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RECONSIDERING THE AQUINCUM *MACELLUM*: ANALOGIES AND ORIGINS

1. INTRODUCTION

The function of the majority of the Roman buildings in the Civil Town of Aquincum – aside from the, more or less, easily recognizable bath-buildings and the market building or *macellum* last. This unknown structure was first excavated between 1882 and 1884, and thanks to its typical ground-plan soon came to the foreground of archaeological research (*Fig. 1*). Although the market has only been excavated 5 times over the more than 100 years of excavations in the Civil Town, several attempts have been made to reconstruct it and interpret the function of its various rooms based on hypotheses and analogies from similar structures elsewhere in the Roman Empire. The real breakthrough came in 1965, when control excavations were carried out within the complex, although the find material remains unpublished to the present day.

This example, that is, the lack of periodization for the building and the unanalyzed material clearly demonstrates the problems involved in the research on the Roman town of Aquincum: without knowledge of the architectural phases, contexts and finds we can not put together an authentic picture of the history of the settlement. To this slowly developing mosaic-picture, we would like to contribute a tiny piece, the complete examination of the *macellum*. This work was carried out within the framework of the writer's diploma work, which on one hand included the research history of the building, and – as one of the main goals, – the evaluation of the results of the 1965-year excavation, and thus, the periodization of the complex. Our intention was also to discover how this market-building compares to other *macella* in the Roman Empire. The possible reasons behind similarities will be briefly considered.

The present article is chiefly concerned with analogies to the Aquincum market-place. All market-buildings with analogous ground-plans, anywhere in the Empire are considered in a search for its closest parallels in an attempt to categorize the Aquincum *macellum*. At the same time, I hope to come closer to its origins and the possible builder as well, based mainly on inscriptions. As this article is not intended as an epigraphical type of work, these will only be dealt with in general. Similarly, less emphasis will be placed on the find material from the 1965 excavations which will be published separately.

By examining the building history of the Aquincum *macellum* and its place among other buildings of the same type in the Roman Empire, will hopefully enable us to have a more accurate picture of what it looked like, how it functioned and how this particular building in the heart of the Aquincum Civil Town fits into the history and the archaeological heritage of Roman Aquincum.

2. METHODOLOGY

In order to study the Aquincum *macellum*, its research history from 1882 up to 1965, was examined, together with all the attempts at reconstruction and all the other hypotheses concerning its construction. In connection with the latter, an account will be given of the architectural phases of the building, based on the latest, 1965-year excavation results. Some consequences can be drawn from these results as well.

The next chapter is dedicated to the general meaning and etymology of the word “*macellum*” reviewing the different opinions and theories on the topic. This was considered important to come closer to the way Romans themselves conceived of this particular type of construction.

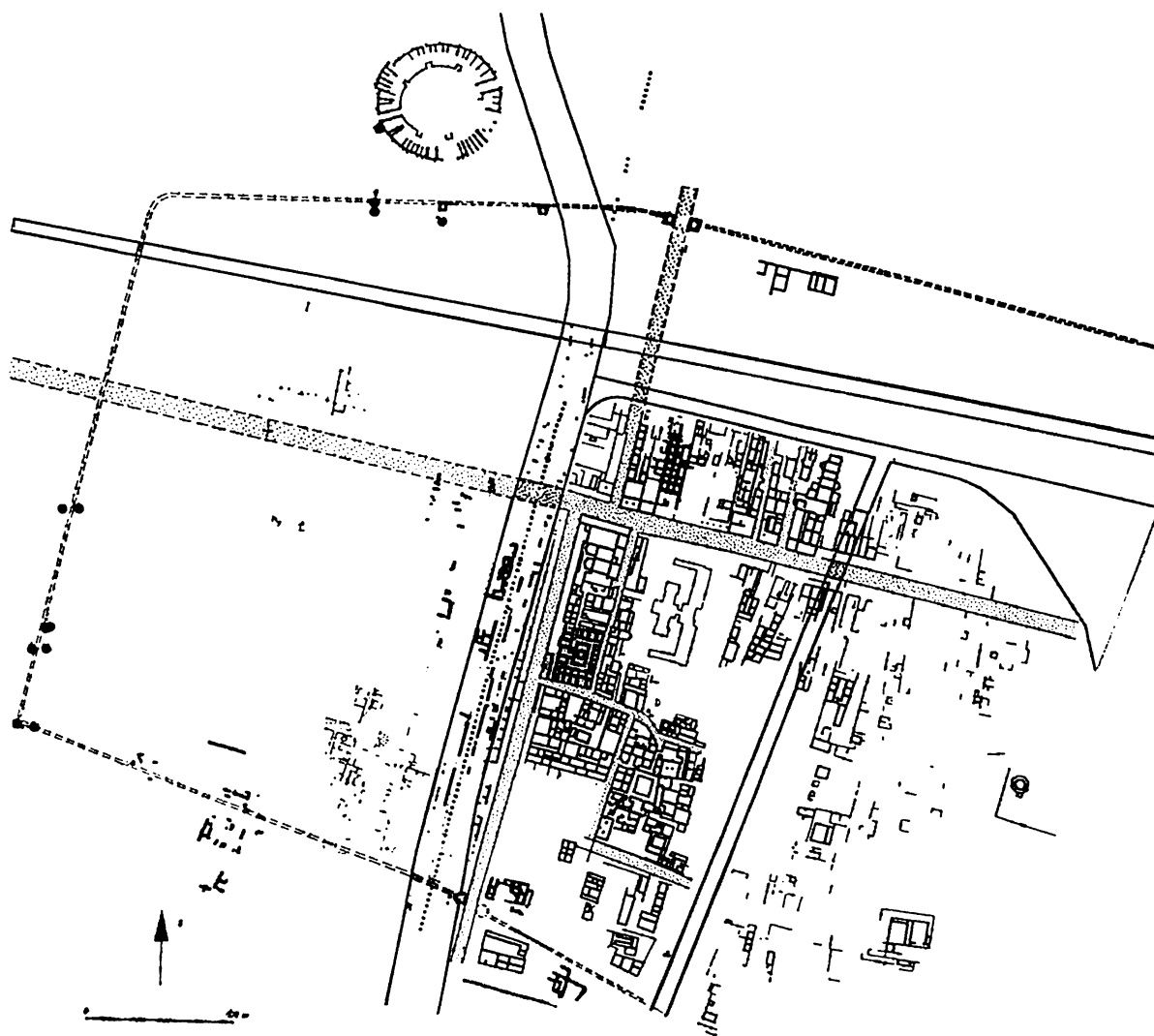


Fig. 1. Ground plan of the excavated area of the Aquincum Civil Town (BTM Aquincumi Múzeum – Collection of drawings)

A separate part deals with the archaeological categories for different *macella* in a search for the closest analogies. An attempt will be made to find the typology most useful for describing the Aquincum building.

The following chapter examines actual *macella* from anywhere in the Roman Empire, with similar ground-plans to the one in Aquincum, searching for similarities and the particular market-building which might have been the model for the Aquincum structure. This is one of the most important parts, because there is no extant epigraphical evidence for this building in Aquincum, only typology. It is only through the architectural details that we can come closer to the origin and builder of the Aquincum *macellum*.

Finally the author will offer her suggestion for who actually was responsible for the building of the Aquincum market-place.

3. THE RESEARCH HISTORY

Research of the *macellum* in Aquincum goes back more than a hundred years.

The building is situated in the southern part of the Civil Town's *cardo*. The first excavation was carried out by one of the pioneering archaeologists at Aquincum, Balint Kuzsinszky between 1882 and 1884. Most of the complex was unearthed during this campaign – as can be seen in one of the woodcuts made at that time – including the central paved court lined with *tabernae*¹ (Fig. 2). The problem is that Kuzsinszky only concentrated on the latest walls, leaving the earlier periods untouched. He found no trace of the western façade facing the *cardo*, which was already badly destroyed at that time.² His excavations, however, only extended up to the area of the *tholos* and the eastern part of the building. He also reconstructed the western part as an analogue of the eastern part (Fig. 3). This later proved to be an incorrect assumption. He also suggested that other *macella* must have existed in the town.³

In spite of these errors, Kuzsinszky's work is considered modern and detailed given the 19th century situation. He managed to identify the building as a *macellum* on the basis of analogies from Pompeii, Puteoli, Pergamon and the *dupondius* of Nero and described in architectural detail excavated *tabernae*, channels and architectural fragments, such as column-bases and capitals as well as door-constructions.⁴ Although he paid attention to the finds, particularly to the 16 weights and a fragment of a foot from a gilded statue, he did not bother much with problems of chronology or stratigraphy.

More than 40 years later in 1929, Lajos Nagy carried out excavations in the neighbourhood south of the *macellum* "in a previously excavated zone". Here, under the southern row of *tabernae* and road 'E' he found – in his words – a "ceramic-workshop" with a well and further to the southeast a cellar which perhaps belonged to the same workshop. In the vicinity, under the so-called House of the Altar to Epona, Nagy discovered a bronze smith workshop as well.⁵ The excavator documented several burnt layers in this zone. He observed that the ceramic-workshop lay "deepest" and was formed of a few rooms, serving as store-rooms, with vessels grouped in various forms: coarse ware, lamps, terracottas, Samian ware imitations and stamped Samian ware vessels (Dr. 31 and 33). He also found fragments of the so-called miniature light-houses beneath one of the southeastern *taberna* of the later *macellum*.⁶ Studying the names and stamps, Nagy came to the conclusion that the masters working here had also worked in other Aquincum workshops.⁷

With the help of coins, he dated the workshop to a time between the beginning of the AD 3rd century and AD 240. This last date was based on a new denar of Gordian III found there.⁸ Thus, according to L. Nagy the workshop was burnt down around AD 240 and later a road, the *macellum* to the north and, at the end of the 3rd century, small daub houses were constructed above the previous workshop.⁹

The other rather confusing element is the article by K. Szabó in "Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve = Handbook of Pannonian Archaeology". When describing bronze work in Pannonia she mentions finding a bronze-repairing workshop under the *macellum* of Aquincum.¹⁰ But in the work of L. Nagy cited here, the bronze smith workshop is described as a workshop "situated to the south of the *macellum*, by the main road".¹¹ Thus, this workshop must be identical to the one found under the House of the so-called Altar of Epona. It seems that we are dealing with two different features: a bronze smithing workshop found to the south of the market in 1925 and a ceramic-workshop lying beneath the southern side of the *macellum*, excavated in 1929.¹² This means that despite K. Szabó's statement, there could have been no bronze-smith workshop under the market-building in Aquincum.

¹ KUZSINSZKY 1890, 93.

² Kuzsinszky postulated that the "missing" western part lay closer to the main north-south road (*cardo*) but was earlier removed for building material. KUZSINSZKY 1890, 91.

³ This postulation has not been demonstrated so far through excavation.

⁴ KUZSINSZKY 1890, 92–95.

⁵ NAGY 1937, 263. The remains of a room with columns was also unearthed in the same area.

⁶ NAGY 1945, 173.

⁷ NAGY 1942, 635.

⁸ NAGY 1942, 635.

⁹ See note 6.

¹⁰ PRK 1990, 131.

¹¹ NAGY 1950, 538. He used the bronze smith workshop as a reference point for a glass workshop.

¹² In connection with the excavation in 1929, L. Nagy does not mention the ceramic workshop as being close to the bronze smith.



Fig. 2. Excavation of the *macellum* in Aquincum. Contemporary woodcut from the 19th century (KUZSINSZKY 1890, 93)

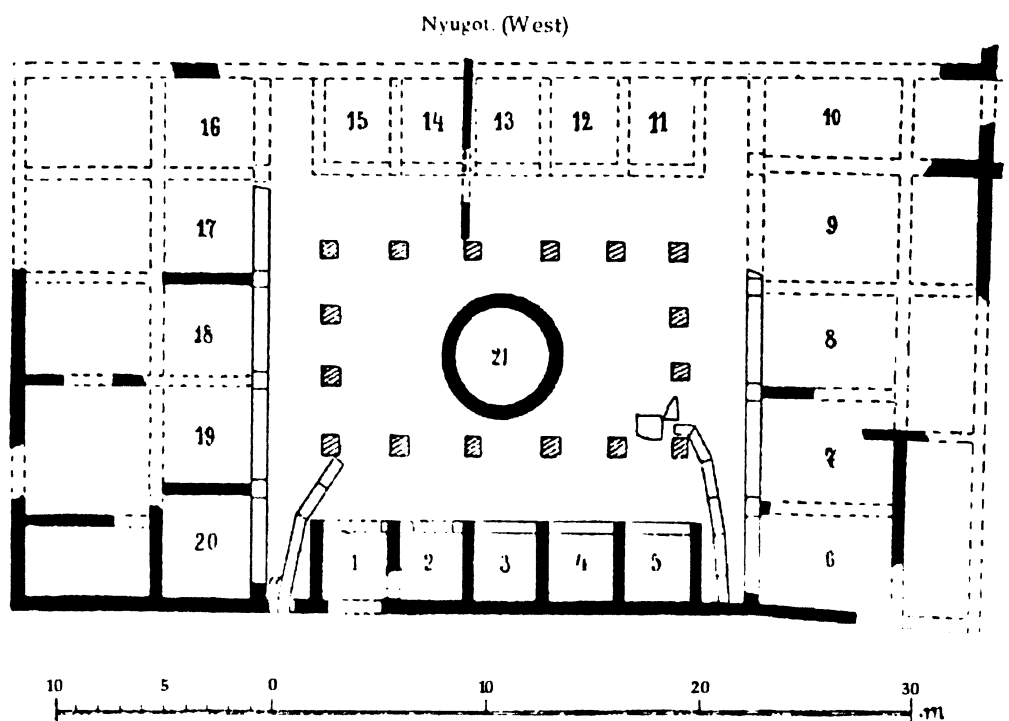


Fig. 3. Ground plan of B. Kuzsinszky's excavations in the *macellum* (KUZSINSZKY 1890, Fig. 2)

However, it still seems unlikely that a ceramic-workshop would have been situated in the heart of a Roman town, in particular, because L. Nagy found no traces of kilns. When in 1956 Klára Póczy partly published Nagy's excavation material¹³ she proposed that this is not a workshop but rather a depot beneath the later *macellum*, where all types of vessels were sold from different Aquincum workshops which was burnt down in AD 240.¹⁴ Analysing the vessel types, she also postulated that most of the material came from a workshop situated outside the northern city-wall, where archaeologists had found kilns and a workshop in 1929.¹⁵

Although the function of the rooms prior to the market-building remain unresolved, archaeologists still consider the place a workshop, which is further shown by the fact that a kiln was discovered here in 1965.¹⁶ This topic is detailed in the writer's diploma work.

Excavations in the zone of the *macellum* were interrupted for the next 25 years. In spite of the pause, numerous articles and publications dealt with the market-building, trying to identify the function of the rooms and earlier phases.

The hypothesis of E. Thomas stands out. She identified the construction prior to the *macellum* as a *palaestra* connected with the neighbouring bath building.¹⁷ But this was no more than a idea, based on a hypothetical reconstruction and on the words of Lajos Nagy who wrote: "the zone of the *macellum* was an empty space in the AD 1st century [...]"¹⁸ E. Thomas' reconstruction is rather ill conceived and as the present writer's diploma-work has shown, is completely wrong (*Fig. 4*).

The *tholos* were also interpreted in interesting ways.¹⁹ According to J. Szilágyi, the circular building in the centre of the courtyard of the market functioned as a well where fish was washed and cleaned before selling.²⁰ This opinion – obviously based on a Pompeian analogy – survived²¹ until 1962 when Klára Póczy excavated the small building and demonstrated that there was no well inside it.²²

The next step took place in 1959 when a large-scale program of ruin conservation began. The main goal of the excavation-campaign carried out between 1962 and 1967 was to throw light on the different building-phases in the Roman town. The areas pinpointed in these controlled excavations were the *basilica*, the Great Public Bath, the *macellum*, and the Double Bath. This was particularly important because the ongoing excavations since the 19th century did not bother with separating settlement phases and as a result it could happen that walls from different periods were thought to belong together.²³ One of these controlled-excavations was carried out in 1960–61, when M. Kaba worked in the "zone of the *macellum*". She discovered pits with archaeological material from Trajan's reign.²⁴ The same archaeologist worked in the *laconicum* of the Great Public Bath and further to the north, in the market, where – under its walls – voluted lamps dating to the AD 1st century were found in 1963.²⁵

At the same time, Gy. Parragi carried out excavations in the so-called Small Forum where she discovered that the walls of the AD 2nd century small *forum* were connected to the walls of the *macellum*.²⁶

The real break-through came in 1965, when controlled-excavation began on the west side of the *macellum* within the framework of the above-mentioned conservation program. The month-long excavation directed by K. Póczy and Gy. Hajnóczy brought to light rooms from the western side of the building. So far, this part had only been known from Kuzsinszky's reconstruction drawing. Earlier phases were also examined so that the correct ground plan of the building could be drawn (*Fig. 5*). Hajnóczy also made reconstruction drawings of the way he imagined the market had appeared (*Fig. 6*).

¹³ The lamps were published by SZENTLÉLEKY 1959, 181–184.

¹⁴ PÓCZY 1956, 125.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* 121.

¹⁶ PÓCZY–ZSIDI 1992, 33.

¹⁷ THOMAS 1955, 89–91.

¹⁸ This was an exaggeration, as L. Nagy only excavated the southern edge of the building

¹⁹ Until 1962, there was no further excavation work in the *tholos* after the work of Kuzsinszky who had only brought the wall-ring to light.

²⁰ SZILÁGYI 1956, 31.

²¹ NAGY–ÜRÖGDI 1963, 17.

²² Analysis of this excavation material is in progress.

²³ PÓCZY 1970, 177.

²⁴ The exact location of the excavation is not known, the material remains unpublished: Régészeti Füzetek 16, 1963, 30. (M. Kaba)

²⁵ KABA 1963, 294.

²⁶ Régészeti Füzetek 16, 1963, 30. (M. Kaba, Gy. Parragi) Unpublished.

