

JULIA VALEVA

## Architecture and Decoration of Late Antique Tombs in the Diocese of *Thracia* and Eastern *Illyricum*

### Historical Introduction to the Area

The Romans definitively established their control over the Balkans in the 1st c. AD, after a series of military campaigns that had started long before, in the last decades of the 3rd c. BC.<sup>1</sup> The conquest started from the West with the Adriatic coast, followed by the southern part of the peninsula and the creation of the provinces of *Macedonia* in 148 BC and *Achaea* after 146 BC (corresponding to the modern territories of Greece and parts of North Macedonia and Albania). The lands of the Illyrian and Pannonian tribes were conquered and organized in provinces during Augustus' reign: *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* (corresponding to modern Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, parts of Serbia and of North Macedonia). The vast regions between the Lower Danube and *Haemus Mons* (the Balkan Mountains), the future *Moesia* (Serbia and Bulgaria), succumbed by 29/28 BC. The *Limes Moesiae* included forts and stations along the Danube between *Singidunum*/Belgrade and the mouth of the river on the Black Sea. Many of the civilian settlements near the military camps developed into towns and provincial capitals. Their cultural heritage is the reason for their appearance in our survey. During the 1st c. AD *Moesia* was divided into two major areas, *Moesia Superior* and *Moesia Inferior*, the frontier between them running along the river *Oescus/Iskar* (in Bulgaria). The province of *Thracia* (today Bulgaria and European Turkey) was established in AD 46 after the death of the last ruler of the Odrysian client kingdom. An important territory was added to the empire after Trajan subjugated the Dacians in AD 107 and established the new province of *Dacia Traiana* (today Romania), but was abandoned by Aurelian in AD 271 under the pressure of barbarian incursions.

After the reforms of Diocletian the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula was organized into the Diocese of Thrace, part of the Eastern Prefecture (Fig. 1). The administrative history of the western part is rather complicated: it was reorganized several times, and only after the death of Theodosius I it was declared a praetorian prefecture by the name of Eastern *Illyricum*, attached to the *Pars Orientalis*.<sup>2</sup> The

- 1 It is a pleasure for me to thank my colleagues Jon C. Cubas Díaz and Stefan Ardeleanu for inviting me to participate in the conference.
- 2 It is not our goal to expound the history of the provincial subdivisions of the Balkan territory during the Roman and Late Roman periods, apart from the fact that the relevant literature is ample. The provinces were 'movable', as aptly noted by Carolin S. Snively in her study of the Macedonian provinces: SNIVELY 2010, 547–550. The classical



Fig. 1: Map of the Late Antique Balkan provinces with most important sites mentioned in this contribution.

Balkans gained new political and economic importance after the reforms of Diocletian and the establishment of a new capital in Constantinople. The provinces were interconnected through a network of important roads: the *Via Singidunum*, *Via Egnatia*, *Via Istrum*, *Via Pontica* and many others. Streams of people and ideas moving in this network created the history of the Balkans, this immense crossroad between

study of Theodor Mommsen remains fundamental, a selection of which, on the European provinces, is translated into English: MOMMSEN 1968. For the Middle Danube provinces: MÓCSY 1974; for the province of *Thracia*: IVANOV/VON BÜLOW 2008, 11–18, 64–66; a brief recent overview of the Balkan provinces: VALEVA/VIONIS 2014, 323–325.

East and West. Its mediatory role is best expressed by the fact that, parallel to an ongoing Romanization, Greek culture maintained its dominance in the southern half of the peninsula. The epigraphic and artistic evidence shows a massive Hellenization of the interior of the Balkans, especially South of the *Haemus*. The Roman influence, particularly regarding language, remained stronger in the provinces along the Danube, advanced by the permanent presence of military units and the towns that grew up around their camps.

This contribution discusses the masonry tombs built in Late Antiquity in the Balkan provinces, from *Scythia Minor* in the East to *Pannonia* in the West and Greece in the South. This is, however, only a brief overview, a sketch of a subject of enormous scope, of which the factual wealth, variety and cultural importance can hardly be overestimated. Moreover, we shall inquire not into all aspects of this field, but only into the form and decoration – mural and sculptural, of specific burial and commemorative structures. Our analysis will deal with monuments in the urban centres, as that is where the clusters of affluent people who ordered expensive burial monuments were to be found, but also with mausolea on private estates. Limits of space and the abundance of examples do not allow for a full discussion about many topics that this contribution will undoubtedly provoke. In general we rely on the conclusions suggested by the archaeologists to whom we owe the primary publications of the numerous monuments mentioned here. Only occasionally do we express a different opinion. The chronological framework of the survey spans from the second half of the 3rd c. AD, with its still pagan cultural context, to the 6th c. AD, when Christianisation of the population brought about the disappearance of luxurious private mausolea, as well as the standardization and diminution in size of less expensive funerary monuments.

## Late Antique Funerary Landscapes between the Black Sea and the Adriatic Sea: Some General Patterns

As may be expected, the absolute majority of burials in Late Antiquity, as in previous periods, was modest, if not poor. The lower end of the spectrum begins with inhumations in pits with some grave marker. Then there were burials in wooden coffins, or coffins constructed in brick or/and *tegulae*. The *tegulae* were set gable-wise and were generally covered by *imbrices*. In other cases, the bricks were vertically positioned to form a ‘chest’, covered by large tiles or bricks. The deceased were deposited in wooden coffins or on wooden biers, additionally covered with a thin layer of earth.<sup>3</sup> More expensive tombs had walls built of bricks and mortar, over

3 An example is the Jagodin Mala necropolis in Niš: POPOVIĆ et al. 2014, 23, 27, fig. 14e. Already in 1907 the Serbian archaeologist Miloje Vasić defined the basic types of burials discovered in *Viminacium*, which were widely used also in all other Balkan provinces

which a brick covering was placed, usually resembling a pitched roof of *tegulae* with *imbrices* on the joint. Both interior and exterior of the walls were plastered with hydrophobic mortar.

Our survey, however, is dedicated to tombs with more sophisticated features in terms of architecture, building material, dimension and decoration. They are believed to be commissioned by well-to-do people, and, indeed, stand out when compared to the humble graves described above. At the same time, the simple structure of a grave does not always imply scarcity of the burial itself: in the simple tombs, e.g., that were excavated in the so-called ‘Benetton factory area’ of the Jagodin Mala necropolis in *Naissus*/Niš, the grave-goods include a fair amount of golden jewellery.<sup>4</sup> In such cases we cannot be sure whether the family of the dead incurred other substantial expenditures, such as commissions for professional mourners and copious dining, or not.<sup>5</sup> Still, monumentality and masonry technique do count, and several types of tombs are considered monuments that only wealthy families could afford.<sup>6</sup>

Tombs with a rectangular plan and barrel vaults constitute the prevalent high-cost type in the Balkan provinces in Late Antiquity. There are also tombs covered by cross-vaults or calottes and provided with *arcosolia*. In some publications they are classified as mausolea,<sup>7</sup> presumably because of their familial use. The use of this terminology is justified in cases where an external building meant for commemorative rites and combined with the burial chamber, also exists. Finally, we must mention that only well-off people could afford burials in sarcophagi, made of stone or lead.

In general, traditional Roman types of funerary monuments continued to be erected in Late Antiquity, but local characteristics also persisted. Throughout the Thracian provinces interment in burial mounds endured well into the early 4th c. AD. Re-use of existing *tumuli* prevailed, but newly raised mounds are also attested. The practice is also recorded in a written source. The Passion of the Marcanopolitan martyrs Maximus, Asclepiodota and Theodotus mentions Teres, the governor of *Thracia* from AD 305 to 311, a *vir perfectissimus* who died shortly after their execution. Over his grave a mound “as tall as a mountain” (εἰς ὄρους μέγεθος τὸ χῶμα ἀπεκορύφωσαν) was raised, which according to the author of the Passion served to remind future generations of God’s wrath against the ‘tyrant’.<sup>8</sup>

(VASIĆ 1907, 73–85); cf. for the types of Early Christian burials in *Sopianae*: MAGYAR 2006, 60; for *Moesia Secunda*: RUSEV 2012, 388; for *Scythia Minor*: SOFICARU 2017. Some general publications about types of burials in the Roman world are also of interest for the present study: TOYNBEE 1971; VON HESBERG 1992; MCDONNELL 2014.

4 POPOVIĆ et al. 2014, 33, Fig. 22, Cat. 40, 54.

5 MCDONNELL 2014 2014, 279.

6 POPOVIĆ et al. 2014, 30.

7 NIKOLAJEVIĆ 1980, 359–361.

8 SHARANKOV 2018, 107.

The necropoleis of the towns encompassed both pagan and Christian burials. It would be hard to state something in principle about the situation of the Christian 'clusters' within Late Antique necropoleis, although in some cases their spread to a position close to the fortification wall can be observed. When the churches found their place within the walls, privileged people, high-ranking members of the Christian clergy or benefactors were buried inside, infringing on the traditional prohibition of intramural interments.<sup>9</sup>

### **The Barrel-Vaulted Tomb: A Characteristic Late Antique Type in the Balkan Provinces**

The cult of the dead had a prominent place in pagan Roman culture. It played an even more crucial role in the process of Christianization. Some new forms of funerary architecture and customs that appeared or dominated in Late Antique pagan contexts were eventually adopted by the Christians. The tomb covered with a barrel vault was among these features. The shape was not an innovation: scholars tend to relate it to the tombs with semi-circular keystones or corbel vaults that developed expansively in Macedonia, Thrace, Anatolia and other regions in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods.<sup>10</sup> These were stone constructions. Two tombs from the 1st c. AD, the so-called Tomb of Demeter in Kerch and the tomb in *Bizye/Vize* (Kırklareli Province, Turkey, in the Marmara region), are good examples of the fact that both the architectural type and decoration persisted in funerary ideology and art over a long period of time.<sup>11</sup> The Tomb of Demeter has a *dro-mos* with stairs and a ramp. There are niches in three of the walls. Two massive stone slabs, now lost, imitated *klinai* on which sarcophagi were placed. The walls of this tomb are slightly inclined inward, concealing in this way the border of the vault. This smooth transition was characteristic of the typical Roman tombs built in brick masonry with rectangular boxes sealed by low barrel vaults, a more sophisticated construction than the tomb consisting of a barrel vault, placed directly on the ground. Such structures, described as typical for funerary architecture in Italy (e.g. *Ostia*, *Isola Sacra*), were built in the provinces as well, e.g. in the interior of the Balkans.<sup>12</sup> Oriental influences in funerary practice should also be taken into consideration, since the epigraphic evidence in the Balkan provinces shows that

9 Observations on the location of Early Christian necropoleis of towns in provinces within the territory of modern Bulgaria in: DOSSEVA 2015, 28–32, 34–39.

10 This is the opinion of Dimitrios Pallas and Euterpe Marke: MARKE 2006, 110.

11 For the tomb of Demeter: ROSTOVITZEFF 1914, 200f.; ZINKO et al. 2009; for the tomb in *Bizye*: MANSEL 1939; VALEVA 2001, fig. 6.

12 Type VIIIB according to GETOV 1970, as attributed by KALCHEV 1984, 79, fig. 4 to a tomb in the necropolis of *Augusta Traiana*, province of *Thracia*. In *Thracia* this type appeared during the Roman period: it did not derive from previous local types.



Fig. 2: Cist and barrel-vaulted tombs in the necropolis of *Thessaloniki*.

there was a constant flow of immigrants from the East, mainly from *Bithynia* and *Syria* (see below).

The Late Antique barrel-vault tomb has a rectangular chamber usually built of natural stone and a vault built of bricks. Although Late Antique barrel-vaulted tombs resemble Early Hellenistic examples, they have lost the tectonic distinction, marked by the cornice, between the supporting and the supported elements.<sup>13</sup> From Late Antiquity onwards, painted decoration would be used to imitate architectural elements, such as cornices and vault coffers.

Tombs with barrel vaults have been well studied in the necropolis of *Thessaloniki* (Fig. 2). They became popular in this prosperous city from the end of the 3rd c. AD, a phenomenon related – according to E. Marke – to the new middle class that appeared as result of the Diocletian's reforms, and whose members commissioned the tombs. Marke also designed a typology, related mainly to the type of entrances into the tombs. The earliest barrel-vaulted tombs have no entrance.<sup>14</sup> During the Tetrarchy, at the end of the 3rd c. AD, the tombs acquired an entrance, and some of them a gabled covering.<sup>15</sup> The tombs with an entrance in one of the narrow walls, usually the eastern one, became very popular from the first quarter of the 4th c. AD.<sup>16</sup> Slightly later, tombs could be entered from a shaft with stairs, or simply through the vault.<sup>17</sup> Barrel-vaulted tombs were widely built in *Macedonia*<sup>18</sup>

13 BUISKIKH 2009, 46.

14 MARKE 2006, 110–112, 217, fig. 57, pl. 59a (e.g. tomb 26, dated to the middle of the 3rd c. AD).

15 MARKE 2006, 112f., 220f., figs. 52, 65, 66, pl. 1a–b, 2a–b, 57b (tomb 41, dated AD 280–290); 221, fig. 51 (tomb 42, dated to the end of the 3rd c. AD).

16 MARKE 2006, 110–112, pls. 46a–g, 47a–b, 55b, 56a–b, 63b, 70a–g, 71a (e.g., tombs 27–36): many of them are dated to the middle of the 4th c. AD; tomb 30 has a *kline* and a niche.

