

## CONCERNING *RICG* I, 194 A AND ITS METRIC FORM\*

VICTORIA GONZÁLEZ-BERDÚS  
Universität Wien  
[victoria.gonzalez@univie.ac.at](mailto:victoria.gonzalez@univie.ac.at)

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### SUMMARY

This paper focuses on the philological analysis of *RICG* I, 194 A, a late-dating Christian funerary inscription from *Augusta Treverorum*. The critical edition offers new ideas that contribute to solving the important difficulties of reading and exegesis of the text. Ultimately, it will be demonstrated, on the one hand, that at least one section of it is metrical, something that had not been proven until now. On the other hand, the possible connection between this epigraph and the other known cases of *inhumatio ad sanctos* from Trier will be studied.

### KEYWORDS

Latin epigraphy; *carmina Latina epigraphica*; *CLE*; Trier, Gallia Belgica.

### RESUMEN

Este artículo se centra en el análisis filológico de *RICG* I, 194 A, inscripción funeraria cristiana de datación tardía procedente de *Augusta Treverorum*. La edición crítica ofrece nuevas propuestas que contribuyen a solucionar las importantes dificultades de lectura y exégesis del texto. En última instancia, se demostrará, por una parte, que al menos una sección del texto es métrica, algo que no se había probado hasta ahora. Por otra, se estudiará la posible relación entre este epigrafe y los restantes casos conocidos de *inhumatio ad sanctos* en Tréveris.

### PALABRAS CLAVE

epigrafía latina, *carmina Latina epigraphica*; *CLE*; Tréveris; Galia Bélgica.

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The verse epigraphy from the province of Gallia Belgica is composed, by and large, of Christian funerary inscriptions. These include a number of testimonies of the practice of burial next to saints, martyrs or, as is the case of Trier, important ecclesiastical figures.<sup>1</sup> One such epigraph, whose text is difficult to read and edit, begs a dual question. By performing a philological analysis on certain aspects, I intend to show, on the one hand, that at least a section of the text is undoubtedly metric and, on the other, that there is reason to connect it to the documented cases of burials *ad sanctos* in the city of Trier.

Only three rather cracked fragments of the original inscription, engraved on a white marble plaque, have been preserved. Measuring (41.5) x (37.5) x 3.8, they correspond to the centre of the piece (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the text on the upper right and left edges has been lost, as well as some in the central area. The fragments do not fit together perfectly, for which reason some parts of the letters are engraved in the cement used to join them. The beginning of the last three lines of the inscription has been preserved and, in light of the similarities in terms of *ordinatio* with Fuchs, *Inscripfen*, 13, an inscription with which *RICG* I, 194 A, also shares some aspects regarding palaeography and content, it can be deduced that they were originally centred.<sup>3</sup>

Both the palaeography and a detailed study of the epigraph point to a date between the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.<sup>4</sup> It was discovered in the side aisle of the church of St. Maximin in Trier (Germany) in 1936, and is currently preserved in store in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum of the same city.

[---]s Fla<v>io ba[---]  
 [---]pietate gra]vi fuisti in nomin[e Christi ---]  
 [---] te recipit et infra[---]  
 [---]+ et socius adgregari [---]  
 5 [---]te turba fratrum te a[---]  
 [---]it optaveran<t> te vi(v)us ha[---]  
 [---]quem raptim mors flen^da v[iro]  
 [---]t^e procul+[---]s iam cess[it---]  
 [---]+a planctis ° non plangat m[---]

<sup>1</sup> In this respect, cf. N. Gauthier, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne, sous la dir. de H. I. Marrou, Vol. I. Première Belgique*, Paris 1975 (hereinafter *RICG* I), 19 [lost]; 134; 170; 193; 194.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliography: *RICG* I, 194 A; R. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Trier. Vol. 1: bis 1500*, Wiesbaden 2006 (hereinafter Fuchs), 4. Cf. also F. Pohle, P. v. d. Brink, *Karl der Große - Charlemagne. Orte der Macht (Katalog)*, Dresden 2014, 166.

<sup>3</sup> In this epigraph, the use of lines above the text to mark abbreviations is not motivated by the proximity of the end of the line. Therefore, the same reasoning can be applied to that appearing at the end of line 13.

<sup>4</sup> For a study of the factors that suggest a later dating, cf. Gauthier, *RICG* I, 485; Fuchs, *Inscripfen*, 10.