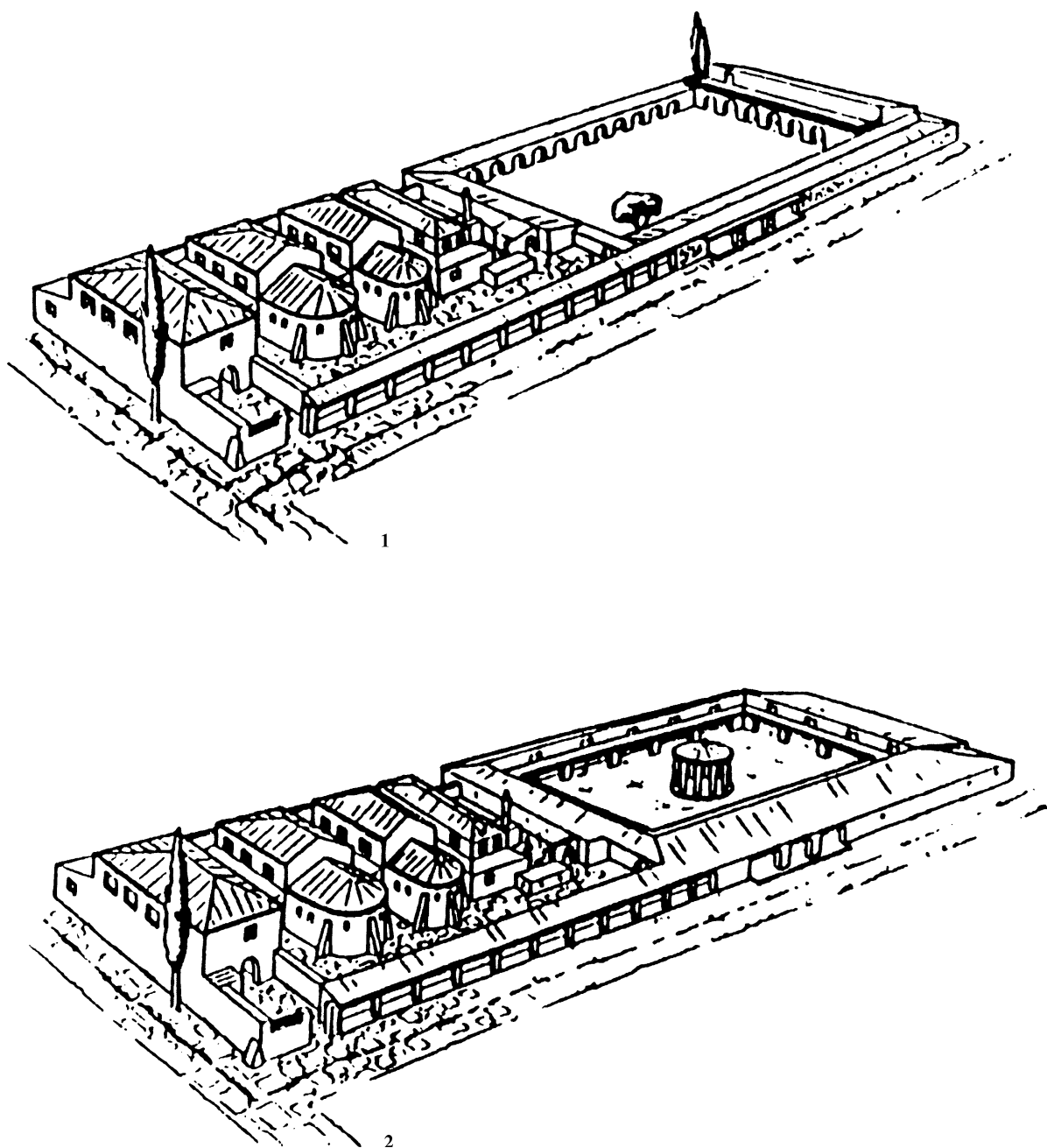


Fig. 4. Reconstruction drawing of the two periods in the area of the *macellum* by E. Thomas (THOMAS 1955, 92–93. Fig. 2)

Despite the importance of above-mentioned new data, the results of this excavation were only published in a preliminary report.²⁷ The function of the earlier building(s) was not identified nor was the material published. Neither was the question of the presence of a ceramic workshop resolved, although a kiln was discovered in 1965.

²⁷ PÓCZY 1970, 177–194.

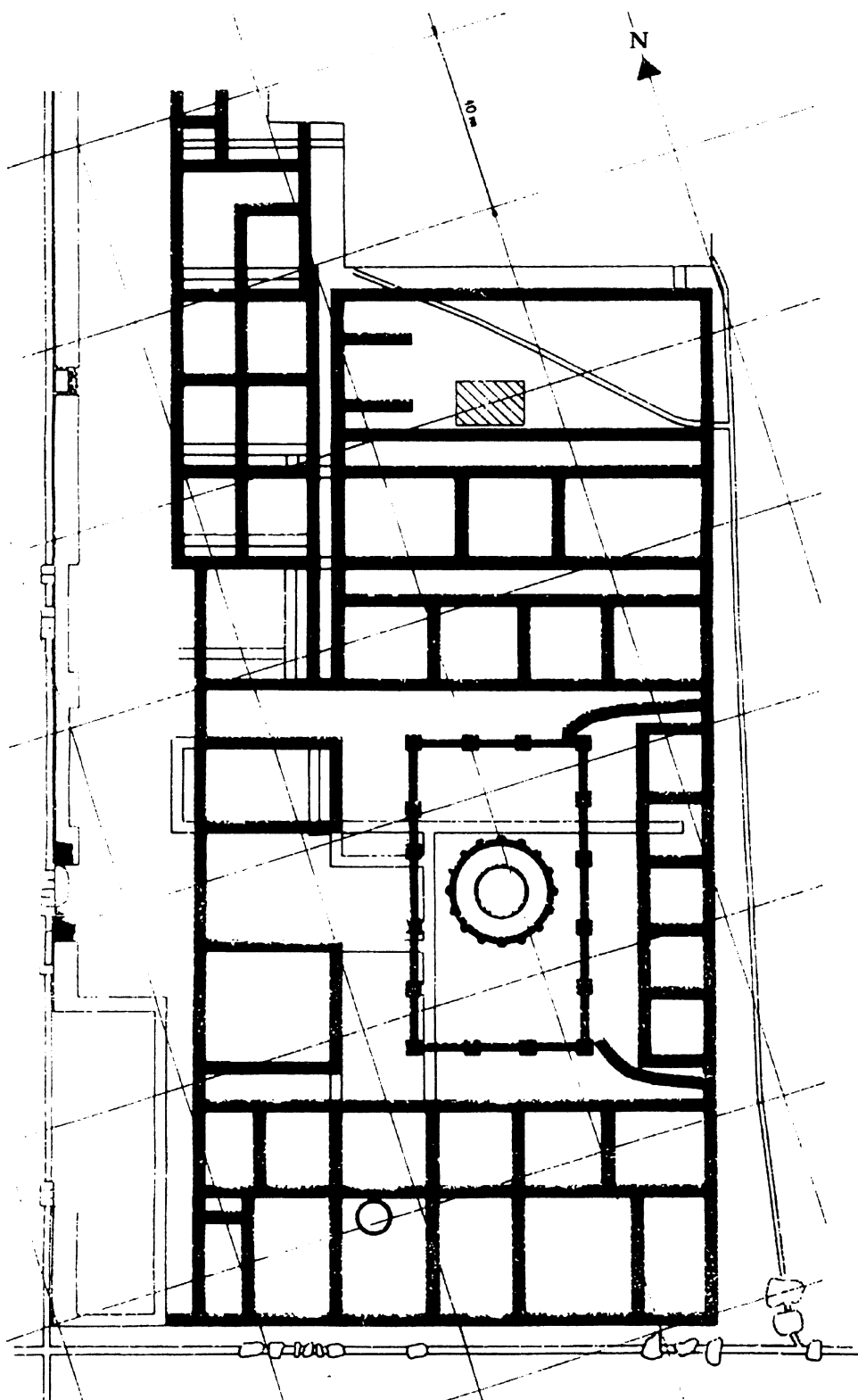


Fig. 5. Ground plan of the *macellum*, based on the results of the 1965 excavation (BTM Aquincumi Museum – Collection of drawings)

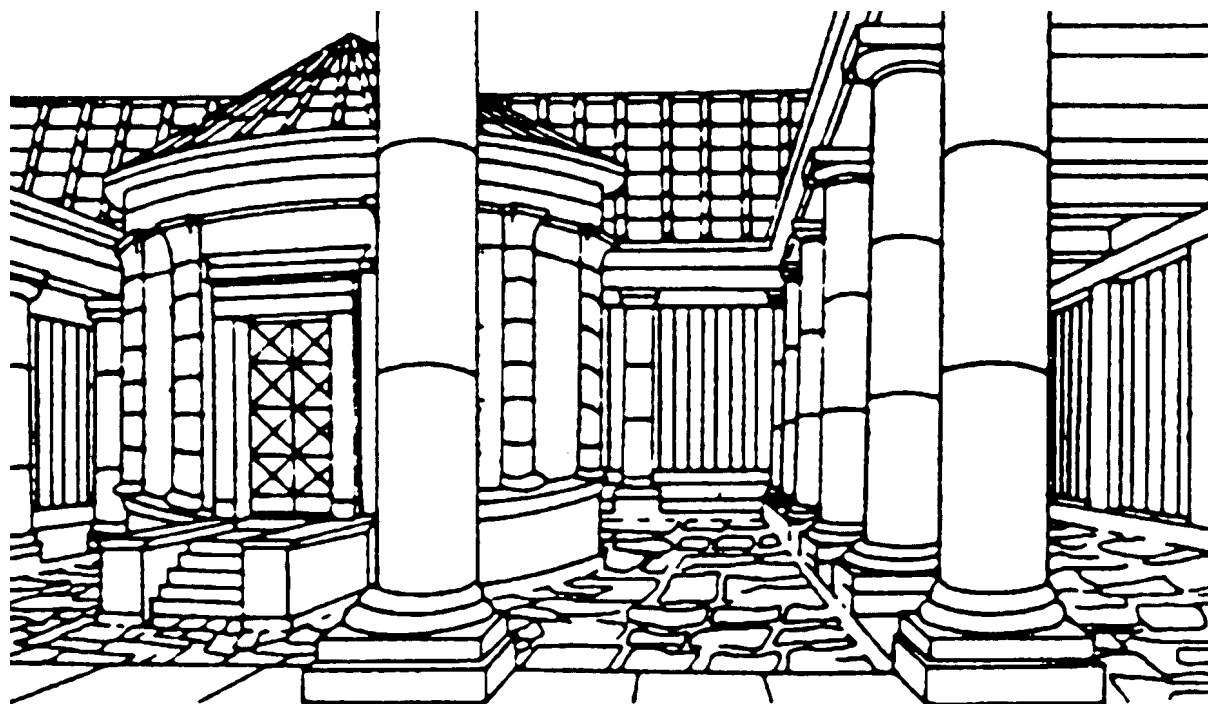


Fig. 6. Reconstruction drawing by Gy. Hajnóczy, based on the results of the 1965 excavation (HAJNÓCZI 1987, 110, Fig. 135)

4. RESULTS OF THE 1965-YEAR EXCAVATION

As has already been indicated, our main goal is now to compare the Aquincum *macellum* to others elsewhere in Roman Empire. But before making this outlook, a brief description about the architectural phases will be given, determined on the bases of the results of the 1965-year excavation.

The *earliest phase*, usually noted in pits in the Aquincum Civil Town, dates to the Flavian period and Trajan's reign²⁸ was not found as a closed context during the 1965 campaign. Although voluted lamps were found, indicating the presence of an early period, rebuilding work carried out in this area during the Roman occupation caused this early period-objects to be mixed up in later strata.

We finally managed to identify four phases in the *macellum*, based on archaeological material, the drawings and the descriptions of the excavation (Fig. 7).

Our so-called *Phase I* does not necessarily refer to one concrete period: the only certain data is that it ended with the destruction level datable to AD 240. Only a single, as yet hypothetical ceramic workshop may be assigned to this period. This identification was strengthened by the discovery during this excavation campaign of a kiln along with ruined pieces, a lamp mould and a clay-rod. It is also possible that this workshop connected to the store room area unearthed by Lajos Nagy, south of the so-called "E" street. Concerning these data, it is quite possible that a ceramic workshop and store-rooms were in use inside the walled area²⁹ before the construction of "E" street in the southeastern zone of the Aquincum Civil Town in the AD 3rd century.³⁰ Some fragments of frescos, an *antefixum* and a heavily burned relief-fragment depicting Minerva can be attributed to this same horizon. Although this last piece does not come from a closed

²⁸ KABA 1963, 30. A voluted lamp dated to the AD 1st century. was found under the northern part of the *macellum*.

²⁹ There are other examples of ceramic workshops in the town: one in a southeastern section of Pompeii (workshop of Zosimus) and there are two others in the zone of the southern

town-wall, one of which was a lamp-factory: LA ROCCA-DE VOS 2000, 244 and BERRY 1998, 61–62. A lamp workshop was also found in the *macellum* of Neapolis see: the Chapter 5.

³⁰ See above.

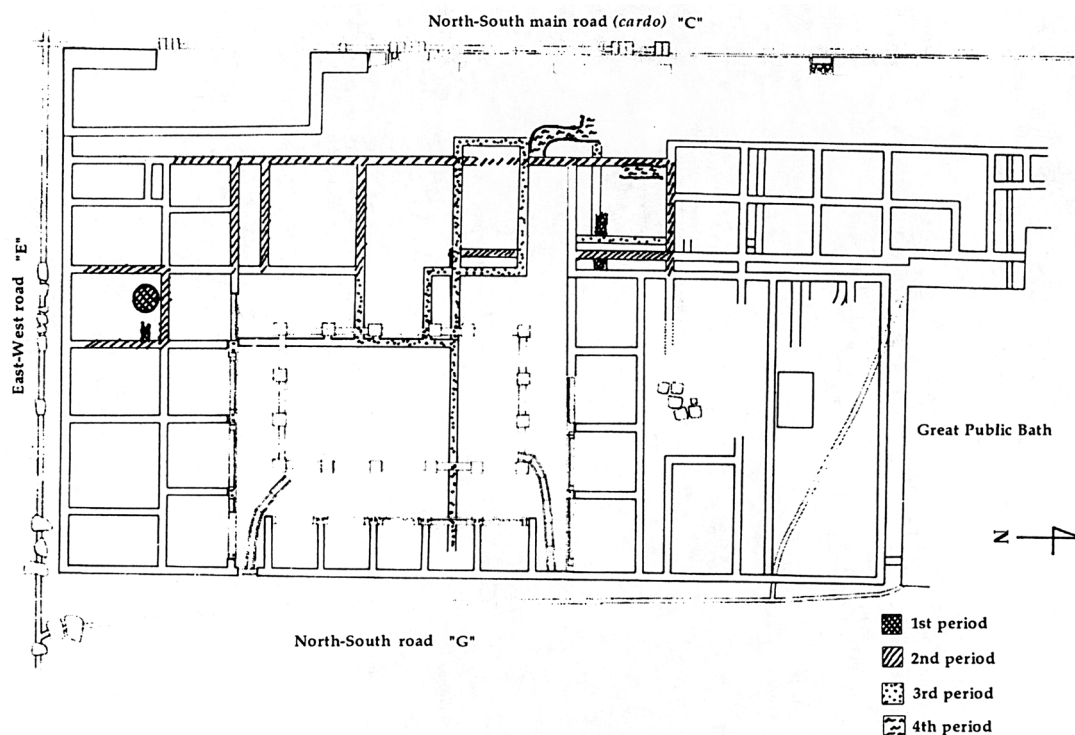


Fig. 7. Building phases in the *macellum*, based on the results of the 1965 excavation (PÓCZY 1970, Bild 2. With the writer's supplement)

stratum (zone of the *tholos*), it can be postulated that this relief is related to the workshop because of the way it is burned and the fact that the goddess Minerva was worshipped primarily among craftsmen between the middle of the AD 2nd century and the middle of the 3rd century.³¹

Vessels of the so-called "Kragenschüssel-type", dishes of the so called Pátka-type, and mortars also belong to this industrial-type phase. The significant number of fragments of incense-burner is also suggestive.

This construction was destroyed sometime around AD 240 and the area was levelled using material from the workshop (*transitional/levelling/phase I*).

The building of the market was therefore carried out before the second quarter of the AD 3rd century. This we named "*Phase II*". Archaeological material attributable to this period is almost completely missing due to Kuzsinszky's excavations in the 19th century. The main entrance with two rooms and the *tholos* signed to this phase were also unearthed by K. Póczy.³²

Only walls and changes in the plan of the building, but no material could be attributed to "*Phase III*" (sometime before AD 260). The changes include rebuilding of the main entrance on the western side: a small *sacellum* was constructed in the northern room. A store-room (nr. 22) was enlarged to the west, thus, disrupting the main façade of the building. A floor-fragment paved with stone slabs in the northwestern part of the *macellum* also belongs to this phase. The *porticus* running around the inner court of the market was also removed when the *sacellum* was constructed. Its elongated southern wall to the west with access to the column-bases of the *porticus* and another wall-fragment running to the south reduced the open-air court but drew attention to the *tholos*. This rebuilding might be connected to the barbarian invasions in AD 260. The function of this new building is unknown.

³¹ ZSIDI 1993, 188–189.

³² PÓCZY 1970, 184–186.

The construction plan changed again in the middle of the AD 4th century when a levelling (2nd transitional/levelling/phase) took place again. A few wall-fragments (already removed) with archaeological material datable to the second half of the AD 4th century is connected to this transitional period. A great deal of re-building took place in the Aquincum Civil Town in this period although this was mostly of poorer quality and material.³³

The latest phase (*Phase IV*) is marked by floors made with mortar and an apse constructed in the AD 4th century.

The phases described above are mostly in harmony with the results of other excavations carried out in the Aquincum Civil Town, although such a sequence concerning the transitional, levelling periods is quite rare.

5. THE MACELLUM

5.1. The word and its origins

The meaning of *macellum* in Latin is market, market-place or possibly meat-market (*macellum, -i f.*).³⁴ In terms of original meanings there are also the words *macellarius* (seller), *macellaria taberna* (shop in the market) and *macellensis* (people living next to the *macellum*).

Concerning the expression and the origin of the building-type there are generally two explanations: a Semitic and a Greek tendency. The Semitic origin is favoured by H. Stowasser and H. Levi referring to the Hebraic *mikla* (meaning “walled area”) and the word *kala* (with the meaning “fenced in”).³⁵

The opinion of N. Nabers is somewhat similar. He says that the word *mikla* fits this type of building perfectly well. He also mentions the radical *KL*, which means “eating” or *ma’kal* (“a place for eating”).³⁶ N. Nabers is of the opinion that the word has a Punic origin, making reference to the fact that the earliest known market places are in Magna Graecia and North Africa and their appearance in the Greek world only dates from the Roman occupation. He suggests that a walled open court or market is a Punic peculiarity (as for example in Leptis Magna). The *porticus* was only added later due to Greek influences.³⁷

L. De Meyer deduced that the word *macellum* came from the language of Punic merchants. He called attention to the fact that the Greek word *μακελλον* market only appeared during the Roman occupation. He has also suggested that the Punic word *Makella* would be the appropriate word for describing the origin of the building since this was the name of a trader-settlement in Sicily. The radical *mkr* is also significant as it means “seller” in Punic. In the form *makruma* it means “merchant” in Ugarit. De Meyer believes that the word *makirum* (meaning “trade”) derives from the above-mentioned *makruma*, and in this case – as in other Semitic languages – the letter “r” often transforms the “i” into “e” (*makerrum*). Thus, *makirum* could easily be turned into *makellum* because of these characteristic r-l and l-r transformations.³⁸

Another opinion is offered by M. Gaggotti who rejected the Punic origin of the word for a market building from an architectural point of view.³⁹

A Greek origin is also favoured by H. Thédenat on the basis of Varro’s word-etymologies (i.e. *macellum* is a word of Laconic origin).⁴⁰

C. D. Ruyt collected information all the *macella* in the Roman Empire and tried to take into consideration all points of view including all the word-etymologies appearing in ancient written sources such as Varro or Plutarch. The latter thought that the Greek word *μακελλον* real origin of this word from the form *μαγειροξ* (“butcher”, “chef”).⁴¹ De Ruyt also provides a summary of modern linguistic opinions such as

³³ MÁRITY 1993, 139.

³⁴ There are two other Latin words for market: *forum* and *nundiae*. These are separately described by FRAYN 1993, 1–4.

³⁵ Mentioned by DE MEYER 1962, 148.

³⁶ Cited by DE RUYT 1983, 234. Footnote: 74.

³⁷ NABERS 1973, 173–174. and 1977, 261.

³⁸ DE MEYER 1962, 149–152.

³⁹ GAGGOTTI 1990a, 773–782 and GAGGOTTI 1990b, 783–792.

⁴⁰ THÉDENAT 1908, 1457.