17 MARKE 2006, 113, 220, figs. 10, 135 (tombs 37–40, dated to the 4th – early 5th c. AD), 221–226 (tombs 44–72, with dates from the 4th to the 6th c. AD).

18 See the numerous parallels drawn by E. Marke. For the tombs within the territory of modern North Macedonia: LILČIĆ 1983; there are basic similarities in the plan, covering,



Fig. 3: Interior view of the Late Antique tomb near *Diocletianopolis*.

and *Achaea*. In *Thessaloniki* itself, their construction continued well into the middle Byzantine period.

Barrel-vaulted tombs were built all over the Late Empire, but not everywhere did the exploration of Late Antique necropoleis have a scope as wide as in *Thessaloniki*. In another provincial capital, e.g. *Philippopolis* in *Thracia*, the number of the discovered barrel-vaulted tombs is limited, and one reason for that is probably that there has been no consistent exploration of the cemeteries all around the town. On the other hand, several tombs built with flat roofing were discovered in the necropoleis of *Philippopolis*. These seem to have been the luxurious tomb type that was most popular locally, all the more since some of them have painted decoration as well.<sup>19</sup>

A notable barrel-vaulted tomb was discovered about 40 km North of *Philippopolis*, close to *Diocletianopolis*, a town famous for its mineral springs (Fig. 3). The entrance to the tomb is on one of the long sides, through a long inclined dromos with steps. Inside the funerary chamber, along the short sides, thin low walls constitute chest-like rooms, presumably for the coffins. Cushion-like shapes at the narrow sides of these structures make them look like beds and suggest that they had flat surfaces. A well-produced mosaic decorates the floor, while the walls and the 'beds' have painted floral motifs, and the latter also feature an imitation of curtains. The luxurious interior and the large dimensions of the tomb, along with its remoteness from the town, suggest that the tomb was built in a private estate.<sup>20</sup>

The state of preservation of Roman antiquities in *Diocletianopolis* is impressive. The graveyards of the town were situated to the East, South and Southwest of the

building material, ways of entry, etc., with the evidence from *Thessaloniki*. Many of the vaulted tombs enumerated by Viktor Lilčić have been found in churches.

<sup>19</sup> VALEVA 1999, 42–48.

<sup>20</sup> DJAMBOV 1963; VALEVA 1999, 48–50.

town. The majority of the graves is made of *tegulae*. There are tombs built of bricks, most of them with flat covering, and only a few have barrel vaults. In two of the vaulted tombs, both dated to the second half of the 4th – early 5th c. AD, there are funerary beds.<sup>21</sup> In another big town of the province of *Thracia*, *Augusta Traiana*, a considerable part of the necropoleis has been studied,<sup>22</sup> but the number of the barrel-vaulted tombs is small here, too.

In the province of *Haemimontus*, the necropoleis of *Apollonia Pontica*, whose name changed to *Sozopolis* in the early 4th c. AD, were studied systematically. Attention was focused, however, on the classical Greek colonial era, while evidence for the Early Christian and Early Byzantine periods is still insufficient.<sup>23</sup> Single burials have been discovered in churches within the town. The same fact holds true in respect to another town in the same province, *Mesembria*: five tombs have been found in the narthex of the church dedicated to Theotokos Eleousa, three of which with barrel vaults.<sup>24</sup>

In the province of *Moesia Inferior*, tombs with barrel vaults were discovered in the capital *Marcianopolis/Devnya*, e.g. in its Eastern necropolis, along with several tombs with flat covering and a sarcophagus. Some of the tombs had painted decoration.<sup>25</sup> In the other important town of the province, *Odessos/Varna*, besides the tombs with barrel vaults shaft tombs were also made for rich burials. The latter type is specific for the regions along the coast of the Black Sea to the North, as far as and including the Tauric Peninsula, where it is especially prominent.<sup>26</sup> The tombs are dug into the ground or rock. The shape of the ceiling is that of a barrel, in some cases; in others it is a large stone slab. Barrel-vaulted tombs were also discovered in the territory of *Odessos*, one of which, in the village of Ossenovo, is of special interest for its painted decoration in a rather primitive style, but iconographically rich: servants and military men are depicted on both sides of their lord and his wife. Also pagan symbols related to funerary beliefs (snake, turtle) are depicted along with the Christian monogram: the decorative system evokes the complex spirituality of a period of transition, with its mingling of pagan and Christian eschatological ideas.<sup>27</sup>

Barrel-vaulted tombs with large dimensions are relatively rare, but they do exist in many necropoleis in *Moesia Inferior*, which were subjected to systematic

21 TZONCHEV/SARKISYAN 1960, 36; MADJAROV 1993, 188–196; DOSSEVA 2014, 98.

22 KALCHEV 1984; KALCHEV 1993.

23 DOSSEVA 2014, 108–112; PANAYOTOVA/DRAZHEVA 2003.

24 CHANEVA-DECHEVSKA 1999, 233; DOSSEVA 2014.

25 General survey: MINCHEV 1987; DOSSEVA 2014, 119f. For the necropoleis: RUSEV 2012, 384 with literature, and the painted tombs: VALEVA 1999, 19–22 with literature.

26 MIRCHEV 1951; MIRCHEV 1958; ALEXANDRU 2012; DOSSEVA 2014, 122–124; RUSEV 2018, 138f.; for barrel-vaulted tombs: MINCHEV 1986, 36 (within a church), 38; for the finds in Romania: SOFICARU 2007. For the shaft tombs in the village of Kamen Briag (on the Black Sea coast, Northeastern Bulgaria): SALKIN/TOPTANOV 1988.

27 PILLINGER/MINCHEV/GEORGIEV 1989; VALEVA 1987, 281–284.





Fig. 4: Barrel-vaulted tomb in Durostorum with procession scene and detail.

excavation.<sup>28</sup> Such tombs, usually intended for multiple burials, were discovered in *Durostorum/Silistra*.<sup>29</sup> The most famous among them is the so-called Roman Tomb of Silistra, with entirely preserved interior painted decoration that features the lord of a provincial domain, his wife and a row of their servants (Fig. 4).<sup>30</sup> A barrel-vaulted tomb with notable dimensions is also known from *Tirizis/Kaliakra*, a site which first belonged to *Moesia Inferior* and, after Diocletian, became part of *Scythia Minor*.<sup>31</sup>

The tomb with a barrel vault was the preferred burial structure for well-to-do citizens in the province of *Scythia Minor* as well. Several tombs of the hypogeum type were discovered in the Western necropolis of *Callatis*,<sup>32</sup> in which Christian burials sometimes overlap with burials from previous periods, some of them dating back even to Early Hellenism. The Christian hypogea were grouped around what is supposed to have been the cemeterial church. Of special interest is the tomb with painted crosses and Psalm texts,<sup>33</sup> relevant to the trust Christians placed

28 IVANOV et al. 2006; CHERA-MĂRGINEANU 1978.

29 For the large tomb with dimensions  $3.34\text{--}4.20 \times 4.06\text{--}4.12 \times \text{H. } 4.00$  m: MILOŠEVIĆ/DONEVSKI 1999, 246f.

30 For the painted tomb: DIMITROV/CHICHKOVA 1986.

31 KUZMANOV 1971.

32 BARBU 1971; PEDA 1980; LUNGU/CHERA-MĂRGINEANU 1982; PETRE 1987; BUCOVALĂ/PAȘCA 1989; IONESCU/ALEXANDRU/CONSTANTIN 2003; SOFICARU 2007; ALEXANDRU 2012; The tombs for the poor also shared the types used in the other Balkan provinces: ALEXANDRU 1912, 124. In general for *Scythia Minor*: LUNGU 2000.

33 ALEXANDRU 2012, 122f. The inscription at the entrance reproduces the text of Ps. 18 (19), 15: “Κύριε βοηθέ μου κ(αι) λυτρωτά μου”, the one on the western wall of the funerary chamber Ps. 22 (23), 4: “οὐ φοβηθήσομ(αι) κακά, ὅτι σὺ μετ’ ἐμοῦ (εἶ)ἰ, Κύριε”.



Fig. 5: Barrel-vaulted tomb in Tomis with banquet scene on a *stibadium*.

in God at the threshold of their new life after death. As Ps. 18 (19), 15 says: “Oh Lord, my helper and my redeemer” and the explicit words of Ps. 22 (23), 4 are: “I will fear no evil, for You are with me, Lord”. This new way of emphasizing Christian eschatological expectations will be discussed below. In *Tomis/Constanța*, as everywhere else, the majority of burials is of a modest types,<sup>34</sup> but among the few vaulted tombs there are two with lavish, particularly well preserved painted decoration, each showing a banquet on a *stibadium*. They both are dated to the middle of the 4th c. AD (Fig. 5).<sup>35</sup>

### **Intra-Basilical and Crypt Burials in *Scythia Minor* and *Moesia Inferior***

The necropoleis *sub divo* were not the only places where larger tombs, sometimes decorated, were erected. Very distinguished people were buried inside churches on rare occasions, usually in the aisles, the narthex, the annexes, and even in the central nave. Yet when such burials are located in the apse or the sanctuary, their interpretation poses a problem: are these privileged graves, crypts or martyrial graves?<sup>36</sup> As a rule they are relatively spacious (usually about 2.00 × 3.00 m, although the dimensions of the crypt of the basilica in the Mihai Eminescu High School in Constanța are 6.15 × 3.75 × 2.32 m). In *Scythia Minor* there is a series of such features which suggest a local tradition related, as scholars assume, to the veneration of the numerous local martyrs.<sup>37</sup>

It is believed that the veneration of martyrs in *Scythia Minor* originated in its capital *Tomis* and subsequently spread to other towns. Three of the six churches in *Tomis* contain crypts integrated in the sanctuary: the so-called Great basilica, the so-called Small basilica, and the basilica discovered in the courtyard of the Mihai Eminescu High School (National College).<sup>38</sup> The crypts in these churches are spacious and have complex plans: they are supposed to have been used for multiple burials, presumably of martyrs and holy men. They all have staircases providing access from the West, hence the assumption that these were also pilgrimage churches. The crypt of the basilica in the courtyard of Mihai Eminescu High School has not only the most complex plan, but also a painted decoration, consisting of imitations of marble revetment on the walls and a grid of coffers including flowers and birds on the vault.<sup>39</sup>

34 For their classification: BARBU 1971; SOFICARU 2007, 300.

35 CHERA/LUNGU 1988; CHERA 1993; BARBET 1994, 25–31; MUREȘAN 2016, 130 f.

36 ACHIM 2004, 278.

37 BARNEA 1981; ACHIM 2004.

38 ACHIM 2015, 321–325.

39 BARBET/MONIER 2001.

Of particular interest is the crypt in the episcopal basilica in *Halmyris*/Murrighiol (Tulcea district).<sup>40</sup> In its dimensions and shape it does not differ from the barrel-vaulted tombs built in necropoleis. Inside, there are two bed-like structures on which two entirely preserved skeletons were found:<sup>41</sup> The analyses of the bodies showed traces of torture and decapitation, which is why the individuals were identified with the martyrs Epictetus and Astion from *Bithynia*, executed in *Halmyris* on 8 July AD 290. The entrance, as in the large crypts of *Tropaeum Traiani*/Adamklissi and *Tomis*, is from the West, and is reached through eight steps with a 2.15 m-long corridor. The crypt has a painted corona on the lunette. The basilica and the crypt, apparently contemporary, are dated to the end of 4th – early 5th c. AD. A similar crypt has been found in *Zaldapa*, a big and well-fortified town of the province *Scythia Minor* (located near the modern village of Abrit in Bulgaria). It is also of large dimensions, hence the assumption that it would have held the body of a martyr.<sup>42</sup> In *Tropaeum Traiani* there is a crypt beneath the apse of basilica A, also large enough to house the body of a martyr (?).<sup>43</sup> Another large crypt was discovered in Niculițel near *Noviodunum*/Isaccea (Tulcea district),<sup>44</sup> which is believed to be the burial place of six martyrs (Fig. 6). Built in the 4th c. AD, the *martyrium* (in which the presumed bodies of two of the martyrs had been transferred from an earlier structure) would have been topped by the basilica of the necropolis in the 5th or 6th c. AD. The crypt is covered by a canopy vault.

We cannot, however, be sure that in all cases the structure in the eastern end of a church is related to the cult of martyrs, even if its dimensions are large. The interpretation of the basilica with crypt in *Histria*/Istros presents such difficulties.<sup>45</sup> Another perplexing example was found in the apse of the Episcopal basilica in *Novae*/Svishtov in *Moesia Inferior*: a structure with a rectangular plan and flat covering that could be a privileged tomb, a martyr's tomb or a feature related to liturgy.<sup>46</sup>

Although the vaulted crypts are declared a phenomenon specific for *Scythia Minor*, there are analogous structures in the neighbouring province of *Moesia Inferior*. Worthy of notice is that the most remarkable were found in *Odessos* and its territory, situated on the Black Sea, with obvious possibilities for easy communication by sea with the towns of *Scythia Minor*. A crypt built of brick with a barrel vault has been discovered in front of the apse of the church situated on the intersection

40 ZAHARIADE/BOUNEGRU 2003, 117–126; ACHIM 2015, 325f.; ATANASOV et al. 2017, 129f.; the dimensions of the crypt: 2.00 × 1.80 × 1.88 m.