- 10 *[tellus corp]us habet ◦ cuius bis quina signa[uit ---]  
[quinquennia lu]stris ◦ addidisque (!) annis VIII con[plevit ---]  
octavo Idus Martias hic in p[ace ---]  
Leodom^un^dus n^epo | | s | | suos (!) p̄[oni]?]*
- 14 *iussit ⊂hedera⊃*

1 *Fla<v>io* correxi, [---]SFLA+Q+A[---] leg. GAUTHIER, quae incertam litteram inter *A* et *O* fuisse fort. *I*, et *B* vel *D* post *O* censuit, [---]S FLA+O BA[---] FUCHS, qui litteram incertam *I* vel *T* fort. fuisse putat.- 2 *[pietate gra]vi* supplevi; [---]Vi fuisti leg. GAUTHIER; *nomin[e ---]* GAUTHIER, quae [*Christi*] dubitanter suppl. coll. *RICG* I, 194, *nom[ine ---]* FUCHS.- 3 [---]te leg. GAUTHIER, [---]te FUCHS; *recipit* pro *recepit* GAUTHIER interpret.; *infra* leg. GAUTHIER.- 4 *adgregar[---]* leg. GAUTHIER, *adgregar[i ---]* suppl FUCHS.- 5 *a[---]* leg. GAUTHIER.- 6 [---]t leg. GAUTHIER, [---]it FUCHS; *optaveran<t>* correxi, *te vi(v)us* correxit CARANDE me teste, *optaVERANTEVIUS* GAUTHIER, quae dub. pro *optante huius* interpretari prop., *OPTAVERANTEVIUS* FUCHS, qui *optaverant eius* vel *optaverant e vivis* coni.- 7 [---] quem supplevi; *flēnda* leg. GAUTHIER; *u[firo]* supplevi.- 8 [---]te leg. GAUTHIER, [---] te] FUCHS; *pro cui[us ---]* suppl. GAUTHIER, *pro cu[---]* FUCHS, qui etiam *procu[l]* dub. coni.; [---] s iam cess[it---] legi, [---]s+am cess[---] GAUTHIER, [---]siam cess[---] FUCHS.- 9 incertam litteram ante *A* fuisse fortasse *I*, *N* vel *M* censeo; punctum post *planctis* primum agnovi; [---] a leg. edd. cett.; *planctis* pro *planctibus* recte interpret. FUCHS; *m[o---]* suppl. FUCHS.- 10 *[tellus corp]us* supplevi; *signa[uit ---]* supplevi, *signa* leg. GAUTHIER.- 11 *[quinquennia lu]stris* supplevi, [---] *lu]stris* suppl. GAUTHIER (inde cett.); *addidis* pro *additis* GAUTHIER recte interpret.; *con[plevit ---]* supplevi.- 12 *in [pace ---]* supplevi, *in [---]* leg. edd. cett.- 13 *n^epo | | s | |* recte leg. FUCHS; <s>*uos* leg. GAUTHIER, quae pro *suus* recte interpret.; *p[oni]* suppl. GAUTHIER coll. *RICG* I, 135 et 214 (inde cett.).

The inscription opens with what could be a reference to the dedicatee,<sup>5</sup> followed by a brief *laudatio*. At the beginning of line 2, the preserved end

<sup>5</sup> *Flavius* is documented several times in the province of Gallia Belgica (*L'Année Épigraphique* 2007, 1002, 1; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berolini 1863- (hereinafter *CIL*) XIII, 3681, 1; 3828, 1; 3829, 2; H. Merten, *Katalog Der Frühchristlichen Inschriften Des Bischöflichen Dom- Und Diözesanmuseums Trier*, Trier 1990, 7, 1; *RICG* I, 235 i, 1; A. Binsfeld, *Vivas in Deo: Die Graffiti der Frühchristlichen Kirchenanlage in Trier*, Trier 2006, 13). The presence of another labial (in this case, an F) would have led to the semiconsonant being dropped by dissimilation (cf. *Flavus* non *Flaus*, PROB. app. gramm.

of a word (-vi) cannot belong to a verbal form in the past tense because this section is written in the second person (s. *fuisti*). Although it is impossible to propose a definite restoration of the inscription, the possibilities include *[gra]vi*, which could agree with a noun such as *pietate*, as in, for instance, the sequences *sed pietate gravi tanta haec praeconia vicit* (*CLE*<sup>6</sup> 302, 5, from Reims) and *genitor tantus pietate fuisti* (Zarker<sup>7</sup> 135, 17-18). Also in literary texts, *gravis* often refers to the idea of *pietas* (e.g. *quid enim dicam benevolentiam, cum illud ipsum gravissimum et sanctissimum nomen pietatis levius mihi meritis erga me tuis esse videatur?*, Cic. *fam.* 1.9.1; *tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem / conspexere, silent*, Verg. *Aen.* 1.151-2). Other possible readings would be *[ae]vi*, *[bre]vi*, *[par]vi* or *[no]vi*. It seems reasonable to complete the end of the line with *in nomin[e] Christi*. Gauthier (*RICG* I, 484) and Fuchs (*Inschriften*, 10) have already noted that this sequence appears in the epigraphy from Trier in the final position of the hexameter in *RICG* I, 194, 1. It can also be restored in *RICG* I, 134, where fragments in dactylic rhythm are mixed with complete hexameters.