⁴¹ Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 54.

those of De Meyer or W. Prellwitz who thought the word *macellum* derives from the word *maceria* (mac=“fenced”). Other ideas (for the origin of the latin *macellum*) include theories which derive the word from the Semitic word *mikla*, through the Greek *μακελλον*. Finally, it was suggested that this word derives from Punic word *mikla* which must have reached the western Greeks and the Romans through Carthage.⁴² She came to the conclusion – and this seems the most logical explanation – that those name has both Semitic and Greek precedents. De Ruyt also believes that the Romans borrowed the word “*macellum*” for their new building type from the Greeks for whom *μακελλον* meant something different.⁴³ Beside the etymology of the word, this author deals with the origin of the building itself. She defines the *macellum* as always being an independent, square building with a central court and roofed rooms surrounding it. Taking the commercial *agoras* of the Hellenized cities of Asia Minor (Miletos, Priene, Kos, Pergamon, Ephesos etc.) as examples, she proves that these were walled courtyards with peristyles, which were used in commerce as well as in the wholesale trade, controlled by the so-called *agoranomos*. She considers this building type (closed, square) to be Hellenistic in origin, for which the Greeks always used the word *agora* (and not the word *μακελλον*). She criticizes the Punic-theory of N. Nabers, showing on the one hand, that none of the architectural remains of the Punic or Greek colonies are well enough known to be able to draw such a conclusion (see above). On the other hand, De Ruyt points out that the *macellum* of Morgantina is a late one. Thus, it is the result of Romanisation (not Greek!) so that the commercial *agora* of Tarentum already existed much earlier.⁴⁴

The first appearance of the word *macellum* in Latin can unambiguously be dated to the 3rd–2nd century BC on the basis of data from ancient authors.⁴⁵ The *forum piscarium* burnt down in 210 BC. Later, the two censors, Q. Fulvius Nobilior and Q. Fabius Maximus drawing the scattered and separate market-places together (*forum boarium*, *forum holitorium*, *forum cupedinis*), built a new market building in 179 BC, a time of mixed supplies and small markets specializing in single wares, slowly disappeared.⁴⁶ The appearance of such permanent market-buildings are not, of course, only connected to this symbolic date. A much more plausible explanation is that the architectural change is also related changes in the economic structure of the developing Roman Empire. According to J. M. Frayn, the seasonal fairs on every ninth day (*nundiae*) were frequently enough for most people living in villages or small towns in the earlier periods. The quick spread of an urban lifestyle created new demands for a permanent building for shops soon became necessary, although the need for temporary stalls and small shops in these fairs was never superseded or became useless.⁴⁷

C. De Ruyt also emphasized this new demand. Instead of the old (but traditional), specialized markets, the main goal now was to control and “remove” the food trade from public areas. From the architectural point of view, monumentality was also important. The new building-type follows Hellenistic models although but the wayside *tabernae* still existed and financial affairs were still handled in the *basilica*.⁴⁸

5.2. Expressions related to *macellum*

Although the forms of *macella* may have been different and several types existed (see Chapter 3 for details) they all share a few common features such as a large, open-air, paved courtyard, an area surrounded with a shaded *porticus* and the shops behind it, the *tabernae*.⁴⁹ The latter were often be closed by (wooden) doors as shown by grooves⁵⁰ in the thresholds of *taberna* found in the *macellum* of Aquincum and Puteoli.

⁴² DE RUYT 1983, 231–234.

⁴³ DE RUYT 1983, 235 cites the Roman term *basilica* as an example, which originally came from the Greek word *βασιλειος* (king).

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*: 276–281.

⁴⁵ Livius *Ab urbe* XXVI.27.1–4. and XL 51.4–6. and Varro *De Lingua* V,147.

⁴⁶ SCHNEIDER 1928, 129.

⁴⁷ FRAYN 1993, 4–6.

⁴⁸ DE RUYT 1983, 282.

⁴⁹ Although of course their size depended on the space available, they are basically quite small, for example: Cuicul, Saepium, Aquincum.

⁵⁰ FRAYN 1993, 108. Cites various authors on how these shops could be closed up.

The standardization of the different weights and measures was also a very important factor in Roman commerce and administration.⁵¹ Each market contained a *ponderarium*, the room for official weights, volumetric and linear measurements (*mensa ponderaria*). Such a room could be identified in Cuicul,⁵² and there is an inscription referring to it in Albacina (Umbria).⁵³ How the *macella* functioned was regulated by law and its day to day running was supervised by the officers of the markets.⁵⁴ Above them, the *aedilis* was responsible for insuring the supply of food, controlling the prices, the quality of goods and the fairness of the measures. His employees were the *vilici macelli*⁵⁵ and the *agents curam macelli*.⁵⁶ According to the sources, auctions sometimes took place in the *macella*⁵⁷ supervised by the *argentarii*.

6. TYPES AND ANALOGIES TO THE *MACELLUM* IN AQUINCUM

When trying to compare the Aquincum market-building to others in the Roman Empire, a category has to be found that our building fits into, and all similar *macella* have to be collected searching for similarities that can bring us closer to understand the Aquincum structure.

6.1. Types of *macella*

The market of Aquincum does not represent a unique example in Roman architecture as regards its form. There are 14 *macella* constructed in this square-form lined with *tabernae*, with a small round building in the centre of its court. In spite of these typical features, scholars disagree whether these features constitute a single type and exactly what types existed in the first place as regards market buildings. There are four main typological tendencies.

C. De Ruyt – on the basis of the interior organization – defined two main types.⁵⁸ The first is the so-called *central type* with the shops organized around the market courtyard. This would be a throw-back to the tradition of the commercial agora, as in Pergamon, Sagalassos, or Aezani. Also typical is the double *tholos* (as at Leptis Magna). According to her, markets with round or polygonal courtyards also belong to this type, like the markets of Alba Fucens and Ortona. Some have *tabernae* placed symmetrically on three sides (Thuburbo Maius or Hippone). She places the *macellum* of Aquincum together with those of Alba Fucens and Morgantina, because these have larger rooms by the main entrance.

The second would be the *axis-type* as in the *macella* found in Pompeii, Thibilis or Puteoli, Paestum, Bulla Regia and Thugga. Those in Pompeii or Thibilis are square and the latter have an apsidial cella at the end of the building. All these buildings have one thing in common since they are oriented to one dominant structure, namely, the main rooms which are in front of the entrance. The markets of Timgad and Gightis (2nd phase) also belong to this group although here the shops are radiate out from the end of the rear wall of the building.

C. De Ruyt also deals with architectural elements from different *macella* like façades or the placement of the portico. In the latter, she distinguishes two variants such as in the *macella* of Paestum or Ortona where the market was joined to the portico of earlier structures. The *macella* of Ostia and Timgad (the market of Sertius) each had an independent row of columns. There is also a variation which lacks a portico as at Alba Fucens, Morgantina and Dura Europos. She came to the conclusion concerning the *tabernae* that those market buildings which open outward are Italian in character (*Macellum Magnum*, Ostia and Puteoli)⁵⁹ and is much rarer in Africa (Timgad). According to De Ruyt, the number of shops in market

⁵¹ FRAYN 1993, 108–114. Details about weights and measures.

⁵² DE RUYT 1983, 65.

⁵³ CIL XI 5695.

⁵⁴ DE RUYT 1983, 356–362. For the officers of the *macella* together with written sources.

⁵⁵ CIL XI 1231. (Plaisance); inscription of a slave owned by the town.

⁵⁶ CIL VIII 18223 (Lambase).

⁵⁷ Cicero *Quinct.* VI.25. The *atria Liciniana* mentioned here was the name of the auction-building and *Ad fam.* XV.17,2.

⁵⁸ DE RUYT 1983, 286–301.

⁵⁹ Inwardly opening *taberna* also occur in Italy (Alba Fucens).

buildings ranged between 10 and 20, markets in North Africa had from 15 to 20 rooms while in Italy the *macella* had around 10–15 *tabernae*.

She distinguishes three main functional categories for the central round building, the *tholos*: the first “type” would be those larger ones, which served as stands for sale (Leptis Magna), the second group comprises middle-sized *tholoi* used as sanctuaries or wells (Pompeii, Cuicul, Aquincum, Thuburbo Maius, Sagalassos and Hippone) and the third group includes the *tholoi* of large markets, standing on monumental, round *podium* (*Macellum Magnum* in Rome, Puteoli and Pergamon). The *tholos* as a building-type may be traced back to Hellenistic origins. There are markets where the *tholos* is missing, replaced by wells (square, round or hexagonal inform) or statues.

By M. Gaggiotti refined De Ruyt’s two main *macella* types, who added a third category of the so-called *hybrid-type*.⁶⁰ This new category was necessary because in addition to “central” and “axis”-type markets there were ones with a mixed ground plan. These types were examined by Gaggiotti from a chronological point of view. In this way, the “central-type markets” were typical between the 2nd century BC and the AD 3rd century, while the “axis-type” was characteristic of the Roman Imperial period. The “hybrid variant” (central groundplan with an *exedra* on one side) was typical for the period between the Augustan and Flavian Ages.⁶¹

N. Nabers followed a different classification for the *macella*. He concentrated on the geographical location of building-types,⁶² which he suggested might be Punic.⁶³ One of the three groups he defined were those in *Italy*. Theoretically, the adopted Punic building form was transformed becoming an angular structure with an accented façade and both inwardly and outwardly facing *tabernae*. He followed this process in the market of Pompeii, which even in its first building-phase (150–100 BC), had a main entrance and *tabernae* opening towards the *forum*. These features became more pronounced in later periods, when the façade was made more monumental (with a double entrance) and a new row of outward facing *tabernae* was constructed on the northern side of the building (those facing inwards were only on the southern side). Other examples for this type are the market building in Saepium, and the *Macellum Magnum* and *Macellum Liviae* in Rome.

Another group defined by Nabers contains *macella* from *Greece* and *Asia Minor*. These were constructed only after the Roman conquest. He concluded that the *macella* in Mantinea, Korinthos, Ephesos, Pergamon and Sagalassos always follow local tradition. All are lacking in the monumental façade and all the *tabernae* face inwards. The markets in Magna Graecia are also the results of this type of transformation (Morgantina).

Nabers’s third category was the *African* group. The buildings of this type are similar to both the Greek and Italian versions. Their *tabernae* mostly face inwards and they have a accented façade.

Thus, Nabers felt that the Punic tradition was adapted in all three regions where it was transformed according to local traditions resulting in different elements being mixed.

The fourth scenario for the origin and typology of *macella* is that of J. B. Ward-Perkins, who used the ground plans as the basis of his typology.⁶⁴ He separated out the so-called *tholos* or *Romano-African type*. The *macella* in Cuicul, Hippo Regius, Leptis Magna and the *Macellum Magnum* belong to this category. This type with its *tholos* originated in Campania (that is Magna Graecia) and came to North Africa relatively early. Ward-Perkins’s second group are the *macella* from *Latium*. Their main features are a covered interior, one or two rows of *tabernae* (as at Ferentium, the late Republican market of Ostia and the *Mercatum Traiani*).

His third category is the *Italian* markets with their *local Republican precedents*, such as the *macella* of Alba Fucens or Saepium.

Having considered all the different theories there does not seem to be much use in creating new categories. J. B. Ward-Perkins’s “*tholos* (or Romano-African) type” comes closest to the *macellum* in

⁶⁰ GAGGIOTTI 1990b, 784–787.

⁶¹ GAGGIOTTI assigned only two markets to this category, those of Pompeii and Puteoli. See the previous footnote.

⁶² NABERS 1973, 173–176.

⁶³ For the question of origins see chapter 5.1.

⁶⁴ WARD-PERKINS 1970a, 15–16.

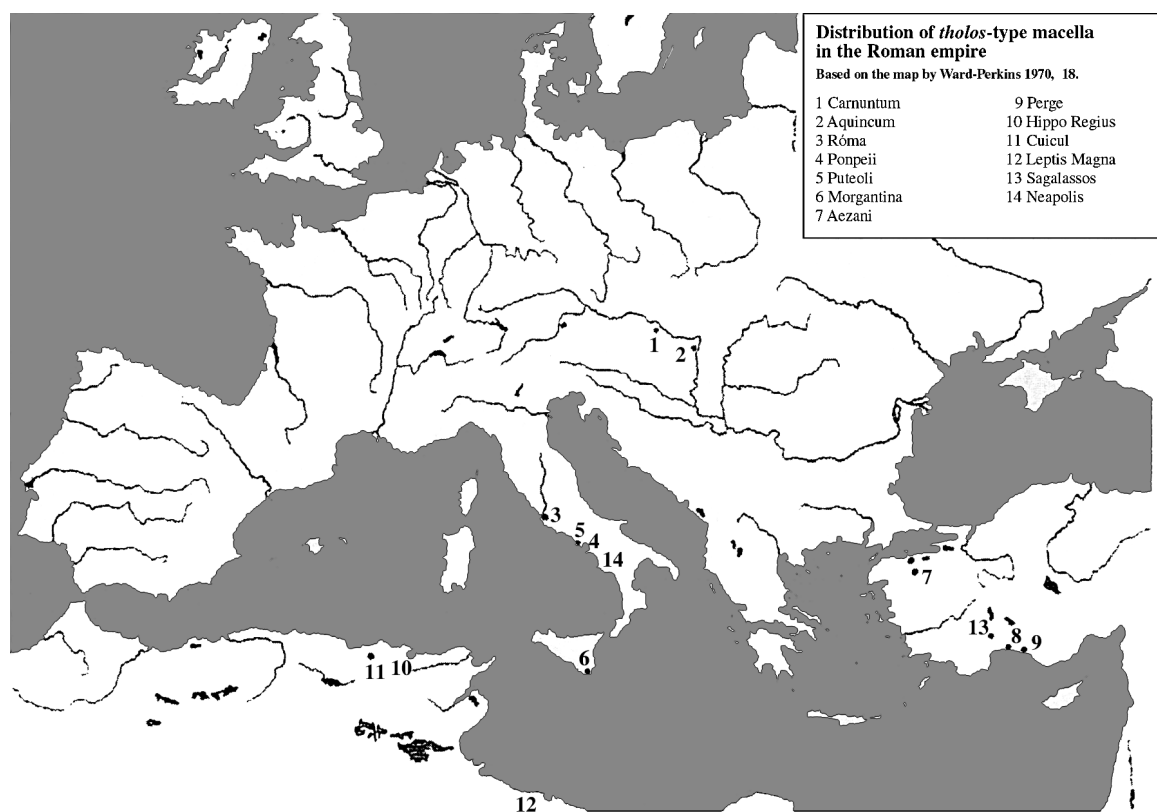


Fig. 8. Distribution of the *tholos-type macelli* in the Roman Empire (Based on the data from WARD-PERKINS 1970, 18)

Aquincum's Civil Town because the division of the interior rooms (see the opinion of C. De Ruyt) depended primarily on the space (as part of an *insula*) available, which differed in every town. Its geographical location (see Nabers' typology) also influenced its form although this could also be related to donator's origin (see above, chapter 3). This last hypothesis seems to be strengthened by the fact that when all the *macella* with *tholoi* are located on a map it is remarkable that there are only 14 buildings⁶⁵ of this type (mainly from Italy, Asia Minor and North Africa) and there are only two from European provinces (Carnuntum and Aquincum) (Fig. 8).

In the next chapter we are going to describe all these *macella* one by one, searching for the closest analogy and, thus, the possible model for the market in Aquincum.

6.3. The analogies

The descriptions of the *macella* will follow a topographic and chronological order, concentrating on features, similar to those of the Aquincum *macellum*.

Starting with the market that lies geographically closest to Aquincum, that is, the market in Carnuntum (Fig. 9). Part of the so-called "Palastruine"-complex had already been excavated in the 19th century. Investigations began again at the southern edge of the complex at the end of the 1950's and 1960's. These brought to light a building with an unusual ground plan.⁶⁶ It has the shape of an elongated rectangle with

⁶⁵ Aezani, Aquincum, Cuicul, Carnuntum, Hippo Regius, Leptis Magna, *Macellum Magnum*, Morgantina, Neapolis, Perge, Pompeii, Puteoli, Sagalassos, Side.

⁶⁶ For a detailed description of the excavation: SWOBODA-MILENOVIĆ 1960, 16–28 and SWOBODA-MILENOVIĆ 1963/64 55–66.

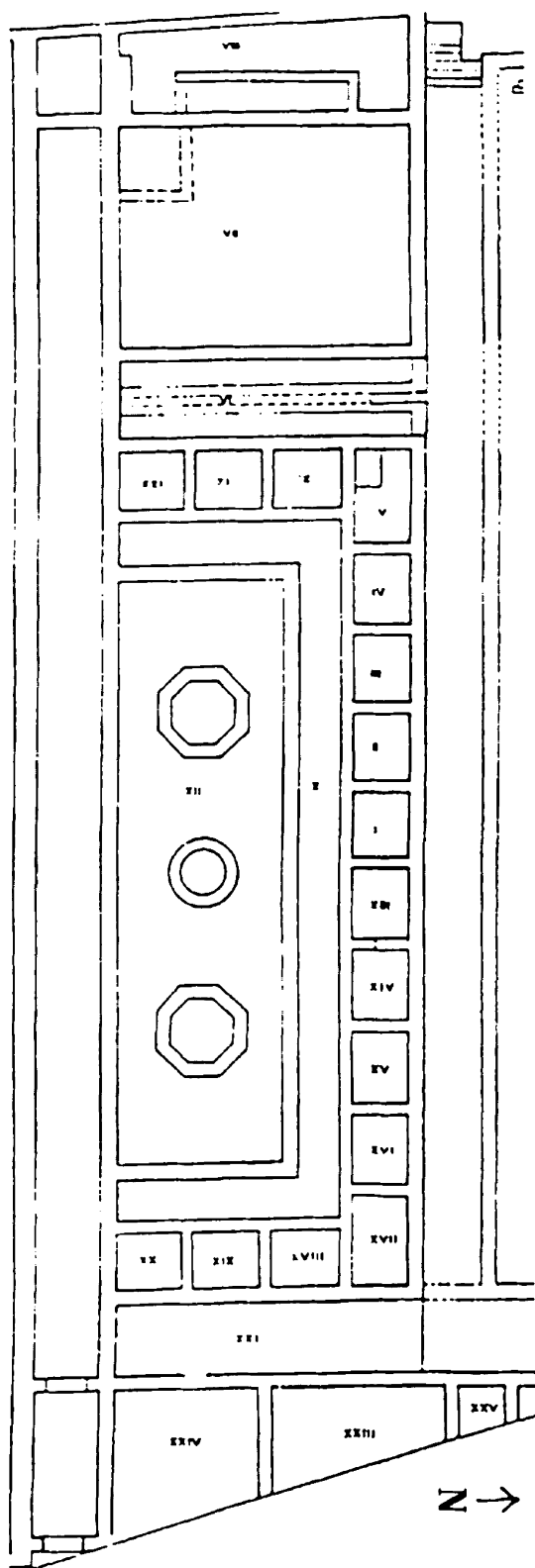


Fig. 9. The "macellum" of Carnuntum (STIGLITZ et al. 1977, Abb. 4)

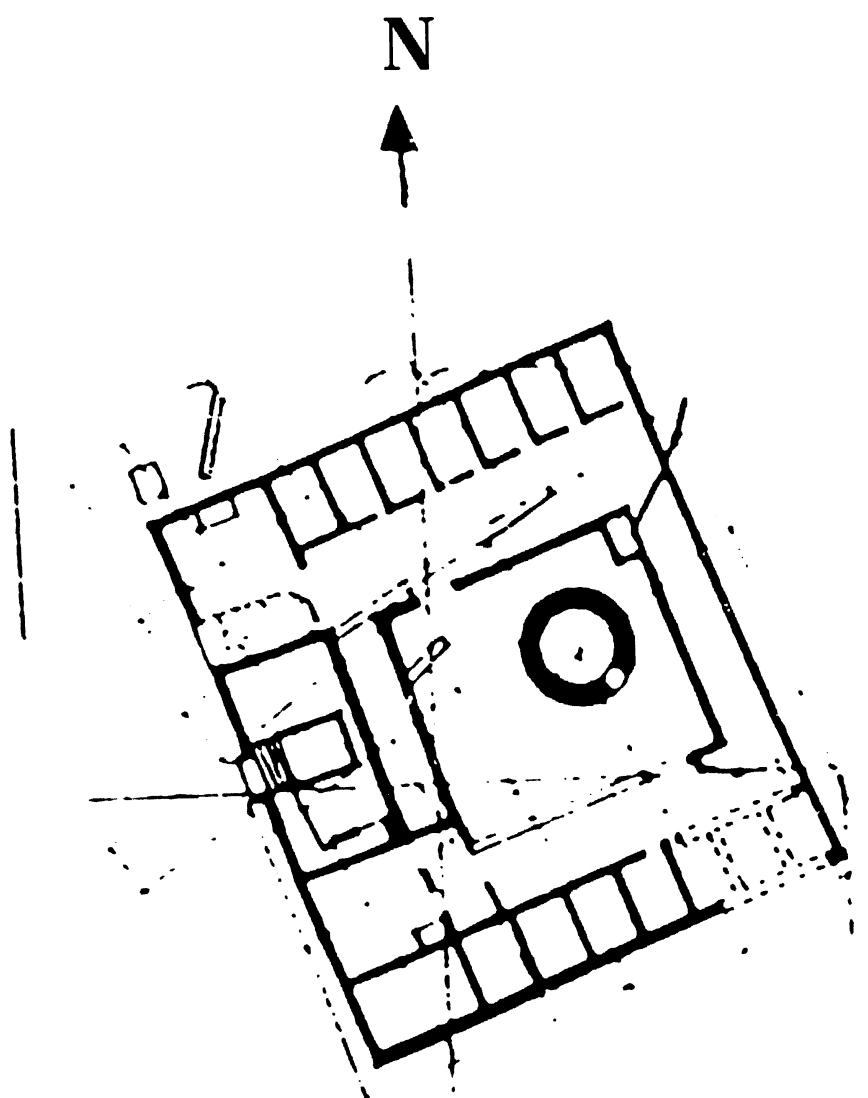


Fig. 10. Ground plan of the *macellum* in Morgantina (SJÖQVIST 1958, Pl. 35/Fig. 36)

tabernae on three sides (forming a U-shape) while the fourth side was closed with a wall. A portico ran to the rear wall of the building. In the middle of the inner court there was a small, round, and on its left and right sides, two octagonal buildings. This strange construction has been interpreted several ways: as a Celtic sanctuary, a granary etc.⁶⁷ The excavator, R. Swoboda-Milenović dated the whole “Palastruine”-complex to the AD 2nd century, based on ceramic finds and interpreted the southern section as an organic part of the complex.⁶⁸ He offers several theories as to its function including the above-mentioned sanctuary for which he describes analogies from Sanxay (octagonal type of Celtic sanctuary). He was the first to mention the possibility that this building could be identified as a *macellum*. The obvious analogy is the market of Leptis Magna in North Africa with its octagonal *tholoi*, which is the only *macellum* with such a ground plan.

