Colardelle 1983: 168).

ARLES, Bouches-du-Rhône (*Ciuitas Arelatensium*: Arles).

Following the Edict of Toleration in 312 Constantine re-convened at Arles in 314 the council which had been opened the previous year at the Lateran. From this time Arles effectively undertook the role of vicariate to the Holy See in Rome. In about 395 the Prefecture of the Gauls was moved from Trier in response to the increasing military problems along the Rhine. In either 417 or 418 a political and ecclesiastical reform was effected which had far reaching consequences for the provinces of *Arelatensis* and *Viennensis*. This act gave Arles primacy over the church in Gaul and made it the headquarters for the assembly of the seven provinces. The city was besieged several times during the fifth century but escaped occupation by the Burgundians and Visigoths, only coming under the control of the Ostrogothic king of Italy, Theoderic, in 507 (Benoit 1954: 15-21). Much of the subsequent ecclesiastical history of Arles concerns the defence of this primacy by its bishops in the face of opposition from those of Vienne; Caesarius was the most vigorous bishop in this respect, travelling to Rome in 513 to seek confirmation of his (primatial) status from Pope Symmachus.

The archaeological evidence for early medieval Arles is restricted and the documentary sources often ambiguous or confusing. Accordingly, academic study of the topography of Arles lacks agreement, but Benoit (1954 = *Gallia* 1954, *informations*: 251-260), the entry in the *Topographie Chrétienne* series (Vol.III: 73-84), Février (1964) and Loseby (1996), provide the best summaries.

The site of the earliest church at Arles may have been within the walls in the south-eastern corner and is mentioned by several sources (Figure 13) where later the abbey founded by Caesarius was built alongside. It is recorded with a baptistery and appears to have been the ecclesiastical focal point until the middle of the fifth century. The date of the relocation of the cathedral to the present site of Saint-Trophime remains disputed but may have been prior to the death of Hilarius on 5 May 449 because his body is recorded as having been deposited in a church dedicated to Saint Stephen prior to being transferred to the church of Saint Genesius; the site of Saint Stephen probably underlies the extant medieval cathedral, Saint-Trophime (TC.III: 80-81; Benoit 1954: 19).

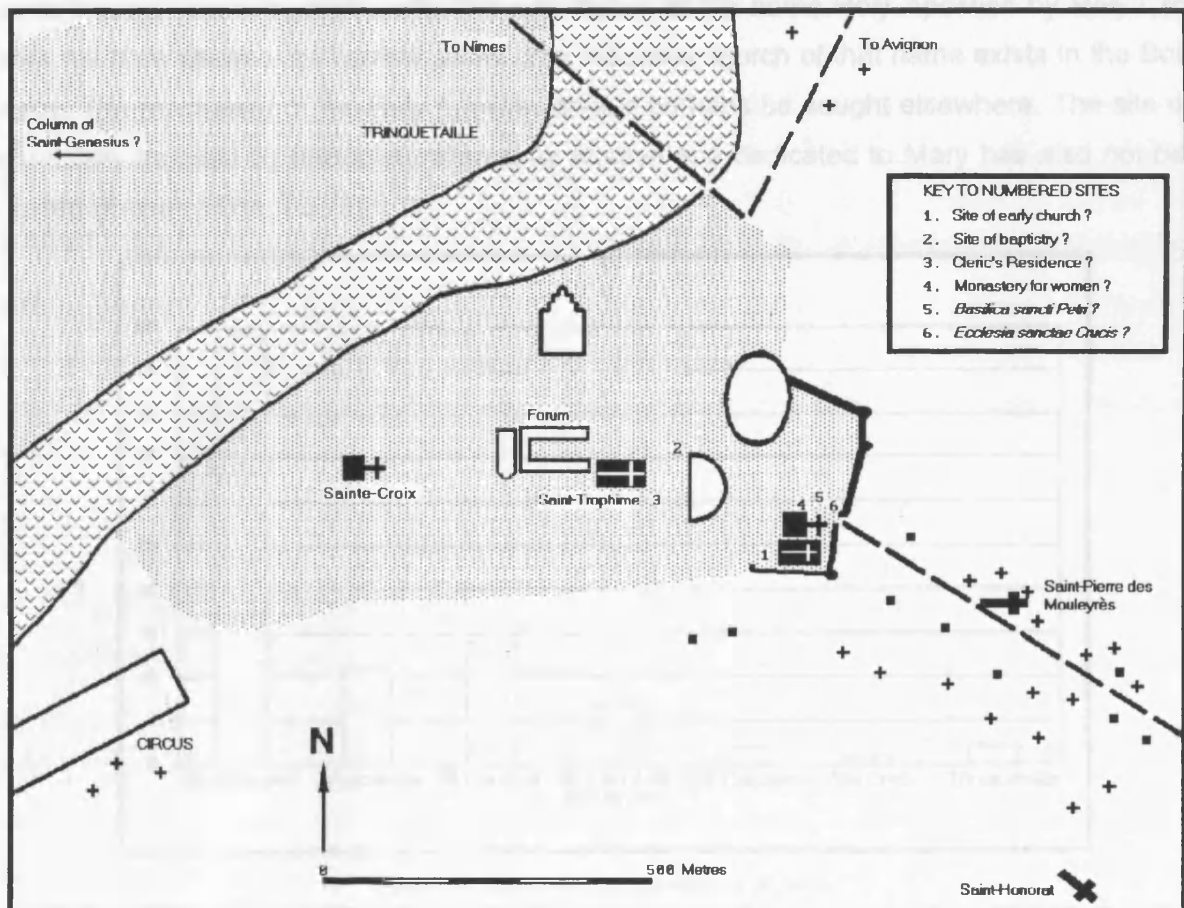


Figure 13: ARLES (after Février 1986: 75).

No archaeological evidence exists for other late antique buildings known otherwise only from documentary sources (pers. comm., M.Claude Sintès), such as *cellae* for the monks, residences for the clergy and a *basilica Constantia*. The famous monastery for women founded by Caesarius appears to have had three elements, the central part dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and the sides dedicated to Saints John and Martin respectively. It appears to have been built upon the former site of the early cathedral. The abbess Rusticula, who died in 632, had a *basilica* to Saint Peter constructed. A *basilica Apostolorum*, mentioned in the life of Saint

Caesarius, and a *basilica sanctae Mariae* are also recorded for Arles (Février 1964: 51-53, 70-73).

Some uncertainty concerns the monastery dedicated to the Holy Cross, also built for Rusticula. The sources are somewhat ambiguous as to whether it was a new foundation during the episcopate of Aurelianus or an extension to the pre-existing church of that name (*TC.III*: 82). The *monasterium/basilica in honore sanctorum Apostolorum* has been identified with a separate edifice later named Sainte-Croix. Whether two buildings should be seen here or not is difficult to determine, nevertheless the epitaph, No.128, of Florentinus, an abbot, is recorded as having been brought into the church of the Holy Cross after a considerable lapse of time, following some internal reconstruction work. The substitution of the name Holy Apostles by Holy Cross does not here seem to be correct, although a medieval church of that name exists in the Bourg Vieux. The monastery of the Holy Apostles should perhaps be sought elsewhere. The site of a monastery founded by bishop Aurelianus for women and dedicated to Mary has also not been located (Février 1964: 70-73).

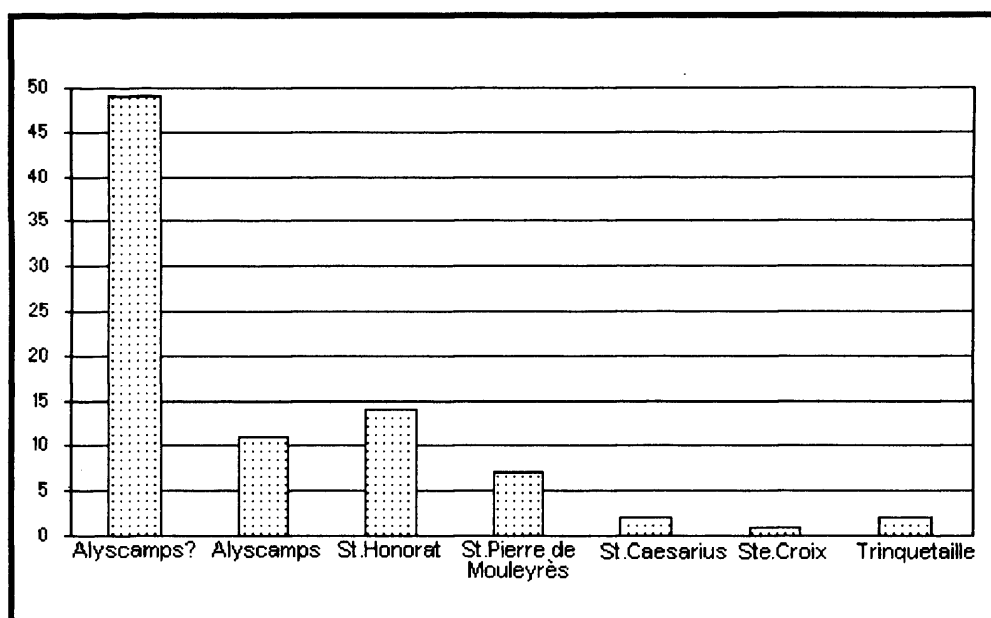


Figure 14: Distribution of inscriptions at Arles.

Outside the walls the topography is known with more certainty. The huge cemetery of Alyscamps, whence come the majority of the inscriptions (Figure 14), contains the *basilica beati Genesii*, later known as Saint-Honorat, and a *basilica sancti Petri et Pauli*. The traditional site of the execution of Saint Genesius, once marked by a column, is located on the right bank of the Rhône at Trinquetaille. The church dedicated to Saint Genesius in the Alyscamps cemetery was where several bishops were buried and where local dignitaries sought to be buried *ad martyrem*, as is suggested by the epitaph of Siluana, No.58. The sarcophagus of Bishop Concordius was probably placed in the crypt; the lower half of the sarcophagus and his epitaph, No.102, is extant (Plate 30). The epitaph of Hilarius, No.113, is also recorded as having been

there. The *basilica sancti Petri et Pauli*, known in the medieval period as Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès, certainly had a foundation date in Late Antiquity; the epitaph of Petrus, No.120 (Plate 38), son of the founder Asclepius, is recorded on an inscription dated 19 January 530. There can be no doubt as to the prime importance of the Alyscamps cemetery throughout this period. Of the 86 epitaphs from Arles 81 were discovered there or are believed to have been. None have been recorded *in situ* due to the construction of the railway station and subsequent destruction of much of the cemetery in the nineteenth century, during which operation many of the inscriptions were discovered. Of these 14 are recorded from Saint-Honorat and seven from Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès. As will be seen, the evidence of the epitaphs suggests that the cemetery continued in use throughout the sixth century (see Chapter Three), which coincides with the continued expansion of ecclesiastical building projects.

Recent work in the large suburb of Trinquetaille has revealed not only Gallo-Roman structures but also a cemetery including Christian sarcophagi and epitaphs (*Revue d'Arles* 1, 1987: 81-93, 124-126), following on from work in the 1940s (Benoit 1944: 251-260). This cemetery was in use by the aristocracy at least as early as Alyscamps as the sarcophagus of Marcia Romana Celsa shows (No.130, Plate 41). The few inscriptions known from Trinquetaille are earlier than the majority of the Alyscamps examples. Finally, excavations at the site of the circus have revealed a cemetery in use between the first and fourth centuries but no inscriptions dated to this period have been found (*Revue d'Arles* 2, 1990: 10-15).

ARRAS-SUR-RHONE, Canton de Tournon, Ardèche (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium*: Vienne).

Two unprovenanced inscriptions are known, although No.132 was discovered in the modern church cemetery (*RICG*.XV: 32, p.257).

AUBAGNE, Bouches-du-Rhône (*Ciuitas Massiliensium*: Marseille).

The circumstances of discovery of the sole inscription, No.133, are unknown. Le Blant is hesitant about its Christianity (*ICG*: 551b) and it is included here because it appears to date to the fourth century.

AUTUN, Saône-et-Loire (*Ciuitas Aeduorum/Augustodunum*: Autun).

The earliest bishop recorded for Autun is Reticius who attended the Synod at Rome in 313 (*FEAG*.II: 176) but it is thought that there was a Christian community established before the fourth century (*TC*.IV: 41). The foundation date of the episcopal group is not known, but the dedication of the *ecclesia beati Nazarii* may belong to the first quarter of the fourth century. A dedication to this Milanese martyr is relatively rare but a church dedicated to Saints Gervasius and Protasius – also Milanese martyrs - is known at Vienne (see below). These dedications may reflect closer contacts with North Italy during this period than are revealed in the documentary sources. The medieval cathedral was built upon this early site and is dedicated to Saint-Lazar.

The *Passio Sancti Leudegarii* (MGH.SRM.XII: 282-362) attests an *ecclesiae domus* which may be the building in which Venantius Fortunatus wanted his long acrostic poem written in honour of Bishop Syagrius, No.136, to be placed. Although no longer extant - and it is uncertain whether it was inscribed or painted upon the wall - it is included here. A baptistry, a *basilica* dedicated to the Holy Cross, and a *matricula*, presumably for the storage of official documents, are also attested (TC.IV: 42).

Outside the limits of the *castrum* but within the zone of the Roman town two monastic foundations were established during the episcopate of Syagrius (c.561-599). The *monasterium sanctae Mariae*, and the *monasterium atque xenodochium Francorum* are only known from the documentary sources. Of the suburb more is known. The *basilica sancti Stefani* is attested by Gregory (GC: 72) in the vast cemetery to the north-east of the city; this cemetery was in use from the first century onwards and within it is the church dedicated to Saint-Pierre l'Estrier which was established in an area used increasingly from the second century for both interments and anepigraphic sarcophagi (Sapin 1982: 51-105). Two mid-imperial *mausolea* have been proposed based upon the surviving evidence. The walls of the eastern *mausoleum* were reused in the early church, which has been dated to the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. Several bishops of Autun were buried in this zone but, despite the archaeological scrutiny, only three epitaphs are known at Autun for this period; all three are probably from this site or nearby.

Within the same cemetery a *basilica beati Symphoriani et monasterium ad sanctum Symphorianum* is attested, with the *basilica* built in the mid-fifth century and the monastery attested before the end of the sixth (TC.IV: 44). A small *cella* dedicated to Saint Symphorianus contained his sarcophagus and relics, in the eighteenth century recorded as being behind the main altar of the *basilica*, in a crypt together with the burials of his parents (Vieillard-Troiekouroff 1976: 45).

AVIGNON, Vaucluse (*Ciuitas Auennicorum*: Avignon).

During the first half of the fifth century possession of Avignon was frequently contested by the Burgundians and Visigoths, coming under the control of the Ostrogoths in 508 and finally ceded to the Franks in 538. It later became part of the kingdom of Austrasia, at least by 587, as inscription No.733, from Villeneuve-lès-Avignon seems to testify. The city was sacked by Charles Martel in 737 and only slowly recovered (TC.III: 117).

The episcopal group comprised a double cathedral and baptistry; the *matris ecclesie sancte Marie et sancti Stephani ac sancti Iohannis Baptiste* lay on the southern part of the Rocher-des-Doms. Only the medieval cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms is extant (Figure 15). It may have been two separate buildings because the site of the *ecclesia sancti Iohannis Baptistae* is between the cathedral and Saint-Etienne.

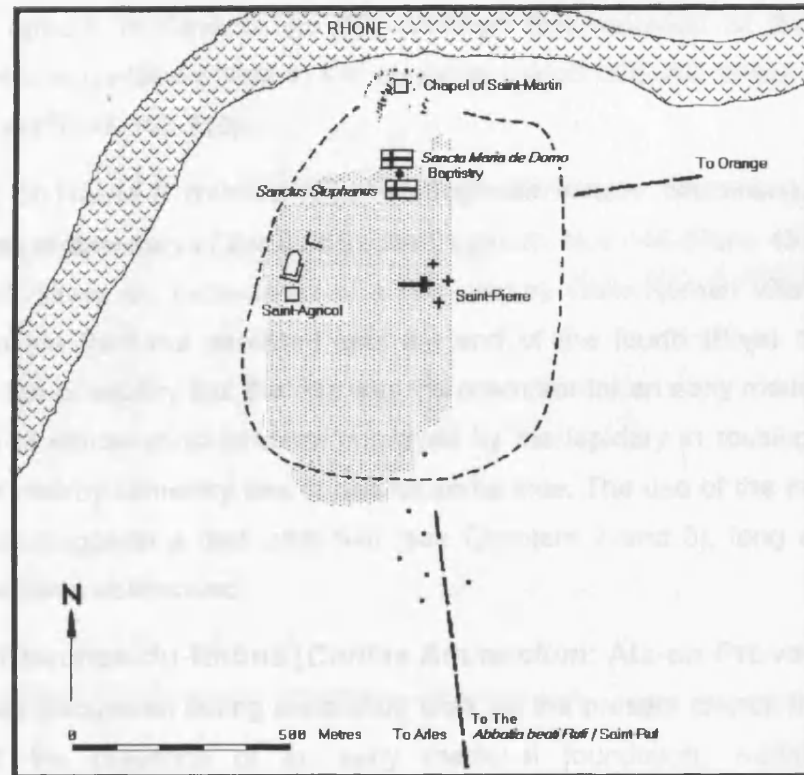


Figure 15: AVIGNON (after Biarne 1986: 115).

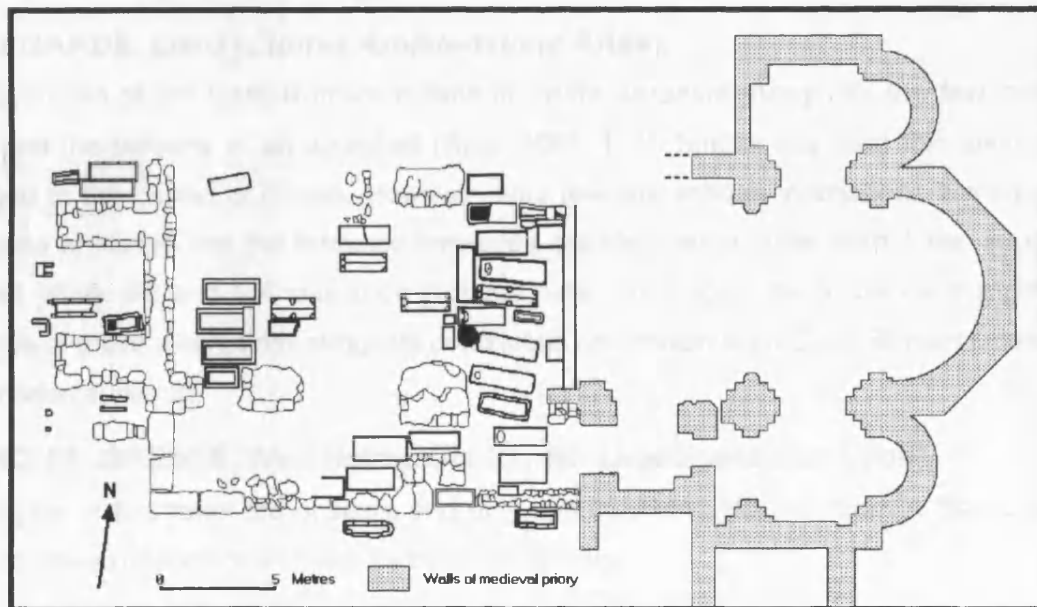


Figure 16: AVIGNON: plan of the abbey of Saint-Ruf and associated burials and sarcophagi (after Gagnière and Grenier 1979: 108).

The extramural abbey of Saint-Ruf (Figure 16) mainly comprises remains of the Romanesque church, although excavations revealed an earlier structure containing several sarcophagi dating perhaps to the fifth century (Gagnière and Grenier 1979: 108-116). Only two inscriptions have been discovered: the epitaph of Crispinus, No.138, is certainly from Saint-Ruf, but it is possible that the fragmentary inscription dedicated to a juvenile, No.139, may also be

from here. The epitaph of Casaria, No.733, although first recorded at the monastery of Saint-André at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon in the medieval period (*CIL.XII*: 1045), may well have originated here too (*TC.III*: 113-119).

BANON, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Segesteriorum*: Sisteron).

The circumstances of discovery of this dual (reused) epitaph, Nos.140 (Plate 43) and 141 (Plate 44), are unknown. However, excavations of a first century Gallo-Roman villa showed that it suffered a fire in the third but persisted until the end of the fourth (Rivet 1988: 260). The inscription raises the possibility that the villa was the precursor for an early medieval village and church. The lack of ethical considerations displayed by the lapidary in reusing the inscription suggests that the nearby cemetery was in use for some time. The use of the indiction alone to date both epitaphs suggests a date after 540 (see Chapters 2 and 3), long after the villa is presumed to have been abandoned.

BELCODENE, Bouches-du-Rhône (*Ciuitas Aquensium*: Aix-en-Provence).

The five fragments discovered during restoration work on the present church in the nineteenth century suggest the presence of an early medieval foundation. Additionally, several Gallo-Roman inscriptions have been recorded (*NR*:206). The five fragments have been grouped as one here, No.142.

BELLEGARDE, Gard (*Ciuitas Arelatensium*: Arles).

Little is known of the Gallo-Roman *mutatio* of *Ponte Aerarium* except for the few inscriptions found and the remains of an aqueduct (Rivet 1988: 173). Strictly speaking this town probably belonged to the *ciuitas* of Nîmes. However, very few late antique inscriptions are known from the *ciuitas* of Nîmes and the formulae employed are identical to those from Arles, suggest that Nos.143 (Plate 45) and 144 should be included here. Once again the evidence is slight but the presence of these inscriptions suggests continuous occupation from Gallo-Roman times into the early medieval period.

BOURG-EN-BRESSE, Ain (*Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium*: Lyon).

The origins of this town are obscure and only this fragment, No.145, from a metrical epitaph suggests the existence of a church by the sixth century.

BOURGOIN, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium*: Vienne).

Excavation of the Gallo-Roman town, recorded variously as *Bergusia* or *Bergusium*, has revealed various structural remains, including baths, and the approximate limits of the *uicus* (Rivet 1988: 312). Occupation probably continued during the Merovingian period on a reduced scale and centred around the modern church of Saint-Jean. Tombs discovered during the past forty years show a diversity of tomb types, attesting different levels of wealth. Evidence of the relative importance of the town comes from a gold tremissis bearing the legend *D. MAGNI DIVS*

MVR + BRGVSIAT FIT. Mint sites are not uncommon but the presence of one here suggests its elevated economic importance in the sixth century (Colardelle 1983: 170-173). Only three epitaphs are known from our period but two are dated, Nos.146 and 147, of 515 and 517 respectively.

BRIORD, Canton de Lhuis, Ain (*Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium: Lyon*).

A Gallo-Roman town of considerable importance preceded the early medieval phase. Eleven Gallo-Roman inscriptions are known: one mentions a theatre (*CIL.XIII: 2462*) and another the name *[B]rioratenses* (*CIL.XIII: 2464*) but the only structural evidence for the Gallo-Roman period so far is part of a building dated to the third or fourth century at Sur Plaine. Therefore, the settlement is known mainly from the archaeology of its cemeteries where tombs were occasionally discovered during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from the sites known locally as En Pontonnier, Au Bourg (near the church of Saint-André), Sur Plaine and aux Plantées (Figure 17); the proximity of en Pontonnier and Saint-André suggests that they are two localities within the same cemetery. Medieval tombs have been discovered around the church on several occasions, but it may be that the original cemetery began further out from the modern village at en Pontonnier where sarcophagi and epitaphs have been found dating to the fifth and sixth centuries, Nos.149-153 (see Plate 46, Plate 47, Plate 48, Plate 49 and Plate 50). The archaeological contexts are either unknown or confusingly ambiguous but the general location is certain. Strikingly, the names of the deceased and the names of the slaves emancipated on the death of their master or mistress recorded on two of the inscriptions are all Germanic in origin, suggesting that a Burgundian group settled in the area and quickly assimilated Gallo-Roman funerary customs. The earliest dated inscription is No.149, dated 487, and the series of inscriptions ends abruptly in the early sixth century.

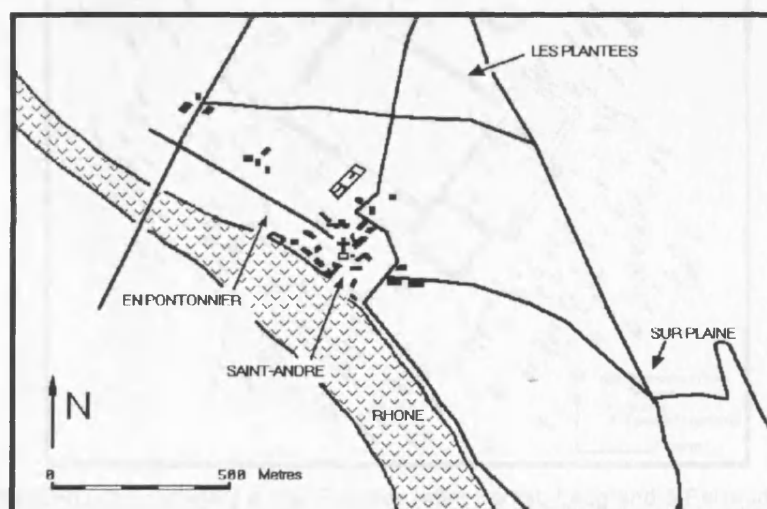


Figure 17: BRIORD: map of the modern village and its environs (after Cornua and Perraud 1986: Fig.2).

The cemetery at Les Plantées is half a kilometre north east of the modern village and excavations have revealed a cemetery in continuous use between the first and eighth centuries.

Towards the end of the fifth, a small church was erected with a single nave with square transepts and apse which fulfilled a funerary function. Fragments of inscriptions were discovered but they date by their formulae and palaeography to the seventh century, long after the church itself was either destroyed or demolished in the mid-sixth century (Parriat, Laugrand and Perraud 1980: 32-33; Figure 18). Nos.154, 165 and 166 are from this cemetery as perhaps is No.164. However, although there appears to be no hiatus in the use of the cemetery, there is a gap of about one hundred years in the employment of epitaphs in the archaeological record. Nos.155-159 and 161 are only known from manuscript copies made in the eighteenth century but the formulae used suggest that they formed an homogeneous group with the aforementioned fragments from Les Plantées. Nos.160-163, which are extant, employ similar formulae and appear to date to the first half of the seventh century (see Chapter 3). It seems likely that sometime after the church was demolished a new aristocratic, estate-owning group came to live at Briord, more broadly assimilated into Gallo-Roman tradition and employing lapidaries engraving epitaphs bearing eulogies closely comparable to those recorded at the contemporaneous cemetery at Saint-Laurent de Choulans at Lyon (see below).

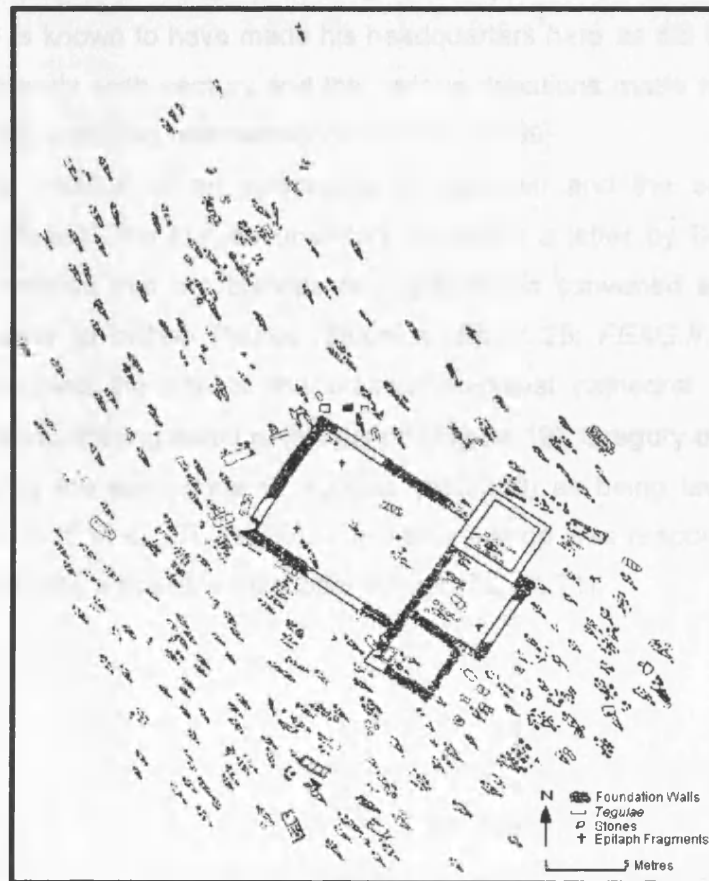


Figure 18: BRIORD: the cemetery at Les Plantées (after Parriat, Laugrand & Perraud 1980: Fig. 1).

BRUIS, Canton de Rosans, Hautes-Alpes (*Ciuitas Vappincensium*: Gap).

The single inscription, No.167, is the only archaeological evidence available for an early settlement here.

BRUNET, Canton de Valensole, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Reiensium*: Riez).

The single inscription recorded, No.168, was found in 1861 amongst some tombs in the ruins of the medieval monastery (*ICMAMNS*: 47, p.330).

CARCES, Var (*Ciuitas Foroiuliensis*: Fréjus).

The single inscription, No.169, was recovered in excavations of the church of Saint-Jean, but subsequently stolen (*Gallia* 35, 1977: 497).

CHALON-SUR-SAÔNE, Saône-et-Loire (*Castrum Cabillonense*: Chalon-sur-Saône).

Little is known of the Gallo-Roman city except that it received a protective wall probably in the late third century, which remained in use until the sixteenth century. Towards the end of the fifth century Chalon was part of the Burgundian Kingdom but passed under Frankish control in 534. Guntram (561-593) is known to have made his headquarters here as did his successor. A mint is attested from the early sixth century and the various donations made to the churches in the city by Guntram attest a thriving commercial centre (*TC.IV*: 69).

The date of the creation of an episcopate is unknown and the early bishop lists are ambiguous and confused. The first documentary source is a letter by Sidonius Apollinaris in 469-70 where he records that the bishops of *Lugdunensis* convened at Chalon in order to designate a successor to bishop Paulus (Sidonius, *Ep.IV*: 25; *FEAG.II*: 192). The cathedral group probably occupied the site of the present medieval cathedral of Saint-Vincent but excavations have found nothing dated to this period (Figure 19). Gregory of Tours describes the edifice erected during the episcopate of Agricola (532-580) as being lavishly decorated with marble and mosaics (*HF.V*: 45; *TC.IV*: 70). The same bishop was responsible for many other building projects including a possible episcopal domus (*TC.IV*: 71).

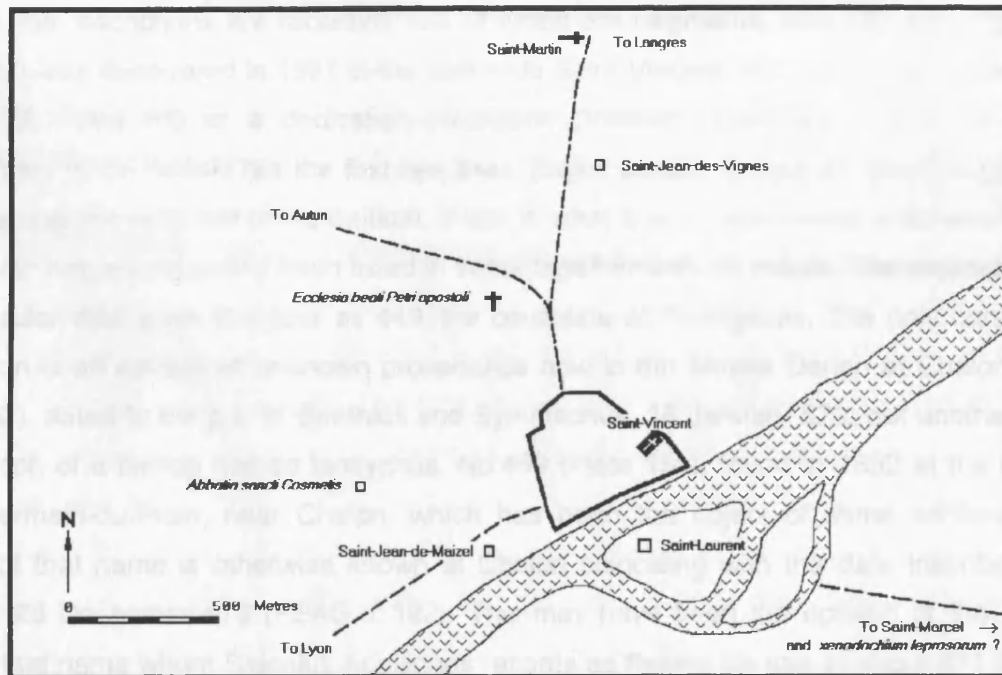


Figure 19: CHALON-SUR-SAONE (after Beaujard 1986: 67).

Outside the city walls the church dedicated to Saint Marcellus was founded on the left bank of the Saône, three kilometres from the city. The foundation date is unknown but in 877 bishop Girbaldus, uncovered the tombs of his illustrious predecessors Sylvester and Agricola. The epitaph (not extant) of the former was inscribed with verses extolling his virtues (TC.IV: 71). The church therefore fulfilled a funerary function and Guntram himself was buried there in 593, *sepultus est in ecclesia sancti Marcelli in monasterio quem ipse construxerat* (CF: 14, 10). This monastery was founded in 584 with a rule based upon that of Saint-Maurice d'Agave and perhaps should be viewed as dependent upon the original church which continued to serve a funerary function specifically for the higher clergy and the royal family (Vieillard-Troiekouroff 1976: 264-265).

Other ecclesiastical buildings are less well known. A *xenodochium leprosum ... et basilica* is attested and may have been an annexe of the church and abbey of Saint Marcellinus. North of the city, within a late antique and early medieval cemetery, was the church of Saint-Pierre, where a fragmentary inscription, No.172, was discovered in 1875. Bishop Lupus was interred to the right of the altar which may indicate a foundation date in the very early seventh century (FEAG.II: 193). The site of the church dedicated to Saint-Martin is unknown, as is that dedicated to Saint Laurent on the island in the Saône; early medieval cemeteries are attested in these areas. A *basilica* dedicated to Saint Jean appears to be contemporary with Guntram's reign but the site is unknown. Two later churches have been identified; Saint-Jean-de-Maizel, south-east of the *castrum*, and Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, within a cemetery where tombs dating to the early medieval period have been found (TC.IV: 73).

Only four inscriptions are recorded, two of which are fragments, Nos.170 and 172. No.171 (Plate 51) was discovered in 1861 in the cloître du Saint-Vincent, and interpreted as an epitaph (TC.IV: 70; Plate 51) or a dedication inscription (Vieillard-Troiekouroff 1976: 79. It is too fragmentary to be certain but the first two lines, *[ha]nc sedem ... [c]onsecr[avit]* suggests that whoever was the recipient of the epitaph, if that is what it is, at least made a donation of some kind which has subsequently been listed in verse together with his merits. The reconstruction of the consular date gives the year as 449, the consulate of Protogenes. The only certain dated inscription is an epitaph of unknown provenance now in the Musée Denon at Chalon, No.173 (Plate 52), dated to the p.c. of Boethius and Symmachus, 18 January 523, but another may be the epitaph of a bishop named Iamlychus, No.469 (Plate 154), found in 1852 at the church of Saint-Germain-du-Plain, near Chalon, which has been the object of some controversy. No bishop of that name is otherwise known at Chalon coinciding with the date inscribed on the epitaph, 28 December 479 (FEAG.II: 192). This may have been the epitaph of the bishop of Trier of that name whom Sidonius Apollinaris records as fleeing his see in about 471 (Sidonius, Ep.IV: 17). Furthermore, a bronze tankard inscribed with his name was found in the Saône at nearby Damerey in 1950 (Bonnamour 1975: 26-28); it may perhaps have been a personal possession filling a liturgical purpose.

CHARMES, Canton de La Voulte, Ardèche (*Ciuitas Valentinorum: Valence*).

The single inscription recorded, No.174, is inscribed within a *tabella ansata* cartouche on the side of a sarcophagus which today is in the garden of a private house at Charmes. Unfortunately the owner re-inscribed the letters in 1959, although a photograph of its anterior state exists (RICG.XV: 11). The importance of this inscription is that it records the final resting place of a leader of the municipal council at Lyon, Altheius, described as *Lugduni procerum*, who was certainly a member of the senatorial class, *ordine princeps*, if not actually its head. The fact that he was buried so far from Lyon suggests that he and his family owned an estate in this area and saw to it that he found his final resting place there. Pottery, tiles, coins, tombs and a roadway of Gallo-Roman date have been found (RICG.XV: 19).

CHAVANOZ, Canton de Pont-de-Chéruy, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne*).

In 1970 about 60 tombs were discovered during the construction of a factory. Superimposed upon a Gallo-Roman settlement, the tombs were mainly constructed with stone slabs and contained only a few personal ornaments dating to the early medieval period. The cemetery was not properly recorded (Colardelle 1983: 176). The single inscription, No.175 (Plate 53), was found in the church during restoration work in 1876, suggesting the site of an early foundation. The present church is that of the medieval priory (RICG.XV: 23).

CIMIEZ/NICE, Canton de Nice, Alpes Maritimes (*Ciuitas Cemelensium*: Cimiez/Nice).

The exact nature of the relationship between Cimiez and Nice remains unclear, but the military post at Cimiez, about two and a half kilometres inland from Nice, evolved to become a prosperous city. The two towns appear to have led a separate existence: Nice was represented at the council of Arles in 314 by its own priest and by 381 had its own bishop, Amantius (Rivet 1988: 223). During the fourth and fifth centuries, each town became an episcopal see: Cimiez appears to have received a bishop later than Nice, the first being Valerianus who attended the Council of Vaison in 442, but the cemetery that grew up around the supposed tomb of the martyr Saint-Pons was active much earlier as at least two epitaphs attest, Nos.180 and 181. The former records the fidelity of the deceased, *chr(ist)ianae fidei*. The only dated inscription, No.176, dated 25 December 474 (Plate 54), may have originated here. The two towns remained separate at least until the mid-fifth century, but the date at which they were combined within a single ecclesiastical see remains uncertain. The problem is confused further by the fact that bishops continued to sign themselves at ecclesiastical councils under one or other or even both towns until the end of the eighth century (*TC.II*: 84-85). However, the foundation of the abbey of Saint Pons during the Carolingian period above the Saint's martyrium suggests that Cimiez held spiritual primacy.

At Cimiez an amphitheatre is attested together with many private dwellings and three sets of public baths. The western baths were converted into a church in the fifth century and clearly comprised the episcopal group. The site was excavated in 1943 and between 1954-1968 (Figure 20). The walls of the four main halls were razed to a height of one metre to provide foundations for the church which consisted a single nave with a semi-circular apse at the eastern end. The sacristy to the north appears connected to what may have been the *domus episcopi*. A trapezoidal baptistry was constructed upon the *praefumium*, the roof of which was supported by four large columns; in the centre, eight columns supported a rotunda within which is the hexagonal baptismal font, the brick basin of which has a Greek cross depicted in brick in the base (Février 1964: 60). At Nice no trace has been found of any structure beneath the medieval cathedral of Notre-Dame. A church dedicated to *Sancta Maria* at the eastern end of Cimiez is mentioned only in later texts; in the eleventh century it became a priory of the abbey of Saint-Pons. A monastery of Saint-Jean-Baptiste is attested in the eleventh century and Gregory mentions monks and the predictions and miracles of a hermit, Saint Hospitius at the time of the Lombard invasions; this recluse's cell may have lay at the modern pointe de Saint-Hospice (HF.VI.6; *TC.II*: 88).

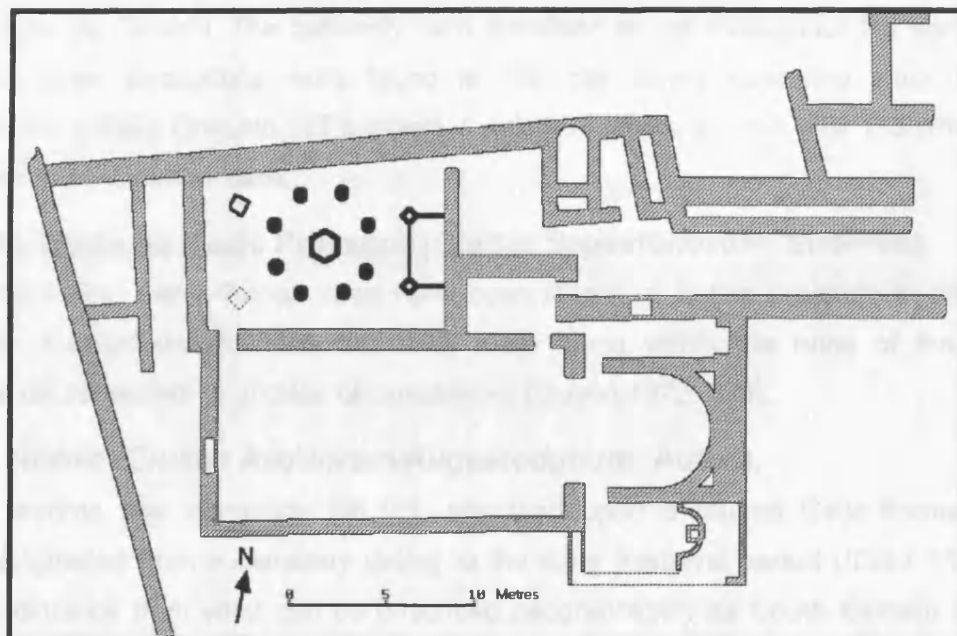


Figure 20: CIMIEZ: schematic plan of the baths and church (after Février 1986:87).

CLERIEUX, Canton de Romans, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne*).

Structural remains dating to the Gallo-Roman period have been found regularly but not recorded scientifically. Tombs were found at the site of the chapel of Saint-Michel during the nineteenth century and during recent quarrying. At the site of the chapel of Saint-Jean, first recorded in 1075, a medieval tomb was excavated in the interior and the probability that this church was built upon a motte precludes an early foundation date. The provenance of the single inscription, No.183, dated 544, may therefore have been the site of Saint-Michel (Colardelle 1983: 245-246).

COLONZELLE, Canton de Grignan, Drôme (*Ciuitas Tricastinorum: Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux*).

A Gallo-Roman epitaph suggests the presence of a settlement predating an early medieval identified near the church of Saint-Pierre-aux-Liens during agricultural work. The cemetery has not been excavated; the single inscription known from the early medieval period, No.184, comes from a sarcophagus (*ibid.*: 246).

CORENC, Canton de Grenoble-Est, Isère (*Ciuitas Gratianopolitana: Grenoble*).

Gallo-Roman remains were recorded beneath the foundations of the church of Saint-Pierre in the nineteenth century. An early medieval burial was also recorded, to which the single epitaph, No.185, has been attributed with reservations (*ibid.*: 177).

CRUSSOL, Commune et Canton de Saint-Péray, Ardèche (*Ciuitas Valentinorum: Valence*).

Late Roman remains have been identified together with a silver coin hoard dating to the third century (*RICG.XV*: 20). The ruins of the chapel of Saint-Estève (=Étienne) lie on the summit of

the Montagne de Crussol. The cemetery here remained in use throughout the early medieval period. All three inscriptions were found at this site during quarrying work in 1853-54 (*RICG.XV*: 18, p.232). Only No.187 is dated, 1 July 691 (Plate 56), but Nos.186 (Plate 55) and 188 appear to be of similar date.

DAUPHIN, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Segesteriorum*: Sisteron).

One, perhaps two, Gallo-Roman villas have been identified in this prosperous district (Rivet 1988: 295). Inscriptions (Nos.189 and 190) were found within the ruins of the chapel of Saint-Jean de Jérusalem in unclear circumstances (Guyon 1972: 396).

DECIZE, Nièvre (*Ciuitas Aeduorum/Augustodunum*: Autun).

Le Blant records that inscription No.191, engraved upon a reused Gallo-Roman roof tile, probably originated from a cemetery dating to the early medieval period (*ICG.I*: 11). This site lies some distance from what can be described geographically as South Eastern Gaul, but it was probably just within the limits of the province of *Lugdunensis* and is therefore included here.

DIE, Drôme (*Ciuitas Deensium*: Die).

The extant third or fourth century defences incorporate many Gallo-Roman inscriptions (Rivet 1988: 291-292). The first bishop known is Nicetius, recorded at the council of Nicaea in 325. Little is known of the ecclesiastical edifices but the *uita* of Saint Marcellus attributes to Nicetius the construction of a *templum baptisterii*. The cathedral of Sainte-Marie is not mentioned in any source until the ninth century, and nothing is known of its foundation date nor have any vestiges been found within the medieval cathedral (*TC.III*: 66). Saint Marcellus, to whom many miracles were attributed, is recorded as being buried in a *basilica apostolorum* to the east of the town (*TC.III*: 66). Only three epitaphs are recorded for our period, one being a fragment of a large metrical epitaph, No.194 (Plate 58). The word *heros* could suggest a martyr, but none are known at Die (pers. comm. M.H.Desaye), and the idea that it may be the epitaph of Saint Marcellus, though seductive, is impossible to prove (Février 1964: 65). The phrase *intercedentibus sanctis {l}letus spectit*. on the epitaph of Dalmata, No.192, may suggest that she was buried *ad sanctos* (*ICG.II*: 78; Plate 57).

DIJON, Côte d'Or (*Ciuitas Lingonum*: Langres).

The late antique defensive walls enclosed about 11 hectares giving the town a trapezoidal shape. This concurs with the famous description given by Gregory of Tours who also lists the gateways and the 34 towers (*HF.III*: 19; Figure 21). The main Gallo-Roman cemetery lay east of the town (*TC.IV*: 59). Dijon's importance grew when the bishops of Langres moved their principal residence there in about 486 but they were reinstalled at Langres by the ninth century (*TC.IV*: 60).

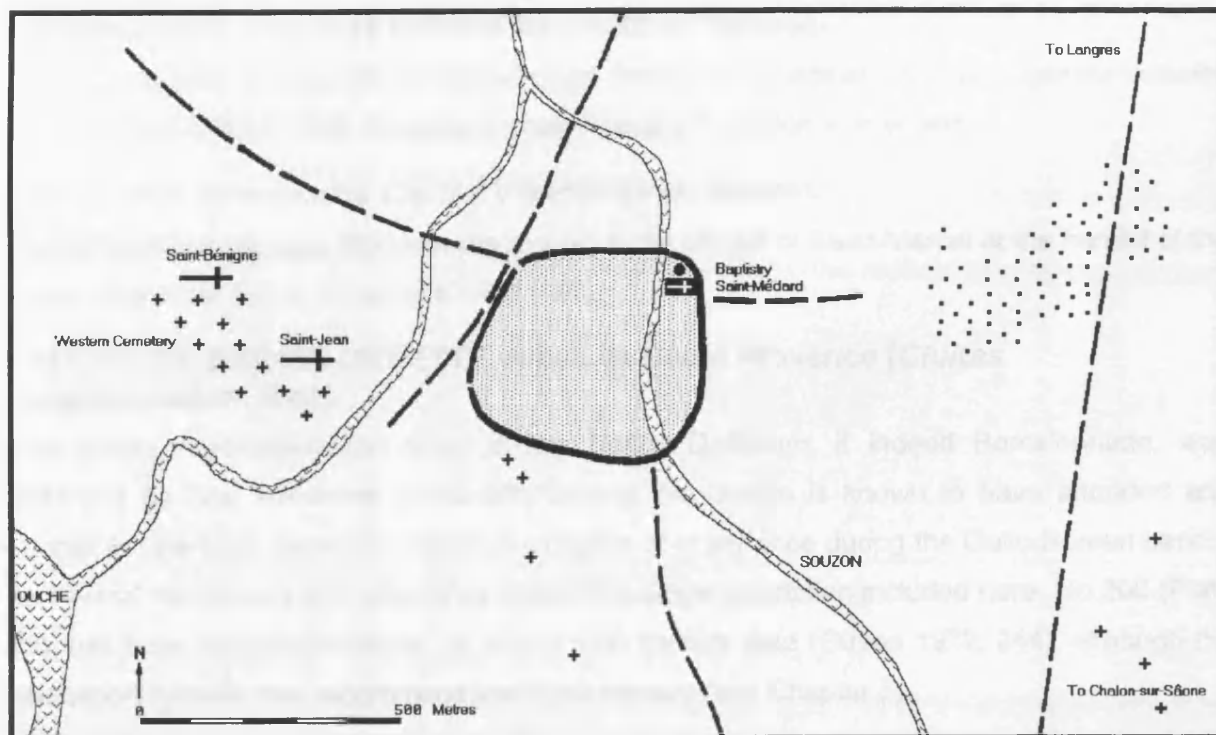


Figure 21: DIJON (after Picard 1986: 57).

The early cathedral, *ecclesia sancti Stephani martyris*, did not occupy the same site as the medieval cathedral of Saint-Etienne; it was a short distance to the north where the church of Saint-Médard stands today. An oratory is also recorded, as is a *domus (episcopi)* and a baptistry. The centre of early medieval cult worship centred upon the cemetery to the west of the town, in which the *basilica beati Iohannis* was perhaps the earliest. According to Gregory of Tours, Gregory of Langres was interred there in 539/540, as was his son and successor Tetricus in about 570 (*FEAG.II*: 186). Epitaphs for both were composed later by Venantius Fortunatus (see Appendix Two, Nos.5 and 6). The only epitaph discovered at Dijon, No.195, was discovered in this cemetery.

The *mausoleum* of Helarius, a man of senatorial rank, stood close by Saint-Bénigne, since the remains of both he and his wife, Florida, were transferred within the church when it was enlarged in the eleventh century. The same event seems to have occurred to the *mausoleum* of Paschasia, a *religiosa* like Florida. The growth of the cult of Saint Benignus is recorded by Gregory of Tours who reports that Benignus was buried in a sarcophagus placed in a vaulted crypt (*GM*: 50). His cult even surpassed that of Saint Jean by the seventh century, but the origins of the monastery of Saint-Bénigne are legendary, the first secure confirmation coming in the Carolingian period (*TC.IV*: 62-63).

ECULLY, Rhône (*Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium*: Lyon).

The proximity of Ecully to Lyon suggests that the unprovenanced inscription, No.196 (Plate 59), originated at the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery at Lyon.

ENTRECHAUX, Vaucluse (*Ciuitas Vasiensium: Vaison*).

Le Blant records a fragment of Gallo-Roman inscription in addition to the fragment included here, No.197, (*ICG.II*: 502). No other archaeological information is available.

EYZIN, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne*).

Inscriptions Nos.198 and 199 were discovered in the chapel of Saint-Marcel at the hamlet of the same name near Eyzin (Colardelle 1983: 181).

FAUCON-DE-BARCELONNETTE, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Vappincensium: Gap*).

The *ciuitas Rigomagensium* listed in the *Notitia Galliarum*, if indeed Barcelonnette, was absorbed by Gap sometime in the fifth century. No bishop is known to have attended any council yet the town must have attained a degree of importance during the Gallo-Roman period, as several inscriptions and other finds attest. The single inscription included here, No.200 (Plate 60), has been considered pagan, of fifth or sixth century date (Guyon 1972: 244), although the dedication formula may recommend the fourth century (see Chapter 3).

FENAY, Canton de Chevigny, Côte d'Or (*Ciuitas Lingonum: Langres*).

The sole inscription recorded, No.201, appears to have been found outside any archaeological context (*NR*: 2), but may derive from Dijon.

GENÈVE, Switzerland (*Ciuitas Genauensium: Genève*).

Although the number of inscriptions (Nos.202-209) recorded at Genève are few in contrast to the extensive number of Gallo-Roman examples (Rivet 1988: 315), the extensive excavations undertaken constitute the most complete archaeological view of any city during the early medieval period in Gaul (Bonnet 1977, 1982, 1985, 1986; *TC.III*: 37-48).

Genève was elevated to city status towards the end of the third century when it probably received its defensive walls which dramatically reduced its extent; this led to the growth of cemeteries in the abandoned areas (Bonnet 1986: 20-21; Rivet 1988: 315-318; Figure 22). The first Christian sanctuary was erected in the south western corner of the city during the third quarter of the fourth century. Subsequently, this was overlaid by the cathedral group, comprising a double cathedral, an enlarged baptistry, episcopal residence and ancillary buildings. The episcopal group thus took up an unprecedented amount of space, accounting for a quarter of the enclosed area. At the beginning of the fifth century the church of Saint-Germain was constructed 200 metres to the east, reducing further the space available for secular use (Bonnet 1986: 22-23; *TC.III*: 41-42).

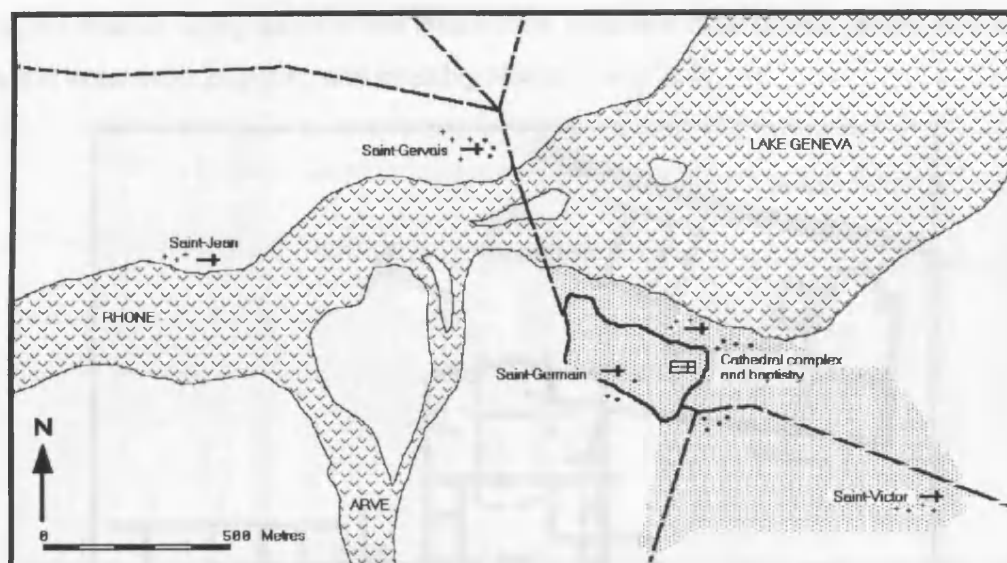


Figure 22: GENÈVE (after Bonnet 1986: 12).

Burgundian federates were settled in 443 in the region known as *Sapaudia*, the limits of which are known only approximately. The capital of the Burgundian royal family was fixed eventually at Lyon, but King Chilperic resided at Genève in the 460s. At the end of the fifth century Gundobad resided at Lyon and his brother Godegisel at Genève, where their fratricidal war left the city ruined in the first few years of the sixth century. As inscription No.209 shows (found near the porte du Bourg-de-Four; *CIL.XII. 2643*), restoration work quickly followed. An earthquake in 563 created a tidal wave in the lake which flooded the lower quarters of the city and caused widespread damage, but studies of the cemeteries have shown that population density remained stable until the Carolingian period (*TC.III: 42*). The date of the foundation of the episcopate is not known, but certainly preceded the episcopate of Isaac, in about 400 (*FEAG.I: 221-222*). There is little doubt that theological problems existed between the Arian Burgundians and the Catholic clergy, but this does not seem to have impeded any episcopal building programs and any differences will have disappeared after the conversion of king Sigismund by 515 at the latest (Bonnet 1986: 40-41).

Excavations at the site of the episcopal group have revealed an extremely complicated evolution (Figure 23). The northern cathedral (Saint-Pierre?), appears to have been built upon the levelled remains of a large Late Roman edifice. An early church was overlaid by a larger, rectangular edifice in the third quarter of the fourth century. At the eastern end was a sanctuary ending in a semi-circular apse and on the southern side a sacristy gave onto an annex which was extended to form an almost circular apse; it resembles certain other buildings which had a funerary function but was probably the first baptistry.

At the beginning of the fifth century the northern and eastern sides of the church were extended, almost doubling its size, and the apse was enlarged to a diameter of eleven metres,

unique in the Rhône valley. Most of the inscriptions recorded date to this period and have been found in this area (Nos.202-206, and possibly Nos.207 and 208).

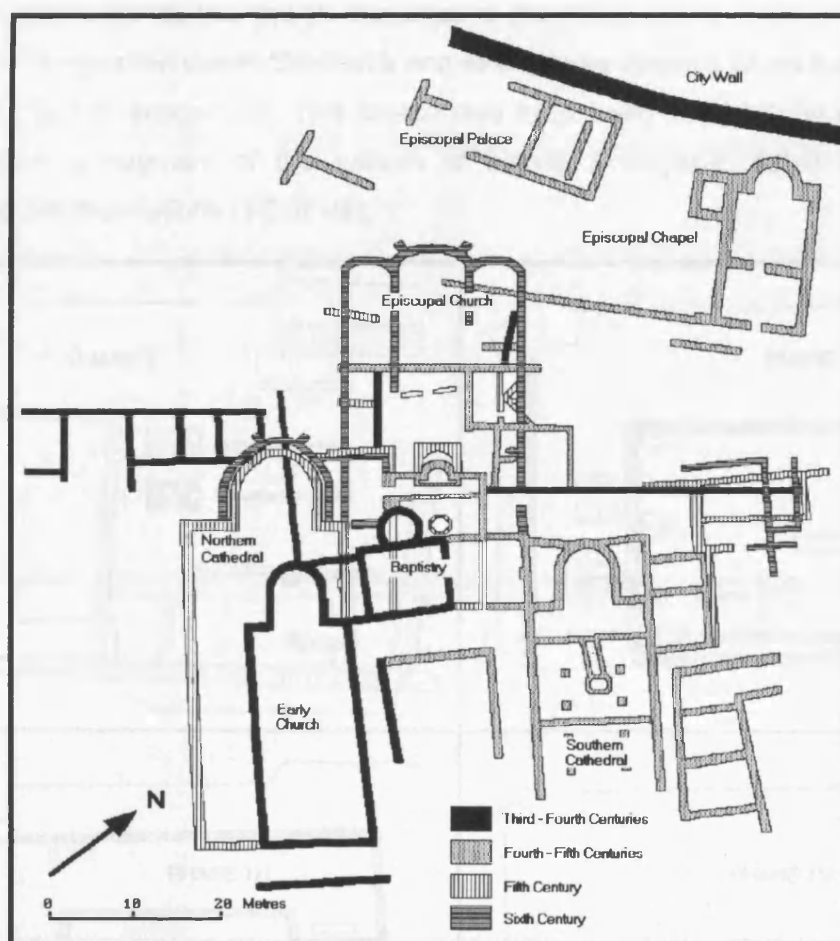


Figure 23: GENÈVE: the cathedral complex (after Bonnet 1986: 1).

The southern cathedral (Notre-Dame?), had a basilican plan of approximately the same dimensions as the first church; two annexes were added to the apse at the end of the fourth century. In the fifth century a rectangular annex was added to the southern side which contained a mosaic pavement with hypocaust heating. The baptistry underwent several complex construction phases. The first baptismal font was doubtless within the annex of the northern church. The apse of this was replaced towards the end of the fourth century by a rectangular building; in the centre was the baptismal font. During the fifth century the font was surmounted by a *ciborium* decorated with stucco. In the sixth century a new episcopal church was built east of the baptistry, to the east of which may be the episcopal residence.

The church of Saint-Germain, built in about 400, was a small, square church with a tiny apse; the medieval structure which superseded it had sculpted fragments of either a chancel or an altar reused in the fabric. A *basilica* consecrated by Avitus of Vienne is recorded but the site is unknown; a homily he wrote mentions the consecration of a church by bishop Maximus on the site of a demolished pagan temple. The text makes several allusions to Arianism but it is

uncertain whether or not this was a pagan temple or an Arian church; the dedication was probably made between 513 and 523 (TC.III: 47).

Outside the city walls lay the church dedicated to the martyr Saint Victor, founded between 475-500 by the Burgundian queen Sideleuba and where three bishops found the remains of the Saint in 601 or 602 (Fredegar: 22). This church may have been used for the interment of the bishops because a fragment of the epitaph of bishop Ansegisus, dated 877, has been recovered from the foundations (TC.III: 48).

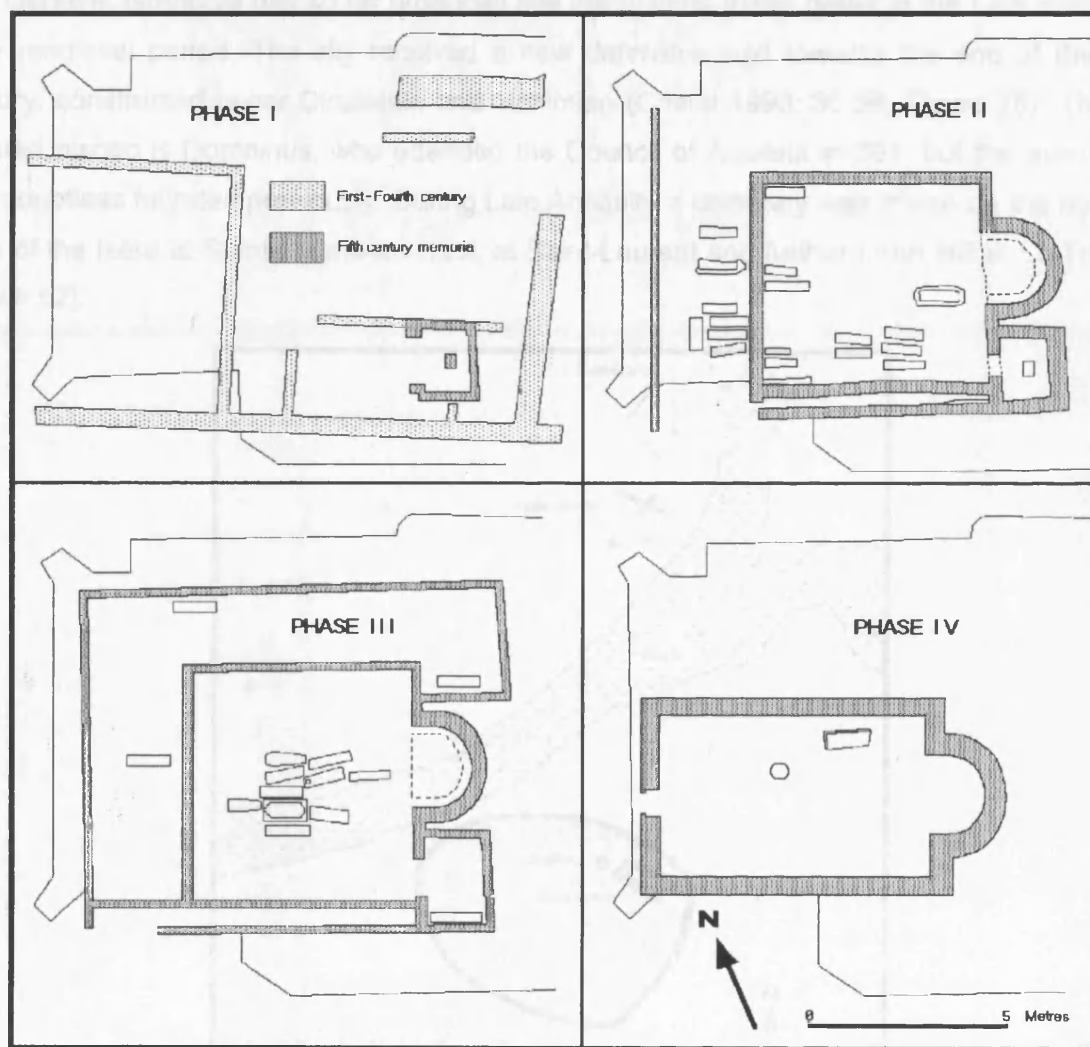


Figure 24: GENÈVE: the four major construction phases at La Madeleine (after Bonnet 1986: 45).

The church at La Madeleine was at first a modest funerary church near the lake on a site where burials had been made in the fourth century (Figure 24). It was converted from a small *mausoleum*, a semi-hypogeum of the fifth century. As burials increased during the sixth and seventh centuries, the chapel was enlarged with an annex and *porticus*. No epitaphs are recorded. The church of Saint Gervasius, on the right bank of the Rhône, was poorly excavated in 1903, but the style of the tombs and masonry suggest that it was constructed in the sixth century. At the site of the church dedicated to Saint-Jean-des-Grottes, the *ecclesia sancti*

Iohannis Geneuensis, excavations between 1965 and 1970 uncovered the remains of a church originally built in wood, superseded by a stone construction only in the ninth century (TC.III: 48).

GIGONDAS, Vaucluse (*Ciuitas Arausicorum*: Orange).

No archaeological information is available and the exact provenance of inscription No.210 is unknown.

GRENOBLE, Isère (*Ciuitas Gratianopolitana*: Grenoble).

Like Genève, Grenoble has so far produced few inscriptions (nine) dated to the Late Roman or early medieval period. The city received a new defensive wall towards the end of the third century; constructed under Diocletian and Maximian (Chatel 1993: 36-38; Figure 25). The first attested bishop is Domninus, who attended the Council of Aquileia in 381, but the episcopate was doubtless founded previously. During Late Antiquity a cemetery was in use on the northern bank of the Isère at Sainte-Marie-en-Haut, at Saint-Laurent and further north still at La Tronche (TC.III: 52).

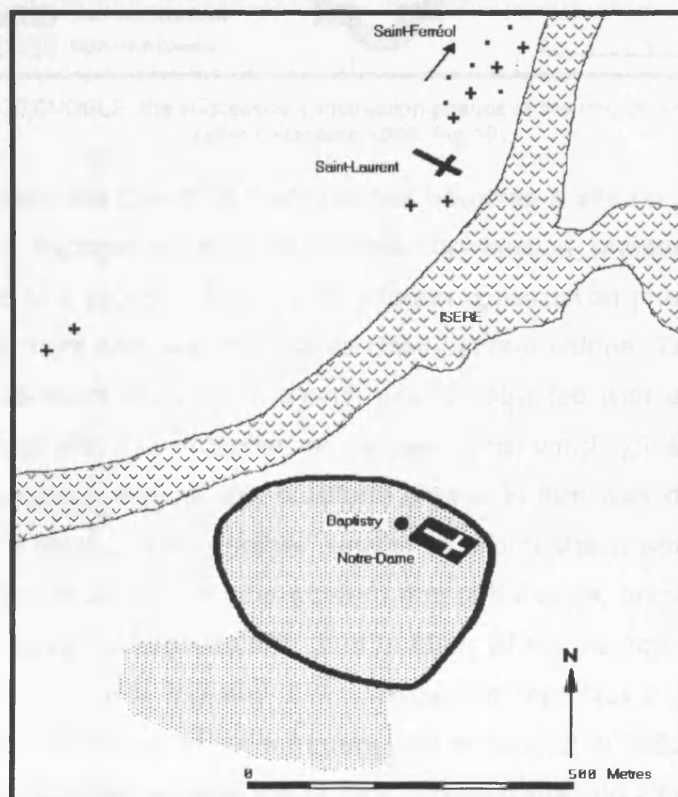


Figure 25: GRENOBLE (after Colardelle and Février 1986: 51).

The medieval cathedral of Notre-Dame overlies an early construction dedicated to Saints Mary and Vincentius, where the double naves may preserve the plan of a double cathedral similar to that at Lyon and Genève. In the Place Notre-Dame in 1989 the foundations of the baptistery were discovered, where two construction phases were identified; by the end of the fifth

century a large quadrilobal baptismal chamber contained an octagonal font surrounded by eight columns, presumably supporting a rotunda (Baucheron and Colardelle 1993: 32-36).

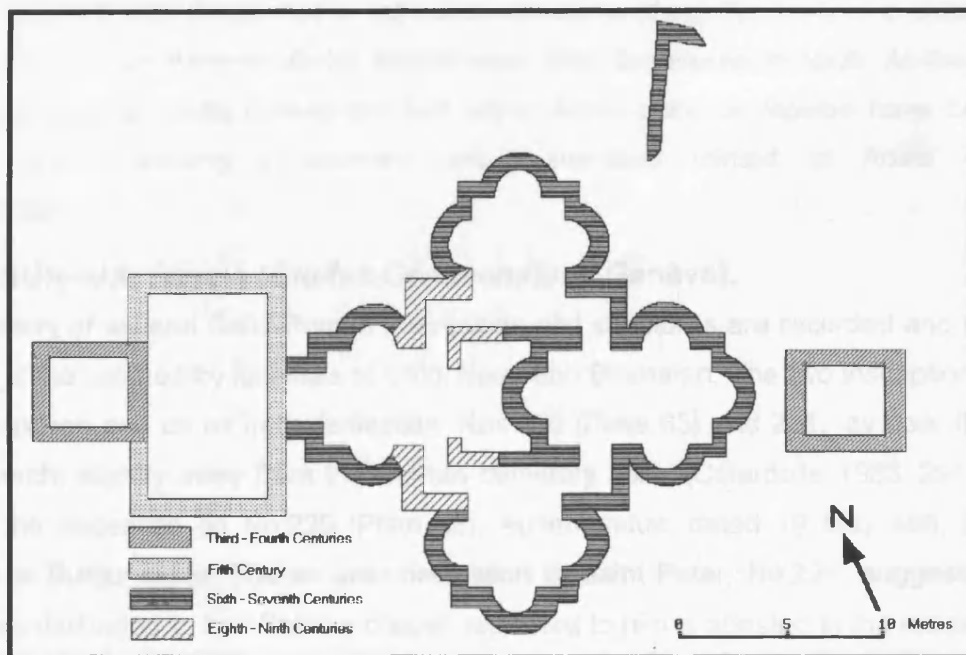


Figure 26: GRENOBLE: the successive construction phases at the church of Saint-Laurent (after Colardelle 1986: Fig.19).

Outside the city walls the church of Saint-Laurent occupies a site on a steep incline (Figure 26). A Late Roman hypogeum underwent three construction phases; it was presumably reserved for the use of a prominent family. The fourth construction phase during the sixth or seventh century was more complex and makes Saint-Laurent unique. To the east of the large sub-rectangular *mausoleum* a cruciform church was constructed with each arm of the cross containing three apses with the exception of the west end, which joined the sub-rectangular *mausoleum*. The eastern branch of this cruciform church in turn was developed into what is known as the crypt of Saint-Oyand. Another, smaller cruciform shape within the larger one was created by the addition of an apse on the western end of the crypt, accessed by staircases on the north and south sides (Colardelle 1986: 31-41). Many of the inscriptions recorded are from here (Nos.211-216, 218 (Plate 62) and 219), suggesting that Nos.212 and 217 (Plate 61) originated here also. The church of Saint-Ferréol was destroyed in 1862; its cemetery was in use from Late Antiquity, whence came the epitaph of Populonia, No.233, here listed under La Tronche (TC.III: 54; Plate 69).

GRIGNY, Canton de Givors, Rhône (*Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium*: Lyon).

The site of the *monasteria Grinescensia* has been wrongly attributed to this village (TC.III: 30). Grigny was not part of *Viennensis* and the only archaeological information from here is the single inscription, No.222, dated 18 January 469.

GRUFFY, Canton d'Alby-sur-Chéran, Savoie (*Ciuitas Genauensium: Genève*).

Various Gallo-Roman remains and inscriptions are known (*CIL.XII*: 2488, 2489). Inscription No.223 (Plate 64) was discovered in the parish cemetery above the tomb of a child sometime before 1863, and an early medieval sarcophagus was discovered in 1908. At the locality of Beauregard several tombs constructed with either stone slabs or *tegulae* have been found, including one containing a seventh century *tremissis* minted at Aoste (Colardelle 1983: 320-321).

GRESY-SUR-AIX, Savoie (*Ciuitas Genauensium: Genève*).

The discovery of several Gallo-Roman inscriptions and structures are recorded and cemeteries identified at the two nearby localities of Croix Noire and Bramafan. The two inscriptions included here, an epitaph and an *ex uoto* dedication, Nos.220 (Plate 63) and 221, lay near the modern parish church, slightly away from the Roman cemetery zone (Colardelle 1983: 291-292). The name of the deceased on No.220 (Plate 63), Aunemundus, dated 19 May 486, implies the presence of Burgundians. The *ex uoto* dedication to Saint Peter, No.221, suggests the early church was dedicated to that Saint; a chapel dedicated to him is attested in the medieval period (*RICG.XV*: 23).

GUILLERAND, Canton de Saint-Péray, Ardèche (*Ciuitas Valentinorum: Valence*).

The provenance of inscription No.224 is disputed (*RICG.XV*: 20; Plate 65). It may have originated at Crussol, one kilometre distant, where inscriptions of similar type and date are known (cf. *RICG.XV*: 21, p.237).

JONGIEUX, Canton de Yenne, Savoie (*Ciuitas Genauensium: Genève*).

Gallo-Roman structures have been noted and the sole inscription recorded for the early medieval period, No.225 (Plate 66), was discovered in the ruins of the chapel dedicated to Saint Romain (Colardelle 1983: 321). The name of the deceased, Valho, could indicate settlement by Burgundian aristocracy; it is dated 18 December 504.

LA BAUME-CORNILLANE, Canton de Chabeuil, Drôme (*Ciuitas Valentinorum: Valence*).

A Gallo-Roman *uicus* has been identified and the single inscription recorded, No.226 (Plate 67), was found in 1903 at site of the priory originally dependent upon the Cluniac abbey of Marcigny. The inscription suggests the presence of an earlier church (Colardelle 1983: 239).

LA CÔTE-SAINT-ANDRE, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne*).

Various late Gallo-Roman finds are known and tombs found at the localities known as Le Chuzeau and Poulardière. The only inscription recorded is the epitaph of Dulcitius, No.227 (Plate 68), recorded as forming part of the tomb cover, its exact provenance is unknown (*ibid.*: 177-178).

LA GAYOLE, Canton de Brignoles, Var (*Ciuitas Telonensium*: Toulon).

The chapel at La Gayole first appears in a charter of Saint-Victor of Marseille, dated 1019, as *Beata Maria de Gaisola*. The site was first identified in 1625 by Peiresc who found two decorated sarcophagi in the interior of the chapel which still stands today. One of them, dated to the second century AD, has a representation of the murder of Clytemnester sculpted in high relief. It was reused in the fifth century for the burial of a man of consular rank, Innodius (No.228). The other sarcophagus is dated to the middle of the third century by the analogy of its decor which depicts an ideal rustic scene, a theme that gained popularity amongst the aristocracy during Late Antiquity. This sarcophagus was reused for the inhumation of Syagria at some time in the sixth century as her epitaph attests, No.229. Other architectural fragments have been discovered at the site: a fragment of another sarcophagus, a fragment of an altar incised with a monogrammatic cross, fragments of a chancel screen and also the epitaph, No.230, of a child, Theodosius.

Excavations in 1912-13 and more systematically between 1964-72 revealed much of the surrounding cemetery. The medieval chapel was constructed upon the foundations of a fifth century edifice. On the exterior were ranged a series of tombs, notably that of a child buried in an amphora and several tombs constructed with tiles. Too few of the foundation walls were discovered to reconstruct the small *mausolea* which seem to have been unified by the medieval chapel. However, it is likely that a rectangular edifice was enlarged by a square annex, to the east of which the remains of another edifice was uncovered; suggesting a private family sepulchre which was developed into a rural chapel during the fourth century. Contemporaneously, burials commenced in the immediate vicinity of persons not connected with the original family - as the tombs constructed with tiles suggest (Demians d'Archimbaud 1971: 80-147). Finally, if this really was the site of a family sanctuary, a villa should be expected nearby (Guyon 1972: 303-321).

LA ROQUEBRUSSANNE, Var (*Ciuitas Telonensium*: Toulon).

Remains of the large villa of Grand Loou were revealed by agricultural work at the domaine de Fiosesc, documented as the estate of *Filsiacum* during the early medieval period (Brun *et al.* 1985: 236, 250). Several tombs have also been discovered. The sole inscription, No.231, is a fragment found in 1954 built into the wall of the medieval chapel of Fiosesc (*Gallia, informations*, 1954: 438).

LA TERRACE, Canton du Touvet, Isère (*Ciuitas Genauensium*: Genève).

The surrounding territory has revealed many Gallo-Roman remains though two localities are of particular importance: the parish church of Saint-Aupre and the hamlet of Chonas. The church had a dedication to Mercury reused in one of its walls and in 1863 the demolition of the clock tower (prior to reconstruction) revealed vestiges of an earlier church. An epitaph reused in this

earlier edifice, No.232, dated 8 July 522, suggests an even earlier foundation date. At Chonas tombs were recorded in the nineteenth century (Colardelle 1983: 218-219).

LA TRONCHE, Canton de Grenoble-Est, Isère (*Ciuitas Gratianopolitana*: Grenoble).

(See also Grenoble). Numerous Gallo-Roman remains have been recorded as well as a large Gallo-Roman cemetery containing almost 100 tombs, uncovered in 1947, 100 metres from the church of Saint-Ferjus, formerly the church dedicated to the martyr Ferreolus. At the cemetery of Saint-Ferjus itself sarcophagi and other tombs have been revealed sporadically; one of the tombs contained the epitaph of Populunia, No.233 (Plate 69). The poor quality of the documentation for this site precludes any estimate of its original size (Colardelle 1983: 219-220).

LE BUIS, Hautes Alpes (*Ciuitas Vappincensium*: Gap).

Remains of the Gallo-Roman *uicus* of *Pagus Boxsani* or possibly *Baginensium* have been revealed sporadically, but the provenance of the single inscription, No.234, is unknown (*ibid.*: 241; Rivet 1988: 290).

LE FAYET, Commune de Saint-Marcel, (today de Barraux), Canton du Touvet, Isère, (*Ciuitas Gratianopolitana*: Grenoble).

The single inscription recorded, No.235, was discovered in 1852 in a vineyard (*RICG.XV*: 244).

LE PIN, Bouches-du-Rhône (*Ciuitas Aquensium*: Aix-en-Provence).

The single recorded inscription, No.236, was discovered c.1770 built into a wall of the Priory of Le Pin (*ICG.I*: 630, p.498).

LE POIL, Canton de Senez, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Reiensium*: Riez).

The fragmentary inscription, No.237, was discovered at the end of the nineteenth century (*ICMAMNS*: 47a).

LORGUES, Var (*Ciuitas Foroiuliensis*: Fréjus).

This ophthalmistic stone, Nos.238 and 239 (Plate 70), was discovered in 1932 at the Hotel Moderne et du Parc at Lorgues, apparently outside of any archaeological context (*ICMAMNS*: 40a and 40b).

LUC-EN-DIOIS, Drôme (*Ciuitas Deensium*: Die).

The Gallo-Roman settlement of *Lucus Augusti* was probably walled in the third century although it is known only to have had the status of *mansio* (Rivet 1988: 291). The single inscription recorded, No.240, was discovered in the old church in 1860 (*NR*: 147). It is dated 514 and may indicate an early foundation on the site of the present church.

LUGRIN, Canton d'Evian, Haute-Savoie (*Ciuitas Genauensium*: Genève).

Vestiges of Gallo-Roman structures and tombs have been discovered sporadically since the nineteenth century (Colardelle 1983: 321-322). The single inscription recorded, No.241, was discovered in 1855 during work in the former convent of Saint-Offange. The interest of this inscription lies in the last few lines following the date formula, *sub unc cons{s}(ulem) Brandobrici redimtionem a D(o)<m>(i)<n>o Gudomare rege acceperunt*. Evidently a group collectively known as the Brandobrici, otherwise unknown, were released following the payment of a ransom. It is thought that this payment was made to the Franks in 527, the date recorded on the epitaph, who may have taken them prisoner at the same time as the Burgundian king, Sigismund, and his family were captured in 523 in this region. This was prior to the battle of Vézeronce in 524 and won by the Burgundians led by Godomar (*HF.III*: 6). This victory over the Franks may have prompted the Franks to accept a ransom from Godomar (*RICG.XV*: 290).

LUZINAY, Commune de Vienne-Nord, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium*: Vienne).

At the locality of Saint-Germain the epitaph of Bertefrida, No.242 (Plate 71), was discovered in the ruins of the former chapel. No.243 (Plate 72) came from the locality of Montgié. Neither inscription was found *in situ* (Colardelle 1983: 190).

LYON, Rhône (*Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium*: Lyon).

The history of *Lugdunum*, the capital of the Three Gauls, is relatively well known and there exists a large bibliography (e.g. Audin 1981; Reynaud 1986: 137-139; *TC.IV*: 15-20). However, it owed its importance not only to its position as the Gallic cult centre of the Genius of the Emperor, but also to its maritime trade due to the navigability of the Rhône, at least to this point. The Gallo-Roman habitat extended over the plateau of the hill of Fourvière and the peninsula formed by the confluence of the rivers Rhône and Saône known as the "presqu'île", where the theatres, forum and a temple complex have been uncovered (Audin 1981: 16-18). However, from the third century the centre of settlement gravitated from the hill of Fourvière to the banks of the Rhône below (Figure 27). The city walls are attested in various sources but their course is not known in detail. The creation of the province of *Lugdunensis Prima* by Diocletian reduced the territory of Lyon, which by the end of the fourth century remained the Metropolitan capital of *Lugdunensis Prima*, enjoying episcopal primacy over Autun, Chalon-sur-Saône, Langres and Mâcon (*TC.IV*: 21).

The town had doubtless long since passed under the control of the Burgundians by 469 when Sidonius describes the procession of prince Sigismer and his retinue through the city (Sidonius, *Ep.IV*: 20). There was certainly a royal residence at Lyon under King Sigismund because several laws of his were promulgated there (Drew 1972: 7). The Frankish conquest in 532-534 resulted in Lyon losing its position as a major political centre, though its religious rôle

remained. Subsequently Chalon-sur-Saône was where Guntram had his court. The municipal administration seems to have continued as the epitaph of Alethius from Charmes attests, No.174. The city fell victim to the reconquest by Charles Martel; in 733 he left it under the control of his followers, indeed, according to Fredegar, the whole of South Eastern Gaul was put under the authority of his followers (Fredegar: 14). From this time onwards the local episcopate appears disorganised and the names of only three bishops of Lyon during the eighth century are known (TC.IV: 22).

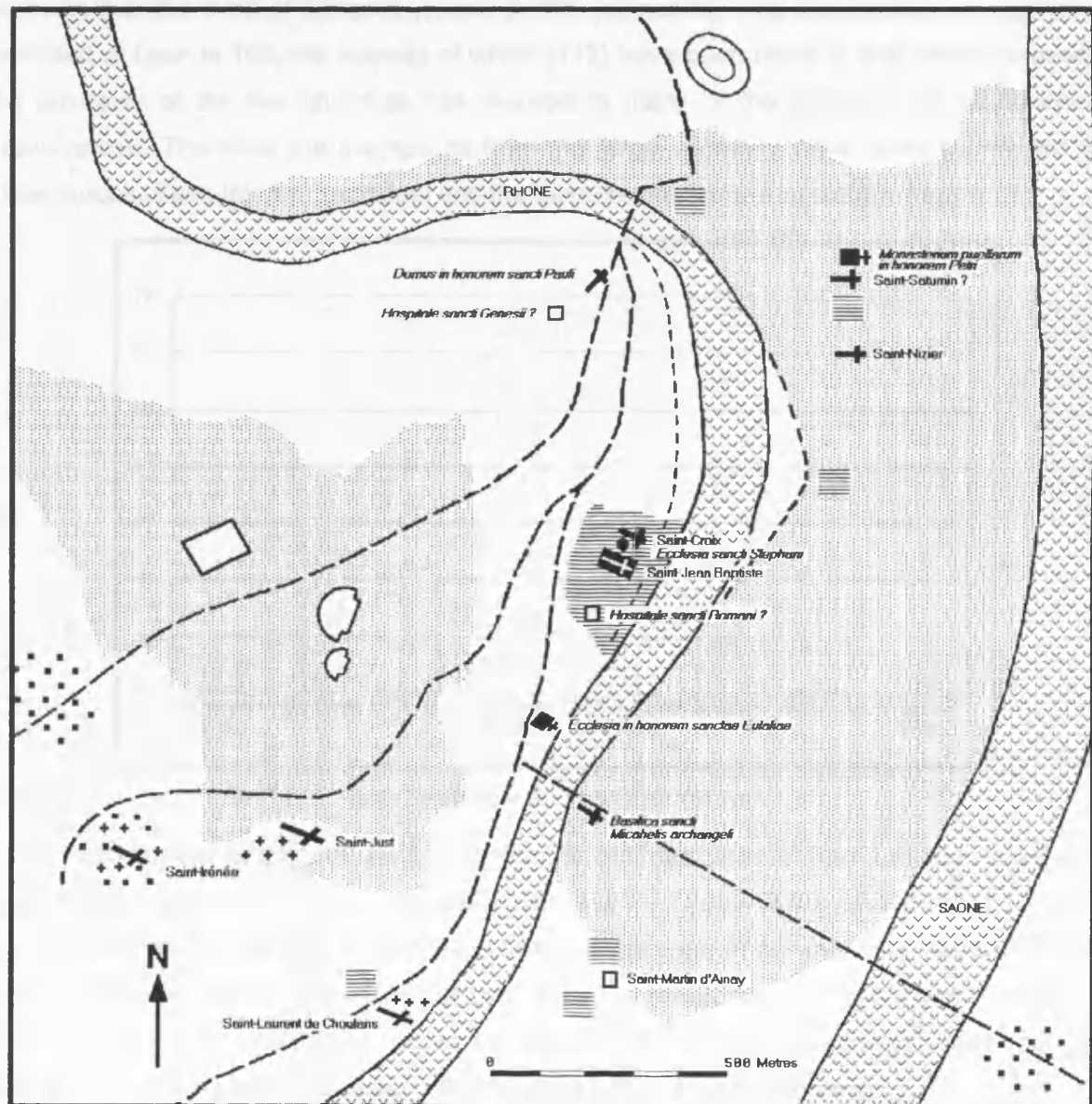


Figure 27: LYON (after Février, Picard, Pietri and Reynaud 1986: 17).

The earliest Christian community known at Lyon dates to the third quarter of the second century, led by Pothinus. In about 175 there was the famous persecution at Lyon, but from the time of Irenaeus to Iustus in the fourth century references are rare, bar those to bishop Faustinus

in 254 and Vocius who assisted at the council of Arles in 314. An episcopal list compiled in the ninth century seems largely reliable (*FEAG.II*: 157-161).

The cemetery to the south of the city, on the right bank of the Rhône, where the tombs and *mausolea* of the most eminent citizens were placed, continued in use throughout Late Antiquity. The two major churches in the cemetery were those of Saint-Irénée and Saint-Just, around which the density of tombs appears to have been most concentrated. Sidonius records the vigils which took place at Saint-Just in 469 on his feast day (Sidonius, *Ep.V*: 17). In the same letter he recounts that the tomb of Syagrius, consul in 381, lay nearby. The total number of inscriptions recorded at Lyon is 163, the majority of which (112) have been found in this district. However, the proximity of the two churches has resulted in many of the epitaphs not being closely provenanced. Therefore the inscriptions from this large cemetery have been subdivided into three groups, Saint-Irénée, Saint-Just and the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just district (Figure 28).

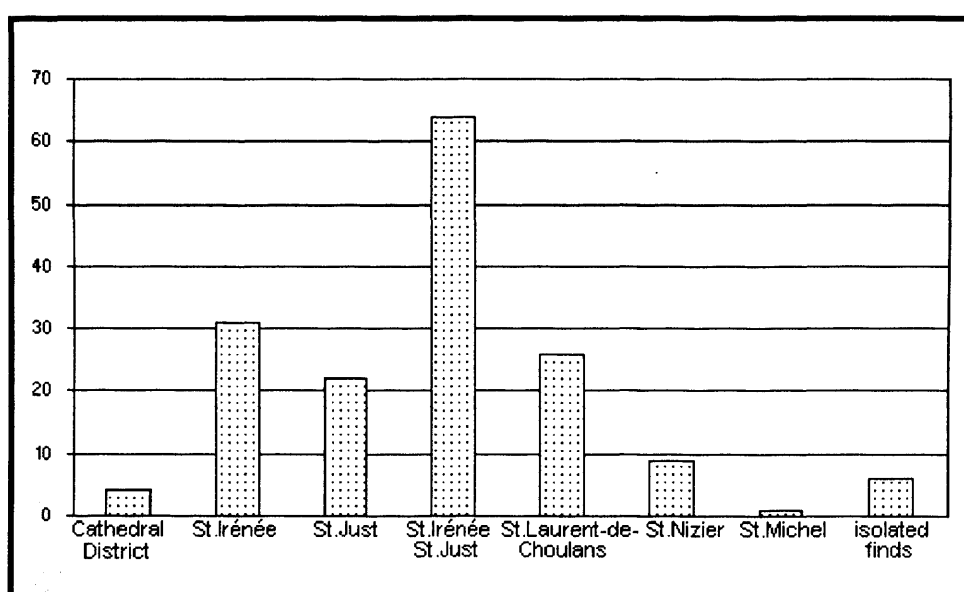


Figure 28: Distribution of inscriptions at Lyon.

Towards the end of the sixth century another church, dedicated to Saint-Laurent, was built on the right bank of the Rhône and received burials until the middle of the seventh century. During the sixth century the bishops of Lyon were buried in the crypt of the church of Saint-Nizier. The relative distribution of the inscriptions at Lyon therefore shows a similar pattern to that found at Vienne, whereby the episcopacy had a reserved site for their interment and the senatorial class the most illustrious sites in the major cemeteries or within a funerary church.

The episcopal group has been excavated in part in recent years but the existing medieval cathedral and modern development prevents a full investigation. The cathedral of Saint-Jean overlies the early cathedral and forms part of an existing group of churches; Saint-Jean to the south, Saint-Etienne in the centre and Saint Croix to the north. Saint-Jean is the only one to remain, flanked on the south by the episcopal palace. The excavations suggest that the

episcopal group dates from the middle of the fourth century; the first reference is in a letter by Sidonius addressed to Hesperius in 469/470, in which he describes the dedication of the church that Bishop Patiens had built at Lyon and includes the text of the dedication inscription which he had been asked to compose (Sidonius, *Ep.II*: 10). This description, written in hendecasyllables, poses some archaeological problems and the inscription itself has not survived, No.245. Only the apse, now beneath the present cathedral transept, is known. To the immediate north are the remains of the baptistry which was replaced before the ninth century by a church dedicated to Saint-Etienne. The octagonal baptismal font, fed by two water conduits, remained in use between the fourth and the eighth century. Few traces of the church of Saint-Croix remain and an episcopal palace is attested in several texts but has not been located (Reynaud 1981: 123-126). Only four inscriptions derive from this district. The aforementioned dedication, composed by Sidonius, No.245, is especially important because it gives some architectural details, albeit at times the information is confusing - doubtless other cathedral complexes and most churches would have had dedications raised within them, but the archaeological record is all but missing. However, No.246 also records the dedication of a church dedicated to Saint-Romain by a devout Fredaldus and his wife; the inscription, no longer extant, appears to have been set into an exterior wall (*ICG.I*: 42). A fragmentary epitaph found in 1977, No.247, probably originated from the suburban cemetery but the large metrical epitaph found at the Place de la Baleine in 1975, outside any archaeological context, may have originally been set up in the vicinity, if not in the cathedral, though no burials of this period are so far known there. It seems unlikely that such a huge stone would have been moved from the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery (for whatever reason). It specifically states that it records the position of a tomb, *haec sacrum [retinet ter]reni cor[poris] uma*, but extraordinarily it does not record the name of the deceased (Burnand 1984: 223-231). A *xenodochium* is attested in a canon of the council of Orléans in 549 which states that it should remain autonomous and not pass under the control of the church. It may have been near the episcopal group (Pontal 1989: 128).

To the south of the city lies the huge cemetery containing the churches and cult centres of Saint-Irénée and Saint-Just. The chronology of each is not well known; the sources are meagre and Saint-Irénée is overlaid by its medieval successor although parts of the crypt are probably part of the original foundation. The first mention of this church, originally dedicated to Saint-Jean, is made by Gregory of Tours who records that the tombs of Ireneus and two other martyrs Epipodius and Alexander were interred in the crypt (*GM*: 49). The tomb of Lucia may have been in the cemetery attached to the church. Gregory records Lucia's discovery of a lost shoe belonging to Epipodius, the curative properties of which were transferred to her tomb (*GC*: 63-64). The first construction phase was a crypt with a semi-circular apse, probably built on the site of a pagan *mausoleum* south of the col du Trion (Figure 29). To the west a large

basilican structure was erected and the church underwent several further transformations before it was devastated in 1562. Reconstructed in the nineteenth century, little survives of the original church except for part of the crypt and the apse.

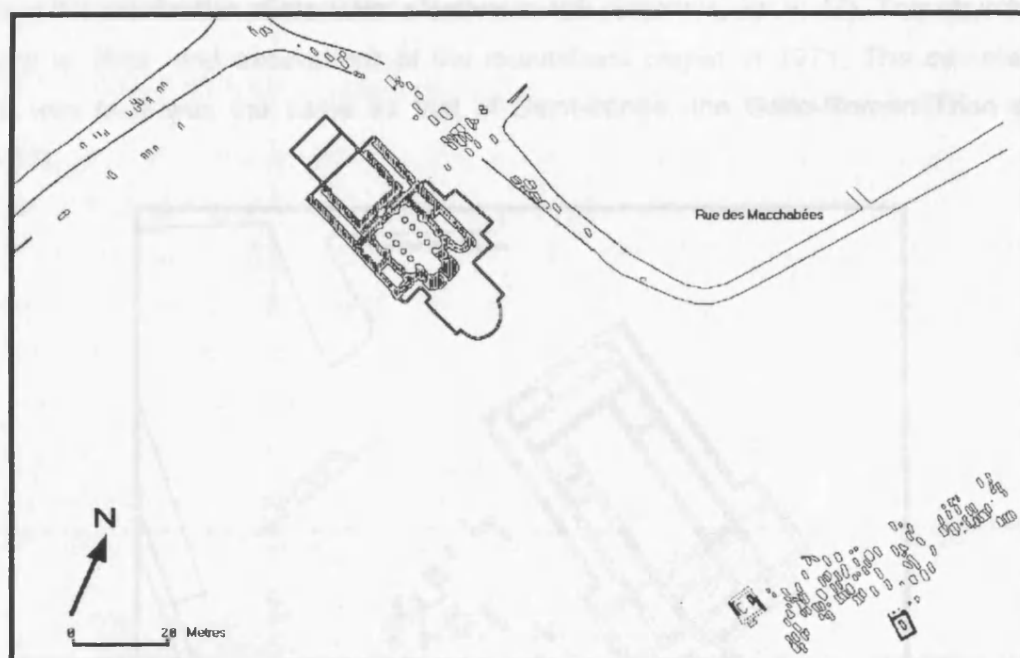


Figure 29: LYON: the Saint-Irénée district (after Alssam and Joubert in Reynaud 1986: Fig. 8).

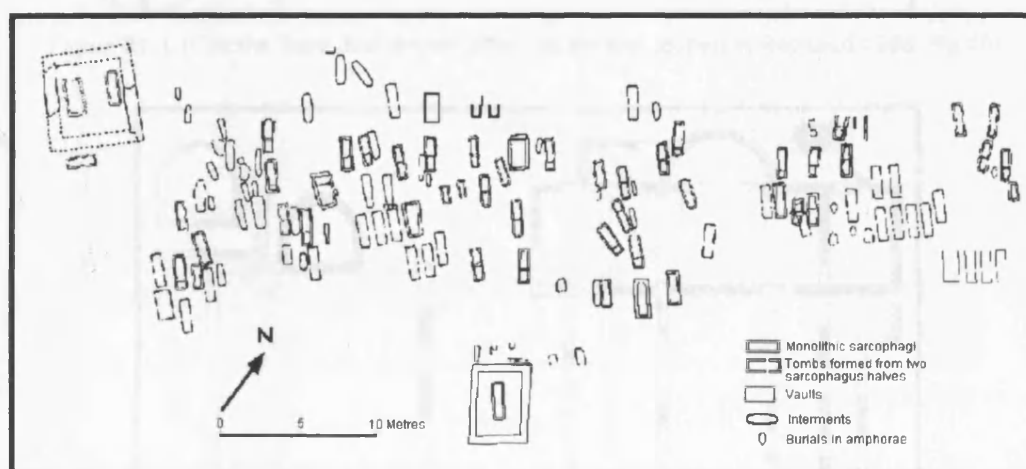


Figure 30: LYON: the cemetery of Saint-Irénée as excavated in 1980 (after Reynaud 1981: Fig. 14).

A number of inscriptions have been recorded since the seventeenth century, particularly in the 1824 reconstruction of the church. In 1945 an inscription was discovered reused in the wall of the crypt which recorded the presence of a pagan *mausoleum*, dedicated to Lucilla Stratonice, possibly confirming the reuse of a *mausoleum* for the basis of the crypt (TC.IV: 29-30; Reynaud 1986: 39-53; Vieillard-Troiekouroff 1976: 143-145). In 1980 a salvage excavation was undertaken east of the church, approximately equidistant between it and the church of Saint-Just. A pagan cemetery preceded the Christian and comprised mainly

incinerations. Two small *mausolea* were uncovered, one a single burial, the other a double (Reynaud 1981: 129-130; Figure 30).

The tomb of Saint-Just and the associated *basilica* are recorded first by Sidonius in a letter describing the celebration of the Saint's festival in 469 (Sidonius, *Ep. V*: 17). This church too was destroyed in 1562, and excavations of the foundations began in 1971. The cemetery within which it was built was the same as that of Saint-Irénée, the Gallo-Roman Trion cemetery (Figure 31).

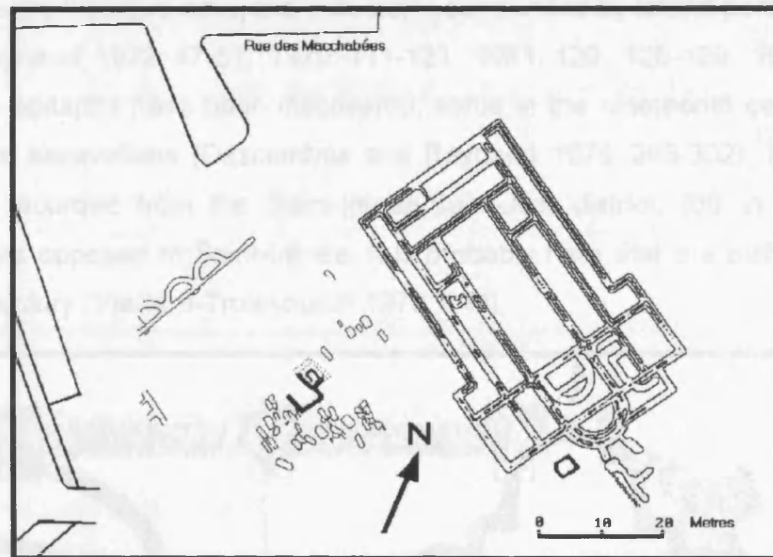


Figure 31: LYON: the Saint-Just district (after Alssam and Joubert in Reynaud 1986: Fig. 19).

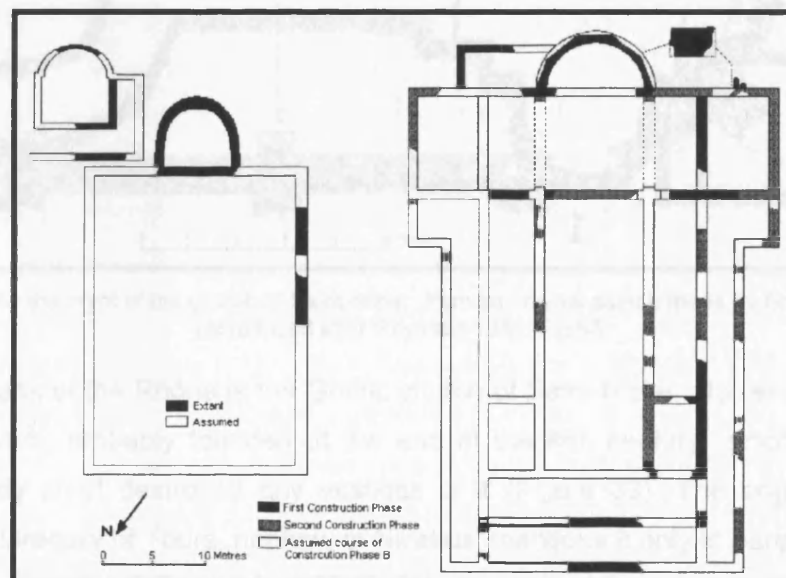


Figure 32: LYON: plan of the first two construction phases of Saint-Just (after Reynaud 1981: Fig. 12).

Initially, a *basilica* was constructed, south east of a small *mausoleum*, with a semicircular apse, central nave with side aisles and an underground gallery on the western side; this corresponds with the description given by Sidonius. Originally dedicated to the Maccabees, it

was probably built between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century and corresponds well with the model of an early funerary church with its ample dimensions, proximity to the town and a Christian cemetery, not just constructed *ad corpus* but alongside venerated tombs. A second construction phase during the sixth century coincided with the eventual abandonment of the upper town with the exception of a zone near the baths near rue des Farges; the religious functions of the district continued to develop due to the increasing influx of pilgrims. This phase of construction added a polygonal apse and transept (leading to the crypts at its extremities), a nave and side aisles surrounded by lateral porticus and a narthex to the west (Reynaud 1972: 47-51; 1979: 111-123; 1981: 120, 126-129; 1986: 54-68; Figure 32). Twenty-one epitaphs have been discovered, some in the nineteenth century and the rest during the recent excavations (Descombes and Reynaud 1975: 265-302). However, many of the inscriptions recorded from the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just district, (60 in total), must have originated here as opposed to Saint-Irénée. It is probably here that the bishops were interred during the fifth century (Vieillard-Troiekouroff 1976: 148).

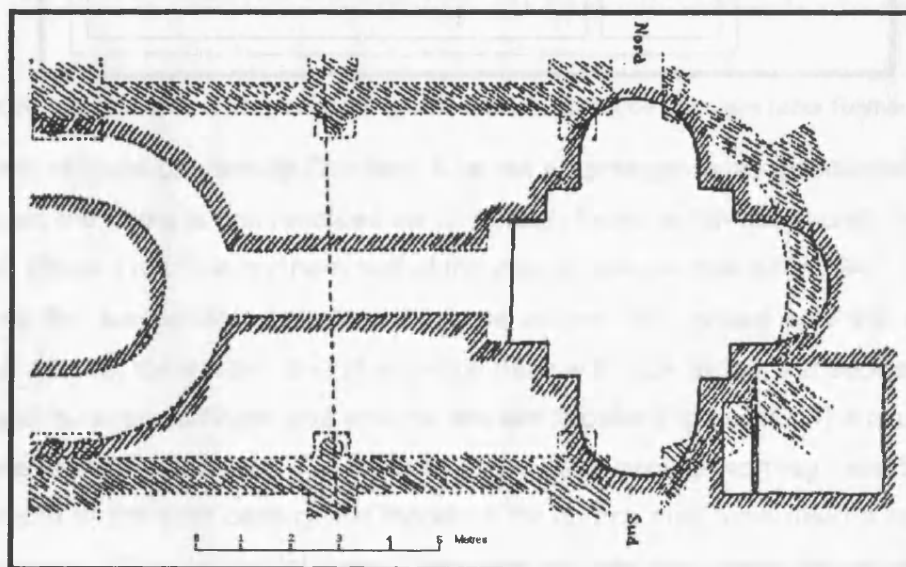


Figure 33: LYON: the crypt of the church of Saint-Nizier (from an original sketch made by Steyert 1895-99 and reproduced after Reynaud 1986: Fig.66).

On the left bank of the Rhône is the Gothic church of Saint-Nizier. No remains are extant of the earliest church, probably founded at the end of the fifth century, since work in 1835 to enlarge the early crypt destroyed any vestiges of it (Figure 33). The original dedication is unknown, even Gregory of Tours, nephew of Nicetius, mentions it only in periphrasis. It became the cult centre of Nicetius towards the end of the sixth century whence many miracles are recorded. In 1308 the texts of several of the epitaphs of the bishops buried in the crypt were recorded, which demonstrate that the church was used for the interment of bishops prior to Nicetius. Saint-Nizier can therefore be compared directly with the church of Saint-Pierre at Vienne, where too the bishops of that town were interred (TC.IV: 32-33; Reynaud

1986: 123-129; Vieillard-Troiekouroff 1976: 147-148). Two further epitaphs discovered in this locality, No.391 and No.399 (Plate 129), may derive originally from the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery. The (nearby?) tomb of Saint Helius, a bishop of Lyon during the third century and attributed with curative powers, was shown to Gregory of Tours by Nicetius; it formed one of the shrines visited by pilgrims (GC: 61-62).

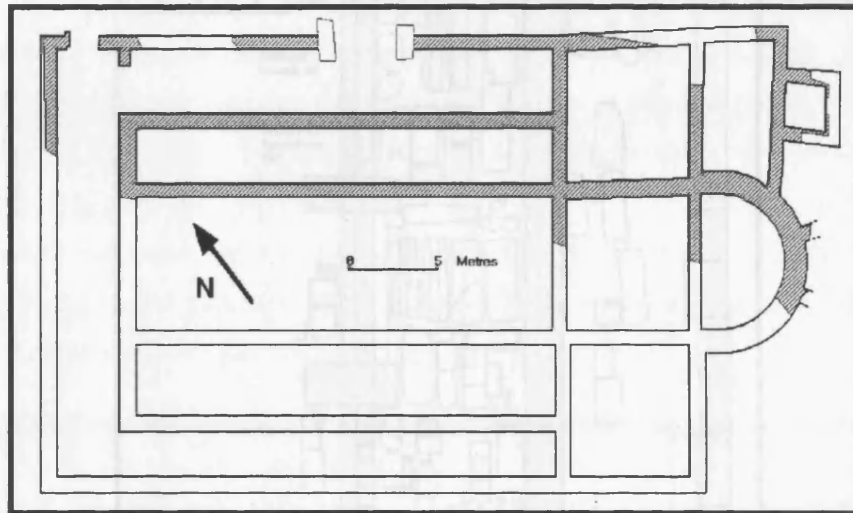


Figure 34: LYON: reconstruction of the plan of the church of Saint Laurent de Choulans (after Reynaud 1981: Fig.17).

The church of Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans was not as prestigious as Saint-Irénée, Saint-Just or Saint-Nizier; the name is first recorded on an epitaph found within the church, No.360, dated 22 June 599 (Plate 116). The northern half of the church was excavated in 1947, whilst work in 1976 defined the surrounding cemetery. A single construction phase saw the erection of a semi-circular apse at the eastern end of a central nave with side aisles, transept and a porticus surrounding at least the northern side and the western facade (Figure 34). The church fulfilled a funerary purpose from the outset. The capacity of the other cemeteries may have been reached towards the end of the sixth century and therefore the church may have been a reaction to this by some members of the senatorial class. Thirty-one epitaphs have been found here and in the vicinity, many associated with sarcophagi within the church. However, the formulae and probable date of Nos.372 (Plate 126), 373 (Plate 127), 387, 388 and 389 suggest that they originated in the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery (see Chapter Four), leaving 26 epitaphs of certain provenance. The date range centres upon the first half of the seventh century and the formulae employed show clearly a development from the Gallo-Roman styles found elsewhere at Lyon. The sarcophagi also differ from those found at Saint-Irénée and Saint-Just, showing a number of trapezoid shaped sarcophagi and masonry tombs (Wuilleumier, Audin and Leroi-Gourhan 1949; Descombes and Reynaud 1975: 265-302; Reynaud 1981: 130-133; 1986: 77-85; Figure 35).

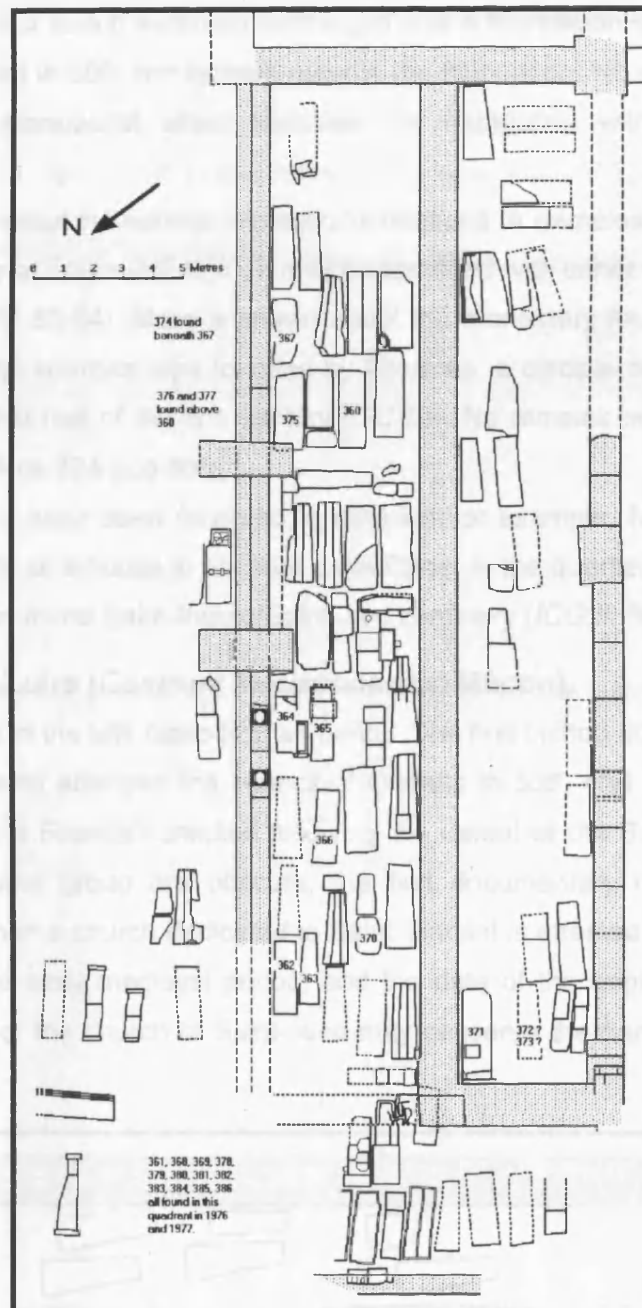


Figure 35: LYON: plan of the excavations undertaken in 1949 at the church of Saint Laurent de Choulans (after Wuilleumier, Audin and Leroi-Gourhan 1949: Fig.9).

Several other churches are mentioned in the texts, but little is known of them: a dedication to Saint Stephen the proto-martyr may be a confusion in the sources with that in the episcopal group; a church dedicated to Saint-Eulalia was refurbished in the ninth century, so was presumably an earlier foundation; and the present Romanesque church of Saint-Paul overlies an earlier foundation which was also refurbished in the ninth century. A *basilica sanctae Mariae* is attested by Gregory of Tours (GC: 64-65). It received the sepulchre of a man of senatorial rank who left his estate to the church. It has been identified, with reservations, with Notre-Dame de la Saônerie, on the right bank of the Saône, and Notre-Dame de la Platière, near Saint-Nizier

(TC.IV: 33). The *basilica sancti Micahelis archangeli* was a foundation of queen Caretena, wife of Gundobad, who died in 506. Her epitaph records the foundation, No.400, which is preserved in a ninth century manuscript which identifies the foundation with Saint-Michel d'Ainay (TC.IV: 31).

Still less is known about the earliest monastic foundations. A nameless monastery for women is attested by Gregory of Tours (HF.X: 8); it may be identified with either with that of Saint-Pierre or Saint-Eulalie (TC.IV: 33-34). More is known about the monastery founded on the Ile-Barbe, which, according to the sources, was founded by Maximus, a disciple of Saint-Martin of Tours, probably during the first half of the fifth century (GC:22). No remains survive but two epitaphs have been recorded, Nos.404 and 405.

Several inscriptions have been recorded in isolation: for example, No.401 (Plate 130) was discovered in the cellar of a house in the Rue de la Cage, in the quartier des Terreaux in 1857, but probably originated in the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery (ICG.II: 663).

MACON, Saône-et-Loire (*Castrum Matisconense*: Mâcon).

The town was fortified in the late Gallo-Roman period. The first bishop attested by contemporary sources is Placidus who attended the council of Orléans in 538, and the episcopate itself is thought to have been a Frankish creation following the defeat of the Burgundians in 534. The origins of the episcopal group are obscure, the first documentary mention coming in the mid-eighth century when a church dedicated to Saint-Vincent is attested. No structure has been identified dated to the early medieval period, and the date of the original dedication remains unknown. The name of the church of Saint-Jean may conserve the name of an early baptistry (TC.IV: 79-80).

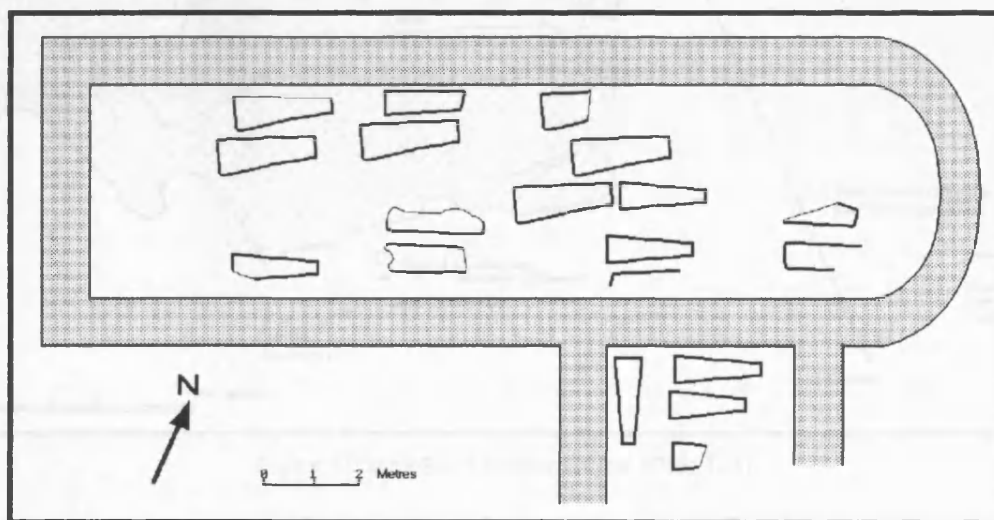


Figure 36: MACON: schematic plan of the church of Saint-Clement (after Sapin 1986: Fig.3).

The extramural church of the martyr Saint-Clement lay one kilometre south of the town. Excavations in 1985 confirmed that the church dates to the end of the sixth century, when it

served a funerary purpose, probably for the early bishops (Sapin 1989: 19; Figure 36). The church of Saint-Laurent is first attested in 855 as the assembly point of a regional ecclesiastical council, but the foundation date remains unknown. Two other sanctuaries, first attested in the tenth century may also be early; Saint-Pierre, sited in a late Gallo-Roman cemetery, and Saint-Etienne, sited to the north of the town (TC.IV: 80). The only inscription recorded is the epitaph of Mellita, No.407 (Plate 132), discovered outside any archaeological context in 1959 (Armand-Calliat 1959).

MANE, Canton de Forcalquier, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Segesteriorum*: Sisteron).

Remains of Gallo-Roman structures, a villa known locally as La Mosaïque, and several tombs are recorded. Both fragmentary inscriptions were discovered in 1957 in the chapel of Notre-Dame de Salagon (Rivet 1988: 295; Guyon 1972: 181).

MARSEILLE, Bouches-du-Rhône (*Ciuitas Massiliensium*: Marseille).

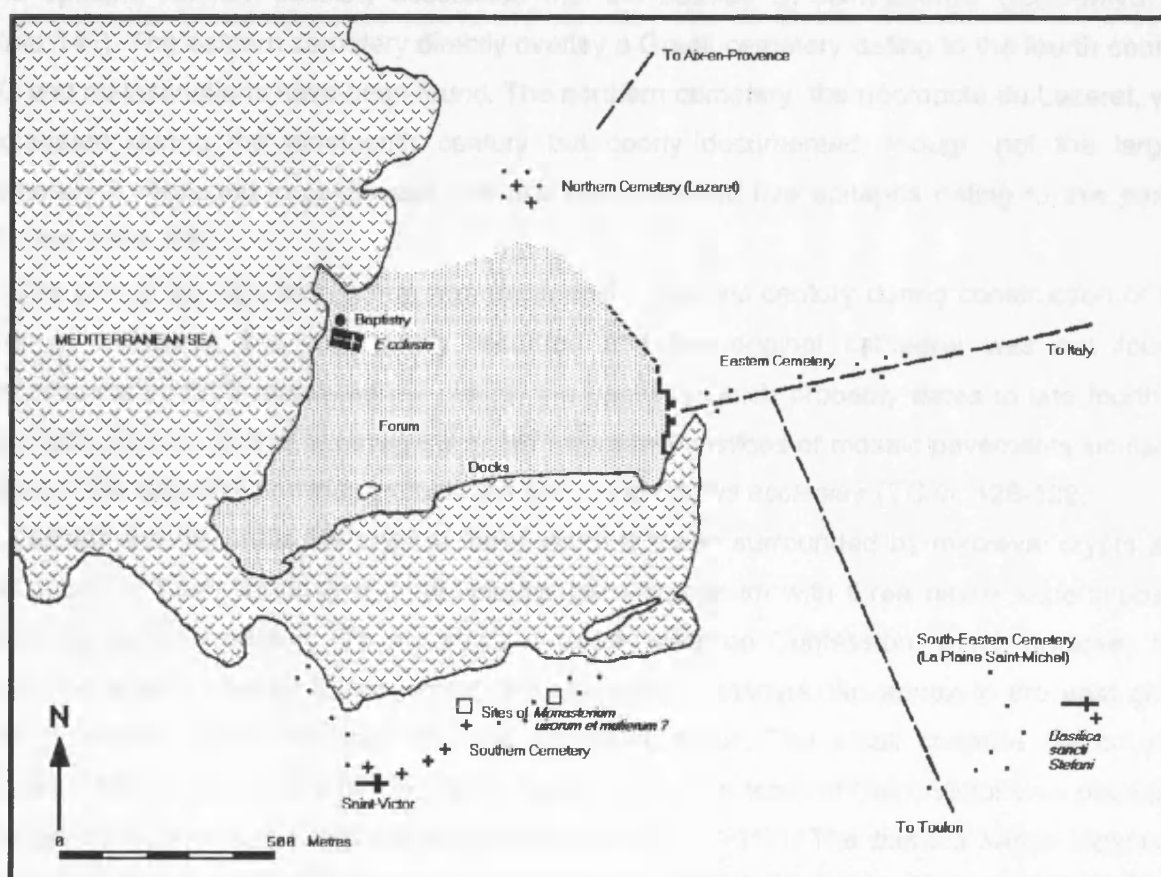


Figure 37: MARSEILLE (after Guyon 1986: 123).

Marseille has produced only 24 inscriptions dated between the fourth and eighth centuries; a very low total when measured in proportion to its importance. The reason is almost certainly due to the commercial and other development that took place during the nineteenth century at the sites of the former cemeteries. The economic importance of Marseille during the fifth and sixth

centuries has been demonstrated by excavations in the port area and the Bourse in the form of Eastern and African amphorae. The presence of pottery and glass manufacturers and a mint attest the ability of the city to weather the general economic decline in the West. Additionally, various references to trading activities made by Gregory of Tours - who only rarely mentions this region - confirm the constant concern over control and access to the port by the Frankish kings (Rivet 1988: 219-224; Loseby 1992b).

The localities of the cemeteries are known but not their precise extent, although they effectively encircled the city in the sixth century (Figure 37). The southern cemetery, Le Paradis, was part-explored during the nineteenth century and recently work has been undertaken at Saint-Victor. It appears to have been intensively used during the third and fourth centuries but less so during the fifth and sixth centuries. Indeed, two thirds of the extant inscriptions from Marseille (all are epitaphs) are from this cemetery if those conserved today at Saint-Victor derive genuinely from its cemetery. The south-eastern cemetery, whilst vast, has produced only one epitaph, No.431, possibly associated with the *basilica* of Saint-Etienne (*ICMAMNS*: 23; Plate 141). The eastern cemetery directly overlay a Greek cemetery dating to the fourth century BC and no inscriptions have been found. The northern cemetery, the *nécropole du Lazaret*, was excavated during the nineteenth century but poorly documented; though not the largest cemetery it remained in continuous use and has produced five epitaphs dating to this period (Février 1964: 63).

The site of the episcopal group was excavated in the last century during construction of the present cathedral, but was poorly recorded and the original cathedral was not found. Excavations in 1850 recovered the plan of the baptistery which probably dates to late fourth or early fifth century; further excavations in 1870 revealed vestiges of mosaic pavements similar to those of the baptistery and may indicate the site of the *domus ecclesiae* (*TC.III*: 128-129).

Outside the city walls the crypt of Saint-Victor is today surrounded by medieval crypts and the abbey of Saint-Victor. It is a rectangular semi-hypogeum with three naves superimposed upon the earlier cemetery. To the south is Notre-Dame de Confession, which encloses two anonymous third century tombs, tentatively attributed to martyrs. An annex to the east gives onto a narrow gallery cut into the rock containing *loculi*. The small chapelle Saint-André probably fulfilled a funerary function but whether or not the tomb of Saint-Victor was placed in this gallery is uncertain (Demians D'Archimbaud 1974: 87-117). The *basilica sancti Victoris* is attested before the end of the sixth century; Gregory of Tours recounts that in 591 the bishop hid there to avoid the plague (*HF*: IX, 22). The *basilica sancti Stefani* and a nearby *oratorium suburbanum* are also mentioned by Gregory of Tours (*HF*.VI: 11). In the Middle Ages a chapel dedicated to Saint-Etienne is attested in the Plaine Saint-Michel, perhaps a funerary chapel set within the south-eastern cemetery (Vieillard-Troiekouroff 1976: 161).

The monasteries of Marseille were very influential, particularly those founded by Cassian at the beginning of the fifth century. Their sites are unknown, as is that of an unnamed monastery for men mentioned on the epitaph of Rusticus of Narbonne (*CIL.XII*: 5336; though this may be identical to the foundation of Cassian, as may also be a *monasterium sancti Cassiani*). The sources also mention a monk's cell, attested prior to 535. A further female monastery mentioned in the life of Saint Caesarius may similarly refer back to the foundation of Cassian (*TC.III*: 132). A *monasterium sancti Cyrici* is attested only by the epitaph of *Eusebia*, No.421, (Février 1964: 70), its formulae suggest a sixth century date. A possible further female monastery is attested on the epitaph of the abbess Tillisiola, No.423.

In the southern cemetery, two medieval churches, the *ecclesia sancti Petri* and the *ecclesia sancti Tyrsi*, may have been early foundations serving as funerary chapels. Similarly, the intramural *monasterium Dei genetricis Mariae* (Saint-Sauveur), was a female monastery in the twelfth century but perhaps overlying an earlier foundation. Paulinus of Pella mentions in a poem a religious foundation sited between the town and the country. What this was is uncertain, though it may have been either an eremitic or coenobitic establishment or a religious retreat similar to that known at Saint Geniez-de-Dromon (No.468 and Plate 153; *TC.III*: 133).

MELLECEY, Saône-et-Loire (*Castrum Cabillonense*: Chalon-sur-Saône).

The single inscription, No.434 (Plate 142), was found built into the altar of the church at Mellecey, near Chalon-sur-Saône in 1864. It records the transfer of relics of the martyrs of Agaune, perhaps during the reign of Guntram in 584, coinciding with the foundation of the monastery of Saint-Marcellin (Fredegar: 1; Armand-Calliat 1936: 36-37).

MOIRANS, Canton de Rives, Isère (*Ciuitas Gratianopolitana*: Grenoble).

Various remains of the *uicus* of *Morginum* are known, particularly in the quartier Saint-Jaques. No tombs have been found in the vicinity of the church of Saint-Pierre, where the two inscriptions were discovered reused in the garden wall of the church in the nineteenth century. The church itself is undocumented until the eleventh century (Colardelle 1983: 194).

MONTFORT, Canton de Volonne, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Segesteriorum*: Sisteron).

The single inscription recorded, No.437, was discovered in 1891 during excavations within the chapelle de Saint-Donat le Haut Montfort, suggesting an early foundation (*ICMAMNS*: 64).

MONTFORT-SUR-ARGENS, Canton de Cotignac, Var (*Ciuitas Foroiuliensis*: Fréjus).

Nothing is known of the provenance of the single epitaph recorded, No.438, today built into wall in the property of the chapel of Notre-Dame de Speluque (*NR*: 330; Plate 143).

MONTJUSTIN, Canton de Reillanne, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Segesteriorum*: Sisteron).

Inscription No.439 was discovered built into a door jamb of the chapel of Saint-Maurin (*ICMAMNS*: 57).

MOUTIERS, Savoie (*Ciuitas Tarantensium*: Aime-en-Tarantaise).

Le Blant erroneously listed inscription No.440, dated 561, under *Narbonensis Secunda*, recording that it was "trouvé au haut de la ville de Moutiers" (*NR*: 325). The episcopate had moved from Aime to Moutiers by the eleventh century but there is evidence that the transfer occurred much earlier, probably in the sixth century (*TC.III*: 142). A bishop from Aime is attested at the council of Epaone in 517 but little is known of the ecclesiastical buildings. Excavations at the church of Saint-Martin uncovered a small rectangular chamber with an apse within which were tombs containing either coffins or constructed with large slabs. Another small church, Saint-Sigismond, had a rectangular nave with a semi-circular apse flanked by two annexes; tombs were discovered within and without the chapel, probably of sixth and seventh century date (*TC.III*: 144; Colardelle 1983: 277-278). The *basilica sancti Petri* is attested in a homily delivered by bishop Avitus of Vienne on the occasion of its consecration (*MGH,AA*,VI,2: 134-135). Two other churches, Saint-Alban and Saint-Martin, are attested south of the town but their foundation dates are unknown (*TC.III*: 144).

NACON, Commune de Saint-Pierre-de-Chérennes, Canton de Pont-en-Royans, Isère, (*Ciuitas Gratianopolitana*: Grenoble).

Inscriptions Nos.441 (Plate 144) and 442 (Plate 145) are today built into the wall of the church of Saint-Pierre-de-Chérennes. They were probably discovered in the ruins of the church of Saint-Etienne de Nacon. This may have been an early monastic site since No.442 is the epitaph of an abbot (*RICG.XV*, 612: 228 and 229; Plate 145).

NARBONENSIS SECUNDA, Canton de Forcalquier, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Segesteriorum*: Sisteron).

The exact provenance of four fragmentary inscriptions, Nos.443-446, are unknown but they probably derive from within the *ciuitas* of Sisteron (*ICMAMNS*: 68a,b,c,d).

NOTRE-DAME-DE-BEAUREGARD, Canton d'Orgon, Bouches-du-Rhône (*Ciuitas Cabellicorum*: Cavaillon).

A Gallo-Roman shrine of unknown dedication has been identified within the earlier hill-fort overlooking the town (Rivet 1988: 263). The single inscription recorded, No.447, was discovered within the now demolished Augustine convent, but apparently not *in situ* (*NR*: 161).

NOTRE-DAME-DU-BRUSC, Commune de Châteauneuf, Canton de Bar-sur-Loup, Alpes Maritimes. (*Ciuitas Antipolitana*: Antibes).

Excavations within the ruinous (Romanesque and) medieval church revealed a series of construction phases and traces of a Gallo-Roman villa (Figure 38). A single nave flanked by transepts had a semi-circular apse within which was a vaulted crypt. At the western end a square baptistery adjoining the church overlay some graves constructed with tiles. A second phase added side-aisles, each with an apse. The four fragmentary epitaphs discovered during excavations date to the sixth century (Février 1986: 139).

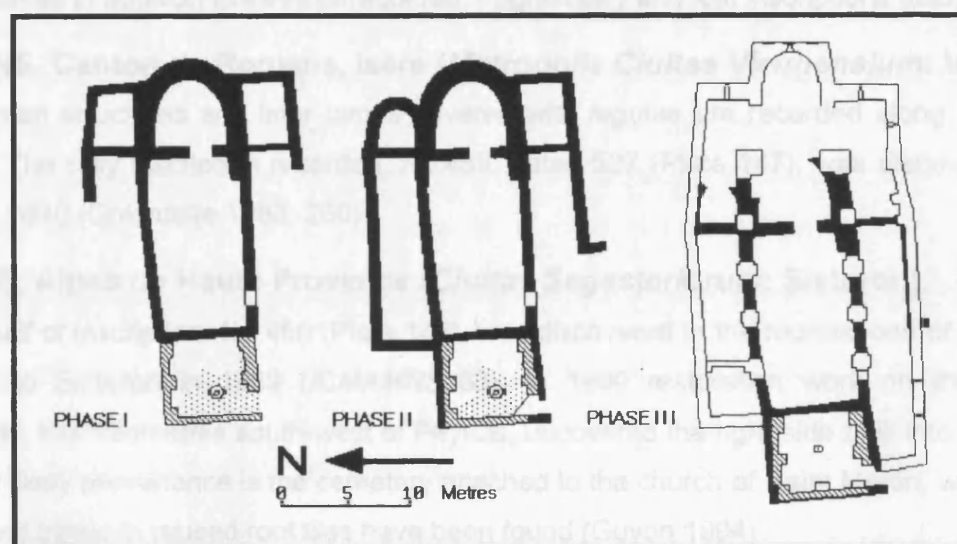


Figure 38: NOTRE-DAME-DU-BRUSC: the three main construction phases (after Février in *Premiers Temps Chrétiens en Gaule Méridionale* 1986: Fig.322).

ORANGE, Vaucluse (*Ciuitas Arausicorum*: Orange).

Much of the Gallo-Roman street plan has been uncovered and the principal remains well-studied, namely the theatre and triumphal arch (Rivet 1988: 272-275). A presbyter is recorded at the Council of Arles in 314, suggesting that the bishop was unable to attend and not that an episcopal see had not yet been founded. The first recorded bishop is Constantius, named at the Council of Aquileia in 381. The most famous bishop, Eutropius, known from his *uita* and his fragmentary epitaph, No.452, is attested c.463 although his epitaph may have been raised in the sixth century; it was discovered in 1801 near the church that bears his name (FEAG.I: 257; Février 1964: 66). The episcopal group is poorly understood. There may have been a double cathedral since the early dedication to the Virgin Mary seems to have been linked to a dedication to Saint-Genesius. The sources also mention an *ecclesia iustinianensis* and a *basilica*, but it is not known which (if any) of these edifices constituted the early cathedral. The extramural *basilica sancti Iuliani* (Saint-Eutrope), sited on top of the hill south of the city, was destroyed in c.1600 when an epitaph, No.453, was found in the church facade. The *ecclesia sancti Florentii*, also destroyed, was sited in the eastern cemetery (TC.III: 97-99).

OURCHES, Canton de Crest-Nord, Drôme (*Ciuitas Valentinorum: Valence*).

Several tombs of post-Roman date have emerged near the parish church of Saint-Didier, formerly a Benedictine priory. In 1903 an epitaph, No.456, was discovered in the locality of Sainte-Cerbelle (Colardelle 1983: 260).

PACT, Canton de Beaurepaire, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne*).

Gallo-Roman remains are known near the church of Saint-Georges, where two inscriptions, Nos.457 and 458 (Plate 146), were discovered in 1885. Early medieval tombs come from three other localities in addition to three unrecorded, fragmentary and lost inscriptions (*ibid.*: 198-199).

PARNANS, Canton de Romans, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne*).

Gallo-Roman structures and later tombs covered with *tegulae* are recorded along the road to Romans. The only inscription recorded, No.459, dated 527 (Plate 147), was discovered in the church in 1840 (Colardelle 1983: 260).

PEYRUIS, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Segesteriorum: Sisteron*).

The left half of inscription, No.460 (Plate 148), was discovered in the foundations of a house on the road to Sisteron in 1869 (*ICMAMNS*: 63). In 1990 restoration work on the priory at Ganagobie, four kilometres south-west of Peyruis, uncovered the right side built into the facade. The most likely provenance is the cemetery attached to the church of Saint Martin, where tombs constructed beneath reused roof tiles have been found (Guyon 1994).

POTHIÈRES, Canton de Châtillon-sur-Seine, Côte d'Or (*Ciuitas Lingonum: Langres*).

The single inscription recorded, No.461, now lost (*ILCV*: 220), was first recorded in the former abbey of Pothières, where it was inscribed on a plaque situated in front of the altar (*ICG*: 1).

REILLANNE, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Segesteriorum: Sisteron*).

Gallo-Roman inscriptions have been recorded, and the single inscription, No.462, now lost, was donated to Digne Museum in 1886; its exact provenance is unknown (Guyon 1972: 181; *ICMAMNS*: 56).

REVEL-TOURDAN, Commune de Revel-Tourdan, Canton de Beaurepaire, Isère. (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne*).

Many structural remains of the *statio* of *Turedonnum*, in addition to some inscriptions, are known dating from the first century AD onwards (Rivet 1988: 313). In the locality of Saint-Martin a cemetery is known; it is here that the three sixth-century epitaphs were discovered: No.463 dated 17 January 547 (Plate 149), No.464, dated 14 August 564 (Plate 150), and No.465 (Plate 151) (Colardelle 1983: 201-202).

RIEZ, Canton de Riez, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Reiensium*: Riez).

The inhabited area of the town appears to have shrunk from the end of the third century and burials began to be made within the former urban perimeter. Between the fifth and ninth centuries the focus of habitation shifted progressively southwards, from the plain to the hill. The first bishop, Maximus, is attested in the 430s, but the foundation of a see is probably earlier. The episcopal group centred upon Notre-Dame de la Sed. The early cathedral, which has been recently excavated showed foundations of a Gallo-Roman construction with a superimposed *basilica* with a central nave. The baptistry is on the same axis to the west built upon the remains of the Roman baths. It has an octagonal interior in common with others in Provence. A *templi uestibulum* is attested in the sources and may have been dependent upon either the cathedral or the baptistry or both and thereby formed part of an architectural whole.

An intramural *basilica in honore sancti Albini* is attested which perhaps underlies the present church with the same dedication. A *basilica sancti Petri* may have stood on the same site on which the present chapel of Saint-Maxime stands, on the summit of the hill. A further *ecclesia sancti Petri* is attested but its location is also unknown as is the site of a possible female monastery. The existence of a funerary *basilica* in the area of the baths to the south-east is possible on the basis of various burials (TC.II: 35-42). The only inscription recorded for Riez is a dedication to Saint-Michael, No.466 (ICMAMNS: 46).

SAINT-ALBAN-DE-BRON, Rhône (*Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium*: Lyon).

Inscription No.467 (Plate 152) was discovered in the chapel of Saint-Alban-de-Bron, reused in an exterior staircase (NR: 128). The proximity of Lyon suggests that it may have originated there.

SAINT-GENIEZ-DE-DROMON, Canton de Sisteron, Alpes de Haute Provence (*Ciuitas Segesteriorum*: Sisteron).

The inscription inscribed upon the rock-face, No.468 (Plate 153), is the famous Pierre Écrite. It states that Claudius Postumus Dardanus, ex-governor of the province of *Viennensis*, and his wife, Nevia Galla, provided a road to their estate, named Theopolis by cutting back both sides of the mountain defile. This can be clearly seen today but the walls and gates built as a communal refuge for all on their estate have yet to be certainly identified archaeologically (Marrou 1954: 101-110; Rivet 1988: 254).

SAINT-GERMAIN-DU-PLAIN, Saône-et-Loire (*Castrum Cabillonense*: Chalon-sur-Saône).

See Chalon-sur-Saône for inscription No.469 (Plate 154).

SAINT-GERVAIS, Commune de Portes-lès-Valence, Canton de Valence-Sud, Drôme (*Ciuitas Valentinorum*: Valence).

A villa is attested in the vicinity of the chapel of Saint-Gervais, suggesting a transition from villa with cemetery to village. The only inscription found, No.470, is fragmentary and probably dates to the sixth century (*RICG.XV*: 19; Colardelle 1983: 263-264).

SAINT-JEAN-DE-BOURNAY, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium*: Vienne).

The church of Saint-Jean appears to overlie a Gallo-Roman site. The two epitaphs, Nos.471 (Plate 155) and 472 (Plate 156), were not found *in situ* but indicate the presence of a church by the mid-sixth century (*ibid.*: 207).

SAINT-JULIEN-EN-QUINT, Canton de Die, Drôme (*Ciuitas Deensium*: Die).

No archaeological information is available and the circumstances of discovery of the single epitaph recorded, No.473, are unknown (*ICG*: 477b).

SAINT-LAURENT-DE-MURE, Canton de Meyzieu, Rhône (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium*: Vienne).

The five epitaphs discovered here, Nos.474-478, attest the presence of an early church foundation. The inscriptions were found built into the wall of the former church (*RICG.XV*, 21).

SAINT-MAURICE-DE-REMENS, Canton de Amberieu-en-Bugey, Ain (*Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium*: Lyon).

The single epitaph recorded, No.479 (Plate 157), of March 486, appears to be lost (*ILCV*: 3565a; Plate 157). It probably attests the foundation of a church at an early date.

SAINT-MAXIMIN-LA-SAINTE-BAUME, Canton de Saint-Maximin-La-Sainte-Baume, Var (*Ciuitas Telonensium*: Toulon).

Inscription No.480 forms part of what appears to be a chancel screen, now in the crypt of the abbey church of Saint-Maximin. The original provenance is unknown but the presence of another part of the chancel screen suggests that they once formed together an architectural whole within the early church (*ICMAMNS*: 45).

SAINT-RESTITUT, Drôme (*Ciuitas Tricastinorum*: Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux).

The only inscription recorded is No.481 of A.D.548, recorded in the church of Saint-Restitut in 1849 (*ICG.I*: 486, now apparently lost (Colardelle 1983: 270).

**SAINT-ROMAIN D'ALBON, Commune d'Albon, Canton de Saint-Vallier, Drôme
(*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium*: Vienne).**

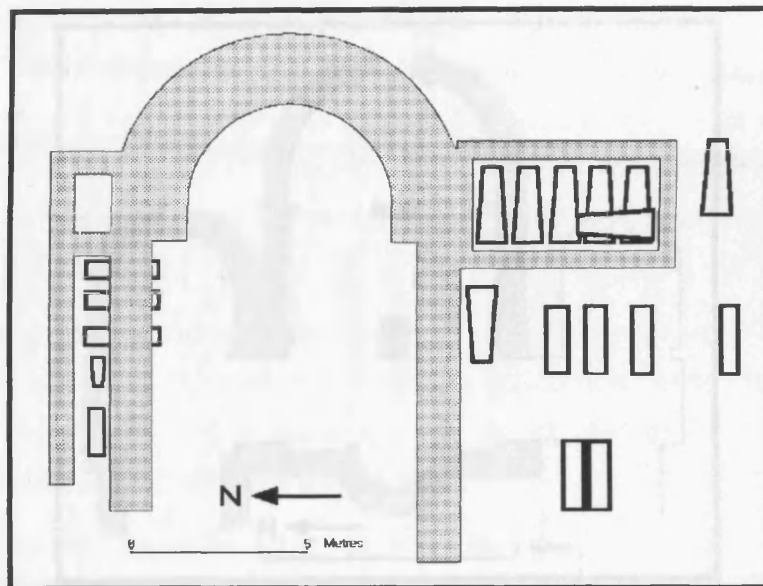


Figure 39: SAINT ROMAIN D'ALBON: schematic plan of the church and its associated burials and sarcophagi (after Colardelle 1983: Fig.98).

The modern hamlet of Saint-Romaine overlies a Gallo-Roman habitat, as discoveries of coins, mosaics and walls attest. It is here that the council of Epaone was probably held in 517. The church was excavated unscientifically in 1872, while more recent excavations failed to re-discover the site (Figure 39). However, it seems that an original single nave and semi-circular apse had an annexe added on the southern side to receive burials. The sarcophagi were all trapezoidal monoliths covered by limestone flags, three of which bore epitaphs Nos.482-484 (see Plate 158 and Plate 159 for Nos. 482 and 484 respectively). At least one sarcophagus received two burials because No.482 (Plate 158), dated 21 February 467, and No.483, dated 22 February 516 were found resting upon a single sarcophagus. No.484 (Plate 159), dated 30 June 631, was found above a sarcophagus placed next to the southern wall of the annexe. To the south of the church lay six tombs constructed with stone flags. Three further fragmentary epitaphs were discovered but their exact provenances are not recorded (*ibid.*: 234, 366).

SAINT-SIXTE-DE-MERLAS, Commune de Merlas, Canton de Saint-Geoire-en-Valdaine, Isère (*Ciuitas Gratianopolitana*: Grenoble).

Numerous Gallo-Roman remains have been uncovered close to the modern hamlet of Saint-Sixte, interpreted as a pagan sanctuary or temple rather than a villa. On the basis of the epigraphic data, it is possible that the site became the focus of a small female monastery. All three epitaphs are dedicated to females, two bear the epithet *famula Dei* ; No.488 (Plate 160) to Claudia, dated 14 January 516 and No.490. No.489 (Plate 161) is dedicated to Ervalde(?), described as *penetens* and *Deum femena C domena*. If the hypothesis is correct the foundation date would appear to be of the early sixth century or possibly earlier. The church itself is a

modern rebuild though parts of the crypt are more ancient (Colardelle 1983: 191; *RICG.XV*: 21-22; Figure 40).

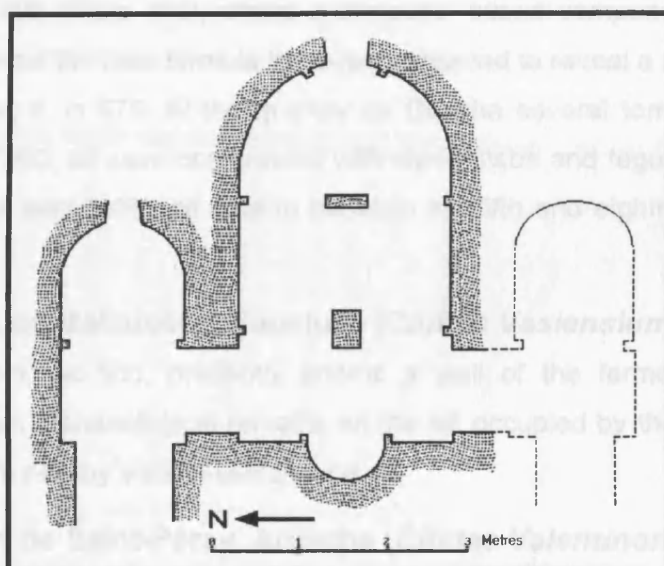


Figure 40: SAINT SIXTE DE MERLAS: schematic plan of the church crypt (after a drawing by Girard 1964 and reproduced by Colardelle 1983: fig. 88.2).

SAINT-THOMÉ, Canton de Viviers, Ardèche (*Ciuitas Albensium*: Alba/Viviers).

The metrical fragment, No.491 (Plate 162), built into the exterior facade of the chapel of Saint-Thomé, is dated August 487 and is probably the epitaph of bishop Lucianus, bishop of nearby Alba whose episcopate is known during the reign of the Visigothic king Alaric II (484-507). The first extant line may be an example of paronomasia, preceded by *lucens et ardens* (*FEAG.I*: 231-232). The laudative nature of the formulae on the second epitaph fragment, No.492, may also be that of a high-ranking member of the clergy Saint-Thomé. The provenance is unknown (*ILGN*: 380).

SAINT-VALLIER, Drôme (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium*: Vienne).

No.493 (Plate 163) was discovered in the paving of the chapel of the Chateau des Rioux, near Saint-Vallier. The date, 19 January 503, and the mention of a consular date, now illegible, on No.494 suggest a church and cemetery founded before the end of the fifth century, probably on the same site as the modern parish church where No.494 was discovered (*RICG.XV*: 22 and 23).

SOYONS, Canton de Saint-Péray, Ardèche (*Ciuitas Valentinorum*: Valence).

It is not certain that this was the *uicus* of *Solonium* but a Gallo-Roman settlement is known, mainly from inscriptions, while the hill-fort on the plateau de Malpas attests prehistoric settlement (Rivet 1988: 303). Sondages made to the east of the plateau de Malpas in 1980 revealed the site of the church of Saint-Gervais, attested in an act of 1245, together with the apse and three fragmentary inscriptions, Nos.500-502 (pers. comm. M.G.Dalpra, conservateur

du Musée de Soyons). The other inscriptions are all of unknown provenance but their palaeography closely resembles Nos.495-499 and should date to the late seventh century; this is supported by No.500 (Plate 164), where a computer based comparison of the letters with other inscriptions enable the date formula to be reconstructed to reveal a regnal date formula for the reign of Dagobert II, in 679. At the quartier de Buache several tombs were found during agricultural work in 1960; all were constructed with stone slabs and tegulae except for a single example employing a lead coffin; all date to between the fifth and eighth centuries (Colardelle 1983: 273).

SUZETTE, Canton de Malaucène, Vaucluse (*Ciuitas Vasiensium: Vaison*).

This epitaph fragment, No.503, presently adorns a wall of the ferme Saint-Martin. In the absence of any known archaeological remains on the hill occupied by the farm, it possibly has been transported from nearby Vaison-la-Romaine.

TOULAUD, Canton de Saint-Péray, Ardèche (*Ciuitas Valentinorum: Valence*).

Gallo-Roman remains have been reported, including a sarcophagus. The single epitaph, No.504 (Plate 165), now lost, was first recorded built into a wall of the former monastery but is probably from the cemetery at Crussol, given its proximity, the formulae employed and the date, 694 (*RICG.XV: 17*).

TOURNON, Ardèche (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne*).

Gallo-Roman finds have been reported, but the provenance of the single epitaph recorded, No.505, is unknown (*RICG.XV: 30*).

TREPT, Canton de Cremieu, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne*).

The remains of a Gallo-Roman villa and a third century hoard are recorded at the locality of Cozances, and an artisanal and domestic quarter at Pressieu. The single epitaph, No.506 (Plate 166), was recovered from the local church during its nineteenth century demolition. Nearby, at Montbran-Pressieu and Lavoir du Truffet, burials have also been noted (Colardelle 1983: 219).

URBAN, Canton de Beaumes-de-Venise, Vaucluse (*Ciuitas Vasiensium: Vaison*).

The single epitaph recorded, No.507 (Plate 167), was discovered in 1864 on the hill close by Beaumes-de-Venise named Montagne d'Urban (*NR: 157*). Although lost, a mould of the original is in the Musée Dauphinois at Grenoble. It possibly originates from Vaison-la-Romaine since the formulae are similar to several from that town.

VAISON-LA-ROMAINE, Vaucluse (*Ciuitas Vasiensium: Vaison*).

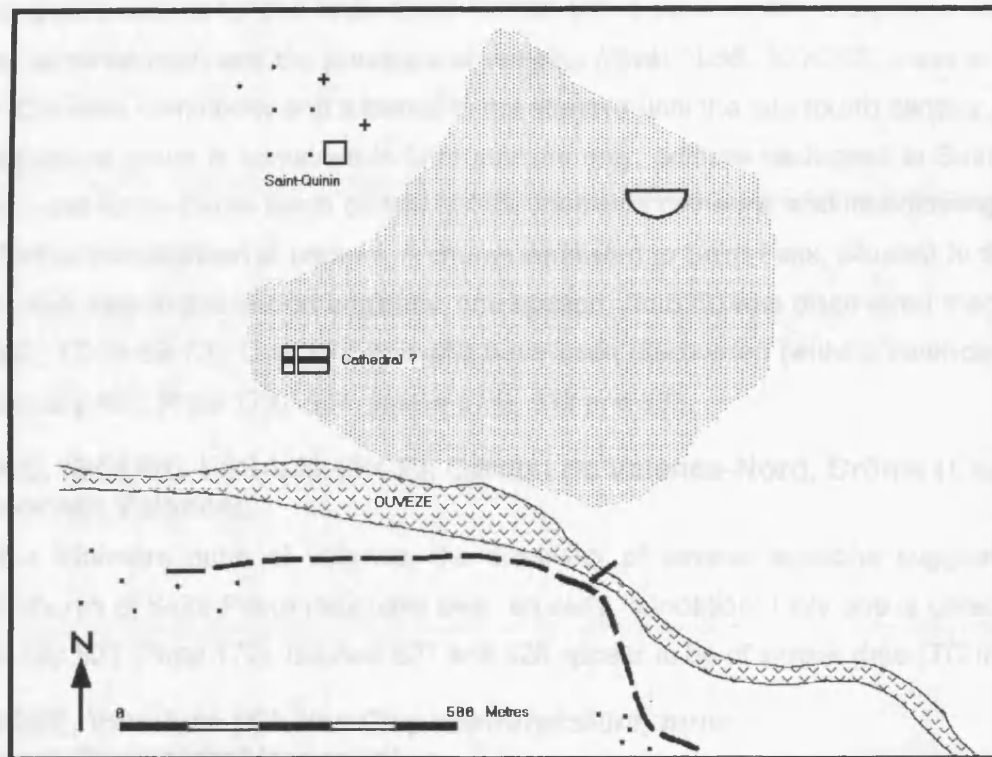


Figure 41: VAISON-LA-ROMAINE (after Février 1986: 91).

Whilst much of the Gallo-Roman plan is known, nothing is recorded of any early medieval remains (Février 1964: 25). The town maintained its status as *ciuitas* capital and some of its economic base between the fifth and eighth centuries but much of its importance was lost to nearby Die by the fourth century (Rivet 1988: 286-289). So little is known of the nature of the late antique town that the only document attesting continuity of municipal functions is the epitaph of Pantagatus, No.520, dated 515, which describes his judicial duties (Plate 170). Additionally, his epitaphs records the existence of an oratory containing relics of Saint-Vincent, but the site is unknown. Nothing is known of the early cathedral, but it was probably on the same site as that of the medieval edifice (Février 1964: 50; Figure 41). The church of Saint-Quinin preserves merely a fragment of a chancel screen in the facade (TC.III: 89-93). A cemetery is attested in the area and bishop Quinidius, attested in 573 (FEAG.I: 255), may have been buried there. It is here that the majority of the inscriptions from Vaison has been found, albeit none *in situ*. Eighteen epitaphs, Nos.508-525, have been recorded, of which only six are extant, including that of Pantagatus (see Plate 168 for No.508, Plate 169 for No.514, Plate 170 for No.520 and Plate 171 for No.521). The date range is unusual, but like Arles, several examples date from the early fourth century but the series ends abruptly in the early sixth.

VALENCE, Drôme (*Ciuitas Valentinarum: Valence*).

Archaeological evidence for this major Gallo-Roman site is confined to inscriptions attesting the municipal administration and the presence of temples (Rivet 1988: 300-303). Less is known of the early Christian community and a bishop is not attested until the late fourth century. Evidence for the episcopal group is contained in later sources only; edifices dedicated to Saint-Etienne, Saint-Jean and Notre-Dame seem certain but the medieval cathedral and its adjoining annexes prevent further investigation at present. A church dedicated to Saint-Felix, situated to the east of the town, may date to this period originally; one epitaph, No.529, was discovered there in 1901 (ILGN: 262; TC.III: 69-72). Only four epitaphs have been discovered (within) Valence, Nos.530 (dated January 491; Plate 173), 531, (dated 511), 532 and 533.

VALENCE, (BOURG-LÈS-VALENCE), Canton de Valence-Nord, Drôme (*Ciuitas Valentinarum: Valence*).

Just half a kilometre north of Valence, the discovery of several epitaphs suggest that the medieval church of Saint-Pierre may have been an early foundation. Only one is dated, No.526, dated 25 July 523 (Plate 172), but Nos.527 and 528 appear to be of similar date (TC.III: 72).

VENASQUE, Vaucluse (*Ciuitas Carpentoratensium, nunc Vindausca: Carpentras/Venasque*).

The progressive abandonment of Carpentras in favour of Venasque by successive bishops during the fifth century perhaps explains why there are almost no documentary references to the ecclesiastical buildings in Carpentras, although dedications to Mary, Peter and Siffredus are attested. A chapel dedicated to Saint-Etienne and a baptistry are attested but no remains have been uncovered, and the foundation date of the two latter dedications may be late. The discovery of several altars to Mars thrown into a well reveals something of the Christian impact here (Rivet 1988: 283-284; TC.III: 106). At Venasque the church of Notre-Dame and its baptistry were started under bishop Siffredus in the early sixth century; both edifices are now largely medieval constructions (Février 1964: 59; Figure 42). In the vicinity there are a number of small churches and chapels. The chapel of Saint-Maurice (originally dedicated to Maurice, his associates and Saint-Ambrose) served a funerary purpose; the epitaph of Petrus and Cypriana, No.535, was discovered within (Marrou 1970: 143-150; Plate 174). The sarcophagus cover bearing the epitaph of bishop Boethius, No.534, dated 23 April 604, was recovered from Notre-Dame-de-Vie. The priory of Saint-Pierre is probably Carolingian but the chapel of Saint-Siffrein was constructed by Siffredus and intended as his burial place; several tombs have been found within, but no further epitaphs (TC.III: 106-108).

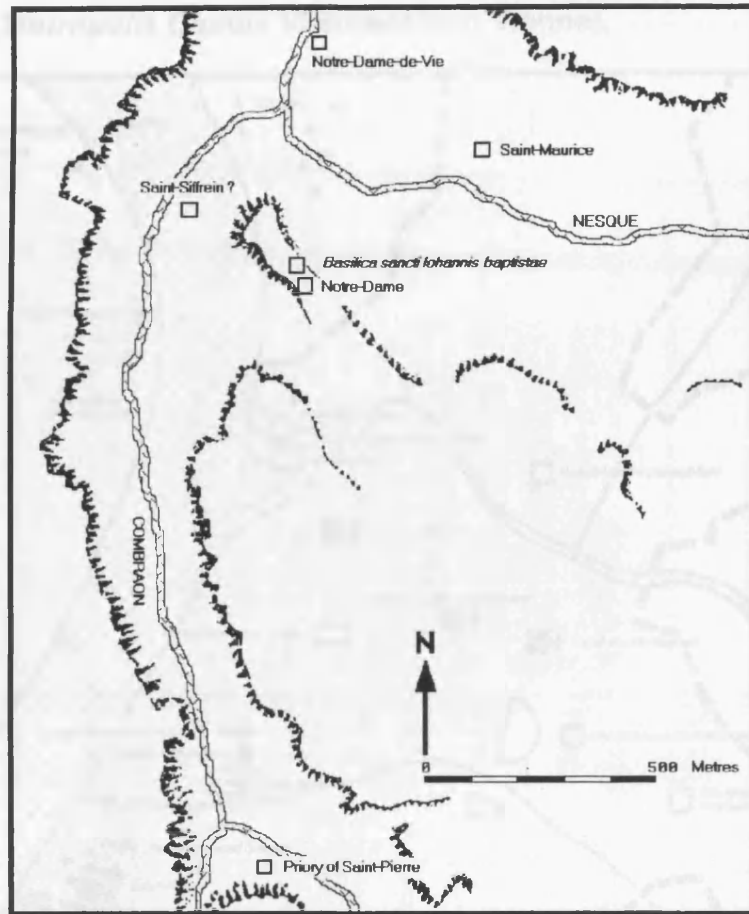


Figure 42: VENASQUE (after Biarne 1986: 104).

VERENAY, Commune d'Ampuis, Canton de Condrieu, Rhône (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne*).

Nothing is known of the provenance of the single epitaph recorded, No.536. No other archaeological information is available.

VÉZERONCE, Commune de Vézeronce-Curtin, Canton de Morestel, Isère. (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne*).

Several tombs are known from the immediate vicinity of the church, today dedicated to Saint-Laurent, but until the tenth century to Saint-Martin. The epitaph of Aisberga, No.537, is dated 491; the provenance is unknown (Plate 175). The celebrated helmet of early medieval date, discovered in 1871 in the marsh known locally as Saint-Didier, evidently came from a princely burial (Colardelle 1983: 224-229).

VIENNE, Isère (*Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium*: Vienne).

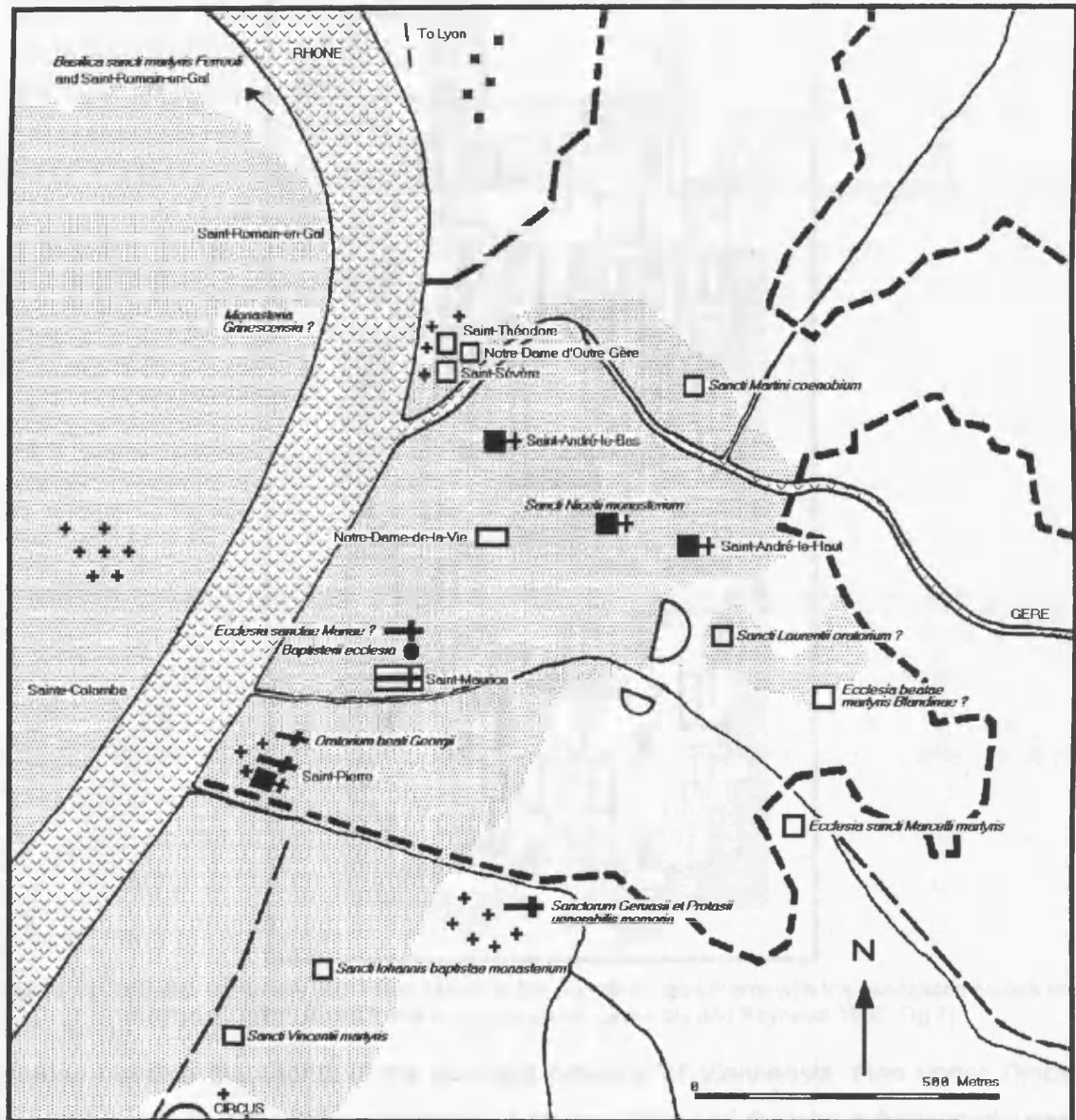


Figure 43: VIENNE (after Descombes, Février and Gauthier 1985: 19).

The Gallo-Roman town succeeded an *oppidum* on the hills of Pipet and Saint-Blandine, became a colony under Augustus and eventually covered the vast area of some 200 hectares in an extremely irregular fashion following several hill-tops on the right bank of the Rhône. This resulted in a wall over seven kilometres in length. However, the size of the enceinte was not matched by density of population. The town centred upon the banks of the Rhône, featuring the Gallo-Roman theatres, the circus, the temple complex of Cybele and several other temples, including that of Augustus in the forum (Rivet 1988: 305-310; Figure 43).

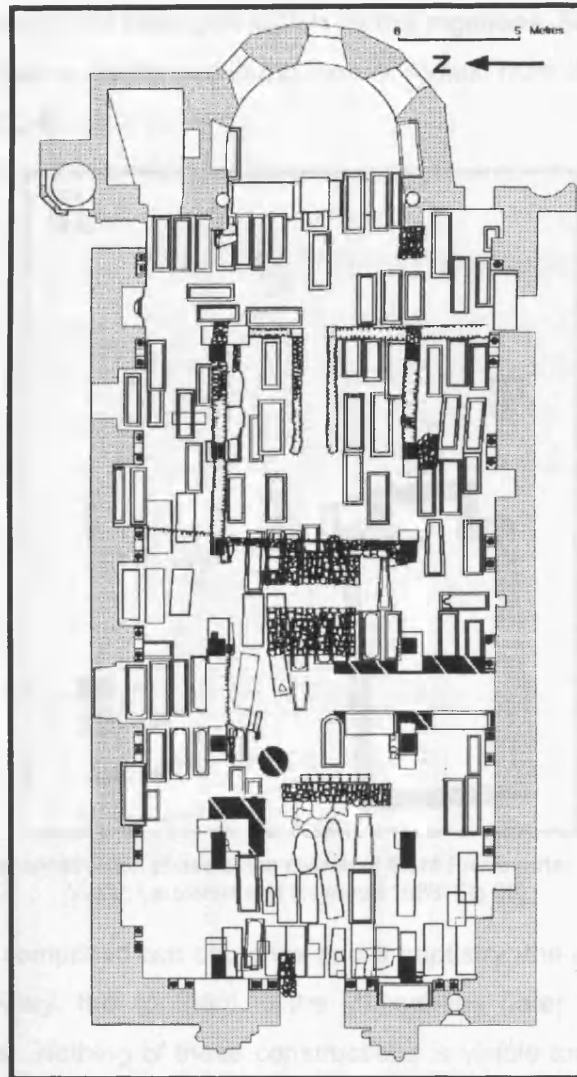


Figure 44: VIENNE: composite plan of the interior of the church of Saint-Pierre with the associated burials and sarcophagi (after Jannet-Vallat in Jannet-Vallat, Lauxerois and Reynaud 1986: Fig 7).

Vienne became the capital of the enlarged province of *Viennensis*, then under Diocletian incorporating many of the former *ciuitates* of *Narbonensis* and thereby subsequently became the Metropolitan of the province in the fourth century. The city played a part in imperial affairs throughout the fourth century, when several emperors made a sojourn there during campaigns mounted in defence of the Rhine frontier (*TC.III*: 23). The post-Roman history of Vienne is relatively well known. It came under Burgundian control in the second half of the fifth century; the Burgundian civil war at the turn of the sixth century caused some damage and in 534 Vienne came under Frankish control, although the power and prestige of its bishops appears to have been in no way diminished, as their epitaphs attest.

Christianity is first attested at Vienne at the same time as at Lyon, in 177, but the first bishop known is Verus, who attended the council of Arles in 314; the establishment of an episcopate was probably during the third century. Reliable documentary data for the episcopate emerges only in the fifth century with the aforementioned Mamertus, attested in the 460s, who, following

a fire, instituted the ecclesiastical institution known as the rogations. Several bishops of the sixth century are attested by their epitaphs and in the case of Avitus, from their diplomatic and literary endeavours/texts (TC.III: 24).

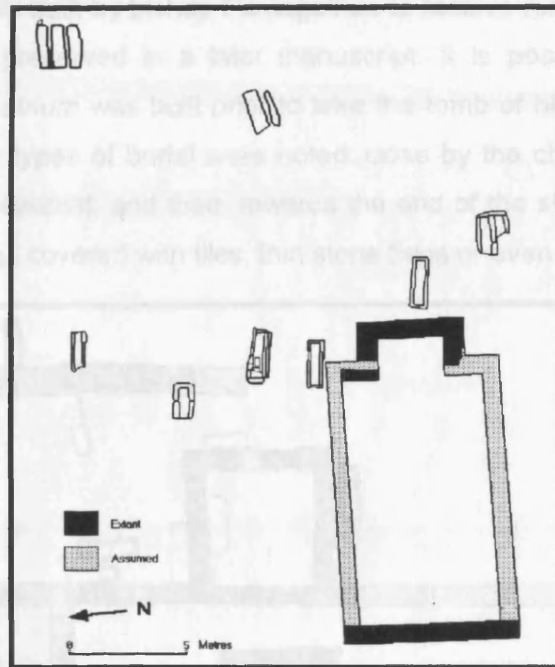


Figure 45: VIENNE: the first construction phase of the church of Saint-Pierre (after David and Joubert in Jannet-Vallat, Lauxerois and Reynaud 1986: Fig 38).

The episcopal group comprised two churches and a baptistry; the northern church dedicated probably to the Virgin Mary, the southern to the Maccabees (later to Saint-Maurice and the Martyrs of Saint-Agaune). Nothing of these constructions is visible today. The original baptistry was reconstructed by Avitus in the early sixth century; his description suggests a single storey building with a central tower, and a circular font, unlike others in South Eastern Gaul. It probably occupied the site of the present chapel dedicated to Saint-Jean. Restorations to a nearby *xenodochium* are recorded in the ninth century (Jannet-Vallat *et al.* 1986: 22; TC.III: 24-26).

Other ecclesiastical buildings are numerous: a monastery for women, Saint-André-le-Haut, founded by bishop Leonianus in first half of the fifth century, evidently funded by duke Ansemundus and his wife on behalf of their daughter, Renila or Erenuta; the church of Saints Gervais and Protais was the one of the earliest suburban funerary churches at Vienne as attested by the epitaph of Foedula, No.540 (Plate 177), who was baptised by Saint-Martin himself. More important is the church of Saint-Pierre. Excavations in the last century and more recently have shed light upon the successive building phases and the distribution of the tombs (Figure 44). The earliest church consisted of a small rectangular building with a rectangular apse. The proximity of several tombs suggest that it was a funerary church; it has been dated to between 350 and 400 (Figure 45). A second phase saw the construction of a large rectangular *basilica* with a semi-circular apse similar to that extant today. A colonnaded *atrium* was added to

the eastern end with a further small, square *mausoleum* built onto the exterior wall. Such *mausolea* are not uncommon, often found isolated in the centre of a cemetery, as at Lyon and Genève (Figure 46). The small church of Saint-Georges, annexing the north eastern corner of Saint-Pierre, was probably built by bishop Pantagathus to receive his tomb; he died in 549 and his epitaph, No.652, is preserved in a later manuscript. It is possible that the *mausoleum* adjoining the wall of the *atrium* was built prior to take the tomb of his predecessor, Domninus, No.607 (Figure 47). Two types of burial were noted: close by the chapel in monolithic blocks, some fashioned with a headrest, and then, towards the end of the sixth century, graves began to be lined with stone flags covered with tiles, thin stone flags or even wooden planking.

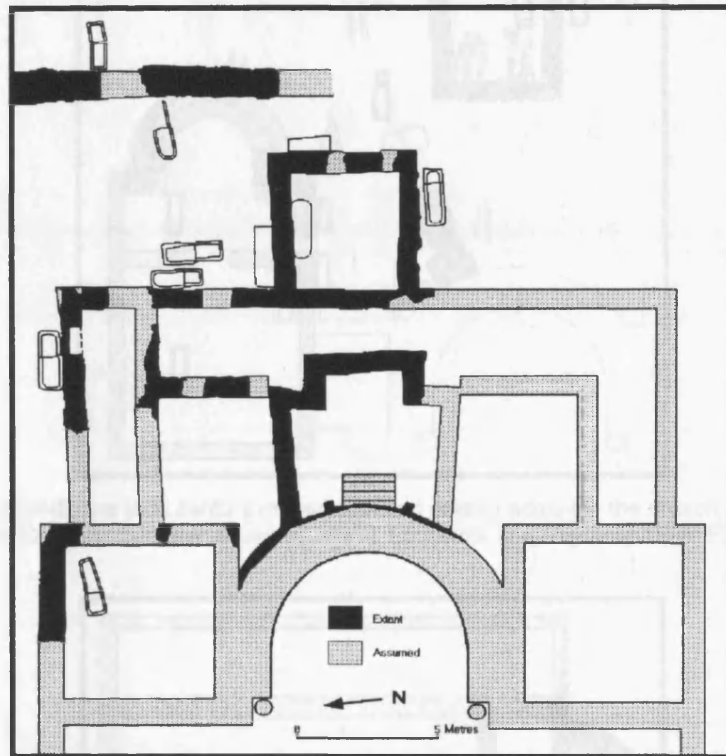


Figure 46: VIENNE: the second construction phase of the church of Saint-Pierre: a schematic plan of the church at the end of the fifth century (after David and Joubert in Jannet-Vallat, Lauxerois and Reynaud 1986: Fig 40).

On the right bank of the Rhône at Saint-Romain-en-Gal, the church of Saint Ferréol also contained relics of Saint Julian. Excavations in 1977 allowed a tentative reconstruction of the plan to be made (Figure 48). A few monolithic sarcophagi and coffins constructed with large flags were found within. Gregory of Tours notes an inscription, No.665, within the church recording the position of the relics (VJ: 2). Little is known archaeologically of the other ecclesiastical constructions. The *monasteria Grinescensia* are mentioned first by Sidonius, who proposed that the Lérins rule be followed (Sidonius, *Ep. VII*: 17). In 515 three abbots left for the new foundation of Saint-Maurice d'Againe, proving that there were several monasteries, one at least of which was for women. All have disappeared except that at Sainte-Colombe which

became the medieval priory of Saint-Pierre. The largest of them also conserved relics of Saint-Ferréol (*TC.III*: 30).

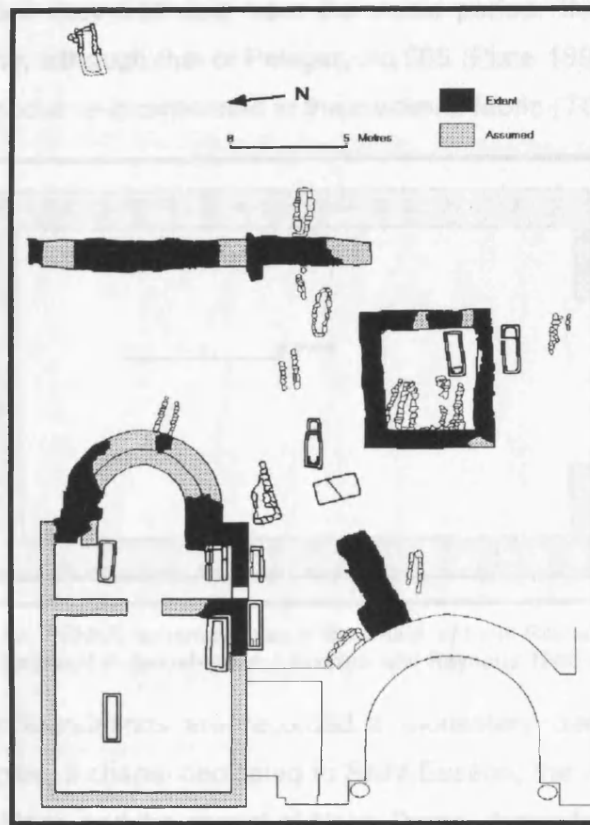


Figure 47: VIENNE: the sixth century mausoleum and oratory adjoining the church of Saint-Pierre (after David and Joubert in Jannet-Vallat, Lauxerois and Reynaud 1986: Fig 42).

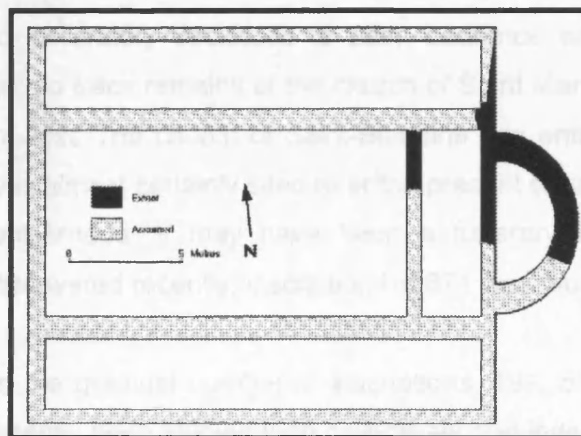


Figure 48: VIENNE: schematic plan of the church of Saint-Ferréol (after Reynaud in Jannet-Vallat, Lauxerois and Reynaud 1986: Fig.48).

The monasteries of Saint-André-le-Bas and Saint Nicetius were probably fifth century foundations as may the church of Saint-Symphorien d'Arpod. Gregory of Tours attests the existence of an Arian church in the time of Clovis, but the location is unknown (*HF.II*: 33-34). To the north of the city, beyond the river Gère, was the church of Saint-Sévère, originally dedicated to Saint Stephen proto-martyr. Its position suggests a funerary church and several inscriptions

discovered here may date to the early fifth century. The contiguous chapel of Saint-Théodore served a funerary function because his tomb was within (TC.III: 32). The nearby church of Notre-Dame d'Outre-Gère may well date from the same period; three epitaphs were found reused in the floor paving, although that of Peleger, No.565 (Plate 189), may have been *in situ*. Stonework from this period is re-incorporated in the medieval fabric (TC.III: 34).

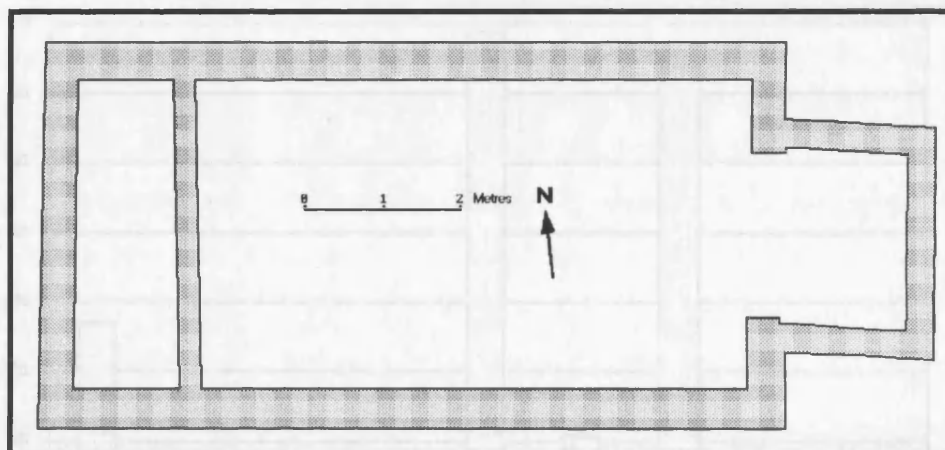


Figure 49: VIENNE: schematic plan of the church of Saint-Romain-en-Gal (after Reynaud in Jannet-Vallat, Lauxerois and Reynaud 1986: Fig 52).

Several other lesser foundations are recorded: a monastery dedicated to Saint-Vincent, another to John the Baptist, a chapel dedicated to Saint-Eusèbe; the reuse of a Roman temple dedicated to the Virgin Mary; and the chapel of Notre-Dame, dependent upon Saint-Pierre and where the remains of bishop Nicetius (died 599) were transferred in the tenth century. A church dedicated to Saint-Romain, which has survived almost intact, has been dated to the seventh century (Figure 49) and an oratory dedicated to Saint Laurence was probably sited on the colline de Pipet. Likewise, no trace remains of the church of Saint Marcellus, which probably lay at the foot of Mont Saint-Just. The church of Saint-Blandine has entirely disappeared and the church of Saint-Martin was almost certainly sited near the present church of that name; between Mont-Salomon and Mont-Arnaud. It may have been a funerary *basilica* because several sarcophagi have been discovered recently; inscription No.671 was found in the environs in 1863 (TC.III: 33-35).

Vienne has produced the greatest number of inscriptions, 193, of which 141 are extant or partially so; they have recently been studied both collectively and individually (Descombes 1985 = RICG.XV). The cemeteries at Vienne are clearly demarcated though their limits are not known precisely. In the south west of the city, within the walls, Saint-Pierre has produced 69 inscriptions, plus a further 11 from the oratory of Saint-Georges, which is within the cemetery, *sensu strictu*. More than half were discovered within the church during restoration work between 1860 and 1864. The cemetery at Saint-Gervais, to the south east and outside the walls, produced a further 27 inscriptions when over a hundred tombs were discovered in 1853. On the

northern side of the Gère the cemetery centred around Saint-Sévère and including the chapel of Saint-Théodore and the church of Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère, has produced ten inscriptions. On the right bank of the Rhône, at Saint-Romain-en-Gal, five have been recorded and a further seven at Sainte-Colombe (Figure 50).

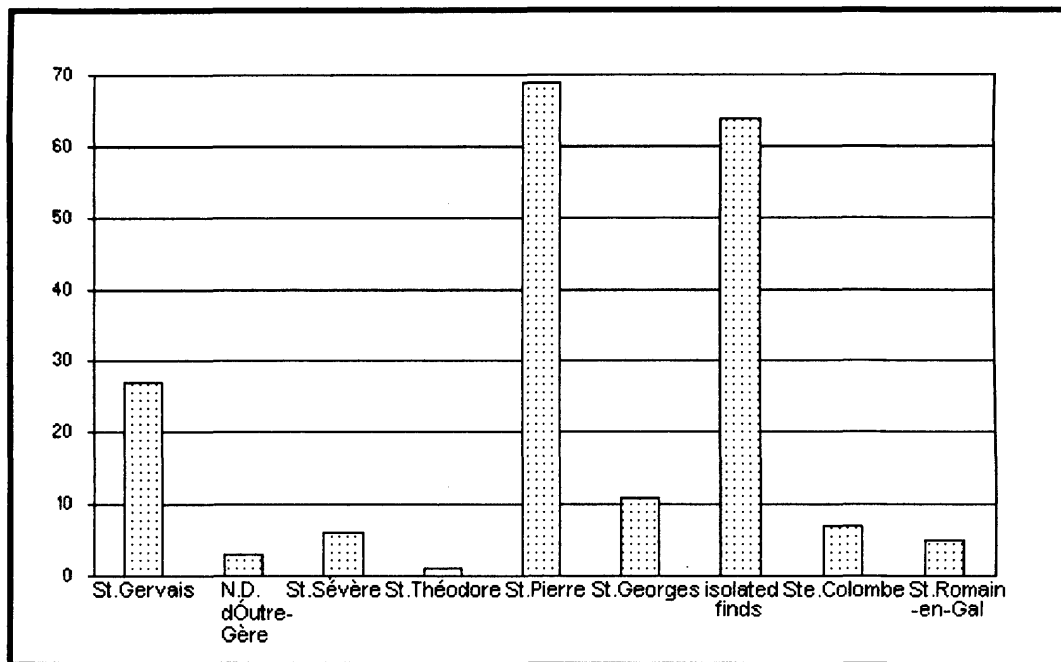


Figure 50: Distribution of inscriptions at Vienne.

VIF, Isère (*Ciuitas Gratianopolitana*: Grenoble).

The first church of Saint-Jean-Baptiste was built within the Gallo-Roman settlement. Excavations undertaken in 1965 during restoration of the medieval church demonstrated that the earlier church lay on a slightly different axis; the tombs uncovered date to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Two inscriptions, Nos.731 (Plate 228) and 732 (Plate 229), were found reused as masonry for the medieval church (Colardelle 1983: 229-230).

VILLENEUVE-LÈS-AVIGNON, Gard (*Ciuitas Auennicorum*: Avignon).

The epitaph of Casaria, No.733, was first recorded at the monastery of Saint-André in the nineteenth century. It must, however, have been known before that time on account of the cult that grew up around her and this inscription during the Middle Ages. The extant text is ambiguous but may record her husband, Valens, bishop of Avignon towards the end of the sixth century (FEAG.I: 259-260).

VIVIERS, Ardèche (*Ciuitas Albensium*: Alba/Viviers).

Viviers succeeded Alba as *ciuitas* capital in the fifth century (Rivet 1988: 186; Esquieu 1983: 76-77). The town passed under Visigothic control in the late fifth century as epitaph No.734 (Plate 230), dated 29 April 496, attests. The original dedication of the cathedral was to Saint-Vincent. The medieval cathedral largely obscures all traces of this edifice. However, north

of the cathedral, two rectangular rooms under the ruins of the canonical cloister may have been the original baptistry, although the chapelle Saint-Jean today is south of the cathedral. Several suburban churches are documented: a funerary church dedicated to and built by bishop Aulus, wherein he was buried, another dedicated to the martyr Saint-Julien, which had a baptistry, and a church dedicated to Saint Romanus. Two further churches, one dedicated to Saint-Saturnin and Notre-Dame, the other to Saint-Martin are possibly later foundations (*TC.III*: 59-61; Esquieu *ibid.*). Inscription No.734 (see above; Plate 230) was found to the west of the cathedral where excavations have revealed several tombs and at least one further epitaph, No.739, dated September 638. The epitaph of Severus, No.736 (Plate 232), probably came from here. The most developed epitaph, No.735 (Plate 231), was discovered here in the eighteenth century;; dedicated to the presbyter Pascasius, it probably dates to the second half of the seventh century, as did Nos.737 and 738, both metrical fragments and perhaps the epitaphs of bishops.

VIX, Canton de Châtillon-sur-Seine, Côte d'Or (*Ciuitas Lingonum*: Langres).

The single inscription recorded, No.740, was found on the Montagne de Vix above Pothières; it may have the same provenance as No.461 (*NR*: 1).

YENNE, Savoie (*Ciuitas Genauensium*: Genève).

Several Gallo-Roman structures may be linked to the *mansio* of *Etanna* (Wuilleumier 1943: 139-151). The epitaph of Gundefrida, No.741 (Plate 233), was discovered in the church in 1954 during restoration (*Gallia, informations*, 1966: 526; Colardelle 1983: 301) and is dated to 15 November 521.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DATING METHODS EMPLOYED ON THE EPITAPHS

INTRODUCTION

In the Introduction we saw that between the fourth and the eighth centuries AD a total of 741 inscriptions are available for study from South Eastern Gaul and that such a *corpus* might be expected to complement and enhance both documentary evidence and archaeological research. However, many inscriptions are fragments or do not bear a date (or both); in order to undertake a comparative survey of this *corpus* it is essential that a chronological framework (albeit within limits) be constructed. The inclusion of the date is perhaps the most valuable aspect of the epitaphs from South Eastern Gaul: where the date is recorded and is still legible there is the potential for calculation of a date range for the remaining inscriptions (see Chapter Four) by means of a comparative study of the formulae (see Chapter Three) in conjunction with other elements such as orthography and palaeography. The inscriptions can be classified into five categories in terms of the method of date formulae employed:

- 1) No indication of date whatsoever
- 2) The day and/or month of death or burial
- 3) A Consular or Post-Consular year
- 4) The year of the indictional cycle
- 5) The regnal year

Categories 2,3,4 and 5 are not mutually exclusive and often more than one category appears on the same inscription. Furthermore, there are many fragments where the type of date formula employed is now rendered illegible. However, the presence of one category does not necessarily indicate the presence of another in the case of a now fragmentary inscription. Nevertheless, as will be shown, a chronological frequency pattern does emerge from a detailed analysis of the data pertaining to those inscriptions which record a consular/post-consular year or regnal year. The total of 741 inscriptions includes 406 inscriptions which record a date as classified by categories 2 to 5. Table 4 lists the relative frequencies of inscription types to date formulae where a consular or post-consular (p.c.) year is employed. It is apparent immediately that the majority of inscriptions using this system are Christian epitaphs, partly because they are by far the most numerous group and the practice of dating by consular year only becomes vogue from the mid-fifth century, by which time Christianity was firmly established. The lack of an extant date does not always allow the assumption that one did not exist. At Vienne the epitaphs of the sixth-century bishops are known only from medieval manuscripts and the dates are not recorded.

However, the fragmentary last three lines of No.601 (Plate 201) record the date of the epitaph of a noblewoman, Silvia, who was buried amongst those bishops. Her epitaph is otherwise known from a medieval manuscript where the date is omitted (RICG.XV: 101). This is

important because without this clue the episcopal epitaphs from Lyon, also known only from medieval documents and which retain the date, would have appeared to differ in content from those from Vienne.

INSCRIPTION TYPE	TOTAL	1	2	3	4	5
Christian Epitaph	564	76	111	4	6	9
Christian Epitaph Fragment	67	-	1	1	-	2
Pagan Epitaph	6	-	-	-	-	-
Pagan Epitaph Fragment	1	-	-	-	-	-
Metrical Epitaph	49	5	12	-	-	-
Metrical Epitaph Fragment	42	1	4	-	-	2
Dedication Inscription	7	-	-	-	-	-
Dedication Inscription Fragment	3	-	-	1	-	-
Inscription forming part of the decoration of a sarcophagus	2	-	-	-	-	-
HORIZONTAL KEY: 1. Consular date 2. Post-consular date 3. Possible consular date 4. Possible post-consular date 5. Too fragmentary to define whether a consular or post consular date was present						

Table 4: Totals for each category of inscription and date system

This large number of dated inscriptions provide a chronological framework within which other aspects may be studied, although in this respect two points need to be emphasised. First, many of the names of the deceased are Germanic in origin, demonstrating the settlement and cultural assimilation of immigrant groups by Roman traditions on the one hand, and the possible use of such name-forms by the indigenous population on the other. The majority of these Germanic names occur in those areas known to have been settled primarily by the Burgundians. It is in those areas where one finds a series of inscriptions which not only record the names of the Western consul, but also that of the Eastern. Second, this is a phenomenon restricted to South Eastern Gaul, indicating that here is a cultural phenomenon which also has a political dimension. The chronological sequence of the inscriptions thus leads directly into the political domain. However, before discussing what the inscriptions say (see Chapter Five), it is first necessary to comment on the institution of the consulate in Late Antiquity and discuss the rôle played by the several dating systems employed. A full list of all the Metropolitans and *ciuitates*, together with the number of inscriptions classified under each category of date system may be seen in Table 5.

THE CONSULATE IN LATE ANTIQUITY

The consular system has been much studied with some complete lists appearing during the past century (Degrassi 1942). Its administrative nature and prevalence of its use during the Late Empire has been extensively re-examined in Bagnall et al. 1987 (= CLRE). A work which does some of the essential work is central for any research on the consulate. It is this work which is here summarised in part in order to make clear the relationship between the history of the consulate and its bearing on the inscriptions. Between 284 and 395 AD almost half the consules were held by emperors and their families, 223 consules with 127 held by subjects. Between 395 and

CODE	METROPOLITAN / C/ITAS	TOTAL	CONSULAR DATES					FASTI TYPES					INDICTION			REGNAL			
			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	1	2	3	+1
L01	Metropolis Ciuitas Lugdunensium: Lyon	192	34	32	1		4	7	28	25	11	31	4	1		7			21
L02	Ciuitas Aeduorum (Augustodunum): Autun	5	1					1											
L03	Ciuitas Lingonum: Langres	4	1						1										
L04	Castrum Cabillonense: Chalon-sur-Saône	6	1	1	1			1		2									
L05	Castrum Matisconense: Mâcon	1										1							
V01	Metropolis Ciuitas Viennensium: Vienne	243	21	62	2	6	5	4	32	46	14	34	2	3		4			28
V02	Ciuitas Genauensium: Genève	15	4	2				1	5			1						1	1
V03	Ciuitas Gratianopolitana: Grenoble	21	1	6			1	3	1	2	2	4	1						2
V04	Ciuitas Albensium: Alba/Viviers	17		1			1		1		1	3		1		1	1		1
V05	Ciuitas Deensium: Die	5	1	1					2			3							2
V06	Ciuitas Valentinarum: Valence	28	3	4				1	5	1		4				4			4
V08	Ciuitas Tarantensium: Aime-en-Tarantaise	1		1						1		1							1
A01	Ciuitas Arelatensium: Arles	88	6	9			1	3	9	3	1	23	7						10
A02	Ciuitas Aquensium: Aix-en-Provence	9	3						2	1		1							
A03	Ciuitas Aptensium: Apt	1																	
A04	Ciuitas Reiensium: Riez	3																	
A05	Ciuitas Foroiuliensis: Fréjus	4																	
A06	Ciuitas Vappincensium: Gap	3		1			1			1	1	1							1
A07	Ciuitas Segesteriorum: Sisteron	15			1						1	2	1						
A08	Ciuitas Antipolitana: Antibes	9	1	1						1	1	2	1						
A11	Ciuitas Telonensium: Toulon	5										1							
A14	Ciuitas Cemelensium: Cimiez/Nice	7	1							1									
A16	Ciuitas Tricastinorum: Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux	2		1						1		1							1
A17	Ciuitas Vasiensium: Vaison	21	3	5				1	5			2	2						1
A18	Ciuitas Arausicorum: Orange	5		2								2	1	1					
A19	Ciuitas Carpentoratensium, nunc Vindausca: Carpentras/Venasque	2										1							
A20	Ciuitas Cabellicorum: Cavaillon	1																	
A21	Ciuitas Auennicorum: Avignon	3		1						1		1				1			1
A22	Ciuitas Massiliensium: Marseille	25	1		1			1			1	4		1					
TOTALS		741	82	130	6	6	13	23	91	86	37	122	17	6		17	1	1	74
LVGDVNENSIS		208	37	33	2		4	9	29	27	11	32	4	1		7			21
LYON		163	27	28	1		3	6	19	24	10	25	3	1		5			18
LVGDVNENSIS (excluding Lyon)		45	10	5	1		1	3	10	3	1	7	1			2			3
VIENNENSIS		330	30	77	2	6	7	9	46	50	17	50	3	4		9	1	1	39
VIENNE		193	14	44	2	5	4	2	25	31	11	18	1	3		2			16
VIENNENSIS (excluding Vienne)		137	16	33		1	3	7	21	19	6	32	2	1		7	1	1	23
ARELATENSIS		203	15	20	2		2	5	16	9	9	40	10	1		1			14
ARLES		86	5	9			1	3	8	3	1	22	7						10
ARELATENSIS (excluding Arles)		117	10	11	2		1	2	8	6	8	18	3	1		1			4

HORIZONTAL KEY:
CONSULAR DATES: 1. consular date 2. post-consular date 3. possible consular date 4. possible post-consular date 5. illegible fragment bearing a consular or post-consular date
FASTI TYPES: 1. both consuls 2. Western consul 3. Eastern consul 4. illegible fragment
INDICTION: 1. legible indictional year 2. illegible indictional year 3. possible indictional year
REGNAL: 1. regnal date 2. possible regnal date 3. name of a king inscribed upon the inscription
+1: more than one date system inscribed

Table 5: Totals for each category of date system for the Metropolitan dioceses of Lyon, Vienne, and Arles.

THE CONSULATE IN LATE ANTIQUITY

The consular *Fasti* have been much studied with more complete lists appearing during the past century (Degraasi 1952). In particular the nature and genealogy of the consulate during the Late Empire has been extensively re-evaluated in Bagnall *et al.* 1987 (= CLRE), a work which now forms the essential starting point for any research on the consulate. It is this work which is here summarised in part in order to make clear the relationship between the history of the consulate and its bearing on the inscriptions. Between 284 and 395 AD almost half the consulates were held by emperors and their families, 126 compared with 127 held by subjects. Between 396 and

450 the proportion changed to 40 imperial consulates against 70, a proportion which continued to change in favour of the aristocracy because between 451 and 541 there were only 24 imperial consulates against 110 held by subjects. This has been explained in part by the absence of Western emperors after 476, but the Eastern emperors became increasingly reluctant to hold repeated consulates after the middle of the fifth century: Zeno held only two in 17 years, Anastasius three in 28 and Justinian three in 38 (CLRE: 4-5).

Consular dynasties emerged from either senatorial or military families, often spanning many reigns. One of the most successful was the Roman family of the Symmachi, who produced consuls in 330, 391, 446, 485 and 522 (CLRE: 6). These dynasties are referred to here not only because they demonstrate continuing senatorial influence, but also because of the confusion which arose due to the presence of similar names (homonyms) in the consular *Fasti* - a problem which extends to the inscriptions.

In the sixth century the consulate is frequently the only office held by such nobles and was often a reward to generals for victories and to bureaucrats for loyal service. However, whilst it lacked political power at this date, it remained highly prestigious. During the Late Empire many new titles were devalued by profligate distribution but the status of the ordinary consulate - but not the suffect consulate - was never devalued because it was never extended beyond two per calendar year, which may explain its retention as a method of calculating the years.

Whilst the consulate was a cumbersome method of calculation, this was not the reason for its gradual demise. During the fifth century ever more frequent delays in disseminating the names of the new consuls led to errors and confusion; sometimes news did not reach some parts of the Empire until the consuls were already out of office. As will be seen, the inscriptions bear testimony to this, but the problem was not confined to South Eastern Gaul: an Eastern example is Basilius, cons.480, who was not announced in Egypt until April 481 at the earliest (CLRE: 7). The more convenient fifteen year indictional cycle began to be employed at a provincial level, although on its own it was useless for long term calculation. In 537 Justinian laid down that henceforth all legal documents were to be dated not only by consular and indictional dates but also by regnal years (Descombes 1985: 58; *Nouella* 48). The consulate survived only four years more, but it was not abolished because of its shortcomings as a chronological system nor because it had become too expensive; indeed there was no shortage of candidates in the West as there may have been in the East. Nor did it last longer in the East on account of aristocratic support there since *lacunae* were quite frequent in the consular *Fasti* (CLRE: 8). These same *lacunae* may help explain why some inscriptions are found without a consular date although they appear to be of similar date to others from the same region which carry a date. Other factors determined the termination of the consulate.

Between 480 and 534 there were 21 years in which no consul was promulgated in the East, against only ten in the West. In the early fifth century Roman aristocrats filled over a quarter of the Western consulates, while by the beginning of the sixth they were filling the majority. Therefore in the regions ruled by Odovacer and Theoderic the financial burden of the

consulship fell on the aristocracy of Rome to a greater degree than before. However, this was not beyond their means nor against their will, for families like the Decii and the Corvini appear more than able to provide consuls from generation to generation.

The lack of Western consuls in 491-2 and 496-7 was probably because Theoderic and Anastasius failed to agree terms. Political reasons probably explain also the lack of Western consuls in the 530s, because there are no indications that families such as the Decii were in financial trouble: Totila, following his capture of Rome in 546, reproached the Senate for their ingratitude to the Goths under whose rule they had amassed great wealth (CLRE: 8; *BG*, II. 21.2). Potentially though, the numbers of the Western aristocracy were reduced, limiting the pool of candidates, and no ruler coerced them to continue a tradition that proved so expensive.

The German kings of Italy took over most of the Roman administrative framework intact, yet did not need to maintain the consulate - it was the aristocrats themselves who continued it. In the three years before Odovacer deposed Romulus in 476, there were no Western consuls, and it might have lapsed for ever but for the political desires of the Roman senators. The consulate allowed them to maintain their prestige as patrons and providers of public entertainment, and to maintain popular appeal at Rome. However, the crisis over the Amal succession which erupted in 523 resulted in the execution of several prominent members of the Senate, notably Boethius in 524 and Symmachus in 525, both ex-consuls, and this surely affected senatorial confidence in the king with his court at Ravenna (Wolfram 1988: 331). Therefore the expense of the consulate was justified to them and thrived until it was first suspended by Justinian, and then made impossible by the destruction of senatorial wealth during the Gothic Wars (CLRE 8).

The Eastern aristocracy was less wealthy and the political climate was dangerous for anyone gaining popular favour in Constantinople; the emperors would not tolerate competition, particularly Justinian. Both Zeno and Justinian appointed few ordinary consuls; both suffered from rebellions in which former consuls were either involved or implicated. This, together with wars on all fronts and increasing austerity at Constantinople, left little money for Justinian to spend on games if he were to undertake the office of consul. Therefore he could neither afford to underwrite the expense for others nor take it himself. After 541 Justinian never again took the consulate and evidently decided that if he could not afford it no-one else should be allowed to (CLRE: 9-12).

INSCRIPTIONS AND CONSULATES

Therefore, after 541, only a p.c. and/or indictional years occur on the inscriptions if at all, presenting a confused picture until the middle of the seventh century, when dating by regnal years becomes increasingly common. One of the problems encountered with the consular dates is that the name of a consul may appear on an inscription during the year of his consulate as expected, but that often a p.c. date formula of the previous year continues to be used. The consuls needed to be designated several years in advance because even the wealthiest senators must have required time to gather the necessary expenditure expected of them.

Accordingly, the names of the consuls designate must have been known to the administration in time enough to anticipate their use on official documents. Therefore, even in the provinces it was confirmation and not the dissemination of the names of the consuls that was awaited.

The ordinary consuls probably held office for the whole year already by the mid-fourth century and the suffect consulate had lost more than its early parity. The total lack of inscriptions bearing the name of any suffect consul suggests that the office was of no interest to the secular or religious administration (cf. *ILCV.III*: 229-265). On the rare occasion when an ordinary consul was disgraced and removed from office, he seems to have been replaced by a new ordinary consul, not a suffect. In Ostrogothic Italy their duties were limited to the city of Rome and their names never appear in the other documentary sources for South Eastern Gaul. In effect, only the ordinary consuls were of any official importance outside Rome or Constantinople, and the duration of their office was for one year from the first of January (CLRE: 20-22).

SENIORITY BETWEEN CONSULS

Often both consuls are recorded on an epitaph, as one would expect, but their names are not necessarily inscribed in East-West or West-East order. Therefore, the official stature of each needs to be discussed in general terms because the appearance or absence of a particular consul's name is often the result of the political situation (see below). According to CLRE there were clear-cut rules for determining seniority between the two consuls (CLRE: 22):

1. Augusti and Caesars took precedence over all subjects.
2. Augusti took precedence over Caesars and senior over junior Augusti.
3. Between subjects, former consuls (suffect consulates excluded) took precedence.
4. Otherwise the senior Augusti would decide whose name would be entered in the *Fasti*.

These rules applied throughout the fourth century and into the fifth, until the concept of seniority between subject consuls virtually disappeared. In its place the name of the Western consul, if a subject, was written first in Western consular documents and the name of the Eastern consul first in Eastern documents (CLRE: 22); the practical consequence of the name of the local consul being known first. The first example occurs in 412 but is found regularly after 434. When the second consul's name was announced it was added after the first unless it was an emperor's name. In South Eastern Gaul, few inscriptions bear consular dates before 450, though at Lyon inscription No.251 (Plate 74), dated 5 September 438, records both consuls of that year and follows protocol by naming the Eastern emperor first. Ten years later, also from Lyon, inscription No.253 (Plate 75), dated 16 January 448, names the Eastern emperor second; dissemination had taken place early in the year yet protocol was not followed. There are too few inscriptions that carry the name of the Eastern consul or even the name of the Eastern emperor (who normally took the consulate in the first January after elevation) to make any other than general observations.

The omission of a consul's name may be due to the refusal of one court to recognise that consul; alternatively, the lack of the Eastern consul's name may reflect the trend towards mentioning only the Western consul. Omissions occur where the legitimate emperors refused to acknowledge the consuls of usurpers, for example between 451-453 and between 458-459. Under these circumstances consular lists and dates in official documents tended to be corrected in order to reflect the consuls of the winning side. Inscriptions and private documents, however, retained their original dates. Sometimes consuls repudiated at the beginning of the year were later recognised, for instance in 405, 456 and 461 (CLRE: 25). Such occasions often illuminate fifth- and sixth-century politics, in the absence of detailed narrative sources (see below). Nevertheless, non-recognition of the consul of a co-emperor was less drastic than the proclamation of a rival consul, which could be interpreted as a declaration of hostility, but non-recognition was a sign of temporary bad relations, probably a diplomatic bargaining-counter.

PROCLAMATION AND DISSEMINATION OF CONSULS' NAMES

From the late fifth century a third phenomenon is discernible, of the greatest relevance to this survey, namely non-dissemination, whereby a consul is not named in the documents issued in one court or disseminated in its provinces. Here there seems to be no reason to believe in formal repudiation, with non-dissemination a consequence less of political decision than of bureaucratic indecision. Often the Eastern consul was not recognised in the West and in the East it was as a courtesy to the Western aristocrats rather than to the German kings, Odovacer and Theoderic, that Eastern emperors recognised them as Roman consuls. In the West, although the names of Eastern consuls were generally entered in Western consular lists, these were never disseminated for general use (except sometimes in South Eastern Gaul). Of the chronicles and consular lists from Gaul, only two are of real importance to this study. The first is that by Prosper Tiro of Aquitaine which is an epitome of Jerome's Chronicle with the insertion of consular dates continued until 455, with several brief anonymous continuations extending to 466. For earlier centuries this list is prone to error, but it is more reliable for this period (Prosper). The Chronicle of Marius of Avenches runs from 455 to 581 (Marius); that he consulted an Eastern chronicle is certain because the Eastern consuls are included during the first two decades of the sixth century. Generally Marius gives his consuls in the Western sequence and usefully often includes information of Eastern origin. More valuable still for this study is the inclusion of the indictional years.

