

THE ROMAN NORTH AFRICAN *MACELLA*

THE ROMAN NORTH AFRICAN *MACELLA*:

THEIR CHRONOLOGY, TYPOLOGY, URBAN PLACEMENT AND PATRONAGE

By

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ABSTRACT

From the first to the fifth centuries A.D., the inhabitants of many Roman North African towns went to a *macellum* to buy food for their dinner banquets. The typical *macellum* plan consists of an enclosed structure with a peristyle court lined with shops. The archaeological evidence suggests that the Roman North African *macella* were often bold and innovative variations from the Italian *macella*.

Since many of the Roman North African *macella* were excavated in the early 1900s, there have been relatively few recent publications and excavations undertaken on these significant buildings. One exception is C. De Ruyt's book, Macellum. Marché alimentaire des Romains (1983). De Ruyt catalogued the remains of eighty-three *macella* found in Sicily, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Hungary, England, Spain and North Africa. Additionally, De Ruyt's book includes a detailed study of the origins of the *macellum* type, information about the market's urban and historical context, and evidence for the varieties of foods sold.

This thesis, using De Ruyt's book as the starting point for research on the *macellum*, focuses specifically on

the Roman North African *macella*, since there are still problems to be resolved concerning these buildings. For example, was there a *macellum* which was essentially Roman North African in design? Did the market-type in North Africa simply imitate the plans of earlier Italian *macella*? What does the placement of the *macellum* within an urban setting tell us about its importance and function? What was the role of patrons in the construction and restoration of these markets?

The thesis on Roman North African *macella* is divided into four chapters: Chronology, Typology, Urban placement and Patronage (euergetism). Archaeological and epigraphical evidence is included for Roman North African *macella* not listed in De Ruyt's catalogue.

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This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Mark: *Ab imo pectore gratias tibi ago.*

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ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used for ancient literary sources are those cited in Oxford Classical Dictionary 2nd ed. (Oxford 1970). The abbreviations used for modern works follow the format set forth in The American Journal of Archaeology 95 (1991) 4-16.

Alexander, <u>CMT</u> II.1	M. Alexander et al, <u>Thuburbo Majus. Les mosaïques de la region du forum Corpus des mosaïques de Tunisie</u> II, Fasc. I (Tunis 1980).
Boeswillwald, <u>Timgad</u>	E. Boeswillwald et al, <u>Timgad, une cité africaine sous l'empire romain</u> (Paris 1905).
De Ruyt, <u>Macellum</u>	C. De Ruyt, <u>Macellum. Marché alimentaire des Romains</u> (Louvain-La-Neuve 1983).
<u>ILAfr</u>	R. Cagnat, A. Merlin et L. Chatelain, <u>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique</u> (Paris 1923).
<u>ILAlg</u> I	St. Gsell, <u>Inscriptions latines d'Algérie</u> I (Paris 1922; reprint Roma 1965).
<u>ILAlg</u> II	H.G. Pflaum, <u>Inscriptions latines d'Algérie</u> II (Alger 1957).
<u>IRT</u>	J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Ward-Perkins, <u>The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</u> (Rome 1952).
<u>MélPig</u>	<u>Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire offerts à André Piganiol</u>

Nabers, Macella

N. Nabers, Macella. A Study in Roman
Archaeology Princeton University.
Dissertation. Ph.D 1967.

INTRODUCTION

The *macellum* (market) was an integral part of daily life in Roman North Africa from the end of the first century B.C. to the mid-fifth century A.D. The *macellum* provided specialty foods for urban dwellers, located in towns along the Mediterranean coast or farther inland. Remains of *macella* throughout the Roman empire attest to the commercial and economic importance of these buildings in daily urban life.

The earliest examples of this building type are found in Morgantina, Sicily,¹ Pompeii,² and Alba Fucens.³ The numismatic evidence from the *macellum* at Morgantina and the use of *opus incertum* in the perimeter walls of the *macellum* at Pompeii and Alba Fucens date these three structures to the middle of the second century B.C. The *macella* at Morgantina

¹ For the *macellum* at Morgantina see R. Stillwell and E. Sjöqvist, "Excavations at Serra Orlando," *AJA* 61 (1957) 151-155; N. Nabers, *Macella* 116-153; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 109-114.

² For the Republican *macellum* at Pompeii see A. Maiuri, "Pompei. Saggi negli edifici del Foro, I. Macellum," *NSc* (1942) 253-266; E. La Rocca et al, *Guida archeologica di Pompei* (Verona 1976) 125-126; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 137-140.

³ For the *macellum* at Alba Fucens see F. De Visscher et al, "Massa d'Albe (Aquila)," *NSc* 4 (1951) 259-264; F. De Visscher et Fr. De Ruyt, "Les fouilles d'Alba Fucens (Italie centrale) en 1949 et 1950," *AntCl* 20 (1951) 60-74; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 26-30.

rectangular, enclosed structure, a peristyle court lined with one or more rows of permanent shops, multiple entrances and hydraulic installations. Evidence such as measures, weights, fish-hooks, and animal bones also identify these structures as *macella*. The most dominant feature in the *macella* at Pompeii and Morgantina is the remains of a circular *tholos*, located within their interior courts. The *tholos*⁴ likely functioned as a monumental enclosure for a fountain.

However, not every Republican *macellum* shared identical architectural elements. For example, the earliest phase of the mid-second century B.C. *macellum* at Alba Fucens⁵ consists of a rectangular structure lined with shops. There is neither evidence for a *tholos* nor for interior porticoes. The absence of these features indicates that regional influences must also be taken into account.

C. De Ruyt's book, *Macellum* (1983), is a valuable starting point for research into the origins of the *macellum*. De Ruyt, using literary and etymological evidence, argues that the *macellum* originated as a specialty market in Rome, during the latter part of the third century B.C. De Ruyt's proposed third century B.C. date for the first *macellum* at Rome is

⁴ For the origins of the *tholos* in Greece see F. Robert, *Thymélé* (Paris 1929); F. Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung, Typologie, und Funktion kunstmässiger Rundbauten* (Mainz 1986).

⁵ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 26.

third century B.C. date for the first *macellum* at Rome is based on ancient literary testimonia from authors such as Livy and Plautus.⁶ Livy recorded that the *macellum* at Rome was reconstructed in 209 B.C., after a fire destroyed this building and the forum area.⁷ The reconstruction of this *macellum* implies that it was built at an earlier, although unknown date. The Comedies of Plautus,⁸ dating between 194-186 B.C.,⁹ also provide evidence that a specialty market known as a *macellum* existed in Rome by this time. One of Plautus' characters alludes to the varieties of meat and fish sold in the Republican *macellum* - and to the fact that these foods were very costly items:

*Venio ad macellum, rogito pisces; indicant/ caros; agnam
caram, caram bubulam,/ vitulinam, cetum, porcinam: cara
omnia.*¹⁰

Ancient sources, such as Plautus, Livy and Varro,

⁶ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 236-252, provides a detailed chapter on the earliest literary evidence for a *macellum* in Republican Rome. De Ruyt, 158-159, postulates the location of this first *macellum* amongst a series of third century B.C. buildings, located near the street of the Carinae. However, the plan of this *macellum* is unknown until further excavations are undertaken.

⁷ Livy, 27, 11, 16: *Locaverunt inde reficienda quae circa forum incendio consumpta erant septem tabernas, macellum, atrium regium.*

⁸ Plaut., *Aul.* 264, 373; *Pseud.* 169; *Rud.* 979; *Amph.* 1012.

⁹ For the date of the Comedies of Plautus see F. Della Corte, *Da Sarsina a Roma. Ricerche plautine* (Florence 1967) 47-69.

¹⁰ Plaut., *Aul.* 373-375.

provide evidence for a number of other specialty markets in Republican Rome, for example the *Forum Piscarium* (fish), *Forum Boarium* (meat), *Forum Holitorium* (vegetables), *Forum Cuppedinis* (delicacies), and *Forum Coquinum* (poultry).¹¹ These markets were apparently contemporary with the earliest *macellum* at Rome. The specific name of each market implies that each had a separate commercial function; whereas the literary evidence from Plautus suggests that the *macellum*, from its origin, combined the different functions of the other specialty markets into one specialty market. Although the names of the specialty markets lived on as the designations for certain areas of Rome's urban centre, Varro implied that the *macellum* eventually absorbed these other markets into one location.¹²

De Ruyt¹³ argues that the name *macellum* was adopted into Latin from the Greco-Semitic *makellon-mikla*, meaning 'enclosure'. The name *macellum* was used to define a new architectural form with a precise function. According to De Ruyt, the basic architectural *macellum*-type consists of an independent structure which occupies a quadrangular space

¹¹ See De Ruyt, *Macellum* 239-246.

¹² Varro, *Ling.* V.147: *Haec omnia posteaquam contracta in unum locum quae ad victum pertinebant et aedificatus locus, appellatum macellum....*

¹³ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 225-235.

limited by four walls surrounding a central open court.¹⁴ De Ruyt attributes the origin of this architectural type to the Hellenistic *agorai tetragonai* found in the cities of Asia Minor, such as Priene, Ephesus, Miletus and Cos.¹⁵ The plans of these *agorai* consist of a series of free-standing colonnades with shops surrounding a central court. De Ruyt also argues that the Romans adapted the idea of specialization of function from these commercial *agorai*,¹⁶ since epigraphical evidence from the *agorai* at Cos and Priene suggests that they were specialized food markets: an *agora sitopólis* (grain market) at Priene and an *agora icthyopólis* (fish market) at Cos.¹⁷ For De Ruyt, the *macellum* was part of the urbanization process in Rome, which led to a specialization of function in specific areas.¹⁸ This specialization of function coincided with the forum becoming the political and religious centre of Rome.

De Ruyt alleges that the Republican *macellum* in Rome

¹⁴ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 284.

¹⁵ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 275-280.

¹⁶ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 282.

¹⁷ For the inscription at Priene see F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin 1906) 72, no. 81; Cos: A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (Florence 1925) 147, n0. 440.

¹⁸ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 275-280, 282-283.

had a *tholos* - at least by the time of Varro (80-67 B.C.).¹⁹ However, the diffusion of the *tholos*-type was not systematic for the *tholos* of each *macellum* varies greatly in size and decoration. The remains of a very elaborate *tholos* have been found in the *macella* at Pompeii (A.D. 62-79),²⁰ Puteoli (Flavian),²¹ Rome (*Macellum Magnum*, Neronian),²² Perge, Pamphylia (second century A.D.),²³ and Aezani, Phrygia (second century A.D.).²⁴ An example of a smaller and more simply designed *tholos* is found in the *macellum* at Aquincum, Hungary (second century A.D.).²⁵

¹⁹ Varro, *Sat. Men., Bim.* 67, fragment 23: *et pater divum trisulcum fulmen igni fervido actum mittit in tholum macelli* on which see De Ruyt, *Macellum* 162. For dating see J.P. Cèbe, *Varron, Satires Ménippées* I (Rome 1972) 15-17.

²⁰ For the imperial *macellum* at Pompeii see A. Maiuri, *L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei* (Spoleto 1942) 54-61; Nabers, *Macella* 154-179; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 141-149.

²¹ For the *macellum* at Puteoli see Ch. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* (Paris 1907) 286-309; Nabers, *Macella* 249-265; C. De Ruyt, "L'importance de Pouzzoles pour l'étude du *macellum* romain," *Puteoli. Studi di Storia antica* I (Naples 1977) 128-139; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 150-158.

²² For the unexcavated *Macellum Magnum* at Rome see Nabers, *Macella* 242-248; F. Sear and J.S. Rainbird, "A Possible Description of the *Macellum Magnum* of Nero," *PBSR* 16 (1971) 40-46; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 172-184. See De Ruyt, 181, fig. 66 for the *dupondius* of Nero which portrays this *macellum* with a two-storyed *tholos*.

²³ For the *macellum* at Perge see A.M. Mansel, "Bericht über Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in Pamphylien," *AA* 90 (1975) 76-83; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 129-133.

²⁴ For the *macellum* at Aezani see De Ruyt, *Macellum* 22-25.

²⁵ For the *macellum* at Aquincum see De Ruyt, *Macellum* 37-42.

According to De Ruyt,²⁶ the *tholos* was one of three possible elements found within the interior court of a *macellum*; it certainly was not found in every *macellum*. The other two elements are a fountain or statue. Thus the interior designs of *macella* without a *tholos* are often unique: the first century A.D. *macellum* at Baelo, Spain²⁷ (oval court, no porticoes or *tholos*) and the second century A.D. *macella* in Herdonia (Apulia),²⁸ and Alba Fucens (Samnium)²⁹ (circular courts, no porticoes or *tholos*). Additionally, the interior courts of the *macella* at Ostia³⁰ and Rome³¹ (*Macellum Liviae*) contain the remains of a rectangular fountain in place of a *tholos*. A statue likely adorned the centre court of the *macellum* at Baelo, Spain.³²

²⁶ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 295.

²⁷ For the *macellum* at Baelo see De Ruyt, *Macellum* 43-47; F. Didierjean et al, *Belo III. Le macellum* (Madrid 1986).

²⁸ For the *macellum* at Herdonia see C. De Ruyt, "Ordonia. Il mercato vicino al foro," *NSc* 29 (1975) 505-516; C. De Ruyt, "Le marché," *Ordonia V* (Bruxelles-Rome 1976) 63-78; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 80-88.

²⁹ For the imperial phase of the *macellum* at Alba Fucens see De Ruyt, *Macellum* 30-35.

³⁰ For the Augustan *macellum* at Ostia see N. Nabers, *Macella* 275-283; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford 1973) 493-502; 566-567; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 115-124.

³¹ For the *Macellum Liviae* see De Ruyt, *Macellum* 163-172.

³² Didierjean (supra n. 28) 49; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 46.

De Ruyt³³ also summarizes the theory on the origin of the Roman *macellum* of N. Nabers, Macella (1967). Nabers³⁴ argues that the *macellum* was Punic in origin because the Latin word *macellum* is, in his view, derived from the Semitic word *mikla*, meaning 'enclosure'. Although there is no evidence to support Nabers' hypothesis, he argues that the Punic *macellum* consisted of a simple, closed and inward-facing structure, with a *tholos* in lieu of permanent shops. Nabers cites the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna as an example of the Punic type, since the market had no permanent shops, and the patron, Annobal Tapapius Rufus was Punic. According to Nabers, the Punic-type *macellum* (no shops and double *tholoi*) was introduced to Italy by the Carthaginians, during the Punic Wars.³⁵ This enclosed market type was supposedly first adopted by the Greeks in Magna Graecia, who then added the characteristic porticoes and shops of their *agorai*.³⁶ The peristyle enclosure *macellum*-type with *tholos* then spread from Magna Graecia to Rome and North Africa.³⁷

³³ De Ruyt, Macellum 280-282.

³⁴ Nabers, Macella 65-76.

³⁵ Nabers, Macella 70-73.

³⁶ Nabers, Macella 75, 310, 348-349.

³⁷ N. Nabers, "The Architectural Variations of the Macellum," OpRom 9 (1973) 74.

Support for the Punic origin of the *macellum* is found in two recent articles by M. Gaggiotti (1989).³⁸ Gaggiotti suggests that the Latin word *macellum* is derived from the Semitic *má'kal*, meaning "a place to eat".³⁹ According to Gaggiotti, the origin of the Latin *macellum* does not refer to its typology (structural), but to its function - as a place where one conducted activities related to food. Gaggiotti also suggests that the octagonal form and mercantile function of the double *tholoi* in the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna were derived from simple, round huts, known from ancient literary sources as *magalia/mapalia*. These huts were inhabited by the nomadic population of the Punic hinterland, who also likely used them for purposes of trade.⁴⁰

Ward-Perkins (1970; 1985) argued that the *tholos*-type *macellum* originated in Magna Graecia and Campania, since the earliest evidence for this building type, which he called

³⁸M. Gaggiotti, "Macellum e magalia: ricezione di elementi <<culturali>> di origine punica in ambiente romano-repubblicano," L'Africa Romana 7.2 (1989) 773-782; M. Gaggiotti, "Considerazioni sulla <<punicità>> del *macellum* romano," L'Africa Romana 7.2 (1989) 783-792.

³⁹ Gaggiotti, "Macellum e magalia" (supra n. 38) 774.

⁴⁰ Gaggiotti, "Considerazioni sulla <<punicità>> del *macellum* romano" (supra n. 38) 790-792. Gaggiotti's article is thought-provoking in its implications; however, archaeological evidence for the *magalia/mapalia* is necessary to validate his theory.

'Pompeian', is found at Morgantina and Pompeii.⁴¹ This 'Pompeian-type' *macellum* features a dominant *tholos*. According to Ward-Perkins, the 'Pompeian-type' *macellum* spread from Magna Graecia to Rome, North Africa and Asia Minor.⁴² R.J.A. Wilson (1990) concurs with Ward-Perkins' theory, although he suggests that more Hellenistic examples are needed to establish more precisely the origin of the *macellum*.⁴³

The scholars mentioned above appear to be most interested in the historical and typological origins of the *macellum*. Each of these modern scholars' theories on the historical origins of the *macellum* is important. However, each of these theories still raises unanswered problems. For example, there is no archaeological evidence to prove De Ruyt's hypothesis for the origin of the Republican *macellum* in Rome - only the ancient literary evidence. There is also no

⁴¹ J.B. Ward-Perkins, "From Republic to Empire: Reflections on the Early Provincial Architecture of the Roman West," *JRS* 60 (1970) 15-16; J.B. Ward-Perkins, Roman Imperial Architecture (1st [integrated] ed. London 1981; reprint ed. London 1985) 162.

⁴² Ward-Perkins, *JRS* 60 (1970) [supra n. 41] 16, did acknowledge that there were exceptions to the *tholos*-type, such as the *macella* with circular courts at Herdonia and Alba Fucens (second phase). He attributed these exceptions to local Republican precedent; however, his suggestion is contradicted by the earlier, Republican *macellum* at Alba Fucens, which has a square plan and does not have a *tholos* in its centre court, see De Ruyt, Macellum 26, fig. 9.

⁴³ R.J.A. Wilson, "Roman Architecture in a Greek World: the example of Sicily," in: M. Henig ed., Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Roman Empire Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph No. 29 (Oxford 1990) 72.

concrete archaeological evidence to prove Nabers' and Gaggiotti's hypotheses that the *macellum* was Punic in origin. Finally, there is no archaeological evidence to prove Ward-Perkins' theory that the *macellum* originated in Magna Graecia, since no *macellum* has been found in any of the Greek sites in Magna Graecia.

This thesis will focus specifically on problems related to the North African *macella*. The main questions are the following: Is the *tholos* an essential feature in Roman North African *macella*? Is there evidence for a *macellum* which is truly Roman North African in design, or do these markets simply imitate the Italian *macellum* plan? What does the market's placement within the urban setting tell us about its importance and function as a public building? What can be inferred from the epigraphical evidence about the patrons who financed and built these markets? When did the *macellum* become obsolete in North Africa and what kinds of factors affected its obsolescence?

This thesis contains four chapters and a catalogue of twenty-one Roman North African *macella*. In addition to the sixteen markets cited by De Ruyt, evidence is included for five more Roman North African *macella* (Cyrene, Mactar, Volubilis, Ammaedara and Thubursicu Numidarum).

The first chapter focuses on the chronology of the Roman North African *macella*. Epigraphical evidence provides

fairly accurate dates for the construction and later phases of some markets. However, the chronology of other markets is more problematic, as their date of construction can only be surmised by means of analogies with other *macella* or by studying their urban placement in relation to other public structures with known dates.

The second chapter contains a typological analysis of the Roman North African *macella*. This chapter is divided into sections dealing with the basic elements of the fundamental *macellum* plan; the architectural similarities and variations of this basic *macellum* plan; and the anomalous *macellum* at Lepcis Magna, with its absence of shops and double *tholoi*.

The third chapter consists of the problems of the placement of the *macellum* within the urban plan of each Roman North African town. Since the market was usually located near the centre of town with easy access provided by major and minor roads, topography and the amount of available space for the market's construction near the forum played a big role in the market's placement. Other factors such as the development of a new quarter and specialty of function also determined the market's placement within an urban centre.

The fourth chapter explores the topic of patronage of Roman North African *macella*. Epigraphical evidence, cited in the first chapter, provides significant information about the civic and social status of these market benefactors.

Many Roman North African *macella* were excavated in the early twentieth century (1890s-1920s), so much of the significant research on these *macella* belongs to that period and, therefore, the archaeological evidence is limited. In addition to the recent research undertaken by De Ruyt, Nabers and Ward-Perkins, Jouffroy (1986)⁴⁴ and Romanelli (1970)⁴⁵ provide information about the remains and distribution of Roman North African *macella*. Also included is any new evidence about the other previously excavated *macella* catalogued by De Ruyt, such as those found in Thuburbo Maius (Alexander, 1980)⁴⁶ and Hippo Regius (Corbier, 1981).⁴⁷ Recent articles on urbanization, such as those of Février (1982),⁴⁸ Duval (1982)⁴⁹ and MacDonald (1986),⁵⁰ and on

⁴⁴ H. Jouffroy, La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine (Strasbourg 1986).

⁴⁵ P. Romanelli, Topografia e Archeologia dell'Africa Romana (Enciclopedia Classica, 3.10, 7) (Torino 1970) 146-152.

⁴⁶ Alexander, CMT II.1, 9-19.

⁴⁷ P. Corbier, "Nouvelles inscriptions d'Hippone," ZPE 43 (1981) 89-95.

⁴⁸ P.A. Février, "Urbanisation et urbanisme de l'Afrique romaine," ANRW II.10.2 (1982) 319-396.

⁴⁹ N. Duval, "Topographie et urbanisme d'Ammaedara (actuellement Haïdra, Tunisie)," ANRW II.10.2 (1982) 633-671.

euergetism, such as those of D'Escurac (1980),⁵¹ Fentress (1984)⁵² and Février (1989)⁵³ are also significant to the study of Roman North African *macella*.

⁵⁰ W.L. MacDonald, "Connection and Passage in North African Architecture," Rome and the Provinces. Studies in the Transformation of Art and Architecture in the Mediterranean World ed. C.B. McClendon (New Haven 1986) 29-36.

⁵¹ H. Pavis D'Escurac, "Flaminat et société dans la colonie de Timgad," AntAfr 15 (1980) 183-200.

⁵² E. Fentress, "Frontier Culture and Politics at Timgad," BAC N.S. 17 (1984) 399-407.

⁵³ P.A. Février, Approches du Maghreb romain (Aix-en Provence 1989).

CHAPTER ONE: CHRONOLOGY OF ROMAN NORTH AFRICAN *MACELLA*

This chapter discusses the chronology of the twenty-one Roman North African *macella* listed in the catalogue.¹ Twelve *macella*² yield sufficient archaeological or epigraphic evidence to provide a fairly accurate chronology of their date of dedication, as well as any later restorations. The chronology of three *macella*,³ can only be suggested from the insufficient archaeological evidence and/or publications. Six *macella*⁴ are identified by inscription alone; two of these six inscriptions are undated. These latter six *macella* are included, however, in order to provide as complete a coverage as possible of the Roman North African *macella*. The *macella* are arranged in chronological order, beginning with the earliest certain chronological evidence for a Roman North African *macellum*.

¹ See Catalogue: D and E for chronological and inscriptional evidence.

² C. 1, C. 2, C. 3, C. 5, C. 6, C. 7, C. 12, C. 14, C. 15, C. 17, C. 18, C. 19.

³ C. 4, C. 13, C. 21.

⁴ C. 10, C. 11, C. 16, C. 20 are dated; C. 8, C. 9 are undated.

1. THE MACELLUM AT LEPCIS MAGNA (C. 3, Fig. 3)

a. Dedication Date (9/8 B.C.)

The *macellum* in Lepcis Magna is the earliest known Roman North African *macellum* dated by inscriptional evidence. A large inscription⁵, once adorning the west facade, records that this *macellum* was dedicated to Augustus⁶ by Annobal Tapapius Rufus, a local magistrate, in 9/8 B.C.:

[Imp. Caesar divi f(ilius) Augustus] cos. XI, imp. XIIII, trib. pot. XV, pont. m[axi]mus, M. Licinio M. f(ilio) Crasso Frugi cos. augure procos. patrono flaminib(us) August(i) Caesaris Iddib[a]lle Arinis f(ilio) [...3 or 4...]one [et ...?... A]nnobalis [f(ilio) ...3 or 4...]on[...1 or 2... su]fetib. M[uttun Annonis f(ilio)...] Annobal Imilchonis < corrected to: Himilcho > f(ilius) Tapapius Rufus sufes flamen praefectus sacrorum de sua pequ[nia] faciun[dum coe]ravivit idem[que] de[d]icavit.

b. Tiberian Restoration (A.D. 31-37) (?)

Two fragmentary pieces of a monumental inscription were found reused in the stylobate of the trapezoidal room located outside the east perimeter wall of the *macellum*. This inscription, dedicated to Tiberius, can be dated between A.D.

⁵ IRT 319; This inscription was first published in R. Goodchild, "Two Monumental Inscriptions of Lepcis Magna," PBSR 18 (1950) 72-77. For Neo-Punic inscription see G. Levi Della Vida, "Due iscrizioni imperiali neo-puniche di Leptis Magna," AfrIt 6 (1935) 3-15.

⁶ The titles in the inscription indicate that the emperor is Augustus; for dating see IRT 319, n. 3: Augustus held *trib. pot.* for the 15th time from July 9 B.C. - 30 June 8 B.C.

31-37:⁷

- a) *Ti(berio) Caesari divi Aug. f(ilio) d[i]vi Iuli [nepo]ti
Augus[to p]ontifici max[imo cos.] V, imp. VIII,
[tribu]nícia p[otestate]] XXX[...*
- b) *...] procos. [...?] patronus fac[iend.....] dedicavit.*

Although these fragments do not record the particulars of this restoration or of its patron, Bandinelli inferred that the benefactor was the proconsul C. Vibius Marsus. He also suggested that the restoration, undertaken by Marsus, consisted of the construction of the first limestone porticoes in the market.⁸ According to De Ruyt,⁹ however, this inscription did not refer to the porticoes, since porticoes would have been a necessary component in this large *macellum* from the very first, in order to protect the perishable produce and shoppers from the hot sun. Thus the exact nature of the Tiberian restoration within the *macellum* remains unsolved at present.

⁷ IRT 332; For discussion of Tiberian date based on Tiberius' titles see N. DeGrassi, "Il mercato romano di Leptis Magna," OAL 2 (1951) 50.

⁸ R. Bianchi Bandinelli et al, The Buried City: Excavations at Leptis Magna (New York 1966) 78; Nabers, Macella 203, concurs. However, DeGrassi (supra n. 7) 50, only suggests that the inscription refers to the construction of the porticoes. See also Chapter Two, n. 139. For C. Vibius Marsus see IRT 308. Marsus was proconsul of Africa Proconsularis in A.D. 27-30, see PIR 3 (1898) no. 388.

⁹ De Ruyt, Macellum 105.

c. Mid-First Century A.D. Restoration

During the mid-first century A.D., stone tables were installed between the intercolumniations of the outer octagonal portico of the north *tholos*.¹⁰ A dedicatory inscription¹¹ is carved on the face of each table with the name of the two aediles, Tiberius Claudius Amicus and Marcus Heliodorus Apollonides. These aediles financed the tables at their own expense:

*Ti. Cl. Amicus M. Heliodorus Apollonides aed. mensas p.
s. d. d.*

d. Flavian or Trajanic Restoration (?)

Squarciapino and Bandinelli allege that the north *tholos* was reconstructed in limestone during the Flavian or Trajanic period because the columns and capitals exhibit a sense of delicacy and spaciousness noted in other Flavian or Trajanic buildings at Lepcis Magna. The use of limestone for its construction is typical of other first century A.D.

¹⁰ Bandinelli (supra n. 8) 79.

¹¹ IRT 590. The inscription is datable by the use of irregular first century A.D. letter capitals, see IRT p. 156. The name Tiberius Claudius Amicus itself is a chronological pointer, suggesting a date of the mid-first century A.D. or later. Additionally, the abbreviated nomen (*Cl.*) also likely indicates a later first century date or later, see E.W. Haley, Migration and Economy in Roman Imperial Spain (Barcelona 1991) 125.

buildings in Lepcis Magna.¹² Haynes, however, suggested that both the north and south *tholoi* were originally constructed in limestone.¹³ In fact, the earliest attested use of limestone from the local quarries on Ras-el-Humma in this *macellum* are the two blocks of the Neo-Punic dedicatory inscription (9/8 B.C.) from the south *tholos*.¹⁴

e. Severan Restoration

During the Severan period, the *macellum* was lavishly restored in marble. The restoration of the *macellum* was part of an extensive Severan building program in Lepcis, the emperor's native town. This program included a new forum, basilica and triumphal arch.¹⁵ The south *tholos* was restored in imported marbles likely at the same time as the principal entrance of the market was moved from the west to the south-

¹² M. Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna* (Basel 1966) 73; Bandinelli (supra n. 8) 78. The Arch of Trajan at Lepcis appears to exhibit this sense of spaciousness and delicacy noted by the authors of the north *tholos*, see pl. 12 in D.E.L. Haynes, *The Antiquities of Tripolitania* 2nd ed. (London 1959). For other first century A.D. limestone structures at Lepcis see Chapter Three, 117-118.

¹³ Haynes (supra n. 12) 91.

¹⁴ J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Town Planning in North Africa during the first two centuries of the Empire, with special references to Lepcis and Sabratha: character and sources," *150-Jahr-Feier Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom RM* EH 25 (1982) 31 n. 13.

¹⁵ See J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Severan Art and Architecture at Lepcis Magna," *JRS* 37 (1948) 59-80.

east side.¹⁶ Imported marbles were also used for the interior porticoes.¹⁷

f. Fourth Century A.D. Restoration (A.D. 324-326)

A large fragmentary inscription,¹⁸ found in the market's ruins, records the restoration of the porticoes between A.D. 324-326 by Laenatius Romulus,¹⁹ governor of Tripolitania:

*Quod inter cetera Lepcimagnensium moenia quae cum sui
magnitudine et splendore concordant etiam porticum
macelli in ruinam [la]bemque conversam remanere nudam
ult[...c. 15...]eneret quod esset in usu ac f[...c. 20...]
hort[a]nte clementia ... dddd. n]NNN²⁰ F[1.]
CONS[t]ANTINI MAX [vict. semp. aug. et Fl. Iul. Cri]SPI*

¹⁶ Haynes (supra n. 12) 91. See Chapter Two, 96-97 for south tholos.

¹⁷ See Chapter Two, 94; Bandinelli (supra n. 8) 78.

¹⁸ IRT 468 = AE 1948, 40; A. Chastagnol, "Un gouverneur Constantinien de Tripolitaine: Laenatius Romulus Praeses en 324-326," Latomus 25 (1966) 552.

¹⁹ For Laenatius Romulus see Chastagnol (supra n. 18) 539-552.

²⁰ For discussion of date see IRT 468 n. 1: [DDDD] NNNN or [DDDDD N]NNNN indicates that the inscription was likely inscribed between A.D. 317-323, when there were two Augusti and three Caesares. Chastagnol (supra n. 18) 541-552, suggests that this *macellum* inscription should be dated between 8 November, 324 (elevation of Constans II to Caesar) and the spring of 326 (death of Crispus). He bases this date on Constantine's title Victor in an inscription from the *Forum Vetus* at Lepcis Magna (IRT 467 = AE 1948, 37). This title implies Constantine's victory over Licinius, which took place at the end of September 324. Therefore, Chastagnol proposes that the names of Licinius senior and junior (as suggested by IRT editors) should be omitted from the *macellum* inscription and be replaced with Constans II.

ET FL. C[1]AUDI CO[n]STANTINI ET F[1. Iul. Constanti
no]BLL. CAESS... te ac dedicante Laenatio Romulo [v.p.
p.p. Tripol.] [...7.. amplliorem [...11..]am gratiam et
pulchritu[dinem..?..] sum(p)ti[bus ...11..
admin]istra[t]is.

De Ruyt suggests that the inscription, recording Laenatius' construction of a portico, may be referring to the double portico on the west side, or to the reconstruction of the portico on the south side, with its extra wide intercolumniations.²¹

g. Final Phase (beginning fifth century A.D.) (?)

Four coin hoards, with coins dating from Constans (A.D. 337-350) to Honorius (A.D. 393-423) and Arcadius (A.D. 395-408), were found buried in the market.²² The evidence of the coins of Arcadius and Honorius suggests that these hoards were buried in the first half of the fifth century A.D., when the walls had not yet collapsed, but the market was no longer in use.²³ Goodchild proposed that the inhabitants of the huts built over the north *tholos* were responsible for hiding these

²¹ De Ruyt, Macellum 106; See Chapter Two, 93. Bandinelli (supra n. 8) 79, suggested that this inscription refers to the double colonnade on the east side, in front of the trapezoidal room.

²² R.G. Goodchild, "Hoards of Late Roman Coins in the Market of Lepcis Magna," Libyan Studies. Selected Papers of the late R.G. Goodchild ed. J. Reynolds (London 1976) 114-117.

²³ Goodchild (supra n. 22) 115.

coin hoards in the market.²⁴

2. The *MACELLUM* AT VOLUBILIS (C. 21)

Dedication Date (end first century B.C./ beginning first century A.D.) (?)

The dedication date of the *macellum* at Volubilis is problematic since there are neither inscriptions nor detailed excavation reports for analysis. Euzennat suggests that the *macellum* antedates the *Forum Novum*, since the plan of the *Forum Novum* took into account the pre-existing *macellum* to the south.²⁵ The *Forum Novum* was constructed when Volubilis became a *municipium*²⁶ during the reign of Claudius. A pre-Claudian date for the *macellum* is also suggested by the 'pseudo-cyclopean' construction technique used in the foundation wall.²⁷

²⁴ Goodchild (supra n. 22) 116.

²⁵ M. Euzennat et G. Hallier, "Les forums de Tingitane. Observations sur l'influence de l'architecture militaire sur les constructions civiles de l'occident romain," *AntAfr* 22 (1986) 82, n. 37, 85. Euzennat previously wrote that the *macellum* was datable to the Severan period, see M. Euzennat, "L'archéologie marocaine 1955 à 1957," *BAMaroc* (1957) 208.

²⁶ J. Gascou, La politique municipale de l'empire romain en Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime-Sévère (Rome 1972) 27, 45.

²⁷ The foundation wall consists of large, roughly cut polygonal blocks with the spaces filled by smaller, irregular-shaped stones. Other examples of polygonal masonry at Volubilis datable to the

3. THE MARKET AT CYRENE (C. 1, Fig. 1)

a. Dedication Date (Augustan or Julio-Claudian) (?)

Determining the dedication date of the market at Cyrene is also problematic. The earliest possible dates for the construction of this market are Augustan or Julio-Claudian. A date before the reign of Augustus is unlikely because of local unrest.²⁸ The market could be contemporary with or slightly later in date than the Augustan period forum at Cyrene.²⁹ The market is likely contemporary with the establishment of a new urban sector aligned with Valley Street. This market replaced earlier structures which followed a different alignment conforming to the east-west contours of the south hill.³⁰

first century B.C. are noted by A. Jodin, Volubilis Regia Ivbae (Paris 1987) 75, 115, in the west wall of *insula* 32 (North quarter) and part of the perimeter wall of *insula* 8. A possible Iberian influence for this construction technique was suggested to me by Dr. E. Haley.

²⁸ J.B. Ward-Perkins and S. Gibson, "The Market - Theatre at Cyrene," LibAnt 14 (1977) 354.

²⁹ R.G. Goodchild, Kyrene und Apollonia (Zurich 1971) 96.

³⁰ Ward-Perkins and Gibson (supra n. 28) 334-335, 353-354; J. B. Ward-Perkins and S. Gibson, "The 'Market Theatre' Complex and Associated structures, Cyrene" LibSt 18 (1987) 71: The authors also suggest that the use of limestone for the market's pavements and porticoes antedates the first attested use of marble in secular architecture at Cyrene in the Hadrianic restoration of the Trajanic baths in the sanctuary of Apollo. However, this argument is not valid since it implies that limestone would no longer be used for

b. Severan Restoration (A.D. 195)

An inscription from the frieze of the monumental Severan propylon, located north-east of the market proper, is dated to A.D. 195.³¹ This inscription does not mention the market, but refers to a statue of Septimius Severus in his chariot; this statue once adorned the top of the propylon. The marble portico adjoining the Severan propylon and the restoration of the market's porticoes and pavements in exotic marbles are also attributed to the same building program in the Severan period. Additionally, the lower stretch of Valley Street was also likely monumentalized during this time.³²

c. Final Phase (A.D. 365)

The market in Cyrene was destroyed by the earthquake of A.D. 365. In the third quarter of the fourth century A.D., a theatre was constructed over the south half of this market. The cavea of the theatre utilized the natural concavity of the south hill. The market's south wall formerly abutted against

secular buildings once marble was introduced.

³¹ For inscription and discussion of date based on Severus' titles see J.M. Reynolds, "Inscriptions in the Market Theatre and its Immediate Neighbourhood," *LibAnt* 14 (1977) 375. See also Chapter Two, 58.

³² Ward-Perkins and Gibson (supra n. 28) 336; Ward-Perkins and Gibson (supra n. 30) 52-54, 70. See also Chapter Three, 115.

this south hill. The north half of the market was dismantled and a series of east-west walls were built over this section. The southern pair of walls constituted a rectangular stage building; the northern pair constituted an unknown structure.³³

4. THE MACELLUM AT THUGGA (C. 14, Fig. 8)

a. Dedication Date (A.D. 54)

An inscription,³⁴ found re-used in a conduit nearby the *macellum*, records the dedication of this structure by M. Licinius Rufus, a *patronus pagi et civitatis*, in A.D. 54:

*Ti. Claudio Caesari Aug. Germa]nico p.p./ [pontifici
maximo tr]ib. p. XIII cos. V/ [M. Licinius Rufus³⁵*

³³ Ward-Perkins and Gibson (supra n. 28) 349-350; Ward-Perkins and Gibson (supra n. 30) 64.

³⁴ L. Poinssot, "Les fouilles de Dougga en 1919 et le quartier du forum," *NouvArch* 22 (1919) 157, no.9 = *AE* 1922, 109; *ILAfr* 1923, no. 559; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 217.

³⁵ The name and titles of M. Licinius Rufus are inscribed on several contemporary inscriptions which identify him as the patron of the market. This identification also indicates that the emperor referred to in the first two lines is Claudius. Claudius was one of the four emperors in the first two centuries who held *trib. pot.* fourteen times. Thus this inscription can be dated between 25 January - 13 October A.D. 54, see C. Poinssot, "M. Licinius Rufus, *Patronus Pagi et Civitatis Thuggensis*," *BAC* N.S. 5 (1970) 223; Poinssot (supra n. 34) 158, also attributed the inscription to the reign of Claudius on the basis of parallel contemporary inscriptions, which have similar engraving techniques and composition.

praef. alae] I Bosphoran. flam. Aug./ [perp. c. c. i. k.
 patronus pagi et civitatis Thugg. plago dedit itemque
 dedicavit/ mac[ellum.....] sua pec. fec./
 [curatoribus...]o p. f. qui ge[...]io M.f. Arn.
 Sever[o].

b. Restoration (A.D. 180-192)

An inscription,³⁶ found re-used in the Byzantine fort, records the dedication of a portico in the *macellum* by local magistrates, Q. Pacuvius Satorius and his wife, Nehania Victoria, during the reign of Commodus:

[Pr]o sa[lute Imp. Caes. M.] Aurelii Commodi A[ntonini
 Aug.] Pii [Sarmati]ci Germa[nici Maximi Br]itanni[ci p.]
 p. / [Q. Pa]cu[vius Satorius fl. perp. augur C.] I.
 Karthag. et Nehania V[ictoria fl. perp.] porticum [et
 ...]um macelli pag[o patriae extrux]erunt et
 [dedica]verunt.

The various titles of Commodus suggest that this restoration inscription dates between A.D. 180-192.³⁷ The dedication of the market's portico is also recorded on the dedicatory inscription of the Temple of Mercury at Thugga. The Temple of Mercury was also built by the Pacuvii.³⁸ The restoration inscription from the market also mentions the construction of

³⁶ L. Poinssot, "Inscriptions de Thugga découvertes en 1910-1913," *NouvArch* 21 (1916) 93, no. 47; Poinssot (supra n. 34) 160; *CIL* 8 26530, 26533; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 218.

³⁷ R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (Paris 1914) 203-204.

³⁸ For inscription see Poinssot (supra n. 36) 22, no. 14. Inscriptions from both structures were likely made in the same workshop, see Poinssot (supra n. 36) 92. See also Chapter Four, 131-132.

an unknown part of the *macellum*: [et...]um *macelli*. De Ruyt suggests that this word refers to a *sacellum*.³⁹ A plausible candidate for this structure is the apse on the south side of the market, which contained a statue of the *genius macelli*.⁴⁰

c. Final Phase (sixth century A.D.)

The *macellum* in Thugga was destroyed and re-used for the construction of the Byzantine fort during the sixth century A.D.⁴¹

5. THE *MACELLUM* AT HIPPO REGIUS (C. 6, Fig. 6)

a. Dedication Date (first/second century A.D.) (?)

The dedication of the *macellum* at Hippo Regius can not be precisely dated. A fragment of an inscription,⁴² found in the market's ruins, is dedicated to Claudius or a later

³⁹ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 218. See also Poinssot (supra n. 34) 161, who suggested *porticum [et arc]um macelli* for the lacuna; however, there is no evidence of an arch to support this proposed restoration.

⁴⁰ See Chapter Two, 80.

⁴¹ Poinssot (supra n. 34) 197.

⁴² J. Lassus, "Le marché d'Hippone," *Libyca* 6 (1958) 246. Lassus suggested that the inscription likely refers to the titles of Claudius: Tiberius Claudius Caesar Germanicus, but that it may be later, as the first two lines are apparent indications of an imperial genealogy. Thus this inscription could also refer to Nero's titles after adoption: Tiberius Claudius Drusus Germanicus Caesar.

emperor. However, this inscription provides inconclusive evidence for a first century A.D. date of construction, since there is no reference to the building which was dedicated:

...Di.../ ...Augu.../ ...Ti Claudi...

In fact, this inscription could be referring to the dedication of an entirely different building.⁴³ Since the *macellum* has the same alignment as the forum, it is perhaps contemporary with the replanning of the forum in A.D. 77-78.⁴⁴ The *macellum* could also have been constructed when the streets were paved and the sewers were installed in the second century A.D.⁴⁵

b. Fourth Century A.D. Restoration (A.D. 364-367)

Two fragments of an inscription, found near the southwest angle of the facade, allude to a later restoration of the *macellum* at Hippo Regius. The first fragment⁴⁶ refers to a

⁴³ De Ruyt, Macellum 94.

⁴⁴ De Ruyt, Macellum 94.

⁴⁵ J.B. Morel, "Recherches stratigraphiques à Hippone," BAAI 3 (1968) 76; De Ruyt, Macellum 94. Lassus also suggested a second century A.D. date for the *macellum* as part of the new urbanized lay out because the neighbouring streets and buildings exhibited features of earlier irregular planning, see J. Lassus, "Hippo Regius, Hippone," FA 13 (1958) <1960> no. 4426.

⁴⁶ P. Corbier, ZPE 43 (1981) 89 = AE 1982, 943. For a date of February 1 364 - August 24 367 see Lassus (supra n. 42) 246, following E. Marec.

restoration during the reigns of Valentinian and Valens (A.D. 364-367):

*Beatissimo s(a)eculo dd. nn. Valentiniani et V[alentis]
/ invictiss(i)morum clementissimorumq(ue) principum /
[---]polleni atqu(e) praeclara sunt macelli ma/[rmora
--- te]riem longa incuria ac discissione [---/---]am
non[---/---]iam reip(ublicae) [--- /---]o procons[---
/ ---]nusta[---].*

The second fragment,⁴⁷ records the great age of the market:

...]iae vetus[tatis].../ ...[m]acelli totiu[s]...

These fragments likely refer to the addition of the East Court, and the movement of the market's principal entrance to the north-east side of this court.⁴⁸ De Ruyt ⁴⁹ also notes that the geometric mosaic pavement of the East Court, decorated with meanders and swastikas, confirms this fourth century A.D. date.

⁴⁷ Lassus (supra n. 42) 246.

⁴⁸ De Ruyt, Macellum 94. See also Chapter Two, 54.

⁴⁹ De Ruyt, Macellum 94. I have not found a depiction of the mosaic from the market at Hippo Regius to confirm this dating. Two mosaic pavements from the *macellum* at Thuburbo Maius have swastika and meander patterns; one is datable to the beginning of the third century A.D., while the other is late fifth/ early sixth century A.D.: see infra, 37. From the description of the mosaic in the East Court, the overall pattern of swastikas and meanders is a typical example of fourth century A.D. mosaics in which the "patterns are distributed over the floor in symmetrical and schematic arrangement": K.M.D. Dunbabin, The Mosaics of Roman North Africa (Oxford 1978) 34.

c. Final Phase (fifth century A.D.)

The *macellum* at Hippo Regius was destroyed after the Vandals invaded in the fifth century A.D. After this invasion, the site of the market was used for a cemetery and the walls of the market were utilized like a quarry.⁵⁰

6. THE MARKET OF COSINIUS AT CUICUL (C. 15, Fig. 9)

a. Dedication Date (A.D. 138-161)

Two inscriptions record the dedication of the *macellum* in Cuicul by L. Cosinius Primus, a magistrate, during the reign of Antoninus Pius⁵¹:

*L. [Cosin]ius L. f. Arn. Primus aed. q. II vir] quinq.
[pon]t. f[l. p.p. mac]ellum cum columnis et statu[s] et
ponderario et thol[o] quod pro honore fl. pp. e[x] HS XXX
m. n. taxaverat multiplicata p[ecu]nia a fundamentis fecit
idemq. dedica[vit curante C. Cosinio Ma]ximo fratr[e].⁵²*

*[L. Cosin]ius L. f. A[rn. Primus pont. / fl. pp. taxa]tis
ob honorem fl. p[p.] / [HS XXX m. n. m]acellu[m] a
f[un]d[amentis] / [multiplic]ata pecunia fecit [idem] /*

⁵⁰ Lassus (supra n. 42) 246-247; J. Lassus, "L'archéologie algérienne en 1958. Hippone (Hippo Regius)," *Libyca* 7 (1959) 316; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 94.