⁶⁷ STIGLITZ et al. 1977, 610–611.

⁶⁸ The wider connections of this complex are not known. The only excavated part of the northern section is a bath-building.

The next attempt to identify this building was that of C. Ertel, who partly confused the ideas on dating based on earlier excavations and took a stand on the *macellum* theory.⁶⁹ The author studied the building from both the architectural and archaeological point of view and came to the conclusion that the complex could have been two-storeyed and fits into a systematic grid, which differs slightly from the rest of the “Palastruine” (3°). According to Ertel, there are other reasons why the southern and the northern part should be treated separately: there is no direct connection between the building-parts. About its function, she considers the central octagons as stalls, in spite of their small size and the missing banister which is characteristic in the case of the market building in Leptis Magna. Dating the complex, Ertel rejected the date accepted for the construction and thinks there was another construction prior to the *macellum*, datable to the beginning of the AD 2nd century and the market place with the *tholoi* could have been built at the last quarter of the AD 2nd century. She dates the architectural fragments (fragments of capitals) to before AD 219, on the basis of their relative stratigraphic positions.⁷⁰ Opinions differ over the function of this building segment in Carnuntum, although the fact is that the ground plan of the *macellum* in Leptis Magna is most similar to this complex.⁷¹

Comparing the building in Carnuntum with the *macellum* in Aquincum, C. Ertel drew attention to an interesting similarity. Both buildings – probably traditionally – were built together with a bath.

In spite of the fact, that topographically this is the closest similar building to that of Aquincum, for formal reasons (elongated shape with two *tholoi*) we do not think that it could have served as a model to the Aquincum *macellum*. However a close relationship between the Carnuntum and the Leptis Magna *macellum* is likely though.

Among the Italian examples the earliest known market building with a *tholos* was built in Morgantina between 140 and 120 BC (*Fig. 10*). According to Ward-Perkins, this is the first place with Romano-African, or a *tholos*-type *macellum*. This market type reached the African continent quite early (9–8 BC in Leptis Magna).⁷²

This market was built in the Hellenistic *agora* of the Sicilian town, adjoining a *temenos* and altar. The ground plan of the *macellum* was almost square (25 m × 28 m).⁷³ Its inner courtyard was surrounded by a portico and, in its centre (more to its Northeast), stood the *tholos*. To the south and the east, one row of *tabernae* closed the complex. A *temenos* was constructed on its western side.

Only a few finds are known from this *macellum*: these include fragments of lead-weights, coins, a fragment of a volume measure and animal bones (especially from the destruction layer).

The date of the construction of the market building is uncertain. There were buildings in the *agora* as early as the 4th century BC, e.g. the *temenos* which the *macellum* was built onto and which was demolished in 213 BC. After the new sanctuary (sometime between the end of the 3rd century and 180 BC) was constructed, the *macellum* was also built. Judging from the coins (Sextus Pompeius) found in the fill, this construction work took place between 140 and 120 BC. Fragments of lamps and coins found on the floor of the *tabernae* suggest it was in use between the second half of the 2nd century and beginning of the 1st century BC. The destruction of the building corresponds with the abandonment of the town which was burned down in 15 BC and never rebuilt.⁷⁴

When examining the Morgantina complex from the point of view of the Aquincum *macellum*, although both have similar ground plan, the Sicilian building could not have served as a model, because its early destruction.

The *macellum* from Pompeii dates to almost the same period. This classical example of the *tholos*-type *macellum* had two construction periods.⁷⁵ The ruins visible today belong to the Imperial phase (*Fig. 11*) although there are the Republican precedents below it.

⁶⁹ She deals with the building in Carnuntum in two different works: ERTEL 1990, 181–204 and ERTEL 1991, 232–237.

⁷⁰ The above-mentioned altar from Room VII. also dates to this year.

⁷¹ Recently, his results were summarized by ÖLLERER 1998, 92–99.

⁷² WARD-PERKINS 1970, 15.

⁷³ There are only preliminary reports of the American exca-

vations carried out in the *macellum*: STILLWELL–SJÖQUIST 1957, 151–159. Summary: DE RUYT 1983, 109–114. For another description of the building: KENAN ERIM 1958, 79–90.

⁷⁴ The suggestion that the building was abandoned was further reinforced by *Strab.* 6.2.4.

⁷⁵ Reports on the excavations in: MAIURI 1942, 253–266. Summary: DE RUYT 1983, 137–148 and LA ROCCA–DE VOS 2000, 128–132.

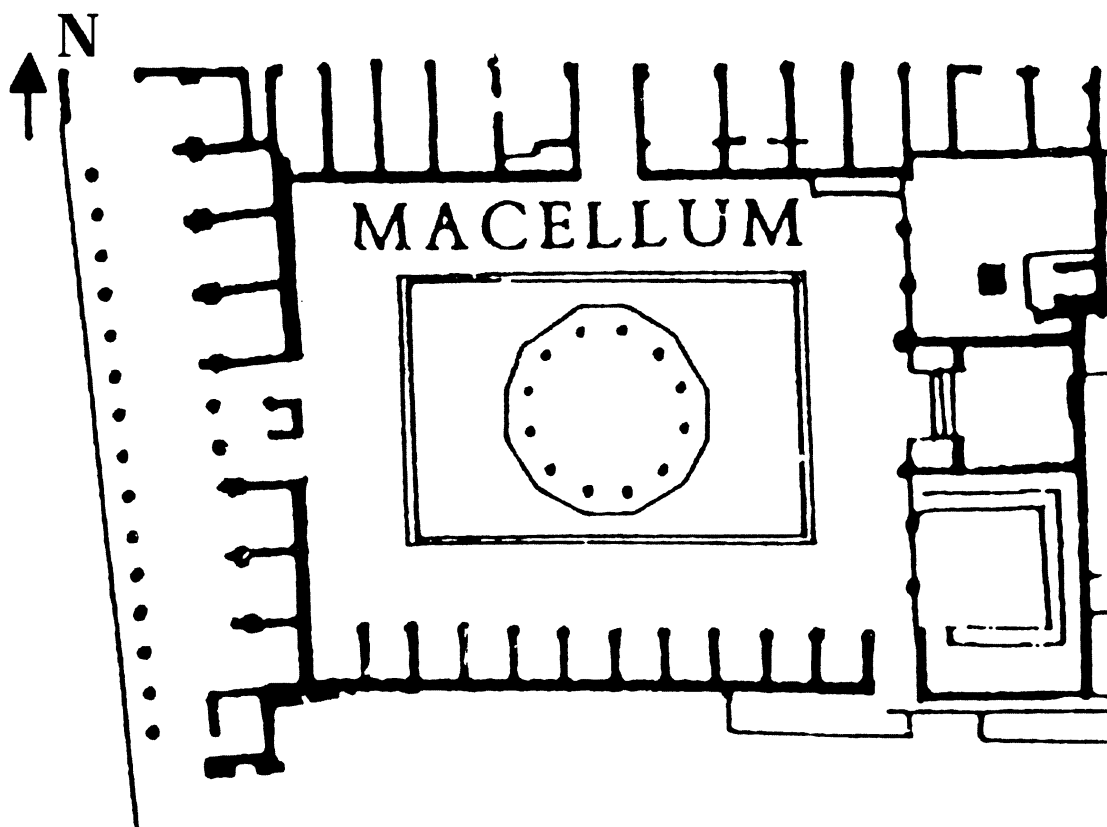


Fig. 11. Ground plan of the 2nd phase of the *macellum* in Pompeii (WARD-PERKINS 1997, ill. 88)

Even in its first phase, the market was established in the northern corner of the *forum*. This early complex comprised a court (50 m × 32 m) with a portico and *tabernae* on its southern and northern sides (the last ones opening to the street) and other big rooms on the eastern side of the building. Based on the foundations of the wall and the floor the excavator, A. Mauri, dated the complex to the late Samnitic period, that is, between 150 and 100 BC. Small-scale rebuilding work took place at the end of the Republican period and the beginning of the Imperial period: the main façade looking towards the *forum* was rebuilt at that time and the central *tholos* was constructed. The latter – 12.6 m in diameter – was originally made of wood with only the base constructed of marble. The excavator found a hole inside the round building and a channel running out of it, which led him to the conclusion that it might have been a fountain. The finds from this early market found in the channels leading out from the *tholos* included weights as well as fish and animal bones.

The market-complex retained its form between the late Republican and early Imperial periods. Renovation only became necessary after an earthquake in AD 62. This renovation marks the second phase of the *macellum*. This re-building already came to light in the 19th century, although the stratigraphy became clear only after it was studied by Mauri.

The orientation of the building did not change after the earthquake, although the measurements of the inner court were reduced. The wall construction method also changed: *opus caementicium* was employed for the foundations while *opus incertum* and *opus vittatum* were techniques used for the ascending walls. The southern *tabernae* were enlarged, the *tholos* was reconstructed and the wall on the western side, namely the main entrance, was doubled in size. Shops were constructed on its western side, and the rest of the *tabernae* were only partly rebuilt, those facing the street on the market's northern side were left untouched. The rooms on the southern side – as already mentioned – were enlarged and an upper storey

added on as well, judging from the 3 m deep postholes. The eastern side of the *macellum* was also reconstructed and an *in antis*-type room was placed here too. A fragment of a statue's arm came to light here. Four niches were built into the side-walls where the veiled statues of a man and a woman – possibly representing members of the Julian-Claudian dynasty – are visible even today. A bigger room was built on the northern end along the same side. There was an altar in front of it while at its southern end, another room was unearthed with a marble-covered, U-shaped stall, which must have served in selling fish. There are even fragments of frescos referring back to the latter function, depicting as they do personifications of rivers, the sea and views of the countryside.

The *tholos* was rebuilt in stone with a concrete foundation and with 12 angles. At the time of the excavations, only the foundations of the twelve columns were found. The old fountain was eliminated.

The “new” market building were decorated with frescos in the 4th-style: marble imitation on the plinths, mythological scenes on the central parts. The walls of the shops on the southern side were painted red with little figures of animals.

Among the finds coins, a knife-handle and remains of fruits are worthy of mention. Grapes, lentils and figs on a dish were found as well as a mould for bread and 550 broken fragments of glass-vessels were found in the shops on the northern side. The market function of the complex is further emphasized by fragments of scales and a row of numbers, scratched on the wall of a *taberna* on the southern side.

The building was not finished even after the earthquake in AD 62. In AD 79, the eruption of the Vesuvius destroyed the town forever.

This always cited, classical example of *macella* helped researches of Aquincum to identify the *macellum* of the Civil Town's and determine the function of the *tholos* as well.⁷⁶ In spite of the fact that it could not have served as a model for the Aquincum market building either because of its destruction in the AD. 1st century, they shows similarities: first of all the ground plan is quite similar and similar reconstructions took place in both structures: the *tabernae* were changed and the measurements of the inner court was reduced.

Chronologically, the next example is the *macellum* in Neapolis, a South Italian town founded by the Greeks (Fig. 12). The *tholos*-type market building was discovered under the early Christian building and the later S. Lorenzo Maggiore church and clastrom during the excavation begun in 1972 by A. De Simone.⁷⁷ The complex was constructed at the western side of one of the main north-south roads (*stenopoi*) of the town. Three wings and the *tholos* have been uncovered so far. The eastern wing opening to the street was composed of two rows of rooms, the rows placed behind each other. The paired shops (behind each other) opened into one area. According to the excavator, an *aerarium* was distinguished within the rooms while in another room, two walled-in *dolia* indicates that the room may have had some kind of an agricultural function. Finally, there was an oven in one of the other rooms. The last room in this wing was used as a *fullo-nica*. A. De Simone suggested that this eastern section functioned as a *cryptoporticus* because of the sharp slope of the land so that the *tholos*, the *tabernae* and the ground level of the *macellum* were all at a higher level. This wing was later transformed because of the silting up of the area. The stairs, which were originally placed at the junction of the north-south (*stenopoi*) and the east-west road (*platea*), disappeared. The entrance on the eastern side was closed up and the window was transformed into a door. The finds coming from this wing mostly comprise lamps: type Dressel 30 (AD 3rd–4th century) and African ones dated to the AD 5th century (X. A1 and b, 2 and “Atalante” types).

The southern wing – like the eastern wing – was again a *cryptoporticus*-like construction. The northern wall of the wing was doubled in size (*emplekton*) by large tufa blocks indicating that the wall dates to an early phase in the 4th century BC. The last room in this sector was a cistern. A series of unused lamps came to light in the same room, dating to the middle of the AD 1st century. Most of them were of Loeschke IB-type with volutes and a few Howland 28A types, dated to the middle of the AD 3rd century.⁷⁸ According

⁷⁶ See chapter 3: Research history

⁷⁷ For a detailed description see: DE SIMONE 1985a, 233–253. The same in a shorter version: DE SIMONE 1985b 185–186.

⁷⁸ The depictions on voluted lamps show gladiators, cats, bears, the Goddesses Minerva and Fortuna. For the photos see: DE SIMONE 1985b, 193.

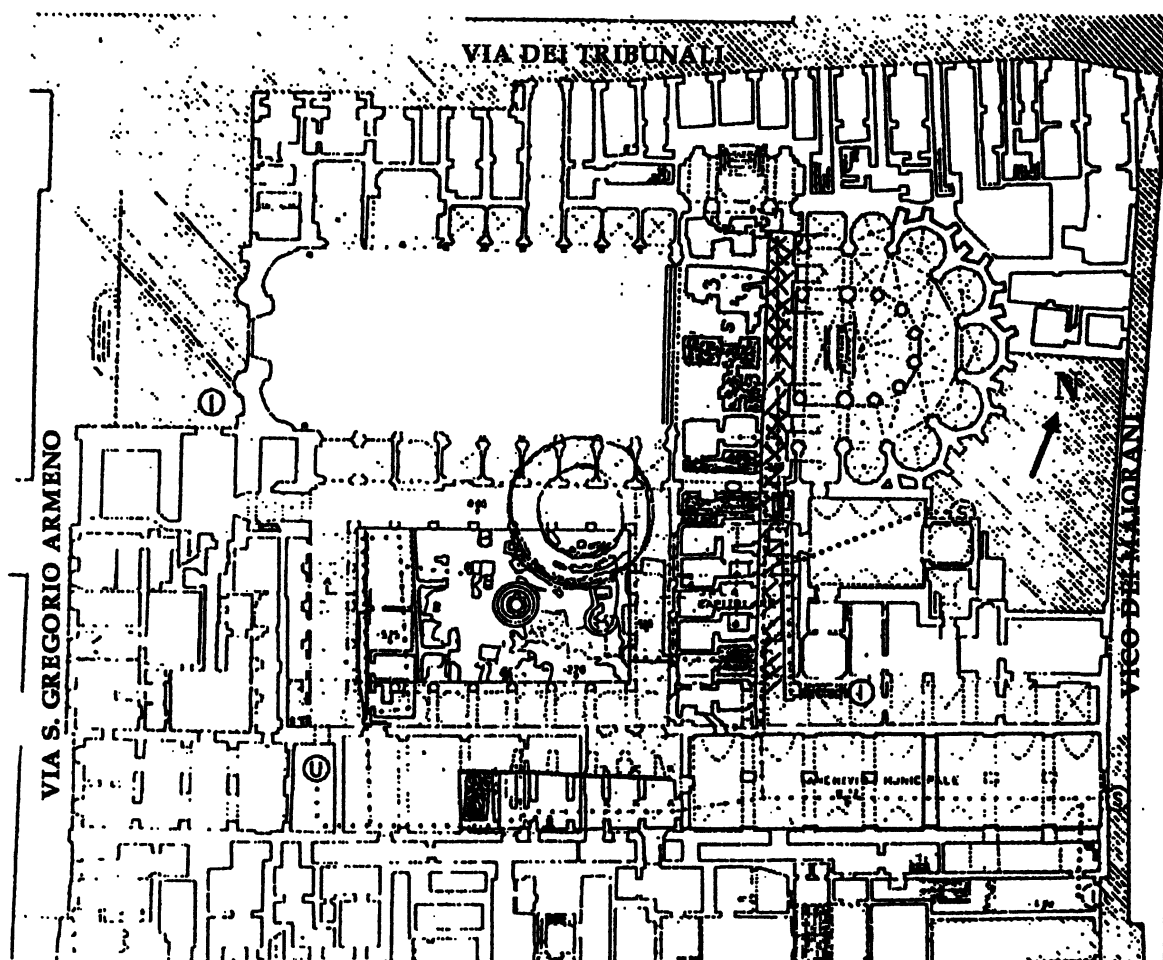


Fig. 12. Ground plan of the *macellum* in Neapolis (DE SIMONE 1985, Fig. 2)

to De Simone, this indicates that this must have been a lamp-workshop. Marble frieze-fragments, AD 1st–2nd century column-capitals and an Imperial period herma were found here as well.

