THE END OF THE PAGAN CITY

Religion, Economy, and Urbanism in Late Antique North Africa

ANNA LEONE

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To Rosemary Cramp and Noël Duval

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Preface

Quando si è in alto mare
La luce del tramonto e quella dell'aurora
non sono molto dissimili. Non so bene distinguere.

(Mario Luzi, *Libro di Ipazia*, Milan 1978, Rizzoli, 81)

THE idea of this book has emerged from my previous work and from many useful and illuminating conversations with Noël Duval.

Evidence from North Africa seemed to offer unique elements for discussion and analysis regarding the end of paganism, such as the priesthood connected to the imperial cult into the Vandal period, the recovery of hidden statues in various sites, and the discoveries of urban marble workshops.

The principal research questions I address in this book concern the end of the pagan religious tradition in Roman North Africa and the dismantling of its material form. An in-depth study of the transition from paganism to Christianity from an archaeological perspective seems to me an urgent task, despite the difficulties in doing it. It is useful in guiding future research on Late Antiquity towards reconsideration of the available data and of textual evidence.

The present book is directed principally at scholars working on Late Antiquity. It is intended to provide an archaeological perspective on a subject that has for a long time been approached from a principally textual and historical point of view. In doing so, addressing the issues raised by previous work cannot be avoided, but the conclusions and debates that have emerged from different disciplines are here challenged and tested through the material evidence.

This book is the result of several years of research at Durham, Oxford (Sackler Library), and Rome (École Française de Rome) During this period a number of grants allowed me to concentrate particularly on this project. I benefited from a term financed by the AHRC research leave scheme and another term funded by the Knott Fellowship granted by the Institute of Advanced Studies at Durham University. I am grateful to all my colleagues at the Department of Archaeology at Durham University for their support during the years.

During this project several people have contributed to the discussion and offered suggestions. These are: Stephan Altekamp, Andrea Augenti, Simon Barker, Ralf Bockmann, Christer Bruun, Rosemary Cramp, Gabriel De Bruyn, Paola De Santis, Helga Di Giuseppe, Noël Duval, David Edwards, Lisa Fentress, Christophe Goddard, Barbara Graziosi, Philip Kenrick, Ramsay Macmullen, Yuri Marano, David Mattingly, Andrew Merrills, Luisa Musso, David Nonnis, Donatella Nuzzo, Domenico Palombi, Arietta Papaconstantinou, Philipp von Rummel, Sarah Semple, Gareth Sears, Roland R. R. Smith, Lucrezia Spera, Lea Stirling, Ignazio Tantillo, Cinzia Vismara, Bryan Ward-Perkins, Chris Wickham, Andrew Wilson, Penelope Wilson, and Enrico Zanini.

Ermanno Malaspina and Cinzia Vismara read the manuscript and offered comments on the content and structure of the text. I owe them each my sincere gratitude.

Thanks are due to Massimo Brizzi, Christer Bruun, Neil Christie, Carol Harrison, Richard Hingley, Andrew Merrills, Roland R. R. Smith, Susan Stevens, Lea Stirling, Bryan Ward-Perkins, Chris Wickham, and Andrew Wilson who read and commented on earlier draft chapters.

Stephan Altekamp, Arietta Papaconstantinou, Benjamin Russell, Gareth Sears, and Andrew Wilson kindly allowed me to see their papers when they were still in preparation and Thomas Morton provided some unpublished information.

I am grateful to Roland R. R. Smith and Bryan Ward-Perkins for inviting me to the final seminar of the project 'The Last Statues' (AHRC funded) in Oxford in September 2011. On that occasion I had the opportunity to present the results of my research on the fate of statuary in North Africa and to receive useful comments, as well as to acquire important information on the overall results of the project.

A trip was made in the summer of 2010 to visit and investigate Basilica I in Sabratha. Thanks are due to the President of the Department of Antiquities of Libya, Dr Salah Al Alhasi, and to Dr Moftah Haddad, who allowed me to carry out work on the site and facilitated my access to the monument. Thanks also to David Mattingly for his support and useful suggestions in making these essential contacts. Khaled Bashir and Jamal Tamzini assisted with all the practical aspects of the fieldwork. Massimo Brizzi contributed invaluably to the research in the field and the study of the monument.

A Great debt of gratitude is due to Yvonne Beadnell, who did the illustrations; Jeff Veitch, who prepared the photographs for publication; Consuelo Marras, who created the reconstruction of the temple of Apollo; and Massimo Brizzi, for the plans of Basilica I in Sabratha.

I am sincerely grateful to Victoria Leitch, who did the initial editing of the English text, and to Christopher Boyd, who, with great patience and accuracy, completed the final revisions.

My friends Helga Di Giuseppe, Barbara Graziosi, Ermanno Malaspina, David Nonnis, Domenico Palombi, Rosie Ridgeway, Lucrezia Spera, Lea Stirling, Cinzia Vismara, and Penelope Wilson have provided much moral support during all the phases of this work.

Finally, to my little daughter Sara Margareta and my husband Massimo I owe my greatest debt of gratitude and love for having tolerated my many absences and having allowed me to work during many vacations, weekends, and evenings. My parents, Jolanda and Paolo, supported me in every way possible, as they have throughout my life.

I wish to dedicate this book to two persons who have been, and are, very important to me: Rosemary Cramp and Noël Duval, for their invaluable knowledge and generosity in sharing it, and for their unconditional support over the years.

Anna Leone

N.B. The visit to Basilica II in Sabratha, originally planned, was not possible due to the start of the conflict. The discussion on Basilica II is therefore based on published material.

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Abbreviations

AE	*Année épigraphique*
AntAfr	*Antiquités africaines*
AnTard	*Antiquité tardive*
AtlArch	E. Babelon, R. Cagnat, and S. Reinach, *Atlas archéologique de la Tunisie, 1:50,000* (Paris, 1892–1913)
BCTH	*Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*
BSNAF	*Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*
CahTun	*Les Cahiers de Tunisie*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum series Latina*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Corpus Justinianus*
Concilia Africae	C. Munier (Cura et studio), *Concilia Africae (A.D. 345–525)*, *Corpus Christianorum series Latina*, CXLIX (Turholti, 1975): Brepols
CRAHM	*Centre de recherches archéologiques et historiques médiévales*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
CTh	*Corpus Theodosianus*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
FACTA	*Facta: A Journal of Roman Material Culture Studies*
ILAfr	R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, and L. Chatelain, *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique* (*Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc*) (Paris, 1923): E. Leroux
ILAlg I	S. Gsell, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, I. *Inscriptions de la Proconsulaire* (Paris, 1922): Libraire Ancienne Honoré Champion
ILAlg II	S. Gsell, E. Albertini, J. Zeiller, and H.G. Pflaum, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algiers*, II. *Inscriptions de la confédération Cirtéenne, de Cuicul et de la tribu des Suburbures* (Algiers, 1957): Société National d'édition et de diffusion
ILCV	E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, I (Berlin, 1925): Weidmann
ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, vols. I–III (Chicago, 1979): Ares

ILTun	A. Merlin, *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie* (Paris, 1944): Presses Universitaires de France
IRT	J. M. Reynolds, and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (Rome London, 1952): British School at Rome
JdI	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
MÉFR	*Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*
MÉFRA	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité*
Miscellanea Agostiniana I	Sancti Augustini, *Sermones post Maurinos reperti, studio ac diligentia D. Germani Morin OSB*, vol. I (Romae, 1930): Tipografia Poliglotta Agostiniana
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*
SHA	*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*

1

Paganism and Christianity in Late Antique North Africa

> Although we would like to know whether paganism went out with a bang, or died with a whimper, I doubt whether even the best archaeological work will ever be able to tell us.
>
> (B. Ward-Perkins 2011, 191)

1. INTRODUCTION

The present book addresses two main issues. Firstly, it focuses on the change in religious traditions and practices and the consequent recycling and reuse of monuments and materials. Secondly, it aims to investigate (when possible) to what extent these physical processes were driven by religious and symbolic motivations and contrasts, or were stimulated purely by economic issues. Understanding this latter point is essential to clarify how urban communities in particular developed; why some traditions continued and some others were lost; and, finally, where traditions are proved to have continued, whether they carried the same value and meaning upon doing so.

Answering these questions through archaeology will shed new light on the historical and psychological attitude of, principally urban, societies. It will be useful to clarify whether a number of processes, linked primarily to the religious sphere, that developed all over the Roman empire (although not always simultaneously) resulted from a strong contrast between the pagan and the Christian communities, or if religious beliefs were actually a minor issue.

In fact, other elements probably contributed to urban changes and to the practice of recycling that became common in Late Antiquity, such as the economy, trade (i.e. availability of statuary and building material), and a substantially poorer quality of life (i.e. lower budgets to be spent on monuments and statuary) from the 4th century onward. Contemporary sources from both sides may give us views often tinted by strong biases, deeply influenced by the need to represent and promote one religious belief or another. It is also possible that some specific phenomena have been over-emphasized, their importance exaggerated upon the basis of some common assumptions. Recently, Alan Cameron in his book *The Last Pagans of Rome* (2011) has questioned the continuity of certain pagan practices, such as sacrifices, even before the prohibition, and on the true nature of late antique paganism and its form. He commented: 'in the complete absence of evidence nothing can be proved, but I suspect that in the West and in the East by the 380s (if not earlier) public rituals no longer routinely included animal sacrifices. . . . Laws forbidding sacrifice continued to be issued well down into the 5th century, and have always been assumed to prove that sacrifice continued. No doubt it did, here and there, especially in remote areas. But it would be unwise to infer that every such law was provoked by a documented report of sacrifice, especially in cities. . . . Paganism lasted much longer for Christians than pagans. And for Christians, paganism always implied sacrifice.'[1]

North Africa offers a unique set of data especially for the late antique period. Furthermore, there is a large amount of textual evidence available, particularly from Augustine, who provides us with a very detailed account of his views on the relationship between pagan and Christian communities.[2] The traditional interpretation of the idea of the 'end of Paganism' has been brilliantly summed up by Peter Brown: 'in the majority of modern narratives of the period from

[1] Cameron 2011, 67. A similar idea on the substantial decrease in importance of sacrifices is also found in Trombley (2011), where he suggests that the practice of the cult of the emperor was limited to burning incense in front of imperial statues and that progressively the veneration of emperors was entrusted to the panegyrics (on panegyrics see also Cameron 2011, 228–9 and see below, Ch. 3). Expressions of religiosity in the Classical world came through actions: doing was equal to believing.

[2] See below for a discussion and Chadwick 1985 for some ideas and further bibliography. For a list of the 4th–5th-c. sources referring to the contrasts between the two religions see Lee 2000.

Gibbon to Burckhardt to the present day, it has been assumed that the end of paganism was inevitable, once confronted by the resolute intolerance of Christianity'.[3] The reality is a complex patchwork of various religions that continued to characterize the sacred and ritual landscape of Late Antiquity, although the major focus has continued to be on the contrast between the two main groups: Pagans and Christians.[4]

In periods of religious conflicts sources can be particularly difficult to evaluate and understand. Written texts can have different functions (pastoral, propagandistic, theological), which often influence the way in which information is provided. In order to give a different perspective, this book instead intends to address the analysis from the point of view of material culture and urban monumentality. I am aware of the impossibility of providing definitive answers, but since urban forms and appearance mirror society, their analysis (and in particular those elements which are linked directly to the religious sphere) can provide new aspects to our understanding of a complex subject. I believe, despite all the archaeological difficulties, that understanding religious monuments and their evolution, the fate of pagan statuary, and the conscious or unconscious reuse of symbols of the pagan world are essential tasks. The focus will be principally on religious monuments and on the aspects of society that characterized the life of the pagan urban community, although other elements of urban monumentality will be touched upon when necessary to the discussion.[5] Archaeology can offer insights from the material life of these communities and draw a picture that is not biased by doctrinal approaches or by theological disputes. Although the published material comes mainly from old, non-stratigraphic excavations carried out in the colonial period, with little attention paid to the later

[3] Brown 1998, 633.

[4] The bibliography on the subject is large and would be impossible to cite in its entirety here. Some general accounts providing further ancient and modern sources are: Brown 1967, 1972, and 2003; Markus 1990; MacMullen 1984, 1997; Bronwen 2006; Bowes 2008; and Cameron 2011. For a general discussion on the development of Christian writers see A. Brown 2007, 266–78. On the historiography see Momigliano 1963.

[5] Fortifications and city walls, although an integral part of the late antique cities, will be not considered here, as their functional aspect is not directly and uniquely connected to religious life. Private architecture will be considered only in the case of the evidence of private cults (Ch. 2) and private statuary collection (Ch. 4), but, as will be apparent, data are too scanty to provide elements of discussion.

occupation of these cities, the data will allow us to reconstruct pictures of late antique cities or to offer some suggestions that may be confirmed or denied (or may well remain unsolved) by future work.

The major geographical focus of this book is Roman North Africa (Fig. 1) (i.e. the provinces of Numidia, Zeugitana or Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, and Tripolitana, corresponding more or less to modern Algeria, Tunisia, and north-western Libya), an area that was strongly Christianized.[6] These regions have been extensively excavated and many cities are well preserved, most being inhabited until at least the 10th century prior to being abandoned.[7] These provinces were also very diverse in terms of organization; for instance, Africa Proconsularis was highly urbanized, while Tripolitana contained only three coastal cities. For this reason, ideally this project would have taken a regional approach. In many instances the difficulties of interpreting the data prevented this, although some specific comments are offered when a regional pattern has been detected.

Chronologically the book considers the period after the Constantinian edict of Milan in AD 313, up to the Byzantine conquest and the 6th century, when major reconstruction took place across the whole of North Africa.[8] The overall aim of this research also determines its chronological scope: an examination of the relationship between pagans and Christians necessitates a study of the period immediately following the recognition of Christianity as a religion of the empire, a time when the final blow against paganism was landed, and the Byzantine conquest when hegemony of Catholic Christianity was restored in the region. It will be impossible to consider all of the different aspects at the same level of analysis across all periods. The information available is, unfortunately, not homogeneous. In particular, due to the paucity of data on the impact of Vandal Arianism in North Africa, it will be very difficult to discuss in detail the evidence pertaining to the Vandal period.

[6] North Africa saw an early appearance of conflicting movements within the Church. For a synthesis on the Donatist movement, see Frend 1952*a* and more recently Shaw 2011.

[7] On the end of North African cities see Leone 2007*a*, 281–7.

[8] From the end of the 6th c., cities show substantial urban decay, with the eventual complete dissolution of public spaces and the development of settlements characterized by nuclei of dwelling and production centres (Leone 2007*a*, 167–87).

Fig. 1. Map of North Africa

2. WHAT PAGANISM AND WHAT CHRISTIANITY?

At the outset of this book it is necessary to define what is intended here by the terms Paganism and Christianity.[9] The description of these two categories and their relationship has long been debated.[10] Still, the differentiations between these two worlds remain vague and somehow unclear.[11]

A reconsideration and discussion of the meaning of the word *paganus* is outside the scope of this book; however, a few points need to be stressed. The meaning of 'non-Christians' (to include all those who were not heretics or Jews) becomes common, especially in the period between AD 360 and 420,[12] and it is also recorded in one of the chapters of the *Codex Theodosianus* (*CTh*).[13] Essentially, 'Paganism was not simply, or even primarily a matter of religious commitment but of conformity with a particular tradition.'[14] Therefore, the term will be used here (when necessary) mainly to refer in a broader sense to the series of rituals and actions that characterized the religious life of the Roman empire and were key in crafting the monumental image of Roman urban towns. In other words, the definition of 'pagan' religion here refers principally to cult practices, specifically their traditions, symbols, and infrastructure.[15]

Equally difficult to define clearly and unambiguously is the term 'Christian'. 'Pagans' did not consider themselves as such, and there is

[9] For a recent discussion on the debate and the difficulty in comparing two substantially different elements see A. Brown 2007.

[10] On this issue see MacMullen 198, Markus 1990, Brown 1995, and more recently Cameron 2011.

[11] Markus 1990, 11–15; MacMullen 1984, 75–85; Brown 1995, 3–25.

[12] Le Goff 1982, 92–4, Markus 1990, 8–15, Brown 1998, 639, and more recently Cameron 2011, 14–25. Some scholars prefer the use of 'polytheism' instead of 'paganism'; however, using this definition opens up another full set of complex issues. For a discussion see Cameron (2011, 25–32).

[13] On the *Codex Theodosianus* and chapter 10.16 see below, pp. 41–3. For further comments on the chronologically restricted use of 'paganus' see Cameron 2011, 16.

[14] Bonner 1984, 342.

[15] This emerges from the fact that in Roman religion, orthodoxy is orthopraxy, believing is doing (Clark 2010, 183); the same point is also addressed by Scheid (2007, 45–6). He stresses that the only certainty of the Roman religion is ritual obligation, e.g. the obligation to perform a specific rite, on a specific day, under the authority of specific collegia of priests or magistrates. On the transformation of religious practice and sacrifices see also Stroumsa 2005.

not a clear set of elements that can identify a person as 'pagan'; at the same time, similarly, Christianity cannot be considered as representative of only one point of view and one single community. There were different ways of being Christian, and different levels of faith and practice. Leaving aside the issue of the development of internal movements, especially in North Africa (which will be briefly addressed below), from an early period Christians have been categorized into different groups.[16] At least two can be singled out: paganized Christians as well as semi-Christians.[17] They were adherent to the new religion, but preserved some previous religious traditions and practices. Christianity, especially in the first phase of transition, acquired numerous characteristics and practices from the pagan world, such as commemorative banqueting at burials.[18] This was particularly common in North Africa, where numerous Christian mausolea, similar to the pagan ones, were characterized by couches used for banqueting.[19] Given the diverse nature of the two categories (Christians and pagans), it would be incorrect to examine the differentiations by separating rituals and beliefs, especially for the pagan world.[20] Since religiosity was a constituent part of the Roman empire, it is important to see what happened (from an archaeological point of view) to these traditions and their monuments,[21] and how they interacted with each other.

3. SACRED AND SECULAR: AUGUSTINE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

The understanding of the religiosity of late antique communities in North Africa inevitably requires a consideration of the relationship

[16] See Bonner 1984, 344.

[17] Bonner 1984, 350. On the semi-Christians see in detail Guignebert 1923.

[18] *Refrigeria* developed similarly to the pagan *parentalia*, although the former also included Eucharistic elements (see Rubio Navarro 2008, 4479). In North Africa the practice was particularly strong: see Augustine, *Epistula* 29.22 and *Sermo* 361.6.

[19] Duval 1995, 197–8 and for further comments Rossignani 2011, 43.

[20] Nuffelen 2011, 91.

[21] For a discussion on the difficulty of defining a 'Pagan Survival' see Markus 1990, 8–15; for a definition of 'survival' see Filotas 2005, 18–20. For the discussion on the meaning of priesthood in Roman society (e.g. 'priesthoods were civic offices held by politicians') see Bowes 2008, 22.

between the sacred and secular spheres that the same urban contexts shared. This relationship has long been debated and a lucid discussion on the different characteristics of this dichotomy is provided by Robert Markus.[22]

The main aspects of interest here are: How deeply was urban life in 4th-century communities embedded in religious practice and belief? And how could different religious communities cohabit the same spaces?

Pagan practices must have been present in the region in some form, as in AD 399 Gaudentius and Iovius were sent to North Africa to apply the law against paganism; according to Augustine their aim was to demolish temples and statues.[23] The effective destruction carried out in connection with this episode still needs to be evaluated. From an historical and social point of view, it cannot be denied that these actions generated internal tensions which resulted in occasional revolts, murders, and additional destruction (as illustrated by Augustine and his contemporaries). However, overall it is very difficult to single out from these sources one specific form of official behaviour by the authorities. As outlined in the following chapters, it appears that generally the state and municipalities were interested in maintaining urban monumentality, even if achieved through the recycling of available materials and spaces, despite their original function.

Given the focus of the present research, it is necessary to provide an idea of the *status quaestionis* on the fate of Pagan practices (e.g. symbols and celebrations) as suggested by ancient sources.

Pagan practices and symbols

Understanding the full extent of pagan customs is problematic. With the closure of temples, ritual practices (in whatever form they continued) may have either stopped or moved into private contexts. Tracing a line between Roman religion and cult practice is extremely difficult,[24] and understanding to what extent pagan communities (and their actions) were opposed by Christians in Late Antiquity is

[22] Markus 1990, 1–16.
[23] For a full reconsideration of the evidence see Ch. 4, pp. 136–7.
[24] Markus 1990, 3. See also above n. 15.

similarly complex.[25] In both cases the evidence may differ substantially between urban and rural areas, but the latter is almost impossible to investigate archaeologically, due to insufficient data.

The 'pagan survival',[26] particularly in material terms (e.g. religious complexes and statues) and concerning priesthood and traditions, requires investigation. Augustine and contemporary texts allow some general considerations that will need to be re-evaluated here from an archaeological perspective. Interpretations, especially of textual evidence, remain limited by the current ceiling of our understanding of pagan cults and rites. As mentioned above, Alan Cameron suggests that sacrifices ended in the 4th century, and a similar trend in some instances is also indicated by Frank Trombley.[27]

It cannot be denied that habits and traditions (maybe acquiring different forms) remained embedded in the pagan sphere for an extended period. Augustine makes reference to substantial continuity in pagan practices in rural areas, mentioning that food offerings in pagan rituals were still very common in AD 398.[28] Similarly, in a sermon probably given in AD 399 he points out that temples maintained attendance levels in rural areas despite anti-pagan laws.[29]

[25] Brown 1967, 305. Reference is made here in particular to aspects of late paganism, such as mystery cults, the Oriental religions, and Mithraism.

[26] An attempt to define the 'pagan survival' is in Markus 1990, 9–15.

[27] See n. 1 above and Ch. 3.

[28] Augustine, *Epistula* 46, *CCSL* 34.2, 123–9. Publicola wrote to Augustine, expressing his worries about the fact that he might drink water from a fountain used for sacrifices, or eat oil from presses where goods for pagan gods had been processed. Augustine tries to reply to all the obsessions expressed by Publicola. This is described by Lepelley (2002*b*) as the process of demonization that characterized a certain part of Christian society in Late Antiquity. On the other side, it has been suggested that some rural temples continued to be maintained because they were seen as important monuments for their economic function (Caseau 2004, 126), especially since many of them were also used for market activities (for an analysis of the evidence see Shaw 1981, and more recently Zelener 2000 and Meloni 2008).

[29] *Sermo 62*, in particular 17–18 (for a general introduction on the sermon and its content see: *Sermones in Matthaeum* I, ediderunt P. P. Verbraken, L. De Coninck, B. Coppieters, R. Demeulenere—*CCSL* 41A1, *Aurelii Augustini Opera pars* XI, 2, Turnhout 2008, 292–4). Riggs 2001, 295 in particular stresses that many Christians who attended the sacrifices defended themselves by saying that they took part in ceremonies dedicated to the *genius* of the city. However, in the religious tradition of North Africa the *genius* was usually associated with a particular deity. In the city of Sufetula, where 60 Christians were killed for desecrating a statue of Hercules, this god was also identified with the *genius* of the city (see below, n. 31). On the contrasting attitude of Augustine towards the destruction of pagan idols and temples see also Klein 1995, 135 and for some further comments on the episode of Sufetula 149–50

At the same time, continuity could be found in urban contexts, as Augustine refers to the cult of Dionysus by mentioning a confraternity that was meeting at Madauros.[30]

On the other side, there is also evidence of active material destruction and sharp division between the two communities, although these seem to be limited to specific isolated events. Augustine informs us that at Sufes in Byzacena the destruction of a statue of Hercules by the Christian community led to the murder of sixty people.[31] A few years later a similar episode took place at Calama in which Christians tried forcefully to prevent pagan celebrations and the local authorities did not intervene to stop the violence.[32]

Augustine also provides information on the fate of some pagan monuments, especially statues. He refers to the destruction of statues and, at the same time, to the preservation of idols in private countryside estates (at Mappalia, near Calama between Cirta and Hippo).[33] He does not appear to instigate the demolition of statues, but he suggests instead that idols had to be removed from the heart of the pagans so that they would destroy their idols themselves. In Augustine's view the battle had to be carried out through the state and legislation (he very much welcomed the laws by Theodosius and his sons against the temples; see below, pp. 40–5), not by individuals.[34] In Carthage, Quodvultdeus refers to the possible destruction of the temple of Caelestis, although the full extent of what occurred in the building is controversial and difficult to interpret (see below, Chapter 2, pp. 32–3) and the evidence appears to point towards a

and n. 79. The continuity of pagan cults is also attested by Augustine, who refers to the fact that at a young age, when he was trying ambitiously to win a prize for dramatic poetry, he was invited by a haruspex to sacrifice (Augustine, *Confessiones* IV, 2, 3).

[30] Leglay 1975, 133. Such continuity seems also to be reflected by iconography, for instance a Bacchus recorded in a 4th-c. mosaic at Thysdrus (Merlin and Poinssot 1934, 154).

[31] Augustine, *Epistula* 50 (Sant'Agostino, *Le Lettere* vol. I (1–123), *testo latino dall'edizione maurina confrontato con il corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, traduzione di T. Alimenti and L. Carrozzi, Rome 1969, 411): *Nam si Vestrum Herculem dixeritis, collatis singulis nummis ab artificevestro vobis emimus deum. Reddite igitur animas, quasa truculenta manus vestra contorsit, et sicuti a nobis vester Hercules redhibetur, sic etiam a vobis tantorum animae reddantur.* See also Ch. 4, p. 138.

[32] Augustine, *Epistula* 91.8. See also Markus 1990, 115.

[33] *Sermo* 62, 17 (Sant'Agostino, *Discorsi* II.1 (51–85) sul nuovo testamento, traduzione e note di Luigi Carrozzi, Rome 1982, 272–6).

[34] Gaddis 2005, 115.

demonstrative act, rather than an effective demolition of the pagan sanctuary.

Overall, the textual evidence indicates occasional destruction and violent confrontations, although generally it seems possible to identify substantial levels of tolerance and coexistence between the various religious communities. The general image emerging from Augustine's text seems to indicate the presence of a neutral area within the cities that allowed the peaceful cohabitation of the various religious communities and sects.[35]

Games and celebrations

Festivals, celebrations, and *ludi* continued into the 4th century, as attested by the pagan Codex-Calendar of AD 354.[36] This document was probably written for a Christian aristocrat in Rome; pagan and Christian dates were displayed in parallel, although the former was illustrated and the latter was without any representation.[37] This was probably the last calendar of its kind, still characterized by pagan festivities and iconographies but already looking toward the interests of the Christian community. It spoke to both entities within an urban context.[38] The evidence emerging from this document seems to suggest that also the everyday life of cities was probably not timed by the Christian liturgical calendar but still for the most part by the pagan one.[39]

Some festivals still maintained a substantially pagan character, such as those at the end of December which did not honour the birth of Jesus but rather the *spectacula* and games which were

[35] Lepelley 2002*a*, 283–5, also for a specific reconsideration of Augustine's texts. See also Lepelley 2010*a* and *b*.

[36] Although this document refers to Rome, it provides a view of the continuity of pagan festivities in the transition from a Pagan empire into a Christian one. For a more detailed consideration see Ch. 3, and esp. n. 31.

[37] Salzman 1990, 21. The text probably collated information from over a dozen texts (23). The calendar is organized into two sections. One focuses on the imperial, astrological, and pagan tradition and the second (without illustrations) considers imperial, civic, and Christian festivities (25).

[38] Stern 1953, 358 points out that the front page in fact refers to the Christian God: *Valentine Floreas in deo*. On the reading of the evidence see more recently Salzman 1990, in particular 19–22 on the innovative approach in comparison with Stern's work.

[39] For discussion on this aspect, see Lepelley 1979, 375.

held across the empire[40] and criticized by Augustine.[41] At Bulla Regia, he makes reference to the high amount of activity in the theatre, despite the fact that the town had become Christian.[42] Similarly, in AD 409 the Bishop of Carthage, Aurelius, invited Augustine to give sermons in the city during the December celebrations, and these events were almost deserted as people preferred to attend theatres, amphitheatres, and circuses instead of the church.[43]

The continuity as well as the end of the practice of organizing games and festivals are very difficult to define. It appears archaeologically that most of the theatres and the amphitheatres were abandoned in the Vandal period, while circuses remained in use for longer.[44] As highlighted by the Codex-Calendar, there was an emphasis on festivals that both pagans and Christians could share, like those of the imperial cult and those connected to civic and historical events.[45] As we shall see, the imperial cult, or at least its celebrations, survived in certain forms (see Chapter 3) for a long time.[46] The *Codex Theodosianus* attests that *ludi* and circus spectacles continued at least into the 5th century; in particular, legislation addressed to North Africa indicates *ludi* as amusements (*voluptates*), an attempt to

[40] See on this Lepelley 1979, 375.

[41] See for instance the sermon given at Carthage in AD 409, where Augustine recalls the people pouring out of the *vomitoria* and compares the spectators to damned souls. *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 147, 8, 5–10 (Sancti Augustini Opera, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 101–150, ed. Franco Gori, *CSEL* XCV/5, Vienna 2005, 206): *aliquando dimisso theatro aut amphiteatro, cum coeperit ex illa cavea evomi turba perditorum, aliquando tenentes in animo phantasias vanitatis suae, et memoriam suam pascentes rebus non solum inutilibus, sed et perniciosis, gaudentes in eis tamquam in dulcibus, sed pestiferis . . .*

[42] *Sermo* 301A, 7 (Sant'Agostino, *Discorsi* V (273–340A) *su i Santi*, traduzione, note e indici di M. Recchia, Milan 1986, 484).

[43] See on this La Bonnardière 1976. Again in this case there is a contrasting image between texts and archaeological evidence.

[44] The latest evidence of restoration of theatres is recorded in the first half of the 4th c. at Bulla Regia (Leone 2007*a*, 90), Lepcis Magna (Leone 2007*a*, 92), and Carthage (Leone 2007*a*, 124).

[45] Salzman 1990, 197.

[46] It has been suggested that circus games became more strictly linked to celebrations of the imperial cult (Cameron 1976, 231). To explain the limited number of circuses available, commentators have also posited that theatres might have been used for the same function, as suggested by the recurrent mention of the Blues and the Greens and the Circus Factions (Cameron 1976, 234; for ceremonies in Late Antiquity see also MacCormack 1981).

detach these activities from religious festivities.[47] The process of secularization of these festivals was probably slow and it is very difficult if not impossible to identify exactly when the change became definitive and complete.[48] Augustine witnesses the transition for us, as he expressed several complaints about the continuity of pagan festivals.[49]

Texts are occasionally contradictory, but as Peter Brown (2011) has pointed out, our search for evidence of paganism in Late Antiquity is biased and there was not such a strong sense of a pagan community, but rather in this period 'we are witnessing the vigorous flowering of a public culture that Christians and non-Christians alike could share'.[50] The late antique city was characterized by secular municipal life, and not specifically embedded in any distinctive religious traditions.[51] Christianity was not to replace the offices and the customs that the Roman state had established in pagan religion.[52] The recognition of Christianity and its diffusion gave a boost to the urban change and progressively determined the formation of a Christian topography.[53] This is in itself a complex issue. The development and the distribution of churches in urban areas appeared progressively from the end of the

[47] For some further consideration see Salzman 1990, 237. Specifically for Africa see *CTh* 16.10.17 (AD 399) directed to Apollodorus, proconsul of Africa: 'we decree that, according to ancient custom, amusements shall be furnished to the people, but without any sacrifice or any accursed superstition' (237). For the full Latin text see Ch. 3, n. 36.

[48] Salzman 1990, 240 and also Cameron 2011, 14–25.

[49] *Epistula* 29.9 (Sant'Agostino, *Le Lettere* 1 (1–123), M. Pellegrino, T. Alimonti, L. Carrozzi (Rome, 1969), 190: Città Nuova Editrice; *De Catechizandis Rudibus* 25.48, 69–76 (*CCL* 46, 171–2): . . . *Multos ergo uisurus ed ebriosos, auaros, fraudatores, aleatores, adulteros, fornicatores, remedia sacrilega sibi alligantes, praecanatoribus et mathematicis nuel quarumlibet impiarum artium diuinatoribus deditos. Animaduersus etiam quod illae turbae impleant ecclesias per dies festos Christianorum, quae implent et theatra per dies solemnes paganorum; ut haec uidendo ad imitandum tentaberis.* In this panorama Donatists and Circumcelliones seem to have been principally responsible for violent actions resulting from opposing views held by religious communities (Chadwick 1985, 12–15).

[50] Brown 1995, 12.

[51] Lepelley 2002*a*.

[52] See on this also Bowes 2008, 22–5. The concept of 'profane' has to be taken into consideration within this dichotomy (Markus 2010, 353). See also recently the conference organized on the idea of the profane Rebillard and Sotinel 2010*a*.

[53] Di Berardino 2010, 136. Such a process resulted in some cases also in the reorganization of the city; Carthage for instance was divided into probably seven ecclesiastical regions (see for a synthesis Leone 2007*a*, 96–109).

4th century.[54] In this context 'secular' is intended as indicating all the aspects of the municipal life of North African communities, encompassing issues such as legislation, economy, and religious power. The 'secular city', as Markus proposes, progressively from the 4th to the 6th century saw the reduction of the neutral space, gradually taken over by the Christian presence.[55] At the same time, for instance, some pagan religious festivals continued into the Christian period; at first they acquired a more secular perspective so that a majority could participate in them, until they were replaced in the Byzantine period by the Christian calendar.[56] The sphere of secular that characterized Late Antiquity is recognizable principally in the city,[57] and in fact urban areas are the focus and centre of this book.

4. FROM PAGANISM TO CHRISTIANITY: DONATISM, THE CIRCUMCELLIONES

North Africa was characterized from the 3rd century on by a variety of different religious traditions that did not fall into the category of 'pagan'. The presence of these entities to a certain extent complicates our understanding of the level of religiosity in late antique North Africa. Some of these religious communities present in the territory were at certain times (during Late Antiquity for instance) among the strongest groups in the region.

From the beginning of the diffusion of Christianity, the North African Church struggled to maintain unity and cohesion. This situation multiplied the number of churches as well as the number of clergy members present in the territory. A peak in the number of bishops is recorded in AD 411[58] in the council of Carthage that opposed the Caecilianists (connected to the Catholic Church of

[54] For a detailed discussion see more recently Sotinel 2010, 340–2. The difficulty in studying the Christian topography of urban North Africa is complicated by the contemporary internal division of the Christian community that saw the development of different communities at a very early stage in the region's history.

[55] Markus 1990, 15, and for a discussion of the changes in the calendar see Salzman 1990 and Haensch 2007, 176–82.

[56] Rebillard and Sotinel 2010*b*, 5.

[57] Sotinel 2010, 322–3.

[58] On the acts of the council of Carthage, see Lancel 1972 and Lancel 1991.

Rome) and Donatists. Donatism has been the subject of various studies and discussions,[59] and the movement is complex and difficult to understand. The origin of the division was in a disagreement over the nomination of the bishop of Carthage. Caecilian, formally elected Bishop in Carthage by the 'official' Church, was accused by the Donatists of being a *traditor* during the Diocletianic persecution, and they (especially Numidian bishops) put forth Donatus in opposition.[60] Donatists were considered heretics and were therefore ranged by the imperial state alongside such groups as the Arians.[61] It is at the Council in Carthage in 411 that the movement's representatives were labelled 'Donatist Bishops'.[62] Some scholars have pointed out that this definition is based on the Catholic Christian sources, and from a more 'local perspective' they would be better defined as 'African Christians', as at one point in the 4th century Donatism appeared to be the strongest Christian community in North Africa,[63] although more diffused in Numidia, principally among rural communities[64] where it had its roots. One of the highly debated aspects pertaining to the success of the movement, especially among peasants, is language.[65] In the countryside in particular Libyo-Phoenician continued

[59] It is an early movement in opposition to the Catholic Church (which was supporting Caecilianus–Caecilianists) that developed from the Diocletianic persecution. For a detailed discussion see Frend 1952*a*, MacMullen 1984, 92, and Shaw 1995*b*, and for a new reading of the evidence see Dossey 2010 and more recently see Shaw 2011, 561–4 and 630–50. Some African councils also attested to the existence of the Pelagian heresy (Löhr 2007, 41).

[60] For a summary of the events that generated Donatism see Löhr 2007, 41–2.

[61] Donatists were considered heretics: Shaw 2011, 276, and on the nature of Donatus (heresiarch) see 344–6. Donatists are called heretics by Augustine himself, as in the *Contra Gaudentios,* 1, 3, and 4 (*CCSL* 53, 202). In some instances it is indicated as a schism; see for instance Löhr 2007, 41.

[62] In the texts of the Council, bishops were opposed and defined as *Episcopi Ecclesiae Catholicae* (S. Lancel, *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*, vol. III (Paris, 1975), Les Editions du Cerf, 932) against the Donatist bishops.

[63] Shaw 1995*b*, 12 stresses the fact that even when supported by the state, the Caecilianists did not manage to impose their supremacy in the region, while Donatists were only labelled as such by their opponents. For some more detailed considerations see also Shaw 2011, 562–4.

[64] On the necessity of reading the evidence in connection with the diffusion of the phenomenon among rural communities and its social implication see Dossey 2010, 101–44. Specifically on the recorded presence principally in Numidia see Lancel 1972, 155.

[65] For some consideration of the variety of populations that characterized North Africa and the differing language components see Millar 1968.

to be the main spoken language, which might have been an obstacle to the diffusion of Latin-orientated Christianity.[66]

Despite the awareness of the importance of this movement in shaping and forming the Christian landscape of North Africa and its impact in this process of transition from one religion to another, Donatism will not be discussed in the present book. The view of this research is in fact primarily archaeological and, unfortunately, it is impossible to conduct an 'archaeology of Donatism'.[67] One illustrative reason for this is that it is impossible to distinguish Donatist buildings, as they were using the same churches as the Caecilianists.

Donatism is often paired in ancient sources with the Circumcelliones; these texts give us various details about this community, all considered and interpreted differently by scholars.[68] They were principally a rural phenomenon, therefore from the point of view of urban communities they probably had a limited impact on the urban landscape and its form, but they certainly constitute an active religious group in the region under consideration. They are described generally by ancient sources in two ways: the first is as a group of people who, living a life of chastity and poverty, used violence to provoke others with the intent of being killed and martyred. To achieve this martyrdom, some believers even resorted to suicide by jumping from cliffs.[69] The burial places of martyrs became centres of veneration. Other sources instead draw a picture of communities that fought against social divisions, especially against rich landowners who used slaves, and against members of the Catholic hierarchy. Seeking martyrdom, they often attended rural markets (that were usually taking place near temples), interrupting pagan ceremonies and even occasionally smashing statues.[70]

[66] The imposing presence of rural bishops, especially in Numidia, has been interpreted as due to the strong cult of Saturn and, as suggested by Marcel Le Glay, the replacement of the priests of Saturn with (Donatist) bishops (Leglay 1961, 490). This assumption is based on the suggestion by Frend (1952*a*, 101–4) of an existing connection between the cult of Saturn, Baal Hammon in its Roman personification, and Donatist religious practices.

[67] An attempt at identification of some possible buildings has been made by Frend (1952*a*).

[68] For a synthesis see Briand-Ponsart and Hugoniot 2006, 394–402.

[69] See Achilli 2006.

[70] For some comments and analysis see Dossey 2010, 175–6.

Recently, Circumcelliones have been labelled as 'bad boys' by Brent Shaw. He defines them as 'bands of armed men and women, who wandered through the North African countryside in the late 4th and early 5th centuries, known as Circumcelliones, engaged in sectarian assaults of their sectarian enemies'.[71] The name of the Circumcelliones originates, as explained by the sources, in the fact that they were living around the *cellae*. From the Augustinian text it seems possible to suggest that these were places where they might find food: *Ab Agris vacans et victus sui causa cella circumiens rusticanas.*[72] Brent Shaw points out that, like Donatists, this identification was constituted by the subjective, external viewpoint put forth by their opponents and was certainly not the way they identified themselves; they probably preferred to be called *Agonistici*.[73]

Historiography has taken divergent paths on the identification/interpretation of the *cellae*. One group of scholars suggests that the *cellae* were rural houses where the Circumcelliones lived during seasonal work in the Numidian countryside. Augustinian texts appear to refer to a wine storage room possibly in a large villa, and occasional reference made to the *cellarius* suggests that someone was in charge of it. On this basis it has been proposed that these were seasonal workers lingering in and around their place of employment, probably in connection with the harvest.[74]

Others instead suggest that the *cellae* were monastic cells. William Frend identified them with some African toponyms recorded principally in Numidia, such as *Cellenses* or *Cellae Vatari*, and argued that these names refer to shrines connected to martyr cults, with granaries where the Circumcelliones were fed.[75] This latter interpretation was based on an inscription dated to AD 361 and found at Koudiat Adjala in Mauretania; the inscription uses the word *cella* to describe a shrine

[71] Shaw 2006, 636, see also Shaw 2004.

[72] Augustine, *Contra Gaudentium* I, 27.32 (Sant'Agostino, *Polemica con I Donatisti*. XVI, 2, traduzione e note E. Cavallari, (Rome 2000), 478–9).

[73] Shaw 2011, 636.

[74] For a detailed reconsideration of the evidence see more recently Shaw 2011, 636–8. He points out that Augustine commonly uses *cella* to refer to wine storage rooms (*Enarrationes in Psalmos* 8.1–2—*CCSL* 38, 50; *Sermo* 32—*CCSL* 41, 482). *Horreum* was instead commonly used for grain storage: *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 8.1—*CCSL* 38, 49. For Circumcelliones' identification with seasonal workers for the harvest see Shaw 2011, 639–50.

[75] Frend 1969; for a synthesis see more recently Shaw 2004, 2006, and 2011.

dedicated to martyrs.[76] Working from the place names and the inscription, Frend argues that the *cellae* around which the Circumcelliones usually gathered can be identified as the cult places of martyrs. In light of his suggestion, a series of ecclesiastical monuments incorporating grain silos have been interpreted as possible martyr *cellae*, although the description of the monuments seems to indicate the presence of monasteries[77] located principally in Algeria and Morocco.

Both the Donatist and Circumcelliones communities have recently been reconsidered by Leslie Dossey. Although outside the scope of this book, it is worth mentioning the idea that rural communities acquired more importance in the 3rd and 4th centuries and became more independent, as well as becoming represented de facto by the bishops or members of the clergy. Villages that did not grow to be cities and did not acquire their own administrative structure became administratively dominated by the clergy and the Church. The stark contrast between the various religious groups could be seen in this new power as it emerged onto the social and political landscape.[78]

[76] See Frend 1969, 546: *C(aius) J(ulius) Castus grado sacerdotali legis/sacrae secundus C(aius) Jul(ius) Honori filius/iam LXVIIII annos agens hoc sibi in animum/deliberavit ut incolumis et in rebus huma/nis agens hanc suae memoriae sedem perpetuam constituere a(nno) p(rovinciae) CCCXXII cel/lam martyrum vocavit Luciani Lucillae . . .*

[77] Frend also made some attempts at the identification of these buildings (1952*b*). The structures he proposed appear to have some architectural connection with monastery buildings in the East in terms of layout. One proposed building is the chapel at Azrou Zouaia in Numidia, south-west of Constantina. Here, in one of the rooms to the north of the altar of a church, two silos for storing grain were found in the ground along with a number of other rooms whose function remains unclear. Equally, two silos were found in a room adjoining the south-west angle of a church at Mechta el Tein north of Batna (Berthier 1942). A similar suggestion can be made for the Ain Tamda in Mauretania. A similar layout, with the presence of silos and vessels for storage, especially of grain and olive oil, was found at Khirbet Bahrarou, north-west of Timgad, in Numidia. Here, excavators also found a courtyard with rooms opening around it and a church opening onto a corridor leading to this area.

[78] The interpretation is based on a reconsideration of the pottery evidence from surveys. Dossey suggests that an increase in the recorded presence of fine ware (African red slip pottery) should not be seen as related to an increase in settlements. Instead this would have resulted from more widely diffused manufacturing that produced wares locally, and which were thus more readily available in the region (Dossey 2010).

5. VANDAL AND BYZANTINE CONQUESTS: AN OVERVIEW

The Vandal conquest of North Africa took place in this already complex environment. Vandals reached North Africa from Spain in 430 when they conquered Hippo Regius.[79] They subsequently extended their control to the region of Constantine, and their conquest was concluded in AD 439 when they took over Carthage. The organization of the Vandal Kingdom and its relationship to Rome has been greatly debated.[80] The sources are very limited, are composed principally of texts, and provide an image of a Vandal community thoroughly Romanized, with the attendant customs and habits;[81] archaeologically, however, they are almost invisible.[82] As in the case of the Byzantine and then the Islamic phases, major destruction of later stratigraphic levels occurred during the colonial period between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, limiting the possibility of understanding clearly the later occupation of settlements.[83] Christian life in Vandal North Africa is also very complex. In fact, Vandals were Arians, and their views differed from those of the Catholic North African Church; certainly Geiseric, after the conquest, was an adamant opponent of the local Church.[84] Sources refer to a substantial attack on the African Church (excluding only Carthage, Hippo Regius, and Calama), where, after the conquest, churches were left empty and it was difficult to carry on any cult practice.[85]

[79] The first complete study on the Vandals in Africa was written by Christian Courtois in 1955; for a recent reconsideration of the evidence and debates see Merrills and Miles 2010.

[80] See Ch. 3 and for a recent synthesis Merrills and Miles 2010, 27–55. For a discussion on the territorial extent of the Vandal conquest see Modéran 2011, 241–70.

[81] For a detailed consideration of Roman customs among the Vandals see Chalón *et al.* 1985, Miles 2005, Merrills and Miles 2010, and Rummel 2009.

[82] For a recent synthesis of the difficulty in identifying the Vandals archaeologically see Rummel 2008 and 2009.

[83] For some detailed considerations see Leone 2007*a*, 39–41.

[84] See recently the synthesis in Merrills and Miles 2010, 177–203, in particular 177. For a detailed analysis see Modéran 2003*a*.

[85] Possidius, *Vita Agostini* (Vita di Sant'Agostino, M. Pellegrino ed. 1955, 152), 28. 8–10: (8) *Hymnos Dei et laudes ex ecclesiis deperisse, aedificia ecclesiarum quamplurimis locis ignibus concremata, sollemnia quae Deo debentur de propriis locis desisse sacrificia, sacramenta divina vel non quaeri, vel quaerenti qui tradat non facile reperiri*. . . . (10)*vix tres superstites ex innumerabilibus ecclesiis, hoc est*

It has been suggested that the persecution of Catholics developed in two different periods: the first starting in AD 439 and ending with the great persecution in AD 483–4; the second, from AD 485 until the end of Vandal domination, was less aggressive towards Catholics.[86]

The constant changes in attitude and the different phases of confiscation and church closures make it very difficult to evaluate and consider religious life in the Vandal period.

The Byzantine conquest of North Africa took place in AD 534, determining at the same time the establishment of the Christian empire.[87] Paganism has now a very limited diffusion and the process of Christianization was substantially concluded during this phase in the history of the North African region. In fact, Belisarius' expedition to North Africa aimed specifically to re-establish the supremacy of the Catholic Church over Vandal Arianism. He set up a new administrative organization, the diocese of Africa became independent,[88] and Justinian started a programme of rebuilding that was focused principally on churches as a symbol of the new empire and fortifications to provide security.[89] In particular there is a good range of Christian religious monuments from this period, as an intensive excavation programme in the French colonial period specifically targeted churches.[90] The problem lies in the fact that a lack of stratigraphic information often prevents us from fully reconstructing the various phases of a given complex.

The Byzantine period continued to be characterized by the fight against the Berber kingdom. The first insurrection is recorded in 535 by groups located in Byzacena and Numidia, but tribes along the

Carthaginiensem, Hipponiensem et Cirtensem, quae Dei beneficio excisae non sunt, et earum permanent civitates, et divino et humano fultae praesidio (licet post eius obitum urbs Hipponiensis incolis destituta ab hostibus fuerit concremata).

[86] Modéran 1998, 254 and 2002, 107. He suggests also that persecutions were particularly harsh in Zeugitana/Proconsularis (e.g. Carthage and northern Tunisia) where confiscations were principally concentrated.

[87] On the origins of Byzantine Orthodoxy see Louth 2008.

[88] *Novellae* 7.2 and Diehl 1896, 98. For a discussion on the borders of Byzantine Africa and the transition to the Islamic period see Benabbès 2011.

[89] For a synthesis on fortifications in North Africa and a full catalogue see Pringle 1981. For a discussion on Byzantine churches see below, Chs 2 and 5, and Leone 2007*a*, 167–85, for further bibliography.

[90] Church excavations in North Africa were mainly carried out by priests, White Friars. For a synthesis of their activity see J. D. O'Donnell 1979.

borders of the Sahara and Tripolitana also kept the provinces under threat.[91]

6. URBAN MONUMENTALITY AND RELIGIOSITY IN LATE ANTIQUE NORTH AFRICA: A SUMMARY

The transition from one religion to another impacted on the form of classical Roman cities. As already mentioned above, Roman cities maintained a distinction between public and private areas, but there was not a clear delineation of places for religious practices, political functions, or other specific activities. The pagan city had monumental temples, but sacrifices in fact took place in front of the temples and not physically inside them. The space in front of the temple was therefore considered as sacred as the temple itself. Christianization brought about a different approach to urban religious landscapes, with the sacred space moved inside the church. Furthermore, churches needed to provide room for a large number of people. The form and structure of the two types of religious architecture determined the development of a Christian topography. The pagan topography is more difficult to understand as temples were in the forum and in various other parts of the city; churches, conversely, had a specific distribution inside and outside the urban context, as they were used as cemeteries, for baptisms, and for other community functions. Churches distributed in towns were all connected and their distribution planned. The responsibility for this reorganization of urban areas, however, is not always clearly consequent to the process of Christianization. There is no single trend that is identifiable, but from the archaeological evidence it seems likely that by the second half of the 4th century many temples and forums were falling into a state of disrepair and baths often acquired the function of the centre of urban life.[92] This process was often the first reason for the shifting of the

[91] The Byzantine general Solomon fought against the Berbers in southern Byzacena, a fight that sparked the revolt guided by Stozas. Between 546 and 548 the new Justinianic general John Troglita defeated the Maures several times along with other Numidian populations (Modéran 2003*b*, 668–73; Ostrogorsky 1993, 68; Mango 1991, 25–6).

[92] For a discussion on this aspect see Leone 2007*a*, 82–96.

urban centre away from temples. The importance of baths in late antique urban society is also attested by the sources. The *Historia Augusta* informs us that the Emperor Valerian was prone to sitting in bath complexes.[93] Baths also became centres for official meetings; the *thermae Gargilianae* in Carthage was the setting in AD 411 for the council between the Donatists and the Catholics. The increased importance of baths also saw the development of these centres as places for propaganda, acquiring more and more the function of venues for the dedication of statues and community celebrations. In the baths in Madauros and Tubernuc, for instance, a dedication to Caesar Constantine was made by four prefects. Likewise, a dedication to an unknown proconsul in the 4th century appeared on the portico façade of the Iulia Memmia baths in Bulla Regia.[94] Similarly, a series of bases of statues dedicated to Commodus, Valerianus, and Gallienus and his wife and two children were displayed inside the southern baths at Timgad. Here too it is possible to suggest that the baths complex was used to display statues, just as forums had been used in the high Imperial period.[95] The change in function of public spaces and the decay of forums is of fundamental importance to the present research, and is closely linked to the issue of the end of temples and their reuse, something that is particularly difficult to address and understand.[96] Equally, the relationship between temples and churches is another key aspect to take into consideration. The idea of a continuity of religious function for buildings (from temples to churches) also needs to be reconsidered (see Chapter 2).

The presence of derelict public areas in urban centres favoured the practice of recycling the available marble and decorative material present in towns. This process has to be seen in connection with the economy of late antique cities, an aspect that has often been underestimated and disregarded, due to the difficulty in identifying it. Therefore one point that needs to be discussed and clarified is to

[93] *SHA*, Aurelianus, X.3: . . . *apud Byzantium sedenti Valeriano in thermis* and XIII.1:, *Cum consedisset Valerianus Augustus in thermis apud Byzantium*. . . . See also Thébert 2003, 445.

[94] For a detailed discussion on this aspect see Thébert 2003, 446–7. The dedication does not appear to have a clear link with the baths complex, and therefore was simply placed there as propaganda.

[95] For a more detailed discussion on this aspect see Ch. 4.

[96] For a detailed discussion on the limit of our understanding of the fate of temples see more recently B. Ward-Perkins 2011.

what extent the process of dismantling buildings was determined by ideology and change of religion, rather than driven purely by the availability of and need for material. Thus the background for the continuity, or lack thereof, of religious practices and their importance must be understood. The problem, already discussed and interpreted in various ways, of the continuity of some specific aspects of pagan religious life, such as the priesthood connected to the imperial cult, that are still found in North Africa in the Vandal period poses essential questions that require answering. Understanding (as far as possible) the meaning of this continuity and its importance is another piece of the puzzle in the reconstruction of the picture of religious life in late antique cities. Apart from the inscriptions attesting to this continuity, it is also important to consider the evidence from the cult centres and the images of the emperors.

Images, idols, and statuary are another element of the pagan life of these communities. Statues were displayed everywhere in Roman cities, and in some cases in very high numbers. They were symbols, media for propaganda, and indicators of cults; in all, they were essential in everyday Roman life. It is therefore extremely important to identify the point at which they ceased (if ever) to be a key element of urban monumentality and how their meaning and function changed (if they did) in the urban landscape. Understanding the fate of pagan statues after the Christianization of the empire, the closure of temples, and the prohibition of sacrifices is another key step toward identifying the religiosity of late antique cities.

7. THE END OF PAGANISM IN LATE ANTIQUE NORTH AFRICA

With the aim of discussing the end of Paganism in North Africa through the archaeological evidence, this work will focus on a series of specific aspects (for which there is available material) which have been identified as most significant. Starting from temples it then considers the materiality of religious practice, both the survival of its symbols and the continuation of its traditions. Aside from archaeological evidence, textual sources are also occasionally considered in the discussion, often to provide a socio-historical framework or in

support of some specific elements of interest.[97] Also, inscriptions are mentioned and listed in the text, provided with a reference to the source from which the actual reading is taken.

Archaeological data considered come primarily from published material, and very often from old excavations carried out on sites. When specific findings are discussed, a deliberate choice has been made to reproduce the original text in the original language, in order to provide the reader with the elements necessary to judge the validity and reliability of the source. In the case of the study of Basilica I in Sabratha (Chapter 5) data presented have been collected during fieldwork on the site in June 2010.[98]

Transcriptions of Arabic names have been made following the English conventions ('wadi' for 'river', etc.). Names of sites are usually indicated with the ancient name first and the modern name in round brackets, if necessary. Many buildings cited in the text bear French names. These have been deliberately left in their original form without translating them. The identification of buildings, which often have multiple names, is complex. In order not to create another element of confusion, the decision has been made to identify the most commonly used name for a complex and to not translate it. In the Index at the end of this book, a complete list of the sites mentioned in the text is provided with reference to the *Barrington Atlas*.

The evidence is organized progressively, starting from the issue of monuments and temples, then considering the priests, then moving on to statuary and decoration.

Chapter 2 includes a detailed analysis of the archaeological evidence related to the continuity of use and reuse of pagan religious buildings. Archaeological data are compared with the laws regulating the management of these buildings from the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Codex Justinianus*. The chapter aims to investigate the fate of temples, their development in connection with Christian religious buildings, and the relationship between cultural spaces within North African cities.

[97] Latin texts have been deliberately presented mainly in their original language, although reference to existing translations is usually provided. In a few cases, when the text is essential to the discussion, the full translation is provided.

[98] Thanks are due to my colleague Salah Al Alhasi, who allowed access to the sites and to Massimo Brizzi and Khaled Bashir who assisted me in the field.

Chapter 3 reconsiders and analyses the inscriptions and documents related to pagan traditions in North Africa, looking specifically at religious officials (priesthoods) and rituals. The chapter includes a detailed collection of all the available evidence, texts, and inscriptions. It then discusses what type of religious traditions appears to have carried on into the late antique and Vandal periods. It considers the continuity of pagan traditions into the early Christian period, filling in the cultural and social picture with finer strokes of materiality.

The following chapter considers the evidence of statues: what do we know about the fate of the statues that decorated temples in Late Antiquity, or about the dedication of statues and their locations? Data collected have allowed the identification of a series of specific cases: statues that appear to have been intentionally buried or simply stored in order to be preserved; statues moved intentionally from the forum into different public settings in Late Antiquity, suggesting a possible change in the function and meaning of these works; statues intentionally hammered or mutilated. The chapter re-addresses these issues, considering the archaeological evidence, data from the *Codex Theodosianus* and *Justinianus*, inscriptions, and contemporary authors.

Chapter 5 looks at the decoration of earlier Byzantine churches and the origin of their marble elements. The goal is to identify the processes of spoliation of pagan religious (and occasionally non-religious) buildings and the evidence for the reuse of the material for other religious purposes.[99] The chapter includes an analysis of the material and architectural decorations of churches and their various provenances (e.g. in discussing trade) and the development of local sculptural traditions (e.g. local styles vs. imports). It then considers the issue of the recycling of marbles and stones in churches and, if possible, their original locations. Certain places provide better-documented examples and serve as case studies, such as the church in the basilica in the forum of Sabratha. The chapter looks principally at architecture and discusses whether the praxis of material reuse took into account the original location and function of such material. It would also be important to address the presence of symbolic and intentional reuse of some specific decorative elements, but the lack of archaeological data for the earlier phase (at the end of the 4th

[99] In Rome, for instance, inscriptions found mention state officials who had charge of the dismantling of public buildings: Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2004.

century) of the churches has prevented this. In fact, if reuse was intentional (to provide specific messages rather than simply decorative programmes) this should have been mostly evident in the phase of transitions from a pagan city to a Christian one, in the 4th and 5th centuries. Unfortunately data only allow for discussion of early Byzantine religious architecture, when churches had already become the symbols of the Christian empire. The focus at this point was probably on monuments and their appearance.

Data are analysed comparatively and discussed in Chapter 6; the discussion will focus on the evidence collected and analysed throughout the book. In this chapter also future directions for research are indentified.

The book also contains two appendices. The first one includes a list of the latest inscriptions referring to the priests of the imperial cult in North Africa. The second contains a detailed account of the fieldwork carried out in Basilica I in Sabratha. The data are important for understanding the chronology and the layout of the monument and they are complementary to the discussion in Chapter 5.

2

The Fate of Pagan Religious Architecture

Was there a Conversion from the Temple to the Church?

> At that time the Romans attempted secretly to force open the doors of the temple of Janus [. . .] And the temple is entirely of bronze and was erected in the form of a square. But it is only large enough to cover the statue of Janus. Now this statue is of bronze, and not less than five cubits high; in all other respects it resembles a man, but its head has two faces [. . .] and there are brazen doors fronting each face, which the Romans in olden times were accustomed to close in time of peace and prosperity, but when they had war they opened them. But when the Romans came to honour, as truly as any others, the teachings of the Christians, they gave up the custom of opening these doors, even when they were at war. During this siege, however, some, I suppose, who had in mind the old belief, attempted secretly to open them, but they did not succeed entirely, and moved the doors only so far that they did not close tightly against one another as formerly.
>
> (Procopius, *History of the Wars* 5. 25. 18–25)[1]

[1] Translation from Procopius (*History of the Wars in seven books, Vol. III, Books V and VI, with an English translation by H. B. Dewing* (The Loeb Classical Library), Harvard 1968, 244–7): *Τότε καὶ τοῦ Ἰάνου νεὼ τὰς θύρας τῶν τινες Ῥωμαίων βιασάμενοι ἀνακλῖναι λάθρα ἐπειράσαντο.* [*Ὁ δὲ Ἴανος οὗτος πρῶτος μὲν ἦν τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν οὓς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι γλώσσῃ τῇ σφετέρᾳ Πένατες ἐκάλουν. ἔχει δὲ τὸν νεὼν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ὀλίγον ὑπερβάντι τὰ Τρία Φᾶτα· οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς Μοίρας νενόμικασι καλεῖν.*] *Ὅ τε νεὼς ἅπας χαλκοῦς ἐν τῷ τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἕστηκε, τοσοῦτος μέντοι, ὅσον τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἰάνου σκέπειν. Ἔστι δὲ χαλκοῦν οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ πηχῶν πέντε τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἐμφερὲς ἀνθρώπῳ, διπρόσωπον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχον,* [*καὶ τοῖν προσώποιν θάτερον μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα,*

1. INTRODUCTION

The fate of temples and their associated sacred practices are key in understanding both the continuity and the changes that occurred within the pagan traditions. These buildings were simultaneously an expression of the Roman empire and its religiosity, and their monumentality had been essential in shaping urban forms at the beginning and throughout the presence of the Roman empire in North Africa. Their closure was certainly a fundamental step in the transformation of Classical urban form. Despite their importance, considering the fate of temples after the Roman period raises numerous problems, including the paucity of archaeological and textual data and the complexity of interpreting the available material.[2] Taking these limitations into account, but in an attempt to provide a new direction for research and ideas, this chapter considers legislation concerning temples and the subsequent impact on the urban landscape (especially relating to religious buildings) from an archaeological perspective. Data on temples appear to be rather contradictory, and it is difficult to identify some trends that were present in several different sites with shared chronology. Despite these problems, the present chapter has collected the data connected to the final phase of life of urban temples in North Africa in order to discuss their conditions in Late Antiquity and their fate after their abandonment.

Overall, the archaeology of temples (based on the evidence here collected) suggests that religious buildings on a general level were subject to three different directions of change, and these were not all strictly connected to the legislation and the end of pagan cult practices, although archaeologically they seem to have followed each other progressively. These are: early abandonment, destruction, and reuse.

τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται.] Θύραι τε χαλκαῖ ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ προσώπῳ εἰσὶν, ἃς δὴ ἐν μὲν εἴρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνόμιζον, πολέμου δὲ σφίσιν ὄντος ἀνέῳγον. Επεὶ δὲ τὸ Χριστιανῶν δόγμα, εἴπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτίμησαν, ταύτας δὴ τὰς θύρας οὐκέτι οὐδὲ πολεμοῦντες ἀνέκλινον. Ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τινὲς τὴν παλαιάν, οἶμαι, δόξαν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες ἐγκεχειρήκασι μὲν αὐτὰς ἀνοιγνύναι λάθρᾳ, οὐ μέντοι παντάπασιν ἴσχυσαν, πλήν γε δὴ ὅσον μὴ ἐς ἀλλήλας, ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον. Μεμυκέναι τὰς θύρας . . .

[2] For specific comments on the problem of studying the fate of temples, see recently B. Ward-Perkins 2011.

Early abandonment

Excavation reports recorded in this research show that many temples were probably simply shut down and left in disrepair, and in a number of instances this happened before the actual prohibition of pagan rites and the official closure of religious complexes. This was probably the case at Sabratha (Tripolitana), where all the temples were abandoned and the building material was stored in the basement of the *Capitolium* for reuse at a later date. There is some uncertainty as to the causes of this process, as it may have been a result of an earthquake[3] or an attack by the Astoriani.[4] In general, in North Africa several excavation reports make occasional reference to marble material removed from original buildings and stored in the basement or in the secondary room, sometimes of a religious complex (see Chapter 5). Similarly, early decay can be identified by the private use of public space. This is the case with a temple in Sitifis (Sétif, Mauretania Sifiensis),[5] where late 4-century occupation of the religious complex as private space is noted. This practice continued in the Vandal period.

[3] An earthquake occurred in AD 365, resulting in a tsunami on the morning of 21 July. An accurate account is provided by Ammianus, 26.10.15–19 (for a collection of sources see Guidoboni *et al.* 1994, 269–74). References indicate that the event affected Alexandria, Epidaurus, Gortyna, Methone, Panephysis, Crete, and Sicily. The impact of the earthquake, with its epicentre located in Crete, has long been debated. Antonino di Vita (1982) posits that it destroyed the whole of Africa Proconsularis and Tripolitana. This assumption is based on examples of settlements where reconstructed buildings had been dated to the beginning of the 5th c. Sources refer to destruction in Alexandria that may have extended to Cyrenaica (Guidoboni *et al.* 1994, 267–74). However, recent geological analysis has shown no evidence to support this (Pucci *et al.* 2010) in Lepcis Magna. Lepelley (1979) indicates a substantial lack of corresponding evidence in the epigraphic record. This earthquake was given great importance by later sources, particularly Christian authors, while contemporary sources tend to discuss the fear generated by the event more than the destruction it wreaked. There is another earthquake mentioned in AD 361–3 which supposedly took place in Libya, but scholars indicate that it reached Cyrenaica and not Tripolitania (Guidoboni *et al.* 1994, 259–60). The curia and the Basilica appear to have been restored in the second half of the 4th century (see Appendix 2).

[4] See Ch. 1. See Ammianus Marcellinus, 28.6.4. On the Leviatans and the Astoriani in Libya see Mattingly 1995, 173, Felici *et al.* 2006, and Kelly, G., 2004. For some discussion on this aspect see also Sears 2011, 240–1.

[5] Fentress 1990, 126: the temple was located on the periphery of the city and the occupation is probably linked to the shrinkage of North African urban areas, which in many cases began in the late 4th c.

In other locations, decorative material remained in place or was later removed for reuse, although to chronologically define this event is often problematic.[6] Descriptions of excavations specify that statues were often found near their bases in monuments (including temples) or in close proximity to the buildings, frequently on a higher level than the original floor, indicating deposit accumulation to suggest that statuary remained *in situ* and collapsed long after the building containing them became derelict.[7] This happened in Bulla Regia (Africa Proconsularis): the temple of Apollo went out of use probably sometime during the second half of the fourth century,[8] when the city centre shifted to the site of the newly built Christian basilica, but in the temple and its courtyard statues were found near their bases (see Chapter 4) and architectural marbles were stored in a secondary room. A different pattern also emerges, in which some statues and monuments from the forum area had already been removed (before complete abandonment) to redecorate other urban sectors, as for instance recorded in several city baths (see Chapter 3).[9] This progressive early decay of temples, probably precedent to their effective official closure, was connected more to the difficulty in maintaining large monumental spaces than to explicitly religious issues.

Destruction

Demolition of temples, though rare, also took place for various reasons. The destruction of temples to make way for other uses was not a novelty, as this practice is clearly identified by early authors such

[6] For a discussion of the process of spoliation of temples see Ch. 5. The phenomenon of marble removal and the reuse of structures occurred in many different periods.

[7] For the evidence in monuments other than temples, see for instance Bartoccini 1929, 100, on the baths in Lepcis Magna: 'nessun pezzo di scultura è stato rinvenuto a diretto contatto col pavimento antico; essi furono evidentemente rimossi dalle loro basi quando il primo interramento dell'edificio era già avvenuto, specie nelle piscine il cui fondo era situato ad un livello inferiore di quello delle sale'.

[8] The public square in front of the *cella* of the temple was refurbished in the first half of the 4th c., with the display of some reused statues and bases (Merlin 1908).

[9] The movement of statues to decorate a public space has been recorded for instance in the west baths of Caesarea and in the theatre of Dougga, see Sears 2011, 244. On the early abandonment of temples see Lavan 2011.

as Pliny.[10] This phenomenon, in the way that it occurred before Late Antiquity, was probably not dictated exclusively by the simple reorganization of a public space and rebuilding of a monument due to decadence or collapse, but was also sometimes generated by contrasting politics and ideological reasons. For example, the process of sacralization or de-sacralization of a religious building (before Christianization) in Classical antiquity had sometimes been seen as an affirmation of identity by a specific community. The case of Gholaja (Bou Njem) in North Africa offers a good example.[11] This fort was built in AD 202 and abandoned in AD 260. After the departure of the Romans, the local population destroyed most statues and temples but made specific selections or exclusions based on the symbolic value attributed to each sculpture or structure.[12] The community that carried out any destruction was probably intent on trying to define an independent identity through religious beliefs. This was a reaction to Roman syncretism, viewed as an imposition by an outside power.[13]

As pointed out by Claire Sotinel, Late Antiquity saw the 'globalisation' of the phenomenon of the desacralization of temples (if we intend the closure of monuments to be seen as an act of 'desacralisation').[14] In fact *all* former pagan religious complexes, in one way or another, went out of use (although at different times) and were closed, abandoned (sometimes spoliated), or changed function.[15] At Lepcis

[10] Pliny, *Epistulae*, X, 96.10 (Pline Le Jeune, *Lettres. Livre X.* Text établi et traduit par M. Durry, Paris 1947, 74–5): *Certe satis constat prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa repeti passimque uenire uictimarum carnem, cuius adhuc rarissimus emptor inueniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari quae turba hominum emendari possit, si sit paenitentiae locus.* See also on this Saradi Mendelovici 1990, 49.

[11] For some comments on this evidence see Sear 2011, 238.

[12] For a discussion see Caseau 1999, 21. In the process of occupation the Romans located their own gods inside the camp and a number of temples around it. The land was therefore sacred. The process of desacralization could be accomplished through complex rituals or through violent actions, the latter of which were undertaken by the local community after the departure of the Romans. The same concept of using violence to desacralize a monument or territory would also be applied, though rarely recorded, by Christian fanatics against pagan structures.

[13] Riggs 2001, 289. African religiosity was strongly embedded in local culture and forms of worship, as noted by Riggs: 'Romano-African Paganism . . . , i.e. a decentralized system of divine patronage which was rooted in the daily preoccupations of individuals, and accordingly inspired a plurality of important contexts of worship alongside the civic public cults'. This strong expression of identity probably played some role in the process.

[14] Sotinel 2004, 43.

[15] The process was usually not supported by ideological motivations, but as pointed out by Milojevic 1997, 347: 'Closure or abandonment for lack of interest or resources, or the uninhabitability of the *cella* and site because of natural dilapidation

Magna, for instance, the temples of *Liber Pater* and of Roma and Augustus in the old forum were put out of use by the building of the late antique and Byzantine walls.[16] Demolition of temples, especially in the Byzantine period, was practised in order to provide building material for new buildings, as for instance forts and city walls; an example of this is found at Thugga.[17] In the same city the temple of Saturn saw destruction in an earlier period due to the collapse of the structure and it was not restored (cf. Chapter 4), but rather left in disrepair.

Demolition of monuments, if not caused by natural phenomena, was a costly operation (see Chapters 3 and 4) and therefore only carried out when absolutely necessary. The few official destructions of temples on record were carried out by the army,[18] while some others may have been caused by fanatics,[19] although there is no clear archaeological evidence in the area under investigation to support this supposition. Few instances of the destruction of temples by Christians are mentioned by sources, although in some cases they are difficult to interpret and may not clearly refer to demolition intended to physically replace the temple with a church. This is the case with the temple of Caelestis in Carthage, as witnessed by Quodvultdeus, later bishop of the city.[20] He indicates that the bishop of

or natural catastrophe (earthquakes or fire) seems to have been the rule, and closure and abandonment because of Christian intimidation and Christian destruction very much the exception.'

[16] For a specific discussion on the city wall see Goodchild and Ward-Perkins 1953.

[17] Inscriptions referring to the imperial cult have been found reused in the city wall (Saint-Amans 2004, 299–301). On this aspect of the reuse of material, see also Sears 2011, 239.

[18] Caseau 1999, 32–3.

[19] There is archaeological evidence of temples destroyed by fire, but it is difficult to prove that the destruction was intentional. See B. Ward-Perkins 2011, 193.

[20] *Liber Promissionum et praedictorum Dei*, III; 38. 44. 1–16 (Quodvultdeus, *Livre des promesses et des prédictions de dieu*, Introduction, texte latin, traduction et notes R. Braun, vol. II (Sources Chrétiennes 102, Paris 1964, 574–5: edn. Du Cerf): *Apud Africam Carthagini Caelestis, ut ferebant, templum nimis amplum omnium deorum suorum aedibus uallatum, cuius platea lithostroto pauimento ac pretiosis columnis et moenibus decorata prope in duobus fere milibus passuum pertendebat, cum diutius clausum incuria spinosa uirgulta circumsaeptum obruerent uelletque populus Christianus usui uerae religionis uindicare, dracones aspidesque illic esse ad custodiam templi gentilis populus clamitabat. Quo magis Christiani feruore succensi ea facilitate omnia amouerunt inlaesi qua templum suo uere Caelesti regi et domino consecrarent. Namque cum sanctae Paschae sollemnis ageretur festituitas, collecta illic et undique omni curiositate etiam adueniens multitudo, sacerdotum multorum pater et dignae*

Carthage at that time, Aurelius, entered the temple and *cathedram illic posuit in loco Caelestis et sedit*, i.e. he deposited his cathedra in the temple. Effectively, Quodvultdeus is describing the insertion of the cathedra into the temple in AD 399, rather than suggesting a complete transformation of the building. The text also indicates that the temple was located 2 miles (3.2 km) outside the city, in what at that time was a deserted and derelict area populated by other temples. Later in AD 418, the *tribunus* Ursus destroyed all the temples in the area and founded a cemetery in their place. However, on the basis of this source, given the fact that it only discusses the insertion of the cathedra in the building, it is very unlikely that the temple was transformed into a church and more likely that the bishop of Carthage journeyed there to represent the power of the Church over the pagan community through symbolic action.[21]

Reuse

Although this 'global' event that saw the end of the use of temples seems to be easily (and apparently) justifiable alongside the diffusion of Christianity and the prohibition of pagan cults, the evidence and modality of this process are very complex and sometimes difficult to interpret.[22] For instance, the physical reuse of temples as churches, although documented across the former Roman empire, did not evolve in the same way or with the same results across the territory.[23] When looking at the process of transformation of temples into churches within the late Roman empire there is a substantial difference between the East and the West, with the phenomenon appearing more frequently in the former. The cause of this substantial dissimilarity probably lies in the form of the classical town, which in the West had a more clearly defined space for the pagan cult: the forum. The situation

memoriae nominandus antistes Aurelius, caelestis iam patriae ciuis cathedram illic posuit in loco Caelestis et sedit.

