**Figure 2.1:** The location of the bakery of N. Popidius Priscus (VII.ii.22) in the city of Pompeii.
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Unmarked base map of Pompeii: Laurence, 2. Plan of bakery from Richardson, 417.

**Figure 2.2:** Plan of the bakery of N. Popidius Priscus (VII.ii.22) with a view of part of the connected residence.
(a) milling area
(b) room possibly used as a *horreum*
(c) remains of a staircase and a small latrine
(d) current location of the kneading machine
(e) oven opening
(f) room possibly used for kneading and molding loaves or, as proposed by Mayeske, for storing the finished product
(g) remains of table supports along the right wall
(h) small window in the side of the oven tower, possibly used for holding a lamp
(i) rectangular portico with bricked-off corner used as a water basin
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Base map from Richardson, 417.
Figure 2.3: Views of the mills at VII.ii.22 from the entrance of the bakery and close-ups of the miniature mill (bottom left) and third mill with the inscription “FOH” (bottom middle). Corresponds to position a on the bakery plan.
Source: Photos by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.4: The Pompeian hourglass mill. The catillus (right) rests and rotates upon the meta (left).
Figure 2.5: A fragmented relief from Bologna depicting the milling of flour (bottom left), the baking of bread (top left), the molding of loaves of bread (top right), and the storage of the final product (bottom right). Source: Photo courtesy of Roger Ulrich.

Figure 2.6: A plaster copy of a stone relief depicting the milling of bread, currently in the Museo della Civilta Romana in Rome. The original was found outside the Porta Giovanni in Rome and is currently in the Vatican Museums. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.7: View of the lefthand side of a plaster copy of the sarcophagus of P. Nonius Zethus, currently in the Museo della Civilta Romana in Rome. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.
Figure 2.8: Typology of millstones by D. P. S. Peacock.  
Source: Peacock (1989), 207.

Figure 2.9: The back room of the bakery at VII.ii.22 possibly used for the storage of grain. Corresponds to position b on the bakery plan, as viewed from position f.  
Source: Photo by Briar Teron.
Figure 2.10: Window frames from the second-story of the bakery at VII.i.22. Corresponds to the walls of room \( f \) on the bakery plan, as viewed from position \( e \). Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.11: Holes for second-story floorboards in the bakery at VII.i.22. Corresponds to the wall of room \( f \) on the bakery plan. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.12: The distribution of the horrea at Ostia. Source: Bakker, 114-115.
Figure 2.13: Terracotta plaque mounted on a wall north of the Forum, depicting two saccarii carrying an amphora. Source: Boston, 59.

Figure 2.14: The kneading machine in the bakery at VII.ii.22. Corresponds to position d on the bakery plan. Source: Photos by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.15: Stone relief from Pompeii showing the formation of loaves (left), a man hand-kneading or mixing dough in a cylindrical vat (middle), and the sale of bread (right). Source: Avvisati, 175.
Figure 2.16: Cross-section of a kneading machine. Source: Bakker, 6.

Figure 2.17: Carbonized eight-wedge and six-wedge loaves from Pompeii. Source: Adam, 324.

Figure 2.18: A bronze baking pan. Height 4 cm, diameter 32.5 cm. Pompeii, first century C.E. Found at I.xi.17, in a residence, below the stairs in the atrium. Source: Ciarallo (1999), 186.

Figure 2.19: Large bronze pastry tin with shell shape. A head with characteristics of the priests of Isis is soldered to the back of the pan. Pompeii, first century C.E. Source: Conticello, 190.
Figure 2.20: Three pastry tins with the popular shell-shape.  
Source: Mayeske, Plate X, Fig 1.

Figure 2.21: Two pastry tins in the shapes of a dressed hare and a pig.  
Source: Mayeske, Plate X, Fig 2 and Fig 3.