41 ACHIM 2015, 325f.

42 ACHIM 2015, 321–327; ATANASOV et al. 2017, 128.

43 Dimensions 2.70 x 2.30 x 2.50 m; the crypts in the *basilicae* C and D in the same town are smaller and could have contained only fragments of holy bodies or objects: ATANASOV et al. 2017, 128f., with further references.

44 BAUMAN 1972; BAUMAN 2006, 827–831. The dimensions of the crypt: 3.50 × 3.50 × 2.30 m: ATANASOV et al. 2017, 131; ACHIM 2015, 326f.

45 ACHIM 2005.

46 ČIČIKOVA 1997, 57; ACHIM 2015, 315f.



Fig. 6: Basilica with barrel-vaulted crypt in Niculițel near *Noviodunum*.

of A. Gachev Street and Kozlodui Street in *Odessos*.<sup>47</sup> The entrance to the crypt was blocked by a marble slab with a Latin inscription: the name of the deceased is not preserved, but it has been suggested that he was a high rank cleric,<sup>48</sup> which makes it reasonable to assume a privileged tomb. In a church on the Djanavar Tepe, situated in the ancient *chôra* of *Odessos*, a barrel-vaulted tomb has been found West of the sanctuary and beneath the ambo. This was probably a privileged tomb too, but it was connected to a *loculus* facing east in which relics were preserved.<sup>49</sup> In the village of Shkorpilovtsi on the Black Sea coast, which also belonged to the *chôra* of *Odessos* in Antiquity, a church was excavated in the centre of small Late Antique fortifications. In front of the sanctuary there is a big crypt with an entrance.<sup>50</sup> Its vault was protruding from the floor. The crypt chamber is decorated with crosses on the vault and the western lunette, a stucco cornice at the base of the vault and geometric paintings on the walls.<sup>51</sup>

47 DOSSEVA 2014, 125 f.; ACHIM 2015, 320f.

48 MINCHEV 1986, 35.

49 BOYADJIEV 1995, 70f., figs. 5, 7; MINCHEV 1986, 36f.; MINCHEV 2002a, 46; DOSSEVA 2011, 146–147 with literature; ACHIM 2015, 317. For the crypts in Djanavar Tepe and Shkorpilovtsi: DOSSEVA 2017, 58–60.

50 SHKORPIL/SHKORPIL 1921, 23f.; Dimensions of the crypt in Shkorpilovtsi: 3.20 × 2.68 × 2.40 m: MIRCHEV 1969; MINCHEV 2002b; DOSSEVA 2014, 146f. with quotations from the archives of Karel Shkorpil in the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

51 On the decoration of the crypt: VALEVA 1999, 18f.

## Barrel-Vaulted Tombs and Sarcophagi from Urban and Estate Contexts in *Dacia Ripensis* and *Dacia Mediterranea*

Moving West to the province of *Dacia Ripensis* we must mention that the capital *Ratiaria* suffered from heavy invasions of treasure hunters during the last few decades. The graveyards were the main target of their activity. In Antiquity, the necropoleis were situated to the West and Northwest of the city along the Danube road and the road leading to *Naissus*.<sup>52</sup> Several one-chamber tombs with barrel vaults were discovered here, as well as one comprising two chambers, sharing one long wall.<sup>53</sup> Lead sarcophagi, considered to be luxurious funeral receptacles,<sup>54</sup> were also discovered. Stone sarcophagi from previous periods were often reused during the 5th and 6th c. AD.

A large number of tombs with barrel vaults was discovered in *Serdica*/Sofia, the capital of *Dacia Mediterranea*. The Eastern necropolis of the city was the vastest. As drawn by the Austrian painter Joseph Oberbauer, the vaulted tombs of the Late Antique necropolis of *Serdica* were still visible at the end of the 19th c. An important cluster of pagan and Christian tombs has been revealed beneath and around the church of Saint Sophia, still standing today.<sup>55</sup> The earliest tombs, discovered at a depth of 2.90 m, date from the 2nd c. AD, as coins and ceramic finds indicate. The layer between 1.80 and 1.20 m under the ground level of the church contains tombs dating from the second half of the 3rd to the third quarter of the 4th c. AD, some of them pagan, others Christian.<sup>56</sup> Many of these tombs, some with flat roofing, others with barrel vaults, can still be seen today in the modern *in-situ*-museum built for the purpose beneath the church (Fig. 7). Scholars are inclined to interpret this situation as burials *ad sanctos*, which gradually appeared following the monumentalization of the church. The cemetery around the church of Saint Sophia was in use mainly during the 4th and the 5th c. AD. Later the necropolis expanded progressively to the East and Southeast: the tombs studied there date predominantly from the 5th to the early 7th c. AD.<sup>57</sup> Barrel-vaulted tombs prevail in this necropolis. Different forms or types appear rarely, e.g. a double tomb with barrel vaults, or the '*kline*' tomb which will be discussed below in greater detail.<sup>58</sup> There was a necropolis West of the city wall as well.<sup>59</sup> Vaulted tombs were built there too, some of them with a small vaulted antechamber. In general, the tombs with barrel vaults have a regular shape (rectangular plan, semi-cylindrical vault, using stones and bricks for the walls and

52 DINCHEV 2002, 24 f.; DOSSEVA 2014, 68 f.

53 ATANASOVA 1971, 98–100; ATANASOVA 1978.

54 As in *Singidunum* and *Viminacium*: JEREMIĆ/ILIĆ 2018, 230 with literature.

55 FILOV 1913; recently DINCHEV 2014, and VALEVA 2015, 67–69 with literature.

56 SHALGANOV 2005.

57 GOSPODINOV 1921; DINCHEV 2014, 13–27, 42–47 (and German summary).

58 For the two-chambers tomb: SHKORPIL/SHKORPIL 1890, 46 f., pl. I.

59 KIROVA 2007.



Fig. 7: Vaulted tombs beneath Saint Sophia church in Serdica.

bricks for the vaults), but there are minor differences regarding the entrances, the interior niches, and the decoration that depended on different circumstances, environment and personal preferences. A tomb in the village of Bistritsa near Sofia, e.g., has an entrance through a shaft provided with a few steps,<sup>60</sup> a feature which is not usual in *Serdica*, but exists in *Thessaloniki*, as we have already mentioned.

Tombs with barrel vaults are reported from other places within the borders of *Dacia Mediterranea*, e.g. in the towns of *Germania* and *Pautalia*.<sup>61</sup> The bulk of comparative evidence, however, comes from *Naissus/Niš*, the town in which Constantine the Great was born. The Early Christian heritage of *Naissus* is very rich, including churches, mausolea, *martyria*. The biggest ancient graveyard, situated in modern Jagodin Mala and deployed along both sides of the road once leading to *Ratiaria*. was thoroughly studied.<sup>62</sup> This necropolis was used from the 4th through the early 7th c. AD. Like the Eastern necropolis of *Serdica* it was expanding Eastwards. The graves appear either in regular rows or without order. Most of the tombs were designed for single or double burial, but there are larger tombs made for many persons.<sup>63</sup> In some of the graves, including Christian ones, grave goods and jewellery were found. East-West orientation prevails. Most often, the barrel-vaulted tombs consist of only one room, with an access in the form of a shallow shaft with steps. The entrance is on the narrow wall, closed by vertically placed simple stone or marble slabs; the shaft entrances are horizontally covered with stone slabs.<sup>64</sup> More often the plan is rectangular, but there are tombs with square plans as well. The dimensions vary from 2.00 × 1.00 × H. 1.40 m to, more commonly,

60 STANCHEV 1950, 283f.

61 DOSSEVA 2014, 61f. with literature.

62 RAKOCIJA 2013a, 180–189; RAKOCIJA 2013b with literature; JEREMIĆ 2013; POPOVIĆ et al. 2014.

63 POPOVIĆ et al. 2014, 28f., figs. 16–17.

64 POPOVIĆ et al. 2014, 31f., fig. 21.



Fig. 8: Basilica with *martyrium* in *Naissus*.

2.00/4.00 × 2.00 × H. 1.85 m.<sup>65</sup> Inside the tombs the walls are plastered and sometimes painted. The inhumation was performed in chests formed by thin barriers, parallel to the walls. There are niches in the walls for grave-candles or garlands. The barrel-vaulted type came to be used in *Naissus* at the end of the 3rd – early 4th c. AD. Most of the tombs in Jagodin Mala date from the second half of the 4th and the 5th c. AD.<sup>66</sup> The use of this type continued in the following centuries, not only in *Naissus* but in other sites as well: Klisoura, Svrlig, Morodvis.<sup>67</sup> Double tombs similar to those found in *Thessaloniki* are rare.<sup>68</sup>

In the Jagodin Mala necropolis six Early Christian churches were also discovered. They are badly preserved and crypts in them were not reported, with one noteworthy exception: an imposing basilica with nave and two aisles, and a large adjacent crypt, interpreted as *martyrium*.<sup>69</sup> The barrel vault that covered the central part of the crypt had been destroyed when it was found. On each of the long sides of the crypt there are two large *arcosolia* (Fig. 8). On the west wall there is one big, central niche between two smaller lateral niches, and a window above (a *fenestella*). In the central space one sees a pedestal with impressive dimensions, the interpretation of which in my opinion is not definite. A staircase with ten steps of a total height of 3.30 m leads down to the crypt. The *martyrium* was built over an earlier building (probably a memorial surrounded by a wall) around the middle of the 4th c. AD or the last years of the reign of Constantius II. A necropolis for privileged burials developed in close proximity to it during the next decades. The basilica was eventually erected eastward in the second half of the 5th c. AD, shaping the final

65 POPOVIĆ et al. 2014, 31f.

66 POPOVIĆ et al. 2014, 30f.

67 RAKOCIJA 2004.

68 POPOVIĆ et al. 2014, 34, fig. 23.

69 MILOŠEVIĆ 2004; RAKOCIJA 2013c; POPOVIĆ et al. 2014, 19–22. Dimensions of the crypt: 7.44 × 3.13 (6 m with *arcosolia*) × 3.38 m.





Fig. 9: Mausoleum 4 in villa 2 near Montana.

aspect of this sacred place. As already noticed by Serbian scholars, close parallels for the basilica with *martyrium* complex in Niš are to be found in the necropoleis of Marusinac and Kapljuc in *Salona*, and in *Sopianae*.<sup>70</sup>

As we have seen, there is a noteworthy similarity between the tomb types in the necropoleis of *Serdica* and *Naissus*, easily explained by the fact that they belong to the same province, their location on the same important road from Central Europe to Constantinople and the relatively short distance between them (about 160 km). Constantine used to reside in *Serdica* during his political and military movements, and he also embellished his native *Naissus*, which he visited on numerous occasions.<sup>71</sup>

The dynamism of ecclesiastical history in both cities was undoubtedly stimulated by their new political role as imperial residences from the Tetrarchic period onwards. There is another fact of interest: the bishops of both *Serdica* and *Naissus*, like all other bishops of the prefecture of Eastern *Illyricum*, were subordinate to the archbishop of *Thessaloniki*, who served as the vicar of the Pope. This is often an argument for stating that there was western influence in religious and funerary art, although the relations between the parties were not always harmonious. On numerous occasions the bishops of *Illyricum* were not loyal to the Pope, sometimes under pressure of the patriarch and the emperor in Constantinople, sometimes led by their own ambitions.<sup>72</sup>

Leaving the cities and casting a glance at the luxurious funerary monuments on private estates in *Dacia Mediterranea* and *Dacia Ripensis*, we may notice that the evidence is similar to what we have in the Diocese of *Thracia*. A good example comes from the vicinity of the town of Montana in Bulgaria (*Municipium Montanensium*/

70 MILOŠEVIĆ 2004, 127f.; DYGGVE/EGGER 1939, 16, Abb. 23; 85, Abb. 113; 122, Abb. 138; FÜLEP 1975, 36–41.

71 RAKOCIJA 2013a, 794 n. 20; VASIĆ 2008.

72 GRANICH 1925; SNIVELY 2010, 553.

*Montana*), where four Roman *villae* have been studied in the 1970's (Fig. 9).<sup>73</sup> Most interesting is the necropolis of *villa 2*, covering 3 ha enclosed in a fence strengthened by buttresses. Four mausolea were built in this private necropolis. Each of them has two levels: an underground level for burials and a level above ground for commemorative rites. The ground surface of mausoleum No. 4 is 70 m<sup>2</sup>. An entrance with stairs from the East leads about 2.00 m deep to the vaulted burial chamber (3.20 × 2.70 × H. 2.05 m), in which two sarcophagi were installed. The *cella memoriae* above ground had a temple-like facade with gable supported by columns and topped by acroteria; the interior walls were painted.