[21] Hanson 1978, 263.

[22] For detailed considerations of the limits of our understanding see B. Ward-Perkins 2011, esp. 189. He points out that in evaluating the transformation of temples into churches one has to take into consideration the status of the attendent monuments at the moment of the changeover. His discussion emerges from a critical reanalysis of the methodology used by Deichmann (1939) in his synthesis.

[23] In this respect see in particular B. Ward-Perkins 2003.

is different in the East, where sanctuaries are distributed within the urban layout; moreover these structures are often the core of the city and their presence, associated with processions and ceremonies, frequently seems responsible for shaping the urban form.[24] Other forms of reuse occurred in temples and they were changed and reinterpreted in various different forms, not strictly connected to the religious sphere.

Therefore, although the closing down of the temples is a 'global phenomenon' from the late antique perspective, the processes through which this result was reached vary from region to region, town to town, and even within different parts of the same city.

2. THE END OF TEMPLE MAINTENANCE AND RESTORATION

The first element to evaluate is the physical status of temples prior to closure. Some inscriptions point to restoration and rebuilding, while other monuments appear to have been already abandoned and neglected. The analysis of the final phases of these complexes is biased by the nature of the data, which limits investigation to the official public religious architecture, with few exceptions. The analysis relies principally on inscriptions, which are difficult to interpret for at least two reasons. Firstly, in nearly all cases, the epigraphic evidence refers to the restoration of a temple, but does not tell us if such transformation also designated a change in the function of the building. The second issue concerns the decreased use of epigraphy that characterized Late Antiquity and left us with congruently diminished evidence on which to draw.[25] These are, however, the principal media available for this evaluation, as currently existing archaeological evidence does not offer adequately specific chronologies.

Claude Lepelley mentions a total of 38 temples or pagan altars restored in Late Antiquity, with eighteen of those completed before AD 305.[26] The discrete number of public buildings built or restored demonstrates an attempt to maintain the monumentality of the city.

[24] See for example and for further bibliography Ball 2000, 256–8.

[25] See Février 1987, on the 'silence' of African epigraphy.

[26] Lepelley 1979, 295. In a number of cases building activity implied a transformation of function (297).

Public building activity in North Africa in the second half of the 4th century appears rather limited, although in a few cases we are aware of restoration in forum areas[27] or a completely new building, as in the case of Thubursicu Numidarum (see Chapters 4 and 5 below): see Table 2.1.

Restorations occurred within different cults; perhaps the best documented and most interesting of these is the Capitoline cult, which gives evidence of the involvement of some Christian notables. An inscription from Thamugadi (Timgad, Numidia), dated AD 346–7, refers to the restoration of four porticoes of the *Capitolium*.[28] The building is the largest complex in the town, probably built during the Severan period. Responsible for this renovation, connected to the Capitoline cult, is Aelius Iulianus, who we know was a Christian from the cross on the patronal table dedicated to him.[29] The religious belief of the officer allows us to formulate a few hypotheses that are not mutually exclusive. It is possible that restoration was completed before the conversion to Christianity. Another and more likely possibility is that renovation was carried out as a duty despite the man's religious beliefs, allowing for the fact that porticoes had a public function despite their connection with the religious building. After all, in the contemporary legislation it is continually stressed that the monumentality of cities be maintained.

Another late example of the Capitoline cult is found at Segermes (Africa Proconsularis) where a new *Capitolium* was built under Diocletian.[30] Lepelley has suggested that these late dedications,

[27] Between AD 340 and 362, these are: the *Forum Vetus* at Lepcis Magna, the restoration of the *Forum Transitorium* in Mustis, some new structures in the forum of Zattara, and the new forum of Thubursicu Numidarum. Beginning in 364 the same activity seems to extend to other centres, including the *Forum Transitorium* at Lambaesis and the *Forum* of Thuburbo Maius (Jouffroy 1986, 292–3).

[28] *CIL* VIII 2388 = *ILS* 5554 (see also Lepelley 2002*a*, 273 and 1981*a*, 447): *Pro magnificentia saeculi dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Valentiniani et Valentis semper Augustorum [quat]/tuor porticus Capitoli(i) seriae vetustatis absumptas et usque ad ima fundamenta c[ollapsas] / novo opere perfectas exornatasque dedicavit Publilius Caeionius Caecin[a Albi]nus vir clarissimus consularis, curante Aelio Iuliano iterum reipublicae* [*curatore*] / . . .

[29] *AE* 1913, 25. The inscription is on a bronze table*: chi rho Coloni Coloniae Marchiane Traiane Thamogadiensis Elio Ivliano fl pp presidali ob reparationem civitatis ordo et populus tabula patronatus obtulerunt.* See also Lepelley 2002*a*, 274.

[30] See Table 2.1 *and* Lepelley 2002*a*, 274. CIL VIII, 23602: *Iovi Conservatori Iunoni Reginae Minerv[ae Augustae sacrum]. / Pro salute dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Diocletiani et Maximiani Augg(ustorum) Capitoli[um—] / res publica Segermitanorum sua pecunia fe[cit et] dedicavit curante rem pub[licam—].*

Table 2.1. Temple restorations dated to the late 3rd and the 4th centuries*

Town	Temple	Date	Source
Abthugni	*Capitolium*?	AD 388–92	*CIL* VIII, 11205; Jouffroy 1986, 295
Albulae	Dea Maura	AD 299	*CIL* VIII, 21665; Lepelley 1979, 306
Avedda	Temple of Mercury	AD 253–68	*AE* 1973, 601; Saastamoinen 2010, n. 589
Avitta Bibba	Fanum to Mercury	AD 337–8	*CIL* VIII, 12272—*CIL* VIII, 796; Lepelley 1981*b*, 74; Jouffroy 1986, 295; Saastamoinen 2010, n. 701
Bisica Lucana	Possible temple of Venus (porticus)	4th c. AD	*CIL* VIII, 12285; Lepelley 1981*b*, 85; Jouffroy 1986, 295; Saastamoinen 2010, n. 800
Calama	Apollo	AD 286–93	*ILAlg* I, 250 = *CIL* VIII, 5333 = 17487; Lepelley 1979, 305; Saastamoinen 2010, n. 623
Calama	Statue of Hercules in temple	4th c. AD	*ILAlg* I, 288; Jouffroy 1986, 295
Capsa	Temple of Unknown Deity	AD 280	*AE* 1973, 601: Saastamoinen 2010, n. 599
Carthage	Temple of Cybele (Magna Mater)	AD 331–3	*CIL* VIII, 24521; Jouffroy 1986, 295
Carthage	Schola of the Imperial Cult	AD 330–50	Picard 1965, 174–82; Jouffroy 1986, 295
Castellum (?) Ma . . . rensium	Temple of Mercury	AD 293–305	*CIL* VIII, 17327; Jouffroy 1986, 295
Chusira (La Kessera)	Anonymous temple	AD 312–50	*AE* 1946, 45; Lepelley 1979, 312; Jouffroy 1986, 296
Cirta	Anonymous temple	AD 364–7	*ILAlg* II, 618; Jouffroy 1986, 296
Cirta	Sanctuary of Mithras	AD 364–7	*IlAlg* II, 541; Jouffroy 1986, 296; Lepelly 2002*a*, 274
Kairouan	Temple of Pluto	AD 293–205	*CIL* VIII, 1127; Saastamoinen 2010, n. 668
Lambaesis	Temple of Mithras	AD 284	*AE* 1973, 633; Saastamoinen 2010, n. 601
Lambaesis	Anonymous temple	AD 284	*AE* 1993, 1769a–b; Saastamoinen 2010, nn. 603–4
Lambaesis	Temple of Neptune	AD 364–7	*CIL* VIII, 2656; Jouffroy 1986, 296

Lambaesis	*Capitolium*	AD 364–7	*CIL* VIII, 2735; Jouffroy 1986, 296
Mustis	Anonymous temple	AD 364	*ILTun* 1358b; Jouffroy 1986, 296
Pupput	*Capitolium*	AD 282	*CIL* VIII, 24095 = *ILS* 5361; Lepelley 1979, 304
Sabratha	Restoration—temple to Hercules	AD 340–50	*IRT* 55, Lepelley 1981*b*, 374; Jouffroy 1986, 296
Segermes	*Capitolium*	AD 286–93	*CIL* VIII, 2306, AE 1995, 1645; Lepelley 2002*a*, 274; Saastamoinen 2010, n. 626
Sicca Veneria	Temple of Venus	Late Antiquity	*CIL* VIII, 15881 = *ILS* 5505; Lepelley 1979, 311; Jouffroy 1986, 296
Thibaris	Temple	AD 296–300	*AE* 2003, 2010; Saastamoinen 2010, n. 656.
Thibilis	Building of the *Capitolium*	Beginning of the 4th c. AD	*ILAlg* II, 4656; Jouffroy 1986, 296
Thignica	Temple of the Imperial cult	AD 302–5	*CIL* VIII, 14910 = *ILTun* 1308; Lepelley 1981*b*, 195; Jouffroy 1986, 296
Thuburbo Maius	Repaving of temple of Mercury	Late 3rd– early 4th c. AD	Alexander *et al.* 1980, 75–6
Thubursicu Bure	Transformation of a temple?	AD 371–3	*CIL* VIII, 1447 + 15256; Jouffroy 1986, 296
Thubursicu Numidarum	Temple	AD 286–93	*ILAlg* I, 1241; Saastamoinen 2010, n. 628
Thugga	Temple to *Genius Patriae*	AD 293–305	*CIL* VIII, 26472; Lepelley 1979, 306
Thamugaoli	Temple of Mercury	AD 303–5	Jouffroy 1986, 297
Utica	Temple of Apollo and temple of Unknown Deity	4th c. AD	*CIL* VIII, 1183 = ILS 5407; Lézine 1970, 63; Lepelley 1981*b*, 244; Jouffroy 1986, 296
Verecunda	Temple	AD 284	*CIL* VIII, 421–2; Saastamoinen 2010, 606–7

* Sears (2011, 233) calculated the percentage of temples built or restored between the 3rd and 4th c. The period of AD 253–70 appears to be the phase in which the greatest activity took place. Data are as follows: AD 235–44: 46.7%; AD 244–53: 28.6%; AD 253–70: 62.5%; AD 270–85: 28.6%; AD 285–305: 22.6%; AD 305–13: 0%; AD 313–37: 4%; AD 337–63:15.3%; AD 363–79: 9.8%; AD 379–95: 3.4%.

buildings, or restorations of pagan temples are attested by inscriptions that never refer to the public/state involvement in these activities, and designate programmes that were carried out privately. This is also the case with the building of a Mithraeum with its sculpted decoration at Cirta (Numidia) by Publilius Caeionius Caecina Albinus, who was a pagan governor. The inscription contains no reference to the participation of the state in this activity.[31] The evidence also further highlights the connection between the building of the monument and the effective religiosity of the governors. Moreover, it highlights the issue of the existence of a large number of private temples (see below) or the intervention of private individuals in public structures, where cults continued at least until the 5th century and on which we are unable to provide detailed information due to a lack of specific evidence. In this respect, the case of Albinus is particularly enlightening. He could not officially favour his religious beliefs, and during the period in which he ruled Numidia he restored fourteen buildings, not one of them a religious complex.[32] Similarly, the dedication to Mithras by a soldier of the *legio II Flavia Virtutis* at Thysdrus, Byzacena, is evidently a private initiative.[33]

While the second half of the 4th century saw new building activity, at the same time the abandonment of some temples, derelict due mainly to natural disasters or structural problems, indicates that different attitudes developed along regional lines. For instance, in Tripolitana at Sabratha the temples in the forum were completely abandoned by the end of the 4th century (see Chapter 5). At Bulla Regia, a probably 5th-century grave was placed in front of the temple

[31] *CIL* VIII, 6975: *Speleum cum (sig)nis et ornament(tis) Publilius Ceio(nus) Caecina Albinu(s) u.c.* Albinus is mentioned by Macrobius in the *Saturnales* XII, 15. See also Lepelley 2002*a*, 274.

[32] Lepelley 2002*a*, 274. Albinus is mentioned in several dedications in Cirta (sanctuary of Mithra with statues and another unknown temple—Lepelley 1981*b*, 385), Cuicul (judicial basilica and basilica vestiaria—Lepelley 1981*b*, 404–5), Lambaesis (*Capitolium*, forum transitorium, another unknown building—Lepelley 1981*b*, 419–20), Macomades (building of an arch—Lepelley 1981*b*, 427), Mascula (summer baths and the building of a new unknown complex—Lepelley 1981*b*, 432–3), Rusicade (granary for the *annona*—Lepelley 1981*b*, 443); Thamugadi (restoration of the four porticoes of the *Capitolium*—Lepelley 1981*b*, 447), Hr El Abiod (restoration of an unknown building—Lepelley 1981*b*, 490). For some general comments on the activity of Albinus see also Lepelley 1979, 103–4 and n. 138.

[33] H. Slim 1982, 187 (the full text of the inscription is not published) and Lepelley 2002*a*, 274.

of Apollo,[34] suggesting that the monument after its reorganization in the second half of the 4th century was short-lived.

Inscriptions and written documents give only a partial image, one that favours the public sphere. In fact, there were a large number of private monuments, including the estate temples built by local landowners; natural sites sacralized by humans; temples belonging to individuals; and temples administered by cities.[35] The first three of these groups appear to have maintained cults for longer periods, as they were more autonomous and not explicit expressions of the Roman empire in an urban context, thus warranting less official attention. It is arguable that cult centres, such as religious spaces (not monumentalized through the presence of a building) or sacred trees, continued to be venerated and worshipped for a long time.[36] A number of inscriptions refer to the building of temples in rural areas by private communities or people. An example of this is found at an imperial estate in Africa Proconsularis, where a temple was dedicated to *Caelestis Augusta*. The structure was restored by a group of *coloni*, who rebuilt part of the temple *de sua pecunia* and put up new columns.[37] On another imperial estate, the restoration of a temple was carried out by a freedman or an imperial slave.[38] At Henchir-Bel-Azeiz, a temple was built by tenant farmers or the owner of the estate.[39] A temple was erected by the community of local farmers on the property of a Roman senator located between

[34] Leone 1994.

[35] Caseau 2004, 106–11.

[36] See also Caseau 2004, 134. It has been pointed out that paganism failed in the face of legislation. Harl (1990, 14–15) also outlines much evidence to suggest that such prohibition was not actually obeyed and several sacrifices were carried out in the 5th and 6th c.

[37] In the area of Dougga: *ILTun* 568, 164; Poinssot 1920*c*, CCXII and 1920*b*, 357: *A. Gabinio, Quir(ina), Dato, p(atri) flam(ini) Aug(usti) perp(etuo), patrono pagi et civitatis Thuggen(sis), conductori<s> praediorum regionis Thuggensis ob me(rita), curator M. Gabinio Basso f(ilio)*. Riggs 2001, 290 points out that the cult of Caelestis was particularly strong in North Africa and was still evident in AD 440 (Salvianus, *De Gubernatione Dei* 8.2).

[38] Henchir el Hammam. The site was located on the border between Africa Proconsularis and Numidia (*AE* 1957, 92b and see also Merlin 1954*b*, 194 and Riggs 2001, 290).

[39] Near Thabbora. The inscription is on a temple pediment (*AE* 1980, 917): *[. . .] fundi posesor* [*sic*] *temp(lum) Cael(estis) const(ituit).* See also Riggs 2001, 291. Similar evidence has also been found 4 km north of the station of Krîb, where Roman remains dominate the marabout at Sidi-Khalifa (Pheradi Maius) (Saumagne 1927, 103).

Milev and Cuicul.[40] When engaging with rural cult places, the Circumcelliones must be mentioned:[41] their actions (carried out almost exclusively in rural areas) sometimes included the destruction of temples and statues, mainly in Numidia, with a probable impact on private cults in this specific context.

These complexes, built with private funds and often located in rural areas, are rarely mentioned in the *CTh* or the *CJ*. All legislation related to destruction, restoration, and desacralization of temples is in fact directed at the major provincial temples, those under the direct control of the emperor.

The closures of main public buildings probably forced pagans to retrain their focus on private shrines and temples located in rural contexts; private temple building and restoration probably continued after the Theodosian laws.[42] Evidence of continual rural cult activity is given by sources. Until the end of the 4th century, for instance, people took offerings to the sanctuary of Saturn in the *Mons Balcarenensis* (Djebel Bou Kornein) near Carthage.[43] The latest votive stele dedicated to Saturn is dated AD 323 at El Ayada in the region of Beja.[44]

3. EMPERORS, LEGISLATION, AND THE FATE OF TEMPLES

The empire attempted to regulate the transition from one religion to another, providing a series of laws that, on the one hand, demonstrate a structured programme, but, on the other, highlight the contrasting

[40] *CIL* VIII, 8241 and Leclerc 1864, 76: *Calesti Aug(ustae) Sacr(um) pro salute C(aii) Arri(i) Antonini Antonius Philetvs S(acel)la de svo fecit idem q(ue) d(e)d(icavit)* and see also Riggs 2001, 291.

[41] See Ch. 1. Shaw 2004, 228: he provides a summary of the history of the research on the subject, with bibliography; for a general synthesis see also Shaw 2006 and Cataudella 1991. For a general discussion on the nature of these groups (*ordo*? or monks?) see Atkinson 1992, Rey-Coquais 1998, and Achilli 2006.

[42] See on this Caseau 2004, 114–15.

[43] It appears that the sanctuary was destroyed at the end of the century by Christians, Le Glay 1966, 101.

[44] *AE* 1969–70, 657, Beschaouch 1968. The stele is dated on the basis of the names of the consuls (Rufinus and Severus), and dedicated by a priest of Saturn, M. Gargilius Zabo.

attitudes of various members of society, including the emperors. The most accurate account of this complex phenomenon with all its nuances is provided by the *Codex Theodosianus* (*CTh*), composed under Theodosius II, in the first half of the 5th century.[45] In particular, Book 16 focuses on religious issues and temples, and the same legislation, although in a reduced form, was later recalled in the *Codex Justinianus* (*CJ*).[46] Principally relevant to this research is *CTh* 16.10—*de Paganis, Sacrificiis et Templis*,[47] although reference to other books of the *Codex* will also be made.

If some pagan cults managed to continue in both private and rural temples, legislation clearly indicates that actions were taken against paganism itself with different levels of severity, although during this early stage none seem to have been directed at removing the roots of the religious traditions and systems.[48]

As pointed out by Gaudemet,[49] the following were targeted by legislation:

1. *Rites and sacrifices*: These were the first to be identified, probably in response to the greatest anxieties of the emperors, targeting haruspices and divinations. These had always been seen as threats; they could be consulted to determine or even change the fate of an emperor. An attempt to stop such activities recurs in imperial legislation, and this effort was not unique to the late antique period.
2. *Temples*: These actions were consequent to the attempt to stop sacrifices and rites, as religious buildings were the venues where these took place. They were not carried out to the same extent everywhere and different forms of action were applied to

[45] For some detailed considerations on this see Alchermes 1994.

[46] For some general information on this see De Giovanni 1980, 15–16. The same legislation has been recalled in the *CJ* where laws were reduced from 25 to 6 (for some discussion on Book 16 of the *CTh* before being incorporated in the *CJ* see Grelle 2002, esp. 62).

[47] For a specific discussion on the significance of '*Christianitas*' in the codes see recently Richard 2009. For some discussion on the interpretation of '*Ritus, cultus and superstitio*' see Belayche 2009.

[48] These actions were aimed at specific aspects of religious practices superstitiously considered dangerous and powerful. For a detailed discussion on the perception and idea of religion in the Roman world see Gradel 2002, 4–7: 'Pre-christian religion was not concerned with inward, personal virtues such as belief, but with outward behaviour and attitude.'

[49] Gaudemet 1993, 26.

different buildings. Destruction took place probably in very specific situations and, as in the case of the destruction of statues, was allowed only in response to particularly extreme circumstances (some specifically strong cults, or a revolt by religious extremists, etc.).

3. *Individuals that continued pagan practices*: This evidence is almost impossible to detect archaeologically, and can be identified only in references from texts or where written documents are provided.

A few important points must be considered before investigating the progressive closure, abandonment, transformations, and dismantling of the pagan sanctuaries and cults archaeologically.[50] Christianization was slow to penetrate late antique communities and paganism had support from both élites and the lower classes (see Chapter 3), probably to the same extent Christianity did.[51] Part of the population initially continued traditional pagan cults, and the calendar was not immediately Christianized; instead, a parallel calendar was created in which festival dates were initially connected with martyrs' cults.[52] The two religious traditions coexisted and tolerated each other in social practice, while legislation aimed to officially and progressively remove paganism from the scene. The complexity of this transition is indicated first of all by the contrasting (and sometimes contradictory) behaviour of the different emperors. Constantine's policies were directed principally at attempting to stop religious practices. The effectiveness and the extent of his efforts against pagan sacrifice are not clear-cut, and some sources also reveal vacillating attitudes on the part of the emperor on the subject.[53] Similarly, he never altered the calendar, which continued to bear pagan festivities and festivals.

[50] In the evaluation of the evidence it has to be taken into consideration that single laws responded to specific local situations (for a summary of this issue see Cantino Wataghin 1999, 715).

[51] The issue of the religious beliefs of the ruling class has been the subject of much debate. For a summary of this see Ch. 4, n. 22.

[52] The extent of the Christianization of the people living in the Roman empire in Late Antiquity has been the subject of discussion, see Jones 1963, MacMullen 1997, Brown 1998, Salzman 2002, and more recently from a juridical perspective, De Giovanni 2007, 153–60. For detailed consideration of the way in which the calendar evolved see Salzman 1999; subsequently, several Christian festivals corresponded to pagan ones. See also Ch. 1.

[53] For an overview of this aspect see Delmaire 2004, 322–3, and Belayche 2005.

There are examples suggesting that the cult of the emperor was promoted in North Africa.[54] In AD 315 Constantine refused to sacrifice in his own honour at the *Capitolium* in Rome; in AD 319 the private sacrifices were prohibited, reinstating the legislation promulgated by Tiberius; this situation was extended to the East in AD 324.[55]

After Constantine, a series of laws show the progressive attempt to reduce the power and visibility of paganism, by closing down temples and prohibiting sacrifices.[56] The first attempt to reduce sacrifices is dated to AD 341 by Constants.[57] Harsher legislation was enacted by Constantius II in AD 354 and it was established that a person who was caught performing sacrifices had to be put to death.[58]

[54] Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 40, 28–9 (Aurelius Victor, *Livre de Césars*, texte établi et traduit par Pierre Dufraigne, Paris 1975, 57: Les Belles Lettres): *Statuae locis quam celeberrimis, quarum plures ex auro aut argenteae sunt; tum per Africam sacerdotium decretum Flaviae genti, Cirtaeque oppido, quod obsidione Alexandri conciderat, reposito exornataque nomen Constantina inditum.*

[55] For a more detailed discussion on the extent of the diffusion of this legislation to the East and on contemporary sources see Delmaire 2004, 324–5. Before AD 319 there is some evidence of an attempt at forbidding domestic and night sacrifices, although this refers to an exhortation to a private individual. This is recorded in the republican period and the issue is recalled in AD 377, by Firmicus Maternus in *Mathesis* 2, 30, 10 (vol. I, Texte établi par P. Monat, Paris 1992, 142: Les Belles Lettres): *Errantibus hominibus, praesertim quos tibi amicitiae necessitudo coniunxit, rectam uiuendi uiam monstra, ut, tua institutione formati, praeteritis uitae liberentur erroribus, ut non solum responsis, sed etiam consiliis perditas hominum possis instituere cupiditates. Numquam nocturnis sacrificiis intersis, siue illa publica siue priuata dicantur; nec secrete cum aliquot fabulas conferas, sed palam, sicut superius comprehendi, sub conspectus omnium istius diuinae artis exere disciplinam.*

[56] Legislation in *CTh* 16.10.2–6 is dated between AD 341 and 356. See on this also Gaudemet 1993, 22, and some analysis in Gaudemet 1972. On the discussion of the end of sacrifices in legislation see more recently Belayche 2006. It is clear that emperors before Gratian and Theodosius did not develop a unitary policy towards paganism. In particular Belayche points out that the use made of the legislation contained in book 16 of the *CTh* before AD 380 was paradoxical (344). 346–7 offers a list of evidence of pagan cults carried out before AD 380, in both public and private spheres.

[57] *CTh* 16. 10.2: *cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum aboleatur insania*. This law refers to an analogous edict by Constantine (De Giovanni 1980, 139).

[58] *CTh* 16.10.4 in 354: *IDEM (Imp Constantius) AA. AD TAURUM P(RAEFECTUM) P(RAETORIO). Placuit omnibus locis adque urbibus uniuersis claudi protinus templa et accessu uetito omnibus licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos sacrificiis abstinere. Quod si quis aliquid forte huiusmodi perpetrauerit, gladio ultore sternatur. Facultates etiam perempti fisco decernimus uindicari et similiter adfligi rectores prouinciarum, si facinora uindicare neglexerint* (Delmaire 2005, 430–2; on the same rule see *CTh* 16.10.5–6 in AD 356. *CTh* 16.10.6 refers to the prohibition of the cult of images). *CTh* 10.5 (Delmaire 2005, 432–3): *IDEM A.AD CEREALEM P(RAEFECTVM) V(RBI). Aboleantur sacrificia nocturna Magnentio*

Julian (AD 361–3) halted this progressive process, as there was a revival of paganism that he strongly supported and in which he ordered confiscations to be returned. But these same confiscations were probably repeated, in the short period ruled by Jovian (AD 363–4).[59]

The same fears, particularly over sacrifices, are also expressed by Thedosius I (AD 347–95), who gave a final death blow to pagan practices and traditions. The edict of Thessalonica in AD 380 established Christianity as the religion of the empire, while paganism and its sacrifices were banned[60] and any kind of pagan ceremony was subsequently prohibited in AD 392.[61] This refers to the prohibition of

auctore permissa et nefaria deinceps licentia repellatur. Et cetera; *CTh.* 10.6 (Delmaire 2005, 434–5): *IDEM A. ET IVLIANVS CAES. Poena capitis subiugari praecipimus eos, quos operam sacrificiis dare uel simulacra constiterit*. For further consideration and critical analysis of this aspect see Belayche 2009.

[59] The religious attitude of the Emperor Julian is covered by a vast bibliography. For general information and further reading see more recently Smith R. 1995, Murdoch 2005, Rosen 2006, and Tougher 2007.

[60] Gaudemet 1993, 21–4, Buenacasa Perez 2008, 271, and Belayche 2005, 357–8. This is effectively the first time when it is clear from legislation that sacrifices were banned: previously, wording has always been somewhat unclear and subject to dubious interpretations.

[61] *CTh* 16.10.12 (Delmaire 2005, 442–6): *IMPPP. THEOD(OSIVS), ARCAD(IVS) ET HONOR(IVS) AAA. AD RVFINVM P(RAEFECTVM) P(RAETORIO). Nullus omnino ex quolibet genere ordine hominum dignitatum uel in potestate positus uel honore perfunctus, siue potens sorte nascendi seu humilis genere condicione fortuna in nullo penitus loco, in nulla urbe sensu carentibus simulacris uel insontem uictimam caedat uel secretiore piaculo larem igne, mero genium, penates odore ueneratus accendat lumina, imponat tura, serta suspendat. 1. Quod si quispiam immolare hostiam sacrificaturus audebit aut spirantia exta consulere, ad exemplum maiestatis reus licita cunctis accusatione delatus excipiat sententiam competentem, etiamsi nihil contra salutem principum aut de salute quaesierit. Sufficit enim ad criminis molem naturae ipsius leges uelle rescindere, inlicita perscrutari, occulta recludere, interdicta temptare, finem quaerere salutis alienae, spem alieni interitus polliceri. 2. Si quis uero mortali opere facta et aeuum passura simulacra inposito ture uenerabitur ac ridiculo exemplo, metuens subito quae ipse simulauerit, uel redimita uitis arbore uel erecta effossis ara cespitibus, uanas imagines, humiliore licet muneris praemio, tamen plena religionis iniuria honorare temptauerit, is utpote uiolatae religionis reus ea domo seu possessione multabitur, in qua eum gentilicia constiterit superstitione famulatum. Namque omnia loca, quae turis constiterit uapore fumasse, si tamen ea in iure fuisse turificantium probabuntur, fisco nostro adsocianda censemus. 3. Sin uero in templis fanisue publicis aut in aedibus agrisue alienis tale quispiam sacrificandi genus exercere temptauerit, si ignorante domino usurpata constiterit, uiginti quinque libras auri multae nomine cogetur inferre, coniuentem uero huic sceleri par ac sacrificantem poena retinebat. 4. Quod quidem ita per iudices ac defensores et curiales singularum urbium uolumus custodiri, ut ilico per hos conperta in iudicium deferantur, per illos delata plectantur. Si quid autem ii tegendum gratia aut incuria praetermittendum esse crediderint, commotioni iudiciarae, subiacebunt; illi uero si uindictam dissimulatione distulerint,*

sacrificing (even in a private context to familiar *numina*, such as the *Lares*, *Genii,* or *Penati*), venerating idols, and erecting altars.[62] Sacrifices were seen as dangerous,[63] especially those aimed at predicting the future through the analysis of the intestine.[64] At the same time,

triginta librarum auri dispendio multabuntur, officiis quoque eorum damno parili subiugandis. See also Gaudemet 1993, 26.

[62] For some analysis of the development of private cults see MacMullen 1997, 61–2.

[63] In some instances, sources refer to the continuity of sacrifices, although they had already changed substantially in Late Antiquity. Firmicus Maternus attests to continuity in *De errore profanarum religionum* (between AD 343 and 350) and refers to the existence of numerous victims (*L'Erreurs des religions païennes*, texte établi, traduit et commenté par R. Turcan, Paris 1982, 112: Les Belles Lettres), 16. 3: *Busta sunt haec, sacratissimi imperatores, appellanda, non templa. Rogi sunt potius dicendi miserorum. Nam in honorem hominum perditorum aedes pro sepulchris miseranda hominum seruitus fecit. Hic crematorum corporum fauillae seruantur, hic cineres mortuorum inreligiosa lege conduntur, ut acerbarum mortium casus cottidiano uictimarum sanguine recrudescant, ut tristis lamentationis exitus renouatus annuis luctibus renascatur, ut sopitos fletus recentior ululatus exagitet, ut parricidia uel incesta uel mortes ex sacrorum ritu misera mens hominum et colere discat et facere*. For a discussion on how sacrifices had changed, see Stroumsa 2005, 105–43. According to Elsner the sacrifice, symbolically if not physically, would remain an important component of Christian art and tradition (Elsner 1995; see esp. ch. 6, 221). Furthermore, there was a substantial difference between pagan and Catholic sacrifices: 'In sharp distinction with Roman religion, Christianity had abolished the slaughter of animals. All sacrifice was henceforth to be symbolic' (222). The presence of sacrifices has to be seen through a lens of symbolic Christian representation. Elsner (1995, 193) points out that sacrifices did not usually take place in front of a statue but elsewhere, assuming that the spirit of God was present. For a discussion on the end of sacrifices (especially animal sacrifices) and pagan practice see also Cameron 2011, 60–7.

[64] *CTh* 16.10.7 (Delmaire 2005, 434–5): *IMPPP. GR(ATI)ANVS, VAL(ENTINIANVS) ET THEOD(OSIVS) AAA. FLORO P(RAEFECTO) P(RAETORIO). Si qui uetitis sacrificiis diurnis nocturnisque uelut uesanus ac sacrilegus, incertorum consultorem se immerserit fanumque sibi aut templum ad huiuscemodi sceleris executionem adsumendum crediderit uel putauerit adeundum, proscribtione se nouerit subiugandum, cum nos iusta institutione moneamus castis deum precibus excolendum, non diris carminibus profanandum*. See also Delmaire 2004, 326. See 16.10.9 (Delmaire 2007, 438–9): IDEM AAA. CYNEGIO P(RAEFECTO) P(RAETORI)O. *Ne quis mortalium ita faciendi sacrificii sumat audaciam, ut inspectio iecoris extorumque praesagio uanae spem promissionis accipiat uel, quod est deterius, futura sub execrabili consultatione cognoscat. Acerbioris etenim inminebit supplicii cruciatus eis, qui contra uetitum praesentium uel futurarum rerum explorare temptauerint ueritatem*. See on this also De Giovanni 1980, 139, and more recently Belayche 2009. MacMullen (1997, 69) points out that there were specific types of rites that remained in practice for a long period of time, 'a substratum of rites addressing life's hopes and fears without appeal to any one being in particular'. He classifies these as 'superstitions' (75–102) and points out that the driving force behind changes in religion is connected to '. . . new people with their old ideas getting into positions from which they could be more heard' (87).

this suggests that there was still a fair amount of belief in these activities and their value.[65]

Prohibition of the use of temples continued, and the same legislation was enacted by Arcadius (*CTh* 16. 10. 13) and Honorius (*CTh* 16. 10. 20),[66] and again recalled by Justinian.[67]

4. CULT PROHIBITION: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF PRIVATE CULTS

If legislation clearly points toward a progressive prohibition of cults in temples, it is possible that cult practice moved into the private sphere[68] across the empire. In Rome, for instance, in the so-called domus 'dei Simmaci' on the Esquiline, the Basilica Hilariana was dedicated to the cult of Cybele, Attis, and Sylvanus. Equally, the nympheum of Sant'Eusebio was used by a member of the Roman aristocracy, *praefectus urbi*, as a centre for a private pagan cult in AD 367–9.[69] The legislation refers to public religious complexes, but there were different types of temples in the Roman world, not only in terms of architecture or cults, but also in legal definitions.

Houses were probably the only type of structures where pagan cults might have continued.[70] Although archaeologically cult areas in the

[65] These laws are in *CTh* 16.10.7 and 16.10.9. In C*Th* 16.10.5 night sacrifices were forbidden, probably because they were considered difficult to control. See on this De Giovanni 1980, 141 and Gaudemet 1993, 26.

[66] The latter also referred to the necessity of removing from public spaces those objects that had been consecrated in pagan rites: *sane si quondam consecrata sacrificiis deceptionem hominum praestiterunt, ab usibus lavacrorum vel publicis affectibus se parentur, ne inlecebram errantibus praestent*. De Giovanni 1980, 140.

[67] *CJ* 1. 11. 9, and Gaudemet 1993, 27.

[68] Pagan cult practices in private contexts are very difficult to detect archaeologically. In a few cases the presence of these activities can only be hypothesized. For some discussion on this problem see B. Ward-Perkins 2011.

[69] See Ensoli 2000, 279–80. For a general discussion on the importance of the private cult in houses in the relationship between paganism and Christianity see MacMullen 1997, 61–4; he also points out the *longue durée* of paganism in the Mediterranean (68). For a discussion on the transformation of houses in Late Antiquity in North Africa and the addition of new rooms (apsed halls and reception halls) see Leone 2007*a*, 45–73.

[70] Some general points regarding the evidence in North Africa will be included here, although it will not be analysed in detail. The insertion of a cult place within a house does imply 'reuse' of spaces and is therefore of interest for this research (for

domus are particularly difficult to identify, some attempts can still be made using sources.[71] Cicero gives some indication of how private *sacraria* functioned.[72] He refers to a private shrine in the house of Gaius Heius from Messana and indicates that the *sacrarium* was inherited. The second point of note in this case is that the *sacrarium* was not characterized by the cult of the *Lares* or the *Penates*, but instead was decorated with a variety of statues dedicated to different divinities and figures, in this case Cupidus, Hercules, and two female basket carriers. *Arulae* (small altars) were placed in front of each statue.[73]

The identification of cults in the household can be based on two sets of evidence: decorative motifs, and iconography and architectural features.[74]

some general considerations on the differentiation between private and public, see Cantino Wataghin 1999, 685).

[71] For a recent discussion and further bibliography on this subject see Bassani 2008, 17–33.

[72] For a definition of the *sacrarium* see Torelli 2005, 316–17.

[73] Cicero, *Verrinae*, IV, II. 4–7 (Cicero, *The Verrine Orationis. VIII.* with an English trans. by LL. H. G. Greenwood. *II. Against Verres: part II books III, IV, and V* (The Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge, Mass. and London 1988, 284–8): *Erat apud Heium sacrarium magna cum dignitate in aedibus a maioribus traditum perantiquum, in quo signa pulcherrima quattuor summo artificio, summa nobilitate, quae non modo istum hominem ingeniosum et intelligentem, verum etiam quemvis nostrum, quos iste idiotas appellat, délectare possent. Unum Cupidinis marmoreum Praxiteli—nimirum didici etiam, dum in isto inquiro, artificum nomina. Idem, opinor, artifex eiusdem modi Cupidinem fecit illum qui est Thespiis, propter quem Thespiae visuntur, nam alia visendi causa nulla est. [. . .] Verum ut ad illud sacrarium redeam, signum erat hoc quod dico Cupidinis e marmore; ex altera parte Hercules egregie factus ex aere. Is dicebatur esse Myronis, ut opinor, et certe. Item ante hos deos erant arulae, quae cuivis religionem sacrarii significare possent. Erant aenea duo praeterea signa, non maxima, verum eximia venustate, virginali habitu atque vestitu, quae manibus sublatis sacra quaedam more Atheniensium virginum reposita in capitibus sustinebant; Canephoroe ipsa vocabantur; sed earum artificem—quem? Quemnam? Recte admones, Polyclitum esse dicebant. Messanam ut quisque nostrum venerat, haec visere solebat; omnibus haec ad visendumn patebant cotidie; domus erat non domino magis ornamento quam civitati. [. . .]. Haec omnia quae dixi signa, iudices, ab Heio e sacrario Verres abstulit; nullum, inquam, horum reliquit neque aliud ullum tamen praeter unum pervetus ligneum, Bonam Fortunam, ut opinor; eam iste habere domi suae noluit.* For a further bibliography see Bassani 2003, 155.

[74] Five key elements have been identified for interpreting cult evidence in private contexts. These are: cult rooms (characterized by benches and niches), *aediculae* (a small shrine, in stone or wood) or *pseudo-aediculae* (niches in front of podia), niches adorned with paintings of deities, and representations of gods (Bakker 1994, 7–9). They could be located in private houses or commercial structures.

Iconography and representations offer some possibility of interpretation, although in the majority of instances this can only be speculative.[75] The cult of Dionysus has been linked to Thysdrus (el Jem) on account of the representation on the mosaic floor of two *herotes* (cupids) in the house of the Dionysiac procession. Similarly, the practice of the cult of Bacchus/Dionysus has been proposed at Hadrumetum in the Maison des Masques.[76]

The architectural features identified as essential for the recognition of a *sacrarium* are podia, columns, and niches,[77] although these do not exclusively indicate the presence of a shrine. In some cases, rooms in houses, originally interpreted as reception halls, may have been used for cult purposes.[78] At Acholla for instance, in the house of the Red Columns, room 9 (Fig. 2) had a small apse at a higher level on one side of the room;[79] at Althiburos in the Maison des Muses there is an apsed room (Fig. 3, room 11) where the apse was located at a higher level;[80] at Bulla Regia in the Maison d'Amphitritis in the *triclinium* (Fig. 4, room 26) a small fragment of an altar was found,[81] in the same city in the Maison du Paon, room 5 contained an apse and was

[75] Ellis 2000, 137–8.

[76] For some discussion on this, more bibliography, and comparison with other parts of the Roman world see Bassani 2003, 168–71. Some similar suggestions are also advanced on the basis of the wall-painting.

[77] Bassani 2003: 158–62. *Podia* have been identified in Carthage, Maison de la Volière, 2nd–3rd c., where there is a podium and two columns on the north-east side of the peristyle; and Thysdrus, House of the White Mosaics, where in the peristyle there is probably a cult chapel, dated 2nd–3rd c. Private cults in square rooms have been suggested, in the Sollertiana Domus and in the house of the Peacock, both dated late 2nd or early 3rd c. (Bassani 2003, 162). Bases with steps have also been identified in connection with cults as in Althiburos, edifice à Asklépéia: here there is a quadrangular room where there are some steps sustaining an altar. Another indicator of cults may be the columns, at Thugga, in the house of Venus, where two columns stand at the entrance to a room; in Utica in the house of the Large Oecus, in one room two columns stand either side of an apse (Bassani 2003, 163–4). Finally, evidence of a room used for cults can be identified by niches. Rooms with small niches have been recorded at Acholla in the House of the Triumph of Neptune, and at Althiburos in the House of the Fishing.

[78] For some discussion on this point see also Bassani 2003, 178. See Laforge 2009, on the typology of the area for cults in private contexts (47–77) and on the organization of private cults and sacrifices in houses (119–39).

[79] For the house see Bullo and Ghedini 2003, 20.

[80] For the house see Bullo and Ghedini 2003, 27.

[81] Bullo and Ghedini 2003, 36.

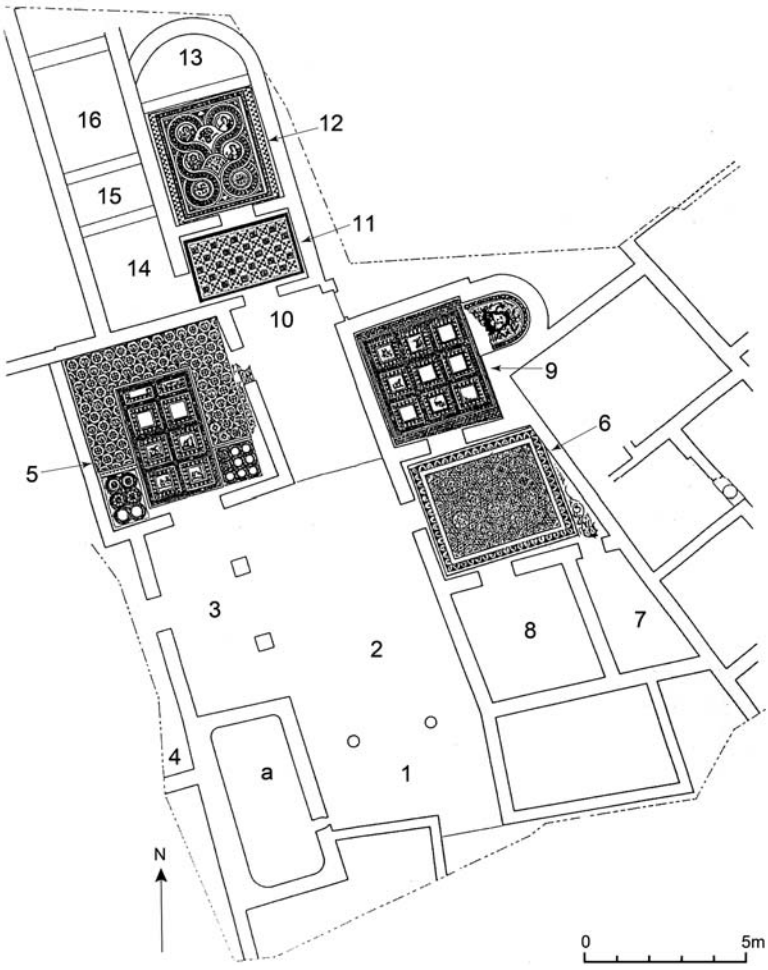


Fig. 2. Acholla, House of the Red Columns, room 9

interpreted by the first excavators as a *lararium*;[82] at Clipea (Kelibia) in the Maison des Deux Chasses rooms 12 and 13 (Fig. 5) were long and separated by two columns, and the area behind the columns was located at a higher level:[83] the tripod of Apollo and two gryphons stood at Hadrumetum in the Maison des Masques, and at the end of

[82] Bullo and Ghedini 2003, 54.
[83] Bullo and Ghedini 2003, 80.

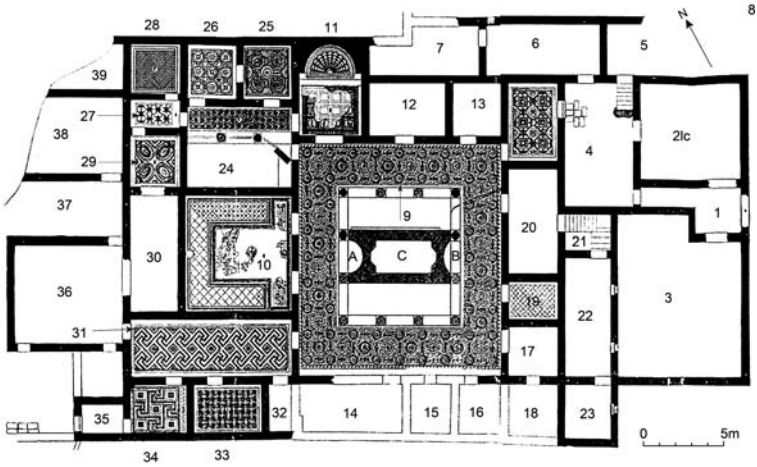
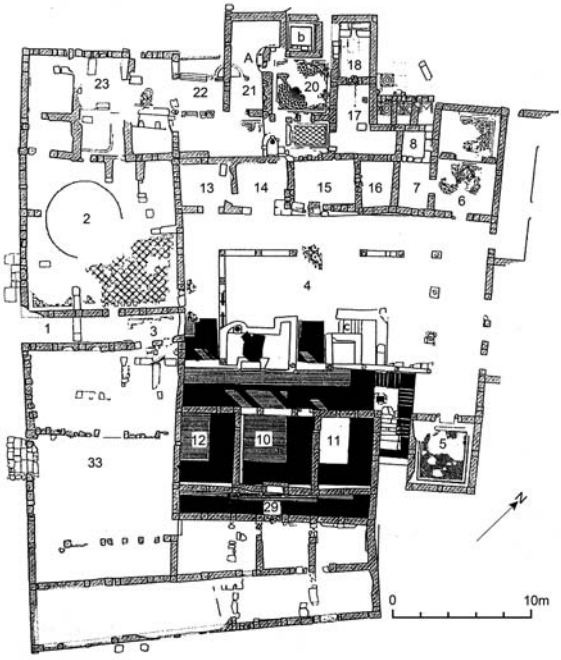


Fig. 3. Althiburos, Maison des Muses, room 11

the room there was an apse (room 5), probably for the insertion of a statue (Fig. 6);[84] at Carthage in the Maison du *Vicus Castrorum*, on the south-west of room 1, the excavator identified a small *oratorium;*[85] finally, at Thysdrus in the House of the White Mosaics (Fig. 7) there is an apsed room that probably contained an altar.[86] Private cults developed in various forms; for instance, it is believed that the holy funerary area of Sidret el Balik around 800 m south of Sabratha, used for *refrigeria* (funerary banquets), was connected to an important local community, perhaps an organized local tribe, as suggested by Antonino Di Vita. The cult space was located on the road, privatizing a public space, and the entrance to the building was not open to the street. From the decorations, the complex has been dated to the mid-4th century (Fig. 8—after Di Vita 2007).[87]

[84] Bullo and Ghedini 2003, 103.
[85] Bullo and Ghedini 2003, 117.
[86] Bullo and Ghedini 2003, 306.
[87] See on this Di Vita 2007: for the chronology see 300, and for the conclusion in particular 311. This is a structure related to the activity of funerary banquets that we know from Augustine were still very popular in North Africa in the 4th c. (*Epistula* 12.3—*PL* XXXIII, col. 9: *Ut in honorem beatissimorum martyrum non solum per dies solemnes . . . sed etiam quotidiae celebrentur*). See also Ch. 1, n. 18.



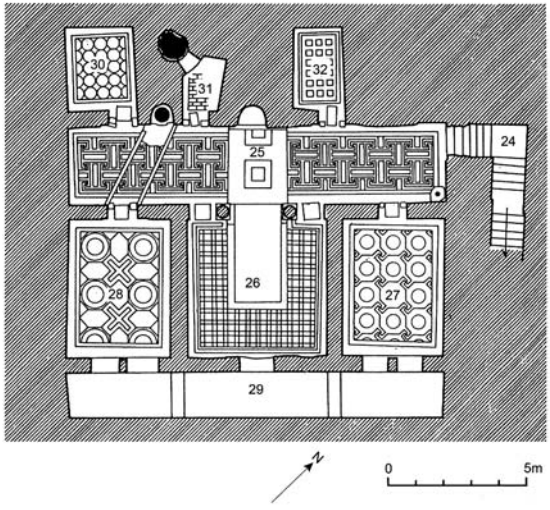


Fig. 4. Bulla Regia, Maison d'Amphitritis, room 26

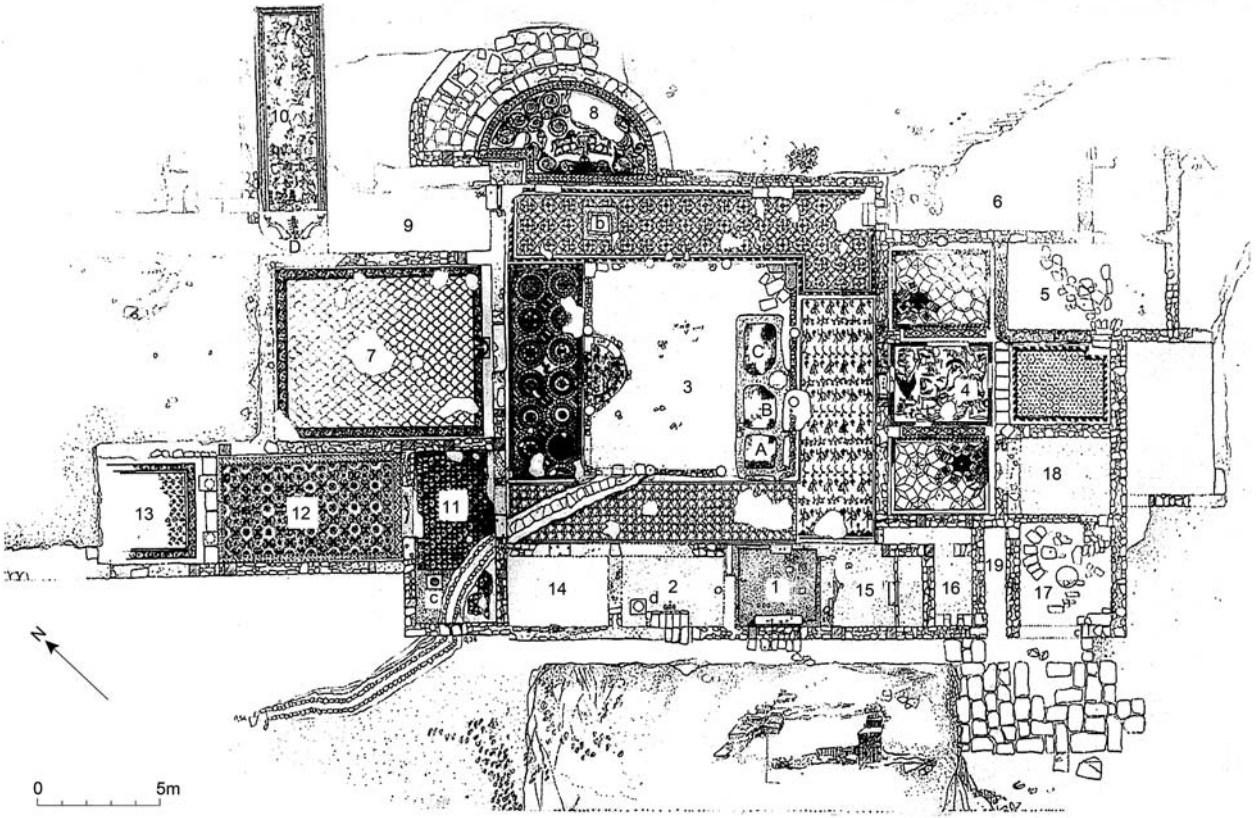


Fig. 5. Clipea, Maison des Deux Chasses, rooms 12 and 13

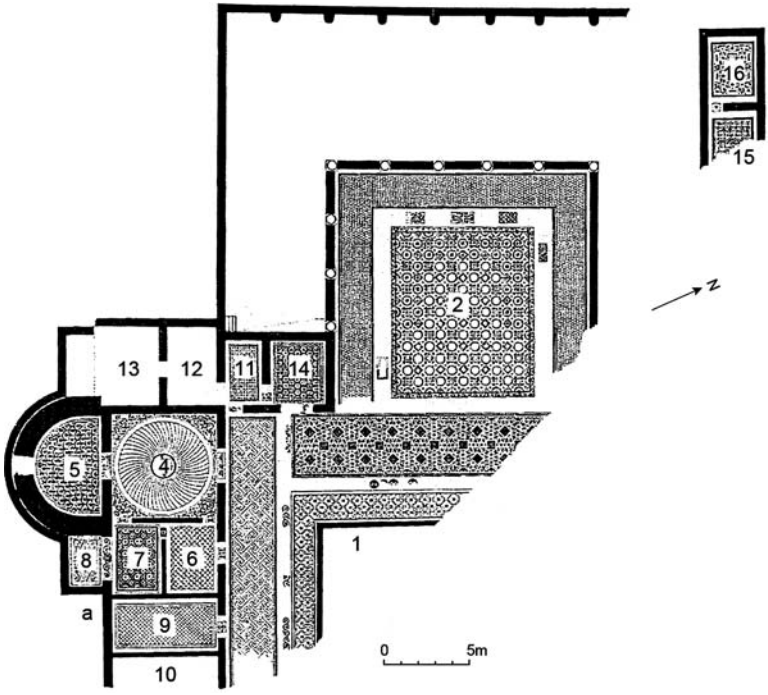


Fig. 6. Hadrumetum, the Maison des Masques, room 5

The same problems identifying private cult areas affect the recognition of Christian practices. This is the case at House 10 at Bulla Regia, where mosaics showing the rivers of paradise have been identified; some connection with Christianity has been put forward, although it is impossible to fully understand to what extent this house was used for religious purposes.[88] Similarly at Cirta, a house located in the area of a martyr cult was used for meetings and celebrations in connection with cult practices.[89]

[88] Hanoune 1983. The room is decorated with a citation from Genesis (28: 17); the representation is of paradise and the names of the rivers. The inscription is in a house, where there is the reference '*Domus Dei*'. It could have been a *domus ecclesia*, although it is difficult to fully understand the function of this particular room. For some general discussion on the *domus ecclesiae*, their functions, and problematic identification see Pietri 1997.

[89] Caseau 1999, 42.

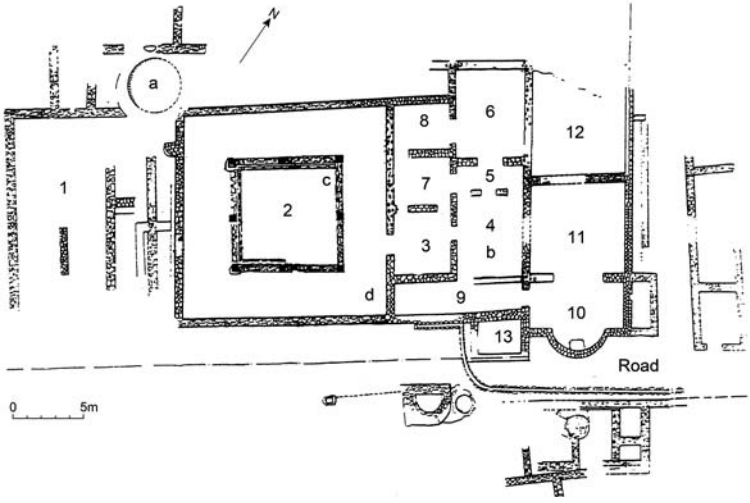


Fig. 7. Thysdrus, the House of the White Mosaics

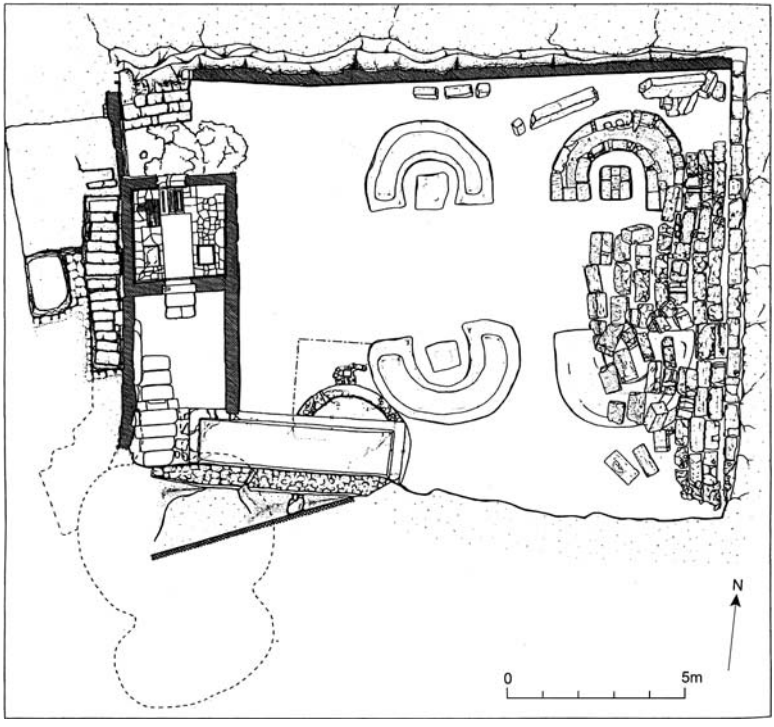


Fig. 8. Sidret el Balik (800 km from Sabratha), area used for *refrigeria*

Unfortunately most potential cult rooms in houses are very often dated inconclusively. Most of the evidence seems to pre-date the closure of temples, suggesting that a progressive transition to a more private practice had already developed by an earlier date. The data are too limited to draw firm conclusions, but the beginning of the phenomenon appears to be contemporary with the process of expansion of private houses that characterized Late Antiquity and often saw the addition of apsed halls and large reception halls. (see Table 2.2).[90]

5. POST-CLOSURE TEMPLE MAINTENANCE: THE LEGISLATION

The process of closure and conversion of temples is attested principally by legislation, but laws also suggest the presence of a specific attempt at controlling these monuments even after they went out of use. Since temples were so numerous, it would have been impossible to preserve all of these buildings in urban sites that, in many cases, were struggling economically.[91] The ban on performing sacrifices in temples was followed by their closure. However, in line with the attempt by all emperors to maintain urban monumentality, the authorities tried to halt the looting (see Chapters 2, 3, and 4). As indicated in the text of Procopius referring to the temple of Janus in Rome at the beginning of this chapter, it appears that the simple shutting down of temples—leaving all their decorations in place—might have been a common practice of the period. The preservation of these monuments (or lack thereof) was probably determined by their location and partly by monumentality. Central and municipal administrations were obviously interested in preserving these buildings as an expression of urban monumentality, and these intentions were made clear by enacted legislation.[92] These complexes, once deprived of their original function, were simply too numerous to convert[93] or preserve in a usable state. Temples were also an easy target

[90] For a synthesis of the evidence in North Africa see Leone 2007*a*, 45–73.
[91] De Giovanni 1980, 144.
[92] Discussion of the religious faith of city governors is not discussed here at length, as it is not within the aim of this book, but for some bibliography on the topic see Ch. 4.
[93] For general comments on this see Caseau 2001.

Table 2.2 Houses where presence of a pagan cult area has been identified*

Town	House	Cultic space	Description	Chronology
Acholla	House of Asinius Rufinus Sabinianus	Apsed room		2nd–3rd c. AD
	House of the red columns	Apsed room		Mid-3rd c. AD
	House of the Triumph of Neptune	Room	Two niches in the north-west and the south-west corners	Mid-2nd–mid-3rd c. AD
Althiburos	Asklepieia	Room	Altar with four steps	End of the 2nd–beg. of the 3rd c. AD
	House of the Fishing	Room	One niche at the entrance and another visible at the end of the entrance	3rd c. AD
Carthage	Maison de la Volière	Room	Altar, two pillars at the entrance	1st–4th c. AD
Clipea	House of the Bust of Marcus Aurelius	Small shrine with apse		2nd–3rd c. AD
Gigthis	House on the south side of the Forum	Room	Bases with apse	?
Hadrumetum	Maison des Masques	Apsed room	Niche in the curved wall with a base	End of the 2nd–beg. of the 3rd c. AD
Thugga	House of Dionysus and Ulysses	Niche		Late 3rd c. AD
	Maison du Trifolium	Niche		4th c. AD
	House of Venus	Room	Two columns at the entrance	4th–5th c. AD

Thysdrus	Sollertiana Domus	Room	Podium at the end of the room	End of the 2nd–beg. of the 3rd c. AD
	House of the Peacock	Room	Podium at the end of the room	First half of the 3rd c. AD
	Maison des Dauphins	Room		Beg. of the 3rd c. AD
	Maison d'Achilles	Apsed room		End of the 2nd–beg. of the 3rd c. AD
	House of the Dionysiac Procession	Room		End of the 2nd–beg. of the 3rd c. AD
	House of White Mosaics	Room	Altar	End of the 2nd–beg. of the 3rd c. AD
Utica	Maison de la Cascade	Room	Podium at the end of the room	2nd–3rd c. AD
	Maison du Grand Oecus	Apsed room	Two small columns in front of the apse	Beg. of the 2nd c. AD

* The table has been composed using data collected in Bassani 2003.

for fanatics and destruction at the hands of this minority group might have occurred, although in the absence of specific sources referring to such action it is almost impossible to detect archaeologically. What remains clear, though, is that these buildings certainly needed protection. Moreover, these structures were extremely well built, beautifully decorated, and composed of material that could be recycled in new building projects if necessary. The aim was to control structural decay and to prevent the individual mandates of governors or clergy from being put into practice and jeapordizing the materiality of the building.

The *Codex Theodosianus* contains a series of laws directed at the preservation of temples and some refer specifically to North Africa.[94] An example is *CTh* 16.10.18 (Padua AD 399) directed to Apollodorus, Proconsul of Africa, by Honorius. It refers to the prohibition of the destruction of temples, excepting where such buildings are filled with illicit objects.[95] Later the legislation becomes more severe: temples were deprived of their subsidies and redesignated for public use, while altars had to be destroyed.[96] These harsher laws may have been favoured by the two Carthaginian Catholic councils which explicitly asked for the destruction of temples in AD 401.[97] These refer to urban

[94] Janvier (1969) points out the importance of distinguishing between legislation directed at the Eastern and the Western empires, respectively.

[95] *CTh* 16.10.18 (Delmaire 2005, 454): *IDEM AA. APOLLODORO PROC(ONSVLI) AFRIC(AE). Aedes inlicitis rebus uacuas nostrarum beneficio sanctionum ne quis conetur euertere. Decernimus enim, ut aedificiorum quidem sit integer status, si quis uero in sacrificio fuerit deprehensus, in eum legibus uindicetur, depositis sub officio idolis disceptatione habita, quibus etiam nunc patuerit cultum uanae superstitionis impendi.*

[96] *CTh* 16.10.19 (Delmaire 2005, 454–7): *IMPPP. ARCAD(IVS), HONOR(IVS) ET THEOD(OSIVS) AAA. CVRTIO P(RAETORIO). Post alia: templorum detrahantur annonae et rem annonariam iuvent expensis devotissimorum militum profuturae. 1. Simulacra, si qua etiamnunc in templis fanisque consistunt et quae alicubi ritum vel acceperunt vel accipiunt paganorum, suis sedibus evellantur, cum hoc reperita sciamus saepius sanctionem decretu. 2. Aedificia ipsa templorum, quae in civitatibus uel oppidis uel extra oppida sunt, ad usum publicum uindicentur. Arae locis omnibus destruantur omniaque templa in possessionibus nostris ad usus ad commodos transferantur; domini destruere cogantur. 3. Non liceat omnino in honorem sacrilegi ritus funestioribus locis exercere conuiuia uel quicquam sollemnitatis agitare. Episcopis quoque locorum haec ipsa prohibendi ecclesiasticae manus tribuimus facultatem; iudices autem uiginti librarum auri poena contringimus et peri forma officia eorum, si haec eorum fuerint dissimulatione neglecta.*

[97] *Concilium Carthaginiensium* 16 iunii, 401, in *Concilia Africae*, *Reg Eccl Carthag. Excerpta*, 58, 196: *De reliquis idolorum vel templis ab imperatoribus abolendis*

58. *Instant etiam aliae necessitates a religiosis imperatoribus postlandae: ut reliquias idolorum per omnem Africam iubeant penitus amputari—nam plerisque in locis maritimis atque possessionibus diuersis adhuc erroris istius iniquitas uiget—ut*

and rural temples, suggesting that the councils considered religious settings in the countryside equally dangerous (see above and Chapter 3).[98]

In terms of the protection of abandoned monuments overall, however, a general division between East and West can be made on the basis of legislation. The following are summarized points contained in government mandates.

In the West:

1. Roman temples located outside of the city wall had to be preserved;[99]
2. Any work of art had to be respected;[100]

praecipiantur et ipsa deleri, et templa eorum, quae in agris uel in locis abditis constituta, nullo ornamento sunt, iubeantur omnimodo destrui.

Concilium Carthaginiensium 13 septembri 401, in *Concilia Africae, Reg Eccl Carthag. Excerpta*, 60, 196–7: *De Paganorum conviviis auferendis.* See Ch. 4.

60. *Illud etiam petendum ut, quondam contra praecepta diuina conuiuia multis in locis exercentur, quae ab errore gentili adtracta sunt, ita ut nunc a paganis cristiani ad haec celebrando cogatur—ex qua re temporibus christianorum imperatorum persecutio altera fieri occulte uideatur—uetari talia iubeant et de ciuitatibus et de possessionibus imposta poena prohiberi, maxime cum etiam natalibus beatissimorum martyrum per nonnullas ciuitates et in ipsis locis sacris talia commettere non reforment; quibus diebus etiam, quod pudoris est dicere, saltationes scelaratissimorum per uicos atque plateas exerceant, ut matrimonialis honor et innumerabilium feminarum pudor, deuote uenientium ad sacrantissimum diem, iniuriis lasciuientibus adpetatur, ut etiam ipsius sanctae religionis paene fugiatur accessus.*

Concilia Africae, Reg Eccl Carthag. Excerpta, 84, 205: *De idolorum reliquiis extirpandis*

84. *Item placuit ab imperatoribus gloriosissimis peti, ut reliquiae idolatriae non solum in simulacris sed in quibuscumque locis uel lucis uel arboribus omnimodo deleantur.*

[98] For further comments on this see Riggs 2001, 293–4, Belayche 2009, and Delmaire 2004, 327–9. Destruction of temples in rural areas was occasionally carried out by Circumcelliones, but it is impossible to identify them archaeologically (see Ch. 1).

[99] *CTh* 16.10.3; AD 346—Delmaire 2005, 430–1: *IDEM AA. CATVLLINVM P(RAEFECTVM) V(RBI). Quamquam omnis superstitio penitus eruenda sit, tamen uolumus, ut aeades templorum, quae extra muros sunt positae, intactae incorruptaeque consistant. Nam cum ex nonnullis uel ludorum uel circensium uel agonum origo fuerit exorta, non conuenit ea conuelli, ex quibus populo Romano praebetur priscarum sollemnitas uoluptatum.*

[100] *CTh* 16.10.15; AD 399 (= *CJ* I.11.3)—Delmaire 2005, 450–1: *IDEM AA. MACROBIO VICARIO HISPANARVM ET PROCLIANO VICARIO QVINQVE PROVINCIARVM. Sicut sacrificia prohibemus, ita uolumus publicorum operum ornamenta seruari. Ac ne sibi aliqua auctoritate blandiantur, qui ea conantur euertere, si quod rescriptum, si qua lex forte paetenditur. Erutae huiusmodi chartae ex eorum*

3. Temples had to be maintained and statues that were still venerated had to be removed (*CTh* 16. 10. 18; AD 399—see n. 95);
4. Removal of statues and confiscation of temples for public use, destruction of altars (*CTh* 16. 10. 19; AD 407—see n. 96).

In the East:

1. Temples and their works of art had to be respected (*CTh* 16. 10. 8; AD 382—see Chapter 4, n. 36);
2. Building material resulting from the demolition of temples had to be reused exclusively for building roads, bridges, and aqueducts;[101]
3. 5th c. -legal, mandatory destruction of rural sanctuaries[102] and temples.[103]

Overall, it appears clear from legislation that the goal was to maintain public control of these monuments and of their decorative apparatuses, but there is no obvious and violent opposition to paganism as such. As Emmel *et al.* declare, when looking at the transition from temples to churches: 'We find that there are only a few relatively well documented cases that are of really special interest in terms of conflict

manibus ad nostram scientiam referantur, si inlicitis euectiones aut suo aut alieno nomine potuerint demonstrare, quas oblatas as nos mitti decernimus. Qui uero talibus cursum praebuerint, binas auri libras inferre cogantur.

[101] *CTh* 15.1.36, AD 397 (*The Theodosian Code and novels of the Sirmondian constitutions*, trans. by C. Pharr, New York 1952, 427): 'The same Augusti to Asterius, Count of the Orient. Since you have signified that roads and bridges over which journeys are regularly taken and that aqueducts as well ought to be aided by properly provided expenditures, we direct that all material which is said to be thus destined from the demolition of the temples shall be assigned to the aforesaid needs, whereby all such constructions may be brought to completion.'

[102] *CTh* 16.10.16; AD 399 (Delmaire 2005, 452–3): *IDEM AA. AD EVTYCHIANVM P(RAEFECTVM) P(RAE ORI)O. Si qua in agris templa sunt, sine turba ac tumultu diruantur. His enim deiectis atque sublatis omnis superstitioni materia consumetur.*

[103] *CTh* 16.10.25; AD 435: *IMPP. THEOD(OSIVS) ET VAL(ENTINI)ANVS AA. ISIDORO P(RAEFECTO) P(RAETORIO). Omnibus sceleratae mentis paganae exsecrandis hostiarum immolationibus damnandisque sacrificiis ceterisque antiquiorum sanctionum auctoritate prohibitis interdicimus cunctaque eorum fana templa delubra, si qua etiam nunc restant integra, praecepto magistratuum destrui collocationeque uenerandae christianae religionis signi expiari praecipimus, scientibus uniuersis, si quem huic legi aput conpetentem iudicem idoneis probationibus inlusisse constiterit, eum morte esse multandum.* For a synthesis and further discussion see Delmaire 2005, 90–2 and Cantino Wataghin 1999, 711.

over religious transformation.'[104] The same statement can be made for North Africa.

6. THE FATE OF TEMPLES: USE AND REUSE OF BUILDINGS IN NORTH AFRICA

These pieces of legislation progressively turned the temples into 'empty shells' deprived of their primary function.[105] In the attempt to maintain public control over these monuments, even structural transformations, when they occurred, must have been undertaken with the permission of city governors. Public buildings were too numerous to expect that all could be transformed for other functions, and this situation resulted in the adoption of various responses all over the Roman empire. Some religious complexes were already in Late Antiquity designated for different public functions. Unfortunately, as pointed out by Lepelley,[106] this change in function is often difficult to reconstruct due to the scarcity of inscriptions referring to the type of transformation which occurred. In discussing the fate of temples, it has often been suggested that the process of appropriation of pagan religious buildings developed in two directions.[107] The first involved donations by the emperor of temple estates to members of the clergy.[108] The second way to acquire temple

[104] Emmel *et al.* 2008, 13. For an analysis of the evidence in northern Italy, see B. Ward-Perkins 1984, 85–91; for general bibliography on the transition from temple to churches see Gregorovius 1903; Deichmann 1939; Cochrane 1940, 208; Jones 1948, 222; Claude 1969; Hanson 1978; and Vaes 1984–6. Some regions, such as Greece, have been investigated to a larger extent (Frantz 1965 and Spieser 1976).

[105] Caseau 1999 and 2001, 98–103. It also bears mentioning that religious complexes changed to take on different, non-cultic functions: already in the 1st c. AD the cult of the Heraion at Samos ended and the building was transformed into a house; in the 4th c. Libanius recommended that deconsecrated temples be transferred to the use of the municipal authorities (Saradi Mendelovici 1990, 60–1). Legislation that forbade the selling of sacred spaces for private use is recorded in the Justinianic period (referring to monasteries to be used as private houses), *Nov. Just.* 120.7.1.

[106] Lepelley 1981*b*: there is no evidence of restoration of temples after the Tetrarchy.

[107] Buenacasa Perez 2008, 271.

[108] Sources and documents on this issue are particularly complex and difficult to interpret. Until the 4th c., temples and priests' *collegia* held the land and treasures of the temples that were under their control. According to the ancient authors,

buildings for reuse was for municipal *curiae* themselves to decide to transform the temples into churches. This did happen in some cases, but this kind of transition was not widespread and was an anomaly, as pointed out by Eusebius[109] and confirmed by the archaeological evidence; in fact, this type of conversion took place rarely in the 4th century and is generally regarded as characteristic of a later period.

The phenomenon that saw the reuse of temples (as well as other public structures) appears to have followed three principal directions.

The market of free public spaces, marbles, and monuments

The practice of selling public spaces for private use can be argued for in a few cases in North Africa. Simon Ellis has proposed that some public spaces may have been acquired in Late Antiquity by patrons who then reused the marble decorations and transformed these areas into private households, to be rented to those under their patronage.[110] The reuse of marble decoration from public buildings for private purposes, although very difficult to trace, is occasionally recorded, as at Thuburbo Maius. Here, at the beginning of the 5th century, in the Maison du Cratère, some building blocks from the *Capitolium* were reworked and reused in the structure (see Chapter 5).[111] On the other hand, there is also evidence of a market for private spaces with public functions; this occurred principally in

Constantine was the first to remove the property of the temples, although the extent of these actions is difficult to gauge. See for more details on this Leone 2006, esp. 96–8. Constantine was very much in favour of the municipalities and the maintenance of their patrimony (Biundo 2006, 37–51). Deciphering the evidence is particularly difficult as the attitudes of his successors regarding these properties changed rapidly, with restitution following confiscation in a short period of time. It is possible that these actions did not refer physically to the land, but rather to the *reditus* (revenue), De Francesco 2004, 541. For a general discussion on the properties of the Church see Delmaire 1989.