Although *in nomine Christi* fits at the end of the hexameter, it cannot be used as proof of the metric character of the inscription, since this sequence appears *passim*, either in prose or verse (cf. *ILCV*<sup>8</sup> 1946; 1680), and sometimes abbreviated (*ILCV* 1564; 2219 A) in Christian epigraphy. In *ILCV* 1729, a *carmen* in acrostic form, the sequence appears abbreviated at the end of the hexameter. In addition to the aforementioned inscriptions from Gallia Belgica, it appears in *RICG* I, 177, the only case that is undoubtedly prose.

62 [H. Keil, T. Mommsen, *Probi, Donati, Servii qui feruntur De arte grammatica libri et Notarum laterculi (Grammatici Latini, vol. IV)*, Lipsiae 1864, 198, 5]; *favilla*, non *failla*, *Prob. app. gramm.* 73 [Keil, *Grammatici IV*, 198, 8]; *paimento* (= *pavimento*), *CIL* VI, 122, 5; *Flainus* (= *Flavinus*), H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, 3 vols., Berolini 1892-1916, no. 9215, 1; M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1977, 135-6; V. Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, Paris<sup>3</sup> 1981, §90).

<sup>6</sup> *CLE* = *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, F. Bücheler, *Anthologia Latina* II, 1-2, Lipsiae 1895-97 (= Stuttgartiae 1982); E. Lommatzsch, II, 2: *Supplementum*, Lipsiae 1926 (= Stuttgartiae, 1982).

<sup>7</sup> Zarker = J.W. Zarker, *Studies in the Carmina Latina Epigraphica*. (Diss.), Princeton University, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1958.

<sup>8</sup> *ILCV* = E. Diehl, J. Moreau, & H. I. Marrou, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae veteres*, 3 vols., Berlin - Dublin - Zürich 1925-67.

