STEFAN ARDELEANU

Materializing Death in Late Antique North Africa

Epitaphs, Burial Types and Rituals in Changing Funerary Landscapes

Introduction

In 1926, Alfred-Louis Delattre counted 40 000 inscriptions stemming from the various Late Antique necropoleis and churches he excavated at Carthage.[1] Even if this number looks like an attempt to rival the numbers known from Rome's catacombs, a deeper dig into Delattre's reports reveals that there was some truth in his exaggeration: the ca. 4 000 Carthaginian epitaphs published in the known corpora do not come anywhere near the real number of funerary inscriptions excavated at the African metropolis.[2] While Carthage is a complex story in itself, many other North African sites also produced a high amount of Late Antique epitaphs, matched only by Italy in the entire *oecumene*. Therefore, the African provinces represent a privileged case in discussions about the 'last epigraphic practice' in the ancient Mediterranean regions.

This contribution seeks to give an updated overview of general trends in funerary epigraphy and commemorative rituals in Late Antique North Africa. It focuses especially on the materiality of epitaphs, their integration in funerary habits and tomb types, as well as on the role of tombs as markers of social distinction in a time of transforming urban landscapes. The geographical framework is bound by the Late Antique provinces of *Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena*, *Numidia Militana*, *Numidia Cirtensis* (the latter two re-united as *Numidia Constantina* in AD 314), *Mauretania Sitifensis* and *Mauretania Caesariensis* (Fig. 1).[3]

1 Delattre 1926, 15. This article emerged from the Heidelberg Collaborative Research Centre 933 'Material Text Cultures' (Subproject A01,2a: 'The positioning, perception and handling of inscriptions in funerary contexts of Late Antique North Africa'). The CRC 933 is financed by the German Research Foundation (DFG). For discussion and corrections as well as image rights I thank Moheddine Chaouali, Corisande Fenwick, Raphael Hunsucker, Don Jansen, Ammar Othman, Anna Sitz and Christian Witschel.

2 Too small numbers are given in Galvão-Sobrinho 1995, 441 (2.300) or Tantillo 2017, n. 44 (1.200). For more representative numbers, see Bockmann 2014, 346f.; Ardeleanu 2020, n. 41. To these numbers, several hundred unpublished Late Antique epitaphs in the garden of Carthage's Byrsa museum have to be added.

3 For exact dates of the creation and dissolution of provinces, and for their geographical limits: Leone 2007a, 23–28, 25f. (changes in the Vandal period), 26–28 (changes in Byzantine times); Lassère 2015, 529–532.

 Published in: Stefan Ardeleanu and Jon C. Cubas Díaz (Eds.), *Funerary Landscapes of the Late Antique oecumene. Contextualizing Epigraphic and Archaeological Evidence of Mortuary Practices,* Heidelberg 2023, 107–157. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1176.c16232

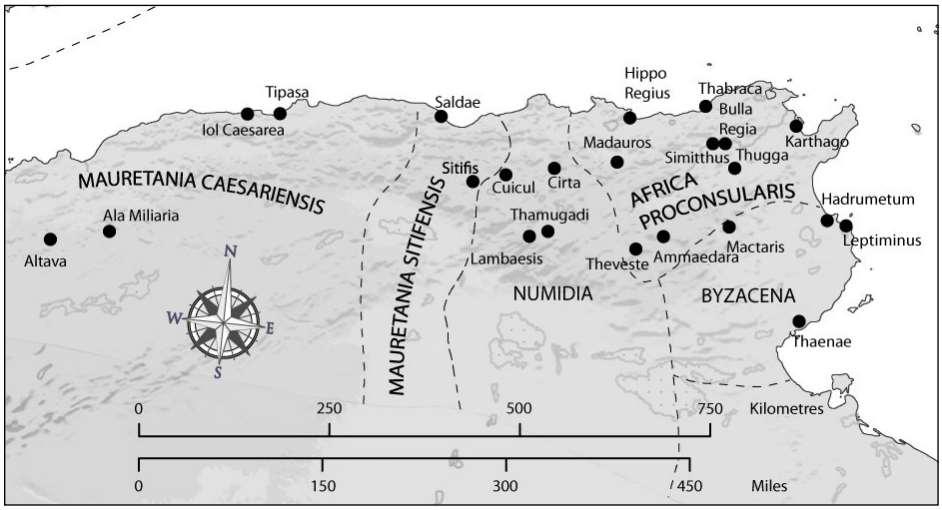


Fig. 1: North Africa in Late Antiquity with main sites discussed in this chapter (mid 3rd–mid 7th c. AD).

Chronological limits extend from the middle of the 3rd to the middle of the 7th c. AD. North Africa's Late Antique history was long labelled as a period of urban decadence, of instability, of economic crisis and religious conflicts, bolstered by 'traumatic events' such as the 'destructive Vandal conquest' or 'never-ending' Moorish attacks.[4] However, recent work on urbanism, ceramics, numismatics and in survey archaeology shows that North Africa was still one of the Mediterranean's most densely inhabited and wealthiest landscapes.[5] Economic connectivity was maintained throughout the 5th and the 6th c. AD. Some rural areas boomed and even saw their heyday in agricultural exploitation and settlement.[6] Provincial and municipal administration – as many civic inscriptions of the later 4th c. AD show – was still fairly efficient.[7] At the same time, urban life, as in other regions in the West, underwent profound transformation: some towns shrank drastically,[8] others maintained their previous extension or continued to grow.[9] Many cities were equipped with defenses,[10] new urban nuclei developed ubiquitously. Some 350 churches are known from North Africa, a showcase area of Early Christian sacred

4 Leone 2007a, esp. 32–41 with theoretical discussion of these still fairly powerful 'labels'.
5 Late Antique urbanism: Lepelley 1981; Leone 2007a; Sears 2007; Bockmann/Leone/von Rummel 2019; surveys: Bockmann 2013; ceramics: Bonifay 2004; Bussière 2007; numismatics: Morrisson 2016.
6 Dossey 2010.
7 Leppeley 1981; Tantillo 2017; for *carmina epigraphica* (including public contexts): Hamdoune 2016.
8 E.g. *Lambaesis*, *Hippo*, *Madauros*, *Thugga*, *Thignica*, *Mactaris*, *Hadrumetum*, *Leptiminus.*
9 E.g. *Tipasa*, *Caesarea*, *Sitifis*, *Thamugadi*, *Cuicul*, *Sufetula*, *Bulla Regia*, *Thuburbo Maius*.
10 E.g. *Sitifis*, *Constantina*, *Tiddis*, *Thibilis*, *Theveste*, *Ammaedara*, *Madauros*, *Thugga*, Carthage, *Thaenae.*

architecture.[11] Especially those shrines dedicated to the new urban patrons, the martyrs, became the new *foci* of many urban communities.[12] In and around these *celeberrimi loci*, extensive burial activity developed, while intra-urban burials are attested as early as the 3rd c. AD.

These last aspects lead us to the main topic of this contribution: North Africa's changing funerary landscapes in Late Antiquity. I will commence with a brief outline of the *status quaestionis* on Late Antique funerary epigraphy, presenting numbers, distribution and the heterogeneous picture of North Africa's *epitaphic habits*. A second section will discuss how different urban topographies in Late Antiquity were shaped by burials and how social hierarchy was expressed in funerary settings. I will then emphasize the mutual interconnectedness between new developments in funerary customs, the most important tomb types (sarcophagi, mausolea, underground tomb systems) and epigraphic tomb signaling (*stelae*, *arulae*, *cupae* and *mensae*). The last section will demonstrate North Africa's outstanding potential for interdisciplinary studies of rituals at Late Antique tombs. It should be noted right away that regional funerary habits did not follow artificial provincial boundaries, but rather microregional patterns and century-old traditions. Coherent clusters presenting similar epigraphic, stylistic and archaeological evidence can be made out on Cap Bon (Northwestern *Proconsularis*), in the Hautes Steppes (Northwestern *Byzacena*/Southwestern *Proconsularis*), the Tell (central *Proconsularis*), the Sahel (Eastern *Byzacena*), central *Numidia*, central *Sitifensis*, and central and Western *Caesariensis*.

Diversity in *Epitaphic Habits* in Late Antique North Africa

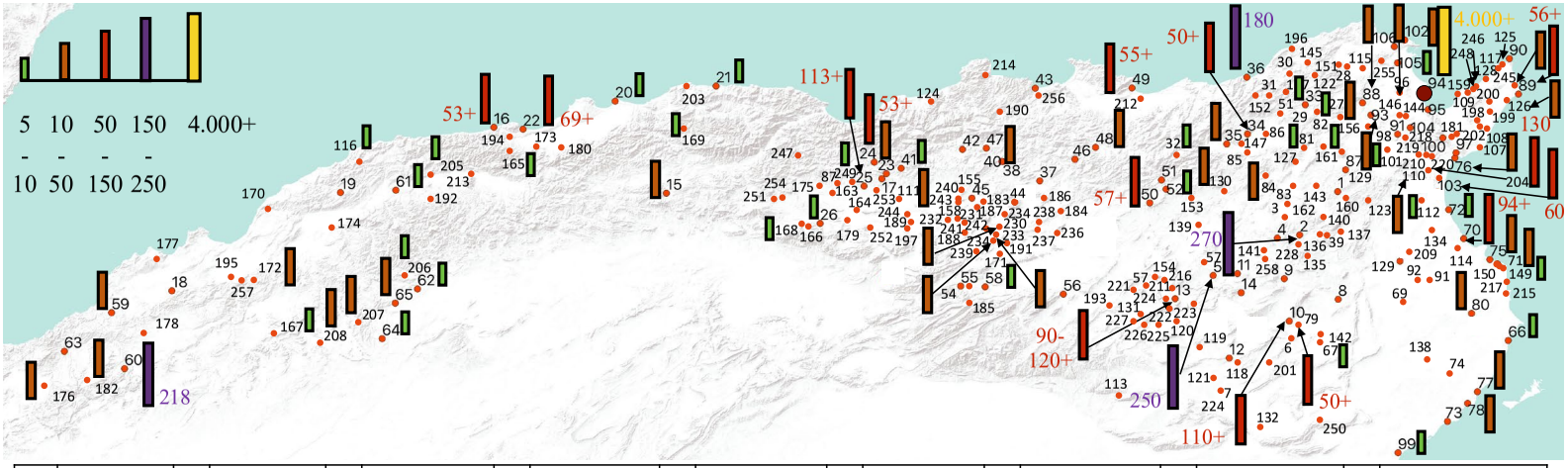
There is no updated overview on the state of Late Antique funerary epigraphy in North Africa, apart from two excellent, but now outdated articles by Noël Duval and Carlos Galvão-Sobrinho.[13] Since Duval's article from 1988, nearly 1000 new Late Antique epitaphs were published, scattered in a confusing mass of single articles and monographs.[14] Because of the problematic situation at Carthage, and due to the dispersed material, it is impossible to assess the overall number of North Africa's Late Antique epitaphs. Still, there is good reason to believe that they exceed 8 000. At least for the most important sites (except Carthage) we can present absolute numbers (Fig. 2).

11 The number of basilicae mentioned here and in Tab. 1 is taken from two compendia: Gui/Duval/Caillet 1992 and Baratte et al. 2014. Sites are mostly cited in geographical order from West to East.

12 Duval 1982; Bockmann 2014; cf. also Blanc-Bijon 2008; Ardeleanu (in press).

13 Duval 1988; Galvão-Sobrinho 1995; see now also Ardeleanu 2020.

14 An attempt to evaluate the most important evidence from 1988 to 2019 with an extensive (though still incomplete) bibliography can be found in Ardeleanu 2020.



1	Thabbora	30	Thunigaba	59	Albulae	88	Cincari	117	Hr. Dhouhek	146	Ouled ez-Zid	175	Sertei	204	Sidi Jdidi	233	Teniet Anouda
2	Maktar	31	Vaga	60	Altava	89	Demna	118	El Erg	147	Oued Mellègue	176	Numerus Syrorum	205	Tigivae	234	Djebel Snobra
3	Ulules	32	Pophti	61	Cast. Tingitanum	90	Missua	119	M. el Oussera	148	Maxula	177	Castra Pueorum	206	Kh. des Aouisset	235	Mergueb et Tir
4	Mididi	33	Belalis Maior	62	Columnata	91	Beni Hassen	120	Hr. el Guiz	149	F. Dinamius	178	Mechera	207	Mechara Sfa	236	Hr. Bou Zenzen
5	Ammaedara	34	Bulla Regia	63	Damous	92	Bordj Touil	121	Magifa	150	Thapsus	179	Cast. Dianense	208	Ala Miliaria	237	Hr. Seffan
6	Hadouch	35	Simitthus	64	Djeddars	93	Furni	122	F. Aufidianus	151	Rucuma	180	Elephantaria	209	Hr. Allalcha	238	Hr. Djerouda
7	Borj Maajen	36	Thabraca	65	Tiaret	94	Karthago	123	Draa Ben Jouder	152	Hr. Rhiria	181	Bir Bou Rebka	210	Ain Mziger	239	Naamane
8	H. el Aioun	37	Ain Abid	66	Acholla	95	Naro	124	Bou Djenah	153	Naraggara	182	Pomaria	211	Hr. el Ksour	240	Mechira
9	Sufes	38	Chabersas	67	Hr. Ben Salah	96	Dj. Djelloud	125	El Haouaria	154	Hr. el Ksour	183	Bir Aida	212	Villa Verdier	241	Bou Takrematen
10	Sufetula	39	Ks. Bou Fatha	68	Bou Ficha	97	Siagu	126	Menzel Yahia	155	Meharza	184	Thigisis	213	Ichérène	242	Azrou Zaouia
11	Thala	40	Constantina	69	El Gebiou	98	Segermes	127	Gales	156	Vallis	185	Arris	214	Choud el-Batel	243	Bou Kaben
12	Thelepte	41	Cuicul	70	Hadrumetum	99	Skhira	128	Carpis	157	Sidi N'Sir	186	Sigus	215	Sullecthum	244	Kh. Bou Hadef
13	Theveste	42	Milev	71	Hr. Sokrine	100	Tubernuc	129	Hr. Djellula	158	Bir el Djedid	187	Kef Mestaoua	216	Aquae Caesaris	245	Clupea
14	Vegesela	43	Rusicade	72	Horrea Caelia	101	Thuburbo Maius	130	Sicca Veneria	159	Soliman	188	Ferme Bou Neb	217	Dar el Hadj Hassen	246	Mornaghia
15	Auzia	44	Sila	73	Iunca	102	F. Bassianus	131	Hr. Gaaga	160	Apisa Maius	189	Hr. Terlist	218	Dj. Oust	247	Rusippisir
16	Iol Caesarea	45	Telerghma	74	Hr. Sgar	103	Uppenna	132	Capsa	161	Tichilla	190	Mergueb et Tir	219	Hr. Rmirmir	248	Takelsa
17	Mopthi	46	Thibilis	75	Leptiminus	104	Uthina	133	Ad Aquae	162	Zama	191	Macomades	220	Oued Ramel	249	Koudiat Adjala
18	Regiae Arbal	47	Tiddis	76	Pupput	105	Utica	134	Themetra	163	Ain Khalfoun	192	Oued Fodda	221	Hr. Gaga	250	Hr. el Baroud
19	Renault	48	Guelma	77	Taparura	106	Uzalis	135	Chusira	164	Horrea	193	Cedias	222	Ksar Tebinet	251	Kh. Achir
20	Rusguniae	49	Hippo Regius	78	Thaenae	107	Neapolis	136	Agger	165	Sufasar	194	Sidi Ghiles	223	Bekkaria	252	Ain el Hadjar
21	Iomnium	50	Madauros	79	Thagamuta	108	Curubis	137	Kramet	166	Beida Bordj	195	Tasaccura	224	Magifa	253	Mechta Bou Abdallah
22	Tipasa	51	Med el Bab	80	Thysdrus	109	Neferis	138	Hr. el Mahallah	167	Aquae Sirenses	196	Argoub el Bania	225	Hr. Seid	254	Tixter
23	Novaricia	52	Thagura	81	Thugga	110	Sidi Habich	139	Tituli	168	Lemellef	197	Kherbet el Kebira	226	Hr. Foum Metleg	255	Borj el Hatab
24	Satafis	53	Dalaa	82	Thignica	111	Kherbet Aroug	140	Thimisua	169	Bou Ismael	198	Hr. Diar el Hajjej	227	Hr. A.-er-Raïane	256	Villa Verdier
25	Sitifis	54	Verecunda	83	Mustis	112	Ulisippira	141	Althiburos	170	Cap Ivi	199	Borj Lathlath	228	Ksar Bou Fatha	257	Castra Nova
26	Thamallula	55	Lambaesis	84	Uchi Maius	113	Ad Maiores	142	Hr. Meskiana	171	Guellal	200	Hr. Kneiess	229	Hr. el Abiod	258	Ain Barchouch
27	Hr. el Koucha	56	Mascula	85	Thibaris	114	Zaouit Soussa	143	Civ. Sivalitana	172	Hacine	201	El Ounaissia	230	Ain Kahla		
28	Thisiduo	57	Tébessa Khalia	86	Bou Salem	115	Thizika	144	Thimida Regia	173	Aquae Calidae	202	Chul	231	Hr. Koreiba		
29	Membressa	58	Thamugadi	87	Ouled Sbaa	116	Cartennae	145	Nefza	174	Mina	203	Rusucurru	232	Mta Azrou		

Fig. 2: Distribution and numbers of epitaphs in Late Antique North Africa (mid 3rd–mid 7th c. AD).

One surprising result of this survey is that North Africa's Late Antique epitaphic habits were anything but urban phenomena. Naturally, there are high numbers in provincial capitals such as *Caesarea*, *Sitifis*, Carthage or *Hadrumetum*, showing the lasting importance of these ever-successful centers.[15] However, the frequency of epitaphs in rural regions (such as Western *Caesariensis*, central *Sitifensis*, central *Numidia*, the Hautes Steppes and Cap Bon) suggests a significant demand for written funerary commemoration, also in hardly urbanized regions. On the other hand, excavations in important cities such as *Lambaesis* (4), *Thamugadi* (5), *Cuicul* (6) or *Thelepte* (5) have revealed only a small number of epitaphs, despite the presence of huge Late Antique necropoleis with hundreds of burials and many churches. This absence of evidence is surely not a matter of archaeological visibility, but a sign of highly local differences in mortuary practices. It seems that in some cities the epigraphic practice of tomb marking perished much earlier than in others.

Another important result is the consolidation of an extreme regional diversity in epitaphic practices. This was already grasped in 1988 by N. Duval,[16] but is now corroborated by stratified contexts. Formulae, paleography, marker types, accompanying symbols and material differed in such a way that in some regions even two neighboring sites presented totally different epitaphic cultures. Regional parallels can also be traced in the epigraphic record, but these may plausibly be explained by assuming travelling workshops that produced epitaphs for wider regional distribution.[17] The overall picture is extremely heterogeneous, underlining the relevance of local traditions in funerary representation.

The question of dating is still a difficult one, and unfortunately only few projects use dates from human bones, grave goods or stratigraphic contexts to date epitaphs. An interdisciplinary approach is necessary, since the inscriptions themselves only rarely provide reliably datable evidence. In some regions, such as both *Mauretaniae*, eras and locally established chronologies based on decoration, paleography, or church dates help to offer precise dating.[18] In 1995, C. Galvão-Sobrinho

15 *Caesarea*: Leveau 1983; Leveau 1984, 88, 209–213; Leveau 1999; *Sitifis*: Février 1965b; *Carthage*: Ennabli 1975; Ennabli 1982; Ennabli 1991; Duval 1988, 285–288; Bockmann 2014; Ardeleanu 2020, n. 41; *Hadrumetum*: Duval 1976, 92f.; Duval 1988, 284f.; Aounallah et al. 2019, 48–58.

16 Duval 1988; for the *Mauretaniae* see: Février 1964, Février 1965a.

17 *Thabraca*'s workshops (Downs 2007) may have produced mosaics for the region down to the Medjerda-valley, as close paleographic and decorative parallels (meanders/triangles) in *Belalis Maior* and *Bulla Regia* show: Mahjoubi 1978, 274–296; Duval 1976, 64 fig. 33; Downs 2007, no. 89; Chaouali 2019, n. 19, figs. 1, 2 assumes an independent atelier in *Bulla Regia*; Cap Bon: Ghalia 2001; Ghalia 2008; *Byzacena*: Terry.

18 On *Caesariensis* and the provincial era: Février 1964; Février 1965a; Février 1986; on consul dates (*Satafis*, *Cuicul, Mactaris*, Carthage, *Leptiminus*) and dates with Vandal regnal years (*Madauros*, *Theveste*, *Ammaedara*, El Erg, Ounaissia, *Sufetula*, *Mactaris,* Carthage), both generally rare: Duval 1976, 93; Prévot 1984, 102; on the Byzantine indiction (larger groups in *Hippo*, *Theveste, Ammaedara*, *Sufetula, Mactaris*, Carthage), which gen-

concluded that North African funerary epigraphy declined considerably in the late 3rd c. AD, was revived shortly during the second half of the 6th c. AD and finally perished by the mid-7th c. AD.[19] This model needs to be differentiated. First of all, varying regional peaks in the evidence have to be considered. New finds in *Sufetula*, for example, seem to confirm that the Byzantine period (mid 6th-mid 7th c. AD) was the century of epigraphic exuberance.[20] In nearby *Ammaedara*, recently published finds include a group of late 3rd to 4th c. AD *cupae*, as well as 22 mosaic and stone epitaphs from the 4th to mid-6th c. AD.[21] The late 4th to late 5th c. AD is the only Late Antique phase of epigraphic activity that we can trace in the ca. 50 epitaphs from nearby *Thagamuta*; also in *Theveste*, epitaphs from this phase match the number from the Byzantine period.[22] The transitional phase between the late 3rd and the 4th c. AD is – leaving aside Carthage, *Caesarea*?, *Altava* and *Hadrumetum* – still very difficult to determine in the epigraphic record. Therefore, if an overall peak in North African production of epitaphs is to be fixed, it should be dated from the second half of the 5th to the 6th c. AD, which is, for the majority of regions discussed here, the century of Vandal control. This general picture is corroborated by recent stratigraphic tomb excavations, but also by intensified stylistic work, especially regarding mosaic epitaphs in several regions.[23]

There are several ways to explain this veritable epigraphic boom of the 5th and 6th c. AD. One reason is the general demographic and economic stability of the North African provinces in this period. The fact that the peak is obvious not only in towns, but also in rural zones, clearly confirms this point. Another central role should be accredited to the establishment of martyr cults. Over 200 places of martyr veneration have been recorded throughout North Africa and their heyday is the 5th to the 6th c. AD. Not surprisingly, the highest numbers of epitaphs come from complexes with martyrial presence (Tab. 1).[24] Whether this phenomenon is to be la-

erally provides a mid-6th c. AD *terminus post quem*: Duval 1988, 288–307; stylistic dating: Alexander; Terry; for an updated map with dates for some sites: Ardeleanu 2020, fig. 3.