⁵¹ The dates of these two dedicatory inscriptions are based on another inscription which refers to a more complete list of Cosinius' titles and can be dated between A.D. 138-161, see R. Cagnat, "Le marché de Cosinius à Djémila," *CRAI* (1915) 318-319, no. 3.

⁵² Cagnat (supra n. 51) 321-322, no. 5; A. Ballu, "Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées en 1915 par le Service des monuments historiques de l'Algérie. Djémila," *BAC* (1916) 222-223; *AE* 1916, 36; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 67.

[q. dedicavi]t curante C. Cosin[io/ Ma]ximo f[r]atre.⁵³

The construction of the *macellum* commemorated Cosinius' election to the *flaminatus*. The inscription also records Cosinius' brother, C. Cosinius Maximus⁵⁴ as the overseer of the market's construction. The Market of Cosinius at Cuicul was likely dedicated after the construction of the curia and capitolium. These latter two structures are also datable to the Antonine period.⁵⁵

b. Final Phase (sixth century A.D.) (?)

The market was not likely in use when the Byzantine occupation of the city was limited to a wall around the newer south quarter. This wall excluded the old forum and market from the Byzantine town.⁵⁶

7. THE MACELLUM AT GIGTHIS (C. 2, Fig. 2)

⁵³ Cagnat (supra n. 51) 320, no. 4; Ballu (supra n. 52) 222; *AE* 1914, 42; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 67.

⁵⁴ Another inscription referring to L. Cosinius Maximus is dated by Cagnat (supra n. 51) 316-317, no. 1, to the end of the second century/beginning of the third century A.D. on the basis of its lettering.

⁵⁵ Y. Allais, *Djémila* (Paris 1938) 15, 35-36; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 67.

⁵⁶ Allais (supra n. 55) 31-32.

a. Dedication Date (second half of second century A.D.) (?)

The exact dedication date of the *macellum* at Gigthis is unknown. Constans, the excavator, proposed a date sometime during the second half of the second century A.D.⁵⁷ Since the *macellum* has the same alignment as the forum, it was likely constructed after the Hadrianic forum was completed.⁵⁸

b. Third Century A.D. Restoration

A later restoration of the *macellum* at Gigthis radically altered the original plan. A large hemicycle with shops was added, and the portico was now horseshoe-shaped, following the curve of the hemicycle.⁵⁹ The exact date of this restoration is uncertain. Constans, having noticed similarities in the plans of the markets at Gigthis and Thamugadi, proposed a restoration date after the first quarter of the third century A.D.⁶⁰ De Ruyt also concurs with Constans' third century A.D. restoration date.⁶¹

⁵⁷ L.A. Constans, "Rapport sur une mission archéologique à Bou-Ghara (Gigthis) (1914 et 1915)," NouvArch 21 (1916) 58, 90-91.

⁵⁸ De Ruyt, Macellum 79; See also Chapter Two, 85.

⁵⁹ See Chapter Two, 81-85.

⁶⁰ Constans (supra n. 57) 91. See also R. Cagnat, "Gigthis," BAC (1902) 188; R. Cagnat, "La ville antique de Gigthis, en Tunisie," JSav 15 (1917) 298-299.

⁶¹ De Ruyt, Macellum 79, 288-289.

c. Final Phase (fifth century A.D.)

An inscription,⁶² engraved on a statue base in the vestibule, indicates that the market was still in use during the late fourth century A.D.:

... [devicto] / rege M[..... omnis] / vigor[is in hac
re]/gione [auctori] primo vel solo / T. Archontio Nilo
/ v(iro) p(erfectissimo) p(raesidi) et comiti /
p(rovinciae) T(ripolitanae) ordo populu[sq(ue)]
mu(nicipii) Gigthensiu[m] / patrono grat[ant]er
conloca[vit].

This statue was dedicated to T. Archontius Nilus, a local patron and governor of Tripolitania. Gigthis was temporarily abandoned after the Vandals invaded Tripolitania in A.D. 430. During the Byzantine period, the capitals and columns from the *macellum* were re-used for several houses along the road leading to the sea.⁶³

8. THE MACELLUM AT THIBILIS (C. 19, Fig. 12)

Dedication Date (second century A.D.) (?)

The exact dedication date of the *macellum* at Thibilis is unknown. An inscription,⁶⁴ inscribed on a statue base,

⁶² CIL 8 11031; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 79. For discussion of the inscription's date see Constans (supra n. 57) 21, n. 2.

⁶³ Constans (supra n. 57) 22, 91.

⁶⁴ A. Ballu, "Announa," BAC (1909) 78; ILAlg II, no. 4641; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 206.

records a dedication to Mercury by M. Livius Felix,⁶⁵ a local magistrate, during the second century A.D.:

*Mercuri(o) / Aug(usto) / sacrum / M. Livius / Felix mag.
/ pag. flam. / Aug. ob ho/noribus d. s. p. d.*

Presumably this inscription does not date the whole market; it only indicates that the market was in use during the second century A.D.

9. THE MACELLUM AT AMMAEDARA (C. 4, Fig. 4)

Dedication Date (late second century A.D.) (?)

There is no archaeological evidence from the partially excavated *macellum* in Ammaedara to indicate a chronology for this structure.⁶⁶ Perhaps the market was constructed in the late second century A.D. as part of an urban renewal of this town, for a dedication⁶⁷ to Marcus Aurelius records the construction of a *platea nova*.

⁶⁵ M. Livius Felix is known from two other funerary inscriptions, which Ballu (supra n. 64) 78, dated to the second century A.D.

⁶⁶ The court of the market was excavated in the 1930s, but the material is unpublished, see A. Ennabli, "Ammaedara," *PECS* (Princeton 1976) 50. See also F. Baratte et N. Duval, *Haidra. Les ruines d'Ammaedara* (Tunis 1974) 46; N. Duval, "Topographie et urbanisme d'Ammaedara (actuellement Haidra, Tunisie)," *ANRW* II.10.2 (1982) 646, 664, n. 37, 665, n. 65.

⁶⁷ *CIL* 8 11529: *[pla]teae novae [de]rectae a porta milit[ari]*; Duval (supra n. 66) 646, n. 39.

10. THE MACELLUM AT BULLA REGIA (C. 5, Fig. 5)

Dedication Date (late second/early third century A.D.)

The exact date of the dedication of the *macellum* at Bulla Regia is unknown. Unpublished inscriptions,⁶⁸ found in the market's ruins, mention the Aradii, a prominent family of senators and consuls in the third and fourth centuries A.D. It is, therefore, quite possible that the *macellum* was financed and constructed by this family. The *macellum* was also likely constructed after the Hadrianic forum was completed.⁶⁹

11. THE MACELLUM AT THUBURBO MAIUS (C. 12, Fig. 7)

a. Dedication Date (A.D. 168-211)

The exact dates for the construction of the *macellum* (Court A) at Thuburbo Maius and the two adjoining peristyle

⁶⁸ A. Beschaouch, et al, Les ruines de Bulla Regia (Rome 1977) 89. The inscriptions mention L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus [----, Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus and Ti. Arad[ius---, see Y. Thébert, "La romanisation d'une cité indigène d'Afrique: Bulla Regia," MEFRA 85.1 (1973) 290, n. 2. L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus is probably the same as L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus Tiberianus in A. Pelletier, "Les sénateurs d'Afrique proconsulaire d'Auguste à Gallien," Latomus 23 (1964) 512, n. 10. This latter inscription is datable to the first half of the third century or later. For more about the Aradii see Chapter Four, 134-136.

⁶⁹ P. Quoniam, "Fouilles récentes à Bulla Regia (Tunisie)," CRAI (1952) 467, n. 3.

courts (Courts B and C) are uncertain. Since the *macellum* was connected to the south-east corner of the forum, it was likely constructed after the forum and capitolium were completed by A.D. 168.⁷⁰ A mosaic pavement, found in a shop in Court A, confirms that this construction occurred sometime during the second half of the second century A.D.⁷¹

The editors of the Corpus des mosaïques de Tunisie propose that the two adjoining peristyle courts (Courts B and C) were constructed consecutively after the *macellum* between A.D. 168-211.⁷² The three structures of the market complex were, therefore, completed in time for the dedication of the Temple of Mercury in A.D. 211. This temple consecrated the commercial sector of the town.⁷³ The dates of the mosaic pavements from Courts B and C confirm this proposed chronology

⁷⁰ The forum was completed during the reign of Antoninus Pius, see A. Lézine, Thvbyrbo Maius (Tunis 1968) 10,16. For the dedication of the capitolium by A.D. 168, during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus see A. Merlin, Le forum de Thuburbo Majus (Tunis-Paris 1922) 11-12; Merlin, 50, suggested that the rectangular plan of the *macellum* was similar to other second century A.D. *macella* with rectangular plans; De Ruyt, Macellum 212.

⁷¹ Merlin (supra n. 70) 49; for parallel contemporary mosaics with identical treatment and composition in Thuburbo Maius, see Alexander, CMT II.1, 13-14; nos. 24A, 51A, 72, 90, 106A.

⁷² Alexander, CMT II.1, 2-3. De Ruyt suggests only that the two peristyle courts were constructed at a later, unknown date, see De Ruyt, Macellum 212.

⁷³ Alexander, CMT II.1, 3.

between A.D. 168-211.⁷⁴

b. Late Fifth/Early Sixth Century A.D. Restoration

The rectangular annexe located south of Court C was reconstructed into an apsidal-shaped structure with a new mosaic pavement. A number of coins from the Vandal period, found in the ruins of this apse, provide a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 428-484 for this mosaic.⁷⁵ However, this reconstruction in no way suggests that the market (Court A) was still in use at this time.

12. THE MARKET OF SERTIUS AT THAMUGADI (C. 18, Fig. 9)

a. Dedication Date (first quarter of the third century A.D.)

Three inscriptions, found in the market's ruins, record the construction of a *macellum* in Thamugadi during the first quarter of the third century A.D. This market was dedicated by M. Plotius Faustus Sertius, a Roman knight, and his wife, Sertia Cornelia Valentina Tucciana to their hometown:

⁷⁴ For contemporary parallel mosaics to the mosaic pavements found in the court and annexe (Room 6) of Court C, see Alexander, CMT II, 16-17; 7-8, nos. 3-4. The mosaic pavement from Court B also dates to the beginning of the third century A.D., see Merlin (*supra* n. 70) 50-51. However, the only parallel mosaic, with identical composition, but different treatment, is from the apsidal room in Court C, which dates to the end of the fifth/beginning sixth century A.D., see Alexander, CMT II.1, 19.

⁷⁵ Alexander, CMT II.1, 15-16, 19. See also Chapter Two, 91.

*M. Plotius Faus/tus eq. r. a mili/tiis III, fl. pp./
sacerdos ur/bis, ad exor/nationem ope/ris macelli/ quod
cum Va/lentina con/iuge patri/ae suae fecit/ sibi
posuit,*⁷⁶

*Corneliae/ Valentinae/ Tuccianae/ fl. pp. bonae/ memoriae/
feminae ad/ exornatio/nem operis/ macelli quod/ patriae
su/ae fecerunt/ Faustus mari/tus posuit.*⁷⁷

*Sertii/ macellum/ et aream/ eius/ patriae/ suae/
fecerunt.*⁷⁸

The early third century A.D. date for these inscriptions is indicated both by the omission in the first inscription of the tribal designation, and by the lack of imperial epithets in any of the military units.⁷⁹ Additionally, Lassus, noting the similarity in style between the decorative consoles which once supported the hemicycle's roof and the consoles from the so-called Arch of Trajan in Thamugadi, suggested a third century A.D. date for their use.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Boeswillwald, Timgad 187; CIL 8 2399 = ILS 2753; De Ruyt, Macellum 198. For a more complete record of Sertius' titles, see Boeswillwald, Timgad 185; CIL 8 2395.

⁷⁷ Boeswillwald, Timgad 186; CIL 8 2398; De Ruyt, Macellum 198.

⁷⁸ Boeswillwald, Timgad 209; ILS 5579.

⁷⁹ Boeswillwald, Timgad 188-189; De Ruyt, Macellum 198.

⁸⁰ J. Lassus, Visite à Timgad (Alger 1969) 61-62; J. Lassus, "Une opération immobilière à Timgad," Mélpig 3 (Paris 1966) 1230, n. 1. Gsell also thought that the consoles from the arch and the macellum are contemporary; see letter from Gsell published by Ch. Saumagne in, "Le plan de la colonie Trajane de Timgad," CahTun 10 (1962) 505. Contra Boeswillwald, Timgad 200-201, who believed that the consoles from both structures were Byzantine in date (mid-fourth/mid-fifth century A.D.); see also A. Ballu, Les ruines de Timgad (antique Thamugadi) (Paris 1897) 214-215. For consoles see Chapter Two, 84.

An inscription,⁸¹ found re-used in the construction of the hemicycle's wall, records the name of Prastina Pacata, daughter of C. Prastina Pacatius Messalinus⁸², the legate of the Third Augustan Legion in A.D. 143-146:

Prastinae/ C. filiae Pacatae

This dedicatory inscription was likely either re-used as a building element in a later reconstruction of the hemicycle,⁸³ or was included in the original construction of the hemicycle's wall.

b. Final Phase (end fifth century A.D.) (?)

The Market of Sertius was no longer in use by the end of the fifth century A.D., since Thamugadi was destroyed by indigenous tribes at this time. During the Byzantine period (sixth century A.D.), a small fort was constructed south of the original perimeter walls which excluded the earlier remains of the Roman colony.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Boeswillwald, Timgad 203; CIL 8 17898; De Ruyt, Macellum 198, n. 232.

⁸² For C. Prastina Pacatius Messalinus see AE 1985, 875.

⁸³ Boeswillwald, Timgad 203.

⁸⁴ Lassus (supra n. 80) 15; P.A. Février, Approches du Maghreb romain (Aix-en-Provence 1989) 126.

13. THE EAST MARKET AT THAMUGADI (C. 17, Fig. 10)

Dedication Date (second quarter third century A.D.) (?)

The exact date of dedication for the East Market at Thamugadi is unknown. Because the west wall extends beyond the insula into the street, the excavators⁸⁵ did not believe that this market was part of the original layout of the town in A.D. 100. Thamugadi may have had an earlier market in the same location; however, sondages are necessary to verify if this surmise is correct.⁸⁶ Analogies between the East Market and the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11) suggest that both buildings are approximately contemporary.⁸⁷ However, in the absence of any epigraphical evidence, it can not be presently determined which of the two markets with hemicycle plans was constructed first.

b. Final Phase (end fifth century A.D.) (?)

Like the Market of Sertius, the East Market at Thamugadi was no longer in use by the end of the fifth century

⁸⁵ Boeswillwald, Timgad 316; A. Ballu, Les ruines de Timgad. Antique Thamugadi. Sept années de découvertes (1903-1910) (Paris 1911) 13.

⁸⁶ De Ruyt, Macellum 203.

⁸⁷ See Chapter Two, 81-85; De Ruyt, Macellum 203.

A.D.⁸⁸

14. THE MACELLUM AT THIGNICA (C. 11)

Restoration in A.D. 229

An inscription,⁸⁹ found re-used in the walls of the citadel, records the restoration of the *macellum* which had fallen into ruin, by the *municipium* of Thignica in A.D. 229:

Imp. Caes. divi Magni Antonini Pii fil., divi Severi Pii nep., M. Aurelio [Se]vero [[Alexan[d]ro]] Pio Felici Aug., pont. max., trib. pot. VIII, cos. III, p. p. et/ [[Iul]ia/M[ammaea]] Aug. matre Aug. et castrorum et senatus et patriae, macellum vetusta[te] collapsum m[uni]cipium Septimium Aurelium Antoninianum [[Alexandrianum]] Herculeum Frugiferum Thignica, devotum numini maiestatiq. eorum, pec[unia public]a a solo re[fec]it itemque dedicavit.

Although the names of Severus Alexander and Julia Mammaea were erased in *damnatio memoriae*, the genealogy and titles identify the emperor and his mother, and date this inscription to A.D. 229. The inclusion of the words '*vetusta[te] collapsum*' indicates that this market was likely constructed at a much earlier date than the restoration.

15. THE MACELLUM AT AUZIA (C. 20)

⁸⁸ See final phase of Market of Sertius, Chapter One, 39.

⁸⁹ CIL 8 1406 = ILS 6795.

Dedication Date (A.D. 230)

Two identical inscriptions,⁹⁰ inscribed on a statue base, record the dedication of a *macellum* with porticoes, statues and official weights by the *res publica Auziensium* during the reign of Severus Alexander:

[m]acellum cum porticibu[s/ et po]nderibus omnibusque
o[r/nam]entis res. p. col. Septimiae Aur. Auzi/[e]nsium
sumtibus tam suis quam /ex sportulis decurionum ope/risque
popularium a funda/mentis coeptum perfecit dedi/cavitque
XVIII kal. Ian. /pr. CLXXXI,⁹¹ curantibus/ C. Aufidio
Victorino et/..Iuventio Karo aedilibus/ q[uoru]m etiam
summae hono/rariae [in] e[a op]era depensae sunt.

16. THE MACELLUM AT MACTAR (C. 7)

Dedication Date (A.D. 231)

Two fragments of an unpublished inscription record the dedication of a *macellum*⁹² at Mactar in A.D. 231. The first

⁹⁰ CIL 8 9062 = ILS 5590 is the inscription cited in this chapter; CIL 8 9063; De Ruyt, Macellum 42.

⁹¹ Claudius divided the kingdom of Mauretania into two provinces, Tingitana and Caesariensis in A.D. 42, see Gascou (supra n. 26) 27. By my reckoning, the dedication date of the *macellum* should be A.D. 233 (191 + 42) - not A.D. 230.

⁹² M'charek notes that this *macellum* was excavated in the north-east corner of the forum by M. Khanoussi; however publications of this excavation are unknown, see A. M'charek, "Documentation épigraphique et croissance urbaine: l'exemple de *Mactaris* aux trois premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne," L'Africa Romana 2 (1985) 221. Bourgeois, in a postscript, notes that a market was found in 1979 in the north-east corner of the forum, see C. Bourgeois, "Archéologie de l'angle nord-est du forum de Mactar," BAC N.S. 15-16 (1984) 12. L. Chatelain erroneously identified another structure in Mactar as a *macellum*, see L. Chatelain, "Le

fragment⁹³ mentions the market:

ium cum macello

The second fragment⁹⁴ refers to Paelignianus, who was consul in A.D. 231 with Pompeianus.

17. THE MACELLUM AT LAMBAESIS (C. 16)

Dedication Date (before A.D. 238)

An inscription,⁹⁵ found 150 m from the camp of the Augustan Third Legion at Lambaesis, provides evidence for a *macellum* in use there during the third century A.D.:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dol(icheno) / p. p. Flavi
Studi/osi,⁹⁶ Sabinius / Ingenuus⁹⁷ et / Aurelius
Sed/atus, sig(niferi) Leg(ionis) / III*

macellum de Mactaris," MEFR 31 (1911) 349-363; this building has since been identified as a 'monument à auges', see N. Duval et Y. Duval, "Fausses basiliques (et faux martyr): quelques <bâtiments à auges>> d'Afrique," MEFRA 84.1 (1972) 708.

⁹³ G. Picard, "Les fouilles de Mactar (Tunisie) 1970-1973," CRAI (1974) 23, n. 4.

⁹⁴ Picard (supra n. 93) 23, n. 4. There is no apparent record of the fragment with Paelignianus' name inscribed on it. For Paelignianus see I. Kajanto, The Latin Cognomina (Helsinki 1965) 185.

⁹⁵ CIL 8 18224 = ILS 2415; R. Cagnat, "Chronique d'épigraphie africaine," BAC (1890) 455; P. Merlat, Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus (Rennes 1951) 284-285, no. 289; De Ruyt, Macellum 96.

⁹⁶ The name of Flavius Studiosus, a *dioecetes*, is also found in P. Oxy. 899, dating to A.D. 200 as notes De Ruyt, Macellum 96.

⁹⁷ Sabinius Ingenuus is known from his epitaph: CIL 8 2970.

*Aug(ustae),⁹⁸ agentes / cura(m) macelli / v(otum)
l(ibentes) a(nimis) s(olverunt) cum a/zutoribus suis.*

The inscription is dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus by three standard bearers of the Augustan Third legion. Since the inscription only refers to the management of the *macellum*, the actual dedication date is unknown.

18. THE *MACELLUM* AT NEPHERIS (C. 10)

Dedication Date (late fourth century A.D.) (?)

An inscription,⁹⁹ engraved on a paving stone, records the construction of a *macellum* in Nepheris by Covuldus:

Covuldus macellu(m) / de suo pro / pie(tate) fabricabit.

A late imperial date for this *macellum* is suggested by the name Covuldus. Covuldus is a vulgar form of Quodvultdeus, a Christian theophoric name, which came into use in North Africa during the late empire.¹⁰⁰

19. THE *MACELLUM* AT THUBURSICUM NUMIDARUM (C. 13)

⁹⁸ Merlat (supra n. 95) 285, noted that the name of the legion was re-engraved on the inscription after the reformation of the Augustan Third Legion in A.D. 253 (the Legion had been disbanded in A.D. 238). Therefore, the market was likely constructed before A.D. 238.

⁹⁹ CIL 8 24039; De Ruyt, Macellum 115.

¹⁰⁰ Kajanto (supra n. 94) 59-60, 217. Kajanto, 60, writes "... it is likely that the origin of the Christian theophoric names is to be found in native Punic nomenclature."

Dedication Date (ca A.D. 360-370) (?)

A *macellum*,¹⁰¹ partially excavated in the early 1900s at Thubursicum Numidarum, is possibly contemporary with the new forum it adjoined. This forum is datable to A.D. 360-370 by an inscription,¹⁰² which records the name of Atilius Theodotus, who was a legate to the proconsul Clodius Hermogenianus, either in A.D. 361-362 or about A.D. 370.

Undatable Dedications of Roman North African *Macella*

Two *macella* have dedicatory inscriptions which cannot be dated: the *macellum* at Madauros (C. 8) and the *macellum* at *Municipium Aurelium C[ommodianum...]* (C.9).

20. THE *MACELLUM* AT MADAUROS (C.8)

Two fragments of an inscription,¹⁰³ found north-east of the forum, record the dedication of a *macellum* in Madauros¹⁰⁴ by Q. Calpurnius Donatus and his family:

¹⁰¹ G. Souville, in "Thubursicu Numidarum," *PECS* (Princeton 1976) 917, provides the only verifiable reference for this apparent *macellum*.

¹⁰² St. Gsell et C.A. Joly, *Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa I* (Alger-Paris 1914) 21, n. 1, 28, n. 3.

¹⁰³ *ILAlg* I, 185, no. 2052; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 107.

¹⁰⁴ Madauros was a Flavian colony founded by veterans, ca A.D. 100, see Gasco (supra n. 26) 32. This foundation date provides a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the *macellum*.

*Dei Liberi sa[cr(um)] ... Bo[...]/ Q. Calpurnius
 Donatu[s ...] / aedilicius IIviralicius [... Q.?
 Calpurni] / Laeti quond(am) sacerdoti[s fil(ius) opus ?]
 / macelli a solo et stratur[am areae ?] / suis sumptibus
 fecit et cu[m]/rata uxore et Calpur[niis] /rata
 Matrona et / dedicavit.*

21. THE MACELLUM AT MUNICIPIUM AURELIUM C[OMMODIANUM...]

(C. 9)

An inscription,¹⁰⁵ found on a base, records a dedication by the curia to Gallia Optata, wife of P. Modius Felix, who built the *macellum* in this town:

*Galliae Optatae / coniugi P. Modi Fe/licis fili Primi / ad
 remuneran/dam liberalita/tem mariti eius / perfecti operis
 / macelli / universae Cu[riae].*

¹⁰⁵ CIL 8 12353; De Ruyt, Macellum 114.

CHAPTER TWO: TYPOLOGY OF ROMAN NORTH AFRICAN *MACELLA*

No two Roman North African *macella* have identical plans, but the Roman North African *macella* do share five architectural elements in common: enclosed structure, multiple entrances, peristyle court, permanent shops, and hydraulic installations. However, several *macella* have plans which include architectural variations, such as an apse, large hemicycle or *tholos*. This chapter provides a typological framework for the five architectural elements found in each *macellum*, as well as their architectural variations.

Eleven *macella* with detailed plans and sufficient archaeological evidence are included in this typology.¹ Ten *macella* are excluded from this chapter since they are identified by inscription alone² or their remains and plans provide insufficient data for analysis.³

¹ C. 1, C. 2, C. 3, C. 5, C. 6, C. 12, C. 14, C. 15, C. 17, C. 18, C. 19.

² C. 8, C. 9, C. 10, C. 11, C. 16, C. 20.

³ C. 4, C. 7, C. 13, C. 21.

I. THE ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PERISTYLE PLAN

The Roman North African *macella* share five basic architectural elements. First, the *macella* are enclosed structures with solid, single-storey perimeter walls. Second, the *macella* usually have multiple entrances, in two or more perimeter walls, providing easy access to *decumani* and *cardines*. Third, the *macella* have an interior peristyle court. This court is usually open; the portico is generally covered by a roof. Fourth, the *macella* have a row of shops along one or more of their perimeter walls. Fifth, the *macella* have hydraulic installations, such as fountains, pools, wells, cisterns and drains.

The fundamental peristyle plan of the Roman North African *macellum* is composed of the above five architectural elements. It is called the peristyle plan because the peristyle is the most prominent feature. These five elements are indicative of the commercial nature of the *macellum*. The enclosed structure contained the smell from the livestock, fish and offal; the open court could be used to set up temporary market stalls; and the covered portico protected the shops' produce from the elements and animal scavengers. The shops provided permanent locations for the storage and sale of food items. Finally, the water supply was essential for

hygienic and commercial reasons, such as freshening produce and washing up after butchering.

II. VARIATIONS FROM THE FUNDAMENTAL PERISTYLE PLAN

This section will define the categories of the three main architectural variations from the peristyle plan: the peristyle plan plus apse, the peristyle plan plus hemicycle, and the peristyle plan plus *tholos*. Since the Roman North African *macella* share the five basic architectural elements of the peristyle plan, only the variations will be included in the following categories.

A. Peristyle Plan Plus Apse

The most dominant feature of this variation is an apse, consisting of a semicircular recess covered by a half-domed roof. The apse is elaborately decorated and usually contained statuary. The apse is located opposite a monumental principal facade. Additionally, the width of the apse's opening does not extend beyond the boundaries of the peristyle court.

B. Peristyle Plan Plus Hemicycle

A large hemicycle is the dominant feature of this type. The hemicycle is similar to the apse as it is also a

semicircular recess. Like the apse, the hemicycle is located opposite a monumental principal facade. Unlike the apse, the hemicycle extends beyond the boundaries of the peristyle court. Roofing is optional over the hemicycle; whereas the apse is always covered by a half-dome. Finally, the hemicycle is divided into shops; whereas the apse enclosed statuary.

C. Peristyle Plan Plus *Tholos*

A *tholos*, located in the centre of the peristyle court, is the dominant feature of this type. The *tholos* or kiosk is a circular structure with a domed roof supported by a circular marble colonnade. The *tholos* may enclose either a fountain or statuary. The peristyle plan plus *tholos* appears to be the only type in Roman North Africa which may have an additional peristyle court adjoining the market proper.

III. THE FUNDAMENTAL PERISTYLE PLAN: A COMPARISON OF THE FIVE BASIC ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

A comparative study of the five basic architectural elements found in Roman North African *macella* is essential to understanding the typological structure of these markets.⁴

⁴ The *macellum* in Lepcis Magna (C. 3, Fig. 3) is unique since it contains two *tholoi* and no permanent shops. Therefore, this market will be treated as a separate entity in Chapter Two, 91-98.

Unless a reference to the additional architectural variations (apse, hemicycle, *tholos*) is absolutely necessary, they will be excluded from this section.

A. Enclosed Structure

The plans indicate that these *macella* were enclosed by solid perimeter walls with openings only for doorways. There is no archaeological evidence for windows in these walls. The plans indicate rectangular perimeter walls in the *macella* at Cyrene (C. 1, Fig. 1) Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2), Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6), East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10), Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11) and Thibilis (C. 19, Fig. 12); whereas the plans of the *macella* in Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 5), Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7, Court A), and the Market of Cosinius in Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9) are square or nearly square in shape.

1. Construction Techniques

Opus quadratum was the most common building material used for all or parts of the perimeter walls. The earlier perimeter walls in the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) are constructed in *opus quadratum*; the later perimeter walls are

reconstructed with quarry-stones.⁵ The perimeter walls of the *macellum* at Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 13) are built in *opus caementicium*.⁶ Only the first course, in *opus quadratum*, remains of the perimeter walls in the *macellum* at Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 14).⁷ The perimeter walls in the *macella* at Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7) and Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 8) are constructed with quarry-stones.⁸

The perimeter walls of the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 15) and the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 16) are constructed in *opus Africanum*; the corners of the perimeter walls in the Market of Sertius are reinforced in *opus quadratum*.⁹ The perimeter walls of the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 17) are constructed with small stone blocks in horizontal layers; the corners are reinforced by pilasters made of vertically placed parallelepiped stone blocks. The perimeter walls in the *macellum* at Thibilis (C. 19, Fig. 12) consist of quarry-stones; the corners are

⁵ L.A. Constans, "Rapport sur une mission archéologique à Bou-Ghara (*Gigthis*) (1914 et 1915) NouvArch 21 (1916) 89; De Ruyt, Macellum 76.

⁶ De Ruyt, Macellum 48.

⁷ J. Lassus, "L'archéologie algérienne en 1958. Hippone (Hippo Regius)," Libyca 7 (1959) 311; De Ruyt, Macellum 91.

⁸ De Ruyt, Macellum 209, 213.

⁹ De Ruyt, Macellum 63, 194; for the perimeter walls in the Market of Sertius see also St. Gsell, Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie I (Paris 1901) 199.

reinforced by pilasters made with large stone blocks.¹⁰

None of the publications pertaining to these *macella* mention the height of the existing perimeter walls. The perimeter walls in the *macellum* at Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 5), measuring 50 cm wide, provide the only example for the width of these walls.¹¹

B. Multiple Entrances

The principal facades of the Roman North African *macella* are either simple or monumental in appearance, with one or more secondary entrances. The remains of thresholds suggest that the markets' entrances could be secured by wooden doors when the markets were closed.

1. Principal Entrance with Simple Facade

The principal entrance in the *macellum* at Thibilis (C. 19, Fig. 12) has the plainest design and smallest size of the *macella*, measuring 1.50 m wide. A monolithic stone threshold provides evidence for a door.¹² The *macella* in Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7) and Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6) also have principal entrances with a simple facade. The principal

¹⁰ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 199, 204.

¹¹ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 48.

¹² De Ruyt, *Macellum* 205.

entrance in the south-west side of Court A in the *macellum* at Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7) has a threshold comprised of round paving stones with holes for the circular hinges of the door.¹³ The original principal entrance in the *macellum* at Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6) is unknown. However, there is evidence of a portico and threshold outside the row of north shops, suggesting that the earlier principal entrance was likely on the north side.¹⁴ The new principal entrance depicted on the plan (Fig. 6) was moved north-east from the old entrance.¹⁵ This new entrance opens into a large rectangular peristyle court adjoining the market. There are three openings into the market proper from this east court.

2. Principal Entrance with Monumental Facade

Principal entrances with a monumental facade occur in the *macella* at Cyrene (C.1, Fig. 1), Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2), Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 5), the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9), the East Market (C. 17, Fig. 10) and the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11).

The plan of the *macellum* in Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) depicts the simplest monumental facade. This facade consists

¹³ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 209.

¹⁴ J. Lassus (supra n. 7) 314.

¹⁵ For chronology see Chapter One, 28.

of a single, central doorway which opens onto a large open vestibule, measuring 5.50 x 19 m. Fragments of granite column shafts and grey limestone Corinthian capitals were found in the centre of this vestibule. These columns once supported the roof of a small porch surrounding the principal entrance leading into the market proper.¹⁶

The *macellum* at Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 5) has a monumental facade with one principal and two secondary entrances. The exterior portico of this *macellum* is poorly preserved; it consists of nine or more columns which once supported the roof covering the facade's three entrances.¹⁷ The remains of a threshold with holes for door-hinges are found in each of the three entrances.¹⁸ The *macellum* at Thugga (C.14, Fig. 8) has a monumental facade with likely two central and two lateral entrances opening onto the interior court and side porticoes. This *macellum* also has the remains of an exterior portico (Fig. 8), measuring 4.25 m., which is wider than the exterior portico of the *macellum* at Bulla Regia (Fig. 5). Ten socles remain of the columns which used to

¹⁶ Constans (supra n. 5) 87; De Ruyt, Macellum 77.

¹⁷ De Ruyt, Macellum 49.

¹⁸ A. Beschtaouch et al, Les ruines de Bulla Regia (Rome 1977) 89; De Ruyt, Macellum 49.

support the roof covering the four entrances of the facade.¹⁹

The Market of Cosinius in Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9) and the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11) have a monumental facade with one principal entrance. The exterior portico in the Market of Sertius measures 5.50 m in width;²⁰ whereas the exterior portico in the Market of Cosinius measures 3.50 m. wide.²¹ This latter portico is shaped like a corridor, with a set of stairways at each end. The exterior porticoes in both *macella* are comprised of six columns, which supported a roof covering their principal entrances.²² The portico in the Market of Sertius (C. 18, Fig. 11) has a pier at each end of the six columns;²³ whereas the portico in the Market of Cosinius (C. 15, Fig. 9) has two piers at the opening of the south stairway and one pier in the north-west corner of the north stairway.²⁴

The principal entrance in the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11) has the remains of a threshold and

¹⁹ M. Merlin, "Fouilles de Dougga," BAC (1919) 129; De Ruyt, Macellum 213.

²⁰ Nabers, Macella 289.

²¹ A. Ballu, "Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées en 1915 par le Service des monuments historiques de l'Algérie. Djémila," BAC (1916) 218.

²² Boeswillwald, Timgad 185; Ballu (supra n. 21) 218-219.

²³ De Ruyt, Macellum 195.

²⁴ Ballu (supra n. 21) 218.

holes for hinges, suggesting evidence for a door.²⁵ The principal entrance in the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9) is noteworthy because it is more monumental in appearance than the principal entrances in the other *macella*. This entrance, measuring 2.55 m wide, consists of an arch supported by two pilasters in *opus quadratum* with moulded rectangular capitals (Fig. 18).²⁶

The main entrance of the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10) is the only Roman North African *macellum* with a semi-circular vestibule, measuring 4.40 m in diameter. This vestibule is paved with small bricks in a herringbone pattern (*opus spicatum*). Two columns rest on a large threshold, measuring 7.70 m. These columns once supported the roof of the semicircular vestibule.²⁷

The monumental principal facade of the market in Cyrene (C. 1, Fig. 1) is the most ornate of the Roman North African *macella*. This facade consists of a portico plus an adjoining monumental propylon. Only fragments of the portico and propylon exist to suggest the plan of their superstructure (Fig. 19). The propylon consists of four columns and four

²⁵ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 195.

²⁶ Ballu (supra n. 21) 219; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 63.

²⁷ A. Ballu, *Les ruines de Timgad. Antique Thamugadi. Sept années de découvertes (1903-1910)* (Paris 1911) 14; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 199-200.

pilasters, which are larger in height than the columns of the adjoining portico. The columns of the propylon are faced with stucco to resemble marble. These columns and pilasters once supported an entablature with a carved frieze. A chariot group of Septimius Severus once rested on the entablature.²⁸

3. Secondary Entrances

The Roman North African *macella* usually have one or more secondary entrances. These secondary entrances are not as wide as the principal entrances. They are often located on either side of the principal entrance or in the remaining perimeter walls of the market. Secondary entrances provide for a faster flow of shoppers entering or leaving the markets.

The most monumental in appearance of the secondary entrances found in Roman North African *macella* is the entrance in the middle of the east perimeter wall of the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 20). This entrance, measuring 2.50 m. wide, projected into the neighbouring street. The entrance is comprised of two columns which supported a roof, thus forming a small porch.²⁹ The threshold

²⁸ J.B. Ward-Perkins and S. Gibson, "The Market - Theatre at Cyrene." *LibAnt* 14 (1977) 341-344; J.B. Ward-Perkins and S. Gibson, "The 'Market Theatre' Complex and Associated structures, Cyrene," *LibSt* 18 (1987) 54-56.

²⁹ A. Ballu, *Les ruines de Timgad (antique Thamugadi)* (Paris 1897) 212; Boeswillwald, *Timgad* 184.

and traces of holes for hinges suggest that this east entrance, like the principal entrance, was closed by a door.³⁰

C. Peristyle Court

One of the most distinguishing characteristics of the peristyle plan is the interior peristyle court. The peristyle court consists of a large open courtyard surrounded by a covered portico on two or more sides. In general, the plans of Roman North African *macella* display either rectangular or square courtyards. Two radical variations of peristyle courts are shown in the plans of the *macella* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) and the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10). These *macella* are examples of the peristyle plan plus hemicycle.³¹ The peristyle courts in both markets follow the curvatures of these hemicycles. The peristyle court in the *macellum* at Gigthis is horseshoe-shaped, following the curvature of the hemicycle on the west side. The East Market at Thamugadi has two semicircular peristyle courts which follow the curvature of the double intersecting hemicycles on the south side. The *macellum* at Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7) is the only Roman North African market which does not yield evidence for a

³⁰ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 195.

³¹ See Chapter Two, 81-85 for peristyle plan plus hemicycle.

colonnade in its interior court.³² However, this market is the only Roman North African *macellum* with two adjoining peristyle courts.³³

1. Paving Materials

a. Courtyards

Large rectangular paving stones are a common feature of the interior courts of the *macella* in Cyrene (C.1, Fig. 21), Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 13), Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 22), Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7), Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 23), the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 24), the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 25) and Thibilis (C. 19, Fig. 12).³⁴ The paving stones in the interior courts of the

³² A. Lézine, *Thuburbo Maius* (Tunis 1968) 16; De Ruyt notes that the paving stones in front of the south-east range of shops do suggest the presence of a portico and that the larger width of the shops in the corners of the market would be better explained by the presence of a portico of equal width: see De Ruyt, *Macellum* 209, n. 239.

³³ For the adjoining peristyle courts in the *macellum* at Thuburbo Maius see Chapter Two, 88-91.

³⁴ Cyrene: Ward-Perkins and Gibson, *LibAnt* 14 (1977) [supra n. 28] 336; Ward-Perkins and Gibson, *LibSt* 18 (1987) [supra n. 28] 46-47; Bulla Regia: Beschtaouch (supra n. 18) 89; Hippo Regius: Lassus (supra n. 7) 311-312; Thuburbo Maius: A. Merlin, *Le forum de Thuburbo Maius* (Tunis-Paris 1922) 49; Thugga: C. Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga* (Tunis 1958) 34; Market of Cosinius, Cuicul: Y. Allais, *Djémila* (Paris 1938) 38; Market of Sertius, Timgad: Boeswillwald, *Timgad* 190; Thibilis: De Ruyt, *Macellum* 205.

macellum at Thugga (Fig. 23) and the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (Fig. 25) are arranged in parallel north-south rows.³⁵ The interior court of the *macellum* in Hippo Regius (Fig. 22) has a more decorative variation; a row of rectangular marble paving stones surrounds the limestone paving stones. These limestone paving stones are arranged in a radiating fashion towards the *tholos* located in the centre of the court.³⁶

The paved courts in the *macella* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2), the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10) and Cyrene (C. 1, Fig. 1) are also variations from the typical rectangular paving stones. The court in the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) is paved in white concrete.³⁷ The two semicircular courts in the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 26) are paved in the same *opus spicatum* technique as its vestibule.³⁸ The limestone pavement in the market at Cyrene (C. 1, Fig. 27) was later replaced by large, rectangular Proconnesian marble slabs.³⁹

³⁵ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 196, 217.

³⁶ Lassus (supra n. 7) 312.

³⁷ Constans (supra n. 5) 89.

³⁸ Boeswillwald, *Timgad* 315; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 199-200, 203.

³⁹ Ward-Perkins and Gibson, *LibAnt* 14 (1977) [supra n. 28] 336; Ward-Perkins and Gibson, *LibSt* 18 (1987) [supra n. 28] 47.

b. Porticoes

Interior porticoes are paved in rectangular paving stones⁴⁰ with two exceptions. First, the porticoes in the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) are paved in the same white concrete as the interior court.⁴¹ Second, the porticoes in the *macellum* at Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6) are paved in marble slabs.⁴²

2. Architectural Elements

Corinthian capitals are commonly found in the majority of Roman North African *macella*. The column shafts consist of a colourful variety of imported marbles and local limestones. The bases are either Attic or Asiatic.

Two *macella* have interior porticoes decorated with marble column shafts and Corinthian capitals: Cyrene (C. 1, Fig. 1, 27) and the Market of Cosinius in Cuicul (C. 15, Figs. 14, 28). The portico in the market at Cyrene was restored with twenty-four *cipollino* marble column shafts, Proconnesian marble capitals (Fig. 29) and marble Asiatic bases.⁴³ The

⁴⁰ See footnote 34 for bibliography of pavements.

⁴¹ Constans (supra n. 5) 89.

⁴² Lassus (supra n. 7) 314.

⁴³ Ward-Perkins and Gibson, *LibAnt* 14 (1977) [supra. n. 28] 336-337; Ward-Perkins and Gibson *LibSt* 18 (1987) [supra n. 28] 47. For chronology see Chapter One, 24. For the contemporary use of *cipollino* in other *macella* see N. Degrassi, "Il mercato romano di

interior porticoes in the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (Figs. 15, 28) consist of ten columns and four pilasters with grey and white marble column shafts and white limestone Corinthian capitals. The porticoes once supported a wooden architrave, stone frieze and decorated cornice. The stone frieze displayed the dedicatory inscription of the market. The cornice is elaborately carved with acanthus leaves, dentils and rosettes interspersed with the heads of wild animals in relief, such as bulls, lions, wolves, rams and wild boars.⁴⁴

The interior porticoes of the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 30) are also elaborate in design. Twenty-four columns once supported the roof of the porticoes on all four sides. The porticoes are comprised of smooth stone column shafts and a type of Corinthian capital with plainly carved acanthus leaves called 'feuilles d'eau' by the excavators (Fig. 31).⁴⁵ The four columns of the south portico each supported a separate and independent block of the entablature. The entablatures were joined by a semicircular stone arch, which sprang from the top of each individual

Leptis Magna," OAL 2 (1951) 60; Ch. Dubois, Pouzzoles antique (Paris 1907) 296.

⁴⁴ Allais (supra n. 34) 38, noted that the same grey and white marble of the column shafts in the interior porticoes was also used for the column shafts of the temple of Venus Genetrix at Cuicul.

⁴⁵ Boeswillwald, Timgad 194.

cornice (Fig. 32).⁴⁶ These arches linked the columns together to form an arcade. Above the arches was a masonry wall, which supported the roof-beams covering the hemicycle.⁴⁷ Boeswillwald found evidence for several columns with these independent entablatures,⁴⁸ which seems to suggest that the north, east and west porticoes were also linked together by arches. However, a recent reconstruction of this market depicts an arcuated portico only on the south side in front of the hemicycle; the other three sides have the usual formation of Corinthian columns supporting a covered roof (Fig. 33).⁴⁹ Additionally, De Ruyt mentions only the arcade of the south portico, but notes that one of the arcades and several of the independent entablatures were restored along the west side.⁵⁰ Perhaps, these entablatures were originally from the arches located above the shops of the hemicycle.⁵¹

The interior porticoes in the *macellum* at Gigthis (C.

⁴⁶ Gsell (supra n. 9) 208.

⁴⁷ Boeswillwald, Timgad 199-200. See infra, 83-84 for the evidence of the hemicycles's roof.

⁴⁸ Boeswillwald, Timgad 194.

⁴⁹ See P. Romanelli, Topografia e Archeologia dell'Africa Romana (Enciclopedia Classica 3.10, 7) (Torino 1970) 150-151, tav. 111.

⁵⁰ De Ruyt, Macellum 196, n. 229.

⁵¹ Gsell (supra n. 9) 208.

2, Fig. 2) underwent two radically different construction phases. In the first phase, twenty-four columns surrounded a rectangular court on all four sides. The remains of these porticoes consist of Corinthian capitals, smooth, yellow limestone monolithic column shafts and blue-grey marble Attic bases. In the second phase,⁵² thirteen columns surrounded a semicircular court on three sides, thus forming a horseshoe-shaped portico. The curve of this portico follows the curve of the newly constructed hemicycle (Fig. 34).⁵³ The blue-grey marble Attic bases of the earlier porticoes were re-used in the reconstruction of the horseshoe-shaped portico. The Corinthian capitals are identical in design to the earlier capitals, but smaller in size. Additionally, the columns were quarried from the same yellow limestone as the columns from the earlier porticoes; however, they now have fluted column shafts. An even later restoration of the horseshoe-shaped portico is indicated by the remains of three column drums in white limestone faced with stucco.⁵⁴

The East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Figs. 10, 35) is the only Roman North African *macellum* with two semicircular peristyle courts. These courts follow the curves of the double

⁵² For chronology see Chapter One, 32-33.

⁵³ See Chapter Two, 82.

⁵⁴ Constans (*supra* n. 5) 89.

intersecting hemicycles on the south side.⁵⁵ The porticoes in each court consist of ten grey columns with Tuscan capitals.⁵⁶ The six columns of the portico in the *macellum* at Thibilis (C.19, Fig. 12, 36) also have Tuscan capitals.⁵⁷ These columns once surrounded two statues; only the bases survive. One of the bases has a dedication to Mercury, suggesting that this base once held a statue of the god of commerce.⁵⁸

The evidence for the interior porticoes in the *macella* at Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 5), Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6) and Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 8) is practically nonexistent. A few remains of Corinthian capitals, bases and column shafts have been discovered in the *macella* at Bulla Regia and Hippo Regius (Fig. 37).⁵⁹

⁵⁵ See Chapter Two, 82.

⁵⁶ Boeswillwald, *Timgad* 315; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 202.