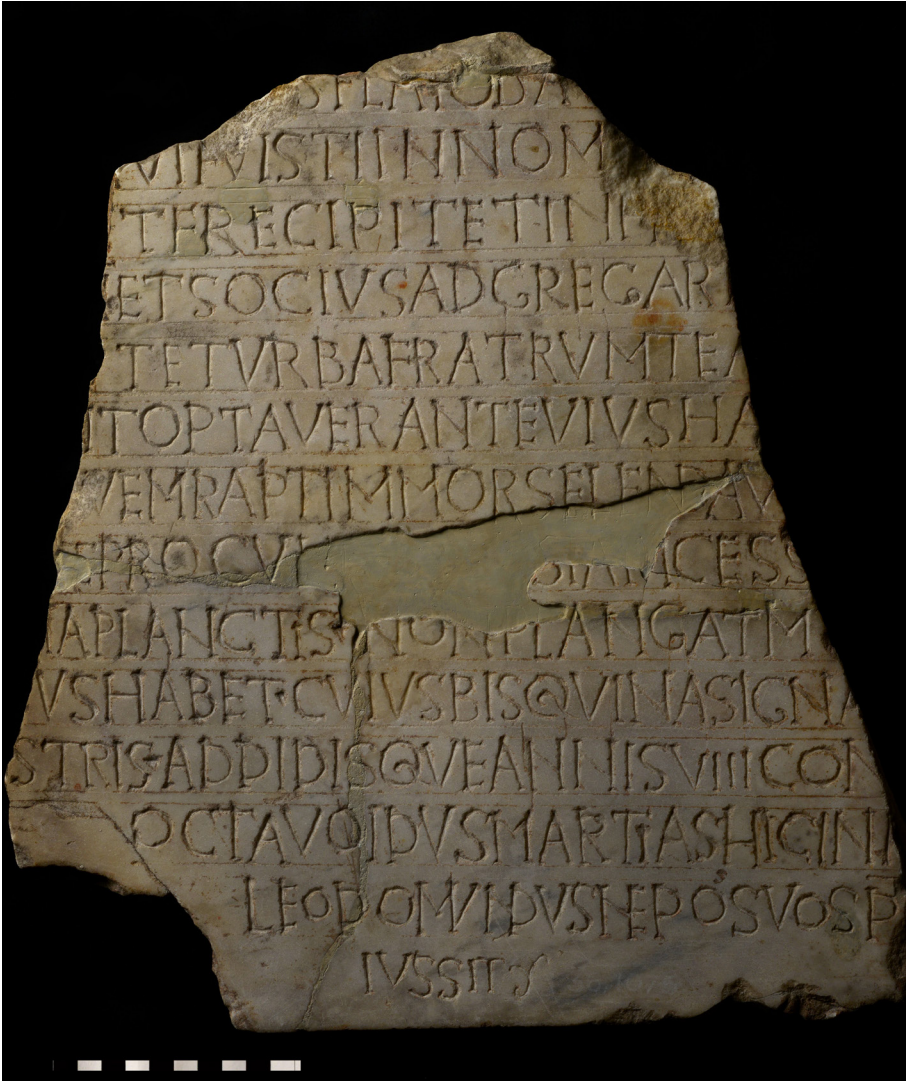


Fig. 1: Front view of the piece. © GDKE/Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier Inv: 36416, Foto: Th. Zühmer.

*Te recipit*, in the following line (l. 3), could be understood, in part, as the idea of the deceased being welcomed by God and the saints after his death. This notion is very widespread in both Christian (e.g. *recepta in pac(e)*, *ICERV*<sup>9</sup> 24, 3; *Prosenes receptus ad deum*, *CIL* VI, 8498, 1; *Eris (...)*

<sup>9</sup> *ICERV* = J. Vives, *Incripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*, Barcelona 1969.

in [caeli gaudet sa]ncta recepta domo, CLE 1441) and pagan epigraphy (*spiritus inter deos receptus est*, CIL VI, 9663, 3).

Between lines 3 and 4, there is a section of the text that points to the possibility that the epitaph is related to a burial *ad sanctos*, an idea first suggested by Gauthier (*RICG* I, 484). *Sociatus* (l. 4) or *sociare* are used in four other epigraphs from Trier in which this practice occurs (*sociatur honore* in *RICG* I, 194; 134; 193; *sanctorum sociari sepulcra*, *RICG* I, 170). The idea of the deceased as being associated with martyrs or saints (*cum marturibus/sanctis sociatus*)<sup>10</sup> as a reward for their merits often appears in this type of burial (cf. Y. Duval, *Auprès des saints corps et âme: l'inhumation « ad sanctos » dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du IIIe au VIIe siècle*, Paris 1988, 145 ff.). In contrast, Fuchs (*Inscripfen*, 10) cites *ILCV* 1806, 4, in which the sequence *socius in monasterio* can be found. Since this epigraph is of a commemorative rather than funerary nature, the context is radically different, so it seems that Gauthier's hypothesis is borne out. Outside the province of Gallia Belgica, in Narbonne, a similar structure is preserved in another *carmen*: *sanctorum socius fruitur cum laude coronam* (CLE 712, 16).

Logically, *socius* could be employed in contexts that had nothing to do with a burial *ad sanctos*. However, another argument in favour of this interpretation is *adgregari*, a verbal form that hitherto has only been documented in one other epigraphic text (*ut suos cineres soror laude precepua sepulcro eius poscere(t) adgregari*, *ICUR*<sup>11</sup> V, 13949, 6-8). The idea conveyed here is similar, although it is not a burial next to saints: the deceased has asked for her ashes to be deposited with those of her brother, the idea being that these belonged to someone who she considered to be a role model. In this sense, *adgregari*, without *socius*, would reflect the idea of this burial practice. Thanks to their merits, the deceased is granted the honour of being buried next to saints and, to a certain extent, of becoming part of that *grex*. Perhaps the clearest parallel to the underlying idea in *socius adgregari*, and which has not been analysed in this light until now, can be found in a passage from the comments of Beda the Venerable: *Haec sunt enim verba viri illius de quo dictum est, 'vir eius et laudabit eam', id est domini et salvatoris nostri qui angelis in fine praecepturus est ut ecclesiam post huius vitae certamen post triturationem afflictionum terrestrium ad caelestis regni gaudia introducant ac vitae immortalis sibi sociam aggregent* (in *proverbia Salomonis*, III, 31, 31 [D. Hurst,

<sup>10</sup> For a study of these terms, cf. Y. Duval, "Sanctorum sepulcris sociari", en *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III-XIII siècle): actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome avec le concours de l'Université de Rome La Sapienza*, Rome, 27-29 octobre 1988, 333-51, Roma 1991, 340-2.