The function of the rooms on the western side could not be determined, although a room with a mosaic floor was discovered and fresco-fragments in the so-called 4th style, which help to date this part to the AD 1st century. The upper storey was also excavated in this sector⁷⁹. The find material from this wing is mostly composed of lamps: Loeschke VIII types from the last quarter of the AD 1st century, Dressel 22 types, Provost A-types from the AD 2nd to the 4th century, and finally Atalante X A1a-types datable to the AD 5th century.⁸⁰

The excavations also revealed the marble and mosaic paved inner court and one third of the *tholos* which was originally 16.3 m in diameter. It stood on a three-step-high *podium*, covered with marble. The coloured marble panels used for decoration and the water conduit discovered in the neighbourhood, led the excavator to conclude that the round building was a fountain.

Thanks to systematic excavation, the building history of the market of Neapolis can be reconstructed, that is, the area was already in use in the 5th century BC. The tufa-wall and the terrace-system

⁷⁹ There are no descriptions of the upper rooms in the publications.

⁸⁰ There is only a photo of the 5th century lamp: DE SIMONE 1985b, 194.

under the southern wing of the *macellum* were later re-used during construction in the 4th century BC. In AD 62 – after the earthquake, which caused great damage in settlements situated around Vesuvius – the *macellum* was finally constructed on this AD 4th century-terrace. The market-complex remained in use in the centuries up to AD 5th century. At that time the area silted up⁸¹ to the level of the lower rooms and the plateau formed in this way was used for other purposes: the early Christian basilica was established here and later became the foundation for the medieval church and clastrom.

Comparing it to the Aquincum *macellum* two features are worth to mention: one is the lamp-workshop in one of the rooms of the Neapolis *macellum*, the other is the presence of two rows of *tabernae*. Both has parallels in the market-building of Aquincum: the small ceramic-workshop probably mostly produced lamps and there are also two rows of shops in the southern side of the complex. Unfortunately its incomplete ground plan does not allow any further comparison.

Only one *tholos*-type *macellum* is known from Rome: this is the so-called *Macellum Augusti* (or *Magnum*) built by the Emperor Nero in AD 59.⁸² This is the only market of this type for which we have a depiction. In fact, a two-storied building surrounded with a portico and covered with a vault is depicted on two coin-series issued by Nero. These coins date to between AD 63 and 68 and bear the inscription: MAC AUG SC.

The location of the *macellum* is still matter for discussion. According to the *Curiosum Urbis Romae Regionum XIII cum Brebriariis Suis* it lay in the 2nd Augustan region, namely on the Caelian hill.⁸³ H. Jordan localized the *tholos* under the S. Stefano Rotondo and the *tabernae* further to the east.⁸⁴

In the 1600s, Pierro Ligorio described ruins with a *tholos* on the Caelian hill as *statio cohortis vigili* but in the 1970s this was reidentified by J. S. Rainbird and F. Sear as possibly being the remains of the *Macellum Magnum*.⁸⁵ This last hypothesis seems to have been confirmed by the results of excavations carried out in this area in the 19th century, a building with two construction phases (AD 1st and 2nd century) was located there. Two building inscriptions even came to light with the name of L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus which dates them to the turn of the AD 2nd–3rd century.⁸⁶

According to J. S. Rainbird and F. Sear the square market-building is symmetrical and surrounded by *tabernae*. There were entrances on all four sides and towers with staircases at the corners. The central main building may have measured 30 Roman feet (ca. 9 m) in diameter. It was octagonal with square and apsidal niches inside. The *tholos* was decorated with columns. This reconstruction, however has not been reconfirmed by later investigations.

Another idea concerning the location of the *Macellum Magnum* is based on a fragment of the *Forma Urbis Romae* (Fig. 13).⁸⁷ On the so-called “F 64 fragment” one finds half of a building ground plan with the inscription “MACELLUM” on it. There are 13 *tabernae* indicated on the western and southern sides, three entrances to the building, two triangular constructions, an *exedra* and what is probably an apsidal building visible on this marble fragment. This piece is analogous to the one depicting the *Ludus Magnus* (based on its thickness and the form of its back). This latter has similarities to one in the *Amphiteatrum* (Colosseum). These has lead scholars to conclude that the *macellum* of Nero must be located somewhere between the temple of Claudius and the *Ludus Magnus*, namely at the edge of the *Domus Aurea*. There were still excavations being carried out in the area of the via Marco Aurelio, via Ostilia and via Capo d’Africa in the 19th century. The excavators found a street and walls of an *opus reticulatum* with fresco-fragments, lying parallel to the street. A *stylobates* (with an Attic column-base) and a room with arch came to light in the northern section of this zone.

In sum, the building depicted on the “F 64” fragment of the *Forma Urbis Romae* was certainly located on the Caelian Hill, but its identification with the Neronian *macellum* has not been proved.

⁸¹ Probably because of a “mud-avalanche”. The date of the silting up is signaled by ceramic finds from the end of the AD 5th century.

⁸² The precise date of the construction is known from a literary source: *Cassius Dio* 61,18,3.

⁸³ NORDH 1949, 75.

⁸⁴ JORDAN 1907, 237–238.

⁸⁵ RAINBIRD–SEAR 1971, 40–47.

⁸⁶ CIL VI 1450 and 1453.

⁸⁷ For the problems of localizing the market on the basis of the *Forma Urbis Romae* see: DE RUYT 1983, 176–184.

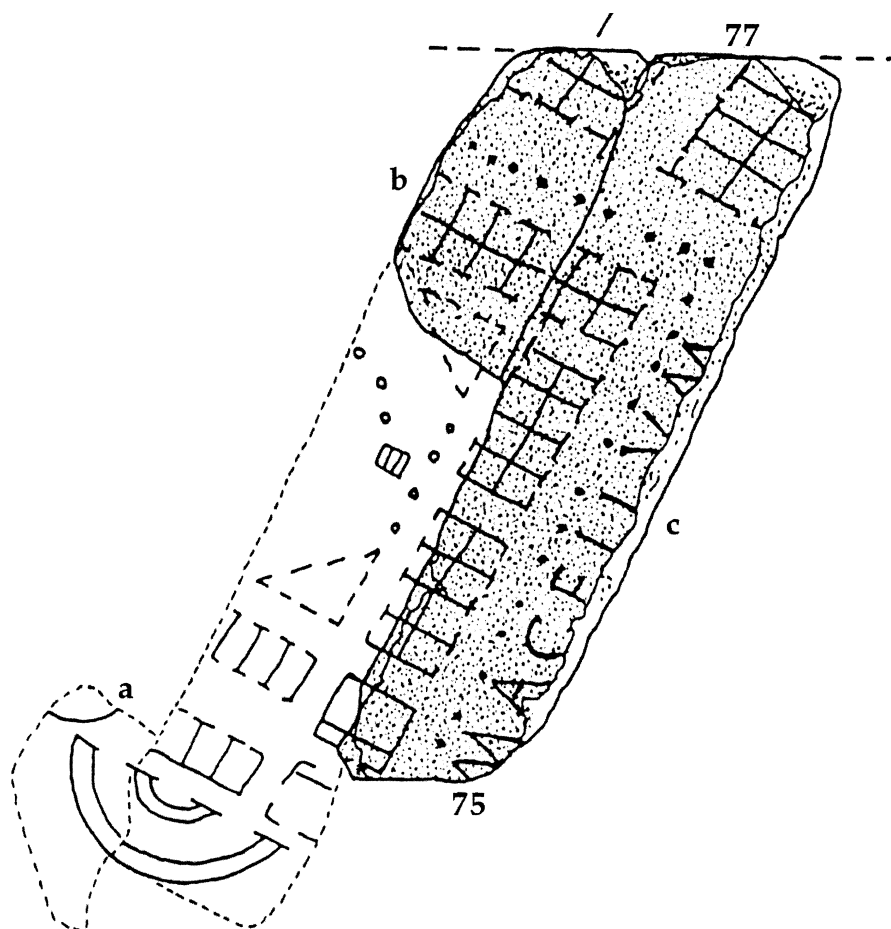


Fig. 13. Fragment of the *Forma Urbis Romae* with the depiction of a *macellum* (DE RUYT 1983, Fig. 66)



Fig. 14. Coin depictions of Nero's *Macellum Magnum*. a: *dupondius* minted in Rome (inv.no.: n.1,209); b: *dupondius* minted in Lyon (inv.no: n.f.20,8) (Hungarian National Museum, Budapest – Medal Cabinet, photo: A. Dabasi)

The main problem with this Neronian building complex is related to the coin depictions themselves, because there are two different *macella* depicted on the *dupondii* (Fig. 14a–b).⁸⁸ The first series was minted in Rome, probably in AD 63. On the front, one finds an early portrait of Nero, as well as a two-storeyed *macellum* with a *portico*, a ramp and a *tholos* with conical roof on its carefully worked reverse. A statue is shown in the middle of the ground floor and fountains to each side. One can see a ballustrad in the upper storey. There are even the Corinthian capitals visible on this series, and there is inscription only on the later ones.

The other – later – series, minted in Lyon between AD 64 and 68, displays some differences: the capitals are Ionian and there is a frieze depicting animals on the upper storey. The roof here is dome-shaped. However, there are no fountains and it is inscribed with the words MAC(ellum) AUG(usti). According to C. De Ruyt, these differences are related to the fact that the building described by Cassius Dio as having been built in AD 59, was depicted in its original form on the earlier Roman series, but after the great fire in AD 64, the market was rebuilt in a different – or slightly different – style and this became the theme of the coin-series minted later in Lyon. This change corresponds well with a change in Neronian monetary politics.

According to most scholars, the full inscription – and its official name as well – may have been the following: MAC(ellum) AUG(usti) S(enatus) C(onsultum). The other name, *Macellum Magnum*, became widespread after it appeared on a tombstone in Rome, on which a certain L. Calpurnius Daphnus is mentioned, who was *argentarius Macelli Magni* and received Roman citizenship under the reign of Tiberius or Claudius /TI(berius) CLAUDIUS AUG(ustus) L(ibertus).⁸⁹ There is even another inscription mentioning a *procurator macelli*.⁹⁰ There is another suggestion to explain its release: MAC(hina) AUG(usti) which would in this case have meant the famous rotunda of the *Domus Aurea*.

The only known *tholos*-type *macellum* in Rome has not yet been identified archaeologically. All we have is a more or less accurate depiction of this building on coins contemporary with two different building phases, therefore it is very hard to compare this structure to the one in Aquincum.

The final Italian example of this type comes from Puteoli in South Italy (Fig. 15). This barely datable complex was first investigated between 1750 and 1753 after a statue of Serapis came to light here. Since then – and sometimes even today – this building has often been referred to as the temple of Serapis. Some have even described this structure as a bath building on the base of a water-reservoir placed behind the eastern *exedra* of the building. Excavation started again between 1809 and 1820, although a correct and scientific publication and the identification of the complex as *macellum* had to wait until 1909. This was the year C. Dubois published the results of his excavations of the Roman ruins of Puteoli, dedicating a whole chapter to the market.⁹¹

The building – situated 100 m from the sea and the area of the ancient harbour – is a rectangular structure (58 m × 75 m). It has a *tholos* in the inner court which is surrounded by a *portico*. There are *tabernae* on all four sides. The only asymmetrical part of the complex is the central part of the eastern side: in the centre one finds a large room with an apse followed by two smaller rooms and two *latrina* on both sides of it. The main entrance comprised a huge room with two columns and a vestibule on the western side of the market, which thus faced onto the sea.

There were 12 *tabernae* altogether: six facing the street, six opening onto the inner court off the main façade of the building. These latter had marble wall-covering up to a height of 60 cm while the others had stucco walls. The shops were closed with door-wings or sliding doors judging from the grooves and holes in the thresholds where they were attached. The shops probably had upper stories as shown by the remains of stairwells in front of the *tabernae*.

⁸⁸ The description of the two types is given by: DE RUYT 1983, 182–183. On the basis of this distinction, the coin on Fig. 14a was probably minted in Rome, the other (Fig. 14b) was probably minted later in Lyon. Here I would like to thank Dr. Melinda Torbágyi and Edit Farkas (Hungarian National Museum, Medal Cabinet) for the photos of the coins.

⁸⁹ CIL VI 9183.

⁹⁰ CIL VI 1648.

⁹¹ DUBOIS 1909, 286–313. For more detail: DE RUYT 1983, 150–158.

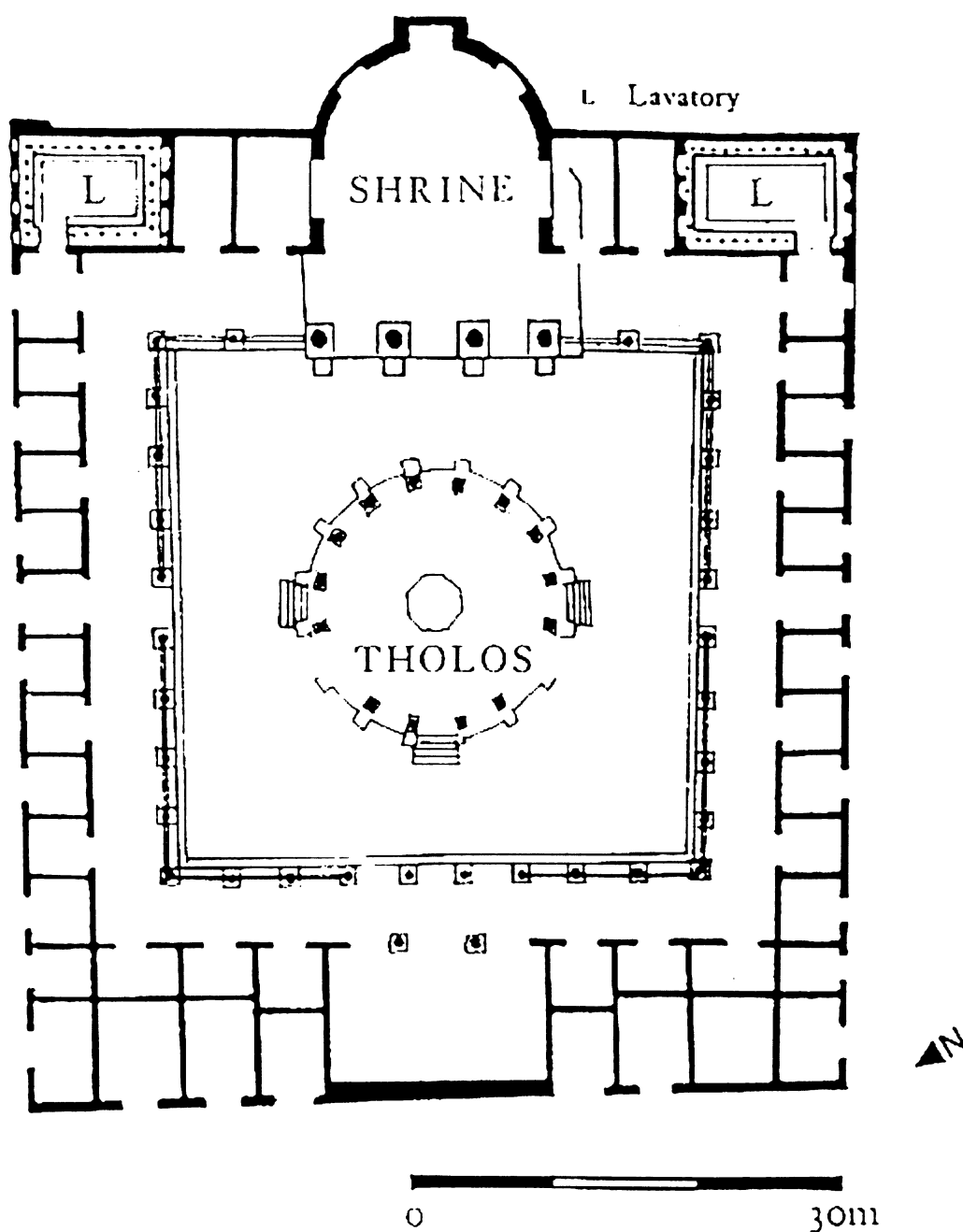


Fig. 15. Ground plan of the *macellum* in Puteoli (WARD-PERKINS 1997, Fig. 96)

The square *tholos* was a circular construction 18.23 m in diameter with 10 columns (African marble, Corinthian capitals). Sea-creatures such as Tritons and Nereides were carved on the bases of these columns. Statue-bases were placed before the columns with white “vases” between them. This outer column-ring may have been reached by ramps which had dolphins carved on both their sides. Excavators even found iron rings, probably serving to tether animals, fixed in the pavement here. The other part of this *tholos* had an octagonal base, under which a slab with a hole was found. According to scholars, this functioned as a plug-hole for the channels running through this zone.

An *exedra* with a four-stepped stair-case was constructed in the eastern part of the *macellum*.

Here, beside the above-mentioned Serapis statue, archaeologists found statues of Bacchus, a Faun and depictions of the Dioscuri, Orestes and Electra. The presence of Serapis reflects the function of the *exedra* as a Serapis-temple, which of course, does not exclude its market function.⁹²

There were two more shops on both sides of the *exedra* and two latrina as well at its corners.

The exact dating of the building of the complex is still not known, partly because of the lack of finds from the early excavations. There are only a few inscriptions from the site. A. Degrassi published two identical inscriptions at the end of the 1940s which might help in identifying the building as a *macellum* (as had been done earlier by C. Dubois). It was thought that one of the inscriptions came from Herculaneum while the other was copied from the original in the *macellum* in the 18th century. Both of them were later lost.⁹³ In addition, there are two more inscriptions on statue bases mentioning Severus Alexander and Orbiana.⁹⁴

During control excavations were carried out in the inner courtyard of the building to pinpoint the construction date archaeologists found a building with mosaics. Scholars came to the conclusion that although the exact building date of this early construction (first market) is unknown, it was seriously damaged either during the AD 62 earthquake or the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79. Reconstruction took place during the reign of the Flavians.⁹⁵ Another reconstruction took place in the building during the Severan-period, when lead water-pipes were installed, brick-walls were raised and imported marble was used as paneling. Neither do we have data on the construction date of the *tholos*, although it is later than the portico in the inner court. That the market was in use over a long period is shown by the *ripa macelli* (quay?) phrase appearing in inscriptions in Puteoli, which can be dated to the reign of Theodosius, Arcadius and Honorius (AD 394–395).

The level of the market building has been constantly sinking and rising since Antiquity. Even nowadays, it is sometimes under water.

Comparing the Puteoli and Aquincum *macella* one can only say, that the Italian example seems a lot more representative and richly decorated building with monumental architectural settlements (as being partly a religious structure) while the Aquincum structure is simpler, adapted to everyday needs and even its ground plan is different.

The *tholos*-type *macellum* is most common in Asia Minor. Probably all date to the AD 2nd century but the exact dating of their phases is made difficult by the fact that most of them were excavated only in the 19th century and there has been no systematic research on them since. This is reflected in the brief descriptions that can be given about them. Comparing any of them to the market in Aquincum is very hard because of the incomplete ground plans and lack of finds.

One of them comes from *Aezani* in ancient Phrygia (today's Cavdarhisar in Turkey) (*Fig. 16*). The town had been under Roman authority since 133 BC.⁹⁶ The settlement is divided in two by the Rhyndakos river. Up to the 20th century, the only known part of the *macellum* was the *tholos*, built on the eastern bank of the river. The first excavations there began in the 19th century and were followed by excavations in 1947, on the occasion of the construction of a new market-building and next in 1970, following an earthquake, when R. Naumann began to investigate the *tholos* systematically. The Roman market was placed behind the river-quay, between two bridges. Its area may hypothetically have been 40 m × 60 m. Its inner construction is still unknown, only a few fragments of columns referring to some kind of portico. We have more information about the much better excavated circular *tholos*: it was 13.27 m in diameter, and 2.57 m high. The building stood on a podium and was accessible by ten steps. It was probably surrounded by ten columns, the plinth was covered with orthostates-slabs, of which two are still *in situ*. Diocletian's price edict, "*De preciiis*" is carved on these slabs.⁹⁷

⁹² There were shrines for the protective gods in most *macella*: for the gods worshipped in the *macella* see: DE RUYT 1983, 373–375.