19 Galvão-Sobrinho 1995.

20 Duval 1988, 300–303; Bejaoui 2015, 58–80.

21 *Cupae*: Ben Abdallah 2013, nos. 96? (centre), 97, 102 (reused in basilica II), 104 (W-cemetery), 210, 216, 217 (environs); 4th/5th c. AD: Baratte/Bejaoui 2011; new Byzantine epitaphs: Baratte/Bejaoui 2009.

22 *Thagamuta*: Bejaoui 2015, 85–121, esp. 121 on chronology; *Theveste*: Février 1978, 226 f.; Kadra 1989a; Kadra 1989b.

23 *Tipasa*: Ardeleanu 2018; *Hippo*: Ardeleanu 2019; Sidi Jdidi: Ben Abed-Ben Khader/Fixot/Roucole 2011; Stevens 2019, 654–658; *Bulla Regia*; Chaouali 2019; Carthage: Stevens/Garrison/Freed 2009; *Leptiminus*: Ben Lazreg 2002; Ben Lazreg et al. 2006; Ben Lazreg/Stirling/Moore 2021; Hr. Sokrine: Bejaoui 1992; stylistic dating: Duval 1976; Alexander; Terry (*Byzacena*); Ghalia 2001 (Cap Bon); Yasin 2009 (*Demna*, *Sitifis*); Downs 2007 (*Thabraca*); Raynal 2005 (*Uppenna*).

24 Duval 1982; Duval 1995, 203. Especially at Carthage (Bockmann 2014), but also in other churches or *areae*-burials next to 'martyrs' tombs': *Tipasa* (Ardeleanu (in press)), *Thabraca*, *Uppenna*, *Ammaedara* II.

belled as 'burial *ad sanctos*' or not,[25] it is indisputable that martyrs' tombs attracted mass burial. The most important point, however, is a general shift in the epigraphic practice, which occurred at the end of the 4th and the start of the 5th c. AD. In this period civic inscriptions drastically decreased.[26] The practice of honorific and votive inscriptions was abandoned, building and dedicatory inscriptions continued to be set only in limited numbers in fortifications, baths, houses and (predominantly) churches, with peaks in the Hautes Steppes and central *Numidia.*[27] The majority of building and dedicatory inscriptions from churches, however, stems from buildings with a clearly funerary character as their primary function.[28] The growing importance of commemorative representation through funerary epigraphy, observed also in other Western provinces during the 5th c. AD,[29] was another catalyst for the epigraphic revival of this time. We can therefore conclude that social representation in writing became a predominant phenomenon of the funerary space, from the beginning of the 5th c. AD onwards.

New Urban Funerary Topographies and Social Hierarchies: The Value of Epitaph-(Re-)Location

As North African townscapes experienced profound transformation, also their funerary topographies changed during the 3rd–7th c. AD (Tab. 1). Throughout the 3rd c. and first half of the 4th c. AD, extra-urban necropoleis remained the most relevant burial spots, even if intra-urban burials are attested from the late 3rd c. AD onwards.[30] The first burials in churches are dated to the later 4th c. AD (*Sitifis*, *Hippo*, *Theveste*) and, from then on, this new habit spread unstoppably across North Africa. In total, 170 churches with a partly or primarily funerary function are known (Fig. 3).[31]

The 'classical' types of funerary churches are both widely attested, i.e. intra-urban burial churches and burial churches within pre-existing extra-urban necropoleis. Both types could or could not be linked to martyrial 'tombs', and sometimes both are known from the very same town (*Hippo*, *Ammaedara*, *Sufetula*). During the 5th c. AD,

25 For extensive discussion of this topic see Duval 1982, 501–524; Yasin 2009, 69–71; more detailed on North Africa: Ardeleanu (in press).

26 Lepelley 1981; Tantillo 2017; cf. many Western provinces Witschel 2017, 33–38 (regional differences).

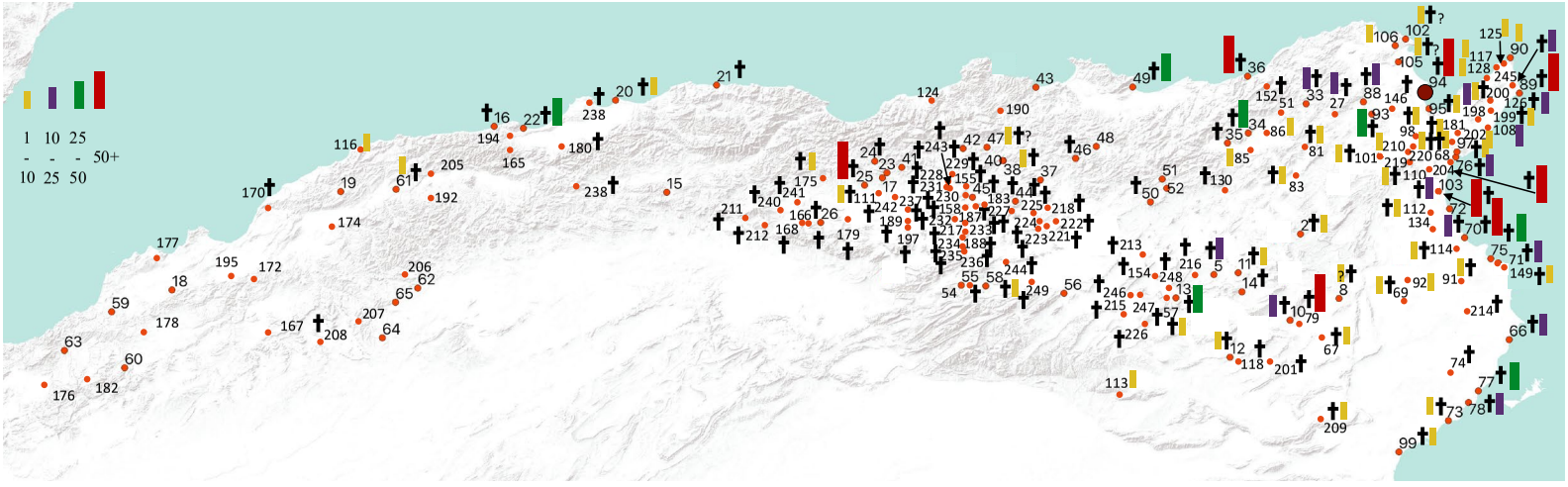
27 Monceaux 1908; Berthier 1942; Hamdoune 2011; Bejaoui 2015; Bejaoui 2016; Hamdoune 2016.

28 E.g. Hr. Sokrine (Bejaoui 1992); *Horrea Caelia* (Ghalia 1998). Only *Mactaris*, *Ammaedara*, *Theveste* and Carthage show higher numbers of non-funerary inscriptions, but here again, epitaphs make up over 90 % of the total record. On martyr inscriptions (often using epitaph formulae): Duval 1982.

29 Handley 2003, 20–22.

30 E.g. in *Thysdrus*, and more widespread from the 5th–7th c. AD: Leone 2007b.

31 The number is based on Gui/Duval/Caillet 1992 and Baratte et al. 2014.



1	Thabbora	29	Membressa	57	Tébessa Khalia	85	Thibaris	113	Ad Maiores	141	Althiburos	169	Bou Ismael	197	Kherbet el Kebira	225	Hr. Bou Lhilet
2	Maktar	30	Thunigaba	58	Thamugadi	86	Bou Salem	114	Zaouit Soussa	142	Hr. Meskiana	170	Cap Ivi	198	Hr. Diar el Hajjej	226	Hr. Foum Metleg Guebli
3	Ulules	31	Vaga	59	Albulae	87	Ouled Sbaa	115	Thizika	143	Civ. Sivalitana	171	Guellal	199	Borj Lathlath	227	Ferme Gourdon
4	Mididi	32	Pophti	60	Altava	88	Cincari	116	Cartennae	144	Thimida Regia	172	Hacine	200	Hr. Kneiess	228	Tiffeltassine
5	Ammaedara	33	Belalis Maior	61	Cast. Tingitanum	89	Demna	117	Hr. Dhouhek	145	Nefza	173	Aquae Calidae	201	El Ounaissia	229	Hr. el Bahira
6	Hadouch	34	Bulla Regia	62	Columnata	90	Missua	118	El Erg	146	Ouled ez-Zid	174	Mina	202	Chul	230	Bled Faham
7	Borj Maajen	35	Simitthus	63	Damous	91	Beni Hassen	119	M. el Oussera	147	Oued Mellègue	175	Sertei	203	Rusucurru	231	Mechira
8	H. el Aioun	36	Thabraca	64	Djeddars	92	Bordj Touil	120	Hr. el Guiz	148	Maxula	176	Numerus Syrorum	204	Sidi Jdidi	232	Bou Takrematen
9	Sufes	37	Ain Abid	65	Tiaret	93	Furni	121	Magifa	149	F. Dinamius	177	Castra Pueorum	205	Tigivae	233	Azrou Zaouia
10	Sufetula	38	Chabersas	66	Acholla	94	Karthago	122	F. Aufidianus	150	Thapsus	178	Mechera	206	Kh. des Aouisset	234	Kharba Ben Douadi
11	Thala	39	Ks. Bou Fatha	67	Hr. Ben Salah	95	Naro	123	Draa Ben Jouder	151	Rucuma	179	Cast. Dianense	207	Mechara Sfa	235	Ouled Aissa
12	Thelepte	40	Constantina	68	Bou Ficha	96	Dj. Djelloud	124	Bou Djenah	152	Hr. Rhiria	180	Elephantaria	208	Ala Miliaria	236	Kh. Salah
13	Theveste	41	Cuicul	69	El Gebiou	97	Siagu	125	El Haouaria	153	Naraggara	181	Bir Bou Rebka	209	Hr. el Baroud	237	Kh. Bou Hadef
14	Vegesela	42	Milev	70	Hadrumetum	98	Segermes	126	Menzel Yahia	154	Hr. el Ksour	182	Pomaria	210	Ain Mziger	238	Gouea
15	Auzia	43	Rusicade	71	Hr. Sokrine	99	Skhira	127	Gales	155	Meharza	183	Bir Aida	211	Galaxia?	239	Icosium
16	Iol Caesarea	44	Sila	72	Horrea Caelia	100	Tubernuc	128	Carpis	156	Vallis	184	Thigisis	212	Aras	240	Equizetum
17	Mopthi	45	Telerghma	73	Iunca	101	Thuburbo Maius	129	Hr. Djellula	157	Sidi N'Sir	185	Arris	213	Vasampus	241	Sidi Embarek
18	Regiae Arbal	46	Thibilis	74	Hr. Sgar	102	F. Bassianus	130	Sicca Veneria	158	Bir el Djedid	186	Sigus	214	Hr. Hlalfa	242	Nova Sparsa
19	Renault	47	Tiddis	75	Leptiminus	103	Uppenna	131	Hr. Gaaga	159	Soliman	187	Kef Mestaoua	215	Ain Ghorab	243	Bou Kaben
20	Rusguniae	48	Guelma	76	Pupput	104	Uthina	132	Capsa	160	Apisa Maius	188	Ferme Bou Neb	216	Aquae Caesaris	244	Hr. Guessès
21	Iomnium	49	Hippo Regius	77	Taparura	105	Utica	133	Ad Aquae	161	Tichilla	189	Hr. Terlist	217	Mta Azrou	245	Clupea
22	Tipasa	50	Madauros	78	Thaenae	106	Uzalis	134	Themetra	162	Zama	190	Mergueb et Tir	218	Hr. el Ksar	246	Vazaivi
23	Novaricia	51	Med el Bab	79	Thagamuta	107	Neapolis	135	Chusira	163	Ain Khalfoun	191	Macomades	219	Hr. Rmirmir	247	Hr. Deheb
24	Satafis	52	Thagura	80	Thysdrus	108	Curubis	136	Agger	164	Horrea	192	Oued Fodda	220	Oued Ramel	248	Hr. el Ksour
25	Sitifis	53	Dalaa	81	Thugga	109	Neferis	137	Kramet	165	Sufasar	193	Cedias	221	Oued Rhezel	249	Hr. Ouazen
26	Thamallula	54	Verecunda	82	Thignica	110	Sidi Habich	138	Hr. el Mahallah	166	Beida Bordj	194	Sidi Ghiles	222	Foum el Amba		
27	Hr. el Koucha	55	Lambaesis	83	Mustis	111	Kherbet Aroug	139	Tituli	167	Aquae Sirenses	195	Tasaccura	223	Hr. Seffan		
28	Thisiduo	56	Mascula	84	Uchi Maius	112	Ulisippira	140	Thimisua	168	Lemellef	196	Argoub el Bania	224	Hr. Djerouda		

Fig. 3: Distribution of mosaic epitaphs and burial churches (marked with black crosses) in Late Antique North Africa (mid 3rd–mid 7th c. AD).

burial in churches became the most prestigious form of funerary representation, as several rural examples with hundreds of tombs show.[32] In central *Numidia*, an homogenous series of ca. 50 rural 'chapels' follows consistent patterns: small communities burying their dead (from five to 50 inhumations) in small buildings, most of which had a pure funerary character and were often linked to reliquaries for local 'saints'.[33] From these sites, only few cemeteries are known, suggesting a strong collective impulse towards burial in such chapels. The fact that tombs were rarely signaled by epitaphs perfectly shows the restricted character of these burial communities, who must have organized on their own how and where burials were distributed.

The relationship between urban necropolis developments and burial churches is complex and often poorly understood. In most cases, we lack firm dating material that enables us to establish whether a necropolis developed around a church or the church was, rather, inserted into an older or already 'Christian' cemetery.[34] In fact, pre-existing burials – some already 'Christian' – under churches with dense *ad sanctos* burials are reported in *Tipasa*, *Theveste*, *Hippo* and Carthage (Damous el Karita, St. Monique). Sometimes, burial activity started only slowly in pre-existing churches with an 'ordinary' liturgical function (*Hippo* Chevillot, *Thabraca*'s urban basilica, *Belalis Maior*). There are also cases where martyr relics were added to pre-existing burial churches (Sidi Jdidi I, *Uppenna*, Carthage, Bir el Knissia, *Tipasa* St. Peter and Paul), or burial churches without martyr veneration (*Sitifis*, *Hippo* Chevillot). In other necropoleis, churches are not yet securely identified, but could still have existed (*Hippo* Borgeaud, *Mactaris*, *Thabraca*, East necropolis; *Leptiminus* II). In towns inhabited until today, the distinction between *intra* and *extra muros* is impossible to determine (*Thabraca, Theveste*, *Sicca Veneria, Mactaris*, *Hadrumetum*, *Leptiminus*), and often the date or even the existence of a rampart is uncertain. It can also be hard to establish the boundaries between various necropoleis of one town (Carthage, *Theveste*).

Furthermore, nucleated 'neighborhood cemeteries' *intra* and *extra muros* seem to have become an important new funerary pattern from the Vandal to the Byzantine periods. Some of these communal cemeteries – a specific Late Antique trend – were grouped around churches with no attested martyr presence or funerary function at all.[35] However, they are also attested within many towns in close proximity

32 On the phenomenon: Duval/Picard 1986; rural churches: *Thagamuta*, *Demna, Uppenna, Menzel Yahia*.

33 Berthier 1942. Liturgical installations (altars, baptisteries) are very rare in these 'burial buildings'.

34 E.g. in *Taparura*, where a baptistery was found in a Late Antique cemetery: Baratte et al. 2014, 236 f.

35 *Icosium*: Souq 2010, 101; Quevedo/Benseddik 2021; *Cuicul*, S-basilica: Eger 2012, 96; *Hippo*, Chevillot basilica: Ardeleanu 2019, 411–424; *Ammaedara* III and VII: Baratte et al. 2014, 312–318, 324–326; *Sufetula*: Bejaoui 2015; Sidi Jdidi III: Ben Abed-Ben Khader/Fixot/Roucole 2011, 163–224; Carthage: Leone 2007b; Stevens 2008.

to domestic and artisanal quarters, on streets and in abandoned temples, *fora* or baths, indicating a preference for close proximity and communication between areas of the living and the dead. One of the best examples showing this intra-urban burial activity is *Hippo Regius* (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4: Late Antique *Hippo Regius* with burial zones, distribution of Late Antique epitaphs and moving 'burial hot spots'; urn sign: amphora burial; flash sign: tile-roofed burial; vertical rectangular sign: stone cist burial; horizontal block: Late Antique sarcophagus; star sign: Late Antique belt buckle (from burial?); hexagonal sign: Late Antique cloisonnée fitting (from burial?); circle sign: other Late Antique small finds (tools, lamps, bronze, ivory); in blue: monuments with Late Antique phase; in gray: Late Antique burial zone.

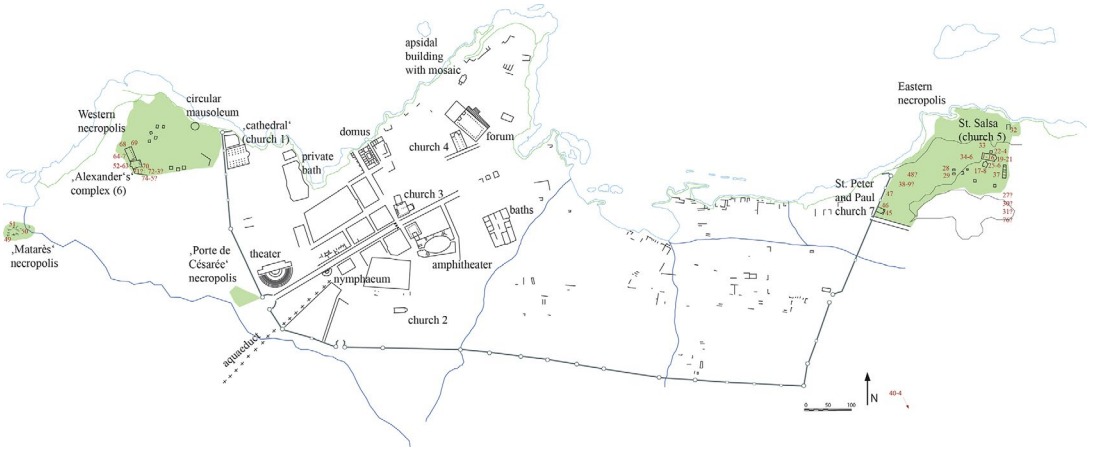


Fig. 5: Late Antique *Tipasa* with burial zones, distribution of Late Antique epitaphs and moving 'burial hot spots'; in green: Late Antique burial zones; red numbers: Late Antique epitaphs.

This phenomenon was common in *Proconsularis*, *Byzacena*, and to a lesser extent in northern *Numidia*, the westernmost example being *Sitifis*.[36] In *Caesariensis*, it seems to be absent. Epigraphy, but also rich grave goods from these cemeteries show that they were not only occupied by the lowest strata of urban society.[37] Tab. 1 shows that intra-urban burial (in churches or not) was never performed in *Caesariensis*, or only very late. This indicates the high relevance of extra-mural necropoleis, where apparently also the local martyrs were venerated. Also in Carthage, intra-urban burial churches were practically absent, while the city's extra-urban cemeterial complexes housed thousands of tombs. In *Thamugadi*, the few intra-urban burials were restricted to privileged inhumations in churches.

In many towns, it is possible to trace the 'movement' and spatial separation of the clerical and civic elites' preferred *loci sepulcrales* thanks to exact epitaph location. In *Tipasa*, the clerical 'hot spot' from the late 4th to early 5th c. AD was a martyr complex at 'bishop Alexander's church' in the West necropolis, but then shifted to the Eastern cemetery in and around St. Salsa from the 5th to 6th c. AD (Fig. 5).[38]

36 *Sitifis*: Guéry 1985, fig. 2; *Cuicul* (S-quarter), *Constantina*, *Lambaesis* (cemetery at camp): Eger 2012, 79, 87; *Hippo*: Ardeleanu 2019; *Theveste*?: Rocca/Bejaoui 2018, 232; *Sufetula*: Bejaoui 2015, 58–79; *Mactaris* (around the 'maison de Venus' and Hoter temple): Baratte et al. 2014, 283; *Thugga*, *Bararus*: Ritter/von Rummel 2015, 42; *Simitthus:* von Rummel/Möller 2019, 187; Carthage, *Thysdrus*, *Hadrumetum*, *Bulla Regia, Thugga?*, *Utica?*: Leone 2007b, also with problems of dating; cf. Stevens 2008 on the phenomenon.

37 Carthage, non-élite tombs with epitaphs: Stevens/Garrison/Freed 2009, 348f.; rich items from tombs with no epitaphs (*Cuicul*, *Thamugadi*, *Hippo*, *Tuniza*, Carthage): Eger 2012, 92–96; Ardeleanu 2019, 406–409.

38 Ardeleanu 2018, 478–497; Ardeleanu (in press).

Tipasa's civic elites seem to have preferred autonomous mausolea and *areae* in Matarès and both of the cemeteries mentioned.