### **Trapezoidal and Barrel-Vaulted Tombs, Hypogea and Mausolea in *Moesia Prima*, *Moesia Superior* and *Pannonia Valeria***

Moving further to the West within our survey, important evidence about funerary architecture is provided from the exploration of the necropoleis of *Viminacium*/Stari Kostolac, the chief town in *Moesia Superior* during the Principate and capital of *Moesia Prima* during the Dominate (Fig. 10, 11). The exploration of the graveyards of *Viminacium* began at the end of the 19th c. The number of excavated burials from the Roman and Late Antique period amounts to more than 14 000. The Late Antique necropoleis developed South of the legionary camp and the fortified city at the sites of Pećine, Više Grobalja, Velika Kapija, Kod Bresta and Više Burdelja.<sup>74</sup> The Christians of *Viminacium* buried their dead within the pagan Late Roman necropoleis, following pre-existing tomb rows.<sup>75</sup> A very characteristic shape of rich tombs in *Viminacium* are the tombs with trapezoidal section, built of bricks.<sup>76</sup> The construction is of the corbelled type.<sup>77</sup> According to S. Đurić's classification the type is prevalent in *Moesia* and *Pannonia*, but isolated cases were also found in other regions, e.g. in *Macedonia* (in the modern town of Sandanski in Bulgaria).<sup>78</sup> Among the rich burials in *Viminacium* there are twenty-nine fresco-painted tombs (Fig. 11), seventeen of which have a trapezoidal cross section,<sup>79</sup> confirming that this type was used for rich burials.

The shapes of the funerary monuments in *Viminacium* are remarkably varied, a fact scholars explain by pointing to the immigration of people from the orien-

73 ALEXANDROV 1980, 44–52 (for the necropolis).

74 On the necropoleis, with literature: NIKOLIĆ 2018, 103–107; JEREMIĆ/ILIĆ 2018, 232.

75 ILIĆ 2017, 120, who notes the similar situation in *Naissus*/Jagodina Mala.

76 For typologies of the tombs of *Viminacium*: VASIĆ 1907, 83–91; ĐURIĆ 1985b, 139–147; ZOTOVIĆ 1986; cfr. ANĐELKOVIĆ GRAŠAR/NIKOLIĆ/ROGIĆ 2013, 76; ANĐELKOVIĆ GRAŠAR/NIKOLIĆ/ROGIĆ 2020.

77 ANĐELKOVIĆ GRAŠAR/NIKOLIĆ/ROGIĆ 2013, 76.

78 ANĐELKOVIĆ GRAŠAR/NIKOLIĆ/ROGIĆ 2013, 76; for the tomb in Sandanski: GERASIMOV 1966.

79 KORAĆ 2007, 247–261; ANĐELKOVIĆ GRAŠAR/NIKOLIĆ/ROGIĆ 2013, 76.



Fig. 10: Enclosure with mausoleum and tombs in *Viminacium*, Perivoj locality.



Fig. 11: Wall paintings of tomb G-2624 in *Viminacium*.

tal provinces, who brought along their customs to their new places of residence.<sup>80</sup> Many mausolea have been discovered at different sites in the vast areas of the *Viminacium* graveyards. Inside the mausolea, the dead were buried in stone or lead sarcophagi, in masonry graves, and in barrel-vaulted *arcosolia*. The tombs of wealthy people seem to have been meant for the subsequent burial of other family members too. Traces of commemorative rites were recorded in some of the mausolea.<sup>81</sup>

There are several classifications of the burial structures in *Viminacium* according to different criteria: their plan, shape, roofing, or their position with respect to the surface (partially buried, hypogea).<sup>82</sup> One of the structures, found in the Eastern necropolis of *Viminacium* in a site called Perivoj, has an enclosure of 20 × 20 m, in the centre of which a tomb with a square plan (5 × 5 m) was built (Fig. 10).<sup>83</sup> Within the enclosure different types of burial structures were found. The central mausoleum, found heavily destroyed, was recently reconstructed in 3D as a tower mausoleum with a suggested 3rd c. AD-date.<sup>84</sup>

Another site where barrel vault tombs are well studied is *Sopianae*/Pécs in *Pannonia Valeria* (Fig. 12). Most of them are Early Christian: they began to appear at the end of the 3rd c. AD alongside pagan tombs.<sup>85</sup> In the main cemetery, located North of the town, several constructions of a mausoleum-type were excavated. The underground part reserved for the dead was opened only for burials, while commemoration of the dead took place in a chapel above.<sup>86</sup> There are cases in which the chapel (*cella memoriae*, *oratorium*) was built for the community, whose members were buried in simple graves in the ground.<sup>87</sup> Other monuments were family-mausolea. Through a hole or *fenestella* the dead could share in some of the offerings presented either outside or on the *mensa* built or set up in the *cella*.<sup>88</sup> As noticed by Hungarian scholars, similar but not exactly identical arrangements exist in other Balkan provinces, the usual reference being to the cemeteries in *Salona* (Marusinac).<sup>89</sup> Other similarities were noted with the family tombs in *Naissus*. Although obeying to a common principle, the burial constructions in these regions have their own peculiarities, specifically considering the relationship between tomb and *cella memoriae*.

As has become clear from the presentation of the monuments discussed so far, the simple tombs with barrel vaults in Late Antique necropoleis of the Balkan prov-

80 MILOŠEVIĆ 2002, 218, 220–222.

81 MILOŠEVIĆ-JEVTIĆ 2014, 323–330.

82 MILOSEVIC-JEVTIĆ 2014.

83 NIKOLIC 2018, 106f. with literature.

84 GOLUBOVIĆ/MRĐIĆ 2018, 164, fig. 9.

85 FÜLEP 1975.

86 FÜLEP 1977. On the relation between the two levels: VISY 2007.

87 VISY 2007, 143f.

88 VISY 2007, 146.

89 DYGGVE/EGGER 1939; EGGER 1962, 181–188, VISY 2007, 144f. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1954–1956, fig. 2, tab. I.4. Cfr. also the contributions ARBEITER, ARDELEANU and PRIEN in this volume.



Fig. 12: Early Christian mausoleum in *Sopiana*.

inces should be considered as commissions of moderately wealthy citizens. The particularly rich families commissioned big mausolea comprising a crypt and a *cella memoriae*. Often these huge structures had architectural, painted and sculptural decoration. They appeared as funerary monuments in a pagan context, but their long use by families for generations kept them operative well into the Christian age. If such a family-mausoleum was built, e.g. in the 2nd c. AD, the burials at the end of the 4th c. AD could eventually be performed according to the Christian rites, and probably even by another family.

### Other Characteristic Tomb Types: Tombs with *Arcosolia* and *Exedrae*

Tombs with *arcosolia* appeared after inhumation became the standard practice in the mid-2nd c. AD. Some family tombs were designed as rooms with a square plan and *arcosolia* on three sides, while the fourth side was left for the entrance. The interior arrangement resembles a *triclinium*: an appropriate example would be the Corinthian rock-cut tomb, made in the first half of the 2nd c. AD, but used for Christian burials in the 5th and 6th c. AD.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>90</sup> The tomb has an almost square plan (3.60 × 3.15 m) and graves in *arcosolia*: HOSKINS/WALBANK 2015, 156, 180f., 197. Cfr. also the contribution by OTT in this volume.

In the Eastern necropolis of *Serdica* (close to the modern Parliament) a family tomb with a central plan was found. Inside there are three burial places in the form of chests, sheltered presumably by arches (*arcosolia*). The preserved height of the tomb is limited, but it is clear that its covering was a dome on pendentives or a groin vault. The building was partially sunken in the terrain; a second story is assumed by some scholars, but the relatively thin walls make this improbable. A tomb with a similar plan (and a far better state of preservation), dated to the second half of the 3rd c. AD, was excavated in the area of the Law School at the University of Thessaloniki.<sup>91</sup> Another one was found in the village of Kochagovo in the *chōra* of *Philippopolis*. It was discovered in a rather damaged state after a treasure-hunters' raid, but its main features are clear. It was built with bricks in a previously dug pit of about 4 m in depth and had an entrance in the shape of a shaft with several stairs.<sup>92</sup> Its height would have been considerable, since the ground plan measures 4 × 5 m. A cross vault is assumed. Although the plan seems similar to other tombs, the inner disposition and types of burials are different: in the middle stood a granite sarcophagus, while the surrounding burials were dug in the ground and covered with slabs.

Several entirely preserved tombs in *Thessaloniki* and *Naissus* illustrate what these tombs might have looked like, with their domes and *arcosolia* vaults partly visible above ground. The tombs in *Naissus*, labelled as 'calotte tombs', have walls built of stone and layers of brick, and domes only of brick. The entrances are barrel-vaulted, provided with stairs and stone slabs for closing the entrance to the chamber. Tomb 18 is an eloquent example with its cross-outlined plan, dome on pendentives above the central room and barrel-vaulted *arcosolia* on three sides. There are burials of the *formae* type in the central part. The tomb is compared to *cubiculum* 2 in the Eastern necropolis of *Thessaloniki*, which is dated in the first quarter of the 4th c. AD.<sup>93</sup> Another tomb with a cruciform plan was found in the village of Jelašnica, East of Niš, but there the vault above the central part is barrel-shaped.<sup>94</sup> There are also tombs in which this centralized plan is elongated with two more *arcosolia*. This required an additional dome (calotte) cover. One of the tombs was discovered in Niš, the other in nearby Niška Banja (Fig. 13).<sup>95</sup>

A hypogeum tomb with more complicated plan, comprising a vestibule (2.30 × 1.75 × H. 1.60 m) and five adjacent burial rooms of roughly equal dimensions (c. 2.25 × 1.30 × H. 1.25 m), was accidentally found in the village of Krupnik in the district of Blagoevgrad in Bulgaria, in the ancient province of *Macedonia*. Built entirely of bricks except for the doorways framed by stone blocks, the tomb was dated to

91 For the tomb in *Serdica*: SHALGANOV 1989, 74–77; BOYADJIEV 2002, 166–168; BOYADJIEV 2003, 66; for the tomb in *Thessaloniki*: MARKE 2006, 100–101, 211, fig. 36, pl. 44, 45a.

92 VELKOV 1926–1927.

93 RAKOCIJA 2013b, 192; MARKE 2006, 100–103, 211f., figs. 37–39.

94 RAKOCIJA 2013b, 198, fig. 20.

95 NIKOLAJEVIĆ 1980, 312, fig. 11; JEREMIĆ 2013, 134, fig. 65; RAKOCIJA 2013a, 196–198.



Fig. 13: 'Calotte-type' tomb in Niška Banja.

the 4th–5th c. AD, but the unfortunate fact that it had been robbed did not allow any precise conclusions about its date and the way of burying. Presumably it was a family tomb.<sup>96</sup> It is a pity that no further archaeological investigations were conducted in the region, because the type of the tomb is rare: was it an individual structure on a private estate or was it related in some way to a still unknown settlement in the vicinity? In any case this tomb stands out by its dimensions and the disposition of the rooms, demonstrating once again the variety of the funerary structures in Late Antiquity.

A large mausoleum on two levels was discovered in the Roman *castrum Diana*, built on the cliffs of the Iron Gates above the Danube in the Karataš archaeological site, near Kladovo in eastern Serbia.<sup>97</sup> Only the subterranean burial room and the floor of the above-ground memorial structure are preserved. Inside the crypt two short walls protruding from the long walls divide the interior in two parts: in the Eastern part, next to the entrance, two *arcosolia* are built along the northern and southern walls; three more *arcosolia* can be found in the western part. Presumably both parts were covered by cross vaults. The above-ground level also had two rooms. A coin of Constans (AD 337–350) found at the site suggests that the mausoleum could have been built in the fourth decade of the 4th c. AD at the earliest, while another find, a cruciform fibula, points to the possibility that a high-ranking military officer could have been buried in the crypt.

In *Durostorum* in *Moesia Secunda* (former *Moesia Inferior*) a structure on two levels was also classified as mausoleum. Its underground room has a rectangular plan, while the above-ground part was octagonal.<sup>98</sup> There are three *arcosolia* inside

96 RASHENOV 1927.

97 MILOŠEVIĆ-JEVTIĆ 2014, 329.

98 MILOŠEVIĆ/DONEVSKI 2000, 253, fig. 11.

the crypt, but no sarcophagi were found. A vaulted passage with stairs, 3,70 m long, leads to the chamber. The interior is built with bricks while the exterior walls are built of stone bound with white mortar. Two reconstructions of the above-ground part of the mausoleum were suggested. According to the first one, the chamber was covered by a dome on pendentives and a four-sloped roof, while the other reconstruction advocates for a high octagonal above-ground structure.<sup>99</sup>

About 5 km South of the walls of *Serdica* a mausoleum was excavated that supposedly was part of a Late Antiquity private estate, of which, however, no other buildings have been revealed so far. The mausoleum features a burial chamber occupied by three stone sarcophagi and an antechamber with two semi-circular *exedrae* (covered with conches?), where commemorative feasting around a sigma table presumably took place. The mausoleum has three more service rooms prior to the antechamber with *exedrae*. The archaeologists who explored the site have different opinions about the chronology of the mausoleum, but agree on the 4th c. AD as period of construction, based on numismatic evidence.<sup>100</sup> The scanty evidence from this impressive monument, unfortunately enough thoroughly robbed already in Antiquity, does not help us to determine the religious affiliation of the members of this family. Based on the typology of these mausolea, the absence of Christian signs, and on the coin finds with a solidus of Theodosius II (AD 423/424) as the most recent item, I would suggest that this structure was erected around the middle of the 4th c. AD within a pagan context, and continued to be used by the family, already Christianized, until its destruction in the first half of the 5th c. AD. A similar mausoleum of three parts was discovered on another private estate in the vicinity of the city walls of *Serdica*, in the modern district Stefan Karadja in Sofia. Its publication left much to be desired. Recently a dating in the early 4th c. AD was suggested.<sup>101</sup>