Figure 2.22: A stone relief depicting a Pompeian bottega and oven. The scene includes various baking processes, including weighing of grain or bread (left) and mixing of dough (right). Note the series of baking pans hanging on the wall in the upper right corner, many of which include the ridges of the popular shell shape.  
Source: Avvisati, 91.
Figure 2.23: View of the righthand side of a plaster copy of the sarcophagus of P. Nonius Zethus, currently in the Museo della Civilta Romana in Rome, depicting baking tools and implements.
Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.24: The oven in the bakery at VII.ii.22. Corresponds to position e on the bakery plan.
Source: Photos by Briar Teron.
Figure 2.25: The interior of the beehive oven from the bakery at VII.i.22. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.26: The oven pass-through from the bakery at VII.i.22. Corresponds to position e on the bakery plan, as viewed from room f and looking toward area a. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.27: The chimney/exhaust system for the oven at the bakery at VI.i.6 in Pompeii. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.
**Figure 2.28:** Diagram of the parts of an oven.
(a) a floor in well-cemented bricks, resistant to cracking from the heat, with a layer of sand (thicker than even 10 cm) underneath the brick floor to help insulate
(b) the structure rests on a masonry base
(c) the oven is covered by a vault
(e) oven opening, blocked with an iron slab during baking
(h) access passageway or pass-through
(i) vent/chimney
(l) ash pit
Source: Étienne, 159.

**Figure 2.29:** A square, stone relief from the Villa Medici depicting baking. Mid-Severan period. 210 cm by 101 cm by 102 cm. Source: Amedick, Catalogue No. 240.

**Figure 2.30:** The three table supports seen along the right wall of the bakery at VII.i.22 as viewed from the entrance. Corresponds to position g on the bakery plan. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.
Figure 2.31: A marble-reveted U- or L-shaped sales counter at Pompeii. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.32: Fresco from the tablinum at VII.iii.30 at Pompeii depicting the sale of bread from a temporary sales stand. Second half of the first century C.E. 49 cm by 58 cm. Source: La Farge, 56.

Figure 2.33: Sketch of a fresco from the villa of Julia Felix at II.iv.3 depicting the sale of bread from a temporary sales stand. Source: Tanzer, 27.

Figure 2.34: The square portico at the back of the bakery at VII.ii.22, a corner of which was bricked off for use as a water basin. Corresponds to position i on the bakery plan, as viewed from area a and looking toward position b. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.
Figure 2.35: The public fountain at the southern end of the Vicolo Storto at Pompeii. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.36: A drainage channel in the sidewalk outside the bakery at VII.ii.22. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.37: The grooves in the entrance-way of the bakery at VII.ii.22 used for securing boards when the bakery closed up at night. View of the Vicolo Storto in the background. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.
Figure 2.38: A sketch of a lost fresco from the macellum depicting the Vestalia as celebrated by putti in the guise of bakers. Source: Tanzer, 22.

Figure 2.39: A phallic relief from a Pompeian bakery with the inscription, “hic habitat felicitas” or “here dwells happiness.” First century C.E. Currently in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.40: A relief from a Pompeian bakery showing a phallus in antis between two columns in a small temple or niche. First century C.E. Currently in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.41: A small, cylindrical, portable hand-mill made of volcanic rock. Source: Ciarallo (1999), 136.
Figure 2.42: A hand-mill from a house at I.61.15 at Pompeii. Source: Carrington, Plate XIII.

Figure 2.43: Plan of the Villa dei Misteri outside Pompeii showing the location of two miniature private ovens. Source: Carrington, 85.

Figure 2.44: The tomb of the wife of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces outside the Porta Maggiore at Rome, ca. 30 B.C.E. Source: Kleiner, 106.
Figure 2.45: View of the south side of the baking frieze from the tomb of the wife of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, ca. 30 B.C.E. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.46: View of the north side of the baking frieze from the tomb of the wife of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, ca. 30 B.C.E. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 2.47: View of the west side of the baking frieze from the tomb of the wife of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, ca. 30 B.C.E. Source: Kleiner, 109.
Figure 3.1: Plan of the *macellum* at Pompeii. 
Source: de Ruyt, 142.