<sup>11</sup> *ICUR* = A. Silvagni, A. Ferrua, *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae. Nova series*, Roma 1922.

J.E. Hudson, *Beda Venerabilis opera. Pars II: opera exegetica. 2B: In Tobiam, In Proverbia, In Cantica Canticorum, In Habacuc*, Turnholti 1983, 162 ll. 572-7]). Here *sociam* refers to *ecclesiam*, understood as the Christian faithful as a whole. The idea is the same as in the Trier inscription, where instead of applying it to the whole of Christianity it is addressed to the deceased.

At the beginning of line 5, there is a *-te*, which could be the personal pronoun or belong to an ablative. In *RICG* I, 193, it appears in [---]te corona, where a possible reading may be [praestan]te corona. This expression seems to be repeated in *RICG* I, 194 and 134. However, none of them mention the *turba fratrum* and, therefore, the restoration here of *corona praestante*, by reversing the order, is not convincing. Since there is another personal pronoun after *fratrum*, I am inclined to believe that, in this case, it would be an ablative.

The use of *turba* is, precisely, another factor fuelling the debate on the presence of poetic intentionality. The reason is that this term is used almost exclusively in *carmina epigraphica* (cf. P. Colafrancesco, M. Massaro, *Concordanze dei Carmina Latina epigraphica*, Bari 1986, 848-9). Gauthier (*RICG* I, 484) suggested two interpretations for *turba fratrum*. On the one hand, it could refer to the cortege accompanying the corpse to the place of burial and, on the other, it might allude to the “brothers in holiness” who the deceased would join in Paradise (cf. *inter apostolicam turbam martyrum(ue) potentum*, *ILCV*967, 44; *apostolicae numeratus in ordine turbe*, 1051, 7; *turba piorum*, 1986, 1; *turb[a piorum]*, 3433, 8), a more likely option to her mind. Fuchs (*Inscripfen*, 10) picks up on these parallels and rightly points out that, given that none of them feature *fratrum*, the meaning may be different. Indeed, although in epigraphy *turba* is often used in the sense suggested by Gauthier, in the work of the Christian authors it mostly refers to the living Christian faithful as a whole (cf. *coeperunt ad eos turbae fratrum (...) confluere et audire verbum praedicationis ab eis*, *Greg. Tur. vit. patr.* 1, 2 [B. Krusch, *Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis miracula et opera minora* (*MGH SS rer. Merov.* 1, 2), Hannoverae 1885, 214, 30]; *haec sunt quae fratrum turba respondit*, *Hier. c. Ioh.* 39 [*Patrologia Latina* 23, 409 D (Martianay)]; *hymnum dicat turba fratrum*, *Ps. Hil. hymn. de Christo*, 1 [Feder, A., *S. Hilarii Episcopi Opera. Pars Quarta*, *CSEL* 65, Vindobonae - Lipsiae 1916, 217]; *ante lucem, turba fratrum, concinamus gloriam, ibid.* 65 [*ibid.* 223]), so it would seem logical to assume that this is the sense used in the inscription from Trier.

The following three lines (ll. 6-8) are the most difficult to edit. In short, it seems to be a *lamentatio* expressing yearning—presumably the *turba fratrum*'s—for the deceased (*optaveran<t> te vi(v)us*, edited in l. 6). This interpretation evidently implies accepting some syntactic errors. From line

7 onwards, the poetic voice ceases to address the dedicatee in the second person to do so in the third. In addition, the cliché that the deceased has been violently and unjustly deprived of life<sup>12</sup> is introduced (*raptim mors flenda*). It is interesting to note that *flendus* and its compound *deflendus* have so far only appeared in verse inscriptions (cf. in particular *morte deflenda*, *CLE* 1419, 4). The juncture *mors flenda* is not documented in the work of literary authors, although there is a similar one in Sen. *Oed.* 33-4 (*novis / deflenda lacrimis funera*).

Albeit particularly difficult to read, line 8 does not seem to contribute much to the dual question raised above. For what it is worth, I think that *cess[it]*, a common verb in funerary poetry, should be read at the end of the line.