⁹³ CIL X 1450 and 1701.

⁹⁴ CIL X 1652–54.

⁹⁵ Nowadays, the possibility that there was building work in

the AD 2nd century has arisen: personal communication from G. Camodeca.

⁹⁶ The Princetown...1976, 16.

⁹⁷ For the price edict, see: CRAWFORD–REYNOLDS 1977, 125–151.

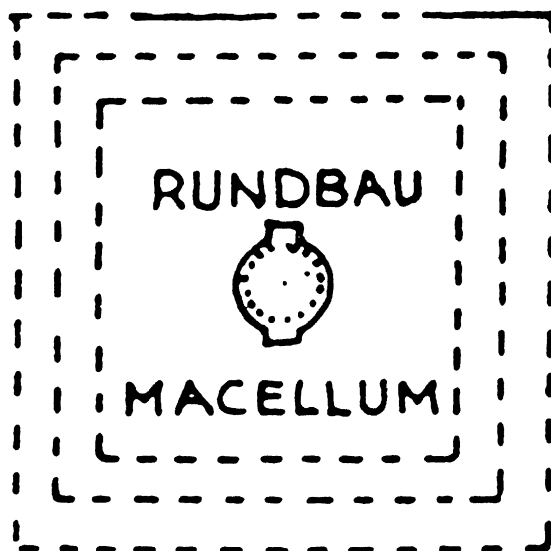


Fig. 16. Ground plan of the *macellum* of Aezani (NAUMANN 1986, 123)

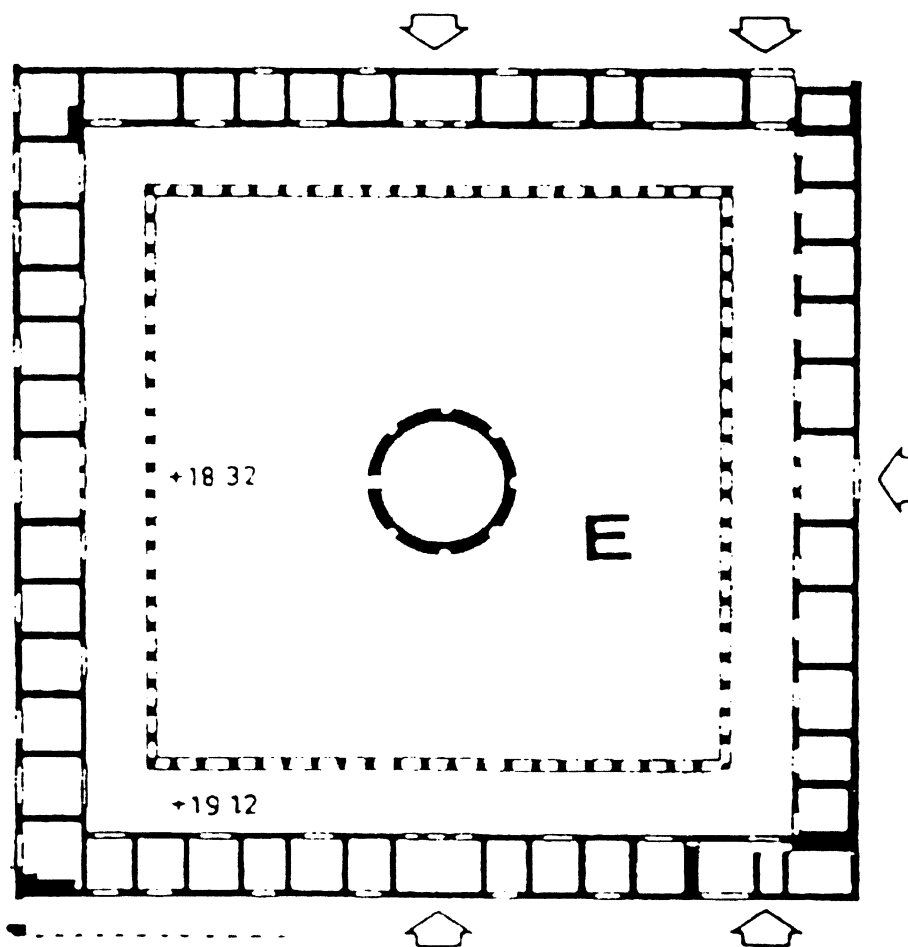


Fig. 17. Ground plan of the *macellum* of Perge (MANSEL 1975, Abb. 14)

Dating of the complex is problematic and only the architectural details of the *podium* can be of help because of its many similarities with the *podium* of the local Zeus temple and another temple nearby. Thus, the *macellum* could have been built in the middle or in the second half of the AD 2nd century. The complex was still in use in the AD 4th century as shown by the “*De precii*” inscription. We also have data about its Byzantine period use as a cemetery. No archaeological material exists from any of these phases.

The next *macellum* of this type from Asia Minor comes from Perge (Fig. 17). The market building lies within the walls of the Pamphylian town, close to the southern gate. The first excavations were carried out in the 19th century by K. G. Lanckoroński. The next excavations took place between 1955 and 1956. In 1970 and 1973, A. M. Mansel unearthed the ruins and identified certain parts of the building.⁹⁸ He showed that the area of the complex was, more or less, a square (75.9 m × 75.92 m) with an inner portico. Sixteen of the shops which lined the inner courtyard on all four sides, opened to the street while another 23 opened towards the inner courtyard on its eastern side.⁹⁹ The area of the *macellum* sloped to the south and here the portico was some 7.8 m high, which lead scholars to conclude that this side had an upper storey. The market could have been accessed from all four sides through a two-columned *vestibulum* and smaller doors. The *tholos* was 50 m in diameter and stood in the middle of the inner courtyard.

The date of construction is again problematic, relying on the architectonic fragments. The ornaments on the portico and the fact that Perge underwent an urban reorganization in the AD 2nd century¹⁰⁰ all suggest that the first half of the AD 2nd century should be accepted as the date of construction. The whole market-complex remained in use throughout the Roman period. The *tholos* was re-covered with a dome in Byzantine times and later a well was added as well. The archaeological material recovered from these excavations are unfortunately not published.

The third *tholos*-type *macellum* comes from Side, close to Perge (Fig. 18). The first excavations were carried out by the same A. M. Mansel who discovered the “*agora*” in 1950.¹⁰¹ The rectangular inner court (65.5 m × 65.7 m) was surrounded by a portico comprised of 100 Corinthian columns. *Tabernae* were placed behind the northwestern and northeastern part of the building – a deviation from the other *macella* of this type in Asia Minor.¹⁰² There were two large *exedrae* behind the southern portico. A *latrina* was unearthed in the northwestern corner of the complex, which would have held up to 24 people.

The *tholos* was located in the southwestern part of the inner courtyard. It is a *podium*-temple, 9.9 m in diameter. The pyramid-shaped roof was supported by 12 pilasters and 12 Corinthian columns. Inside, the ceiling was decorated with frescoes, depicting the zodiac. Of this, only small fragments survived. Other decorations include a fragment of a garland-frieze and a richly carved ledge. The stairs from the entrance opened from the south. A small angular niche to hold the cult-statue was situated in front on the stairs on the inside. According to A. M. Mansel, the *tholos* was a Tyche temple, judging from a coin of Emperor Gallienus, on which a building with a Tyche statue inside and a pyramid-shaped roof is visible.¹⁰³

The *macellum* of Side can be dated to the AD 2nd century on the basis of analogies and its architectural characteristics. No archaeological material is known from this building either.

There is one more of this type of *macella* in Asia Minor from the Pamphylian city of Sagalassos (Fig. 19). This town lies to the north of the two above-mentioned settlements and also became well known after the travels of K. G. Lanckoroński, who wrote a monograph on Pamphylian towns in 1892.¹⁰⁴ The *macellum*

⁹⁸ MANSEL 1975, 76–80. Provides a detailed description: DE RUYT 1983, 129–133. Mentions only: MELLINK 1958, 98 and AKURGAL 1985, 331.

⁹⁹ The average size of the *tabernae* were 6.5 m × 4 m or 6 m. The groundplan “grew” towards the northern side. The function of the rooms – with the exception of a *latrina* – could not be determined.

¹⁰⁰ This was when the theatre and the row of *tabernae* lining the *cardo maximus* were all built using similar techniques and in the same style. See: footnote 98.

¹⁰¹ MANSEL 1956, 45–50. Mentioned by: AKURGAL 1985, 337–338.

¹⁰² According to scholars the shops had economic as well as religious functions. Some even have suggested that the slave-market was located here.

¹⁰³ For the identification see: footnote 101.

¹⁰⁴ LANCKOROŃSKI 1892, 135–137.

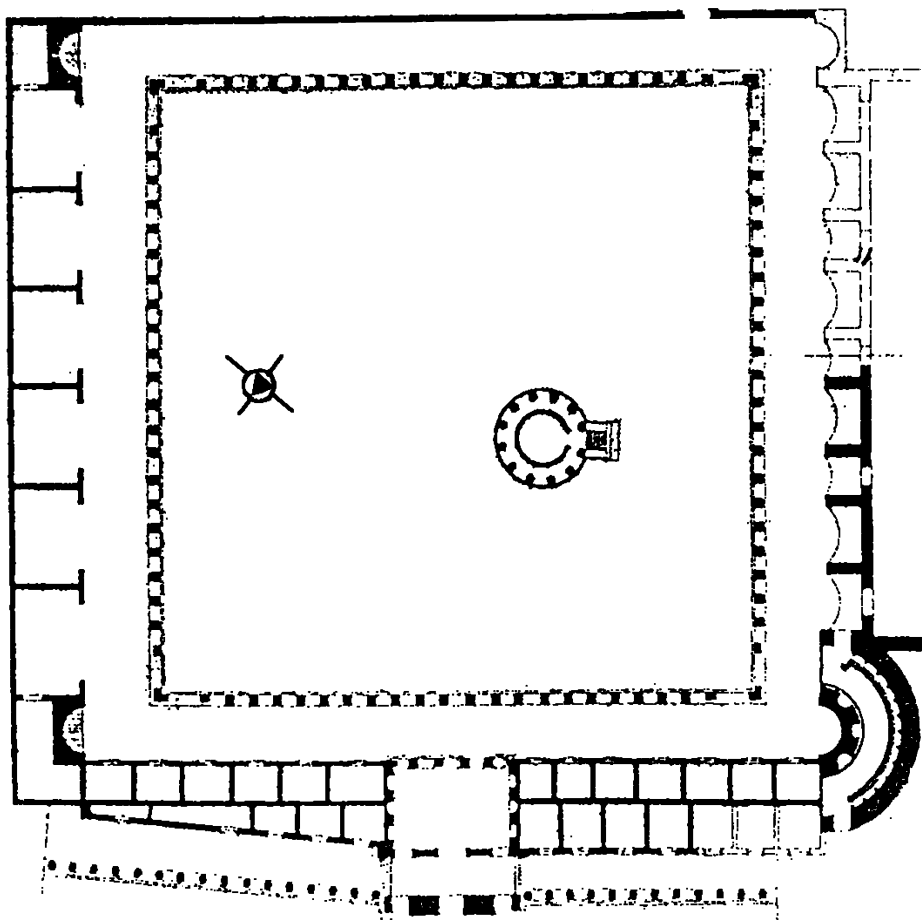


Fig. 18. Ground plan of the *macellum* of Side (MANSEL 1956, Abb. 7)

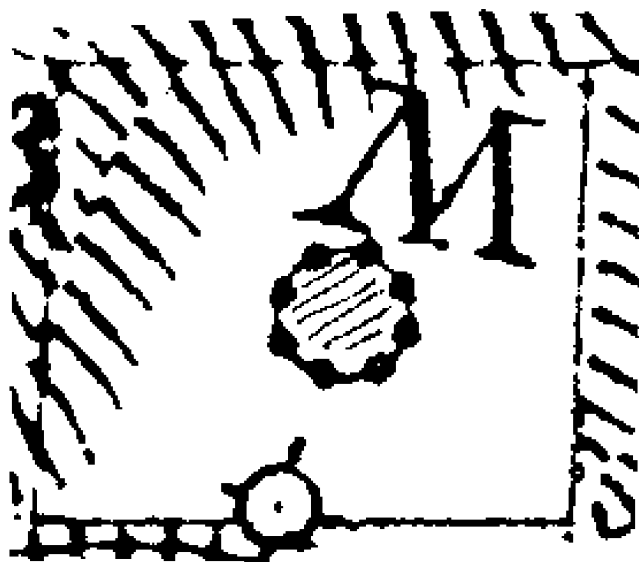


Fig. 19. Ground plan of the *macellum* of Sagalassos (LANCKOROŃSKI 1892, 137)

was constructed on the so-called Upper Agora, which was constructed in the uppermost terrace under the reign of Claudius. There has been no systematic research so far in this building so it is only possible to describe the complex according to the 19th century-report¹⁰⁵: the entrances to the square *macellum* which measured approximately 40 m × 45 m are not known, but there could not have been any on the southern and eastern side, because of the steep slope. The main entrance must have been on the northern side, judging from the main road which runs here. The exact parameters and forms of the *tabernae* are unknown, but according to C. De Ruyt, these must have been similar in size, opening onto the inner courtyard.¹⁰⁶ The *tholos* was approximately 7.3 m in diameter and stood on a three-stepped podium. It was surrounded with 9 columns with Attic bases, and there were carved stone blocks in the intervals between the columns.

This market is mentioned in a Greek inscription which belonged to the architrave of the portico.¹⁰⁷ According to this inscription, the donor was a certain P. Aelius Anthiocos Acylas, priest of the emperor's cult and town magister, who, beside other donations, gave some 13,000 sestercius for the construction of the *macellum*. This inscription described the inner courtyard as a 23 m long, paved area with a portico around it. Its columns and their bases were also described by K. G. Lanckoroński.

The building of the market-complex can be dated between AD 180 and 192, on the basis of the inscription. No material has been published from this *macellum* either.

Tholos-type *macella* were also frequent in Roman North-Africa. The earliest – and best documented – *macellum* was found in *Leptis Magna* and was built between 9 and 8 BC (*Fig. 20*). This building differs from the above-mentioned *macella* only in the shape of the inner courtyard which was elongated and rectangular with two (!) *tholoi* in the center. The only similar complex is the one in Carnuntum (see above). J. B. Ward-Perkins considers this Lepitian example to be the prototype of the Romano-African *macellum*, which originated in Magna Graecia.¹⁰⁸

The *macellum* of this traditionally Punic town was constructed in a busy area: it was bounded by the *cardo maximus* (*via Triumphalis*) on the east, and two *decumani* on the west and north. The orientation of the building differs from that of the roads: it runs northwest-southeast. This difference is due to the fact that the roads – according to inscriptions – were only constructed in AD 35–36. This anomaly was later corrected by irregular, more-or-less, trapezoidal rooms placed against the exterior walls of the market.

There were two phases of excavations here: G. Guidi was the first archaeologist to begin to dig out the ruins from the sand between 1925 and 1935. Next, in 1947, Italian scholars opened test trenches to identify building phases. Most parts of the building were reconstructed between 1945 and 1948.¹⁰⁹ The excavations revealed at least six building phases. The present market which can be seen today took its form during the Severan reconstruction-programs.

The complex itself was built on a square *podium* (70 m × 42 m). The walls were of limestone and sandstone blocks using the *opus quadratum* method and covered with marble slabs.

In the following all four sides of the building will be dealt separately.

The southwestern side of the market should be considered the main façade of the original, 1st-century BC building. A 25 m long dedicatory inscription refers to this early construction which can be dated to between 9 and 8 BC. According to it a certain Annobal Tapapius Rufus, a local aristocrat who fulfilled the position of *sufes*, *flamen*, and *praefectus sacrorum*, financed the construction of the *macellum* at his own expense.¹¹⁰ The Latin inscription is incomplete, but is reconstructable on the base of the same inscription in Punic, found on the sandstone *tholos*. This inscription was later plastered over. Some parts of it had already fallen off at the time of later reconstructions. We know of five doors on this side. Fresco and stucco fragments were also found on this side: red, ochre, green stripes, concentric circles, garlands and Amor figures decorated the walls.

¹⁰⁵ *Op. cit.*: 135–137. See also DE RUYT 1983, 189–190.

¹⁰⁶ DE RUYT 1983, fig.70.

¹⁰⁷ LANCKOROŃSKI 1892, II, n.210.

¹⁰⁸ WARD-PERKINS 1970a, 15 and WARD-PERKINS 1970b, 107–108.

¹⁰⁹ The basic publication for the *macellum*: DEGRASSI 1951,

27–70. The second volume of this work was not ever published. A summary of the publication: DE RUYT 1983, 97–106. Mentions: WARD-PERKINS 1997, 373–376. No archaeological material has so far been published from the excavations.

¹¹⁰ GOODCHILD 1950, 72–76.

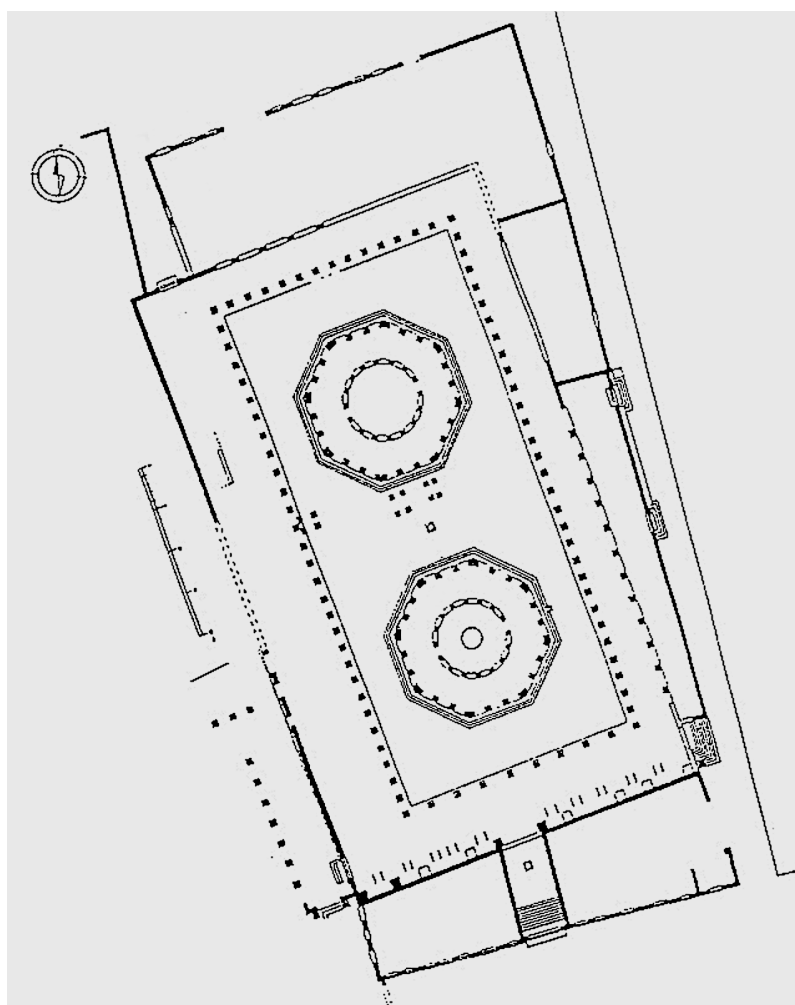


Fig. 20. Ground plan of the *macellum* of Leptis Magna (BANDINELLI et al. 1963, Fig. 233)

The southeastern side of the building that faced the *cardo maximus* was later to become the main façade of the market. Between the boundary wall of the market and the road there is a trapezoidal area which is divided in two by the wide stair-case of the entrance. The 9 steps lead to a *podium* where there is a base for the M. Emilius Rufinus, shown wearing a toga. The façade of the entrance which was composed of huge pilasters and arches is matter of discussion: D. Vincifori reconstructed a great central and several smaller arches, while R. G. Goodchild thought there were alternating small and tall arches. This entrance did not belong to the original *macellum* donated by A. Tapapius Rufus: its construction is datable to the Severan era. This last reconstruction occurred together with significant changes in the ground plan of the building: the trapezoidal area was formed from some former rooms,¹¹¹ which were then eliminated. In sum, this is the side of the building-complex where different phases can be traced: at the time of construction there were only decorative arches with no function. Later, when the neighbouring roads were paved under the reign of Tiberius, shops were constructed in the trapezoidal area. During the Severan reconstruction these *tabernae* (?) were demolished and a new main entrance was built, together with an impressive stair-case.