[109] Text by Eusebius refers to the demolition of temples or shrines, but not specifically to material reuse for the rebuilding of a church (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, introd., trans., and comm. by A. Cameron and S. G. Hall, Oxford 1999, 141–5); see also Delmaire 1989, 641–2. For some considerations on the chronology of the conversion of temples see Hanson 1978, 257.

[110] Ellis 1998, 233–5.

[111] Baldini Lippolis 2007, 223.

the phase of building new churches during Late Antiquity.[112] This process of privatization also determined changes to temples, but with distinct differences. The private occupation of public spaces recorded in Late Antiquity, such as that of the fora of Rougga, Uchi Maius, and the *Cardo Maximus* in Carthage,[113] does not involve the physical occupation of temples but rather the forum square or a street. Djemila (Cuicul) offers a different scenario, in which the expansion of a house meant the occupation of part of a temple. Here, in the late empire or after the Vandal conquest, the House of the Donkey was erected, and it encroached on part of a temple precinct.[114] Similarly, in the same city the temple of Frugifer was left derelict in AD 364–7 and a basilica and the house of Hylas were built above it.[115] Evidence of private occupation of public space is also found in Carthage, where in the Maison du Triconque the triconchos occupied part of the street between the end of the 4th and the early 5th centuries.[116]

This phenomenon, as pointed out by Ellis (1998), was probably common in Late Antiquity. It has to be seen in connection with the progressive downscaling of urban areas that in some cases is recorded at a very early stage.[117] Specific legislation dated to AD 382 states that if someone built a private building in a public area (even without previous permission) and the structure contributed to the urban decorum, then the building could be left in place.[118] The law seems to infer that the practice of occupying public spaces with private structures was not always condemned, but may even have been encouraged. Later, in AD 406, after Constantinople suffered damage from fires, legislation attempted to prevent the occupation of public monuments by ordering the demolition of all the private complexes built over them, although in this case the law was

[112] Caseau 2001, 104–5.

[113] Leone 2007*a*, 135–44.

[114] Blanchard-Lemée 1975, 46 and 60, Sears 2007, 56, and Sears 2011.

[115] Sears 2007, 56–7, and Sears 2011, 241.

[116] Baldini Lippolis 2007, 212. In Sufetula (although much later, in the 7th c.) an olive press, probably connected to a church, blocked up the street. Leone 2007*a*, 228–30. The process of occupation of public spaces through the expansion of private structures also took place earlier (Thébert 1985, 330–2).

[117] This is also noted in other centres, where the progressive abandonment of urban houses (in use for a very limited period of time) is proved by the insertion of cemeteries in the street around and inside the *domus* (for a detailed discussion see Leone 2007*b*).

[118] *CJ* 8.11.3; see Baldini Lippolis 2007, 200.

directed at fire prevention rather than a specific interest in urban appearances.[119]

Temples reused for other public purposes

The second category of destination of temples refers to reuse, for public purposes, by an entire urban community or by a group of people. During a survey of temples in Tunisia, Cagnat and Gauckler (1898) documented the transformation of some temples for defensive purposes, specifically in the Byzantine period. This took place at the *Capitolium* of Thugga that was abandoned and later included as a part of Byzantine fortifications.[120] Similarly the temples at Ksar-es-Soudane and at Matria (Numluli) were transformed into a Byzantine tower or fortification.[121]

The change of use of a religious complex can be identified at Madauros, where a temple dedicated to Fortuna was restored between AD 379 and 383, but the inscription indicates that the structure was modified for commercial activities.[122] Similar is the case of Abthugnos (Africa Proconsularis) where the *cella* of the *Capitolium* between AD 383 and AD 392 was refurbished to serve as a meeting place for a *collegium*.[123] One law contained in the *CTh* (15.41) in AD 401 asserts that temples could be turned into places for meetings of professional guilds.[124] Professional guilds became particularly active

[119] *CTh* 15.1.46 and *CJ* 8.10.9; for further comment and analysis see Baldini Lippolis 2007, 202. The occupation of public spaces by commerical entities, especially shops, became very common and was eventually a source of income for the state through the collection of rent payments. On the purchase of public buildings by private owners see also Cantino Wataghin 1999, 714; this process explains how colonnaded streets in the eastern cities developed into the Arab souk. On the progressive transformation of this type of monument in connection with legislation, see more recently Saliou 2005.

[120] Cagnat and Gauckler 1898, 1–4, and Leone 2007a, 192.

[121] Cagnat and Gauckler 1898, 127, 131. The same fate was also recorded for a temple located outside of the urban area at Henchir Semmacher (Cagnat and Gauckler 1898, 147). At Vazi Sarra (Henchir Bez) the temple dedicated to Mercury Sober was transformed into a fort (69); see also Pringle 1981, vol. 1, 303.

[122] *ILAlg* I, 2103: . . . *rerum venalium diversarum mercimonia.*

[123] *CIL* VIII, 928 + 11205, Lepelley 2002*a*, 274 and 1981*b*, 265–7.

[124] *CTh*. 15.1.41 (*The Theodosian Code and novels of the Sirmondian constitutions*, translation by C. Pharr, New York 1952, 428): 'all public buildings and buildings that belong to any temple, those that are situated within the wall of the city or even those that are attached to the walls, provided that such buildings appear not to be obligated

and increased in number during Late Antiquity.[125] This initial change of ownership was probably favoured by legislation and may have determined, after the dissolution of the *collegia*, the change in function of the discontinued meeting places of these professional guilds. The presence of production activities in former temples appears in the material record.[126] It can, in fact, be argued that the ownership of these monuments by the guilds may have favoured the transition into commercial/professional activities as increasingly transpired in the former temples, shown by the evidence from many African towns. Complexes for food-processing installed in former temples point to a phenomenon of production activities moving from rural or suburban sectors of the territory into urban areas.

The overall analysis of data available on the fate of temples after their closure suggests that the reuse of these buildings for religious purposes was very limited in Late Antiquity, and might have occurred more frequently in the Byzantine period.

Temples and churches in North African cities: the archaeological evidence

The reuse of former public monuments took place in various forms, but when looking at the total number of temples currently known

to any tax assessments, shall be held and kept by decurions and members of guilds, who shall not be unmindful of their own fortunes; all petitions therefore shall be excluded'. See also Caseau 2001, 100.

[125] It has been hypothesized that from the 4th c. on, taxes were collected through *collegia* (Carrié 2002, 316–17). For further analysis on this point see Leone 2007*a*, 77–9. The increase in *collegia* in Late Antiquity, especially between the 3rd and 4th c., is confirmed by the archaeological record. In Carthage for instance the Magon quarter was reorganized with the addition of an apsed hall that probably functioned as a meeting place for guilds. Similarly, in the complex on the north of the circular harbour, a large room was built that served the same function.

[126] Pottery kilns probably dated to the early Arab period are recorded in the Flavian temple at Lepcis Magna (Fiandra 1974–5; Cirelli 2001, 430; Leone 2007*a*, 225) and in the Sanctuary dedicated to Saturn at Thuburnica (Carton 1907, 382; Leone 2007*a*, 225). Olive presses were located in the podium of the *Capitolium* of Thuburbo Maius (Poinssot and Lantier 1925, 76–7; Leone 2007*a*, 230) and in the eastern porch of the temple of Mercury at Thugga (Poinssot, C., 1958, 33; Khanoussi 1998, 26; Leone 2007*a*, 232). In both cases, a specific transformation date is uncertain and the occupation of spaces with production activities did not involve the *cella* of the religious complex. Both settlements would have an important phase of occupation in the early Islamic period.

(based on present research) in North African cities, only 5 per cent appear to have been transformed and reused for religious purposes. The vast majority were instead reused for different functions or simply left in disrepair.[127]

Data so far considered suggests that the placement of churches was not a religious issue with respect to the function of the reused buildings, but more likely a problem of building ownership (state or private) in Late Antiquity and its topographical location within the town. The most commonly identified trend, at least in Late Antiquity, was not to occupy the centre of pagan cities; churches tended to be located, at least initially, on the periphery of urban areas. When there were two public spaces in a city, usually one was transformed by the addition of a church, as perhaps happened in the area of Dermech at Carthage (see Chapter 4). It is arguable that a similar series of events transpired at Bulla Regia, where the Roman forum was left untouched and the church was located instead in another sector of the city in the same neighbourhood as the baths of Iulia Memmia. From the Byzantine period onward, other issues may have dictated the process of transforming public buildings. However, where, like in Bulla Regia, the centre of the classical city had already shifted due to the re-location of an early church at the end of the 4th century, the forum remained abandoned in the Byzantine period. Similarly at Carthage (Fig. 9), the building of Basilica I in the Dermech area at the end of the 4th century and the ensuing construction of a number of churches,[128] a monastery, and cemetery may have played important roles in creating a new central point of focus in the zone behind the Antonine baths. This was a period that saw changes in the layout of the Byrsa and the classical forum too.[129] It is possible that Dermech may have been the public area of the city Augustine named the *Platea Maritima*.[130] Evidence

[127] From the survey carried out by Lepelley, a total of 236 inscriptions mention municipal public building activity. Only 14 inscriptions clearly refer to the restoration or construction of a temple (see data in Lepelley 1979, 112–20).

[128] For a synthesis on the evidence in the area of Dermech (region sexta) and further bibliography see Leone 2007*a*, 106–7.

[129] Byrsa became progressively more occupied by houses and a Byzantine basilica was constructed, see below and n. 172.

[130] The area is mentioned by Augustine in *Confessiones* 6.9–14, with specific reference to a forum by the sea with the presence of a *vicus Argentarius* (Audollent 1901, 784) and *Retractationes* 2.58 (Sant'Agostino, *Le ritrattazioni*, introduzione generale di Goulven Madec, traduzione, note e indici Ubaldo Pizzani, Rom' 1994, 232): *cum apud*

Fig. 9. Carthage

Carthaginem multis confluentibus et attentissime audientibus, in platea maritima legeretur, pervenerunt ad eum fratres studiosissime christiani eumque mihi redarguendum sine ulla dilatione miserunt, multum rogantes ut nec ego respondere differem. The same geographical reference is provided by the same author in *De Civitate Dei* 16.8.1, where he referes to a mosaic representing monstrous animals (Sant'Agostino, *La Città di Dio*, vol. II, introduzione D. Gentile A. Trapé, traduzione D. Gentili, Rom' 1988, 482: *et cetera hominum vel quasi hominum genera, quae in maritime platea Carthaginis musivo pictsa sunt, ex libris deprompta velut curiosoris historiae*). Later Procopius, in indicating the number of buildings that Justinian built in Carthage, makes reference to a square with a double porticus on the sea (*De Aedificiis* VI, 5): *της μαριτίμου ἀγοράς καλούμενης*.

connected to the discovery of pagan statues, removed from their original locations, seems to suggest that the whole area behind the Antonine baths, might have been the second public area of the city. Numerous statues have been found in this sector, which may indicate that the area was refurbished at some point, including the reconstruction of some temples or perhaps the building of a church, Basilica I (for a more detailed discussion see Chapter 4).

A survey carried out by Noël Duval in North Africa gleaned that in some cases the transformation of temples into churches might have occurred between the 4th and 5th centuries,[131] although it seems more frequent between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century.[132] The main issue lies in the challenge of sketching a clear chronological pattern, as in a variety of cases it is difficult to provide time lines. The evidence recorded by Duval attests to transformations carried out principally in the courtyard of the temples,[133] where the *cella* was often turned into a baptistery, perhaps in a later phase.[134] The conversion of the space and the architecture of these complexes is explained by the fact that the religious tradition and practices changed from the needs of the *cella* of the god to the needs of a large space for the mass (to allow for the presence of a large number of people).[135] This transition, of course, brought along with it a different liturgy and a new layout within the buildings, together with the different needs of the cultic community. These factors explain the alteration of the temple complex on the basis of convenience rather than ideology. Practicality, in fact, seems to have dictated transformative architectural choices.

Such changes in function did not usually include the destruction of temples, but rather a reorganization of internal spaces. The basilica of Rutilius at Mactaris was probably built above a temple (Fig. 10).[136] The chronology is difficult to establish and it has been thought to be near the first half of the 4th century, although this seems rather early.[137]

[131] Duval 1971*a*, 265–96.

[132] Caseau 2001, 103.

[133] These were the so-called temples à cour, characterized by the presence of a large courtyard in front of the *cella*.

[134] Duval 1971*a* expresses some uncertainty on the exact moment at which this transformation takes place. It may be that it was later, even during the monumentalization of the Byzantine period.

[135] 'Von Kultbild zum Kultraum', Deichmann 1939, 114.

[136] Duval 1985, 40. The way in which the church was transformed is comparable to the case of Thuburbo Maius (Fig. 11).

[137] Duval 1985, 37.

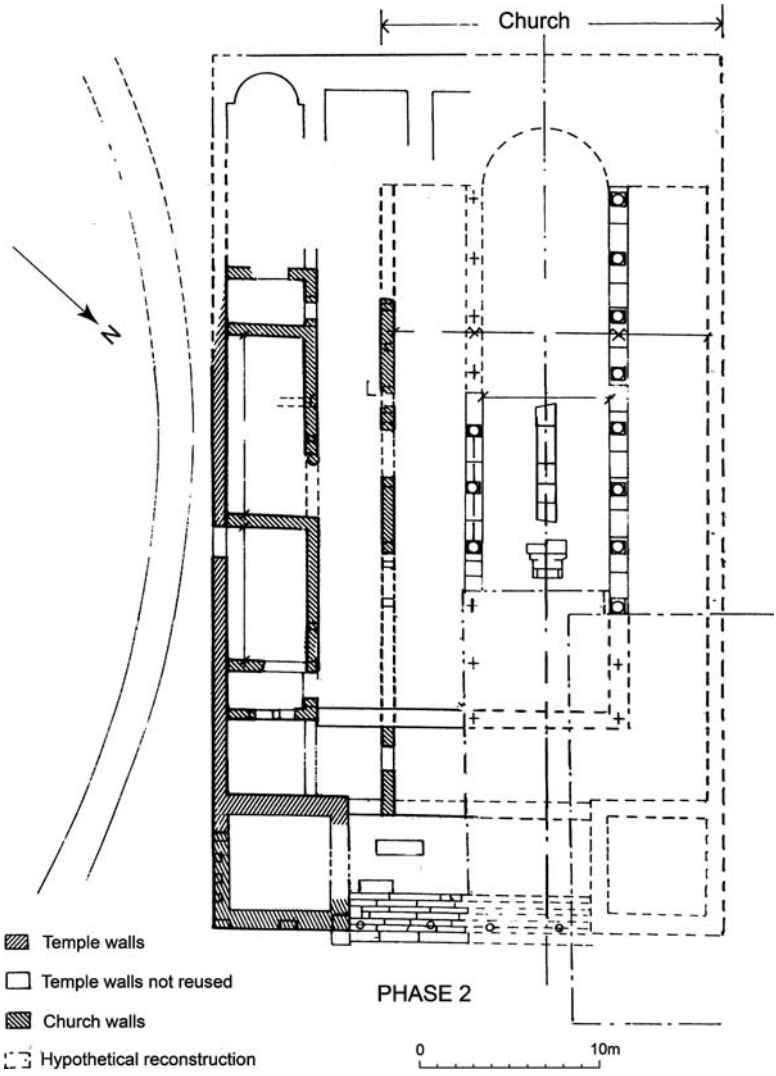


Fig. 10. Mactaris, Church of Rutilius

Mactaris offers other examples. The transformation of the temple of Saturn into the Basilica I, probably dates to the Byzantine period.[138]

[138] The information cannot be verified as the building is not visible and there are no published plans; Romanelli 1964, Prévot 1984, 11–18, and Picard 1984. For some consideration on the reuse of the building see Sears 2011, 250.

The same outcome has been proposed for the temple of Apollo and Diana, with probably Byzantine graves located in the centre of the *cella*.[139] The temple of Hoter Miskar was converted into a church, possibly in the second half of the 4th century, although if this is correct the adaptation also seems to have occurred at a very early date.[140] This transformation does not seem to have involved any variation in the building plan and its identification with a church was based instead on the idea suggested by Gauckler that the posterior sections (*cella*, *apsis*, and *crypta*) were added later on during the Christian period. Picard considers this impossible, as the building technique is unitary. There is no doubt Christians made use of the building as Christian sarcophagi have been found inside, although the nature of the change would require a more detailed study of the evidence.[141]

At Sbeitla (Sufetula) one pertinent example is provided by church number 3, the so-called church of Servus, which was installed in the courtyard of an existing temple.[142] The transformation set out to create a very large basilica that would include the whole courtyard.[143] It has been suggested that the temple was built in the 3rd century and Duval places the first transformation at the end of the 4th century, but the current church probably dates to the Byzantine period.[144] The building is located right at the entrance of the city, along one of the main routes, near the temple and the public baths. This area, near the forum, remained largely in use throughout the Byzantine period. Therefore, the location might have determined the process of transformation for this building.[145] In this respect it appears more likely that the temple was transformed in the Byzantine period.[146] A second example from the same city may be the church near the forum, the so called Basilica IV, and probably turned into a church in the 5th and 6th centuries.[147]

[139] Picard 1945; Chatelain 1946–9, 682.
[140] Picard 1982, 17.
[141] Picard 1957*a*, 58–9.
[142] Duval 1971*a*, 268–76; for some consideration of the evidence see also Milojevic 1997, 351.
[143] Duval 1971*a*, 276. The monumentality of the church suggests that this may have served a Donatist Episcopal group (as the Catholic one has been identified in Basilica I and II).
[144] This chronology, which appears to be more acceptable, contrasts with the idea that the basilica might have served a Donatist Episcopal group (see note above).
[145] Duval 1964, 89.
[146] On the Byzantine topography of Sbeitla see Duval 1964 and Duval 1982*a*.
[147] Cagnat and Gauckler 1898, 18. On the church see the discussion in Duval 1982*a*, 618, and Duval 1971*c*, 328–30, 342–7.

A further example is the case of the so-called temple of Ceres, a building at Thuburbo Maius that was transformed into a church.[148] The columns were reused from the former temple and the baptistery, and the church was located in the courtyard of the temple (Fig. 11).[149] Alexandre Lézine posits that the transformation took place in the 6th century, working on the basis of the chronology of cemetery epitaphs.[150] However, Duval believes that it occurred between the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century, although parts of the church were transformed at a later date, probably in the Byzantine period.[151] The date of the building of the pagan complex is not known, but an inscription refers to a restoration carried out during the reign of Commodus.[152] The basilica only occupied a part of the courtyard, while the section left open was used as a cemetery in connection with the church. Another hypothesized transformation in the same city has been recorded in the temple of Saturn (Fig. 12). This was a typical Roman temple built on a podium; it has been proposed that the *cella* was enlarged by the addition of an apse when the building was made a church.[153] If this is the case, the building was probably very small and not comparable to the one recorded in the so-called temple of Ceres. The two churches were both located in the southern part of the city, far from the forum. Finally, at Henchir-Khima, a pagan temple was turned into a Christian basilica. The church is described as being located at the centre of a settlement found on the left bank of the Wadi Arkou.[154]

Another example, although not in an urban setting, can be found at Jebel Oust. It is a baths complex located on the road between Carthage and Bulla Regia, comprising a spring, a bath, and a temple. The original temple building was transformed into a church (Fig. 13). The baptistery was located in the *cella* of the temple, while the religious building was built to the west of the courtyard. Duval

[148] Duval 1971*a*, 277–90; some discussion also in Milojevic 1997, 352. For some recent analysis on the transformation see also Sears 2011, 251.
[149] Duval 1971*a*, 286.
[150] Lézine 1968*b*, 25.
[151] Duval 1971*a*, 290.
[152] Lézine 1968*b*, 24–5. Several inscriptions mentioning Saturn, Diana, and other gods were found in the area.
[153] Lézine 1968*b*, 27–8.
[154] Cagnat and Gauckler 1898, 121.

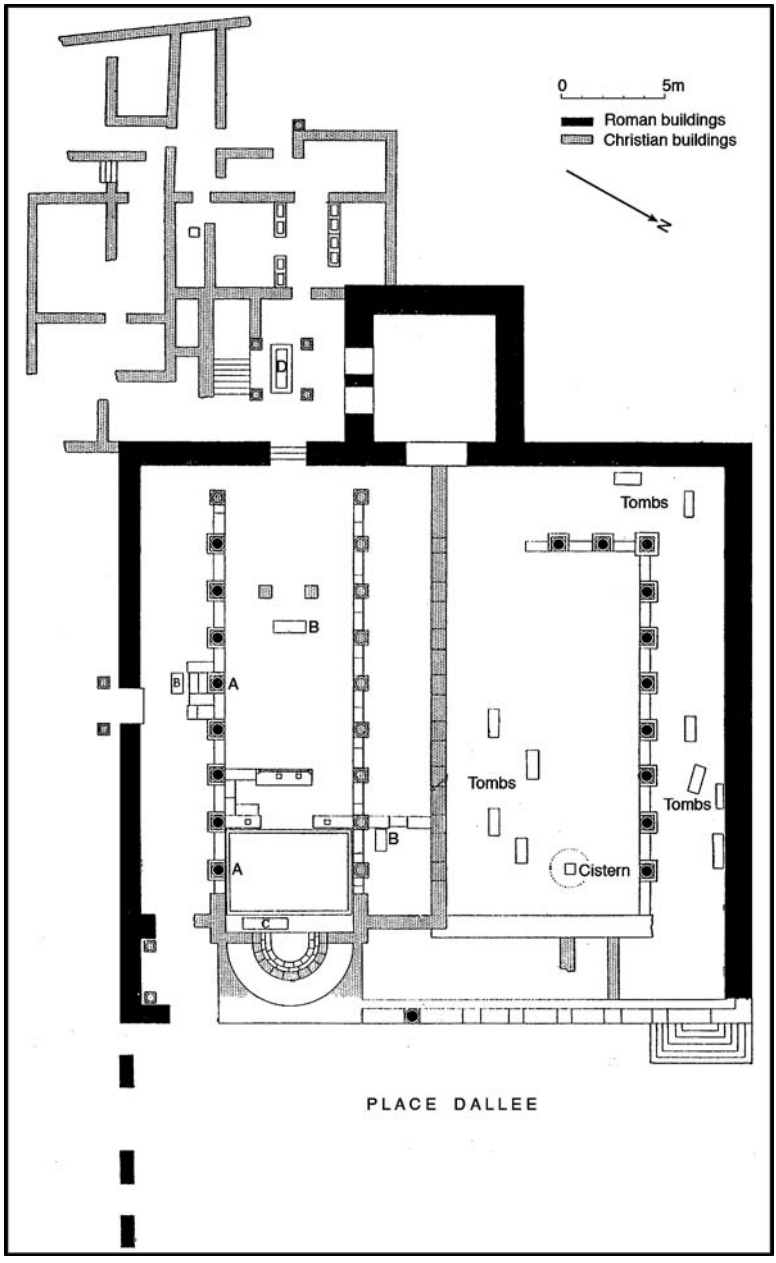


Fig. 11. Thuburbo Maius, courtyard temple transformed into church

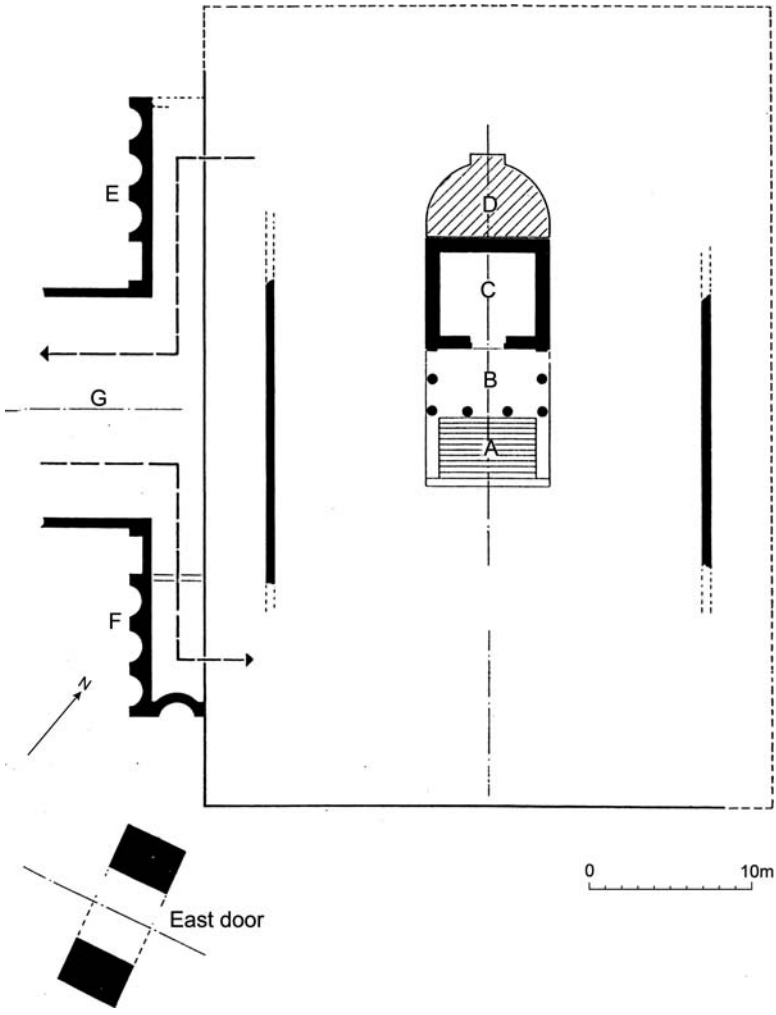


Fig. 12. Thuburbo Maius, Temple of Saturn: A. step to the podium; B. pronaos; C. *cella*; D. added apse; E., F. decorative niches; staircases to the temple

suggested that this latter area was not reused, probably due to the presence of water and a cave in the area.[155] A church, probably from between the second half of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century, was recorded and probably constructed partially over a

[155] Duval 1971*a*, 292 also mentioned in Teichner 1996, 60.

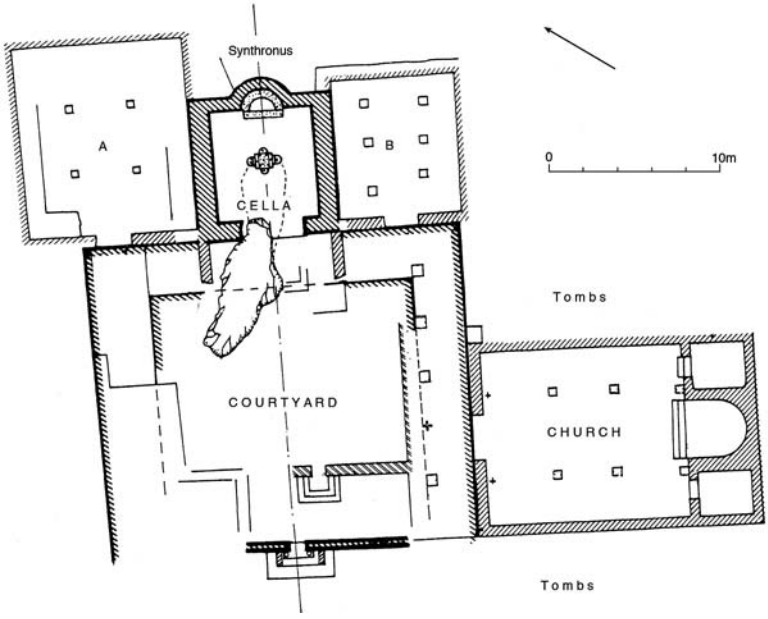


Fig. 13. Jebel Oust, temple transformed into a church

temple at Uppenna (Henchir Chigarnia).[156] The 'nouveau temple' found at Tipasa in Mauretania (Caesariensis), located north of the settlement along the *decumanus maximus*, had the church installed in the courtyards in front of the *cella*. Here again, it is difficult to establish a reliable date.[157] In the same city the temple of Draco was modified into a church dedicated to the cult of Saint Salsa.[158] Similarly, at Lambaesis in Numidia, a church was built over a temple, although the church has now disappeared. The building of the church has been dated to the 6th century on account of the poor quality of the building techniques,[159] although this evidence may suggest an even later date, possibly the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 7th century(?) (Fig. 14). At Cirta-Constantine (also in Numidia)

[156] Raynal 2006*b*, 378, and Gauckler 1913, 23. See also Raynal 2006*a*.
[157] Duval 1971*a*, 293–4, and Gui, Duval, and Caillet 1992, 25–7, the so-called Église III. See on this also Teichner 1996, 60–1. The building was then transformed into a market in the Islamic period.
[158] Sears 2007, 59 and Sears 2011, 251.
[159] Gui *et al.* 1992, 145–7. Map is published in Besnier 1898.

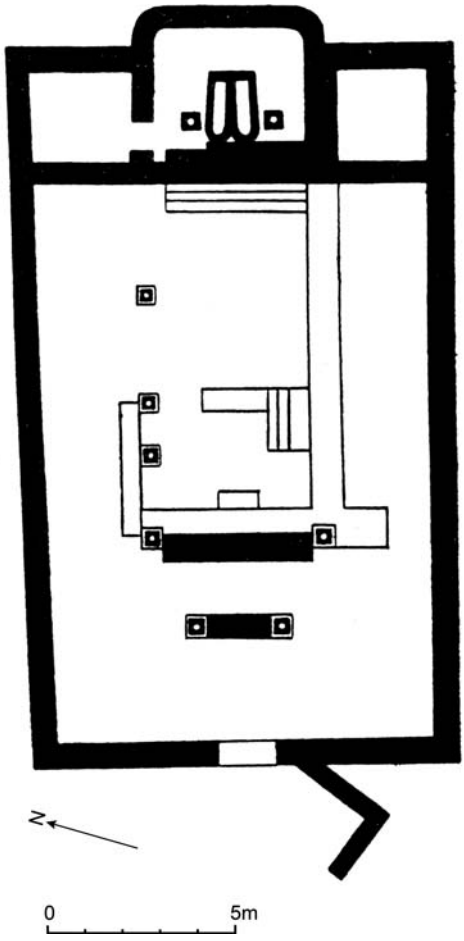


Fig. 14. Lambaesis, lost church

the *Capitolium* was converted into a church, probably in the Byzantine period. The identification by Gsell of poor building techniques may suggest a later date here as well, between the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th century.[160] Finally, Lepcis Magna offers evidence of two former temples altered into churches. Both are difficult to date, but probably attributable to the Byzantine

[160] Gui *et al.* 1992, 205–7. For discussion of the chronology, see in particular 206–7. The church was destroyed to build a hospital during the colonial period.

period. One, the temple dedicated to the Magna Mater, is located in the forum Vetus of the city.[161] This church, with its associated baptistery, was built above a late 1st- or early 2nd-century temple. Many of the architectural elements were reused in the church, somewhat indiscriminately. The church betrays a rather simple plan,[162] in which the baptistery was built outside the main building in the centre of the forum square, about 30 m north-east of the church apse.[163] A Christian building (perhaps a baptistery?) has been identified in front of the temple dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus in the harbour area.[164] The position of this baptistery, adjacent to the front of the temple, suggests that the temple was transformed into a church. Finally, in the same area, on the east mole of the Severan harbour, a small temple was probably turned into a church, although no chronology has been suggested.[165]

Overall the main problem emerging from this analysis is the impossibility of identifying a specific chronological pattern. In some cases an early date for the conversion has been suggested, although there is a clear lack of archaeological evidence to support the discussion. Hanson, in his rather comprehensive study, concluded that there is no hard evidence dated to the 4th century, and that the earliest possible date for this transition has to be around the mid-5th century.[166] As indicated above, it appears that the location in the city probably was the main driving factor in the conversion of temples into churches.

Secular buildings transformed into churches

Similar trends might have affected public monuments with civic functions.[167] The location of these structures in the centre of classical

[161] Leone 2007*a*, 186; De Miro 1996, 199; De Miro and Polito 2005, 128; see also Teichner 1996, 57; Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 24–8.

[162] Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 24.

[163] Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 27.

[164] Leone 2007*a*, 186; Cagnat and Gauckler 1898, 18; Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 31; Bartoccini 1958, 65–8; Teichner 1996, 54; Cirelli 2001, 431. It is difficult to outline a chronology of the phases of transformation. On the changes see recently Sears 2011, 252.

[165] Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 32–3.

[166] Hanson 1978, 257.

[167] These were transformed into churches following various patterns, from a complete rebuilding to the addition of only liturgical elements. The use of some specific solutions rather than others was determined by various elements: the state

towns probably in many cases prevented them from early occupation or reuse in the 4th century. In fact, they were mostly reused during the Byzantine reorganization of urban centres.

Civil basilicas and baths seem to have been the structures most commonly converted into churches. The former usually saw reuse in cases where a city maintained its original urban centre through the process of contraction that characterized all North African cities from Late Antiquity onward. Legislation referring to basilicas, dated to the Justinianic period, recalls earlier mandates and informs us that basilica monumentality was required to be left intact, and marriages could not be celebrated in these buildings.[168] Projects resulting in the transformation of basilicas into churches may therefore have required state approval. An example is church 4 at Tipasa. This monument was built between the 1st and 2nd centuries AD and was transformed into a church sometime in the 5th or 6th century.[169] At Sabratha, Basilica I in the ancient forum, which was partially damaged by an earthquake and where some statues had been stored (see Chapter 4), was renovated reusing a number of architectural elements and decorations from the surrounding buildings (see Chapter 5).[170] At Lepcis Magna the Severan basilica was transformed into a monumental church (Fig. 15), leaving in place the original pagan decorations.[171] This transformation occurred in the Justinianic period during a reorganization of the respective cities. In the case of Sabratha the forum probably reacquired its function as a focal point of the city, as it was also included in the Byzantine city wall. At Lepcis Magna it is more difficult to understand exactly who used such a monumental church, due largely to the destruction carried out by the initial Italian excavations. However, it is likely that this was the most important church in the city, as the building was connected to the nearby fort

of preservation of the existing monument, the relationship among the structural elements, the existing plan, and the new project's individual characteristics and adaptability (Cantino Wataghin 1999, 694).

[168] *CJ* 8.11.21: *Theodosius II et Valentinianus III. AA. CYRO.P.U. Basilicam inauratam et marmoribus decoratam liberam in perpetuum manere neque alicuius imaginis pictarum cuiuslibet honoris tabularum adumbratione fuscari iubemus, neque in aliqua parte eiusdem basilicae tabulato quicquam opera stationes ergasteriave constitui sancimus. 8,11,21,1. Illud quoque decernimus, ne in eam equos liceat intromitti vel nuptias celebrari (AD 440).*

[169] Gui *et al.* 1992, 27–9. See in particular 29 on chronology.

[170] Joly and Tommasello 1984, 104.

[171] Leone 2007*a*, 185, and Duval 1973, 272–89; see also Teichner 1996, 57.

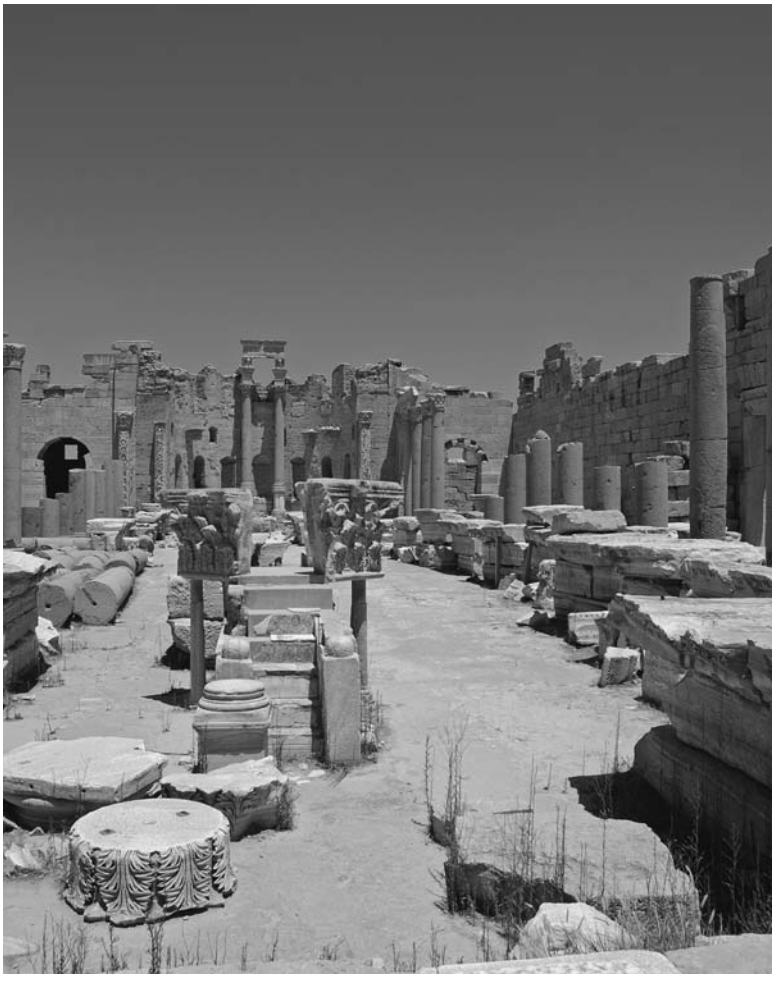


Fig. 15. Lepcis Magna, basilica transformed into a church

built over the Severan forum, transformed in the Byzantine period. At the same time the Judicial basilica on Byrsa Hill (the forum of the city) at Carthage underwent a transformation. After abandonment during the Vandal period, the building was restored and converted, probably into a church, during the Byzantine occupation.[172]

[172] Some concerns about this possibility have been expressed by Duval (1997). Remains identified with a tower were seen annexed to the north wall (BYRSA III). In the same area a church dedicated to the Virgin Theotokos was attested by Procopius,

Similarly, it has been suggested that at *Diana Veteranorum* (Numidia: Zana/Aïn Zana) a church was built in the forum of the Roman city, in the Byzantine period.[173] A more peculiar case is the transformation of the so-called basilica or *Schola Iuvenum* in Mactaris, whose original function has been debated. The building was transformed into a church (Basilica II) probably at the end of the 4th century. In this case the complex is not located at the centre of the urban sector.[174]

Another type of commonly reused building is baths. Excavations carried out between the 19th and 20th centuries often suggest that bath complexes were transformed into churches, though concrete evidence is somewhat lacking. For example at Bulla Regia, Carton suggested that the north-east baths were reused as a church, an interpretation which is difficult to verify with evidence.[175] In other cases the conversion is more certain. At Mactaris a church was installed in the western baths (Basilica IV)[176] and a similar situation has been recorded at Madauros in the Petits Thermes (Fig. 16); this has been considered an earlier transformation of baths into churches, preceding the Vandal period, and resulting in the *frigidarium* becoming the principal part of the church.[177] This change did not substantially affect the layout of the monument.[178]

The reuse of monuments for religious purposes occurred in a variety of different buildings, and it appears clear that the main elements considered in the transformation were the availability of building material (see Chapter 5) and the topographical location within the urban sector.

De Bello Vandalorum. II. 14 (ed. Dewing 1990) (on the Byzantine layout of the city of Carthage see Leone 2007*a*, 168–81. The excavator of the monument suggested the possibility that it could be identified with the Mandracium, a fortified monastery known by the sources, see *De Aedificiis,* VI. 5–11, ed. Haury et Wirth 1998).

[173] Gui *et al.* 1992, 156–7, and on the chronology in particular 158.

[174] See Duval 1973, 108–10; specifically for the discussion on the original function of the complex see 112. The complex is located far from the forum near the baths. This marginal position (but still close to one of the principal routes) probably favoured early transformation into a church. See also Picard 1957*a*, 96–108, and on the transformation of the basilica 109–47.

[175] Carton 1922, 175; see also Leone 2007*a*, 201.

[176] Duval 1971*b*, 305–17. Here the transformation is complex, and required a major intervention in the building. See on this Cantino Wataghin 1999, 700.

[177] Duval 1971*b*, 297. At Madauros there are several traces of Christian reuse. For a description of the church see 300–2. See on Madauros also Cantino Wataghin 1999, 700.

[178] Duval 1971*b*, 304.

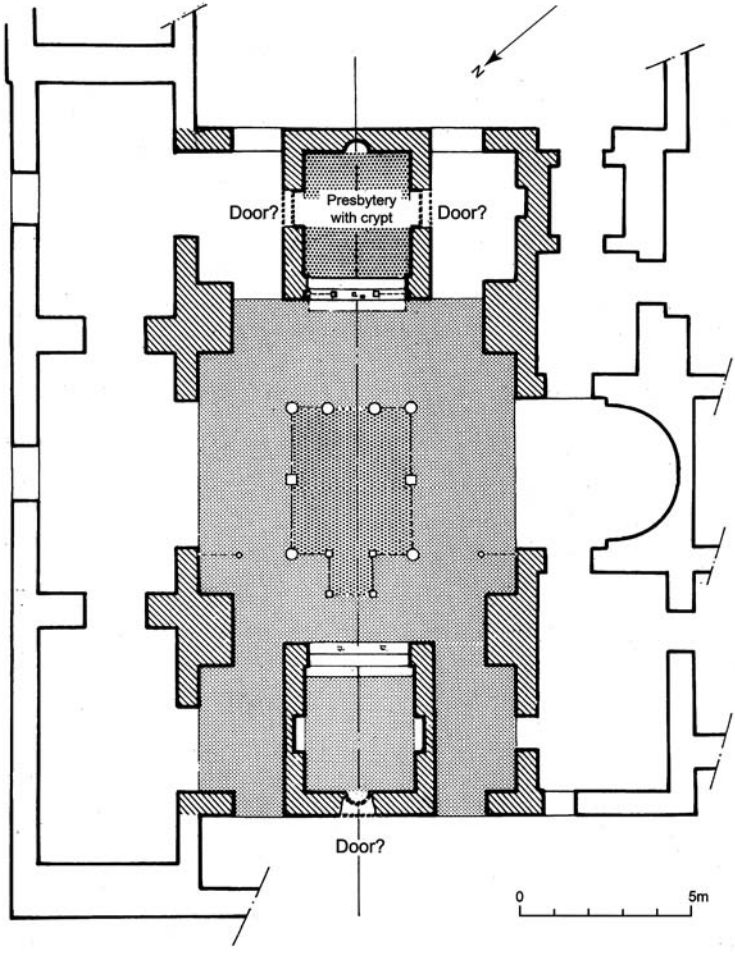


Fig. 16. Madauros, Petits Thermes

7. THE END OF TEMPLES: AN IDEOLOGICAL EVENT?

The main problem in drawing conclusions related to the ultimate fate of temples is the impossibility of understanding the duration of the period in which these buildings remained unused.[179] Legislation seems to

[179] For detailed consideration of the problem see B. Ward-Perkins 2011.

indicate that there was no specific interest in converting pagan temples into Christian sanctuaries, but instead the major aim was to maintain control of public spaces. In this way, public spaces could be rented or sold, perhaps to aristocrats who would in turn occupy the spaces or let them to clients.[180] This might have occurred in cases of public spaces being occupied by private houses prior to the disappearance of the Roman empire. Alternatively, temples could have been simply transformed for use in different functions. This option was always more economically attractive for the municipality as opposed to allowing a derelict monument to clutter public space. But the possibility that a number of temples were simply closed down and left in disrepair must be taken into consideration because, as pointed out above, such buildings were too numerous to feasibly employ all of them in alternative functions.

A second important issue, as previously noted, relates to ownership or control of the monument. While it is impossible to fully trace the ownership of these monuments, the conversion of temples into churches in the 4th century and in the Byzantine period was favoured by the municipal government. The situation probably differed in the Vandal period, when archaeological evidence suggests a lack of control and maintenance of municipal spaces and buildings.[181] The re-monumentalization of North African cities that occurred immediately after the Byzantine conquest is probably the principal reason for the reuse of temples as church buildings.

Legislation and evidence from excavation data suggest that in many cases temples (see Chapters 3 and 4) were closed down and left in disrepair. The praxis that determined the use of some buildings was probably not developed as the result of an ideological stance, but solely because of convenience. The topographical location of these buildings, together with the nearby availability of building material, was probably the driving force determining choices. The basilica in the forum of Sabratha demonstrates this point, as material was primarily taken from the nearest, most accessible monument (for a detailed discussion see Chapter 5).

A further point that clearly emerges is the difficulty in following the issue of public versus private use, since the legal conditions of spaces and buildings changed on several occasions. Public spaces were sometimes sold for private use (also favouring the reuse of building

[180] This may be the case in the above-mentioned House of the Donkey in Cuicul, or in that of Sitifis (see above and nn. 118–19). Ellis 1998, 234.

[181] Leone 2007*a*, 282–7.

and decorative materials in private contexts) and private spaces were sometimes handed over for public use (principally in relation to the availability of space). At Cuicul, for instance, in an area not far from the forum, a house was destroyed to create space for the building of a new church located on the west of the Cardo.[182]

The laws in conjunction with evidence from building materials highlight the attempt in Late Antiquity to maintain as much as possible of the original monumentality of cities. Moreover, the documentary evidence presently available suggests that the phenomenon of the end of paganism, related to the disuse of temples, can be followed materially only from an urban perspective. In rural areas, where a large number of temples probably existed, our understanding is based primarily on sources that point to even longer survival for pagan traditions alongside temple buildings, but these sources cannot be verified archaeologically.

Overall, the data suggest that a number of elements coincided to encourage the end of temples, but none of them appears to be strictly connected to explicitly ideological or religious issues. Although the starting point of the process was religious (namely and first of all the attempt to stop pagan religious practices), economy, expressions of power, and necessity were the driving forces that determined the conversion of pagan religious monuments. The practice of reuse of spaces was a common phenomenon, and even churches were reused in similar ways. In Carthage, Victor of Vita informs us that abandoned churches (*Nouarum et Fausti*) were used by the Vandals to hold prisoners from the sacking of Rome in AD 455. Fittingly, this is another case of conversion that is impossible to detect in the absence of a documentary source,[183] and most of the archaeological evidence comes from later phases, such as the 5th and 6th centuries.[184]

[182] Février 1968, 33.

[183] Victor Vitensis, I, 25–6, *Histoire de la Persécution Vandale en Afrique*, textes établis, traduits et commentés par Serge Lancel (Paris 2002), 108 and nn. 61–4, 286–7.

[184] Milojevic 1997, 355. He also supports the idea that temple conversion is a later phenomenon (5th, 6th, and even 7th c.) that, a few cases aside, has to be seen more as a Byzantine transformation. Hanson 1978, 257, suggests as a starting date (at least in Rome) the mid-5th c. However, it is possible that in some cases the phenomenon might have occurred earlier, as at the Dermech area in Carthage, where a church may have been built after the demolition of the temple (see Ch. 4) or in the documented case of Ammaedara (Haidra), where Basilica I was built on top of a probable public building sometime at the end of the 4th c. (Duval 1982*b*, 654 and 658).

3

Pagan Continuity and Christian Attitudes

When did Paganism End?

> . . . what we call 'paganism' survived for far longer than we usually think to be the case. We no longer see this paganism not because it disappeared, but because it changed its own nature.
>
> (Brown 2010, 410).

1. INTRODUCTION

Temple closures and the prohibition of sacrifices had an impact on the development and transformation of urban areas,[1] favouring the transition of urban topographies into Christian landscapes. Pagan religious buildings were closed, left in disrepair, spoliated or, more rarely, reused for other functions (see Chapter 2). After AD 375 the majority of religious offices disappear completely from the epigraphic record. A good example of the importance of these charges in North Africa, continuing as they did into the 4th century, is provided by Timgad around AD 366 with the mention of thirty-six *flamines* on a municipal list.[2] The *flamines perpetui* and the *curatores reipublicae* (although the latter title does not denote a religious charge) are the

[1] For a discussion on the nature of sacrifices in Late Antiquity see Ch. 2, n. 64.

[2] The effective number of *flamines* in North Africa and the reasons for such a high number has long been debated. On the case mentioned here see Jullian 1896, 1183 and n. 19 below. Similarly in Zama in AD 322 there were at least ten *flamines*. The high number of *flamines* recorded in AD 366 contrasts with the data on other posts. For instance, *pontifices* and *augures* are not recorded after AD 360 (Dupuis 2002, 215).

most numerous dignitaries found in North African cities in Late Antiquity.[3] Alan Cameron has recently indicated that by the 4th century the majority of priestly colleges ceased to exist and the formal structure of paganism had died out; it is likely, however, that some private cults continued after the state structure had disappeared.[4]

These processes also led to the gradual disappearance of official religious charges, while the transition to Christianity facilitated the progressive acquisition of power by the clergy.[5] However, the extent of secular involvement in municipal life on the part of the clergy in North Africa from the 4th century to the Byzantine period is not yet fully understood. Likewise, the connection between pagan priesthoods and Christian members of the African aristocracy is also unclear,[6] although, as pointed out by Yvon Thébert, it is likely that North African populations did not see the conversion as a substantial disruption and continued their urban life as before.[7] Throwing light on this panorama are a number of inscriptions which indicate that some pagan religious charges connected with the imperial cult continued even after the Vandal conquest of Africa.[8] In fact, inscriptions from the period highlight that despite a general reduction in the number of priests, not all pagan offices vanished.[9] This evidence is connected principally to the continuity of the imperial cult.

[3] These are 151 *curatores* and 148 *flamines* (Lepelley 1979, 363). For discussion on the municipal career in North Africa see Lepelley 1981*c*.

[4] Cameron 2011, 168–9. He also discusses the continuity of festivals after the 4th c.

[5] The evidence has been interpreted in the light of this idea, following in particular the Eastern model that asserts city bishops and clergy members increasingly acquired secular powers. For some discussion on this aspect in North Africa see Durliat 1982, Leone 2006 and 2012. On the involvement of bishops in secular activities generally in the Mediterranean see Durliat 1996, and Rapp 2005, 289.

[6] O'Donnell (1979, 51) points out that the contrast between pagans and Christians was implicit in the nature of paganism. The latter in fact 'was not a religion but the attitude towards religion' (52). See also Nuffelen 2011.

[7] Thébert 1983, 106.

[8] Jullian 1896, 1184. Although at the beginning of the empire there was a distinction between the cult of the emperor and the cult of the *divi* emperors (e.g. those members of the imperial family who were dead and therefore became deified), this differentiation not longer appears to exist in the 4th c.

[9] Dupuis 1992, 140–1. Most of the evidence in Lepcis Magna comes from the rich corpus of inscriptions preserved there; in Timgad the critical find was the municipal list (*CIL* VIII, 2403, and for a detailed study Chastagnol 1978 and Lepelley 1981*c*, 333–5) as well as the list at Zama Regia (Hirschfeld 1866, 61–2, Lepelley 1981*b*, 326–8, and Jacques 1990, 161–3).

Having considered the end of pagan cults at a more general level in Chapter 2, the aim here is to look specifically at the imperial cult and its continuing tradition beyond the Roman presence in North Africa. Cults operated at both provincial and municipal levels;[10] for example, the cult of the emperor at Carthage, provincial capital of Africa Proconsularis, existed alongside municipal *flamines* from various North African cities.[11] The most accepted hypothesis is that a *flamen* held office for one year, as normally occurred in provincial areas, and then after this period maintained the office in an honorary capacity, identified by the adjective *perpetuus*. Generally these priests (*flamines*) who oversaw imperial cults were recruited from among the *curiales*.[12] The *sacerdotes provinciae* usually held their positions for one year in the capital of the province; these title-holding individuals organized games (see Chapter 1) and maintained their titulature until death.[13]

The problem of understanding priesthoods of the imperial cult is a long-standing one. Hirschfeld made the first attempt in 1888.[14] In his article he tried to identify the functions, duration, and political meaning of these offices. Hirschfeld's work took into consideration some personal discussions with Mommsen. They agreed that *flamen perpetuus* indicated those who had finished their service as *Flamines Augusti* for one year. Subsequently, several other scholars have also

[10] Traditionally *flamines* in Rome were perennial, while they held the title for only one year in the provinces. However, North Africa presents a large number of recorded *flamines perpetui*. See Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 111. See also Fishwick 2002*a*, 192.

[11] The building connected to this cult is still unknown in the city; see on this Fishwick 2004, 179–80. For details on the evolution of the cult and for a discussion on *sacerdotes* and *flamines* in North Africa, 188–9.

[12] Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 106.

[13] Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 111. The article also contains some specific definitions of the geographical extension of the different African provinces. Theodosius and Honorius in their legislation probably maintained the *sacerdotes provinciae* because they organized theatrical performances and *ludi* (Lepelley 1981*c*, 340–1). The office is mentioned in several texts. African *sacerdotales* are indicated in: *CTh* 12.1.145 (AD 395), *CTh* 12.1.174 (AD 412), and *CTh* 16.5.52 (AD 412). Donatist *sacerdotales* are indicated in: *CTh* 12.1.176 (AD 413) and *CTh* 7.13.11 (AD 428). Alan Cameron (1999, 110) points out that in the 1st c. and 2nd c. priesthoods were a good position to hold, but in the 3rd c. and 4th c. the affiliation to colleges becomes 'exclusive and self-perpetuating'.

[14] Hirschfeld proposed an ascending hierarchy among charges: *Augur*, *Pontifex*, and *Flamen* (Hirschfeld 1888, 862 n. 2). The most difficult point is in respect of the titulature of the *flamines*, in particular the *flamines perpetui*. See Bassignano 1974, 11.

addressed this issue.[15] Marquardt (1872, 213–14) discussed in particular the activity and presence of each individual *flamen* in the general provincial meeting. Herbst (1883, 5, as Hirschfeld) took into consideration the various titles and proposed that *sacerdotes* were active in the cult of the gods, while the *flamines* were active exclusively in the imperial cult (on the same subject also Toutain 1907 and Geiger 1913).

The first specific study on the provincial meetings of the priests of the imperial cult in North Africa was carried out by Pallu de Lessert (1884 and 1891), while Schmidt (1892) reconsidered the issue of the *flamen perpetuus* recorded only in North Africa.

North Africa in particular has been a subject of debate, due especially to the nature of the 5th-century and early 6th-century evidence, as it offers a unique set of data. The continuity of pagan traditions beyond the Roman empire during the Vandal period is attested by various inscriptions, with reference to *sacerdotes* and *flamines*.[16]

These charges[17] in North Africa are known from the 1st century to the 3rd century, but they continued to be recorded in large numbers in African inscriptions in Late Antiquity, with 164 *flamines perpetui*.[18] Unlike in other provinces, these positions had a widespread occurrence in urban centres from the very beginning of their existence.[19] An organized presence in North Africa is confirmed by the recorded private, municipal, and provincial

[15] For a more detailed discussion on the history of scholarship, see Bassignano 1974, 9–21.

[16] For a definition and the significance of the term *flamen,* see Vanggaard 1988, 21. The religious office was connected with the cult of the emperor, and is usually referred to as *Flamen Augusti* or *Augustorum*, *Flamen divi Augusti*, with all versions often designated (esp. in North Africa) by the epithet *perpetuus* (Bassignano 1974, 13). North Africa is also unique, in that here the *flamines* are numerous and continue until the 6th c. (Bassignano 1974, 16). For a case study referring to the finding of several inscriptions mentioning *flamines perpetui*, see Lambaesis, where they were all found in the baths near the *Capitolium*, suggesting that cult practice may have been performed there (Marcillet-Jaubert 1987). For some discussion on the acquisition of the charge and its position in a personal career see Bassignano 1974, 371–3.

[17] Those who held the *sacerdotium* in the previous year were usually called *sacerdotales* (Chastagnol 1987, 101), although in some contexts the same word was used to refer to all the pagan priests, i.e. *pontifices*, *augures*, *flamines*.

[18] Lepelley 1979, 166–7, and 2002*a*, 276.

[19] Bassignano 1974, 16. Jullian (1896, 1183) suggested that this was due to the fact that in Africa towns were subdivided into *curiae*, each of which could correspond to a *flamen*.

cults.[20] The development of the cult deserves some consideration, starting from Late Antiquity.[21]

2. *SACERDOTES* AND *FLAMINES* IN LATE ANTIQUE NORTH AFRICA

Inscriptions from different parts of North Africa attest to the continuity of the *flaminatus* in the late 4th century (see Appendix 1). It appears that in Africa Proconsularis 19 of the 4th–century inscriptions are dated after AD 356, in *Byzacena* there are 7, in Tripolitana 5, and in Numidia 16. After AD 383, 13 *flamines perpetui* are recorded in African cities. Provincial *sacerdotales* are still found at the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th century, and they were probably in charge of organizing feasts, banquets, and *ludi*.[22] Following legislation in AD 399, celebrations could take place on the condition that no sacrifices were performed; the continuity of the municipal *flaminatus* and the provincial priesthood is probably linked to the festivals that characterized the celebrations (see Chapter 1).[23] A confirmation of this practice comes from a body of legislation referring to the still existent practice of nominating pagan priests. Two laws are dated to AD 412: the first indicates recruitment

[20] For a discussion on this cult in North Africa and its origin, see Fishwick 1987, 257. He writes, on the basis of other regions, that the origin of the cult in North Africa dates back to the Flavian period (2002*b*, 170). For a different perspective on the origin of the cult in the region, see Abaecherli 1931.

[21] For a synthesis on the relationship between the imperial cult and Christians from the 1st c. to the 3rd c. in North Africa see Ries 2003.

[22] On celebrations connected to the cult see Fishwick 2004, 235–87.

[23] *CTh* 12.1.145 (395), the legislation indicates the restoration of the *sacerdotales africani* that appear to have been suppressed for a period: *Ennoio proc(onsuli) Afric(ae). Africanos sacerdotales Karthagini restitui ibique arbitratu suo agrere cum fauorabili editione placuit. Quod facientes diui patris nostri beneficium renouamus.* For some further consideration on this see Lepelley 1979, 364–5. A law by Theodosius in AD 386 barred Christians from holding the *flaminatus* (*CTh* 12.1.112); contrary to this interpretation see Chastagnol 1987, 102–3 and 110. For some further comments see Duchesne 1887, 167. Reference to pagan practices and the imperial cult is in the *Sermo* Dolbeau 25 (*cum pagani ingrederentur)*, although with references to the past. Dolbeau 2009, 266: *Veniunt ut dicere coeperam, reges Romam. Ibi sunt templa imperatorum qui superbia sua diuinos sibi honores exegerunt ab hominibus et, quia poterant—reges enim errant et dominatores—extorserunt potius quam meruerunt.* See also Lepelley 1998, 329.

by the *curiales* of the provincial priests;[24] the second is part of the edict of reunion of the Donatist Church and indicates that those *sacerdotales* who converted to the Donatist Church had to pay thirty libras, although the text refers generally to the *'sacerdotales'* without clearly defining who they were.[25] In the earlier Council of Elvira (between AD 295 and AD 309) there is reference to punishments for those *flamines* who continued to conduct sacrifices.[26] Numerous canons refer to Christians who were obliged to hold municipal offices,[27] and a number of others specifically refer to Christian *flamines*. From legislation it appears that despite the clear attempt to disrupt these specific activities, the actions outlined are not considered so definitively off-limits as to warrant excommunication (this is applied only to the priests who were sacrificing), and those *flamines* who acted against these rules (as for instance if they were

[24] *CTh* 12.174. See also MacMullen 1964.

[25] *CTh* 16.5.52. Payment is required from the Donatist who does not return to the Catholic religion. The amount differs according to status: *Spectabiles 40 libras; senators 30; clarissimi 20; sacerdotales 30 golden libras; principales 20 golden libras*; etc. See *Code Théodosien* (Sources Chrétiennes 497, 306–7).

[26] Council of Elvira, II (Winterslow Dale 1882, 315): *Flamines qui post fidem lavacri et regenerationis sacrificaverunt, eo quod geminaverint scelera, accedente homicidio, vel triplicaverint facinus, coherente moechia, placuit eos nec in finem accipere communionem*; III (Winterslow Dale 1882, 315–16): *Item flamines qui non immolaverint, sed munus tantum dederint, eo quod se a funestis abstinuerint sacrificiis, placuit in finem eis prestare communionem, acta tamen legitima poenitentia: item ipsi si post poenitentiam fuerint moechati, placuit ulterius his non esse dandam communionem, ne illusisse de dominica communione videantur*; IV (Winterslow Dale 1882, 316): *Item Flamines si fuerint catechumeni et se a sacrificiis abstinuerint, post triennii tempora placuit ad baptismum admitti debere.* For some detailed comments on the relationship between the Christian *Flamines* and the Synod of Elvira see Duchesne 1887.

[27] The following regulations were established: believers who take part in sacrifices are excommunicated; all those who have seen a sacrifice celebrated in a temple are subject to a 10-year penitence; 3 years of penitence to a husband and wife who lend their clothes for a pagan ceremony; 5 years for landowners who accept objects consecrated to idols as payment; the Christian *duumviri* cannot attend the church in the year in which they hold the title; the *flamines* who have conducted sacrifices are excommunicated; those *flamines* who, without conducting sacrifices, have established public games can be readmitted to the Church, on the condition that they have carried out the necessary penitence and they did not repeat the offence; the *flamines* who are *catechumeni* can only be admitted to baptism after a trial period of 3 years; the *flamines* who have worn the crown, their symbol, but do not perform sacrifices can be reconciled with the Church after a period of 2 years; a Christian who has destroyed idols and for this has been condemned to death cannot be considered among the martyrs. See on this also Duchesne 1887, 161 and Ch. 4.

organizing games) could always be forgiven.[28] To explain this trend it has been suggested that festivals continued but were deprived of their religious significance;[29] individuals continued to fulfil their role as priests, but without the religious overtones that they previously held.[30] Hence, the abolition of sacrifices determined the development of a more political function for these priesthoods.[31] The silence of the ancient authors and canons after the 4th century has been interpreted as a confirmation that religious offices were losing their religious associations.[32] Augustine was untroubled by the issue of Christians acting as *flamines,* although he mentions them on several occasions.[33]

[28] Reference is made to priests who were travelling to Carthage. An earlier piece of legislation in AD 413 suggests that there was a high level of participation in celebrations; for those taking place in Carthage people came from outside the region (*CTh* 12.1.176). For some detailed analysis on this, see Chastagnol 1987, 103–5. The legislation dated to AD 415 refers to a similar issue, in *CTh* 16.10.20: *Sacerdotales paganae superstitionis competenti coercitioni subiacere praecipimus, nisi intra diem kalendarum Nouembrium de Karthagine decedentes ad ciuitates redierint genitales, ita ut simili quoque censurae per totam Africam sacerdotales obnoxii teneantur, nisi de metropolitanis urbibus discesserint et remearint ad proprias ciuitates*. The exact meaning has long been debated. Some reasons given are the fact that priests from other regions travelled to Carthage for celebrations, or that the *sacerdotales* refer to all pagan priests. For a detailed discussion see Chastagnol 1987, 105–6.

[29] Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 110.

[30] Cameron 1999, 109–21. In particular, Alan Cameron (111) points out that in North Africa the continuity of the *flamines* and the *sacerdotales* into the Vandal period was determined by the continuity of the privileges and responsibilities associated with holding office. Lizzi Testa (2009*a*, 251) considers this interpretation too extreme. She points out: 'between the two extremes, however, there exists a yawning gap. The space it creates is interwoven with subtleties, legislative second thoughts, and continuities; it was open to those who, while remaining pagan, enjoyed the chance to express their own religious identity even despite the adoption of Christianity by the emperors' (252).

[31] The Constantinian great Rescript of *Hispellum* (*CIL* XI, 5265 = *ILS* 705, Gascou 1967) indicates the priests' duties to organize games. It is known through inscriptions and later legislation that rites and priesthoods (*sacerdos provinciae* and *flamen municipalis*) were maintained, but sacrifices were forbidden. See also on this document Lepelley 1981*c*, 341.

[32] Lepelley 1979, 365; for a more recent discussion on the end of pagan priesthood see Cameron 2011, 132–72, esp. 171.

[33] His anger is directed principally at temples more than anything else. The mention of *flamines* is usually in connection with the account of an event: *Contra Cresconium* III.29.33 (*Felix, flamen perpetuus—Œuvres de Saint Augustine 31.4 Traités anti-donatistes*, traduction de G. Finaert, introductions et notes C. de Veer (Bibliothèque Augustinienne), Paris 1968, 330–4); *Epistula* 53, 2.4 (. . . *Felicem Flaminem perpetuum curatorem*—Sant'Agostino, *Le Lettere I* (1–123), introduzione di M. Pellegrino, traduzione T. Almonti, L. Carrozzi, Opere di Sant'Agostino, vol. XXI, Rome 1969, 428); *De Civitate Dei* II.15 and III. 27 (*Nam etiam flaminem illi*

Christians did not have to cease holding pagan priesthoods and could bear pagan titles while simultaneously professing Christian beliefs in the very same inscriptions because these were not seen as conflicting interests. An illuminating example of this is the set of tablets from Thamugadi that refer to Aelius Iulianus: he is listed as one of the city's *decuriones*, with the title of *flamen perpetuus*, but the inscription had a *chi rho* at the top, suggesting he was Christian. The document is dated between AD 366 and 367.[34]

Paganism as a religion was synonymous with the empire, and religious offices were part of the secular career of a man. In fact, both the municipal *flaminatus* and the provincial priesthood had become essential parts of the career path of local notables and could not be replaced immediately; the political function of religion had decayed from the age of Constantine,[35] but time was needed before the complex pagan structure of the empire could be reorganized. Attendance at pagan activities was still seen as an important part of civic life (not as an expression of religious life, but rather of common practices), and this is very clearly laid down in the legislation directed at the *proconsul* of Africa from Honorius in AD 399,[36] which refers to the large number of celebrations taking place at the end of December. However, as pointed out by Alan Cameron, the number of calendar illustrations referring to pagan festivals is reduced after Late Antiquity. In a mosaic floor from Thysdrus dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd century, scenes of pagan festivals are illustrated across nine months; in the AD 354 Codex-Calendar they are limited to four

instituerunt, quod sacerdotii genus adeo in Romanis sacris testante apice excelluit, ut tres solos flamines haberent tribus numinibus istitutos—Sancti Aurelii Augustini, *De Civitate Dei Libri* I–X, Turnholti 1955 (CCSL 47), 47).

[34] *AE* 1913, 25 = Villefosse 1912, LXIII = *ILCV* 387. The inscribed document was found in the northern part of the western baths at Timgad in a building that has been suggested to be his house (Ballu 1913, 173). See p. 35 note 22.

[35] For some further discussion on this, see Lepelley 1979, 36 and 374, and 1981*c*. Cameron (2011, 132–4) points out a progressive disappearance of the pagan priesthood from the 3rd c., starting with minor priesthoods.

[36] *CTh* 16.10.17 = *CJ* I.11.4: *IDEM AA. APOLLODORO PROCONS(VLI) AFRIC(AE). Vt profanos ritus iam salubri lege submouimus, ita festos conuentus ciuium et communem omnium laetitiam non patimur submoueri. Unde absque ullo sacrificio atque ulla superstitione damnabili exhiberi populo uoluptates secundum ueterem consuetudinem, iniri etiam festa conuiuia, si quando exigent publica uota, decernimus* (Delmaire 2005, 452). See also Ch. 1, n. 47.

months (see below). In an early 5th-century mosaic in Carthage there is only one image, representing the consular games in the first week of January.[37] After Constantine, municipal dedications by notables referring to pagan cults are almost completely non-existent.[38]

3. FIFTH-CENTURY EVIDENCE: THE VANDAL PERIOD

Inscriptions reveal that in 5th-century North Africa, after the Vandal conquest, the titles of *flamen perpetuus* and *sacerdotalis provinciae* still existed,[39] with the exception of Mauretania, where no later inscriptions have been found. Additionally, the Albertini Tablets (a set of 5th-century documents) contain general references to *flamines*. These wooden documents were found in 1928 hidden inside a large jar deposited upside down and set into a wall. The recovery site, although not known precisely, was in a triangle close to the Algerian–Tunisian border, 100 km south of Theveste, 60 km west of Gafsa, and 60 km south-west of Feriana. The tablets, written in Latin, contain 33 partial or complete documents that refer to the sale of agricultural plots (*particellae agrorum*) located principally in the *fundus Tuletianos*, one of the four *fundi* indicated in the acts. The *fundus* was under the *dominum* of Geminus Catullinus, who was probably an absentee landowner. In particular the text labels the lands as 'Mancian cultivations', referring to the *Lex Manciana*. This is legislation created with the intention of developing lands that had been left uncultivated in North Africa.[40]

[37] Cameron 2011, 169 and Stern 1981, 431–75.

[38] Cameron 2011, 134 suggested that most of these activities were taking place privately. From a more cautious perspective see Lizzi Testa 2009*a*, see also Lizzi Testa 2009*b*. See also Ch. 2.

[39] Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 106. They were recruited from among the *curial* élite of the city.

[40] The tablets were published in 1952 (Courtois *et al.* 1952), and since then they have been reconsidered at various times. For more discussion on the Tablets see Lambert 1953, Percival 1975, Mattingly 1989, Ørsted 1993, Hitchner 1995, and Wessel 2003. For some discussion on the *Lex Manciana* see Vera 1988, De Ligt 1998–9, and Wessel 2003, 89–113.

The analysis of the evidence for the Vandal period has been carried out exhaustively by Chastagnol and Duval, and several other scholars have also addressed the issue.[41] One inscription has been found at Djemila (Cuicul) in Numidia; this was within a mosaic floor in the northern basilica of the episcopal complex,[42] since lost. The dedication was by Tulius Adeodatus *Sacerdotalis*,[43] who donated part of the pavement decoration. The suggested chronology is the early 5th century.[44] A second inscription is recorded at Hr Baharine (Chouhoud el Batal near Medjez el Bab, Membressa) in Africa Proconsularis.[45] This is an epitaph referring to Minucius Apronianus, *flamen perpetuus*.

In Ammaedara (Haïdra)[46] there are three late inscriptions: two refer to *flamines perpetui* (Astius Vindicianus and Astius Mustelus) and one belongs to a *sacerdotalis provinciae Africae* (Astius Dinamius). The latter was discovered in 1969, while the former two were found between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century but have since been lost.[47] The inscription on the tomb of Astius Mustelus *flamen perpetuus*[48] was located in the Christian

[41] Chastagnol and Duval 1974. Other scholars have considered the evidence from various perspectives, as, for instance, discussing the nature of the relationship between the Roman empire and the Vandals (see Clover 1993*a*, *b*, *c*; Modéran 2002). For an overall synthesis of the existing debates see Merrills and Miles 2010, 212–13.

[42] The basilica was originally dated to the 4th c. annexed to a larger church. It is thought to have been the first cathedral of the city. A later analysis suggested instead a chronology dating to the 5th c. (see Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 89–90).

[43] *Tulius / Adeoda/tus sacer/dotalis vo/tum comp(levit)*, *CIL* VIII, 8348. Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 88–94.

[44] Chronology is based on the suggested date for the building of the church and for the identification of the person mentioned in the text. See on this Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 91 and Février 1962–5.

[45] *ILAf* 490 = *Minucius Apronianus, flamen perpetuus, fidelis vixit in pace ann(is) LXXII, menses X.* Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 104–5.

[46] The province where Ammaedara was located has long been debated. The site in fact is positioned on the border of two provinces: it was probably part of Africa Proconsularis, but sometime during the Byzantine period (maybe during the 6th c.) it became part of Byzacena. For a discussion and analysis of the evidence, see Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 101–2.

[47] Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 95 n. 2 Astius Vindicianus; 97 n. 3 Astius Mustelus; 100 n. 4 Astius Dinamius.

[48] *CIL* VIII, 460 = *Astius Mustelus, fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus) cristianus, vixit annis LXXII. Quievit VIII id(us) decembres, anno III d(omi)n(i) regis Idirix,* Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 97–100.

Basilica IV (also called the 'Chapelle Vandale' of Ammaedara/Haïdra, dated to the reign of Hilderic in AD 525–6). Hilderic returned the churches to the Catholics after a series of persecutions and it has been proposed that the tomb was placed in the church immediately following this period.[49] The funerary inscription of Astius Vindicianus (*flamen perpetuus*),[50] probably dating to the beginning of the 6th century, bears a cross and an *omega*. The inscription of Astius Dinamius *sacerdotalis provinciae Africae*[51] has text preceded by a monogrammatic cross, very common in the Vandal period.[52] In Byzacena, at Uppenna (Henchir Chigarnia), a funerary mosaic refers to Iulius Honorius, *flamen perpetuus*.[53] The Albertini tablets, dated to the Vandal period (AD 493–6), mention Flavius Catullinus *flamen perpetuus*.[54]

These highlight the recorded evidence of several *flamines* and one *sacerdotalis*, during a period when pagan sacrifices in Africa were no longer officially outlawed and when secular rule had passed to the authority of the Vandal Hasding monarchy in Carthage. This, then, was a 'pagan', 'imperial' cult in a society which seemed to recognize neither.

A number of explanations have been put forward to explain this situation, and new ones can be added here. First, the continuity of the offices must be seen in light of the change of institutional charges; they had lost their religious connotations and had become secular.[55] This is very likely as it seems that the process had already started in the 4th century. Tadeusz Kotula suggests a similar secular interpretation of the *flamines* as civic charges, proposing that these were

[49] De Rossi 1878*a*, 27.

[50] *CIL* VIII, 450 = *Astius Vindicianus, v(ir) c(larissimus) et fl(amen) p(er)petuus;* Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 95–6.

[51] *CIL* VIII, 10516 = *Astius Dinamius, [sacer]dotalis provin[cie] Africe*. Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 100–2.

[52] Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 95.

[53] The mosaic is now at the Museum of Enfidaville, the original location of the mosaic is indicated by Gauckler 1913, 24. *CIL* VIII, 23045 = *Iulius Honorius, fl(a)m(en) p(er)p(etuus), in pace bixit annis LXII*—Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 103–4. The church was originally dated to the 4th c. on the basis of the mosaic style and comparison with other mosaics.

[54] Courtois *et al.* 1952, iii.3b.6–7, 218.