In the following line, Fuchs (*Inschriften*, 10) rightly suggests that *planctis*, which is only documented in epigraphic texts here, has been written instead of *planctibus*, which is much more common and which so far has only appeared in *carmina*.<sup>13</sup> The assimilation of the declination of the nouns from u-stems to that of o-stems is a well-studied phenomenon (cf. J. Pirson, *La langue des inscriptions latines de la Gaule*, Bruxelles 1901, 126; Väänänen, *Introduction*, 106 §231; J. Herman, “La langue latine dans le Gaule romaine”, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II, 29.2, 1983, 1056). Until now, however, there has not been any discussion on what I suspect is the real cause of this change: only in that way the word could occupy the final position of the hexameter. The *ordinatio* of the text, as will be examined *infra*, also supports this hypothesis. Following *planctis*, there is the first of the three preserved interpunctuations, all of them marking the ending of verses. As to the subject of *plangat*, it probably refers to someone related to the deceased, who mourns their death and considers it unfair and unexpected.

The next interpunctuation appears in line 10, right after *habet*, which could be the ending of a pentameter. I suggest completing [*corp*]us at the beginning of the line, since the sequence *corpus habet tellus* is documented in several *carmina* (*corpus habet tellu[s et pallida] membra*, *CLE* 1845, 4; *astra corpus habet tellus et saxum nomen inanae*, *CLE* 611, 5; *CLE* 2288, 2), as well as in *ICUR* VIII, 20919, 3 (*corpus habet tellus animam caelestia regna*). If the idea being expressed here is that the body of the deceased

<sup>12</sup> On this topic, cf. J.A. Tolman, *A Study of the Sepulchral Inscriptions in Bücheler's Carmina Latina Epigraphica Latina*, Chicago 1910, 34-7; A. Brelich, *Aspetti della morte nelle iscrizioni sepolcrali dell'Impero romano*, Budapest 1937, 19-21. For its presence in Hispania, cf. also R. Hernández Pérez, *Poesía latina sepulcral de la Hispania romana: estudio de los tópicos y sus formulaciones*, Valencia 2001, §24.

<sup>13</sup> *Planctibus inmensum clamantibus flete dolorem*, *CIL* V, 704, 2, 22; *planctibus heu miserae matris patrisque simitu*, *CLE* 422, 7; *planctibus assidu[is]*, *CLE* 1639, 2; *quem flevit omnis planctibus novis turba*, *CLE* 213, 4.



is received by the earth while his spirit ascends, it would be interesting to compare it with the epitaph of Auspicius (*RICG* I, 106), also from Trier, which reads *exemtum Auspicium terris inmiscuit astris*.

The third and final interpunction appears in line 11, where I have completed *[lu]stris*. Given the ending of line 10 (*cuius bis quina signa[---]*), it seems reasonable to assume that the age of the deceased is indicated between the two lines in a somewhat convoluted manner. Traditionally, it has been accepted that the person died at 58, but, as I will attempt to demonstrate, he might have been older. The appearance of *signa* can seem striking at first glance, but I believe it could have been used in a structure similar to the one in *Mart.* 4.45.3 (*prima novo signat quinquennia lustris*). In fact, the sequence *quinquennia lustris* / *lustris* appears quite often in the end position of hexameters in literary texts (*Ciris* 24; *Stat. silv.* 4.2.62; 5.3.253, etc.; cf. R. Moreno Soldevila, *Martial, Book IV: a commentary*, Leiden 2006, 335 *ad Mart.* 4.45.3). The same sequence could be completed here (*cuius bis quina signa[vit --- quinquennia lu]stris*; where the verb would be coordinated with *con[plevit]*, my reading of the end of line 11). In this case, the correct interpretation of these lines would be “(the earth has the body) of he who reached five *quinquennia* twice with [...] lustrums and completed eight additional years”. As can be seen, this would render a verse in which there are three numerical terms relating to the number five: *quina*, [*quinquennia*] and *[lu]stris*. Rather than a random choice of words, I am of the opinion that it is an expressive device.<sup>14</sup> It should be recalled that the use of multiples and other devices to include this kind of information in the metric scheme was a tool frequently used not only in literary texts, but also in *carmina epigraphica* (C. Fernández Martínez, “Recursos para la indicación de la edad en los epitafios en verso”, in J. Luque Moreno and P.R. Díaz y Díaz (eds.), *Estudios sobre métrica latina I*, Granada 1999, 364). I think that this is the case at hand: the author attempted to express the age in verse form and it is precisely here where some metric inconsistencies can be found. An additional argument is that the following line in the text is centred. As is well-known, changes in text format were often used to distinguish prose from verse (J. del Hoyo Calleja, “La *ordinatio* en los *CLE Hispaniae*”, in J. del Hoyo Calleja and J. Gómez Pallarès (eds.), *Asta ac Pellege. 50 años de la publicación de Inscripciones Hispanas en Verso*, de S. Mariner, Madrid 2002, 158–60; M. Limón Belén, *La compaginación de las inscripciones latinas en verso: Roma e Hispania*, Roma 2014, 44–53; 96–100), so this could be another example. Indeed, the final three lines are a *subscriptum* in prose, which

<sup>14</sup> Moreno Soldevila sees an apotropaic use in the accumulation of numerical expressions in the cited verse by Martial. The poem is addressed to a little boy on his birthday and, therefore, might have something to do with the high infant mortality rate at the time.

contains the date of death or burial, as well as the name of the inscription's dedicator, *Leodomundus*, a grandson of the deceased.