The plan with semi-circular *exedrae* covered by conches is especially well attested in the Brestovik tomb (today on the territory of Belgrade's Municipality, in Late Antiquity in the province of *Moesia Prima*) (Fig. 14). The tomb was excavated in one of the numerous Roman *villae* occupying the fertile lands along the Danube. The tomb, dated to the 3rd–4th c. AD,<sup>102</sup> includes a burial chamber, a commemorative chamber (*cella memoriae*) with two *conchae*, and a long wide dromos with a portico in front of the entrance to the tomb. The burial chamber, dug into the slope of the hill to the West, is covered by a barrel vault and shelters three masonry graves of diverse dimensions. After some initial debates, it is agreed today that the commemorative chamber featured a cross vault.<sup>103</sup> The dominant opinion is that the tomb is pagan, based on its complex plan, similar to the tradition of the Roman mausolea,

99 BOYADJIEV 2003.

100 SHALGANOV/IVANOV 2006, 316f.; IVANOV 2008, 155–158; Summary in DOSSEVA 2014, 56–60.

101 IVANOV 2008, 156 with literature.

102 VALTROVIĆ 1906, 136; VASIĆ 1906, 140; TOMOVIĆ 1996, 419–426; MILOŠEVIĆ 2009b, 59–64; MILOŠEVIĆ-JEVTIĆ 2014, 327f.

103 VUJAČIĆ-VULOVIĆ 1967; MILOŠEVIĆ 1993; MILOŠEVIĆ 2009a, 747.



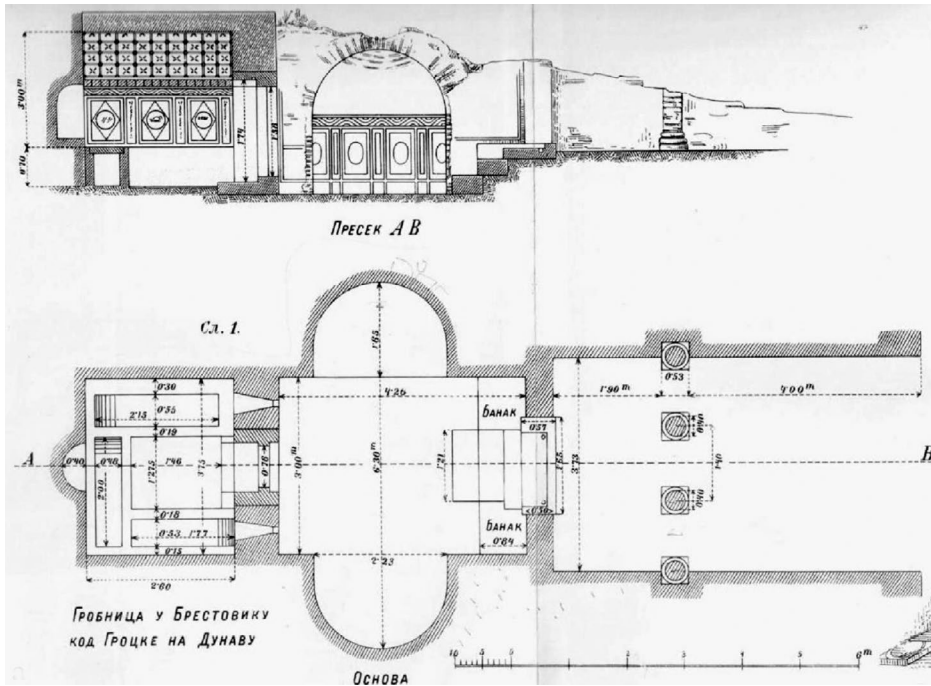


Fig. 14: Plan of a Late Antique tomb with semi-circular *exedrae* in Brestovik.

and on its sculptural decoration. Today the local people place icons and light candles there, venerating the saints Ermil and Stratonik.<sup>104</sup> The entire tomb was internally decorated with murals. In the burial chamber, the walls above the built graves featured faux-marble and painted incrustation; the vault was decorated with painted coffers.<sup>105</sup> There were also figural representations, now unfortunately lost. From the tomb comes a statue of a man, dated to the period of the Tetrarchy.<sup>106</sup>

Another tomb with a similar plan with two conches was discovered in Stepojevac, in *Moesia Prima*.<sup>107</sup> The preserved height of the walls is low, and the archaeological documentation is meagre, so it is not clear what the function was of the *exedrae* that protrude East and West of the central rectangular room. The entrance to the central room is rather wide and flanked by two pilasters. This was a family tomb, built within the perimeter of a *villa rustica*. It is dated to the end of the 4th c. AD. One more tomb of this type is known from the necropolis of *Ulpiana–Justiniana Secunda* in the province of *Dardania*.<sup>108</sup> It is situated in the Western necropolis of the town. There are three rooms, arranged in enfilade: the entrance from the East, the central

104 NIKOLIĆ et al. 2018, 198, 206.

105 NIKOLIĆ et al. 2018, 206–253.

106 TOMOVIĆ 1996; MILOŠEVIĆ 2009a.

107 MILOŠEVIĆ 2009b, 64 with literature.

108 MILOŠEVIĆ 2009b, 64–67.

part with the semi-circular *exedrae* protruding North and South, and the third room. In the southern *exedra* a burial was found, and there is another feature (a wall) in front of the northern *exedra*. We can only assume that the central part with the *exedrae* could have had a commemorative character at the beginning, but was later transformed into a burial place. The monument is dated to the 4th c. AD.

Two funerary structures in the shape of a triconch were discovered in *Viminacium*, on the Kod Groblja site.<sup>109</sup> They have similar dimensions and layouts, comprising two rooms, of which the principal one has a central apse and two more *exedrae* on the lateral walls. Burials were found in these structures with traces of rich garments and objects belonging to the deceased. The initial burials in both tombs at the beginning of the 4th c. AD were followed during the next decades by their gradual monumentalization in the form of trefoil funerary structures, alongside periodical repairs till the end of the same century.

One last type of prominent tombs will be mentioned in this section: tombs with an octagonal plan. The application of this type in non-imperial contexts is not studied yet: some of the monuments have been initially interpreted as baptisteries, e.g. burial chamber 5 in the cemetery North of *Sopianae*.<sup>110</sup> Another octagonal building was excavated in *Odessos*:<sup>111</sup> seven of the walls present niches in *arcosolia*, while the eighth side is occupied by the entrance. A family mausoleum with a peculiar design was found in the perimeter of a *villa rustica* complex near the village of Urovene, in the Bulgarian Vratza district, in the ancient province of *Dacia Ripensis*. It had two floors but as often only the subterranean part is preserved. The exterior shape is octagonal. The interior on both levels has the plan of a triconch. It can be reconstructed, for the underground level, as a central square room covered by a dome, and three identical recessions (2.50 × 2.40 × H. 1.80 m). The large depth suggests that the recessions were meant for sarcophagi, but they have not been found.<sup>112</sup>

The described two-storey funerary structures provided with *exedrae* and *arcosolia* represent mausoleum types which gained in popularity predominantly in the 4th c. AD. Their curvilinear forms reflect the vogue of the day, the architectural iconography shaped in the Late Antique imperial and aristocratic residences. When emulated by middle class people, however, even when they belonged to the upper middle class and had comfortable incomes, their size and splendour was more limited. The funerary context itself imposed further simplifications of plan and reductions in dimensions. The religious affiliation of the commissioners was presumably pagan, although Christianization was constant and implacable, and family members eventually adhered to the new faith. When Christianity became dominant, mausolea went out of use.

109 MILOŠEVIĆ 2005, 178–181.

110 GABOR 2014, 39–42.

111 MIRCHEV 1958, 576.

112 MASHOV 2014.

## Decoration of Late Antique Tombs from the Balkans

A fascinating feature of the vaulted tombs, the mausolea and the *martyria* discussed above is their decoration. The main observation is that luxurious interior decoration prevailed over distinctive exteriors. In many of these Late Antique uniform tombs with humble exterior, e.g. those covered by barrel vaults, we find rich, sometimes opulent painted decoration. In a good number of tombs, the walls are embellished with painted flowers, garlands, festoons and birds. Several rectangular tombs with flat roofing from *Philippopolis* and *Marcianopolis* exhibit this type of decorative system, suggestive of owners subscribing to pagan religious beliefs. The tombs with painted flowers and garlands are usually dated to the 3rd and 4th c. AD: those studied in the necropolis of *Thessaloniki* seem to belong to the 3rd c. AD.<sup>113</sup> In vaulted tombs flowers often occupy the vault while the walls are decorated with painted imitation of marble revetment (Fig. 15), as in a tomb found beneath the church of Saint Sophia in *Serdica*.<sup>114</sup>



Fig. 15: Late Antique tomb in the Eastern necropolis of *Serdica*.

In the ‘Funerary banquet tomb’ in *Philippopolis* the garland is a subordinate motive. The central scene of the funerary meal is combined with another motif gaining prominence during Late Antiquity: the procession, in this instance of servants bringing food.<sup>115</sup> Remarkably, the servants are depicted as being taller than their

113 VALEVA 2001, 174–178; MARKE 2006, 123–127.

114 KITANOV 2009, 121–129, pl. LXXXVI–CVIII; KITANOV 2014.

115 VALEVA 1999, 42–46 with literature.

masters, but this unconventional disproportion has also been attested throughout the Empire on other monuments.

The funerary banquet, a quintessentially classical motif of ancient funerary iconography, continued to feature in Late Antique funerary decoration, be it mainly in pagan contexts. Probably pagan is the (still unpublished) tomb with flat roofing discovered in front of the western facade of the church Saint Sophia in *Serdica*, decorated with a painted scene of a banquet on a *kline*, while the floor is covered with an unpretentious *opus tessellatum* mosaic. Depictions of funerary meals of the sigma type are documented in the necropolis of *Thessaloniki*.<sup>116</sup> As already mentioned, two tombs in *Tomis*, in *Scythia Minor*, have the banquet scene included in their decorative system. The paintings of the first one are remarkably well preserved (Fig. 5). Five persons are depicted reclining on a *stibadium* around a table on which six breads are placed:<sup>117</sup> clearly the sixth bread is for the deceased, believed to participate invisibly in the funerary meal. Although some details in the tomb hint at a Christian affiliation of the commissioner, there are no explicit Christian symbols painted. The feasting men are served by attendants. As already noted with respect to the tomb in *Philippopolis*, a procession of servants became the token of wealth and high social status. Several well-dated tombs in which this idea is plainly expressed were found in different towns, demonstrating that this iconography of self-representation was very popular exactly during the 4th c. AD, when the revival of the Empire brought to life a class of *homines novi* eager to display their material possibilities. These tomb paintings are among the finest examples of Late Antique painting styles and cultural ideals. They were found in *Viminacium* (Fig. 11),<sup>118</sup> *Durostorum* (Fig. 4),<sup>119</sup> *Thessaloniki* (Eustorgios tomb)<sup>120</sup> and Beshka (Beška) (Fig. 16).<sup>121</sup> The scenes depict masters surrounded by servants, suggesting micro-worlds of well-being, either real on the earth or promised for the afterlife.<sup>122</sup> The ceremonial character of the compositions conformed quite well to the trend of a hierarchical structure in post-Diocletianic society.

In the second tomb with a banquet scene on a *stibadium* in *Tomis*, unfortunately largely destroyed, the presence of *orantes* among the surviving images suggests a Christian context.<sup>123</sup> These *orantes* bring us back to two already mentioned tombs, one in *Naissus*<sup>124</sup> and another in *Sopianae*,<sup>125</sup> on the walls of which the apostles

116 MARKE 2006, 140 f., figs. 74–75, pl. 5.

117 CHERA/LUNGU 1988; CHERA 1993; BARBET 1994. In one of the tombs in *Thessaloniki*, breads of the same shape, probably ritual, are also depicted: MARKE 2006, 166–169, fig. 116.

118 KORAC 2007, 69–101; ANĐELKOVIĆ GRAŠAR 2015, 270 f.; ANĐELKOVIĆ GRAŠAR/NIKOLIĆ/ROGIĆ 2020.

119 DIMITROV/CHICHIKOVA 1986; ATANASOV 2007; ATANASOV 2014.

120 MARKE 2006, 138 f.

121 ĐURIĆ 1985a; POPOVIĆ 2011, 237–240; ANĐELKOVIĆ GRAŠAR/NIKOLIĆ/ROGIĆ 2020.

122 SCHNEIDER 1983.

123 BARBET/BUČOVALÁ 1996.

124 RAKOCIJA 2014 with historiography.

125 GERKE 1954; MAGYAR 2006, 46 with literature.



Fig. 16: Late Antique tomb in Beška with painted scene with servants bringing food; today in the Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad.

St. Peter and St. Paul are depicted. It has been suggested that the martyrs who had actually been buried in the tomb in *Naissus* were painted on the opposite wall. In the tomb in *Sopianae*, four male busts are painted in medallions on the vault, images of martyrs or portraits of family members. For both tombs it has been argued that the iconography is based on Roman prototypes painted in the catacombs.

Wall paintings with Christian themes taken from the Old Testament were found in *Sopianae* (Fig. 12).<sup>126</sup> Early Christian iconography, however, is best represented in the tombs of *Thessaloniki*.<sup>127</sup> Recently a flat-roofed tomb of rectangular shape was accidentally found in *Philippopolis*. Besides Christ's monogram two scenes of his miracles are depicted: the healing of the paralytic and the resurrection of Lazarus.<sup>128</sup> The dynamic and expressive drawing style of the paintings follows Hellenistic traditions. This stylistic peculiarity, combined with the emphasis on the miracles of Christ, suggest a date in the 4th c. AD.