In *Theveste*, the shrine of St. Crispina absorbed all clerical funerary attention throughout Late Antiquity, while civic elites seem to have preferred burial in *areae* in old extra-urban cemeteries, and a high status military burial zone was established in the 'Minerva'-sanctuary in Byzantine times.[39] In *Ammaedara*, both civic and clerical elite burial of the Vandal period concentrated around basilicae I (the potential cathedral) and IV, but then moved to the vicinities of basilica VII and into 'monument VIII' in Byzantine times.[40] Late 5th/early 6th c. AD *Sufetula* saw clerical burials in basilicae I and II, but in Byzantine times, things changed: familial (Pompeiani), clerical and military burials can be located in basilica VIII, bishop tombs in the Southeastern cemetery church VII and military as well as clerical burials in basilicae III and VI.[41] *Mactaris*' basilica I was the preferred episcopal burial site in the late 4th/early 5th c. AD, but in Byzantine times, basilica II became a civic élite burial spot and basilicae I, III and IV shared clerical *loci sepulcrales* (Fig. 6).[42] In *Hippo*, an Homoean élite buried their dead from the late 4th to the mid-5th c. AD in the intra-urban 'Chevillot'-basilica, while the Catholic and military élite chose the extra-urban 'Borgeaud'-church from the 6th c. AD onwards (Fig. 4).[43]

Numerous burials in enclosed *areae* in the extra-urban necropoleis, however, show that families, *collegia* (?), and elites were keen to be buried and commemorated not only in basilical or martyr-associated, but also in separate and 'traditional' mortuary spaces.[44] In *Ammaedara*'s (VIII) and *Thabraca*'s *areae*, tomb sig-

39 Ten out of twelve clerical epitaphs from the site come from the basilica of St. Crispine, an important pilgrim complex: Duval 1982, 123–128; Gui/Duval/Caillet 1992, 314f.; Fiocchi Nicolai 2016, 626; for the other two clerical epitaphs, the provenience is unknown: Kadra 1989a; Kadra 1989b; Bockmann 2013, 219–222; Byzantine military epitaphs: ILAlg I, 3433, 3434.

40 Duval/Prévot 1975; Baratte/Bejaoui 2009; Baratte/Bejaoui 2011; Rocca/Bejaoui 2018, 232; Stevens 2019, 648–654; burials in the extra-urban basilica II seem to have been the tombs of a lower status community (including familial burial plots) albeit the presence of martyr 'tombs' here: Stevens 2019, 651.

41 Basilicae I and II: Baratte et al. 2014, 379–391; basilicae III and VI: AE 1971, 494, 495, 499, 500; basilica VII: ILTun 385; basilica VIII: ILCV 233; Bejaoui 2015, 62–73.

42 Prévot 1984, 12f., 22–28, 48–53, 61–65.

43 Ardeleanu 2019, 411–424 (Chevillot), 424–430 (Borgeaud).

44 *Tipasa* (perhaps 'municipal' *areae*): Ardeleanu 2018, 492f. figs. 3, 7; *Sitifis*, unknown contexts (relatives as dedicators, *filius, mater, pater, frater, avia, uxor, coniux, maritus*): AE 1922, 23 (AD 311), AE 1972, 761 (AD 359), CIL VIII 8491 (AD 337), 8640, 8643, 8644, 8646, 8647, 20412 (AD 384); *Thabraca*: Downs 2007, 89; *Bulla Regia* (*areae*): Chaouali/Fenwick/Booms 2018, fig. 3; *Theveste*, Cambon-*area* (families of Fadiliana and Supserik; relatives as dedicators; *avunculus*, *mater*, *filius*, *coniux*; veterans and foreigners): AE 1995, 1745, 1746, 1751; AE 1958, 148a, b; CIL VIII 16655; SEG 18777; Saadane-*area* (relatives as dedicators; *socra, nepticula*): AE 1981, 883; chapel near rampart: ILCV 3086 (*ff(ratres)*); *Ammaedara*, 'monument VII': Baratte et al. 2014, 327; *Acholla* (familial burial *area*, relatives as dedicators), *Hadrumetum*, Carthage: Duval 2003, 763; *Leptiminus* (elite in 'catacombs'):

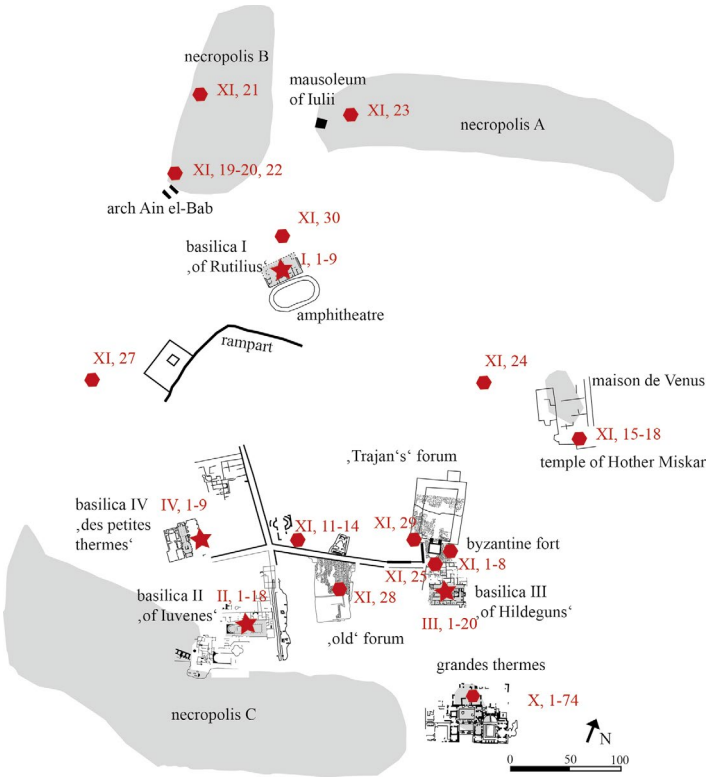


Fig. 6: Late Antique *Mactaris* with burial zones, distribution of Late Antique epitaphs and moving 'burial hot spots'; in grey: Late Antique burial zone; red numbers: findspot of Late Antique epitaphs after Prévot 1984; star sign: Late Antique epitaphs found in original burial context; hexagonal sign: epitaphs found in reused context.

naling followed 'egalitarian' patterns (similar materials, formulae, iconography), whereas in *Cartennae*, *Acholla* and *Leptiminus* both collective identity and individual portraiture were displayed in epitaphs.[45] Although they could be attached to churches (*Ammaedara* II), these *areae* 'rivaled' with burial churches as collective burial grounds. During the 5th–7th c. AD isolated burial seems to have mostly lost its former status as highly-regarded means of individual representation. Apart from some isolated mausolea, discussed below, North African necropoleis *sub divo* contained only very few privileged tombs and single epitaphs from after the mid-6th c. AD.

Ben Lazreg et al. 2006; Ben Lazreg 2021; *Utica,* intra-urban? *area* 100 m SW to Phoenician necropolis: ILTun 1179,1, 1179,4.

45 Duval 1976, 62; Duval 2003; Ben Lazreg et al. 2006, 365; Ben Lazreg 202. Although individual traits in portraiture (age, coiffure) and iconography (deceased as Orpheus and Good Shepherd), the format, layout, symbols and formulae of the inscriptions of this community are more or less uniform. Children were buried in separate rows.

Social Hierarchies and Liturgical Movement in Burial Churches: The Role of Epitaphs

If burial churches were the most promising places and epitaphs became the preferred medium of social representation, one could wonder whether a community's social hierarchies can perhaps be analyzed within these mortuary spaces. This is in fact possible in some well-preserved churches thanks to the mosaic epitaph, perhaps North Africa's most famous marker type. Although this class is also known from Italy, *Sardinia* and the Iberian Peninsula, the numbers for North Africa exceed 1300 examples (Fig. 3).[46] The richest clusters and identifiable workshops are known from *Sitifis*, Cap Bon, the Sahel, the Hautes Steppes and *Thabraca*. In some cases, over 100 mosaic inscriptions covered the floors of churches.

As Ann Marie Yasin and Dominique Raynal have recently argued, colorful mosaic epitaphs offered a higher degree of communicative force than stone markers, which were still preferred sometimes.[47] In *Demna* and *Uppenna* tomb markers show great uniformity in ornament, formulae and symbols, signs of a non-hierarchic, 'egalitarian' representation. New evidence from *Bulla Regia* shows that Christian communities – *contibernia Christianorum* – were responsible for and paid for the production of epitaphs for some members,[48] but it is still debated to what extent the African church itself owned and organized cemeteries.[49] Individual representation, however, was still possible within these trends. Portraiture, rich clothing and narrative scenes appear on epitaphs in burial churches.[50] Also, a clear family-bound representation is evident in the mosaics: some epitaphs refer to professions and offices in their texts and iconography.[51] This is striking, since proud os-

46 Duval 1976 (with non-Christian forerunners); Alexander; Terry; recent finds: Ardeleanu 2020; for the Iberian Peninsula, see the contribution Arbeiter in this volume, for *Sardinia*, see: ICS; for the Western Mediterranean, see Quattrocchi.

47 Raynal 2005; Yasin 2009, 71–78; on the 'iconography of paradise' in mosaic epitaphs: Potthoff 2017, 195–209; on large stone series in *Mactaris* and *Ammaedara* I: Duval/Prévot 1975, 13–187; Prévot 1984.

48 Chaouali 2019, 179 with formulae indicating the dedicators: *ex petitione eis con/cessa de sua fecerunt*.

49 Fiocchi Nicolai 2016, 619, who firmly believes that 'Christian *areae*' existed in North Africa as early as the 3rd c. AD, which cannot be archaeologically proven; *contra*: Rebillard 2003, 17–23; more nuanced: Teichgräber 2021, 35, 158 with older lit.

50 *Sertei*: ILCV 332 (AD 467); *Theveste*: ILCV 1385 (AD 508); *Taparura* (orantes, narrative scenes): Duval 1976, 93f.; Terry 96, 103, 105, 113, 116; *Horrea Caelia*: Ghalia 1998, 114f.

51 *Sitifis* I: AE 1966, 552 (*mater fecit*); Bou Kaben, burial church (Caii Iulii; *filius*, relatives, *heredes* as dedicators): ILAlg II,3, 7488, 7491, 7492d, 7493; Berthier 1942, 126f.; *Theveste*, in/around St. Crispina (*coniux*, *uxor*, *filius/a*, relatives as dedicators): ILCV 1385, 4841; AE 1969/70, 683; *Sufetula*, Pompeiani in church VIII; Bejaoui 2015, 67–73; *Bulla Regia*, Domitii in W-church: Chaouali/Fenwick/Booms 2018, fig. 12; Chaouali 2019, n. 13; *Furni*, no clerics in burial churches, but a Blossii-family in two churches (here also an *archiater*: CIL VIII 25811) and one mausoleum: CIL VIII 25812, 25817, AE 1978, 883;

tentation of professions and offices was by that time unusual and almost reserved for clerics.[52] Only in Byzantine times, military offices regained some relevance, as series from *Rusguniae*, *Hippo, Theveste*, *Sufetula* and Carthage show.

Until recently, the potential of the exact setting of epitaphs in detailed plans was completely neglected by scholarship. Nevertheless, the mosaic inscriptions, for instance, played a crucial role in the liturgies celebrated at burial complexes during well-attested feast days in honor of the dead or of martyrs, the *dies natales*. For *Tipasa* and *Hippo*, the author was able to draw new plans according to old excavation reports and archival material (Figs. 7, 8, 9).[53] *Tipasa*'s 'Alexander complex' housed not only the relics of several local martyrs in an *area*, but also the tomb of bishop Alexander, who equipped the complex with a church and a sophisticated liturgical circuit in the late 4th or early 5th c. AD (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7: *Tipasa*, 'Alexander complex' with burial church and attached *area* for martyr, clerical and ordinary burial (late 4th–6th c. AD); green lines: hypothetical liturgical movement; red: mosaic; red numbers: Late Antique epitaphs placed in reading direction; darker green: thresholds, stairways; yellow: funerary/martyr *mensa*.

The crucial turning points of this circuit were marked by splendid inscriptions. These inscriptions communicated with the participants and, by their orientation and contents, told them not only where to go, but also what to do and where to look

Pupput (church, family epitaphs): AE 1997, 1609; for professions represented in iconography, see also Ehler 2012, 175–181, 229–290.

52 Potthoff 2017, 192 (Carthage); for entire North Africa, see: Ardeleanu 2020, fig. 2. Only the titles *clarissimus/a vir/femina* (*Cartennae, Tipasa, Sitifis*, *Cuicul, Ammaedara, Furni,* Carthage), *honesta femina* (*Mactaris*, *Thaenae*) and *flamen perpetuus* (Mechera, *Ammaedara*, Choud el-Batel, Carthage, *Furni*, *Uppenna*) had a wide distribution in Late Antiquity.

53 Ardeleanu 2018, figs. 3, 6; Ardeleanu 2019, fig. 3; Ardeleanu (in press).

at. They invited the faithful to have funerary meals on the *mensae* of the martyrs, as well as to sing, pray and practice charity. It is fascinating that these inscriptions also took account of the site's topography and architecture, as they encouraged the faithful to climb stairs and to cross thresholds. Burial at this site seems to have been initially restricted to clerics and their families, as two epitaphs demonstrate, one of which with the explicit term *ex permissu episcopi*.[54] The whole circuit was an orchestrated scenery for the representation of Alexander's *virtus* and his *cura* for his predecessors, the tombs of whom he gathered and re-buried in the nave of his 'genealogical' church. Alexander's epitaph on a 5 × 3 m mosaic in the center of the church was a sensation in itself, if we imagine the shaded light in the nave, the illusive colors and the panegyric poem running over 11 lines.

Such textual eye-catchers, with their striking inverted or diagonal orientation, often positioned in liminal positions (thresholds, entrances), definitely directed the faithful in their liturgical and processional movement.[55] What also became obvious from our new plans is that there was a tendency to group burials according to gender. Finally, detailed burial locations also reveal much about social exclusion. In *Tipasa*, foreigners seem to have been excluded from intra-basilical burial; in *Hippo*, a Homoean elite group occupied a church during the 5th c. AD for their burials, in some cases even destroying older tombs (Fig. 8); in Carthage and *Hippo*, burial of unbaptized children was prohibited in churches.[56]

Outright destruction and superimposing multiple tombs were not uncommon in order to create physical proximity to the saints.[57] While it is well-known that the most privileged burial spots, such as apses or choirs,[58] were often granted to

54 Ardeleanu 2018, no. 57.

55 Diagonal epitaphs in *Thabraca*'s 'martyrs chapel' (Downs 2007, 104–141) and Sidi Habich (Baratte 2008, fig. 2), 'inverted', 'edge' and 'threshold' epitaphs in *Iomnium* I (Gui/Duval/Caillet 1992, 57–61), *Tipasa* (Ardeleanu 2018, nos. 7–9); other promising sites for movement reconstruction: Menzel Yahia (Ghalia 2008, 208); *Uppenna* (Raynal 2005; Yasin 2009), Hr. Sokrine (Bejaoui 1992), *Horrea Caelia* (Ghalia 1998); on the latter both, see now also Stevens 2019, 658–662.

56 Ardeleanu 2018, 493; Ardeleanu 2019, 423; in Bulla Regia, most prestigious burial spots in annexes of a funerary church were occupied by non-locals: Nikita et al. 2023, 11 fig. 6.; in Carthage, Bir Ftouha/Bir el Knissia, church burials were limited and – with privileged exceptions – excluded from the cores, but intensive burial took place in annexes: Stevens/Kalinowski/van der Leest 2005, 576; at Bir Ftouha, unbaptized (?) children were buried near the annexes of a baptistery: Stevens 2008, 92; cf. Aug., De sepultura catechumenorum (Dolbeau 7/Main 15).

57 Lancel 1997; Ardeleanu 2018, 493 no. 19; cf. *Thabraca*: six levels of burials, superimposed on and destroying earlier tombs: Downs 2007, 84, 519; *Ammaedara*: Baratte/Bejaoui 2011, 172; *Bulla Regia*, 6th c. AD-mausoleum destroying earlier tombs: Chaouali 2019, 178; on the Iberian Peninsula and the *Galliae*, see the contributions Arbeiter and Merten in this volume.

58 Duval/Picard 1986; Baratte 2008; cf. *Cuicul*'s S-church (only clerical epitaphs): ILAlg II, 3, 8297, 8299.

Fig. 8: *Hippo Regius*, intra-urban burial church (Chevillot, late 4th–6th c. AD) with burials according to gender (green signs), epitaphs *in situ* (red numbers); green lines: hypothetical liturgical movement; brown: latest burials.

Fig. 9: *Tipasa*, funerary church of St. Salsa with surrounding necropolis and re-located epitaphs (red numbers) (4th–6th c. AD). The epitaph position of the *diaconus* Adeod[atus] is highlighted; orange: pathway; C: cistern; M: mausolea; yellow: funerary *mensa*; red: mosaic; dark blue: *cupa.*

high-ranking clerics, other clerics apparently followed their own burial-patterns. Tombs for *diaconi* and *subdiaconi* are often found at the entrances of churches or annexes (Fig. 9), i.e. exactly at the spots for which *diaconi* had been responsible during their lives.[59] Baptisteries and rooms linked to baptism were popular burial spots for *presbyteri* and *episcopi*, so as to emphasize what one of their most important clerical services had been.[60] On the other hand, only very few clerical epitaphs

59 *Ala Miliaria*: CIL VIII 21571; *Tipasa*, St. Salsa: Ardeleanu 2018, no. 15; *Ammaedara*: Baratte/Bejaoui 2009, 67 no. 6; *Thagamuta*: Bejaoui 2015, 96 no. 8; *Sufetula*, basilica VIII?; Bejaoui 2015, 72 no. 7; basilica III: AE 1971, 500?; Sidi Jdidi II: Ben Abed-Ben Khader/Fixot/Roucole 2011, 60, 86, 113, 134 f.

60 *Rusguniae*: ILCV 1111; *Thagamuta*: Bejaoui 2015, 95 nos. 4, 7; Sidi Habich, *Uppenna*,

were found in open necropoleis in North Africa, underscoring the high relevance of intra-basilical burial for clerics.[61] Yet, in *Sitifis*, *Furni* or *Thaenae*, burial churches could also be dominated by civic elites.[62]

Funerary Customs, Anthropology and Epigraphy: Problems and Perspectives

Like in the case of epitaphs, an updated synthesis is lacking also for mortuary archaeology of Late Antique North Africa (Tab. 1).[63] Only recently, some proper stratigraphic excavations in Late Antique cemeteries and burial churches have been undertaken.[64] The bulk of funerary material has been excavated during the colonial era and the first decades of the Maghreb's post-colonial history, a time in which funerary archaeology had not yet established its interdisciplinary approach. Yet, the main funerary customs are known today in their general outline. As elsewhere, the shift from cremation to inhumation took place from the late 2nd to the 3rd c. AD, even if there were rare 5th c. AD-cremations in Carthage.[65] East-West alignment and extended supine body positioning was the rule, although also other orientations, as well as flexed and crouched positions, are attested in rare cases.[66] Flexed and crouched burials, as well as cremation, were never recorded in combination with epigraphic markers, which might be a sign for burials of lower social status. In

Sufetula I and II: Baratte 2008, 226–228, fig. 2, 3; ILCV 1112, 3477; Hr. Sokrine: Bejaoui 1992, 334; Stevens 2019, 659 f.

61 Only in *Altava* two clerics were possibly buried in open necropoleis: Marcillet-Jaubert 1968, nos. 190, 197; cf. *Bulla Regia*: Chaouali/Fenwick/Booms 2018, 194, Chaouali 2019, where no bishop tombs are recorded in particular burial spaces next to (but not within) a burial church, indicating that neither intra-basilical nor common 'clerical' apse- or choir-burials were considered the most prestigious inhumation spots here.

62 Février 1965b (just 2 clerics for 50 tombs); Fortier/Malahar 1910, 93 f.; Baratte et al. 2014, 91–94.

63 First outline by Gsell 1901, 396–427; Duval 1995 and Eger 2012, 61–96 published useful introductions to funerary practices in Late Antique North Africa, although their focus is on topography and grave goods; further important reading in funerary archaeology: Trousset 1995; Stone/Stirling 2007 (diachronic approaches).

64 *Icosium*: Souq 2010; *Bulla Regia*: Chaouali/Fenwick/Booms 2018; Chaouali 2019; Carthage: Stevens/Kalinowski/van der Leest 2005; Stevens/Garrison/Freed 2009; *Pupput*: Ben Abed-Ben Khader/Griesheimer 2004; De Larminat 2011; *Leptiminus*: Ben Lazreg et al. 2006; Keenleyside et al. 2009.

65 On the trend and problems: Schmidt 2000, 321 f.; Volp 2002, 186–195; in *Caesarea*, *Pupput* and *Leptiminus*, firm data is available (late 2nd/early 3rd c. AD): Leveau 1999, 114; Ben Abed-Ben Khader/Griesheimer 2004, 184 f.; Ben Lazreg et al. 2006, 352 f.; in *Sitifis*, the shift occurred slightly later (mid-3rd c. AD): Guéry 1985, 311 f.

66 On East-West-orientation and the problems of a 'Christian' custom: Schmidt 2000, 321 f.; for exceptions in *Sitifis*, *Caesarea* and Carthage: Leveau 1984, 207; Stevens 2008, 98; Eger 2012, 82 f.

central North Africa, from *Sitifensis* through *Numidia* to Western *Proconsularis* and the Sahel, the practice of depositing bodies in a lime/gypsum stratum was perpetuated from older traditions.[67] Isolated parallels are known from *Caesariensis* and Carthage.[68] This practice seems to have responded to the desire to avoid smells of putrefaction in closed and frequently used burial spaces (churches, family tombs). It is a matter of debate whether the custom also reflects a 'Christian' will to conserve the body.[69] Interestingly, this habit is mostly – with *Thamugadi* and the sites in the Sahel as exceptions – associated with epitaph-signaled burials or tombs within prestigious contexts, which might indicate that this custom was expensive and performed by wealthy or even elite classes.