[55] For some considerations and analysis see Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 110 and Lepelley 2002*a*.

responsible for the maintenance of public buildings.[56] The offices existed symbolically, and the priests were not physically performing religious sacrifices in temples or elsewhere.[57] Both offices remained an important step in the career of rich, notable figures in a city or province. The recorded evidence of these priesthoods is much poorer in the 5th century than for the 4th, suggesting a progressive reduction in the significance of these figures. However, as a consequence of the continuity of Vandal period officials, several explanations have been offered. Some scholars point out that continuity emerged from an agreed connection between Rome and Vandal Africa. For example, the Vandal kings appear to have gone to substantial lengths to maintain the regional subdivision of areas into provinces administered by governors (*iudices provinciales*),[58] similarly, these recorded offices have been interpreted as a transfer of ruler worship from the Roman Emperor to the Vandal king.[59] It has been suggested that this overlapping between emperor and king existed as a result of the agreed relationship between Rome and the Vandals in Africa, where the Vandals were a kind of federated state of the Roman empire.[60] As

[56] Kotula 1979; the interpretation is based on a recorded correspondence between people holding the title and at the same time being responsible for restoration of public monuments.

[57] For a synthesis and further bibliography on the various types of sacrifices and rites connected with the imperial cult see Fishwick 2004.

[58] Victor Vitensis 3.13 (Victor de Vita, *Histoire de la Persécution Vandale en Afrique*, texte, tradition et commentaire S. Lancel, Paris 2002, 181–2). For a detailed discussion on the governors of the later provinces of Byzacena and Tripolitana see Chastagnol 1967, esp. 132 for the Vandal period. For some discussion on this see also Chastagnol and Duval 1974, 112, and more recently Merrills and Miles 2010, 85–7.

[59] Lepelley 1979, 368; the same opinion is also held in Chastagnol and Duval 1974 and Duval 1984. This latter article in particular is conceived as an answer to the interpretation by F. Clover. On his ideas see Clover 1993*a*, 1993*b*, and 1993*c*.

[60] Clover 1993*a*, 667: 'Beyond Africa the Vandals were fearsome seafaring raiders, but in the opinion of the Roman government they were clients.' He suggested, in analysing various treaties between the Romans and the Vandals, that Vandal Africa was a client kingdom of Rome and therefore people continued to venerate the Roman emperors, and later (after AD 476) the relationship was transferred to Constantinople. The most important treaty was signed in 442 and it remained the principal agreement until the reign of Justinian. This was confirmed by Prosper Tiro, Epitoma Chronicon no. 1321, 474: *Pax facta cum Vandalis data eis ad habitandum Africae portione (per Trigetium in loco Hippone III, Idus Febr.—Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctorum antiquissimorum.Tomus IX. Chronica Minora, saec. IV.V.VI.VII*, edidit T. Mommsen, 1892) and no. 1347, 479: *Cum Gisirico ab Augusto Valentiniano pax confirmata et certis spatiis Africa inter utrumque divisa est*. Later a 'non-aggression pact' was agreed with the Eastern emperor Zeno. For some further comments on this interpretation see Modéran 2002, 90–1.

proposed by Frank Clover 'the Vandal rulers advertised themselves as *reges*, and through confiscations and expulsions they provoked the opposition of the African élite. Yet, they allowed provincial aristocrats to retain some of their old prerogatives, and they were federated members of the most influential house in the late Roman empire.' From this perspective the Vandal kings left open an opportunity to honour the emperors.[61] This discussion obviously refers to the first period of the Vandal presence in North Africa, after the settlement treaty in 442; moreover, the definition of the nature of the relationship of the Vandal kings with the Roman empire, after the conquest, remains problematic.[62]

None of these issues is particularly significant from the perspective considered here, as the main idea, first approached by Chastagnol and Duval, is that cult offices as well as practices themselves were symbolic (as it appears might have already been the case in the 4th century, as confirmed by the Church councils, see above). An explanation might be provided by the fact that Vandal Africa remained profoundly Roman in its customs and traditions, as reflected in the range of recovered inscriptions, not only those referring to priesthoods,[63] and indicating the continuity of use of Latin inscriptions under the Hasdings. It appears that when North Africa was conquered at the beginning of the 5th century, the region was cut off from the Roman empire politically, but never fully removed from it culturally. As the Vandals did not replace the existing Roman social structure with a new organization, traditions endured, like buried cultural deposits, until they were cleared out by the Byzantine conquest and subsequent reformation.

[61] Clover 1993*a*, 669.

[62] For a detailed analysis of the proposed interpretation by Frank Clover see Duval 1984.

[63] For instance, a continuity of Roman epigraphic practice is indicated in the use of the term '*Baiae*' during the Vandal period (see *CIL* VIII—25362, which refers to the building of a baths complex by Gebamund, one of the members of the family of the Hasdings): *Cerne Salutiferas sp[lendent]i marmore Baias / qui calidos aest[us tin]gere quaeris aquis. / Hic ubi Vulcano Ne[ptunus] certat amore / Nec necat unda f[ocum, n]ec nocet ignis aquas. /Gaude operi, Gebam[unde, tu]o, regalis origo, deliciis sospes ute [re cum] populo*. The term was borrowed from the thermal installations known to exist between the end of the Republic and the early empire. Use of the same expression is found in various texts and inscriptions in North Africa, especially from the 3rd c. and the 4th c. such as Sullectum (Salakta), discussing the building of a bath and indicating that this was a Roman model exported and adopted across the empire (Guérin-Beauvois 2000).

Evidence from sources such as the *Anthologia Latina*[64] and Victor Vitensis suggests that notable Romans continued to work for the new kings and there remained a strong link between these figures and the Roman aristocracy (sometimes strained by divisive persecutions); in general, the Vandals did not suddenly cut themselves off from the structure of Roman organization and maintained strong traditions. Members of the original Roman elites also held important places in the Vandal hierarchy, flanking the Hasding kings and working for them.[65] Among these was Blossius Aemilius Dracontius, who, despite having been born in the Vandal kingdom, is named as *advocatus* in Carthage and *vir clarissimus* in the late 5th century.[66]

Another figure of interest is Victorianus, from Hadrumentum, who under Huniric was *proconsul Carthaginis*. When the king invited him to convert to Arianism, he refused and was subjected to torture and eventually martyred.[67] Other members of the Roman aristocracy are also mentioned as administrators of lands belonging to kings (*procuratores domus*).[68] Victor Vitensis refers to Felix as *procurator domus filii regis*, who was at the same time *Venerabilis Christianus*.[69] Another figure is Saturus, *procurator domus Hunirici*, who also refused to convert to Arianism.[70]

[64] Poems in the collection of the *Anthologia Latina* by Felix (ch. XVIII), Luxorious (ch. XXIV), and other minor authors refer to Vandal North Africa. The principal corpus is the so-called *Codex Salmasianus*, dated between the 7th c. and 8th c. Some of the poems in the *Anthologia Latina* on Vandal Africa have been collected and analysed in an article published by Chalón *et al.* 1985.

[65] A poem by Luxorius, a Vandal poet, speaks of the Vandal nobleman Fridamal, who wanted to decorate his house with a Roman hunting painting depicting him as a Roman (*Anthologia Latina* R 304 (S.299)). For comments and the translated version of the poem see Merrills and Miles 2010, 98–9.

[66] *PLRE* II, 379–80.

[67] Victor Vitensis 3. 28 (Victor de Vita, *Histoire de la Persécution Vandale en Afrique*, texte, tradition et commentaire S. Lancel, Paris 2002, 189).

[68] Modéran 2002, 103. The same charge is also mentioned in Gil Egea 1998, 303–7.

[69] Victor Vitensis 1. 14 (Victor de Vita, *Histoire de la Persécution Vandale en Afrique*, texte, tradition et commentaire S. Lancel, Paris 2002, 118). Aiello 2006, 33. Felix is a participant in an episode that involves an Armogas who was working for the king and his sons. Armogas was removed from office for being a Christian. He was first exiled and then condemned to pasture cows near Carthage. When he was dying, he asked Felix to bury him under a tree. When Felix dug the grave where he was told to, he found in the ground a beautiful marble sarcophagus for Armogas (*Tandem abscisis radicibus multo altius terram cauantes conspiciunt sarcofagum splendidissimi marmoris preparatum, qualem forte nullus omnino habuit regum*).

[70] Victor Vitensis 1. 16 (Victor de Vita, *Histoire de la Persécution Vandale en Afrique*, texte, tradition et commentaire S. Lancel, Paris 2002, 119). Aiello 2006, 33.

Sources show the involvement of prominent Romans at the highest level of the Vandal state, with some of them working directly with the King and their attendant entourages. This probably occurred for two reasons. First, the Vandals were limited in number. Victor Vitensis informs us that a total of eighty thousand Vandals entered North Africa.[71] On this basis recent studies by Yves Modéran have highlighted how the evidence of a Vandal presence is stronger in Africa Proconsularis, while significantly less prominent in other geographical areas.[72] It follows that in a territory as vast as North Africa the impact on society must have remained limited. Politically, the situation might have been different. Whether the Vandals were allied to or clients of Rome (or neither when they were formally at war between AD 455 and 477), immediately after the conquest of Africa the Vandals were clearly very keen on maintaining control over the territory, which was key to Mediterranean trade. It seems possible that Rome was also interested in exercising some sort of influence. Such a policy must have been fairly easy to employ if the majority of the inhabitants of the North African provinces were still members of the Roman elite or, better still, carried on acting as if they were. In this view it is arguable that the official actions of the Vandal royal family were in some ways connected to, or symbolically modelled on, those of the Roman emperors; after all, at least in the first twenty to thirty years after the conquest, they were speaking to a community of which the large majority was still Roman. As pointed out by Andrew Merrills, texts indicate that education was still provided at a high level, exactly as it had been before.[73] Florentius, one of the Vandal poets of the *Anthologia Latina*, refers to Carthage as being adorned with schools and teachers that were presumably following Roman teaching traditions.[74]

[71] Although the number is only representative, it is significant that the total number is so low. Victor Vitensis 1.2 (Victor de Vita, *Histoire de la Persécution Vandale en Afrique*, texte, tradition et commentaire S. Lancel, Paris 2002, 99): *Qui reperti sunt, sense, iuuenes, paruuli, serui uel domini, octoginta milia numerati*. Although the number is probably fictive, the symbolic number used suggests that only a limited number of Vandals physically conquered and settled in North Africa. On the limted numbers of the Vandals see also Modéran 2002, 106.

[72] Modéran 2002, 108–9. For a synthesis on the *Sortes Vandalorum* (lands confiscated by the Vandal king) see Merrills and Miles 2010, 66–8.

[73] Merrills and Miles 2010, 213–19. For further comments on life and culture in the Vandal period see Tlili 2010, 2063–7.

[74] Florentius (*Anthologia Latina* 371, 29–9, R.376): 'Carthage, yes Carthage, retains her fame by her high places and her king. Carthage the victress. Carthage the mother

The survival of the Roman elite into the Vandal period is confirmed by the economic vitality of North Africa in the 5th century[75] and by the building, rebuilding, and refurbishment of rich *domus* recorded in this period, principally in Carthage and to a lesser extent in other cities.[76] The same continuity of Roman traditions is also reflected in the building activity carried out by the Hasding kings. In fact they concentrated on the restoration of some specific foci of late antique cities, such as the baths, while leaving areas like fora (that in many cases were already in disrepair). The urban monumentality of the Vandal period focused on private architecture and the restoration of baths complexes, elements that were already key to urban vitality in the late Roman period, and therefore constituted a continuation of Roman tradition. It appears that existing public buildings were not usually restored in the 5th century if they were in a state of disrepair at the onset of the Vandal conquest. The evidence of restorations of public complexes attested during the 5th century, as identified by Yvon Thébert, is limited to baths;[77] the records indicate that a large number of thermae were in use during the course of the Vandal period. Other complexes, such as fora, were instead occasionally abandoned and then occupied by private individuals; this transpired

city of the Hasdingi triumphs. Carthage glitters. In all of Libya's lands, Carthage, yes. Carthage is eminent. Carthage is adorned with learning. Carthage is embellished with teachers. Carthage is rich in peoples. Carthage is radiant. Carthage is well endowed with houses. Carthage abounds with walls. Carthage is savoury. Carthage is nectar sweet. Carthage flourishes, ruling in the name of Thrasamund' (trans. Miles 2005, 320). Latin text (from Chalón *et al.* 1985, 222): *Nam Carthago suam retinet per culmina laudem, / Carthago in regem: uictrix Carthago triumphat, Carthago Asdingis genetrix, Carthago coruscat, / Carthago excellens Libycas Carthago per oras, / Carthago studiis, Carthago ornate magistris, / Carthago populis pollet, Carthago refulget, / Carthago in domibus, Carthago in moenibus ampla; / Carthago et dulcis, carthago et nectare suauis, / Carthago flores, Thrasamundi nomine regnas.*

[75] For a summary see Leone 2007*a*, 128–34 and for a more detailed consideration Merrills and Miles 2010, 141–76. Some comments on the education of the Roman élites can also be found in Miles 2005, 319.

[76] Leone 2007*a*, 145–8 and 160–4.

[77] Thébert 2003, 418–19, for a list of sites in various parts of North Africa where there is evidence of restoration or rebuilding of urban baths right at the beginning of the Vandal conquest of North Africa. A few examples are: the Thermes du Forum in Belalis Maior (Thébert 2003, 138); the Julia Memmia baths and baths on the western part of the theatre in Bulla Regia (Thébert 2003, 134); Bains des Étoiles, Thermes d'Été and Thermes du Capitole in Thuburbo Maius (Thébert 2003, 419, 166–7 and 173); Thermes de la Basilique II in Sufetula (Thébert 2003, 157–8); Thermes de Mois in Thenae (Thébert 2003, 161–2).

at both Rougga and Uchi Maius.[78] Baths appear to have constituted the only official building projects carried out by Vandal kings (see for instance above, p. 95, n. 63).

All the data point towards the idea that charges were carried on as honorary titles. Since sacrifices were forbidden,[79] these activities were probably linked to other ceremonial duties.

4. CALENDARS AND GAMES: THE CASE OF LATE ANTIQUE NORTH AFRICA

The calendar of Filocalus (AD 354—or the Codex-Calendar) is essential in understanding the continuity of games and *ludi* in Late Antiquity. It shows ten days set aside for gladiatorial combat, sixty–four for *circenses*, and 101 for *scaenici*.[80] Although the document refers to the city of Rome, it has been considered as an important document in evaluating the transition between the Pagan and the Christian Calendar. The overall analysis of this transitional document indicates a strong preservation of pagan festivities, characterized, on the one hand, by the increase in holidays and festivals in the late antique period, and, on the other, most strikingly by the 'increasing centrality of the imperial prerogative'.[81] In fact the *ludi* connected with the

[78] In Bararus (Rougga) the forum was occupied immediately after the Vandal conquest and spoliated between the second half of the 5th c. and the beginning of the 6th c. when two cellars used to store amphorae were built against the stylobate of the portico (for a synthesis see Leone 2007*a*, 135), see also Ch. 4 n. 129. At Uchi Maius olive presses were placed in the forum of the city (Leone 2007*a*, 135).

[79] The extent of this prohibition has long been debated. The word used in legislation was *superstitio* (*CTh* 16.10.2). It has been suggested that the use of this undefined word was intentional to leave it open to various interpretations by the religious communities, both Christian and pagan (Salzman 1990, 205–9). For a detailed analysis of the meaning of the word see Salzman 1987. For some comments on charges and sacrifices see Bowersock 1982.

[80] Fishwick 2004, 30. The Codex-Calendar is illustrated and was donated to a wealthy Christian aristocrat, Valentinus. It is the work of one of the most famous calligraphers of the 4th c., Furius Dionysius Filocalus. It was the public calendar of Rome, but it can be considered as emblematic of contemporary Roman society (Salzman 1990, 196–206). For a general discussion on calendars in the Roman world see Stern 1981. For the Codex-Calendar see esp. 455–61. See Ch. 1.

[81] Salzman 1990, 176.

imperial cult became more numerous and larger players in the full spectrum of late empire society.[82] The imperial cult, perhaps the most secular of the cults, became increasingly more important and ceremonies were performed that both Christians and pagans could attend.[83] The emperor became progressively more central in allocating funds to support games, thus further enhancing the importance of the cult of the emperor.[84] It is possible that the religious personnel connected with the imperial cult during the 5th century were in fact responsible for the organization of the *ludi* associated with the various celebrations. Buildings for *spectacula* in North Africa unfortunately have often been excavated poorly.[85] However, data show that theatres were left in disrepair in the 5th century, as found at Carthage,[86] Sabratha,[87] and Lepcis Magna, although the *Anthologia Latina* seems to indicate the continuity of theatrical activities.[88] It is possible that some theatres continued to be in use where hippodromes were not available. More difficult to ascertain is the fate of amphitheatres due to a lack of specific evidence, although abandonment is considered the possible outcome. Circuses, instead,

[82] Salzman 1990, 179: 'although the holding of gladiatorial games had been the emperor's prerogative in the early empire, the tendency to focus all honours on the emperor and his family reached its logical culmination in the 4th century with the setting aside of specific dates in the Calendar solely for this purpose'. Another aspect of this change is the fact that, in the later empire, magistrates performed their inaugural sacrifices not to the traditional gods but to the emperors or empresses. Stern (1981, 471) also points out the transformation of the calendar that is reflected in the changing illustrative apparatus. 4th-c. and 5th-c. calendars do not represent divinities and their festivals, and these are replaced by representations of the seasons. This probably reflects a more secular approach to festivities.

[83] For some discussion on this aspect see Salzman 1990, 197.

[84] Salzman 1990, 181. For a detailed analysis of all the games connected to the imperial cult see Fishwick 2004, on the *ludi circuses* see in particular 337–9.

[85] For specific comments on the fate of this type of building in the Vandal period see Leone 2007*a*, 137–40.

[86] The theatre in Carthage was abandoned and sometime between the Vandal and the Byzantine period was transformed into a cemetery (Leone 2007*a*, 203 and Leone 2007*b*).

[87] The theatre was probably abandoned after a fire. It was later occupied by houses and partially used as a quarry (Leone 2007*a*, 276).

[88] The theatre was abandoned in the 5th c. and later occupied by houses (Leone 2007*a*, 144). See the *Anthologia*, 353–4, 373.

continued to function,[89] as seen in Carthage[90] and Thysdrus.[91] Luxorius, one of the Vandal poets whose contributions are preserved in the *Anthologia Latina*, wrote several poems referring to circus games, attesting to the vitality of the events in the region during that century, although none of the texts indicate these in connection with cultic issues.[92] The sum of the evidence, both archaeological and textual, confirms that the Vandals carried on Roman traditions and probably celebrations (at least in circuses), especially in an urban context, and although we lack information on the patronage, the focus was not on religious life, but rather on the secular and urban.

The evidence points to an imperial cult that was substantially reduced to a sort of euergetism for the population. The reason why high-profile Romans in the Vandal period still claimed a connection to the pagan priesthood may have much more to do with the historical context than any ideas about the revival or survival of paganism.

5. THE BUILDINGS OF THE IMPERIAL CULT

While the general evidence on the fate of temples has been discussed in Chapter 2, understanding the continuity of priesthoods connected to imperial cults and festivals requires some more detailed consideration of the buildings and monuments assigned to this specific cultic tradition. In some instances interpretations are based on suppositions and it is difficult to even outline an accurate chronology. Patrizio Pensabene hypothesizes that the difficulty lies principally in the complexity of physically identifying cult-related buildings. He

[89] At Haidra (where the *flamines* are recorded in the Vandal period) an inscription (dated between the 4th c. and the 6th c.) mentions a *Varicos*, who paid for games. Duval and Mallon 1969, 118–24 = *AE* 1973, 622 = *CIL* VIII, 449: *Fecit Va/ricos Ludos*; for some more considerations see Hugoniot 1996, 855 and 864. On the continuity of circus games in the 4th c. and 5th c. and the sources see Dugast 2007, 13–14.

[90] The circus of Carthage appears to have still been in use during the 6th c. It was abandoned, spoliated, and partially reused as a cemetery from the end of the 6th c. (Humphrey 1988, 326).

[91] H. Slim and Rebourg 1995, 14; Lézine 1960; and Humphrey 1986, 315–17.

[92] For a collection of poems by Luxorius see M. Rosemblum, *Luxorius: A Latin Poet among the Vandals* (Columbia University Press, New York and London 1961). For detailed considerations and analysis of the poems by Luxorius on circuses see Stevens 1988.

suggests that imperial statues and portraits are usually a reflection of the presence of an imperial cult.[93] On the other hand, as pointed out by Frank Trombley,[94] the presence of a statue of the emperor is not always clear evidence of the attendant cult. Moreover, apart from temples, for which identification is more obvious, there are a number of other structures that arguably can be related to the imperial cult, but these buildings are more difficult to define. It is the same issue as that generated by the presence of imperial statues; it is often very difficult to state clearly whether a cult was physically active. The 2nd and 3rd centuries left behind a larger number of inscriptions referring to religious priesthoods connected to the cult in North Africa, whereas building activity in the same period in this respect appears to be substantially reduced.[95]

Temples dedicated to emperors were the principal locations for the cult. Some buildings were directly dedicated to emperors and their families, while some others were less obviously used for imperial cults; in fact in some cases, the presence of an associated cult is only debatable at best. It has been proposed that due to the long survival of the imperial cult, temples dedicated to emperors were preserved for an extended period, considered important enough to not be converted for a different use;[96] it has to be stressed that this hypothesis does not seem to be entirely supported by specific archaeological evidence, at least in North Africa. Temples for the imperial cult do not seem to have flourished or been maintained in their monumentality for a long period. As demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 4, the majority of temples, despite their official dedications, were simply left closed and decayed. The reasons why some temples were converted and others were not appear to be more closely related to the topographical location of each building within the city or the material decoration in place, rather than to their religious associations. However, in a number of instances imperial statues appear to have been found in their original location or in the vicinity of the temple, indicating perhaps that their spoliation did not take place in antiquity. Although in the majority of cases it is very difficult to trace

[93] Pensabene 1994, 153.
[94] Trombley 2011, 21; he points out that it is always difficult to determine whether an imperial statue was in a cult or dedicatory context.
[95] Pensabene 1994, 161–2.
[96] Trombley 2011, 29.

the fate that befell these complexes, a few pieces of evidence will be discussed here.

Temples dedicated directly to the Emperor/s and/or their families[97]

Tripolitana and Lepcis Magna

Tripolitana offers a good amount of evidence in this respect. In a few instances it is possible that temples were poorly preserved if not already completely abandoned in the second half of the 4th century.

Lepcis Magna has a temple dedicated to Roma and Augustus in the old forum and one to the *Gens Septimia* was located in the Severan forum. Unfortunately for both buildings, their evolution after closure is difficult to follow into Late Antiquity. In the Byzantine period the former was cut by the city wall,[98] while the latter was made a part of the Byzantine fortress. The temple of Roma and Augustus located in the old forum was erected at the expense of the city and was dedicated to members of the Julio-Claudian family.[99] It had an inscription on the door that listed a number of statues of emperors. It is apparent from the description made by the excavator that the temple was covered by late structures, mostly built with reused material. Lamps made of African red slip pottery bearing Christian symbols were found in the soil under one of the late walls. The description states that the monument was surrounded by a number of statues, all representing members of the imperial family, a few were acroliths. It is indicated specifically by the excavators that the statues were broken, with damage resulting from the dismemberment of the statues. They did not appear to have been intentionally broken to be burnt in limekilns.[100] The abandonment of the *forum vetus* area

[97] Small shrines are also known, but it is very difficult to follow the chronology of their use: an *Ara Augusti* was found at Thubursicu Numidarum, dedicated by Rabirius (*CIL* VIII, 15260). At *Vina* an *ara* was dedicated to the *numen Augusti* by C. Pompeius Nahanius (*CIL* VIII, 958). An *aedicula* with columns was built at Hippo Regius for the *numen imperialis* during the Hadrianic period (*ILAlg* I. 3991).

[98] For a discussion see Goodchild and Ward-Perkins 1953.

[99] Caputo and Vergara Caffarelli 1964, 86.

[100] Liviadotti and Rocco 2005, 167–87; Levi Dela Vida 1935, 15–27. The monumental statues of Roma, Augustus, and Tiberius were probably located in the *cella*, as they were sculpted for frontal viewing. The statues of Germanicus, Drusus, Antonius, Agrippina, and probably Livilla (body with no head) were probably near the temple,

appears to have developed at an early stage. The last evidence of restoration of the sector is dated to the Constantinian period, while it is very likely that the whole area was occupied with houses starting from the second half of the 4th century, just as happened in the theatre and the market.[101] It is equally possible that a large part of the Severan forum was already in disrepair by the 6th century when it was transformed into a fort, if as Ward-Perkins thought the sector of the city was already covered by an alluvial level generated by a flood.[102]

Another monument with ties to the imperial cult is the Flavian temple.[103] Excavations have identified two phases of occupation at the structure, the first dated to the 4th century; the area was completely restored and transformed in the second half of that century. This activity has been connected to the earthquake dated to AD 365.[104] The same area was later reoccupied by poor-quality housing along

outside on a podium. See Pensabene 1994, 159, and Bejor 1987, 104. According to Trillmich the podium outside of the temple reproduced the statuary group of the arch of Germanicus in the *Circus Flaminius* in Rome (Trillmich 1988). Several portraits of imperial families were displayed in the *forum vetus* and the Severan forum until the end of the 4th c. or beginning of the 5th c. and they are mostly attested by inscriptions (Bejor 1987, 105–6, and Tantillo 2010).

[101] For a discussion see Pentiricci 2010, 140–1. The excavation of the temple of Roma and Augustus indicates the presence of alluvial layers, before the collapse of the walls of the monument. It is thought that the forum might have been flooded between AD 320 and 440 when the dam on the Wadi Lebda collapsed (Pentiricci 2010, 142).

[102] Ward-Perkins 1952, 111. For some further, more recent comments see Pentiricci 2010, 151. The temple door was originally located on a dedicatory arch (see Cenerini 2008, 2234). For a discussion of the temple and its architecture see Ward-Perkins 1993, 31–54. The temple and the forum area were fortified in the Byzantine period. Unfortunately the description of the excavation is not detailed enough to understand what happened in the area in the late antique period, before its transformation (for the description see Bartoccini 1961).

[103] The identification of the temple is based on a monumental inscription referring to Domitian, Titus, and Vespasian found in the complex. On the inscription see Magi 1965–6 and Scichilone 1965–6. For the full text see also Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 92.

[104] Fontana 1996, 85. In this recent reanalysis it has not been specified whether the 4th-c. restoration implied a change in function, as originally suggested, or not. For some considerations on the phases of the Flavian temple see also Pentiricci 2010, 104–5. He argues that the alleged earthquake dated to between AD 306 and AD 310 needs to be carefully reconsidered. Similarly numerous scholars have reconsidered the issue of the impact of the earthquake in AD 365 that has been traditionally considered responsible for the destruction and subsequent abandonment of several monuments in North African cities. For a discussion on the more recent debate see Pentiricci 2010, 105–11. The destruction should most likely be attributed to the invasions of the Astoriani that took place in the decade of AD 460–70.

with the insertion of a pottery kiln. This phase has been initially dated to the 7th century,[105] but a recent re-analysis of the pottery produced in the kiln has shifted the chronology to a much later date, indicating a settlement developing on the remains of the temple in the Aghlabid period.[106] In the same city a temple, dedicated to the Augustan Gods, was placed in the theatre in the *porticus post scaenam*.[107] In this case as well, the destruction and abandonment of the complex has been connected to the supposed earthquake of AD 365.[108] What is significant is the fact that the whole theatre and *porticus post scaenam* were occupied by built houses starting probably from the first half of the 5th century. Also in this case the temple (as well as the theatre) was probably already in disrepair at the end of the 4th century.[109]

In total, the archaeological evidence so far available suggests that all known temples for the imperial cult in Lepcis Magna were in disrepair probably from the second half of the 4th century, and many of them took on different uses after the Vandal conquest.

Similar evidence following the same chronological pattern has been recorded in Sabratha. It is certain that the Antonine temple was connected to the imperial cult; it was built and dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in AD 166–9 (Fig. 17). Similar to other sites, it was probably abandoned during the 4th century due to the earthquakes or the *Astoriani*'s invasions. The temple was subsequently spoliated and the material reused in the surrounding area.[110]

From what we know of the cases found in Tripolitana it is possible that these temples went out of use during the second half of the 4th century. The conversion from the original use to a new one had sometimes already taken place by the 5th century (pending the full publication of the excavation report, this evidence seems to come from Sabratha). A similar function—as a place for the imperial cult—has also been proposed for Basilica I in Sabratha. In particular an

[105] Fiandra 1974–5, 147–9.
[106] Fiandra 1997 and Cirelli 2001.
[107] Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 111. For the inscription see Caputo 1950, 166–7.
[108] See above, n. 104.
[109] For a recent reconsideration and synthesis of the evidence see Pentiricci 2010, 119.
[110] See the detailed discussion in Ch. 5. The abandonment of the temple was also confirmed by the transformation of the *favissa* of the temple into a cistern (Brouquier-Reddé 1992, 55).

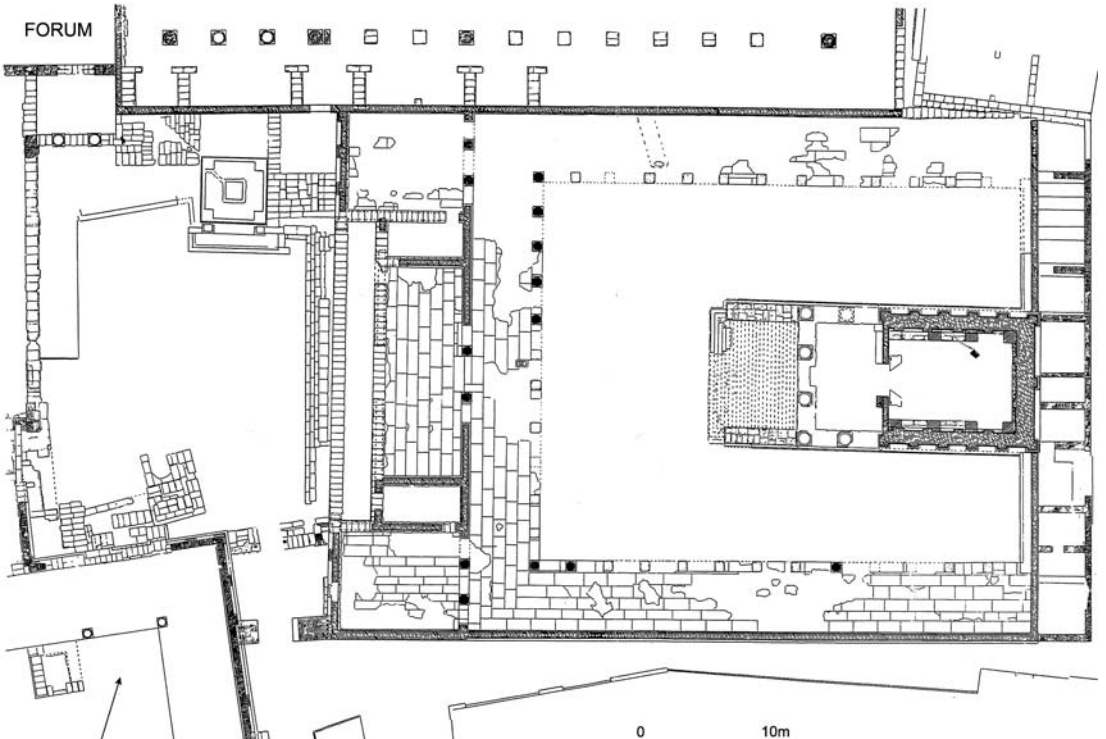


Fig. 17. Sabratha, Antonine Temple

apsed area within the structure has been identified as the cult's specific location (see below, p. 115). The last restoration of the complex functioning as a civic basilica has been dated to the second half of the 4th century (possibly after the earthquake in AD 365 or the attack by the Astoriani?—see above, n. 104 and Appendix 2, n. 8), soon it appears that the building was completely stripped of its marble decoration. The architectural elements were collected in the basement of the *Capitolium*, while most of the statues were stored in a room of the complex (and found there during excavation) that was later blocked up when the complex was transformed into a church. The basilica and certainly all the temples of the forum which were abandoned and stripped of their marbles were not flourishing at the end of the 4th century (see Chapter 5).

It must be noted, however, that the case of Tripolitana is probably not representative of North Africa as a whole. The region experienced early decay attributed usually to the earthquakes (although this argument is today challenged—see above n. 104) or to the attacks of the Astoriani. As a result, the monumentality of these urban centres might have suffered damage prior to other areas. It appears questionable as to whether or not there were still pagan activities going on in the city, since most of the temples were out of use when the Vandals arrived.[111]

Africa Proconsularis and Carthage

Carthage offers a good range of data although once again difficult to discuss due to the paucity of stratigraphic excavations and difficulties of dating. The Antonine basilica on the eastern edge of Byrsa hill includes a structure which seems to have been used in the imperial cult. A female colossal head identifiable as a member of the imperial family was found in the area[112] and the head of a statue of an unidentified emperor dated to the 4th century was uncovered in the same building by Ferrand and Pinard in the same area in 1954.[113] It has been suggested by Pierre Gros that the area appointed for the cult

[111] The issue of the arrival of the Vandals in Tripolitana has long been debated. They nominally occupied the region in AD 455, their presence was very limited and certainly the territory was soon lost around 468/470. See on this Modéran 2002.

[112] See Gros 1995.

[113] Jucker 1967, pls. 40.2 and 41.3–4 (and LSA1064). They refer to the head as being recovered near the large apsed structure, which is the civil basilica of the city.

was the apsed part of the Basilica, where the statues were probably displayed. Excavations have shown that the monument was already in a bad state at the end of the 4th century.[114] The city certainly had a temple dedicated to the *Gens Augusta* that was located always on Byrsa hill, as indicated by the dedication of Perellius Hedulus, *sacerdos perpetuus*, who built it on land that he owned.[115] Fragments referring to two different altars dedicated to the *Gens Augusta* have been found on the hill.[116] Unfortunately, descriptions of the excavations are too general to be able to identify clearly the condition of the area upon discovery. Moreover, the principal public area (Byrsa hill) of Carthage went through several restorations and different phases and, like the basilica, the forum on Byrsa hill does not seem to have been flourishing in the period immediately before the Vandal occupation.[117]

Various Sites

There are several other monuments that can be positively identified with the imperial cult, but unfortunately it is impossible to fully reconstruct the phases of occupation and abandonment at these sites due to a lack of information.

- A temple dedicated to the *Gens Septimia* is located in Djemila (Cuicul) and dated to AD 229,[118] characterized by a series of large imperial portraits in the interior.

[114] *BYRSA* III, 113–14.

[115] *ILAfr* 353. For a detailed topographical discussion and for the evidence of the two altars see Rives 1995, 52–5.

[116] See Ch. 4, p. 66 and Poinssot 1929, 6–7.

[117] *BYRSA* III, 113–15. The *cardo maximus* in proximity to a temple was blocked up by houses, probably during the Vandal period (Leone 2007*a*, 136–7).

[118] See Pensabene 1992 for a detailed study of the monument. The municipal vitality of the forum of the city, also after the closure of temples, is attested for instance by an inscription found on the north-west side of the forum dedicated to Theodosius II (AD 408–50) (Ballu 1911, 113), although it has been proposed that the main forum of the city was already completely abandoned by the 6th c. Hammered bases for statues were left on display in the forum area. For some comments on the later phases of the forum see Lefebvre 2006, 2138–9. Monumental statues of Severus and his wife, partially preserved, were found during the excavation of the Severan temple. Unfortunately the reports of the excavations are very general and do not offer details of the finds. For a synthesis on the excavations see Pensabene 1992, 779–83; for reference to the findings of monumental statues see Leschi 1938, 20.

- Vespasian was probably the subject of a dedication in a sanctuary at Cirta, built by the proconsul C. Paccius Africanus.[119]
- At Bulla Regia a temple devoted to the Severan cult has been identified on the second terrace of the forum area.[120]
- At Thugga, a sanctuary for the imperial cult is attested by an inscription dated to AD 54, bearing witness to restorations by the *patronus pagi* of the temple of Tiberius.[121] Another inscription refers to the *Templum Caesaris* and an *Ara Augusti*.[122] The presence of the cult in the *Capitolium* is confirmed by the display of monumental statues belonging to the imperial families. The vitality of the imperial cult in the late period at Thugga is attested by an inscription find, on a large circular block in limestone, referring to Constantine. This is a dedication to the Emperor in AD 313 by an African *Proconsul*.[123]
- A temple dedicated to Claudius was built at Ghardimaou, in Africa Proconsularis, in AD 52.[124]
- At Madauros, during the Hadrianic period, an *Aedes Divorum* was erected.[125]
- A sanctuary to Roma and Augustus is recorded in Mactaris, probably located in the old forum of the city. This is mentioned in an inscription dated to the 3rd century, although the complex

[119] Pflaum 1954–5, 164: *Imp. C)AESARI V(espasiano Aug. / C. Pac)cius AFR(icanus / aedem cum s)TATVA IMPET (rata ab imp. / restuit et dedicavit*. The possibility of the existence of a temple dedicated to Vespasian has also been proposed in the case of Bulla Regia, where a monumental head of the emperor was found in the pit in front of the temple of Apollo (Beschaouch *et al.* 1977, 131; see also Ch. 4). At Cirta an inscription found reused in modern Costantine is dedicated to Livia Augusta. It is possible that this large inscription was part of a temple or was originally located on a dedicatory arch (see Cenerini 2008, 2234).

[120] Beschaouch *et al.* 1977, 108.

[121] *CIL* VIII, 26518.

[122] *ILAfr* 558. See on this also Pensabene 1994, 160. Many inscriptions with dedications referring to the imperial cult have been found in various part of the city; several were reused in the Byzantine city wall (Saint-Amans 2004, 299–304).

[123] Khanoussi and Mastino 2003, 425: *[. . . divi]nae virtutis [principi?] / [extintori? ty]rannicae factionis et v[ictori? defensori?] / [prov]inciarum suarum atque urbi[um* (vel *urbi[s) restitutori (vel defensori?) /d(omino) n(ostro) Flavio Valerio Constantino P(io) F(elici) semp(er Augusto) /C(aius) Annius Ceionius Anullinas v(ir) c(larissimus) legatu[s Numidiae?] / Numini maiestatique eius simper de[votus].*

[124] *CIL* VIII, 14727.

[125] *IlAfr* 2082.

was probably in use earlier.[126] In the same city, confirmation of the cult's existence comes from an inscription referring to Rome and Tiberius (identified with Augustus), found at Mograwa, a *castellum* associated with Mactaris.[127] In the same area, a dedication to Constantius II and Julianus Caesar (around AD 355) was found near the temple of the *Liber Pater*.[128]

Unfortunately all of these monuments are not well dated in their final phase of occupation. The last reference to restoration or building of a temple for the imperial cult in North Africa is dated between the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century.[129] This may reflect the transition of the cult to other buildings in the urban context, or a change in the cult practice.

The evidence of statues in Fora and public spaces

Although it is necessary to stress that the presence of imperial statues cannot with certainty be representative of the presence of the imperial cult, statues of members of the imperial family offer a good amount of data in North Africa. It is worth looking at this evidence in consideration of Trombley's idea that in Late Antiquity the imperial cult was essentially limited to burning incense in front of statues.[130] The best evidence is from Cuicul, Gigthis, Hippo Regius, Thubursicu

[126] Picard 1957*a*, 64 and pl. XXVII. The inscription preserves the *edictum sacrum* that consecrated statues for the imperial cult; the donor asks for the preservation of the text in one or more temples, and among them he also lists the one of Roma and Augustus: *is tunica /. . . . .m aurea ut in/.. sit Caesaris iubeo ut / edictum meum] scriptum sit [in lapide . . . / in templo] Ro]mae et Augus[ti] . . . / ex sum(ma) quae. . . .* and *illo deo et Virtut]i Roman[ae sacrum] or illo deo et Genio popul]i roman[i sacrum] / pro salute imperatorum] Caesarum [L. Sep./timi Severi Pii Pertinacis] Augusti et M. Aur. Antonini Pii Fe]licis Augusti e[t L. Sep./timi Getae nobilissimi Caesaris et Juliae Domnae Aug. Matris Augg. Et castror]um et [patriae. . . .* Dedications to the temple of Augustus are limited in North Africa.

[127] Picard 1957*a*, 64; *CIL* VIII, 685 = 11912.

[128] Merlin 1951–2, 203: *Saeculi felicitate d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Fl(avi) Co(n)stanti ma[x. victoris aug. cos.] / VIII et Iuliani n(obilissimi) C(aesaris) (cos.) II Q. Licinius Aurentius Victorinus . . . /cur(ator) re(i) p(ublicae) cum splendidissim(o) ordine posuit et dedicavit.* The temple was transformed into a church. It has been thought that the temple dedicated to the Liber Pater was destroyed, probably at the end of the 4th c., and later was transformed into a church (Lepelley 1981*b*, 292). See Ch. 2.

[129] See Lepelley 1979, 345–6.

[130] Trombley 2011, 48.

Numidarum, Timgad, and Lepcis Magna. Theatres, for instance, often became repositories of imperial statues. The theatre of Lepcis Magna contained a head of Hadrian, statues of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in heroic nudity, a statue of Antoninus Pius from the centre of the orchestra, and two groups of sculptures of the Severan family in the *cavea* and the Templum Augusti behind the theatre.[131] Heads from statues of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius were found at the theatre of Bulla Regia,[132] and a head of Lucius Verus came from the theatre of Thugga. At Hippo Regius several statues of various emperors were found, the last dedicated in AD 364.[133] There is little evidence of late dedication of imperial statues, probably because, as discussed above, many theatres were in disrepair in the second half of the 4th century and mostly abandoned by the end of the same century.

At Thubursicu Numidarum (Khamissa) in the second half of the 4th century, a new public square was built: the *forum novum* (Fig. 18).[134] This is the last significant case of a late antique forum displaying a good range of statues, including images of emperors. The old forum was abandoned, perhaps due to an earthquake, and the new forum was built and decorated entirely with reused marbles from the former public square. Unfortunately, the description of the excavation in the *forum novum* is too imprecise to attempt to reconstruct the manner in which the statues were displayed. The area saw a large amount of material recycling and redecoration with statues, as indicated by an inscription.[135] Two other inscriptions refer to the transfer of two

[131] On the statues see Bejor 1987, 101—*IRT* 376. The theatre was probably abandoned at the end of the 4th c.: see above, nn. 87–8. The statues of the Severan family are identifiable from the inscriptions. The bases were found in the theatre, probably collapsed from the higher part of the *cavea* (Bejor 1987, 102). On the inscriptions in the temple of the imperial cult in the theatre see Bianchi Bandinelli *et al.* 1964, 82–3 with fig. 234, and Schippa 1981–2, 229. On the temple itself see Caputo 1987, 19 and 57–9. On the last phases of the theatre, see 135–7. See also Bejor 1987, 108.

[132] Beschaouch *et al.* 1977, 123.

[133] The statues are not preserved; the information is provided by the inscribed bases (Bejor 1987, 109).

[134] Construction of the *forum novum*: see note below, and Bejor 1987, 110. In the *forum novum* of Thubursicu Numidarum/Khemissa, a statue head of Septimius Severus was found (McCann 1968, cat. no. 68).

[135] *ILAlg* 1129; 1247; 1274; 1275; 1276; 1285: *Felicissimo s(a)eculo / d(omini) n(ostri) Iuliani victo/ris ac triumphatoris / Augusti / proconsulatu Hermo/geniani*

statues, one each of Trajan[136] and Constantine,[137] from the old forum to embellish the complex. A 4th-century inscription refers to the dedication of two colossal statues with no specific reference to the figures represented by these monumental works. The two bases were displayed facing each other in the *forum novum*, and the description of the excavation by Sassy indicates that two pieces, one representing Marcus Aurelius and the other representing Lucius Verus, were found collapsed in close proximity and near the inscribed bases, although in this second case the remains are limited to the feet, and it is now very difficult to make an accurate identification. The specific absence of the names of the two emperors in the inscriptions on the bases may indicate that everyone was familiar with the portraits, or that they were displayed uniquely for their artistic value as monumental statues. This missing information (the absence of the names of the two emperors) can in fact lead to different interpretations. In the first case, we need to assume that all the inhabitants knew the appearance of the two emperors and there was no need to spell it out, as it were. It is possible that near by or in another public area of the town there were portraits of the same emperors, identifiable by inscriptions. It might also be suggested that the statues were symbolical, representing 'emperors' in general. Alternatively, the two statues might have been displayed, regardless of whom they were representing, to decorate the forum and make an impressive statement through the sheer scale of their monumentality. The inscription that refers specifically to the colossal statues suggests that this indeed might have been the intention. In this case, the statues of the emperors did not have any specific cultural or dedicatory function but were displayed as decorative elements in the public square. This is an important point to bear in mind, since this may indicate that the display of imperial statues in Late Antiquity was not necessarily

c(larissimi) v(iri) Atilius / Theodotus v(ir) c(larissimus) legatus / eius forum novum / quod instituit perfecit / ac dedicavit addit(is) / columnis et statuis / exornavit.

[136] *ILAlg* 1247: *Pro baeat(it)udin[e] (sic) / temporum, sign/um Traiani de ru/inis ablatum, pro/consulatu Clodi / Hermogeniani, / amplissimi et c(larissimi) v(iri); / Atilius Theodo[tus] / v(ir) c(larissimus) legatus ei[us] / in forum novu/m transferri cu/ravit.*

[137] *ILAlg* 1274: *Baeatissimis (sic) temporibus, Fl(avio) V[al]/erio Constantino mac/ximo (sic), sui cum veneratione / de ruinis signo titulisq(ue) / translatis, proconsula/tu Clodi Hermogeniani, c(larissimi) v(iri), / Flavius Atilius Theodotus, / v(ir) c(larissimus), legatus eius, congruam / stationem fori novi a se con/diti providere curavit.*

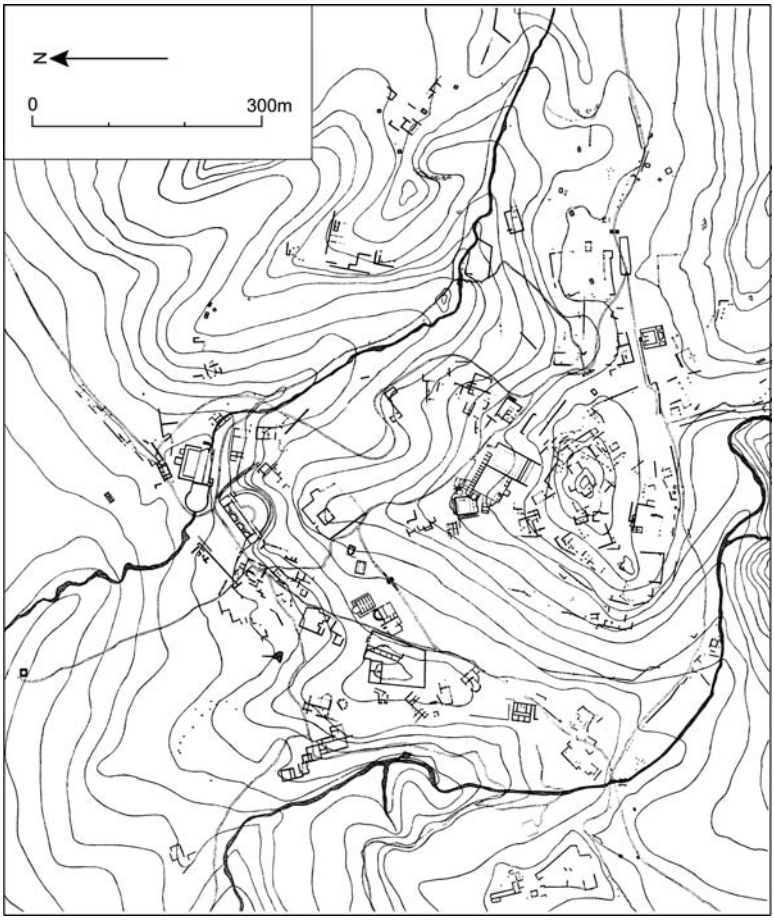


Fig. 18. Khamissa, plan of the city

effectively connected to the figure of the emperor and his power (and the cult), but rather only carried an aesthetic value or an impersonal reference to the imperial power. In the same city, in a niche of a *nymphaeum,* was found the statue of a young man. The excavators thought that a cross in the form of the Christian symbol was marked on his chest sometime between the 5th and the 6th century. If so, the statues must have been on display and visible there at a later date (see Chapter 4).

Other monuments in different cities indicate the presence of imperial statues. In the baths of Lepcis Magna there is a monumental

statue of Septimius Severus, while the heads of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius were found in the forum of Timgad.[138] In the same city one inscription refers to the rebuilding of the *curia* and another to the insertion of a statue of Antoninus Pius within it.[139] In the same complex two statues were also found: one of Antoninus and one of Marcus Aurelius.[140] In the forum, statues of nearly all the emperors from Trajan forward were displayed. In another building, the *Chalcidicum*,[141] an inscription dedicated to the *Numen Augusti* was found. A shrine was found in the complex in the middle of the ten *tabernae*. Bases and statues of imperial figures[142] and a number of statues of the Julio Claudian emperors were also found there. It has therefore been suggested that there was an imperial cult associated with *Venus Chalcidica* at this location.[143]

[138] Statues of Septimius Severus also come from Djemila (McCann 1968, cat. no. 45); other heads (now lost) were from Cherchel (McCann 1968, appendix Ia) and Markouna (McCann 1968, appendix Ib); and another from near the basilica at Thebessa (McCann 1968, cat. 25).

[139] *AE* 1985, no. 876, 249–50: B) *[Imperatore Caesa]re d[iui Hadriani fi]lio, diui / [Tr]aiani Parthici nepote, [diui Nervae] pronepote, / T(ito) Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug(usto) [Pio pont]ifice / maximo, trib(unicia) pot(estate) XV, imperatore [II, consule]II, p(atre) p(atriae), / M(arcus) Valerius Etruscus leg(atus) Augusti pro [pr(aetore), patron]us coloni/ae curiam renouatam et exornatam de[dicauit] dec(reto) dec(urionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*; C) *M(arco) Aurelio [Antonin]o Caes(ari) [Imp(eratoris) Caesar]is T(iti) Aeli(i)] / Had(riani) Antoni[ni Aug(usti) P]ii filio, [trib(uniciae) pot(estatis) V* or *VI, co(n)s(uli) II] / M(arcus) Va[l]erius Et[ruscus l]eg(atus) Aug(usti) [pro praeto]/re, pa[t]ronus [coloniae decreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)].*

[140] Boswillwald *et al.* 1905, 66–7.

[141] The *chalcidicum* is a problematic building. There has been much debate on the function of the complex; see Schippa 1981–2, 229.

[142] *IRT* 325, 329, 336, and Pensabene 1994, 160.

[143] In Africa during the 2nd c. and the 3rd c. cults associated with the emperors became common and developed in different ways. For a detailed analysis on the subject, see Fears 1981, esp. 910–39. For some general comments, see Pensabene 1994, 162. Several sanctuaries were dedicated to the Fortuna Augusta, as attested principally by inscriptions. At Mustis under Marcus Aurelius a *templum* was built (*CIL* VIII, 1574 = 15576, and Pensabene 1994, 162); similar evidence is recorded also at Thebessa (*CIL* VIII, 16522), Lambaesis (*CIL* VIII, 18216), and Thibilis (*CIL* VIII, 18892). The inscription was found reused in a crypt of a Christian basilica. Another cult probably related to imperial veneration is that of the *Victoria Augusta/Augusti,* for which there is a considerable amount of evidence. A temple is known at Tipasa (*ILAlg* I, 1984), another at Mustis, and there are several inscriptions in various parts of North Africa; for a detailed discussion on this, see Fears 1981, 931 with nn. 513–14: *CIL* VIII, 6046, 20863, 303, 797, 2353, 2482, 7963, 12382, 14300, 17838, 20148, 965, 2354, 4583, 4202, 8455, 9754, 11018, 9696, 15258, 18240, 18241, 18242, 18699, 20263, 25836, 26243, 2842, 14300. A temple dedicated to the *Concordia Augusta* was built at Thugga under Hadrian (Blanchet 1898, 304).

Sabratha offers disputed evidence from two rooms that were part of the civil basilica. The tribunal located on one side of the structure, in its first phase opening onto the basilica through four Corinthian columns, was also decorated with a number of statues of 1st-century emperors. It is possible that later the room located on one side of the apse of the civil basilica (and transformed in the last phase of the church into a baptistery) might have been used for the imperial cult (Fig. 42). The lack of specific evidence does not allow for a full discussion of this hypothesis, as there are not enough preserved elements of the original statuary decoration. These rooms were certainly not in use after the end of the 4th century (see Chapter 4).

Overall, data show that the buildings that may have been associated with the imperial cult (temples and others) were in a few instances probably in disrepair in the second half of the 4th century. The case of Thubursicu Numidarum seems to indicate that the reorganization of the forum area was undertaken not on the basis of the good location or integration of statues (mostly imperial) within the square, but rather on that of displaying a certain level of monumental marble decoration (although clearly with difficulty as regards the supplying of the materials). The evidence that is available requires some further discussion on the end of statue dedications in cities, and most importantly the decorative rules of statuary display in late antique urban spaces.

6. THE LAST OFFICIAL DEDICATION OF IMPERIAL STATUES: NEW URBAN SETTINGS AND DISPLAY

It appears that changing practices and traditions existed within urban contexts. These transformations are also well represented by the display of statues and their physical relocation within cities. It is hard to know how many imperial statues were formally dedicated in late antique North Africa. Many imperial statues are located in various museums across Europe, and in many cases the provenance of these pieces is unknown, a thorough and systematic study

is still lacking. Limits to our understanding are determined by the fact that statues were moved, transferred, and reused in antiquity and it is often impossible for us to trace all the phases of their histories (see Chapter 4). Imperial statues, at least in the first three centuries of the empire, had specific importance. At any time, they might be engaged in activities as diverse as becoming havens for asylum-seekers or providing space for the practice of cults.[144] However, the number of imperial statue dedications reduced substantially after the 3rd century[145] (especially in North Africa) and the practice of reusing earlier statues to be dedicated or recut would become very common. The diminution in the number of statues is also extremely difficult to evaluate, since the complex history of Late Antiquity, characterized by frequent changes of emperors, resulted in the loss of valuable evidence sometimes because an emperor did not hold power for long enough to be widely venerated, and sometimes because recutting destroyed the material remains. Reuse also applied to the bases, where inscriptions were often hammered, and sometimes left in place to be used again.[146]

Evidence indicates that despite a decrease in the practice, dedications of imperial statues continued in North Africa until the end of the 4th century in both major and minor provincial centres.[147] Constantius I and Constantine I provide us with the most evidence. The majority of the dedications of imperial statues have been found in fora and most were reused and relocated (often in buildings) in the Byzantine period.

Important aspects to consider are the location and display of the statues (including the imperial ones) in Late Antiquity, especially in baths. At Carthage a portrait of Constantine, probably recarved from an unidentified portrait,[148] and another possibly of Constantius II,[149] were both found in the portico running to the north of the Antonine

[144] Tantillo 2010, 185: 'imperial statues can offer asylum, be used for cult practices, be covered by unguents and garlands'. See also Price 1984, 170–206; Clauss 1999, 290–315.

[145] For some general comments and some specific ones on Africa and Lepcis Magna see Tantillo 2010, 185.

[146] See the case of the forum of Djemila (Cuicul) in Lefebvre 2006.

[147] Tantillo 2010, 185.

[148] L'Orange 1984, 121. See also Prusac 2011, 147 n. 305.

[149] Picard 1957*b*. The identification is dubious, and not accepted in LSA 1061 (see Ch. 4, n. 5).

baths. At Timgad, in the Grand Thermes du Sud near the entrance (in the entrance portico), bases of statues were found, dedicated to Valerianus, his son Galienus, and Galienus' wife Salonina and two sons.[150] The Julia Memmia baths in Bulla Regia are a case in which there is no specific reference to the imperial cult, but there was a display of honorary statues at the entrance to the baths. The display of imperial as well as private statuary in porticoes, especially located at the entrance of baths complexes suggests a reinterpretation of public spaces in Late Antiquity.

As pointed out by Thébert in his general research on baths in North Africa, it appears that the centre of propaganda moved from the forum to the baths, with the presence of statuary dedication to both private parties and emperors located in these areas.[151] Statues of emperors were not displayed inside the structure but rather in the portico, filling the empty space of an open area.[152] In fact, although the number of dedicated statues fell in Late Antiquity, the display of these statues occurred in a much larger variety of contexts. Buildings and spaces were often not built to be adorned by statues but they were adapted to include these works.[153] This new form of display may also relate to a new interpretation of statuary and its functionality that I shall reconsider later.

The data so far collected and examined here indicate that a limited number of imperial statues (and marbles in general—see Chapters 4 and 5) must have reached North Africa in Late Antiquity, and it seems likely that imports of marble statuary reduced after the Constantinian period. It is probably these limited new imports that

[150] The first inscription is dated to the first half of the 3rd c. *CIL* VIII, 2380; Bœswillwald *et al.* 1905, 228: *[Imp(eratori)] Cae[s(ari) P. Li/cinio Valeri]ano / [Invi]cto Pio Fel/ici Aug(usto), / pontif(ici) max(imo), Ger(manico) / max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate) /III, co(n)s(uli) III, p(atri) p(atriae), / procons(uli), / resp(ublica) colo(niae) Tha/ mug(adensis) devota / numini ma/iestatiq(ue) eorum.*

Cagnat, *BCTH* 1894, 362 n. 75 = *Corneliae /Saloninae/ Aug(ustae), coniu/gi d(omini) n(ostri) P. Licini(i) / Gallieni, /matri / P. Corneli(i) / Licini(i) Vale/riani nobi/lissimi Caes(aris) / Aug(usti) et cas/tror[u]m se/natu[s –/ – – –/ – – –]*. Chronology suggested AD 255–6.

[151] Thébert 2003, 446–77. The same evidence appears to have been recorded in other parts of the empire, as in the case of Aphrodisias in the Hadrianic baths, see Smith 2007. For comments on baths used as museums in Late Antiquity see also Strong 1994, 20.

[152] On the relocation and the new setting of statues in urban contexts in Late Antiquity see also Ch. 5.

[153] See Smith 1999.

favoured the practice of the removal of statues from main buildings and the relocation and deposition of those in good condition. Recutting and recarving are probably other consequences of the limited supply of marble material, especially that used in statuary. Several imperial portraits of late emperors found in North Africa are the result of recarvings.[154] The practice of reuse and the lack of new material (and probably trained workmen) at some point pushed the practice of reuse to the extreme. Even statues of emperors were reused and stripped of their unique identities. The practice occurred in public contexts, as at Thubursicu Numidarum, as well as private contexts such as the rededication of a head of Caracalla to the *Numen Constantini*.[155]

7. CONCLUSIONS

The evidence currently available does not point to the presence, after the 4th century, of strong practices supporting the imperial cult. Instead, it seems a series of practices were carried out to satisfy traditional expectations; cults themselves were not the key elements. The same must have been true of the imperial priesthood that lasted into the Vandal period. Vandals in almost all respects appear to have continued the traditions that characterized the late Roman empire. As pointed out by Peter Brown in the citation at the outset of this chapter, paganism had not ceased to exist but had developed a different character, less connected to the religious sphere and related

[154] For the late recarved portraits from North Africa see Prusac 2010: 3rd-c. emperor recarved from an Antonine original (143 no. 113); emperor portrait recarved from an unidentified personage from North Africa and now at the National Museum in Rome (145 no. 272); head of a Tetrarch from Utica (146 no. 280); portrait of a Tetrarch from Bulla Regia (146 no. 282); Constantine head from the Antonine baths in Carthage (147 no. 305); 3rd-c. emperor from Tripoli (150 no. 350); late emperor from Tripoli (153 no. 420); Valentinian female figure from Timgad (158 no. 506).

[155] Two have been found (one preserving the head from Rusicade and one preserving only the inscription from Chullu). Both inscriptions come from the area of the Confederation of Cirta. *CIL* VIII, 7974: *Numini Constantini Sanctissimi et invictissimi*. See Salama 1998, 148–9. The inscription from Rusicade was found in the *Mithraeum*, while for the second the provenance is unknown. For a detailed consideration of the finds, see Tantillo 2003.

instead to culturally necessary actions and behaviours. Paganism was not only a religion, but also an attitude towards religion;[156] many actions were performed through obligation and did not necessarily imply a specific belief. In this sense, some actions and offices were not seen as religious in a strict sense, but instead simply part of social customs. In fact, a lot of these actions had very strong social connotations that were clearly manifested to both Christians and pagans. On the other hand, Christianity required a deeper, stronger, belief; but evidence seems to suggest that the process of taking on Christianity was slow and determined by different traditions. Statuary for official dedications was progressively less and less available. State legislation (see Chapter 1) declaring that urban fabrics be maintained resulted in desperate attempts to reuse everything that was available, no matter its origin or symbolic value. The diminishing and subsequent lack of new supply probably determined the end of statuary dedications altogether.

In general, inscriptions alone do not seem to clearly prove the existence of a conflict between pagans and Christians. The perpetual nature of the original pagan religious offices suggests that tolerance towards paganism survived for some time among the African communities. After the time of Theodosius and his sons, religious activities are not mentioned in inscriptions[157] and there are never any references to religious ceremonies, either pagan or Christian (and Christians were also not unified). Lepelley has proposed that the city was seen as a neutral area, where '*valeur communes*' were manifest.[158] He points out that Augustine seems to support this interpretation.[159] From the analysis of the statues (see Chapter 4), temples (see Chapter 2), and spolia (see Chapter 5) emerges the image of late antique towns populated essentially by profane communities, and this may find some corroboration in the close connection of these communities with the pagan religious tradition.

[156] O'Donnell 1979, 52 and 65: 'Paganism—the worship of false gods—was fast departing from the Roman scene; but paganism—a tolerant, even careless attitude toward worship in general—was a more tenacious institution'.

[157] Lepelley 2002*a*, 276.

[158] Lepelley 2002*a*, 278.

[159] *Epistulae* 90, 91, 103, 104.

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4

The Fate of Statues

Legacy of the Past or Economic Casualties?

1. INTRODUCTION

A key element in the evaluation of the transition from Paganism to Christianity in North Africa is the consideration of the fate of the statues in cities. The study of the development of urban areas in Late Antiquity over the last ten years has centred particularly on changes in function, continuity, communal life, and the transformation of monuments. This chapter stands very much within this debate, by focusing on a specific aspect of late antique urbanism: the artistic visual landscape. In recent years the study of statuary in Late Antiquity has progressed substantially, moving away from traditional stylistic approaches to consider issues of antiquarian markets and collections, iconoclasm, reuse, re-display, and changes in function.[1] All these activities (although already existing) appear to have become prevalent in late antique cities.

The analysis presented here (based principally on published material) on one hand highlights the limits of the archaeological evidence, but on the other provides a new set of data and evidence that allows for the identification of trends.

For instance Aphrodisias,[2] although taking into account the uniqueness of the site in terms of statuary tradition and production, offers exceptional sets of information concerning the later use and

[1] See for instance Stirling 2005 and 2007*b*; Jacobs 2010; Kristensen 2009 and forthcoming. See also the recent work by Caseau (2011*a*).

[2] See various articles on Aphrodisias: Roueché and Erim 1990; Roueché and Smith 1996; Smith *et al.* 2006; Smith and Erim 1991.

display of statues and statuary that allow for detailed interpretations.[3] Some of the evidence recorded here will be useful to investigate the presence of trends in North Africa, especially up to the end of the 4th century.

This chapter does not aim to consider issues such as artistic style, iconography, and the chronology of statues, or to analyse inscriptions on the bases of statues in great detail; the former approach characterizes a substantially different type of research, while the latter has already been successfully explored by Claude Lepelley and more recently by Christian Witschel.[4] Similarly, the cessation of the dedication of statues in late antique cities will not be a subject of discussion, as this aspect has been researched exhaustively very recently through *The Last Statues of Antiquity Project*, directed by Roland R. R. Smith and Bryan Ward-Perkins.[5] The overall results in fact confirm that dedications of public statues continued into the second half of the 4th century in North Africa and in the West, while in the East (for instance Aphrodisias and Ephesos) statues were dedicated up until the 6th century. In the West, and in particular in the regions under investigation, this practice appears to have become essentially symbolic, characterized by a substantial reuse of what was accessible, suggesting that the decreasing availability of marble material played a role in depriving these actions of their essential function. For example, if the dedication of statues in the Roman imperial period was a way to display the power and social status, already in the 4th century in North Africa we see the heavy reuse of statues that are reworked, recut, or even installed without any changes (for more details see Chapter 3). This discrepancy between original function and effective result probably signalled the end of dedicatory practices after the 4th century, at least in North Africa. In order to identify the process of dismantling statuary function it is necessary to locate the statues found in excavations, to trace where possible their last functional lives and to discuss what the archaeological evidence can tell us about their fates from Late Antiquity onwards. For instance, in urban areas there are a relatively high number of statues (especially in baths and temples) found still in place, suggesting that a large number of

[3] Smith 2006, 9–28.

[4] Lepelley 1981*b* and 1994; Witschel 2007.

[5] The database resulting from the project can be consulted at: http://www.laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/

statues were not destroyed by fanatics or burnt in limekilns.[6] The focus of this chapter on the public sphere is dictated primarily by the nature of the archaeological evidence, as very little material pertaining to private contexts is accessible. It is arguable that the practice of buying statues and re-displaying them might have been common in private contexts as well, as is known to be the case in other parts of the Roman empire (see below), but this is currently difficult to prove in the regions under investigation here.

This discussion will aim to address the following main points:

1. Was there a practice of reuse as attested to by the architectural marbles and what evidence for it can we identify?
2. Were statues intentionally removed and destroyed? Is there evidence of statues being intentionally hidden? If so, why might this practice have occurred?
3. How substantial is the evidence that statues were left in their original settings—or at least publicly displayed until they collapsed?
4. Is there any clear evidence of statues that were intentionally hammered, mutilated, or even marked with Christian symbols, and can we prove this practice with any certainty?

As pointed out by Roland R. R. Smith,[7] the consideration of statuary from a late antique perspective must take into account its contemporary understanding and perception. For instance, statues were a form of media and did not usually stand in isolation in the manner they are displayed today; chronologically and stylistically distinct works were not typologized as they are now; and statues may have been intermixed in displays and then moved from one side of the city to the other with no record of the translocation. Finally, it is impossible to estimate the total number of statues that existed within any given city and, despite the fact that in some cases high levels of preservation can be found (e.g. Aphrodisias), it would be risky to suggest even a hypothetical number. Important centres such as Carthage, a provincial capital, probably contained a large quantity of

[6] For a similar consideration in Asia Minor see Jacobs 2010; for some specific discussion on destruction of statuary, fate of statues, and early iconoclasm see Kristensen 2009 and 2012.

[7] Smith *et al.* 2006, 204–6.

dedicatory statues, but we cannot place a figure on them with any certainty.

In order to develop the discussion around the evidence of the location and distribution of finds, four main categories have been identified:

1. statues in pits, wells, or cisterns (intentionally removed and hidden?) or stored in rooms, perhaps with the aim of being reused later;
2. statues for which it is not possible to suggest if, at the moment of their collapse, they were still in their original settings (although this scenario is probable);
3. statues which with reasonable certainty were in place at the moment of collapse of the monument in which they were displayed;
4. a further group (less numerous) represented by those statues that might have been hammered or marked with Christian symbols in Late Antiquity.

This last group is the only group of statues for which it is possible to identify a sort of connection between the destiny of the statue and religious beliefs, although sometimes the interpretation is uncertain. Most recorded statues fall into the first three categories. Many additional statues, intact and either partial or broken, were identified during this research, but without adequate information on their locations it has not been possible to include them in this analysis.[8] These pieces are often mentioned as acquisitions of museums, with limited information on their provenance (often with only a general reference, if any, to the area where they were found).[9] Fortunately, in the case of Carthage, Bulla Regia, and Thugga/Dougga, data on specific buildings or on the distribution of statues within the urban area have allowed an attempt at a more detailed analysis.

Before examining the material culture, a summary of the legislation and sources referring to statues in Late Antiquity is presented; some of the data will be reconsidered in more detail in the final discussion.

[8] Some of the statues representing emperors have been discussed in Ch. 3, pp. 110–12.
[9] Usually just the Musée Alaoui, now called the Bardo Museum.

2. EVIDENCE FROM LEGISLATION AND WRITTEN SOURCES

As pointed out by Claude Lepelley,[10] two elements are constants in late antique legislation: first, governors were obliged to give priority to restoration and refurbishment over rebuilding (a point that was considered in more detail in Chapter 2); second, the reuse of marbles was prohibited, especially for private purposes (although, as recounted in Chapter 5, this was allowed in cases where the marble was purchased).

Looking first at the practice of restoring (rather than rebuilding) monuments, there are about fifteen relevant imperial constitutions, dated between AD 321 and 395.[11] From the time of the emperor Valentinian I, these laws become more frequent and continually favour the restoration of monuments. For instance, in AD 365 the *vicarius* of Africa, Dracontius, was encouraged to halt the building of new structures in towns where existing ones could be restored. Restoration sometimes also entailed the display or re-display of statues. This is the case at Abthugnos (Bled Souar) in Zeugitana, where an inscription, dated to the second half of the 4th century, refers to the restoration and refurbishment of the public square, including the display of statues.[12] Similarly, in the same period at Thubursicu Numidarum reference to the building of a new forum and the relocation of statues from the old abandoned public square is confirmed by an inscription and by archaeological evidence (see below, p. 129 and Chapter 3, pp. 111–14). This practice seems to have been common in Late Antiquity. In some cases statues that were moved from one location to another bore the inscription: *translata de sordentibus locis*.[13] This epigraphic evidence provides an essential piece

[10] Lepelley 1979, 62.

[11] For some general considerations on this point see also Trombley 1993, 14–28.

[12] *AE* 1995, no. 1655 (AD 376/7): *Forum quod per annorum seriem turpi[ter iacebat, ita ut pars quae frontem?] / moenium aspiciebat tantummodo remansisse[t restitutum est? beatissimo saeculo] / ddd(ominorum) nnn(ostrorum) Valentis Gratiani et Valentiniani invic[timissimorum semper Auggg(ustorum) et status eius?] / absertus [sic] est ac melior proconsulatu Decimi Hesperi v(iri) c(larissimi) apu[d oculos omnium pro splendor patriae?] / esse cognoscitur adiuncto quoque statuarum ornatu una cuc [hlia —].* Lepelley 2003, 219.

[13] Lepelley 1994, 10–11 *CIL* VIII, 20963, 20965, 21078, 21079.

of information, although it is unlikely that all statues moved within an urban area were dedicated with an inscription indicating a transferral. Moreover, even when the physical transfer of a statue is recorded, the original place of display is never indicated.[14] We learn a sculpture's new location but gain a limited insight into issues that might have motivated the move; these include whether relocation was based on ideological (e.g. religious statues were removed from temples because in a new secular setting they were deprived of their meaning), economic (e.g. new parts of the city needed to be refurbished and the display of statues was seen as a suitable way to achieve this), or other reasons. The relocation of existing sculptures was a low-cost strategy in comparison to the purchase of new pieces.[15] This practice was certainly not new, and was very common in the Mediterranean from the time of Sulla.[16] Most likely, as pointed out by Peter Stewart, it was a recurrent activity in all periods in the Roman world, due to the dense massing of statues in public areas and the subsequent periodic need to clear them out.[17] This also meant that a surplus of statues for sale or reuse might have been generated regularly within urban settings, at least during the Roman imperial period.

3. STATUES AND THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

The most important late antique source indicating the transfer of statues is certainly Eusebius. In the *Vita Constantini* (III, 54–8) he refers to the demolition of temples and the transfer of statues for the adornment of Constantinople.[18] Sources in fact confirm that in

[14] Curran 1994, 49; see also Lepelley 2002*a*, *passim*.

[15] Although removing a statue without breaking it would have been difficult and incurred some expense, statues were often transferred from quarries to new sites. There must have been experienced workmen who knew how to move large statues or pieces of statues.

[16] Kinney 1997, 134: 'Recycling of statues was frequent at the Greek end of the Mediterranean from the time of Sulla through the 1st century AD, abated in the prosperous 2nd century and recommenced in the fourth century'; and 140–1.

[17] Stewart 2003, 133 and 128.

[18] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, introd., trans., and comm., Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford 1999, 143). It has to be stressed that this text refers principally to bronze and gold statues. See also the commentary on Eusebius' text, especially 302: 'Eusebius has to work hard and draw on all his linguistic resources, to turn

some other areas this practice continued at later dates; for instance, 'Justinian ordered Narses to destroy pagan temples in Egypt and to send the statues to Constantinople',[19] and he also had statues of horses taken from the temple of Artemis in Ephesos to Constantinople.[20] John Curran, reading these actions in connection with Constantine's Christianity, has suggested that the transferring of idols from a religious place to a secular one would have deprived the works of their symbolic meaning.[21] On a certain level such action may also have functioned to stress the power of the emperor and his new capital, by decorating the city with statuary from an earlier period with connotations of imperial greatness, and by collecting in the capital treasures from all over the empire. On this aspect, Cyril Mango points out the ambiguity of the religious attitude of Constantine and suggests instead that the officers who were in charge of decorating the city were probably pagan or deeply embedded in pagan culture and 'simply did the kind of job that was expected at that time'.[22] Following Mango's analysis, whatever may have been the reasons that induced Constantine to reuse statuary, it must be stressed that what made his actions unique is probably the scale on which they were realized.