At first glance the dissemination of Eastern names on Gallic inscriptions is confusing since where an inscription records the name of an Eastern consul, the same consul is never recorded in Italy, whence one would expect the information to originate. In the West most official documents were dated by both consuls and the use of the consular year as a dating system was therefore dependent upon both a prompt proclamation and rapid dissemination of the names of the consuls for that year, particularly in the provinces. As will be seen, this was not always achieved efficiently in the West and the inclusion of both consuls' names in the

chronicles is because they were written long *after* the event, not contemporaneously. Until the early fifth century both consuls were proclaimed simultaneously, even in periods when rival consuls were proclaimed by usurpers and rival emperors (CLRE: 13). However, multiple proclamations pose no problems for this study because only two inscriptions with consular dates from the fourth century are included, at Lyon in 334 (No.248), and Autun in 378 (No.135).

It remained normal for one consul to be appointed by each emperor and presumably there was prior arrangement regarding joint proclamations. At the beginning of the fifth century the situation begins to change: it may be that it was decided unilateral proclamations were simpler; indeed, in 412 the formula *Theodosius V et qui (de Occidente) nuntiatus fuerit* is found at Constantinople and became standard immediately. Political turmoil at the time led to mistakes and delays of dissemination through lack of communication and simultaneous proclamation of Eastern and Western consuls from each court was never restored. This is reflected in the consular dates on the inscriptions from South Eastern Gaul and Italy. Indeed dissemination of the new consular names took longer and longer, not only between East and West but even within the two halves of the Empire throughout the fifth century. By 450 it was often quite late in the year before even the new Western name appeared in a region so close to Rome as South Eastern Gaul - a consequence of increasing bureaucratic delays (CLRE: 17).

Communication between Ravenna/Milan and Constantinople was often slow, but the journey could be undertaken within a month and therefore there is no reason why it should have taken longer in the fifth century than in the fourth, even if the political and military turmoils are taken into account. Perhaps the emperors no longer considered it an important matter; it was the senatorial aristocracy that kept the office open. Thus it is probable that the bureaucracy followed the lead of the emperor and the task was given low priority; in the provinces it was actually easier to use a p.c. because there were no new names to learn. In South Eastern Gaul the majority of dated inscriptions are p.c.s by the 520s and by the 530s it is evident that the indiction was becoming the important dating factor for local use.

Nevertheless, the consular pair remained the (theoretical) ideal, and most consular lists continued to include both names. The p.c. formulae likewise normally include both names, however late the second was added, except in 496 and 503. There are a number of years in the fifth and sixth centuries when the consuls appear once again to have been proclaimed as pairs from only one court, presumably in expectation that the favour would be reciprocated in the future. A possible reason may have been when an emperor was anxious to honour one or two subjects or was unable to find any worthy, willing or wealthy enough candidate. In the West these years are: 417, 437, 443, 446, 450, 488, 494, 522, 530, and in the East: 419, 425, 427, 429, 436, 454, 457, 464, 467, 476, 492, 500, 512 (CLRE: 18). The list thus extends from 417 to 530.

Rome provides more inscriptions bearing a consular date than anywhere else in the Empire. It could be maintained that they do not permit such precise inferences for dating purposes as the papyri (CLRE: 33), but epitaphs were probably placed upon graves soon after burial. There

is evidence from Arles in the form of an epitaph for a certain Leonidius, No.97, where space has been left for the inclusion of his age, the date and the year of the indiction (Plate 26). This suggests that the preparation of an epitaph was frequently undertaken during one's lifetime and the date added after death. Admittedly, this is only the indiction and not a consular date, but it does suggest that the epitaph would reflect the date as known at the time. If the inscription was cut several months after death, once the earth had settled, then there was scope to include the correct date, in much the same manner as happened with official documents. A glance at the index of consular dates recorded on inscriptions at Rome compiled by Diehl (*ILCV*.III: 229-264), reveals that in years with many inscriptions, and in which there is a sharp division between p.c.s and current consuls, approximate dates for the arrival of information can be suggested. However, almost all these years fall into the relatively non-problematic fourth century, when consulates were normally in use by the end of March, at least at Rome. In some instances consulates seem to have been known somewhat later outside Rome: at Rome epigraphical p.c. dates after April are rare, and in Italy generally they cluster in the first four months of the year. In Africa the majority fall in the middle of the year because there was no land route and sailing was not usually possible between October and April. Thus, in the fifth century proclamation was later than in the fourth and dissemination less thorough, particularly of the names of Eastern consuls. Indeed, there are few years between 395 and 476 when Eastern consuls are attested in Western inscriptions between January and March. Inscriptions with the Western consuls and *e.q.n.f.* (*et qui (de Occidente) nuntiatus fuerit*) are found, for example in 439 at Rome (*ILCV*: 200), though never in Gaul. The carving of an inscription is unlikely to have taken place more than a month following burial, and although one might argue that dates of interment have a value over and above those that record the date of death (*CLRE*: 33), there are only some 22 inscriptions which record the actual date of burial, as opposed to the date of death, in South Eastern Gaul (see Chapter Three). There is no reason to view the date of burial together with a consular date a more reliable indicator for the dissemination of consular names.

CONSULAR YEAR : WESTERN AND EASTERN CONSULS					
YEAR	DATE	REC	CODE	PROVENANCE	FORMULA
334	WEST: <i>Fl. Optatus</i> EAST: <i>Anicius Paulinus</i>				
334	1 February	248	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	<i>Optato et Paulino consulibus kal(endas) febr(u)ari(a)s.</i>
378	WEST: <i>D.N. Valens VI</i> EAST: <i>D.N. Valentinianus iunior II</i>				
378	25 October	135	L02	Autun	<i>VIII kal(endas) nou(embres), Valente VI et Valentiniano II cons(ulibus).</i>
422	WEST: <i>D.N. Honorius XIII</i> EAST: <i>D.N. Theodosius X</i>				
422	29 July	249	L01	Lyon, St. Just	<i>IIII kal(endas) aug(ustas), Honorio XIII et Theodosio X cons(ulibu)s.</i>
430	WEST: <i>D.N. Valentinianus III</i> EAST: <i>D.N. Theodosius XIII</i>				
431		250	L01	Lyon, St. Just	<i><p(o)st> consu(latum) Theodosi XIII.</i>
438	WEST: <i>Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus</i> EAST: <i>D.N. Theodosius XVI</i>				
438	5 September	251	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	<i>non(as) sep(tembres), d(omino) n(ostro) Theodosio XVI et Fausto u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).</i>
447	WEST: <i>Fl. Calpurnius</i> EAST: <i>Fl. Ardabur</i>				
447	19 April	252	L01	Lyon, St. Just	<i>XIII kal(endas) maias uigeia pasce, Callpio u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).</i>
448	WEST: <i>Rufius Praetextatus Postumianus</i> EAST: <i>Fl. Zeno</i>				
448	16 January	253	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	<i>septe(mo de)cemo kalend[as] febr[uar]ias Postemian[o] et Ze[n]one u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).</i>
449	WEST: <i>Fl. Astyrius</i> EAST: <i>Fl. Flor(?entius) Romanus Protopogenes</i>				
449	??	254	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	<i>d<i>e Mercuri, Astorio u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).</i>
449		171	L04	Chalon-sur-Saône	<i>[Proto]gen[e?]... ..] con[sule?].</i>
456	WEST: <i>D.N. Maecilius Fl. Eparchius Auitus Augustus</i> EAST: <i>Fl. Iohannes, Fl. Varanes</i>				
456	10 June	255	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	<i>IIII idus iunias, [do]mno nostro Auito.</i>
458	WEST: <i>D.N. Fl. Iulius Valerius Maiorianus Augustus</i> EAST: <i>D.N. Fl. Novus Leo Augustus</i>				
458	25 June	256	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	<i>VII k(a)l(endas) iulias, Dom(inus) nos(ter) Leone «u» u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).</i>
461	WEST: <i>Fl. Seuerinus</i> EAST: <i>Fl. Dagalaifus</i>				
461	April	461	L03	Poithières	<i>[.]to Xo kal(endas) maias, Seuerino u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).</i>
466	EAST: <i>D.N. Leo III (and Tatianus?)</i>				
466	7 March	257	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	<i>nonas martias dom(inus) n(oster) Leone III.</i>
467	21 February	482	V01	St. Romain-d'Albon	<i>VIII k(a)l(endas) martias p(ost) c(onsulatum) III Leonis.</i>
469	WEST: <i>Fl. Marcianus</i> EAST: <i>Fl. Zeno</i>				
469	18 January	222	L01	Grigny	<i>XV k(a)l(endas) febrarias Marciano u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).</i>
470	WEST: <i>Messius Phoebus Seuerus</i> EAST: <i>Fl. Iordanes</i>				
470	25 September	258	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	<i>VII kal(endas) octob(ris), d(omi)n(us) n(oster) Seuerio et Iordane u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulis).</i>
470	19 October	518	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	<i>XIV k(a)l(endas) nouembris die lunae luna XVII. Vixit ann(os) XLVI Seuerio et Iordane cons(ulibus).</i>
472	WEST: <i>Rufius Postumius Festus</i> EAST: <i>Fl. Marcianus</i>				
496	30 December	40	V06	Aouste	<i>XVI k(a)l(endas) decembris, Fisto et Marciano cons(ulibus).</i>
474	EAST: <i>D.N. Leo iunior Augustus</i>				
474	25 December	176	A14	Cimiez	<i>VIII k(a)l(endas) i<anu>(arias), d(omino) n(ostro) Leone iun(io)re u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).</i>
476	EAST: <i>D.N. Basiliscus Augustus II et Fl. Armatus</i>				
476	27 December	29	A08	Antibes	<i>VI k(a)l(endas) ianua(rias), Basilisco <et> Armato u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).</i>
479	EAST: <i>D.N. Zeno III</i>				
479	28 December	469	L04	St. Germain-du-Plain	<i>V k(alendas) ia[n]uarias d(omino) n(ostro) Zenone I?II cons(ule).</i>
481	WEST: <i>Rufius Achilius Maecius Placidus</i>				
481		658	V01	Vienne, Ste. Colombe	<i>[...] Placido consule ?[...]</i>
483	WEST: <i>Anicius Acilius Aginantiu Faustus</i>				
483		577	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	<i>[...] octobris, Fausto uiro c(larissimo) con(sule).</i>
484	WEST: <i>Decius Marius Venantius Basilus</i> EAST: <i>Fl. Theodericus</i>				
484	19 May	259	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	<i>IIII decemo k(alendas) iunia(s), Venantio u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).</i>
484	28 November	260	L01	Lyon, St. Just	<i>IIII k(alendas) di<c>em[bres], Vina[n]cio u(iro) c(larissimo).</i>
485	1 June	507	A17	Urban	<i>k(alendas) iunias, pos(t) consolatum ueri Venantii c(larissimi) c(onsulis).</i>

CONSULAR YEAR : WESTERN AND EASTERN CONSULS					
YEAR	DATE	REC	CODE	PROVENANCE	FORMULA
485	WEST: Q.Aurelius Memmius Symmachus				
485	18 May	578	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	XV k(a)l(en)d(as) iun(ias), Symmacho u(iro) c(larissimo) con(sule).
486	22 March	26	L01	Anse	XI k(alendas) a]priles, post con(sulatum) Symm(achi) [u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].
486	19 May	220	V02	Grésy-sur-Aix	XIII k(a)l(endas) iunias, post cons(ulatum) Symmaci.
487	25 July	67	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	VIII k(a)l(endas) agus(tas), indix(ione) VII, eterom p(o)s(t) (consulatum) Sumaci u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsu)l(is).
487	August	491	V04	St.Thomé	[... men]sis sexti iterum p(ost) c(onsulatum) Symmachi u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), indictione X.
491	January	530	V06	Valence	[... kal]endas februaryas, se[?]xie]s post cons(ulatum) Sym(a)c(hi) iuni(or)is [uiri clarissi]mi cons(ulis).
495		90	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	[...] febr[u]ar[ia]s decies p(ost) c(onsulatum) Sy[mma]chi iun(ior)is u(iri) c(larissimi), i[n]dic[ti]one tertia in pace.
559		604	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	septies hic denos et tres conpleuera«n»t annos post fasces posuit uel cingula Symmacus alma Iunior.
486	WEST: Caecina Mauortius Basilus Declus EAST: Fl.Longinus				
486	?? March	479	L01	St.Maurice-de-Rémens	XS decimo k(a)l(endas) apriles, Decio u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).
487	WEST: Mar.Manlius Boethius				
487	11 February	149	L01	Briord	III idus februaryas, Boetio uero clarissimo consule.
488	WEST: Cl.Iul.Ecclesius Dynamius et Rufius Acillius Sluidius				
488	19 June	150	L01	Briord	XIII ka(lendas) iulias, Dedamio uiro cla<ri>ssimo consule.
489	WEST: Petronius Probinus EAST: Fl.Eusebius				
489		410	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	VIII kalen[da]s Probino et Euseb[io] u(iri)bus c(larissimis) c(onsulibus)].
490	WEST: Anicius Probus Faustus Iunior. EAST: Fl.Longinus II				
491	17 July	151	L01	Briord	XVI kalendas august<a>s p(ost) <c>(onsulatum) Lon<g>ini <iterum et> Faust<i>.
491	12 August	670	V01	Vienne, isolated find	pridie idus augustas, resurgit in Xpo D(o)m(in)o nostro: post consulato Longini bis et Fausti.
491	EAST: Fl.Olybrius Iunior				
491	28 November	537	V01	Vézéronce	III k(alendas) dec(embres) ind(ictione) XV, Olibrio iuniore cuns(ule).
491	20 December	579	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	XIII[?] k(alendas) ianuar(ia)s, Olibrio u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).
492	EAST: D.N.Fl.Anastasius Augustus et Fl.Rufus				
492	22 November	261	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	X kal(endas) decembris, Anastasio et Rufo u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).
493	6 March	263	L01	Lyon, St.Just	II non(as) marcias, p(ost) c(onsulatum) Anastasi et Rufi u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).
493		262	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	[...] p(ost) c(onsulatum) Anastasi et Rufi u(iris)] c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).
494	WEST: Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius et Fl.Praesidius				
494	October	3	A02	Aix-en-Provence	[...] no(nas) / oct(o)b(res) [Turcio As]terio cons(ule).
495	March	671	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[...] k(a)l(endas) aprilis: [resurg]et in Xpo: pos[t] cons(ulatum)] Asteri [et Praesidii u(irorum) c(larissimorum)].
495		672	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[... ?ian/?febr]uari[as, p(ost) c(onsulatum) Ast]feri [et Praesidij] <VV> CC (uirorum clarissimorum).
495	WEST: Fl.Viator				
495	21 October	75	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	XII kal(endas) nou(em)b(res), Viatore u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).
495	9 December	391	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	V idus decembris, Viatore u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).
496	16 November	40	V06	Aouste	III k(a)l(endas) ianuarias, <p>(ost) c(onsulatum) Viat[oris].
498	WEST: Fl.Paulinus EAST: Iohannes Scythia				
498	13 October	24	L01	Anse	III id(u)s octubris, Paulino u(iro) k(larissimo) co(n)s(ule).

CONSULAR YEAR : WESTERN AND EASTERN CONSULS					
YEAR	DATE	REC	CODE	PROVENANCE	FORMULA
501	WEST: Fl.Aulenus EAST: Fl.Pompeius				
501	21 April	152	L01	Briord	VIII kalendas maias Auieno uero clarissimo console.
501	25 April	392	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	VII kal(endas) maias, Abieno consule.
501	17 May	265	L01	Lyon, St.Just	XS kal(endas) iunias, Abieno u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).
501	12 June	153	L01	Briord	prid(i)e idus iunias, Auieno uero cla(ris)s(imo) console.
501	24 August	264	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	SIII k(a)l(endas) septembris, Auieno c(larissimo) u(iro) con(sule).
501	2 September	111	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	IIII nonas septembris, Auieno cons(ule).
501		580	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[...] nob(embres), Abi(feno u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule)) (?) / Abi(feno iun(iore) u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule)). (?)
502	WEST: Rufius Magnus Faustus Aulenus iunior EAST: Fl.Probus				
502	3 January	565	V01	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	III non(as) ianuaras, Abieno iun(iore) u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).
502		519	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	[...] Auieno iun(ior) cons(ule).
503	1 January	266	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	k(alendas) ian(uarias), p(ost) c(onsulatum) Abieni iun(ioris) u(iro) co(nsuli)s.
503	WEST: Fl.Volusianus EAST: Fl.Dexicrates				
503	19 January	493	V01	St.Vallier	XVIII kal(endas) f(e)br(uarias), Volosiano u(iro) c(larissimo) <c>(onsule).
504	WEST: Rufius Petronius Nicomachus Cethegus				
504	12 July	267	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	IIII idus iulias, Cutheo u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).
504	18 December	225	V02	Jongieux	XV <?k>(alendas) ian(uarias), Ceteo u(iro) c(larissimo) <c>(onsule).
504		406	L01	Lyon, isolated find	[...] Cytheo u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ulis).
505	19 March	202	V02	Genève	X quartu[m] kal(endas) apriles, in[dicti]one XIII, pos[it] ?cons(ulatum) [Ce]ttec[i] u(iro) c(larissimi) [c](onsulis).
506	WEST: Ennodius Messala EAST: Fl.Areobindus Dagalaifus Areobindus				
506	16 September	400	L01	Lyon, St.Michel, Ainay	bis octona septembrem luce mouebat nomen Messalae consulis annus agens.
506	28 October	236	A02	Le Pin	V kal(endas) nouemb(res) Messala u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).
508	1 October	268	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	c(alendas) oct[ob]ris, p(ost) «c» cons(ulatum) iterum Mesale u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).
508	WEST: Basilus Venantius iunior EAST: Fl.Celer				
509	24 April	581	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	VIII <k>(alendas) mai(as), p(ost) c(onsulatum) Venanti.
509	18 September	673	V01	Vienne, isolated find	XIII k(alendas) octobris, p(ost) c(onsulatum) «c» Venanti uiri clarissimi c(onsulis) «c».
509	WEST: Fl.Inportunus				
510	2 December	269	L01	Lyon, St.Just	IIII nonas decembris, post consolato Inportuno u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).
511	WEST: Fl.Felix EAST: Fl.Secundinus				
500-600		610	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	[...] EMB[.....] F[elici] [...]
		582	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	[...] SS[.....] FELI [...]
511	28 October	566	V01	Vienne, St.Sévère	V k(alendas) nouembris, Felice u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).
511		474	V01	St.Laurent-de-Mure	[...] f[eb]ruarias, Fel[ice] u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).
511		531	V06	Valence	III KLS[.....] Fel[ice] u(iro) cl(arissimo) con(sule).
514	WEST: Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus senator				
514		240	V05	Luc-en-Diois	[...] iunias, senator[e] u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule), ind(i)c(tione) VIII.
515		520	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	senatoris posuit post cingula.
515	WEST: Fl.Florentius EAST: Procopius Anthemius				
515		146	V01	Bourgoin	III I [...] bris, Flo[renti]o et Anti[mio] ?V u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).
515		583	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	o[cta]uo ? ... m[art]ias, Floren[tio] et Anth[emio] u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).
515?		96	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	X[... mar?]sia D[?]..... con]sula[tum] Florentii? et Anthemii, u(irorum) c(larissimorum) c(onsulorum).
516	14 January	488	V03	St.Sixte-de-Merlas	XVIII k(alendas) febr(u)arias, post c(o)ns(ulatum) Antimi et Florentii u(irorum) c(larissimorum) c(onsulorum).
516	22 February	483	V01	St.Romain-d'Albon	VIII kal(endas) marsias, p(ost) [c](onsulatum) [F]lorenti et Antimi u(irorum) cl(arissimorum) co(nsulum) ?HP II.

CONSULAR YEAR : WESTERN AND EASTERN CONSULS					
YEAR	DATE	REC	CODE	PROVENANCE	FORMULA
517	WEST: Fl. Agapitus EAST: Fl. Anastasius Paulus Probus Sabinianus Pompelius Anastasius				
517	28 July	270	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	qu[ín]to k(a)l(endas) agustas «i» Aga[pit]o uiro c(larissimo) console.
517	November	584	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	[...] k(a)l(endas) dece[mbr(es), Agap]eto [u(iro) c(larissimo)] c(onsule).
517	24 December	2	A02	Aix-en-Provence	VIII kal(endas) ianuar(ias), Anastasio u(iro) c(larissimo) console.
517	December	147	V01	Bourgoin	[...] id(us) dece(m)br(es) [Ag]apito u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).
518	4 March	585	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	III non(as) mart(ias) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Ag[a]piti.
518	4 December	196	L01	Ecully	II «no» non(as) decembr(e)s p(ost) c(onsulatum) Agapeto.
519	25 January	521	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	VIII k(a)l(endas) f(e)br(u)arias p(ost) c(onsulatum) iterum Agapiti u(iri) c(larissimi) cons(uli)s.
519	WEST: Eutharicus Cillica EAST: D. N. Iustinus Augustus				
520	2 August	226	V06	La Baume-Cornillane	III nona[s au]g(ustas) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini Aug(usti).
520		586	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	[...] Ius[tini Aug]ust[i].
520	WEST: Fl. Rusticius EAST: Fl. Vitalianus				
520	19 September	401	L01	Lyon, isolated find	XIII kal(en)das octubr(e)s, Rustiano et Vitaliano u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).
520	2 November	217	V03	Grenoble	III no(nas) nob(embres), Rustici[ano] et Vitaliano u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).
521		218	V03	Grenoble	indixione quarta decema p(o)s(t) cons(ulatum) Rusticiani et Vitaliani.
521	WEST: Fl. Valerius EAST: Fl. Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus				
521	15 November	741	V02	Yenne	septemo decemo k(a)l(endas) decembris, Valerio c(o)ns(ule).
521		144	A01	Bellegarde	[X k(a)l(endas) oc]tobres an[niu(ersari)]?o sancto[r]um mar(ty)rum A[c]janimsium et [obii]?t octabo k(a)l(endas) [...], Valerio c(larissimo) c(onsule).
522	WEST: Fl. Symmachus et Fl. Boethius				
522	8 July	232	V02	La Terrace	VIII id(us) iuli<as>, Symma<co> et Boetio u(iris) c(larissimis) con(sulibus).
523	18 January	173	L04	Chalon-sur-Saône	XV k(a)l(endas) feb(ru)arias, p(ost) c(onsulatum) [Symma]chi et Boiti [u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus)].
523	3 February	34	V01	Aoste	III nonas febr(u)arias, p(ost) c(onsulatum) Simmachi et Boethi u(irorum) c(larissimorum).
523	WEST: Fl. Anicius Maximus				
523	16 April	271	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	XVI kal(endas) maias Maxim(o) u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).
523	25 July	526	V06	Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence)	VIII k(a)l(en)d(as) agustas, Maximo u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).
524	WEST: Venantius Opilio EAST: D. N. Iustinus II				
524	24 August	587	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	VIII k(a)l(endas) s[ep]t[em]bras, V[pil]lione u(iro) c(larissimo) con(sule).
524	31 August	567	V01	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	prid(ie) kal(endas) sept(embres), Opilione [u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule)].
524	24 November	674	V01	Vienne, isolated find	VIII kalendas decembris, Vpilione u(iro) c(larissimo) console.
525	24 January	272	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	SIII kal(endas) feb(ru)arias, p(ost) c(onsulatum) [Opil?]ionis.
525	24 February	588	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	VI k(a)l(endas) martias, [p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Opilionis, [u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule)].
525	16 August	273	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	XSI k(a)l(endas) septemb(ris) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Opilionis u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
525	WEST: Fl. Probus iunior EAST: Fl. Theodorus Philoxenus Soterichus Philoxenus				
525	10 January	63	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	quarto idus ginnoarius, Probo iunior u(iro) c(larissimo) con(su)l(e), indiccione III.
525		589	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	nonas [?] ianua/? februa]rias, Probo iunior u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).

CONSULAR YEAR : WESTERN AND EASTERN CONSULS					
YEAR	DATE	REC	CODE	PROVENANCE	FORMULA
527 WEST: Vettius Agorius Basilus Mauortius					
527	23 August	241	V02	Lugrin	X k(a)l(endas) septembris, Mauurtio uiro cl(a)r(issimo) cons«s»(ule).
527	6 December	459	V01	Parnans	octao idus decembres, Mafusio uero <cl>arissim<o> c(onsule) «C».
527		675	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[...] septemb(res), M[?auortio ?aximo u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule)].
528	18 October	676	V01	Vienne, isolated find	XV kalendas nouembris <p>(ost) c(onsulatum) «c» Maurti.
529	4 January	73	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	pride nonas genoarias, indictione septima, pos(t) consolatum itrum Mauur[tiji] u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
529	25 April	235	V03	Le Fayet	VII k(a)l(endas) ma[?i(as)], [ijt(erum) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Mauu[r]tij].
529 WEST: Fl.Decius Iunior					
530	19 January	120	A01	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrè	XVIII kal(endas) febroarias, indictioine VIII, pos(t) co(nsu)l(atum) Deciti iuniores u(iri) c(larissimi).
530 WEST: Fl.Lampadius et Rufius Gennadius Probus Orestes					
530	23 October	64	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	xmo kal(endas) nouembres, indictione nona, Lampadio et Oreste u(i)r(is) c(larissimis) cons(ulibus).
531		88	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	sexto [... ma]rsias, post con(sulatum) Lam[padii et] Orestes u(i)rorum c(larissimorum) con(sulum).
532	30 November	60	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	prid(ie) k(alendas) d[ec(embres)], indictione un[dec]ima, iterum post [con(sulatum)] Lampadi et Ores[tis] u(i)rorum c(larissimorum) c(onsulum).
534 WEST: Fl.Decius Paulinus Iunior EAST: D.N.Iustinianus IV					
535-537	August	590	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	[.]X au[gustas post? /g(ustas) ... post consulatu]m Pau[lini iun(i)oris] u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
535-537		677	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[p(ost) c(onsulatum) Pauli]ni iun(i)oris] u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
536	11 January	522	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	III idus ianuaras p(ost) c(onsulatum) iterum Paulini iun(i)oris, indic(tione) quarta decima.
536	8 June	592	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	VI idus iunias, indictionae XVIII eterum p(ost) c(on)s(ulatum) Pau(lini) iunioris u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
536		591	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	[...], it(erum) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Paulini [iun(i)oris] u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].
536		678	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[...] septembris, it(erum) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Paulini iun(i)oris] [u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].
536		174	V06	Charmes	[.PITERRIER...] [...PAV...VI...] is reconstructed as: [... febr(uarias) tertio] / iter[um] p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Paulini iunioris [u(iri) c(larissimi) c(consulis)].
537	20 March	473	V05	St.Julien-en-Quint	XIII k(a)l(endas) apriles, indixsione XV p(ost) c(onsulatum) III Paulini iuniores.
537	30 October	35	V01	Aoste	III k(a)l(endas) nouembr(es) tertio p(ost) c(onsulatum) Paulini iun(i)oris] u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
538 WEST: P.C. Paulini Iunioris 4 EAST: Fl.Iohannes					
539-545		688	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[...] agust[as, ... p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Iohann[is, u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].
539-545		689	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Ioha[nnis] u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].
538		167	A06	Bruis	[... I]ohanne u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule), ind(ictione) secunda.
540	11 June	594	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	tersio idus iunias, iterum post consolato Iohannis uiri clarissimi consolis.
544		183	V01	Clérieux	IIII [i]dus [... inde]xione octaua, [?sexies ?septies p(ost) c(onsulatum) I]ohannis u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
546	23 May	44	V01	Arandon	ocsiis p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iohannis u(iri) [c](larissimi) c(onsulis), X kal(endas) iunias.
547	26 November	37	V01	Aoste	VI k(a)l(endas) decem(b)r(e)s, nouies pos(t) con<s>(ulatum) Iohannis u(iri) c(larissimi) <c>(onsulis) «SS».
548	1 October	481	A16	St.Restitut	[decies?post con(sulatum) Iohan]nis, indic(tione) XII k(a)l(endas) oct(obres)

CONSULAR YEAR : WESTERN AND EASTERN CONSULS					
YEAR	DATE	REC	CODE	PROVENANCE	FORMULA
540	WEST: P.C. Iohannis 2 EAST: Fl.Mar.Petrus Theodorus Valent.Rust.Boraid.Germanus Iustinus				
541-500	July	402	L01	Lyon, isolated find	[quar?]to k(a)l(endas) a(u)gusta[s, ... p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Iustini uir(i) c(larissimi) co(n)s(olis).
541-600		690	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iu]stini u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
545?		347	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	no[nas ...], V p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iu[stini, u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].
547-630		475	V01	St.Laurent-de-Mure	[...Ii p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iust(ini), indict(ione) XIX.
541	30 April	274	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	prid(i)e kal(endas) maias, p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini.
544	26 December	275	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	septimo kal(endas) [i]anuarias, IV <p(ost)> cons(ulatum) Iustini, indict(ione) octa(ua).
546	September	276	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	septem[b]ris, VI p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), [i]nd(ictione) nona.
549	22 January	277	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	XI kalendas februarias, indict(ione) duodecema, nouies p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini u(iri) c(larissimi) consolis.
551	16 June	393	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	obiit XVI k(alendas) Iulia<s>, undecies post c(onsulatum) Iustini, indict(ione) XIII.
551		467	L01	St.Alban-de-Bron	quintu decmeuf[...], [... p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iust]ini u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsule)), indic(tione) XV.
552	13 January	279	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	id(u)s ian(uarias) ... XII p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini, ind(ictione) prima.
552	11 September	394	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	III idus septembris <XII> post consol<a>tum Iustini uiri clarissimi consolis indic(tione) prima.
552	23 November	278	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	VIII k(a)l(endas) decembris, duodecies p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini, indict(ione) XV.
552	30 December	279	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	III kal(endas) ianuarias, XII p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini, ind(ictione) prima.
562		280	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	pridi ka[l]endas ...Ias XXII [p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini?] uiri claris[simi] c(onsulis)?, indi[ctione] decim[a].
564	8 September	281	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	VI idus septembris u[ic]ies] quater post cons(ulatum) Iustini, indic(tione) tertia decema.
565		506	V01	Trept	[...XXV p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iust(ini), indict(ione) XIII.
573	2 April	395	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	Obiit IIII non(as) aprilis «LXV» XXXIII post (consulatum) Iustinum et indict(ione) sexta.
599	22 June	360	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	decimo kal(endas) Iulias [an(no)?] LVIII pos(t) consolato Iustini uiri claris[simi] consolis, indic(ione) secunda.
601	25 March	282	L01	Lyon, St.Just	VIII kal(endas) aprilis, LXI p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini, indict(ione) quarta.
619	26 March	361	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	VII kalendas aprilis, LXXVIII pos(t) con(sulatum) <Ius>tini uiri cla(rissimi) con(sulis), indic(tione) sexta.
622		283	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	LXXXII p(ost) c(onsulatum) [Iustini?].
629		243	V01	Luzinay	tiertio [... p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Ius(tini) u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), ind(ictione) secunda, [? anno ... regni gl]oriosissimi Dago[berti ...].
541	WEST: P.C. Iustini 1 EAST: Fl.Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius Iunior				
541-600	October	651	V01	Vienne, St.Georges	[...] kal(endas) nouembres, [... p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
541-600	October	691	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[...] nouem[bres ... p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Ba[sili] u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)], in[dict]ione ...].
541-600		541	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	[... p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili] u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
541-600		692	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[...] noue[m]bres ... p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].
541-600		441	V03	Nacon	VIII k[a]l(endas) ... p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Basili[?] u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].
541	4 September	99	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	pridie non(as) septembr(es) indict(ione) V, Basilio u(iro) c(larissimo) [c(onsule)].
542	26 October	595	V01	Vienne, St.Georges	VII k(a)l(endas) n(ouem)br(e)s p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].
545	9 October	596	V01	Vienne, St.Georges	VII idus oct(o)b(res) quater p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) cons(uli)s.
547	17 January	463	V01	Revel-Tourdan	XVI kal(endas) februarias, VI p(ost) con(sulatum) Basili, indic(tione) XI.
547	17 April	36	V01	Aoste	sex- /XV k(alendas) ma(ias)/ sies post c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) «u» c(larissimi) «c ss» c(o)ns(ulis).

CONSULAR YEAR : WESTERN AND EASTERN CONSULS					
YEAR	DATE	REC	CODE	PROVENANCE	FORMULA
541	WEST: P.C. Iustini 1 EAST: Fl. Anicius Faustus Albinus Basillus Iunior				
547		597	V01	Vienne, St. Georges	sex[ies] p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) con(sulis).
551	11 January	598	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	III idus ianua[ri]as, ... p(ost) c(onsulatum) B[asil]i u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), indic(tione) XIII.
553	12 April	128	A01	Arles, St. Croix	prid[ie] id(us) April(es), duodecies p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) iunioris, indict(ione) prima.
553	23 December	679	V01	Vienne, isolated find	X kal(endas) ianuarias, XII p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
554	14 January	95	A01	Arles, Alysamps	XVIII kal(endas) fe[br]uarias] tredecies p(ost) c(onsulatum) [Basili u(iri) c(larissimi)] cons(ulis), indic(tione) ter[tia].
554		680	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[sep]temo kal(endas) ...], tersio X p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
557	21 March	681	V01	Vienne, isolated find	XII kal(endas) apr[il]is], [?] XVI p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi), indic(tione) quinta
557		599	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	[... ..] fe[br]uarias, VI X p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), indic(tione) e sexta.
558	29 July	568	V01	Vienne, St. Sèvre	p(ri)diae III kal(endas) agustas, sepsies deces p(ost) c(onsulatum) B[asil]i u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), indic(tione) e [...]
559	25 May	682	V01	Vienne, isolated find	h[oc]tauo kal(endas) iunias, h[oc]sies decis p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) con(sulis), indic(tione) e VIII.
561	19 October	600	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	«VEX» XIII kal(endas) nouenbris, «VE» XX p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis) in(diction)e VIII?!
561		440	V08	Moutiers	k(a)len[da]s ...], uicies pos[st] consul[ato] Basili iu[nioris], indic(tione) X.
563	5 February	19	V01	Andance	n(o)n(o) idus f(e)b[ru]aria[s], uicies et bis p(o)st cons(u)l(a)to Basili uiri c(larissimi) c(onsulis), in(diction)e XIII.
563	30 April	471	V01	St. Jean-de-Bourney	Pridi(e) kal(endas) maias, uicies II pus(t) con(sulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), indic(tione) e X.
563	1 July	683	V01	Vienne, isolated find	k(a)lendas iulias, V EID post con[sulatum] Basili u(i)r(i) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), indic(tione) undecima.
564	14 August	464	V01	Revel-Tourdan	nono decimo <k>alendas«s» septemb(res), uices <e>t ter p(ost) c(onsulatum) «c» Basili u(iri) «u» clarissimi consoles, indexioni tesia decna.
566	23 April	569	V01	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	non(o) kal(endas) maias, X[XV?/XXX?/L?] p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) cons(ulis), indic(tione) quarta decima.
567	1 November	538	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	kal(endas) nouembres, XXVI post cons(ulatum) Basili uiri c(larissimi) cons(ulis), indic(tione) quarta decima.
572	21 December	570	V01	Vienne, isolated find	duodecimo kal(endas) ianuarias, XXXI post cons(ulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) con(sulis), indic(tione) quarta.
574	1 September	539	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	c(alen)d(a)s septembris, XXXIII p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) con(sulis), indic(tione) sexta.
578	9 March	731	V03	Vif	VII idus martias, XXXVII post cons(ulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi), indic(tione) duodecima.
578		603	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	[XX?/XXXVII] p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u[ir]i c(larissimi) c(onsulis), in(d)ic(tione) XIII.
580	9 March	601	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	VII idus marsias [tricies] nouies p(ost) c(onsulatum) Bas[il]i u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), indic(tione) XII.
581		602	V01	Vienne, St. Georges	[... d]ec[em]b[ri]s XXXI p(ost) c(onsulatum) Bas[il]i u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
587	8 December	733	A21	Villeneuve-lès-Avignon	VI id(us) decemb[ri]s, quadragies et VI p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili iunioris u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), ann(o) XII regn(o) dom(i)ni Cheldeb[er]ti regi(s), indict(ione) quinta.
600		20	V01	Andance	LVIII p(ost) con(sulatum) [Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis) indictio]ne tert[ia].
607	1 September	242	V01	Luzinay	kal(endas) sept[em]b[ri]s, anno LXVI p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u[ir]i c(larissimi) c(onsulis), indic(tione) VIII.

CONSULAR YEAR : WESTERN AND EASTERN CONSULS					
YEAR	DATE	REC	CODE	PROVENANCE	FORMULA
541	WEST: <i>P.C. Iustini 1</i> EAST: <i>Fl. Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius Iunior</i>				
609	1 January	175	V01	Chavanoz	<i>kal(endas) ianuaris, LXVIII p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi), indic(tione) decima.</i>
625	January	684	V01	Vienne, isolated find	<i>[...]to id(us) ian[uaris] LXXX?V [p(ost) c(onsulatum) ?Basili VCC ...].</i>
643		685	V01	Vienne, isolated find	<i>[... iJan(uarias) CII post c(onsulatum ? Basili ...].</i>

Table 6: Inscriptions bearing consular or post-consular dates.

DISSEMINATION IN ROME AND GAUL

At Rome the names of the Eastern consuls are found early in the year between 396 and 474, and Western consuls between January and March far more frequently between 401 and 472 (CLRE: 33; *ILCV*.III: 240-248). Under Odovacer and Theoderic there was a drastic change, as reflected on the inscriptions in Gaul. Simply put, of 48 Eastern consuls appointed between 476 and 541, 25 are never attested on a Western inscription. Of the remaining 23 only four, Basiliscus Augustus and Armatus, cons.476, Zeno Augustus, cons.479, and Basilius, cons.541, are attested in the West regularly. The remaining 19 are attested late, and sometimes only in p.c.s or sporadically. If there was no new Western consul, the year was dated by the p.c. of the last Western consul, whether or not there was a new Eastern consul. This was not due to non-recognition because the Ostrogothic kings had no consistent policy of non-recognition of Eastern consuls, unlike some of their Roman imperial predecessors. Most Western consular lists include Eastern consuls, albeit never comprehensively. In most years there was probably no dissemination and use of the Western consul alone became official practice (CLRE: 24-35). In South Eastern Gaul this is almost always the case: where an Eastern consul is named on an inscription, it generally lies in the Burgundian region, particularly around Vienne (Descombes 1985: 53-55). This may be due to diplomatic relations between the Burgundian court and Constantinople, discussed below.

In 536, the year after the Byzantine reconquest in Italy had begun, no new consuls were promulgated and the official consular proclamation was a p.c. of Belisarius, Eastern consul in 535. His name does not appear in South Eastern Gaul and occurs only twice in Rome, in 535 (*ILCV*: 713), and as a p.c. in 536 (*ILCV*: 3764). The second p.c. of Paulinus, Western consul in 534, was also widely employed in Italy and Gaul; nine inscriptions from South Eastern Gaul use his p.c., five from Vienne, and one each from Aoste, Charmes, Saint-Julien-en-Quint and Vaison-la-Romaine. His p.c. is found again in 537, as again there were no new consuls. The new Eastern consul was fairly widely proclaimed in 538; there may be some significance in that he sometimes appears as *Iohannes orientalis* at Rome (*ILCV*: 318) or *cons. per Oriente* (*ILCV*: 217*adn.*). He is also well attested in South Eastern Gaul, particularly at Vienne and in its environs where eight epitaphs are known. His p.c. is used as late as 549 at Saint-Restitut, No.481. Apion, the Eastern consul of 539, never appears in the West and the fifth p.c. of Paulinus is employed instead, as is the p.c. of Iohannis.

Thus throughout the second half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth centuries new Western consuls continue to be regularly attested in Italy. In South Eastern Gaul the situation was often very different. There is a concentration of inscriptions bearing the name of the new consuls early in the year, but it is rather less evident. As will be shown, inscriptions bearing a date are central to this study when aspects such as Germanic settlement and the survival of municipal functions are considered. For this reason those inscriptions displaying evidence of dissemination of consular and p.c. dates late in the year need to be considered in more detail here. A full list of inscriptions bearing a consular or p.c. date, together with their provenances, dates and the date formulae appear in Table 6.

Symmachus, cons. 485, is well attested in Italy and appears on one inscription from Vienne, dated 18 May (No.578; *CIL.XII*: 2057; *ILCV*: 2888*adh.*; *RICG.XV*: 76), but he is absent from three other inscriptions (CLRE: 35). One of these is a p.c. of Venantius Basilius, cons.484, also from Vienne (*ILGN*: 297; *ILCV*: 1678; *RICG.XV*: 78; No.581; Plate 194). However, confusion can be expected since there was an homonymous Venantius, cons.484, and both epitaphs are from the same cemetery (actually from within the church of Saint-Pierre). It seems that Symmachus' name was most likely disseminated in Gaul by late April in 485. A curious phenomenon is that a p.c. *Symmachi* was used in South Eastern Gaul as late as 495; examples are known at Anse and Grésy-sur-Aix in 486, Saint-Thomé in 487, Valence in 491, there described as *iunior*, and at Arles an example in 487 is followed by another in 495 (*ILCV*: 4420; *CIL.XII*: 932). Extraordinarily, a final example appears at Vienne in 557, but this example, No.604, may mean that the deceased, bishop Namatius, had close connections with the Symmachi.

An epitaph bearing a p.c. of Venantius Basilius, cons.484, from Vaison-la-Romaine is dated 1 June, according to CLRE; it is actually from Urban, some distance away (*CIL.XII*: 1498; *ILCV*: 2256; No.507; Plate 167). Diehl considers the date to be 509, but is here taken to be 485 on account of the final formula, which is not found in the sixth century. Le Blant merely notes that it is the consul of 484 or 507, but that the *pax tecum* formula suggests the earlier date. Another, dated 18 September (*CIL.XII*: 2062; *ILCV*: 1665; *NR*: 157; *RICG.XV*: 157; No.673; Plate 215), has also been dated by Descombes to 508 or 509. Indeed, the similarity of the palaeography of this and No.581 (Plate 194) suggest that they were inscribed by the same lapidary, demonstrating the necessity of viewing the inscriptions at first-hand.

The Western consul of 486, Basilius Decius, is attested at Rome from the 22 March (*ICVR.I*: 1021), yet on the 19 May at Grésy-sur-Aix, a p.c. of Symmachus is inscribed, as described above (*CIL.XII*: 2485; *ILCV*: 2765; *RICG.XV*: 287; No.220; Plate 63). An epitaph at Narbonne dated 30 January (*ILGN*: 606), and the formula *Decio Longino con(sul)b(u)s*, has been considered to be missing the p.c. by Espérandieu and CLRE, but consultation of this epitaph reveals that there remains enough space at the end of the penultimate line for the abbreviation *PC*, but not on the last line where the abbreviation *CONBS* (i.e. *con(sul)b(u)s*), is set between two incised crosses. CLRE points out that the lapidary here seems unusually to

know not only the Western but also the Eastern consul, but at Marseille both consuls are also recorded in 489, No.410. However, it remains possible that the p.c. was omitted through negligence on the part of the lapidary, which would date it to 487. Another inscription for 486 dated 17 March from Saint-Maurice-de-Rémens, near Lyon, does not record the Eastern consul, so it may be that the consulate of Decius was disseminated early in the year but used sporadically (*CIL.XIII*: 2454; *ILCV*: 3565A; No.479; Plate 157). For instance at Anse, north of Lyon, on the 22 March a p.c. of Symmachus is used again (*CIL.XIII*: 1656; *ILCV*: 1340; No.26). To confuse the picture further, an inscription recorded by CLRE from Lyon, dated 19 June 488, is actually from Briord, some 30 kilometres to the east. It records only one of the two Western consuls promulgated in that year, there being no Eastern consul in 488, although the orthography of the name is bizarre, Dedamius for Dynamius (*CIL.XII*: 2473; *ILCV*: 306; No.150, Plate 46).

Two inscriptions from Lyon dated 493 are ignorant of the Western consul, one is dated 6 March (*CIL.XIII*: 2365; *ILCV*: 3560; No.263; Plate 81), on the other the day and month are no longer legible (*CIL.XIII*: 2366; No.262; Plate 80). Both employ p.c.s of Anastasius and Rufius. CLRE emphasises that the Italian evidence for that year is also late (CLRE: 35), perhaps reflecting that the war between Theoderic and Odovacer was then at its height, with poor diplomatic relations with Burgundy and contact even with land in Gothic hands south of the Durance likely to have been limited.

The Western consul of 495, Flavius Viator, is attested at Rome on 23 January (*ICVR.n.s.VII*: 17602), but appears in Gaul first on 21 October at Arles (*CIL.XII*: 931; *ILCV*: 2888.adn; No.75), and at Lyon on 9 December (*ILTG*: 271; No.391), revealing extremely slow dissemination during the last two decades of the fifth century.

In the years 508 and 509 some difficulties are encountered with the name of the Western consul, Basilius Venantius *alius iunior*, who is never attested in Gaul during his year of office and is found on either a p.c. or an *iterum p.c.* Confusion arises due to his name being homonymous with that of the consul of 484 and 507, both named Venantius Basilius. Also no inscription dated 507 is known in Gaul, and, in 508, on 1 October, a second p.c. of Messala, cons. 506, is used at Lyon (*CIL.XIII*: 2373; *ILCV*: 1553; No.268, Plate 86). Hence, both No.581 (Plate 194) and No.673 (Plate 215) have been dated here to 509 and attributed to a p.c. of Basilius Venantius *alius iunior*. Curiously, No.269 (Plate 87) from Lyon, dated 2 December 510, is ignorant of the Western consul of that year, who is well attested in Italy (*CIL.XIII*: 2374; *ILCV*: 4823). The Eastern consul is also well known in this region in other years, 520, 523, 540 and 541. This occasional dissemination of Eastern consulates in South Eastern Gaul occurs precisely during those times when the same information was unknown in Italy. This phenomenon also occurs in 486 at Narbonne dated 30 January (*ILGN*: 606; not included in this study), in 489 at Marseille, where the exact date is illegible (*CIL.XII*: 487; *ILCV*: 446A adn; No.410.), and in 491 at Vézeronce, dated 28 November (*CIL.XII*: 2384; *ILCV*: 1734; *RICG.XV*: 257; No.537; Plate 175). After a gap of several years the incidence of Eastern

consuls recorded on the epitaphs continues. In 508, at Narbonne a p.c. dated 1 June names both consuls of 507 (*CIL.XII*: 5339; *ILCV*: 3555); and in 515 at Vienne another is dated between 14 February and 15 March (*CLRE*: 654; *CIL.XII*: 2067; *ILCV*: 3278; *RICG.XV*: 79; No.583). Also at Bourgoin, east of Vienne, there is a fragment, No.146, dated to between August and December of the same year, and another fragment, No.96, which probably records a p.c. for 516 of the same two consuls at Arles, Florentius and Anthemius. They are also recorded further north on a p.c. in 516 at Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas, dated 14 January, No.488 (Plate 160), and Saint-Roman-d'Albon, dated 22 February, No.483.

In 517 at Aix-en-Provence, on an epitaph dated 24 December, No.2, Anastasius, the Eastern Emperor and consul is named alone; he is also attested in a p.c. from Lodi in Italy dated 20 January 518 (*CLRE*: 570; *CIL.I Suppl.*: 863). The Eastern consul of 519, Justinus, is attested on two inscriptions: a p.c. from La Baume-Cornillane, dated 2 August 520, No.226 (Plate 67), and at Vienne on a fragment with the full date now missing, No.586. Vitalianus, Eastern consul in 520, is attested with his Western colleague on an epitaph from Lyon dated 19 September, No.401 (Plate 130), and on two epitaphs from Grenoble: one dated 2 November, No.217 (Plate 61), the other a p.c. of the following year, 521, though the full date is not extant.

All Italian inscriptions of 520 date by the Western consul alone, Rusticius. However, though in these years knowledge of the Eastern consuls in the West is restricted to Gaul, it is not widespread even there. Often inscriptions from the same area differ, one knowing and one ignorant of the Eastern consul. At first sight this is difficult to explain. Informal distribution of information along trade routes is a possibility but Gallic trade with Levantine cities like Alexandria was more important than trade with Constantinople (Zevi and Tchernia 1969: 197-214; Deneauve 1972: 219-240; Loseby 1992b: 165-185). These cities had plenty of trade with other cities in the West, particularly Rome, where the names of the Eastern consuls do not appear. Furthermore Arles, ostensibly the most important focal point for trade, has only two examples of an Eastern consul on an inscription at this time, No.96, dated 515 or 516, and No.99, dated 4 September 541 (Plate 28). The almost chaotic situation in the Gallic inscriptions cannot be explained by official, systematic proclamations and dissemination. The answer probably lies in a deliberate decision by the Gallic kingdoms to proclaim the Eastern consuls, in tandem with a progressive disintegration of governmental institutions in the West (*CLRE*: 35). However, the distribution of inscriptions bearing the name of the Eastern consul is clearly centred upon the Burgundian kingdom (Figure 51); the reasons for this are discussed below.

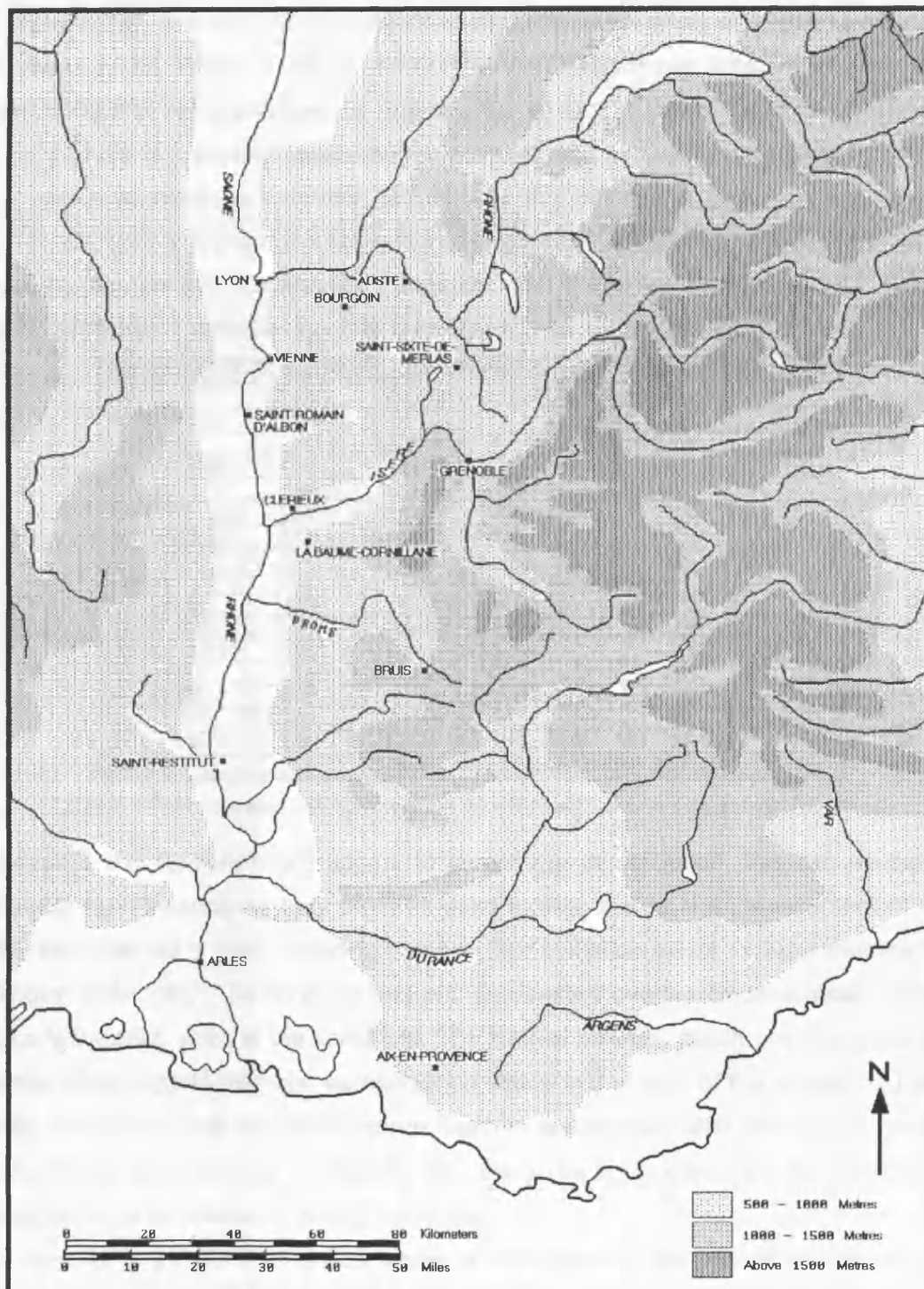


Figure 51: Distribution of epitaphs bearing date formulae including the name of the Eastern consul.

HOMONYMS AND FORMULAE

A further problem with consular dates on Western inscriptions is identifying to which year an inscription belongs when the name of the consul is homonymous with that of another year. In order to assess this, first something must be said about the formulae, errors, inconsistencies, omissions and titles used.

The variety of different formulae and optional elements such as abbreviations (e.g. *D.N.*, *Aug.* and *Fl.*) can be seen at a glance in the indices of *ILCV*. However, for Latin inscriptions in the West the standard formula for dating is [name ablative] *et* [name ablative] *consulibus*, or

some abbreviation thereof. The formula *consulatu* [name genitive] *et* [name genitive] is first seen in North Africa on an inscription of 338 (CIL.VIII. 796) whence it becomes more common; but even in the fifth century it does not supplant the other formula. In the case of post-consular dates the formula is preceded usually by the element *post consulatum* followed by the number of years, either numerals or cardinals, but occasionally ordinals or even numeral adverbs are used. This is followed by [name genitive] *et* [name genitive]. Additionally the p.c. formula may be preceded by the element *iterum* with a numeral, and these are rarely incorrect. Even if the numeral is omitted the sense of the date is rarely an issue (CLRE: 63-64).

IVNIOR	YEAR	FULL NAME
BASILIVS	480	<i>Flavius Caecina Decius Maximus Basilus</i> *
SEVERINVS	482	<i>Seuerinus</i> *
FAVSTVS	483	<i>Anicius Acilius Aginantius Faustus</i>
SYMMACHVS	485	<i>Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus</i>
DECIVS	486	<i>Caecina Mauortius Basilus Decius</i>
FAVSTVS	490	<i>Anicius Probus Faustus</i>
OLYBRIVS	491	<i>Flavius Olybrius</i>
AVIENVS	501	<i>Flavius Auienus</i>
AVIENVS	502	<i>Rufius Magnus Faustus Auienus</i>
VENANTIVS	507	<i>Venantius</i> *
VENANTIVS	508	<i>Basilus Venantius</i>
INPORTVNVS	509	<i>Flavius Inportunus</i>
PROBVS	525	<i>Flavius Probus</i>
OLYBRIVS	526	<i>Flavius Anicius Olybrius</i> *
DECIVS	529	<i>Flavius Decius</i>
PAVLINVS	534	<i>Flavius Decius Paulinus</i>
BASILIVS	541	<i>Flavius Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilus</i>

Table 7: Western consuls with homonymous names (compiled with data from CLRE: 25-50)

Whereas a p.c. formula might appear to complicate the situation, this can be particularly useful since such inscriptions may often be used to date the local announcement of the new consuls. This method is valid providing that no other evidence exists to show that the consuls were known previously. The consular and p.c. dates often overlap chronologically from a few days to a few weeks, even at the same site. The interval between death and the erection of the tombstone might explain this, but, as mentioned above in the case of the epitaph of Leonidius, they may have often been prepared prior to death or immediately after. Where p.c. inscriptions occur much later than consular inscriptions from the same area, it must be due to either apathy or ignorance, or even a delay in cutting the stone.

The consular or p.c. formula is nearly always terminated by the phrase *uir clarissimus*. This title counted for little in the Late Empire, not even denoting active membership of the Senate. Nevertheless, the Western consuls continued with this title when they were entitled to the rank of *uir inlustris* (*sic*). The reason for was its antiquity, in contrast to the East where the titles *uir illustris* or *uir inlustris* are usual: presumably the old Western nobility did not wish to be confused with the new Eastern nobility. In the West these titles are either inscribed *uir clarissimus* or *uir clarissimus et inlustris*; *uir clarissimus* appears rarely after the names of non-imperial consuls before the 370s but thereafter they became widespread and by the early fifth century it was an essential element of the date formulae (CLRE: 39-40).

The problem of differentiating consuls with homonymous names is occasionally made easier by the use of the epithet *iunior*, which begins to be employed from the last quarter of the fifth

century. In Western, but not Eastern, dating formulae and lists, several Western consuls of the late fifth and early sixth century are styled *iunior*. CLRE discusses the following consuls who are designated *iunior* in one or more of the ten surviving consular lists, (see Table 7; an asterisk denotes those who do not appear on any inscription in South Eastern Gaul (CLRE: 40-46)).

One might assume that *iunior* was employed to distinguish fathers and sons, particularly if they were exact or close homonyms. The two earliest examples that fit such a hypothesis are Basilius *iunior*, cons.480, and Severinus *iunior*, cons.482, whose homonymous fathers were consuls respectively in 463 and 461. However, as yet neither appears on any Gallic inscription with the suffix *iunior*. At Pothières an epitaph, No.461, now lost, is to be dated to Seuerianus of 461 (April), and not 482 since the suffix *iunior* is lacking. Other cases show that this explanation is not correct. The father of Auienus *iunior* in 502 did not share that name, he was Faustus, cons.490. His grandfather was Gennadius Auienus, cons.450, but here *iunior* was probably used to distinguish him from his cousin Avienus, cons.501, in the previous year. His father, Flavius Anicius Probus Faustus, cons.490, is probably called *iunior* in consular documents to distinguish him from Anicius Acilius Aginantius Faustus, cons.483, who may not have been related to him. It should have been easy to distinguish between the homonymous Western consuls of 501 and 502 by their different Eastern colleagues, but their names never appear in the West. Instead, inscriptions of 501 are dated *Auieno v.c. consule* and those of 502 dated *Auieno iuniore v.c. consule* or *consulatu Auieni iunioris v.c.* (for AD 501 see Nos.111, 152 (Plate 47), 153 (Plate 50), 264 (Plate 82), 265 (Plate 83), 392, and 580. For AD 502 see Nos. 266, 519 and 565 (Plate 189)).

Probus *iunior* cons.525 was presumably so styled to distinguish him from Probus, cons.513, though he is not known to have been related to him. Both had Eastern colleagues but the Western documents give either *Probo v.c. cons* alone, presumably 513 (who does not appear on an inscription from this region), or *Probo iun. v.c. cons.*, presumably 525. That in some cases at least Probus *iunior* is the consul of 525 rather than 513 is proven by the indiction numbers of inscriptions from Milan (ILCV: 1162A) and from Arles (No.63, ILCV: 2890, Plate 14).

There were two consuls respectively named Decius and Paulinus in this period, in neither case closely related. The later Decius was sole consul in 529, appearing on a p.c. from Arles dated 24 January 530, No.120 (Plate 38). Flavius Longinus, the Eastern colleague of Decius, cons.486, is recorded once only on an inscription in Gaul, at Narbonne (AE, 1928: 83; ILGN: 606). Decius is recorded at Saint-Maurice-de-Rémens, No.479, dated March 486, (taken to be the consul of that year; Plate 157) on the basis of the formulae and palaeography employed. The Eastern colleagues of the two Paulini of 498 and 534 are also ignored in Western consular documents. The Eastern consuls of 499 and 500 are not found and no Western consuls were promulgated, p.c.s of Paulinus were used instead. In South East Gaul, Paulinus, cons.498, appears only once, at Anse dated 13 October 498, No.24 (Plate 5). The consul of 534 appears nine times in a series of p.c.s extending between 535 and 537, always with the suffix *iunior*.

A common error in the *Fasti* is the duplication of consuls with the suffix *iunior* (CLRE: 42). For example, some *Fasti* style the consul of 501 Auienus *iunior* as well as the consul of 502, and Olybrius, sole Eastern consul of 491, is designated *iunior* in five Western lists, although there was little need to distinguish him from his grandfather, Eastern consul in 464. In 526 another Olybrius was consul in the West, also designated *iunior*, but Olybrius *iunior* also appears on an epitaph at Vézeronce dated 28 November, which can be shown to be dated 491 because the indiction number coincides with that year (*ILCV*: 1734; No.537; Plate 175). Another epitaph from Vienne is dated 20 December of the same year on account of the other formulae (*ILCV*: 3471; *RICG.XV*: 77; No.579; Plate 193).

There are two cases where there are three consuls with homonymous names, Venantius and Basilius. The three Basili present no real problems here since Basilius, cons.463, and his son Basilius *iunior*, cons.480, do not appear on any inscription in South Eastern Gaul. Venantius *iunior* of 508, probably the son of Venantius Basilius cons.484, is problematic because the suffix *iunior* does not appear on the inscriptions. Three epitaphs are dated here to 484 on the grounds of formulae and other similarities with others of similar date found nearby. Two from Lyon, are dated 19 March and 28 November, Nos.259 and 260, and the third is a p.c. from Urban dated 1 June 485, No.507 (Plate 167). This seems reasonable at Lyon because if this was the Venantius of 507 it would be difficult to explain why the p.c. of Messala, cons.506, was used in the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery as late as 1 October 508, No.268 (Plate 86). Venantius of 507 appears to have been unknown and that in 508 the name of Venantius *iunior* of 508 did not reach the Burgundian kingdom until late 508. This may have been on account of the relaxation of hostilities after the siege of Arles, and thus it is to him that two epitaphs from Vienne should be attributed, dated 24 April and 18 September 509 respectively, Nos.581 (Plate 194) and 673 (Plate 215). Venantius of 507 does not appear on a Gallic inscription until 1 June 508, and is recorded with the Eastern consul, the Emperor Anastasius on an epitaph from Narbonne, *k[al] iunias post cons Anastas[i] et Venanti* (NR: 312; *ILCV*: 3555).

The name of the Western consul of 509, Inportunus, presents no epigraphic difficulty since he is recorded only once in South Eastern Gaul, on a p.c. dated 2 December 510 from Lyon, No.269 (Plate 87). Symmachus, cons.485 is also styled *iunior* in some *Fasti* and on inscriptions yet he cannot have been mistaken for his father 39 years after his consulship in 446. Furthermore, the consul of 446 was always mentioned with his colleague and the year was styled *Aetio III et Symmacho*. They do not appear, however, on any inscription in this study, but the Symmachus of 485 is found styled as either with or without *iunior*. Numerous inscriptions from Rome employ the formulae *cons. Symmachi v.c.* or *Symmacho v.c. cons.*, and Symmachus of 485 is the only one to have been sole consul in his year. Eight epitaphs from South Eastern Gaul are dated by his consulate and three alone record the suffix *iunior*, Nos.90, 530 (Plate 173), and 604. The unusual longevity of his p.c. in date formulae has already been discussed, and there is no confusion with the Symmachus of 522 because he was always named with his brother and colleague, Boethius, on the three epitaphs known from South

Eastern Gaul: at La Terrace, Chalon-sur-Saône and Aoste, Nos.34, 173 (Plate 52) and 232.

This pair were both Western consuls, hence their dissemination as such.

YEAR	DATE	REC	CODE	PROVENANCE	FORMULA
		307	L01	Lyon, St. Just	[... q]uinto [... c]onsule.
		486	V01	St. Romain-d'Albon	[...]as x[...] consula?]tu[m ...]
425-475	1 April	315	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	ca[]endas] aprile[s], uiro c[](larissimo)] consule.
450-500	21 June	25	L01	Anse	XI k(a)l(endas) iulias, [...] u(iro) c(larissimo) consule].
450-500		390	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	XII kal[]endas?]EV X[.....].
450-525		299	L01	Lyon, St. Just	[...] k(alendas) iul(ias) [... u(iro) c(larissimo) co]ns(ule).
450-550		234	A06	Le Buis	[... ? non]as [... p(ost)? consulat]um [...]es [... c]onsolis.
452		418	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	pr(idie?) [...]S[...]CV[...].
475-540	19 July	517	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	quartu X kal(endas) aug[]ustas] NB[...]BS [...] co(n)s(ule) u(iro) c(larissimo).
483-534	13 January	345	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	idu(s) ianuaria[s, ...] iuniore u(iro) <c(larissimo)> con[s](ule).
483-534		305	L01	Lyon, St. Just	XII [k(alendas)? ..., ...]o u(iro) c(larissimo) co]ns(ule)?].
483-534		494	V01	St. Vallier	[. septe? noue? dece?]mbris, [...]iuniore [u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule)].
483-534		687	V01	Vienne, isolated find	VII kal(endas) [...]o iuniore u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).
490-540	25 August	399	L01	Lyon, St. Nizier	VIII k(alendas) septem[bres ...]o u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).
491 ? 518 ?		210	A18	Gigondas	SII [...]ias p(ost) c(onsulatum) [.....]ti cons(ulis) [indicti]one XIII.
500-550	31 October	462	A07	Reillanne	pr[]id[]iae kal(endas) nouembris [indicti]onae s[...] C ? S ? [...]
500-550		611	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	[...]BO CLAR[...] depositio I[...]
500-550		629	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	[...]ias [...]
500-550		630	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	prid(ie) k(alendas) [...]is p(ost) c(onsulatum) [...].
500-550		631	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	[...]l nonas [...]BRIS [...]
500-550		454	A18	Orange	[... n]onas [... post] consola[]tum [...], indec[]sione] VI[...].
500-600		492	V04	St. Thomé	[? post] co(n)sul[]atum.
519?		732	V03	Vif	[.]VIII k(a)l(endas) [...]O AVGVS[...]?
540-600		356	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	[... f]ebruaryia[s, ... u(iro) c(larissimo)] c(onsule), indicti[]one [...].
540?	10 November	593	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	IIII id(us) nou(e)m(bres), III CL[...]
541-600	August	619	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	[... au]gustas, [...]
541-600	November	561	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	[kalen]das dec(embres) [...] p(ost) con[s](ulatum) [...]
541-600		293	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	[... kalendas? oct]obris p(ost) «c» consulatum [...] u(iri) c(larissimi) cons(ulis).
541-600		333	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	[...]A LA calend[]as [...]ias post con[s](ulatum) [...].
546, 561, 576, 591	May	198	V01	Eyzin	[...] id(us) maias ...LE III [indicti]one ? d]ecima.
547, 562, 577, 592		724	V01	Vienne, isolated find	[? in]de XI
550, 565, 580, 595		448	A08	Notre-Dame-du-Brusc	[...] post [consulatum? ...]i u(irorum) c(larissimorum) [... die] Solis [indicti]one? XIV.
550-600		490	V03	St. Sixte-de-Merlas	[...] kalenda[s ..., post] cons[]?ulatum [...] indicti[]one [...].
553, 568, 583, 598		525	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	[post?] cons(ulatum) AZ[?]...]i iun(ioris), [indicti]one? sec]unda.
554, 569, 584, 599		80	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	[...]s p(ost) c(on)s(ulatum) [...]iu]n(ioris) u(iri) c(larissimi), [indicti]one te[r]tia? [...].

Table 8: Inscriptions recording fragmentary consular and post-consular dates (illegible dates)

The two consuls named Faustus, of 483 and 490 present no difficulties. Faustus, cons.483 is never named *iunior* on inscriptions, and only one epitaph is included here, from Vienne, dated 483, No.577. The Faustus of 490 is recorded with his Eastern colleague, Longinus, on the two epitaphs recorded from this region. Both are p.c.s, one from Briord, dated 17 July 491, No.151, the other from Vienne, dated 12 August 491, No.670.

Thus the problems arising with homonyms and the suffix *iunior* cannot be completely overcome, but real difficulties only appear with the Symmachus who was consul in 485 since sometimes the suffix *iunior* is omitted. On balance *iunior* was probably not employed to distinguish consuls as individuals, but as consular dates (CLRE: 45-46).

A total of 35 inscriptions, all epitaphs, bear either consular or p.c. date formulae where the name of the consul is so fragmentary as to make identification impossible. Seven are certainly consular, suggesting dates prior to 540 (see below) and ten are p.c.s, which may be of any date. As might be expected, most provenance from those towns providing the greatest number of inscriptions of this type: nine from Vienne and ten from Lyon with the majority of the remainder found in the northern part of the region under study. They are allocated relative date ranges in Chapter Four, from which discussion are derived the suggested date ranges allocated where possible (Table 8).

INSCRIPTIONS DATED BY THE REGNAL YEAR

Merely 18 inscriptions bear a regnal date (Table 9; Figure 52). Their rarity is best explained by the continued use of the p.c.s of Justinus and Basilius which extend into the seventh century, (although an inscription from Viviers, No.734 (Plate 230), is something of an exception since it is dated 496). This would explain their total absence from those areas under Burgundian or Frankish domination in the sixth century. Regnal dates were used to date royal acts and church councils, e.g. the council of Orléans in 549 (although that of 541 is dated by the consulship of Basilius - Pontal 1989: 114, 123). This series extends until the end of the seventh century; indeed most epitaphs recording the regnal year belong mainly to the seventh century, and nine reigns are recorded altogether. This is remarkable because almost everywhere epigraphic sources are lacking by this time, except at Rome. This may simply reflect the archaeological record, or alternatively the inscriptions provide an eloquent testimony to the persistence of late antique culture in South Eastern Gaul. Admittedly some of these inscriptions display a lack of technical skill by the lapidary, particularly on those from northern Viennensis; yet others, such as the series from Briord and the seventh-century examples from Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans at Lyon, are of exceptional quality (cf. Plates in Appendix Four).

The principal difficulty is to assign a precise date in the case of homonyms. Whilst the genealogy of the reigns of the Merovingian kings is relatively well known (Krusch 1919 = *MGH.SS.VII*; Tessier 1962; Courtois 1951; Wallace-Hadrill 1960 = Fredegar.; James 1988: 170), precise dates for the beginning and end of each reign are rare, and thus it is sometimes difficult to discern concordances with indictions where indictional years are given. Often a perfect concordance exists between the regnal year and the indiction, and where there is an anomaly it is no more than one or two years. In some cases the year of accession remains in question and so it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the regnal years are calculated correctly. This is compounded by the fact that on occasion a king came to power very late in the year and the lapidary calculated either from that year inclusive or from the beginning of the following year. Nowhere are the dates affected by more than two years in any instance.

YEAR	DATE	KING	REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	FORMULA
496	29 April	Alaric II	734	V04	Viviers	<i>III k(alendas) maias, XII reg(ni) dom(i)ni Alarici.</i>
587	8 December	Childebert II	733	A21	Villeneuve-lès-Avignon	<i>VI id(us) decemb(ris), quadragies et VI p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basil(i) iunior(is) u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), ann(o) XII regn(o) dom(i)ni Cheldeberti regi(s), indict(ione) quinta.</i>
595-613		Theuderic II	314	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	<i>pride ka[l](endas) ..., [d(omini) n(ostri)] Theodoru[ci] regis?].</i>
629	18 October	Chlothar II	155	L01	Briord	<i>XV k(a)l(endas) nouembris, an(no) XXXXVI rig(ni/no/nante?) Clotario, (in)d(ictione) III.</i>
629, 630		Dagobert I	243	V01	Luzinay	<i>tiertio [... p(ost) c(onsulatum)] lus(tini) u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), ind(ictione) secunda, [? anno ... regni gl]oriosissimi Dago[berti] ...].</i>
631	30 June	Dagobert I	484	V01	St.Romain-d'Albon	<i>II ca(lendas) iul(ias), II rigno domn[i] nostri Daguberti reges, ind(ictione) quarta.</i>
633, 634		Dagobert I	157	L01	Briord	<i>XV k(alendas) [...], ano V e rigno Da<g>oberti re(gis), (in)d(ictione) VII.</i>
638-657?	September	Clovis II ?	739	V04	Viviers	<i>sub C(h)l(odouecus?) [... ka]l(endas) octobris.</i>
652	25 October	Clovis II	362	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	<i>VIII kalendas neuem[bres], anno] XII regno gloriosis(si)mi dom(ini) nos(tri) Chlothou[i] regis, indic(tione) XI.</i>
652-656		Clovis II	374	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	<i>m[ense?] ... Chlothou[i] regis, in[dictione?] ...].</i>
653	24 April	Clovis II	363	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	<i>octabo ka(lendas) maias, indic(tione) undecima, regno domini nostri Chlothouii reges.</i>
656	October	Clovis II	367	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	<i>mense octubre anno XVII regn(i) domi(ni) n(ostri) Chlothouei regis, indictione quinta decima.</i>
660	1 May	Chlothar III	605	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	<i>ka(lendas) madias, indic(tione) III, an(no) III rig(ni) dom(ini) nost(ri) Clottari regis.</i>
663	1 January	Chlothar III	686	V01	Vienne, isolated find	<i>calend(as) genu[a]rias, ind(i)c(tione) VI [?..] Clotar[i] r[?egis].</i>
679		Dagobert II	500	V06	Soyons	<i>[... ka]lend[as] ..., ... ri]gni do[m(in)i] nostri Da]gober[ti, indiction]e oct[o].</i>
683	15 October	Theuderic III	224	V06	Guillerand	<i>idas kalendas nouenbras, annum quartum renum domni notri Teodorici riges, indicciune dudedema.</i>
691	1 July	Clovis IV	187	V06	Crussol	<i>k(a)lendas iulias, rigni domni nostri Chdoedo regis tanto, indiccione quarta.</i>
694		Clovis IV	504	V06	Toulaud	<i>rigni do(min)i nostre Clodoueo reges IIII, indic(tione) octaua.</i>

Table 9: Inscriptions recording a regnal date.

The earliest inscription bearing a regnal date is from Viviers, dated to the twelfth year of the reign of Alaric; this must be the Visigoth Alaric II, who became king on December 28, 484 (Wolfram 1988: 190). All the other kings mentioned in dating formulae are Franks. The dates of the reigns of the Frankish kings recorded on the inscriptions are as follows (after Krusch):

1. Childebert II (Austrasia 575-, Burgundy 592-5)
2. Theuderic II (Burgundy 595-, Austrasia 612-13)
3. Chlothar II (Neustria 584-, Burgundy, Austrasia, 613-629)
4. Dagobert I (Austrasia 623-, Neustria, Burgundy 629-638)
5. Clovis II (Neustria, Burgundy 638-657)
6. Chlothar III (Neustria, Burgundy 657-673)
7. Dagobert II exiled 656 (Austrasia 676-9)
8. Theuderic III (Neustria, Burgundy 673-, Austrasia 679-691)
9. Clovis IV (Neustria, Burgundy, Austrasia 691-695)

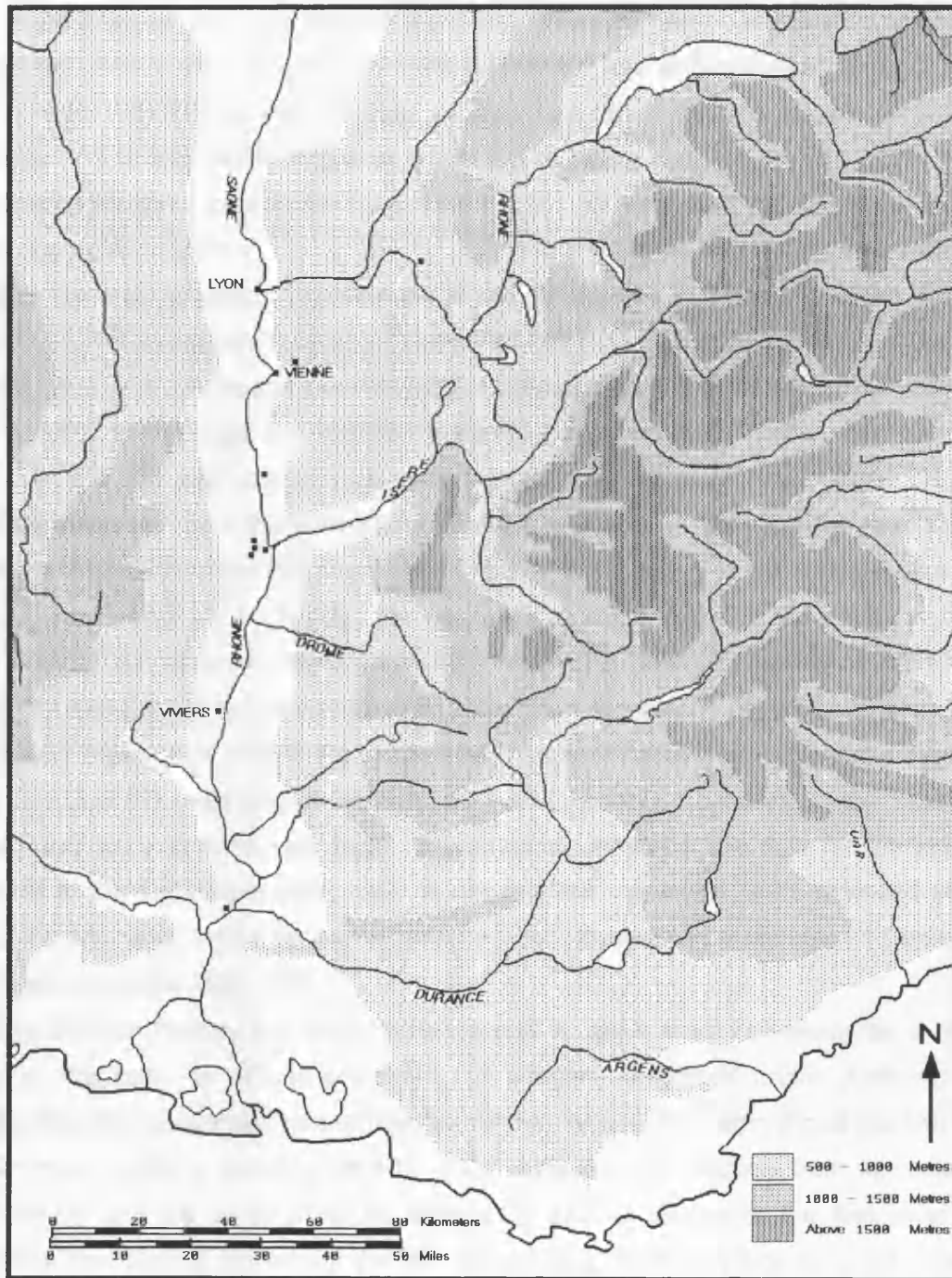


Figure 52: Distribution of epitaphs bearing a regnal date.

The date formulae are similar to those used previously to record consular and p.c. dates. The formula for the regnal year is normally the ordinal number + *regno* (ablative) + name (genitive) *regis*, or some variation thereof, preceded or followed by the indictional year in the ablative. It must be emphasised that the Latinity by this time is questionable and hence errors may in fact denote current grammatical form.

INDICTIONAL DATES

During the Late Roman Empire the indiction was the date fixed for the start of the annual tax year, or at least the date from which it began, and the indictional cycle itself was a period of 15 years. It was used for dating imperial acts and other events but the *indictio* came to have the

sense of the financial year, and then for a period of financial years. Diocletian is attributed with the institution, first found in Egypt, where the indictional cycle was initially a period of five years and it is with Constantine that 15 year cycles began: thus the first period commenced in September 312. It was rather vague as a method of dating and was no use in the long term because only the years themselves were recorded not the number of indictional cycles that had passed since their inception.

One of the main problems with the use of the indiction as a method of dating stems from differences in the actual date chosen in September for the start and consequently the end of the indictional year. For this reason several types of indictions can be distinguished in various parts of the Empire. In the East, the indiction generally began on the 1 September, four months earlier than the consular year commencing 1 January. However, Grumel (1958: 193) cites a dedicatory inscription from the *martyrium* of Saint Christopher in Chalcedonia, now lost, which records the dedication of the building in September 452, according to the consular year, but the indictional year effectively back-dates the inscription to September 451. As will be seen, this is not an isolated phenomenon, being particularly frequent in South Eastern Gaul after 540. The various arguments cited by Grumel proposing different dates for the beginning of the fiscal year all have their drawbacks, such is the inconsistent nature of the evidence. Nevertheless it seems that in the West the beginning of the civil year was invariably 1 January (in the East it was 1 October) and the indictional year began 1 September, whatever the date for the start of the fiscal year in Constantinople (*ibid.*: 198). In England the Venerable Bede recorded indictional years commencing on the 24 September prior to 1 January and never mentions 1 September as being Roman practice (*ibid.*: 203).

By the mid-fifth century the indiction had begun to serve more commonly as a means of dating; in the case of official documents, it became obligatory under Justinian in 537 (*Novella*: 48). This usage had spread through northern Italy at the beginning of the fifth century, possibly from Ravenna as early as 405 (*ILCV*: 325adn), but certainly from Aquileia in 413 (*ILCV*: 1061a) and thence to Milan by 466 (*ILCV*: 2737a). At Rome the first examples on inscriptions are found at the end of the fifth century (e.g. *ICVR.I*: 979 of 497). Nowhere in the West is the use of the indiction common until the sixth century, and not until the 530s in South Eastern Gaul. For the purpose of studying the progressive use of the indiction it is necessary to begin with those inscriptions that also record a consular or post-consular date or a regnal year, since these alone offer a secure chronological framework.

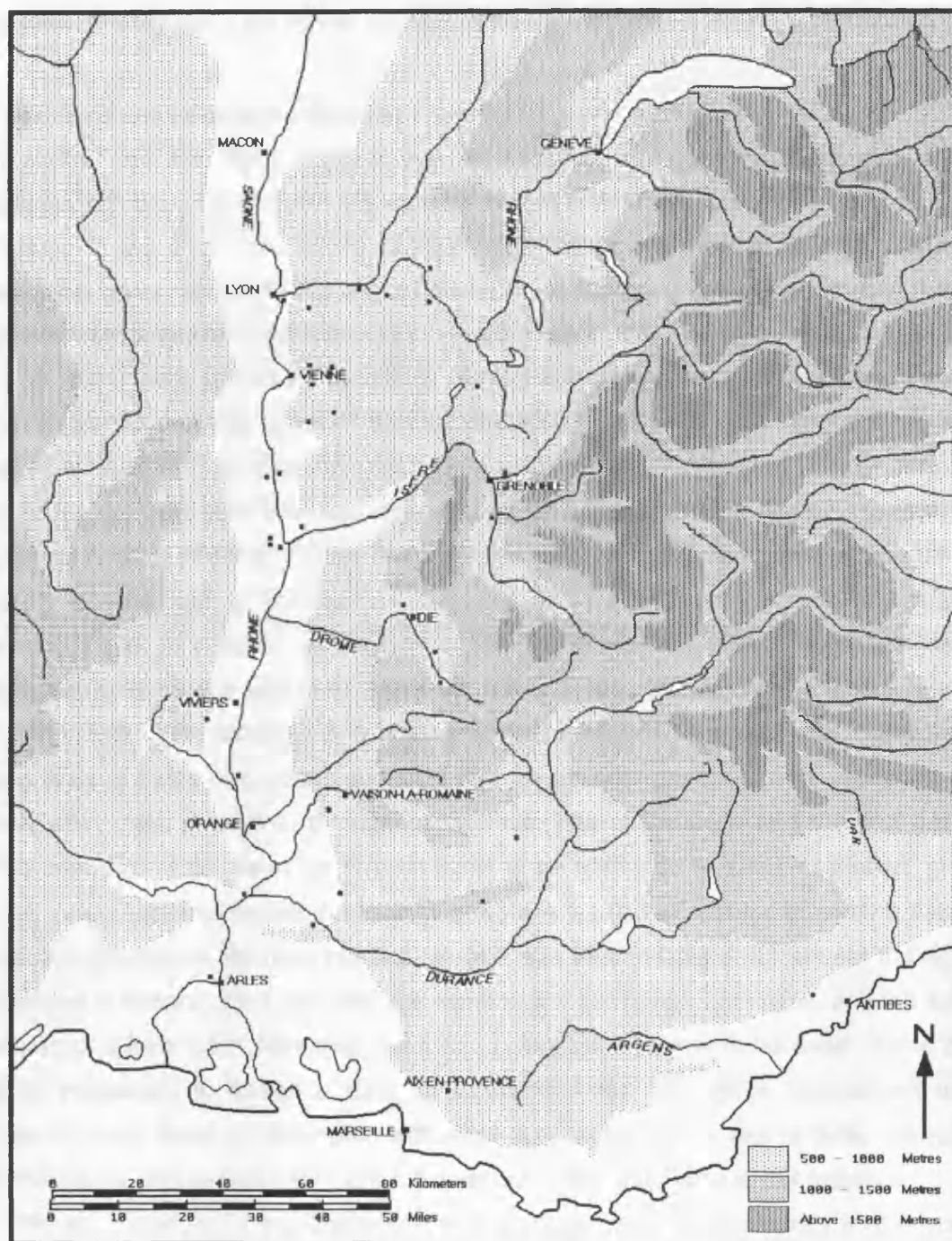


Figure 53: Distribution of epitaphs bearing an indictional date.

There are 76 examples where the date formula is sufficiently conserved or recorded accurately (Figure 53). The two earliest inscriptions with an indictional date are both from the year 487, one from Arles, dated 25 July, No.67 (Plate 17), the other from Saint-Thomé, in August, No.491 (Plate 162); the latter is probably the epitaph of bishop Lucianus of Viviers (*FEAG.I*: 231). Only two other fifth century examples occur, one from Vézeronce, dated 28 November 491, No.537 (Plate 175), the other from Arles, where unfortunately the date is illegible but the year is certain, 495, No.90. On several inscriptions dated prior to the 530s the indiction formula is placed before the consular date, but thenceforth it is placed afterwards until

the seventh century when the former practice is revived on those inscriptions recording a regnal year.

A total of 54 inscriptions are dated by the indiction alone (including No.378 from Lyon where the formulae and find spot suggest that an indiction was present), recorded usually in conjunction with the date of death. As argued, this method of dating would have only had local significance at the time. Two points can be made before any attempt to place them in any chronological order relative to those inscriptions more precisely dated and already discussed. Firstly, their distribution is predominantly in the southern part of the region with a cluster around Lyon and Briord. This cannot be fortuitous, given the large number of inscriptions recorded at Vienne. Table 10 provides a list of these inscriptions; it includes date ranges assigned and discussed in Chapter Four. Secondly, as can be seen in Table 11, the use of the indiction is not a regular feature until after 540, occurring in conjunction with either a p.c. or regnal date. It is not possible to state whether the use of the indiction alone denotes ignorance of any other date or apathy on the part of the lapidary because the numbers of inscriptions involved are remarkably equal in number. In addition to the 54 inscriptions under discussion here (i.e. indiction alone), there is a total of 67 dated with both an indiction and either a p.c. or regnal date in or after 540. Furthermore, a cursory inspection of the formulae and particularly the palaeography of these inscriptions suggests that the majority post-date 540, indicating the two systems were used in tandem throughout the latter half of the sixth and the first half of the seventh centuries. This allows for several dates to be attributed to each inscription, given the usual 15 year indictional cycles. An inscription from Arles, No.97, seems to confirm that use of the indiction alone was standard practice, since it was thus inscribed but without the age, date or indictional numerals; yet it recorded the name of the deceased, Leonidius, and left space for the numerals to be filled in, revealing that it was commissioned prior to his death (Plate 26). It is therefore necessary to assign a date, or probable dates, through a comparison with the formulae of those dated in conjunction with either a consular, p.c. or regnal date: unfortunately, the orthography and palaeography are too diverse to be of much use in this instance.

A difficulty, however, is the distribution of this group, lying predominantly in the south: 17 from Arles alone and 27 from south of the Durance as a whole - 50% of the total in an area where the use of the consular, p.c. and regnal date was never popular. While this is suggestive, it should be noted that four are from Briord and ten from Lyon, a region noted for its use of multiple-date formulae. However, in the case of the homogeneous series from Briord, they appear at first sight to date to the early seventh century, and those from Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans at Lyon, slightly later.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	DATE	INDICTION	DATE RANGE	REC	FORMULA
L01	Briord	11 November		600-650	161	<i>die S(an)c(t)i Martini in[?d(ictione) ...]</i>
L01	Briord	18 May	3	615, 630	158	<i>XV k(a)l(endas) iunias, [(in)d(ictione)] III</i>
L01	Briord	18 August	3	630, 615	156	<i>XV k(a)l(endas) septebres, ind(ictione) III</i>
L01	Briord	30 January	7	619, 634	159	<i>III k(a)l(endas) fibruarias, (in)d(ictione) VII</i>
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	15 February	10	546, 561, 576, 591	289	<i>quinto decemo k(a)lendas mar(tias), indic(tione) decema</i>
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just			525-575	324	<i>k(alendas) m[aias/artias?], [ind]ict(ione) ...]</i>
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just				338	<i>[...] indiccio [...]</i>
L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	14 August	11	653	364	<i>XVIII k(a)l(endas) sept(embres) ind(ictione) XI</i>
L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	14 September	12	653	365	<i>XVIII k(alendas) octobris, ind(ictione) XII</i>
L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	21 June	7	543, 558, 573, 588	380	<i>XI kal(endas) iulias, ind(ictione) VII</i>
L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	28 June	13	655	366	<i>quarto k(a)l(endas) iulias, ind(ictione) ter(tia) xma</i>
L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	30 August		600-650	371	<i>III k(alendas) septembres, i[nd]ictione ...]</i>
L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans			600-650	378	
L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans		4	540, 555, 570, 585	379	<i>[... Ianu/Febru?]arias, ind(i)c(t)i(ione) quart[a]</i>
L05	Mâcon	18 December	3	554, 569, 584, 599	407	<i>XV kale[ndas] ianuar(ias), indic[tio]ne III</i>
V01	Pact	1 April	6	542, 557, 572, 587	458	<i>k(a)l(endas) a[p]riles, indicxione sexta</i>
V01	St.Jean-de-Bournay	24 December		540-650	472	<i>nono k(a)l[e]ndas ienuarias, indixion[e] ...]</i>
V01	St.Laurent-de-Mure	23 January	8	544, 559, 574, 589	476	<i>X c(a)l(endas) feb(ruaria)s, ind(ictione) oc(ta)ua</i>
V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	8 October	14	550, 565, 580, 595	621	<i>VIII id(us) octob(res), ind(ictione) XIII</i>
V03	La Tronche	15 October	12	548, 563, 578, 593	233	<i>id(us) oct(o)b(res), indict(ione) duodecema</i>
V03	St.Sixte-de-Merlas	28 October	14	550, 565, 580, 595	489	<i>obiet quinto kalendas nouembris, indixione XIII</i>
V04	Alba / Aps	11 September	4	540, 555, 570, 585	9	<i>III id(us) sept(embres), indic(tione) IIII</i>
V04	Viviers	1 December	13	549, 564, 579, 594	735	<i>kal(endas) decembr(es) indictione tercia decima</i>
V05	Die	11 April	12	548, 563, 578, 593	193	<i>III id(us) apr(i)l(es), ind(ictione) XII</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	1 February	6	542, 557, 572, 587	69	<i>k(a)le(ndas) f(e)br(uarias) indic(tione) sexta</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	6 November	15	551, 566, 581, 596	68	<i>VIII id(us) nouemb(res), indict(ione) XV</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	9 January	12	548, 563, 578, 593	125	<i>V idus ianuaras, indictione duodecima</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	18 February		525-575	76	<i>XII kal[endas] [ma]rcias, in[dictione] ...]</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	19 November	6	542, 557, 572, 587	57	<i>XIII kal(endas) dece(m)br(es), indictione VI</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	25 September	6	542, 557, 572, 587	56	<i>VII kal(endas) octob(res) ind(ictione) VI</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	January		525-575	81	<i>[...] k(a)l(endas) febr[uar]as, in[dixione] ...]</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	August	7	543, 558, 573, 588	78	<i>[...] kal(endas) septem(bres) [indictione] septima</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	September		525-575	79	<i>[...] nonas s[e]ptembres?, indictio[ne] ...]</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?			525-575	77	<i>[...] indictio[ne] ...]</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps	6 June	12	548, 563, 578, 593	98	<i>VIII idus iunias, indict(ione) duodecima</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps			525-575	97	<i>[.....] [.....], indictione [::]</i>
A01	Arles, Alyscamps			525-575	101	<i>tertio [?kalendas] maias, [?indictio]n[e] ...]</i>
A01	Arles, St.Honorat	28 October	8	544, 559, 574, 589	114	<i>V kal(endas) no(uembres), [ind]ictio oc(ta)ua</i>
A01	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	3 September	5	541, 556, 571, 586	118	<i>III nonas septembris, indictione quinta</i>
A01	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	11 December	7	543, 558, 573, 588	119	<i>tertio idus decembr(es), indict(ione) s(e)ptima</i>
A01	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	28 June	5	541, 556, 571, 586	116	<i>V kal(endas) iuli(as), indict(ione) quinta</i>

A01	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès			525-575	122	[indictione? quart?/quint]a dec[ima?]
A01	Bellegarde	1 December	10	546, 561, 576, 591	143	kal(endas) decembris, indictione Xma
A02	Aix-en-Provence	3 June	1	538, 552, 567, 582	4	tertium nonas iunias, quod est indictione prima
A07	Banon	21 March	5	541, 556, 571, 586	140	XII kal(endas) apriles indict(ione) quinta
A07	Banon	29 October	6	542, 557, 572, 587	141	IIII kalendas nouemb(res) indictione VI
A08	Antibes	1 November	10	475-525	33	k(alendas) no[uembr]es, [indictione de]cima
A08	Antibes			475-525	32	V [. ?kalendas ?august]as, in[dictione?]
A11	La Gayole	21 January	11	547, 562, 577, 592	229	XII kal(endas) februarias, indic(tione) undecima
A19	Venasque	23 April	7	604	534	X k(a)l(endas) iun(ias), indiccione septima
A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	1 October	6	542, 557, 572, 587	425	kalendas octobres, indictione sexta
A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	9 April	8	544, 559, 574, 589	423	VII id(us) apr(i)l(i)s, indict(ione) VIII
A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	30 September	6	489, 512	421	prid(ie) kal(endas) octobr(es) ind(ictione) sest(a)
A22	Marseille, S.E. Cemetery	4 June	5	541, 556, 571, 586	431	pridie nonas iunias, indictione quinta

Table 10: Inscriptions dated by the indiction.

NON-CONCORDANCE BETWEEN CONSULAR / P.C. DATES AND INDICTIONAL YEARS

Since recording the indiction on official documents was required only from 537, it is difficult to explain the presence of the indiction on 16 earlier inscriptions. Nor can it be explained by lacunae in the evidence, since of 209 inscriptions where the year is certain or almost so, 190 have a consular or p.c. date, 127 of which are dated to before 537 and 63 in or after. Sixty-one have a consular or p.c. date with the indiction, and 15 have a regnal date with the indiction (two inscriptions bear all three dates, hence the apparent discrepancy). As will be seen, the issue concerning the increasing use of the indiction becomes even more complex after 540, when inscriptions bearing only the indiction are found in the same locations as these bearing a mixture of dating formulae.

The most striking feature of the 74 inscriptions bearing a mixture of dating formulae is their apparent lack of concordance in the use of two or more methods of recording the date (see Table 11). As discussed above, despite difficulties with the identification of the name of the consul in some cases, one can create a chronological framework for those inscriptions dated by a consular or p.c. date (see Chapter Four). The consular *Fasti*, despite some lacunae and ambiguities, are relatively well attested, as is the fact that the indictional year traditionally began in September. One might therefore reasonably expect that the consular, p.c. and regnal years be recorded correctly on the inscriptions with relatively few errors. This is not the case, as was recognised by De Rossi (*ICVR.I, proleg*: C) and discussed by Descombes (*RICG.XV*: 58-65).

This phenomenon is highly relevant to the chronology of the inscriptions, particularly as it is widespread in South Eastern Gaul from the second half of the sixth century. Nevertheless, here it will only be discussed briefly since there is only one inscription out of the total of 74 where the dates show a discrepancy of more than two years. Surprisingly, it is the very first one to record both a p.c. and an indiction, No.67 (Plate 17), from Arles, dated to the second p.c. of

Symmachus, cons.485. The date is 487 but the only seventh indiction near to that date began in September 484: furthermore, no seventh indiction fits the second p.c. of any consul of that name. However it is possible that the lapidary was himself confused by the introduction of the indictional year.

Table 11 also includes the two inscriptions which bear all three date formulae, No.733 from Villeneuve-lès-Avignon and No.243 (Plate 72) from Luzinay, plus all other inscriptions not included in those lists compiled in *RICG.XV*, whether fragments, more recent discoveries or merely missed. Clearly, until 545 there is usually a perfect concordance between the consular or p.c. date and the indictional year. The only certain non-concordance before 540 is No.240, from Luc-en-Diois, dated 515 by the indiction but 514 according to the consular *Fasti*, the consulship of Cassiodorus senator. This isolated example may be interpreted as a genuine mistake on the part of the lapidary who may have omitted the p.c. formula.

Firm evidence upon which to base any hypothesis for this incoherence of concordances is sparse and those also dated with a regnal year only complicate the issue. Of the 74 inscriptions 18 are fragmentary and only 20 inscriptions exist with certain concordances in or after 540 and 21 non-concordances (the apparent discrepancy is due to those bearing a regnal year being included in the original total). Traditionally the indiction changed every September prior to the beginning of the next consular year (Grumel 1958: 193). Thus, for example, in 540 the new Eastern consul Justinus took office on 1 January and the indiction, in this case the third, had already begun in September of the previous year. Thus every consular year would contain two indictional dates, since the next indiction would begin in September during his year of office. Hence it is necessary to be certain of at least the month if not the actual day on each inscription in order to ascertain whether or not there is a concordance between the consular, p.c. or regnal year and the indiction.

Two consular *Fasti* are of particular importance, those compiled by Count Marcellinus (Marcellinus: 39-101) and Victor, Bishop of Tunna in North Africa (Victor: 178-206). Traditionally the consular and p.c. years were calculated following the Marcellan method with the indiction beginning in the previous September. Table 11 has been constructed in this manner. De Rossi's explanation for the non-concordance between the p.c. and the indiction was that after about 565 the Victorian method of calculation consular years was adopted in the West (ICVR, *proleg:C*). Whilst this theory appears to work well in Rome and on some Gallic inscriptions, many inscriptions found to have had a firm concordance previously are found to be the reverse once this theory is applied.

Descombes' close scrutiny of inscriptions in this region, particularly those around Vienne, found that no system of changes can be applied to fit all cases of non-concordance. She also considered the possibility of a change in the indictional date at some point, either to the beginning of the previous year before the traditional date in September, the beginning of the year following September (thereby synchronising with the start of the p.c.), or even to the first of March following the September date, but inconsistencies remained. Most of the inscriptions can

be made to concur through the application of one or more of these theories but not all, nor even a majority (*RICG.XV*: 59-65). One example, No.733, from Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, is particularly complex, recording a date in 586 using the Victorian method and 587 using the Marcellan, but the actual date and month of the start of the reign of Childebert II is uncertain. Marius of Avenches places it in 576 (Marius: 239), requiring that the twelfth year of his reign is 587, long after the supposed change to the Victorian method.

Le Blant suggested a change to the indictional year beginning on 1 March following the traditional previous September. There is some evidence to support this in the sources: according to Gregory of Tours, there are announcements of fiscal charges and thus the indiction in the Frankish kingdom was made for 1 March (*HF.V*: 4,28). Le Blant considered it possible that the indiction began on 1 January; No.600 from Vienne may support this (*ICG.I, preface: XLII*). Despite these possibilities, the theory cannot be applied to the dating of these inscriptions because the number of non-concordances simply increases. For this reason all the inscriptions falling within this category have been allocated dates according to the Marcellan calculations. Those inscriptions recording regnal dates in the seventh century have been allocated dates on the basis of the known date of accession and where an indiction coincides, bearing in mind the probable lack of concordance found on the inscriptions from the previous century.

The regnal years inscribed in conjunction with an indiction, particularly those dating from the third decade of the seventh century, are instructive, showing a relatively high incidence of concordance with the indiction. This suggests that the date for the beginning of each indiction may have never changed. The evidence of Marius of Avenches supports this hypothesis: his chronicle includes the consular or p.c. years and the indiction regularly from 523, as in his entry for 563 which records the formula *p.c. Basili ann. XXII. ind. XI*, the 22nd p.c. of Basilius, the eleventh year of the indiction (which is correct according to the traditional Marcellan method). Three epitaphs from this region belong to that year, all in close geographical proximity to one another. These are No.19, dated 5 February 563 from Andance, No.471 (Plate 155), dated 30 April 563 from Saint-Jean-de-Bournay and No.683 dated 1 July 563 from Vienne. Only the latter has a concordance with this chronicle according to the Marcellan method, which in turn was employed by Marius when he wrote his chronicle nearly twenty years later. He shows no sign of adopting either the Victorian method nor any change to the start of the indictional year (Marius: 237).

The lack of coherence in the concordance of the dates may result from other factors. The p.c.s of Justinus, cons.540, and Basilius, cons. 541, were both used in conjunction with the indiction well into the seventh century. This longevity alone could have led to complications on a local level. No new consuls were promulgated until the Emperor Justinus took office in 566, and his name was never disseminated in Gaul, although his p.c. is recorded at Rome in 567 (*ILCV*: 3184), and in Italy generally thereafter. The indiction itself may well be a better guide to the actual date on these inscriptions since it must have been well known which indictional year it

was; the memory of a long forgotten consular year would have been harder to recollect than something so immediate as the indiction. Nevertheless, for all the apparent discord, there is never a discrepancy of more than two years and of 41 inscriptions that pose no problem in reading the date in or after 540, 20 demonstrate a perfect concordance.

Therefore, the debate between the Marcellan and the Victorian modes of dating seems ill-conceived: there is not enough evidence to suggest that the Victorian method was adopted in South Eastern Gaul, and the non-concordances between p.c. and indictional dates are best seen as the result of local ignorance or non-comprehension on the part of the lapidary or whoever commissioned his work.

CONSULAR / P.C. YEAR	INDICTION	YEAR	CONCORD	DATE	CODE	TOWN/CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	REC	CONSUL(S)/KING(S)
487	7	484	*	25 July	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	67	Symmachus 2
487	10			August	V04	St.Thomé	491	Symmachus 2
491	15			28 November	V01	Vézéronce	537	Olybrius iunior
495	3				A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	90	Symmachus iunior 10
505	13			19 March	V02	Genève	202	Cethegus 1
514	8	515	*		V05	Luc-en-Diois	240	senator
521	14				V03	Grenoble	218	Rusticius 1 Vitalianus 1
525	3			10 January	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	63	Probus iunior
529	7			4 January	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	73	Mauortius 2
530	8			19 January	A01	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	120	Decius (Decitius) 1
530	9			23 October	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	64	Lampadius et Orestes
532	11			30 November	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	60	Lampadius et Orestes 2
536	14			11 January	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	522	Paulinus iunior 2
536	14			8 June	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	592	Paulinus iunior 2
537	15			20 March	V05	St.Julien-en-Quint	473	Paulinus 3
538, 539	2	538	?		A06	Bruis	167	Iohannes
541	5			4 September	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	99	Basilus 5
544	8			26 December	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	275	Iustinus 4
544, 545	8		?		V01	Clérieux	183	Iohannes 6/7?
546	9	545	*	September	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	276	Iustinus 6
547	11	548	*	17 January	V01	Revel-Tourdan	463	Basilus 6
548	12			1 October	A16	St.Restitut	481	Iohannes 10
549	12			22 January	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	277	Iustinus 9
551	14			16 June	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	393	Iustinus 11
551, 552	15		?		L01	St.Alban-de-Bron	467	Iustinus 11/12?
551, 566	14		?	11 January	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	598	Basilus 10/25?
552	1			13 January	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	279	Iustinus 12
552	1		?	11 September	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	394	Iustinus 12
552	15	551	*	23 November	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	278	Iustinus 12
552	1			30 December	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	279	Iustinus 12
553	1			12 April	A01	Arles, St.Croix	128	Basilus 12
554	3	555	*	14 January	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	95	Basilus 13
557	5		?	21 March	V01	Vienne, isolated find	681	Basilus 16?
557	6	558	*		V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	599	Basilus 16
558			?	29 July	V01	Vienne, St.Sévère	568	Basilus 17
559	8	560	*	25 May	V01	Vienne, isolated find	682	Basilus 18
561	8	559	*	19 October	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	600	Basilus 20
561	10		?		V08	Moutiers	440	Basilus 20
562	10		?		L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	280	Iustinus 22
563	13	565	*	5 February	V01	Andance	19	Basilus 22
563	10	562	*	30 April	V01	St.Jean-de-Bournay	471	Basilus 22
563	11			1 July	V01	Vienne, isolated find	683	Basilus 22
564	13	565	*	14 August	V01	Revel-Tourdan	464	Basilus 23
564	13			8 September	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	281	Iustinus 24
565	13		?		V01	Trept	506	Iustinus 25
566, 581	14		?	23 April	V01	Vienne, Notre-Dame- d'Outre-Gère	569	Basilus 25/40?
567	14	565	*	1 November	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	538	Basilus 26
572	4	570	*	21 December	V01	Vienne, isolated find	570	Basilus 31
573	6			2 April	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	395	Iustinus 33
574	6	572	*	1 September	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	539	Basilus 33
578	12	579	*	9 March	V03	Vif	731	Basilus 37
578	14	580	*		V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	603	Basilus 37?

580	12	579	*	9 March	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	601	Basilus 39
587	5	586	*	8 December	A21	Villeneuve-lès-Avignon	733	Basilus 46 Childebert II
599	2			22 June	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	360	Iustinus 59
600	3		?		V01	Andance	20	Basilus 59
601	4			25 March	L01	Lyon, St.Just	282	Iustinus 61
607	9	605	*	1 September	V01	Luzinay	242	Basilus 66
609	10	607	*	1 January	V01	Chavanoz	175	Basilus 68
619	6	618	*	26 March	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	361	Iustinus 79
629	3			18 October	L01	Briord	155	Chlothar II
629, 630	2		?		V01	Luzinay	243	Iustinus 89/90? Dagobert I
631	4			30 June	V01	St.Romain-d'Albon	484	Dagobert I
633, 634	7		?		L01	Briord	157	Dagobert I
652	11			25 October	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	362	Clovis II
652-656	NL		?		L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	374	Clovis II
653	11			24 April	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	363	Clovis II
656	15		?	October	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	367	Clovis II
660	3			1 May	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	605	Chlothar III
663	6		?	1 January	V01	Vienne, isolated find	686	Chlothar III
679	8				V06	Soyons	500	Dagobert II
683	12			15 October	V06	Guillerand	224	Theuderic III
691	4		?	1 July	V06	Crussol	187	Clovis IV
694	8		*		V06	Touloud	504	Clovis IV
CONCORD CODES: * no concordance ? questionable or uncertain concordance, otherwise all date formulae concur.								

Table 11: Inscriptions recording more than one date type.

INSCRIPTIONS DATED BY MONTH ALONE

There remain 100 inscriptions where only the date of the month of the deceased or in a few cases the date of burial is recorded (Table 12). The formulae, the employment of the verbs *quiescere*, *iacere*, the recording of the name of the husband who has made the tomb, and, to an extent, the palaeography and decor often point to a date in the first half of the fifth century. The *initium hic requiescit in pace*, the age formula *uixit annus plus minus*, sometimes in conjunction with the expressions *resurget in Christo*, *resurrecturus in Christo*, (expressing the hope of resurrection), and the date formulae the *obiit in Christo* and or even the *depositio* (date of burial) formulae suggest a date in late fifth and early sixth centuries. These formulae are discussed in Chapter Three and assigned relative date ranges in Chapter Four.

Inscriptions without dates of any kind and fragmentary examples are much more problematic. Fragments are defined here as any inscription where it is not (immediately) possible to restore all the original text; therefore an inscription may be classed as a fragment where an otherwise perfectly preserved inscription no longer preserves the date formula. The problem here is how to define a date range through comparison with dated inscriptions. Before 450, when the habit of dating epitaphs by a consular date becomes common, the absence therein of any date indication reveals its antiquity. This is true at Arles where the *initium* is often a dedication to the named deceased in the dative case. The same style, which has its origins in pagan Roman epitaphs, is found at Vaison-la-Romaine. Elsewhere the inscriptions start a little later, for example at Vienne, where most non-dated epitaphs occur in the Saint-Gervais cemetery and on the right bank of the Rhône. At Lyon the formulae employed suggest at first glance that epitaphs

both dated by the consular year and undated were being erected contemporaneously in the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery.

One of the characteristics of what appear to be the more ancient epitaphs is their brevity and simplicity. Phrases such as *dis manibus, iacet, hic iacet, hic iacet in pace, pausat, hic pausat, recessit, hic in pace requiescit* and *hic requiescit* and expressions of hope for the resurrection and filiation are typical (for filiation see No.133, Aubergne and No.160, Briord). In addition, the use of large lettering, the letter A with a broken transverse, the letter F with an oblique transverse, sometimes three of them, the letter M with an oblique vertical and long transverse and circular letters O and Q. Decor and religious symbols are used more frequently on earlier inscriptions whereas from the sixth century onwards a simple Greek or Latin cross at the beginning of the text is more often all that is employed. The presence of incised palms or palmettes and the Chrism equally suggest a fourth or fifth century date (e.g. No.301, Lyon, Plate 105). From the mid-fifth century there is increased use of symbols such as the vase, doves and peacocks (e.g. No.579, Vienne, Plate 193). The ivy motif, however, is a commonplace and was used throughout the Gallo-Roman period (Reynolds 1989: 66-83).

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	DATE	YEAR RANGE	FORMULA
18	L01	Albigny	26 December	430-500	<i>VII kalendas ianuaras</i>
154	L01	Briord		475-500	<i>[... ianu/febru]arias [...]</i>
291	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	6 November	430-500	<i>SII idus nob(embres)</i>
297	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée		470-540	
301	L01	Lyon, St.Just	May	400-450	<i>[.]II kalen(das) iunias</i>
311	L01	Lyon, St.Just	29 June	400-450	<i>III k(a)l(endas) iulias</i>
310	L01	Lyon, St.Just	31 July	400-450	<i>a(n)te I d(iem) kalendas aug(ustas)</i>
349	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	24 January	430-500	<i>nonum k(alendas) febrarias</i>
342	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	January	470-540	<i>[... kal(endas)??] ianu[arias? ...]</i>
321	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	13 March	400-450	<i>ter idus [m]ar[t]ias</i>
351	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	7 July	430-500	<i>nonas iulias</i>
337	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	25 July	400-475	<i>VIII k(alendas) au[gustas]</i>
339	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	21 August	430-500	<i>XII k(alendas) septembris</i>
325	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	October	470-540	<i>[...] k(alendas) no(uembris), [...]</i>
350	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	23 November	430-500	<i>VIII kalendas decembris</i>
348	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just		450-550	
312	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just		475-525	<i>XI k(alendas) [...]</i>
313	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just		450-500	<i>[...] k(a)l(endas) [...]</i>
319	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just		470-540	
323	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just		430-500	<i>[de]cimo ... in pac[?]e</i>
340	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just		400-475	<i>[... kal(endas)??] iu[n]ias? ...]</i>
346	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just		400-475	<i>I[...]</i>
388	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just			
383	L01	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans	23 January	600-650	<i>X k(alendas) fe[bru]arias? ...]</i>
373	L01	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans	March	600-650	<i>m(ar)tias</i>
372	L01	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans	1 October	600-650	<i>kale(ndas) IIX B</i>
370	L01	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans		600-650	<i>[... febroarias</i>
384	L01	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans		600-650	
398	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	13 June	586-588	<i>aedibus ad coelum terris migravit ab imis iunius et mensis cultus honoris habet</i>
397	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	12 July	525-535	<i>IIII idus iulii</i>
137	L02	Autun	19 February	400-450	<i>XI <k>a<l>(endas) mart(ias) in pac<e> p<r>ecessi<t></i>
134	L02	Autun	30 April	375-400	<i>pri(die) kal(endas) mai[as]</i>
201	L03	Fénay	July	430-500	<i>in mensi iulio diea sabato</i>
22	V01	Andance		500-600	
39	V01	Aoste		450-500	<i>[...] k(alendas) feb[ru]arias]</i>
148	V01	Bourgoin		500-550	<i>non[as ...]</i>
478	V01	St. Laurent-de-Mure		500-600	<i>VI kal(endas) [...]</i>
485	V01	St. Romain-d'Albon	October	470-540	<i>[... no]uem[bres ...]</i>
487	V01	St. Romain-d'Albon			<i>[?]pr[idie [...]</i>
551	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	14 April	475-500	<i>XVIII k(alendas) maias</i>
555	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	13 May	450-500	<i>III idus maias</i>

548	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	5 October	450-500	<i>III non(as) octob(res)</i>
557	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais		525-550	<i>[...]ER [...]</i>
558	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais		450-500	
572	V01	Vienne, St.Sévère	6 June	450-500	<i>octaum idus iunias</i>
624	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	13 October	550-600	<i>III idus octub[re]s</i>
615	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	1 January?	475-525	<i>k(a)l(endas) [ianua?/februa?]ri(as)</i>
657	V01	Vienne, St.Georges		540-600	
702	V01	Vienne, isolated find	15 March	470-540	<i>idus marti[as, ...]</i>
701	V01	Vienne, isolated find	26 March	450-550	<i>[sep]tem[o] kalendas aprilis</i>
695	V01	Vienne, isolated find	19 December	450-500	<i>quartu X kalendas genuarías</i>
703	V01	Vienne, isolated find		470-540	<i>[...] ianua[rías ...]</i>
706	V01	Vienne, isolated find		450-500	
710	V01	Vienne, isolated find		500-600	<i>qui[n]to d[ecimo] k(alendas) s[ep]temb[re]s? ...]</i>
711	V01	Vienne, isolated find		475-525	
713	V01	Vienne, isolated find		470-540	
715	V01	Vienne, isolated find		450-500	<i>[...k]al[en]das m[ar]t[is]/r[is]: resurge[re] in C[on]s[ul]t[is]o</i>
729	V01	Vienne, isolated find		500-600	<i>[...] quinq[ue] du[er]n[is] ...?trans]actis men[sibus?]</i>
536	V01	Vérenay	June	540-600	<i>[...] no[n]as iunias, [...]</i>
213	V03	Grenoble	30 May	540-600	<i>III k(a)l(endas) iulias or iunias ? ...]</i>
211	V03	Grenoble		540-600	<i>sext(o) k(a)l(endas) [...]</i>
15	V04	Alba / Aps		500-600	<i>[...]bris [...]</i>
736	V04	Viviers	22 November	450-500	<i>decimo kal(endas) decembres</i>
188	V06	Crussol		675-700	<i>[...] a]gu[stas] ? ...]</i>
497	V06	Soyons		675-700	
529	V06	Valence		470-540	
82	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	27 January	540-600	<i>III k(a)l(endas) feb(ruarias), [...]</i>
70	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	12 April	425-475	<i>pr[id]ie] id(us) apr[il]is]</i>
66	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	1 August	425-475	<i>k(a)l(endas) agustas</i>
72	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	23 August	425-475	<i>decimo k(a)l(endas) septembris</i>
49	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	2 September	325-400	<i>IIII non(as) sep(tembres)</i>
74	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	7 October	425-475	<i>nonas octobres</i>
71	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	27 November	425-475	<i>V k(a)l(endas) dec(em)br(e)s</i>
62	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	28 November	540-600	<i>quartum kal(endas) de[cemb]res, [...]</i>
58	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?		400-550	<i>nono die m[ar]t[is] ? ...]</i>
59	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?		540-600	
115	A01	Arles, St.Honorat		450-500	
117	A01	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès		540-600	<i>de[cima] kal(endas) ...]</i>
126	A01	Arles, St.Caesarius	10 March	350-400	<i>VI idus martias</i>
127	A01	Arles, St.Caesarius		500-600	<i>XVIII [...]</i>
130	A01	Arles, Trinquetaille	16 March	330-350	<i>XVII kal(endas) apriles</i>
142	A02	Belcodène			<i>anno X</i>
168	A04	Brunet	28 October	425-475	<i>V kalend(as) nouem(bres]</i>
239	A05	Lorgues	21 August	500-550	<i>XII k(alendas) septembris</i>
438	A05	Montfort-sur-Argens		540-600	<i>[...] VIII [...]]ie</i>
189	A07	Dauphin	20 January	500-600	<i>XIII k(a)l(endas) febroarii m(ensis) hobiit Gisberga</i>
189	A07	Dauphin	9 April	500-600	<i>V id(us) apr(i)l(es) obiit ...</i>
408	A07	Mane	1 March	500-600	<i>k(a)l(endis) m(a)rtiis ob[i]it a sec[u]lo Vda[?]qarda</i>
439	A07	Montjustin			
443	A07	Narbonensis Secunda		450-550	<i>III kalenda[s ...]</i>
30	A08	Antibes	April	450-500	<i>[die / pridie ?] non(as) april(e)s</i>
31	A08	Antibes		450-500	<i>[...] no[n]as or ?uembres]</i>
503	A17	Suzette	April		<i>[...] idus ap(r)ilis obiit Co(n)stanci[a?]</i>
523	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine		475-500	
524	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine		500-525	<i>[...] SV[...]</i>
535	A19	Venasque	21 May	500-600	<i>XII kal(endas) iunias Tenarias intrauit Petrus fauces Auerni</i>
535	A19	Venasque	8 July	500-600	<i>VIII idus iulias ad Dominum ancilla festinat</i>
413	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	2 March	450-500	<i>VI nonas marsias, «C Q 3»</i>
416	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	9 May	450-500	<i>septimu idus</i>
430	A22	Marseille, Northern Cemetery		425-475	<i>XVIII [?]kal(endas) ..Jum XLIII</i>

Table 12: Inscriptions dated by the date of the month alone

EPITAPHS AND HISTORY

Inscriptions bearing a consular, p.c., indictional or regnal date thus help to reflect the overall contemporary political situation. The earliest Christian epitaphs derive from the south of the region, perhaps the most Romanised part of Gaul (see Chapter Four). Their preponderance

here may in fact relate to the rise in the importance of Arles as the seat of the Prefect of the Gauls and subsequent population increase in the town and its countryside (Sintès 1990: 60) marked by an increase in the use of epitaphs. Unfortunately, the earliest examples attributable to the fourth century carry no consular or p.c. date formula (see Chapter Four), although isolated examples exist such as No.248, dated 1 February 334, from Lyon: but they continue in rural areas until 629 at Luzinay, No.243 (Plate 72) and in the Metropolitan of Vienne a p.c. is recorded as late as 643, No.685, but the name of the consul, probably Basilius, cons.541, is missing. Remarkably the tradition of recording the p.c. on inscriptions therefore continued for approximately a century after the last ever subject consul took office. Equally remarkable is the contemporaneous use of the p.c. years of Justinus at Lyon and its environs, and those of Basilius at Vienne, the eastern Viennoise and occasionally as far south as Arles and Marseille. This frequent usage of two p.c. years for so long in two areas in such close proximity to one another cannot be easily explained, unless the consuls concerned originally had family or official links in these zones: Basilius was a member of the Decii, a prominent Western family, and Justinus was a nephew of Justinian.

Descombes has defined two periods in the use of consular and p.c. dates for Viennoise du Nord. The first shows a relatively unbroken annual succession of inscriptions dated by the consulate or p.c. until 534. The second period comes after 534, when no further Western consuls were appointed, although in the East subject consuls continued to take office intermittently until 541. At that point a long series of p.c. years begin, a phenomenon mirrored only at Rome (*R/ICG.XV*: pp.49-57). However, in a region as large as South Eastern Gaul, there are subtle differences of historical interest to be found from one area to another prior to the year of office of the last Western consul.

As stated above, until Theoderic gained control of Italy in 493, the promulgation of both consuls was generally quite regular, except for those instances already cited. This is clearly visible in the epigraphic evidence. Forty-two inscriptions are known which record the Eastern consul prior to 540: 24 are dated prior to 500 and only three are from south of the Durance. The implication is clear: (continued) recognition of the Eastern Empire by the Burgundian Kingdom. Subsequent to 493 a period of poor relations began between the Ostrogothic Kingdom and the Eastern Empire, precipitating a break in the dissemination of the names of the Eastern consuls as reflected in the epigraphic sources. Both inscriptions dated 493 are p.c.s of Anastasius and Rufus, both consuls in the East, there being no Western consul in 492 (see De Rossi = *ICVR, Proleg*, C). While Theoderic refused to recognise the Eastern consuls from the beginning of 501, they appear again in the Burgundian Kingdom from 515; on 11 inscriptions between 515 and 521 inclusively, all distributed in the region of Vienne and Grenoble (Figure 51).

Despite the death of Clovis in 511, the Burgundian king, Gundobad, already perturbed by recent Frankish expansion as far as the Pyrenees, may have also been concerned over the power of Theoderic, since 508 ruler of Provence. Gundobad probably considered diplomatic rapport with the emperor advisable: hence from 515 the name of the Eastern consul resumes

on inscriptions. Following Gundobad's death in 516, Avitus, bishop of Vienne, wrote to the Emperor Anastasius on behalf of Gundobad's son, now king, Sigismund, stating that he found it a great joy to serve him and to reign over his subjects (*PL.LIX* col.276, *Ep.lxix*). This letter was intercepted or delayed by Theoderic, but a later letter of Avitus, relating this fact, shows that the correspondence was followed up (Wood 1979: 184-188; *PL.LIX* col.286, *Ep.lxxxiv*). This in turn helps explain the continued dissemination of the name of the Eastern consuls in 520 and 521. The consulate of Emperor Justin I in 519 is recorded on two inscriptions dated 520; No.226 (Plate 67) from La Baume-Comillane, and No.586 from Vienne. Notably the Western consul of that year is not mentioned, Eutharicus Cillica, husband of Theoderic's daughter Amalasuntha.

Significantly, in 520 the names of both the Western and Eastern consuls, Rusticius and Vitalianus occur on inscriptions at Lyon, No.401 (Plate 130), and at Grenoble, No.217 (Plate 61). Another, unpublished epitaph, No.218 (Plate 62), has also been found at Grenoble, recording a p.c. of this pair and the indiction - perhaps the exchange of correspondence between Sigismund and the Byzantine court informed the Burgundians of the consulship of Justin I and subsequent consuls. Furthermore, in 519 Sigismund may have refused to disseminate the consulate of Eutharicus Cillica in the light of poor relations between himself and Theoderic. Sigismund would have doubtless wished to be agreeable to Constantinople where there was already disquiet about Gothic nationalism and the pro-Arianism of Eutharicus. Whatever the case, the emperor took diplomatic advantage of any rivalry between Eutharicus and Sigismund. Since for these years the history of the Burgundian Kingdom is not well documented, the epitaphs serve as unique sources. The hypothesis of De Rossi, particularly in light of the letters of Avitus and the proposed formulae on the inscriptions for the epitaphs bearing the name of Justin I, is the only one which makes sense of the presence of the Eastern consuls at this time. Further evidence lies in Sigismund's monastic foundation at Agaune in 515, which adopted the peculiar liturgy known as the *laus perennis*, which was in use at the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Akoinetae, a community active in the Chalcedonian faction during the Acacian schism. There may thus have been some contact then between these monks and the Burgundian Kingdom (Wood 1979: 198).

The attribution of two fragmentary inscriptions, Nos.226 (Plate 67) and 586 (=R/CG.XV: 9 and 83), to the p.c. of Justin I seems certain. His consulate was not published in the states of Theoderic, but it was amongst the Burgundians, where in 515 the consul of the East, Anthemius, son of the Emperor Anthemius (467-472), had been recognised, and in 520, that of Vitalianus. The year 525, the p.c. of his second consulate, can probably be dismissed because the epitaphs are dated from as early as 10 January at Arles by the consulate of Probus, the Western consul, (No.63, Plate 14). The political situation in the Burgundian Kingdom had changed, Avitus and Sigismund were now dead, the latter murdered in 523, and there is no evidence for a maintenance of diplomatic relations between his successor, Godomar, and the Byzantine court. However, several objections may be raised against this dating system, founded purely on epigraphical criteria. Rusticius, the Western consul in 520, is attested in northern Italy

without his Eastern colleague, Vitalianus, from the 24 January (*ILCV*: 1156), but not at Lyon until September, No.401 (Plate 130), and at Grenoble until November, No.217 (Plate 61). Vitalianus' inclusion may have been due to the name of Rusticius arriving late in the year, but in 519 the consul of the West, Flavius Eutharicus Cillica, the husband of Amalasuntha, is attested in Italy from January or February (*ILCV*: 4678). It is his name that one begins to find in Italy but not in Gaul, and never with his Eastern colleague, the Emperor Justin I, who is found in Gaul. Thereafter no Eastern consul is named on a Gallic inscription until 538. The second consulate of Justin I in 524 is not attested in Gaul, suggesting a break in diplomatic contact following the death of Sigismund. The consulships of the Emperor Justinian are likewise not found. The Western consuls continue to be disseminated and regularly appear on the inscriptions.

Frankish domination of the Burgundian Kingdom from 534 changed nothing (in the system of dating). A series of inscriptions recording the p.c. years of Paulinus *iunior* is found between 535 and 537 in the region of Vienne; curiously no inscription is known from Lyon between 525 and 541, yet at Arles, not well known for its series of consular and p.c. dated inscriptions, there is a series between 529 and 532. This was followed by the aforementioned long series of p.c.s of Justinus and Basilius, cons. 540 and 541 respectively, and dating by the year of the Frankish king did not become prevalent until the seventh century. This suggests that the Burgundian aristocracy maintained some ties with the East, if only as a memory, and that their Frankish overlords were largely absent from the region. If this were not so, it would be difficult to explain why so many of the Burgundian aristocracy were accorded an epitaph bearing so overtly political a statement as a record of an Easter post consular date.

Nevertheless, new dating systems emerge with regional variations in form dependent upon whether they were in the Gothic or Byzantine spheres of influence. In the northern part of South Eastern Gaul the p.c. of Paulinus was used, whereas at Rome the p.c. of Belisarius appeared contemporaneously although the p.c. of Paulinus continued in use in Northern Italy sporadically for at least 18 years (*ILCV*: 338B), thereby signifying Gothic refusal to recognise the Eastern consul promulgated by Justinian. The Franks, by contrast, due to their periodic participation in the Byzantine reconquest, knew the consuls of the East; Iohannes in 538, Justinus in 540 and Basilius in 541. The publication of the consulate of Iohannes in 538 was the first time in many years that Italy had received the name of an Eastern consul, where his name is found on epitaphs at Rome (*ILCV*: 217adn, described as *cons per oriente*, *ILCV*: 318, described *orientalis*, and on *ILCV*: 4645adn). At Vienne two fragments appear to have the name of Iohannes and are perhaps dated 538, Nos.688 and 689. In Vienne and its environs inscriptions recording the p.c. of Iohannes are found in 540, 544, 545, 546 and 547. On a regional level this is in itself peculiar since from 542 onwards dating by the p.c. Basilius, cons.541, becomes standard at Vienne. More curious still, at Aoste there are two inscriptions dated 547; Basilius, the later consul, is recorded on the earlier inscription, dated 17 April, No.36, and the other is a p.c. of Iohannes, the earlier consul, dated 26 November, No.37. However, the Franks had never employed a consular or p.c. date on their epitaphs and the continued employment of the system

in Burgundy should therefore be attributed more to a continuing tradition on the part of the local aristocracy rather than to a newly adopted policy by the Franks, who never populated the region in large numbers, as explained above.

Dissemination problems remained - not surprising because of war in Italy. In 540 during the second p.c. of Iohannes, the consulship of Justinus is known at Rome from March or April (*ILCV*: 704), yet the p.c. of Iohannes is used in Gaul until 548 at Saint-Restitut, No.481. In South Eastern Gaul as a whole only p.c.s of Justinus and Basilius are known thereafter, but the geographical distribution is far from haphazard. At Lyon and within its environs there is a long series of inscriptions recording a p.c. of Justinus between 541 and 629-630. At Vienne, on the contrary, as elsewhere in South Eastern Gaul and at Rome, the p.c.s of Basilius are used although occasional p.c.s of Justinus appear in the environs of Vienne: at Luzinay in 629/630, No.243 (Plate 72), Saint-Laurent-de-Mure, possibly in 551, No.475, and Trept in 565, No.506 (Plate 166). These sites are in the most northern part of the metropolitan of Vienne, close to Lyon, which perhaps explains their adoption. It may be also an indication of the administrative or religious divisions marking the diocesan frontiers between Lyon and Vienne, thereby showing a different border between the later medieval episcopal boundaries, or, more tenuously, a partition of the Burgundian state in 534 between the Frankish princes, Childebert and Chlothar. As found at Aoste earlier, one needs to be prudent, since at Luzinay, for instance, a p.c. of Basilius appears in 607, No.242 (Plate 71), suggesting overlapping systems. This is significant: the consulates and p.c.s of the Byzantine Emperors Justin II, Tiberius, Maurice, Phocas and Heraclius are unknown in Gaul, but in Italy they were generally employed in place of Basilius's p.c.s, although they too enjoyed a period of use. Otherwise there is nothing intrinsically notable in this long series of p.c. dates, which in any case present many lacunae.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FORMULAE EMPLOYED ON THE EPITAPHS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to classify, describe and discuss the formulae. The emphasis is mainly on the simple epitaphs which form the majority of the inscriptions under study while the longer, metrical series of epitaphs are discussed in more detail in Chapter Five - though some of their *initia*, age and date formulae are described briefly here. The approach taken here follows that taken by the French *RICG* series except that the orthography of the formulae is dealt with more briefly and the formulae are viewed within their regional contexts rather than province by province. The intention is then to utilise these same formulae, together with other aspects, to attempt to allocate a date to those inscriptions where the date is either missing, illegible or not inscribed. As discussed in Chapter Two, 212 of these inscriptions are dated by a consular or p.c. year (28.6% of the total). The frequency of the presence of the verbs *requiesco*, *uiuo* and *obeo* governing the formulae, which at first sight appear highly repetitive, suggest that it may be possible to formulate a systematic method by which these general characteristics help predict statistically a date range where none now exists. The classification and discussion of the formulae further helps demonstrate how the various formulae developed in space and time. Finally, there is the possibility to trace the geographical origin of an individual formula, in particular in terms of revealing the limits of influence exerted by a metropolitan on its surrounding area.

The most common formulae on the epitaphs, those recording the name, age and date of death or burial will be discussed first, followed by variants found. Formulae recording the social or religious status and character attributes of the deceased are discussed separately in Chapter Four. The formulae are taken here as a starting point partly because they are not subject to difference of opinion as to the exact reading of the text and partly because they are so numerous, thereby lending themselves to statistical analysis in terms of category. Furthermore, they are not subject to the personal opinion of the observer to the same degree as palaeography; Descombes has shown that in *Viennensis* "la qualité de la gravure et la régularité de l'écriture ne sont pas fonction de l'ancienneté de l'inscription" (1986: 81 = *RICG.XV*).

CATEGORIES OF FORMULAE

The epitaphs chiefly comprise an *initium* with the name of the deceased, occasionally a short prose eulogy, the age, the date of death or sometimes of burial, and finally a consular, p.c., or regnal date. After 540 the use of the indiction both in conjunction with these date forms or on its own becomes increasingly common, as has been seen in Chapter Two. The formulae and the verbs governing them are therefore relatively simple and terse, though much diversity exists.

Table 13 shows the categories, totals, totals dated and undated, and the percentage dated for each of the formulae governed by the verbs *requiesco*, *uiuo* and *obeo*, followed by variants

encountered. In the case of the former, the total percentages of dated inscriptions appears quite high: at least 38% in the case of *requiesco*, and as high as 54% with *obeo*, suggesting that further analysis may prove fruitful. The classifications detailed below comprise the most common formulae employing these three verbs whilst aggregating any variants employing the same governing verb. The other, less common formulae are included for comparison. All formulae are discussed in this order and date ranges are proposed for the major variants where appropriate during the discussion. Date ranges for the epitaphs employing *requiesco*, *uiuo* and *obeo* are allocated in Chapter Four because statistically significant patterns emerge.

Whilst some classifications clearly are not sufficiently numerous to lend themselves to further statistical analysis, there are grounds for defending such sub-classification. Classifications 7, 8, 9 and 10 for the verb *requiesco* are similar in concept. To take one example, *in hoc tumultu requiescit* is found only six times, two are dated, both from *Viennensis*. *In hoc tumultu requiescit in pace* is also rare: four examples only are known, but with the two dated examples again from *Viennensis*. *In hoc tumultu requiescit bonae memoriae* presents a different pattern, for nearly three-quarters of the known examples are from *Lugdunensis* and 21 of the 31 dated examples are from Lyon itself, and specifically, nearly all are from the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery. In contrast, *in hoc tumultu requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* is confined largely to *Viennensis*.

In the following sections the data for each formula are not always tabulated where the evidence is insufficiently significant. However, since the stated intention is to define a methodology for systematic dating, all the statistical data have been included in the tables, where created, whether or not a particular calculation is significant. The only omissions are where no data concerning a particular provenance are yet available and so other factors need to be taken into consideration. This is provided by comparison of the other formulae displayed on an epitaph with other dated examples displaying the same formulae (see below). Whilst some tables may appear long and complex, this information provides more accurately a reflection of the significance of the occurrence of one formula as opposed to its rarity from one area to another. Dedications or honorary inscriptions are excluded. The total number of inscriptions included in this section is 729.

The key to the column headings for the tables enumerating those phrases governed by *requiesco*, *uiuo* and *obeo* is as follows:

- **R-TOT** - total number of epitaphs recorded within that region.
- **R-PER** - total number of epitaphs expressed bearing that formula expressed as a percentage.
- **TOTAL** - total number of epitaphs bearing that formula within that region.
- **SAM** - total number of dated examples bearing that formula within that region.
- **MAX** - the latest dated example.
- **MIN** - the earliest dated example.
- **AVG** - the average date.

- **RANGE** - the date range.
- **STDEV** - the standard deviation.
- **STD %** - the percentage of dated examples known within the standard deviation.

FORMULAE GOVERNED BY REQVIESCO		TOTAL	DATED	NOT DATED	% DATED
1	HIC REQVIESCIT	8	3	5	37.50
2	HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE	39	9	30	23.08
3	HIC REQVIESCET BONE MEMORIAE	15	10	5	66.67
4	HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE BONAE MEMORIAE	62	27	35	43.55
5	BONAE MEMORIAE HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE	6	1	5	16.67
6	HIC IN PACE REQVIESCIT BONAE MEMORIAE	40	11	29	27.50
7	IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT	6	2	4	33.33
8	IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT IN PACE	4	2	2	50
9	IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT BONAE MEMORIAE	61	31	30	50.82
10	IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT IN PACE BONAE MEMORIAE	34	15	19	44.12
11	IN HOC LOCO REQVIESCIT / IN PACE / BONAE MEMORIAE	8	3	5	37.50
12	VARIANT REQVIESCIT FORMULAE	25	7	18	28
13	UNCLASSIFIED REQVIESCIT FRAGMENTS	26	6	20	23.08
TOTALS		334	127	207	38.02
VARIANT PHRASES AND VERBS GOVERNING INITIA					
14	DATIVE / OPTATIVE INITIA	33	1		
15	NOMINATIVE INITIA	32	5		
16	METRICAL / PROSE INITIA	41	16		
17	CONDO -ERE	10	6		
18	IACEO -ERE	37	7		
19	QUIESCO -ERE	20	7		
AGE FORMULAE GOVERNED BY VIVO					
1	QVI/QVAE VIXIT ANNOS + AGE	116	58	58	50
2	QVI/QVAE VIXIT ANNOS ... MENSES ... DIES	78	30	48	38.46
3	QVI/QVAE VIXIT ANNOS PLVS MINVS	81	28	53	34.57
4	QVI VIXIT IN PACE ANNOS	46	26	20	56.52
5	VARIANT VIXIT FORMULAE	19	10	9	52.63
6	UNCLASSIFIED VIXIT FRAGMENTS	59	7	52	11.86
TOTALS		399	159	240	39.85
VARIANT PHRASES AND VERBS GOVERNING AGE FORMULAE					
7	AGE ONLY	5	1		
8	METRICAL / PROSE AGE FORMULA	34	14		
DATE FORMULAE GOVERNED BY OBEO					
1	OBIIT + DATE	110	69	41	62.73
2	OBIIT DIE + DATE	12	7	5	58.33
3	OBIIT SVB DIE + DATE	42	17	25	40.48
4	OBIIT IN CHRISTO / XPO + DATE (normally)	23	14	9	60.87
5	OBIIT IN PACE + DATE	30	24	6	80
6	VARIANT OBIIT FORMULAE	23	12	11	52.17
7	UNCLASSIFIED OBIIT FRAGMENTS	34	7	27	20.59
TOTALS		274	150	124	54.74
VARIANT PHRASES AND VERBS GOVERNING DATE FORMULAE					
8	DATE AND MONTH ONLY	12	7		
9	METRICAL / PROSE DATE FORMULA	26	13		
10	DEPONO -ERE	21	10		
11	RECEDO -ERE	18	4		
12	TRANSEO -IRE	24	16		
OTHER COMMONLY FOUND PHRASES					
1	CUM QUO/A VIXI/IT	6	0		
2	FACIO -ERE	10	3		
3	PONO -ERE	10	0		
4	RESURGO -ERE	22	6		

Table 13: The major categories of formulae inscribed upon epitaphs.

For the lower half of the table where the provenances are listed. **CODE** refers to the *ciuitas* as explained in the introduction; **PRED** (on tables detailing the unclassified formulae) refers to the category of formula predicted to have been statistically the most likely to have been employed. The method for this is explained in Chapter Four.

INITIA FORMULAE

1) *HIC REQUIESCIT*

Only eight examples are known of the formula *hic requiescit*, of which three are dated. These are from the northern part of the region. The formula seems unique to the fifth century. Those from Lyon and Vienne are from the earliest cemeteries (Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just at Lyon, Saint-Gervais at Vienne). The single example from Arles, No.115, is also probably as early: the phrase [...] *posita [est?]* indicates a late fourth or early fifth century date. Although three dated examples cannot be regarded as statistically significant, their average date of 452 with a standard deviation of 26 years may be an accurate reflection of the *floruit* of this formula.

2) *HIC REQUIESCIT IN PACE*

Thirty-nine examples are known of the formula type *hic requiescit in pace*; nine are dated. The formula appears widely employed, but chiefly in *Viennensis* where 28 examples are known, concentrated mainly in its north. Although the evidence is slight, the formula may have been employed first in *Arelatensis*, where eight examples are known; the only dated example (A.D. 489) is from Marseille, where five examples are recorded. The earliest dated example of all comes from Saint-Romain d'Albon, No.482 (Plate 158), dated 467. Extraordinarily, of the 20 examples from Vienne itself, only one is dated (No.579, of 491; Plate 193) from the Saint-Pierre cemetery, where three examples are known. Nine examples come from the Saint-Gervais cemetery, none of which are dated. It may be that this formula indicates that the seven examples found as isolated finds may well also derive from Saint-Gervais. Few inscriptions from here are dated overall compared with the Saint-Pierre cemetery, and this formula accounts for 33% of all known inscriptions from Saint-Gervais and only 4% from Saint-Pierre. The large number of inscriptions from these two cemeteries suggests that these percentages are probably representative of the original situation. Curiously, of the eight examples known from *Viennensis* excluding Vienne, six are dated and centre around the year 500 with a standard deviation of 18 years. This is a slightly later date than the overall average, which centres on 494. The limited evidence suggests that the formula was employed first in the south of the region. The usage of the date formula governed by *recedo* is confined to the fifth century, although that is based on only five examples, and *recedo* is employed on four examples of this formula from Marseille, one of which is dated 489. The formula is known as late as 521 at Grenoble (No.218; Plate 62), but never found popularity at Lyon, where two examples alone are known (Nos.335 and 405). A total of only three for *Lugdunensis* are recorded as a whole and No.405 from Lyon appears to mention the place of origin of the deceased, [... *Vi?jennensis* [...]], serving to confirm that the formula was indeed confined largely to *Viennensis*.

The following can also be placed within this category: Bourgoin, No.148; Vienne, Saint-Gervais, Nos.555 and 557; Vienne, Saint-Pierre, No.588, dated 525 (Plate 196), and an isolated find, No.708; Marseille, in the Northern Cemetery, Nos.428 and 430, together with an isolated find, No.433.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	204	1	3	1	469	469	469			100
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	9	28	7	521	467	499.43	54	17.56	71.43
<i>Arelatensis</i>	197	4	8	1	489	489	489			100
<i>Lugdunensis</i> , exc. Lyon	43	2	1	1	469	469	469			100
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc. Vienne	135	6	8	6	521	467	500.83	54	18.60	66.67
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc. Arles	112	5	6	1	489	489	489			100
Lyon	161	1	2							
Vienne	193	10	20	1	491	491	491			100
Arles	85	2	2							
Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	64	2	1							
Lyon, All St. Irénée/St. Just	117	1	1							
Lyon, isolated finds	6	17	1							
Vienne, St. Gervais	27	33	9							
Vienne, St. Sévère	6	17	1							
Vienne, St. Pierre	69	4	3	1	491	491	491			100
Vienne, St. Pierre/St. Georges	80	4	3	1	491	491	491			100
Vienne, isolated finds	64	11	7							
Arles, Alyscamps ?	48	2	1							
Arles, Alyscamps	11	9	1							
All Provenances	729	5	39	9	521	467	494.89	54	18.28	44.44

Table 14: Measures of position and variability for the formula *hic requiescit in pace*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Grigny	1	469
L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	1	
L01	Lyon, Others	1	
V01	La Côte-St. André	1	
V01	St. Romain-d'Albon	1	467
V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	9	
V01	Vienne, St. Sévère	1	
V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	3	491
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	7	
V01	Vézérone	1	491
V03	Grenoble	2	521
V03	St. Sixte-de-Merlas	1	516
V04	Viviers	1	496
V05	Luc-en-Diois	1	514
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	1	
A01	Arles, Alyscamps	1	
A05	Carcès	1	
A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	5	489

Table 15: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the *initium hic requiescit in pace*.

3) HIC REQUIESCIT BONAE MEMORIAE

Fifteen examples with this *initium* are known, of which ten are dated, the earliest being of 474 from Cimiez, No. 176 (Plate 54). The formula is rare and its use is confined generally to the north of *Arelatensis*, where nine examples are known from and to the north of Vienne. At Briord two examples are dated to 619 and 629 (Nos. 155 and 159), and further south at Venasque a sole example, No. 534, is dated 604. These are late examples and the evidence suggests that the *floruit* for this formula was rather the last quarter of the fifth through to the first quarter of the sixth century. This concurs with the average date of 504 for *Viennensis* with a standard deviation of 16 years.

The following can also be placed within this category: Chalon-sur-Saône, No. 173, dated 523 (Plate 52); Saint-Gervais, No. 470; and three from Cimiez, Nos. 178, 179 and 182.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	204	2	5	3	629	525	591	104	46.85	66.67
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	2	7	5	522	483	504	39	16.55	40
<i>Arelatensis</i>	197	2	3	2	604	474	539	130	65	100
<i>Lugdunensis</i> , exc. Lyon	43	7	3	2	629	619	624	10	5	100
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc. Vienne	135	3	4	3	522	486	509.33	36	16.52	66.67
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc. Arles	112	3	3	2	604	474	539	130	65	100
Lyon	161	1	2	1	525	525	525			100
Vienne	193	2	3	2	509	483	496	26	13	100
Briord	18	11	2	2	629	619	624	10	5	100
Lyon, St. Irénée	31	6	2	1	525	525	525			100
Lyon, All St. Irénée/St. Just	117	2	2	1	525	525	525			100
Vienne, St. Pierre	69	3	2	1	483	483	483			100
Vienne, St. Pierre/St. Georges	80	3	2	1	483	483	483			100
Vienne, isolated finds	64	2	1	1	509	509	509			100
All Provenances	729	2	15	10	629	474	537.10	155	55.32	60

Table 16: Measures of position and variability for the formula *hic requiescet bone memoriae*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Briord	2	619, 629
L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	2	525
L03	Fénay	1	
V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	2	483
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	1	509
V02	Grésy-sur-Aix	1	486
V02	La Terrasse	1	522
V06	La Baume-Cornillane	1	520
V06	Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence)	1	
A14	Cimiez	1	474
A19	Venasque	1	604
A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	1	

Table 17: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the *initium hic requiescet bonae memoriae*.

4) *HIC REQUIESCIT IN PACE BONAE MEMORIAE*

Sixty-two examples of *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* are known, of which 27 are dated. This formula has a large date range of 175 years (No.605 from Vienne is of A.D.660; Plate 202), but its main *floruit* is covers the last quarter of the fifth through to the third quarter of the sixth century. It is found predominantly in *Viennensis*, with 45 known examples, with 18 at Vienne, eight of which carry a date. Seven examples are from the Saint-Pierre cemetery, with another from the adjoining chapel of Saint-Georges, suggesting that the eight stray examples may also be from Saint-Pierre. In *Arelatensis* and *Lugdunensis* only 17 examples are known. All the examples from *Lugdunensis* are dated, with a range of just 13 years between 488 and 501. Four of these are from Briord, Nos.150, 151, 152 (Plate 47) and 153 (Plate 50), and the single example from Lyon, No.262 (Plate 80), is dated 493. The two dated examples from *Arelatensis* are dated somewhat later, 531 at Arles, No.59, and 538 at Bruis, No.167, though no conclusion should be inferred that the formula spread from the north on the basis of such sparse evidence. In *Viennensis*, excluding Vienne, the date range is very similar to that at Vienne if the example dated 660 is excluded. As 16 provenances are known the average dates may be representative, suggesting that the formula was first employed at Vienne (earliest date of 485), and thence spread throughout *Viennensis* (earliest dated example from Valence, No.530, dated 491; Plate 173). All other dated examples are from the sixth century. Another exception to the average

date range may be No.460 (Plate 148) from Peyruis, where the employment of miniscule and uncial characters suggest a seventh century date (Guyon 1992), but the employment of the anathema formula and the formulae suggest that it belongs to the early fifth century, to which it is allocated with reservations.

The following can also be placed within this category: Lyon, Saint-Just, No.299 and from the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just district, No.333; Bourgoin, No.146, dated 515; Saint-Romain-d'Albon, No.485; Saint-Vallier, No.494; Vienne, Saint-Gervais cemetery, Nos.558, 561, No.538, dated 567 (Plate 176), and No.539, dated 574; Saint-Pierre cemetery, No.616. A further eight are isolated finds, Nos.688, 691, 713, 723, 727, 675, dated 527, 677, dated 535 and 679, dated 553. Also from *Viennensis*: at Genève, Nos.203 and 206, from Corenc, near Grenoble, No.185, Alba/Aps, No.15, Saint-Thomé, No.492, Saint-Julien-en-Quint, No.473, dated 537, Valence, No.529 and No.531, dated 511 and Valence (Bourg-lès-Valence), No.526, dated 523 (Plate 172).

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	204	2	5	5	501	488	494.80	13	5.31	40
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	14	45	20	660	485	527.55	175	36.96	90
<i>Arelatensis</i>	197	6	12	2	538	531	534.50	7	3.50	100
<i>Lugdunensis</i> , exc. Lyon	43	9	4	4	501	488	495.25	13	5.85	75
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc. Vienne	135	20	27	12	564	491	526.42	73	21.03	66.67
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc. Arles	112	6	7	1	538	538	538			100
Lyon	161	1	1	1	493	493	493			100
Vienne	193	9	18	8	660	485	529.25	175	52.41	87.50
Arles	85	6	5	1	531	531	531			100
Briord	18	22	4	4	501	488	495.25	13	5.85	75
Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	64	2	1	1	493	493	493			100
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	117	1	1	1	493	493	493			100
Vienne, St.Gervais	27	4	1							
Vienne, Notre-Dame-D'Outre-Gère	3	33	1	1	502	502	502			100
Vienne, St.Pierre	69	10	7	4	660	485	548.50	175	66.36	75
Vienne, St.Georges	11	9	1	1	542	542	542			100
Vienne, St.Pierre/St.Georges	80	10	8	5	660	485	547.20	175	59.42	60
Vienne, isolated finds	64	13	8	2	501	495	498	6	3	100
Arles, Alyscamps ?	48	6	3	1	531	531	531			100
Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	7	29	2							
All Provenances	729	9	62	27	660	485	522	175	34.49	88.89

Table 18: Measures of position and variability for the formula *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Briord	4	488, 491, 501, 501
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	1	493
V01	Agnin	1	
V01	Aoste	4	523, 537, 547, 547
V01	Bourgoin	1	517
V01	Pact	2	
V01	Revel-Tourdan	3	547, 564
V01	St.Romain-d'Albon	1	516
V01	St.Vallier	1	503
V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	1	
V01	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	1	502
V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	7	485, 524, 525, 660
V01	Vienne, St.Georges	1	542
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	8	495, 501
V02	Genève	2	505
V03	Grenoble	5	520
V03	Moirans	1	
V03	St.Sixte-de-Merlas	1	
V04	Alba/Aps	1	

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
V05	Die	1	
V06	Aouste	1	
V06	Valence	1	491
V06	Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence)	1	
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	3	531
A01	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	2	
A05	Lorgues	1	
A06	Bruis	1	538
A07	Peyruis	1	
A08	Antibes	1	
A11	La Gayole	1	
A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	1	
A22	Marseille, S.E. Cemetery	1	

Table 19: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the *initium hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*.

5) BONAE MEMORIAE HIC REQUIESCIT IN PACE

This formula is employed predominantly in northern Italy and all six known examples in our sample are from southern *Arelatensis*, close by the Italian border, from Antibes, Nos.29-32, and Notre-Dame-de-Brusc, Nos.449 and 450. The sole dated example is from Antibes, No.29, dated 476. Inscriptions are rare in south-eastern *Arelatensis*, but the indications are that this formula was confined to the last half of the fifth century; thenceforth other formulae become prevalent. This formula is usually found associated with the date formula *depositus/a est*; all four of the examples from Antibes are of this type.

Two epitaphs from Notre-Dame-du-Brusc, Nos.448 and 451, can also be placed within this category.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Arelatensis</i>	197	3	6	1	476	476	476			100
<i>Arelatensis, exc.Arles</i>	112	5	6	1	476	476	476			100
All Provenances	729	1	6	1	476	476	476			100

Table 20: Measures of position and variability for the formula *bonae memoriae hic requiescit in pace*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
A08	Antibes	4	476
A08	Notre-Dame-du-Brusc	2	

Table 21: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the *initium bonae memoriae hic requiescit in pace*.

6) HIC IN PACE REQUIESCIT BONAE MEMORIAE

Forty examples are known, of which 11 are dated. This formula predominates in *Arelatensis*, with only one example known outside the province, at Crussol, No.186 (Plate 55), in southern *Viennensis*. Thirty examples are from Arles, where the formula occurs on 35% of the inscriptions. This percentage is even more striking if the earlier dative/optative formulae are discounted; these are all apparently earlier in date (see below) suggesting that this formula presents an approximate *terminus ante quem* of about 450 for the use of the dative/optative *initia*, although the earliest dated example from Arles for this is 487. The concentration is emphasised further by all nine examples outside Arles but within *Arelatensis* being found within a quadrant approximately 100 Kilometres north-east of Arles. The date range at Arles is wide, 67 years, precisely the same as that found overall, but this is not significant because only two

dated examples exist outside Arles, at Vaison-la-Romaine, Nos.519 and 522, dated 502 and 536 respectively. Seven inscriptions which carry an indictional date and are otherwise dated carry this formula at Arles. A further 11 inscriptions at Arles are dated by the indiction alone and also carry this formula, suggesting that they must post-date 540 for reasons explained in Chapter Two. All the examples from Arles are thought to be from the Alyscamps cemetery. Although the numbers of inscriptions are too few to be conclusive, it may be that this formula was used predominantly in areas of the cemetery away from Saint-Honorat where the formula is found infrequently. This suggests that earlier burials may have been concentrated there so that the deceased might rest not only *ad sanctos*, but *ad martyrem*, the martyr being Saint Genesius, to whom the church was originally dedicated. The presence of the tombs of Honoratus, Hilarinus and Concordius, all bishops of Arles, further attests its importance (TC.III: 93). The later use of the formula in the northern part of the cemetery, at Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès, suggests that burials in the Alyscamps cemetery were concentrated in the area between the two churches during the first half of the sixth century.

The following can also be placed within this category: a total of 11 from Arles, all from Alyscamps, Nos.79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 86, No.122 (from Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès), and three dated examples, Arles, Alyscamps, No. 90, dated 495, No. 96, dated 515, and No. 99, dated 541. Six further epitaphs have been placed within this category, though with some reservations concerning the statistical reliability of such an attribution because there are far fewer epitaphs outside Arles in the province overall in comparison with *Viennensis*. The same problem is less acute in *Lugdunensis* where there are very few inscriptions found outside Lyon. The six further inscriptions are from Aix-en-Provence, No.3, dated 494 (Plate 1), Le Buis, No.234, *Narbonensis Secunda*, No.443, Vaison-la-Romaine, No.525, Gigondas, No.210 and Orange, No.454.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Viennensis</i>	328		1							
<i>Arelatensis</i>	197	20	39	11	554	487	520.09	67	19.68	72.73
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc.Vienne	135	1	1							
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc.Arles	112	8	9	2	536	502	519	34	17	100
Arles	85	35	30	9	554	487	520.33	67	20.22	66.67
Arles, Alyscamps ?	48	42	20	6	532	487	516.33	45	18.18	66.67
Arles, Alyscamps	11	36	4	1	554	554	554			100
Arles, St.Honorat	14	14	2	1	501	501	501			100
Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	7	57	4	1	530	530	530			100
All Provenances	729	5	40	11	554	487	520.09	67	19.68	72.73

Table 22: Measures of position and variability for the formula *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
V06	Crussol	1	
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	20	487, 495, 525, 529, 530, 532
A01	Arles, Alyscamps	4	554
A01	Arles, St.Honorat	2	501
A01	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	4	530
A01	Bellegarde	1	
A07	Banon	2	
A07	Montfort	1	
A07	Reillanne	1	
A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	3	502, 536
A22	Marseille, isolated finds	1	

Table 23: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the *initium hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*.

7) IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT

Only six examples are known of which only two are dated: Vienne, No.678 (Plate 218), of 536, and Touloud, No.504 of 694 (Plate 165). Distribution is sporadic throughout the region.

Two further epitaphs can also be placed within this category: from Briord, No.154 and Saint-Regitut, No.481, dated 548.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
Lugdunensis	204	1	2							
Viennensis	328	1	3	2	694	536	615	158	79	100
Arelatensis	197	1	1							
Lugdunensis, exc.Lyon	43	2	1							
Viennensis, exc.Vienne	135	1	2	1	694	694	694			100
Arelatensis, exc.Arles	112	1	1							
Lyon	161	1	1							
Vienne	193	1	1	1	536	536	536			100
Briord	18	6	1							
Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	64	2	1							
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	117	1	1							
Vienne, isolated finds	64	2	1	1	536	536	536			100
All Provenances	729	1	6	2	694	536	615	158	79	100

Table 24: Measures of position and variability for the formula *in hoc tumulo requiescit*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Briord	1	
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	1	
V01	Tournon	1	
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	1	536
V06	Touloud	1	694
A20	Notre-Dame-de-Beauregard	1	

Table 25: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the *initium in hoc tumulo requiescit*.

8) IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT IN PACE

Only four examples of this formula are known of which two are dated, at Vienne in 572, No.570 (Plate 192), and at nearby Luzinay in 607, No.242 (Plate 71). The two examples from Saint-Pierre at Vienne suggest that the example found in isolation, No.570 (Plate 191), may also be from that cemetery since its date is 572, by which time the cemetery had long since assumed great importance and the church enormous prestige as a cult centre.

Two further epitaphs can also be placed within this category: Clérieux, No.183, dated 544, and Eyzin, No.198.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	1	4	2	607	572	589.50	35	17.50	100
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc. Vienne	135	1	1	1	607	607	607			100
Vienne	193	2	3	1	572	572	572			100
Vienne, St.Pierre	69	3	2							
Vienne, St.Pierre/St.Georges	80	3	2							
Vienne, isolated finds	64	2	1	1	572	572	572			100
All Provenances	729	1	4	2	607	572	589.50	35	17.50	100

Table 26: Measures of position and variability for the formula *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
V01	Luzinay	1	607
V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	2	
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	1	572

Table 27: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the *initium in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace*.

9) IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT BONAE MEMORIAE

Sixty-one examples of this formula are known, of which thirty-one are dated. Forty-seven are from *Lugdunensis*, thirty-nine from Lyon itself. This formula is almost a hallmark of the inscriptions from *Lugdunensis*, where 23% of all epitaphs employ it. At the cemeteries of Saint-Irénée and Saint-Just it accounts for 24% of all epitaph *initia*. Fifteen examples are dated from this district where the indications are that the formula was first employed at Saint-Just, although only two dated examples are recorded, No.263, dated 493 (Plate 81), and No.265, dated 501 (Plate 83). It remains uncertain whether the formula was employed first at Saint-Irénée or Saint-Just. Dated examples from Saint-Irénée begin in 501 but this may be merely fortuitous because the seven epitaphs certainly provenanced from Saint-Irénée are dated throughout the sixth century. At the almost contiguous Saint-Just cemetery only the two aforementioned dated examples are provenanced certainly from Saint-Just; a further five undated examples from Saint-Irénée suggest that the formula was first employed there because undated epitaphs tend to be earlier. The 14 other examples known from the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just district as a whole contain six dated examples, again spanning the whole of the sixth century. The longevity of this formula is demonstrated at nearby Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans, where it is employed as the *initium* for the more developed and relatively complex epitaphs specific to that cemetery in the first half of the seventh century. Despite an apparent 50 year lacuna in the archaeological record due to the presence of several epitaphs from Saint-Laurent where the date is no longer extant, the formula seemingly remained in constant, though not unique, use at Lyon for more than 150 years. At Vienne, by contrast, this formula appears to be relatively short-lived: only six examples are known, four of which date to between 509 and 547. In *Viennensis* there are eight examples, with four dated between 527 and 691, demonstrating the longevity of the formula if not its popularity in that diocese. Two isolated finds at Vienne may derive from Saint-Pierre/Saint-Georges, whence three of the six known examples are recorded.

The following can also be placed within this category: 15 from the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, Nos.286, 300, 305, 324, 325, 342, 348, 350 including three dated examples, Nos.260, dated 484, 280, dated 562 and No.283, dated 622. Four further examples are from the

Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans cemetery, also at Lyon, Nos.380, 383, 384, and 374, dated 652. Attributed with less certainty within *Viennensis* are two from Saint-Laurent-de-Mure, No.475 and No.474, dated 511. One from Crussol, No.188, is from the same locality as six from Soyons, Nos.496, 497, 498, 501, 502, and 500, dated 679. A final epitaph is from Moutiers, No.440, dated 561.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	204	23	47	23	656	484	549.39	172	57.06	73.91
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	4	14	8	691	509	569.38	182	68.89	75
<i>Lugdunensis</i> , exc.Lyon	43	19	8	2	615	518	566.50	97	48.50	100
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc.Vienne	135	6	8	4	691	527	611.75	164	75.60	50
Lyon	161	24	39	21	656	484	547.76	172	57.55	76.19
Vienne	193	3	6	4	547	509	527	38	13.55	50
Briord	18	22	4	1	615	615	615			100
Lyon, St.Irénée	31	39	12	7	564	501	531.29	63	22.56	57.14
Lyon, St.Just	22	9	2	2	501	493	497	8	4	100
Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	64	22	14	6	595	484	526.67	111	35.92	66.67
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	117	24	28	15	595	484	524.87	111	29.66	73.33
Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	26	31	8	4	656	653	653.75	3	1.30	75
Lyon, St.Nizier	9	11	1	1	495	495	495			100
Lyon, isolated finds	6	33	2	1	520	520	520			100
Vienne, Notre-Dame-D'Outre-Gère	3	33	1	1	524	524	524			100
Vienne, St.Pierre	69	3	2	1	509	509	509			100
Vienne, St.Georges	11	9	1	1	547	547	547			100
Vienne, St.Pierre/St.Georges	80	4	3	2	547	509	528	38	19	100
Vienne, isolated finds	64	3	2	1	528	528	528			100
All Provenances	729	8	61	31	691	484	554.55	207	60.97	74.19

Table 28: Measures of position and variability for the formula *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Anse	1	
L01	Briord	4	615
L01	Ecully	1	518
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	12	501, 503, 517, 541, 544, 549, 564
L01	Lyon, St.Just	2	493, 501
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	14	484, 504, 508, 523, 546, 595
L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	8	653, 653, 653, 656
L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	1	495
L01	Lyon, Others	2	520
L03	Dijon	1	
L05	Mâcon	1	
V01	Arandon	1	546
V01	St.Laurent-de-Mure	1	
V01	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	1	524
V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	2	509
V01	Vienne, St.Georges	1	547
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	2	528
V02	Lugrin	1	527
V03	Grenoble	1	
V04	Viviers	1	
V06	Crussol	1	691
V06	Guillerand	1	683
V06	Soyons	1	

Table 29: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the *initium in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*.

10) IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT IN PACE BONAE MEMORIAE

This formula occurs in 34 examples, 15 of which carry a date. Only one is known in *Lugdunensis*, at Saint-Maurice-de-Rémens, No.479, dated 486 (Plate 157). All other examples are from *Viennensis*, 23 from Vienne itself where it occurs on 12% of all epitaphs: 12 are dated and 10 of these are from the Saint-Pierre cemetery, suggesting that most if not all of the nine

stray examples may be from that cemetery originally. An average date of 543 at Vienne (with a standard deviation of 23 years) is probably statistically significant given the dated sample and given that the incidence of dated examples rises after the second decade of the sixth century. In *Viennensis* (excluding Vienne) the formula appears at Yenne in 521, No.741 (Plate 233), suggesting that the use of the formula spread from Vienne in the first instance. However, at Vienne itself the usage of the formula on two dated examples from Saint-Sévère, No.566, dated 511 and No.568, dated 558 (Plate 190), warns against any assumption that the formula was employed initially at Saint-Pierre despite its frequency there because dated inscriptions from that cemetery are known only from 535 onwards.

The following can also be placed within this category: 25 examples, all from *Viennensis*, Andance, No.20, dated 600; Saint-Romain-d'Albon, No.484 (Plate 159), dated 631; Saint-Pierre/Saint-Georges cemetery at Vienne Nos.629, 630, 631, 639, 657, and five dated examples, No.583, dated 515, No.584, dated 517, No.586, dated 520, No.592, dated 536, No.596, dated 545 and No.598, dated 551. A further ten are isolated finds at Vienne, Nos.689, 690, 692, 718, 719 and 724, together with four dated examples, No.680, dated 554, No.681, dated 557, No.684, dated 625, and No.685, dated 643. Finally, three further epitaphs are classified within this category: Nacon, No.441, Plate 144, Vif, No.732 (Plate 229), and Valence, No.533.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	204		1	1	486	486	486			100
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	10	33	14	578	495	544	83	24.10	71.43
<i>Lugdunensis</i> , exc. Lyon	43	2	1	1	486	486	486			100
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc. Vienne	135	7	10	2	578	521	549.50	57	28.50	100
Vienne	193	12	23	12	578	495	543.08	83	23.16	75
Vienne, St. Gervais	27	4	1							
Vienne, St. Sévère	6	33	2	2	558	511	534.50	47	23.50	100
Vienne, St. Pierre	69	14	10	6	578	535	551.17	43	15.64	66.67
Vienne, St. Georges	11	9	1							
Vienne, St. Pierre/St. Georges	80	14	11	6	578	535	551.17	43	15.64	66.67
Vienne, isolated finds	64	14	9	4	563	495	535.25	68	27.75	75
All Provenances	729	5	34	15	578	486	540.13	92	27.41	66.67

Table 30: Measures of position and variability for the formula *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	St. Maurice-de-Rémens	1	486
V01	Arras-sur-Rhône	1	
V01	Eyzin	1	
V01	St. Jean-de-Bournay	1	
V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	1	
V01	Vienne, St. Sévère	2	511, 558
V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	10	535, 536, 540, 557, 561, 578
V01	Vienne, St. Georges	1	
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	9	495, 524, 559, 563
V01	Vérenay	1	
V02	Yenne	1	521
V03	La Tronche	1	
V03	Nacon	1	
V03	Vif	1	578
V06	Aouste	1	
V06	Ourches	1	

Table 31: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the *initium in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*.

11) *IN HOC LOCO REQUIESCIT / IN PACE / BONAE MEMORIAE*

Eight examples are known of this composite formula, of which three are dated, No.250 dated 431, and No.278 (Plate 92), dated 552, both from Lyon, and No.40 from Aouste (a double epitaph; Plate 11) dated 496 (although the earlier deceased died in 472). Its distribution is confined to northern *Viennensis* and was never popular at Lyon. Nevertheless, its sporadic employment over a period of over 120 years is inexplicable unless it is regarded as a variation of other *initia* governed by *requiesco* yet sufficiently unique to merit a classification other than as a mere variant. Its employment was probably confined largely to the fifth century, though it is known as late as 552 on the aforementioned epitaph from Lyon, at Saint-Irénée. Another from that district, certainly of fifth century date is No.390, a rare instance of an inscription with epitaphs inscribed on both sides; its reverse side, No.267 (Plate 85), is dated 504 but the date formula on the obverse (No.390) employs *transeo -ire*, which was used predominantly during the fifth century at Lyon although exceptions are recorded (see below).

One further epitaph can be placed within this category: Valence, No.532.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	204	2	5	2	552	431	491.50	121	60.50	100
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	1	3	1	496	496	496			100
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc.Vienne	135	1	2	1	496	496	496			100
Lyon	161	3	5	2	552	431	491.50	121	60.50	100
Vienne	193	1	1							
Lyon, St.Irénée	31	3	1	1	552	552	552			100
Lyon, St.Just	22	5	1	1	431	431	431			100
Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	64	5	3							
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	117	4	5	2	552	431	491.50	121	60.50	100
Vienne, Ste.Colombe	7	14	1							
All Provenances	729	1	8	3	552	431	493	121	49.44	33.33

Table 32: Measures of position and variability for the formula *in hoc loco requiescit / in pace / bonae memoriae*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	1	552
L01	Lyon, St.Just	1	431
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	3	
V01	Vienne, Sainte-Colombe	1	
V03	St.Sixte-de-Merlas	1	
V06	Aouste	1	496

Table 33: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the *initium in hoc loco requiescit / in pace / bonae memoriae*.

12) *REQUIESCO -ERE* VARIANTS

The variants are listed not in provenance or date order, but according to style, giving six categories in total. All are variations of the main listed categories of classification, yet sufficiently different to be excluded from them. They provide testimony to the diverse nature and individuality of the *initia* formulae employed. The underlined sub-categories in Table 34 are intended to show both similar formulae and their possible chronological position. For example, No.214 from Grenoble has the pre-Christian formula *D(iis) M(anibus)* preceding it, whereas the inscriptions from Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans are all of seventh century date.

Two further epitaphs appear to carry a variant of the *initia* governed by *requiesco* and can be placed within this category: at Lyon, from the Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans cemetery, No.386; and at Vienne, from Saint-Sévère, No.573.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	DATE RANGE	FORMULA
214	V03	Grenoble	450-500	<i>d(iis) m(anibus) hic requ[i]escit</i>
543	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	450-500	<i>requeuet Cas<t>ina in <p>ac(e)</i>
669	V01	Vienne, St.Romain-en-Gal	400-450	<i>hic requiescet in Christo et in pace</i>
223	V02	Gruffy	450-500	<i>hic r(equiescit) fil(ius) suos Altheus in pacae</i>
256	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	458	<i>hic requiescit bone memoriae Vassio cum pace</i>
38	V01	Aoste	450-525	<i>hic requiescit in pace beatae memoriae</i>
168	A04	Brunet	425-475	<i>hic in Christo requiescit bonae memoriae</i>
239	A05	Lorgues	500-550	<i>[h]ic requiescit in pace D(omi)ni nos<tri> l(e)h(su)m Chr(is)t(i)</i>
438	A05	Montfort-sur-Argens	540-600	<i>[h]ic requiescit in p[ace] s(an)c(ta)e [memo]rie</i>
521	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	519	<i>[hic i]n pace requiescit sanctae memoriae</i>
351	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	430-500	<i>in hoc tumulo requiescit in Cristo</i>
19	V01	Andance	563	<i>in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace sante bone memoriae</i>
243	V01	Luzinay	629	<i>[in h]oc tomol[o] requiescit bon[ae] recordation[is]s</i>
235	V03	Le Fayet	529	<i>in hoc sepulchro requiescit bone memoriae</i>
10	V04	Alba/Aps	500-600	<i>in Xpi nome[n]e requ[i]escit in huc to[molo]</i>
163	L01	Briord	600-650	<i>h[?]ic sit/?ic humat]a Palatini riquiescunt mem[bra ...]</i>
160	L01	Briord	600-650	<i>hic requiescunt menbra ad duus fratres</i>
157	L01	Briord	633	<i>hic tua, venerabilis Amate, requicunt membra sepulchro</i>
397	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	525-535	<i>probata duorum fratrum corpora requiescunt</i>
707	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	470-540	<i>hic re[qu]iescunt in [pace] Siluiae [?]membra</i>
18	L01	Albigny	430-500	<i>in hoc tumulo requiescit membri bone memorie</i>
372	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	<i>sub hoc tetumulum requiescent membre boni memorie</i>
371	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	<i>in hoc tomolo uel sub hic cespete requiescunt membra bone memoriae</i>
379	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	540, 555, 570, 585	<i>in hoc tomolo re[quiescunt membra bonae] memoriae</i>
366	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	655	<i>in hoc tumolum requiescunt membra bone memoriae</i>

Table 34: Provenance and date range for variant *requiescit* formulae.

13) REQVIESCO -ERE UNCLASSIFIED

Twenty-six epitaphs have an *initium* governed by *requiesco* -ere where the formula is too fragmentary to be classified. An estimate has been made for the probable original formula by comparison with others from the same location or nearby. However, often more than one classification is possible statistically or the remaining text precludes reconstruction with any known formula.

REC	CODE	TOWN/CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	PRED	DATE RANGE	FORMULA
154	L01	Briord	7	475-500	<i>hoc?/(n) oc? t[umulo] requiescit? in pace</i>
287	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	4	430-500	<i>[hic] requiescit in pace? b]one memo[ri]ae</i>
173	L04	Chalon-sur-Saône	3	523	<i>[hic] requiescit in pace</i>
573	V01	Vienne, St.Sévère	12	540-600	<i>[in hunc] tumolum requies[?]cunt membra[?]</i>
639	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	10	470-540	<i>[in hoc to]molo [requiescit]</i>
620	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	10	470-540	<i>[in hoc tumulo] requies[?]cit in pace] bone [memoriae]</i>
588	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	2	525	<i>[hic] requiescit in pace</i>
592	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	10	536	<i>[in hoc tumulo] requiescit in pace bone memoriae ...]</i>
598	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	4	551	<i>[in hoc to]molu[m] requiescit]</i>
718	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	10	540-600	<i>[... requies]cit in pa[ce ...]</i>
719	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	10	470-540	<i>[in hoc tu]mol[o] requiescit in pac]e [bonae memoriae]</i>
675	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	4	527	<i>hic requiescit in pace</i>
206	V02	Genève	4	470-540	<i>[?]hic] requiescit]</i>
203	V02	Genève	4	470-540	<i>[hic] requiescit in pace bone memoriae]</i>
185	V03	Corenc	4	470-540	<i>[hic] requiescit in pace] bonae memoriae [...]</i>
732	V03	Vif	10	519?	<i>[... requiescit]</i>
492	V04	St.Thomé	4	500-600	<i>[hic] re[quiescit in pace bone] memor[ia]e ...]</i>
470	V06	St.Gervais	3	470-540	<i>[... requiescit [... bonae] me[mor]iae ...]</i>
502	V06	Soyons	9	675-700	<i>[in h]oc t[umulo] requiescit ? ...]</i>
496	V06	Soyons	9	675-700	<i>[...e] requiescit bone m]emor[ia]e]</i>
532	V06	Valence	11	470-540	<i>[hic ? / in hoc tumulo ?] req[ui]escit in p]ace bone [memoria]e]</i>

REC	CODE	TOWN/CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	PRED	DATE RANGE	FORMULA
533	V06	Valence	10	470-540	[in hoc tumul]u requies[ci]t in pace bonae m]emoriae
89	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	1	450-550	[hic re]quii[scit ...]
85	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	6	450-550	[hic requ]iescit [it ?in pace]
84	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	6	450-550	[... in] pace [... requi]escit
481	A16	St. Restitut	7	548	[in hoc tumulo requies?]cit

Table 35: Provenance and date range for unclassified *initia* governed by *requiesco*.

14) DATIVE/OPTATIVE *INITIA*

There are 33 examples of this type, of which only one is dated, No.135, from Autun, of 378. They are divided here into two sub-classes: the first 17 display relatively complex formulae, often giving the age of the deceased and the name of the dedicator; the second sub-class sometimes contain the same formulae but additionally the optative phrase *pax tecum*. Furthermore, those epitaphs from Vaison-la-Romaine contained within the latter group are distinguished by their brevity; generally the epitaph is expressed in a single phrase. Diehl records 19 such *acclamationes christianae et orationes*, mainly from Rome and northern Italy (ILCV, 2245-2263). The only dated example from Italy cited is No.2258, of 406. This, together with a single dated example from this area, is obviously insufficient to help date this large group, but other factors are suggestive. The inscription dedicated to Marcia Romania Celsa by her husband, Flavius Ianuarinus, is inscribed within a cartouche on a sarcophagus from Trinquetaille, discovered in 1974 (Revue d'Arles 1, 1987: 124). Ianuarinus was consul in 328, providing a *terminus post quem*. This inscription is, therefore, the only example to provide firm evidence that explicitly Christian inscriptions were being placed at Arles during the first half of the fourth century. In this case the *initium* is, *sensu strictu*, an optative type because the name is in the nominative, yet it is similar to other sarcophagi in a series fabricated in Rome but inscribed and used at Arles (Benoit 1954: 30-31). Whilst the Christian scenes sculpted on the sarcophagi bear witness to their faith, the formulae are distinctly pagan. Two other inscriptions from Saint-Honorat, Nos.104 and 105, both on sarcophagi, are stylistically similar in both formulae and sculpted decoration.

The style was a commonplace during the Late Republic and the first four centuries A.D., so it is no coincidence to find it predominantly in *Arelatensis*, the most Romanised region of Gaul, whence come 29 of the 33 epitaphs. Fifteen are from Arles, where, with one exception, No.129, from Trinquetaille, all are from the Alyscamps cemetery (Plate 40). These are more developed than a similar series from Vaison-la-Romaine where eight epitaphs record only the name of the deceased followed by the phrase *pax tecum* or a variation thereof. These are impossible to date precisely because of their terse, simple formulae together with their circumstances of discovery being unknown in detail. They are probably of similar date, the second half of the fourth century and the first half of the fifth. The only clue is inscription No.518, dated 470, classed below as a nominative *initium*, though it closely resembles in style these forms because it employs a pagan style votive formula. The epitaphs from Vaison-la-Romaine are from the Saint-Quenin cemetery and must be earlier than those few occasionally dated epitaphs from the late fifth and early sixth

century from that cemetery which bear *initia* governed by *quiesco* or *requiesco*. The opinion taken here is that this group probably dates to between the second quarter and the last few years of the fourth century. Strikingly, these epitaphs are paralleled directly in only one other locality, namely the Rome catacombs. Inscriptions were intended to be read, and, being Christian, presumably must date to after the Edict of Toleration in 312, albeit those at Rome are often earlier and, though hidden from general public view, were nevertheless available for viewing by the Christian community frequenting the catacombs. The sole example of this type from Vienne, No.653 (Plate 208), is perhaps the only Christian epitaph from Vienne dated to the fourth century (*RICG.XV*: 111). The same (or earlier) date may be attributed to the example from Marseille, No.417, which is probably pagan (Guyon 1972: 69-74 = *ICMAMNS*; Plate 138).

The following can also be placed within this category: Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just, No.344; Arles, Nos.50, 108, 109; Dauphin, No.190; Avignon, No.139.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	DATE RANGE	FORMULA
320	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	325-400	[...] <i>ius fecit [fratr?]i suo bene [mer]ito Mauru[sio?]</i>
387	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	325-400	<i>Sofroniae, dilectissimae coniugi, Fl(auius) Vrsicinus maritus</i>
135	L02	Autun	378	<i>memoriae aeternae, Quietae</i>
653	V01	Vienne, St.Georges	350-400	<i>Euenti in pace</i>
45	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	[...] <i>Japatia fecit [Ma]rino uirgi[?]nio] suo dulci[ssim]o</i>
49	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	[?] <i>obsequiorum memoria. Bene mer(i)to coniugi Victorino</i>
92	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	400-425	<i>bene pausanti in pace Fl(auius) Memorio, u(ir) p(otestatis)</i>
104	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	<i>Hydriae Tertulae c(larissimae) f(eminae) coniugi amantissimae</i>
105	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	<i>Optatine Reticiae siue Pascasiae coniugi amantissimae</i>
110	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	<i>Ianuarie [?]coniugi</i>
200	A06	Faucon-de-Barcelonnette	325-400	[?] <i>itreso Nais Atiliana benemerentissimo coniugi fecit memoriam</i>
180	A14	Cimiez	325-400	<i>Metiliae Aureliae chr(ist)ianae fideli et Aurelio et Rusticiae</i>
181	A14	Cimiez	325-400	<i>memoriae Aeliae Mariae Certia Marcella fil(ia)</i>
512	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	<i>Teto cum Concordia, anno(s) XXVII</i>
453	A18	Orange	325-400	<i>Gaudentius et Palladius fratri innocentissimo fecer(unt)</i>
133	A22	Aubagne	325-400	<i>Q(uito) Vetinae Eunoeto</i>
417	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	325-400	[A.?] <i>trio Volusiano [.]E]uthychetis filio [...]o Fortunato</i>
46	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	<i>pax tecum Iuliae Valeriae Serenille, coniugi incomparabili</i>
47	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	<i>pax tecum Materna coniux pientissima Marina [...]</i>
48	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	<i>pax Turranae Pithanes [...]mus coniugi dulcissimae</i>
87	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	<i>pax tecum Iuliae Superae, Aurel(ius) Clemens coniugi dulcissimae et incomparabili</i>
91	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	325-400	<i>Pax tecum sit, Vibia Eromene !, Simplicius coniugi incomparabili</i>
94	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	325-400	<i>Pax tecum Iulia Victoria, M(arco) Aur(eliano) Asclepiodoto coniug(i) incomparabili</i>
106	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	<i>pax uobiscum sit Proiecta Lampadia et Renate</i>
107	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	<i>Pax tecum [...]</i>
129	A01	Arles, Trinquetaille	325-400	<i>Eutropi, [pa]x tecum [semper? m]aneat [...]f [...]</i>
508	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	<i>Florentiole, pax tecum</i>
509	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	<i>Neclicia, pax tecum casta Cristiana</i>
510	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	<i>Stafili, pax tecum in Deo, haue, uale</i>
511	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	<i>Susomine, pax tecum</i>
513	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	<i>Vera, pax tecum</i>
514	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	<i>Vincenti, pax tecum</i>
515	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	<i>Iaenuaria, pax tecum in Deo</i>

Table 36: Provenance and date range for dative/optative *initia*.

15) NAME OF THE DECEASED IN THE NOMINATIVE AND THE *INITIA* GOVERNED BY RARELY EMPLOYED VERBS

Those epitaphs where the *initium* centres upon the name of the deceased or where the name alone constitutes the entire epitaph can be subclassified into four categories. The first category

comprises 14 epitaphs, distinguished by their brevity which overall suggests an early date. Nos.284 and 292, from Lyon, Saint-Irénée, most likely date to the last quarter of the fourth century on the basis of the high quality of the palaeography. No.311 has been dated to the first half of the fifth century on account of the presence of the *Chi/Rho* motif, not known on any dated inscription after 493 (Descombes and Reynaud 1978: 487, No.6). The filiation formula and palaeography of No.134 from Autun suggest a date in the late fourth century. No.740, from Vix, now lost, is enigmatic. It may be the epitaph of a foreigner, probably from the Middle East, its palaeography may set it to the end of the fifth century (*NR*: 1). No.477, from Saint-Laurent-de-Mure, and Nos.614 and 722 from Vienne, have been dated to the first half of the seventh century, the seventh century and the second half of the fifth century respectively (*RICG.XV*: 250, 110 and 210). No.58 is very fragmentary but appears to be of the later fourth or early fifth century on account of the palaeography and the sentiments recorded. No.455 from Orange contains the formula *animae dulcis*, a phrase also employed on earlier, pagan epitaphs. This and the lack of a date suggest a relatively early date; probably of the first half of the fifth century (*NR*: 158). Nos. 412 and 427, from Marseille, are somewhat unique: the former has been dated to the sixth century, albeit with major reservations (*ICMAMNS*: 3), since its brevity and the presence of an elaborate monogram suggest an earlier date, perhaps the first half of the fifth century. No.427 is probably of similar date, although it may be a votive inscription and not an epitaph (*ICMAMNS*: 18; Plate 140).

The second subcategory comprises epitaphs where the formula centres upon the name or is governed by a rarely employed verb. This group of eight appears not to belong to any particular time period and only one is closely dated, No.686, from Vienne, dated 663. No.321, from Lyon, has no consular or p.c. date and its brevity and the simplicity of the other formulae suggest an early fifth century date. No.21, from Andance, is dated to the first half of the sixth century (*RICG.XV*: 35; Plate 4), recommended by the theme of *impia mors*, which occurs also on line four is found on No.400 from Lyon, dated 506 and on No.520 from Vaison-la-Romaine, dated 515 (Plate 170). However, the same theme is found as late as 660 on No.605 (Plate 202) at Vienne. *Dormio* occurs just once, at Arles, No.126; this is probably dated to the later fourth century on account of its filiation formula and the representation of an *orans* figure. A similar date is suggested for No.184, a reused sarcophagus from Colonzelle.

The third subcategory comprises epitaphs where the *initium* centres upon the name and age of the deceased. Their brevity and lack of a date suggest the first quarter of the fifth century. In the case of No.39, from Aoste, this does not concur with a postulated date in the sixth century, although the formula *obiit in Christo* appears in *Viennensis* between 515 and 563 (*RICG.XV*: 281). A similar formula appears at Saint-Gervais, Vienne, in the late fifth century.

The fourth category, with the emphasis upon the name and the date contained within the *initium*, comprises just three epitaphs. Whilst their brevity suggests an early fourth-century date, the presence of a Germanic name on No.189, from Dauphin, suggests a sixth-century date on what is now a fragmentary epitaph. The same argument applies to No.408, from Mane.

The following can also be placed within this category: Vienne, Saint-Gervais, No.562; Saint-Romain-en-Gal, No.666.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
284	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	375-425	<i>Procula, cl(arissima) femina, famula Dei, a terra ad martyres</i>
292	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	375-425	<i>Merola clarissima femina, mater bonorum</i>
310	L01	Lyon, St.Just	400-450	<i>Flavius Flon[us/anus?] ex tribunis</i>
311	L01	Lyon, St.Just	400-450	<i>[A]manda, [r]apteata in (monogram)</i>
134	L02	Autun	375-400	<i>Eufonia l[...] filia et m[...]</i>
740	L03	Vix	450-500	<i>Xpi hic est</i>
477	V01	St.Laurent-de-Mure	600-650	<i>Hic magnis MERITOR m[?]cans / ?cuit]</i>
614	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	600-700	<i>Audolena</i>
722	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	400-450?	<i>hic Pref[...]</i>
58	A01	Arlés, Alysamps ?	400-550	<i>[hi]c Siluina sita ins[ons?] ...]</i>
518	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	470	<i>Rusticus uoto suo fecit. Moritur bonae memoriae mater mea Stephanía</i>
455	A18	Orange	400-450	<i>Antodon[us] anima dul[ci]s in pace</i>
412	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	400-500	<i>Elia[n]us/a?] Martini iustina</i>
427	A22	Marseille, Northern Cemetery	400-450	<i>Exoperios</i>
321	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-450	<i>[In ho]c loco [.....] famulus Dei Quintasius</i>
21	V01	Andance	500-540	<i>Hic titulus teget diac(onum) Emilium</i>
686	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	663	<i>[in h]oc monomen[to ...]</i>
667	V01	Vienne, St.Romain-en-Gal	450-500	<i>hic pausat Eufasius ben[e]dictus in pace</i>
126	A01	Arlés, St.Caesarius	350-400	<i>hic dormit in pace Secunda</i>
184	A16	Colonzelle	350-400	<i>hic Vetranus pausat</i>
423	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	544, 559, 574, 589	<i>in hoc tumulo sita est Tilisiola abb(atissa)</i>
414	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	400-450	<i>[hic in pace ?.] pausat b[onae?] [memoriae ?...] Fedula</i>
288	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	400-450	<i>Memoriolus uixit annis XXXV m(enses) IIII d(ies) VI. in nomine C(h)r(i)sti</i>
257	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	466	<i>[Aqui?]lius Gallisianus [qui u]ixit annos V [et d]iis XLV.</i>
273	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	525	<i>Famulus Dei Primulus uixit ann[is] LXXIV in bono.</i>
318	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-450	<i>in pace Veator, qui uixit annos XII</i>
39	V01	Aoste	450-500	<i>hec Magnus uixit annos] XXXV</i>
661	V01	Vienne, Sainte-Colombe	375-425	<i>Auxilius uixit a[e]nnos XXXVII et me(n)sis VI et dies III</i>
662	V01	Vienne, Sainte-Colombe	400-475	<i>Seuerinus recessit de saeculo ... Decentius recessit de sa[eculo]</i>
248	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	334	<i>Optato et Paulino consulibus kal(endas) febr(u)ari(a)s depos(itus est) Selentioses</i>
189	A07	Dauphin	500-600	<i>V id(us) apr(i)l(es) obiit ..., XIII k(a)l(endas) febroarii m(ensis) hobiit Gisberga</i>
408	A07	Mane	500-600	<i>k(a)l(endis) m(a)rtiis ob[i]it a sec[un]do Vda[?]garda</i>

Table 37: Provenance and date range for nominative *initia*.

16) METRICAL/PROSE *INITIA*

Those epitaphs comprising a series of metrical verses, usually hexameters, or a few short lines with metrical pretensions or simply a longer than normal eulogy in prose, are among the most difficult to (assign a) date on account of their diversity. No two are the same and though the sentiments expressed bear many similarities, any date assigned must remain tentative in those cases where the epitaph is not for an otherwise known individual. No.244 (Plate 73), from Lyon, a rare instance of the deceased not being named, has been identified as belonging to a leading member of the Lyon clergy in the sixth century (Burnand 1984: 231). The text of No.316 recalls earlier (Gallo-Roman) pagan types and has been considered to date to the second half of the fifth century, a period which would concur with Germanic settlers accepting Christianity, as expressed on lines three and four (ICG: 665). No.355 also retains a Gallo-Roman, pagan style (though line five attests its Christianity), and is probably of similar date, as is No.317 (Plate 108).

No.131, from Arras-sur-Rhône, bears developed Christian sentiments with some biblical and liturgical knowledge, suggesting a late date, probably in the seventh century (*RICG.XV*: 31). A late date may also be attributed to No.622 (Plate 206), from Vienne (*RICG.XV*: 119). No.607 is known only from a later manuscript where the crucial first two lines represent a copyist's error and are unintelligible (*RICG.XV*: 87). Nevertheless, Lacanius, the dedicator, must have embellished the church during the episcopate of Domninus, sometime between 533 and 538 (FEAG.II: 147-148). Alternatively, this may be a dedication inscription erected some years later. The invocation for the intercession of the saints inscribed on No.609 is on the same face as No.599, an epitaph dated 557 (Plate 200), as both were evidently inscribed by the same lapidary and they probably date to the same year (*RICG.XV*: 98a, 98b). No.625 is dated to between 475 and 525 (*RICG.XV*: 122). No.660 (Plate 210) is not included in *RICG.XV* because it is likely that it is pagan; the expression *dolum* in the context of the parents grieving for their three children who died within the space of 27 days suggests an early fifth century date (*RICG.XV*: 6*).

The paucity of these epitaphs in *Arelatensis* makes them difficult to date. At Viviers no indications of the date occur on Nos.737 and 739. The former is a fragment and is now lost, but Diehl suggests that it was the sixth century epitaph of an aristocrat, *[in]lus[tr]is ortu generis*, probably for a bishop. No.739 must date to between 639 and 654 if the reconstructed as recording a regnal year during the reign of Clovis II (*ILCV*: 346, *CIL.XII*: 2704). No.230 is very similar to No.228 in its palaeography; it also bears classical allusions which are more likely to be found towards the end of the fifth century than in the sixth. No.516, from Vaison-la-Romaine, bears similarities of style to those bearing a dative/optative *initium* from that town and so probably belongs to the same period. No.535, from Venasque, is a double epitaph with metrical pretensions and is another with classical allusions which has been dated to the end of the sixth century (Marrou 1970: 150; Plate 174).

The three final subcategories are less important. The deponent verb *sequor -i* is found twice at Lyon, in the Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans cemetery, where *quiesco* and *humo* generally govern the *initium*, and belong to the seventh century. Only two are recorded, Nos.368 and 378. Another example on a reused sarcophagus from Arles, No.127, is dated to the sixth century (Benoit 1954: 59), although it does not appear to be used in the sense of placing the remains of the deceased to rest.

The final category groups two types together because the verbs *contineo* and *contingo* are similar in meaning and are employed within the same context. The remains of the deceased are referred to, not the deceased themselves. An epitaph from Lyon, Saint-Irénée, dated 456, is for a female and extols her chastity. No.471 (Plate 155), from Saint-Jean-de-Bourmay, dated 563, may have been inscribed by the same lapidary as Nos.599 and 609 (*RICG.XV*: 98a, 98b). No.665 is an unusual but valuable inscription because it records the presence of saints' relics. Again the emphasis is on the remains contained within a reliquary of some kind. No.434, from Mellecey, records the transfer of relics (Plate 142).

The following can also be placed within this category: Anse, Nos.27 and 28; Bourg-en-Bresse, No.145; Briord, No.165; Lyon, Cathedral group area, No.247; Lyon, Saint-Irénée, Nos.285 and 294; Lyon, Saint-Just, Nos.302 and 303; Lyon, isolated finds, Nos.404 and 406, dated 504; Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans, No.375; Lyon, Saint-Nizier, No.399 (Plate 129) and Saint-Alban-de-Bron, No.467, dated 551 (Plate 152). In *Viennensis*: Andance, No. 22; Parnans, No.459, dated 527 (Plate 147); Saint-Laurent-de-Mure, No.478; Trept, No.506, dated 565 (Plate 166); Genève, No.204; Moirans, No.436; Alba/Aps, Nos.13 and 14; Saint-Thomé, No.491 (Plate 162), dated 487; Viviers, No.738; Die, No.194 (Plate 58) and Soyons, No.499. A number are found at Vienne: Saint-Gervais, No.560; Saint-Sévère, No.574; Saint-Pierre, Nos.593, 610, 611, 624, 626, 627, 640, 641, 643 and 649; Saint-Georges, Nos.654, 655, 656 and 602, dated 581; isolated finds, Nos.710, 711, 725, 726, 729 and Sainte-Colombe, No.663. Fewer are found in *Arelatensis*: Arles, Nos.51, 53 and 54; Bellegarde, No.144, dated 521; Aix-en-Provence, Nos.5 and 6; Le Pin, No.236, dated 506; Cimiez, No.177; Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, No.733, dated 587.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
156	L01	Briord	630, 615	<i>Ingenie uirtute cluins et nuuelis ortum occupat hoc tumulo Xpi no(mine) Felix</i>
244	L01	Lyon, Cathedral group area	500-600	<i>Haec sacrum [retinet ter]reni cor[poris urna] cuius uita manet pe[rp]etuuante Deo</i>
316	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	500-600	<i>Coniux, q(uae) placidam capis quietem, mundi tristitias exhorruisti,</i>
354	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	450-500	<i>Hic gemini fratres iuncti dant membra sepulchris</i>
355	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	450-500	<i>Praeteriens hominum sortem miserere, uiator, deque meis, restent quae tibi fata, uide</i>
317	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	450-500	<i>Epyfania te[git hic tumulus, quam] funere dur[o, heu nimium celeri rapuit] mors impia</i>
398	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	586-588	<i>Qui nescit cuius hoc sit tam sublime sepulchrum</i>
396	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	659-660	<i>Annem[undus] nobilis qui claro[...]</i>
392	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	501	<i>Cum tua, Rust<i>ce, recubent hic me<m>bra, sacerdos,</i>
393	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	551	<i>Orbis celsa graui uexantur culmina lapsu urbis +cumina est+ flumina clara ruunt</i>
394	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	552	<i>Nomine mente fide meritis pietate Sacerdos officio cultu precio corde gradu</i>
395	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	573	<i>Ecce sacerdotis tenuit qui iura sacerdos, quo recubat tumulo nomine Nicetius</i>
400	L01	Lyon, St.Michel, Ainay	506	<i>Sceptrorum columen, terrae decus et iubar orbis, hoc artus tumulo uult Caretene tegi</i>
461	L03	Poithières	461	<i>Bert[...] hoc hordine res[....] cum petere optassem sancta sepulcra prior.</i>
131	V01	Arras-sur-Rhône	600-650	<i>[P]lacidiam placatus suscipe [qu]ae fide pietate[qu]e potens</i>
175	V01	Chavanoz	609	<i>[qui]squis deuertis ad ora[ndum], ora pro Agapio pr(es)b(yte)ro</i>
622	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	600-700	<i>Sub hac tetol(o) Valiaricus et oxsur sua Licinia siui uius tempore donato pio elegir(unt).</i>
607	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	533-538	<i>DOMNINVS PAPA IN NOMINE CHRISTI PAVPER EPISCOPVS</i>
608	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	552-558	<i>Praesulis iunctum tumuloque Auiti, funes Haesici tegitur sepulchro</i>
609	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	557	<i>Tu quicumque ue«ue»nes deuoto pectore supples</i>
625	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	475-525	<i>Lucis fine carens [...] hoc tumulo cael[...]</i>
585	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	518	<i>Meritis pariterque et nomine Celsa, hic corpus caelebam</i>
606	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	518	<i>Quisquis mestificum tumuli dum cernis honorem</i>
604	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	559	<i>Humanos quicumque tremens sub pectore casus ingemis et lustras oculo manante sepulchra</i>
601	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	580	<i>Quisquis lucifero sortitur munere seclum occasu potius proditur ille suo</i>
660	V01	Vienne, Sainte-Colombe	400-450	<i>ego pater Vitalinus et mater Martina scripsimus</i>
737	V04	Viviers	500-600	<i>[In]lus[tris] ortu generis, sanc[tus] studiisque imb[utus] bonis primum deff[oruit] aeuum]</i>
739	V04	Viviers	639-654	<i>[...] H(omo?) D(euotissimus?) [... s]epeliri [?semp]er pacem</i>
102	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	385-395	<i>Integer adque pius uita et corpore purus, aeterno hic positus uiuit Concordius aeuo</i>

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
113	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	449, 5 th May	<i>Antistes Domini, qui p[au]pertatis a]morem praeponens auro rapuit c[ae]lesti]a regna</i>
230	A11	La Gayole	450-475	<i>Inse[m] gen[et]um cruce[m] munime[n]e se[ptu]</i>
516	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	<i>titulo duor[um] fratrum germanorum</i>
520	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	515	<i>Inlustris titulis meritisque haut dispar auorum, Pantagatus, fragile[m] uitae cum linqueri</i>
452	A18	Orange	494	<i>Eutropium hic, Xpe, tuum uirtute probatum, corpore complexum nobilis urna tegit</i>
535	A19	Venasque	500-600	<i>Cum tua te, Petrus, post multos transactis, trieterede, seclis, requirat Cypriana dulces</i>
368	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	<i>sequetur hoc tumol[um] meret[us] bone memoriae A[...]</i> ffus
378	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	<i>sequetur hoc tomolum me[retus] bonae memoriae ...]</i> Atto
127	A01	Arles, St.Caesarius	500-600	<i>[Sancti] Caesar[i] sequens uestigia sacer</i>
255	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	456	<i>[ho]c con[ti]nentur Pat[ernae?] [me]mbra s[e]pulc[ro?]</i>
665	V01	Vienne, St.Romain-en-Gal	470	<i>heroas Christi geminos haec contenit aula: Iulianum capite, corpore Ferreolum</i>
471	V01	St.Jean-de-Bournay	563	<i>uix tenit hic tomulus laudes qui contegit art(u)s</i>

Table 38: Provenance and date range for metrical/prose *initia*.

17) CONDO -ERE

Only ten examples of this verb governing an *initium* are recorded, six of which are dated. At Vienne, Sainte-Colombe, No.659 (Plate 209) has been postulated as pagan and probably dateable to the fourth century (RICG.XV: Appendix, 5). Despite the few examples known, one could claim that an *initium* governed by this verb is a sign that the epitaph will be more developed generally than those governed by, for example, *requiesco*. This is true for other variant verbs except for *dormio* and *iaceo*, although even the latter is employed in some surprising contexts (see below). Whilst there is no chronological or geographical pattern of distribution, the more developed epitaph, occasionally metrical, upon which it appears, is reserved exclusively for the highest senatorial class, whether an ecclesiastic or secular official.

No.659, discussed above, from Vienne (Sainte-Colombe; Plate 209), perhaps commemorated someone of senatorial rank. Similarly, No.670, also from Vienne but an isolated find, is dedicated to Seuerianus, whose religious piety or perhaps even asceticism is recorded over several lines, *qui deuota mente suscepit*. No.174, from Charmes, is dated 536 or 537 - if the reconstruction proposed by Descombes is accepted (RICG.XV: 11). This epitaph, written in distichs, records the deceased, Altheius, *genus egregium atq(ue) ordine princeps, Lugduni procerum nobile consilium*. No.269 (Plate 87), Lyon, is dedicated to Saraga, and is dated 510. The extraordinary decor and the eulogy also indicates someone of high status.

Condo also occurs on two female epitaphs. No.26 from Anse, dated 486, is dedicated to Vistrigilde, renowned for her religious piety and chastity. No.576, from Vienne, Saint-Théodore, is undated but is probably from between the last quarter of the fourth and the mid-fifth century (RICG.XV: 71); the phrase *D(is) M(anibus)* precludes a later date. The theme is again one where the pious merits of the deceased, Eustacia, are extolled and a place in heaven has been secured.

The four remaining epitaphs which employ *condo* in the *initium* are all for clerics: No.652 is the epitaph of Pantagathus, bishop of Vienne, buried in Saint-Georges sometime between 542

and 549 (*R/CG.XV: 95*); No.128 from Arles is the epitaph of the abbot Florentinus, who died in 553; No.469 (Plate 154) from Saint-Germain-du-Plain records bishop Iamlychus on an inscription dated to 479. Epitaph No.469 (Plate 154) is a simple epitaph comprising an *initium* followed by the age and date formulae; this is unusual for the epitaph of a bishop, probably to be identified with the bishop of Trier of that name who had to flee from his see. No.735 (Plate 231) from Viviers is exceptional because it has an highly developed style and is similar to the series of episcopal epitaphs found at Lyon and Vienne yet is composed of neither hexameters nor pentameters but in prose. Furthermore, it records a priest, probably from a very aristocratic family, explaining the quality and length of the epitaph. It is dated to a thirteenth indiction, which, for reasons already discussed in Chapter Two, probably sets the death of Pascasius to after 540. The paucity of extant epitaphs dated after 600 overall suggests that one of the first three dates is the most probable.

The use of *condo* can be seen to be employed at no particular point in time or space, but to be found only on those epitaphs belonging exclusively to the social elite throughout the fifth and sixth centuries.

REC	CODE	TOWN / GEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
26	L01	Anse	486	[?in] huc conditor in [tu]molo bone memoria[e] Vistrigilde
269	L01	Lyon, St.Just	510	hic cuiu[s] in hoc condun[tur mem]bra sepulchro
469	L04	St.Germain-du-Plain	479	[conditu]r hoc tumul[o bonae] [memo]riae Iamlychus ep[iscopu]s
576	V01	Vienne, St.Théodore	375-450	hoc electa Deo conditur in tumulo
652	V01	Vienne, St.Georges	540-545	hoc igitur sancti conduntur membra sepulchro
670	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	491	in hoc tumulo conditur bonae memoriae Seuerianus
659	V01	Vienne, Sainte-Colombe	350-425	Aetherius moriens dixit hic condite corpus
735	V04	Viviers	549, 564, 579, 594	conduntor hoc tumolo in s(an)c(tu)oario praeclari patroni membra
174	V06	Charmes	536	hic patr[is] reliqua gener ac pia filia cundunt
128	A01	Arles, St.Croix	553	intra beata crucis condens fastigia sacrae

Table 39: Provenance and date range for *initia* governed by *condo*.

18) *IACEO -ERE*

More widely employed is the verb *iaceo -ere*, with 37 examples, of which only seven are dated, mostly of the fifth century. Taking the epitaphs alphabetically by diocese and provenance, the verb is found at only three sites apart from Lyon and Vienne in the northern part of the region. At Anse an epitaph dated 498, No.24 (Plate 5), provides an example of the verb used in a more developed epitaph dedicated to a young girl of high social status. Although only five years old, she received an elaborate epitaph recording her merits, good character and the grief of her family. The style of this epitaph is very different to the examples from Autun and Jongieux. The former, No.137, is undated and the formulae recording the age and the day of the month, but not a consular or indictional date, suggest a date in the first half of the fifth century. At Jongieux, No.225 (Plate 66), is a simple, undeveloped epitaph inscribed on the reverse of a re-used Gallo-Roman sculpture: it records a woman of 68 years, noted for her piety, and is dated to 504.