For the painted Christian tombs of the 5th–6th c. AD we use the word 'decoration' conventionally, because its aim is not aesthetic pleasure. It is a system of spiritual symbols, expressed through painted crosses and psalms or devotional texts.<sup>129</sup> Such crosses and words are painted on the walls of a 5th c. AD barrel-vaulted tomb situated 16 m West of the church of Saint Sophia in *Serdica* (Fig. 17): a certain

126 MAGYAR 2006, 46–52.

127 MARKE 2006, 130–137, 142–202.

128 MARTINOVA-KYUTOVA 2013.

129 VALEVA 2001 with literature.



Fig. 17: 'Honorius tomb' next to Saint Sophia church in *Serdica*.

Honorius declares himself “servant of God”.<sup>130</sup> The grave is the last abode for the faithful Christian, in which he will await God’s judgement. As verse 14 of Psalm 132 says: “This is my resting place forever; Here I will dwell, for I have desired it”. This quotation is written on the walls of tombs in *Augusta Traiana (Thracia)*, *Ürgüp (Cappadocia)*, and *Louloudies (Macedonia)*.<sup>131</sup>

In one of the most interesting tombs in *Serdica* we see the busts of four archangels, each in a corner at the springing of the barrel vault, and accompanied by their names: Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael. The decoration of the vault imitates the heavenly sky, dominated by the cross, symbol of God. This scheme is a definite step towards Byzantine iconography and decorative principles.<sup>132</sup>

## Conclusions

Let us now summarize our observations regarding the architectural types of Late Antique burials of well-to-do members of society in the vast territory of the Balkan provinces. The funerary architecture in the Balkan provinces is standard on the

<sup>130</sup> VALEVA 2001, 193, 197; SHALGANOV 2008; KITANOV 2002.

<sup>131</sup> VALEVA 2001, 193.

<sup>132</sup> VALEVA 1986.

whole, despite some local predilection for specific forms, e.g. trapezoidal tombs in *Viminacium* or ‘catacomb-type’ burials in the towns along the western shore of the Black Sea. The barrel-vaulted tomb can be identified as the most typical shape of a funerary monument for moderately well-to-do commissioners. Far fewer were the funerary structures with a central plan, covered by cross-vaults or calottes and provided with *arcosolia* for the burials inside. Two-storey mausolea, with an underground burial place and an above-ground *cella* for commemorative rites, were the most expensive buildings, commissioned by wealthy families both in urban necropoleis and on private estates. Some of these impressive mausolea had lavish painted and sculpted decoration.

The evidence under discussion shows a stable continuity of forms from the classical Roman to the Late Roman/Late Antique period. The transition of architectural types from pagan into Christian funerary contexts was an easy one and happened mainly during the 4th c. AD. Family tombs built in a pagan context continued to be used by the family members who adopted Christianity over time. At the same time, the accomplished and secluded form of the pagan mausoleum turned out to be a convenient burial place or memorial for venerated holy men and martyrs. So, while burials of ordinary Christians tended to become more simple, eventually ending up without any architectural setting, the graves of martyrs and holy men were placed or arranged in churches or purposefully built structures with a central plan and vaulted covering.

Many important questions remained barely touched in our contribution. One of them is the import of architectural types. The Balkans are on the crossroad between East and West, therefore both Roman/Italic and Oriental/Syrian-Anatolian traditions imposed themselves or intermingled here.<sup>133</sup> The exact dynamic, however, is very difficult to trace. It requires future investigation, which by all means will lead to a complex picture composed by objective as well as subjective factors.

## Corresponding Address

Prof. Julia Valeva, DSc  
[jvaleva@yahoo.com](mailto:jvaleva@yahoo.com)

133 The type of the barrel-vaulted tomb was largely built in the provinces within present day Turkey and Syria: *Philadelphia*/Alaşehir, Constantinople, Ürgüp (in *Cappadocia*), *Sardis*, and, of course, the lavishly painted tomb in *Nikaia/Iznik*: VALEVA 2001, 202 (catalogue with literature).

## Bibliography

- Achim, Irina (2004)**, "Les fosses d'autel en Scythie Mineure. Essai d'analyse", in: *Ephemeris dacoromana* 12 (1), 277–291.
- Achim, Irina (2005)**, "Étude d'archéologie chrétienne en Scythie Mineure: la basilique à crypte d'Histria", in: Collège de France (ed.), *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini* (Travaux et Mémoires 15), Paris, 85–97.
- Achim, Irina (2015)**, "Churches and Graves of the Early Byzantine Period in Scythia Minor and Moesia Secunda: The Development of a Christian Topography at the Periphery of the Roman Empire", in: J. Rasmus Brandt, Håkon Ingvaldsen and Marina Prusac (eds.), *Death and Changing Rituals: Function and Meaning in Ancient Funerary Practices*, Oxford, 287–342.
- Alexandrov, Georgi (1980)**, "Antichna vila No 2 kraj Montana", in: *Izvestiya na muzeite v severozapadna Bulgaria* 4, 11–64.
- Alexandru, Nicolaie (2012)**, "Early Christianity in the Grecian town of Kallatis, in Scythia Minor", in: Andrea V. Neyra and Gerardo Rodriguez (eds.), *¿Qué implica ser medievalista? Prácticas y reflexiones en torno al oficio del historiador. Vol. 1*, Mar del Plata, 107–135.
- Andelković Grašar, Jelena (2015)**, "Funerary Images of Women in Tomb Frescoes of the Late Antique and Early Byzantine Period from the Central Balkans", in: Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, Alexandru Avram and James Hardgrave (eds.), *The Danubian Lands between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7th Century BC–10th Century AD)* (Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities, Belgrade 17–21 September 2013), Oxford, 269–275.
- Andelković Grašar, Jelena/Nikolić, Emilija/Rogić, Dragana (2013)**, "'Tomb with Cupids' from Viminacium: A Contribution to Research of Construction, Iconography and Style", in: *Starinar* 63, 73–100.
- Andelković Grašar, Jelena/Rogić, Dragana/Nikolić, Emilija (2020)**, "Act Locally, Think Globally: Late Antique Funerary Painting from the Territory of Present-day Serbia", in: Fabio Guidetti and Katharina Meinecke (eds.), *A Globalised Visual Culture? Towards a Geography of Late Antique Art*, Oxford/Philadelphia, 63–90.
- Atanasov, Georgi (2007)**, "Late antique tomb in Durostorum-Silistra and its master", in: *Pontica* 40, 447–470.
- Atanasov, Georgi (2014)**, *The Roman Tomb in Durostorum–Silistra*, Silistra.
- Atanasov, Georgi/Valeriev, Yoto/Yotov, Valeri (2017)**, "The Crypt in the Sanctuary of the Basilica No. 3 at the Ancient City of Zaldapa (Province of Scythia)", in: Miša Rakocija (ed.), *Niš and Byzantium* 15. International Symposium, Niš, 3–5 June 2016 (Sbornik radova Niš, Serbia 15), Niš, 123–132.
- Atanasova, Yordanka (1971)**, "Pogrebeniya ot nekropola na Ratiaria", in: *Izvestiya na bulgarskite muzei* 1, 87–103.
- Atanasova, Yordanka (1978)**, "Grobni saorazheniya ot nekropola na Ratiaria", in: *Izvestiya na muzeite v severozapadna Bulgaria* 2, 45–53.
- Bakalov, Georgi (2000)**, "Hristianstvoto ili novata sakralnost na grada", in: *Sofia. Sto godini stolitsa*, Sofia, 292–296.
- Barbet, Alix (1994)**, "Le tombeau du banquet de Constanța en Roumanie", in: Christian Sapin (ed.), *Edifices et peintures aux IV<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Actes du 2<sup>e</sup> colloque C.N.R.S. Archéologie et enduits peints, Auxerre, 7–8 novembre 1992), Auxerre, 25–47.
- Barbet, Alix/Bucovală, Mihai (1996)**, "L'hypogée paléochrétien des Orants à Constanța (Roumanie), l'ancienne Tomis", in: *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, Antiquité* 108 (1), 105–158.
- Barbet, Alix/Monier, Florence (2001)**, "La crypte funéraire de la basilique sous le Lycée Eminescu à Constantza (Roumanie)", in: Alix Barbet (ed.), *La peinture funéraire antique IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. – IV<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C.* (Actes du VII<sup>e</sup> Colloque de l'Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale Antique (AIPMA), 6–10 octobre 1998, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, Vienne), Paris, 221–228, 376–378.



- Barbu, Vasile (1971)**, "Din necropolele Tomisului – I. Tipuri de morminte din Epoca Romană", in: *Studii și Cercetări Istorie Veche* 22 (1), 47–68.
- Barnea, Ion (1981)**, "Le cripte delle basiliche paleocristiane della Scizia Minore", in: *Révue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes* 3, 489–505.
- Bauman, Victor (1972)**, "Nouveaux témoignages chrétiens sur la limes nord-scytique: la basilique à martyrium de bas époque romaine découverte à Niculițel (jud. Tulcea)", in: *Dacia* 16, 189–202.
- Bauman, Victor (2006)**, "A propos des premières basiliques paléochrétiennes découvertes à l'embouchure du Danube", in: Reinhard Harreither, Philippe Pergola, Renate Pillinger and Andrea M. Pülz (eds.), *Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel* (Acta Congressus Internationalis XIV Archaeologiae Christianae, Vindobonae 19.–26.9.1999) (Studi di Antichità Cristiana 62), Rome, 825–831.
- Boyadjiev, Stefane (1995)**, "L'Église de Djanavar Tepe près de Varna", in: Birgitt Borkopp, Barbara Schellewald and Lioba Theis (eds.), *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte. Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag*, Amsterdam, 65–71.
- Boyadjiev, Stefane (2002)**, "Gradoustroistvo, krepostno stroitelstvo, obshtestveni, chastni, kultovi i grobnichni sgradi prez II–IV v.", in: IVANOV 2002, 125–180.
- Boyadjiev, Stefane (2003)**, "Essai de classification typologique de l'architecture funéraire en Mésie et Thrace au 2<sup>e</sup>–6<sup>e</sup> siècle", in: *Archaeologia bulgarica* 7 (3), 43–76.
- Bucovală, Mihai/Pașca, Cecilia (1989)**, "Descoperiri recente în necropolele de epocă romană și romano-bizantină la Tomis", in: *Pontica* 21–22, 123–161.
- Buiskikh, Alla V. (2009)**, "Arhitektura sklepa Demetri", in: ZINKO et al. 2009, 38–49.
- Chaneva-Dechevska, Neli (1999)**, *Rannohristiyanska arhitektura v Bulgaria IV–VI v.*, Sofia.
- Chera, Constantin (1993)**, "Wandmalerei aus dem 4. Jh. n. Chr. in einem Grab von Tomis (Constanța-Rumänien)", in: Eric M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spacial Analysis of Wall Painting* (Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam 8–12 September 1992) (BABesch Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology Suppl. 3), Leiden, 136–140.
- Chera, Constantin/Lungu, Virgil (1988)**, "Un monument arheologic de exceptionala valoare la Tomis (Constanța)", in: *Arte* 35 (4), 11–14.
- Chera-Mărginianu, Constantin (1978)**, "Um mormânt de epoca romana descoperit pe raze comunei Ostrov", in: *Pontica* 11, 137–141.
- Čičikova, Maria (1997)**, "La basilique et la nécropole paléochrétiennes extra muros de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)", in: Andrzej B. Biernacki (ed.), *Late Roman and Early Byzantine Cities on the Lower Danube: from the 4th to the 6th Century A.D.* (International Conference, Poznań, Poland 15–17 November 1995; studies and materials), Poznań, 57–67.
- Dimitrov, Dimitar P./Chichikova, Maria (1986)**, *Kasnoantichnata grobnitsa pri Silistra*. Sofia.
- Dintchev, Ventsislav (2002)**, "Ratiaria", in: IVANOV 2002, 13–30.
- Dintchev, Ventsislav (2014)**, 'Sv. Sophia' i Serdica, Sofia.
- Djambov, Hristo (1963)**, "Hisarskata grobnitsa", in: *Godishnik na Narodniya muzei Plovdiv* 5, 117–142.
- Dosseva, Iva (2011)**, "Rannovizantiyskite amvoni ot teritoriyata na savremenna Bulgaria: obratztsi i adaptatsii", in: Stanislav Stanev, Valeri Grigorov and Vladimir Georgiev (eds.), *Studies in Honour of Stefan Boyadzhiev*, Sofia, 139–160.
- Dosseva, Iva (2014)**, *Pametta na murtvite: rannovizantiyski grobni saoruzheniya i nadgrobniya, Scientific project 2011–2014: Institute of Art Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*, Sofia.
- Dosseva, Iva (2015)**, "Pametta za murtvite: strukturirane na sakralnite prostranstva v rannovizantiyskite nekropoli i gradove (spored pametnitsite ot teritoriyata na savremenna Bulgaria)", in: Ivanka Gergova and Emanuel Mutafov (eds.), *Heroes, Cults, Saints. Art Readings 2015. On the Occasion of the 500 Anniversary since the Martyrdom of St George the New Martyr of Sofia*, Sofia, 27–43.
- Dosseva, Iva (2017)**, "Early Byzantine Ambos on the Territory of Present-Day Bulgaria: Models and Adaptations", in: Elka Bakalova, Margaret Dimitrova and Michael A. Johnson (eds.), *Medieval Bulgarian Art and Letters in a Byzantine Context*, Sofia, 50–68.