The whole episode clearly indicates that the transferral of statues took place under the control and with the encouragement of the state; similarly, the evidence recorded in various other cities (on a lower scale and not documented by written sources) appears to confirm this direct state involvement. In fact, inscriptions describing the removal of a statue clearly attest to action decided on by the municipality. In

Constantine's beautification of his city with famous statues of antiquity into an anti-pagan gesture.'

[19] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 1.19.37 (Procopius, *History of the Wars in seven books. Vol. III, Books V and VI, with an English translation by H.B. Dewing* (The Loeb Classical Library, Harvard 1968)), refers to the dismantling of the temple of Philae in Egypt. See on this also Saradi Mendelovici 1990, 50. Behind Justinian's action was also an attempt to remove the last pagans. For a discussion on politics and pagans in the age of Justinian, see Maas 1992, 67–52.

[20] Caseau 2001, 111. On the process of decorating the city of Constantinople and bringing classical statues from elsewhere in Late Antiquity see Elsner 2000, 155.

[21] Curran 1994, 48–9.

[22] Mango 1963, 56. The religious beliefs of the elite/ruling class in Late Antiquity have been the subject of discussion. On the idea of a substantially Christian elite class, for instance, see MacMullen 1997, *passim*, and Salzman 2002, 193–8. *Contra* Chuvin 1990, 8.

Rome, a transfer usually took place following the order of the urban *praefectus*.[23]

In the 4th and 5th centuries the attitude of the population living in these cities was still deeply embedded in the classical tradition that had been in place for several centuries (despite the religious beliefs of the town governors), and it is likely that statues in public spaces were not easily destroyed without opposition.[24] This trend can be traced through three principal pieces of evidence: first, the legal protection that these statues enjoyed as part of the state patrimony; second, the classical tradition that still constituted part of the culture;[25] and third, the perception of these objects as works of art. This is proved for instance by the actions of Constantine and those of Theodosius II, who at the beginning of the 5th century maintained a collection of statues, including a number from Greece.[26] Interest in classical statues and antiquarian collections existed in Late Antiquity.[27] The collection of pagan statues (some of which possibly came from Aphrodisias) and twenty-five portraits (some of which represent emperors) dated from Augustus to the Tetrarchy from the late antique villa at Chiragan near Toulouse (France), offers a good example.[28] A similar group of statues might have also adorned the temple of Apollo in Bulla Regia, which Claude Lepelley has interpreted as being intended as an urban museum (see further discussions on this below, pp. 169–76). The same idea of the use of statues as works of art is also found in the case of the *forum novum*, built in the 4th century

[23] Panciera 2006, vol. ii, 1101–2. See for instance *CIL* IX, 1563, 1588; *CIL* X, 3714; *CIL* V, 3332; *CIL* XIV, 4721, 2082; *CIL* VIII, 20963, 20965, 21078, 21079, 25998, 5290, 1247, 1274, 1229, 11999). Inscriptions recorded in Rome refer to material removed from places that were: *abditi*, *avii*, *infrequentes et inculti*, *oscuri*, *sordentes*, *squalentes*.

[24] It should be pointed out that the new office of *curator statuarum* was created in Rome during the Constantinian period, mentioned for the first time in AD 335–7 as subordinate to the *praefectus urbis*. In AD 331 the *curator aedium sacrarum* ceased to exist and the duties were divided between the *consularis operum maximorum* and the *curator statuarum*. This reflects, on one hand, the fact that statues stopped being seen as principally religious media, and, on the other, that statuary in Late Antiquity probably began to be considered as the predominant form of art. For some general comments on this issue see Strong 1994, 19–20.

[25] Caseau 2001, 107.

[26] These were Phidias' statues of Zeus from Olympia and Aphrodite from Cnidos. See Caseau 2001, 111.

[27] See Stirling 2007*b*.

[28] For a summary of the evidence and a discussion on the debate on chronology and further bibliography see Stirling 2005, 49–62, and Bergmann 2007.

in Thubursicu Numidarum, where two colossal statues of Lucius Verus and possibly Marcus Aurelius[29] were displayed, but with dedicatory inscriptions referring only to the physical stature of the works and omitting the names of the emperors themselves.[30] Cyril Mango, however, suggests that interest in antiquarian collections does not seem to appear after the 5th century, and later statues or decorations were often used for their symbolic value.[31] This kind of use was different, in that the symbolism was not derived from the dedication of the statue to a notable or an emperor, but was rather an adaptation of an old tradition into a new Christian framework.[32]

After the 4th century these statues with a cultic and dedicatory function in an urban context no longer fulfilled their original function, for at least two reasons. First, Christianity became more widely diffused and acquired its important status under the Byzantine Empire; second, the progressive reduction in new imported marble material (at least in the West—see Chapter 5, pp. 195–200) made difficult the dedication of statues with its symbolic civic function and the practice eventually died out. The tradition probably continued for longer in places that were more central to the Mediterranean marble trade, or where there was a greater availability of marble and experienced workmen, as in the East where quarries continued to be exploited into the 6th century (Chapter 5).

In general, written sources from Late Antiquity suggest that statues maintained an important role in the urban fabric and were typically respected as artwork or architectural complements. Saradi Mendelovici suggests (apart from the case of Constantinople) that the reuse of statuary for public display was more common in provincial areas,[33]

[29] The identification is in Sassy 1953, although the second statue has only the feet preserved. The measurements of the feet suggest that the statue might have been slightly taller than that of Marcus Aurelius. See also some comments by Gabriel de Bruyn in the catalogue of *The Last Statues Project* (http://www.laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/ no. 2481).

[30] See Ch. 3.

[31] Mango 1963, 70. Antiquities were reinterpreted from a Christian perspective, and, when placed in churches, were often used for their symbolic value (63–4). The same chronology for the practice is identified by Saradi Mendelovici 1990, 50.

[32] On the transition from pagan iconography and the use of identical representations see Hannestad 1999, and for an overview of Christian art see Jensen 2000, in particular on the limited evidence of early Christian sculpture in the round (761–2).

[33] Saradi Mendelovici 1990, 50.

probably due to the economic issues of the 4th and 5th centuries. Data from North Africa seem to confirm this idea.

Temples and statues deprived of their original function, if still standing, were considered to be part of the decoration of the city. Prudentius (writing around AD 405) on several occasions refers to the fact that temples had to maintain their sculpted decorations, which probably included statuary.[34] It has been suggested that the ideas expressed by Prudentius reflect the contemporary views of the new Christian empire. The secular use of statuary began when statues ceased to be venerated with sacrifices and were consequently stripped of religious function or meaning.[35] The same idea ermerges from the *CTh* (16. 10.8): *Aedem olim frequentiae dedicatam coetui et iam populo quoque communem, in qua simulacra feruntur posita artis pretio quam divinitate metienda iugiter patere, publici consilii, auctoritate decernimus, neque huic rei obreptivum officere sinimus oraculum.*[36]

4. STATUES AND MARKETS

Moving a large marble statue was a rather complex operation, and therefore it is difficult to imagine that such activity was carried out independently. In order to support the practice of reuse/collection of earlier statues in both private and public spheres in Late Antiquity, an organized marketing system must have developed. This is an issue that has received limited attention in the past, and it merits more detailed consideration here. Recent evidence from Aphrodisias,

[34] Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* I, 501–5 (Prudence, *Tome III. Psycomachie—Contre Symmaque*, texte établi et traduit par M. Lavarenne, Paris 1948, 52–153). See also Lepelley 1994, 6. A similar idea is also expressed in Prudentius, *Peristephanon* II, 481–4 (Prudence, *Tome IV. Livre des Couronnes, Dittochaeon, Epilogue*, texte établi et traduit par M. Lavarenne, Paris 1951, 46).

[35] Lepelley 1994, 6–7.

[36] Lepelley 1994, 7. The temple was probably located at Edessa and the emperor agreed that people could visit it as a museum, although the concept of a 'museum' as understood today did not exist in antiquity. See also Pharr 1952, 473: 'We decree that the temple shall continually be open that was formerly dedicated to the assemblages of throng of people and now also is for the common use of the people and in which images are reported to have been placed which must be measured by the value of their art rather than by divinity. We do not permit any divine imperial response that was superstitiously obtained to prejudice this situation.'

where two bases bearing letter codes were found and interpreted by Roland R. R. Smith as possibly belonging to a statue inventory from the later period, show evidence of statue management.[37] Another aspect of statue work that appears to confirm reuse and the existence of a market is the custom of recarving that becomes common in Late Antiquity. This was carried out on statues for both private and public use.[38] A dedication inscription from a statue in Madauros, dated to the second half of the 4th century, indicates that the piece had been bought and imported from elsewhere to be reused.[39] The evidence seems to suggest that there was a sort of statuary hierarchy and that the market offered a variety of opportunities, from reused statues sourced locally (reworked or even simply reused as they were) to those that were imported (and presumably more expensive).

In this environment, it is arguable that larger centres probably concentrated initially on removing statuary from major derelict areas within the city to better preserved urban sectors (an action sometimes recorded by inscriptions). Minor centres, with fewer economic resources, might have sold marble decorations and statues to the larger centres, areas probably wealthier and more willing to spend resources on monumentalizing spaces. This practice may explain why centres such as Uchi Maius, in the highly urbanized Mejerda valley in northern Zeugitana, show evidence of early decay in public areas. It also justifies legislation that made attempts to stop city governors from removing marble decorations from smaller centres.[40] The effort to maintain control of the urban fabric of the city is confirmed by the inscriptions found in the Coliseum, those in the Augustan Forum in

[37] Smith *el al.* 2006, 60. The evidence indicates that earlier statues were moved and reworked in Late Antiquity. The specific evidence also indicates that the statues were moved with their bases.

[38] For some general comments on this practice, see Prusac 2011 and Kinney 1997, 134.

[39] *ILAlg* 4011: *[Ceion?]io Iuliano, [c(larissimo) v(iro) p]atrono col(oniae) bono [a]dque praestanti e[t] senatoriae dignitatis ornamen[to], cuius p[r]oconsulatu [beneficia] plurima ci[vitas et res] publica fuerit [consecuta, s]tatuam marmo[ream ponen]dam cliens ordo Ma[dau]rensium, etsi impari beneficiis eius honorifico.*

[40] Janvier 1969, 11: *CTh* 15.1.1: *Nemo propriis ornamentis esse privandas existimet civitates: fas si quidem non est acceptum, a veteribus decus perdere civitatem veluti ad urbis alterius moenia transferendum* (DAT. III NON. FEB. MED., ACC. VIII ID. IVL. CONSTANTINO A. ET CAES. CONSS., sent to the proconsul of Africa).

Rome,[41] and by archaeological evidence from North Africa,[42] all of which suggests that the process of dismantling and reusing marble decoration was an activity controlled by the state (see also Chapter 5). It is likely that some of the former public statuary (perhaps the less imposing works, which were easier to move, reuse, and rework) also reached the private collections of wealthy citizens, a route that is, however, difficult to trace.

Trade in works of art existed from the Republican period and reached its peak in the Imperial period, beginning with statues (new or reused) and eventually including sarcophagi.[43] This activity is well documented by ancient authors.[44] Statues being sent to Africa are also recorded by ancient documents: a statue '*aheneam transmare advectam*' representing Apollo Patrius Augustus was sent to Mactaris from an unknown place, donated by Sextus Iulius Possessor, equestrian *procurator* who was originally from the city.[45] In Africa, the harbours of Carthage and Hadrumetum in particular were still very important in Late Antiquity,[46] and may well have been used for these activities (see Chapter 5). This practice of trading marble and statues for decoration was carried out well into the medieval period in other parts of the Mediterranean.[47] In the case

[41] See Ch. 5, n. 99.

[42] See the case of the circus at Carthage, where a necropolis was located in the Byzantine period and part of the monument was dismantled, suggesting planned and organized reuse of the building material. See also Ch. 5 on urban marble workshops.

[43] See Arata 2005, 53–85. Commercial activities to do with works of art developed in two directions: antiquarian commerce (trade of ancient marble and bronze statues), and trade in new pieces (for which we have better information).

[44] For a collection of all the ancient authors referring to commerce in works of art see Arata 2005, 78–9; for further bibliography see 53–4, n. 249, and Becatti 1951, 1–31.

[45] Picard 1968, possibly coming from Egypt. The inscription on a stone was found reused in the repaving of the peribolos of the temple of Apollo: *Apollini Patrio Aug. / Sex. Iulius Possessor praef. coh. Gall. Cura/tor numeri Syrorum Sagittariorum item Alae Primae Hispanorum, trib. mil. Leg. XII F. / adlectus in decurias ab optimis maximisq / Impp. Antonino et Vero Augg. adiutor Praefecti Annonae ad Horrea Ostiensia et / Portuensia, proc. Aug. ad ripam Baetis / proc. Aug. Ostis ad annonam, proc. Aug. / Alexandriae ad Mercurium /Statuam aheneam transmare advectam d.d.* The origin of a tetrastylum in marble is attributed to the same person, and was probably transferred and reused in the 5th c. as decoration for Hidelgun's baptistery in the same city (Picard 1968, 302).

[46] Arata 2005, 137, also mentions the *Edictum de Pretiis* by Diocletian, which includes one section on marbles (although as pointed out by Dworakowska 1984, the marbles mentioned do not include those commonly used for statuary). See also Rougé 1966, 97–100.

[47] Arata 2003, *passim*. For general discussion see also Greenhalgh 2009, and Ch. 5 on spolia.

of North Africa, within the chronological scope of this research, there was probably an interruption (or substantial reduction) in the second half of the 4th century, and it saw only a brief revival in the Justinianic period in connection with the imperial programme to build churches.

5. DESTRUCTION AND DEPOSITION OF STATUES

In this panorama, some sources indicate that occasionally religious fanaticism encouraged anger against the classical representation of idols. Evidence suggests that this occurred more often in the East,[48] while it seems that in North Africa at least (and more generally in the West), expressions of this anger were isolated events, as we shall see below. The concept of tolerance among early Christian authors was not always present.[49] The spread of Christianity is perceived by some ancient authors as an irreversible process, but first the destruction of paganism and all its symbols had to be endured. From this perspective, Rufinus interprets the fight of the Christians against the pagans as the contemporary form of the fight between Christ and Satan.[50] It is, in fact, Rufinus who provides a detailed description of the destruction of the cult statues of Serapis in Alexandria, indicating that first the heads were cut off, followed by the hands, feet, and other parts, culminating in the dispersal of all the pieces throughout different parts of the city.[51] Augustine himself, in some of his own texts, sees the destruction of pagan statues as the accomplishment of God's plan.[52] His views, however, appear somewhat ambiguous: he seems

[48] See Trombley 1993, and Kristensen 2009. For discussions on the West see Sauer 2003. For general issues see Gaddis 2005.

[49] Thelamon 1990, 525.

[50] Thelamon 1990, 535.

[51] For a detailed analysis of this action and for bibliographic references see Kristensen 2009.

[52] *De divinatione daemonum* 8, 12 (*ŒUvres de Saint Augustin. 10 Mélanges doctrinaux*: Quaestiones 83, Quaestiones VII ad Simplicianum, Quaestiones VIII Dulcitii, De divinatione daemonum / Saint Augustin, de l'éd. bénédictine, texte introd., trad. et notes par G. Bardy, J.-A. Beckaert, J. Boutet, Paris 1952: Desclée Brouwer 654–93), probably composed between AD 406 and 411. For a similar interpretation see Gaddis 2005, 116: Augustine 'accepted that the suppression of idol worship was a praise-worthy enterprise that helped to advance the Christian faith'.

to appreciate Theodosius' policy that imposes an end on paganism,[53] but his attitude towards the iconoclastic campaign in the East and the West was in fact very moderate and he states that conversion should be sought without coercion.[54] As suggested by Niels Hannestad, the banning of statues 'has not been taken very seriously especially by Christianity, deeply rooted in the Hellenistic tradition'.[55] Ambrose, however, points out the deep symbolic significance that statues and their destruction had for his contemporaries.[56] In the reign of Constantine, writers such as Firmicus Maternus and Eusebius present the practice of the destruction of statues almost as a Christian duty.[57] Eusebius refers to the triumph of God over evil, and writes that Christianity must defeat this evil (including the destruction of pagan images) to be victorious.[58] It has been pointed out that some Christian authors intentionally presented a negative view of statues, including the idea that living near them could be dangerous.[59] While some believed statuary possessed a sort of supernatural power,[60] 'Christianity was hardly hostile to sculptures, but sculpture never really became a medium of Christian art in the early period'.[61]

The same ambiguity in textual evidence seems to be reflected in the varied attitudes of Christians toward pagan statuary.[62] It appears that

[53] *De Civitate Dei* 5, 26 (Sancti Aurelii Augustini, *De Civitate Dei* Libri *I–X* (Pars XIV,1), *CCSL* 47, Turnholti 1955, 142–4).

[54] See on this Lepelley 1994, 9.

[55] Hannestad 1999, 175.

[56] Ambrose, *Commentary to the Psalm 118*, 10.25 (Sant'Ambrogio, *Opere Esegetiche VIII, 1. Commento al Salmo CXVIII (Lettere I–XI)*, introduzione, traduzione, note e indici di L. F. Pizzolato (Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis Opera 9), Milan and Rome 1987, 426): *Qui enim coronat imaginem imperatoris, utique illum honorat cuius imaginem coronauit, et qui statuam contempserit imperatoris, imperatori utique cuius statuam consputauerit fecisse uidetur iniuriam. Gentiles lignum adorant, quia dei imaginem putant; sed inuisibilis dei imago non in eo est quod uidetur, sed in eo utique quod non uidetur*. See on this also Stewart 1999, 162.

[57] Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore Profanarum Religionum* XXVIII, 3 (Firmicus Maternus, *L'Erreur des religions païennes*, texte établi, traduit et commenté par R. Turcan, Paris (Les Belles Lettres) 1982, 145–6. For additional comments see Stewart 1999, 173.

[58] *Vita Constantini,* II, 45.1; IV, 25, 1–2 (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, introd., trans., and comm. by A. Cameron and S. G. Hall, Oxford 1999, 110 and160); and Stewart 1999, 177.

[59] For a general consideration of demonization and the toleration of statues see also Kahlos 2009, 135–9.

[60] Lepelley 1994, 5. See also more recently Caseau 2011*a*, 479–85.

[61] Hannestad 1999, 201. This interpretation seems to partially clash with Lepelley's view (Lepelley 1994, 5).

[62] For some detailed comments on this ambiguity see Drake 1996, 12–19.

in North Africa a large part of the Christian community was most likely against the idea of destroying pagan idols, because they recognized the artistic value of statues (an idea continually reinforced by the attitude of emperors towards statuary) and because these had been part of the cultural heritage within which people had lived for centuries. This is exemplified in Canon 60 of the Council of Elvira,[63] which states that Christians killed for the destruction of idols were not considered martyrs.[64] This council took place quite early in the history of Christianity (beginning of the 4th century) and interestingly in the same Synod the display of paintings in churches was prohibited.[65] Archaeologically there is little evidence to suggest the destruction of statues at such an early date. An intriguing case, although debatable, is that of Astigi (Écija, province of Sevilla), in Baetica. Here the excavation of the Roman baths uncovered numerous marbles in the *natatio*, where it appears that a number of statues and inscriptions were relocated intentionally. Deposition was suggested to have occurred between AD 303 and 309, in a period possibly contemporary with the Concilium of Elvira and also possibly connected to the council of Iliberr. It has been suggested that the statues were intentionally destroyed as a consequence of the decision at the Concilium (probably influenced by the decisions of the Synod of Elvira) that images in new churches be prohibited.[66] However, after comparing the evidence with the data from North Africa, it is also possible that the statues were simply stored in the *natatio*, following the dismantling of the building or other public monuments in the vicinity (see below, pp. 180–5).

When late antique Christian sources discuss the destruction of statues they usually justify the action by saying that pagans sacrificed to them and therefore action against pagan idols was required.[67] In

[63] The meeting took place in Spain. For discussion see Chuvin 1990, 15, and Gaddis 2005, 117.

[64] *Canon* 60 (Vives and Diez 1963, 12) from the 4th c. AD: *De his qui destruentes idola occidentur. Si quis idolas fregerit et ibidum fuerit occisus, quatenus in Evangelio scriptum non est neque invenietur sub apostolis umquam factum, placuit in numerum eum non recipi martyrum.*

[65] *Canon* 36 (Winterslow Dale 1882, 326): *Ne picturae in ecclesia fiant. Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus dipingantur*. See also Crouzel 2007, col. 2538. The exact date of the council has been a subject of debate but occurred between AD 300 and 306.

[66] Romo Salas 2003, 293–4.

[67] Caseau 2001, 113.

other cases, destruction was allowed and encouraged when the statue proved to be under the control of evil spirits, as in the case described by Quodvultdeus in the baths in Carthage, mentioned below (p. 137). What is clear, and also proved through the archaeological record, is that apart from the reuse of statuary for public and private display and decorative functions, there was a late antique phenomenon of destruction and/or deposition of statues. This activity is probably chronologically posterior to any relocation and consequent reuse.

6. STATUES AND TEXTUAL EVIDENCE FROM AFRICA

The transfer of statues to redecorate parts of cities seems to be principally a 4th- and early 5th-century phenomenon, at least in North Africa. A good example is certainly the case of Bulla Regia/Jendouba. Here the forum probably began to decay in the 4th century, and statues were taken into the Iulia Memmia baths, which were located not far from the Christian basilica and probably built sometime at the end of the 4th century. The main focus of the town, therefore, shifted to a different sector of the city.

The transfer of statues also occurred in North Africa with the aim of removing them from public display and re-depositing them for protection. It is possible that these latter actions were also undertaken for the purpose of planned reuse at a later date.

Even where the destruction of statues is attested by sources, the impact of these actions does not seem to find clear confirmation in the archaeological records. For instance, destruction of statues is documented in AD 399 at Carthage by Augustine,[68] who refers to the demolition of temples and statues by Gaudentius and Iovius, who

[68] *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 54 (*La Città di Dio, vol. II (Libro XI–XVIII),* introduzione e note D. Gentili & A. Trapè, traduzione D. Gentili, Rome 1988: Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana, 762): . . . *interim, quod scimus, in civitate notisima et eminentissima Carthagine Africae Gaudentius et Iovius comites imperatoris Honorii quarto decimo kalendas aprilis falsorum deorum templa everterunt et simulacra fregerunt*. See also Lepelley 1994, 14 n. 9 and 15 n. 31, and Dolbeau 1996, 505 with n. 117.

were sent to Africa to enforce laws against paganism.[69] The same episode is also mentioned by Quodvultdeus, bishop of Carthage, who gives a different account and does not refer specifically to the obliteration of the statuary, but instead says that all *templa omnia clausa expoliataque*.[70] His words seem to suggest a less aggressive action that did not necessarily imply a massive demolition of the pagan legacy in North Africa, but the simple closure and spoliation of its religious monuments. There is also a passage of the *CTh*, referring to Africa in AD 399 that informs us of the deposition (not destruction) of idols.[71] Here it is also clearly stated that monuments and the deposition of statues were to be controlled by local authorities (the same as for the transfer of objects from one part of the city to another).[72] The planned dismantling of structures and possibly an associated market appears to be confirmed by the premeditated reuse of some building materials in later monuments, especially during the late antique and early Byzantine periods (see also Chapter 5).

Among the small amount of evidence of recording destruction of statues, and pointing to a cooperation between civic and religious authorities, is an episode involving Quodvultdeus himself. In AD 434 he exorcised a young woman who had become possessed by an evil spirit after looking at the statue of Venus in a baths complex in Carthage. The source tells us that at the same time that the bishop placed the chalice on the throat of the young girl, a deacon smashed the statue in the baths. In this case the bishop was allowed to destroy a statue publicly displayed in a baths complex. It is arguable that this may have happened elsewhere without any indication in the written records; and these episodes are therefore very difficult for us to detect.[73] Unfortunately, this is also an event that highlights the limits of archaeological data. This story suggests that as well as preserving,

[69] Lepelley 1994, 8. In some cases the text by Augustine has been seen and interpreted as clear evidence of massive destruction in North Africa at that time: see Sauer 2003, 172. See also Ch. 1.

[70] Temples were closed and spoliated: Quodvultdeus, *Liber Promissionibus* III, xxxviii, 41 (*Opera Quodvultdeo carthaginiensi episcopo tribute*, ed. R. Braun, Paris 1964: Sources Chrétiennes 102, 568). See also Lepelley 1994, 5.

[71] *CTh* 16. 10. 18, see Ch. 2, n. 95 for full text.

[72] Lepelley 1994, 8.

[73] *Dimidium Temporis* VI, 9–10 (*Opera Quodvultdeo carthaginiensi episcopo tribute*, edidit R. Braun, Turnholti 1976: *CCL* LX, 196–7): *Tunc etiam dum haec aguntur, spiritu diuino actus diaconus eiusdem tituli statuam illam sublatam confregit in puluerem omnemque insidiantis astutiam superauit diuina maiesta.*

recycling, and selling the former decorative urban fabric, in some cases, when the statues precipitated religious conflict, the state allowed the destruction of statuary and marble material. Reconstructing such practices, in the absence of specific and reliable sources, is obviously almost impossible but must nevertheless be attempted.

Violent actions with no direct official involvement are also known to have occurred. For instance, Augustine attests to the destruction of statues by fanatics at Sufes (Sbiba), in Byzacena, and the murder of several people in response (see Chapter 1).[74]

In a different account, Augustine refers to some derelict temples, partially demolished or closed, used for different functions and with statues (idols) broken, burnt, hidden, or destroyed.[75] A canon of the general Council of Africa in AD 401 requires the support of the state in pursuing the destruction of the statuary; it asks emperors to take action to ensure that all remaining idols (not only statues, but also religious places, altars, or trees) were destroyed.[76] Later, in AD 407, the removal of pagan statues from their original locations—though not their destruction—is ordered by Honorius, addressing the Prefect of the *Praetorium* of Italy and North Africa; he states that altars must be destroyed, but there is no specific reference made to statues.[77] These documents have been interpreted as revealing a resistance to the

[74] Augustine, *Epistula* 50 (Sant'Agostino, *Le Lettere vol. I* (1–123), *testo latino dall'edizione maurina confrontato con il corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, traduzione di T. Alimenti and L. Carrozzi, Rome 1969, 411) and see also Lepelley 1994, 14 n. 11. The destruction of statues and their preservation at private countryside estates are mentioned at Mappalia, near Calama between Cirta and Hippo. Sermo 62. 17 (Sant'Agostino, *Discorsi* II.1 (51–85) sul nuovo testamento, traduzione e note di Luigi Carrozzi, Rome 1982, 272–6).

[75] Augustine, *Epistula* 232. 3 (Sant'Agostino, *Le Lettere vol. III* (185–270), testo latino dall'edizione maurina confrontato con il corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum, traduzione e note di L. Carrozzi, Rome 1974, 735–6): *videtis certe simulacrorum templa partim sine reparatione collapsa, partim diruta, partim clausa, partim in usus alios commutata; ipsaque simulacra vel confringi, vel incendi, vel includi, vel destrui* . . . See also Lepelley 1994, 14 n. 11. For a discussion of statues see also Dolbeau 1991, 48 and 1996, 504. Recently on the issue of statuary see Caseau 2011*a*, 491.

[76] *Concilia Africae*, Canon 84 (*Concilia Africae A. 345 – A.525*, ed. Munier, *CCSL* vol. 149, Turnholti 1974, 205) *De Idolorum reliquiis extirpandis, 84: Item placuit ab imperatoribus gloriosissimis peti, ut reliquiae idolatriae non solum in simulacris sed in quibuscumque locis uel lucis uel arboribus omnimodo deleantur*. Also Lepelley 1994, 14 n. 11.

[77] Lepelley 1994, 8, and *CTh* 16. 10. 19: . . . *simulacra, si qua etiamnunc in templis fanisque consistunt et quae alicubi ritum vel acceperunt vel accipiunt paganorum, suis sedibus evellantur, cum hoc repetita sciamus saepius sanctione decretum.*

disappearance of the ancient cult.[78] Statues could be removed from public display with the aim of storing and reusing them. This 'light touch' by the state seems to be confirmed in the request of the canon of the General Council, since the clergy had probably hoped for a stronger 'anti-pagan' attitude to be put forth by the state. The point made by Cyril Mango about civic officers still being fervent pagans (or at least acting as pagan governors, following tradition) in Late Antiquity may be recalled here, and suggests that the destruction of statues probably happened rarely. Even if the idea of a pagan elite in Late Antiquity is rejected,[79] the preservation of statuary can also be explained easily by other reasons, not strictly religious ones. First, cultural heritage and traditions created urban populations with naturally tolerant attitudes towards the decoration of former public buildings related to the pagan cults (more aggressive attitudes were probably related to the presence of groups of fanatics, as in the case of Sufetula, mentioned above). Second, legislation suggests that the state made a clear attempt at preserving, and probably also recycling and controlling, the established urban fabric. Economic reasons, whatever the religious beliefs of the governing apparatus, probably dictated the fate of statues in the majority of cases.

7. *DAMNATIO MEMORIAE* AND DESTRUCTION

Peter Stewart points out that the destruction of statues was a practice to which Romans were accustomed through the *damnatio memoriae.* However, this was a costly procedure carried out with the support of the authorities, and probably did not occur often in North Africa from Late Antiquity onward, for both economic and ideological reasons. The *damnatio memoriae* seems to conflict with the late antique attitude towards statues, which was interested in their preservation; works were not destroyed, but instead removed and stored for later reuse or reworking. There was not an ideological need in the Roman period, from the point of view of the state, to destroy pagan statuary, which was always an expensive proposition. Different levels of destruction occurred in the pre-Constantinian period: the toppling

[78] See on this Lepelley 1998, 327–8, and Dolbeau 1996, 504–5.
[79] On the discussion of the existence of a pagan elite see above, n. 22.

of statues; their mutilation and dissection (a recurring event); and the dragging away and disposal of refuse.[80] These activities are described by various sources referring to the imperial period, although the 'toppling of statues' is hardly mentioned. For Late Antiquity, reference to toppling is made by Libanius, who informs us of ropes used to pull down statues. Peter Stewart points out how the description by Libanius has a parallel in the painting found in the catacomb in via Paisiello, where two men are represented toppling a statue of a divinity (Fig. 19.1–2).[81] A description of how this practice was carried out is found in the work of Jerome, who writes of one statue being removed and another relocated; the text also discusses the complexity of carrying out this operation.[82] 'Mutilation' probably has a stronger symbolic value and is mentioned by a large number of sources.[83] Decapitation and replacement of the head appears to be the most commonly applied practice in the Imperial period,[84] as it was probably less expensive than replacing the full statue. In this period, the face and the head, as the keys to visual recognition and identity, become the focus of violent acts, while 'dragging the statue' was often connected strictly to action taken against idols.[85] Finally, the 'disposal' of statues usually involved throwing them into latrines or rivers rather than burial.[86] All these activities were put into practice for the official *damnatio memoriae*. The inhabitants of cities of the late empire were probably accustomed to such scenes, especially in

[80] Stewart 1999, 164–6 and 2003, 274–6.

[81] Libanius, *Orationes* 22.8 (*Libanii Opera, vol. II. Orationes XII–XXV*, recensuit R. Foerster, Lipsiae 1904, 474–5); Stewart 2003, 274. In the Catacomb in via Paisiello (via Salaria Vetus) the wall-painting depicts a central statue holding a patera and a stick, surrounded by two men: one is pulling a rope around the neck of the statue and the other is throwing a stone against the statue (see in particular Carletti 1971, 112). On the basis of this scene the wall-painting has been dated to the second half of the 4th c. (Carletti 1971, 115).

[82] In Abacuc 2.3.14/16, 984–8 (S. *Hieronymi Presbiteri Opera, Pars I. Opera Exegetica* 6. *Commentarii in Prophetas Minores*, *CCSL* 76A, Turnholti 1970, 644): *Ponamus exemplum, ut quod dicimus manifestius fiat, si quando tyrannus obtruncatur, imagines quoque eius deponuntur et statuae, et vultu tantummodo commutato, ablatoque capite, eius qui vicerit, facies superponitur, ut manente corpore capitibusque praecisis caput aliud commutetur.*

[83] For a collection see Stewart 1999, 165, and 2003, 275. For a more updated discussion on mutilation and its meaning see Kristensen 2009.

[84] Stewart 1999, 165.

[85] Stewart 1999, 165–7.

[86] Stewart 2003, 276, a case in Ostia of a statue thrown into a latrine, or some statue fragments found in the river Tiber.

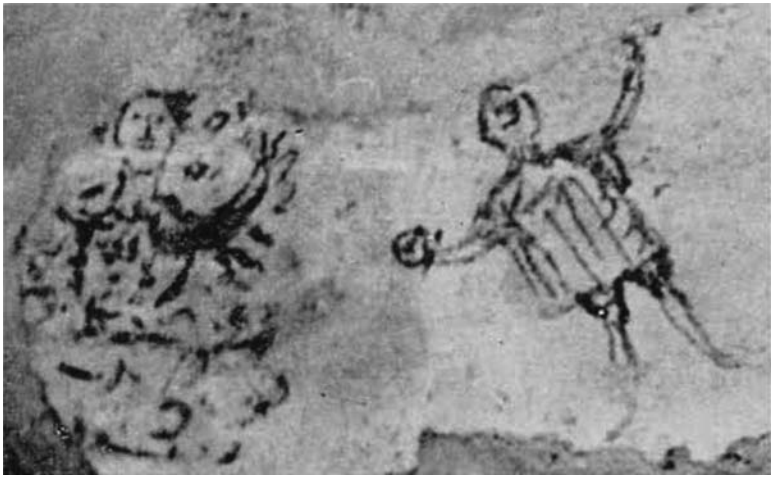

Fig. 19.1–2. Rome, painting from the catacomb in Via Paisiello

light of the difficulties of the 3rd and 4th centuries, which involved considerable historical, social, and economic changes.[87] It has been posited that the 'iconoclasm' directed at pagan idols that occurred occasionally in Late Antiquity was built on this experience,[88]

[87] Stewart 1999, 172.

[88] Stewart 1999 and 2003, 298: 'in the past the picture has been distorted by the conventional separation of cult/idols and portraits. The Christians were certainly doing something new. But when a crowd was raised to wreck a temple and its statues,

although it is also possible that these practices developed independently.[89] Above all, as pointed out by Peter Stewart, 'the victory of Christianity involves a kind of damnation of evil, and this is manifested in the abuse of cult images'.[90] The pagans themselves proposed the idea that demons manifested themselves through statues.[91] The *damnatio memoriae*, though, was an official act, while legislation concerning pagan statuary in Late Antiquity (including the creation of the *curator statuarum*) suggests that massive destruction was not the clear intent of the State.[92] Moreover, in periods of economic difficulty it is not easy to imagine that governors invested money in the unnecessary destruction of statues. It is also arguable that when this did occur (probably not under the control of the civic government), it was probably limited to breakage or hammering the head or other extremities of the statue.[93] Cyril Mango indicates two attitudes towards statuary in Late Antiquity: one that may be considered popular (i.e. a view held by the entire population) and the other intellectual (probably more characteristic of the educated elites). The former found its roots in the assumption that statues were animated by a kind of evil spirit.[94] The interaction between paganism and Christianity also had to allow for the memory of the past and traditions that, in some ways, had to be incorporated into new religious practices and behaviours. Ancient representations acquired new meanings,[95] and this encouraged fanatics who, when trying to remove evidence of paganism, were mindful of the *damnatio*

it was a crowd familiar with the tradition of statue-destruction, and although it could act in new ways in accordance with the new ideology it possessed an inherited language of expressive violence.'

[89] The attitude towards statuary followed a practice that found its roots in anthropology and beliefs in the power of different parts of the body. For some discussion see Kristensen 2009 and Graves 2008.

[90] Stewart 2003, 296. This is also pointed out by Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesia* 10, IV, 11–15). Early Christians grew up in a pagan culture that influenced their perceptions, actions, and even dreams. See for instance Miller 1994, 142–83. In this process, statues of gods are equated with the gods themselves (309); on the same subject see also Lane Fox 1988, 153–8.

[91] Baynes 1960, 118–23.

[92] This also applies to slabs with inscriptions, which were also removed and stored. On the symbolic use of inscriptions in Christian buildings see Moralee 2006, 213–15.

[93] Mutilation of statues followed principles that were focused on specific parts of the body. See Sauer 2003, 95; Varner 2005; and Trombley 2008.

[94] Mango 1963, 59–60. For further consideration see also Hedrick 2000, 52–3.

[95] See on this Mango 1963, 63–4.

memoriae. The *damnatio* was, using the words of Hendrick,[96] a 'remembering to forget'; a similar idea might have characterized the actions of some fanatics. This attitude perhaps finds some sort of confirmation in the epigraphic evidence from Ephesos,[97] where an inscription indicates that a statue of Artemis had been destroyed and replaced by a cross bearing the following text: 'Having destroyed a deceitful image of demonic Artemis, Demeas set up this sign of truth, honouring both God the driver-away of idols, and the cross, the victorious, immortal symbol of Christ'.[98] The inscription was located, in fact, to ensure that people knew a pagan statue had been removed from the spot—'remembering to forget'. The same meaning may be ascribed to statues (see above, p. 113) on which a cross was depicted or incised on the head or chest.[99] By contrasting the demonic pagan god with Christ and salvation, the message became even stronger. This was part of a gradual process of Christianization, and it is necessary to bear in mind that this transformation was slow for both the senatorial and lower classes; there were centuries of traditions and habits to be removed or transformed. Cities were required to maintain their monumentality, and ornaments and statues were integral parts of these places.[100] From the perspective of the *praefecti* of these cities, there was probably an economic issue that may have halted destruction and favoured storage for reuse or sale. As suggested by Dale Kinney, when public buildings were damaged or

[96] Hedrick 2000, 89–130.

[97] Inschriften von Ephesos IV 1351: [*Δαίμ*]*νος Ἄρ*/*τέμιδος καθελὼν* / *ἀπατήλιον εἶδος* / *Δημέας ἀρτεκιής* / *ἄνθετο σῆμα τόδε*, / *εἰδώλων ἐλατῆρα* / *θεὸν σταυρόν τε* / *γερέρων νικοφό*/*ρον χριστοῦ σύμβολον ἀθάνατον*.

[98] Trans. from Horsley 1987, 256 no. 125; for a further bibliography, see Foss 1979, 32. Foss also points out that the name of Artemis was erased from inscriptions in the harbour baths and from the portico in front of the Prytaneum. Here, crosses were also carved on the heads of Livia and Augustus. See also Trombley 2008.

[99] For some recent analysis of the phenomenon and a further bibliography see Kristensen 2009, esp. 232, for examples from North Africa.

[100] The attitudes towards rural sanctuaries regarding the preservation and deposition of statues must have varied, and sources seem to refer specifically to destruction in these cases. See for instance a canon of a provincial council in Africa: *Concilia Africae,* Canon 58 (*Concilia Africae A. 345–A.525*, ed. Munier, CCSL vol. 149, Turnholti 1974, 196): *De reliquiis Idolorum uel templis ab imperatoribus abolendis. 58. Instant etiam aliae necessitates a religiosis imperatoribus postulandae: ut reliquias idolorum per omnem Africam iubeant penitus amputari—nam plerique in locis maritimis atque possessionibus diuersis adhuc erroris istius iniquitas uiget—ut praecipiantur et ipsa deleri, et templa eorum, quae in agris uel in locis abditis constituta, nullo ornamento sunt, iubeantur omnimodo destrui.* Also mentioned in Lepelley 1994, 9.

demolished their recoverable materials went into public storage;[101] it is arguable that statuary met the same fate, and was largely removed on account of state decisions rather than destroyed outright.[102]

'Remembering to forget' and the destruction and preservation of statues were ways of dealing with religious traditions and beliefs as well as the realities of economy; each played an important role in the process of the transformation of the monumental landscape of towns. The ways in which these two aspects interacted varied from region to region. At a very general level a major differentiation can be identified between the East and the West. Archaeological evidence suggests that in the East the destruction of statues was a more common practice.[103] In the East, established quarries continued to be exploited and, consequently, the availability of material determined an enduring practice of statuary dedication and production.[104] North Africa is viewed here as part of the Western Mediterranean, a region that, as shown in the previous chapter, from the second half of the 4th century struggled to obtain marble material and was forced into extensive recycling and reuse, of marble that was at hand.

8. STATUES BURIED, OR LEFT IN PITS, WELLS, CISTERNS, AND ROOMS OF DERELICT BUILDINGS

Moving on to consider the archaeological evidence, the first recorded group of statuary finds from North Africa comprises statues buried, hidden, simply disposed of in pits and cisterns, or deposited in

[101] Kinney 1997, 124. The *Collegium Subrutorum* was in charge of the demolition of public buildings. Kinney suggests that the practice of recycling material was probably already common in the 4th and 5th centuries. See also Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 320, for a description of these marble deposits as stone gardens. The practice of recycling was diffused in the Roman imperial period and was usually in connection with the building of one monument (Barker 2011). In Late Antiquity the phenomenon developed on a larger scale.

[102] See on this Varner 2004, 5–6. He also suggests that the head of Domitian discovered in the Tomb of Julia Procula on Isola Sacra at Ostia was removed from public view and hidden there.

[103] See for instance Jacobs 2010 for data from Asia Minor, Kristensen 2009 on Egypt, and Kristensen forthcoming and Caseau 2011*a* for a more general overview.

[104] See results from *The Last Statues Project*: see above, n. 5.

rooms.[105] The categories of discovery are catalogued together, although in the evidence it appears that pits were more likely to hold fragments of statuary, while cisterns usually held pieces that were almost entirely preserved. Evidence comes from various settlements and a good range of data is provided by Carthage, to be discussed separately.

In Africa Proconsularis, at Hammam Djedidi, between Hammamet and Zaghouan (*Atlas Archéologique*, Bou Ficha between 122 and 123) four small marble statuettes were found in the filling material of a cistern. Unfortunately, no information about the function or physical location of the cistern was provided.[106] The first statue (55 cm high), with the head detached, represents Hygieia, dressed in a double tunic with a mantle on the shoulder and the right leg slightly retracted.[107] A second statue (62 cm high),[108] broken in three parts, represents Aesculapius. The lower part of the body is covered with a drape that is thrown over the left shoulder, and the god holds a stick in his left hand on which there is a snake. At his feet, on his right, is his dwarf companion Telesphorus, who wears a hood. The right arm and left foot of Aesculapius are missing.[109] The last two small statues also represent Aesculapius. One (62 cm high) is almost entirely preserved,[110] with the god draped in a mantle that leaves the right upper part of the torso naked. The right hand once held a stick that has since disappeared. The other small statue suffered more damage: the head, left arm, and feet are all broken, and the actual original height would have been 45 cm.[111] The statues contained in the cistern are all broken (although small parts appear to be missing), but the types of fractures do not indicate intentional damage.

In Africa Proconsularis at Bulla Regia, a monumental marble head (from Paros?) was found in a Roman well measuring 80 cm in diameter and 1.50 m deep, together with other fragments of statues

[105] This practice must have been fairly common. The problem with identifying the evidence is that it is based mainly on old excavations. On this practice in Rome, for instance, see Le Blant 1890.

[106] Cagnat 1913, CCXV: 'A Hamman-Djedidi, entre Hammamet et Zaghouan on a déterré, en vidant une citerne, quatre statuettes de marbre, qui viennent d'être transportées au Musée'.

[107] Cagnat 1913, CCXV. *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl. 69 no. 1421.

[108] *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl. 69 no. 1422.

[109] Cagnat 1913, CCXVI.

[110] *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl. 70 nos. 1423–4.

[111] Cagnat 1913, CCXVI.

and marble decoration; the exact location of the find is difficult to identify, but an imperial inscription near by suggests that it was in the area of the forum. On the basis of these finds the first excavators suggested that the pit and the connected canalization served a *nymphaeum* near the forum and these marbles were part of the decoration of the monument. There is a known *nymphaeum* to the north of the city but it is not directly connected to the forum.[112] The finds are only discussed in general terms, and no detailed description of the statues is provided although they appear to have been partially fragmented. Further evidence of public statuary in Africa Proconsularis comes from Mactaris, where excavators found the marble head of a young man in a well located in the gymnasium of the Petits Thermes. It has been suggested that the nose and the mouth were intentionally hammered.[113] Without the possibility of seeing the statue, it is difficult to confirm or deny this hypothesis.

Four fragments of statues were drawn from a cistern in the public area of Thysdrus in Byzacena.[114] Further fragments from statues were found in the area, suggesting that these might have decorated a public building that collapsed.[115] Groups of statue fragments were found concentrated in two rooms, indicating that they were intentionally stored together with the possible aim of being reused at a later date or

[112] Cagnat 1902*c*, CXCVI–CXCVII. It has been suggested that the head represents Vespasian. The identification remains unclear.

[113] Merlin 1946–9*b*, 373: 'Le curage d'un puits situé près des petits thermes à l'Ouest du gymnase a rendu une tête d'enfant en marbre, assez fruste. Les cheveux sont coupés en frange sur le front, les yeux ont la pupille travaillée; le nez et la bouche ont été martelés. L'œuvre semble dater du IIIe siècle.' Similar condition of recovery is for the monumental head of Vespasian found in the well in the square in front of the temple of Apollo, mentioned below, p. 171.

[114] Now on display in the museum of Thysdrus/El Jem, with a label that provides information about its discovery in the cistern. With thanks to Lea Stirling for this information.

[115] See on this L. Slim and H. Slim 2001, 175–7. In the excavation of a public building (Fig. 20) that has been identified as a temple for the imperial cult, the following were found: the lower part of a statue; the leg of a colossal statue; a fragment of imperial armour; the head of a female statue (probably Ceres); and the head of Pan. Found on one side of the large *cella* of the public building were: a statue in white marble of a draped woman; the lower part of a statue; and the hand and lower part of the arm of another statue. In the southern chapel the excavation uncovered the right foot of a female statue wearing a sandal. In a northern chapel on the corner of the portico excavators identified: feet and various other fragments of statues; the bust of a statue; the base of a statue in grey marble inscribed with a dedication to one of the daughters of Marcus Aurelius, Domitia Aurelia Faustina; and the head of a young boy.

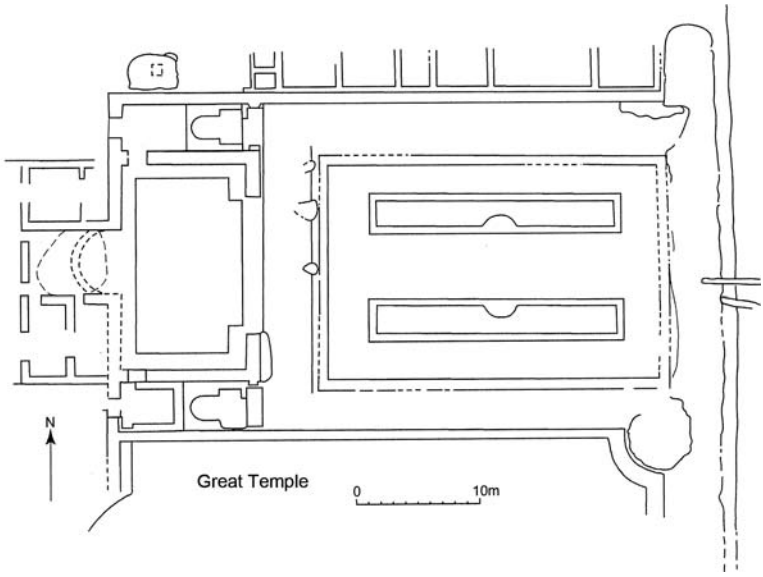

Fig. 20. Thysdrus, building for the Imperial Cult

being burnt in a limekiln (lack of stratigraphic evidence and the general description provided do not allow any further speculation).

In the forum of Sabratha, in Tripolitana, statues were found in a cistern in the Antonine temple[116] (Fig. 17) and in the *exedra-sacellum* of the judicial Basilica (Basilica I). Excavators hypothesized that storage probably took place after an earthquake at the beginning of the 4th century;[117] the statues might have been taken there from a nearby temple, possibly with the aim of being reused. Unfortunately only a general description of the discovery is provided,[118] and it is rather contradictory. In fact, after having stated that the statues were probably removed after being damaged by an earthquake, the excavator points out that 'clearly' they had been mutilated intentionally. The room containing the statues was, probably when the civic Basilica

[116] Bartoccini 1964, 26.

[117] On the problem of the earthquakes and their impact in Tripolitana, see Ch. 2, n. 3.

[118] Joly and Tommasello 1984, 104 n. 255, refers to the description provided by the excavator: 'non riesco a cancellare dalla memoria l'osservazione che le statue, giacenti in maggior parte l'una accanto all'altra fossero già state disposte, pur essendo già offese, quanto meno con un senso di sistemazione'.

was transformed into a church, blocked up and the statues were sealed in. Statues, removed from their original location, appear to have been stored for reuse and then buried when the building was transformed into a church.

In the same province, at Zitha/Ziane, Edmond Pellissier de Reynaud during his journey in 1846 found about ten or twelve statues all buried together;[119] probably in the area near the forum, and they are now housed in the Louvre.[120] Later, when Reinach and Babelon began the systematic excavation of the forum they found five statues without heads, a head of the emperor Tiberius, a large marble head (*velato capite)* of Claudius in the central *cella*, and the head of Lucilla (daughter of Faustina) in the southern part of the same area (Fig. 21). In the south-east corner of the forum excavators located a pit (diameter 0.48 m) that gave access to an underground room beneath the forum, where a large number of fragments of marble slabs and statues were found; the excavators suggested that they were deposited there after they had been broken and fragmented.[121] The description of the location and status of the marble fragments could suggest that, as at the Antonine baths at Carthage (see below, pp. 161–3 and Chapter 5), a workshop might have been located here to rework marble for reuse in the decoration of new buildings, either in the 4th century or in the early Byzantine period. Such activity, located in former public buildings, may suggest that this reuse of statuary was carried out under the control of, or by the authorization of, the state.[122]

In Numidia, at Caesarea/Cherchel, a series of statues and marble fragments were discovered buried in a possible cistern near the amphitheatre.[123] These included: a statue of Isis (2.10 m high) with the head and body separated, and a part of the right arm and *sistrum* missing; a statue of a draped female (1.80 m high) missing the head,

[119] The reference is given in Description de la Régence 1853, 302. Reinach and Babelon 1886, 54.

[120] Queyrel 1993. These statues were originally considered lost, but recently they have been identified with other statues preserved at the Louvre (with thanks to Lea Stirling for the reference).

[121] Reinach and Babelon 1886, 56–7.

[122] Similar evidence of a mosaic workshop reusing material in connection with the building of the church at Bir Messaouda in Carthage (not far from the harbour) has been recorded. (The report on the discovery is currently in press. With thanks to Thomas Morton for the information.)

[123] Cagnat 1923, CXXI, refers generally to a 'fosse maçonnée' with no specific reference to its nature.

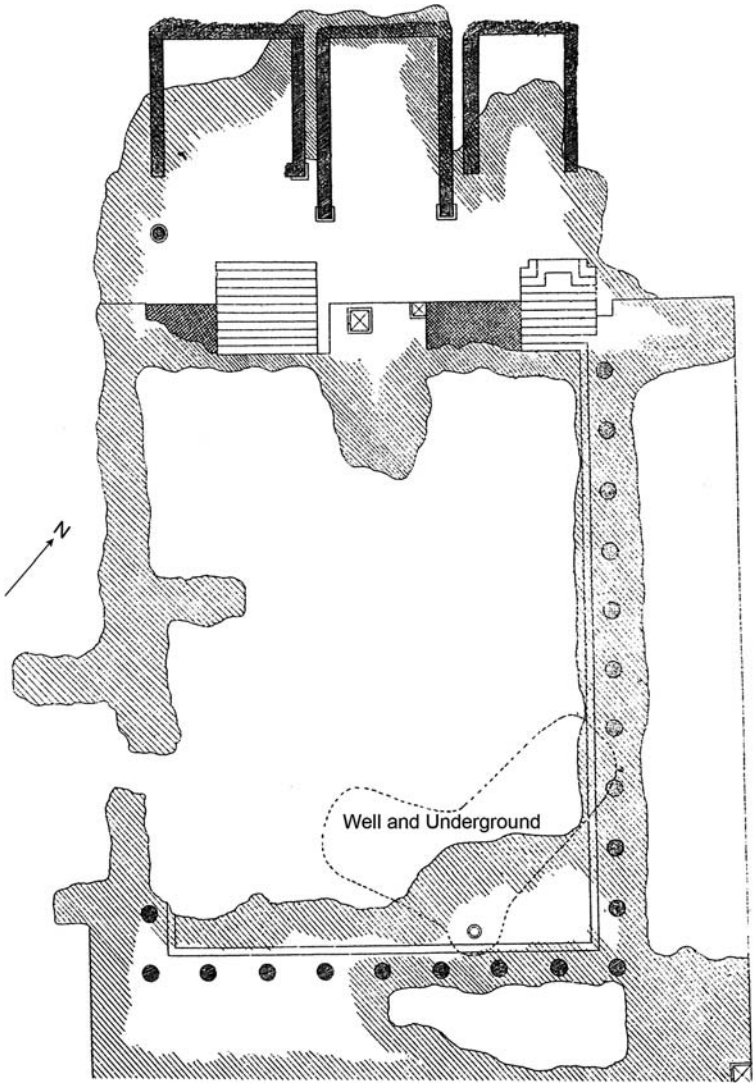

Fig. 21. Zitha, map of the Forum

part of the arms, and the right foot; the head of a young boy (0.15 m high); and a small male bust (0.22 m high) missing its head.[124] The mixed nature of the deposit, including pagan and secular subjects, may signify that the statues were removed and stored, perhaps to be reused. In the same city, similar discoveries were made near the eastern baths. A small torso of Apollo or Bacchus (0.22 m high) was found with a fragment of a Greek inscription, buried in a large vaulted cistern.[125]

Moving to the private sphere, in Africa Proconsularis statues have been found in the cistern of a house at Clipea (Kelibia). It has been proposed that these were sculptures decorating the house (see Table 4.1).[126]

Table 4.1 Statues found in possible deposits

Province	Town	Location of finds	Type of finds
Africa Proconsularis	Hammam Djedidi	Within a cistern, location not specified	Four statuettes representing gods
Africa Proconsularis	Bulla Regia	Well or cistern near the forum, in connection with a nymphaeum?	Marble head and unspecified statuary fragments
Africa Proconsularis	Mactaris/Mactar	Pit in the baths	Head of a young man (hammered?)
Africa Proconsularis	Clipea/Kelibia	Cistern in a house	Statues from the decoration of the house
Tripolitana	Sabratha	Room in Basilica I in the forum	Statues lying on the floor with no detailed specifications
Tripolitana	Zitha	In the forum	A number of statues and imperial heads lying on the floor
Numidia	Caesarea/Cherchel	Pit near the amphitheatre	Isis and a young boy
Numidia	Caesarea/Cherchel	Cistern in the eastern baths	Torso of Apollo or Bacchus

[124] Cagnat 1923, CXXI.

[125] Cagnat 1923, CXXI–CXXII. Near the amphitheatre a pottery kiln producing terracotta tubes used for building vaults was also found.

[126] Frel 1969. With thanks to Lea Stirling for the reference.

The data collected suggest a few crucial points. The fact that not all statues found within wells and cisterns had a religious use or function makes it very likely that the reasons for their burial were not specifically linked to destruction or removal for religious purposes. In one case (Thysdrus), it was suggested by excavators that the head of a young man had been damaged; however, the fact that the statue does not represent a divinity or an emperor (who might have been affected by the *damnatio memoriae*) makes it more difficult to justify this action. Moreover, to fully evaluate the plausibility of the hypothesis it would be necessary to analyse the statue itself. It is possible that the head was damaged unintentionally.

Looking specifically at the location of the finds, excepting Clipea/Kelibia where works stood in a private setting, statues were probably located within or near to former monumental public buildings. From the perspective of a planned, state-controlled dismantling of public buildings, it is possible that during the removal of decorations and building materials from monuments, some elements were immediately reusable in new contexts but statues (in some cases perhaps even damaged pieces) were more difficult to re-employ. They might therefore have been stored locally and protected, with the aim of reusing them or even selling them when an opportunity arose. In the 4th century, as attested by inscriptions and some excavation data, marbles, including statues, were refurbished and reused to embellish derelict or (occasionally, though rarely) new public buildings. The removal and storage of statues was certainly part of this process. Marble statuary was easily available in some places, while the opportunity to acquire new imported material became progressively less possible, at least in North Africa. The practice of reuse of any kind, for public and private dedications, probably became more common. It is possible that workshops existed in connection with marble storage, but unfortunately the absence of stratigraphic excavations makes them undetectable.

9. STATUES IN EXCAVATED PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Groups of statues, marble decorations, and inscribed marble slabs have often been recovered in connection with the excavation of public buildings, or in the areas surrounding these structures, suggesting

that in these North African cities a large part of the decorative apparatus remained *in situ* even after the buildings were abandoned. In some cases there are references to statues with surface damage and breakages, but it is often difficult to prove that these resulted from human action. At Thugga (Dougga), in Africa Proconsularis, a series of marbles were found in the excavation carried out in the area surrounding the *Capitolium*, including: a female head; numerous fragments of architectural decorations or sculptures (no specific figure is given); and a series of inscriptions.[127] The statues appear to be particularly fragmented and Paul Gauckler has suggested that this resulted from a planned practice of destruction.[128] It is possible that they might have been broken into pieces in later eras, such as in the Islamic period, to be burnt in limekilns (in these cases statues are usually broken into fragments). In some of these sites (especially those with longer periods of occupation) finds of statues are sometimes limited, suggesting that the storage of fragments of statues has to be seen in connection with the provision of building materials in

[127] Cagnat 1902*a*, CLXXXV: 'A Dougga, M.Merlin, membre de l'École Française de Rome, a continué à déblayer les abords du Capitole et le quartier d'habitations privées qui s'étend entre ce sanctuaire de Dar el Acheb. Les fouilles ont amené la découverte d'une tête de femme en marbre blanc, malheureusement très mutilée, de nombreux morceaux d'architecture ou de sculpture, et d'une centaine de textes épigraphiques, parmi lesquels il faut citer surtout: des dédicaces à la Concorde Auguste, à *Liber Pater*, à Mercure et *Aequitas Augusta*, dont les temples devaient se trouver dans le voisinage immédiat du forum; de nombreux fragments de frises architravées qui couronnaient les portiques du macellum et d'un autre monument important encore indéterminé; les dédicaces au divin Antonin, Septime Sévère, à l'impératrice Salonine, puis à divers magistrats municipaux, notamment au fondateur du théâtre de Dougga, P. Marcius Quadratus; de nouveaux fragments des inscriptions qui ornaient les façades du Dar el Acheb et de l'arc de triomphe qui s'ouvrait au Sud-Est de la ville antique au-dessous du théâtre.' A more detailed account of the finds in the area is also given later in the year in Cagnat 1902*b*: 'ce quartier de la ville devait être richement décoré de statues; on en a mis à jour en pierre, intacte, sauf la tête, qui à été rapportée et qui a disparu. De dimensions colossales (hauteur sans tête 2.10 m), elle représente un homme avec la toge tenant de la main droite le pli de son vêtement et de la main gauche un volumen . . . Des très nombreux restes, plus ou moins importants, d'autres statues de marbre blanc du même genre ont été découverts, auxquels il faut ajouter quelques débris d'un bige ou d'un quadrige de pierre provenant sans doute d'un bas-relief triomphal. Il fait aussi faire une place à part à un fragment de petite statue, de marbre blanc, représentant le bas d'un torse et les cuisses d'un adolescent nu, selon toute apparence un faune, d'une exécution très soignée.'

[128] Gauckler 1905, 281: 'A Dougga, les statues qui ornaient le forum semblent avoir été systématiquement réduits en miettes, et leurs débris ont été dispersés de telle sorte qu'il est généralement impossible de rajuster les morceaux de bras, de jambes, de torses, les mains, les pieds, que les fouilles nous permettent de recueillir.'

early Islamic settlements built above classical cities. Given that it is impossible to estimate the number of statues in Roman cities, the full extent of these actions is often difficult to evaluate. Limekilns located in former public buildings are recorded in a few cases in North Africa, although due to a lack of detailed excavations many more might have been missed.[129] At Thugga (Dougga), early Islamic occupation of the area surrounding the *Capitolium* is identifiable, including the building of a baths complex (hammam).[130] Thélepte (Medinet el Kedima in Byzacena) offers a very different situation in which the early excavation of the forum and temple of the city did not produce a large number of statues or marble decorations.[131] In fact, excavators found only one statue in one of the basins serving the aqueduct of the city,[132] representing the bust of a *togatus*. Efforts by excavators to locate the missing parts in the surrounding area were unsuccessful. The city of Thélepte is very close to the modern Feriana, and the marbles might have been taken there for building projects at the new settlement.

In other areas evidence points in a different direction indicating that statues were left in place and (as suggested in Chapter 2) monuments intact, or simply closed down. At Utica, for instance, a statue representing a nymph was found in proximity to a *nymphaeum*; it has been suggested that this was in connection with the decoration of the fountain.[133]

In the excavation of the forum at Thuburbo Maius in Africa Proconsularis, a number of statues were found that formed part of its decoration[134] and the statuary decorating the Thermes d'Hiver

[129] Leone 2007*a*, 213–17. In some cases an early appearance of limekilns is attested on site (as for instance in the forum of Rougga), where evidence of the decay of settlements is recorded already in the 4th c.

[130] Gelichi and Milanese 1998.

[131] Palat 1885, 144–5.

[132] Palat 1885, 146.

[133] This is probably one of the cases in which the preconception of the contrast between Christians and pagans played a role. Evidence only shows the statue posed against the basin of the possible fountain, but the excavator states: 'La statue était noyée dans une masse de béton, au niveau du sol de l'époque chrétienne. A-t-on voulu dissimuler la nudité de la jeune personne endormie à des yeux trop prudes, à ce moment?' (Cintas 1951, 84). In the same excavation area portraits of Marcus Aurelius and of Domitia Lucilla were also uncovered. These were found in proximity to an area where numerous inscriptions, slabs, and architectural fragments were collected. It may be another piece of evidence of a marble workshop, although data on the excavation are too scant to provide a definitive answer (Cintas 1951, 84–6).

[134] Cagnat 1915, CLVII–CLX.

and d'Été appear to have been uncovered *in situ*. The statues in the Thermes d'Hiver were principally found in the southern part of the building, and it has been suggested that those still in place at the moment the building was abandoned probably decorated the *frigidarium*. This may also indicate that this was the only part of the monument that continued to be used and decorated in later periods, as in the case of the Antonine baths of Carthage (see below). Statues depicting the following pagan divinities were found here: Aesculapius; Hercules;[135] Mercury (two statues); Ceres;[136] Abundance;[137] Volcanus;[138] a Satyr with a panther;[139] Venus with Eros on a dolphin;[140] and a draped goddess standing and holding the corn of abundance.[141]

At Uthina (Oudhna), in Africa Proconsularis, a large number of marble statues were recovered from the Roman baths, among them: a statue of Venus; Hermes in black marble; a male torso with a chlamys; a naked male torso; a Dionysiac torso; the torso of a child holding a bird; a female head with an Attic helmet (with traces of polychrome); a male head with a helmet; a male head with a beard (similar to the portraiture of Gallienus); a naked leg near a palm tree; a fragment of a relief representing a warrior; a relief representing a temple in perspective; and several inscribed slabs.[142]

[135] *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl., 58 no. 1352.
[136] *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl., 57 no. 1351.
[137] *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl., 57 no. 1348.
[138] *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl., 60 no. 1360.
[139] *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl., 59 no. 1356.
[140] *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl., 59 no. 1358.
[141] Drappier 1920, 63, for the Thermes d'Hiver: 'Le déblaiement du monument à procuré d'assez nombreux fragments de statues. . . . La majorité des sculptures a été trouvée dans la partie sud des Thermes, ce qui permet de supposer, ainsi que cela se vérifie aussi pour les Thermes d'été, que ces œuvres d'art décoraient le frigidarium ou les salles qui précèdent vers le sud.' Drappier 1920, 74, for the Thermes d'Été: 'les fouilles ont fourni des statues d'Esculape, d'Hercule, de Mercure (deux statues), de Cérès assise, de l'Abondance, de Vulcain, d'un Satyre jouant avec une panthère, d'une nymphe, de Vénus pudique avec Amour sur un dauphin, d'une déesse drapée debout tenant une petite corne d'abondance.' A longer list is published in *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl., 57–62 nos 1348–80. Other statues found in the two buildings are also mentioned in the *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl., 81 no. 1492 (head of Minerva); 81 no. 1493 (statue of a Satyr); 81 no. 1494 (female head); 81 nos 1495–6 (two female heads). From the same area also see *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl., 62–5 nos 1381–7; from near the temple of Baal see *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 2 suppl., 65–6 nos 1401–2.
[142] Merlin 1946–49*b*, 367–8.

In other cases, although statues have been similarly found in what was probably their original location, it has been thought that they were intentionally damaged, perhaps in antiquity. The statue of Saturn found in the temple of Damous el Casbah provides an example. According to the excavators, the head had been hammered, affecting particularly the nose and eyes.[143] Similar treatment was noted in the find of a head of Saturn at Thugga (Dougga). Another head of Saturn, also hammered, appeared in Bulla Regia, reused in the Byzantine fortress built over the theatre.[144] A similar trend of intentionally damaging statues has been suggested by Marcel Le Glay at other settlements. In the temple at Theveste, at Henchir-Rohbana, a series of statues, statuettes, stelai for the cult of Saturn, heads of Apollo and Mercury, and other pieces were found, all of which had been mutilated; however, it is not explained exactly how and where this damage took place, making it difficult to ascertain whether the mutilation was intentional. All were buried together (hidden behind a wall) and the excavator Stephan Gsell suggests that they were placed there by Christians between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century, when Christianity became more widespread.[145] That

[143] The eyes and the nose were commonly hammered, as statues were thought to possess, especially in the eyes (which bring sight) and the nose (which allows breath), the principal elements of life. Removing these parts made the statue inanimate (for recent comments see Kristensen 2009).

[144] Marcel Le Glay suggests that such planned destruction of statues applied not only to statues representing gods but also to statues representing people worshipping pagan gods, although this idea appears very difficult to prove. Le Glay 1961, 367–8: 'le nez a été arasé, la moustache, les yeux et surtout l'œil gauche, le front, le côté gauche de la chevelure, une partie de la barbe ont été martelés avec un soin acharné'. Note 6, 367: 'On remarquera en effet la parfaite identité de ce martelage avec celui qui à affecté la face de Saturne de Dougga, récemment découvert par M. Cl. Poinssot, dans le sanctuaire . . . Il semble bien qu'un martelage ait été effectué aux dépens des visages non seulement du dieu mais même des dédicants. Ces mutilations des visages sont trop fréquentes et se ressemblent trop dans le détail—la cassure du nez est courante sur les statues antiques et peu n'être due qu'à la chute des statues; le martelage des yeux ne peut s'expliquer de la même façon—pour être l'effet du hasard; elles sont certainement intentionnelles et systématiques'. See also Bejor 1979, 44.

[145] Le Glay 1966, 102: 'A Theveste (Tébessa: Le Glay 1961, 332–3)—il semble qu'à Tébessa les derniers jours du sanctuaire furent plus troublés . . . On fait du sacrum d'Henchir—Rohban un dépotoir où les chrétiens auraient jeté tout ce qui pouvait rappeler les "superstitions" païennes. Etant donné l'état dans lequel furent retrouvés en 1879 les vestiges des cultes païens (avec des statues, statuettes et stèles du culte de Saturne, voisinaient des têtes et fragments des statues de Jupiter, d'Apollon, de Mercure etc.), qui se trouvaient entassés pêle-mêle et gravement mutilés, l'hypothèse de S. Gsell en faveur d'un caveau-oubliette rempli, puis muré par les chrétiens à la fine

this was indeed mutilation is, once more, difficult to prove and in the absence of specific evidence it is difficult to confirm the hypothesis. But what is significant here is the fact that the statues were (according to the excavator) all collected together and buried behind a wall to provide some protection.[146] The similarity to La Maison de la Cachette in Carthage (see below) is striking. The suggested chronology between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century does not seem to have any specific stratigraphic explanation. A more obvious interpretation for this case (as in the case of Carthage below) is that the area or the building was at some point refurbished (maybe because the statues were broken, or perhaps after destruction, or due to a change in function). As the reorganization must have taken place in the pagan period, when statues were still considered sacred media, they would have been carefully stored and protected.

At Thubursicu Numidarum (Khamissa, Numidia), in an area about 133 m from the triumphal arch and 252 m from the forum, an elliptical structure housing a large number of statues was excavated.[147] These pieces included: a statue of a *togatus* preserved from the neck to the pedestal (1.80 m high); a female statue with a *tunica* and only the torso remaining (around 0.80 m high); another badly preserved statue; a statue (1.92 m high) of which only part of the head was preserved; and more than one hundred and fifty fragments of various statues, for which details are not given in the publication. The excavator extended the investigation under the building and found a *columbarium* (Fig. 22) that was located around 3 m down into the ground.[148]

At Sabratha in Tripolitana, several statues were found in different areas of the temple of Augustus and Roma. The colossal statues depicting Augustus and Roma were recovered at the back of the

du IVe ou au début du Ve siècle prend consistance. Il est vrai qu'il pourrait s'agir aussi d'une cachette, constituée par des païens intransigeants pour sauver d'une destruction complète leurs monuments déjà malmenés. Cela ne changerait rien à l'aspect chronologique du problème. A Carthage même, où fut trouvée sous une maison une cachette de ce genre (Le Glay 1961, 16 n. 1), si le culte de Saturne ne semble pas avoir été pratiqué au-delà du IIIe siècle à l'emplacement de l'ancien tophet de Salammbô (Le Glay 1961, 12), le temple de Caelestis ne fut détruit qu'en 399 et 421.'

[146] See above, n. 75.

[147] The building was located in front of the forum, on one of the main connecting roads to Tipasa (Farges 1878, 306–7).

[148] Farges 1878, 299–301.

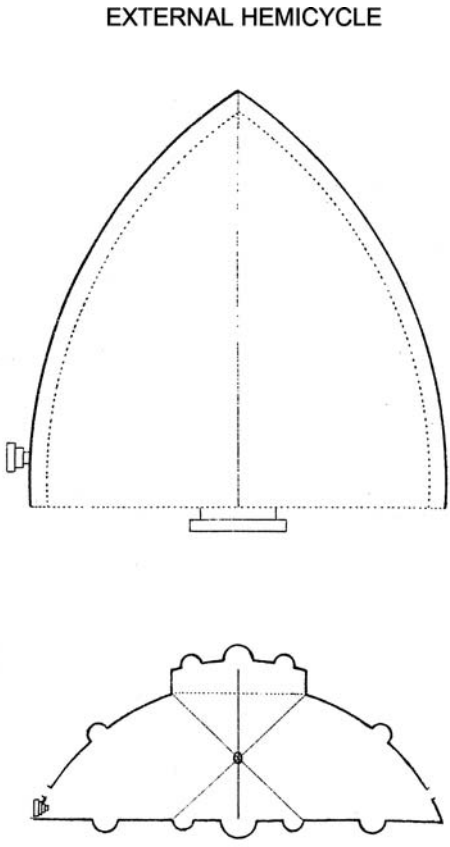

Fig. 22. Thubursicu Numidarum, plan of the elliptical building

temple, and numerous fragments of the statues were found stored underground and in one of the rooms at the west of the *cella*.[149]

Similar evidence has been found in Lepcis Magna. A statuary group was found in the *forum vetus* of the city, in the area between the *Capitolium* and the temple dedicated to Roma and Augustus, together with a number of statues that probably belonged to a statuary group located between the columns of the temple. Some of these were well preserved, while others had to be entirely reconstructed.

[149] Aurigemma 1940, 46, 50, and 57–9: they were found broken into two pieces. It has been suggested that the removal of the material took place before the Byzantine reconquest and reoccupation of the forum (Di Vita and Liviadotti 2005, 60).

Fig. 23. Sabratha, Basilica I, column ready to be sawn

Although the excavation was not carried out stratigraphically, it appears from the description that the statues were found in proximity to their original locations.[150]

[150] Aurigemma 1940, 11. This trend applies to several other monuments in various cities. For example, the Hadrianic baths in Lepcis Magna offer a similar pattern. Here, Renato Bartoccini points out that most of the statues were found near their original location, on a deposit accumulated on the original floor of the building. The statues that appear to have been removed from their original locations lie in a depositional stratum, suggesting that the removal took place long after the abandonment of the building. The excavator indicates that the baths were closed down at some point, and the decorations (at least the statues) were left intact and in their original positions. Only later, after the building had been abandoned for some time (unfortunately the excavator does not provide information on the nature of the depositional context or suggest a chronology) some of the statues were removed and, in some cases, smashed. It is reasonable to suppose that these actions took place in the Islamic period, when a new village developed along the harbour (Bartoccini 1929, 100).

All the data collected seem to suggest similar patterns, where many pieces were left *in situ* after the former public buildings went out of use. In one case there is evidence of statues that have been broken into fragments, suggesting that in later phases (probably the early Islamic period) at centres with continuous occupation, some statues were smashed and burnt for building material. The identification of lime-kilns is, unfortunately, once again problematic. For instance, in Basilica I in Sabratha the remains of a limekiln are visible and a column ready to be sawn is found on the site (Fig. 23), suggesting that at some point the burning of marbles took place in the area, a space that was occupied continuously. Where later settlements are located near ancient ones, this process of dismantling at a later phase seems to have played a significant part in the moulding of the urban fabric.

10. CARTHAGE AND THE CASE OF THE ANTONINE BATHS—THE BORJ JEDID AREA

Carthage (Fig. 9) provides a distinct range of information that allows a number of detailed considerations to be drawn out.