At Lyon and Vienne a longer series of epitaphs employ this verb to govern the *initia*; 19 are known at Lyon and seven at Vienne. At Lyon the examples are all concentrated in the Saint-

Irénée/Saint-Just district except for single examples from Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans and Saint-Nizier respectively. Three from the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery are dated to the first half of the fifth century and all three are of the simple, undeveloped type, but dated by a consular year which places them amongst the earliest such examples. No.341 is a metrical inscription written by Sidonius Apollinaris for his grandfather Apollinaris who had been Praetorian Prefect of Gaul under Constantine III in 408 (*PLRE.II*: 113), and had been buried apparently in the Saint-Just cemetery. Sidonius had observed that the tomb of his grandfather had been desecrated or allowed to fall into decay; he restored it then composed this epitaph (Sidonius *Ep.III*, *XII*, 5). It is highly probable that this inscription dates to 469, when Sidonius visited Lyon for the feast of Saint-Just, as already discussed above (*TC.IV*: 27). However, the use of the verb in a metrical context does not assist in dating the undeveloped examples because the verb is found later on an epitaph from Saint-Nizier dedicated to bishop Viuentiolus, who died c.525 (*FEAG.II*: 165). In this case the verb is essential because it fits the metre. Furthermore it occurs on two later inscriptions, albeit more developed in style, No.279, dated 552 (a double epitaph; Plate 93) and a century later in 652 at Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans, No.362 (Plate 118). The former is a more developed epitaph and shows some pretensions to metrification (*ICG*: 47), and the latter is based upon a rather tenuous reconstruction (Wuilleumier *et al.* 1949: 19-20) where the corporeal remains are referred to rather than the individual. Nevertheless, this does not deny a fifth century date for the rest.

No.295 is a fragment of a metrical epitaph from Saint-Irénée whose palaeography suggests a late fifth century date (Plate 103). No.296 is dedicated to two children by their parents (Plate 104). The use of the *Chi/Rho* motif together with the description of their merits and their ages, including the months and days but no consular date, recommends an early fifth century date. No.254 (Plate 76) is dated by the consulate of Astyrius in 449. The use of *pauso* in the date formula inclusive of the day of the week - a level of accuracy rarely found during this period - provides a clue to the undated examples employing that verb. The date formula of No.252 is similar to No.254 (Plate 76) and records the day of the week, the day before Easter during the consulship of Calepius in 447. No.301 is similar but employs *recedo* in the date formula and a *Chi/Rho* monogram suggests a like date, which concurs with that proposed by Descombes and Reynaud (1975: 279; Plate 105). No.308 also bears a *Chi/Rho*; the laconic formulae suggest a date between the late fourth and the first quarter of the fifth century on account of the filiation formula, a strictly pagan device, and the recording of the deceased as a citizen of Reims. No.309 is dedicated to a female - probably a nun given that she was in *obseruacione annis sedece* - and the brevity of the epitaph suggests a late fourth century date.

No.315 is also dated by a now illegible consular date, probably between 425 and 475, if a *floruit* for the use of *iaceo* together with a consular date is accepted (Plate 107). Thus Nos.322, 334, 336, 337, 343 and 346 bear similarities and though no consular dates can be discerned, they might reasonably be set between c.400-475.

A *floruit* centred upon the fifth century appears at Vienne also, where seven examples exist. No.540 (Plate 177), the epitaph of Foedula, records her baptism by Saint Martin of Tours which has been dated to between June 386 and 389 (*RICG.XV*: 273). Nos.549, 550, 553 and 697 appear to share the same *floruit* as those at Lyon though No.712 may date to the second half of that century because *requiesco* is employed in the date formula. Support comes from No.261 at Lyon, dated 492 - although such a date formula is also known there later, in 525, No.273. No.668 (Plate 213), from Saint-Romain-en-Gal, probably of the second half of the fifth century.

No.4, from Aix-en-Provence, is considered by Guyon to date to 493, 508, 523 or perhaps 538 (*ICMAMNS*: 50; Plate 2). His arguments are cogent but the use of the indiction alone is rare prior to 540. However, the use of a consular date is equally rare in *Arelatensis* and the lack of inscriptions from Aix-en-Provence for this period requires us to concur with Guyon's argument but to suggest that 538 is the most likely date. At Arles only one inscription is known, No.103 from the Saint-Honorat area of the Alyscamps cemetery, and is probably dated to the first half of the fifth century because a man described as *qui post dignetatem praesidiatus admenistrator rationum quinque prouinciarum dignus est*, and who exercised his functions at Vienne prior to the transfer of the Prefecture of the Gauls to Arles in 395, cannot have been promoted to such a position following the troubles of the early fifth century. As noted, such a title is otherwise unknown on an inscription in Gaul from this period (Benoit 1954: 44).

At Marseille there are six recorded examples; none are dated but No.418 is the epitaph of bishop Lazarus of Aix-en-Provence who probably died in 452 (*ICMAMNS*: 8). If this identification is correct, then again this is an example of a relatively simple, undeveloped formulaic epitaph employed to commemorate someone of high social status, and, more importantly in this context, a guide to the date of the others. However, at Marseille there are few inscriptions known of any type and although Nos.422, 424 and 426 are similar and so appear to date also to the mid-fifth century. Nos.415 and 420 are very different. No.415 (Plate 136) is unique in its format, where the use of *iaceo* suggests an early fifth century date, as does the concept of a vow fulfilled, *uotum fecit Menas*. As Guyon emphasises, the absence of any date or age formula suggests an early date, yet the palaeography and the many vulgarisms suggests a sixth-century date, accepted here (*ICMAMNS*: 6). No.420 is a metrical epitaph dedicated to a female of high social status, Eugenia, whose merits and deeds are fully described. The listed merits are a commonplace, but the deeds are not: she is recorded as ransoming captives and returning refugees to their own lands. The language is somewhat ambiguous, but there can be no doubt that she lived through troubled times. Political troubles were common enough, but a context is required whereby the area around Marseille was involved, even if indirectly. The first half of the fifth century seems to be precluded because it is unlikely that any lands were restored to Gallo-Romans at that time. As a later date, i.e. after the reconquest of Italy from 535, is highly unlikely, so the reign of Theoderic (493-526) provides an appropriate context. She may have assisted Italian refugees and captives. This remains an hypothesis but is the only context which fits both the linguistic style of the epitaph, which mirrors the series of episcopal epitaphs during this

period from Arles, Lyon and Vienne, and the palaeography. Guyon cites the later example of Caesarius of Arles paying ransom for captives from the resources of the church treasury (ICMAMNS: 10).

The following can also be placed within this category: Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just district, Nos.313, 340 and 357; Saint-Irénée, No.258, dated 470.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
24	L01	Anse	498	<i>Proba ... quae subito rapta est, hic tumulata iacet</i>
295	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	450-500	<i>hic Nonnuse iaces</i>
296	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	400-450	<i>hic eacit germanitas fratris adque sororis</i>
254	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	449	<i>hic iacet Sanctulus, famulus Dei</i>
301	L01	Lyon, St.Just	400-450	<i>hic iacet Litoria</i>
308	L01	Lyon, St.Just	375-425	<i>hic iacet Aelianus, filius Pauli, uiri praesidialis</i>
309	L01	Lyon, St.Just	375-425	<i>hic iacet Agricia, qui fuit in obseruacione annis sedece</i>
252	L01	Lyon, St.Just	447	<i>[hic] iacet Decora Mercurina</i>
315	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	425-475	<i>hic iacit ben[ememori]us Villanciu[s]</i>
322	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	<i>hic iacet n(o)m(ine) Tribunus, quem Deus elegit</i>
334	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	<i>hoc conten[ta iacent?] Taurini me[m]bra sepulchro? / saecu?]laris</i>
336	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	<i>h[fo]c tumulo iacet [bo]nom memoriom Rabso</i>
337	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	<i>hic iacet in nom[ine Xpi] sanctimonialis n[omi]ne Auentina</i>
341	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	469-470	<i>praefectus iacet hic Apollinaris</i>
343	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	<i>hic conte[nta iacent mem]bra sepulchro ...]</i>
346	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	<i>hic iacet ...]o</i>
251	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	438	<i>hic iacit Aspasius aduliscens</i>
279	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	552	<i>hic iunctae saepulchris iacent Maria uenerabelis religione et eius Eugenia neptes</i>
362	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	652	<i>in hoc tomolo uel sub hunc cesp[item iacent mem]bra bone memoriae Teodata, pue[lla]</i>
397	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	525-535	<i>in hoc iacet Viuentiolus tumulo</i>
137	L02	Autun	400-450	<i>[hic i]ace<t> Tigridius castus puer et <l>ector <f>elix</i>
540	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	400-425	<i>Foedula ... hoc iacet in tumulo quem dedit alma fides</i>
549	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	400-475	<i>hoc iacet in tumulo ... Marinum</i>
550	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	400-475	<i>hic iacit Martinus</i>
553	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	400-475	<i>hic iacet in p[ace] Venantius</i>
697	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	400-475	<i>hic iacent in pace Marina nomine quondam</i>
712	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	450-475	<i>hic iacet [... inn]ox</i>
668	V01	Vienne, St.Romain-en-Gal	450-500	<i>hic iacit Geronsia</i>
225	V02	Jongieux	504	<i>in hoc tomulo iacit religiosa f(e)m(ina) Valho</i>
103	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	400-425	<i>uir Agripinensis nomine Geminus hic iacet</i>
4	A02	Aix-en-Provence	538, 552, 567, 582	<i>indolis hic iacit, heu ecce sepultus</i>
415	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	500-600	<i>hic iacet Gemula cu nomen D(eu)s iset</i>
418	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	452	<i>hic iacet bone m(e)m(oriae) p(a)p(a) Lazar(us)</i>
420	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	495-525	<i>nobilis Eugenia ... quae meretis uiuit hic tomolata iacit</i>
422	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	400-475	<i>Messetr[us/a?] peregit [...] iacet hi[c ...] TALIANI[...]</i>
424	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	400-475	<i>D(is) M(anibus) hic iacet uirgo fidelis Vlpia Dom[n?]ene</i>
426	A22	Marseille, Northern Cemetery	400-475	<i>hic iacet Benenata uirgo in pace</i>

Table 40: Provenance and date range for *initia* governed by *iaceo*.

19) QUIESCO -ERE

Formulae governed by *quiesco* are more problematic, being ubiquitous both chronologically and geographically. At Lyon four examples are known: No.261, from the Saint-Irénée cemetery, is dated 492 and another from that district, No.312 is likely to be roughly contemporary; another found in the Place Saint-Just, No.282 (Plate 95), dated 601, carries formulae closer in style to those from Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans, whence it is possible that it originated. No.389 is a fragment discovered nearby (NR: 3) which may have originated at the Saint-Just cemetery and is probably dated to between 475-525. The use of this verb in conjunction with *humo* -are is instructive. Only two examples are known, both from the Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans

cemetery: No.360 (Plate 116), dated 599, *humata sub hoc tomolo [bone memoriae] ... membra quiiscunt*, and No.361, dated 619 (Plate 117), *umata sub <hoc> tetolo Mercurini sibi Cictato <m>embra quiiscunt*. Their formulae bear similarities to No.282 (Plate 95), demonstrating that although *quiesco* was employed rarely, it was retained in later, more developed epitaphs.

At Vienne *quiesco* is found five times, but is not specific to any cemetery. Only one is dated, No.569, dated 566 from Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère. The formula is here reminiscent of Category 10 of the formulae governed by *requiesco*, *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*. No.621 is dated by an indiction alone, the fourteenth, *VIII id(us) octob(res), ind(ictione) XIII*, suggesting 550, 565 or 580. The partially metrical nature and other formulae of No.572 (Plate 192), from Saint-Sévère, suggests a date in the early sixth century, but the lack of any date formulae recommends instead the second half of the fifth century. No.695 should pre-date the sixth century on account of the similarity in style of the other formulae with those known from Saint-Gervais, and No.698 (Plate 222) may be even earlier on account of the similarity of the *initium* to the dative/optative examples discussed above, between 400 and 450.

No.192 from Die, an outlier geographically, offers unusual formulae; stating a belief in redemption of the soul and the afterlife, it lacks a date or age formulae. This suggests a date in the early fifth century, although Le Blant prefers the mid-sixth century (*ICG*: 478; Plate 57).

At Arles three examples lend support to the hypothesis that most of these formulae occur on earlier inscriptions. No.93 is enclosed by a *tabella ansata* cartouche on a sarcophagus cover, probably re-used, found placed above a tomb in the Alyscamps cemetery (Plate 25). The sarcophagi from here pre-date the mid-fifth century (Benoit 1954: 69); for that reason the *initium* formula, though similar to *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, is taken here to suggest a mid-fifth century date. No.112 is securely dated to 449, being the epitaph of bishop Hilarinus who died in that year (*FEAG*.I: 249 see above; Plate 35). No.130 is to be dated to between 330 and 350 approximately for reasons discussed above (see dative/optative formulae; Plate 41).

Other inscriptions with *initia* governed by *quiesco* are rare, yet widespread, in *Arelatensis*. No.2 from Aix-en-Provence is dated 517 and noticeably its *initium* resembles *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, only known in *Arelatensis* (see Category 6 above). No.228 is probably dated to between 475 and 525 according to Guyon (*ICMAMNS*: 42), but this is not followed here on account of the classical and pagan influences present within the inscription: it is better placed in the second half of the fifth century. No.507 (Plate 167), from Urban, is dated by a consular date to 485 and No.523, from Vaison-la-Romaine, although fragmentary, is probably of similar date. No.138, from Avignon, which carries a similar formula to *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, known only in *Arelatensis*, is probably also dated to the second half of the fifth century.

No.524, Vaison-La-Romaine, can also be placed within this category.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
261	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	492	<i>hoc tumulo quiescit bone memorius Cesarius</i>
282	L01	Lyon, St.Just	601	<i>bone recordacionis Agapi neguciatoris membra quiescunt</i>
312	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	475-525	<i>[hic?] qu(i)escit bone me[moriae] ..[i]tinus bene</i>
389	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	475-525	<i>hic quiescit in pace?</i> Basilia
569	V01	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	566	<i>in hoc tomolo quiescit in pace bonae memoriae</i>
572	V01	Vienne, St.Sévère	450-500	<i>his ornata bonis Sofroniola in pace quiescit</i>
621	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	550, 565, 580, 595	<i>hic tenera insontis quiescunt membra S(an)c(t)i</i>
695	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	450-500	<i>hic quiescit in pace louenales</i>
698	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	400-450	<i>aeterna hic Martina in pace quiescit</i>
192	V05	Die	400-450	<i>hic Dalmata Cristi morte redemptus, qui scet in pace</i>
93	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	425-475	<i>hic quiescit in pace benenonius Vitalis</i>
112	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	449, 5 May	<i>sacrosanctae legis antestis Hilarius hic quiescit</i>
130	A01	Arles, Trinquetaille	330-350	<i>XVII kal(endas) apriles, hic quiescet in pace Marcia Romania Celsa</i>
2	A02	Aix-en-Provence	517	<i>hic in pace quiescit Adiutor</i>
228	A11	La Gayole	450-475	<i>hoc tomolo cuius tantum nam membra quiescunt</i>
507	A17	Urban	485	<i>quiescit in pace bene memoria Epymini[us]</i>
523	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	475-500	<i>hic in pace quiescit Pelagius presbit[er]</i>
138	A21	Avignon	450-500	<i>hic in pac[e] quiescit Crispinu[s]</i>
360	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	599	<i>humata sub hoc tomolo [bone memoriae] ... membra quiiscunt</i>
361	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	619	<i>umata sub <hoc> tetolo Mercurini sibi Cictato <m>embra quiscunt</i>

Table 41: Provenance and date range for *initia* governed by *quiesco*.

AGE FORMULAE

1) QVI VIXIT ANNOS + AGE

This formula is the most common of all age formulae, accounting for 16% of all epitaphs. One hundred and sixteen examples are known, of which 58 are dated. It was employed extensively in South Eastern Gaul and remained in use throughout Late Antiquity. It is recorded first on a dated epitaph at Lyon in 431, No.250, whilst at Arles and Vienne it does not appear on a dated epitaph until the last quarter of the fifth century. None of the statistical data shows any clusters or deviations from region to region, which is accounted for by its ubiquity. However, it is remarkable that only three undated examples are found at the Saint-Gervais cemetery at Vienne, which was in use at an early date, suggesting that they are early and that those examples found in isolation may be from the Saint-Pierre cemetery. Its scarcity in a seventh century context at Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans, Lyon, is accounted for by the employment there of more sophisticated age formulae. The number of examples is so numerous throughout this period that it cannot be used reliably for dating purposes with any confidence except to assist at a sub-regional level.

The following can also be placed within this category: at Briord, Nos.154 and 166; Lyon, the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, Nos.299, 305, 313, 332, 342, 348, 358, 389, and one dated example, No.258, dated 470. Two further examples from *Lugdunensis* are from Chalon-sur-Saône, No.173, dated 523 (Plate 52) and Saint-Germain-du-Plain, No.469, dated 479 (Plate 154). From *Viennensis* examples are included from Agnin, No.1; Bourgoin, No.148 and No.146, dated 515; Eyzin, No.199; Saint-Laurent-de-Mure, No.475; Saint-Romain-d'Albon, No.485;

Saint-Vallier, No.494; Tournon, No.505; Vienne, Saint-Pierre, No.632; an isolated find from Vienne, No.715 (Plate 227); Vienne, Sainte-Colombe, No.664. Three examples are from Genève, Nos.203, 205 and No.206; one from Corenc, No.185; three from Grenoble, Nos.212, 214 and 215; Moirans, No.435; Alba/Aps, No.10; Saint-Julien-en-Quint, No.473, dated 537; Aouste, No.41; Saint-Gervais, No.470; Valence, Nos.529 and No.531, dated 511; Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence), No.528 and Moutiers, No.440, dated 561. Fewer examples are calculated for *Arelatensis*; Arles, No.115, Notre-Dame-du-Brusc, Nos.448, 449 and 451; Cimiez, Nos.179 and 182; Vaison-la-Romaine, No.525; Notre-Dame-de-Beauregard, No.447; Avignon, No.138 and an isolated find at Marseille, No.433.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	204	22	44	23	552	431	499.22	121	29.58	69.57
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	14	45	27	609	483	519.67	126	28.06	70.37
<i>Arelatensis</i>	197	14	27	8	538	470	507.88	68	23.23	50
<i>Lugdunensis</i> , exc.Lyon	43	21	9	7	501	461	487.71	40	12.44	57.14
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc.Vienne	135	19	25	17	609	491	525	118	29.57	76.47
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc.Arles	112	14	16	5	538	470	507	68	26.53	40
Lyon	161	22	35	16	552	431	504.25	121	33.27	62.50
Vienne	193	10	20	10	553	483	510.60	70	22.57	60
Arles	85	13	11	3	532	495	509.33	37	16.21	66.67
Briord	18	22	4	4	501	488	495.25	13	5.85	75
Lyon, St.Irénée	31	39	12	9	552	458	517.22	94	27.93	77.78
Lyon, St.Just	22	27	6	4	510	431	472.25	79	33.88	50
Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	64	25	16	3	523	493	508	30	12.25	33.33
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	117	29	34	16	552	431	504.25	121	33.27	62.50
Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	26	4	1							
Vienne, St.Gervais	27	11	3							
Vienne, St.Pierre	69	7	5	4	525	483	496	42	17	75
Vienne, St.Pierre/St.Georges	80	6	5	4	525	483	496	42	17	75
Vienne, isolated finds	64	19	12	6	553	495	520.33	58	20.47	66.67
Arles, Alyscamps ?	48	15	7	2	532	495	513.50	37	18.50	100
Arles, Alyscamps	11	18	2							
Arles, St.Honorat	14	14	2	1	501	501	501			100
All Provenances	729	16	116	58	609	431	509.93	178	29.64	77.59

Table 42: Measures of position and variability for the formula *qui/quae vixit annos* + age.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Anse	1	486
L01	Briord	4	488, 491, 501, 501
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	12	458, 492, 501, 517, 525, 525, 541, 544, 552
L01	Lyon, St.Just	6	431, 447, 501, 510
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	16	493, 508, 523
L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	1	
L01	St.Maurice-de-Rémens	1	486
L03	Fénay	1	
L03	Poithières	1	461
L05	Mâcon	1	
V01	Aoste	3	523, 547
V01	Arandon	1	546
V01	Bourgoin	1	517
V01	Chavanoz	1	609
V01	Pact	1	
V01	St.Laurent-de-Mure	2	511
V01	St.Vallier	1	503
V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	3	
V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	5	483, 485, 491, 525
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	12	495, 501, 509, 528, 536, 553
V01	Vérenay	1	
V01	Vézérone	1	491
V02	Genève	1	505
V02	Jongieux	1	504
V02	La Terrace	1	522
V03	Grenoble	3	520, 521
V03	La Tronche	1	

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
V03	Vif	2	578
V05	Die	1	
V05	Luc-en-Diois	1	514
V06	Valence	1	491
V06	Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence)	1	523
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	7	495, 532
A01	Arles, Alyscamps	2	
A01	Arles, St.Honorat	2	501
A06	Bruis	1	538
A08	Antibes	4	
A14	Cimiez	1	
A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	5	470, 502, 536
A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	5	489

Table 43: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula *qui/quae vixit annos* + age.

2) QVI VIXIT ANNOS ... MENSES ... DIES

Seventy-eight examples of this formula are known, accounting for 11% of all age formulae, of which 30 are dated. The date range of 200 years is wide, and no particular clusters or deviations are found from one diocese to another. However, a comparison of the three metropolitans shows some differences. The overall figures are not remarkable in themselves if taken in proportion to the numbers of inscriptions recorded from each town but nine examples are recorded from the Saint-Gervais cemetery at Vienne, where the more simple form, *qui uixit annos ...*, is unknown. Unfortunately only one dated example is known and it is relatively late, No.539, dated 574. Its contemporaneous use at the cemetery of Saint-Pierre prevents its use in determining the provenance of six isolated finds. The formula itself indicates the greatest degree of accuracy of the deceased's age; it can be shown to have been used generally on younger members of the population, presumably because their exact age had not been forgotten. Of 66 epitaphs where the age in years is legible the average age is 20. This contrasts with an overall average of 41 years from 90 epitaphs for the formulae *qui vixit annos*, and 42 years for the 69 epitaphs employing the formula *qui vixit annos plus minus*. The average of all deceased is 37 years from 313 epitaphs. To emphasise the point, 55 epitaphs employ this formula where the age is less than or equal to 20 years, and the average age is just six years (the age in months and days is ignored for these last few calculations due to the many now incomplete formulae).

The following can also be placed within this category: Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, Nos.286, 300, 340, 405 and No.280, dated 562. At Vienne, from the Saint-Pierre cemetery, No.630 and No.586, dated 520; and three isolated finds, Nos.721, 722 and No.684, dated 625. Another included is No.666 from Saint-Romain-en-Gal. In *Arelatensis* only three are included; Arles, Alyscamps, No.50; Aix-en-Provence, No.3, dated 494 (Plate 1); Notre-Dame-du-Brusc, No.450.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	204	10	20	9	546	378	463.33	168	44.61	77.78
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	13	42	16	578	467	527.50	111	28.84	62.50
<i>Arelatensis</i>	197	8	16	5	531	474	497	57	23.47	80
<i>Lugdunensis</i> , exc.Lyon	43	12	5	4	498	378	458	120	47.33	75
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc.Vienne	135	11	15	10	564	467	522	97	25.42	70
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc.Arles	112	10	11	4	519	474	488.50	45	18.09	75

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
Lyon	161	9	15	5	546	422	467.60	124	41.83	60
Vienne	193	14	27	6	578	495	536.67	83	31.74	33.33
Arles	85	6	5	1	531	531	531			100
Briord	18	6	1	1	487	487	487			100
Lyon, St.Irénée	31	13	4	1	466	466	466			100
Lyon, St.Just	22	14	3	1	422	422	422			100
Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	64	13	8	3	546	448	483.33	98	44.43	66.67
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	117	13	15	5	546	422	467.60	124	41.83	60
Vienne, St.Gervais	27	33	9	1	574	574	574			100
Vienne, Notre-Dame-D'Outre-Gère	3	33	1	1	502	502	502			100
Vienne, St.Pierre	69	9	6	3	578	535	549.67	43	20.04	66.67
Vienne, St.Pierre/St.Georges	80	8	6	3	578	535	549.67	43	20.04	66.67
Vienne, isolated finds	64	11	7	1	495	495	495			100
Vienne, Ste.Colombe	7	29	2							
Vienne, St.Romain-en-Gal	5	40	2							
Arles, Alyscamps ?	48	4	2	1	531	531	531			100
Arles, St.Honorat	14	7	1							
Arles, St.Caesarius	2	50	1							
Arles, Trinquetaille	2	50	1							
All Provenances	729	11	78	30	578	378	503.17	200	43.94	76.67

Table 44: Measures of position and variability for the formula *qui/quae vixit annos ... menses ... dies*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Anse	1	498
L01	Briord	1	487
L01	Grigny	1	469
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	4	466
L01	Lyon, St.Just	3	422
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	8	448, 456, 546
L02	Autun	1	378
L03	Dijon	1	
V01	Aoste	2	537, 547
V01	La Côte-St.André	1	
V01	Revel-Tourdan	1	564
V01	St.Romain-d'Albon	2	467, 516
V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	9	574
V01	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	1	502
V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	6	535, 536, 578
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	7	495
V01	Vienne, Sainte-Colombe	2	
V01	Vienne, St.Romain-en-Gal	2	
V02	Lugrin	1	527
V02	Yenne	1	521
V03	Grenoble	1	
V03	Le Fayet	1	529
V03	St.Sixte-de-Merlas	3	516
V04	Viviers	1	496
V06	Valence	1	
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	2	531
A01	Arles, St.Honorat	1	
A01	Arles, St.Caesarius	1	
A01	Arles, Trinquetaille	1	
A05	Carcès	1	
A08	Antibes	1	476
A14	Cimiez	1	474
A17	Urban	1	485
A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	2	519
A18	Orange	2	
A21	Avignon	1	
A22	Aubagne	1	
A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	1	

Table 45: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula *qui/quae vixit annos ... menses ... dies*.

3) QVI VIXIT ANNOS PLVS MINVS

Eighty-one examples are known, of which 28 are dated. This formula indicates a degree of uncertainty regarding the age of the deceased; it may have been merely a formulaic device, but

if taken at face value the higher ages overall compared with the Category Two age formulae suggest that it was employed more commonly for those aged over 40. Of the 69 records where the age in years is legible the average age is 42 years, of which only 15 are less than or equal to 20 years of age, where the average age is just 11 years (the age in months and days is ignored due to the many now incomplete formulae).

Arelatensis has a high proportion (19%) of the recorded epitaphs employing this formula, 27 at Arles itself and a further ten within the borders of the diocese. In *Viennensis* an almost equally high proportion is known, 41 examples of which 21 are dated, 36 are from Vienne itself where 19 are dated. In *Lugdunensis*, only three undated examples are known, two from Lyon itself. Despite its common employment at Vienne in all the main cemeteries, it is rare elsewhere in *Viennensis* where only five examples are recorded. Although the evidence is tenuous, the formula perhaps spread to Vienne from Arles and *Arelatensis* in general: it is known at Arles in 487, No.67 (Plate 17), yet not until 511 at Vienne, at Saint-Sévère, No.566. The relatively high incidence of dated epitaphs bearing this formula at Vienne suggests that it was not adopted until the first decade of the sixth century.

The following can also be placed within this category, none are from *Lugdunensis*: at Vienne, Saint-Gervais, Nos.555 and 557; Vienne, Saint-Pierre/Saint-Georges cemetery, Nos.616, 618, 620, 633, 634, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640 and three dated examples, Nos.583, dated 515, 595, dated 542, and No.602, dated 581. Fifteen isolated finds from Vienne are included, Nos.688, 690, 692, 694, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 723, 724, 727 plus three dated examples, Nos.677, dated 535, 680, dated 554 and 681, dated 557. In addition: Andance, No.20, dated 600; Clérieux, No.183, dated 544; Saint-Romain-d'Albon, No.484 (Plate 159), dated 631; Nacon, Nos.441 and 442; Alba/Aps, No.15; Aouste, No.42; Ourches, No.456; Valence, No.533 and Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence), No.527. In *Arelatensis* the formula is well represented and therefore it has been calculated for several from Arles: Nos.79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 100, 122, 124, and three dated examples, Nos.90, dated 495, 96, dated 515 and 99, dated 541. Others are included with less certainty: Montfort-sur-Argens, No.438, Plate 143; Le Buis, No.234; Montfort, No.437; Gigondas, No.210 and two from Marseille, one from the Northern Cemetery, No.430, and an isolated find, No.432.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	204	1	3							
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	13	41	21	663	511	560.52	152	39.19	76.19
<i>Arelatensis</i>	197	19	37	7	554	487	529.71	67	20.63	57.14
<i>Lugdunensis</i> , exc.Lyon	43	2	1							
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc.Vienne	135	4	5	2	607	563	585	44	22	100
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc.Arles	112	9	10							
Lyon	161	1	2							
Vienne	193	19	36	19	663	511	557.95	152	39.71	78.95
Arles	85	32	27	7	554	487	529.71	67	20.63	57.14
Lyon, St.Just	22	5	1							
Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	64	2	1							
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	117	2	2							
Vienne, St.Gervais	27	22	6	1	567	567	567			100
Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	3	67	2	2	566	524	545	42	21	100
Vienne, St.Sévère	6	50	3	2	558	511	534.50	47	23.50	100
Vienne, St.Pierre	69	13	9	7	660	517	554.86	143	45.66	85.71

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
Vienne, St.Georges	11	45	5	3	547	542	544.67	5	2.05	33.33
Vienne, St.Pierre/St.Georges	80	18	14	10	660	517	551.80	143	38.50	90
Vienne, isolated finds	64	17	11	4	663	559	589.25	104	42.84	75
Arles, Alyscamps ?	48	31	15	4	530	487	517.75	43	17.85	75
Arles, Alyscamps	11	36	4	1	554	554	554			100
Arles, St.Honorat	14	7	1							0
Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	7	86	6	1	530	530	530			100
Arles, St.Croix	1	100	1	1	553	553	553			100
All Provenances	729	11	81	28	663	487	552.82	176	37.90	82.14

Table 46: Measures of position and variability for the formula *qui/quae vixit annos plus minus*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Anse	1	
L01	Lyon, St.Just	1	
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	1	
V01	Andance	1	563
V01	Arras-sur-Rhône	1	
V01	Eyzin	1	
V01	Luzinay	1	607
V01	St.Jean-de-Bournay	1	
V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	6	567
V01	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	2	524, 566
V01	Vienne, St.Sévère	3	511, 558
V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	9	517, 524, 525, 540, 557, 561, 660
V01	Vienne, St.Georges	5	542, 545, 547
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	11	559, 563, 572, 663
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	15	487, 525, 529, 530
A01	Arles, Alyscamps	4	554
A01	Arles, St.Honorat	1	
A01	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	6	530
A01	Arles, St.Croix	1	553
A01	Bellegarde	1	
A05	Lorgues	1	
A07	Banon	2	
A07	Narbonensis Secunda	1	
A07	Peyruis	1	
A07	Reillanne	1	
A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	2	
A22	Marseille, S.E. Cemetery	1	

Table 47: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula *qui/quae vixit annos plus minus*.

4) QVI VIXIT IN PACE ANNOS

Forty-six examples of *qui vixit in pace annos* are known, of which 26 are dated, with 42 from *Lugdunensis* and 30 from Lyon. This is almost the opposite of the distribution for the previous formula. Unknown in *Arelatensis*, only four examples are known in *Viennensis*, all of which are either late or apparently late in the case of the undated examples. The first dated example appears in 484 in the Saint-Just cemetery at Lyon, No.260, and is recorded in the same year in the district, No.259. It is recorded throughout the sixth century in the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just district, and continues into the mid-seventh at Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Significantly it also appears at Briord in the 630s, with eight examples known. This distribution is taken here to vindicate partly the decision to include the inscriptions from Briord amongst those of *Lugdunensis*, in contrast to *RICG.XV*, where they are included within *Viennensis*, where the formula is unknown north of the river Isère.

The following can also be placed within this category: Briord, Nos.163, 164 and 165, Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, No.293, and No.283, dated 622; Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans, Nos.381, 382, 383, 384, 386 and one dated example No.374, dated 652.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
Lugdunensis	204	21	42	24	656	484	579.54	172	63.94	50
Viennensis	328	1	4	2	694	691	692.50	3	1.50	100
Lugdunensis, exc.Lyon	43	28	12	7	633	518	599.29	115	42.32	71.43
Viennensis, exc.Vienne	135	3	4	2	694	691	692.50	3	1.50	100
Lyon	161	19	30	17	656	484	571.41	172	69.34	41.18
Briord	18	44	8	5	633	615	625.20	18	6.94	60
Lyon, St.Irénée	31	13	4	3	564	503	538.67	61	25.95	66.67
Lyon, St.Just	22	14	3	3	601	484	526	117	53.16	66.67
Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	64	11	7	3	595	484	527.67	111	48.31	66.67
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	117	12	14	9	601	484	530.78	117	44.45	55.56
Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	26	46	12	6	656	652	653.67	4	1.37	66.67
Lyon, St.Nizier	9	22	2	1	495	495	495			100
Lyon, isolated finds	6	33	2	1	520	520	520			100
All Provenances	729	6	46	26	694	484	588.23	210	68.41	65.38

Table 48: Measures of position and variability for the formula *qui vixit in pace annos*.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Albigny	1	
L01	Anse	1	
L01	Briord	8	615, 619, 629, 630, 633
L01	Ecully	1	518
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	4	503, 549, 564
L01	Lyon, St.Just	3	484, 493, 601
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	7	484, 504, 595
L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	12	652, 653, 653, 653, 655, 656
L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	2	495
L01	Lyon, Others	2	520
L01	St.Alban-de-Bron	1	551
V04	Viviers	1	
V06	Crussol	1	691
V06	Soyons	1	
V06	Toulaud	1	694

Table 49: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula *qui vixit in pace annos*.

5) VIVO -ERE VARIANTS

The variants are listed below not in provenance, date or accession order, but according to style. Whilst they bear many similarities to the above categories, they are sufficiently different to necessitate the creation of their own sub-classification. Two themes are particularly worthy of note in this instance, *qui uixit in pace plus minus annos ...*, six examples, and *qui uixit in seculo annos ...*, five examples. Both themes are found predominantly in *Viennensis*, with fewer found in *Arelatensis*. At Vienne an isolated find is included in this category, No.685, dated 643, and a further six from Soyons, Nos.495, 496, 497, 498, 502 and No.500 (Plate 164), dated 679. These latter are included with some reservation on account of the unusual nature of the formulae on inscriptions from that area dating to the second half of the seventh century.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	DATE RANGE	FORMULA
576	V01	Vienne, St. Théodore	375-450	<i>septenis decies cum Eustacia uixerit annis</i>
693	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	450-500	<i>quae u<i>xit is denis et nouem simu(l) labentibus ann(i)s</i>
436	V03	Moirans	575-625	<i>[...] uixit olimpiadas</i>
9	V04	Alba/Aps	540, 555, 570, 585	<i>qui uixit annus circeter XLVI</i>
40	V06	Aouste	496	<i>qui uixer[unt in coniu]gali, adfectu et carita[te] annis circiter LX</i>
243	V01	Luzinay	629	<i>q(ui) uixit in pace bonis ac[... ..] annus XXX</i>
457	V01	Pact	470-540	<i>qui [uix]it in pa[ce a]nnus [... p]l(u)s m(inus)</i>
592	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	536	<i>[qui/quae uixit] in pace annus plus minus triginta et hocto</i>
220	V02	Grésy-sur-Aix	486	<i>qui uixit in pace annus LX et minis sex</i>
186	V06	Crussol	675-700	<i>qui uicxet in pace plus men(u)s ann(u)s V</i>
224	V06	Guillerand	683	<i>qui uicxit in pace plus minus annus XXXXV</i>
394	L01	Lyon, St. Nizier	552	<i>qui uixit in amore et temore D(e)i annis LXV</i>
418	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	452	<i>que uixit in timore D(e)i p(lus) m(inus) an(nos) LXX</i>
465	V01	Revel-Tourdan	450-500	<i>uixit in seculo ann(os) XXXII</i>
463	V01	Revel-Tourdan	547	<i>q(ui) uixit in seculo annus LXVIII</i>
674	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	524	<i>qui uixit in seculo annos quattuor et dies VII</i>
675	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	527	<i>qui ufixit in seco]lo annus p[plus minus ...]</i>
421	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	489, 512	<i>qui in seculo ab heneunte etate sua uixit seculares annus XIII</i>
534	A19	Venasque	604	<i>qui uixit [in e?]pto annus XX[.] mensis s(?e)ptem</i>

Table 50: Provenance and date range of variant age formulae governed by *uiu*o.

6) VIVO -ERE UNCLASSIFIED

As with the unclassified *initia* governed by *requiesco* -ere, one can only estimate the probable original formula of the 59 fragmentary examples by comparison with others from the same location or nearby and more than one classification is possible.

REC	CODE	TOWN/CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	PRED	DATE RANGE	FORMULA
154	L01	Briord	1	475-500	<i>[qui/ae u]ixit a[nnos ...]</i>
293	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	4	541-600	<i>[qui uixit in pace annos?] XXI [menses ... dies ...]se</i>
287	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	1	430-500	<i>[qui u]ixit annus [...]</i>
290	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	1	470-540	<i>[qui u]ixit ann[os ?]</i>
352	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	1	430-500	<i>qui uixit annus III [...]</i>
332	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	1	470-540	<i>[qui uixit a]nnus se[ptem]</i>
389	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	1	475-525	<i>[quae uixit? ...]</i>
283	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	4	622	<i>qui uix[it ...]</i>
384	L01	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans	4	600-650	<i>[... uixit annos] LIII</i>
405	L01	Lyon, Others	2	430-500	<i>[qui u]ixit anno[s]</i>
173	L04	Chalon-sur-Saône	1	523	<i>[qui uixit anno]s LXX</i>
469	L04	St. Germain-du-Plain	1	479	<i>uixit an[nos ...]</i>
183	V01	Clérieux	3	544	<i>q(ui/ae) uixit[? ...]</i>
199	V01	Eyzin	1	540-600	<i>q(ui) uixet [...]</i>
505	V01	Tournon	1	470-540	<i>qui uixit an[nos?]</i>
544	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	3	540-600	<i>quae uixit</i>
557	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	3	525-550	<i>[...] qui uixit</i>
623	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	3	470-540	<i>[quae] uixit ann(os)</i>
640	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	3	575-600	<i>qui uix[it ...]</i>
635	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	3	540-600	<i>qui [uixit ...]</i>
714	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	3	470-540	<i>[qui uix]sit annis [...]</i>
690	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	3	541-600	<i>[u]ixit anu[s ...]</i>
715	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	1	450-500	<i>quae uixit [...]]</i>
722	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	2	400-450?	<i>qui ufixit ?..]</i>
680	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	3	554	<i>[uixit annos ...]EX[...]</i>
666	V01	Vienne, St. Romain-en-Gal	2	450-550	<i>quae [uixit ...]</i>
203	V02	Genève	1	470-540	<i>q[ui uixit] annus [...]</i>
212	V03	Grenoble	1	540-600	<i>[qui uix]it a[nnos...]</i>
215	V03	Grenoble	1	470-540	<i>qu(a)e uixit [...]</i>
435	V03	Moirans	1	540-600	<i>qui uixit [...]</i>

REC	CODE	TOWN/CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	PRED	DATE RANGE	FORMULA
441	V03	Nacon	3	541-600	<i>qui [uixit annos/us ?plus minus] LXV</i>
10	V04	Alba / Aps	1	500-600	<i>q[ui uixit ...]</i>
42	V06	Aouste	3	470-540	<i>q[uae uixit? ...]</i>
188	V06	Crussol	6	675-700	<i>VI[... ui]xi[t...]</i>
456	V06	Ourches	3	540-600	<i>[qui] uixit an[nos ...]</i>
495	V06	Soyons	5	675-700	<i>[q]ui uixit ...]</i>
498	V06	Soyons	5	675-700	<i>?<q>(ui) uixit...]</i>
529	V06	Valence	1	470-540	<i>qui [uixit ann]is V</i>
533	V06	Valence	3	470-540	<i>qui uixit an[nis ...]</i>
58	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	8	400-550	<i>[...]uae ter denos uiuen[...]</i>
83	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	3	450-550	<i>[...]e qui uecx[it ... a]nnus [...]</i>
50	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	2	325-400	<i>[...] qui uixit [?in pace ... annos ?] V et m[enses ...]</i>
65	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	3	450-550	<i>[q]ui uixit [an]nus [...]</i>
79	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	3	525-575	<i>[qui uixit] annos [...]</i>
86	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	3	450-550	<i>[...] uixit [...]</i>
100	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	3	425-475	<i>[qui uix]it an[nos ...]</i>
96	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	3	515	<i>[...] uixit an]nus [...]</i>
99	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	3	541	<i>[qui uixit annos] XXXVI</i>
115	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	1	450-500	<i>[qu]ae uixit a[nnos]</i>
438	A05	Montfort-sur-Argens	3	540-600	<i>[qui uixit] ann(os)</i>
437	A07	Montfort	3	540-600	<i>qu[ia]e? uixit annos ? ...]</i>
446	A07	<i>Narbonensis Secunda</i>	6		<i>[...]i uixit [...]</i>
451	A08	Notre-Dame-du-Brusc	1	425-475	<i>[...] qui uixit ?]</i>
450	A08	Notre-Dame-du-Brusc	2	425-475	<i>[qui/ae? uixit annos ...]</i>
179	A14	Cimiez	1	425-475	<i>[...] uixit a[nnis ...]</i>
447	A20	Notre-Dame-de-Beauregard	1	470-540	<i>[?qui uixit ? ...]</i>
138	A21	Avignon	1	450-500	<i>[qui uixit] annus [...]</i>
428	A22	Marseille, Northern Cemetery	6	425-475	<i>[?qui uixit]</i>
433	A22	Marseille, isolated finds	1	450-550	<i>[q]uae uixit a]nnus [...]</i>

Table 51: Provenance and date range of unclassified age formulae governed by *uiuo*.

7) AGE FORMULAE EXPRESSED AS A PHRASE WITHOUT A GOVERNING VERB

Only five examples exist where the age formula is expressed without a governing verb. The reason for such terse phrasing relates either to the space available or to the predilection of the lapidary. Nos.254 and 103 are discussed above in the section on the verb *iaceo*. No.368 is from the series of epitaphs from the Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans cemetery dated to the first half of the seventh century. No.108 from Arles, though fragmentary, should belong to the series bearing a dative/optative *initium*, thereby dating it to between 325 and 400 approximately. No.239 from Lorgues (Plate 70) carries the *initium hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, peculiar to *Arelatensis* and therefore is discussed below in the section dating such epitaphs statistically. It records an obituary on each side and this may be the later inscription when the stone was reused because the other epitaph is less developed, lacking some of the age formulae and all the date. This may belong to the second half of the fifth century; the other, No.238, is probably of the first half of the sixth.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
254	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	449	<i>anno(s) III et mese«se»s IIII</i>
368	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	<i>in pace annus XXX quinta</i>
103	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	400-425	<i>Hic post annos XXXVIII m(enses) II et dies sex</i>
108	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	<i>[...]SII[...] [...] annis [V I ?] EI[...]</i>
239	A05	Lorgues	500-550	<i>annorum n(umero) XXIII</i>

Table 52: Provenance and date range of age formulae bearing the age within a phrase not governed by a verb.

8) METRICAL/PROSE AGE FORMULAE

The expression of the age in metre or in prose with metrical pretensions is confined generally to the longer epitaphs containing an eulogy of the deceased. As with the *initia* of this type, there is no discernible geographical pattern of distribution except in concentrating mainly in the larger towns. Table 53 is divided into four categories in order to emphasise the employment of certain verbs governing the phrase. The first and largest group demonstrates the diversity of the formulae to be found in a period not noted for its literary qualities. Most are dated or have been allocated a date range in other sections on the formulae. The majority are found to be within the second half of the fifth century and the end of the sixth. No.624, from Vienne, has been considered to date to the second half of the sixth century on account of the palaeography despite the lack of a consular, p.c. or indictional date (*RICG.XV*: 121). No.700, from Vienne, consists of a prose *initium* followed by a distych reminiscent of pagan formulae, thereby suggesting a fifth century date (*RICG.XV*: 188). No.729, now lost, is a small fragment, probably of the sixth century. No.726, also from Vienne, and No.53, from Arles, may be of like date.

The second category contains age formulae emphasising the concept of leading a life of so many years. *Duco* governing an age formula is found only five times, all on extended epitaphs containing fulsome eulogies of the deceased. All date to the sixth century. The third category comprises three epitaphs where the age formula is governed by *exigo*. The undated example, No.131 from Arras-sur-Rhône is probably dated to the first half of the seventh century (*RICG.XV*: 31). The final category employs the verb *migro* to govern the phrase, being employed to convey the sense of the soul of the departed going to Heaven. The undated and fragmentary example, No.5, from Aix-en-Provence can only be allocated a date within the sixth century (*ICMAMNS*: 51).

The following can also be placed within this category: from *Lugdunensis*, Anse, No. 28; Lyon, cathedral group area, No.247, Saint-Irénée, Nos.285, 294 and 295; Saint-Just, No.302 and 303; Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just district, Nos.317, and 334. Isolated finds Nos.404 and No.406, dated 504; Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans (Plate 131), No.375; Saint-Nizier, Nos.396, 398, 392, dated 501 and No.393, dated 551. Several more are from *Viennensis*: Andance, No.22; Saint-Laurent-de-Mure, Nos.477 and 478; Trept, No.506, dated 565 (Plate 166); Genève, No.204; Alba/Aps, Nos.13 and 14; Saint-Thomé, No.492; Viviers, No.738; Die, No.194 (Plate 58); Soyons, No.499. At Vienne, Saint-Gervais, No.560; Saint-Sévère, No.574; Saint-Pierre, Nos.598, dated 551, 610, 611, 625, 626, 627, 641, 643, 649; Saint-Georges, Nos.654, 655, 656; isolated finds, Nos.710, 711 and 725; Sainte-Colombe, No.663. In *Arelatensis*; Arles, Nos. 51, 54, 58 and 127; Bellegarde, No.144, dated 521; Aix-en-Provence, No.6; Dauphin, No.190; Cimiez, No.177; Saint-Restitut, No.481, dated 548; Orange, No.452; Marseille, southern cemetery, No.422.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
251	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	438	<i>qui excessit e rebus humanis an(o)r(u)m XXIIIIII</i>
361	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	619	<i>quater denus decim aetate annus LXXV portauit in pace</i>
400	L01	Lyon, St.Michel, Ainay	506	<i>Quam cum post decimum rapuit mors inuida lustrum</i>
134	L02	Autun	375-400	<i>necta nat[ra ?.] pri(die) kal(endas) no[ue]mbres[us]</i>
21	V01	Andance	500-540	<i>nimum celere rapuit mors impia cursu XXXVIII etatis sue anno m/o/rtem peredit</i>
621	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	550, 565, 580, 595	<i>annorum triu fuit mensibusq(u)e</i>
624	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	550-600	<i>[Quin]quaginta et uno annis aetas IIOSE[...]</i>
608	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	552-558	<i>Septen necdum peragens bilustrum, corpus huic sedi posuit beatae</i>
615	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	475-525	<i>[?X]XXIII suae anno, morte per[d]idit et uita[m] [in]uinit</i>
652	V01	Vienne, St.Georges	540-545	<i>Bissenum uitae compleuit tramite lustrum, annis quinque super saecula nostra</i>
700	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	400-500	<i>qui florentem aeuum LX e[st] per annos</i>
729	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	500-600	<i>[...] quinus du[?] [...] [?]trans]actis men[sibus?]</i>
726	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	500-600	<i>[...]X erat aetas [...] [...]ERE mensis [...]</i>
698	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	400-450	<i>qui [fl]oren[tem] a]euum [...] e]git [per annos/annis?]</i>
662	V01	Vienne, Sainte-Colombe	400-475	<i>Seuerinus recessit de saeculo habuit an(nos) III, m(enses) V et d(ies) VI</i>
491	V04	St.Thomé	487	<i>[...]inis et septem reuolentibus a[nnis]</i>
737	V04	Viviers	500-600	<i>[qui]nque simul decim meritq[ue] annis reuolutis</i>
739	V04	Viviers	639-654	<i>[?]atrocis]simas clades [...] annos?] LXX</i>
53	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	350-450	<i>LXV uitam [transegit] in annis</i>
102	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	385-395	<i>triginta et geminos decim uix reddidit annos</i>
520	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	515	<i>abstulit hunc rebus decimo mors inuida lustru</i>
733	A21	Villeneuve-lès-Avignon	587	<i>[...] mensibus et geminis concludens tempora uitae</i>
420	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	495-525	<i>Quam subolis labsam bessenis inclita lustris</i>
279	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	552	<i>sed Maria longum uitae c(u)rs(u)m, centeno console, duxit, Eugenia XVIII ann(o)s habens</i>
360	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	599	<i>duxerat quater denus decimam aetatem, XXXX portauit in pace</i>
735	V04	Viviers	549, 564, 579, 594	<i>feliciter peractis decim lustr(is?) uitam duxit in pace</i>
4	A02	Aix-en-Provence	538, 552, 567, 582	<i>bis undenos aeui completis duxit mensibus annos</i>
236	A02	Le Pin	506	<i>ter denos uitae aeu[o] iam duxer[et] at annos</i>
131	V01	Arras-sur-Rhône	600-650	<i>exactis annis sexa[ginta] T dies [...]S[...]</i>
670	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	491	<i>terrena membra terris reliquit exactis uitae annis XXXII</i>
174	V06	Charmes	536	<i>s[e]x lustr[ra] exegit non breue ter spatium</i>
459	V01	Parnans	527	<i>LXVII aetatis anu de haec luce megrauit</i>
5	A02	Aix-en-Provence	500-600	<i>ad caelum m[ig]rauit ?]</i>
2	A02	Aix-en-Provence	517	<i>migrauit ad D(omi)n(u)m ann(os) LXV mens(es) VII dies XV</i>

Table 53: Provenance and date range of metrical/prose age formulae.

DATE FORMULAE

1) OBIIT + DATE

One hundred and eleven examples are known, 15% of all date formulae, of which 69 are dated. Both the date range of 238 years and the geographical distribution are wide. The greatest concentration is in the north of the region, with 45 examples in *Lugdunensis*, comprising 22%. In *Viennensis* 43 examples are recorded but this represents a smaller percentage overall, 13%. A similar pattern emerges if the two metropolitans of Lyon and Vienne are compared. The earliest dated example is from the Saint-Just cemetery at Lyon, No.249, dated 422; it continued in use in all three dioceses well into the seventh century. At Arles it is known at Saint-Honorat only from 501, No.111 and it may be that it was employed here only from the late fifth century, although the similar formula *obiit sub die ...* is known in 487, No.67 (Plate 17). The

predominance of older, pagan style epitaphs remaining in use at Arles into the fifth century may go some way towards explaining this, but *obiit die ...* and *obiit sub die ...* appear to have been both popular and found contemporaneously at Arles.

The ubiquity of this formula results in a large number of predictions for other epitaphs and the following can also be placed within this category: Briord, Nos.160, 163, 164 and 165; Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just area, Nos.290, 293, 299, 352, 389 and No.283, dated 622. Also from Lyon, the Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans cemetery, Nos.378, 381, 382, 384 and 386. In *Viennensis*; Agnin, No.1; Eyzin, No.199; Pact, No.457; Saint-Romain-d'Albon, No.484 (Plate 159), dated 631; Saint-Vallier, No.494; Tourmon, No.505; Vienne, Saint-Pierre/Saint-Georges cemetery, Nos.616, 618, 623, 629, 640, 591, dated 536 and No.602, dated 581. A further 11 from Vienne are isolated finds, Nos.691, 707, 709, 713, 714, 716, 721, 723, 727, 730, and No.677, dated 535. Beyond Vienne are two from Genève, Nos.205 and 206; Corenc, No.185; three from Grenoble, Nos.212, 215 and 216; Moirans, No.435; Vif, No.732 (Plate 229); two from Alba/Aps, Nos.10 and 15; Aouste, No.41; Charmes, No.174, dated 536; Crussol, No.188; three from Valence, Nos.529, 532 and (Bourg-lès-Valence), No.527. Fewer come from *Arelatensis*; Arles, No.100; Lorgues, No.238; Montfort-sur-Argens, No.438, Plate 143; Bruis, No.167, dated 538; two from Vaison-la-Romaine, Nos.523 and 524; Notre-Dame-de-Beauregard; No.447; Avignon, No.138.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	204	22	45	30	653	422	550.43	231	66.67	63.33
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	13	43	30	660	485	527.83	175	41.72	83.33
<i>Arelatensis</i>	197	12	23	9	604	501	533.22	103	28.30	77.78
<i>Lugdunensis</i> , exc.Lyon	43	21	9	8	633	469	565.38	164	63.06	50
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc.Vienne	135	18	24	14	607	496	526.79	111	29.56	78.57
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc.Arles	112	8	9	3	604	519	548	85	39.61	66.67
Lyon	161	22	36	22	653	422	545	231	67.11	68.18
Vienne	193	10	19	16	660	485	528.75	175	49.98	87.50
Arles	85	16	14	6	553	501	525.83	52	15.90	66.67
Briord	18	28	5	5	633	488	597	145	54.91	80
Lyon, St.Irénée	31	26	8	6	564	458	524.33	106	35.55	66.67
Lyon, St.Just	22	27	6	5	601	422	494.60	179	61.80	60
Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	64	16	10	3	595	484	527.67	111	48.31	66.67
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	117	21	24	14	601	422	514.43	179	51.24	64.29
Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	26	27	7	4	653	652	652.75	1	0.43	75
Lyon, St.Nizier	9	44	4	4	573	501	544.25	72	26.47	50
Lyon, isolated finds	6	17	1							
Vienne, St.Gervais	27	4	1							
Vienne, Notre-Dame-D'Outre-Gère	3	33	1	1	502	502	502			100
Vienne, St.Sévère	6	17	1							
Vienne, St.Pierre	69	12	8	7	660	485	531.29	175	54.72	85.71
Vienne, St.Pierre/St.Georges	80	10	8	7	660	485	531.29	175	54.72	85.71
Vienne, isolated finds	64	13	8	8	643	491	529.88	152	47.73	87.50
Arles, Alyscamps ?	48	17	8	3	531	525	528.67	6	2.62	66.67
Arles, Alyscamps	11	9	1	1	515	515	515			100
Arles, St.Honorat	14	14	2	1	501	501	501			100
Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	7	29	2							
Arles, St.Croix	1	100	1	1	553	553	553			100
All Provenances	729	15	111	69	660	422	538.36	238	53.93	72.46

Table 54: Measures of position and variability for the formula *obiit* + date.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Albigny	1	
L01	Briord	5	488, 615, 619, 630, 633
L01	Ecully	1	518
L01	Grigny	1	469
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	8	458, 503, 525, 544, 552, 564
L01	Lyon, St.Just	6	422, 447, 493, 510, 601
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	10	484, 504, 595
L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	7	652, 653, 653, 653
L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	4	501, 551, 552, 573
L01	Lyon, Others	1	
L01	St.Alban-de-Bron	1	551
V01	Bourgoin	2	515, 517
V01	Clérieux	1	544
V01	Eyzin	1	
V01	Luzinay	1	607
V01	Pact	1	
V01	St.Laurent-de-Mure	1	511
V01	St.Vallier	1	503
V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	1	
V01	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	1	502
V01	Vienne, St.Sévère	1	
V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	8	485, 491, 509, 524, 525, 525, 660
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	8	491, 495, 495, 501, 524, 536, 554, 643
V02	Jongieux	1	504
V02	Yenne	1	521
V03	Grenoble	3	520
V03	Le Fayet	1	529
V03	St.Sixte-de-Merlas	3	516
V03	Vif	1	578
V04	Alba/Aps	1	
V04	Viviers	3	496
V05	Die	1	
V05	Luc-en-Diois	1	514
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	8	525, 530, 531
A01	Arles, Alyscamps	1	515
A01	Arles, St.Honorat	2	501
A01	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	2	
A01	Arles, St.Croix	1	553
A01	Bellegarde	1	521
A04	Brunet	1	
A07	Banon	1	
A07	Reillanne	1	
A11	La Gayole	1	
A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	1	519
A18	Orange	1	
A19	Venasque	1	604
A22	Marseille, S.E. Cemetery	1	

Table 55: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula *obiit* + date.

2) OBIIT DIE + DATE

Twelve examples of this date formula are known, of which seven are dated. Whilst this small number precludes any analysis of its distribution, its use appears to have been as widespread geographically as its date range, 134 years. Ideally this formula should be studied in conjunction with *obiit sub die*, but it is given its own classification here because it is never found at Arles, where that formula predominates. However, in the rest of *Arelatensis* it occurs at Marseille, No.430, and Vaison-la-Romaine, No.517, though no dates are available. No others are predicted for this formula because it is found rarely in comparison with the following formula and then almost always in the same town or region. Therefore, predictions based upon frequency of occurrence favour that formula.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	204	3	7	5	552	495	533.60	57	22.76	80
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	1	3	2	629	528	578.50	101	50.50	100
<i>Arelatensis</i>	197	1	2							
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc.Vienne	135	1	2	1	629	629	629			100
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc.Arles	112	2	2							
Lyon	161	4	7	5	552	495	533.60	57	22.76	80
Vienne	193	1	1	1	528	528	528			100
Lyon, St.Irénée	31	3	1	1	549	549	549			100
Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	64	5	3	2	552	552	552			100
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	117	3	4	3	552	549	551	3	1.41	66.67
Lyon, St.Nizier	9	22	2	1	495	495	495			100
Lyon, isolated finds	6	17	1	1	520	520	520			100
Vienne, isolated finds	64	2	1	1	528	528	528			100
All Provenances	729	2	12	7	629	495	546.43	134	38.86	71.43

Table 56: Measures of position and variability for the formula *obiit die* + date.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	1	549
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	3	552, 552
L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	2	495
L01	Lyon, Others	1	520
V01	Luzinay	1	629
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	1	528
V03	La Tronche	1	
A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	1	
A22	Marseille, Northern Cemetery	1	

Table 57: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula *obiit die* + date.

3) OBIIT SVB DIE + DATE

Forty-two examples of the formula *obiit sub die* are known, 17 of which are dated. Although the formula is found only on 6% of epitaphs overall, there is a marked emphasis in distribution in *Arelatensis*, where 29 examples are recorded, of which 23 are from Arles. Its predominance in the south is not reflected in its date range when compared with examples from the north. This is due to the relatively rare employment of consular or p.c. dates in *Arelatensis*. In *Lugdunensis* and *Viennensis* there are eight and five examples known respectively. However, the earliest dated examples fall in the period AD 475-500, the earliest being from Lyon, No.260, dated 484. At Arles no examples derive from Saint-Honorat, yet it is recorded on three epitaphs from Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès, one dated to 530, No.120, which records that the deceased was the son of the founder of the church (Plate 38). This confirms that burials were taking place to the north of Saint-Honorat by the first quarter of the sixth century. At Arles, 27% of all epitaphs bear this formula, and, as discussed above, can be regarded as a group later than the dative/optative *initia* found on inscriptions clustered around Saint-Honorat.

The following can also be placed within this category: in *Lugdunensis* at Anse, No.27; in *Viennensis* at Saint-Romain-d'Albon No.485 and at Vienne a single isolated find, No.688. The remainder are all from *Arelatensis*; at Arles, Alyscamps, Nos.59, 65, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 89, 124 and one dated example, No.90, dated 495. Within the Alyscamps cemetery, at Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès, are also Nos.121 and 122. Beyond Arles are Le Buis, No.234; Montfort, No.437; Vaison-la-Romaine, No.525; Orange, No.454; Avignon, No.139; and two from Marseille, both isolated finds, Nos.432 and 433.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	204	4	8	5	655	484	571	171	67.89	40
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	2	5	3	609	496	544	113	47.67	33.33
<i>Arelatensis</i>	197	15	29	9	554	487	522.89	67	21.45	66.67
<i>Lugdunensis</i> , exc.Lyon	43	2	1	1	498	498	498			100
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc.Vienne	135	1	2	2	609	496	552.50	113	56.50	100
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc.Arles	112	5	6	2	536	502	519	34	17	100
Lyon	161	4	7	4	655	484	589.25	171	63.99	50
Vienne	193	2	3	1	527	527	527			100
Arles	85	27	23	7	554	487	524	67	22.44	57.14
Lyon, St.Just	22	5	1	1	484	484	484			100
Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	64	3	2							0
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	117	3	3	1	484	484	484			100
Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	26	15	4	3	655	599	624.33	56	23.17	33.33
Vienne, isolated finds	64	5	3	1	527	527	527			100
Arles, Alyscamps ?	48	29	14	4	532	487	510.75	45	19.98	50
Arles, Alyscamps	11	45	5	2	554	541	547.50	13	6.50	100
Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	7	43	3	1	530	530	530			100
Arles, St.Caesarius	2	50	1							0
All Provenances	729	6	42	17	655	484	540.76	171	49.40	64.71

Table 58: Measures of position and variability for the formula *obiit sub die* + date.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Anse	1	498
L01	Lyon, St.Just	1	484
L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	2	
L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	4	599, 619, 655
V01	Chavanoz	1	609
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	3	527
V06	Aouste	1	496
A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	14	487, 495, 529, 532
A01	Arles, Alyscamps	5	541, 554
A01	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	3	530
A01	Arles, St.Caesarius	1	
A01	Bellegarde	1	
A07	Banon	1	
A07	<i>Narbonensis Secunda</i>	1	
A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	2	502, 536
A18	Gigondas	1	

Table 59: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula *obiit sub die* + date.

4) OBIIT IN CHRISTO / XPO + DATE

Twenty-three examples are known, of which 14 are dated. All are confined to Vienne and its environs. At Vienne the earliest dated example is from Saint-Pierre, No.583, dated 515. Of the 14 examples from Vienne, nine are from Saint-Pierre, if the dependant chapel of Saint-Georges is included. Just one comes from Saint-Gervais, suggesting that the six examples found in isolation may provenance from Saint-Pierre. The number of dated examples is too low to allow much credence to an average date of 547 with a standard deviation of almost 15 years. Nevertheless, this formula clearly found favour at Vienne from the second decade of the sixth century. Outside Vienne the average of the dated examples, 546, suggests that the employment of this formula matched that at Vienne, and probably spread from here.

The following can also be placed within this category: two from Andance, No.22 and a dated example, No.20, dated 600. Another four are from Vienne, Saint-Gervais, No.544; Saint-Georges, No.595, dated 542; and two isolated finds, Nos.694 and 706.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
<i>Viennensis</i>	328	7	23	14	564	515	547.14	49	14.11	64.29
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc. Vienne	135	7	9	7	564	523	546.86	41	13.21	57.14
Vienne	193	7	14	7	563	515	547.43	48	14.95	71.43
Vienne, St. Gervais	27	4	1				□			
Vienne, St. Pierre	69	9	6	3	557	515	537.33	42	17.25	33.33
Vienne, St. Georges	11	27	3	1	547	547	547			100
Vienne, St. Pierre/St. Georges	80	11	9	4	557	515	539.75	42	15.51	50
Vienne, isolated finds	64	6	4	3	563	553	557.67	10	4.11	33.33
All Provenances	729	3	23	14	564	515	547.14	49	14.11	64.29

Table 60: Measures of position and variability for the formula *obiit in christo* / *xpo* + date (normally).

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
V01	Andance	1	563
V01	Aoste	5	523, 537, 547, 547
V01	Revel-Tourdan	2	547, 564
V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	1	
V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	6	515, 540, 557
V01	Vienne, St. Georges	3	547
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	4	553, 557, 563
V01	Vérenay	1	

Table 61: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula *obiit in christo* / *xpo* + date (normally).

5) *OBIIT IN PACE* + DATE

Thirty examples of the formula *obiit in pace* are known, of which 24 are dated. The distribution is confined to the north of the region, particularly around Lyon and Vienne (the sole exception is No.526 at Valence, dated 523; Plate 172). At Vienne 11 of 14 examples are dated and at Lyon six of seven examples are dated and at both the earliest examples are close in date, 501 at Lyon, 511 at Vienne. However, there is a slight indication that the formula was first employed in *Lugdunensis* where an epitaph from Saint-Maurice-de-Rémens is dated to 486, No.479 (Plate 157), and another nearby from Briord is dated 491, No.151, followed by two others in 501, Nos.152 (Plate 47) and 153 (Plate 50). Another epitaph from Mâcon, No.407 (Plate 132), probably dates to after 540 on account of the indictional date alone being inscribed. On balance, the evidence suggests that the formula spread from *Lugdunensis* southwards to Vienne.

The following can also be placed within this category: In *Lugdunensis* there are two from Briord, Nos.154 and 166; nine from Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just, Nos.286, 287, 297, 300, 319, 323, 332, 333, 358 and No.280, dated 562. In *Viennensis* there are Arras-sur-Rhône, No.132; Saint-Laurent-de-Mure, Nos.475 and 478; at Vienne, Saint-Sévère, No.573 plus a further nine from the Saint-Pierre cemetery, Nos.620, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639 and one dated example, No.590, dated 535. A further eight are isolated finds: Nos.690, 692, 717, 718, 719, 720, 724 and one dated example, No.686, dated 663. A final epitaph from Vienne is from Sainte-Colombe, No.664. Finally, Nacon, Nos.441 and 442; Aouste, No. 42; Ourches, No.456; Valence, No.533.

AREA ANALYSED	R-TOT	R-PER	TOTAL	SAM	MAX	MIN	AVG	RANGE	STDEV	STD %
Lugdunensis	204	6	12	10	546	486	510.80	60	19.31	60
Viennensis	328	5	18	14	578	511	546.36	67	21.93	50
Lugdunensis, exc. Lyon	43	12	5	4	501	486	494.75	15	6.50	75
Viennensis, exc. Vienne	135	3	4	3	546	522	530.33	24	11.09	66.67
Lyon	161	4	7	6	546	501	521.50	45	17.53	33.33
Vienne	193	7	14	11	578	511	550.73	67	22.12	63.64
Briord	18	17	3	3	501	491	497.67	10	4.71	66.67
Lyon, St. Irénée	31	10	3	3	541	501	519.67	40	16.44	33.33
Lyon, St. Just	22	5	1	1	501	501	501			100
Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	64	5	3	2	546	523	534.50	23	11.50	100
Lyon, All St. Irénée/St. Just	117	6	7	6	546	501	521.50	45	17.53	33.33
Vienne, St. Gervais	27	4	1	1	567	567	567			100
Vienne, Notre-Dame-D'Outre-Gère	3	67	2	2	566	524	545	42	21	100
Vienne, St. Sévère	6	33	2	2	558	511	534.50	47	23.50	100
Vienne, St. Pierre	69	7	5	3	578	517	552	61	25.70	33.33
Vienne, St. Georges	11	9	1	1	545	545	545			100
Vienne, St. Pierre/St. Georges	80	8	6	4	578	517	550.25	61	22.47	50
Vienne, isolated finds	64	5	3	2	572	559	565.50	13	6.50	100
All Provenances	729	4	30	24	578	486	531.54	92	27.26	50

Table 62: Measures of position and variability for the formula *obiit in pace* + date.

CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	TOTAL	YEARS WHERE DATED EXAMPLES ARE KNOWN
L01	Briord	3	491, 501, 501
L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	3	501, 517, 541
L01	Lyon, St. Just	1	501
L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	3	523, 546
L01	St. Maurice-de-Rémens	1	486
L05	Mâcon	1	
V01	Arandon	1	546
V01	St. Laurent-de-Mure	1	
V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	1	567
V01	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	2	524, 566
V01	Vienne, St. Sévère	2	511, 558
V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	5	517, 561, 578
V01	Vienne, St. Georges	1	545
V01	Vienne, isolated finds	3	559, 572
V02	La Terrace	1	522
V06	Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence)	1	523

Table 63: Provenance and totals for epitaphs bearing the age formula *obiit in pace* + date.

6) OBE0 -IRE VARIANTS

Twenty-three epitaphs are classified here as variants, formed from a mixture of the above formulae. The first nine, and arguably the tenth, in Table 64 are closely related to the formula *obiit* + date. No.739 from Viviers is a curiosity if Diehl's reconstruction is correct (ILCV: 346). A further six form compounds of *obiit in pace* ... and *obiit sub die* A further four are less easy to compare with other formulae because they record either the saint's day or in one case from Lyon, No.253 (Plate 75), dated 448, the day of Venus. Finally, three epitaphs record the formula *obiit de saeculo* + date.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
372	L01	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	(obiit) kale(ndas) IIX B
373	L01	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	(obiet) m(ar)tias
374	L01	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans	652	[o]biit m[ense? ...]
367	L01	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans	656	obiit mense octubre
586	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	520	obiit [... lus]tini Aug[usti]
739	V04	Viviers	638	obiit sub C(h)(odouecus?)
189	A07	Dauphin	500-600	V id(us) apr(i)l(es) obiit
189	A07	Dauphin	500-600	XIII k(a)(endas) febroarii m(ensis) hobiit Gisberga

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
503	A17	Suzette		<i>idus ap(ri)lis obiit Co(n)stanci[a? ...]</i>
733	A21	Villeneuve-lès-Avignon	587	<i>obiit bon(ae) m(emoriae) ... VI id(us) decemb(ri)s</i>
26	L01	Anse	486	<i>[o]biit in pace sub di(e) XI k(alendas) a]priles</i>
149	L01	Briord	487	<i>obiit in pace die III idus februaris</i>
268	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	508	<i>obiet in pace su[b di]ae c(alendas) oc[t]obris</i>
539	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	574	<i>obiit in pace sub die c(alen)d(a)s septembris</i>
631	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	500-550	<i>obiit in [... ..]I nonas [... ..]BRIS</i>
684	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	625	<i>obiit in [... ..]to id(us) ian[uaris]</i>
161	L01	Briord	600-650	<i>obierunt in die s(an)c(t)i Martini in[?]d(ictione)...</i>
348	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	450-550	<i>obiit san[ct] ? ..]</i>
253	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	448	<i>[obiit die?] Veneris septe[mo de]cemo kalend[as febru]arias</i>
66	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	425-475	<i>obi(i)t d(ie) sanctorum k(a)l(endas) agustas</i>
220	V02	Grésy-sur-Aix	486	<i>obiit de secu[lo] XIII k(a)l(endas) iunias</i>
4	A02	Aix-en-Provence	538, 552, 567, 582	<i>obiit e saeculo astra petens die tertium nonas iunias</i>
408	A07	Mane	500-600	<i>k(a)l(endis) m(a)rtiis ob[i]it a sec[u]lo Vda[?]garda</i>

Table 64: Provenance and date range of variant date formulae governed by *obeo*.

7) OBEO -IRE UNCLASSIFIED

Thirty-four epitaphs employ a date formulae governed by *obeo -ire*. The methods employed to reconstruct the probable original date formulae by comparison with extant formulae of other epitaphs are explained in Chapter Four. The same comments apply here as with the variant *initia* governed by *requiesco -ere* and the age formulae governed by *uiuo -ere* above.

REC	CODE	TOWN/CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	PRED	DATE RANGE	FORMULA
154	L01	Briord	5	475-500	<i>obiit [in pace? ianu/febru]arias [...]</i>
293	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	1	541-600	<i>[obiit ... kalendas? oct]obris</i>
297	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	5	470-540	<i>o[biit? ...]</i>
333	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	5	541-600	<i>obi[it ...]A LA calend[as]ias</i>
323	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	5	430-500	<i>obi[it ... de]cimo [in pac?]e</i>
319	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	5	470-540	<i>obie[t ...]</i>
329	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	7		<i>obiit? ...]</i>
388	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	9		<i>[... o]biit [...]</i>
370	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	1	600-650	<i>[obiit ... f]ebroarias</i>
378	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	1	600-650	<i>o[biit ...]</i>
384	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	1	600-650	<i>o[biit ...]</i>
22	V01	Andance	4	500-600	<i>obiit? ...]</i>
20	V01	Andance	4	600	<i>obiit[...]</i>
485	V01	St.Romain-d'Albon	3	470-540	<i>[o]b[iit in ...]</i>
541	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	1	541-600	<i>obiit [...]</i>
629	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	1	500-550	<i>obiit [... ..]ias</i>
590	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	5	535	<i>[obiit in pace ...]X au[?]gustas]</i>
591	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	1	536	<i>obi[it]</i>
595	V01	Vienne, St.Georges	4	542	<i>[obiit ?in pace or Xpo?] VII k(a)l(endas) n(ouem)br(e)s</i>
602	V01	Vienne, St.Georges	1	581	<i>[obiit... d]ec(embres)</i>
691	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	1	541-600	<i>[obiit ...] nouem[bres]</i>
703	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	4	470-540	<i>o[biit] ianua[rias]</i>
706	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	4	450-500	<i>obiit in [pace / Xpo ?]</i>
713	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	1	470-540	<i>obiit [...]</i>
686	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	5	663	<i>obiet in [pace] calend[as] genu[a]rias</i>
441	V03	Nacon	5	541-600	<i>[obiit in pace] VIII k(alendas)]</i>
174	V06	Charmes	1	536	<i>[obiit ... febr(uarias) ter[tio]/iter[um PC] Paulini iunioris [VCC]]</i>
188	V06	Crussol	1	675-700	<i>[obiit ... a]gu[stas ...]</i>
529	V06	Valence	1	470-540	<i>obi[it ...]</i>
59	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	3	540-600	<i>obiit [...]</i>
439	A07	Montjustin	7		<i>obiit [...]</i>
523	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	1	475-500	<i>obiit [... ..]</i>
524	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	1	500-525	<i>[...] obiit [...]</i>
454	A18	Orange	3	500-550	<i>[obiit ... n]onas [...]</i>

Table 65: Provenance and date range of unclassified date formulae governed by *obeo*.

8) DATE FORMULAE EXPRESSED AS PHRASES NOT GOVERNED BY A VERB

Twelve epitaphs alone express a date with formulae not governed by any verb. Their temporal and geographical rarity provide no clues as to the reason the date should be expressed so tersely. Rather we should suspect either the predilection of the lapidary or the space available on the stone. No.448, from Notre-Dame-du-Brusc, carries an indictional date, the 14th, which suggests a date in the second half of the sixth century, when a fourteenth indiction fell in 550, 565, 580 and 595, with preference taken for an earlier rather than later dates. No.491 (Plate 162), from Saint-Thomé may have carried a metrical date formula with a governing verb. No.350 is dated to between 430-500 (see below for proposed reconstructions). No.472 (Plate 156), from Saint-Jean-de-Bournay is likely to date to the second half of the sixth century on account of the indictional date, although the palaeography suggests a date in the seventh century (RICG.XV: 219).

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
350	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	430-500	<i>sub die VIII kalendas decembris</i>
251	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	438	<i>non(as) sep(tembres)</i>
397	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	525-535	<i>III idus iulii</i>
461	L03	Poitiers	461	<i>[...]to Xo kal(endas) maias</i>
469	L04	St.Germain-du-Plain	479	<i>V k(alendas) ia[nuarias]</i>
472	V01	St.Jean-de-Bournay	540-650	<i>nota[ui] die nono k(a)[e]ndas ienuarias, indixion[...].</i>
471	V01	St.Jean-de-Bournay	563	<i>Pridi(e) kal(endas) maias</i>
491	V04	St.Thomé	487	<i>[...] men]sis sexti</i>
531	V06	Valence	511	<i>[...] INIVIA III KLS[.....Feli]ce u(iro) cl(a)r(issimo) con(sule)</i>
239	A05	Lorgues	500-550	<i>(s)u(b) die XII k(alendas) septembris</i>
448	A08	Notre-Dame-du-Brusc	550, 565, 580, 595	<i>[. die] Solis indictione ?] XIV</i>
518	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	470	<i>sub die XIV k(a)l(endas) nouembris die lunae luna XVII</i>

Table 66: Provenance and date range of date formulae bearing the date within a phrase not governed by a verb.

9) METRICAL/PROSE DATE FORMULAE

Twenty-six epitaphs bear a date formula that is either metrical, has metrical pretensions or simply employs a verb governing the formula that occurs only rarely. This category is divided further into seven sub-categories. The first comprises six epitaphs, all of which are metrical or have pretensions to metre. They are unusual because the majority of the longer, metrical epitaphs such as those for the bishops of Lyon and Vienne bear the date formula in simple prose at the very end of the epitaph. No.400 from Lyon is the epitaph of Queen Caratena, the wife of Gundobad, hence elaborate epitaph is to be expected. No.604, from Vienne, is the epitaph of bishop Namatius, known only from a manuscript copy. The retention of the date by the medieval copyist is doubtless on account of its metrical expression because most other episcopal epitaphs from Vienne probably had the date expressed in simple prose and were therefore discarded because they had no literary value. However, at Lyon the date is retained in the manuscript copies for the series of episcopal epitaphs. The date formula of No.492, from Saint-Thomé is not possible to reconstruct.

Commemoro is found solely at Lyon, No.310, of the early fifth century, and is employed not only governing the date formula but also in a commemorative sense. *Decedo* is employed three times, twice at Autun, Nos.134 and 135, the latter dated 378. At Vienne it is found once, on

No.715 (Plate 227), dated to the end of the fifth century (RICG.XV: 203). *Defungor* is also employed on just three occasions, again in the northern part of the region. At Anse, No.25 (Plate 6) appears to share a similar date range as the two examples from the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery at Lyon, the second half of the fifth century.

Migro appears only four times, all datable to approximately the first quarter of the sixth century except No.398, from Lyon, Saint-Nizier, the epitaph of bishop Priscus, who died between 585 and 589 (FEAG.II: 168). The formulae always convey the sense of the soul departing this life for that in Heaven (as also with those epitaphs employing *migro* to govern an age formula). *Pauso* i occurs three times, always on epitaphs of a simple formulaic nature. Only one is dated, No.254 (Plate 76) from Lyon, Saint-Irénée, dated 449, but the other two appear from their accompanying formulae to date to the first half of the fifth century. No.49, from Arles, may be earlier (see above; Plate 13).

Requiesco is found on five epitaphs. The formulae and date range are similar to that found for *recedo*, with which they are to be compared. They are confined to the north of the region except for one example from Marseille. An approximate floruit would be 450-525.

The following can also be placed within this category, albeit only in a general sense and are not allocated to any sub-category: in *Lugdunensis*, Anse, No.28; Bourg-en-Bresse, No.145; Lyon, Cathedral group area, No.247; Saint-Irénée, Nos.285, 294 and 295; Saint-Just, Nos.302 and 303; Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just district, Nos.317, 334 and 343; isolated finds, Nos.404 and 406, dated 504; Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans, No.375; Saint-Nizier, No.396. In *Viennensis*, Saint-Laurent-de-Mure, No.477; Genève, No.204; Moirans, No.436; Alba/Aps, Nos.13 and 14; Viviers, Nos.737 and 738; Die, No.194 (Plate 58); Soyons, No.499. At Vienne, Saint-Gervais, No.560; Saint-Sévère, No.574; Saint-Pierre, Nos.610, 625, 626, 627, 641, 643, 649; Saint-Georges, Nos.654, 655; isolated finds, Nos.725, 726 and 729; Sainte-Colombe, No.663. In *Arelatensis*, Arles, Nos.50, 51, 53, 54, 83, 115; Aix-en-Provence, Nos.5 and 6; Cimiez, No.177; Saint-Resitut, No.481, dated 548; and Orange, No.452.

REG	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
400	L01	Lyon, St.Michel, Ainay	506	<i>iamque bis octona septembrem luce mouebat nomen Messalae consulis annus agens</i>
604	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	559	<i>Post fasces posuit uel cingula Symmacus alma iunior, et quintus decimus cum surgerit orbis</i>
492	V04	St.Thomé	500-600	<i>[?sola]tione abs[condit] [?post] co(n)su[?]tum.</i>
520	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	515	<i>namque Senatoris posuit post cingula uitam</i>
535	A19	Venasque	500-600	<i>XII kal(endas) iunias Tenarias intrauit Petrus fauces Auerni</i>
535	A19	Venasque	500-600	<i>VIII idus iulias ad Dominum ancilla festinat</i>
310	L01	Lyon, St.Just	400-450	<i>hic commemora[tur in] san(c)ta ecclesia Lugdunensi a(n)te / d(iem) calendas aug(ustas)</i>
134	L02	Autun	375-400	<i>decessit [...] pri(die) kal(endas) mai[as]</i>
135	L02	Autun	378	<i>decessit VIII kal(endas) nou(embres)</i>
715	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	450-500	<i>decessit [...] kal(endas) mai[as]/rtias</i>
25	L01	Anse	450-500	<i>na(ta?) Vesaronc[iae,?] defunctus?] est XI k(a)l(endas) iulias</i>
255	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	456	<i>defunc[ta e]st die IIII idus iunias</i>
262	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	493	<i>defunctus es/V [...]</i>
398	L01	Lyon, St.Nizier	586-588	<i><i>dibus ad c<a>elum terris migravit ab <i>mis iunii mensis</i>
459	V01	Parnans	527	<i>LXVII aetatis anu de haec luce megravit</i>

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
483	V01	St.Romain-d'Albon	516	<i>migrauit de hac luce VIII kal(endas) marsias</i>
236	A02	Le Pin	506	<i>migrauit ad astra die V kal(endas) nouemb(res)</i>
254	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	449	<i>pausat d<i>e Mercuri</i>
311	L01	Lyon, St.Just	400-450	<i>pausauet III k(a)l(endas) iulias</i>
49	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	<i>Proiecta coniunx posuit pausanti in pace die IIII non(as) sep(tembres)</i>
261	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	492	<i>requibit in pace sub die X kal(endas) decembris</i>
273	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	525	<i>requieui[t] (s)u(b) d(ie) XSI k(a)l(endas) septemb(ris)</i>
201	L03	Fénay	430-500	<i>et requiuit in pace in mensi iulio diea sabato</i>
712	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	450-475	<i>[req]uiescet in [pace?]</i>
144	A01	Bellegarde	521	<i>[loco tumulantur? i]n uno [X k(a)l(endas) oc]tobres</i>
418	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	452	<i>et requeuit in pace pr(idie?) [...JS[... ..]CV[...]</i>

Table 67: Provenance and date range of metrical/prose date formulae.

10) DEPONO -ERE

Depono is an example of a verb governing a date formula continuing in use from the Gallo-Roman period. Unlike other verbs governing date formulae it records the date of burial, not of death. Only one example is from *Lugdunensis*, No.248 from Lyon, Saint-Irénée, dated 334. Eight examples are known at Vienne where the four dated examples suggest that the others are dated similarly. The date ranges suggested by Descombes in *RICG.XV* are followed here, although No.497 from Soyons is probably late seventh century in date (as are the other epitaphs from that site) rather than of 575-625 (*RICG.XV*: 14).

All the rest appear to date to the last quarter of the fifth and the first quarter of the sixth century. The formula occurs predominantly in northern Italy, so it is no surprise to find examples at Arles, where No.126 employs *dormio*. It should belong to the period 400-450 at the latest on account of the *orans* figure with which it is decorated and its similarity with an example from Marseille, No.414 (Plate 135), which has been dated to the same period (*ICMAMNS*: 5). Another from Aix-en-Provence, No.2, is dated 517 and the formula is found five times at Antibes on Nos.29, 30, 31, 32, 33. No.29 is dated 476; Nos.30 and 31 appear to be of a similar date, but the presence of an indictional date on Nos.32 and 33 suggests a date in the early sixth century. These epitaphs are on a stone inscribed on both sides, and No.33 may be the later epitaph but its fragmentary nature makes any determination difficult (*ICMAMNS*: 35a and 35b). At Marseille, No.423 has been dated tentatively to the sixth century (*ICMAMNS*: 13), with a preference here for the second half of the sixth century on account of the other formulae and the indictional year, when an eighth indiction fell in 544, 559, 574 and 589.

The following can also be placed within this category: Notre-Dame-du-Brusc, Nos.449, 450 and 451; and Cimiez, Nos.178, 179 and 182.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
248	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	334	<i>kal(endas) febr(u)ari(a)s depos(itus est) Selentioses</i>
557	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	525-550	<i>[... d]epos<it>io est [...]ER</i>
611	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	500-550	<i>[...] depositio I[...]</i>
585	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	518	<i>Cuius dep(ositio) IIII non(as) mart(ias)</i>
592	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	536	<i>[cu]ius diposio ste VI idus iunias, indictionae XIII</i>
598	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	551	<i>[cui]us dep(ositio) III idus ianua[ri]as</i>
601	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	580	<i>[Cuius] depositio est VII idus marsias</i>
710	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	500-600	<i>[Cuius d]epositio qui[nto d]ecimo k(alendas) ?s[ep]tembres ...]</i>

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
711	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	475-525	<i>cuius d(e)positio? ...</i>
226	V06	La Baume-Cornillane	520	<i>[c]uius d(e)p(osi)t(io) est IIII nona[s] [au]g(ustas)</i>
497	V06	Soyons	675-700	<i>[...]aisa dep(?osita)</i>
530	V06	Valence	491	<i>cui d(e)p(ositio) [. kal]endas februiarias</i>
126	A01	Arles, St. Caesarius	350-400	<i>deposita VI idus martias</i>
2	A02	Aix-en-Provence	517	<i>depositus s(ub) d(ie) VIII kal(endas) ianuar(ias)</i>
30	A08	Antibes	450-500	<i>d(e)p(osita) est sub [die / pridie ?] non(as) april(e)s</i>
31	A08	Antibes	450-500	<i>[d(e)p(osita)] est sub d(ie) ... no[nas or ?uembres]</i>
32	A08	Antibes	475-525	<i>[?d(e)p(osita) est] sub d(ie) V [. ?kalendas ?august]as, in[dictio]ne?</i>
33	A08	Antibes	475-525	<i>[d(e)p(osita) est sub di]e k(alendas) no[uembr]es, [in]dictio[n]e de[cima]</i>
29	A08	Antibes	476	<i>dep(ositus) est su d(ie) VI k(a)l(endas) ianua(rias)</i>
176	A14	Cimiez	474	<i>cuius d(e)p(ositio) est sub die VIII k(a)l(endas) i<anu>(arias)</i>
423	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	544, 559, 574, 589	<i>d(e)p(ositio) eius VII id(us) apr(i)l(i)s, induct(i)one VIII.</i>

Table 68: Provenance and date range of date formulae governed by *depono*.

11) *RECEDO -ERE*

Recedo is common but is confined geographically to the major urban centres, with the notable exception of Arles. Only two examples are known outside Lyon, Vienne and Marseille, No.482 (Plate 158), from Saint-Romain-d'Albon, and No.507 (Plate 167), from Urban. The four dated examples are all from the second half of the fifth century, suggesting that those not bearing a consular or p.c date belong to the period 400-475. The formulae have been considered a hallmark of the fifth century (*RICG.XV*: 124), and the examples from Vienne, Saint-Gervais, appear to date towards the end of the fifth century on account of their *initia*, often based upon an *initium* governed by *requiesco*. The same argument applies to Nos.413 and 416 from Marseille. The only firmly dated examples are indeed from the fifth century, but two from Marseille carry an indictional date alone, which places them after 540 statistically. Nos.421 and 425 are both from Marseille, but, as noted, the disruption of the dissemination of consular names in the southern part of the region in the early years of the sixth century may explain this. Therefore, No.412 is dated 489, in which year there was a sixth indiction and in agreement with the hypothesis of Guyon (*ICMAMNS*: 12; Plate 134). No.425 contains several vulgarisms and may rather date to the later sixth century (when a sixth indiction fell in 542, 557, 572 and 587). The preference here is for the earliest date on account of the *initium*.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
258	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée	470	<i>recessit VII kal(endas) octob(ris)</i>
301	L01	Lyon, St. Just	400-450	<i>[r]ecessit in pace [.]II kalen(das) iunias</i>
337	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	400-475	<i>qua[e] reces[s]it sub die VIII k(alendas) au[gustas]</i>
340	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	400-475	<i>[re]cess[it in Xpo? ... kal(endas)?] iu[n]lias?</i>
357	L01	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	400-475	<i>[in] albis recessit</i>
482	V01	St. Romain-d'Albon	467	<i>recessit VIII k(a)l(endas) martias</i>
548	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	450-500	<i>qui <r>ecset III non(as) octob(res)</i>
551	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	475-500	<i>recessit XVIII k(alendas) maias</i>
555	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	450-500	<i>recessit III idus maias</i>
656	V01	Vienne, St. Georges	400-475	<i>[re]cess[it ...]</i>
695	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	450-500	<i>recessit quartu X kalendas genuarias</i>
662	V01	Vienne, Sainte-Colombe	400-475	<i>Seuerinus recessit de saeculo ... Decentius recessit de sa[e]culo</i>
507	A17	Urban	485	<i>recessit su(b) di]e k(alendas) iunias</i>
413	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	450-500	<i>recessit VI nonas marsias, «C Q 3»</i>
416	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	450-500	<i>recessit die septimu idus maias</i>
421	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	489, 512	<i>recesset sub die prid(ie) kal(endas) octobr(es), IND sest(a)</i>

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
425	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	542, 557, 572, 587	<i>recesset sub die kalendas octobres, indictione sexta</i>
410	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	489	<i>recesset VIII kalen[as] [...]</i>

Table 69: Provenance and date range of date formulae governed by *recedo*.

12) TRANSEO -ERE

Transeo is the most common verb governing variant date formulae. Twenty-four examples are known, with a wide geographical and chronological distribution in *Lugdunensis* and *Viennensis*. Only one example occurs south of the river Drôme, No.3, from Aix-en-Provence, dated 494 (Plate 1). The formulae first emerges around Lyon and Vienne in the mid-fifth century and thence spread as far as Genève to the east and Saint-Julien-en-Quint in the south. No.440, from Moutiers, is dated 561 after which there may be an hiatus until the early seventh century when the formula appears at Briord in the north and in a series of epitaphs clustered on the right bank of the Rhône south of Valence. This hiatus cannot be explained by epitaphs which no longer bear a consular, p.c. or indictional date because the majority of these examples do. It is perhaps noteworthy that the formula becomes popular once more at precisely the same time that dating by regnal years came into vogue - it was employed extensively in the Auvergne on epitaphs bearing a regnal date of the Visigothic and, later, Frankish kings from the early sixth century onwards (e.g. ICG: 569, from Coudes, dated 502, the nineteenth year of the reign of Alaric II).

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
161	L01	Briord	600-650	<i>transierunt ad ueram remeans e curpure uita</i>
155	L01	Briord	629	<i>trans<i>et XV k(a)l(endas) nouembris</i>
257	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée	466	<i>transiit [di]e nonas martias</i>
313	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	450-500	<i>[...] in hoc transiet [...]</i>
315	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	425-475	<i>tra<n>sie<t> ca[le]ndas] aprile[s]</i>
346	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	<i>[tra]nsiet I[...]</i>
390	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	450-500	<i>[et?] [tra]nsiit XII kal[endas?] [...]EV X[...]</i>
137	L02	Autun	400-450	<i>transiui<t> s(ub) d(ie) XI <k>a<l>(endas) mart(ias)</i>
173	L04	Chalon-sur-Saône	523	<i>qui transiit XV k(a)l(endas) feb(ruarias)</i>
148	V01	Bourgoin	500-550	<i>[... ?tra]nsiet non[as] [...]</i>
577	V01	Vienne, St.Pierre	483	<i>[e]t transiit sub die [... oct]obris</i>
673	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	509	<i>transiit in pace sub die XlIII k(alendas) octobris</i>
537	V01	Vézéronce	491	<i>transiet d(ie) III k(alendas) dec(embres), IND XV</i>
202	V02	Genève	505	<i>tran[siit] X quartu[m] kal(endas)] apriles</i>
241	V02	Lugrin	527	<i>et transiit X k(a)l(endas) septembris</i>
473	V05	St-Julien-en-Quint	537	<i>transiet XIII k(a)l(endas) apriles</i>
40	V06	Aouste	496	<i>transiet bone recordationis Si[ngen]ia] sub die III k(a)l(endas) ianuarias</i>
186	V06	Crussol	675-700	<i>et transiet diae «et transiet diae» et tempore supras(cri)pto</i>
187	V06	Crussol	691	<i>et transiit k(a)lendas iulias</i>
224	V06	Guillerand	683	<i>et transiet idas kalendas nouenbras</i>
500	V06	Soyons	679	<i>[transiet ? .. ka]l[en]d[as] [...]</i>
504	V06	Toulaud	694	<i>et transiit de hunc secol(o)</i>
440	V08	Moutiers	561	<i>[tran]siet k(a)l[en]d[as] [...]</i>
3	A02	Aix-en-Provence	494	<i>t(ransiit ?) [...] no(nas) / oct(o)b(res)</i>

Table 70: Provenance and date range of date formulae governed by *transeo*.

PHRASES EMPLOYED IN CONJUNCTION WITH *INITIA*, AGE AND DATE FORMULAE

Five phrases are numerous enough to warrant a short discussion on their relation to the *initia*, age and date formulae.

1) CVM QVO/A VIXIT

This formula *cum quo/qua uixit* and its slight variations are rare, with only six examples known, five from Arles. All are employed in conjunction with an *initium* of the dative/optative type, thereby setting them to between c.325-400. The formula was a commonplace on Gallo-Roman Period epitaphs, and many examples are known from Italy, but the apparently rapid decline in its use comes when the use of a consular date and the increasing use of *requiesco* in *initia* formulae was taking place. All the examples here are allocated dates between 325 and 400.

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
387	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	325-400	<i>cum quo uixit annis V, mens(es) VII, dies IIII</i>
46	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	<i>cum qua uixit annis XVIII dies XXXVIII</i>
49	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	<i>cum qua uixit ann(os) IIII, m(enses) III</i>
91	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	325-400	<i>cum qua uixi annos III</i>
105	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	<i>cum qua uixit annis octo mensibus nouem et diebus duobus</i>
110	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	<i>[c]um quem [?uixi]t annis [...?gin]ta</i>

Table 71: Provenance and date range of epitaphs recording the name of the spouse and the number of years of marriage in a phrase beginning with *cum quo/a vixi/it*.

2 and 3) *FACIO -ERE* and *PONO -ERE*

The verbs *facio* and *pono* are found almost exclusively governing a phrase recording the dedicator of the epitaph or the person who erected the tomb. The theme was a commonplace during the Gallo-Roman period but diminished during the early medieval. Most occur on epitaphs bearing a dative/optative formula and although this tends to date them to the fourth and fifth centuries, particularly those from Arles governed by *pono*, examples are found at Vienne as late as 581, No.602, and at Lyon in 655, No.366 (Plate 122). In some cases *pono* governs a date formula, as on Nos.310 and 387 from Lyon, and Nos.109 and 115 at Arles. The latter set to between 450-500 on account of the *initium*, *hic requiescit*, which is not known to have been employed beyond 487 (see above). No.310 from Lyon, Saint-Just, is best seen as belonging to the first half of the fifth century because the number of years spent in military service are recorded and there being no consular or p.c. date; military service is unlikely to have been recorded at a later date. No.545 (Plate 180), from the Saint-Gervais cemetery at Vienne has been dated to between 450 and 500 because its other formulae bear similarities with other epitaphs from that cemetery (*RICG.XV*: 46). Similar may be No.669 (Plate 214), from Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, because it records the names of the parents who erected the tomb (cf. *RICG.XV*: 148).

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
320	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	325-400	[...] ius fecit [fratr?]i suo bene [mer]ito Mauru[sio?]
366	L01	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	655	Sisolenus in amorem eius fecit
545	V01	Vienne, St.Gervais	450-500	fecit mater Euladia
602	V01	Vienne, St.Georges	581	[...] lib(ent)er factum
91	A01	Arles, Alyscamps	325-400	memoriae causa fecit
180	A14	Cimiez	325-400	m(emoriam) f(ecit)
518	A17	Vaison-la-Romaine	470	Rusticus uoto suo fecit
453	A18	Orange	325-400	fratri innocentissimo fecer(unt)
133	A22	Aubagne	325-400	parentes fil(io) piissimo et dulcissimo fecerunt
415	A22	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	500-600	uotum fecit Menas cui nomen
310	L01	Lyon, St.Just	400-450	positu[s] est ad sanctos
387	L01	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	325-400	posuit in Xpo, quiescenti in pace
669	V01	Vienne, St.Romain-en-Gal	400-450	quem titulum curantes ... pro amore posuerunt
46	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	merenti posuit
49	A01	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	Proiecta coniunx posuit
104	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	Terentius Museus hoc sepulchrum posuit
105	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	Ennius Filterius siue Pompeius maritus posuit sepulchrum
109	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	[...] posuit
115	A01	Arles, St.Honorat	450-500	[...] posita [est? ...]
130	A01	Arles, Trinquetaille	330-350	coniugi bene merenti posuit

Table 72: Provenance and date range of epitaphs recording the name of the dedicator in a phrase governed by *facio* or *pono*.

4) RESVRGO -ERE and SVRGO -ERE

Resurgo and *surgo* are employed exclusively in formulae stating hope of life in the hereafter, expressed either in the subjunctive or future participle. Their distribution is striking: only five are found outside Vienne, three at Lyon, one at Aoste and another at La Côte-Saint-André. At Vienne 17 examples are known, including eight from the Saint-Gervais cemetery and four from Saint-Pierre. Epitaphs from Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans at Lyon were mentioned above concerning renewed use of some formulae (e.g. *iaceo* in the *initium*) during the seventh century (e.g. No.367; Plate 123). The remaining examples should be of 450-525 (e.g. Nos.299 and 303 from Lyon, Saint-Just, cf. Descombes and Reynaud 1978: 4a, 9). In *Viennensis*, No.38 from Aoste (Plate 10) and No.227 (Plate 68) from La Côte-Saint-André share a similar date on account of their *initia*, first encountered on dated examples towards the end of the fifth century. At Vienne, eight examples from the cemetery of Saint-Gervais should date to the fourth century because none are dated. This suggests that the formulae were employed there first because the three dated examples known are all from nearby Saint-Pierre, the earliest of which is No.579, dated 491 (Plate 193). Thence it was employed contemporaneously from the late fifth century at both cemeteries where otherwise the epitaphs employ very different formulae (see below). Two undated isolated finds, Nos.699 and 715, and No.667 from Saint-Romain-en-Gal, should date to the same period.

CHAPTER FOUR

REC	CODE	TOWN / CEMETERY OF PROVENANCE	YEAR	FORMULA
299	L01	Lyon, St. Just	450-525	[... resu?]rget
303	L01	Lyon, St. Just	450-525	[... resur?]get in [Xpo?]
367	L01	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans	656	ad tubam uocantem su[rrectu]rus in Deo et Xpo
38	V01	Aoste	450-525	sponsum emeruit habere Xpm, cum quo re[surget]
227	V01	La Côte-St. André	450-500	resurrecturus in Xpo
545	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	450-500	risurrecturus in Xpo
547	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	450-510	resorge in Cristo
548	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	450-500	resurrecturus cum sanctis
551	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	475-500	resurrecturus in Christo
552	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	450-500	resurrectura in Christo
555	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	450-500	[... resurre]cturus in Christo
556	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	450-500	resur[recturus/a c]um dies D(omi)ni ad[ueneri]t
542	V01	Vienne, St. Gervais	450-500	[s]urri]ctura cum [dies] D(omi)ni adueni
615	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	475-525	obiit in Xpo, resurri]ctura in <g>loria
579	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	491	resurgit in Cristo
581	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	509	resurrectura in pace
586	V01	Vienne, St. Pierre	520	[resur]get in [Christo]
699	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	450-500	[resurrectur]a in Ch[risto]
715	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	450-500	[resurge]t in C<r>(ist)o
670	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	491	resurgit in Xpo D(o)m(in)o nostro
671	V01	Vienne, isolated finds	495	[resurg]et in Xpo
667	V01	Vienne, St. Romain-en-Gal	450-500	surr(ecturu)s die caelo cum uenerit auctor

Table 73: Provenance and date range of epitaphs bearing a phrase expressing the hope of the life hereafter governed by *surgo* or *resurgo*.

The above categories, descriptive analyses and statistical tables are combined in Chapter Four with the conclusions from Chapter Two to explain the methods employed to reconstruct the unclassified formulae, to allocate a date range to the undated inscriptions, and to provide an overall synthesis of the development in space and time of late antique and early medieval inscriptions of South East Gaul.

Epitaphs in South Eastern Gaul differ markedly from those elsewhere in Gaul, from the mid-fifth century many are dated by a consular, p.c. or indictional year. In many respects this facilitates the task of dating undated epitaphs because logically they are likely to be pre-453 - although the latter present the greatest difficulties. On the other hand, it can be demonstrated that those bearing formulae identical with dated examples can be allocated a date range where the year is now either mutilated or missing. In addition, a greater geographical area is considered here than encompassed by other recent studies. This introduces some difficulties where differing formulae are employed interchangeably; therefore, an attempt to date undated epitaphs must take into account those differences in the formulae employed within the region at every level, whether provincial, diocesan, town or cemetery.

A summary of the synthesis attempted by Le Blant is taken here as a starting point. His chronology, based upon the symbols and formulae employed (C.G. Préface, xxxi-xxxv), has been criticised for being too vague and confusing (Hadravich 1968: 170). Whilst true, the symbols are useful adjuncts to the study of the formulae, and greater precision may be attained if they are used with care. The trends identified by Le Blant fall into four categories, each of which has antecedents at Rome. These categories remain broadly valid today, but he placed too great an emphasis upon dated inscriptions and in attempting to ascertain when any given formula first

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF FORMULAE AND DATING OF UNDATED EPITAPHS

INTRODUCTION

The most recent attempt to provide a comprehensive set of rules with which to assign a relative date to those inscriptions that either carry no date or where the date is no longer legible or extant, was made for the inscriptions of *Belgica Prima* (Gauthier 1975: 95-104 = *RICG.I*). However, the rules are specific to that region; with a few exceptions, inscriptions cease as a series at Trier towards the mid fifth century. Nevertheless, Gauthier's approach was far more detailed and successful than a previous attempt by Le Blant (*ICG*. Preface, iv-lxxv 1856. Le Blant extended his schema when he published a manual of Christian epigraphy (1869) and added some detail in his *Nouveau Recueil* (1892). In South Eastern Gaul the inscriptions from *Narbonensis Secunda* and Marseille have been dated tentatively (Guyon 1972 = *ICMAMNS*), and are the subject of a forthcoming volume for the *RICG* series by Guyon. The inscriptions from the northern half of *Viennensis* were attributed dates by Descombes (1985 = *RICG.XV*), but were not presented in a graphical format as were those from *Belgica Prima* (Gauthier 1975, Plate vii = *RICG.I*). These two volumes, *ICMAMNS* and *RICG.XV*, cover together 367 inscriptions, leaving 374 which have received no attention as yet within the ambit of an overall synthesis, although nearly all those discovered since the nineteenth century have been published in disparate articles together with an indication of probable date.

Epitaphs in South Eastern Gaul differ markedly from those elsewhere in Gaul; from the mid-fifth century many are dated by a consular, p.c. or indictional year. In many respects this facilitates the task of dating undated epitaphs because logically they are likely to be pre-450 - although they thus present the greatest difficulties. On the other hand, it can be demonstrated that those bearing formulae identical with dated examples can be allocated a date range where the year is now either mutilated or missing. In addition, a greater geographical area is considered here than encompassed by other recent studies. This introduces some difficulties where differing formulae are employed contemporaneously; therefore, an attempt to date undated epitaphs must take into account those differences in the formulae employed within the region at every level, whether province, *ciuitas*, town or cemetery.

A summary of the synthesis attempted by Le Blant is taken here as a starting point. His chronology, based upon the symbols and formulae employed (*ICG*. Preface, xxxii-xxxv), has been criticised for being too vague and confusing (Heidrich 1968: 170). Whilst true, the symbols are useful adjuncts to the study of the formulae, and greater precision may be attained if they are used with care. The trends identified by Le Blant fall into four categories, each of which has antecedents at Rome. These categories remain broadly valid today, but he placed too great an emphasis upon dated inscriptions when attempting to ascertain when any given formula first

appeared in Gaul; dated inscriptions can only present a clue to undated examples bearing similar formulae.

- 1) In the earliest group, which predates Constantine, a true Christian epigraphic style obviously does not exist. Pagan styles are employed, the *tria nomina* are present but the formula *diis manibus* is curiously absent. The words *posterī*, *liberti*, a record of those who made the tomb and a formula expressing filiation are often inscribed.
- 2) The second group is characterised by a series of brief epitaphs, often displaying a *ChiRho* monogram and brief acclamations comparable with those found in the Rome catacombs.
- 3) In the third group, all vestiges of pagan formulae disappear. Filiation formulae are absent, but a record of the parents' names is sometimes recorded in the case of the death of a juvenile or child. This stage is regarded as a period of transition from pagan to truly Christian style. Many inscriptions from Trier and Lyon show this style. The date of the year, rare on pagan epitaphs, begins to appear. The formulae *hic pausat*, *hic iacet*, *hic quiescit*, and *hic requiescit* are employed, sometimes accompanied by *in pace*. The *ChiRho* and the simple monogram symbols are found frequently. More rarely the age or date of burial is recorded in a formula based upon the word *depositio*.
- 4) In the fourth group the date of death is almost always present and the year itself is increasingly recorded, whereas the names of the parents and those who constructed the tomb are no longer inscribed and terrestrial affiliations are omitted. Less use is made of Christian symbolism and often only a small cross is incised at the start of the text. The formulae become more complex, particularly the *initium hic requiescit*, which develops into *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* and *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae* to cite but two examples.

The intention here is to reconstruct a relative chronology for all the inscriptions, taking into account the methods and caveats employed for *Belgica Prima* and presenting them finally in a tabular format. This has been achieved through the use of a computerised database, where every formula for every inscription has been categorised and recorded (Appendix Three). The value of this system has been demonstrated in Chapter Three, concerning formulae on simple prose epitaphs; the same data are employed here. However, it is not always possible to assign automatically a date range to an individual inscription, even with the aid of a computer database and attendant statistical software. For this reason other factors such as the opinion of the excavator, the article in which an inscription was originally published and the *R/CG.XV* and *ICMAMNS* volumes are referred to where appropriate.

METHODOLOGY FOR THE PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION OF MISSING FORMULAE

This section provides a brief description of the methods employed to reconstruct missing or illegible formulae. It does not constitute a full account of the reasons for the reconstruction for

every individual inscription because of space limitations. It does provide the reasons behind the employment of reconstructed formulae for each group of broadly similar inscriptions. A full listing of the proposed reconstructions is provided in Appendix Three and the proposed formulae for individual reconstructions is appended to each entry in the main catalogue, where appropriate (Appendix One).

The number of examples extant for each category of formula is not always sufficient to provide a reliable Chi-Square statistic with which to demonstrate association between provenance and formulae upon the resulting contingency tables. Furthermore, many are merely fragments where it is only possible to approximate a date by relation to the context and possibly the palaeography or decor if sufficient survives. The number of possibilities in the main matrix of provenance, *initium*, age and date formulae is potentially large: $144 \times 19 \times 8 \times 12 = 262656$ possible combinations of provenance and formulae based upon known categories. The possible combinations of formulae alone are large: $19 \times 8 \times 12 = 1824$, though the majority of these combinations are not found or are unknown as yet. A few inscriptions are double epitaphs or their exact nature is ambiguous; consequently they require consideration separately in terms of their formulae because they affect the overall totals for the *initia*, age and date categories.

- No.40 from Aouste is a double epitaph and the different dates of death are recorded employing two different formulae (Plate 11). The only reasonable manner to treat this is to create an entry for each of the deceased but to consider only the later date on the epitaph in any calculations.
- No.144 from Bellegarde is also ambiguous due to its fragmentary state and the reference to the martyrs of Agaune, on whose feast day it seems the deceased may have died. The date formulae, reconstructed as *et [obii?]t octabo k(a)l(endas) [.....], Valerio c(larissimo) c(onsule)*, remain within the category of *obiit* formulae in category 1.
- No.161 from Briord is another double epitaph where there is a reference to their passing employing the verb *transeo*, but strictly speaking it appears that they died on the same day, although the termination of the epitaph is fragmentary; *obierunt in die S(an)c(t)i Martini in[?d(ictione)...]*. The date formula is therefore classified as a variant of the *obiit* formula on account of the rare mention of a saint's feast day as the date of death.
- No.397 from Lyon employs the *initium* *uir potens meritis nosterque sacerdos in hoc iacet Viuenciolus tumulo* but then refers to the two brothers interred, *probata duorum fratrum requiescunt corpora*. The epitaph is for bishop Viventius and therefore the *initium* is categorised as *hic iacet*, not *hic requiescit*.
- No.535 from Venasque is another double epitaph (Plate 174). The *initium* is classed within the category of metrical/prose *initia* and there is no age formula for either deceased; however, each has a separate date formula, *XII kal(endas) iunias Tenarias intrauit Petrus fauces Auerni* and *VIII idus iulias ad Dominum ancilla festinat*. Therefore an entry is made for each formula, each classified as metrical/prose date formulae.

Descriptive and Distributive Statistics and their Confidence Limits

In Chapter Two the discussion on the dating systems employed revealed that there is no overall trend to be found for the employment of any specific date formula in South Eastern Gaul during the fourth century. This is followed by the adoption increasingly of the consular/p.c. system from the second quarter of the fifth, in turn followed by the date being recorded by the indiction from the second quarter of the sixth century, either with or without a consular or p.c. year. Finally, from the last quarter of the sixth century a regnal year is found, often in conjunction with an indiction. At no point can it be assumed that any of these systems are mutually exclusive; hence, No.733, from Villeneuve-lès-Avignon displays a p.c., regnal and indictional date. Furthermore, the use of consular, p.c. or regnal dates is rare in *Arelatensis* at any time. Therefore proposed reconstructions depend in large part on how closely associated are the formulae with 1) their provenance, 2) the consular, p.c., regnal or indictional date, 3) the other formulae employed. Hypothetically, then, an undated epitaph might be expected to be earlier in date than one bearing a consular/p.c. date. In order to consider the potential of formulae on dated epitaphs to reconstruct statistically the mutilated or fragmentary examples it is first necessary to assess the distribution of dated epitaphs. This is followed by a statistical analysis of formulae on the dated examples and finally the reconstruction and attribution of a relative date range to the undated inscriptions. The reconstruction of formulae may also be expected to suggest the original cemetery whence come the isolated finds from Lyon and Vienne. Finally, an overall synthesis of the development of funerary inscriptions through space and time within the region will be postulated.

Several epitaphs are closely datable on genealogical, documentary and historical grounds; several others may be dated by analogy with others from the same site or from reconstructions proposed by the author who first published the text. These are appraised separately below. Only those epitaphs which bear an unequivocal date are included, thereby restricting the examples to those bearing consular, p.c. and regnal dates. Therefore, examples such as No.739 from Viviers is excluded although it may bear a regnal date for 638. Likewise, some seventh-century epitaphs dated by the indiction from Briord (Nos.156, 158 and 159) are excluded because they may date to either the previous or next indiction than the one assigned. This leaves a total of 197 epitaphs bearing a legible and unequivocal date representing nearly 27% of all epitaphs - a figure which might be expected to lend itself to further statistical analysis. However, this total contains several examples where only the date formula is extant and no further text, or where the formulae are metrical phrases; logically only dated examples bearing one or more of the common formulae are likely to provide reliable evidence with which to propose reconstructions - resulting in 175 examples dated between AD 400 and 700 (nearly 24% of the total epitaphs).

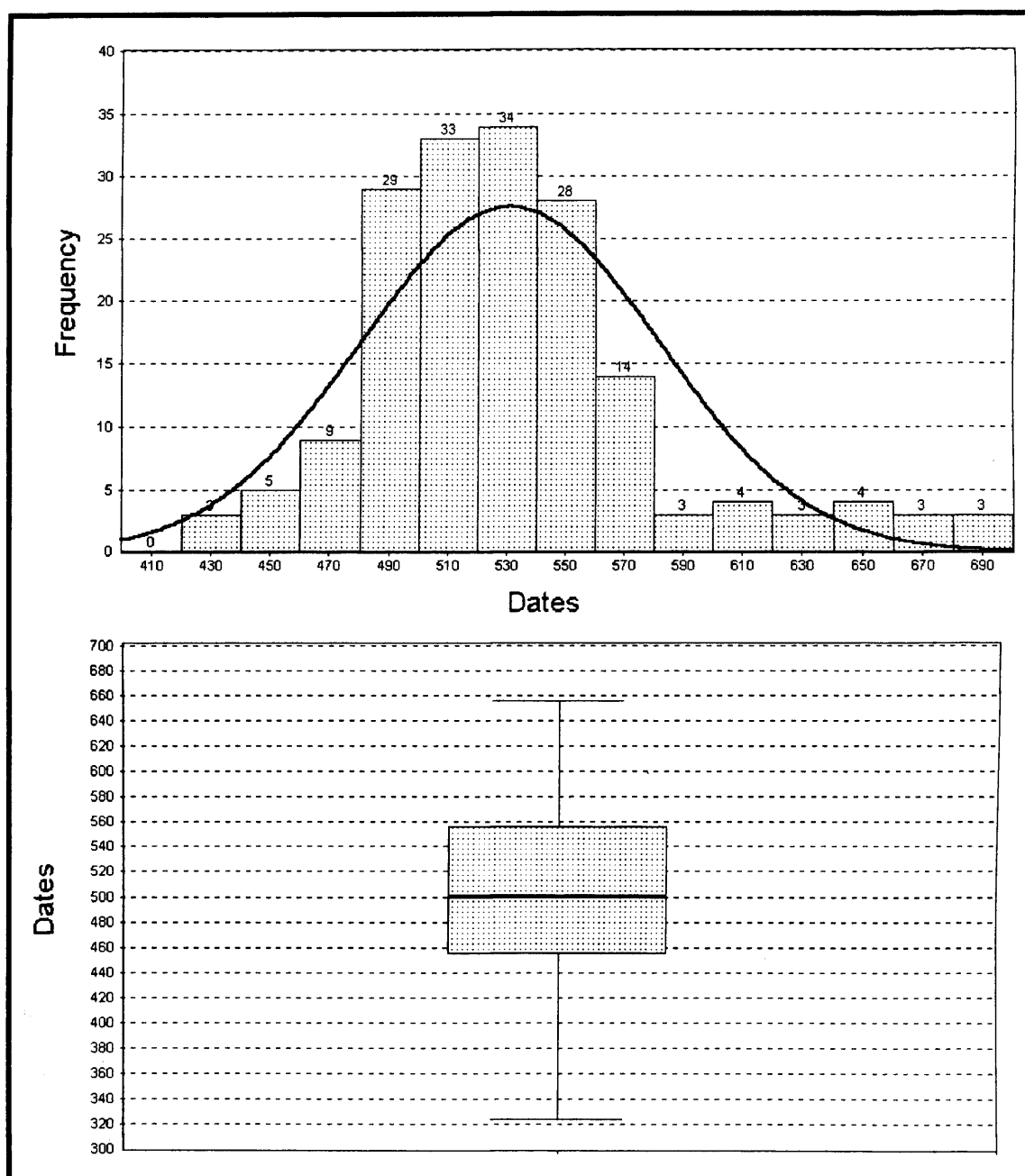


Figure 54: Distribution and Box-and-Whiskers plots of dated epitaphs.

Figure 54 shows both the distribution - with a normal curve superimposed - of the 175 dated examples collated into 25 year intervals between AD 400 and 700 and a box and whiskers plot for the same data. It is immediately clear that the distribution is not normal and that there is a relatively high level of outliers or possible outliers. There are two reasons for this. During the fifth century the recording of the consular date was adopted only slowly and in the seventh epitaphs are rarely found with or without a date. The latter is almost certainly on account of the lack of archaeological research and not of a decline in the use of epitaphs because numerous seventh century epitaphs are found at Briord, Lyon and around Valence. Thus nearly 80% of dated epitaphs are from the period 475-575. Furthermore, 50% of the dates fall between 496 and 552, representing less than 19% of the 300 year period contained within these calculations. Nevertheless, 139 (79.43%) fall within one Standard Deviation of the Mean (530.40) and 163

(93.14%) within two Standard Deviations. In addition, the 95% Confidence Interval for the mean lies between 522.84 and 537.96, a short time-span indicating the original central period for the employment of consular and p.c. dates on epitaphs. The 95% Confidence Level for the proportion of dated epitaphs provides evidence that the sample proportion of 23% of epitaphs bearing a consular, p.c. or regnal date is representative:

$$0.2397 \pm 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{0.2397(1-0.2397)}{730}}$$

$$n = 0.2397 \pm 1.96 \sqrt{0.0002}$$

$$n = 0.2397 \pm 0.0310$$

$$n = \text{between 21 and 27 Percent}$$

However, our sample is relatively small compared with both the original number that must have existed and the very large geographical size of South Eastern Gaul. The sample required to ascertain this Confidence Level is substantially larger than the available examples:

$$0.05 = \frac{1.96 \sqrt{(0.2397)(0.7603)}}{\sqrt{n}}$$

$$\text{i.e. } \sqrt{n} = \frac{1.96 \sqrt{(0.2397)(0.7603)}}{0.05}$$

$$\sqrt{n} = 16.73$$

$$n = 16.73^2$$

$$n = 280.04 \text{ samples required}$$

Nevertheless, whilst these figures are useful, it should be emphasised that they should be used with care. For example, the sample that would be required in order to ascertain the mean date with a 95% probability is greater than all the inscriptions known for this period:

$$n = \left(\frac{1.96(51)}{1} \right)^2$$

$$= 9992 \text{ samples required where } s = 51$$

(The above equations are based in part on Fletcher and Lock 1991: 63-73 and Wagner 1991: 141-194).

The discussion of the dating systems in Chapter Two showed that the consular date was superseded by the p.c. date and the indiction after 540, so these calculations can only be said to apply to epitaphs where the date is recognisable to us; the later use of the indiction alone suggests that the actual inter-quartile date range is later than Figure 54 would suggest. As will be shown, it is possible to propose a more realistic mean, standard deviation and quartile range once a date range has been allocated to the undated epitaphs and to those bearing an indictional date.

Initially these descriptive statistics appear to offer only a vague guide for the purpose of reconstruction and dating, but the range 496-552 provides a detailed and valuable resource for the nature of epigraphic formulae. Furthermore, in terms of numbers there is a reasonable resource of data within each century; 46 in the fifth, 112 in the sixth, though only 17 in the seventh, suggesting that the problem of reconstructing and dating epitaphs outside the 56 years

covered by the central dated period may be problematical only in the seventh century. Figure 55 illustrates the cumulative distribution of dated epitaphs in South East Gaul for each Metropolitan; it is clear that *Arelatensis* has far fewer examples than *Lugdunensis* or *Viennensis*. As was emphasised in Chapter Two, this is partly on account of the adoption of the indiction alone as a dating method in *Arelatensis*. Of course, the many undated epitaphs remain the most difficult of all but sound reasons for the attribution of a date range within the fourth century and for the reconstruction of formulae, where needed, may be postulated.

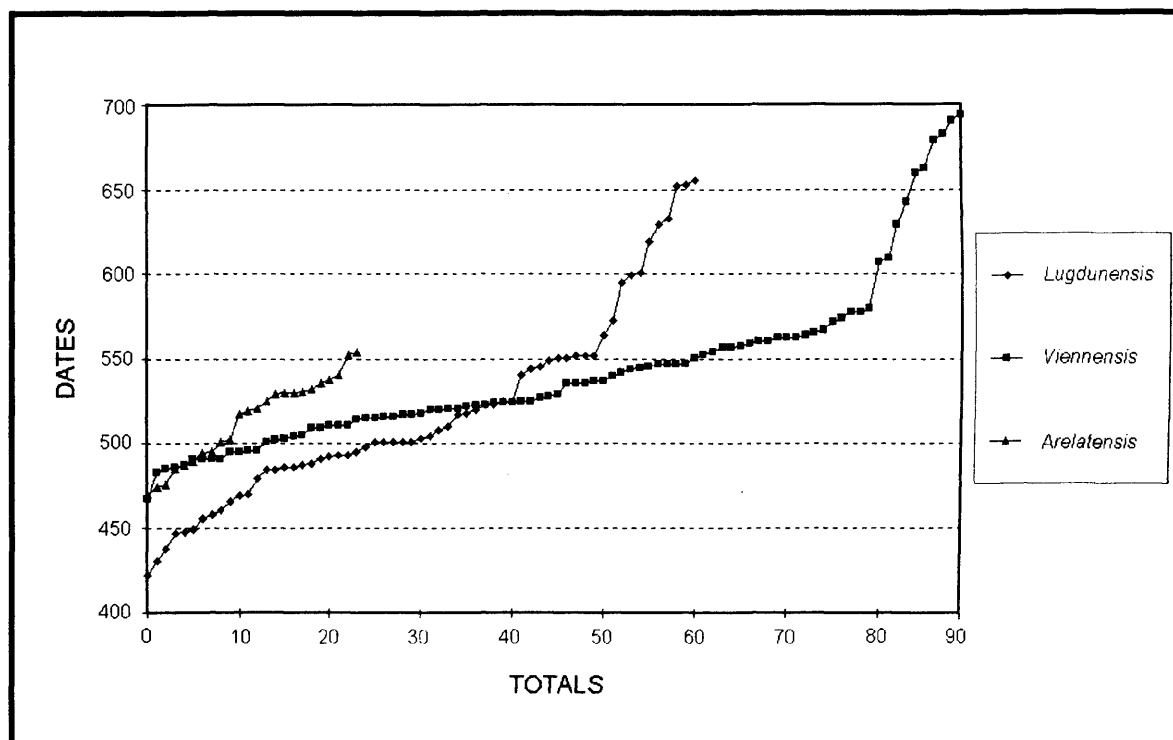


Figure 55: Cumulative distribution of dated epitaphs in *Lugdunensis*, *Viennensis* and *Arelatensis*.

Tests of Distribution and Association of Formulae with Date Ranges, Provenances and other Formulae

At Lyon, it is manifest that the few chronological gaps at the huge Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery provide a reasonable distribution of dated examples over two centuries. Conversely, those from the cemetery at Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans appear to be exclusive to the first half of the seventh century. At Vienne there exists a reasonable distribution at the Saint-Pierre/Saint-Georges cemetery but not at Saint-Gervais or the northern cemeteries of Saint-Théodore, Saint-Sévère and Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère. No comment can be made concerning the examples from the right bank sites of Saint-Colombe and Saint-Romain-en-Gal because there are few inscriptions and all are undated. Arles has too few examples to comment upon, yet the formulae employed within *Arelatensis* overall allow a greater degree of precision in reconstruction, if not dating, than elsewhere. Therefore, there exist sufficient data at Lyon and Vienne to postulate reconstructions and date ranges based upon the theoretical space available on fragmentary inscriptions and the frequency of known formulae within the period covered by consular, p.c.

and regnal dates. This in turn may allow an appraisal of the original provenance of those inscriptions listed as isolated finds.

In Chapter Three the categories and descriptions of the formulae demonstrated that the formulae can often be found within certain limits in space and time. It is therefore essential to assess statistically how closely bound to provenance and to each other the various formulae are. However, not all formulae are present in sufficient numbers to provide a reliable expected value for a Chi-Square statistic of association, particularly in the case of the metrical *initia*, age and date of death or burial formulae. Therefore, the metrical and variant forms are excluded from the following tables and graphs and no inferences are drawn from them. Reconstructions for metrical formulae are almost impossible to propose unless a high percentage of the text is extant. The listing of metrical *initia* compiled by Marrou makes this clear; almost all are unique and any categorisation would merely lead to categories of one, rendering the remainder inaccessible in the huge correlation list that would ensue (Marrou 1967: 50-59, = *ILCV*.IV). However, Table 74 lists the earliest occurrence and provenance for each of the major *initia*, age and date formulae: in general terms they clearly become more developed in time, a fact that assists the construction of an hypothetical overall picture of the original development.

REC	PROVENANCE	DATE	CODE	FORMULA
249	Lyon, St. Just	422	L01	<i>hic requiescit</i>
482	St. Romain-d'Albon	467	V01	<i>hic requiescit in pace</i>
176	Cimiez	474	A14	<i>hic requiescet bone memoriae</i>
578	Vienne, St. Pierre	485	V01	<i>hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae</i>
29	Antibes	476	A08	<i>b(onae) m(emoriae) hic requiescit in pace</i>
67	Aries, Alysamps ?	487	A01	<i>hic en pace requieset bone memoriae</i>
678	Vienne, isolated find	536	V01	<i>[in hoc] tumulo requiescit</i>
570	Vienne, isolated find	572	V01	<i>in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace</i>
259	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	484	L01	<i>in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae</i>
479	St. Maurice-de-Rémens	486	L01	<i>in hoc tumulo requiescet i[n] pace bone memoriae</i>
250	Lyon, St. Just	431	L01	<i>in huc locu requieuit</i>
250	Lyon, St. Just	431	L01	<i>qui uixit annos XVI</i>
135	Autun	378	L02	<i>quae uixit ann(os) I d(ies) III h(orae) VIII</i>
67	Aries, Alysamps ?	487	A01	<i>qui uixet anos p(lus) m(inu)s L</i>
260	Lyon, St. Just	484	L01	<i>[qui] uixit in pa[ce] a[nnis] XXX</i>
249	Lyon, St. Just	422	L01	<i>obiit IIII kal(endas) aug(ustas)</i>
391	Lyon, St. Nizier	495	L01	<i>obiet d(i)ae V idus decembris</i>
260	Lyon, St. Just	484	L01	<i>oibit [sub d]iae IIII k(alendas) di<c>em[bres]</i>
583	Vienne, St. Pierre	515	V01	<i>[ob]iit in Xpo o[cta]uo ? ... m[artias]</i>
479	St. Maurice-de-Rémens	486	L01	<i>obiet in pace XS decimo k(a)l(endas) apriles</i>

Table 74: Provenances of the earliest dated examples for each of the major *initia*, age and date formulae.

Figure 56, Figure 57 and Figure 58 and display an overall picture of the chronological distribution of dated epitaphs bearing one or more of the major groups of formulae, though those with their *initia*, age and date formulae governed by *requiesco*, *uiuo* and *obeo* respectively predominate. These box and whisker plots are intended to illuminate their patterns of employment through time in general terms. It is immediately clear that some formulae possess a clearly delimited *floruit* but they relate only to the period when a consular, p.c. or regnal date is inscribed. As previously explained, an indictional year only had meaning to its contemporaries; further illustrations including both indictional dates and those bearing formulae appearing on undated epitaphs or epitaphs now missing their consular, p.c. or regnal formulae are provided

below where reconstructed and allocated date ranges. However, where there is no consular, p.c., regnal or indictional date, there must be the suspicion that the epitaph predates the mid-fifth century, albeit that there can be expected to be an overlap in time in the employment of both these dating methods and the formulae they bear (see Figure 56 and Figure 57). Furthermore, for the purposes of reconstruction, where possible outliers are contained within the sixth or seventh century for any single formula, those formulae known to have been employed earlier within any specific geographical area are statistically more likely to occur on those epitaphs where no consular, p.c. or regnal date is recorded. Therefore, the raw date ranges of the major formulae can be said to provide a point of reference for extrapolation and thereby as guides for reconstruction.

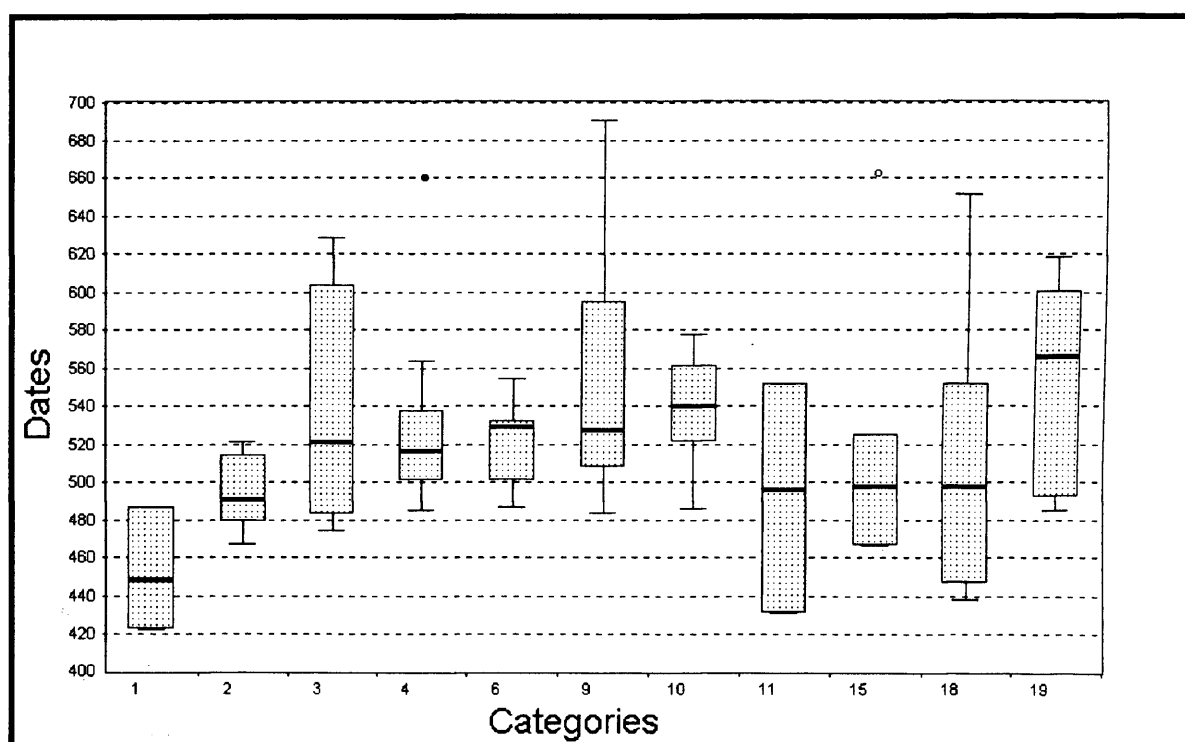


Figure 56: Box-and-Whiskers plots of the date ranges within which the major *initia* formulae fall.

Nevertheless, there is a caveat which should not be ignored. The formulae employed are neither specifically Christian in nature nor are they confined to Late Antiquity. During the Gallo-Roman period the employment of the dative/optative style *initium* together with the mention of the age of the deceased and the names of those who had erected the tomb was a commonplace, but epitaphs employing an *initium* governed by *requiesco* or *iaceo* were not unknown: in the first century the epigrammist Martial employed *iaceo*, *hoc iacet in tumulo raptus puerilibus annis Pantagathus*, and also *requiesco*, *hic festinata requiescit Erotion umbra* (VI, 52 and X, 61). Equally, the age formula *qui uixit annos* was a commonplace during the Gallo-Roman period (cf. *CIL.XII*: 1824, the epitaph of Sextus Terentus Lucillus from Lyon). However, phrases such as *memoriae aeternae*, common at Lyon, give way to *bonae memoriae* or variations thereof. The varied iconography of the Gallo-Roman period, such as the *ascia* found so frequently at Lyon (Sandys 1969: 80-81) gives way to representations of the *ChiRho*

monogram, the Cross and, less frequently, the motif of a pair of doves or peacocks facing a vase - the latter particularly popular at Vienne. There are therefore limits to what one may expect from the data, but for South Eastern Gaul it can be shown from the many hundreds of examples of Gallo-Roman epitaphs in Volume 13 of the *C.I.L.* that the formulae of the epitaphs included in this study are confined largely to Late Antiquity.

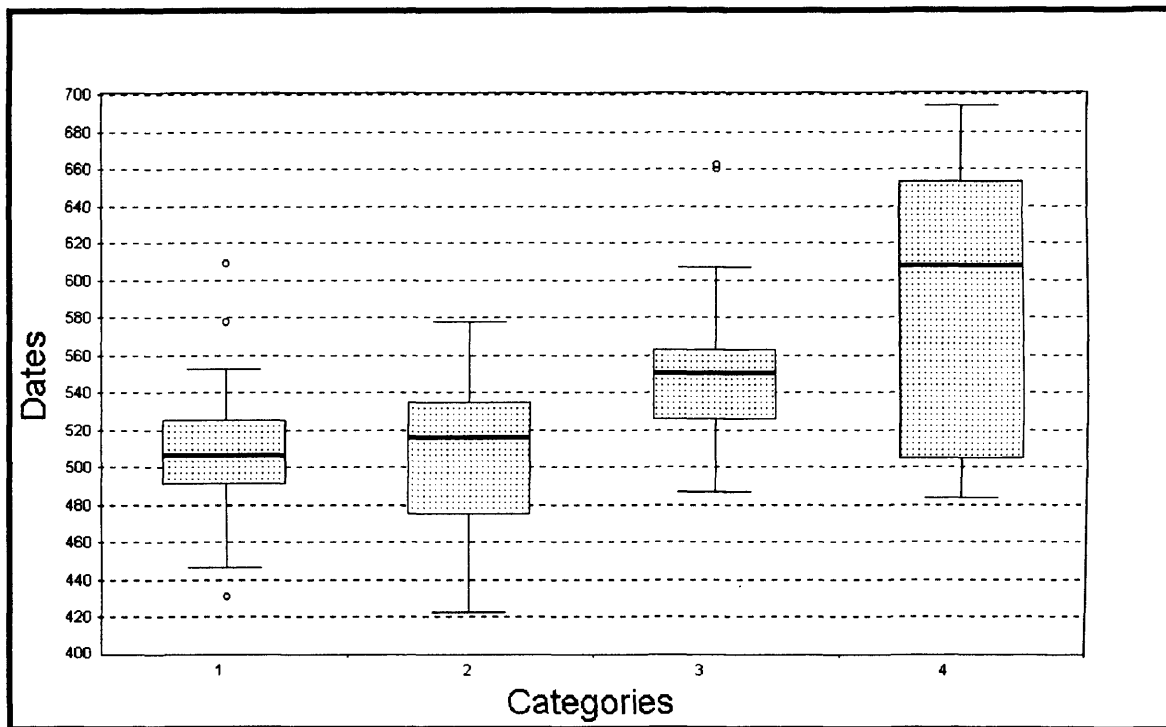


Figure 57: Box-and-Whiskers plots of the date ranges within which the major age formulae fall.

In Figure 56 two positive trends are discernible among those *initia* governed by *requiesco*: those belonging to Categories 1-6, based upon the idea of “here rests the deceased,” are clearly different in concept to those belonging to Categories 7-11, based upon the idea of “in this place rests the deceased.” In both cases a trend towards the employment of more developed formulae is clear as time progresses, though Category 6 is inconclusive because of the paucity of dated epitaphs and in that the formulae are confined to *Arelatensis* (see below). It could be argued that Categories 10 and 11 provide inconclusive evidence of any trend but Category 11 only has three dated examples and though the two could be combined (they are very closely related), this is archaeologically dangerous. As will be shown statistically, Category 10 is found to be closely associated with *Viennensis*, Category 8 loosely associated with the Saint-Pierre cemetery at Vienne and Category 9 with *Lugdunensis*: thus a trend towards the more developed formulae is present, albeit with a much greater degree of overlap than Categories 1-6. Categories 15, 18 and 19 are more difficult to interpret. As the simple nominative *initium* was a commonplace during the Gallo-Roman period, it is no surprise to find examples dating from the early fifth century before falling into disuse in the sixth century, save for an outlier in the seventh. Category 19 is found predominantly at Lyon, where several Gallo-Roman antecedents are recorded.

Age formulae governed by *uiu* fall into four main categories, all broadly similar in that they express the age in one form or another except for Category 4 which adds *in pace*. Categories 1 and 2 were commonly employed during the Gallo-Roman period and should be seen as remaining ubiquitous. Categories 3 and 4 came into use in Late Antiquity, the latter with obvious Christian connotations. However, their employment is restricted regionally on occasion (see below) and the apparent trend in employment through time is misleading. The number of epitaphs bearing the age alone are insufficient to allow for other than the general observation that in some cases there is not enough space on the stone and they do not belong to any particular region or time.

Those epitaphs with a date formula governed by *obeo* offer no clear change of employment through time, mainly because of the longevity and predominance of Category 1, *obit* + date of month. The other, less well represented, categories will be shown below to be more closely associated with the Metropolitan sees and particularly with the cities of Lyon, Vienne and Arles.

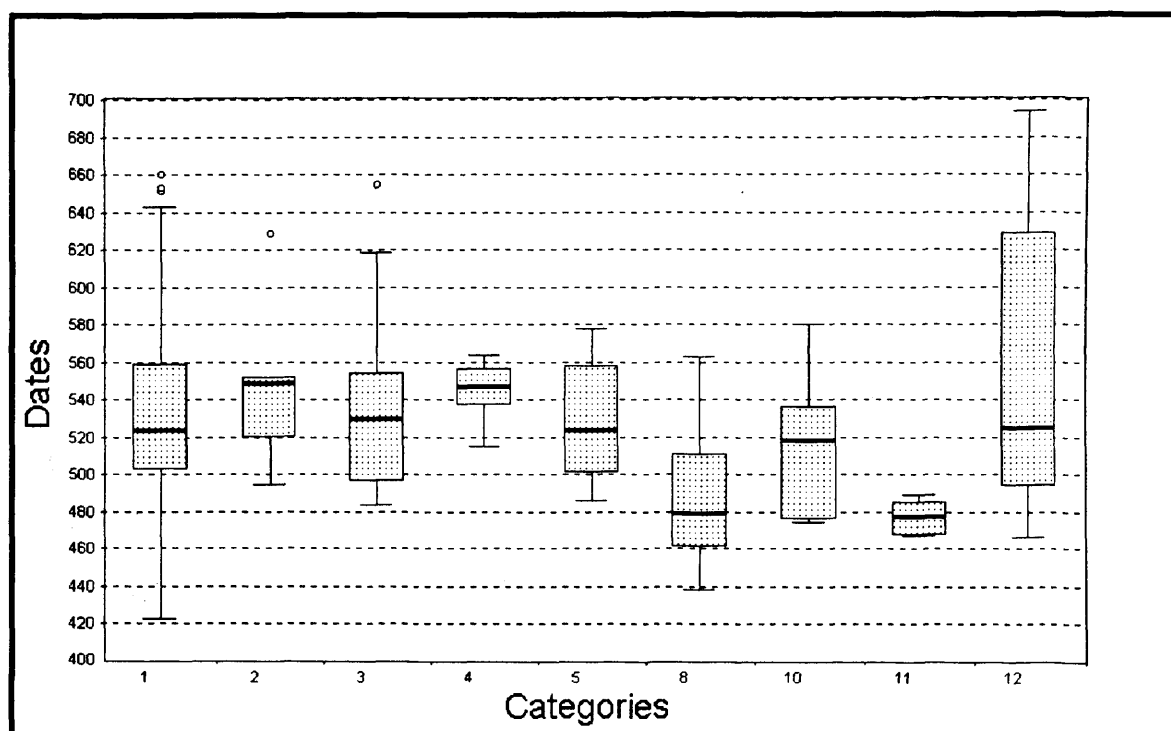


Figure 58: Box-and-Whiskers plots of the date ranges within which the major date formulae fall.

Additionally, reconstructions can be proposed with a greater degree of accuracy by demonstrating association of formulae with regions than simply by reference to their date ranges.

The division of South Eastern Gaul into the three Metropolitan sees is geographically and culturally arbitrary, as explained in the Introduction. However, it can be shown that the Metropolitan boundaries perform well when used as categories against which the formulae may be tested for association employing the standard equation for Chi-Square:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

where *E* equals the expected frequencies and *O* the observed frequencies (Fletcher and Lock 1991: 118-119; Wagner 1991: 274-293).

Table 75 presents a cross-reference of all the major categories of *initia* according to their Metropolitans together with their relative percentage totals and expected frequencies in a normal distribution. Additionally, Table 75 presents both actual and predicted totals - the latter according to their frequencies and whether they fit the available space on the epitaph. The known date ranges for the formulae are also taken into account. The Chi-Square values are rendered invalid because more than 20% of the expected frequencies are less than five. However, to omit or combine categories is archaeologically dangerous and manipulation of the data is not justified because it is not the overall Chi-Square figure that is important but rather individual actual frequencies measured against those expected. Furthermore, omission or combination would only serve to strengthen relationships which show strong association in the first instance: indeed, the absence of a formula in any specific area is as important archaeologically as where it is common. This applies to all such tables that follow in this Chapter. Those *initia* considered to have been recorded in a far greater number than expected are highlighted by their cells being shaded: the marked association in many case of an *initium* with an individual Metropolitan and consequently the paucity of its frequency elsewhere is remarkable. In *Lugdunensis* the *initium* governed by *iaceo* and the formula *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae* are found to be closely associated with that Metropolitan: they are rarely found elsewhere and the former gives way to the latter during the fifth century. However, in *Viennensis* the formulae *hic requiescit in pace*, *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, and the related *initia in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace* and *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* predominate. Elsewhere they are found either rarely or in far fewer numbers than one would expect if normally distributed. The former two categories appear to give way in time to the latter duo, particularly at Vienne, though the paucity of dated examples requires a larger margin of overlap to be taken into consideration than the data described in Chapter 3 might suggest. The frequencies in *Arelatensis* are the most striking: Category 14, the dative/optative *initium* occurs far more frequently than expected and is almost non-existent in the northern Metropolitans. Where dated examples are recorded they are exclusively of the fourth century, strongly suggesting that this formulae, which dates back centuries, gave way to Category 5, where the only dated example is from the fifth century, and then to Category 6 when dated examples only arise in the later fifth century. Categories 8, 9, 10, and 11 never occur in *Arelatensis*, a fact made more striking by the results of the predicted frequencies: no epitaph where the hypothetical space available allows for reconstruction could be made to fit one of these *initia*. Of the 410 original *initia* recorded a further 127 have been reconstructed and the resultant frequencies are broadly similar to the original in percentage terms. This is no surprise given the wealth of data employed initially: there was no reason to expect otherwise. Doubtless those fragmentary epitaphs excluded would only confirm the trends uncovered.

Table 76 displays the actual and expected frequencies for the major four age formulae governed by *uiu*. None of the expected frequencies are less than five and therefore the underlying statistics are valid. Although the figure for Cramer's V is low at 0.67 (a test for the strength of association), strong individual associations are demonstrated. Categories 1 and 2 are ubiquitous and the actual and expected frequencies are similar except for *Viennensis*, where an expected frequency for Category 2 is only 76% of the actual count. However, this is to be expected for phrases of such antiquity. Categories 3 and 4 show markedly greater frequencies than expected for *Arelatensis* and *Lugdunensis* respectively, suggesting that *Viennensis* remained more conservative: Category 4, containing the phrase *in pace*, synonymous with Christian epitaphs, is found in *Lugdunensis* nearly four times more frequently than expected.

ORIGINAL FREQUENCIES FOR INITIA CATEGORIES																
Initium Category	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	14	15	18	19	Total
Lugdunensis Total	4	3	5	6			2		46	1	5	3	12	21	6	114
Total Percentage	1	0.7	1.2	1.5			0.5		11.2	0.2	1.2	0.7	2.9	5.1	1.5	27.8
Expected Values	2.2	10.8	4.2	17.5	1.7	12	1.7	1.1	16.7	9.7	2.5	9.2	8.9	10.3	5.6	
Viennensis Total	3	28	7	45		1	3	4	14	34	4	1	9	8	6	167
Total Percentage	0.7	6.8	1.7	11		0.2	0.7	1	3.4	8.3	1	0.2	2.2	2	1.5	40.7
Expected Values	3.3	15.9	6.1	25.7	2.4	17.5	2.4	1.6	24.4	14.3	3.7	13.4	13	15.1	8.1	
Arelatensis Total	1	8	3	12	6	42	1					29	11	8	8	129
Percentage of Total	0.2	2	0.7	2.9	1.5	10.2	0.2					7.1	2.7	2	2	31.5
Expected Values	2.5	12.3	4.7	19.8	1.9	13.5	1.9	1.3	18.9	11	2.8	10.4	10.1	11.6	6.3	
Category Total	8	39	15	63	6	43	6	4	60	35	9	33	32	37	20	410
Percentage of Total	2	9.5	3.7	15.4	1.5	10.5	1.5	1	14.6	8.5	2.2	8	7.8	9	4.9	100
PREDICTED FREQUENCIES FOR INITIA CATEGORIES																
Initium Category	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	14	15	18	19	Total
Lugdunensis Total	4	3	6	8			3		61	1	5	4	12	25	6	138
Total Percentage	0.7	0.6	1.1	1.5			0.6		11.4	0.2	0.9	0.7	2.2	4.7	1.1	25.7
Expected Values	2.1	12.1	5.1	23.1	2.1	15.2	2.1	1.5	21.8	15.7	2.6	10	8.7	10.5	5.4	
Viennensis Total	3	33	8	70		1	3	6	24	60	5	1	11	8	6	239
Total Percentage	0.6	8.1	1.5	13		0.2	0.6	1.1	4.5	11.2	0.9	0.2	2	1.5	1.1	44.5
Expected Values	3.6	20.9	8.9	40.1	3.6	26.3	3.6	2.7	37.8	27.1	4.5	17.4	15.1	18.2	9.3	
Arelatensis Total	1	11	6	12	8	58	2					34	11	8	9	160
Percentage of Total	0.2	2	1.1	2.2	1.5	10.8	0.4					6.3	2	1.5	1.7	29.8
Expected Values	2.4	14	6	26.8	2.4	17.6	2.4	1.8	25.3	18.2	3	11.6	10.1	12.2	6.3	
Category Total	8	47	20	90	8	59	8	6	85	61	10	39	34	41	21	537
Percentage of Total	1.5	8.8	3.7	16.8	1.5	11	1.5	1.1	15.8	11.4	1.9	7.3	6.3	7.6	3.9	100

Table 75: Actual and expected frequencies for original and predicted frequencies for the major *initia* formulae.

The *floruit* of the dated examples is later than those in Category 2, which is also well represented in *Viennensis* but less so in *Arelatensis*. The percentages for these trends have largely translated into the reconstructions, though where small original counts have been encountered it is difficult to advance that formula as a reconstruction: thus the slightly higher predicted counts in some cases, such as those for Category 3 in *Viennensis* and *Arelatensis*, in conjunction with no additions in Category 4, is felt to be justified. Thus, generally these four categories can be viewed as gaining predominance as time progresses within the Metropolitans.

Table 77 presents the actual and expected frequencies for the major categories of date formulae. The number of cells where the expected frequency is less than 5 is slightly more than 20% and Cramer's V of 0.43 shows weak association overall, but result would probably remain similar if more examples were known. The predicted values only bring Table 77 as a whole slightly closer to within acceptable statistical limits and the table is relatively difficult to interpret because the formulae divide themselves into two categories; those governed by *obeo* and those not. Furthermore, Category 10 records the date of burial, not of death.

ORIGINAL FREQUENCIES FOR AGE CATEGORIES					
Age Category	1	2	3	4	Total
<i>Lugdunensis</i> Total	47	19	3	42	111
Total Percentage	14.3	5.8	0.9	12.8	33.8
Expected Values	40.3	26.1	29.1	15.6	
<i>Viennensis</i> Total	45	42	45	4	136
Total Percentage	13.7	12.8	13.7	1.2	41.5
Expected Values	49.3	31.9	35.7	19.1	
<i>Arelatensis</i> Total	27	16	38		81
Percentage of Total	8.2	4.9	11.6		24.7
Expected Values	29.4	19	21.2	11.4	
Category Total	119	77	86	46	328
Percentage of Total	36.3	23.5	26.2	14	100
PREDICTED FREQUENCIES FOR AGE CATEGORIES					
-Age Category	1	2	3	4	Total
<i>Lugdunensis</i> Total	60	24	3	53	140
Total Percentage	13	5.2	0.6	11.5	30.3
Expected Values	51.2	27.6	43.9	17.3	
<i>Viennensis</i> Total	72	48	84	4	208
Total Percentage	15.6	10.4	18.2	0.9	45
Expected Values	76.1	41	65.3	25.7	
<i>Arelatensis</i> Total	37	19	58		114
Percentage of Total	8	4.1	12.6		24.7
Expected Values	41.7	22.5	35.8	14.1	
Category Total	169	91	145	57	462
Percentage of Total	36.6	19.7	31.4	12.3	100

Table 76: Actual and expected frequencies for original and predicted frequencies for the major age formulae.

Category 1 is well represented though more so further north: the continued employment of *recedo* and *deposito* at Rome, Northern Italy and Spain (c.f. *ILCV*. 2938-2997G for Rome and 1360-1366 for Aquileia and Milan, 1436-1441 for Spain), together with few examples from Trier make this verb almost synonymous with South Eastern Gaul. Category 2, if combined with Category 3 for the purpose of discussion, show clearly that *die* and *sub die* is found predominantly in *Arelatensis* where nearly 60% of the combined formulae are recorded. This is reflected in the predicted percentage of nearly 67% of the total. Although closely dated epitaphs from *Arelatensis* are rare, Categories 1 and 3 seem to have been employed here concurrently. They appear to follow the abandonment of recording the date of burial (governed by *depono*, Category 10) which continued to be inscribed generally on the metrical, longer epitaphs, especially in *Viennensis*. Category 4 is unique to *Viennensis* and hence no reconstructions are proposed for elsewhere, but Category 5 is confined to the two northern Metropolitans, reflected in the reconstructions. Category 8 is everywhere rare and is likely to be found on earlier epitaphs, it is rare on dated examples after 500. Formulae governed by *recedo* are found in the fourth century elsewhere, as explained, and there is no pattern of employment but the few dated

examples suggest that its *floruit* had ended by 475. Category 12 occurs frequently but is ubiquitous in time and space; with many examples from the Auvergne.

ORIGINAL FREQUENCIES FOR DATE CATEGORIES										
Date Category	1	2	3	4	5	8	10	11	12	Total
<i>Lugdunensis</i> Total	46	6	8		12	5	1	5	8	91
Total Percentage	15.7	2	2.7		4.1	1.7	0.3	1.7	2.7	31.1
Expected Values	34.8	3.4	13	7.5	9.3	3.7	6.5	5.6	7.1	
<i>Viennensis</i> Total	44	3	5	24	18	4	11	7	14	130
Total Percentage	15	1	1.7	8.2	6.1	1.4	3.8	2.4	4.8	44.4
Expected Values	49.7	4.9	18.6	10.6	13.3	5.3	9.3	8	10.2	
<i>Arelatensis</i> Total	22	2	29			3	9	6	1	72
Percentage of Total	7.5	0.7	9.9			1	3.1	2	0.3	24.6
Expected Values	27.5	2.7	10.3	5.9	7.4	2.9	5.2	4.4	5.7	
Category Total	112	11	42	24	30	12	21	18	23	293
Percentage of Total	38.2	3.8	14.3	8.2	10.2	4.1	7.2	6.1	7.8	100
PREDICTED FREQUENCIES FOR DATE CATEGORIES										
Date Category	1	2	3	4	5	8	10	11	12	Total
<i>Lugdunensis</i> Total	61	6	9		24	5	1	5	8	119
Total Percentage	13.8	1.4	2		5.4	1.1	0.2	1.1	1.8	26.9
Expected Values	47.1	3	17.2	8.1	18.6	3.2	7.3	5.1	9.4	
<i>Viennensis</i> Total	84	3	7	30	45	4	11	7	25	216
Total Percentage	19	0.7	1.6	6.8	10.2	0.9	2.5	1.6	5.7	48.9
Expected Values	85.5	5.4	31.3	14.7	33.7	5.9	13.2	9.3	17.1	
<i>Arelatensis</i> Total	30	2	48			3	15	6	2	107
Percentage of Total	6.8	0.5	10.9			0.7	3.4	1.5	0.5	24.2
Expected Values	42.4	2.7	15.5	7.3	16.7	2.9	6.5	4.5	8.5	
Category Total	175	11	64	30	69	12	27	19	35	442
Percentage of Total	39.6	2.5	14.5	6.8	15.6	2.7	6.1	4.3	7.9	100

Table 77: Actual and expected frequencies for original and predicted frequencies for the major date formulae.

The Reconstruction of Incomplete Epitaphs

The confirmation of positive and negative trends of association between some formulae and the Metropolitan sees within which they are found leads naturally to the presumption that closer associations might be afforded between formulae and their provenance. The majority of epitaphs have not been found *in situ* and high quality excavation of cemeteries has been non-existent until recent years; thus even where numerous epitaphs have been recorded there are insufficient to compare even between the cities. At Lyon and Arles the majority of the epitaphs were found sporadically within the vast cemeteries of Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just and Alyscamps respectively. Furthermore, tests for association between formulae are largely unavailing because so many combinations are found uniquely and cells containing expected frequencies of less than five are normal. Tests for association between *initia* and age formulae give 60 cells, 41 have expected frequencies of less than five (68%), between *initia* and date have 117 of 126 (92%) and age and date have 24 of 36 (67%); therefore the tables are not reproduced here. Nevertheless, several combinations occur much more frequently than others and whilst the actual and expected frequencies cannot be absolutely relied upon, some significant trends may be isolated. More important still are the frequencies for the combinations of all three major categories of formulae (Table 78). These counts do not constitute a full listing of every known combination: epitaphs which are incomplete or contain variant or metrical formulae are excluded.

PROVENANCE	INITIUM	AGE	DATE	INITIUM AGE	INITIUM DATE	AGE DATE	TOTAL	EXAMPLES DATED BY A CONSULAR, P.C. OR REGNAL YEAR
All Provenances	2	1	-	10	19	12	4	521
<i>Viennensis</i>	2	1	-	7	15	5	3	521
All Provenances	2	2	1	15	6	13	3	469, 496, 516
All Provenances	2	2	-	15	19	26	10	
Vienne	2	2	-	9	12	14	8	
Vienne, St. Gervais	2	2	-	5	6	7	5	
<i>Viennensis</i>	2	2	-	13	15	15	9	
All Provenances	4	1	1	24	22	29	9	485, 488, 495, 501, 503, 517, 520
Vienne	4	1	1	5	8	6	3	485, 495, 501
<i>Viennensis</i>	4	1	1	14	17	15	8	485, 495, 501, 503, 517, 520
<i>Lugdunensis</i> , exc. Lyon	4	1	5	4	3	5	3	491, 501, 501
All Provenances	4	2	1	8	22	13	4	502, 531
<i>Viennensis</i>	4	2	1	7	17	9	3	502
<i>Viennensis</i> , exc. Vienne	4	2	4	6	6	3	3	537, 547, 564
All Provenances	4	3	1	14	22	20	6	524, 525, 660
Vienne	4	3	1	8	8	5	4	524, 525, 660
Vienne, St. Pierre/St. Georges	4	3	1	5	4	3	3	524, 525, 660
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc. Arles	5	1	10	3	4	5	3	
<i>Arelatensis</i>	6	1	3	6	21	6	4	495, 502, 532, 536
<i>Arelatensis</i>	6	3	1	28	11	13	9	525, 530
Arles	6	3	1	24	9	10	7	525, 530
<i>Arelatensis</i>	6	3	3	28	21	19	17	487, 529, 530, 554
Arles	6	3	3	24	17	16	15	487, 529, 530, 554
Lyon, All St. Irénée/St. Just	9	1	1	13	13	11	4	544
All Provenances	9	1	5	19	11	16	9	501, 501, 517, 523, 541, 546
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	9	1	5	15	7	11	6	501, 501, 517, 523, 541
Lyon, All St. Irénée/St. Just	9	1	5	13	6	6	5	501, 501, 517, 523, 541
<i>Viennensis</i>	9	1	5	4	4	5	3	546
All Provenances	9	4	1	25	21	27	16	484, 493, 503, 504, 518, 564, 595, 615, 653, 653, 653
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	9	4	1	23	19	26	15	484, 493, 503, 504, 518, 564, 595, 615, 653, 653, 653
Lyon, All St. Irénée/St. Just	9	4	1	12	13	12	9	484, 493, 503, 504, 564, 595
Lyon, St. Laurent de Choulans	9	4	1	5	4	7	4	653, 653, 653
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	9	4	2	23	4	5	4	495, 520, 549
Lyon, All St. Irénée/St. Just	9	4	2	12	3	3	3	520, 549
Vienne	10	3	4	13	6	9	6	540, 557, 563
Vienne, St. Pierre/St. Georges	10	3	4	6	3	5	3	540, 557
Vienne	10	3	5	13	6	11	5	511, 558, 559, 561
All Provenances	14	-	-	27	31	62	27	
<i>Arelatensis</i>	14	-	-	25	28	36	25	
Arles	14	-	-	12	14	15	12	
All Provenances	15	2	-	7	16	26	4	
All Provenances	15	-	-	10	16	62	8	
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc. Arles	15	-	-	5	5	21	4	
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	15	-	-	4	5	11	3	
All Provenances	18	2	-	8	16	26	5	
Lyon, All St. Irénée/St. Just	18	2	-	4	6	4	3	
All Provenances	18	-	-	10	16	62	8	
Vienne	18	-	-	4	5	12	4	
Vienne, St. Gervais	18	-	-	3	4	3	3	
All Provenances	19	-	-	4	5	62	3	

Table 78: Provenance and totals for combinations of *initia*, age and date formulae where three or more examples are known.

The average count for each triple combination is three and Table 78 has been compiled arbitrarily with those combinations occurring three times or more. This approach has not precluded reconstructions employing other combinations but it has the twin advantage of presenting an easily comprehensible overview and of demonstrating that not only are formulae often closely associated with provenance but that combinations thereof can be seen to possess

similar strengths of association, albeit in insufficient numbers to provide a reliable Chi-Square figure. Additionally, frequency counts for dual combinations of *initia*, age and date formulae are given. Table 78 confirms both the results for the association of formulae with both themselves and their provenances and shows that certain combinations are regional in distribution; the dated examples among them emphasise the general but not absolute trend towards more complex formulae in time. The combination of *hic requiescit in pace* with either *qui/quae uixit annos* + age or *qui/quae uixit annos... menses... dies* with no date formula is indicative of *Viennensis*, particularly the cemetery of Saint-Gervais at Vienne. The lack of dates indicates employment earlier than *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* which appears to adopt the age formulae *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, *qui/quae uixit annos... menses... dies* and *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus* in that order chronologically with no obvious preference for date formula. *Bonae memoriae hic requiescit in pace* is confined to *Arelatensis* as explained in Chapter Three and *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae* is the most common formula found - exclusively - in *Arelatensis*. The paucity of dated epitaphs there preclude firm conclusions being drawn for the chronological employment of the age formulae *qui/quae uixit annos* + age and *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus* but the apparent earlier use generally of the former is suggestive. *In hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae* has been shown to be strongly associated with *Lugdunensis* and particularly Lyon. It is associated with the age formulae *qui/quae uixit annos* + age and *qui uixit in pace annos*, the latter continuing in use in the second half of the sixth century and well into the seventh century at the Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans cemetery. The employment of the formula *obiit in pace* + date with these formulae appears short-lived. This may be on account of the vagaries of the archaeological record because inscriptions from the cemetery of Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just are rare in the seventh century and those from Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans are exclusively seventh century and differ in several respects to all earlier epitaphs from South Eastern Gaul. These then are the main trends, yet they must not be regarded as exclusive although the dative/optative *initia* and their lack of associated formulae is confined to *Arelatensis*. Conversely, the use of *iaceo* to govern the *initium* is not exclusive to *Viennensis*, as appears to be the case here; it occurs 21 times in *Lugdunensis* but no particularly closely associated age or date formulae except in three cases, and its appearance in *Viennensis* is due to it being associated with no other formulae at all. This is an important caveat when a reconstruction is considered: the available space is the most important factor to consider, followed by the statistical likelihood for the occurrence of a formulae. In this way (the) statistics are made to serve the archaeology and not, incorrectly, the reverse. The reconstructions offered here appended to each entry in Appendix One and summarised in Appendix Three come from first viewing the extant epitaph, estimating the available space and only then estimating a reconstruction based upon the frequency of formulae found in the surrounding district, a summary of which appears in Table 79 calculated by means of identical methods to Table 78.

PROVENANCE	INITIUM	AGE	DATE	INITIUM AGE	INITIUM DATE	AGE DATE	TOTAL	EXAMPLES DATED BY A CONSULAR, P.C. OR REGNAL YEAR
<i>Viennensis</i>	2	1	-	11	19	7	5	521
All Provenances	2	2	-	16	24	33	12	
Vienne	2	2	-	9	16	19	9	
Vienne, St.Gervais	2	2	-	5	7	8	5	
<i>Viennensis</i>	2	2	-	13	19	20	10	
All Provenances	3	1	12	14	7	15	6	483, 509, 523
<i>Viennensis</i>	3	1	12	6	5	11	5	483, 509
All Provenances	4	1	1	43	53	56	24	485, 488, 495, 501, 503, 515, 517, 520, 538
Vienne	4	1	1	7	22	8	5	485, 495, 501
<i>Viennensis</i>	4	1	1	32	45	32	21	485, 495, 501, 503, 515, 517, 520
All Provenances	4	1	3	43	7	15	4	
All Provenances	4	1	5	43	7	26	5	491, 501, 501, 523
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	4	1	5	7	5	19	4	491, 501, 501
All Provenances	4	2	1	10	53	19	5	502, 531
<i>Viennensis</i>	4	2	1	9	45	15	4	502
All Provenances	4	3	1	27	53	41	20	524, 525, 535, 660
Vienne	4	3	1	19	22	18	15	524, 525, 535, 660
Vienne, St.Pierre/St.Georges	4	3	1	7	7	8	6	524, 525, 660
<i>Viennensis</i>	4	3	1	21	45	24	17	524, 525, 535, 660
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc. Arles	5	1	10	6	7	10	5	
<i>Arelatensis</i>	6	1	3	8	42	9	6	495, 502, 532, 536
<i>Arelatensis</i>	6	3	1	46	12	17	10	515, 525, 530
Arles	6	3	1	37	10	12	8	515, 525, 530
<i>Arelatensis</i>	6	3	3	46	42	36	35	487, 495, 529, 530, 541, 554
Arles	6	3	3	37	31	29	28	487, 495, 529, 530, 541, 554
All Provenances	9	1	1	27	35	56	6	511, 544
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	9	1	1	18	18	16	5	544
All Provenances	9	1	5	27	19	26	13	501, 501, 517, 523, 541, 546
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	9	1	5	20	13	19	9	501, 501, 517, 523, 541
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	9	1	5	18	12	12	8	501, 501, 517, 523, 541
<i>Viennensis</i>	9	1	5	7	6	7	4	546
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	9	2	5	5	12	4	4	546, 562
All Provenances	9	4	1	38	35	39	26	484, 493, 503, 504, 518, 564, 595, 615, 622, 653, 653, 653
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	9	4	1	35	30	38	25	484, 493, 503, 504, 518, 564, 595, 615, 622, 653, 653, 653
Lyon, All St.Irénée/St.Just	9	4	1	17	18	14	13	484, 493, 503, 504, 564, 595, 622
Lyon, St.Laurent de Choulans	9	4	1	11	9	13	9	653, 653, 653
<i>Lugdunensis</i>	9	4	2	35	4	5	4	495, 520, 549
Vienne	10	2	1	9	7	7	4	495, 536
<i>Viennensis</i>	10	2	1	10	12	15	5	495, 521, 536
Vienne	10	3	4	31	11	15	11	515, 540, 557, 557, 563
Vienne, St.Pierre/St.Georges	10	3	4	14	5	7	5	515, 540, 557
<i>Viennensis</i>	10	3	4	40	13	17	12	515, 540, 557, 557, 563, 600
Vienne	10	3	5	31	21	28	19	511, 517, 545, 558, 559, 561
Vienne, St.Pierre/St.Georges	10	3	5	14	11	12	9	517, 545, 561
<i>Viennensis</i>	10	3	5	40	27	34	25	511, 517, 545, 558, 559, 561
All Provenances	14	-	-	28	35	66	28	
<i>Arelatensis</i>	14	-	-	25	31	37	25	
Arles	14	-	-	12	16	15	12	
All Provenances	15	2	-	10	16	33	7	
Vienne	15	2	-	5	6	19	5	
All Provenances	15	-	-	11	18	66	8	
<i>Arelatensis</i> , exc. Arles	15	-	-	6	5	22	4	
All Provenances	18	2	-	10	17	33	5	
All Provenances	18	-	-	11	17	66	9	
Vienne	18	-	-	5	6	14	5	
All Provenances	19	1	1	7	7	56	5	

Table 79: Provenance and totals for predicted combinations of *initia*, age and date formulae where four or more examples are either known or predicted.

Table 79 does not constitute a full listing of every combination of reconstruction and epitaphs are excluded where incomplete or with variant or metrical formulae. The average count for each triple combination is four and Table 79 displays combinations occurring four or more times. The Chi-Square tables above demonstrate that the proposed reconstructions intensify and confirm the patterns of formulaic development rather than change them but the reconstructions are essential towards providing a date range in the next few sections.

Hic requiescit with its age and date formulae is rare and has not been found to fit any epitaph. *Hic requiescit in pace* has been employed in eight reconstructions, mainly in *Viennensis*, but has no great effect on the combinations found. The employment of *transeo* to govern the date formula in 12 reconstructions has led to epitaphs bearing the formulae *hic requiescit bone memoriae* and *qui/quae uixit annos* + age demonstrating a stronger association with *Viennensis*. The reconstruction of 25 *initia* with *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* in *Viennensis* strengthens the probability that it was never associated very closely with other formulae specifically, although Categories 1 and 3 of the age formulae and Category 1 of the date types predominate in the reconstructions. In *Arelatensis* the *initium hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae* has been employed exclusively in reconstructions in that Metropolitan. The almost exclusive employment of the age formula *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus* and not *qui/quae uixit annos... menses... dies* is based upon the frequencies on complete epitaphs. This may have distorted the overall view somewhat because many more youthful deceased may be hidden from view. The employment of Category 2 age formula for those who died before they reached 21 was discussed in Chapter Three.

In *Lugdunensis*, *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae* has been employed in 15 reconstructions and can be seen to be associated the age formulae *qui/quae uixit annos* + age and *qui uixit in pace annos*, the latter being employed later than the former, as might be expected. However, the associated date formulae *obiit* + date and *obiit in pace* + date seemingly enjoyed a shorter *floruit* than *qui uixit in pace annos* and *obiit* + date: the two formulae *qui uixit in pace annos* and *obiit in pace* + date are mutually exclusive, probably to avoid repetition and are therefore never employed on any reconstruction. Furthermore, the age formula *qui uixit annos plus minus* is found at Lyon only twice and therefore is never used in any reconstruction there. Conversely, at Vienne and in *Viennensis* in general it is frequently found and many epitaphs are postulated to have borne this formulae together with the *initium in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, the most frequent *initium* at Vienne. The date formula *obiit in pace* + date has been employed more frequently than the contemporaneous *obiit in Christo/XPO* purely on the basis of frequency of extant examples. The latter formula also never appears with the phrase *surrecturus in Christo/XPO* and only once with *surrecturus in gloria* on No.615 (Plate 204) from Vienne. The remaining predicted reconstructions are few enough to have little overall effect on the distribution of patterns of formulae. 299 epitaphs have been either partially or completely reconstructed, a total which includes 44 epitaphs where the

formulae have been classified as metrical. Therefore, a total of 255 epitaphs classified as being of the simple three formula style (or less) are added to the 383 which have required no reconstruction. Forty-eight are classed as too fragmentary to attempt any reconstruction. The total of 682 epitaphs provides the basis for proposing a relative date range and at Vienne the probable original provenance of the isolated finds.

METHODS FOR DATING INSCRIPTIONS WITH NO DATE OR WHERE NO CONSULAR, P.C. OR REGNAL DATE IS EITHER EXTANT OR LEGIBLE

(I) Epitaphs bearing an Illegible Consular or P.C. Date where only the Name is Extant in Part

Fourteen epitaphs display a consular or p.c. date where the name of the consul is extant in part, thereby allowing a relatively short date range to be allocated. No.96, at Arles, Alysamps, can be reconstructed to record a consular date for Flavius Florentinus and Procopius Anthemius, cons.515 (NR: 204). No.732 (Plate 229), from Vif, is likely to date to 519 if the consular date is reconstructed to record the consulship of the Emperor Justin (*RICG.XV*: 240). At Vienne, two epitaphs present a p.c. year (reconstructed) of the consul Paulinus, cons.534; Nos.590 and 677. As discussed in Chapter Three, his p.c. year enjoyed a brief *floruit* as a dating system and therefore these epitaphs should be dated to between 535 and 537. Two epitaphs from Vienne record a p.c. of Iohannes, cons.538. whose p.c. was employed for several years in *Viennensis* (as late as 547 at Aoste, No.37, and 548 at Saint-Restitut in *Arelatensis*, No.481). Nos.688 and 689 are therefore allocated a date range between 539 and 545. Two epitaphs from Lyon, Nos.347 and 402, and one from Vienne, No.690 bear a p.c. of Iustinus, cons.540, and are therefore allocated date ranges between 541 and 600 except for No.347 where the date can be reconstructed to read AD 545. Five epitaphs from *Viennensis*, Nos.541, 651, 691 and 692 at Vienne and No.441 at Nacon, record a p.c. of Basilius, cons.541, and are therefore allocated a date range between 542 and 600 (Plate 144), spanning the central years when his p.c. was employed at Vienne.

(ii) Epitaphs bearing a Consular or P.C. Date where the Name may be Attributed

Eleven epitaphs bear a consular or p.c. date, some with an indiction, where the name of the consul may be attributed with confidence by comparison with the formulae employed with others from the vicinity. Three from Lyon, Nos.293, 333 and 356 may also have recorded p.c.s of Iustinus and are allocated the date range 541-600 - in the latter example we see perhaps a double epitaph, which, carrying an indiction, makes it almost certain to date to the second half of the sixth century. No.675, Vienne, may be reconstructed to read the name of Mavortius, cons.527, although it may be a p.c. date. Another two epitaphs from Vienne, Nos.561 and 619, are allocated the date range 542-600; the former, from Saint-Gervais, because it is probably a p.c. of Basilius and the latter because of the formulae employed. Nos.630 and 631, from Vienne, Saint-Pierre, display probable p.c. dates but probably not an indiction, suggesting a date in the first half of the sixth century. Three further epitaphs display both illegible p.c. dates

and indictions: No.454 from Orange in *Arelatensis* may be slightly earlier than No.490, from Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas, but similar to No.462, Reillanne in *Arelatensis*, where the illegible indiction is possibly followed by a consular date. They are attributed to between 500 and 550, the example from Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas to 500-600.

(iii) Epitaphs bearing a Consular or P.C. Date where the Name is Illegible

Ten epitaphs display a consular date where the name of the consul and the date are illegible and certain attribution is impossible because the formulae are fragmentary. Three display the designation *iunior*, Nos.345, Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just district, No.494, Saint-Vallier and No.687, Vienne. As discussed in Chapter Two, this only narrows the choice to a few consuls whose years range between 483 and 534, which may include No.305. No.517, Vaison-la-Romaine, can only be dated approximately to between 475 and 540 although the name has been reconstructed to read the name Flavius Nevitta, Eastern consul in 362 (*ICG*: 493) - an early and therefore unlikely date. Four final epitaphs carry a consular date. No.234, a fragment from Le Buis, can only be attributed to between 450 and 550, and Nos.299 and 399, from Lyon, Saint-Just and Saint-Nizier, and No.25, from Anse (Plate 6), can be attributed only broadly to the second half of the fifth and the first of the sixth century on the basis of their probable reconstructions. No.492, from Saint-Thomé, is attributed to the sixth century when most metrical epitaphs occur.

(iv) Epitaphs Which May Have Borne A Consular Or P.C. Date

The remaining epitaphs, the majority, are more difficult to date. The reconstructions for a further 47 suggest that they may have carried a consular or p.c. date; only a broad date range may be postulated because there is no evidence on the extant part of the epitaph. This is not based upon the earliest and latest known dated examples bearing those formulae because that precludes possible chronological overlaps in an incomplete and theoretical data set. Therefore a date between 470 and 540 is employed in the absence of any evidence for an indictional date. The formulae of 18 epitaphs from *Viennensis* provide evidence that they may have carried both a consular or p.c. date and an indictional year, suggesting a date range between 540 and 600, allowing for a degree of chronological overlap despite the rarity of seventh-century epitaphs in *Viennensis*. No.188, from Crussol, may have carried a regnal date, its palaeography is analogous with others from the environs of Soyons, suggesting a late seventh century date (see below).

(v) Epitaphs which may have borne an Indiction - *Arelatensis*

Ten epitaphs from *Arelatensis* probably carried a now illegible indiction. The general homogeneity of formulae employed and the absence of any other criteria with which to estimate the date range, together with the general absence of consular and p.c. dates at Arles, are all best seen as belonging to between the second and third quarters of the sixth century.

(vi) Epitaphs Dated by the Indictional Year

A group of 47 epitaphs carry an indictional date alone and are distributed evenly throughout the region. Statistically they post-date 540 and therefore where the indictional year is legible the next four dates after that year are indicated in the main catalogue (Appendix 1). Those where the date is illegible are dated between 540 and 600 except for those from *Arelatensis* where the indiction was employed earlier - hence a lower range of 525-575. However, No.210, from Gigondas in *Arelatensis* may be earlier still since a consular date appears to be extant and thus might date to either 491 or 518, the p.c. of either Faustus or Agapitus (NR: 160). No.421 from Marseille may be early and date to either 489 or 512 (*ICMAMNS*: 11). No.475, a p.c. of Iustinus is included in this category because the indiction as inscribed makes no sense and his p.c.s continue into the seventh century, hence the range attributed, 547-630.

(vii) Inscriptions datable by Analogy with Dated Examples from the same Site

During the past three decades excavations at Alba, Briord, Cimiez and Lyon have revealed epitaphs which allow many lacking a date to be dated by comparative methods. These four sites enable a relative date to be postulated without recourse to comparison with others from the same area or province.

(1) Alba/Aps

At Alba/Aps nine epitaphs are recorded. Only No.9 is complete and records an indictional date, the fourth year of the indictional cycle. As has been discussed, this is likely to have been after 540 and a fourth indictional year fell in 540, 555, 570 and 585. The formulae employed are simple and common for the sixth century. The remainder are fragments discovered recently, with the exception of No.10, and viewed by the excavators as of sixth-century date (Lauxerois and Esquieu 1975: 5-44).

(2) Briord

At Briord the undated inscriptions have been given dates according to their provenance and on stylistic grounds. No.154 from the En Pontonnier cemetery is to be dated between 475 and 500 based upon the known *floruit* of that cemetery (Descombes 1987: 211-212). A further seven, Nos. 160-166 (*RICG.XV*: 268-275; 271 and 272 are fragments of the same epitaph), are from the Les Plantées cemetery, where the latest phase of the church of Saint-Martin dates to the first half of the seventh century, for which there are five dated inscriptions, Nos.155-159 (*RICG.XV*: 263-267; Cornua and Perraud 1986: 7).

(3) Lyon

At Lyon the Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans cemetery has produced nine epitaphs dated between 599 and 656, Nos.360-367 and 374. The remaining 17, Nos.368, 370-373 and 375-386 should belong to the same period. The formulae employed, particularly the *initium in hoc tumulo requiescit*, the laudatory epithets to the deceased, the references to the sanctuary of Saint

Laurent and the date formulae recording either a regnal date or the indiction or both, reveal an homogeneous style not found elsewhere either at Lyon or in the region as a whole.

(4) Soyons

At Soyons, near Valence, out of a total of eight inscriptions only Nos.495-499 have been published (in *R/CG.XV*); Nos.500-502 remain unpublished (pers. comm. M.G.Dalpra). The similarity of the palaeography on all these fragments suggests that they date to the same period. No.500 (Plate 164) is reconstructed here to read a date during the reign of Dagobert II, during the eighth indiction of his reign, AD 679-680. This provides evidence that the region of Soyons then belonged to the kingdom of Austrasia. The remaining seven epitaphs are therefore assigned to the last quarter of the seventh century. The importance of these epitaphs, together with contemporary finds from nearby Crussol, Guillerand and Touloud, is discussed in Chapter Five.

(viii) Inscriptions Datable on Documentary, Genealogical or Historical Grounds

Seventeen epitaphs may be dated on grounds which provide intrinsic clues to their date, or where documentary evidence is available in the case of a known historical figure.

- 1) No.92, Arles, epitaph of Flavius Memorius, 400-425.
 - 2) No.102, Arles, epitaph of Bishop Concordius, 385-395 (Plate 30).
 - 3) No.103, Arles, epitaph of Geminus, 400-425.
 - 4) Nos.112 and 113 (same tomb), Arles, epitaph and eulogy of bishop Hilarius, 5 May 449.
 - 5) No.130, Arles, epitaph of Marcia Romania Celsa, 330-350 (Plate 41).
 - 6) No.228, La Gayole, epitaph of Innodius, 450-475.
 - 7) No.341, Lyon, epitaph for Apollinaris, grandfather of Sidonius Apollinaris, 469/470.
 - 8) No.396, Lyon, epitaph of bishop Aunemundus, 659/660.
 - 9) No.397, Lyon, epitaph of bishop Viventius, between c.525-535.
 - 10) No.398, Lyon, epitaph of bishop Priscus, 586-588.
 - 11) No.418, Marseille, epitaph of bishop Lazarus, 452.
 - 12) No.452, Orange, epitaph of Saint Eutropius, (bishop), 494.
 - 13) No.534, Venasque, epitaph of bishop Boethius, 604.
 - 14) No.540, Vienne, epitaph of Foedula, 400-425 (Plate 177).
 - 15) No.606, Vienne, epitaph of bishop Avitus, c. 518.
 - 16) No.608, Vienne, epitaph of bishop Hesychius, 552-558.
 - 17) No.652, Vienne, epitaph of bishop Pantagathus, c.540 and 545.
- No.92 (Flavius Memorius) is inscribed upon a re-used sarcophagus. It lists the various offices held by him and retains the use of the dedication in the dative case - which suggests that this epitaph dates to the first quarter of the fifth century, i.e. after the Prefecture of the Gauls was transferred to Arles, yet prior to the end of the tradition of recording one's military status in vogue until the mid-fifth century.

- No.102 is the epitaph of bishop Concordius. He signed at the first council of Valence in 374 and was succeeded by bishop Ingenuus according to an episcopal list, recorded at the council of Nîmes in 396 (*FEAG.I*: 248; Plate 30).
- No.103, is probably to be dated to the first quarter of the fifth century for the same reasons as No.92. Geminus' offices are recorded as is his town of origin, Cologne. The use of *iacet* in the *initium* also suggests this date range (Benoit 1954: 44).
- No.112 is inscribed upon the cover of Hilarius' sarcophagus and both this and the metrical plaque, No.113, which once hung above the sarcophagus in the crypt of Saint-Honorat, must date to shortly after his death (*ICG*: 514, p.254; *FEAG.I*: 249; Plate 35).
- No.130 records Marcia Romania Celsa, the wife of Flavius Ianuarinus, *consul ordinarius* in 328, who commissioned this sarcophagus and epitaph for his wife. Her age is not recorded but she probably died sometime between 330 and 350. This inscription therefore indicates the type of formulae then in use; particularly interesting is the use of *quiesco* in the *initium*, the nominative name as opposed to the slightly earlier type when the *initium* and name in the dative case are employed (Plate 41).
- The Innodius in No.228 perhaps was the son of Magnus cons.460, a Gallic aristocrat who became *PPO Galliarum* in 458 (*ICMAMNS*: 42; *PLRE.II*: 700-701, Magnus 2). The *cognomina* of this Magnus are unknown, but he may have been a distant cousin of bishop Ennodius of Pavia, whose epitaph is known (*CIL.V*: 6464), and whose full name was Magnus Flavius Ennodius. This argument is supported by the likely date of the inscription, the third quarter of the fifth century on account of the mixture of classical and Christian imagery contained within the verse. Accordingly, we should reject a claimed late sixth-century date (Stroheker 1948: 167, No.113).
- No.341, is an epitaph composed by Sidonius Apollinaris for his grandfather, who had been Praetorian Prefect of Gaul under Constantine III in 408 and was apparently buried in the Saint-Just cemetery. Sidonius had seen to the restoration of the tomb and then composed this epitaph. It probably dates to 469, when he visited Lyon for the feast of Saint-Just (*TC.IV*: 27). It is known only from his letter to Secundus, who is otherwise unknown (Sidonius, *Ep.III*: 12).
- No.396 was recorded in the crypt of Saint-Nizier in 1308, but it is not certain that this relates to bishop Aunemundus (*TC.IV*: 32). However, since no person other than a bishop is known to have been buried in this crypt, the inscription has been dated 659/660 (*CIL.XIII*: 2401).
- Two other episcopal epitaphs from Lyon may be dated by inference. No.397, the epitaph of Viventiolus, a correspondent of bishop Avitus of Vienne, who presided over the council of Lyon in 523; his successor, Lupus, is first recorded presiding over the third council of Orléans in 538. He is recorded as buried with his brother, perhaps the previous bishop, Stephanus, who probably died in about 520 (*FEAG.II*: 165). The epitaph is not metrical as

with most episcopal epitaphs, but rhythmical (*CIL.XIII*: 2396). No.398 records bishop Priscus who succeeded Nicetius in c.573 and died no earlier than 586 (*FEAG.II*: 168) and probably between 586 and 588 (*CIL.XIII*: 2399). Viventius' feast day is 12 July.

- No.418 from Marseille has been identified with bishop Lazarus of Aix-en-Provence. He was elevated to the see by the usurper Constantine and consecrated by bishop Proculus of Marseille. Expelled from his see on the defeat of Constantius III, he appears to have died at Marseille (*FEAG.I*: 271-272). The hypothesised date of 452 is based upon the restored record of the consulate of Herculianus (*ICMAMNS*: 8, pp.113-115).
- For No.452, Saint Eutropius is known to have been bishop as early as 463 and was a correspondent of Sidonius Apollinaris (*FEAG.I*: 257-258; Sidonius, *Ep.* VI, 6). Although he died in 494, the palaeography of the inscription appears to be later, probably seventh century (Espérandieu 1899, 238; *CIL.XII*: 1272). The inscription is therefore dated somewhat arbitrarily to 600-650.
- Bishop Boethius recorded on No.534 is known to have attended the councils of Valence and Mâcon in 584 and 585 respectively. The only seventh indictional year which has a concordance with the recorded length of his episcopate, twenty years and six months, is 604. This fixes his date of ordination to November 583 (*FEAG.I*: 264).
- Finally, four inscriptions from Vienne are closely datable. No.540 (Plate 177) must date to the first quarter of the fifth century because Foedula's baptism, by Saint Martin himself, was evidently during his one recorded visit to Vienne, between (June) 386 and 389 (*RICG.XV*: 39, p.273). No.606 is the epitaph of bishop Avitus, who died c.518 (*RICG.XV*: 81, p.351). No.608 records bishop Hesychius, whose episcopate lasted until 552 at least, when he was a signatory at the council of Paris. The tradition that his episcopate lasted until the mid-560s and thus during the reign of Guntram, is a later fabrication (*RICG.XV*: 97, p.400). His successor, Namatius, died in 559, according to his epitaph (No.604; *RICG.XV*: 99). Thus, Hesychius must have died between 552 and 558. His career assists in dating No.652, the epitaph of bishop Pantagathus, who is known to have been present at the council of Orléans in 538 (*FEAG.II*: 148). As Hesychius is first attested in 549 (*FEAG.I*: 148), so Pantagathus probably died between c.540-545.

(ix) Epitaphs Bearing no Indication of the Date

The remaining inscriptions provide little or no evidence as to their date other than their formulae - the palaeography provides only an occasional and general clue, the quality of it provides none. Epitaphs bearing a consular or p.c. date appear in numbers only in the mid-fifth century, but that provides no certain foundation for undated examples being earlier. Indeed, an inscription recently discovered at Saint-Estève de Ménerbes is dated 9 June 367 by the consulates of Lupicinus and Iovinus (Guyon 1992: 207-222, not included in this study). This warns us against assuming that the adoption of the consular date was a relatively sudden phenomenon. Conversely, all undated epitaphs are not necessarily dated prior to the sixth century, but the

present evidence prohibits a later date unless there are exceptional reasons for doing so. The remaining text of the above epitaph lends support for the date ranges attributed to some of the formulae and their development: [... *uixit me?*] *cum ann(is) LXXV m(ensibus) III di(ebus) VI s[ua]uis fili(i)s suis. D(e)p(osita?) V idus iun(ias), Lupicino et louino cons(ulibu)s*. The mention of the years that the husband lived with his wife and of filiation are fourth-century traits (see Chapter Three), and during the fourth century and the first half of the fifth, formulae often follow earlier Gallo-Roman patterns; those *initia* consisting a dative/optative phrase or a phrase governed by the verb *iaceo* are indicative of an epitaph of this date. In the second quarter of the fifth century epitaphs throughout the region begin to follow a set pattern: an *initium* governed by *requiesco*, an age formula governed by *uiuo*, and a date formula governed by *obeo*. These formulae display a remarkable variety in their expression through space and time. This diversity, together with the number of examples dated by a consular, p.c. or regnal year can now be seen to provide a series of reference points between the fourth and the end of the seventh century within which one may allocate a date range to epitaphs where no date was recorded. Furthermore, a date range may be allocated where the formulae have been reconstructed according to the precepts outlined above, though with much less confidence. Most epitaphs where the formulae are governed by metrical and prose *initia*, age and date formulae have been allocated date ranges in Chapter Three; those that have not are allocated a range based upon dates proposed by their various editors, where applicable (indicated in each entry in Appendix One).

The formulae have been categorised in Chapter Three (Table 13). If those bearing a variant or unclassified category are excluded there remain 114 dated *initia* governed by *requiesco*, 141 age formulae by *uiuo* and 131 date formulae governed by *obeo* (the date formula is taken here to refer to the date of death or burial and not the consular, p.c., regnal or indictional date, in order to avoid confusion of terminology). As has been demonstrated above, those epitaphs bearing formulae based upon these three categories help in reconstructions. This now permits an overview to be postulated for the development of epigraphic formulae through time within each metropolitan. In turn, this provides a chronological framework within which may be placed the themes described and discussed in Chapter Five. A complete list of all postulated reconstructions and date ranges is presented in Appendix Three. A theoretical proposal for the chronological and regional development of the formulae is outlined at the end of this chapter.

(x) The Dating of Undated Inscriptions other than Epitaphs

Eighteen inscriptions alone are non-epitaphs. No.43 from Apt is a marble sarcophagus with the principal face bearing three sculpted figures and a further one on each of the lateral sides. Above each figure a name is inscribed: *Iohannes, Sustus, Iesus, Hyppolitus, Marc[us]*. Sustus is a vulgarism for Sixtus II, bishop of Rome in 257, martyred in 258; Hyppolitus is the Greek church father of the early third century who wrote several treatises on ecclesiastical dogma. It has been dated to between 450 and 500 (*ICMAMNS*: 54, pp.379-380).

No.52 from Arles is another sarcophagus with the principal face bearing sculpted figures with names inscribed. Christ is portrayed in the centre, flanked by the four apostles; hence the captions *Dominus legem dat. Matteus, Marcus, Lucanus, Ioannis*. It is dated to between 325-400 as its style is analogous with other sarcophagi from this period at Arles.

No.136 is not an epitaph, but an eulogy, written by Venantius Fortunatus for bishop Syagrius of Autun, with an accompanying letter proposing that it be placed in the vestibule of his church. Fortunatus was bishop of Poitiers in the late 580s or the early 590s, and certainly before 593 (George 1992: 213). Syagrius was ordained bishop in 561 and died in 599 (*FEAG.II*: 179). The most likely date range is 580-595 since the previous poem in the *MGH* manuscript order is certainly dated to the 580s (*ibid.* 127-129).

No.171 (Plate 51) from Chalon-sur-Saône is dated by the consular year of Protopogenes, 449, but it is uncertain whether this an epitaph or a dedication. If the latter, it may commemorate the consecration of the episcopal see of Chalon in 449 (Armand-Calliat 1936: 36, No.92).

No.209, from Genève, records rebuilding work undertaken by Gundobad, presumably following his fratricidal war against Godegisel in 500/501 (*TC.III*: 42; *Mar.Chron.* p.234). It could therefore date to any year between the end of the war and the death of Gundobad in 516.

No.221 from Grésy-sur-Aix is a rare votive inscription: *Eufraſius p(res)b(yte)r in onore(m) S(an)c(t)i Petri apostoli uoto ſuo fecet*. It is no longer extant and the lack of a reliable manuscript copy allows us merely to allocate it to the sixth century although it could be later (*RICG.XV*: 288)

No.245 is one of two inscriptions composed by Sidonius Apollinaris known only from his letters. This eulogy was designed to be placed within the church built by bishop Patiens, and is contained in a letter to Hesperius written in 469/470 (*TC.IV*: 22; Sidonius, *Ep.II*, 10).

No.246 from Lyon records the dedication of a church to the martyr Romanus, probably the same Romanus martyred at Antioch c.304 (c.f. Attwater 1965: 289). The medieval church of that name is extant but foundation date remains unknown (*TC.IV*: 34). The Germanic names of the dedicators suggest a date in the first half of the sixth century.

No.434 from Mellecey, near Chalon-sur-Saône, is a commemorative inscription recording the translation of relics from the monastery of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune to the monastery dedicated to Saint Marcellinus by king Guntram in 584 (Armand-Calliat 1936: 93; p.36; *Fred.Chron.* 1; Plate 142), and therefore is probably dated to that year.

No.466 from Riez is another dedication inscription, honouring Saint-Michael. The exact provenance is unknown but it may have served as the cover for a reliquary (*ICMAMNS*: 46). Guyon proposes that it is quite late on account of the use of the C Carré, a palaeographical form not found until the sixth century. Here it is allocated to between 500 and 650.

No.468 (Plate 153) from Saint-Geniez-de-Dromon is a dedication recording the foundation of a fortified retreat, Theopolis, by Claudius Postumus Dardanus, the former *PPO Galliarum* between 412-413; this inscription is the only source for his full name (*PLRE.II*: 346). Noticeably,

the inscription records that he is the former prefect. As he is known to have been alive in 417 the inscription probably dates to between 414 and 417. The career of Dardanus' friend, Claudius Lepidus, also mentioned on this dedication, is otherwise unknown (Marrou 1954: 101-110; *PLRE.II* 675, where Lepidus is described inexplicably as Dardanus' brother).

No.480 from Saint-Maximin-La-Sainte-Baume is a caption inscribed above an incised representation of the Virgin Mary in an *orans* pose. It forms one of four large plaques furnished with biblical scenes. It is not known whether they are *in situ* placed as they are in the church crypt but they are considered to be contemporaneous and to date to the second half of the fifth century (*ICMAMNS*: 46; Chatel 1957: 338).

A final inscription from Vienne that may be closely dated by inference is No.665. It is only recorded by Gregory of Tours (*VJ*: 2) and records the position of the relics of Saints Iulianus and Ferreolus. The church dedicated to them was built by bishop Mamertus c.470 (*RICG.XV*: p.13 §14), and this inscription was presumably in place at the time of consecration. Mamertus is congratulated for the discovery of these relics in a letter from Sidonius Apollinaris (Sidonius, *Ep.VII*, 1).

REGIONAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORMULAE

The proposed reconstructions and date ranges listed in Appendix Three do not immediately make clear the chronological and regional development of formulae and consequently of the epitaphs in South Eastern Gaul. Chapter Three demonstrated that the formulae employed were chronologically and regionally diverse. In this chapter statistical tests of distribution and association demonstrate association between certain formulae and others and with their provenance, at least at the Metropolitan level. Therefore, both logically and to avoid confusion, the date ranges allocated to the undated epitaphs and the development of formulae is best discussed separately for each Metropolitan. The criteria for the selection of reconstructed and dated epitaphs in the Normal Distribution Graphs and Box-and-Whisker Plots are identical to those used previously; at least one of the commonly employed formulae is present or is now regarded as being so. The result is 607 epitaphs employed in the conclusions: 165 in *Lugdunensis*, 274 in *Viennensis* and 168 in *Arelatensis*. In addition, the number known from the cemeteries of Saint-Gervais and Saint-Pierre at Vienne (24 and 54 respectively) provide sufficient evidence to attribute the provenance of the 60 isolated finds on the basis of their formulae. Each Metropolitan is accompanied by a table listing the earliest instance of each formula within and without the Metropolitan *ciuitas* in order to support the proposition that the employment of most formulae generally spread outward from the Metropolitan over a period of c.10-20 years. The histograms and plots are intended to make clear the effects of the date ranges proposed for the undated epitaphs and, because no normal distributions are found, to emphasise the limitations involved. Where a date range has been allocated a year has been allocated randomly within that range in order to smooth out their distribution within that range on the graphs. This makes for an arbitrary snapshot of a single sampling, but subsequent

resampling was found to have no profound effect on the overall shape of the histograms or Box-and-Whisker plots.

The formula employed to determine an integer within each range was:

$$\text{int}((y - x + 1) * \text{Rand}() + x)$$

where x represents the lower value in the range and y the upper; the random function is seeded by computer.

LVGDVNENSIS

Only Briord has produced a significant number of epitaphs outside Lyon, though Table 80 suggests that Christian epitaphs were first employed at Lyon and thence spread through the province. Only 19 epitaphs (eight are reconstructed) carry no indication of a consular, p.c., indictional or regnal date. Fifteen carry *initia* governed by *requiesco* and the remainder are presumed to have done so, suggesting a date range within the fifth century. A closer approximation is not possible but such epitaphs must logically lie chronologically between the earliest epitaphs and those which begin to carry a consular or p.c. date. The following categories are intended to reflect the chronological overlap.

(i) 325-c.425

Only 15 epitaphs date to this period. The *initia* fall into three categories: the dative/optative, the nominative, and that governed by *iaceo*. No pattern of age formula is yet apparent though *uixit annos...menses...dies* is most common. The date of death is rare and where inscribed is usually governed by *depono*, *transeo* or *recedo*.

(ii) c.400-c.450

This group of 27 epitaphs, all from the Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, continue to employ the nominative *initium* and *iaceo* governing the *initium*, but the dative/optative formula disappears. The age formulae *uixit annos* and *uixit annos...menses...dies* become more popular and *uixit in pace annos* appears for the first time (No.349; Plate 113). The date formula governed by *obeo* + the date of the month continue as before but *obiit* + date of the month appears increasingly.

(iii) c.450-c.500

Thirty-nine epitaphs are allocated to this period. *Initia* governed by *iaceo* and with the name in the nominative occur less frequently and a phrase governed by *requiesco* becomes common. *In hoc tumulo requiescit* is more common at Lyon than *hic requiescit* (and continues to be so throughout the sixth century). Epitaphs are found outside Lyon more frequently, but only at two sites, Anse and Briord, is more than a single example recorded. Metrical epitaphs and examples employing *quiesco* and *condo* governing the *initium* appear more frequently. The earliest securely dated example is from Pothières, No.461, dated 461. Its text merits attention since its developed eulogies and sentiments suggest that such epitaphs were more common than at present discernible from the archaeological record. Conversely, the age formulae accompanying these *initia* become less diverse; *uixit annos* + date is employed in nearly 90% of cases but *uixit*

in pace annos + date appears for the first time, always in conjunction with an *initium* of the *in hoc tumulo* variety. Date formulae governed by *transeo* and *recedo* continue but are largely superseded by formulae governed by *obeo* + date. *Obiit in pace* becomes more frequent, but no more so than in the sixth century. The unusual formula *obiit sub die* is found five times and not again until the seventh century; its employment may be due to influences from *Arelatensis* where a similar formula was ubiquitous. These two latter formulae show no close association with any particular *initium* or age formula.

(iv) c.500-c.600

The majority of epitaphs from Lyon date between the third quarter of the fifth and third quarter of the sixth century, but the sixth century itself ushers in a period when the formulae employed become almost a stereotype. Forty-six epitaphs are allocated to the sixth century and the *initium in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae* appears on 65%. Furthermore, most of these employ either *uixit annos...* or *uixit in pace annos...* for the age formula, except where the deceased was relatively youthful and *uixit annos...menses...dies* was instead inscribed. The date formula is almost exclusively governed by *obiit*, usually in its most simple form, but several examples of *obiit in pace* occur, though its *floruit* appears confined to the earlier half of the century; it is never found in conjunction with *uixit in pace*. The archaeological record outside Lyon is sparse, but two epitaphs from Ecully and Mâcon reveal the same formulae being employed throughout *Lugdunensis*. After 540 the aforementioned employment of a p.c. of *Iustinus* is extensive and the *indiction* is recorded frequently; this emphasises the conservative nature of epigraphic formulae in the sixth century.

(v) c.600-c.760

Thirty-six epitaphs are identifiable from this period but only two are recorded from the Saint-Irénée/Saint-just cemetery, Nos.282 and 283, dated 601 and 622 respectively. Their exact provenance is unknown and their developed formulae suggest they originate from the Saint-Laurent cemetery, whence come the remaining 22 epitaphs from Lyon included here. The most remarkable fact to emerge from the seventh-century epitaphs from *Lugdunensis* is that they originate from just two sites, Saint-Laurent at Lyon and Briord. The formulae on the former display a degree of homogeneity unequalled elsewhere; nearly all employ the *initium in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae* followed by the age formula *uixit in pace annos* and the most simple date formula *obiit* + date. Variations are found (*quiesco* sometimes governs the *initium*) but the sentiments and eulogies expressed are strikingly similar. Where complete, most employ either a regnal date or an *indiction*, often both. At Briord there is more diversity of the *initia*, but the general style is similar, suggesting an influence from Lyon at the En Pontonnier site where the church of Saint-Martin appears to have been rebuilt at this time (see Chapter One). At Briord there appears to have been an hiatus of occupation encompassing a century if the epitaphs are

to be regarded as reliable evidence. The eulogistic formulae and importance of these two groups of epitaphs are discussed in Chapter Five.

Figure 59 provides a histogram with a Normal Distribution curve imposed and a Box-and-Whiskers plot; the effect of the lack of epitaphs in the fourth century and concentration of examples recovered from Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans can be readily appreciated. Table 80 lists the major formulae and the earliest date at which each is found at Lyon and within the province.

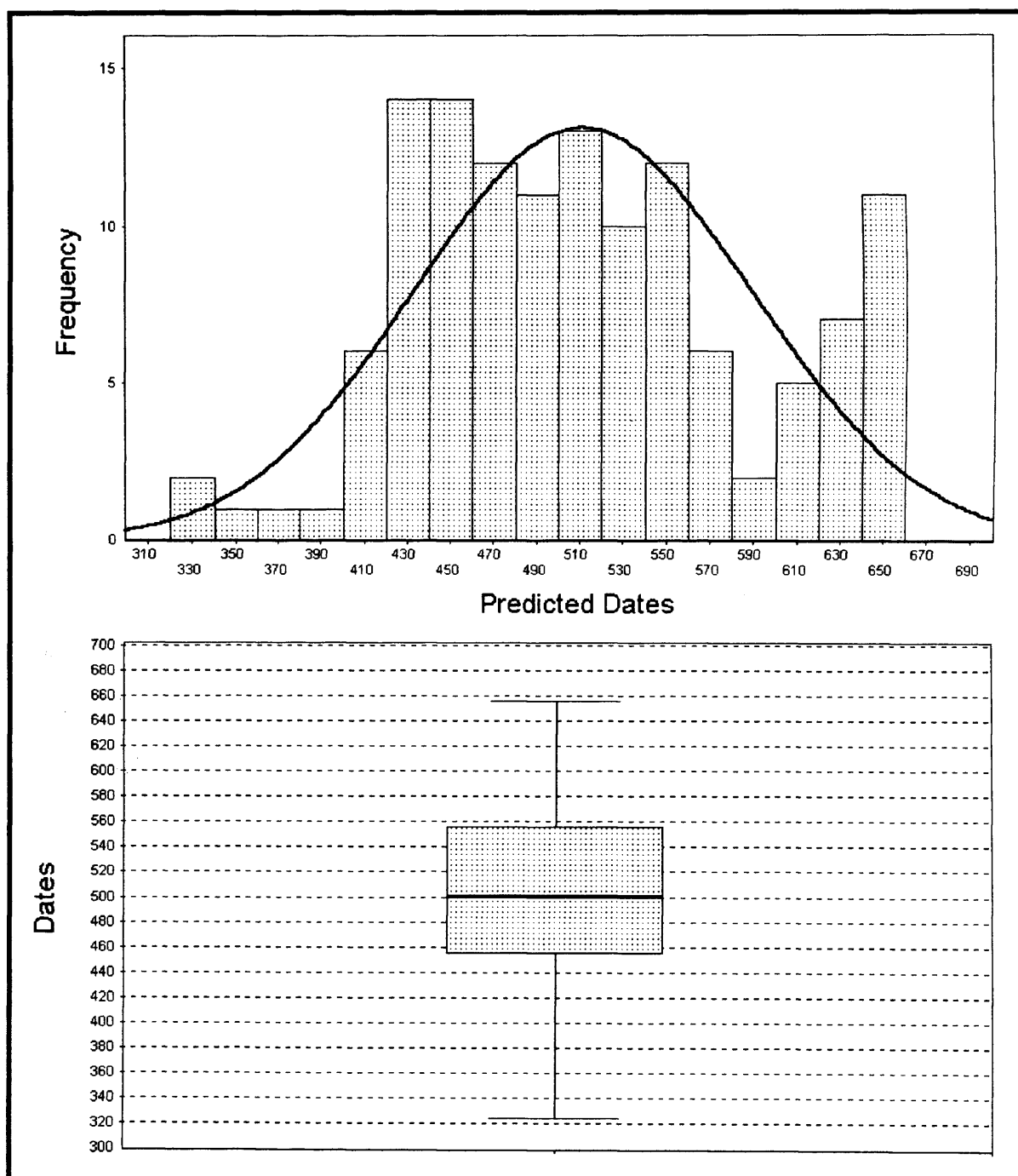


Figure 59: Predicted distribution and Box-and-Whiskers plot for epitaphs at Lyon.