⁵⁷ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 205, suggests that this court was covered because there is no evidence for drainage channels or signs of weathering; however, it seems more likely that the corridors between the porticoes and shops were covered by a roof typical to those of the other Roman North African markets. A more up-to-date plan of the *macellum* at Thibilis is necessary to see whether the columns of the porticoes are aligned with the partition walls of the shops. Only the centre columns are aligned with the partition walls in Gsell's plan, while the other columns are off-axis.

⁵⁸ For inscription see Chapter One, 33.

⁵⁹ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 51, 92; Lassus (*supra* n. 7) 243.

D. Permanent Shops

Permanent shops are the most important feature of the peristyle plan. The shops are indicated on the plans by a series of partition walls perpendicular to the perimeter walls of the market. In general, the shops are small in size,⁶⁰ averaging 2.50 m x 2.70 m, with entrances opening onto the interior court. Protected by porticoes and with no evidence for windows, the shops were kept dark in order to preserve their perishable contents.

1. Placement of Shops

The shops open onto the interior court of each *macellum*, with the exception of the row of six shops⁶¹ in the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10), which open onto a corridor facing the *Decumanus Maximus*, on either side of the vestibule. The Market of Cosinius in Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9) is the only one which possessed shops along all four sides. The plans of the *macella* in Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6) and Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7, Court A) depict shops along three sides of the perimeter walls. The majority of plans display shops along two sides: Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 5), Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 8), the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17,

⁶⁰ See Catalogue, section B.iv for the measurements of each shop.

⁶¹ Ballu (supra n. 27) 15.

Fig. 10), Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11) and Thibilis (C. 19, Fig. 12).

2. Shape of Permanent Shops

The shape of the shops is, for the most part, rectangular, with the exception of the shops in the hemicycle *macella* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) and the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10): the shops in the *macellum* at Gigthis are semicircular; the shops in the East Market are wedge-shaped.

3. Construction Materials

a. Pavements

The archaeological evidence for the pavements of these shops is minimal. Paved floors in shops were obviously easy to wash down and keep clean. Three of the *macella* have shops paved with rectangular paving stones: Bulla Regia (C. 5, Figs. 5, 13), Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7), and Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 8).⁶² In the *macellum* at Thugga, the paving stones are aligned with the partition walls of the shops. Concrete floors are found in the shops of the *macellum* at Thibilis (C.

⁶² Bulla Regia: De Ruyt, *Macellum* 50; Thuburbo Maius: Merlin (supra n. 34) 49; Thugga: De Ruyt, *Macellum* 215.

19, Fig. 12).⁶³ The shops in the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9) are paved in *opus spicatum*.⁶⁴

The last room of the north-east range of shops in the *macellum* of Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Figs. 7, 38) is paved in a black and white geometric mosaic.⁶⁵ The presence of the mosaic floor and its larger size than the shops, measuring 3.30 m in width, suggests that this room was not a shop, but perhaps the office of the *aediles*.

b. Walls

Published evidence is scarce for the materials used in the partition walls of the shops. The shops' walls in the *macellum* at Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Figs. 7, 39) are constructed in roughly worked limestone.⁶⁶ Large dressed stones faced both sides of the entrances of the shops in the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 40). The walls of these shops are constructed of small, roughly worked stones.⁶⁷ Brick was used for the walls of the shops in the Market of

⁶³ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 205.

⁶⁴ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 64; parallels for the use of *opus spicatum* include the vestibule and the semicircular courts in the East Market at Timgad, see De Ruyt, *Macellum* 199-200, 203.

⁶⁵ Merlin (supra n. 34) 49; Alexander, *CMT* II.1, 13.

⁶⁶ Merlin (supra n. 34) 49.

⁶⁷ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 201-202.

Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 41).⁶⁸

5. Entrance of Shops

Six Roman North African *macella* feature stone tables barring the entrances to their shops: Gigthis (C.2, Fig. 2), Hippo Regius (C.6, Fig. 6), the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9), the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10), the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11) and Thibilis (C. 19, Fig. 12). These tables are a permanent architectural feature of the six *macella*, since the ends of the stone slabs were bonded into the masonry of the shops' partition walls.⁶⁹ The vendor would have to climb over or under the table in order to enter the shop. These tables would also serve as a barrier to would-be thieves.

The best examples of stone tables barring the entrances of shops are found in the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 42). The outside faces of the monolithic stone tables, measuring 2.05 x 1 m, are decorated in simple geometric motifs. Two of the outside faces of these tables are more elaborately decorated with theatre masks, turtles and scorpions. The stone tables rest on dressed stone supports placed edgewise. These supports are richly carved with

⁶⁸ De Ruyt, Macellum 194.

⁶⁹ Nabers, Macella 295.

mythological figures of caryatids, satyrs, sirens, griffins, and Heracles with his club and lion skin, as well as the heads of bulls and goats.⁷⁰

Stone tables also likely barred the entrances of the shops in the *macellum* at Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6). Two of the tables, measuring 0.80 x 0.82 m, were found among the ruins both inside and outside this market. Each table rested on stone supports above a marble threshold at the entrance of each shop. The stone supports of one table have a dolphin carved in relief; the stone supports of the other table have human heads carved in relief.⁷¹

The East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 40), the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 41), and the *macellum* in Thibilis (C. 19, Fig. 12) have simple sculpted mouldings decorating the faces of the table slabs and stone supports.⁷² The tables barring the shops in the Market of Sertius are made of blue-grey granite.⁷³ Several stone table supports in grey limestone or marble have been found in the *macellum* at Thibilis.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Allais (supra n. 34) 39.

⁷¹ J. Lassus, "Le marché d'Hippone," *Libyca* 6 (1958) 245.

⁷² De Ruyt, *Macellum* 195, 201, 205.

⁷³ Boeswillwald, *Timgad* 198.

⁷⁴ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 205.

There is no evidence for stone tables barring the shops' entrances in the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2). However, Constans, the excavator, had no hesitation in restoring stone tables across the fronts of the shops in the same manner as those in the markets at Thamugadi.⁷⁵

E. Hydraulic Installations

The hydraulic installations are the fifth and final basic architectural element essential to the fundamental peristyle plan. An abundant water supply was especially necessary for washing and freshening produce and washing down floors and tables after butchering.

1. Fountains

Two *macella* have central fountains: Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 8) and the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11), measuring 2.50 x 2.50 m⁷⁶ and 2.65 x 2.65 m,⁷⁷ respectively. The remains of the fountain in the *macellum* at Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 8) consist of a concrete base faced with a white mosaic. In the base is a cavity, measuring 25 cm in

⁷⁵ Constans (supra n. 5) 88.

⁷⁶ Merlin (supra n. 19) 129.

⁷⁷ De Ruyt, Macellum 196.

depth and 30 cm in diameter.⁷⁸ Nabers proposes that the cavity once held a pole to support an awning.⁷⁹ However, De Ruyt suggests that this cavity was more likely the base of a fountain, noting similarities with the fountain in the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11).⁸⁰ The basin in the Market of Sertius is enclosed by four paving stones. One stone support for this basin is *in situ* (Fig. 43). Branches of ivy are carved on this support in sculpted relief.⁸¹

The fountain in the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) is enclosed by a small, rectangular structure with an apse, measuring 3.50 x 3.50 m.⁸² This rectangular structure consists of four blue-grey marble Attic bases *in situ* in each of the four corners.⁸³ A few fragments of the grey granite columns are preserved. An oval basin for a fountain was found within the rectangular structure.

Two semicircular basins are found on either side of

⁷⁸ De Ruyt, Macellum 217.

⁷⁹ Nabers, Macella 238.

⁸⁰ De Ruyt, Macellum 217 n. 242.

⁸¹ Ballu (supra n. 29) 212; Boeswillwald, Timgad 190; De Ruyt, Macellum 196.

⁸² R. Cagnat, "Gigthis," BAC (1902) 189.

⁸³ The Attic bases are identical to the blue-grey granite bases of the interior porticoes, with only a slightly larger diameter (0.52 m vs 0.43 m), see Constans (supra n. 5) 89.

the apse in the *macellum* at Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 5).⁸⁴ These basins, both measuring 1.75 m in diameter, are fed from two rectangular reservoirs, both measuring 1.95 x 2.40 m. These reservoirs are located in the wall behind each basin.⁸⁵ The East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10) also has a semicircular basin for a fountain, measuring 1.48 m with a diameter of 90 cm.⁸⁶ This basin is located in the small triangular room at the intersection of the double hemicycles.⁸⁷ Additionally, in a later phase, a large stone basin for a fountain was placed in the last shop of the south-east range in the same market.⁸⁸

The Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9) also reveals evidence for two fountains. A circular basin covered with a thick coat of plaster was found in the last shop on the south-east. The presence of this basin suggests that this shop was converted to a fountain house at a later date.⁸⁹ Additionally, Allais suggested that the *tholos* located in the

⁸⁴ Beschaouch (supra n. 18) 89.

⁸⁵ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 51.

⁸⁶ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 202.

⁸⁷ Ballu (supra n. 27) 15; Boeswillwald, *Timgad* 315.

⁸⁸ Ballu (supra n. 27) 15-16; Boeswillwald, *Timgad* 315.

⁸⁹ Allais (supra n. 34) 40; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 64.

centre of the peristyle court also likely housed a fountain.⁹⁰

De Ruyt suggests that there was likely a fountain in the centre room on the south side of the *macellum* at Thibilis (C. 19, Fig. 12); however, there are no traces of drains or pipes within this room.⁹¹

2. Cisterns

Two Roman North African *macella* disclose remains of cisterns: Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 8) and Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2).

The *macellum* in Thugga has a large rectangular cistern sunk into the floor along the west perimeter wall, where there would normally be shops matching those on the east side. However, Merlin, the excavator, suggests that the vault which covered the cistern was too thin to have supported structures above it.⁹² The cistern in the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) is located within a rectangular room. This room juts out from the north wall beside the hemicycle.⁹³ De Ruyt suggests that this rectangular room also served as a public

⁹⁰ Allais (supra n. 34) 39. See Chapter Two, 87 for description of *tholos*.

⁹¹ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 205.

⁹² Merlin (supra n. 19) 129.

⁹³ Constans (supra n. 5) 90.

latrine,⁹⁴ although there is no evidence for benches with the telltale round holes. If this room is a latrine, it is the only example of a latrine in a Roman North African *macellum*.⁹⁵

3. Drains

The drains, covered by a rectangular paving stone, are often located in the peristyle courts. The most noticeable evidence for a drainage system surrounds the *tholos* in the *macellum* at Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6). The circular drain branches out to the four corners of the market, where they joined with larger sewers, located outside the market.⁹⁶ The *macellum* in Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 8) has traces of drains in the north part of the court and under the apse in the south.⁹⁷ The Market of Cosinius in Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9) has traces of a drain in the north-east angle of its court.⁹⁸ The *macellum* in Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 5) and the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11) have a drain under the fountain in their centre courts.⁹⁹ The market at Cyrene (C. 1, Fig. 44)

⁹⁴ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 77.

⁹⁵ Only the *macellum* in Puteoli reveals evidence for latrines, see De Ruyt, *Macellum* 155, Fig. 57.

⁹⁶ Lassus (supra n. 7) 312.

⁹⁷ Merlin (supra n. 19) 129.

⁹⁸ Allais (supra n. 34) 38; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 65.

⁹⁹ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 196, 313.

has traces of three narrow grooves cut in the limestone pavements for lead water-pipes. These grooves lead to the barely visible remains of a small, rectangular structure situated along the centre of the south wall, and they suggest that the function of this building involved the use of running water.¹⁰⁰

IV. ARCHITECTURAL VARIATIONS FROM THE FUNDAMENTAL PERISTYLE PLAN

The comparative study of the five basic architectural elements of the fundamental peristyle plan reveals that all the Roman North African *macella* are based on this scheme. However, several plans depict additional architectural variations from the peristyle plan, such as an apse, hemicycle, *tholos*, and additional peristyle courts. These architectural variations are problematic to the study of the typology of Roman North African *macella*. These variations can be classified in two ways: either the *macella* are separate types, distinct from the fundamental peristyle plan; or the *macella* are subtypes of the fundamental peristyle plan, since they share the five basic architectural elements which make up this plan. Additionally, the architectural variations

¹⁰⁰ Ward-Perkins and Gibson, *LibAnt* 14 (1977) [supra n. 28] 336.

themselves differ from plan to plan, suggesting that the *macella* with an apse, hemicycle or *tholos* cannot be placed within a rigid typological framework.

The comparative study of the architectural variations from the peristyle plan is based on the premise that the *macella* with an apse, hemicycle or *tholos* contain peristyle plans, as well as these additional architectural variations. Therefore, they can be loosely classified as subtypes of the fundamental peristyle plan.

A. Peristyle Plan Plus Apse

Two Roman North African *macella* have plans featuring an apse¹⁰¹: Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 5) and Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 8). Their plans are remarkably similar, consisting of an enclosed structure, with an interior porticoed court, a row of shops on the lateral sides, and an apse located opposite a monumental facade.

The apses in both *macella* are contained within the boundaries of their porticoed courts. The apse in the *macellum* at Thugga (C. 14, Figs. 8, 45) has an opening 9 m in

¹⁰¹ Parallels for *macella* with an apse outside North Africa include Paestum: De Ruyt, *Macellum* 125-129; see E. Greco et D. Theodorescu, *Poseidonia-Paestum I. La << curia >>* (Rome 1980) 10-41, Fig. 43; Puteoli: De Ruyt, *Macellum* 150-158; Dubois (supra n. 43) 286-309.

width, with a radius of 4.50 m;¹⁰² whereas the apse in the *macellum* at Bulla Regia (C. 5, Figs. 5, 13) has a smaller opening, measuring 6.0 m in width, with a deeper but unknown radius. This latter apse is also enclosed by a balustrade set into a stone threshold.¹⁰³ The thickness of the walls of the apse in both markets suggests that these apses were covered by a half-dome; however, no traces remain of the apses' roofing materials.¹⁰⁴

1. Decoration of Apse

The apses in both *macella* are more ornately decorated than the shops and other rooms found in Roman North African *macella*. The apse in the *macellum* at Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 5) has a pavement of white mosaic. Traces of green marble facings are noticeable at the base of the walls.¹⁰⁵ The apse in the *macellum* at Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 8) has only traces of its decoration. This decoration consists of paint on its curved wall.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Merlin (supra n. 19) 131.

¹⁰³ Beschaouch (supra n. 18) 89; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 50.

¹⁰⁴ Merlin (supra n. 19) 131; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 50.

¹⁰⁵ Beschaouch (supra n. 18) 89; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 50.

¹⁰⁶ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 216.

2. Evidence for *Genius Macelli*

Both apses likely enclosed a statue dedicated to Mercury, the *genius macelli*. An unpublished inscription dedicated to Mercury was found in the ruins of the *macellum* at Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 5).¹⁰⁷ An inscription on a statue base with a dedication to Mercury from two local magistrates was found behind the apse in the *macellum* at Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 8).¹⁰⁸ Additionally, the presence of paint, mosaic pavement and marble facings suggests the possibility that these apses were cultic in function.

3. Large Rooms in Close Proximity to Apse

Both apses have large rooms nearby. The rear of the apse in the *macellum* at Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 8) has two large rooms of unknown function. One room on the south-east has no access to the apse; whereas the other room on the south-west has one access to the apse.¹⁰⁹ The apse in the *macellum* at Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 5) has a large room on either side of its apse. The large room on the south-east likely functioned as a vestibule for the secondary entrance in the east side of

¹⁰⁷ Beschaouch (supra n. 18) 89.

¹⁰⁸ L. Poinssot, "Les fouilles de Dougga en 1919 et le quartier du forum," *NouvArch* 22 (1919) 146, no. 2; *AE* 1922, 107: [Mer]curio Genio/ [m]acelli sacrum/ [C.] Modius Rusticus/ [et M]odius Licinianus/ [fecer.] idemque dedic.

¹⁰⁹ Merlin (supra n. 19) 131.

the market. The large room on the north-west is divided into three sections of varying shapes and sizes. One of these rooms--the rectangular room--likely also functioned as vestibule for the secondary entrance in the west side of the market.¹¹⁰

B. Peristyle Plan Plus Hemicycle

Two plans of Roman North African *macella* depict a large hemicycle lined with shops: the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Figs. 11, 25) and Gigthis (C. 2, Figs. 2, 34). The plan of the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10) is more unusual than the latter two markets: this *macellum* has two intersecting hemicycles lined with shops.

The *macella* with a hemicycle are somewhat similar to the *macella* with an apse (C. 5, Fig. 5, C. 14, Fig. 8). Both types contain a semicircular recess in the perimeter wall opposite a monumental facade. However, there are significant differences between the hemicycles and apses themselves. First, the hemicycle consists of a large, semicircular recess, which extends beyond the boundaries of the interior porticoes in each market. The outer walls of the hemicycles abut against the lateral perimeter walls in the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) and East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10); whereas

¹¹⁰ De Ruyt, Macellum 51.

the outer walls of the hemicycle in the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11) abut against part of the south-east and south-west indentations of the lateral perimeter walls. Additionally, the interior colonnades of the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) and the East Market (C. 17, Fig. 10) follow the curve(s) of their respective hemicycles. However, the rectangular portico of the Market of Sertius (C. 18, Fig. 11) does not follow the curve of its hemicycle. This design is an intermediate step between the rectangular porticoed courts found in Roman North African *macella* datable to the first and second centuries A.D. and the curved courts of the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) and the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10). The apses consist of a smaller semicircular recess, which does not extend beyond the boundaries of the interior porticoes.

Second, the hemicycles contain a row of shops; whereas the apses likely enclosed a statue of the *genius macelli*. Third, a separate roof covering the hemicycles is optional; whereas the apses are covered by a half-dome. Fourth, the peristyle plans with hemicycles have no shops on their lateral walls; whereas the peristyle plans with apses do have shops on their lateral walls. However, there are no shops along the wall containing the apse because shops would take away from the dominant focus of the apse.

1. Shops

The shops in each *macellum* have been discussed with reference to the five basic architectural elements of the fundamental peristyle plan (see Section III.D). Partition walls with stone tables barring their entrances provide evidence for shops in the hemicycles of the *macella* at Thamugadi (Figs. 40, 41) and Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2).¹¹¹

2. Evidence for Roofing

The hemicycles in the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig 2) and the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10) do not have a separate roof distinct from the roof of their porticoes, since the curve of the porticoes follows the curve of the hemicycles. However, there is archaeological evidence for a roof covering the hemicycle in the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11). As previously mentioned, the columns of the interior porticoes in this market supported stone arches. These arches linked together to form an arcade.¹¹² A similar series of nine arches continued around the top of each shop in the hemicycle. This series of arches is joined to the porticoes on the lateral sides by piers with

¹¹¹ East Market in Thamugadi: Ballu (supra n. 27) 15; Market of Sertius in Thamugadi: Boeswillwald, *Timgad* 198; Gigthis (possible presence of tables): Constans (supra n. 5) 88.

¹¹² See Chapter Two, 64.

half-columns. The arches of the hemicycle are supported by a pier placed at the end of the partition wall of each shop.¹¹³ A stone wall rose above the top of these arches. Sculptured consoles (Fig. 46), centred above each pier, carried a spiral fluted column which supported the ends of the major roof beams. The other ends of the beams rested on the wall of the arches of the south portico. The arches in the south portico sprang from individual entablatures, which rested on four columns and two half-columns. These entablatures, in turn, rested on four columns, larger in height than the columns of the porticoes on the north, east and west sides. Thus, a monumental facade was created in front of the hemicycle (Fig. 25).¹¹⁴

The bold sweeping curves in the markets at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 10, C. 18, Fig. 11) and Gigthis (C. 2 Fig. 2) are an aesthetically pleasing architectural variation from the fundamental peristyle plan. The hemicycle in the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11) was a novel solution to the problem of fitting a rectangular structure into a trapezoidal space.¹¹⁵

The architect of the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17,

¹¹³ Gsell (supra n. 9) 208.

¹¹⁴ Ballu (supra n. 29) 214; Boeswillwald, Timgad 194, 199-200.

¹¹⁵ For chronology of the Market of Sertius at Timgad see Chapter One, 37-40.

Fig. 10) boldly adapted the hemicycle plan to maximize the full potential of its interior space.¹¹⁶ The double intersecting hemicycles allowed for the existence of more shops along the south wall than would be normally possible along a straight wall. The semicircular porticoed courts solved the problem of how to cover the shops in the hemicycles.

The hemicycle in the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) is the result of a later radical restoration. This restoration was possibly influenced by the *macella* with hemicycles in Thamugadi, since the plans have such similar features.¹¹⁷

C. Peristyle Plan Plus *Tholos*

The plans of four Roman North African *macella* depict a *tholos* or *tholoi*: Lepcis Magna¹¹⁸ (C. 3, Fig. 3), Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6), Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7), Court A) and the Market of Cosinius in Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9). The *tholos* is the simplest architectural variation from the fundamental peristyle plan, since the addition of a *tholos*

¹¹⁶ For chronology of the East Market see Chapter One, 40.

¹¹⁷ Constans (supra n. 5) 91; R. Cagnat, "La ville antique de Gigthis, en Tunisie," *JSav* 15 (1917) 298-299; Nabers, *Macella* 302; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 79, 288. See also Chapter One, 32.

¹¹⁸ See Chapter Two, 91-98 for the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna.

does not involve a structural change to one of the perimeter walls, as seen in the peristyle plans with apses or hemicycles. The *tholoi* are either round (Lepcis Magna, Fig. 3; Hippo Regius, Fig. 6) or hexagonal (Cuicul, Fig. 9; Thuburbo Maius, Fig. 7) in shape. Each *tholos* was once surrounded by a limestone or marble portico. The portico of each *tholos* likely supported a roof, perhaps domed. However, the exact nature of these roofs is unknown since no verifiable remains have been found.

In general, the *tholos* in the *macella* at Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6), Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7) and Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9) is located in the exact centre of each court. The *tholos* in the *macellum* at Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6) is surrounded by porticoes on three sides; the *tholos* in the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9) is surrounded by porticoes on all four sides; whereas there is no apparent archaeological evidence for porticoes in Court A at Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7).

1. Description of *Tholoi*

The *tholoi* depicted in each of the three plans (Figs. 6, 7, 9) are poorly preserved. The marble or limestone superstructures of these *tholoi* were likely re-used in other building projects or simply went into the lime kilns once the markets were no longer in use.

The *tholos* in the *macellum* at Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6) has the largest diameter of the three *tholoi*, measuring 9.70 m. The evidence for this *tholos* consists of a circular base surrounded by three continuous white marble steps (Fig. 47).¹¹⁹ Nothing remains of the superstructure; however, the use of marble for the steps suggests that this *tholos* also once had a circular marble colonnade.

The *tholos* in the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9) is mentioned in the dedicatory inscription of the market: ... *macellum cum columnis et statuīs et ponderario et thol[o]*.¹²⁰ The remains of the *tholos* consist of a small hexagonal structure, measuring 5 m. in diameter (Fig. 48). Only the lowest courses, consisting of six parallelepiped socles which once supported the columns, remain *in situ*. Fragments of the superstructure include a frieze decorated with garlands and laurel leaves, and a small head of Mercury. The socles formed a balustrade around perhaps a basin for a fountain.¹²¹

The *tholos* in Court A of the *macellum* at Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7) is very poorly preserved. The remains

¹¹⁹ Lassus (supra n. 7) 311.

¹²⁰ Ballu (supra n. 21) 223; *AE* 1916, 36. For inscription see Chapter One, 30-31.

¹²¹ Allais (supra n. 34) 39; L. Leschi, *Djémila, antique Cuicul* (Alger 1949) 30; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 65.

consist of a hexagonal masonry base, measuring approximately 4 m. in diameter (Fig. 49).¹²² This base supports a heptagonal limestone block with square projections.¹²³ These square projections likely contained socles supporting the columns, in a manner similar to those of the *tholos* in the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 9). De Ruyt also noticed a socle for a statue base in the centre of this block.¹²⁴ The excavators made no mention of finding this feature in the centre court.¹²⁵ However, the hexagonal form, its central location in the court, and the presence of a well nearby, suggest that this structure is indeed a *tholos*.¹²⁶ Thus the *tholos* in each *macellum* likely functioned as a monumental enclosure for a fountain or statue. This is an architectural variation which is both practical and aesthetic.

2. Additional Peristyle Courts

Two of the peristyle plans plus a *tholos* have an adjoining peristyle court or courts: Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6) and Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7, Courts B and C). The addition of another peristyle court, which functioned as a

¹²² De Ruyt, Macellum 211.

¹²³ Alexander, CMT II.1, 13.

¹²⁴ De Ruyt, Macellum 211.

¹²⁵ Merlin (supra n. 34) 50-51.

¹²⁶ Lezine (supra n. 32) 16; Alexander, CMT II.1, 13; De Ruyt, Macellum 211.

temporary market on busy market days, is easily comprehensible when looking at the plan of the *macellum* at Hippo Regius. The large *tholos* (9.70 m in diameter) in this market takes up most of the interior court; thus there is very little space left within the court for temporary market stalls. However, the reason for constructing two additional courts adjoining the *macellum* at Thuburbo Maius, within a relatively short period of time,¹²⁷ is left to conjecture. The plan depicting the small *tholos* (ca 4 m in diameter) in Court A shows that there is sufficient space for temporary market stalls. However, if this court did have interior porticoes, then an additional peristyle court would not be out of order.¹²⁸

In general, the additional peristyle courts of both markets consist of open courts surrounded by porticoes on three sides (Fig. 6) or four sides (Fig. 7, B and C). The additional courts also share a party-wall with their respective markets. Each party-wall has doorways between the additional court(s) and the market proper.

The long rectangular east court adjoining the *macellum* in Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6) has the remains of many column bases from its portico *in situ* upon a white marble stylobate,

¹²⁷ See Chapter One, 35-37 for chronology of the *macellum* at Thuburbo Maius.

¹²⁸ See De Ruyt, *Macellum* 209, n. 239.

and four composite Corinthian capitals. The pavement of this east court consists of a black and white geometric mosaic with a swastika pattern.¹²⁹

Court B of the *macellum* complex at Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, fig. 7) once was surrounded by a portico of sixteen Corinthian columns in grey limestone; only one of these columns remains. The porticoes in Court C consist of twelve Corinthian columns in the same grey limestone as Court B.¹³⁰ These porticoes possibly supported twelve smaller columns which formed an upper gallery.¹³¹ A rectangular annexe apparently connected the upper and lower galleries on the south-east side of the court.

Both additional courts contain the remains of mosaic pavements. The open court of Court B was once paved in a white mosaic; however, no trace remains today of this pavement. The floors of the porticoes have the substantial remains of a black and white geometric mosaic with a swastika and meander design (Fig. 50). This mosaic pavement went

¹²⁹ Lassus (supra n. 71) 244-245; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 91.

¹³⁰ Merlin (supra n. 34) 50-51; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 212.

¹³¹ Alexander, *CMT* II.1, 15, n. 2. The possibility of a second floor gallery in Court C is based on the unpublished work of modern restorers and, therefore, cannot be verified. Also, to confuse the issue even more, R. Lantier, "Les grands champs de fouilles de l'Afrique du nord (1915-1930)," *AA* 46 (1931) 546, noted that there was a two-tiered gallery in the square court on the north-east - Court B not Court C!

around a subterranean cistern located near the east column base of the porticoed court.¹³² The presence of a cistern suggests that this court could be used as a temporary market when the need arose.

Court C is paved in a black and white geometric mosaic with a polychrome border (Fig. 51). The floors of the porticoes were once paved in the same white mosaic as the court of Court B; however, no trace remains of this pavement noticed by the excavator. The annexe at the south of this court was originally paved in a polychrome mosaic with floral motifs (Fig. 52). In the Late Empire, a large apsidal structure was built over the annexe. The floor of this structure is paved in a black and white geometric mosaic (Fig. 52).¹³³

The peristyle courts adjoining the *macella* in Hippo Regius (C. 5, Fig. 5) and Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 7) are elegant, yet practical additions to the peristyle plan with a *tholos*, serving as temporary markets during busy market days.

V. THE MACELLUM AT LEPCIS MAGNA

The plan of the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3, Fig.

¹³² Merlin (supra n. 34) 50; Alexander, *CMT* II.1, 9-11.

¹³³ Merlin (supra n. 34) 50; Alexander, *CMT* II.1, 15-16. For chronology see Chapter One, 37.

3) is so unique that this market should be considered a separate and distinct architectural entity. No other *tholos* in a Roman North African *macellum* functioned as a vending area for selling commodities.¹³⁴ No other Roman *macellum* had two *tholoi* or was devoid of shops. This market contains no evidence for partition walls signifying the presence of permanent shops along the outer porticoes. No other Roman North African *macellum* was so large (70 x 42 m) or contained so many columns (100 plus) in its interior peristyle court. The *macellum* in Lepcis Magna is truly an anomaly, more like a showpiece than a smelly, noisy and busy market (somewhat like the West Edmonton Mall in present times).

The plan of the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3, Fig. 3) depicts four of the five basic architectural elements of the peristyle plan: enclosed structure, multiple entrances, peristyle court and hydraulic installations. Since this *macellum* has been fully published and written about in detail by many scholars,¹³⁵ this section will only focus on the more unusual aspects of this market's plan.

¹³⁴ There is no apparent evidence for tables placed between the intercolumniations of the *tholoi* in the *macella* at Hippo Regius, Cuicul and Thuburbo Maius.

¹³⁵ For publication of the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna see DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 27-70; see also Nabers, *Macella* 184-217; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 97-106.

A. Porticoes

The plan of the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3, Fig. 3) reveals two unusual features in its porticoes. First, the intercolumniation of the south portico is much wider than those of the other three sides. Perhaps the architects wished to emphasize this side of the market when the new south-west entrance was built.¹³⁶ Second, the west portico is particularly wide, measuring 9 m; whereas the north and east porticoes measure 4.50 - 4.70 m in width, and the south portico measures 5.50 m in width. The discovery of a large sandstone stylobate, running parallel to the west perimeter wall, led DeGrassi to suggest that there was a double colonnade along the west side of the market.¹³⁷ DeGrassi's suggestion of a double colonnade is a plausible solution since the roof supported by this double row of columns spans a wider space than the roofs of the other porticoes. This double colonnade could also protect several vendors and their perishable produce from the afternoon sun.

The interior porticoes of the *macellum* possibly total over one hundred columns in number. There are 80 columns in the four porticoes and would have been 30 or more columns in

¹³⁶ DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 64, suggests that the south portico was likely erected in the Severan period. See also D.E.L. Haynes, The Antiquities of Tripolitania (London 1959) 91.

¹³⁷ DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 64-65; Nabers, Macella 203; De Ruyt, Macellum 101.

the additional supposed west colonnade.¹³⁸ The columns consist of white marble Attic bases, black granite column shafts and white marble Corinthian capitals (Fig. 53).¹³⁹ DeGrassi suggested that the columns of the four porticoes were linked together by a series of stone arches,¹⁴⁰ in a manner similar to the arcuated interior court of the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 11)¹⁴¹ and the arcuated porticoes of the Severan Forum in Lepcis Magna.¹⁴² DeGrassi based this suggestion on the archaeological evidence of several small voussoirs, which may have belonged to these arches.¹⁴³ However, Vincifori's reconstruction of the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna does not indicate this arcuated

¹³⁸ DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 63.

¹³⁹ R. Bianchi Bandinelli et al, The Buried City. Excavations at Leptis Magna (New York 1966) 78, noted that during the Severan period, the granite columns replaced earlier limestone columns built by the proconsul C. Vibius Marsus between A.D. 31-37. However, the inscription (IRT 322), found re-used in the stylobate of the colonnade in front of the east trapezoidal room outside the market proper, does not mention the dedication of this earlier portico, see Chapter One, 16-17.

¹⁴⁰ DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 46, 67; De Ruyt, Macellum 101.

¹⁴¹ Boeswillwald, Timgad 194.

¹⁴² J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Severan Art and Architecture at Lepcis Magna," JRS 37 (1948) 69-70, Fig. 11. The similarities between the column capitals of the *macellum* and the Severan Forum also suggest that the porticoes in the market were part of the Severan restoration of the market, which included the rebuilding in marble of the south *tholos*, see Chapter Two, 96-97, Fig. 84.

¹⁴³ DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 46.

feature (Fig. 54).

B. *Tholoi*

Two octagonal *tholoi*, measuring 19 m in diameter, dominate the rectangular court (Fig. 55).¹⁴⁴ The *tholoi* consist of a ring of arches surrounded by an octagonal portico and a tri-stepped base. Both *tholoi* were originally constructed in limestone; however, when the principal entrance was changed to the south-west side, the south *tholos* was rebuilt in sandstone and marble.¹⁴⁵

The north *tholos* is in a better state of preservation than the south *tholos* (Fig. 56). The inner ring of this *tholos* consists of a continuous circular wall of masonry broken by sixteen arches (Fig. 57). Two of these arches served as entrances into the centre of the *tholos*. Sixteen pilasters, with Corinthian capitals, were applied to the sides of each arch for decoration.¹⁴⁶ The outer octagonal portico (Fig. 56) consists of sixteen limestone columns with Attic bases and Ionic capitals, plus eight composite piers. The composite piers are comprised of a wedge-shaped pier with half-columns applied to the inner faces. The design of this composite pier, therefore, looks heart-shaped in cross-section (Fig.

¹⁴⁴ DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 51.

¹⁴⁵ Haynes (supra n. 136) 91.

¹⁴⁶ DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 53.

58).¹⁴⁷ The exact nature of the roof is unknown. However, this *tholos* was likely covered by a roof because there is a ridge around the interior of the upper layer of its entablature, which probably supported the ends of the roof-beams.¹⁴⁸

The south *tholos* is poorly preserved (Fig. 59). However, there are enough marble fragments to allow a reconstruction similar to the north *tholos*. The composite piers, Corinthian capitals and bases of the octagonal portico are in white marble with *cipollino* column shafts.¹⁴⁹ In the centre of this *tholos* is a circular water basin made of *verde antico* marble, measuring 2 m in diameter and 10 cm in depth (Fig. 60). This water basin suggests evidence for a fountain.¹⁵⁰

The *tholoi* in Lepcis Magna functioned in lieu of

¹⁴⁷ DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 55. For parallels of heart-shaped composite piers in the North Forum Temple, the temple dedicated to Rome and Augustus, and the Chalcidicum at Lepcis Magna see: J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Pre-Roman Elements in the Architecture of Roman Tripolitania," Libya in History Historical Conference 13-23 March 1968 (University of Libya n.d.) 106-107, Pl. I; J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Town Planning in North Africa during the first two centuries of the empire, with special reference to Lepcis and Sabratha: character and sources," 150-Jahr-Feier Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom RM EH 25 (1982) 33. See also A. Lézine, Les Thermes d'Antonin à Carthage (Tunis 1969) 32.

¹⁴⁸ DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 53-54, 56; De Ruyt, Macellum 102.

¹⁴⁹ DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 60. See footnote 43 for parallels of *macella* with *cipollino* columns.

¹⁵⁰ DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 59; De Ruyt, Macellum 102.

shops. Each *tholos* contains over thirty places for selling food. Sixteen stone tables with dedicatory inscriptions were placed between the intercolumniation of the octagonal portico. The inner arched ring has fourteen stone counters under each arched opening. DeGrassi suggested that these counters were used for displaying fish. Additionally, a well located between the *tholoi* provided a source of fresh water to both structures.¹⁵¹

C. Freestanding Stone Tables

Freestanding white marble tables were found at the rear of the south portico (Fig. 61). These tables also functioned in lieu of shops. The tables rest on stone supports, which are carved in relief with figures of dolphins (Fig. 62) and griffins.¹⁵² One of the stone tables from the north *tholos* is deeply grooved (Fig. 63). Perhaps these deep grooves were made by ropes attached to the buckets used to draw water from a well located between the two *tholoi*. The upper edge of the well also displays deep grooves from the ropes (Fig. 64).

The entire arrangement for vending procedures is far more informal than the permanent shops found in the rest of

¹⁵¹ DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 54-55, 57.

¹⁵² DeGrassi (supra n. 43) 67; Bianchi Bandinelli (supra n. 139) 79.

the Roman North African *macella*. As Nabers so aptly writes:

The arrangement at Lepcis Magna is much better adopted for use as a true public marketing area where any fisherman or farmer could come, set his catch or produce on one of the tables, and move on when his merchandise was sold, whereas the *tabernae* of the other *macella* are better suited for use by more permanent tenants, the professional merchants.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Nabers, Macella 197-198.

CHAPTER THREE: PLACEMENT OF ROMAN NORTH AFRICAN *MACELLA* WITHIN THE URBAN SETTING

The Roman North African *macellum* is usually found in a significant location within an urban centre, since it served the public on a daily basis. Many of these markets are located in important ancient centres of trade and commerce. Fourteen *macella* provide sufficient evidence to determine their placement within each town.¹

I. General Background to Urban Setting: Geographic

Distribution of Roman North African *Macella*

(See Maps 1 - 3)

The province of *Africa Proconsularis* has the largest number of known *macella*, numbering eleven in total. Next, there are five *macella* in Numidia, two *macella* in Tripolitania, and one *macellum* each in Cyrenaica, Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Tingitana. Archaeological chance is also a relevant factor to consider in the study of the

¹ C. 1, C. 2, C. 3, C. 4, C. 5, C. 6, C. 7, C. 12, C. 14, C. 15, C. 17, C. 18, C. 19, C. 21. The six *macella* with only inscriptional evidence are excluded from this chapter after Section I (C. 8, C. 9, C. 10, C. 11, C. 16, C. 20); the market at Thubursicum Numidarum (C. 13) is also excluded because of the lack of available evidence.

distribution of Roman North African *macella*. For example, the remains of some sites are simply better preserved than others. At present, there is no evidence for a *macellum* in other large centres, such as Carthage, Sabratha and Oea, where one would expect a building of this type to exist. The known *macella* are found in towns located on major trade and/or military routes, either along the coast or leading to the interior. The distribution of *macella* in Roman North Africa can be considered as indices of a town's growing prosperity. Three *macella* are found in seaports. Because these towns are located on the Mediterranean, it is likely that their prosperity was based on trade and commerce. The seventeen remaining *macella* are found in inland sites. Because these sites are inland, it is likely that their prosperity was based on agriculture, for example, growing wheat and olives for the Roman *Annona*.

It seems a likely deduction that the probable function of the *macellum* was also likely influenced by location, either along the sea-coast or inland. Those *macella* located near the coast would likely be fish-markets; whereas those *macella* located inland would likely specialize in the sale of meat, lentils and wine.

Most of the Roman North African *macella* appear to be concentrated in or near the 'hump' of *Africa Proconsularis*, since most of the major towns are located in the area of the hump. The archaeological and epigraphical evidence supports the idea that the rural population, living far from urban

centres, was less 'romanized'. The simple food needs of the rural inhabitants were met by self-sufficiency or by rural, weekly markets, known as *nundinae*;² therefore, permanent markets were not necessary.

II. The Urban Setting

Many factors affected the location of a *macellum*: the amount of available space near the forum, the existence of earlier structures and roads, and the terrain.

A. Macella Adjoining or Near to Forum

Nine Roman North African *macella* are either adjoining a forum or are located nearby (within 100 m): C. 4, C. 5, C. 7, C. 12, C. 14, C. 15, C. 17, C. 19, C. 21.

1. Terrain

The *macella* in Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 65), Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 66) and the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 67) are located on a lower level than the forum on account of the hilly terrain.³ Bulla Regia is situated on a gentle hill; Thuburbo Maius is located on the flank of a

² For *nundinae* in Roman North Africa see R. MacMullen, "Market Days in the Roman Empire," *Phoenix* 24 (1970) 333-341; B.D. Shaw, "Rural Markets in North Africa and the Political Economy of the Roman Empire," *AntAfr* 17 (1981) 37-83; J. Nollé, *Nundinas instituere et habere* (Hildesheim 1982); H. Pavis D'Escurac, "Nundinae et vie rurale dans l'Afrique du nord romaine," *BAC N.S.* 17 (1984) 251-258.

³ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 328.

hill; and Cuicul is situated on a mountainous spur between two valleys.⁴

The *macellum* at Thugga (C. 14, Figs. 68, 69) is located on a slightly higher level than the forum because of the hilly terrain.⁵ This *macellum*, constructed on a rocky ridge, was specifically placed to serve the residential sector of the *civitas*. This housing sector is located several meters below the southern apsed-end of the market. Access to the market was provided by stairways located on either side of the apse.⁶

The East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17) and the *macellum* at Volubilis (C. 21) have two distinct levels on account of the gently sloping terrain. The East Market (Fig. 10) is situated on terrain that slopes downwards from west to east.⁷ The vestibule and outer range of six shops could only be reached by ascending one of two stairways from the *Decumanus*

⁴ A. Beschtaouch et al, Les ruines de Bulla Regia (Rome 1977) 9; J. Lassus, "Adaptation à l'Afrique de l'urbanisme romain," Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques. Huitième congrès international d'archéologie classique (Paris 1965) 250; A. Lézine, Thvbvrbo Maivs (Tunis 1968) 7.

⁵ P.A. Février, "Urbanisation et urbanisme de l'Afrique romaine," ANRW II.10.2 (1982) 343.

⁶ L. Poinssot, "Inscriptions de Thugga découvertes en 1910-1913," NouvArch 21 (1916) 103; L. Poinssot, "Les fouilles de Dougga en 1919 et le quartier du forum," NouvArch 22 (1919) 171, 176-177, 191; C. Poinssot, Les ruines de Dougga (Tunis 1958) 34.

⁷ A. Ballu, Les ruines de Timgad. Antique Thamugadi. Sept années de découvertes (1903-1910) (Paris 1911) 15; J. Lassus, Visite à Timgad (Alger 1969) 12; De Ruyt, Macellum 199.

Maximus. The north-east stairway has nine steps; the central stairway leading to the vestibule has seven steps.⁸ The upper level of the market was reached by ascending three steps from the vestibule.⁹ The *cardo* on the higher, west side of the East Market is practically level with the market's secondary entrance since there are no steps leading down from the threshold.

The *macellum* at Volubilis (Figs. 70, 71) was also constructed on two levels because of the terrain. The three east shops, opening onto a corridor, are situated on a lower level than the adjoining *Forum Novum* to the north. A stairway connects the market with the *Forum Novum*, as well as with the *Forum Vetus*, via the corridor to the east. The presence of a natural limestone crust as the floor in the corridor suggests that this market was built at the expense of a small rocky hill.¹⁰

Since the buildings in Ammaedara (C. 4, Fig. 72) flank a hill, they follow an irregular fan-shaped plan which adapts

⁸ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 199.

⁹ Ballu (supra n. 7) 15.

¹⁰ A. Luquet, *Volubilis* (Tanger 1972) 67; A. Jodin, *Volubilis Regia Ivbae* (Paris 1987) 192-193.

well to the configurations of the terrain.¹¹ Thus, the partially excavated *macellum* has a different orientation from that of the capitolium on the south-west; instead, the market follows the same orientation as the building known as the 'batiment à fenêtres', located directly to the south.

Judging from the plan of the *macellum* at Thibilis (C. 19, Fig. 12), this market was likely built on level terrain, since there is no evidence of exterior stairways connecting varying street levels. The available topographical information is insufficient to determine the terrain around the *macellum* at Mactar (C. 7, Fig. 73). Although the *macellum*¹² adjoined the north-east side of the forum, this does not imply that these two structures were built on the same level of ground.

2. Streets

Since a market's main function was to serve the public, the placement of the *macellum* was also determined by its close proximity to major or minor roads of access. Thus, the principal entrance of a market usually opens onto a major

¹¹ N. Duval, "Topographie et urbanisme d'Ammaedara (actuellement Haïdra, Tunisie)," ANRW II.10.2 (1982) 646.

¹² A. M'charek, "Documentation épigraphique et croissance urbaine: l'exemple de Mactaris aux trois premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne," L'Africa Romana 2 (1985) 221.

decumanus or *cardo*. The secondary entrance(s) open onto minor side streets.

The principal entrances of the *macella* at Bulla Regia (C. 5), Thuburbo Maius (C. 12), the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15), Thibilis (C. 19) and the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17) open onto a major road close to the forum.

The *macellum* at Bulla Regia (C. 5, Fig. 65) is not aligned with the forum because of pre-existing roads.¹³ The principal entrance of this market opens onto the *Cardo Maximus*. This main road led to the forum, located north of the market.¹⁴ Two secondary entrances on the south-west of the market open onto roads, which lead to housing *insulae*, and also back north to the forum. The north-west corner of the market marks the change in direction of the west *cardo* from south-west to south-east.

As at Bulla Regia, the placement of the *macellum* complex at Thuburbo Maius (C. 12, Fig. 66) was also determined by pre-existing roads, which do not conform to a regular grid plan. Courts B and C of this complex were superimposed over an earlier indigenous agglomeration, once located beside these

¹³ Beschaouch (supra n. 4) 89. It should be noted that the irregular plan of Bulla Regia means that terms such as *cardo* and *decumanus* can only be used loosely.

¹⁴ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 328.

roads.¹⁵ Thus, the market complex has a slightly more eastern alignment than the forum. The principal entrance of the market (Court A) opens onto the Rue du Labyrinthe, which curves sinuously along the south ends of the forum and Courts A and C. Court B opens onto the Rue du Mercure, which separates this court from the Temple of Mercury.¹⁶ Court B is separated from the forum by a series of four trapezoidal-shaped rooms, which provided access from the forum to the market.¹⁷ Court C opens onto Rue de l'Aurige, a principal *cardo* of this town.

The principal entrance of the East Market at Thamugadi (C. 17, Fig. 74) opens onto the porticoed *Decumanus Maximus*.¹⁸ The secondary entrance of this market opens onto a minor *cardo* opposite the 'maison des jardinières'. The forum is located further to the west along the *Decumanus Maximus*. The East Market was not constructed when the original grid plan of the colony¹⁹ was laid out, since the west side extends a few metres into the adjacent street. The east side of the market

¹⁵ Lézine (supra n. 4) 7; Alexander, *CMT* II.1, 9-10, 15-16.

¹⁶ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 207.

¹⁷ Alexander, *CMT* II.1, 7.

¹⁸ Ballu (supra n. 7) 13.