- Đurić, Srejan (1985a), "The Late Antique Painted Tomb from Beška", in: *Zograf* 16, 5–18.
- Đurić, Srejan (1985b), *Kasnoantičke i ranohrišćanske zidane grobnice u Iliriku (III–VI v.)*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Belgrade University.
- Dyggve, Ejnar/Egger, Rudolf (1939), *Der Altchristliche Friedhof Marusinac* (Forschungen in Salona 3), Vienna.
- Filov, Bogdan (1913), *Sofiyskata tsurkva Sv. Sophia*, Sofia.
- Fülep, Ferenc (1975), *Sopiana: Die Stadt Pécs zur Römerzeit*, Budapest.
- Fülep, Ferenc (1977), "A Pécsi okeresztény mauzoleum ástása", in: *Archaeologiai Ertesítő* 104, 246–257.
- Gabor, Oliver (2014), "Early Christian Buildings in the Northern Cemetery of Sopiana", in: Aallen Brent and Markus Vinzent (eds.), *Studia Patristica LXXIII* (Papers presented at the Conference on Early Christian Iconography, held in Pécs, Hungary), Leuven/Paris/Walpole, 39–57.
- Gerasimov, Todor (1966), "Rannohristiyanska grobnitsa pri gr. Sandanski (Sv. Vrach)", in: *Izvestiya na arheologicheskiya institut* 29, 222–225.
- Gerke, Friedrich (1954), "Die Wandmalereien der Petrus-Paulus-Katakombe in Pécs (Südungarn)", in: Wilhelm Holmqvist, Raymond Lantier and Albert France-Lanord (eds.), *Neue Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des 1. Jahrtausends. Vol I/2: Frühmittelalterliche Kunst* (Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie), Baden-Baden, 170–176.
- Getov, Lyudmil (1970), "Pogrebalni obichai i grobni saoruzheniya u trakite prez rimskata epoha (I–IV vek)", in: *Arheologiya (Sofia)* 12 (1), 1–11.
- Golubović, Snežana/Mrdić, Nemanja (2018), "Rebirth of the Past – Recreating Viminacium in 3D and Presenting Roman Cultural Heritage", in: *Archaeology and Science* 13, 155–166.
- Gospodinov, Yurdan (1921), "Nekropolat okolo tsurkvata Sv. Sophia", in: *Predistoricheski i starohristiyanski pametnitsi ot Sofia i okolnostta*, Sofia, 54–69.
- Granich, Branko (1925), "Osnovanie arhiepiskopie u gradu Justiniana Prima", in: *Glasnik Skopskog Nauchnog Drushtva* 1, 113–133.
- Hoskins Walbank, Mary E./Walbank, Michael (2015), "A Roman Corinthian Family Tomb and its Afterlife", in: *Hesperia* 84 (1), 149–206.
- Ilić, Olivera (2017), "Paleochristian Sepulchral Monuments of Viminacium as an Indicator of Social Status of Buried Individuals", in: Miša Rakocija (ed.), *Niš and Byzantium* (15. International Symposium, Niš, 3–5 June 2016) (Sbornik radova Niš, Serbia 15), Niš, 117–122.
- Ionescu, Mihai/Alexandru, Nicolae/Constantin, Robert (2003), "Morminte de tip hypogeu în necropola callatiană de epocă romano-bizantină", in: *Pontica* 35–36, 279–291.
- Ivanov, Mario (2008), "Elephantum ex musca! Za hronologiyata, periodizatsiyata i funktsiyata na kasnoantichniya mavzolei v kv. Lozenets", in: *Arheologiya (Sofia)* 1–4, 149–160.
- Ivanov, Rumen (ed.) (2002), *Roman and Early Byzantine Cities in Bulgaria. Studies in Memory of Prof. Teofil Ivanov. Vol 1*, Sofia.
- Ivanov, Rumen/Atanasov, Georgi/Donevski, Peti (2006), *Istoriya na Silistra I: Antichniyat Durostorum*, Silistra/Sofia.
- Ivanov, Rumen/von Bülow, Gerda (2008), *Thracia. Eine römische Provinz auf der Balkanhalbinsel* (Orbis Provinciarum), Mainz.
- Jeremić, Gordana (2013), "Burials in Naissus in Late Antiquity – Case Study of the Necropolis in Jagodin Mala", in: Ivana Popović and Bojana Borić-Brešković (eds.), *Constantine the Great and the Edict of Milan 313. The Birth of Christianity in the Roman Provinces on the Soil of Serbia* (Monografije Narodni muzej Beograd 22), Belgrade, 126–135.
- Jeremić, Gordana/Ilić, Olivera (2018), "Evidence of Early Christianity on the Danube Limes, from Singidunum to Aquae", in: KORAĆ/GOLUBOVIĆ/MRDIĆ 2018, 197–246.
- Kalchev, Krasimir (1984), "Grobni saoruzheniya i pogrebalen ritual v yuzhniya nekropol na Augusta Traiana (II–IV vek)", in: *Bulletin des musées de la Bulgarie du sud-est* 7, 77–87.
- Kalchev, Krasimir (1993), "Grobni saoruzheniya i pogrebalni praktiki v nekropola na Augusta Traina (II–IV v.)", in: *Seuthopolis. Nadgrobnite mogili v Yugoiztochna Evropa* (Parvi mezhdunaroden symposium, Kazanlak 4–6 juni 1993), 201–210.
- Kirova, Nadezhda (2007), "Grobni saoruzheniya i pogrebalni praktiki v nekropola na Serdica", in: *Arheologiya (Sofia)* 48 (1–4), 38–45.

- Kitanov, Kitan (2002)**, "Za nyakoi tehnologichni osobenosti na stenopisite na grobnitsata na *Honorius* ot iztochnya necropol na *Serdica* (Sur certaines particularités technologiques des peintures murales du tombeau de *Honorius* de la nécropole est de *Serdica*)", in: *L'École littéraire de Tarnovo et la culture chrétienne en Europe Orientale* (L'École littéraire de Velico Tarnovo 7), Veliko Tarnovo, 645–656.
- Kitanov, Kitan (2009)**, *Les matériaux et les techniques de réalisation de la peinture murale des tombeaux de l'Antiquité tardive en Thraciae et en Daciae (fin III<sup>e</sup>–VI<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C)*, PhD Thesis University of Paris 4, Paris.
- Kitanov, Kitan (2014)**, "La peinture du tombeau n° 8 de *Serdica*. Matériaux et technique de réalisation", in: Norbert Zimmermann (ed.), *Antike Malerei zwischen Lokalstil und Zeitstil* (Akten des XI. Internationalen Kolloquiums der AIPMA, Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale Antique, 13–17 September 2010 in Ephesos) (Archäologische Forschungen 23), Vienna, 669–675.
- Korać, Miomir (2007)**, *Slikarstvo Viminacijuma*, Belgrade.
- Korać, Miomir/Golubović, Snežana/Mrdić, Nemanja (eds.) (2018)**, *Vivere militare est. From populus to Emperors – Living on the Frontier. Vol. 2* (Institute of Archaeology Belgrade Monographies 68), Belgrade.
- Kuzmanov, Georgi (1971)**, "Ranohristijanska grobnitsa na nos Kaliakra", in: *Muzei i pametnitsi na kulturata* 2, 6–7.
- Lilčić, Viktor (1983)**, "Ranohristijanski zasvedeni grobnici vo Makedonija", in: *Jiva Antika (Skopje)* 1, 95–108.
- Lungu, Vasilica (2000)**, *Creștianismul in Scythia-Minor*, Constanța 2000.
- Lungu, Vasilica/Chera-Mărgineanu, Constantin (1982)**, "Contribuții la cunoașterea unei necropole creștine a Tomisului (I)", in: *Pontica* 15, 175–199.
- Madjarov, Konstantin (1993)**, *Diocletianopol. Topografiya, ukrepitelna sistema, gradoustroistvo i arhitektura*, Sofia.
- Magyar, Zsolt R. (2006)**, *Late Roman Sopiana. A Study of Different Influences in Fourth Century Southern Pannonia*, MA Thesis, University of Sheffield.
- Mansel, Arif M. (1939)**, "Grabhügelforschung in Ostthracien", in: *Izvestiya na Bulgarskiya arheologicheski institut* 13, 154–189.
- Marke, Euterpe (2006)**, *Η νεκρόπολη της Θεσσαλονίκης στους υστερορωμαϊκούς και παλαιοχριστιανικούς χρόνους (μέσα του 3ου έως μέσα του 8ου αι. μ.Χ.)*, Athens.
- Martinova-Kyutova, Maya (2013)**, "Spasitelno arheologicheskoprochvane na obekt EBH-razpredelitelen traboprovod, ul. G. M. Dimitrov, ul. Krali Marko, Plovdiv", in: *Arheologicheski otkritiya i razkopki*, 320–321.
- Mashov, Spas (2014)**, "Rimska villa rustica pri selo Urovene, obshtina Krivodol", in: Rumén Ivanov (ed.), *Ratiaria semper floreat. Vol. I: Ratiaria and Its Territory, Researches*, Sofia, 336–378.
- McDonnell, Kathryn (2014)**, "Funerary Cult and Architecture", in: Roger B. Ulrich and Caroline K. Quenemoen (eds.), *A Companion to Roman Architecture* (Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World), Chichester, 264–280.
- Milošević, Gordana (1993)**, "Late Classical Tombs from Brestovik", in: Dragoslav Srejević (ed.), *Roman Imperial Towns and Palaces in Serbia, Sirmium – Romuliana – Naisus* (Gallery of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts 73), Belgrade, 181–183.
- Milošević, Gordana (2002)**, "Paganski i ranohrishchansko u kasnoantichkim grobnitsama u Srbiji", in: Ljubomir Maksimović, Ninoslava Radošević and Ema Radulović (eds.), *Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa* (Kruševac, 10.–13. maj 2000), Beograd: Vizantološki institut SANU; Kruševac: Narodni muzej, 207–224.
- Milošević, Gordana (2004)**, "Martyrium i grobljanska basilica u Jagodin mali u Nishu", in: Miša Rakocija (ed.), *Niš and Byzantium Symposium* (2. Symposium, Niš 2004), Niš, 121–140.
- Milošević, Gordana (2005)**, "Funerary Structures on Private Estates in the Later Roman Empire: Case Study Viminacium", in: Miroslava Mirković (ed.), *Römische Städte und Festungen an der Donau* (Akten der regionalen Konferenz, Belgrad 16–19 October 2003), Belgrade, 177–184.

- Milošević, Gordana (2009a)**, "Funerary Sculpture from the Brestovic Tomb", in: Vassiliki Gaggadis-Robin, Antoine Hermay, Michel Reddé and Claude Sintès (eds.), *Les ateliers de sculpture régionaux: techniques, styles et iconographie* (Actes du X<sup>e</sup> colloque international sur l'art provincial romain, Arles/Aix en Provence, 21–23 Mai 2007), 741–751.
- Milošević, Gordana (2009b)**, "Kasnoantičke grobnice sa konhama u provinciji Moesia Prima i Dardania", in: Boni Petrunova, Andrei Aladjov and Elena Vasileva (eds.), *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova. Vol. 2*, Sofia, 59–70.
- Milošević-Jevtić, Gordana (2014)**, "Architecture of 'the Family Mausoleums' on Danube Limes between Singidunum and Pontes", in: *International Multidisciplinary Scientific Conferences on Social Sciences and Arts, SGEM2014. Vol. 3,1*, 323–330 [DOI: 10.5593/SGEMSOCIAL2014/B31/S9.042].
- Milošević, Gordana/Đonevski, Peti (1999)**, "The Late Antique Tombs at Silistra (*Durostorum*)", in: Gerda von Bülow and Aleksandra Dimitrova-Milčeva (eds.), *Der Limes an der Unteren Donau von Diokletian bis Heraklios* (Vorträge der internationalen Konferenz in Svištov, 1.–5. September 1998), Sofia, 245–255.
- Minchev, Alexander (1986)**, "Rannoto hristijanstvo v Odessos i okolnostite mu", in: *Izvestiya na narodniya muzei Varna* 22, 31–42.
- Minchev, Alexander (1987)**, "Marcianopolis Christiana", in: Vasil Gjuzelev and Renate Pillinger (eds.), *Das Christentum in Bulgarien und auf der übrigen Balkanhalbinsel in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter* (Miscellanea Bulgarica 5), Vienna, 297–306.
- Minchev, Alexander (2002a)**, "Rannoto hristijanstvo v Severoiztochna Bulgaria", in: *Izvestiya na istoricheskiya muzei Kyustendil* 7, 46–56.
- Minchev, Alexander (2002b)**, "Novi dannii za rannohristijanskata basilika pri s. Shkorpilovtsi, Varnensko", in: *Izvestiya na narodniya muzei Varna* 32–33, 130–150.
- Mirchev, Milko (1951)**, "Kasno-rimskiyat nekropol na Odessos", in: *Izvestiya na Varnenskoto arheologicheskoto druzhestvo v gr. Stalin* 8, 91–97.
- Mirchev, Milko (1958)**, "Pametnitsi na grobnata arhitektura v Odessos i negovata okolnost", in: Veselin Beshevliev and Vladimir Georgiev (eds.), *Izsledvaniya v chest na akad. D. Dechev*, Sofia, 569–582.
- Mirchev, Milko (1969)**, "Rannohristijanskata grobnitsa pri Shkorpilovtsi", in: *Muzei i pametnitsi na kulturata* 7 (1), 10–14.
- Mócsy, András (1974)**, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia: A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Boston.
- Mommsen, Theodore (1968)**, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire. The European Provinces*, Chicago/London.
- Mureşan, Ioana (2016)**, "The Painted Roman Tomb on the Lower Danube. Aspects Regarding the Crossover from Paganism to Christianity in Funerary Symbolism", in: Ivo Topalilov and Biser Georgiev (eds.), *Transition from Late Paganism to Early Christianity in the Architecture and Art in the Balkans* (Studia Academica Şumenensia 3), Shumen, 125–153.
- Nikolajević, Ivanka (1980)**, "Grabanlagen und Begräbniskulte in Moesien aus frühchristlicher Zeit", in: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 29, 303–314.
- Nikolić, Emilija (2018)**, *Construction, Deconstruction, and Reconstruction of Viminacium: Context and Concept*, PhD Thesis University of Belgrade, Belgrade.
- Nikolić, Emilija/Rogic, Dragana/Anđelković Grašar, Jelena (2018)**, "Architectural Space in the Wall Painting of the Roman Tomb in Brestovik", in: KORAĆ/GOLUBOVIĆ/MRĐIĆ 2018, 195–268.
- Panayotova, Krastina/Draževa, Tsonya (2003)**, "Apollonia Pontica – Sozopolis", in: IVANOV 2002, 215–234.
- Petre, Aurelian (1987)**, "La romanité en Scythie Mineure (II<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles apres notre ère) – Recherches archéologiques", in: *Annuaire de l'Institut des Études Sud-Est Européennes* (Bucharest) 17–18, 5–171.
- Pillinger, Renate/Minchev, Alexander/Georgiev, Petko (1989)**, *Ein frühchristliches Grabmal mit Wandmalerei bei Ossenovo (Bezirk Varna/Bulgarien)* (Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung 17), Vienna.