REC	PROVENANCE	DATE	CODE	FORMULA
249	Lyon, St. Just	422	L01	<i>hic requiescit</i>
149	Briord	487	L01	<i>hic requiescit uir uenerabilis Manneleubus</i>
222	Grigny	469	L01	<i>hic requiescet in pace</i>
272	Lyon, St. Irénée	525	L01	<i>hic requiescit bone memoriae</i>
159	Briord	619	L01	<i>hic requiescit bone memorie</i>
150	Briord	488	L01	<i>hic requiescit in pace bone memoriae</i>
262	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	493	L01	<i>[hic requiescit] in pace bone me[moriae]</i>
259	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	484	L01	<i>in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae</i>
196	Ecully	518	L01	<i>in hoc tumulo requiescit bone memorio</i>
479	St. Maurice-de-Rémens	486	L01	<i>in hoc tumulo requiescet i[n] pace bone memoriae</i>
250	Lyon, St. Just	431	L01	<i>in huc locu requieuit</i>
250	Lyon, St. Just	431	L01	<i>qui uixit annos XVI</i>
461	Poithières	461	L03	<i>[?uixit] annos quinquaginta et duos</i>
135	Autun	378	L02	<i>quae uixit ann(os) I d(ies) III h(orae) VIII</i>
249	Lyon, St. Just	422	L01	<i>quae uixit an(n)i(s) duobus mens(es) tribus et dies X</i>
260	Lyon, St. Just	484	L01	<i>[qui] uixit in pa[ce a]nnis XXX</i>
196	Ecully	518	L01	<i>qui uixit in pace ann(os) LX</i>
249	Lyon, St. Just	422	L01	<i>obiit III kal(endas) aug(ustas)</i>
222	Grigny	469	L01	<i>obiit XV k(a)l(endas) febrarias</i>
391	Lyon, St. Nizier	495	L01	<i>obiit d(i)ae V idus decembris</i>
260	Lyon, St. Just	484	L01	<i>oibit [sub d]iae III k(alendas) di<c>em[bres]</i>
24	Anse	498	L01	<i>obiit s(ub) d(ie) III id(u)s octubris</i>
479	St. Maurice-de-Rémens	486	L01	<i>obiit in pace XS decimo k(a)l(endas) apriles</i>
264	Lyon, St. Irénée	501	L01	<i>obiit in pace SIII</i>

Table 80: Provenances of the major formulae and their earliest occurrence within *Lugdunensis* (both within and outside Lyon).

VIENNENSIS

The total of epitaphs in *Viennensis* is large enough to discern sub-regional patterns; within Vienne the major cemeteries merit individual attention. Forty-four epitaphs carry no date (15 are reconstructions), and therefore probably predate the sixth century, or even the mid-fifth.

VIENNE

(I) Saint-Sévère (encompassing Saint-Théodore and Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère)

These northern cemeteries were probably founded contemporaneously with Saint-Gervais towards the end of the fourth century (*RICG.XV*: §7, 7). The number of examples is too few to discern any pattern. Those dated prior to the sixth century tend to employ *iaceo* or *quiesco* to govern the *initium* followed by the age formula *uixit annos... menses... dies* and no date formula (or rarely one governed by *obeo* + date). The few sixth-century examples follow the trend established at Saint-Pierre (see below): the *initium in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, the age formula *uixit annos plus minus* and the date formula *obiit in pace*.

(II) Saint-Gervais

Although probably established in the late fourth century, the 28 extant epitaphs which may confidently dated begin only in the fifth (with the possible exception of that of Foedula, No.39. Fourteen carry no date and a further four reconstructions are assumed to have not done so - all are regarded as belonging to the fifth century. *Initia* in the first half of the fifth are either governed by *iaceo* or employ *hic requiescit in pace*; age formulae are either *uixit annos...* or *uixit*

annos... menses... dies... but the date of the month is often omitted. In the sixth century the few examples recorded are similar to those from Saint-Pierre.

(iii) Saint-Pierre/Saint-Georges

The largest cemetery at Vienne has 24 securely dated epitaphs and 30 which may be allocated one with confidence. Almost all the non-metrical epitaphs bear a date formula - suggesting a later foundation date than the other Viennoise cemeteries. The establishment of the church and cemetery probably took place during the episcopate of Mamertus, c.470 (*RICG.XV*: §10, 9), and therefore the provenance of No.653 (Plate 208) must be doubtful. The earliest epitaphs are of the mid-fifth century and already display a developed style. The *initia hic requiescit in pace*, *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* and *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* are all found prior to the sixth century, though only three are securely dated (Nos.577, 578 and 579 dated 483, 485 and 491 respectively). Equally, they employ the age formulae *uixit annos* and *uixit annos plus minus*, yet retain the hallmark of late fifth-century date of the month formulae governed by *recedo*, *transeo* or *obiit* + date, though *obiit in pace* is also found. The large number of epitaphs recovered during restoration work in the nineteenth century offer a clear view of the formulae employed during the sixth century. Overwhelmingly, the *initium in hoc tumulto requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* is employed with *uixit annos plus minus* and *obiit* + date, though *obiit in Christo/Xpo* is found from 515 (No.583). *Depono* governing the date formula is found exclusively on metrical or more developed epitaphs. After 540 an increasing use of the indiction is found, often in conjunction with a p.c. of Basilius, cons.541. Only one epitaph is securely dated to the seventh century (No.605, a p.c. of Basilius also dated by the third year of Chlothar III's reign; Plate 202). The distribution and totals of epitaphs at Vienne demonstrate that when a substantial number of epitaphs are recovered from a single locality the proposition that formulae and combinations thereof do indeed change in time, generally over a period of approximately 60 years with occasional large overlaps - the curious epitaph No.614, with the name in the nominative, Audolena, forming the *initium* is an exceptional case, dated to the seventh century (*RICG.XV*: 110). However, this can skew the overall distribution; the epitaphs salvaged from Saint-Gervais are mainly fifth century, yet certainly a few date beyond the second half of the sixth century. This suggests that those responsible for the recovery of epitaphs from Saint-Gervais during the excavation of the railway tunnel (see Chapter One) were present only when that part of the cemetery containing earlier epitaphs was developed. Alternatively, and more likely, it may be that that Saint-Gervais, following 130 years of use, ceased to receive burials and that those dated to the sixth century witness the expansion of the Saint-Pierre cemetery. Our knowledge of the Saint-Pierre cemetery is based mainly upon epitaphs found within the main basilica and the adjacent chapel of Saint-Georges - thus two clearly delimited sites are well documented during specific periods. The identification of the provenance of the isolated finds is thus fraught with difficulties since epitaphs in both cemeteries employ similar formulae during the sixth century. Nevertheless, an attempt to

provenance the isolated finds is both justified and necessary because 60 examples can be identified employing one or more of the major formulae. No.707, found near the cours Romestang is probably from Saint-Gervais. Nos.570 and 580 were found close by Saint-Pierre and No. 575 near Saint-Sévère, to which they have been tentatively attributed (*RICG.XV*: §15, 14). The proximity of the find spots of Nos.701 and 711 to Saint-Pierre suggest that cemetery as their provenance as does the find spot of No.671 near Saint-Sévère. The remaining epitaphs have defied attempts to localise them (*RICG.XV*: §15, 14-15), but though formulae too are not a reliable guide, it is probable that those bearing less developed formulae and no secure date originate from Saint-Gervais; Nos.693, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 704, 705, 706, 708, 712, 715, and 722 are therefore allocated to Saint-Gervais. Epitaphs bearing a consular, p.c. date or an indiction are statistically almost certain to be from Saint-Pierre, particularly if they also display the Viennoise motif of a vase faced by doves on either side, found only once at Saint-Gervais, on No.554 (Plate 188; see Chapter Five). The date formulae *obiit die* and *obiit sub die* never appear on epitaphs from Saint-Gervais, yet are common at Saint-Pierre, inferring that Nos.675, 676, 687, 688, and 689 originate there. The optative phrase *surrecturus in Christo* (including variations) occurs at Saint-Gervais and Saint-Pierre but more frequently at the former and only prior to 520 at the latter; Nos.699 and 715 are already proposed for Saint-Gervais former and No.670 may also do so. The remaining 33 epitaphs provide few clues to their provenance, but the combination of the formula *in hoc tumultu requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* and a consular or p.c. date infer their provenance at Saint-Pierre; Nos.672, 673, 674, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 690, 691, 692, 694, 702, 703, 717, 718, 719 and 720. The remaining 11 epitaphs are mainly fragments and their attribution to Saint-Pierre is partly due to the *initium* (some reconstructed) *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*. At Saint-Gervais the *initium hic requiescit in pace* predominates, and the few examples of *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* are dated later than the more plentiful examples at Saint-Pierre, but the date of the month is more frequent at Saint-Pierre. Therefore Nos. 686, 709, 710, 713, 714, 716, 721, 723, 724, 727 and 730 are provisionally attributed to Saint-Pierre.

Sites In The Viennoise

As might be expected, epigraphic evidence concurs with the documentary sources in that Christianity was primarily an urban phenomenon in the fourth century. The majority of epitaphs dated or attributed to the fifth century are from established Gallo-Roman sites such as Die, Grenoble and Viviers; only Nacon may have been a new (monastic) foundation (see Chapter Five). The earliest securely dated epitaph in the Viennoise comes from Saint-Romain d'Albon in AD 467, No.482 (Plate 158), a site evidently of some importance given the council held there in 517, if the identification with Epaone is correct (cf. Pontal 1989: 61-62). Several epitaphs display developed *initia* and age formulae found at Vienne but without a consular or p.c. date, suggesting a date prior to the third quarter of the fifth century. *Hic requiescit in pace* and *hic requiescit bonae memoriae* are frequent, suggesting that Vienne had an early influence on

epigraphic formulae. The age and date formulae follow a similar trend; *uixit annos* and *uixit annos plus minus* are ubiquitous and the date of the month is either not present, governed by *transeo* or *obiit* + date is employed. From the third quarter of the fifth century until 530 *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* predominates in a manner not seen at Vienne. However, the 30 examples within this group continue to employ the same age and date formulae as found at Vienne; *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* gains popularity as the sixth century progresses, but never attains the ascendancy enjoyed at Vienne where the older forms continue, especially in the region around Grenoble. As elsewhere there are few seventh-century epitaphs, only seven for the first half of the century, but at Soyons and three nearby sites a total of 12 epitaphs employing *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, variant age formulae and *transeo* or *depono* to govern the date formula suggest that the apparent lack of seventh-century epitaphs is more due to the vagaries of the archaeological record than a reflection of reality.

Figure 60 illustrates the hiatus in the archaeological record for epitaphs in the later sixth century; the number known show no substantial reduction in their employment. The skewed effect in favour of late-fifth and early sixth-century epitaphs is accounted for by the preservation of many epitaphs where the deceased was fortunate enough to secure burial within Saint-Pierre. Table 81 lists the major formulae and the earliest date at which each is found at Vienne and within the province.

REC	PROVENANCE	DATE	CODE	FORMULA
482	St.Romain-d'Albon	467	V01	<i>hic requiescit in pace</i>
579	Vienne, St.Pierre	491	V01	<i>hic requiescit in pace</i>
577	Vienne, St.Pierre	483	V01	<i>[hic requies]cit uir spectabilis onae [memoriae]</i>
220	Grésy-sur-Aix	486	V02	<i>hic requiescit bone memoriae</i>
578	Vienne, St.Pierre	485	V01	<i>hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae</i>
530	Valence	491	V06	<i>[hic requie]scit in pace [bonae memoriae]</i>
678	Vienne, isolated find	536	V01	<i>[in hoc] tumulo requiescit</i>
504	Toulaud	694	V06	<i>in hoc tumulum reqjiscit</i>
570	Vienne, isolated find	572	V01	<i>in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace</i>
242	Luzinay	607	V01	<i>in hunc tumulo requiescit in pace</i>
581	Vienne, St.Pierre	509	V01	<i>in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae</i>
241	Lugrin	527	V02	<i>[in hoc to]mulo req[ui]escit bone] mem[oriae]</i>
671	Vienne, isolated find	495	V01	<i>[in hoc tu]mol[o] requiescit in p]ace bone me[m]oriae]</i>
741	Yenne	521	V02	<i>[i]n hoc tomolo req[ui]escit in pace bone memoriae</i>
40	Aouste	496	V06	<i>in Xpi nomene in huc loc[o] requiescunt] in pace</i>
577	Vienne, St.Pierre	483	V01	<i>qui uixit [...]</i>
530	Valence	491	V06	<i>[qui u]ixit annis XXXVII</i>
482	St.Romain-d'Albon	467	V01	<i>qui uixit annos XX menses III</i>
671	Vienne, isolated find	495	V01	<i>[qui uixit] annus XXX [et ?mense]s q(u)inque</i>
566	Vienne, St.Sévère	511	V01	<i>qui uixit annos plus minus XC</i>
19	Andance	563	V01	<i>qui uixit annus plus minus LXXXV</i>
187	Crussol	691	V06	<i>uicxit in pacim annus LXXV</i>
578	Vienne, St.Pierre	485	V01	<i>obiit XV k(a)l(en)d(as) iun(ias)</i>
734	Viviers	496	V04	<i>obiit III k(alendas) maias</i>
676	Vienne, isolated find	528	V01	<i>ouiit die XV kalendas nouembris</i>
243	Luzinay	629	V01	<i>obiit d(ie) tertio</i>
40	Aouste	496	V06	<i>obiet uenerabilis memoriae ... sub die XVI k(a)l(endas) decembris</i>
675	Vienne, isolated find	527	V01	<i>obiit sub die [...]</i>
583	Vienne, St.Pierre	515	V01	<i>[ob]iit in Xpo o[cta]uo ? ... m]artias</i>
34	Aoste	523	V01	<i>obiit in Xpo III nonas febr(u)arias</i>
566	Vienne, St.Sévère	511	V01	<i>obiit in pace V k(alendas) nouembris</i>
232	La Terrace	522	V02	<i>obiit in pace VIII id(us) iuli<as></i>

Table 81: provenances of the major formulae and their earliest occurrence within *Viennensis* (both within and outside Vienne).

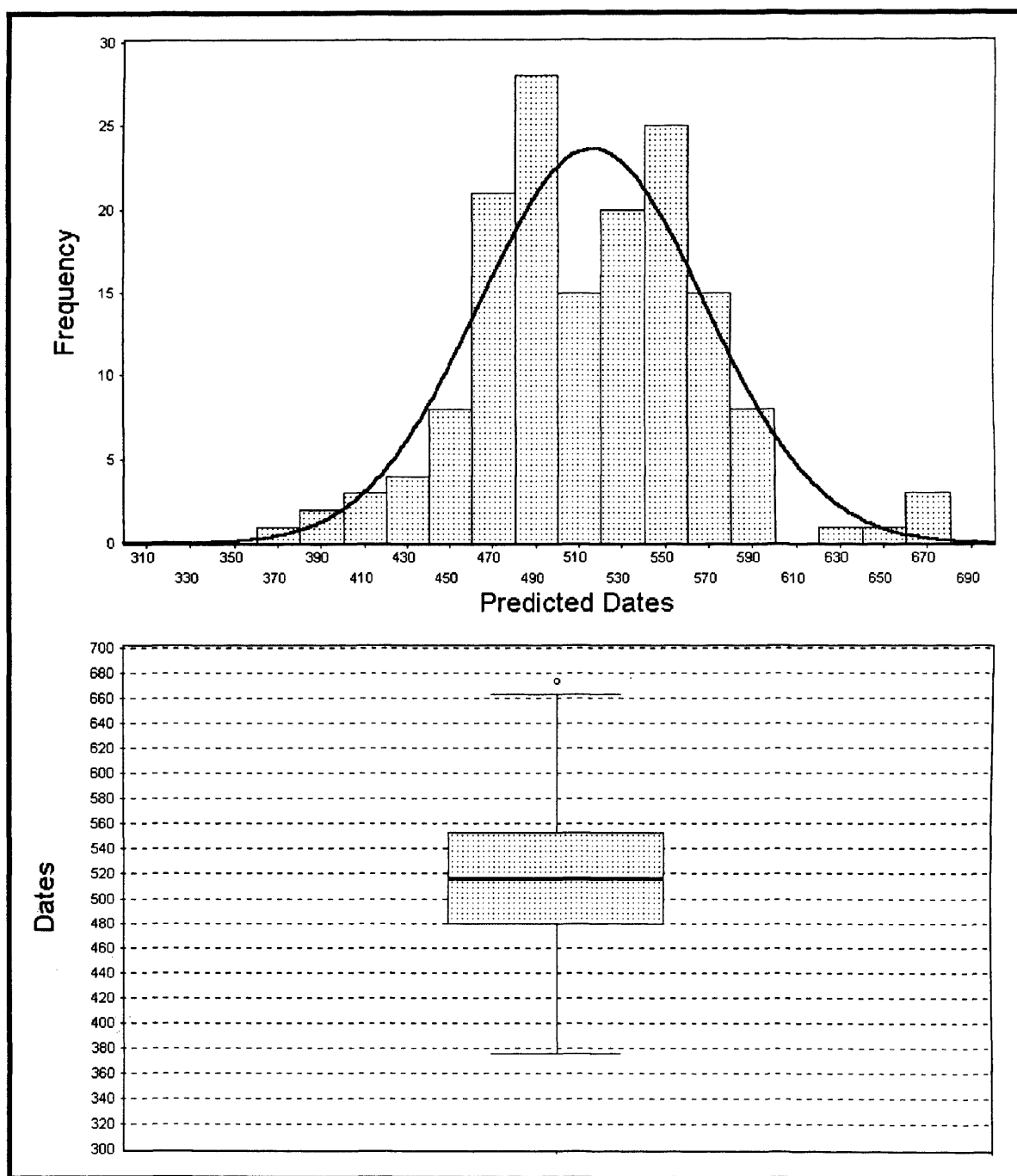


Figure 60: Predicted distribution and Box-and-Whiskers plot for epitaphs at Vienne.

ARELATENSIS

Thirty-six epitaphs (including 20 reconstructions) carry no indication of a consular, p.c., indictional or regnal date. However, in *Arelatensis* the formulae are not as diverse as elsewhere and tended to enjoy a longer *floruit*. Therefore, although fragmentary epitaphs are easy to reconstruct, they remain difficult to assign a relative date range to. Furthermore, several of the 20 examples with reconstructed formulae may have carried a consular, p.c. or indictional date and thus the totals for each category in the relative chronology offered here is less reliable than for the two other Metropolitans. Nevertheless, the relative chronology itself may be as secure as in the other Metropolitans; once again, those epitaphs bearing formulae also found with

consular, p.c. and indictional dates must logically lie chronologically between the earliest epitaphs and those which carry a date. The following categories are intended to reflect any chronological overlap.

c.325-c.400

No epitaph is securely dated in this group of 36. Thirty-two employ a dative/optative *initium* but two stylistic groups are found: those from Vaison-la-Romaine are terse, comprising a *ChiRho* symbol preceding the name of the deceased followed by the hope that they have found peace; at Arles the same sentiments are expressed but are more developed, often including the number of years of marriage and the name of the surviving partner. The remainder all display formulae common during the Gallo-Roman period, the lack of which elsewhere suggests that Christian epitaphs were first inscribed in this Metropolitan.

c.400-c.475

The 39 epitaphs grouped within this period are so classified tentatively. However, where it is certain that no date formula existed, it is clear that a Christian style of formula was steadily adopted. *Initia* governed by *iaceo* and *quiesco* occur rarely and several governed by *requiesco* appear for the first time. At Marseille *hic requiescit in pace* and at Arles *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* begin to predominate; they then continue to do so in the western half of the region. In the eastern half of the region *bonae memoriae hic requiescit in pace* is found at Cimiez and Notre-Dame-du-Brusc: this formula is also found in Northern Italy (see Chapter Three), whence comes the influence. The age formulae tend to be either the simple *uixit annos* but *uixit annos plus minus* also begins to find popularity. *iaceo* and *quiesco* governing the *initium* is still encountered, sometimes without a formula for the date of the month. However, where a date is found it is most often *obiit* + date or governed by *depono*; other forms are rare.

c.475-c.540

In the eastern half of the province the formulae remain the same; at Arles and in the western half overall, the situation changes dramatically. A consular date begins to be inscribed sporadically from 487 at Arles (No.67) but consular and p.c. dates remain rare although the indiction is employed earlier than elsewhere for the first time (see Chapter Two). The most striking development is the ubiquitous and almost exclusive use of *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae* in conjunction with either *uixit annos...* or *uixit annos plus minus...*, the latter gaining particular popularity. Date formulae in the third quarter of the fifth century are often still governed by *depono* and *recedo* or *obiit* + date but *obiit sub die* becomes popular after 500. Between 525 and 541 a consular or p.c. date appears to suddenly be in vogue; they are rare beforehand. This may just be a freak of the archaeological record, but thereafter a short series of p.c. dates suggest otherwise.

c.540-c.600

Forty-eight epitaphs are allocated to this category. Whereas in *Lugdunensis* and *Viennensis* the date is often recorded by a p.c. of Iustinus or Basilius respectively, only three examples of the latter are recorded in *Arelatensis*; on the other hand the indiction alone is extensively employed. With few exceptions the *initium* employed is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae* followed by either *uixit annos...* or, more frequently, *uixit annos plus minus*. However, the date formula *obiit* + date is largely rejected in favour of *obiit sub die*. It is possible that the homogeneity of the formulae at this time came from the fact that the excavation of the Alyscamps cemetery in the nineteenth century produced many of the extant epitaphs. Therefore, the effect of so many epitaphs from one locality may skew the sample (see Chapter One).

Figure 61 illustrates the difficulties encountered with this province. The distribution of the histogram is severely skewed. The lack of securely dated epitaphs overall, together with an above average number of fourth-century examples compared with elsewhere, is partly responsible. The concentration of epitaphs dated with a consular or p.c. year between 525 and 540 may have political origins (see Chapter Two), but epitaphs continued to be dated by the indiction alone thereafter. The apparent lack of epitaphs around the turn of the fifth century may also be accounted for by the political disruptions at that time, but too much emphasis should not be placed on this since almost all the epitaphs from that period have been allocated relative date ranges. Of the three Metropolitans, *Arelatensis* will benefit most from a larger sample as and when it becomes available. Table 82 lists the major formulae and the earliest date at which each is found at Arles and within the province.

REC	PROVENANCE	DATE	CODE	FORMULA
410	Marseille, Southern Cemetery	489	A22	<i>hic requiescit in pa[ce]</i>
176	Cimiez	474	A14	<i>hic requiescet bone memoriae</i>
88	Arles, Alyscamps ?	531	A01	<i>[hic requie]scit in pace [bonae me]moriae</i>
167	Bruis	538	A06	<i>[hic requiescit? in] pace bonae memoria</i>
29	Antibes	476	A08	<i>b(onae) m(emoriae) hic requiescit in pace</i>
67	Arles, Alyscamps ?	487	A01	<i>hic en pace requieset bone memoriae</i>
519	Vaison-la-Romaine	502	A17	<i>hic in pace requiescit [...], bone memoriae</i>
518	Vaison-la-Romaine	470	A17	<i>uixit ann(os) XLVI</i>
75	Arles, Alyscamps ?	495	A01	<i>qui uixit annos LIII</i>
176	Cimiez	474	A14	<i>q(ui) uixit annus L m(enses) VII</i>
88	Arles, Alyscamps ?	531	A01	<i>quae uixit annus XLVI, men[ses] .. die]s dece</i>
67	Arles, Alyscamps ?	487	A01	<i>qui uixet anos p(lus) m(inu)s L</i>
111	Arles, St. Honorat	501	A01	<i>obiit IIII nonas septembris</i>
521	Vaison-la-Romaine	519	A17	<i>obiit VIII k(a)(endas) f(e)br(uarias)</i>
67	Arles, Alyscamps ?	487	A01	<i>ouiet sob d(ie) VIII k(a)(endas) agus(tas)</i>
519	Vaison-la-Romaine	502	A17	<i>[obiit su]b die [... ..]</i>

Table 82: provenances of the major formulae and their earliest occurrence within *Arelatensis* (both within and outside Arles).

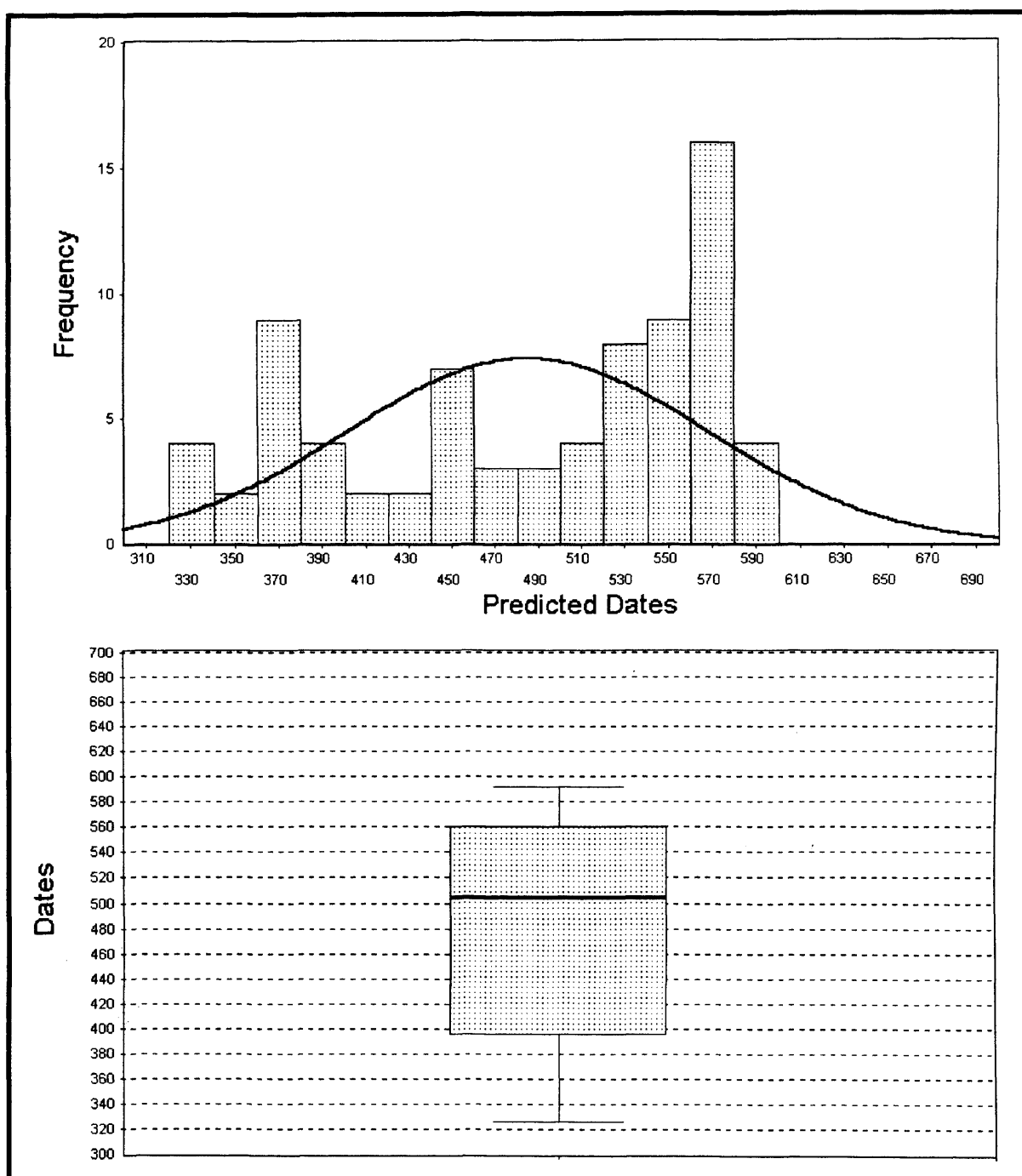


Figure 61: Predicted distribution and Box-and-Whiskers plot for epitaphs at Arles.

CONCLUSION

Figure 62 illustrates a distribution histogram with a Normal Distribution curve superimposed of the predicted distribution now that the epitaphs have been reconstructed where possible and a date range allocated. This shows a much closer approximation to a Normal Distribution than when each province is taken separately. However, it must be stressed that it remains an hypothesis, though the original picture is unlikely to differ to a great degree given the relatively large sample of epitaphs that have come down to us.

It is now clear and demonstrable that Christian epitaphs began to be employed in *Arelatensis* soon after the religion became officially tolerated; thence the tradition evolved and spread to the

major urban centres, primarily Lyon and a little later to Vienne, on the epigraphic evidence. We have also seen that the application of statistical methods to this data set helps to fill out the many *lacunae* in the data and provide a more detailed picture of what the original data set may have consisted. One aspect of this is immediately clear; the great majority of individuals who received epitaphs clearly received simple, formulaic examples: these formulae were to be found both contemporaneously and ubiquitously within closely definable geographical regions. A complete listing for the formulae employed (both original and the proposed reconstructions) is tabulated in Appendix Three. The addition of so many reconstructions, whilst still somewhat hypothetical, places at our disposal a body of evidence which, when married to the actual and proposed dates, can be expected to allow us some insight into the development of the urban cemeteries and the genesis of the rural parochial system: this reason alone would have justified the work undertaken in this Chapter and is the subject of one of the topics in Chapter Five.

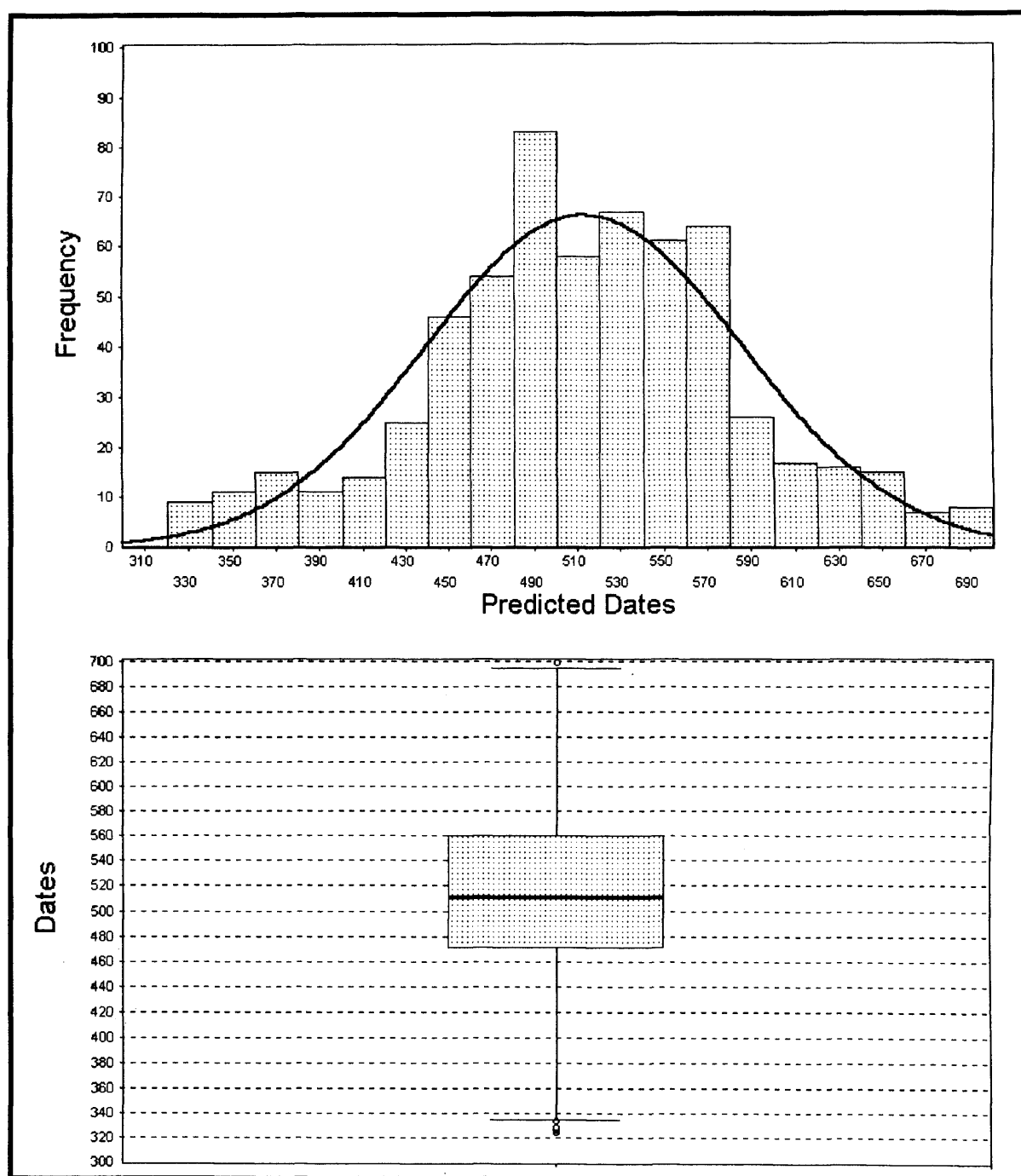


Figure 62: Predicted distribution and Box-and-Whiskers plot for epitaphs in South Eastern Gaul.

CHAPTER 5

THE RECIPIENTS OF THE EPITAPHS AND THE THEMES INSCRIBED

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to draw together information concerning the recipients and dedicators of the epitaphs and discuss the diversity of the sentiments expressed together with an evaluation of the trends which emerge. The themes inscribed upon epitaphs have not often been the subject of general syntheses but two studies stand out, that of Buecheler (1895-1897, 1926) and Lattimore (1962), to which this section owes much, particularly where seemingly ambiguous theological concepts are present on certain epitaphs. It should be emphasised that it is not the intention of this chapter to provide a detailed discussion for each epitaph as this is in the process of being accomplished by the excellent *R.I.C.G.* series; rather it is to provide an overview and synthesis of the themes for this region in time and space, as in previous chapters. Nor will every single aspect of each theme be considered; that would require more space than this thesis allows and therefore the major themes alone are studied. Finally, the reasons for the widespread adoption of the dating systems are discussed in the following chapter..

The late antique period witnessed great political and social upheaval and towns underwent a fundamental change: emphasis shifted from the model of the classical city with its attendant structures such as baths, theatre and temples to one where the focus was upon the ecclesiastical fulcrum, i.e. the cathedral and the episcopal residence (Cameron 1993:158-171). The episcopacy found themselves the representatives of '*Romanitas*' in the fifth century and by the sixth had taken on much of the civic administration (Wallace-Hadrill 1983: 2-6). The epitaphs of these bishops (examined below) show clearly that ideals of public service within the Gallo-Roman aristocracy continued within families that had made the transition from producing *comites* to *episcopi* (*ibid.*:4). The episcopal epitaphs are generally longer and versified, thereby containing more details about the deceased. However, many other epitaphs also contain eulogies extolling the virtues of a loved one; both categories therefore permit an insight as to how an individual wished to be remembered, or, perhaps more importantly, how their heirs wished them to be remembered. In the Introduction to this study it was emphasised that epitaphs were intended to be read by the passer-by, so one can assume that reasonable consideration was made to ensure that the recipient would be portrayed in the best possible light. Whilst this should caution us not to take the texts literally, at the same time the eulogies may illuminate the cultural background that produced them and perhaps complement archaeological and documentary sources. The bishops and clergy seem to have incorporated within their duties the act of burial by the mid-fourth century at least and there is no evidence in South Eastern Gaul for the continuation of the formerly ubiquitous *collegia* whose members had depended upon for a decent burial. Furthermore, the contemporaneous trend towards burial

within the city walls during the fifth century may be explained in part by the epitaphs and the relatively frequent assertion that an individual was buried *ad sanctos* suggests a major cultural change (it was previously illegal, *cf.* Wachter 1978: 242). The commonplace practice whereby almost all individuals belonged to *collegia* or burial clubs in order to ensure a decent burial appears to have ceased by the fifth century. The reasons are unclear but were probably closely interwoven with the economic and political vicissitudes of the early fifth century. The onus of burial may have fallen upon the church at this time; towards the end of the fifth century, Sidonius applauded the work undertaken by Faustus of Riez in ensuring the proper burial of the dead (Sidonius, *Ep.* V, 2). As has been seen in Chapter Four, problems arise when attempting to attribute a date to epitaphs from the earlier part of our period. There is an apparent dearth of inscriptions of any type during the third and fourth centuries from this region and even Gaul as a whole. This makes identification difficult when they are found because the formulae were employed for several centuries and few are found *in situ* due to their frequent reuse as building material (as was other Gallo-Roman material *c.f.* Rérolle 1976: 19-26, for the baptistry at Poitiers). So acute is the problem that many editors (e.g. Espérandieu 1929; Gose 1958) either decline to attribute a date or give only the most vague limits since the recording of a date is rare. We are thus confronted with a transition from the early and middle empire, when it was common to have one's *cursus honorum* inscribed, to an age when emphasis is placed upon the Christian faith and virtues of the deceased.

SECULAR OFFICES - STATE, MILITARY AND PROFESSIONAL

Nevertheless, the sudden decline of the number of epitaphs carrying details of the deceased's profession is remarkable: it was ubiquitous during the Gallo-Roman period and throughout the Empire as a whole. Gauthier (1975: 39) has recorded only 14 epitaphs for *Belgica Prima* where a profession or military rank are inscribed from a sample of 259 inscriptions. Indeed, inscriptions of all categories show a marked decline from the fourth century. To emphasise the point, the museum at Nîmes contains several hundred Gallo-Roman inscriptions (Christol and Darde 1987), though only one from our period is known (NR: 299). Similarly, at Narbonne hundreds of Gallo-Roman inscriptions are to be seen in the Musée Lapidaire (église Lamourguier; Solier 1986:114-5), yet less than 20 from our period are to be found in the Musée des Archévêques.

The incidence of late Roman military titles is thus sparse. At Arles, whence the Prefecture of the Gauls was transferred c.400, the epitaph of Flavius Memorius (No.92, AD 400-425) lists his complete career, as Imperial bodyguard (*protector, domesticus*), prefect of the senior scouts, (*speculatoribus principis*) then as a count (*comes*) of the river estuaries, and finally count of Mauretania and Tingitana. His epitaph records that it was placed by his surviving wife, a custom soon to lapse (discussed below). Another epitaph from Arles (No.103, AD 400-425) records the career of Geminus who died at 38 years of age yet had been a provincial governor and treasury administrator of five provinces; his tomb was erected by his fellow citizens from his birthplace, Cologne. Two other *domestici* are recorded, both from Vienne, Agricius (No.613, from Saint-

Pierre, AD 450-500) and on an undatable fragment (No.672). No.310 from Lyon, dated 400-450, states baldly that the deceased, Flavius Flori[nus/anus?], an *ex tribune, militauit ann(os) triginta et nouem*. The only *domesticus* mentioned thence is from the epitaph of bishop Priscus of Lyon (No.398, Saint-Nizier, *concomis et dignus regisque domesticus*, AD 586-588); who seems to have enjoyed the friendship of king Guntram - here we see evidence for the continuance of offices otherwise only occasionally mentioned in the documentary sources. Other titles also enjoy continuity: in 474 Expectatus is described as *spectabilis* at Cimiez and a Burgundian ([...] *idi<g>ernus*) is a *uir spectabilis* as early as 483 in Vienne (No.577, Saint-Pierre). Another governor, Aelianus, is recorded at Lyon as a citizen of Rheims (No.308, Saint-Just, AD 375-425, *ciues Remus*) and at Marseille Nymfidius is described as *ex pra[epositu?..]* (No.410, AD 489). *Illustri* are uncommon everywhere and it seems likely that the highborn woman of Germanic origin described as *inlustris femena* at Pothières as early as AD 461 (No.461) and two others (Nos.520 and 737) employ the title in an honorific, not official capacity.

Whatever the case there, it is evident that secular and military titles were inscribed into the fifth century but thereafter the emphasis was upon the religious qualities of an individual. An illuminating example of this is the short series of epitaphs describing an individual's attachment to the clarissimate, in this case upon dedications to a female such as that of Marcia Romania Celsa at Arles (*c(larissima) f(emina)*, AD 330-350). She was married to an ex-consul (*ex CONS ord(i)n(ario) coniugi bene merenti posuit*) so the title here is genuine (as is probably that of Hydria Tertulla - No.104, Arles, Saint-Honorat, AD 325-400, Plate 31). Two others are from Lyon: that of Procula (No.284, Saint-Irénée, AD 375-425; Plate 96) describes her as *famula Dei* and her departure *a terra ad martyres*; the epitaph of Merola, inscribed upon a particularly large sarcophagus, describes her as *clarissima femina, mater bonorum* (No.292, Saint-Irénée, AD 375-425; Plate 101). The only late example (excepting date formulae) is a possible seventh century epitaph from Briord (*duus fratres Gallo et Fidencio qui foerunt fili Magno CL*, No.160, AD 600-650).

Other titles are yet more rare. At Charmes the epitaph of Alethius describes him as a council leader (No.174, AD 536, *Lugduni procerum nobile consilium*), proving that the town council still functioned. Another from Lyon records an ex-tribune Flavius Flori[nus/anus?] (No.310, Saint-Just, AD 400-450). The professions are almost non-existent: a doctor at Lyon (*uita dicata mihi hic ars medicina fuit*; No.355, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just, AD 450-500); and a later epitaph for a merchant (No.282, Saint-Just, AD 601; Plate 95). That few professions were recorded at this time is demonstrated by comparative data from Spain where only one *medicus* is recorded (Vives No.288, Mérida); indeed Diehl records only nine for all provinces of the Empire (ILCV: 607-615).

Of course, the episcopal and monastic administrations required literate individuals but even so only two *notarii* are known from this region: one from Aix-en-Provence (No.3, AD 494; Plate 1) and another from Arles who was attached to the monastery of Saint Caesarius (No.121, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès, AD 540-600, [...] *Julus n(otarius) S(an)c(t)i Caesarii*) (Plate 39). Diehl

only lists seven (ILCV: 100, 124, 708, 709a 709b, 710a and 3778a). Finally, the lengthy epitaph of abbot Florentius of Arles actually records the names of the versifier and the lapidary, Ianuarius and Tantillus (No.128, Saint-Croix, AD 553).

Clearly the practice of recording details of one's secular accomplishments and trade were coming to a close in the fifth century, though the practice continued sporadically. During the course of the fifth century specifically Christian styles of epitaph formulae developed (see Chapters Three and Four). Although the actual formulae had been previously employed on pagan epitaphs the sentiments inscribed alongside were now almost exclusively Christian and fall into two clearly defined categories. The first category comprises the majority of the epitaphs, those described in Chapter Three, generally with an *initium*, age and date formulae but some also have a short eulogy. The second category has fewer examples, but the eulogies are fulsome and almost invariably metrical. They are almost exclusively episcopal though a few are employed for the highest aristocracy. It will be demonstrated that certain eulogies were formulaic and commonplace, once again developing through space and time (like the formulae in Chapter Three). However, the themes and sentiments expressed do not easily fit into such closely defined categories as those described previously. These long, metrical epitaphs are confined largely to the sixth century, yet many of the sentiments expressed are found previously and afterwards. Nevertheless, the episcopal epitaphs contain examples of almost all eulogies and sentiments employed and they provide a convenient point of departure from which to discuss their themes, styles and forms.

THE EPISCOPAL EPITAPHS

Fulsome eulogies had long been employed amongst the higher echelons of society, so it is no surprise that the tradition continued. Such epitaphs are found throughout the former Empire except in those areas where Christianity arrived late or where disruption occurred. In *Belgica Prima*, for instance, no episcopal epitaphs are recorded and only 14 mention the deceased's previous occupation (Gauthier 1975: 39). The sample of epitaphs in *Belgica Prima* terminates in the mid-fifth century, so it is no coincidence that episcopal epitaphs are confined to other areas of Western Europe because they do not appear in any number until the second half of the fifth century. Of 729 epitaphs 198 have an eulogy inscribed and though many are short, single line phrases, 92 are versified, either in hexameters or pentameters. Of these latter, 50 are either complete or sufficiently so to allow their inclusion for purpose of comparison. The episcopal epitaphs, of which there are 16 certain and seven probable examples (Nos.112 and 113 are combined), furnish the finest and most fulsome illustrations of the eulogies employed and provide both a logical and convenient starting point for discussion. The list of these epitaphs (*cf.* Appendix One) is as follows.

Episcopal Epitaphs from *Arelatensis*

- 1) No.5, Aix-en-Provence; the text refers to his flock, *grege ration[em ? ...]*, and the manner in which he ascends to heaven, *ad caelum mfigrauit?*, suggests an episcopal epitaph.

- 2) No.6, Aix-en-Provence; the description [...] *EVV ecclesiae doctor* [...] suggests an episcopal epitaph. No.61, Arles, where the extant text of lines 4-8 suggest an episcopal epitaph.
- 3) No.102, Arles, the epitaph and sarcophagus of bishop Concordius, dated 385-395.
- 4) Nos.112 and 113, Arles, epitaph and sarcophagus cover of bishop Hilarius, dated 5 May 449. No.127, Arles; the titular descriptions such as *praeclarus* and *sorte beatus* suggest an episcopal epitaph of an successor to bishop Caesarius, [*Sancti*] *Caesarii sequens uestigia sacer*.
- 5) No.194, Die (Plate 58); though fragmentary the text forces the conclusion that this is an episcopal epitaph since the recipient's learning and deeds are emphasised.
- 6) No.418 Marseille, Saint-Victor, the epitaph of bishop Lazarus who has been identified with that bishop of Aix-en-Provence, dated 452 (ICMAMNS: 8).
- 7) No.452, Orange, Saint-Eutrope, epitaph of bishop Eutropius, dated c.494.
- 8) No.491, Saint-Thomé, dated August 487; line three confirms this as an episcopal epitaph [*sancta sacJerdotii tenuit qui sede coron[am]*. No.534, Venasque, epitaph of bishop Boethius, dated 23 April 604.
- 9) No.737, Viviers; the extant text mentions the high birth, holiness and learning of the deceased, suggesting an episcopal epitaph, dated 500-600 (estimated).

Episcopal Epitaphs from *Lugdunensis*

- 1) No.392, Lyon, Saint-Nizier, epitaph of bishop Rusticus, dated 25 April 501.
- 2) No.393, Lyon, Saint-Nizier, epitaph of bishop Aurelianus of Arles, dated 16 June 551.
- 3) No.394, Lyon, Saint-Nizier, epitaph of bishop Sacerdus, dated 11 September 552.
- 4) No.395, Lyon, Saint-Nizier, epitaph of bishop Nicetius, dated 2 April 573.
- 5) No.397, Lyon, Saint-Nizier, epitaph of bishop Viventius, dated 12 July ; 525-535.
- 6) No.398, Lyon, Saint-Nizier, epitaph of bishop Priscus, dated 13 June c.586-588;
- 7) No.469, Saint-Germain-du-Plain, epitaph of bishop Iamlychus of Trier, dated 28 December 479 (ICG: 661).

Episcopal Epitaphs from *Viennensis*

- 1) No.604, Vienne, Saint-Pierre, epitaph of bishop Namatius, dated 559.
- 2) No.606, Vienne, Saint-Pierre, epitaph of bishop Avitus, dated 518 (estimated).
- 3) No.608, Vienne, Saint-Pierre, epitaph of bishop Haesicius, dated 552-558 (estimated).
- 4) No.652, Vienne, Saint-Georges, epitaph of bishop Pantagatus, dated 540-545 (estimated).

The General Structure of Episcopal Epitaphs

The list of episcopal epitaphs reveals how the extant evidence appears confined to the major metropolitans and *ciuitates*. The examples from the three metropolitans indicate that members of the episcopacy were likely to be buried in close proximity: at Arles at Saint-Honorat, at Lyon at Saint-Nizier and at Vienne at Saint-Pierre/Saint-Georges. The general pattern followed by the versifiers is constantly similar; Descombes (1985: 399) has noted that at Vienne they make mention of an illustrious lineage, a brilliant lay career followed by election to episcopal office in turn followed by fulsome praise of their good works and (doctrinal) learning. This observation holds true at Arles and Lyon and also for several epitaphs dedicated to the higher aristocracy (see below). Nevertheless, during the fifth century an episcopal epitaph did not automatically prescribe such an eulogy. The epitaph of bishop Lazarus, No.418, Marseille, dated 452, is a simple, formulaic example similar to those described in Chapter Three; the only expansion being the fact that he lived *in timore D(e)i*. Similarly, the epitaph of bishop Iamlychus, No.469 (Plate 154), dated 479, is terse, expanding only to mention his faith, *in spe?*] [*resurrec*]tionis. Such epitaphs are not uncommon elsewhere: from Puteoli in Italy the epitaph of bishop

Theodorus reads *hic requiescit in pace s. Theodorus episcopus, qui depositus est III id. Maias cons. Theodosi XV et Valentiniani IIII* (ILCV.1018, dated 435). Later in the same century the epitaph of another Theodosius from near Nola reads *dp. Theodosi episc. die VII idus Decembres Fl. Fausto iuniore u.c. cons* (ILCV.1015, dated 490). Curiously, the relatively late epitaph of bishop Boethius of Carpentras/Venasque is also short, recording *qui uixit [in e?]pto annus XX[.] mensis s(?eptem)* plus his name and date of death (No.534, dated 604). Other sixth-century examples are known but become increasingly rare; the epitaph of bishop Probinus from Capua, dated 572, declares him *uir beatissimus* and simply records the length of his episcopacy, the day he was buried and a date formula denoting the reign of Iustin II. This demonstrates an episcopal epitaph does not in itself require a long metrical eulogy. The episcopal epitaphs exhibit two major characteristics: their literary dependence upon earlier pagan styles, and the introduction of specifically Christian themes. These two elements combine to produce what is in effect a short hagiography not dissimilar to other saints' lives from this period. The reasons for the similarities between the episcopal epitaphs and the saints' *Vitae* are not hard to find: Gregory of Tours himself points out the reasons he had for writing the *Vitae Patrum*, namely to strengthen the Church and provide encouraging examples to the listener (*quorumque uitae tramitem certis relationibus cognitum Ecclesiam aedificare putavi ... uerum etiam auditorum animos incitat ad profectum*, VP: Preface; PL.LXXI: 1143)

A brief outline of the structure of one contemporary hagiography serves to illustrate this. Many *Vitae* are much later in date than our period but the *Vitae Patrum* by Gregory of Tours is firmly anchored in the late sixth century and thus provides a certain example of the literary style of our period. His work on saint Gallus of Clermont (VP.VI) provides a perfect example of the genre. Gallus was an uncle of Gregory and the *exordium* immediately declaims upon the vanities of life, wealth, social position and power and how such men often turn to celestial matters. Thus Gallus, despite his birth and senatorial status is described as *quem a Dei cultu abstrahere non potuit, nec splendor generis, nec celsitudo senatorii ordinis, nec opulentia facultatis; quem separare a Dei amore non potuit* (*idem*. preface). Gregory has therefore set the scene and provided an example for others to follow, though we must bear in mind that he takes the opportunity to promote his family connections. Gregory further emphasises Gallus' lineage; his parents were Georgius and Leucadia (Gregory's paternal grandparents) of the family of Vettius Epagatus, a martyr of Lyon (*idem*. 1) and so *qui ita de primoribus senatoribus fuerunt, ut in Galliis nil inueniatur esse generosius atque nobilius* (*idem*. 1). His virtues as a youth are enumerated; *erat autem egregiae castitatis, et tanquam senior, nihil peruerse appetens, a iocis se etiam iuuenilibus cohibebat, habens mirae dulcedinis uocem cum modulatione suauilectione incumbens assidue, delectans ieiuniis, et abstinens se multum a cibis* (*idem*. 2). Once he became bishop he is described as *tanta humilitate tantaque charitate cum omnibus usus est, ut ab omnibus diligeretur* (*idem*. 4). Among his good works, Gregory emphasises that he instituted the Rogations and a quarantine at Clermont for the purpose of warding off the plague that was particularly virulent in *Arelatensis* c.543 (*idem*. 6). His death is recorded in a phrase reminiscent

of many epitaphs from both this region and the Auvergne, *eum Dominus de hoc mundo iussit assumi* (*idem*. 7). Thenceforth many miracles occurred at his tomb; for example, *nam quartanarii et diuersis febribus aegroti, ut ad beatum tumulum fideliter attingunt, protinus hauriunt sanitatem* (*idem*. 7). The literary framework is clear, an edifying *exordium* followed by statements concerning social status, youthful lifestyle and early clerical or secular career. Once elected to episcopal office, the remainder of the *Vita* describes more good works, piety and occasional miracles. Upon the death of the bishop or saint their tomb often becomes a place of pilgrimage whence miracles emanate, particularly those connected with healing.

Initia and Exordia

The episcopal epitaphs contain similar *exordia* to the *Vitae* in that their purpose is to both seize the attention of the reader and to provide an edifying text. As with other forms of contemporary literature, the classical debt is clear where the epitaph begins with traditional greetings to the wayfarer in conjunction with a *consolatio*. Notably, the earliest (fourth and fifth century) episcopal epitaphs do not display this tradition - though nor do they do so in Italy and Spain. There is therefore an hiatus (*cf.* ILCV.1012-1042 and 1090-1098) which may be explained by the vicissitudes of the fourth and fifth centuries; literary conventions were hardly the most pressing practice likely to be adhered to under such circumstances. Nevertheless, with the establishment of more or less stable kingdoms within the former imperial provinces, it is a genre that enjoys a revival on some non-episcopal epitaphs from the fifth century (see below). The genre was already well known in the major metropolitans, so its reintroduction was simply an example of pagan/classical styles finding a place within a new religion. An undated pagan epitaph from Arles for a shipyard worker clearly shows an antecedent: displaying a pathetic appeal to the reader [*incompto*]s *elegos ueniam peto ne uer[earis] perlegere, et dicas carmen ha[bere fidem]* (Lattimore 1932: 234 citing C.E.1191). Thus the appeal to the passer-by to read the epitaph and, importantly, thereby gain some consolation is found on the *exordium* for the epitaph of bishop Avitus of Vienne; *quisquis mestificum tumuli dum cernis honorem, cespite concludi totum deflebis Auitum. Exue sollicitas tristi de pectore curas* (No.606, dated c.518). The *exordium* on the epitaph of one of his successors, Pantagatus, is quite explicit in its purpose; the lives of saints attract the interest of later generations who may gain consolation and confirmation of their faith through reading of their piety and deeds. This *exordium* expresses within one short sentence the avowed purpose of many *Vitae*: *sanctorum uitam, transactis cursibus eui, scriptis posteritas cernere magna cupit, ut ualeat similis certis consistere ueris, atque procul tendat uiuere post obitum* (No.652, dated 540-545). Similar vocative conventions occur on the epitaphs of Aurelianus of Arles (No.393 Lyon, dated 16 June 551) and Priscus of Lyon, No.398 dated 13 June 586-588). However, although the vocative address remains, the pagan consolatory theme has evolved into a Christian didactic, as seen most clearly on the epitaph of bishop Namatius of Vienne (No.604, dated 559), where the address to the reader continues for fully the first ten lines yet emphasises the benefits contingent upon reading the

text: *huc uultus conuerte tuos, huc lumina flecte et cape solamen posito mestissime fletu*. Within the same *exordium* a short passage states that cruel death (*mors saeua*) comes to all, and that once covered by the shadow of death it shall remain so for all time - *perpetue Laetis nullum solutura per aeuum*. This poetic description of death in the mid-sixth century demonstrates the continued presence of classical/pagan usage. That the literary epitaphs tend to follow the canons of classical literature and its pagan predecessors is not surprising; the Christian dogma mainly systematises and strengthens a set of principles held for generations (Lattimore 1932: 301).

The epitaph of bishop Rusticus of Lyon (No.392, dated 25 April 501) proudly proclaims an imported, presumably elaborate, tomb and how his fame will endure; *fama peregrini ridet opus tumuli actaque caeruleis insultat uita latebris nigra superfusi nec timet antra soli*. It continues with the assertion that though the dark recesses of the earth now hold him his soul is in Heaven - here described as among the stars: *astra fouent animam*. This somewhat un-Christian description occurs often in this region (see below). The epitaph of bishop Aurelianus of Arles (No.393, Lyon, dated 16 June 551) has an even more florid poetical *exordium*, describing the clear rivers of the city flowing with sadness and the people metaphorically as sheep who have lost their shepherd. Nevertheless, most extant episcopal epitaphs employ an *exordium* introducing the deceased in fulsome terms. No.397, dated 12 July, 525-535, the epitaph of bishop Vivenciolus of Lyon, introduces him as *uir potens meritis nosterque sacerdos in hoc iacet tumulo*, the remainder are similar (cf. No.113, Arles; Nos.392, 395 and 398 Lyon; No.452, Orange; Nos.608 and 652 Vienne).

Social Status

The episcopal examples record at some length the background of the deceased with the nobility of their birth a constant theme, reflecting how the Gallo-Roman aristocracy had largely retained its position within the society that evolved during the fifth century (cf. Goffart 1980: 1-5). Nine episcopal epitaphs (where legible) declare their nobility together with several non-clerical examples (see below).

The family of Avitus of Vienne is perhaps the best example of an aristocratic family who once produced senior secular officials but now produced the leading clergy. Wood (1979: 30-38) emphasises that whilst evidence for the marriage relationships is slight and open to interpretation, it has far reaching implications as to the extent the ecclesiastical network was based on a very few families. Avitus came from an aristocratic family whose main interests and contacts lay in the Rhone valley and the Auvergne. He was closely related to other similar families such as the Aviti, Apollinares and Claudii. Although their secular importance was slowly overshadowed by the ecclesiastical, the importance of the family continued into the sixth century and beyond. Avitus' father, Haesichius, preceded him and is described in his *Vita* as *uir primum fuit senatoriae dignitatis* (MGH.AA.VI.2). As his brother was Apollinaris, bishop of Valence, his decision to follow a clerical life is no surprise (his epitaph claims that *spreuerit*

antiquo dimissos stemmate fasces, No.606, dated 518). Furthermore, his mother entered religious life following the birth of four children (cf. Wood 1979: 30-38 for the family of Avitus). As might be expected, the extant epitaphs of two of his successors, Pantagatus (No.652 dated 540-545) and Namatius (No.604 dated 559) are described as *stemmae praecipuus* and *stemmae nobilis alto*.

A similar example from Lyon shows the hereditary nature of episcopal elections and how the office often remained the preserve of single family. There bishop Sacerdos is described as *sic partos fasces fortia corda leuant* (No.394, dated 11 September 552; Plate 128). His nephew Nicetius succeeded him (FEAG.II: 166), a fact baldly stated upon his epitaph: *Sacerdotis f<a>ctus bis proximus her<e>s sanguine coniunctu<s>, culmine, sede simul* (No.395, dated 2 April 573). The familial ties of Nicetius go further, as shown in two *Vitae*, one by Gregory of Tours (VP. VIII), the other anonymous (MGH.SRM.III, pp.521-524). Of these, Gregory's version is the more laudatory since Nicetius was his great-uncle. Nicetius' father was Florentinus, a senator, (*ex senatoribus*, VP. VIII: 1) who had been offered the episcopate of Genève. The story goes that his wife begged him to decline, claiming that she was about to give birth to a bishop (*idem*. 1). When Sacerdos lay ill in Paris he begged the king that his nephew, Nicetius, should succeed him on account of his chastity, devotion to the church and charity (*idem*. 3). His successor was Priscus whose epitaph also describes him as *progenie clarus, felix, generosus, opimus* (No.398 Lyon, dated 13 June 586-588). The immediate impression gained from this overview of episcopal epitaphs is one of high birth, concord and *amicitia* amongst the clergy. However, we know from the *Vita* of Nicetius by Gregory that this was not so and that he was an opponent of the bishop (VP.VIII. 5); following his death Priscus gave Nicetius' cloak to a deacon with disastrous results for the recipient (*idem*. 5). According to James (1985: 147, citing Brown, 1982: 186), the tales of Gregory on such matters illustrate the propaganda nature of many of the *Vitae*. In fact, the successor of Priscus, Aetherius, had been elected to succeed Nicetius but king Guntram had over-ruled the decision (FEAG.II: 168-9). Once he acceded to the see of Lyon it was he who instigated the cult of Nicetius and oversaw the writing of his *Vita* (James 1985: 148; MGH.SRM.III, pp.521-524). Despite dissent within the ranks of the clergy, a united front to the world was evidently seen to be essential; the eulogy to Priscus confirms his close relationship with the king and declares him to be favoured by God (*concomis et dignus regisque domesticus et sic promeruit summo mente placere Deo*). Logically, this epitaph must have been erected during the episcopate of Aetherius, the very man who promoted the cult of Nicetius. Outside the metropolitans the evidence is sparse, though the fragmentary epitaph of Eutropius of Orange states that *cumq(ue) foret sublime d[ecus splendorque parentum], elegit Xpm quaerere m[ente pia]* (No.452, he died in 494 but the epitaph itself may be later).

Conversion / Dedication to God

A further convention was to record the good qualities of the deceased bishop as a youth and their conversion or dedication to God. The earliest example sees bishop Concordius of Arles

described as *qui teneris primum ministrum fulsit in annis* - although the office undertaken may have been secular (No.102 Arles, Date: 385-395; Plate 30). Similarly, we find Avitus of Vienne described *primum florens indole quanta* (No.606 dated 518) and Pantagatus of Vienne *his igitur studiis primaeuo flore iuuentae inter summatos esse prior studuit* (No.652 Vienne dated 540-545). A fragment from Viviers records the promise shown by another future bishop *[imb]utus bonis primum defl[oruit] aeuum* (No.737 Viviers, dated 500-600). There is nothing unusual in this convention nor in the frequent recording of their decision to serve God and/or their dedication to God (cf. No.61 Arles, No.392 Lyon, No.394 Lyon (Plate 128), No.418, Marseille, No.604 Vienne, No.608 Vienne, No.652 Vienne). The same idiom is found in the *Vitae*, for example that of saint Gallus of Clermont (VP.VI): his virtues as a youth are fulsome if not downright incredible and worth quoting in full: *erat autem egregiae castitatis, et tanquam senior, nihil peruerse appetens, a iocis se etiam iuuenilibus cohibebat, habens mirae dulcedinis uocem cum modulatione sua uilectione incumbens assidue, delectans ieiuniis, et abstinens se multum a cibus* (*idem*. 2). The *Vita* of saint Nicetius displays an equal measure of hyperbole (VP. VIII); he worked with the servants manually so as to suppress his youthful passions *intelligens commotiones corporeas non aliter nisi laboribus et aerumnis opprimi posse* (*idem*. 1).

An unusually rare example from Arles describes Concordius' election by divine grace, *post etiam lectus caelesti lege sacerdos* (No.102 dated 385-395; Plate 30). Bishops were generally elected by the people, though after the collapse of imperial rule the eventual outcome was often the preserve of the king, as in the case of Priscus of Lyon (see above and cf. Wood 1984: 79-84 for a discussion on the subject of contested elections in the Auvergne). It is not too far fetched to state that divine election ceases as a convention in the fifth century on account of the divisions clearly present amongst the senior clergy (and thereby between aristocratic families) within the metropolitans.

Ecclesiastical and Secular Legal Duties

The central themes concern episcopal upholding and dispensation of the law, pastoral care, piety (particularly chastity) and learning, particularly concerning theological matters and orthodox dogma. Legal practice continued in Gaul during the early medieval period and several manuscripts of the Theodosian Code from the sixth century are known; the *consultatio ueteris cuiusdam iurisconsulti*, considered to date from the beginning of the sixth century, is thought to be from Arles (Riché 1976: 73). Whilst the teaching of legal practice may have continued through the final decades of the fifth century (some letters of Sidonius occasionally name individuals in the service of the Visigothic kings), it seems that those wishing to take courses generally went to Rome (*ibid.* 74). However, in both Gaul and Italy instruction in law tended to become a very exact speciality (*ibid.* 74). Whatever the exact nature of legal practice, we know that there were *honorati qui legum possint habere notitiam* in Provence in the early sixth century (*idem*. 140, quoting Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 4, 12). The majority of our episcopal epitaphs date from the same century so it is pertinent to question the extent and nature of episcopal

involvement in legal affairs. Many Late Roman bishops such as Germanus of Auxerre and Gregory of Langres had been senior civil officials earlier in their careers. Therefore such men were suited to run the temporal affairs within their sees and equipped to act as judges, although their caseloads were concerned largely with disputes involving churchmen. Bishops involved in other law suits were more often than not unofficial conciliators rather than official justices. The increased role bestowed upon bishops by Constantine the Great in the administration of justice was reduced during the fourth and fifth centuries but many bishops continued to possess legal expertise and made use of their knowledge as did their Merovingian successors (Wood 1994: 75). Unfortunately, as Wood has emphasised, much that has been deduced about the institutionalised authority held by bishops in the late fifth and early sixth century, over and above their canonical jurisdiction, depends on episcopal epitaphs and it is difficult to distinguish reality from convention (*idem.*). As we have already seen, the episcopal epitaphs probably display conventional themes and idealised descriptions of the bishop rather than the actual deeds of the man. The epitaph of Hilarius of Arles (No.112 Arles dated 5 May 449; Plate 35) states his specifically ecclesiastical role, *sacrosanctae legis antestis Hilarius hic quiescit* but others are sometimes ambiguous. The epitaph of Rusticus of Lyon (No.392 dated 25 April 501) records that *milite legiferum moderatus corde tribunal praebeuit ingenio fortia tela duci*, which would leave no doubt that he was dealing with important issues were it not for the formulaic manner of the epitaphs described above. The epitaphs of his successors, Nicetius and Priscus both make mention of legal affairs: in the case of the former, the efforts made to avoid the courts *causarum spreuit strepitus uanosque furores et simplex mundo, sed sapiens Domino iura potestatum uerbi terrore coercens* (No.395 dated 2 April 573); the latter appears to have been enthusiastic, *mentis et arbitrio iustitiaque potens, Indulget prudens mixto moderamine causis iurgis componens more sereniferi* (No.398 dated 13 June 586-588). Bishop Namatius of Vienne appears to have spread his legal influence throughout the cities within his Metropolitan, though again this may have been confined to ecclesiastical matters or even rhetorical hyperbole on the part of the versifier: *qui cum iura daret commissis urbibus amplis, Adiuncta pietate modis iustissima sanxit, patricius, praesul patriae rectorque uocatus* (No.604 dated 559). Noticeably, saints' *Vitae* are more often than not silent upon the legal business of the bishops; on balance bishops probably only concerned themselves with ecclesiastical affairs as canon 12 of the council of Mâcon in 585 suggests. The essence of the canon (restating earlier judgements) is that civil judges must defer to bishops in cases concerning widows and orphans on pain on execution (Pontal 1989: 191 and *cf. passim* for canons concerning ecclesiastical affairs rather than criminal). As early as 506 the church had recognised a duty towards manumitted slaves at the council of Agde (Beck 1950: 327). However, the synods continued to strive to gain exclusive competence over manumitted slaves and laymen could bring civil cases before a bishop (*idem.* 359, arguing that the frequenting of such *audientia* testify to their equity and expeditiousness); indeed bishops were often summoned to sit with counts in hearing criminal cases, though it is difficult to assess their importance (*idem.* 359). Certainly Caesarius of Arles was used to the

laity bringing their disputes before him (*idem*. 325, emphasising that this would have presented no difficulty in Provence because the Ostrogoths recognised episcopal *audientia*).

Pastoral Care

The subject of widows and orphans leads to the primary duty incumbent upon a bishop, namely pastoral care, a duty duly emphasised both on epitaphs and in *Vitae*. The pastoral offices listed tend to emphasise material benefits over the spiritual, or at least they are detailed more specifically. The Gallic Church possessed substantial income prior to the sixth century and the private charities of the episcopacy depended upon the extent of their revenues which were doubtless far greater in the metropolitans than in the smaller *ciuitates*. However, the synods recognised that the poor had a claim upon those revenues (Beck 1950: 360, and see 328-344 for a discussion on charity in South Eastern Gaul). However, during the course of the sixth century there is evidence that the distribution of such beneficence shifted increasingly from the bishop to individual parishes, as testified by the evidence from non-episcopal epitaphs (see below). With charitable work so evidently to the fore it is no surprise to read of largesse, particularly donations to the poor. Thus Nicetius of Lyon is described as *uir bonus indultus cunctis famulisque benignus <quem duro laesit> uerbere quisque suo. Mansuetus, patiens, mitis, uenerabilis, aptus, pauperibus promptus, simplicibusque pius* (No.395 Lyon, dated 2 April 573). This concords with Gregory's description of his predecessor, Sacerdos, begging the king that his nephew, Nicetius, should succeed him on account of his chastity, devotion to the Church and charity (VP. 3), but we should not lose sight of the fact that the description of an individual's character in the *Vitae* conformed to a literary convention and the lengthy *exordium* to the Life of Gallus (VP. VI) in particular dwells upon the merits of such characteristics and virtues as those recorded for Nicetius (both men of course are relatives of Gregory). Similarly at Vienne bishop Avitus *distribuit parcus, pascit ieunus, amando terret et austeris indulgentissima miscet* (No.606, dated 518). A few years later bishop Pantagatus *dans epulas primis, et largo munere gazas pauperibusque dedit, caelica regna petens* (No.652, dated 540-545, though doubtless he would not have thanked the versifier for recording the purpose of his charity so candidly). Bishop Namatius too is remembered for his charitable works, *perfugium miseris erat et tutela benignis* (No.604, dated 559), though here the versifier tactfully employs an optative mood for his reward, *uiuat ut aeternum et Xpi gratetur amore*. The exploits of Namatius do not stop there, for if the epitaph is not merely an hyperbolic eulogy, then he seems to have had a special interest in those least fortunate entrusted in his care and was well thought of by the citizenry; *pauper laetus abit, nudus discedit opertus, captiuus plaudit liber sese esse redemptum, ciuis agit grates tantoque antistite gaudet (idem.)*.

Chastity and Piety

Regularly the episcopal epitaphs are concerned with piety and chastity, and the bishops' wise decisions to spurn earthly rewards in favour of the eternal life in Heaven - in short, how meritorious they were. The numerous *Vitae* were written with the express purposes outlined

above, so one can expect their laudatory themes, given those purposes. Similarly, it cannot be the case that the epitaphs should be taken at face value or necessarily reflect the reality. Nevertheless, if we take the pages of Gregory's *Historia Francorum* at face value, there are few notorious events recorded concerning the episcopacy. The famous passages concerning Sagittarius of Gap and his brother, Salonius of Embrun, fighting in battle (*HF*.IV. 42) and, after enjoying a spree of nefarious activity, their deposition at Châlon-sur-Saône (*HF*.V. 26) are very rare. Tales of intrigue within the ecclesiastical hierarchy are less so; the opposition of Priscus to Nicetius at Lyon doubtless contains much truth but the issue here is whether or not the deeds recorded on the inscriptions are true - do these bishops merit the praise inscribed? The short answer is affirmative, but there is a caveat, since we do not have the epitaphs of such bishops as Sagittarius and Salonius and where there is a *Vita* to complement an episcopal epitaph (and this is the point of this section) it is uniformly laudatory. As Beck (1950: 346) has deduced, of 148 prelates known in South Eastern Gaul in the sixth century, 34 (23%) are saints; he maintains with good reason that when allowance is made for a few scandals and simoniacs, the ecclesiastical hierarchy appears to have followed good christian standards (*idem.*). Thus their chastity is praised but rarely. Our earliest example is also one of the shortest episcopal epitaphs, bishop Concordius of Arles is described as *integer adque pius uita et corpore purus* (No.102, dated 385-395; Plate 30). Bishop Nicetius of Lyon is given lengthy praise for his virtues *sic uigil <ac> sobrius, sic castus carnis ubique, quo ni<h>il in clero dulcius esse potest ... iurgia despiciens suspiciensque Deum, sic erecto simul mi<t>is pietate serenus* (No.395, dated 2 April 573). Gregory describes him in much the same terms: *castitatem autem non modo hic diligenter erat custodiens, uerum etiam custodiendi gratiam aliis iugiter praedicabat, et a polluto tactu et uerbis obscenis ut desisterent edocebat* (*VP*. VIII: 2) - he appears to have been as fastidious about chastity as one would expect of a monk but again Gregory is lauding a member of his own family; also we should note that his epitaph was presumably erected during the episcopate of his old ecclesiastical adversary, Priscus. Presumably family pressure of the kind only the senatorial class could muster would have always ensured that the deceased scions of noble houses received nothing but the most positive eulogies - here the preoccupation with chastity apparent in Nicetius may indeed be founded in fact and indicate something of an obsession. The paucity of mentions of chastity on episcopal epitaphs is curious, especially so because it is frequent on other epitaphs (particularly on feminine examples - see below) but Gregory makes clear at some length the virtues and corporeal integrity as a youth of bishop Gallus of Clermont, his uncle, *erat autem egregiae castitatis, et tanquam senior, nihil peruerse appetens* (*VP*.VI, 2). Curiously, the epitaph of bishop Avitus of Vienne makes no mention of his chastity, yet it is he who wrote the celebrated treatise on the benefits of chastity, addressed to his sister, *de consolatoria laude castitatis, ad Fuscinae sororem Deo uirginem sacram* (*PL*.LIX, cols. 369-382) which ends with the valedictory *factis digna tuis, materque effecta parentum uirgineae uictrix sociabere laeta coronae*, which seems to emphasise the episcopal point of view point succinctly.

Education, Learning, Dogma and Orthodoxy

The social background of almost all bishops was senatorial (see above) and therefore their education can be expected to have been of the highest quality available for the time. The widespread system of classical education had declined rapidly with the collapse of the Roman West but such an education was still available in the late fifth century in South Eastern Gaul even if now reduced to small groups of scholars and a few teachers (Riché 1976: 32-33 and *cf.* Wood 1979: 39-48). However, whilst educational institutions certainly existed within the Burgundian kingdom, our sole source is the writings of bishop Avitus of Vienne (*idem.*). By the sixth century, although classical works were still copied and read, what education system that existed had an almost entirely religious curriculum (*idem.* 96-97). A description and discussion of the education system in South East Gaul lies beyond the scope of this study (but *cf. Idem.* 31-35, 54, 79-95, 124-129 and 184-209), but it needs to be emphasised that the literary culture was based increasingly upon the Bible, whereas the works of pagan authors were frowned upon in some quarters as incompatible with a Christian culture. However, in a transitional culture one may expect to find both Classical and Christian elements in the literature and this is indeed the case with the episcopal epitaphs. At Aix-en-Provence (No.6 dated 450-600) an un-named bishop is described as *eclesiae doctor* and the intellectual labours of another from Die (No.194 dated 450-463; Plate 58) described as [... s]tudiis uirtus siit ut labor ille [...]. From Lyon the epitaph of Aurelianus of Arles praises his theological knowledge and orthodoxy as a blessing for his see, *pontifici claro fulcisci dogmate, cultu, cumque Arelas digno munere l<a>eta fuit* (No.393, dated 16 June 551). Bishop Avitus of Vienne's epitaph emphasises strongly his orthodoxy in a sentence barely disguising his anti-Arian sentiments (No.606, dated 518), *dissona ueridicam fingunt quae dogmata legem, hortatu ingenio, monitis meritisque subegit*. From his *Vita* it is worth quoting the famous passage describing his opposition to the Arian faith: *Hic aduersus haeresim Arrianam, quae tunc non solum Africam, sed et Galliam Italiamque occupauerat, magno sudore decertauit, quod clarissima eius opera testantur: scribit enim dialogum haeresim illam oppugnans fidelissimo et doctissimo immortalique ingenio ad Gundobadum Burgundionum regem* (MGH.AA.VI, 2, 1). The dialogue referred to is the *Contra Eutychianam haeresim* (PL.LIX, cols. 387-392). His vigour in countering the Arian faith is further emphasised in three letters to king Gundobad (PL.LIX 202-224 and *cf.* Wood 1979: 200-207) who was Arian. One successor, Pantagatus, is described as *ingenti dogmate fulsit* (No.652, dated 540-545). The large *corpus* of Avitus' work was evidently well-known and probably widely read in his lifetime since he is remembered as *unus in arce fuit quoquolibet ordine fandi; orator nullus similis nullusque poeta, clamant quod sparsi per crebra uolumina libri* (No.606, dated 518). In sixth century South Eastern Gaul only the breadth and scope of the works of Caesarius are comparable.

The administration and education of the episcopal choirs was of prime importance, though we have little information as to how it was undertaken. Studies probably began with the singing of the Psalter, which children probably memorised by heart, with the study of scripture and *Vitae*

coming later. It may be that only future clerics devoted themselves to chant and reading of Holy texts (Riché 1976: 281). The attribution to Gregory the Great for the creation of the *schola cantorum* is disputed (*idem*. 174) but whatever the case, the administration and education of the episcopal choirs appears to have often been under the aegis of the bishop in this region well before Gregory's papacy. Bishop Viuenciolus of Lyon appears to have taken a personal interest and actually lead the choir, *uox organi, praeco uerbi, decus fratrum, ecclesi<a>e et populis speculum fuit* (No.397, dated 12 July 525-535). The later epitaph of bishop Nicetius of Lyon (No.395, dated 2 April 573) displays similar episcopal enthusiasm, *psallere pr<a>ecipue normamque tenere canendi primus et alterutrum tendere uoce chorum*. Lyon may have been a particularly vigorous centre of choral traditions; a reconstructed non-episcopal epitaph records [.....] *Latiae pollens [modulamine? Linguae? ... carmina? condi]deras nulla doc[trina]* (No.294, Lyon, Saint-Irénée, 450-550; Plate 102).

Yet stronger evidence comes from the reconstructed epitaph of a certain Nonnus *Pernoctans hymnis ti[bi] uita beata manebit], parua tibi seruan[t] carmina facta tua]* (No.295, dated 450-500; Plate 103). This epitaph proves clearly that a choir sang nightly, in remembrance of Nonnus, and probably also for the souls of several valued but now departed brethren of the Lyon Church. It may indicate even the employment of the *laus perennis*, adopted at Sigismund's monastic foundation at Agaune in 515 (see Chapter Two).

Finally, the high quality of episcopal oratory is recorded; there is nothing unusual about this, as Descombes has pointed out, particularly with regard to bishops (*RICG.XV*: p.349). Both their education and their vocation as preachers demanded rhetorical skills and the *sermones* of Caesarius of Arles (Morin 1937-42) alone stand witness as to the seriousness with which the art was taken. Descombes has noted the word *orator* often has the same sense as a writer (*RICG.XV*: p.349); hence, although no writings of Pantagatus of Vienne have survived, his epitaph indicates that he wrote considerably, *orator magnus, uates et ipse fuit* (No.652, dated 540-545) - although in both this case and in the description of Avitus' talents, the versifier does seem to make plain the distinction between the spoken and written word. The most dependable evidence from an epitaph for an episcopal school comes from that of Haesicius (No.608, dated 552-558) stating that he studied astronomy (*temporum mensor*), arithmetic (*numeros modosuae*) and music (*calculo cemens strenuusque doctor*). Descombes emphasises that he appears to have had a wide breadth of knowledge for his time (*RICG.XV*: p.400) and that he took a special interest in teaching the pupils himself (*unde fraterna docuit libenter agmina templis*). However, he seems to have had a full career prior to the episcopate; he was a *quaestor* to the king and may have had some legal duties as bishop, *fautor et pacis, studuit furentes reddere ciues speciali uoto mentis amice*, although this poetical phrase may mean that he merely arbitrated in civil disputes.

Obita - Ascension to Heaven Secured by their Merits and Divine Selection

The final section of an episcopal epitaph is almost invariably devoted to their celestial reward (sometimes combining a statement describing how fortunate they were in enjoying a long life), accompanied by an often poetical description of their manner of departure. Occasionally the grief of their relatives and a classical description of how the tomb now holds the departed is given. It is here that the influence of classical styles and traditions are most evident: the theme of immortality is to the forefront yet also one finds grief and lamentation expressed in almost pagan terms. The reality of afterlife is not doubted, yet what exactly that constitutes and the location of Heaven is not always clear. The afterlife is clearly a reward for the faithful, yet at times there appears to be present a pagan feeling that the tomb now holds the deceased with its dark implications. The epitaph of Concordius of Arles is the earliest example where these themes are tersely combined (No.102 Arles, dated 385-395; Plate 30):

*triginta et geminos decim uix reddidit annos.
Hunc cito sideream raptum omnipotentis in aulam
et mater blanda et frater sine funere quaerunt.*

We are confronted immediately by a personal, familial lamentation that he died relatively young. This accords with the generally held feeling that it is not the natural order for the young to be taken away, Concordius' body has ascended to Heaven (here firmly located amongst the stars), leaving a grieving mother and brother. *Sine funere quaerunt* is a curious phrase without parallel in South Eastern Gaul, although the epitaph of Haesicius of Vienne has *funes Haesici tegitur sepulchro* (No.608, dated 552-558) where clearly his remains are understood for *funes* (cf. Blaise 1954: 369, *funus*). It may mean that they seek to pray for his soul at his tomb, which Le Blant reports to have been regarded by locals as the scene of miracles (ICG: 509). However, it is clear that this is an example of the dualistic view of body and soul; like the pagans, Christians held a dualistic conception of the living man. In Christian epigraphy the body dies and the soul lives on; its destination is Heaven. The interpretation is that the soul breaks free and makes for the sky, alone, and only the flesh remains. It is questionable whether this is an orthodox Christian view of immortality (Lattimore 1962: 304). More explicit assertions of immortality occur in this period than previously, together with other expressions affirming a belief in the afterlife, such as the equivalence of light and life (*idem*. 301). In the pagan world death was considered final and evil; with Christianity, immortality comes as a consolation. These are concepts which are found occasionally conflated in apparent contradiction on episcopal epitaphs (and also on others, see below). Although Concordius' is an episcopal epitaph, less than a century had elapsed since Christianity had become an accepted religion; therefore it is unsurprising to witness grief which Saint Paul maintained should be moderate, *nolumus autem vos ignorare fratres de dormientibus ut non contristemini sicut et ceteri qui spem non habent* (Thessalonians 4:13). Nevertheless, lamentation remains a constant theme throughout the sixth century from the impersonal *exordium* of bishop Aurelianus' epitaph, expressed in Vergilian terms, *orbis celsa graui uexantur culmina lapsu urbis +cumina est+*

flumina clara ruunt (No.393, dated 551), to the personal grief expressed by the sister of bishop Haesicius of Vienne, *quem soror Marcella gemens obisse, ultimum prebens lacrimis leuamen, nomen hic scalpsit titulumque fixit carmine paruo* (No.608, dated 552-558). Similarly, the epitaph of bishop Sacerdos of Lyon records the lamentation of his flock, stating that though his body lies in this tomb, his deeds remain as an example while he (i.e. his soul) now undertakes its celestial role, *gaudia cunctorum rapiens, lamenta relinquens arcobus hic clausus laudibus ampla tenens*, (No.394, dated 11 September 552; Plate 128).

Concordius' epitaph provides evidence of the dogmatic problem concerning dualism and Orthodoxy. Here the soul has departed and the body remains with no suggestion of future corporeal resurrection. Elsewhere one finds evidence that the body was considered precious, dormant until the resurrection - Greek thought manifesting itself in orthodox Christian dogma. Orthodox inscriptions speak of *depositio* (sleep) and of resurrection and judgement, together with protecting the tomb with curses. These represent an oriental, not a Greek tradition; Jewish belief at the time of Christ was that the good will be resurrected in the flesh on Judgement Day (Lattimore 1962: 309). Lattimore states that for Saint Paul any other interpretation had no meaning, *si autem Christus praedicatur quod resurrexit a mortuis quomodo quidam dicunt in vobis quoniam resurrectio mortuorum non est si autem resurrectio mortuorum non est neque Christus resurrexit si autem Christus non resurrexit inanis est ergo praedicatio nostra inanis est et fides vestra* (Corinthians, 1, 15, 12-14). Paul's failure at Athens was because the return to life of the body was nonsense to the Greeks. Dualistic passages on epitaphs are thus heretical and it arises from the influence of Greek on Christian thought; it should be seen as preserved by literary tradition though it went deeper than as a mere literary device as Fathers such as Athenagoras, Tertullian and Irenaeus attempted to compromise by placing the separated soul after death in a limbo or pre-Heaven until Judgement Day. An example of this comes from the epitaph of bishop Rusticus of Lyon *actaque caeruleis insultat uita latebris nigra superfusi nec timet antra soli. Astra fouent animam, corpus natura recepit, hoc quoque mors uellet non licuisse sibi* (No.392, dated 501). Lattimore cites the careful avoidance of heresy on the epitaph of Gregory the Great *suscipe, terra, tuo corpus de corpore sumptum, reddere quod ualeas uiuificante Deo* (Rome, dated 604; ILCV: 990).

However, precisely what the mourners were lamenting at this period often remains elusive, given the possibly ambiguous nature of their belief in the afterlife. Among other fifth century epitaphs, that of Bishop Iamlychus merely awaits the resurrection without elaboration (No. 469, Chalon-sur-Saône, dated 479) whereas that of Hilarius of Arles (No.113, dated 449) overflows with imagery and pertinently avoids ambiguity: he has left his mortal body behind and (his soul) has gone to Heaven, *contemnens fragilem ter[ren]i corporis usum hic carnis spoliū liquit [ad] astra uolans*; there is no suggestion that the corporeal body will be resurrected. The epitaph goes further as through his merits he has already taken his place at Christ's side and enjoys the gardens of Paradise:

*Nec mirum si post haec meruit tua limina, Xpe,
angelicasque domos intrauit et aurea regna,
diuitias, paradise, tuas, f<r>agrantia semper
gramina et halantes diuinis floribus hortos
subiectasque uidet nubes et sidera caeli.*

This is by far the most florid description of Heaven to be found on any episcopal epitaph - Guyon (1989: 151) has cited Diehl's observation (ILCV: 1062a) of Virgilian influence, *croceis halantes floribus horti* (Georgics, 4, 109). The final line suggests that the location of Heaven is in fact above the clouds and constellations, whereas other epitaphs suggest a locality among the stars (see below). At Vienne, bishop Avitus is enjoying eternal life (No.606, dated 518), as does bishop Haesicius who has left his body here (No. 608, dated 552-558). Bishop Pantagatus has ascended to Heaven where he now also protects Vienne, *qui sit praesidium, celsa Vienna, tibi* (No.652, dated 540-545). Bishop Namatius' epitaph is secure that the good shall go to Heaven, *aeternum quia uiuit homo si iusta sequatur*, and now he is there himself, by way of proof; more forthright is the assertion that he has left his body behind in the earth with no suggestion of corporeal resurrection, *corpus humi mandans terrae terrena reliquit*. At Lyon, toward the end of the sixth century, the epitaphs of Nicetius (No. 395, dated 573) and his rival and successor, Priscus (No. 398, dated 586-588), have both left this life for one in Heaven. These last few examples show that there was a consensus by the sixth century: the body is left behind and the soul has gone to heaven; the issue of resurrection is largely avoided and the emphasis is placed upon the blessed life now enjoyed by the deceased, thereby retaining the didactic purpose of the epitaph.

The lesson is clear, the reader of an epitaph can see that the faithful, virtuous and just will enter Heaven; equally clear is that the bishops now in Heaven possessed these qualities and effectively spurned earthly rewards for celestial Paradise (cf. Hilarius of Arles' epitaph, *qui p[auptatis a]morem praeponens auro ... spreuit opes, dum quaerit opes mortalia mu[t]ans perpetuis* No.113 Arles, dated 449, and Viuenciolus of Lyon's, *pastor bone, omnium diadema episcoporum*, No.397 Lyon, dated 525-535). When Heaven calls, it is God's decision yet the saints also call upon their brother's name, as happened to Aurelianus of Arles, *sed anima<s> sancta<s> +erectum+ consor<t>ia c<a>eli quas hinc corporibus laxat abire Deus* (No.393, dated 551).

The reward of the faithful was eternal life yet, as pointed out above, the exact locality of Heaven is vague. Where stated, Heaven is considered to be somewhere amongst the stars; all the epitaphs agree on this (cf. No.5, Aix-en-Provence, sixth century, *ad caelum m[igravit]*; No.113 Arles, dated 449, *[ad] astra uolans*; No.392 Lyon, dated 501, *astra fo<u>ent animam*; No.393, Lyon, dated 551, *astra subisse poli*; No.398 Lyon, dated 586-588, *ad c<a>elum terris migravit ab <i>mis*; No.604 Vienne dated 559, *ad summos animam caelos*). Although elements of dualism are the most evident elements of Classical thought to have been assimilated into Christian thought (albeit not without ambiguities), Lattimore (1962: 311) regards it as the most important because it challenges the orthodox view on a fundamental point of dogma. The

concept of eternal life is clearly recorded in a conventional classical fashion without deviating from orthodoxy - the rules of versification, largely adhered to, and classical literature seem to dictate the manner if not the form of conveying the idea. This particularly manifests itself in the idea that the soul leaves the body and ascends to the stars - no mention of this is found in Greek epitaphs and presumably it is a Latin literary device. Whatever its origin, the idea has much in common with the pagan concept of separation of body and soul. A sixth century epitaph from near Milan which makes clear the lingering influence of pagan thought within a Christian context:

*Si mentis uirtus lucisque serenior usus
defuncto in Chr(ist)o reuenit, non Tartara sentit
Cymeriosque lacus, meritis post fata superstis
funeris et legem perimens terraeque sepulcris
astra tenet nescitque mori sic luce relictæ.*

(C.E.701, ILCV: 326a; dated 524 by the consulate of Opilio).

This is the epitaph of an *honesta femina*, Lazara, and demonstrates the longevity of classical themes; here the pagan theme of Tartarus is employed as the antithesis of Christian belief, the eternal life is accepted and the deceased is among the stars. The rare employment of Paradise to describe Heaven is also classical; its location is also in the sky and even Olympus is found occasionally (see below). We must remember that the senatorial class was still steeped in the classics and that phrases from Virgil remained part of their daily life and thus still played an influential part on their psyche (e.g. *qui sanguine nostrum nomen in astra ferant* Aeneid 7, 98-100; *idem uenturos tollemus in astra nepotes*, Aeneid 3, 163; *macte noua uirtute, puer: sic itur ad astra, dis genite et geniture deos*, Aeneid 9, 652-653; Fontaine 1982: 55-67).

THE EPITAPHS OF THE ARISTOCRATIC AND CLERICAL ORDERS

Introduction

This sample, though selected relatively arbitrarily, comprises those inscriptions comparable in composition, form and (most importantly) elaborate style with the episcopal examples. The inscriptions from the Saint-Laurent de Choulans cemetery at Lyon are excluded because they provide a *terminus* for the development of the themes in the mid-seventh century, when epitaphs throughout the region quickly fade from the archaeological record. Within this group we encounter epitaphs from the highest ranks in society to the merely prosperous, from the higher ranks of the clergy to the lowliest *lector*. The most immediate difference between these and the episcopal epitaphs is that women are included, inevitably leading to a diversity and thematic divergence of eulogies employed between the sexes. As will be seen, the stereotypical *laudationes* inscribed on their behalf reinforce our suspicions that other (i.e. episcopal and male) eulogies are often purely didactic in purpose and formulaic in style, thereby offering substantially more information about how a society saw itself and desired to be perceived, yet giving little information about the individual.

The condition of a total of 471 epitaphs is sufficient to identify a total of 488 individuals by gender: 269 males, 219 females with a further 16 and eight examples respectively where the

remaining text suggests their gender. Sixteen epitaphs are dedicated to more than one person (always members of the same family) and 43 epitaphs display the name of the dedicator with a total of 53 dedicators' names extant. The vast majority are similar to those described in Chapter Three with a reference to their virtues and/or faith added. Some, however, resemble the episcopal epitaphs in scope.

Life Expectancy

The ages of 319 individuals are extant (including examples where the gender is unknown and excluding No.107 from Arles where the child is less than a year old). One hundred and sixty-five male and 124 female ages are extant; 23 are of unknown gender and four and three may be male or female respectively. The average age calculates at 36.65 years (39.33 for males, 33.88 for females) with a standard deviation of 24.05. This deviation is large but with the oldest two individuals claimed to be 100 years old, too much should not be read into this average. Nevertheless, we have a relatively large sample which one might assume initially to be approximately representative, especially since both the mean and the median (35) are similar. The mode, however, is 60, suggesting that something may be amiss with the sample.

Value	Frequency	%	Cumulative %
1	3	.9	.9
2	8	2.5	3.4
3	11	3.4	6.9
4	11	3.4	10.3
5	7	2.2	12.5
6	5	1.6	14.1
7	4	1.3	15.4
8	3	.9	16.3
9	3	.9	17.2
10	5	1.6	18.8
11	2	.6	19.4
12	6	1.9	21.3
13	4	1.3	22.6
14	3	.9	23.5
15	4	1.3	24.8
16	5	1.6	26.3
17	4	1.3	27.6
18	2	.6	28.2
19	1	.3	28.5
20	6	1.9	30.4
21	2	.6	31.0
22	2	.6	31.7
23	2	.6	32.3
24	4	1.3	33.5
25	8	2.5	36.1
26	2	.6	36.7
27	5	1.6	38.2
28	3	.9	39.2
29	1	.3	39.5
30	13	4.1	43.6
31	3	.9	44.5
32	3	.9	45.5
33	4	1.3	46.7
34	3	.9	47.6
35	10	3.1	50.8
36	2	.6	51.4
37	4	1.3	52.7
38	5	1.6	54.2
39	1	.3	54.5
40	11	3.4	58.0
41	2	.6	58.6

42	4	1.3	59.9
43	3	.9	60.8
44	2	.6	61.4
45	14	4.4	65.8
46	4	1.3	67.1
47	1	.3	67.4
48	4	1.3	68.7
50	15	4.7	73.4
51	3	.9	74.3
52	1	.3	74.6
53	2	.6	75.2
54	3	.9	76.2
55	5	1.6	77.7
56	1	.3	78.1
57	1	.3	78.4
58	1	.3	78.7
59	1	.3	79.0
60	16	5.0	84.0
63	1	.3	84.3
65	12	3.8	88.1
66	1	.3	88.4
67	1	.3	88.7
68	1	.3	89.0
69	1	.3	89.3
70	9	2.8	92.2
73	1	.3	92.5
75	3	.9	93.4
80	7	2.2	95.6
85	8	2.5	98.1
87	1	.3	98.4
90	2	.6	99.1
95	1	.3	99.4
100	2	.6	100

Table 83: Frequency Distribution of Age at Death

Table 83 shows the frequency distribution and cumulative percentages for the total number of ages at death using 74 individual ages. The expected frequency for each age is 4.31, so clearly some ages display a far higher degree of frequency than others. Indeed, the majority of ages do not deviate drastically from the expected value, but several do and they form a pattern. From the age of 30 onwards, there is a substantial increase at each five year interval until the age of 70. At 75 there are only three examples but the pattern begins again, with 80 and 85 revealing far greater than expected examples. At first sight this appears to reveal that the age of the deceased was not known exactly, but even the ages 20 and 25 show slightly higher than expected frequencies. This pattern becomes more intriguing because the ages at either side of these quinquennial figures are consistently lower than expected. We have seen that the months and days tend to be combined with the age in years when the deceased is young, less than 20 (see Chapter Three). The only conclusion possible is that the actual age of many people was unknown and many ages are approximate; there is no correlation between the ubiquitous and vague phrase *plus minus* and the quinquennial age ranges. However, since such approximations are probably no more than three or four years either side of the given date, the data we have are perhaps representative of the percentage mortality for any given decade, though only within the particular social class for which the epitaphs bear witness. Thus, half the population under study here died by the age of 35 and 75 percent by the age of 53.

The Members of the *Presbyterium*

The list of ecclesiastical functions compiled in the early fifth century known as *de septem ordinibus ecclesiae* had not demurred to liken a bishop to a God, *hic per omnia similis Deo est* (Beck 1950: 3-4). The episcopate was pivotal but it could hardly function without the remainder of the clergy. We have seen that episcopal office was much coveted, and, once gained, senatorial families sought to secure it thereafter. This was not the case with the offices of the lesser clergy and familial opposition was frequent, not least on account of the ensuing probable transfer of property to the Church. By the fifth century South Eastern Gaul had adopted the general practice of ranging its clerics in an ascending order of importance: *ostiarus*, *lector*, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, priest and bishop. The lowly rank of *fossor* appears on epitaphs only in Rome (*cf.* ILCV: 1316-1324) and exorcists rarely come into view - their offices are unrecorded on Gallic epitaphs, yet being well known in Italy (ILCV: 1258-1263a) and North Africa (ILCV: 1263b, Carthage). However, their existence is in no doubt because the wife of an exorcist was forbidden to remarry at the Council of Mâcon in 585 (Pontal 1989: 188). Neither do *ostiarum* appear on epitaphs in this region, though several are known from documentary sources (e.g. at Saint-Étienne, i.e. *basilica sancti Stefani*, at Marseille; *HF*, VI, 11). There is some epigraphical evidence for lectors; at Autun (No.137, dated 400-450), Viviers (No.736, 450-500, who was 13 years old; Plate 232), and from nearby Alba/Aps (No.11, 500-600). Among their functions was the reading of the mass (Beck1950: 50). At Lyon, under the tutelage of a

primicerius they were grouped together in a *schola lectorum* as the epitaph of Stefanus attests (No.278, Saint-Irénée, dated 552; Plate 92). As Beck notes, this individual did not rise far within the ranks of the clergy since he is described as *seruiens ecl(esiae) Lugduninsi*. Another *primicerius* is known at Briord (No.163, dated 600-650); this is more important because seventh century Briord is best described as a rural parish yet may have held a full complement of clergy (see Chapter Six). Only one acolyte is known, Desiderius from Lyon (No.270, dated 517; Plate 88), who remained thus until his death at the age of 85. Such information concerning these less distinguished individuals provides a corollary and a useful balance to the *Vitae* and episcopal epitaphs with the attendant glory in which their recipients basked.

The office of subdeacon is better represented: five are known and, importantly, two examples further attest the expansion of the parish system outside the *ciuitates* during the sixth century: at La Baume-Cornillane the epitaph of Constantinus (No.226, dated 520, Plate 67), and from Andance that of Santolus (No.19, dated 563). The other three are from Metropolitans: Vienne, Saint-Gervais (No.551, dated 475-500, Plate 186), Vienne, Saint-Georges (No.651, dated 541-600; Plate 207), and Lyon, Saint-Irénée (No.277, dated 549; Plate 91). Beck (1950: 52) notes that the ages of some of the subdeacons were advanced; at Andance Santolus was 85 (No.19) and at Vienne, Saint-Gervais (No.551; Plate 186) Nigrinianus was 80, demonstrating that a number of men thus ordained never advanced beyond it. The ages of these men further indicate that there was no shortage of suitable candidates for advancement, a fact to be expected in a metropolitan or *ciuitas* but at Andance (today little more than a hamlet) it is extraordinary. It indicates that, at least in the northern Viennoise, even in the very minor parishes there were no shortages of suitable candidates or perhaps a deacon was selected and despatched from the nearest *ciuitas* or *metropolitan*. It should be noted that canonical law decreed that a man could only be appointed deacon at the age of 25 (Pontal 1989: 79, the Council of Arles, AD 524, canon 1). At the other end of the spectrum one encounters child clerics. The lector Severus mentioned above (No.736, Viviers, dated 450-500; Plate 232) was only 13 and an *innocens* who at the age of five entered service at the shrine of Saint Irenaeus at Lyon until his death seven years later (No.289, dated 546-606; Plate 98) - it follows that one could spend the greater portion of one's life in the service of the Church yet advance little during this period.

If advancement came it would be to the office of deacon, which is slightly better represented with three from outside the *ciuitates*: the earliest is from Bourgoin (No.147, dated 517), followed by examples from Andance (No.21, dated 500-540; Plate 4) and Toulaud (No.504, dated 694, also the latest epitaph in this study; Plate 165). Within the *ciuitates* there are epitaphs from Viviers (No.734, dated 496; Plate 230), Die (No.193, dated 548-608) and Vaison-la-Romaine (No.522, dated 536). The metropolitans are also represented: at Lyon (No.402, dated 541-500) and two from Vienne, (Nos. No.701, dated 450-550, Plate 223 and No.682, dated 559; Plate 219). The bulk of pastoral care fell upon the members of this rank and above, though the primary function of a deacon was to dispense the Eucharist (Beck 1950: 54). The epitaphs are

strangely silent on their functions and virtues, but this is true elsewhere (cf. ILCV: 1197-1212, Italy; 1226-1227a, Spain; 1228, Africa).

The most commonly attested clerical order is the priesthood, of which 17 epitaphs proclaim their presence. The earliest examples once again are attested at the metropolitans: at Lyon the earliest epitaph is that of Romanus (No.349, dated 430-500; Plate 113) followed by that of Venerabilis (No.297, dated 470-540) and a single-seventh century example, the epitaph of Viventus (No.371, dated 600-650 from Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans; Plate 125). At Arles only two examples are extant (Nos.62 and 95, dated 540-600 and 554 respectively). Even at Vienne only two examples are extant (Nos.714 and 573, dated 470-540 and 540-600 respectively). Outside the metropolitans there is some evidence in the *ciuitates* (Nos.523 and 521, dated 475-500 and 519 respectively; No.217, dated 520, Grenoble (Plate 61); No.735, dated 549-609, Viviers; Plate 231). However, the epigraphic evidence for the rural districts suggest initially that there were no priests until the sixth century. Only three presbyters are known before the seventh century (No.438, dated 540-600, Montfort, Plate 143; No.731 (Plate 228), dated 578, Vif; No.175 (Plate 53), dated 609, Chavanoz). In the seventh century there are three examples from a single site, Briord; the epitaphs of Carusus (No.155, dated 629), Felix (No.156, dated 630 or 615) and Amatus (No.157, dated 633) who appears to have been a priest at nearby Vézeronce but buried at Briord. If we exclude the three metropolitans and two building dedications (Nos.209 and 468), there remain 297 inscriptions, 291 of which are epitaphs; 114 are distributed within 23 *ciuitates* but the remaining 183 are distributed among 94 sites known to have been *mansiones*, *uici*, *uillae* or sites which can be assumed to have been.

The Clergy and the Genesis of the Parochial System

We saw in Chapter One that the presence of an epitaph is often the sole archaeological evidence available for these sites and that the presence of an epitaph logically suggests that a priest officiated at the burial service. The genesis of the parochial system in South Eastern Gaul lies outside the purview of this study but the epitaphs may be expected to complement and enhance our understanding of a process that has left its stamp upon communities to this day. The reconstruction of many epitaphs in Chapter Four, combined with the allocation of a relative date range, allows us some insight into the processes of evangelization and the institution of the parish system. However, it must be made clear that the amount of archaeological excavation undertaken outside the major cities is so far rather nugatory, with the exception of sites such as Briord (c.f. Chapter One).

The genesis of the parochial system has been discussed by Beck (1950: 70-81) and is summarised here in order to lend an overview of the ecclesiastical framework in this region by the seventh century. The Gallic Church until c.300 consisted of but a single parish within each diocese and religious life centered around the *cathedra* of the bishop. Other sanctuaries existed both in the episcopal city and in the rural regions of its *ciuitas*, but only the cathedral possessed a baptistry and conducted regular services. The bishop oversaw the *presbyterium*, whose

members were connected with the basilicae of the martyrial shrines and were despatched to conduct services in the country oratories and indeed convert the communities. From the fourth century onwards and particularly in the sixth, the beginnings of a true parochial system is traceable in Gaul.

The building of churches grew in the *ciuitates* of South East Gaul: most were provided with their own clergy of their own but there is no evidence that they were considered to be parishes since no baptistries were attached. Of the sites here considered only at Notre-Dame-du-Brusc, in the *ciuitas* of Antibes is a baptismal church which is an addition to the original church and may date to the late sixth century. In the rural areas, but within the territory of the *ciuitas* were *vici*, *castella*, and *villae* and by the first half of the fifth century begin to appear with churches of their own where they were probably more numerous than those on private estates. There were such churches as early as 349 in the vicinity of Embrun and 417 in the Bouches-du-Rhône, suggesting that rural churches were of some antiquity in this region. The greatest change in status for these churches arrived by the beginning of the sixth century - the major festivals were celebrated in these churches with no obligation upon the part of their clergy or people to attend the same services at the *ciuitas* cathedral. Nevertheless, although Beck claims that there are good grounds to believe that baptismal services took place the sources are not explicit, and as mentioned above, baptistries are rare. Where they are attested archaeologically in the *ciuitates* they are invariably imposing and substantial structures, perhaps to emphasise the importance of the ceremony. This process is unlikely to have been ubiquitous or contemporaneous and Beck summarises the types of churches in South East Gaul by the end of the sixth century thus:

- 1) The cathedral church continued with its own clergy.
- 2) Other churches were built within the episcopal city with their own clerics. They were not parish churches because there is no such evidence until the ninth century. There were smaller chapels or oratories both within the city and in its suburbs.
- 3) In the rural districts there were oratories on the estates of private individuals and those owned by the Church or clerics. These could have parochial status with their own priest.
- 4) Finally, there were the parish churches of the *vici* and *castella* - an example of which is the *parochia Epaonensis*, now identified with Saint-Romain-d'Albon and site of the Council of 517 (see Chapter One).

Beck employs only clerical epitaphs to support his proposition that at least half the clergy served rural areas by the sixth century (*idem*. 81) As explained above, it is probably safe to employ all epitaphs although the total number of examples involved does not justify unqualified credence in the statistical deductions thereof. Table 84 lists the earliest occurrence of an epitaph from each locality outside the *ciuitates* for each metropolitan. This table is based upon results obtained from postulations calculated in Chapter Four - it is clear that everywhere Christian burials were taking place in rural districts from the early fifth century and it seems logical that they began some time beforehand, as they certainly did in the *ciuitates*. This is confirmed by the existence in *Arelatensis* of 14 sites which have revealed epitaphs prior to the

sixth century, followed by 10 for *Lugdunensis* and 16 in *Viennensis*. Therefore, approximately 50 percent of sites have produced epitaphs before the sixth century, suggesting that this region not only suffered little from the vicissitudes of the fifth century but that the church was actually confidently expanding its role. These figures nearly double by the end of the sixth century, an extraordinary increase missed by Beck who employed only the epitaphs of the clergy (see above). There is a corollary: Beck cites the Abbé Chaume's (1937: 65) figures for the diocese of Auxerre where 20 churches existed at the close of the fifth century and 37 by the end of the sixth.

Record	<i>Arelatensis</i>	Date Range
133	Aubagne	325-400
190	Dauphin	325-400
200	Faucon-de-Barcelonnette	325-400
184	Colonzelle	350-400
168	Brunet	425-475
169	Carcès	425-475
1350	Notre-Dame-du-Brusc	425-475
458	La Gayole	450-475
238	Lorgues	450-500
480	Saint-Maximin-La-Sainte-	450-500
234	Le Buis	450-550
443	<i>Narbonensis Secunda</i>	450-550
447	Notre-Dame-de-Beauregard	470-540
507	Urban	485
210	Gigondas	491 ? 518 ?
462	Reillanne	500-550
408	Mane	500-600
236	Le Pin	506
144	Bellegarde	521
167	Bruis	538
875	Montfort	540-600
140	Banon	541- 601
481	Saint-Restitut	548
733	Villeneuve-lès-Avignon	587
460	Peyruis	600-700
Record	<i>Lugdunensis</i>	Date Range
18	Albigny	430-500
201	Fénay	430-500
80	Anse	450-500
740	Vix	450-500
461	Poithières	461
222	Grigny	469
154	Briord	475-500
145	Bourg-en-Bresse	475-550
469	Saint-Germain-du-Plain	479
479	Saint-Maurice-de-Rémens	486
196	Ecully	518
467	Saint-Alban-de-Bron	551
434	Mellecey	584?
Record	<i>Viennensis</i>	Date Range
39	Aoste	450-500
223	Gruffy	450-500
227	La Côte-Saint-André	450-500
465	Revel-Tourdan	450-500
482	Saint-Romain-d'Albon	467
1	Agnin	470-540

83	Aouste	470-540
185	Corenc	470-540
442	Nacon	470-540
457	Pact	470-540
470	Saint-Gervais	470-540
505	Tournon	470-540
494	Saint-Vallier	483-534
220	Grésy-sur-Aix	486
491	Saint-Thomé	487
537	Vézéronce	491
21	Andance	500-540
148	Bourgoin	500-550
108	Alba / Aps	500-600
478	Saint-Laurent-de-Mure	500-600
225	Jongieux	504
240	Luc-en-Diois	514
488	Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas	516
732	Vif	519?
226	La Baume-Cornillane	520
741	Yenne	521
232	La Terrasse	522
241	Lugrin	527
459	Parnans	527
235	Le Fayet	529
174	Charmes	536
473	Saint-Julien-en-Quint	537
132	Arras-sur-Rhône	540-600
199	Eyzin	540-600
435	Moirans	540-600
456	Ourches	540-600
536	Vérenay	540-600
472	Saint-Jean-de-Bournay	540-650
183	Clérieux	544
44	Arandon	546
233	La Tronche	548-608
440	Moutiers	561
506	Trept	565
242	Luzinay	607
175	Chavanoz	609
374	Crussol	675-700
3488	Soyons	675-700
224	Guillerand	683
504	Toulaud	694

Table 84: The Earliest Occurrence of Epitaphs Outside the *Ciuitates*.

We have seen in Chapter One that the majority of epitaphs originate from cemeteries and funereal churches within the great Metropolitans of Lyon, Vienne and Arles. We have also seen in Chapter Four that outside the Metropolitans and the major *ciuitates* that a study of the regional and chronological development of the formulae shows that evangelisation must have been a predominant feature in rural areas. However, of these latter sites listed in Chapter One, the majority have been found to occur where previous Gallo-Roman occupation had taken place. Furthermore, it is noticeable that most sites lie along routes of communication such as the major rivers courses and roads employed during the Gallo-Roman period. Archaeological studies in the Var, in the southernmost part of the region show that much remains to be done and that as yet the paucity of archaeological evidence for the early parish system is equal to that for rural habitation as a whole (Brun *et al.* 1985). This paucity of information extends to the document sources that have come down to us; oft cited preoccupation with paganism in the countryside on the part of the episcopacy – for example, the Council of Orléans in 541 condemned those partaking in the consumption of meat from animals slaughtered according to ancient customs (*c.f.* Pontal 1989: 292-295). Pontal concludes (*idem.*) that it is not until the mid-seventh century that the church had established itself sufficiently in the rural areas since it is from this time that pockets of paganism and its adherents are no longer referred to though pagan practices survived (and continued to do so) for centuries to come, particularly in Spain.

Colardelle (1983), in his study of burial traditions in the Haut-Savoie, Savoie, Isère and Drôme states that his ecclesiastical map shows few monastic foundations (*idem.* Fig.4); an omission that must be due to the vagaries of the documentary sources. This omission extends to the parish churches in the countryside – “*mais on sait peu de choses sur la christianisation des campagnes, comme, à vrai dire, sur tous les aspects de la vie quotidienne durant le Haut Moyen Age, ressources, sociétés, commerce etc.*” (*idem.*: 18). However, this somewhat pessimistic view should be tempered with the distribution of epitaphs, which show clearly that a wide-ranging parochial system was in place by the end of the sixth century. Furthermore, Colardelle’s own distribution map of cemeteries dating to this period (he names it “Merovingian”) shows a distribution of over 180 known cemeteries, for the most part clustered in the same areas where epitaphs have been recorded (*idem.* Fig.141). However, he is correct in pointing out that not a great deal can be made of this as yet since for the most part these cemeteries have not been fully excavated, in some cases mere sondages have been made. His survey concentrates on just four excavations where sufficient evidence is as yet forthcoming and it is clear that the archaeology and the history of the rural ecclesiastical landscape remains in its infancy.

Religious Orders outside the *Presbyterium*

The monastic orders are rarely represented; from Arles comes the epitaph of Florentinus (No.128, Saint-Croix, dated 553) which records that he was founder of his abbey and that his successor was a certain Redemtus. At Nacon, near Grenoble, the epitaph of Vrbicius (No.442,

dated 470-540; Plate 145) together with a fragmentary epitaph (No.441, date 541-600; Plate 144) suggests the presence of a rural monastic site. A single abbess is recorded at Marseille, the epitaph of Tilisiola (No.423, dated 544-604) and one monk, Vincentus, from Lyon (No.350, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just, dated 430-500). At Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas is the epitaph of a *Domina*, together with two female epitaphs suggesting the location of a female religious house (No.489, dated 550-610; Plate 161; Atsma 1976: 10-11; see Chapter One).

The occurrence of monastic orders on epitaphs as evidence for the existence of male and female foundations has been covered in depth by Atsma (1976) who employs as evidence the epithets *famulus dei*, *religiosus*, *uir religiosus*, *seuuus* and *uenerabilis* for men and for women *ancilla*, *sanctimonialis*, *sacrata deo*, *puella Deo sacrata* and *uirginae*. Atsma's study concerns all Gaul though the main body of evidence he has collected and plotted upon a distribution map originates from within this region. The main weakness of his argument that the epitaphs provide a source for monastic titles is that some are vague and ambiguous. Both male and females referred to as *religiosus/a* are all over 35 years old and Descombes (1985: 112-113) has claimed that this may merely be an epithet for their devotion denoting their long-held faith, whilst emphasising that both Allmer and Le Blant were hesitant in referring to a *religiosus* as a monk yet they always referred to a *religiosa* as a nun. The truth may be that we cannot be sure. Those who died young are often described as *infans* (five examples, all from Lyon and Vienne), *infantula* (one from Vienne), *innocens* (six examples - the distribution is ubiquitous) and *innox* (seven examples, again confined to Lyon and Vienne): although these descriptions are confined largely to those under 15, two examples record their age as over 20!

However, only two certain males are *religiosi* (No.723, dated 470-540 and No.641, sixth century, both from Vienne). Two further examples from Vienne and Lyon are described as *uiri religiosi* (Nos.673, dated 509 and 373, dated 600-650 respectively) and may indicate nothing other than their piety. The *religiosae*, however, do provide evidence of their involvement in monastic foundations: the epitaph of Eusebia from Marseille (No.421, dated 489 or 512) is explicit about her role in life, describing her as *religiosa* and *magna ancilla D(e)i* she was elected by God at the age of 14 whence she served in the monastery of Saint Cyricus for 50 years. This is unequivocal and the general rarity of epithets such as *religiosus/a* probably indicate the presence of a monk or nun. None of the members of the urban monasteries within the Metropolitans are known to have enjoyed separate burial from their fellow townsfolk so their appearance in the main cemeteries in Arles, Lyon and Vienne (where several urban monasteries are attested) provides no indication as to their calling other than the epithets employed (see Chapter One for urban monasteries within the Metropolitans).

Nevertheless, these epithets are unlikely to have been employed indiscriminately: they are taken here to be titles and therefore nouns, not adjectives. We do not find other titles employed where they do not belong; the language of the description of Eusebia is explicit and therefore the epithets are accepted here as evidence that the recipient was a member of a religious order. This does not mean, of course, that the presence of an isolated inscription in a rural district (e.g.

that of Valho, *religiosa f(e)m(ina)* No.225 (Plate 66), dated 504, Jongieux) indicates a monastic foundation in itself, though the discovery of several may, as at Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas. The same arguments apply to the description *uenerabilis*: the epitaph of Manneleubus from Briord indicates nothing more than his social status as an elderly person, (he was 60, No.149, dated 487), but that of Maria at Vienne also describes her as a *reigiiosa* (sic) *et timens D(omi)n(u)m*, suggesting that she was indeed a member of a foundation for women (No.594, dated 540, Saint-Pierre; Plate 199). With the *ancillae Deo* we are perhaps on firmer ground. The term is frequently employed in the Vulgate to describe a handmaiden of the Lord (*cf.* Luke 1:38 *dixit autem Maria ecce ancilla Domini fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum et discessit ab illa angelus*) and there are no grounds to deny that these are nuns. All *ancillae* except that at Antibes (No.30, dated 450-500, Plate 7) are found in towns known to have had female monasteries, as is the epitaph of Eufemia, obviously a nun, described as *Deo sacrata* from Vienne (No.615, dated 475-525; Plate 204). Finally, the *sanctimoniales* and *uirgines* leave almost no doubt as to their calling. Seven *sanctimoniales* are recorded and only one is known outside the Metropolitans (No.465, dated 450-500, Revel-Tourdan; Plate 151). A further seven females are described as *virginae* and again all are from the metropolitans except that of Aisberga from Vézeronce, described as *Deo placita qu(a)e uirgenalis actus omnioneste custodiens* (No.537, dated 491; Plate 175), a formula leaving no doubt as to her vocation. Her name is Germanic but the date is prior to the conversion to Catholicism from the Arian faith by the Burgundian majority in the sixth century, leaving the question of what her background was. An Arian church is known at Vienne at this time (*HF.II*: 33-34) but nothing is known of its structure outside the Metropolitans.

A final epithet which has a wider distribution than the others, but which seems to be simply adjectival is that of *famulus/a Dei*, indicating simply a servant of God in a very general sense (Blaise 1966: 513-4). Twenty-six examples appear, all confined to the northern part of the region. It first appears at Lyon on the epitaph of Procula (No.284, dated 375-425; Plate 96), an early example which is followed by several others from Lyon and Vienne during the first half of the fifth century. Evidence to support its use as an epithet comes from the epitaph of Sanctulus (No.254, dated 449, Lyon, Saint-Irénée; Plate 76): he was a child of three years, hardly old enough to hold any ecclesiastical position even in an age when child clerics were not unknown. It last appears on an epitaph from Vif (No.731, dated 578; Plate 228) and although it is frequent at Lyon (six examples) it does not seem to extend in use beyond the sixth century since no examples are known from the Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans cemetery. *Famulus Dei* is popular nowhere else in Gaul, though it is in Spain (Vives 1969: 9), specifically in northern *Baetica* and *Lusitania*, where dated examples begin in the mid-fifth century but are steadily supplanted by the use of *famulus Christi* during the sixth.

Social Status of the Deceased

The social status of the deceased is recorded with more regularity than on the episcopal examples. In general claims of high birth are found on longer, sometimes metrical epitaphs of

which 22 examples are known. Their purpose is identical to the episcopal epitaphs and the families erecting these epitaphs were in all probability from the same strata of society as those who supplied the Church with its bishops. The majority of the epitaphs employ similar formulae to those on the episcopal examples: thus we read of Innodius at La Gayole *stimmate p[re]cipuum, trabeatis fascibus ortum* (No.228, dated 450-475) and the aforementioned abbot Urbicius from Nacon *nobelis natalebus, sed beatus ex operibus* (No.442, dated 470-540; Plate 145). However, it was not a male preserve: the epitaph of Silvia from Vienne reads *consulibus atauis pollens, hic Siluia corpus* (No.601, dated 580; Plate 201): it is an astonishing epitaph which affords us a rare glimpse of the manner in which the higher echelons of the society of this region viewed such a woman at this time. She was not someone with any actual clerical or secular rank whatever, but someone we rarely see in the *Historia* of Gregory of Tours with its parade of queens, abbesses and royal daughters. The *exordium* of her epitaph is identical to those of the episcopacy and even contains classical allusions to the manner in which one's deeds are recounted at death *cunctaque mundano currentia tempore gesta, uel bona uel probra, omnia morte canunt: Phebus nempe nitens merito producitur ortu si pronus claro clausurit orbe diem*. She too has sought the Heavenly kingdom, *terrenum liquit celica regna petens*; the epitaph records that she was the mother of a certain Celsus, a man of Patrician rank under king Guntram (*RICG.XV*: p.426, citing *HF.IV*, 24), which may explain why she was actually buried amongst the episcopal tombs in Saint-Pierre at Vienne. Another who may have been buried in a similarly exalted position is Pantagatus of Vaison-la-Romaine (No.520, dated 515; Plate 170). Described as *inlustris titulis meritisque haut dispar auorum*, his epitaph states that he wished to be buried amongst the martyrs, in this case specifically under the protection of saint Vincent. Such a man could no doubt fund his own mausoleum with an eye to dynastic pretensions, which he appears to have done *malluit hic propriae corpus committere terrae, quam precibus quaesisse solum*. His rank is not recorded explicitly but he may have been the local *comes* since he certainly acted in a judicial capacity, *iura dedit, iustissima sanxit arbitriis, nam custos patriae rectorque uocatus a patria*. A similar rank may have been held by the recipient of an epitaph at Saint-Jean-de-Bourmay (No.471, dated 563, his name is not inscribed; Plate 155), he was *[ur]bes ab antiqua noueletate erat capud*.

However, a long life replete with official duties undertaken were not necessary for one to receive a fulsome eulogy: the epitaph of Proba from Anse (No.24, dated 498, Plate 5) Anse records that she is *germine sublimi, Proba nomine, mente prouata*; she was just five. Similarly the *initium* of the epitaph of the child Theodosius from La Gayole (No.230, dated 450-475) makes clear his background and faith *insegnem genetum cruces munimene septu*. That this epitaph was placed by an aristocratic family is betrayed by the classical heritage describing his baptism then his ascent to Heaven, where God is identified with Zeus, ruler of Olympus, *set summi rector Olympi [pr]estabet requiem membris, ubi nobele signum [pre/in?]fixum est cruces Xpique uocauetor eres*. This remarkable conflation of classical and Christian concepts has been

discussed above, but this epitaph also states that the parents wished their child to be baptised, yet the description of the manner of his death is classical, *[im]proba mors rapuet*.

Obita - Christian Immortality and *Inuida Mors*

Again, explicit assertions are made which affirm a belief in the afterlife. However, the pagan practice of attributing death to the envy of the Gods, Fortune or Fate is far more frequent than on the episcopal epitaphs. The most frequent theme is that of being snatched by jealous death, though tempered with the promise of everlasting life (Lattimore 1962: 316). Christianity rejects the classical idea of the broken thread of life but the idea of death being a separation from the light occasionally occurs (e.g. *lucis fine carens*, No.625, 475-525, Vienne and *[n]on sperans te lucem karerae*, ILCV.1558, Rome), but whilst the light of heaven is promised, death remains dark and jealous: hence, in addition to the epitaph of Theodosius, death is described as *mors impia* three times and *mors inuida* is found on five epitaphs. Curiously, two of the *mors improba* use almost the same phrase; at Lyon there is *[quam] funere dur[o], heu nimium celeri rapuit] mors impia c[ursu]* (No.317, dated 450-500; Plate 108) and at Andance there is *quem funere duro, eu, nimium celere rapuit mors impia* (No.21, dated 500-540; Plate 4) The idea of jealous death extends to the epitaph of queen Caratene (No.400, dated 506, Lyon), whose epitaph describes her as most devout and alludes to her foundation of a monastery at Ainey, *quam cum post decimum rapuit mors inuida lustrum*. Clearly, death retained its classical description even among the very highest echelons. As a concept, death remains something to be feared and this tradition never seems to be fully conquered by the Christian promise of the afterlife; at Vienne the unfortunate Maurolenus died at the age of 23 (No.605, dated 660; Plate 202), *quem rapuit mors inueda, cuius infancia bona fuit*.

However, immortality is frequently expressed, though welcoming death because of the world's pressures is rarely recorded though the epitaph of an un-named wife from Lyon appears to do so, *Coniux, q(uae) placidam capis quietem, mundi tristitias exhorruisti* (No.316, sixth century). Even a delight in death is found, not through the hope of immortality but through disgust of life often through illness, a pagan tradition but it is rarely found in South Eastern Gaul. A remarkable example comes from Lyon (No.360, dated 599, Saint Laurent-de-Choulans; Plate 116) and demonstrates the longevity of the tradition; *flente cumprul(e) Mogae: iam hic multum tempore egretudinebus laborauit: duxerat quater denus decimam aetatem, XXXX portauit in pace*. However, the majority of the epitaphs present a confident outlook and hope of immortality.

Nevertheless, as we saw on the episcopal epitaphs, belief in immortality is perhaps the most prominent theme expressed on epitaphs. Where immortality is expressed it is often found inscribed as a consolation, though not technically as *consolationes* (Lattimore *idem.*: 327). They offer alleviation of death which had been felt to be evil. Lattimore considers that the small cross incised at the beginning of most texts from the late fifth century onwards symbolises this belief and that the use of peacocks at Vienne (and also occasionally at Arles and Lyon, though doves facing a vase predominates) in the late fifth and sixth centuries has a similar meaning.

The earlier, fourth and fifth century epitaphs tend to record the eternal fame or glory of the deceased (e.g. *memoriae aeternae, Quietae*, No.135, Autun dated 378 and *[g]loria non mor[ietur?]* [...] *Jo coniuxque [... conjugi III [...]*, No.344, dated 325-400, Lyon), but these are soon replaced by hope of eternal life, eternal peace and immortality - all essentially the same idea and again confined largely to the metropolitans and continuing throughout this period. Hence, at Lyon eternal life is first expressed *innocentiae m[er]itum (h)abent apud Deum anima perpetua uita firmata* (No.296, fifth century; Plate 104) and the epitaph of Proba at Anse, after complaining that God has snatched her away, states that *mors nihil est, uitam respice perpetuam* (No.24, dated 498, Plate 5). Eternal peace is recorded only four times and immortality tends to be linked with the pagan concept of eternal fame, as the epitaph of Pantagatus from Vaison-la-Romaine attests, *primum quod postulat ordo uitae ei aeternum fama transmittit in orbem* (No.520, dated 515; Plate 170).

The above examples indicate a belief that immortality has been granted forthwith but at Die is a rare example of the deceased finding redemption in death and now awaiting the last judgment *morte redemptus ... et diem futuri iudicii intercedentibus sanctis [!]* *letus spectit* (No.192, dated 400-450; Plate 57). More common is the hope of resurrection, expressed in phrases governed by *resurgo* and *surgo*, examples of which we have seen in Chapter Three to be distributed around Vienne. From Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas comes *in spe resurexionis uite aeternae* (No.489, dated 550-610; Plate 161) but more common is a straightforward belief in resurrection through the mercy of Christ as for example *in sp[ec]ie resurrectionis [misericordiae Xpi? ...]* (No.216, dated 450-500, Grenoble and cf. Nos.465, dated 450-500, and 463, dated 547, Revel-Tourdan; No.233 (Plate 69), dated 548-608, La Tronche; No.490, dated 550-600, Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas; No.731, dated 578, Vif (Plate 228) and No.545, 450-500, Vienne, Saint-Gervais, Plate 180). In the seventh century this sentiment is found in a different form at Lyon, *ad tubam uocantem su[r]rectu[r]us in Deo et Xpo*. No.367, dated 656, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans; Plate 123).

Grief and Lamentation

This topic has been dealt with in conjunction with the episcopal epitaphs above and here it is sufficient to state that the relative's grief follows a similar pattern and that where there is a difference it is in emphasis. Thus, for example, there is the grief expressed by parents for their children and the sadness in losing three children in 27 days expressed by Vitalinus and Martina, *non grandem gloriam sed dolum filiorum*. (No.660, dated 400-450, Vienne; Plate 210), and *hinc mestus pater est auiae matriq(u)e perennis (tris)titia* expressed by the parents of Proba (No.24, dated 498, Anse, Plate 5), which hardly conceals their anger and bitterness *heu facinus causa, perit pietas*. This conflation of classical and Christian ideals finds expression well into the sixth century; the epitaph of Dextrianus is explicitly Christian and he has received his reward in Heaven, *nec inmerito, nam tuo sic munere, Criste, dextris tibi nunc fide adsistit in agnis aeternum sperans te, D(omi)ne, largiente donum*, yet his family grieves in a classical manner,

lugemus te, miserande puer, quia breue omne, quod bonum est (No.4, dated 538-597, Aix-en-Provence, Plate 2). Nevertheless, even the clergy saw fit to record the grief of the people at the passing of one of their most favoured, as the epitaph of Pascasius shows, *et pauperum lacrimas rigasse hunc locum fusae probantur ... pontificis ac sacerdotum clerique et plebis meruerit cum lamentatione* (No.735, dated 549-609, Viviers; Plate 231); this degree of grief hardly accords with Saint Paul's exhortation for moderate grief (see above). As might be expected, the greatest sorrow is expressed for those dying prematurely, or even violently, *Eugenia ... iuuentatis florem amisit durae uiolintia mortis* (No.279, dated 552, Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just; Plate 93).

The Merits and Virtues of the Deceased

Once again the virtues expressed are similar to those on the episcopal epitaphs and only where they differ is it necessary to discuss them further - to treat of each attribute separately would require a volume of its own. The earliest epitaphs, those with a dative/optative *initium* (see Chapter Three) are often placed by the surviving spouse and include an epithet such as *dulcissimae*, *amantissimae* or *delectissimae* in the case of an epitaph for a wife. With the spread of Christian ideals and the concomitant disappearance of the *cursus honorum*, virtues such as charity, chastity and piety come to the fore.

The Christian ethic of charity makes an early appearance, *Audolena, bona caretate suam* (No.18, dated 430-500, Albigny, Plate 3) and though not specifically employed as a female attribute, a glance at the female epitaphs in general will quickly reveal an idealised picture that is encapsulated succinctly on an epitaph from Vienne:

*Castitas, fides, caritas,
pietas, obsequium
et quaecumque Deus
faeminis inesse
praecepit, his ornata
bonis Sofroni-
ola in pace quiescit.
Martinianus,
iugalis eius, titulum
ex more dicabit.*

Obiit octauum idus iunias (No.572, dated 450-500, Vienne, Saint-Sévère; Plate 192)

This is not to say that only women were remembered in an idealised way; the priest Pascasius at Viviers receives a fulsome eulogy, *fuit iste caretate primus, humilitate alt(u)s, humanetate largissimus* (No.735, dated 549-609, Viviers; Plate 231). Couples too are remembered for their kindness to one another, *qui uixer[unt in coniu]gali adfectu et carita[te] annis circiter LX* (No.40, dated 496, Aouste; Plate 11). Curiously, chastity is not a virtue frequently encountered and is confined to the north of the region, it is never found in *Arelatensis*. Declarations of faith and piety, on the other hand, are ubiquitous. Of course piety towards the Gods was also a pagan virtue and thus it appears early (e.g. *qui uim [...]s passi sunt. [...]gia pientissimis [f?..]* (No.417, dated 325-400, Marseille; Plate 138) and is soon found

in the north at Vienne, *pietate, honore decorus quem nemus aelysium Marimum conclamat omne* (No.549, dated 400-475; Plate 184). During the course of the sixth century these declarations of piety, together with those declaring faith, generosity and the highest moral integrity become more common, thereby displacing the fact based *cursus honorum* with a set of conventional, Christian values which, as emphasised above, tell us nothing about the individual, though much of the society that produced these epitaphs. This transition from pagan to Christian epigraphic styles was to reach its apogee in the seventh century, where, although the data are not as numerous as one might wish, in the next and final chapter it is possible to take an overview of the remarkable changes in epigraphic style that took place between the fourth and eighth centuries.

CONCLUSION

We have seen that sufficient epigraphic evidence exists to demonstrate that South Eastern Gaul remained something of an enclave of '*Romanitas*' following the fifth century Germanic invasions and that the adoption of various dating systems reveal a political as well as religious dimension. We have seen also that it is possible to employ comparative techniques in order to both supply a relative chronology to those epitaphs bearing identical or similar *initia*, age and date formulae as those which are firmly dated but where the date is either not extant or illegible. Additionally, we have seen that by employing similar techniques it is possible to reconstruct many fragmentary texts with reasonable confidence. However, two important questions remain - why the addition of the exact date of death - or occasionally of burial - should have been felt necessary and why the consular or p.c. year (and later, the indiction), should have been selected for this purpose.

The incidence of dated inscriptions of any type was rare during the first four centuries AD in South Eastern Gaul, although a substantial number were produced at Rome (Gordon and Gordon 1965). However, only a minority are dated by the consular year, the majority dating from the fourth century. An example of this paucity of dated inscriptions is highlighted in the pages of Espérandieu's (1929) continuation to *CIL.XII*. In this region only two inscriptions - excluding milestones, usually dated by the year of the current emperor's reign - from a total of 644 are dated. One, (*CIL.XII*:350, from Duin near Annecy, is dated to a consulate of Trajan in AD 91 and the other, No.545, from Caveirac near Nîmes, is a dedication dated to a consulate of the Emperor Philip in 245. Public dedications were probably dated throughout the first four centuries AD, as two fragments from Castel-Roussillon, on the littoral between Nîmes and the Spanish border attest. They are among more than 40 fragments of dedications to the family of Augustus and are dated AD 8, 11 and 39 respectively (*CIL.XII*: 616, 617 and 628).

Thus, no previous tradition of regularly dating epitaphs by their exact year existed and other reasons must be sought. Le Blant provides a clue; for those adherents of classical, pagan religions death brought no consolation whatsoever, and it was for this reason that the date of death or burial was rarely recorded (*ICG, Preface,xxv*). Generally, death was viewed as a terrible fate, particularly the afterlife (see Lattimore 1962: *passim*), with epitaphs divided between expressions that suggesting some hope in immortality and those that did not (Lattimore 1962: 21-55).

The former tradition is expressed in a belief in the duality of the body and soul, and in Latin epitaphs the location of the soul is most often described as having returned to the sky, effectively becoming a star (*ibid.*: 38). However, this holds good only for those where death is not held to have been a terrible fate, yet they should not be confused with the Christian belief in an afterlife or a belief in immortality; the idea of the soul joining the heavens is also found in

Christian epitaphs (see Chapter Five). One theme found on many epitaphs is the hope that the earth may not lie heavily on the deceased (suggesting a belief in some form of corporeal sensation after death?) as most commonly found in Africa, Spain and at Rome (*ibid.*: 65-68). Avowed disbelief in immortality or any form of life after death are found more frequently on Latin than on Greek epitaphs: often referred to as an everlasting sleep, death is nevertheless an end (Lattimore 1962: 79; cf. *CIL.XII*: 4745 from Narbonne, *obliuio omnium rerum mors*). Such pagan themes as are found on Christian inscriptions from this region are discussed in Chapter Five, and here it is only necessary to reiterate that until the advent of Christianity, with its ambiguous promise of eternal life and resurrection on the day of judgement, there was no need felt to record any kind of date - indeed, precisely the opposite prevailed.

Christianity had evolved in its early stages as an exclusive cult and its burial practices were in many ways different to those of the pagan cults it finally superseded. A single example will suffice to demonstrate the difference. During the first four centuries AD it was common for one to belong to a burial club, such was the fear of not receiving proper burial. Failing that, many a wealthy patron would provide for the deposition of their freedmen and slaves as well as their family. In this respect the freedmen, freedwomen and slaves were regarded as part of the family and such "family" tombs together with actual family tombs can still be seen at Rome today, the most famous being that of Livia, wife of the Emperor Augustus on the *via Appia* where a *columbarium* contained sufficient niches to house 3000 cinerary urns (Sandys 1969: 74). The early Christian catacombs at Rome work on a similar principle with one major difference, they also contained the burial or relics of martyrs. Thus, through the burial of adherents *ad martyrem* and not specifically alongside their kin group, Christianity began to emphasise the breaking of the barriers of kin. All were now within the new, Christian family and the community would remember only its own members, within which the anniversaries of the deaths of martyrs and bishops were carefully noted, thereby giving the Christian community a perpetual responsibility for maintaining the memory of its heroes and leaders (Brown 1981: 31).

A liturgy had developed for the requiem mass in general terms but regional variations probably existed (Beck 1950: 128), and this would have been performed for the recipients of these epitaphs, the majority of which were erected for members of the higher echelons of society, the clergy, landowners and their families (see Chapter Five). However, no doubt a requiem was performed for all the congregation, as the evidence provided by Gregory of Tours on the occasion of an outbreak of plague at Clermont demonstrates (*ibid.*: 131, note 17; *HF.IV*: 31). Here it is the fact and not the actual ritual that concerns us.

Additionally, there seem to have been two types of anniversary mass occasionally given, probably at the very hour at which the deceased died (Beck 1950: 130). One was undertaken one month after death and, more rarely, there were those undertaken frequently for a loved one at the behest of their survivors. Evidence for the former is provided by Gregory of Tours who

describes a miracle that took place during the anniversary mass given for Abbot Senoch (*VP*, *Caput XV* = *PL.LXXI*, Cols.1071-1074). A letter of Avitus of Vienne to his brother, Apollinaris of Valence, informs him that the anniversary mass for their sister took place at the right time (Beck 1950: 130; *PL.LIX*, Cols.250-251, *epistola XII*). Frequent anniversary masses sponsored by wealthy individuals are known from the story of a widow at Lyon who provided fine Gaza wine for the daily mass for her spouse celebrated at the church of Saint-Mary (Notre-Dame-de-la-Saunerie?; Beck 1950: 131 Note 19; *GC.LXV* = *PL.LXXI*, Cols.875-876). This indicates that scrupulous attention was paid to recording the dates of death of prestigious individuals; a practice probably derived from the commemoration of saint's and martyr's feast days. No lists survive of recipients that must have been kept by the clergy in order to maintain the practice of offering anniversary masses, but it must be assumed that the date inscribed on the epitaph was intended to demonstrate not only the Christian belief that death is the start of a new life in Christ, but to remind the clergy, congregation and even passer-by of the anniversary of one of their former congregational members. Otherwise, an individual would have become anonymous and the epitaph would lack the sense of being more than a record of who is buried where, for it is a celebratory statement and the exact time it occurred became an essential element in that celebration.

Given that the day of the month alone would suffice for this, why then did the addition of the consular or p.c. date become so popular? To answer this it is necessary first to review the role of the consulate from the end of the third century and other dating systems employed in the Western Empire in this period. The third century had seen several dozen individuals elevated to the purple over a period of sixty years, many of whom were usurpers, often lasting no more than a few weeks - hardly a stable basis upon which official and private documents might rely for chronological consistency. During the reign of Gallienus the senatorial order was forbidden army service whereas the equestrian increased in importance by taking over those military duties formerly the preserve of the senatorial order, the *legati legionum* and *legati pro praetore*. The accession of Constantine saw the restoration of the dignity of the office (Sandys 1969: 110).

The role of the Roman senatorial aristocracy has received some attention in recent years. For Gaul, Stroheker (1948), demonstrated the continued existence of the class in Southern Gaul well into the sixth century. How the foundations for this were laid is explained in part by Matthews (1975), who argues that the traditional aristocracies in the West enjoyed a significantly greater share of power by 425 than they had in 364, this being an important condition of continuity between Roman and post-Roman Europe. Wormald (1976) correctly emphasises that the chronological period encompassing Matthews' study is too brief and that enquiries need to focus on the social and geographical backgrounds from which men aspired to positions of power in the later Roman government in general. He points out that senatorial involvement in the highest positions of government reached a nadir under Diocletian and began

to recover from the time of Constantine reaching an almost monopoly under Valentinian III (*ibid.*: 217-219).

The ruling class of the later Empire was conceptually a broad group, including not just the Roman Senate but also the provincial gentry who constituted an aristocracy within their own sphere of influence. The latter, even if they attained the *clarissime*, often retired to their native provinces. A famous example is the poet Ausonius, who was not a senator by birth and whose wealth is unlikely to have ever equalled Roman senatorial standards. Such individuals remained in touch with members of the Roman nobility, having become local landowners aspiring to the same levels of cultivation. Logically then, the rise of the gentry in Gaul and Spain under Gratian and Theodosius led to the domination of the government by the senators in the fifth century (*ibid.*: 218).

Gallic participation in government may have never been well established, developing only because of the location of a Praetorian Prefecture at Trier and later at Arles during the third and fourth centuries. The subsequent removal of the emperor to Italy resulted in the Gallic upper classes seeking local solutions to their difficulties, (Matthews 1975: 349-351). In the early fifth century the belief was widespread that Stilicho and the government in Italy had betrayed their interests, resulting in widespread support for the usurpers Constantine and Jovinus, and finally for the promotion of Avitus to the throne in 455. Apart from Avitus, Majorian was the last emperor to enter Gaul and the failure of the Roman Senate to support Aetius' Gallic campaigns can have only reinforced this view. Nevertheless, in both Gaul and Italy during the ascendancy of Aetius in the second quarter of the fifth century the nobility enjoyed an almost uninterrupted tenure of the major offices of state (Twyman 1970: 480-503). The fall of Majorian in 461 effectively brings to an end the combined histories of the two regions and the Western Empire was exclusively Italian, as Sidonius was soon to discover (Wickham 1981: 19).

The actual composition of the landowning classes has been the subject of much debate in recent years. This is important because it is they who were in a position to influence the traditions of *Romanitas*, of which the use of consular and p.c. dates was one. For Stroheker (1948), the meaning of the word senator remained substantially as before; the title was one of honour and that one was a senator only if descended from the imperial senatorial aristocracy of Rome, but his conclusion was based upon the lineage of only three Gallo-Roman families. Gilliard (1979) has argued against so narrow a classification for the senatorial classes of the fourth and fifth century, maintaining for the Gallo-Roman aristocracy it may have held the broader meaning of a man of wealth and land and that by the sixth century the Gallic senatorial classes probably consisted of both the old families who continued to dominate the episcopacy and 'parvenus' who had risen in importance during the previous two centuries. Ausonius provides an example of the level to which one might aspire in the fourth century: from relatively humble beginnings he rose to the Prefecture of the Gauls through a path facilitated by socially

and financially advantageous marriages contracted by himself and his family (Hopkins 1961: 243).

Though the Gallic senatorial class was evidently well entrenched at home, the life of Sidonius Apollinaris and the fate of the Aquitainian senators who supported Alaric at Vouillé attest that it was not immune from political vicissitudes. Furthermore, the severe treatment meted out by Gundobad to the senatorial supporters of his brother, Godegisel, demonstrates that personal involvement in internal royal politics was a dangerous activity (Gilliard 1979: 695). However, within the Germanic kingdoms and despite some differences over religious dogma, the senatorial classes doubtless supported the Germanic administrations who required their administrative and literary skills - the Law Codes of the Burgundians, Franks and Visigoths written in Latin is proof of this. In late fifth century Gaul, the hope for imperial intervention was long past in and any hope of maintaining *Romanitas* in the face of the imperial indifference lay in making terms with the Germanic kingdoms.

Despite the attempts of some Gallic bishops, the episcopacy did not yet dominate the secular society of sub-Roman Gaul. This was to be a process that began in Italy, once the Senate had largely removed to Constantinople, decimated by the Gothic-Byzantine wars (Wickham 1981: 18). Furthermore, the short-lived dominance of the Visigoths in Aquitaine and the enormous changes brought about in the north by the Franks explains why traditional cultural ties with Rome were largely interrupted and not resumed until much later (Wormald 1976: 224). In Italy, where the situation was similar except that there were more senators who owned lands in other provinces, the same compromise was reached. A continuation of service and domination of offices existed under the Germanic kings; in the *Consularia Italica* the only difference after 476 is a change to the succession of Germanic kings (Wickham 1981: 15; *MGH.AA.9*). The chronicles express no surprise, probably because the Western Empire was by now confined to Italy alone; for example, Marcellinus Comes mentions tersely for the year 476 that *Odoacer rex Gothorum Romam obtinuit.... Gothorum dehinc regibus Romam tenentibus* (Marcellinus:= *PL.LI*, Col.932). Odovacer courted the Senate, where the main offices of state remained under the control of families like the Decii, Anicii and Petronii, but their support ceased when Theoderic invaded in 489.

Theoderic too carefully sought senatorial support for his administration and he seems to have promised the Senate and Roman people in 500 that he would not interfere with their laws, which may have served to lengthen the life of the senatorial order and thereby the consulate in the West. An example of his largesse is that in 522 Boethius was honoured with the hitherto unknown privilege of having both consulates for his young sons, East and West; another is the career of Liberius, Prefect of Gaul in 510, although by then the command was limited to lands south of the Durance and Septimania (Wickham 1981: 19). However, the events of 524-6 and

534-6 demonstrate that the Romano-Gothic compound remained as unstable as it had in Gaul in both Visigothic and Burgundian domains (Wormald 1976: 223).

The real threat to the senatorial order and Italy began in the sixth century with the Byzantine reconquest. Senatorial wealth was on the wane with few of their number prepared to finance the refurbishment of public buildings in Rome. Consequently, the devastation caused by the Byzantine reconquest also devastated the Senate itself; by 600 the Senate had virtually disappeared. In the seventh century, the Byzantine and Lombard military hierarchies became the landowning aristocracy (Wickham 1981: 17).

At Rome, dated inscriptions between 284 and 410 number 1139, although of these 1068 date between 341 and 410 (CLRE: 58). This is taken to reflect the increasing influence of the senatorial order at this time. The tables in CLRE reveal a marked increase in the use of the consular and p.c. year as a method of dating epitaphs from the end of the third century until 541 at Rome. Some 60 of these epitaphs are for known members of the Roman Senate. The phenomenon thence spreads throughout Italy from the middle of the fourth century and spreads to the rest of Europe from the second half of the fifth. However, in the Eastern Empire and Africa dating epitaphs by this method was never popular, there being a combined total of only 77 for the whole period 284 to 541. This can be explained by the continued employment of the era method of dating; in Africa over 200 examples are recorded (CLRE: 60), and Seleucid era continued in the East (Grumel 1958: 209). The Danube provinces provide 93 examples up to the last quarter of the fifth century with only eight known examples thereafter, perhaps because the region was not noted for major cities (CLRE: 58-60). Nonetheless, the bare facts in CLRE conceal important regional differences. The figures for Europe represent more the totals for South Eastern Gaul, there being few found elsewhere, for instance only 11 come from Spain and only one is known in Britain (Nash-Williams 1950: No.104; Plate 31).

In Spain the situation in the fourth century is unclear because there is no evidence comparable with that provided by Sidonius Apollinaris in Gaul for the senatorial or land-owning aristocracy. There seems no reason to assume that this class suffered any worse in Spain than their counterparts in Gaul and, as in Gaul, epitaphs, concentrated in the most Romanised provinces of *Lusitania* and *Baetica*, demonstrate that the tradition of placing an epitaph continued throughout the sixth century (Riché 1976: 277). In the late fourth century and early fifth the legitimate imperial dynasty was the Theodosian, itself Spanish in origin, so it is no surprise to find that members of the family of the Emperor Honorius (393-423) still lived in Spain and opposed Constantine in 409. The subsequent defeat of Constantine and Gerontius did not lead to imperial control being regained; troops that had submitted to Honorius were not returned but were sent to Africa (Collins 1983: 16-18), thereby effectively ending direct imperial rule in 411 except for *Tarraconensis*. Subsequently, conflicts between Vandals, Sueves and Visigoths

during the next half century eventually resulted in Visigothic hegemony over the entire peninsula under king Euric in the mid 470s (*ibid.*: 24).

The overwhelming percentage of Latin names suggest that the Roman population continued much as before, though as the sixth century progressed there is an increasing incidence of epitaphs bearing Germanic names. In Aquitaine, the Franks may not have occupied territory in great numbers perhaps because there was no need militarily if one accepts the theory of Collins (1983: 34-35) that in the decade preceding the battle of Vouillé, great numbers of Visigoths crossed south from Aquitaine to settle in Spain, thereby reducing available numbers to counter any Frankish aggression from the north. In Spain epitaphs, when dated at all, favoured the era system whose starting point was 38 BC (Hübner 1901: vii; Vives 1969: 177). Only 11 inscriptions, not all epitaphs, record a consular or p.c. date and all are from the Eastern half of the peninsula or the Balearics (Vives 1969: 255). The earliest, (Vives: No.367), dated 387 is a civil dedication for a granary from Granátula, *Carthaginensis*. The Byzantine attempt at reconquest is attested by another building dedication, (Vives: No.362) from Cartagena, dated 589-90 by a consulship of the Emperor Maurice. The fashion also reached Majorca in the Balearics, (Vives: No.268), the epitaph of a presbyter, is dated 493. Seven others all come from Tarragona, (Vives: Nos.189-195) and, with one possible exception, are dated between 393 and 503. The consular and p.c. system was therefore effectively confined to North Eastern Spain, the area closest to Gaul and elsewhere the Spanish era was employed, Spain, particularly in the south, *Baetica* and around Mérida where the era was employed continually from 354 until the first half of the eighth century (Vives 1969: pp.257-260 - a total of 156 examples). Only 13 inscriptions bearing regnal dates are known and five examples of an indictional date (*ibid.*: pp.255-256). The implication is that the effective loss of Spain by the imperial administration in the early fifth century forestalled any chance of the adoption of the consular year, with the exception of *Tarraconensis*. Its adoption there is explained by a continued imperial influence until the second quarter of the fifth century (see above). In respect of the Spanish era system, it is notable that the Gallaecian bishop, Hydatius, does not employ it for his chronicle, one of our major sources for the fifth century (Hydatius).

Therefore it is possible to conclude that the use of the consular date on epitaphs in Italy and South Eastern Gaul was due to the maintained and reinforced influence of the Roman Senate during the fourth century which in turn fuelled the fashion for the employment of consular and p.c. dates on epitaphs. This system continued throughout the sixth century and survived around Lyon and Vienne into the seventh centuries because that same influence remained, though the senate had disappeared by c.600. In Italy and South Eastern Gaul there was no other system that could conceivably have been employed because no other had existed - there had been an unbroken succession of titulars to provide a stable chronological framework; nor is there evidence that it was an imposed system. The year of the reign of the current emperor may often

have been unknown during the chaotic years of the third century, during which period Christianity was proscribed and persecuted - a fact hardly likely to endear the emperor's name to the Christian faithful. The rapid conversion of the senatorial aristocracy, albeit perhaps nominally, and its new found influence meant that their order was unlikely to have been tainted by the stain of persecution.

The authors of CLRE are largely correct in their conclusion that it is from the mid-fifth century that consular dates are adopted in this region, but there is evidence to suggest that the system was sporadically adopted earlier. In South Eastern Gaul the earliest entry in the catalogue (Appendix 1) is from Lyon, No.248, dated 334, and the next is from Autun, No.135, dated 378. Another from Arles, No.130, is the epitaph of the wife of the consul of 328, Flavius Ianuarinus, and is dated to between 330 and 350 (see Chapter Three; Plate 41). In South Western Gaul there are a few epitaphs which provide evidence that the consular dating system may have been adopted earlier; an example from Valcabrière in *Nouempopulana* is dated 347 (*ICG*: 596, *NR*:297), and another, possibly from Sion, east of Genève, is dated 377 (*ICG*: 369). Thus, the system was known if not widely employed; indeed an epitaph recently discovered near Apt (not included in this survey) is dated by the consulship of Lupicinus and Iovinus to 367 (Guyon 1992: 209). Therefore, the use of a consular date must have followed Roman tradition relatively early; it is the archaeological record that is lacking in part and more must have existed.

At Trier, the sole location outside South Eastern Gaul where a significant number of inscriptions are found, only two are dated and they are Greek (*R/ICG*.I: 93, dated 409 and 211, dated 383). Inscriptions at Trier effectively terminate in the middle of the fifth century due to the sequence of sieges and sackings it endured (Gauthier 1975: 95-104 = *R/ICG*.I), explaining in part why the system was never adopted in the Rhineland and Northern Gaul. In Aquitaine, a similar situation may have prevailed in the second decade of the fifth century; when departing Bordeaux in late 414 or early 415 Athaulf's men sacked the city in which they had been billeted since 413 (Burns 1992: 55; *Chron.Gall.* 72). This may explain in part why a once important port has produced so few epitaphs dating to the following half century; an epitaph possibly dated 453 is known, unusually recording a regnal date of the Visigothic king Thorismund, (died 453), if the reconstruction is correct (*NR*: 284; *domino nostro Tu[rismundo]*). Another, earlier, dated epitaph from Angoulême is dated 405 (*NR*: 277), but the implication in Aquitaine is clear; the consular system was never adopted because the Visigoths who settled in Aquitaine and in Spain later, never enjoyed good diplomatic relations with the imperial authorities, and vigorously resisted any interference such as the incursion by Majorian in the late 450s. Visigothic control extended into Provence, which helps explain the near total absence of epitaphs bearing a consular date south of the Durance until it came under Ostrogothic control after the Visigothic defeat at Vouillé. It may be a reflection of the archaeological record that so few inscriptions have been found overall but it is unlikely.

The most remarkable trait found on epitaphs from the Visigothic-controlled region is the employment of a regnal date much earlier than anywhere else. In addition to that from Bordeaux (see above), at Artonne, another has been reconstructed to read either 488-489 or 503-504, during the reign of Alaric II, on account of the indictional year [... *indictione XII regnum domini nostri Alarici regis*]; the employment of the Chi/Rho monogram and *transeo* to govern the date of the month provide the basis for such an early date (ICG:556a).

Two further examples from Coudes and Viviers are unequivocal. The former is dated 493, another from Alaric II's reign (ICG: 569) as is No.734 (Plate 230) from Viviers, dated 496. The practice of employing a regnal date was clearly gaining ground in the second half of the fifth century in the Visigothic Kingdom. A building inscription from Mérida, dated 483 (Vives 1969: No.284), confirms that these are not isolated examples and that the Kingdom, whilst assimilating Roman epigraphic forms, demonstrated therein an independence from the very culture that was responsible for its genesis; overall, there was probably little cultural assimilation by the Visigoths of *Romanitas* by the time they were forced to retreat to Spain (Wallace-Hadrill 1962: 47). Visigothic federate status was a fiction, as coins struck in the king's name have survived from the Visigothic Kingdom in the South of Gaul and royal documents were dated by their own regnal years. Therefore, it is no surprise that Visigothic dominance in *Narbonensis* has left clear traces in the dating of some of their inscriptions (Heidrich 1968: 176-177). The Latin names on the two cited examples from Coudes and Viviers, Iulianeta and Severus, reinforce the extent to which the upper classes saw themselves to be culturally and politically part of a new world.

In the region that became known as *Septimania* after 507, inscriptions continued to be dated by the regnal years of the Visigothic kings. At Narbonne a series of five dated epitaphs extends from 541 (ICG: 616) to either 592 or 594 (ICG: 620a, the regnal date and the indictional do not concur). A single epitaph dated to 688 shows that the practice probably continued until the collapse of the Visigothic Kingdom in the second decade of the eighth century (ICG: 621, *anno secundo d(o)m(in)i (nostri) Egicani regis*). An example from Truilhas dated to the reign of Leovigild in 582 shows that the custom was not confined to the major cities, a similar situation to that found in South Eastern Gaul (ICG: 611, NR: 306).

Admittedly, epitaphs of the sixth century exist in *Narbonensis* with consular and p.c. dates, but they date to the early years of the century (e.g. NR: 312, from Narbonne, dated 508). Yet the overall picture demonstrates a significant difference in dating methods between *Septimania* and South Eastern Gaul. Additionally, differences are found between *Arelatensis* and elsewhere after 507. No epitaphs are known to have employed regnal dates in *Arelatensis* prior to the late sixth century. This may be due in part to the employment of consular and p.c. dates, but they are rare; only four epitaphs so dated are known from Arles prior to the collapse of Visigothic control south of the Durance in 507 (Nos. 67, 75, 90 and 111). Following the expulsion of the

Burgundians from territories south of the Durance by Theoderic's Ostrogoths in 508, seized in the aftermath of Vouillé, the Gallic Prefecture was re-established at Arles (Wolfram 1979: 309). Henceforth a series of consular and p.c. dates are found on epitaphs, the first dated 515 - if the reconstruction [*mar?*]*sia D[?..... con]sula[tum Florentii?] et A[nthemii, u(irorum) c(larissimorum) c(onsulum)]* is accepted (No.96). More certain are those that follow: nine examples cover 525 to 554 (Nos.60, 63, 64, 73, 88, 95, 99, 120 and 128), demonstrating that the same practice was followed as was in Ostrogothic Italy. Furthermore, following the cession of lands south of the Durance to the Franks by Vitigis in 537 (*ibid.*: 315), it can be seen that the custom continued because Nos.95, 99 and 128 are all p.c.s of Basilius, whose p.c.s were used for over a century in *Viennensis* (see above). Material evidence of the Ostrogothic overlordship not only of the territory south of the Durance but also *Septimania*, may be seen through the fact that consular and p.c. dates were employed at Narbonne during this hegemony and that the Visigothic king, Amalaric, possessed only a nominal authority in the region - no epitaphs are dated by his regnal years and the populace evidently considered themselves as forming a political component of the Ostrogothic and not the Visigothic Kingdom (Le Blant /CG, Preface lxvi).

The few epitaphs from this region predating the establishment of the Burgundian Kingdom should be seen as a measure of traditional ties between the local aristocracy and their Italian counterparts. These ties were not merely among the local landowners and civic dignitaries, but with the highest echelons of the nobility; families such as the Anicii who provided several consuls and several leading members of the Gallic episcopate (Mommaerts and Kelly 1992: 111-121). However, as yet an epitaph dated to the consulship of the Gallic Emperor Avitus is the only such example known (No.255, Lyon, dated 12 June 456; Plate 77). The continued employment of the consular year during the Burgundian ascendancy in the period 475-525 has been partially explained through the royal diplomatic links with the Byzantine court (see above). The increasing use of the indictional year, with or without a consular or p.c. year, has also been discussed above. There remains the question why the use of the p.c.s of Iustinus and Basilius - at Lyon and Vienne respectively - finally gave way to the employment of a regnal date, and finally, why epitaphs completely disappear from this region at the end of the seventh century.

The practice of employing a regnal date continued in the territories ceded to the Franks after 507 and in the sixth and seventh centuries dated epitaphs from the Auvergne employ the regnal date of the Merovingian kings, often in conjunction with the indictional year. Heidrich (1968) identified that the regnal date of the Merovingian kings was employed almost immediately after the Frankish conquest in the Auvergne. The earliest is from Volvic, dated to 530, the nineteenth year of Theuderic I's reign (*NR*: 226) and the latest is dated 636, also from Volvic (*NR*: 230). Between these dates others recorded are from Artonne, Clermont, Coudes and Vichy (Heidrich 1968: 177). Few epitaphs bearing a Merovingian regnal date are known outside the Auvergne

within the former Visigothic Kingdom, though one from Bordeaux is probably dated to the fifth year of the reign of Clovis II, *anno V regnum dom(i)ni nost(r) Chlodovei reg(is)*, AD 641 (JCG: 586a). All the names of the deceased dated to the sixth century have Latin names, the earliest Germanic example from Aquitaine is the epitaph of Gondobad or Gondobada, dated 636, from Volvic (*CIL.XIII*: 1513). This contrasts with South Eastern Gaul where Germanic names are found from the second half of the fifth century (see below).

In the Burgundian Kingdom, dated inscriptions increase during the first quarter of the sixth century, with the p.c. and indiction dominating after 541, with a concentration in the cities of Lyon and Vienne and northern *Viennensis*. This Kingdom fell to the Franks in 534 but the regnal years of the Merovingian dynasty did not immediately replace the consular dating system, in marked contrast with the Auvergne. The only explanation for this is that the region was not settled by the Franks, at least not in any number, and that politically it remained something of a backwater.

There is epigraphical evidence to support the view that South Eastern Gaul had looked to the Eastern Empire as the legitimate authority, if only nominally (see above), and continued to do so following the commencement of the reconquest of Italy in 535, if only nominally. This evidence comes in the continued use of the p.c.s of Iohannis (cons.538), Iustinus (cons.540) and Basilius (cons.541) are all found to have had their p.c. years employed as dates for epitaphs in the former Burgundian Kingdom, especially the latter two whose p.c.s are found even in the seventh century (see above). The implication is that the upper classes continued to view themselves as part of a Roman culture and not of a new barbarian kingdom: this raises the question of whom did this class comprise by this time?

The names of the deceased, dedicators, parents or emancipated slaves are sufficiently well preserved on 488 epitaphs to allow their racial origins to be categorised as Graeco-Roman, Hebrew, Gallic or Germanic. Seventy-nine of these are Germanic, of which 41 are precisely dated by a consular, p.c. or regnal year, presenting a body of demographic evidence unequalled in Western Europe except Italy. The totals referred to here are for the overall names known and do not represent the number of epitaphs present. Demographic patterns are discussed fully in Chapter Four but their dates and distribution are here reviewed briefly in order to demonstrate a few important points. Only five epitaphs with a Germanic name are known in *Arelatensis* but 38 and 35 are known from *Lugdunensis* and *Viennensis* respectively. More striking still are the distributions of Germanic names for they form a far greater proportion of the total of names outside the metropolitans. Several undated epitaphs have been given relative date ranges centring on the middle of the fifth century (see Chapter Four), and the earliest dated example comes from Pothières, No.461 dated 461. This epitaph, for a female, is somewhat north of the limits of the Burgundian Kingdom and so she may have been the Germanic wife of a Gallo-Roman or even a Gallo-Roman with a Germanic name. The earliest other than the Pothières

example is from Vienne, No.577 dated 483; henceforth dated epitaphs with Germanic names occur with increasing frequency at Lyon and Vienne but the main distribution is in the northern Viennoise. In *Lugdunensis* and *Viennensis* the percentages of Germanic names - 26% and 19% respectively - is close once allowance has been made for the concentration of Germanic names at Briord, on the very border between the metropolitans. All but two names dating to the first period of inhumation (see Chapter One) are Germanic of a total of 13 though seven are the names of manumitted slaves. On only one epitaph is the name of the deceased Graeco-Roman. In the second period of inhumation, the first half of the seventh century, the names are again predominantly Germanic with, perhaps significantly, the two epitaphs bearing the names of three priests all have Graeco-Roman names (Nos.155 and 156).

Epitaphs without a date or where the date is no longer extant are allocated a relative date range in Chapter Four, but sufficient examples exist of precisely dated epitaphs where the deceased bears a Germanic name to allow for some conclusions to be made. It is possible to demonstrate that South Eastern Gaul followed a different path to the rest of Western Europe. Epitaph No.734 (Plate 230) from Viviers, is dated by the twelfth regnal year (496) of Alaric II, the Visigothic king; other than this example no regnal year is employed in the date formula until 587, No.733 from Villeneuve-lès-Avignon, the twelfth year of the reign of Childebert and which also bears a p.c. of Basilius cons.541 and the indictional year. Yet Germanic names are found frequently from the last quarter of the fifth century and when dated the consular or p.c. year is employed. The reasons for the name of the Eastern consul appearing on epitaphs in the northern Viennoise and the continued use of the consular and p.c. dates by the Gallo-Roman population has been discussed above, but the adoption of this system instead of employing regnal dates *ab initio* by the Burgundian settlers merits our attention.

As seen, both the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms in Gaul were carved out of the Late Roman province, which helps explain the early adoption of the regnal year in those realms. The Visigoths were settled first in 418 in Aquitaine and remained more or less loyal to Rome until the accession of Euric in 466. His expansionist policies, taking advantage of Imperial weakness in the West, extended Visigothic authority to the Auvergne and the Rhône valley by the mid-470s. Effectively, any semblance of loyalty to Rome was ended by the cession of the Auvergne to Euric by Julius Nepos in 475 (James 1977: 7-8). The Burgundian Kingdom was different: they were first settled as a defeated people in Gaul following their support for an unsuccessful usurper after the invasions of 406, perhaps near Worms. Thence they had largely been faithful to the imperial government - even assisting the Romans against Attila in 451 - but taking advantage of the hiatus of power following the death of Avitus in 456, they seized Lyon. They had by then been open to Roman influence for half a century; this, combined with their probable few numbers, was doubtless as important a factor in their rapid assimilation into the local politics and culture as was their need to gain the support of the local aristocracy in order to retain their

control of northern Burgundy (James 1982: 21-23). This explains, therefore, the adoption by the incoming settlers of not only the practice of employing epitaphs inscribed on stone but the Latin style date formulae then in vogue. So completely did the Burgundian aristocracy incorporate Gallo-Roman traditions with their own that no epitaph dated with the regnal year of a Burgundian king has been found and the consular/p.c. system remained in use in South Eastern Gaul until the second quarter of the seventh century. There is little evidence for major demographic change to be found in the incidence of Germanic names, since they may be used by Gallo-Roman families as and when they became fashionable. No dated epitaphs bearing a Germanic name ever appear in *Arelatensis* and only five Germanic names are found there overall, supporting the view that neither Visigoths, Burgundians or Franks ever settled the region south of the Durance in any number (James 1977: 210). On the other hand, in *Lugdunensis* and *Viennensis* there may have been more Germanic settlers as a percentage of the population than one might first assume: the bald statistics reveal that of 331 names of Graeco-Roman origin, 68 are Germanic. It is entirely possible that Gallo-Roman names were adopted by the Burgundians as readily as were other customs, though this is impossible to prove.

During the fourth century traditional forms of epitaph continued to be produced, as an example from Arles shows:

*Hydriae Tertullae
c(larissimae) f(eminæ) coniugi amantissi-
mae, et Axiae Aelianae,
filiae dulcissimae.
Terentius Museus
hoc sepulchrum
posuit. (No.104, dated 325-400; Plate 31)*

Despite the vicissitudes of the fifth century, this style continued but Christian ideals and themes began to be increasingly incorporated, from Albigny comes an epitaph which contains these elements:

*(cross) In hoc tumolo requiis-
cit membri bone memorie
Audolena, bona karitate
suam, (cross) qui uixit in
pace an(n)us XXXVII. Qui a
hoc hossa remouit a-
natema sit. Ob(iit) VII kalen-
das ianuaris. (palm?)
(dove) (palm) (cross) (No.18, dated 430-500, Plate 3)*

Here the pagan invocation of a curse on anyone presuming to tamper with the tomb is juxtaposed with specifically Christian decor. This style of epitaph, minus the curse but with additional Christian elements such as a list of virtues plus a p.c. and/or indictional date came to personify the majority of epitaphs throughout the region until the end of the sixth century. In the

seventh century epigraphic evidence becomes scarce, probably due solely to the vagaries of the archaeological record since those we have are distributed throughout the region. A reduction in the number of extant epitaphs towards the end of the sixth century might be explained by outbreaks of plague, particularly at Arles. It is only in the eighth century that a reason for the total disappearance of epitaphs is clear; the reduction of episcopal power with the concomitant lethargy and decadence which plagued the Gallic Church from the seventh century might only in part explain why they are scarce. However, there can be little doubt that the *ciuitates* of South Eastern Gaul were in a parlous state by the mid-eighth century, following recurrent Saracen raids and Charles Martel's highly original methods, i.e. for securing his power base: his own men were placed in the episcopacy and as local *comes*. The widespread looting and even the burning of Avignon reported by Fredegar could have had only one consequence. Nevertheless, as the Plates of the epitaphs from the cemetery of Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans show so vividly, by the middle of the seventh century an highly individual and developed form of epitaph had evolved. A single epitaph will suffice to describe this apogee:

*Vmata sub <hoc> tetolo Mercurini sibi Cict-
ato <m>embra quiscunt: bonetate benignus,
caretate perfecta, pietate larguus, cum
magnebeletate magnus, dulcissemus, fede
praecepus, semplecetate magnus, amatus,
familiae uriun<d>us, pauperebus semper pius: qua-
ter denus decim aetate annus LXXV portauit in
pace. Obiit sub dii VII kalendas aprilis,
LXXVIII pos(t) con(sulatum) <lus>tini uiri cla(rissimi) con(sulis),
indic(tione) sexta. (cross) (star) (No.361, dated 619; Plate 117)*

Here the *initium* is what is by then a traditional form; the middle section displays a list of praises that appear kitsch to modern eyes, but nevertheless ensure that we understand that this man, obviously an aristocrat (*familiae uriun<d>us*), had a deep faith and was charitable to the poor. The date is also given, a p.c. of Iustinus, consul in 540 AD, demonstrating the longevity of that tradition (see Chapter Two). However, no information concerning the personality of the individual is forthcoming and overall this inscription is what has by this time become a stereotype. In the early seventh century episcopal epitaphs appear to have lost their place as a didactic; their role appears to have been increasingly taken by aristocratic epitaphs. However, it is unlikely that such secular individuals had a didactic purpose in mind, rather their own everlasting fame and glory. In this sense the wheel had come full circle; themes reminiscent of the self-aggrandising epitaphs from the Gallo-Roman period once more came into vogue.

PART TWO: APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

TECHNICAL APPARATUS FOR THE TEXT.

[] indicates a restoration. An interrogation mark within the brackets indicates a tentative restoration. An oblique within the brackets, with or without the interrogation mark, indicates a possible variation.

() indicates an extended abbreviation.

< > indicates a correction.

// two obliques, enclosing one or more characters, indicate that the enclosed characters were not engraved upon the stone in their expected position and are now placed in the text where they would have been had the dimensions of the stone permitted or had the lapidary prepared the layout of the text correctly in the first instance.

« » indicates aberrations such as the duplication of formulae or characters inscribed which have no apparent meaning.

Many inscriptions are no longer extant and a small number of those which are have not been seen at first hand. In this case the text followed is that given by what is here regarded as the most reliable authority, including any restorations. The source for the text is quoted before each text; the major sources and the abbreviations employed are as follows:

A.E: Année Epigraphique.

CIL.XII: Hirschfeld, Otto. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol.XII, Berlin, 1888.

CIL.XIII: Hirschfeld, Otto. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol.XIII, Berlin, 1899. Supplement, Berlin 1916.

ICG: Le Blant, E. *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e Siècle*. Two Volumes, 1856 and 1865. Imprimerie Impériale, Paris, 1856 and 1865.

ICMAMNS: Guyon, J. *Les Inscriptions Chrétiennes de Marseille, Alpes Maritimes et Narbonnaise Seconde (des Origines jusqu'à l'An 800)*. Mémoire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (IV^e Section). Two Volumes. (Unpublished Phd. thesis). Paris, 1972.

ILCV: Diehl, E. (with supplement by Moreau J. and Marrou H.I.) *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, Volumes I-III, (Volume IV is the supplement published in 1967). Berlin 1931 and 1967.

ILGN: Espérandieu, E. *Inscriptions Latines de Gaule Narbonnaise*, Paris, 1929.

ILTG: Wuilleumier, P. *Inscriptions Latines des Trois Gaules*, 17^e supplement à Gallia, (Paris, 1963).

NR: Le Blant, E. *Nouveau Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e siècle*. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1892.

RICG.XV: Descombes, F. *Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, Volume XV, Viennoise du Nord. (Paris, 1985).

Many inscriptions have been published only as articles in various archaeological journals and where this is the case, the name of the author, the article and publication is indicated above the

text of the inscriptions. Where there is no bibliographic reference and the text source is indicated as P.Reynolds, that inscription is not edited as yet and was first encountered during the surveys made in 1987 and 1991. The name of the individual supplying the information is indicated where appropriate. Two articles include several inscriptions discovered in recent years and provide particularly valuable new evidence.

Together with their abbreviations, they are:

*Arch.Méd.*1975: Esquieu, Y. and Lauxerois, R. La nécropole de Saint-Pierre Alba (Ardèche). *Archéologie Médiévale*, 5, 1975, pp.5-44.

*Riv.Arch.Crist.*1978: Descombes, F. and Reynaud, J-F. Epitaphes chrétiennes découvertes à Lyon. *Rivista Archeologia Cristiana* LII, 1975, pp.265-302.

One further important primary source is that of Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A. and Leroi-Gourhan, A.; *L'église et la nécropole Saint-Laurent dans le quartier Lyonnais de Choulans. Étude archéologique et étude anthropologique*. Mémoires et documents de l'institut des études Rhodaniennes de l'université de Lyon, 1949. This study provides the first detailed study of the archaeology and epigraphy of the important church of Saint-Laurent de Choulans at Lyon provided much evidence for the church at Lyon in the seventh century, when the epigraphic evidence becomes scarce. The discovery of this series of epitaphs changed the overall view of the epigraphy of Lyon dramatically and is therefore included as one of the primary sources for the texts.

In the notes accompanying some entries, any reference made to a previous author by surname is not accompanied necessarily by a bibliographic reference in order to avoid duplication because the work referred to by that author is already referenced at the beginning of the entry, where all the major references are listed.

Each text is accompanied by a translation excepting the most fragmentary examples and for the majority it represents the first English translation attempted. However, consultation has been made to translations in French where they exist, particularly those presented in *RICG.XV* (Descombes, F. 1985) and *ICMAMNS* (Guyon, J. 1972). The translations and commentary for the complex, metrical inscriptions included within these two publications, particularly for the series of episcopal epitaphs from Vienne, have been consulted in depth. All the translations offered for the metrical epitaphs have been made with the kind assistance and advice of Mr.D.Cloud, who expended a great deal of time and effort correcting my errors. His experience has resolved many problems with the texts where they are known today only from later manuscript copies, particularly with the episcopal epitaphs from Lyon.

Nevertheless, textual problems do remain and where the text seems impossible it is bound by + signs. Where these occur the translation offered is but a tentative attempt at what may have been intended. It should be emphasised that all the translations are free translations and do not attempt to be literal. This choice was made because many of the phrases do not have an exact counterpart in English. It was felt, for example, that the phrase *bonae memoriae* would be best rendered by "of fond memory" as "of good memory" appears unrepresentative of the sentiment expressed and the modern phrase "in loving memory" is inaccurate. It is a commonplace that all translations are an approximation, but it is hoped that a greater accuracy has been achieved here; for that reason alternative readings are suggested where there is ambiguity. With the exception of a few fragmentary epitaphs, such as those from Antibes, almost all extant inscriptions have been viewed and photographed in order to verify their texts. The final decision for each translation is mine alone.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

No.1 Agnin. Canton de Roussillon, Isère.

RICG.XV. 29; Desaye, H. and Blanc, A., Gallia, 27, (2), 1969:223. Provenance: near the hamlet of Arcoulle. *Location:* in private ownership at the château de Gaulas. Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[requiesci]t in [pace]
[bonae me]moriae,
[.....]uronius,
[.....]

Here rests in peace [T?]uronius, of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.2 Aix-en-Provence. Bouches-du-Rhône.

ICG. 623; CIL.XII. 590; ILCV. 1552; ICMAMNS. 48.

Provenance: the cathedral, i.e. the western cemetery (*ICMAMNS*). *Location:* lost. An inaccurate copy is displayed in the cathedral of Saint-Sauveur. Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICMAMNS.*

Hic in pace quiescit
Adiutor, qui post
acceptam paeniten-
tiam, migrauit ad D(omi)n(u)m
ann(os) LXV mens(es) VII dies XV.
Depositus s(ub) d(ie) VIII kal(endas) (ivy)
ianuar(ias), Anastasio u(iro) c(larissimo)
(Chi/Rho) (ivy) consule. (ivy)

Here rests in peace Adiutor. After repenting his sins, his soul has departed to be with God having lived for 65 years, seven months, 15 days. He was buried here nine days before the kalends of January, in the year of the consulate of Anastasius, clarissimus.

Date: 24 December 517

There are two manuscript traditions quoted by Guyon (1972 = *ICMAMNS*) and only an unreliable copy inscribed upon a plaque is extant in the cathedral today. The first copy used by Guyon is followed here. Anastasius was a great nephew of emperor Anastasius. The emperor had himself been consul three times, in 492, 497 and 507 (CLRE: 569). However the lack of the title *Dominus Noster* on this inscription and the formulae employed suggest that this inscription is that of the Eastern consul of 517, although it must be conceded that it is possible that the emperor is intended.

No.3 Aix-en-Provence

ICG. 625; CIL.XII. 591; ILCV. 1066 adn; ICMAMNS. 49.

Provenance: the western cemetery area in 1765 by a M.de Saint-Vincens, who gave it to the Chapter. *Location:* Saint-Sauveur, on an interior wall of the cathedral. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 25 x 25 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds/*ICMAMNS.*

[.....]// notar(ius),
[.....] Basilio epi(scopo)
[.....], (ivy) ann(os) XXIII
[mens(es)] VIII di(es) II. T(ransiit ?)
[.....] no(nas) / oct(o)b(res),
[Turcio As]terio cons(ule).

..., a notarius, ... Basilius having been bishop(?) ... (for a period of?) 23 years, eight months, two days. He departed this life(?) ... days before(?) the nones of October, [in the year of the consulate of Turcius(?)] Asterius.

Date: October 494

ILCV also states that this may date to 494. If VI is supplied before NO it dates his episcopate 31 February 471. Turcio was no longer legible when Le Blant recorded it, and he quotes from an older manuscript. He too identifies this Basilius with the fourth bishop of Aix-en-Provence.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos ... menses ... dies*.

No.4 Aix-en-Provence

ICG. 624; CIL.XII. 592; ILCV. 3437; ICMAMNS. 50.

Provenance: in 1764/5 in the northern or western cemetery (ICMAMNS). In 1765 in the quartier des Minimes (CIL). Location: Musée Granet. White marble plaque. Dimensions: 53.5 x 38 x 8 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Indolis hic iacit, heu (cross)
ecce sepultus
cunctis karus, exosus
4 non nisi maliuolis. (cross)
(cross) Dextrianus nomine,
uocita«ta»tus in uita,
nec inmerito, nam tuo
8 sic munere, Criste,
dextris tibi nunc fide
adsistit in agnis
aeternum sperans te,
12 D(omi)ne, largiente donum.
Prudentia erat praeditus
formaque decorus.
Non aliud umquam habuit,
16 nisi cum bonitate fidem,
nec defuit illi eligans
cum uerecundia pudor.
Bis undenos aeui completis
20 duxit mensibus annos
pulcer et innocuus, pia
semper mente probatus.
Lugemus te, miserande puer,
24 quia breue omne, quod bonum est. (cross)
(cross) Obiit e saeculo astra petens
die tertium nonas iunias,
quod est indictione prima. (cross)

The metre is expressed thus:

1 Indolis hic iacit, heu ecce sepultus
cunctis karus, exosus non nisi maliuolis.
Dextrianus nomine, uocita«ta»tus in uita,
4 nec inmerito, nam tuo sic munere, Criste,
dextris tibi nunc fide adsistit in agnis
aeternum sperans te, D(omi)ne, largiente donum.
Prudentia erat praeditus formaque decorus.
8 Non aliud umquam habuit, nisi cum bonitate fidem,
nec defuit illi eligans cum uerecundia pudor.

Bis undenos aeui conpletis duxit mensibus annos
pulcer et innocuus, pia semper mente probatus.

12 Lugemus te, miserande puer, quia breue omne, quod bonum est

Obiit e saeculo astra petens
die tertium nonas iunias,
quod est indictione prima.

Buried here, alas, lies a young man who was thought well of by all, and hated only by the meanminded. During his lifetime he was called Dextrianus and thus it is only justice if now, thanks to both your favour, O Christ, and to his faith, if he sits at your right amongst your sheep, Lord, hoping for the gift of eternal life bestowed by you. Endowed with intelligence and good-looks, nor did he possess anything except faith combined with goodness, nor did he lack charm and a deep sense of modesty and decency. As the months turned into years, he lived for 22 years exactly, fair and innocent, always with a piety that was exemplary. We weep for you, wretched boy, for all that is good is short-lived. He has left this life for that in heaven on the third day before the nones of June, during the first year of the indiction.

Date: 3 June 538, 552, 567, 582, 597 (date range of years is estimated).

Line ten refers to Mathew 25,33.

No.5 Aix-en-Provence

NR. 329; *ICMAMNS.* 51.

Provenance: rue Fauchier, near the Roman baths, in 1869. *Location:* Musée Granet. Large grey marble slab, possibly re-used. Dimensions: 53 x 43 x 6.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 4 cm.

Text source: *ICMAMNS.*

[.....]
nos, ex qu[ibus?.....]
Aquen(s)um ple[be ? .]
ca fuit qui[.....]
ad caelum m[igrauit ?]
ter adest s[.....]
sentari pet[.....]
grege ration[em ?]
talis castus [.....]
larga ma[nu]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* and date formula are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.6 Aix-en-Provence

CIL.XII. 5787; *ILCV*. 1066; *ICMAMNS*. 52.

Provenance: Saint-Sauveur in the seventeenth century. *Location*: lost (*ICMAMNS*). Very worn marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICMAMNS*.

[...]cius Xpi ancci[.....]
[.....]
[.....s]idera earum [...]
[.....] meritis illuc [...]
[...] intravit ouans [...]
[...?]ANNA[.....]
[.....]
[...]EVV ecclesiae doctor [...]
[?omni]genis feliciter aevo [...]
[...] aetate fuit diues omnes [...]
[...]<c>um dignitate requiris [...]
[. littera ? p]rema demonstrat [...]

Date: 450-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.7 Aix-en-Provence

ICMAMNS. 53a; Benoit F., *Gallia*, 16, 1958:415.

Provenance: Saint-Sauveur, in the cloister courtyard of the cathedral. *Location*: lost. Small marble fragment. Dimensions: 6.5 x 8 x 2.6 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *ICMAMNS*.

C L A

No.8 Aix-en-Provence

ICG. 626; *ICMAMNS*. 53b.

Provenance: first recorded in the museum collection in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Location: lost (*ICMAMNS*). Very small fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG*.

[.....]E
[.....]N
[.....i]n pace
(dove in a tree?)

No.9 Alba/Aps. Ardèche.

ILGN. 172; *ICMAMNS*. p376.

Provenance: unknown. *Location*: Montélimar, in the private collection of a M.Vallentin du Cheylard. Small white marble tablet. Dimensions: 20 x 25 x 6 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

Text source: *ILGN*

Hic requiescit
in pace bone maemo-
riae Priscus, qui
uixit annus cir-
ceter XLVI. Obiit
III id(us) sept(embres), indic(tione) IIII.

Here rests in peace Priscus, of fond memory, who lived for about 46 years. He died three days before the ides of September, in the fourth year of the indiction.

Date: 11 September 540, 555, 570, 585, 600 (date range of years is estimated).

No.10 Alba/Aps

ICG. 481; CIL.XII. 2693; ILCV. 2455 adn.

Provenance: unknown. It was taken to Montélimar, *in aedes Marre, ibi extat apud Vallentinum* (CIL). *Location:* lost? (P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987). Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 13 x 18 cm. Text source: ILCV.

In Xpi nome[ne re]-
[qu]iiscit in huc to[molo]
[Mar]cellinus, q[ui]
[uixit ...]

In the name of Christ, in this tomb rests [Mar]cellinus, who lived for ...

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.11 Alba/Aps

Arch.Méd. 5, 1975, 5-44, No.5.

Provenance: during excavations on the site of the church of Saint-Pierre in 1967.

Location: Alba, in the archaeological excavations depot. Marble fragment of a plaque, broken on all sides. Dimensions: 7 x 8.5 x 2.3 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm. Text source: *Arch.Méd.* 1975.

[.....]
[.. ?l]ector [...]
[...m]emor[ia? ...]
[.....]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

No.12 Alba/Aps

Arch.Méd. 5, 1975, 5-44, No.1.

Provenance: church of Saint-Pierre, in the infill beneath the paving of the apse in 1966.

Location: Alba, in the archaeological excavations depot. Yellow limestone fragment broken on all sides. Dimensions: 21 x 10 x 4.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *Arch.Méd.* 1975.

(cross) Q[?....]
te[.....]
ce[.....]
?dt[....]
[.....]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

No.13 Alba/Aps

Arch.Méd. 5, 1975, 5-44, No.2.

Provenance: church of Saint-Pierre, beneath the paving of the apse in 1966. *Location:* Alba, in the archaeological excavations depot. Yellow limestone fragment broken on all sides.

Dimensions: 11 x 9.5 x 3.8 cm. Letters: 3.7 - 4 cm. Text source: *Arch.Méd.* 1975.

[.....]
[...] dulc[issimus/a ...]
[...] niu[.....]
[.....]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.14 Alba/Aps

Arch.Méd. 5, 1975, 5-44, No.3.

Provenance: to the south of the church of Saint-Pierre, in the infill above some tombs. *Location:* Alba, in the archaeological excavations depot. Yellow limestone fragment broken on all sides.

Dimensions: 11 x 10 x 4.6 cm. Letters: 2.3 - 2.6 cm. Text source: *Arch.Méd.* 1975.

[.....]
[...t]erre[nus/a/um ? ...]
[...]umbra t[.....]
[.....]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.15 Alba/Aps

Arch.Méd. 5, 1975, 5-44, No.4.

Provenance: the infill beneath the pavement of an adjoining building on the south side of the church of Saint-Pierre in 1946. *Location:* Alba, in the archaeological excavations depot. Yellow limestone fragment broken on all sides. Dimensions: 10.5 x 9 x 3.3 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.

Text source: *Arch.Méd.* 1975.

[.....]
[... ann]is XX[.....]
[.....]bris [.....]
[.....]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit + date*.

No.16 Alba/Aps

Arch.Méd. 5, 1975, 5-44, No.6.

Provenance: during the excavations of the church of Saint-Pierre in 1967. *Location:* Alba, in the archaeological excavations depot. Small white marble fragment. Dimensions: 8.5 x 5.1 x 2.1 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *Arch.Méd.* 1975.

[...]ese[...]
[...so[...]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

No.17 Alba/Aps

Arch.Méd. 5, 1975, 5-44, No.7.

Provenance: on the ground surface in a vineyard belonging to a M.C.Rieu of Alba, ten metres to the east of the church of Saint-Pierre in 1969. *Location:* Alba, in the archaeological excavations depot. Small marble fragment broken on all sides, on the left are signs of a moulding. Dimensions: 6.5 x 6.5 x 1.9 cm. Letters: 1.8 cm. Text source: *Arch.Méd.* 1975.

[.....]
[...] e t [...]
[.....]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

No.18 Albigny. Rhône.

ICG. 13; *CIL.XIII.* 1661; *ILCV.* 3858.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost (*ILCV*), *est ibi apud Petit (CIL)*, but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG.*

(cross) In hoc tumolo requiis-
cit membri bone memorie
Audolena, bona kareate
suam, (cross) qui uixit in
pace an(n)us XXXVII. Qui a
hoc hossa remouit a-
natema sit. Ob(iit) VII kalen-
das ianuaris. (palm?)
(dove) (palm) (cross)

In this tomb rest the remains of Audolena, (?) much loved by her family, who lived in peace for 37 years. Whosoever removes these remains from this place shall be anathema. She died seven days before the kalends of January.

Date: 26 December 430-500 (date range of years is estimated).

No.19 Andance. Canton de Serrières, Ardèche.

NR. 131; *CIL.XII.* 5861; *ILCV.* 3284; *RICG.XV.* 33.

Provenance: the colline du Châtelet in 1884. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon (*RICG.XV*, but not seen by P.Reynolds). Limestone plaque. Dimensions: 95 x 66.5 x 10.5 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

In hoc tumolo
requescit in p-
ace sante bon-
e memoriae San-
tolus subdis- (?subdiga-)
conus, qui uixit
annus plus men-
us LXXXV: obiit in XPO
n(o)n(o) idus f(e)b(ruaria)s, uicies
et bis p(o)st cons(u)l(a)to
Basili uiri c(larissimi) c(onsuli)s,
in(dictione) XIII

In this tomb rests in peace Santolus, a subdeacon, of holy and fond memory, who lived for about 85 years; he died in Christ nine days before the ides of February, in the 22nd year after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the 13th year of the indiction.

Date: 5 February 563

The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur because the 22nd p.c. of Basilius was in 563, but the 13th indiction did not begin for over a year later, in September 564.

No.20 Andance

CIL.XII. 1800; RICG.XV. 34.

Provenance: probably from the summit of the colline du Châtelet in 1884. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV*). Marble fragment. Dimensions: 7 x 13 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[.....]

quinq(ue): ob[iit...]

LVIII p(ost) con(sulatum) [Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis) indictio]-
ne tert[ia].

[who lived] five [years? / ... years and five months?]; [he/she] died [...] in the 59th year after the consulate of [Basilius, clarissimus,] in the third year of the indiction.

Date: 600

The p.c. and the indiction concur because the 59th p.c. of Basilius fell in 600, and the third year of the indiction began the previous September. It is possible that the original date for the day and month was after September of that year, thus disrupting the concordance, given the series of non-concordances at this time.

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae, age formula is qui/quae uixit annos plus minus, date formula is obiit in Christo/XPO + date (or slight variation).

No.21 Andance

NR. 130; CIL.XII. 5862; ILCV. 1217; RICG.XV. 35.

Provenance: the colline du Châtelet in 1884. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon (*RICG.XV* but not seen by P.Reynolds). Stone plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 93 x 73 x 9 - 11 cm. Letters: 6 - 7 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

Hic titulus teget diac(onum)

Emilium, quem funere

duro, eu, nimium celere

rapuit mors impia cursu

XXXVIII etatis sue anno m/o/r-

tem perdidit, uitam inue-

nit, quia auctorem ui-

te solum dilexit.

This tomb contains the deacon Emilius who, alas, by a cruel act of fate, has been taken off by impious death before his time. In his 38th year he has conquered death and found eternal life, for he loved only the author of his life.

Date: 500-540 (estimated).

No.22 Andance

ICG. 472; CIL.XII. 1801; RICG.XV. 36; Louvre Inv.MNC1726.

Provenance: probably from the summit of the colline du Châtelet in 1884. *Location:* Paris, in the reserves of the Palais du Louvre, Cat.No. MA2968, (not seen by P.Reynolds). Marble fragment. Dimensions: 16 x 13 x 3 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[...] beatam p[...]
[...]lo uitam [...]
[...]anus, ob[?iit...]
[.....]

Too fragmentary to translate but the last line indicates the presence of an age and date formula.

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* and age formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases, the date formula is *obiit in Christo/XPO* + date (or slight variation).

No.23 Andance

NR. 132; CIL.XII. 1802; RICG.XV. 37.

Provenance: first recorded in the foundations of the church clock tower in the nineteenth century. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
[...]mi[.....]
[.] Xpo[.....]
[.....]

Too fragmentary to translate, but the last line indicates the presence of the formula obiit in Christo.

No.24 Anse. Rhône.

ICG. 12; CIL.XIII. 1655; ILCV. 3488.

Provenance: probably from the old church. *Location:* built into an interior wall of the church. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 43 x 60 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) (Chi/Rho) (cross)
Germine sublimi, Proba nomine, mente prouata,
quae subito rapta est, hic tumulata iacet.
In qua, q(uid)quit habent cunctorum uota parentum,
contulerat tribuens omnia pulchra D(eu)s.
Hinc mestus pater est auiae matriq(u)e perennis
(tris)titia, heu facinus causa, perit pietas.
Accipe, qui lacr(i)mis perfundis iugeter ora:
mors nihil est, uitam respice perpetuam.
Quae uixit annus V et minsis VIII,
obiit s(ub) d(ie) III id(u)s octubris, Paulino u(iro) k(larissimo)
(dove) (palm) (dove) co(n)s(ule).
(Chi/Rho)

Here lies buried a child of noble birth, Proba by name, Proba by nature, suddenly snatched away. God had given her all those precious qualities every parent asks for in a child. Her sad father grieves at the untimely loss of his daughter, and the despair of her grandmother and mother knows no end. But listen, you who weep continuously, for death is nothing, look rather for eternal life. She lived for five years and nine months, and died on the day of the ides of October, in the year of the consulate of Paulinus, clarissimus.

Date: 13 October 498

This inscription is extant, although *ILCV* records it as lost. The *ILCV* reconstructions are followed for line six, *tristitia*, and line seven, *lacrimis*. The rest of the inscription is based upon the photograph, as are the remaining expansions of suppressions.

No.25 Anse

ICG. 661a; *CIL.XIII*. 1657; *ILCV*. 4445.

Provenance: first recorded in the church in the nineteenth century. *Location*: built into an interior wall of the church. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 33 x 48 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. average.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

[In] hoc tumu[lo requi]-
[es]cit bone mem[orie]
Vitigisclus, qui [uixit in]
pace annos L[...].
Na(ta?) Vesaronc[iae,? defunctus?]
est XI k(a)l(endas) iulias, [.....]
[...] u(iro) c(larissimo) con[sule].

In this tomb rests Vitigisclus, of fond memory, who lived in peace for L[...] years. Born at Vézeronce, he died 11 days before the kalends of July, [in the year?] of the consulate of [...], clarissimus.

Date: 21 June 450-500 (date range of years is estimated).

No.26 Anse

ICG. 662; *CIL.XIII*. 1656; *ILCV*. 1340.

Provenance: the old church during demolition work. *Location*: built into an interior wall of the church. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 60 x 44 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[?In] huc conditor in t-
[u]molo bone memoria-
[e] Vistrigilde, qu(a)e semper
[d(eu)m] temens puruque co-
[r ge]rebat. In qua quidquid
[bo]norum est, contuler-
[at] cuncta D(eu)s tolit in sec-
[olo], qu(a)e uixit an(nus) XLV,
[o]biit in pace sub di(e) XI k-
[(alendas) a]priles, post con(sulatum) Symm(achi) [u(iri) c(larissimi)
c(onsulis)].

Buried here in this tomb is Vistrigilde, of fond memory, who was pure of heart and always fearful of God. God had conferred upon her every good quality, which she upheld throughout her life. She lived for 45 years. She died in peace 11 days before the kalends of April, in the year after the consulate of Symmachus.

Date: 22 March 486

Above the text is what appears to be a rectangular chrismon. Two other sources attribute this inscription to the Symmachus of 485 (CLRE: 45 and 504, *RICG.XV*: 52).

No.27 Anse

ICG. 662a; CIL.XIII. 1658.

Provenance: the old church during demolition work. *Location:* built into an interior wall of the church. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 27 x 27 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]
ne [.....]
nam tribuit [...]
data ad suum [...]
uixit annus
[...]XXV plu[s minus?]
[.....]

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase, the date formula is *obiit sub die* + date.

No.28 Anse

ICG. 662b; CIL.XIII. 1660; ILCV. 4823 adn.

Provenance: the old church during demolition work. *Location:* built into an interior wall of the church. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 20 x 20 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[...]os dedita prola[...]
[...] mens tamen a[stra petit?]
[...] opera (t)ulit ae[terna?]
[.....]l colui[...]

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.29 Antibes. Alpes Maritimes.

ICMAMNS. 31; A.E.. 1965:332.

Provenance: the southern cemetery area in 1692 during the demolition of the chapel of Saint-Pierre. *Location:* lost. Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICMAMNS.

B(onae) m(emoriae)
Hic requiescit
in pace Patricius,
Qui uixit ann(os) XX m(enses) III.
Dep(ositus) est su d(ie) VI k(a)l(endas) ianua(rias),
Basilisco <et> Armato u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).

Of fond memory, here rests in peace Patricius, who lived for 20 years and three months. He was buried here six days before the kalends of January, in the year of the consulates of Basiliscus and Armatus, clarissimi.

Date: 27 December 476

No.30 Antibes

ICG. 622a; CIL.XII. 244; ILCV. 1467b; ICMAMNS. 32.

Provenance: the Fort Carré during some construction work in October 1840. *Location:* Musée du Bastion Saint-André (ICMAMNS). Marble plaque, re-used with vestiges of a sculpture on the reverse. Dimensions: 29 x 38 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.4 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

B(oniae) m(emoriae)
Hic requiescit in pace an-
cilla D(e)i Calumniosa, qui
uixit ann(os) C. D(e)p(osita) est sub
[die / pridie ?] non(as) april(e)s.

Of fond memory, here rests in peace Calumniosa, a servant of God, who lived for 100 years. She was buried here [four? / three? days? / on the day before?] the nones of April.

Date: April 450-500 (date range of years is estimated).

No.31 Antibes

NR. 327; ILGN. 22; ICMAMNS. 33.

Provenance: the northern cemetery area near Notre-Dame-d'Entrevignes in the nineteenth century. *Location:* lost. Parait égaré (ILGN, and ICMAMNS concurs). Marble plaque, broken in two. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

B(oniae) [m(emoriae)]
hic requie[scit in pace]
Genesia, quae [uixit ann(os)]
[... D(e)p(osita)] est sub d[ie ...]
[.....] no[nas or ?uembres].

Of fond memory, here rests [in peace] Genesia, who [lived for ... years. She was buried here ...] days before the [nones of ...? / ... of November?].

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

On Line five NO could be NOnas or NOuembres.

No.32 Antibes

NR. 328; CIL.XII. 246; ILGN. 23; ICMAMNS. 35a.

Provenance: the quartier du Cap sometime before 1873. The quartier du Cap near the Grand Hotel (CIL). *Location:* lost. Parait égarée (ILGN, and ICMAMNS concurs). Marble fragment of a plaque inscribed on both sides. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR/ICMAMNS.

[B(oniae) m(emoriae) ?]
[Hic requiescit in]
[pace ...]ria, q[uae]
[uixit] ann(os) X[...]
[?d(e)p(osita) est] sub d[ie] V [.. ?kalendas]
[?august]as, in[dictione?]

[Of fond memory?] here rests [in peace ...]ria, who [lived for ten(?)] years. [She was buried here five(?)] days before the [... of ...], in the [...] year of the indiction? / in the year of the consulate of Inportunus, [clarissimus?]

Date: 475-525 (estimated).

This is inscribed on the obverse of No.33 and is probably the earlier inscription. The restoration of either an indiction or the name of the consul Inportunus remains hypothetical.

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age.

No.33 Antibes

NR. 328; *CIL.XII.* 246; *ILGN.* 23; *ICMAMNS.* 35b.

Provenance: quartier du Cap in the nineteenth century. *Location:* lost. Parait égarée (*ILGN*, and *ICMAMNS* concurs). Marble fragment of a plaque inscribed on both sides.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* NR/*ILGN*

[Hic requiescit in]
[pace bone mem]ori[e]
[.....]nia,
[quae uixit an]nos [...].
[d(e)p(osita) est sub di]e k(alendas) no-
[uembr]es,
[indictione de]cima.

Here rests in peace [...]nia, of fond memory, who lived for [...] years. She was buried here on the kalends of November, in the tenth year of the indiction.

Date: 1 November 475-525 (date range of years is estimated).

This is inscribed on the reverse of No.32. The restoration is hypothetical, but is similar in formulae to others in this area.

No.34 Aoste. Canton de Beauvoisin, Isère.

ICG. 390; *CIL.XII.* 2404; *ILCV.* 3281; *RICG.XV.* 276.

Provenance: near the house of the curé in 1674. *Location:* built into the exterior of the church wall. Limestone flag. *Dimensions:* 90 x 39 cm. *Letters:* 3.5 - 4 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(*tabella ansata*)
Hic requiescit
in pace bone me-
moriae Ali-
berga, que uixit
annos num-BIIT
mero XXX: obiit
in Xpo III nonas
febr(uarias), p(ost) c(onsulatum) Simma-
chi et Boethi u(iorum) c(larissimorum).

Here rests in peace Aliberga, of fond memory, whose years lived numbered 30. She died in Christ three days before the nones of February, in the year after the consulate of Symmachus and Boethius, clarissimi.

Date: 3 February 523

The text is inscribed within a vertical *tabella ansata* border, between double line guides.

No.35 Aoste

ICG. 393; CIL.XII. 2405; ILCV. 3282; RICG.XV. 277.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* built into the exterior wall of the church. Limestone flag.

Dimensions: 75 x 45 cm. *Letters:* 3 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

(cross) Hic requi-
escit in pace
bone memo-
riae Ingildus,
qui uixit an-
nis IIII et men-
sibus octo:
obiit in Xpo
III k(a)l(endas) nouembr(es)
tertio p(ost) c(onsulatum)
Paulini iun(ioris)
u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).

Here rests in peace Ingildus, of fond memory, who lived for four years and eight months. He died in Christ three days before the kalends of November, three years after the consulate of Paulinus iunior, clarissimus.

Date: 30 October 537

No.36 Aoste

ICG. 394; CIL.XII. 2406; ILCV. 1747; RICG.XV. 278.

Provenance: near the church in about 1621. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Manuscript.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* ICG/P.Reynolds.

Hic requiescit in pace
bone memoriae
adoliscens integre
carnis nomine
Leudomari, qui
uixit annus
numero IIII et dies VIII or VIIII ?
obiit in Xpo sex- /XV k(alendas) ma(ias)/
sies post c(onsulatum) B-
asili u(iri) «u» c(larissimi) «c ss»
c(o)ns(ulis).

Here rests in peace a young man of fond memory and pure in body named Leudomarus, whose years lived numbered four and eight? / nine? days. He died in Christ ten? / 15? days before the kalends of May, six years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus.

Date: 17 April 547

The phrase *integre carnis nomine Leudomari* may also be interpreted as "whose name in the flesh was Leudomarus".

No.37 Aoste

ICG. 396; CIL.XII. 2407; ILCV. 3283; RICG.XV. 279.

Provenance: a house wall in 1719 (RICG.XV). *Location:* lost (RICG.XV).

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

(cross) Hic requiescit in
pace bonae memoriae
Teoptecunde, qui
uixit annos nume-
ro X: obiit in Xpo
VI k(a)l(endas) decem(b)r(e)s, no-
uies pos(t) con<s>(ulatum)
Iohannis u(iri) c(larissimi) <c>(onsulis) «ss».