To the north of the city, in the proximity of the La Malga cisterns, Paul Gauckler found a female statue, identified as possibly Julia Domna dressed as a Muse,[151] along with a theatre mask held by a female hand that probably belongs to a Muse. Gauckler suggested that the two statues were probably part of the decorative scheme of the nearby amphitheatre.[152] In the same area near La Marsa, a statue of

[151] Gauckler 1896*b*, 154: 'A quelques centaines de mètres de mon chantier de fouilles, et de l'autre côté de l'amphithéâtre, dans la direction Douar el Chott, j'ai fait pratiquer un sondage dans un terrain rempli de ruines informes, d'où l'on a retiré dans ces dernières années un grand nombres de débris de sculptures. Mes recherches ont amené la découverte d'une belle statue de femme, un peu moins grande que nature (1m. 40), et presque intacte. C'est une statue de l'impératrice Julia Domna, vêtue en Muse . . . ', *Catalog. Mus. Alaoui*, 50 no. 22 and pl. XIII.

[152] Gauckler 1896*b*, 155: 'Presque à côté de cette œuvre d'art se trouvait un masque de théâtre en marbre blanc, tenu par une main de femme. C'est sans doute un fragment d'une statue de Muse, comique ou tragique. Ces deux statues ornaient peut-être les abords de l'amphithéâtre, qui est très rapproché du terrain des fouilles'. Inscriptions refer to statues being erected in the amphitheatre in AD 373–4: *CIL* VIII, 24584. Sear 2006, 277–8; Sears 2007, 39 n. 55.

Venus was found in a pit.[153] Also, in the area surrounding the amphitheatre, two statues were found along with a torso of a Bacchus, three large marble capitals, and various inscriptions.[154]

In the north-east sector of the city, the area of Borj Jedid (with the Antonine baths and theatre/odeum) has provided the largest variety of marble finds. Near the odeon a monumental head of Antinoos was identified,[155] and during the excavation of the building Cagnat recovered a series of statues and marble fragments from two cisterns: a colossal statue of Jupiter; a statue of Juno; a statue of the emperor Hadrian; a statue of a draped Venus; a head of Apollo; a head of Venus; heads and fragments of various statues of Matidia and Faustina the Elder; a Satyr with a panther; Satyr and Cybele; a Muse with a mask at her feet; a Muse with a cithara; a female colossal head of a probable Venus; a head of Serapis; fragments of panthers; heads of lions; numerous unidentifiable fragments; and various inscriptions.[156] It is arguable that these were all elements decorating the odeum and nearby theatre. Also here, proof of the refurbishment of the building and the restoration of statues in AD 379–83 is provided by an inscription,[157] indicating that the deposition must have occurred after AD 383, although it is impossible to evaluate when exactly. The theatre was totally abandoned in the Vandal period and such an activity might have been carried out before the Vandal conquest, between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century.

Among the abundant evidence recorded in Carthage, the most interesting from our point of view comes from the Antonine baths, located on the coast. Here, a large number of finds (extending to the

[153] Gauckler 1896*a*, 149: 'La Vénus trouvée dans un puits à El-Marsa, autrefois chez Charles Tissot, aujourd'hui à Paris chez M. Lecomte (publiée seulement dans le catalogue de la vente des meubles et des livres de M. Tissot, le 11 novembre 1884).'

[154] Saladin 1890, 449.

[155] Gsell 1913, 322–3 and pl. XXVII.

[156] Cagnat 1900, CLXXIX, Picard and Baillon 1990, 11–12 and in particular 14. Also, 13 n. 6 indicates that these finds were not located in the theatre, as there is no cistern there, and the only possibility is that they were found in the odeum, where there is a cistern. Statues found are published in *Supplément au Catalogue du musée Alaoui*, Paris 1910, 46–9 nos 939–57. Some of the statues have been studied by Braemer (1988, 175–98, in particular 190). He suggested that the Mercury, made with marble from the Cyclades, is to be dated to the 2nd c., and the Ganymede, carved in the same marble, to the 3rd c.

[157] *CIL* VIII, 24588–9; Sear 2006, 278 (twenty-three statues have been counted from the excavation of the building); Sears 2007, 39.

surrounding area of the houses in Borj Jedid) have been recorded. Alexander Lézine[158] writes that from the beginning of the 5th century part of the baths became a marble workshop (see also Chapter 5, pp. 206–15). Carthage experienced considerable building activity in the early Byzantine period, as it was returned to its ancient splendour.

The baths complex, abandoned during the Vandal period, was put back into operation in the early Byzantine period, although only a small portion of the original building was reused. The whole process was carried out using building and decorative material available on-site.[159] The discovery of a coin hoard dated to AD 425, in the collapsed vault of the *frigidarium*, suggests the building was not destroyed by the Vandals on their arrival at Carthage, but instead decayed due to a lack of maintenance before the Vandal conquest. Perhaps there was also a mistake in the original planning of the structure that led to its collapse.[160] However, the collapse of the vault does not seem to have provoked an immediate abandonment of the baths.[161] In the basement of the temple, in rooms 31 and 32, pillars were reduced in order to allow the passage of a platform with wheels, on which marbles and granites were probably placed for transportation to the port.[162] Some of the building materials here were reworked *in situ*. Room 36 became a sawing workshop, where large columns of the *frigidarium* sawn into blocks were found along with other columns that were clearly reworked to obtain granite slabs (Fig. 24 and 25). However, there is also evidence of smaller-scale building materials, also sawn from original pieces that were probably for use in the local community.[163] Merlin stressed that during excavation in the southern part of the baths complex excavators did not find a single architectural element or marble decoration, suggesting that this side of the building had been progressively dismantled. During the excavation of the large bath room at ground level, in the northern part of the room, numerous fragments of red granite columns (diameter 0.80 m),

[158] Lézine 1968*a*, 72.

[159] Lézine 1968*a*, 67–71. It is necessary to point out that the heating system was instead restored using bricks that were not used in the first Roman monumental phase of the building (68). A collapsed vault was also rebuilt (71).

[160] Lézine 1968*a*, 72. Suggested chronology for the collapse between 389 and 425.

[161] Lézine 1968*a*, 70.

[162] Lézine 1968*a*, 73.

[163] Lézine 1968*a*, 73.

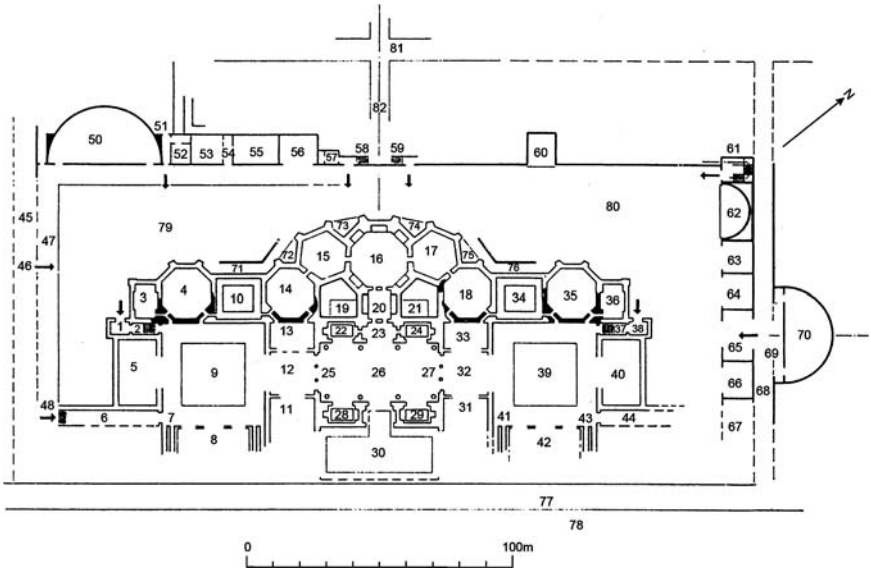

Fig. 24. Carthage, Antonine baths

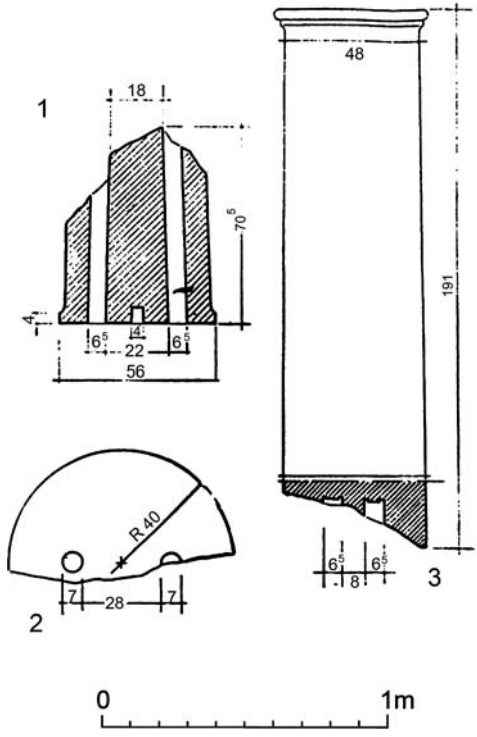

Fig. 25. Carthage, column cut into slabs in the Antonine baths

architectural fragments (including a cornice 1.60 m long), and a torso of Mars were found.[164] In the octagonal hall, a series of twenty-four inscribed slabs and some fragments of statues and architectural decoration were recovered, including: two Corinthian capitals; one torso and one foot of a small statue; four small heads of white marble, probably representing Venus, Minerva, Mercury, and Bacchus (it has been suggested that they date to the 3rd century);[165] a head of Hermes; a tripod; and possibly the base of a colossal statue.[166] Other fragments of statues were also found in the western part of the large portico, in the fill of three vaulted rooms. The most important recoveries from these rooms include: the head of Faustina, wife of Antoninus Pius (the emperor who built the monumental imperial baths); three fragments of sculptures from a marble decoration; a female head (possibly Numidia); another female head, probably belonging to the statue of a goddess; two heads of Hermes; and a small head of Love (probably datable to the 2nd century).[167] In the latrine of the baths, a drainage system and a basin were uncovered, both associated with the late reuse of the complex. Here also a number of mutilated statues were found: a torso of Apollo or Dionysos; the lower part of a draped female statue and a female head damaged by the seawater; Faustina the Younger (monumental head); the bust of a *togatus* with a preserved head (the style suggests a date in the reign of one of the Gordiani or Philippus the Arab); a similar acephalous bust; a fragment of a relief representing a warrior; and capitals of pillars with decorations and statuary bases.[168] Also, in

[164] Merlin 1946–9*a*, 507: 'Le dégagement de la grande salle rectangulaire du rez-de-chaussée, aux voûtes soutenues par seize piliers. . . . Dans la partie nord de la salle étaient entassés de nombreux tronçons de colonnes en granit rouge (diamètre 0.80 m), ainsi que des éléments architecturaux en marbre blanc parmi lesquels une corniche en marbre dans un bon état de conservation, de 1m. 60 de long. Non loin de cet emplacement fut découvert d'autre part un petit torse de Mars nu, sauf un manteau jeté sur l'épaule, la poitrine barrée d'un baudrier.' Merlin also points out that in the southern part of the building no statues or marble decorations were found (Merlin 1946–9*c*, 619–43, esp. 619). This seems to suggest that this part of the building had been dismantled.

[165] Merlin 1954*a*, 98.

[166] Merlin 1947, 217–19.

[167] Merlin 1946, 150–2.

[168] Merlin 1949, 674–5. Unfortunately data are not stratigraphic, but the description seems to relate to a later occupation of the area, perhaps the early Islamic period, with the marble material being broken to be burnt in limekilns.

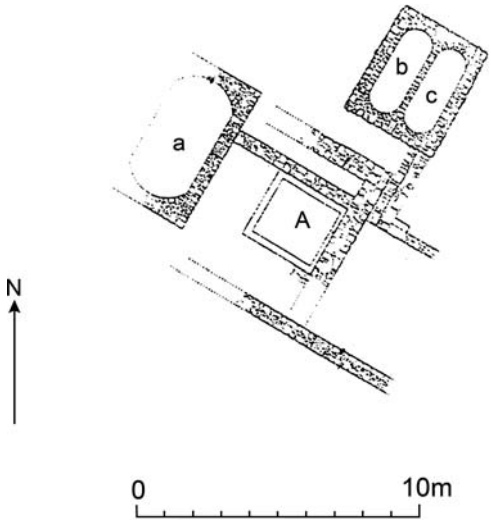

Fig. 26.1. Carthage, Maison de la Cachette

Borj Jedid various fragments of statues were discovered.[169] The case of the Maison de la Cachette (Fig. 26.1) is also worth noting: in the area behind the Antonine baths (characterized by the presence of several churches), in the terrain called 'Bessis—Ben Attar' (Fig. 26.2), during an excavation carried out in 1899 Paul Gauckler refers to several statues in a 'cachette'. The description is unclear, and mentions a cistern serving a fountain and two rooms with mosaics on both sides. Gauckler talks of a 'cachette' where he found a series of statues that he suggests are post 4th century. These include: a Venus on a dolphin; a sitting Jupiter with an eagle; a Bacchus giving a drink to a panther; a seated young man dressed in a chlamys; a head of Love; a mask of Silenus; a head of a lion in the form of a gargoyle; a statue of a Carthaginian Isis and two of her priestesses;[170] a veiled

[169] The excavations were not carried out with detailed stratigraphic recording. Gauckler 1903, 412: 'Ces divers pâtés de maisons se composaient d'habitations privées, de bains particuliers, et aussi d'édifices ayant un caractère religieux, chapelles ou monastères, le tout superposé sans ordre et sans lien apparent sur près de quatre mètres de hauteur. Il serait absolument impossible de débrouiller ce chaos de murs en petit appareil qui se croisent en tous sens, d'escaliers, des piscines, de citernes et d'égouts, si nous n'étions guidés dans cette étude par les débris de pavement successifs, souvent décorés de mosaïque, qui soulignent les strates historique de Carthage.'

[170] Gauckler 1899, 156–65.

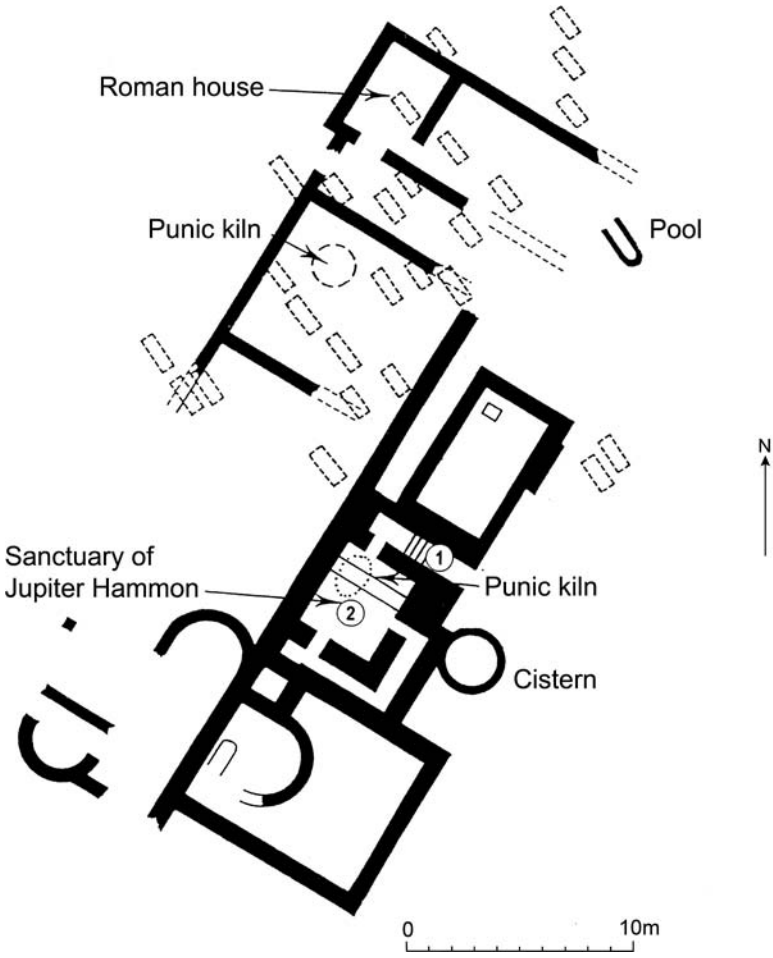

Fig. 26.2. Carthage, Terrain Ben Attar

goddess; a statue of Mithras with the head of a bull; the lower part of a statuette with the bust of a horse of Carthage; the mask of a diademed goddess; and a large slab in white marble bearing the inscription *Jovi Hammoni Barbaro Sylvano*. The presence of the 'cachette' is debatable here; the description is very vague and it is possible that the reading of the evidence by the excavators is not entirely correct. However, it needs to be stressed that the statues appear to be quite homogenous, and they seem to come from the dismantling of

the decoration of one specific religious building or a complex of buildings. If they were not intentionally hidden, they were certainly intentionally stored together, perhaps to be reused eventually.[171]

In the same area of Dermech, near the coast, apart from two large mosaics, betyls, and an altar, a series of statues were found in a Roman 'couche': a colossal head of Marcus Aurelius; four statues of female priests and goddesses; eight fragmentary statues of figures; two votive heads of bulls with a dedication to Saturn; and numerous terracotta statues. The text also specifies that the two mosaics were close to an area with the remains of an abandoned temple dedicated to Jupiter Hammon.[172] In the same area, in front of the north-east wall on the same axis as the church, a statue of Venus broken into twelve pieces was found.[173]

Another area in Carthage that has revealed a large number of statues and fragments of statues is Byrsa Hill, where the principal forum of the Roman city was situated. Here, behind the so-called Beulé's apses (Fig. 27), the altar dedicated to the *Gens Augusta* was found together with many other statue fragments. It has been suggested that some fragments were intentionally hammered.[174] Louis Poinssot suggests this was part of the planned destruction of pagan decorative elements. He finds specific evidence of this in the mutilation of faces and hands and some elements characterizing the pagan tradition, e.g. sacrifices and the tripod of Apollo.[175] A complete

[171] It has to be stressed that even though a wall was constructed and blocked up the entrance to the room, this does not necessarily mean that the aim was to protect the statues. The case of Basilica I in Sabratha seems to present a similar situation, but the wall closing off access to the room where the statues were deposited was built in connection with the transformation of the Basilica into a church. This was probably less expensive than removing the statues, which were already lying on the floor in the room.

[172] Cagnat 1899, CXLVIII M. Gauckler fouilles à Carthage dans le quartier de Dermech: 'une couche romaine où il a recueilli une tête colossale de Marc Aurèle, deux grandes mosaïques représentant l'une le triomphe de Vénus (vingt personnages), l'autre une chasse à courre (ces mosaïques recouvraient un caveau muré, débris d'un sanctuaire de Jupiter Hammon désaffecté), quatre statues entières de prêtresses et de déesses, et huit brisées figurant diverses divinités, deux têtes de taureau votives avec dédicaces à Saturne, de nombreuses statuettes de terre cuite, des boulets, des bétyles, un autel.'

[173] Alexander *et al.* 1996, 367. In Ben Abed-Ben Khader 1999, 111, where the statue is indicated as being near the altar of the church of Dermech I.

[174] Poinssot 1929, pl. I area C and 94. Unfortunately there is no specific reference to which statues were found in the area, together with the altar; see also Saumagne 1929.

[175] Poinssot 1929, 10: 'Il n'est pas douteux que les mutilations subies par le monument n'aient été presque toutes faites à dessein. Pour réduire à l'impuissance

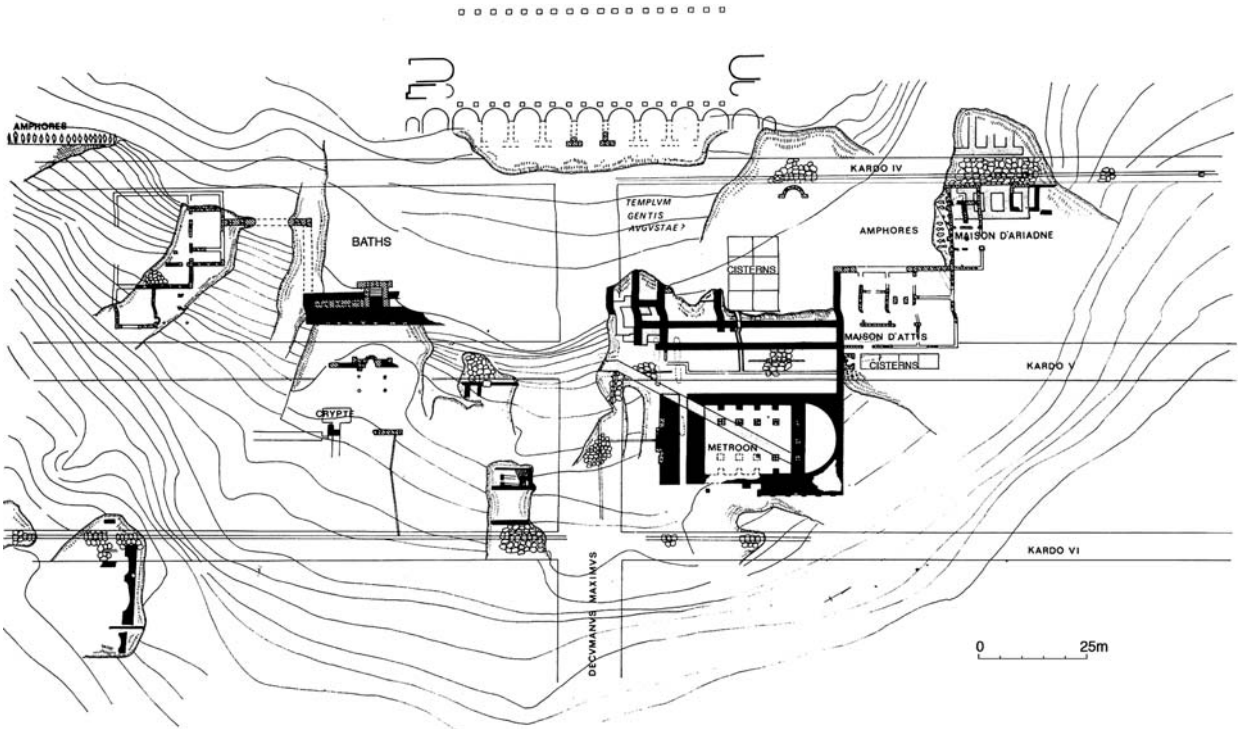

Fig. 27. Carthage, Byrsa hill, possible location of the temple dedicated to the Augustan cult

catalogue of all the statues found in the excavation of Byrsa Hill has been published; although in very few cases do excavators also give information on the exact location of finds.[176] In one case, describing a group representing Silenus and two Satyrs, reference is made to intentional mutilation and forty-five broken pieces, which the excavators reconstructed (the group was originally 0.67 m high and 0.60 m long). However, without further information on their location and position at the moment of discovery, it is difficult to understand whether the statues were broken into pieces for cultic reasons or were simply broken up later, perhaps for reuse.

Archaeological evidence seems to suggest, therefore, that at some point, more probably at the end of the 4th century, the process of storing statues and marble decorations removed from their original locations began, with the intent of reuse and display or reworking and relocation. The concentration of marble material stored on the north-east side of the city is probably due to the presence of the theatre, the odeum, and the Antonine baths, all buildings that provided large quantities of material for reuse; in the case of the baths, there was also a workshop attached. A second important focal point within the urban area must have been the circus. Here, excavations have shown that the building was progressively and systematically spoliated, again pointing to the existence of structured activity within the city directed specifically at the recycling of marble, architectural decorations, and building materials. However, the 'couche' and the 'cachette' found in the Borj Jedid area suggest a different story, and the deposition of statues may have occurred in an earlier phase, perhaps in connection with the restructuring and conversion of the area (discussed in more detail below). The Venus statue near the church of Dermech I might have been associated with this phase.

les esprits qui se glissent dans les idoles, détruire comme ici les visages et endommager les mains a de tous temps paru un rite efficace. D'autre part, la saillie de quelques attributs les exposait particulièrement à être martelés: cruche du Camillus et couronnement de l'autel dans la scène du Sacrifice, casque rond posé à côté de Rome, base du trépied d'Apollon et surtout son chaudron auquel a succès une dépression d'autant plus profonde que par son fort relief il donnait au coup de masse plus de prise.'

[176] Ferron and Pinard 1960–1.

11. THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT BULLA REGIA: MUSEUM OR WAREHOUSE?[177]

At Bulla Regia during the excavation of the temple of Apollo[178] (Figs. 28–29–30) a series of statues were found *in situ*, and it has been thought that they were displayed there intentionally. As these statues were not all clearly related to the cult of the temple, it has been

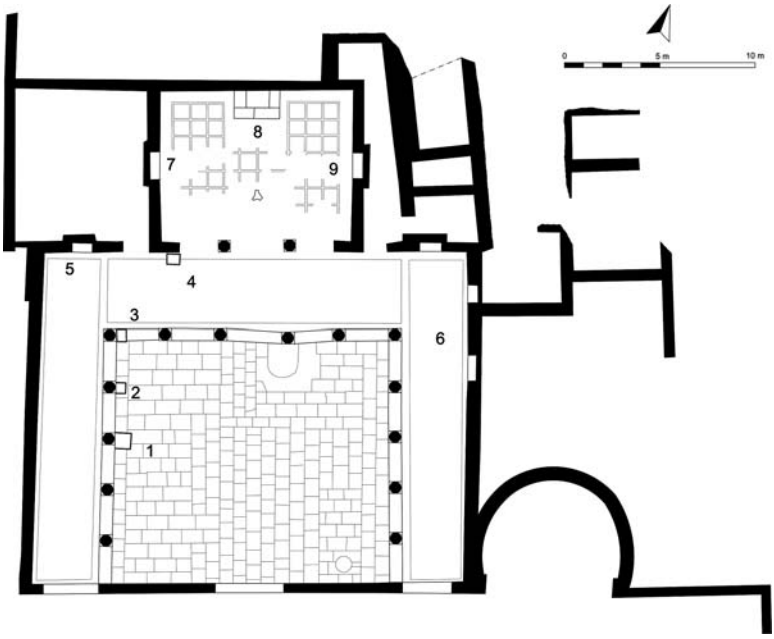

Fig. 28. Bulla Regia, plan of the Temple of Apollo

[177] The temple is dedicated to Apollo and the *Dei Augusti* (the dedication is known from an inscription: Merlin 1908, 23). The sanctuary was built under Tiberius (AD 34 or early 35). A document dated to the period of Marcus Aurelius refers to a *restitutio*. Restorations were also carried out during the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd c. (Merlin 1908, 25). It was probably restored again under Diocletian or Maximian: *aedes / vetustate conlapsae . . . L. Munatius Sabinus cameras, picturis et marmoribus fecit* (Merlin 1908, 26). It was certainly still in use in the 4th c., as 4th-c. proconsuls who were patrons of the city were honoured here.

[178] The reconstructions in Figs. 29 and 30 are only partial, as not all the photographs of the statues were available. The aim is to provide a general idea on how statues were displayed in the square in front of the temple.

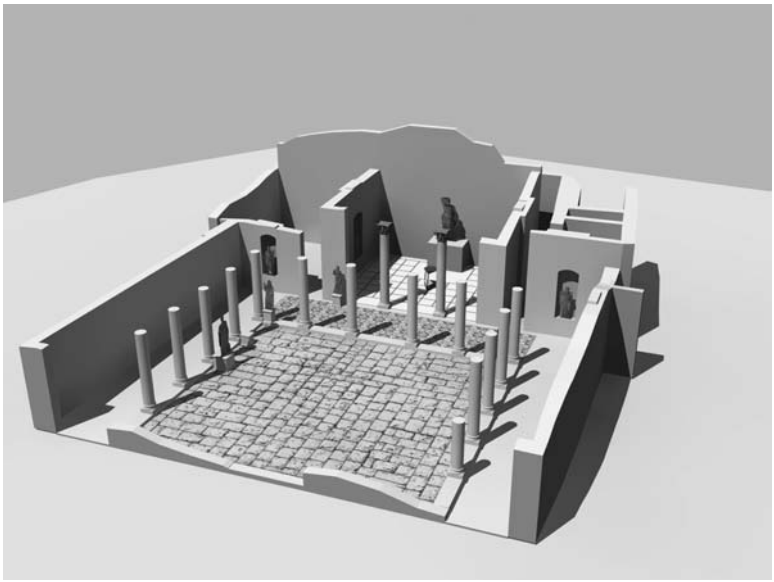

Fig. 29. Bulla Regia, reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo with relocation of the statues found in good condition

Fig. 30. Bulla Regia, reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo, detail of the *cella*

hypothesized that sometime in Late Antiquity, probably at the beginning of the 4th century as indicated by several inscriptions, they were placed there in order to create a museum.[179] This suggestion was made by Alfred Merlin in his detailed publication on the excavation[180] that was carried out by Captain Benet.[181] The head of Vespasian was found in a pit located to the right of the main entrance to the temple.[182] A series of pedestals with dedications were still preserved there, although statues had been removed. In one case, the inscription is preserved and the statue of a *togatus* is recorded, face down, right in front of its pedestal. Merlin suggests, for the style, that the statue was anterior to the base that is datable to the 4th century, and the statue had, therefore, been reused.[183] Other inscriptions in the same area refer to 4th-century *proconsuls*, suggesting that the same practice might have also occurred for other personages. Equally, the covered gallery (Corinthian order) surrounding the *cella* was decorated by a series of statues and honorary inscriptions. Here there is also a 4th-century base supporting a statue that must have been originally located inside the building, later reused as a pedestal for a column.[184] Another inscribed pedestal met a similar fate and can probably be dated to the 3rd century.[185] In the portico, Captain Benet found a series of statues on the floor. Starting from the

[179] Lepelley 1994.

[180] Merlin 1908, 8.

[181] Cagnat 1906*a*, CCLXIII–CCLXIV: 'Dans la cella centrale . . . a déterré une statue colossale d'Apollon; le dieu est représenté debout, la main droite relevée au-dessus de la tête, la main gauche appuyée sur une cithare; sur l'un des montants de celle-ci est sculpté Marsyas suspendu à l'arbre; sur l'autre, le Scythe accroupi, en train d'aiguiser son couteau pour découper vif le Satyre vaincu. Auprès d'Apollon se voyaient, à droite en entrant, Esculape avec le serpent et le bâton; à gauche, Cérès: deux effigies de dimensions colossales elles aussi, bien que de taille un peu inférieure à celle d'Apollon. Esculape, Cérès, ainsi que Minerve et Saturne dont les images en divinités poliades avaient été dégagées précédemment, tels étaient les Dii Augusti qui faisaient cortège à l'Apollo patrius de Bulla Regia.'

[182] Merlin 1908, 6 and n. 8: the temple is built on top of a cistern.

[183] *. . . [v(iro)] c(larissimo), amplissimo [p]roconsuli iterum [v]ice sacra cogn[o]s[ce] nti, patrono perpe[t]uo, sp[lendidissimus] ordo coloni[ae] Bullensium Regiu[m]*: Merlin 1908, 8.

[184] The inscription refers to Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius (proconsul of Africa between 326 and 332): *Kamenii. Consularis familiae viro adque a parentibus patrono, Ceionio Iuliano, ampl(issimo) procons(uli), c(larissimo) v(iro), vice sacra cognoscen[ti], [sple]ndidissim[us ordo Bull(ensium) Reg(iorum) patrono posuit]*: Merlin 1908, 12.

[185] *. . . [tribuniciae] potestatis, imp(eratori), p(atri) p(atriae), proco(n)s(uli), colonia Ael(ia) Hadriana Augusta Bulla Regi(a) devota numini maiest(ati)que eius*: Merlin 1908, 12.

colonnaded end, between the second and the third column, he found a male statue (2 m high, Fig. 28, no. 1)) identified as Jupiter or Aesculapius, or possibly Saturn. In the left-hand gallery another marble statue was found (Fig. 28, no. 5) of a similar size (1.92 m high), possibly representing Minerva.[186] The far end corner of the portico was occupied by a statue (Fig. 28, no. 3) of a woman wearing a *stola* and a *palla*, probably Ceres or a woman representing Ceres.[187] Between the gate that gives access to the room on the left and the entrance to the central *cella* was an inscription referring to Minia Procula.[188] Right in front of the base, with the feet against it and the face on the floor, a statue (1.94 m high (Fig. 28, no. 4)) representing an old woman dressed in a long *stola* and *palla* was found; it is a representation of an unknown figure. On the floor a municipal-style male statue was found, with the head missing (1.68 m high). Marble statues were uncovered on the right side of the colonnade, but these are less well preserved. They include female statues, two of which are fragmentary (with the torso of one and the legs of the other preserved). They were both dressed in the *stola* and *palla* (1.70 m high, Fig. 28, no. 6)).[189] At the centre of the porticoed gallery was the large entrance, subdivided into three parts by two columns. This gave access to the main *cella* of the temple. The decoration of the *cella* was very rich, comprising marbles and stucco. Here a large fragmented inscription with the dedication of the temple was found:
[deo patrio Ap]ollini et Diis A[u]g(ustis) [sacrum].[M. Livineius, C(aii) f(ilius)], Quirina, De[xt]er sua pecu[nia] fecit.[190]

At the centre of the *cella*, against the end wall, was a base in front of which was found a monumental statue of Apollo Citharist (Fig. 28, no. 8). To the right of Apollo Marsyas and a Satyr can be identified.[191] Two other statues were probably located in the lateral niches.

[186] Merlin 1908, 13.
[187] The statue was unworked on the back, suggesting that the original location was against a wall: Merlin 1908, 14.
[188] Wife of C. Sallustius Dexter: *Miniae C(aii) f(iliae), Proculae, C(aii) Sallusti(i) Destri, f(laminicae) p(erpetuae), C(aius) Sallustius Prae[n]estinus matri [opti]mae de suo po[suit], d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*: Merlin 1908, 14.
[189] Merlin 1908, 15; *Catalogue Alaoui Suppl.*, 57–8, no. 1022.
[190] Merlin 1908, 16 and n. 4.
[191] Merlin 1908, 17.

Entering the *cella*, on the right was Aesculapius (Fig. 28, no. 9) and on the left Ceres (Fig. 28, no. 7).[192] The *cella* was flanked on both sides by a room opening onto the portico. In the left room, paved with marbles (as the principal *cella*), there were no statues other than the head of a man with a beard that probably belonged to a larger piece.[193] The right room, smaller in size, acted as a narrow corridor flanking the *cella*. On the right again was another small room, and at the end there was a corridor creating a ninety-degree turn. In this secondary corridor and in the room opening onto it, a large number of inscriptions were found.[194] The majority were decorative slabs located on walls and bearing inscriptions or parts of inscriptions.[195] The excavators tried to put these fragments together and the result produced one inscription that is a copy of the dedication, mentioned above, that must have decorated the façade of the *cella*. Another inscription is the beginning of a dedication to Apollo;[196] another mentions a private citizen (probably Livinieus) who contributed to the redecoration of the forum;[197] a further text dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (AD 164–6) mentions the restoration of a building, whose name is not preserved;[198] a fragment of an inscription mentions Lucius Verus;[199] the dedication of a temple to *Diana Corollitica* under Septimius Severus (AD 196–7) appears on another;[200] there is

[192] Merlin 1908, 18.
[193] Merlin 1908, 18.
[194] Merlin 1908, 19.
[195] Merlin 1908, 19.
[196] Merlin 1908, 19: *Apollini Augusto . . .*
[197] Merlin 1908, 19: *. . . neius, [.filiu]s, Quir(ina), Victor, flam(en) perp(etuus) [. . .]ob honorem flaminatus perp(etui) gratis sibi oblati [. . . colum]nis omnibus marmoreis et orologio, et rostra et fronte set por[ticus . . . mar]moribus et opere albario sua pecunia exornavit idemque dedicavit.*
[198] Merlin 1908, 20: *[Imp(eratori) Cae]sa[ri, div]i Anton[ini] Pii fil(io), divi [Ha]dria[ni nep(oti), divi Traia]ni Parth[ici pronep(oti), divi N]erv[ae abnep(oti), M (arco) Aure]lio Anton[ino A]ug(usto), A[rmeni]aco, trib(unicia) [potest(ate) . . . imp (eratori) ii], co(n)s(uli) iii, [. . .]us et Aemilian[u]s ou[. . .]s bona . . . .restituer[unt].*
[199] Merlin 1908, 20.
[200] Merlin 1908, 20: *[Pro salute Im]p(eratoris) Caes(aris), divi Antonini Pii, Germanici, Sarmat(ici) fil(ii), [divi Antonini P]ii nepotis, divi Hadr(iani) adnepot(is), divi Traiani Part(hici) abnep(otis), divi Nervae adnepoti(s), [L(ucii) Septimi(i) Severi P]ii Pertinacis Aug(usti), Arabici, Adiabenici, pont(ificis) max(imi), tribunic(ia) [protestate iii]i, co(n)s(ulis) ii, p(atris) p(atriae) et M(arci) Aureli(i) Antoninii Caes(aris) totiusq(ue) domus divin(ae), [resp(ublica) coloniae B]ullens(ium) Regior(um) templum Dianae Corolliticae, [quod ex testame]nto suo Marcius Tertullus, c(larissimae) m(emoriae) v (ir), alumnus et patro[nus . . . i]nter cetera eximiae liberalitatis suae in patriam [conlata ex hs . . .] mil(libus) fieri iussit, suscepta pecunia ab erede eius, perfecit.*

an honorific inscription to Caracalla;[201] another text was inscribed on the back of the slabs with the dedication of the temple of *Diana Corollitica*;[202] an inscription attests to other restorations carried out in the forum;[203] and a fragment of an ex-voto from an *aedilis* and other fragments of texts, variously mutilated, were also found.[204] All these marble slabs were clearly stored in the small room at the end of the corridor. Here there were also numerous fragments of statues (an isolated foot, hands, fragments of draped dresses, etc.), and they do not seem to fit or have any connection with the well-preserved statues found in the temple. Slabs with decorations were also found, probably part of the architectural framework of the building. The other rooms found on the east and west of the temple do not appear, from the plan, to have had a connection with the rest of the complex.[205]

Considering all the evidence recorded, some points should be made in connection with the function of the temple of Apollo as a museum. It has been hypothesized that some buildings acquired the function of a museum, particularly in the Imperial period.[206] For instance, the

[201] Merlin 1908, 21: *[M(arco)] Aurelio Antonino Au[g(usto), principi iuv]entutis, Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L(ucii) Sept[im]i(i) [Severi Pii Per]tinacis Aug(usti), Arab(ici), Adiab(enici), Parthici [max(imi) filio, divi] M(arci) Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarmat (ici) nep[oti, divi Antonin]i Pii pronepoti, divi Hadriani ab[nepoti, divi T]raiani partici et divi Nervae [adnep]oti, d(ecreto) d(ecurionum), p(ecunia) p(ublica).*

[202] Merlin 1908, 21: *Pro Salute d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Imp(eratorum) Diocletiani Maximiani Aug(ustorum) aedes publicas vetustate conlapsas cameris, picturis et marmoribus L(ucius) Munatius Sabinus, v(ir) c(larissimus), curator reipublicae, pecunia publica perfecit et dedi[cavit].*

[203] Merlin 1908, 21: *[Beatissi]mis temporibus [d(omini) n(ostri) Fl(avii) Claudi(i) Jul]iani Pii Felicis victoris ac [triumphato]ris semper Aug(usti), Clodio Hermo[geniano Olybr]io, amplissimo et c(larissimo) v(iro), proconsule [p(rovinciae) A(fricae), Atilius T]heodotus, v(ir) c(larissimus), legatus Numidiae, tabularium vetus[tate et sordibus deformatum] cum omni cult[u et omnibus ornamentis pu]blicae perfecit.*

[204] Merlin 1908, 21.

[205] Merlin 1908, 22.

[206] A museum in the modern conception (with an educational purpose) was first created in 1683. From an ancient perspective a museum was a sort of modern art gallery, although formed for different purposes, principally religious dedications and public benefactions. This definition is provided in Strong 1994. *Musaeum* in Latin refers to the place of cult of the Muses or it indicates a mosaic work (for the definition and the different uses see '*musaeum*' in *Totius Latinitatis Lexikon*, Egidii Forcellini, Tomus quartus, Prati 1868). It is probably used with this latter meaning in the inscription from Thubursicu Bure, Africa Proconsularis (*ILAfr* 506, AD 260–8):*[[—]] / [[—]] / [[—]] / [[—]] / [—municipium S]eptimium Aurelium Severianum Antoninianum frugiferum concordium liberum Thibursicensium Bure thermas Gal[lienianas—] / [—r]eformatas et excultas pecunia publica perfecit et dedicavit proconsule L. Naevio Aquilino c(larissimo) v(iro) patrono municipi dedica[nte cum—] / [—] Naevio Balbino Aquilino leg(ato) Karthag(inis) cc(larissimis)*

Forum of Augustus in Rome was a sort of national portrait gallery that was surpassed only by the Forum of Trajan, where collections continued into the 4th century.[207] The case of the temple of Apollo in Bulla Regia is perhaps not unique. Thébert's excavation of the Iulia Memmia baths in Bulla Regia reveals the presence of the statue of Valerius Felix (AD 324–37) in the *porticus* of the façade of the baths and a number of other statues. The lack of evident and direct link between Valerius Felix and the other statues and the monument has suggested that the portico of the baths functioned as a display area for dedications to notable city figures.[208] It can therefore be proposed that this side of the city, which became a focal point in the Byzantine period, had already started to acquire some importance from the beginning of the 4th century, while the original traditional forum of the city, where the temple of Apollo was located, was progressively losing importance. The evidence from statue bases dated to the first half of the 4th century suggests that a sort of reorganization took place. Evidence of decay in the forum and the area of the temple of Apollo are recorded probably at the beginning of the 5th century.[209] The law of the *CTh* (16.10.8, see above, n. 36), referring to a specific temple in Edessa that was allowed to maintain its display of statues as a museum, is dated to AD 382. However, the fact that legislation was composed specifically for this case suggests that such a practice might have been uncommon. In the 4th century a number of dedicatory statues were placed in the Iulia Memmia baths, suggesting the centre of the town shifted to that part of the city. The display of statues in the temple makes it difficult to accept fully the idea that the complex was transformed into a museum while the statues in the *cella* were left in place. The evidence seems to indicate that the area in front of the temple was completely reorganized in the first half of the 4th century with the rededication of the inscription of a statue of a *togatus* and some bases of statues reused as column bases. At the same time, the statues of gods were left in place and maintained their original locations within the architectural framework, while dedicated statues

vv(iris) patronis pub(licis) ad cuius operis musaeum pleriq(ue)decuriones HS XLI mil(ia) CC n(ummum) cont[ulerunt?—]. See also Saastamoinen 2010, 99 n. 588.

[207] Strong 1994, 16.

[208] Thébert 2003, 446. For comments on the changing function of baths in urban areas see Ch. 3.

[209] Leone 1994.

were displayed in the space facing the temple. The temple and its front decorations were left intact, and only at a later date were some of the marble decorations of the temple (mainly slabs and broken fragments of statues) relocated in an annexe of the building. The evidence suggests that the complex and its statuary were probably the result of a new form of display in public spaces that appears to become common in Late Antiquity.[210] As pointed out by Roland R. R. Smith, the exhibition of honorific portraits in late antique Aphrodisias was less concerned with a connection to the architectural framework (niches, etc.) than it was with the urban landscape. The way in which public statues were displayed in Late Antiquity changed, because the use of spaces changed substantially.[211] The new setting of the square in front of the temple seems therefore to reflect a practice of statue display that characterizes Late Antiquity, one less concerned with architecture and more focused on the use of empty spaces in public areas. This trend is also confirmed by the case of Cuicul, where the study of hammered bases has shown that 4th-century dedications were mostly located in the centre of the square, so that all of the empty space was filled up. What is particularly interesting in this case is that the bases were actually all hammered (probably ready to be reused?) and despite this fact had all been left in place.[212]

12. THUGGA/DOUGGA AND THE TEMPLE OF SATURN: A CASE STUDY

The temple of Saturn at Thugga/Dougga was first excavated by Louis Carton in 1893, and further investigations were carried out in

[210] It appears that the display of statuary is here less concerned with dedications and religious purposes (as suggested by Strong 1994, see above, n. 24), and more with the idea of decorating empty spaces.

[211] Smith 1999, 171.

[212] Lefebvre 2006, 2139–40. She points out that the centre of the city shifted progressively after Septimius Severus with the building of a new forum to the south. This movement may justify the remnant bases. The process that determined the survival of the display is similar to the one recorded in the temple of Apollo, although at a different historical moment.

1927,[213] and later in the 1950s, when a number of statues were found in a cistern.[214] It appears that most of the fragments belonged to one colossal statue, probably the cult statue of the temple. A male head was also found. In the same cistern (at a higher level) pottery fragments dated between the 15th and the 16th centuries and a coin hoard comprising thirty-four Spanish silver coins dated to the end of the 16th century were recovered. It has been suggested that the deposition of the statue might have occurred intentionally sometime in Late Antiquity as the area continued to be occupied and the cistern was filled, right up to the post-medieval period.[215] The fragments of the statue might have fallen into the cistern sometime at the end of the 4th century, and the head of Saturn might have been hammered following the 'pratique iconoclaste chrétienne'. The nose and part of the eyes were chiselled out. Louis Poinssot points out that the male head found in the same cistern[216] was not equally mutilated and suggests that the reason for this difference is that the statue did not represent a god (Marcel Le Glay writes that ordered destruction was also carried out on civic statues, when the subjects were venerating pagan gods, but this is difficult to prove).[217] It is probable that the head of Saturn was put into the cistern at a later date, long after the abandonment of the temple, when the other pagan objects had been removed. The temple probably suffered early abandonment, due to the collapse of the cliff behind the *cella*. Several statues were found inside the *cella* in their original positions, although data, especially from earlier excavations, do not provide details about the exact location of the finds. In the same city, statues decorating the forum seem to have been buried at some point in the abandoned theatre,[218] but it is difficult to identify the chronology of these events. The temple, no longer officially in use, may have been an easy target for fanatics who could easily hammer the head of the statue without suffering any consequences. Statuary was also found inside the temple

[213] Poinssot and Lantier, 1927, 441–2.
[214] Poinssot, C., 1955.
[215] Poinssot, C., 1955, 32 and nn. 3 and 4.
[216] For this portrait a date at the beginning of the 3rd c. has been suggested. The style appears to be Severan, but it is impossible to identify the figure (Poinssot, C., 1955, 47–8).
[217] Poinssot, C., 1955, 34 n. 6. He suggests that the statue is contemporary with the building of the temple, AD 195.
[218] Poinssot, C., 1958, 40.

of Caelestis, although the excavators do not specify whether the statues were left in their original settings in this case.

The site of Thugga/Dougga appears to be quite representative, highlighting that the removal, deposition, or destruction of statues was a multifarious phenomenon, although the lack of specific stratigraphic excavation makes interpretation very difficult. Moreover, it is also necessary to point out that the centre of the city appears to have been occupied by an early Arab settlement, and therefore some actions, especially those connected with the breakage of statues destined for limekilns, might have occurred at a later date.

13. BETWEEN PAGANS AND CHRISTIANS: STATUES AND SYMBOLS

The archaeological evidence indicates trends that confirm a lack of homogeneity in attitudes toward statuary, further attested by the ancient sources and legislation. Ideologically, ancient idols were to be destroyed, but on a practical level they were connected to social, traditional, and economic factors. Generally, the wealthy members of society, including officers, were, at least in the 4th century, pagan in habit if not in faith; furthermore, even when not as strong in their religious convictions, these figures had to deal with the realities of cities filled with inhabitants steeped in at least four centuries of symbols and ideas promoted by Imperial paganism. Christians were also part of these communities as they represented, together with the clergy, an emerging and wealthy power in the urban centres. Proof of these complex trends and the interaction between the two religious cultures is also attested to by the fact that paganism disappeared very slowly, with some traditions, such as the cult of the emperor, continuing well into Late Antiquity (see Chapter 3). From this perspective, it appears that from the 4th century onward (except in a few specific cases), the fate of statues was probably related more closely to economic issues than anything else. This is clearly proved by the legislation, which generally appears to pay considerable attention to the maintenance of urban monumentality, promoting as much as possible the use of whatever material was readily available. This is further demonstrated by the fact that the deposed statues were not

only characterized by religious representations, but were also secular male and female statues. This complex process probably ended in the Byzantine period, principally because in Byzantine cities the distinction between public monuments and religious monuments gradually disappeared, in favour of churches.

Before going into a detailed discussion on the recorded evidence of statues, it is important to stress that these considerations apply to the North African landscape, and trends might have been different in other geographical areas.

Destruction and mutilation of statues

In some of the cases recorded it has been suggested that statues were mutilated or broken intentionally. This is obviously very difficult to prove, but the potentially supportive evidence should nevertheless be considered. Some of the heads of divinities were clearly hammered and the eyes, noses, and mouths intentionally removed.[219] The evidence has been found principally in the cases of the heads of divinities (a particular representation of Saturn offers a good example), and reasons for such action are mentioned in ancient texts that see the statues as being possessed by evil spirits that must be defeated. The anger against the head of the statues probably finds its roots in the practice carried out during the *damnatio memoriae*, in which the head was removed. However, archaeology, in the case of North Africa, seems to suggest that this practice was only rarely applied, probably by fanatics, and in some (probably very few) cases under the supervision of the state, as attested by the smashing of a statue of Venus to free a young girl from evil spirits in a baths complex in Carthage (see above, p. 137 and n. 73). This episode also confirms the need of civic officers to maintain a balance between the two powers present in towns: those linked to the pagan tradition, and the new emerging power represented by the clergy and its community. Furthermore, in evaluating evidence of mutilation it must be taken into account that in the past (particularly in excavations carried out during the colonial period), the assumption that destructive acts against statuary took place has directed certain interpretations of sites and finds. For instance, the initial excavator indicates that the

[219] On the significance of these actions see above, nn. 88–9.

statues found in the exedra of the judicial basilica of Sabratha were probably placed there after a 'earthquake', but at the same time he states that they were intentionally mutilated. Also, at the temple of Hercules at Sabratha, monumental cult statues were found near the perimeter walls of the temple, and Caputo and Ghedini suggest that one statue was broken violently into pieces.[220] Without information on the location and state of the statue it is difficult to comment, but if the statue was smashed it is possible that this happened in a later period for the purpose of reuse. Whatever the reasons, in order to break a monumental statue it was necessary to strike the marble with a considerable degree of force, and this may not necessarily have been connected to ideological rationales.

The breakage of statues might also have occurred during their removal, which was a difficult operation, as pointed out by ancient authors. This is not to suggest that no destruction of statues took place in North Africa, but it is very difficult to understand the extent of this activity, which was probably overestimated in the past. It is also difficult to identify the chronology of these actions, but Byzantine iconoclasm developed after the Islamic conquest of North Africa and therefore destruction or mutilation of statues that occurred in North Africa must have been occasional, isolated phenomena. Certainly some Christian fanatics would have acted violently against pagan statues in Late Antiquity (as in the case of the Circumcelliones, for instance), but the general tolerance highlighted by both sources and legislation suggests these episodes were few.

Statues found *in situ* or in the proximity of their original location

Looking at the archaeological evidence, it appears that a large number of statues decorating baths and fora were found in what were probably their original locations. It can be supposed that in many cases temples were not substantially spoliated of their statues and many probably remained in place. In some cases the removal of marble probably took place under the management of the local state authorities with the intention of placing the material in storage. In this respect, the case of the Antonine baths in Carthage offers some

[220] Caputo and Ghedini 1984, 115.

interesting evidence; it is very likely here that marbles from abandoned sectors of the complex were reworked *in situ* (see also Chapter 5). Similarly, there is evidence in the city's circus of a planned dismantling of the building materials of the monument, probably carried out in Late Antiquity since we see reused slabs in the Byzantine cemetery.[221] These pieces of evidence shed light on two points. First, ancient monuments were probably reused, maintaining their original decorations. If a temple was reused for a secular function (such as for the meeting of a *collegium*—see Chapter 1), it was probably not necessary to remove the statues. Secondly, buildings that appear to have been dismantled were probably transformed with the permission and under the control of the state.

Some statues, moreover, might have been left in place to follow the practice of 'remembering to forget'. In fact, in two cases at Thubursicu Bure[222] and in an unknown place (now at the museum of Guelma)[223] a bust of a young man and a torso of Apollo have been found, each incised with a cross; these statues were probably left in their original locations but were marked with a Christian symbol to purify them.[224]

Removal and storage of statues

This aspect is particularly difficult to assess, as there are various historical moments and events that brought about changes in the relocation of statues. The aim here is to identify what these factors are in order to glean some indications that might assist future research. The first point to stress, as confirmed by ancient sources, is that moving a statue was a difficult and costly operation, although probably not as expensive as buying a new sculpture.

[221] Humphrey 1988, 327–33. In the cemetery placed in the abandoned monument, all the tombs are in stone cists apart from three amphora burials. It is important here to notice that none of the slabs reused in the burials were worked, with an exception made for one fragment (330). This seems to indicate that in the dismantling process a selection of slabs was carried out and these were given different destinations to the building material taken from the monument.

[222] Kristensen 2009.

[223] Patchère 1909, 28.

[224] For some discussion on this practice and further bibliography see Kristensen 2009.

1. The first type of evidence points to the removal of statues for relocation, is discussed at length by Claude Lepelley and Christian Witschel (see above, p. 122), and is supported by inscriptions. There is no doubt that these transfers were carried out under the control of the civic government. They were planned and also witnessed by authorities, as detailed in legislation.

2. The second form of evidence is the removal of statues for storage or redecoration of public spaces. There are several cases recorded that are worth consideration. It is also clear that this type of transfer took place under the orders of the civic government, for various reasons (religious and economic). The first example is Bulla Regia and the temple of Apollo where a reconstruction (Figs 29 and 30) of the display of statues suggests the use of statuary to fill in and embellish the square in front of the temple, while the decoration of the *cella* of the religious building maintained its original form. There appears to be no evident connection between the architectural framework (already existing) and the re-display of statues. Similar evidence is found in the Iulia Memmia baths in the same city, where honorary statues were on display at the entrance to the baths.[225] The exhibition of imperial as well as private statuary in porticoes suggests a reinterpretation of public spaces in Late Antiquity (see Chapter 3). Honorary statues especially now do not appear to be concentrated in the forum area, but in other porticoes and squares within the urban context; they were not necessarily concentrated in one specific part of the city, but did exist in areas still frequented by many people. Although the number of dedicated statues is reduced in Late Antiquity, the display of these statues occurs in a much larger variety of contexts. Buildings and spaces are often not built to be decorated by statues but they progressively acquire this new function.

Moreover, in the temple of Apollo in Bulla Regia, slabs and fragments of statues have been found in the room at the back of the temple. It is also possible that the same building (or another within close proximity) housed workshops for the reworking of marble, as recorded in Carthage in the Antonine baths, areas that were not identified by Merlin's 19th-century excavation. The fact that statues were left there without further demolition or reuse is not surprising. Removing statues was a costly operation and such effort was not

[225] Thébert 2003, 446–7. A similar phenomenon has been recorded in other bath complexes in North Africa, such as Timgad in the Grand Thermes du Sud.

undertaken unless explicitly necessary. The *exedra* of the judicial basilica in Sabratha provides similar evidence; here statues were stored and probably damaged and removed, possibly after the earthquake[226] in AD 365. These statues were left in place and not isolated, even when the basilica was turned into a Christian building in the Justinianic period.

3. Other statues were taken away and stored in pits or cisterns. Augustine also documents this practice (see p. 138 n. 75). Two different scenarios are identified: storage in cisterns and in storage pits. Data are difficult to interpret but at Caesarea/Cherchel there is a pit where various statues were hidden, and also a cistern that contained only idols. At Thugga/Dougga the temple of Saturn, abandoned at an early stage, shows similar signs of statue deposition. Further, statues were stored in cisterns at Carthage, probably in the odeum. Could this be evidence of pagans trying to protect statues from destruction? This is obviously a difficult question that is currently impossible to answer with any certainty. However, a few points can be raised. The first is that deposits often contained complete statues, or only works that were partially broken. Secondly, not all statues had religious connections to the pagan world. Finally, statues from Carthage, for instance, probably decorated the theatre and the odeum and were therefore not exclusively religious symbols.[227] Statues appeared to have been already broken (usually some part of the body was missing) when they were put into storage. Descriptions of the location of the statues are often too general and it can be difficult to interpret what is meant by 'pit' or 'well'. Generally from the descriptions it seems possible to suggest that statues in pits or wells were usually very fragmented and perhaps of no or little use. It seems possible that at least in the cases of cisterns the deposition was carried out intentionally, with the aim perhaps of restoring and reusing the statues at a later date. The functionality of these depositions was probably the same as statues stored in rooms at Zitha or in the basilica of Sabratha. These statues had to be removed, either because they were partially broken and not suitable for immediate reuse or they were an obstacle in the process of dismantling the building in which they were on display (this may be the case of the theatre and the odeum of Carthage). They were stored in cisterns for later reuse. Cisterns went out of use, and therefore

[226] See Ch. 2, n. 3.
[227] For a discussion on the decoration of theatres in North Africa see Bejor 1979.

offered good storage facilities. The deposition of statues (without breakage) in a cistern was probably a difficult and rather expensive proposition, one that was probably officially organized so as to be economically viable. A potential benefit of such an arrangement would be the acquisition of material for later restoration of the monumentality and beauty of the city in future years. Rooms of former public buildings no longer in use were also used for storage. These in fact were located in the vicinity of the place of display of the statues and could easily be turned into warehouses (this is certainly the case at Sabratha and probably at Zitha). Moreover, the removal of statues from their settings must have been necessary to gain access to other building material in the area. With the goal of maintaining urban monumentality emerging from legislation, governors probably planned for the reuse and storage of statues.

4. The final evidence that merits consideration is found in Carthage in the Borj Jedid area, near the Antonine baths. In two cases reference is made to statues hidden behind a wall. The description of the finds is rather vague. As it stands, a wall may or may not have existed. If it was in place, however, its existence does not necessarily mean that it was built intentionally to hide the statues. The entrance to the room where the statues were located could have been on another side, unexcavated (the description of the discovery is very unclear and it seems to refer to the room being underground). It is also possible, as in the case of Basilica I in Sabratha, that the blocking up of the wall might have occurred in a second phase, not necessarily with the aim of hiding the statues, but simply due to a reorganization of the area or monument. What is important to consider is that the statues appear to be organized quite coherently and are probably sourced from a single or group of religious buildings. If they had been hidden for protection, the storage probably took place quite early, at least between the end of the 3rd century and the 4th, when the pagan tradition was still strong. Statuary in both cases appears to have been part of the decoration for a temple or a monument with a religious function. The two finds are near the sector of Dermech, which in the Byzantine period became one of the main ecclesiastical areas of the city and contained five churches. Excavations carried out in this sector in the colonial period destroyed the Roman levels in order to reach the Punic cemetery, but it is possible that this part of the city, close to the harbour and the Antonine baths, had temples that were at some point removed or rebuilt along with

their decorations. Moreover, a second forum area of the city, the *platea maritima*, is mentioned by Augustine and has yet to be located.[228] In the same area an inscription with a preserved '*FORV*' was found.[229]

A substantial reorganization of the city along the harbour has been recognized. The city suffered some destruction during the sack of Maxentius in AD 311, and was probably subject to a series of earthquakes in the 4th century. It is therefore arguable that the statues were removed to clear the area during a substantial reorganization that probably occurred sometime in the second half of the 4th century. The Antonine baths were restored in AD 388–92 and the reorganizational activities of the surrounding area might have taken place at that time.[230] The dedication of the statues,[231] and restoration work on the theatre and the odeum took place in the same period. It therefore seems possible to suggest that all the statues found hidden or stored in this sector of the city were removed unitarily, possibly at the end of the 4th century. The evidence of the various attempts at maintaining statues (including both removal and storage) gives some indication of an interest in preserving earlier works of art (and therefore an understanding of the value of this work) and of the intention to eradicate the perception of classical art as an expression of paganism.[232]

Chronology

From a chronological point of view some general trends can be put forward, on a hypothetical basis, to be investigated in future archaeological excavations. In Late Antiquity (probably in the 4th century) three patterns emerge.

First, statues were moved from one side of the city to the other, as a probable effect of legislation that required city governors to maintain monumentality to the highest degree possible. Therefore, when it was

[228] *De Civitate Dei* 16. 8.

[229] Audollent 1901, 227 on the west of the garden of Mustapha Ben Ismail.

[230] *AE* 1949, 28. See also Leone 2007*a*, 124.

[231] Two statues were dedicated in the amphitheatre in the 4th c. (*CIL* VIII, 24584, Lepelley 1981*b*, 15; Leone 2007*a*, 124) and two in the theatre between AD 379 and 383. Several restorations occurred between the Diocletianic period and the end of the 4th c. (Lepelley 1981*b*, 16; Leone 2007*a*, 124). Restoration of the odeum is attested in AD 383–93 (Hugoniot 1996, 260).

[232] For a similar approach see also Lepelley 1994, 10.

impossible to restore all the monumental parts of the city, statues were probably moved to redecorate heavily used buildings (often the baths and surrounding areas). For highly urbanized areas (such as the Mejerda valley), some of the minor centres that saw early decay sold their monumental apparatus to survive, and this activity may have created a market for the private collection of statues.

Secondly, it is difficult to trace what happened in the Vandal period, due to the lack of sources and evidence, and the difficulties in dating Vandal contexts. However, archaeological evidence seems to suggest that most of the public buildings remained derelict during this period, indicating that legislation and the preservation of the urban fabric was not a central focus for Vandal authorities. The *Anthologia Latina* (see Chapter 3) offers some indication that the Vandal kings were in fact actively building or (perhaps more likely) restoring baths and rich villas; this probably implied the reuse of some marbles for refurbishment.

Thirdly, as suggested in the case of the circus at Carthage, or the Antonine baths and the instalment of a workshop in the Byzantine period, here we see an organized programme of dismantling and recycling embedded urban monumentality. The buildings involved in this process (often the most monumental and richly decorated, such as the baths and theatres) had their statues removed from their original locations, and then probably stored in nearby cisterns for later reuse or sale. The removal of statues may also have been necessary to gain access to other building materials. It now seems likely that some of the major buildings in the city were progressively dismantled, if not by the state then at least with the cooperation of the state.

We are looking essentially at the major monumental complexes such as baths, theatres, and fora. This process also accounts for the appearance of workshops in former public buildings to facilitate the process of reuse (see Chapter 5). As pointed out by Béatrice Caseau,[233] there were too many temples to find a new use for all of them after their closure. Similarly, there were too many monuments in many classical towns to enable all of them to be dismantled (it must always be borne in mind that this process was expensive, and therefore must have been carried out only when economically advantageous). In

[233] Caseau 2001 and 2004.

many cases, perhaps where statues were not an obstacle to the process of the removal of marble decorations and building materials, these might have been left in place and subsequently collapsed.

Settlements occupied in the early Islamic period are characterized by the presence of numerous limekilns, suggesting that the urban fabric of these cities enjoyed its final glory during this time. Broken statues probably belong to this phase, rather than earlier. Equally, sites located near modern or medieval centres might have been used as quarries at a later date (as for instance at Feria).

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Spolia in Churches

Recycling in Late Antique Building Activity

1. INTRODUCTION

Understanding the process of the reuse of ancient building materials is complex and encompasses various architectural and practical factors, including: changes in style and taste; the symbolic value and meaning that particular marble materials might have had; constrictions imposed by existing monuments and the availability of material, which changed from place to place; the organization associated with this transformation of labour; and, consequently, the economy of building materials and trade. The latter two of these aspects will be the core of this chapter. Given that the connecting thread of this research is the idea of the relationship between paganism and Christianity, the main focus here will be on the reuse of spolia in churches (although, occasionally, reference to other types of monuments will be made in order to provide a wider context).[1] Although the concept of spolia is modern, it will be used here to indicate the marble material from classical buildings recycled in later structures. The various ways in which marbles were acquired and displayed in this process of conversion will also be examined.

Monumental building activity in North Africa appears to have persisted until at least the first half of the 6th century. As discussed in Chapter 2, the 4th century was characterized by attempts at maintaining urban monumentality, resulting primarily in the occasional

[1] For a detailed discussion on the definition and use of the word 'spolia', see Alchermes 1994.

rebuilding or, more commonly, refurbishing of existing monuments. This activity probably required a certain amount of decorative elements in addition to simple building material. Similarly, although tracing the origin and ultimate fate of public monuments in the Vandal period archaeologically proves more difficult, texts refer to the undertaking of monumental building activities (principally in baths and villas) or more probably restorations and refurbishments by various kings. It is therefore reasonable to presume that the practice continued into the 5th century.[2] The new explosion of urban monumentality (especially at Carthage but also at minor centres) dates to the early Byzantine period and was directed principally towards the construction of churches, forts, and city walls as expressions of power.[3]

2. SPOLIA: ECONOMY, STYLE, AND SYMBOLISM

Traditionally there have been two main approaches to the study of spolia:[4] the first, initiated by Deichmann (1975), explains the reuse as an economic phenomenon; the second suggests that the reuse of materials was both planned and symbolic, especially in the context of churches (for instance Mathews 1971 and Brenk 1987). We shall look at each of these viewpoints individually.

The economic perspective

A recent reconsideration of Deichmann's work has pointed out the limits of his study. His analysis developed from the analysis of the

[2] See Ch. 3, pp. 97–8.

[3] For discussion of the process of reusing material within city walls and forts, with specific reference to the North African cases in Aïn Tounga and Ammaedara, see Greenhalgh 1999, 842–71, esp. 817–19. For a synthesis of the North African evidence see Leone 2007*a*, 187–98, and bibliography. For a complete collection of the data on fortifications in Vandal North Africa see Pringle 1981, esp. vol. 1.

[4] The idea of 'reuse' was first introduced by Deichmann (1940). The term refers to both spolia and buildings. The present chapter aims to investigate the former. Deichmann 1976, 161–2 also points out that there are two types of reuse: relocation of the reused element maintaining the same function (this started from the time of Diocletian); and reuse of the marble decoration with a different function. This form of reuse belongs to a later period.

economy of late antique building activity and he concluded that material need determined a complete bypassing of classical style, and resulted in what can be categorized as 'chaos'.[5] In contrast it has to be stressed that, if the economy played an important role in the development of late antique architecture (not only in churches, but also in fortifications and city walls), it is also true that recycling was not a random activity, but rather, as will be apparent from the data presented in this chapter, an organized system. Recycling was a common practice in all Roman periods, so there was already a good knowledge infrastructure in place for handling it. Two case studies can be identified as representative of this trend. At Lepcis Magna, in the old forum, the temple of Roma and Augustus was restored in the Roman imperial period and the original Ionic capitals were recycled in the portico, connecting the amphitheatre and the city circus; in the same urban centre, the temple of Isis was built entirely with reused materials.[6]

The symbolic perspective

Although symbolic reuse might have occurred in some instances, this is very difficult to prove.[7] In a recent work on the church of Saint Theodore in Gerasa (Jordan), examining the display of various recycled stones (mostly inscribed), it was concluded that 'like literary accounts of the process of Christianization, spolia, both architectural and epigraphic, served as carriers of memory (Erinnerungsträger), forming the raw material for a larger narrative of victory over paganism and sanctification that was consciously articulated by Christian élites at both the centre and the periphery at the end of the fifth century.'[8] Moreover, it is often very difficult to clearly identify and read 'symbolism' unless a monument is extremely well preserved and

[5] For a more detailed analysis of Deichmann's position see recently Altekamp 2013, 1–14.

[6] See the detailed discussion in Altekamp 2013, 18.

[7] Saradi (2006, 367) points out that although the recycling process in the 6th c. was dictated principally by necessity, some superstitions and symbolic elements characterized the relocation of decorative material. It is probable that the symbolism attributed to classical marbles was a more common phenomenon in the East. For a discussion on the differences between the East and the West see Ch. 2, pp. 59–60.

[8] Moralee (2006, 214) suggests that reused material acquired a symbolic function, reaching its apex at the end of the 5th c.

the origin of any reused material can be identified. A good example of this aspect comes again from Gerasa, where the entrance door of the temple of Zeus has been identified as having been removed and reused as the gate to the church of St John.[9] It is likely that this readaptation bears some sort of symbolic aspect. Symbolism in recycling might have also been effected by geographical differentiations. In regions where a limited supply of marble was available, the practice of reuse could have acquired greater importance and become more meaningful.[10] Different local traditions and stronger interaction between everyday life and cult practices probably also played a role.

Both approaches offer some elements for investigation, although the symbolism, due to the nature of the data, may be more difficult to consider. In fact the focus in this chapter will be principally on the Byzantine period, since data on earlier churches and their decorations are limited. The major re-monumentalization that characterized Byzantine architectural phases left very few traces of what was previously in place, especially in terms of decoration.[11] It is often very difficult to identify to what extent Byzantine reconstructions transformed and reused material already *in situ*.[12]

3. STYLE AND MARBLES IN LATE ANTIQUE NORTH AFRICA

Roman and post-Roman North African towns displayed a variety of building materials in the construction and restoration of monuments. Architectural decorations of different origins, as well as materials, were often put in place at the same time. In churches we can identify:

[9] March 2004.

[10] This is for instance true of Britain: see Bell 2005.

[11] The situation reflects the limited archaeological data available for North Africa. This is different in other geographical areas. In Ravenna, for instance, the earlier decoration is still highly visible; see Augenti 2006 and 2007, and Deliyannis 2010, 60–105.

[12] For the difficulty in conducting an 'archaeology of the spolia' see Greenhalgh 1999, 787–99. The focus on the Byzantine period in some ways prevents any attempt at considering symbolic use of spolia, as recently pointed out by Saradi (2011, 98): 'The cultural fusion between paganism and Christianity is clearly evident . . . After years of aggressiveness towards the pagans, during the later part of the fifth century, Christians became a conscious incorporation of the pagan past into the Christian present. . . . '

architectural elements made of local stone; other worked stones (usually marble) imported; recycled materials from other monuments, with or without minimal alterations. Data recorded here indicate that in many cases the elements used were varied, suggesting that the building of a church involved a certain amount of planning. The choice between new or reused materials was probably driven for the most part by economic issues, but also to some extent by the planned design of buildings.

In order to clarify the development of the practice of recycling, it is necessary to first make clear what is known about marble supply in North Africa in Late Antiquity. As pointed out by Patrizio Pensabene in his survey on architectural features, this region has a considerable number of imported Byzantine capitals in the Mediterranean, with Proconsularis and Byzacena the richest areas quantitatively. Such import levels are comparable only with Ravenna.[13] Data currently available, however, indicate that these materials were not distributed equally across the region; there was a high concentration in specific cities (e.g. major centres, like Carthage) and importation occurred during a very specific period.

In North Africa the wider circulation of marble is recorded from the 2nd century,[14] usually associated with the architectural boom that characterized that century. Lepcis Magna in Tripolitana presents a particularly good example of this trend: marble imports from Greece are confirmed by the quarry marks and mason marks seen on various capitals in the city.[15] A great deal of imported material comes from the Severan period in a variety of marbles: Carystian, Pentelic, Hymettian, Prokonnesian, and red and grey Egyptian granite.[16] Overall, between the 2nd and 3rd centuries in North Africa, particularly in Tripolitana, the greatest amount of imported stone architectural

[13] In Kairouan alone there are 212 imported Byzantine capitals (Pensabene 1986, 398), mostly from Carthage, see below note 48.

[14] A general increase in marble trade is confirmed by the rise in the number of stone cargoes, attested by shipwrecks. These show ramped-up activity between the 2nd c. and the 3rd c. (Wilson 2011*a*).

[15] For detailed consideration see J. B. Ward-Perkins 1951, 90–4. Similar evidence is also recorded in Sabratha, where three Greek inscriptions were found by Bartoccini during the find of three capitals in the forum. These are not visible after the restoration of the monument (Ward-Perkins 1951, 94). For a more recent, updated collection on Lepcis Magna see Bruno 2009.

[16] On this see in particular Ward-Perkins 1951, 100 with n. 101, and Bruno 2009, 87–93.

decorations was composed of Prokonnesian and Pentelic marbles.[17] The analysis of the sculpted elements from a number of buildings in the three main cities of Tripolitana shows that the marble reached the sites from quarries or warehouses (often partially finished) and then was reworked in place; thus, many Corinthian capitals were standard in size and were completed once they reached their final destinations. Here, they were finished by local workmen, probably trained in Carthage and practising traditional sculpting techniques, and by itinerant workmen coming directly from quarries.[18] Capital imports from the Mediterranean in both the Roman and Byzantine periods were numerous, especially in Zeugitana (or Africa Proconsularis) and Byzacena.[19] It must be stressed, however, that the tradition was not uniform all over North Africa. In Tripolitana, for instance, already from the late Antonine period both the artefacts and the workmen finishing them came principally from Asia Minor, and within the region the artistic tradition followed and further developed the Asiatic style.[20] For example, the Antonine capitals decorating the pillars in Basilica I in Sabratha use Carthaginian-style leaves. A few years later the Corinthian capitals in the temple of Hercules, in the temple of the Unknown Deity in Sabratha, in the temple of the Genius of the Colony in Oea, and on the arches in Oea and Lepcis Magna, indicate that the architectural tradition moved away from the influence of Carthage and Africa Proconsularis, following instead the lead of Asiatic artisans.[21] The other two provinces (Zeugitana/Proconsularis

[17] Pensabene 2001, 64–5, and 120. The use of one type of marble over another does not seem to suggest any clear pattern; it was probably only a matter of availability and necessity.

[18] Pensabene 2001, 122. Some elements on the organization of the marble quarries are in Bruno 2009, 92–3. He suggests that the polychrome marbles reaching Tripolitana were more directly controlled by the urban administration, possibly directly from Rome in the Roman imperial period.

[19] Pensabene 1986, 297.

[20] The Asiatic capitals were widely diffused in the region in the Imperial period. This newer style flanks the more traditional artistic trend characterized by a combination of decorative elements typical of Alexandria but also of Italic influence (especially from the south of Italy). For a discussion see Bigi 2004, 2374–5, and Pensabene 2003.