¹⁹ The veteran's colony of Thamugadi is famous for the strict orthogonal lay out of its earliest phase, ca A.D. 100. For plan see, Ch. Saumagne, "Le plan de la colonie Trajane de Timgad," *CahTun* 10 (1962) 489-508; Lassus (supra n. 4) 245-249.

shares a party wall with a house in the adjoining *insula*, so that it also interrupts the street between. The portico facing the *Decumanus Maximus* on the north side of the market is simply an extension of the porticoed gallery of the neighbouring house.²⁰

The principal entrance of the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15, Fig. 67) opens onto the *Cardo Maximus*²¹ beside the forum.²² The secondary entrance, in the north-west wall, led to the capitolium. Two nearby streets provided access to the market: the Rue du Marché, which is a minor *decumanus* bordering the south side of the market, and the Rue des Thermes du Capitole bordering the north-east corner of the market.

The *macellum* at Thibilis (C. 19, Fig. 75) was easily accessible to the public since it occupied the corner of two intersecting streets, the Rue du Forum and the Rue de

²⁰ Ballu (supra n. 7) 15.

²¹ Cuicul was built on a mountainous spur. Therefore, it has only one major thoroughfare (*Cardo Maximus*) following a north-east-north-west axis. Most of the *decumani* are, therefore, short and they provide no overall grid pattern in the town. See, W.L. MacDonald, The Architecture of the Roman Empire. II. An Urban Appraisal (New Haven and London 1986) 5; W.L. MacDonald, "Connection and Passage in North African Architecture," Rome and the Provinces. Studies in the Transformation of Art and Architecture in the Mediterranean World ed. C.B. McClendon (New Haven 1986) 29.

²² De Ruyt, Macellum 63, 328.

Livius.²³ This market was purposely constructed in a central location between the forum to the south and the residential *insulae* to the north, west and east.

The *macella* in Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 68) and Volubilis (C. 21, Fig. 70) do not have entrances opening onto streets. Instead, each market opens onto its respective forum. The principal entrance of the *macellum* at Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 68), in its final form, opened onto an elegant piazza known as the 'Place de la Rose des Vents'.²⁴ This piazza formalized the east end of the forum complex. The *macellum* at Volubilis (C. 21, Fig. 70) opened onto two *fora* via a stairway and corridor: a stairway connected the lower level of the market (east shops and corridor) with the *Forum Novum*, and an entrance in the corridor opened onto the *Forum Vetus* to the east.²⁵

There is not sufficient evidence to determine the road network providing access to the *macellum* at Ammaedara (C. 4, Fig. 72). The site plan indicates only that the market is located beside the north wall of the capitolium.²⁶

²³ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 204.

²⁴ Poinssot, *Les ruines de Dougga* (supra n. 6) 32. There is no apparent archaeological record for any remains beneath this piazza, so it is not known what the *macellum* originally faced onto.

²⁵ Jodin (supra n. 10) 113.

²⁶ Duval (supra n. 11) 646.

3. *Macella* Located Near Forum as Part of a Larger Building Program

Three Roman North African *macella* adjoining the forum were part of a larger building project: the *macella* in Volubilis (C. 21), Thugga (C. 14), and the Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15).

During the Numidian administration in Volubilis (25 B.C. - A.D. 42), the area around the acropolis was re-organized into the *Forum Vetus* (Figs. 70, 71). The original *macellum* belongs in this phase.²⁷ The forum was the centre of distribution for *insulae*, measuring 23 m per side. This formula dictated the size of the contemporary structures, such as the *macellum* (C. 21) to the north and an unknown structure to the east. The later Roman public buildings of the capitolium and basilica in the *Forum Novum* also conformed to this earlier plan.²⁸

The late second century A.D. restoration of the *macellum* at Thugga (C. 14, Fig. 68) was part of a larger building program to monumentalize the east zone of the forum complex. The original elements of the forum complex date from

²⁷ For chronology see Chapter One, 22.

²⁸ Jodin (*supra* n. 10) 112-114.

a variety of periods.²⁹ This new building program by the Pacuvii³⁰ consisted of the construction of the Temple of Mercury, the restoration of the *macellum* (C. 14) and the formalization of the piazza (Place de la Rose des Vents) separating the two structures. Part of the market's restoration included the construction of an exterior portico to match the portico of the temple of Mercury, facing opposite. The piazza was bordered on the east by a tri-stepped exedra.³¹ All the buildings face the east-west axis, giving a very inward-looking feeling to the whole complex. This is partly caused by the steeply falling terrain to the south.³²

A feature of this forum complex is that pairs of buildings face each other: the *macellum* and the Temple of Mercury (the commercial sector); the apsidal building and the capitolium (the religious sector); and the narrow portico and unknown structure further to the east. The remaining forum (civic sector) takes up one third of the entire area. Another pairing of like elements is indicated by the porticoed terraced courts of the forum on the west and the piazza on the

²⁹ For the chronology of the forum complex see Poinssot, Les ruines de Dougga (supra n. 6) 11-13.

³⁰ See Chapter One, 26-27; Chapter Four, 131-132.

³¹ Poinssot, Les ruines de Dougga (supra n. 6) 32.

³² MacDonald, The Architecture of the Roman Empire (supra n. 21) 257.

east.³³ There are no less than seven apses and exedrae, not including the apsidal-shaped *templum Fortunae Augustae* located immediately east of the piazza.

The Market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15) was also likely part of a larger building project in the forum area, because the column shafts of this market and the temple of Venus Genetrix have the same grey and white marble. This similar building material suggests that these structures were either contemporary or constructed consecutively.³⁴

B. Macella Located at a Distance from the Forum

Five *macella* were constructed at a distance of 100 m or more from the forum: the *macella* in Cyrene (C. 1), Gigthis (C. 2), Lepcis Magna (C. 3), Hippo Regius (C. 6) and the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18).

1. The *Macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2)

a. Terrain

The *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2, Fig. 2) was likely constructed on level ground, since there are no indications of

³³ MacDonald, The Architecture of the Roman Empire (supra n. 21) 257, 259.

³⁴ Y. Allais, Djémila (Paris 1938) 16, 38: Allais suggested that the temple was constructed after the market, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius; see also Chapter Two, 63, n. 44.

stairways leading down from its two entrances, although the terrain to the east of the market slopes steeply towards the sea.

b. Placement

The *macellum* in Gigthis is located 150 m south-west of the forum, near the harbour (Fig. 76).³⁵ The *macellum* is aligned with a road called 'la Rue du Marché' by the excavators.³⁶ This road turns east from the market and heads directly to the sea. The placement of this market near the coast indicates that it likely functioned as a fish-market.

2. The *Macellum* at Hippo Regius (C. 6)

a. Terrain

The fourth century A.D. East Court of the *macellum* at Hippo Regius (C. 6) was constructed on a higher level than the adjoining market. New pavement was added along part of the street beside the court to compensate for this change in levels. Three steps towards the north end connect the new

³⁵ De Ruyt, Macellum 75.

³⁶ L.A. Constans, "Rapport sur une mission archéologique à Bou-Ghara (Gigthis) (1914 et 1915)," NouvArch 21 (1916) 87, 93. The *macellum* is also aligned with the forum, suggesting that it was built after the Hadrianic forum was completed, see Chapter One, 32.

pavement with the old paving stones (Fig. 77).³⁷

b. Placement

The *macellum* in Hippo Regius is located 150 m north-east of the forum, near the ancient shore (Fig. 78).³⁸ As at Gigthis, the placement of this market near the coast suggests that it functioned as a fish market. Additionally, the *macellum* at Hippo Regius has a fairly large *tholos* (9.70 m in diameter).³⁹ Although nothing remains of the *tholos'* superstructure, it is plausible that it may have contained a basin for keeping the fish alive until sold.

The *macellum* at Hippo Regius (Fig. 78) was very accessible to the inhabitants, since it occupied one entire insula bordered by four streets: the Rue de Mercure on the west, the Rue du Concile on the east, the Rue de l'Abondance on the south and the Rue Eupsychia on the north. The principal entrance of the market opens onto this latter north road. The market has the same alignment as the forum even though both structures are located some distance apart.⁴⁰ Only the *macellum* and the forum have rectangular plans which

³⁷ Lassus (supra n. 4) 255.

³⁸ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 89.

³⁹ For *tholos* see Chapter Two, 87.

⁴⁰ Lassus (supra n. 4) 253-254.

establish some regularity on the earlier unplanned indigenous settlement. The later Christian Quarter is located across the road to the east of the market.

3. The Market at Cyrene (C. 1)

a. Terrain

The placement of the market in Cyrene (C. 1, Fig. 79) was partially determined by the terrain, as the south side of the market abuts against the steep slope of South Hill, and the east side is limited by an ascending stepped street (Fig. 80).⁴¹

b. Placement

The location of the market at Cyrene (C. 1, Fig. 79) is partly determined by a pre-existing road known as Valley Street. The market did not follow the orientation of earlier structures found beneath the market's remains, which aligned with the east-west contours of the south hill. Instead, the layout of the paving stones in the market's court (Fig. 1) followed the new alignment of Valley Street. Additionally,

⁴¹ J.B. Ward-Perkins and S. Gibson, "The 'Market Theatre' Complex and Associated structures, Cyrene," LibSt 18 (1987) 44, 47-48.

this market was also likely planned after the stepped street; otherwise, the east wall of the market and the stepped street could have been laid out with more regularity.⁴²

c. The Market at Cyrene as Part of a Larger Building Program

The market at Cyrene (C. 1) was actually part of two building programs. The first building program, during the Augustan or Julio-Claudian periods, consisted of the rationalization of Valley Street and the construction of the market, as well as the first Building with Wind Swept Capital along the south side of this street.⁴³ During the Severan period, the second building program monumentalized this section of Valley Street. The Severan Propylon and west portico was constructed in front of the market on the north, and the market itself was restored in imported marbles.⁴⁴

4. The *Macellum* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3)

a. Terrain

The sloping terrain in Lepcis Magna caused the

⁴² Ward-Perkins and Gibson (supra n. 41) 46, 50, 52, 71; J. B. Ward-Perkins, and S. Gibson, "The Market - Theatre at Cyrene," LibAnt 14 (1977) 334-335, 339-340, 353-354.

⁴³ Ward-Perkins and Gibson (supra n. 41) 71; Ward-Perkins and Gibson (supra n. 42) 354.

⁴⁴ See Chapter One, 24; Chapter Two, 63.

macellum (C. 3) to be constructed on a vast podium of sandstone blocks, reaching a height of 2 m on the north (Fig. 81).⁴⁵

b. Placement

The *macellum* at Lepcis Magna was constructed in a new quarter of town, west of the *Forum Vetus* (Fig. 82). The fact that this *macellum* was so far from the *Forum Vetus* suggests that there was earlier development between these two structures. It is unknown whether there would have been available space for the *macellum* to have been built between the *Forum Vetus* and the ancient port.⁴⁶ This port location would have been logical, since the *macellum* was likely a fish market because the two *tholoi* contain slanted display tables and a large basin for keeping fish alive until time of sale.

The *macellum* in Lepcis Magna (Fig. 82) was easily accessible to the public. The principal entrance on the south-west opens onto the major *cardo*, the Via Trionfale. The Via Trionfale provides access to both the *macellum* and the

⁴⁵ N. DeGrassi, "Il mercato romano di Leptis Magna," *OAL* 2 (1951) 36, 43; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 98.

⁴⁶ Remains of the Punic settlement have been found close to the harbour and in the necropolis, located beneath the theatre, see J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Town Planning in North Africa during the first two centuries of the Empire, with special reference to Lepcis and Sabratha: character and sources," *150-Jahr-Feier Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom RM* EH 25 (1982) 29-30.

Forum Vetus. The secondary entrances open onto minor *cardines* and *decumani* to the east and north. The orientation of this *macellum* (Fig. 83) is slightly askew of the long, narrow, rectangular *insulae*, which divide this quarter of the town (Regio V).⁴⁷ The alignment of the street on the south-west was determined by the facade of the market.⁴⁸

c. The *Macellum* at Lepcis Magna as Part of a Larger Building Program

The construction of the *macellum* in Lepcis Magna (C. 3) was part of a larger building program to monumentalize the Punic port. Most of the public buildings⁴⁹ at Lepcis Magna were constructed during the Augustan period: the *macellum* (9/8

⁴⁷ Ward-Perkins (supra n. 46) 32, suggested that the market was constructed during the Augustan period before the formal layout of the *insulae* and streets, when there was unplanned ribbon development between the market and the forum. Ward-Perkins' theory of urban development in Lepcis was disputed by A. Di Vita, who proposed that the Hippodamian plan was implemented fifty years earlier when this settlement enjoyed a period of independent prosperity, after the sack of Carthage in 146 B.C.; see summary of dispute in Ward-Perkins (supra n. 46) 44-49. There is no evidence to prove or disprove this fifty year gap until it is known just how large the Punic city was before the Roman period.

⁴⁸ D.E.L. Haynes, The Antiquities of Roman Tripolitania (London 1959) 90.

⁴⁹ For dating of the market see: IRT 319, Chapter One, 16; theatre: IRT 321-322; north temple: IRT 520; temple of Rome and Augustus: dated by its statuary, see S. Aurigemma, "Sculture del Foro Vecchio de Lepcis Magna raffiguranti la Dea Roma e principi della casa dei Giulio-Claudii," AfrIt 8 (1940) 1-94; *chalcidicum*: IRT 324.

B.C.) and the theatre (A.D. 1-2) were constructed west of the *Forum Vetus*; the north temple (5 B.C.-A.D. 2) and the temple dedicated to Rome and Augustus (A.D. 14-19) were constructed along the *Forum Vetus*; and the *chalcidicum* (A.D. 12) was constructed west of the market, beside the theatre. The use of limestone in all these buildings from the new quarries at Ras-el-Hammam indicates the architectural unity of this program.⁵⁰ Additionally, the heart-shaped composite piers found in the market's *tholoi*, the two temples and the *chalcidicum* are indicators of a consistent overall building plan.⁵¹ The *macellum* was also restored in imported marbles as part of another monumental building program during the Severan period. Similarities between the column capitals of the *macellum* and the Severan Forum suggest that both structures made use of the same craftsmen (Fig. 84).⁵²

5. The Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18)

⁵⁰ Limestone was used only sparingly on the south *tholos* of the market (the perimeter walls are sandstone) suggesting that the new quarry was not in full production at this time, see Ward-Perkins (supra n. 46) 31.

⁵¹ J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Pre-Roman Elements in the Architecture of Roman Tripolitania," Libya in History. Historical Conference 16-23 March 1968 (University of Libya n.d.) 106-107; Chapter Two, 96, n. 147.

⁵² J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Severan Art and Architecture at Lepcis Magna," JRS 37 (1948) 60-70; Chapter Two, 94, n. 142.

a. Terrain

The Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18, Fig. 85) is situated on terrain that slopes gently upwards. Several steps were placed in front of the market's piazza on the west side to join the varying levels of the street and piazza. Additionally, the main entrance leading into the courtyard and shops is raised by two steps, indicating that this market is located on a higher level than its piazza.⁵³

b. Placement

The Market of Sertius (Fig. 74) was also constructed in a new quarter of town at a distance from the forum. This market is located west of the original perimeter wall of the colony because the original plan (A.D. 100) soon became too small to accommodate any new, large structures.⁵⁴ The placement of the Market of Sertius (Fig. 74) was determined by the *Decumanus Maximus*. The principal entrance of the market opens onto a piazza facing the *Decumanus Maximus*. This road, which enters the city through the Arch of Trajan on the east, also serves as the route west to Lambaesis. One secondary entrance of the market opens onto the Voie du Capitole. This street parallels the original west perimeter wall of the

⁵³ Boeswillwald, Timgad 185, 204.

⁵⁴ Lassus (supra n. 4) 247-249.

colony. The other secondary entrance opens onto an unpaved, narrow, porticoed corridor, measuring 3.30 m wide. This corridor served as a by-pass around the market.⁵⁵

c. The Market of Sertius at Thamugadi as Part of a Larger Building Program

The Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (Fig. 74) was also likely part of a larger building program, during the first quarter of the third century A.D. The market's piazza faces the *templum Genii Coloniae*, located across the *Decumanus Maximus*. The possibly contemporary, so-called arch of Trajan⁵⁶ provides a terminal point for this architectural program.

III. Conclusions

In conclusion, the location of a *macellum* in Roman North African towns provides significant information both about its placement within the urban setting and about its function as a specialty market. The builders of *macella* gave careful consideration to where these buildings were placed within the urban setting, since they were an essential urban

⁵⁵ Boeswillwald, *Timqad* 184, 203-205.

⁵⁶ The contemporary date for the two structures is based on the comparison of similarly designed consoles, see P.A. Février, "Le fait urbain dans le Maghreb du III^e siècle. Les signes d'une crise?," *150-Jahr-Feier Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom RM* EH 25 (1982) 62; contra: Boeswillwald, *Timqad* 200, who dated these consoles on stylistic grounds to A.D. 350-450.

amenity provided for the inhabitants.

The prime location for a Roman North African *macellum* was a central place, close to the forum. Nine of the fourteen *macella* with sufficient evidence to determine their placement within each town were found either adjoining or near to the forum (C. 4, C. 5, C. 7, C. 12, C. 14, C. 15, C. 17, C. 19, C. 21). Thus the commercial centre was often located near the civic and religious centre of the town. Both structures shared a network of streets which provided easy access for the inhabitants.

A *macellum* might also be built in a new quarter of town at a distance from the forum when there was no available space nearby. This type of planning usually occurred in towns with pre-Roman origins, such as at Lepcis Magna (C. 3), Cyrene (C. 1) and Hippo Regius (C.6). However, the construction of the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18) in a new urban quarter also indicates that a market could be built at a distance from the forum even in towns which were planned Roman colonies.

Sometimes a *macellum* was part of an urban renewal program which included the construction of other public edifices, such as temples (Lepcis Magna (C. 3) Cuicul (C. 15), Thamugadi (C. 18); a triumphal arch (Thamugadi, C.18); a theatre and *chalcidicum* (Lepcis Magna, C.3); and buildings of unknown function (Cyrene (C. 1) and Volubilis (C. 21)). In

some instances, a *macellum* was part of a later building project which included the remodelling of the market, as well as the construction of new buildings. The *macella* in Cyrene (C. 1), Lepcis Magna (C.3), and Thugga (C. 8) are examples of markets restored in later building projects. In many of these building projects, the use of similar materials and architectural elements are indices of a conscious effort to unify the overall plan.

It may be possible to infer the function of a *macellum* from its location within the urban setting, in the absence of evidence for the types of foodstuffs sold in Roman North African markets.⁵⁷ The *macella* at Gigthis (C. 2) and Hippo Regius (C. 6) were likely fish markets, since they are located close to the sea. The *macellum* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3, Fig. 3) was also likely a fish market, even though it was located in a new section of town which was not particularly close to the harbour. This supposition is confirmed by the presence of slabs in the *tholoi* for displaying fish, as well as by basins for keeping fish alive until time of sale.

One object of interest is a tiny sea-mollusc from the

⁵⁷ The *macellum* at Pompeii is an excellent source of information about the types of commodities sold in a market. The drains connected with the *tholos* were filled with fish scales, fish bones and fishhooks. Excavations also unearthed jars filled with figs, chestnuts, prunes, raisins, lentils and bread. See A. Maiuri, L'ultima fase edilizia di Pompei (Spoleto 1942) 60; A. Mau, Pompeii. Its Life and Art (New York 1907) 96; L. Richardson, Pompeii. An Architectural History (Baltimore-London 1988) 201.

Indian Ocean. This mollusc, measuring 5 x 4 x 2 mm, was found in the north drain of the *macellum* at Hippo Regius (C. 6, Fig. 6).⁵⁸ The presence of this mollusc indicates that it was an imported object. Perhaps the mollusc shell was sold for other, more decorative purposes since it was too small to provide much nourishment as food!

Since the prosperity of towns located in the interior was based on agriculture, it is likely that the *macella* in these towns sold specialty items, such as wine, lentils, and exotic fruits and vegetables.

⁵⁸ J. Lassus, "Le marché d'Hippone," *Libyca* 6 (1958) 247. Lassus notes that this type of mollusc was also found in Monaco by archaeologists.

CHAPTER FOUR: EUERGETISM AND ROMAN NORTH AFRICAN *MACELLA*

The dedicatory inscriptions from seven¹ Roman North African *macella* provide significant information about euergetism² and the construction or renovation of these markets. The construction of a *macellum* was often financed by a powerful, local aristocrat. The most common charge held by these market patrons was *flamen* or *flamen perpetuus*. The *cursus*³ of these patrons contain a number of high ranking offices, priesthoods and honorary titles, suggesting that the gift of a market was considered prestigious. Some of the market patrons extended their local generosity by constructing other public buildings. Junior officials, such as *aediles*, dedicated items of lesser value, such as vending tables, tables of measures or statues.

The market inscriptions, dating from the first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., attest to the longevity of

¹ C. 3, C. 5, C. 8, C. 14, C. 15, C. 18, C. 19. The markets' patrons are listed in the Appendix, 233-234.

² On euergetism in general see P. Veyne, Bread and Circuses (London 1990).

³ It is fortunate that these market patrons are often found recorded on other inscriptions which provide details omitted from the market inscriptions about their other building projects, military and/or municipal careers.

the market-patronage system in Roman North Africa. The custom of constructing or renovating markets by patrons reached its peak in the third century A.D., under the auspices of several prominent local families.

I. The Major Patrons of the Roman North African *Macella*

1. Annobal Tapapius Rufus (Appendix, no. 1)

Annobal Tapapius Rufus, the patron of the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3), was a member of the powerful, local Punic family, the Tabahpi (latinized Tapapius).⁴ Unlike the other known market patrons who were Roman citizens, Annobal Tapapius Rufus had peregrine status⁵ in Lepcis Magna. The market's dedicatory inscription⁶ records Tapapius' unique blend of latinized native⁷ and Roman offices. He was a *sufes*, one of the two eponymous Punic magistrates in Lepcis Magna. He was also a *praefectus sacrorum*, which was a latinized native priesthood. Additionally, Tapapius was a *flamen*, a priest of

⁴ J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Town planning in North Africa during the first two centuries of the Empire, with special reference to Lepcis and Sabratha: character and sources" 150-Jahr-Feier Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom RM EH 25 (1982) 33; L.A. Thompson, "Roman and Native in the Tripolitanian Cities in the Early Empire," Libya in History Historical Conference 16-23 March 1968 (University of Libya, n.d.) 240-241. For inscriptions referring to other members of the Tabahpi family see IRT 319, n. 8.

⁵ Thompson (supra n. 4) 240.

⁶ For dedicatory inscription see Chapter One, 16.

⁷ IRT p. 80.

the Imperial cult of Augustus. This priesthood, the dedication of the market to Augustus and to L. Crassus Frugi,⁸ consul, *flamen Augusti Caesaris* and patron, and the latinization of Tapapius' Punic name attest to Tapapius' transition into a 'romanized' native of Lepcis.

Annobal Tapapius Rufus was also responsible for the construction of the theatre in Lepcis Magna in A.D. 1/2.⁹ Tapapius' personal wealth (or his family's) must have been vast. He first constructed a *macellum* which surpassed all other Roman North African markets in magnitude and grandeur. Then, within a decade, he built the elaborate theatre at Lepcis Magna. This theatre remains as the crowning glory of Annobal Tapapius Rufus' career.

Another unique feature of Annobal Tapapius Rufus' dedicatory inscriptions is that they are bilingual: Neo-Punic¹⁰ and Latin. Punic was likely the common language spoken by the local indigenous aristocracy, since bilingual inscriptions in Lepcis Magna are attested throughout the first

⁸ For L. Crassus Frugi see B.H. Warmington, "The Municipal Patrons of Roman North Africa," *PBSR* 22 (1954) 43, no. 120.

⁹ *IRT* 321, 322.

¹⁰ G. Levy Della Vida, "Due iscrizioni imperiali neo-puniche di Leptis Magna," *AfrIt* 6 (1935) 3-15.

century A.D.¹¹

Many men were honoured by statues in the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna, who did not have anything to do with the construction or restoration of this market. For example, an inscription,¹² inscribed on a statue base from the *macellum*, records C. Marcius Dento's erection of a statue to himself. Like Annobal Tapapius Rufus, Marcius was a *sufes* and a *flamen perpetuus*.

2. M. Licinius Rufus (Appendix, no. 4)

In contrast to Annobal Tapapius Rufus, M. Licinius Rufus, the patron of the *macellum* at Thugga (C. 14), was a Roman citizen.¹³ The market's dedicatory inscription¹⁴ indicates that Licinius had very special status in Thugga: *patronus pagi et civitatis Thuggensis*. In effect, Licinius was a double patron.¹⁵ First, Licinius was patron to the local *pagus*, likely comprised of the *coloni Carthaginienses*.

¹¹ J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Pre-Roman elements in the Architecture of Roman Tripolitania," Libya in History Historical Conference 16-23 March 1968 (University of Libya, n.d.) 103.

¹² IRT 600: C. Marcius Dento / flam. Aug. / suf. flam. perpet. / statuam publice / sibi ob merita decr[e]/tam s. p. / f.

¹³ Thompson (supra n. 4) 240.

¹⁴ For inscription see Chapter One, 25-26.

¹⁵ C. Poinssot, "M. Licinius Rufus, Patronus Pagi et Civitatis Thuggensis," BAC N.S. 5 (1970) 228.

These *coloni Carthaginienses* had large estates in Thugga. Second, Licinius was also patron to the *civitas*, the indigenous peregrine community.¹⁶ Although the market's inscription records that Licinius gave this market to the *pagus*, it is uncertain whether the peregrine community were allowed the use of this market. However, this market does appear to have been placed specifically to serve the *civitas*, many of whose inhabitants would have lived immediately south of the market and the other public buildings.¹⁷

Licinius was likely one of the *coloni Carthaginienses*, for the market's inscription refers to his priesthood (*flamen perpetuus*) in Carthage (*c(olonia) c(oncordia) i(ulia) k(arthago)*).¹⁸ Licinius, however, did have family connections in Thugga, which affected his choice of patronage. He apparently restored the Tiberian *templum Caesaris*, which had

¹⁶ Warmington (supra n. 8) 50 suggests that the *pagus Thuggensis* was also comprised of native inhabitants with Roman citizenship. However, inscriptional evidence from the first century AD suggests otherwise, that the *pagus* was inhabited by *coloni Carthaginienses*, see chart in Poinssot (supra n. 15) 230-231. The fusion of the *civitas* and *pagus* into a *municipium* did not occur until A.D. 205, so just exactly when Roman citizenship was granted to individual native inhabitants and how this affected the person's status within the two communities are problematic; see also J. Gasco, La politique municipale de l'empire romain en Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime-Sévère (Rome 1972) 158-162.

¹⁷ See Chapter Three, 102.

¹⁸ Poinssot (supra n. 15) 240-241, 242-243, no. 4.

been originally dedicated by his grandmother, Varia Rustica.¹⁹ Other inscriptional evidence²⁰ records that Licinius constructed the temple of Ceres in Thugga.

3. Lucius Cosinius Primus (Appendix, no. 5)

The two dedicatory inscriptions²¹ from the market of Cosinius at Cuicul (C. 15) are the only inscriptions which provide some information about building costs. Cosinius was taxed 30,000 sesterces as his compulsory fee (*summa honoraria*) for entering the priesthood of the Imperial cult, as a *flamen perpetuus*.²² This gift was usually pledged before a patron's adlection to that office.²³ The inscriptions also record that the construction of the market cost Cosinius more than his original pledge (*multiplicata pecunia*).

Like Licinius Rufus in Thugga, Cosinius held offices

¹⁹ Poinssot (supra n. 15) 220, 236.

²⁰ Poinssot (supra n. 15) 215-216.

²¹ For inscriptions see Chapter One, 30-31.

²² R. Duncan-Jones, "Costs, Outlays and Summae Honorariae from Roman Africa," PBSR 30 (1962) 65-69, 81, no. 153; P. Garnsey, "Taxatio and Pollicitatio in Roman Africa," JRS 61 (1971) 116, 122, no. 2; R. Duncan-Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire 2nd ed. (Cambridge 1982) 92, no. 53; P.A. Février, Approches du Maghreb romain (Aix-en-Provence 1989) 200.

²³ R. Duncan-Jones, "Wealth and Munificence in Roman Africa," PBSR 31 (1963) 161.

in dual cities, Cuicul and Carthage.²⁴ Cosinius was likely originally from Carthage, as his tribal designation was *Arnensis*, not *Papiria*, which was the tribe of the citizens of Cuicul.²⁵ Cosinius had a long municipal career in Carthage and Cuicul before he was adlected to the perpetual flamine and five *decuriae* of jurors serving in Rome. However, even after this illustrious municipal career, Cosinius did not receive full membership of the equestrian order. Perhaps Cosinius had no famous antecedents, as entrance into the equestrian ranks was slower for those patrons, like Cosinius, who did not have illustrious family backgrounds.²⁶

The market's dedicatory inscription also records that C. Cosinius Maximus (Appendix, no. 6) supervised the construction of the market in Cuicul.²⁷ C. Cosinius Maximus was the brother of L. Cosinius Primus. Cagnat suggested that Cosinius Primus resided in Carthage, where he held his

²⁴ In Cuicul, Cosinius held the offices of *aedile*, *quaestor*, *duumvir quinquennalis*, *pontifex*, *flamen perpetuus*. In Carthage, Cosinius was an *aedile*, *augur* and *decurion*: *AE* 1916, 34; *AE* 1956, 126. See also H.G. Pflaum, "Les juges des cinq décuries originaires d'Afrique romaine," *AntAfr* 2 (1968) 165-166 for evidence.

²⁵ R. Cagnat, "Le marché de Cosinius à Djémila," *CRAI* (1915) 316.

²⁶ R. Duncan-Jones, "Equestrian Rank in the Cities of the African Provinces under the Principate: An Epigraphic Survey," *PBSR* 35 (1967) 161.

²⁷ For Cosinius Maximus' *cursus* inscriptions see Cagnat (*supra* n. 25) 36 = *AE* 1916, 32; Cagnat (*supra* n. 25) 317 = *AE* 1916, 33.

offices, while Cosinius Maximus attended to their business interests in Cuicul.²⁸

The euergetism of the Cosinii is noted in eight inscriptions from Cuicul.²⁹ Four inscriptions refer to the *macellum* itself. The other four inscriptions are honorific: two inscriptions record the dedication of a biga to Cosinius Primus by his brother and the senate; the other two inscriptions, recorded on statue bases, are dedicated to Cosinius Primus in similar fashion, by Cosinius Maximus and the senate.

4. Q. Pacuvius Satorus and Nehania Victoria (Appendix, nos. 9, 10)

The dedicatory inscription³⁰ from the *macellum* at Thugga (C. 14) records the generous restoration of this building by Q. Pacuvius Satorus and his wife Nehania Victoria. A number of parallels can be drawn between the Pacuvii and other market patrons. Like the Sertii at Thamugadi (see below, Appendix nos. 11, 12), the Pacuvii were a married couple and members of the perpetual priesthood. Like Cosinius Primus at Cuicul, Pacuvius was an *augur* in Carthage. Like

²⁸ Cagnat (supra n. 25) 320.

²⁹ For a list of these inscriptions see M. Leglay, "Djémila: Nouvelle inscription sur les Cosinii," *Libyca* 3 (1955) 169-171.

³⁰ For inscription see Chapter One, 26.

Licinius Rufus (the original market patron at Thugga), Pacuvius dedicated his restoration to the *pagus*. Also like Licinius Rufus, Pacuvius likely belonged to the *coloni Carthaginienses*.³¹

The Pacuvii were also known for their generosity in other building projects at Thugga. In fact, they remodelled the whole east end of the forum complex. The Pacuvii constructed a temple of Mercury³² in honour of Pacuvius' adlection to the perpetual priesthood. The area between the temple and market was turned into a large piazza, known as the 'Place de la Rose des Vents'.

5. M. Plotius Faustus Sertius and Sertia Cornelia Valentina Tucciana (Appendix, nos. 12, 13)

Three dedicatory inscriptions³³ record the construction of a *macellum* (C. 18) by Sertius and his wife, Cornelia. Sertius built this *macellum* in honour of his adlection to the perpetual flamine.³⁴ Cornelia also held this perpetual priesthood, as did Sertius' father, M. Plotius

³¹ Poinssot (supra n. 15) 244-245, no. 17, 251.

³² For dedicatory inscription of the temple of Mercury see L. Poinssot, "Inscriptions de Thugga découvertes en 1910-1913," *NouvArch* 21 (1916) 22.

³³ For inscriptions see Chapter One, 38.

³⁴ A. Ballu, *Les ruines de Timgad (antique Thamugadi)* (Paris 1897) 213.

Faustus.³⁵ In contrast to Cosinius Primus, Sertius obtained his priesthood without holding previous municipal offices.³⁶ Instead, Sertius was a Roman knight, who commanded three different auxiliary units.³⁷ Because the flamine in Thamugadi was restricted to those who could afford the 10,000 sesterces *summa honoraria*, the Sertii likely had personal wealth.³⁸

In addition to being *flamen perpetuus*, Sertius was also a *sacerdos urbis*.³⁹ This official cult is attested in only three North African cities: Thamugadi, Carthage and Cirta. Sertius considered this position, as *sacerdos urbis*, as his most significant office in a dedicatory inscription⁴⁰ found in the capitolium at Thamugadi. Thus, Sertius had three

³⁵ H. Pavis D'Escurac, "Flaminat et société dans la colonie de Timgad," *AntAfr* 15 (1980) 191.

³⁶ Duncan-Jones (supra n. 26) 156, n. 46a; see Appendix, 234 no. 11)

³⁷ Duncan-Jones (supra n. 26) 170, no. 162; for campaign details (a *militis III*) omitted from Sertius' dedicatory inscription of market see Boeswillwald, *Timgad* 185; *CIL* 8, 2395.

³⁸ D'Escurac (supra n. 35) 189; E. Fentress, "Frontier Culture and Politics at Timgad," *BAC* N.S. 17 (1984) 406.

³⁹ Fentress (supra n. 38) 406.

⁴⁰ D'Escurac (supra n. 35) 199: [M.] Plotius [Fa]ustus sa[cer]dos Ur[bis]... et Cornelia Valen[tina] Tucciana... [uxor] eius flamines p.p. ... patriae suae fecerunt. This inscription, found re-used in the pavement of the capitolium's court, suggests that Sertius and Cornelia were likely responsible for the capitolium's construction.

religious links with Rome through his two priesthoods and his possible dedication of the capitolium. Fentress ⁴¹ suggests that Sertius created these links to Rome through religion to make up for his lack of illustrious antecedents, as a nouveau-riche urban landlord.

Sertius and Cornelia were not modest individuals. Eight statue bases recording their patronage were found spread about the ruins of the *macellum*.⁴² One statue of a female was identified as Cornelia by the excavators (Fig. 65).

**6. Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus, L. Aradius Roscius
Rufinus = L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus Saturninus Tiberianus
(?) (Appendix nos. 14, 15)**

Unpublished inscriptions⁴³ found in the *macellum* at Bulla Regia (C. 5) mention three members of the Aradii family:
Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus, L. Aradius Roscius

⁴¹ Fentress (supra n. 38) 406-407. J. Lassus, "Une opération immobilière à Timgad," *Mélanges* (Paris 1966) 1221-1232, proposed that Sertius actually benefited from building the *macellum*. Because of the large numbers of skilled workers needed for building the market (and perhaps the capitolium), Sertius partially recouped his fortune by developing land outside the original perimeter walls. Part of this land was used for Sertius' new abode, while the other part was an industrial quarter. Lassus' hypothesis is plausible, although there is nothing in any of the markets' inscriptions that suggest the patrons made any commercial gains from constructing a market *per se*.

⁴² Boeswillwald, *Timgad* 185-187.

⁴³ See Chapter One, 34, n. 68.

Rufinus and Ti. Arad[ius---. The Aradii were a prominent aristocratic family from Bulla Regia throughout the third and fourth centuries A.D. Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus is the best known of the three likely market patrons. His *cursus* inscription⁴⁴ lists a number of his important posts in the third century: consul, commander of the Seventh Legion, governor of Galatia, Syria-Coele and Phoenicia, vice proconsul of Africa, and possibly governor⁴⁵ of Britannia superior. His illustrious family can be traced over six generations into the fourth century.⁴⁶

Less is known about the other two possible market patrons. If L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus in the unpublished *macellum* inscription⁴⁷ is identical with L. Aradius Roscius

⁴⁴ AE 1971, 490; B. Remy, "La carrière de Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus," Historia 25 (1976) 458: Q(uinto) Aradio Rufino / Optato Aeliano co(n)s(uli) / sodal[i] Augustali, agenti / vice p[r]oco(n)s(ulis) prov(inciae) Afrik(ae), / leg(ato) Au[g(usti)] pr(o) pr(aetore) provinciarum/ [Syriae] Coelae item Phoe/[nic(es) ite]m Galatiae, praef(ecto) / aer(ari) Satu[r]ni praef(ecto) aera/[ri mil(itaris), l]eg(ato) leg(ionis) VII[...; On Rufinus, see also A. Beschtaouch, "Une hypothèse sur la date du vice-proconsulat en Afrique de Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus," Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Bulla Regia I. Miscellanea (Rome 1983) 59-60.

⁴⁵ A. Birley, "The Roman Governors of Britain," EpSt 4 (1967) 83.

⁴⁶ See chart in M. Corbier, "Les familles clarissimes d'Afrique proconsulaire (I-III siècle)," Epigrafiya e Ordine Senatorio II (Roma 1982) 691; M. Christol, "À propos des Aradii: le stemma d'une famille senatoriale au IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.," ZPE 28 (1978) 145.

⁴⁷ See Chapter One, 35, n. 68.

Rufinus Saturninus Tiberianus known from other inscriptions, then we have the following dedicant of the market. L. Aradius Rufinus Saturninus Tiberianus' cursus inscription⁴⁸ lists two priesthoods (*augur* and *curionatus*) and his post as a *triumvir stlitibus iudicandis*. He also led one of the six troops of young Roman knights at the time of the *transvectio equitum* on July 15.⁴⁹ Ti. Arad[ius---, the other market patron, may likely be the father of this same L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus.⁵⁰

Thus it is quite plausible that the Aradii donated a market to their place of origin. Perhaps like the Cosinii brothers at Cuicul, L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus supervised the construction of the market, while his brother (?) Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus served his posts in other provinces.

7. Laenatius Romulus (Appendix, no. 16)

Laenatius Romulus was a market patron who was also a governor. In Lepcis Magna, Romulus concentrated on restoring

⁴⁸ CIL 10 6439 (Privernum): L(ucio) Aradio Roscio/ Rufino Saturni/ no Tiberiano/ auguri curioni c(larissimo) v(iro)/ triumviro stliti/bus iudicandis se/viro equestrium/turmarum q(uaestori) k(andidato) / Privernates pa/trono di[gn]issimo et prestantissimo. See also Remy (supra n. 44) 474.

⁴⁹ Remy (supra n. 44) 474.

⁵⁰ See chart in Corbier (supra n. 46) 691.

porticoes: the portico in the *macellum*⁵¹ and the tripartite portico in the *Forum Vetus*.⁵² The market's restoration inscription also records that Romulus held the honorific title of *vir perfectissimus*. A late fourth century A.D. inscription,⁵³ inscribed on a statue base in the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2), is dedicated to a local patron and governor, T. Archontius Nilus. Like Romulus, Nilus was a *vir perfectissimus* and *praeses*.

II. Market Patrons: Minor Contributors To *Macella*

A. Senior Official: M. Livius Felix (Appendix no. 7)

An inscription⁵⁴ records that M. Livius Felix dedicated a statue of Mercury in the *macellum* at Thibilis (C. 19). M. Livius Felix was a local magistrate of the *pagus* in Thibilis and a *flamen* of Augustus.

B. Junior Market Officials

An *aedilis* was the local official in charge of the

⁵¹ See Chapter One, 20-21 for inscription.

⁵² A. Chastagnol, "Un gouverneur Constantinien de Tripolitaine: Laenatius Romulus *Praeses* en 324-326," *Latomus* 25 (1966) 540; *IRT* 467 = *AE* 1948, 37.

⁵³ For inscription see Chapter One, 33.

⁵⁴ For inscription see Chapter One, 34.

macellum. The *aedilis* leased shops, tested the official weights for accuracy, controlled the moneychangers, enforced contracts and controlled prices of the products sold. Some *aediles* were minor market patrons. They contributed gifts of lesser value.⁵⁵ For example, the *aediles*, Ti. Claudius Amicus and M. Heliodorus Apollonides (Appendix, no. 2) contributed the vending tables⁵⁶ found between the intercolumniations of the north *tholos* in the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3). Additionally, the *aedilis*, M. Marius Aemilianus (Appendix, no. 8) dedicated a table of measures in the *macellum* at Thibilis (C. 19).⁵⁷

Boncarth Muthumbalis (Appendix, no. 3), the *triumvir macelli* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3), dedicated a statue to Liber Pater in a bilingual Neo-Punic and Latin inscription⁵⁸ This *triumvir macelli* was possibly an assistant to the *aediles*.

⁵⁵ A.H.M. Jones, *The Roman Economy* ed. P.A. Brunt (Oxford 1974) 23. In Lambaesis, the duties of the *aediles* were looked after by two *signiferi*, see R.W. Davies, "The Daily Life of the Roman Soldier under the Principate," *ANRW* II.1 (1974) 326.

⁵⁶ For inscription see Chapter One, 18.

⁵⁷ De Ruyt, *Macellum* 206: M. Marius / Aemilianus / *aedilis* / *mensuras* / *structor(ias)* et / *fabril(es)* curavit.

⁵⁸ *IRT* 294: *Libero Patri sacr(um) Boncarth Muthumbalis f(ilius) sobti IIIvir macelli ex multis (denariorum) LXII quibus adiecit de suo (denariorum) LII*; for Neo-Punic text see G. Levy della Vida, *BASOR* 87 (1942) 30-31.

CONCLUSIONS

From the late first century B.C. to the mid-fifth century A.D., the inhabitants of many Roman North African towns went to a *macellum* to buy special ingredients for their dinners. The *macellum* was one of the earliest Roman public buildings constructed in North Africa, apart from the forum. The *macellum* usually occupied a central location within a town close to other public edifices, since it served the public on a daily basis. All Roman North African *macella* have their origins in the peristyle plan found in the earliest known *macella* at Morgantina and Pompeii, built during the Republican period.¹ This peristyle plan consists of an enclosed space, multiple entrances, porticoed court, rows of permanent shops and hydraulic installations. The *macellum* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3) is the one exception among all Roman *macella* because of its double *tholoi* and absence of permanent shops. However, as we have seen, no two Roman North African *macella* are identical.

The earliest type of *macellum* found in Roman North Africa is the peristyle plan plus *tholos*. However, the *tholos* was an architectural element found in the plans of only four of the Roman North African *macella*: Lepcis Magna (C. 3), Hippo

¹ See Introduction, 1-2.

Regius (C. 6), Cuicul (C. 15) and Thuburbo Maius (C. 12). The latter three *macella* share similar features: a nearly square enclosure lined with three or more rows of shops, multiple entrances, hydraulic installations and an interior court with a central *tholos*. With the exception of the *macellum* at Thuburbo Maius, a peristyle surrounded the *tholos* in these *macella* on all four sides. The *tholos* in these Roman North African *macella* likely functioned as a decorative architectural element to enclose a fountain. Thus the addition of a *tholos* did not structurally change the basic rectangular or square plan of the market, and therefore should be considered as an optional element which was not uniquely Roman North African in design. The additional peristyle court(s) attached to the *macella* with *tholos* at Thuburbo Maius and Hippo Regius are a unique feature found only in the North Africa *macella*. These courts likely functioned as temporary markets on busy market days, although the two courts at Thuburbo Maius may have served other purposes whenever the occasion arose.

There is, of course, the one anomaly among the Roman North African *macella* with a *tholos*: the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3). No other *macellum* is remotely like this market with its double *tholoi* and absence of permanent shops. Although the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna was built by Annobal Tapapius Rufus, a Punic aristocrat, the basic architectural

elements are Roman, with the exception of the absence of permanent shops. Additionally, the monumentalizing use of arches and pilasters in the double *tholoi* is seen in other Late Republican and early Imperial structures in Italy, such as the Sanctuary of Hercules at Tivoli (ca 50 B.C.) and the Tabularium (ca 78 B.C.), and Theatre of Marcellus (dedicated 13-11 B.C.) at Rome.²

The only non-Roman architectural elements in the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3) are the heart-shaped composite piers found in the two *tholoi* of the *macellum* and on other contemporary buildings at Lepcis Magna. These composite piers do not influence the overall plan of the *macellum* and therefore cannot be considered as significant enough to label this market as wholly Punic in design and not Roman.³

The *macellum* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3) was constructed when romanization was just beginning in North Africa, at the end of the first century B.C. The Punic and Latin dedicatory

² F. Sear, Roman Architecture (Ithaca, New York 1987) 27, 52-53, figs. 14, 15, 25; A. Boethius, Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture (2nd [integrated] ed. London 1978; reprint ed. London 1987) 155-156; J.B. Ward-Perkins, Roman Imperial Architecture (1st [integrated] ed. London 1981; reprint ed. London 1985) 26-27.

³ Heart-shaped piers are found in Hellenistic architecture, see W.B. Dinsmoor, The Architecture of Ancient Greece (New York 1975) fig. 109; T. Fyfe, Hellenistic Architecture (Chicago 1974) 78. Later parallels are also noted in the eastern provinces, see E. Netzer, "The Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces at Jericho," IEJ 25 (1975) 94, fig. 3, 95; T. Wiegand, Baalbek (Leipzig 1923) pl. 4-5.

inscriptions and the latinization of Annobal Tapapius Rufus' name are indicators that this Punic market patron was influenced by Rome. Additionally, this same patron also built the - very Roman - theatre at Lepcis Magna. The size and grandeur of the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna elevate it to a category of its own in the study of Roman North African *macella*. Only the large and grandiose *macella* at Puteoli⁴ and at Rome (*Macellum Magnum*)⁵ are comparable to the *macellum* at Lepcis Magna.

The next type of *macellum* constructed in Roman North Africa is the peristyle plan plus apse. There are only two known examples of the apsed-type in North Africa: the third century A.D. *macellum* at Bulla Regia (C.5) and the second century A.D. restoration of the *macellum* at Thugga (C. 14). As in the peristyle plan plus *tholos*, the peristyle plan plus apse is not uniquely Roman North African in design. The apsed-type in North Africa is contemporary with or later in date than the Italic *macella* with an apse at Paestum⁶ (second century A.D.) and Puteoli (first century A.D.).⁷

⁴ For the *macellum* at Puteoli see Introduction, 6, n. 21.