Here rests in peace Teoptecunde, of fond memory, whose years lived numbered ten. She died in Christ six days before the kalends of December, nine years after the consulate of Iohannis, clarissimus.

Date: 26 November 547

No.38 Aoste

ICG. 392; CIL.XII. 2408; ILCV. 1705; RICG.XV. 280.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* built into the exterior wall of the church. Sandstone tablet.

Dimensions: 60 x 58 cm. *Letters:* 4 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

Hic requiescit in pace
beatae memoriae
Eusabia, sacra D(e)o
puella, cuius proba-
bilis uita, instar
sapientium puella-
rum, sponsum eme-
ruit habere Xpm,
cum quo re[surget].

Here rests in peace Eusebia, of blessed memory, a virgin devoted to God, whose exemplary life, following the example of the wise virgins, has earned her Christ as bridegroom, with whom she will arise again.

Date: 450-525 (estimated).

No.39 Aoste

ICG. 395; CIL.XII. 2409; RICG.XV. 281.

Provenance: anterior to 1843, when it was first recorded. *Location:* lost. It was extant when RICG.XV was being compiled, but it has disappeared since according to the curé - pers.comm.

Small stone fragment. *Dimensions:* 28 x 50 x 15 - 20 cm. *Letters:* 2 - 4 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

Hec Magnus uixi[t annos]
XXXV: obiit in [? Xpo]
? k(alendas) feb[ruarias].

Here (rests) Magnus, who lived for 35 years. He died in Christ [...] days before the kalends of February, ...

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.40 Aouste. Canton de Crest, Drôme.

ICG. 391; CIL.XII. 1724; ILCV. 2454; Rougier, 1968.

Provenance: unknown, but anterior to 1838, when it was first recorded. *Location:* Musée Calvet, Avignon. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 82 x 60 cm. Letters: 2.5-4 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds/Rougier, 1968.

In Xpi /no/mene, in huc loc[o requiescunt]
in pace fedelis famu[ilus Dei Ampeliu]-
s et Singenia, qui uixer[unt in coniu]-
gali, adfectu et carita[te]
annis circiter LX, aut a[nnos eosdem cont]-
inuos in pace Dominica p[erman]-
serunt: quorum uita talis f[uit ut lin]-
quens coniux maritum XX a[nnos]
excedens in castitate perpe[tua]
perduraret. (ivy)
Obiet uenerabilis memoriae Ampe[lius]
sub die XVI k(a)l(endas) decembris, Fisto et
Marciano con(sulibus).
Transiet bone recordationis Si[ngenia]
sub die III k(a)l(endas) ianuaris, <p>(ost) c(onsulatum) Viat[oris].
(cross) In Xpi nomine.

In the name of Christ. In this place rest in peace a faithful servant of God, Ampelius, and Singenia, who lived together in an affectionate and caring marriage for about 60 years, abiding all this time in the peace of the Lord. Such was their life, the wife surviving her husband by more than 20 years, living in permanent chastity. Ampelius, of venerable memory, died 16 days before the kalends of December, in the year of the consulates of Festus and Marcianus, clarissimi. Singenia, fondly remembered, passed away eight days before the kalends of January, in the year of the consulate of Viator, clarissimus. In the name of Christ.

Date: 30 December 472

The text is sometimes difficult to restore and that presented here is that offered by Rougier. Above and below the text is a single incised line acting as a border with triangular terminals.

No.41 Aouste

ICG. 479; CIL.XII. 1725; ILCV. 3580 adn.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* Musée de Die. Marble plaque, possibly re-used.

Dimensions: 18 x 19 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Hic requies-
cent in pace
bonae mimo-
[riae] Rodanic(u)s,
[.....]

Here rests in peace Rodanic(u)s, of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos* + age, date formula *isobiit* + date.

No.42 Aouste

ICG. 480; *CIL.XII.* 1725; *ILCV.* 3580 adn.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* Musée de Die. Marble. possibly re-used.

Dimensions: 17 x 16 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) In hoc titolu
 requiescit in pa-
 ce bonae memo[riae]
 Ferreola, q[uae uixit?]
 [.....]

In this tomb rests in peace Ferreola, of fond memory, who lived ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/uae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace + date*.

No.43 Apt. Vaucluse.

ICG. 622; *CIL.XII.* 1155; *ILCV.* 1967f; *ICMAMNS.* 54.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* cathedral of Apt, where the sarcophagus serves as the base for an altar in one of the chapels. Marble sarcophagus. Dimensions: 59 x 201 x 77 cm.

Letters: 2 cm. Text source: *ICMAMNS.*

<i>Left face</i>	<i>Principal face</i>	<i>Right face</i>
Iohannes	Sustus Iesus	Hyppolitus Marc[us]

Date: 350-400 (estimated).

No.44 Arandon. Canton de Morestel, Isère.

ICG. 384; *CIL.XII.* 2382; *ILCV.* 3554; *RICG.XV.* 256.

Provenance: probably in the vicinity of the church. *Location:* built into the exterior wall of the church facade. Stone flag. Dimensions: 45 x 165 x 27 cm. Letters: 3.5 - 4 cm.

Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(cross) In hoc tumolo re-
 quiescit bone memori-
 ae Arigunde, qui uixi-
 t annos VIII: obiit in pace
 ocsiis p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iohannis u(iri) [c](larissimi) c(onsulis),
 X kal(endas) iunias.

In this tomb rests Arigunde, of fond memory, who lived for eight years. She died in peace eight years after the consulate of Iohannis, clarissimus, ten days before the kalends of June.

Date: 23 May 546

No.45 Arles. Bouches-du-Rhône.

ICG. 508.

Provenance: Alysamps? *Location:* lost. Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: ICG.

[...]apatia fecit
[Ma]rino uirgi-
[?nio] suo dolci-
[ssim]o in[.....]
[.....]an i[...]
[...]XXXVII[...]

Too fragmentary to translate but it is clear that a female placed this epitaph in memory probably of her offspring, [Ma]rinus, and that lines 5 and 6 record the age of the deceased. However it is unlikely that line 2 records that a male was a virgin, as this is normally recorded only on female epitaphs, unless this is part of the name, ie. Marinus Virginius or Virgilius?

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.46 Arles

ICG. 520; CIL.XII. 833.

Provenance: Alysamps? *Location:* lost. Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: ICG.

Pax tecum
Iuliae Valeriae Serenil-
le, coniugi incompara-
bili. L(ucius) Septimius Primiti-
us, cum qua uixit an-
nis XVIII dies XXXVIII
merenti posuit.

Peace be with you, Iulia Valeria Serenilis, an incomparable wife. Lucius Septimius Primitius, who lived with her for 19 years 38 days, placed this epitaph as she deserved.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.47 Arles

ICG. 522.

Provenance: Alysamps? *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 6 x 18 *pouces* (ICG). *Text source:* ICG.

Pax tecum
Materna con-
iux pientissima
Marina [.....]

The Gallo-Roman(?) epitaph on the reverse reads:

D(iis) M(anibus)
L Seuerio Primitiuo
quintia beronice
[coniugi] karissimo.

Peace be with you Materna, a most devoted wife. Marina[...?] ...

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.48 Arles

ICG. 531.

Provenance: Alysamps? *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

P A X
Turranae Pithanes
[...]mus coniugi dul-
cissimae.

Peace (be with you). To Turrannia Pithanes, [her husband, ...]mus [placed this epitaph here?] to a most loved wife, ...

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.49 Arles

ICG. 534; CIL.XII. 965; ILCV. 3241.

Provenance: Alysamps? *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles, where only a fragment survives. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 31 x 38 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[?] obsequio- (*Chi/Rho*) -rum memo-
ria. Bene mer(i)- -to coniugi Vic-
torino, qui ui- -xit
annis LX, P- -roiec-
ta coniu- (*orans*) -nx posu-
it pausan- -ti in pa-
ce die IIII no- -n(as) sep(tembres),
cum qua u- -ixit
ann(os) IIII, m(enses) III.

[..?] as a testament to her faithfulness(?). For a very deserving husband, Victorinus, who lived for 60 years and now rests in peace, Proiecta, his wife, has placed (here this epitaph) for he with whom she lived for four years, three months. (He died) four days before the nones of September.

Date: 2 September 325-400 (date range of years is estimated).

The first letter of the line one, *B*, may stand for *bone*, as ILCV suggests. There is an *orans* figure in the centre with a *Chi/Rho* above the head. It was destroyed in 1845 according to ICG, but part is extant in the museum.

No.50 Arles

ICG. 536.

Provenance: Alysamps? *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 11.5 x 17.5 cm. Text source: ICG.

[.....] (*Chi/Rho*) NDI[.....]
[... qui ui]- (*orans*) xit [?in pace ..]
[. annos ?] V et m[enses ...]

..., who lived for five(?) years and [...] months, ...

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is dative/optative, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos ... menses ... dies*, date formula is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.51 Arles

ICG. 539; CIL.XII. 972; ILCV. 1809.

Provenance: Alysamps? *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. *Plaque.*
Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* ICG/ILCV.

[.....]
extructor tem-
pli, quo corporis artos
orna sepulchralis
retinet cum pace
perenni, quique [.....]
[.....]

... the builder of this temple in which he might enjoy eternal peace in this sepulchre which now contains his earthly remains.

Date: 350-450 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.52 Arles

ICG. 542.

Provenance: Alysamps? *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. *Marble sarcophagus.* *Dimensions:* unavailable. *Text source:* ICG.

Dominus legem dat. Matteus, Marcus, Lucanus, Ioannis.

The lord give out the law. Mathew, Mark, Luke, John.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

This sarcophagus has a sculpted figure of Christ holding an open book. Upon the open page is inscribed: *Dominus legem dat.* There are four other sculpted figures, each holding an open book upon which are inscribed their respective names: *Matteus, Marcus, Lucanus* and *Ioannis*.

No.53 Arles

ICG. 540; CIL.XII. 973; ILCV. 4817.

Provenance: Alysamps? *Location:* lost (ILCV). *Marble plaque.* *Dimensions:* unavailable.
Text source: ICG/ILCV.

Gaudia semper [agens] ..
quondam, dum uit[a manebat],
LXV uitam [transegit]
in annis, [.....].
com[.....]
[.....]

... always happy once, whilst he lived. He lived for 65 years ...

Date: 350-450 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.54 Arles

NR. 189; CIL.XII. 959; ILCV. 1516 adn.

Provenance: Alysamps? *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987.
Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* NR.

[.....]
 [..... ?l]aude [.....]
 [..... fi]de pudor[e?]
 [.....]ic corpore [.....]
 [.....]tris excepi[.....]
 [...font]e renata (dove)
 [...]dis domini prae[conia?]

Date: 350-450 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.55 Arles

NR. 201; *ILGN.* 141f.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR/ILGN*

[.....]
 [...]AEMIAN[...]
 [...]VDIO[...]
 [.....]

No.56 Arles

ICG. 523; *CIL.XII.* 951; *ILCV.* 2894.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 30 x 22.5 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds/*ICG*.

Hic in pace requi-
 escit b(onae) m(emoriae) Marta,
 quae uixit pl(us) m(inu)s
 ann(os) XXXV. Obi-
 it sub d(ie) VII kal(endas)
 octob(res) ind(ictione) VI. (ivy)

Here in peace rests Marta, of fond memory, who lived for about 35 years. She died seven days before the kalends of October, in the sixth year of the indiction.

Date: 25 September 542, 557, 572, 587, 602 (date range of years is estimated).

This was broken across the upper left corner when Le Blant recorded it and the upper portion of the broken corner is now missing.

No.57 Arles

ICG. 524; *CIL.XII.* 954; *ILCV.* 2895 adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* lost (*ILCV*). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG/ILCV*.

Hic in pace
 requiescit bo-
 ne memoriae
 Melania,
 qui uixit an-
 nos pl(us) m(inu)s XIII.
 Obiit sub die XIII,
 kal(endas) dece(m)br(es),
 indictione
 VI.

Here in peace rests Melania, of fond memory, who lived for about 14 years. She died 13 days before the kalends of December, in the sixth year of the indiction.

Date: 19 November 542, 557, 572, 587, 602 (date range of years is estimated).

No.58 Arles

ICG. 528; NR. 185; CIL.XII. 961; ILCV. 2174.

Provenance: Alysamps? Location: Paris, in the reserves of the Musée du Louvre. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 25 x 20 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

- 1 [hi]c Siluina sita ins[ons? ...]
[..]ae probata uiro [dic?.....]
[..]uae ter denos uiuen[.....]
[..]decimo q anno il[.....]
5 [..]aeque nono die m[ar?.....]
[..]O sitaq hoc tumulo X[?.....]
[..]ET subolem patri par[.....]
[..]M pater respicien[s.....]
[ui]tae merito hoc m[us?.....]
10 [..]rpus hoc uaso situm [in?...]
[..]ua ad sanctum mart[yrem?...]

Too fragmentary to translate but the sense is that a woman named Silvina has been buried here, line 1, and lines 2 and 3 probably record that she lived with her husband for 30 years. The age and the date of death of the deceased is probably recorded on lines 4 and 5. Line 7 refers to an offspring, followed by a short eulogy of the qualities which have merited her burial in close proximity to the martyr's sanctuary recorded on line 11.

Date: 400-550 (estimated).

An accurate restoration is not possible, but it is evident that there was an exact date inscribed and that the month was either March or May. Silvina was buried near the tomb of the martyr saint Genesius. CIL states: *fragmentum marmoreum litteris malis, ... versuum dactylicorum videntur esse reliquiae.*

Reconstructions: age formulae is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.59 Arles

ICG. 529; CIL.XII. 962.

Provenance: Alysamps? Location: lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

[Hi]c requiescit
[in] pace bonae me-
[m]oriae Sybilla,
[quae] uixit annos
[....] et obiit
[.....]

Here rests in peace Sybilla, of fond memory, who lived for [...] years and died ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit sub die* + date.

No.60 Arles

ICG. 530; CIL.XII. 938; ILCV. 2891a adn.

Provenance: Alysamps? Location: lost (ILCV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: ICG/ILCV.

Hic in pace requiesc[it]
 bonae memoriae
 Thaumasta, quae ui-
 xit annos LX et obi[it]
 sub die prid(ie) k(alendas) d[ec(embres)],
 indictione un[dec]-
 ma, iterum post [cons(ulatum)]
 Lampadi et Ores[tis]
 u(irorum) c(larissimorum) c(onsulum).

Here rests in peace Thaumasta, of fond memory, who lived for 60 years and died on the day before the kalends of December, in the 11th year of the indiction, two years after the consulate of Lampadius and Orestes, clarissimi.

Date: 30 November 532

The consular date and the indiction concur because the 11th indiction began in the preceding September.

No.61 Arles

ICG. 540a.

Provenance: Alysamps? Location: Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 52 x 79 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

	[.....]
	RE D(omino) IN[.....]
	GVENEM NOVE[.....]
(cross,	NDEDA frustra VI[.....]
swastica,	ORE pio redde criaturam caeli TER[.....]
arches and	RI ceneres tu mortua membra LEVA[.....]
other	RETVM pauper quo metallum MAT[.....]
decor.)	redeuiua feguram ex tamper iust[.....]
	menores sollemnem popoli sinis[.....]
	[.....]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

No.62 Arles

ICG. 541a; CIL.XII. 974; ILCV. 1165 adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* lost (ILCV). Unknown material, possibly re-used.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* ICG/ILCV.

(cross) Hic in pace r[equiescit]-
bone memoria[e]
presbeter, qui [uixit annos]
pl(us) m(i)n(u)s LXV. Obie[t sub diem]
quartum kal(endas) de[cembres]
[.....]

Here in peace rests [...], a presbyter, who [lived for] about 65 [years]. He died four days before the kalends of December.

Date: 28 November 540-600 (date range of years is estimated).

This was inscribed on the reverse of a sculpted relief (ICG).

No.63 Arles

NR. 162; ILCV. 2890; ILGN. 135.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 50 x 45 x 3 cm. *Letters:* 2.5 - 3.5 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

Hic in pace requi-
escit bone meno-
rae Antonina,
quae uixit an-
nus plus minus
XXX, et obiet
quarto idus
ginnoarius, Pro-
bo iuniore u(iro) c(larissimo) con(su)l(e),
indiccione III.

Here in peace rests Antonina, of fond memory, who lived for about 30 years and died four days before the ides of January, in the year of the consulate of Probus iunior, clarissimus, in the third year of the indiction.

Date: 10 January 525

The consular date and the indiction concur because the third indiction began in September 524. Le Blant commented that if this epitaph was placed shortly following the death of Antonina, then the consulate of Probus was announced in Gaul at the very beginning of the year. See No.589 for another example from Vienne, dated to either January or February of the same year.

No.64 Arles

NR. 164; CIL.XII. 935; ILCV. 2891a adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Marble plaque, possibly re-used. *Dimensions:* 40 x 30 cm. *Letters:* 2.5 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

Hic in pace
requiescit
bone memori-
ae Apriles,
qui uixit
annos plus
minus XL et
obiet xmo

kal(endas) nouem-
bres, indic-
tione nona,
Lampadio
et Oreste
u(i)r(is) c(larissimis) cons(ulibus).

Here rests in peace Apriles, of fond memory, who lived for about 40 years and died ten days before the kalends of November, in the ninth year of the indiction, in the year of the consulate of Lampadius and Orestes, clarissimi.

Date: 23 October 530

The consular date and the indiction concur because the ninth indiction began in September of that year.

No.65 Arles

NR. 165; ILGN. 136.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* lost? In the museum (NR), but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 25 x 20 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm.

Text source: NR.

[Hic in pac]e re-
[quiesci]t b(one) m(emoriae)
[A]sellus,
[q]ui uixit
[an]nus [...]

Here in peace rests Asellus, of fond memory, who lived for [...] years, ...

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit sub die* + date.

No.66 Arles

NR. 167; CIL.XII. 941; ILCV. 2120.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 34 x 29 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic in pace
requiescit
bone memori-
ae Benenata,
quae uixit an-
nus II et di(es) XXXVIII.
Obi(i)t d(ie) sancto-
rum (cross) k(a)l(endas) agus-
tas.

Here in peace rests Benenata, of fond memory, who lived for two years and 38 days. She died on the day of the saints, the first day of August.

Date: 1 August 425-475 (date range of years is estimated).

No.67 Arles

NR. 169; CIL.XII. 933; ILCV. 2889a.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR/ILCV.

(cross) Hic en pace re-
quieset bone
memoriae Eu-
logios, qui u-
ixet anos
p(lus) m(inu)s L et oui-
et sob d(ie) VIII k(a)l(endas)
agus(tas), indix(ione)
VII, eterom p(o)s(t) (consulatum)
Sumaci u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsu)l(is).

Here in peace rests Eulogios, of fond memory, who lived for about 50 years and died eight days before the kalends of August, in the seventh year of the indiction, two years after the consulate of Symmachus, clarissimus.

Date: 25 July 487

There are three consuls of this name whose second postconsulates fell in 448, 487 and 524. The earliest is an Eastern consul and unlikely at this date. No seventh indiction fits at all. *CIL* considers that 524 is the correct date but 487 is taken here because the latter usually has both consuls mentioned together, even though this year would be the tenth indiction.

No.68 Arles

NR. 171; *CIL.XII.* 948; *ILCV.* 2893.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

(cross) Hic in pace requi-
escit b(one) m(emoriae) lohannu-
la, qui uixit pl(us) m(inus) an-
nos XX et obiit sub
d(ie) VIII id(us) nouemb(res),
indict(ione) XV. (ivy?)

Here in peace rests lohannula, of fond memory, who lived for about 20 years and died eight days before the ides of November, in the 15th year of the indiction.

Date: 6 November 551, 566, 581, 596, 611 (date range of years is estimated).

No.69 Arles

NR. 173; *ILCV.* 2896 adn; *ILGN.* 137.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 35 x 40 x 2 cm. *Letters:* 3.5 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

(cross) Hic in pace
requiescit bo-
nae memoriae
Laurentius, qui ui-
xit annus pl(us) (ivy) (minus) XIII et ob-
iit k(a)le(ndas) (ivy) f(e)br(uarias) indic(tione) sext-
a.

Here rests in peace Laurentius, of fond memory, who lived for about nine years and died on the kalends of February, in the sixth year of the indiction.

Date: 1 February 542, 557, 572, 587, 602 (date range of years is estimated).

No.70 Arles

NR. 176; *CIL.XII.* 950; *ILCV.* 2893 adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 40 x 16 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Hic i[n pa]-
 ce requi-
 escit bo-
 nae memo-
 riae Mar-
 siola, qui
 uixit ann(os)
 L. Obiet pr[id(ie)]
 id(us) apri[lis].
 (palm).

Here rests in peace Marsiola, of fond memory, who lived for 50 years. She died on the day before the ides of April.

Date: 12 April 425-475 (date range of years is estimated).

No.71 Arles

NR. 177; *CIL.XII.* 952; *ILCV.* 2894 adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 26 x 19 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Hic in pace
 requiescit
 bone memorie
 Mart[?in]a,
 q(uae) uix[it] pl(us) (minus)
 a(nnos) VIII. [Ob]iit
 V k(a)l(endas) dec(em)br(e)s.

Here rests in peace Mart[in?]a, of fond memory, who lived for about eight years. She died five days before the kalends of December.

Date: 27 November 425-475 (date range of years is estimated).

The name is more likely to be Martina and not Martha as Le Blant and others have thought because the amount of space available seems to favour the use of this, more popular, name in Gaul. Diehl thought that the age could be six, but Le Blant discerned the actual age on this now faint inscription; that which the available space suggests, eight.

No.72 Arles

NR. 178; *CIL.XII.* 955; *ILCV.* 2896.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 28 x 28 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic in pace re-
 quiescit bone
 memorie Neclic-
 ta, quae uixit
 annus plus m(inus)
 XXVII et obiet
 decimo k(a)l(endas)
 septembris.

Here rests in peace Neclecta, of fond memory, who lived for about 27 years and died ten days before the kalends of September.

Date: 23 August 425-475 (date range of years is estimated).

No.73 Arles

NR. 180; *CIL.XII.* 934; *ILCV.* 2891a.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble plaque, with the inscription inscribed within a cartouche. Dimensions: 53 x 45 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic in pace re-
quiescit bone me-
moriae [P]aulus, qui
uixit [p]lu[s] menus an-
n[u]s XLIII et obiet sub
die pride nonas genoari-
as, indictione septima,
pos(t) consolatum (iuy)
itrum Mauur[t]i (u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)).

Here rests in peace Paulus, of fond memory, who lived for about 44 years and died on the day before the nones of January, in the seventh year of the indiction, two years after the consulate of Mavortius, clarissimus.

Date: 4 January 529

The p.c. and indiction concur because the eighth indiction began in September the previous year, 528.

No.74 Arles

NR. 183; *CIL.XII.* 957; *ILCV.* 2896 adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Large marble plaque, probably re-used. Dimensions: 49 x 34 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

Hic in pace re-
quiescit bo-
ne memoriae
Procula, quae
uixit plus me-
nos annos LV
et obiet sub
die nonas
octobres.

Here rests in peace Procula, of fond memory, who lived for about 55 years and died on the nones of October.

Date: 7 October 425-475 (date range of years is estimated).

No.75 Arles

NR. 186; *CIL.XII.* 931; *ILCV.* 2888 adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* lost (*NR* and *ILCV*). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: *NR/ILCV.*

Hic in pace req-
uiescit bonae
memorie Sofro-
nius, qui uixit an-

nos LIII, obiit sub d(ie)
XII kal(endas) nou(em)b(res), Viato-
re u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).

Here rests in peace Sofronius, of fond memory, who lived for 54 years. She died 12 days before the kalends of November, in the year of the consulate of Viator, clarissimus.

Date: 21 October 495

No.76 Arles

NR. 188; *CIL.XII.* 963; *ILCV.* 1705 adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* lost? In the museum (*CIL*), but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR.*

Hic in pace [requi]-
escit b(one) m(emoriae) Th[eodora?]
sacra D(e)o pu[ella, quae]
uixit annos [plus mi]-
nus L et o[biit sub]
diae XII kal[endas]
[ma]rcias, in[dictione ...].

Here in peace rests Th[eodora?], of fond memory, a woman consecrated to God, who lived for about 50 years and died 12 days before the kalends of March, in the [...] year of the indiction.

Date: 18 February 525-575 (date range of years is estimated).

There may have been two monograms above the first line. The text in *ILCV* suggests that this inscription was further mutilated since Le Blant had seen(?) it. The date is perhaps the nineteenth, possibly followed by a consular date.

No.77 Arles

NR. 191; *ILGN.* 139.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 27 x 32 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 4 cm. Text source: *NR/ILGN*

Hic requie[scit in pace?]
bonae me[moriae]
quae uixi[t annos]
et obiit su[b d(ie)?....]
indictio[ne ...].

Here rests in peace [...], of fond memory, who lived for [...] years and died on the [...], in the [...] year of the indiction.

Date: 525-575 (estimated).

This had a sculpted interlace on the reverse (*NR*).

No.78 Arles

NR. 192; *CIL.XII.* 970; *ILCV.* 2896adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* lost? In the museum (*CIL*), but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Small fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR.*

[Hic requi]escit in pa-
[ce ?Ad]aeldis quae
[uixit an]n(os) pl(us) m(inus) XXVI
[et obiit ...] kal(endas) septem(bres)
[indictione] septima.

Here rests in peace [Ad?]aeldis, who lived for about 26 years and died [... days before?] the kalends of September, in the seventh year of the indiction.

Date: August 543, 558, 573, 588, 603 (date range of years is estimated).

Le Blant and Diehl state that it is in the museum but it was not there in 1987. The month may be September if the date was the first of the month.

No.79 Arles

NR. 193; ILGN. 141a.

Provenance: Alysamps? **Location:** lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

[.....]
XEPA, [qui uixit]
annos [... et?]
obies s[ub? die? ...]
nonas s[eptembres?],
indictio[ne ...].
(cross)

..., [who lived for ...] years and died on the? / days before?] the nones of September, in the [...] year of the indiction.

Date: September 525-575 (date range of years is estimated).

September is the only possible month due to mention of the *nones* and the letter S.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*.

No.80 Arles

NR. 194; ILGN. 140.

Provenance: Alysamps? **Location:** lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 22 x 28 x 3 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: ILGN

[.....]AR[.....]
[.....]s p(ost) c(on)s(ulatum) [...]-
[. iu]n(ioris) u(iri) c(larissimi), i[nd]-
[ictio]ne te[rtia? ...]
[... i]n pace [...?].

..., [...]s years after the consulate of [...] lunior, clarissimus, in the third(?) year of the indiction. [...] in peace [...], ...?

Date: 554, 569, 584, 599, 614 (date range of years is estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit sub die + date*.

No.81 Arles

NR. 196; ILGN. 141b.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Fragment of a marble plaque.

Dimensions: 30 x 28.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]

k(a)l(endas) febr[uaris in]-
dixsione [.....].

... the kalends of February, in the [...] year of the indiction.

Date: January 525-575 (date range of years is estimated).

It is now in the museum of Marseille, not at Arles as seems to have been the case when Le Blant saw(?) it. Only the month, January or February, is discernible for the date of the deceased.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit sub die + date*.

No.82 Arles

NR. 197; CIL.XII. 977e; ILGN. 141c.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble, fragment of a plaque.

Dimensions: 13 x 16 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]

[...]S qui uixit
[ann]is LII, obiit
[sub] d(i)e III k(a)l(endas) feb(ruarias),
[.....].

..., [...]S who lived for 52 years. He died three days before the kalends of February, ...

Date: 27 January 540-600 (date range of years is estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*.

No.83 Arles

NR. 198; ILGN. 141d.

Provenance: Alyscamps? *Location:* lost? It belonged to a M.Roubet at one time who lived in Guèrche. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ILGN

[.....]

[... b]one m[emoriae ...]
[...] pater orf[anorum? ...]
[...]e qui uecx[it ...]
[... a]nnus [.....]
[.....]dedu[.....]
[.....]os[.....]
[.....]

..., of fond memory, a father to orphans, [...] who lived for [...] years, ...

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.84 Arles

NR. 199; CIL.XII. 977b.

Provenance: Alysamps? A M.Huart discovered it, but the date is unknown. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

[..... in] pace (ivy ?)
[... requi]escit
[.....] sub (cross ?)
[.....]

Here in peace rests [...], [who died ...] days ...

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit sub die + date*.

No.85 Arles

NR. 200; ILGN. 141e.

Provenance: Alysamps? *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR/ILGN

[Hic requi]iesc[it ?in pace]
[.....]ui[.....]
[.....]

Here rests [in peace? ...] ...

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit sub die + date*.

No.86 Arles

NR. 202; ILGN. 141g.

Provenance: Alysamps? *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR/ILGN

[.....]
[bo]ne memo[riae]
[....]auiro[.....]
[...] uixi[t]
[.....]

..., of fond memory, [...], who lived ...

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit sub die + date*.

No.87 Arles

ICG. 519; *CIL*.XII. 831.

Provenance: Alyscamps? Dans le chemin au-dessus de l'enclos des Capucins-Vieux, au delà de la Durance (ICG). *Location:* lost? It was in the church of Saint-Honorat (*CIL*), but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

Pax tecum
Iuliae Superae,
Aurel(ius) Clemens
coniugi dulcissimae et incom-
parabili.

Peace be with you, Iulia Supera. Aurelius Clemens (placed this here to the memory of) a very dear and incomparable wife.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.88 Arles

NR. 184; *CIL*.XII. 937; *ILCV*. 2891a adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps? It was discovered in 1827 but the find spot is unknown.

Location: Musée Calvet, Avignon. Marble plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 45 x 59 x 2 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds/NR.

[Hic requie]scit in pace
[bonae me]moriae Secolasia
quae uixit annus XLVI, men-
[ses .. die]s dece. Obiet sextu
[?... ma]rsias, post con(sulatum) Lam-
[padii et] Orestes u(irorum) c(larissimorum) con(sulum).

Here rests in peace Secolasia, of fond memory, who lived for 46 years, [...] months, ten days. She died six days before the [...] of March, in the year after the consulate of Lampadius and Orestes, clarissimi.

Date: 531

The A of *memoriae* originally had a U in its place, no doubt with the intention of being written *bonememorius*. There is a bas-relief on the reverse depicting a chase. The date could be 24 or 25 February, depending on whether this was a leap year or not, or the second or tenth of March.

No.89 Arles

NR. 205a; *ILGN*. 138b.

Provenance: Alyscamps? It was discovered in 1882 but the find spot is unknown.

Location: lost? In the Musée Calvet, Avignon (*ICG/ILGN*). P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ILGN*

[Hic re]quii[scit ...]
[.....]TA[.....]
[.....]

Here rests ...

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit sub die + date*.

No.90 Arles

ICG. 538; CIL.XII. 932; ILCV. 4420.

Provenance: Alysamps? In 1849 it was privately owned by a M.Huart. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 28 x 28 cm. Text source: ICG.

[.....]

febr[u]ar[ias]

decies p(ost) c(onsulatum) Sy[mma]-
chi iun(ioris) u(iri) c(larissimi), i[ndic]-
tione ter-
tia in pace.

... of February, ten years after the consulate of Symmachus Iunior, clarissimus, in the third year of the indiction. In peace.

Date: 495

This seems to be lost as it was not in the museum in 1987. The date may be in January. The consular date and the indiction concur because the third indiction began in September the previous year.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit sub die + date*.

No.91 Arles

ICG. 533; CIL.XII. 964; ILCV. 2252.

Provenance: Alysamps (CIL). *Location:* lost. Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ILCV/ICG.

Pax tecum sit, Vibia
Eromene ! Simplicius
(*anchor*) coniugi incompara- (*anchor*)
bili, cum qua uixi an-
nos III, memoriae cau-
sa fecit.

May peace be with you, Vibia Eromene. Simplicius had (this epitaph) made to keep alive the memory of an incomparable wife, with whom he lived for three years.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.92 Arles

ICG. 511; CIL.XII. 633; ILCV. 295.

Provenance: Alysamps (ICG), St.Michel in territorio Ventabrenensi in arcu q.d. Lou Vautaire (CIL), i.e. Ventabren? *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble sarcophagus. Dimensions: 2.01 and 76 cm. long respectively. Text source: ICG.

Bene (ivy) pausanti in pace (ivy) Fl(audio) (ivy) Memorio, (ivy) u(ir)
p(otestatis), qui milit(auit) int(er) louianos annos XXVIII, Pro(tector)
(ivy) dom(esticus) (ivy) an(nos) VI, prae(positus) (ivy) lanciari(i)s (ivy)
spe[culatoribus princi]pis an(nos) III, comes ripe an(nos) I, com(es)
Mauret(aniae) (ivy) Ting(itanae) an(nos) IIII. Vix(it) an(nos) LXXV,
Praesidia conf[iux] marito dulcissimo.

To Flavius Memorius, quietly resting in peace, a man of high rank, who served in the loviani for 28 years, in the imperial bodyguard for six years, as prefect of the senior scouts and lancers of the emperor for three years, count of the river estuary for one year, and count of Mauretania

and Tingitana for four years. He lived for 75 years and his Praesidia, his wife, (has placed this epitaph here) for a very dear husband.

Date: 400-425 (estimated).

No.93 Arles

ICG. 535; *CIL.XII.* 966; *ILCV.* 3110.

Provenance: Alyscamps. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987.

Sarcophagus cover. Dimensions: 13 x 23 cm. *Text source:* *ICG/ILCV.*

Hic quies-
cit in pace be-
nenenorius
Vitalis, qui ui-
xit annies
XXXII.

Here rests in peace Vitalis, of fond memory, who lived for 32 years.

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

No.94 Arles

NR. 172; *CIL.XII.* 834.

Provenance: Alyscamps. *Location:* lost. *Dimensions:* unavailable. *Text source:* *NR.*

Pax tecum
Iulia Victoria,
M(arco) Aur(eliano) Asclepiodoto
coniug(i) incomparabili.

Peace be with you, Iulia Victoria. Marcus Aurelianus Asclepiodotus (placed this epitaph here) for an incomparable wife.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.95 Arles

NR. 168; *CIL.XII.* 943; *ILCV.* 1165.

Provenance: Alyscamps. *Location:* lost? It was in the museum, but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. *Marble plaque. Dimensions:* unavailable. *Text source:* *NR/ILCV.*

[Hic in pace requi]-
escit b(one) m(emoriae) Eu[...]
pr(es)b(y)t(er), qui uix[it annos]
pl(us) m(inus) LV et [obiit sub die]
XVIII kal(endas) fe[br(uarias)]
tredecies p(ost) c(onsulatum) [Basili u(iri) c(larissimi)]
cons(ulis), indi[ctione]
ter[tia].

Here in peace rests Eu[...], a presbyter, of fond memory, who lived for about 55 years and died 19 days before the kalends of February, 13 years after the consulate of [Basilius, clarissimus], in the third year of the indiction.

Date: 14 January 554

The p.c. and indiction do not concur because the third indiction did not begin until September 554, and this is dated 14 January of that year.

No.96 Arles

NR. 204; *CIL.XII*. 5824a.

Provenance: Alyscamps. *Location*: Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 19.5 x 11 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]
 [..... uixit an]-
 nus [..... o]-
 biet X[.... mar?]
 sia D[?..... con]
 sula[tum Florentii?]
 et A[nthemii, u(irorum) c(larissimorum) c(onsulum)].

..., [who lived for ...] years, [...], and died ten(?) [days before the kalends of?] March(?), in the year(?) of the consulate of [Florentius?] and A[nthemius, clarissimi?].

Date: 515

The reconstruction of the consular or p.c. date is based upon that by Le Blant, which dates it to either 515 or 516.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*.

No.97 Arles

NR. 174; *CIL.XII*. 5822; *ILCV*. 2899.

Provenance: Alyscamps, in 1880 (*CIL*). *Location*: Musée Calvet, Avignon. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 52 x 54 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Hic in pace requi-
 escit bon(ae) m(emoriae) Leoni-
 dius, qui uixit
 annus pl(us) m(inus) [::]
 et obiit sub die
 [:::]
 [:::], indictio-
 ne [::].

Here rests in peace Leonidius, of fond memory, who lived for about [::] years and died [::] days [::], in the [::] year of the indiction.

Date: 525-575 (estimated).

No.98 Arles

NR. 166; *CIL.XII*. 5819; *ILCV*. 2900.

Provenance: Alyscamps, in 1882 (*CIL*). *Location*: Musée Calvet, Avignon. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 39 x 33 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Hic in pace re-
 quiescit bon-
 e memoriae
 Bellatur, (ivy)
 qui uixit an-
 nus pl(us) m(inus) XV et o-
 biet sub diae
 VIII (palm) idus iunias,
 indict(ione) duodeci-
 ma. (ivy).

Here rests in peace Bellatur, of fond memory, who lived for about 15 years and died eight days before the ides of June, in the 12th year of the indiction.

Date: 6 June 548, 563, 578, 593, 608 (date range of years is estimated).

No.99 Arles

ICG. 537; *CIL.XII.* 939.

Provenance: Alyscamps, prior to 1865. *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 36 x 25 cm. Letters: 4 - 5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds//*ICG.*

[.....]
[qui uixit annos]
XXXVI, et obi-
it sub die
pridie non(as)
septembr(es)
indict(ione) V,
Basilio u(iro) c(larissimo) [c(onsule)].

[who lived for] 36 [years] and died on the day before the nones of September, in the year of the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus.

Date: 4 September 541

The consular date and the indiction concur because the fifth indiction began in September 541.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*.

No.100 Arles

NR. 170; *CIL.XII.* 5820.

Provenance: Alyscamps, prior to 1886 (*CIL*). *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 12.5 x 16.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Hic re]quies[cit in]
[pace] Felician[us/a?],
[qui uix]it an[nos ...]
[.....]

Here rests [in peace?] Felician[us/a?], who lived for [...] years, ...

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.101 Arles

NR. 179; *CIL.XII.* 5821.

Provenance: Alyscamps, prior to 1886 (*CIL*). *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 71.5 x 26 cm. Letters: 4 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Hi]c in pa[ce re]-
quiescit [bonae]
memoriae P[.....],
qui uix[it plus]
minus [annos]
et obiet [sub die]
tertio [?kalendas]
maias, [?indictio]-

n[e ...].

Here rests in peace P[...], of fond memory, who lived for about [... years], and died three days before the [...] of May, in the [...] year of the indiction.

Date: 525-575 (estimated).

No.102 Arles

ICG. 509; NR. 167a; CIL.XII. 942; ILCV. 1117.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Honorat, in the crypt. Location: Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles.

Marble sarcophagus. Dimensions of cartouche: 23 x 37.5 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

Integer adque pius uita et corpore purus,
aeterno hic positus uiuit Concordius aeuo.
Qui teneris primum ministrum fulsit in annis,
post etiam lectus caelesti lege sacerdos,
triginta et geminos decim uix reddidit annos.
Hunc cito sideream raptum omnipotentis in aulam
et mater blanda et frater sine funere quaerunt.
(dove) (Chi/Rho with alpha and omega symbols) (dove)

Concordius, who lived a righteous, pious and chaste life and lies here now enjoys eternal life. He shone forth during his first office undertaken in his youth, and was then elected bishop by divine grace. Scarcely 50 years were allotted to him. So suddenly bereaved, his loving mother and brother now look for him without his dead body, now carried off swiftly to the heavenly court of the Almighty.

Date: 385-395 (estimated).

No.103 Arles

ICG. 514; CIL.XII. 674; ILCV. 88; Benoit, F., 1954:37.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Honorat. S.Genesii in aede D.Honorati (CIL). Location: lost (ILCV, although part of sarcophagus is in the museum. Marble sarcophagus cover.

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

Vir Agripinensis nomine Geminus
hic iacet, qui post dignetatem
praesidiatus admenistrator rationum
quinque prouinciarum dignus est
habitus. Hic post annos XXXVIII m(enses) II
et dies sex, fedelis in fata concessit
cuius insignem gloriam ciues sui
sepulcri gratia adornauerunt.

Here lies a man born at Cologne named Geminus, who, having enjoyed the dignity of the office of governor, was considered worthy of the office of treasury administrator of five provinces. After 38 years, two months and six days, he died here faithful to his faith, whose eminent glory his fellow citizens embellished with the gift of this tomb.

Date: 400-425 (estimated).

No.104 Arles

ICG. 517; CIL.XII. 675; ILCV. 178; Benoit, F., 1954:2.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Honorat (CIL). Location: Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Marble sarcophagus, the inscription is inscribed within a cartouche. Dimensions: 17.5 x 23 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hydriae Tertullae
c(larissimae) f(eminæ) coniugi amantissi-
mae, et Axiae Aelianaë,
filiae dulcissimæ.
Terentius Museus
hoc sepulchrum
posuit.

To (the memory of) Hydria Tertulla, an honourable woman very loving wife, and to Axia Aeliana, a most charming daughter, Terentius Museus built this tomb.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.105 Arles

ICG. 525; *CIL.XII.* 956; *ILCV.* 3540; Benoit, F., 1954:88.

Provenance: Alysamps, Saint-Honorat. *Supra portam maiorem (CIL).* *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Marble sarcophagus. Dimensions: 26 x 26 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Optatine Retici-
ae siue Pascasie coni-
ugi amantissimae, En-
nius Filterius siue
Pompeius maritus
posuit sepulchru-
m cum qua uixit
annis octo men-
sibus nouem et
diebus duobus.

For Optatina Reticia, known as Pascasia, a most beloved wife, Ennius Filterius, known as Pompeius, her husband, built this sepulchre for she with whom he lived for eight years, nine months and two days.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.106 Arles

ICG. 526; *CIL.XII.* 958; *ILCV.* 2474.

Provenance: Alysamps, Saint-Honorat. *Arelate in aedibus Minimorum prope portam scalarum (CIL).* *Location:* lost (*ICG/ILCV*). Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG/ILCV*.

Pax uo- (*Chi/Rho*) -biscum
sit Pro- -iecta
Lampa- (*orans*) -dia et
Ren- -ate.
(dove) (dove)

May peace be with you Proiecta, Lampadia and Renata.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.107 Arles

ICG. 541; *CIL.XII.* 971; *ILCV.* 2257.

Provenance: Alysamps, Saint-Honorat. *Arelate in aedibus Minimorum muro immissa (CIL).* *Location:* lost (*ILCV*). Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG/ILCV*.

(Chi/Rho)

Pax tecum [.....]
inter sanctis [.....]
qui bisit m(enses) VIII.

Peace be with you, [...], amongst the saints, [...], who lived for four? / eight? months, ...

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.108 Arles

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Honorat in 1936. *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles.
Fragment of a marble plaque, possibly re-used. Dimensions: 35 x 25 cm. Letters: 5 cm.
Text source: P.Reynolds.

[...]SII[.....]
[...] annis [V I ?] EI[...]
[. i]nnocessi[mus ? ...]
[...]os in pace [...]

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

On line two it is uncertain whether the age is six years or if the lower half of what appears to be a V is in fact an ivy symbol, which is unlikely because that would mean an age of one year and the years are given in the ablative plural.

Reconstructions: *initium* is dative/optative.

No.109 Arles

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Honorat in 1936. *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles.
Marble plaque, broken into ten fragments. Dimensions: 30 x 35 cm. Letters: 5 cm.
Text source: P.Reynolds.

[...]E[...]
[...]IOEBADI[...]
[dul]cissimae [...]
[...] posuit qu[ae uixit ?]
[. a]nn(os) IIII et [menses ?]

..., placed this epitaph here for a very dear daughter(?), who lived for four years and [...] months,
...

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is dative/optative.

No.110 Arles

ICG. 518; *CIL.XII.* 947; *ILCV.* 3550 adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Honorat. *Arelate ad S.Caesarium muro immissa (CIL).* *Location:* lost (*ICG/ILCV*). Plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG/ILCV*.

(Chi/Rho)

lanuarie	[?coniugi c]-
um quem (orans)	[. ?uixi]-
t annis	[.....?gin]-
ta fuis	[.....]
onacri	[.....]
inum tu	[.....]
ndum tumu	[.....]
o tuo et c	[.....]

ri tuo deni [?que.....]

Too fragmentary for an accurate translation but it is evidently dedicated to a wife, Ianuaria, and the husband records the number of years during which they lived together. Le Blant considers that the epitaph terminates with an invocation addressed to the deceased.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.111 Arles

ICG. 510; *CIL.XII.* 930; *ILCV.* 2888.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Honorat in 1844. *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles.

Large marble plaque. Dimensions: 1.35 x 47 cm. Letters: 4 - 11 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic in
pace r-
equiis-
cit bone
memori-
ae Eusta-
sia, quae
uixit an(nos)
XXXVI. Ob-
iit III nonas
septembr-
is, Auieno
cons(ule).

Here rests in peace Eustasia, of fond memory, who lived for 36 years. She died four days before the nones of September, in the year of the consulate of Avienus.

Date: 2 September 501

This is most likely dated to 501 because the Auienus of 502 is always designated *iunior*. The Avienus of 450 is unknown on any epitaph from this region.

No.112 Arles

ICG. 515; *CIL.XII.* 949; *ILCV.* 1062A; Benoit, F., 1954:99.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Honorat, in the crypt. *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles.

Marble sarcophagus cover. Dimensions: 28 x 59 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Sacro-
sanctae le-
gis antestis (ivy)
(dove) Hilarius (dove)
(monogram) hic quiescit. (vase)

Here lies Hilarius, archbishop and upholder of the most holy law.

Date: 5 May 449

This is inscribed on one end of a reused sarcophagus cover. The sarcophagus, decorated with the legend of Prometheus, is in the Musée du Louvre in Paris.

No.113 Arles

ICG. 516; CIL.XII. 949; ILCV. 1062B.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Honorat, in the crypt. *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles.
Large marble plaque. Dimensions: letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

- Antistes Domini, qui p[au]pertatis a]morem (ivy)
(circle) praeponens auro rapuit c[ae]lesti]a regna, (ivy)
Hilarius, cui palma o[b]itus e[st uiu]ere Xps, (ivy)
contemnens fragilem ter[ren]i corporis usum (ivy)
hic carnis spoliū liquit [ad] astra uolans. (ivy)
(circle) Spreuit opes, dum quaerit opes mortalia mu[t]ans (ivy)
perpetuis, caelum donis terrestribus emit. (ivy)
Gemma sacerdotum plebisque orbisque magister, (ivy)
[circle] rustica quin etiam pro Xpo m[u]nia sumens, (ivy)
seruile obsequium [non] dedignatus adire (ivy)
(circle) officio uixit minimus et culmine summus. (ivy)
Nec mirum si post haec meruit tua limina, Xpe, (ivy)
angelicasque domos intrauit et aurea regna, (ivy)
diuitias, paradise, tuas, f<r>agrantia semper (ivy)
(circle) gramina et halantes diuinis floribus hortos (ivy)
subiectasque uidet nubes et sidera caeli. (palm)

Archbishop of the Lord, who placing love of poverty before gold, seized the celestial kingdom: Hilarius, for whom the reward of his death is life with Christ, scorning the use of his fragile earthly body, has left here his mortal remains and flies to the heavens. He despised wealth, since he sought to exchange temporal gifts for everlasting riches, and has procured for himself a place in heaven through his generosity on earth. A pearl among priests and master of the people and the world, in undertaking the coarsest of tasks for Christ's sake and in not disdaining to assume a slave's role, he lived the least of men in his ministry, the highest in rank. Nor is it a wonder if after these things he has merited your company, Christ, and that he has entered the angels' domain and the Golden Kingdom. He sees your riches, O Paradise, the ever fragrant pastures and gardens scented with divine flowers, and beneath the clouds and the constellations.

Date: 5th May 449

On Line three *est* is preferred because *et* is redundant.

No.114 Arles

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Honorat in 1936. *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles.
Marble plaque, broken into three fragments. Dimensions: 36 x 28 cm. Letters: 3 cm.
Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Hic i]n pace requies-
[cit bo]ne memoriae
[.....]anus, qui uixit
[ann]os pl(us) minus XXVII
[et ob]iit V kal(endas) no(uembres),
[ind]ictio o[cta]ua.
(vase)

Here rests in peace [...]anus, of fond memory, who lived for about 27 years and died five days before the kalends of November, in the eighth year of the indiction.

Date: 28 October 544, 559, 574, 589, 604 (date range of years is estimated).

No.115 Arles

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Honorat in 1936. *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Marble plaque, broken into twelve fragments. Dimensions: 30 x 25 approximately. Letters: 5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Hic r]equiesci[t ...]
[qu]ae uixit a[nnos]
[...] posita [est ? ...]

Here rests [in peace? ...], who lived for [...] years. She was buried here on the(?) ..., ...

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos* + age, date formula is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.116 Arles

ICG. 532; *CIL.XII.* 967; *ILCV.* 2896 adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès in 1536, when the church was destroyed in order to fortify the town. *Location:* lost (*ILCV.*). Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG/ILCV.*

Hic requies-
cit in pace b(onae) m(emoriae)
Vrsula, quae
uixit annis
pl(us) m(inus) XXX et
obiit V kal(endas) iuli(as),
indict(ione) quin-
ta.

Here rests in peace Vrsula, of fond memory, who lived for about 30 years and died five days before the kalends of July, in the fifth year of the indiction.

Date: 28 June 541, 556, 571, 586, 601 (date range of years is estimated).

No.117 Arles

NR. 163; *CIL.XII.* 940; *ILCV.* 2892a adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès in 1872. *Rep. Arelate ante sacellum S.Petri des Mouleires (CIL).* *Location:* Paris, in the reserves of the Palais du Louvre. Marble plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 33 x 27 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic in pace
requiescit
bone memo-
riae Antoni-
nus, qui uix-
it plus minus
annus XLV
et obiet sub
die de[cima]
[kal(endas) ...]

Here rests in peace Antoninus, of fond memory, who lived for about 45 years and died on the tenth(?) day before the [kalends of ...], ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Le Blant records that this was found by M.Revoil in 1872, who donated it to the Louvre. It is probably reused material to judge by the upper border, which has not been re-cut to take the even nature of the inscription.

No.118 Arles

NR. 175; *CIL.XII.* 953; *ILCV.* 2895.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès. *Location:* lost? In the Musée Borély at Marseille (*CIL*), but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR/ILCV.*

Hic requiescit
in pace b(one) m(emoriae) Ma(n)sue-
tus cum filia sua
Blandola, qui uix-
it ann(os) pl(us) m(inus) XLV et
obiit sub d(ie) III no-
nas septembris,
indictione quinta.

Here rest in peace Mansuetus and his daughter, Blandola, of fond memory, who lived for about 45 years and died three days before the nones of September, in the fifth year of the indiction.

Date: 3 September 541, 556, 571, 586, 601 (date range of years is estimated).

No.119 Arles

NR. 181; *CIL.XII.* 5823; *ILCV.* 2898a adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès. In 1880 (*CIL*). *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 48 x 27 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 4 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic in [pa]-
ce requies-
cit bonae me-
moriae Pelagia,
qui uixit annus
pl(us) men(us) L et o-
biit tertio
idus decem-
br(es), indict(ione)
s(e)ptima.
(vase)

Here rests in peace Pelagia, of fond memory, who lived for about 50 years and died three days before the ides of December, in the seventh year of the indiction.

Date: 11 December 543, 558, 573, 588, 603 (date range of years is estimated).

No.120 Arles

NR. 182; *CIL.XII.* 936; *ILCV.* 1808.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès in 1869. In 1867/8 (*CIL*). *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Marble plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 44 x 22 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic in pace re-
quiescit bone
memoriae Pe-
trus, filius con-
da Asclipi, qui
fondabet hanc

baselica Sanc-
ti Petri et Pau-
li: qui uixit plus
minus annus
XLIII et obiit sub
die XIII kal(endas)
febroarias, in-
dictioe VIII, pos(t) co(nsu)l(atum)
Deciti iuniores
u(iri) c(larissimi).

Here in rests in peace Petrus, of fond memory, the son of the late Asclapius, who founded this basilica dedicated to saints Peter and Paul: who lived for about 43 years and died 14 days before the kalends of February, in the eighth year of the indiction, in the year after the consulate of Decius iunior, clarissimus.

Date: 19 January 530

This inscription records that Petrus founded the church of Saints Peter and Paul, later Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès (TC.III: 84). The vulgarism *conda* for *quondam* is rare but is known on an epitaph from Narbonne (JCG: 621, dated 688). The p.c. and indiction concur because the eighth indiction began in September of the previous year, 529.

No.121 Arles

NR. 190; CIL.XII. 969; ILCV. 1063.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès, in 1868 (CIL). *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 25 x 37 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds/NR.

[Hic] in pace requi-
[esci]t bonae m(emoriae)
[...]ulus n(otarius) S(an)c(t)i Caesarii,
[...] qui uixit ann(os) pl(us) m(inus)
[.....]

Here rests in peace [...]ulus, of fond memory, a notarius at the monastery of St.Caesarius, who lived for about [...] years, ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit sub die* + date.

No.122 Arles

NR. 195; CIL.XII. 977d.

Provenance: Alyscamps, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès in 1876. *Location:* lost? Musée Borély at Marseille (CIL), but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Small fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

[indictione?]
[quart? quint]a dec[ima?].
(vase) (dove)

Too fragmentary to translate but it seems to record an indictional year on the last line of an epitaph.

Date: 525-575 (estimated).

The restoration of the indiction as either the 14th or 15th year is the only possibility.

Reconstructions: initium is hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae, age formula is qui/quae uixit annos plus minus, date formula is obiit sub die + date.

No.123 Arles

NR. 203; ILGN. 142.

Provenance: Alyscamps? An isolated find from the Roman theatre by a M.Revoil in 1863.

Location: lost (ILGN). Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

[.....]
[.....] (dove) [...]
[.....]
[.]D (Chi/Rho) M P
[.....] (palm?) (horse?)

No.124 Arles

NR. 205; CIL.XII. 5824b; ILGN. 138a.

Provenance: Alyscamps? discovered in 1882. *Location:* lost? Avignon museum (CIL), but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: ILGN

[Hic in pac]e re-
[quiescit] bone
[memoriae ...]fius IPS
[.....]

Here rests in peace [...]fius, of fond memory, IPS ...

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is qui/quae uixit annos plus minus, date formula is obiit sub die + date.

No.125 Arles

ICG. 513; CIL.XII. 945; ILCV. 2892a adn.

Provenance: Alyscamps? Saint-Genies de la Colonne. *Prope aram ecclesiae* (CIL). This church was in the amphitheatre, thus it was not found *in situ*. *Location:* lost (ILCV).

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

(cross) Hic in pace
requiescit
bonae memor-
iae Fortunatus,
qui uixit pl(us) m(inu)s
annos LX, et obiit
sub diae V idus ianu-
arias, indicti-
one duodecima.

Here in peace rests Fortunatus, of fond memory, who lived for about 60 years and died five days before the ides of January, in the 12th year of the indiction.

Date: 9 January 548, 563, 578, 593, 608 (date range of years is estimated).

No.126 Arles

ICG. 527; CIL.XII. 960; ILCV. 3228.

Provenance: monastery of Saint Caesarius. Eglise des Minimes (ICG), *Arelate in monasterio S.Caesarii muro inserta* (CIL). *Location:* lost (ICG/ILCV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG/ILCV.

(dove) (Chi/Rho) (dove)	
Hic	dor-
mit in pac-	e Secunda,
quae	uixit
annos (orans)	XIII et
menses	VIII dies
XXII. Depo-	sita VI id-
us mart-	ias. Paren-
tes filia-	e dulcissime.

Here sleeps in peace Secunda, who lived for 13 years and eight months, 22 days. She was buried six days before the ides of March. Her parents (placed this epitaph here in memory of) a very dear daughter.

Date: 10 March 350-400 (date range of years is estimated).

No.127 Arles

CIL.XII. 968; ILCV. 2173.

Provenance: monastery of Saint-Caesarius. It was discovered in the cemetery. *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles, but the text is now completely illegible. Marble sarcophagus. Dimensions: cover: 57 x 1.19 x 10 cm. Text source: CIL.XII

[Sancti] Caesarii sequens uestigia sacer
 [.....]issa cultibus aula
 [.....] sorte beatus
 [.....] praeclarus
 [.....] maligni
 [.....]A
 [.....]EO
 [.....]III
 [...] et obiit sub d(ie) XVIII [...]

Too fragmentary to translate except for the last line which records the date of death, 18 days before the kalends of the month.

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

This inscription is now illegible but was once visible on the sarcophagus now in the museum in Arles. It is not possible to make any restoration of what was evidently a metrical inscription except that the last line which records the date of death, 18 days before the *kalends* of the month.

Reconstructions: age formulae is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.128 Arles

ICG. 512; CIL.XII. 944; ILCV. 1644.

Provenance: Saint-Croix, where it was first recorded in the seventeenth century. *Location:* lost (ILCV). *Manuscript.* Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* ICG/ILCV.

- (cross) Fulgida regna petens, caelesti sorte uocatus
Lucis et aetheriae penetrans fastigia laetus,
Optimus atque pius nunc Florentinus in isto
Resplendit tumolo meritis sanctissimus abbas,
5 Efferat qui quondam linguae descrimina calcans
Neq(ue) optare malum studuit nec laedere quemquam,
Terruit ipse tamen faciles sed publice uerbis
Iustitiae tramitem seruans cum pace paterna,
Nescia iurandi pandens conloquia cunctis.
10 Verba D(e)i sollers toto de pectore promisit,
Sancta quibus D(omi)ni resonant praeconia semper
Atque perassiduis concentibus aethera plaudent,
Bella gerens carnis pestifera uitia contra
Belligeransque palam saeuissima proelia uicit.
15 Ast hinc celsa poli capiens iam praemia felix
Sanctorum socius fruitur cum laude coronam.
(cross) Huius namque uiri corpus per cuncta sacratum
Iamdudum aduectum D(omi)ni cum laudibus amplis
Constantinus ouans posuit faeliciter abbas
20 Intra beata Crucis condens fastigia Sacrae.
Nec non et tumuli pretiosa tegmina firmans
Praestruxit solida e crustato marmore fulchra.
Adtamen exactis iam septem denique lustris,
Condita quo fuerant praefati membra sepulchro,
25 Effulsere Petri tandem de sede beati
Quae propriis meritis pandunt hic signa salutis
Virtutumque simul, praestant et commoda larga
Infirmis ualidum dantes per cuncta uigorem.
Ergo, potens pastor, compensa praemia uotis
30 Splendida, sed Xpo commenda saepe poetam,
Cuius parua tibi promserunt carmina laudem.
Ianuarium ex hoc, quem candida mente nutristi,
Tantillumque semul sculptorem marmoris huius
Adnixis precibus D(omi)no per saecula cuncta
35 More tuo placidus commenda iugiter. Hinc iam
Esse quoque monachum nosti quem, s(a)n(c)te, benignum
Nunc et in aeterno Hilarianum semper adorna.

(cross) Primus itaque fuit s(an)c(tu)s Florentinus abbas monasterio nostro per annos V (cross) et menses V s(emis), qui uixit annis pl(us) m(inus) LXX. Obiit prid(ie) id(us) april(es), duodecies p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basilii u(iri) c(larissimi) iunioris, indict(ione) prima. Post hunc secundus fuit domnus Redemptus abbas.

Summoned by celestial destiny to the glittering kingdom, Florentinus, the good and pious abbot, has entered the heavens full of joy; the holy man shines in this tomb with the splendour of his virtues. Bridling the wild excesses of the tongue, he neither desired nor did injury to any individual, but still he terrified the thoughtless in public, adhering to the path of justice with paternal peace. Never swearing, he offered his counsel to all and proclaimed the Word of God with heart-felt skill, the Holy Words in which the praises of the Lord resound forever and the Heavens applaud in continuous harmony. He fought many a battle against the impure vices of the flesh, and waging this war openly, gained many hard fought victories.

Now, taking the heights of Heaven as his reward, as their blessed companion he enjoys the crown of the saints with praise. Now, rejoicing, the abbot Constantinus, a long time past, has

joyfully brought the hallowed remains of this man into the blessed church of the Holy Cross, saw to it that the precious roof of the tomb was strengthened and the tomb itself was covered with shining marble. Seven lustra had passed since his remains were placed here, when from the residence of Saint Peter came signs which were in themselves portents of salvation and of his virtues, bestowing on the sick everywhere a vigorous strength. Therefore, potent pastor, repay our prayers with splendid rewards, and pray often unto Christ for this poet, whose meagre verses are devoted to your praise, and for Ianuarius, whom you have nurtured with an upright mind, and also for Tantillus, the engraver of this epitaph. May your habitual kindness recommend ceaselessly to God through these prayers one you know to be a gentle monk, and finally that Hilarinus might receive your protection for evermore. Saint Florentinus was the first abbot of this monastery, for five years and six months. He lived approximately 70 years and died on the day before the ides of April, 12 years after the consulate of Basilius, uir clarissimus, in the first year of the indiction. The second abbot was our lord Redemtus.

Date: 12 April 553

This has an acrostic running down the left side. The p.c. date and the indiction concur because the first indiction began in September the previous year.

No.129 Arles

A.E., 1974:417; Rouquette J.M., 1974, 254-273.

Provenance: Trinquetaille in 1974, not *in situ*. *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 46 x 52 x 3.1 - 4.5 cm. Letters: 3.2 - 3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(Chi/Rho)

(dove) (figure encircled by a wreath) (dove)

Eutropi, (tree ?)

[pa]x tecum (palm)

[semper? m]aneat (ivy or bunch of grapes ?)

[.....]f (Chi/Rho) (floral symbol ?)

[.....] (tree ?)

Eutropius, peace be with you, ...

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.130 Arles

A.E., 1974:418, Rouquette J.M., 1974, 254-273.

Provenance: Trinquetaille in 1974, not *in situ*. *Location:* Musée Paléochrétienne d'Arles.

Inscribed within a cartouche on a marble sarcophagus. Dimensions: cartouche 30 cm. diameter. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

XVII kal(endas) apr-

iles, hic quiescet

in pace Marcia Roman-

ia Celsa, c(larissima) f(emina) que uixit a-

nnos XXXVIII m(enses) II dies XI.

Fl(auius) Ianuarinus, u(ir) c(larissimus), ex

cons(ule) ord(i)n(ario) coniu-

gi bene merenti

posuit.

Seventeen days before the kalends of April, here rests in peace Marcia Romania Celsa, an illustrious woman, who lived for 38 years, two months, 11 days. Flavius Ianuarinus, clarissimus and ex-ordinary consul, placed this epitaph here for a deserving wife.

Date: 16 March 330-350 (date range of years is estimated).

Flavius Ianuarinus was *consul ordinarius* in 328, thereby dating this to c.330 or slightly later.

No.131 Arras-sur-Rhône. Canton de Tournon, Ardèche.

ICG. 473; *CIL.XII.* 1798; *ILCV.* 2022; *RICG.XV.* 31; *A.E.*, 1973:329.

Provenance: probably from the church. *Location:* built into an exterior wall of the church, to the left of the main door. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 40 x 40 cm. Letters: 3-4 cm.

Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[P]lacidiam placatus suscipe
[qu]ae fide pietateq(u)e potens
[o]bsequiis est famulata tuis.
[T]rigensimis, ni fallimur,
uiduitatis fructibus rifert[a],
sortita est tertium martyrio
qui distat ordine gra[d]um:
exactis annis sexa[ginta]
T dies [...]S[.....]

Receive in your mercy Placidia, who, strong in her faith and piety, has fulfilled her duties to you as a good servant. Rich on the thirtyfold fruits of widowhood, unless we are deceived, she has achieved the third degree separating her in the hierarchy from the martyrs. At the end of her 60th year ...

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is governed by *transeo -ere*.

No.132 Arras-sur-Rhône

RICG.XV. 32; *A.E.*, 1976:410.

Provenance: the church cemetery in 1865. *Location:* lost. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(cross) In hoc t[umulo]
 requiesci[t in pa]-
 ce bone nemo[riæ]
Gratus, qu[i uixit]
[...] plus [minus...]
].....]

In this tomb rests in peace Gratus, of fond memory, who lived about ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.133 Aubagne. Bouches-du-Rhône.

ICG. 551b; *CIL.XII.* 611; *ILCV.* 808A.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost (*ICG/ILCV*). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: *ICG.*

 (anchor)
Q(uinto) Vetinae Eunoeto,
qui uix(it) ann(os) XV, m(enses) III,
(fish) Vetinii Hermes et Acte (fish)
 parentes fil(io) piissimo
 et dulcissimo fecerunt
 et Hermais soror lib(ertis) libertab(usque) posterisq(ue) eorum.

To Quintus Vetinus Eunoetus, who lived for 15 years and three months, the Vetinii, Hermes and Acte, his parents, made (this tomb) for a most pious and beloved son, and Hermais, his sister, for their freedmen, freedwomen and their descendents.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.134 Autun. Saône-et-Loire.

ICG. 5; *CIL.XIII.* 2718; *ILCV.* 1540; Louvre Cat.ML 1290.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre-l'Estrier, probably. *Location:* Musée Rolin, Autun. Marble plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 54 x 26 x 42 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Eufroonia I[...]
filia et m[...]
naufugio [...]
necta nat[a ?]
pri(die) kal(endas) no[ue]mbres
percepit [...]
III id(us) april[es]
decessit [...]
pri(die) kal(endas) mai[as].

Eufroonia, daughter of [...] and [...], who was killed in a shipwreck. She was born on the day before the kalends of November, received (baptism?) three days before the ides of April and died on the day before the kalends of May.

Date: 30 April 375-400 (date range of years is estimated).

This was donated to the museum in 1911. This may record that the deceased was the victim of a shipwreck, but the phrase may be a metaphorical usage on account of the infancy of Euphronia. She was baptised, if *percepit* is taken to mean baptism, on 11 April and was born 31 October, probably the year before. Thus, depending on a leap year, she lived for either 181 or 182 days.

No.135 Autun

ICG. 7; *CIL.XIII.* 2798; *ILCV.* 2814.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre l'Estrier at an unknown date. *Location:* lost (*ILCV.*). Inscribed upon a tomb cover. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG.*

Memoriae aeternae,
Quietae, quae uixit ann(os) I d(ies) III
h(oras) VIII. Decessit VIII kal(endas) nou(embres),
Valente VI et Valentiniano II cons(ulibus).
(position of dove holding a branch of olive/serpent is unknown).

To the eternal memory of Quieta who lived for one year, three days, eight hours. She passed away eight days before the kalends of November, in the year of the sixth consulate of Valens and the second consulate of Valentinianus.

Date: 25 October 378

According to Le Blant this seems to have been inscribed upon a sarcophagus cover originally in Saint-Pierre l'Estrier. The position of the decor is unknown, but the description of the dove holding a snake and not the more usual olive or palm branch may be fantasy. Unusually the hours are also recorded in the age formula.

No.136 Autun

ICG. 8.

Provenance: the church. *Location:* lost. *Manuscript:* Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* ICG.

Augustidunensis opus tibi soluo Syagri
Dius apex Adam ut fecit, dat somnia, donec
auulsa costa plasmata est Eua nec impar:
felices pariter, duploide lucis operti,
ore coruscantes, inter pia rura, iugales.
Ripae iocundae nari grata aura redibat.
turis deliciae saturabant ubere flatu:
una fouens ambos florosa sede uoloptas
nota bonis regio pascebat Tempe beatos.
At cum tam magno pollerent maius honore,
tota hominum mire parebat terra duorum,
occultus mendax mox exerit arma ueneri,
serpens elatus, zelator, larueus hostis,
atrox, innocuos euincens felle nocenti,
conlisit suasu, quos gratia diua bearat.
Et homo de terra, tum denuo decidit illuc,
reptantisq(ue) dolo Eoois excluditur <h>ort<o>.
Hac nati morimur damnati lege parentum.
At Deus excellens aie et de lumine lumen,
e coeli solio dum munera prouidet ultro,
castae carne rudi, uiuax introiit agnus.
Prodiit inde salus, matutiniue lucema,
intactae partu lux eruit excita mundum:
a patre iure Ds, homo dehinc cameus aluo,
ut nos eriperet, uili se detrahit auctor,
o regis uenale caput, quod de cruce fixit.
Telo, uoce, manu, malfactus uerbere, felle.
Ac tu hac soluis captiuos sorte, Creator:
sero uera data est uitali emptio morte:
ymnos unde Deo loquor, absolvente reatum.
At uos aeternae suffulti laude coronae,
Gallorum radii, uobis quo fulgeat et nox
rumpite lora iugis et sumitis arma diei,
ipsaue libertas uos liberat atq(ue) beabit.

On this text the following lines may be read:

da Fortunato sacer haec pia uota Syagri:
Cristus se misit cum nos a morte reuexit. (on left and right vertical edges)
captiuos laxans, Domini meditatio fies:
dulce Dei munus, quo merx te, care, coronet:
cara Deo pietas animam dat de nece solui. (on diagonals and central vertical)

I fulfil my work for you Syagrius, bishop of Autun. When the supreme God had made Adam he took a rib as he slept and made Eve, no less equal, equally fortunate, both covered with a cloak of light, the married couple, faces shining in that blessed land. A breeze pleasant to the nose returned to the pleasant shore. Sweet frankincense filled the air with its rich breath, a single pleasure from its flowery abode fostering both; Tempe, a region known to the good, would feed the blest. But when they had the greatest power with so great an honour the whole earth wondrously obeyed two human beings. Soon the lurking, deceitful serpent puts forth its poisonous weapons. Envious, a diabolical enemy, cruel, vanquishing the innocent with his baleful gall, he bruised through persuasion those whom celestial grace had blessed. Then a second misfortune fell upon them, and man was cast out of the garden of the star in the East (Eden) by the guile of the reptile. But the ever transcendent God, light from light, as from

his celestial throne he provides gifts unasked; a chaste creature, formed of crude flesh, the lively lamb stepped forth. Then salvation reveals itself, or the morning light, and through the offspring of purity the summoned light overthrows this sinful world. Jesus, at his father's behest is henceforth made flesh in the womb, so that he might save us, the creator snatches himself from this sinful world. O venal henchman of the king, who fixed him to the cross, who lashed him with spear, threat, beatings and poison. And you release captives from their fate, Creator, at a late hour the truth is out and life is bought from death: whence I sing hymns to God, the guilt of the accused now absolved. And you, strengthened by the praise of the eternal crown, the shining rays of the Gauls, which shine out for you, and break the night's leash and its yoke and take up the arms of day, and that same liberty liberates you and will bless you.

Finally there are the acrostics, which reveal the design of a Chi/Rho within the text.

- Left side, from the top: grant Fortunatus, O Lord, these pious pledges of Syagrius.
- Right side, from the top: Christ sent himself amongst us to gain our redemption from death.
- Centre, from the top: by freeing the captives, you are in the thoughts of the Lord always.
- Diagonally, top left to bottom right: sweet gift of God, with which rewards he will crown you, brother.
- Diagonally, top right to bottom left: sweet piety gives the soul to God those whom I have saved from death. Centre, left to right: Thus are we born to die damned by the sins of our parents.

Date: 580-595 (estimated).

No.137 Autun

ICG. 9 and 10; CIL.XIII. 2799; ILCV. 1281.

Provenance: unknown. Location: lost. Limestone. Dimensions: 2 pieds x 21 pouces de large.

Text source: ICG.

[Hic i]ace<t> Tigridius cas-
tus puer et <l>ector <f>elix,
<se>mp<e>rqu<e> beatus qui
per saecu<l>um sin<e> sa<e>-
cu<l>i colpacion<e>.
transiui<t> s(ub) d(ie) XI <k>a<l>(endas)
mart(ias) in pac<e> p<r>ecessi<t>.

[Here lies] Tigridius, a chaste boy and a successful reader and ever blessed, who passed through this life without any of the moral shortcomings of our times. He passed away in peace 11 days before the kalends of March.

Date: 19 February 400-450 (date range of years is estimated).

No.138 Avignon. Vaucluse.

ICG. 488; CIL.XII. 1046.

Provenance: Abbaye Saint-Ruf in 1842. Location: Musée Calvet (CIL) but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 16 x 14 x 2 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average.

Text source: ICG.

(cross) (cross) [cross]
Hic in pac[e] quiescit]
Crispinu[s qui uixit]
annus [.....]
[.....]

Here in peace rests Crispinus, who lived for [...] years ...

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.139 Avignon

NR. 159.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR.*

[.....]
[..... in]compa[rabili?]
[qui uixit an]nis XII m[enses ...].

[...] *incomparable* [..., who lived for] 12 years, [...] months, ...

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is dative/optative, date formula is *obiit sub die* + date.

No.140 Banon. Alpes de Haute Provence.

ICMAMNS. 62a.

Provenance: unknown. It was donated to Digne museum in 1878. *Location:* Musée de Digne. White marble plaque, broken into four parts. Dimensions: 25 x 25 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic in pace re-
quiescet b(onaе) (i)vy) m(emoriae)
Paulinus, (i)vy)
qui uixit annus
pl(us) m(inus) XXXV et obiit
XII kal(endas) apriles in-
dict(ione) quinta.

Here rests in peace Paulinus, of fond memory, who lived for about 35 years and died 12 days before the kalends of April, in the fifth year of the indiction.

Date: 21 March 541, 556, 571, 586, 601 (date range of years is estimated).

This inscription is probably the earlier of two inscriptions, No.141 being inscribed on the reverse face of this small plaque.

No.141 Banon

ICMAMNS. 62b.

Provenance: unknown. It was donated to Digne museum in 1878. *Location:* Musée de Digne. White marble plaque, broken into four parts. Dimensions: 25 x 25 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic in pace requies-
cit bon(ae) memoriae (i)vy)
Tecla, (i)vy) qui uixit annus
plus minus VV et obiit
sub die IIII kalendas
nouemb(res) indictione VI.

Here rests in peace Tecla, of fond memory, who lived for about ten(?) years and died four days before the kalends of November, in the sixth year of the indiction.

Date: 29 October 542, 557, 572, 587, 602 (date range of years is estimated).

This is the reverse of No.140 and is probably the later in date, indicating the reuse of the plaque, perhaps within the same cemetery. The numeral VV is used to represent the age and must mean that the deceased is either ten or there is a lapidary error whereby the letter is duplicated and five is intended.

No.142 Belcodène. Bouches-du-Rhône.

NR. 206; *CIL.XII.* 5791a,b,c,d; *ILCV.* 3644 adn.

Provenance: the church at an unknown date. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Plaque broken into four fragments. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| a) Anno X
hanc marmore saxo | b) seiis
it and |
| c) one
tac | d) igratii |

No.143 Bellegarde. Gard.

NR. 300; *CIL.XII.* 4084; *ILCV.* 2898.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* Musée Calvet, Avignon. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 44 x 20 x 2 cm. Letters: 2.2 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic in pace
requiescit
bone memoriae
Leo, qui uixit
plus menos
annos VIII et
obiet sub die
kal(endas) decem-
bris, indic-
tione Xma.

Here rests in peace Leo, of fond memory, who lived for about nine years and died on the kalends of December, in the tenth year of the indiction.

Date: 1 December 546, 561, 576, 591, 606 (date range of years is estimated).

The exact site and provenance of this inscription is unknown, but it is included here because the type and the formulae are similar to many examples from Arles. Bellegarde is on the far bank of the Rhône, so strictly speaking it is not in the *ciuitas Auennicorum*.

No.144 Bellegarde

NR. 301; *CIL.XII.* 4083; *ILCV.* 2021.

Provenance: the Château just prior to 1881. *Nuper reperta Bellegarde inter rudera castelli, delata in museum Auenniense*, prior to 1882 (*CIL*). *Location:* lost? All the sources state Avignon museum, but not found by P.Reynolds in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ILCV.*

[loco tumultantur? i]n uno
[X k(a)l(endas) oc]tobres an-
[niu(ersari)?]o sancto-
[r]um mar(ty)rum A-
[c]animsium et
[obii?]t octabo k(a)l(endas)
[.....], Valerio c(larissimo) c(onsule).

Too fragmentary to translate but it appears to commemorate the martyrdom of St.Maurice and his companions at Agaune. The date, the 11th day before the kalends of October, corresponds exactly with the feast day of St.Maurice. Thus it seems likely that the deceased was interred on that day but died some days prior.

Date: 521

Reconstructions: *initium* and age formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.145 Bourg-en-Bresse. Ain.

ILTG. 310bis.

Provenance: cloître de Brou. Location: Musée du Cloître de Brou. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 27 x 14 x 8 cm. Text source: ILTG

[.....]
[...] nescit haber[...]
[...]retas long(a)euo t[empore? ...]
[.to]molo carmene [...]
[. ?q]u(i)etas hic sum m[...]
[.....]IAMAIVSI[...]
[.....]

Date: 475-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.146 Bourgoin. Isère.

RICG.XV. 253.

Provenance: unknown. Location: lost. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 16 x 16 x 9 cm.

Letters: 2.3 - 2.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
[... obiit] III I
[.....]bris, Flo-
[renti]o et Anti-
[mio ?V] u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).
(cross)

... [He/she died] three days before the [ides? of Septem?/ Octo?/ Novem?/ Decem?]ber, in the year of the consulates of Florentius and Anthemius, *clarissimi*.

Date: 515

On line two, -bris confirms that the month is between August and December.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos + age*.

No.147 Bourgoin

NR. 100; CIL.XII. 2353; RICG.XV. 254.

Provenance: first recorded in the church in 1875. Location: in private ownership at the Maison Charreton, Bourgoin. Stone fragment. Dimensions: 70 x 65 cm. Letters: 4 - 5 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

[Hic req]uiescit
[in pace b]one memo-
[riae ...]edus, d[i]ac(onus),
[qui uixit] anus
[...obiit ?...] id(us) dece(m)br(es)
[Ag]apito u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).

Here rests in peace [...]edus, of fond memory, a deacon, who lived for [...] years. [He died ... days before? / on the?] ides of December, in the year of the consulate of Agapitus, clarissimus.

Date: December 517

The day of the month is between the sixth and the thirteenth.

No.148 Bourgoin

RICG.XV. 254bis.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* Musée Dauphinois, Grenoble. Limestone fragment.

Dimensions: 13 x 10 x 10 cm. *Letters:* 1.5 - 1.8 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[... famu]la Dei HIL [...] or hic ?
[... mes]erecordi[ae Xpi?]
[.....]NOVE LVIII[...]
[... ?tran]siet non[as ...]
[.....]

..., a servant of God, [in hope of the resurrection?] and the mercy of Christ. [...], She passed away on the nones of ...

Date: 500-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is hic requiescit in pace, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos + age*.

No.149 Briord. Canton de Lhuis, Ain.

ICG. 379; CIL.XIII. 2472; ILCV. 1749; RICG.XV. 258.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* a fragment is in the College de Belley. Limestone flag.

Dimensions: 75 x 58 cm. *Letters:* 2 cm. average. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(dove) (cross) (dove)
Hic requiescit
uir uenerabilis Manne-
leubus, qui uixit annis LX
mensis VI, dies XIII, <h>umane-
(dove) tate et bonitate, mori- (dove)
bus et conuersatione (palm)
clarus: obiit in pace die
III idus februarias, Boetio
uero clarissimo consule.
Reliquit liuertus id est
Scupilione,
Gerontium,
Baldaredum,
Leuuera, (palm)
Orouelda, Ildelone.

Here rests the venerable Manneleubus, who lived for 60 years, six months, 14 days. Noted for his humanity and kindness, his morality and behaviour, he died in peace three days before the ides of February, in the year of the consulate of Boethius, clarissimus. He leaves with their freedom these slaves: Scupilio, Gerontius, Baldaredus, Leuvera, Orovelda, Ildelo.

Date: 11 February 487

No.150 Briord

ICG. 374a; CIL.XIII. 2473; ILCV. 306; RICG.XV. 259.

Provenance: in 1846. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Thin sandstone tablet. Dimensions: 52 x 26 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic requiescit
in pace bone (ivy)
memoriae (ivy)
Balidaridus,
uir honestus,
qui uix[it] annus
LX: ouit XIII ka(lendas)
iulias, Dedamio
uiro (ivy) cla<ri>s-
simo (ivy) consule.
(cross) (cross)
(dove) (vase) (dove)

Here rests in peace Balidaridus, of fond memory, a man of integrity, who lived for 60 years. He died 13 days before the kalends of July, in the year of the consulate of Dynamius, clarissimus.

Date: 19 June 488

No.151 Briord

ILTG. 305; RICG.XV. 260; A.E., 1985:141.

Provenance: Le Pontonnier, Briord, in 1909. *Location:* in private ownership at the house of the Demoiselles Grosbon in Briord (RICG.XV). Limestone fragment. Dimensions: 15 - 17 x 26 5 x 2.6 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic requiescit in pace
<bonae> memoriae Rude-
hilde, qui uixit annos XLI:
obiit in pace XVI ka-
lendas august<a>s p(ost) <c>(onsulatum)
Lon<g>ini <iterum et> Faust<i>.

Here rests in peace Rudehilde, of fond memory, who lived for 41 years. She died in peace 16 days before the kalends of August, in the year after the second consulate of Longinus and that of Faustus.

Date: 17 July 491

No.152 Briord

ICG. 374; CIL.XIII. 2474; ILCV. 1616a b; RICG.XV. 261.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* Villebois, in the Mairie. Limestone flag. Dimensions: 60 x 1.90 x 16 cm. Letters: 1 - 2.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic requiescet	Hic reliquit
in pace bonae	leuerto puero
memoriae Arenberga,	nomine Mannone
qui uixit annos XXVIII:	pro redemptionem
obiet in pace VIII	animae suae.
kalendas maias	
Auieno uero cla-	
rissimo console.	

Here rests in peace Arenberga, of fond memory, who lived for 28 years. She died in peace eight days before the kalends of May, in the year of the consulate of Avienus, clarissimus. She leaves enfranchised a young slave named Manno, for the redemption of her soul.

Date: 21 April 501

No.153 Briord

ICG. 381; CIL.XIII. 2475; ILCV. 2903; RICG.XV. 262.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* It is owned privately by Mme.Premillieu, where it serves as a doorstep in a barn on her property at Briord. Stone flag. Dimensions: 60 x 220 cm. Letters: 2-4 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic requiescit in pace
bonae memoriae
Vilioberga, qui uixit
annos XXXIII, obiet in pa-
ce prid(i)e idus iunias, Auieno
uero cla(ris)s(imo) console.

Here rests in peace Vilioberga, of fond memory, who lived for 33 years. She died in peace on the day before the ides of June, in the year of the consulate of Avienus.

Date: 12 June 501

No.154 Briord

Gallia, 45, 1987-1988.

Provenance: Les Plantées in 1983. *Location:* Musée de Briord. Marble fragment, broken on all sides. Dimensions: 16 x 19 x 3.5 - 5.7 cm. Letters: 3 - 3.5 cm. plus some of 2.5 cm. Text source: Gallia 45, 1987-1988

Hoc / I(n) oc? t[umulo requiescit? in pace]
Euch[erius/a qui/ae ui]-
xit a[nnos ...]
Obiit [in pace? ianu/febru]-
arias [.....]
[.....].

In this tomb rests [in peace?] Euch[erius/a?], who lived for [...] years. He/she died [in peace? ...] of January(?) / February(?), ...

Date: 475-500 (estimated).

The date appears to be the late fifth or early sixth century. The month is either January or February.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, date formula is *obiit sub die* + date.

No.155 Briord

ICG. 375; CIL.XIII. 2476; ILCV. 1169; ILTG. 304; RICG.XV. 263.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: RICG.XV.

(cross) Hic requiiscit bone me-
moreae in Xpi no(mine) Carusus,
pr(e)sb(yster), qui fuit ad Dei officio
paratus. Vmanetas in eo sa-
tes laudanda, amicus omne-
bus, qui uixit in pace

annus LXV: trans<i>et
XV k(a)l(endas) nouembris, an(no) XXXXVI
rig(ni, no or nante ?) Clotario, (in)d(ictione) III.

Here rests Carusus, of fond memory, in the name of Christ, who was equipped for the ministry of God. A man whose humanity was most worthy of praise, a friend to everyone, he lived in peace for 65 years. He passed away 15 days before the kalends of November, in the 46th year of the reign of Clothar, in the third year of the indiction.

Date: 18 October 629

The regnal date and the indiction concur because the third indiction began in September 629, which coincides with the forty-sixth and final year of the reign of Clothar II. The date is therefore 18 October 629. The regnal years have here been calculated from his accession to the realm of Neustria in 584 and not from the year when he gained control of Burgundy and Austrasia, in 613. Chlothar I's reign is too early for this series from Briord, and is further precluded on linguistic grounds. Only Chlothar II reigned as long as 46 years in the seventh century.

No.156 Briord

ICG. 377; CIL.XIII. 2477; ILCV. 1075; RICG.XV. 264; A.E., 1965:339bis.

Provenance: first recorded at the château de Saint-André in the early eighteenth century.

Location: lost (RICG.XV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: RICG.XV.

(cross) Ingenie uirtute cluins et nuuelis ortum occopat hoc
tumulo Xpi no(mine) Felix pr(es)b(yte)r: uir magnus, cleminx ac mente
benignus, abstutus, argus, dulcissimus, aptus, ordeneque rictu uita
cometante beata, gesisti sacum pr(es)b(yte)r officio: laudaelis et sapi-
ensie legis, consile magnas dum fenerares opes, omnium potins,
passiins compascere litis et ueruis anenus pacefekare ferus.
Non te nuuiliior criscit ex mure parentum sperne dispectus suble-
cetauet onor. Hinc egetur longa meruit sene crimine uita et tum
propria sepeleuauit opem. Vixit in pace an(nos) LV: obi(it) XV k(a)l(endas) septebris,
ind(ictione) III. Hoc ergo Amatus studuit conscriuere karmin c(?ui) antestetis est Vesperoncia
tuos.

RICG.XV.264 restores the text thus:

(cross) Ingenii uirtute cluens et nobilis ortu occopat hoc tumulo (=hunc tumulum) <in> Chr(ist)i
no(mine) Felix, pr(es)b(yte)r; uir magnus, clemens ac mente benignus, astutus, largus
(argutus?), dulcissimus, aptus, ordine qui recto, uita comitante beata, gessisti sacrum
pr(es)b(yte)r(i) officium; laudabilis et sapientiae legis, consilii magnas dum feneraris opes,
omnium potens, patiens compescere lites et uerbis animos pacificare feros. Non te nobilior
crescit ex more parentum, sperne(?re) dispectus sollicitauit honor. Hinc igitur longa (or
longam?) meruit sine crimine uita (uitam?) (*The phrase et tum propia sepeleuauit opem is
omitted as unintelligible*) then: Vixit in pace an(nos) LV; obi(it) XV k(a)l(endas) septe(m)bris,
ind(ictione) III. Hoc ergo Amatus studuit conscribere carmen, qui antistes est, Vesperoncia tuus.

Reputed for his personal qualities as much as his noble birth, Felix the priest lies her in this tomb, in the name of Christ. A great man, of a gentle and kind disposition, astute, generous, charming, worthy, you have combined a fortunate life with the punctilious discharge of your sacred duties as a priest. Commendable too for your knowledge of the law, as you amassed a great store of wisdom, with authority over all, you were understanding when resolving litigious disputes and calming the angry with your advice. No-one has honoured their lineage more than you, yet the honour you have gained has precluded you from false pride. So thus he has earned a long blameless life ... He lived in peace for 55 years and died on the 15th day before the kalends of September, in the third year of the indiction. Amatus set himself the task of inscribing these verses, for he who was archpriest at Vézeronce.

As RICG.XV:264 concludes, line 14 is impossible to translate in the form in which it has been preserved. *Meruit* apparently has no complement and the rest of the verse is impossible. The sense indicates that either following his burial in this tomb, his soul will receive its just reward in Heaven or this is an allusion to the funeral service itself.

Date: 18 August 630

No.157 Briord

ICG. 373a; *CIL.XIII.* 2478; *ILCV.* 1076; *ILTG.* 304bis; *RICG.XV.* 265.

Provenance: first recorded at the château de Saint-André in the early eighteenth century.

Location: lost (*RICG.XV*). Marble fragment. Dimensions: 15 x 12 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

(*cross*) Hic tua, uenerabilis Amate, requicunt membra
sepulchro, qui fuit insignis meritis Vesperoncia prior
pr(es)b(yte)r, officio altarebus sacris prelictus adesit. Ver mag-
nus ac mente benignus, abstutus, passiins, dulcissemus, aptus,
non te nouillior criscit ex mure parentum. Consili mag-
nas dum feneraris opis, rapuit inueda mors de corpo-
re uita. Hoc ergo frater, plenus amure, cum nimio tu-
mulauit dulure, cui sistint lacreme et cesint su[spiria]
f<l>etus. Vixit in pace an(nos) XXXXVIII: obiit XV k(alendas) [...],
ano V e rigno Da<g>oberti re(gis), (in)d(ictione) VII.

RICG.XV:265 restores the scansion thus:

Hic tua, uenerabilis Amate, requicunt membra sepulchro,
qui fuit insignis meritis Vesperoncia prior
presbyter, officio altarebus sacris prelictus adesit.
Ver magnus ac mente benignus, abstutus, passiins, dulcissemus, aptus,
non te nouillior criscit ex mure parentum.
Consili magnas dum feneraris opis,
rapuit inueda mors de corpore uita.
Hoc ergo frater, plenus amure, cum nimio tumulauit dulure,
cui sistint lacreme et cesint su[spiria] f<l>etus.

followed by the age and date:

Vixit in pace an(nos) XXXXVIII; obiit XV k(alendas) [...], ano V e rigno Da<g>oberti re(gis),
(in)d(ictione) VII.

Here in this sepulchre, venerable Amatus, lie your remains. You, who by your exceptional merits became the first archpriest at Vézeronce, were chosen from birth for the priesthood and continued faithfully in that office. A great man with a gentle personality, astute, patient, very charming and worthy, no-one has honoured their lineage more than you. Just as you were reaping the considerable fruits of your wisdom, envious death has stolen the life from your body. Thus your brother, filled with love, buries you here with the greatest sadness: may his grief be assuaged and his sighs and tears cease. He lived in peace for 48 years and died 15 days before the kalends of [...], in the fifth year of the reign of king Dagobert, in the seventh year of the indiction.

Date: 633

The seventh indiction ran from September 633 until the end of August 634. Calculated from October 629, the fifth year of Dagobert's reign would have begun in October 635. If calculated from the beginning of 629 inclusive, the fifth year would have begun in 633. In the absence of the date of death it is not certain that there is any concordance but the inscription is certainly dated to either 633 or 634.

No.158 Briord

ICG. 376; CIL.XIII. 2480; ILCV. 4826; RICG.XV. 266.

Provenance: first recorded at the château de Saint-André in the early eighteenth century. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: RICG.XV.

[?cross] In hoc tumulo
requiescit benemoria
Dananta, abstuta,
passiins, dulcissema,
apta, qui uixit
in pace an(nos) XXV:
obiit XV k(a)l(endas)
iunias, [(in)d(ictione)] III.

In this tomb rests Dananta, of fond memory, wise, patient, very sweet, friendly, who lived in peace for 25 years. She died 15 days before the kalends of June, in the third year of the indiction.

Date: 18 May 615

A third indictional year during the early seventh century occurred in 614/615, 629/630 and 644/645, the earliest of which seems the most likely according to RICG.XV. 266.

No.159 Briord

ICG. 383; CIL.XIII. 2481; ILCV. 4824; RICG.XV. 267.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Dimensions: 22 x 22 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(cross) Hic requiescit bone
memorie Eunandus,
amicus omneuos, umane-
tas laudanda nemis mi-
randa uoluntas, qui
uixit in pace an(nos) LX:
obi(it) III k(a)l(endas) fibruarias,
(in)d(ictione) VII.

Here rests Eunandus, of fond memory, a friend to everyone, whose humanity cannot be praised too greatly, and whose kindness should be admired, who lived in peace for 60 years. He died in peace three days before the kalends of February, in the seventh year of the indiction.

Date: 30 January 619

As RICG.XV. 267 states, the indictional year is either 619 or 634 not 632/3 and it is not a day as Le Blant records.

No.160 Briord

ICG. 378; CIL.XIII. 2483; ILCV. 150; RICG.XV. 268.

Provenance: sometime anterior to 1847. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon, but not seen by P.Reynolds. Stone fragment. Dimensions: 15 x 17 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 1-1.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(cross) Hic requiescunt men-
bra ad duos fratres
Gallo et Fidencio, qui fo-
erunt filii Magno cl(arissimo) et
uixerunt in pace [...]
XVIII ALI[...]

Here rest the mortal remains of two brothers, Gallus and Fidencius, who were the sons of Magnus, clarissimus, and lived in peace (the former?) for 18 years, (the latter?) for ...

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.161 Briord

ICG. 380; *CIL.XIII.* 2484; *ILCV.* 4827; *RICG.XV.* 269.

Provenance: first recorded at the château de Saint-André in the early eighteenth century.

Location: lost (*RICG.XV.*). *Manuscript.* *Dimensions:* unavailable. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(cross) In hoc tumulo riquiiscunt bene memorie

Riculfus et iugalis sua Guntello, qui fuerunt

insignis meritis in amore semper amici omneuos, abstuti,

passiins, dulcissimi, apti, liuiri, onesti iurans ac pecture

mente pie: utilitas eorum laudanda nemis miranda uolon-

tas: transierunt ad ueram remeans e curpure uita:

quen fili eorum cum lacrimis tumulauerunt dulu-

re: qui uixerunt in pace an(nos) LXV AE[...]:

obierunt in die S(an)c(t)i Martini in[?]d(ictione)...

In this tomb rest Riculfus and his wife Guntello, of fond memory, who were noted for their good works and remained constant in their love. Friends of everyone, wise, patient, very charming, worthy, generous, honourable, pious in heart and mind: one should praise their qualities and wonder at their kindness: they have returned to the true life, leaving behind their mortal remains, which their grieving sons have tearfully buried here. They lived in peace for 65 years AE[...]: they died on the day of Saint Martin, in the [...] year of the indiction.

Date: 11 November 600-650 (date range of years is estimated).

No.162 Briord

ICG. 382; *CIL.XIII.* 2482; *ILCV.* 4825; *RICG.XV.* 270.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* a fragment is in the Collège de Belley. Fine-grained limestone flag. *Dimensions:* 30.5 x 20 x 3.5 cm. *Letters:* 1.7 - 2.2 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

In oc tom[olo]m requiiscet bone

memorea[e] amicus

omnebus, fe[d]es et humanatas

sates laudanda, qui uixet in

pace annus XXX.

In this tomb rests [...], of fond memory, a friend to everyone, whose faith and humanity should be praised, who lived in peace for 30 years.

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

No.163 Briord

NR. 102; *CIL.XIII.* 2479; *ILCV.* 483; *RICG.XV.* 271 and 272.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* The Musée de Briord and the college de Belley each have a fragment of this inscription. Marble plaque. *Dimensions:* 12.5 x 16 x 1.7 cm. *Letters:* 2-2.5 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(cross) H[?]ic sit- or ?ic humat]a Palatini / riquiiscunt mem[bra]/[...]

[.]NSIS primiciri, qui fuit insi[gnis]

[mer]itis, martirio pasus, liuer, [...]

[...] amatus omneuos, abstutus, [...]

[.....]

Here rest the mortal remains of Palatinus, (of the Palace?), a primicerius, noted for his good works, who suffered like a martyr (for his faith), generous, a friend to everyone, wise, ...

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui uixit in pace annos*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.164 Briord

RICG.XV. 273.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* Musée de Briord. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 10.5 x 12 x 2.2 cm. *Letters:* 1-2 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(cross) In hoc [tumulo requiis]-
[ce]t bone me[moriae]
FOLAILDV
[.....]

In this [tomb rests ...] FOLAILDV, of fond memory, ...

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui uixit in pace annos*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.165 Briord

RICG.XV. 274; A.E., 1965:339bis.

Provenance: Les Plantées in 1961. *Location:* Musée de Briord. Two fragments of a limestone plaque. *Dimensions:* 1) 10 x 9 x 5.5 cm. 2) 21 x 15 x 5.5 cm. *Letters:* 2.2. cm.

Text source: *RICG.XV.*

- 1). [... ui]rtute cluins e[t ...]
[... in X]pi no(mine) A[...]
[...MVS[...]
[.....]
- 2). [.....]
[... pect]ure mente pi[us? ...]
[... e]getur IRAKALED[...]
[... sin]e crimini uita P[...]
[...A?EI[...]
[.....]

Too fragmentary to translate, although Mme.Descombes has restored the first two lines as:

[cross Ingenii ui]rtute cluins e[t nuuelis ortum occopat hoc] [tumulo in Ch]r(ist)i no(mine) A[.....,
uir magnus, clemens ac mente] (*RICG.XV. 274*)

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase, age formula is *qui uixit in pace annos*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.166 Briord

RICG.XV. 275; A.E., 1965:339ter.

Provenance: Les Plantées in 1961. *Location:* Musée de Briord. Fragment of a limestone plaque.

Dimensions: 9 x 12 x 2 cm. *Letters:* 2.7 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(cross) In ho[c tumulo]
[requiiscet]
[.....]

In this [tomb] rests ...

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.167 Buis. Canton de Rosans, Hautes-Alpes.

NR. 152; *CIL.XII.* 1530; *ICMAMNS.* 67.

Provenance: on a hill nearby sometime prior to 1892. *Location:* built into the wall of a house on the road leading from Buis towards Valdrome. Grey marble fragment of a plaque with white veining. Dimensions: 23 x 46 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Hic requiescit? in] pace bonae memoria
[..... qui/ae uixi]<t> annis quinquaginta
[.....]ohanne u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule), ind(ictione) secunda.

[Here rests] in peace [...], of fond memory, [who lived for] 50 years. [...], in the year of the consulate of Iohannis, in the second year of the indiction.

Date: 538

The restoration proposed by Le Blant is followed here because there is no indication that any lines preceded those extant today. The opening formula is unusual for this region and the day of the month seems unlikely due to the probable layout of the text. However, it is difficult to be certain given the fragmentary nature of the epitaph. It is more likely that this inscription records a consular date and not a p.c. The second indiction ran from September 538 to the end of August 539, so this fragment must date to within those twelve months. The preference taken here is for 538.

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.168 Brunet. Canton de Valensole, Alpes de Haute Provence.

ICMAMNS. 47.

Provenance: in 1861 amongst some tombs discovered in the ruins of a nearby monastery.

Location: lost. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICMAMNS.*

Hic in Christo requiescit bonae memoriae Baldo uir
nobilis, qui obiit V kalend(as) nouem[bres].

Here rests in Christ Baldo, of fond memory, a man of nobility, who died five days before the kalends of November.

Date: 28 October 425-475 (date range of years is estimated).

No.169 Carcès. Var.

A.E. (1978:474; *Gallia, informations*, 35, 1977, 497 (with a photograph).

Provenance: Saint-Jean. *Location:* lost, it was stolen shortly after discovery. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 29 x 25 cm. Letters: 3-3.5 cm. Text source: *A.E.*, 1978: 474.

Hic requi-
escet in
pace Ver-
naclus
qui uixet
an(nos) X me[n]ses ?]

Here rests in peace Vernaculus, who lived for ten years, [...] months.

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

The restoration of *menses* is a possibility, and the epitaph probably does not have any further lines. Thus *XME* may be an abbreviation for *decem*, but the photograph in *Gallia* clearly shows a gap after the *X*.

No.170 Chalon-sur-Saône. Saône-et-Loire.

ICG. 660; *CIL.XIII*. 2627c.

Provenance: Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in 1855/6. *Location*: Musée de Chalon-sur-Saône. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 18 x 11 x 3 cm. Text source: *ICG*.

(interleaving border)

[.....]EACPE[.....]

[.....]

No.171 Chalon-sur-Saône

CIL.XIII. 2629; *ILCV*. 1717; Armand-Calliat, L., 1936, 36, No.92.

Provenance: cloître du Saint-Vincent in 1861. *Location*: Musée de Chalon-sur-Saône. Marble plaque broken into three fragments. Dimensions: 39 x 24 x 10 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Ha]nc sedem

[c]onsecr[auit]

[qu]i meruit

quae bene f[act?..]

[m]ens deuota D[eo]

[c]onseruans [...]

[?lar]gitor prum[ptus?]

[na]mque dec[orauit?]

[..]sse uirt[u?..]

[r]e<g>na tu[a ..]

[Proto]gen[e?..]

[.....]con[sule?].

Too fragmentary to translate accurately but it is evidently a commemorative plaque recording the consecration of the episcopal see of Chalon during the consulate of Protogenes in 449.

Date: 449

No.172 Chalon-sur-Saône

CIL.XIII. 2630; *ILCV*. 1951 adn; Armand-Calliat, L., 1936, 37, No.95.

Provenance: near the place de la Beaune in about 1875. *Location*: Musée de Chalon-sur-Saône. Limestone fragment. Dimensions: 23 x 28 x 8 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]

[...]APOS[...]

[...]BEAT[...]

[.....]

No.173 Chalon-sur-Saône .

Provenance: unknown. *Location*: Musée de Chalon-sur-Saône. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 22 x 29.5 x 4 cm. Letters: 3-4 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Hic requiescit in pace]

[..... qui uixit anno]-

s LXX, et [.....]

qui transiit

XV k(a)l(endas) feb(ruarias), p(ost) c(onsulatum) [Symma]-
chi et Boiti [u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus)].

[Here rests in peace ..., who lived for] 70 years and [...] months(?), who passed away 15 days before the kalends of February, in the year after the consulates of Symmachus and Boethius, clarissimi.

Date: 18 January 523

This does not seem to have been edited. The restoration attempted here assumes that the extant left side is the original edge of the inscription.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescet bone memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos + age*.

No.174 Charmes. Canton de La Voulte, Ardèche.

ICG. 477a; CIL.XII. 2660; ILCV. 148; RICG.XV. 11.

Provenance: in a field near Charmes. Location: in the private possession of M.Fiche at Charmes. Sarcophagus. Dimensions: 90 x 230 x 110 cm. Letters: 5 and 3-3.5 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

- 1 Aeui ingens, genus egregium atq(ue) ordine princeps,
Lugduni procerum nobile consilium,
Exacto uitae transcendit ad aethera cursu,
Terrenum tumulo dans, animam superis.
5 Hi[c patr]is reliqua gener ac pia filia cundunt,
Ig[nara] ut non sint saecula futura sui.
Vsur[ae] lucis natus melioribus ann[is],
S[e]x lust[ra] exegit non breue ter spatium.
[C]iuis qui fuerit simul et quo no[m]ine dict[us],
10 [Ver]sibus in primis, ordine, prod[it apex ?].
..PITERRIER...PAV...VI....

Living to a considerable age, of an eminent family, he became leader of his order and a noble municipal councillor of the council of Lyon. Now that his life has come to an end his soul has ascended into heaven, leaving his mortal remains here in this tomb. His son-in-law and pious daughter have buried their father's remains here so that his memory might be preserved through the centuries. Born to enjoy the light of happier times, he lived to the remarkable age of 90 years. If you wish to know both his name and what sort of person he was, read the first letter of each line in order. Lines 9 and 10 are mutilated and the translation provided here is intended as an interpretation of the general sense only. The interpretation of line 11 is problematical; it is likely that it records the age and date of the day and month together with a consular date. The reconstruction according to RICG.XV:11 has been followed here: obiit....febr(uarias) ter[tio] or iter[um p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Paulini iunioris [u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)]. He died on the [... day before the ...] of February, two(?)/three(?) years after the consulate of Paulinus iunior, clarissimus. The inscription has an acrostic running down the left side, providing the name of the deceased, Alethius, a name of Greek origin, there is a sense of his name here being used to describe his character.

Date: 536

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit + date*.

No.175 Chavanoz. Canton de Pont-de-Chéruy, Isère.

RICG.XV. 252.

Provenance: in the church in 1876. Location: built into the interior wall of the church. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 25 x 68 x 8 cm. Letters: 4 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[Qui]squis deuertis ad ora[ndum],
ora pro Agapio pr(es)b(yte)ro
creatore(m) sic D(omi)n(u)m habeas

protictorem, ut parcat D(eu)s
factis, parcat dictis, parcat
prauis sensib(u)s. Vixit ann(o)s LXXXV:
obiet sub die kal(endas) ianuarias,
LXVIII p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi), indic(tione) decima.

Whoever you are now turning here to pray, pray for Agapio the priest, pray that you may have the Lord Creator for your protector, that God may forgive what you have done, that he may forgive what you have said, that he may forgive your improper thoughts. He lived for 85 years; he died on the kalends of January, 68 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the tenth year of the indiction.

Date: 1 January 609

The first four lines are missing and known only from a record made in the last century (*RICG.XV*: 252). The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur. The 68th p.c. of Basilius was in 609 but the tenth indiction ran from September 606 until the end of August 607. The date, 1 January, would have required the twelfth indiction, which began in September 608.

No.176 Cimiez. Canton de Nice, Alpes Maritimes.

ICG. 631; *NR*. 334; *ILCV*. 250; *ICMAMNS*. 26; *CIL.V*:7978.

Provenance: unknown. *Location*: lost. It was in the Musée Masséna at one time (*ICMAMNS*).

Marble plaque, broken in two and probably re-used. Dimensions: 18-21 x 65 cm.

Text source: *NR/ICMAMNS*.

(monogram) Hic requiescet bone memoriae
spectabilis Expectatus q(ui) uixit (ivy)
annus (ivy) L m(enses) VII, cuius (ivy) d(e)p(ositio) (ivy)
(fish) est sub die VIII k(a)l(endas) i<anu>(arias), d(omino) n(ostro) Leone iun(io)re
u(iro) c(larissimo) c(on)s(ule).

Here rests Expectatus, spectabilis, of fond memory, who lived for one year, seven months, and whose burial took place eight days before the kalends of June, in the year of the consulate of our lord Leo iunior, clarissimus.

Date: 25 December 474

The month is inscribed as an abbreviation, *IVAN*, for which only January or June can be reasonably read. The date is thus either 25 December or 24 June.

No.177 Cimiez

NR. 335; *ILGN*. 8; *ICMAMNS*. 27.

Provenance: built into the steps of the garden of the cloister. *Location*: lost (*ILGN/ICMAMNS*).

Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR*.

[.....]
[...us de sedibus alm[...]
[...cia magna Mich[...]
[.....]

Date: 400-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: initium, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.178 Cimiez

ICMAMNS. 28a; Benoit (F.), *Gallia*, 1958, 447.

Provenance: avenue des Arènes during construction work, probably in 1958. *Location*: lost? It was not located by *ICMAMNS*. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICMAMNS*.

[.....]
[in] memoriam
[uix]sit annis
XXXXV [.....]
[.....]

..., [in?] memory [of ...?], who lived for 45 years, ...

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescet bone memoriae*, date formula is governed by *depono -ere*.

No.179 Cimiez

ICMAMNS. 28b.

Provenance: from the collection of the Musée Masséna, but the site or date is unknown.

Location: Musée Masséna. White marble plaque. Dimensions: 8 x 5.5-8.5 x 2 cm.

Letters: 2.2 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

[...].V.[...]
[...] uixsit a[nnis ...]
[...]...[...]

..., who lived for [...] years, ...

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescet bone memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos* + age, date formula is governed by *depono -ere*.

No.180 Cimiez

ILCV. 1335; ICMAMNS. 29; CIL.V:7977.

Provenance: in the cemetery of the monastery of Saint-Pons (now the Hospital Pasteur). It has been known since end of the sixteenth century (ICMAMNS). Location: lost (ICMAMNS).

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICMAMNS.

Metiliae Aureliae chr(ist)ianae fideli et
Aurelio et Rusticiae. Fl(auius) Secundinus
coniugi et filiis infelicissimus m(emoriam) f(ecit).

To Metilia Aurelia, a faithful Christian, and to Aurelius and Rusticia, Flavius Secundinus, suffering an enormous sense of loss, has made this memorial to his wife and children.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.181 Cimiez

ICMAMNS. p.255.

Provenance: in the interior courtyard of the hospital (formerly the convent of Saint-Pons).

Location: Musée Masséna, on the terrace in front of the museum. Marble sarcophagus, broken into two halves. Dimensions: Principle side: 76 x 225 x 11 cm. Cartouche: 41 x 195 cm. Lateral side: 76 x 66 x 10 cm. Cover: 50 x 225 cm. Letters: 5 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

Principal side.

Lateral side cover.

memoriae Aeliae Mariae
Certia Marcella fil(ia)

memoriae Aeliae
Certia Marcella
on the edge:
Mariae

To the memory of Aelia Maria, her daughter Certia Marcella (placed this epitaph here).

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.182 Cimiez .

Provenance: to the west of the frigidarium of the bathhouse on 25 November 1959 during an excavation. *Location:* Musée Masséna. Re-used marble fragment, with a sculpted moulding on the reverse, Dimensions: 9 x 9.5 x 3 cm. Letters: 2.5-3.5 cm. Text source: *ICMAMNS*.

[...].BV.[.....]
[. m]emor[iae ?]
[....]V[.....]

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescet bone memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos + age*, date formula is governed by *depono -ere*.

No.183 Clérieux. Canton de Romans, Isère.

NR. 142; *CIL.XII.* 2191; *RICG.XV.* 226.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV*). Marble plaque. Dimensions: 50 cm. wide. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[.....]RBI[...]
[.....]ra q(ui/ae) uixi[t ?...]
[annos: o]biit IIII [i]dus ?[...]
[.....inde]xione octaua,
[?sexies ?septies p(ost) c(onsulatum) lo]hannis u(iri) c(larissimi)
c(onsulis)
[.....]LCESSEME.

..., who lived for [...] years. He/she died four days before the ides of [...], in the eighth year of the indiction, [six? / seven?] years after the consulate of Iohannis, clarissimus. [Vale? du?]LCESSEME.

Date: 544

The eighth indiction ran from September 544 to the end of August 545. In the absence of the day and month and the number of years for the p.c., this inscription can only be dated to either the sixth or seventh p.c., in 544 or 545.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*.

No.184 Colonzelle. Canton de Grignan, Drôme.

NR. 151; *CIL.XII.* 1739; *ILCV.* 431 adn.

Provenance: chapel of Saint-Pierre-aux-Liens between Colonzelle and Marjerie (*CIL*). *Location:* lost? It was in village of Margerie. Sarcophagus. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR*.

Hic Vetranus pausat.

Here rests Vetranus.

Date: 350-400 (estimated).

No.185 Corenc. Canton de Grenoble-Est, Isère.

NR. 129; CIL.XII. 2308; RICG.XV. 238.

Provenance: sometime before 1857. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: RICG.XV.

[Hic requiescit in pace]
bonae memoriae [...]
[.....]

Here rests [in peace ...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.186 Crussol. Commune et Canton de Saint-Péray, Ardèche.

ICG. 475; CIL.XII. 2661; ILCV. 2909; RICG.XV. 18; Louvre Inv.MNC1728.

Provenance: in 1853 in a quarry on the montagne de Crussol (RICG.XV). *Location:* Paris, in the reserves of the Musée du Louvre, Cat.No.MA2970. Marble plaque, re-used.

Dimensions: 30 x 16-20 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 1.7-2.5 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

(cross) Hic in pacem
requiescet
bone memo-
riae Amat(u)s
qui uicxet in p-
ace plus men(u)s
ann(u)s V et tran-
siet diae «et tr-
ansiet diae» et t-
empore supra-
s(cri)pto

Here rests in peace Amatus, of fond memory, who lived in peace for about five years and passed away on the day and time inscribed above (sic).

Date: 675-700 (estimated).

No.187 Crussol

ICG. 476; CIL.XII. 203*; RICG.XV. 19.

Provenance: in 1854 in a quarry on the montagne de Crussol (RICG.XV). *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

(cross) In hoc tumo-
lo requiiscit bo-
ne memoria Marga-
rita, et uicxit in
pacim annus LXXV
et transiit k(a)len-
das iulias, rigni dom-
ni nostri Chdoedo re-
gis tanto, indicci-
one quarta: et
santa reque LE D(eu)s
dedit.

In this tomb rests Margarita, of fond memory; she lived in peace for 75 years and passed away on the kalends of July, the same regnal year as our lord, king Clovis, in the fourth year of the indiction. God has granted her holy rest.

Date: 1 July 691

A fourth indiction began in September 645 during the reign of Clovis II, but at that time Sigebert III ruled Austrasia. Another began in September 675 during what some consider the date of accession of the reign of Clovis III (675-6). The existence of the reign of this Clovis remains in doubt, and is not considered by Descombes (*RICG.XV*: 236), who considers that this belongs to the reign of Clovis IV (691-695). In the absence of the regnal years the date taken here is 1 July 691, during the second year of the reign of Clovis IV, in the fourth indiction.

No.188 Crussol

ICG. 476a; *CIL.XII*. 2662; *RICG.XV*. 20; Louvre Inv.MNC1729.

Provenance: in 1853/4 in a quarry on the montagne de Crussol (*RICG.XV*). *Location*: Paris, in the reserves of the Musée du Louvre, Cat.No. MA2971. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 16 x 13 x 2 cm. Letters: 2 cm. average. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[.....]
E[.....]
(dove) VI[..... ui]-
xi[t.....]
(cross) XL e[t obiit ... A]-
gu[stas]
(dove) [.....]

Date: 675-700 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.189 Dauphin. Alpes de Haute Provence.

ICMAMNS. 60.

Provenance: in 1907 during work in the old chapel. *Location*: Musée de Riez. Limestone plaque.

Dimensions: Plaque: 47 x 155 cm. Cartouche: 30 x 26 cm. Letters: 3.2-5 cm.

Text source: *ICMAMNS*.

Left side: (cross) V id(us) apr(i)l(es) obiit

Within the cartouche:: (cross) XIII k(a)l(endas) fe-
broarii m(ensis)
hobiit Gis-
berga

Left side: He/she died five days before the kalends of April. *Within the cartouche*: On the 13th day before the kalends of the month of February Gisberga died.

Date: 9 April 500-600 (date range of years is estimated).

This is a double epitaph; Gisberga died on 20 January, the name of the other deceased is not extant.

No.190 Dauphin

ICMAMNS. p.396.

Provenance: apparently from a chapel once belonging to the chevaliers de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem. *Location*: lost (*ICMAMNS*). Fragment of a limestone plaque.

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICMAMNS*.

[...]a[...]
[...]ae h[...]
[...]iciae[...]

[.]nicius VII[...]
parentibus e[...]

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is dative/optative, age formulae is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase,

No.191 Decize. Nièvre.

ICG. 11; *CIL.XIII.* 2816; *ILCV.* 914.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* Musée Nivernais. A roof tile, re-used. Dimensions: 18 x 13 cm. Text source: *ICG.*

et Fre-
debo-
dus zu-
nior.

...? and *Fredebodus Iunior.*

No.192 Die. Drôme.

ICG. 478; *CIL.XII.* 1694; *ILCV.* 3485.

Provenance: found in 1826, in *hortis viduae Lamorte-Penthièvre (CIL)*. *Location:* Musée de Die. Marble flag. Dimensions: 107 x 52 cm. Letters: 4 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic Dalmata Cr-
isti morte redem-
tus, quiiscet in pa-
ce et diem futuri
iudicii intercede-
ntibus sanctis «I»-
letus spectit.

Here rests in peace Dalmata, who has found redemption in the death of Christ, and now awaits the fateful day of judgement when the saints will intercede.

Date: 400-450 (estimated).

The letter *L* terminating line six is an error of repetition. At the beginning of line seven the full word is inscribed. Blaise (1954: 769), describes *specto -ere* as a variant of *specto -are*.

No.193 Die

ICG. 478a; *CIL.XII.* 1695; *ILCV.* 1214.

Provenance: in 1861. *Location:* Musée de Die. Marble plaque, possibly re-used. Dimensions: 47.5 x 26 cm. Letters: 2-3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Hic requiescit
in pace bone me-
moriae Deside-
rius diaconus
qui uixit ann(o)s
XXXI. Obiit III
id(u)s apr(i)l(es), ind(ictione)
XII.

Here rests in peace Desiderius, a deacon, of fond memory, who lived for 31 years. He died three days before the ides of April, in the 12th year of the indiction.

Date: 11 April 548, 563, 578, 593, 608 (date range of years is estimated).

No.194 Die

ICG. 478b; *CIL.XII.* 1696; *ILCV.* 1062 adn.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* Musée de Die. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 30 x 69 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]
[.....]os penetrat uox missa meatus co[...]
[.....]us agit quis nunc percurrere fando li[...]
[.....]dis primum quae gesseret heros per[...]
[... s]tudiis uirtus siit ut labor ille ut[...]
[.....]sa coronae os[...]

Date: 450-463 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.195 Dijon. Côte-d'Or.

ICG. 659; *CIL.XIII.* 5591; *ILCV.* 3566 adn.

Provenance: Saint-Jean. *Location:* Musée Archéologique de Dijon. Marble flag. Dimensions: 29 x 28 x 9 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[In ho]c tomo-
[lo] reqisicit
[bona]e memoriae
[?Flore]ntiae q(u)i uix(it)
[an]nus XVII et
[me]nsis VI. (*monogram with alpha/omega*) (*palm*).

In this tomb rests [...]ntiae, of fond memory, who lived for 17 years and six months.

Date: 430-500 (estimated).

No.196 Ecully. Rhône.

ICG. 14; *CIL.XIII.* 2376; *ILCV.* 3562.

Provenance: first recorded in the local church, it was then set into the wall of an adjoining house and finally entered the museum in 1859. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 54 x 36.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

In hoc tumulo requiescit
bone memorio Felocalus
qui uixit in pace ann(os)
LX, obiet II «no»non(as) decembr(e)s (*ivy*)
p(ost) c(onsulatum) Agapeto. (*ivy*)
(*ivy*) (*dove*) (*dove*) (*ivy*)

In this tomb rests Felocalus, of fond memory, who lived in peace for 60 years. He died two days before the nones of December, in the year after the consulate of Agapitus.

Date: 4 December 518

Unusually, II is employed instead of the more usual *pridie*.

No.197 Entrechaux. Vaucluse.

ICG. 502.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost? Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

A E (cross) IL[...]

[.....]S[...]

[.....]

No.198 Eyzin. Isère.

NR. 124; CIL.XII. 2165; ILCV. 1607adn; RICG.XV. 216.

Provenance: chapel of Saint-Marcel. *Location:* built into the interior wall of the church. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 24.5 x 42 cm. Letters: 2.8 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]

[.....] fuit semper quod

[? Deus uo]luit, quae uixit

[annos p]lus minus LX: obiit

[.....] id(us) maias ...LE III

[indic(tione) ?d]ecima.

..., always did as God wished, who lived for about 40 years. She died [... days before] the ides of May, [...], in the tenth year of the indiction.

Date: May 546, 561, 576, 591, 606 (date range of years is estimated).

The date is between 10 and 15 of May.

Reconstructions: *initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace.*

No.199 Eyzin

ICG. 463; CIL.XII. 2144; ILCV. 2455; RICG.XV. 217.

Provenance: chapel of Saint-Marcel. *Location:* built into the interior wall of the church. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 14 x 29 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(cross) In Xpi nomine. In

hoc tomolu(m) requiesce[t]

in pace bone memo-

riae .E.ENCIVS q(ui) uixet

[.....]

In the name of Christ. In this tomb rests in peace .E.ENCIVS, of fond memory, who lived for ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.200 Faucon-de-Barcelonnette. Alpes de Haute Provence.

CIL.XII. 86; ICMAMNS. p240.

Provenance: in 1814. *Location:* Musée de Digne. White marble plaque with grey veining. Dimensions: 26 x 39 x 8.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[?]itreso Nais

Atiliana beneme-

rentissimo con-

iugi fecit memo-

riam in loco pe-

reggre.

To [F?T?]itresius. Nais Atiliana has put up this monument to a very deserving husband in a foreign land.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

For *benemerens* see Blaise 1954: 114.

No.201 Fénay. Canton de Chevigny, Côte d'Or.

NR. 2; *CIL.XIII.* 5463; *ILCV.* 3129.

Provenance: in 1873, au lieu dit les Combettes. *Location:* Musée Archéologique de Dijon.

Re-used plaque. Dimensions: 45 x 37 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: NR.

(cross) Hic requiiscit bene memo-
riae Bauderisima puella,
qui uixit annus decese-
pte et requiuit in pa-
ce in mensi iulio di-
ea sabato.

Here rests Bauderisima, of fond memory, a young girl who lived for 17 years and passed away in peace in the month of July, on the day of the sabath.

Date: July 430-500 (date range of years is estimated).

The name is Bauderisima, as Le Blant records and the photograph confirms. Diehl reads it incorrectly as Bauderrima. This is unusual in its use of pock marks between the words for punctuation. The use of the word *sabato*, Saturday, to record the day of the week is also rare.

No.202 Genève. Switzerland.

NR. 95; *CIL.XII.* 2644; *ILCV.* 2910 adn; *RICG.XV.* 291.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1869. *Location:* Musée de Genève. Limestone flag.

Dimensions: 117 x 62 x 24 cm. Letters: 3-6 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

Hic requ[iescit]
in pa[ce bonae]
memoria[e]
Ad<e>lfin[a, quae]
uixit an[nos]
XXXIII: tran[siit]
X quartu[m kal(endas)]
apriles, in[dicti]-
one XIII, pos[t ?cons(ulatum)]
[Ce]ttec[i] u(iri) c(larissimi) [c](onsulis).

Here rests in peace Adelfina, of fond memory, who lived for 33 years. He passed away 14 days before the kalends of April, in the 13th year of the indiction, in the year after the consulate of Cethegus, clarissimus.

Date: 19 March 505

The p.c. date and the indiction concur because the thirteenth indiction began in September the previous year, 504.

No.203 Genève

NR. 96; *CIL.XII.* 2645; *RICG.XV.* 292.

Provenance: in 1862. *Location:* Musée de Genève. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 14 x 20 x 9 cm. Letters: 1.5-3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Hic requiescit in]
[pace bone memoria]-

e Vrsolus, q[ui uixit]
annus [...]

[Here rests in peace] Vrsolus, [of fond memory], who [lived for ...] years, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is governed by *transeo-ere*.

No.204 Genève

NR. 98; CIL.XII. 2647; ILCV. 3329adn; RICG.XV. 293.

Provenance: in 1862. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Limestone fragment. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: RICG.XV.

[...]GO ?R[...]
[...] ?Dei animam [...]
[...]ARE iunge[re? ...]

Date: 475-525 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.205 Genève

RICG.XV. 294.

Provenance: chapelle des Macchabées in 1879. Location: Musée de Genève. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 32 x 31 x 9 cm. Letters: 4.5-5.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic req[ui]-
cit in pac[e bo]-
ne mem[oriae]
[.....]

Here rests in peace [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.206 Genève

RICG.XV. 295.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre district in 1870. Location: Musée de Genève. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 9 x 12 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

?[Hic] requ[iescit]
[.....]ENES [...]
[.....]

[Here] rests [in peace ...]ENES, [of fond memory], ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.207 Genève

ICG. 370.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost? This is not included in RICG.XV.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* ICG.

[...]A (alpha) (Chi/Rho) (omega) [...]
SI[...]

No.208 Genève

NR. 99; CIL.XII. 2647.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre. *Location:* lost? This is not included in RICG.XV.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* NR.

[...]N[.....]
[...]SIMIO[...]
[.....]ILV[...]
[...]NI[.....]

No.209 Genève

CIL.XII. 2643; ILCV. 45.

Provenance: la porte du Bourg-de-Four. *Location:* Musée de Genève (ILCV). Fragment of a marble plaque. *Dimensions:* Letters: 4-4.5 cm. *Text source:* CIL.XII

[Gund]obadus rex clementiss[imus ...]
[...] emolumento propr[i]o [.....]
[...] spatio mult[ip]licat[o]
[.....]

Too fragmentary to translate but it is clear that it is a rare example of an inscription attesting the dedication of a building, in this case probably the rebuilding of the city walls during the reign of Gundobad.

Date: 501-515 (estimated).

No.210 Gigondas. Vaucluse.

NR. 160.

Provenance: unknown, it belonged to a M.E.Raspail. *Location:* lost? *Dimensions:* unavailable. *Text source:* NR.

[.....]
[.....] s(ub) d(ie) SII
[.....]ias p(ost) c(onsulatum)
[.....]ti cons(ulis)
[indicti]one XIII.

..., [He/she died] on the eighth day before the [... of ...]ias, [in the year of? / ... years after? the consulate of ...]ti, consul, in the 14th year of the indiction.

Date: 491 ? 518 ? (estimated).

Le Blant considers that this dates to the p.c. of either Faustus or Agapitus, consuls in 490 and 517 respectively. Thus the date would be either 491 or 520 if concordance with the indictional year is made. Faustus consul of 490 is usually suffixed *junior*, and the p.c. of Agapitus would be in 518 but the 14th indictional year would begin in September 520, so Faustus' p.c. seems the more likely. The date is eight days prior to *kalends* of a now illegible month.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*.

No.211 Grenoble. Isère.

RICG.XV. 230.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent in 1851. *Location:* lost. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: *RICG.XV.*

Hic requiiscit in pa[ce bonae]
[m]emoriae Auni<g>isc<l>us, qu[i uixit]
[a]nnos quinquaginta et unum
[?mens/?di]es tres: obiit sext(o) k(a)l(endas)
[.....]

Here rests in peace Auni<g>isc<l>us, of fond memory, who lived for 51 years and three months(?) / days(?). He died six days before the kalends of ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

The date is the sixth day prior to the *kalends* and in the age formula the number could represent the days, not the months, lived.

No.212 Grenoble

ICG. 470a; CIL.XII. 2310; ILCV. 3467 adn; RICG.XV. 231.

Provenance: discovered in the route de Rabot in 1777. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV*)

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[H]ic req[ui]escit in pace]
bone memoriae [famulus]
Dei Cassianus
[in spe res]urrexio[nis]
[miserico]rdiae Xpo,
[qui uix]it a[nnos...]
[.....]

Here rests [in peace] Cassianus, of fond memory, a servant of God, in hope of the resurrection and the mercy of Christ. He lived for [...] years ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.213 Grenoble

RICG.XV. 232.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent in 1851. *Location:* lost. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: *RICG.XV.*

Hic requiesc[it in pace bonae me]-
<moriae> HILRITIV, [in spe resurre]-
<xionis> miser[icordiae Xpi?]:
?[obii]<t> III k(a)l(endas) iu[l]ias or iunias ?]
[.....]

Here rests [in peace] Hil[a]ri<nu>[s], [of fond memory, in hope of the resurrection and] the mercy [of Christ. He died] three days before the kalends of June(?) / July(?), ...

Date: 30 May 540-600 (date range of years is estimated).

No.214 Grenoble

ICG. 470b; CIL.XII. 2311; ILCV. 2930adn; RICG.XV. 233.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent in 1856. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 12 x 20 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

D(is) (cross) (dove) M(anibus)

Hic requ[i]-

escit Pro-

[.....]

Here rests Pro[...], ...

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age,

No.215 Grenoble

RICG.XV. 234.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent in 1851. Location: lost. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: RICG.XV.

[Hic req]uiescit [in pa]-

[ce bone] memori[ae]

[.....]anella [.....]

[.....]SSA, qu(a)e uixit [...]

[.....]

Here rests [in peace ...]anella, of fond memory, [...], who lived for ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.216 Grenoble

ICG. 470c; CIL.XII. 2312; ILCV. 3467adn; RICG.XV. 235.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent, from the crypt, probably in 1856? Location: lost (RICG.XV). Marble fragment. Dimensions: 21 x 26 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

In hoc tomu[lo requies]-

cit bone m[emoriae ...]-

npa, in sp[e resurrectionis]

[misericordiae Xpi? ...]

[.....]

*In this tomb rests [...]npa, of fond memory, in hope of the resurrection and the mercy of Christ,
...*

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.217 Grenoble

ILCV. 1166a; ILGN. 339; RICG.XV. 236.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV) .

Fragment of a marble column, re-used. Dimensions: 72 x 42 x 15 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average.

Text source: RICG.XV.

(ivy) Hic requiescit
bone memoriae Clau-
dianus pr(es)b(yster) in pace,
qui uixit an(nos) LVI et ob(iit)
IIII no(nas) nob(embres), Rusti-
«i»ano et Vitaliano u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).
(palm)
(dove) (vase) (dove)

Here rests in peace Claudianus, a priest, of fond memory, who lived for 56 years and died four days before the nones of November, in the year of the consulates of Rusticius and Vitalianus, clarissimi.

Date: 2 November 520

RICG.XV. 236 publishes a photograph, but it has disappeared since 1968 when it was in Saint-Marie-d'en-Bas. This was executed by the same lapidary as No.218 (**Plate 62**).

No.218 Grenoble

Provenance: Saint-Laurent. *Location:* built into an exterior wall of Saint-Laurent, where it was re-used as building material for the church. Marble flag. Dimensions: 97 x 45 cm.

Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic requiescit
in pace Eufasius
uixit annus XXI.
indixione quarta
decema p(o)s(t) cons(ulatum)
Rusticiani et
Vitaliani. (palm ?)

Here rests in peace Eufasius. He lived for 21 years. The fourth year of the indiction, ten years after the consulate of Rusticius and Vitalianus.

Date: 521

This is embedded in the exterior wall at the rear of the church. There is no formula for the day or month, so the assumption must be that the date must be during the first eight months of 521, because the 14th indiction began in September 520. This was executed by the same lapidary as No.217 (**Plate 61**).

No.219 Grenoble

Provenance: Saint-Laurent? *Location:* Centre d'Archéologie Historique des Musées de Grenoble et de l'Isère, Grenoble. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: Colardelle, R., 1986.

Hic requi-
escet Ma-
rius in pa-
ce uixit
annis
[?X]XIII.

Here rests in peace Marius, who lived for 14(?) / 24(?) years.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.220 Grésy-sur-Aix. Savoie.

ICG. 388a; *CIL.XII.* 2485; *ILCV.* 2765; *RICG.XV.* 287.

Provenance: unknown, it was discovered in about 1860. *Location:* in the grounds of the Tour Féodale, Grésy. Limestone flag. Dimensions: 56 x 61 x 23 cm. Letters: 3-4 cm.

Text source: *RICG.XV.*

Hic requiiscit
bone memori-
ae Aunemund-
us, qui uixit in pa-
ce annus LX et min-
sis s/ex/: obiit de secu[lo]
XIII k(a)l(endas) iunias,
post cons(ulatum)
Symmaci.

Here rests Aunemundus, of fond memory, who lived in peace for 60 years and six months. He left this world 14 days before the kalends of June, in the year after the consulate of Symmachus.

Date: 19 May 486

No.221 Grésy-sur-Aix

ICG. 389; *CIL.XII.* 2486; *ILCV.* 1928; *RICG.XV.* 288.

Provenance: unknown, discovered at the château? *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*).

Dimensions: 40 x 60 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(cross) Eufraſius p(res)b(yte)r
in onore(m) S(an)c(t)i Petri
apostoli uoto ſuo fe-
cet.

Eufraſius the priest made this in honour of Saint Peter in fulfillment of his vow.

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

No.222 Grigny. Canton de Givors, Rhône.

ICG. 87; *CIL.XIII.* 2361; *ILCV.* 1750.

Provenance: unknown, first recorded sometime prior to 1678. *Location:* lost (*ICG/ILCV.*).

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* *ICG.*

Hic requiescet in pace
uenerabilis Contumeliosus,
qui uixit annos XXXI d(ies) XI,
obiit XV k(a)l(endas) febrarias
Marciano u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).

Here rests in peace the venerable Contumeliosus, who lived for 31 years, 11 days. He died 15 days before the kalends of February, in the year of the consulate of Marcianus, clarissimus.

Date: 18 January 469

The identification of the consul is uncertain. The Eastern emperor in 451 is unlikely as his consulate was a late announcement, and the Western consul in 469 seems more likely. The Eastern consul of 472 is less likely because the Western consul would be expected to be included.

No.223 Gruffy. Canton d'Alby-sur-Chéran, Savoie.

*CIL.XII. 190a**; *RICG.XV. 289.*

Provenance: unknown, discovered in about 1863. *Location:* Musée d'Annecy. Marble plaque.
Dimensions: 24-15 x 25 x 4.5 cm. *Letters:* 2.5 cm. average. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(cross)

Hic r(equiescit) fil(ius) suos Altheus in pacae.

The translation is difficult and could read: Here rests his son Altheus in peace. Alternatively: Here Altheus has buried his sons in peace.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.224 Guillerand. Canton de Saint-Péray, Ardèche.

ICG. 474; CIL.XII. 2654; ILCV. 2910; RICG.XV. 21; Louvre Inv.MNC1727.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* Paris, in the reserves of the Musée du Louvre, Cat.No. MA2969. Limestone plaque, re-used. *Dimensions:* 51 x 18 x 2 cm. *Letters:* 2 cm. average.
Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(cross) In hoc tom-

molo requiis-
cit bone me-
morie Bert[e]-
giselus, qui uic-
xit in pace plus
menus annus
XXXXV et tran-
siet idas ka-
lendas nouen-
bras, annum
quartum re-
num domni no-
tri Teodorici
riges, indic-
ciune dude-
cema.

In this tomb rests Bertegiselus, of fond memory, who lived in peace for about 45 years and passed away on the ides kalends (sic) of November, the fourth year of the reign of our lord, king Theuderic, in the 12th year of the indiction.

Date: 15 October 683

The lapidary has made a mistake in the date of the month, but October seems the most probable month. It can be interpreted as 15 October, the first November or 13 November. During the reign of Theuderic III the only 12th indiction began in September 683 and ran until the end of August 684. There is a perfect correlation if the fourth regnal year is calculated from Theuderic's accession to the throne of Austrasia upon the death of Dagobert II on 23 December 679 (*RICG.XV. 21: 240*).

No.225 Jongieux. Canton de Yenne, Savoie.

RICG.XV. 286; Prieur, J., La Province Romaine des Alpes Cottiennes, Villeurbanne, 1968, in La Savoie Antique, Mémoires et Documents Publiés par la Société Savoisienne d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, Tome LXXXVI, (Imprimerie Allier, Grenoble 1977), pp.163-166.

Provenance: Chapel of Saint-Romaine in 1939. *Location:* Musée d'Aix-les-Bains. Marble cippe, re-used. *Dimensions:* 21 x 49 x 7.5-9.5 cm. *Letters:* 2-3 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(cross) In hoc tomulo ia- (cross)

cit religiosa f(e)m(ina)

(cross) Valho, q(ui) uixit (cross)
ann(os) LXVIII: obiit XV <?k>(alendas)
(cross) ian(uarias), Ceteo u(iro) c(larissimo) <c>(onsule). (cross)

In this tomb lies Valho, a religious woman (ie. a nun), who lived for 68 years. She died 15(?) / 16(?) days before the kalends(?) of January, in the year of the consulate of Cethegus, clarissimus.

Date: 18 December 504

No.226 La Baume-Cornillane. Canton de Chabeuil, Drôme.

ILCV. 124adn; *ILGN.* 260; *RICG.XV.* 9; *A.E.*, 1904:54;.

Provenance: at the priory farm in 1903 (*RICG.XV*). *Location:* built into the wall of a barn on the Priory farm. Marble, re-used. Dimensions: 19 x 32.5 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[Hic r]equiescit b(o)n(ae) m(e)[m](oriae)
[C]onstantinus su[bd(iaconus)],
[c]uius d(e)p(osi)t(io) est IIII nona[s]
[au]g(ustas) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini Aug(usti).

Here rests Constantinus of fond memory, a subdeacon, who was buried here four days before the nones of August, in the year following the consulate of Iustinus, Augustus.

Date: 2 August 520

No.227 La Côte-Saint-André. Isère.

ICG. 466; *CIL.XII.* 2190; *ILCV.* 3469; *RICG.XV.* 225.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.995. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 30 x 43 x 3 cm. Letters: 2 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV*.

Hic requiescit in pace
Dulcitius, qui uixit ann(os)
VII, di(es) XX et III. Resurrec-
turus in Xpo.
(alpha) (Chi/Rho) (omega).

Here rests in peace Dulcitius, who lived for seven years, twenty and three days (sic). He will arise again in Christ.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.228 La Gayole. Canton de Brignoles, Var.

ICG. 628; *CIL.XII.* 338; *ILCV.* 149; *ICMAMNS.* 42.

Provenance: in November 1626. *Location:* lost (*ICG/ILCV/ICMAMNS*). Marble sarcophagus.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* *ICMAMNS*.

(cross) Stimmate p[re]cipuum, trabeatis fascibus ortum
Innodium Leti hic sopor altus habet.
Qui post patricia preclarus cingola rectur
subiecit Chr(ist)i colla sabacta iogo,
postpones ultra mundi protendere ponpas
et potius Domeno soluere uota malens.
Sic gemeno Felix perfunctus munere gaudet,
egregius mundo placetus et Domeno.
Hoc tomolo cuius tantum nam membra quiescunt,
letatur patria mens, Paradise, tua.

The deep sleep of Lethe holds Innodius here, a man of noble ancestry whose forebears had assumed the consulate. Having distinguished himself with the rank of Patrician and becoming governor, he bowed his neck to the yoke of Christ, preferring to withdraw from worldly affairs so as to better fulfil his vows to the Lord. Thus Felix rejoices, having performed double service, for he was both eminent in this world and pleasing to the Lord. For in this tomb lie only his mortal remains, his soul rejoices in your domain, O Heaven !

Date: 450-475 (estimated).

No.229 La Gayole

ICG. 629; CIL.XII. 339; ILCV. 2892a adn; ICMAMNS. 43.

Provenance: at the same time as N:230, in 1876. Location: Musée de Brignoles. Marble sarcophagus, re-used. Dimensions: length of inscription: 145 cm. Letters: 2.5-3.5 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic requiescet in pace bone memoriae Syagria, qui obiet XII kal(endas) februarias, indic(tione) undecema.

Here rests in peace Syagria, of fond memory, who died 12 days before the kalends of February, in the 11th year of the indiction.

Date: 21 January 547, 562, 577, 592, 607 (date range of years is estimated).

No.230 La Gayole

NR. 331; CIL.XII. 5750; ILCV. 1512; ICMAMNS. 44.

Provenance: in 1876 in a stream near the chapel. Location: Musée de Brignoles. Stone block. The inscription is inscribed within a cartouche. Dimensions: (inscription only): 17 x 64 cm.

Letters: 2-2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds/ICMAMNS.

(cross) Insegnem genetum cruces munimene septu,
 [in]sontem nulla peccati sorde fucatum,
 [The]udiosium paruum, quem pura mente parentes
 [o]ptabant sacro fontes babtesmate tingui,
 [im]proba mors rapuet. Set summi rector Olimpi
 [pr]estabet requiem membris, ubi nobele signum
 [pre/in?]fixum est cruces Xpique uocauetor eres.

Of noble birth, guarded by the protection of the cross, innocent and unsoiled by sin, the innocent child Theodosius, whose parents, acting with the best intentions, wished to see baptised in the sacred waters, has been snatched away by cruel death. But the guardian of high Olympus affords a resting place for his mortal remains, where the noble sign of the cross is inscribed, and he will be called the heir of Christ.

Date: 450-475 (estimated).

No.231 La Roquebrussanne. Var.

ICMAMNS. 44a; Gallia, 1954, informations:138.

Provenance: in 1954 in the wall of the chapelle du Fiosesc, Domaine du Loou. Location: lost? (ICMAMNS could not find it). Large stone slab. Dimensions: 125 x 70 cm. Letters: 4.5-5.5 cm.

Text source: ICMAMNS.

i
 c
 (cross) x[ann]is
 p

Too fragmentary to either translate or to attempt any restoration of the text except to give here the restoration proposed in Gallia. Guyon proposes another possibility: I(esu)C XPIS(tus), by the side of the cross.

No.232 La Terrace. Canton du Touvet, Isère.

ICG. 469; CIL.XII. 2309; ILCV. 2904; RICG.XV. 243.

Provenance: first recorded in the church. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). *Dimensions:* unavailable.

Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic requiescit b(o)n(ae) m(e)m(oriae) Ioannis ET I
DEVALENTIA, <q>ui uixit anno XIII: obiit
in pace VIII id(us) iuli<as>, Symma<co> et
Boetio u(iris) c(larissimis) con(sulibus).

Here rests Ioannis, of fond memory, [...], who lived for 14 years. He died in peace eight days before the ides of July, in the year of the consulates of Symmachus and Boethius, clarissimi.

Date: 8 July 522

No.233 La Tronche. Canton de Grenoble-Est, Isère.

ILGN. 342; RICG.XV. 237.

Provenance: Saint-Ferjus in 1920. *Location:* Musée Dauphinois, Grenoble. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 59.5 x 36 x 4.5 cm. *Letters:* 3-3.5 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[In hoc t]omolo requi-
[esc]it in pace bon[a]e me-
[mo]riae famola D(e)i sacr(a) (? or sacr(ata))
D(e)o puella Populuni-
a, in spe resurricxionis
miserecordi(a)e Xpi, qu(a)e ui-
xit annus XXV et ob(iit) d(ie) id(us) oct(o)b(res),
indict(ione) duodecema. (ivy)
(dove) (vase with flowers) (dove)

In this tomb rests in peace a servant of God, Populunia, of fond memory, a virgin devoted to God in hope of the resurrection and the mercy of Christ, who lived for 25 years and died on the ides of October, in the 12th year of the indiction.

Date: 15 October 548, 563, 578, 593, 608 (date range of years is estimated).

No.234 Le Buis. Hautes Alpes.

NR. 153.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment. *Dimensions:* unavailable. *Text source:* NR.

[.....]
[...? non]as
[? p(ost) consulat]um
[.....]es
[... c]onsolis.

Too fragmentary to translate but it is possible to distinguish a formula recording a consular date.

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: initium is hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae, age formula is qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus, date formula is obiit sub die + date.

No.235 Le Fayet. Commune de Saint-Marcel, (today de Barraux), Canton du Touvet, Isère.

ICG. 474a; CIL.XII. 2326; ILCV. 3542; RICG.XV. 244.

Provenance: in 1852 in a vineyard. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Marble or gypsum plaque.

Dimensions: 32 x 24 x 5 cm. *Letters:* 5 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

(cross/monogram?) In hoc sepul-
chro requies-
cit bone memo-
riae Lupecin(u)s
qui uixit ann(o)s
n(umero) LVIII, minses VI:
obiit VII k(a)l(endas) ma[?i(as)],
[i]t(erum) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Mauu[rtii].

In this sepulchre rests in peace Lupecinus, of fond memory, who lived for a total of 58 years and six months. He died seven days before the kalends of May, two years after the consulate of Mavortius.

Date: 25 April 529

No.236 Le Pin. Bouches-du-Rhône.

ICG. 630; CIL.XII. 631; ILCV. 3438.

Provenance: in the priory in about 1770 by l'abbe de Perrier. *Location:* lost (ILCV). Marble plaque. *Dimensions:* 75 x 55 cm. *Text source:* ILCV/ICG.

[.....]
amississe [?dole]mus
Et cupit dignis diu seruire[e]
cineribus.
Nomen dulce, lector si forte
defunctae requires,
A capite per litteras de-
orsum <p>ellegendo cognoscis.
ter denos uitae aeu[o i]am
duxer«t»at annos,
cum pia iubente Deo anima
migrauit ad astra
die V kal(endas) nouemb(res)
Messala
u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).

The first three lines are problematic due to their fragmentary nature. Perhaps the family or community grieve her passing, but it is specifically the husband who is referred to as cupit dignis, and therefore he here expresses his wish to care for her ashes for many years hence. Since seruire governs the dative, whatever the meaning, dignis muneribus ought to be governed by that verb. Thus: ... [we grieve for her now departed?], and he longs to be tend her worthy ashes for many years hence. If by chance, reader, you wish to know the lovely name of she who is buried here, you may do so by reading the leftmost letter of each line from the top. She had reached the age of 30 when at God's command her devout soul departed to the heavens five days before the kalends of November, in the year of the consulate of Messala, clarissimus.

Date: 28 October 506

The name, here expressed as an acrostic in the left margin, is no longer fully extant, but could read Serena, Amoena or Helena according to Diehl.

Reconstructions: *initium* is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.237 Le Poil. Canton de Senez, Alpes de Haute Provence.

ICMAMNS. 47a.

Provenance: by M.Victor Lieutard at the end of the nineteenth century. *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble fragment, re-used. Dimensions: 10 x 5.5 x 2 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

Text source: ICMAMNS.

[...]/[...]
[...]/[...]
[...]/[...]
[...]/[...]

No.238 Lorgues. Var.

ICMAMNS. 40a.

Provenance: in 1932 at the Hotel Moderne et du Parc. *Location:* in private ownership at the Hotel Moderne et du Parc. Marble, a plaque inscribed on both sides.

Dimensions: 48.5 x 28 x 11 cm. Letters: 2-4 cm. very irregular lettering throughout.

Text source: ICMAMNS.

[H]ic requies-
[c]et in pace
[b]on(ae) m(emoriae) Benen[a?]-
[t?]a, q(uae) uix(it) an(nos)
pl(us) me(nus)

Here rests in peace Benen[at]a, of fond memory, who lived for about [...] years, ...

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.239 Lorgues

ICMAMNS. 40b.

Provenance: in 1932 at the Hotel Moderne et du Parc. *Location:* in private ownership at the Hotel Moderne et du Parc. Marble, a plaque inscribed on both sides.

Dimensions: 48.5 x 28 x 11 cm. Letters 3 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

Seruilia n(obilis ?) p(uella ?)
[h]ic requiesc-
it in pace D(omi)ni
nos<tri> I(e)h(su)m
Chr(is)t(i) annor-
um n(umero) XXIII
(s)u(b) die XII k(alendas) sep-
tembris.

Servilia, a young woman of noble birth, here rests in the peace of our lord, Jesus Christ. Aged 23, (she died) 12 days before the kalends of September.

Date: 21 August 500-550 (date range of years is estimated).

This is inscribed on the reverse of No.238.

No.240 Luc-en-Diois. Drôme.

NR. 147; CIL.XII. 1692; ILCV. 1432 adn.

Provenance: the old church in 1860. *Location:* Musée de Die. Fragment of a marble plaque.

Dimensions: 27 x 47.5 cm. Letters: 1.5-3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Hic] requiiscit in pa-
 [ce f]edeles famola
 [Dei] Arbacia, qui
 [uixi]t an(nos) XXXIIII et
 [?obiit ..] iunias, Senator-
 [e u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule),] ind(i)c(tione) VIII.

Here rests in peace Arbacia, a faithful servant of God, who lived for 34 years and died [on the? / ... days before? the ...?] of June, in the year of the consulate of Senator, clarissimus, in the eighth year of the indiction.

Date: 514

The month is either May or early June. The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur. The eighth indiction began in September 514 but the consular date is either May or June of that year.

No.241 Lugin. Canton d'Evian, Haute-Savoie.

ICG. 683; *CIL.XII.* 2584; *ILCV.* 47; *RICG.XV.* 290.

Provenance: Saint-Offenge, discovered in the cemetery in 1855. *Location:* Musée de Lausanne, Cat.No. 5081. Limestone plaque. Dimensions: 1.0 x 30 cm. Letters: 1-3 cm.

Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[In hoc to]molo req[ui]-
 [escit bone] mem[o]-
 [riae] Ebrouaccus,
 [q]ui uixit ann(o)s XIII
 et m<in>sis IIII,
 et transiit X k(a)l(endas)
 septembris,
 Mauurtio ui-
 ro cl(a)r(issimo) cons«s»(ule).
 Sub unc cons«s»(ulem)
 Brandobrici re-
 dimtionem a
 D(o)<m>(i)<n>o Gudoma-
 re rege acce-
 perunt.
 (cross)

In this tomb rests Ebrouaccus, of fond memory, who lived for 13 years and four months, and passed away ten days before the kalends of September, in the year of the consulate of Mavortius, clarissimus. During this consulate the Brandobrici accepted their freedom from their lord, King Godomar.

Date: 23 August 527

No.242 Luzinay. Commune de Vienne-Nord, Isère.

ICG. 397; *CIL.XII.* 2096; *ILCV.* 4730; *RICG.XV.* 245.

Provenance: church near Saint-Germain. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.999. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 40 x 29 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 2-2.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

In hunc tomulo
 requiescit in pace
 Bertefrida, innox,
 honesta, decora,
 blanda, ut<i>les, cau-
 ta, qui uixit an-
 nus plus minus VIII:

obiet kal(endas) sept(em)br(e)s,
anno LXVI p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili
[uir]i c(larissimi) c(onsulis), ind(ictione) VIII. (ivy)

In this tomb rests in peace Bertefrida, and innocent child, honest, pretty, sweet, well behaved, reserved, who lived for about nine years. She died on the kalends of September, 60 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the ninth year of the indiction.

Date: 1 September 607

The p.c. and the indiction do not concur. The 66th p.c. of Basilius was in 607 but the ninth indiction had begun in September 605 and ran until the end of August 606. The date, the first of September, would here require the 11th indiction.

No.243 Luzinay

ICG. 397a; CIL.XII. 2097; ILCV. 4732; RICG.XV. 246.

Provenance: unknown. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.892. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 38 x 32 x 5 cm. Letters: 1-4 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(interleaving floral border)

[In h]oc tomol[o requiescit]

[bon]ae recordation[is ...]

[...]s Burgundio, qu(i) fuit omn[ibus ?ami]-

[cus], q(ui) uixit in pace bonis ac[...]

[...] annus XXX: obiit d(ie) tertio

[p(ost) c(onsulatum)] lus(tini) u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), ind(ictione)

secunda, [? anno ... regni gl]oriosissimi Dago[berti ...].

In this tomb rests Burgundio, of fond recollection, who was a [friend?] to everyone, who lived in peace, [undertaking good works?], for 30 years. He died three days [before? / on the ... of ...? ...] years after the consulate of Iustinus, in the second year of the indiction, in the [...] year of the reign of the most glorious king Dagobert.

Date: 629

The three dates given are incomplete with only the indiction being legible. The only second indiction during the reign of Dagobert I ran from September 628 to September 629, the latter seems the most likely year: the 89th p.c. of Iustinus and the first year of Dagobert's reign in Burgundy. The problem raised here is that Dagobert did not begin his rule of Burgundy until after the death of Chlothar II on 18 October 629, and the third indiction had begun in September of that year. On balance it seems likely that the lapidary miscalculated and that the date is 629, with 630 being a possibility.

No.244 Lyon. Rhône.

Burnand, 1984.

Provenance: Place de la Baleine on 9 September 1975, outside any archaeological context.

Location: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Large stone block.

Dimensions: 1.35 x 92 x 21 cm. Letters: 4-4.5 cm. Text source: Burnand, 1984.

Haec sacrum [retinet ter]reni cor[poris urna]

cuius uita manet pe[rp]etua Deo.

Gestorum meritis caelesti gratia pollens,

caelum corde petens, membra refudit humo.

Vir quoque praecipuus, legum praecepta secutus

sanctorumq(ue) choris consotiat inest.

Nam fuit aegregio patrum uenerandus honore,

omnibus adq(ue) pius fratribus ille suis,

castigans, parcens, prudens, doctissimus, aptus,

iucundus, mitis, corpore corde decens.

Totam Xpe, tibi deuoto corpore uitam

contolit actoris munera larga petens.

Successor petiit titulum nunc s(an)c(t)e praecamur,
[u]t sitis memores semper uterque mei.

This tomb contains the hallowed earthly remains of him whose life lives on, God granting him eternity. Strong in good works, given merit by celestial grace, his soul has sought heaven, leaving behind his body. He was an eminent man, obedient to the law and now takes his full part in the choirs of the saints. He was respected for the venerable dignity of his forebears and for fulfilling all his duties with regard to his brethren. He was prepared both to chastise and forgive, and was prudent, learned, aimiable, friendly, of a kindly disposition and becoming in body and soul. He has spent all his life in devotion to you, Christ, and now he hopes for the generous rewards due to a servant. His successor has sought the erection of this tomb and we now pray earnestly that both of you remember me always.

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

No.245 Lyon

ICG. 54; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistolae II*, X, 4.

Provenance: Saint-Jean-Baptiste. This was the church founded by bishop Patiens.

Location: lost. Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG. 54.

- 1 Quisquis pontificis patrisque nostri
collaudas Patientis hic laborem,
uoti compote supplicatione
concessum experiare quod rogabis.
- 5 Aedes celsa nitet nec in sinistrum
aut dextrum trahitur, sed arce frontis
ortum prospicit aequinoctialem.
Intus lux micat atque bracteatum
Sol sic sollicitatur ad lacunar,
- 10 fuluo ut concolor erret in metallo.
Distinctum uario nitore marmor
percurrit cameram solum fenestras,
ac sub uersicoloribus figuris
uernans herbida crusta sapphiratos
- 15 flectit per prasinum uitrum lapillos.
Huic est porticus applicata triplex
fulmentis Aquitanicis superba,
ad cuius specimen remotiora
claudunt atria porticus secundae,
- 20 et campum medium procul locatas
uestit saxea sylua per columnas.
Hinc agger sonat, hinc Arar resultat,
hinc sese pedes atque eques reflectit
stridentem et moderator essedorum,
- 25 curuorum hinc chorus helciariorum
responsantibus alleluia ripis
ad Christum leuat amnicum celeuma.
Sic, sic psallite, nauta uel uiator;
namque iste est locus omnibus petendus,
- 30 omnes quo uia ducit ad salutem.

The translation is that offered by W.B.Anderson in the Loeb Edition.

All you who here admire the work of Patiens, our bishop and father, may you by effectual supplication obtain the boon you ask for ! The lofty temple sparkles and does not lean to right or left, but with its towering front faces the faces thesunrise of the equinox. Within it the light flashes and the sunshine is so tempted to the gilded ceiling that it travels over the tawny metal, matching its hue. Marble diversified by various shining tints pervades the vaulting, the floor, the

windows; forming designs of diverse colour, a verdant grass-green encrustation brings winding lines of sapphire-hued stones over the leek-green glass. Attached to this edifice is a triple colonnade rising proudly on columns of the marble of Aquitania. A second colonnade on the same plan closes the atrium at the father end, and a stone forest clothes the middle area with columns standing well apart. On one side is the noisy high-road, on the other the echoing Arar; on the first the traveller on foot or on horse and the drivers of creaking carriages turn round; on the other, the company of bargemen, their backs bent to their work, raise a boatmen's shout to Christ, and the banks echo their alleluia. Sing, traveller, thus; sing, boatman, thus; for towards this place all should make their way, since through it runs the road which leads to salvation.

Date: 469-470 (estimated).

No.246 Lyon

ICG. 42.

Provenance: Saint-Romain, near Saint-Jean. It was embedded in the wall of the church.

Location: lost. Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

Le Blant cites an earlier manuscript copy:

Templi factores fuerant Fredaldus
et uxor marturis egregii qd
constat honore Romani illius ut
pc bequeatur sede pe...enne....

and restores it as:

templi factores fuerant Fredaldus et uxor
marturis egregii quod constat honore Romani
illius ut precibus recreentur sede perenni.

Fredaldus and his wife built this temple dedicated to the outstanding martyr Romanus so that through their prayers they might enjoy eternal life.

Date: 500-550 (estimated).

Le Blant records this but it does not appear in *CIL* or *ILCV*. An *Hospitale Sancti Romani* is mentioned in a letter to Charlemagne dated 809/812 (*TC.IV* : 19 and 34). This inscription may be the dedication, suggesting a possible change in use for this building by the ninth century.

No.247 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 301:1.

Provenance: discovered near the cathedral group area. Location: University of Lyon collection.

Marble fragment broken on all sides. Dimensions: 15 x 13.5 x 6 cm. Letters: 1.5-1.8 cm.

Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
[....] metuen[s? ...]
[...]ere Xpo FA[....]
[n?]obilior FID[...]
[...TMA AED[.....]
[.....]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.248 Lyon

ICG. 62; CIL.XIII. 2351; ILCV. 3039.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée. *Location:* lost (ICG/ILCV). Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: ICG.

Optato et Paulino con-
sulibus kal(endas)
febr(u)ari(a)s depos(itus est)
Selentioses.

In the year of the consulate of Optatus and Paulinus, Selentioses was buried (here) on the kalends of February.

Date: 1 February 334

This is only included by Le Blant, and if genuine, it is the oldest dated inscription included in this study. The genitive form of the Greek name, Silentiosa, is rare.

No.249 Lyon

ICG. 53; CIL.XIII. 2353; ILCV. 2901.

Provenance: Saint-Just. *Location:* lost (ICG/ILCV). Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* ICG.

Hic requiescit Pascasia,
dulcissima infans,
quae uixit an(n)i(s) duobus
mens(es) tribus et
dies X. Obiit
IIII kal(endas) aug(ustas),
Honorio XIII et
Theodosio X cons(ulibu)s.

Here rests Pascasia, a sweet child, who lived for two years, three months and ten days. She died four days before the kalends of August, in the year that Honorius was consul for the 13th time and Theodosius for the tenth.

Date: 29 July 422

No.250 Lyon

ICG. 44; CIL.XIII. 2354; ILCV. 1703.

Provenance: Saint-Just, during an excavation in 1736 (CIL). *Location:* Paris, in the reserves of the Musée du Louvre. Large marble slab, possibly re-used building material.

Dimensions: 30 x 61 x 11 cm. Letters: 2-3 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

In huc locu requieuit Leucadia,
Deo sacrata puella, qui uitam
suam prout proposuerat
gessit. Qui uixit annos XVI tantum
beatior in D(omi)no condedit mentem
<p(o)st> consu(latum) Theudosi XIII.
(acanthus) (dove) (monogram) (dove) (acanthus)

In this tomb rests Leucadia, a girl devoted to the service of God who lived her life in accordance with her vows. She lived for 16 years in a manner that she might more happily dedicate herself to God, 13 years after the consulate of Theodosius.

Date: 431

No.251 Lyon

CIL.XIII. 11207; ILCV. 2783b; Revue Epigraphique 5, 1904, No.1575.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1903. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 46 x 42 x 5 cm. Letters: 2-3 cm. Text source: *CIL.XIII*

(dove) (vase) (dove)

Hic iacit Aspasius

adulscens, qui exces-

sit e rebus humanis an-

(o)r(u)m XXIIIIII, non(as) sep(tembres), d(omino) n(ostro) Theodo-
sio XVI et Fausto u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).

Here lies Aspasius, a young man, who left behind him the affairs of man at the age of 26 years, on the nones of September, in the year of the consulates of our lord Theodosius, for the 16th time, and of Faustus, clarissimi.

Date: 5 September 438

CIL records that it is from a sarcophagus from the maison Ferlat in the Rue des Macchabées. Espérandieu records that it was found underneath the head of the deceased within the sarcophagus.

No.252 Lyon

ICG. 35; CIL.XIII. 2355; ILCV. 1551.

Provenance: Saint-Just, in the rue des Fargues in 1806 (*ICG/CIL*). *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque, broken into two fragments. Dimensions: 26 x 28 cm. Letters: 2.5-3 cm. Text source: *ICG*.

[Hic] iacet Decora

Mercurina qui

uixit annos XX.

Ouiit XIII kal(endas) ma-

ias uigeiia pasce,

Callpio u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).

(running floral scroll ?)

Here lies Decora(?) / the beautiful(?) Mercurina, who lived for 20 years. She died 13 days before the kalends of May, on Easter eve, in the year of the consulate of Calepius, clarissimus.

Date: 19 April 447

This is dated to the day before Easter. The *XIII kalends maias* falls on 19 April, and Easter fell on 20 April in 447 (Grumel 1958: 243). The Eastern consul was announced late in the West (Degrassi 1952, c.f. his entry for the year 447).

No.253 Lyon

ICG. 68; CIL.XIII. 2356; ILCV. 4404.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 35 x 25.2 cm. Letters: 1.5-2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(dove) (cross) (dove)

[Hic] requiiscit inno[x in]-

[fans?] Vrsus, qui uix[it]

[an]nus quattuor[r]

[et] menses hoct[o].

[Obiit die?] Veneris septe[mo]

[de]cemo kalend[as]

[febru]arias Postemian[o]

/[et Ze]none u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus)./

Here rests Ursus, an innocent child, who lived for four years, eight months. He died on the day of Venus, 17 days before the kalends of February, in the year of the consulates of Postumianus and Zeno, clarissimi.

Date: 16 January 448

The date formula records the day of the week, *die ueneris*, Friday. Le Blant restores *februarias* because the year 448 began on a Thursday.

No.254 Lyon

ICG. 667; *CIL.XIII.* 2357; *ILCV.* 1422.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée (*CIL*). *Location:* lost? It was in the museum in 1858 (*CIL*), but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 29 x 22 cm.

Text source: *ICG*.

Hic iacet
Sanctulus,
famulus Dei,
anno(s) III et mese-
«se»s IIII. Pausat d<i>e
Mercuri, Asto-
rio u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).

Here lies Sanctulus, a servant of God, (who lived for) three years and four months. He died on the day of Mercury, in the year of the consulate of Astyrius, clarissimus.

Date: 449

The day of the week, *die Mercuri*, Wednesday, is inscribed instead of the usual indication of the day of the month. The correct spelling of the consul's name is Astyrius, as shown by his now lost diptych (CLRE: 432).

No.255 Lyon

CIL.XIII. 11208; *ILCV.* 1730; *Revue Epigraphique* 5, 1904, No.1590.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1904. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Small marble plaque.

Dimensions: 40 x 31 x 9 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. *Text source:* *CIL.XIII*

[Ho]c con<ti>nentur Pat[ernae?]
[me]mbra s[e]pulc[ro?]
[qua]e uixit intacta
[anno]s XVIII et men-
[ses ..] dies XXII. Defunc-
[ta e]st die IIII idus iunias,
[do]mno nostro Auito.
(encircled Chi/Rho)

Contained within this sepulchre are the remains of Pat[ernae?], who lived chastely for 19 years and [...] months [and] 22 days. She passed away four days before the ides of June, (in the year of the consulate) of our lord, Avitus.

Date: 10 June 456

No.256 Lyon

ICG. 72; *CIL.XIII.* 2363; *ILCV.* 2728a.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée district (in the crypt?). *Location:* Saint-Irénée, in the crypt. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 19 x 45 cm. Letters: 1.5-3 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

(dove) Hic requiescit bone memo-
riae Vassio cum pace, qui
uixit annis XL, (ivy) (palm?)
et obiit VII k(a)l(endas) iulias, Dom(inus)
(dove) nos(ter) Leone «u» u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).

Here rests in peace Vassio, of fond memory, who lived for 40 years and died seven days before the kalends of July, in the year of the consulate of our lord Leo, clarissimus.

Date: 25 June 458

There is a problem with the consular date formula. The omission of the name of Majorian has sometimes been explained by Gallic hostility, but there is another possibility. The lapidary has not only given the emperor the title *uir clarissimus*, incorrectly, but has misunderstood what was required of him. He has inscribed the letter V twice on the assumption that two consul's names are to be included. However, the fifth consulate of Leo, in 473, was intended from the start and only the name of Leo was to be inscribed (CLRE: 451).

No.257 Lyon

ICG: 74; *CIL*.XIII. 2360; *ILCV*: 2910 adn.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée. *Location*: Saint-Irénée, in the crypt. Small marble plaque.

Dimensions: 21 x 31 cm. *Letters*: 2.5 cm. *Text source*: P.Reynolds.

[Aqui?]lius Gallisianus
[qui u]ixit annos V
[et d]iis XLV. Transiit
[di]e nonas martias
dom(inus) n(oster) Leone III.
(eagle) (laurel?) (eagle)

[Aqui?]lius Gallisianus, who lived for five years, 45 days. He passed away on the nones of March, in the year of the third consulate of our lord Leo.

Date: 7 March 466

Le Blant argues that the eagles probably represent an adopted symbol of the deceased's name, here restored as Aquilius. This is a tenuous possibility but the name fits well enough and is included in the restoration here.

No.258 Lyon

ICG: 79; *CIL*.XIII. 2362; *ILCV*: 2830 adn.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée district (*ICG*), in monte S.Irenaei (*CIL*). *Location*: lost (*ICG/ILCV*).

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source*: *ICG*.

[.....]
XXV. Recessit VII
kal(endas) octob(ris), d(omi)n(us) n(oster)
Seuero et lord-
ane u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulis).

[... who lived for?] 25(?) [years?]. He/she passed away seven days before the kalends of October, Dominus Noster(?), in the year of the consulates of Severus and Iordanes, clarissimi.

Date: 25 September 470

The reading of date formula presents some difficulties because neither of the two consuls mentioned were *Domini Nostri*. It may be that this is due to a misreading of the text by Le Blant.

Reconstructions: *initium* phrase is governed by *iaceo* -ere, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos* + age.

No.259 Lyon

ILTG. 270.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery. Discovered in the quartier de Trion.

Location: lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987, though it is recorded there by *ILTG*.

Marble plaque. Dimensions: 22 x 15 x 5 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

In hoc tumulo requiescit
bonae memoriae Tala-
sius, qui uixit in pace
anno et minsis tris.
Obiit IIII decemo k(alendas) iunia(s),
Venantio u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).

In this tomb rests Talasius, of fond memory, who lived in peace for one year and three months. He died 14 days before the kalends of June, in the year of the consulate of Venantius, clarissimus.

Date: 19 May 484

No.260 Lyon

A.E., 1978:485; *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978, 265-302.

Provenance: Saint-Just, from the cemetery. *Location:* University of Lyon collection.

Marble fragment. Dimensions: 20 x 30 x 4-6.5 cm. Letters: 1.8-2.6 cm.

Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
[qui] uixit in pa-
[ce a]nnis XXX. Oibit
[sub d]iae IIII k(alendas) di<c>em-
[bres], Vina[n]cio u(iro) c(larissimo).

..., who lived in peace for 30 years. He/she died four days before the kalends of December, in the year of the consulate of Venantius, clarissimus.

Date: 28 November 484

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae.

No.261 Lyon

ICG. 32; *CIL.XIII.* 2364; *ILCV.* 3559.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée. *Location:* lost (*ICG/ILCV*). It was in the church courtyard in the late seventeenth century. Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG*.

Hoc tumulo q-
uiescit bone memo-
rius Cesarius, uixi-
t an(n)us XIV. Requibit
in pace sub die X kal(endas)
decembris, Anastasi-
o et Rufo u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).

In this tomb rests Cesarius, of fond memory, who lived for 14 years. He passed away in peace ten days before the kalends of December, in the year of the consulates of Anastasius and Rufus, clarissimi.

Date: 22 November 492

No.262 Lyon

ICG. 77; CIL.XIII. 2366.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 41 x 20.2 cm. Letters: 1-3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Hic requiesc]it in pace bone /me/-
[moriae ...] qui uixit ann/os/
[.....] Defunctus es/t/
[.....] p(ost) c(onsulatum) Anastas/i et Ru/-
[fi u(iris)] c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).
(Chi/Rho with alpha/omega within a double circle)

Here rests in peace [...], of fond memory, who lived for [... years]. He died [...], in the year of the consulates of Anastasius and Rufus, clarissimi.

Date: 493

The lapidary had planned the layout of the text badly, so some letters are cut between the lines.

No.263 Lyon

ICG. 69; CIL.XIII. 2365; ILCV. 3560.

Provenance: Saint-Just district, in a vineyard next to the church at an unknown date in the nineteenth century. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble slab. Dimensions: 57 x 42 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(dove) (vase) (dove)
In hoc tumulo requiescit
bone memoriae Vrsus,
qui uixit in pace annus
XS. Obiet II non(as) marcias,
p(ost) c(onsulatum) Anastasi et Rufi u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus).
(dove) (palm?) (dove)

In this tomb rests Ursus, of fond memory, who lived in peace for 16 years. He died two days before the nones of March, in the year after the consulates of Anastasius and Rufus, clarissimi.

Date: 6 March 493

The reversed letter S on line four is a Greek six. The numeral II before the date is usually represented by a form of *pridie*.

No.264 Lyon

ICG. 67; CIL.XIII. 2368; ILCV. 3561a.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée. *In pauimento ecclesiae inferioris S.Irenaei (CIL).* *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 22 x 40 cm. Letters: 2-3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(dove) In hoc tumulo requi-
iiscet bonae memo-
riae Thalasia, qui ui-
(rose) xiit annus XI. (vertical interlacing border on right side)
(cross) Obiit in pace SIII
k(a)l(endas) septem-
(dove) bris, Auien-
o c(larissimo) u(iro) con(sule).

In this tomb rests Thalasia, of fond memory, who lived for 11 years. She died in peace nine days before the kalends of September, in the year of the consulate of Avienus, clarissimus.

Date: 24 August 501

See No.263 for the use of a reversed S among numerals.

No.265 Lyon

ICG. 63; CIL.XIII. 2367; ILCV. 3561.

Provenance: Saint-Just district. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Small marble plaque. Dimensions: 22 x 28 cm. Letters: 2.5-3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

In hoc tumulo requiis-
cet bonae memoriae
Siquana, quae uixit
annos XXX. Obiit in
pace XS kal(endas) iunias,
Abieno u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).
(interleaving floral border below text)

In this tomb rests Siquana, of fond memory, who lived for 30 years. She died in peace 16 days before the kalends of June, in the year of the consulate of Avienus.

Date: 17 May 501

See No.263 for the use of a reversed S among numerals.

No.266 Lyon

ICG. 70; CIL.XIII. 2370; ILCV. 3561b.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée district, from the foundations of a house near the church in 1855 (CIL). *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 20 x 36.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) In hoc tumulo re-
quiescit bone me-
moriis Vrsus, qui ui-
xit in pace annus XLV.
Obiit k(alendas) ian(uarias), p(ost) c(onsulatum) Abieni iun(ioris)
u(iri) co(nsuli)s.

In this tomb rests Ursus, of fond memory, who lived in peace for 45 years. He died on the kalends of January, in the year after the consulate of Avienus Iunior, clarissimus.

Date: 1 January 503

No.267 Lyon

A.E., 1976:450b; Le Glay, M. and Audin, A., 1976.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was discovered in the quartier de Choulans, but the style is dissimilar to those from Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 31 x 32 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.5-3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

In hoc tumulo re[quies]-
cit bon(ae) memoriae V[...],
qui uixit in pace ann[os]
LXXIII et minsis septe(m). Os-
iet IIII idus iulias,
Cuttheo u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).

(dove) (rose) (dove)
IMMO BEATA

In this tomb rests in peace V[...], of fond memory, who lived in peace for 73 years and seven months. He died four days before the ides of July, in the year of the consulate of Cethegus, clarissimus. IMMO BEATA.

Date: 12 July 504

This is inscribed on the reverse of No.390, and is probably the later inscription. The available space suggests that the name of the deceased was Victor.

No.268 Lyon

ICG. 66; CIL.XIII. 2373; ILCV. 1553.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. *Plaque.* Dimensions: 35 x 59 cm. *Text source:* ICG.

In hoc tumu(l)o requiescit bone memo-
riae Susane, quae uixit annus
XX. Penetentia consecuta «ni»
est. Obiet in pace su[b di]ae c(alendas) oc-
[t]obris, p(ost) «c» cons(ulatum) iterum Mesale
u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).

In this tomb rests Susane, of fond memory, who lived for 20 years. She sought repentance. She died in peace on the kalends of October, in the second year after the consulate of Messala, clarissimus.

Date: 1 October 508

No.269 Lyon

ICG. 61; CIL.XIII. 2374; ILCV. 4823.

Provenance: Saint-Just in 1816, in a tomb. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. *Marble plaque.* Dimensions: 43.5 x 59 cm. *Letters:* 1.5-3 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

Hic cuiu[s] in hoc
condun[tur mem]bra sepulchro,
Saraga [dic]tus est nomine qui c-
um om[nibus]
et aput om[nes ..]o uixit am[icus],
ut nomin[is sui] uocabol[um]
uitae mer[i]tis commendaret.
Qui uixit annos XL. Obiit
IIII nonas decembris,
post consolato Inpor-
tuno u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsu)le.

He whose remains are buried in this tomb was named Saraga, who lived in friendship towards all and in turn was so regarded by all so that the good deeds he undertook throughout his life realised the promise of his name. He lived for 40 years and died four days before the nones of December, in the year after the consulate of Inportunus, clarissimus.

Date: 2 December 510

Hirschfeld notes that these hexameters are *male factum*, and Diehl attempts the scansion, but the lines fit the metre only loosely.

No.270 Lyon

ICG. 36; CIL.XIII. 2375; ILCV. 1255.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée, in the church. *Location:* Saint-Irénée, in the crypt. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 24 x 26 cm. *Letters:* 1.5-3 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

In hoc tomolo requi[es]-
cit bone memoria[e]
Disderius acolitu[s].
Vixit annos LXXXV, obiit[t]
[i]n pace notau[i] diae qu[i]-
[n]to k(a)l(endas) agustas «i» Aga[pit]-
o uiro c(larissimo) console.

In this tomb rests Disderius, an acolyte, of fond memory, who lived for 85 years. He died in peace, I have noted, five days before the kalends of August, in the year of the consulate of Agapitus, clarissimus.

Date: 28 July 517

No.271 Lyon

ICG. 43; CIL.XIII. 2378; ILCV. 3563.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? *Saint-Maria Angelorum* (ICG), *Lugduni in monasterio S.Mariae Angelorum fratrum de obseruantia* (CIL). *Location:* lost (ICG/ILCV).

Manuscript. *Dimensions:* unavailable. *Text source:* ICG.

In hoc tumulo requiescit
bonae memoriae Leopocenos,
qui uixit annos XXXXII.
Obiit in pace XVI kal(endas) maias
Maxim(o) u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).

In this tomb rests Leopocenos, of fond memory, who lived for 42 years. He died in peace 16 days before the kalends of May, in the year of the consulate of Maximus, clarissimus.

Date: 16 April 523

No.272 Lyon

ICG. 55; CIL.XIII. 2359; ILCV. 3327.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée. *Location:* lost (ICG/ILCV). *Dimensions:* unavailable.

Text source: ICG.

(dove) (monogram) (dove)

Hic requiescit

bone memoriae

Porcaria, quae mundana

reliquit et tradedit anima

D(omin)o. Vixit annis XL, obiit SIII kal(endas) feb(ruaria)s,

p(ost) c(onsulatum) [Opil?]ionis.

Here rests Porcaria, of fond memory, who has left worldly affairs behind her and has handed over her soul to God. She lived for 40 years and died nine days before the kalends of February, in the year after(?) / [...] years after(?) the consulate of [Opil?]ionis.

Date: 24 January 525

There are several consulates which might have been represented here. The most likely here is the Opilio of 525, because the Opilio of 454 is very early though not impossible, and is accepted by CIL. The Asclepio of 500, the

Eastern consul was short-lived. The character S of SIII represents the Greek numeral six plus three, i.e. nine (see notes for No.263).

No.273 Lyon

ICG. 57; CIL.XIII. 2358; ILCV. 1588.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée (ICG). *Location:* lost (ICG/ILCV). *Dimensions:* unavailable.

Text source: ICG.

Famulus Dei Primulus uixit ann-

[i]s LXXIV in bono.

Hic deditus in religione requieui[t]

(s)u(b) d(ie) XSI k(a)l(endas) septemb(ris) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Opilionis

u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).

(dove) (vase) (dove)

Primulus, a servant of God, lived for 70 [...] years. Devoted to his faith he now rests here in peace. He died [17?] days before the kalends of September, in the year after the consulate of Opilio, clarissimus.

Date: 16 August 525

The manuscript upon which Le Blant relies presents some difficulties. The age and date numerals are illegible due perhaps to a poor manuscript copy. The age could be 80 or 81. The date numeral, XSI, represents 17 and therefore 16 August. See No.263 for this numeral type. The only extant illustration is poor; below the text is a vase with a pair of facing doves. The year could be 454, but 525 is more likely for a p.c. date. CIL gives an alternative reading of line four: d(ie) (aut [s]u[b] d[ie]) XVII kal(endas) septemb(res).

No.274 Lyon

ICG. 51; CIL.XIII. 2380; ILCV. 3563a.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée (ICG). In monte S.Irenaei (CIL). *Location:* lost (ICG/ILCV).

Manuscript: Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* ICG.

In hoc tumulo req-

uiiscet bonae memor-

iae Necteria qui uixit

annos XXV. Obiit in

pace prid(i)e kal(endas) maia-

s, p(ost) c(onsulatum) lustini.

(cross)

In this tomb rests Necteria, of fond memory, who lived for 25 years. She died in peace on the day before the kalends of May, in the year after the consulate of Iustinus.

Date: 30 April 541

The name is not clear, it could be Neoteria or Necteria according to CIL.

No.275 Lyon

ICG. 39; CIL.XIII. 2382; ILCV. 3563b.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée. *Location:* Saint-Irénée, in the crypt. Marble plaque, damaged on the left side and the right corners. *Dimensions:* 25 x 25 cm. *Letters:* 1-3 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

[In] hoc tumulo [re]-

[q]uiiscit bone me-

[mo]riae Eugenis in-

[no]x qui uixit annis VIII.

[Ob]iit septimo kal(endas)

[i]anuarias, IV <p(ost)> cons(ulatum) lus-

tini, indictione octa(ua).

In this tomb rests Eugenis, an innocent [boy?], of fond memory, who lived for eight years. He died seven days before the kalends of January, five years after the consulate of Iustinus, in the eighth year of the indiction.

Date: 26 December 544

Le Blant remarks that the orthography of the name suggests that the engraver may have been Greek. Descombes also records the fifth p.c. (*RICG.XV*: p.62). The fifth p.c. does not concur with the eighth indiction, which began in September 544. The letter V is in fact preceded by a faint I, resulting in the fourth p.c., which concurs with the eighth indiction and the inscription is therefore dated 26 December 544.

No.276 Lyon

ICG. 40; *CIL.XIII*. 2384; *ILCV*. 3563c.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? L'Observance 1847 (*ICG*). Près de l'église des Cordeliers de l'Observance (*CIL*). *Location*: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Part has been lost since it was first recorded. Two limestone fragments of a plaque.

Dimensions: 35 x 30.5 cm. *Letters*: 2.5-3 cm. *Text source*: *ICG*.

[I]n hoc tumulo re[q]-
[u]iescit bonae mem-
oriae Fi[rmus] inno[c]-
ens, qui uixit annus
III et dies XX. Obiit
[in] pace septem-
[b]ris, VI p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis),
[i]nd(ictione) nona.

In this tomb rests Firmus, an innocent child, of fond memory, who lived for three years and 20 days. He died in peace in September, six years after the consulate of Iustinus, clarissimus, in the ninth year of the indiction.

Date: September 546

Only the left half remains of what was extant when Le Blant recorded this inscription. This is a rare example of the month of death being recorded without the day. The sixth p.c. of Iustinus was in 546 and the ninth indiction began in September the preceding year. Only the month is recorded, which specifically states that it is September. Thus the sixth p.c. and the ninth indiction do not concur, because it was by now the tenth indiction. In this case it seems that the lapidary made a genuine mistake.

No.277 Lyon

A.E., 1976:451; Le Glay, M., and Audin, A., 1976.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée, in a house opposite the church in 1972. *Location*: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Small marble block. *Dimensions*: 20 x 33 x 44 x 7 cm. *Letters*: 1.2-2 cm. *Text source*: P.Reynolds.

[I]n hoc tumulo requiescit bone
memoriae Thalasius subdiaco-
[n]us qui uixit in pace annus
[q]uinquaginta.
ob<i>it diae XI kalendas februa-
rias, indictione duodecema,
nouies p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini u(iri) c(larissimi) consolis.

In this tomb rests Thalasius, of fond memory, a subdeacon who lived in peace for 50 years. He died 11 days before the kalends of February, in the 12th year of the indiction, nine years after the consulate of Iustinus, clarissimus.

Date: 22 January 549

The p.c. date and the indiction concur because the 12th indiction began in September the previous year, 548.

No.278 Lyon

ICG. 65 and 667a; CIL.XIII. 2385; ILCV. 1287.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée, first discovered in 1678, then lost, found again in 1858 (CIL), and subsequently is now lost again (ICG). *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Large plaque. Dimensions: 1.35 x 50 cm. Text source: ICG.

(cross) In hoc loco requiescit

famulus D(e)i Stefanus, primicierius
scolae lectorum, seruiens ecl(esiae)
Lugduninsi. Vixit annos LXVI,
obiit VIII k(a)l(endas) decembris, duodecies p(ost) c(onsulatum)
Iustini, indictione XV.

In this place rests Stefanus, a servant of God and a Primicerius of the Schola Lectorum, (ie. a principal of the school of readers), who served in the holy church of Lyon. He lived for 66 years and died nine days before the kalends of December, 12 years after the consulate of Iustinus, in the 15th year of the indiction.

Date: 23 November 552

The p.c. date and the date of death, 23rd November 552, concur, but the first year of the indiction had begun in September the same year. Thus the p.c. and the indiction do not concur.

No.279 Lyon

ICG. 47; CIL.XIII. 2386; ILCV. 1676.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? L'Arsenal in 1790 (ICG). Dans le terrain de l'ancien Arsenal (CIL). The monastery of Saint-Michael? *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 42 x 45 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic iunctae saepulchris
iacent Maria uenerabilis
religione et eius Eugenia neptes.
Sed Maria longum uitae c(u)rs(u)m,
centeno console, duxit. Ob(iit) d(ie) id(u)s
ian(uaria)s. Eugenia XVIII ann(o)s habens
iuuentatis florem amisit durae
uiolintia mortis. Ob(iit) d(ie) III kal(end)a)s
ianuarias, XII p(ost) c(onsulatum) Iustini, ind(ictione) prima.

Here lie together in this sepulchre Maria, venerated for the strength of her faith, and her granddaughter, Eugenia; but Maria lived longer, for 100 years, and died on the ides of January. Eugenia lived for 18 years and was violently killed in the flower of her youth. She died three days before the kalends of January, 12 years after the consulate of Iustinus, in the first year of the indiction.

Date: 13 January 552

There is some pretension to a metrical epitaph here (see Diehl's attempt to clarify the scansion). The 12th p.c. of Iustinus was in 552, and the first indiction began in September the same year. This gives a proper concordance for the granddaughter, Eugenia, who died 30 December, but not for the grandmother, Maria, who died 13 January, since it seems likely that this was also in 552, earlier in the year. Thus she died during the 15th indiction. On balance it seems that the p.c. and the indiction should be taken to refer to the granddaughter, Eugenia, who evidently died nearly a year after her grandmother.

No.280 Lyon

NR. 13; *CIL.XIII*. 2388.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? Uncertain (*CIL*). *Location*: lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Fragment of a plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

[.....]
pridi ka[lendas]-
as XXII [p(ost) c(onsulatum) lustini?]
uiri claris[simi c(onsulis)?, indi]-
ctione decim[a].

..., on the day before the kalends of [...], 22(?) years after the consulate of [Iustinus?], in the tenth year of the indiction.

Date: 562

The p.c. date is 562, the 22nd p.c. of Iustinus. If the p.c. and the indiction concurred, the month must have been prior to September of that year, which is confirmed by the termination of the fragmentary indication of the name of the month, [...]*as*, which precludes any month after August. The tenth indiction began in September 561.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos ... menses ... dies*, date formula is *obiit in pace + date*.

No.281 Lyon

NR. 5; *CIL.XIII*. 2389; *ILCV*. 1679.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée in 1863 (*CIL*). *Location*: Saint-Irénée, in the crypt. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 53 x 48 cm. Letters: 2.5-3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(*monogram*) In hoc tumulo requiesce[t famu]-
la D(e)i bonae memoriae Droc[berta?]
sanctemunialis, quae uix[it in pa]-
ce annos uiginti et quat[uor].
Obiit VI idus septembris u[ic]ies]
quater post cons(ulatum) lustini, indic[atione]
tertia decema.

In this tomb rests Droc[berta?], a servant of God and a nun(?), of fond memory, who lived in peace for 24 years. She died six days before the ides of September, 24 years after the consulate of Iustinus, in the 13th year of the indiction.

Date: 8 September 564

The right side of this inscription is missing, making the restoration of the name slightly conjectural, although it is definitely a feminine epitaph. Another Drocetobodes is recorded on *CIL.XII*: 5399. The p.c. date and the indiction concur because the 24th p.c. of Iustinus was in 564 and the date, 8 September, coincides with the 13th indiction, which began in September of that year.

No.282 Lyon

ICG. 17; *CIL.XIII*. 2391; *ILCV*. 2483.

Provenance: Saint-Just, à la place de Saint-Just, à la face d'une maison qui est proche des Minimes (*CIL*). *Location*: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Only the right side is extant today. Limestone plaque. Dimensions: Originally 25 x 53 cm. now 32 x 28 cm. Letters: 2.5 average. Text source: ICG.

(*cross*)
Epytafium hunc q<ui> intuis, lector,
bone recordacionis Agapi negociatoris
membra quiescunt. Nam fuit iste stacio
miseris et portus eginis, omneb(u)s apt(u)s

fuī praecipuae loca s(an)c(t)orum adse-
due et elemosinam et oracionem
studuit. Vixit in pace ann(u)s LXXXV, ob(iit)
VIII kal(endas) aprilis, LXI p(ost) c(onsulatum) lustini, indict(ione)
quarta.

Beneath the epitaph that you see before you, reader, rest the remains of Agapus, a merchant, of fond memory. He provided help for the ill and a refuge for the poor, was loved by all and constant in his devotion to the holy shrines, where he would pray and give alms. He lived in peace for 85 years and died eight days before the kalends of April, 61 years after the consulate of Iustinus, in the fourth year of the indiction.

Date: 25 March 601

The p.c. and the indiction concur. The 61st p.c. of Iustinus was in 601 and the fourth indiction began in September the previous year, thus encompassing the date, 25 March 601.

No.283 Lyon

NR. 16; *CIL.XIII.* 2445.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? Found in the river Saône in 1864 (*CIL*).

Location: lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Small fragment.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* *NR*.

[.....]
VLO A[.....]
DVITH[.....]
qui uix[it ...]
LXXXII p(ost) c(onsulatum) [Iustini?]
[.....]

..., who lived for [... years], [...], 82 years after the consulate [of Iustinus].

Date: 622

Le Blant considered that this is a late inscription, perhaps seventh century. He thought that there may be a Germanic name but the evidence is slight on this fragment. A p.c. of Iustinus seems certain.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui uixit in pace annos*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.284 Lyon

ICG. 58; *CIL.XIII.* 2423; *ILCV.* 3353.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée. *Location:* Saint-Irénée, in the crypt. Large marble plaque.

Dimensions: 45 x 1.20 cm. *Letters:* 6 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

Procula, cl(arissima) femina,
famula Dei,
a terra ad martyres.

Procula, a remarkable woman and a servant of God, has left this world to live amongst the martyrs.

Date: 375-425 (estimated).

No.285 Lyon

ICG. 75; CIL.XIII. 2435; ILCV. 2357.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée. *Location:* Saint-Irénée, in the crypt. Small fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 22 x 34 cm. Letters: 2.5-3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(grapevine and dove decor)

[... u]eneraris mente trihu[mpans?]

[...]que funde precis

[...] summo dignus hono[re]

[.....]

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.286 Lyon

NR. 9; CIL.XIII. 2443.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

[.....]

[...]rat[...]

[...]tus[...]

[.. a]nnis [...]

[.. di]ebu[s ...]

[.....]

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos ... menses ... dies*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.287 Lyon

NR. 12.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée. *Location:* lost? It was in the crypt but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

[hic requiescit in pace?]

[b]one memo[riae]

[qui ui]xit annus [...]

[.....]

[Here rests in peace ...], of fond memory, who lived for ...

Date: 430-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.288 Lyon

ICG. 49; CIL.XIII. 2418; ILCV. 2457.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée. *Location:* lost (ICG/ILCV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

(triangle) (Chi/Rho) (triangle)

Memorialus uixset annis

XXXV m(enses) IIII d(ies) VI. In nomine

C(h)r(i)sti.

Memoriolus, who lived for 36 years, four months, six days; in the name of Christ.

Date: 400-450 (estimated).

No.289 Lyon

ICG. 37; CIL.XIII. 2412; ILCV. 2024.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée in 1835. Location: Paris, in the reserves of the Musée du Louvre.

Marble plaque. Dimensions: 21 x 45 cm. Letters: 2-3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) In hoc tomolo requiis-
cit bone memoriae Domene-
cus innocens qui uixsit in
pace annus quinqu et in mar-
tiro annus septe. Obiit quinto de-
cemo k(a)lendas mar(tias), indic(tione) decema.

In this tomb rests Domenecus, a child, of fond memory, who lived for five years and served in the martyrism for seven years. He died 15 days before the kalends of March, in the tenth year of the indiction.

Date: 15 February 546, 561, 576, 591, 606 (date range of years is estimated).

No.290 Lyon

ICG. 15; CIL.XIII. 2404; ILCV. 3128a adn.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée (ICG), dans le couloir de la crypte (CIL). The date is unknown.

Location: Saint-Irénée, in the crypt. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 21 x 25.5 cm.

Letters: 2.5-3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(monogram with alpha and omega)

Hic requies-
cit bone memo-
riae Adelfius,
[qui ui]xit ann[os ?]
[.....]

Here rests Adelfius, of fond memory, who lived for [...] years ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is obiit + date.

No.291 Lyon

ICG. 34; CIL.XIII. 2411; ILCV. 3563d.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée (ICG/CIL). Location: Saint-Irénée, in the crypt. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 39 x 33.5 cm. Letters: 2-3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[In hoc t]umulo
[reque]scit bonae me-
[mo]riae Constantius, qui
uixit annos LXXXIIII obiit
(cross) SII idus nob(embres).
(dove)

[In this] tomb rests Constantius, of fond memory, who lived for 84 years. He died eight(?) days before the ides of November.

Date: 6 November 430-500 (date range of years is estimated).

The character S in the date numeral is a Greek six, see No.263. *CIL* incorrectly records *VIII idus nob[embres]*.

No.292 Lyon

ICG. 50; *CIL*.XIII. 2419; *ILCV*. 182.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée (*ICG/CIL*). *Location*: Saint-Irénée, in the crypt. Marble sarcophagus. Dimensions: 80 x 1.96 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Merola clarissima femina, mater bonorum.

(dove) (encircled Chi/Rho in high relief with alpha and omega symbols) (dove)

Merola, a remarkable woman, the mother of good children.

Date: 375-425 (estimated).

This does not make a lot of sense as it stands. A substantive seems necessary but *CIL* considers that *bonorum* need not have any word supplied as understood such as *consiliorum* or *exemplum*.

No.293 Lyon

NR. 11; *CIL*.XIII. 2393.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée. *Location*: lost? P.Reynolds not able to locate in 1987. Fragment of a plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR*.

In hoc [tumulo requiescit bonae memo]-
riae [..... qui uixit in pace annos?]
XXI [menses ... dies]
se[..... obiit? ... kalendas? oct]-
obris p(ost) «c» consulatum [.....]
u(iri) c(larissimi) cons(ulis).

In this [tomb rests, of fond memory, who lived for ..?]XXI [years, ... months, ... days. He/she died ...] of October, in the year after the consulate of [...], clarissimus.

Date: 541-600 (estimated).

The month must be September or October. Both consuls may have been mentioned here if the CC abbreviation in V CC CONS is accepted as an indication.

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui uixit in pace annos*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.294 Lyon

ICG. 76; *CIL*.XIII. 2434; *ILCV*. 730.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée (*ICG/CIL*). *Location*: Saint-Irénée, in the crypt. Small fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 33 x 21 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....] Latiae pollens [modulamine? linguae?]
[carmina? condi]deras nulla doc[trina]
[.....] nunc praecipuu[s]
[.....] erat tantae indo[lis]
[.....] si teneram firma[.....]
[.....]le discent[.....]
[.....]

Date: 450-550? (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.295 Lyon

ICG. 52; CIL.XIII. 2420; ILCV. 1688.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée, in the crypt (ICG/CIL). *Location:* Saint-Irénée, in the crypt. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 34 x 42 cm. Letters: 3-3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic Nonnuse iaces. C[orpus tellure tenetur]
sanctorumq(ue) chori [iam excipient animam].
Pernoctans hymnis ti[bi uita beata manebit],
parua tibi seruan[t carmina facta tua].
Sanctorum [.....]
qui [.....]

Here you lie, Nonnus. Your body is held here by the earth and the choirs of the saints will now receive your soul. A life of bliss will await you, passing the nights with hymns, short poems preserve (the memory) of your deeds.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases,

No.296 Lyon

ICG. 48; CIL.XIII. 2417; ILCV. 3489.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée, where it was first recorded in the nineteenth century (ICG/CIL).

Location: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 42.3 x 45 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic eacit germanitas fratris
adque sororis, quorum amabili-
tas iusta meruit coniunctaq[ue]
sanctae (h)abitationi(s) mora,
lecit braeuis eorumq[ue] uita
fuisse dicatur. Innocentiae
m[er]itum (h)abent apud Deum
anima perpetua uita
firmata. Maximus,
q[ui] uixit an(nos) XI et m(enses) et d(ies)
Porcaria uixit an(nos) II et m(enses) SI
et d(ies) optam uobis fil(i)cissimi
ualeatis, q[ui] innocentium n-
omina memoriam recens-
tes. (encircled Chi/Rho)

Here lies together a brother and sister, whose amability has justly earned them a burial together in this holy place. They were only allotted a brief life and their innocence has earned eternal life for their souls. Maximus lived for 11 years and one month and one day. Porcaria lived for two years and seven months. And I wish you the very best fortune and health, you who read the names of the innocents and look upon this memorial.

Date: 400-450 (estimated).

The text is as viewed on the inscription except for the restoration of the suppressions and the punctuation (that of Diehl). He reads *coniunctaq* on line three and *morari* on line four; neither appear in the text. His restoration of *meritum* on line seven is surely correct, as is the extension of *optam* to *optamus*. Le Blant goes further, classicising and virtually rewriting the text as follows:

Hic facit (jacet ?) germanitas fratris adque sororis quorum amabilitas meruit coniugi sanctae habitationis mora. Licet breuis eorum uita fuisse dicatur, innocentiae meritum habent apud Deum, anima perpetua uita firmata. Maximus qui uixit annos XI et mensem et diem. Porcaria uixit annos II et menses SI. Et optam uobis felicissimi ualeatis qui innocentium nomina et memoriam recensetis.

No.297 Lyon

CIL.XIII. 11211; *Revue Epigraphique* 5, 1904, No.1524.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée district in 1902. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 27 x 21 cm. Text source: *CIL.XIII*

In hoc te[mulo requiescit]
bone mem[orie? Vene?]-
rabilis pre[sbyter qui uixit]
[ann]us qu[inquaginta?]
[et] o[biit?]
[.....]

In this tomb [rests Vene?]rabilis, a presbyter, of fond memory, who lived for 50(?) years and died ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.298 Lyon

ICG. 71; *CIL.XIII.* 2430; *ILCV.* 3565.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée district. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Limestone? A small plaque. Dimensions: 20 x 28 cm. Letters: 2-2.75 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[In h]oc tumolo requi-
iscit bone memoriae
Valentina <qui ui>xit anus
octugenta q(u)i(n)q(u)e. (cross)
(dove) (palm) (dove)

In this tomb rests Valentina, of fond memory, who lived for 85 years.

Date: 430-500 (estimated).

No.299 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 274, 4A.

Provenance: Saint-Just in 1972. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Marble, a plaque inscribed on both sides. Dimensions: 11.5 x 15 x 5 cm. Letters: 1.7-2 cm. Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
[... resu?]rget
[.....]era
[.....]siro
[.....] k(alendas) iul(ias)
[.... u(iro) c(larissimo) co]ns(ule).

..., he/she will arise again [in Christ?], [...], [...] the kalends of July, in the year of the consulate of [...], clarissimus.

Date: 450-525 (estimated).

On this dual sided epitaph it is not certain which is the earlier of the two. The other side is on No.300. Only a date prior to the *kalends* of July is extant together with a vestige of a consular date formula.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.300 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 276, 4B.

Provenance: Saint-Just in 1972. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Marble, a plaque inscribed on both sides. Dimensions: 11.5 x 15 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.1-2.3 cm.

Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
IST[.....]
qua[e?]
mi[nses?]
u[.....]
[.....]

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos ... menses ... dies*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.301 Lyon

Reynaud, J.-F., *Archéologia*, 48, July 1972, *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978 No.5.; *A.E.*, 1973:339.

Provenance: Saint-Just in 1974. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon.

Marble plaque, re-used building material. Dimensions: 43 x 29 x 12-15 cm. Letters: 2.4-1.7 cm.

Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

Hic iacet Litoria,
uix(i)t annus [...].
[r]ecessit in pace
[.]ll kalen(das) iunias.

Here lies Litoria, (who) lived for [...] years. She passed away in peace [...] days before the kalends of June.

Date: May 400-450 (date range of years is estimated).

The date is two or three days prior to the *kalends* of July.

No.302 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 282, 8.

Provenance: Saint-Just in 1974. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Two fragments of marble plaque. Dimensions: 13 x 12 x 1.6-3 cm. Letters: 2-3 cm. *Text source:* *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
[...]uio it[...]
[...] uitam [...]
[...]um qu[i?/ae]
[...]st[.....]
[.....]

Date: 450-550? (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.303 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 283, 9.

Provenance: Saint-Just in 1974. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Two fragments of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 18 x 11 x 11.5 cm. Letters: 2.5-3 cm.

Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
[.....]SVBL[.....]
[. resur?]get in [Xpo?]
[.....]HICCO[.....]
[.....]RADEP[.....]
[.....]EAE[.....]

..., may he/she rise up again in Christ, ...

Date: 450-525 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.304 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 281, 7.

Provenance: Saint-Just in 1974. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Two marble fragments apparently from the same stone. Dimensions: A: 8 x 17 x 1.1 cm. B: 6.5 x 4.7 x 1.1 cm. Letters: 1.7 cm. *Text source:* *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

A) [.....]	B) [.....]
am [.....]	[...]sim[...]
quae u[ixit ...]	[...]nn[...]
men[ses]	[...]e[...]
[?.....]	[.....]

No.305 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 272, 2A.

Provenance: Saint-Just in 1976. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Fragment of a plaque inscribed on both sides. Dimensions: 7 x 11.5 x 4.5 cm. Letters: 1.5-1.9 cm.

Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
[...]ere[.....]
[obi]it XII [k(alendas)?]
[...]o u(iro) c(larissimo) co[ns(ule)?].

[...]. He/she died 12 days before the [kalends of ..., in the year of the consulate of ...]o, clarissimus.

Date: 483-534 (estimated).

An epitaph inscribed on both sides, see No.306 for the reverse. Descombes and Reynaud suggest a late fifth or early sixth century date.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age.

No.306 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 274, 2B.

Provenance: Saint-Just in 1976. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Fragment of a plaque inscribed on both sides.. Dimensions: 11.5 x 7 x 4.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
[...u[.....]
[...i[.....]
[.....]

No.307 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 274, 3.

Provenance: Saint-Just, the exact date is unknown (1976?). *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 14 x 14 x 4 cm. Letters: 2.6 cm. average.
Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
[... q]uinto
[... c]onsule.

Too fragmentary to translate but it obviously records a consular year.

No.308 Lyon

ICG. 16; *CIL.XIII.* 1796; *ILCV.* 89.

Provenance: Saint-Just, from an excavation in 1740 (*ICG*), in 1736 (*CIL*). *Location:* lost (*ICG/ILCV*). Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG*.

(*Chi/Rho*)
Hic iacet Aelianus,
filius Pauli,
uiri praesidialis,
qui uixit ann(os)
pl(us) m(inus) XL, ciues
Remus.

Here lies Aelianus, the son of Paulus, a Praesidialis, who lived for about 40 years. He was a citizen of Reims.

Date: 375-425 (estimated).

No.309 Lyon

ICG. 18; *CIL.XIII.* 2405; *ILCV.* 1690.

Provenance: Saint-Just, from an excavation in 1740 (*ICG*), or in 1736 near the church (*CIL*).
Location: lost (*ICG/ILCV*). Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG*.

(*dove with palm*)
Hic iacet Agricia,
qui fuit in obserua-
sione annis sedece.

Here lies Agricia who lived a life of devotion for 16 years.

Date: 375-425 (estimated).

No.310 Lyon

ICG. 41; *CIL.XIII.* 1855; *ILCV.* 1574.

Provenance: Saint-Just, from an excavation in 1736 (*ICG/CIL*). *Location:* lost (*ICG/ILCV*).
Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG*.

Flauius Flori[nus/anus?]
ex tribunis qui uixit
annos octoginta et

septim, militau[i] ann(os)
triginta et nouem, positu[s]
est ad Sanctos, et pro-
batus annorum decim
et octo. Hic commemo-
ra[tur in] san(c)ta ecclesia
Lugdunensi a(n)te I
d(iem) calendas aug(ustas).

Flavius Flori[...], a former tribune, who lived for 87 years and served in the army for 39 years. He is buried here by the saints and was enrolled for military service in his 18th year. He is here commemorated in the holy church at Lyon, [on the day before(?) the kalends of August].

Date: 31 July 400-450 (date range of years is estimated).

Lines six and seven are difficult to translate. This date is acceptable only if the extensions in the restoration are accepted. *CIL* gives: *commemora[tur in] san(c)ta ... [?]id(ie) calendas augustas*. The phrase *Probatu[s] annorum decim et octo* either refers to the age at which he began his military service or, more probably, that he served the church, in this case Saint-Just, for eighteen years.

No.311 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 487, 6.