[21] Ward-Perkins (1951, 90) writes that often marbles were exported in blocks and cut later. He also suggests that the decoration of the Severan arch in Lepcis Magna resulted from the work of artisans coming from Asia Minor, who worked the decorations *in situ* (94).

and Byzacena) maintained a stronger connection with Carthaginian style and with the West until at least the 3rd century.[22]

4. TRADE TO LATE ANTIQUE NORTH AFRICA

John Ward-Perkins (1951) examined the building boom that characterized the 2nd and 3rd centuries and suggested the progressive development of a new agency-based system that connected quarries and customers. This would have reflected a substantial change in the organization of quarries from the 3rd century, resulting principally from a downturn in building activity.[23] During this process, the control of the quarries fell more and more into the hands of private contractors.[24] Despite this turn of events, both the archaeological evidence and the marks on marble materials indicate that the marble trade continued in some form in Late Antiquity, although probably on a reduced scale,[25] and into the Byzantine period, but probably only in support of the Justinianic building programme.[26] It is arguable that marble trade to North Africa ceased in the Vandal period. Although sources talk about the building of large public monuments (especially

[22] Pensabene 1986, 394, and 1989, 432–3. Capitals from Asia Minor started to be imported into Byzacena from the 3rd c. (452) to become more common from the Constantinian period (Pensabene 1986, 397).

[23] At this historical moment, the apparatus by which the Emperor was the main supplier broke down (Prusac 2011, 49).

[24] For a detailed discussion see Ward-Perkins 1992, 37 and 77. The majority of monuments were in fact paid for by private people, who acquired marbles directly from these agencies, or from imperial warehouses, depending on where marbles were available. The presence of private contractors is known from the Constantinian period, and it is still attested to in the *CJ* (see Marano 2008, 48).

[25] A good example highlighting this trend is the villa of the Gordians in Rome along the via Prenestina which 'had a peristyle with fifty columns of Carystian, fifty of Synnadic, fifty of Numidian and fifty of Egyptian granite' (SHA, *Vita Gordiani* 32.2; the author also points out that the practice of reuse was already common). The villa of the Gordians is believed to be an imperial property. For a synthesis on the monument and the historical evidence see Leone and Palombi 2008.

[26] Ward-Perkins 1951, 100 and 103. Evidence comes via data on the Prokonnesian marble. He suggests that the organization of the exploitation of the quarry remained substantially unchanged from the Roman period to the Byzantine period, and marbles continued to arrive from the quarries completed or were finished at their final destinations.

baths and palaces),[27] these were probably restorations using readily available recycled materials, rather than new building activities. Imports most likely resumed after a pause in the wars that eventually culminated in the collapse of Rome and the beginning of the post-Roman period.[28] Data indicate, at least from North Africa (as it will be apparent below) that imports appear to have developed again in the Byzantine phase with the initiation of new projects, carried out almost exclusively under Justinianic patronage.

Changes in the exploitation of quarries from the 3rd century onward had a progressive impact on the geographical distribution and endurance of these stone sources. Western quarries decayed (except those in the Pyrenees), while Eastern quarries continued to be particularly active. For instance, in Africa, in Simitthu (Chemtou), the quarry might have still been in use at the beginning of the 4th century, although it has been thought that due to the large amount of marble material stored and made available, circulation continued long after the quarry fell into disuse.[29] Similarly, during the 4th and 5th centuries Egyptian quarries appear to have halted activities. In contrast, centres located in the Aegean areas developed substantially, in particular those in Prokonnesos and Phrygia. Others, especially in the East, including Aphrodisias and Euboea, continued to be exploited,[30] although the products they manufactured changed considerably. Statuary work was reduced in the 5th century, while the production of sarcophagi continued for some time in the Prokonnesian quarries, as these items were still seen as representative of social status. Other building material, such as architraves and cornices, were usually not traded but rather reworked *in situ*; the same was true of

[27] It is possible that the activity continued, but it is impossible to provide specific evidence. Baths continued to be in use, but the only public secular building that was certainly in use in the Vandal period is the so-called Proconsular palace or Vandal palace, although it was built at the end of the 4th c. (see Chs 2 and 3). The identification of the complex is uncertain, but for a synthesis of the evidence see Lavan 1999, 159–60, and for a recent account see Ben Abed and Duval 2000, 198–9.

[28] Sodini 1989, 163. Sodini also gives some examples in support of this idea, such as the end of the production of the Roman sarcophagi that is connected with the Gothic invasion of Rome.

[29] Archaeological evidence seems to confirm this hypothesis (Sodini 2002*a*, 132, and Simitthus I). On the end of exploitation of the quarry in Late Antiquity see also Albana 2010, 386–8, and Mayer 1994, 840–1. For the suggestion that a block stored in the city warehouse was used later in the construction of a building see Bruno 2009, 93.

[30] For a summary of the subject see Sodini 2000, 444–5.

columns and columns shafts. Materials that were more difficult to transport over long distances and required a complex and planned trade organization were usually recycled at their original locations.[31] Exports focused instead on column bases (principally from Prokonnesos), capitals, ambos, and elements used to decorate churches.[32] The resurgence of trading activity was probably also connected with the development of the city of Constantinople.[33] Most of the trade in new material was directed principally toward the building of churches, which was the main aspect of the monumentalization of Byzantine cities, and cargoes could be composed of various materials of different provenances. This is attested, for instance, by the 6th-century Marzamemi shipwreck found off the coast of Sicily, whose destination is uncertain. One of the suggested possibilities is that it was en route to North Africa,[34] although this hypothesis appears to be unlikely since the cargo also included African red slip pottery that was produced in the region.[35] The wreck contained decorations for a church, or a part of one: 28 column bases in Prokonnesian marble, 28 column fragments, and 28 Corinthian capitals, 4 or 5 slabs with the chrism, 12 *plutei*, 12 small pillars, 12 small columns, one altar, 4 supports for the ciborium, and miscellaneous smaller elements.[36] This material would have been insufficient to decorate the main nave of a church, and these elements were probably destined for a single area of the building.[37] What is particularly significant is that all the marble pieces found in the shipwreck appear to have different origins: bases, shafts, and capitals were made of Prokonnesian

[31] Sodini 2000, 426–7.

[32] Sodini, 1989, 166–7.

[33] Sodini 2002*a*, 129.

[34] Sodini 1989, 167. Kapitän (1980, 129) suggests two possibilities: 1. The cargo pre-dates the Justinianic period and might have been en route to the Balkans; 2. The cargo is dated to the Justinianic period and was perhaps en route to Tripolitana to decorate one of the churches that was part of the intensive building programme ordered by Justinian.

[35] The pottery found on the cargo is datable to the first quarter of the 6th c. (Kapitän 1980, 124).

[36] For a complete synthesis of the material on the shipwreck see Kapitän 1980, 120. 125 blocks were worked entirely in the quarry and finished there.

[37] Sodini 1989, 167. On the description of the objects found see Kapitän 1980, 74–5 and 77–9. Four capitals preserved quarry marks, although some are not legible. Four slabs also bear crosses (86) that are comparable to those recorded in churches built in the first half of the 6th c.

marble;[38] the ambo was in breccias from Thessaly; and the altar was probably from Asia Minor.[39] It has been suggested that the cargo was assembled at one port, probably Constantinople, and therefore the various parts must have been conveyed there from different regions and stored, ready for export.[40] The wreck excavator stressed that all the marble was in a finished state and the work had probably already been completed at the quarries.[41]

This case reflects the organization of the trade, which also affected the way in which cargoes were composed. Two categories of harbours, principal and secondary, probably existed. Only the former had the infrastructure to allow long-distance trade, along with the availability of large storerooms. In these harbours, large cargoes arrived with homogeneous material that was then stored and redistributed. Cargoes were also assembled here, destined for secondary harbours. Therefore, ships could have two types of routes, either direct to the material's ultimate destination or to another city for redistribution.[42] These latter routes typically connected principal and secondary harbours. The wreck of Marzameni was probably loaded in a principal harbour and was almost certainly headed directly to its final destination (Fig. 31).[43] This wreck indicates the presence of market-places with large warehouses for different types of goods,

[38] Some capitals show marks that have been found in Constantinople and other complexes of the Justinianic period (for some more detailed considerations see Kapitän 1980, 81–4).

[39] Sodini 2002*a*, 133.

[40] Kapitän 1980, 130. Gerhard Kapitän proposed that this type of cargo can be explained by the fact that large urban centres on the coast had warehouses where marble decorations for churches and other buildings could be stored and eventually used. For a more detailed discussion on the marble trade and cargo formation in Late Antiquity, see more recently Wilson 2011*a*.

[41] Kapitän 1980, 128. Asgari 1995 suggests that there was a transformation in the exploitation of quarries in the early Christian period and building material was completed in the quarry (267), at least in the Prokonnesian area, although more recent analysis suggests that this was not always the case. For a more detailed discussion see Sodini 2002*a*.

[42] Nieto 1997, 153–4. In this system the secondary harbour was dependent economically on the principal one. The latter harbour had the infrastructure and the human resources to allow long-distance trade. The situation was not immutable and principal harbours could become secondary and vice versa; changeover depended on the level and quantity of trade.

[43] Russell 2011, 146–7. In many cases the stone material contained in a cargo in the Roman imperial period came from a specific quarry and was homogeneous. However, there are also a number of wrecks (a total of eleven for the period between the end of the 2nd c. and the 3rd c.) where the material recorded is from various centres.

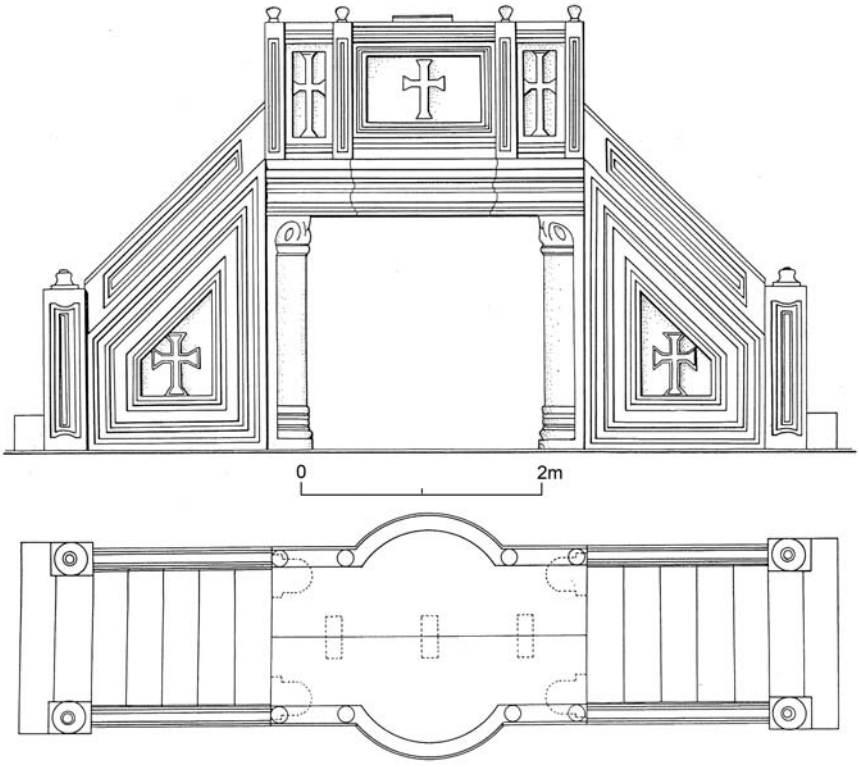

Fig. 31. Marzamemi, reconstruction of the ambo

modelled on the Marmorata at Rome and Portus in Ostia and probably also located in other important coastal cities such as Ravenna, Constantinople, Carthage, Antioch, Caesarea in Palestine, and Alexandria.[44]

Some of the cargoes recorded (at least from the 3rd century onward) also included elements for reuse. This suggests that a market for recycled marble (that is difficult to trace archaeologically apart from cases involving shipwrecks) probably always existed, and certainly was active in Late Antiquity.[45]

[44] Sodini 2002*a*, 134–5.

[45] Russell 2011, 146. For instance, the case of the Methone C shipwreck, a cargo that contained thirty-six fragmentary columns. The evidence from the wreck suggests that the columns were already broken when they were shipped. For the existence of an

Given the costs of transporting heavy materials, it is unlikely that the shipper would have taken the risk of transporting building material without the security of a sale at the other end; but the fact that the purchaser could not see the products until delivery might have determined that in some cases the cargo remained unsold, because the customer might have been dissatisfied with some elements, which nevertheless could then be offered for sale to another party.[46] The contractors were probably both receiving the order and providing the material. How detailed this order might have been (Did they specify the marbles? Size? Or the number of capitals?) is difficult to state. The evidence of such transport and markets relates mainly to coastal sites, as long-distance trade of heavy stones beyond the Mediterranean was very difficult, although it might have occurred in very important instances.[47]

5. IMPORTED MARBLES IN CONTEXT: THE CASE OF CARTHAGE

In order to provide examples of the two different aspects of marble use and reuse in North Africa, this chapter will consider two case studies, each very different and, therefore, representative of diverse

organized system of spoliation of minor centres from Late Antiquity—see *CTh* 15.1.1, Ch. 4, n. 40. This is also found in the harbour of Ostia, at Portus, where material ready for reuse was located on the quay (see Pensabene 2007, 389–91).

[46] For instance, the *Miracula Demetrii* (a textual evidence), where there is a reference to marble going to the city of Thenae in Byzacena at the beginning of the 7th c., specifically chosen by the bishop for decorating the ambo and the *ciborium* in his church; he bought them directly from the ship's captain. Sodini 1989, 170; also mentioned in Sodini 2002*a*, 134. See *Les plus anciens recueils de miracles de saint Démétrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans*, vol. I. texte par P. Lemerle, Paris 1979, sixième miracle (313), 239 (trans. 235); for commentary and some discussion on the date of the text see 166–9. Reconstructing the system of redistribution is a complex issue and the way in which cargoes were composed is still unclear (Russell 2008 and 2011).

[47] Russell 2008, 110–12. The major part of the activity is concentrated on small-scale production with the use of small local stones, while long-distance trade, often under the direct influence of winds (see Fulford 1989 on Africa), applied to specific and exceptional situations. Local stones have been recently recorded in a survey in North Africa where twenty-five sandstone quarries had been identified on the coast of Tunisia (Russell 2008, 111: for detailed analysis of the evidence, see Paskoff and Trousset 2004, 255–64). On the other hand, land transport required some specific sizes and forms that were usually specified in contracts, depending on the means of conveyance.

trends. Carthage, capital of the province (in both the Roman and the Byzantine period), offers evidence of imports and building activity. Sabratha, which will be discussed in more detail below, despite being on the coast, reveals a different trend, characterized by a more regional and limited exchange, especially in the Byzantine period. These are representative of the variety of phenomena that characterized the developments and changes beginning in Late Antiquity in North Africa, although they are both located in the same geographical area.

Carthage, capital of Africa Proconsularis/Zeugitana, offers some examples of imported materials in various churches. The site was looted continuously (El Idrisi indicates that a large amount of marble was shipped from the city in the 12th century)[48] and the lack of detailed information from earlier excavations limits the amount of available evidence. However, recent work by Susan Stevens at Bir Ftouha[49] and Bir El Knissia,[50] two churches located in suburbs of the city, shows that the Prokonnesian capitals continued to be the most regularly used.[51] Bir Ftouha was probably rebuilt after the Byzantine conquest of late AD 540.[52] Here, for instance, various imported materials have been identified: Ionic–Attic bases of columns from Prokonnesos; columns made of different marbles (Prokonnesian, cipollino, and a black and white marble, probably from Greece); a series of yellow marble pillars from Chemtou; and a number of Corinthian capitals of Prokonnesian marbles.[53] Among the Prokonnesian columns are two groups of different sizes.[54] Bir Ftouha also offers evidence of locally worked material being used in the decoration. Here in fact a number of

[48] El Idrisi, III.2. For specific comments on the evidence see Russell 2008, 107. Much of the material was probably destined for Tunis.

[49] Bessière 2005.

[50] Ferchiou 1993, 227; Prokonnesian capitals are recorded. Some other imported marbles (again probably from Prokonnesos) are also discussed (233). Very few materials have been reused (254). It therefore appears that a well-organized building programme must have existed (255).

[51] For a discussion on the churches in Carthage see Ennabli 1997, Duval 1997, and more recently Leone 2007*a*, 96–109.

[52] Stevens *et al.* 2005, 545.

[53] Bessière 2005, 211, 217, 229, 237, and 245. Bir Ftouha was built using the Byzantine foot (between 0.309 m. and 0.320 m.) and the layout of the church recalls the Classical use of space and the needs of the liturgy in the Eastern empire; Stevens 2005, 545 and 561.

[54] A group with the diameter of 30–35 cm and a group with a diameter around 20 cm.

elements made of 'keddel' stone have been identified, whose quarry is located in the Gulf of Carthage.[55]

Bir El Knissia indicates a similar pattern, with Prokonnesian capitals found here as well.[56] Imports included bases, columns, a capital in Prokonnesian marble with *protomes*, a composite capital, and several other smaller elements.[57] Overall, in the marble decorations recorded in the church, very few materials were reused.[58]

At Damous el Karita (a large pilgrimage church in the suburbs of Carthage) imports from Constantinople have been identified and, similarly, some fragments pertaining to the same decorated slab of Prokonnesian marble from the church have been indicated as originating in the Aegean area or Constantinople itself.[59] The capitals with sculpted rams, on the underground circular monument located near Damous el Karita, have been compared with analogous capitals in Constantinople and Ravenna.[60]

The stylistic analysis and the chronology of the imports of Prokonnesian elements to decorate churches refer principally to the period after the Byzantine conquest, possibly connected to the Justinianic building programme.[61]

6. URBAN WORKSHOPS

If trade was limited (outside of Carthage) and can be mostly connected to Justinianic building activity, another aspect that becomes essential in developing the monumentality of Byzantine cities in North Africa is the presence of active marble workshops inside the cities. These were utilized for sculpting local stones, finishing traded material, and, at least from the second half of the 4th century, reworking recycled material inside the city.

[55] Ferchiou 1976 and Bessiére 2005, 244–8. These are bases, capitals, and cornices.
[56] Ferchiou 1993, 227.
[57] Ferchiou 1993, 233–44.
[58] Ferchiou 1993, 254–5.
[59] Sodini 2002*b*, 590–2.
[60] On the capitals see Pinard 1960–1, 42. Comparison is made with similar capitals in Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare in Classe, and others preserved in the Museum of Constantinople; more recently on the monument see Dolenz *et al.* 2001, who provides a phasing of the complex; some concern over the clear definition of these phases is expressed in Stevens 2004.
[61] Sodini 2002*b*, 592.

In all cases they played a key role in developing the expression of a local monumental style and in allowing the maintenance (in Late Antiquity) and the development (in the Byzantine period) of these cities. Their existence indicates urban vitality with the working of new material and the presence of a planned and organized recycling of decorative materials.

Local production of decorative stones

Local stone workshops in urban contexts developed principally from the 3rd century and became more prevalent in the early Byzantine period. Several have been identified in various North African cities and more than one workshop serving private, public, and ecclesiastic patrons might have existed in the same centre.[62] The evidence from the 3rd century is attested, for instance, by the capitals used in the Diocletianic arch at Sufetula or in 3rd-century African Corinthian capitals.[63] Imported material was often finished at its final destination by itinerant workmen who followed the products, and also indigenous artisans who worked locally.[64] This organization was also responsible for the development of a sort of dialogue between imported and indigenous styles and contributed in some ways to form a local sculptural tradition.[65] An evolution of style can be seen in several cities, moving away from classical models to more original and independent ones and suggesting the strong re-emergence of local traditions using both stones available in place and reworked imported marbles.[66]

[62] At Sbeitla at least three active workshops appear to have existed between the 4th c. and the 5th c. with the material used in both private complexes and churches (see Duval 1972*b*, 68–93, esp. 93).

[63] Pensabene 1986, 398. Some Asiatic elements are introduced in the Corinthian capitals, creating a style that, despite being substantially Western, has some Eastern elements. The same evidence is also found, for instance, in the forum of Hippo Regius and some of the capitals reused in the mosque of Qayrawan, probably from Carthage. On these forms see in particular Harrazi 1982, 179–93.

[64] Local workmen occasionally helped finish decorations on parts of marbles that were less exposed or visible only from a distance (so that the lower quality in style was not evident). For some detailed comments on this combined activity and how it was organized see Sodini 2002*a*. This was also common at Ostia, where the presence of partially finished capitals from Thasos has been noted; see Pensabene 2007, 405–6.

[65] On the discussion of the development of a local sculptural tradition in both Algeria and Tunisia see Duval 1972*b* and Baratte 2005.

[66] Pensabene 1986, 299.

A few sites are particularly good for illustrating these interesting trends. Theveste (Tebessa) had local workshops characterized by a very specific capital style, probably developed for the building of the large monumental complex of the basilica at the beginning of the 5th century.[67] Here, despite extensive reuse, many decorative elements were newly sculpted.[68] The new style initiated in this centre influenced architectural decoration in the region. Similar evidence from urban workshops in the Byzantine period has been recorded at Segermes (Henchi Harat), Mactaris (Mactar), Thamugadi (Timgad), and Sufetula (Sbeitla).[69]

At Mactaris, locally worked capitals are found in the 5th-century basilica of Hildeguns[70] on the southern part of the forum and in the basilica of Rutilius (Fig. 10) near the amphitheatre of the city.[71] The tradition of these capitals dates back to the 3rd–4th centuries, suggesting a continuity of tradition in the 6th and the 7th centuries.[72] The Byzantine capitals in the city were a combination of the style of Constantinople with that developed in the city in the Roman period.[73] Various capitals attributable to these local workshops are

[67] See Baratte 2005, 169. Also in the same settlements Byzantine forts appear to have been characterized by a combination of local products and imported elements. See Altekamp 2013, 31.

[68] Duval and Février 1972, 37 and 43, and Pensabene 1986, 403–4.

[69] These conclusions are suggested on the basis of the analysis of the capitals visible in North African towns. Very few of these workshops have been identified archaeologically and very little is known of their location and organization.

[70] Also called Basilica III; see Duval 1973, 10. On the grave of Hildeguns see Duval 1973, 128. The church had three phases; the last two saw the addition of annexed rooms (Duval 1973, 140–1).

[71] Pensabene 1986, 406. For some specific considerations on marble decoration in the Roman period in Mactaris see Milella 1989.

[72] Milella 1989, 427. For instance, the continuity of the sculpting activity in the 5th c. for church decoration may be confirmed by the case of Thuburbo Minus (Tébourba), where a church (unfortunately no longer visible) was probably dedicated by a priest bearing a Germanic name: *D(e donis) D(e)i* or *D(ono) D(e)i et s(an)c(ti) Felicis servus tuus Hegerit fecit.* Some parts of the sculpted decoration in local pink limestone (pillars, probably supporting the *ciborium*) dated to the 5th or 6th c. were found on the site (see Duval 1972*b*, 59–62).

[73] Milella 1989, 428 and n. 54. Some of the elements recorded on the capitals in Mactaris find a direct comparison with decorations on the Golden Gate. The basilica of Iunca was probably also built in the Vandal period, highlighting the continuity of building activity. Chronology is difficult to define: the 5th-c. date is based on a specific type of capital and inscriptions referring to Quodvultdeus (see Duval 1973, 239).

visible sporadically throughout the city,[74] and an imitation was also found in the Basilica of Henchir-Haratt at Segermes.[75]

Sufetula offers a second good example. The area underwent a phase of monumentalization in the early Byzantine period, with the building of numerous large churches (as well as forts).[76] The settlement was located inland in southern Tunisia and access to imported material was limited; this probably boosted the independent indigenous tradition in building decorations. Workshops at the site were particularly active in the 6th century: they produced original capitals in a variety of types and decorative schemes.[77] The same originality is also evident on some of the site's columns decorated with vine and acanthus designs.[78]

Tipasa has good evidence of the presence of late-phase workshops: here, religious building activity was particularly intense in the 4th and 5th centuries and was characterized by both reused and locally produced building materials. Analogous evidence is found at Cuicul (Djemila), between the end of the 4th century and the 5th century, in the large Christian complex consisting of two basilicas, a baptistery, and a chapel.[79]

Similarly, independent centres of production that perhaps influenced each other or, due to their relative vicinity, were frequented by the same artisans were probably present in both Thala and Cillium (Kasserine in Byzacena), where columns decorated with unique geometrical designs are known.[80]

Overall, the detailed analysis of both Corinthian and Ionic capitals has enabled recognition of the progressive development of local independent traditions, essentially for religious buildings, traditions that are most evident (and which perhaps terminated) in the Byzantine

[74] Milella 1989, 429. The article does not contain reference to the type of stone, as the Author was unable to see the materials directly.

[75] The two capitals that have the same Byzantine style as those recorded at Mactaris in the Basilica of Hildeguns (Pensabene 1986, 406).

[76] For a recent survey of Sufetula in the Byzantine period see Leone 2007*a*, 181–5. For a detailed analysis of the settlement and its topographical development in the Byzantine period see Duval 1982*a* and Hitchner 1982.

[77] Duval and Février 1972, 44, and Pensabene 1986, 404.

[78] Duval and Février 1972, 37.

[79] Pensabene 1986, 340; specifically on Djemila see Février 1968, 75–83.

[80] Duval and Février 1972, 37. Similar decoration is found on half-columns at Mustis, Sitifis, and other North African sites.

period.[81] This progressive regionalization of style from Late Antiquity tallies with economic regionalization throughout North Africa.[82]

Marble reuse and urban workshops

Imported stones that had previously decorated Roman monuments were later transferred to new buildings and occasionally reworked. In the early Byzantine period (especially for the Justinianic programme) workshops producing building and decorative material developed in connection with the major phases of new church building. This must have been quite common, but is very difficult to identify archaeologically. It is arguable that this might have occurred in connection with marble deposits, located in former public spaces and buildings whose presence is registered in many North African cities.[83]

Some of these marble provisions were obtained through the reuse of already available elements. In the late 4th and early 5th centuries reuse became more common.[84] Buildings such as theatres were particularly targeted for dismantling, an activity which intensified (especially in major cities) in the Byzantine period to include baths that were falling into disuse (e.g. the Antonine baths in Carthage) and temples. During this process of intense recycling,[85] urban workshops were necessary for at least two reasons: to rework existing building material already in towns, and more commonly to produce new decorative building material from local stone (as discussed above).

[81] Some considerations on the differences between Corinthian and Ionic capitals can be found in Duval and Février 1972, 38–41. In the Roman imperial period use of the Ionic capital was widespread. The style also influenced later production (see Duval and Février 1972, 40). For a general discussion see Pensabene 1986, 422.

[82] A summary of the economy is in Leone 2007*a*, 128–34, and Merrills and Miles 2010, 141–76.

[83] A good example, outside of North Africa, is provided by Ostia, where two types of marble deposits have been identified. One probably created in the 5th c. in connection with building activity inside the city (for instance in some rooms in the baths of Neptune, probably on the back of a Republican temple on the *decumanus* on the west side of the Grandi Horrea and in the Bath of the Philosopher; in the deposit near the Christian Basilica and the deposit of column shafts in the Horrea Epagathiana; Pensabene 2007, 429–30). A second medieval group is characterized instead by small heaps of marbles (mostly broken into small pieces) located in various buildings across the city (Pensabene 2007, 428).

[84] Alchermes 1994, 169. Although the practice of reuse was common also in the Imperial period, see Barker 2011.

[85] On the globalized phenomenon that characterizes Late Antiquity see Ch. 2, pp. 61–80.

The quantity of reworked material is probably connected to the level of restoration and rebuilding activity and to its availability on site. The need for new building material probably determined an intense phase of spoliation and the dismantling of unused buildings especially in the Early Byzantine period. It is arguable that in Carthage, where major rebuilding works were undertaken after the Byzantine conquest, the demand for reused material was very high. On the other hand, it must be taken into consideration that at the same time, as attested by the evidence in houses, intensive activity also developed in the private sphere, probably resulting in requests of material for reuse in private contexts too.[86] Unfortunately the private development is almost impossible to reconstruct, due to the unavailability of data and the major spoliation activity that took place in any given period from antiquity to modern times. However, an example can be seen at Thuburbo Maius, where a block from the *Capitolium* was reworked and sold to be reused in a house (see below).[87]

Looking at the archaeological evidence in a public context, it appears the buildings that were more commonly dismantled in antiquity were mainly baths and theatres[88] and, less frequently, *Capitolia* and temples. The recorded evidence of recycled material indicates that reworking marble and other stone was a common practice: for instance, in Tripolitana the ambo in the basilica of Lepcis Magna was probably obtained from a capital decorating the Hadrianic baths of the city (Fig. 32); the marble portion of the ambo of Basilica II or the Justinianic basilica in Sabratha (Figs 33.1–2) was possibly recut from a cornice of the *Capitolium*.[89] Similarly, at least one capital in the Christian basilica at Sabratha, near the theatre, was taken from the

[86] A number of houses in Carthage were restored in the early Byzantine period. In other areas of North Africa the situation appears to be less homogeneous, with some rich houses (especially those located in the peripheral part of the city) already abandoned at the end of the 3rd c. and still others refurbished. For a detailed account and discussion see Leone 2007*a*, 168–78 and 239–79.

[87] Bonacasa Carra 1992.

[88] From the descriptions provided by old excavations it appears that buildings, especially baths, were not usually dismantled completely and some of the decorations were left in place. Reports often state that in one or two specific areas of the complex no marbles were found, while in other areas marbles were probably still in their original locations. When dealing with Late Antiquity it is often impossible to generalize, but it can be argued that marbles in these cities were available in such large quantities that reusing all of them was not necessary.

[89] Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 14, and Bonacasa Carra 1992, 316–22.

Fig. 32. Lepcis Magna, ambo made of reused marble

frons scaenae of that theatre.[90] At Thugga, located in inland Africa Proconsularis, the Christian basilica was decorated with reused elements from the temple of Saturn.[91]

Evidence of local workshops reworking marble (probably often placed inside or in proximity to former public buildings) has been noted in North Africa, and additionally some general descriptions provided by excavations allow for further hypotheses. Workshops were usually located in disused areas of monumental buildings, as is the case of the one located in the Antonine baths at Carthage. Here, on the floor of two underground rooms (nos. 31 and 32) some pilasters were reduced to allow the passage of trolleys with wheels for the transporting of marbles and granites. In another room (no. 36) was a workshop for cutting stone, attested by several fragments and blocks waiting to be resized, and others that had already been cut (Figs. 24–6).[92] The presence of a late antique urban workshop has also been detected in house T (or Triapsidal hall) in Ptolemais

[90] Kenrick 1986, 226.
[91] Poinssot, C., 1958, 68, and Khanoussi 1998, 17.
[92] Lézine 1968*a*, 73.

Fig. 33.1 and 33.2. Sabratha, Basilica II or Justinianic Basilica

(Cyrenaica); here again the archaeological evidence is feeble at best. A recent reconsideration of the data has suggested that the traditionally interpreted small baths complex (SPIII), must instead be identified as a late antique urban workshop. This identification is supported by the presence on the site of a large porphyry block with traces of cuts, and

Fig. 34. Sabratha, Basilica I, remains of a possible limekiln

by furrows incised on a wall by a wheel in the SPIII sector. Evidence suggests the presence of a sawmill to cut stones.[93]

Another example is provided by Basilica I at Sabratha, which seems to indicate two different phases connected to the building activity and marble reuse. The first phase relates to the presence of numerous marble slabs, statues, and architectural elements that were located in a room within the building (which was at that time still a civil basilica) supposedly after the earthquake in AD 365, a disruptive event that has recently been reconsidered by scholars.[94] The destruction might have also been caused by another, very different disruptive event, the incursion of the Astoriani in AD 363. After the damage, the curia was restored in the 4th century;[95] following this transformation, the

[93] For a detailed consideration and discussion see Jastrzebowska 2009. It appears that the structure interpreted originally as a baths complex had no heating system. A sawmill has also been identified in Gerasa in Jordan, located in the corner tower of the upper terrace of the sanctuary of Artemis. Here two shafts of a column ready to be sawn (similar to the one recognized by Lézine in Carthage—see Ch. 4) have been recorded.

[94] This activity might have occurred also both earlier or later. On the definition of the impact of the earthquake and debates over the event see Ch. 2, n. 3.

[95] For a discussion on the reconstructions of *curiae* in North Africa see Lepelley 1979, Jouffroy 1986, 303–4, and Bartoccini 1950, 33–4, in which he suggests that destruction was brought about by the incursion of the Astoriani for similar conclusions and an interpretation of a coin hoard in Lepcis Magna see Munzi 1998, 119–20

centre of the town decayed progressively and the forum area was abandoned, allowing for the dismantling of some public buildings between the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th. In this period marbles were mostly deposited in the basement of the nearby *Capitolium* and they might have been connected with the presence of new building activities, as indicated by the reconstruction of the *curia* and the supposed renewal of the civic basilica.[96] A second phase might have occurred after the monument was transformed into a church and after the church went out of use. In fact, it was probably in the early Islamic period that a limekiln was placed in the building (Fig. 34), and one of the columns appears to have been prepared for cutting (Fig. 23), which suggests that the missing columns from the building might have been broken and reused in this period. The evidence of this column being prepared to be sawn and the evidence of the Antonine baths in Carthage offer some points for discussion. The urban workshop of the early Byzantine period was well organized, with columns cut into regular slabs to provide new marble material. The columns pertinent to the second recorded phase of reuse in Sabratha, probably dated to the Islamic period, are cut irregularly, probably only to provide masonry stone or to be burnt, as also confirmed by the presence of the limekiln. This latter has to be seen in connection with the early Islamic occupation in the area of the forum, also confirmed by numerous Islamic graffiti found in several parts of the same area.[97]

Evidence indicates that the marble deposits formed in Late Antiquity are generally composed by partly or entirely preserved marbles, well organized and stored. Marble deposits formed in the early Islamic period were generally characterized by small

(with particular gratitude to Luisa Musso for some of this bibliographical information). For a general discussion of the incursions of the Astoriani that probably occurred between AD 362 and AD 367 see Felici *et al.* 2006 and Felici, Munzi, and Tantillo 2006, 591–688.

[96] See Appendix 2.

[97] Unfortunately these are not visible any more due to restorations. They were found in the Temple of the Unknown Deity (Joly and Tommasello 1984, 8), and the area was occupied probably until the 9th c. Limekilns were identified in the sector. A series of Arab graffiti was identified in the excavation of the Antonine temple (Bartoccini 1964, 41–2).

fragments piled together. In this second case, the goal was not to store material ready to be put in place in a building when necessary, but rather to burn fragments in limekilns in order to obtain mortar for construction.[98] The nature of the deposits was therefore substantially different. In fact, in Late Antiquity, the evidence seems to draw a picture of monumental complexes that were partially in use and partially dismantled, with surrounding workshops located at or near the source of building and decorative material (see Table 5.1).

Overall, evidence associated with the urban fabric of the Byzantine period suggests organized and controlled maintenance and a pragmatic reuse of building materials, especially marble decorations. Monumentality was in fact focused principally on religious buildings and the transfer of large architectural elements from one building to another, so the creation of specific workshops within urban areas must have been organized and regulated. Similar activities are recorded in other parts of the former Roman world. There is evidence of controlled dismantling activities in the city of Rome in at least two cases; two inscriptions, one from the Coliseum and another from the Forum of Augustus, both dated to the 5th century, bear names of officers who were in charge of overseeing the dismantling of sections of the two monuments.[99]

The evidence confirms that early Byzantine church architecture was well planned,[100] a practice that will be highlighted in the case study of

[98] Limekilns appear earlier in settlements that became derelict at an early phase, as at the *Sollertiana Domus* in Thysdrus and Uchi Maius. Here the *prelum* of the olive press was placed in the forum and attached to two fragments of a marble column; later a limekiln was placed here. For a detailed discussion see Leone 2007*a*, 216–17.

[99] In the Coliseum: Gerontius, second-degree senator, born in Ravenna in 467 and died in 523, probably active in Rome between 487 and 513. The inscription was on a travertine pillar (Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 70). At the Augustan Forum: Basilius Decius (*consul* in 493) or Albinus Decius (*consul* in 523). The inscription was on a column of the temple of Mars Ultor (Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2004, 71).

[100] For a general discussion see Saradi Mendelovici 1990. The same evidence of programmatic and planned reuse is found in various parts of the Roman world, such as the marble slabs reused to pave the basilica at Pianabella in Ostia. Here the reuse of large marble slabs bearing inscriptions that were originally located inside Ostia suggests that a programmed dismantling of the city was carried out with the aim of decorating the church, in this case floored with large marble slabs (Nuzzo 1996, 91 and 109). Here only the marble was imported, while all the other building material was reused *in situ*.

Table 5.1 Recorded marble reused in various churches in Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, and Tripolitana (based on published material)*

Town	Church	Type of decoration	Provenance	Bibliography
Carthage	Bir Ftouha	Ionic–Attic bases	Prokonnesos	Bessière 2005
Carthage	Bir Ftouha	Corinthian capitals	Prokonnesos	Bessière 2005
Carthage	Bir Ftouha	Columns	Prokonnesos; cipollino (Turkey), black and white marble from Greece	Bessière 2005
Carthage	Bir Ftouha	Slabs	Yellow marble from Chemtou	Bessière 2005
Carthage	Bir El Knissia	Capitals	Prokonnesos	Ferchiou 1993, 227
Carthage	Bir El Knissia	Various other elements	Prokonnesos	Ferchiou 1993, 254
Haidra	Basilica II	Two funerary stones; reused in the *martyrium*		Duval 1973, 205
Lepcis Magna, church in the Severan Basilica	In the main church	Ambo—capital probably from the Hadrianic baths?		Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953
Lepcis Magna, church in the old forum	Temple transformed into a church	Marble decoration pertaining to the temple was reused in place		Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 24
	In the main church	Columns of the nave are in grey granite; Corinthian capitals and bases are in marble, dark grey quality, also found in the Constantinian restoration of the Basilica Vetus; taken from the same source or from the Basilica	Grey granite and grey marble	Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 27
	Central nave	Platform: funerary inscriptions incorporated in the platform—*IRT* 698		Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 27
	Loose inside the church (one in the middle of the church and one in the apse)	Two inscribed marble bases (4th c.)—*IRT* 467 and 563		Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 27

(continued)

Table 5.1 Continued

Town	Church	Type of decoration	Provenance	Bibliography
	Baptistery—the walls were laid directly in the centre of the old forum on the paving and incorporate a statue base (baptistery is dated to the Justinianic period)	Severan statue-base incorporated in the building—*IRT* 401		Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 27
Lepcis Magna—Church 3, off the Colonnaded street	Church built of reused stone blocks	Probably from earlier structures		Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 29
	Marble decoration	Ionic capitals from the Severan basilica		Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 29
	Marble decoration	Marble brackets from the *nymphaeum* to support the roof timbers		Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 29
Sufetula	Basilica I	Bases of columns; probably reused from the portico	?	Duval 1971*c*, 26
		Decorative elements (console?) decorated with leaves; reused on steps	?	Duval 1971*c*, 65–6
		Cornice reused in the church		Pensabene 1989, 443.
Sufetula	Chapelle de Jucundus	Corinthian bases; all reused in the baptistery	?	Duval 1971*c*, 109
		3rd-c. inscription (*ILAf* 134); reused in the wall		Duval 1971*c*, 128
		Inscription dedicated to Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius; broken into two pieces and reused in the wall and in the foundations		Duval 1971*c*, 128
Sufetula	Church II, of Vitalis	Column base (very damaged), reused in the *ciborium*		Duval 1971*c*, 184
		Decorated cornice; bases whose original location was probably on a corner	Yellow limestone, local?	Duval 1971*c*, 271

* The table does not include evidence from Sabratha, which is summarized below in Table 5.2.

Basilica I at Sabratha below. This organization is also reflected by the recorded presence of other specific workshops in connection with churches, intentionally set up for the building phase of the complex and, depending on the products, also to support the economy of the church. In other parts of the late antique and Byzantine Mediterranean, evidence of workshops producing metal objects, mosaic tesserae, bricks, and other items have been identified. This can be seen at various settlements in Italy, Greece, and Serbia.[101] When stratigraphic excavations have been carried out, similar data have also surfaced in North Africa. In Carthage, in the area of Bir Messaouda, not far from the circular harbour near the Byzantine church, a mosaic workshop was uncovered that probably functioned in connection with the construction of the church.[102]

7. EARLY BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE AND ITS LANGUAGE: THE NORTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

The process of reusing materials in churches, especially marbles, is known to have begun from the end of the 4th century and continued into the Byzantine period. This practice, associated with the occasional availability of imported stones, favoured the development of a new artistic style that moved away from the traditional Classical, regular, and symmetrical forms.[103] Irregularity in decoration and colours resulting from the reuse of different columns characterized religious architecture in Late Antiquity, especially in the Byzantine period. This irregularity was not a by-product of poverty, but rather an active expression of appreciation.[104] Sources often include encomia on the elegance of churches decorated with a variety of columns

[101] For a summary see Martorelli 1999; on bricks see Volpe 2002.

[102] Roald Docter and Thomas J. Morton, whom I thank for the information, are currently preparing a detailed publication on the excavation. A baptistery and a church were located in the Bir Messouda area; see also Miles 2006.

[103] Duval and Février 1972, 36–7; for discussion of the architecture with spolia see also Altekamp 2013.

[104] Saradi Mendelovici 1990, 47–61.

from different places.[105] Artistic taste had changed from Classical antiquity and asymmetry was fashionable.[106]

Since buildings were usually constructed around a planned design, it is arguable that marbles also had a planned distribution within monuments, characterized by a sort of decorative hierarchy that is in many cases difficult to understand.[107] For instance, the columns made out of more precious marble were often located at the entrance to the apse or in the area surrounding the choir of a church.[108] Each historical period was characterized by a different appreciation and understanding of ancient material.[109] An analysis made principally on recycled material in fortifications in North Africa has stressed the fact that its inclusion might have been dictated by the view that it enhanced the monumentality of these structures as well as highlighting the importance of these defensive monuments.[110]

Indeed, Byzantine architecture developed its own character and style but, especially in geographical areas where the supply of marble declined progressively, the possibility of experimenting with new forms was very limited.[111] Clearly a boost to aesthetic transformations came from the city of Constantinople, which was created from an abundance of styles with various origins, although the city cannot be considered as a comparative case due to its uniqueness and its

[105] For example, the encomium on the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople by Constantine the Rhodian (Legrand 1896, 56 and Saradi Mendelovici 1990, 53): *τοὺς κίονας δὲ τοὺς ξένους καὶ τὴν φύσιν / καὶ τὴν χρόαν πέλοντας, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι / πόθεν τὲ καὶ πῶς κἀκ τίνος πάτρας γένος / φέροντες ἦλθον εἰς Ἀποστόλων δόμον, / οὗς ἀλλόφυλος ἀλλοδαπή τις φύσις / ἤνεγκε πέτρας ἐκφύλον τὲ καὶ ξένης* (686–91).

[106] Saradi 2006, 367, and Roberts 1989 on the literary style.

[107] For a discussion on the relationship between planning the building and acquiring marbles to decorate the structure see more recently Russell 2008.

[108] The decoration of the church was probably also displayed as a function of the liturgy. For a synthesis and further bibliography on the liturgy of the early Byzantine Church in connection with the building structure see Mathews 1971, 111–15.

[109] For some detailed considerations on this issue see Greenhalgh 1999, 787–99.

[110] The analysis has focused primarily on North Africa, Syria, and Turkey. See Greenhalgh 1999, 800–1, for some general statements on these uses. He also stresses that the phenomenon of reuse in North Africa was quite extensive (817), due to the early decay of some heavily urbanized areas (for instance, the valley of the Bagradas, Mejerda). For a general summary on fortification in North Africa see Pringle 1981 and Duval 1983.

[111] The study of Byzantine architecture is very rich, but is not considered here since it would shift us away from the main aim of this book. Further information on the subject can be found in Mango 1978, 38–48; Krautheimer 1993; Spieser 2001; and most recently Halgren Kilde 2008, specifically on the religious architecture.

political importance.[112] Contemporary literature defines the style as an 'aesthetics of discontinuity', a description also apt for late antique poetry.[113] Late antique literature shows an intense use of fragmentation in the composition of sentences, and this style appears to be reflected in the architectural approach of the period. The image created is harmonious, but it is not formed from homogeneous elements. The work by Miller on sarcophagi highlights this trend in contemporary art, where the 'form of representational integrity . . . is not linear or narrative in the conventional sense. Such a view preserves precisely the aesthetic integrity of discontinuity insofar as it is rooted in the production of meaning by fragmentation.'[114]

The architectural style of African churches therefore developed in two different directions at the same time: the pursuance of discontinuity, but also with the specific spatial organization dictated by the needs of the liturgy.[115] In their analysis of Christian churches in Algeria, for instance, Noël Duval and Paul-Albert Février have identified common patterns in the decorative apparatus of early Christian churches. Often, twisted columns or pilasters, decorated with grapevines, acanthus, or other vegetal elements, were used to embellish the canopy and sometimes a cross on a globe was carved before reuse.[116] However, the choices of the decorative elements in a new church were also subject to the importance of the structure, the location, the budget, and the availability of material. Application and reuse were therefore not uniform and were characterized at various levels by local traditions and forms.

Moreover, in the case of North Africa, from an historical perspective, as pointed out by Chris Wickham, the Vandals 'removed the region from the fiscal world-system, which was its first major shock . . . '.[117] Their presence inevitably initiated a slow process that saw the inward-turning of the North African economy; this also had an impact on the availability of marble imports in the subsequent

[112] For a recent analysis of late antique Constantinople see Bassett 2006.

[113] Roberts 1989.

[114] Miller 1998, 118. Specifically on the religious architecture of early Constantinople see Walter 1982.

[115] For a general discussion on the influence of the liturgy on church architecture see Mathews 1971.

[116] Duval and Février 1972, 37 and 38. Some of the capitals found have specific comparisons with those known in Ravenna, Thessaloniki, and Constantinople.

[117] Wickham 2005, 644.

Byzantine period, and greatly limited (apart from in major and important centres) the experimentation with new architectural forms and ideas. In this context, although the use of different types of marble should also be considered and understood from an artistic perspective, it is arguable that a number of other elements played an important role. While it is difficult to draw a clear overall picture, some specific elements and trends can be discussed. In order to try to clarify the processes that characterized the reuse of building material within churches, Basilica I (the Judicial basilica) of Sabratha, which was transformed into a church in Late Antiquity, will be considered here. In fact, this site offers a significant example of the creation of a church based entirely on recycled materials, at least for Tripolitana.

8. MARBLE DECORATION IN BYZANTINE SABRATHA

Sabratha is probably one of the best case studies for the analysis of Christian architecture in North Africa, both for its level of preservation and because many of its marbles were reused in the numerous Byzantine churches within the urban area.[118] The city had an early Christian complex near the theatre, dated between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century, characterized by a double basilica (Basilicas III and IV).[119]

Two other churches (Basilica I and Basilica II—this latter also named the Justinianic Basilica), both located in the forum area, are well known. Basilica I was certainly Byzantine in its final state but it is more difficult to date in its earlier form. Basilica II is commonly identified with the church built in the town by Justinian and mentioned by ancient sources.[120] This latter structure, located in the forum by the sea, contains the most impressive monumentality and

[118] For a general discussion on the beginning of the practice of the reuse of architectural elements in churches see De Lachenal 1995, 15–41. She also points out the specific interest in developing architectural models recalling the middle Roman imperial period in the 5th c. in Rome (35). She identifies an already existing *ante litteram* 'memoria dell'antico' (40).

[119] Bonacasa Carra 1992, 310.

[120] This church has been identified with the one built by Justinian and listed by Procopius in *De Aedificiis*, 6.IV.13 (Procopius, *Buildings*, vol. VII, with an English translation by H. B. Dewing (The Loeb Classical Library), Harvard 1971, 376): *ἀλλὰ καὶ ΣαβραΘὰν ἐτειχίσατο πόλιν, οὐ δὴ καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν πολλῶν ἐκκλησίαν ἐδείματο.*

decorative elements, especially the highly preserved mosaic floors which are of a singular quality in North African churches. The excellence of the floors is probably explained by the involvement of Justinian in the construction of the church, which made it the official religious building in the town.[121] Columns, capitals, and most of the marble elements in the church were recycled (and, if necessary, reworked); the base of an altar located in the east of the building was made from a reused block of marble.[122] From the same basilica comes a square offering table that also bears an inscription with the name of the dedicator, and in the same building two sigma-type *mensae* were found.[123] The capitals of the *ciborium* are stylized with four acanthus leaves and at least some decorative elements of the church were imported from other major centres; overall, the style of these decorations is original and it has been proposed that local artists finished off some parts.[124] Finally, the *pulpitum* was reworked from a block of the entablature of the *Capitolium*. The marble was clearly taken and reworked locally, as shown by the decorations which, it has been suggested, recalled pulpits from metropolitan workshops, albeit in simplified form.[125] Two groups of reused bases have been identified in the church and it has been suggested that they came from the temple of the Unknown Deity, the Antonine temple,[126] and the temple dedicated to Hercules.[127] A similar origin has been suggested for the bases reused in the other church in the forum, Basilica I, built above the civil basilica of the town.

Among the imported materials for the Justinianic church are the *plutei* whose style is found in several proto-Byzantine churches across the empire, and it has been suggested that they were influenced by or probably even sourced from Contantinople.[128]

The presence of the reused marble block from the *Capitolium* deserves some consideration. It has been suggested that the superstructure of the complex was almost entirely destroyed in the earthquake

[121] A detailed analysis of the mosaic floors is in Maguire 1984 and Carra Bonacasa 2005.
[122] Bonacasa Carra 1992, 307–10.
[123] Bonacasa Carra 1992, 314–16.
[124] Bonacasa Carra 1992, 316–22.
[125] Bonacasa Carra 1992, 322.
[126] Joly and Tommasello 1984, 132–4.
[127] Joly and Tommasello 1984, 132.
[128] Sodini 2002*a*.

of AD 365[129] or by the Astoriani when they sacked the city (see p. 210). The substructure of the *Capitolium*, however, must have remained intact because its basement became a repository for the systematic collection of marble that took place probably at the end of the 4th century: inscriptions, statues, and architectural fragments from surrounding buildings were found there by Bartoccini.[130] The block reused in the Justinianic basilica as well as a large part of the decorations recycled in nearby Basilica I (see below) indicates that the architectural marbles from the damaged buildings of the forum were stored there to be used when needed. The high concentration of marble decorative elements ready for reuse in the area might also have been connected to the presence of a marble workshop near by, as recorded in Carthage in the case of the Antonine baths.

The evidence, therefore, indicates, on the one hand, the presence of a local organization that was storing and planning for the reuse of the marbles, and, on the other, the existence of controlled production, probably under a centralized administration, that provided material for constructing new churches across the empire at least during the period of Justinianic building activity (Table 5.2).

9. BASILICA I IN SABRATHA: CHURCH DECORATIONS

The Judicial Basilica in the forum, later transformed into a church, retains an excellent set of reused material, still visible on the site. The monument has been the subject of several debates, in particular for the later two phases, when the building was turned into a church. The following discussion on the marble decoration refers specifically to the results of the fieldwork carried out by the Author in July 2010. The data here analysed refer to the last phase of the use of the church, as discussed in Appendix 2.

A number of factors had to be considered before the construction of a new public monument: the function of the building; the technical knowledge of the workmen/artisans employed; and the budget

[129] Kenrick 1986, 114. On the impact of the earthquake and a discussion see Ch. 2 with n. 3.

[130] Bartoccini 1927, 48.

Table 5.2 Reused material in basilicas in Sabratha

Basilica I	South side of the forum	Reused in the flooring as a step	Constantinian inscription (*IRT* 56)	Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 10
	From the building that in the Byzantine period became the baptistery	Decoration of the main part of the church	Architectural fragments	Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 10
	Inside the church	Capitals from the theatre		Bonacasa Carra 1992
	In the *ciborium*	Four columns and two capitals, all reused but original locations unknown; it is suggested that the capitals were from the theatre		Bonacasa Carra 1992
Basilica II	Yellow limestone quarried near Lepcis from a monumental base erected in honour of Septimius Severus near the theatre	Building and decoration of the main church wall masonry and columns of the nave	Dedication to Septimius Severus (*IRT* 33)	Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 12
	Marble decoration from the *Capitolium*, forum porticoes, south forum temple, Serapeum, and probably the Antonine temple	Decoration of the main church;		Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 14
		Bonacasa Carra (1992) suggests that columns came from the temple of the Unknown Deity and the bases from the temple of Hercules		Bonacasa Carra 1992
	Marble decoration from an unidentified building in the city	Some Corinthian capitals of the church		Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 14
	Marble part of the ambo cut from a cornice block of the *Capitolium*	Ambo of the church		Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 14; Bonacasa Carra 1992, 316–22
	Mosaic has been patched on several occasions	Restoration of the main mosaic	*IRT* 192 = S(an)c(tu)s D(eu)s	Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 15
	East of the church	Reused base of an altar		Bonacasa Carra 1992, 307–10
	In the church	Square offering table with name of the dedicator		Bonacasa Carra 1992, 314
	Inside the church	Two *sigma*-type *mensae*		Bonacasa Carra 1992, 314–15
Basilica III	East end of the two lateral sides	Pavement slabs	One of them is inscribed: *IRT* 178	Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 17

available.[131] Unfortunately, when dealing with limited archaeological evidence (further reduced by the later looting of a structure) many of these details cannot be fully understood and the analysis of the recycled decorations of a church can only be carried out at a general level. These marble elements were found during excavation and were presumably part of the decoration of the building, probably still in place in the final phase of the church, and formed part of the structure that had collapsed at some point. It is possible that the material employed in the second phase of the church already formed part of the monumental decoration of the first phase.

Few of the columns have been re-erected. However, all the bases were in their original position, set into the floor, and their internal distribution is known (Fig. 35). There is no certainty that the few

Fig. 35. Sabratha, Basilica I, columns of the central nave

[131] On these aspects see Cantino Wataghin 1999, 707.

Fig. 36. Sabratha, Basilica I, Corinthian capital reused as a base

repositioned columns were exactly above their own bases, but they were all in cipollino marble. Inside the church the entrance was monumentalized in a highly original style that combined architectural elements of various sizes, but matching similar or equivalent stones in the various parts of the monument. The first two double columns at the entrance were not placed on a base, but on two Corinthian capitals serving that function (Fig. 36); a second couple of Corinthian capitals were placed on top of the columns. All the twin columns separating the nave from the aisles of the church were made out of green cipollino marble, finished with white bases and white capitals, all of different forms. The focus appears to have been on a chromatic contrast balanced by the natural lighting of the monument space.

The reused pilaster (Fig. 37) that decorated one of the two sides of the elevated apse of the church (the other is not preserved) was only

Fig. 37. Sabratha, Basilica I, pilaster reused in the apse

worked on three sides (probably due to its original location in front of a wall or a niche, so that the back part of the pilaster would not have been visible to the church attendees), suggesting that the completeness of the decoration was not important (which would not have been acceptable in a Roman context). It has been posited that columns came from the temple of the Unknown Deity. A similar origin has been suggested for the columns in the Justinianic basilica, suggesting that they were part of the same large construction programme or at least were carried out at a similar time.[132] However, the three modules recorded in Basilica I are the same as those that have been measured in the bases and columns of most public

[132] Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 14.

Fig. 38. Sabratha, Basilica I, detail of the floor

monuments in Sabratha. It also seems that almost all the colonnaded monuments (other than the theatre) found in the city were made out of cipollino marble, in the same sizes and from the same major phase of development in the city in the 2nd century. The columns reused in the church could potentially have come from a variety of buildings, probably from the forum area as it would have afforded the easiest transference. Since the *Capitolium* had already been transformed into a depository and in the depository in the basement of the temple was also located the twin of the decorative pilaster found in the church apse, it is probable that some of the elements reused in the church came from there. The chromatic contrast of white and green was intensified by the floor of the building, which was laid with slabs made out of slices of green cipollino marble cut from the columns (Fig. 38).

The decoration of the walls is not preserved, preventing the possibility of adding this aspect to the discussion. The altar area, located in the middle of the central nave, and the reliquary were constructed from a series of white column bases turned upside down (Fig. 39). The altar was located under a *ciborium* and had four columns; these are currently the two red granite columns on the southern side and the two grey cipollino columns on the western side. However, the

Fig. 39. Sabratha, Basilica I, bases upside down for the altar

columns were clearly relocated from elsewhere, probably in a modern, post-excavation refurbishment of the site. The two red columns, different and more precious, might have been used together to embellish the *ciborium* (possibly with the other two that are now missing) or might have been positioned originally at the entrance, either side of the main door of the church, or at the front of the apse.

The final ornamental element in the church is the set of steps leading to the apse and the baptistery (Figs. 40.1–2). These were covered with marble only in the last phase of the church, confirming that this later period was the moment of maximum monumentalization of the complex. The marble reused in the steps strongly suggests the existence of a workshop near by (perhaps in the *Capitolium*, where the ancient deposit has been identified), where white stones were worked and cut, if necessary. In fact, the steps are composed of the decorative elements of friezes and sections of a lintel, cut into two or three parts. There seems to have been no attempt at arranging for the plain surface to be the side on view, although in a number of cases the decorated portion is also visible. Reused were also the steps leading to the baptistery. This entrance connected the two parts of the church, and was cut into the wall of the apse and must have

Fig. 40.1 and 40.2. Sabratha, Basilica I, steps to the apse of the church

Fig. 41. Sabratha, Basilica I, steps from the apse to the large baptistery

been used by the clergy (Fig. 41). The people receiving baptism probably entered the baptistery from the main church.[133] Similar steps composed out of reused white marble were located at the entrance to the funerary area in front of the building. At the back of the apse, the existing baptistery was filled in and a canopy for the location of the martyr cult was created. The canopy was decorated in white marble with four white, fluted columns that might have been part of the theatre's ornamentation.[134] Nothing is left of the original floor of the baptistery. Here the font was monumentalized, although the large, cross-shaped structure has been substantially restored and it is now difficult to understand how it was originally decorated. Toward the back of the *fons* was the elevated apse, with columns at the sides. It was probably used as the cathedra for the bishop assisting in the baptismal ceremony. The entrance to the baptistery was embellished with green cipollino columns and with white marble slabs as a threshold.

[133] On the iconography of baptism in Byzantine art and its earlier representations see Walter 1982, 125–30.

[134] The modular measurement of the columns seems to correspond.

The whole building was therefore richly decorated with marble. With pointed indifference to the architectural grammar of earlier centuries, the old elements are reused according to their potential in shape and dimension and with a major focus on the chromatic impact on the internal area of the church. There does not seem to be any concern about reusing stones taken from temples. The availability of material in the vicinity and convenience appear to be the driving forces in the building of the church,[135] and the architectural framework was probably designed on the basis of the pieces available in the nearby deposit and possible workshop. Similar circumstances were present at Basilica II or the Justinianic basilica of Sabratha, although principally in the cases of the largest and heaviest architectural elements. Some other pieces, instead, were imported, such as a decorated slab thought to originate in Constantinople.[136] In Basilica II, reworked parts influenced in form by Constantinople can also be identified, although often these are of an inferior artistic level and quality and they were probably completed locally. This is the case with the ambo of the church (Fig. 33) obtained from part of the decoration of the *Capitolium* of the city. The same has been suggested for some of the capitals.[137]

10. SPOLIA AND TRADE: BETWEEN SECULAR LIFE AND ECONOMY

Detailed analysis allows for some further considerations on a wider geographic scale.

Planned recycling

The evidence of material reworked locally is very difficult to single out. Data available are only partial, as continuing occupation, in several cases at least until the 10th century, has determined late

[135] These are usually the major elements that seem to be taken into consideration in the process of a building reusing spolia; on this aspect see Greenhalgh 1999.

[136] Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, 14–15, with some more comments in Sodini 2002*b*, 586.

[137] Bonacasa Carra 2003–4, 6–7, with n. 9.

reuse and the looting of architectural elements. Although in some cases it has been possible to identify the presence of a local sculptural tradition, mainly in local stone, in the case of Sabratha no new elements can be added to the discussion. The lack of the development of a local style at the site may also be due to the presence of the large quantity of earlier imported material available, following the early collapse and abandonment of several monuments in the forum. Settlements located further inland, or where the monumentality in the Roman period saw a major use of local material, have developed a different tradition, as noted at Sufetula and Mactaris.

Evidence from previous excavations frequently relates to statues that have been removed and re-deposited, often in association with marble architectural features. The marble elements found stored in the basement of the *Capitolium* at Sabratha at an early date prove this trend. Storage of the marble took place at the end of the Roman period, but it was still available at the beginning of the Byzantine phase; the deposit may also have been in use for possible restorations during the Vandal period (although it is very difficult to discuss this phase in the city, due to the loss of key data). The evidence of the urban marble workshops functioning to rework marble material (as found in the Antonine baths in Carthage) suggests that, at least in major centres, the practice of burning marble fragments in lime-kilns had not yet begun or at least was not common in the late antique and the Byzantine period.[138] The reason for a reluctance to burn marble may have been initially connected to both the 'respect'[139] attached to these objects by contemporary society, as they had been an integral part of Classical culture for many centuries, and also to the intention by both the late antique and Byzantine empires to maintain the monumentality of urban centres. Indeed, the archaeological evidence demonstrates that the different ways of treating this material culture follow a clear chronological progression. Objects were initially dismantled and stored or reused because they retained symbolic (at

[138] For an overview of the evidence of limekilns in North African cities, see Leone 2007*a*, 213–17. Limekilns are found in the forum area at Uchi Maius and at Sabratha in the sector surrounding the Temple to the Unknown Deity, dated to sometime in the 6th c. In both cases the limekilns are connected with later occupation of the area; they were clearly set up to provide building material for the new settlement. For a summary of the evolution of North African cities from founding until the Islamic period, see Thébert 1986.

[139] On this concept of 'rispetto' see Vismara 1999, 70.

least in the 4th century) as well as artistic value (as they continued to into the Byzantine period). Therefore, if not made necessary by the sudden collapse of an urban centre (as occurred at Uchi Maius, for example), only later, probably in the Islamic period, were these materials broken and buried. In fact, spoliation and recycling with similar function seem to have been taking place in two periods of rebuilding and restoration, with few exceptions.[140] The first phase of reuse occurred at the end of the 4th century and was connected with the attempt to maintain the monumentality of classical Roman cities, as imposed by the central government and confirmed by legislation (see Chapter 2). The second phase occurred at the beginning of the 6th century, characterized by the intensive urban reorganization of the early Byzantine period in North Africa and the associated re-monumentalization of these cities, with the focus on churches.

The process of dismantling buildings no longer in use, immediately reusing what was necessary and storing the remaining elements, was certainly a state-controlled activity. This system, as confirmed by the storeroom in the basement of the *Capitolium* in Sabratha, suggests a planned project of preserving and collecting reusable material as early as the 4th century. This is supported by a document contained in the Oxyrhynchos Papyrus (*PLond* III 755). The document, written on the back of another document dated to the beginning of the 4th century, refers to the end of the same century.[141] It contains an inventory of all the columns, capitals, and bases recorded in a city (possibly Oxyrhynchos?). The catalogue includes private and public buildings and records the measure of each column, the type of stone (local or imported), and the state of preservation (standing, collapsed, or broken). In the list more attention is given to architectural elements in marble, as the pieces in local stone are often listed with incomplete details or measurements. From legislation, as indicated above, we know that there was always a clear distinction between private and public spaces. It is possible that the inclusion of columns from houses reflects the intention by the owner to sell the architectural elements, since the houses were already abandoned. As the *domus* are still mentioned using the name of the proprietor it is possible that the

[140] For a synthesis see Leone 2007*a*.

[141] Chronology is uncertain. The first document refers to a private contract and it has been argued that, due to its nature, it quickly went out of use. Therefore, the papyrus could have been reused quickly (Papaconstantinou 2012).

houses had been abandoned in recent times.[142] The process identified here recalls also the one carried out in Rome in the Coliseum and the Forum of Augustus. In both cases the date appears to be rather early, between the end of the 4th century and the middle of the 5th century, as recorded in Sabratha and Carthage.

Lack of provisions

The clear trend in North Africa, from the second half of the 4th century onward, indicates the preference or necessity to reuse decorative material rather than import it, at least in some regions like Tripolitana and minor centres. Overall, the evidence of trade records a short period of resurgence in the Justinianic period in connection with the re-monumentalization of North Africa after the Byzantine conquest. The imported material was generally very limited and indicates (as confirmed by the statuary) that local workshops working new decorations in local stone or reworking and adapting available material were probably fairly common in the context of these cities, although unfortunately a lack of systematic excavations makes these difficult to identify securely. A similar pattern was probably present in many former classical cities, as seen at Ostia.[143] The recorded evidence of marble stored in the vicinity of, or inside, partially spoliated buildings suggests a well-programmed process of dismantling and reuse that probably occurred in several cities in the west. As the case of Basilica I suggests, the process of reuse was driven firstly by the availability of material in the vicinity. Apart from the red granite columns today relocated in the *ciborium*, the majority of the architectural elements put in place were stored near by. Similarly, the same pattern is found when enlarging the scope of analysis to Basilica II or the Justinianic basilica. Although an attempt at imitating models from Constantinople was made by local artisans,[144] the level and the quality of the decorations was not very sophisticated. The decorated slab of the

[142] Papaconstantinou (2012) also points out that they appeared to be more interested in the columns laying on the floor, as those standing were still sealed and probably more expensive (in terms of labour required) to remove. See also specific comments on the relatively recent abandonment of private houses.

[143] Pensabene 2007.

[144] Bonacasa Carra 2003–4.

basilica,[145] probably an import, indicates a reduced number of elements being brought to the city, far from the amount of material found at the shipwreck of Marzamemi that must have been destined for a very special monument. The Justinianic basilica also points to one important factor: these provincial areas, with the progressive closure of western quarries, saw a substantial diminishing of imported marbles.

The decoration of major churches was also characterized by mosaics, indicating a high level of manufacturing. The mosaic of Basilica II of Sabratha was certainly crafted by itinerant mosaicists, as the composition of such an intricate floor must have required workshops to produce the *tessarae*, as was also the case at Bir Messaouda in Carthage.

Building programmes

The data available do not allow us to suggest any specific symbolic value to support the hypothesis that reuse of Roman material might have been connected to the relationship between the pagan and Christian communities. The majority of the data considered here refer to the Byzantine period, when the communities populating North Africa were made up of a Christian majority. The interest in Roman building material seems to be driven exclusively by the issues of economy, trade, and building organization. The fact that there were attempts at imitating and exchanging styles does not allow for the denial of the existence of well-planned building programmes. The comparison between Basilica I and Basilica II also allows us to suggest, within the same settlements, two levels of very successful building programmes. Basilica I was built entirely of reused materials, and Basilica II was instead part of an official re-monumentalization implemented by the emperor Justinian. Therefore, the decoration, although generally not of a high level (apart from the mosaic), was mainly composed of an imitation of the capital of the empire, Constantinople. This differentiation probably met, on one hand, the need for expression of the new empire's power, and, on the other, the needs of the Christian community at particular sites. The venue for this fusion is the old forum of the city, already deprived of meaning by the

[145] Sodini 2002*b*.

stripping of its monuments, and probably selected for its location near the harbour.

The differentiation in building programmes was probably also determined by different patronages acting within the urban communities. Unfortunately data for the majority of urban centres in North Africa provide very little evidence of this aspect. Future excavation and research will need to focus more on this particular area.

Overall, the driving force appears to have been convenience, a secular point of view, rather than any strong religious consideration.

6

Secular Life in Late Antique North Africa

1. INTRODUCTION

The data collected indicate that religion was not (apart from specific cases or events) a source of friction in Late Antique North Africa.

Cities were obliged (as constantly highlighted by legislative evidence) to maintain urban monuments. They were also instructed that this activity was not to be carried out through the spoliation of minor centres. This issue opens up the problem of the provisioning of marble (trade) and the control by the municipality of its own urban fabric; overall, the main difficulty here appears to have been more economic than religious.

The need to preserve urban monumentality brings up a second issue. Monuments, whether religious or secular, had to be maintained decorously and therefore the structures which were highly visible, such as temples in forum areas, were often simply closed when they could not be reused for other functions, at least in the 4th century (see Chapter 2). Indeed, temples were so numerous that it is very unlikely they could all be transformed appropriately. In Sabratha, for instance, the temples in the city's forum fell into disuse early on (in the second half of the 4th century) (see Chapter 5), and marbles were removed and stored in the basement of the *Capitolium*.

Overall, it appears that the reuse and conversion of temples was controlled by the municipality, through the disposition of public spaces, the simple closure of unused monuments, and the planned control of their urban fabric (when needed for new buildings).

In a number of cases the shifting of the urban centre away from the forum might have started before the closure of the temples, as bath complexes appear to have acquired a very important public function

(with the display of statues) already in the 4th century (see Chapter 3). In this process, public monuments that were left unused (especially those in poor condition) became marble quarries. The process of spoliation took place most often under the control of the state. However, not all buildings met this fate, as they were too numerous to ensure that all collected material could be fully re-employed and reused. The decision to spoliate a complex was probably determined by its vicinity to the new monument to be built. In a few cases, and when necessary, some specific precious materials used to enrich the decorations might have been transported a longer distance within the city.

There are two periods in which it is very likely that this controlled spoliation by the state could have taken place. The first is probably that recorded in the 4th century, when wealthy centres struggled to maintain their monumentality but were obliged to do so and therefore went looking for local material to be put in place.[1] The second can be identified in the early Byzantine period, when a programme of re-monumentalization is recorded. Some activity might have been carried out during the Vandal period, although archaeological evidence suggests that generally monumental buildings were not restored or renovated at this time, apart from a few isolated cases.[2]

In this environment, very much driven by issues of economy and availability of material, it has yet to be resolved whether some processes were driven by religious motivations as well.

2. WHAT PAGANS AND WHAT CHRISTIANS?

Overall, the data available in the case of North Africa allow us to draw a picture that points towards the idea of a secular community, where religious conflicts were probably often limited. It is undeniable that paganism and Christianity existed simultaneously in these cities, but it is impossible to gauge the full extent of their respective presences.

[1] This is for instance the recorded case of the Antonine baths in Carthage, where the presence of a marble quarry and associated marble workshop has been recorded (see Chs 4 and 5).

[2] For an analysis of the Vandal evidence see Leone 2007*a*, 127–65, and Ch. 3.

Despite some extreme positions taken by ancient sources (that often appear to be both antagonistic and one-sided), in the majority of cases it is possible to draw a picture of tolerance. The evidence is supported by several datasets, although it is necessary to bear in mind that this relates to North Africa and it cannot be automatically assumed that the model is more widely applicable, since from Late Antiquity patterns are very different and follow different traditions. Furthermore, most of the excavations were not carried out stratigraphically and therefore new, more detailed research needs to be conducted in order to verify these conclusions.

There is no clear evidence of the intentional destruction of temples, and in a number of cases monuments have been found with their original decorative features in place. It is difficult to trace the general religious beliefs of the urban elites, as this would have varied from individual to individual. As suggested by several sources, it is very likely that a number of inhabitants of North Africa would have continued to practise pagan cults, but the full extent and the nature of this 'practice' remains impossible to evaluate archaeologically. Alan Cameron has suggested that sacrifices had already ceased by the time they were officially prohibited and the legislation was in fact formalizing a de facto situation (see Chapters 1 and 2); if any cult activity had continued, this would have been in a private context, a sector that is still very difficult to investigate archaeologically in these regions.

Statuary provides similar evidence for the consideration of the life of pagan communities living in urban areas. In general, statues do not betray evidence of violence, apart from a few cases that probably were the result of the actions of fanatics. It has also been suggested that some statues were intentionally hidden to be protected, although again in this respect some specific considerations are required. Since the removal of a statue without causing breakage was a difficult operation, it is arguable that the occurrence of statues being removed and stored was probably taking place with the cooperation or under the supervision of the state. The possibility that statues were intentionally hidden behind walls, as suggested in the uncertain case of the Maison de la Cachette in Carthage, indicates that the transfer must have been carried out in an early period (beginning of the 4th century?) when the pagan community and beliefs were still strong. It also implies that removal probably took place in connection with the change of the function of the space where the statues were originally

displayed, perhaps from pagan into Christian use.[3] There is also the possibility, however, since the description of the excavations is very vague and confusing, that the statues were not hidden behind a wall, but instead simply stored in a room (see Chapter 4).

The classical cultural tradition was widespread and it is increasingly apparent that during the 4th century statuary became more and more perceived as works of art and a symbolical representation, rather than an instrument for propaganda and for expression of someone's social status. This can be confirmed in the case of the colossal statue of Marcus Aurelius in the *Forum Novum* at Thubursicu Numidarum, erected in the second half of the 4th century (see Chapter 3). Here the inscription on the base of the statue does not specify the name of the emperor but simply highlights the fact that the statue is colossal. A similar case is the slightly recarved (only the beard is reworked) statue of a notable figure displayed at the beginning of the 4th century in the forum of Bulla Regia, in front of the temple of Apollo. In this context the statue did not aspire to a true likeness of the notable figure mentioned in the inscription, but was instead the display of a decorative or a symbolic piece.

On the other hand, fanatics opposed to paganism (for instance, the Circumcelliones) are mentioned in ancient sources, and in a few cases the destruction of statues is recorded. Understanding these actions archaeologically is very difficult and it makes it impossible to analyse the full extent of the phenomenon (see Chapter 1). Both pagans and Christians were residents of these cities which were trying to keep a social structure and a system alive and used all available media to achieve this goal.