⁵ See Introduction, 6, n. 22.

⁶ For the *macellum* at Paestum see E. Greco et D. Theodorescu, *Poseidonia-Paestum I. La <<curia>>* (Rome 1980) 10-41, fig. 43; De Ruyt, *Macellum* 125-129.

⁷ For the *macellum* at Puteoli see Introduction, 6, n. 21.

The peristyle plan plus hemicycle has the most innovative design of all known Roman North African *macella* with plans. The addition of a large hemicycle or hemicycles lined with shops creates a major structural change in the appearance of the two markets at Thamugadi (C. 17, C. 18) and the second phase of the *macellum* at Gigthis (C. 2), which has no parallels outside of North Africa.

Since the early third century A.D. Market of Sertius (C. 18) is the only market with a hemicycle datable by inscriptional evidence, and since the dating of the other *macella* with hemicycles at Thamugadi (C. 17) and Gigthis (C. 2) is based on analogies with the Market of Sertius, evidence for the origin of this new radical design is not to be found. This third century A.D. hemicycle plan likely did not evolve from the peristyle plan with apse. Apart from a major difference in size between the two variations, the functions of the apse and hemicycle were entirely different. The hemicycle was used for commercial purposes; whereas the apse was used for religious purposes, albeit in connection with the commercial function of the market.

Perhaps the third century A.D. hemicycle plan of the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi (C. 18) was influenced by the much earlier Market of Trajan at Rome.⁸ The Market of Trajan

⁸ Ward-Perkins (supra n. 2) 88-93, figs. 39-43.

is not a *macellum*, since it does not contain the basic elements of the fundamental peristyle plan. However, this market does contain a large hemicycle lined with shops - the very element which makes the *macella* with a hemicycle so unique in North Africa. Additionally, since Sertius was a Roman knight, it is very likely that he saw the Market of Trajan while performing his duties at Rome. Nevertheless, the fact that there is a one hundred year interval between these two markets, and that the two markets are located a great distance apart suggest that the influence of the Market of Trajan on the Market of Sertius is rather remote.

The origin of the peristyle plan plus hemicycle was likely affected by a broader fashion for hemicycles in architecture, such as *exedrae* and curving porticoes, although the function of the latter was not usually commercial in nature. Curved porticoed piazzas are found in Gerasa during the late first century A.D. (?).⁹ The second century A.D. 'Place de la Rose des Vents' at Thugga, is also an example of a large *exedra* with curving portico. This *exedra*, adjoining the porticoes of the temple of Mercury and the *macellum*, formalized the east end of the forum complex.

Another example of a large hemicycle with partition walls and an arcuated portico is found at Lepcis Magna. This

⁹ See Ward-Perkins (supra n. 2) 335, fig. 216.

hemicycle,¹⁰ located opposite the *nymphaeum* near the Severan forum, was part of the Severan building program at Lepcis Magna. The date of this hemicycle is thus likely contemporary in date with the Market of Sertius in Thamugadi (C. 18). The function of the hemicycle at Lepcis Magna is unknown, although the arcuated portico in front of the hemicycle with partition walls is somewhat similar in design to the arcuated portico and hemicycle in the Market of Sertius at Thamugadi.

A *macellum* was one of many public buildings erected by patrons in Roman North Africa. However, the inscriptional evidence suggests that the *macellum* was a prestigious building to construct. The majority of market patrons dedicated a *macellum* in honour of their election as *flamen perpetuus*. In the third and fourth centuries A.D., consuls, governors, senators and knights also constructed or restored *macella*. There was no apparent personal financial gain for the market patrons, but as local landowners, the *macellum* would have facilitated the marketing of their crops.¹¹

The epigraphical evidence suggests that there was a more or less equal distribution of *macella* constructed during the first to the third centuries A.D. The construction of *macella* in North Africa peaks during the Severan period. The

¹⁰ J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Severan Art and Architecture at Lepcis Magna," *JRS* 37 (1948) 61.

¹¹ As suggested to me by Dr. E. Haley.

Severan restorations were grandiose, as exemplified by the *macella* at Lepcis Magna (C. 3, Fig. 3) and Cyrene (C. 1, Fig. 1). The decline in the construction and restoration of Roman North African *macella* likely began in the fourth century A.D.: two restorations occurred in the still thriving seaports of Hippo Regius (C. 6) and Lepcis Magna (C. 3); and two new constructions at Thubursicum Numidarum (C. 13) and Nephesis (C. 10). However, Lepelley¹² lists abundant epigraphical data for the construction and mainly restoration of public edifices other than markets in the Late Imperial period, such as baths, theatres, circuses, temples and amphitheatres. This evidence obviously suggests that urbanization continued to be an important factor in town planning in Roman North Africa. The decline in the construction and restoration of these *macella* does not so much reflect a decline in euergetism, as suggested by De Ruyt,¹³ as it reflects a shift in what the patrons chose to build. During the first three centuries A.D., the patrons considered the construction of a *macellum* as prestigious; whereas during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., these patrons considered it more prestigious to restore or construct other public edifices, such as baths, temples, circuses,

¹² C. Lepelley, Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire I (Paris 1979) 304-314.

¹³ De Ruyt, Macellum 380.

theatres, amphitheatres and Christian churches. A good example of this preferential change in euergetism is seen in the market of Cyrene (C. 1) which was replaced by a theatre, after it was destroyed by the earthquake of A.D. 365.

Perhaps luxury foods became affordable to a significantly smaller urban population because of an overall decline in their standard of living. Mosaics, such as the Dominus Iulius Mosaic from Carthage,¹⁴ depict immensely wealthy *latifundia* attended by a large rural population of farmhands. These mosaics suggest that the food was grown specifically for the use of the rich estate owners and their farmhands. Additionally, perhaps commodities were being sold in places other than a *macellum*, such as the 'monuments à auges'. These buildings were a new phenomenon during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and have sometimes been mistaken for *macella*, since they were enclosed structures with an apse on one end. Although the function of these buildings has not yet been precisely defined,¹⁵ the two parallel rows of troughs found within the interior of each structure suggest that they possibly served some economic function, e.g. the

¹⁴ For the Dominus Iulius mosaic at Carthage see K.M.D. Dunbabin, The Mosaics of Roman North Africa (Oxford 1978) 119-122, fig. 109.

¹⁵ N. Duval, "Forme et identification: questions de méthode. À propos des <<monuments à auges>> et des triconques en Afrique du nord," MEFRA 91.1 (1979) 1015-1017; H. Jouffroy, La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine (Strasbourg 1986) 299.

storage of grain or olive oil.

Man-made causes also likely contributed to the decline of the Roman North African *macella*. The Vandals' invasion¹⁶ in the 430s A.D. created unrest, although the contributions to the Roman *Annona* likely continued in many areas until there was a complete breakdown in trade between North Africa and Rome at the end of the fifth century A.D.¹⁷ During the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., many towns in Numidia were either disrupted by religious dissension¹⁸ or destroyed by indigenous native uprisings.¹⁹ Additionally, during the Byzantine reconquest²⁰ (sixth century A.D.), only portions of the earlier Roman towns were enclosed by defence walls, thus excluding many of the Roman public buildings. Examples of these walled towns are found at Cuicul²¹ and Lepcis Magna.²²

¹⁶ For the Vandals in Roman North Africa see Ch. Courtois, Les vandales et l'Afrique (Paris 1955); Ch. Julien, Histoire de L'Afrique du nord 2nd ed. (Paris 1964) 233-255.

¹⁷ Lepelley (supra n. 12) 36.

¹⁸ For a general overview and detailed bibliography of the Donatist schism in Roman North Africa see P. MacKendrick, The North African Stones Speak (Chapel Hill 1980) 261-277, 387-397.

¹⁹ Thamugadi was destroyed by the Mauri at the end of the fifth century A.D., see Courtois (supra n. 16) 315.

²⁰ For the Byzantine reconquest see Julien (supra n. 16) 256-276.

²¹ Y. Allais, Djémila (Paris 1938) 32.

²² D.E.L. Haynes, The Antiquities of Tripolitania 2nd ed. (London 1959) 66.

At Thamugadi, a small fortress was constructed to the south of the original perimeter walls of the colony.²³

The *macella* were sometimes re-used for other purposes: a cemetery (Hippo Regius, fifth century A.D.), as a quarry for a Byzantine fort (Thugga, sixth century A.D.), and residential housing (Gigthis, sixth century A.D.), and as residential land (Lepcis Magna, first half of the fifth century A.D.). No doubt numerous marble architectural elements from the Roman North African *macella* ended up in lime-kilns for other purposes.

In conclusion, the *macella* are significant to the study of ancient urban society in Roman North Africa, since their ornately decorated remains and their inscriptional evidence reflect the high degree of sophistication attained by the inhabitants. However, new excavations using pollen, flora and fauna analysis are necessary to provide information about the types of foods which were once sold in these specialty markets. Additionally, future sondages would be useful in the older excavations of *macella* to supply a more accurate chronology of their remains.

²³ Ch. Courtois, Timgad, antique Thamugadi (Alger 1951) 60.

CATALOGUE

This catalogue lists all the known North African *macella* alphabetically within their respective Roman provinces. The provinces are listed geographically from east to west.

Legend

Roman province

Catalogue number, Figure number, Map number

- A. Name of ancient site, modern locality, modern country, name of *macellum*
- B. Type; area in sq. m.
 - i. overall measurements
 - ii. measurements of interior court
 - iii. measurements of shops
 - iv. diameter of *tholos*
- C. Construction technique
- D. Dating(s)
- E. Inscriptional evidence pertaining to chronology and/or identification of structure as a *macellum*
- F. Date of excavation
- G. Principal modern literature

All the illustrations are drawn to the scale found on the illustration itself. If information is lacking, the section will be shown as blank. Dimensions will be given in metres as length x width. All sites are indicated on maps at the end of the catalogue.

Cyrenaica

C. 1 Fig. 1, Map 1

A. Cyrene (Shahat). Libya.

B.

- i.
- ii. 27.20 m east-west along north side; north-south dimensions unknown.
- iii.
- iv.

C.

D. 1st cent. A.D. (?) based on urban renewal program in Cyrene at this time; restored after A.D. 195; destroyed A.D. 365; late 4th cent. A.D. theatre built on top of ruins.

E.

F. 1954-1956.

G. J.M. Reynolds, "Inscriptions in the Market Theatre and its Immediate Neighbourhood," LibAnt 14 (1977) 373-375; J.B. Ward-Perkins and S. Gibson, "The Market - Theatre at Cyrene," LibAnt 14 (1977) 335-363, fig. 2; J.B. Ward-Perkins and S. Gibson, "The 'Market Theatre' Complex and Associated structures, Cyrene" LibSt 18 (1987) 46-52, fig. 2.

Building consists of a paved open court, slightly trapezoidal in shape, with a covered portico on the north, east and west sides. Small rectangular structure projected axially from the middle of south side. Row of shops of varying sizes on the north; in front of north shops is a monumental propylon with adjoining portico. Principal entrance on north-east.

Tripolitania

C. 2 Fig. 2, Map 2

- A. Gigthis (Bou-Ghara). Tunisia.
- B. hemicycle; 608 sq.m.
 - i. 32 x 19 m.
 - ii.
 - iii. 2.07 x 1.75 m.
 - iv.
- C. *opus quadratum*; 3rd cent. A.D. restoration: quarry-stone
- D. second half of 2nd cent. A.D. (?); restoration 3rd cent. A.D.; still in use late 4th cent. A.D.
- E. late 4th cent. A.D. inscription: CIL 8 11031.
- F. 1902.
- G. R. Cagnat, "Gigthis," BAC (1902) 187-189; L.A. Constans, "Rapport sur une mission archéologique à Bou-Ghara (Gigthis) (1914 et 1915)," NouvArch 21 (1916) 87-91, pl. 13; R. Cagnat, "La ville antique de Gigthis en Tunisie," JSav 15 (1917) 298-299; Nabers, Macella 300-305; De Ruyt, Macellum 75-79, fig. 29.

Rectangular building consists of a horseshoe-shaped court surrounded by a horseshoe-shaped colonnade on north, south and west sides of the court; an apsidal *aedicula* is situated near west end. Large hemicycle on west side of court follows curvature of court; hemicycle is comprised of 5 shops in form of semicircular niches. Large room extends from north-west wall. Principal entrance in the east side leads into a vestibule with two columns.

Tripolitania

C. 3 Fig. 3, Map 1

- A. Lepcis Magna (Leptis Magna). Libya.
- B. *tholos*; 2940 sq.m.
 - i. 70 x 42 m.
 - ii.
 - iii.
 - iv. 19 m (both *tholoi*).
- C. *opus quadratum*; north and east walls: *opus africanum*.
- D. 9/8 B.C.; restored in Tiberian period (?); restored mid 1st cent A.D.; again in Flavian or Trajanic periods (?); again in Severan period; restored in A.D. 317-323; abandoned in 5th cent. A.D.
- E. dedicatory inscription: Goodchild (1950) 72-76; IRT 319; Punic version of dedicatory inscription: Della Vida (1935) 1-29.; Tiberian period restoration (?): IRT 332; early-mid 1st cent. A.D. restoration: IRT 590; A.D. 317-323 restoration: IRT 468.
- F. 1929-1934; published in 1951 by DeGrassi.
- G. N. DeGrassi, "Il mercato romano di Leptis Magna," QAL 2 (1951) 27-70, fig. 3; D.E.L. Haynes, The Antiquities of Tripolitania 2nd ed. (London 1959) 90-92; R. Bianchi Bandinelli et al, The Buried City: Excavations at Leptis Magna (New York 1966) 77-80; M. Squarciapino, Leptis Magna (Bale 1966) 71-75; Nabers, Macella 184-217; De Ruyt, Macellum 97-106, fig. 39.

Rectangular building is comprised of a large interior court with a Corinthian portico on 4 sides; two *tholoi* on north and south. Two *tholoi* originally limestone; south *tholos* restored in marble. *Tholoi* consisted of circular arched inner chamber surrounded by octagonal portico with heart-shaped composite piers. Stone tables between intercolumniations of outer octagonal porticoes of *tholoi*. Stone tables lined back of south-east portico. Principal entrance in south side. Secondary entrances in north-west and south-west walls. tabernae adjoined exterior perimeter walls on south, north and north-east.

Africa Proconsularis

C. 4 Fig. 4, Map 2

A. Ammaedara (Haïdra). Tunisia.

B. peristyle; ca 300 sq.m.

i. 15 x 15 m.

ii.

iii.

iv.

C.

D. late 2nd cent. A.D. (?)

E.

F. court partially excavated in 1930's.

G. F. Baratte et N. Duval, Haïdra. Les ruines d'Ammaedara (Tunis 1974) 46, site plan fig. 1; A. Ennabli, "Ammaedara," PECS (Princeton 1976) 50; N. Duval, "Topographie et urbanisme d'Ammaedara (actuellement Haïdra, Tunisie)," ANRW II.10.2 (1982) 645, fig. 4.

Square building. Interior court surrounded by portico with Attic column bases.

Africa Proconsularis

C. 5 Fig. 5, Map 2

A. Bulla Regia. Tunisia

B. apse; 576 sq.m.

i. 24 x 25 m.

ii. 11.90 x 12.60 m.

iii. 3.60 m per side.

iv.

C. *opus caementicium*; corners reinforced by pilasters of *opus quadratum*.

D. beginning 3rd cent. A.D.

E. inscriptions unpublished; however, they mention Aradii family prominent in 3rd cent. A.D.

F. 1949-1969.

G. A. Beschaouch et al, Les ruines de Bulla Regia (Rome 1977) 89, fig. 84; De Ruyt, Macellum 48-52, fig. 18.

Almost square building consists of a central paved court, surrounded by portico on north, south and east. 12 shops of equal size along north and south walls. Apse between 2 semicircular basins faces court on west. Larger rooms of varying sizes on north-west and south-west. Facade preceded by portico. Principal entrance in east side. Secondary entrances in north-west and south-west.

Africa Proconsularis

C. 6 Fig. 6, Map 2

- A. Hippo Regius (Annaba). Algeria.
- B. *tholos*; 1326 m excluding East Court.
 - i. west structure (market): 39 x 34 m.
 - ii. west court: 15 x 17 m; east court: 37 x 10.50 m.
 - iii. 6 x 4.0-4.5 m; 6 x 2.5 m.
 - iv. 9.70 m.
- C. *opus quadratum* (first course)
- D. 1st cent. A.D. or 2nd cent. A.D. (?); addition of east court: A.D. 364-367; destroyed 5th cent. A.D.
- E. dedicatory inscription: Lassus (1958) 246; 4th cent. A.D. inscription: Lassus (1958) 246; ZPE 43 (1981) 89; AE 1982, 943.
- F. 1950's.
- G. J. Lassus, "Le marché d'Hippone," Libyca 6 (1958) 242-247; J. Lassus, "L'archéologie algérienne en 1958. Hippone (Hippo Regius)," Libyca 7 (1959) 311-317, fig. 1; J. Lassus, "Le marché d'Hippone," RAfr 103 (1959) 186-188; S. Dahmani, Hippo Regius (Alger 1973) 38-39; De Ruyt, Macellum 89-94, fig. 35.

Rectangular building is comprised of two adjoining structures: market on the west and porticoed court on the east. West market consists of a paved marble court, with *tholos* in centre; 18 shops of varying sizes along north, south and west walls; Three doorways open through east side onto a long rectangular court with portico on east, west and south sides. Doorway in north-west side of court leads into large room, adjoining exterior north wall of market. Principal entrance in north side of east court.

Africa Proconsularis

C. 7 Map 2

A. Mactaris (Mactar). Tunisia.

B.

- i.
- ii.
- iii.
- iv.

C.

D. A.D. 231.

E. date based on unpublished inscription: Picard (1974) 23, n.4.

F. 1970's (?)

G. G. Picard, "Les fouilles de Mactar (Tunisie) 1970-1973," CRAI (1974) 23, n. 4; C. Bourgeois, "Archéologie de l'angle nord-est du forum de Mactar," BAC N.S. 15-16 (1984) 12; A. M'charek, "Documentation épigraphique et croissance urbaine: l'exemple de *Mactaris* aux trois premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne," L'Africa Romana 2 (1985) 221, site plan including placement of *macellum*: 224-225.

Building is located on north-east angle of forum.

Africa Proconsularis

C. 8 Map 2

- A. Madaurus (M'daourouch). Algeria.
- B.
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.
 - iv.
- C.
- D.
- E. identified by dedicatory inscription: ILAlg 2052.
- F. not excavated.
- G. St. Gsell et C.A. Joly, Mdaourouch (Alger et Paris 1922) 20.

Africa Proconsularis

C. 9 Map 2

- A. *Municipium Aurelium C[ommodianum..]* (Henchir-Bou-Cha).
Tunisia.
- B.
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.
 - iv.
- C.
- D.
- E. identification based on inscription CIL 8 12353.
- F. not excavated.
- G.

Africa Proconsularis

C. 10 Map 2

A. Nepheris (Henchir-Bou-Baker). Tunisia.

B.

- i.
- ii.
- iii.
- iv.

C.

D. Late empire (4th cent. A.D. ?)

E. identification based on inscription: CIL 8 24039.

F. not excavated.

G.

Africa Proconsularis

C. 11 Map 2

A. Thignica (Ain Tunga). Tunisia.

B.

- i.
- ii.
- iii.
- iv.

C.

D. restoration in A.D. 229.

E. restoration inscription: CIL 8 1406 = ILS 6795.

F. not excavated.

G.

Africa Proconsularis

C. 12 Fig. 7, Map 2

- A. Thuburbo Maius (Henchir Kasbat). Tunisia.
- B. *tholos*; ca 1100 sq.m.
 - i. (A) 25.50 x 23 m.
 - ii. (A) 19 x 19 m; (B) 17 x 18.60 m (De Ruyt: 20 x 18 m); (C) 18.50 x 14 m.
 - iii. 2.18-2.35 x 1.80 m.
 - iv. 4 m.
- C. quarry-stones; corners reinforced by pilasters of *opus quadratum*.
- D. A.D. 168-211; restoration (Court C) late 5th-early 6th cent. A.D.
- E.
- F. 1910-1920's.
- G. A. Merlin, Le forum de Thuburbo Maius (Tunis-Paris 1922) 48-51, pl. 1; A. Lézine, Thuburbo Maius (Tunis 1968) 15-16, fig. 1.5; M. Alexander, CMT II.1, 9-19, Pl. 1-6; De Ruyt, Macellum 207-212, 298, fig. 79.

Market is comprised of 3 adjoining structures with accesses between them. Market (A) consists of a quadrangular paved open court; 19 shops of varying sizes along north, south and east sides; traces of a *tholos* in centre court. Court B to the north consists of a nearly square court with portico on 4 sides. Court C to the south-west is comprised of a rectangular court with portico on 4 sides; opens onto exedra in south. Principal entrance in middle south-west side of (A). Secondary entrances in east and west corners of court (A).

Africa Proconsularis

C. 13 , Map 2

A. Thubursicu/Thubursicum Numidarum (Khamissa). Algeria.

B.

- i.
- ii.
- iii.
- iv.

C.

D. A.D. 360-370 (?).

E.

F. partially excavated in early 1900's.

G. G. Souville, "Thubursicu Numidarum," PECS (Princeton, 1976) 917; St. Gsell et C. A. Joly, Khamissa, Mdarourouch, Announa 1 (Alger-Paris 1914) plan of site: pl. 1.

Building with porticoes.

Africa Proconsularis

C. 14 Fig. 8, Map 2

- A. Thugga (Dougga). Tunisia.
- B. apse; 994 sq.m.
 - i. 35.80 x 28 m.
 - ii. 27 x 11.50 m.
 - iii. 2.70 x 2.80 m.
 - iv.
- C. quarry-stone.
- D. A.D. 54; restored A.D. 180-192; destroyed 6th cent. A.D.
- E. dedicatory inscription: Poinssot (1919) 157, no. 9 = AE 1922, 109: ILAFr 1923, 559; restoration inscription: Poinssot (1916) 93, no. 47; CIL 8 26530, 26533.
- F. 1917-1918.
- G. L. Poinssot, "Inscriptions de Thugga découvertes en 1910-1913," NouvArch 21 (1916) 22-25; 89-104; L. Poinssot, "Les fouilles de Dougga en 1919 et le quartier du forum," NouvArch 22 (1919) 146-148; 154-162; 191-192; M. Merlin, "Fouilles de Dougga," BAC (1919) 128-132, macellum plan: 130; R. Lantier, "Les grands champs de fouilles de l'Afrique du nord (1915-1930)," AA 46 (1931) 520-523, fig. 20; C. Poinssot, Les ruines de Dougga (Tunis 1958) 33-34, pl. 5; Nabers, Macella 236-241; De Ruyt, Macellum 212-218, fig. 82.

Rectangular building consists of a paved court with a portico on the east and west sides; fountain in centre of court. 12 shops of equal size along east and west perimeter walls. On east side is rectangular cistern sunk below level of court. To the south is semicircular apse opening onto court; 3 irregular shaped rooms on south end. Principal entrance through a porticoed facade on north. Secondary entrances in south wall on either side of apse.

Numidia

C. 15 Fig. 9, Map 3

A. Cuicul (Djémila). Algeria. Market of Cosinius.

B. *tholos*; 528 sq.m.

i. 24 x 22 m.

ii.

111. 2.15 x 2.50-3 m.

iv. 5 m.

C. *opus africanum*.

D. A.D. 138-161.

E. dedicatory inscription: AE 1914, 42; R. Cagnat (1915) 320-322, no. 14-15; Ballu, (1916) 222-223; AE 1916, 35-36.

F. 1915.

G. R. Cagnat, "Le marché de Cosinius à Djémila," CRAI (1915) 316-333; A. Ballu, "Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées en 1915 par le Service des monuments historiques de l'Algérie. Djémila," BAC (1916) 218-230, fig. 1; Y. Allais, Djémila (Paris 1938) 38-40; L. Leschi, Djémila, antique Cuicul (Alger 1949) 26-30; Nabers, Macella 269-273; P.A. Février, Djémila (Alger 1968) 44-47; De Ruyt, Macellum 61-67, fig. 24.

Nearly square building is comprised of a paved court with a Corinthian portico on four sides; hexagonal *tholos* in centre. 17 shops of varying sizes on north, south, east and west sides; entrances to shops barred by monolithic carved stone table. *Ponderarium* in middle of south side. Principal entrances in north-west and south-west ends of porticoed facade on west side. One secondary entrance in centre of east wall.

Numidia

C. 16 Map 3

- A. Lambaesis (Lambèse) Tazoult. Algeria.
- B.
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.
 - iv.
- C.
- D. before A.D. 238.
- E. identification and date based on inscription: CIL 8 18224 = ILS 2415; AE 1891, 4.
- F. not excavated.
- G. R. Cagnat, "Chronique d'épigraphie africaine," BAC (1890) 455, no. 3; St. Gsell, Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie I (Paris 1901) 210; R. Cagnat, L'armée romaine d'Afrique et l'occupation militaire de l'Afrique sous les Empereurs II (Paris 1912) 433-435; 456; P. Merlat, Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus (Rennes 1951) 284-285, no. 289.

Inscription found in ruins 150 m south-east of camp.

Numidia

C. 17 Fig. 10, Map 3

A. Thamugadi (Timgad). Algeria. East Market.

B. double hemicycle; 609 sq. m.
 i. 30 x 22.30 m.
 ii. 7.30 x 5.85 (both courts).
 iii. 2.40-2.50 x 2.90.
 iv.

C. small stone blocks in horizontal layers; corners reinforced by pilasters made of parallelepiped blocks.

D. 2nd quarter of 3rd cent. A.D. (?)

E.

F. 1903.

G. Boeswillwald, Timgad 313-315, fig. 147; A Ballu, Les ruines de Timgad. Antique Thamugadi. Sept années de découvertes (1903-1910) (Paris 1911) 13-16, plan: p. 14; Ch. Courtois, Timgad, antique Thamugadi (Alger 1951) 42; J. Lassus, Visite à Timgad (Alger 1969) 52; De Ruyt, Macellum 198-203, fig. 74.

Rectangular building is comprised of two semicircular porticoed courts paved in *opus spicatum*. Row of 10 shops on south arranged in intersecting row of double hemicycles; entrance to shops barred by monolithic stone table. Double row of 6 shops each on north side surround semi-circular vestibule; doorways from vestibule lead into small rooms. 6 of these shops open onto *decumanus maximus*. Principal entrance in north side. One secondary entrance in west.

Numidia

C. 18 Fig. 11, Map 3

A. Thamugadi (Timgad). Algeria. Market of Sertius.

B. hemicycle; 989 sq. m.

i. 38 x 25 m.

ii. 24.30 x 15.30 m.

iii. 2.80 x 2.60 m.

iv.

C. *opus africanum*; corners: *opus quadratum*.

D. 1st quarter of 3rd cent. A.D.

E. dedicatory inscriptions: Boeswillwald, Timgad 187-188; CIL 8 2398; CIL 8 2399 = ILS 2753; ILS 5579.

F. 1893.

G. A. Ballu, Les ruines de Timgad (antique Thamugadi) (Paris 1897) 209-221, pl. 31; Boeswillwald, Timgad 184-210, pl. 33; St. Gsell, Les monuments antique de l'Algérie I (Paris 1901) 206-209, fig. 66; Ch. Courtois, Timgad, antique Thamugadi (Alger 1951) 78-81; Nabers, Macella 288-299; J. Lassus, Visite à Timgad (Alger 1969) 57-62; De Ruyt, Macellum 193-198, fig. 71.

Rectangular building is comprised of a court with portico on 4 sides; square stone basin in centre court. Large covered hemicycle on south side; lined with 7 shops of equal size. Range of 6 shops of equal size on north. Entrances to all shops barred by monolithic stone table. Two rectangular rooms on south-east and south-west sides of hemicycle. Principal entrance in north side leading through porticoed facade to court. Secondary entrances in middle of west wall and south end of west portico.

Numidia

C. 19 Fig. 12, Map 3

A. Thibilis (Announa). Algeria.

B. peristyle; 204 sq. m.

i. 15.70 x 13 m.

ii. 5 x 3 m.

iii. 2.20 x 2.10 m.

iv.

C. quarry-stone; corners reinforced by pilasters of large stone blocks.

D. 2nd cent. A.D.

E.

F. 1908.

G. A. Ballu, "Announa," BAC (1909) 75-79; St. Gsell et C.A. Joly, Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa III (Alger-Paris 1918) 76-78, fig. 2; De Ruyt, Macellum 203-206, fig. 77.

Rectangular building is comprised of a paved central court with a rectangular portico on 4 sides with Tuscan capitals; portico encloses two statues of which only bases remain. 7 shops of equal size on east and west sides; entrances barred by monolithic stone table. 3 large rooms on south. Principal entrance in centre of north wall. One secondary entrance in east.

Mauretania Caesariensis

C. 20 Map 3

A. Auzia. (Souk el-Ghozlan: Aumale) Algeria.

B.

- i.
- ii.
- 111.
- iv.

C.

D. A.D. 230.

E. dedicatory inscription: CIL 8 9062 = ILS 5590; CIL 8 9063.

F. not excavated.

G.

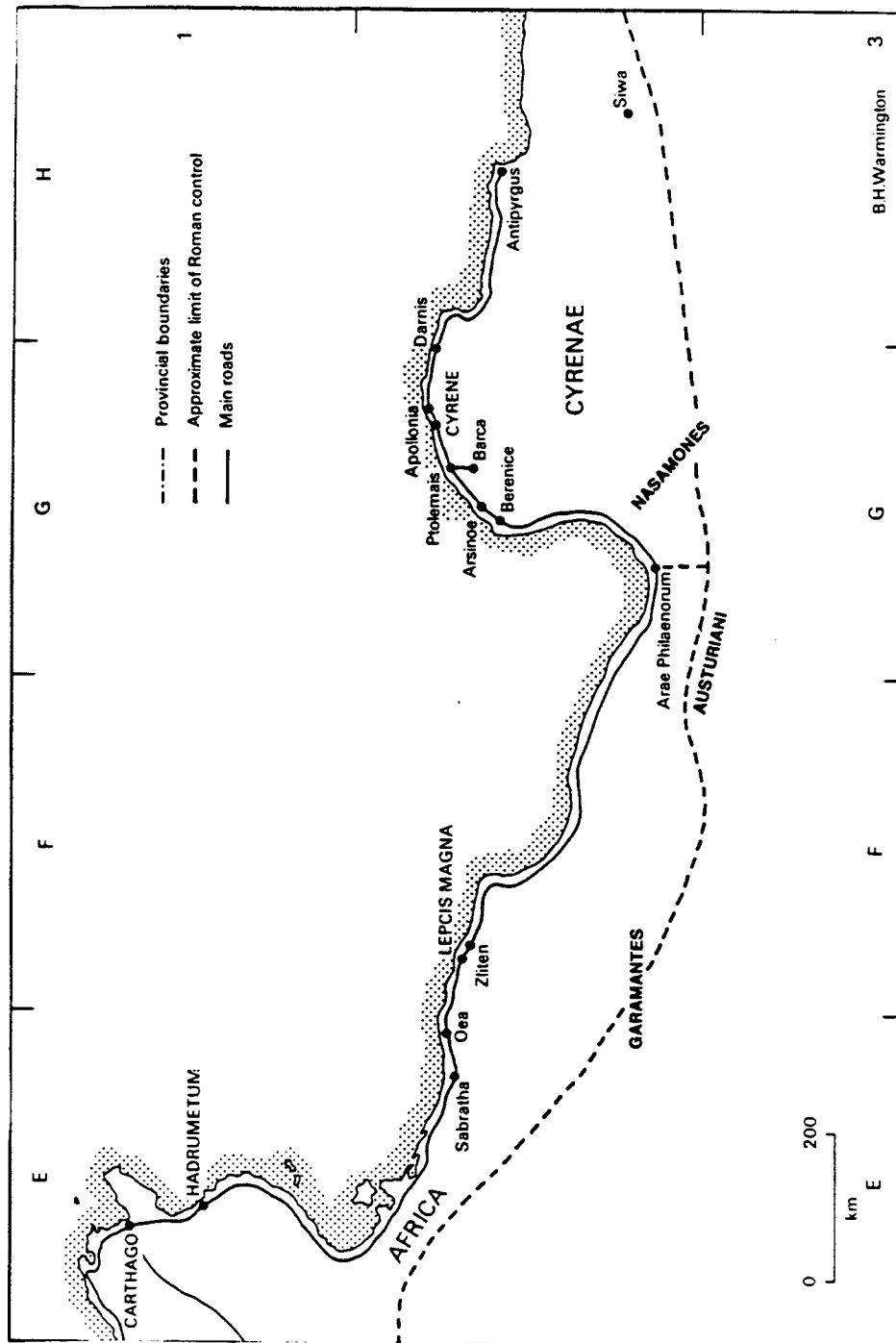
Inscription suggests *macellum* was comprised of porticoes and equipped with weights.

Mauretania Tingitana

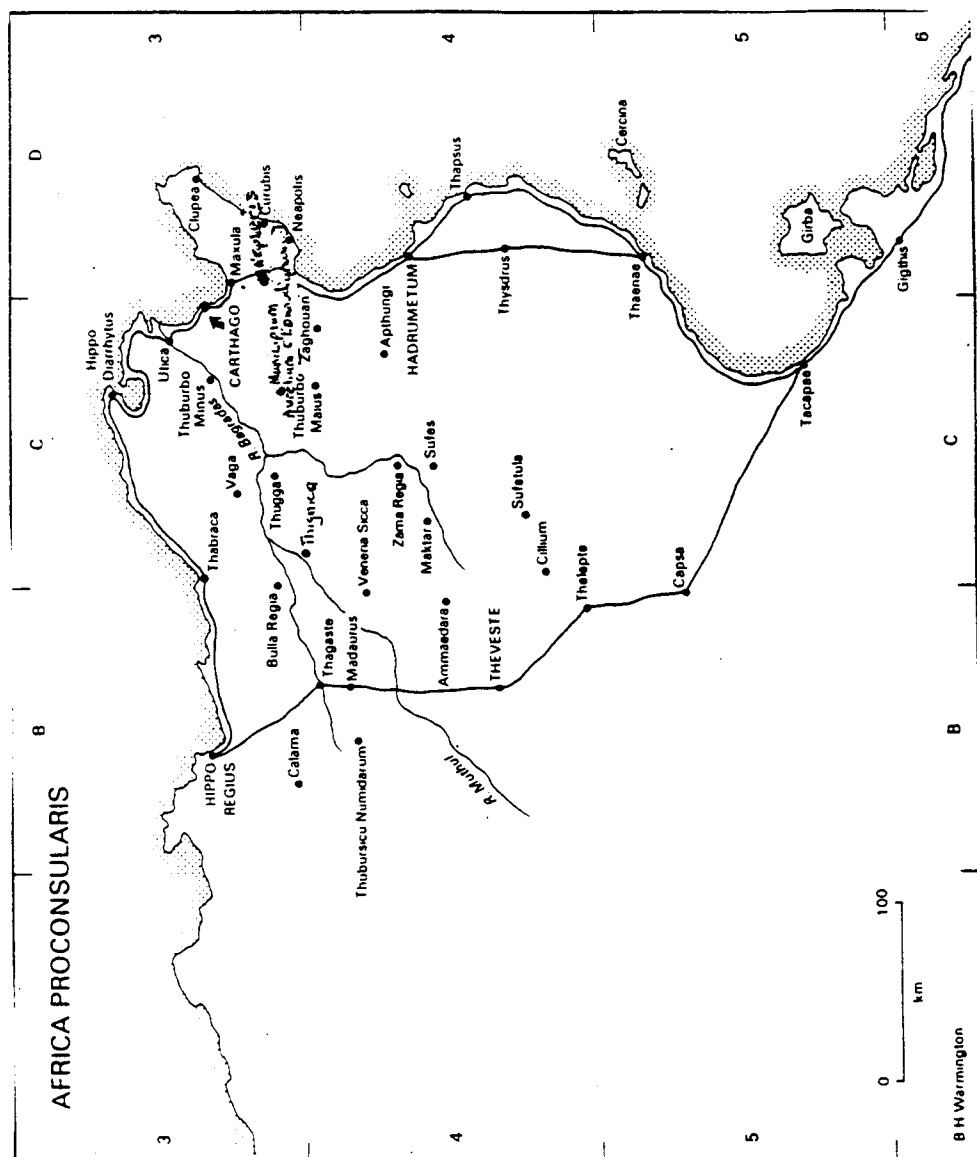
C. 21 Map 3

- A. Volubilis (Ksar Pharaoun). Morocco.
- B. peristyle; 529 sq. m.
 - i. 23 x 23 m.
 - ii.
 - iii.
 - iv.
- C.
- D. 1st cent. B.C./1st cent. A.D. (?).
- E.
- F. 1956; not formally excavated.
- G. M. Euzennat, "L'archéologie marocaine de 1955 à 1957," BAMaroc (1957) 208; A. Luquet, Volubilis (Tanger 1972) 65; M. Euzennat et G. Hallier, "Les forums de Tingitane. Observations sur l'influence de l'architecture militaire sur les constructions civiles de l'Occident romain," AntAfr 22 (1986) 82 n. 37; 85; plan of forum with outline of macellum: fig. 1; A. Jodin, Volubilis Regia Ivbae (Paris 1987) 75, 92 n.71, 113, 184, 274.

Building is comprised of a central court with porticoes. Principal entrance on north-east side. 3 shops face interior court on west side. 3 shops open onto a corridor situated at a lower level on east side.