Provenance: Saint-Just, in the cemetery in 1967. *Location:* lost (one of those stolen?). Marble, re-used building material. Dimensions: 45 x 27 x 13 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

(monogram)
[A]manda,
[r]apteata in (Chi/Rho)
[ui]xet ennox
[e]t sincere[s]
annos VI
dies LIII:
pausauet
III k(a)l(endas) iulias.

Amanda, taken to be with Christ, lived innocent and pure for six years, 53 days; she passed away three days before the kalends of July.

Date: 29 June 400-450 (date range of years is estimated).

No.312 Lyon

ILTG. 279.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble, two fragments of a flag.

Dimensions: 25 x 22 x 9 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Hic?] qu(i)escit bone me-
[morae ...]itinus bene
[qui uix]it annis LXV.
[obii]t XI k(alendas)
[.....]

Here rests [...]itinus, of fond memory, who lived a good life(?) for 65 years. He died 11 days before the kalends ...

Date: 475-525 (estimated).

No.313 Lyon

ILTG. 280.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble, fragment of a flag. Dimensions: 23 x 10 x 11 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

[.....]
[.....] Vienn[ensis],
[...] in hoc transiet [...]
[...] culpae leua[mentum?]
[...] k(a)l(endas) [...]

Too fragmentary to translate but it mentions that the deceased was born in Vienne. All sins have been absolved by his/her death and the date of death is recorded as on or before the kalends of a month.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

This is inscribed on the reverse of an earlier inscription, now effaced.

initium phrase is governed by *iaceo -ere*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos + age*.

No.314 Lyon

CIL.XIII. 11210; *ILCV.* 3565 adn; *Revue Epigraphique* 5, 1904, No.1591.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1903.

Location: lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Small marble plaque.

Dimensions: 32 x 26 x 2 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *CIL.XIII*

In hoc tumulo [requies]-
cit bonemem[orie]
Constant[ius/a qui uixit?]
in pace ann[us? ... obi?]-
it pride ka[l(endas) ...],
[d(omini) n(ostri)] Theodoru[ci regis?]

In this tomb rests Constant[ius/a?], of fond memory, [who lived] in peace for [...] years and died on the day before the kalends of [...], [in the ... year of the reign of our lord, king] Theuderic.

Date: 595

No consular, p.c. or indictional date is recorded. Theuderic I is too early as Lyon was still under Burgundian control during his reign. Theuderic III (673- 691), seems to be too late for the series of inscriptions from Lyon on account of the palaeography, if compared with those inscriptions from Saint- Laurent-de-Choulans. Furthermore the use of a running vine motif, or any decor other than an incised cross, had become rare by the end of the sixth century, but see No.605. Theuderic II is the only other choice. His reign coincides with an increasing use of the regnal year as a means of dating. Nevertheless, the inscription can only be dated to within the confines of his reign, 595-613. A consular date for Flavius Theodorus, cons.505, is possible, but the termination of the name suggests not as it would be neither an ablative nor genitive case.

No.315 Lyon

CIL.XIII. 11209; *ILCV.* 2916 adn; *Revue Epigraphique* 5, 1904, No.1576.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1903, during work on the cellar of a house. *Location:* lost. P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 47 x 39 x 5 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: *CIL.XIII*

Hic iacit ben[ememori]-
us Villanciu[s qui]
uixit annus X[...].
tra<n>sie<t> ca[l(lendas)
aprilis], uiro c[l(arissimo)]

consule.
(dove) (palm) [dove]

Here lies Villanciu[s], of fond memory, who lived for X[...] years. He passed away on the kalends of April, in the year of the consulate of [...], clarissimus.

Date: 1 April 425-475 (date range of years is estimated).

No.316 Lyon

CIL.XIII. 11214; *ILCV.* 3348.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1904. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 68 x 42 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 2 cm. average. Text source: *CIL.XIII*

(dove) (cross/mono with alpha/omega) (dove)

Coniux, q(uae) placidam capis quietem,
mundi tristitias exhorruisti,
dum claras properas adire sedes,
digno quas recipis electa fructu.
In nosmet grauitur seiuncta saeuus,
nati quam ne<q>aeunt uidere nostri.
Caeleste potius amplexa munus
nostrum lenias qua[esu]mus dolorem,
Christo si quotiens orationes
sanctis saepe locis adsumpta defers.

O wife who has gained eternal rest, you have ceased to fear the troubles of this world, and thus now you hasten to take your place in heaven, a justly deserved reward. You have dealt us a cruel blow by denying your children the chance to see you anymore, preferring rather your celestial rewards. We beg you to assuage our grief, and mention us each time that you take part in the prayers to Christ in the heavenly abode.

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

No.317 Lyon

CIL.XIII. 11212; *ILCV.* 4822; *Revue Epigraphique* 5, 1904, No.1589.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1904. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 30 x 22 x 5 cm. Letters: 4 cm. Text source: *CIL.XIII*

Epyfania te[git hic tumulus, quam]
funere dur[o, heu nimium celeri rapuit]
mors impia c[ursu]-
tis nota in[..... no]-
bilis a[.....]
[.....]

This tomb contains Epyfania, whom cruel death, in its course, alas, has snatched away before her time ...

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases,

No.318 Lyon

CIL.XIII. 11213; *ILCV.* 2554; *Revue Epigraphique* 5, 1904, No.1577.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1904.

Location: lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 30 x 42 x 8 cm. *Letters:* 2.5 cm. average. *Text source:* *CIL.XIII*

In pace Veator,

qui uixit annos XII.

(dove) (cross/Chi/Rho within a circle) (dove)

Veator, in peace, who lived for 12 years.

Date: 400-450 (estimated).

No.319 Lyon

ILTG. 272.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952.

Location: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Fragment of cippe.

Dimensions: 24 x 14 x 7 cm. *Letters:* 1-2.5 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

[In] hoc tumolo [reque]-

scet bone memo[riae]

Gaudentius, qu[i] uixit]

annis XLV. Obie[t]

[.....]

In this tomb rests Gaudentius, of fond memory, who lived for 45 years. He died

...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.320 Lyon

ILTG. 273.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952. *Location:*

lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble flag, re-used. *Dimensions:* 64 x 58 x 23 cm.

Text source: *ILTG*

[.....]ius fecit

[fratr?]i suo bene

[mer]ito (*monogram*) Mauru-

[sio?, qui] ui-(alpha/omega)-xit p-

[lu]s minus annos

[uig]inti quinquae.

[.....]ius made this epitaph for his deserving brother(?) Mauru[sio?], who lived for about 25 years.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.321 Lyon*ILTG. 274.*

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Only one fragment of the original marble fragments survives. Dimensions: 22 x 19 x 2 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

[In ho]c loco
[.....] famu-
lus Dei
Quintasius
qui uix(it) annus III.
[obi]et ter idus
[m]ar[ti]as.

In this place [rests] Quintasius, a servant of God, who lived for three years. He died three days before the ides of March.

Date: 13 March 400-450 (date range of years is estimated).

No.322 Lyon*ILTG. 277.*

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble, possibly re-used. Dimensions: 29 x 18 x 4 cm. Letters: 2 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic iacet n(o)m(ine) Tribu-
nus, quem Deus ele-
git, qui uixit ann(os)
XIII dies m(i)n(us) XV, in
pace. (palm)

Here lies Tribunus, whom God has chosen, who lived for 13 years less 15 days, in peace.

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

No.323 Lyon*ILTG. 278.*

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952. *Location:* lost? In the Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, but P.Reynolds unable to locate 1987. Marble fragment of a plaque. Dimensions: 11 x 9 x 3 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

[In hoc tom]olo requies-
[cit]edeus q(ui) uixit
[anno]s quinque. Obi-
[it ... de]cimo
[in pac?]e.

In this tomb rests [...]edeus who lived for five years. He died ... ten ... in peace.

Date: 430-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.324 Lyon*ILTG. 282.*

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 10 x 7 x 3 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

[.....]
[.....] q[ui uixit]
[in pac]e an[nus ...]
[obiit] k(alendas) m[aias/artias?]
[indi]ct[ione ...].

..., who lived in peace for [...] years. He/she died on the(?) kalends of March(?) / May(?), in the [...] year of the indiction.

Date: 525-575 (estimated).

The date is either before or on the *kalends* of March or May and the mention of the indiction alone suggests a date in the second half of the sixth century.

Reconstructions: *initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae.*

No.325 Lyon

ILTG. 283.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Limestone fragment. Dimensions: 8 x 7 x 2 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

[.....]
[....]ne qu[i uixit]
[in pac]e annu[s ...]
[obiit ...] k(alendas) no(uembris),
[.....].

[...]ne who lived in peace for [...] years. He/she died on the(?) / [...] days before(?) the kalends of November, ...

Date: October 470-540 (date range of years is estimated).

The date is prior to the *kalends* of November.

Reconstructions: *initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae.*

No.326 Lyon

ILTG. 284.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952. *Location:* lost? In the Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, but P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 8 x 5 x 15 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

[...]FREL[...]
[....]IM[....]

No.327 Lyon

ILTG. 285.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952. *Location:* lost? In the Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, but P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 13 x 15 x 15 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

[...]IC[?][...]
[...]HO[.....]
[...]IO[.....]

No.328 Lyon

ILTG. 286.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952.

Location: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 11 x 8 x 4 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]
 [...]ISEGEN[...]
 [...]SAEIA[...]
 [.....]

No.329 Lyon

ILTG. 287.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952.

Location: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 10 x 8 x 35 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

(dove)
 ob[iit?]

He/she died(?)

No.330 Lyon

ILTG. 288.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952.

Location: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 9 x 8 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]
 [...]RECNI[...]
 [...]PIA[...]
 [.....]

No.331 Lyon

ILTG. 289.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the rue des Macchabées in 1952. *Location:*
 Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 14 x 11 x 3 cm.
 Letters: 2.5-3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]
 [...] SANCTV[...]
 [...]RVCIA[...]

No.332 Lyon

ILTG. 276.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the quartier de Trion. *Location:* Musée de la
 Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble fragment of a plaque. Dimensions: 13 x 15 x 5 cm.
 Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: *ILTG*

[In hoc tum]ulo re[quiescit]
 [bone mem]oriae Sae[.....]
 [qui uixit a]nnus se[ptem]
 [.....]

In this tomb rests Sae[...], of fond memory, who lived for seven years ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.333 Lyon

ILTG. 281.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in the quartier de Trion. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 14 x 11 x 4 cm.

Letters: 1-2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]
[bon]e me[moriae]
[...]CT in pace. Obi[it]
[...]A LA calend[as ...]
[...]ias post con[sulatum]
[.....]

..., of fond memory, [who lived ... years?] in peace. He/she died [...] before the kalends of [...], in the year after the consulate of ...

Date: 541-600 (estimated).

The date may be the *kalends* of one of the months ending in *-ias*, probably followed by a p.c. Iustinus, cons.540.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.334 Lyon

NR. 7; CIL.XIII. 2429; ILCV. 1588 adn.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in rue Trion in 1881 by a M.Grisard.

Location: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Only a small part of the original fragment survives. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 20 x 23 cm. Letters: 3-4 cm. Text source: NR.

Hoc conten[ta iacent?]
Taurini me[mbra sepulchro? / saecu?]-
laris in ho[c ?]
iam relegi[?.....]
[.....]

In this sepulchre lie the remains of Taurinus, ...

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.335 Lyon

ICG. 33; NR. 4; CIL.XIII. 2410.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, in rue de Trion in 1836 (CIL). *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble fragment of a plaque. Dimensions: 18.5 x 18 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: ICG.

Hic requ[ies]-
cet in p[ace]
Clari[anus/a?]

Here rests in peace Clari[anus/a?], ...

Date: 430-500 (estimated).

No.336 Lyon

ICG. 59; *CIL.XIII.* 2424; *ILCV.* 3564; *ILTG.* 275.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, from the Place de Saint-Just (*ICG*), *ad S.lusti muro domus, quae est Minimorum, immissa (CIL)*. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Fragment of cippe. Dimensions: 43 x 49 x 21 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(rose) (large monogram) (rose)
 (dove) (palm) (palm) (dove)
 H[o]c tumulo iacet
 [bo]nom memoriom
 Rabso cui uixit
 annos XLIIII et m(enses)
 se(p)te.

In this tomb lies Rabso, of fond memory, who lived for 44 years and seven months.

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

No.337 Lyon

ICG. 29a; *CIL.XIII.* 2406; *ILCV.* 1680.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery, from the house of a M.Joannin, 22, rue des Fargues (*ICG/CIL*). *Location:* Paris, in the reserves of the Musée du Louvre. Marble, probably re-used building material. Dimensions: 26 x 38 x 10 cm. Letters: 4 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic iacet in nom[ine Xpi]
 sanctimonialis n[omi]-
 ne Auentina, quae u[ixit]
 annos XXXV, qua[e reces]-
 sit sub die VIII k(alendas) au[gustas].

Here lies in the name of Christ a nun(?) named Auentina, who lived for 35 years and who passed away eight days before the kalends of August.

Date: 25 July 400-475 (date range of years is estimated).

No.338 Lyon

ICG. 83; *CIL.XIII.* 2409.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was discovered in the foundations of a house in the rue des Boucheries-Saint-Georges (*sic*) in 1842 (*CIL*). *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 8 x 9 cm. Text source: *ICG*.

[... b?]enigna [...]
 [...] indiccio [...]

No.339 Lyon

ICG. 56; *CIL.XIII.* 2421; *ILCV.* 3529.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? The circumstances of discovery are uncertain, *rep. prope castellum St. Try (CIL)*. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Large marble plaque. Dimensions: 29 x 60 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

In hoc loco requi-
 (dove) escet in pace bone
 momeriae Prelecta,
 (palm) qui uixit annus XXXV.
 Ouiet in pace

(dove) XII k(alendas) septembris.
(floral interlace border)

In this place rests in peace Prelecta, of fond memory, who lived for 35 years. She died in peace 12 days before the kalends of September.

Date: 21 August 430-500 (date range of years is estimated).

No.340 Lyon

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? *Location:* University of Lyon collection, unpublished. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 10 x 8 x 3 cm. Letters: 2-2.5 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]
[...] d(ies) II[? ...]
[Re]cess[it in Xpo?]
[... kal(endas)?] iu[n/lia?]
[.....]

... and two(?) days. He/she passed away [in Christ? ... days before the kalends?] of June(?) / July(?), ...

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* phrase is governed by *iaceo -ere*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos ... menses ... dies*.

No.341 Lyon

ICG. 28; CIL.XIII. 2352; Sidonius Apollinaris, Epistolae, III, XII, 5.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? *Location:* lost. Manuscript.

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG. 28.*

- 1 Serum post patruos patremque carmen
haud indignus auo nepos dicaui,
ne fors tempore postumo, uiator,
ignorans reuerentiam sepulti
- 5 tellurem tereres inaggeratam.
Praefectus iacet hic Apollinaris,
post praetoria recta Galliarum
maerentis patriae sinu receptus,
consultissimus utilissimusque
- 10 ruris militiae forique cultor,
exemploque aliis periculoso
liber sub dominantibus tyrannis.
Haec sed maxima dignitas probatur,
quod frontem cruce, membra fonte purgans
- 15 primus de numero patrum suorum
sacris sacrilegis renuntiauit.
Hoc primum est decus, haec superba uirtus,
spe praecedere quos honore iungas,
quique hic sunt titulis pares parentes,
- 20 hoc illic meritis superuenire.

This translation is that offered by W.B. Anderson, Loeb Edition.

This tardy legend I, a grandson, have with good right, now that my father and uncles are no more, dedicated to my grandsire, lest in aftertime thou, wayfarer, knowing not that a tomb claims thy reverence, shouldst tread upon the unmounded earth. Here lies the prefect

Apollinaris, received into the bosom of his mourning country after righteous governance of Gaul; a most wise and beneficent worker in the fields of the farm, the state, and the forum, and likewise (perilous example for others to follow) a free man under the tyranny of despots. But of all his honours this is acclaimed the greatest, that he cleansed his brow with the cross, his body with the waters of baptism, and was the first of his line to renounce pagan worship. 'Tis a crowning glory, a proud merit, for a man to surpass in hope his peers in rank and beyond the grave to excel in merits his fathers who are in this world his equals in their roll of dignities.

Date: 469-470 (estimated).

No.342 Lyon

ICG. 85; CIL.XIII. 2444.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was discovered in the Fourvière district.

Location: lost. P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 60.4 x 78 cm. Text source: ICG.

[.....]
[obiit?] sub [die?]
[.. kal(endas)?] ianu[arias?]
[.....]

[... He/she died] on the [...] January, ...

Date: January 470-540 (date range of years is estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age.

No.343 Lyon

ICG. 80; CIL.XIII. 2433; ILCV. 3347a.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? Location: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Small marble plaque. Dimensions: 25 x 25 cm. Letters: 3-3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Hic conte[nta iacent mem]-
bra sepulcr[o]
de uita perpetua [.....]
radium solis o[.....]
ut inter elect[os]
an(nos) VI et dies [.....]
[.....]

Too fragmentary to translate but the general sense is that the deceased buried in this sepulchre has gained eternal life, and that he has gone to enjoy eternal life amongst the chosen, here probably meaning the saints. *Radium solis* in line 4 is probably describing the light that illuminates the abode of the saints.

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.344 Lyon

ICG. 81; CIL.XIII. 2437; ILCV. 1609 adn.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? Location: lost. P.Reynolds unable to find in 1987. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 23 x 23 cm. Text source: ICG.

[.....]
[... g]loria non mor[ietur?]

[.....]o coniuxque [.....]
[... con]iugi III [.....]
[.....]

Too fragmentary to translate but as Le Blant has noted it is probably a laudatory epitaph concerning a married couple separated by death. There may be a formula recording the number of years of marriage.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is dative/optative.

No.345 Lyon

ICG. 82; *CIL.XIII.* 2369; *ILCV.* 3561a adn.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 28 x 35 cm. Letters: 4 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

In hoc tomulo r[equiescit]
bonae memoriae [.....]
qui uixit in pace a[n]nos ... obiit?
diae idu(s) ianuar[is] [.....]
iunior u(iro) <c(larissimo)> con[s](ule).

In this tomb rests [...], of fond memory, who lived in peace [for ... years. He died] on the ides of January, in the year of the consulate of [...] iunior, clarissimus.

Date: 13 January 483-534 (date range of years is estimated).

There are several consuls designated *iunior*; it is not possible to discern which one is recorded here. Several from Lyon are dated to the consulate of Avienus *iunior* in 502.

No.346 Lyon

ICG. 84; *CIL.XIII.* 2438; *ILCV.* 2916 adn.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? The circumstances of discovery are unknown. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 16 x 10 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic iac[et ...]-
o qui uix[it] anno]
uno, die[s ... tra]-
nsiet l[.....]

Here lies [...]o, who lived for one(?) year. [...] days. He passed away ...

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

Infant burials with an epitaph are rare; this example is one only if the restoration of the age is accepted as one year.

No.347 Lyon

NR. 15; *CIL.XIII.* 2383.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? The circumstances of discovery are unknown but it became part of the museum collection in 1860 (*CIL*). *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 14 x 24 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) In ho[c tumulo]
requi[escit] bonae]
memori[ae]
qui uix[it] annos ...]

Obiit no[nas]
V p(ost) c(onsulatum) lu[stini, u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)]
(interleaving decoration)

In this [tomb] rests [...], of fond memory, who lived for [... years]. He died on the nones of [...], five(?) years after the consulate of lu[stinus].

Date: 545? (estimated).

No.348 Lyon

NR. 17; *CIL.XIII.* 2442; *ILCV.* 3481 adn.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was discovered at the église de l'Observance during its demolition (*CIL*). *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Small marble fragment. Dimensions: 32 x 21.5 cm. Letters: 2-4 cm. Text source: *ILCV*.

[.....]
parc[.....]
expe[cta]
obiit san[ct ? ..]

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

The layout of the text on this fragment suggests a metrical inscription. It is likely that it mentions the expectation of either the second coming or Day of Judgement. Le Blant quotes a similar inscription written in distichs from Reims (*ICG*: 334), the text of which reads on lines five and six *hic pater est Atolus, nato nataque sepultus expectantque diem nunc Domini properam*. The date may have recorded a Saints' day or even All Saints' day.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age.

No.349 Lyon

ICG. 60; *CIL.XIII.* 2425; *ILCV.* 1168.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was in the Génovéfains collection (*CIL*), but the circumstances of discovery are unknown. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Limestone plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 39.5 x 33 cm. Letters: 1.5-3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

In hoc tumolo
requiescit bonae
memoriae Romanus
presbiter, <q>ui uixit
in pace annis LXIII.
Obiit nonum k(alendas) feb-
rarias.
(peacock) (vase) (peacock)

In this tomb rests Romanus, a presbyter, of fond memory, who lived in peace for 63 years. He died nine days before the kalends of February.

Date: 24 January 430-500 (date range of years is estimated).

No.350 Lyon

ICG. 73; *CIL.XIII.* 2431; *ILCV.* 1657.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was in the Génovéfains collection. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. A small fragment is all that remained extant in 1987. Limestone plaque. Dimensions: originally 37 x 45 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: *ICG*.

[.....]
 (encircled) [bone memo]-
 (Chi/Rho) rie Vincentu-
 (with) s monicus
 (alpha and) sub die VIII
 (omega) calendas
 (symbols) decembris.
 Qui uixit an-
 n(os) quadragin-
 ta.

[Here rests in peace?] Vincentius, of fond memory, [who died nine days before the kalends of December, who lived for 40 years ...

Date: 23 November 430-500 (date range of years is estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae.*

No.351 Lyon

ICG. 30; CIL.XIII. 2408; ILCV. 3296.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was in the Génovéfains collection, but the circumstances and date of discovery are unknown. Location: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 40 x 27 cm. Letters: 2-2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

In hoc tu-
 mulo requ-
 iiscit in C-
 risto Bellau-
 sus, qui uixs-
 et annos XLII.
 Obit s(u)b d(ie) no-
 nas iulias.
 (dove) (monogram) (dove)

In this tomb rests in Christ Bellausus, who lived for 42 years. He died on the nones of July.

Date: 7 July 430-500 (date range of years is estimated).

No.352 Lyon

ICG. 38; CIL.XIII. 2413; ILCV. 3128.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was discovered either at the monastery of Saint-Joseph in 1843 (ICG), or au coin de la rue Pisse-Trueie et de la Boucherie-de-Saint-George (sic) (CIL). Location: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Upper half of a limestone plaque. Dimensions: 15.5 x 36 cm. Letters: 3-3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic requhscit infan-
 tula innox nomene
 Elarina, filia Muri,
 qui uixit annus III
 [.....]

Here rests an innocent child named Elarina, the daughter of Murus, who lived for three years.

Date: 430-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.353 Lyon

ICG. 45; CIL.XIII. 2415; ILCV. 3563e.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was discovered at Saint- Clair in 1673 (ICG), *in seminario oratorii* (CIL). *Location:* lost (ICG/ILCV). *Manuscript.* *Dimensions:* unavailable.

Text source: ICG.

In hoc tomolo
reuscit bone me-
morie Mai<o>rinus qu[i]
uixit annis XC et dies
[.....]. (dove)

In this tomb rests Mai<o>rinus, of fond memory, who lived for 90 years and [...] days.

Date: 430-500 (estimated).

No.354 Lyon

ICG. 665; CIL.XIII. 2402; ILCV. 1516.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? *Location:* lost (ILCV). *Manuscript.*

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* ICG.

Hic gemini fratres iuncti dant membra sepulchris;
quos iunxit meritum, consociauit humus.
Germine barbarico nati, sed fonte renati
dant animas coelo, dant sua membra solo.
Aduenit Sagile patri cum coniuge luctus,
defungi haud dubie qui uoluere prius.
Sed dolor est nimius Christo moderante ferendus:
orbati non sunt, dona dedere Deo.

The remains of two brothers are joined together here in this sepulchre, united in their merits, the earth now has united them. Children born of a barbarian stock, but reborn through baptism, they give their souls to heaven, their mortal remains to the earth. It has brought sorrow for their father, Sagilis and his wife, who doubtless wished to predecease their sons. But their grief is too great, under Christ's guiding hand it should be borne, they have not been deprived of their children, they have given gifts to God.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.355 Lyon

ICG. 666; CIL.XIII. 2414; ILCV. 612.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? Its provenance is questioned by ICG and CIL.

Location: lost (ILCV). *Manuscript.* *Dimensions:* unavailable. *Text source:* ICG.

- 1 Praeteriens hominum sortem miserere, uiator,
deque meis, restent quae tibi fata, uide.
En mihi terra domum praebet cin(er)isque sepulchrum,
uermis et exiguus membra caduca uorat.
- 5 Conditor omnipotens paradysi quem esse colunum
iusserat, hanc tribuit culpa nefanda uicem.
Nomine Felicem me olim dixere parentes,
uita dicata mihi hic ars medicina fuit.
Aegros multorum potui releuare dolores,
- 10 morbum non potui uincere ab arte meum.

Take pity on the destiny of men as you pass by, traveller, and see from mine what fate awaits you ! Behold, the earth affords a home for me and a sepulchre for my ashes, and the tiny worm

devours my fleeting corpse. Heinous guilt has assigned this destiny to one for whom the omnipotent Creator had decreed the tenancy of paradise. My late parents named me Felix, my life was dedicated to the medical arts. I have cured the grievous illnesses of many, but I could not cure my own disease despite my skill.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.356 Lyon

ICG. 664; *CIL.XIII.* 2390; *ILCV.* 4733.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? Isolated find, quai de la Peyrolierie, rive droite de la Saône, in 1855 (*CIL*). *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble fragment of a plaque. Dimensions: 48 x 44 cm. Letters: 4 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[In hoc tumul]o requiescit
[bonae memor]iae Euchirius,
[qui fuit amic]us omnibus,
[qui uixit a]nnos LXXX. Obiit
[..... f]ebruaria[s],
[..... u(iro) c(larissimo)] c(onsule), indictio[ne ...].
[In hoc tumulo req]uiescit bo[nae]
[memoriae]
[.....]

[In this] tomb rests Euchirius, of fond memory, a friend to everyone, [who lived for] 80 years. He died [on the ... day before(?) / on the ...(?)] of February, [in the year of the consulate of ...], clarissimus, in the [...] year of the indiction. [In this tomb] rests [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

There appear to have been two epitaphs inscribed upon the same face of the stone. The beginning of the second is just discernible below the first, unless the lapidary has made an error.

No.357 Lyon

NR. 112; *CIL.XII.* 2156; *CIL.XIII.* 2432; *ILCV.* 1542 adn; *RICG.XV.* 10*.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was found in the river Rhône, between Lyon and Vienne. In 1866 at Lyon (*CIL*). *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble fragment of a plaque. Dimensions: 31 x 24 cm. Letters: 2.5-3.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[in] albis
recessit,
qui uixit
annus XVI
et minsis II

..., who died clothed in baptismal garments, and lived for 16 years and two months.

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

initium phrase is governed by *iaceo -ere*.

No.358 Lyon

NR. 14; *CIL.XIII.* 2439.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? Isolated find? The circumstances of discovery are unknown. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 24 x 14 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

In hoc loc[o]
requies-
cit bone
[memoriae]
[.....]

In this place rests [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.359 Lyon.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It is possibly from Saint-Laurent de Choulans.

Location: University of Lyon collection. Marble fragment broken on all sides.

Dimensions: 9 x 12 x 2 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]
[...]IC[.]N[.]
[...]nus an[...]
[...]res [.....]
[.....]

No.360 Lyon

LTG. 290; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Large marble plaque, now broken into many fragments.

Dimensions: 62 x 43 x 4 cm. Letters: 2-3 cm. Text source: *LTG*

(cross) Humata sub hoc tomolo [bone memoriae]
Felemoda siue modae membra quiiscunt,
bon[it]ate benigna, caretate perfecta,
pie[tat]e e[t e]rg[a cun]ctis affabelitate dulcissima,
fede pr[ae]cipua, simplicitate magna, omnebus
amata, familiae oriunda, pauper [s]ib[i] semper:
[de]cessit ergo iamia[m], flente cumprul(e) Mogae:
iam hic multum tempore egretudinebus
laborauit: duxerat quater denus
decimam aetatem, XXXX portauit
in pace. Obiit sub die decimo kal(endas) iulias
[an(no)?] LVIII pos(t) consolato lustini uiri claris-
[s]imi consolis, indiccione secunda.

Buried within this tomb rest the remains of Felemoda or Moda, a person of exceptional kindness, always very caring, pious and very affable towards everyone, possessed of great faith, innocent and loved by all. Although she came from a good family she herself always remained poor. Thus it is that she has now passed away, and her children weep for Moda; she had long suffered with illness: she had lived for 40 years, 40 years in peace. She died ten days before the kalends of July, 59 years after the consulate of Iustinus, clarissimus, in the second year of the indiction.

Date: 22 June 599

The p.c. and the indiction concur. The 59th p.c. of Iustinus was in 599 and the second indiction began in September the previous year, during which the date fell, 22 June 599. This does depend upon the acceptance of the addition of the numeral *L* at the beginning of the penultimate line, as has recently been proposed (*Riv. Arch. Crist.* 1978: 295). There can be no doubt of this because the extremity of the letter can be seen and apart from providing a close concordance between the dates, it accords with the formulae and palaeography much better than a date in the middle of the sixth century.

No.361 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 491.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1977. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble block, possibly re-used. Dimensions: 27 x 48 x 5.5 cm. Letters: 1.8-2 cm. Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

Vmata sub <hoc> tetolo Mercurini sibi Cict-
ato <m>embra quiscunt: bonetate benignus,
caretate perfecta, pietate larguus, cum
magnebeletate magnus, dulcisseumus, fede
praecepus, semplecetate magnus, amatus,
familiae uriun<d>us, pauperebus semper pius: qua-
ter denus decim aetate annus LXXV portauit in
pace. Obiit sub dii VII kalendas aprilis,
LXXVIII pos(t) con(sulatum) <lus>tini uiri cla(rissimi) con(sulis),
indic(tione) sexta. (cross) (star)

Buried in this tomb rest the remains of Mercurinus(?) Cictatus: a very kind man, exceptionally charitable, very pious, magnanimous, charming, strong in his faith, innocent at all times, loved (by everyone), born into a (good) family and always helpful to the poor. having four times ten years of age (sic), he lived in peace for 75 years. He died seven days before the kalends of April, 79 years after the consulate of Iustinus, clarissimus, in the sixth year of the indiction.

Date: 26 March 619

The age formula is confusing, and seems to be a poetic way of stating forty. The p.c. and indiction do not concur. The 79th p.c. of Iustinus was in 619, and the sixth indiction ran from September 617 until the end of August 618. The date, 26 March, requires the seventh indiction.

No.362 Lyon

ILTG. 291; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Large marble plaque. Dimensions: 94 x 23 x 4 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

(cross) In hoc tomolo uel sub hunc cesp[item iacent mem]-
bra bone memoriae Teodata, pue[lla, qui uixit in pace]
annus X. Obiit VIII kalendas neuem[bres, anno]
XII regno gloriosis(si)mi dom(ini) nos(tri) Chlothou[ii]
regis, indic(tione) XI. (interleaving decor)

In this tomb or below this mound lies the remains of Teodata, a young girl of fond memory, who lived in peace for ten years. She died eight days before the kalends of november, in the 12th year of the reign of our most glorious Lord, king Clovis, in the 11th year of the indiction.

Date: 25 October 652

The regnal date and the indiction concur. The 11th indiction began in September 652, and together with the date, 25 October, coincides with the 12th year of the reign of Clovis II.

No.363 Lyon

ILTG. 292; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Large marble plaque. Dimensions: 50 x 25 x 6 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

(cross) In hoc tomolo requiescit bone memori-
ae Optata, pro cuius amore uir suus Arnul-
fus condedit sepultura: qui fuit pru-
dens, apta, moderata, benegna.
Vixit in pace annus uigente et oc-
to: obiet octabo kal(endas) maias, indic(tione)
undecima, regno domini nostri
Chlothouii reges. (*interleaving decor*)

In this tomb rests Optata, of fond memory, for the love of whom her husband Arnulfus has built this sepulchre. She was prudent, accommodating, moderate, kind. She lived in peace for 28 years. She died eight days before the kalends of May, in the 11th year of the indiction, during the reign of our lord, king Clovis.

Date: 24 April 653

The number of regnal years is not inscribed. The date, 24 April, and the 11th indiction would date it to the 16th year of the reign of Clovis II if there had been an *inter-regnum* after the death of Dagobert I (Courtois 1951: 155). Otherwise it may have been either the 13th or 14th year of his reign. Nevertheless, the 11th indiction began in September 652, which necessarily dates this inscription to 653.

No.364 Lyon

ILTG. 294; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 43 x 23 x 7 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) In hoc tomolo requi-
escit bone memoriae Fran-
coniua, qui uixit in pace
annus XXX. Ob(iit) XVIII k(a)l(endas) sept(embres)
ind(ictione) XI.

In this tomb rests Franconivia, who lived in peace for 30 years. She died 19 days before the kalends of September, in the 11th year of the indiction.

Date: 14 August 653

No.365 Lyon

ILTG. 295; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque, broken in three pieces. Dimensions: 33 x 32 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

(cross) In hoc tomolo
requiescit bone me-
moriae Sicualdus,
qui uixit in pace an-
nus XXV. Obiet XVIII k(alendas)
octobris, ind(ictione) XII.
(*interleaving decor*)

In this tomb rests Sicualdus, of fond memory, who lived in peace for 25 years. He died 18 days before the kalends of October, in the 12th year of the indiction.

Date: 14 September 653

No.366 Lyon

ILTG. 296; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. Location: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Large marble plaque. Dimensions: 56 x 26 x 8 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) In hoc tumolum requiiscunt membra bone memo-
riae Ciocioeno uel filio suo nom(ine) uenerando, sem-
plex in aaretate, prumtus in elemosenetate, be-
nignus in subrietate, caretate plenus et fe-
de repletus: q(ui) u(ixit) in pace ann(us) /XXXV/.
Obiit sub d(ie) quarto k(a)l(endas) iulias,
ind(ictione) ter(ti)a xma,
P L CV HD H P D(et?) tantum sol(idos) XI.
Sisolenus in amorem eius fecit.

In this tomb rest the remains of Ciocioeno, of fond memory, or(?) and(?) whose name is venerated by his son. Sincere in caring, quick to give alms, kind though austere, filled with kindness and replete with faith, who lived in peace for 35 years. He died four days before the kalends of July, in the 13th year of the indiction. P L CV HD H P D the sum of 11 solidi. Sisolenus made this out of affection.

Date: 28 June 655

No.367 Lyon

ILTG. 297; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. Location: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Large marble plaque. Dimensions: 90 x 31 x 3 cm. Letters: 4 cm.

Text source: ILTG

[(cross?) In hoc tom]olo requiescit bone memorie Osildus cuius mens
[gaudet? s(an)c(tu)m] Laurentium habere patronum, ad tubam uocantem
su[rrectu]rus in Deo et Xpo. Vixit in pace annis quadragin-
ta et quinque. Obiit mense octubre anno XVII regn(i) domi(ni)
n(ostr)i Chlothouei regis, indictione quinta decima.

In this tomb rests Osildus, of fond memory, whose soul rejoices in having the protection of saint Laurentius when the trumpet sounds and he arise again in God and Christ. He lived in peace for 45 years. He died in the month of October in the 17th year of the reign of our lord, king Clovis, in the 15th year of the indiction.

Date: October 656

The 15th indiction began in September 656 and coincides with the 17th year of the reign of Clovis II, if calculated from 640 inclusively. This may give some credence to the theory that there was an *inter-regnum* after the death of Dagobert (Courtois 1951: 155). The deceased died in October of that year, although the actual day is not recorded.

No.368 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 489, 2.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans. *Location:* University of Lyon collection, where only two fragments remain, the rest having been stolen since their discovery. Fragments of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 15 x 30 x 4 cm. Letters: 1.8-2.5 cm. Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

(cross) Sequetur hoc tumol[um]
meretus bone memoriae A[...]-
fus, cuius curposcolum [aula]
S(an)c(t)i Laurenti suscepit [ut ueni]-
am meruit interce[... ..]-
cerum cuius karet[ate?]
f<id>e QVENTERAPPA ?
in pace annus XXX
quinta.

Buried here in this tomb is the deserving A[...]^fus, whose remains have been received into the sanctuary of Saint Laurentius so that he might be pardoned [on Judgement Day?], whose charity and faith [...], [He lived?] in peace for 35 years.

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

No.369 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, 284, 10.

Provenance: Saint-Just. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Fragments of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 44 x 21.5 x 12 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. average. Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[dove] [vase with sprouting flowers] (dove)

[.....]
[...]^t[.....]
[.....]
[...]^t[.....]
[...]^{et}[.....]
[.....]

No.370 Lyon

ILTG. 293; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Fragments of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 30 x 25 x 4 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

[In hoc tomol]o requie[scit bone]
[memoriae Fort?]unella, pro cu[ius]
[amore uir suus O?]btatus condedit
[sepultura: qui f]oit prudens, apt[a],
[...]: qui uixit in p[ace annus ...]:
[obiit ... f]ebroarias.

In this tomb rests [Fort?]unella, of fond memory, for [the love] of whom [her husband O?]btatus has built [this sepulchre]. She was prudent, accomodating, [...]. She lived in peace [for ... years. She died ...] of February.

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

No.371 Lyon

ILTG. 298; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. *Location*: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 37 x 34 x 4 cm. Letters: 4-4.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

In hoc tomolo uel sub hic ces-
pete requiescunt membra bone me-
moriae Viuenti pr(es)b(iter)i eglesiae Lugd(unensis),
cui(us?) corpuscolum aula S(an)c(t)i Laurenti
recepit, (i)vy qui uixit in pace an(nus) X[.?.]
O(iit) sub d(ie) III k(alendas) septembres, i[n]dictione ...].

In this tomb or beneath this mound rests the remains of Viventius, of fond memory, a presbyter of the church of Lyon, whose body has been received into the sanctuary of saint Laurentius, who lived in peace for X[...] years. He died three days before the kalends of September, in the [...] year of the indiction.

Date: 30 August 600-650 (date range of years is estimated).

No.372 Lyon

ILTG. 299; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1939. *Location*: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque broken in two pieces. Dimensions: 27 x 18 x 3 cm. Letters: 2-2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Sub hoc tetumu-
lum requiescent
membre boni memo-
rie Heldeberga, qui
uixit in pace an-
nus XXX tregen-
ta. (Obiit) kale(ndas) IIX B. (i)vy

In this tomb rest the remains of Heldeberga, of fond memory, who lived in peace for 30 years. (She died) on the kalends of October.

Date: 1 October 600-650 (date range of years is estimated).

The characters *KALE IIX B* are explicable only by October, unless two days prior to the *kalends* of October is intended.

No.373 Lyon

ILTG. 300; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1939. *Location*: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Cippe. Dimensions: 29 x 30 x 10 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: *ILTG*

(cross) In hoc tomo-
lo requiescit bo-
ne memoriae Fre-
doaldus r(eligiosus?) u(ir?) i<n?>
ac(t)ione, qui uis-
et in pace ann(us)
LX. (Obiet) m(ar)tias.

In this tomb rests Fredoaldus, of fond memory, a man who led a religious life, who lived in peace for 60 years. (He died) in March.

Date: March 600-650 (date range of years is estimated).

No.374 Lyon

ILTG. 301; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. *Location:* lost? It was in the Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine but P.Reynolds unable to locate it in 1987. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 15 x 17 x 3 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

[.....]
[.....]C[.....]
[.....o]biit m[ense?]
[Chlothou]i regis, in[dictione? ...]

..., died in the month(?) of ..., ... king Clovis(?), in the [...] year of the indiction.

Date: 652

If the reconstruction is accepted, this inscription is dated to the reign of Clovis II, specifically to the years 652-656, because on linguistic and palaeographical grounds it is similar to Nos.363 and 367 which provenance from the same church and cemetery.

Reconstructions: *initium* is in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae, age formula is qui uixit in pace annos.

No.375 Lyon

ILTG. 302; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Two fragments of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 31 x 15 x 3 cm. Letters: 3-3.5 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

[.....]
[...] detersi iam ar[.....]
[...] miseris haec por[...]
[...] uultu purus [.....]

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.376 Lyon

ILTG. 302bis; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 10 x 7 x 3 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

[.....]
[.....]iqu[e? .]
[...]te per[...]
[.....]

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

No.377 Lyon

ILTG. 302ter; Wuilleumier, P., Audin, A., and Leroi-Gourhan, A., 1949.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1947. *Location*: lost? It was in the Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, but P.Reynolds unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 4 x 13 x 3 cm. Text source: *ILTG*

[.....]
[...][...]
[...RVI[...]
[....]C[...]
[.....]

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

No.378 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, No.1.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1976. *Location*: University of Lyon collection, where only a fragment survives. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 23 x 42 x 3 cm. Letters: 3-3.2 cm.

Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

(cross) Sequetur hoc tomolum me[retus bonae memoriae]
Atto, cuius corposcolum a[ula S(an)c(t)i Laurenti recepit]
ut ueniam mereat ipsum intercede [.....]-
sucus, cuius k(a)retas uel fedis pru[.....]-
rute, qui uixit in pace an(nos) LXXV. O[biit.....].

Buried in this tomb is the deserving Atto, of fond memory, whose remains have been received into the sanctuary of Saint Laurentius so that he might be pardoned [on Judgment Day?], [...] whose charity and faith [...], who lived in peace for 75 years. He died ...

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

There may have been both a regnal date and an indictional year recorded at the end of the text on account of the similarities of formulae with others from the same cemetery.

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.379 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, No.3.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1976. *Location*: University of Lyon collection, where only two fragments of the original plaque are extant. Two fragments of a marble plaque.

Dimensions: 29 x 30 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 1.8-2 cm. Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

(cross) In hoc tomolo re[quiescunt membra bonae]
memoriae Magencolae [? siue]
pater suus Gaudentinus [condedit sepul]-
tura: cuius mens meruit S[(an)c(tu)m Laurentium]
habere patrono, qui fuit [...? mode]-
rata. Vixit in pace annus [... obiit ...]
[ianu/febru]arias, ind(i)c(t)i(one) quart[a].

In this tomb rest the remains of Magencola, of fond memory, [...], her father Gaudentinus built this tomb: whose soul has merited the protection of saint Laurentius, she who was a respectable woman. She lived in peace for [...] years. She died [...] of January(?) / February(?), in the fourth year of the indiction.

Date: 540, 555, 570, 585, 600 (estimated).

No.380 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, No.5.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1976. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Two marble fragments. Dimensions: 35 x 63 x 4 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
annuis RECVI[.]SE[.]S[.]I[....]
praece[.]A[.]SISP[.....]
beata festa cernent diuinis laud[i]b(u)s [...]
uixit in pace ann(us) LX: ob(iit) XI kal(endas) iulias, ind(ictione) VII.

Too fragmentary to translate except of the last two lines: ..., he lived in peace for 60 years. He died 11 days before the kalends of July, in the seventh year of the indiction.

Date: 21 June 543, 558, 573, 588, 603 (date range of years is estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae.*

No.381 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, No.6.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1976. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 7 x 18.5 x 5 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

(cross) In hoc to[molo requiescit bonae]
[mem]oria[e ...]

In this tomb rests [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui uixit in pace annos*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.382 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, No.7.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1976. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 11.5 x 18 x 4 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

(cross?) [In hoc tomolo requies]cit bone
[memoriae Proc?]ulus amo-
[re condedi?]t sep[ul]-
[tura?]

[In this tomb] rests [Proc?]ulus, of fond memory, for the love of whom [...] built this sepulchre(?), ...

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui uixit in pace annos*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.383 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, No.8.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1976. *Location:* University of Lyon collection? Not seen by P.Reynolds in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 7 x 15 x 3-4 cm. Letters 2-3 cm. Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
[... o]biet X k(alendas) fe[bruarias?]
[.....]

..., he/she died ten days before the kalends of February, ...

Date: 23 January 600-650 (date range of years is estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui uixit in pace annos*.

No.384 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, No.9.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1976. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 5 x 8.5 x 3.5-4 cm. Letters: 3.2 cm. Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
[... uixit annos] LIII, o[biit ...]
[.....]

..., who lived for 53 years. He/she died ...

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui uixit in pace annos*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.385 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, No.10.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1976. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Marble fragment, broken on all sides. Dimensions: 8 x 11 x 4 cm. Letters: 3.5-4 cm. Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
[...]fu[.....]
[...]igna[...]
[.....]

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

No.386 Lyon

Riv.Arch.Crist. 1978, No.11.

Provenance: Saint-Laurent de Choulans in 1976. *Location:* University of Lyon collection. Marble fragment, broken on all sides. Dimensions: 15 x 9 x 3.5-4 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: *Riv.Arch.Crist.* 1978.

[.....]
[... condedit?] sepul[tura ...]
[.....]tium [.....]
[.....]model[.....]
[.....]

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui uixit in pace annos*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.387 Lyon

ICG. 64; *CIL.XIII.* 2428; *ILCV.* 3292.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was discovered in 1841, on the private property of a M.de Chazournes. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds did not see it in 1987. Marble sarcophagus. Dimensions: 59 x 63 cm. Text source: *ICG.*

Sofroniae, dilectissimae
coniugi, Fl(auius) Vrsicinus ma-
ritus, cum quo uixit annis
V, mens(es) VII, dies IIII, posuit
in Xpo, quiescenti in pace.
(lamb) (dove) (vase) (dove) (lamb)

Flavius Ursicinius placed (this memorial here) to Sofronia, his beloved wife, who lived with him for five years, seven months, four days, and now rests in the peace of Christ.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.388 Lyon

NR. 8; *CIL.XIII.* 2441.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was discovered in the foundations of a house in about 1870 in the Place de Choulans (*CIL*). *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR.*

[.....]
[... o]biit [...]
[.....]aleo[.....]
[.....]

No.389 Lyon

NR. 3; *CIL.XIII.* 2407.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just cemetery? It was discovered in the Place de Choulans in about 1870 (*ICG/CIL*). *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Dimensions: 10 x 15 cm. Text source: *NR.*

Hic quiesci[t in pace?]
Basilis [quae uixit?]
[.....]

Here rests [in peace?] Basilis, [who lived] ...

Date: 475-525 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.390 Lyon

A.E., 1976:450a; Le Glay, M. and Audin, A., 1976.

Provenance: Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just Cemetery? It was discovered in the Quartier de Choulans. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 31 x 32 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.5-3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[In] hoc loco req[uiescit]
[bo]nae mem[oriae]
[Sa]nctissima, qu[ae]

[uixit] annis XLV[? et?]
[tra]nsiit XII kal[endas?]
[.....]EV X[.....].

In this place rests [Sa]nctissima, of fond memory, who lived for 45(?) years and passed away 12 days before the kalends of [...], ...

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

This is inscribed on the obverse of No.267, and is taken here to be the earlier inscription.

No.391 Lyon

ILTG. 271.

Provenance: Saint-Nizier district in 1912. Location: lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987.

Dimensions: 41 x 25 cm. Text source: ILTG

In hoc tumulo requiesci(t) bo-
ne (me)moriae Honoria <q(uae)> h(oneste?) uixit
in pace aniis XXX. Obiet d-
(i)ae V idus decembris, Viator-
e u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).

In this tomb rests Honoria, of fond memory, who lived honestly(?) in peace for 30 years. She died five days before the ides of December, in the year of the consulate of Viator, clarissimus.

Date: 9 December 495

No.392 Lyon

ICG. 21; CIL.XIII. 2395; ILCV. 1070a b.

Provenance: Saint-Nizier. Location: lost. Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: CIL/ILCV.

- 1 Cum tua, Rust<i>ce, recubent hic me<m>bra, sacerdos,
fama peregrini ridet opus tumuli
actaque ca<e>ruleis insultat uita latebris
nigra superfusi nec timet antra soli.
- 5 Astra fo<u>ent animam, corpus natura recepit,
hoc quoque mors uellet non licuisse sibi.
Denique pacato sociatur gloria c<a>elo
et meriti palmam lux comitatur amans.
Mira igitur res est, uani per deua m<u>ndi
- 10 qu<a>esitas c<a>eli promeruisse uias.
Fas<c>ibus emeritis et summo functus honore
<a>eterni secum pr<a>emia iuris habet.
Milite legiferum moderatus corde tribunal
pr<a>ebuit ingenio for<t>ia tela duci.
- 15 Lubrica sed curis hominum iam s<a>ecla relinquens
suscepit sacri sarta ministerii.
[et sequuntur alii uersus qui legi non possunt propter
fracturam marmoris; et in margine tumuli est scriptum:]
Obiit VII kal(endas) maias, Abieno consule.

Since your remains lie here, Rusticus, our priest, your fame beholds the workmanship of a foreign tomb; his past life (enables him) to scorn these dark recesses, nor does he fear the dark caverns in the ground surrounding him. The stars now warm his soul, the body has met its natural end, this is also something death would not have wished to have been allowed. Consequently, a glory is united with the peace of heaven, and a loving light accompanies the reward. Then it is a wonderful thing, that a man honoured by the empty world, should have

deserved to gain the paths of Heaven which he sought. Now that his ecclesiastical functions have been completed with the highest honour, he has with him the rewards of the eternal judgement. With soldierly heart he directed the court of law, complementing his tender character with stout weapons, but leaving behind those hazardous secular affairs to the care of others, he assumed the chaplet of sacred office. [then two lines are missing]. He died seven days before the kalends of May, in the year of the consulate of Avienus.

Date: 25 April 501

The text and emendations followed here is that of *CIL*, the punctuation that of *ILCV*. Rusticius held secular offices prior to taking holy orders and is known to have taken part in a mission to Gundobad in 494 to seek the release of some hostages released (*ICG*:21). The two penultimate lines recorded as illegible may have held an age and date formula. The consul is probably the Avienus of 501 but that of 502 is possible. In common with *CLRE*, it is here taken to be the Avienus of 501, there being no strong reason to doubt it because the consul of 502 regularly has the suffix *iunior*.

Reconstructions: age formulae is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.393 Lyon

ICG. 23; *CIL*.XIII. 2397.

Provenance: Saint-Nizier. *Location*: lost. *Manuscript*. *Dimensions*: unavailable. *Text source*: *CIL*.

- 1 Orbis celsa graui uexantur culmina lapsu
urbis +cumina est+ flumina clara ruunt;
atque +ouium dampna positarum+ morte patescunt,
cum sibi sublata mestica dicta tenunt;
- 5 <ieiuna> et iam plebis lamenta resultant
consoliti pastus dogmata sancta docent.
quo probat amissum populorum pectore planctu<m>
heu, decus, heu nimium, Aureliane, tuum.
pontifici claro fulcisci dogmate, cultu,
- 10 cumque Arelas digno munere l<a>eta fuit.
sed anima<s> sancta<s> +erectum+ consor<t>ia c<a>eli
quas hinc corporibus laxat abire Deus.
ergo omnes recte capiunt solamina dempti
quem mor[...] meritis astra subisse poli.
- 15 non retinet m<u>ndus artantis iur<a> sepulcri
quem recipit summi dextera ampla Dei.
nec quoque uenturis morietur nomine seclis
uiuere quem semper inclita dogma docent.
precipit eu cursum numerum quinquenni<a> quinque
- 20 et tribus abiectis metas uoluentibus annis
deseruit fragilem terreni corporis usum
hic senibus linquens primeuo tempore formam
Illic suscipiens <a>eterno iudice uitam
pollicitam plectens reddendis pr<a>emia Christi
- 25 quisquis sollicitus lu<s>tras monumenta dolorum
hic parilem sortem ingemis ipse tuam
[et secuntur plures versus qui propter fracturam marmoris
legi non possunt; et in margine tumuli est scriptum:]
obiit XVI kal(endas) iulia<s>, undecies post c(onsulatum) Iustini, indic(tione) XIII.

The high summits of the world are troubled by a grievous loss, when the clear rivers of the city flow with sadness; and the losses of the sheep are disclosed by the death of the shepherds, when they endure the loss of his spiritual guidance. Even the laments of the hungry plebs resound since their spiritual diet had been full of theological riches. The lamentation from the heart of the people attests alas the loss of your glory, alas the loss of your divine power, Aurelianus. As bishop you excelled in the distinction of your orthodoxy and of your liturgical role; Arles was overjoyed with his worthy service. This lamentation testified to his loss felt in the heart

of the people, alas, alas for your splendour, Aurelianus, gone so soon ! Through the illustrious office of bishop you stood out in your orthodoxy, your religion: thus was Arles overjoyed at such a worthy gift. However, the heavenly cohorts seek out such saintly souls, whom God frees from their earthly bodies that they may be taken to Heaven. Therefore all rightly take solace at his passing, whom they know for his merits to have departed to the stars of heaven. This world cannot retain such a man by the demands of this constraining sepulchre, whom the mighty hand of the most high God receives. Nor will his name die in future time, for God's glorious word instructs us that he will live forever. He lived, alas again, for 53 years, counting the years as they revolved around their course. He dispensed with the earthly use of his fragile body, leaving here behind his earthly body and thence embarking upon the eternal life, accepting Christ's reward promised to the redeemed. Whoever you are, troubled, looking over these monuments of sadness, you wail over your own fate ... he died 17 days before the kalends of July, 11 years after the consulate of Iustinus, in the 14th year of the indiction.

Date: 16 June 551

The text followed here is that of *CIL*. The text offered by Le Blant has no independent value at all. Nevertheless, several problems of meaning remain impossible to resolve. Saint Aurelianus was bishop of Arles and his epitaph was originally placed next to the altar of Saint Sacerdos. Le Blant cites 15 June as his date of death, incorrectly. The p.c. date and the indiction concur because the 14th indiction began in September the previous year, 550. Line 23 is almost incomprehensible and the general meaning alone is offered here. The line literally translates as "leaving to the old the form inherited from the first time", i.e. the form inherited from Adam (D.Cloud, pers.comm.). The exact meaning of lines 24 and 25 are difficult to interpret because line 26 is missing; thus the translation should be taken as an approximation only. Of the series of epitaphs from Saint-Nizier, this example provides the most difficulties with the manuscript tradition, and as such the Latin text should be treated with care.

Reconstructions: age formulae is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.394 Lyon

ICG. 24; NR. 6; CIL.XIII. 2398; ILCV. 1072.

Provenance: Saint-Nizier. *Location:* lost? *Dimensions:* unavailable. *Text source:* *CIL/NR/ILCV.*

- 1 Nomine mente fide meritis pietate Sacerdos
officio cultu precio corde gradu
dogmate consilio sensu probitate uigore
stem<m>ate censura religione cluens,
- 5 gaudia cunctorum rapiens, lamenta relinquens
arcobus hic clausus laudibus ampla tenens,
patriciumque decus erexit culmine morum:
sic partos fasces fortia corda leuant.
magnum namque bonum caelesti munire perstat:
- 10 corpora cum desint, inclita gesta manent.
pignoris annixus latiri: huc sorte suprema,
sanguine quos uita, sumire iuncxit amor.
cuius quanta uiri mundo sapientia fulsit,
uenturi saeculi gloria testis erit.
- 15 qui uixit in amore et temore D(e)i annis LXV, obiit III idus septembris
<XII> post consol<a>tum Iustini uiri clarissimi consolis indic(tione) prima.

Sacerdos in name, mind, faith, merits, piety, esteemed for his office, liturgy, reputation, heart, rank, theological knowledge, counsel, intelligence, probity, vigour, lineage, judgement and religion. Taking away the happiness of his flock, leaving much grief behind, this tomb now holds both him and his great praises. He enhanced the glory of his class with his moral integrity: thus stoutness of heart enhanced the office he had obtained. Now he continues truly as a great example in his heavenly role; for when the body has ceased to be, the great deeds remain. His remains lie beneath here as a guarantee; that supreme love joins itself to those who are called to high office by virtue of their high birth. His fame in the coming age will testify to the magnitude of the man's wisdom blazing out in the world. He lived in the love and fear of God for 65 years, he died three days before the ides of September, after the consulate of Iustinus, uir clarissimus consul, in the first year of the indiction.

Date: 11 September 552

The text is that of *CIL*, as are the emendations; the punctuation is that of *ILCV*. It appears that the lapidary has omitted the p.c. years, i.e. duodecies. The fragment found in the nineteenth century, but apparently lost once more, reads patricium, not paternum, on line seven thereby restoring the metrical quantity. There is evidently a problem with the date formula. The p.c. of Iustinus fell in 541, but that is the fifth year of the indiction. This is unlikely to be the emperor and must be the consul of 540. The fifth year of the indiction does not coincide with the p.c. of Iustinus nor of the emperor of that name who took the consulate in 566, which is the third indiction. As Le Blant points out (*ICG*.I: 56), bishop Nicetius died in 573 (see No.395), in the twenty second year of his episcopate, according to Gregory of Tours (*VP*.IV,v). There are difficulties remaining because Nicetius actually died in the 21st year of his episcopate (James 1985: 147, note 10). However, 552 is the only year that makes any sense and is followed here on the assumption that the lapidary made an omission.

No.395 Lyon

ICG. 25; *CIL*.XIII. 2400; *ILCV*. 1073.

Provenance: Saint-Nizier. *Location*: lost. *Manuscript*. *Dimensions*: unavailable.

Text source: *CIL/ILCV*.

- 1 Ecce sacerdotis tenuit qui iura sacerdos,
quo recubat tumulo nomine Nicetius.
Urbs Lugdune, tuum rexit per tempora clerum
Ecclesiamque Dei cordis amore colens
5 quique Sacerdotis f<a>ctus bis proximus her<e>s
sanguine coniunctu<s>, culmine, sede simul,
uir bonus indultus cunctis famulisque benignus
<quem duro laesit> uerbere quisque suo.
Mansuetus, patiens, mitis, uenerabilis, aptus,
10 pauperibus promptus, simplicibusque pius.
Psallere pr<a>ecipue normamque tenere canendi
primus et alterutrum tendere uoce chorum.
Noxia te<m>nendi uitans discrimina mundi
inque De<o> solum uiuere <iuuit> opus.
15 Sic uigil <ac> sobrius, sic castus carnis ubique,
quo ni<h>il in clero dulcius esse potest.
Causarum spreuit strepitus uanosque furores
et simplex mundo, sed sapiens Domino
iura potestatum uerbi terrore coercens,
20 iurgia despiciens suspiciensque Deum,
sic erecto simul mi<t>is pietate serenus
transiit innocuus, regna superna tenet.
huc iam prima patet calcatis +pores dimittis+
iam paradisias <c>as possidet aptus opes.
25 Obiit IIII non(as) aprilis «LXV» XXXIII post (consulatum) Iustinum et indict(ione) sexta.

Behold a priest who upheld the rights of the priesthood, Nicetius by name; he rests in this tomb. City of Lyon, he ruled for many years over your clergy and the church of God, caring for it with love in his heart, a holy man who was twice next in succession to Sacerdos: linked by blood, in dignity and at the same time in see. A good man, indulgent to the people, kindly to servants whom everyone else injured with the harsh lash; mild, patient, gracious, revered, worthy, prompt to help the poor and kindly to those of simple faith. He was the first to enjoin (upon the church of Lyon) the maintenance of standards in singing and repositionedd the choral chant. Shunning evil, shunning the harmful hazards of the vile world, he well understood how to live for God's work. Thus moderate in his vigils, thus always chaste in body. no better quality can be found in a cleric. He spurned the uproar of the courts and foolish altercations, simple in the ways of the world, but wise in those of God, influencing those in high office with the power of his speech, looking down on disputes and looking up to the word of God; thus was he upright in in his piety, serene in his kindness. He passed away innocent, and now he holds a place in the kingdom above. There too he was open with stoutness of heart to his downtrodden friends now that he

fittingly possesses the riches of Paradise. He died four days before the nones of April, 33 years after (the consulate of) Iustinus, and during the sixth year of the indiction.

Date: 2 April 573

The text is that of *CIL*, as are the emendations. The punctuation is that of *ILCV*. Saint Nicetius was nephew of Saint Sacerdos, having been recommended to Childebert as worthy of the see. The nexus which precedes the p.c. date is discussed at length by Le Blant (*ICG*: 25). However, there is no real problem with the date because the p.c. date and the indiction concur. The 33rd p.c. of Iustinus was in 573 and together with the date of the month, 6 April, coincides with the sixth indiction which began in September the previous year, 572.

No.396 Lyon

ICG. 19; *CIL*.XIII. 2401; *ILCV*. 1074.

Provenance: Saint-Nizier. *Location*: lost. Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: *ICG*.

Annem[undus] nobilis qui claro[...]

Annemundus, a nobleman, who ...

Date: 659-660 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.397 Lyon

ICG. 22; *CIL*.XIII. 2396; *ILCV*. 1071.

Provenance: Saint-Nizier. *Location*: lost. Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: *CIL/ILCV*.

- 1 Vir potens meritis nosterque sacerdos
in hoc iacet Viuenciolus tumulo.
Vox organi, praeco uerbi, decus fratrum,
ecclesi<a>e et populis speculum fuit
5 nullum linquens quem non offi-
cii gradum promouit diuinum tulitque de mundo

[et qu<a>edam linea qu<a>e legi non potest]

- Lugduni, inter sanctorum festa sit tibi
et iste festus celeberrimusque dies.
Probata duorum fratrum requiescunt corpora,
10 antestes summi pares meritis coheredesque Christi.
Pastor bone, omnium diadema episcoporum,
annue precibus nostris inuocatusque memento.

[et in fine tumuli est inscriptum]

15 IIII idus iulii

Viventiolus lies in this tomb, a man powerful by his merits and our priest. A good chorister and leader of the choir, a herald of the True Word, the glory of his brothers, he was a guiding light of the church and people, he passed through every rank of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and received from the world ... [then several lines are missing] ... at Lyon, among the festivals of the saints may yours be the most celebrated festal day. The estimable remains of two brothers rest here, illustrious archbishops, equal in their merits and and fellow-heirs of Christ. Good shepherd, the crown of all bishops, grant us our prayers, and remember us when we call upon you. Four days before the ides of July.

Date: 12 July 525-535 (date range of years is estimated).

The text is that of *CIL*, as are the emendations. The punctuation is that of *ILCV*. An acrostic running down the left side of the text reads *Viuentiulus Papa*.

No.398 Lyon

ICG. 26; *CIL.XIII*. 2399.

Provenance: Saint-Nizier. *Location*: lost. Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: *CIL/ILCV*.

- 1 Qui nescit cuius hoc sit tam sublime sepulchrum
[et sequitur alius uersus qui legi non potest: et post sequitur sic:]
Hoc tumultata loco Prisci pia membra recumbunt
qui ret<i>n<e>t merit<o> sidera ce<l>sa suo.
- 5 Progenie clarus, felix, generosus, opimus,
mentis et arbitrio iusti<t>iaque potens.
Indul<s>it prudens mixto m<o>deramine causis
<iu>rgi<a> componens more sereniferi.
Concomis et dignus regisque domesticus et sic
- 10 promeruit summo mente placere Deo.
[et secuntur plures uersus alii qui legi bene non poterant]
<i>dibus ad c<a>elum terris migravit ab <i>mis
iunii mensis cultus honore pio.

Whoever does not know whose is this exalted sepulchre ... [then several lines are missing] ... the pious remains of Priscus rest buried in this place, whom the lofty heavens now retain because of his merit. Of illustrious descent, favoured, eminent, most honourable and powerful in his decisions and in dispensing justice. He was indulgent, mixing prudence with moderation in disputes, settling altercations in a fair manner. He was an affable and worthy domesticus of the king, and thus, with the highest esteem, obtained the favour of God. [then several lines are missing]. On the ides of June he crossed from these lowly regions to the heavens above, and his festival is celebrated in that same month.

Date: 13 June 586-588 (date range of years is estimated).

The text here is that of *CIL*, as are the emendations made to the manuscript. The punctuation is that of *ILCV*. This is the epitaph of bishop Priscus. The details here are laudatory rather than historical, as Le Blant points out, as there appear to be details here in contrast to what Gregory of Tours says of him. He seems to have enjoyed the friendship of king Guntram. The fragmentary nature is the probable reason for the lack of the date formula. He is known to have assisted at the Council of Mâcon in 585 and his successor, Aetherius, appears for the first time in 589 (FEAG.II: 168). Therefore he died sometime between late 585 and 589.

Reconstructions: age formulae is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.399 Lyon

ICG. 669; *CIL.XIII*. 2392; *ILCV*. 3542a.

Provenance: Saint-Nizier district in 1856, rue de Bouquetière (*CIL*). *Location*: Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 33 x 50 cm. Letters: 2-2.5 cm.

Text source: *ICG*.

[.....]
[..... inno]cens ualde et omni- (*dove*)
[bus nomi?]ne Diones condedi-
[t membra? se]pulchro, qui uixit i- (*vase*)
[n pace anno]s sex minus dies X.
[Obiit di]e VIII k(alendas) septem- (*ivy*)
[bres ...]o u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule). (*ivy*) (*dove*)
(interleaving floral border, grapevine?)

Buried in this sepulchre is an innocent child, loved(?) by all, named Diones, who lived in peace for six months, ten days. He died eight days before the kalends of September, in the year of the consulate of [...]us, clarissimus.

Date: 25 August 490-540 (date range of years is estimated).

The date formula reads "six years less five days", if the restoration is accepted. The name of the deceased is restored with reservations.

Reconstructions: *initium* is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase..

No.400 Lyon

ICG. 31; *CIL.XIII.* 2372; *ILCV.* 46.

Provenance: Saint-Michel, Ainay. *Location:* lost (*ICG/ILCV*). *Manuscript.*

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* *CIL/ILCV.*

- 1 Sceptrorum columen, terrae decus et iubar orbis,
 hoc artus tumulo uult Caratene tegi.
Qua<m> famulam tu, Christe, tuam rerumque potentem
 de mundi regnis ad tua regna uocas,
5 thesaurum ditem felici fine secutam,
 fotis pauperibus quem dedit illa Deo.
Iamdudum castum castigans aspera corpus
 delituit uestis murice sub rutilo,
 occultuit laeto ieiunia sobria uultu
10 secreteque dedit regia membra cruci.
Princip<i>s excelsi curas partita mariti
 adiuncto rexit culmina consilio,
 preclaram subolem dulcesque gauisa nepotes
 ad ueram doctos sollicitare fidem.
15 Dotibus his pollens sublimi mente subire
 non spreuit sacrum post diadema iugum.
Cedat odoriferis quondam dominata Sabaeis,
 expetiit mirum quae Salomonis opus.
Condidit haec templum presens quod personat orbe,
20 angelicisque dedit limina celsa choris.
Laxatura reos regi quae sepae ferebat,
 has offerre preces nunc tibi, Christe, potest.
Quam cum post decimum rapuit mors inuida lustrum,
 accepit melior tum sine fine dies,
25 Iamque bis octona septembrem luce mouebat
 nomen Messalae consulis annus agens.

The pinnacle of authority, glory of this land and radiance of the world, Caratene wishes her remains to be covered by this tomb. And now, Christ, you call your servant and potentate of worldly affairs from the earthly kingdom to your domain, she who sought the riches of Heaven as a deserved end to her life, who cared for the poor and gave herself to God? Long since chastising her chaste body with rough clothes which she hid beneath the imperial purple, hiding the abstemious nature of her youth beneath a joyous exterior, secretly she gave up her royal limbs to the Cross. Nobly she took part in the duties of her eminent husband, where she ruled the kingdom with wisdom and delighted in ensuring that her glorious offspring and beloved grandchildren were all instructed in the true faith. Her royal role fulfilled and strengthened by these gifts, with a lofty soul she did not hesitate to place herself beneath the sacred yoke. Let the queen of fragrant Sheba of old give way to Caratene, who aspired to the wonder that was the work of Solomon, for she built this temple personally which resounds throughout the world, and gave a lofty threshold to the choirs of angels. The prayers that she formerly addressed to the king, pleading mercy for sinners, she is now able to offer to you, Christ. And now she accepts a better time, a day without end; after a tenth lustrum envious

death has snatched her away as the 16th day of September dawns, in the year of the consulate of Messala.

Date: 16 September 506

The text and emendations are those of *CIL* and the punctuation is that of *ILCV*. Le Blant thought that this epitaph was composed by Venantius Fortunatus, and cites several phrases which he regards as a hallmark of his work, with particular reference to line 24 (*ICG*: 31, pp.70-71). If correct, then this epitaph was probably composed some seventy years after her death. However, there is some dispute that this really is the epitaph of that Caratena who was the wife of king Gundobad. Le Blant cites de Boissieu's proposition that Caratena was the wife of Gundobad's brother, Chilperic, who was killed by Gundobad. This cannot be correct because Gundobad drowned the wife of Chilperic and exiled his two daughters according to Gregory of Tours, who does not give her name (*HF.II*: 28). It is uncertain whether or not the *templum* mentioned in line 19 was the *basilica sancti Michaelis archangeli*, and dedicated to saint Michael *ab initio*. A homily pronounced by bishop Avitus of Vienne at the dedication of a church to saint Michael does not mention either the city of Lyon or the queen as founder (*TC.IV*:31).

No.401 Lyon

ICG. 663; *CIL.XIII*. 2377; *ILCV*. 1674.

Provenance: isolated find in the cellar of a house in the rue de la Cage, quartier des Terreaux, in 1857 (*ICG/CIL*). *Location*: lost (*ILCV*). Marble plaque. Dimensions: 29 x 38 cm.

Text source: *ICG*.

In hoc tumulo requiescet bo-
nae memoria Carusa religio-
sa, qui egit penetentiam
annus uigenti et duos et uixe(t)
in pace annus sexagenta <q>ui-
n<q>ue. Obiet diae XIII kalen(das) oc-
tubr(e)s, Rustiano et Vitaliano u(iribus) cl(arissimis) c(onsulibus).

In this tomb rests Carusa, of fond memory, a nun who observed a rule of penitence for 22 years and lived in peace for 65 years. She died 13 days before the kalends of October, in the year of the consulates of Rusticius and Vitalianus, clarissimi.

Date: 19 September 520

No.402 Lyon

ICG. 668; *CIL.XIII*. 2379; *ILCV*. 1220 adn.

Provenance: Saint-Martin d'Ainay in 1857 (*ICG*). Discovered re-used in the clock tower in 1857 and moved into the presbytery garden (*CIL*). *Location*: Saint-Martin d'Ainay, built into the church tower? Not seen by P.Reynolds in 1987. Large stone plaque. Dimensions: 55 x 40 cm.

Text source: *ICG*.

In hoc tumulo r[equiescit bo]-
ne memoriae S[..... di]-
acunus, qu[i] uixit in pa]-
ce annus LX. [Obiit quar?]-
to k(a)l(endas) a(u)gusta[s, ... p(ost) c(onsulatam)]
Iustiniani uir(i) c(larissimi) co(n)s(olis).

In this tomb rests S[...], of fond memory, a deacon, who lived in peace for 60 years. [He died] four(?) days before the kalends of August, [... years after?] the consulate of Iustinus, clarissimus.

Date: July 541-500 (date range of years is estimated).

The day is either *quarto* or *octo* prior to the *kalends* of August.

No.403 Lyon

ICG. 86.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre, probably. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 14 x 25 cm. Text source: ICG.

Only symbols are extant on this tablet.

No.404 Lyon

CIL.XIII. 2436; ILCV. 2024a.

Provenance: L'Île-Barbe in 1894/5. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Marble cippe. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ILCV.

[.....]
 [..... d]uxit culmine [.....]
 [.....] sacerdotii o[nus?]
 [.....]i auri ponde[ra?]
 [.....co]npleuit m[artyrium?]
 [.....]

Date: 450-500? (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.405 Lyon

NR. 18; CIL.XIII. 2403; ILCV. 4442.

Provenance: L'Île-Barbe (NR), *in insula Barbe in fundo Sarsay, ubi olim ecclesia S.Lupi erat* (CIL). *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds unable to locate in 1987. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

(Chi/Rho)

[Hic requiesc]it in pace [.....]
 [qui ui]xiit anno[s]
 [.....Vi?]ennensis [.....]
 [.....]

Here rests in peace [...], who lived for [...] years, [born in?] Vienne, ...

Date: 430-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos ... menses ... dies*.

No.406 Lyon

ICG. 78; CIL.XIII. 2371; ILCV. 1615 adn.

Provenance: Champvert, near Lyon. The exact circumstances are unknown but it was donated to the museum in 1843 (CIL). *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon. Small fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 19 x 21 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]
 [...?]edere necem
 [.....]toris cura redempti
 [.....]a flenda manu.
 [.....] Cytheo u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ulis).

Too fragmentary to translate but it is dated certainly to the year of the consulate of Cethegus, in 504.

Date: 504

The third line is difficult to restore and the text offered here is that of Diehl. The age may not have been inscribed originally but the date of death may have. This may be a p.c. date, and therefore the date could be 505 instead of 504.

Reconstructions: initium, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.407 Mâcon. Saône-et-Loire.

ILTG. 312; Armand-Calliat, L., 1959.

Provenance: the plateau de la Baille in 1959. *Location:* Musée de Mâcon. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 42 x 34 cm. *Letters:* 2.5-3 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

In hoc tumolo re-
quiescit bonae
memoriae Mellita
[q]uae uixit annis
LIIII. Obiit in pace
XV kale[ndas] ianuar(ias),
indic[tio]ne III.

In this tomb rests Mellita, of fond memory, who lived for 54 years. She died in peace 15 days before the kalends of January, in the third year of the indiction.

Date: 18 December 554, 569, 584, 599, 614 (date range of years is estimated).

No.408 Mane. Canton de Forcalquier, Alpes de Haute Provence.

ICMAMNS. 61.

Provenance: in the choir of the chapel of Notre-Dame de Salagon during a sondage in 1957.

Location: Musée de Notre-Dame de Salagon, Mane. Block of limestone, re-used.

Dimensions: 31 x 29 x 10 cm. *Letters:* 4-4.5 cm. *Text source:* *ICMAMNS.*

k(a)l(endis) m(a)rtiis ob[i]-
it a sec[u]-
lo Vda[?]-
garda.

... the kalends of March, Udagarda died and departed this life.

Date: 1 March 500-600 (date range of years is estimated).

No.409 Mane

ICMAMNS. p.400.

Provenance: in the choir of the chapel of Notre-Dame de Salagon in 1957 during a sondage.

Location: Musée de Notre-Dame de Salagon, Mane. Fragment of white marble, re-used.

Dimensions: 29 x 39 x 20 cm. *Letters:* 3-2.5 cm. *Text source:* *ICMAMNS.*

[...]NHISTOMV[...]
[...]ARROLA . NTP[...]
[...]CCORDET[...]
[...]T//[...]

No.410 Marseille. Bouches-du-Rhône.

ICG. 548; CIL.XII. 487; ILCV. 446A adn; ICMAMNS. 1.

Provenance: Vieux-Port area at an unspecified date before the middle of the seventeenth century. *Location:* lost (ICG/ILCV/ICMAMNS). Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: ICG/ICMAMNS.

Hic requiescit in pa[ce]
Nymfidius ex pra[epositu? ...],
qui uixit annos I[.....]
recesset VIII kalen[das]
Probino et Euseb[io u(tribus) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus)].

Here rests in peace Nymfidius, formerly a pra[epositus?], who lived for [...] years. He passed away eight days before the kalends of [...], in the year of the consulate of Probinus and Eusebius.

Date: 489

The second line could record either a *praepositus* or *praefectus*. The month is no longer extant but the year is legible, 489. Guyon is not convinced that this is from Marseille but includes it. The date is the eighth day before the *kalends* of an illegible month.

No.411 Marseille

NR. 212; CIL.XII. 479; ILCV. 3145; ICMAMNS. 2.

Provenance: Carenage district, discovered in 1874-5 during work on a railway tunnel in the rue Neuve Sainte-Catherine. *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Small marble plaque.

Dimensions: 23 x 19 cm. Letters: 1.5-2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic requir-
cit Cypria-
na in pace
qui uixit
pl(us) min(us) ann(o)s
XXXIII.

Here rests in peace Cypriana, who lived for about 33 years.

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

No.412 Marseille

NR. 213; CIL.XII. 485; ICMAMNS. 3.

Provenance: Carenage district, discovered in 1874-5 during work on a railway tunnel. *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Small marble column, re-used. Dimensions: height 31 cm. diameter 13.5 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

Elia[n(us/a?)
(monogram)
Martini lustina
(tree)

Any interpretation of these three proper names for the purpose of translation has to remain speculative. Martini appears to be a possessive genitive and thus the reading could be either "Elia[n]a lustina, the wife of Martinus", or "lustina, the wife of Elia[n]us Martinus."

Date: 400-500 (estimated).

No.413 Marseille

ICG. 544; CIL.XII. 480; ILCV. 1467a; ICMAMNS. 4.

Provenance: Carenage, rue Neuve Sainte Catherine, during the building of a house above the chapel of Sainte-Catherine. *Location:* lost (ILCV/ICMAMNS). Marble plaque.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* ICG/ICMAMNS.

Hic requiescit bone
 memorie Eugenia, ancilla dei,
 cui uexit annus <ZZ>XXVI, recessit
 VI nonas marsias,
 «C Q 3»

Here rests in peace Eugenia, of fond memory, a servant of God, who lived for [...] six years. She passed away six days before the nones of March, ...?

Date: 2 March 450-500 (date range of years is estimated).

This is poorly recorded. The last line is so corrupt that it is merely repeated here. The age is either 46 or 26 and the ZZ must be XX, and may represent either some symbols or a consular date, according to Guyon.

No.414 Marseille

ICG. 546; CIL.XII. 483; ILCV. 2408; ICMAMNS. 5; Marrou, H.-I., 1971, 278-283.

Provenance: bassin du Carenage, during the excavations in 1833 (ICG/ICMAMNS).

Location: Musée Borély, Marseille. Right side of a large marble plaque.

Dimensions: 36.5 x 22 x 2-3 cm. *Letters:* 2-3.5 cm. *Text source:* ICMAMNS.

[Chi/Rho ?]	(Chi/Rho)
[Hic in pace ?.]	pausat b[onae?]
[memoriae ?....]	(orans) Fedula
[quando ?.....]	cumque inu[o- ?]
[cauero te ex-?]	audi me ecce n[o-?]
[ui quoniam]	D(eu)s meus es tu
[in manus tuas ?]	conmendo
	sp(i)r(i)t(u)m meum.

Any attempt to translate this fragmentary epitaph must remain hypothetical. That offered by Guyon is closely followed here: Here rests [in peace?] Fedula, [of fond memory?]. Hear me whenever I call upon you(?) that I may know you since it is into your hand, my Lord, that I commend my soul.

Date: 400-450 (estimated).

No.415 Marseille

ICG. 551a; CIL.XII. 486; ILCV. 1926; ICMAMNS. 6.

Provenance: bassin du Carenage, originally discovered intact during the excavations in 1833

(ICG/ICMAMNS). *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Only two small fragments are now extant.

Two fragments of a small marble plaque. *Dimensions:* 12 x 6 and 25 x 12 cm. *Depth* 1.5 cm.

Letters: 1-1.5 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds/ILCV.

Bon-	V	-o requ-
e Aui-	O	-a in die
futu-	T	-ru ma-
ritu m-	V	-eu Mena-
te. Bene		uixs-
AS CVI	(cross)	NOMEN
	M	-cit
(alpha)	F	(omega)
(cross) et m-	E	(cross) Hic ia-
erce-	C	tet Gem-
de supe-	I	ula cu n-
r me no-	T	omen
cabn	M	D(eu)s is-
aput s(ancto)	E	et
D(e)o	N	

- a) uotum fecit Menas cui nomen
b) bono reque Auia in die futuro maritu meu Menate. Bene uixscit
c) et mercede super me nocabn aput s(ancto) D(e)o.
d) hic iatet Gemula cu nomen D(eu)s iset.

Any translation has to remain somewhat conjectural and even then only attempted in terms of the general meaning: He whose name is Menas has completed his vow, may my husband Menas enjoy a peaceful rest until the day of the resurrection, for he has lived well, and may he pray on my behalf for reward in the presence of our Holy Lord. Here lies Gemula, whose name is known to God.

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

No.416 Marseille

ICG. 549; CIL.XII. 488; ILCV. 2831 adn; ICMAMNS. 7.

Provenance: bassin du Carenage, during the excavations in 1833 (ICG/ICMAMNS).

Location: Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble plaque broken into four parts.

Dimensions: 75 x 38 cm. Letters: 4.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Hic requiescet
in pace Spanilla,
qui uixit annos
quingenta et
septe. Recessit di-
e (ivy) septimu idus
(cross) maias (cross).

Here rests in peace Spanilia who lived for 57 years. She passed away seven days before the ides of May.

Date: 9 May 450-500 (date range of years is estimated).

Septimu on line six has not been restored because a final s would not agree and *septimo* is obviously not what was intended.

No.417 Marseille

ICG. 548a; *CIL.XII*. 489; *ILCV*. 2020; *ICMAMNS*. p.69; *A.E.*, 1969-70:338;.

Provenance: Saint-Victor, discovered in May 1799 in the crypt. *Location*: Saint-Victor, in the crypt. Large marble plaque. Dimensions: 47 x 43 to 66 cm. Letters: 4 cm. average.

Text source: P.Reynolds/*ICG*.

[A.?]trio Volusiano
[. ?E]uthychetis filio
[...]o Fortunato, qui uim
[...]s passi sunt.
[...]gia pientissimis [f?...]
[...]refrigeret nos q[...]
[...]test. (anchor).

To [A..?]trius Volusianus, son of [...? E?]uthychetis and [...]us Fortunatus, who died a violent death, [...]gia most beloved(?) [...], may our [bodies?] grow cold(?) ...

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.418 Marseille

NR. 216; *ILGN*. 56; *ICMAMNS*. 8.

Provenance: Saint-Victor, from the chapel of Saint-André in September 1626. *Location*: lost. A facsimile of a seventeenth century sketch is displayed upon the wall of the crypt of Saint-Victor. Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR/ICMAMNS*.

Hic iacet bo-
ne m(e)m(oriae) p(a)p(a) La-
zar(us), que uixit
in timore D(e)i
p(lus) m(inus) an(nos) LXX et
requeuit in
pace pr(idie?) [...]S[...]
[...]CV[.....]

Here lies bishop(?) Lazarus, of fond memory, who lived in fear of God for about 70 years and passed away in peace on the day before the ...

Date: 452 (estimated).

No.419 Marseille

NR. 210; *CIL.XII*. 5768; *ILCV*. 3145a; *ILGN*. 55; *ICMAMNS*. 9.

Provenance: Saint-Victor, where it was first recorded during the revolution. *Location*: lost (*ICG/ILCV/ICMAMNS*). Small marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR*.

Hic requi-
escet Basi-
lianus in
pace, qui ui-
xit anni[s]
XVII.
(dove) (cross) (dove).

Here rests in peace Basilianus who lived for 17 years.

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is governed by *recedo -ere*.

No.420 Marseille

ICG. 543; CIL.XII. 481; ILCV. 179; ICMAMNS. 10.

Provenance: Saint-Victor, the circumstances are unknown. *Location:* Saint-Victor, in the crypt. Marble sarcophagus cover. Dimensions: 228 x 36 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: ILCV/ICG.

- 1 Nobilis Eugenia praeclari sanguinis ortu, (ivy)
quae meretis uiuit hic tomolata iacit. (ivy)
Exuit occumbens oneroso corpore uitam, (ivy)
quo melius superas possit adire domos, (ivy)
5 quae prudens anemis permansit pondere morum, (ivy)
[Pro]uida laudandum semper elegit opus. (ivy)
Pascere ieiunos gaudens festina cuc[urr]it (ivy)
[exauiens?/esuriens?] epulas, o paradise, tuas. (ivy)
Captiuos opibus uinclis la[xauit iniquis] (ivy)
10 [et pu]llos t[er]ris reddedit illa suis. (ivy)
Mens intenta bonis toto cui tempore [uitae], (ivy)
[actibus egreg]iis unica [sancta?/cura? fuit]. (ivy)
Quam subolis labiam bessenis inclita lustris (ivy)
14 condidit hic lacrimis Auia [maesta?/moesta?] piis. (ivy)

The noble Eugenia, of illustrious birth, whose life was meritorious, lies here in this tomb. Laying her burdensome body down, she lay aside her life so that she might more easily enter Heaven. A prudent woman, she lived in accordance with the influence of her morality: farsighted, she always chose a commendable path. She was so desirous of your feasts, O Heaven, that she would cheerfully hasten to feed the hungry. With her wealth she freed those taken captive from the injustice of their chains, and those exiled she returned to their lands. Her mind was intent on good throughout her life and her only concern was for noble actions. <<Having lived for 60 years, her sad offspring, Avia, buries her here with pious tears>>.

The last two lines of this inscription are translated only so as to give a general sense of the meaning. That offered by Guyon is followed here (ICMAMNS:10:125), and not those of earlier authors since it is unlikely that the person making the interment would give their age. Furthermore, it is usually a parent who confers status upon their children.

Date: 495-525 (estimated).

No.421 Marseille

ICG. 545; CIL.XII. 482; ILCV. 1670; ICMAMNS. 11.

Provenance: Saint-Victor, the circumstances are unknown. *Location:* Saint-Victor, in the crypt. Large limestone plaque broken into four fragments. Dimensions: 22 x 46 cm. Letters: 2-2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(monogram) Hic requiescet in pa-
ce Eusebia, religiosa, (ivy)
magna ancilla D(e)i qui
in seculo ab heneunte
etate sua uixit
seculares annus XIII
et, ubi a D(omin)o electa est,
in monasterio s(an)c(tu)s Curici
seruiuet annus quinquag-
enta. Recesset sub die
prid(ie) kal(endas) octobr(es) (ivy) ind(ictione) sest(a)
(peacock) (vase) (peacock)

Here rests in peace Eusebia, a great nun (abbess?) and servant of God, who lived a secular life for the first 14 years of her life and then, once chosen by God, she served in the monastery of saint Cyricus for a further 50 years. She passed away on the day before the kalends of October, in the sixth year of the indiction.

Date: 30 September 489, 512 (date range of years is estimated).

No.422 Marseille

ICMAMNS. 12.

Provenance: Saint-Victor, discovered amongst ancient rubble during excavations in 1964.

Location: Saint-Victor, but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in July 1990. Fragment of a marble plaque, incomplete on the right side. Dimensions: 15.5 x 13.5 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

Text source: *ICMAMNS.*

(ivy) Messetr[ius/a?]
peregīt [...]
iacet hī[c ...]
TALIANI[...]
[.....]

Messet[rus? ...] has completed [his life? ...] [...], He lies here ...

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.423 Marseille

ICMAMNS. 13.

Provenance: Saint-Victor, from the crypt of the abbey, in the chapel of Notre-Dame de Confession. *Location:* Saint-Victor, in the crypt, where only a fragment of the lower right corner is extant. Marble fragment. Dimensions: fragment: 29.5 x 17.5 x 6 cm. Letters: 3.8 cm.

Text source: *ICMAMNS.*

(cross) In hoc tumulo sita est Tilisiola
Abb(atissa) quae nominis sui decus
uita factisq(ue) seruabit
Cristigenaq(ue) Mariam mente
sectuata fideli uirgo uir-
ginibus sacris XL prefu-
it annis uixit ann(os) LXX
d(e)p(ositio) eius VII id(us) apr(i)l(i)s, indict(ione) VIII.

In this tomb is interred the abbess Tilisiola, who showed herself to be worthy of her name by her conduct and her good works. A daughter of Christ and a faithful follower of the virgin Mary, she led those nuns in her charge for 40 years. She lived for 70 years and her body was laid here seven days before the ides of April, in the eighth year of the indiction.

Date: 9 April 544, 559, 574, 589, 604 (date range of years is estimated).

No.424 Marseille

ICG. 550; *CIL.XII.* 490; *ILCV.* 1369; *ICMAMNS.* 14.

Provenance: Saint-Victor in 1590. *Location:* lost (*ICG/ILCV/ICMAMNS*). Marble.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* *ICMAMNS.*

D(is) M(anibus)
Hic iacet uirgo
fidelis Vlpia Dom-
[n?]ene, quae uixit
ann(os) XVI m(enses) XI d(ies) XX
[??] Inlucius et [VI-?]
pia Agripina fil-
[ia]e dulcissimae.

To the Shades below. Here lies Ulpia Dom[n?]ene, a faithful nun(?), who lived for 16 years, 11 months and 20 days. Inlucius and [Ul?]pia Agripina to their beloved daughter.

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

No.425 Marseille

ICG. 551; *CIL.XII.* 491; *ILCV.* 2831; *ICMAMNS.* 15.

Provenance: Saint-Victor in 1684. *Location:* lost (*ICG/ILCV/ICMAMNS*). Manuscript.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* *ICMAMNS*.

(cross) (cross) (cross)

Hic requiescit in pace

bonememoria Urbeca, filia bonememoriae

Squeliolles, qui uictet plus menos annos L. Recesset

sub die kalendas octobres, indictione sexta.

Here rests in peace Urbeca, of fond memory, daughter of the late Squeliola of fond memory, who lived for about 50 years. She passed away on the kalends of October, in the sixth year of the indiction.

Date: 1 October 542, 557, 572, 587 (date range of years is estimated).

The name of the father in line two is unlikely to be Squeliolles. Diehl suggests either Caeliolles or Coeliolles as alternatives though he cites Queliolles in his reconstructed text. The date formula suggests that this is a very late inscription though a filiation formula is usually associated with early inscriptions. *Victet* could be a corrupt transcription for *uicset* but is retained here.

No.426 Marseille

NR. 211; *CIL.XII.* 5769; *ILCV.* 3082a; *ICMAMNS.* 17.

Provenance: Lazaret cemetery in 1885, rue Fauchier, where many sarcophagi were also discovered (*ICMAMNS*). *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 32 x 21 x 2.5 cm. *Letters:* 3-6 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

Hic/Bene-

iacet/nata

uirgo

in pa-

ce.

Here lies a nun(?), Benenata, in peace.

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

No.427 Marseille

NR. 214; *CIL.XII.* 492; *ILCV.* 3984; *ICMAMNS.* 18.

Provenance: Lazaret cemetery in 1865. *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble cippus.

Dimensions: 25 x 9 x 4-7 cm. *Letters:* 2 cm. average. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

Exoperios. *(cross)*

Only the name of the deceased is inscribed: Exoperios.

Date: 400-450 (estimated).

No.428 Marseille

NR. 218; *CIL.XII.* 5770; *ICMAMNS.* 20.

Provenance: Lazaret cemetery in April 1885, in rue Fauchier at the same time as the epitaph of Benenata. *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble, re-used.

Dimensions: 7-11 x 8-12 x 2.5-3 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[?qui uixit]

[an]nis [...]

[in] pace.

... [who lived for ... years?] in peace ...

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace*.

No.429 Marseille

NR. 219; *CIL.XII.* 493b; *ICMAMNS.* 21.

Provenance: Lazaret cemetery? No information is supplied by NR and *ICMAMNS* is uncertain.

Location: Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble, re-used. Dimensions: 24-31 x 16-17 x 3 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: *ICMAMNS*.

[.....]

[...]one

[...]ncti (two horizontal candelabras ?)

(pair of facing doves each with a garland in their beaks)

No.430 Marseille

NR. 217; *CIL.XII.* 493a; *ICMAMNS.* 22.

Provenance: Lazaret cemetery? It is so classified tentatively by *ICMAMNS*. *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 24 x 35.5 x 2.5 cm.

Letters: 3.5-4 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]

[...]rio

[...]actam

[?obii]t (ivy) die (ivy) XVIII(ivy)

[?kal(endas) ..]um (ivy) XLIII.(ivy)

... died 18 days before the [...], [in the ... year of his/her life?].

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

This may not be christian, but appears to be of the correct chronological date. However, Diehl excludes it and Guyon retains it; the palaeography is typical of the Late Empire and is of the highest quality.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*.

No.431 Marseille

ILGN. 57; *ICMAMNS.* 23.

Provenance: La Plaine Saint-Michel cemetery, now Place Jean Jaurés, rue du Chêne in 1899, now rue Pierre Lalou. *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 55 x 34 x 5 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Hic requiescit in pace bone
memorie Martha, (ivy)
qui uixit annos plus

menus XL. Obiit pridie
nonas iunias, indicti-
one quinta. (ivy)

Here rests in peace Martha, of fond memory, who lived for about 40 years. She died on the day before the nones of June, in the fifth year of the indiction.

Date: 4 June 541, 556, 571, 586, 601 (date range of years is estimated).

No.432 Marseille

ICMAMNS. 24; Le Blant, Catalogue, No.21.

Provenance: unknown, it was donated to the museum by a M.Trabaud. *Location:* Musée Borély, Marseille. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 12 x 20 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Hic in p]ace requi-
[escit b]one m[emo-]
[rie]

Here rests in peace, [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit sub die + date*.

No.433 Marseille

ICMAMNS. 25; Le Blant, Catalogue, No.25.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost. This appears to have been recent (*ICMAMNS*). Marble fragment. Dimensions: 29 x 13 cm. *Text source:* *ICMAMNS*.

[.....]
[q]uae u[ixit]
[a]nnus [...]
[.....]

..., who lived for [...] years, ...

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos + age*, date formula is *obiit sub die + date*.

No.434 Mellecey. Saône-et-Loire.

Museum Cat, 94, No.36.

Provenance: Mellecey church in 1864. *Location:* Musée de Chalon-sur-Saône. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 40 x 51 x 9 cm. Letters: 2-4 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

Iohannis Battistae (cross) et s[anct?]
orum Acaunensium traslatio s[.....]
S(an)<c>(tu)s Paulus (cross) S(an)c(tu)s Pe[trus]
Andreae (Chi/Rho) (sculpted figures).
(a vine sprouting from a vase below the text
with birds pecking grapes encircles the whole)

A commemorative inscription recording the translation of relics from the monastery of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune to the monastery dedicated to Saint Marcellinus by king Guntram in 584 (Fredegar, 1).

Date: 584? (estimated).

No.435 Moirans. Canton de Rives, Isère.

CIL.XII. 2313; *RICG.XV.* 241.

Provenance: the church cemetery in 1863. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 12 x 33 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(cross) Hic requiescet in
pace bonae memoriae
[.....]s, qui uixit (*ivy*)
[.....]

Here rests in peace [...]s, of fond memory, who lived for ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.436 Moirans

ICG. 470; *CIL.XII.* 2314; *RICG.XV.* 242.

Provenance: probably from the churchyard. *Location:* Musée Dauphinois, Grenoble. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 21.5 x 21 x 6.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[...]*SNOCE*[...]SIMVL[...]
[...]*IS* generare dolorem
[...] uixit olimpiadas
[...]QVIII suspiria tanta
[.....] (*rose*)

Date: 575-625 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.437 Montfort. Canton de Cotignac, Var.

NR. 332; *ILGN.* 42; *ICMAMNS.* 64.

Provenance: in 1891 during the excavation of the chapelle de Saint-Donat le Haut. *Location:* lost. It was in the Musée de Digne at one time but appears to have disappeared-P.Reynolds. White marble fragment, re-used. Dimensions: 7.5 x 11 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 1.5 cm.

Text source: *ICMAMNS.*

[Hic in p]ace re-
[quies]cit bo[nae]
[mem]oriae
[...]*is* qu[i/ae? uixit]
[annos ? ...]

Here rests in peace [...]is, of fond memory, who lived for ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit sub die* + date.

No.438 Montfort-sur-Argens

NR. 330; ILGN. 39; ICMAMNS. 41.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* built into wall in the property of the old chapel of Notre-Dame de-Speluque. Marble tablet. Dimensions: 42 x 45 x 3 cm. Letters: 4 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

[Hi]c requiesc-
[it in p]ace s(an)c(ta)e
[memo]rie dom(inu)s
[....]us pr(es)b(iter),
[qui uixit] ann(os)
[.....] VIII
[.....]ie.

Here rests in peace [...]us, of fond memory, leader of his flock and priest, [who lived for ...] years, ... eight(?) ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit + date*.

No.439 Montjustin. Canton de Reillanne, Alpes de Haute Provence.

ICMAMNS. 57.

Provenance: built into the door jamb of the side door of the chapelle Saint-Maurin.

Location: chapelle Saint-Maurin. Small limestone fragment re-used as building material.

Dimensions: 11 x 33 cm. Letters: 3-4.5 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

[...]us obiit / [...]

..., *who died ...*

No.440 Moutiers. Savoie.

NR. 325; CIL.XII. 5720.

Provenance: discovered above the town of Moutiers. The circumstances are unknown.

Location: lost? Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

[.....]
[.... ..]asec
[tran]siet k(a)len[das]
[.....]s uicies pos[t]
[consul]ato Basili iu[nioris],
 indicxione X.

..., *passed away on the kalends of [...], 20 years after the consulate of Basilius Iunior, in the tenth year of the indiction.*

Date: 561

The day and the month are no longer extant, but if the p.c. and the indiction concurred then it must have been dated to between September, when the tenth indiction began, and December 561, the 20th p.c. of Basilius, cons.541.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumultu requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos + age*.

No.441 Nacon. Commune de Saint-Pierre-de-Chérennes, Canton-de-Pont-en-Royans, Isère.

ILGN. 336; *RICG.XV*. 228.

Provenance: Saint-Etienne. *Location:* built into the church facade of Saint-Pierre-de-Cherennes. Limestone plaque. Dimensions: 42 x 30 cm. Letters: 2.5-4.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[.....]
qui [uixit annos/us ?plus minus]
LXV: [obiit in pace]
VIII k[al(endas) ... p(ost) c(onsulatum)]
Basil[i u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].

..., who [lived for about?] 65 years. [He died in peace] eight days before the kalends of [..., ... years after the consulate] of Basilius, [clarissimus].

Date: 541-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.442 Nacon

ICG. 471; *CIL.XII*. 1553; *ILCV*. 1648; *RICG.XV*. 229.

Provenance: Saint-Etienne. *Location:* built into the church facade of Saint-Pierre-de-Cherennes. Limestone plaque. Dimensions: 64 x 59.5 cm. Letters: 4 cm. average. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

(cross) In hoc tumolum
requiescit in pacem
bone memoriae Vr-
bicius, abba, nobe-
lis natalebus, sed
beatus ex opere-
bus, castus, su-
brius, benignus,
[.....]

In this tomb rests in peace Vrbicius, of fond memory, an abbot, of noble birth but blessed by his good works, chaste, sober, kind, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.443 Narbonensis Secunda. Canton de Forcalquier, Alpes de Haute Provence.

ICMAMNS. 68a.

Provenance: unknown, *ICMAMNS* lists it under *Narbonensis Secunda*. *Location:* it belongs to M.F.Martel, hameau de Bonnechère, Saint-Michel l'observatoire. Fragment of a grey/blue marble plaque. Dimensions: 17 x 24.5 x 2-4 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: *ICMAMNS*.

[.....]
[...] qui uixit a-
nnus pl(us) m(inus) XVII
et obiet sub diae
III kalenda[s ...]

[Here rests in peace ...]a, [of fond memory?], who lived for about 17 years and died three days before the kalends of ...

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

This inscription is one of a series from *Narbonensis Secunda* where the find spot is unknown.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*.

No.444 *Narbonensis Secunda*

ICMAMNS. 68b.

Provenance: unknown, *ICMAMNS* lists it under *Narbonensis Secunda*. *Location:* it belongs to M.F.Martel, hameau de Bonnechère, Saint-Michel l'observatoire. Fragment of marble with blue and black veining. Dimensions: 8 x 11 x 3.7 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *ICMAMNS*.

Hic [...]

/ [...]

No.445 *Narbonensis Secunda*

ICMAMNS. 68c.

Provenance: unknown, *ICMAMNS* lists it under *Narbonensis Secunda*. *Location:* it belongs to M.F.Martel, hameau de Bonnechère, Saint-Michel l'observatoire. White marble fragment. Dimensions: 14 x 14 x 3 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: *ICMAMNS*.

[...]/AS/[...]

[...]mbri[...]

No.446 *Narbonensis Secunda*

ICMAMNS. 68d.

Provenance: unknown, *ICMAMNS* lists it under *Narbonensis Secunda*. *Location:* it belongs to M.F.Martel, hameau de Bonnechère, Saint-Michel l'observatoire. White marble fragment. Dimensions: 5.7 x 6.2 x 1.7 cm. Letters: 2.8 cm. Text source: *ICMAMNS*.

[...]/[...]

[...]i uixit [...]

[...]/[...]

No.447 Notre-Dame-de-Beauregard. Canton d'Orgon, Bouches-du-Rhône.

NR. 161; *CIL.XII.* 1022; *ILCV.* 3555adn.

Provenance: the now demolished Augustine convent. *Location:* Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 34 x 28 cm. Letters: 4-5 cm. Text source: *NR*.

In hoc tu[mu]-

lo requiecs[it]

Stefanus [?qui]

[uixit ?]

[.....]

In this tomb rests Stefanus, who lived for ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Le Blant and Hirschfeld both recorded the name of the deceased incorrectly; Stefanus, not Stephanus. The second line reads *requiecs[it]*, not *requiesc[it]*. The fourth line is fragmentary but may read *uixit*.

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

**No.448 Notre-Dame-du-Brusc. Commune de Châteauneuf,
Canton de Bar-sur-Loup, Alpes Maritimes.**

ICMAMNS. 36.

Provenance: in 1963 during the excavation of a basilica, wherein this fragment was re-used in the flooring. *Location:* Musée Fragonard, Grasse. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 15.5 x 18 x 9.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

[...] post [consulatum ?]
[...]i u(irorum) c(larissimorum)
[. die] Solis ind[ictione ?]
XIV.

Only a very tentative partial reconstruction may be attempted: ... after the consulate(s) of [...], clarissimi, on the day of the Sun, in the 14th year of the indiction.

Date: 550, 565, 580, 595, 610 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium is bonae memoriae hic requiescit in pace*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos + age*.

No.449 Notre-Dame-du-Brusc

ICMAMNS. 37.

Provenance: in 1968 during the excavation of a basilica, from the rubble of a demolished wall.

Location: Musée Fragonard, Grasse. Limestone fragment. Dimensions: 14-18 x 15.5-21 x 4 cm. Letters: 3.5-4 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

[B(onae)] m(emoriae)
[Hic requie]scit
[in pace] Decea
[.....]/[.....]

Of fond memory, here rests [in peace] DECEA, ...

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos + age*, date formula is governed by *depono -ere*.

No.450 Notre-Dame-du-Brusc

ICMAMNS. 38.

Provenance: in 1963 during the excavation of a basilica. *Location:* Musée Fragonard, Grasse.

Two marble fragments. Dimensions: A) 15.5 x 4-7 x 9.5 cm. B) 11.5 x 7 x 6 cm.

Letters: 2-2.5 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

B(onae) [m(emoriae)]
Hic [requi]esc[it]
in p[ace ..]nque[....]
n[. qui/ae? uixit an]-
[nos ...]

Of fond [memory], here [rests] in p[peace ...], who lived [for ... years] ...

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos ... menses ... dies*, date formula is governed by *depono -ere*.

No.451 Notre-Dame-du-Brusc

ICMAMNS. 39.

Provenance: in 1963 during the excavation of a basilica, in the rubble in the transept. *Location:* Musée Fragonard, Grasse. Limestone fragment. Dimensions: 10 x 13.5 x 4 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

[.....]//[.....]
[... Pa]trici[us ?]
[...] qui u[ixit ?]

Too fragmentary to translate but it probably read "... [Pa]trici[us] ... who lived for ..."

Date: 425-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *bonae memoriae hic requiescit in pace*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is governed by *depono-ere*.

No.452 Orange. Vaucluse.

ICG. 503; NR. 156; CIL.XII. 1272; ILCV. 1065a b.

Provenance: near the church of Saint-Eutrope in 1801. *Location:* Musée Calvet, Avignon. A further fragment is in the Musée d'Orange. Large marble plaque. Dimensions: 66 x 100 cm. (main part), Letters: 4 cm. Text source: ILCV.

- 1 Eutropium hic, Xpe, tuum uirtute probatum,
corpore complexum nobilis urna tegit.
Qui quaquā crebris ostendet maxima [si]gnis,
pandire sed tumulo carmine pauca [decet].
5 Non equidem dubia, se[d g]esta insi[gnia dico],
hausit quae popu[li cen]sus a[more data],
Cumq[ue] foret sublime d[ecus splendorque] parentum],
elegit Xpm quaerere m[ente pia].
Huic uictus tenuis et dur[a cubilia] membris]
10 et uestis tegimen hisp[ida semper erat].
Ex l[ibris sac]ris graue discere [.....]
e[t mae]stum fletib[us] o[ra rigans]
si [.....] populos camp[.....]
[.....]ibo pania[.....]
15 [.....] te [.....]
[.....] agmi]na pandun[t]
[.....] m]ulta replet
[.....] sinergima pell[it]
[.....] c]omis
20 [.....] pia [.....]

O Christ, this noble sepulchre contains the body of Eutropius, proved yours by his virtue. At the place where his miracles are many and outstanding, it is only possible on this tomb to unfold a few in these verses. I speak not of doubtful events, but of extraordinary deeds, reliably witnessed by the people with their own eyes and holy faith. Although born into a noble and wealthy family, he chose to seek Christ with virtuous heart. Always frugal when he ate, he slept on a hard bed and his clothes consisted only of a rough tunic ...

Date: 494 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.453 Orange

ICG. 504; CIL.XII. 1273; ILCV. 4110.

Provenance: once in the facade of the church of Saint-Eutrope d'Orange before it was demolished. *Location:* Musée Calvet, Avignon. Marble sarcophagus. Dimensions: 1.12 x 28 x 12 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Gaudentius
et Palladi-
us fratri
innocentis-
simo fecer(unt).

Gaudentius and Palladius made this for a most innocent brother.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

It is probable that the name and personal details of the deceased brother were inscribed within another cartouche to the left of this. Espérandieu considers that the name Gaudentius is a sign that this is a christian burial.

No.454 Orange

NR. 155; CIL.XII. 1274.

Provenance: from the theatre ruins at an unspecified date. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds unable to find in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

[.....]
[qui uixit annos]
[... m(enses) ...]
[et] d(ies) XXVII et
[obiit ... n]onas [...]
[post] consola[tum]
[.....] indec[?sione] VI[. ?].

[..., who lived for ... years, ... months], 27 days. He/she died [... days before? / on the?] nones of [...], [... years after? / in the year of?] the consulate of [...], in the sixth(?) year of the indiction.

Date: 500-550 (estimated).

Le Blant noted that the formula *consulatum* followed by the name of the consul in the genitive is rare. The full age, given in years, months and days, probably preceded the date formula.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, date formula is *obiit sub die* + date.

No.455 Orange

NR. 158; CIL.XII. 1271; ILCV. 2557.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* Musée Calvet, Avignon. Marble sarcophagus. Dimensions: 16 x 16 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: NR.

Antodoni[us]
anima dul[cis]
in pace qui ui-
xit ann(os) XLV m(enses)
VII d(ies) XVI.

Antodoni[us], a kind man, (here rests) in peace, who lived for 45 years, seven months, 16 days.

Date: 400-450 (estimated).

No.456 Ourches. Canton de Crest-Nord, Drôme.

ILGN. 259; *RICG.XV*. 10.

Provenance: Sainte-Cerbelle, discovered in 1903. *Location*: Musée de Valence. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 20 x 27 x 7.5 cm. Letters: 1.8-3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[In h]oc tomu[lo]
requiescet in [pa]-
ce bone memori-
ae Genesius [qui]
uixit an[nos]
[.....]

In this tomb rests in peace Genesius, of fond memory, who lived [...] years ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace + date*.

No.457 Pact. Canton de Beaurepaire, Isère.

NR. 127; *CIL.XII*. 5868; *ILCV*. 1457adn; *RICG.XV*. 223.

Provenance: near the church in 1885. *Location*: lost (*RICG.XV*). Marble tablet.

Dimensions: 12 x 7 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

Hic requies-
ciet in pace
bone me-
moriae ISP
[.] nomene S
[...A[.]X, qui
[uix]it in pa-
[ce a]nnus
[. p]l(u)s m(inus)
[.....]

Here rests in peace [...], of fond memory, [...] whose name [...], who lived in peace for about [...] years, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit + date*.

No.458 Pact

CIL.XII. 5869; *ILCV*. 2900adn; *RICG.XV*. 224.

Provenance: near the church in 1885. *Location*: Musée Dauphinois, Grenoble. Limestone plaque. Dimensions: 23 x 37 x 9.5 cm. Letters: 2-3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

(monogram) Hic requiescit in
pace bone memori-
ae Valerinus,
qui uicxit an-
nis XXVII: ouit k(a)l(endas) a-
[p]riles, indicxione
xexta.

Here rests in peace Valerinus, of fond memory, who lived for 27 years. He died on the kalends of April, in the sixth year of the indiction.

Date: 1 April 542, 557, 572, 587, 602 (date range of years is estimated).

No.459 Parnans. Canton de Romans, Isère.

NR. 133; CIL.XII. 2193; ILCV. 1687; RICG.XV. 227.

Provenance: in or about 1840 at Parnans. *Location:* built into the exterior wall of the house of M.Guichard, in Parnans. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 33 x 40 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]-
ni adsedua, in aelemosinis
profusa, sepe geiuna, de fr-
u/c/tu gaudens, Xpo prestan-
te, penitentiae, LXVII aetatis
anu de haec luce megrauit, die
octao idus decembres, Mafusio u-
ero <cl>arissim<o> c(onsule) «C».

... constantly [...], generous in giving alms, often fasting, rejoicing in the rewards of penitence whilst in the presence of Christ. He departed from this life in his 67th year, eight days before the kalends of December, in the year of the consulate of Mavortius, clarissimus.

Date: 6 December 527

Reconstructions: *initium* is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.460 Peyruis. Alpes de Haute Provence.

NR. 333; CIL.XII. 5755; ILCV. 3857; ICMAMNS. 63; Guyon, J., 1992.

Provenance: discovered whilst digging the foundations of a house on the road to Sisteron in 1869. *Location:* Musée de Digne. White marble fragment, probably re-used. Dimensions: 18.5 x 20 x 5 cm. Letters 1.5-2.5 cm. Text source: Guyon, J., 1992.

(cross) Hic requiescit in p[ace]
bon(ae) mem(oria)e luueldis [qiu ui]-
xit a(n)nus plu(s) minus XXV
Si qius cum sartofa[go eum]
uoluerit remouer[e, sit il]-
li anatema noue(m) GER[...]
TARAM SI/[] ben(e) req[uiusc(a)t]

Here rests in peace luueldis, of fond memory, who lived for about 25 years. If anyone wishes to remove him and this sarcophagus, may they be anathema may he rest in peace.

Date: 600-700 (estimated).

No.461 Pothières. Canton de Châtillon-sur-Seine, Côte d'Or.

ICG. 1; CIL.XIII. 5657; ILCV. 220.

Provenance: first recorded in the abbey, where it was inscribed on a plaque situated in front of the altar. *Location:* lost or mislaid, according to ILCV. Marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

Bert[...] hoc hordine res[....]
cum petere optassem sancta sepulcra prior.
[Felix] O nimium, tanti si munere uoti
[liq]uissem natos incolumemque uirum !
Sic quia pro genitis superest e quattor unus,
[de]precor, hic sa<l>tim uiuat, ut hossa colat.
Inlustris femena hic ena[.....]
[..]to Xo kal(endas) maias, Seuerino u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).

[?uixit] annos quinquaginta et duos.

Bert[...], when I wished to be the first to be buried in this holy sepulchre, how happy I should have been had I been granted my dearest wish, for I would have left behind me all my children and my husband. But of four children only one survives, and I pray that this one at least will live to care for my remains. Here [rests] an illustrious woman [named ...? who died ... days before? / on the?] kalends of May, in the year of the consulate of Severinus, clarissimus. [She lived for about?] 52 years.

Date: April 461

There are two consuls with this name, whose consular years fell in 461 and 482. However, Severus of 482 is usually suffixed *junior* and therefore the earlier date is accepted here. The abbey was destroyed during the revolution and it seems that this epitaph came from an earlier church on the site because the abbey itself was only founded in the ninth century. The date, the day prior to the *kalends* is uncertain from the texts offered by Le Blant and Diehl.

No.462 Reillanne. Alpes de Haute Provence.

ICMAMNS. 56.

Provenance: Reillanne, donated to Digne museum in 1886 by the abbé Fayet. *Location:* lost.

Red marble plaque with white veining, broken into two parts.

Dimensions: 21.5 x 29 x 4-11.6 cm. Letters: 2.5-2.8 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

Hic in pace requi-
escit bonae memo-
riae Crescentia
qui uixit annos pl[us]
menus X et obiit pr[i]-
[d]iae kal(endas) nouembris
[ind]ictionae s[.....]
[.....] C ? S ? [.....]

Here rests in peace Crescentia, of fond memory, who lived for about ten years and died on the day before the kalends of November, in the [second? / sixth? / seventh?] year of the indiction.

Date: 31 October 500-550 (date range of years is estimated).

The indictional year is difficult to interpret because only the letter S remains, thus *secunda*, *sexta* or *septima* could follow.

No.463 Revel-Tourdan. Commune de Revel-Tourdan, Canton de Beaurepaire, Isère.

ICG. 467; CIL.XII. 2185; ILCV. 3467; RICG.XV. 220.

Provenance: a house near the church in 1844. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.998. Stone plaque. Dimensions: 28.5 x 27 x 6 cm. Letters: 1.7-2.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(star) (palm) (cross) (palm) (star)

Hic requiescet in pa-
ce bone memoriae Gun-
diisclus, in spe resurre-
xionis meserecordiae
Xpi, q(ui) uixit in seculo
annus LXVIII: obiit in Xpo
XVI kal(endas) februarias,
VI p(ost) con(sulatum) Basili, indic(tione) XI.

Here rests in peace Gundiisclus, of fond memory, in hope of the resurrection and the mercy of Christ, who lived on this earth for 69 years. He died in Christ 16 days before the kalends of February, six years after the consulate of Basilius, in the 11th year of the indication.

Date: 17 January 547

The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur. The p.c. year and the date state 17 January 547, but the 11th indiction did not start until September that year.

No.464 Revel-Tourdan

ICG. 466a; CIL.XII. 2187; ILCV. 3279; RICG.XV. 221.

Provenance: the presbytery garden sometime before 1865. *Location:* inside the church. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 29 x 29 cm. Letters: 1.5-2 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(cross) <H>ic requiescit in pace
bone memoriae Adica,
<q>ui uixit annus sex et mi-
nse quinque: obiat in Xpo
nono decimo <k>alendas«s»
septemb(res), uices <e>t ter p(ost) c(onsulatum)«c»
Basili u(iri)«u» clarissimi con-
soles, indexioni tesia
decna. (palm)
(encircled star) A (encircled star)

Here rests in peace Adica, of fond memory, who lived for six years and five months. She died in Christ 19 days before the kalends of September, 23 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the 13th year of the indiction.

Date: 14 August 564

The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur. The 23rd p.c. of Basilius was in 564 and the 13th indiction began in September of that year, but the date is 14 August, during the 12th indiction which had begun in September the previous year, 563.

No.465 Revel-Tourdan

ICG. 468; CIL.XII. 2188; ILCV. 1677; RICG.XV. 222.

Provenance: apparently from an excavation undertaken at an unknown date. *Location:* inside the church. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 20 x 33 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(cross) Hic requiescet in pa-
ce bone memoriae Ma-
trona, s(an)c(t)emuniales, in
spe resurrectiones me-
serecordiae Xpi: uixit
in seculo ann(os) XXXII.

Here rests in peace Matrona, of fond memory, an avowed virgin, in the hope of the resurrection and the mercy of Christ. She lived on this earth for 32 years.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.466 Riez. Canton de Riez, Alpes de Haute Provence.

ICMAMNS. 46.

Provenance: unknown, but it was given to the museum sometime after 1932 because it is not in the museum catalogue. *Location:* Musée de Riez. Square marble block, inscribed on four faces. Dimensions: Faces: 7.8 x 5.7-6 cm. Letters: 0.8-1.5 cm. Text source: ICMAMNS.

Face A.	Face B.	Face C.	Face D.
(cross)	in ho-	s(an)c(t)i	Mi
	nore	angel[i]	ca e
		(Chi/Rho)	
		li s	

this because they wished to provide a communal refuge for the safety of all on their own estate, which they have achieved with the assistance of their noble colleague and friend, which they gratefully acknowledge, Claudius Lepidus, ex-governor of Germania Prima, ex-magister memoriae (ie. in charge of the imperial archives), ex-comes rerum priuatarum (ie. an administrator of the imperial revenues). Therefore may this inscription be witness to their concern for the safety of all and mark their devotion to the public good.

Date: 414-417 (estimated).

No.469 Saint-Germain-du-Plain. Saône-et-Loire.

ICG. 661; CIL.XIII. 2601; ILCV. 1077.

Provenance: Saint-Germain-du-Plain, from the church in 1852. *Location:* set into the interior west wall of the church of Saint-Germain-du-Plain. Fragment of a marble plaque.

Dimensions: 40 x 28 cm. Letters: 4 cm. average. Text source: ICG.

(cross) (Chi/Rho) (cross)
[Conditu]r hoc tumul[o] bonae
[memo]riae lamlychus ep[iscopu]s in spe?
[resurrec]tionis. (ivy) V k(alendas) ia[nuarias]
[d(omino) n(ostro) Zenone I?]ll cons(ule). Vixit an[nos ...]
[.....]

Buried here in this tomb is bishop lamlychus, of fond memory, in the hope of the resurrection. (He died) five days before the kalends of January, [in the year of the] second consulate [of our lord Zeno?]. He lived for [...] years ...

Date: 28 December 479

If Le Blant is correct this is dated to the second or third consulate of the emperor Zeno and the bishop mentioned may be that of Trier (FEAG.III: 37). There is disagreement on this identification (TC.IV: 70), but it is accepted here with reservations.

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos + age*.

No.470 Saint-Gervais. Commune de Portes-lès-Valence, Canton de Valence-Sud, Drôme.

RICG.XV. 8.

Provenance: discovered in the hameau de Saint-Gervais. *Location:* the private property of a Mme.Galland of Valence. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 8 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.3 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
[... requi]escit
[. bonae] me[moriae ..]
[.....]

Here rests [in peace? ...], of fond memory ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit bone memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos + age*, date formula is governed by *transeo -ere*.

No.471 Saint-Jean-de-Bournay. Isère.

ICG. 462; CIL.XII. 2179; ILCV. 270; RICG.XV. 218.

Provenance: in the church in 1835. *Location:* built into the exterior of the church facade of Saint-Jean-de-Bournay. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 40 x 100 cm. Letters: 3 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic natus cara<m> qu«a»e tuens ex munere iogalem
 Instituēt sobolem semplecetate pia. (dove)
 Hic quanquam gemenō natarum pignore fulsit,
 Exsimia de laude sates nunc exprime<re ?> erat tempus. (vase)
 Vir fuet excellens, argutissemus, aptus,
 Temporebus uaries ingentia fata reliquid; (dove)
 [Vr]bes ab antiqua noueletate erat capud.
 Vix tenit hic tomulus laudes qui contegit art(u)s.
 Pridi(e) kal(endas) maias, uicies II pus(t) con(sulatum) Basili u(iri)
 c(larissimi) c(onsulis), ind(iction)e X.

He was born here, who, taking care of his dear wife in the manner befitting a dutiful husband, brought up his children with a pious simplicity. In this place his exceptional qualities should be properly expressed: although his two daughters were taken enough of his renown. He was an eminent, learned and capable man: in troubled times he fulfilled a great destiny, his ancient nobility made him the leader of his city. This tomb, which contains his remains, can scarcely contain his praises. The day before the kalends of May, 22 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the tenth year of the indiction.

Date: 30 April 563

The first line must refer to his wife who pre-deceased him unless it means that while caring for a dear wife, he also brought up his daughters. Perhaps he was caring for a sick wife and the lapidary has not been able to fit the information within the metre? Descombes considers that *ex munere* may be taken to mean outside his functions, but here it is taken to mean dutifully. On line one the emendation *cara<m>qu«a»e* in *RICG.XV* should probably be emended to read *cara<m>q<ui>*. The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur because the 22nd p.c. of Basilius was in 563, but the tenth indiction had already passed, running from September 561 to the end of August 562.

No.472 Saint-Jean-de-Bourney

ICG. 461; CIL.XII. 2180; ILCV. 4426; RICG.XV. 219.

Provenance: unknown. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Stone plaque. Dimensions: 23 x 21 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

(cross) Hoc tomolom
 requescet in pace
 bone memorie Teo-
 demodos, qui uixi-
 t plus menos a-
 [n]os XXXI: nota[ui]
 die nono k(a)l[e]-
 ndas ienua-
 rias, indix-
 ion[e ...].

(In) this tomb rests in peace Teodemodos, of fond memory, who lived for about 41 years. I have made note of the ninth day before the kalends of January, in the [...] year of the indiction.

Date: 24 December 540-650 (date range of years is estimated).

No.473 Saint-Julien-en-Quint. Canton de Die, Drôme.

ICG. 477b; CIL.XII. 1693; ILCV. 2909 adn. *Provenance*: unknown. *Location*: Musée de Die. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 16.5 x 25.3 cm. Letters: 1-2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]
transi-
et XIII k(a)l(endas) apriles,
indixsione XV p(ost) c(onsulatum)
III Paulini iun-
iores.

... He/she passed away 13 days before the kalends of April, in the 15th year of the indiction, three years after the consulate of Paulinus Iunior.

Date: 20 March 537

The p.c. date and indiction concur because the 15th indiction began in September the previous year, 536.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos + age*.

No.474 Saint-Laurent-de-Mure. Canton de Meyzieu, Rhône.

ICG. 387a; CIL.XII. 2064 and 2363; ILCV. 1673adn; RICG.XV. 247.
Provenance: old church. *Location*: lost (RICG.XV). Dimensions: 30 x 30 cm.
Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
[bonae] memo[riae]
[.....]a religi[osa]
[quaе uix]it «t» anno[s ...]:
[obiit ... f]ibruiarias, Feli[ce u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule)].

... [...]a, of fond memory, a nun, who lived [...] years. She died [... days before? / on the?] of February, in the year of the consulate of Felix, clarissimus.

Date: 511

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*.

No.475 Saint-Laurent-de-Mure

ICG. 387b; CIL.XII. 2084 and 2364; RICG.XV. 248.
Provenance: the old church in 1853. *Location*: lost (RICG.XV). Marble fragment.
Dimensions: 7 x 28 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
[...]MPIA[.....]
[...]i p(ost) c(onsulatum) lust(ini), indict(ione) XIX. (sic)

... [...] years after the consulate of Iustinus, in the XIX year of the indiction. (sic).

Date: 547-630 (estimated).

The indictional year is impossible, but it must date after 547.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos + age*, date formula is *obiit in pace + date*.

No.476 Saint-Laurent-de-Mure

ICG. 386; CIL.XII. 2150; ILCV. 3553; RICG.XV. 249.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* inside the church of Saint-Laurent-de-Mure. Stone slab.

Dimensions: 1.00 x 45 cm. *Letters:* 3-4 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

In hoc tomo-
lo requiescit
bonae memo-
riae Viliaric,
pater paupero-
rum, qui uixit
annus LXXXV: obi-
it in pace X c(a)l(endas)
feb(ruaria)s, ind(ictione) oc(ta)ua.

In this tomb rests Viliaric, of fond memory, father of the poor, who lived for 85 years. He died in peace ten days before the kalends of February, in the eighth year of the indiction.

Date: 23 January 544, 559, 574, 589, 604 (date range of years is estimated).

No.477 Saint-Laurent-de-Mure

ICG. 385; CIL.XII. 2361; ILCV. 1461; RICG.XV. 250.

Provenance: in the church in 1853. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 20 x 32 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

Hic magnis MERITOR mi[?cans / ?cuit]
hic prima iouentus q(u)em D(omi)n(u)s u[o]-
cans sincir(u)m a cardine mundi
Arcadi(u)s quonda(m) D(?e ?omin)o purus qui
menister benign(u)s «h»ac mitis
adq(ue) DESTI[.....]
CIS II [.....]
[.....]

Too fragmentary to enable an accurate translation to be made. Line 1 suggests that Arcadius achieved great renown through his good works. Lines 2 and 3 record that in his early youth he was called forth by God from worldly affairs on account of his purity. Line 4 may record that he fulfilled this office with generosity and kindness.

Date: 600-650 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.478 Saint-Laurent-de-Mure

ICG. 387; CIL.XII. 2362; ILCV. 4820; RICG.XV. 251.

Provenance: the old church. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 25 x 32 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[...]CEPS[...]
[...]SA uitiiis tener[...]
[...]SISTANT igitur ELER[...]
[...]n]ec non et famuli fida[...]
[...]EC MEIIS in tenebris [...]
[.....] VI kal(endas) [...]
[.....]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: initium, and age formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases, date formula is obiit in pace + date.

No.479 Saint-Maurice-de-Rémens. Canton de Amberieu-en-Bugey, Ain.

ICG. 373; CIL.XIII. 2454; ILCV. 3565A.

Provenance: Saint-Maurice-de-Remens. *Location:* lost (ILCV). Dimensions: 20 x 40 cm.

Text source: ICG.

In hoc tumulo requiescet i[n]
pace bone memoriae Arimundus,
que uixit annus XX, obi-
et in pace XS decimo k(a)l(endas) aprile-
s, Decio u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).

In this tomb rests in peace Arimundus, of fond memory, who lived for 20 years. He died in peace 16 days before the kalends of April, in the year of the consulate of Decius, clarissimus.

Date: ?? March 486

There is an error on the part of the engraver here. The date of the month has been duplicated because both the standard abbreviation and the full phrase in the ablative case has been inscribed. Decius here is the consul either of 486 or 529. The date may be the 16th day before the *kalends*, but it is uncertain, especially from the Le Blant's illustration. It may be another example of a representation of a Greek letter six. The year 529 is suggested by the initial formula, as Le Blant has noted.

No.480 Saint-Maximin-La-Sainte-Baume. Canton de Saint-Maximin-La-Sainte-Baume, Var

ICG. 542a; CIL.XII. 649; ILCV. 1303; ICMAMNS. 45.

Provenance: Saint-Maximin La Sainte Baume, first recorded in the seventeenth century.

Location: Saint-Maximin La Sainte Baume, in the crypt of the abbey church of Saint Maximin.

Large marble plaque. Dimensions: 118 x 77 x 5.5 cm. Letters: irregular sizes, 1-3.5 cm.

Text source: ICMAMNS.

Maria uirgo
minister de
tempulo Gerosale.
(sculpted figure).

The virgin Mary, attendant at the temple of Jerusalem.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.481 Saint-Restitut. Drôme.

ICG. 486; CIL.XII. 1729; ILCV. 1519.

Provenance: Saint-Restitut church in 1849. *Location:* lost? It was in the possession of the curé in the nineteenth century, but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 22 x 16 cm. *Text source:* ICG.

[In hoc tumulo requies?]cit innoc(ens) Pros[per/us?]
[? mentis in casibu]s insolent(ibus) aequ[ae?]
[? quibus maeror/dolor?]em liquerit parent[es]
[?non nocet huic Erebu]s quia fuit innocu[us]
[.....t]incxit unda celsio[r]
[non hunc frigida mors au]t Stygis ira praemet.
[.....?flore]nt(ibus) studiis ann(os) abstul[it]
[.....] magis<t>ri quinque[s]
[decies? post cons(ulatum) lohan]nis, indic(tione) XII, k(a)l(endas) oct(obres)

The fragmentary nature of the inscription allows for only an attempt to translate what the original text may have stated in the broadest terms. In this tomb rests Prosperus, an innocent,

unperturbed in times of misfortune, he leaves behind his grieving parents. The world below shall not hurt such an innocent as he was, ... waters of a higher order have baptised him, freezing death nor the anger of the Styx press upon him ... snatched far away whilst in the midst of his education ... magistri quinquies ... ten(?) years after the consulate of Iohannes, in the 12th year of the indiction, the first of October.

Date: 1 October 548

The years on the penultimate line appear to indicate those spent in (unfinished) study, hence the use of *abstulit*. A 12th indiction began in September 548, and because the date is 1 October, it seems likely that the p.c. and the indiction would have concurred, in this case the most likely being a p.c. of Iohannis, cons. 538, in this case the tenth.

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.482 Saint-Romain-d'Albon. Commune d'Albon, Canton de Saint-Vallier, Drôme.

NR. 134; *CIL.XII.* 1791; *ILCV.* 2830; *RICG.XV.* 24.

Provenance: in the church cemetery in 1875. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.899. Stone plaque. Dimensions: 67 x 60 x 21 cm. Letters: 2.8-5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(monogram) Hic requiescit
in pace Constan-
tiola, qui uixit
annos XX men-
ses III: reces-
sit VIII k(a)l(endas) marti-
as p(ost) c(onsulatum) III Leonis.

Here rests in peace Constantiola, who lived for 20 years, three months; she died nine days before the kalends of March, in the year following the third consulate of Leo.

Date: 21 February 467

No.483 Saint-Romain-d'Albon

NR. 135; *CIL.XII.* 1792; *ILCV.* 2779; *RICG.XV.* 25.

Provenance: discovered in 1875. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.857. Stone plaque. Dimensions: 83 x 67 x 8-9 cm. Letters: 2.5-3.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(monogram) Hic requiescit
in pace bone me-
moria adolis-
cens Leuanus,
qui uixit annos XVI
et minsis VI migravit
de hac luce VIII kal(endas)
marsias, p(ost) [c](onsulatum) [F]lorenti
et Antimi u(irorum) cl(arissimorum) co(nsulum) ?HP II
(cross)

Here rests in peace Leuanus, a young man of fond memory, who lived for 16 years and six months. He departed this world eight days before the kalends of March, in the year after the consulates of Florentius and Anthemius, clarissimi.

Date: 22 February 516

No.484 Saint-Romain-d'Albon

NR. 136; *CIL.XII.* 159*, 173*; *RICG.XV.* 26.

Provenance: discovered in 1875/6. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble. Dimensions: 10 x 22 cm.

Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
Il ca(lendas) iul(ias), Il rigno domn[i]
nostri Daguberti re-
ges, ind(ictione) quarta.
(fish) (dove) (fish)

... two days before the kalends of July, in the second year of the reign of our lord, king Dagobert, in the fourth year of the indiction.

Date: 30 June 631

A fourth year of the indiction ran from September 630 to the end of August 631. The second year of Dagobert's reign was in 630 so there is only a chronological problem if 629 is counted his first year, but if it is calculated only from October of that year there is a perfect concordance. On balance the most likely date is 30 June 631.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumultu requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit + date*.

No.485 Saint-Romain-d'Albon

NR. 139; *CIL.XII.* 1793; *RICG.XV.* 27.

Provenance: discovered in 1876. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 8 x 8 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[o]b[iit in]
su[b die no]-
uem[bres.....]

[He/she] died [in peace?] on the [...] day [...] of November.

Date: October 470-540 (date range of years is estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos + age*, date formula is *obiit sub die + date*.

No.486 Saint-Romain-d'Albon

NR. 137; *CIL.XII.* 1794; *RICG.XV.* 28.

Provenance: discovered in 1878. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble, re-used.

Dimensions: 12 x 8 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[...]ca[.....]
[...]ans s[.....]
[...] idus [...]
[...]as X[.....]
[...? consula]tu[m ...]

No.487 Saint-Romain-d'Albon

NR. 138; CIL.XII. 1794.

Provenance: Saint-Romain-d'Albon in 1878. One of three fragments discovered at the same site. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Fragment.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* NR.

[.....]
[?pr]idie [...]
(palm)

**No.488 Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas. Commune de Merlas,
Canton de Saint-Geoire-en-Valdaine, Isère.**

NR. 126; CIL.XII. 2421; ILCV. 1434; RICG.XV. 282.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* built into the interior of the church tower at Saint-Sixte.

Fragment of cippe. *Dimensions:* 1.30 x 60 cm. *Letters:* 2.3-4 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

(cross) Hic requiescit
in pace famula D(e)i
Claudia, qui uixit
annis XXXIII, m(ensibus) IIII,
d(iebus) XIII: obiit XVIII
k(alendas) febr(u)arias, post
c(o)ns(ulatum) Antimi et
Florentii u(irorum)
c(larissimorum) c(onsulum).

Here rests in peace Claudia, a servant of God, who lived for 34 years, four months, 14 days. She died 19 days before the kalends of February, in the year after the consulate of Anthemius and Florentius, clarissimi.

Date: 14 January 516

No.489 Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas

ICG. 465; CIL.XII. 2422; ILCV. 1341; RICG.XV. 283; A.E., 1964:141.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* in the crypt of the church of Saint-Sixte. Limestone flag.

Dimensions: 148 x 50 x 20 cm. *Letters:* 2-3 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

In huc loco requiescit
penetens (?) ERVALDE te-
mens Deum femina C
domena, in spe resurexi-
onis uite aeternae,
quae uixit annos qua-
draginta et duos, min-
ses sex: obiet quinto
kalendas nouembris,
indixione XIII.

In this place rests the penitent ERVALDE, a woman (of high social standing? = Domena) most fearful of God, in hope of the resurrection and eternal life, who lived for 42 years, six months. She died four days before the kalends of November, in the 14th year of the indiction.

Date: 28 October 550, 565, 580, 595, 610 (date range of years is estimated).

No.490 Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas

ICG. 464; CIL.XII. 2423; ILCV. 3467adn; RICG.XV. 284. *Provenance*: unknown. *Location*: lost (RICG.XV). *Fragment*. Dimensions: 24 x 24 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic re[qu]i[er]e[re] in pace bone me]-
morie famol?a [Dei ...]
in spe resurrec[tionis] mise]-
recordiae Xpi, [?] quae uixit an]-
nus [?] XII mins[es ...]
dies septem: [obiit ...]
[...] kalenda[s ...]
[post] cons[ulatum ...]
[...] ind[ictione ...].

Here rests [in peace ..., of fond] memory, a servant of God, in hope of the resurrection and the mercy of Christ, [who lived for] 22? / 62? years, [...] months, seven days. She died [... days before? / on the?] kalends of [...], [... years after?] the consulate of [... clarissimus, in the ... year of] the indiction.

Date: 550-600 (estimated).

No.491 Saint-Thomé. Canton de Viviers, Ardèche.

ICG. 481a; CIL.XII. 2702; ILCV. 1118.

Provenance: unknown. *Location*: built into the exterior of the chapel wall of Saint-Thomé.

Marble plaque. Dimensions: 28 x 90 cm. Letters: 2-3.5 cm. Text source: ICG/ILCV.

[.....]
[... insi]gnebus pariter et nomin[e] clarus]
[.....]m terramque simul sociosque [reliquit],
[sancta sac]erdotii tenuit qui sede coron[am]
[.....]inis et septem reuolentibus a[nnis],
[quem plebs c]uncta gemet suismet carui[sse] supremis].
[... men]sis sexti, iterum p(ost) c(onsulatum) Symmachi u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), indictione X.

Too fragmentary to translate except for the date; two years after the consulate of Symmachus, clarissimus, in the tenth year of the indiction.

Date: August 487

Line four could alternatively have read: *[iura sac]erdotii tenuit*. This is an early date for an inscription which contains an indiction in the date formula, but it is the only date for which both the second p.c. date and the indiction coincide for a p.c. of any of the Symmachi. Diehl is probably correct in his restoration of line six, which would read that the deceased died in August, with the 11th indiction beginning the following month.

Reconstructions: *initium* is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.492 Saint-Thomé

ILGN. 380.

Provenance: unknown, but many years before 1904 when it was first recorded. *Location:* Montélimar, in the private collection of a M.Vallentin du Cheylard. Fragment.
Dimensions: 52 x 16 x 10 cm. Letters: 1.5-3 cm. Text source: ILGN

[Hic] re[quiescit in pace]
[bone] memor[iae ...]
[.....]ledaino[...]
[.....]!? mens ma[...]
[...p]ietas die [...]
[...] sapienti[a ...]
[....]sordenatio[...]
[....]elitas ino[...]
[....]am sororu[m] c[on?]
[?sola]tione abs[condit]
[?post] co(n)su[la]tum.

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

It is impossible to restore but the content was evidently of a highly laudatory nature; it is metrical and probably the epitaph of a bishop or other leading ecclesiastic. A p.c. date is likely on the last extant line.

Reconstructions: initium is hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae, age formulae is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.493 Saint-Vallier. Drôme.

NR. 140; CIL.XII. 1787; ILCV. 2889; RICG.XV. 22.

Provenance: Château des Rioux. *Location:* Montélimar, in the private collection of a M.Vallentin du Cheylard. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 65 x 38 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(cross) Hic requiescit
in pace bone me-
moriae Leuba-
tena, qui uixit
an(nos) ?XLV; obiit XIII
kal(endas) f(e)br(uarias), Volosiano
u(iro) c(larissimo) <c>(onsule).
(cross)

Here rests in peace Leubaten, of fond memory, who lived for 45(?) years; she died 14 days before the kalends of February, during the consulate of Volusianus, clarissimus.

Date: 19 January 503

No.494 Saint-Vallier

NR. 141; CIL.XII. 1788; RICG.XV. 23.

Provenance: near the church, but the circumstances are unknown. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV)
Marble plaque. Dimensions: 20 x 20 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
[.septe? noue? dece?]mbris,
[. i]uniore [u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule)].
[dove] (vase) (dove)

Date: 483-534 (estimated).

Reconstructions: initium is hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae, age formula is qui/quae uixit annos + age, date formula is obiit + date.

No.495 Soyons. Canton de Saint-Péray, Ardèche.

RICG.XV. 12; Gallia, 27, 1969, informations, 220.

Provenance: near the church in 1968. Location: Musée de Soyons. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 15 x 18 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[In] hoc tomu[lo requiescit]
[bo]ne meno[riae.....]
[q]ui ui[xit..]
[.....]

In this tomb rests [...], of fond memory, who lived ...

Date: 675-700 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is governed by transeo -ere.

No.496 Soyons

NR. 144; CIL.XII. 2659; RICG.XV. 13; Gallia, 18, 1960, informations, 201.

Provenance: the property of a M.L.Faure. Location: Musée de Soyons. Limestone plaque.

Dimensions: 15 x 12 cm. Letters: 3.5-4 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[...]e requ[iescit]
[bone m]emor[iae]
[.....]

[Here in peace?] rests [...], of fond memory ...

Date: 675-700 (estimated).

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae, date formula is governed by transeo -ere.

No.497 Soyons

NR. 144; CIL.XII. 2659; RICG.XV. 14; Gallia, 18, 1960, 201.

Provenance: the property of M.L.Faure. Location: Musée de Soyons. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 15 x 10 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
[...]aisa dep(?osita)
[...]sengues n[.....]

[...]aisa who was buried here ...?

Date: 675-700 (estimated).

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae.

No.498 Soyons

RICG.XV. 15.

Provenance: sometime before 1890 sur la colline de Soyons. Location: lost. Marble tablet.

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: RICG.XV.

[... bonae] mem[oriae]
?<q>(ui) ui[xit....]

[...] of fond memory, who lived ...

Date: 675-700 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, date formula is governed by *transeo -ere*.

No.499 Soyons

RICG.XV. 16; Gallia, 18, 1960, 85.

Provenance: unknown. Location: Musée de Soyons. Marble tablet. Dimensions: 28 x 14 cm. Letters: 3.2 cm. average. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
dulcis [.....]
bissen[.....]
nunc o[.....]
[..]see[.....]
[.....]

Date: 675-700 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.500 Soyons.

Provenance: during a sondage in the church of Saint-Gervais in 1980. Location: Musée de Soyons. Marble tablet. Dimensions: 12 x 6 x 3 cm. Letters: 1.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[Transiet ? .. ka]lend[as ...],
[.. ri]gni do[m(in)i nostri]
[Da]gober[ti, ind]-
[iction]e oct[o],
[.....]

[He/she passed away ... days before? / on the?] kalends of [..., in the ... year of the] reign of our lord Dagobert, in the eighth year of the indiction,...

Date: 679

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*.

No.501 Soyons.

Provenance: during a sondage in the church of Saint-Gervais in 1980. Location: Musée de Soyons. Marble tablet. Dimensions: 12 x 13 x 3 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[...]LTIVSA[...]
[Qui/ae] uixit in pace [...]
[.....]

[...], who lived in peace ...

Date: 675-700 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, date formula is governed by *transeo -ere*.

No.502 Soyons.

Provenance: during a sondage in the church of Saint-Gervais in 1980. *Location:* Musée de Soyons. Marble tablet. Dimensions: 12 x 9 x 3 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(dove) (Palm?) [dove]
[In h]oc t[umulo]
[requiescit ? ..]
[.....]

In this tombs rests ...

Date: 675-700 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit bonae memoriae*, date formula is governed by *transeo -ere*.

No.503 Suzette. Canton de Malaucène, Vaucluse.

ILGN. 182.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* built into a wall of the ferme Saint-Martin in Suzette. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 25 x 32 x 3 cm. Letters: 4.5. Text source: P.Reynolds.

[.....]
[...] idus ap(ri)lis obi-?
it Co(n)stanci[a? ...]
[.....]A[...]

[...] the ides of April, Co(n)stanci[a?] died ...

Date: April

No.504 Touloud. Canton de Saint-Péray, Ardèche.

ICG. 477; CIL.XII. 203*; RICG.XV. 17.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). White marble plaque. Dimensions: 15 x 26 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

In hoc tumolum reqisci-
t Saturninus dia(conus), q(ui) uixit
in pace / annus / XLVII et tran-
siit de hunc secol(o) rig-
ni do(min)i nostre Clodou-
eo reges IIII, indic(tione) oct-
aua.

In this tomb rests Saturninus, a deacon, who lived in peace for 47 years and departed this world in the fourth year of the reign of our lord, king Clovis, in the eighth year of the indiction.

Date: 694

Descombes has shown that there is a slight problem with the concordance between the eighth indictional year, which began in September 694, and the fourth year of the reign of Clovis III, which ended in April or May of that year. However, there can be no doubt that the year is 694 and that the date is after the first of September. There are some difficulties with the chronology of the reign of Clovis III but this date seems secure (RICG.XV: 231-232).

No.505 Tournon. Ardèche.

NR. 143; *CIL.XII.* 2652; *ILCV.* 1434a; *RICG.XV.* 30.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR.*

In hoc [tu]-
molo re[quie]-
scit fam[u]-
la Dei Bric-
ciofrida, qui
uixit an[nos?]
[.....]

In this tomb rests Briciofrida, a servant of God, who lived [...] years ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.506 Trept. Canton de Cremieu, Isère.

NR. 101; *CIL.XII.* 2367; *ILCV.* 1678adn; *ILGN.* 345; *RICG.XV.* 255.

Provenance: first recorded in the church. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Three marble fragments. Dimensions: 26 x 30 cm. approximately for the original dimensions. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

The first two fragments read:

[.....] ? O [.....]
[...]NRITTORV[...]
[f]ratrisq(u)e P[...]
[...]BS patrona [.]ROC[...]
[...]S uestris sollicita<t>u[...]
[...]CINIS c(u)m temporal(.)s T[...]
[...]XXV p(ost) c(onsulatum) lust(ini), indict(ione) XIII.

A third fragment reads: [...]MVNIA[...]
[...]OI[...]

Too fragmentary to translate except for the date: 25 years after the consulate of Iustinus, in the 13th year of the indiction.

Date: 565

The day and month may not have been inscribed, but if the reconstruction of the p.c. is correct, the 25th p.c. of Iustinus, in 565, and the indiction concurred, then the epitaph was set up during the first eight months of 565 because the 13th indiction began in the previous September, 564.

Reconstructions: *initium* and age formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases, date formula is governed by *transeo -ere*.

No.507 Urban. Canton de Beaumes-de-Venise, Vaucluse.

NR. 157; *CIL.XII.* 1498; *ILCV.* 2256.

Provenance: Urban, from the hill nearby named the montagne d'Urban in 1864. *Location:* a mould of the original, which seems to be lost, is conserved at the Musée Dauphinois, Grenoble. Small stone tablet. Dimensions: 27 x 25 x 6 cm. Letters: 1-1.5 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Quiescit in pace
bene memoria Epymi-
ni[us]. Vixit an(nu)s XV mens-

es III dies XXVII. Recessit
su(b di)e k(alendas) iunias, pos(t) co-
nsolatum ueri
Venantii c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
In (a)et(er)num, pax
tecum.

[Here] rests in peace Epymini[us], of fond memory. He lived for 15 years, three months, 27 days. He passed away on the kalends of June, in the year after the consulate of Venantius, clarissimus. Peace be with you for eternity.

Date: 1 June 485

This small marble tablet was found in 1864 in the ruins of a village once situated on the summit of mount Urban, now part of the commune of Beaumes-de-Venise. On line six *ueri* = *uiri* and the form of the abbreviation *CSSS* for *clarissimi consulis* on line seven is unusual. There are three consuls of this name, that of 508 is usually suffixed *iunior* so it is more likely that this is for the consul of either 484 or 507, with a preference for 484 on account of the formula *pax tecum*.

No.508 Vaison-la-Romaine. Vaucluse.

ICG. 490; *CIL.XII.* 1502; *ILCV.* 2249a adn.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery? It was discovered sometime during the nineteenth century.

Location: Cathedral de Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth, Vaison-la-Romaine. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 24 x 32 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *ICG*.

(Chi/Rho)
Florentiole,
pax
tecum.

Florentiolus, peace be with you.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.509 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 491; *CIL.XII.* 1503; *ILCV.* 1333.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery (*CIL*). *Location:* lost (*ILCV*). Manuscript.

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG*.

(Chi/Rho?)
Neclicia,
pax tecum
casta
Cristiana.

Neclicia, peace be with you, a chaste christian.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.510 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 495; *CIL.XII.* 1506; *ILCV.* 2247.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery? *Location:* lost (*ICG/ILCV*). Manuscript.

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG*.

(Chi/Rho)
Stafili,
pax tecum
in Deo !
haue, uale

Stafilius, peace be with you in God. Hail and farewell.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.511 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 497; CIL.XII. 1507; ILCV. 2249a adn.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery. Location: lost (ILCV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

*(Chi/Rho) Suso-
mine,
pax tecum.*

Susominus, peace be with you.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.512 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 498; CIL.XII. 1508; ILCV. 3999d.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery? It was found near the cathedral (CIL). Location: lost (ILCV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

*Teto cum Con-
cordia, anno(s)
XXVII
(Chi/Rho with alpha/omega)*

Teto, who lived in harmony with everyone for 27 years.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

This may be a double epitaph, Teto and his wife, Concordia; thus the numerals would record the number of years they were married.

No.513 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 499; CIL.XII. 1509; ILCV. 2249a adn.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery? Location: lost (ILCV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

*(Chi/Rho)
Vera,
pax te-
cum.*

Vera, peace be with you.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.514 Vaison-la-Romaine

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery? Location: Cathedral de Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth, Vaison-la-Romaine. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 48 x 39 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

*(palm) (Chi/Rho) (palm)
Vincenti,
pax
tecum.*

To Vincentius, peace be with you.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.515 Vaison-la-Romaine.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery? *Location:* Cathedral de Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth, Vaison-la-Romaine. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 57 x 24 cm. Letters: 2.5-3 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

laenuaria,
pax tecu-
m in Deo.
(horse) (Chi/Rho) (palm)

To laenuaria, peace be with you in God.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.516 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 501; *CIL.XII.* 1510; *ILCV.* 3578.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery? *Location:* lost (*ILCV*). Manuscript.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* *ICG*.

Titulo duor(um)
fra- ger-
tru- (Chi/Rho) ma-
m (with) no-
 (alpha/omega) rum.

(In this) tomb are buried two brothers.

Date: 325-400 (estimated).

No.517 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 493; *CIL.XII.* 1504; *ILCV.* 2897.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery? It was discovered in the vicinity (*CIL*). *Location:* lost (*ILCV*). Manuscript. *Dimensions:* unavailable. *Text source:* *ICG*.

Hic in pace requies-
cet bone memo-
rie Papitus qui
uixit annus L[?]
[?]^{III} menses VIII.
Obui[t] die quartu X
kal(endas) aug[ustas]
NB[.]BS [.....]
[...] co(n)s(ule) u(iro) c(larissimo).

Here in peace rests Papitus, of fond memory, who lived for [???] years, eight months. He died 14 days before the kalends of August, [in the year of the consulate of ...?], clarissimus.

Date: 19 July 475-540 (date range of years is estimated).

Le Blant points out that this could be restored to read a consular date of Flavius Nevitta, cons. 362. However, the formulae employed are too early and this is more certainly dated to the sixth century, possibly a p.c. of Basilius, cons. 541. The name is recorded as Rapius by Diehl, who also suggests Raptus or Rapidus.

No.518 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 496; CIL.XII. 1497; ILCV. 1927.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery. *Location:* lost (ICG/ILCV). Manuscript.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* ICG.

Rusticus uoto suo fecit.

(Chi/Rho)

Moritur bonae memoriae mater

mea Stephania sub die XIV k(a)l(endas)

nouembris die lunae luna XVII. Vixit

ann(os) XLVI Seuero et Iordane cons(ulibus).

Rusticus uoto suo fecit.

Rusticus made this in fulfillment of his vow. My mother Stephania, of fond memory, died 14 days before the kalends of November, on the 17th day of the Moon. She lived for 46 years. The year of the consulate of Severus and Iordanes, clarissimi. Rusticus made this in fulfillment of his vow.

Date: 19 October 470

Le Blant offers two readings for this epitaph; this is the second. The first has the first line enclosing the *Chi/Rho* monogram on three sides and the date, recording the Luna cycle, does not agree with the day as calculated from the *kalends* but the year is certainly 470.

No.519 Vaison-la-Romaine.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery? *Location:* Musée de Vaison-la-Romaine. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 25 x 18 x 4 cm. *Letters:* 1.5-2 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

Hic in pace re-

quiescit [...], bo-

ne memoriae, qui

uixit annos XX[?]

[Obiit su]b die [...]

[...], Auieno iun(ior)

cons(ule).

Here rests in peace [...], of fond memory, who lived for XX[?]. He died [... days before? / on the ...? of ...], in the year of the consulate of Avienus Iunior.

Date: 502

No.520 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 492; CIL.XII. 1499; ILCV. 211.

Provenance: first recorded in the cathedral in the eighteenth century and subsequently taken to the Musée Calvet in Avignon in 1828 (ICG/CIL). *Location:* Musée Calvet, Avignon. Large marble plaque. *Dimensions:* 67 x 1.35 x 16 cm. *Letters:* 2-2.5 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

- 1 Inlustris titulis meritisque haut dispar auorum,
Pantagatus, fragilem uitae cum linquerit usum,
malluit hic propriae corpus committere terrae,
quam precibus quaesisse solum. Si magna patronis
- 5 martyribus quaerenda quies, sanctissimus ecce
cum sociis paribusque suis Vincentius ambit
hos aditos seruatque domum dominumque tuetur
a tenebris lumen praebens de lumine uero. (ivy)
Militiam si forte roges quam gesserit ille
- 10 prestitiritque boni positus in luce superna,
quem sic Xpicolae celebrent post fata iacentem,
inuenies quod iura dedit, iustissima sanxit

arbitriis, nam custus patriae recturque uocatus
a patria, rexit quoniam promptissima ciues
15 libertate animi, parcus sibi, largus amicis
et fidus dominis, primum quod postulat ordo,
uitae ei aeternum fama transmittit in orbem.
abstulit hunc rebus decimo mors inuida lustro,
namque Senatoris posuit post cingula uitam.

Eminent in rank and deed, worthy of his ancestors, Pantagatus, when he departed this fragile existence, preferred that his remains be interred here on his own land than to solicit a resting place through his prayers. If one is to find eternal peace under the protection of the martyrs, behold ! The most saintly Vincentius, together with his companions and peers, watches over access to this place, protecting this house and guarding its lord from the darkness by casting over it a ray of the true light. Perhaps you may ask what functions this man filled, what deeds he undertook and what good he bestowed on those enjoying the heavenly light, so that the Christians revere him so after his death? You will find that he observed fair justice, dispensing it with equanimity, for he was called upon to be a guardian and protector for his country, where he fulfilled his duties readily on behalf of the people. Sparing with his own needs, generous to his friends and faithful to his masters, the most important demands made upon his position in life, his fame will attend him now and for evermore. Invidious death stole him away from the affairs of this life during his tenth lustra, for he laid down his life after the consulate of Senator.

Date: 515

It is difficult to ascertain whether this man held the rank of *domesticus*, *comes* or *dux*. CLRE excludes the date as only an allusion to the consul but it is retained here as genuine (CLRE: 602). The inscription is extant and the text is clear, so there can be no disagreement on the reading, nor is there any evidence to suggest that the date is inscribed thus in order to fit the available space but instead to fit the metre. On line 17 *uita ei* is restored correctly as *uita et* by Diehl. It is the tomb of an aristocrat who not only wanted to be buried amongst the saints, so to speak, but appears to have wished to found a family mausoleum, hence the calling upon the saints to look after it. Such mausolea were frequent during the Gallo-Roman period and, although it remains unproven, it may have consisted an edifice built onto the church, possibly a chapel. Alternatively, it may be that this was genuinely on his own estate, but the exact find spot of the epitaph is unknown.

No.521 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 489; CIL.XII. 1500; ILCV. 1166.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery? It was discovered in the seventeenth century in the wall of a courtyard and taken to the Musée Calvet in 1828 (ICG/CIL). *Location:* Musée Calvet, Avignon. Large marble slab, later re-used. Dimensions: 1.14 x 33 x 18 cm. Letters: 3.5 average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) [Hic i]n pace
requiescit
sanctae
memoriae
Eripius p(res)b(ite)r
qui uixit
an(nu)s XXVII
men(ses) X d(ies) XVIII.
Obiit VIII k(a)l(endas) f(e)br(uarias)
p(ost) c(onsulatum) iterum
Agapiti u(iri) c(larissimi)
cons(uli)s. (cross)

Here in peace rests Eripius, a presbyter, of holy memory, who lived for 27 years, ten months, 18 days. He died eight days before the kalends of February, two years after the consulate of Agapitus, clarissimus.

Date: 25 January 519

No.522 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 487; CIL.XII. 1501; ILCV. 1213.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery, the exact circumstances of discovery are unknown but it apparently served as the cover for an urn, possibly for a cremation (CIL). *Location:* lost (ILCV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

Hic in pace requiescit
bonae memoriae Amicus
diaconus, qui uixit annos
XXX. Obiit sub d(ie) III idus
ianuarias p(ost) c(onsulatum) iterum Pauli-
ni iun(ioris), indic(tione) quarta decima.

Here in peace rests Amicus, a deacon, of fond memory, who lived for 30 years. He died three days before the ides of January, two years after the consulate of Paulinus Iunior, in the 14th year of the indiction.

Date: 11 January 536

The p.c. date and indiction concur because the 14th indiction began in September the previous year, 535.

No.523 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 494; CIL.XII. 1505; ILCV. 1166 adn.

Provenance: Saint-Quenin cemetery. *Location:* lost (ILCV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

Hic in pace quiescit
Pelagius presbit[er],
qui uixit ann(os) [...]
[et] obiit [... ...]
[.....]

Here rests in peace Pelagius, a presbyter, who lived for [...] years. He died ...

Date: 475-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.524 Vaison-la-Romaine

ICG. 500.

Provenance: Saint-Quinin cemetery? It was discovered in 1835. *Location:* lost? it was in the Musée Calvet, Avignon, (ICG), but P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

[.....]
[...] qui u[ixit ...]
[...] obiit [...]
[...SV[.....]

... who lived for [...] years]. He/she died ...

Date: 500-525 (estimated).

initium phrase is governed by *quiesco* -ere, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.525 Vaison-la-Romaine

NR. 154; *CIL.XII.* 1511.

Provenance: first recorded in the church of Saint-Etienne. *Location:* lost? NR depended upon the information given by a M.Stevenson. Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

[.....]
[post?] cons(ulatum) AZ[?...]-
i iun(ioris), i[ndictione?]
[sec]unda.

... years after the consulate of AZ[...]/l iunior, in the second year of the indiction.

Date: 553, 568, 583, 598, 613 (estimated).

There is no sound reason to doubt that a consular and indictional date is present. However, no consul is known whose name begins AZ, so there must be a copyist's error here in the manuscript followed by Le Blant.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic in pace requiescit bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit sub die* + date.

No.526 Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence). Canton de Valence-Nord, Drôme.

NR. 145; *CIL.XII.* 1781; *ILCV.* 2904 adn; *RICG.XV.* 1.

Provenance: in 1881 at the house of M.Rebatel. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble plaque. Dimensions: 31 x 20 cm. Text source: NR.

[.....]
lus qui ui-
xit an(ni?)s LX.
Obiit in pace
VIII k(a)l(en)d(as)
agustas,
Maximo
u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).

[Here rests in peace? ...]lus, of fond memory, who lived for 60 years; he died in peace eight days before the kalends of August, during the consulate of Maximus.

Date: 25 July 523

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae* .

No.527 Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence)

ILGN. 261; *RICG.XV.* 2.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre, discovered nearby in 1902. *Location:* Musée de Valence. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 15 x 18 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(cross) [hi]c re[qui]-
escit in p[ace]
bone m[emoriae]
Euch[arius/a][.....]
[.....]

Here rests in peace Euch[...], of fond memory ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.528 Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence)

NR. 146; *CIL.XII.* 5858 a; *RICG.XV.* 3.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: *RICG.XV.*

h[ic] r[equi]-
esc[it bo]-
ne [memoriae]
[.....]

Here rests in peace [...], of fond memory ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos* + age, date formula is governed by *transeo -ere*.

No.529 Valence. Drôme.

ILGN. 262; *RICG.XV.* 4.

Provenance: Saint-Felix-hors-les-Murs in 1901. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 17 x 8 x 1.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[.....]us qui
[uixit ann]is V
[.....] obi-
[it]

[Here rests in peace? ...]us, [of fond memory?], who lived five years; he died ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.530 Valence

ICG. 474b; *CIL.XII.* 2487; *ILCV.* 1421a; *RICG.XV.* 5.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble plaque, re-used.

Dimensions: 26 x 44 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[Hic requie]scit in pace [bonae me]-
[morae] famulus De(i) Obtulfu[s]
[qui u]ixit annis XXX/VII/; cui d(e)p(ositio)
[. kal]endas februarias, se-
[?xie]s post cons(ulatum) Sym(a)c(hi) iuni(or)s
[uiri clarissi]mi cons(ulis)

Here rests in peace a servant of God, Obtulfus, of fond memory, who lived 37 years, and was buried here [... days before? / on the?] the kalends of February, six years after the consulate of Symmachus Iunior, clarissimus.

Date: January 491

No.531 Valence

RICG.XV. 5 bis; Gallia, 33, 1975, informations, 239.

Provenance: near the faubourg Saint-Jacques. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV*). Marble plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 8 x 13 x 3 cm. Letters: 1.5-2.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[.....]
INIVIA III KLS[.....Feli]-
ce u(iro) cl(a)r(issimo) con(sule)

[...] *three days before the kalends of [...], during the consulate of Felix, clarissimus.*

Date: 511

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos + age*.

No.532 Valence

RICG.XV. 6.

Provenance: unknown but discovered in about 1900. *Location:* Musée de Valence. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 13 x 29 x 6 cm. Letters: 2-3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[Hic ? / In hoc tumulo ?] req[ui]escit
[in p]ace (cross) bone
[memoria]e [?M]ontanus qui uixi-
[t annis ...] et menses septe
[?-m ?.....]

[Here? / In this tomb?] *rests in peace [M?]ontanus, of fond memory, who lived [...] years and seven months ...*

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc loco requiescit / in pace / bonae memoriae*, date formula is *obiit + date*.

No.533 Valence

RICG.XV. 7.

Provenance: Saint-Martin in 1945. *Location:* Musée de Valence. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 11 x 12.5 x 5 cm. Letters: 1.75-2.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[In hoc tumul]u requies[cit]
[in pace bonae m]emoriae [...]
[.....], qui uixit an[nis]
[.....]

In this tomb rests in peace [...], of fond memory, who lived [...] years ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace + date*.

No.534 Venasque. Vaocluse.

ICG. 507 707; CIL.XII. 1213; ILCV. 1064; Duchesne, FEAG.I:264.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* in the modern monastery of the Minimes at Venasque. Marble sarcophagus cover. Dimensions: cartouche 18 x 38 cm. Letters: 2-3 cm. Text source: ICG.

(cross) Hic requiesci[t]
bone memoriae B[oh]-
etyus Epes(copus), qui uixit [in e?]-
pto annus XX[...] mensis s(?eptem). [O]-
bit X k(a)l(endas) iun(ias), indiccione septima.

Here rests in peace Bishop Bohetyus, of fond memory, whose episcopacy lasted for 20(?) years, seven(?) months. He died ten days before the kalends of June, in the seventh year of the indiction.

Date: 23 April 604

No.535 Venasque

ICG. 708; Marrou, H.-I., 1970.

Provenance: Venasque, in the Prieuré Saint-Maurice. *Location:* Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras. Large marble plaque. Dimensions: 60 x 110 x 5 cm. Letters: 3-4 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

(cross) Cum tua te, Petrus, post multos transactis, trieterede, seclis,
requirat Cypriana dulces carissima coniunx,
septem supra beata conpleuit in secula per penetensia uita:
tuum de peregrinis excepit incleta corpus
et debita funeri honore summo perimplet:
sic ostendit planctibus qualem duxit cum coniuge uita,
quae trino sobolem remansit stemmate paruo,
quos inter uoraces et seuientes mundi procellas
sulo penetensiae castetates munere notret
et usque ad summa honorum culmena duxit.
Sic praesta, Deus, ut quorum sepulchra iuncxisti funere tanto,
eorum facias animas aspectus tui libertati gaudere.
XII kal(endas) iunias Tenarias intrauit Petrus fauces Auerni,
sed marter Baudelius per passionis die D(omi)no dulcem suum commendat alumnum.
VIII idus iulias ad Dominum ancilla festinat,
quae fuit sibi abstenens, in paupero meseroquae profusa.

After a long period of three years has passed in searching for you, O Petrus, your sweet and most beloved wife Cypriana has completed her happy life in penitence after a further seven years. This praiseworthy woman, having received your remains from a foreign land, carried out all the funeral rites owed to your remains. Thus she showed by her lamentations the sort of life she had led with her husband, and was left behind with three children, all still young. She has brought them up amid the wild and savage storms of this world with the help of her penitence and chastity alone, and has brought them to the highest honours. Therefore we beg you, O God, that you see to it that the souls of those whom you have placed side by side in a great tomb may freely rejoice hereafter in your favour. Twelve days before the kalends of June, Petrus entered the infernal regions of the lower world, (Tenarios Auerni), but Baudelius the martyr, through his day of passion has recommended this beloved servant to the Lord. Eight days before the ides of July, this handmaiden hastened to the Lord, who never gave a thought for herself, but was generous at all times to the poor and destitute.

Date: 21 May 500-600 (date range of years is estimated).

No.536 Vérenay. Commune d'Ampuis, Canton de Condrieu, Rhône.

NR. 123; CIL.XII. 2140; ILCV. 3280adn; RICG.XV. 38.

Provenance: discovered in 1865. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1012. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 25 x 26 x 10 cm. *Letters:* 3 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[In hoc tumulo requies]-
cit in pace bo[nae memori]-
ae Seuera, qu[ae uixit an(nos)]
LIII: obiit in XPO [.....no]-
nas iunias, [....]

[In this tomb] rests in peace Severa, of fond memory, who [lived for] 53 years; she died in Christ [... days before?] the nones of June ...

Date: June 540-600 (date range of years is estimated).

No.537 Vézeronce. Commune de Vézeronce-Curtin, Canton de Morestel, Isère.

ICG. 388; CIL.XII. 2384; ILCV. 1734; RICG.XV. 257.

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* inside the church of Vézeronce. Cippe.

Dimensions: 84 x 60 x 22 cm. *Letters:* 2-2.5 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

(Chi/Rho or star)
Hic requiescit in pa-
ce Aisberga puella
deo placita qu(a)e uir-
genalis actus omni-
oneste custodiens
uixet annis X/X/IV: tr-
ansiet d(ie) III k(alendas) dec(embres)
ind(ictione) XV, Olibrio iuni-
ore cuns(ule). (ivy)

Here rests in peace Aisberga, a virgin pleasing to God, and who, whilst retaining the honour that her chastity afforded. She lived for 24 years. She passed away four days before the kalends of December, in the 15th year of the indiction, in the year of the consulate of Olybrius Iunior.

Date: 28 November 491

The consular date and the indiction concur because the 15th indiction began in September 491.

No.538 Vienne. Isère.

ICG. 450; CIL.XII. 2091; ILCV. 4728adn; RICG.XV. 41.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.859. Stone flag, re-used. *Dimensions:* 79 x 45 x 18 cm. *Letters:* 2.5 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[.....]
[... ? fede pre]ce[pua],
[? natal-/ ? omn]ibus ca-
ra, pauperebus pia,
mancipiis benig-
na: orauit semper
quod obtinere meruit:
quae uixit annus plus
menus LXV: obiit in pace
(ivy) kal(endas) nouembres, XXVI
post cons(ulatum) Basili
uiri cl(a)r(issimi) cons(ulis), indic(tione)
quarta decema. (ivy)

... [of exceptional faith?], loved by [all? / her children?], compassionate to the poor, benigne to her slaves; she prayed constantly so that she might receive according to her merits. She lived for about 65 years and died in peace on the kalends of November, 26 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the 14th year of the indiction.

Date: 1 November 567

The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur. The 26th p.c. of Basilius was in 567, and the date, 1 November, coincides with the first indiction, not the 14th recorded here which ended at the end of August 566.

Reconstructions: *initium is hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae .*

No.539 Vienne

ICG. 449; CIL.XII. 2093; ILCV. 2905; RICG.XV. 42.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. **Location:** Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.862. Stone flag, re-used. Dimensions: 36 x 47 x 12 cm. Letters: 2 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[... ? omni-/? parenti]-
bus dolum, qae uixit
annus septem
et mensis plus men(us) X:
obiit in pace sub die c(alen)d(a)s
septembris, XXXIII p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili
u(iri) c(larissimi) con(sulis), indic(tione) sexta.

... a cause of grief to [all? / her parents?], who lived for seven years and about ten months. She died in peace on the kalends of September, 33 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the sixth year of the indiction.

Date: 1 September 574

The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur. The 33rd p.c. of Basilius was in 574, and this inscription is dated 1 September, the actual day that the eighth indiction began. The sixth indiction recorded here ran from September 572 until the end of August 573, and had thus ended over a year earlier.

Reconstructions: *initium is hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae .*

No.540 Vienne

ICG. 412; CIL.XII. 2115; ILCV. 2172; RICG.XV. 39.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais. **Location:** Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.881. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 27.5 x 46 x 4 cm. Letters: 2 cm. average. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(palm) (dove) (monogram) (dove) (palm)
Foedula quae mundum Domino miserante
reliquit, hoc iacet in tumulo quem dedit alma
fides. Martini quondam proceris sub dextera
tinta, crimina deposuit fonte re-
nata Dei. Nunc marturibus sedem
tribuentibus aptam, Cerbasium
procerem Protasiumq(ue) colit. Emeri-
tam requiem titulo sortita fidele,
confessa est sanctis quae sociata iacet.

Foedula, who by the Lord's mercy has departed this world, lies here in this tomb which her saintly faith has provided. Formerly baptised by the hand of noble Martin, she renounced her sins and was born again in the holy water. Now, with the martyrs according her a worthy abode, she venerates the noble Gervasius and Protasius. She has merited her rest in this tomb through her faith. A confessor herself, she now lies close by the saints themselves.

Date: 400-425 (estimated).

No.541 Vienne

ICG. 458c; *CIL.XII.* 2083; *ILCV.* 2892adn; *RICG.XV.* 40.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.846. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 26 x 40 x 3.5 cm. *Letters:* 1.5-3.5 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[hic requiescit i]n pace bone memo-
[riae ...]dius infans,
[qui uixi]t plus menus
[annos] duodece: obiit
[... p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basi]li u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).

[Here rests] in peace [...]dius, a child of fond memory, who lived for about 12 years; he died [on the ..., in the ... year after the consulate of] Basilius, clarissimus.

Date: 541-600 (estimated).

No.542 Vienne

ICG. 401; *CIL.XII.* 2104; *ILCV.* 3475; *RICG.XV.* 43.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1829. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 10-23 x 26.5 x 5 cm. *Letters:* 2-2.5 cm. *Text source:* *ICG.*

Hic requiescit in
pace Armenta-
ria, quae uixit
ann(os) IIII, mens(es) VI:
[s]urriatura cum
[dies] D(omi)ni adueni (sic)
[dove] (dove)

Here rests in peace Armentaria, who lived for four years, six months. She will rise up again when the day of the Lord has come.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.543 Vienne

ICG. 403a; *CIL.XII.* 2108; *ILCV.* 3140; *RICG.XV.* 44.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.873. Stone plaque.

Dimensions: 33 x 55.5 x 4.5 cm. *Letters:* 4-6 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

Requ- (monogram) -euet
Cas<t>ina in <p>ac(e),
[q]ui u(i)x(it) a<n>n(os) XXV.

Castina rests in peace, she lived for 25 years.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.544 Vienne

ICG. 458e; *CIL.XII.* 2109; *ILCV.* 1432adn; *RICG.XV.* 45.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.874. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 19.5 x 36 x 13 cm. *Letters:* 2.5-3 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[I]n hoc tumolo deq-
escit in pace bona[e]
memoriae famo[la De]-

i Esmeria, quae uixit
[.....]

In this tomb rests in peace Esmeria, of fond memory, a servant of God, who lived ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit in Christo/XPO* + date (or slight variation).

No.545 Vienne

ICG. 414; *CIL.XII.* 2118; *ILCV.* 3470; *RICG.XV.* 46.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.885. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 32 x 29.5 x 4 cm. *Letters:* 2.5 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(star) (cross) (star)

Hic reqiescit in
pae Iniuoriusus,
qui uixit annus
IIII, m(enses) VIII, d(ies) I: risurrec-
tus in Xpo. Fecit ma-
ter Euladia. (*Chi/Rho*)

Here rests in peace Iniuoriusus, who lived for four years, nine months, one day. He will rise up again in Christ. His mother, Euladia made (this tomb).

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.546 Vienne

ICG. 416; *CIL.XII.* 2119; *ILCV.* 3176a; *RICG.XV.* 47.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.887. Marble, re-used.

Dimensions: 24.5 x 27 x 4 cm. *Letters:* 2.3 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

Hic requiesciit
<i>n pace Leonia,
qui uixi<t> annos
IIII, menses VI.
(*cross*)

Here rests in peace Leonia, who lived for four years, six months.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.547 Vienne

ICG. 418; *CIL.XII.* 2120; *ILCV.* 3472; *RICG.XV.* 48.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.888. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 26.5 x 24.5 x 3 cm. *Letters:* 3 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

Hic requies-
cit (*palm*) Lopa, qui
uisxit ann-
os (*palm*) L et (*palm*) men-
ses (*palm*) IIII. Resor-
ge in Cris-
to. (*palm*)

Here rests Lopa, who lived for 50 years and four months. She will rise up again in Christ.

Date: 450-510 (estimated).

No.548 Vienne

ICG. 419; CIL.XII. 2121; ILCV. 3473; RICG.XV. 49.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.889. Thin marble flag. Dimensions: 68 x 29 x 10 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. average. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic requiescit in pa-
ci Lupicinus,
qui uixit annos nu-
mero XXXV
plus minus, /qui/ <r>ecset III
non(as) octob(res).
Resurrecturus cum
sanctis.
(monogram)

Here rests in peace Lupicinus, who lived for about 35 years and who passed away three days before the nones of October. He will rise up again with the saints.

Date: 5 October 450-500 (date range of years is estimated).

No.549 Vienne

ICG. 421; CIL.XII. 2124; ILCV. 1594; RICG.XV. 50.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.878. Not seen by P.Reynolds in 1987. Stone plaque. Dimensions: 38 x 85, (fragment: 19 x 27 x 8 cm), Letters: 4 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hoc iacet in tumulo sacra qui mysti-
ca semper diuisit populis; pietate,
honore decorus;
quem nemus aelysium Marinum
conclamat omne.

Here lies in this tomb a man who tirelessly administered the Eucharist to the faithful and was distinguished by his piety and sense of honour. a man whose name the whole Elysian forest proclaims, Marinus.

The inscription is composed of three hexameters:

Hoc iacet in tumulo sacra qui mystica semper
diuisit populis, pietate, honore decorus,
quem nemus aelysium Marinum conclamat omne.

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

No.550 Vienne

ICG. 422a; CIL.XII. 2126; ILCV. 2909adn; RICG.XV. 51.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.894. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 32.5 x 34.5 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.5-3.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic iacit Mar-
tinus, qui <u>ixit
annis duos, m-
ensis II, di<e>s <III>, BAA
TNS in pace.

Here lies Martinus, who lived two years, two months, three days; [he passed away?] in peace.

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

No.551 Vienne

ICG. 427; CIL.XII. 2131; ILCV. 3468a; RICG.XV. 52.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.900. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 60 x 46.5 x 4 cm. Letters: 2.8 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[Hic re]quiescit
[in pa]ce Nigrinia-
[nus], subdiaconus,
qui uixi<t> ann(os) plus
minus octogen-
ta: resurrecturus
in Christo. Reces-
sit XVIII k(alendas) maias.
(dove) (monogram) (dove)

Here rests in peace Nigrinianus, a subdeacon, who lived for about 80 years. He will rise up again in Christ. He passed away 18 days before the kalends of May.

Date: 14 April 475-500 (date range of years is estimated).

No.552 Vienne

ICG. 439; CIL.XII. 2146; ILCV. 3469a; RICG.XV. 53.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. Location: Musée de Vienne. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 36 x 45.5 x 14 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. average. Text source: RICG.XV.

(dove) (monogram) (dove)
(alpha/omega)
Hic requiescit in pace
Valeria, quae uixit anus
III, m(enses) VIII, dies XI: resurrec-
tura in Christo. (palm)
(monogram) (monogram)

Here rests in peace Valeria, who lived for three years, eight months, 11 days: she will rise up again in Christ.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.553 Vienne

ICG. 440; CIL.XII. 2148; RICG.XV. 54.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.838. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 60 x 47 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.7-3 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(dove) (Chi/Rho) [dove]
Hic iacet in p[ace]
Venantius.

Here lies in peace Venantius.

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

No.554 Vienne

ICG. 441; CIL.XII. 2149; RICG.XV. 55.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.827. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 85 x 40 x 15 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(cross) (cross) (cross)
[Hic re]quiescit
[in p]ace Venerio-
sa, qui uixit
annus XXVIII.
(Chi/Rho)
(dove) (vase) (dove)

Here rests in peace Veneriosa, who lived for 28 years.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.555 Vienne

ICG. 452; CIL.XII. 2170; ILCV. 3470adn; RICG.XV. 56.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.841. Not seen by P.Reynolds in 1987. Stone plaque. Dimensions: 40 x 50 x 3 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
[... resurre]cturus
in Christo: recesit
III idus maias. (palm)
(vase with flowers)

...; he will rise up again in Christ; he died three days before the ides of May.

Date: 13 May 450-500 (date range of years is estimated).

Reconstructions: initium is hic requiescit in pace, age formula is qui/quae uixit annos plus minus.

No.556 Vienne

NR. 444; ILGN. 321; RICG.XV. 57.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1891, in the cellar of a house in the cours Romestang. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1019. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 17 x 22 x 8 cm. Letters: 2.2 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[Hic requiesci]t in pace
[....., q]ui uixit anno-
[?sd]ies VIII: resur-
[recturus/a c]um dies D(omi)ni ad-
[ueneri]t.

Here rests in peace [...], who lived for [...] years, [... months?], nine days. [He/she] will rise up again when the day of the Lord arrives.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.557 Vienne

ICG. 458d; CIL.XII. 2107; ILCV. 1810adn; RICG.XV. 58.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.805. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 32.5 x 16 x 3 cm. Letters: 1.5-4 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[... ? p]ietatem
[...] in hoc
[...] ut me
[...] ? b]aselice
[...] omne

[...] qui uixit
[... d]epos<it>io est
[.....]ER
[.....]

... piety ... in this ... basilica ... all ...; who lived [... years?]. He was buried here ...

Date: 525-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*.

No.558 Vienne

ICG. 456; CIL.XII. 2175c; RICG.XV. 59.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. Location: Musée de Vienne. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 18 x 16 x 3.7 cm. Letters: 2.8 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
[...]a omnibus
[...]a, qui uixit
[annos] plus minus
[...: obi]it in Xpo
[.....]

... [loved by?] everyone, [...]a, who lived about [... years]; she died in Christ ...

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*.

No.559 Vienne

ICG. 455; CIL.XII. 2175a; RICG.XV. 60.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Marble plaque. Dimensions: 15 x 15 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic re[quiescit]
in pace [...]-
us, infa[ns, qui]
[ui]xit di[es ...]:
? [.....]

Here rests in peace [...]us, a child, who lived [...] days ...

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.560 Vienne

ICG. 458a; CIL.XII. 2175b; RICG.XV. 61.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Marble plaque. Dimensions: 12 x 20 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
infantis a[...]
abstulit at[...]
[.....]

Date: 400-500 (estimated).

Le Blant notes that line two might have been influenced by a line from Virgil, *abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo* (*Aeneid*, VI, 429; see also XI, 28).

Reconstructions: initium, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.561 Vienne

ICG. 458b; *CIL*.XII. 2100; *RICG*.XV. 62.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais in 1853. *Location*: lost (*RICG*.XV). Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 14 x 10 cm. Text source: *RICG*.XV.

[.....]
[... an]nus plu[s]
[minus .]XXXV: [o(biit)]
[kalen]das dec(embres)
[...] p(ost) con[s(ulatum)]
[.....]

... who lived about [35? / 45? / 85?] years; [he / she] died [... days before / on?] the kalends of December, [...] year(s) after the consulate of [..., clarissimus].

Date: November 541-600 (date range of years is estimated).

Reconstructions: initium is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*.

No.562 Vienne

ICG. 454; *CIL*.XII. 2171; *RICG*.XV. 63.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais. *Location*: lost (*RICG*.XV). Dimensions: 18 x 35 cm.

Text source: *RICG*.XV.

SIITEROM AVGVST
uixit annos tres et
[...] quattor [...]
[...]RVNT [?fili]o
[...]CR[...]VL[...]

..., who lived for three years and four months ...

Date: 400-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: initium has the name in the nominative with no verb governing the phrase.

No.563 Vienne

ICG. 457 457a.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais? This is not included in *RICG*.XV. *Location*: lost? Not seen by P.Reynolds in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 10 x 11 cm. Text source: *ICG*.

obverse: [...]RES[...] *reverse*: [...]QVILI[...]
 [...]MPO[...] [...]TIMA[...]

No.564 Vienne

ICG. 458.

Provenance: Saint-Gervais. This is not included in *RICG.XV*. *Location:* lost? It formed part of the Girard collection which was donated to the Musée de Vienne. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* *ICG*.

[.....]
[...]*ASCEN*[...]
[...]*RAND*[.....]
[. s]*EMPE*[r ?.]
[.....]

No.565 Vienne

ILGN. 296; *RICG.XV*. 65.

Provenance: Notre-Dame d'Outre-Gère. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.814. Marble plaque. *Dimensions:* 74 x 41 x 4 cm. *Letters:* 3.5-3.8 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV*.

Hic requie[scit]
in pace bo[nae]
memori[ae]
Peleger, [qui uixit]
annos [...]
mense[s] III et dies
III: obiit III non(as)
ianuarias,
Abieno iun(iore) u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).
(dove) (cross) (dove)
(vase with flowers)

Here rests in peace Peleger, of fond memory, who lived [...] years, three months and four days. He died on the third day before the nones of January, in the year of the consulate of Avienus Iunior, clarissimus.

Date: 3 January 502

No.566 Vienne

ICG. 437; *CIL.XII*. 2063; *ILCV*. 3550; *RICG.XV*. 66.

Provenance: Saint-Sévère. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV*). *Dimensions:* unavailable. *Text source:* *RICG.XV*.

In hoc tomolom
requiescit in pa-
ce bone memoriae
Simplicius, qui ui-
xit annos plus mi-
nus XC: obiit in pace
V k(alendas) nouembris,
Felice u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).

In this tomb rests in peace, Simplicius, of fond memory, who lived for about 90 years. He died in peace fives days before the kalends of November, in the year of the consulate of Felix, clarissimus.

Date: 28 October 511

No.567 Vienne

ICG. 435; CIL.XII. 2070; ILCV. 1671; RICG.XV. 67.

Provenance: Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: RICG.XV.

In hoc tomolo requi-
escit bonae memoriae
Scurpillosa, religiosa,
quae uixit plus minus
annos XXXXVIII: obiit
in pace prid(ie) kal(endas) sept(embres),
Opilione [u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule)].

In this tomb rests Scurpillosa, a nun, of fond memory, who lived for about 48 years. She died in peace on the day before the kalends of September, during the consulate of Opilio, clarissimus.

Date: 31 August 524

No.568 Vienne

ICG. 411; CIL.XII. 2086; ILCV. 3550b; RICG.XV. 68.

Provenance: Saint-Sévère. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.855. Cippe.

Dimensions: 60 x 40 x 20.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

In hoc tomo/lo/ requies/cit/ in
pace bonememo-
rius Flurinus, qui uixit
annus p(lus) men(us) XXXX:
obiet in pacae p(ri)diae III
kal(endas) agustas,
sepsies deces p(ost) c(onsulatum) B[a]-
sili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), ind(iction)e [...]

In this tomb rests in peace Flurinus, of fond memory, who lived for about 40 years. He died in peace three days before the kalends of August, 17 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the [sixth?] year of the indiction.

Date: 29 July 558

The indictional year is missing: the 17th p.c. of Basilius was in 558, but in July it was still the sixth indictional year, which had begun in September 557. Thus, the indiction should have been terminated by the numerals VI. The lack of concordances between the p.c. and indictions at this time make it equally likely that the indiction could have read VII, which began in September 558. The formula *P DIAE IIII* seems to be a lapidary error, but still leaves open the question as to the meaning, which could have been the day before the fourth day before the *kalends* of August, or four days before the *kalends* of August. Whichever was the case, the addition of *IIII* after the possible abbreviation *P* for *pridie* suggests that four days was intended, and that 31 July seems more likely than the 30 July.

No.569 Vienne

ICG. 406; CIL.XII. 2090; ILCV. 1432; RICG.XV. 69.

Provenance: Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère. Location: lost (RICG.XV).

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: RICG.XV.

In hoc tomolo quiescit in pace
bonae memoriae famola Dei
Dulcitia, sanc(timonialis), morebus optimis,
uolontate diff[us]a, charitate
largissima: quae uixit plus
menus ann(os) XXXV: obiit
in pace non(o) kal(endas) maias,
X[XV?/XXX?/L?] p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) cons(ulis),

indictione quarta decima.

In this tomb rests in peace Dulcitia, of fond memory, a servant of God, an avowed virgin, a woman of the highest moral integrity, always extending kindness to others, and ever extremely generous. She lived for about 35 years and died in peace nine days before the kalends of May, [25?, 40?, 55?] years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the 14th year of the indiction.

Date: 23 April 566

The p.c. date can be reconstructed to read either XXV or LX, the 25th or 40th p.c. of Basilius, which fell in 566 and 581 respectively. The date is the 23rd April, which would concord with either of the two 14th indictions beginning in September 565 and 580 respectively. The numerals would have to be restored as XXV for 566 and XXXX for 581 in order to fit the text layout. The form XXXX is rare, XL being more common, but it is not unique, see No.603 for another example. Any later date is unlikely in view of the palaeography, and it must be emphasised that a p.c. for 566 could also have read XXVI, the 26th p.c. in 567, thereby leading to no concordance between the p.c. date and the indiction. On balance this inscription is most likely dated to 566, the 25th p.c. of Basilius.

No.570 Vienne

ICG. 432b; CIL.XII. 2092; ILCV. 1421; RICG.XV. 173.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find in a house in the place de Saint-Maurice in 1862. Possibly from Saint-Sévère (RICG.XV, who compares it with RICG.XV:68). *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.861. Stone plaque, re-used. Dimensions: 98 x 48 x 23 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

(tabella ansata)

(rose)

In hoc tumolo requi-
escit in pace famolus
D(e)i Pompedius, qui ui[xit]
annus plus minus XII:
obiit in pace duode-
cimo kal(endas) ianuari-
as, XXXI post cons(ulatum)
Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) con(sulis),
indic(tione) quarta
(?flower) (vase) (?flower)

In this tomb rests in peace Pompedius, a servant of God, who lived for about 12 years. He died in peace 22 days before the kalends of January, 31 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the fourth year of the indiction.

Date: 21 December 572

The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur. The 31st p.c. of Basilius was in 572 and the fourth indiction ran from September 570 until the end of August 571. The date, 21 December, requires the indiction to be the sixth for there to be a concordance.

No.571 Vienne

ILGN. 294; RICG.XV. 70.

Provenance: Saint-Sévère in 1894. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.804. Stone flag. Dimensions: 40 x 30 x 15-18 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic requi[es]-
cit in pa[ce]
Hilarin[us/a],
IC QVIT
Placi[d...]

Here rests in peace Hilarin[us/a], ...

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.572 Vienne

ICG. 438; CIL.XII. 2143; ILCV. 3579; RICG.XV. 72.

Provenance: Saint-Sévère. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.880. Stone flag.

Dimensions: 106 x 56 x 13 cm. Letters: 3-3.8 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Castitas, fides, caritas,
pietas, obsequium
et quaecumque Deus
faeminis inesse
praecepit, his ornata
bonis Sofroni-
ola in pace quiescit.
Martinianus,
iugalis eius, titulum
ex more dicabit.
Obiit octaum idus iunias.

Chastity, faith, charity, piety, obedience and every virtue that God has ordained should be found in women: Sofroniola was blessed with all these qualities and now rests here in peace. Martinianus, her husband, has dedicated this epitaph as custom dictates. She died eight days before the ides of June.

From line 3 onwards this inscription comprises three hexameters:

et quaecumque Deus faeminis inesse praecepit,
his ornata bonis Sofroniola in pace quiescit.
Martinianus, iugalis eius, titulum ex more dicabit.

Date: 6 June 450-500 (date range of years is estimated).

No.573 Vienne

ICG. 428; CIL.XII. 2153; ILCV. 1167; RICG.XV. 73.

Provenance: Saint-Sévère. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: RICG.XV.

[In hunc] tumolum requies[?cunt mem]-
[?bra....]olibi pri(s)b(yderi), qui primo [...]
[.....] consiensia, fede puru[s, ...]
[.....] prouedus, beneg[nus ...],
[.....]ans, amatus [...]:
[uixit ann]us p(lus) me[n(us) ...]
[.....]

In this tomb rest [the remains?] of [...]olibi, a priest of high moral values(?), pure of faith, [...], provident, kind, [...], well loved ...; he lived for about ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.574 Vienne

ILGN. 289; *RICG.XV*. 74.

Provenance: Saint-Sévère, in the cemetery in 1894. *Location*: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1068.
Marble fragment. Dimensions: 15 x 17 x 8 cm. Letters: 2.5-3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[.....]FII[...]
[....]EN TEE VV[...]
[.....]TVLII QV[...]
[.....] mater DEI [...]
[.....]MA soror q[uem ...]
[.....] mersit [...]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.575 Vienne

NR. 113; *CIL.XII*. 2074; *ILCV*. 1690adh; *RICG.XV*. 177.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find in the quartier de la Bâtie in 1872 and possibly from Saint-Sévère (*RICG.XV*). *Location*: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.997. Marble, re-used.
Dimensions: 25 x 31 x 3.5-5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[? Hic r]equiescit SPIAVERA[...]
[...a]nnos et VII dies in HA[...]
[...d]isceplina IVC caelo [...]
[.....] lpatii [...]

Here rests [...], who lived for [...] years and seven days, [...] a disciple [of Christ? ...]

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.576 Vienne

ICG. 409; *CIL.XII*. 2114; *ILCV*. 3346; *RICG.XV*. 71.

Provenance: Saint-Théodore, a chapel of Saint-Sévère. *Location*: lost (*RICG.XV*).
Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

D :(:): M
Septenis decies cum Eus-
tacia uixerit annis,
hoc electa Deo condi-
tur in tumulo,
Deponens senio terris
mortalia membra,
sed reuehens coelo pro
meritis animam.

The metre reads thus:

Septenis decies cum Eustacia uixerit annis,
hoc electa Deo conditur in tumulo,
Deponens senio terris mortalia membra,
sed reuehens coelo pro meritis animam.

Having lived for 70 years, Eustacia, chosen by God, is buried in this tomb, leaving her aged mortal remains in the earth but her merits carry her soul to Heaven.

Date: 375-450 (estimated).

No.577 Vienne

ICG. 448; CIL.XII. 2056; ILCV. 250 adn; RICG.XV. 75.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Manuscript.

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: RICG.XV.

[Hic requies]cit uir spectabilis onae
[memoriae ...]idi<g>ernus, qui uixit
[... e]t transiit sub die
[... oct]obris, Fausto uiro c(larissimo)
con(sule).

Here rests [...]idigemus, spectabilis, of fond memory, who lived [...], and passed away on the [...] of October, in the year of the consulate of Faustus, clarissimus.

Date: 483

No.578 Vienne

NR. 105; CIL.XII. 2057; ILCV. 2888adn; RICG.XV. 76.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre, it was first recorded in the garden of the abbey in 1783. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic requiescit in pa-
ce bonae memoriae
Calumniosa, quae
uixit annis (ivy) XL
et obiit XV k(a)l(en)d(as) iun(ias),
Symmacho (ivy) u(iro) c(larissimo) con(sule).

Here rests in peace Calumniosa, of fond memory, who lived for 40 years and died 15 days before the kalends of June, in the year of the consulate of Symmachus, clarissimus.

Date: 18 May 485

The Symmachus cons. 522 is doubtful here because he is usually mentioned with his colleague, Boethius.

No.579 Vienne

ICG. 689; CIL.XII. 2073; ILCV. 3471; RICG.XV. 77.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.810. Marble flag. Dimensions: 55 x 38 x 1 cm. Letters: 1.7-1.9 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic requiescit in pace famu-
lus Dei Vranus, qui [u]ixit an(no)s
XLIII: obiit XIII[?] k(alendas) ianuar(ia)s,
Olibrio u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ule).
Resurgit in Cristo. (ivy)
(peacock) (vase with flowers) (peacock).

Here rests in peace a servant of God, Vranus, who lived for 43 years; he died 13 (14?) days before the kalends of January, in the year of the consulate of Olybrius, clarissimus. He will rise up again in Christ.

Date: 20 December 491

The Q in *qui* is reversed. The plaque is set into another stone which formed either a sarcophagus or tomb cover. The dimensions are given for the plaque only. The date may have been 19 December and terminating formula suggests that the date is 491 and Olybrius is the Eastern consul, not homonymous Western consul of 526.

No.580 Vienne

ILGN. 295; *RICG.XV.* 155.

Provenance: Vienne, in the Champ de Mars in 1896, possibly from Saint-Pierre (*RICG.XV*)

.Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.813. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 29 x 21 x 4 cm.

Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic re[quiescit]
in pace b[one memoriae]
Diegene[s ...]
qui uixit a[nnos]
XLII: obiit [...]
nob(embres), Abi[eno u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule)] (?)
/ Abi[eno iun(iore) u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule)]. (?)

Here rests in peace Diegenes, of fond memory, who lived for 42 years. He died [on the ...] of November, in the year of the Consulate of Avienus, clarissimus. (or Avienus Iunior, clarissimus?).

Date: 501

The month is possibly November, but it is not possible to determine whether this is Avienus cons. 501 or 502.

No.581 Vienne

CIL.XII. 2367; *ILCV.* 1678; *ILGN.* 297; *RICG.XV.* 78.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1893. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.815. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 42 x 37 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

In hoc tumulo requi-
escit bonae memoriae
Ananthailda, sanc-
timonialis, cui D(omi)n(u)s
aeternam requiem tre-
buat: semper deuota s(an)c(t)is,
pauperibus larga: obiet
VIII <k>(alendas) mai(as), p(ost) c(onsulatum) Venanti. Re-
surrectura in pace.

In this tomb rests Ananthailda, of fond memory, an avowed virgin, to whom the Lord has accorded eternal rest. At all times devoted to the saints and generous to the poor, she died eight days before the kalends of May, in the year after the consulate of Venantius. She will arise again in peace.

Date: 24 April 509

Venantius cons. 508 is accepted here, following *RICG.XV.* on account of the formulae employed and the Germanic name, factors which are uncommon before the end of the fifth century. Thus the year is 509, unless this is a p.c. of the consul of the same name of the previous year, but whose consulate was announced late in that year.

No.582 Vienne

ICG. 691; *CIL.XII.* 2065; *RICG.XV.* 105.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV*). Stone flag.

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]SS[...]
[..]FELI[.....]

Date: 511

No.583 Vienne

ICG. 693; CIL.XII. 2067; ILCV. 3278; RICG.XV. 79.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 20 x 38 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
 [... ob]iit in Xpo o[ctauo ?]
 [... m]artias, Floren[tio]
 et Anthe[mio]
 [u(iris) c(larissimis) c(onsulibus)].

... died in Christ [eight?] days before the [...] of March, in the year of the consulates of Florentius and Anthemius, clarissimi.

Date: 515

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae, age formula is qui/quae uixit annos plus minus.

No.584 Vienne

ILGN. 299; RICG.XV. 80.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1893. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.821. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 20 x 12 x 4 cm. Letters: 4 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
 [... uixit plus]
 [minu]s L a[nnos];
 [obiit] in pa[ce]
 [..] k(a)l(endas) dece[mbr(es)],
 [Agap]eto
 [u(iro) c(larissimo)] c(onsule). (ivy)

... who lived for about 50 years. [He/she died] in peace [...] days before the kalends of December, in the year of the consulate of Agapitus, [clarissimus].

Date: November 517

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae.

No.585 Vienne

ILCV. 2440; ILGN. 301; RICG.XV. 82.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1893. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1084. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 94 x 40 x 7 cm. Letters: 3.5-3.7 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Meritis pariterque
 et nomine Celsa, hic
 corpus caelebam, nam
 spiritum caelo refudit
 almo. Mundana spre-
 uit, carne subacta cru-
 ci, maetuensque pros-
 pera, semper aduersa
 ridens: sic sodales cunc-
 tas diuinctas habens,
 seseque praebuit omni-
 bus alunnam. Non in-
 par decem sapientibus pu-
 ellis, accenso oliuo, spon-

sum praestolata Xpm.

Cuius dep(ositio) IIII non(as) mart(ias) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Ag[a]piti.

Celsa both in name and deed, she has left here her mortal remains, vowed to celibacy, for her soul has taken its place in its celestial home. She spumed worldly affairs and subdued her flesh to the Cross. She feared material prosperity and laughed at adversity. She held all her companions united whilst showing herself to be the servant of all. The equal of the ten wise virgins, she awaited with lamp alight her bridegroom, Christ. She was buried on the fourth day before the Nones of March, in the year after the consulate of Agapitus.

Date: 4 March 518

No.586 Vienne

NR. 121a; ILGN. 293; RICG.XV. 83.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre district in 1889. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.825. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 29 x 20 x 5.5 cm. Letters: 3.2 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]

IIII: obiit [... lus]-

tini Aug[usti: resur]-

get in [Christo].

(dove) (vase) [dove]

... [who lived for] four [years?, months?, days?], he/she died [...], [in the year of? / ... years after?] the consulate of [lus?]tinus Aug[ustus]. [He/she] will arise again in Christ.

Date: 520

The consul is the Eastern emperor but it is not certain whether this is his first or second consulate. The earlier consulate is followed here, although the second remains a possibility. The numerals *IIII* may denote either the years, months or days lived.

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulto requiescit in pace bonae memoriae, age formula is qui/quae uixit annos ... menses ... dies.

No.587 Vienne

ICG. 694; CIL.XII. 2071; RICG.XV. 84.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.828. Cipolin marble. Dimensions: 90 x 71 x 7 cm. Letters: 4-4.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(cross) Hic req[uiescit]

i[n] pace bon[ae]

m[e]moria[e ...]-

gernus, qui u[ixit]

annos plus m[inus]

XXXI[?; o]biit VIII k[a(lendas)]

[s]ep[te]mbras,

V[pi]lione u(iro) c(larissimo) con(sule).

Here rests in peace [...]gernus, of fond memory, who lived for about 31(?) years. He died nine days before the kalends of September, in the year of the consulate of Opilio, clarissimus.

Date: 24 August 524

No.588 Vienne

ILCV. 180; ILGN. 302; RICG.XV. 85.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1893. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.829. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 30 x 40 x 13 cm. *Letters:* 3.5 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[Hic requiescit in pace Ma]trona,
[....., a]stuta, simplix,
[... ?mod/?hon]esta, magnis qondam
[orta p]arentibus, qui uixit annos
[...]: obiit VI k(a)l(endas) martias, (ivy)
[p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Opilionis,
[u(iro)? c(larissimo)? c(onsule)?].

[Here rests in peace Ma]trona, [...], astute, guileless, [moderate? / honest?], born of noble parents, now departed, who lived for [...] years; she died six days before the kalends of March, [in the year after?] the consulate of Opilio, [clarissimus].

Date: 24 February 525

Reconstructions: initium is hic requiescit in pace.

No.589 Vienne

ICG. 695; CIL.XII. 2072; RICG.XV. 86.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.830. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 34 x 53 x 9 cm. *Letters:* 2.5-3.5 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[Hic requiesc]it in pa-
[ce bonae m]emoriae
[...], q]uae uixit an-
[nos plus] minus trigin- (tabella ansata)
[ta et oct]o: obiit nonas
[? ianua/? februa]rias, Probo iunio-
(vase with flowers) re u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).

[Here rests] in peace [...], of fond memory, who lived for about 38 years. She died on the nones of [January? / February?], in the year of the consulate of Probus Iunior, clarissimus.

Date: 525

No.590 Vienne

ICG. 458dd; CIL.XII. 2076; RICG.XV. 88.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1860. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 30 x 12 x 5 cm. *Letters:* 2.7-3.7 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[In hoc tu]mulo r[equiescit]
[in pace b]one mem[oriae ...]
[...], qui/quae] uixit an[nos ...]
[...], me]nsis n(umero ?) [...: obiit in]
[pace ...]X au[gustas post? /g(ustas) ... post]
[consulatu]m Pau[lini iun(ioris) u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].

[In this] tomb rests [in peace] [...], of fond memory, who lived for [...] years, [...] months. [He/she died in peace?] on the [...] of August, [...] years after the consulate of Pau[linus Iunior, clarissimus].

Date: August 535

Reconstructions: date formula is obiit in pace + date.

No.591 Vienne

ICG. 696; CIL.XII. 2075; ILCV. 2891adn; RICG.XV. 89.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.836? Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 13 x 15 x 5 cm. *Letters:* 2.2 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[?In hoc tumulo requies]cit in [pace]
[?bonae memoriae Vi]ndimiola, q[uae]
[uixit ?annos ...] mens(es) VIII: obi[it ...]
[...], it(erum) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Paulini
[iun(ioris) u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].

[In this tomb?] rests in peace [Vi?]ndimiola, [of fond memory?], who [lived for ... years] and nine months. She died [...] in the second year after the consulate of Paulinus [lunior?, clarissimus].

Date: 536

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.592 Vienne

ICG. 458r; CIL.XII. 2078; ILCV. 3038; RICG.XV. 90.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1860. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Cipolin marble.

Dimensions: 45 x 28 x 4 cm. *Letters:* 2.5 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[In hoc tumulo]
[requiescit in]
[pace bone me]-
[morae ...]
[...], qui/quae uixit]
in pace annus
plus minus (ivy)
triginta et
hacto: [cu]ius
diposio ste
VI idus iunias,
indictionae XIII
eterum p(ost) c(on)s(ulatum) (ivy)
Pau(lini) iunioris u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).

[In this tomb rests in peace ..., of fond memory], who lived in peace for about 38 years. [His/her?] burial took place six days before the ides of June, in the 14th year of the indiction, in the second year after the consulate of Paulinus lunior, clarissimus.

Date: 8 June 536

The p.c. date and indiction concur because the 14th indiction began in September the previous year, 535.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*.

No.593 Vienne

ICG. 458s; CIL.XII. 2098; ILCV. 3365; RICG.XV. 92.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1860. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 78 x 178 x 25 cm. *Letters:* 2.2 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

Vndiq(ue) diuinis exornans cultib[us] a[ra]s] ?or a[edes]
Casto dum notr[i]t honore et VIGI[...]
PVGN[.] DISC[.]D[.] palmam [...]
Quod meruit lacrimis, quod uotis fida po[scit],

Id, tribuente Deo, iam longa in gaudia [?cedit]
Coetibus admixta futura in [s]aecu[la sanctis]:
Quae ui[x](it) annos XLVI: obiit in Xpo IIII id(us) nou(e)m(bres), III
CL[...]

The first three lines are too fragmentary to be translated accurately. However, they clearly allude to the devotion of the deceased, (diuinis cultibus), her assiduous attendance in the holy sanctuaries, (exornans aras or aedes), her chastity (casto honore), and possibly her regular attendance at vigils (RICG.XV.92:378). From line 4 it is possible to translate the general sense alone: Salvation, the reward for her tears, which her devotion demanded through the gift of God, and now she lives in everlasting exultation amongst the heavenly choirs. She lived for 46 years, dying in Christ on the fourth day before the ides of November, in the second (third?) year after the consulate of ...