¹¹¹ Some 13 thresholds show us the place of these early shops.

The original boundary wall of the *macellum* on the north-eastern side was demolished during the Tiberian rebuilding. The function of the irregularly shaped rooms excavated here are unknown. A hoard of 2,115 coins from the reign of Constantinus II and Procopius came to light in one of these rooms. The excavations revealed a trapezoidal “*aula*” in the south, separated from the market itself. Fragments of two monumental inscriptions were found here. One was probably dedicated to Emperor Tiberius (between AD 31 and 37) the other is a donation of an unknown proconsul, who financed the construction of an also unknown building. According to the excavator N. Degrassi, this “*aula*” was in use only for a short time.

The short northwestern side was the least preserved of the original construction of A. Tapapius Rufus, because of later rebuilding work. A huge, square room with a mosaic floor is worth mentioning here which also dates to the later phases. Its function and relation to the *macellum* is unknown.

Both *tholoi* were composed of two parts: a central circular building and an octagonal portico in a circle. These small round buildings must have been a place for selling goods, as we have no information about real *tabernae* in the *macellum*.

The northern *tholos* was built of limestone on a sandstone base. It was 9 m in diameter. The central circular block was composed of pilasters with Corinthian capitals and arches with sills, which must have served as stalls, probably for selling fish.¹¹² The legs of the stalls were formed of reliefs depicting dolphins and griffins. An AD 1st century inscription was also discovered here, according to which a donation was made here by two *aediles* Ti. Claudius Amicus and M. Heliodorus Apollonides.¹¹³ Large pieces of another inscription were unearthed here during the excavations. These inscriptions were probably part of the building-inscription of this *tholos*. The octagonal portico was constructed of eight limestone Ionic angle-pilasters with a heart-shaped cross-section. Between these pilasters stood two Ionic columns. The holes serving for the beams holding the roof of the portico are still visible in the architrave. The other ends of the beams were inserted into the sill of the *tholos*.

The southern *tholos* was built of sandstone and covered with marble slabs. Its ground plan is exactly the same as that of the northern one. The central round building is completely destroyed, although archaeologists found a marble covered basin which did not belong to the original *tholos*. There were no stalls, but a few fragments of the Punic version of the above-mentioned Latin inscription of A. Tapapius Rufus were found here.

The portico was built entirely of marble. The capitals – just like the ones in the Severan *forum* of Leptis (*Forum Novum*) – were decorated with carved lotus leaves. The octagonal portico was covered with wooden roof, just as in the case of the other *tholos*.

The inner court of the market was surrounded by 80 Corinthian columns. The method of carving of the capitals is different in each case. Research on the portico showed that the side facing the *cardo maximus* is a later addition: even the intercolumns and their bases are different. The present form of the porticoed court is a Severan construction. The pavement is made of white marble slabs. Six bases for magister-busts survived as did a bilingual dedication (Latin and Punic) to Liber Pater by a certain Boncarth Mutnumbalis, a member of the *Illviri macelli*.¹¹⁴ Two tables of measurements came to light here as well: one for volume and the other one for linear measures. The latter was inscribed with the Latin, Punic and Egyptian system of measurement intervals.

Another statue base with an inscription is known from the western side of the portico, according to which it was dedicated to C. Marcius Dento, who was *augustalis*, *sufes* and *flamen perpetuus* in the AD 2nd century.¹¹⁵

The *macellum* in Leptis Magna went through several reconstructions. The main body of the complex (with the two sandstone *tholoi*) already stood in 9–8 BC. The great Tiberian town reconstruction and road-construction campaign reached the market as well: the empty spaces between the building and the roads were built in, perhaps with the construction of several *tabernae*. This could have been the time when

¹¹² Approximately 30 salesmen altogether might have worked here.

¹¹³ IRT 590.

¹¹⁴ IRT 294.

¹¹⁵ IRT 600.

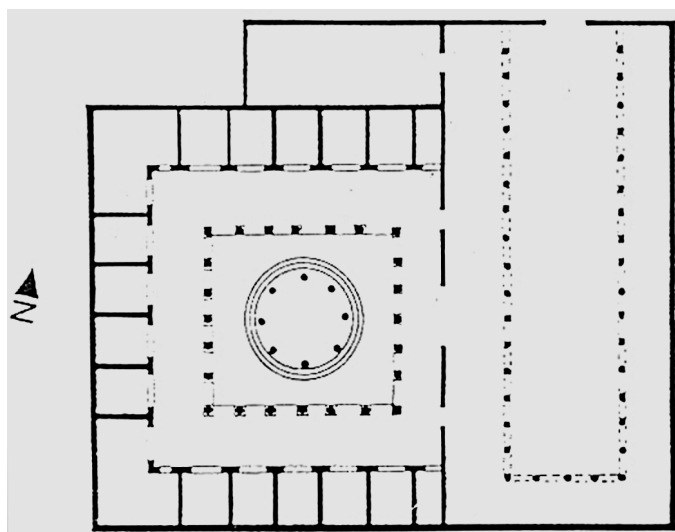


Fig. 21. Ground plan of the *macellum* of Hippo Regius (WARD-PERKINS 1997, fig. 264)

the stalls of the northern *tholos* were constructed. During the Flavian era the Ras-el-Hammra mines began their operations, so limestone became the favourite building material in this zone. The above-mentioned northern *tholos* was built in limestone at that time. The next reconstruction took place during the reign of the Leptis born emperor, Septimius Severus and his son, Caracalla. Their renovation-campaign resulted in many changes in the *macellum*: the portico was reconstructed, the southern *tholos* was covered with marble slabs, new entrances were built, the trapezoidal rooms were rebuilt and finally a new main façade and entrance was constructed. The complex remained in use for centuries. In the beginning of the AD 4th century, an earthquake destroyed most of it: an inscription commemorates the renovation of the portico between AD 317 and 327 by Laeriotius Romulus. At the time of the fall of the Roman Empire there were only primitive huts standing above the ruins of this once fascinating *macellum*.

The market-building of Leptis Magna is also a monumental example of the type. Like the one in Aquincum this building also underwent several reconstructions, particularly the southeastern side. Considering the ground plan of this North African complex, this *macellum* shows similarities rather to the market-building of Carnuntum.

The next analogy is the market of Hippo Regius. This is an unique building within the group of the *tholos*-type *macelli*, as it is composed of two building: the main body of the market-building and a portico added later (Fig. 21).

The complex is situated northeast of the *forum* and north of the *decumanus maximus* of the town. It occupies a whole *insula* on its own. Excavations were carried out here by M. Marec in 1958–59 and a preliminary report was written by J. Lassus. We still await publication of the results and the archaeological finds.¹¹⁶ The *macellum* itself is composed of an inner court of 39 m × 34 m² with a portico and shops on at least three sides. All together, 20 *tabernae* are known. Their areas are 20 m² or 27 m² with marble thresholds and stone stalls at their entrances. The *tholos* itself is 9.7 m in diameter and, as usual, was set a three-stepped marble *podium*. The outer ring of columns is missing today.

A few decorative elements are worthy of note: a water-spout decorated with a mask and a couple of statue bases. The function of this round building is further emphasized by the weights, pieces of scales, coins, jars and amphorae found there. Two large stone slabs came to light in a room which opened from the porticoed entrance which could have been a *ponderarium*, according to J. Lassus.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ LASSUS 1959, 311–314. For a more detailed description: DE RUYT 1983, 89–94.

¹¹⁷ No detailed description is available about this material, for a brief report see: footnote 116.

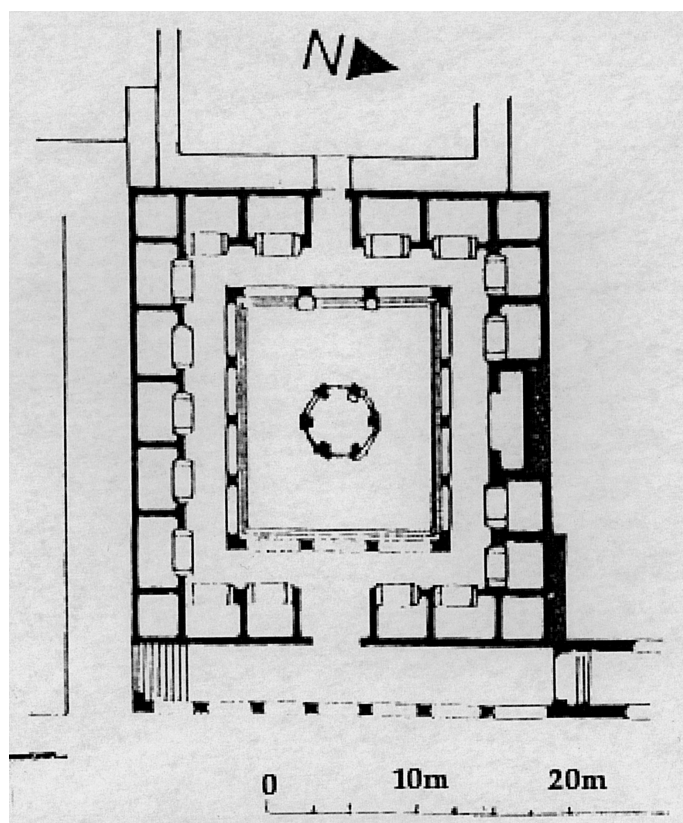


Fig. 22. Ground plan of the Cosinius-macellum of Cuicul (WARD-PERKINS 1997, fig. 264)

The porticoed court, added later to the *macellum*, is sometimes identified as a *vestibulum*. Its main axis lies perpendicular to the axis of the market, and its entrance opens from the north. Three fragments of inscriptions are also known from the site. One is a 4th century fragment judging from the dedication to Valentinian and Valens.¹¹⁸ The word *macellum* is legible on two others making the identification of the building more secure.¹¹⁹

The building phases of the *macellum* in Hippo Regius are only partly known. The main market-building with a *tholos* was constructed some time in the first period although its exact date is uncertain: C. De Ruyt mentions a stray fragment from an inscription datable either to the reign Claudius or Nero, although it could have come from elsewhere as well. J. Lassus suggested a date in the AD 2nd century which would likewise correspond with the renovation of the *forum*, rebuilding the roads in stone and the construction of the main channels. The construction of the court to the east dates to the 4th century (AD 364–367) to the reign of Valentinian and Valens, on the basis of the above-mentioned epigraphic remains. The style of the capitals of the columns and the motifs of the mosaic pavement found here seem to strengthen this datation. At the end of the Roman Empire, the invading Vandals were already using this area as a cemetery and even the *tholos* was used for burying their dead.

Comparing this *macellum* to the one in Aquincum, besides the similarities in the find material, which definitely characterize a market (weights, scales, amphorae etc.) the form of the ground plan is also similar.

The Cosinius-macellum in Cuicul is the last North African *macellum* belonging to this group (Fig. 22). It was built by a certain L. Cosinius Primus who, together with his brother, were prominent people in

¹¹⁸ Mentioned by DE RUYT 1983, 93.

¹¹⁹ LASSUS 1956, 246: (...)iae vetus(tate) (.../....) macelli totiu(s)

the town.¹²⁰ There are eight inscriptions attributable to the brothers, of which three mention the *macellum*¹²¹ saying that L. Cosinius Primus built the complex at his own expense for 30,000 sesteritius (*macellum a fundamentis*) with the curatorship of his brother, C. Cosinius Maximus (AÉp 1916, 35 and CRAI 1915, p. 320) and was responsible for several other pieces of equipment: “*cum columnis et / statuis et ponderario et tholo*” (AÉp 1916, 36). A shorter inscription (CRAI 1915, 316) was inscribed on a stone slab for volumetric measures and informs us that L. Cosinius Primus created a *ponderarium* at his own expense. There are three other inscriptions from the area of the Capitolium according to which the *ordo* of Cuicul donated a coach and statues to the brothers (AÉp 1914, 32, AÉp 1916, 33–34). There is also the base for a statue of Mercury which was donated by them (AÉp 1916, 37).

The market itself is situated on a hill, northeast of the forum below the *basilica*. French archaeologists conducted excavations here in 1915, cleared up the ground plan and dated the building on the basis of the inscriptions.¹²² The archaeological material is unfortunately not published.

The building is composed of a nearly square inner court (22 m × 24 m), the surrounding *tabernae*, a *porticus* and the *tholos*. The walls were constructed of *opus africanum*. Its main façade opened to the *cardo maximus* and this was further emphasized by a row of columns, creating a 3.5 m wide corridor with steps leading to the *macellum*. The shops – there were 14 of them – each measured 2.15 m × 2.5–3 m and were placed symmetrically on all four sides of the building. Huge, richly carved stone slabs with legs imitating animals or human figures (Hercules, Satyrs) were placed at the doors of each of the shops, which made the rooms inaccessible. According to L. Leschi the *tabernae* were only accessible if one “slipped” under the “stone tables”. Their function is still not clear. They might have been used as stalls, although the accessibility problem is still not solved, because no other doors lead to these shops.

The function of most of the rooms were not identified during the excavations. In some cases, architectural elements or inscriptions refer to the original role of certain rooms: the last *taberna* on the southern side were associated with a round pond. Another central shop on the same side functioned as a *ponderarium*: a slab with ten holes and hooks for the official weights (*mensa ponderaria*) were found here in the wall. A *ponderarium* is mentioned in the inscription of L. Cosinius Primus, too (see above). There are other four smaller rooms at each corners of the building (2.15 m × 2.15 m) which could not have been accessible from the *porticus*. These must have functioned as store-rooms for the shops.

The inner *porticus* was composed of ten columns with pillars at the corners. The frieze with the dedicatory inscription was attached to this row of columns.

The central circular building was 5 m in diameter and was actually a hexagonal construction. According to the excavator, L. Leschi, a pond could have been placed in the middle of it, although there is nothing to prove this hypothesis. A few frieze-fragments are known from the architectural elements of the *tholos*: a garland fragment with the head of Mercury. We know of some column-bases as well and two dedicatory inscriptions to the God Mercury.

Other architectural elements of the *macellum* include column-bases from the main entrance, statue-bases for the God Mercury and the donator.

The construction of the market can be precisely dated to the reign of Emperor Antonius Pius (AD 138–161). A few modifications were carried out later when a room in the northern section was transformed into a pool. A door was opened onto another *taberna* and the above-mentioned eastern door was blocked.

The so-called Cosinius *macellum* in Cuicul is most similar to the one in Aquincum in terms of its size and ground plan: the African building measures 924 m², while the market in Aquincum is 1316 m². The orientation is also similar: both structures open to the *cardo maximus*. Although the find material is only partly known from this North African complex, thus it is hard to compare to that of the Aquincum *macellum*, there is one more reason to consider this structure as the model for the market-building of Aquincum,

¹²⁰ For the Cosinii brothers see chapter 7.2.

¹²¹ CRAI 1915, 316; AÉ 1914, 32; AÉ 1916, 32–37; CRAI 1915, 320. AÉ 1916, 36: this decorated the architrave of the inner

porticus. AÉ 1916, 37: The exact location of this inscription is unknown. CRAI 1915, 320: It was a stray find.

¹²² LESCHI 1953, 38–39. Summary: DE RUYT 1983, 61–67.

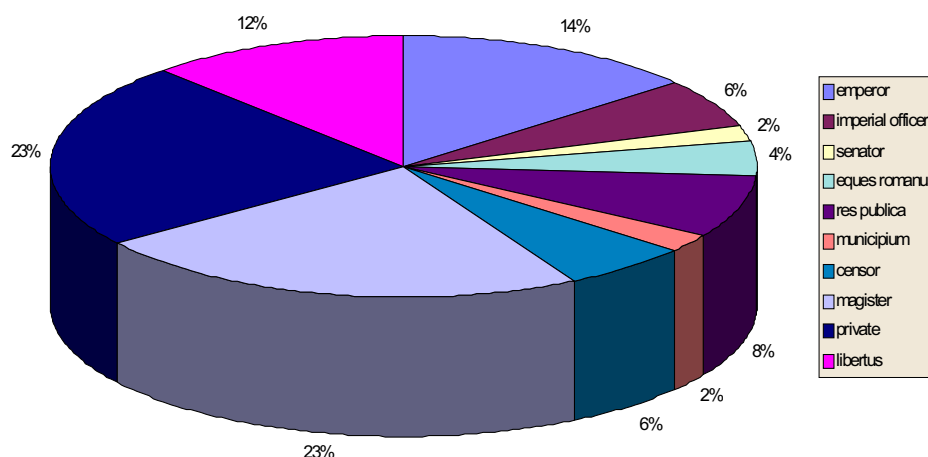


Fig. 23. Donators of *macella*. Diagram based on the data collected by C. De Ruyt (DE RUYT 1983, 351–55)

built nearly a century later. L. Cosinius Primus, donator of the Cuicul *macellum* seems to be in close relationship with P. Cosinius Felix, governor of Pannonia Inferior at the time of the construction of the Aquincum *macellum*. Before giving the details to strengthen this hypothesis it is worth to examine the social status of people donating *macella*.

7. DONATORS OF THE *MACELLA*

7.1. Social status of donator

The role played by the *macella* in the life of a Roman town has always been an important question for scholars. A. Sechi has pointed out that this type of building practice occurred in parallel with the progress of Romanization. He based his ideas on North African examples.¹²³ According to J. M. Frayn, there could be a prestige value to building a *macella*.¹²⁴ There are a great many surviving inscriptions mentioning financial markets which also provide a picture about the builders themselves. De Ruyt collected all the epigraphic data on *macella* for her doctoral dissertation.¹²⁵ She could demonstrate that the majority of the builders were local, town officers (*Iviri*, *aediles*, the patronus of the town, *sacerdotes*) in some cases *censores*, or even emperors or their “officers” (for example, the governor) could be responsible for building a *macellum*¹²⁶ (Fig. 23).

De Ruyt’s catalogue also sheds light on how private building projects (and not only for *macella*) gradually began to disappear from the end of the AD 2nd century. Only in North Africa do we still find intensive building activity during the period of the Severan emperors. State-financed building programs became more and more frequent. Only a few reconstruction works were paid for by towns by the AD 4th century. Such projects became the duty of the central government (through the *praefectus urbi* or governors).¹²⁷

Unfortunately, the building inscription from the *macellum* in Aquincum did not survive. Thus, we can only guess who its builder/ donator could have been.

¹²³ SECHI 1991, 345.

¹²⁴ FRAYN 1993, 105. It is worth noting that nearly *all* the building projects carried out in a town were of this type.

¹²⁵ DE RUYT 1983, 381–383. Index of the inscriptions

¹²⁶ *Op. cit.* 351–355.

¹²⁷ *Op. cit.* 353.