Anthropological studies on Late Antique necropoleis in North Africa are rare. That is the main problem funerary research in this region has to deal with today.[70] It is thus extremely difficult to combine the available data with other aspects of funerary habits, such as commemoration by epitaphs and rituals. At sites where burials were excavated according to modern standards, however, we can see what implications these methods might also have for tomb signaling.[71] While mosaic epitaphs for two or more family members matched the anthropological evidence

67 Sidi Embarek, Zraïa, Bou Takrematen: Gsell 1901, 258, 291, 343, 402; Duval 1995, 196; hundreds in *Thamugadi*'s S-necropolis (2nd–7th c. AD). On this burial custom, very popular in the Rhine/Moselle-zone, in Britain and other Mediterranean areas: Reifarth 2013, 31–40, 433–477 (with African distribution and cases in *Sitifis, Constantina*); De Larminat 2011, 228 f. (with Roman forerunners in *Sitifis*, *Theveste*, *Sicca Veneria*, Carthage, *Siagu*, *Pupput*, *Hadrumetum*, *Gigthis*); cf. the contribution Merten in this volume. African examples not cited by Reifarth 2013 are *Sitifis*: Guéry 1985, 295; *Numidia* (Hr. Seffan, Hr. Djerouda, ferme Gourdon, Bled Faham, Kef Mestaoua, Kh. Bou Hadef: Berthier 1942, 86, 90, 91 f., 100, 137, 160; *Mactaris, Theveste* (4th–5th c. AD): Kadra 1989a, 267; *Ammaedara*: Baratte/Bejaoui 2009, 62 f.; Baratte/Bejaoui 2011, 163, 171, 173; *Sufetula*: Duval 1995, 192; *Hippo Regius*: Ardeleanu 2019, 408, n. 39, 435, nos. 19, 27; *Bulla Regia*: Carton 1892, 72 f.; *Belalis Maior*: Mahjoubi 1978, 288, 308; *Cincari*: Duval/Cintas 1976, 866 f., 889; Sidi Jdidi: Ben Abed-Ben Khader/Fixot/Roucole 2011, 61 fig. 32; Mraissa (4th/5th c. AD): Ghalia 2001, 67; *Hadrumetum*: Leynaud 1922, 90; *Leptiminus* (3rd c. AD): Ben Lazreg et al. 2006, 353; Sterrett-Krause 2017, 55 f.; *Thaenae* (2nd–5th c. AD), *Thysdrus* (3rd c. AD), Raqquada (3rd c. AD): Fortier/Malahar 1910, 83; Jeddi 1995, 140, 144–150, n. 17.

68 *Tipasa* (3rd c. AD): Bouchenaki 1975, 53, 73; Carthage: Jeddi 1995, n. 17; Reifarth 2013, 474 f.

69 Reifarth 2013, 39 f. In my view, the early cases show a pre-Christian tradition well-established in Africa.

70 E.g. *Ammaedara*, *Sufetula*, *Thagamuta*, Sidi Jdidi, *Uppenna*, where hundreds of tombs remained unexcavated or were opened recently without bone analyses: Raynal 2005; Baratte/Bejaoui 2009; Ben Abed-Ben Khader/Fixot/Roucole 2011; Baratte/Bejaoui 2011, 147–210; Bejaoui 2015.

71 Anthropological studies of Late Antique tombs have been undertaken in *Sitifis* (Guéry 1985, 237–307), Carthage and *Leptiminus* (Stevens/Kalinowski/Van der Leest 2005, 474–487; Stevens/Garrison/Freed 2009, 265–332; Keenleyside et al. 2009), and more recently in *Althiburos*, *Pupput, Thugga* (all without epitaphs) and *Bulla Regia*: Ritter/von Rummel 2015, 64–73; Chaouali/Fenwick/Booms 2018, 196; Nikita et al. 2023.

from associated graves in Carthage,[72] in *Tipasa*, *Thabraca*, *Uppenna* and *Ammaedara* up to seven burials were recorded in a single tomb marked by one epitaph.[73] One has to ask, therefore, to which individual an epitaph should be attributed, if gender and age in the associated tomb are not determined by osteological analysis. Only in few cases, such as the Supserik-Supserika-epitaphs from *Theveste*, familial tomb opening and reoccupation was commemorated by two successive epitaphs installed over the very same container (Fig. 10).[74]

Fig. 10: *Theveste*, two epitaphs marking sequential burials of Supserik's family within the same tomb, AE 1958, 148a, 148b (5th c. AD).

In other cases, multiple deceased persons are mentioned in pre-fabricated 'double' or 'triple' epitaphs; the associated burials have, however, mostly not been analyzed.[75] Moreover, the lack of epigraphic signaling of tombs is not an implicit sign for ordinary or poor burial. In 'neighborhood' cemeteries, epitaphs were perhaps never necessary for the commemoration of the dead of such small communities. Within families and small communities, burial plots must have been perfectly known. Indeed, Susan T. Stevens' studies at Carthage show that unmarked tombs were used in vertical burial stacks for sequential and familial burial up to four times.[76] Cemeteries in *Sitifis* and the Tell had 'ephemeral' anepigraphic markers: stone and earth mounds, tiles with crosses and 'carreaux de terre cuite'.[77]

Anthropological analysis could also inform the discussion about social hierarchies within burial contexts, an issue traditionally examined by epigraphy. Late Antique burial fields with no or few epigraphic markers in *Thugga*, Carthage and *Leptiminus* had separate rows of adult and child burials, and mass child burials were

72 Stevens/Garrison/Freed 2009, 43–72.

73 Lancel 1997, 808; Terry 52; Downs 2007, 113, 471, 510–512; Baratte/Bejaoui 2011, 172.

74 AE 1958, 148a, b; first Supserik and his *coniux* Germana were interred (signaled by a mosaic epitaph), then their children Supserika and Arcura (signaled by the semicircular stone *mensa*); Duval 1976, 86; cf. Carthage, where epitaphs of family burial plots were repaired or removed: Stevens/Garrison/Freed 2009, 45–51.

75 E.g. Carthage, Bir el Knissia: Stevens 2008, 83; *Demna*: Yasin 2009, fig. 2.18.

76 Stevens/Kalinowski/Van der Leest 2005, 477; Stevens/Garrison/Freed 2009; cf. Eger 2012, 83f.

77 Guéry 1985, 237–307; Stevens/Garrison/Freed 2009, 347; on the 'carreaux', stamped bricks and regional tomb covers in *Proconsularis* and *Byzacena* (*Sufetula*, *Cincari*, *Furni*, Carthage): Duval 1995, 196. The burial churches in central *Numidia*, where epitaphs are rare, also required different tomb signaling: Berthier 1942.

documented in reoccupied mausolea in *Pupput*.[78] In such communal burial churches as Bir Ftouha and Bir el-Knissia at Carthage it was possible to detect prestigious burials and burial hierarchies by prominent position, by tomb furnishing, by analysis of disarticulated bones, by hierarchized burial position or by materials used.[79] Kinship, which usually is assessed only by information from tomb stones, could be determined more reliably by mitochondrial data. Isotope analysis would shed light on mortality rates and migration and diet analysis could help to assess – as recently shown for *Leptiminus, Bulla Regia* and Carthage – social differences between deceased buried in different tomb markers or types, questions that so far have only been answered by epigraphic evidence and grave goods.[80] In the 5th–6th c. AD cemetery at the Theodosian wall in Carthage, it became clear through isotope analysis that all members of the community buried at this spot shared almost identical dietary patterns throughout age and gender.[81] This result might indicate that social hierarchies were articulated by differing grave markers and tomb types although the community as a whole had non-hierarchical diet customs and perhaps similar economic backgrounds.

Changing Regional Tomb Types and Their Repercussions on Tomb Signaling

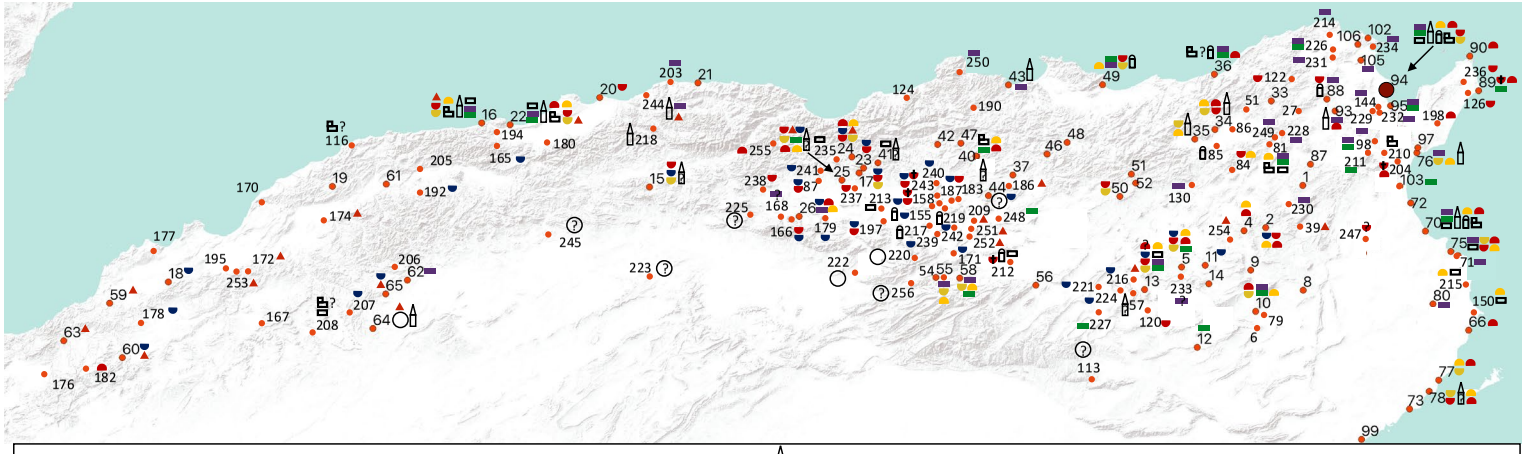
In this section I will present some thoughts on the interconnectedness of changing tomb types and epigraphic markers. I will limit myself to tomb types that received epigraphic signaling (Tab. 1; Fig. 11).

78 *Thugga*: Ritter/von Rummel 2015, 68; Carthage, Theodosian wall-cemetery: Stevens 2008, 93; *Pupput*, mausoleum 30, over 5000 bones from children (5th c. AD): De Larminat 2011, 114–118; Carthage, Yasmina-necropolis: Stevens 2008, 100; age-separated burial in *Leptiminus*' 'catacombs': Ben Lazreg et al. 2006, 367; Ben Lazreg 2021; cf. a cluster of epitaphs for children in Bir Ftouha, Carthage: Stevens/Kalinowski/Van der Leest 2005, 576.

79 Stevens/Kalinowski/Van der Leest 2005, 105–112; Stevens 2008, 89–92.

80 Keenleyside et al. 2009 show that marine diet increased here in the 5th c. AD, but it is debated whether this is a sign of economic decline or prosperity; isotopes show few differences in diet between persons buried in mausolea/hypogea or simple pits, indicating that elites had diet preferences similar to those of lower strata; Ma et al. 2021 have recently published new isotope results from the Theodosian wall cemetery of Vandalic date at Carthage; their highly interesting analysis shows that maritime food was not accessible to the small community buried here albeit its close proximity to the sea; whether this is a sign of the community's socio-economic differentiation (in this case perhaps a sign of a lower economic status) or of diet traditions of an immigrated group (the samples were taken from the deads' teeth, they may therefore reflect nutrition fingerprints from pre-adult immigrants) or just a local diet fashion, remains open to debate. The high percentage of proteins recorded in the $\delta^{15}N$ samples may point – with caution – to a migration from arid zones (e.g. Saharan or Southern Tunisian regions); on migration discussed by epitaphs/grave goods alone: Handley 2011; Eger 2012; in Bulla Regia, recent isotopic analysis from a cemetery church revealed that privileged burial spots seem to have been occupied to a large extent by non-locals: Nikita et al. 2023, 11 fig. 6.

81 Ma et al. 2021, 9.



1	Thabbora	26	Thamallula	51	Med el Bab	76	Pupput	101	Thub. Maius	126	Menzel Yahia	151	Rucuma	176	Num Syrorum	201	El Ounaissia	226	Borj el Hatab	251	Teniet Anouda
2	Maktar	27	Hr. el Koucha	52	Thagura	77	Taparura	102	F. Bassianus	127	Gales	152	Hr. Rhiria	177	Castra Pueorum	202	Chul	227	Hr. A-er-Raïane	252	Djebel Snobra
3	Ulules	28	Thisiduo	53	Dalaa	78	Thaenae	103	Uppenna	128	Carpis	153	Naraggara	178	Mechera	203	Rusucurru	228	Gens Bacchuiana	253	Castra Nova
4	Mididi	29	Membressa	54	Verecunda	79	Thagamuta	104	Uthina	129	Hr. Djellula	154	Hr. el Ksour	179	Cast. Dianense	204	Sidi Jdidi	229	Hr. Méou	254	Ain Barchouch
5	Ammaedara	30	Thunigaba	55	Lambaesis	80	Thysdrus	105	Utica	130	Sicca Veneria	155	Meharza	180	Elephantaria	205	Tigivae	230	Hr. Romana	255	Rusippisir
6	Hadouch	31	Vaga	56	Mascula	81	Thugga	106	Uzalis	131	Hr. Gaaga	156	Vallis	181	Bir Bou Rebka	206	Kh. des Aouisset	231	Menzel Bourguiba		
7	Borj Maajen	32	Pophti	57	Tébessa Khalia	82	Thignica	107	Neapolis	132	Capsa	157	Sidi N'Sir	182	Pomaria	207	Mechara Sfa	232	La Mohammedia		
8	H. el Aioun	33	Belalis Maior	58	Thamugadi	83	Mustis	108	Curubis	133	Ad Aquae	158	Bir el Djedid	183	Bir Aida	208	Ala Miliaria	233	Hr. Oum el Aouath		
9	Sufes	34	Bulla Regia	59	Albulae	84	Uchi Maius	109	Neferis	134	Themetra	159	Soliman	184	Thigisis	209	Ain Kahla	234	Porto Farina		
10	Sufetula	35	Simitthus	60	Altava	85	Thibaris	110	Sidi Habich	135	Chusira	160	Apisa Maius	185	Arris	210	Ain Mziger	235	Kh. Bou Addoufen		
11	Thala	36	Thabraca	61	C. Tingitanum	86	Bou Salem	111	Kherbet Aroug	136	Agger	161	Tichilla	186	Sigus	211	Dj. Oust	236	Mraissa		
12	Thelepte	37	Ain Abid	62	Columnata	87	Ouled Sbaa	112	Ulisippira	137	Kramet	162	Zama	187	Kef Mestaoua	212	Hr. Seffan	237	M. Bou Abdallah		
13	Theveste	38	Chabersas	63	Damous	88	Cincari	113	Ad Maiores	138	Hr. Mahallah	163	Ain Khalfoun	188	Ferme Bou Neb	213	Kh. Bou Hadef	238	Tixter		
14	Vegesela	39	Ks. Bou Fatha	64	Djeddars	89	Demna	114	Zaouit Soussa	139	Tituli	164	Horrea	189	Hr. Terlist	214	Menzel Bouguiba	239	Naamane		
15	Auzia	40	Constantina	65	Tiaret	90	Missua	115	Thizika	140	Thimisua	165	Sufasar	190	Mergueb et Tir	215	Sullecthum	240	Mechira		
16	Iol Caesarea	41	Cuicul	66	Acholla	91	Beni Hassen	116	Cartennae	141	Althiburos	166	Beida Bordj	191	Macomades	216	Aquae Caesaris	241	Koudiat Adjala		
17	Mopthi	42	Milev	67	Hr. Ben Salah	92	Bordj Touil	117	Hr. Dhouhek	142	Hr. Meskiana	167	Aquae Sirenses	192	Oued Fodda	217	Mta Azrou	242	Azrou Zaouia		
18	Regiae Arbal	43	Rusicade	68	Bou Ficha	93	Furni	118	El Erg	143	Civ. Sivalitana	168	Lemellef	193	Cedias	218	Ghor. Ouled Selama	243	Bou Kaben		
19	Renault	44	Sila	69	El Gebiou	94	Karthago	119	M. el Oussera	144	Thimida Regia	169	Bou Ismael	194	Sidi Ghiles	219	Hr. Guesseria	244	Blad Guitoun		
20	Rusguniae	45	Telerghma	70	Hadrumetum	95	Naro	120	Hr. el Guiz	145	Nefza	170	Cap Ivi	195	Tasaccura	220	Diana Veteranorum	245	Kef Sidi Attalah		
21	Iomnium	46	Thibilis	71	Hr. Sokrine	96	Dj. Djelloud	121	Magifa	146	Ouled ez-Zid	171	Guellal	196	Argoub el Bania	221	Hr. Gaga	246	Ichoukkne		
22	Tipasa	47	Tiddis	72	Horrea Caelia	97	Siagu	122	F. Aufidianus	147	O. Mellègue	172	Hacine	197	Kherbet el Kebira	222	Ausum	247	Hr. Allalcha		
23	Novaricia	48	Guelma	73	Iunca	98	Segermes	123	Draa B Jouder	148	Maxula	173	Aquae Calidae	198	Hr. Diar el Hajjej	223	Es Senam	248	Hr. Djerouda		
24	Satafis	49	Hippo Regius	74	Hr. Sgar	99	Skhira	124	Bou Djenah	149	F. Dinamius	174	Mina	199	Borj Lathlath	224	Magifa	249	Thubursicum Bure		
25	Sitifis	50	Madauros	75	Leptiminus	100	Tubernuc	125	El Haouaria	150	Thapsus	175	Sertei	200	Hr. Kneiess	225	Bordj Bou Arreridj	250	Chullu		

Fig. 11: Distribution of most widespread burial types in Late Antique North Africa.

It is no surprise to find the most varied spectra of Late Antique tomb types in dominating regional centers such as *Caesarea*, *Sitifis*, *Hippo*, Carthage and *Hadrumetum*. Pit tombs, *formae* or *fossae*, build cist tombs and tile-roofed tombs were ubiquitous tomb types in Late Antique North Africa.[82] One should be cautious to link them exclusively to ordinary people, since they were used not only in cemeteries and *areae*, but also for privileged burials in churches, mausolea and hypogea. The materiality of their epitaphs can vary from local limestone to marble, and from tile to colorful mosaics with glass and precious stone inlays. Further, rich grave goods, traces of textiles, painted, plastered, lead and wooden coffins suggest a very wide social distribution of these burial types.[83]

Inscribed sarcophagi without relief decoration are unevenly attested in Late Antique North Africa. In *Caesarea*, *Tipasa* and *Thamugadi*, where many sarcophagi can still be admired *in situ*, only few were inscribed.[84] There are isolated cases in *Sitifensis*, *Numidia*, central and Western,[85] as well as Eastern *Proconsularis*.[86] Free-standing sarcophagi with mosaic and carved epitaphs on the lids and the covers' lateral, long and upper sides are reported in open cemeteries and *areae*.[87] Epitaphs were also placed on the coffins' long front,[88] or on lateral sides.[89] Other sar-

82 On North African *formae*, cist and tile-roofed tombs, which still await a systematic typological classification: Gsell 1901, 402f.; Duval 1995, 196; Stevens 2008; Eger 2012, 73 (Carthage only).

83 Wooden and lead coffins are attested from the Djeddars, *Rusucurru*, *Tipasa*, Bou Takrematen, *Thabraca* (8x lead), *Bulla Regia*, *Mactaris*, *Theveste*, *Leptiminus* and Carthage: Carton 1892, 72f.; Gsell 1901, 403; Prévot 1984, 43; Duval 1995, 196; Downs 2007, 383, 404, 409, 432, 459, 502, 513; Stevens/Garrison/Freed 2009, 352; Eger 2012, 72; Chaouali/Fenwick/Booms 2018, 193; Ben Aïcha 2021, 439–446; on wealthy burials with exquisite textiles: Eger 2012, esp. 92–96.

84 *Caesarea*: AE 1983, 984; Leveau 1983, 92–95; Leveau 1999, 112, fig. 25; *Tipasa*: Ardeleanu 2018, appendix 1; *Thamugadi* (in necropoleis/churches, mostly anepigraphic): Duval 1995, 195.

85 Dresken-Weiland 2003, 397f.; *Sitifis* (church): Février 1965b, 38f.; *Constantina* (hypogeum): Eger 2012, 199; Hr. Djerouda (church): AE 1946, 245a–b; Berthier 1942, 91; *Thelepte* (necropolis?): CIL VIII 181?; Dj. Oust: CIL VIII 24001?; *Thugga* (church/hypogeum): Baratte et al. 2014, 61–64; cf. below.

86 Numerous in Carthage, few in *Demna* and *Naro*: Mahjoubi 1978, 422; Dresken-Weiland 2003, 405–409.

87 *Caesarea*: AE 1983, 984; *Tipasa*: Ardeleanu 2018, nos. 21, 25, 26, 34, 37, 46, 47, 68, 71 (lids' upper sides), 35, 36 (lids' lateral side); *Theveste* (lids' upper sides): AE 1995, 1740, 1748, 1751, 1752 (stone); ILAlg I, 3450, SEG 18777; AE 1989, 787; AE 1995, 1756 (mosaic); *Furni*: CIL VIII 25818; Carthage: CIL VIII 25308; ILCV 1415?; Ennabli 1975, nos. 38, 43, 68, 75, 95, 110, 111, 112; Ennabli 1991, no. 606 (all on lids' upper sides?).

88 *Caesarea* (necropolis): CIL VIII 9592; *Tipasa* (necropolis): Ardeleanu 2018, no. 20; *Rusicade* (mausoleum): CIL VIII 8189; *Hippo* (necropolis): Ardeleanu 2019, no. 19; *Thugga* (church): CIL VIII 27336; *Utica*: ILAfr 430,2; Carthage (necropoleis, churches): Fournet-Pilipenko 1961, nos. 28, 46–50, 74, 97; *Naro*: CIL VIII 24326; *Hadrumetum*: CIL VIII 63; Hr. Sokrine: Rep. III 642.