Map 1. Cyrenaica and Tripolitania



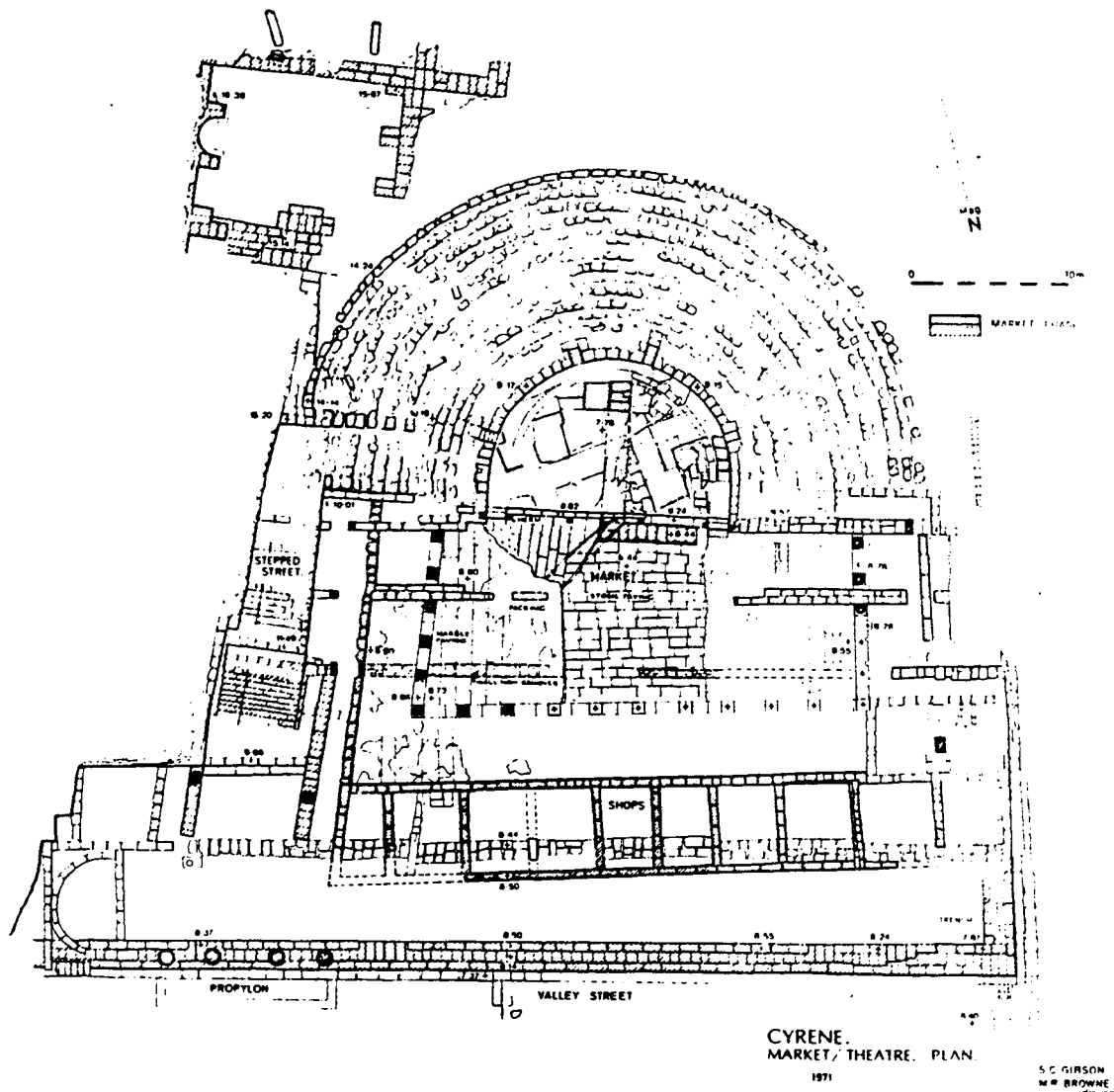


Fig. 1. Cyrene: Plan of Market - Theatre

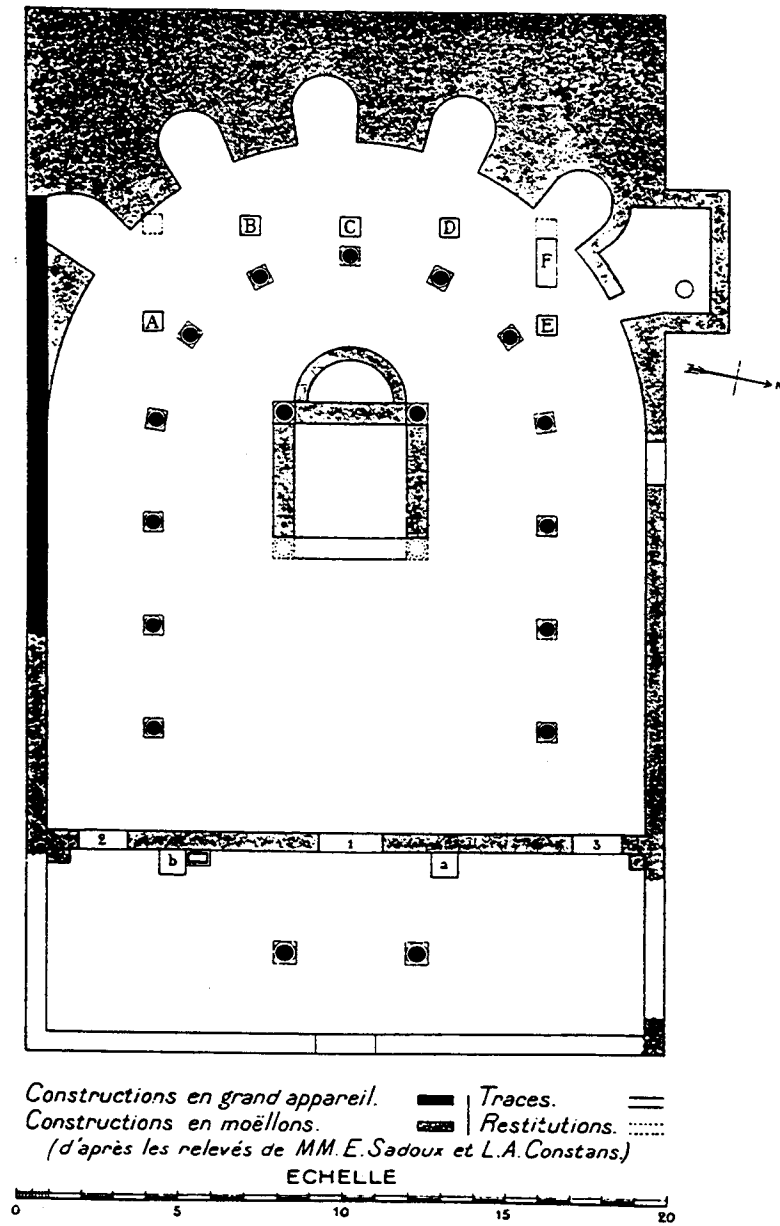


Fig. 2. Gigthis: Plan of *macellum*

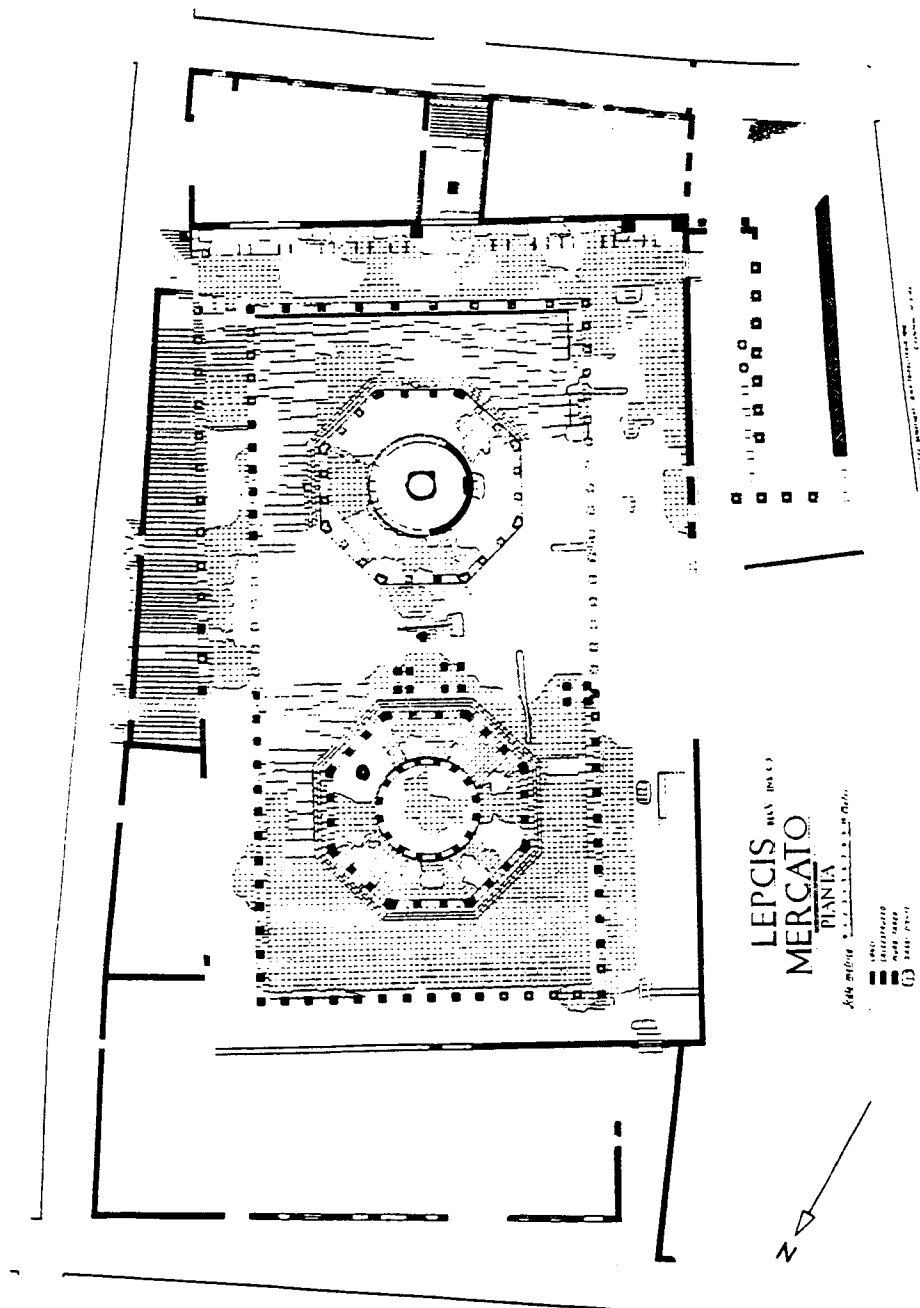


Fig. 3. Lepcis Magna: Plan of macellum

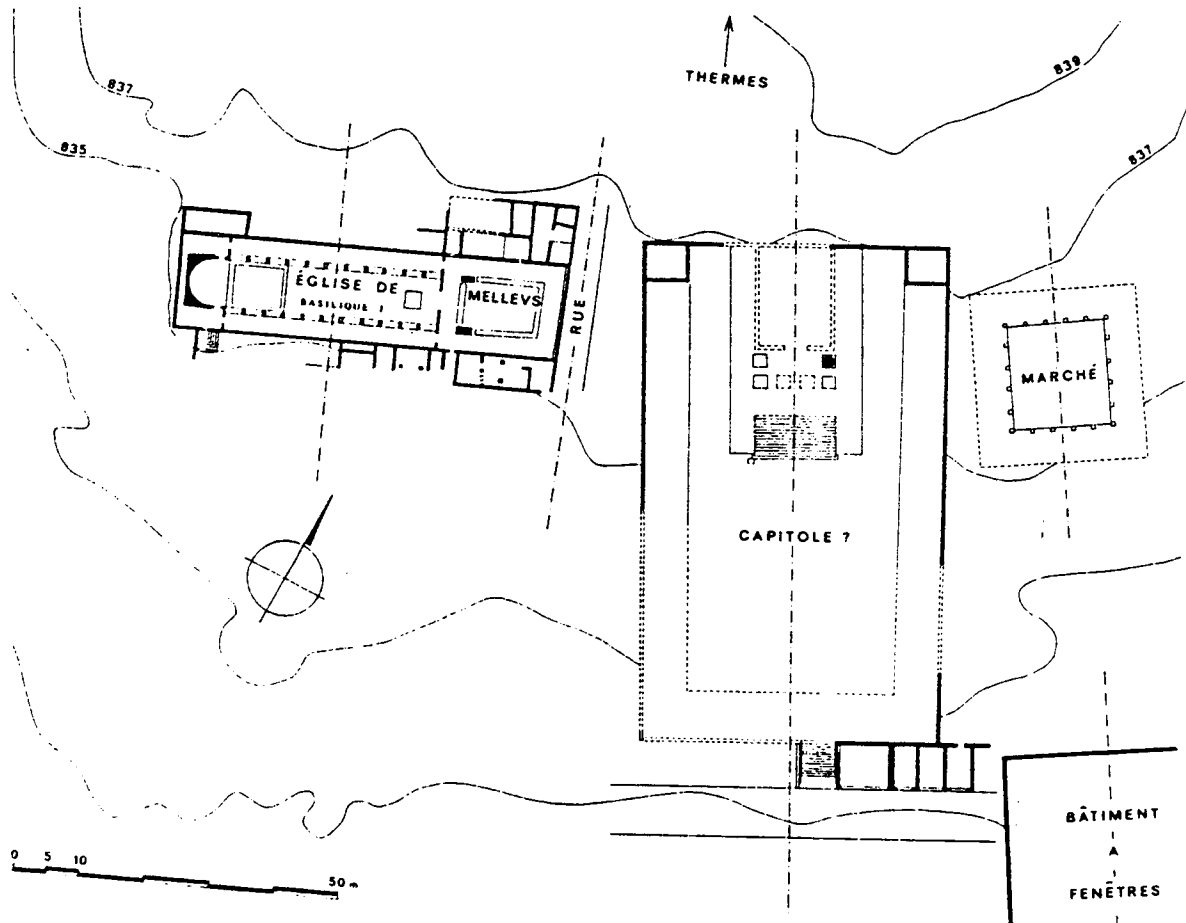


Fig. 4. Ammaedara: Plan of central sector

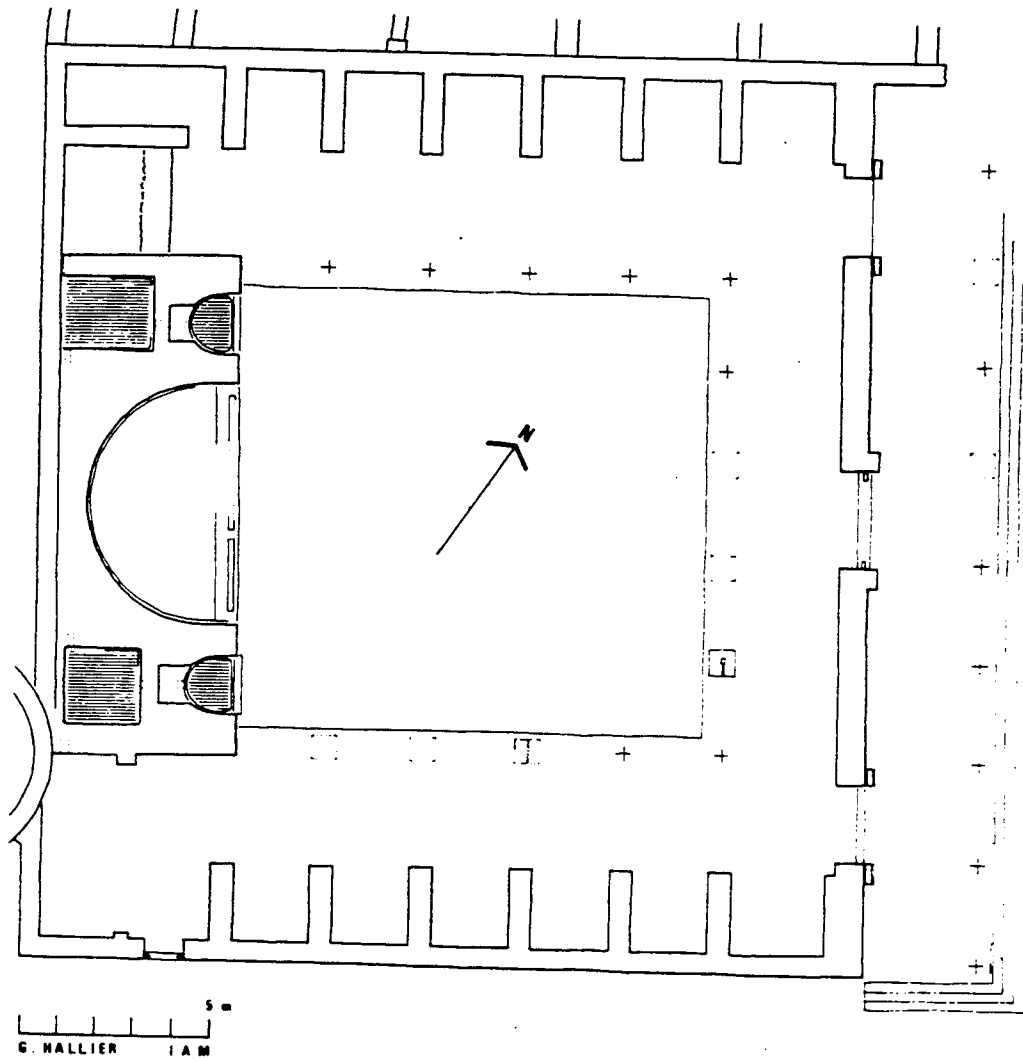


Fig. 5. Bulla Regia: Plan of *macellum*

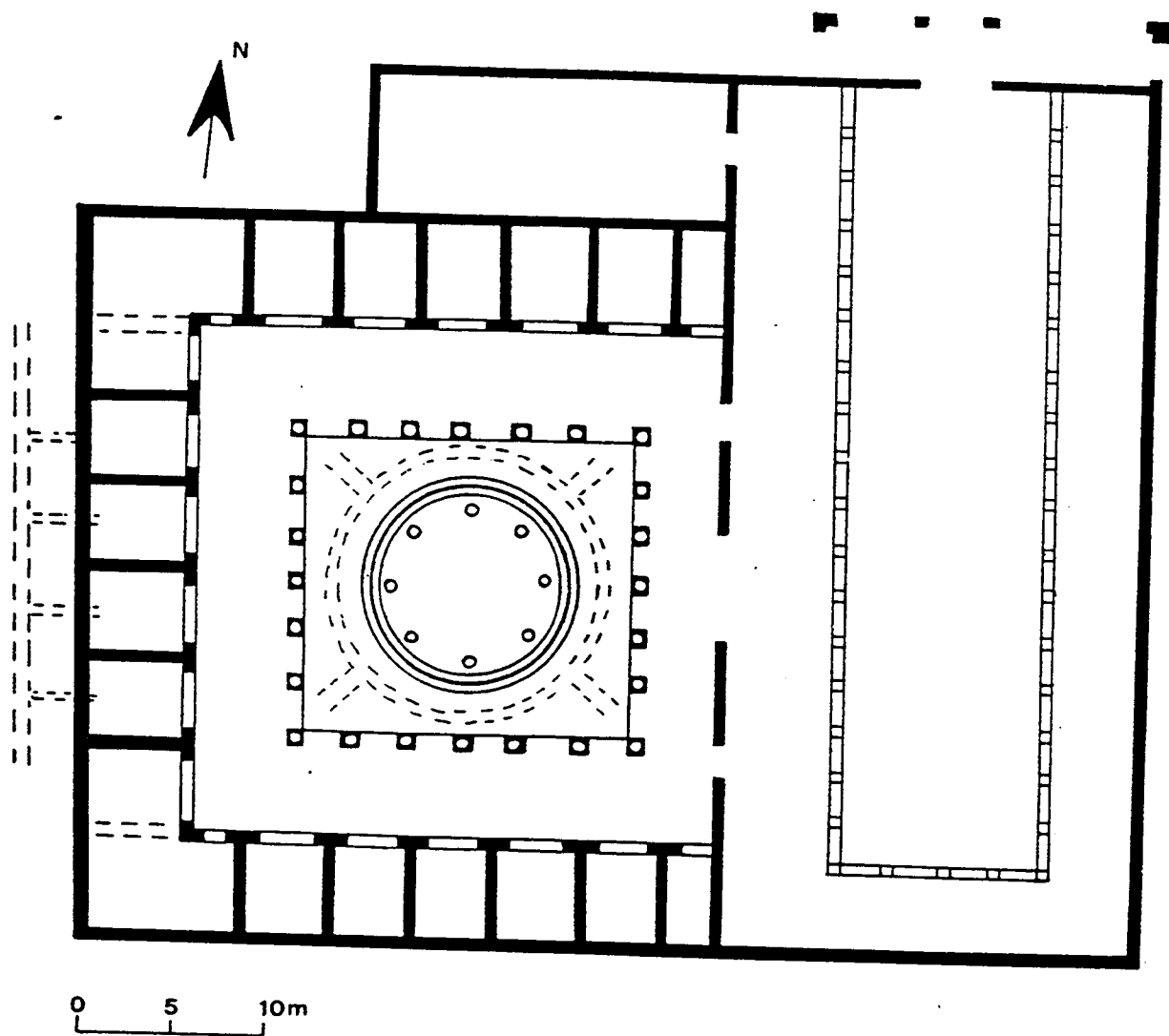


Fig. 6. Hippo Regius: Plan of *macellum*

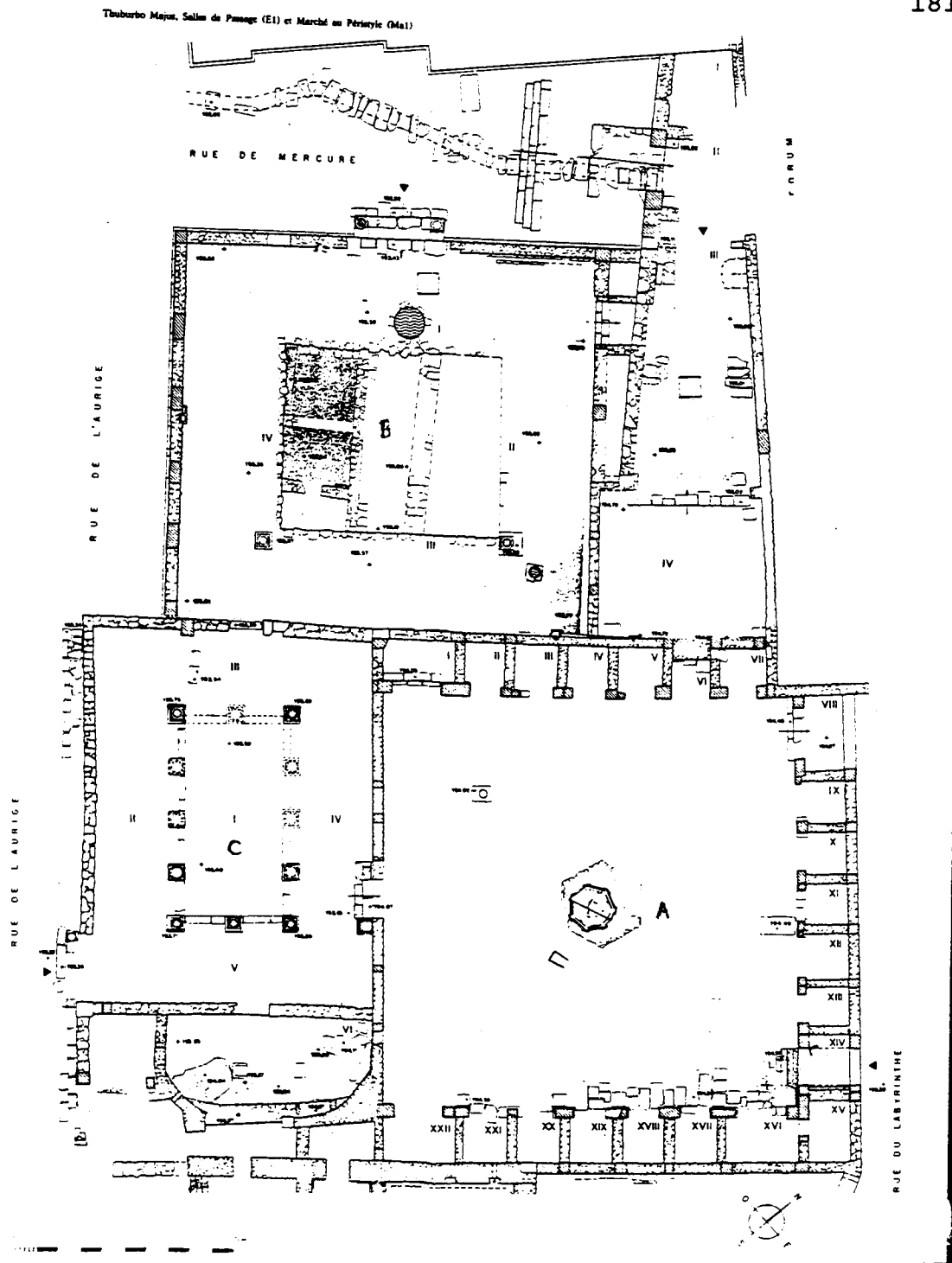


Fig. 7. Thuburbo Maius: Plan of *macellum* complex

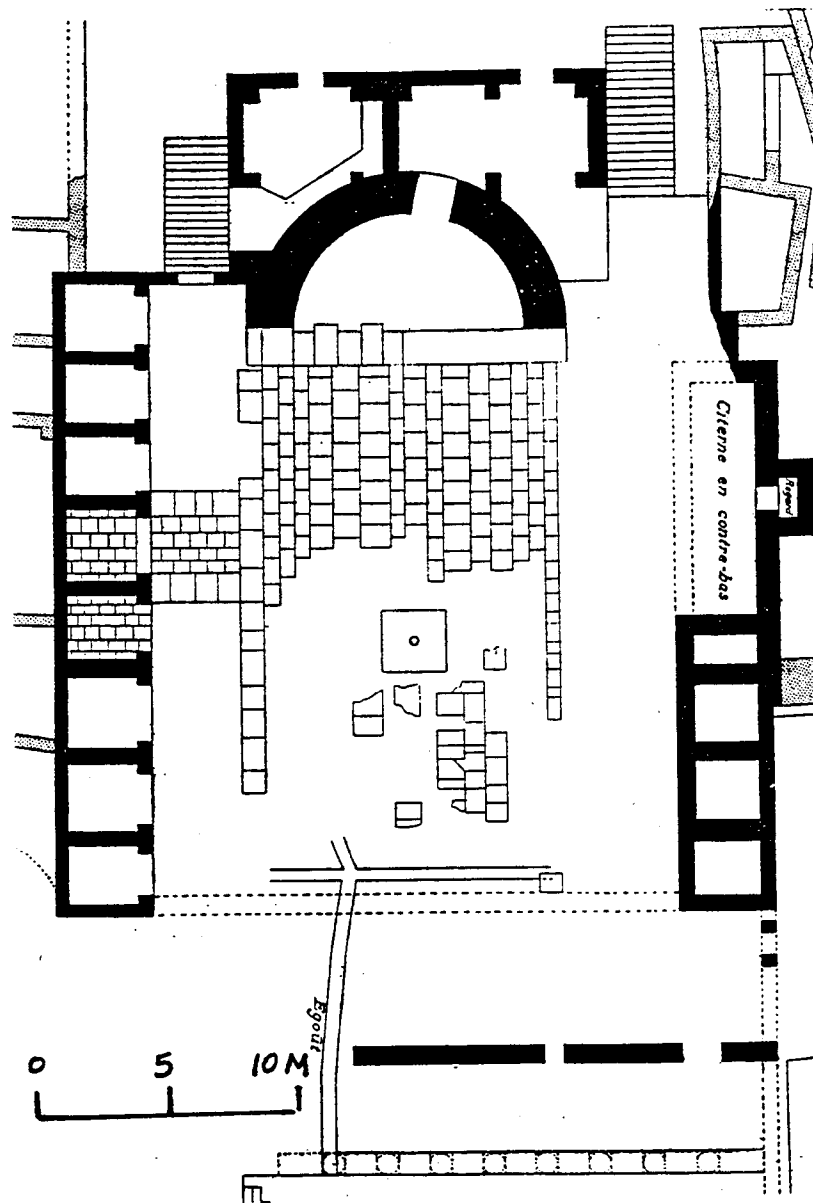


Fig. 8. Thugga: Plan of macellum

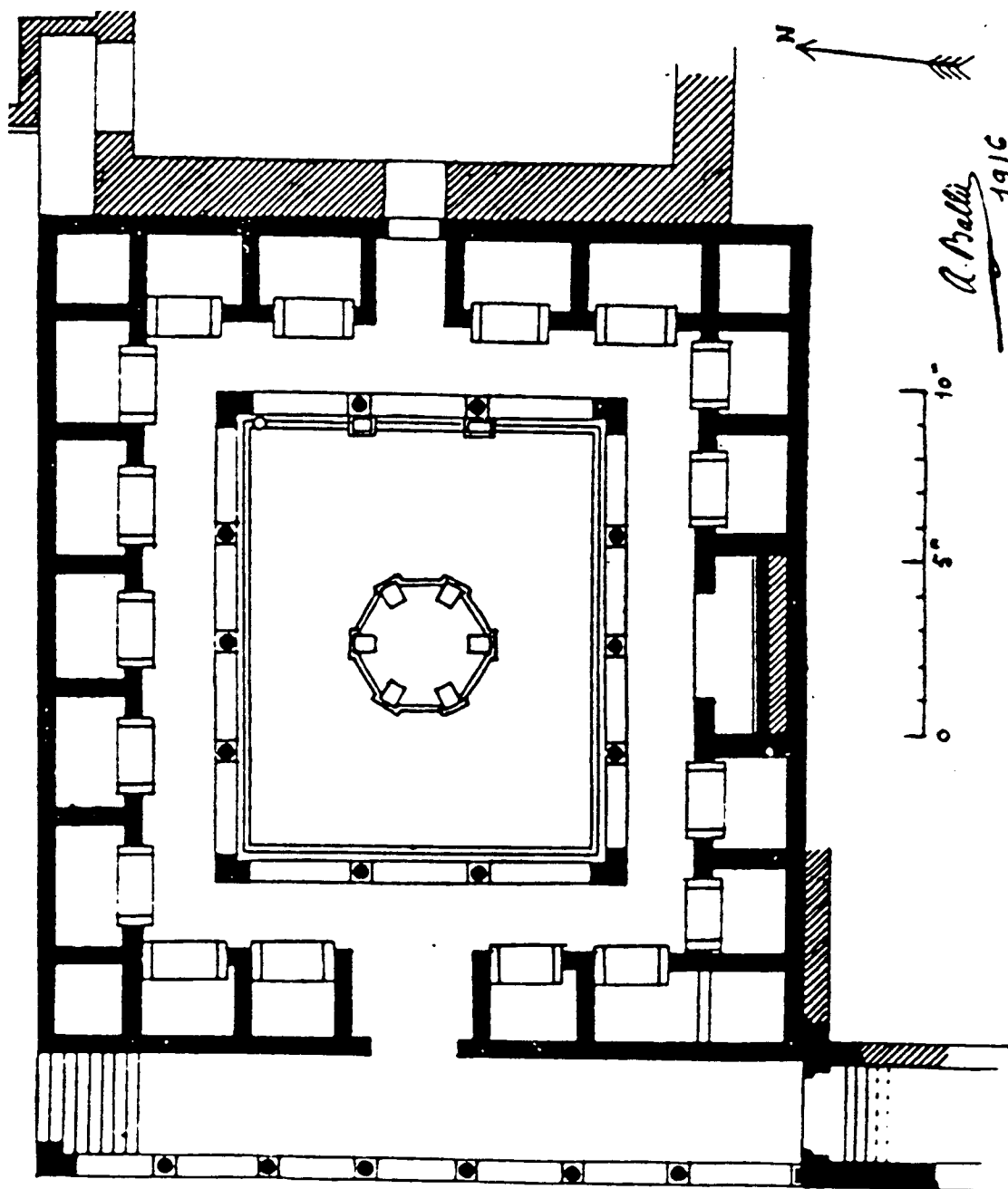


Fig. 9. Cuicul: Plan of Market of Cosinius

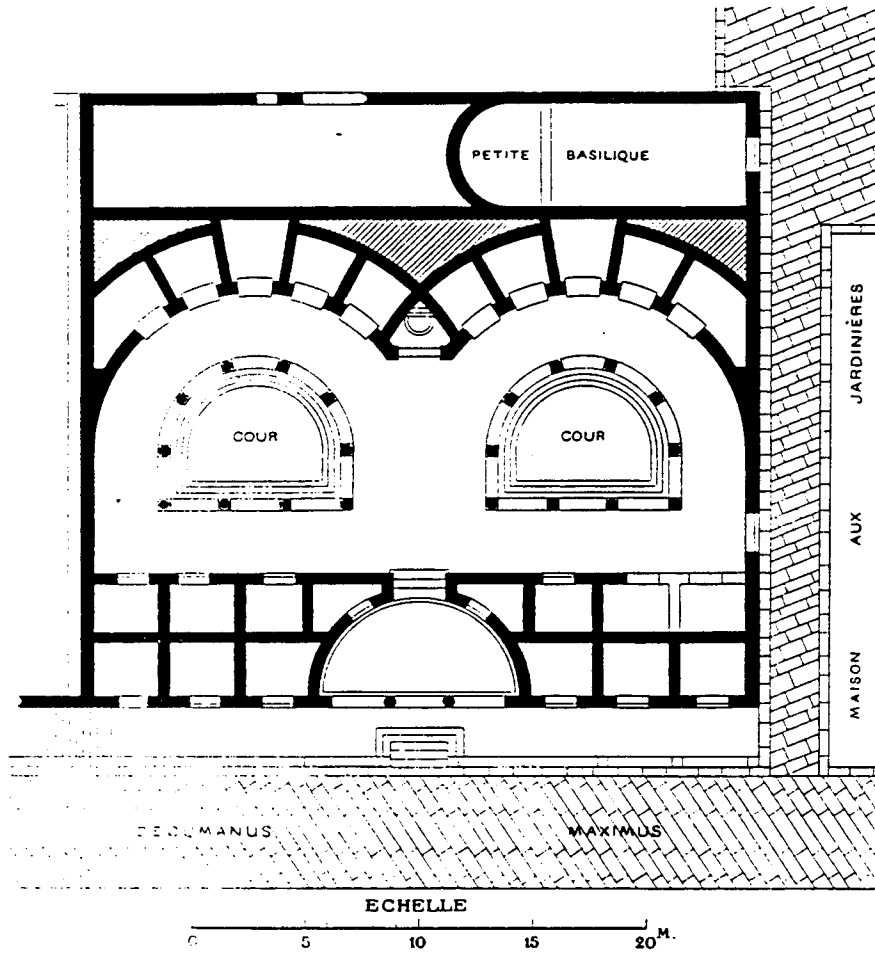


Fig. 10. Thamugadi: Plan of East Market

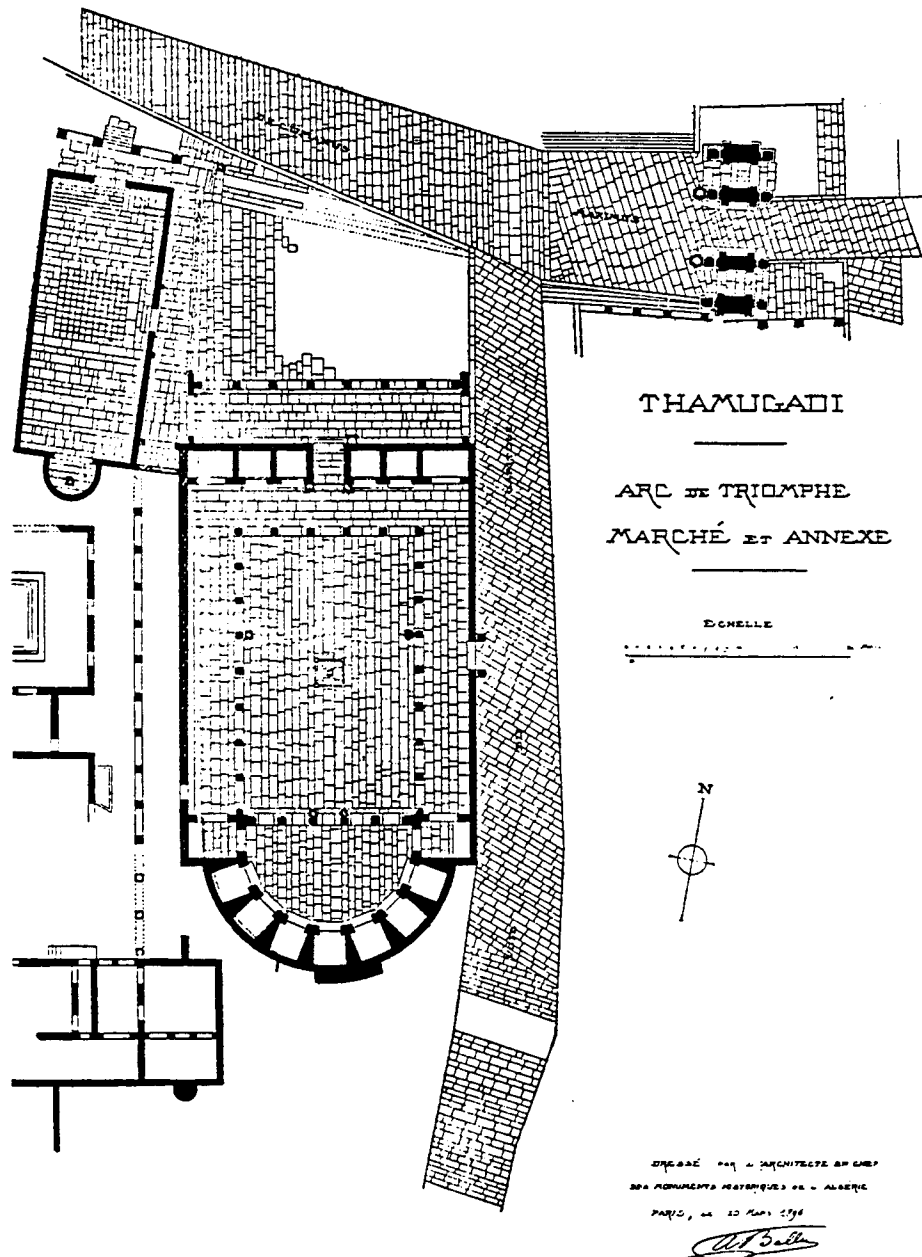


Fig. 11. Thamugadi: Plan of Market of Sertius

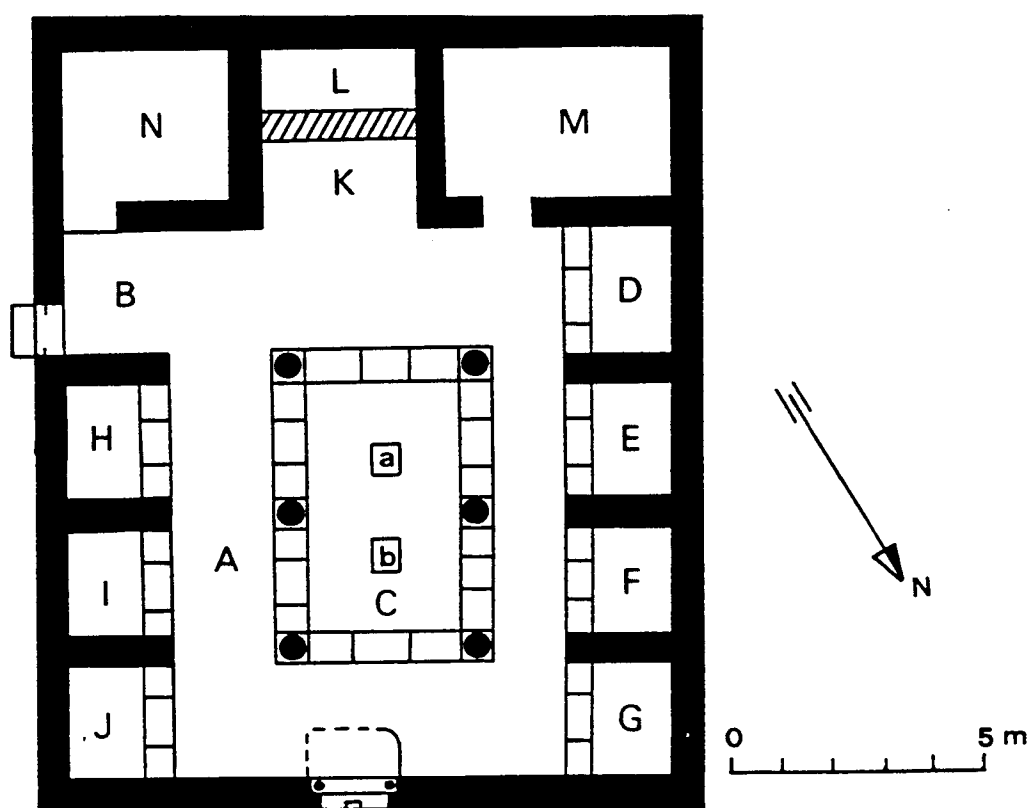


Fig. 12. Thibilis: Plan of *macellum*



Fig. 13. Bulla Regia: Interior view of *macellum*



Fig. 14. Hippo Regius: South-west corner of *macellum*

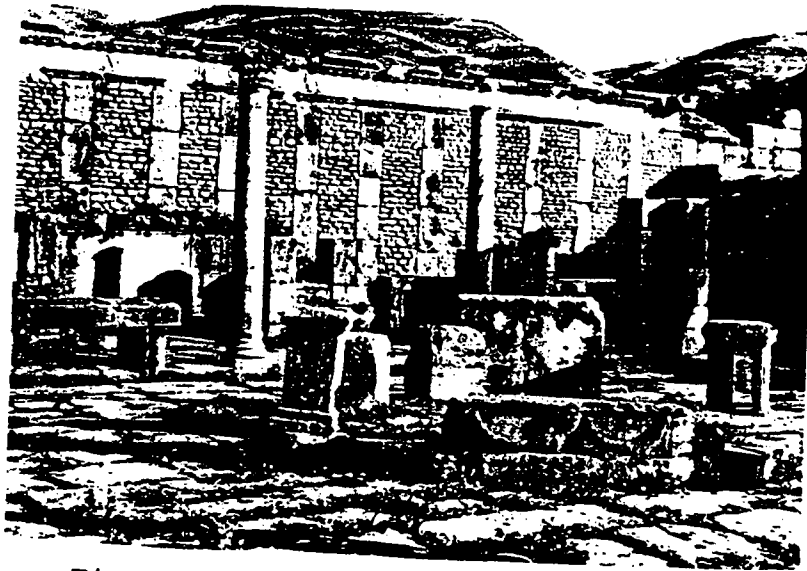


Fig. 15. Cuicul: Interior view of Market of Cosinius

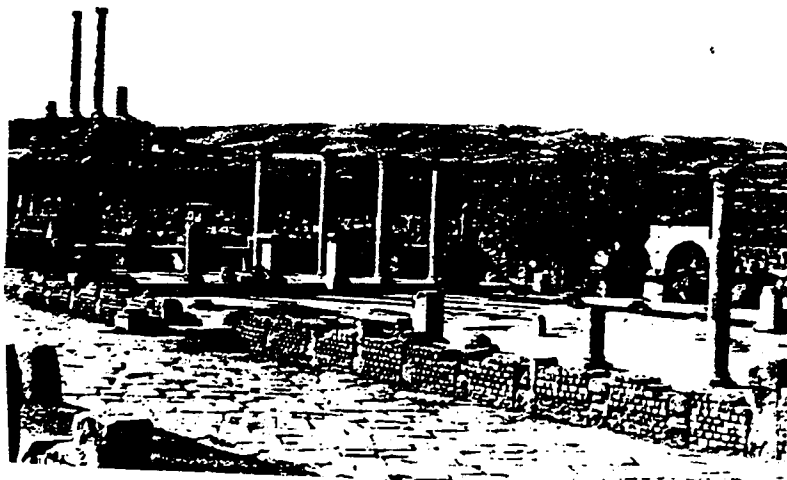


Fig. 16. Thamugadi: Side view of Market of Sertius



Fig. 17. Thamugadi: Interior view of East Market



Fig. 18. Cuicul: Monumental entrance of Market of Cosinius

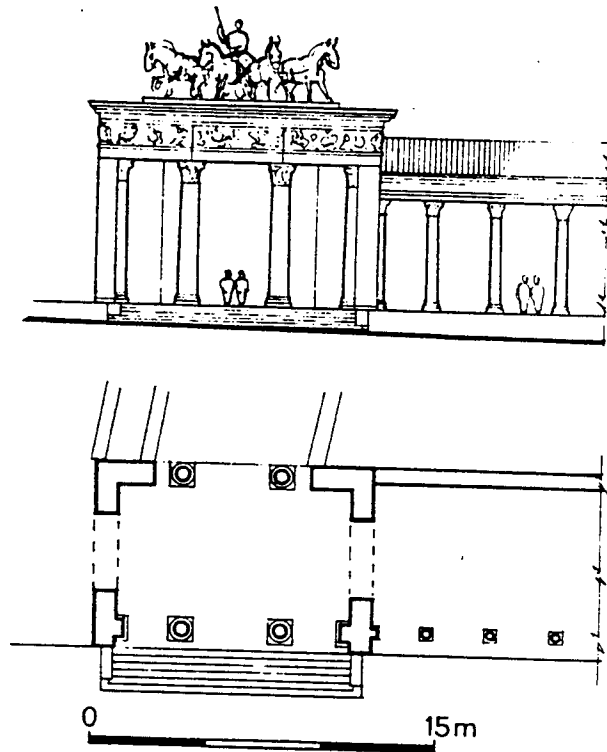


Fig. 19. Cyrene: Reconstruction of Severan propylon

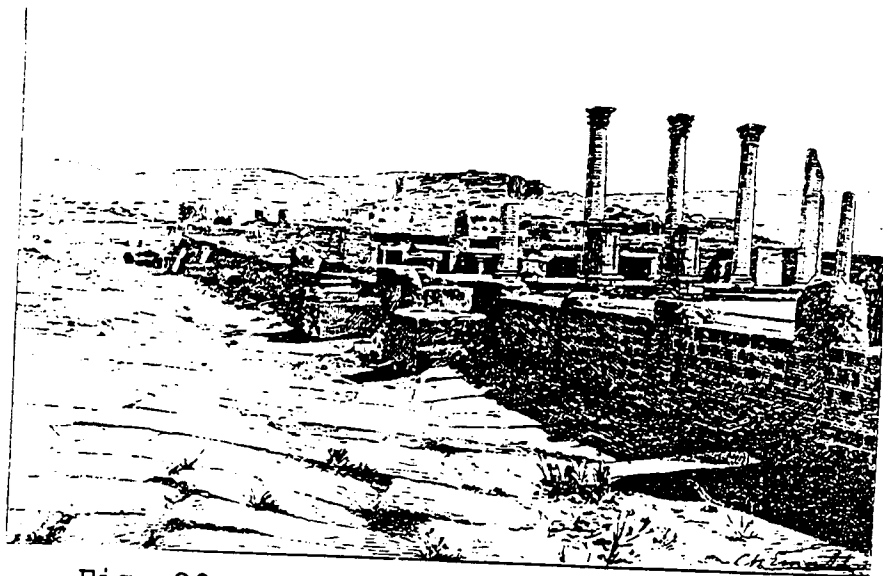


Fig. 20. Thamugadi: East entrance of Market of Sertius



Fig. 21. Cyrene: Limestone pavement of market



Fig. 22. Hippo Regius: Interior court of *macellum*



Fig. 23. Thugga: Pavement in court of *macellum*



Fig. 24. Cuicul: Court of Market of Cosinius

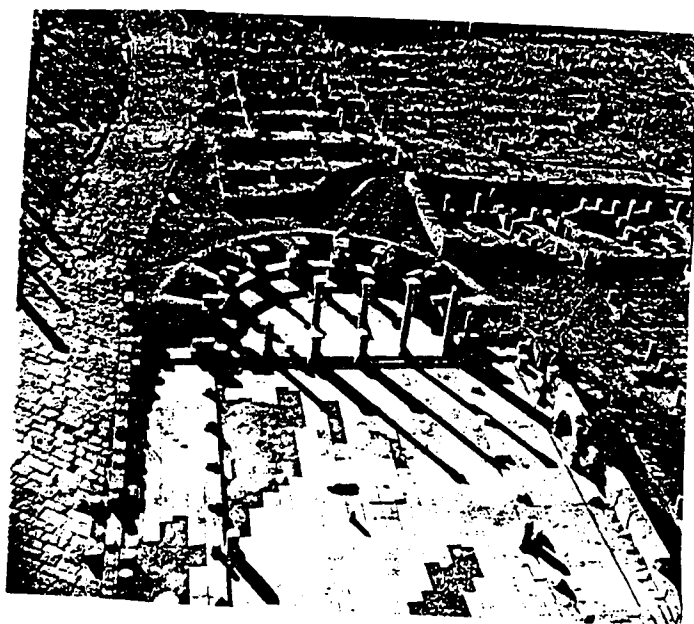


Fig. 25. Thamugadi: Aerial view of Market of Sertius

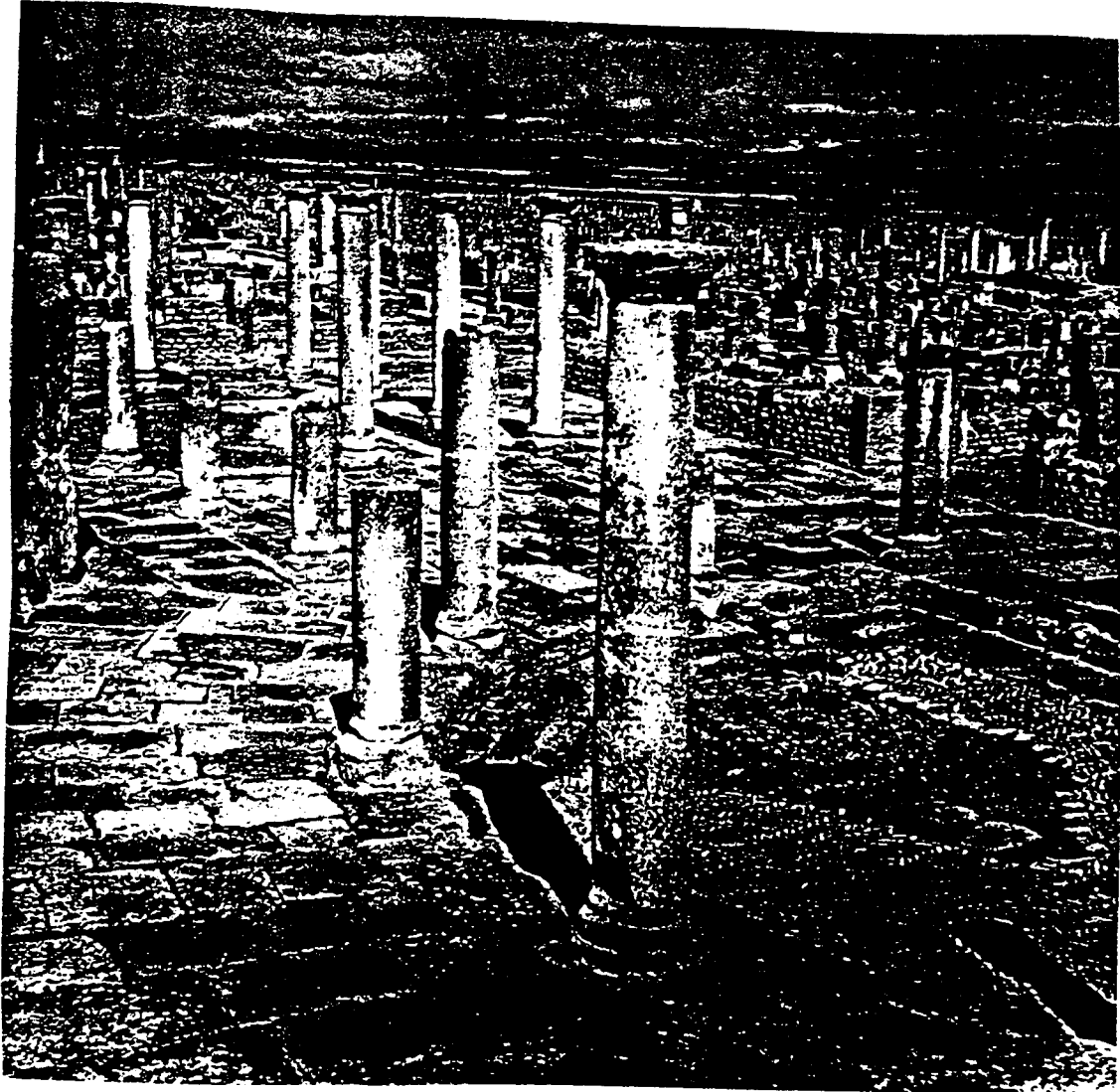


Fig. 26. Thamugadi: Semicircular courts of East Market

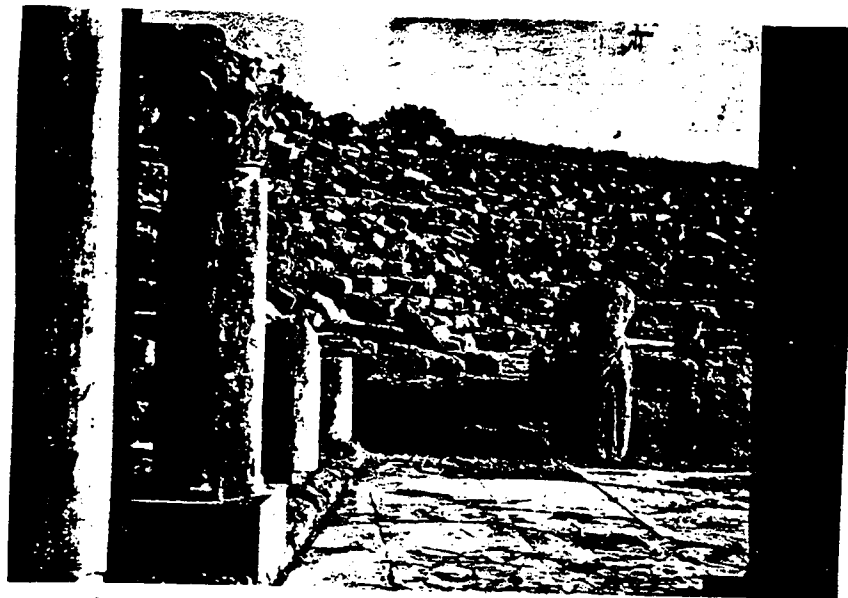


Fig. 27. Cyrene: Marble restoration of market

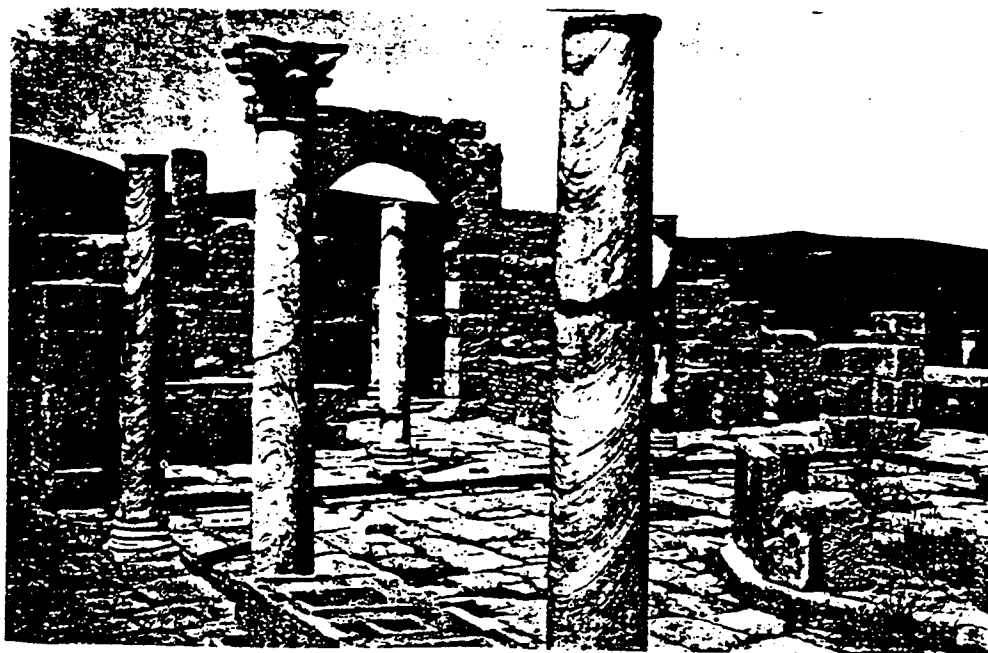


Fig. 28. Cuicul: Interior view of Market of Cosinius



Fig. 29. Cyrene: Proconnesian marble capital from market

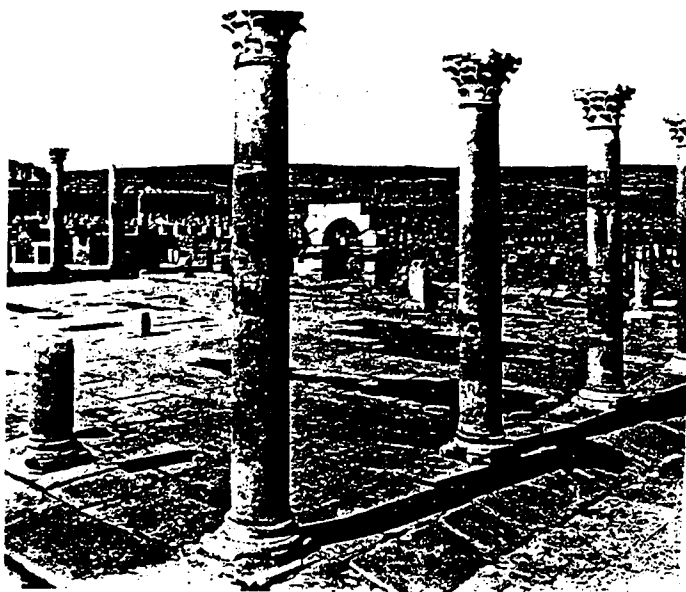


Fig. 30. Thamugadi: Court of Market of Sertius

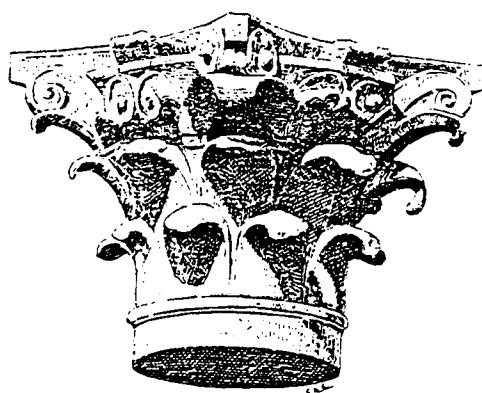


Fig. 31. Thamugadi: Drawing of Corinthian capital from Market of Sertius



Fig. 32. Thamugadi: South portico of Market of Sertius

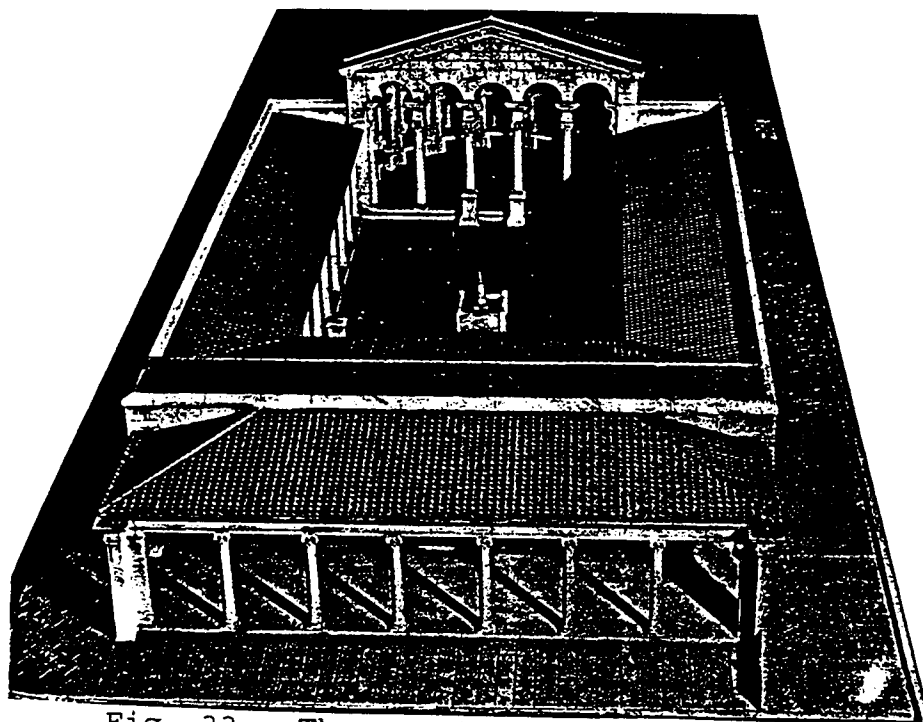


Fig. 33. Thamugadi: Reconstruction of Market of Sertius



Fig. 34. Gigthis: Interior view
of *macellum*

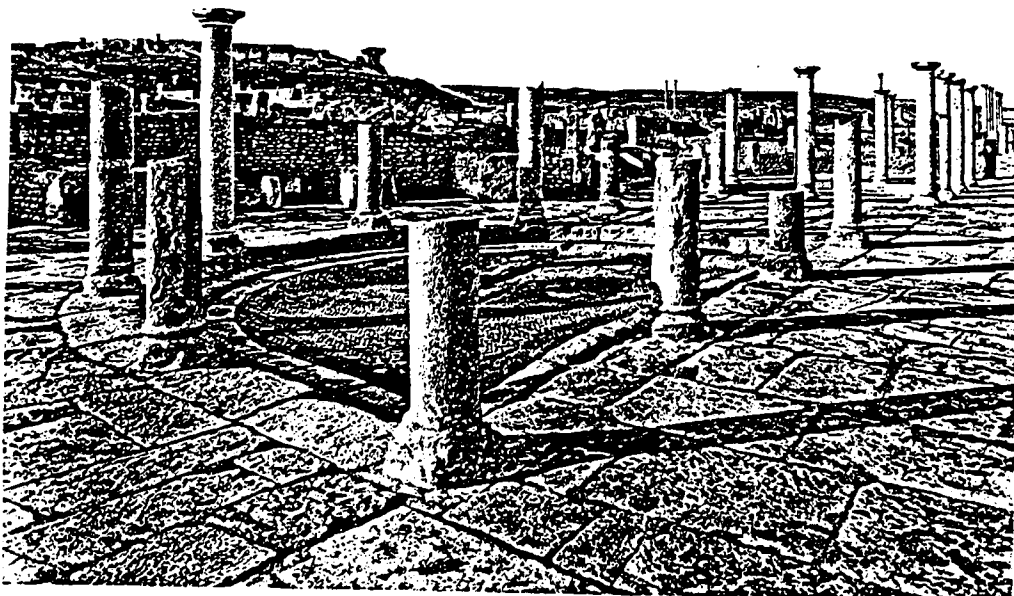


Fig. 35. Thamugadi: Interior view of East Market



Fig. 36. Thibilis: Interior view
of *macellum*



Fig. 37. Hippo Regius: Corinthian
capitals from *macellum*



Fig. 38. Thuburbo Maius: Mosaic
in Court A of *macellum*



Fig. 39. Thuburbo Maius: North-west
row of shops

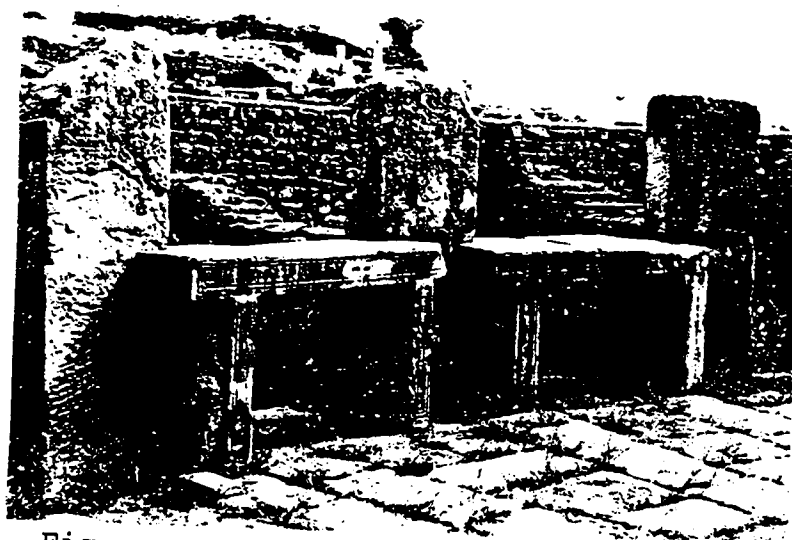