Figure 3.2: Plan of a villa at Boscoreale with the equipment and space for the production of wine, olive oil, and bread. 
Source: Boston, 59.

Figure 3.3: The carbonized remains of wheat (top), nuts (left), bread (right), and figs (bottom) as found at Pompeii. 
Source: Corti, Figure 11.
Figure 3.5: Fresco from the House of the Vettii (VI.xv.1) at Pompeii representing nine *putti* performing a number of tasks related to wine production, including gathering grapes from a pergola (left), pressing grapes (center), and transporting grapes with the help of a goat (right).
Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 3.4: Plan of the garden (31 m by 55 m) from the House of the Ship Europa (I.xv.3) at Pompeii. Lowercase letters indicate plant species and capital letters indicate crops. Each black dot represents the position and size of a root cavity.
Source: Greene, 97.

Figure 3.6: A reconstruction of a *trapetum* or olive press in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome.
Source: Photo by Briar Teron.
**Figure 4.1:** Theory of the three expansion phases of the city of Pompeii. Phase 1: original 6th to 5th century B.C.E. Greek/Etruscan phase (dark red region). Phase 2: late 4th to 2nd century B.C.E. Samnite/Roman Federation phase (red region). Phase 3: 1st century B.C.E. to 1st century C.E. Roman colony phase (light red region). Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Clarke, 210.

**Figure 4.2:** The commercial usage of residential space from a sample of 122 residences at Pompeii. The bars indicate the number of houses from each size quartile that reveal commercial usage in the form of *tabernae*, *officinae* (workshops), or horticulture, as well as those that reveal no commercial usage (nil). Quartile 1 (10-45 m², average 1.4 rooms), Quartile 2 (50-170 m², average 4.7 rooms), Quartile 3 (175-345 m², average 8.4 rooms), Quartile 4 (350-3000 m², average 16.4 rooms). Source: Wallace-Hadrill, 137.
Figure 4.3: The locations of the bakeries at Pompeii (black dots).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 58; Mayeske, 82-136. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 4.4: The locations of the pastry shops at Pompeii (black dots).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Mayeske, 82-136.
Figure 4.5: The locations of the public fountains (blue dots) and the extents of their service ranges (blue circles) relative to the locations of the bakeries (black dots).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 47; Zanker, 120.

Figure 4.6: The locations of the public fountains (blue dots) and the extents of their service ranges (blue circles) relative to the locations of the pastry shops (black dots).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 47; Zanker, 120.
Figure 4.7: The locations of the workshops of the wool industry (*officinae lanifricariae*, *officinae tinctoriae*, *fullonicae*) (purple dots) relative to the locations of the bakeries (black dots).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence 60, 62, 63; Moeller, 55.

Figure 4.8: The locations of the metalworking workshops (orange dots) relative to the locations of the bakeries (black dots).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 65.
Figure 4.9: The locations of all known workshops (green dots) relative to the locations of the bakeries (black dots). Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 66.

Figure 4.10: The locations of all known workshops (green dots) relative to the locations of the pastry shops (black dots). Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 66.
Figure 4.11: The locations of the *cauponae* (brown dots) relative to the locations of the bakeries (black dots).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Kleberg map; Laurence, 82. Source: Photo by Briar Teron.

Figure 4.12: The locations of the *popinae* (brown dots) relative to the locations of the bakeries (black dots).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Kleberg map; Laurence, 83.
Figure 4.13: The locations of the brothels (red dots) relative to the locations of the bakeries (black dots).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 77.