89 A local particularity in *Tipasa*: Ardeleanu 2018, nos. 23, 24, 32, 33, 46.

cophagi were buried under inscribed *mensae* visible over walking levels or along pathways.[90] Inscribed sarcophagi reacted to new installations in *areae*, churches and mausolea, since only their epitaphs were visible on circulation level.[91] The quality and material of these coffins of local production is often poor, indicating that the type alone – even if inscribed – was not necessarily a sign of high social or even elite burial. If we would accept this hypothesis, *Tipasa*'s elite would have counted over 2 000 members, which surely was not the case.[92] Some epitaphs are carved in such a simple (scratched single names) and erroneous way that we are tempted to interpret their commissioners as members of the middle or even lower classes.[93]

Nevertheless, North Africa has also yielded some 200 relief sarcophagi dating to the late 3rd to mid-5th c. AD, and very few specimens from the 6th c. AD (Fig. 11).[94] This ambitious tomb type could only be commissioned by wealthy elites, and this holds true especially for the imported and marble examples, mostly found in elevated burial buildings.[95] Half of them was excavated at Carthage (ca. 95), and Carthage also seems to have housed a specialized workshop that exported sarcophagi throughout North Africa, but also as far as *Sardinia*, *Sicilia* and *Tarracco*.[96] Interestingly, also other regional centers, especially coastal sites, such as *Hippo* (3), *Tipasa* (9), *Caesarea* (10), *Thabraca* (4), *Rusicade* (3) and *Rusucurru* (2), have yielded comparatively high numbers, including imported specimens. This distribution, but also the variety of iconographic schemes chosen – mythological, biblical, architectural, strigilated – and epitaphs used – *carmina*, high paleographic quality – underline the predominant status of such towns and the openness of their elites towards wider Mediterranean trends. Some preserved contexts of such elite sarcophagi pose several questions regarding their perception and addressees. In Carthage, *Thabraca* and *Tipasa*, relief sarcophagi were found deeply buried and even hidden in mausolea, churches, caves and, in the case of open necropoleis, by walls

90 *Tipasa*: Ardeleanu 2018, nos. 19, 27?, 31, 69; *Theveste*: Kadra 1989a, 269 pl. I, XI.

91 *Tipasa* (*areae*/churches): Ardeleanu 2018, nos. 1–3, 6–16, 53, 56, 57, 62, 65, 67, 68, 71; *Sitifis* (church): Février 1965b, 38 f.; *Theveste* (*areae*): Kadra 1989a, 269; CIL VIII 16659, 27915; church ('epitaphs' over sarcophagi): AE 1995, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, CIL VIII 2013?; *Ammaedara* (*areae*/churches): Baratte/Bejaoui 2009, 59; Baratte/Bejaoui 2011, 177, 180 f. figs. 182, 187; *Sufetula* (church): Fournet-Pilipenko 1961, no. 153; AE 1909, 17; Baratte/Bejaoui 2011, 392; *Thabraca* (churches): Downs 2007, nos. 50, 87, 93, 97, 123, 126; *Furni* (mausoleum): CIL VIII 25818; *Uppenna* (church, mosaics): Terry 32, 36, 48, 52, 60, 63.

92 For high-class sarcophagi in *Cilicia* and *Aquitania*, see the contributions Cubas Díaz and Uberti in this volume.

93 Some inscriptions can barely been read: Ardeleanu 2018, nos. 34–36.

94 Fournet-Pilipenko 1961; Rep. III. Recent surveys revealed undocumented Late Antique strigilated sarcophagi in *Caesarea, Tipasa, Hippo* and *Thugga*: Ardeleanu 2019, 409.

95 For clearly elite contexts in *Rusucurru*, *Caesarea, Tipasa,* Blad Guitoun, *Rusicade*, Carthage: Fournet-Pilipenko 1961; Leveau 1983; Rep. III, p. 274 f.

96 On this workshop and exports: Duval 1995, 195; Teatini 2010; cf. the contribution Arbeiter in this volume.

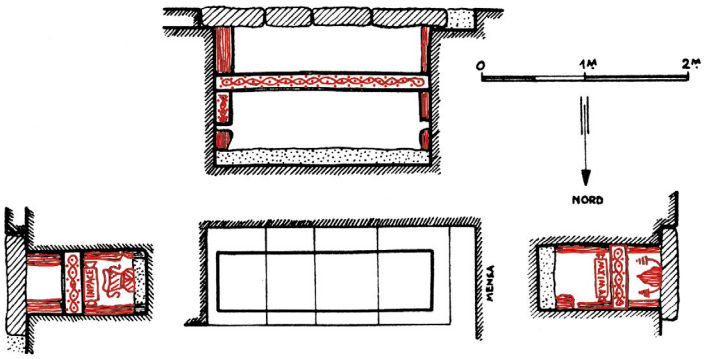


Fig. 12: *Tipasa*, sarcophagus under *mensa* with painted interior 'epitaph' of Maxima, AE 1942/43, 47 (late 4th/5th c. AD).

and other tombs.[97] Moreover, all three sites have also yielded examples of 'hidden epitaphs' on the interior sides of the sarcophagi (Fig. 12) or epitaphs covered by stairs or pedestals.[98] It is debated which function such 'invisible inscriptions' had in funerary rituals. It might be that the inscriptions addressed the deceased directly or even God himself, and even practical explanations such as protection of the body against looting have been suggested.[99] We should also consider that the sarcophagi's epitaphs were presented (or could be seen) only during spectacular funerals (*prothesis* and *pompa*). Another reason might be that the 'interiorized epitaphs' would display the extraordinary status of the buried person in the unexpected case of tomb excavation.[100] In any case, once they were buried or hidden, they never could be seen again.

Late Antique mausolea are attested throughout North Africa (Fig. 11), the most spectacular examples being the Djeddars in *Caesariensis*, attributed to late 4th/5th c. AD-Moorish dynasts.[101] These twelve monumental stepped tombs with incubation chambers are based on a Saharan *tumulus* type. Recently, other Late Antique *tumuli* with Saharan traits were examined in the *limes*-zone of *Numidia* and

97 *Thabraca*: Downs 2007, 471; *Tipasa*: Bouchenaki 1975; Ardeleanu 2018.

98 *Tipasa*: Ardeleanu 2018, 480, 487; Aouïnet-er-Raïane: Monceaux 1908, 196 f.; *Theveste*: ILAlg I, 3427?; *Thabraca*: Downs 2007, 108 f.; Carthage: Ennabli 1975, ns. 56?, 102?, 117; Ennabli 1982, n. 283?; Ennabli 1991, nos. 195, 207, 244; AE 1997, 1647; *Cincari,* tomb painted on the inside: Duval/Cintas 1976, 862–865.

99 Cf. Italy: Dresken-Weiland 2003, 187–202 and Meinecke 2018, 60–66, who also discuss purity reasons and religious motifs, e.g. corpse-conservation; cf. the contributions Arbeiter and Valeva in this volume.

100 Cf. Meinecke 2018, 65 f.

101 Gsell 1901, 412–427; Laporte 2009, 150–152; wooden coffin from Djeddar B with 14C date AD 410–490. Djeddars A (lintel epitaph: AE 2004, 1887), B (Christian family epitaphs from façade?), C (illegible, from façade) and F (reused epitaphs, AD 433–494) had inscriptions and several chambers with Christian paintings.

Mauretania.[102] In *Caesariensis*, central *Numidia*, and Eastern *Proconsularis*, huge and lavishly decorated mausolea were still built or reoccupied by rich and self-confident elites, while the exact materiality and location of the tombs of the Vandal rulers remain unknown.[103] The extraordinary landscape-dominating tombs were clear signs of individual power and wealth, often neglected by scholarship focusing on 'Christian' collective funerary representation. Not surprisingly, the class of mausolea also preserves the most distinguished variety of epitaphic display, from traditional attachable plates in *tabulae ansatae* and monumental lintels, to *carmina* and colorful mosaic epitaphs corresponding to complex iconographic programs.[104] Other familial or individual mausolea and *memoriae* for martyrs, mostly with apsidal ground plans, were embodied in or attached to burial churches.[105] High social status, however, was presented also epigraphically in various ways. It seems that during the late 4th and the 5th c. AD, external mausoleum-signaling by epitaphs, practiced for so long, was given up in favor of 'interiorized' tomb markers. This epigraphic shift is probably a consequence of the growing relevance of commemorative rituals performed at or in these buildings. Perhaps it also tied in with a trend that can be observed in epigraphic display on sacred architecture:[106]

102 Fentress/Wilson 2016 interpret these drum tombs with chapels (all anepigraphic, some built into or reusing Roman forts/*villae*) as an influx of Berber groups into the abandoned *limes* zone before the Vandal conquest, but reliable post-Roman dates are available only in *Ausum* and near *Diana Veteranorum*.

103 Blad Guitoun, Ghorfa Ouled Selama: Laporte 2009; *Caesarea*, reused mausoleum E-cemetery: Leveau 1984, 214f.; funerary chapels (no churches) in *Numidia*: Hr. Seffan, Meharza, Mechta Azrou: Berthier 1942, 90, 112–115, 148f.; Hr. el Guesseria: Gui/Duval/Caillet 1992, 226; *Bulla Regia*, mausoleum, 6th c. AD: Chaouali/Fenwick/Booms 2018, 189, 195; *Simitthus*, mausoleum 3 near NW-church: von Rummel/Möller 2019, 198 fig. 8; *Thabraca*, several 'funerary chapels', rotunda: Downs 2007, 82–96; *Furni*, Blossii-mausoleum with mosaic depicting Daniel in the lion's den: Duval 1976, 88; *Thibaris*' triconch and *Cincari*'s tetraconch neither show church elements nor martyr presence and were perhaps funerary chapels: *contra* Duval/Cintas 1976, 881–884, 903; Carthage, Bir Ftouha triconch, Damous el Karita rotunda: Stevens 2008, 87f.; *Pupput*, reused mausolea 14, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 30, 31 in 4th/5th c. AD: De Larminat 2011, 105–108, 167, 300f.

104 *Tipasa*: Ardeleanu 2018, nos. 17 (lintel of *memoria*), 22, 30?, 38?, 39?, 48, 50?; *Sitifis*: CIL VIII 8638, 8639, 8642, 8648 (all AD 405), 8634 (AD 440, *tabula*); *Auzia*: ILCV 4839 (AD 305; *carmen*, *tabula*); Février 1964, 151; *Cuicul*: ILAlg II, 3, 8304 (37 × 50 × 8 cm; AD 463; *tabula*); Bir Aïda (64 × 55 × 12 cm; *tabula*): ILAlg II,3, 7496a; Tébessa Khalia: CIL VIII 2035 (lintel?; *carmen*; late 3rd c. AD); *Thaenae* (lintel?): ILAfr. 38(25). Many *carmina* in *Auzia*, *Sitifis Theveste*, *Mactaris*: Hamdoune 2011.

105 Oued Rhezel: Berthier 1942, 54; *Theveste*, *Thagamuta, Thabraca*, *Mactaris*, *Furni*, Carthage, *Uppenna*, *Demna*: Duval 1995, 198 Stevens 2008, 81f.; Baratte et al. 2014; *Bulla Regia*: Chaouali 2019, fig. 6, rectangular chapel attached to pre-existing church; *Tipasa*, martyr-chapel for St. Salsa? predating a later annexed church: Ardeleanu (in press); for *Salona* and Trier, see the contributions Merten and Valeva in this volume.

106 On this phenomenon, see: Witschel 2017, 49f.

like in the case of churches, facades of monuments were no longer considered as the most prestigious places of epigraphic display.

This trend also holds true for another wide-spread tomb type of Late Antique North Africa: underground rock-cut tomb systems.[107] Catacombs and burial crypts are known from central *Numidia*, the Hautes Steppes, the Sahel and Carthage (Jewish and Christian);[108] single or family hypogea, richly decorated and inscribed, from all African provinces.[109] In *Caesarea*, according to a recent autopsy of the epitaphs' supports by the author, a series of Early Christian (4th c. AD) *tituli* with close parallels to the Roman catacombs strongly indicates the presence of catacombs or hypogea with *loculi* not detected until now (Fig. 13).[110]

107 Duval 1995, 201; in *Tipasa* and *Leptiminus*, periodic frequentation is attested not only by staircases, lockable doors and fine wall-painting, but also by lamps, ceramics and glass: Leschi 1957, 380; Ben Lazreg et al. 2006; Ben Lazreg/Stirling/Moore 2021.

108 Crypts and galleries with *loculi*-burials under churches in Kherbet Bou Addoufen/*Sitifensis* (Gsell 1901, 185f.) and in central *Numidia*: Berthier 1942, 82, 86, 89, 160; cf. *Ala Miliaria*, *Cuicul* (2 churches), *Theveste* (gallery under St. Crispina, *loculi* epitaphs in *cubicula*, in front of *arcosolia*): Gui/Duval/Caillet 1992, 8, 92–103, 311–316; *Thugga*, St. Victoire: Baratte et al. 2014, 61–64; *Hadrumetum*: Leynaud 1922; Duval 1976, 92; Terry 134–155 (mosaic *loculi* epitaphs); Aounallah et al. 2019, 48–58 (colored marble *loculi* epitaphs); *Leptiminus* (vaulted 'catacombs', mosaic epitaphs on walking level or slightly above), *Thapsus* and *Sullecthum*: Leynaud 1922; Ben Lazreg 2002, 337 n. 5; Ben Lazreg et al. 2006, 359–368; Ben Lazreg 2021.

109 *Tipasa* (with *arcosolia*, painted biblical scenes, floral and faunal motifs): Gsell 1901, 407f.; Bouchenaki 1975, figs. 123–128; 'hypogea' with Christian epitaphs in *Cartennae*: Gsell 1901, 408; ILCV 2044; CIL VIII 9693, 9694; *Ala Miliaria*: Gsell 1901, 409; *Constantina*: re-occupied 'hypogeum of Praecilius': Gsell 1901, 54; Hamdoune 2011, 205; Eger 2012, 299; *Thabraca* (hypogeum with *loculi*?): Downs 2007, 83; *Thugga* (4th c. AD, with paintings): ILTun 1521; Duval 1976, 88; De Larminat 2011, 284; Aïn Mziger: Duval 1976, 90; Carthage, lavishly furnished/decorated hypogea of Asterius and Redemptus (6th/7th c. AD): Eger 2012, 76f.; hypogea at Bir el Knissia/Damous el Karita/Mcidfa/St. Monique: CIL VIII 25040; Stevens 2008, 84; Bockmann 2014, 355f. fig. 6; *Hadrumetum*: Eustorgius-hypogeum? with mosaic *elogium*: AE 1960, 90, 91, 92; Duval 1976, 92f.; hypogeum with mosaic epitaph: Terry 177.

110 Leveau 1983, Leveau 1984, Leveau 1999 notes several re-occupied hypogea without *loculi* (E-cemetery) and *areae* (W-necropolis), where these plaques cannot be plausibly reconstructed. Most Late Antique epitaphs from *Caesarea* could be documented by the author in the museums of Cherchel and Algiers in 2017. They are now available in an exemplary database: http://ccj-epicherchel.huma-num.fr/fr/le-projet-epicherchel/ (accessed 08/06/2021). The preference for small, thin and horizontally developed marble epitaphs (cf. measurements, below), rarely attested in North Africa, with irregular shapes of reused marble architecture, rules out many possibilities of positioning these epitaphs: they did not belong to flat tomb covers, and neither were they inserted in masonry *cupae* (attested here in Imperial times, but with very regular and vertical *stela* formats: Leveau 1984, 208), nor in mausolea or *areae* façades, for which they are too small (cf. a lintel? or plate from *Caesarea*'s W-necropolis mentioning an *area ad sepulcram* and a *cella*: ILCV 1583). Also the epitaphs' materiality (roughened surfaces), their layout (scarcity of formulae, single names) and iconography (anchors, doves, olive trees, orantes) are

Fig. 13: *Caesarea*, two *tituli* for Iulia Tutta and Vitula from *loculi* in non-localized catacombs?, CIL VIII 9589, 9591 (late 4th/5th. c. AD).

The hypogea's and catacombs' distribution, mainly along the coasts, clearly corresponds to natural preconditions (easy excavation of rocks), but also to century-old funerary traditions in these regions going back to pre-Roman times. In *Leptiminus*, several underground funerary halls and tunnels are recorded, and dense burial was signaled by splendid marble and mosaic markers with individual (portraits, professions) and familial traits (onomastics), or narrative scenes.[111] These underground elite burials lacking any basilical connection must have been accessible for the descendants of a distinct social group, as dense burial activity from mid-4th to the mid-5th c. AD and numerous finds (contemporaneous lamps with Christian symbols, glass) indicate.[112]

Besides these profound shifts in epigraphic tomb signaling, we can state that some North African regions also perpetuated traditional forms. *Stelae*, and to a lesser extent also *arulae*, were still present in some regions, and the former were very popular in the open air necropoleis of *Caesariensis*, *Sitifensis* and *Numidia*,

perfectly comparable to *loculus*-plates from Roman catacombs: Ehler 2012, esp. 677–683 (with identical combinations of symbols). From the W-Hanafi-necropolis: AE 1985, 950 (orans; 53 × 22 × 1 cm), Leveau 1984, 210 n. 6 (dove, anchor; 10 × 15 cm); E-Nsara-necropolis: CIL VIII 21428 (67 × 28 cm), 21434 (46 × 34 cm); undetermined provenance: AE 1985, 966 (16,5 × 11 × 2 cm); CIL VIII 9589 (dove, anchor; 74 × 20 cm), 9591 (roughened frame; 64 × 28 cm; cf. Duval 1988, fig. 9); 21421 (olive tree, anchor; 29 × 27 cm); Leveau 1984, 214 n. 34 (olive tree, dove, anchor; 25 × 14 cm). Similar stone series are attested in Africa from *Hadrumetum* and Carthage, both with catacomb-presence: Leynaud 1922; Ennabli 1982, nos. 24, 34; Ennabli 1991, nos. 62, 79, 575, 580, 588, 613–615. In Carthage, some of these examples were found near La Marsa and Gammarth, where Jewish and Christian catacombs are located: Duval 1995, 201; Bejaoui 2016.

111 Ben Lazreg 2002, esp. fig. 8 with a deceased? as Orpheus; Ben Lazreg et al. 2006; Ben Lazreg 2021.

112 Ben Lazreg 2002, 341; Ben Lazreg et al. 2006, 349; Sterrett-Krause 2017; Ben Lazreg/Stirling/Moore 2021.

where even late 6th c. AD-examples with formulaic *DMS* openings are known.[113] Unfortunately, especially in Western *Caesariensis*, the epitaphs' archaeological contexts are often unknown, which heavily hampers a proper reconstruction and interpretation. In *Altava*, however, some scarce data is known from the tombs, and the presence of grave goods such as table wares (which stops almost everywhere in Late Antique North Africa from the 4th c. AD onwards) matches the 'conservative impression' of this remote zone noted already in the case of the epitaphs.[114] Christian elements (symbols, formulae) seem to have appeared on these epitaphs comparatively late, not before the mid-4th c. AD.[115] Only limited numbers of *stelae* are attested in the Tell, indicating that this type survived longer in rural or remote areas.[116] In all other regions, however, the *stela* and the *arula* as century-old established tomb markers were completely abandoned by the 4th c. AD.[117] This was probably a late consequence of the shift from cremation to inhumation, and (a new preference more generally) to burial in churches, buildings and *areae* under circulation level.

113 On *DMS*: Duval 1988, 279; in *Mactaris* and *Hippo*, even Byzantine *DMS*-epitaphs are known: Prévot 1984, 209 with distribution of Late Antique *DMS*-epitaphs; add Ardeleanu 2019, nos. 9, 17; on *Altava*, where a local decoration was developed with palm breeches as architectural frames combining pagan and Christian symbols (crosses): Marcillet-Jaubert 1968; *Albulae*: ILCV 3274 (*arula* with incense burner from AD 470); Hamdoune 2018, 433; Damous: Février 1986, 777–779 fig. 7, 8; 805–809 (ca. 50 *stelae*, 4th/5th c. AD); *Mina*: ILCV 3052a, b; Tiaret: ILCV 4385 (AD 480); *Castra Nova*, Djeddars: Gsell 1901, 405; *Caesarea*: 4th c. AD-hexagonal funerary altar: Leveau 1984, 210; altar: CIL VIII 9378 (262 AD); in *Tipasa*, the first 'Christian' epitaphs (3rd c. AD?) seem to have been inscribed on *stelae*: Ardeleanu 2018, nos. 40–44; Blad Guitoun: AE 2013, 2166 (AD 331); *Sitifis*: anepigraphic *stelae*/stone piles marking Late Antique tombs: Guéry 1985, 244–307; Février 1964, 147; *Satafis*: CIL VIII 20281; *Sigus*: CIL VIII 5749 (*arula* with *DMS*, late 3rd/early 4th c. AD); homogenous series of Christian 4th c. AD-*stelae*, all with one formula (*redditio*) and *dies natales* in Aïn Kahla (36), Teniet Anouda (16) and Dj. Snobra (15): ILAlg II, 3, 7458, 7459, 7460, 7461, 7462, 7463, 7464, 7465, 7466, 7467, 7468, 7469, 7469a, 7469b, 7469c, 7469d, 7469e, 7469f, 7469g, 7469h, 7469i, 7469j, 7469k, 7470, 7470a, 7470b, 7470c, 7470d, 7471, 7471a, 7471b, 7471c, 7471d, 7471e, 7471f, 7471g, 7471h, 7471i, 7471j, 7471k, 7471l, 7471m, 7471n; 3rd c. AD-funerary altar from *Theveste*, where onomastics indicate an Early Christian context: Février 1978, 227.