- Popovic, Ivana (2011)**, "Wall Painting of Late Antique Tombs in Sirmium and its Vicinity", in: *Starinar* 61, 223–247.
- Popović Slaviša/Jeremić Gordana/Drca Slobodan/Crnoglavac Vesna/Cerskov Toni (2014)**, *Late Antique Necropolis Jagodin Mala*, Niš.
- Preda, Constantin (1980)**, *Callatis – necropola romano-bizantină* (Biblioteca de arheologie 38), Bucharest.
- Rakocija, Miša (2004)**, "Ranovizantijska grobnitsa pa svod kod sela Klisura pored Nisha i kratak osvrt na problem zasvodenih grobnitsa", in: Miša Rakocija (ed.), *Niš and Byzantium Symposium* (2. Symposium, Niš 2004), Niš, 141–164.
- Rakocija, Miša (2013a)**, "L'architettura e l'iconografia costantiniana in Serbia e Bulgaria", in: Silvia Ronchey (ed.), *Costantino I. Enciclopedia Costantiniana sulla figura e l'immagine dell'imperatore del cosiddetto editto di Milano 313–2013. Vol. 2*, Rome, 793–812.
- Rakocija, Miša (2013b)**, "Arhitektura zidanih grobnitsa starohrishchanskog Nisha", in: Miša Rakocija and Milica Todorović (eds.), *Niš and Christian Heritage. Niš and Byzantium Symposium – Special Edition marking the 1700 Anniversary of the Signing of the Edict of Milan*, Niš, 175–202.
- Rakocija, Miša (2013c)**, "O basilitsi sa martirijumom (basilica muchenika) u Nishu", in: Miša Rakocija (ed.), *Niš and Byzantium* (11. Symposium, Niš, 3–5 June 2011) (Zbornik radova 11), Niš, 32–67.
- Rakocija, Miša (2014)**, "Yosh yednom o slikarstvu starohrishchanske grobnitse sa figuralnim predstavama u Nishu", in: Miša Rakocija (ed.), *Niš and Byzantium* (11. Symposium, Niš, 3–6 June 2013) (Zbornik radova 12), Niš, 49–70.
- Rashenov, Alexander (1934)**, "Grobnišata pri Krupnik", in: *Izvestiya na Bulgarskiya arheologicheski institut* 8, 434–436.
- Rendić-Miočević, Duje (1954/56)**, "Neue Funde in der altchristlichen Nekropole Manastirine in Salona", in: *Archaeologia Jugoslavica* 2, 53–70.
- Rostovtzeff, Michael (1914)**, *Antichnaya dekorativnaya zhivopis na Yuge Rossii*, Saint Petersburg.
- Rusev, Nikola (2012)**, "Burial Rituals in the Period of Late Antiquity in the Territory of the Province of Second Moesia", in: Lyudmil Vagalinski F., Nikolay Sharankov and Sergei Torbatov (eds.), *The Lower Danube Roman Limes (1st–6th c. AD)*, Sofia, 481–403.
- Rusev, Nikola (2018)**, "Nekropolite na Odessos prez Kusnata antichnost", in: *Bulgarian e-Journal of Archaeology Suppl.* 6, 133–144.
- Salkin, Asen/Toptanov, Dimitar (1988)**, "Nekropoli ot skalni grobnitsi po Dobrudjanskoto Chernomorsko kraibrezhie ot nos Kaliakra do selo Kamen briag", in: *Terra Antiqua Balcanica* 3, 195–198.
- Schneider, Lambert (1983)**, *Die Domäne als Weltbild. Wirkungsstrukturen der spätantiken Bildersprache*, Wiesbaden.
- Shalghanov, Konstantin (1989)**, "Mnogokamerna grobnitsa ot iztochniya nekropol na Serdica", in: Velizar Velkov, Teofil Ivanov and Magdalina Stanchev (eds.), *Serdica 2. Arheologicheski materiali i prouchvaniya*, Sofia, 74–77.
- Shalghanov, Konstantin (2008)**, "Grobnišata na Honorius i nadgrobnata plocha na Paladius – dve novi svidetelstva za rannohristijanska Serdica", in: Evgenia Gencheva (ed.), *Studia in honorem Aleksandrae Dimitrova-Milcheva. Yugoiztochna Evropa prez antichnostta VI v.pr.n.e. – VII v.sl.Chr.*, Sofia, 439–454.
- Shalghanov, Konstantin/Ivanov, Mario (2006)**, "Novootkrit kasnoantichen mavzolei v kv. Lozenets", in: *Spartacus II. 2075 godini ot vastanieto na Spartak. Trako-rimsko nasledstvo. 2000 godini hrstijanstvo*. (Mezhdunaroden symposium 1–4 oktombri 2002 godina, Sandanski), Veliko Tarnovo, 314–224.
- Sharankov, Nikolay (2018)**, "Notes on Governors of Roman Thrace", in: Lyudmil Vagalinski, Maria Raycheva, Dilyana Boteva and Nikolay Sharankov (eds.), *Cities, Territories and Identities* (First International Roman and Late Antique Thrace Conference, Plovdiv, 3rd – 7th October 2016) (Bulletin of the National Archaeological Institute 44), Sofia, 97–109.
- Shkorpil, Hermengild/Shkorpil, Karel (1890)**, "Srednovkovni cherkvi i grobishta v Sofia", in: *Sbornik za Narodni umotvoreniya, nauka i knizhnina* 2, 46–60.

- Shkorpil, Hermengild/Shkorpil, Karel (1921)**, "Drevnobulgarski pametnitsi. Statii iz bulgarskata istoriya", in: *Izvestiya na Varnenskoto arheologicheskoto druzhestvo* 7, 9–27.
- Snively, Carolyn (2010)**, "Macedonia in Late Antiquity", in: Joseph Roisman and Ian Worthington (eds.), *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia* (Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World), Malden/Oxford/Chichester, 545–571.
- Soficaru, Andrei D. (2007)**, "Propunere pentru o tipologie uniformă a mormintelor romano-bizantine din Dobrogea", in: *Peuce* s.n. 5, 297–312.
- Stanchev, Stancho (1950)**, "Starohristiyanska grobnitsa pri s. Bistritsa", in: *Izvestiya na arheologicheskaya institut* 17, 281–284.
- Tomović, Miodrag (1996)**, "O jednoj gornjomezijskoj skulpturskoj predstavi tetrahijskog cara (?)", in: Miroslav Lazić (ed.), *ANTIΔΩPON, Uzdarje Dragoslavu Srejiću*, Belgrade, 419–426.
- Toynbee, Jocelyne M. C. (1971)**, *Death and Burial in the Roman World (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life)*, London.
- Tzonchev, Dimitar/Sarkisyan, A. (1960)**, "Nekropolite na stariya grad pri Hisarskite toplomineralni izvori", in: *Arheologiya (Sofia)* 2, (4), 36–43.
- Valeva, Julia (1987)**, "Two Tombs in the Balkans and the Sunworship in the Early Christian Period", in: Vasil Gjuzelev and R. Pillinger (eds.), *Das Christentum in Bulgarien und auf der übrigen Balkanhalbinsel in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter*, (2. Internationales Symposium, Haskovo (Bulgarien) 10–13 Juni 1986) (Miscellanea Bulgarica 5), Vienna, 281–292.
- Valeva, Julia (1999)**, "Articles", in: Renate Pillinger, Vanya Popova and Barbara Zimmermann (eds.), *Corpus der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Wandmalereien Bulgariens* (Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung 21), Vienna.
- Valeva, Julia (2001)**, "La peinture funéraire dans les provinces orientales de l'Empire romain dans l'Antiquité Tardive", in: *Hortus Artium Medievalium (Zagreb)* 7, 167–208.
- Valeva, Julia (2015)**, "Saint Sophia Church: History of Research and New Considerations", in: *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 19 (2), 63–92.
- Valeva, Julia/Vionis, Athanasios K. (2014)**, "The Balkan Peninsula", in: William Tabbernee (ed.), *Early Christianity in Contexts: An Exploration across Cultures and Continents*, Grand Rapids, 321–378.
- Valtrović, Mihailo (1906)**, "Rimska grobnica u selu Brestoviku", in: *Starinar* 1, 128–138.
- Vasić, Miloje M. (1906)**, "Rimska grobnitsa u Brestoviku", in: *Starinar* 1, 138–140.
- Vasić, Miloje M. (1907)**, "Nekolike grobne konstrukcije iz Viminaciuma", in: *Starinar* 2, 67–98.
- Vasić, Miloje R. (2008)**, "Prolasci i boravci rimskih imperatora u Nišu krajem III i IV veka (Roman Emperors Passing Through or Staying in Niš in Late 3rd and 4th Centuries)", in: *Naissus* 1, 7–23.
- Velkov, Ivan (1926–1927)**, "Novootkriti starini: Kochagovo", in: *Izvestiya na bulgarskiya arheologicheski institut* 4, 317–318.
- Visy, Zsolt (2007)**, "Recent Data on the Structure of the Early Christian Burial Buildings at Pécs", in: *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 43, 137–155.
- Von Hesberg, Henner (1992)**, *Römische Grabbauten*, Darmstadt.
- Vujačić-Vulović, Mila (1967)**, "Rimska grobnica u Brestoviku. Konzervatorsko restauratorski radovi – prva faza", in: *Zbornik zaštite spomenika culture* 18, 85–92.
- Wrede, Henning (1981)**, "Klinenprobleme", in: *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 86–131.
- Zahariade, Mihail/Bounegru, Octavian (2003)**, "Despre inceputurile creștinismului la Dunărea de Jos: Martyrimul de la Halmyris", in: *Izvoarele creștinismului românesc*, Costanța, 117–126.
- Zinko, Elena A./Buisikh, Alla V./Rusyajeva, Anna S./Savostina, Elena A./Strilenko, Julia N./Jaeggi, Othmar (2009)**, *The Crypt of Demeter* (Pamjatniki arheologii Kerčenskogo istorikokul'turnogo zapovednika 1), Kiev.
- Zotović, Ljubica (1986)**, "Južne nekropole Viminacija i pogrebni obredi", in: *Viminacium* 1, 41–60.

## Figure Credits

- Fig. 1** J. Valeva and editors, after World Mapping Center.  
**Fig. 2** MARKE 2006, pl. 56a.  
**Fig. 3** J. Valeva.  
**Fig. 4** G. Atanasov.  
**Fig. 5** MINAC/Muzeul de Istorie Nationala si Arheologie Constanta, courtesy Laurentiu Cliante and Irina Achim.  
**Fig. 6** S. Ailincai.  
**Fig. 7** J. Valeva.  
**Fig. 8** J. Valeva.  
**Fig. 9** G. Alexandrov.  
**Fig. 10** J. Valeva.  
**Fig. 11** J. Anđelković Grašar.  
**Fig. 12** J. Mehlich.  
**Fig. 13** M. Rakocija.  
**Fig. 14** VALTROVIĆ 1906, pl. 4.  
**Fig. 15** Bakalov 2000, p. 295.  
**Fig. 16** J. Valeva.  
**Fig. 17** K. Kitanov.