A number of conclusions with regard to the dual question initially raised can be drawn from the line-by-line textual analysis performed above. First and foremost, there is a clear and constant preference throughout the text, except in the last three lines, for the vocabulary that is most commonplace in inscriptions in verse (e.g. *turba*, l. 5; *mors flenda*, l. 7: etc.). Likewise, the debt to classical Latin literature is undeniable, which is reflected in the use of certain fixed sequences in certain metric positions. To this must be added other resources of clearly poetic intentionality, such as the use of alliterations (*te turba [...] te [...] optaverant te [...]*, ll. 5-6; *planctis non plangat*, l. 9)<sup>15</sup> or the expression of numbers through multiples and complex expressions. In this case, it seems that, moreover, terms relating to the number five have been purposely used.

Secondly, although it is impossible to apply a metric scheme to lines 1-11, the *ordinatio* of the text indicates two obvious aspects, to which reference has already been made. On the one hand, three interpunctuations have been preserved (lines 9, 10 and 11), which coincide with the ends of two hexameters (*planctis*, l. 9; *[lu]stris*, l. 11) and a pentameter (*[corp]us habet*, l. 10). They have not been assigned any particular meaning until now. Gauthier does not include them in her critical edition, while Fuchs (*Inschriften*, 9) only notes the last two, which he believes have been used to separate ideas.<sup>16</sup> However, as studies of the devices of the *ordinatio* have shown, interpunctuations are often used to mark the breaks between verses.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the verse that ends on line 9 probably extended along lines 8 and 9. Taking this as a reference, it can be seen that line 7 also dovetails perfectly with a pentameter (*[--- q]uēm | rāptīm | mōrs || flēndā v[ilrō ---]*).<sup>18</sup> For their part, lines 1-6 do not correspond to any clear scheme.

The next pentameter, therefore, would be *non plangat m[--- corp]us habet*. As can be seen from the readings proposed above, the sequence *corpus habet tellus* often appears in *carmina epigraphica*. If we completed *[tellus corp]us habet*, the first foot of the second hemistich would be spondaic, something unusual but which has already been documented in epigraphic texts in the second foot (e.g. A. García y Bellido, "Parerga de arqueología y

<sup>15</sup> For a general study of the importance of alliteration as a stylistic device in Latin poetry, cf. A. Ronconi, "Allitterazione e ritmo", *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 15, 1938, 297-321.

<sup>16</sup> In his own words, *ein Dreieck dient zweimal als Sinntrenner*.

<sup>17</sup> Del Hoyo, *ordinatio*, 149-150, focusing on inscriptions from Hispania; Limón, *Compaginación*, 5457 and 100-4, analyzing those from Rome and Hispania.

<sup>18</sup> Although *mors* often appears after the juncture of the pentameter (e.g. *CLE* 1402, 8; 1439, 10; 1196, 10, etc.), it also appears just before in *diceret aut "O mors cur mihi sera venis?"*, Prop. 2.13.50.

epigrafiya hispanorromanas (III)”, *Archivo español de arqueología* 39, 1966, 131-45). Subsequently, the last hexameter would begin with *cuius bis quina signa[vit ---] lustris*, in which the deceased’s age in decades is expressed by a number of rhetorical devices, as has already been discussed. It can also be assumed that an attempt was made to include the units metrically, thus completing another elegiac couplet. Although some metric irregularities appear in this section of the text (*addidisque annis VIII con[plevit ---]*), a strong spondaic rhythm is certainly maintained. Besides, if they were clearly written in prose, they would have been included in the *subscriptum*.

This leads us to a second aspect pertaining to the *ordinatio* that is worth noting, viz. the visual distinction between lines 1-11 and lines 12-14. Besides their centred alignment, only here are abbreviations to be found (*p[oni]*), l. 13). Again, these are common devices in the layout of inscriptions combining verse and prose. Clearly, this last section contains information of a practical nature (day of death and the name of the inscription’s dedicator), and without any trace of the poetic intentionality to which I have referred in the previous section.