114 On the scarcity of grave goods in Late Antique African tombs, not necessarily a sign of spreading Christianity (cf. Volp 2002, 198–203; the contribution Prien in this volume): Eger 2012, 85–92 with other local exceptions.

115 Février 1986; Hamdoune 2018, 433–471.

116 E.g. in Aïn Barchouch (CIL VIII 2780; Ben Baaziz 2000, 74, 264 suggests a Byzantine date) or a rural *villa* nearby (Ben Baaziz 2000, 206; 4th c. AD); Ksar Bou Fatha: Hamdoune 2011, no. 24 (*arula*, 2nd half of the 3rd c. AD). In *Hippo*, the author was able to discard the established hypothesis of 6th–7th c. AD–*stelae* by thorough analysis of the supports' back and lateral sides. The epitaphs are flat tomb covers: Ardeleanu 2019, 428–430.

117 Février 1962, 153 dates the last *stelae* from Eastern *Caesariensis* to the mid-3rd c. AD.

Fig. 14: *Thabraca*, 'caisson' with mosaic epitaph and individual representation of Dardanius, ILTun 1710,24 (second quarter 5th c. AD).

A widespread burial-marker type in North Africa's open air-cemeteries was the *cupa* or *cupula*,[118] and also this tomb type persisted well into Late Antiquity with a wide range of local differences (Fig. 11). Deeply connected to the shift from cremation to inhumation, the *cupae*'s most characteristic feature is their monolithic semi-cylindrical top. Also rectangular, slightly aboveground markers, in Francophone literature labelled as 'caissons', are known. Probably the 'caissons' are a small variant of the funerary *mensa* with reclining possibility for one person, as indicated by their restricted (mostly water-resistant) surface corresponding with the tomb below them. They seem to have emerged from the *cupa*-type during Late Antiquity, as a famous example from *Thabraca* shows (Fig. 14). In both *Mauretaniae*, *cupae* were widely abandoned after AD 300.[119] In *Numidia*, the Hautes Steppes and the Tell, several cities and small rural towns continued to use monolithic *cupae* with traditional floral, astral and ritual-associated symbols in the 4th c. AD.[120] As in

118 On this type: Stirling 2007; Eger 2012, 80f. Late Antique *cupae* are also known from Southern Italy, Sicily and Spain; on an epigraphically attested *cupula* from *Rusippisir* (299 AD): Février 1964, 150.

119 *Pomaria* (5th/6th c. AD): Gsell 1901, 404; *Caesariensis*: Février 1962, 153; *Sitifensis*: Février 1964, 147, 150 (near *Sitifis*, AD 254 and 296); *Sitifis*: CIL VIII 8646 (late 3rd c. AD?); *Thamallula*: CIL VIII 20597 (300 AD); Février 1964, 149 (AD 287); *Satafis*: Février 1964, 147 (AD 259).

120 *Constantina*: Stirling 2007, 121; for six surely Early Christian examples from *Mididi* (one with a chalice): Ben Baaziz 2000, 257–259. In *Ammaedara*'s environs, late 3rd–

Fig. 15: *Thaenae*, mosaic epitaphs for Iulius Serenus and Numitoria Saturnina on 'caissons' with funerary banquet scenes, ILAfr. 38,44, ILAfr. 38,54 (early 4th c. AD).

the case of the *stelae*, *cupae* may have persisted longer in remote zones. Over the course of the 4th–6th c. AD, *cupae* and 'caissons' became more diversified and complex. Along the coasts, on Cap Bon and in the Sahel, masoned, plastered or mosaiced *cupae* and 'caissons' were used in open cemeteries, *areae*, mausolea, hypogaea and churches, in *Hadrumetum* even in catacombs.[121] From most of these sites Roman forerunners are known, and this might explain their local popularity (Fig. 11), although their overall numbers decreased in Late Antiquity.[122] With their elongated

4th c. AD-*cupae* are as numerous as in the town itself (three each): Ben Abdallah 2013; *Mactaris*: Prévot 1984, no. XII, 5.

121 *Tipasa* (plastered, mosaiced, relief crosses): Bouchenaki 1975, 112; Ardeleanu 2018, 485, 489, nos. 28, 29; *Bulla Regia* (E-church, mosaic): Chaouali/Fenwick/Booms 2018, 194; *Thabraca* (*areae*, churches, mosaic): Downs 2007, nos. 7, 50, 87, 123–125; *Sufetula* (basilica VI): Duval 1976, 28; Carthage (cemeteries, mosaic): Eger 2012, 75 (4th c. AD); Stevens 2008, 102; *Missua* (necropolis): Ghalia 2001, 67; *Acholla* (*area*): Duval 2003; *Taparura* (N-necropolis, *areae*?): Terry 93–114; *Demna* (church): Duval 1976, 29 fig. 11; Hr. Diar el Hajjej (church?): Duval 1976, 91; Duval 1995, 199; *Furni* (9x mausoleum, over *arcosolia*/ in center): Duval 1976, 88; Sidi Jdidi: Ben Abed-Ben Khader/Fixot/Roucole 2011, 53, 84, 86, 120 figs. 27, 33, 74; *Hadrumetum*: Terry 138, 154; *Leptiminus* (E-necropolis, *areae*, 4th c. AD): Ben Lazreg et al. 2006, 487; *Thaenae* (church): Terry 180; cf. the contributions Arbeiter and Merten in this volume.

122 Stirling 2007, 121 quotes a 6th c. AD-*cupa* from *Lambaesis* (AE 2001, 2102), but its dating is uncertain; according to Duval 1995, 199, *cupae* were maintained even into Medieval times.

shape they marked the length of the bodies inhumed below, and therefore also protected them from intersection. Yet, their variable application shows their modification according to the requirements of new funerary spaces and rituals. *Thaenae*'s early 4th c. AD-caissons display the deceased in vivid mosaics lying on *clinia* with rich furnishing, toasting with cups and therefore 'participating' in a funerary banquet, in the old iconographic tradition of the '*Totenmahl*', perhaps an invitation to perform these rituals at these accessible tombs (Fig. 15).[123] The *cupae*'s slow integration into commemorative rituals is also evidenced by Late Antique 'caissons' from churches and open cemeteries with inscriptions on their flat upper surface slightly above circulation level (*Tipasa*, *Thabraca*, Carthage?, *Demna*), where reclining (for single persons), drinking and dining was possible.

Combining Archaeology and Epigraphy: Epitaphs and Commemorative Rituals at Tombs

It is well known that funerary feasts were performed in Late Antique North Africa as they were elsewhere across the West.[124] *Symposia* and dining banquets (*cubicula*) are mentioned in inscriptions from clear Christian contexts.[125] There is not only evidence from Christian tombs for food offerings during the funeral,[126] but even more data for commemorative dining at the tombs. The most fascinating burial type with a clear ritual function is the funerary *mensa.*[127] *Mensae* consist of one or more coffins, built over by a 'table' of semicircular or rectangular shape. The structure's central field, mostly a depression, could contain mosaic or stone epitaphs. The depressions were used to position meals and liquids, and the participants in this dining arrangement used to lie down on the surrounding 'couches'. Some epitaphs refer to the very practice of meal and service deposition

123 ILAfr. 38(8), 38(44), 38(54), all in a pagan tradition (*DMS*, cupids, no Christian formulae, hunting scenes), and all found in small vaulted underground funerary chambers, partly attached to cisterns. Some of the nearby vaulted tombs also had paintings (peacocks, doves), and one had a marble entry lintel? mentioning a *sacra domus aeternalis* (ILAfr. 38(25); 42 × 12 cm), indicating perhaps a slow shift to Christian faith; in others, lamps with Early Christian symbols were found: Fortier/Malahar 1910, 87, 91–98; Duval 1976, 14; Jensen 2008, 108–111; cf. the contributions Merten, Ott and Valeva in this volume.

124 Duval 1995, 199 f.; Jensen 2008; Potthoff 2017; for the Rhine/Danube provinces and the Iberian Peninsula: Février 1978; Schmidt 2000; Volp 2002, 214–224; cf. the contributions Arbeiter, Merten, Prien and Valeva in this volume.

125 CIL VIII 27333 (from *Thugga*); from the same church, also a cistern (possibly used during and after the festivities) and annex rooms (for dining?) or *klinai* are epigraphically attested: Baratte et al. 2014, 62–64; Teichgräber 2021, 87.

126 Gsell 1901, 402 and Berthier 1942, 51 note fish and bird skeletons in tombs in *Tipasa* and Oued Rhezel.

127 There is still no synthesis of this type; some remarks: Gsell 1901, 405; Duval 1995, 198 f.; Jensen 2008.

on the tables: *cibi ponuntur calicesque et copertae.*[128] Other inscriptions, densely distributed everywhere from *Caesariensis* to the Tell (but absent in Eastern *Proconsularis*), use the term *mensa* as an equivalent of the 'tomb' itself from the late 3rd c. AD onwards.[129] Some *mensae* preserved sophisticated flooding installations, cisterns and basins, others are basins themselves, on which epitaphs could have been carved.[130] Sometimes the epitaphs' supports are equipped with drains and spouts, allowing either to fill or to empty the *mensa* in a controlled way. Two large and (technically as well as iconographically) very homogenous series from central *Sitifensis* – we cite here an epitaph from Kherbet el-Kebira (Fig. 16) – and *Madauros* present carved dishes, cups, vessels and libation holes, inviting the user to pour liquids, or to dine upon such graves.[131]

This shows that the monuments were ritually 'washed' and intensively used for dining. It is commonly believed that the flooding systems are the material proof for the funerary ritual of *refrigerium*, the 'refreshment' of tombs, known from many Christian authors criticizing these habits.[132] An epitaph from *Auzia* explicitly mentions a *mensa cum titulum refrigerationis*.[133] For our purposes, it is highly interesting that the support with the epitaph itself became the central nucleus of this ritual. A famous example from *Tipasa,* with a mosaic inscription mentioning a *convivium*, encourages the user to dine on the spot.[134] Besides larger groups from Rome, Malta, *Sardinia*, the *Hispaniae*, the Adriatic area and the *Germaniae*, North Africa has preserved the highest amount of such *mensae* with

128 ILCV 1570 (AD 299) from *Satafis*, where *paterae* are also carved into the *mensa* itself.

129 Février 1964; Prévot 1984, 208–210 with (incomplete) distribution.

130 *Caesarea*: Leveau 1983, 97, 101; 139, 143; Leveau 1999, 94; *Tipasa*: Bouchenaki 1975; Ardeleanu 2018, figs. 1, 3, 7; *Leptiminus*, a veritable *piscina*: CIL VIII 11122; *Thaenae*: Fortier/Malahar 1910, 90.

131 Stone *mensae* with rosette-depressions in Beida Bordj, Ouled Sbaa, *Mopthi*, M. Bou Abdallah, Kherbet el-Kebira: AE 1972, 773 (see here Fig. 16), *Thamallula*: AE 1972, 728, 754, 770 (AD 315), 771 (semicircular, libation holes), 772; Février 1964, 149 (AD 299), CIL VIII 20589 (AD 318, *patera*); *Sitifis* (rectangular lowered surfaces, circular depressions, offering holes): AE 1972, 716, 734 (AD 334), 763; AE 1984, 940; CIL VIII 8633; Février 1964, 151 (AD 299), 153 (AD 311), 156 (AD 334); *Satafis*' (lowered, profiled supports, half-cylindrical shapes): Février 1964, 165, 167 (AD 405 and 409), AE 1972, 758 (AD 371), 761 (AD 359), 762. Many epitaphs from *Satafis* also mention a *mensa*: Février 1964, 155 (AD 324), 157 (AD 352 and 359), 159 (AD 362), 161 (AD 389), 163 (AD 392), 164 (AD 420); CIL VIII 8399, 8771a, AE 1942–1943, 66 (AD 405); see also Février 1970; for *Madauros* (rectangular tables with offering holes, relief *paterae, urcei* and cups): ILAlg I, 2746, 2766, 2770, 2774a, 2781, 2791, 2800; Duval 1988, 271, 280 f.; incised cups on epitaphs in Carthage/*Uchi Maius*: Delattre 1926, 72; Ibba 2006, no. 455. For libation holes at Late Antique tombs, even from churches, see the contribution Ott in this volume.

132 Tert., De corona 3.3; 10, 21; Aug. Conf. 6.2; 29, 9; Ep. 22.1.3; Serm. 48, 361; Enarratio in Psalmum 12, 15.

133 CIL VIII 20780 (AD 318).

134 Ardeleanu 2018, 475 no. 49 fig. 1.

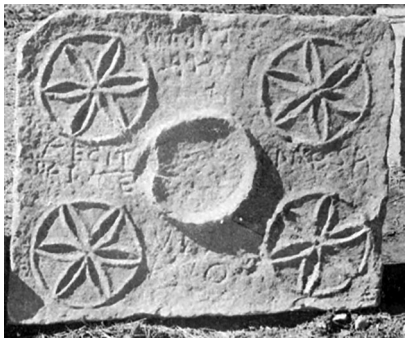


Fig. 16: Kherbet el-Kebira, *Mauretania Sitifensis*, *me(n)sa* of Iulia Saturnina, AE 1972, 773 (4th/5th c. AD).

Fig. 17: *Mactaris*, *mensa* of Abbedeus, Maximus and Aurelia Victoriola with lowered surface and offering hole, CIL VIII 23565 (5th/6th c. AD?).

'ritualized inscriptions'.[135] Several clusters, all with local technical and decorative particularities, are attested in urban contexts from central *Caesariensis* to the Sahel, but also in rural zones such as central *Numidia* and Cap Bon.[136] We also have to consider decontextualized examples, such as a vast homogenous group from *Mactaris* (Fig. 17).[137] Their attribution to the *mensa*-type has long been disputed,

135 Jensen 2008; for the Iberian Peninsula, the North-Western and Balkan provinces, see Schmidt 2000, for *Sardinia*, see ICS; compare also the contributions Arbeiter, Ott, Prien, Uberti and Valeva in this volume.

136 *Tipasa* (plastered semicircular *mensae*, with semicircular mosaic and rectangular stone tables): Bouchenaki 1975; Ardeleanu 2018, 489, 493, figs. 7, 8; Bou Kaben, Bir el Djedid (stone *mensae*, with offering holes): Berthier 1942, 123–129; *Theveste* (semicircular 5th c. AD-*mensae* entirely covered by mosaics without depression; semicircular/rectangular 4th–6th c. AD-stone *mensae* with libation holes, water spouts, epitaphs often in/around relief christograms): AE 1958, 148b; AE 1974, 707, 711, 713; AE 1995, 1747, 1749, 1752, 1753?; Duval 1988, 273 fig. 6; Kadra 1989a, 271–274 Tab. 9, 10; Hamidane/Hamdoune 2014; *Ammaedara*: Baratte/Bejaoui 2011, 154, 152, 176, 182–204 (stone and mosaic *mensae*? with tile frames); *Hippo Regius* (stone *mensae* with libation holes): Ardeleanu 2019, 421, nos. 7, 9, 18); *Bulla Regia* (semicircular plastered, mosaiced *mensae* with entirely decorated couches): Chaouali/Fenwick/Booms 2018, 194 fig. 11; *fundus Aufidianus*/*Cincari* (stone *mensae* with semicircular/rectangular depressions): Duval 1988, 273 fig. 5; CIL VIII 25826a; Menzel Yahia (stone *mensae* with frames, libation holes?): ILTun 847a, 847b; Mraissa and *Demna* (semicircular mosaic, plastered *mensae*, late 4th/5th c. AD): Ghalia 2001, 66 f. fig. 4.

137 Ca. 60 examples: Prévot 1984, 161–163, nos. II 5, III 13, X 17, 26, 33, 29, 48, 55, 68, XI 4, 10, XI 12, 14, 30, XII 1, 8, 12, 20, 26–28, 40, 46, 48, 49, 53, 59. None of these were found in churches, suggesting their exclusive use in necropoleis *sub divo*; cf. *Ammaedara*: Baratte/Bejaoui 2011, 181 fig. 205 (spout); Hr. Allalcha: Aounallah et al. 2019, 68 (offering hole).

Fig. 18: *Theveste*, necropolis at École du Dr. Saadane with two large, semicircular *mensae* for collective dining over several tombs; libation holes and relief crosses on covers are marked with flashes (late 4th/5th c. AD).

since their funerary context is unknown. However, libation and offering holes, spouts, lowered and profiled supports clearly attest their ritual use.

As in the case of *cupae*, the popularity of *mensae* might be explained by earlier local traditions, since forerunners from the Imperial period are known in many of the quoted towns (Fig. 11).[138] In Late Antiquity, the epitaphs 'move' from associated *stelae* to the horizontally placed table itself.[139] There are huge *mensae* built over several tombs and certainly used by larger groups for dining (Fig. 18).[140] Others cluster densely in open cemeteries, suggesting collective feasting that included children, if we interpret very small-scaled *mensae* correctly. In some necropoleis, lots of Late Antique wine-amphorae, lamps, glass and ceramic drinking vessels were found around the *mensae*, and their analysis would help to better understand this ritual.[141] In *Leptiminus*, an impressive amount of 4th–7th c. AD glass excavated over and around Early Christian underground tombs gives spectacular insights in these

138 In *Caesarea*, Leveau 1983, 112, 124–126, 130 excavated plastered *mensae* of the 2nd half of the 2nd c. AD; De Larminat 2011, cat. 7 with list of Imperial period funerary *mensae*.

139 On the start of this trend see: Février 1978, 225.

140 E.g. in *Tipasa* (Ardeleanu 2018, 493f., fig. 7 Northeastern part) and *Theveste* (Kadra 1989a, pl. X).

141 *Tipasa*: Ardeleanu 2018, 493; *Bulla Regia:* Chaouali/Fenwick/Booms 2018, 195 (beakers, goblets, lamps); material from burial churches/cemeteries in *Numidia*: Berthier 1942,

rituals, which, in comparison to the High Empire, even drastically increased.[142] The thorough analysis of forms (beakers, cups, goblets, flasks) allows us to reconstruct these extensive, collective and post-mortem rituals – drinking, serving wine, libations – performed in the dark 'catacomb' system (glass lamps). The combined presence of identical forms of beakers, goblets and flasks in high numbers suggests that vessels were produced and purchased for one main purpose: funerary feasting. It seems that they were even stored at designated places for collective commemoration. Depositional 'fills' with extensive faunal evidence from the same hypogaea further confirms that rituals including butchering, offering and commemorative meals might have been practiced in these underground funerary spaces.[143] There cannot be any doubt about extensive feasting continuing until the 6th c. AD, even if African clerics harshly polemicized against such 'pagan' customs. The existence of 5th c.-*mensae* in church naves next to episcopal tombs, in crypts, apses and *atria*, shows that the clerical attempt to domesticate (and the modern attempt to play down) these feasts was unsuccessful.[144] At *Belalis Maior*, even 7th c.-epitaphs with libation holes are attested.[145] Several clerical epitaphs from elsewhere mention *mensae* as the type of tomb employed.[146]

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has discussed the main characteristics of North Africa's rich dataset of Late Antique burials and epitaphs. As I hope to have shown, both the epigraphical and the archaeological record present diverse micro-regional traits. Although these traits can be traced in many aspects of North Africa's funerary landscapes,

74, 82–84, 92f., 101f., 115f.; *Thamugadi*, Carthage: Eger 2012, 89f.; *Pupput*: Ben Abed-Ben Khader/Griesheimer 2004, 56; *Thaenae*: Jeddi 1995, 151.

142 Sterrett-Krause 2017; for comparable commemorative rituals associated to glass finds from the Roman catacombs: Volp 2002, 199; Spera 2005, 22–26.

143 MacKinnon 2021 gives a recent overview on the complexity of recognizing rituals in burial contexts; for concrete evidence (sheep, goat, chicken) from the Late Antique context, see esp. MacKinnon 2021, 598–600.

144 *Tipasa*: Ardeleanu 2018, 488 no. 63; Sidi Jdidi III: Ben Abed-Ben Khader/Fixot/Roucole 2011, 175f. figs. 104, 105; *Iunca*, *mensa* over bishop tomb: Terry 73; *Demna* (4th c. AD, *atrium*): Ghalia 2001, 67; Hr. Seffan, *mensa* in crypt under church; Bou Kaben, *mensa* in apse of basilica I, inscribed *mensae* in basilica II and church in Bir el Djedid: Berthier 1942, 84, 123–129; ILAlg II,3, 7492a, 7492c; CIL VIII 8291, 8292; even most recent publications tend to transform these funerary meals into caritative actions controlled by the church: Volp 2002, 234–239; Spera 2005, 9–11; Fiocchi Nicolai 2016, 636–638; more nuanced: Teichgräber 2021, 74.