Fig. 40. Thamugadi: Shops in East Market

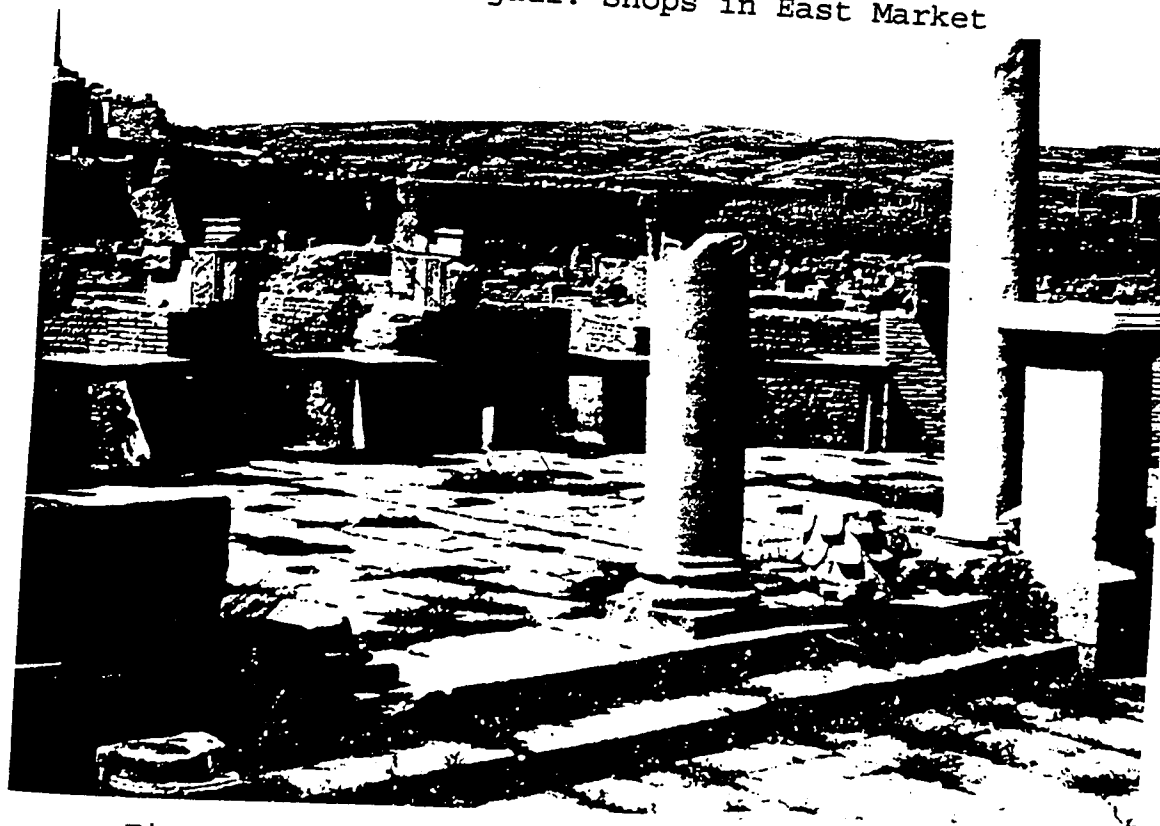


Fig. 41. Thamugadi: Shops in Market of Sertius

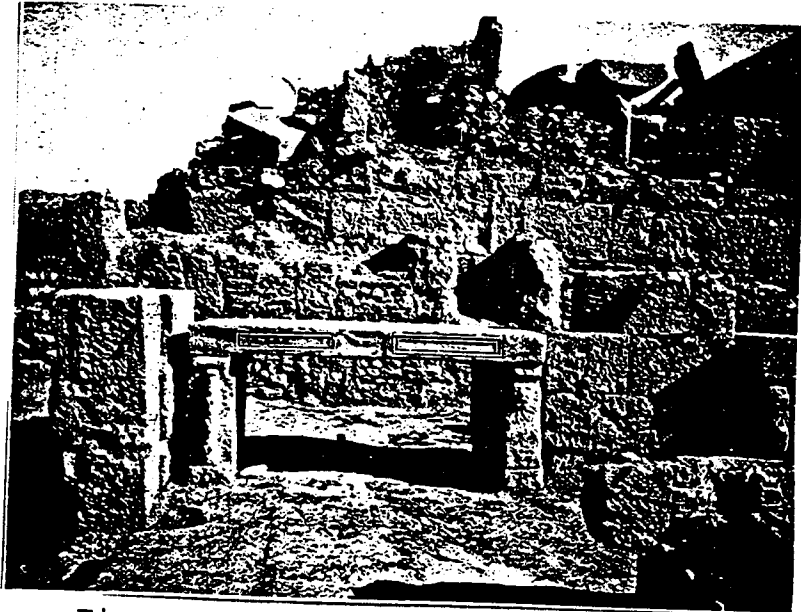


Fig. 42. Cuicul: Entrance to shop
in Market of Cosinius

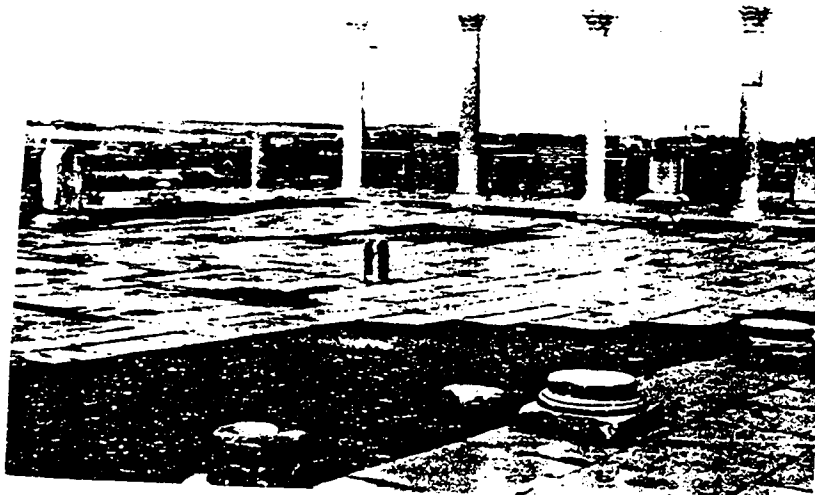


Fig. 43. Thamugadi: Fountain in
Market of Sertius



Fig. 44. Cyrene: Channels for lead waterpipes in market



Fig. 45. Thugga: Apse of *macellum*

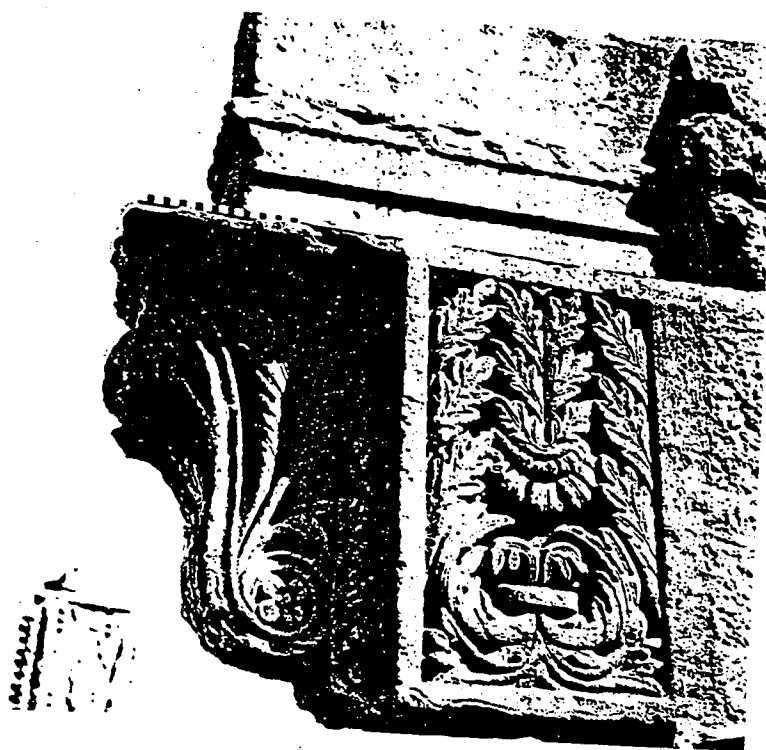


Fig. 46. Thamugadi: Sculpted console
from Market of Sertius



Fig. 47. Hippo Regius: *Tholos* of *macellum*



Fig. 48. Cuicul: *Tholos* of
Market of Cosinius



Fig. 49. Thuburbo Maius: Remains
of *tholos* from *macellum*

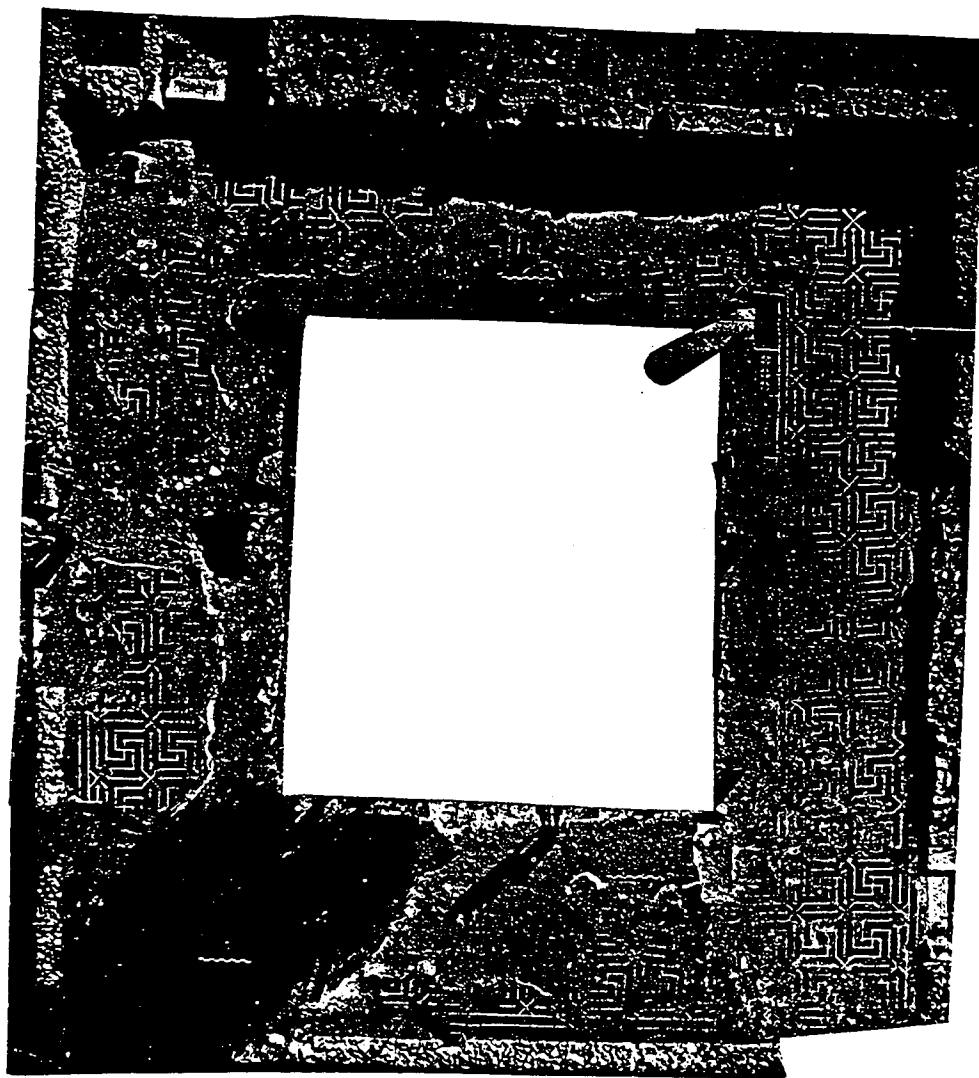


Fig. 50. Thuburbo Maius: Mosaic pavement
in Court B

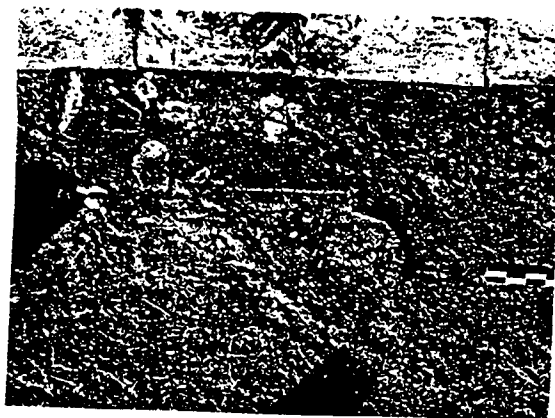


Fig. 51. Thuburbo Maius: Mosaic pavement in Court C



Fig. 52. Thuburbo Maius: Mosaic pavements in apse of Court C

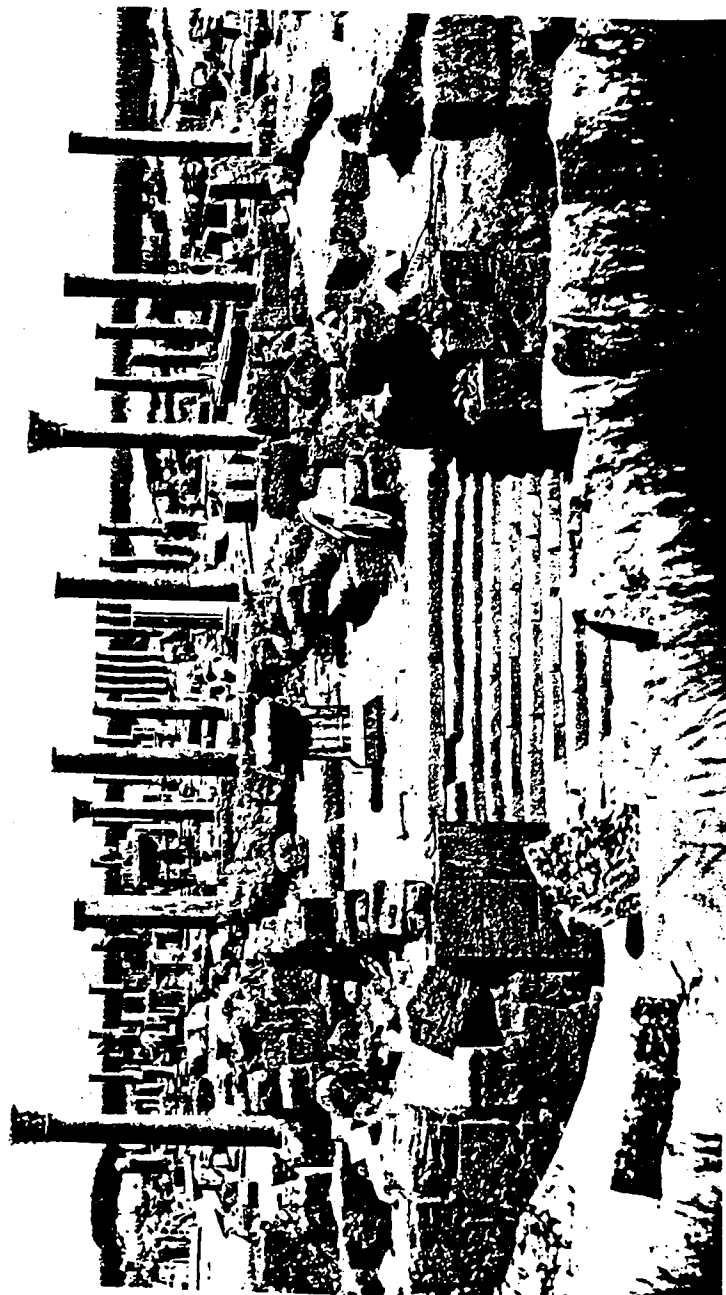


Fig. 53. Lepcis Magna: Interior view of macellum

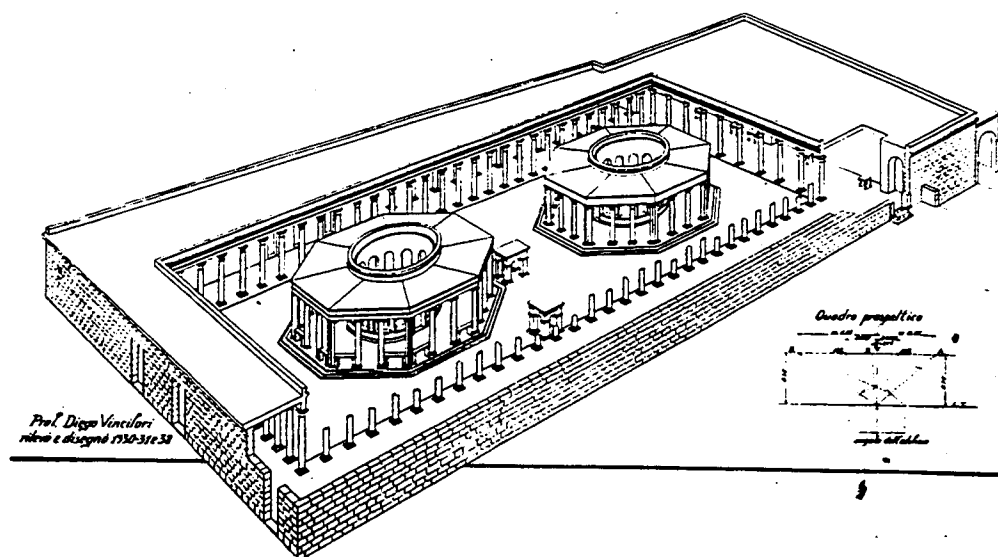


Fig. 54. Leptis Magna: Reconstruction of *macellum*



Fig. 55. Leptis Magna: North and south *tholoi*

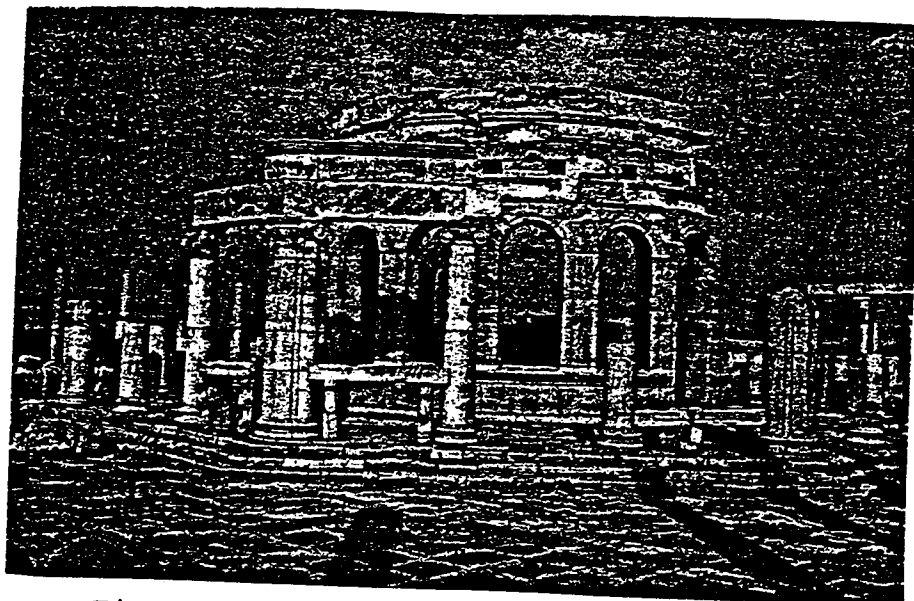


Fig. 56. Leptis Magna: North *tholos*

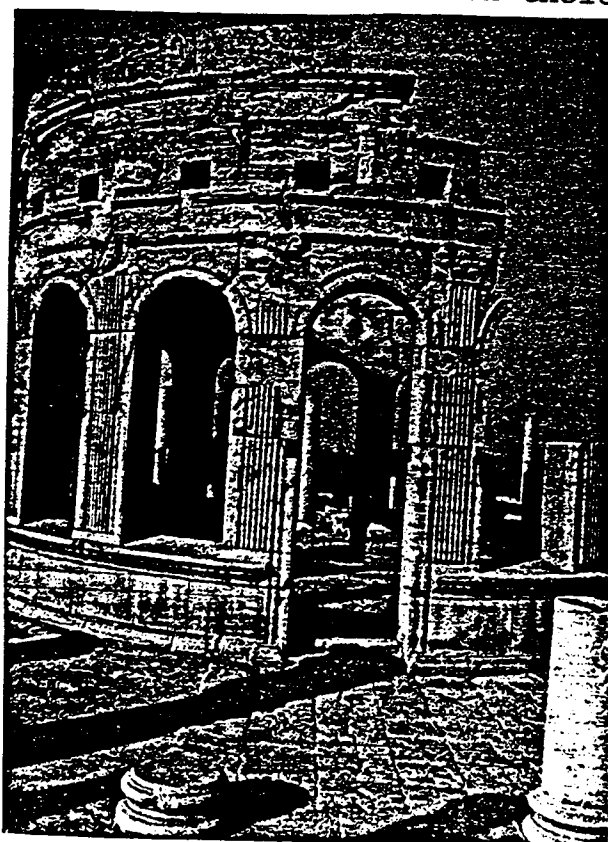


Fig. 57. Leptis Magna: Interior view
of north *tholos*

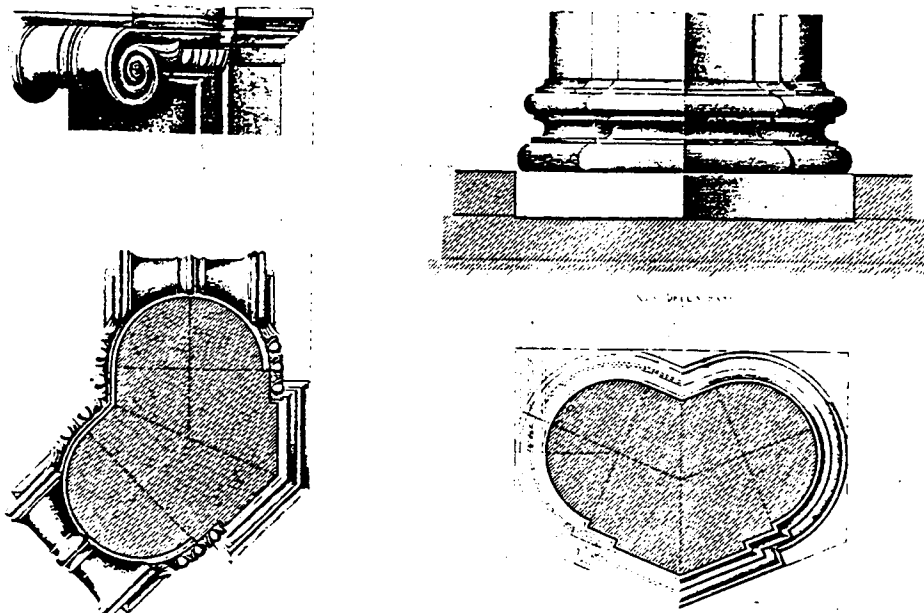


Fig. 58. Leptis Magna: Heart-shaped piers from north *tholos*

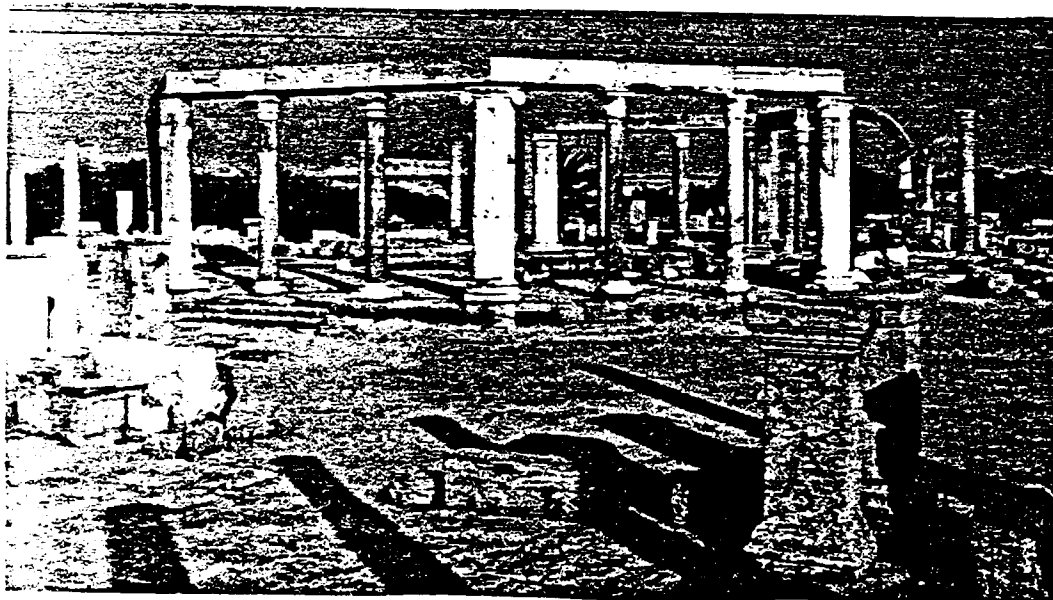


Fig. 59. Leptis Magna: South *tholos*

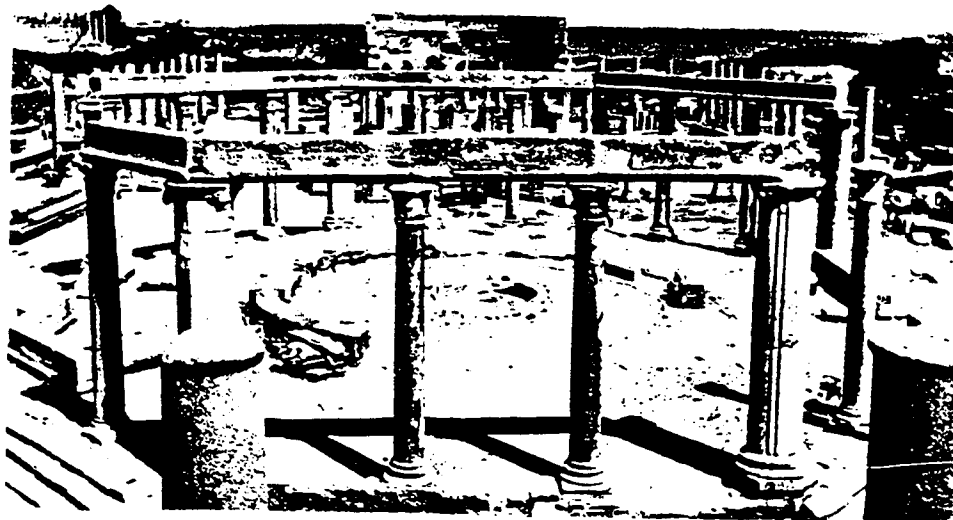


Fig. 60. Lepcis Magna: South tholos
with remains of basin

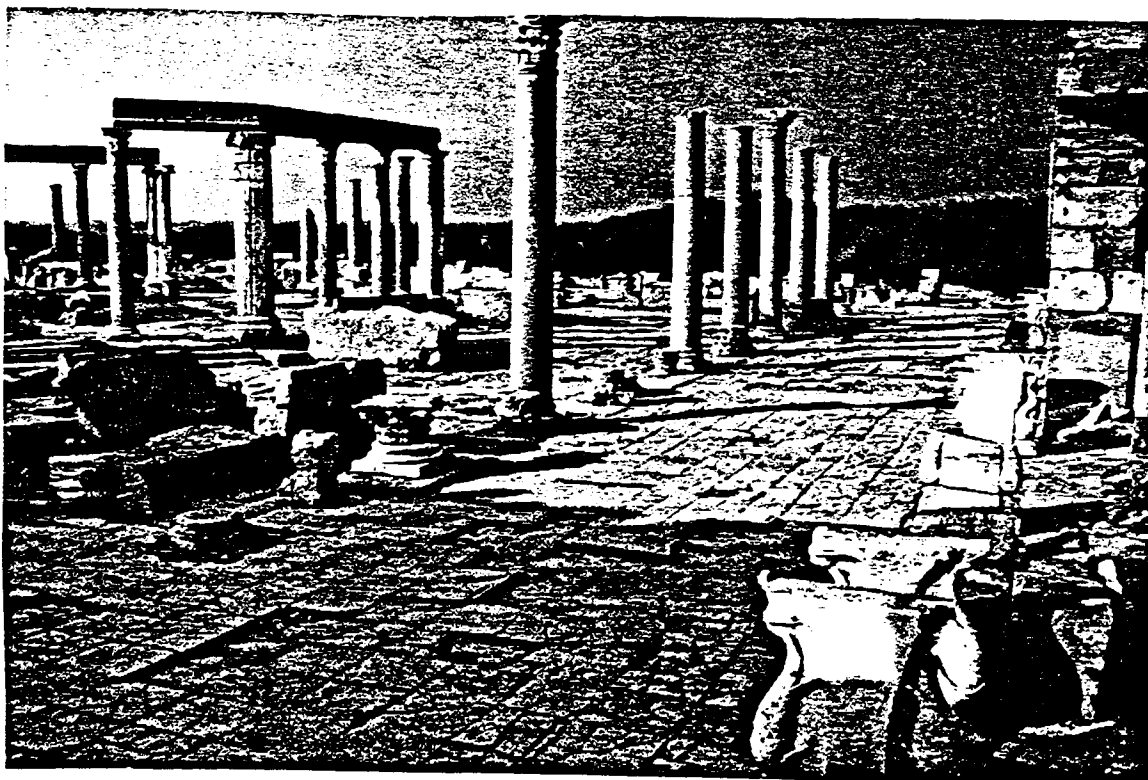


Fig. 61. Lepcis Magna: Vending tables in south portico



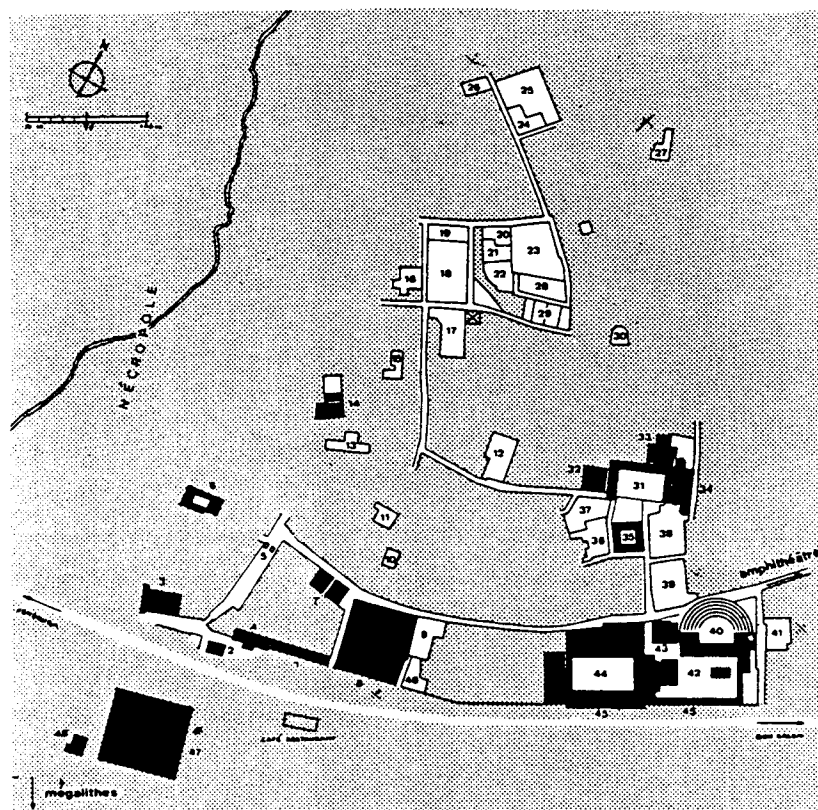
Fig. 62. Leptis Magna: Vending table
with dolphin legs



Fig. 63. Leptis Magna: Vending table
with deep grooves



Fig. 64. Leptis Magna: Well between
north and south *tholoi*



1 - citernes; 2 - monument en *opus reticulatum*; 3 - citernes; 4 - ensemble monumental; 5 - arc; 6 - fort byzantin; 7 - temples; 8 - thermes de Julia Memmia; 9 - édifice de Diane; 10 - péristyle de maison; 11 - maison du trésor; 12 - maison n° 3; 13 - maison n° 7; 14 - basiliques chrétiennes; 15 - maison n° 2; 16 - maison du paon; 17 - *insula* de la maison n° 1; 18 - maison de la chasse; 19 - maison de la nouvelle chasse; 20 - tombes; 21 - maison n° 9; 22 - maison n° 10; 23 - maison de la pêche; 24 - maison n° 15; 25 - maison d'Amphitrite; 26 - thermes des Venantii; 27 - thermes du Nord-Est; 28 - maison n° 8; 29 - maisons n° 11, 12, 13 et 14; 30 - nymphée; 31 - forum; 32 - capitole; 33 - temple d'Apollon; 34 - basilique; 35 - marche; 36 - maison n° 4; 37 - maison n° 5; 38 - constructions non identifiées; 39 - thermes au Nord-Ouest du théâtre; 40 - théâtre; 41 - thermes à l'Est du théâtre; 42 - première esplanade monumentale; 43 - temple d'Isis; 44 - seconde esplanade monumentale; 45 - mur de soutènement; 46 - maison?; 47 - grands thermes Sud; 48 - «église d'Alexander».