Finally, the comparison with other epigraphs from Trier, of a similar dating and purpose, and in which the motif of the burial *ad sanctos* is also developed, leads to interesting conclusions. In the first place, it is striking to find elegiac couplets in such a late inscription and, furthermore, that the first verse that can be recognized is a pentameter. Accordingly, Gauthier (*RICG* I, 427-8) observes the mixture of prose and verse in her study of *RICG* I, 170, as well as possible loans from other inscriptions. The same can be said of *RICG* I, 134 and 193, whose model is *RICG* I, 194, written in hexameters with a correspondence between verses and lines. The latter is dated to the end of the 5th century A.D. (for an analysis, cf. Gauthier, *RICG* I, p. 482), while the other two are later, probably from the second half of the 7th or early 8th century. The dating of *RICG* I, 170, is more problematic, although I concur with Gauthier (1975, p. 430) that it is similar in date to *RICG* I, 134 and 193.

The crux of the matter is, therefore, whether or not this could be another case. In *RICG* I, 134 and 193, the loan involves three complete hexameters, while in *RICG* I, 170, it apparently consists of metric sequences used here and there, without taking into consideration the position that they might occupy in the quantitative hexameter scheme. Gauthier (*RICG* I, p. 350) provides an analysis of this epigraph, which I believe is also satisfactory if applied to *RICG* I, 194A. The author has drawn inspiration from other inscriptions in verse, from which they have taken either *commata* or complete verses. To these must be added their own original creations, which is precisely where there is the greatest probability of errors and metric inconsistencies. Perhaps this can be seen more clearly in *RICG* I, 134: the first two lines, which contain personal information about the deceased, do not correspond to any clear metric scheme. In the case of *RICG* I, 194 A, it does not seem

far-fetched to assume, given the late dating, that the accentual metric has also caused some interference. For example, it is quite possible that the accent of *recipit*<sup>19</sup> (l. 3) fell on the second syllable due to the tendency in medieval Latin for the accent of compound words to pass from the prefix to the main element (D.L. Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification* [J.M. Ziolkowski ed.], Washington 2004, [= *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Stockholm 1958, tr. G.C. Roti, J. La Chapelle Skubly], 8).

In conclusion, all of the documented cases of burial *ad sanctos* in the province of Gallia Belgica are partially or completely in verse. The earliest dated (*RICG* I, 19 and 194) are the only ones whose metric scheme is correct, except for some isolated errors. In Trier, this practice was initially associated with the burials of the city's first bishops, Eucarius and Valerius. It is, therefore, a deeply-rooted local custom. The terminology employed is always very similar and specific (*socius*, *sociari* in different combinations), so it is easy to recognize the imitation between them. Hence, it is possible that this imitation also extended to the rhythm of the text. Those who composed these types of epitaphs in the 8th century A.D. would have had models from the previous three centuries to follow, from which, as is well-documented, they borrowed some sequences. As Duval ("Sanctorum sepulcris sociari", in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental [III-XIII siècle]: actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome avec le concours de l'Université de Rome La Sapienza, Rome, 27-29 octobre 1988*, 333-51, Roma 1991, 334) has already remarked with regard to the vocabulary used in the epitaphs to highlight the connection between saints and the deceased, these compositions, which tend to be more stylistically complex, are often metrical. It is obviously pointless to venture whether all or most of them were written in verse. Nevertheless, the desire to dispense with ordinary language when writing inscriptions in favour of a dignified and high-flown vocabulary, in order to cause a greater impact on the reader, certainly appears to have been one of the elements of the archetypical epitaph of *inhumatio ad sanctos* in Gallia Belgica. In the case of *RICG* I, 194 A, this is evinced in the coexistence of correct verses with passages with a strong dactylic rhythm that, without fulfilling any metric scheme, are loaded with clichés and vocabulary typical of *carmina epigraphica* and whose style is by no means prosaic.

<sup>19</sup> For Gauthier (*RICG* I, 484), *recipit* is a vulgarism for *recepit*. The confusion between the *i* and the *e* has been widely documented in the province of Gallia Belgica (cf. *RICG* I, §49-50), although the change from the E to the I seems to be favoured by the close proximity of an S. (cf. *distitutus*, *RICG* I, 217, 4; *quisci[t]*, *RICG* I, 29, 1; *quiscit* 50, 1; *quiscet*, *RICG* I, 242, 1). Outside this context, it appears in *RICG* I, 147, 4 (*ficit*); 164, 3 (*ficiru[nt]*); 217, 7 (*didicavit*).