145 Mahjoubi 1978, 345–348; Duval 1988, 294; for 5th c. AD-libation tombs in *Thaenae*: Jeddi 1995, 151.

146 Guellal: AE 1925, 42: *Me(n)sa Migini subdiaconi*; *Magifa*: CIL VIII 16755: *Mensa presbiteri*; Tipasa: Ardeleanu 2018, 481 no. 76.

this vast area also shared multiple similarities in funerary customs with other parts of the Late Antique *oecumene*, especially the Western and central Mediterranean. That North Africa belongs to this *koiné* is best shown by the typological panorama of tombs. The closest parallels of African *mensae*, *cupae*, mosaic epitaphs, privileged burials, catacombs and even sarcophagi are found in areas (Sicily, *Sardinia*, Italy, Iberian Peninsula) that, politically, economically and culturally speaking, were well-connected to Africa for centuries.[147] Many shifts in epigraphic representation at the tombs were influenced by general social shifts. They also corresponded to changing funerary customs, the choice of tomb types and new funerary topographies. 'Interiorized' and 'closed' funerary spaces (mausolea, hypogea, catacombs, crypts, *areae*, burial churches), and even 'hidden' epigraphic representation (sarcophagi), gained relevance during the 4th/5th c. AD.[148] At the same time, expression of professions and offices (except for clerics and, later on, the military) or individual traits was widely abandoned or practiced only in isolated local cases in writing and image. Interestingly, also the 4th c. AD-decline of ostentatious 'exterior' tomb signaling by funerary *stelae* (except in *Caesariensis*),[149] *arulae* and *cupae* went along with a new preference for burials in 'walkable' churches and *areae*, or under 'utilizable' *mensae*. As a consequence, epigraphic tomb signaling moved from frontal/vertical to horizontal placement, which had new implications for the perception of tombs and epitaphs, and their integration in liturgies and rituals. Around the mid-5th c. AD, inhumation in free standing sarcophagi seems to have given way to burials, in churches or closed *areae*, below flat stone epitaphs or funerary mosaics, whose numbers increase drastically, exactly from the late 4th c. AD onwards.[150] Within these new funerary spaces, epitaphs took on new functions such as signaling particularly prestigious, sacred or (gender-)separated areas, structuring liturgical and processional movement or directing collective commemorative practices. Paradisiac and ritual-associated iconography on the epitaphs – in mosaics, for instance, with their new possibilities of communication through colors and materials – attracted attention. They contributed to the creation of powerful sacred spaces, in which the dead were commemorated during the *dies natales*, the community's regular festivities (including processions, psalm singing) in honor of the dead.[151] These new urban *foci* had a distinct *funerary* character, especially the churches of

147 Similarities in 'Western' mosaic epitaphs and sarcophagi: Duval 1976; Teatini 2010; Quattrocchi.

148 For a similar phenomenon in other Late Antique 'closed' contexts (houses, baths): Witschel 2017, 49 f.

149 Even if the state of archaeological research in this zone is admittedly backward, the success of the *stela* in Western *Caesariensis* is perhaps a reaction to the lack of burial churches and intra-urban burials in this region. Not by chance mosaic epitaphs, distributed so densely in the Eastern Maghreb, are nearly absent here.

150 Teatini 2010, 1318; on rare 6th c. AD-specimens: Fournet-Pilipenko 1961; Rep. III.

151 Acta Cyp. 4.3; Pass. Max. et Is. 12; cf. Bockmann 2014, 348.

local Saints, where mass burial was performed and salvation hoped for. Careful (re-)placement of epitaphs in city plans, cemeteries and churches allows us to pinpoint shifting social hierarchies in changing urban contexts and helps to understand the new mechanisms of collective, individual and familial representation.

Christianization alone was not the key phenomenon evoking all these developments, since many changes in tomb types, mortuary habits, funerary imagery and epigraphy cannot be evaluated adequately without local, non-Christian forerunners. In many towns the local clergy undertook efforts to control both martyr veneration and collective commemoration. Nevertheless, sequential tomb re-occupation, superposition and even destruction, as well as uncontrolled mass-burial were the rule. The funerary *mensae* are a wide-spread example of 'ritualized inscriptions' attesting that writing was an integral part of commemorative rites. Dining, drinking and libations at tombs are attested by installations (*mensae*, libation holes, spouts, carved vessels), finds (glass, ceramics), epigraphy (*refrigerium* and *mensa*-epitaphs), imagery (*Totenmahl*-scenes, depicted vessels) and contemporary metatexts.[152] Increasing intra-urban burial, also in close proximity to or even inside living quarters, shows a need to visit tombs regularly and in an easy fashion. In these 'neighborhood cemeteries', epitaphs are recorded only rarely, which suggests that tombs were known by relatives and did not require particular signaling.

There is still a lot to do in North Africa, especially in terms of catching up with modern standards of burial excavation, but thorough documentation of epitaphs (and their supports) and grave goods in many storerooms across the Maghreb is also necessary. If we are able to develop modern documentation standards at funerary sites, North Africa seems a very promising field to gain crucial knowledge about the use of writing, during Late Antiquity, and the way societies dealt with a topic as fundamentally human as death and burial.

Corresponding Address

Dr. Stefan Ardeleanu
Research Assistant at the "RomanIslam – Center for Comparative Empire and Transcultural Studies"
Universität Hamburg
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1
D-20146 Hamburg
st.ardeleanu@gmail.com

152 For Augustine's reception of commemorative burial customs, see Kotila 1992.

Tab. 1: Overview of the studied sites and their Late Antique funerary landscapes; funerary churches with attested martyr presence are signalled with ***M***.

Site	Late Antique tomb type	continued/new extra-urban necropoleis	extra-urban coemeterial churches	new intra-urban burial fields	burials in intra-urban churches	(epigraphic) tomb signaling
Altava (MC)	*formae,* tile-roofed tombs, cist tombs	2 continued (NE; SW)	perhaps (martyr shrine in NE necropolis)	no	no	stelae
Caesarea (MC)	*formae*, sarcophagi, relief sarcophagi, pseudo-sarcophagi, tile-roofed tombs, cist tombs mausolea, *areae*, hypogaea or catacombs?, amphorae	3 continued (E: Nsara, W: Hanafi; W: gare routière)	perhaps E (Ras-el-Meskhouta) perhaps E (chapelle at Oued Nsara?)	no	no	*mensae*?, *cupae*?, lintels for mausolea, *areae* small *tituli* for *loculi*? sarcophagi, flat stone covers
Tipasa (MC)	*formae*, sarcophagi, relief sarcophagi, mausolea, cist tombs, hypogaea, catacombs?, amphorae, wooden coffins, plastered tombs, relief sarcophagi	3 continued (E, W, Matarès)	E (St. Salsa, **M**), E (Peter&Paul, **M**), W (Alexander, **M**)	no	no	*cupae*, *mensae*, sarcophagi, mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers, painted epitaphs
Rusguniae (MC)	cist tombs?	?	not recorded	?	N-church (6th/7th c.)	mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers?, *mensae*
Icosium (MC)	*formae*, cist tombs, tile-roofed tombs	1 continued, NW: Bab el Oued)	not recorded	byz. burials in church at pl. des Martyrs)	byz. burials in church at pl. des Martyrs)	no Late Antique epitaphs
Castellum Tingitanum (MC)	*formae*, sarcophagi, hypogaea	1/2 continued? (hôpital mili-taire; hypogaea zone)	probable (hôpital militaire)	no	no	mosaic epitaphs

Tab. 1 *(Continued)*

Site	Late Antique tomb type	continued/new extra-urban necropoleis	extra-urban coemeterial churches	new intra-urban burial fields	burials in intra-urban churches	(epigraphic) tomb signaling
Sitifis (MS)	*formae*, cist tombs (stone&tiles), tile-roofed tombs, mausolea?	2 continued? (E; N: ?)	not recorded	NNW-quarter (around basilicae A+B) NW: vast intra-urban cemetery in insula	NNW-quarter (basilicae A+B)	*cupae*, mosaic epitaphs, stone covers, *mensae*, plates for mau-solea, stone mounds, anepi-graphic stelae, tiles with cross
Cuicul (N)	sarcophagi, cist tombs (stone&tiles), *formae*, crypts	1 continued (SE)	SE (burial church in necropolis)	2 (S around Cresconius-basilica; W (around burial church; byz?)	S (Cresconius-basilica) W (burial church)	mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers, mausoleum tituli?
Thamugadi (N)	tile-roofed tombs, sarcophagi, *formae*, cist tombs (stone&tile), hypo-gaea or vaulted crypts	3 continued (N, W, E) 1 new? (S, huge necrop-olis)	NW (basilica I; **M**), NE (basilica IV) S (basilica XI)	no	‚basilica VII' in 'Donatist quarter'; SW: basilica IX, **M**)	mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers, sarcophagi
Thabraca (P)	relief sarcophagi, sarcophagi, funerary chapels, *areae*, cist tombs (stone&tiles), hypogaea?, lead coffins	1 or 2 continued (E? with *area*?; NW)	1 or 2 (NW: 'martyr's chapel' and 'NW-chapel')	1–4 (in and around 'urban basilica' (with *area*), several intra-urban plots	‚Urban basilica'	mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers, sarcophagi, *cupae*
Hippo Regius (P)	*formae*, cist tombs (stone+tile), tile-roofed tombs?, amphorae, sarcophagi, relief sarcophagi, lead coffins, plastered tombs	1 or 2 continued (SW: Borgeaud; SE: near theatre)	SW (Borgeaud-basilica, 6th–7th c., **M?**)	4th–7th? c.: Chevillot-basilica; 5th–7th? c.: several insulae, plazas, baths	Chevillot-basilica (4th–7th c.?)	mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers, stone mensae?, sarcophagi
Bulla Regia (P)	*formae*, sarcophagi, cist tombs (stone&tile), mausolea, lead coffins, tile-roofed tombs?	1 continued (W)	SW (basilica III); W (basilica IV)	3 (insula de la chasse, sanctuary of Apollo; both Byzantine?; one N of nymphaeum 5th c.?)	basilica I possible church N of nymphaeum	*cupae*, caissons, *mensae*, mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers

Tab. 1 *(Continued)*

Site	Late Antique tomb type	continued/new extra-urban necropoleis	extra-urban coemeterial churches	new intra-urban burial fields	burials in intra-urban churches	(epigraphic) tomb signaling
Thugga (P)	*formae*, sarcophagi, cist tombs, crypts, hypogaea, relief sarcophagi	1 or 2 continued (NE and W?)	NE (St. Victoria)	perhaps 1 or 2 (theatre) Trifolium-house (5th–7th c. burials)	no	sarcophagi, mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers
Sidi Jdidi (P)	*formae*, cist tombs, sarcophagi, amphorae	not recorded	not recorded	not recorded	basilicae I (5th–6th c., **M**), II **(M)**, III (both late 4th–6th c.)	mosaic epitaphs, caissons, flat stone covers, *mensae*
Pupput (P)	masonry tombs, reoccupied mausolea, amphorae, *formae*	1 or 2 continued (NE: 'Christian' cem. near Oued Temad; NW: Roman cem.)	burial church 'hotel Paradise'; intra-urban?	not recorded	burial church 'hotel Paradise'; extra-urban?	mosaic epitaphs
Karthago (P)	pit tombs, *formae*, sarcophagi, reused/new built mausolea, funerary chapels, cist tombs (stone&tiles), tile-roofed tombs, hypogaea, catacombs, amphorae, masonry tombs, vaulted tombs, relief sarcophagi, lead/wooden coffins, plastered tombs	**7 continued:** N: S. Bou Said, a-round St. Monique, D. Karita, Mcidfa, S: Le Kram; Bir Kniss-ia; W: B-Zitoun **2 abandoned & reoccupied:** W: Bir Jebbana (4th-late 6th c.), Yasmina (5th–7th c.) **3–4 new:** NE: Theod. wall (430-mid-6th c.), Falbe 44 (late 4th–5th c.) Koudiat Zateur, Dar Bou Kris, Saniet Khodja	NE (St. Monique, **M?**, late 4th-late 6th. c, Damous el Karita, late 4th–6th. c., **M?**); NW (Mcidfa, late 4th-late 6th c., **M**), W (La Malga, Bir Ftouha, early 6th–7th c., **M?**); S (Bir el-Knissia, later **M**)	several insulae (5th–7th c.), circus (late 6th–7th c.), Sayda-cemetery (6th–7th c.), theatre, odeum, harbor (5th–7th c.)	basilicae II ('Bigua'); IV (= Dermech I, 1 tomb); VII (= Dermech III; 1 byz. tomb); XVIII (=rotunda); Sayda-church?	caissons, *mensae*, mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers, slabs for mausolea, small *tituli* for *loculi*? sarcophagi

Tab. 1 *(Continued)*

Site	Late Antique tomb type	continued/new extra-urban necropoleis	extra-urban coemeterial churches	new intra-urban burial fields	burials in intra-urban churches	(epigraphic) tomb signaling
Ammaedara (P)	*formae*, cist tombs, *areae*, tile-roofed tombs	5 or 6 continued? (N; E, SE, S; NW; W)	N (basilica IV, **M**), E (basilica II, **M**) SE (basilica VI)	around basilica I (4th–6th); around basilica III+VII, **M** (byz), around VIII, **M**, with new houses & workshops	basilica I (4th–6th, **M**), basilica III (byz.)	mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers, *cupae*, *loculus*-epitaphs on colums, *mensae*
Theveste (P)	*formae*, cist tombs (stone&tiles), tile-roofed tombs, sarcophagi, relief sarcophagi, 'catacombs', chapels?, *areae*, wooden/lead coffins	4 continued: NE: Carthage-road, N: Hr. Rohbane, SW: byz.; NW: Saadane, Cam-bon, 4th–6th c.) 2 new (N: Draa Rahou, 5th–6th c., E: Si Ferradj)	NE (in and around St. Crispina, **M**, mid-4th–7th c.)	near amphitheater, near tetrapylon, in/around 'Minerva' temple (byz.)S baths (byz.)	perhaps in/around 'Minerva' temple (byz.)?	*arulae*, *mensae*, *cupae*, caissons, sarcophagi, mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers, tituli for loculi and arcosolia
Sufetula (B)	formae, cist tombs (stone & 'carreaux de terre cuite', sarcophagi, relief sarcophagi	2 or 3 continued (N and S; W: around basilica VI (6th c.)	SW: basilica VI (6th c.; **M**) SE: basilica VII (6th c.); S: 'basilica' IX (byz.)	around basilicae I, II, IV (4th c.-?), V, VIII, NW sector: (4th c.-?)	basilicae I (5th–6th c.), II (5th–6th c., **M**), III (6th–7th c.), IV (6th c., **M**), V (4th–7th c., **M**); VIII (6th–7th c. **M**)	mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers, 'carreaux de terre cuite'
Mactaris (B)	*formae*, cist tombs (stone&tile), sarcophagi, wooden coffins	1, 2 continued (N: necropolis A= Aïn-el-Bab; S: necropolis B; NE: necropolis C)	N: 'Rutilius-basilica' I	S: around schola-basilica II; E: around basilica III?, NE: around basilica? V; in/ around great baths	‚Hildeguns-basilica' III; S: schola-basilica II basilica IV 'thermes nord-Ouest', basilica? V	mosaic epitaphs, flat stone covers, inscribed stone *mensae, cupae*
Hadrumetum (B)	catacombs, *formae*, hypogaea, amphorae, *areae*, relief sarcophagi	3 continued (N, W: lycée technique, W & S: catacombs 2nd–5th c.)	W: burial church, urban posit-ion not sure; S:burial basilica IV	SW (maison des masques), W (maison de Vergile et des muses)	basilica I near casbah?; II near arsenal	*loculi tituli* (mo-saic&-stone), flat stone covers, painted & mosaic epitaphs

Tab. 1 *(Continued)*

Site	Late Antique tomb type	continued/new extra-urban necropoleis	extra-urban coemeterial churches	new intra-urban burial fields	burials in intra-urban churches	(epigraphic) tomb signaling
Leptiminus (B)	*formae*, cist tombs (stone&tile&plastered), tile-roofed tombs, amphorae, jugs, relief sarcophagi, vaulted 'catacombs' with *cubicula*, wooden coffins, reused hypogaea & *areae*	several burial spots continued at Dharet Slama (SE: Sites 250, 10, 200, 304=catacomb complex, 4th–6th c.)	no	2 (NW: Christian *area* or cemetery at Dar el Kaïd; church with cemetery near bath)	1 or 2? (basilica II at Dar el Kaïd; cemeterial basilica I near bath?)	mosaic epitaphs, sarcophagi, *cupae*, painted epitaphs? (hypogaeum 1)
Taparura (B)	*formae*, cist tombs (stone & tile), *areae*, amphorae, tile-roofed tombs, amphorae	1–2 continued (N: 'Buttes Meghzani; NE: St. Henri)	1 or 2 (N: 'Buttes Meghzani)	not recorded	not recorded	mosaic epitaphs, *cupae*, flat stone covers
Thaenae (B)	*formae*, cist tombs (tiles & stone), amphorae, vaulted (painted) funerary chambers, reoccupied mausolea	3 or 4 continued (NW: 2nd–5th c. tombs 900m NW of wall; 200m NW of wall spots T6–8; N: spot T5; NE: spot T9 at Taparura gate	not recorded	NE: spot T10 just inside the wall	1 (50m S of lighthouse, early 5th–6th c.)	mosaic epitaphs, caissons, flat marble covers, lintels for funerary chambers

Bibliography

Aounallah, Samir/Ben Abdallah, Zeineb/Ben Romdhane, Hamden/Chérif, Ali/Derbal, Nesrine (2019), *Inscriptions latines lapidaires du musée de Sousse* (Le Monografie della SAIC 2), Sassari.

Ardeleanu, Stefan (2018), "Directing the Faithful, Structuring the Sacred Space: Funerary Epigraphy in its Archaeological Context in Late-Antique Tipasa", in: *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 31, 475–500.

Ardeleanu, Stefan (2019), "Zum funerärepigraphischen Habit des spätantiken Hippo Regius. Gräber, Kirchen mit Bestattungen und Grabinschriften in ihrem urbanen und sozialen Kontext", in: *Römische Mitteilungen* 125, 401–448.

Ardeleanu, Stefan (2020), "L'épigraphie funéraire de l'Afrique du Nord tardo-antique: bilan, problèmes et perspectives de la recherche récente (1988–2018)", in: Samir Aounallah and Attilio Mastino (eds.), *L'Africa Romana XXI. L'epigrafia del Nord Africa: novità, riletture, nuove sintesi* (Convegno Tunisi, 6–9 dicembre 2018) (Epigrafia e Antichità 45), Faenza, 639–651.

Ardeleanu, Stefan (in press), "Sacralizing the Martyr's House – The Role of Epitaphs and Architecture in the Making of Martyr Complexes in Late Antique North Africa", in: Sabine Panzram and Nathalie Klinck (eds.), *Why can the Dead do such Great Things? The Making of Saints in Late Antique North Africa* (International Conference, Hamburg, 22–23 September 2021), Hamburg.

Baratte, François (2008), "Les évêques et leur sépulture en Afrique. Les données archéologiques", in: Blanc-Bijon 2008, 225–236.

Baratte, François/Bejaoui, Fathi (eds.) (2009), *Recherches archéologiques à Haïdra. Vol. 3* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 18/1), Rome.

Baratte, François/Bejaoui, Fathi (eds.) (2011), *Recherches archéologiques à Haïdra. Vol. 4* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 18/4), Rome.

Baratte, François/Bejaoui, Fathi/Duval, Noël/Berraho, Sarah/Gui, Isabelle/Jacquest, Hélène (eds.) (2014), *Basiliques chrétiennes de l'Afrique du Nord. Inventaire et typologie. Vol. 2: Inventaire des monuments de la Tunisie* (Mémoires 38), Bordeaux.

Bejaoui, Fathi (1992), "À propos des mosaïques funéraires d'Henchir Sokrine (environs de Leptiminus en Byzacène", in: Attilio Mastino (ed.), *L'Africa Romana IX. Nuove scoperte epigrafiche nel Nord Africa ed in Sardegna* (Convegno di Studio, Nuoro, 13–15 dicembre 1991), Sassari, 329–336.

Bejaoui, Fathi (2015), *Les Hautes Steppes tunisiennes. Témoignages archéologiques chrétiens*, Tunis.

Bejaoui, Fathi (2016), "Quelques nouvelles découvertes d'époque chrétienne en Tunisie", in: Brandt/Castiglia/Fiocchi Nicolai 2016, 1679–1689.

Ben Abdallah, Zeïneb B. (2013), *Mourir à Ammaedara: épitaphes païennes d'Ammaedara et de sa region* (Studi di storia antica e di archeologia 11), Ortacesus.

Ben Abed-Ben Khader, Aïcha/Fixot, Michel/Roucole, Sylvestre (2011), *Sidi Jdidi. Vol. 2: Le groupe épiscopal* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 451), Rome.

Ben Abed-Ben Khader, Aïcha/Griesheimer, Marc (eds.) (2004), *La nécropole romaine de Pupput* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 323), Rome.

Ben Aïcha, Olfa (2021), "Les petits objets", in: Ben Lazreg/Stirling/Moore 2021, 439–460.

Ben Baaziz, Sadok (2000), *Rohia et le Sraa Ouertane dans l'Antiquité (Tunisie)*, Tunis.

Ben Lazreg, Nejib (2002), "Roman and Early Christian Burial-Complex at Leptiminus. First Notice", in: *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15, 336–345.

Ben Lazreg, Nejib (2021), "Les mosaiques tombales de la nécropole souterraine chrétienne", in: Ben Lazreg/Stirling/Moore 2021, 511–554.

Ben Lazreg, Nejib/Stevens, Susan T./Stirling, Lea M./Moore, Jennifer (2006), "Roman and Early Christian Burial Complex at Leptiminus. Second Notice", in: *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 19, 347–368.

Ben Lazreg, Nejib/Stirling, Lea M./Moore, Jennifer P. (eds.) (2021), *Leptiminus (Lamta) Report No 4. The East Cemetery: Stratigraphy, Ceramics, Non-Ceramic Finds and Bio-Archaeological Studies* (Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supp. Series 110), Portsmouth.

Berthier, André (1942), *Les vestiges du christianisme antique dans la Numidie centrale*, Algiers.

Blanc-Bijon, Véronique (ed.) (2008), *Lieux de cultes: aires votives, temples, églises, mosquées* (IX[e] Colloque sur l'Histoire et l'Archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord Antique et Médiévale, Tripoli, 19–25 février 2005), Paris.

Bockmann, Ralf (2013), *Capital Continuous. A Study of Vandal Carthage and Central North Africa from an Archaeological Perspective* (Spätantike, frühes Christentum, Byzanz. Studien und Perspektiven 37), Wiesbaden.

Bockmann, Ralf (2014), "Märtyrer Karthagos. Ursprünge und Wandel ihrer Verehrung in den Kirchenbauten der Stadt", in: *Römische Mitteilungen* 120, 341–375.

Bockmann, Ralf/Leone, Anna/von Rummel, Philipp (eds.) (2019), *Africa – Ifriqiya. Continuity and Change in North Africa from the Byzantine to the Early Islamic Age* (Conference, Rome, 28 February–2 March 2013) (Palilia 34), Wiesbaden.