Fig. 65. Bulla Regia: Plan of site

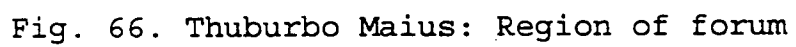


Fig. 66. Thuburbo Maius: Region of forum

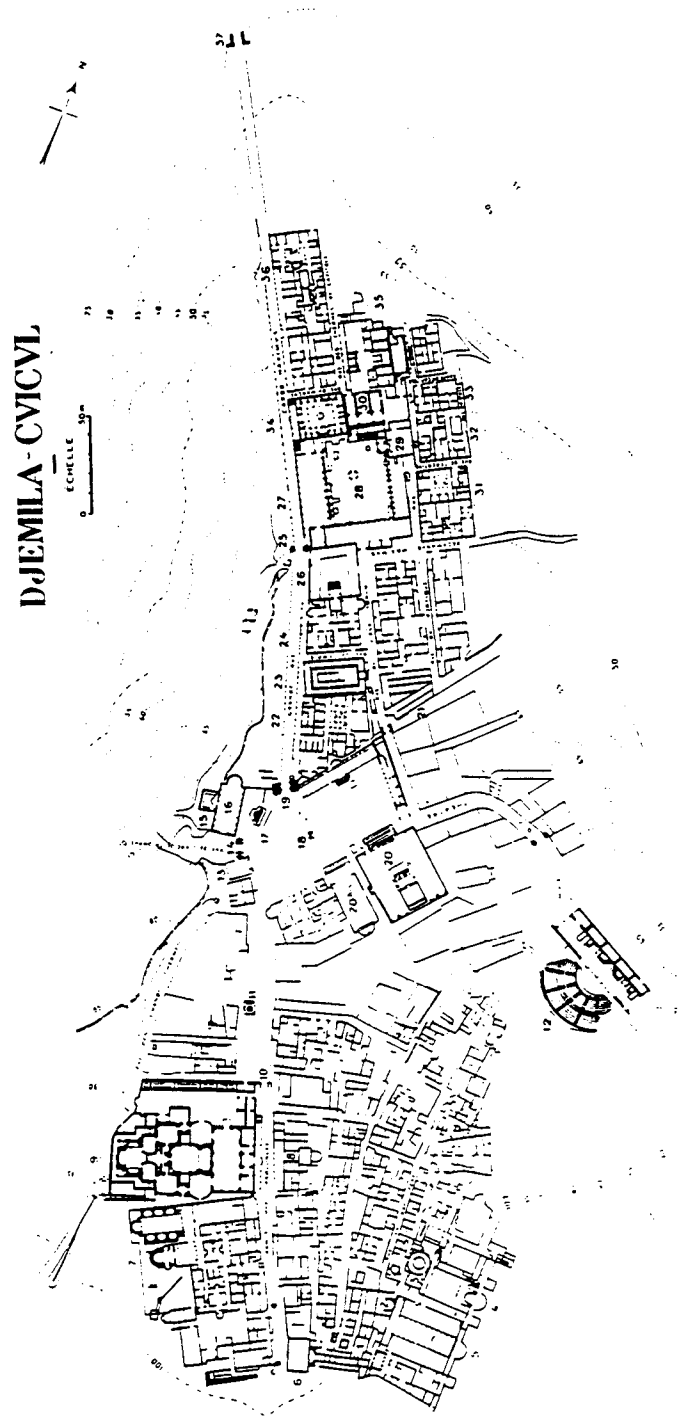


Fig. 67. Cuicul: Plan of site

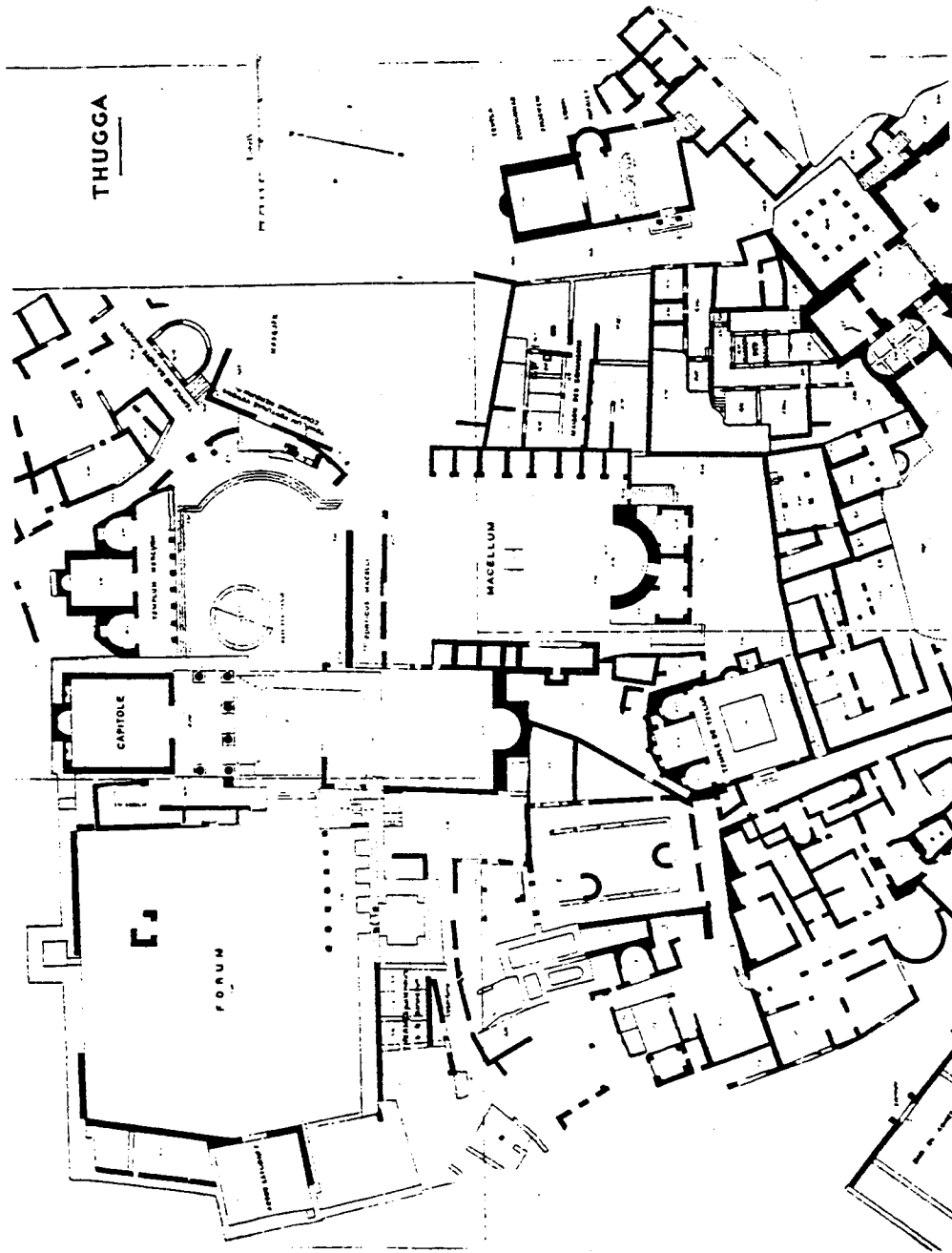


Fig. 68. Thugga: Region of forum



Fig. 69. Thugga: Aerial view
of forum complex

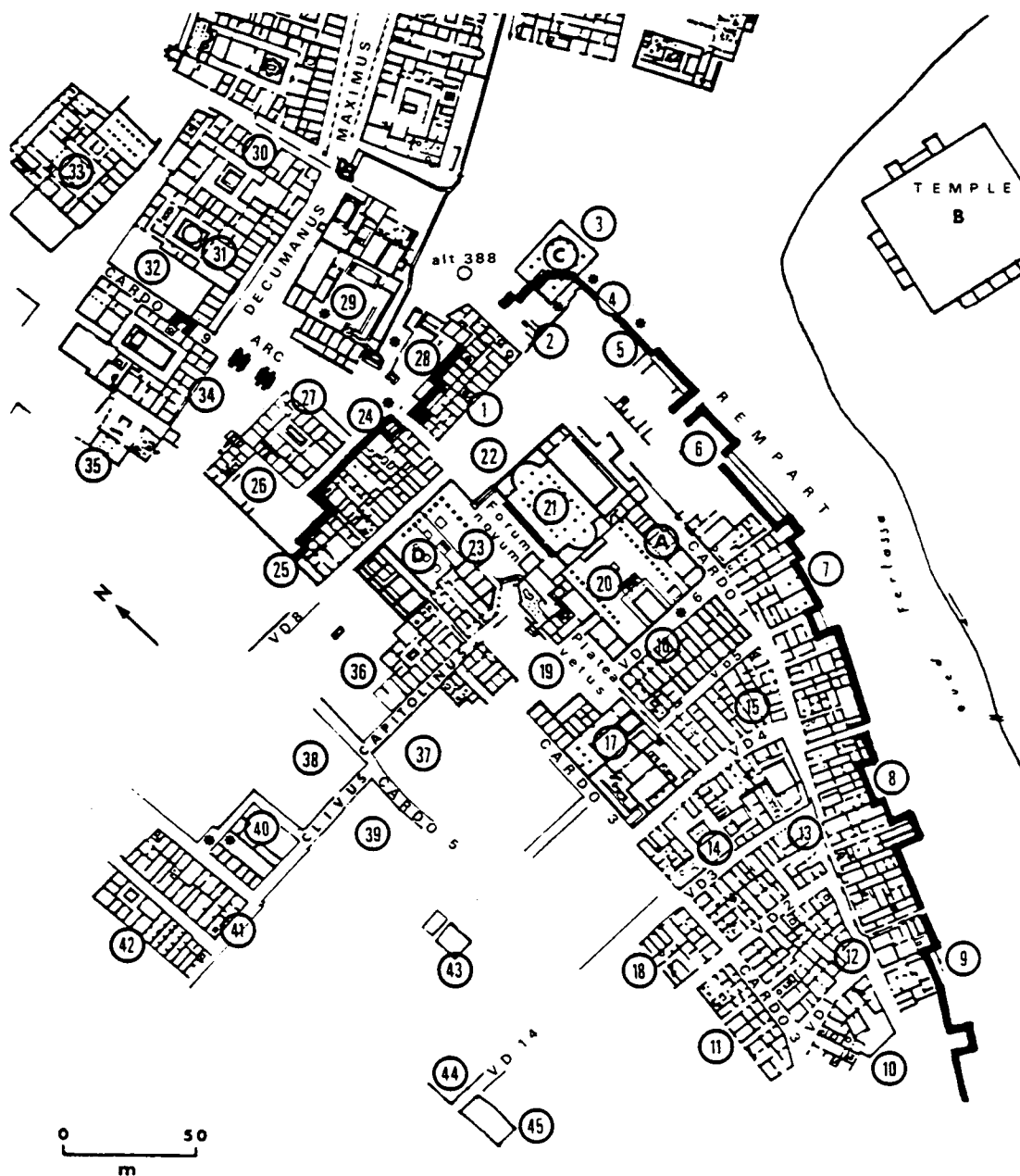


Fig. 70. Volubilis: Plan of central sector



Fig. 71. Volubilis: Aerial view of Forum Novum and macellum

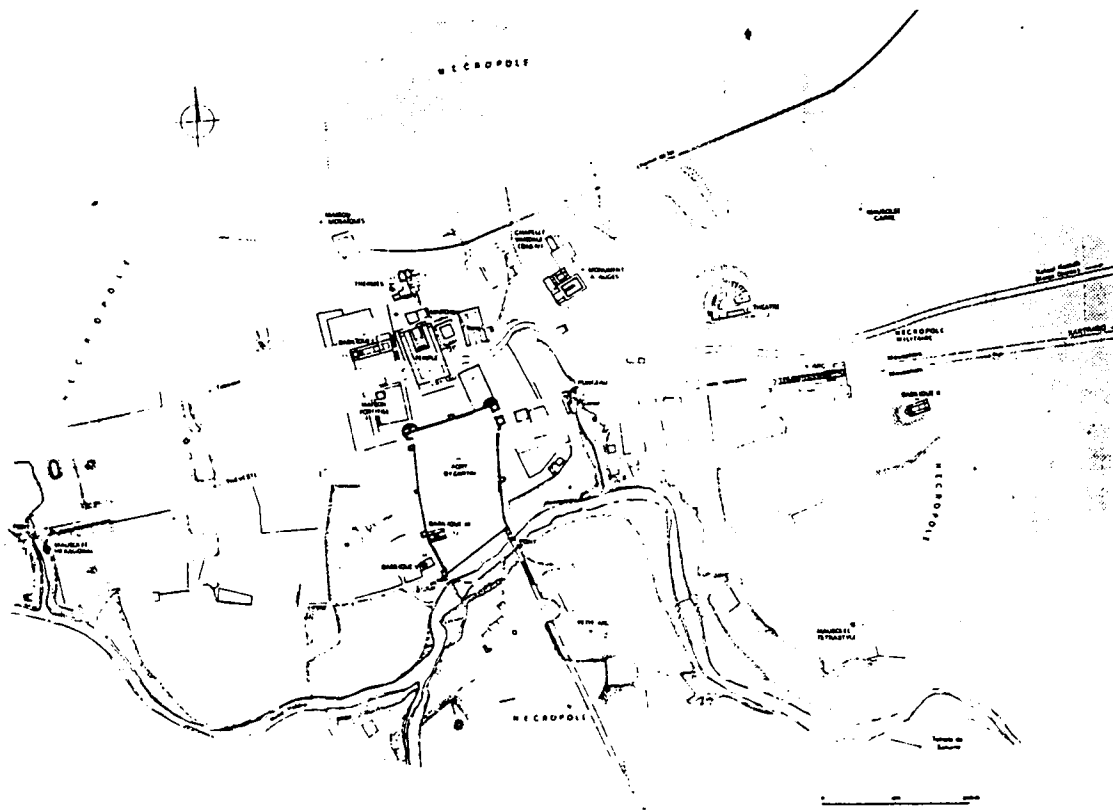


Fig. 72. Ammaedara: Plan of site

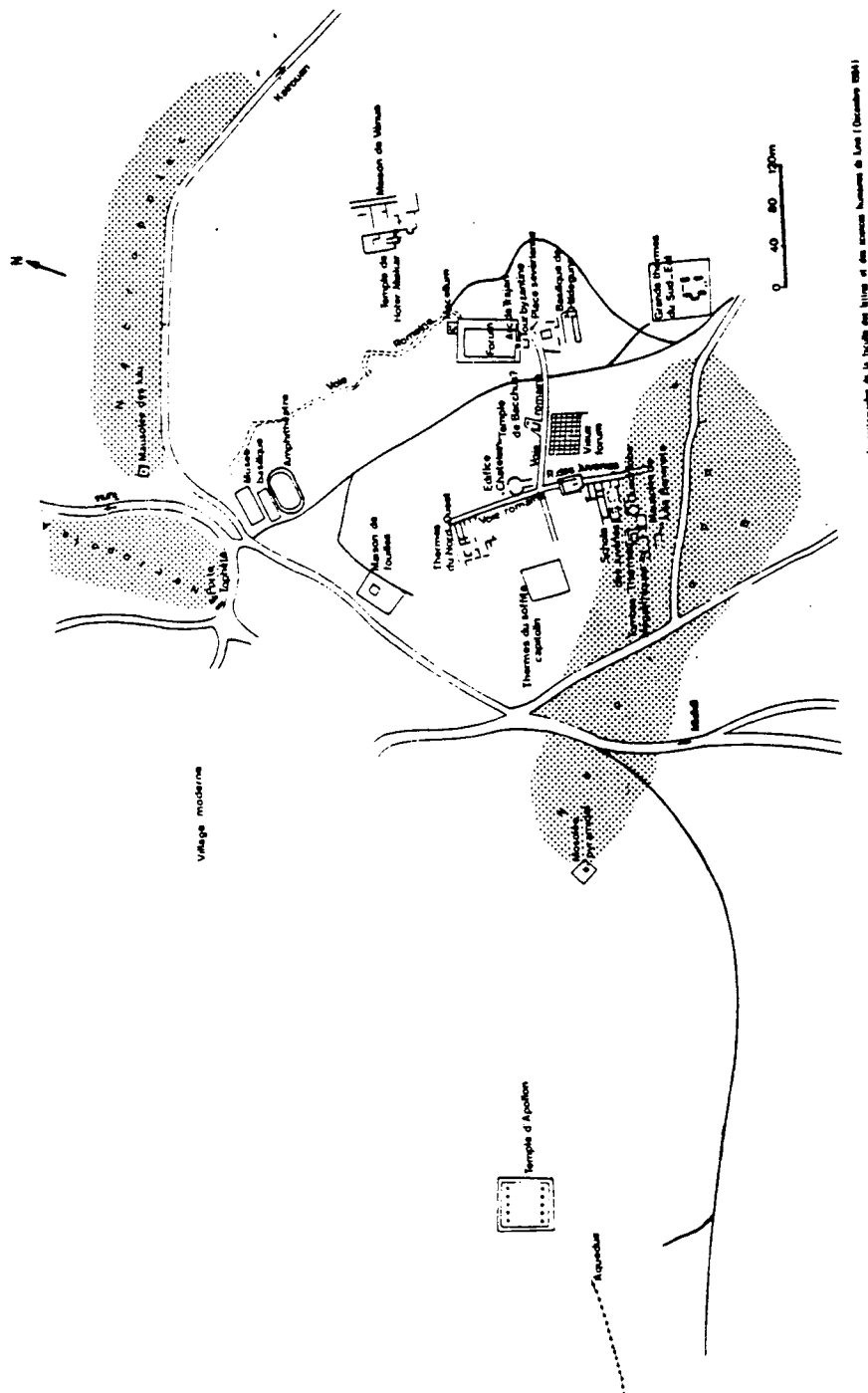


Fig. 73. Mactar: Plan of site

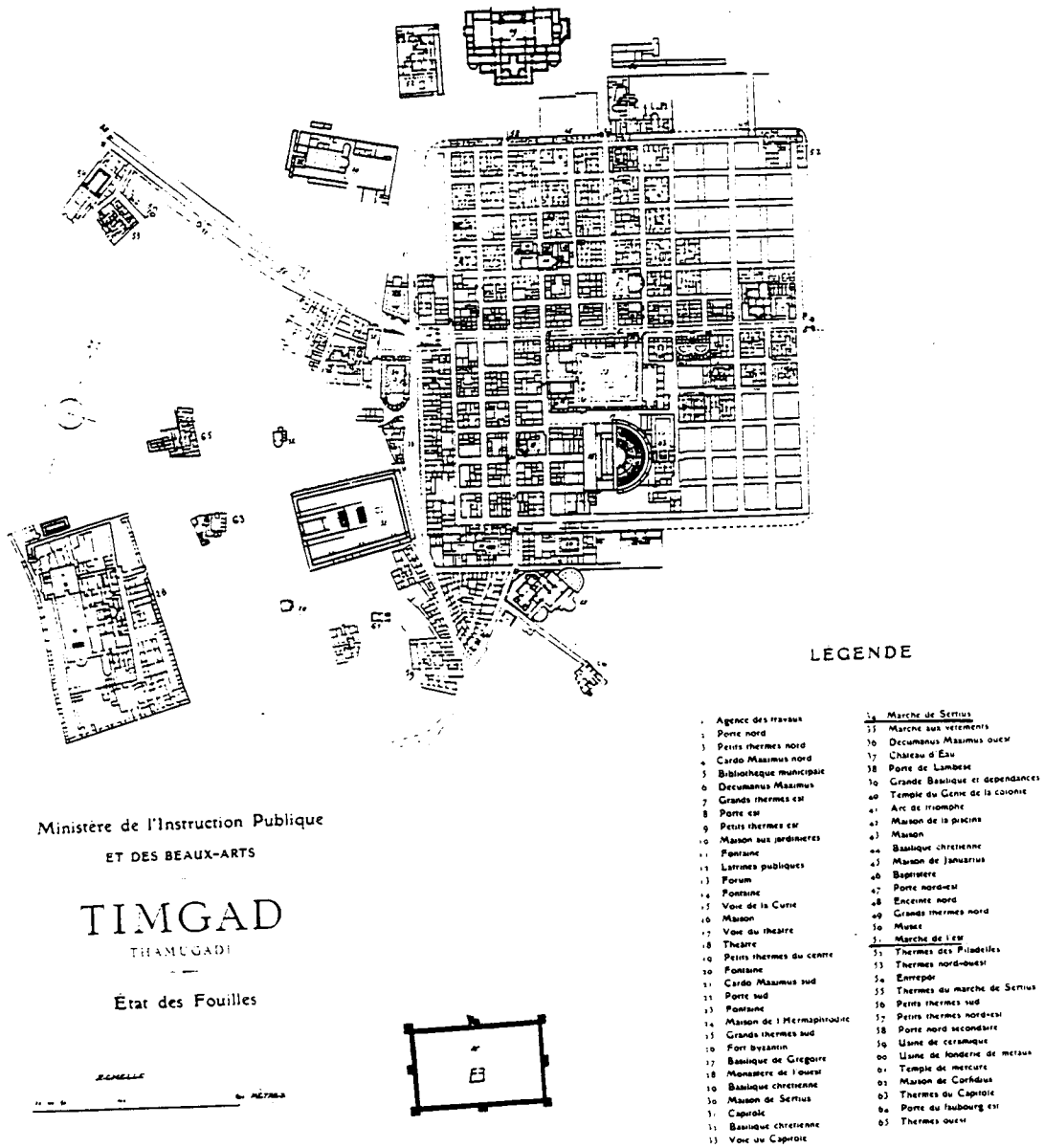


Fig. 74. Thamugadi: Plan of site

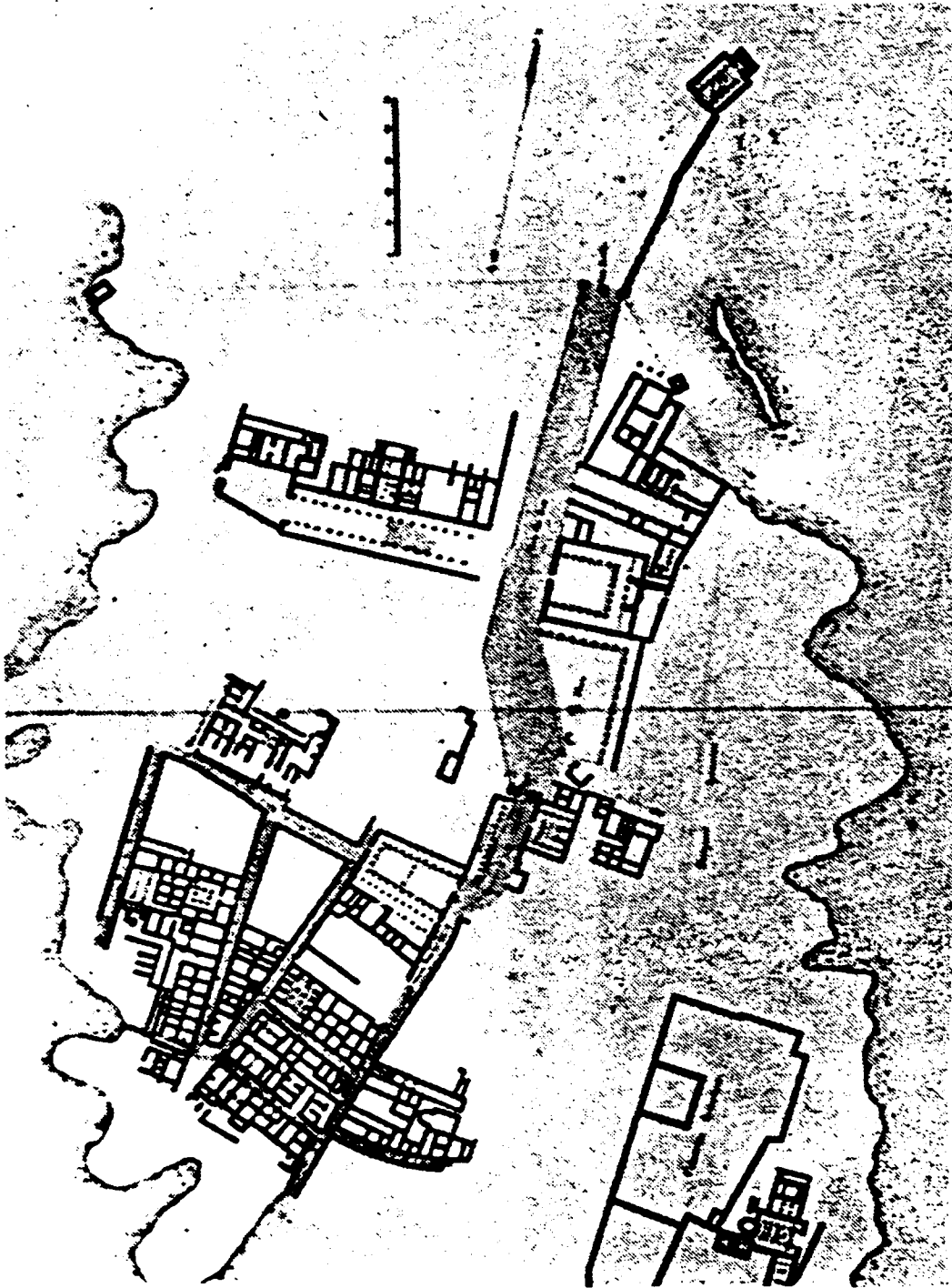


Fig. 75. Thibilis: Plan of site

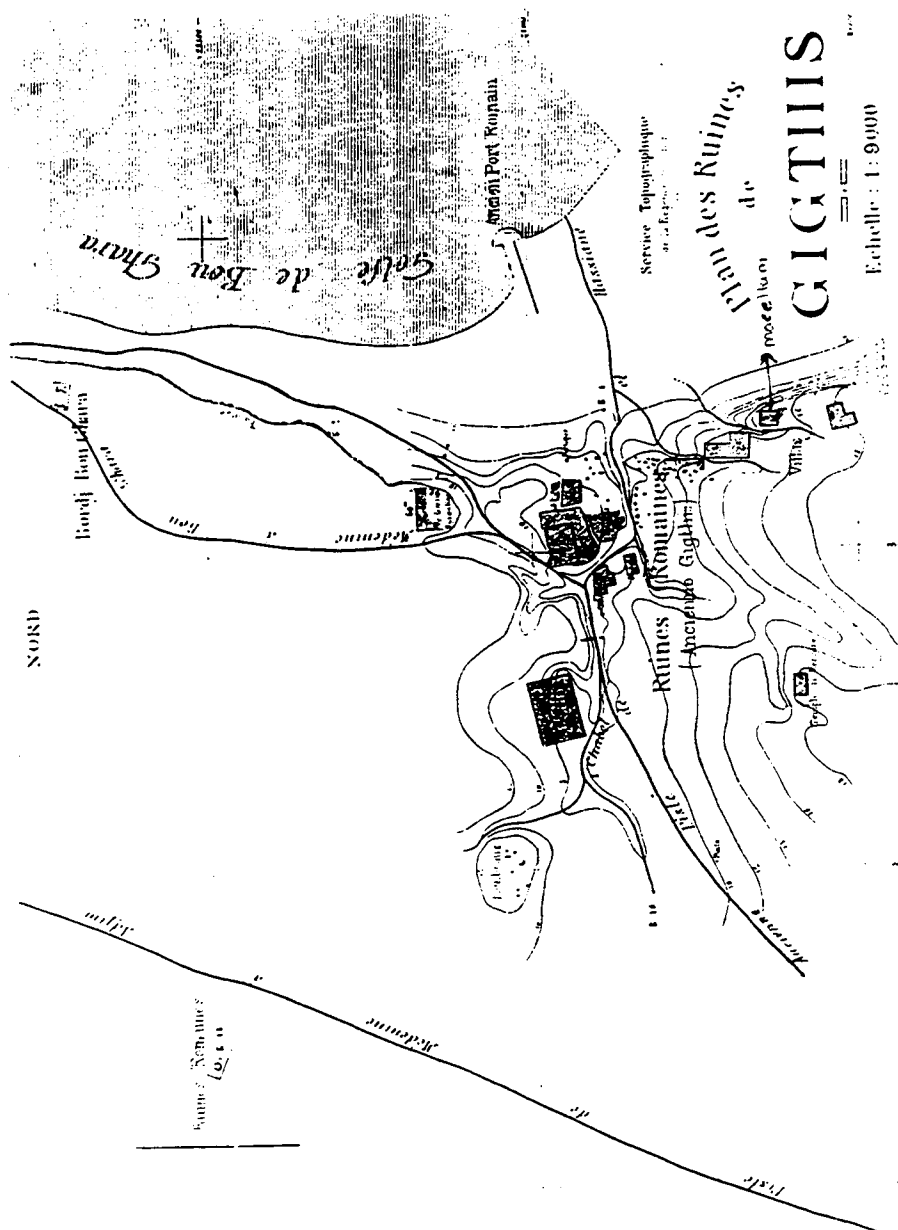


Fig. 76. Gigthis: Plan of site



Fig. 77. Hippo Regius: Levels of pavement beside East Court

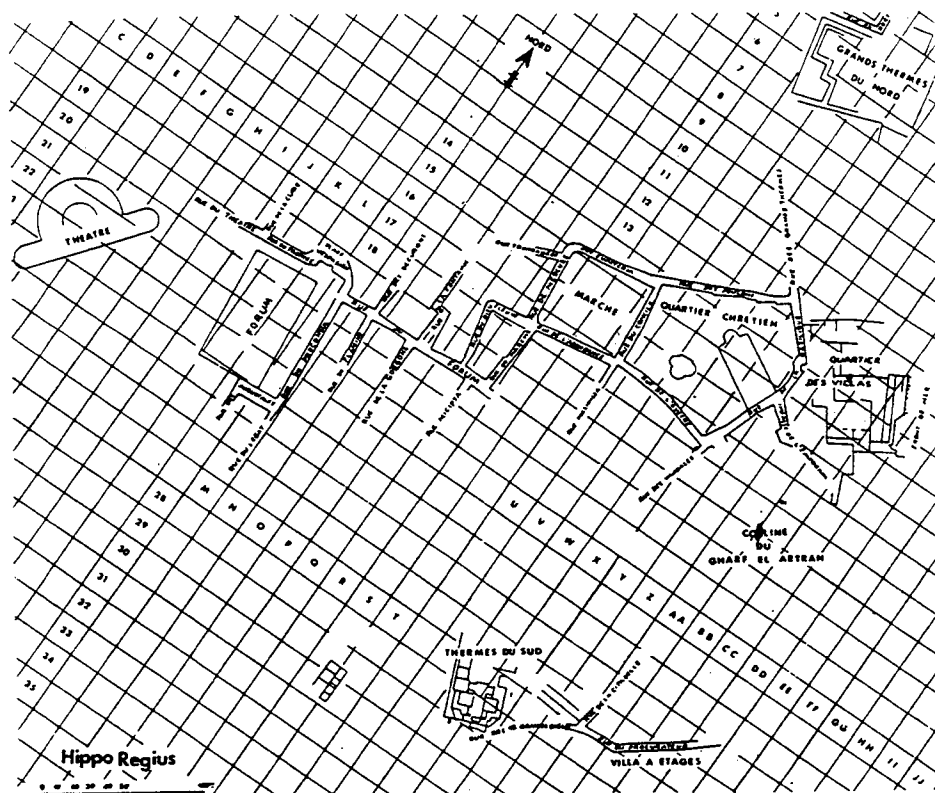


Fig. 78. Hippo Regius: Plan of site

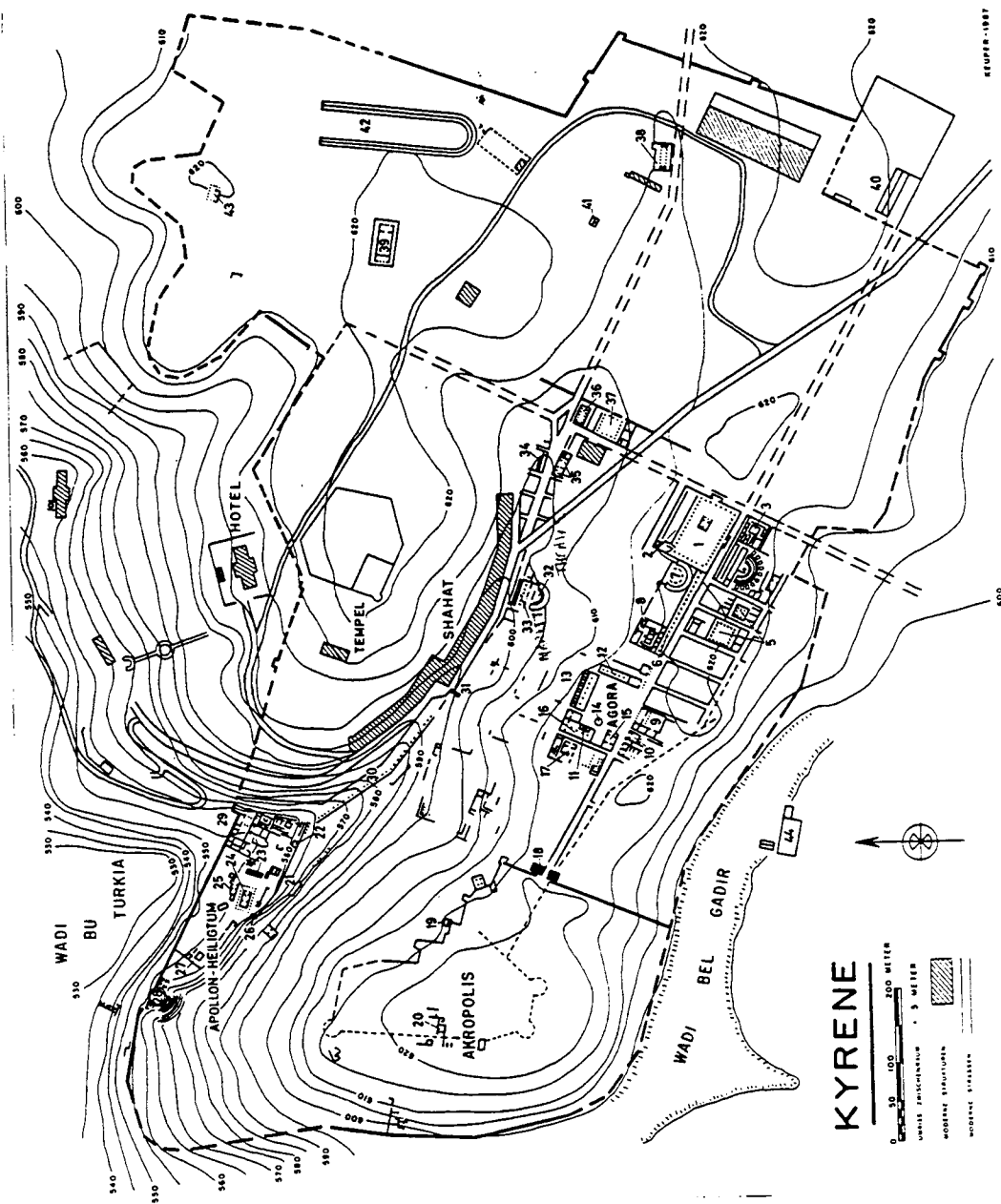


Fig. 79. Cyrene: Plan of site



Fig. 80. Cyrene: Stepped street beside market

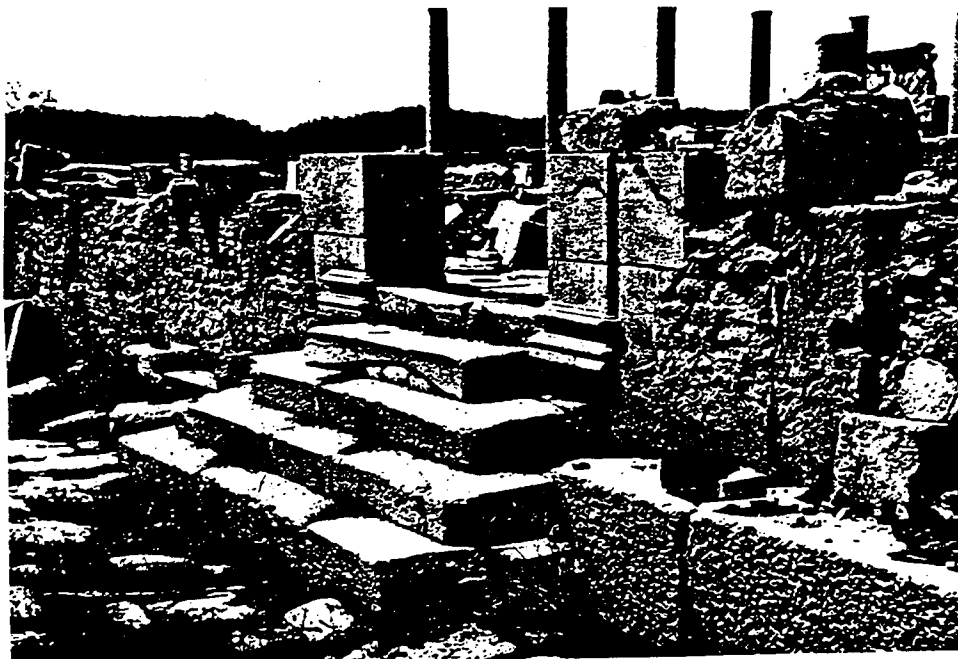


Fig. 81. Leptis Magna: North-east
entrance of *macellum*

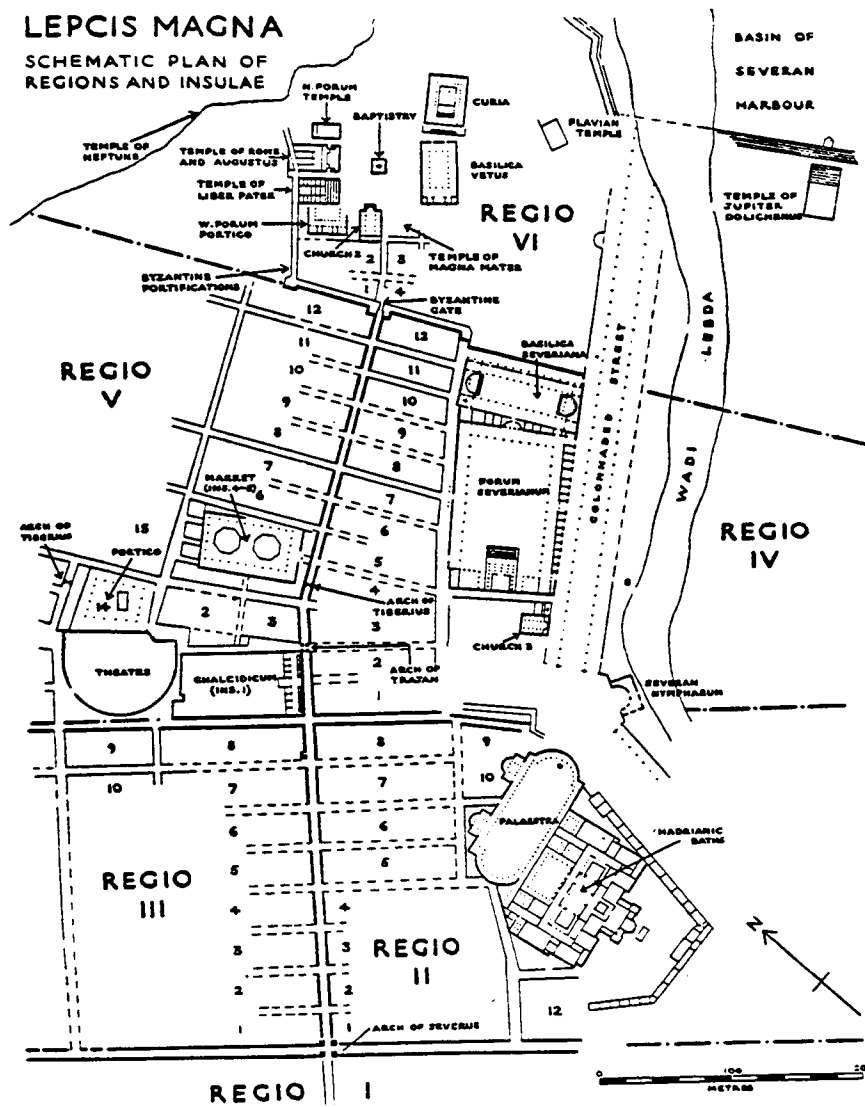


Fig. 82. Leptis Magna: Plan of site

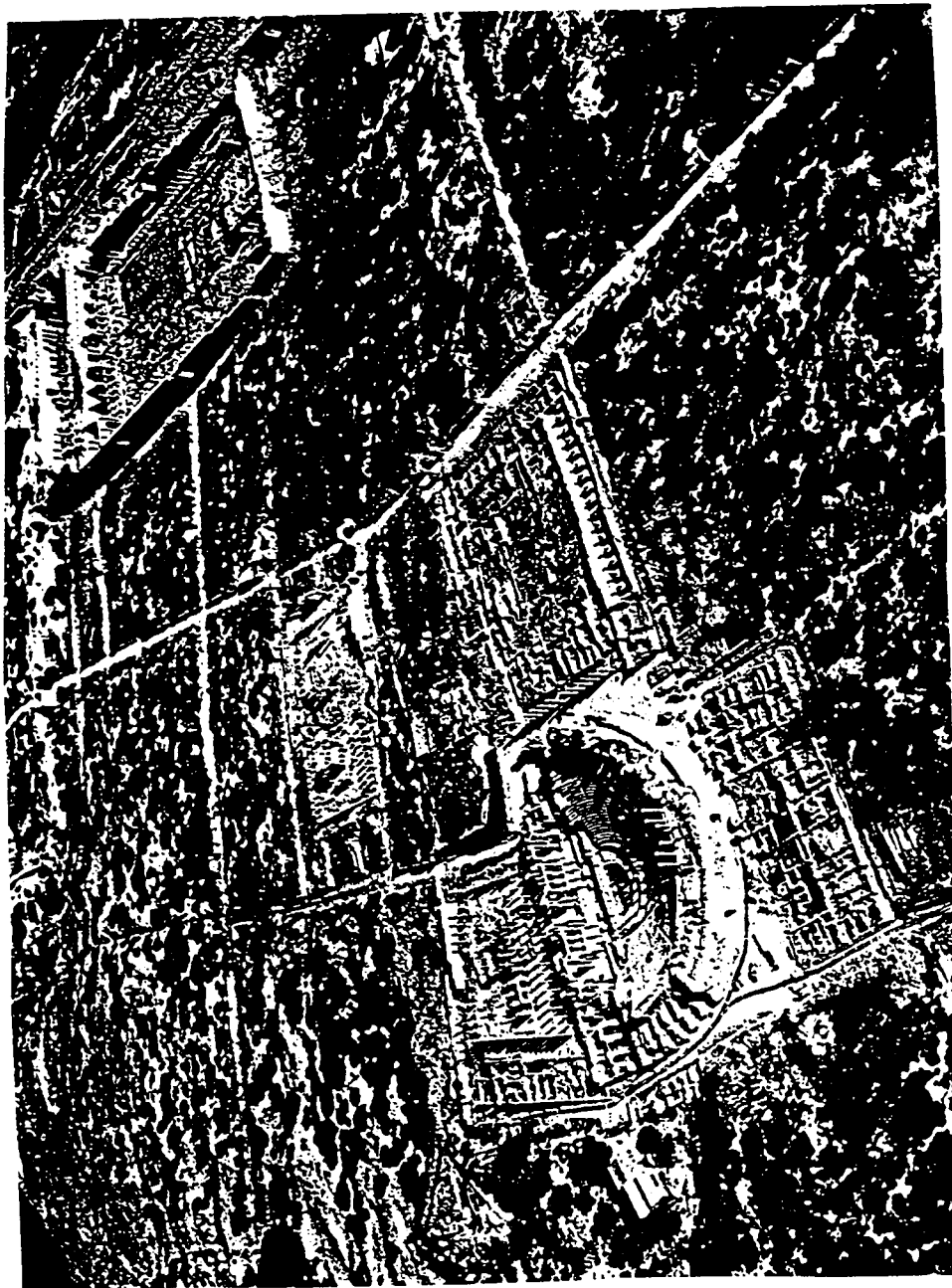
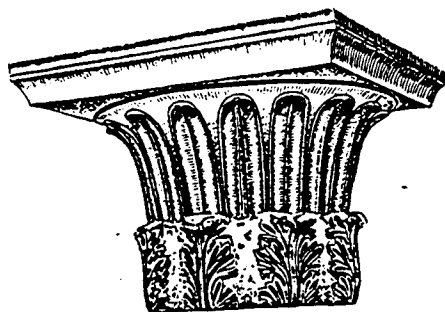
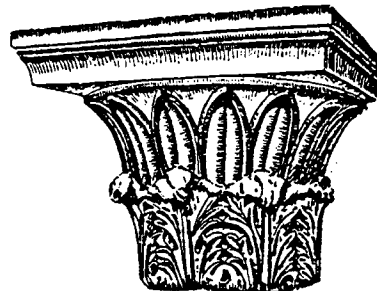


Fig. 83. Lepcis Magna: Aerial view of macellum and theatre



1. LEPCIS MAGNA : FORUM.



2. LEPCIS MAGNA : MARKET.

Fig. 84. Lepcis Magna: Corinthian capitals
from *macellum* and Severan Forum



Fig. 85. Thamugadi: Aerial view of Market
of Sertius, Arch of Trajan and
Decumanus Maximus



Fig. 86. Thamugadi: Statue of Cornelia
from Market of Sertius

APPENDIX: PATRONS OF ROMAN NORTH AFRICAN MACELLA

Patron ¹	Town	Titles	Market Activity	Other Activity	Date
1. Annobal Tapapius Rufus	Lepcis Magna (C. 3)	<i>sufes, flamen, praefectus sacrorum</i>	<i>macellum</i>	theatre	9/8 BC/AD 1/2
2. Ti. Claudius Amicus; M. Heliodorius Apollonides	"	<i>aediles</i>	tables		1st cent AD
3. Boncarth Muthumbalis	"	<i>sobti, triumvir macelli</i>	statue		"
4. M. Licinius Rufus	Thugga (C. 14)	<i>patronus pagi et civitatis Thugg., flam. Aug., praef. Alae</i>	<i>macellum</i>	temple of Ceres	AD 54
5. L. Cosinius Primus	Cuicul (C. 15)	<i>aed., q., IIvir quinque., pont., fl. pp., augur</i>	<i>macellum</i>		AD 138-161
6. C. Cosinius Maximus (bro. of no. 5)	"	<i>aed., q., IIvir quinque., pont.,</i>	<i>curante macellum</i>		"
7. M. Livius Felix	Thibilis (C. 19)	<i>mag. pag., flam. Aug.</i>	statue		2nd cent AD

¹ The epigraphical sources for these patrons can be found in Chapter One, Chapter Four, and the Catalogue.

8. M. Marius Aemilian- us	"	<i>aedilis</i>	table of measures		?
9. Q. Pacuvius Saturus	Thugga (C. 14)	<i>fl. perp., augur</i>	rebuilt <i>macellum</i>	temple of Mercury	AD 180- 192
10. Nehania Victoria (wife of no. 9)	"	<i>fl. perp.</i>	"	"	"
11. Q. Calpurn- ius Donatus	Madauros (C. 8)	<i>aedilicius IIviralicus</i>	<i>macellum</i>		2nd/ 3rd cent AD ?
12. M. Plotius Faustus Sertius	Thamugadi (C. 18)	<i>eq. r., a militis III, fl. pp., sacerdos urbis</i>	<i>macellum</i>	capitol- ium (?)	AD 200- 225
13. Sertia Cornelia Valent- ina Tucciana (wife of no. 11)	"	<i>fl. pp.</i>	"	"	"
14. Q. Aradius Rufinus Optatus Aelianus	Bulla Regia (C. 5)	<i>cos.,sodal. Augustali, vice procos., leg., pr. pr., praef. aer.</i>	<i>macellum (?)</i>		3rd cent AD
15. L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus Saturn- inus Tiberia- nus= L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus (?)	"	<i>auguri, curioni, triumviro stlitibus iudicandis, seviro equestrium turmarum, q.k.</i>	"		"
16. Laenat- ius Romulus	Lepcis Magna (C. 3)	<i>praeses, vir perfectissi- mus</i>	rebuilt <i>macellum</i>	portico (Forum Vetus)	AD 324- 326

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