Date: 10 November 540? (date range of years is estimated).

This inscription is in very poor condition and broken into many fragments. The dimensions given are for the actual stone slab itself which is somewhat larger than the area used for the text.

Reconstructions: *initium* is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.594 Vienne

ICG. 688; CIL.XII. 2081; ILCV. 1672; RICG.XV. 91.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. **Location:** Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.842. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 105 x 39 x 6 cm. **Letters:** 3.5 cm. **Text source:** RICG.XV.

[In ho]c tumolo
[requ]iescit
[in p]ace bone
[m]emoriae uenera-
belis Maria, reigi-
iosa et timens
D(omi)n(u)m, quae uixit
annus plus
minus LXXXV:
obiit in Xpo
tersio idus iunias,
iterum post conso-
lato Iohannis uiri
clarissimi conso-
lis.

[In this] tomb rests in peace the venerable Maria, a nun and fearful of the Lord, who lived for about 85 years. She died in Christ three days before the ides of June, in the second year after the consulate of Iohannes, clarissimus.

Date: 11 June 540

No.595 Vienne

ILGN. 303; RICG.XV. 93.

Provenance: Saint-Georges in 1926. **Location:** Musée de Vienne. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 26 x 30 x 4 cm. **Letters:** 2-3 cm. **Text source:** RICG.XV.

Hic requiescit i[?n pace bonememo]-
rius Prota[...],
qui uixi[t ...]
annus [...; obiit ?in pace / Xpo?]
VII k(a)l(endas) n(ouem)br(e)s p(ost) c(onsulatum) Bas[ili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].

Here rests in [peace], Prota[...], [of fond memory], who lived for [...] years. [He/she died in peace? / Christ?] seven days before the kalends of November, in the year after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus.

Date: 26 October 542

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit in Christo/XPO* + date (or slight variation).

No.596 Vienne

Personal communication - Mme. M.Jannet, conservateur du Musée de Dijon.

Provenance: Saint-Georges, re-used in the foundations of a grave dated to the ninth or tenth century. **Location:** Musée de Vienne. Limestone fragment, the upper half and the right side are broken away. Dimensions: 41 x 27 x 5.5 cm. Letters: 1.5-4 cm. very irregular.

Text source: M.M.Jannet (pers.comm.)

[.....]?LE[.....]
[...]?SE[... qui/ae uixit]
[an]nus plu[s mi]-
nus duus se[mi].
/o/biit in pace VII idus oct(o)b(res)
 quater
p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) cons(uli)s

[...] who lived for about two years and six months. He/she died in peace seven days before the ides of October, four years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus.

Date: 9 October 545

The letters are very irregular despite the presence of line guides drawn up prior to execution of the lettering. The final three lines do not follow the guides at all and clearly show that though the line guides were drawn up, the lapidary had not calculated the space required for the inscription. This does not explain why the final line is inscribed so erratically unless the lower half is in its original state. However, the date is clear, 9 October 545. *Semis* is used here to record the six months of the age formula.

Reconstructions: *initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae.*

No.597 Vienne

Personal communication - Mme. M.Jannet, conservateur du Musée de Dijon.

Provenance: Saint-Georges, the date of discovery is unknown. **Location:** Musée de Vienne. Limestone fragment of the upper right corner. Dimensions: 29 x 18 x 6 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

[In hoc tu]mulo requi-
[escit] bone me-
[moriae ...]ianus,
[qui uixit] plus mi-
[nus annos ... obiit i]n Xpo
[... ..], sex-
[ies p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) con(sulis)]

In this tomb rests [...]ianus, of fond memory, who lived for about [...] years. He died] in Christ [...], six years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus.

Date: 547

The date formula is reconstructed by the finder, Mme.Jannet, conservateur du Musée de Dijon. It is based upon similar inscriptions from Saint-Georges.

No.598 Vienne

NR. 120a; ILCV. 3416a; ILGN. 96; RICG.XV. 96.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1888. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.851.

Dimensions: 50 x 45 x 50 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[in hoc to]molu[m requiescit]
[.....]LEBR[.....]
[.....]VM CAEL[.....]
[mundan]a spreui[t.....]
[.....] metuens [.....]
[semp]er aduersa r[idents,...]
[....]TIS ingenio XPO [.....]
[cui]us dep(ositio) III idus ianua[rias]
[... p(ost) c(onsulatum) B]asil(i) u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis),
indic(tione) XIII.

... she has spurned worldly affairs, fearing [material prosperity?], always laughing at adversity,
... her burial took place here three days before the ides of January, [ten, 25?] years after the
consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the 14th year of the indiction.

Date: 11 January 551

This has to be either the tenth or 25th p.c. of Basilius in order for there to be a correlation between the p.c. and the indiction. A 14th indictional year began in September 550 and in September 565; thus this inscription must be dated to January of the following year, either 551 or 566. 581 is possible, although the palaeography is against such a late date (RICG.XV. 96).

Reconstructions: *initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formulae is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.599 Vienne

ICG. 697; CIL.XII. 2085a; ILCV. 1554adn; RICG.XV. 98a.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.868. Marble flag.

Dimensions: 73 x 112 x 25 cm. Letters: 2.8-3.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[In hoc tumulo req]uiescit in pacae
[..... boneme]m[o]rius (flowers)
[.....] penetens
[.....] eclisiae (flowers)
[.....? amicus] omnebus, qui
[..... uixit] annus (flowers)
[plus minus] LXXXV: obiet [in] Xpo
[..... feb]ruarias, VI X p(ost)
[c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri)] c(larissimi) c(onsulis), ind(iction)e sexta.

[In this tomb] rests in peace [...], of fond memory, ... penitent ... of the church ... [a friend?] to all,
who lived [for about?] 85 years. He died in Christ [... days before the? ...] of February, 16 years
after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the sixth year of the indiction.

Date: 557

The lapidary has reversed the numerals recording the 16th p.c. of Basilius. The p.c. and indiction do not concur. The month is either January or February during the 16th p.c. of Basilius, which was in 557, but the sixth indiction did not begin until September of that year.

No.600 Vienne

ICG. 417; CIL.XII. 2088; ILCV. 3551; RICG.XV. 100.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre? In the square to the north of the church in 1850. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.807. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 47 x 27 x 4-5 cm. Letters: 1.7-2.3 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

In hoc tomolo re-
quiescit in pace bo-
n<e>memoria Liue-
ria, enox, qui uixit
annus <p>(lus) mi(nus) XV: obi-
et in pace «VEX» XIII k(a)l(endas)
nouenbris, «VE»XX p(ost)
c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis) in(diction)e
VIII?l.
(dove) (vase) (dove)
(flower?) (flower?)

In this tomb rests in peace Liveria, an innocent, of fond memory, who lived for about 15 years. She died in peace 14 days before the kalends of November, 20 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the eighth (ninth?) year of the indiction.

Date: 19 October 561

Both the p.c. date and the indiction formulae present problems due to lapidary errors and the worn state of the inscription. The 20th p.c. of Basilius seems to be what was intended, but by 19 October 561 the tenth indiction had already begun in the previous September.

No.601 Vienne

ICG. 438a; CIL.XII. 2094; ILCV. 181; RICG.XV. 101.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1860. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.863. Only the last three lines are extant. Marble tomb cover. Dimensions: 15.5 x 53 x 9.5 cm. Letters: 2.2-2.8 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

- 1 Quisquis lucifero sortitur munere seclum
occasu potius proditur ille suo,
cunctaque mundano currentia tempore gesta,
uel bona uel probra, omnia morte canunt.
- 5 Phebus nempe nitens merito producit ortu
si pronus claro clausit orbe diem.
Consulibus atavis pollens, hic Siluia corpus
terrenum liquit celica regna petens,
insignis gemino uitae que sidere fulsit
- 10 culminibus seculo, religione Deo.
Natorum splendore potens, subfulta uigore,
gaudebat partu sese reparasse patres,
unde sacerdotii claro dotatus honore
et Celsum meruit cernere patricium.
- 15 Ter quinum rapida uergebant tempora lustrum
et super adiectus tertius annus erat:
Martius aurati redimitus siderae ueris
nono sole micans premia tanta tulit:
haec suprema dies, caelesti in limite prima,
- 20 quam rapuit seculo, hanc dedit ipsa polo:
pignora desistant lacrimis planctuque grauari:
non placeat gemere quod celebrare decet.
[Cuius] depositio est VII idus marsias
[tricies] nouies p(ost) c(onsulatum) Bas<i>li u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis), ind(ictione) XII.

Whosoever has the great fortune to hold an eminent position in the world,(?) the more their true nature is revealed when they die. All one's accomplishments, be they good or bad, are all recounted at their passing: just as Phoebus, as he turns off the light of day, appears in all his glory. Distinguished by her consular ancestors, Silvia has left here her earthly body, as she seeks the celestial kingdom. Her life has been brightened by a two-fold star; in the world by her high status, before God by her piety. Powerful through the splendour of her offspring and supported by their vigour, she rejoiced that by her children she had carried on the ancestral line: one received the illustrious honour of the priesthood, and she was rewarded by Celsus receiving the title of Patrician. Fifteen lustra have passed through the rapid course of time, to which was added three more years. Mars, wearing the golden crown of spring, shining on the ninth day, brought such a reward: on this final day, the first in the heavenly kingdom, she who was taken from the earth is herself presented to the heavens. Her children should cease to burden themselves with their tears and lamentation, for it is not good to grieve for that which should be celebrated. She was buried on the seventh day before the ides of march, 39 years after the consulate of Basilius, uir clarissimus, during the 12th year of the indiction.

Date: 9 March 580

The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur. The 39th p.c. of Basilius was in 580 and the date, 9 March requires the 13th indiction which began in September the previous year, 579. The 12th indiction recorded here had ended at the end of August 579.

No.602 Vienne

ILGN. 306; *RICG.XV.* 102.

Provenance: Saint-Georges in 1926. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.864. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 37 x 35 x 5-6 cm. *Letters:* 2-2.8 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
 [.....]S quae num
 [.....] ex genere
 [.....] salubris
 [.....] ac morebus
 [.....] TIARIS
 [obiit.. d]jec(embres) XXXXI p(ost) c(onsulatum) Bas(ili) u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)
 [....] lib(ent)er) factum.

... of the highest morals ...; she died on the [... day before the ...?] of December, 41 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus. ... made willingly.

Date: 581

Reconstructions: *initium* is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.603 Vienne

ICG. 690 and 458f; *CIL.XII.* 2095; *ILCV.* 3552; *RICG.XV.* 103.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre, the upper half in 1864 and the lower in Saint-Georges some years afterwards. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.865. Marble, re-used.

Dimensions: 67 x 28 x 9.5 and 18 x 23 x 9.5 cm. *Letters:* 2-3.5. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(cross) In hoc to-
 mulo requi-
 escit in pace
 bone memori-
 ae in<f>anto-
 la nom(ine) VVi-

tildes, qui
 uixit an-
 nus duus
 et mensis
 III: obiit
 in pace a-
 [?n(no) ? XX]XXXVII p(ost)
 [c(onsulatum)] Basili u-
 [ir]i c(larissimi) c(onsulis), in(d)i(ctione)
 XIII.

In this tomb rests in peace a young child named Witildes, of fond memory, who lived for two years and three months. She died in peace [4/5?]7 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the 14th year of the indiction.

Date: 578

Despite the argument proposed by Descombes for 597 (*RICG.XV*: 103), the fact remains that it is impossible to either Marcellian or Victorian p.c. dates with an indiction beginning in any month, there is no exact correlation to be found. The p.c. year could be reconstructed as the 37th, 47th, 57th or 67th Basilius. None of these dates concur with a 14th indiction. Since there are several inscriptions from Vienne where the indiction appears to date either too late or too early for the p.c. year recorded, it seems reasonable that this may be the case here. The only years that are close are 578 for the p.c. and 580 for a 14th indiction beginning in September. Therefore the date followed here is 578 because any other option has at least six years difference between the p.c. and the indiction. Even so, 578 would have required either the 11th or 12th indiction, depending on the day of the month.

No.604 Vienne

ICG. 425; *RICG.XV*. 99.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV*). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: *RICG.XV*.

- 1 Humanos quicumque tremens sub pectore casus
 Ingemis et lustras oculo manante sepulchra
 Atque dolens nimio tecum merore uolutas,
 Quod cunctos mors saeua uoret, quod sepiat umbra
- 5 Perpetue Laetis nullum solutura per aeuum:
 Huc uultus conuerte tuos, huc lumina flecte
 Et cape solamen posito mestissime fletu,
 Aeternum quia uiuit homo si iusta sequatur,
 Si teneat Xpique libens praecepta facessat,
- 10 Vt tenuit tumulo positus Namatius isto.
 Qui cum iura daret commissis urbibus amplis,
 Adiuncta pietate modis iustissima sanxit,
 Patricius, praesul patriae rectorque uocatus.
 Hinc sprætis opibus titulis mundique reiectis,
- 15 Aeterno sese placuit submittere regi
 Et parere Dei mandatis omnibus aptus.
 Sic postquam meritis seruata et lege superna
 Maxima pontificis suscepit munera dignus,
 Quin etiam sumpto mercedes addet honore:
- 20 Pauper laetus abit, nudus discedit opertus,
 Captius plaudit liber sese esse redemptum
 Cuius agit grates tantoque antistite gaudet.
 Inter se aduersos inlata pace repressit,
 Perfugium miseris erat et tutela benignis
- 25 Nobilis eloquiis et stemmate nobilis alto,
 Nobilior meritis et uitæ clarior actu,
 Viuat ut aeternum et Xpi gratetur amore.
 Huius si queras aeuum finemque salutis,

Septies hic denos et tres compleuera«n»t annos
 30 Post fasces posuit uel cingula Symmacus alma
 Iunior, et quintus decimus cum surgerit orbis
 Ad summos animam caelos emisit opimam
 Corpus humi mandans terrae terrena reliquit.

Whosoever mourns the fate of man with fear in their heart, who tearfully looks upon this sepulchre, and, full of grief, reflect bitterly that cruel death comes to swallow us all, and that once covered by the shadow of death it shall remain so for all time: turn your gaze in this direction, let your eyes fall here and, having laid aside your bitter tears, take comfort. For a man lives eternally if he follows the path of justice, if he holds onto and willingly follows the precepts of Christ, as did Namatius, laid in this tomb. He dispensed justice throughout the important towns under his authority with piety and moderation, and was called patrician, leader and protector of his country. Then, having spurned wealth and worldly titles, it pleased him to put himself under the command of the Eternal King and to obey all the commandments of God, for which he was well prepared. Thus, once he had reached the position of bishop, which is bestowed on those deemed worthy by their deeds and divine grace, he added works of mercy to the honour he had already received. The poor went away happy, the naked departed clothed, the freed captive rejoiced at his redemption and the citizen gave thanks and exulted in having such an archbishop. He checked the quarrels of antagonists by bringing peace, and provided a refuge for the wretched and a protection for the good. Ennobled in the first instance by his eloquence and high birth, yet becoming more so through his deeds and more famous by the path his life followed, may he live eternally and rejoice in the love of Christ. If you wish to know the age and the end of the man here commemorated, he had lived for 73 years since Symmachus iunior had laid aside the fasces and exalted girdle. When the 15th dawn arose, he lifted up his noble soul to heaven above, commending his body to the ground: it is to the earth that he has left his mortal remains.

Date: 559

The date formula is extraordinary, the only explanation can be that bishop Namatius was related to the Symmachi, but this view should be treated with reservation.

No.605 Vienne

NR. 107; ILCV. 4729; ILGN. 309; RICG.XV. 104.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1888. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.866. Stone plaque.

Dimensions: 60 x 59 x 10 cm.; Letters: 3-4.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(decorated border of interleaving flowers)

(cross) Hic requiescit in pace bone-
 memorius Maurolenus quem
 rapuit mors inueda, cuius
 infancia bona fuit: qui ui-
 xit annus plus minus
 XXIII: obiit ka(lendas) madias,
 indic(tione) III, an(no) III rig(ni) dom(ini)
 nost(ri) Clottari regis.

Here rests in peace Maurolenus, of fond memory, a good young man who has been snatched away by invidious death and who lived for about 23 years. He died on the kalends of May, in the third year of the indiction, in the third year of the reign of our lord, king Clothar.

Date: 1 May 660

A third indiction began in September 659, and the date, 1 May, suggests 660. Chlothar III's rule began in 657, but if it began late in the year, and his reign is calculated from that date, then there is a perfect concordance between the third regnal year and the third indiction.

No.606 Vienne

ICG. 402; RICG.XV. 81.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: RICG.XV.

- 1 Quisquis mestificum tumuli dum cernis honorem,
Cespitem concludi totum deflebis Auitum.
Exue sollicitas tristi de pectore curas;
- 4 Nam quem plena fides, celsa quem gloria mentis,
Quem pietas, quem prompta manus, quem fama perennat,
Nil socium cum morte tenet. Quin prospice sancti
Gesta uiri: primum florens indole quanta,
- 8 Spreuerit antiquo dimissos stemmate fascis,
Maturum teneris animum dum prestat in annis
Et licitum mundi uoti uirtute relegat.
Nec mora pontificis sic digna insignia sumit,
- 12 Augeat ut soliti felicia cepta laboris.
Culmen dulcedini non obstat, pompa rigori;
Subicitur magnus, seruat mediocria summus,
Distribuit parcus, pascit ieiunus, amando
- 16 Terret et austeris indulgentissima miscet.
Cunctantem suasu iuuat, solamine mestum;
Iurgia diremit, certantes foedere iunxit;
Dissona ueridicam fingunt quae dogmata legem,
- 20 Hortatu ingenio, monitis meritisque subegit.
Vnus in arce fuit quoquolibet ordine fandi;
Orator nullus similis nullusque poeta,
Clamant quod sparsi per crebra uolumina libri;
- 24 Quis uixit, uiuit perque omnia secula uiuet.

Whoever you are gazing upon the sad memorial that is this tomb, you shall weep for Avitus, all whose remains are enclosed within this tomb. Cast away those anxious cares from your sad heart; for he whose deep faith, spirit charged with sublime glory, piety, good deeds and reputation are everlasting, has no communion with death. Rather look upon the deeds of this holy man: from the very beginning he showed his natural qualities, he spurned the secular offices that were the hallmark of his lineage, showing a maturity advanced for his years by setting aside his legitimate place in the world by the strength of his resolution. Thus it was not long before he assumed the insignia and dignity of the pontifical office, so that he was able to add to the habitual good works he had previously undertaken. The attainment of such high office did not diminish his kindly nature, nor did the pomp of official life lessen his severity. Setting his lofty position to one side, he would attend to humble affairs. He gave moderately and fasted regularly, his love inspired fear whilst he mingled indulgence with austerity. He persuaded the hesitant, consoled the afflicted, mediated in quarrels and concluded disputes in a pact. With his learned exhortations, his warnings and his personal qualities he overcame the heretical teachings which distorted the true faith. He alone was fully accomplished in every form of eloquence; no orator or poet was his equal, as his works scattered throughout many books testify. he who has lived, still lives and shall do so for eternity.

Date: 518 (estimated).

No.607 Vienne

ICG. 405; RICG.XV. 87.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: RICG.XV.

DOMNINVS PAPA IN NOMINE CHRISTI PAVPER EPISCOPVS.

Domnus res suas Deo qui mente dicata

Omnigenis Christum dignis uirtutibus effert:

Mente ca[s]tus et lege pius, facundia diues,

Nescius iniusti doctusque rescindere culpas,

Intemerata fides, diuina in sede locandus,

Nihil proprium cupiens, redimit quos possidet hostis,

Vestitum, pastum, potum tectumque ministrat:

S<a>lu<u>s erit iussu Domini, data morte superstes.

Ex uoto Flauius Lacanius, u(ir) c(larissimus), <cum> suis fecit de proprio

basilicam, secretarium et porticum.

Domninus papa, a poor bishop, in the name of Christ. The first two lines are impossible and must represent a copyist's error (RICG.XV:87:368). Pure? / wise? in spirit, respectful of the law, abounding in eloquence, ever just, well-versed in correcting wrongs, incorruptible in his faith, he is rendered worthy of his rest in heaven. Desiring nothing for himself, he paid ransom for those seized by the enemy, and furnished clothing, food, drink and shelter for those in need: he will receive salvation at the Lord's command, and enjoy everlasting life. In fulfilment of his vow, Flavius Lacanius, uir clarissimus, together with his family, has built this basilica, secretarium and porticus at his own expense. The last line is left largely untranslated because secretarium can have several meanings according to Blaise: sanctuary, a room used by the clergy for ecclesiastical debate, or a sacristy. Porticus can be anything from a small doorway to a main gate. Lacanius has evidently embellished the church sumptuously.

Date: 533-538 (estimated).

No.608 Vienne

ICG. 413; RICG.XV. 97.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: RICG.XV.

1 Praesulis iunctum tumuloque Auiti,
Funes Haesici tegitur sepulchro,
Qui, cluens olim, micuit honore
4 Pontificali.

Quique, mundanis titulis peractis
Questor et regum habilis, benignus,
Ambiit demum habitare sacris
8 Incola tectis.

Cultibus Xpi sapienter herens,
Fautor et pacis, studuit furentes
Reddere ciues speciali uoto
12 Mentis amice.

Temporum mensor, numeros modosuae
Calculo cernens strenuusque doctor,
Vnde fraterna docuit libenter
16 Agmina templis.

Septenum necdum peragens bilustrum,
Corpus huic sedi posuit beatae,

Mente, cum iustis habitans, refulget
20 Luce perenni.

Quem soror Marcella gemens obisse,
Ultimum prebens lacrimis leuamen,
Nomen hic scalpsit titulumque fixit
24 Carmine paruo.

Next to the tomb of Avitus, the remains of Haesicius are covered by this tomb: he who for many years enjoyed a great reputation and shone with the honour of the episcopal office. It is he who, his worldly duties fulfilled-he was a competent and benevolent quaestor to the kings-finally wished to abide in a consecrated abode. Keeping in his wisdom to the precepts of Christ, and a supporter of peace, he made it his friendly aim to reconcile his quarrelling fellow citizens by a special vow of his design. (this could be interpreted as: by his explicit decision he strove to reconcile his quarrelling fellow citizens in a kindly manner). Learned in astronomy, mathematics and music, he was a tireless and willing tutor of the pupils of the ecclesiastical school. Not yet having achieved the age of 70 when he left his body in this holy place, living with the just, his soul is now resplendent in the eternal light. His sister Marcella, grieving his passing, receives for her tears one final consolation: she saw to it that his name was inscribed here, and commissioned these humble verses as his epitaph.

Date: 552-558 (estimated).

No.609 Vienne

ICG. 698; CIL.XII. 2085; ILCV. 1810; RICG.XV. 98b.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.868. Marble flag.

Dimensions: 73 x 112 x 25 cm. Letters: 1.6-2.4 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Tu quicumque ue«ue»nes deuoto pectore supple,
solecetus uotis, hinc relaturus hopem.
Vteletas miranda, uero laudanda uoluntas !
namquid patruciniis sancto«to»rum templa duorum
ornantur tetoli/s/ ospitiosque simol,
in quant/a/ famolis prist/an/tur munera Xpi, +uiuitacus /uirtus/ sempe[r]
a dextra leuat.

Whoever you are, approaching as a suppliant with devotion in your heart and constant in your prayers, you will take hence succour. A commendable action, a truly praiseworthy intention, for, placed under the patronage of the two saints, the temple which here bears their names is also their abode. To the extent that as the gifts of Christ are bestowed on his servants, his power ever grants them a place at his right side.

Date: 557 (estimated).

No.610 Vienne

ICG. 692; CIL.XII. 2066; ILCV. 3415; RICG.XV. 106.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.818. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 21 x 28 x 3 cm. Letters: 2.3 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[... s]ed quod pr[e]cepuus l[...]
[...] maxemu[s] eius erat [...]
[...ad i]gnusce[nd]o prumt[us ...]
[...]EMB[.....?F[elici[...]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

An attribution to a p.c. of the consul of 511, Flavius Felix, is tenuous, because he is not otherwise attested in Gaul (RICG.XV. 106).

Reconstructions: initium, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.611 Vienne

ILGN. 298; *RICG.XV.* 107.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1892. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1020. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 19 x 21.5 x 7 cm. Letters: 2.5-4.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[...]*AENA*[...]
[...]*BO CLAR*[...]
[...] *depositio* I[...]

Date: 500-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: initium, and age formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.612 Vienne

ILGN. 311; *RICG.XV.* 108.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre, by the church porch in 1891. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.108. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 14 x 22 x 6 cm.; Letters: 4 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[...]*IASANO*[...]
[.....]*NIS*[...]
[.....]

No.613 Vienne

ICG. 685; *CIL.XII.* 2103; *ILCV.* 477; *RICG.XV.* 109.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.870. Stone flag. Dimensions: 113 x 86 x 23 cm. Letters: 2.5-4.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(dove) (vase) (dove)
Hic requiescit in pa-
ce Agrecius domes-
ticus, qui uixit an-
nos XXXIIII, m(enses) III.

Here rests in peace Agrecius, a domesticus, who lived for 34 years, three months.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.614 Vienne

ICG. 686; *CIL.XII.* 2105; *RICG.XV.* 110.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Limestone plaque. Dimensions: Length 24 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

Audolena

This inscription consists of an inscribed name only.

Date: 600-700 (estimated).

No.615 Vienne

ILGN. 314; *RICG.XV.* 112.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1893. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.876. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 47 x 183 x 29 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[h]ic requiescit in pace bone memoriae Eufemia, Deo
[sa]ctata, omni gracia spiritalē ornata: quae
[pr]ima est caritas c[la]ra uirgini[t]as piaetas.
[?X]XXIII suae anno, morte per[d]idit et uita<m>
[in]uinit, quia sulum uite autore dilexit in
[t]eris, cum ipso iunta est in caelo: obiit in Xp/o/:
resurrectura in <g>loria: depo(sitio) k(a)l(endas) [ianua]ri(as) ?[februa]ri(as).

Here rests in peace Eufemia, of fond memory, devoted to God, blessed with every spiritual grace, of which the most outstanding were her charity, her virginity and her piety. In her [3?]^{3rd} year she conquered death and found life, because during her life on earth she loved only God, with whom she now is in Heaven. She died in Christ and will arise again in glory. She was buried here on the kalends of [January? / February?].

Date: 475-525 (estimated).

No.616 Vienne

NR. 442; ILGN. 315; *RICG.XV.* 113.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre, in a modern wall near the church porch in 1891. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1029. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: Right: 15 x 18 cm.

Left: 15.5 x 10 cm. Letters: 3.2. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
bone memo-
riae Galla
[r]eligiosa,
[.....]

[Here rests in peace] Galla, of fond memory, a nun, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: initium is hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae, age formula is qui/quae uixit annos plus minus, date formula is obiit + date.

No.617 Vienne

ILGN. 316; *RICG.XV.* 114.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1892. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.884. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 37 x 29.5 x 5.5 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. average. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(dove) [dove]
[H]ic requ[iesci]-
[t] in pace Inge-
rosa, que uix-
it in annis plu-V
s menus XXXXX
(vase with flowers)

Here rests in peace Ingerosa, who lived for about 50 years.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.618 Vienne

ICG. 687; CIL.XII. 2123; RICG.XV. 115.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.788. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 17 x 37 x 7 cm. *Letters:* 3-3.5 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

Hic requiiscit
in pace bone me-
moriae Maiori-
[.....]

Here rests in peace Maiori[...], of fond memory ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit + date*.

No.619 Vienne

ICG. 699; CIL.XII. 2151; ILCV. 1673; RICG.XV. 116.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.898. Stone plaque.

Dimensions: 52 x 60 x 12-17 cm. *Letters:* 3.5 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

[In] hoc tumolo requi[es]-
[cit] in pace bone memori[a]e
[...]mmena relegiosa Mat-
[...]LIA, quae uixit annus
[p(lus) mi]nus LXX: obiet in [p]a[c]e
[... au]gustas, [...]
[.....]

In this tomb rests in peace a devout woman (ie. a nun), of fond memory, Mat[...]lia(?), who lived for about 70 years. She died in peace on the [... day before? / on the?] of August, ...

Date: August 541-600 (date range of years is estimated).

The month is probably July and line three presents a problem due to the double consonant *MM*, but *femina religiosa* is no doubt what was intended.

No.620 Vienne

NR. 120c; ILGN. 326; RICG.XV. 117.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1888. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 12 x 7 x 7 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[In hoc tumulo]
[requi]es[cit in]
[pace] bone [memo]-
[riae] Mau[...]
[.....]

In this tomb rests [in peace] Mau[...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace + date*.

No.621 Vienne

ILCV. 3439; ILGN. 308; RICG.XV. 118.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1892. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Marble flag.

Dimensions: 46-40 x 1.36 x 14 cm. *Letters:* 3 cm. average. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

Hic tenera insontis quiescunt membra S(an)c(t)i,
 S(an)c(tu)s nomine, s(an)c(tu)s innocentia
 - annorum triu fuit mensibusq(u)e -,
 quem inter astra tenet alma quies.
 Ne doleas genitor, genitrix q(u)oq(ue) flere desiste:
 aeternae uitae gaudia proles habit.
 Obiit in pace VIII id(us) octob(res), ind(ictione) XIII.

Here lie the frail remains of the child Sanctus, saintly both in name and in his innocence-he lived for three years and three months-and now he dwells in bountiful repose in the heavens above. Do not grieve, father, and cease weeping, mother. your child now enjoys eternal life. He died in peace on the eighth day before the ides of October, in the 14th year of the indiction.

Date: 8 October 550, 565, 580, 595, 610 (date range of years is estimated).

No.622 Vienne

ICG. 400a; CIL.XII. 2147; ILCV. 3580; RICG.XV. 119.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Limestone flag.

Dimensions: 207 x 90 x 12 cm. *Letters:* 1.5-3.5 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

Sub hac tetol(o)
 Valiaricus et oxsur
 sua Licinia siui uius tempo-
 re donato pio elegir(unt) VIL
 ETE
 PR

Beneath this epitaph are Valiaricus and his wife Licinia, who, having lived piously, chose this as their final resting place whilst still alive.

Date: 600-700 (estimated).

No.623 Vienne

ILGN. 313; RICG.XV. 120.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1893. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 22 x 35 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

(cross) Hic requiescit
 in pace bonae memoriae
 [..O..]OSA, sanctimo-
 [nialis et] timens
 [Deum, quae] uixit ann(os)
 [.....]

Here rests in peace [.. O ..]OSA, of fond memory, an avowed virgin and fearful of God, who lived [...] years ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.624 Vienne

ICG. 458t; CIL.XII. 2160; ILCV. 3486a; RICG.XV. 121.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1860. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Tomb cover of cipolin marble.

Dimensions: 65 x 115 x 7-11 cm. *Letters:* 3-5 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

- 1 [.....]NDOCI[.....]
[.....]SE[.....]
[.....]NO fallentes horas [.....]
[.....]RENTem munera uera Dei
5 [.....]ES uarias pompas [.....]
[.....]SIBVS excoluit
[.....]
[.....]ISS[.....]
[.....]I[.....]N[.....]VI[...]
10 [.....]ENES [...] AD VMVLATA MO[...]
Vicit auaritiā quae uincere cuncta sole[bat]
[.....]INS pariter abstinuit VI[...]
[.....] sancto caritas in corde BE[...]
Nec sinsit maculam candida SI[.....]
15 [Quin]quaginta et uno annis aetas IIOSE[...]
Saeculis obtinuit praemia [.....]
[...] obiit in Xpo III idus octub[res].

Too fragmentary to translate in full, but line 14 suggests that this is a feminine epitaph if candida refers to the subject of the eulogy. Line 11 clearly states that she overcame the avarice that usually overwhelms others, and line 15 states her age as 51. Line 17 records the date, that "she died in Christ three days before the ides of October."

Date: 13 October 550-600 (date range of years is estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.625 Vienne

ICG. 458u; CIL.XII. 2158; ILCV. 4818; RICG.XV. 122.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1860. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.890. Fragment of a marble plaque. *Dimensions:* 35 x 40 x 6 cm. *Letters:* 3.8-4.2 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

Lucis fine carens [...]
hoc tumulo cael[...]
sacra caput flo[...]
sponsa et disci[...]
adtruiit tener[um? ...]
[...]LIBVSq(ue) CRO[...]
[.....]

Date: 475-525 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.626 Vienne

ICG. 445; *CIL.XII.* 2162; *ILCV.* 1104; *RICG.XV.* 123.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre, in a house wall near the church porch. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1104. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 56.5 x 52 x 7 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.

Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[...]NDERIS istic
 [...]VM
 [...] ?so]ciata iugali
 [...]TORIS
 [...]NORVM
 [...]TA proauis
 [...]TOS
 [...]ATA uirilem
 [...]E trahis
 [...]MINE nomen est
 [...]ROR
 [...]honorem
 [...]

Date: 475-525 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.627 Vienne

ICG. 702; *CIL.XII.* 2163; *RICG.XV.* 124.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1014. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 23 x 18 x 6 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. average. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
 principis [...]
 serua[...]
 temporibu[s ...]
 urbs C[...]
 [...]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.628 Vienne

ICG. 458v; *CIL.XII.* 2176d; *RICG.XV.* 125.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1860. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1034. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 12.5 x 32 x 4-6 cm. Letters: 4 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
 [...]I M
 [... C]hristum
 [...] sequutus
 [...]

No.629 Vienne

NR. 120d; ILGN. 322; *RICG.XV.* 126.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1888. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1038. Limestone fragment. Dimensions: 19 x 20 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. average. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[.....] qui
[uixit annos quat]tuor et
[menses .. et die]s XV: obiit
[.....]ias
[.....]

... who lived for four years, [...] months and 15 days. He/she died ...

Date: 500-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.630 Vienne

NR. 443; ILGN. 310; *RICG.XV.* 127.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1891. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 17 x 27 x 4 cm. Letters: 3-3.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
et dieb(us) XXIII:
obiit prid(ie) k(alendas)
[...]is p(ost) c(onsulatum)
[.....]

..., [who lived for ... years, ... months?] and 24 days. He/she died on the day before the kalends of [...], [...] years after the consulate of [...].

Date: 500-550 (estimated).

This may also date to a p.c. of Basilius, after 541.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos ... menses ... dies*.

No.631 Vienne

NR. 120b; ILGN. 325; *RICG.XV.* 128.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1888. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1025. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 19 x 23 x 4.5 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[.....]All[...]
[.....]V et min[ses ...]
[...]I obiit in [...]
[...]I nonas [...]
[...]BRIS
[.....]

Date: 500-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.632 Vienne

ICG. 700; CIL.XII. 2177c; RICG.XV. 129.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Small fragment.

Dimensions: 13 x 12 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

Hic req[uiescit ...]
 memor[iae ...]
 nus T[...]
 [.]S[...]
 [.....]

Here rests [in peace?], [...]nus, of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age, date formula is governed by *transeo -ere*.

No.633 Vienne

ILGN. 324; RICG.XV. 130.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1892. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1091. Fragment of a limestone plaque. *Dimensions:* 17 x 25 x 6 cm. *Letters:* 3 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[In h]oc tom[olo]
 [req]uiescit in p[ace]
 sacra Deo pu[ella]
 [.....]

In this tomb rests in peace [...], a virgin consecrated to God, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.634 Vienne

ICG. 458cc; CIL.XII. 2176c; RICG.XV. 131.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1860. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1018. Fragment of a marble plaque. *Dimensions:* 27 x 16 x 5 cm. *Letters:* 2.5-2.8 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

(*tabella ansata*)
 [In h]oc tumu[lo requies]-
 [cit i]n pace bon[ae memo]-
 [riae ...]ENAI[...]
 [.....]

In this tomb rests in peace [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.635 Vienne

ICG. 458x; CIL.XII. 2177b; RICG.XV. 132.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.801. Marble fragment. *Dimensions:* 26 x 20 x 6.5 cm. *Letters:* 3.2 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

In hoc t[umulo requi]-
escit in [pace bonae]
memori[ae]
s qui [uixit]
[.....]

In this tomb rests in peace, of fond memory, [...], who [lived ...] ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.636 Vienne

ICG. 705; *CIL.XII.* 2177a; *RICG.XV.* 133.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble, re-used.

Dimensions: 12 x 10 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(cross) In hoc [tumulo]
 requiesci[t bonae]
 memoria[e]
 [...]*AIM*[...]
 [.....]

In this tomb rests [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.637 Vienne

ICG. 701; *CIL.XII.* 2177d; *RICG.XV.* 134.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1864. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 18 x 15 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

In h[oc tumulo r]-
equies[cit in pace]
bona me[moriae]
 T[.....]
 [.....]

In this tomb rests [in peace], [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.638 Vienne

ILGN. 320; *RICG.XV.* 135.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1891. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1022. Fragment of a marble plaque. *Dimensions:* 11 x 18 x 4-5 cm. *Letters:* 2.5 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

In hoc tom[olo]
[requies]cit in p[ace]
[.....]

In this tomb rests [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.639 Vienne

ILGN. 319; *RICG.XV.* 136.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1893. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1013. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 29 x 16 x 4.5 cm. Letters: 5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[In hoc to]molo [requiescit]
[.....]MAD[.....]
[.....]MVL[.....]
[.....]OIN[.....]
[.....]

In this tomb rests ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.640 Vienne

ICG. 458y; *CIL.XII.* 2169; *ILCV.* 1688adn; *RICG.XV.* 137.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1860. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 19 x 19 x 4 cm. Letters: 2.2 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[...]AS I[.....]
[...]ATIS HONVS I[.....]
[... m]atutinis, oficio [...]
[...]S curans EDV[.....]
[?omni]bus bonas [.....]
[...], qui uix[it]
[.....]

Date: 575-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.641 Vienne

ILGN. 330; *RICG.XV.* 138.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1893. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1041. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 16 x 17 x 4 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[... ?ad ?igno]scendum [?prumptus/a ...]
[.....]IVS relig[iosus/a]
[.....]VIT ARTI[.....]
[.....]AN[.....]
[.....]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.642 Vienne

NR. 119; ILGN. 333; *RICG.XV.* 141.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre in 1888. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(cross) MEM[...]
 TVM[...]
 CIPE[...]
 VENIA[...]
 [...]

No.643 Vienne

ICG. 704.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre. This is not included in *RICG.XV.* *Location:* lost? Not seen by P.Reynolds in 1987. Three marble fragments. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG.*

a) [...]AI[...] c) [...]RS D[...]
 [...]INTRO[...] b) [c]ondidit [...] [...]EDIDITE[...]

Date: 500-600? (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.644 Vienne

ICG. 706.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre. This is not included in *RICG.XV.* *Location:* lost? Not seen by P.Reynolds in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG.*

[...]NEC PIEVA[...]
 [...]SO [...]

No.645 Vienne

NR. 114.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre. This is not included in *RICG.XV.* *Location:* lost? Not seen by P.Reynolds in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR.*

[...]NIS [...]
 [...]INVMERA[?..]
 [...]ONATEPAC[?..]

No.646 Vienne

NR. 120e; ILGN. 334a.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre, where it served as the threshold of the door of a cottage backing onto the south door of the church. This is not included in *RICG.XV.* *Location:* Musée de Vienne (ILGN) but not seen by P.Reynolds in 1987). Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *NR/ILGN*

us [?an]-
 nis [...]
 qu[...]

No.647 Vienne

ICG. 458z.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre, probably, although ICG is not clear. This is not included in RICG.XV.

Location: lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 10 x 13 cm. Text source: ICG.

[...]VOR[...]

[...]V ET[...]

No.648 Vienne

ICG. 458bb.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre, probably, although ICG is not clear. This is not included in RICG.XV.

Location: lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Stone fragment.

Dimensions: 16 x 16 cm. Text source: ICG.

[...]VRAS[...]

[...]SCVIT[...]

No.649 Vienne

ICG. 703.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre, probably, although ICG is not clear. This is not included in RICG.XV.

Location: lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Fragment of a marble plaque.

Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: ICG.

[...] fuistis [...]

[...] sinsit [...]

Date: 500-600? (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.650 Vienne

ICG. 458aa.

Provenance: Saint-Pierre, probably, although ICG is not clear. This is not included in RICG.XV.

Location: lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 18 x 16 cm. Text source: ICG.

[...]MORTAL[...]

[...]IIGVOSA[...]

No.651 Vienne

NR. 110; CIL.XII. 6034d; ILCV. 3280a; RICG.XV. 94.

Provenance: Saint-Georges in 1887. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1002. Stone flag.

Dimensions: 68 x 75 x 25 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(tabella ansata)

In hoc [t]umulo requiescit

in pace bonae memoriae

Romanus subd(iaconus), qui uixit

[ann]us plus minus LX: obiet

[in] Xpo [...] kal(endas) nouembres,

[... p(ost) c(onsulatum)] Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).

In this tomb rests in peace Romanus, a subdeacon, of fond memory, who lived for about 60 years. He died in Christ [...] days before the kalends of November, [...] years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus.

Date: October 541-600 (date range of years is estimated).

The date can only be restored as a p.c. in November after 541 and probably before 600.

No.652 Vienne

ICG. 429; RICG.XV. 95.

Provenance: Saint-Georges. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: RICG.XV.

- 1 Sanctorum uitam, transactis cursibus eui,
scriptis posteritas cernere magna cupit,
ut ualeat similis certis consistere ueris,
atque procul tendat uiuere post obitum.
- 5 hoc igitur sancti conduntur membra sepulchro
Pantagati, patris pontificisque pii,
cuius uita fuit gemino sublimis honore,
fascibus insignis, religione potens.
Arbitrio regum quaesturae cingula sumpsit,
- 10 stemmate praecipuus, plus probitate cluens.
Dans epulas primis, et largo munere gazas
pauperibusque dedit, caelica regna petens.
Ingenio sollers, ingenti dogmate fulsit,
orator magnus, uates et ipse fuit.
- 15 His igitur studiis primaueo flore iuuentae
inter summatos esse prior studuit.
In sobolem felix diuiso munere uidit:
pars sacrata Deo, pars genitura manet.
Post matura uero quam cessit tempore uita,
- 20 culmen apostolicum contulit alma fides.
Sic linquens mundum, caelestem possidet arcem,
qui sit praesidium, celsa Vienna, tibi.
Bissenum uitae conpleuit tramite lustrum,
annis quinque super saecula nostra uidens,
- 25 in quibus aeternae contemplans premia uitae
lucem perpetuam promeruitque suae.

The life of saints, once their lives have run their course, arouses a great curiosity in succeeding generations who wish to read of it, that they can, like them, stand firm in the true faith and procur everlasting life. Therefore, here in this sepulchre lie the remains of Pantagatus, pious father and pontiff, whose life was blessed by a twofold honour, being distinguished by the fasces and raised to power by his faith. By royal decree he assumed the office of the quaestorship, his lineage placed him in the front rank, and yet more renowned for his probity. Whilst he gave banquets for the nobility, he gave also distributed wealth munificently to the poor, seeking by such actions a place in the celestial kingdom. Naturally intelligent, he was renowned for his depth of knowledge of holy doctrine; a great orator, he was also an accomplished poet. Because of these accomplishments he aimed to be first among the eminent. Blessed in his progeny, he saw therein the accomplishment of a double task: part consecrated to God, part to the continuation of his line. He had already reached a considerable age when his deep faith procured for him the highest apostolic office. So, in leaving this world he attains a place in the heavenly citadel, where may he be a protection for you, great Vienne ! He completed 12 lustra during the course of his life and a further five in episcopal office. During this time he contemplated the rewards of everlasting life, and now has earned eternal rest and the perpetual light.

Date: 540-545 (estimated).

No.653 Vienne

ICG. 410; CIL.XII. 2110; ILCV. 2297g; RICG.XV. 111.

Provenance: Saint-Georges. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Sarcophagus. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: RICG.XV.

Euenti
in
pace.

Eventius, in peace.

Date: 350-400 (estimated).

No.654 Vienne

NR. 118; ILGN. 332; RICG.XV. 139.

Provenance: Saint-Georges in 1887. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1059. Cipolin marble.

Dimensions: 19 x 26 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 3.8 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[.....]
[...ONVENIEN[...]
[...S aliis sibiqu(e ?) [...]
[...PVLIS sed in [...]
[...ISSI[...]
[.....]

Date: 525-575 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.655 Vienne

ILGN. 329; RICG.XV. 140.

Provenance: Saint-Georges in 1926. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1081. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 24 x 26 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[...]TENDI[...]
[...]GENSCAR[...]
[...]fuit dilictus [ab omnibus ?]
[...]VIT famu[lus ? ...]
[.....]EN[...]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.656 Vienne

Personal communication - Mme. M.Jannet, conservateur du Musée de Dijon.

Provenance: Saint-Georges, in 1983. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 16 x 14 x 28 cm. Letters: 2 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

[.....]
per[.....]
per[.....re]-
-cessi[t]
hic [.... .in]
Chris[to ?]
[.....]

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae, age formula is qui/quae uixit annos ... menses ... dies.

No.657 Vienne

Personal communication - Mme. M.Jannet, conservateur du Musée de Dijon.

Provenance: Saint-Georges, in 1983. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 11 x 11 x 3.6 cm. *Letters:* 1-2 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

[..... qui]
[uixit annos] plus
[minus]dece
[obiit i]n Xpo
[.....]

[...], who lived for about [... years]. He died in Christ ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

The finder, Mme. M.Jannet, considers that this is sixth century and that there may have been a consular or p.c. date (pers. comm.).

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae.

No.658 Vienne

ICG. 442; *CIL.XII.* 2055; *RICG.XV.* 143.

Provenance: Vienne, Sainte-Colombe, first recorded in the cloître du couvent des Cordeliers.

Location: lost (*RICG.XV*). Fragment of a marble plaque. *Dimensions:* unavailable.

Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[...]Placido consule ?[...]

..., in the year of the consulate of Placidus, ...?

Date: 481

No.659 Vienne

CIL.XII. 1932; *ILCV.* 271; *RICG.XV.* 5*.

Provenance: Vienne, Saint-Colombe or possibly Saint-Romaine-en-Gal in 1846/7, an isolated find (*RICG.XV*). *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Marble plaque. *Dimensions:* unavailable.

Text source: *RICG.XV*.

Aetherius moriens dixit
hic condite corpus
terra mater rerum
quod dedit ipsa tegat.

Aetherius asked as he died, bury my body here, for earth, the mother of all things, now covers what she gave.

Date: 350-425 (estimated).

Descombes (*RICG.XV*) excludes this a fourth or fifth century pagan inscription but it is retained here. Additionally, she noted the distych has classical allusions in Virgil (*Aeneid*, VI, 595), and in Lucretius (*De Natura Rerum*, V, 269).

No.660 Vienne

ICG. 460a; CIL.XII. 2033; RICG.XV. 6*.

Provenance: Vienne, Sainte-Colombe, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon, Cat.No.511. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 48 x 56 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

Ego pater Vitalinus et mater
Martina scripsimus non gran-
dem gloriam sed dolum filio-
rum: tres filios in diebus XXVII
hic posuimus, Sapaudum filium,
qui uixit annos VII et dies XXVI:
Rusticam filiam, qui uixit annos
IIII et dies XX: et Rusticula filia, qui
uixit annos III et dies XXXIII.

I, Vitalinus, the father, and Martina, the mother, write not of the great glory but of the sadness in losing three children in 27 days. Here we have buried Sapaudus, who lived for seven years and 26 days, Rustica, a daughter, who lived for four years and 20 days, and Rusticula, a daughter, who lived for three years and 33 days.

Date: 400-450 (estimated).

Descombes (RICG.XV) excludes this epitaph as it may be pagan.

No.661 Vienne

ICG. 459; CIL.XII. 2106; ILCV. 4003b; RICG.XV. 144.

Provenance: Vienne, Sainte-Colombe, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon, Cat.No.483.12. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 45 x 28 x 5 cm. Letters: 5.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(Chi/Rho)

Auxilius uixit a«e»n-
nos XXXVII et
me(n)sis VI et dies
III.

Auxilius has lived for 37 years, six months and three days.

Date: 375-425 (estimated).

No.662 Vienne

ICG. 460b; CIL.XII. 2141; ILCV. 2760; RICG.XV. 149.

Provenance: Vienne, Sainte-Colombe, in a house at No.30, rue Cochard (RICG.XV), but the street had been demolished by 1987 and there was no sign of the inscription. *Location:* lost? P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 25 x 45 cm. Letters: 4-5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Seuerinus (dove)	(Chi/Rho)	(dove)	Decentius
recessit de sae-		recessit de sa[e]-	
culo: habuit an(nos)		culo an(nos) II, m(enses)	
III, m(enses) V et d(ies) VI.		VIII, d(ies) VII.	
Hi fuerunt filii Helarii et			
Dalmatiae. (palm)			

Severinus departed this life aged three years, five months and six days. Decentius departed this life aged two years, eight months and seven days. They were the sons of Helarius and Dalmatia.

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

No.663 Vienne

NR. 122; CIL.XII. 2164; RICG.XV. 150.

Provenance: Vienne, Sainte-Colombe, isolated find. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Marble fragment. Dimensions: 20 x 20 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
[.....]IS aeternum [...]
[... p]ro meritis nunc [...]

Date: 500-600? (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.664 Vienne

ICG. 400; CIL.XII. 2172; RICG.XV. 151.

Provenance: Vienne, Sainte-Colombe or possibly Saint-Romain-en-Gal, an isolated find (RICG.XV). Location: lost (RICG.XV). Marble fragment. Dimensions: 13 x 22 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

In hoc lo[co]
requies-
cit bona[e]
[memoriae]
[.....]

In this place rests [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos* + age, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.665 Vienne

ICG. 415a; RICG.XV. 142.

Provenance: Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, at one time inscribed upon the tribunal inside the church of Saint-Ferréol-Outre-Rhône (RICG.XV). Location: lost (RICG.XV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: RICG.XV.

Heroas Christi geminos haec contenit aula:
Iulianum capite, corpore Ferreolum.

This sanctuary contains the relics of two heroes of Christ; the head of Julianus and the body of Ferreolus.

Date: 470 (estimated).

No.666 Vienne

ICG. 397b; CIL.XII. 2112; RICG.XV. 145.

Provenance: Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, in the ruins of the church of Saint-Jean. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1005. Fragment of a limestone plaque. Dimensions: 17 x 25 x 3 cm. Letters: 5.5-6 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[..... Eu]-
frasia [...],
quae [uixit ..]
[.....]

[.. Eu?]frasia, [...], who lived for ...

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* has the name in the nominative with no verb governing the phrase, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos ... menses ... dies*,

No.667 Vienne

ICG. 398; CIL.XII. 2111; ILCV. 3474; RICG.XV. 146.

Provenance: Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, in the ruins of the church of Saint-Jean, where it was once placed in front of the altar (RICG.XV). *Location:* Musée de Vienne, where only a fragment, the top-left quadrant, survives. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 13-34 x 52 x 7 cm. Letters: 3.5-5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic pausat Eufra-
sius ben<e>dictus in
pace, qui uixit an(nos)
LXX, mens(es) II et dies VII.
Surr(ecturu)s die caelo cum
uenerit auctor.
(peacock) (vase) (peacock)

Here rests in peace Eufrasius, aptly named, who lived for 70 years, two months and seven days. He will arise again on the day that our Creator comes down from Heaven.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.668 Vienne

NR. 103; CIL.XII. 2116; ILCV. 1433; RICG.XV. 147.

Provenance: Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, in 1880 or 1881 during the demolition of a wall. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.883. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 33-41 x 50 x 11.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic iacit Geronsia: (palm)
condid<i>t alta quies annis meritis-
q(ue) uerendam,
<i>stic uirtutis ad<q>ue <D>ei famulam,
qu(a)e, uenerata Deum cun(c)tis uene-
<r>abilis, inter
emeritus Cristi nunc (h)abit(at) famu<los>.
(dove) (monogram) (dove)

The metre reads thus:

Condidit alta quies annis meritisque uerendam,
Istic uirtutis adque Dei famulam,
Qu(a)e, uenerata Deum cunctis uenerabilis, inter
Emeritus Cristi nunc abit famulos.

Here lies Geronsia, buried in a deep sleep. Venerated both for her age and her good works, in this world a servant to virtue and to God, she who has venerated God and is herself venerated by all has gone to dwell among the servant of Christ who have received their eternal reward.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Emeritus should read *emeritos*, taken in agreement with *famulos*. *Abit* is a mistake for <h>abit<at> (D.Cloud, pers. comm.). Without correction the line will not scan nor contain the correct number of syllables.

No.669 Vienne

ICG. 399; CIL.XII. 2128; ILCV. 1350; RICG.XV. 148.

Provenance: Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, near the church of Saint-Jean. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.896. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 66 x 103 x 9.5 cm. Letters: 3-4.5 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic re- (dove) (Chi/Rho) (dove) -quies-
cet in Christo et in pace
fidelis Mauricius, inno-
cens infas, qui uixit annos III,
menses VI, dies VIII: quem titulum cur-
antes Fl(auius) Gentianus Palesta filius patres
eorumdem pro amore posuerunt.

Here rests in Christ and in peace the faithful Mauricius, an innocent child, who lived for three years, six months, eight days. His parents, Flavius Gentianus and Palesta, having arranged for the making of this epitaph, have placed it here as a testament of their love.

Date: 400-450 (estimated).

No.670 Vienne

ICG. 436; CIL.XII. 2058; ILCV. 1587; RICG.XV. 152.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find first recorded in the courtyard of Saint-André-le-Haut (RICG.XV). *Location:* lost (RICG.XV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable.

Text source: RICG.XV.

In hoc tumulo conditur bonae
memoriae Seuerianus, qui religionem
deuota mente suscepit (sic), quem
anima ad authorem D(eum)
remeante, terrena membra
terris reliquit: exactis uitae
annis XXXII, obiit pridie idus
augustas, resurgit in Xpo D(o)m(in)o
nostro: post consulato Longini
bis et Fausti.

In this tomb Severianus is buried, of fond memory, who took it upon himself to lead a religious life with complete dedication. His soul has now returned to God, his creator, and he leaves here behind his mortal remains. Having lived for 32 years, he died on the day before the ides of August - she will arise again in Christ our Lord - in the year after the consulates of Longinus and Faustus.

Date: 12 August 491

No.671 Vienne

ICG. 458ee; CIL.XII. 2059; ILCV. 3471adn; RICG.XV. 153.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find in the quartier de Saint-Martin in 1863. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Fragment of a black marble plaque. Dimensions: 23 x 23 x 7 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

Text source: P.Reynolds.

[In hoc tu]mol[o requi]-
[escit in p]ace bone me-
[moriae ..]ndoerdus,
[qui uixit] annus XXX
[et ?mense]s q(u)inque: obie[t]
[.....] k(a)l(endas) aprilis:

[resurg]et in Xpo: pos[t]
[cons(ulatum)] Asteri [et]
[Praesidii u(irorum) c(larissimorum)].

In this tomb [rests in peace ...]Indoerdus, of fond memory, [who lived] for 30 years and five months(?) He died [... days before] the kalends of April-he will arise again in Christ-in the year after the consulates of Asterius [and Praesidius, clarissimi].

Date: March 495

No.672 Vienne

ICG. 432; CIL.XII. 2060; ILCV. 477 adn; RICG.XV. 154.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.812. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 50 x 18 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.2 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[dove] (?vase or wreath) (dove)
[Hic requi]iscit
[in pace b]one me-
[moriae ...]OPAR
[... do]mesti-
[cus ...]IDRANF
[... , qui u]ixit
[annos ...]: obiit
[... ?ian/?febr]uari-
[as, p(ost) c(onsulatum) Ast]eri
[et Praesidi]i <VV> CC (uirorum clarissimorum)
[dove] (grapes) (dove)

Here rests in peace [...]OPAR, of fond memory, an officer of the palace, ..., who lived for [... years and died [on the? / days before the ...?] of [January? / February?], in the year after the consulates of Asterius [and Praesidius, clarissimi].

Date: 495

No.673 Vienne

ICG. 434; CIL.XII. 2062; ILCV. 1665; RICG.XV. 157.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find built into the wall of a house on the route to Marseille.

Location: Musée de Vienne. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 34 x 30 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.8 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic requiiscet b-
one memoriae Ro-
manus uir reli-
giosus, qui ui-
set annus octog-
inta: transiit in pac-
e sub die XIII k(alendas) octobr-
is p(ost) c(onsulatum) «c» Venanti uiri
clarissimi c(onsulis). «c» (palm?)

Here rests Romanus, of fond memory, a devout man, who lived for 80 years. He passed away in peace 14 days before the kalends of October, in the year following the consulate of Venantius, clarissimus.

Date: 18 September 509

The consul is understood to be the Venantius cons. 508 for the same reasons as those outlined for No.581.

No.674 Vienne

NR. 106; CIL.XII. 2069; ILCV. 2747; RICG.XV. 158.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find in 1866. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.826. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 24 x 60 x 9 cm. Letters: 2.3-3 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

In hoc tomolo requiescit in
pace bone memoriae Dal-
matius, adoliscens, qui uixit
in seculo annos quattuor
et dies VII: obiit VIII kalendas
decembris, Vpilione u(iro) c(larissimo) con-
sole.

In this tomb rests in peace Dalmatius, a young man of fond memory, who lived on this earth for four years and seven days. He died eight days before the kalends of December, in the year of the consulate of Opilio, clarissimus.

Date: 24 November 524

No.675 Vienne

ICG. 443; CIL.XII. 2099; RICG.XV. 159.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find first recorded in the museum in 1841. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 20 x 25 x 7 cm. Letters: 2.7 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(cross?) Hic requ[iescit in pace]
bone mem[oriae Mar]-
cella qui u[ixit in seco]-
lo annus p[lus minus ...]:
obiit sub die [.....]
septemb(res), M[?auortio ?aximo u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule)].

Here rests [in peace Mar?]cella, of fond memory, who lived on this earth for about [... years], and died [... days before? / on the ...?] of August? / September?, in the year of the consulate of M[avortius? Maximus?].

Date: 527

Reconstructions: initium is hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae .

No.676 Vienne

ICG. 431; CIL.XII. 2061; ILCV. 3550a; RICG.XV. 160.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find first recorded in the museum in 1841. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.832. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 18 x 50 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.2 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

In hoc tumolo requiescit
bone memoriae Petrunia,
qui uixit anis XLVIII: ouit die
XV kalendas nouembris
<p>(ost) c(onsulatum) «c» Maurti.

In this tomb rests Petrunia, of fond memory, who lived for 48 years. She died 15 days before the kalends of November, in the year after the consulate of Mavortius.

Date: 18 October 528

No.677 Vienne

NR. 117; CIL.XII. 2077; RICG.XV. 161.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find first recorded by CIL (RICG.XV). *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1011. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 9 x 18 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 cm.
Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
[p(ost) c(onsulatum) Pauli]ni iun(ioris) u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).

[... years] after the consulate of Paulinus Iunior, clarissimus.

Date: 535

Reconstructions: initium is hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae, age formula is qui/uae uixit annos plus minus, date formula is obiit + date.

No.678 Vienne

RICG.XV. 162.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find first recorded in the museum in 1946. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.835. Stone plaque. Dimensions: 45 x 58 x 15 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.
Text source: RICG.XV.

[In hoc] tumulo requiescit Lau[...]
[opti]mis moribus, amatus [?omnibus],
[me]nte benignus, humanita[te ...]
in bellando strenuus, in [...]
fortis animi et corpore su[brius],
ad ignoscendum prumtus, [...]
gratus, relegiosus in fide [...]:
qui uixit annus XXXVII: [obiit ...]
septembris, it(erum) p(ost) c(onsulatum) Paulini iun(ioris) [u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].

[In this] tomb rests Lau[...], a man of the highest morals, loved [by all?], good natured, [filled with?] humanity, vigorous in battle, strong in mind and pure in body, swift to forgive, obliging and scrupulous in his faith. He lived for 37 years and died [... days before? / on the?] of August? / September?, two years after the consulate of Paulinus Iunior, [clarissimus].

Date: 536

No.679 Vienne

ILGN. 305; RICG.XV. 168.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.853. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 25 x 26 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.2-2.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
qui uixit an[nos]
XXXXV: obiit in Xpo
X kal(endas) ianuaris,
XII p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).
(dove) (vase) (dove)

... who lived for 45 years. He died in Christ ten days before the kalends of January, 12 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus.

Date: 23 December 553

Reconstructions: initium is hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae .

No.680 Vienne

ILGN. 312; *RICG.XV.* 169.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find in 1926. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1035. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 29 x 18 x 5.5 cm. Letters: 2.3-2.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[..... uixit]
[annos ...]EX[...: obiit]
[sep]temo ka[l(endas) ...],
tersio X p(ost) [c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].
(dove) (vase) (dove)

[... lived for ... years]. He/she died seven days before the kalends of [...], 13 years after the consulate of [Basilius?, clarissimus].

Date: 554

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae, age formula is qui/quae uixit annos plus minus.

No.681 Vienne

ICG. 451; *CIL.XII.* 2101; *RICG.XV.* 170.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.849. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 35 x 21 x 3 cm. Letters: 2.5-3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[.....TETVLVM.....]:
[obiit in] Xpo XII kal(endas) apr[iles],
[? XVI p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili] u(iri) c(larissimi), ind(ictione) quinta.
[dove] (vase) (dove)

[In this tomb rests ... He/she died] in Christ 12 days before the kalends of April, [16? years after the consulate of Basilius], clarissimus, in the fifth year of the indiction.

Date: 21 March 557

Line two appears to preclude an age formula preceding the date formula. It is not possible to correct any correlation between the p.c. date and the indiction because the p.c. years are not extant. The numeral for the p.c. years is not extant, but the fifth indiction beginning in September 541, which would give a date in the first p.c. of Basilius, seems unlikely because none are known in Gaul. A fifth indiction began in September 556, making the 16th p.c. a possibility, giving the date as 21 March 557. The 15th p.c. cannot be excluded, in 556, because it is at this time that the incidence of the p.c. and indiction not coinciding increases. However, 557 is taken here as the most logical date because 558, the 17th p.c., would have required the sixth indiction.

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae, age formula is qui/quae uixit annos plus minus.

No.682 Vienne

ICG. 405a; *CIL.XII.* 2087; *ILCV.* 1215; *RICG.XV.* 171.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find in a vineyard on the southern slope of the Mont Saint-Just. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.856. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 46 x 30 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

In hoc tomolo requi-
escit in pace bone me-
moriae Dulcisius dia-
conus, qui uixit an-
nu(s) p(lus) m(inus) LXXX: obiet
in pacae hoctauo kal(endas)
iunias, hocsies decis

p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basili u(iri) c(larissimi) con(sulis), ind(iction)e VIII.
(dove) (vase) (dove)
(flower?) (flower?)

In this tomb rests in peace Dulcisius, a deacon, of fond memory, who lived for about 80 years. He died in peace eight days before the kalends of June, 18 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the eighth year of the indiction.

Date: 25 May 559

The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur because the eighth indiction did not begin until September of that year, 559.

No.683 Vienne

ICG. 407; CIL.XII. 2089; ILCV. 4728; RICG.XV. 172.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find first recorded in the church of Saint-Just in 1562. Location: lost (RICG.XV). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: RICG.XV.

(monogram?) In hoc tom(ul)um req(ue)-
scit in pace bone me-
moriae Epaeftianus, mo-
rebus optimus, na-
tal(i)b(u)s suis mansuetus,
fede precepta, ciuebus
carus, pauperebus pius:
orauit semper q(uo)d
obtenere meruit: qui
uixit annis plus me-
nus XCV: obiit in Xpo
k(a)lendas iulias, V EID
post con[(sulatum) Basili] u(i)r(i)
c(larissimi) c(onsulis), ind(ictione) undecima.

In this tomb rests in peace Epaeftianus, of fond memory, a man of the highest morals, kindly to his parents, exemplary in his faith, cherished by the citizens, pious to the poor, he prayed constantly for all that he had deservedly received. He lived for about 95 years and died in Christ on the kalends of July, 22(?) years after the consulate of [Basilius?], clarissimus, in the 11th year of the indiction.

Date: 1 July 563

The p.c. formula can only be realistically reconstructed to read *u(icies) et II* or perhaps *u(icies) et d(uo)* (RICG.XV. 172). If this is accepted then the p.c. date and the indiction concur because the 22nd p.c. of Basilius was in 563, and the date, 1 July, falls within the duration of the 11th indiction which began in September the previous year, 562.

No.684 Vienne

RICG.XV. 174.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find first recorded in the museum in 1946. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1051. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 14 x 17 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. average. Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
obiit in [.....]
to id(us) ian[uaris]
LXXX?V [p(ost) c(onsulatum) ?Basili VCC ...].

... He died [in peace? / in Christ? ...] days before the ides of January, 85 years(?) [after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus?].

Date: January 625

Reconstructions: *initium* is in *hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos ... menses ... dies*.

No.685 Vienne

RICG.XV. 175.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find first recorded in the museum in 1971. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1050. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 17 x 39 x 10 cm. Letters: 3.8 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[.....]VR INTERV[.]N[...]
[? obiit ... i]an(uarias) CII post c[onsulatum ? Basili ...].

[... He/she died ... days before? / on the?] of January, one hundred and two years after the consulate of [Basilius, clarissimus?].

Date: 643

Reconstructions: *initium* is in *hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*.

No.686 Vienne

ICG. 458k and 458l; CIL.XII. 2068 and 2102; ILCV. 3631 and 4731; RICG.XV. 176.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find of uncertain origin and possibly not from Vienne (*RICG.XV*). *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.822 and 852. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 23 x 22 x 5 cm. and 30 x 35 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[In h]oc monomen[to ...]
[...VSTRARES [...]
[...LIVIOI[...]
[...IRAPV[...]
[...V VENIV[...]
[...IE et anemo [...]
[...] fuet amatus pau[peribus]
[.] delectus ab om[nibus]:
[q]ui uixit anus plu[s minu]-
s XXXXV: obiet in [pace]
calend(as) genu[a]-
rias, ind(i)c(tione) VI [?..]
Clotarri (cross) r[?egis].

In this monument [...], [...] and spirit [...], he was loved by the poor and dear to all, who lived for about 45 years. He died in peace on the kalends of January, in the sixth year of the indiction, in the [...] year of the reign of king Clothar.

Date: 1 January 663

The date formula is fragmentary, but the if the sixth indiction is correct, then this must date to 1 January 663 because the only sixth indiction during the reign of Chlothar III ran from September 662 until the end of August 663. This would restore the regnal year as the sixth, calculating from the end of 657.

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.687 Vienne

RICG.XV. 156; *A.E.*, 1972:351.

Provenance: Vienne, first recorded in the museum in 1968. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.819. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 18 x 31 x 11 cm. Letters: 1.5-3.2 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[Hic requiescit i]n pace b[onae me]-
[moriae]A qui uisit annus
[.....obii]t sudiae VII kal(endas)
[.....]o iunior u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule). (ivy)

Here rests in peace [...], of fond memory, who lived for [...] years and died seven days before the kalends of [...], in the year of the consulate of [...]o iunior, clarissimus.

Date: 483-534 (estimated).

No.688 Vienne

ICG. 458m; *CIL.XII.* 2080; *RICG.XV.* 163.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find of uncertain origin. This is inscribed on the reverse of *RICG.XV.*167. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble fragment. Dimensions: 20 x 12 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
agust[as, ... p(ost) c(onsulatum)]
lohann[is, u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].
(dove) [vase] (dove)

[... days before? / on the ...?] of July? / August?, [... years after? / in the year of the?] consulate of lohannis, [clarissimus].

Date: 539-545 (estimated).

This is most likely a p.c. date. lohannis was sole consul in 538 and his year is used as late as 547 at Aoste, although a p.c. of Basilius is found more commonly after 541 in *Viennensis*.

Reconstructions: initium is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit sub die + date*.

No.689 Vienne

RICG.XV. 164.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find first recorded in the museum in 1946. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1040. Limestone fragment. Dimensions: 22 x 18 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.5-3.2 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....],
[q]ui uixi[t annos ...]:
[o]biit sub d[ie ... p(ost) c(onsulatum)]
loha[nnis u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)].

..., who lived for [...] years. He/she died [... days before? / on the ... of ...?, ... years after the consulate] of lohannis, [clarissimus].

Date: 539-545 (estimated).

Reconstructions: initium is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*.

No.690 Vienne

ICG. 458h; CIL.XII. 2082; RICG.XV. 165.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1032. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 16 x 11 x 4 cm. *Letters:* 2.8 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[.....]
[...]*MSVI*[...]
[...]*SEDVVS*[...]
[ui]*xit anu[s ...]*
[p(ost) c(onsulatum) lu]stini u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis).

... who lived for [...] years, ..., ... years after the consulate of *Iustinus*, [*clarissimus*].

Date: 541-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace* + date.

No.691 Vienne

ILGN. 307; RICG.XV. 166.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée Dauphinois, Grenoble. P.Reynolds identified it in 1987. Marble fragment. *Dimensions:* 12 x 7 x 2 cm. *Letters:* 1.5-2 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

[.....]
[.....?famu]-
la Dei [.....]
quae [uixit ...: obiit ...]
nouem[bres ... p(ost) c(onsulatum)]
Ba[sili u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis)]
in[dictione ...]

... a servant of God, who lived for [...] years. [She died ... days before? / on the?] of November, [...] years after the consulate of *Basilius*, *clarissimus*, [in the ... year of] the indiction.

Date: October 541-600 (date range of years is estimated).

The date is a p.c. of *Basilius*, cons. 541, but the year is not extant.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.692 Vienne

ICG. 458n; CIL.XII. 2080; RICG.XV. 167.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find of uncertain origin. This is on the reverse of RICG.XV.163.

Location: lost (RICG.XV). Marble fragment. *Dimensions:* 20 x 12 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

[.....]
O[.....]
noue[m]bres ... p(ost) c(onsulatum)]
Basili u(iri) [c(larissimi) c(onsulis)]
(dove) [vase] [dove]

... [He/she died ... days before? / on the ...?] of November, [in the year? / ... years after? the consulate] of *Basilius*, [*clarissimus*].

Date: 541-600 (estimated).

This can only be dated to a p.c. of *Basilius*, cons. 541.

Reconstructions: initium is in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae, age formula is qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus, date formula is obiit in pace + date.

No.693 Vienne

ICG. 408; CIL.XII. 2113; ILCV. 3176; RICG.XV. 179.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon, Cat.No.483.17. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 17 x 25 x 4 cm. Letters: 1.8 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

Hi<c> requiescit in
pace Eunomiola
quaе u<i>xit is de-
nis et nouem si-
mu(l) labentibus ann(i)s.
(dove) (vase) (dove)

Here rests in peace Eunomiola, who lived for twice ten and nine fleeting years.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.694 Vienne

RICG.XV. 181; A.E., 1972:350.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find first recorded in the museum in 1968. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1103. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 47 x 37 x 9 cm. Letters: 4-5 cm.

Text source: RICG.XV.

[In hoc tumul]o requiescit in
[pace bone me]moriae Honori-
[... ..]VS honestis
[.....] utilitas miran[da],
[laudanda ue]ro uoluntas,
[.....]ATVS INCOM-
[.....]NS amicis
[.....]TEM am[?ans]
[.....]

[In this tomb] rests in [peace] Honori[us/inus, of fond] memory, whose service to the community was remarkable and truly worthy of praise, [...] for his friends [...].

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus, date formula is obiit in Christo/XPO + date (or slight variation).

No.695 Vienne

ILGN. 317; RICG.XV. 182.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find during the demolition of a house in 1892. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 40.5 x 34 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. *Text source:* RICG.XV.

Hic quiescit
in pace louenales
qui uixit annus
plus minus (ivy)
octoginta: (ivy)
recessit quartu
X calendas
genuarias.

(dove) (vase) (dove)

Here rests in peace louenales who lived for about 80 years. He passed away 14 days before the kalends of January.

Date: 19 December 450-500 (date range of years is estimated).

No.696 Vienne

ICG. 419a; *CIL.XII.* 2122; *ILCV.* 1617adn; *RICG.XV.* 183.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find of uncertain origin and possibly not from Vienne (*RICG.XV*).

Location: lost (*RICG.XV*). Manuscript. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

Hic requiescet
Maganus in
<p>ace, qui ui(xi)t
annos ES et
mens(es) octo, di-
<e>s XX: qui uixit
annos
XII.

REQVI-(vase)-CERE

IN PACE

XYTVS.

(Manuscript *B.N. Lat* 9911).

Hic requi-
escet Ma-
ganus in
[p]ace, qui ui-
[x]it annos
[tr]es et men-
[se]s octo, di-
[e]s XX: qui uixit

annos

REQVI-(vase)-CERE

in pace

XYTVS.

(Manuscript *Codex Hannouerannus* XXVII, 1577, 8).

Here rests in peace Maganus, who lived for three years, eight months and 20 days. May he rest in peace with Christ(?)

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Both the texts offered by *RICG.XV* are presented here.

No.697 Vienne

ICG. 420; *CIL.XII.* 2125; *ILCV.* 3079a; *RICG.XV.* 184.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find during the demolition of a house in the rue Marchande.

Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.893. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 51.5 x 51.5 x 10 cm.

Letters: 4.5-5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

(dove) (?palm) (dove)

Hic iacent in
pace Marina n-
omine quonda-
m [.?c]um tribus
[.....] neptis
[.....]NIA[...]

Here lies in peace Marina, named thus whilst alive, with three [daughters?] and [one grand daughter?]

Date: 400-475 (estimated).

No.698 Vienne

ICG. 422; *CIL.XII.* 2127; *ILCV.* 3113a; *RICG.XV.* 185.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.895. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 24 x 21 x 3.5 cm. *Letters:* 2.2-2.5 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

Aeterna
hic Marti-
na in pace
quiescit
qui [fl]oren-
[tem a]euum
[... e]git
[per annos/annis?].

Here rests in eternal peace Martina, who lead a life that flourished for [...] years, ...

Date: 400-450 (estimated).

No.699 Vienne

ICG. 458p; *CIL.XII.* 2129; *RICG.XV.* 187.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 10 x 20 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[Hic re]quiescit Mau[...]
[quae uixit pl]us minus a[nnos]
[resurrectur]a in Ch[risto].

Here rests Mau[...], who lived for about [...] years. He/she will arise again in Christ.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.700 Vienne

ICG. 424; *CIL.XII.* 2130; *ILCV.* 3175; *RICG.XV.* 188.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Manuscript.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

Hic requiescit in
pace Mercasto, qui
florentem aeuum
LX e<g>it per annos:
iucundam ui-
tam haec per tem-
pora duxit.
(?flower)

Here rests in peace Mercasto, who led a life that flourished for 60 years: he enjoyed an agreeable life during all this time.

Date: 400-500 (estimated).

No.701 Vienne

ICG. 430; CIL.XII. 2132; ILCV. 3280; RICG.XV. 189.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find in the courtyard of a house in the Grande Rue. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.869. Marble, re-used. Dimensions: 60 x 34 top x 29 low x 8 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. average. Text source: RICG.XV.

(tabella ansata, palms, flower?)

In hoc tumulo re-
quiescit in pace bo-
ne memoriae Pasca-
sius, diac(onus), qui uixit an-
nus plus minus
LVIII: obiit in Xpo
[sep]tem[o] kal-
endas aprilis.
(dove) (vase) (dove)

In this tomb rests in peace Pascasius, of fond memory, a deacon, who lived for about 49 years. He died in Christ seven days before the kalends of April.

Date: 26 March 450-550 (date range of years is estimated).

No.702 Vienne

NR. 108; CIL.XII. 2133; ILCV. 3553a; RICG.XV. 190.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find in 1865. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.879. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 36.5 x 40 x 5 cm. Letters: 3-3.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(floral border)

[In hunc] tumulum
[requ]iescit bone
[me]moriae Patri-
[ci]us, qui uixet an- *(floral border)*
[no]s LXV: obiit in
[pa]ce idus marti-
[as,]

In this tomb rests Patricius, of fond memory, who lived for 65 years. He died in peace on the ides of March, ...

Date: 15 March 470-540 (date range of years is estimated).

No.703 Vienne

ILGN. 318; RICG.XV. 191.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find (RICG.XV). *Provenance locale* (ILGN). *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1033. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 29 x 19 x 8.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

(tabella ansata)

(rose)

[I]n hoc tu[mulo] requiescit
in pace bo[ne] memoriae
Paula, qui [uixit annos plus]
minus LX: o[biit]]
ianua[rias]]

In this tomb rests in peace Paula, of fond memory, who lived for about 60 years. She died [in peace ... days before? / on the ...?] of January, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

No.704 Vienne

NR. 108a; *CIL.XII.* 2134; *RICG.XV.* 192.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.848. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 21 x 31.5 x 7 cm. Letters: 3.2-3.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(three groups of three incised points)

Hic requiescit
in pace Peregri-
nus, qui uix[it an]-
nis VI et me[n]ses
[.....]

Here rests in peace Peregrinus, who lived for six years and [...] months ...

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.705 Vienne

ICG. 433; *CIL.XII.* 2137; *RICG.XV.* 193.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find in the rue de la Charité. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.994. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 40 x 33 x 9 cm. Letters: 4.5 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[Hic requies]-
cit in pace <Q>uiria-
[cus/a] qui uixet annos
[?]XXXII
[...] dies XV.

[Here rests] in peace Quiria[cus/a?], who lived for 32(?) years ... and 15 days.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.706 Vienne

NR. 109; *CIL.XII.* 2138; *ILCV.* 3280a adn; *RICG.XV.* 194.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1036. Stone fragment. Dimensions: 14 x 16 x 5.5 cm. Letters: 1.5-2 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

<H>ic requie[scit in pa]-
ce Ro<g>atu[s qui ui]-
xit plus me[n]us annos
XL: obiit in [pace / Xpo ?]
[.....]

Here rests in peace Rogatus, who lived for about 40 years. He died in [peace? / Christ?] ...

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit in Christo/XPO* + date (or slight variation).

No.707 Vienne

NR. 111; *CIL.XII.* 2142; *ILCV.* 3176a adn; *RICG.XV.* 195.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find during the demolition of a house near the cours Romestang in 1871. Possibly from Saint-Gervais or Saint-Pierre (*RICG.XV.*). *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.879. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 22 x 15.5 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 2.7-3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

Hic re[qui]-
escun/t/ in [pace]
Siluiaae [?membra],
qui uixit [annos]
IIII et min[ses]
[.....]

Here rest in [peace the remains?] of Silvia, who lived for four years and [...] months, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.708 Vienne

ICG. 458i; *CIL.XII.* 2145; *RICG.XV.* 196.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 16 x 16 x 3.6 cm. *Letters:* 2.8-3.8 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[.]NTI-
NE qui
uixit a-
nnus VI

[Here rests? ...]ntine, who lived for six years ...

Date: 450-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace*.

No.709 Vienne

ICG. 447; *CIL.XII.* 2152; *RICG.XV.* 197.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.996. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 21 x 16 x 4.5 cm. *Letters:* 2.5 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[Hic req]uiiscit in
[pace bon]ae memo-
[riae...]IVS inno-
[x, qui u]ixit plus
[minus a]nnos <I>I
[.....]VII
?[.....]

Here rests in peace [...]ius, an innocent, of fond memory, who lived for about two years, seven [months] ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.710 Vienne

ICG. 460; *CIL.XII.* 2159; *ILCV.* 3487b; *RICG.XV.* 198.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.858. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 30 x 38 x 6.5 cm. *Letters:* 3-3.5 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[...]TILL[... pie]tate PLEN(u)s
[...m]eritis est mercatus ho[nores]
[...]ae uiuens post morte[m...]

[... semp]erque uidebit. (ivy?)
[Cuius d]epositio qui[nto]
[d]ecimo k(alendas) ?s[eptembres ..]

... full of piety, he has earned honours through his good works, ... living after his death, ... he will see always ... his burial took place 15 days before the kalends of S[eptember?] ...

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

The date could read 18 August if the abbreviation for *kalends* is *K* not *KS*.

Reconstructions: *initium* and age formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.711 Vienne

ICG. 457b; CIL.XII. 2161; ILCV. 4819; RICG.XV. 199.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find in the wall above the door of a house in the Grand rue.

Location: lost (RICG.XV). Marble plaque. Dimensions: 32 x 70 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[...]INA.I pondere mentis (decorated border) [...]
[...]p]rimordia sensus (of interleaving) SE[...]
[...]RTANS gratia laudem (flowers) VECT[...]
[.p]ietas prudentia uultus cuius d[epositio ?]
[...] OR probitasq(ue) pudorq(ue)

Date: 475-525 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* and age formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.712 Vienne

NR. 116; CIL.XII. 2166; RICG.XV. 200.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1024. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 35 x 23 x 6.5 cm. Letters: 3-3.5 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

Hic iacet [... inn]-
ox, qui u[ixit annos ...]
dies uig[inti ...: req]-
uiescet in [pace ?]

Here lies [...], an innocent, who lived for [... years, ... months?], 20(?) days. May he rest in peace.

Date: 450-475 (estimated).

No.713 Vienne

ICG. 453; CIL.XII. 2174b; RICG.XV. 201.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. Location: Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1023. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 9.5 x 14.5 x 3 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[...]
[... q]ui uixit [annos plus]
[minu]s LXXX: obiit [...]
[...]

..., who lived for about 80 years. He died ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.714 Vienne

NR. 115; *CIL.XII.* 2139; *ILCV.* 1167adn; *RICG.XV.* 202.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 12 x 14 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

Hic requ[iescit in pace]
bone memo[ri]ae ...]
p(res)b(y)t(er), seru[us Dei ?] qui uix]-
sit annis [...]
[.....]

Here rests [in peace ...], a priest, a servant [of God], of fond memory, who lived for [...] years,

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.715 Vienne

ICG. 446; *CIL.XII.* 2167; *RICG.XV.* 203.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.869. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: 32.5 x 24.5 x 2-2.7., *Letters:* 2.7-3 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[dove] (vase) (dove)
[Hic requi]escet in pace
[.....] quae uixit
[.....]ll: decessit
[...kal]endas ma-
[ias/r]tias: resurge]t in C<r>(ist)o.

Here rests in peace [...], who lived for [...] years. She passed away [...] days before? / on the?] kalends of March(?) / May(?). She will arise again in Christ.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos* + age.

No.716 Vienne

RICG.XV. 204.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1054. Stone plaque.

Dimensions: 28 x 21 x 10 cm. *Letters:* 2-2.8 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(*tabella ansata*)
(*rose*)
Hic requ[i]-
escit in pac[e]
bonae
memori[ae]
[.....]

Here rests in peace [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.717 Vienne

NR. 121b; *CIL.XII.* 2178b; *ILCV.* 1677adn; *RICG.XV.* 205.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1010. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 13.5 x 17 x 4 cm. *Letters:* 2.5 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

In hoc tu[mulo requiescit in]
pace bon[ae memoriae]
[s]anctem[onialis]
[.....]

In this tomb rests in peace [...], of fond memory, an avowed virgin, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace + date*.

No.718 Vienne

ICG. 458g; *CIL.XII.* 2168; *RICG.XV.* 206.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find on the slope of Mont Saint-Blandine (*RICG.XV.*). *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). *Dimensions:* 12 x 12 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[... requies]cit in pa[ce ...]
[.....]NOS IN (ivy) CE ?[...]
[..... in]nocens [...]
[.....]NOOCOO[...]
[.....]VSQ[...]
[.....]NV[...]
[.....]

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace + date*.

No.719 Vienne

ICG. 458o; *CIL.XII.* 2133; *ILCV.* 3553a; *RICG.XV.* 207.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1007. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 19.5 x 16 x 5 cm. *Letters:* 1.5-2 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[In hoc tu]mol[o requiescit]
[in pac]e [bonae memoriae]
[.....]TEBVS IT[.....]
[.....]STELA[.....]
[.... ?t]EMPOR[.....]
[.....]OS[.....]
[.....]

[In this] tomb [rests in peace ...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace + date*.

No.720 Vienne

RICG.XV. 208.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1088. Marble plaque.
Dimensions: 29.5 x 24 x 5 cm. *Letters:* 3 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

In hoc to-
mulo requi-
escit in pace
bone memori-
ae [...]NE
[.....]I
X[.....]

In this tomb rests in peace [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace + date*.

No.721 Vienne

RICG.XV. 209.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.850. Marble fragment.
Dimensions: 23 x 18 x 3.5 cm. *Letters:* 3 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

[Hic requi]escit in
[pace bone m]emoriae
[.....]MO
[.....]MENS[...]
[.....]IT[...]
[.....]

Here rests in peace [...], of fond memory, ...

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos ... menses ... dies*, date formula is *obiit + date*.

No.722 Vienne

NR. 121c; CIL.XII. 2135; RICG.XV. 210.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1027. Marble fragment.
Dimensions: 23 x 27.5 x 9.5 cm. *Letters:* 4.5 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

Hic Pre[.....]
qui u[ixit ?..]
?[.....]

Here [rests?] Pre[...], who lived for ...

Date: 400-450? (estimated).

Reconstructions: age formula is *qui/quae uixit annos ... menses ... dies*.

No.723 Vienne

NR. 121; CIL.XII. 2154; RICG.XV. 211.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1008. Marble fragment.
Dimensions: 11 x 15 x 7.5 cm. *Letters:* 1.5 cm. *Text source:* *RICG.XV.*

(framed border with interleaving flowers on upper and right sides)

[.....] bonae
[memoriae] reli-
[giosus/us ?]T
[.....]

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit + date*.

No.724 Vienne

RICG.XV. 212.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.802. Marble, re-used.

Dimensions: 38 x 36 x 12 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[.....] III
[.....? in]de XI
(dove) (vase) (dove)

..., in the 11th year of the indiction.

Date: 547, 562, 577, 592, 607 (estimated).

This may have recorded a p.c. of Basilus, cons. 541.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumultu requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit in pace + date*.

No.725 Vienne

ICG. 458q; *CIL.XII.* 2157; *RICG.XV.* 213.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* lost (*RICG.XV.*). Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 28 x 36 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[...]S est
[... ?fo]rtuna bonor[um? ...]
[...]ignusque REA[...]
[...]IVS carita[...]
[...]DVM sit TV[...]

Date: 475-550 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.726 Vienne

RICG.XV. 214.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* Musée de Vienne, Cat.No.1075. Marble fragment.

Dimensions: 23 x 23 x 9 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.....]
[...]GISE[...]
[...]RE tempu[s? ...]
[...]X erat aetas [...]
[...]ERE mensis [...]
[.....]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.727 Vienne

NR. 120f; *ILGN.* 334b; *RICG.XV.* 215.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find near the Roman theatre on the route de Saint-Marcel in 1888.

Location: lost (*RICG.XV*). Marble fragment. Dimensions: 6 x 10 x 3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV*.

[.....]
[...]*SINE*[.....]
[...] *famu*[*lus/a ?*]
[.....]

Date: 470-540 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium* is *hic requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, age formula is *qui/quaе uixit annos plus minus*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.728 Vienne

ICG. 444.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find. *Location:* lost. P.Reynolds was unable to locate it in 1987.

Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ICG*.

[.....]
[.....]*ua breuis*
[...]*is*
(*interlacing border*)

No.729 Vienne

NR. 120; *ILGN.* 323.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find in the boulevard de la République in 1887 during the construction of a drain. *Location:* Musée de Vienne (*ILGN*) but not seen by P.Reynolds in 1987. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 3 x 22 x 2 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *NR/ILGN*

[...] *quinus du*[?..]
[..?*trans*]*actis men*[*sibus?*]

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: *initium*, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.730 Vienne

Personal communication - Mme. M.Jannet, conservateur du Musée de Dijon.

Provenance: Vienne, isolated find on private land in 1987. *Location:* private ownership in Vienne. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: P.Reynolds.

Hic re[*quiescit*]
in pac[*e bone me*]-
moria[*e*]
gund[... *qui/ae*]
uixi[*t ann*]-
us X[.....]
[.....].

*Here rests in peace [...]**gund*[...], *of fond memory, who lived for X[...]* years ...

Date: 540-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.731 Vif. Isère.

RICG.XV. 239.

Provenance: Saint-Jean-Baptist in 1965. *Location:* in the church, on the wall of the sacristy. Limestone flag. Dimensions: 47 x 45 x 9 cm. Letters: 2-3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

(cross beneath arch) In hunc tumolum re-
quiiscit in pace bone
memoriae famolus D(e)i
Valerianus presb(yster), in spe
resurrexiones mesere-
cordiae Xpi: qui uixit an(no)s
LV: obiit VII idus marti-
as, XXXVII post cons(ulatum) Ba-
sili u(iri) c(larissimi), indictione duode-
cima.
(monogram) (Chi/Rho) (monogram)
(alpha/omega)

In this tomb rests in peace a servant of God, Valerianus, a priest, of fond memory, in hope of the resurrection and the mercy of Christ, who lived for 55 years. He died seven days before the ides of March, 37 years after the consulate of Basilius, clarissimus, in the 12th year of the indiction.

Date: 9 March 578

The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur. The 37th p.c. of Basilius was in 578, and the date of the month, 9 March, would have been during the 11th indiction because the 12th did not begin until September of that year.

No.732 Vif

RICG.XV. 240.

Provenance: Saint-Jean-Baptist in 1965. *Location:* in the church, on the wall of the sacristy. Stone fragment. Dimensions: 26 x 19 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: *RICG.XV.*

[.... requiesci]t f(a)m(ulus/a) D(e)i
[.....] resurr(ecturu)s or in spe resurr(ectio)nis ?
[..... qui/ae] uixit
[.....]VIII k(a)l(endas)
[.....]O AVGVS-
[.....]? (palm)

[Here rests in peace ..., of fond memory?], a servant of God, in hope of the resurrection [and the mercy of Christ?], who lived for [... years], and died eight(?) / 18(?) days before the kalends of [...], ...

Date: 519? (estimated).

The day is either eight or 18 days prior to the *kalends* of a now illegible month.

Reconstructions: *initium* is *in hoc tumulo requiescit in pace bonae memoriae*, date formula is *obiit* + date.

No.733 Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. Gard.

ICG. 597; CIL.XII. 1045; ILCV. 1689.

Provenance: monastery of Saint-André. *Location:* in the church of Notre-Dame. Marble plaque.

Dimensions: unavailable. *Text source:* CIL.XII

[.....]

mensibus et geminis conclu-

dens tempora uitae

uiuit in aeternum nullum

moritura per aeuum.

Ista ualens fieri fletu manan-

te rogauit

iura sacerdotii seruans

nomenque iugalis.

(cross) obiit bon(ae) m(emoriae) Casaria me-

dium noct(is) d(ie) d(omi)nico inluciscente

VI id(us) decemb(ri)s, quadragies

et VI p(ost) c(onsulatum) Basil(i) iunior(is) u(iri) c(larissimi) c(onsulis),

ann(o) XII regn(o) dom(i)ni Chelde-

berti regi(s), indict(ione) quinta.

... and two months, as this life draws to an end she will live forever for all time. She implored (you God) with tears flowing that she become strong, observing the laws of the priesthood and the name of marriage. Casaria, of fond memory, died in the middle of the night, on the dawn of Sunday, six days before the ides of December, 46 years after the consulate of Basilus, clarissimus, in the 12th year of the reign of our lord, king Childebert, in the fifth year of the indiction.

Date: 8 December 587

The p.c. date and the indiction do not concur. The 46th p.c. of Basilus was in 587. The fifth indiction began in September 586 and ended at the end of August 587. The date of the month is 8 December, which is during the sixth indiction. The regnal date, the 12th year of the reign of Childebert II does coincide with the p.c. but depends upon the acceptance of 575 as the date upon which Childebert ascended the throne of Austrasia (*HF.IV*, 51), but Marius of Avenches places it during the ninth indiction, which continued into 576 (*Ma.Chron*: 239). Equally important is the acceptance of the date of his investiture on or after 8 December 575, but before the end of the year, if the 12th year recorded here is to be regarded as 587 and thereby still the 12th year of his reign, albeit at the very end of it. There is in this date some information of historical use, in that it would appear that Avignon was under Austrasian control. It is impossible to ascertain whether or not this reflects any changes made after the Treaty of Andelot, made on 28 November 587 (*HF.IX*, 20). The district of Avignon had probably always remained in the hands of Childebert II as part of the Austrasian kingdom. The date is either 586 or 587.

Reconstructions: *initium* is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.734 Viviers. Ardèche.

ICG. 482; CIL.XII. 2700; ILCV. 1216.

Provenance: château de Viviers, at the same time as several tombs were discovered. The date

is unknown. *Location:* Maison de Flaugergues, Viviers. Marble plaque. *Dimensions:* 35 x 22 cm.

Letters: 2-2.5 cm. *Text source:* P.Reynolds.

Hic requiis-

cet in pace

(d)iac(onus) Domno-

lus, qui ui-

xit annus

XXXVIII et

dees III: obiit

III k(alendas) maias,

XII reg(ni) dom(i)-

ni Alarici.

Here rests in peace Domnolus, a deacon, who lived for 39 years and three days. He died three days before the kalends of May, in the 12th year of the reign of king Alaric.

Date: 29 April 496

There can hardly be any doubt that this is the Visigothic king Alaric II. Alaric II became king on December 28, 484 at Toulouse (Wolfram 1988: 190). The 12th year of his reign would therefore fall in 496, if 484 is not counted as the first year of his reign, because he ascended the throne so late in the year.

No.735 Viviers

ICG. 483; CIL.XII. 2705.

Provenance: the garden of the episcopal palace in 1735 along with several other tombs.

Location: maison de Flaugergues, Viviers. Marble sarcophagus cover.

Dimensions: 50 x 105 cm. Letters: 3 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds/ICG.

Conduntor hoc tumolo in s(an)c(tu)oario praeclari patroni membra famoli
susceptiq(ue) fedelis cuius seruitus in aula presenti diuinetus data multiplicem ipsi apud superus
tribuit laudem fuit iste caretate primus, humilitate alt(u)s, humanetate largissimus omnes piaie dile
gens odio habens nemenem de profectu cunctorum indiscrete gaudens et proficere prouocans
multus Pascasius iste pr(es)byter quem inuida mors raptim tolit de mundo cuius ultima die saenum
ac louenum incipientumq(ue) et pauperum lacrimas rigasse hunc locum fusae probantur
priscam beati tenens patris Venanti doctrinam alere stoduit orfanus tegens nudus uirtute
qua potuit habuit talem cum omnebus uitam ut funeris sui exsequias praesentia ponti-
fecis ac sacerdotum clerique et plebis meruerit cum lamentatione et laudebus ho-
norari sicq(ue) uitam eius dum finitur in laude felix probauit exitus feliciter peractis decim lustr(is?)
uitam duxit in pace obiit kal(endas) decembr(es) indictione tercia decima.

Buried in this tomb, in a holy place, are the remains of a man born of a noble and illustrious family and a faithful upholder of the faith; frequently engaging in good works and giving praise in the house of God in the very presence of the Saints. He was exemplary in sharing his love, was filled with humility and humanity, cared greatly for all people, hating nobody. He rejoiced modestly at the progress of the faith of the people, calling upon many others to follow their example. Pascasius, this priest whom spiteful death suddenly took from the world. It is attested that on the day of his death the tears of the old, the young and his disciples watered the earth of this sacred place. Adhering to the orthodox doctrine of the blessed bishop Venantius, he fed the orphans and clothed the naked. He was so well regarded by everybody all through his life that his funeral procession was attended by the pontiff, priests and other clergy along with the populace, for he deserved to be honoured with their lamentations and praise. Thus, as his life ended in praise, the manner in which he took his leave was worthy of him. Happily, he lived for 50 years and led his life in peace. He died on the first day of December, in the 13th year of the indiction.

Date: 1 December 549, 564, 579, 594, 609 (date range of years is estimated).

No.736 Viviers

ICG. 484; CIL.XII. 2701; ILCV. 1280.

Provenance: château de Viviers, at the same time as several tombs were discovered. The date

is unknown. *Location:* maison de Flaugergues, Viviers. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 23 x 28 cm.

Letters: 1.5-2 cm. Text source: P.Reynolds.

In hoc tomolo
requiescet bon-
e m(em)oriae Seuerus,
lectur ennocens,
qui uixit in pace an-
nis tredece. Obiit d-
ecimo kal(endas) decemb-
res.

In this tomb rests Severus, of fond memory, a reader and an innocent child, who lived in peace for 13 years. He died ten days before the kalends of December.

Date: 22 November 450-500 (date range of years is estimated).

No.737 Viviers

ICG. 485; *NR.* 148; *CIL.XII.* 2702; *ILCV.* 210.

Provenance: château de Viviers, the exact circumstances are unknown. *Location:* lost. It was extant at the time *ICG* was published, but had disappeared by the time *NR* was published. Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: 15 x 42 cm. Text source: *NR/ILCV.*

Diehl restores the fragment thus:

[Inlus]tris ortu generis, sanc[tus studiisque]
[imb]utus bonis primum defl[oruit aeuum]
[qui]nque simul decim meritq[ue annis reuolutis]
[.....]

Le Blant quotes Allmer's reading:

[inlus]tris ortu generis sanc[titate]
[....]utus bonis primum defl[.....]
[qui]nque decim meruit o[.....]

Too fragmentary to translate but line 1 records that the deceased was of noble birth, the fragmentary first word on line 2 suggests a laudatory adjective taking bonis and therefore the deceased was probably male. Line 3 perhaps records his age.

Date: 500-600 (estimated).

Reconstructions: date formula is an indeterminate metrical/prose phrase.

No.738 Viviers

ICG. 483 adn; *CIL.XII.* 2705; *ILCV.* 796.

Provenance: coenobio monialium S.Dominici 1735 (*CIL*). *Location:* lost? Marble fragment. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *CIL.XII*

[... s]epulchro
[....] quam (ivy)
[....]iletate coniunc[t..?]
[... m]oenia urbis
[...] domos (ivy)
[...te?]mpla diebus
[...] prediis agros
[....]iuit
[...]f sa(n)c(t)or(u)<m>

Date: 500-600? (estimated).

Reconstructions: initium, age and date formulae are indeterminate metrical/prose phrases.

No.739 Viviers

CIL.XII. 2704; ILCV. 346.

Provenance: fragmentum marmoreum, rep. Viviers a.1763 (CIL). Location: lost (ILCV).

Fragment of a marble plaque. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: *ILCV*.

[...] H(omo?) D(euotissimus?)
[... s]epeliri
[?semp]er pacem ei[...]
[?atrocis]simas clades
[... annos?] LXX, obiit sub C(h)l(odouecus?).
[... ka]l(endas) octobris.

A man of exceptional faith(?) ... was buried here(?) ... always lived peacefully(?) ... was the victim of great violence(?) ... he lived for 70 years, during the reign of Clovis(?) ... the kalends(?) of October.

Date: September 638

This inscription is attributed to the reign of Clovis II, with reservations, on the authority of Diehl and Hirschfeld who both catalogue it as belonging to his reign. It is only a fragment but would be dated to between 639 and 654. However it could belong to either of the other two kings of that name in the seventh century.

No.740 Vix. Canton de Châtillon-sur-Seine, Côte d'Or.

NR. 1; CIL.XIII. 5656; ILCV. 1619.

Provenance: montagne de Vix qui domine Pothières (NR). Location: lost (ILCV). Sarcophagus cover. Dimensions: unavailable. Text source: NR.

Xpi (cross) hic est.

Here is Christ.

Date: 450-500 (estimated).

No.741 Yenne. Savoie.

RICG.XV. 285; Gallia, 24, 1966:526.

Provenance: in 1954 during church restoration. Location: built into an interior wall of the church in Yenne. Limestone plaque. Dimensions: 49 x 51 cm. Letters: 3-4 cm. Text source: RICG.XV.

[l]n hoc tomolo req-
[uies]cit in pace bone m-
emoriae Gundefri-
da, q(u)i uixit annus
?[x]XXIIII, m(ense)s II: obiit septemo
decemo k(a)l(endas) decem-
bris, Valerio c(o)ns(ule). (ivy) (dove)

In this tomb rests in peace Gundefrida, of fond memory, who lived for 24? / 34? years, two months. She died 17 days before the kalends of December, in the year of the consulate of Valerius.

Date: 15 November 521

APPENDIX TWO: INSCRIPTIONS EXCLUDED ON THE GROUNDS OF FORGERY, INCORRECT PROVENANCE OR PREVIOUSLY INACCURATELY ATTRIBUTED TO THIS PERIOD.

TEXTS

No.1 Aix-en-Provence, Bouches-du-Rhône.

ICG. 627; *CIL.XII.* 66*; *ICMAMNS*, Page.334. *Provenance:* discovered in 1817, près du cimetière de la Madeleine (*ICG*); this is a forgery. *Location:* lost (*ICG*). Dimensions: unknown. Text source: *ICMAMNS*.

Q(uito) Attilio Secundo
M(arci) f(ilius)
cuius anima [.....]
Deo [uolente ? or iubente ?]
migravit ad astra [sub ?]
die XV k(alendas) aug(ustas)
Seuero u(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule).

This is a forgery

No.2 Arles, Bouches-du-Rhône.

NR. 205b; *CIL.XII.* 0946; *ILCV.* 1062 adn.
Provenance: circumstances of discovery unknown. *Location:* lost (*NR* / *ILCV*).
Dimensions: unknown. Text source: *NR*.

Sanct[us]
Heros
summus an[tistes]
o[.....]

Le Blant, in agreement with Hirschfeld, considers that this may be a fake. His grounds are that the opening formula is very similar to that of Hilarinus and that there is no early manuscript tradition for it.

No.3 Carpentras, Vaucluse.

ICG. 505; *CIL.XII.* 1214; *ILCV.* 2789 adn. *Provenance:* Rome catacombs.
Location: Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras. Marble fragment. Dimensions: 12 x 72 cm.
Letters : 4 cm. Text source: *ICG*.

Felix annorum IIII me(n)s[ium ...]
mor<i>tur [.....].

No.4 Carpentras.

ICG. 506; *CIL.XII.* 1215; *ILCV.* 4110 and. *Provenance:* Rome catacombs.
Location: Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras. Marble plaque. Dimensions: 21 x 35 cm.
Letters : 4 cm.

[... V]incentiae
[...L]upianus et
[... f]ecerunt. (*palm*)

No.5 Dijon

ICG: 2; *Provenance*: Fortunatus, *Miscellanea*, I.IV, c.ii.

Postquam Syderius disruptit tartara princeps
sub pedibus iusti mors inimica iaces
hoc ueneranda sacri testatur uita Gregori
qui modo post tumulos intrat honore polos
nobilis antiqua decurrens prole parentum
nobilior gestis nunc super astra manet
arbiter ante ferox exhinc pius inde sacerdos
quos domuit iudex fouit amore patris
triginta et geminos pie rexit ouile per annos
et grege de Christi gaudia pastor habet
si quaeras meritum produnt miracula rerum
per quem debilibus fertur amica salus.

This may not be an epitaph but a literary memorial. Saint Gregory was the great-grandfather of Gregory of Tours. Fortunatus lived from c.540-600 and Gregory died in 539, after thirty-nine years as bishop, according to the epitaph. Thus this is either a literary commemoration or a later epitaph and is therefore excluded.

No.6 Dijon

ICG: 3. *Provenance*: Fortunatus, *Miscellanea*, I.IV, c.iii.

Palma sacerdotii uenerando tetrici cultu
te patriae sedes nos peregrina tenet
te custode pio nunquam lupus abstulit agnum
nec de fure timens pascua carpsit ouis
sex qui lustra gerens et per tres insuper annos
rexi placido pastor amore gregem
nam et condirentur diuino corda sapore
fudisti dulcem iugiter ore salem
summus amor regum populi decus arma parentum
ecclesiae cultor nobilitatis honor
esca inopum tutor uiduarum cura minorum
omnibus officiis omnia pastor eras
sed cui praebebat uarie tua cura medelam
funere rectoris plebs modo triste gemit
hoc tamen alme pater speramus dignus in astris
qualis honore nites hic pietate probes.

The epigraphical nature is uncertain. Tetricus was the bishop of Langres and died in about 572, suggesting that this *carmina* was a literary commemoration.

No.7 Dijon

CIL.XIII. 5591c; ILCV. 1329a. *Location*: Musée Archéologique de Dijon. Plaque d'ardoise.

Dimensions: 19 x 46 cm.

(*palm*) Venustus (*monogram*) Q.

According to the Catalogue du Musée des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or, 157, there is some doubt as to its authenticity and it may be from Italy. The origin is thus uncertain and it has been excluded from this study.

No.8 Genève

ICG. 371; ILCV. 1308; RICG.XV. 04*; .

Provenance: Saint-Victor in 1691. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV).

Hic requiescit
in pace bone me-
moriae Aelloldus (Aegioldus?)
praepositus et pres-
biter, qui obiit
XVII [ka]l(endas) octimbris.
D(omi)ne, requiescat
in pace, amen.

Only known from Spon. Mme.Descombes suggests that it is probably later in date than the period under study, judge by the formulae and the paleography. It was found in march 1691 'dans les fortifications de Genève, à l'emplacement de Saint-Victor, et réemployée sur place.'

No.9 Genève

ICG. 371a; CIL.XII. 0198*; RICG.XV. 14*; .

Provenance: unknown. *Location:* lost (RICG.XV).

Hic requiescit
in pace bone me-
morie L.E. qui
uixit annus VIII
M.M.M.M.M.

Mme.Descombes considers this to be either medieval or perhaps even a forgery. The initial formula is typical of the sixth century but the last line is of a much later style.

No.10 Genève

NR. 097; CIL.XII. 2646; RICG.XV. 03*. *Provenance:* discovered in 1862.

Location: Musée de Genève. limestone fragments. Dimensions: unknown.

[Hic requi]escet
[in pace bo]ne memo[riae]
[.....]gisus
[...?sacerd]os q(ui) o[biit ?]
[.....]?a(u)g(ustas) ?
[?requies]cat ani[ma ?]

Mme.Descombes considers that the paleography is more likely to make it Carolingian in date.

No.11 Lyon

ICG. 020; CIL.XIII. 2394; *Provenance:* Saint-Nizier *Location:* lost.

S(anctus) Sicarius.

This seems to be a later inscription according to Le Blant, who knew it only from a manuscript..

No.12 Lyon

ICG. 27; *Provenance*: circumstances of discovery unknown. *Location*: lost.

Hic patris antiqui condigno nomine iusti
in spe perpetuae requiescunt pignora uitae
membra beata satis quae semper dedita Christo
per uarios semet cruce confixere labores
ut melius celeri rapiantur in aere nube
cum coelo adueniens iudex effulserit ipse
hic fuit egregius primum leuita Viennae
inde gregem domini doctrina insignis et actu
conspicuus praesul Lugduni paut in urbe
post anachoriticae uitae flammatus amore
longinqua Aegypti sitiens deserta petiuit
quo senibus sacris pietatis foedere iunctus
cum miram extremo clausisset lumine uitam
plebis amore suae patriam reuocatus ad urbem
cum uiatore pio Christi tumulatur ad aram
ut quos peruigili uiuens pietate nutriuit
continuis precibus foueat per secula natos.

Le Blants states that this is a late epitaph in memory of Saint-Just of Lyon, quoting Duchesne who states that it was written by either Agobard or the deacon Florus. This dates it to the early ninth century.

No.13 Lyon

NR. 10; *CIL.XIII. 2440. Provenance*: Saint-Irénée *Location*: Saint-Irénée, in the crypt..
Dimensions: 25 x 36 cm. Letters : 1.5 - 3 cm.

[.....]NIPOETID[....]
[.....]MIS
[.. con]VGIS
[.....]TES
[. ?de]uotissime P[...]
O
[..... q]uinquagins[..
[.....]ES

What remains of the formulae suggest that it is probably earlier than the fourth century.

No.14 Marseille

ICMAMNS. 15a. *Provenance*: Saint-Victor, inscribed on the left wall of the entrance of the catacomb. Dimensions: 13 x 15 cm. Letters: L. 1 and 3: 3 cm. L. 2: 2.5 cm.

Orate

p(ro) nobis o(mnes)
s(an)c(t)i Dei.

This is a graffito on the left wall of the entrance to the catacomb in Saint-Victor. The formula is one normally associated with medieval inscriptions and although the style of the palaeography is similar to others of the seventh century, the overall effect is closer to inscriptions dating to after the eighth century. Therefore it has been excluded from this study.

No.15 Saint-Pantaléon-d'Apt

CIL.XII. 1156; ICMAMNS. 058; A.E. 1973:328. Provenance: inscribed on the rock foundation of the church exterior, near the apse. Dimensions: 140 x 15 cm. Letters : 3 - 7 cm.

(*monogram*) Hic requiescit bone memorie Lecto, (*monogram*) obiit in Xpo,
fuit defunctus XIII k(alendas) ian(uarias).
(*two crosses*)

This may be a later forgery. The paleography is correct for the period but this has been excluded because the apse of the chapel is built upon the rock specifically cut in order to serve as its foundation. The chapel appears to be later than the eighth century and therefore this inscription is excluded from this study.

No.16 Saint-Saturnin-d'Apt

ICMAMNS. 059; A.E. 1973:327;.

Provenance: Saint Saturnin d'Apt, from the chapel of the chateau. *Location:* as provenance. A Gallo-Roman altar, originally anepigraphic. Dimensions: 102 x 44 x 31 cm. Letters 3.5 cm.

In o-
no[re]
san-
[cti]
Sa-
tur-
nini-
mar-
tir

This has been re-cut sometime prior to 1937, thereby rendering the original reading difficult; that used here is taken from *ICMAMNS*. It appears to be a reemployed pagan Roman altar, previously anepigraphic, and subsequently put to Christian use. It may possibly date to the late seventh century but equally may be later and is thus excluded from this study. (See also H.-I. Marrou, *Bull.Ant.Fr.*, 1970:359).

No.17 Vienne

ICG. 404. Provenance: Sidonius, *Eps. IV, ii.*

Germani decus et dolor Mamerti
mirantum unica pompa episcoporum
hoc dat cespite membra Claudianus
triplex bibliotheca quo magistro
romana attica christiana fulsit
quam totam monachus uirente in aevo
secreta bibit institutione
orator dialecticus poeta
tractator geometra musicusque
doctus soluere uincla quaestionum
et uerbi gladio secare sectas
si quae catholicam fidem laccessunt
psalmorum hic modulator et phonascus
ante altaria fratre gratulante
instructas docuit sonare classes
hic sollenibus annuis parauit
quae quo tempore lecta conuenirent
Antistes fuit ordine in secundo
fratrem fasce leuans episcopali
nam de pontificis tenore summi
ille insignia sumpsit hic laborem
at tu quisque doles amice lector
de tanto quasi nil uiro supersit
udis parce genis rigare marmor

mens et gloria non queunt humari

Mme.Descombes excludes this because it was unlikely to have been inscribed as an epitaph, instead serving a role as a literary commemoration on the occasion of Sidonius' visit to the tomb of Claudianus, the brother of Mamertus, in 474.

No.18 Vienne

ICG. 426. *Provenance*: Fortunatus, IV, xxvii.

Si pietatis opus nunquam morietur in aevo
uiuis pro merito foemina sancta tuo
inclita sidereo radians Euphrasia regno
nec mihi flenda manes cum tibi laeta places
terrae terra dedit sed spiritus astra recepit
pars iacet haec tumulo pars tenet illa polum
corpore deposito leuiori uecta uelatu
stas melior coelo quam prius esses humo
carnis iniqua domans de te tibi sacra triumphans
ad patriae sedes ciuis opima redis
ardua nobilitas proauorum luce coruscans
plus tamen es meritis glorificanda tuis
uir cui Namatius datus inde Vienna sacerdos
coniuge defuncto consociata deo
exulibus uiduis captiuis omnia fundens
paupertate pia diues ad astra subis
aeternum mercata diem sub tempore paruo
misisti ad coelos quas sequeris opes
sed rogo per regem paradisi gaudia dantem
pro fortunato supplice funde precem
obtineas uotis haec qui tibi carmina misi
ut merear Claudii quandoque clauae Petri

Mme.Descombes doubts the epigraphic authenticity of this epitaph, which was probably written as a literary commemoration.

No.19 Vienne

ICG. 458j; *CIL*.XII. 2117; *ILCV*. 2430*adn*; *RICG*.XV. 02*; .

Provenance: Vienne, probably. *Location*: Musée de Vienne.

[.....]
[...]natis FORB cui PRADIA D[...]
[?hab]acuc uno TRANSV[...]
[.....]

Mme.Descombes excludes this due to its uncertain provenance and the palaeography suggests a medieval date, particularly in the execution of the letter A, with an horizontal lintel above the apex.

No.20 Vienne

ILGN. 300; RICG.XV. 01. Provenance:* Saint-Georges in 1926. *Location:* Musée de Vienne.
marble plaque Dimensions: unknown.

[In hoc tum]ulo requies-
[?cit in pace] bonae memoriae
[... sa]cerdos, qui uixit
[...: obii]t XI k(a)l(endas) maii, indic(tione) VII:
[.....] Teudo nomine
[? quisquis] legis, ora pro eis ! (cross)

Mme.Descombes excludes this due to the formulae, especially on the last line, which suggest a ninth century date.

No.21 Vilhosc

ICMAMNS. 65. Provenance: inscribed on a capital surmounting a square column in the crypt of the priory. *Location:* *in situ*, although the priory is now part of a farm.
Dimensions: Letters: 3.5 cm.

(cross)
XVII k(a)l(endas) ian(uarias)
dedicacio /
altaria
sepuleri-
que

Although Guyon includes this dedication in his thesis, it is excluded here because the formula suggests a ninth century date.

APPENDIX THREE

THE ACTUAL AND POSTULATED DATES AND FORMULAE OF THE EPITAPHS

This appendix lists the full results from Chapter Four. The main table lists each epitaph as reconstructed and dated in postulated *initium*, age and date order followed by date and provenance. The table codes Record, *Ciuitas*, Provenance, Date Range are self-explanatory; O1, O2, O3 indicate the original formulae, P1, P2 and P3 are the postulated formulae; 98 = illegible or missing, 99 = Not Inscribed. The meaning of the numbers in each of these columns is indicated in the left hand column of the key table below, which also indicates the meaning for the codes in the three rightmost columns. These abbreviations are included to enable the reader to more easily observe patterns amongst the data:

1	HIC REQVIESCIT	HR
2	HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE	HRIP
3	HIC REQVIESCET BONE MEMORIAE	HRBM
4	HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE BONAE MEMORIAE	HRIPBM
5	BONAE MEMORIAE HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE	BMHRIP
6	HIC IN PACE REQVIESCIT BONAE MEMORIAE	HIPRBM
7	IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT	IHTR
8	IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT IN PACE	IHTRIP
9	IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT BONAE MEMORIAE	IHTRBM
10	IN HOC TVMVLO REQVIESCIT IN PACE BONAE MEMORIAE	IHTRIPBM
11	IN HOC LOCO REQVIESCIT / IN PACE / BONAE MEMORIAE	IHLR
12	VARIANT REQVIESCIT FORMULAE	VARIANT
13	UNCLASSIFIED REQVIESCIT FRAGMENTS	
14	DATIVE / OPTATIVE INITIA	Dative/Opt
15	NOMINATIVE INITIA	NOMINATIVE
16	METRICAL / PROSE INITIA	METRICAL
17	CONDO -ERE	CONDO
18	IACEO -ERE	IACEO
19	QUIESCO -ERE	QUIESCO
1	QVI/QVAE VIXIT ANNOS + AGE	VA
2	QVI/QVAE VIXIT ANNOS ... MENSES ... DIES	VAMD
3	QVI/QVAE VIXIT ANNOS PLVS MINVS	VAPM
4	QVI VIXIT IN PACE ANNOS	VIPA
5	VARIANT VIXIT FORMULAE	VARIANT
6	UNCLASSIFIED VIXIT FORMULAE	
7	AGE ONLY	AGE ONLY
8	METRICAL / PROSE AGE FORMULA	METRICAL
1	OBIIT + DATE	O
2	OBIIT DIE + DATE	OD
3	OBIIT SVB DIE + DATE	OSD
4	OBIIT IN CHRISTO / XPO + DATE (normally)	OIC/X
5	OBIIT IN PACE + DATE	OIP
6	VARIANT OBIIT FORMULAE	VARIANT
7	UNCLASSIFIED OBIIT FRAGMENTS	
8	DATE AND MONTH ONLY	DATE/MONTH
9	METRICAL / PROSE DATE FORMULA	METRICAL
10	DEPONO -ERE	DEPONO
11	RECEDO -ERE	RECEDO
12	TRANSEO -IRE	TRANSEO

Record	Ciuitas	PROVENANCE	RANGE	O1	O2	O3	P1	P2	P3	Initium	Age	Date
352	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	430-500	1	1	98	1	1	1	HR	VA	O
249	L	Lyon, St.Just	422	1	2	1	1	2	1	HR	VAMD	O
253	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	448	1	2	6	1	2	6	HR	VAMD	Variant
149	L	Briord	487	1	2	6	1	2	6	HR	VAMD	Variant
575	V	Vienne	450-500	1	2	98	1	2	98	HR	VAMD	----
547	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	450-500	1	2	99	1	2	99	HR	VAMD	----
699	V	Vienne	450-500	1	3	99	1	3	99	HR	VAPM	----
115	A	Arles, St.Honorat	450-500	1	6	98	1	1	9	HR	VA	Metrical
579	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	491	2	1	1	2	1	1	HRIP	VA	O
240	V	Luc-en-Diois	514	2	1	1	2	1	1	HRIP	VA	O
416	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	450-500	2	1	11	2	1	11	HRIP	VA	Recedo
410	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	489	2	1	11	2	1	11	HRIP	VA	Recedo
537	V	Vézérone	491	2	1	12	2	1	12	HRIP	VA	Transeo
559	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	450-500	2	1	98	2	1	98	HRIP	VA	----
419	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	425-475	2	1	99	2	1	99	HRIP	VA	----
219	V	Grenoble	450-500	2	1	99	2	1	99	HRIP	VA	----
554	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	450-500	2	1	99	2	1	99	HRIP	VA	----
218	V	Grenoble	521	2	1	99	2	1	99	HRIP	VA	----
222	L	Grigny	469	2	2	1	2	2	1	HRIP	VAMD	O
734	V	Viviers	496	2	2	1	2	2	1	HRIP	VAMD	O
488	V	St.Sixte-de-Merlas	516	2	2	1	2	2	1	HRIP	VAMD	O
482	V	St.Romain-d'Albon	467	2	2	11	2	2	11	HRIP	VAMD	Recedo
704	V	Vienne	450-500	2	2	98	2	2	98	HRIP	VAMD	----
169	A	Carcès	425-475	2	2	99	2	2	99	HRIP	VAMD	----
227	V	La Côte-St.André	450-500	2	2	99	2	2	99	HRIP	VAMD	----
705	V	Vienne	450-500	2	2	99	2	2	99	HRIP	VAMD	----
696	V	Vienne	450-500	2	2	99	2	2	99	HRIP	VAMD	----
552	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	450-500	2	2	99	2	2	99	HRIP	VAMD	----
613	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	450-500	2	2	99	2	2	99	HRIP	VAMD	----
545	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	450-500	2	2	99	2	2	99	HRIP	VAMD	----
546	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	450-500	2	2	99	2	2	99	HRIP	VAMD	----
542	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	450-500	2	2	99	2	2	99	HRIP	VAMD	----
556	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	450-500	2	2	99	2	2	99	HRIP	VAMD	----
78	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	543, 558, 573, 588, 603	2	3	1	2	3	1	HRIP	VAPM	O
706	V	Vienne	450-500	2	3	7	2	3	4	HRIP	VAPM	OIC/X
548	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	450-500	2	3	11	2	3	11	HRIP	VAPM	Recedo
551	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	475-510	2	3	11	2	3	11	HRIP	VAPM	Recedo
411	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	425-475	2	3	99	2	3	99	HRIP	VAPM	----
617	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	450-500	2	3	99	2	3	99	HRIP	VAPM	----
421	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	489, 512	2	5	11	2	5	11	HRIP	Variant	Recedo
693	V	Vienne	450-500	2	5	99	2	5	99	HRIP	Variant	----
715	V	Vienne	450-500	2	6	9	2	1	9	HRIP	VA	Metrical
405	L	Lyon, Others	430-500	2	6	98	2	2	98	HRIP	VAMD	----
100	A	Arles, Alyscamps	425-475	2	6	98	2	3	1	HRIP	VAPM	O
700	V	Vienne	400-500	2	8	99	2	8	99	HRIP	Metrical	----
571	V	Vienne, St.Sévère	450-500	2	98	98	2	99	98	HRIP	----	----

335	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	430-500	2	99	99	2	99	99	HRIP	----	----
272	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	525	3	1	1	3	1	1	HRBM	VA	O
232	V	La Terrace	522	3	1	5	3	1	5	HRBM	VA	OIP
201	L	Fénay	430-500	3	1	9	3	1	9	HRBM	VA	Metrical
413	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	450-500	3	1	11	3	1	11	HRBM	VA	Recedo
577	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	483	3	1	12	3	1	12	HRBM	VA	Transeo
673	V	Vienne	509	3	1	12	3	1	12	HRBM	VA	Transeo
290	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	470-540	3	1	98	3	1	1	HRBM	VA	O
176	A	Cimiez	474	3	2	10	3	2	10	HRBM	VAMD	Depono
159	L	Briord	619, 634	3	4	1	3	4	1	HRBM	VIPA	O
155	L	Briord	629	3	4	12	3	4	12	HRBM	VIPA	Transeo
534	A	Venasque	604	3	5	1	3	5	1	HRBM	Variant	O
220	V	Grésy-sur-Aix	486	3	5	6	3	5	6	HRBM	Variant	Variant
528	V	Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence)	470-540	3	98	98	3	1	12	HRBM	VA	Transeo
632	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	470-540	3	98	98	3	1	12	HRBM	VA	Transeo
226	V	La Baume-Cornillane	520	3	99	10	3	99	10	HRBM	----	Depono
578	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	485	4	1	1	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
150	L	Briord	488	4	1	1	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
672	V	Vienne	495	4	1	1	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
580	V	Vienne	501	4	1	1	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
493	V	St.Vallier	503	4	1	1	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
147	V	Bourgoin	517	4	1	1	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
217	V	Grenoble	520	4	1	1	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
458	V	Pact	542, 557, 572, 587, 602	4	1	1	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
193	V	Die	548, 563, 578, 593, 608	4	1	1	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
687	V	Vienne	483-534	4	1	3	4	1	3	HRIPBM	VA	OSD
77	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	525-575	4	1	3	4	1	3	HRIPBM	VA	OSD
34	V	Aoste	523	4	1	4	4	1	4	HRIPBM	VA	OIC/X
37	V	Aoste	547	4	1	4	4	1	4	HRIPBM	VA	OIC/X
151	L	Briord	491	4	1	5	4	1	5	HRIPBM	VA	OIP
152	L	Briord	501	4	1	5	4	1	5	HRIPBM	VA	OIP
153	L	Briord	501	4	1	5	4	1	5	HRIPBM	VA	OIP
59	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	540-600	4	1	7	4	1	3	HRIPBM	VA	OSD
262	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	493	4	1	9	4	1	9	HRIPBM	VA	Metrical
530	V	Valence	491	4	1	10	4	1	10	HRIPBM	VA	Depono
33	A	Antibes	546, 561, 576, 591, 606	4	1	10	4	1	10	HRIPBM	VA	Depono
202	V	Genève	505	4	1	12	4	1	12	HRIPBM	VA	Transeo
167	A	Bruis	538	4	1	98	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
730	V	Vienne	540-600	4	1	98	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
287	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	430-500	4	1	98	4	1	5	HRIPBM	VA	OIP
565	V	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	502	4	2	1	4	2	1	HRIPBM	VAMD	O
88	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	531	4	2	1	4	2	1	HRIPBM	VAMD	O

211	V	Grenoble	540-600	4	2	1	4	2	1	HRIPBM	VAMD	O
490	V	St.Sixte-de-Merlas	542-600	4	2	1	4	2	1	HRIPBM	VAMD	O
35	V	Aoste	537	4	2	4	4	2	4	HRIPBM	VAMD	OIC/X
36	V	Aoste	547	4	2	4	4	2	4	HRIPBM	VAMD	OIC/X
464	V	Revel-Tourdan	564	4	2	4	4	2	4	HRIPBM	VAMD	OIC/X
483	V	St.Romain-d'Albon	516	4	2	9	4	2	9	HRIPBM	VAMD	Metrical
587	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	524	4	3	1	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
589	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	525	4	3	1	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
116	A	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	541, 556, 571, 586, 601	4	3	1	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
431	A	Marseille, S.E. Cemetery	541, 556, 571, 586, 601	4	3	1	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
541	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	542-600	4	3	1	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
605	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	660	4	3	1	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
118	A	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	541, 556, 571, 586, 601	4	3	3	4	3	3	HRIPBM	VAPM	OSD
595	V	Vienne, St.Georges	542	4	3	7	4	3	4	HRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
425	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	542, 557, 572, 587	4	3	11	4	3	11	HRIPBM	VAPM	Recedo
238	A	Lorgues	450-500	4	3	98	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
709	V	Vienne	470-540	4	3	98	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
714	V	Vienne	470-540	4	3	98	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
623	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	470-540	4	3	98	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
460	A	Peyruis	400-450	4	3	99	4	3	99	HRIPBM	VAPM	----
9	V	Alba / Aps	540, 555, 570, 585, 600	4	5	1	4	5	1	HRIPBM	Variant	O
463	V	Revel-Tourdan	547	4	5	4	4	5	4	HRIPBM	Variant	OIC/X
457	V	Pact	470-540	4	5	98	4	5	1	HRIPBM	Variant	O
465	V	Revel-Tourdan	450-500	4	5	99	4	5	99	HRIPBM	Variant	----
215	V	Grenoble	470-540	4	6	98	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
212	V	Grenoble	540-600	4	6	98	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
435	V	Moirans	540-600	4	6	98	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
615	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	475-525	4	8	4	4	8	4	HRIPBM	Metrical	OIC/X
1	V	Agnin	470-540	4	98	98	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
41	V	Aouste	470-540	4	98	98	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
205	V	Genève	470-540	4	98	98	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
721	V	Vienne	470-540	4	98	98	4	2	1	HRIPBM	VAMD	O
527	V	Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence)	470-540	4	98	98	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
716	V	Vienne	470-540	4	98	98	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
618	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	470-540	4	98	98	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
213	V	Grenoble	540-600	4	99	1	4	99	1	HRIPBM	----	O
229	A	La Gayole	547, 562, 577, 592, 607	4	99	1	4	99	1	HRIPBM	----	O
30	A	Antibes	450-500	5	1	10	5	1	10	BMHRIP	VA	Depono
31	A	Antibes	450-500	5	1	10	5	1	10	BMHRIP	VA	Depono

32	A	Antibes	475-525	5	1	10	5	1	10	BMHRIP	VA	Depono
29	A	Antibes	476	5	2	10	5	2	10	BMHRIP	VAMD	Depono
450	A	Notre-Dame-du-Brusc	425-475	5	6	98	5	2	10	BMHRIP	VAMD	Depono
449	A	Notre-Dame-du-Brusc	425-475	5	98	98	5	1	10	BMHRIP	VA	Depono
70	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	425-475	6	1	1	6	1	1	HIPRBM	VA	O
111	A	Arles, St.Honorat	501	6	1	1	6	1	1	HIPRBM	VA	O
75	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	495	6	1	3	6	1	3	HIPRBM	VA	OSD
519	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	502	6	1	3	6	1	3	HIPRBM	VA	OSD
60	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	532	6	1	3	6	1	3	HIPRBM	VA	OSD
522	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	536	6	1	3	6	1	3	HIPRBM	VA	OSD
517	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	475-540	6	2	2	6	2	2	HIPRBM	VAMD	OD
66	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	425-475	6	2	6	6	2	6	HIPRBM	VAMD	Variant
71	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	425-475	6	3	1	6	3	1	HIPRBM	VAPM	O
72	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	425-475	6	3	1	6	3	1	HIPRBM	VAPM	O
462	A	Reillanne	500-550	6	3	1	6	3	1	HIPRBM	VAPM	O
63	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	525	6	3	1	6	3	1	HIPRBM	VAPM	O
64	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	530	6	3	1	6	3	1	HIPRBM	VAPM	O
140	A	Banon	541, 556, 571, 586, 601	6	3	1	6	3	1	HIPRBM	VAPM	O
69	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	542, 557, 572, 587, 602	6	3	1	6	3	1	HIPRBM	VAPM	O
119	A	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	543, 558, 573, 588, 603	6	3	1	6	3	1	HIPRBM	VAPM	O
114	A	Arles, St.Honorat	544, 559, 574, 589, 604	6	3	1	6	3	1	HIPRBM	VAPM	O
74	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	425-475	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
67	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	487	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
76	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	525-575	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
101	A	Arles, Alysamps	525-575	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
97	A	Arles, Alysamps	525-575	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
73	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	529	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
120	A	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	530	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
62	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	540-600	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
117	A	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	540-600	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
56	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	542, 557, 572, 587, 602	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
57	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	542, 557, 572, 587, 602	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
141	A	Banon	542, 557, 572, 587, 602	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD

143	A	Bellegarde	546, 561, 576, 591, 606	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
98	A	Arles, Alyscamps	548, 563, 578, 593, 608	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
125	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	548, 563, 578, 593, 608	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
68	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	551, 566, 581, 596, 611	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
95	A	Arles, Alyscamps	554	6	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
65	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	450-550	6	3	98	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
121	A	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	540-600	6	3	98	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
186	V	Crussol	675-700	6	5	12	6	5	12	HIPRBM	Variant	Transeo
437	A	Montfort	540-600	6	6	98	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
84	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	450-550	6	98	98	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
89	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	450-550	6	98	98	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
124	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	450-550	6	98	98	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
85	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	450-550	6	98	98	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
432	A	Marseille	540-600	6	98	98	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
678	V	Vienne	536	7	1	1	7	1	1	IHTR	VA	O
323	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	430-500	7	1	7	7	1	5	IHTR	VA	OIP
504	V	Toulaud	694	7	4	12	7	4	12	IHTR	VIPA	Transeo
505	V	Tournon	470-540	7	6	98	7	1	1	IHTR	VA	O
447	A	Notre-Dame-de-Beauregard	470-540	7	6	98	7	1	1	IHTR	VA	O
166	L	Briord	600-650	7	98	98	7	1	5	IHTR	VA	OIP
242	V	Luzinay	607	8	3	1	8	3	1	IHTRIP	VAPM	O
570	V	Vienne	572	8	3	5	8	3	5	IHTRIP	VAPM	OIP
633	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	470-540	8	98	98	8	3	5	IHTRIP	VAPM	OIP
638	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	470-540	8	98	98	8	3	5	IHTRIP	VAPM	OIP
291	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	430-500	9	1	1	9	1	1	IHTRBM	VA	O
356	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	541-600	9	1	1	9	1	1	IHTRBM	VA	O
275	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	544	9	1	1	9	1	1	IHTRBM	VA	O
347	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	545?	9	1	1	9	1	1	IHTRBM	VA	O
676	V	Vienne	528	9	1	2	9	1	2	IHTRBM	VA	OD
702	V	Vienne	470-540	9	1	5	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP
264	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	501	9	1	5	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP
265	L	Lyon, St.Just	501	9	1	5	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP
270	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	517	9	1	5	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP
271	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	523	9	1	5	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP
274	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	541	9	1	5	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP
476	V	St.Laurent-de-Mure	544, 559, 574, 589, 604	9	1	5	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP
44	V	Arandon	546	9	1	5	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP
407	L	Mâcon	554, 569, 584, 599, 614	9	1	5	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP

268	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	508	9	1	6	9	1	6	IHTRBM	VA	Variant
373	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	9	1	6	9	1	6	IHTRBM	VA	Variant
319	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	470-540	9	1	7	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP
297	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	470-540	9	1	7	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP
298	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	430-500	9	1	99	9	1	99	IHTRBM	VA	----
276	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	546	9	2	5	9	2	5	IHTRBM	VAMD	OIP
241	V	Lugrin	527	9	2	12	9	2	12	IHTRBM	VAMD	Transeo
353	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	430-500	9	2	98	9	2	98	IHTRBM	VAMD	----
195	L	Dijon	430-500	9	2	99	9	2	99	IHTRBM	VAMD	----
597	V	Vienne, St.Georges	547	9	3	4	9	3	4	IHTRBM	VAPM	OIC/X
567	V	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	524	9	3	5	9	3	5	IHTRBM	VAPM	OIP
349	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	430-500	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
736	V	Viviers	450-500	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
259	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	484	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
263	L	Lyon, St.Just	493	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
266	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	503	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
267	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	504	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
196	L	Ecully	518	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
402	L	Lyon, Others	541-500	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
289	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	546, 561, 576, 591, 606	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
281	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	564	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
314	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	595	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
370	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
158	L	Briord	615, 630	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
363	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	653	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
364	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	653	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
365	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	653	9	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
345	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	483-534	9	4	2	9	4	2	IHTRBM	VIPA	OD
391	L	Lyon, St.Nizier	495	9	4	2	9	4	2	IHTRBM	VIPA	OD
401	L	Lyon, Others	520	9	4	2	9	4	2	IHTRBM	VIPA	OD
277	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	549	9	4	2	9	4	2	IHTRBM	VIPA	OD
161	L	Briord	600-650	9	4	6	9	4	6	IHTRBM	VIPA	Variant
367	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	656	9	4	6	9	4	6	IHTRBM	VIPA	Variant
25	L	Anse	450-550	9	4	9	9	4	9	IHTRBM	VIPA	Metrical
187	V	Crussol	691	9	4	12	9	4	12	IHTRBM	VIPA	Transeo
162	L	Briord	600-650	9	4	99	9	4	99	IHTRBM	VIPA	----
224	V	Guillerand	683	9	5	12	9	5	12	IHTRBM	Variant	Transeo
332	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	470-540	9	6	98	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP
293	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	541-600	9	6	7	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
495	V	Soyons	675-700	9	6	98	9	5	12	IHTRBM	Variant	Transeo
216	V	Grenoble	450-500	9	98	98	9	98	1	IHTRBM	----	O

636	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	540-600	9	98	98	9	3	5	IHTRBM	VAPM	OIP
164	L	Briord	600-650	9	98	98	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
381	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	9	98	98	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
382	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	9	98	98	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
581	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	509	9	99	1	9	99	1	IHTRBM	----	O
731	V	Vif	578	10	1	1	10	1	1	IHTRIPBM	VA	O
233	V	La Tronche	548, 563, 578, 593, 608	10	1	2	10	1	2	IHTRIPBM	VA	OD
536	V	Vérenay	540-600	10	1	4	10	1	4	IHTRIPBM	VA	OIC/X
479	L	St.Maurice-de-Rémens	486	10	1	5	10	1	5	IHTRIPBM	VA	OIP
671	V	Vienne	495	10	2	1	10	2	1	IHTRIPBM	VAMD	O
741	V	Yenne	521	10	2	1	10	2	1	IHTRIPBM	VAMD	O
603	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	578	10	2	5	10	2	5	IHTRIPBM	VAMD	OIP
591	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	536	10	2	7	10	2	1	IHTRIPBM	VAMD	O
590	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	535-537	10	2	7	10	2	5	IHTRIPBM	VAMD	OIP
701	V	Vienne	450-550	10	3	4	10	3	4	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
703	V	Vienne	470-540	10	3	4	10	3	4	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
594	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	540	10	3	4	10	3	4	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
651	V	Vienne, St.Georges	542-600	10	3	4	10	3	4	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
599	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	557	10	3	4	10	3	4	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
683	V	Vienne	563	10	3	4	10	3	4	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
566	V	Vienne, St.Sévère	511	10	3	5	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
619	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	542-600	10	3	5	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
568	V	Vienne, St.Sévère	558	10	3	5	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
682	V	Vienne	559	10	3	5	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
600	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	561	10	3	5	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
472	V	St.Jean-de-Bournay	540-650	10	3	8	10	3	8	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	Date/Month
544	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	540-600	10	3	98	10	3	4	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
132	V	Arras-sur-Rhône	540-600	10	3	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
635	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	540-600	10	3	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
674	V	Vienne	524	10	5	1	10	5	1	IHTRIPBM	Variant	O
199	V	Eyzin	540-600	10	6	98	10	1	1	IHTRIPBM	VA	O
42	V	Aouste	470-540	10	6	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
456	V	Ourches	540-600	10	6	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
694	V	Vienne	540-600	10	98	98	10	3	4	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
442	V	Nacon	470-540	10	98	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
720	V	Vienne	470-540	10	98	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
717	V	Vienne	470-540	10	98	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
620	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	470-540	10	98	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
637	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	540-600	10	98	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
634	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	540-600	10	98	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
278	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	552	11	1	1	11	1	1	IHLR/IP/BM	VA	O
339	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	430-500	11	1	5	11	1	5	IHLR/IP/BM	VA	OIP
390	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	450-500	11	1	12	11	1	12	IHLR/IP/BM	VA	Transeo
250	L	Lyon, St.Just	431	11	1	99	11	1	99	IHLR/IP/BM	VA	----

489	V	St.Sixte-de-Merlas	550, 565, 580, 595, 610	11	2	1	11	2	1	IHLR/IP/BM	VAMD	O
40	V	Aouste	496	11	5	3	11	5	3	IHLR/IP/BM	Variant	OSD
40	V	Aouste	496	11	5	12	11	5	12	IHLR/IP/BM	Variant	Transeo
358	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	470-540	11	98	98	11	1	5	IHLR/IP/BM	VA	OIP
664	V	Vienne, Sainte-Colombe	470-540	11	98	98	11	1	5	IHLR/IP/BM	VA	OIP
256	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	458	12	1	1	12	1	1	Variant	VA	O
351	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	430-500	12	1	3	12	1	3	Variant	VA	OSD
543	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	450-500	12	1	99	12	1	99	Variant	VA	----
521	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	519	12	2	1	12	2	1	Variant	VAMD	O
235	V	Le Fayet	529	12	2	1	12	2	1	Variant	VAMD	O
707	V	Vienne	470-540	12	2	98	12	2	1	Variant	VAMD	O
669	V	Vienne, St.Romain-en-Gal	400-450	12	2	99	12	2	99	Variant	VAMD	----
19	V	Andance	563	12	3	4	12	3	4	Variant	VAPM	OIC/X
18	L	Albigny	430-500	12	4	1	12	4	1	Variant	VIPA	O
379	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de- Choulans	600, 615, 630, 645, 660	12	4	1	12	4	1	Variant	VIPA	O
157	L	Briord	633	12	4	1	12	4	1	Variant	VIPA	O
371	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de- Choulans	600-650	12	4	3	12	4	3	Variant	VIPA	OSD
366	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de- Choulans	655	12	4	3	12	4	3	Variant	VIPA	OSD
372	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de- Choulans	600-650	12	4	6	12	4	6	Variant	VIPA	Variant
160	L	Briord	600-650	12	4	98	12	4	1	Variant	VIPA	O
243	V	Luzinay	629	12	5	2	12	5	2	Variant	Variant	OD
10	V	Alba / Aps	500-600	12	6	98	12	1	1	Variant	VA	O
438	A	Montfort-sur-Argens	540-600	12	6	98	12	3	1	Variant	VAPM	O
239	A	Lorgues	500-550	12	7	8	12	7	8	Variant	Age only	Date/Month
214	V	Grenoble	450-500	12	98	98	12	1	98	Variant	VA	----
163	L	Briord	600-650	12	98	98	12	4	1	Variant	VIPA	O
168	A	Brunet	425-475	12	99	1	12	99	1	Variant	----	O
223	V	Gruffy	450-500	12	99	99	12	99	99	Variant	----	----
38	V	Aoste	450-525	12	99	99	12	99	99	Variant	----	----
588	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	525	13	1	1	2	1	1	HRIP	VA	O
173	L	Chalon-sur-Saône	523	13	6	12	3	1	12	HRBM	VA	Transeo
470	V	St.Gervais	450-500	13	98	98	3	1	12	HRBM	VA	Transeo
675	V	Vienne	527	13	5	3	4	5	3	HRIPBM	Variant	OSD
203	V	Genève	470-540	13	6	98	4	1	12	HRIPBM	VA	Transeo
185	V	Corenc	470-540	13	98	98	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
206	V	Genève	470-540	13	98	98	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
492	V	St.Thomé	500-600	13	98	9	4	8	9	HRIPBM	Metrical	Metrical
154	L	Briord	475-500	13	6	7	7	1	5	IHTR	VA	OIP
481	A	St.Restitut	548	13	98	98	7	8	9	IHTR	Metrical	Metrical
502	V	Soyons	675-700	13	98	98	9	5	12	IHTRBM	Variant	Transeo
496	V	Soyons	675-700	13	98	98	9	5	12	IHTRBM	Variant	Transeo
732	V	Vif	519?	13	1	98	10	1	1	IHTRIPBM	VA	O
592	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	536	13	5	10	10	5	10	IHTRIPBM	Variant	Depono

533	V	Valence	470-540	13	6	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
719	V	Vienne	470-540	13	98	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
639	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	470-540	13	98	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
718	V	Vienne	540-600	13	98	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
598	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	551	13	98	10	10	8	10	IHTRIPBM	Metrical	Depono
532	V	Valence	470-540	13	2	98	11	2	1	IHLR/IP/BM	VAMD	O
573	V	Vienne, St.Sévère	540-600	13	3	98	12	3	5	Variant	VAPM	OIP
49	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	14	1	9	14	1	9	Dative/Opt	VA	Metrical
107	A	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	14	1	99	14	1	99	Dative/Opt	VA	----
92	A	Arles, Alyscamps	400-425	14	1	99	14	1	99	Dative/Opt	VA	----
135	L	Autun	378	14	2	9	14	2	9	Dative/Opt	VAMD	Metrical
133	A	Aubagne	325-400	14	2	99	14	2	99	Dative/Opt	VAMD	----
320	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	325-400	14	3	99	14	3	99	Dative/Opt	VAPM	----
387	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
91	A	Arles, Alyscamps	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
47	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
45	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
48	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
94	A	Arles, Alyscamps	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
46	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
87	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
105	A	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
104	A	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
110	A	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
106	A	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
129	A	Arles, Trinquetaille	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
180	A	Cimiez	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
181	A	Cimiez	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
200	A	Faucon-de-Barcelonnette	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
417	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
453	A	Orange	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
515	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
510	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
508	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
513	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
511	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
512	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
514	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
509	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	325-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
653	V	Vienne, St.Georges	350-400	14	99	99	14	99	99	Dative/Opt	----	----
321	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-450	15	1	1	15	1	1	Nominative	VA	O
39	V	Aoste	450-500	15	1	4	15	1	4	Nominative	VA	OIC/X
518	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	470	15	1	8	15	1	8	Nominative	VA	Date/Month
310	L	Lyon, St.Just	400-450	15	1	9	15	1	9	Nominative	VA	Metrical
273	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	525	15	1	9	15	1	9	Nominative	VA	Metrical
423	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	544, 559, 574, 589, 604	15	1	10	15	1	10	Nominative	VA	Depono
318	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-450	15	1	99	15	1	99	Nominative	VA	----
311	L	Lyon, St.Just	400-450	15	2	9	15	2	9	Nominative	VAMD	Metrical

126	A	Arles, St.Caesarius	350-400	15	2	10	15	2	10	Nominative	VAMD	Depono
257	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	466	15	2	12	15	2	12	Nominative	VAMD	Transeo
661	V	Vienne, Sainte-Colombe	375-425	15	2	99	15	2	99	Nominative	VAMD	----
288	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	400-450	15	2	99	15	2	99	Nominative	VAMD	----
455	A	Orange	400-450	15	2	99	15	2	99	Nominative	VAMD	----
667	V	Vienne, St.Romain-en-Gal	450-500	15	2	99	15	2	99	Nominative	VAMD	----
686	V	Vienne	663	15	3	7	15	3	5	Nominative	VAPM	OIP
722	V	Vienne	400-450?	15	6	99	15	2	99	Nominative	VAMD	----
58	A	Arles, Alysamps ?	400-550	15	6	99	15	8	99	Nominative	Metrical	----
134	L	Autun	375-400	15	8	9	15	8	9	Nominative	Metrical	Metrical
662	V	Vienne, Sainte-Colombe	400-475	15	8	11	15	8	11	Nominative	Metrical	Recedo
21	V	Andance	500-540	15	8	99	15	8	99	Nominative	Metrical	----
408	A	Mane	500-600	15	98	6	15	98	6	Nominative	----	Variant
477	V	St.Laurent-de-Mure	600-650	15	98	98	15	8	9	Nominative	Metrical	Metrical
189	A	Dauphin	500-600	15	99	6	15	99	6	Nominative	----	Variant
248	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	334	15	99	10	15	99	10	Nominative	----	Depono
184	A	Colonzelle	350-400	15	99	99	15	99	99	Nominative	----	----
284	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	375-425	15	99	99	15	99	99	Nominative	----	----
292	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	375-425	15	99	99	15	99	99	Nominative	----	----
414	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	400-450	15	99	99	15	99	99	Nominative	----	----
427	A	Marseille, Northern Cemetery	400-450	15	99	99	15	99	99	Nominative	----	----
412	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	400-500	15	99	99	15	99	99	Nominative	----	----
740	L	Vix	450-500	15	99	99	15	99	99	Nominative	----	----
614	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	600-700	15	99	99	15	99	99	Nominative	----	----
175	V	Chavanoz	609	16	1	3	16	1	3	Metrical	VA	OSD
461	L	Poithières	461	16	1	8	16	1	8	Metrical	VA	Date/Month
255	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	456	16	2	9	16	2	9	Metrical	VAMD	Metrical
660	V	Vienne, Sainte-Colombe	400-450	16	2	99	16	2	99	Metrical	VAMD	----
156	L	Briord	630, 615	16	4	1	16	4	1	Metrical	VIPA	O
378	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	16	4	7	16	4	1	Metrical	VIPA	O
394	L	Lyon, St.Nizier	552	16	5	1	16	5	1	Metrical	Variant	O
368	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	16	7	99	16	7	99	Metrical	Age only	----
739	V	Viviers	639-654	16	8	6	16	8	6	Metrical	Metrical	Variant
131	V	Arras-sur-Rhône	600-650	16	8	98	16	8	12	Metrical	Metrical	Transeo
392	L	Lyon, St.Nizier	501	16	98	1	16	8	1	Metrical	Metrical	O
393	L	Lyon, St.Nizier	551	16	98	1	16	8	1	Metrical	Metrical	O
127	A	Arles, St.Caesarius	550-600	16	98	3	16	8	3	Metrical	Metrical	OSD
395	L	Lyon, St.Nizier	573	16	99	1	16	99	1	Metrical	----	O
471	V	St.Jean-de-Bournay	563	16	99	8	16	99	8	Metrical	----	Date/Month
585	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	518	16	99	10	16	99	10	Metrical	----	Depono
601	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	580	16	99	10	16	99	10	Metrical	----	Depono
269	L	Lyon, St.Just	510	17	1	1	17	1	1	Condo	VA	O
26	L	Anse	486	17	1	6	17	1	6	Condo	VA	Variant
128	A	Arles, St.Croix	553	17	3	1	17	3	1	Condo	VAPM	O
576	V	Vienne, St.Théodore	375-450	17	5	99	17	5	99	Condo	Variant	----
469	L	St.Germain-du-Plain	479	17	6	8	17	1	8	Condo	VA	Date/Month
670	V	Vienne	491	17	8	1	17	8	1	Condo	Metrical	O

735	V	Viviers	549, 564, 579, 594, 609	17	8	1	17	8	1	Condo	Metrical	O
174	V	Charmes	536	17	8	7	17	8	1	Condo	Metrical	O
252	L	Lyon, St.Just	447	18	1	1	18	1	1	laceo	VA	O
225	V	Jongieux	504	18	1	1	18	1	1	laceo	VA	O
301	L	Lyon, St.Just	400-450	18	1	11	18	1	11	laceo	VA	Recedo
337	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	18	1	11	18	1	11	laceo	VA	Recedo
315	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	425-475	18	1	12	18	1	12	laceo	VA	Transeo
24	L	Anse	498	18	2	3	18	2	3	laceo	VAMD	OSD
712	V	Vienne	450-475	18	2	9	18	2	9	laceo	VAMD	Metrical
346	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	18	2	12	18	2	12	laceo	VAMD	Transeo
296	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	400-450	18	2	99	18	2	99	laceo	VAMD	----
336	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	18	2	99	18	2	99	laceo	VAMD	----
322	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	18	2	99	18	2	99	laceo	VAMD	----
550	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	400-475	18	2	99	18	2	99	laceo	VAMD	----
424	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	400-475	18	2	99	18	2	99	laceo	VAMD	----
308	L	Lyon, St.Just	375-425	18	3	99	18	3	99	laceo	VAPM	----
362	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de- Choulans	652	18	4	1	18	4	1	laceo	VIPA	O
418	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	452	18	5	9	18	5	9	laceo	Variant	Metrical
254	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	449	18	7	9	18	7	9	laceo	Age only	Metrical
103	A	Arles, St.Honorat	400-425	18	7	99	18	7	99	laceo	Age only	----
279	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	552	18	8	2	18	8	2	laceo	Metrical	OD
4	A	Aix-en-Provence	538, 552, 567, 582, 597	18	8	6	18	8	6	laceo	Metrical	Variant
251	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	438	18	8	8	18	8	8	laceo	Metrical	Date/Month
343	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	18	8	98	18	8	9	laceo	Metrical	Metrical
420	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	495-525	18	8	99	18	8	99	laceo	Metrical	----
697	V	Vienne	400-475	18	98	98	18	98	98	laceo	----	----
334	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	18	98	98	18	8	9	laceo	Metrical	Metrical
295	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	450-500	18	98	98	18	8	9	laceo	Metrical	Metrical
422	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	400-475	18	98	98	18	8	12	laceo	Metrical	Transeo
397	L	Lyon, St.Nizier	525-535	18	99	8	18	99	8	laceo	----	Date/Month
137	L	Autun	400-450	18	99	12	18	99	12	laceo	----	Transeo
309	L	Lyon, St.Just	375-425	18	99	99	18	99	99	laceo	----	----
540	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	400-425	18	99	99	18	99	99	laceo	----	----
549	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	400-475	18	99	99	18	99	99	laceo	----	----
553	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	400-475	18	99	99	18	99	99	laceo	----	----
426	A	Marseille, Northern Cemetery	400-475	18	99	99	18	99	99	laceo	----	----
668	V	Vienne, St.Romain-en-Gal	450-500	18	99	99	18	99	99	laceo	----	----
341	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	469-470	18	99	99	18	99	99	laceo	----	----
415	A	Marseille, S.Cemetery	500-600	18	99	99	18	99	99	laceo	----	----
312	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	475-525	19	1	1	19	1	1	Quiesco	VA	O
523	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	475-500	19	1	7	19	1	1	Quiesco	VA	O
261	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	492	19	1	9	19	1	9	Quiesco	VA	Metrical
93	A	Arles, Alyscamps	425-475	19	1	99	19	1	99	Quiesco	VA	----
507	A	Urban	485	19	2	11	19	2	11	Quiesco	VAMD	Recedo

130	A	Arles, Trinquetaille	330-350	19	2	99	19	2	99	Quiesco	VAMD	----
569	V	Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère	566	19	3	5	19	3	5	Quiesco	VAPM	OIP
695	V	Vienne	450-500	19	3	11	19	3	11	Quiesco	VAPM	Recedo
282	L	Lyon, St. Just	601	19	4	1	19	4	1	Quiesco	VIPA	O
138	A	Avignon	450-500	19	6	98	19	1	1	Quiesco	VA	O
389	L	Lyon, St. Irénée/St. Just	475-525	19	6	98	19	1	1	Quiesco	VA	O
360	L	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans	599	19	8	3	19	8	3	Quiesco	Metrical	OSD
361	L	Lyon, St. Laurent-de-Choulans	619	19	8	3	19	8	3	Quiesco	Metrical	OSD
621	V	Vienne, St. Pierre	550, 565, 580, 595, 610	19	8	5	19	8	5	Quiesco	Metrical	OIP
2	A	Aix-en-Provence	517	19	8	10	19	8	10	Quiesco	Metrical	Depono
698	V	Vienne	400-450	19	8	98	19	8	98	Quiesco	Metrical	----
572	V	Vienne, St. Sévère	450-500	19	99	1	19	99	1	Quiesco	----	O
192	V	Die	400-450	19	99	99	19	99	99	Quiesco	----	----
112	A	Arles, St. Honorat	449, 5th May	19	99	99	19	99	99	Quiesco	----	----
228	A	La Gayole	450-475	19	99	99	19	99	99	Quiesco	----	----
708	V	Vienne	450-550	98	1	99	2	1	99	HRIP	VA	----
433	A	Marseille	450-550	98	6	98	2	1	3	HRIP	VA	OSD
557	V	Vienne, St. Gervais	525-550	98	6	10	2	3	10	HRIP	VAPM	Depono
428	A	Marseille, Northern Cemetery	425-475	98	6	99	2	6	99	HRIP		----
148	V	Bourgoin	500-550	98	98	12	2	1	12	HRIP	VA	Transeo
430	A	Marseille, Northern Cemetery	425-475	98	98	2	2	3	2	HRIP	VAPM	OD
555	V	Vienne, St. Gervais	450-500	98	98	11	2	3	11	HRIP	VAPM	Recedo
178	A	Cimiez	425-475	98	1	98	3	1	10	HRBM	VA	Depono
179	A	Cimiez	425-475	98	6	98	3	1	10	HRBM	VA	Depono
182	A	Cimiez	425-475	98	98	98	3	1	10	HRBM	VA	Depono
679	V	Vienne	553	98	1	4	4	1	4	HRIPBM	VA	OIC/X
526	V	Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence)	523	98	1	5	4	1	5	HRIPBM	VA	OIP
691	V	Vienne	542-600	98	1	7	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
539	V	Vienne, St. Gervais	574	98	2	6	4	2	6	HRIPBM	VAMD	Variant
561	V	Vienne, St. Gervais	541-600	98	3	1	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
558	V	Vienne, St. Gervais	450-500	98	3	4	4	3	4	HRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
538	V	Vienne, St. Gervais	567	98	3	5	4	3	5	HRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
713	V	Vienne	470-540	98	3	7	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
529	V	Valence	470-540	98	6	7	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
15	V	Alba / Aps	500-600	98	6	7	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
146	V	Bourgoin	515	98	98	1	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
485	V	St. Romain-d'Albon	470-540	98	98	7	4	1	3	HRIPBM	VA	OSD
531	V	Valence	511	98	98	8	4	1	8	HRIPBM	VA	Date/Month
473	V	St. Julien-en-Quint	537	98	98	12	4	1	12	HRIPBM	VA	Transeo
299	L	Lyon, St. Just	450-525	98	98	98	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O
494	V	St. Vallier	483-534	98	98	98	4	1	1	HRIPBM	VA	O

727	V	Vienne	470-540	98	98	98	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
723	V	Vienne	470-540	98	98	98	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
616	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	470-540	98	98	98	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
677	V	Vienne	535-537	98	98	98	4	3	1	HRIPBM	VAPM	O
688	V	Vienne	539-545	98	98	98	4	3	3	HRIPBM	VAPM	OSD
333	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	541-600	98	99	7	4	99	5	HRIPBM	----	OIP
451	A	Notre-Dame-du-Brusc	425-475	98	6	98	5	1	10	BMHRIP	VA	Depono
448	A	Notre-Dame-du-Brusc	550, 565, 580, 595, 610	98	98	8	5	1	8	BMHRIP	VA	Date/Month
82	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	540-600	98	1	3	6	1	3	HIPRBM	VA	OSD
454	A	Orange	500-550	98	2	7	6	2	3	HIPRBM	VAMD	OSD
443	A	Narbonensis Secunda	450-550	98	3	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
96	A	Arles, Alyscamps	515?	98	6	1	6	3	1	HIPRBM	VAPM	O
79	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	525-575	98	6	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
99	A	Arles, Alyscamps	541	98	6	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
86	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	450-550	98	6	98	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
83	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	450-550	98	6	98	6	3	9	HIPRBM	VAPM	Metrical
525	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	553, 568, 583, 598, 613	98	98	98	6	1	3	HIPRBM	VA	OSD
3	A	Aix-en-Provence	494	98	98	12	6	2	12	HIPRBM	VAMD	Transeo
210	A	Gigondas	491, 518	98	98	3	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
81	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	525-575	98	98	7	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
122	A	Arles, St.Pierre de Mouleyrès	525-575	98	98	7	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
234	A	Le Buis	450-550	98	98	98	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
90	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	495	98	98	98	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
80	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	554, 569, 584, 599, 614	98	98	98	6	3	3	HIPRBM	VAPM	OSD
198	V	Eyzin	546, 561, 576, 591, 606	98	3	1	8	3	1	IHTRIP	VAPM	O
183	V	Clérieux	544	98	6	1	8	3	1	IHTRIP	VAPM	O
474	V	St.Laurent-de-Mure	511	98	1	1	9	1	1	IHTRBM	VA	O
350	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	430-500	98	1	8	9	1	8	IHTRBM	VA	Date/Month
325	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	470-540	98	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
324	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	540-600	98	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
380	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de- Choulans	603, 618, 633, 648, 663	98	4	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
260	L	Lyon, St.Just	484	98	4	3	9	4	3	IHTRBM	VIPA	OSD
501	V	Soyons	675-700	98	4	98	9	4	12	IHTRBM	VIPA	Transeo
384	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de- Choulans	600-650	98	6	7	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
283	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	622	98	6	98	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
498	V	Soyons	675-700	98	6	98	9	5	12	IHTRBM	Variant	Transeo
188	V	Crussol	675-700	98	6	7	9	6	1	IHTRBM		O
305	L	Lyon, St.Just	483-534	98	98	1	9	1	1	IHTRBM	VA	O
342	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	470-540	98	98	3	9	1	3	IHTRBM	VA	OSD

348	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	450-550	98	98	6	9	1	6	IHTRBM	VA	Variant
440	V	Moutiers	561	98	98	12	9	1	12	IHTRBM	VA	Transeo
475	V	St.Laurent-de-Mure	547-630	98	98	98	9	1	5	IHTRBM	VA	OIP
300	L	Lyon, St.Just	450-550	98	98	98	9	2	5	IHTRBM	VAMD	OIP
286	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	450-550	98	98	98	9	2	5	IHTRBM	VAMD	OIP
280	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	562	98	98	98	9	2	5	IHTRBM	VAMD	OIP
383	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	98	98	1	9	4	1	IHTRBM	VIPA	O
374	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	652	98	98	6	9	4	6	IHTRBM	VIPA	Variant
497	V	Soyons	675-700	98	98	10	9	5	10	IHTRBM	Variant	Depono
500	V	Soyons	679	98	98	12	9	5	12	IHTRBM	Variant	Transeo
689	V	Vienne	539-545	98	1	3	10	1	3	IHTRIPBM	VA	OSD
631	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	500-550	98	2	6	10	2	6	IHTRIPBM	VAMD	Variant
629	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	500-550	98	2	7	10	2	1	IHTRIPBM	VAMD	O
657	V	Vienne, St.Georges	540-600	98	3	4	10	3	4	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
584	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	517	98	3	5	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
596	V	Vienne, St.Georges	545	98	3	5	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
680	V	Vienne	554	98	6	1	10	3	1	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	O
20	V	Andance	600	98	6	7	10	3	4	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
441	V	Nacon	541-600	98	6	7	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
690	V	Vienne	542-600	98	6	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
630	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	500-550	98	98	1	10	2	1	IHTRIPBM	VAMD	O
586	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	520	98	98	6	10	2	6	IHTRIPBM	VAMD	Variant
684	V	Vienne	625	98	98	6	10	2	6	IHTRIPBM	VAMD	Variant
583	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	515	98	98	4	10	3	4	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
681	V	Vienne	557	98	98	4	10	3	4	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIC/X
484	V	St.Romain-d'Albon	631	98	98	98	10	3	1	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	O
692	V	Vienne	542-600	98	98	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
724	V	Vienne	547, 562, 577, 592, 607	98	98	98	10	3	5	IHTRIPBM	VAPM	OIP
685	V	Vienne	643	98	98	1	10	5	1	IHTRIPBM	Variant	O
386	L	Lyon, St.Laurent-de-Choulans	600-650	98	98	98	12	4	1	Variant	VIPA	O
139	A	Avignon	325-400	98	2	98	14	2	3	Dative/Opt	VAMD	OSD
109	A	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	98	2	99	14	2	99	Dative/Opt	VAMD	----
50	A	Arles, Alyscamps ?	325-400	98	6	98	14	2	9	Dative/Opt	VAMD	Metrical
108	A	Arles, St.Honorat	325-400	98	7	99	14	7	99	Dative/Opt	Age only	----
344	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	325-400	98	98	98	14	98	98	Dative/Opt	----	----
190	A	Dauphin	325-400	98	98	98	14	8	98	Dative/Opt	Metrical	----
562	V	Vienne, St.Gervais	400-500	98	2	98	15	2	98	Nominative	VAMD	----
666	V	Vienne, St.Romain-en-Gal	450-550	98	6	98	15	2	98	Nominative	VAMD	----
593	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	540?	98	1	4	16	1	4	Metrical	VA	OIC/X
27	L	Anse	450-500	98	3	98	16	3	3	Metrical	VAPM	OSD
467	L	St.Alban-de-Bron	551	98	4	1	16	4	1	Metrical	VIPA	O
399	L	Lyon, St.Nizier	490-540	98	4	2	16	4	2	Metrical	VIPA	OD
436	V	Moirans	575-625	98	5	98	16	5	9	Metrical	Variant	Metrical
640	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	575-600	98	6	98	16	3	1	Metrical	VAPM	O
624	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	550-600	98	8	4	16	8	4	Metrical	Metrical	OIC/X

733	A	Villeneuve-lès-Avignon	587	98	8	6	16	8	6	Metrical	Metrical	Variant
491	V	St.Thomé	487	98	8	8	16	8	8	Metrical	Metrical	Date/Month
602	V	Vienne, St.Georges	581	98	98	7	16	3	1	Metrical	VAPM	O
165	L	Briord	600-650	98	98	98	16	4	1	Metrical	VIPA	O
144	A	Bellegarde	521	98	98	1	16	8	1	Metrical	Metrical	O
22	V	Andance	500-600	98	98	7	16	8	4	Metrical	Metrical	OIC/X
711	V	Vienne	475-525	98	98	10	16	8	10	Metrical	Metrical	Depono
611	V	Vienne, St.Pierre	500-550	98	98	10	16	8	10	Metrical	Metrical	Depono
710	V	Vienne	500-600	98	98	10	16	8	10	Metrical	Metrical	Depono
656	V	Vienne, St.Georges	400-475	98	98	11	16	8	11	Metrical	Metrical	Recedo
478	V	St.Laurent-de-Mure	500-600	98	98	98	16	8	5	Metrical	Metrical	OIP
506	V	Trept	565	98	98	98	16	8	12	Metrical	Metrical	Transeo
357	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	98	2	11	18	2	11	laceo	VAMD	Recedo
258	L	Lyon, St.Irénée	470	98	98	11	18	1	11	laceo	VA	Recedo
313	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	450-500	98	98	12	18	1	12	laceo	VA	Transeo
340	L	Lyon, St.Irénée/St.Just	400-475	98	98	11	18	2	11	laceo	VAMD	Recedo
524	A	Vaison-la-Romaine	500-525	98	1	7	19	1	1	Quiesco	VA	O

APPENDIX FOUR: PLATES

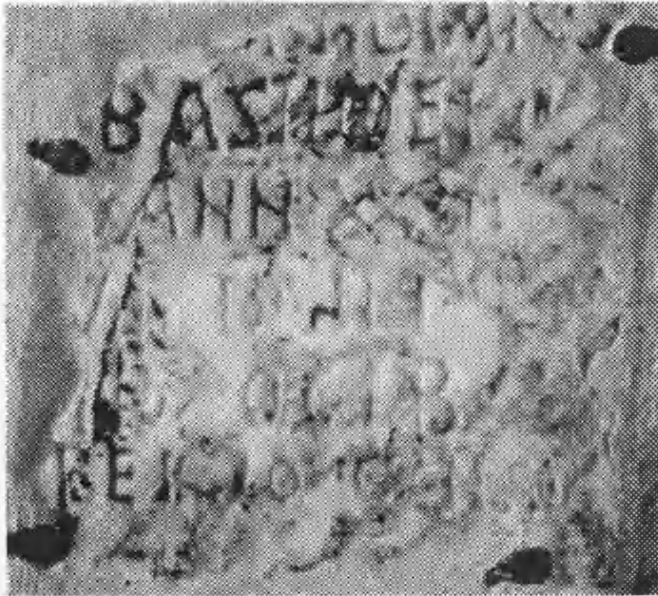


Plate 1: No. 3 Aix-en-Provence.. Dimensions: 25 x 25 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

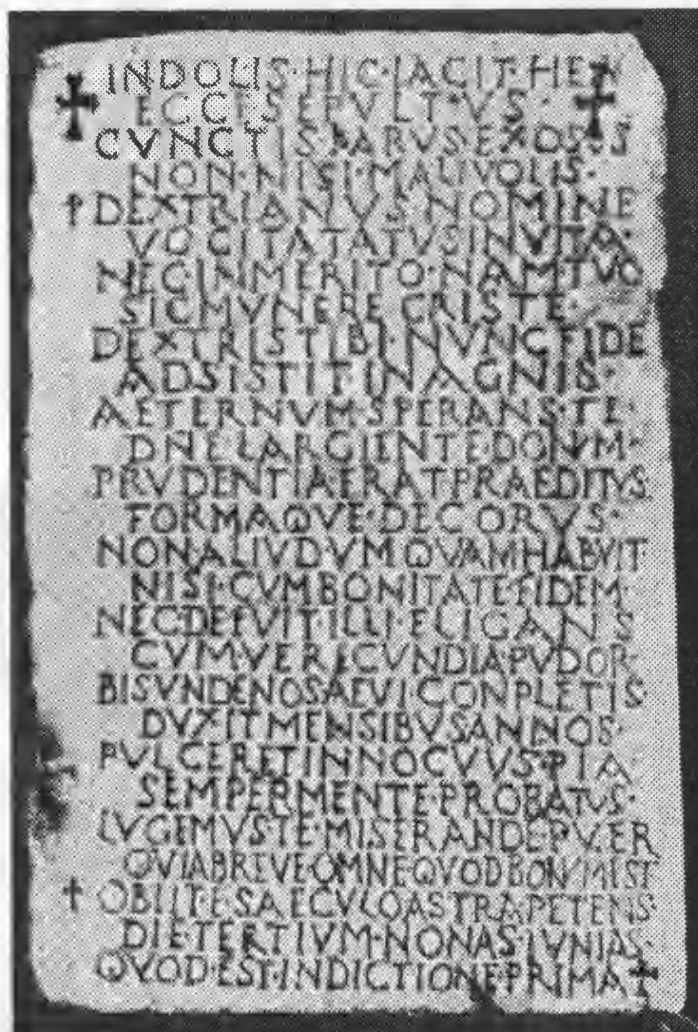


Plate 2 :No. 4 Aix-en-Provence.. Dimensions: 53.5 x 38 x 8 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

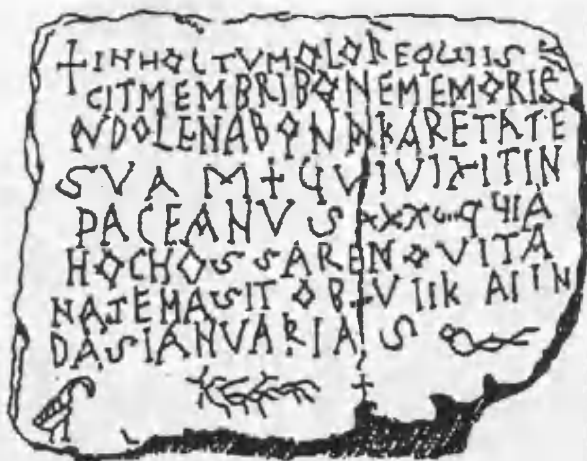


Plate 3: No. 18 Albigny.. Dimensions: unknown.



Plate 4: No. 21 Andance.. Dimensions: 93 x 73 x 9 - 11 cm. Letters: 6 - 7 cm.

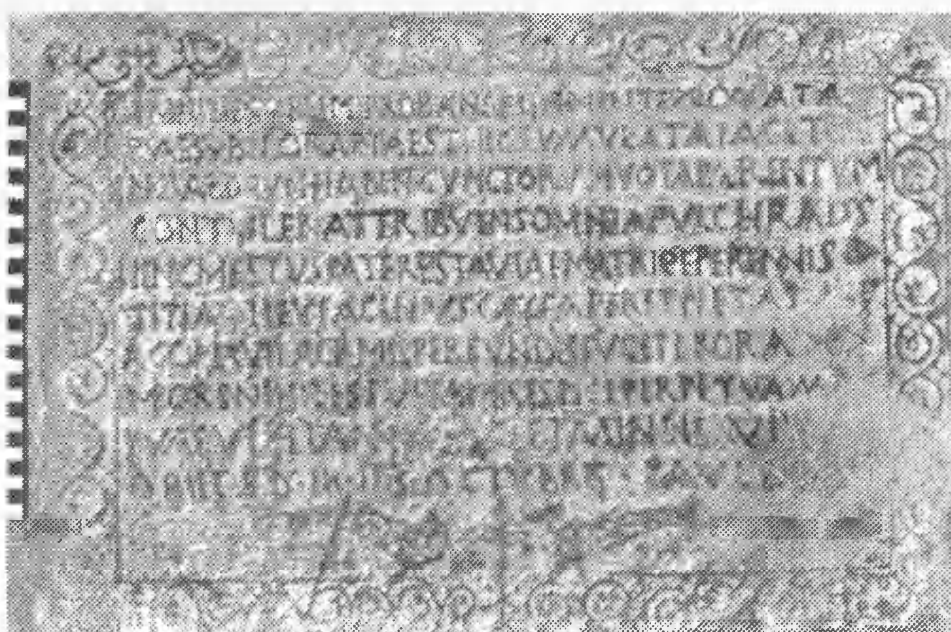


Plate 5: No. 24 Anse. Dimensions: 43 x 60 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

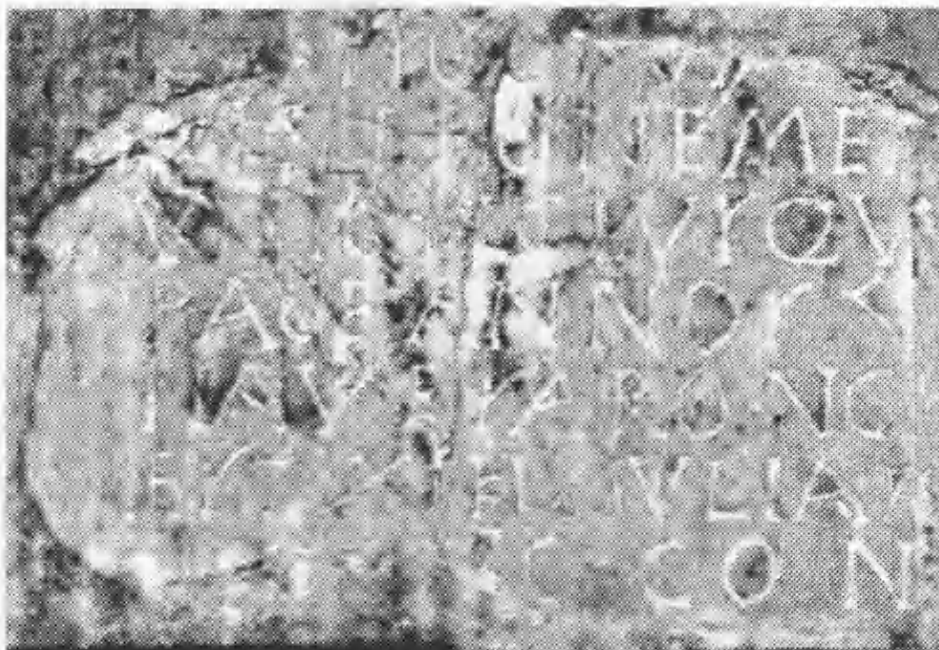


Plate 6: No.25 Anse. Dimensions: 33 x 48 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm. average.

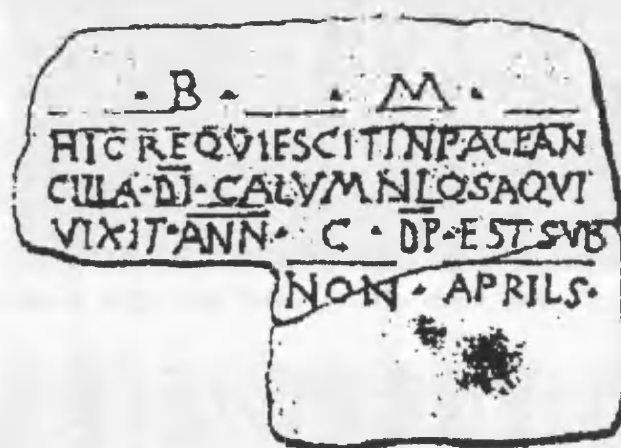


Plate 7: No.30 Antibes. Dimensions: 29 x38 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.4 cm.

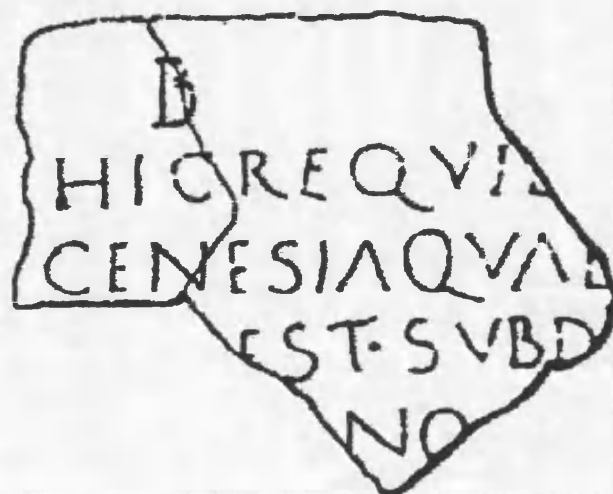


Plate 8: No.31 Antibes. Dimensions: unknown.

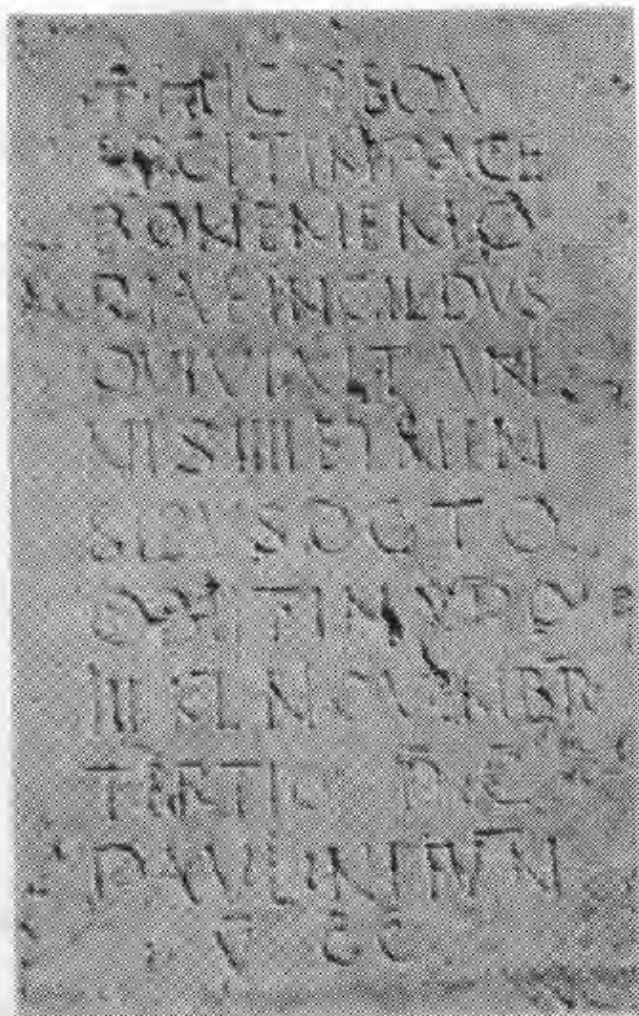


Plate 9: No.35 Aoste. Dimensions: 75 x 45 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



Plate 10: No.38 Aoste. Dimensions: 60 x 58 cm. Letters: 4 cm.



Plate 11: No.40 Aouste. Dimensions: 82 x 60 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 4 cm.



Plate 12: No.44 Arandon. Dimensions: 45 x 165 x 27 cm. Letters: 3.5 - 4 cm.



Plate 13: No.49 Arles, Alysamps ?. Dimensions: 31 x 38 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

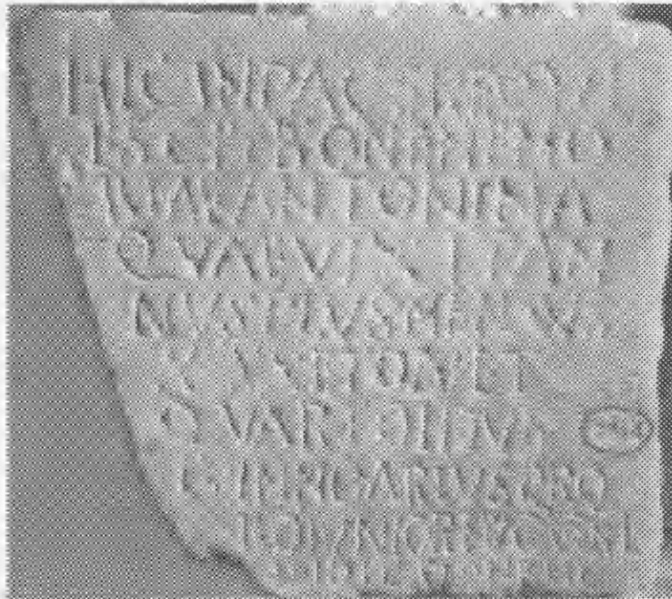


Plate 14: No.63 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 50 x 45 x 3 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.

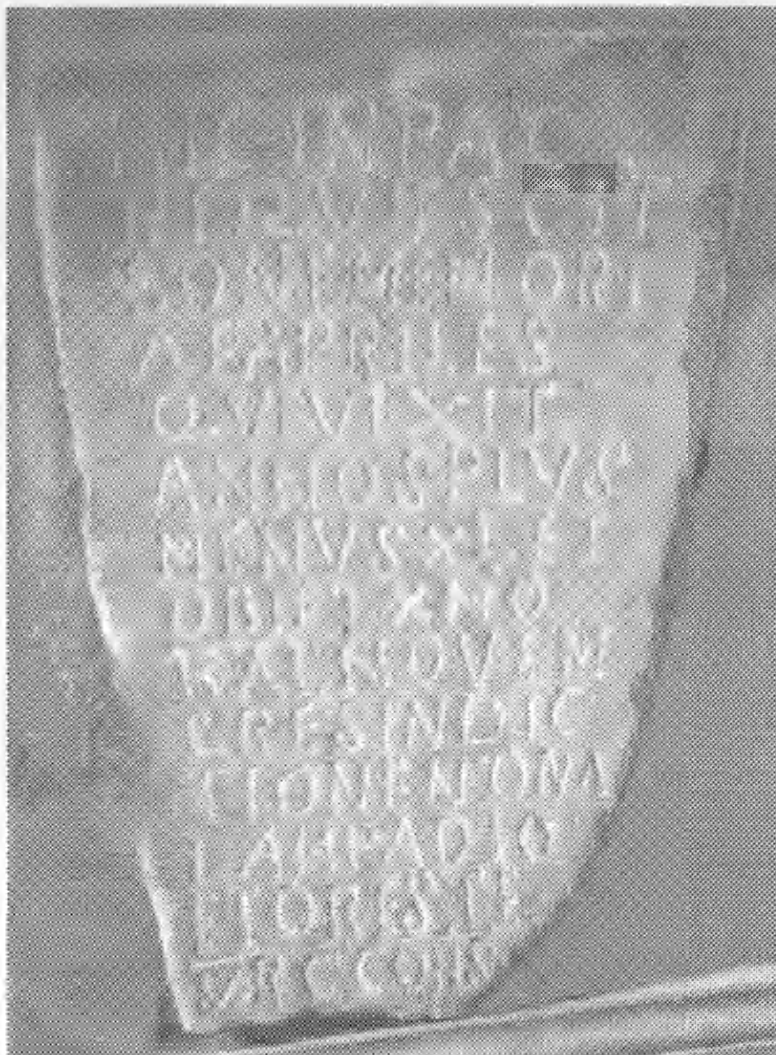


Plate 15: No.64 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 40 x 30 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.



Plate 16: No.66 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 34 x 29 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

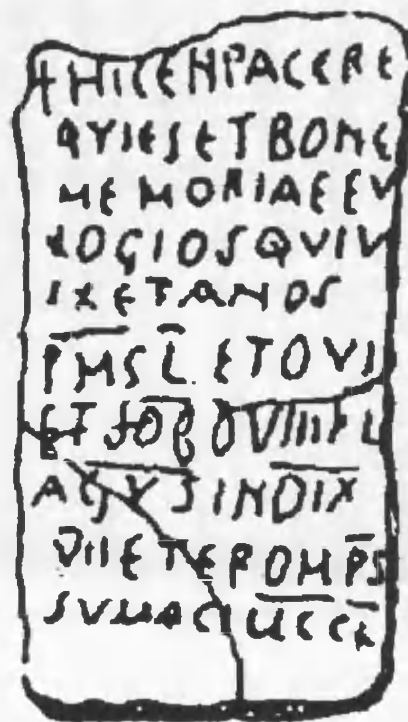


Plate 17: No.67 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: unknown.



Plate 18: No.68 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: unavailable.

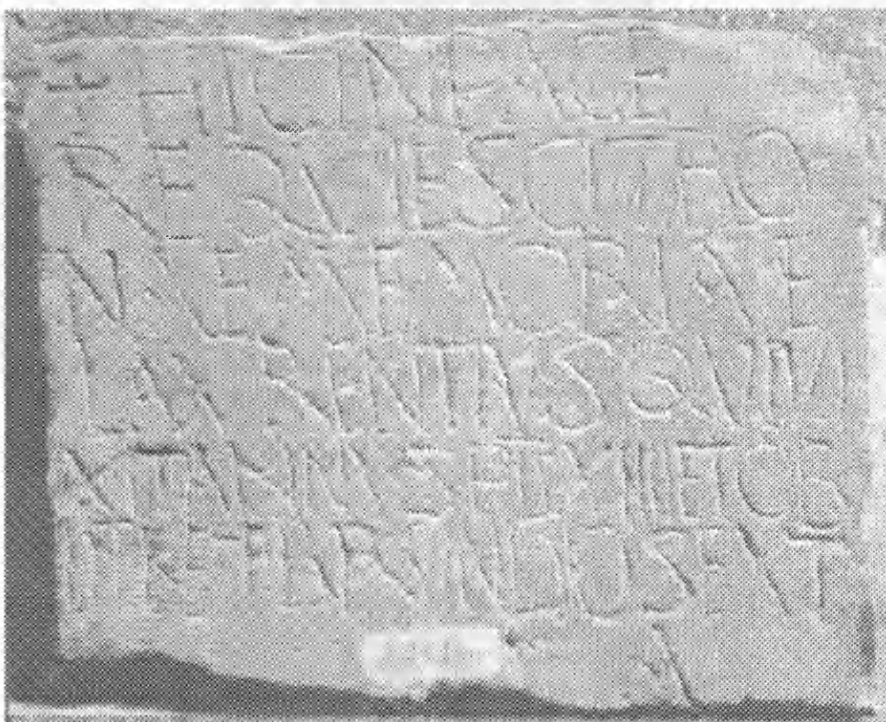


Plate 19: No.69 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 35 x 40 x 2 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.

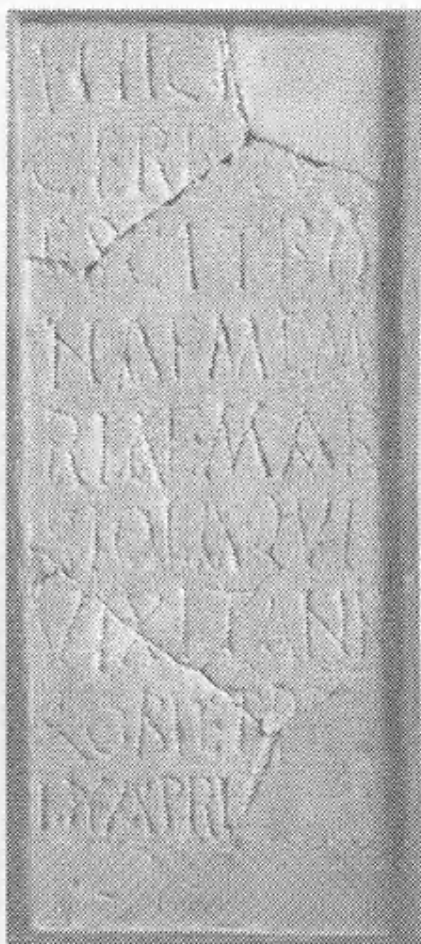


Plate 20: No.70 Arles, Alysamps ?. Dimensions: 40 x 16 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.

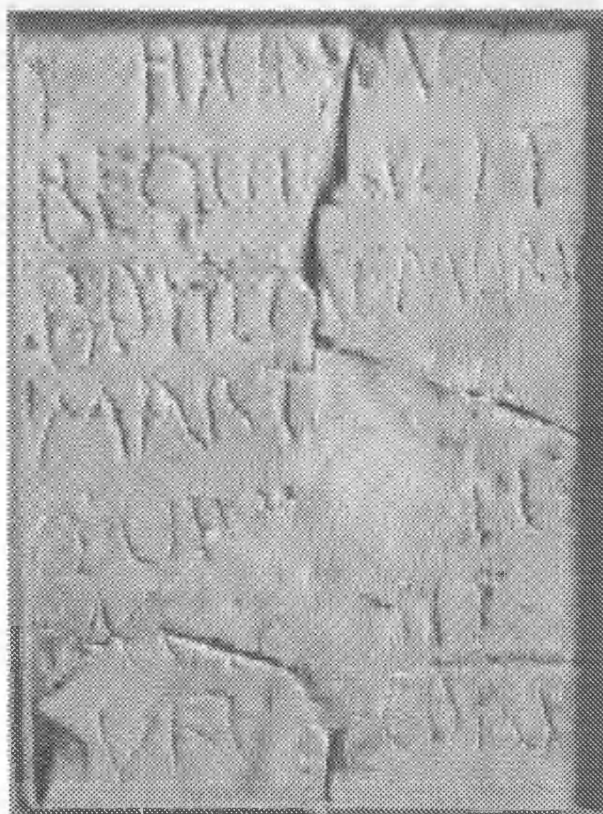


Plate 21: No.71 Arles, Alysamps ?. Dimensions: 26 x 19 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm.

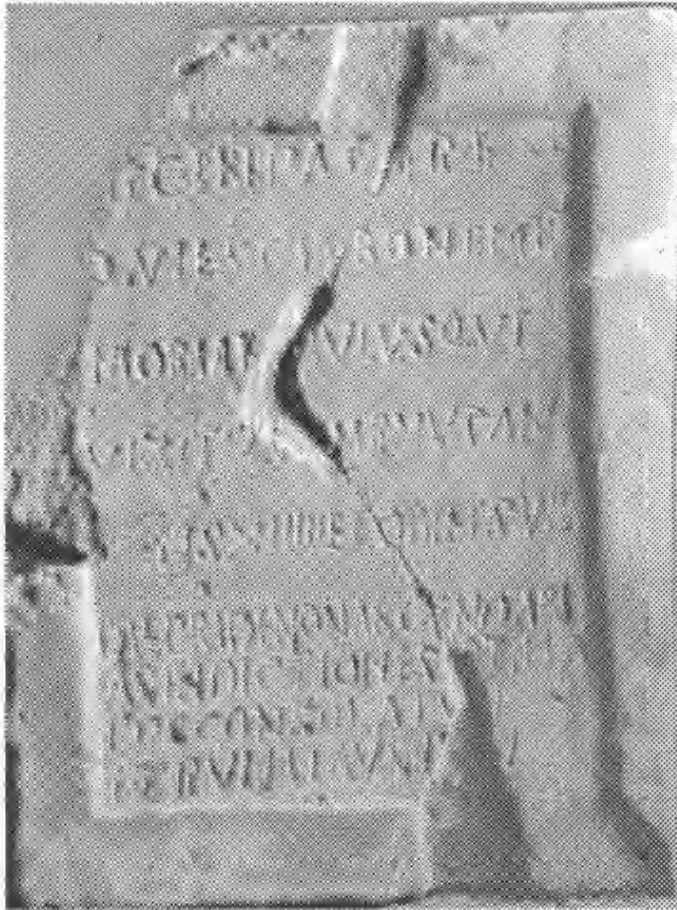


Plate 22: No.73 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 53 x 45 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.

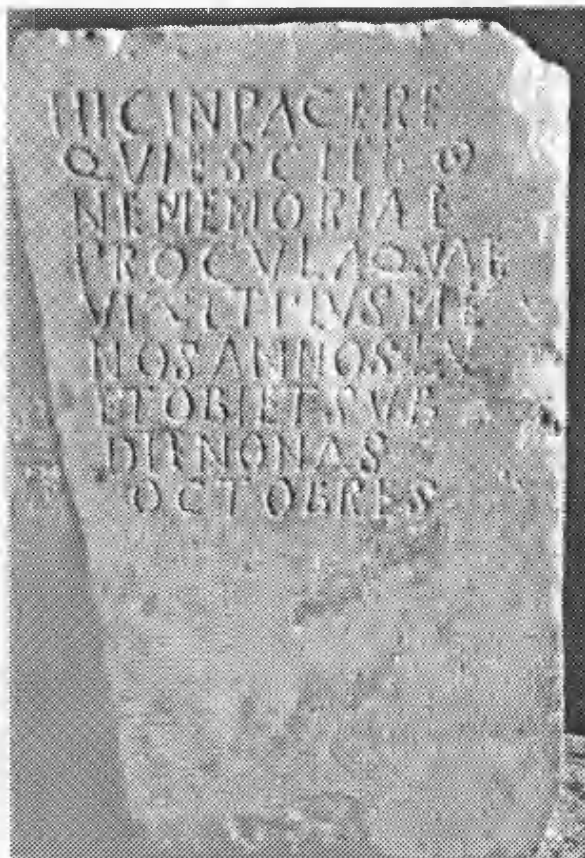


Plate 23: No.74 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 49 x 34 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm.

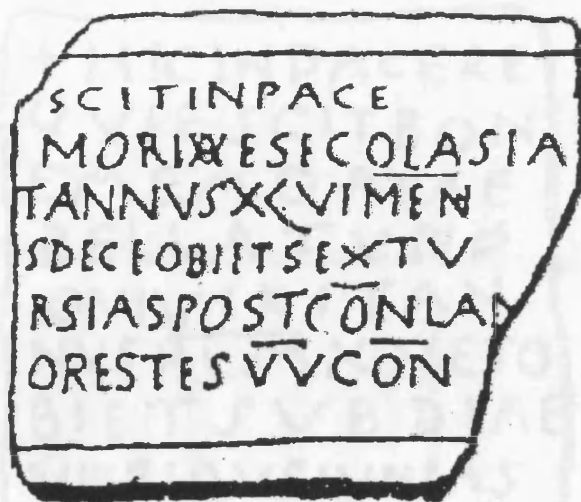


Plate 24: No.88 Arles, Alyscamps ?. Dimensions: 45 x 59 x 2 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.



Plate 25: No.93 Arles, Alyscamps. Dimensions: 13 x 23 cm.



Plate 26: No.97 Arles, Alyscamps. Dimensions: 52 x 54 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.

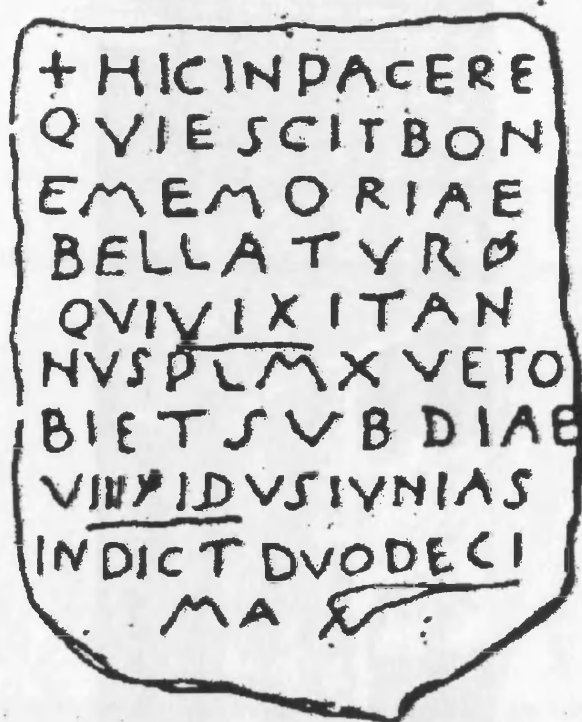


Plate 27: No.98 Arles, Alyscamps. Dimensions: 39 x 33 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average.

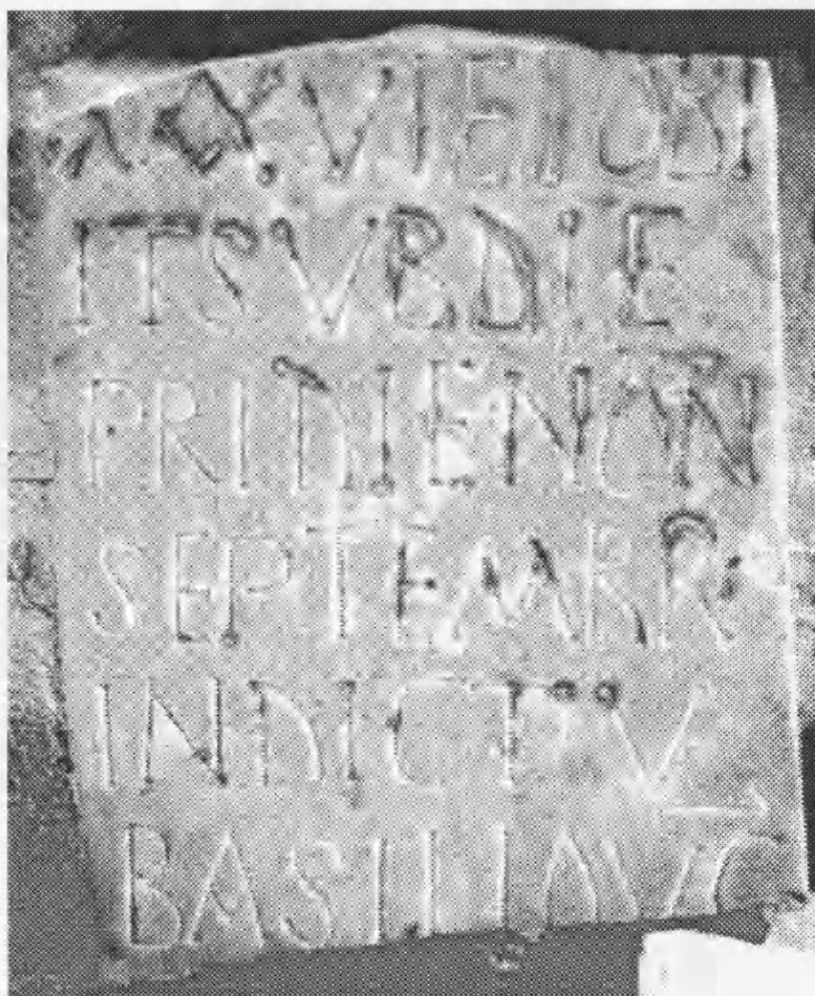


Plate 28: No.99 Arles, Alyscamps. Dimensions: 36 x 25 cm. Letters: 4 - 5 cm.



Plate 29: No. 101 Arles, Alysamps. Dimensions: 71.5 x 26 cm. Letters: 4 cm.



Plate 30: No. 102 Arles, Saint-Honorat. Dimensions: cartouche : 23 x 37.5 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.



Plate 31: No.104 Arles, Saint-Honorat. Dimensions: 17.5 x 23 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.



Plate 32: Sarcophagus of No.104, Arles, Saint-Honorat.



Plate 33: No.105 Arles, Saint-Honorat. Dimensions: 26 x 26 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

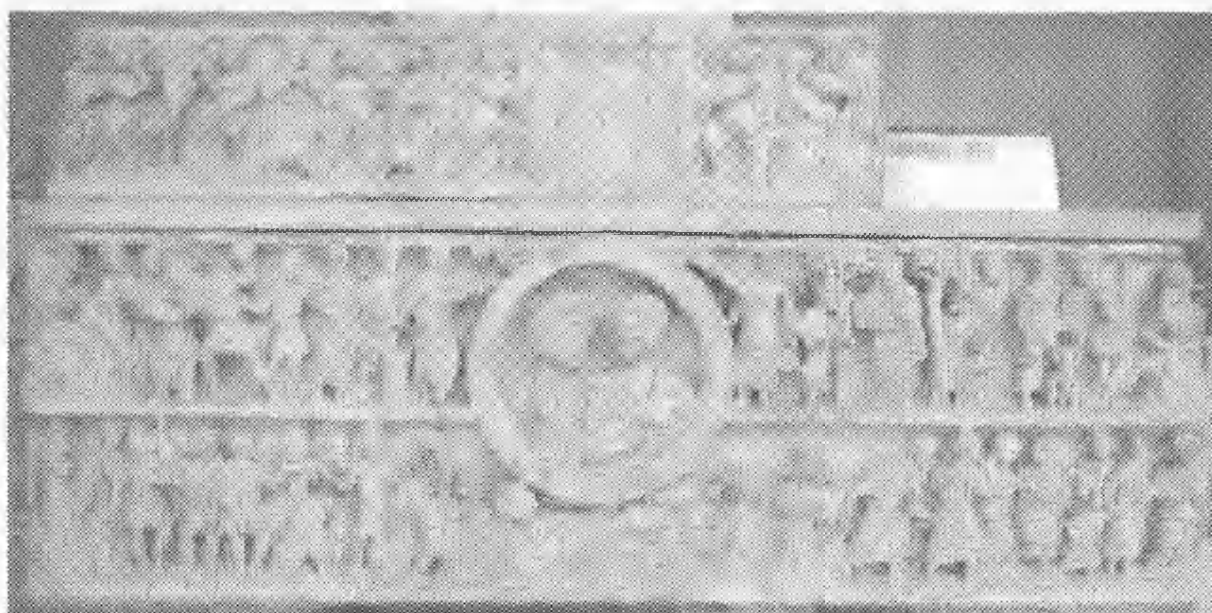


Plate 34: Sarcophagus of No.105, Arles, Saint-Honorat.

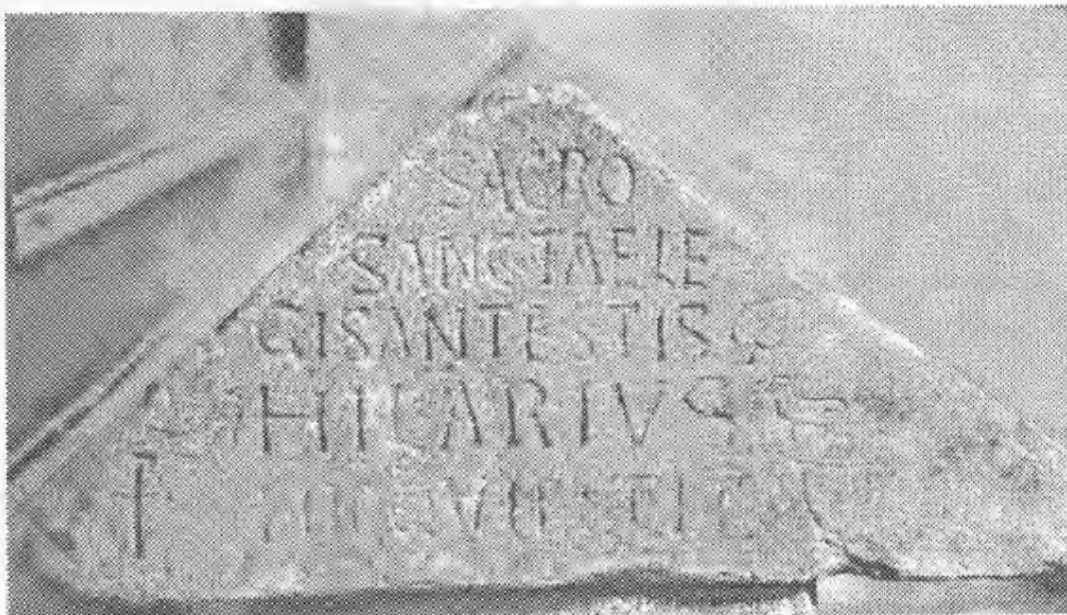


Plate 35: No. 112 Arles, Saint-Honorat. Dimensions: 28 x 59 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.