Bolle/Katharina/Machado, Carlos/Witschel, Christian (eds.) (2017), *The Epigraphic Cultures of Late Antiquity* (Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 60), Stuttgart.

Bonifay, Michel (2004), *Études sur la céramique romaine tardive d'Afrique* (British Archaeological Reports International Series 1301), Oxford.

Bouchenaki, Mounir (1975), *Fouilles de la nécropole occidentale de Tipasa (Matarès). (1968–1972)* (Publications de la Bibliothèque nationale, Alger. Histoire et Civilisations 1), Algiers.

Brandt, Olof/Castiglia, Gabriele/Fiocchi Nicolai, Vincenzo (eds.) (2016), *Costantino e i Costantinidi: l'innovazione costantiana, le sue radici e i suoi sviluppi* (Acta XVI Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Romae 22–28. 9. 2013) (Studi di antichità cristiana 66), Vatican City,

Brink, Laurie/Green, Deborah (eds.) (2008), *Commemorating the Dead. Texts and Artifacts in Context*, Berlin.

Bussière, Jean (2007), *Lampes antiques d'Algérie. Vol. 2: Lampes tardives et lampes chrétiennes* (Monographies instrumentum 35), Montagnac.

Carton, Louis (1892), "Rapport sur les fouilles à Bulla Regia en 1890", in: *Bulletin archéologique* 1892, 69–86.

Chaouali, Moheddine (2019), "La nouvelle église ouest de Bulla Regia et les évêques Armonius et Procesius", in: Bockmann/Leone/von Rummel 2019, 173–184.

Chaouali, Moheddine/Fenwick, Corisande/Booms, Dirk (2018), "Bulla Regia I: A New Church and Christian Cemetery", in: *Libyan Studies* 49, 187–197.

De Larminat, Solenn (2011), *Mourir enfant en Afrique romaine. Gestes, pratiques et rituels. Afrique Proconsulaire, Numidie et Maurétanie Césarienne (I[er]–III[e] s. de n. è.)*, PhD Thesis, University Aix-en-Provence.

Delattre, Alfred-Louis (1926)*, L'épigraphie funéraire chrétienne à Carthage*, Tunis.

Dossey, Leslie (2010), *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 47), Berkeley.

Downs, Joan M. (2007), *Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town*, PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Dresken-Weiland, Jutta (2003), *Sarkophagbestattungen des 4.–6. Jahrhunderts im Westen des Römischen Reiches* (Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte, Suppl. 55), Rome/Freiburg/Vienna.

Duval, Noël (1976), *La mosaïque funéraire dans l'art paléochrétien* (Antichità, archeologia, storia dell'arte 3), Ravenna.

Duval, Noël (1988), "L'épigraphie funéraire chrétienne d'Afrique: traditions et ruptures, constantes et diversités", in: Angela Donati (ed.), *La terza età dell'epigrafia* (Colloquio Bologna, ottobre 1986) (Epigrafia e Antichità 9), Faenza, 265–314.

Duval, Noël (1995), "Les nécropoles chrétiennes d'Afrique du Nord", in: Trousset 1995, 187–205.

Duval, Noël (2003), "Un atelier de 'mosaïques funéraires' à Acholla au IVe siècle (fouilles Fendri sous la direction de G. Picard en 1947–1954)", in: *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité* 115, 755–777.

Duval, Noël/Cintas, Jean (1976), "Le martyrium de Cincari et les martyria triconques et tétraconques en Afrique", in: *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité* 88, 853–927.

Duval, Noël/Prévot, Françoise (1975), *Recherches archéologiques à Haïdra. Vol 1: Les inscriptions chrétiennes* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 18,1), Rome.

Duval, Yvette (1982), Loca Sanctorum Africae. *Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IVe au VIIe siècle. 2 Vols.* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 58), Rome.

Duval, Yvette/Picard, Jean-Charles (1986), *L'inhumation privilégiée du IVe au VIIIe s. en Occident* (Colloque Créteil 16–18 mars 1984), Paris.

Eger, Christoph (2012), *Spätantikes Kleidungszubehör aus Nordafrika. Vol. 1: Trägerkreis, Mobilität und Ethnos im Spiegel der Funde der spätesten römischen Kaiserzeit und der vandalischen Zeit* (Münchner Beiträge zur provinzialrömischen Archäologie 5), Wiesbaden.

Ehler, Elisabeth (2012), *Figürliche Loculusplatten aus dem frühchristlichen Rom. PhD Philipps-Universität Marburg*, http://archiv.ub.uni-marburg.de/diss/z2012/0956 (accessed 16/12/2021).

Ennabli, Liliane (1975), *Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de la basilique dite de St-Monique à Carthage* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 25), Rome.

Ennabli, Liliane (1982), *Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de Carthage. Vol. 2: La basilique de Mcidfa* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 62/2), Rome.

Ennabli, Liliane (1991), *Les inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de Carthage. Vol. 3: Carthage intra et extra muros* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 151), Rome.

Fentress, Elisabeth/Wilson, Andrew (2016), "The Saharan Berber Diaspora and the Southern Frontiers of Byzantine North Africa", in: Stevens/Conant 2016, 41–63.

Février, Paul-Albert (1962), "Le formulaire des inscriptions funéraires datées de la Maurétanie césarienne orientale", in: *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1962, 152–160.

Février, Paul-Albert (1964), "Remarques sur les inscriptions funéraires datées de Maurétanie Césarienne orientale (IIe–Ve siècle), in: *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 76 (1), 105–172.

Février, Paul-Albert (1965a), "Mosaïques funéraires datées d'Afrique du Nord", in: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana (ed), Atti del *VI Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana* (Ravenna, 23–30 settembre 1962) (Studi di antichità cristiana 26), Vatican City, 433–456.

Février, Paul-Albert (1965b), *Fouilles de Sétif. Les basiliques chrétiennes du quartier nord-ouest*, Paris.

Février, Paul-Albert (1970), "Inscriptions de Sétif et de la région", in: *Bulletin d'Archéologie Algérienne* 4, 319–410.

Février, Paul-Albert (1978), "Le culte des morts dans les communautés chrétiennes durant le IIIe siècle", in: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana (ed.), *Atti del IX Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana* (Roma, 21–27 settembre 1975) (Studi di antichità cristiana 32), Vatican City, 211–274.

Février, Paul-Albert (1986), "Aux origines du christianisme en Maurétanie césarienne", in: *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité* 98 (2) 767–809.

Fiocchi Nicolai, Vincenzo (2016), "Le aree funerarie cristiane di età costantiniana e la nascita delle chiese con funzione sepolcrale", in: Brandt/Castiglia/Fiocchi Nicolai 2016, 619–670.

Fortier, Emile/Malahar, Eric (1910), "Les fouilles à Thina exécutées en 1908–1909", in: *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 1910, 82–99.

Fournet-Pilipenko, Hélène (1961), "Sarcophages romains de Tunisie", in: *Karthago* 11, 77–168.

Galvão-Sobrinho, Carlos R. (1995), "Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West", in: *Athenaeum* 83, 431–462.

Ghalia, Taher (1998), *Hergla et les mosaïques des basiliques chrétiennes de Tunisie. Plan, decor et liturgie*, Tunis.

Ghalia, Taher (2001), "Présence chrétienne dans le Cap Bon de l'Antiquité tardive", in: Christian Landes (ed.), *Tunisie: du christianisme à l'Islam IV^e^–XIV^e^ siècle* (Catalogue de l'exposition Lattes, 14 decembre 2000–29 avril 2001), Lattes, 65–73.

Ghalia, Taher (2008), ""Par ce signe tu vaincras…" Nouveaux témoignages sur les vestiges du christianisme antique au Cap Bon (Tunisie)", in: Blanc-Bijon 2008, 199–216.

Guéry, Roger (1985), *La nécropole orientale de Sitifis. Fouilles de 1966–1967* (Études d'Antiquités Africaines), Paris.

Gui, Isabelle/Duval, Noël/Caillet, Jean-Pierre (1992), *Basiliques chrétiennes d'Afrique du Nord. Vol. 1: Inventaire de l'Algérie*, Paris.

Gsell, Stéphane (1901), *Monuments de l'Algérie antique*. *Vol. 2* (Collection des études augustiniennes. Série Antiquités 129), Paris.

Hamidane, Mourad/Hamdoune, Christine (2014), "Deux inscriptions inédites de la nécropole tardive de l'école du docteur Saadane à Théveste", in: *Aouras* 8, 195–198.

Hamdoune, Christine (ed.) (2011), *Vie, mort et poésie dans l'Afrique romaine. D'après un choix de Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Brussels.

Hamdoune, Christine (ed.) (2016), *Parure monumentale et paysage dans la poésie épigraphique de l'Afrique romaine. Recueil de Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (Scripta antiqua 85), Bordeaux.

Hamdoune, Christine (2018), *Ad fines Africae Romanae. Les mondes tribaux dans les provinces maurétaniennes* (Scripta antiqua 111), Bordeaux.

Handley, Mark A. (2003), *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300–750* (British Archaeological Report International Series 1135), Oxford.

Handley, Mark (2011), *Dying on Foreign Shores. Travel and Mobility in the Late-Antique West* (Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. 86), Portsmouth.

Ibba, Antonio (2006), *Uchi Maius. Vol. 2: Le iscrizioni*, Sassari.

Jeddi, Nabiha (1995), "À propos d'une nécropole à Thina (*Thaenae*). Note préliminare", in: Trousset 1995, 139–178.

Jensen, Robin M. (2008), "Dining with the Dead. From the Mensa to the Altar in Christian Late Antiquity", in: Brink/Green 2008, 107–143.

Kadra, Kadria F. (1989a), "Nécropoles tardives de l'antique Théveste: mosaïques funéraires et mensae", in: Attilio Mastino (ed.), *L'Africa Romana IV. L'epigrafia e la storia delle province romane del Maghreb* (Convegno Sassari, 12–14 dicembre 1988), Sassari, 265–282.

Kadra, Kadria F. (1989b), "Rapport sur le récentes découvertes en Algérie", in: *Actes du XI^e^ congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne* (Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève, Aoste, 21–28 septembre 1986) (Publications de l'École française de Rome 123) 1961–1974.

Keenleyside, Anne/Schwarcz, Henry/Stirling, Lea M./Ben Lazreg, Nejib (2009), "Stable Isotopic Evidence for Diet in a Roman and Late Roman Population from Leptiminus, Tunisia", in: *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36, 51–63.

Kotila, Heikki (1992), Memoria mortuorum. *Commemoration of the Departed in Augustine* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 38), Rome.

Lancel, Serge (1997), "Modalités de l'inhumation privilégiée dans la nécropole de St-Salsa à Tipasa (Algérie)", in: *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 141 (3), 791–814.

Laporte, Jean-Pierre (2009), "Une contribution méconnue du monde amazigh à l'architecture mondiale: Les grands mausolées d'Afrique", in: Haut Commissariat à l'Amazighité (ed.), *L'apport des Amazighs à la civilisation universelle* (colloque Alger, 12–13 novembre 2008), Algiers, 136–155.

Lassère, Jean-Marie (2015), *Africa quasi Roma (256 av. J.-C. – 711 ap. J.-C.)* (Études d'Antiquités Africaines), Paris.

Leone, Anna (2007a), *Changing Townscapes in North Africa from Late Antiquity to the Arab Conquest* (Munera 28), Bari.

Leone, Anna (2007b), "Changing Urban Landscapes: Burials in North African Cities from the Late Antique to Byzantine Periods", in: Stone/Stirling 2007, 164–203.

Lepelley, Claude (1981), *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire. Vol. 2: Notices d'histoire municipale*, Paris.
Leschi, Louis (1957), *Etudes d'épigraphie, d'archéologie et d'histoire africaines*, Paris.
Leveau, Philippe (1983), "Recherches sur les nécropoles occidentales de Cherchel (Caesarea Mauretaniae), 1880–1961", in: *Antiquités africaines* 19, 85–173.
Leveau, Philippe (1984), *Caesarea de Maurétanie. Une ville romaine et ses campagnes* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 70), Rome.
Leveau, Philippe (1999), "Fouilles sur la nécropole de la gare routière de Cherchel, Algérie (1992–1993)", in: *Antiquités africaines* 35, 77–133.
Leynaud, Augustin-Fernand (1922²), *Les catacombes africaines. Sousse-Hadrumète*, Algier.
Ma, Ying/Bockmann, Ralf/Stevens, Susan T./Roudesli-Chebbi, Sihem/Amaro, Alessio/Boruzou, Anastasia/Fuller, Benjamin T./Mannino, Marcello A. (2021), "Isotopic Reconstruction of Diet at the Vandalic Period (ca. 5th–6th centuries AD) Theodosian Wall Cemetery at Carthage, Tunisia", in: *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 31, 393–405.
MacKinnon, Michael (2021), "Faunal Remains from Site 304: Fills, Graves, and Aspects of Idetifiying Ritual, in: Ben Lazreg/Stirling/Moore 2021, 579–606.
Mahjoubi, Ammar (1978), *Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie à Henchir el-Faouar (Tunisie). La cité des Belalitani maiores* (Publications de l'Université de Tunis, Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Tunis. Archéologie-histoire 12), Tunis.
Marcillet-Jaubert, Jean (1968), *Les inscriptions d'Altava* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines d'Aix-en-Provence N.S. 65), Aix-en-Provence.
Meinecke, Katharina (2018), "(Un)Sichtbare Schätze? Aufstellungskontexte kaiserzeitlicher Sarkophage in den Nekropolen Roms und der Umgebung", in: Ortwin Dally, Johanna Fabricius and Henner von Hesberg (eds.), *Bilder und Räume. Antike Sarkophage im Kontext* (Conference, Rome 11–12 August 2011) (Sarkophag-Studien 10), Wiesbaden, 51–70.
Monceaux, Paul (1908), "Inscriptions chrétiennes du cercle de Tébessa", in: *Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Département de Constantine* 42, 193–236.
Morrisson, Cécile (2016), "*Regio dives in omnibus bonis ornata*. African Economy from the Vandals to the Arab Conquest in the Light of Coin Evidence", in: Stevens/Conant 2016, 173–200.
Nikita, Eftychia/Alexander, Michelle/Cox, Samantha/Radini, Anita/Le Roux, Petrus/Chaouali, Moheddine/Fenwick, Corisande (2023), Isotopic Evidence for Human Mobility in Late Antique Bulla Regia (Tunisia), in: *Journal of Archaeological Science, Reports* 47, 2023, 1–13, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2022.103816 (accessed 31/01/2023).
Potthoff, Stephen E. (2017), *The Afterlife in Early Christian Carthage. Near-Death Experience, Ancestor Cult, and the Archaeology of Paradise* (Routledge Studies in the Early Christian World), London/New York.
Prévot, Françoise (1984), *Recherches archéologiques Franco-Tunisiennes à Mactar. Vol. 5: Les inscriptions chrétiennes* (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome 34), Rome.
Quevedo, Alejandro/Benseddik, Nacéra (2021), "La necrópolis septentrional de *Icosium* (Argel). Revisión e interpretación de su cultura material (siglos i-v d. C.)", in: *Pyreneae* 52(2), 2021, 105–130.
Raynal, Dominique (2005), *Archéologie et histoire de l'église d'Afrique: Uppenna. Vol. 2*, Toulouse.
Rebillard, Eric (2003), *Religion et sépulture. L'église, les vivants et les morts dans l'Antiquité tardive*, Paris.
Reifarth, Nicole (2013), *Zur Ausstattung spätantiker Elitegräber aus St. Maximin in Trier. Purpur, Seide, Gold und Harze* (Internationale Archäologie 124), Rahden.
Ritter, Stefan/von Rummel, Philipp (2015), *Thugga. Vol. 3: Archäologische Untersuchungen zur Siedlungsgeschichte von Thugga. Die Ausgrabungen südlich der Maison de Trifolium 2001–2003*, Wiesbaden.
Rocca, Elsa/Bejaoui, Fathi (2018), "Occupation urbaine dans le sud-ouest de la Proconsulaire entre Antiquité tardive et Moyen Âge. Les cas d'Ammaedara (Haïdra, Tunisie) et de Theveste (Tébessa, Algérie)", in: Sabine Panzram and Laurent Callegarin (eds.), *Entre civitas y madîna*.

El mundo de las ciudades en la peninsula ibérica y en el norte de África (siglos IV–IX) (Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 167), Madrid, 223–240.

Schmidt, Wolfgang (2000), "Spätantike Gräberfelder in den Nordprovinzen des römischen Reiches und das Aufkommen christlichen Bestattungsbrauchtums. Tricciana (Ságvár) in der Provinz Valeria", in: *Saalburg-Jahrbuch* 50, 213–441.

Sears, Gareth (2007), *Late Roman African Urbanism. Continuity and Transformation in the City* (British Archaeological Reports International Series 1693), Oxford.

Souq, François (2010), "Un partenariat de l'Inrap avec l'Algérie pour le développement de l'archéologie préventive", in: *Archéopages* 2, 96–104.

Spera, Lucrezia (2005), "Riti funerary e 'culto dei morti' nella tarda antichità. Un quadro archeologico dai cimiteri paleocristiani di Roma", in: *Augustinianum* 45 (1), 5–34.

Sterrett-Krause, Allison E. (2017), "Drinking with the Dead? Glass from Roman and Christian Burial Areas at Leptiminus (Lamta, Tunisia)", in: *Journal of Glass Studies* 59, 47–82.

Stevens, Susan T. (2008), "Commemorating the Dead in the Communal Cemeteries of Carthage", in: Brink/Green 2008, 79–103.

Stevens, Susan T. (2019), "Incorporating Christian Communities in North Africa. Churches as Bodies of Communal History", in: David K. Pettegrew, William R. Caraher and Thomas W. Davis (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Archaeology*, New York, 645–664.

Stevens, Susan T./Conant, Jonathan P. (eds.) (2016), *North Africa under Byzantium and Early Islam* (Symposium Dumbarton Oaks, 27–29 April 2012) (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia), Washington.

Stevens, Susan T./Garrison, Mark B./Freed, Joann (2009), *A Cemetery of Vandalic Date at Carthage* (Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supp. Series 75), Portsmouth.

Stevens, Susan T./Kalinowski, Angela V./van der Leest, Hans (2005), *Bir Ftouha: A Pilgrimage Church Complex at Carthage* (Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supp. Series 59), Portsmouth.

Stirling, Lea M. (2007), "The Koine of the Cupula in Roman North Africa and the Transition from Cremation to Inhumation", in: Stone/Stirling 2007, 110–137.

Stone, David L./Stirling, Lea M. (eds.) (2007), *Mortuary Landscapes of North Africa* (Phoenix Suppl. 43), Toronto.

Tantillo, Ignazio (2017), "La trasformazione del paesaggio epigrafico nelle città dell'Africa romana, con particolare riferimento al caso di Leptis Magna (Tripolitana)", in: Bolle/Machado/Witschel 2017, 213–270.

Teatini, Alessandro (2010), "Le produzioni di sarcofagi a Cartagine nella tarda antichità: nuovi dati dalla documentazione sarda", in: Marco Milanese, Paola Ruggieri and Cinzia Vismara (eds.), *L'Africa romana XVIII. I luoghi e le forme dei mestieri e della produzione nelle provincie africane* (Convegno Olbia, 11–14 dicembre 2008), Rome, 1295–1323.

Teichgräber, Ansgar (2020), *Was ist also unser Lohn? Die Finanzen der nordafrikanischen Kirchen im 4. und frühen 5. Jahrhundert* (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband. Kleine Reihe 16) Münster.

Trousset, Pol (ed.) (1995), *L'Afrique du Nord antique et médiévale. Vol. 2: Monuments funéraires, institutions autochthones* (VI^{e} Colloque International sur l'Histoire et l'Archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord, Pau, octobre 1993), Paris.

Volp, Ulrich (2002), *Tod und Ritual in den christlichen Gemeinden der Antike* (Vigiliae Christianae Suppl. 65), Leiden/Boston.

von Rummel, Philipp/Möller, Heike (2019), "Chimtou médiévale. Les derniers niveaux d'occupation de la ville de Simitthus (Tunisie)", in: Bockmann/Leone/von Rummel 2019, 185–215.

Witschel, Christian (2017), "Spätantike Inschriftenkulturen im Westen des Imperium Romanum – einige Anmerkungen", in: Bolle/Machado/Witschel 2017, 33–53.

Yasin, Ann M. (2009), *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean. Architecture, Cult, and Community* (Greek Culture in the Roman World), Cambridge.

Figure Credits

Tab. 1 © Stefan Ardeleanu
Fig. 1 © Stefan Ardeleanu/Tim Wittenberg after World Mapping Center
Fig. 2 © Stefan Ardeleanu
Fig. 3 © Stefan Ardeleanu
Fig. 4 © Stefan Ardeleanu/Yasmin Nachtigall
Fig. 5 © Stefan Ardeleanu/Yasmin Nachtigall
Fig. 6 © Stefan Ardeleanu/Yasmin Nachtigall/Jana Richter
Fig. 7 © Stefan Ardeleanu/Yasmin Nachtigall
Fig. 8 © Stefan Ardeleanu/Yasmin Nachtigall
Fig. 9 © Stefan Ardeleanu
Fig. 10 Stefan Ardeleanu after Duval 1976, fig. 10
Fig. 11 © Stefan Ardeleanu
Fig. 12 © Stefan Ardeleanu after Leschi 1957, 381.
Fig. 13 © Stefan Ardeleanu, Musée National d'Antiquités et des Arts Islamiques, Alger.
Fig. 14 © Stefan Ardeleanu, Musée du Bardo, Tunis, permission Fatma Naït Ygil
Fig. 15 © Ammar Othman, Institut National du Patrimoine, Tunis, musée de Thina
Fig. 16 Février 1970, picture on p. 389
Fig. 17 © Prévot 1984, 111 fig. 152; cat. XI 10, Musée de Makthar, permission Moheddine Chaouali, Institut National du Patrimoine, Tunis
Fig. 18 © Stefan Ardeleanu after Kadra 1989b, fig. 4.