3. STATUES AND SUPPLY

The greater part of the archaeological evidence seems to point towards a society more concerned about supply and maintenance of urban monumental appearance than religious issues. The development of local workshops from the 3rd century suggests the growth of

[3] In the area of the Maison de la Cachette in Carthage the same change of function might be proved by the broken statue of Venus located at the entrance of Basilica I (see Ch. 4).

a local tradition as well as the presence of an interest in supplying material and decoration for new buildings. Coastal cities, as might be expected, are the centres where the importing of material lasted longest, but overall the evidence indicates a substantial decrease in, if not an end to, the marble trade in North Africa from the 4th century. The only period of revival corresponds to the Justinianic building programmes and the new attendant activities, limited to the first half of the 6th century, apart from the case of Carthage and a few other major centres. A difference in trend and tradition is identifiable between Africa Proconsularis and Tripolitana: for the latter, a more direct influence from Aphrodisias has been suggested; in the former, a more local style developed under the influence of Carthage.

Marble trade took on two different functions and moved in two different directions. On the one hand, building material was needed to restore existing monuments, while on the other hand statues were also an integral part of urban monumentality. The lack of new building activity caused statues to acquire important decorative functions. They were displayed in squares and the entrance porticoes of baths, as well as in front of temples, not in connection with the architectural framework, but filling up empty spaces in the urban public landscapes. From a North African perspective, these statues continued to be dedicated with honorary functions until the second half of the 4th century. The fact that there was no available new statuary determined the aforementioned two different directions of the marble trade: major centres (and capitals) had the availability of new portraits, but these were usually recarved from old material (this is, for instance, the case at Lepcis Magna, where a large amount of reworked material is recorded);[4] in minor centres, the practice is completely different. The head might have been slightly reworked and then reused, or not reworked at all but simply put on display with different significance. The limited availability of statuary is summarized well by the inscriptions from Madauros, where it is specified that the dedicated reused statues were coming from elsewhere.[5] Evidence from statuary suggests that different levels of reuse occurred in these cities, and that these various levels also reflected various costs. Statues

[4] On the portraits in Lepcis Magna in Late Antiquity see Bianchi, L. 2005, and for some discussion on the influence from the East in the city see Equini Schneider and Bianchi, L. 1990.

[5] See Ch. 4 and n. 39.

could have been specifically sculpted, recarved from earlier statues, or even recycled as they were;[6] they could have been reused locally or imported from elsewhere. These options had different costs, and obviously the availability of marbles and the budget played an important role in the choices made. As shown by the case of Madauros, some trade may have been possible, although it has to be pointed out that the inscription does not denote the original location of the statue, and it is possible that the statue was simply brought from a nearby city.

The increasingly common practice of recutting and recarving, recorded in Late Antiquity, also implies, as suggested by Dale Kinney,[7] that most of the statues removed from display were not destroyed but instead were stored, and North Africa offers several examples in various cities (see Chapter 4). In some buildings, such as theatres, this process might have begun as early as the second half of the 4th century. This was probably the case in Carthage, where a large number of statues from the theatre and the odeum were relocated to a nearby cistern no longer in use. A market for reused statuary must have existed, although tracing it is difficult. Verecunda (Markouna), where several statues that had been in storage were found, may be given as an example,[8] although several other sites have been recorded. The process of storing statues for reuse must have been a common practice, but the phenomenon probably became widespread in Late Antiquity. The inhabitants of these cities continued to store statues, but progressively the practice of dedicating pieces was deprived of its social and public function and simply died out. In North Africa the end of the dedicatory practice is recorded progressively in the second half of the 4th century. At the same time, the production of official imperial statuary seems to have stopped or seriously declined after Constantine.[9]

[6] The recarving process probably maintained some aspects of the original portrait. It has been suggested that this may occasionally have been an intentional practice (Galinsky 2008, 4).

[7] Kinney 1997, 124. See Ch. 4 and n. 101.

[8] The site is located 5 km north-east of Lambaesis on the route to Theveste (Baratte 1983, 787); in the area that was probably the forum of the city it appears that a deposit was found containing around a hundred epigraphies and six imperial portraits now at the Louvre: Faustina the Younger, Lucius Verus, Commodus, Julia Domna, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla.

[9] From a purely late antique perspective, it appears that Constantius I and Constantine I had a higher number of dedications in comparison with the other later emperors in North Africa (data obtained through the database accessible

4. MARBLES AND SPOLIA: SYMBOLS OR REQUIRED OBJECTS?

The reuse and function of spolia have long been debated.[10] The major focus has usually been on structures that are still standing, their layout and form. Here the aim was to look principally at the building programmes, in particular the architectural styles and their functionality. Although we tend to look at churches in general, we treat them as a unique category without taking into account the fact that a hierarchy in importance among different religious buildings and quality must have existed in antiquity; patronage, although unfortunately we have very little evidence in North Africa, must have played a role. Being part of an official building programme made the difference. Basilica I and Basilica II (or Justinianic basilica), both in the forum of Sabratha, offer a good example and good evidence for discussion. Despite the fact that Sabratha was a coastal site, it appears evident that the city was cut out of the major marble trade, probably from the second half of the 4th century, and certainly by the beginning of the Byzantine period. Churches that were in any way symbols of the Byzantine empire struggled to find building material. In Basilica I it is clear that the material was reused from the other, redundant, buildings in the forum. In this case, the argument can work both ways: they reused locally available material as it existed in surplus, and they reused it because there was a dearth of imported material. However, the fact that some imported material is recorded in Basilica II seems to suggest that some trade existed if it was required, but this was probably only so in special situations and for very important building programmes; in this specific case the building of the church was planned directly by Justinian.

through http:/laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/). It is also apparent that the dedications of imperial statues continued at the same level in both major and minor provincial centres, as pointed out by Ignazio Tantillo (2010, 185). In terms of finding location, the majority of the dedications of imperial statues have been found in fora and in terms of reuse, the majority of them have been relocated in the Byzantine period. What do not emerge from the inscriptions are the nature and quality of the latest dedicated statues, as well as their distribution within the urban layout.

[10] For the most up-to-date overview see Greenhalgh 2009.

Basilica I shows instead an extensive reuse of marbles and this gives rise to two considerations: vicinity[11] and programmed storage of materials. It appears quite obvious from the analysis of the monument that all the reused material was principally selected because it was located near by. Only two columns in red granite probably came from another part of the town, possibly the theatre. The theatre had already been spoliated at the end of the 4th century to decorate the church located near by; therefore, at that time it must have already been out of use. Moving material around the city was a rather costly operation and the fact that most of the material was readily available near by suggests that the most economically viable solution was the one put into action. On the other hand, the fact that building material had been stored sometime in the 4th century in the basement of the *Capitolium* opens up a second issue. Who stored these materials, and how did they manage to keep them in good condition and in the storeroom for almost a century during the Vandal period? The deposition in the basement of a public building of decorative marbles from a series of public buildings indicates that removal and storage probably took place under the control of the urban municipality. The intention must have been to hoard building material, with the aim of reusing it. The controlled removal of building material and stone decorations reflects once again the attempt by these communities to maintain the monumentality of their cities and the intention to carry on this tradition. It should be stressed also that the material stored and later reused in the church was brought almost entirely from temples in the forum (see Chapter 5 and Appendix 2). This underlines a complete absence of symbolic value in reuse and also highlights the lack of a superstitious approach to decorative materials from temples. The provenance of the marble material was not important and was not seen as an obstacle. Moreover, the evidence confirms the idea of the complete decay of the marble trade in North Africa. Economy and survival were again the driving forces principally governing the rules of the practice of reuse and spoliation.

[11] On the issue of vicinity of marble materials for reuse see some discussion in Greenhalgh 1999.

5. SECULAR LIFE IN LATE ANTIQUE NORTH AFRICA

Perhaps unlike other features of the Roman empire, paganism and Christianity were not opposing forces in these cities, notwithstanding a few cases of fanaticism, and several explanations may be given for this substantial profane community and lifestyle. According to Alan Cameron, paganism died out progressively. From this research it seems possible to point out that what was left of paganism in these late antique North African communities was first of all a religiosity strictly connected with the social structure and life of the Empire. Some priesthoods were part of the career of notable figures and therefore survived, as fossils, from an old social structure into the Vandal period. Statues and urban decorations were seen as aspects of urban monumentality that ought to survive, exactly in the same way in which the social structure and public careers continued to follow traditional paths. New religious communities were struggling to affirm their identity, as they were met with resistance on several fronts: from pagans, from Donatists (and from the Circumcelliones), from Arians, and various other groups. In this reality the desire for conflict became much weaker and the concepts of tolerance and coexistence became major driving forces. Whether this developed consciously, or was instead the effect of the transition from one world to another, is difficult to say.

As Bryan Ward-Perkins expresses the problem in the quotation at the beginning of this book, 'Although we would like to know whether paganism went out with a bang, or died with a whimper, I doubt whether even the best archaeological work will ever be able to tell us.'[12] It can generally be said that, so far, archaeological evidence suggests paganism indeed died with a whimper, changing progressively to a new form, although this conclusion will have to be tested through the development of a series of new projects specifically targeting these later periods and their stories.

[12] B. Ward Perkins 2011, 191.

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APPENDIX 1

Inscriptions attesting to *flamines* and *sacerdotales* recorded in North Africa from the fourth century

Ain el Ansarine (392–393; 425–439) – *AE* 1908, 19 = *CIL* VIII, 24069 = Bassignano 1974, 229	*[------ / quod tempo]ribus convenit splen[didissimis --- / ---]s salvis d(ominis) n(ostris) The[odosio et Valentiniano --- / ---r]egente insignia proc[onsulatus ---/---] provic(ario) et pro proc(onsule) p(rovinciae) A(fricae) [--- / ---]tum municipio quod su[---/---] Rufinianus, v(ir) c(larissimus), fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus) et .....*
Ammaedara (525–526) – *CIL* VIII, 10516 = *ILCV* 388 = Bassignano 1974, 62–63	P/A|W *Astius Muste/lus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus) cristi/anus / vixit annis LXXII, quievit GII / id(us) decem/bres anno / IIII d(omi)n(i) "vel" d(omini) n(ostri) regis / Ildirix*
Ammaedara (6th c.)– *CIL* VIII, 450 = *ILCV* 126 = Bassignano 1974, 62–63	P/A|W *Astius Vindicianus / v(ir) c(larissimus) e[t] fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus)*
Apisa Maius (364–378) – *CIL* VIII 23846 = Bassignano 1974, 216	*[---] florente imperio invictissimo[rum principum / --- He]lvius Tertullus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), III cur(ator) re[i p(ublicae) ---]*
Apisa Maius (388–392) –*CIL* VIII, 782 = ILS 786 = Bassignano 1974, 217	*[Aureo saeculo d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Valen]tiniani, Theodosi et Arcadi perp(etuorum)/ [Aug(ustorum)--- collegiu?]m flaminum perpetuorum*
Calama (364) – *CIL* VIII, 5335 = *ILS* 5730 = *ILAlg* I, 256 = Bassignano 1974, 301	*Beatissimis temporibus d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Valentiniani et Valentis perpetuorum Aug(ustorum), procons[ulatu v(iri) c(larissimi) Iuli Festi Hymetii, legatio]/ne v(iri) c(larissimi) Fabi Fabiani, piscinam quae antea tenuis aqu<a>e pigra fluenta capiebat, nunc ve[ro---unda]/rum intonantium motibus redundantem,Q(uintus) Basilius Flaccianus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), augur et cur(ator) [rei pub(licae) restituit] / et excepto[rio --- ext]ructo adq(ue) perfecto cum [Bas]ilio Maximo Au[fidi]ano [filio suo dedicavit]*
Calama (364) – *CIL* VIII, 5335 = *ILS* 5730 = *ILAlg* I, 256 = Bassignano 1974, 301	*Beatissimis temporibus d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Valentiniani et Valentis perpetuorum Aug(ustorum), procons[ulatu v(iri) c(larissimi) Iuli Festi Hymetii, legatio]/ne v(iri) c(larissimi) Fabi Fabiani, piscinam quae antea tenuis aqu<a>e pigra fluenta capiebat, nunc ve[ro---unda]/rum intonantium motibus redundantem,Q(uintus) Basilius Flaccianus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), augur et cur(ator) [rei pub(licae) restituit] / et excepto[rio --- ext]ructo adq(ue) perfecto cum [Bas]ilio Maximo Au[fidi]ano [filio suo dedicavit]*

Calama (367–375) – *ILAlg* I, 472 = Bassignano 1974, 301	*[Piis? sanc?]tis invictissi[m]isque princi/[pibus, toto or]be victoribus, / [d(ominis) n(ostris) V]alentiniano, Valente e[t] Gratiano / [semper] Aug(ustis), porticum novam a funda/[mentis---ad] summum fastigium EFN [---/---t?]otoq(ue) cum [splen?]dore Q(uintus) Polle[ntius?] f[lam(en) / perp(etuus)? perfe?]c(it): dedic(avit) [Paulus C]onstantius v(ir) c(larissimus), [proco(n)s(ul) / p(rovinciae) A(fricae)], iudex sacr[arum co]gnitionum / [cum A]ntonio Paulo [fi]lio suo, Numidi[ae / leg(ato)---]ernan(t)e? rei publicae L(ucio) Honorat[o / fl(amine) p(er)p(etuo)?], curatore rei public(ae), et insisten[ti/bus] operi Iulio Ianuario, Cen [sorio?] "vel" Cen[sorino? / ---et] Aufidio Vini(ciano?)*
Calama (364) – *CIL* VIII, 5337 = *ILAlg* I, 254 = Bassignano 1974, 301	*D(omino) n(ostro) / Fl(avio) Valentinian/no Pio Felici Aug(usto) / Victori semper, / procons(ulatu) P(ubli) Ampeli, c(larissimi) v(iri), / Q(uintus) Basilius Flac/ cianus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), /augur, cur(ator) rei p(ublicae), / cum devotissi/mo ordine / posuit et d(e)d(icavit)*
Calama (373) – *CIL* VIII, 5374 = *ILAlg* I, 272 = Bassignano 1974, 302	*[-----procon]sulat[u A/ur]eli Summa[chi] / Basilius Cirre/nianus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), cu[r(ator)] / rei p(ublicae), cum splend[i/dissim]o ordine posuit*
Djemila (364–367) – *AE* 1946, 107; Bassignano 1974, 258	*Pro beatitudine ac felicita/te temporum d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Valen/tiniani et Valentis semper / Aug (ustorum) basilicam dignam / coloniae Cuiculitanae, eges/tis ruderibus quae ipsis iam / altiora essent culmi/nibus civitatis, a fund/amentis constru/xit exornavit dedi/cavitque Publilius / Ceionius Caecina / Albinus, v(ir) c(larissimus), consularis / sexfascalis provinciae / Numidiae, curantibus / p(er)f(icientibusque) C<a>ecilio Patricio fl(amine) p(erpetuo), Tulio /Prestantio fl(amine) p(erpetuo), Pomponio Pude/tiano f(lamine) p(erpetuo), Dom(itio) Rustico, G(aio) S(...) Faustiniano*
Furce.... (383–393) – *CIL* VIII, 24044 = Bassignano 1974, 220	*[--- Valentiniani, Th]eodosi et Arcadi perpetuoru[m---] cum IOIO? [---/---Inn]ocentio fl(amine) p(er)p(etuo), ex curatore civitatis Furce [---]one aperiit curia neglecta [---/---procons]ulatu Flavi Primi, v(iri) c(larissimi) et inlustris, L(ucio) Tor[---] fl(amine) p(er)p(etuo), curatore rei publica (sic)...*
Ghardimaou (379–383) – *CIL* VIII 14728 = Bassignano 1974, 231	*[Beatissimis tempo]ribus florenti[ssimoque saeculo domi/norum nostro]rum Gratiani, Valentiniani et The[odosi perpetuorum semper Augustorum, / Vi]rio Audentio Aemiliano clarissimo et eminent[issimo viro vice procons(ulis) e]t Cl[audio --- / ---] v(iro) c(larissimo), leg(ato) p(rovinciae) N(umidiae), arcum triumfalem (sic) funditus quadr[atis lapidibus olim] extruc[t]um [--- / eo]rundem lapidum coniunctionis adf[---] relict[--- / et? a]d ornamentum splendidissimae civi[tatis ---]re [---propriis / su]mptibus Crepereius Felicissi[mus --- cum Crepere]io [G]lyce[ro fi/lio] suo fl(amine) p(er)p(etuo) construxit [---dedi]cavit.....*

Gigthis (383–388 connected with the actions of the Asturians at the end of the 4th c.) – *CIL* VIII, 27 = 11025 = *ILS* 787 = *ILTun* 11 = Bassignano 1974, 55	*Quinto fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo), sac(erdoti) prov(inciae), / Salvis ac toto orbe vin<cen>tibus) / d(ominis) n(ostris) Fl(aviis) / Valentiniano, Theodosio, / Arcadio et [Maximo] semp(er) Aug(ustis), / ob meritum magnific<a>e legati/onis, quam pro voto totius / provinciae executus est et per/egit Quintus, vir laudabilis, / sacerdotalis, huic cupiens / conpetentibus meritis / respondere totius pro/vinciae consilio ad(que) / decreto ord(inis) n(ostr)/i po/s(ita) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*
Lambaesis (AD364–367) – *CIL* VIII, 2735 = 18229; Bassignano 1974, 320	*[Restaur]avit o[pus /Publiliu]s Caieonius / [Caecina] Albinus, v(ir) c(larissimus), / [cons(ularis) sex]f(ascalis) p(rovinciae) N(umidiae), / [cur(ante)---] Variano fl(amine) p(erpetuo), cur(atore) r(ei) p(ublicae) [L(ambaesitanae)]*
Lepcis Magna (4th c. on palaeography) – *IRT* 578 = Bassignano 1974, 29	*Amelii. / Multiplici laborum merito / varioque voluptatum / genere, stimulantibus / paternis avitiis etiam / documentis, ab ineun/te aetate patriam cives/ que suos promerenti, / M(arco) Vibio Aniano Gemino / v(iro) p(erfectissimo), fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo), pont(ifici), sacerdotal(i) / provinciae Tripolitanae, / bis IIvir(o), ex sufragio (sic) / quietissimi populi et de/creto splendidissimi ordinis*
Lepcis Magna (4th c. on palaeography) – AE 1929, n. 3 = *IRT* 5567 = Bassignano 1974, 29	*Uno eodemque anno / du(u)mviro Lepcimag(nensium) / et sacerdoti prov(inciae) Trip(o)l(itanae), / innocentissimo viro, / principali integerrimo, / amatori patriae ac ci/vium suorum, T(ito) Flavio / Vibiano, v(iro) p(erfectissimo), fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) et pont(ifici), / cur(atori) rei p(ublicae) Lepcimag(nesium), / sac(erdoti) Laur(entium) Lab(inatium) et sac(erdoti) M(atris) D(eum, / praef(ecto) omnium sacr(orum), / ob diversarum volup/tatum exhibitionem / et Libycarum ferarum X / ex populi suffrag(io) et ordinis decreto*
Lepcis Magna (4th c.on palaeography) – *IRT* 568 = Bassignano 1974, 29	*Heraclii. / Ob augmenta mul/torum meritorum / adque eximi amoris /erga patriam ad/que cives suos, / T(ito) Flavio Vibiano / v(iro) p(erfectissimo), pont(ifici), fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo), sac(erdoti) / Laurent(i)um Lab(i)nat(ium), sac(erdoti) M(atris) D(eum), praef(ecto) omni/um sacr(orum), duovir(o), sac(erdoti) prov(inciae) Tr(ipolitanae), /etiam hic ex sufragio (sic) populi et decreto spl(endidissimi) ordin(is)*
Macomades (364–367) – *CIL* VIII, 4767 = *ILS* 5571 = Bassignano 1974, 332 = Saastamoinen 2010, n. 741, 556	*Pro beatitudine saeculi d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) / Valentiniani et Valentis p(er)p(etuorum) Aug(ustorum) /arcum, Publilio Ceionio Caeci/na Albino, v(iro) c(larissimo), cons(ulari) p(rovinciae) N(midiae) C(onstantinae), dispo/nenti ac d[e]dicante, Popilius Concessus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus) ob honorem [fl]amo[ni] / et . . . . . .*
Mactaris (Emperor Julian) – *AE* 1890, n.71 = *CIL* VIII, 11805 = Bassignano 1974, 87	*Fl(avio) Claudio / Iuliano P(io) / Felici semp(er) / Aug(usto) / Q(uintus) Licinius / Faustus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus),/ cur(ator) rei p(ublicae), / una cum sple(ndidissimo) ordine / numini m(aiestati)q(ue) e[i]us / dic(atissimus)*

Mactaris (Valentinian I) – *AE* 1890, 72 = *CIL* VIII, 11806 = Bassignano 1974, 87	*D(omino) n(ostro)/ Fl(avio) Valentiniano / Pio Felici semp(er) / Aug(usto) / Q(uintus) Iul(ius) Moderatus / fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), cur(ator) rei p(ublicae), / una cum splen/didissimo ordi/ne n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) eius / dic(atissimus)*
Mactaris (Valentinian I) – *CIL* VIII, 11807 = Bassignano 1974, 87	*D(omino) n(ostro)/ Fl(avio) Valentinia/no / Pio Felici semp(er) / Aug(usto) / Q(uintus) Iul(ius) Modera/tus / fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), cur(ator) re(i) p(ublicae), / una cum splendidissimo ordi/ne (numini) m(aiestati)q(ue) eius / dic(atissimus)*
Mactaris (Gratian) –*AE*1890, 73 = *CIL* VIII, 11808 = Bassignano 1974, 87	*D(omino) n(ostro) / Fl(avio) Gratiano P(io) F(elici) / senper (sic) Aug(usto) / numini m(aiestatique) eius / L(ucius) Popilius Honoratus / fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), cur(ator) r(ei) p(ublicae), una /cum splendi<di>ssimo / ordine posuit et dedi/cavit*
Madauros (364) – *AE* 1917–18, 91 = *ILAlg* I, 2101 = Bassignano 1974, 276 = Saastamoinen 2010, n°727, 524	*Pro tanta securi[tate temporum] / d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Valentiniani [et Valentis, perpetuo]rum Au[gustorum), / therm]as aestivas, olim splen[did(issimae)] coloni[ae nostrae? orn]a[mentum?, /sed? tot re[tro annis ruinarum labe deformes pa[rietibusque omni?]um soli/orum ita corruptis ut gravibus damnis adficerent, [nun?]c omni idonitate con/structas et cultu splendido decoratas, sed et patinas ampliato aeris pondere / omni idonitate firmissimas, proconsulatu Publi Ampeli, v(iri) c(larissimi), Octavio Privatia/no, v(iro) c(larissimo) legato Numidiae, C<a>ec(ilius) Pontilius Paulinus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), p(atronus) c(oloniae), curat[o]r rei p(ublicae), pecunia / publica perfecit; porticum quo[q]ue ingredientibus ab atri[o], sed et pronaum / eidem coh<a>erentem commeantibus per viam trabibus, ti[g]nis [---]ceterisque / . . . . . .*
Madauros (399–340) =*ILAlg*, 2107 = Bassignano 1974, 276 = Saastamoinen 2010, n°810, 520	*Florente gloria / d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Arcadi et Honori, inv(ictissimorum) p(rincipum) et in omne orbe / vincentiu[m, pro]consu[l]atu d(ivino) m(andatu) v(iri) c(larissimi) Apollodori,/ legato v(iro) [c(larissimo) ---forum cum omn]ibus a[e]dibus suis, quae / ruinarum l[abe foedabantur?, o]biectione trabium, cons/tructione te[ctorum ---, p]roscenio quoque theatri / in novitatis [faciem reformato?, mu]ris minoribus sartis tectis, / munitis la[teribus, --- fl(amen p(er)]p(etuus), curator rei (publicae), propria in / artifices inpe[nsa restituit?] et cum omnium civium / laeti[tia] de[dicavit]*
Mascula (379–383) – *CIL* VIII, 2243 = Bassignano 1974, 310; Saastamoinen 2010, n°776, 515	*[Pro beatitudine temporum d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) invictissimorum principum Gratiani, Valenti[niani et Theodosi [semper Augustorum / ------- longa d]esid[i]a neglectam [---/------ restituit idemque d]edicavit; curante [--- / ------] fl(amine) p(er)p(etuo), cur(atore) rei pub[l]ic[ae---]*
Mesguida (408–423) – *CIL* VIII 24104 – Bassignano 1974, 232	*Salvis d(ominis) n(ostris) / Honorio et Theodo/sio, p(er)p(etuis) semper Aug(ustis), / Stertiniu[s] / Carcedonius fl(amen) [p(erpetuus)], / avorum vestig[ia] / recolens, statu[as] / ex oblatione / [l]iberalitatis / familiae suae /ob amorem / pat[ri]ae adpo/sitas reparavit*

Missua (4th C. suggested by the content and form of the text) = *CIL* VIII, 989 = ILS 9043 = *ILTun* 849 = Bassignano 1974, 132	*Fl(avii) Arpagii v(iri) c(larissimi). / Fl(avio) Arpagio fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) huiusce / civitatis, ex agente in / rebus, v(iro) c(larissimo), ex adiut(ore) inl(ustris) / viri mag(istri) officior(um), v(iro) / spectab(ili), trib(uno) et not(ario), / ob insignia eius erga / remp(ublicam) merita et praecipue / ob pat(ronatus?) benef(icia), statuam ad / aeternitatem meri/torum eius Miss(uenses) cives / conlocaverunt*
Municipium Aelium Hadrianum Chlulitanum o Chullitanum (321) –Bassignano 1974, 315	*[Populonii / Valerio Proculo, v(iro) c(larissimo)], / praesidi provinc[iae Val(eriae) Byzac(enae)]. D(ominis) n(ostris) Crispo et Const[antino Iuniori] / nobilissimis Caes(aribus) [co(n)s(ulibus), IIII kal(endas) sep(tembres)]. Municipes municipii Ael(ii) [Hadriani Aug(usti) Chlu]/litani Q(uintum) Aradium Ruf[inum Valerium Proculum], / v(irum) c(larissimum), liberos posterosq[ue eius sibi, liberis poste]/risque suis patron[os cooptaverunt tesseram]/ que hospitalem cum [eo fecerunt]. / Q(uintus) Aradius Rufinus Valerius Procu[lus, liberi] / posterique eius, municipes muni[cipii Aelii Ha]/driani Aug(usti) Ciuiulitani (sic) liberos p[osterosq(ue) eorum] / in fidem clientelamq(ue) suam rece[perunt, in quam] / rem gratuitam legationem su[sceperunt]. / Insteius Renatus et Apolloniu[s Gallentius] /duoviri, T(itus) Aelius Nigoginus et [Aelius Fausti]/nus aediles, L(ucius) Aelius Optatian[us Cammaria]nus, Flavius Secundinus, Dom[itius Optatianus], /Aemilius Nemgonius, Aemilius [Titracius, Sta]/tilius Secundianus fl(amines) p(er)p(etui), et unive[rsus ord(o) d(ecurionum)]*
Mustis (364–367) – *AE* 1933, 33 b = *ILTun*, 1538b = Bassignano 1974, 126 = Saastamoinen 2010m n°728, 508	*Salvis principibus d(ominis) n(ostris) Valent[iniano et Valente semper Aug(ustis), administrantibus] Publio Ampelio v(iro) c(larissimo) am[plissimo procon]sule provinciae [Africae, iudice sacrarum cognitionum], Privatiano quoque v(iro) c(larissimo), legato [Numidiae --- Ant?]onianus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), cur[ator rei p(ublicate), cum ordine Mustitanorum restituit et dedicavit?]*
Mustis (366–368) – *AE*1932, 14 = *ILTun* 1542 = Bassignano 1974, 126	*Florentissimo statu dominorum prin[cipum nostrorum imperatorum] / Valentiniani et Valentis perpet(uorum) Aug(ustorum) fo[rum, vetustate et longa incuria dirutum?], / restitutum atque perfectum est, disponen[te Publio Ampelio "vel potius" Iulio Festo Hymetio v(iro) c(larissimo), proconsule] / provinciae Africae, iudice sacrarum cogni[tionum, administrante Octavio Privatiano "vel potius" Fabio Fabiano?, c(larissimo) v(iro),] / legato suo; curante L(ucio) M(...?) Respecto Lucilio fl(amine) p(er)p(etuo), cu[ratore rei publicae]*
Neapolis (Nabeul) (400–401) – *CIL* VIII, 969 = Bassignano 1974, 133	*Salvis d(ominis) n(ostris) / Arcadio et Honorio / inclytis (sic) semper Aug(ustis) / administrante d(ivino?) m(andatu?) / Gabinio Barbaro / Pompeiano v(iro) c(larissimio) proc(onsule) / p(rovinciae) A(fricae) v(ice) s(acra) i(udicante) Coelius Titianus /*

	v(ir) h(onestus) ex t(ransvectuario) et nav(iculario) ex mun (erario) / et excuratore r(ei) p(ublicae) / cum Coelio Res/tituto v(iro) h(onesto) filio suo / sumptu proprio / [i]nstantia su[a] / dedicavit / administrante / Publiano v(iro) h(onesto) f(lamine) p(erpetuo) curat(ore) r(ei) p(ublicae)
Pheradi Maius (Sidi-Khalifa) (4th c.?) – *AE* 1927, 28 = *ILTun* 251 = Bassignano 1974, 83	*Didi Preiecti fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui). / Probatissimo adque integerrimo / viro, cuius multa praeclara / venefactorum praemia retinen/tur, quem adornat integritas, / quem fides vera commendat, a cu/ius cunabulis titulis obsequentem (sic) /probabimus liberalitatem et ita / sumtu (sic) proprio indulgentem, / ut et fastigia moenibus ded/rit et colomina repararit; qui/bus rebus Didio Preiecto fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo), / amplissimo proceri nostrae / curiae, quem et laus familiae /et eloqui commendat instruct/tio, ordo s[plendidissim]ae / coloni[ae ---ae Fera]dam(aiensis).....*
Pupput (383–408) – *AE*1912, 178 = *ILAf* 314 = Bassignano 1974, 180–1	*D(omino) n(ostro) Arcadio Incly/to (sic) Pio Felici Augusto, / administrantibus Fl(avio) / Macrobio Maximiano, / v(iro) c(larissimo), p(rimi) o(rdinis) c(omite), ag(ente) vic(es) p(raefectorum) p(raetorio), et Fl(avio) Sy/nesio Filo[mat?]io, v(iro) c(larissimo), / cons(ulari) prov(inciae) Fla(viae) Val(eriae) Byz(acenae), / Fl(avius) Calbinus, v(ir) d(evotissimus), fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), / cur(ator) rei p(ublicae), numini ma/iestatique eius sem/per dicatissimus*
Rusicade (4th c.)- *CIL* VIII 7976 = *ILAlg* II, 33 = Bassignano 1974, 250	*[---i]nstante Aę(io) Ampelio viro prim(ario), fl(amine) p(er)p(etuo) [---]*
Sabratha (340–350) – emperors named in the inscription were both Augusti) – *IRT* 55 = Bassignano 1974, 49	*A[ede]ṃ Liberi Patris quam antique ruina çum lab [e--] / P[...]IVS ins[ta]urationem EA[.....] RISO[---] / d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) [Fl(avi) Iu]l(i) Constantii m[aximi et Fl(avi) Iul(i) Co]nsta(n)tis max[imi triumphato]rum se[mper Aug]ustorum [.....] am[---]/rimum praeṣidiçium v(iri) p(erfectissimi) Fl(avi) Victoris Calpurn[i.....] ser/vavit hanc L(ucius) Aemilius Caelestinus duovir [quinquenn]alis fl[amen] / perp(etuus) amori patriae studiose respon[dit----]ạ v(iro) p(erfectissimo) / [p]atrono prov(inciae) dedican[te------]r̥ fecit / ex [decreto ordinis]*
Sabratha (AD376) – *AE*1950, 149 = *IRT* 111 = Bassignano 1974, 49	*L(uci) Aemili Quinti fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui). / Quod laborem continu(u)m / pro provinciae suae / necessitate sustinuit / et quod miserias com/munes sacris aurib(us) / intimabit et remedium / meruit, ordo et popul(us) / splendidae col(oniae) Sabrat(hensis), / secundum decreta totius / provinc (iae), dedic(averunt); cur(ante) / Fl(avio) Venantio*
Sabratha (4th c. – on palaeography) – *IRT* 104 = Bassignano 1974, 49	*. . . . . .[ordo et popu]lus colo[niae Sabr(athensis) --- publi]ce posuit [-----cur]ante C(aio) Aurelio Feliciano D[a]masio fl(amine) p(er)p(etuo), sac(erdote) dei Herculis, q(uin)q(uennale), curatore rei publicae feliciter*

Sabzia (337–350) – *AE*1894, 56 +57 = *CIL* VIII, 23123+ 23124 = Bassignano 1974, 102	*Pro [salute dom]inorum Augustorumque no[strorum --- et Flavi Val]er[i Con]stanti [invictiss]imorum principum [--- / ---]is[---]t[---]i Gracchi v[i]ri [clari]ssimi proco[nsulis pro]vinciae Africae [---/---reipubl]icae Sabziensiu[m --- c]onlata o[---]s pecunia perfecit [---/----]t[--]et [Iu]lius Secundus p[--- fla]men perp[etuus et] curator reipublicae [---]*
Schuhud el Batel (5th c.) – *AE* 1912, 164 – Bassignano 1974, 233	*Minucius Apronianus fla/men perpetuus, fidelis vixit / in pace ann(os) LXXIII, menses X*
Thagari Maius (367–385) – *CIL* VIII, 12360 = *ILTun* 739 = Bassignano 1974, 221	*D(omino) n(ostro) [Fl](avio) Gra/tiano macx(imo) (sic) / P(io) F(elici) Victori / semper Aug(usto) / Vitrasius Res/tutus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), / cur(ator) re[i] p(ublicae), una / cum ordi/ne devotus / n(umini) ma(iestati)q(ue) eius*
Thagari Maius (367–385) – *CIL* VIII, 23973= Bassignano 1974, 221	*D(omino) n(ostro) [Fl(avio)] Valen/ti max(imo) P(io) F(elici) Vic/tori semper /Aug(usto)/ Vitriasius (sic)/ Restutus / fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), cur(ator) rei p(ublicae) / una cum ordi/ne devotus / n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) eius*
Thamugadi (364–367) – *CIL* VIII, 2403 = *ILS* 6122, Bassignano 1974, 289	*T(ito) F[lav]io / T(iti) fil(io) [P]apir(ia) / Mo[ni]mo / fla[m]ini / per[pe]tuo, / Fla[via] T(iti) fi/lia [Pro]cil/l[a. L(ocus) d(atus)] d(ecreto) d(ecu)rionum* *In latere sinistro:* *Album ordinis col(oniae) / Tham(u)g(adensis) v(irorum) c(larissimorum)/Vulcacius Rufinus p(a)tr(onus), / Marius Decianus p(a)tr(onus), /Insteius Lampadius p(a)tr(onus), / Pompeus Deuterius p(a)tr(onus), /Cornelius Valentinus p(a)tr(onus), / Valerius Erenianus, /Sessius Pulverius, / Valerius Porphyrius, /Cessius Trigetius, /Cessius Andanius, / Plotius Florentinus, vir p(erfectissimus), fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Elius Ampelius, vir p(erfectissimus); / sacerdotales / Iu(liu)s Paulus Trigetius p(a)tr(onus) , / Antonius Victor fl(amen) p(erpetuus); / curator / Octavius Sosinianus fl(amen) p(erpetuus); duoviri / Sessius Cresconius aug(ur), /Papirius Vitalis fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Corfidius Valentinianus fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Grasidius Victorinus fl(amen perpetuus), / Antonius Vindicianus fl(amen perpetuus), / Grasinius Saduntius fl(amen perpetuus), / Claudius Licentius fl(amen perpetuus), / Sentius Victor fl(amen perpetuus), / Aufidius Optatus fl(amen perpetuus), / Sessius Iulianus fl(amen perpetuus), / Egnatius Florentius fl(amen perpetuus), / Plotius Crescentilianus fl(amen perpetuus), /Claudius Saturus fl(amen perpetuus),exc(usa)t(us), / Aurelius Maximus fl(amen) p(erpetuus), Cincius Porphyrius fl(amen perpetuus), / Elius Iulianus fl(amen perpetuus), / Flavius Palminus fl(amen perpetuus), / Flavius Vincentius fl(amen perpetuus), / Sulpicius Ingenuus fl(amen perpetuus). /* *In Latere dextro:* *Plotius Pretextatus fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Agrius [Pretextatus] fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Cincius*

	Innocentius fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Iulius Gubernius fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Vallius Candidus fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Fl(avius) Aquilinus fl(amen) p(erpetuus),/ Fl(avius) Faustinianus fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Virius Maninlianus fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Fl(avius) Donatianus fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Octavius Falacer fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Antonius Petronianus fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Annius Verissimus fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Acilius Concessanus fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Gargilius Calventianus fl(amen) p(erpetuus), / Sessius Ianuarianus fl(amen) p(erpetuus); / pontifices / Plotius Romulus, /Ulpius Purpurius, / Horatius Maximus, / Elius Bibianus; /augures: / Iulius Victorinianus, / Fl(avius) Pullentius / Plotius Paulinianus, / ediles (sic) / Aurelius Rufinus, / Iulius Valerinus; / quaestores / Vetilius Saturninus; / duoviralici / Flavius Sudianus, / Vaterius Sapidus, / Flavidius Procilianus, / Pompeius Rufinianus, /Acilius Valerianus, / Iul(ius) Faustus, / Valerius Donatus, / Letorius Laertius, / Vallius Hospes, / Ulpius Isthefanus, / Faustinianus Citheri, / Varius Victor
Thamugadi (364–367) - AE 1895, 108 = Bassignano 1974, 289	*Concordia[e] / d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Valenti/niani et Valen/tis perpetuo/rum Aug(ustorum). Pu/blilius Caeionius Cae/cina Albi//nus, v(ir) c(larissimus), con/sularis /sexfasca/lis provin/ciae Numi/diae posuit; / curante Ae/lio Iuliano /fl(amine) p(erpetuo), cura/tore r(ei) p(ublicae)*
Thamugadi (364–367)- AE 1913, 25 = Bassignano 1974, 289–290	$\frac{P}{A\,W}$/ *coloni colonie / Marchiane Traiane* (sic) / *Thamogadiensis /Elio Iuliano fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo), presidali, / ob reparationem civitatis / ordo et populus / tabula patronatus / obtulerunt*
Theveste (493–494)- *AE*1930, 88 = *Tablettes Albertini* XXI, 4 = Bassignano 1974, 313 The expression *flamen perpetuus* is also recorded in the Tablettes Albertini III, 6–7; IV, 5; VI, 5; VII, 5; VIII, 5; IX, 5; XII, 5; XV, 5; XVIII, 5; XXIV; 4	*Anno decimo dom(ini) reg(is) Ginttabundi, sub die V idus maias, ben/dentibus Adeudata et Innulus filius eius ex culturis suis Mancianis [f]u[n]/do Tuletianensis sub dominio Flabi G(emini) Catullini flam(inis) p(er)p(etui) in locis et bocabul/is locus qui adpellatur*
Theveste (493–494) – *AE*1952, 209 = *Tablettes Albertini* X, 3 = Bassignano 1974, 313 The expression Flamen in perpetuum is also recorded in the *Tablettes Albertini* XIII, 4; XIV, 3; XVII, 4; XIX, 5; XX, 3–4; XXII, 2; XXIII, 4	*Anno decimo domini regis Guntamun(di) sub diem II nonos Martias, bend/entibus Iulius Quintianus et Gilesa uxor eius ex culturis suis Mancianis / in fundo Tuletianensis sub dominio Fl(avii) Gem(inii) Catullini fl(aminis) in perpetum in locis et / vocabulis suis locus qui appellatur .....*
Thibica (364–378) – *CIL* VIII, 768 = 12231= Bassignano 1974, 213	*[D(omino) n(ostro) Imp(eratori) / Fl(avio) Valent]i [Au]g(usto) / perpetuo / Helvius / Tertullus / fl(amen) perpetuu[s], / cur(ator) reipublicae, / cum ordine devo [t]u[s] / numini maiestati[q(ue) / e]iu[s] [Beatissimo saeculo d(ominorum)] n(ostrorum) C [onstanti Pii Fel]ici[s maxim]i / [et invictissimi*

Thuburbo Maius (361) - *AE* 1916, 88 = *ILAf* 273 b = Bassignano 1974, 169	*Augusti] et Iuli[ani no]bil[issimi] Cae[saris, / pro]co[ns]ulatu Clo[di H]ermogenian[i, v(iri) C(larissimi), p]roconsulis [p(rovinciae) A(fricae), et le]gatione [Crepe]rei /Optatiani v(iri) c(larissimi), leg(ati) Karthag(ine), [t]hermas [aes]tivales po[s]t ann[os solidos] octo / i[n]tra septimum mensem, a[d]iectis omnibus perfectis[que] cuncti[s, / qu]ibus lavacra ind[i]gebant, Ann[i]us Namptoivius* (sic) *fl(a)m(en) [p(er)]p(etuus), / iurisconsultus, magister st[udiorum], cur(ator) rei p(ublicae) cum Thub[ur]bi[t]anae / [u]rbis ordine amplissim[o c]unct]a[que eius plebe / [per]fecit, excoluit, dedicavit*
Thubursicu Numidarum (355–360) – *ILAlg* I, 1275 = Bassignano 1974, 156 = Saastamoinen 2010, n° 719, 503	*[Felicissimo saeculo d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Constanti victoris ac triumphatoris semper Aug(usti) et Iuliani nobilissim]i ac b<a>eatissimi Caes(aris), forum [---] temporis incuria vel [---] penitus [corruptum? / --- Thubur]sicensibus hoc loco resti[tutum est; curantibus?---]to Fest[ian]o et Postumio[---] flaminibu[s perpetuis]*
Thubursicu Numidarum – (361–362) – *AE*1916, 98 = *ILAlg.* I, 1286 = Bassignano 1974, 157	*[---] amoris [--- / ob i]nstitutionem fori novi / [F]lavio Atilio Theodoto v(iro) c(larissimo), / praefecto aerari populi R(omani), /legato provinciae Numidiae, / ordo et populus Thubursicen/sium, imposito signo, addens / operi decus, auctori Commodi / liberalitate Furi Regini fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui) / hoc carissimo retentat / adfectu*
Thubursicu Numidarum (4th c.) – *AE*1917–18, 35 = *ILAlg* I, 1296 = Bassignano 1974, 157	*[E]gnatulei / [Na]vigium Egnatuleium / [Po]mpeium fl(aminem) p(er)p(etuum), bonum / [ci]vem, et propter uni/[v]ersa officiorum in / patriam et cives fide/lissima ac sedula offi/cia omnium superior/rum ac presentium / amorem pr<a>ecurren/tem, ordo sanctissimus / ac florentissimus popu/lus in unum concinens / Thubursicensium Nu/midarum post tabula[e] / dationem, qua eum si/bi debitum iandudum / locum adscribi fecit, / etiam huius statuae pe/renni gratia, ut volu/it, prosecutus est feliciter*
Thubursicu Numidarum (4th c.) – *ILAlg* I, 1298 = Bassignano 1974, 157	*Sallustiae / Nobili flam(inicae) / perp(etuae) / curiales / ob merita / eius [aere] / co[nlato?] . . . . . .*
Thugga (378–383) – *AE* 1925, n.31 = *ILTun* 1500 = *ILAfr* 533 = Bassignano 1974, 192	*Atrium therma[rum Lic]inianarum ab antiquis c[oe]ptum excep/toriis in eodem loco su[biectis]quod imperfecto opere corruptum adque /ruderibus foedatum [erat ---]dius Honoratianus fl(amen) p(erpetuus), cur(ator) rei p(ublicae) II, [cu]m statua/ signo(que) felicissimi Fl(avi) Gr[atian]i CCCRATV opere perfecit item[que dedica]vit*
Tinfadis (375–378) – *CIL* VIII, 2216 = Bassignano 1974, 335 = Saastamoinen 2010, n°770, 514	*[Pro beatitud]ine temporu]m d(ominorum) n(ostrorum)] invictissimorum pri[ncipum Valentis, Grati]ani et Valentiniani p[erpetuorum semper Augustorum / ---] solo amminist[rante et dedicante Caelio Censorin[o, viro clarissimo, consula]r[i] VIfiscali p[rov(inciae) Numidiae Constantinae, / ---] ta a patria s[ua ---et] Victor fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus) sua [industria ---et] proprio sumtu (sic) feceru[nt]*

Uchi Maius (383) = AE 1908, 265 = *CIL* VIII, 26267 = Bassignano 1974, 212 = Saastamoinen 2010, n°279(a), 442 and n° 772, 519	*Sex(tus) Pullaienus Florus Caeci[lianus --- fecit] / et Uchitanis Maioribus dono [dedit]. / Salvis d(ominis) n(ostris) Va[l]entiniano, Theodosio maxi dono [dedit]. /Salvis d(ominis) n(ostris) Va[l]entiniano, Theodosio maxim(is?)que principibus, proco[nsulatu ---] / Furius Victor[i]nus flam(en) p(er)p(etuus), avito honore suffultus, hac liberalitate potio[r---]*
Uppenna (end 4th – 5th c. AD or later), *CIL* VIII, 23045 = *ILCV* 389 b = *ILTun* 222 = Bassignano 1974, 96	P A|W / *Iulius / Hono/rius / fl(a)m(en) / p(er)p(etuus) in / pace / bixit / annis / LXII*
Uzappa – (three possible dates: 337–340; 367–395; 402–408) – *CIL* VIII, 11932 = Bassignano 1974, 95 = Saastamoinen 2010, n°814, 520	*[--- invic]tissimorum semper Auggg(ustorum) [---] | [---]IISE[---]IL vetustate conlapsam ob [---] / [--- ob amorem?] civicum et erga se honorem fl(amoni) p(er)p(etui) conlatum iudicantiqu[e ---] / [---] Q. Avidio Felicio consulari provinc(iae) Byz(acenae) L. [Av?]idius +[---]*
Vallis (408–423) – *ILTun* 1279 = *CIL* VIII 1283 = Bassignano 1974, 163 = Saastamoinen 2010, n°819, 521	*[---]s curiaeq(ue?) [---]l[---] porticus [--]da Vera Car [--]v[-- /d(ominorum) n(ostrorum] Honori et Theodosi p(er)p(etuorum) Aug(ustorum) ex eorum largitate / [at]que deductae sunt , administrante ac dedican[te /--- curan]te L(ucio) Geminio Ianuario v(iro) h(onesto), fl(amine) p(er)p(etuo)*
Aurelia Vina (4th c. based on the form and content of the inscription) – *CIL* VIII, 962 = 12440 = *ILA* 321 = Bassignano 1974, 179	*[---] admini[stran]/tibus d(ivino) [m(andatu)] (illo) / v(iro) c(larissimo), amp(lissimo) pr[oc(on)s(ule) prov(inciae) Afr(icae)] / et Alexand[ro] / p(rimi) o(rdinis) c(omite) ag(ente) v(ices) p(raefectorum) p(raetorio) I[---]/nus f(lamen) p(er)p(etuus) ex [cur(atore)] / r(ei) p(ublicae) ad [exornat(ionem)] / thermarum/ posu[it. D(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)]*
Zattara (340–350) – CIL VIII, 5178 = ILAlg, I, 534 = Bassignano 1974, 311	*[Pro felicitate] beatissimi sae[culi] d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Constanti et Con[st]antis ma[ximorum] semper Aug(ustorum), opus fo[ri --- sp]atio usque ad rect[--- Ta]nnonius Felix / [flamen per]petuus, curat[or rei pub]lica Zatt(arensis), porticu[---] et rostris, [devotus numini maiest]atique eorum, [exornavi?]t [idemque] de[dicavit]*

APPENDIX 2

1. Basilica I in the forum of Sabratha

The building was originally excavated by Bartoccini but the detailed report of the results has never been published.[1] Ward-Perkins and Goodchild excavated some trenches between 1948 and 1951, of which they gave a preliminary account in the article on Christian Antiquities in Tripolitania published in 1953. A more detailed report of their excavations was published in 1986 by Philip Kenrick, who added further comments and new analysis, though he was unable to visit the monument while preparing the publication.[2] Some of the points considered in the book were reviewed by Noël Duval (1987) and by Tim Potter (1987). All the scholars who analysed the complex raised several issues, highlighting the problems of understanding the monument and its phases, in the absence of a detailed excavation report.

A recent visit by the Author to the site has allowed for further reconsideration.[3] The later phases of the building, especially the two phases of the church, which are important for understanding the transformation that took place in Late Antiquity and shifted the function of the monument from secular to religious, are particularly problematic. Clarifying the evidence is important in order to discuss the style and decoration of the church. Therefore, a general summary of the main points on the phases of the building will first be provided. In discussing and reconsidering the various phases of the basilica the periodization by Philip Kenrick (1986) will be used, with some new interpretations based on more recently recorded evidence.

Phases I–III: The civic basilica

1. Phase I is dated to the Flavian period. The building was characterized by a colonnaded rectangular area with porticoes, with the main entrance to the

[1] The publication was announced, but probably left incomplete due to the death of Bartoccini in 1964. A short account is contained in the guide on Sabratha that Bartoccini published in 1927.

[2] Pers. Comm. I am grateful to Philip Kenrick for his precious information during the elaboration of this text.

[3] Thanks to Dr Salah Al Alhasi and Dr Muftah Haddad, and also Mr Mabruk Zenati and Mr Mohammed Hmeadi who facilitated access to the site.

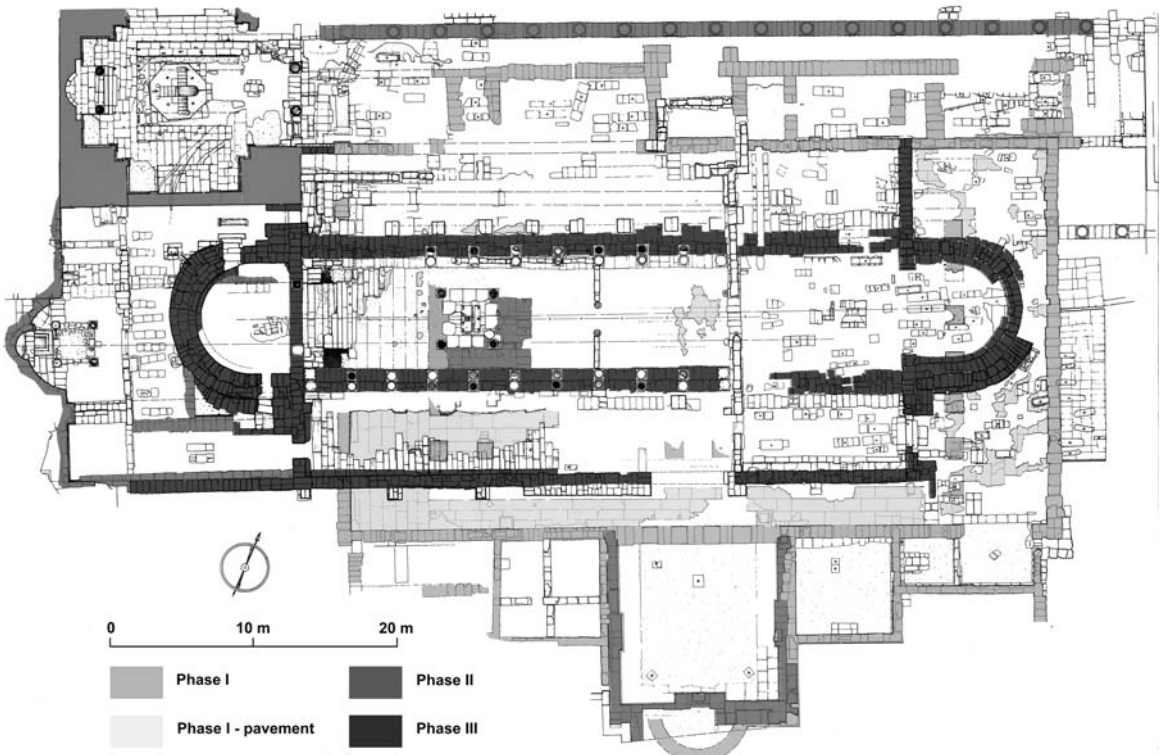

Fig. 42. Sabratha, Basilica I, map—Phases I–III

north. On the opposite side there was an apsed room (*tribunal*) flanked by two smaller ones[4] (Fig. 42).

2. Phase II of the civil basilica has been dated in connection with the building of the south forum temple, between AD 166 and 186. Against the west colonnade a platform was set up to serve as a statue base. The south tribunal was transformed, and its apse removed, due to the construction of the south temple. The *tabernae* to the north of the basilica were demolished. On the west, the external area of Basilica I was extended with an open area and an apsed room. A cruciform room was built, although its function is not yet understood. In the square of the forum a new southern portico was built (Fig. 42).

3. Phase III was the final transformation of the civil basilica (Fig. 42).[5] The model clearly recalls the double-apsed Severan basilica at Lepcis Magna. The new structure re-employed the northern perimeter wall that belonged to phase I, while to the south a new perimeter wall was built aligned with the wall on the west extension. The main access was from the north. In this phase, the west apse was elevated with a staircase to provide access to the external southern section. More difficult is the understanding of the setting of the main colonnade inside the building, probably characterized by two central lines of twelve columns, founded on quadrangular bases (intracolumnation 3.17 m; width of the central nave 12.40 m).[6] This interpretation, however, has some difficulties. The quadrangular foundations (supposedly supporting the columns) do not continue east of the wall of the later church (up to the eastern apse of the basilica; in fact, the second apse in this reconstruction should belong to this phase). It appears that the continuous stylobate may have instead been used to support the colonnade (that is instead traditionally attributed to the next phase, Phase IIIB) with the width of the nave measuring 9.80 m. These stylobates run parallel from the western apse to the eastern apse and probably served as a foundation for the columns that decorated this double-apsed civic basilica.[7] Dating this phase

[4] Kenrick 1986, 74–5.

[5] Kenrick 1986, 79, and Joly and Tommasello 1984, 104. The chronology was also confirmed by the finds to the north of the apse of the west extension, although these are not documented by drawings. Excavators suggested a chronology of the second half of the 2nd c. This same chronology has been put forth for Phase III of the forum. Finally, the 2nd-c. chronology appears to be supported by the pottery dated to the early 3rd c. and a coin dated AD 270–80 found under the floor in connection with the east/west wall below the west apse of the Phase III basilica (Kenrick 1986, 80). Ward-Perkins dated the base of a statue from a coin of Constantius II (AD 347–8) found in the excavation, while Kenrick, in reconsidering the data from the excavation, believes the coin to be intrusive (Kenrick 1986, 80). These finds offer a terminus ante quem for the construction.

[6] Kenrick 1986, 86.

[7] The problem of the foundations is already observed correctly by Kenrick 1986, 82. Moreover, Philip Kenrick hypothesizes that the columns and capitals of the

appears particularly difficult in the absence of specific stratigraphical data. The evident similarity to the Severan basilica in Lepcis Magna could indicate a contemporary construction, or perhaps immediately subsequent. However, the nature of the data makes it tricky to interpret. Ward-Perkins suggests a rather late chronology on the basis of a coin of Constantius II (AD 347–8) found under the altar, and considers it as a *terminus post quem* for this phase of the monument, but Kenrick suggests that the 4th-century coin find is intrusive. Still, actual accepted knowledge points to a construction date of the double-apsed civic basilica that seems to fall in the second half of the 4th century.[8]

Phases IV–V: The church (Figs. 43 and 44)

4. The traditional interpretation suggested by John Ward-Perkins and Richard Goodchild after their excavation is that the building of the first church required a complete transformation of the double-apsed basilica with the narrowing of the central nave (to 9.80 m) and the building of stylobates along the entire length.[9] The width of the stylobates suggests that they were designed to support double columns. According to Kenrick, steps to reach the apse in the central nave were added and a high-status tomb in the west apse is also linked to this phase.[10] The interpretation proposed by Alec Daykin, that this phase was characterized by the complete reuse of the double-apsed basilica for Christian functions, is generally accepted.[11]

colonnade of Phase III were completely reused. The material comes from storage in the basement of the *Capitolium* as 'the depth of the soil which had accumulated above the south forum temple by the Byzantine period suggests strongly that the removal of building materials had taken place long before then' (Kenrick 1986, 81).

[8] In general the *terminus ante quem* suggested by Ward-Perkins (in Kenrick's book, see below) is not later than the second quarter of the 5th c. His interpretation was based on the Christian inscriptions found in the area surrounding the church; he suggested that these had to be ascribed to the 5th c. Kenrick rightly questions the validity of this assumption and accepts the Byzantine chronology provided by N. Duval (Kenrick 1986, 84) and he writes instead that radical change, together with structural alterations and the reuse of building materials, point to a date after the earthquake of AD 365 (Kenrick 1986, 80–1; although in recent studies the impact of the earthquacke in this territory has been questioned: see Ch. 3 n. 104 and Ch. 2 n. 3). In support of his hypothesis, he mentions that the mosaic in the west apse is similar to the one in the *curia*, which was rebuilt in AD 368. Only further excavations can clarify the situation, but the argument in favour of the second half of the 4th c. for this rebuilding seems currently to be the most convincing.

[9] Kenrick 1986, 84.

[10] Kenrick 1986, 85. Ward-Perkins mentions the finds of a ring never identified by Kenrick or later recovered.

[11] The notice is given in Kenrick 1986, as the thesis is currently not visible.

On a recent revisit to the monument by the Author, a surface analysis of the standing structures demonstrated that there are generally two problems with this interpretation. As indicated above, the stylobates extend from apse to apse and the quadrangular foundations for the column bases (that were traditionally placed in the earlier phase) appeared to be later than the continuous stylobate (suggested as belonging to Phase III of the basilica). In fact at two points the northern continuous stylobate crosses and it is cut by the quadrangular foundations. Moreover, these foundations are well preserved on the northern side of the nave but do not appear to continue outside the façade of the church to reach the apse on the other side, suggesting that they were intentionally put in place in this phase for the building of the first church[12] (Fig. 43).

This indicates that the second apse was never part of the church (either in the first or second phase of the religious complex) and the façade wall of the church was the same in both phases of the Christian monument (although it was readjusted owing to the reduction in width of the naves that characterized the second phase of the church).[13] The space between the façade of the church and the eastern apse could have been covered in this phase by two symmetrical porticoes that reused as a foundation the continuous stylobates, which were part of the double-apsed basilica in Phase III. The existence of a central open area in this eastern sector in front of the church is also suggested by the presence of an underground drainage system that runs from the edge of the northern portico to the southern portico of the forum. It is possible that it served as an atrium[14] to the church and that it was dismantled in the second phase of the church to become a cemetery. In this phase the buttresses of the external southern wall were added.

The chronology of this first phase of the church has long been debated, but the 6th century is suggested, based on the inscriptions found in the area outside of the church.[15] An obstacle to this later chronology may be the presence of the baptistery behind the main apse of the church. This layout (at least in Tunisia) appears to be a common 5th-century feature.[16] If the church was built in the 5th century, this will confirm that the practice of recycling materials in new constructions also existed in the Vandal period, as already suggested for the basilica of Hildeguns in Mactaris (see Chapter 5).

[12] To the East of the façade are visible two foundations different from the quadrangular ones of the square pillars of the naves. The presence of a north–south drainage in this phase suggests the existence of an open space between the two porticoes.

[13] The question of whether the square room in the north-eastern corner belonged to this phase remains open: only clearing the area and further analysis will resolve this issue.

[14] Testini 1980, 562, and Picard, J. C. 1998, 128–9.

[15] See above, n. 8.

[16] Ghalia 2002, 214. Duval 1987 also suggests that the church might have been Arian, built in the Vandal period.

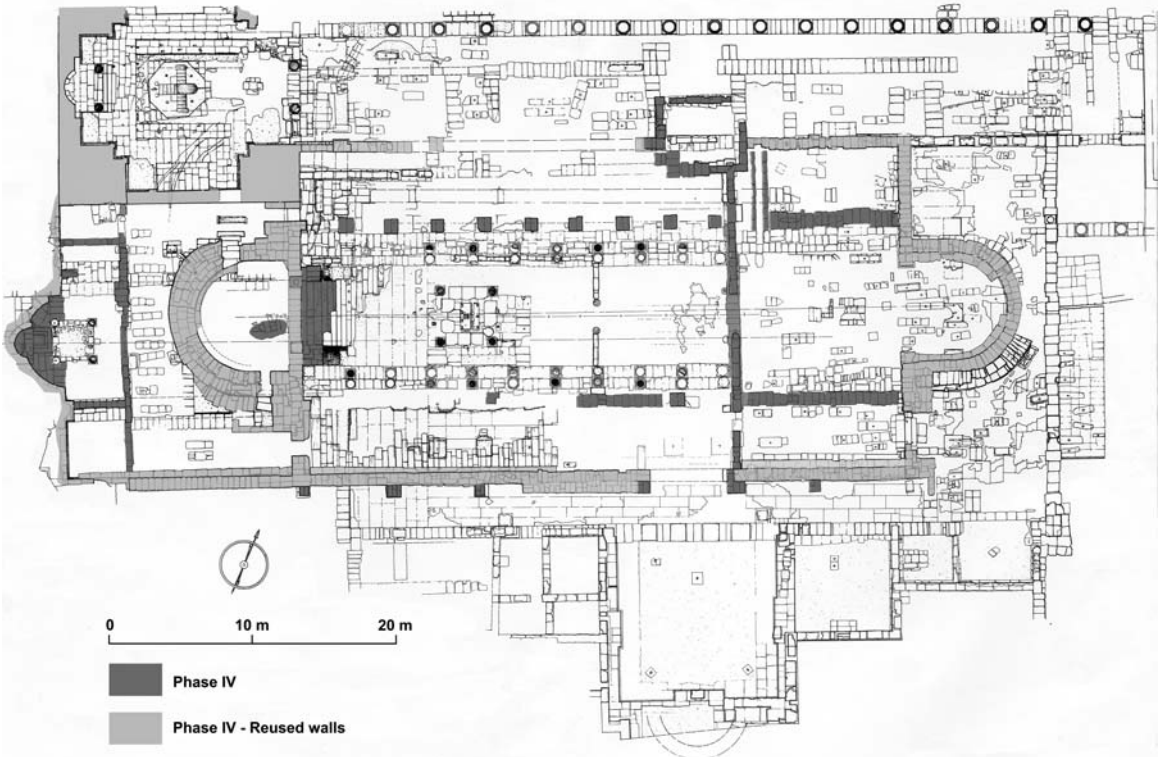

Fig. 43. Sabratha, Basilica I, map—Phase IV

5. The second phase of the church has been dated to the Justinianic period, in connection with the building of the nearby Basilica II. A reduction of the width with a new northern wall may have occurred (Fig. 44). The central nave was resized to 9.70 m; the southern colonnade remained where it was originally located; and the northern colonnade was moved to the south with the building of a new stylobate in blocks butting up to the northern one. The baptistery in the western extension was filled and sealed, and replaced by an altar under a canopy of four columns.[17] According to Kenrick the square room to the north-east was built in this phase and the whole church was repaved with cipollino columns cut into slabs. This phase also saw the super-elevation of the altar under the *ciborium* with reused column bases; the monumentalization of the stairs to the apse in reused marble;[18] the decoration of the elevated apse with reused pilasters (one of which was found preserved in the marble storeroom in the basement of the *Capitolium*, created in antiquity); and the construction of the stairs that cut across the western apse to the north. In this phase the building was transformed to include a cruciform baptistery and a podium for a cathedra or an altar.[19]

Looking at the recent reanalysis, instead, it appears that the colonnades were transferred, reusing in part the continuous stylobate from Phase III of the basilica (the stylobate was built for the double-apsed civil basilica and it was now reused in this second phase of the church), and that the width of the northern nave was reduced in size by the construction of a new wall. The naves were decorated with twin columns in this phase, as suggested by the large stylobate, and the eastern façade was probably remodelled to fit into the open space according to the adjusted axes of the new church.

This phase was therefore characterized by substantial transformation, which would have required new building material, since the columns were doubled.

Overall, the data considered indicate that the church was probably re-monumentalized, perhaps after the Justinianic church was built. The church became a major religious focus in town, having acquired a funerary function and a martyrial cult, with two foci: one under the altar, and the other in the area of the former baptistery. The martyrial cult probably made the church the most important one in the urban area, and it was therefore refurbished and rebuilt in a more monumental form, which required the use of marble on

[17] Kenrick 1986, 85–6.

[18] It seems that in their first phase the steps were in limestone blocks and only later covered with marble.

[19] Kenrick 1986, 85–7. The baptistery is cruciform, but one of the arms is apsed with a small fountain. On the idea that the baptistery was relocated to follow a layout commonly recorded in North Africa in the 5th c. and 6th c. see Bonacasa Carra 2003–4, 40–1.

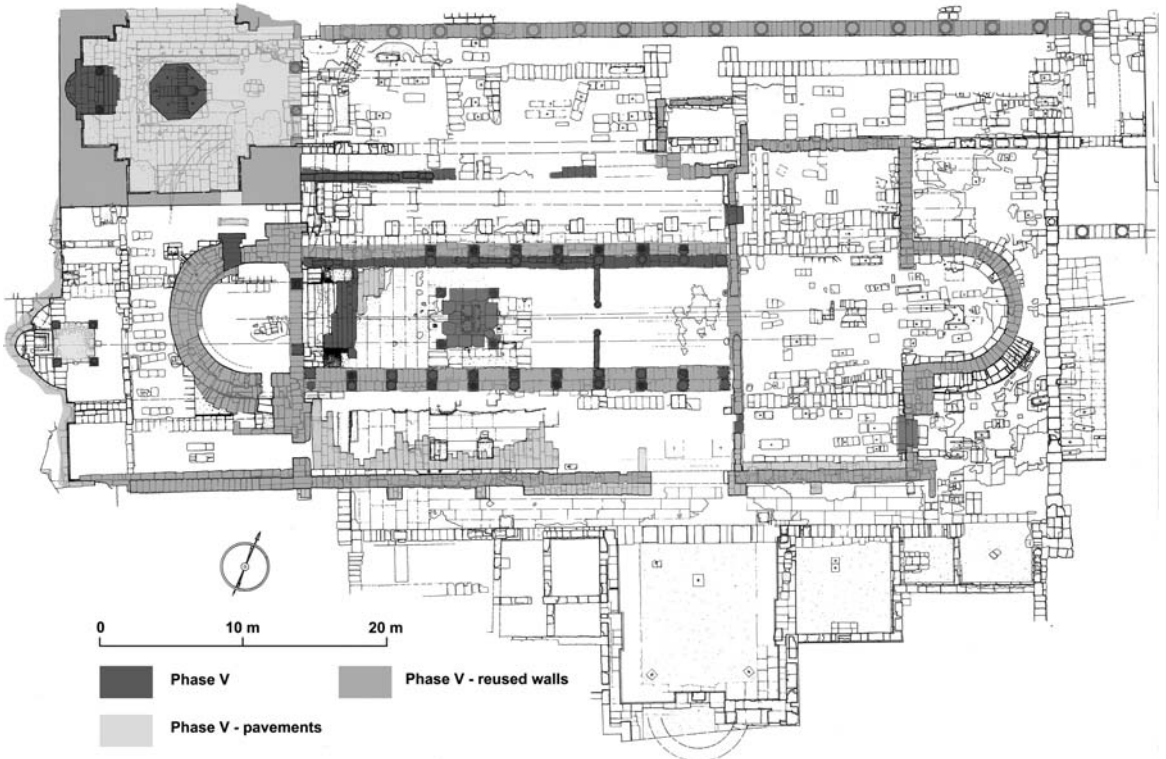

Fig. 44. Sabratha, Basilica I, map—Phase V

the staircases and the monumentalization of the baptistery.[20] The orientation of the church in both its phases contrasts with the so-called Justinianic basilica or Basilica II, built in the forum along the coast. Basilica I was not reorientated in the Byzantine period to match the nearby Justinianic basilica. It is possible that the first phase of the church was built at the beginning of the Byzantine period, before the large monumental Justinian basilica was completed, to establish the Byzantine presence.[21] The recent analysis suggests that the building of the new church required considerable intervention. The porticoes on the front of the church may have been restored, and the church was provided with a new façade and a new internal colonnade that also required the foundation of new column bases (twelve square bases laid down to support the columns). This would have been perhaps the first Byzantine church set up in Sabratha, before the completion of the more monumental Justinianic basilica. The intent may have been to have it as a building for use during this transitional phase. The doubling of the internal colonnade also indicates that the area was still rich in reusable material available immediately after the Byzantine conquest.

2. Spolia and reuse in Basilica I at Sabratha

The reconsideration of the two phases of the church constituted an essential preliminary step towards the analysis of the reused material inside the building, with the aim of reconstructing the processes of their acquisition and display. The focus is on the decoration of the last phase (which nevertheless is only partially preserved), since decorative elements from the first phase of the church cannot be dated accurately (although it is thought that the

[20] Duval (1987, 289), referring to this phase, highlights the substantial transformations and questions why the basilica was not reoriented. This was certainly not related to the presence of the baptistery, and was probably more a problem of access or connection to the original site of installation from which the relics were venerated. The chapel built above the old baptistery is certainly a *martyrium* and explains the function of the north-east room. According to Duval this church remained the most important in the city throughout the Byzantine period. Referring to the altar, Duval (1987, 286) says that since it has seven feet it was probably a *sigma* table and the reliquary placed to the west, which suggests that the priest was on that side looking at the people.

[21] Duval 1971*c*, 293. In support of this chronology Basilica II of Vitalis in Sufetula can be mentioned. It has the baptistery in a similar location to the one at Sabratha, but it only has two arms and four columns. Duval suggests a chronology for the baptistery of the end of the 5th c. at the beginning of the Byzantine period, based on the inscription of Vitalis.

same material was reused with the addition of other material to obtain a double internal colonnade) and are difficult to single out. A further phase, probably dated to the early Islamic occupation, is still visible in the reused road-slab floor; this is probably connected to the period in which the church went out of use after the Islamic conquest.

The following architectural elements have been recycled in the building, all available locally.

Capitals

Capitals decorated the internal colonnade and the *ciborium*, the canopy built above the first baptistery, and the columns displayed at the entrance to the new baptistery. No substantial variation can be found in their dimensions, apart from those decorating the first baptistery, which were significantly smaller, behind the apse of the Christian basilica. All the capitals reused in the church are Corinthian. In particular, the external columns on the sixth and eighth rows (from the apse) on the southern colonnade (Figs. 45.1 and 45.2) and the internal column of the third row in the northern colonnade (Fig. 46) are similar to the internal column of

Fig. 45.1. Sabratha, Basilica I, capital in the nave

Fig. 45.2. Sabratha, Basilica I, capital in the nave

Fig. 46. Sabratha, Basilica I, capital in the nave

Fig. 47. Sabratha, Basilica I, capital in the nave

the first row in the southern colonnade (Fig. 47). Particularly significant is that the latter represents an eagle. These four all have the internal helix in relief, whereas all the others have a very thin helix. The capitals placed at the end of two colonnades were reused as a base for the colonnade. Capitals located in the *ciborium* (Fig. 48; the other is too fragmentary) and the colonnade have very different *caulicoli*, suggesting that they probably came from different buildings. The two capitals on the pillars placed on both sides of the apse are Corinthian and can be generally dated to the Severan period, recycled in the second phase of the church. They were probably part of the civic basilica and possibly, as suggested by Daykin, they decorated the cruciform room of the complex (possibly originally used for the imperial cult) which was later transformed into the baptistery.

Fig. 48. Sabratha, Basilica I, capital in the nave

Pilasters

The two pilasters, located on both sides of the elevated apse of the church, were reused from the previous buildings. The type of peopled scrolls has been attributed to workmen from Aphrodisias.[22]

Columns

All the columns in the church and those in the Antonine temple and the southern temple have been measured, and are of roughly the same height, between 1.61 and 1.68 m. Only half of the columns in the church (seven in total) correspond in size to those of the nearby temples in the forum. The other two groups of columns, instead, are both larger and smaller and therefore of a different origin, although a specific provenance is difficult to determine. The largest group measures 1.44 m high, including the cipollino

[22] For some general comments see Bonacasa Carra 2003–4, 4.

column from the canopy of the altar built above the first baptistery, the two columns located at the entrance of the baptistery, and one in the colonnade. All of the reused columns are made from cipollino marble.[23]

Column bases

Fifteen of the thirty-two bases from the church in Basilica I are comparable in size with those in the Antonine baths and the south temples (variability of the plinth is between 18 and 21 cm). There is a group of seventeen homogeneous column bases and it includes a large number of those that were reused (twelve out of sixteen) upside down, as an elevated platform for the altar.

Other material reused in the building

A number of other architectural elements have been found in the complex. They are in general large decorated blocks, well preserved, scattered around the building. For instance, in one wall of the building three large slabs with reliefs (of elephants?) were found, hammered in preparation for reuse in the church and probably constituting recycled material (Fig. 49).[24] Although this

Fig. 49. Sabratha Basilica I, sculpted relief hammered

[23] All the columns have been measured at the lower shaft.

[24] Bartoccini 1964, 29. He suggests that the three blocks represented a *thiasos*, celebrating Bacchus, and that the blocks were chiselled out for reuse in a secular—not pagan—building. He suggests that this was originally part of the decoration of the nearby temple of the *Liber Pater* that was restored between AD 340 and 350. In a more recent analysis Bonacasa N. (1996, 58) suggests instead that the blocks may have been the basis of a large statuary group or an equestrian monument, probably located in the forum.

case indicates the presence of reused materials in standing walls, it is impossible to gather information on their original location within the building.[25]

Other architectural elements (certainly *in situ*), are reused in the steps that reach the main apse from the central nave of the church, located at the entrance of the courtyard in front of the church going to the apse, and running from the apse to the baptistery. The blocks are all in white marble and some are decorated with vegetal elements, one decorated pilaster was cut in two, to be reused. It can be argued that all these worked stones came from the same construction project (the civic basilica), as suggested by Daykin.[26]

[25] The lack of this information prevents us from advancing discussion on the possible symbolic reuse of the materials.

[26] He also proposed a reconstruction of the cruciform building in its original form.

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