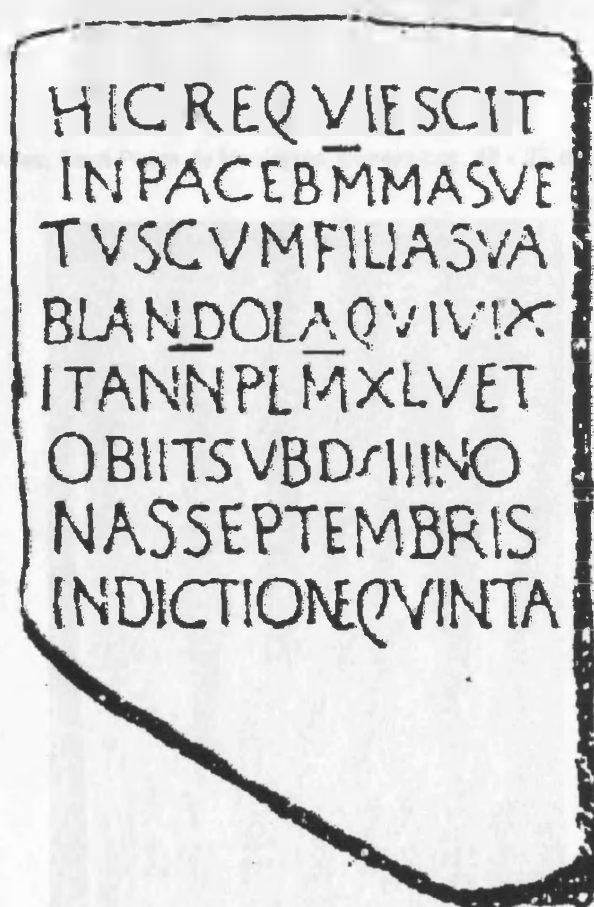


Plate 36: No. 118 Arles, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès. Dimensions: unknown.

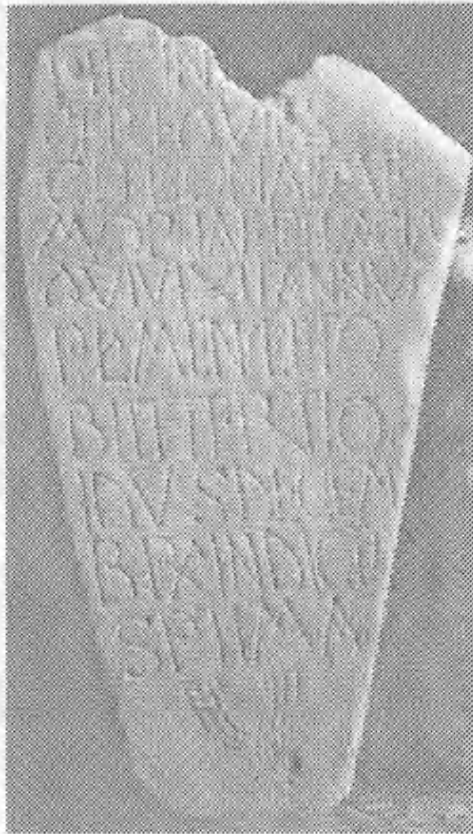


Plate 37: No.119 Arles, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès. Dimensions: 48 x 27 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 4 cm.

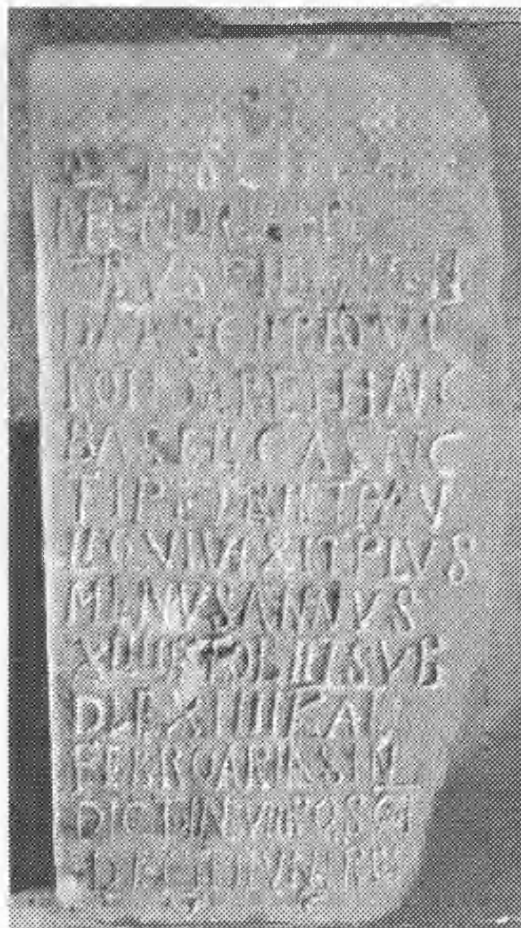


Plate 38: No.120 Arles, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès. Dimensions: 44 x 22 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

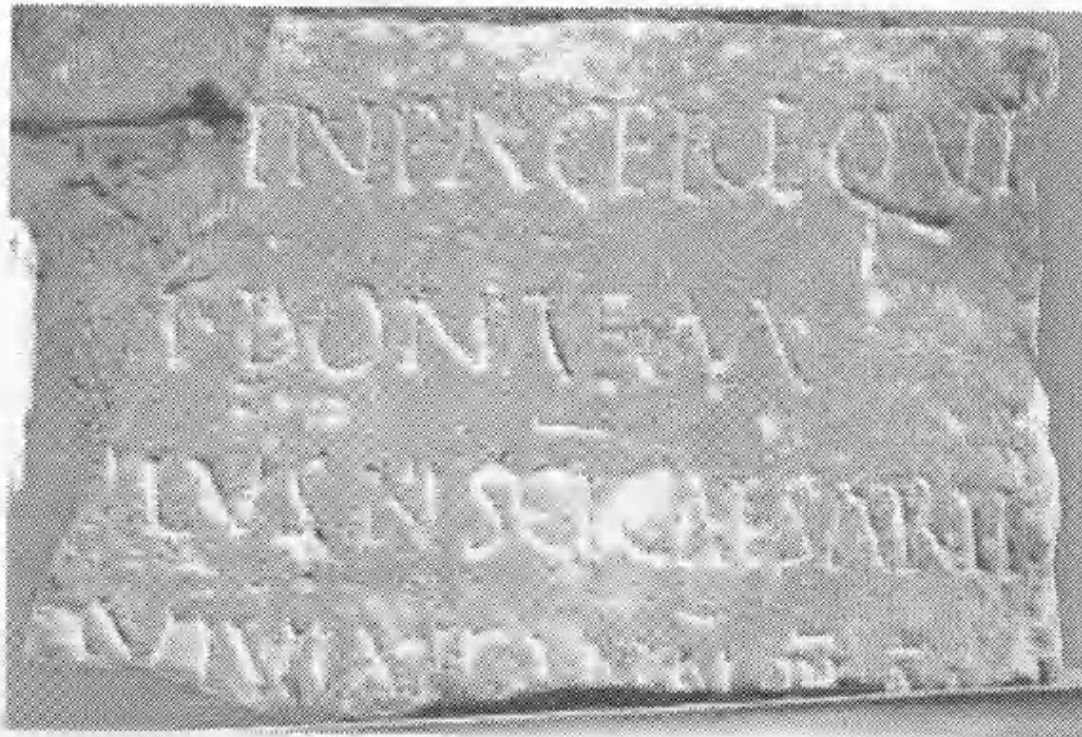


Plate 39: No.121 Arles, Saint-Pierre de Mouleyrès. Dimensions: 25 x 37 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



Plate 40: No.129 Arles, Trinquetaille. Dimensions: 46 x 52 x 3.1 - 4.5 cm. Letters: 3.2 - 3.5 cm.



Plate 41: No. 130 Arles, Trinquetaille. Dimensions: cartouche 30 cm. diameter. Letters: 2 cm.

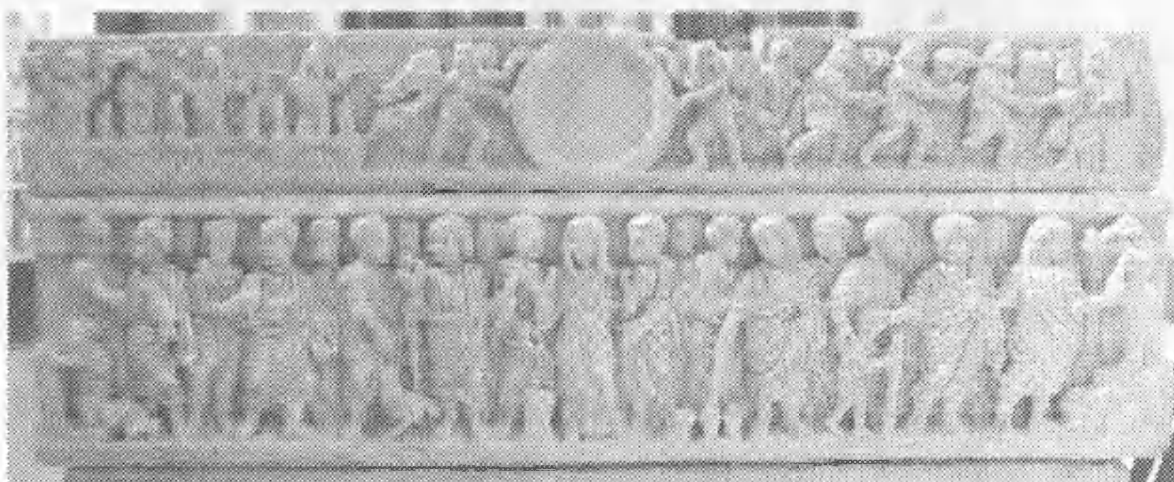


Plate 42: Sarcophagus of No. 130, Arles.



Plate 43: No. 140 Banon. Dimensions: 25 x 25 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.



Plate 44: No. 141 Banon. Dimensions: 25 x 25 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

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 PLUS MENOS
 ANNOS VIII ET
 OBIIIT SVB DIE
 KALENDAS DECEMBRIS
 INDIC
 TRONEX MA

Plate 45: No. 143 Bellegarde. Dimensions: 44 x 20 x 2 cm. Letters: 2.2 cm. average.

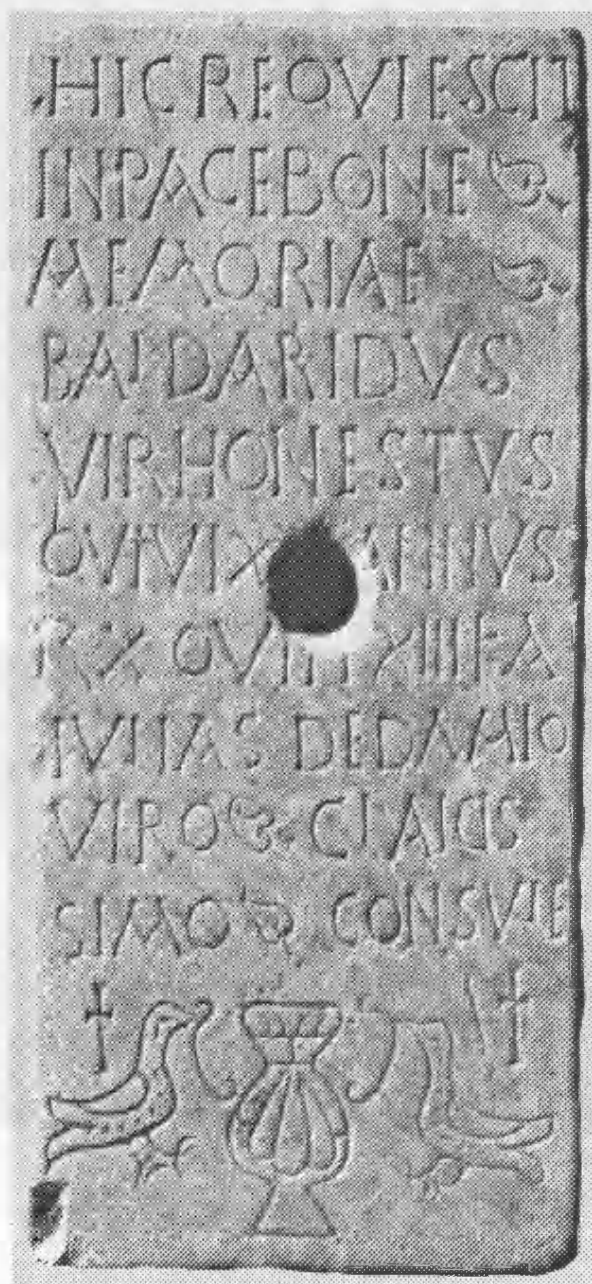


Plate 46: No. 150 Briord. Dimensions: 52 x 26 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

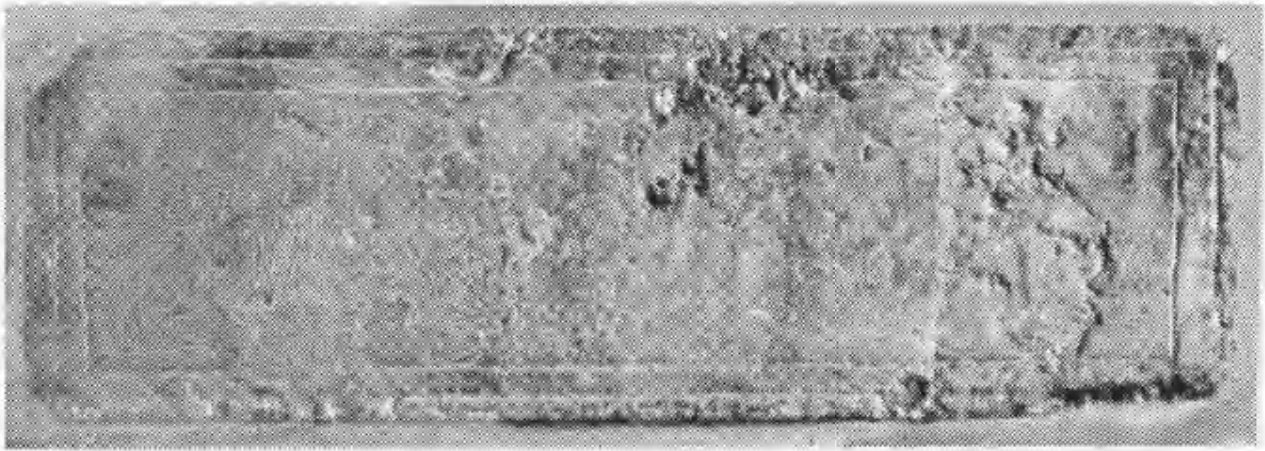


Plate 47: No. 152 Briord. Dimensions: 60 x 1.90 x 16 cm. Letters: 1 - 2.5 cm.

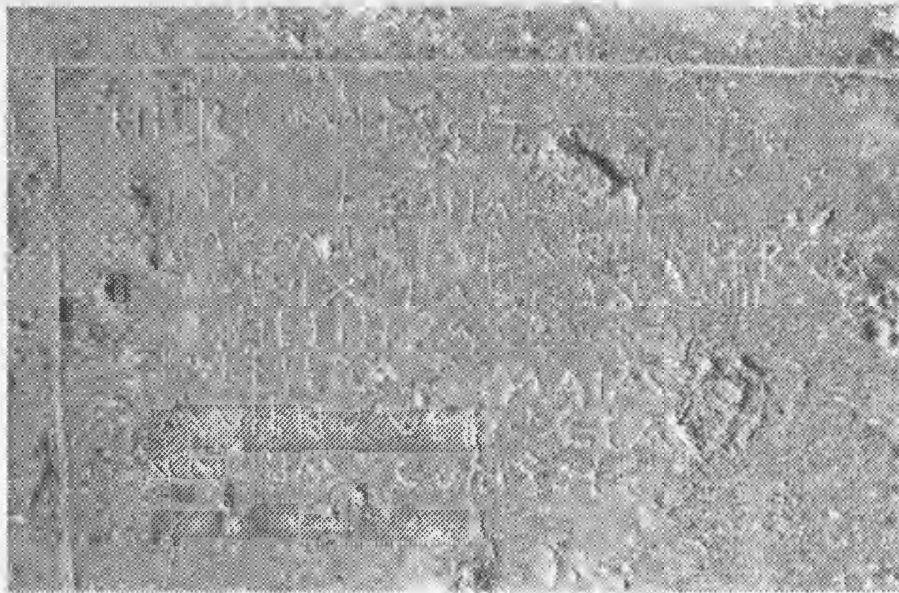


Plate 48: Epitaph of Arenburga on No. 152 Briord.

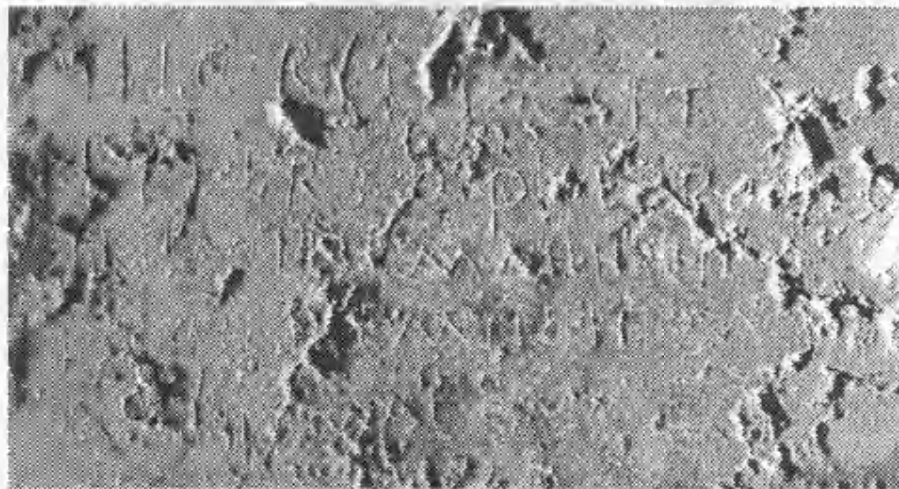


Plate 49: Record of manumission for Manno on No. 152 Briord.

Plate 51: No. 171 Crispin-en-Salut. Remnant. 35 x 24 x 10 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

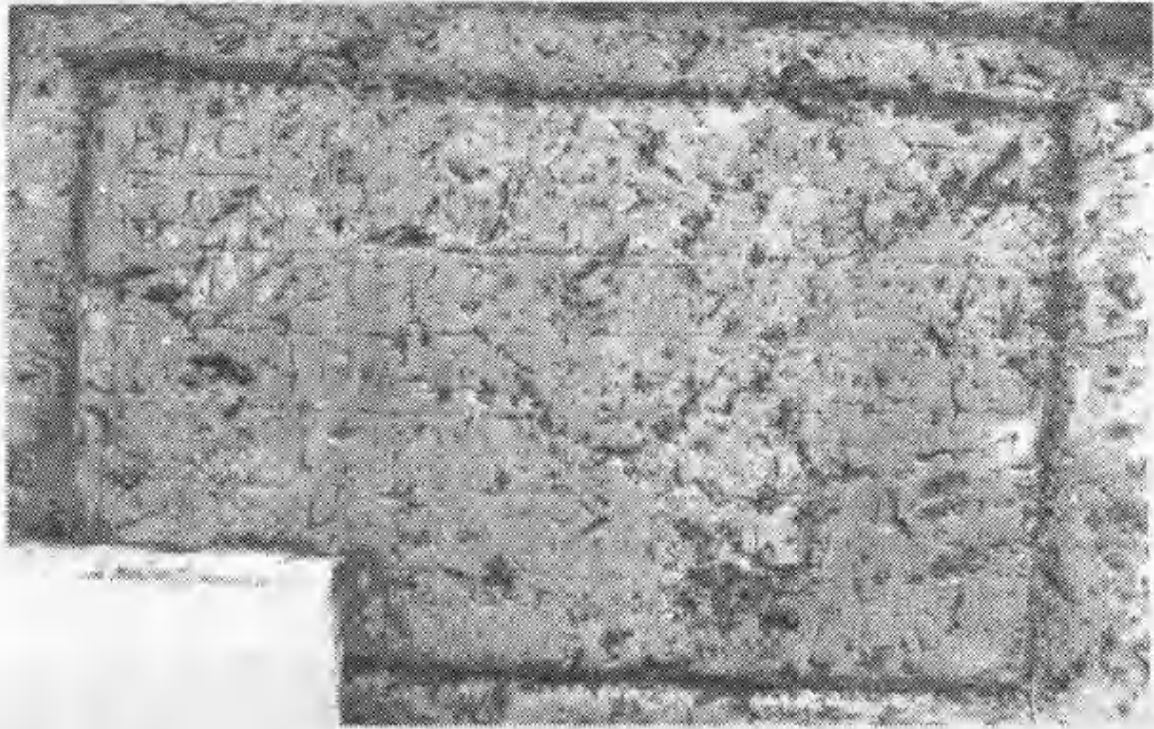


Plate 50: No.153 Briord. Dimensions: 60 x 220 cm. Letters: 2 - 4 cm.

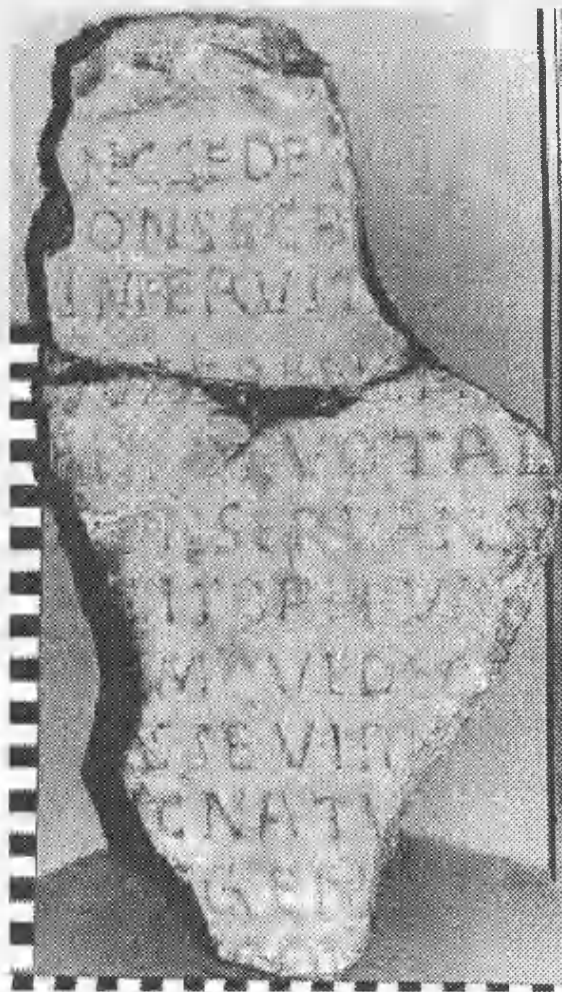


Plate 51: No.171 Chalon-sur-Saône. Dimensions: 39 x 24 x 10 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.



Plate 52: No.173 Chalon-sur-Saône. Dimensions: 22 x 29.5 x 4 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.

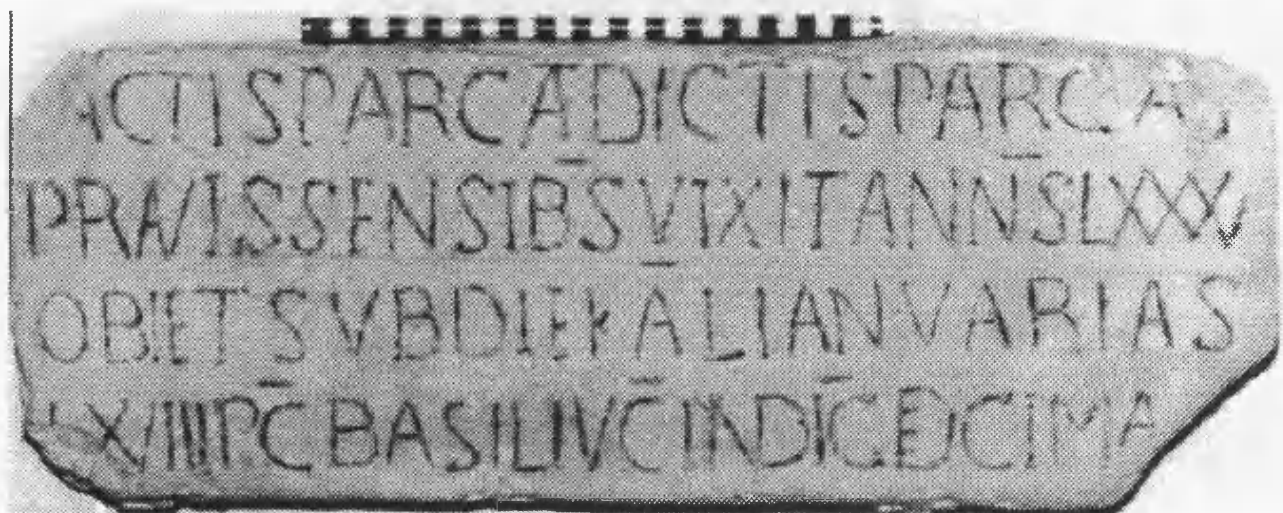


Plate 53: No.175 Chavanoz. Dimensions: 25 x 68 x 8 cm. Letters: 4 cm.

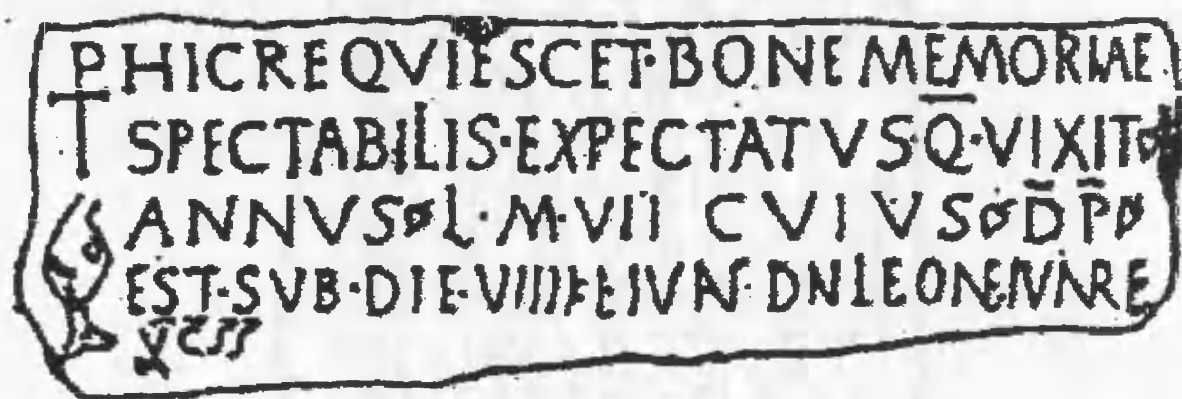


Plate 54: No.176 Cimiez. Dimensions: 18 - 21 x 65 cm.



Plate 55: No. 186 Crussol. Dimensions: 30 x 16 - 20 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 1.7 - 2.5 cm.

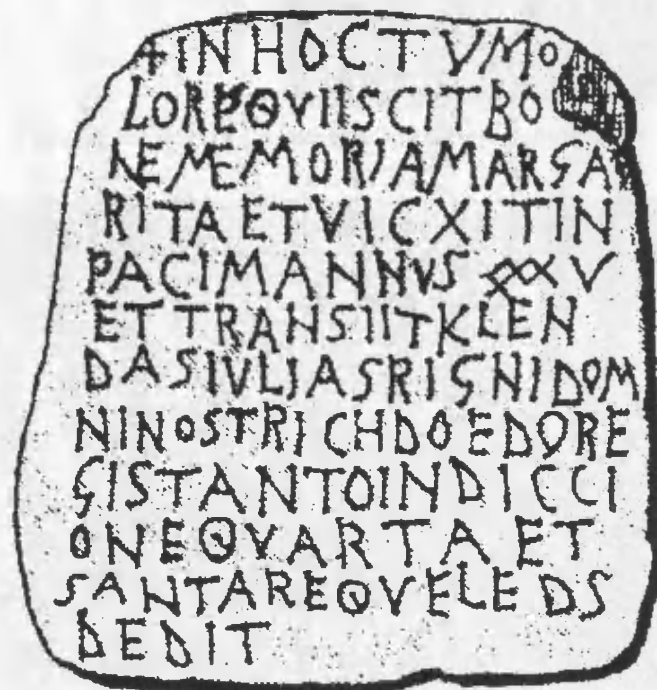


Plate 56: No. 187 Crussol. Dimensions: unknown.



Plate 57: No. 192 Die. Dimensions: 107 x 52 cm. Letters: 4 cm.

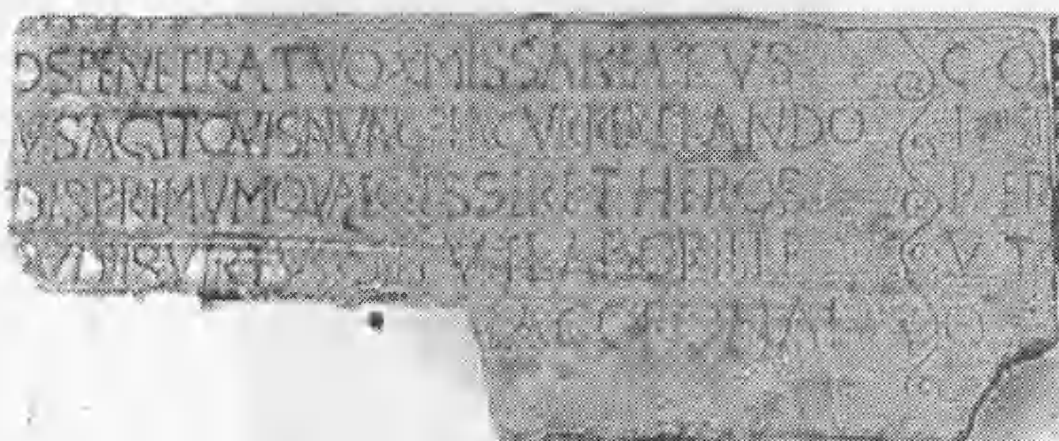


Plate 58: No. 194 Die. Dimensions: 30 x 69 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



Plate 59: No. 196 Ecully. Dimensions: 54 x 36.5 cm.

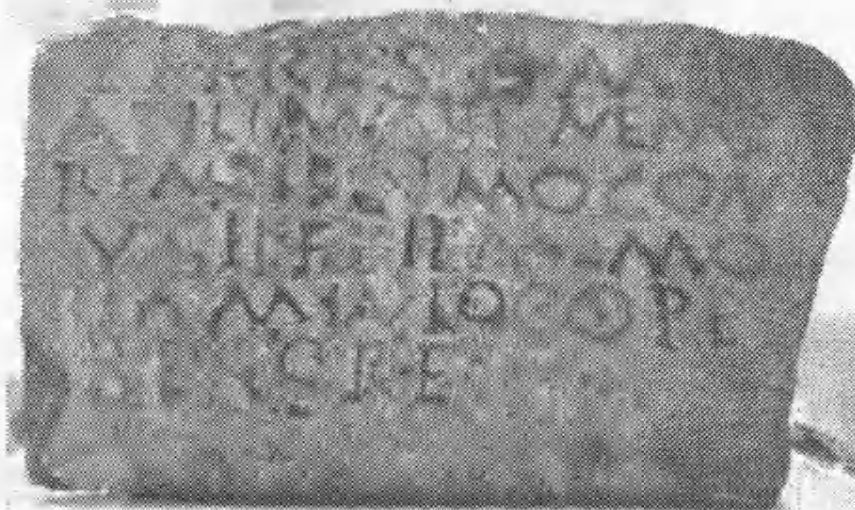


Plate 60: No.200 Faucon-de-Barcelonnette. Dimensions: 26 x 39 x 8.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

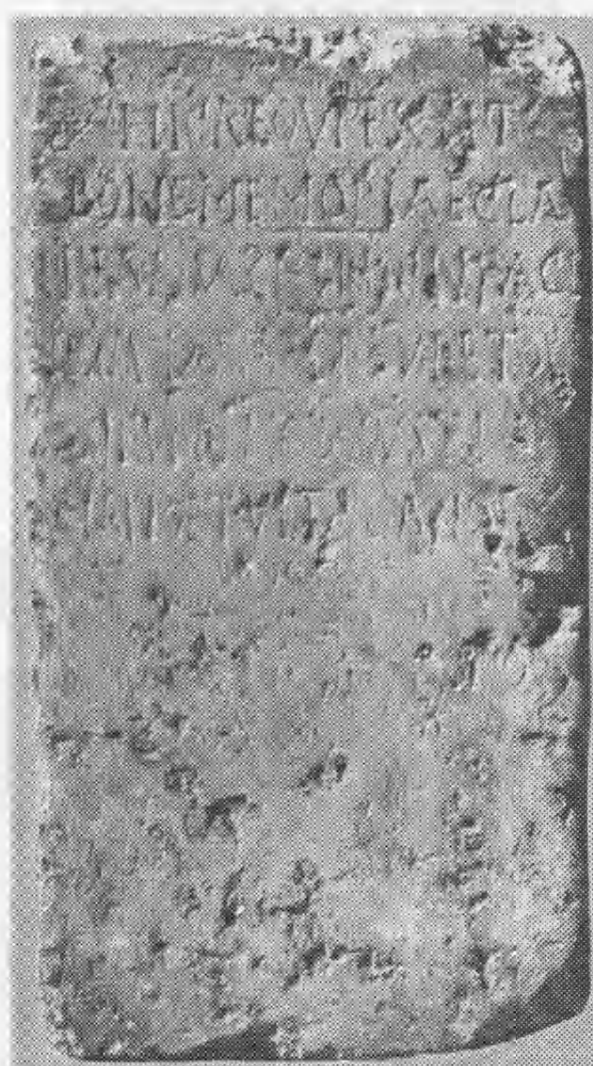


Plate 61: No.217 Grenoble. Dimensions: 72 x 42 x 15 cm. Letters: 3 cm. approx.

Plate 62: No.220 Grilly-sous-Aix, Oisans. Dimensions: 80 x 65 x 22 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.

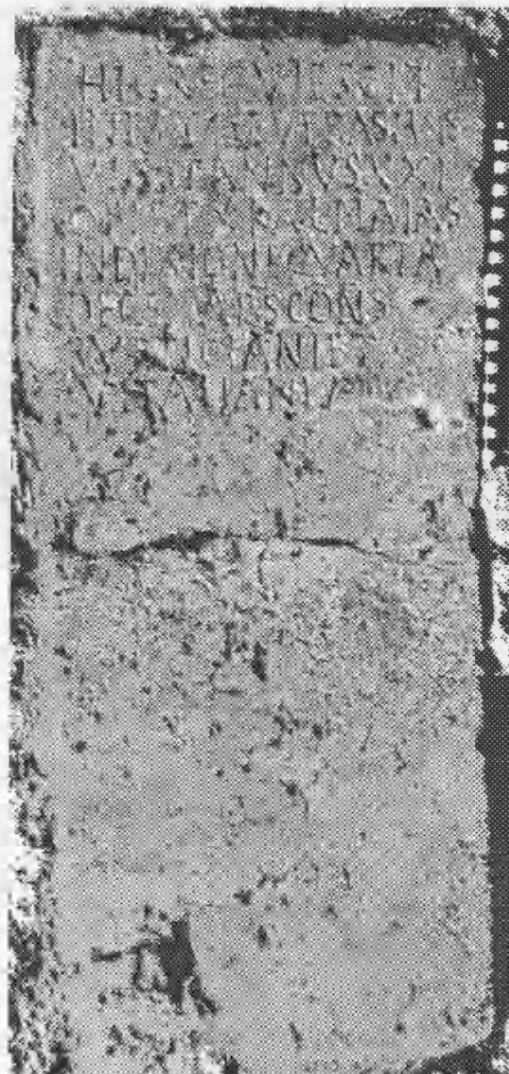


Plate 62: No.218 Grenoble. Dimensions: 97 x 45 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.

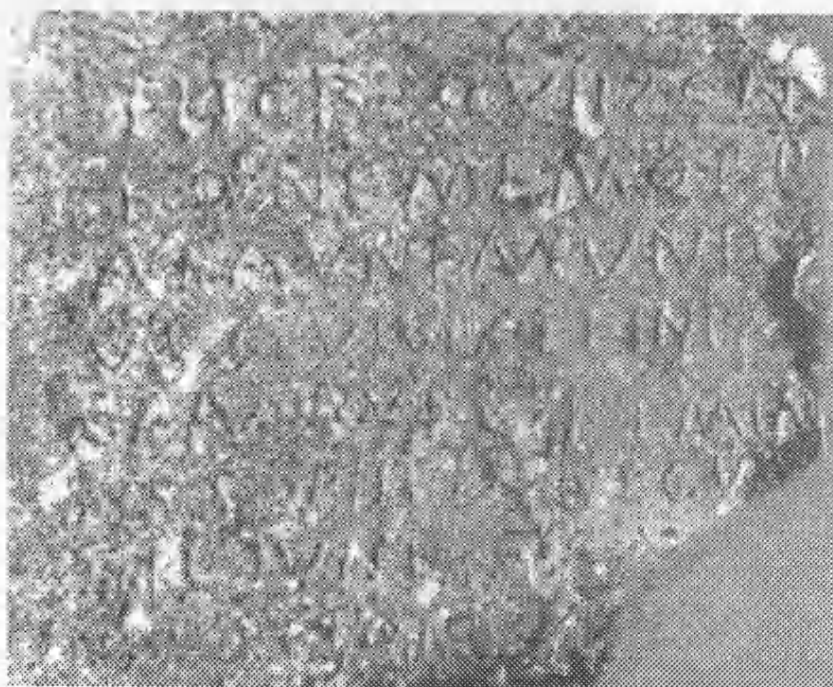


Plate 63: No.220 Grésy-sur-Aix. Dimensions: 56 x 61 x 23 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.



Plate 64: No.223 Gruffy. Dimensions: 24 - 15 x 25 x 4.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. avg.



Plate 65: No.224 Guillerand. Dimensions: 51 x 18 x 2 cm. Letters: 2 cm. approx.

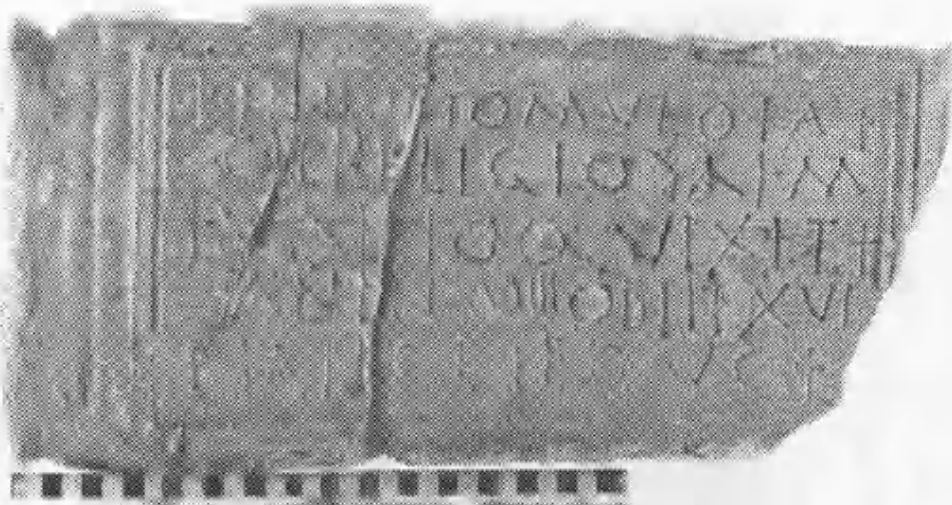


Plate 66: No.225 Jongieux. Dimensions: 21 x 49 x 7.5 - 9.5 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.

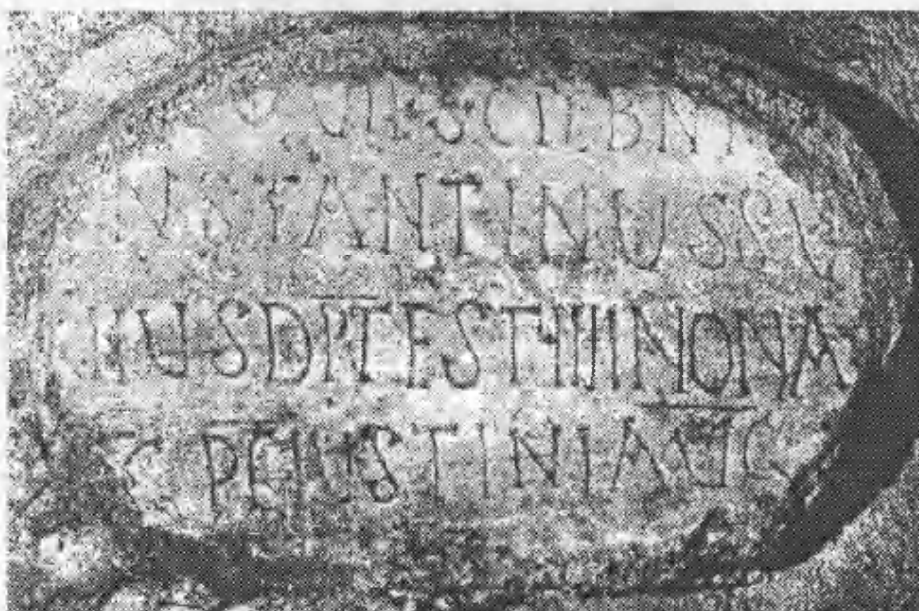


Plate 67: No.226 La Baume-Cornillane. Dimensions: 19 x 32.5 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

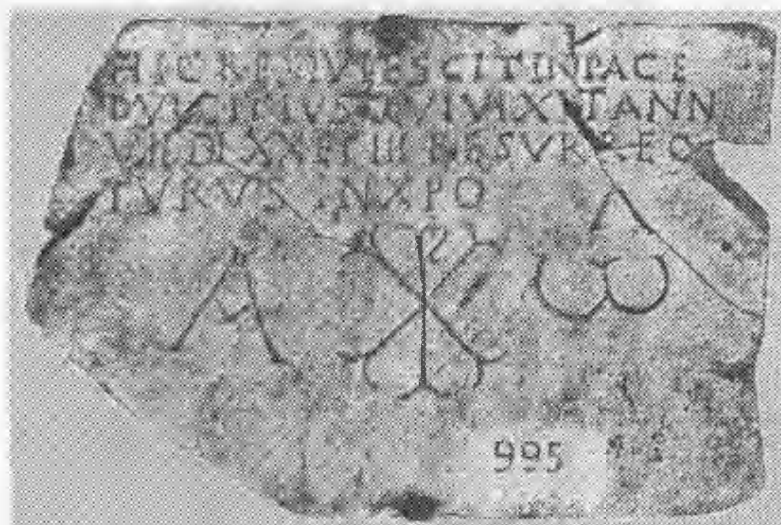


Plate 68: No.227 La Côte-Saint-André. Dimensions: 30 x 43 x 3 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

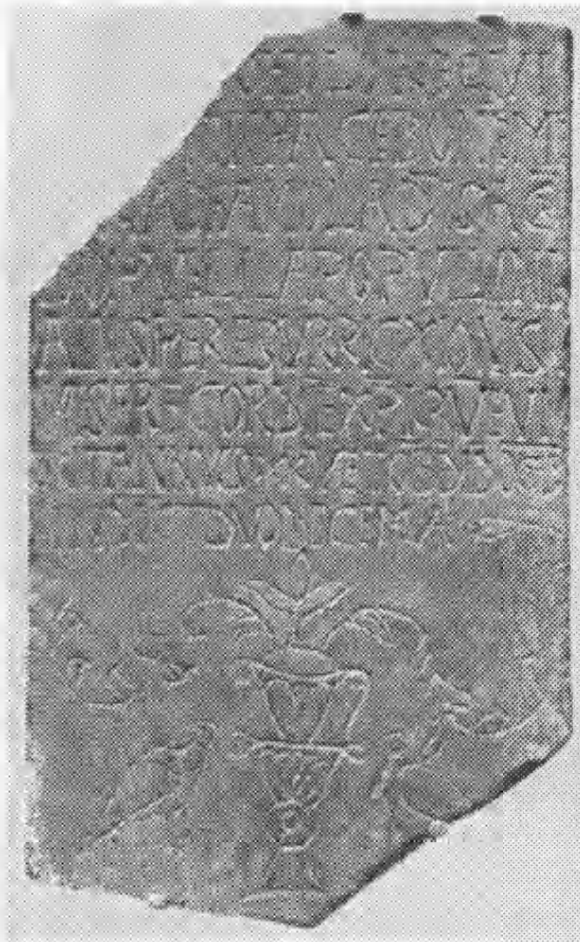


Plate 69: No.233 La Tronche. Dimensions: 59.5 x 36 x 4.5 cm. Letters: 3 - 3.5 cm.

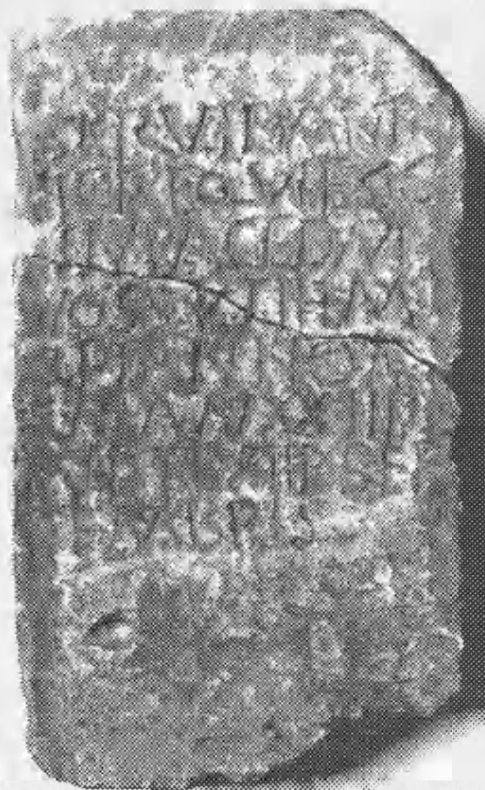


Plate 70: No.239 Lorgues. Dimensions: 48.5 x 28 x 11 cm. Letters 3 cm.

Plate 71: No.243 Lorgues. Dimensions: 35 x 32 x 4 cm. Letters: 1 - 4 cm.

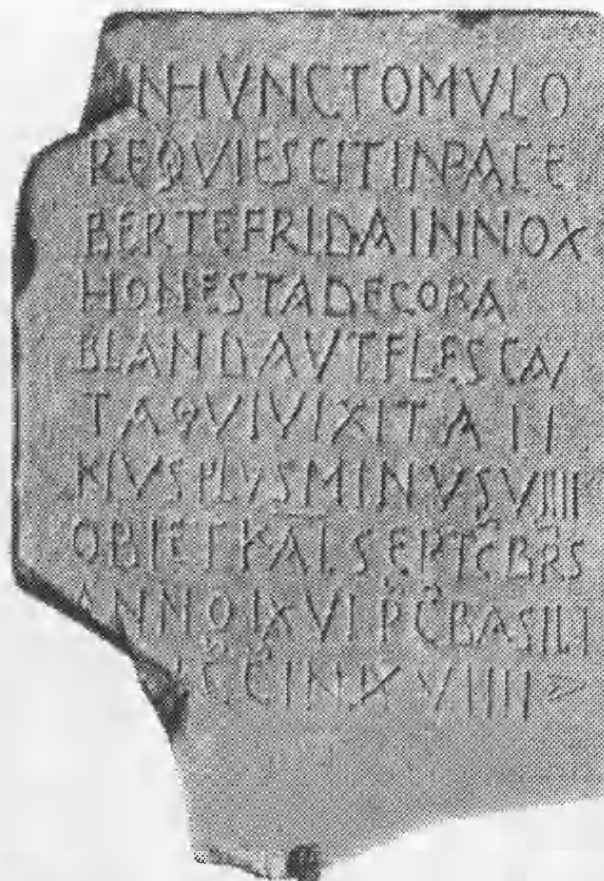


Plate 71: No.242 Luzinay. Dimensions: 40 x 29 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.

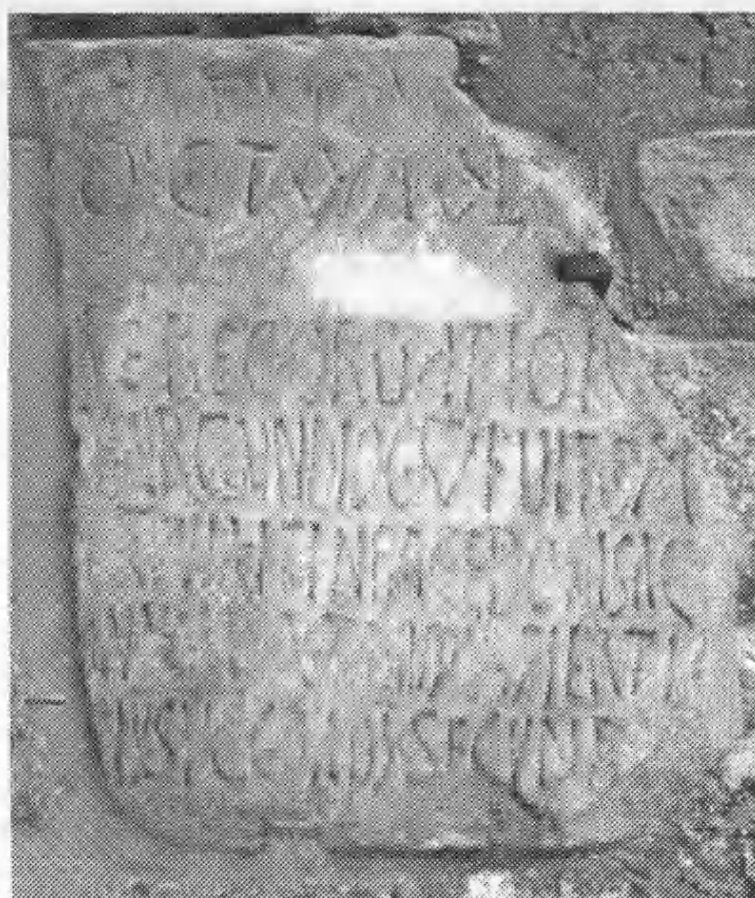


Plate 72: No.243 Luzinay. Dimensions: 38 x 32 x 5 cm. Letters: 1 - 4 cm.

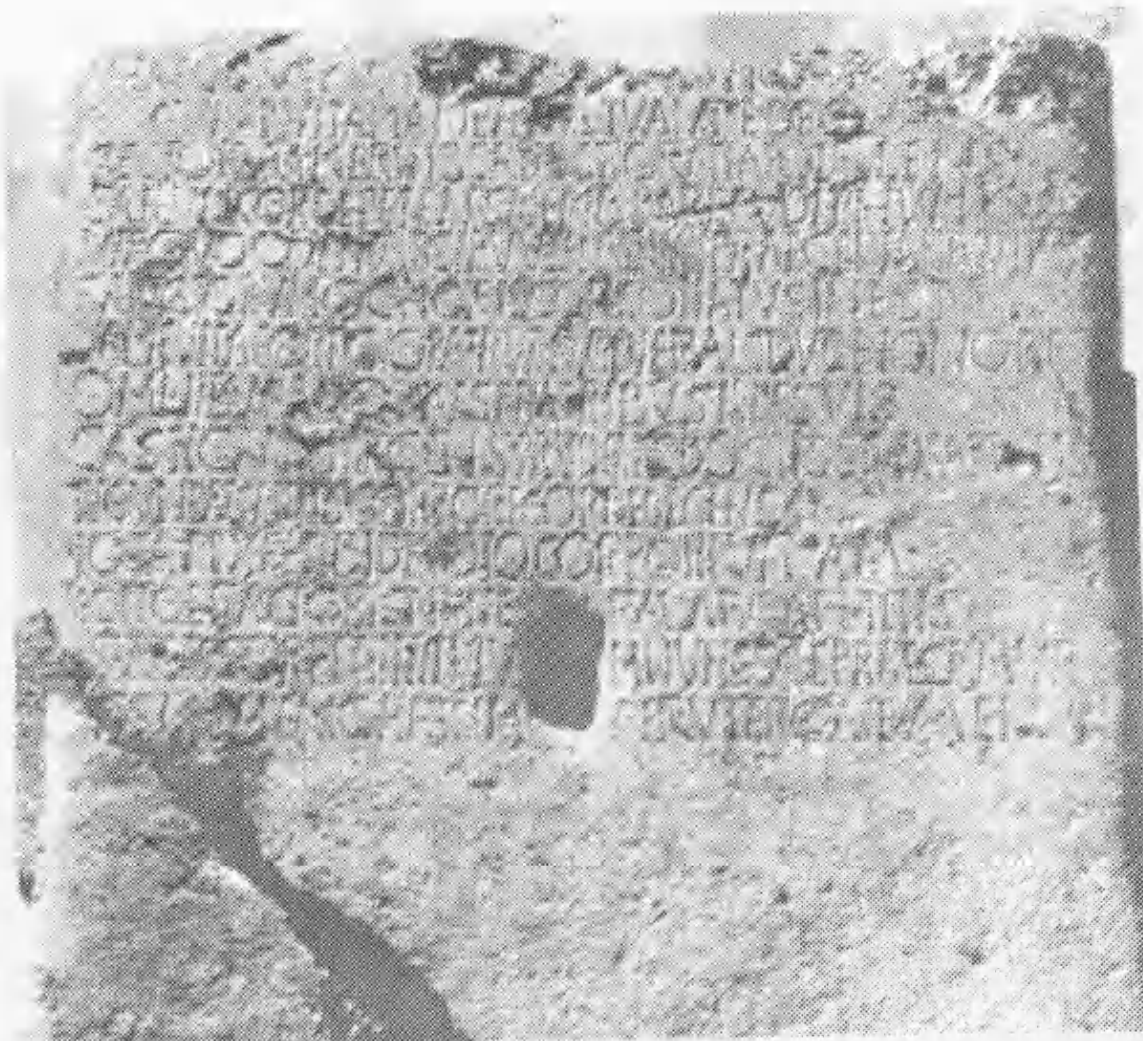


Plate 73: No.244 Lyon, Cathedral District. Dimensions: 1.35 x 92 x 21 cm. Letters: 4 - 4.5 cm.



Plate 74: No.251 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 46 x 42 x 5 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.

Plate 75: No.255 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 40 x 31 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.



Plate 75: No.253 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 35 x 25.2 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 2 cm.



Plate 76: No.254 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 29 x 22 cm.

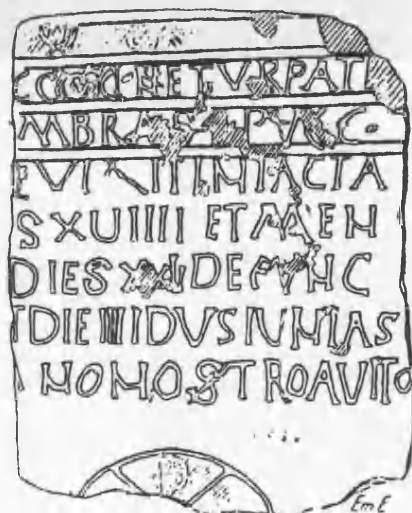


Plate 77: No.255 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 40 x 31 x 9 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

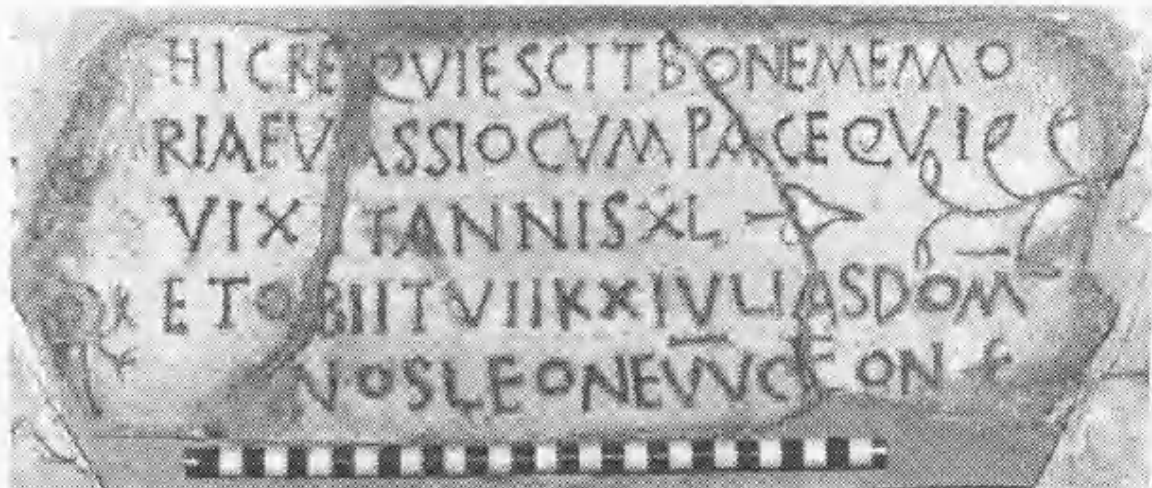


Plate 78: No.256 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 19 x 45 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 3 cm.



Plate 79: No.257 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 21 x 31 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.



Plate 80: No.262 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 41 x 20.2 cm. Letters: 1 - 3.5 cm.

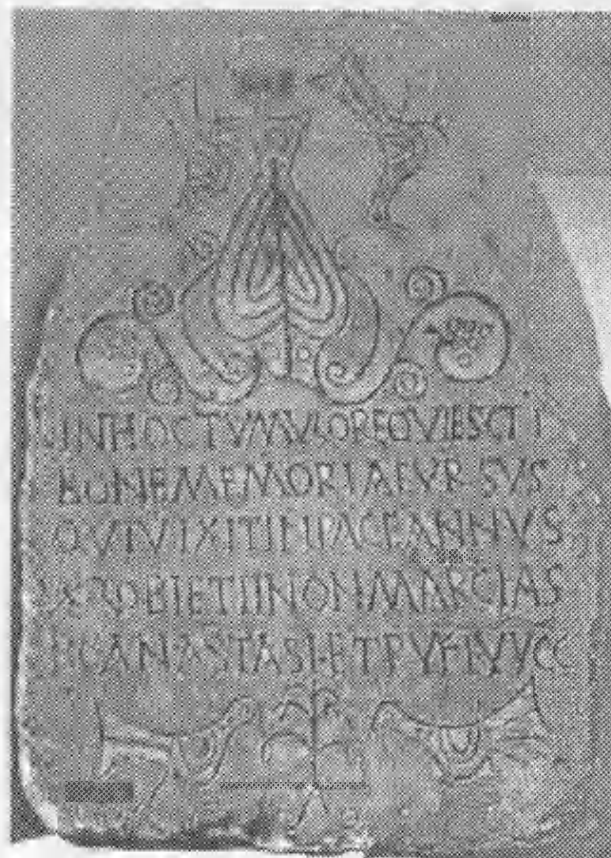


Plate 81: No.263 Lyon, Saint-Just. Dimensions: 57 x 42 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average.

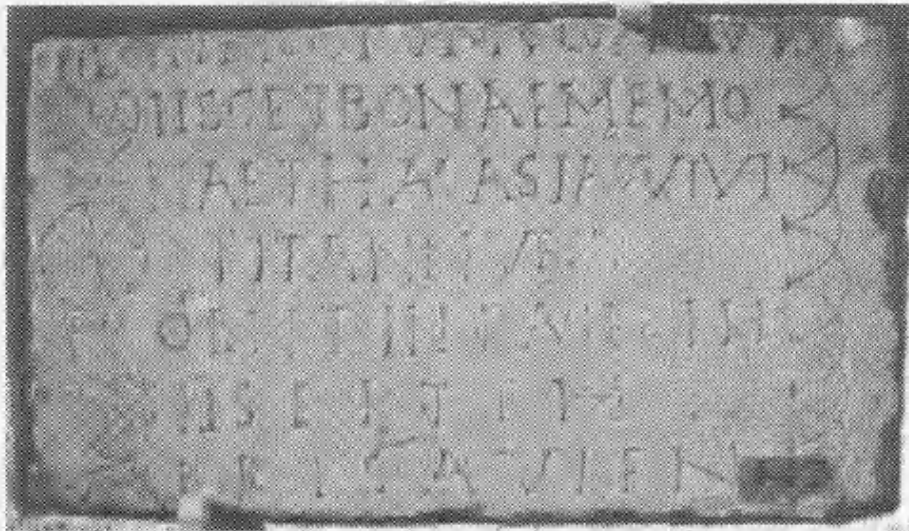


Plate 82: No.264 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 22 x 40 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.

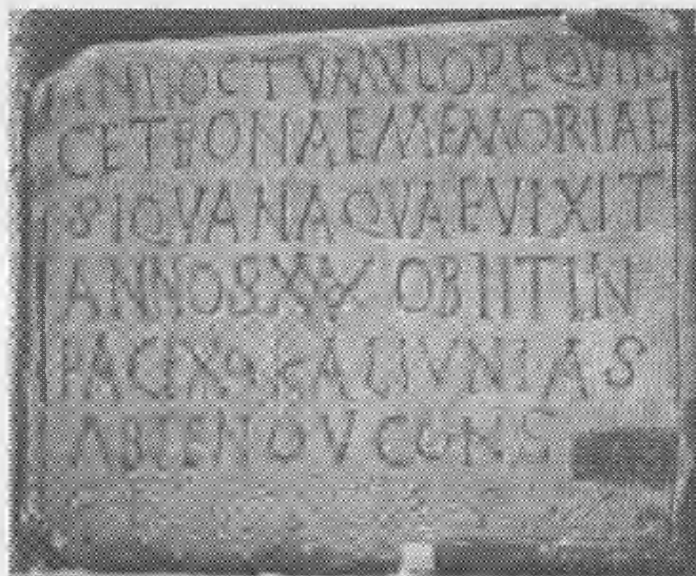


Plate 83: No.265 Lyon, Saint-Just. Dimensions: 22 x 28 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.

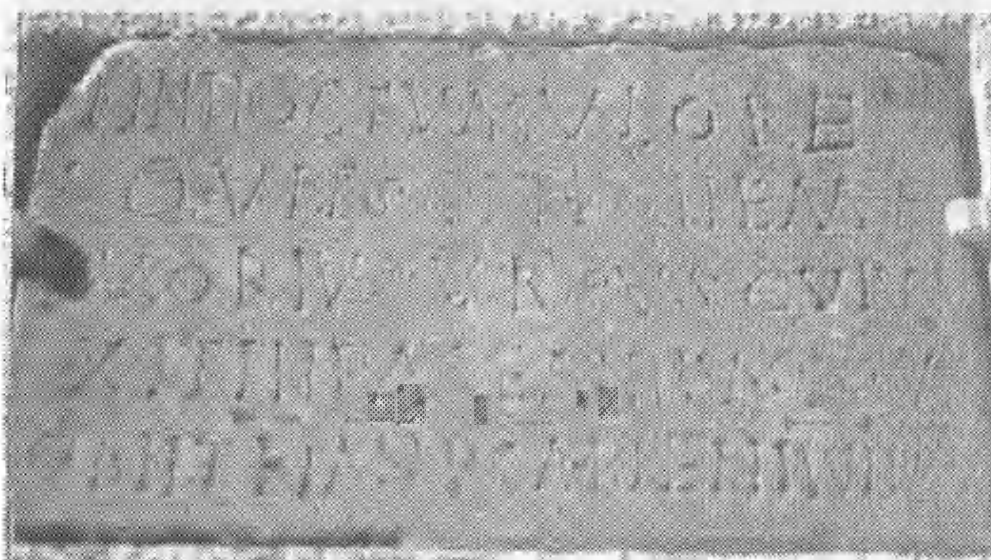


Plate 84: No.266 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 20 x 36.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm average.



Plate 85: No.267 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 31 x 32 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.

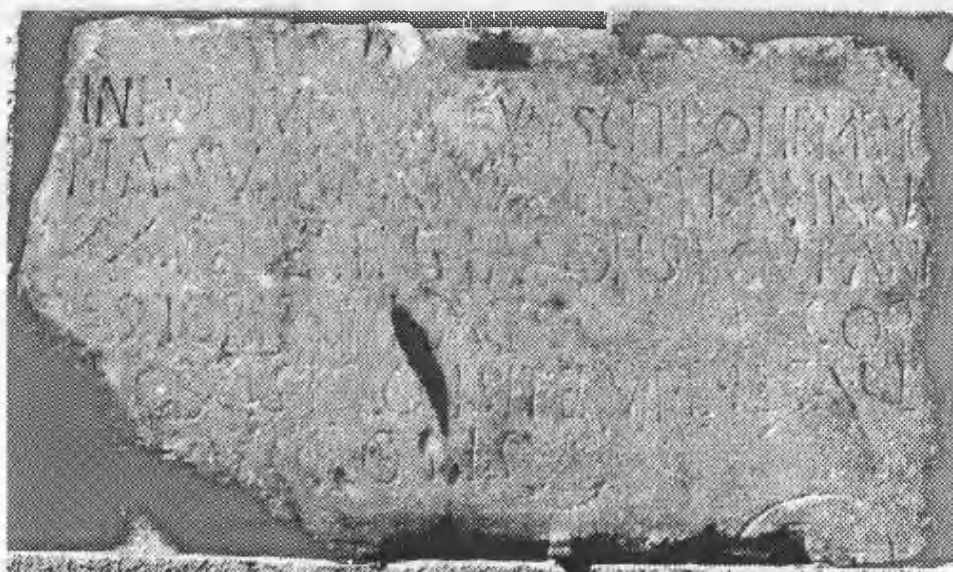


Plate 86: No.268 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 35 x 59 cm.

Plate 87: No.270 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 25 x 25 cm. Letters: 1-1.5 cm.



Plate 87: No.269 Lyon, Saint-Just. Dimensions: 43.5 x 59 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 3 cm.



Plate 88: No.270 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 24 x 26 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 3 cm.

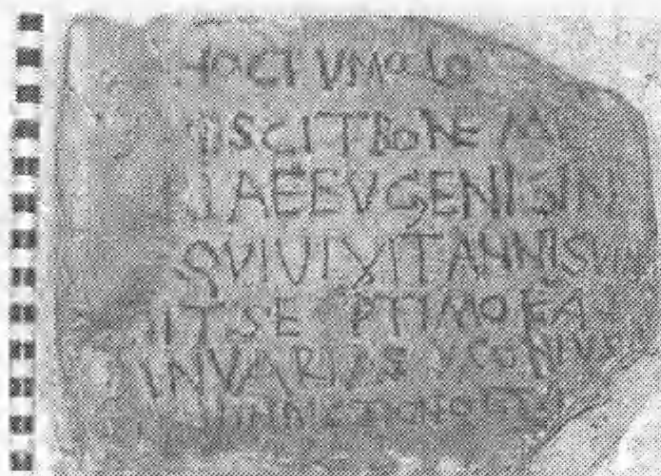


Plate 89: No.275 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 25 x 25 cm. Letters: 1 - 3 cm.

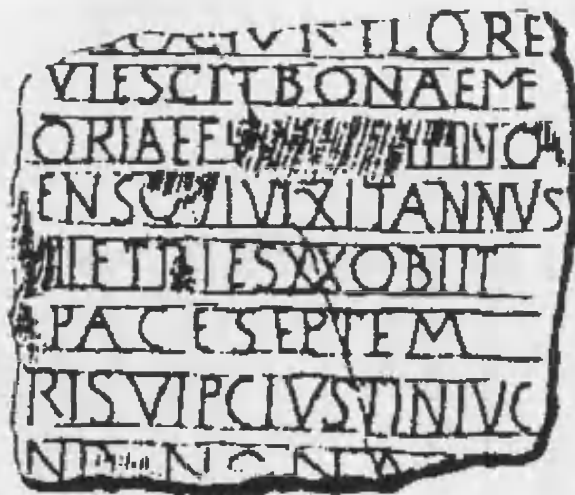


Plate 90: No.276 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 35 x 30.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm.

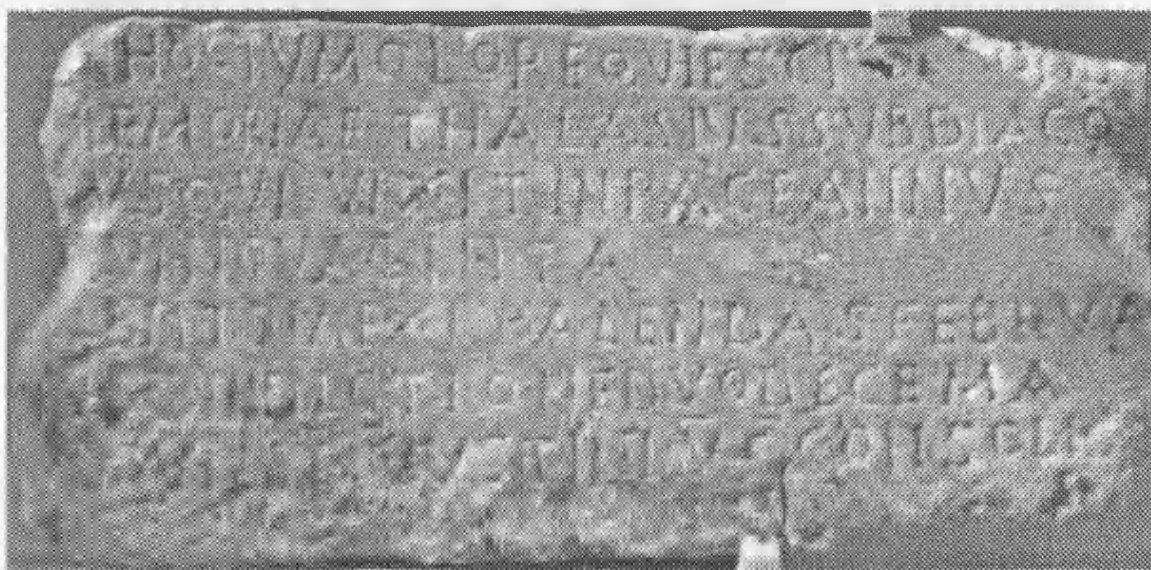


Plate 91: No.277 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 20 x 33 x 44 x 7 cm. Letters: 1.2 - 2 cm.

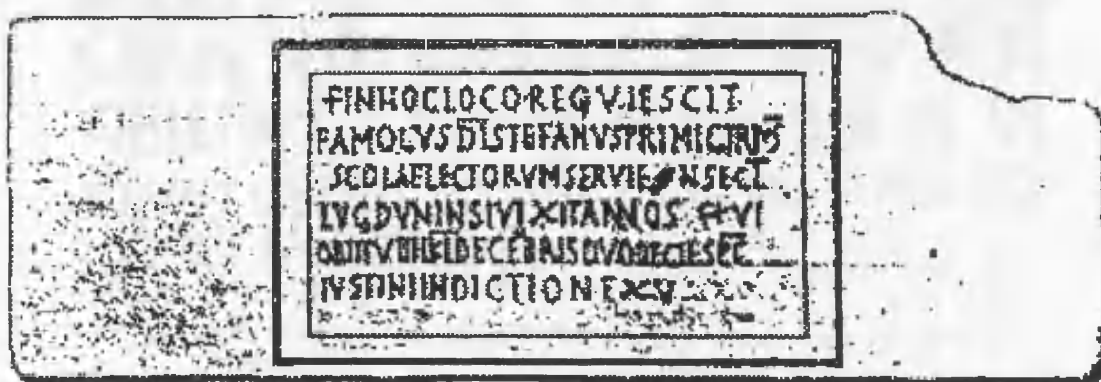


Plate 92: No.278 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 1.35 x 50 cm.



Plate 93: No.279 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 42 x 45 cm. Letters: 3 cm.

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 LADI BONAEME MORIAE DROQ
 SANCTEMVNIALISQVAEVI
 CEANNOSVIGINTIETQVATI
 OBIETXI IDVSSEPTEMBRI SV
 QVATERPOSTCONSIVSTINIINDIC
 TERTIADECENA

Plate 94: No.281 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 53 x 48 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm.

Plate 97: No.285 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 27 x 34 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.

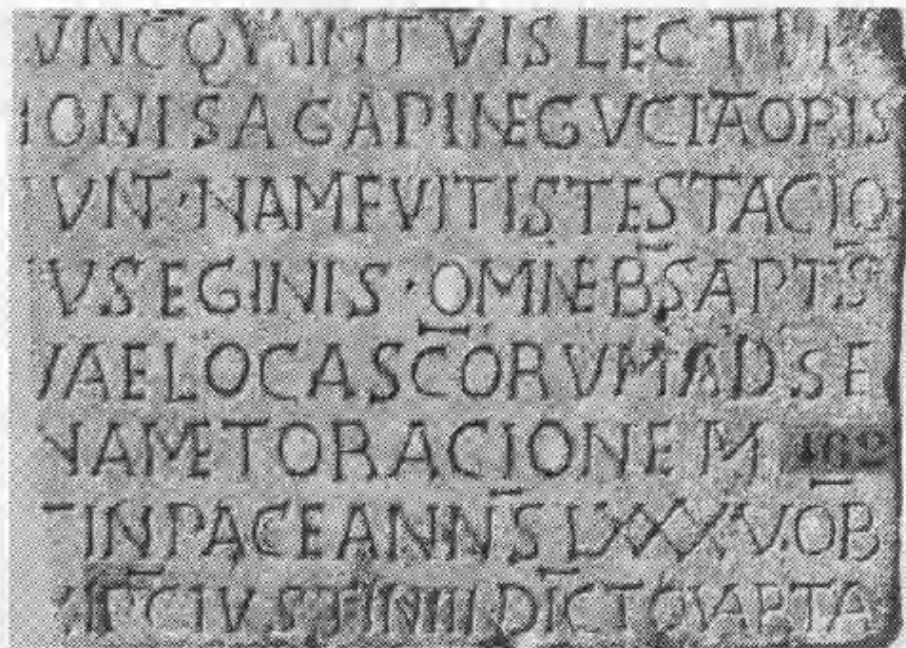


Plate 95: No.282 Lyon, Saint-Just. Dimensions: Originally 25 x 53 cm. now 32 x 28 cm. Letters: 2.5 average.



Plate 96: No.284 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 45 x 1.20 cm. Letters: 6 cm.



Plate 97: No.285 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 22 x 34 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.

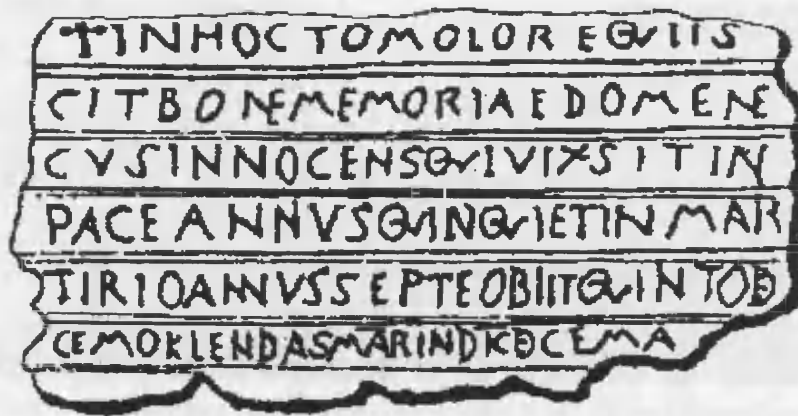


Plate 98: No.289 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 21 x 45 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.



Plate 99: No.290 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 21 x 25.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm.

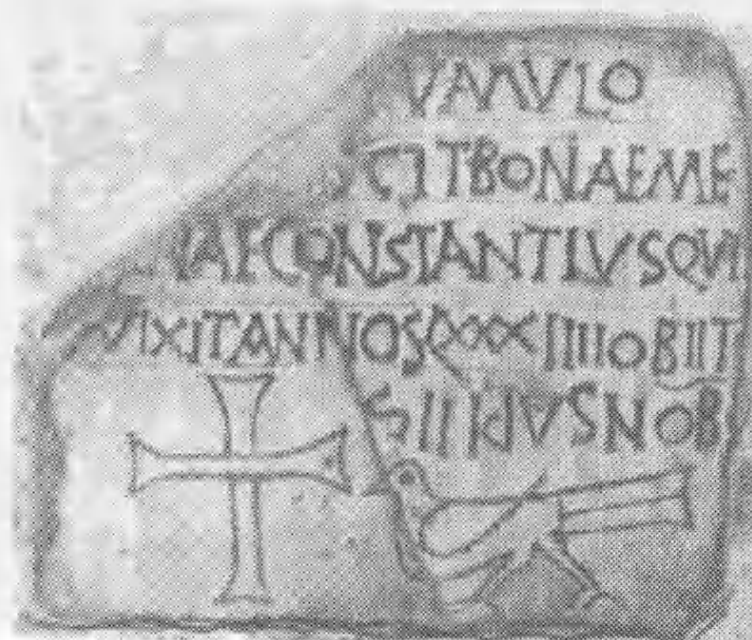


Plate 100: No.291 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 39 x 33.5 cm. Letters: 2 - 3.5 cm.



Plate 101: No.292 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 80 x 1.96 cm. Letters: 3 cm.

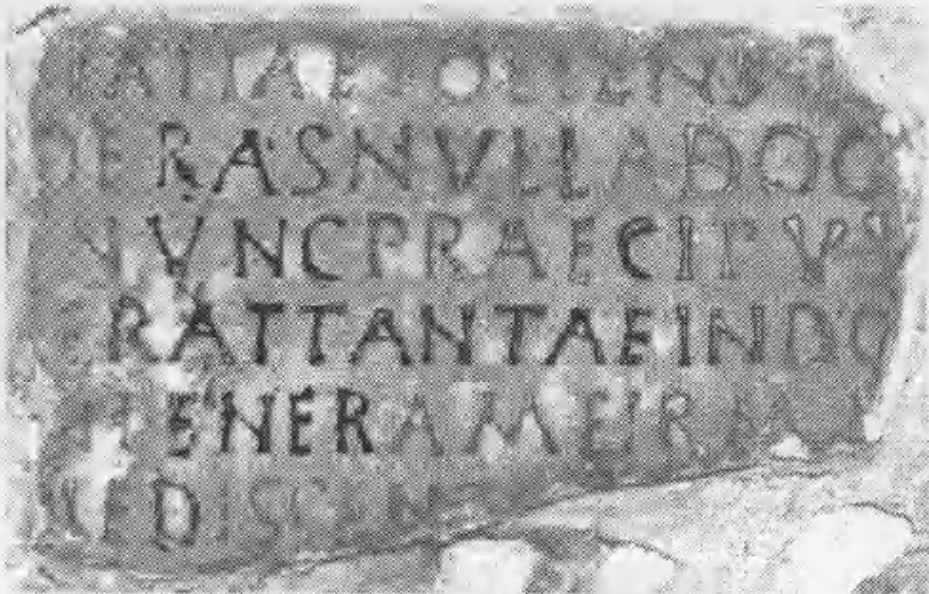


Plate 102: No.294 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 33 x 21 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



Plate 103: No.295 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 34 x 42 cm. Letters: 3 - 3.5 cm.



Plate 104: No.296 Lyon, Saint-Irénée. Dimensions: 42.3 x 45 cm. Letters: 2 cm.



Plate 105: No.301 Lyon, Saint-Just. Dimensions: 43 x 29 x 12 - 15 cm. Letters: 2.4 - 1.7 cm.

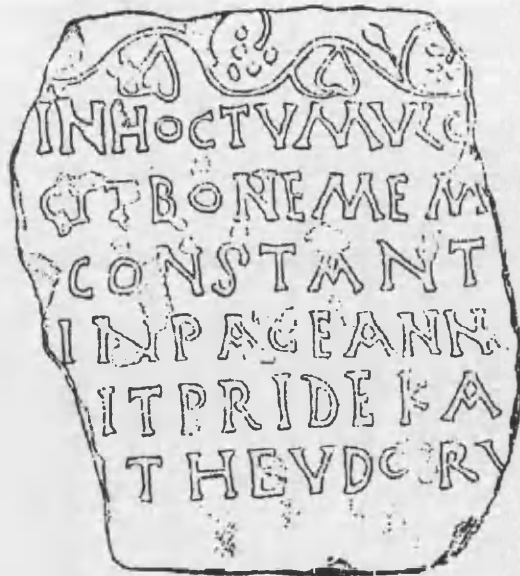


Plate 106: No.314 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 32 x 26 x 2 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



Plate 107: No.315 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 47 x 39 x 5 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

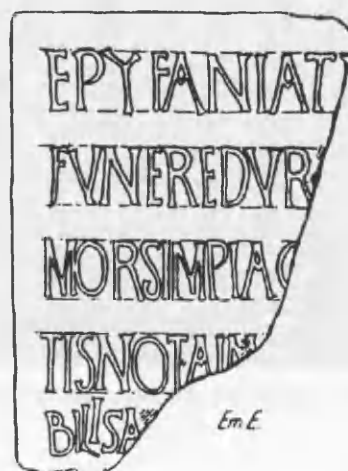


Plate 108: No.317 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 30 x 22 x 5 cm. Letters: 4 cm.

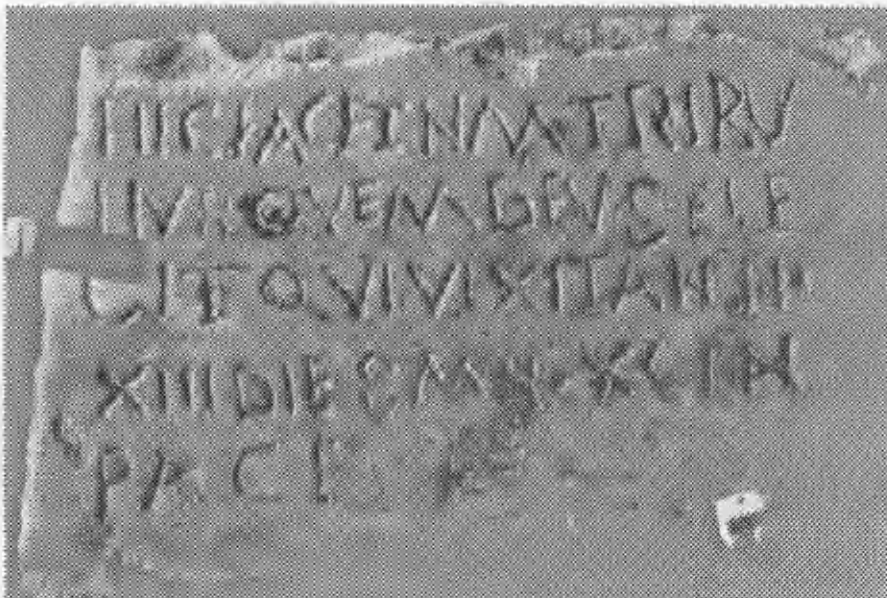


Plate 109: No.322 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 29 x 18 x 4 cm. Letters: 2 cm. average.



Plate 110: No.336 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 43 x 49 x 21 cm. Letters: 3 cm.

Plate 111: No.340 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 28.5 x 33 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 2 cm.

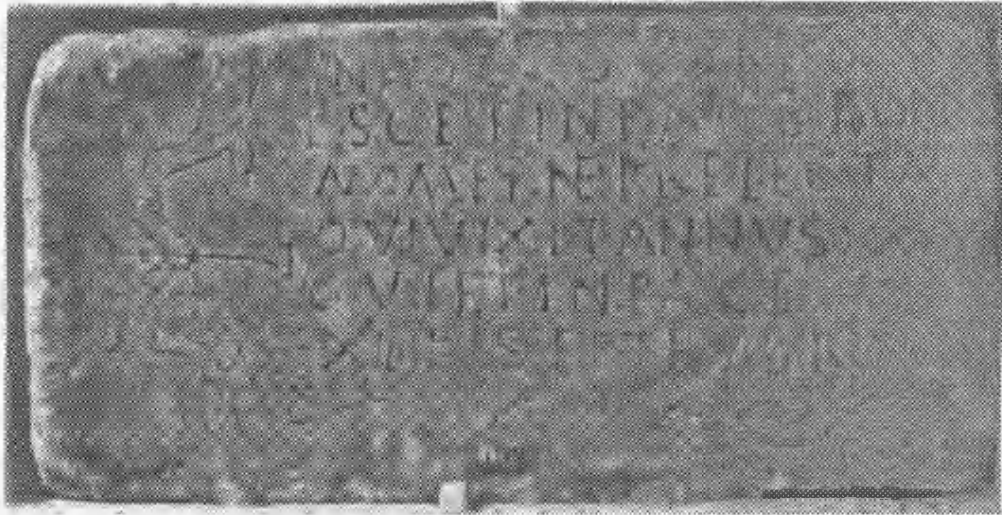


Plate 111: No.339 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 29 x 60 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average.



Plate 112: No.343 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 25 x 25 cm. Letters: 3 - 3.5 cm.

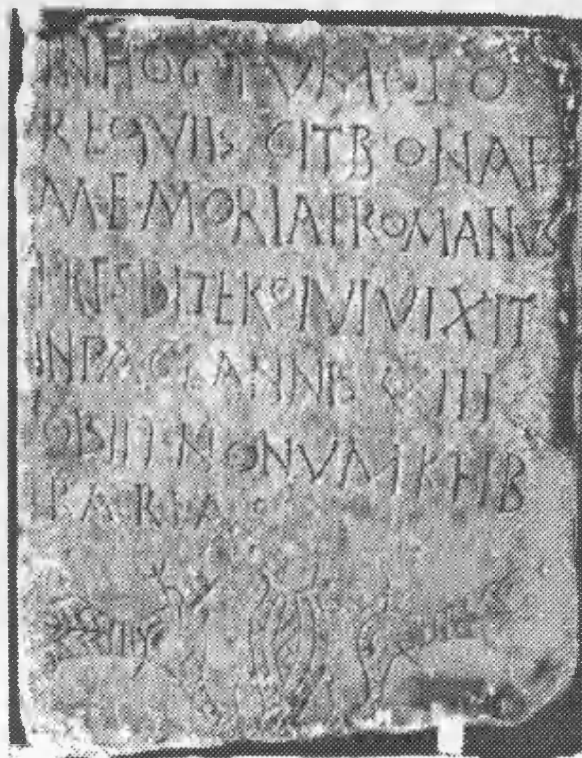


Plate 113: No.349 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 39.5 x 33 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 3 cm.



Plate 114: No.351 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 40 x 27 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.



Plate 115: No.356 Lyon, Saint-Irénée/Saint-Just. Dimensions: 48 x 44 cm. Letters: 4 cm.

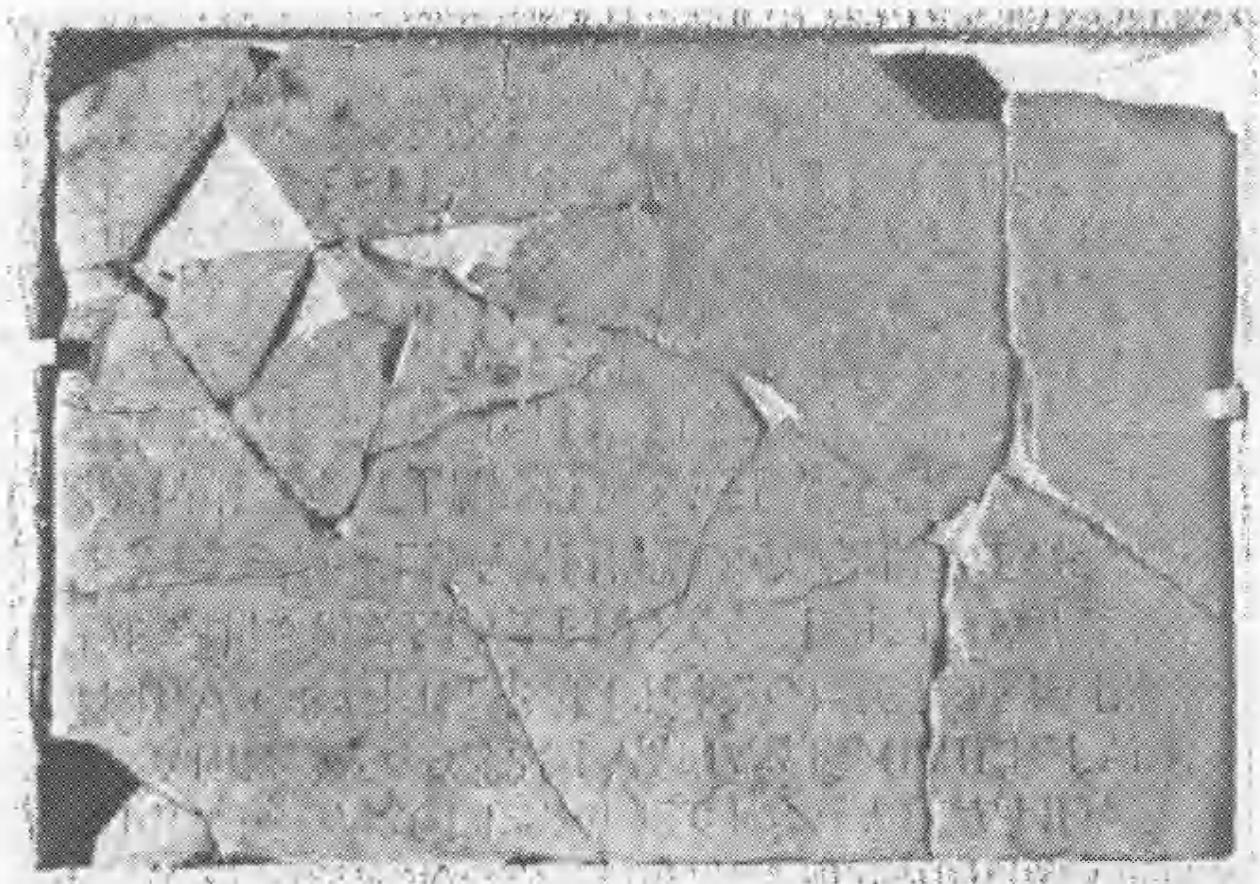


Plate 116: No.360 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 62 x 43 x 4 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.

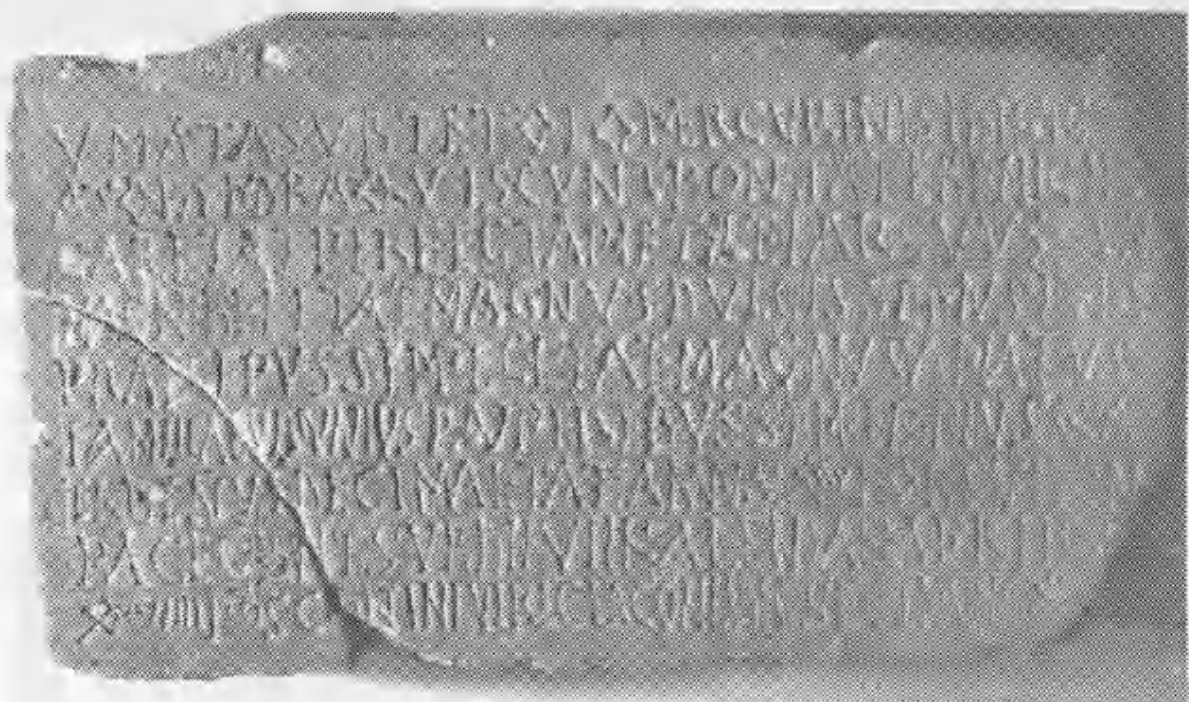


Plate 117: No.361 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 27 x 48 x 5.5 cm. Letters: 1.8 - 2 cm.



Plate 121: No.365 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 33 x 32 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



Plate 122: No.366 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 56 x 26 x 8 cm. Letters: 2 cm.

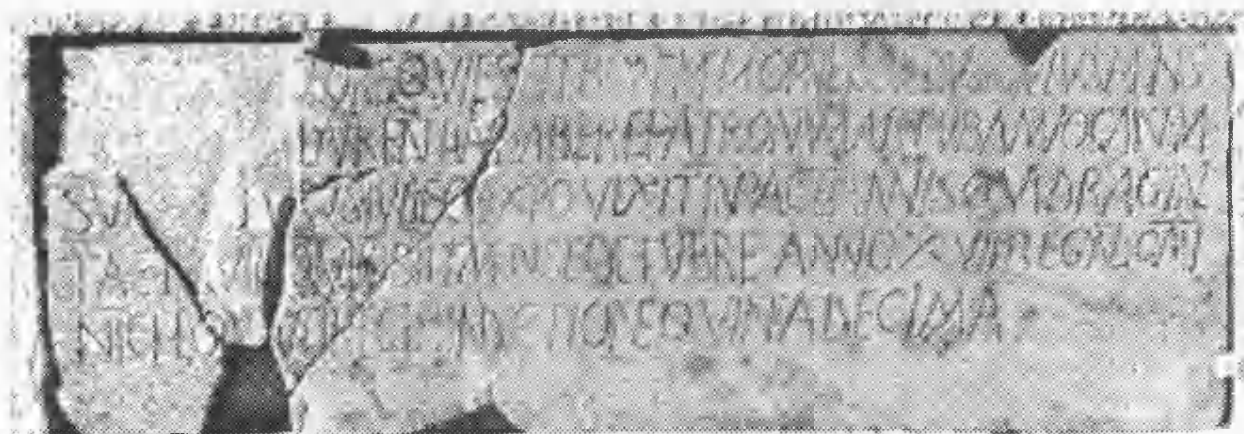


Plate 123: No.367 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 90 x 31 x 3 cm. Letters: 4 cm.



Plate 124: No.370 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 30 x 25 x 4 cm. Letters: 3 cm.

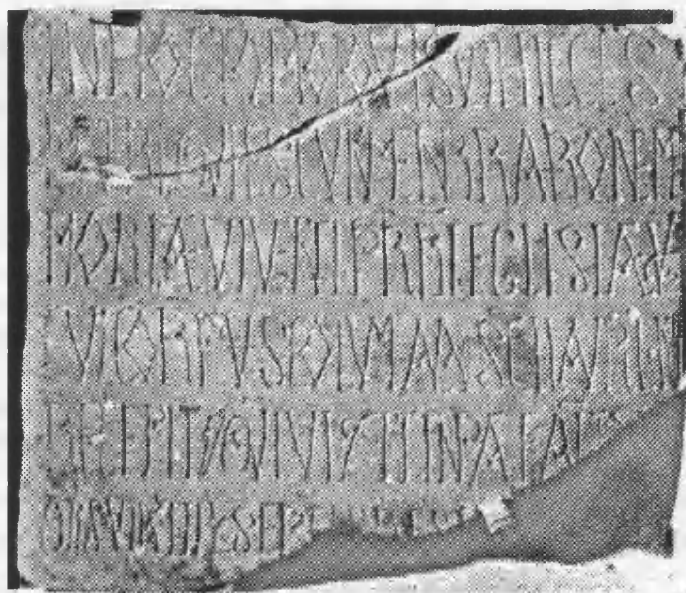


Plate 125: No.371 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 37 x 34 x 4 cm. Letters: 4 - 4.5 cm.

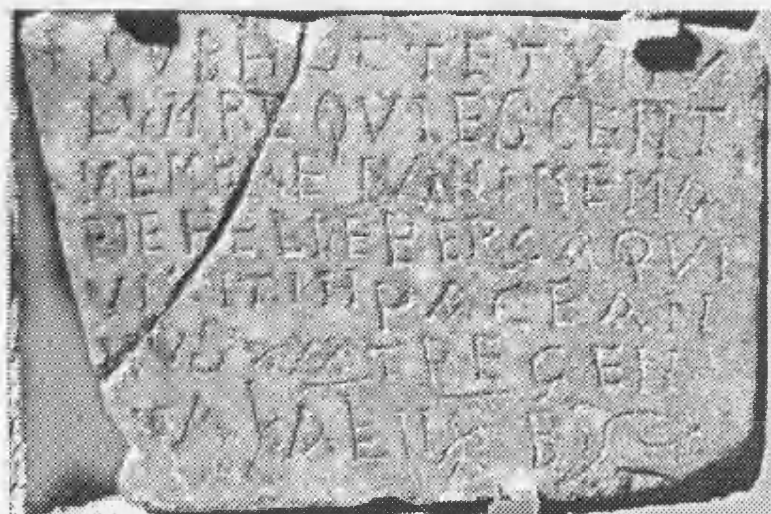


Plate 126: No.372 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 27 x 18 x 3 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.

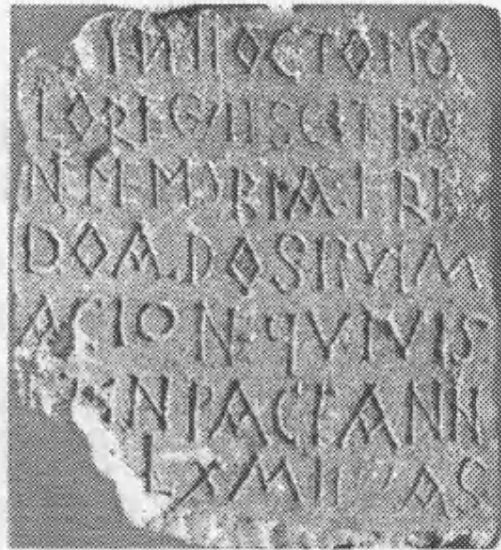


Plate 127: No.373 Lyon, Saint-Laurent-de-Choulans. Dimensions: 29 x 30 x 10 cm. Letters: 3 cm. average.

Nomine montis fidei veritatis pietatis Sacerdos
Officio cultu precio corde grata
Dogmate amantio amant probitate vigore
Stimulante censura religione chena
Gaudia cunctorum tollens lamento reliquans
 Arc. HIC CLAVSUS LAVDIBVS AMPLATEN
 Patria. MVDECVSEREXITCVLMINEMORVM
 Sic p. ARTOS FASCES FORTIACORDALEVANT
 Magna. INAMQVBONVM CALESTIMVNREPERSTA
 Corp. DRACVNTSINTINCLITAGESTAMANENT
 Pignora. an. NIXV. IRIHVCSORTESVPREMA
 Sangu. NEQV. STASVMIREHNE. AMOR
 Cujus quanta. VIRIMVNDOSAPIENTIAFVLST
 Ventu. ISAECLIGLORTAESTISERIT
 qui vixit i. NAMOREETTEMOREDIAMNISILV
 Post consilium Justin. EVIRTCLARISSIDICONSOIS IND. *obit III idus septembris*
ictione prima

Plate 128: No.394 Lyon, Saint-Nizier. Dimensions: unknown.



Plate 129: No.399 Lyon, Saint-Nizier. Dimensions: 33 x 50 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.

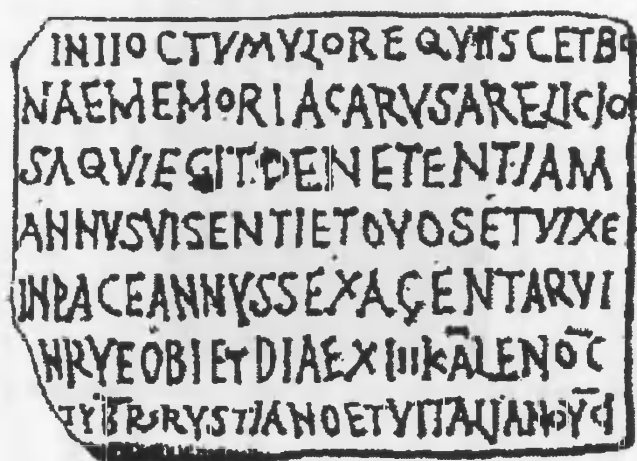


Plate 130: No.401 Lyon, isolated finds. Dimensions: 29 x 38 cm.

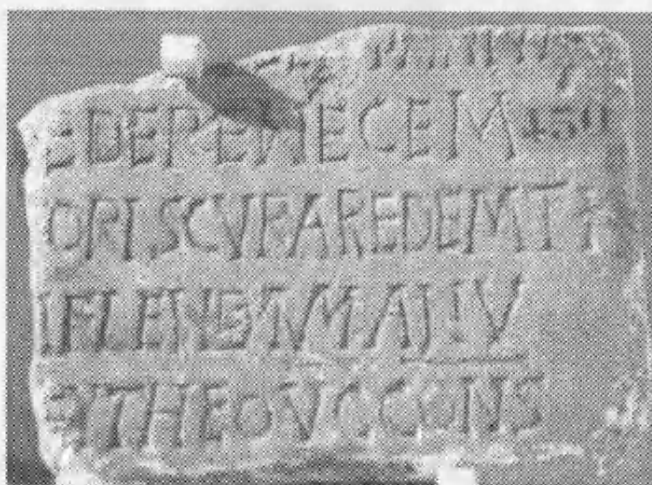


Plate 131: No.406 Lyon, isolated finds. Dimensions: 19 x 21 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

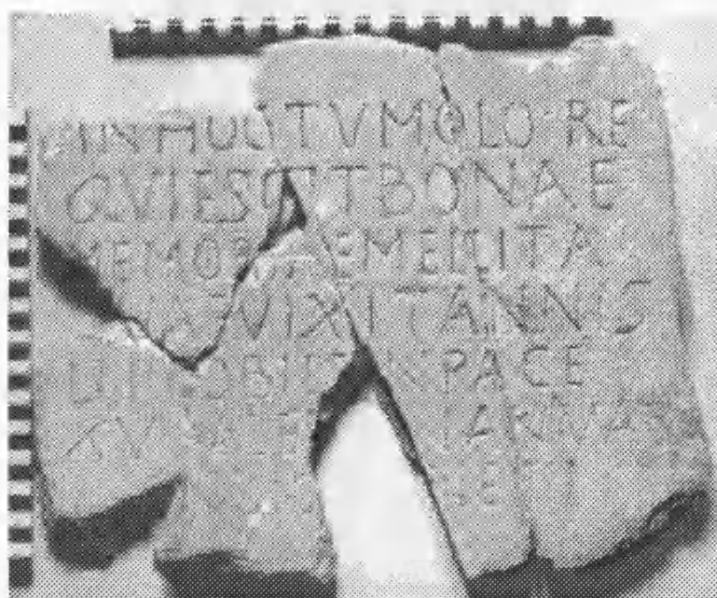


Plate 132: No.407 Mâcon. Dimensions: 42 x 34 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3 cm.



Plate 133: No.411 Marseille, Southern Cemetery. Dimensions: 23 x 19 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 2.5 cm.



Plate 134: No.412 Marseille, Southern Cemetery. Dimensions: height 31 cm. diameter 13.5 cm. Letters: 2 cm.



Plate 135: No.414 Marseille, Southern Cemetery. Dimensions: 36.5 x 22 x 2 - 3 cm. Letters: 2 - 3.5 cm.



Plate 136: No.415 Marseille, Southern Cemetery. Dimensions: 12 x 6 and 25 x 12 cm. Depth 1.5 cm. Letters: 1 - 1.5 cm.

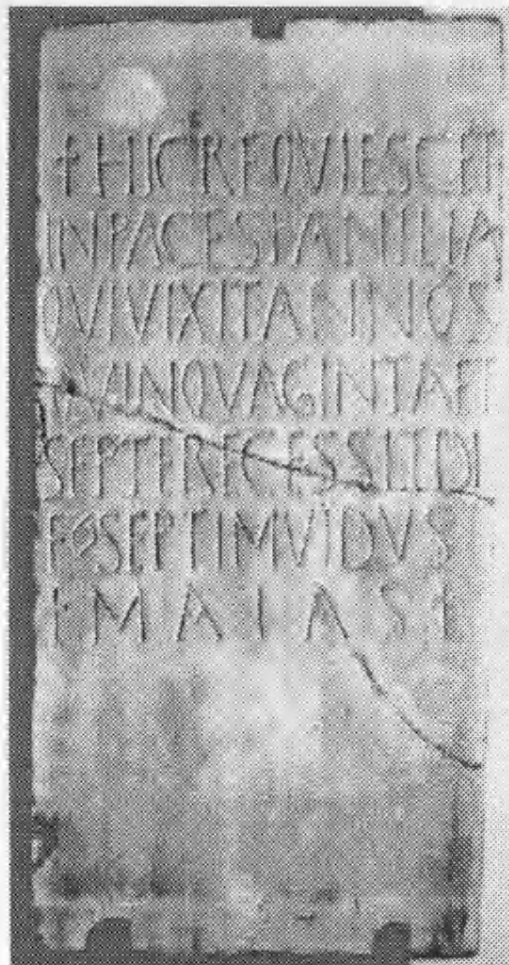


Plate 137: No.416 Marseille, Southern Cemetery. Dimensions: 75 x 38 cm. Letters: 4.5 cm.

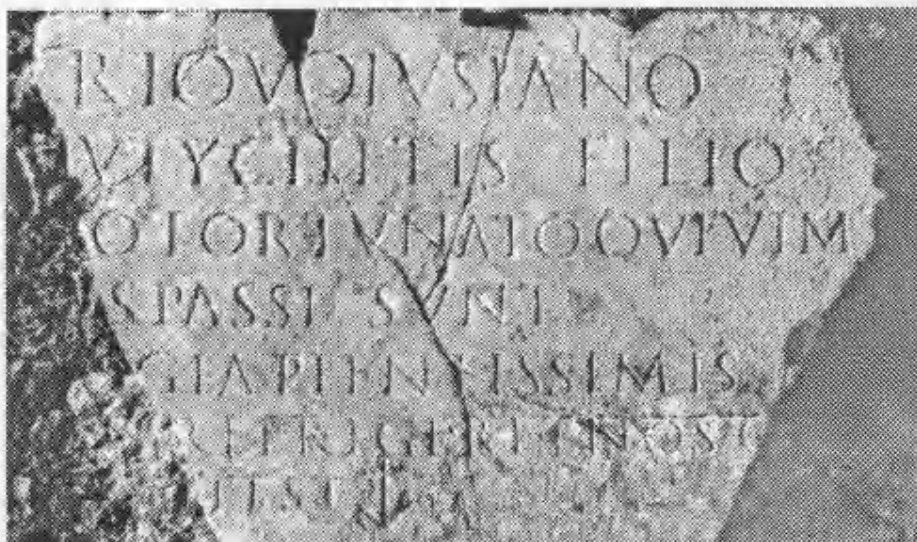


Plate 138: No.417 Marseille, Southern Cemetery. Dimensions: 47 x 43 to 66 cm. Letters: 4 cm. average.



Plate 139: No.426 Marseille, Northern Cemetery. Dimensions: 32 x 21 x 2.5 cm. Letters: 3 - 6 cm.



Plate 140: No.427 Marseille, Northern Cemetery. Dimensions: 25 x 9 x 4 - 7 cm. Letters: 2 cm. average.

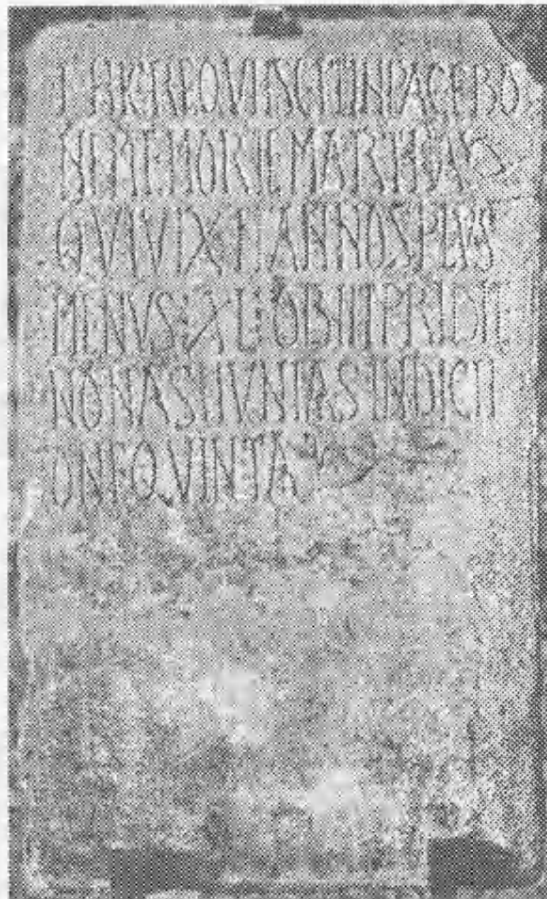


Plate 141: No.431 Marseille, S.E. Cemetery. Dimensions: 55 x 34 x 5 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.



Plate 142: No.434 Mellecey. Dimensions: 40 x 51 x 9 cm. Letters: 2 - 4 cm.



Plate 143: No.438 Montfort. Dimensions: 42 x 45 x 3 cm. Letters: 4 cm.



Plate 144: No.441 Nacon. Dimensions: 42 x 30 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 4.5 cm.

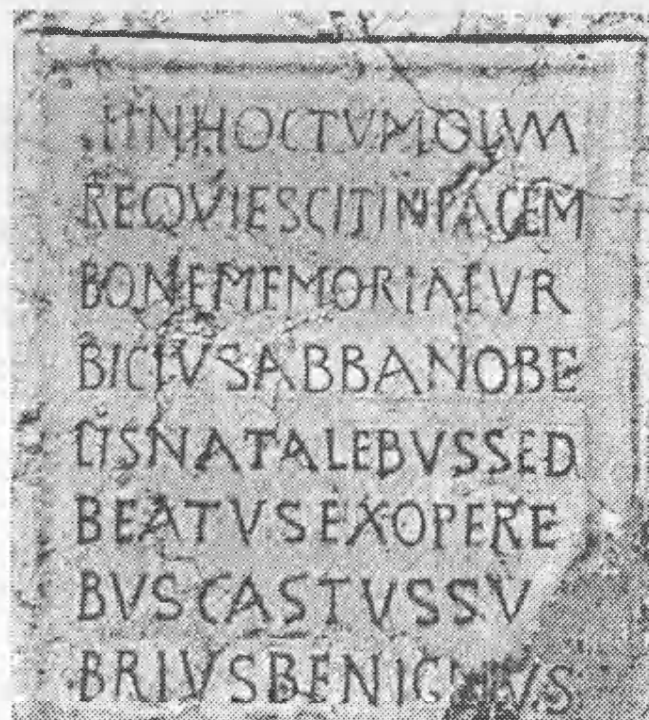


Plate 145: No.442 Nacon. Dimensions: 64 x 59.5 cm. Letters: 4 cm approx.

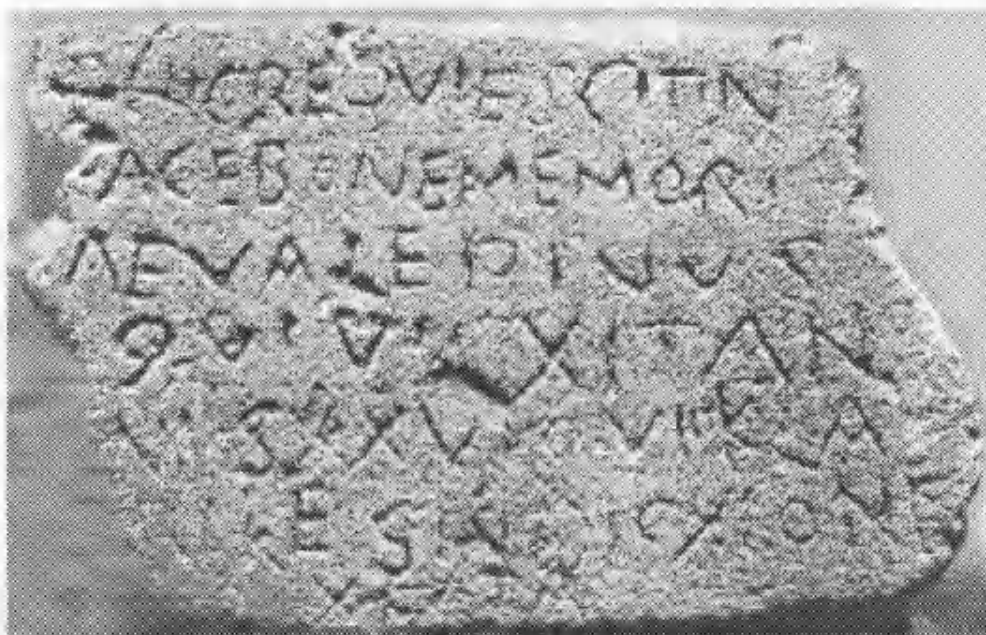


Plate 146: No.458 Pact. Dimensions: 23 x 37 x 9.5 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.

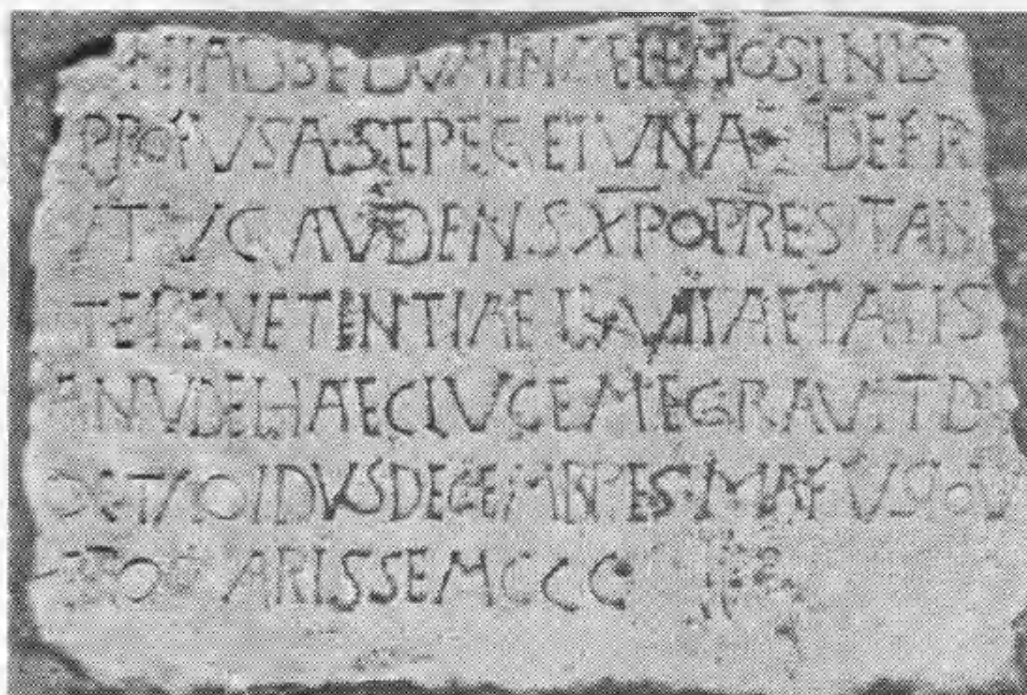


Plate 147: No.459 Parnans. Dimensions: 33 x 40 cm. Letters: 3 cm approx.



Plate 148: No.460 Peyruis. Dimensions: 18.5 x 20 x 5 cm. Letters 1.5 - 2.5 cm.

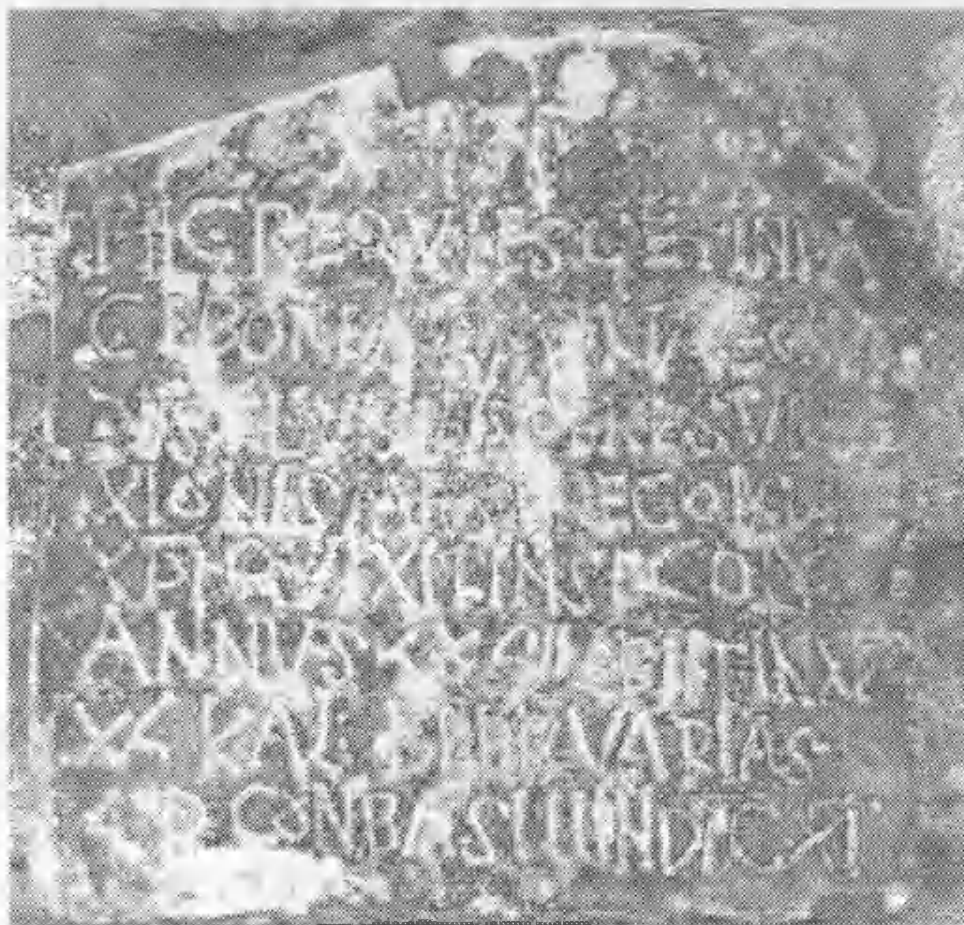


Plate 149: No.463 Revel-Tourdan. Dimensions: 28.5 x 27 x 6 cm. Letters: 1.7 - 2.5 cm.



Plate 150: No.464 Revel-Tourdan. Dimensions: 29 x 29 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 2 cm.

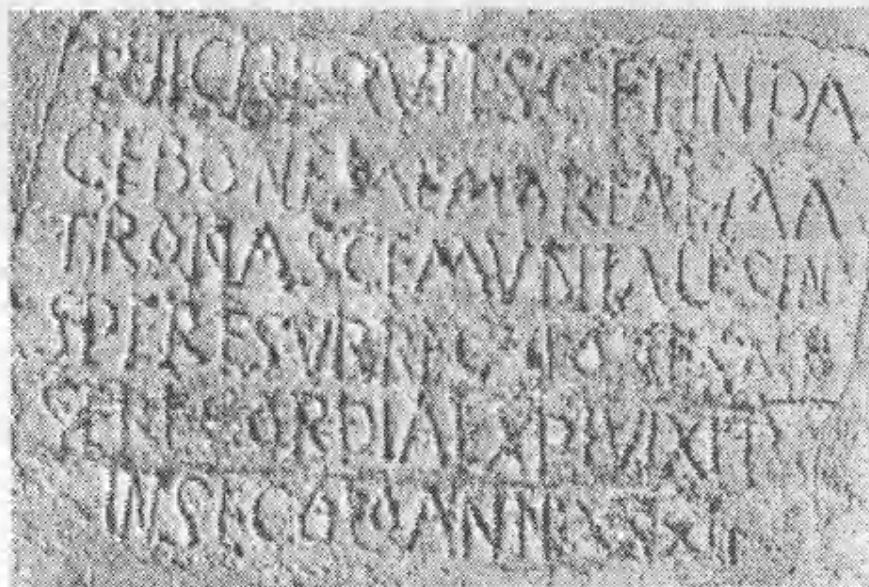


Plate 151: No.465 Revel-Tourdan. Dimensions: 20 x 33 cm.

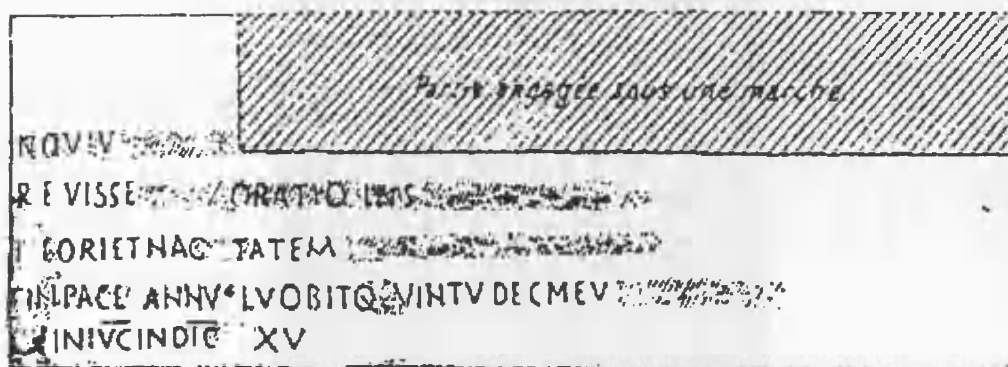


Plate 152: No.467 Saint-Alban-de-Bron. Dimensions: unknown.

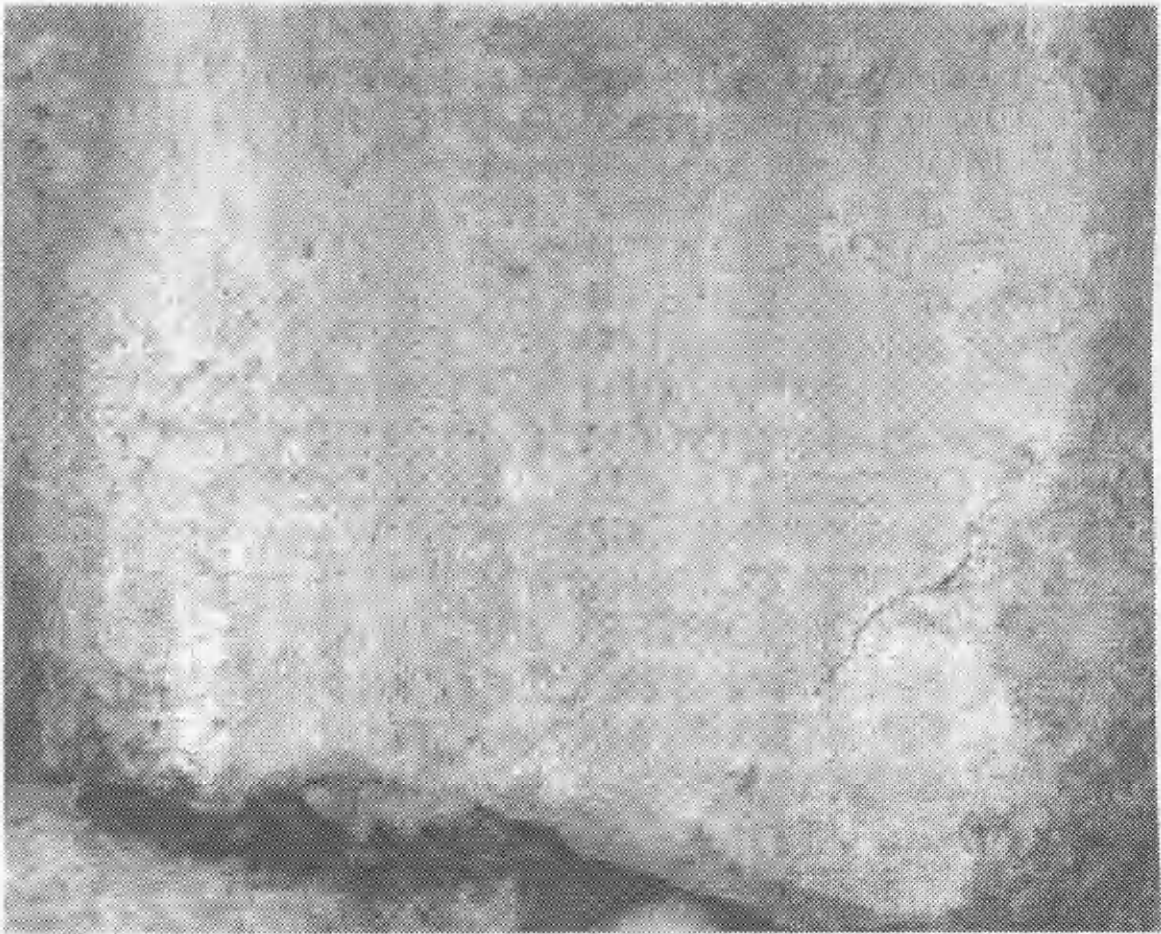


Plate 153: No.468 Saint-Geniez-de-Dromon. Dimensions: 180 x 225 cm. Letters 7 - 8.5 cm.



Plate 154: No.469 Saint-Germain-du-Plain. Dimensions: 40 x 28 cm. Letters: 4 cm. average.

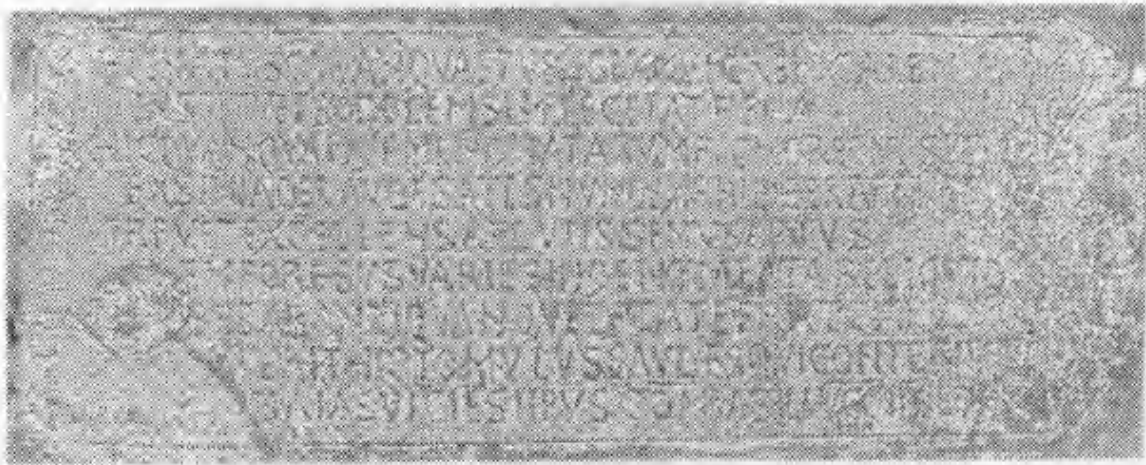


Plate 155: No.471 Saint-Jean-de-Bournay. Dimensions: 40 x 100 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



Plate 156: No.472 Saint-Jean-de-Bournay. Dimensions: 23 x 21 cm.

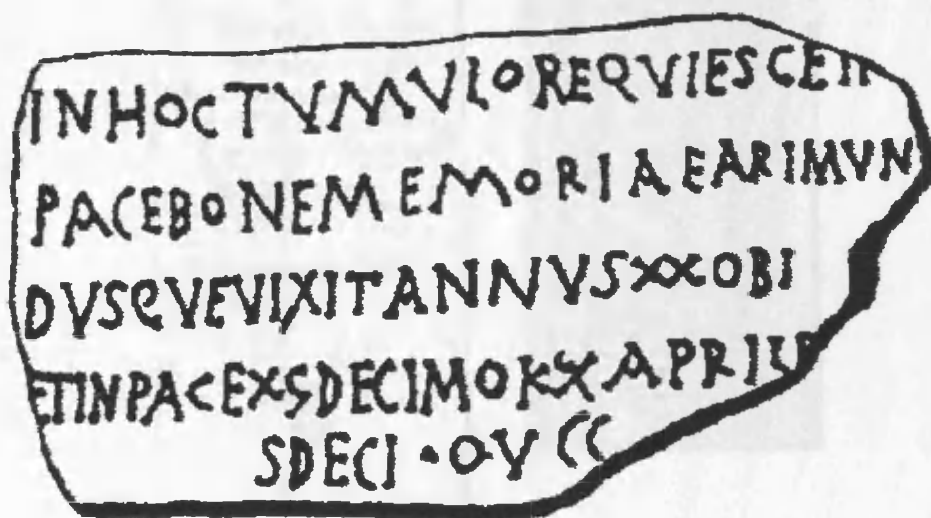


Plate 157: No.479 Saint-Maurice-de-Rémens. Dimensions: 20 x 40 cm.

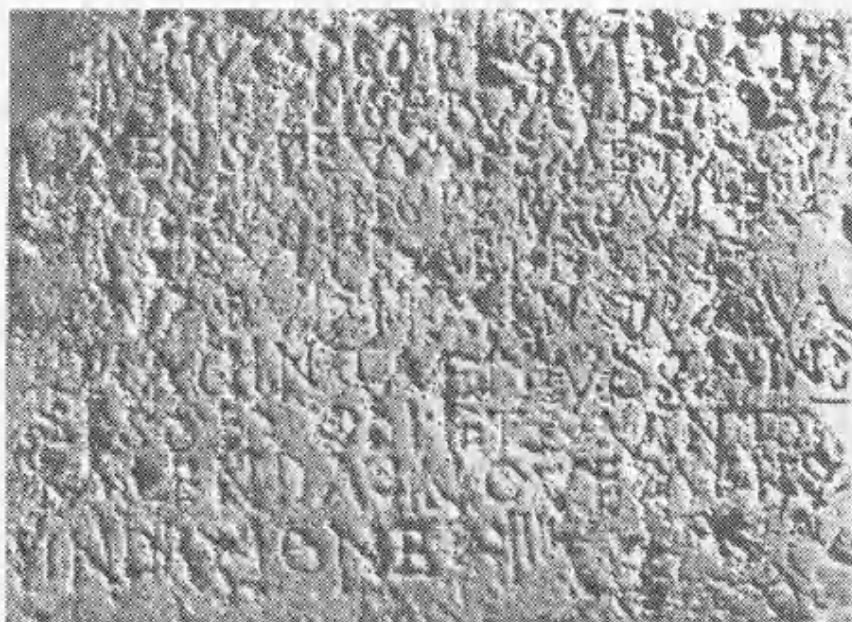


Plate 161: No.489 Saint-Sixte-de-Merlas. Dimensions: 148 x 50 x 20 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.

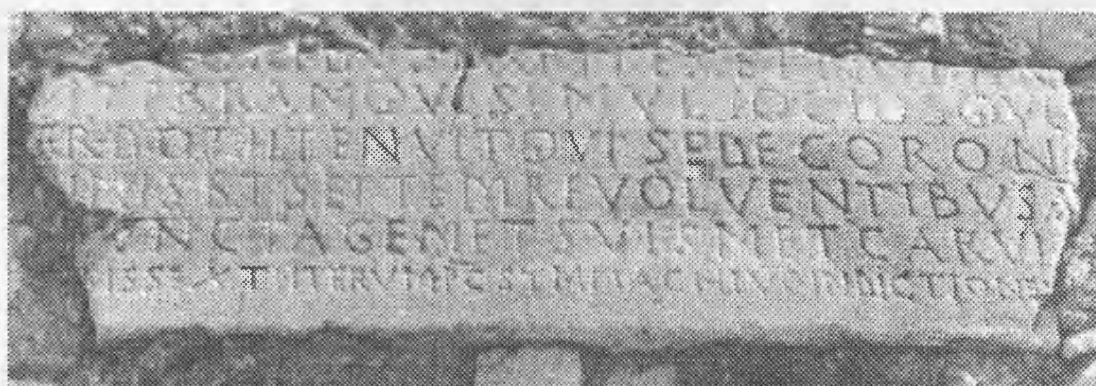


Plate 162: No.491 Saint-Thomé. Dimensions: 28 x 90 cm. Letters: 2 - 3.5 cm.

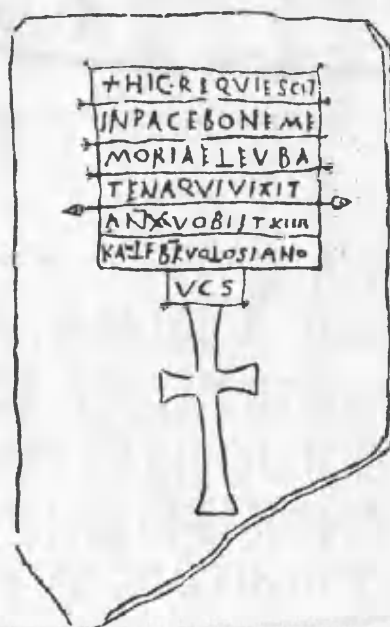


Plate 163: No.493 Saint-Vallier. Dimensions: 65 x 38 cm.

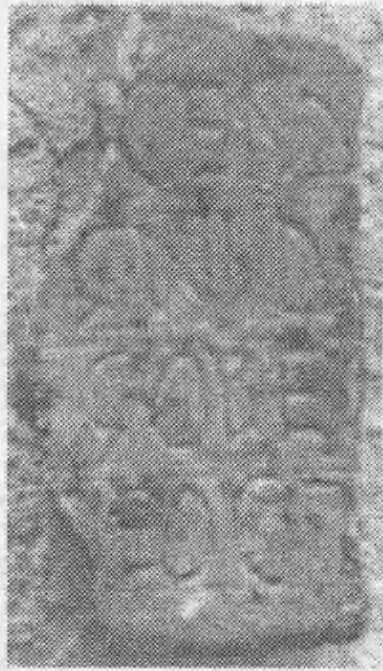


Plate 164: No.500 Soyons. Dimensions: 12 x 6 x 3 cm. Letters: 1.5 cm.

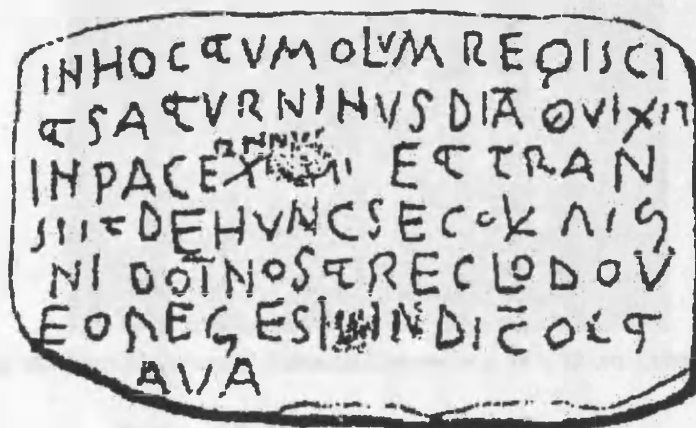


Plate 165: No.504 Toulard. Dimensions: 15 x 26 cm.

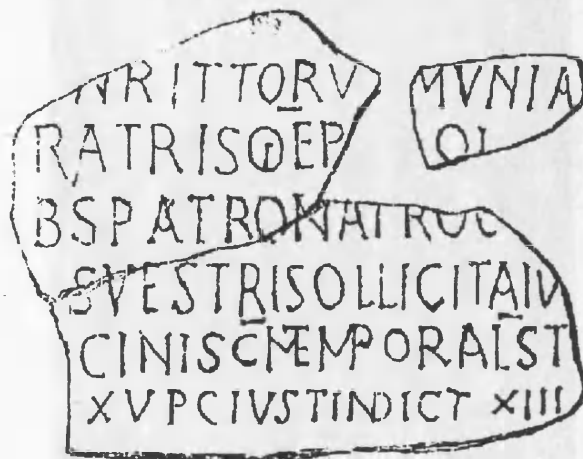


Plate 166: No.506 Trept. Dimensions: 26 x 30 cm. approx.

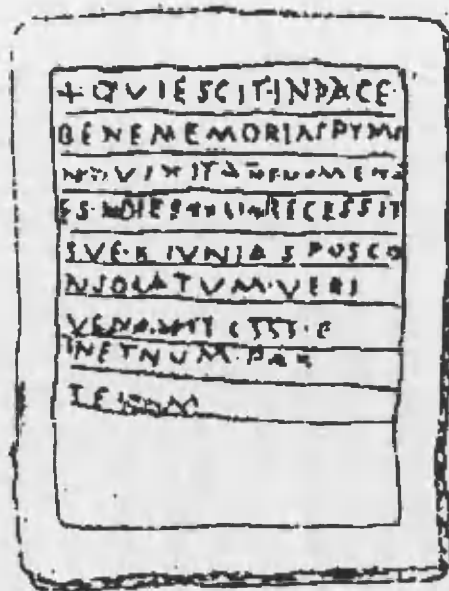


Plate 167: No.507 Urban. Dimensions: 27 x 25 x 6 cm. Letters: 1 - 1.5 cm. average.



Plate 168: No.508 Vaison-la-Romaine. Dimensions: 24 x 32 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



Plate 169: No.514 Vaison-la-Romaine. Dimensions: 48 x 39 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



Plate 170: No.520 Vaison-la-Romaine. Dimensions: 67 x 1.35 x 16 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.

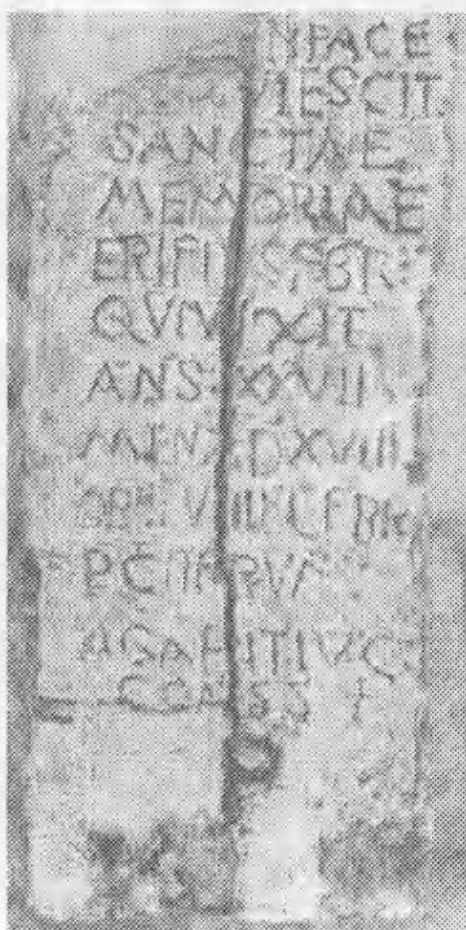


Plate 171: No.521 Vaison-la-Romaine. Dimensions: 1.14 x 33 x 18 cm. Letters: 3.5 avg.

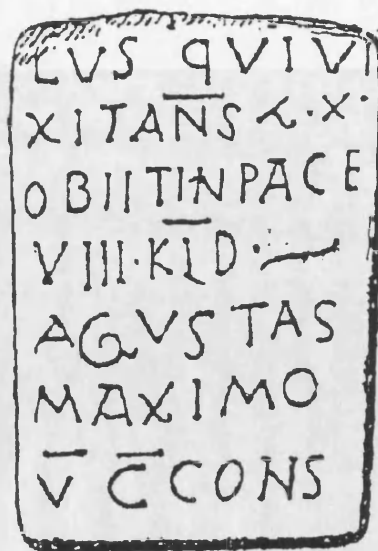


Plate 172: No.526 Valence, (Bourg-lès-Valence). Dimensions: 31 x 20 cm.

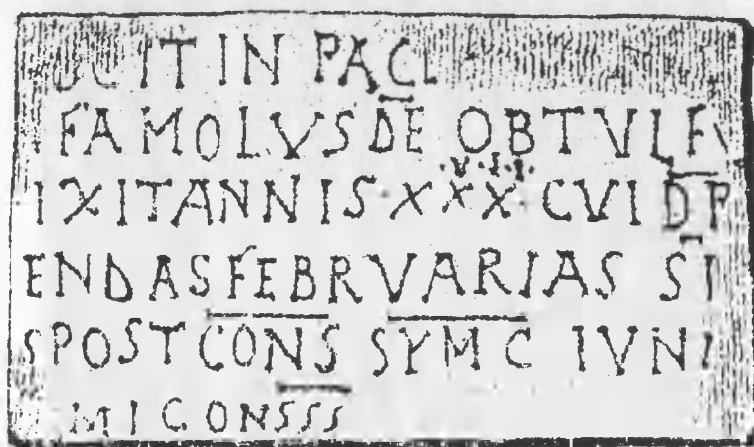


Plate 173: No.530 Valence. Dimensions: 26 x 44 cm.

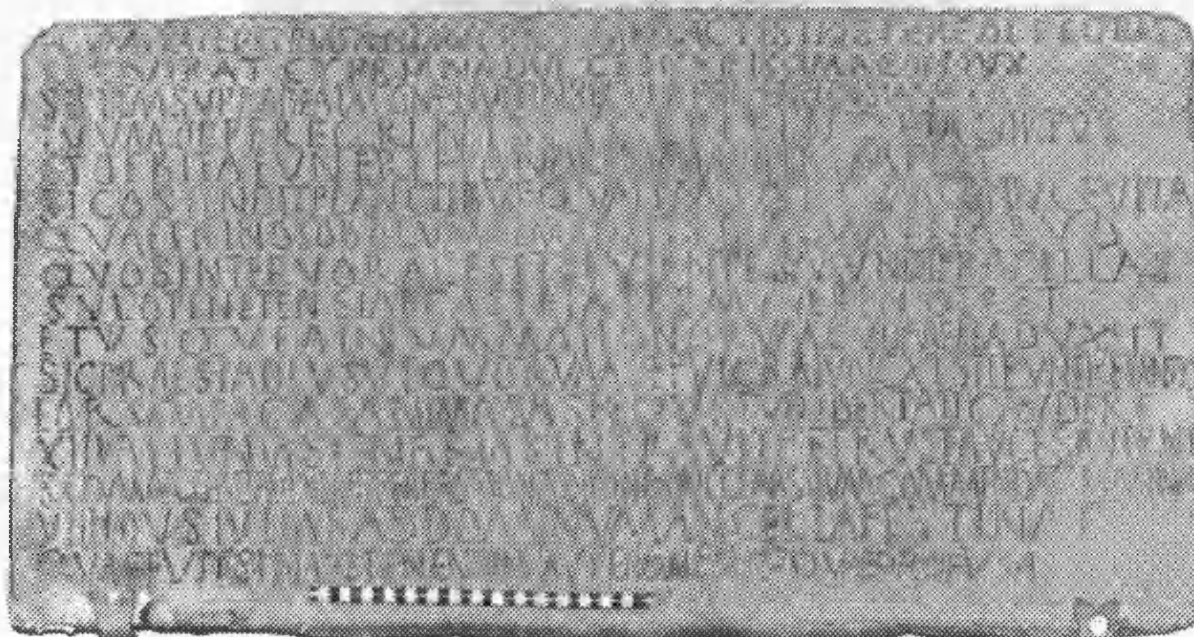


Plate 174: No.535 Venasque. Dimensions: 60 x 110 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.

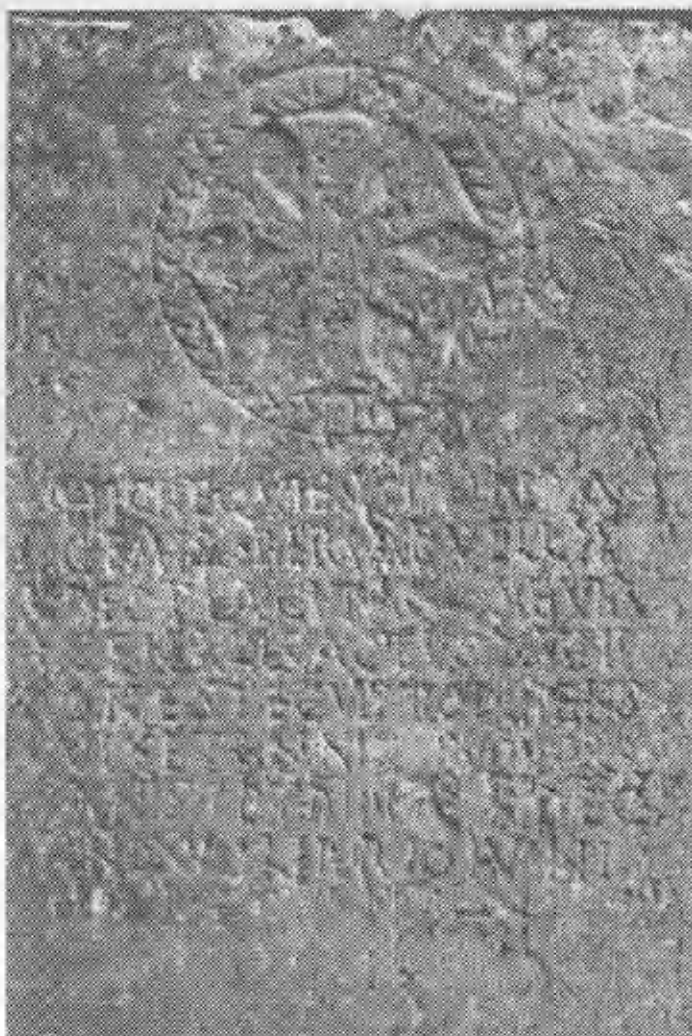


Plate 175: No.537 Vézeronce. Dimensions: 84 x 60 x 22 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.

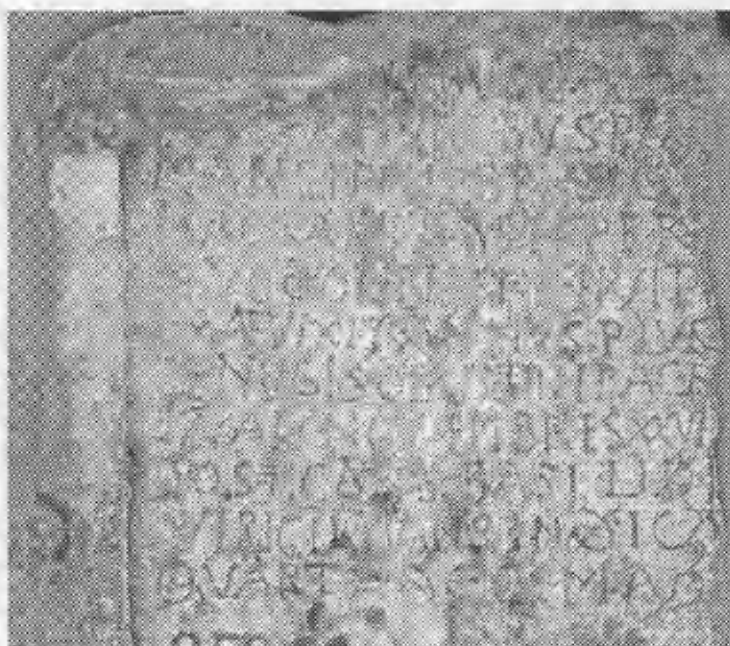


Plate 176: No.538 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 79 x 45 x 18 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.



Plate 177: No.540 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 27.5 x 46 x 4 cm. Letters: 2 cm. approx.

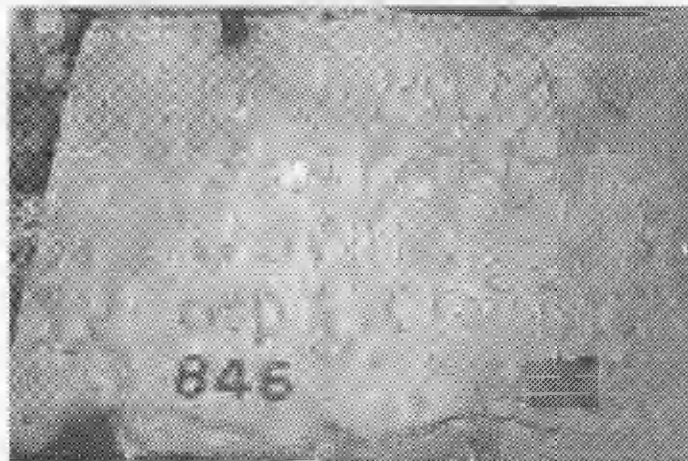


Plate 178: No.541 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 26 x 40 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 3.5 cm.



Plate 179: No.543 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 33 x 55.5 x 4.5 cm. Letters: 4 - 6 cm.



Plate 180: No.545 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 32 x 29.5 x 4 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.



Plate 181: No.546 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 24.5 x 27 x 4 cm. Letters: 2.3 cm.

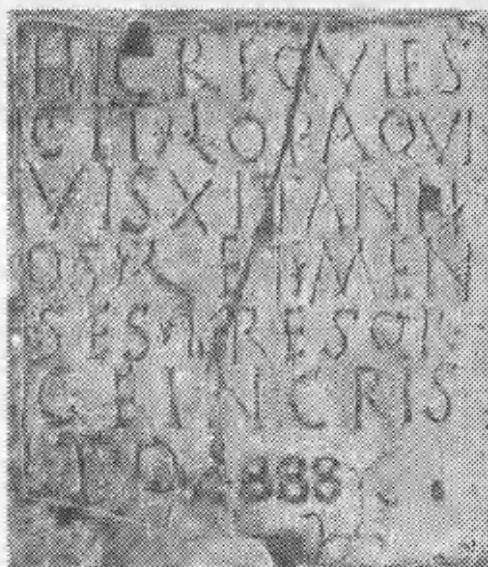


Plate 182: No.547 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 26.5 x 24.5 x 3 cm. Letters: 3 cm.

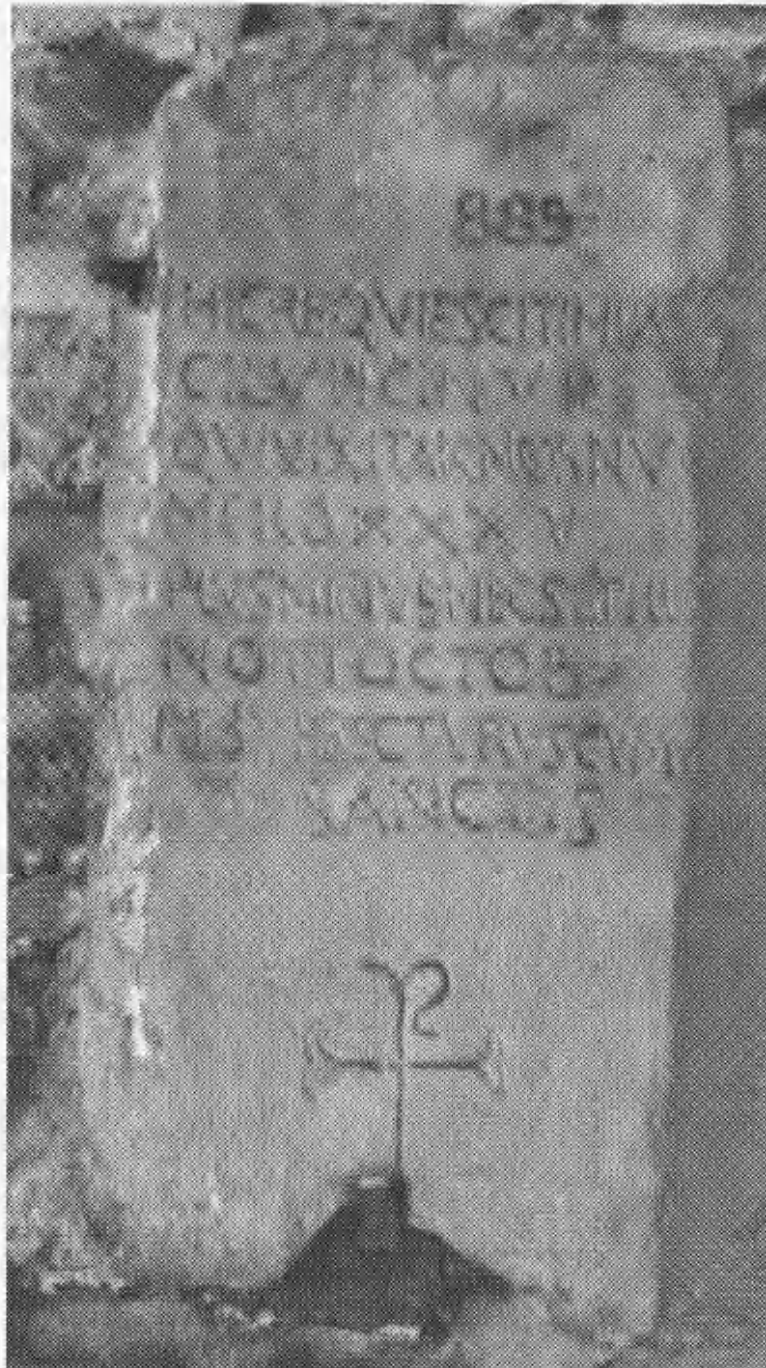


Plate 183: No.548 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 68 x 29 x 10 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm. approx.

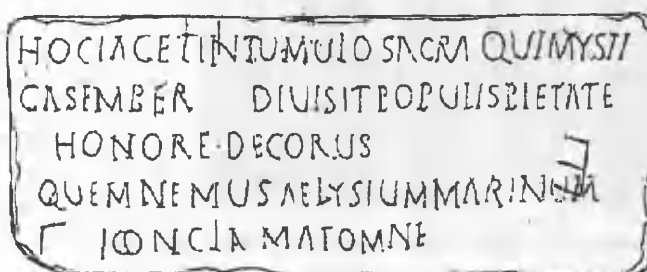


Plate 184: No.549 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 38 x 85, (fragment : 19 x 27 x 8 cm), Letters: 4 cm.



Plate 185: No.550 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 32.5 x 34.5 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.

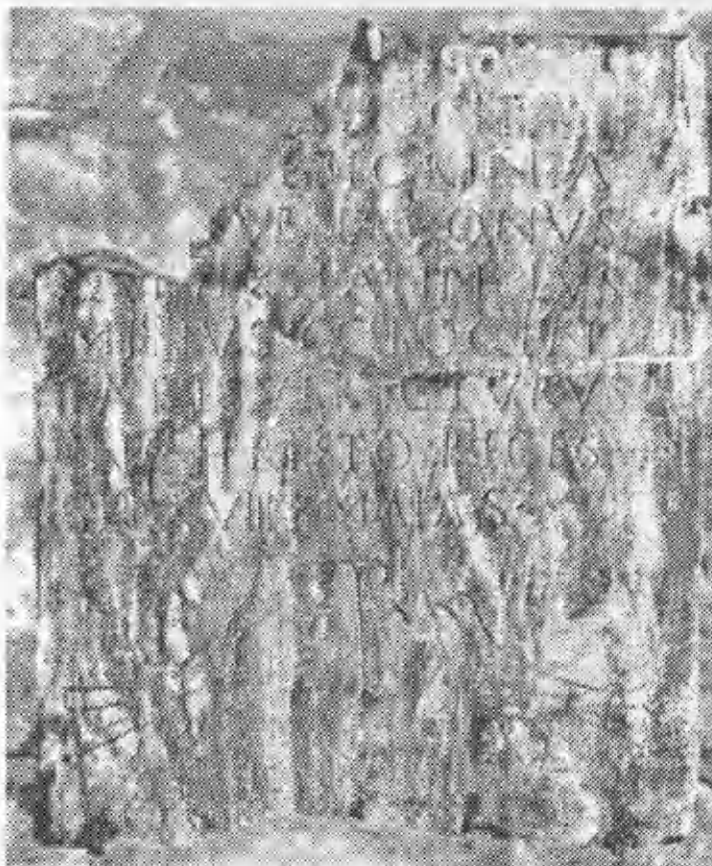


Plate 186: No.551 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 60 x 46.5 x 4 cm. Letters: 2.8 cm.

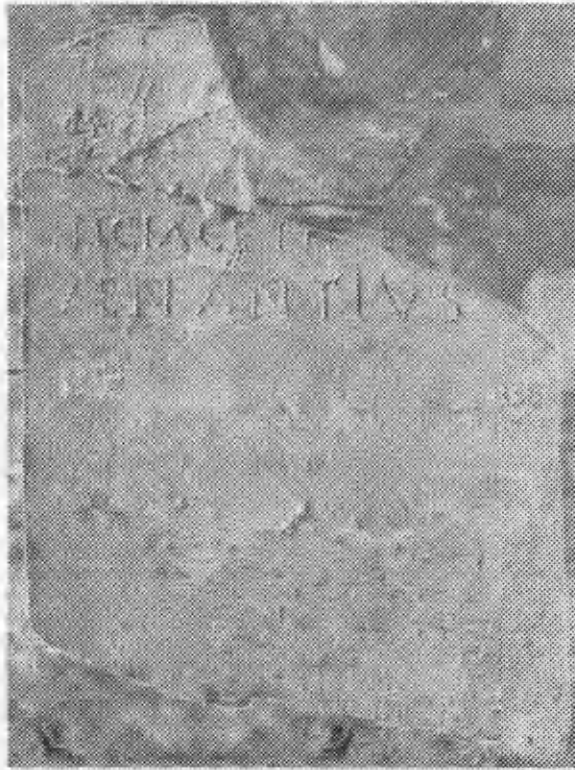


Plate 187: No.553 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 60 x 47 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.7 - 3 cm.



Plate 188: No.554 Vienne, Saint-Gervais. Dimensions: 85 x 40 x 15 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



Plate 189: No.565 Vienne, Notre-Dame-d'Outre-Gère. Dimensions: 74 x 41 x 4 cm. Letters: 3.5 - 3.8 cm.



Plate 190: No.568 Vienne, Saint-Sévère. Dimensions: 60 x 40 x 20.5 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.



Plate 191: No.570 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 98 x 48 x 23 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

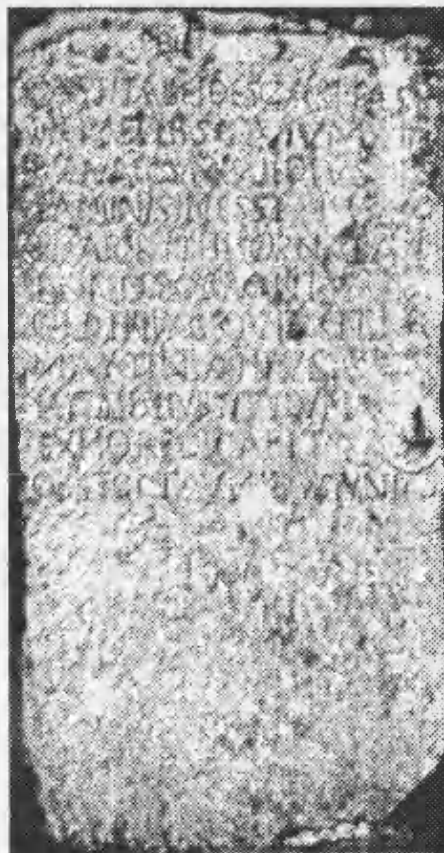


Plate 192: No.572 Vienne, Saint-Sévère. Dimensions: 106 x 56 x 13 cm. Letters: 3 - 3.8 cm.



Plate 193: No.579 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 55 x 38 x 1 cm. Letters: 1.7 - 1.9 cm.

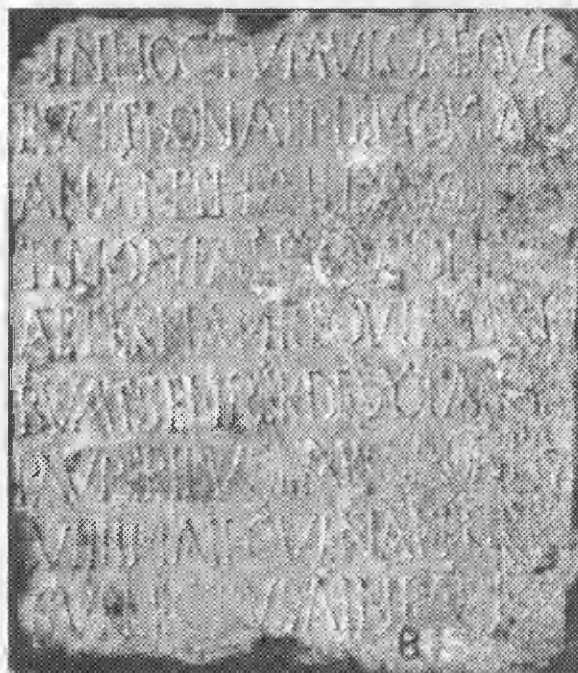


Plate 194: No.581 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 42 x 37 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 cm.

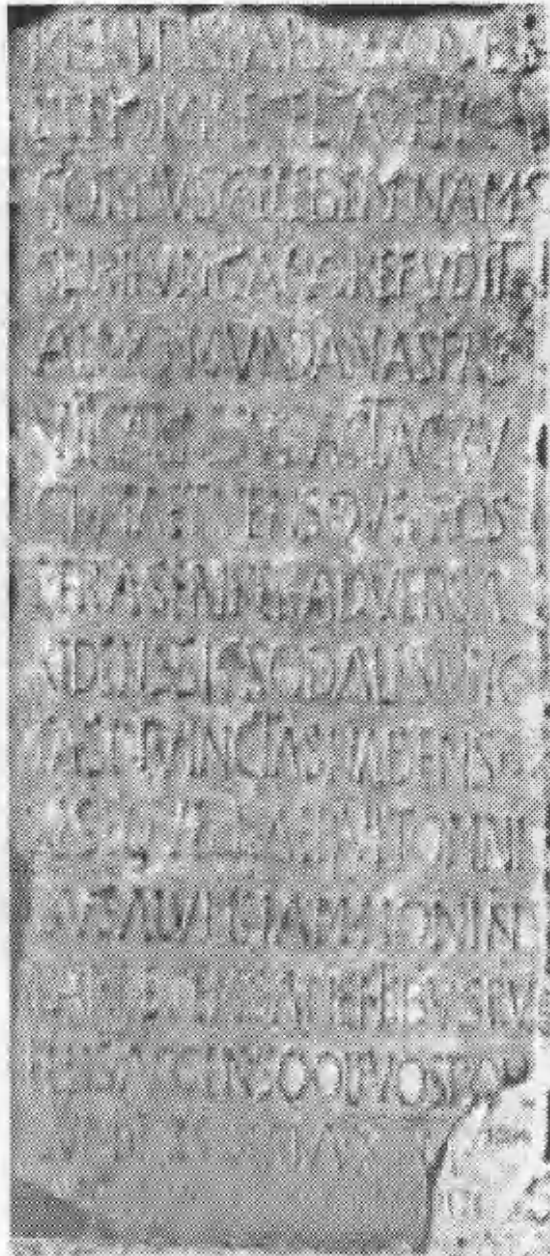


Plate 195: No.585 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 94 x 40 x 7 cm. Letters: 3.5 - 3.7 cm.

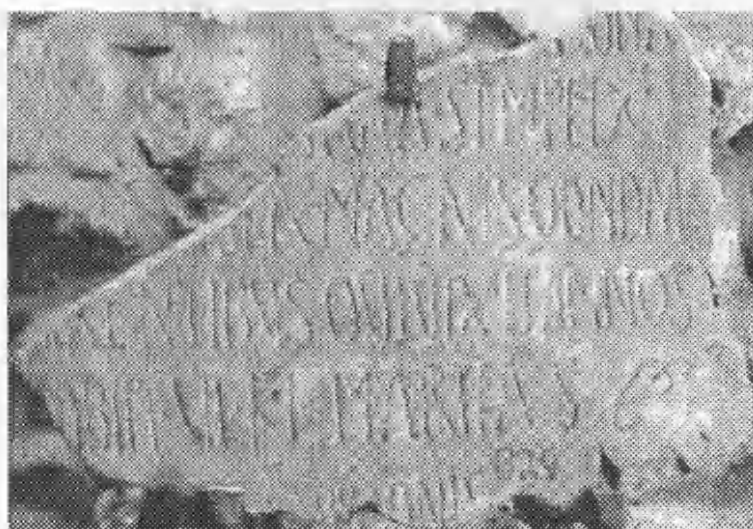


Plate 196: No.588 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 30 x 40 x 13 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.



Plate 197: No.589 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 34 x 53 x 9 cm. Letters: 2.5 - 3.5 cm.

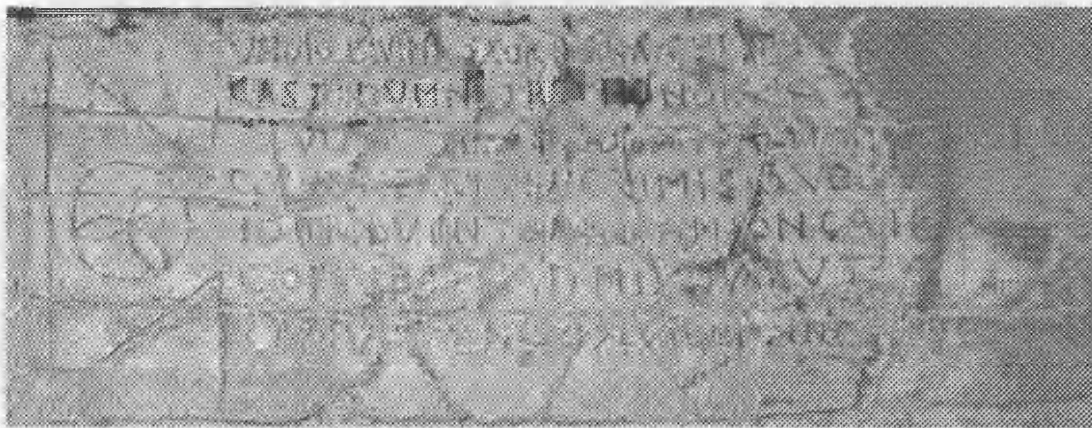


Plate 198: No.593 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 78 x 178 x 25 cm. Letters: 2.2 cm.

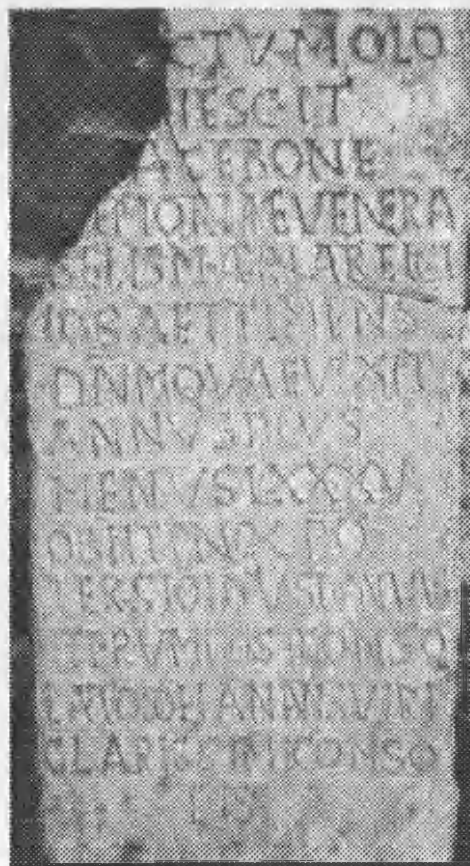


Plate 199: No.594 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 105 x 39 x 6 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm.



Plate 200: No.599 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 73 x 112 x 25 cm. Letters: 2.8 - 3.5 cm.



Plate 201: No.601 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 15.5 x 53 x 9.5 cm. Letters: 2.2 - 2.8 cm.

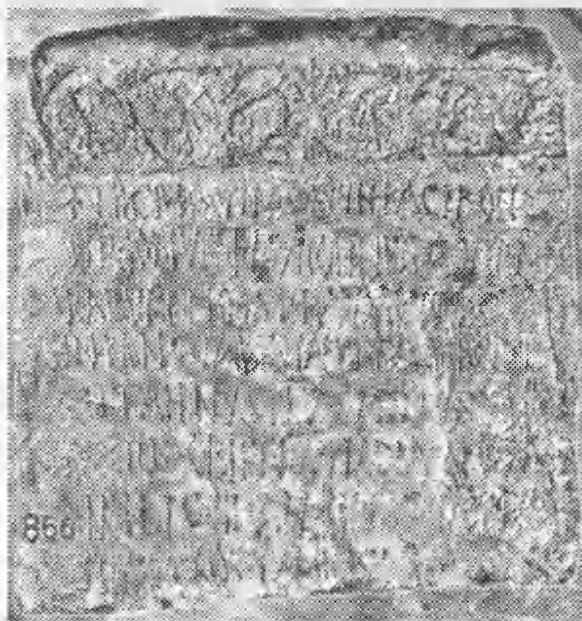


Plate 202: No.605 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 60 x 59 x 10 cm.; Letters: 3 - 4.5 cm.

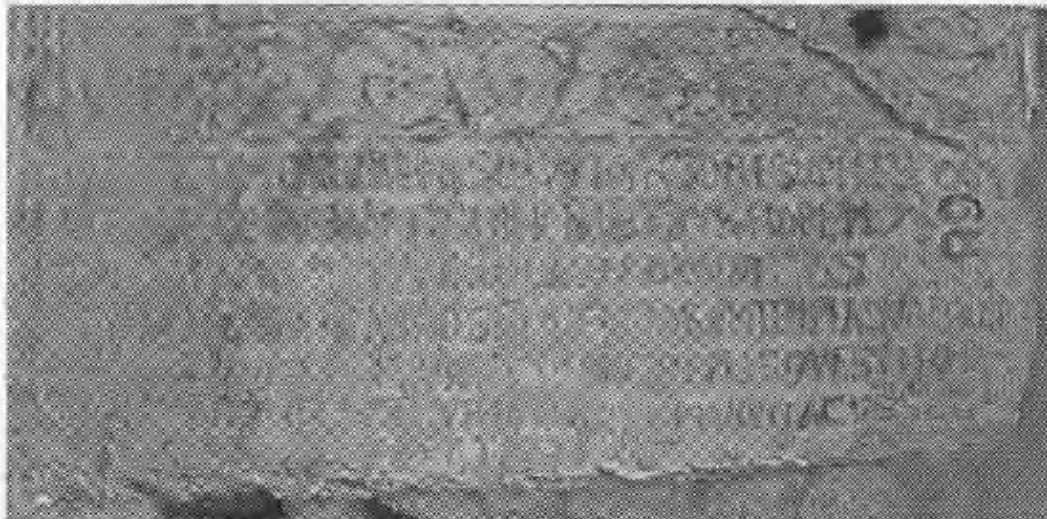


Plate 203: No.609 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 73 x 112 x 25 cm. Letters: 1.6 - 2.4 cm.

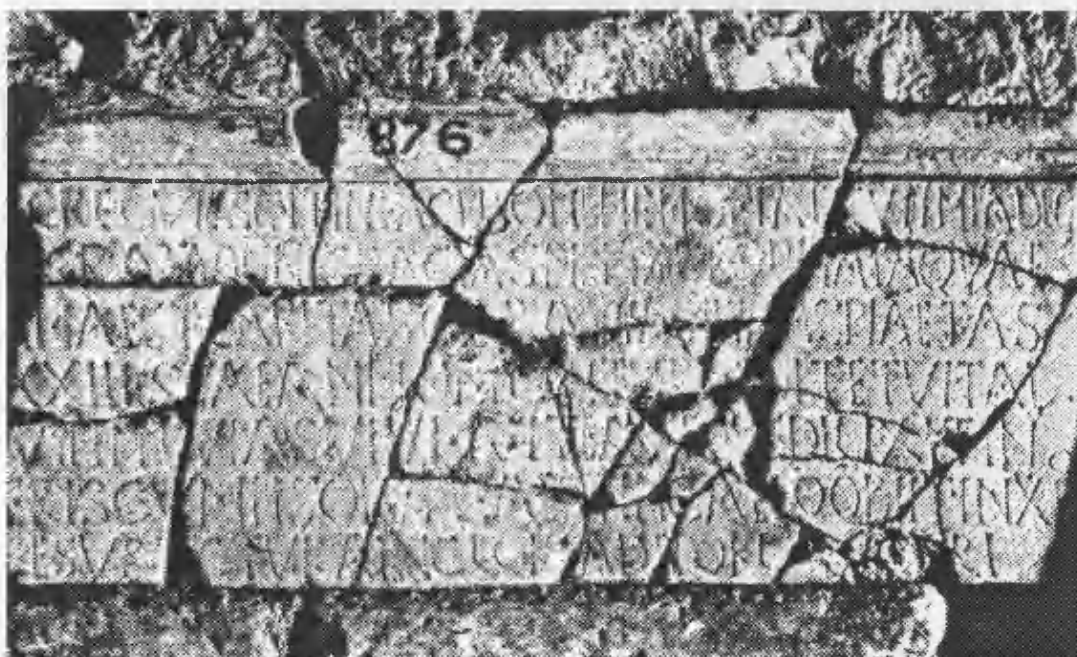


Plate 204: No.615 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 47 x 183 x 29 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



Plate 205: No.617 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 37 x 29.5 x 5.5 cm. Letters: 3.5 cm apprx.



Plate 206: No.622 Vienne, Saint-Pierre. Dimensions: 207 x 90 x 12 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 3.5 cm.



Plate 207: No.651 Vienne, Saint-Georges. Dimensions: 68 x 75 x 25 cm. Letters: 3 cm.

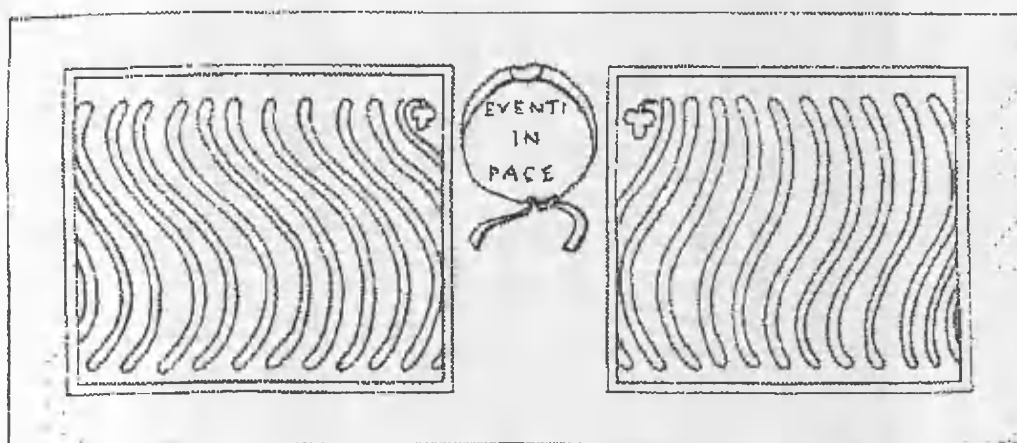


Plate 208: No.653 Vienne, Saint-Georges. Dimensions: unknown.

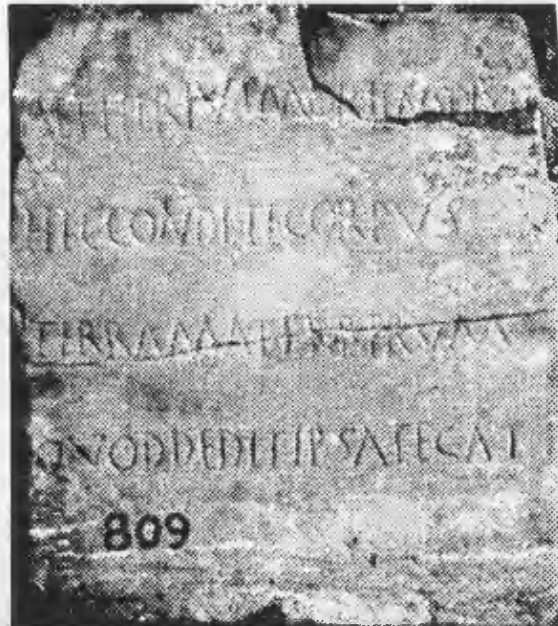


Plate 209: No.659 Vienne, Ste.Colombe. Dimensions: unavailable.

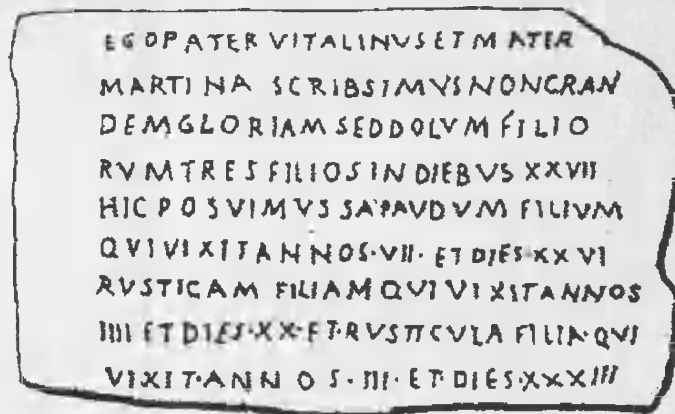


Plate 210: No.660 Vienne, Ste.Colombe. Dimensions: 48 x 56 cm.

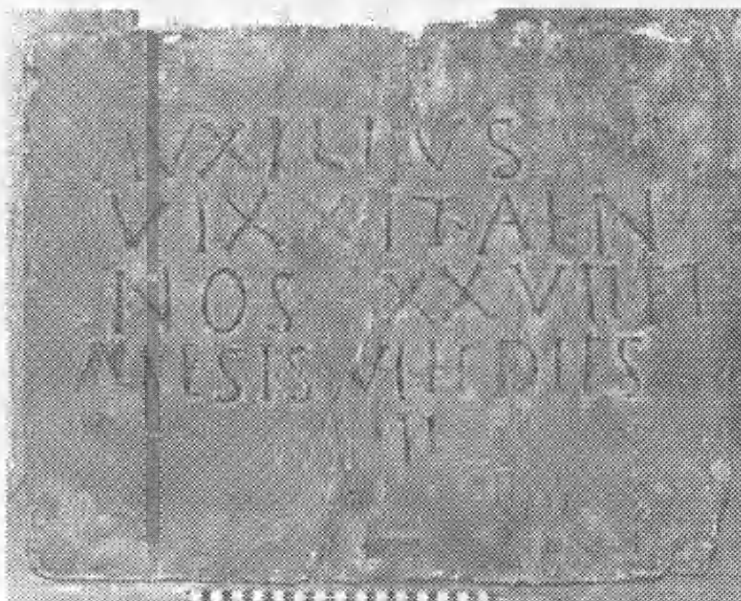


Plate 211: No.661 Vienne, Ste.Colombe. Dimensions: 45 x 28 x 5 cm. Letters: 5.5 cm.

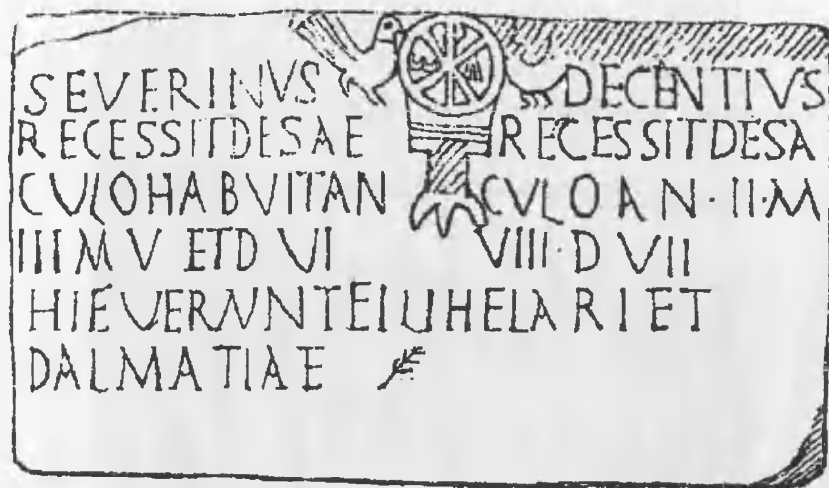


Plate 212: No.662 Vienne, Ste.Colombe. Dimensions: 25 x 45 cm. Letters: 4 - 5 cm.

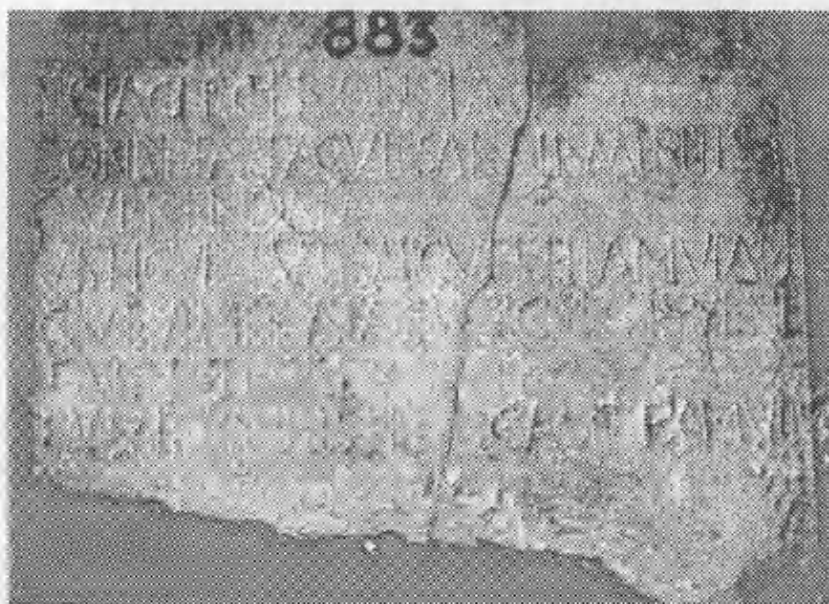


Plate 213: No.668 Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal. Dimensions: 33 - 41 x 50 x 11.5 cm. Letters: 3 cm avg.

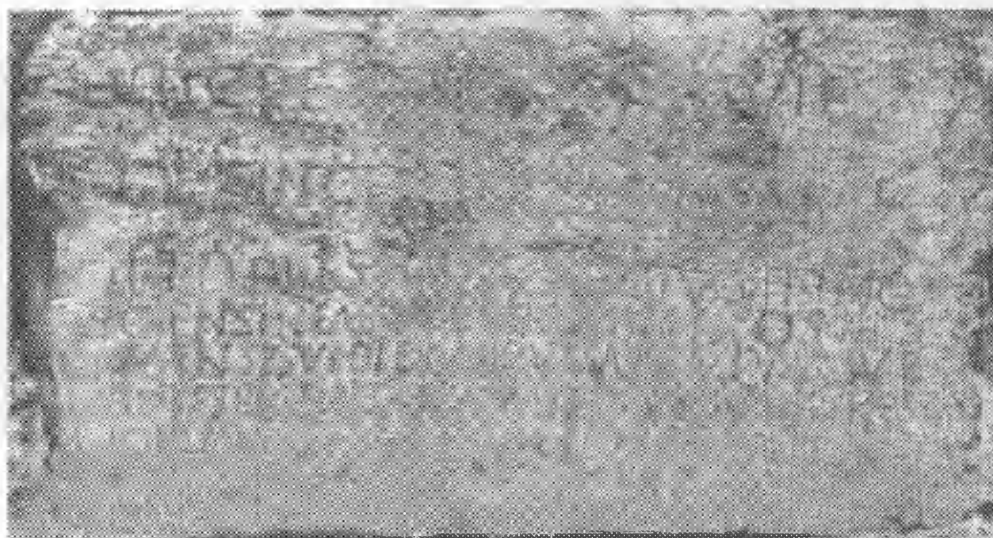


Plate 214: No.669 Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal. Dimensions: 66 x 103 x 9.5 cm. Letters: 3 - 4.5 cm.

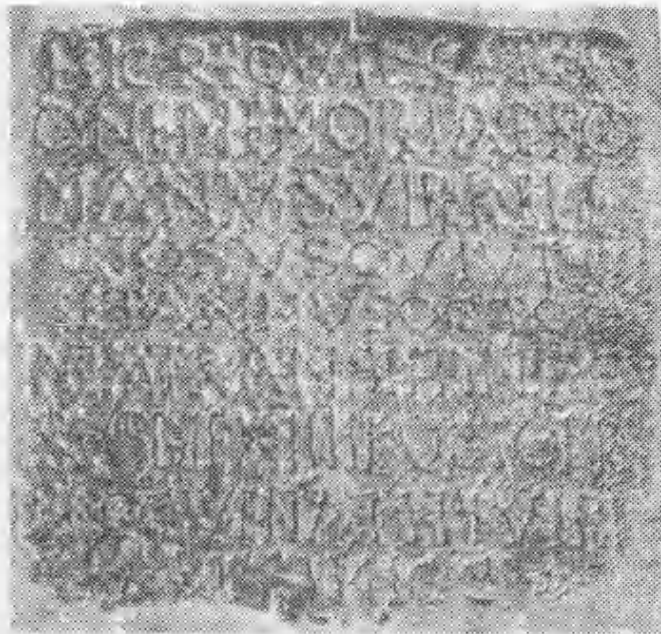


Plate 215: No.673 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 34 x 30 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.8 cm.

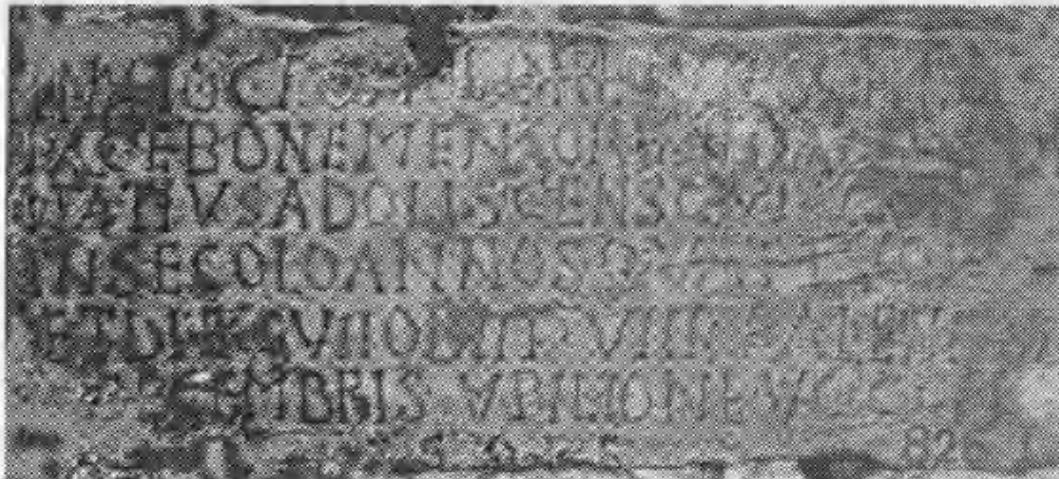


Plate 216: No.674 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 24 x 60 x 9 cm. Letters: 2.3 - 3 cm.

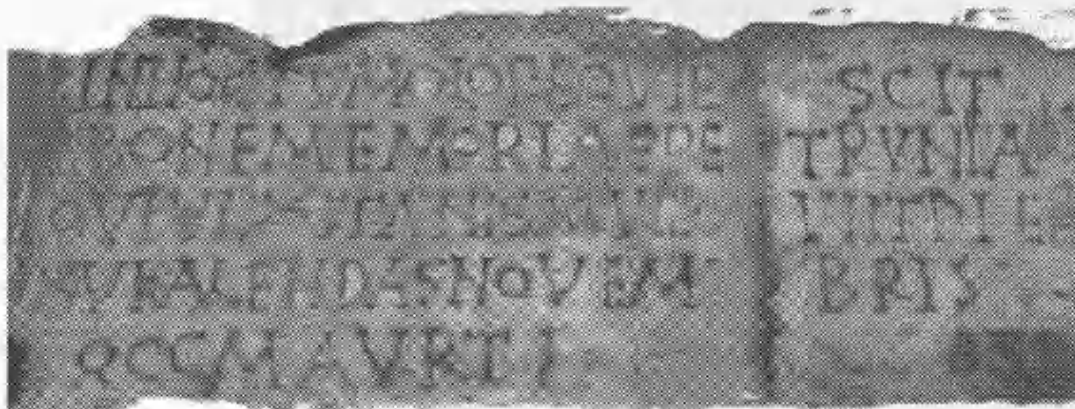


Plate 217: No.676 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 18 x 50 x 5 cm. Letters: 2.2 cm.



Plate 218: No.678 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 45 x 58 x 15 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

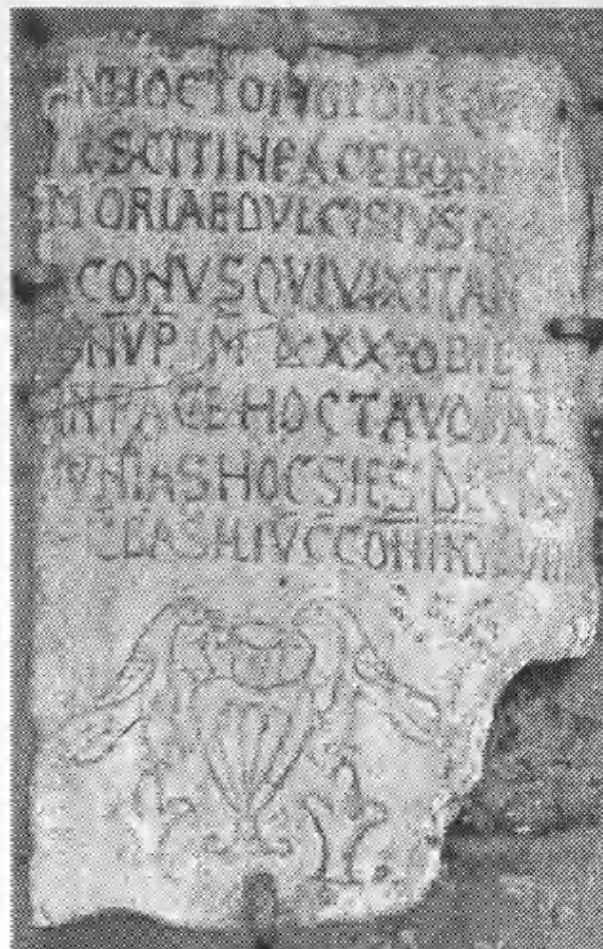


Plate 219: No.682 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 46 x 30 x 6 cm. Letters: 2.5 cm.

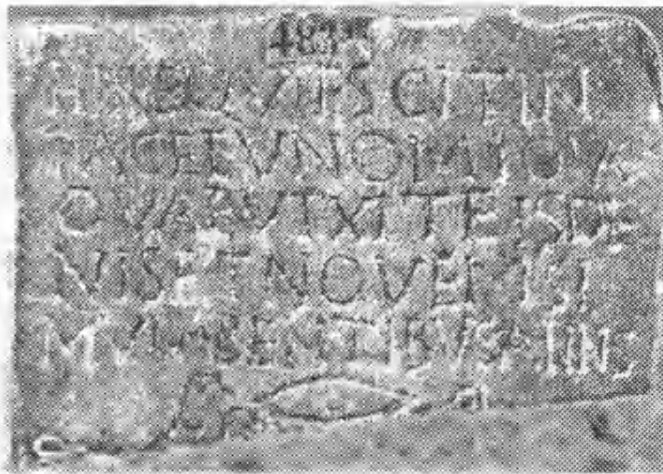


Plate 220: No.693 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 17 x 25 x 4 cm. Letters: 1.8 cm.



Plate 221: No.697 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 51.5 x 51.5 x 10 cm. Letters: 4.5 - 5 cm.



Plate 222: No.698 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 24 x 21 x 3.5 cm. Letters: 2.2 - 2.5 cm.

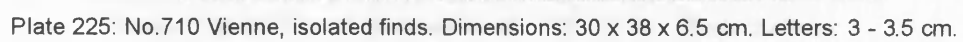
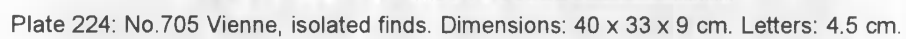
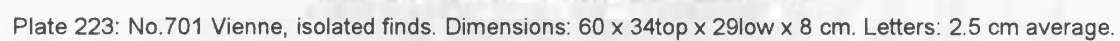




Plate 226: No.711 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 32 x 70 cm.



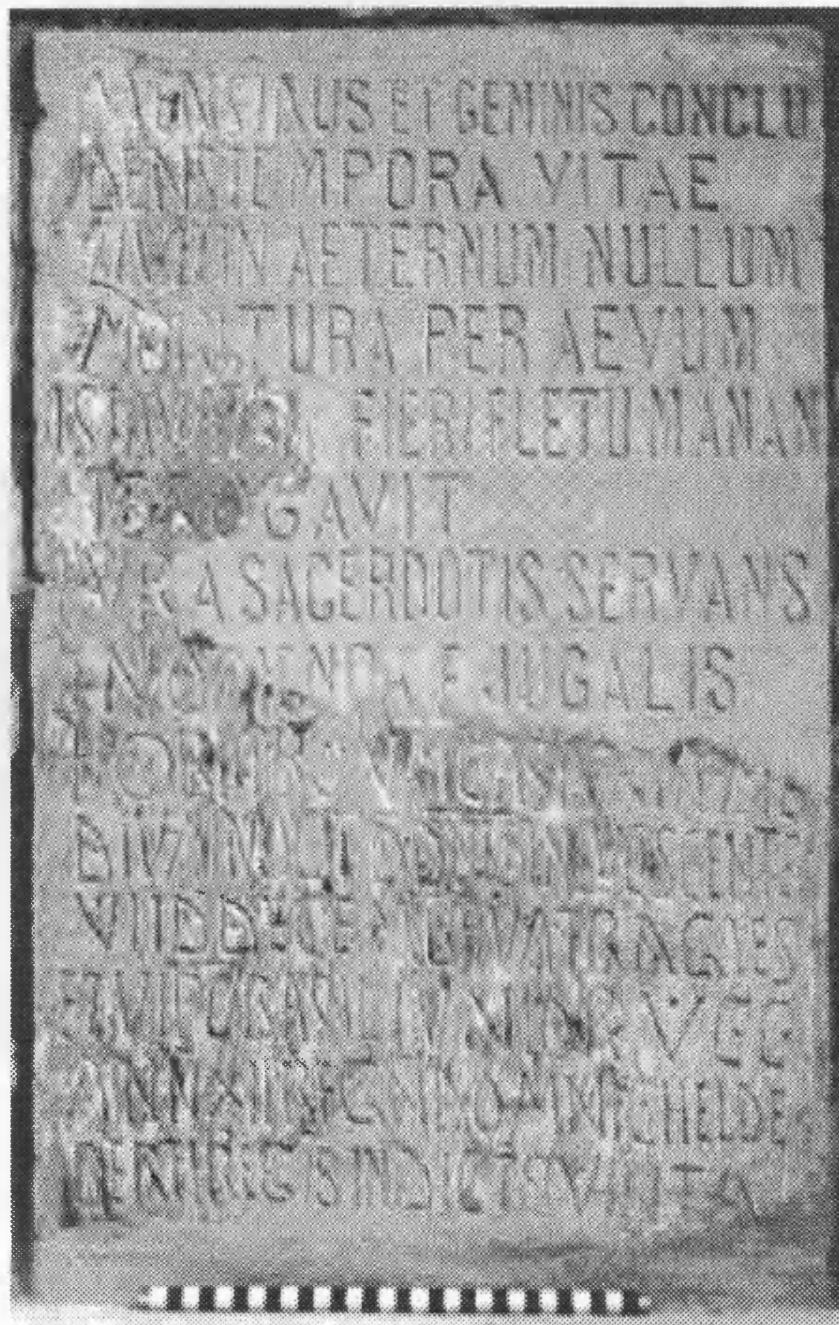
Plate 227: No.715 Vienne, isolated finds. Dimensions: 32.5 x 24.5 x 2 - 2.7., Letters: 2.7 - 3 cm.



Plate 228: No.731 Vif. Dimensions: 47 x 45 x 9 cm. Letters: 2 - 3 cm.



Plate 229: No.732 Vif. Dimensions: 26 x 19 x 5 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



No.733 Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. Dimensions: unavailable.



Plate 230: No.734 Viviers. Dimensions: 35 x 22 cm. Letters: 2 - 2.5 cm.

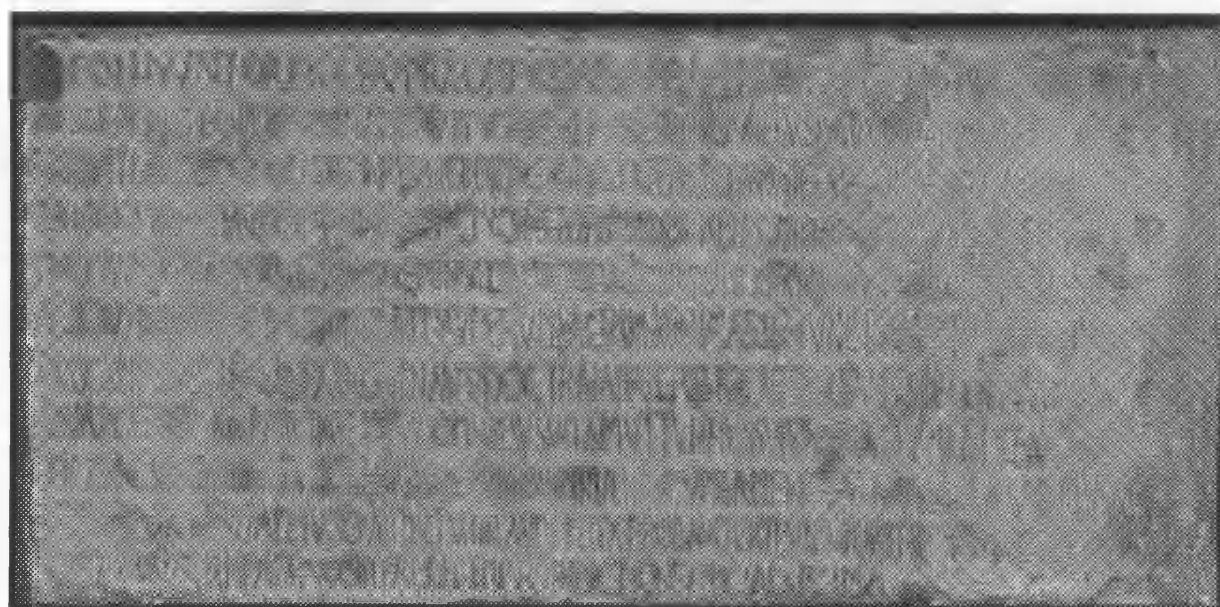


Plate 231: No.735 Viviers. Dimensions: 50 x 105 cm. Letters: 3 cm.



Plate 232: No.736 Viviers. Dimensions: 23 x 28 cm. Letters: 1.5 - 2 cm.

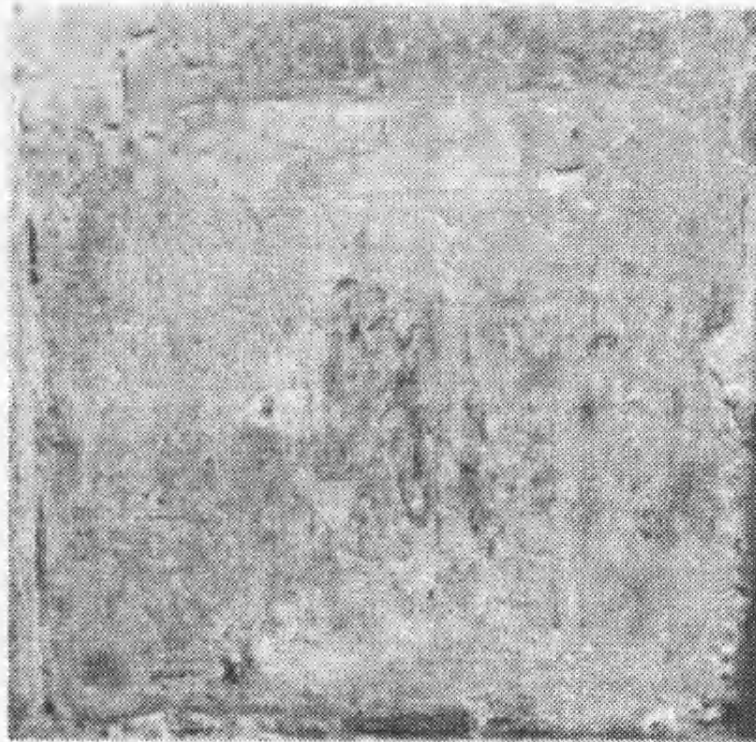


Plate 233: No.741 Yenne. Dimensions: 49 x 51 cm. Letters: 3 - 4 cm.

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A short explanatory note is in order here. The citations in the text follow the standard Harvard method with one exception. Some cited works are collections and studies of epitaphs, for example Decombes' *RICG*.XV. In such cases the last number refers to the inscription number in that collection but where a page in that work is referred to then it is made clear by referring the reader to it as a page and not an inscription by the prefix "p." Whilst this is not an entirely satisfactory solution, it does prevent confusion.

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