7.2. The possible builder of the Aquincum macellum (Fig. 24 and Fig. 25)

As has already been mentioned, the building inscription of the *macellum* of Aquincum that we assume was placed on the building is lost. In spite of this, several data could help to identify the builder of the complex: the date of construction (middle of the AD 3rd century) *macella* with similar ground plans and also the fact, that most public buildings were donated and financed by the emperor through his governors or other officers. Letters written by the Younger Pliny to emperor Trajan inform us of an important factor: the governor could not decide alone without permission, not even in cases of no importance although it is also true, that the emperor did not always pay attention to building-programs carried out in the provinces.¹²⁸ Thus it is possible, that a governor exercised his right in donating a building – in this case a *macellum* – and relied on his architects, experiences and cultural heritage brought from his homeland, and - of course – his own taste.

In the case of the Aquincum structure, the governor was a certain P. Cosinius Felix at the time of the construction, whose *nomen gentile* arises the question: was there any kind of family relation between the governor and the Cosinii brothers who donated the *tholos*-type Cuicul *macellum* about a hundred years earlier?

In order to answer this question all inscriptions (including the ancient sources) were collected mentioning the name Cosinius. Two name-variations were found in the 103 inscriptions in the Roman Empire: Cosinius and Cossinius. These were considered as two variations of the same family-name. According to the search made by the present author¹²⁹ an Italian, a Greek and an African branch can be identified.¹³⁰ The members of the African family-branch reached the senatorial rank and the Pannonian governor most probably comes from this side, bringing the family's noble heritage of making donations. As a model he could consider the market built by his own ancestors in Cuicul. Thus this could be the reason for the similarity of the two *macella*.¹³¹

8. CONCLUSION

This article hopefully fulfilled its main goal: rethinking the Aquincum *macellum* in every respect. The detailed description of the historical research showed that the theories arising in the last hundred years proved to be wrong in the lack of systematical excavations.

The breakthrough came in 1965, when K. Póczy carried out a controlled excavation in the market-building, but it remained unpublished for decades. The present author – after examining the find material and the documentation – distinguished four construction periods. The first horizon marked by a small ceramic-workshop, is the period before construction of the *macellum*: this was demolished around AD 240. The second phase is the time of the construction of the *tholos*-type *macellum*, at about AD 250. Around AD 260 reconstructions took place, changing the ground-plan of the complex. The next phase can be dated to the AD 4th century.

Considering the typical ground plan of the Aquincum market-building (*tholos*-type) it seemed logic to search for analogies elsewhere in the Roman Empire. After examining the etymology of the word “*macellum*” a search was made in order to find the closest parallel to the Pannonian structure. Taking into account all the markets belonging to the category of the *tholos*-type *macella*, most of them could not be potential models for two reasons: most were destroyed too early or their ground plan was different. According to the present author on the bases of the form, find material and the donating people only one could have served as an ideal model for the Aquincum complex: that is the market of Cuicul, donated by a certain L. Cosinius Primus.

¹²⁸ Plin.*epist.* 10,23,24 and 90, 91

¹²⁹ The epigraphical data and the relating bibliography was fully examined by the author in her diploma work. Unpublished.

¹³⁰ This type of “family-migration” was typical in the Roman Empire: see footnote 128 and LEVICK-JAMESON 1964, 98–106.

¹³¹ For the first version of this epigraphical research: LÁNG 2000, 200–248.

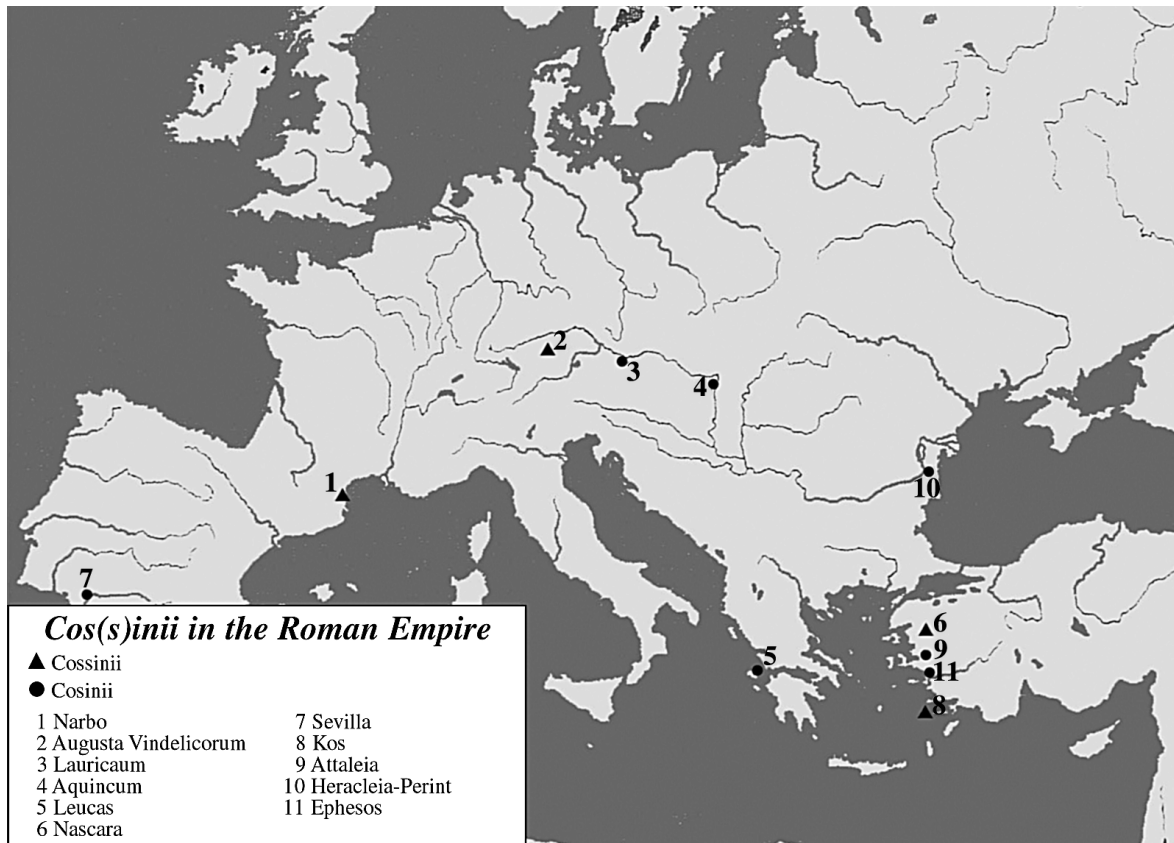


Fig. 24. Cosinii in the Roman Empire (Map from the writer's diploma work)

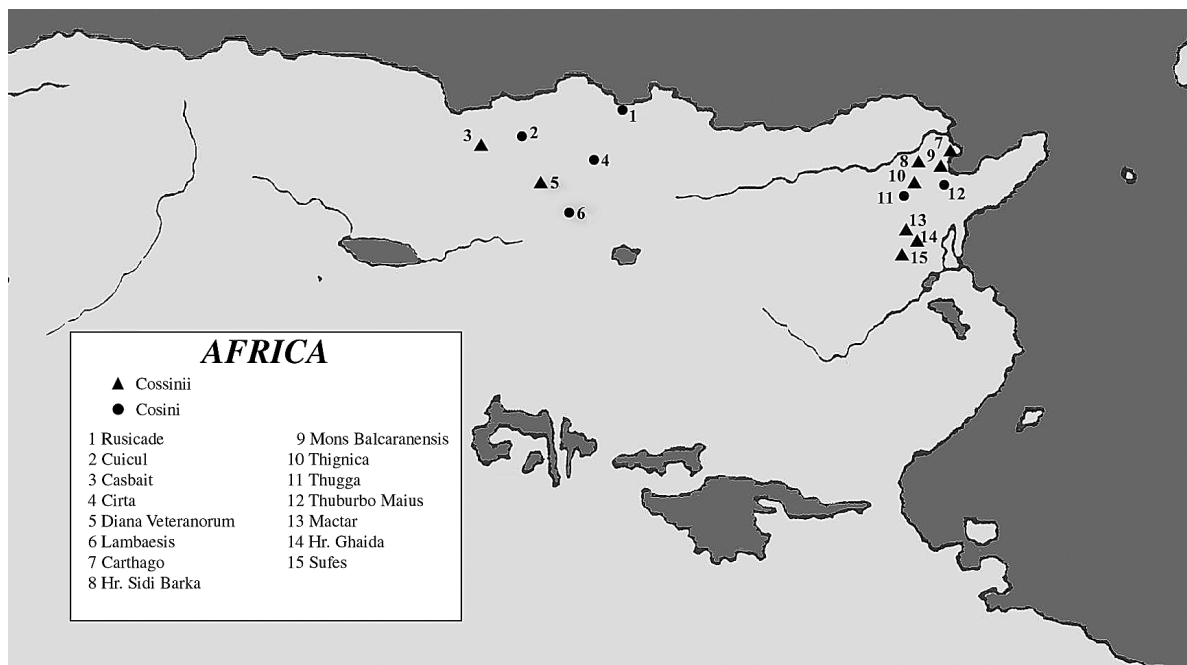


Fig. 25. Cosinii in the North African provinces (Map from the writer's diploma work)

Finally the writer's theory is given on the connection between the market of Cuicul and that of Aquincum, proposing that the Aquincum market-building, put up in the middle of the 3rd century AD on the bases of inscriptions and analogies, can be connected to a certain P. Cosinius Felix, governor at that time and probably originated from Africa.¹³²

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¹³² I have received a great help from my teachers and colleges. I would first like to thank Dr. Klára Póczy for her permission to work with the find material of the 1965-year excavation of the *macellum*. I am also grateful to Dr. Paula Zsidi, Prof. Dénes Gabler and Dr. László Borhy for their help. I would also like to

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- 1 Kuzsinszky 1890, 93.
2 Kuzsinszky postulated that the "missing" western part lay closer to the main north-south road (*cardo*) but was earlier removed for building material. Kuzsinszky 1890, 91.
3 This postulation has not been demonstrated so far through excavation.
4 Kuzsinszky 1890, 92-95.
5 Nagy 1937, 263. The remains of a room with columns was also unearthed in the same area.
6 Nagy 1945, 142.
7 Nagy 1945, 142.
8 Nagy 1942, 635.
9
10 Perini 1990, 131.
11 Nagy 1950, 538. He used the bronze smith workshop as a reference point for a glass workshop.
12 In connection with the excavation in 1929, Nagy does not mention the ceramic workshop as being close to the bronze smith.
13 The lamps were published by Szentleleky 1959, 181-184.
14 Póczy 1956, 125.
15
16 *op. cit.*
17 Póczy - Zsidi 1992, 33.
18 Thomas 1955, 89-91.
19 This was an exaggeration, as L. Nagy only excavated the southern edge of the building.
20 Until 1962, there was no further excavation work in the *tholos* after the work of Kuzsinszky who had only brought the wall-ring to light.
21 Szilágyi 1956, 31.
22 Nagy - Uroldi 1963, 17.
23 Analysis of the excavation material is in progress.
24 Póczy 1970, 19.
25 The exact location of the excavation is not known, the material remains unpublished: Régészeti Füzetek 16, 1963, 30. (Kaba M.)
26 Kaba 1963, 194.
27 Régészeti Füzetek 16, 1963, 30. (Kaba M., Parragi Gy.) Unpublished.
28 Póczy 1970, 19.
29 Kaba 1963, 30. A voluted lamp dated to the AD 1st century, was found under the northern part of the *macellum*.
30 There are other examples of ceramic workshops in the town; one in a southeastern section of Pompeii (workshop of Zosimus) and there are two others in the zone of the southern town-wall, one of which was a lamp-factory. La Rocca - de Vos 2000, 244, and Berry 1998, 61-62.
31 A lamp workshop was also found in the *macellum* of Neapolis see: the Chapter 5.
32 see above.
33 Zsidi 1993, 188-189.
34 Póczy 1970, 184, 186.
35 Martly 1993, 139.
36 There are two other Latin words for market: *forum* and *nundiae*. These are separately described by Frayn 1993, 1-4.
37 mentioned by De Ruyt 1983, 234. Footnote: 74.
38 Nabers 1973, 173-174, and 1977, 261.
39 De Meyer 1990a, 173-182 and 1990b, 783-792.
40 Gascoffi 1990a, 173-182 and 1990b, 783-792.
41 Thedenat 1908, 1457.
42 De Ruyt 1983, 234.
43 De Ruyt 1983, 234.
44 De Ruyt 1983, 235. Cites the Roman term *basilica* as an example, which originally came from the Greek word βασιλειᾶ (king).
45 *op. cit.* 1963, 76-77.
46 Livius Ab Urbe condita VI.27.1-4. and XL 51.4-6. and Varro *De Lingua* V,147.
47 Schneider 1978, 129.
48 Frayn 1993, 4-6.
49 De Ruyt 1983, 282.
50 Although of course, their size depended on the space available, they are basically quite small, for example: Cuicul, Saepium, Aquincum.
51 Frayn 1993, 108-114. Details about weights and measures.
52 De Ruyt 1983, 65.
53 De Ruyt 1983, 356-362. For the officers of the *macella* together with written sources.
54 *op. cit.* 1231. (Plaisance); inscription of a slave owned by the town.
55 C. VII. 8223. (Ambase)
56 Cicero *Quaestio* 1. The *atria Liciniana* mentioned here was the name of the auction-building and *Ad fam.* XV.17.2.
57 De Ruyt 1983, 286-301.
58 inwardly opening *tabernae* also occur in Italy (Alba Fucens)
59 Gascoffi 1990, 173-182.
60 Gascoffi assigned only two markets to this category, those of Pompeii and Puteoli. See the previous footnote.
61 Nabers 1973, 173-176.
62 for the question of origins see chapter 5.1.
63 Ward-Perkins 1970a, 15-16.
64 Aezani, Aquincum, Cuicul, Hippo Regius, Leptis Magna, Macellum Magnum, Morgantina, Neapolis, Perge, Pompeii, Puteoli, Sagalassos, Side.
65 for a detailed description of the excavation: Swoboda-Milenovic 1960, 16-28 and 1963/64 55-66.
66 Stieglitz et al. 1977, 610-611.
67 The wider connections of this complex are not known. The only excavated part of the northern section is a bath-building.
68 the deals with the building in Carthum in two different works: Ertel 1990, 181-204 and 1991, 232-237.
69 The above-mentioned altar from Room VII, also dates to this year.
70 Recently, his results were summarized by Ollner 1998, 92-99.
71 Ward-Perkins 1970, 15.
72 There are only preliminary reports of the American excavations carried out in the *macellum*: Stillwell-Sjöquist 1957, 151-159. Summary: De Ruyt 1983, 109-114. For another description of the building: Erm 1958, 79-90.
73 The suggestion that the building was abandoned was further reinforced by Strab. 6.2.4.
74 Reports on the excavations in: Mairuri 1942, 253-266. Summary: De Ruyt 1983, 137-148 and La Rocca-De Vos 2000, 128-132.
75 see chapter 3. Research history.
76 for a detailed description see: De Simone 1985a, 233-253. The same in a shorter version: De Simone 1985b 185-186.
77 The depictions on voluted lamps show gladiators, cats, bears, the Goddesses Minerva and Fortuna. For the photos see: De Simone 1985b, 193.
78 There are no descriptions of the upper rooms in the publications.
79 there is only a photo of the 5th century lamp: De Simone 1985b, 194.
80 Probably because of a "mud-avalanche", the date of the silting up is signaled by ceramic finds from the end of the AD 5th century.
81 The precise date of the construction is known from a literary source: Cassius Dio 61,18,3.
82 North 1949.
83 Jordan 1907, 237-238.
84 Rambold-Sear 1971, 40-47.
85 *op. cit.* VI 1450 and 1451.
86 For the problems of localizing the market on the basis of the *Forma Urbis Romae* see: Ruyt 1983, 176-184.
87 The description of the two types is given by: De Ruyt 1983, 182-183. On the bases of this distinction, the coin on fig. 14.a. was probably minted in Rome, the other (fig. 14.b.) was probably minted later in Lyon. Here I would like to thank Dr. Melinda Torbágyi and Edit Farkas (Hungarian National Museum, Medal Cabinet) for the photos of the coins.
88
89 *op. cit.* VI 1648.
90 Dubois 1909, 286-313. For more detail: De Ruyt 1983, 150-158.
91 There were shrines, for the protective gods in most *macella*: for the gods worshipped in the *macella* see: De Ruyt 1983, 373-375.
92 *op. cit.* X 1450 and 1701.
93 *op. cit.* X 1652-54.
94 Nowadays, the possibility that there was building work in the AD 2nd century has arisen: personal communication from G. Camodeca.
95 The Princetown 1976, 66.
96 For the precise date see: Crawford 1977, 125-151.
97 Mansel 1956, 46-80. Provides a detailed description: De Ruyt 1983, 129-133. Mentions only: Melink 1958.
98 and Akurgal 1985, 331.
99 The average size of the *tabernae* were 6.5m x 4m or 6m. The groundplan "grew" towards the northern side. The function of the rooms – with the exception of a *latrina* – could not be determined.
100 This was when the theatre and the row of *tabernae* lining the *cardo maximus* were all built using similar techniques and in the same style. See: footnote 98.
101 Mansel 1956, 45-50. Mentioned by: Akurgal 1985, 337-338.
102 According to scholars the shops had economic as well as religious functions. Some even have suggested that the slave-market was located here.
103 For the identification see: footnote 101.
104 Lanckoronski 1892, 135-137.
105 *op. cit.* 135-137. See also De Ruyt 1983, 189-190.
106 De Ruyt 1983, fig. 70.
107 Lanckoronski 1892, p.210.
108 Ward-Perkins 1970a, 15. And 1970b, 107-108.
109 The basic publication for the *macellum*: Degraffi 1951, 27-70. The second volume of this work was not ever published. A summary of the publication: De Ruyt 1983, 97-106. Mentions: Ward-Perkins 1970, 75-76. No archaeological material has so far been published from the excavations.
110 Goodchild 1950, 25-26.
111 Some 13 thresholds show us the place of these early shops.
112 Approximately 30 salesmen altogether might have worked here.
113
114
115
116 Lassus 1959, 311-314. For a more detailed description: De Ruyt 1983, 89-94.
117 No detailed description is available about this material, for a brief report see: footnote 113.
118 Mentioned by De Ruyt 1983, 93.
119 Lassus 1956, 280-7. *tae vetustate* (... ..) *macelli totius*(s)
120 For the Cosini brothers see chapter 4.2.
121 CRAI 1915, p.316., AE 1914, 32., AE 1916, 32-37., CRAI 1915, p.320.
122 1916, 36: this decorated the architrave of the inner porticus. AE 1916, 37: The exact location of this inscription is unknown. CRAI 1915, p.320.: It was a stray find.
123 Leschi 1953, 38-39. Summary: De Ruyt 1983, 61-67.
124 Sechi 1993, 145.
125 Frayn 1993, 108. It is worth noting that nearly all the building projects carried out in a town were of this type.
126 De Ruyt 1983, 381-383. Index of the inscriptions
127 *op. cit.* 351-355.
128 *op. cit.* 351-355.
129 *in epist.* 10, 23, 24 and 90, 91
130 The epigraphical data and the relating bibliography was fully examined by the author in her diploma work. Unpublished.
131 This type of "family-migration" was typical in the Roman Empire: see footnote 128. and Levick – Jameson 1964, 98-106.
132 For the first version of this epigraphical research: Lang 2000, 200-248.
133 I have received a great help from my teachers and colleagues. I would first like to thank Dr. Klara Póczy for her permission to work with the find material of the 1965-year excavation of the *macellum*. I am also grateful to Dr. Paula Zsidi, Prof. Dénes Gabler and Dr. Laszlo Borhy for their help. I would also like to thank Prof. Irene Braganini and Prof. Giuseppe Camodeca for their useful advises in my work. Last but not least I am grateful to Dr. Alice M. Choyke for her ideas and for correcting my English.