Figure 4.14: The locations of the bakeries (black dots) relative to the doorway density regions of the city. Doorways can be located every 0 to 5 m (light blue lines), every 6 to 10 m (blue lines), every 11 to 15 m (dark blue lines), and further than every 15 m (black lines).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 92-93.
Figure 4.15: The locations of the bakeries with sales areas (black dots) and without sales areas (green dots) relative to the doorway density regions of the city. Doorways can be located every 0 to 5 m (light blue lines), every 6 to 10 m (blue lines), every 11 to 15 m (dark blue lines), and further than every 15 m (black lines).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 92-93; Mayeske, 82-136.

Figure 4.16: The locations of the bakeries with mills (black dots) and without mills (green dots) relative to the doorway density regions of the city. Doorways can be located every 0 to 5 m (light blue lines), every 6 to 10 m (blue lines), every 11 to 15 m (dark blue lines), and further than every 15 m (black lines).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 59, 92-93; Mayeske, 82-136.
**Figure 4.17:** The locations of the bakeries with stables (black dots) and without stables (green dots) relative to the doorway density regions of the city. Doorways can be located every 0 to 5 m (light blue lines), every 6 to 10 m (blue lines), every 11 to 15 m (dark blue lines), and further than every 15 m (black lines).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 92-93; Mayeske, 82-136.

**Figure 4.18:** The locations of the bakeries (black dots) relative to the three possible expansion phases of the city of Pompeii. Phase 1: original 6th to 5th century B.C.E. Greek/Etruscan phase (dark red region). Phase 2: late 4th to 2nd century B.C.E. Samnite/Roman Federation phase (red region). Phase 3: 1st century B.C.E. to 1st century C.E. Roman colony phase (light red region).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Clarke, 210.
Figure 4.19: The locations of the bakeries with living quarters (black dots) and without living quarters (green dots) relative to the three possible expansion phases of the city of Pompeii. Phase 1: original 6th to 5th century B.C.E. Greek/Etruscan phase (dark red region). Phase 2: late 4th to 2nd century B.C.E. Samnite/Roman Federation phase (red region). Phase 3: 1st century B.C.E. to 1st century C.E. Roman colony phase (light red region).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Clarke, 210; Mayeske, 82-136.

Figure 4.20: The locations of the bakeries with mills (black dots) and without mills (green dots) relative to the three possible expansion phases of the city of Pompeii. Phase 1: original 6th to 5th century B.C.E. Greek/Etruscan phase (dark red region). Phase 2: late 4th to 2nd century B.C.E. Samnite/Roman Federation phase (red region). Phase 3: 1st century B.C.E. to 1st century C.E. Roman colony phase (light red region).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Clarke, 210; Laurence, 59; Mayeske, 82-136.
Figure 4.21: The locations of the bakeries with stables (black dots) and without stables (green dots) relative to the three possible expansion phases of the city of Pompeii. Phase 1: original 6th to 5th century B.C.E. Greek/Etruscan phase (dark red region). Phase 2: late 4th to 2nd century B.C.E. Samnite/Roman Federation phase (red region). Phase 3: 1st century B.C.E. to 1st century C.E. Roman colony phase (light red region).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Clarke, 210; Mayeske, 82-136.

Figure 4.22: The locations of the bakeries with latrines (black dots) and without latrines (green dots) relative to the three possible expansion phases of the city of Pompeii. Phase 1: original 6th to 5th century B.C.E. Greek/Etruscan phase (dark red region). Phase 2: late 4th to 2nd century B.C.E. Samnite/Roman Federation phase (red region). Phase 3: 1st century B.C.E. to 1st century C.E. Roman colony phase (light red region).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Clarke, 210; Mayeske, 82-136.
Figure 4.23: The locations of the bakeries (black dots) by forum proximity. The forum proximity regions are from 1 to 100 m away (pink), from 101 to 200 m away (red), from 201 to 300 m away (darker red), and further than 301 m away (white/no fill), as measured from the nearest point on the edge of the forum.
Source: Model created by Briar Teron.

Figure 4.24: The locations of the bakeries with sales areas (black dots) and without sales areas (green dots) by forum proximity. The forum proximity regions are from 1 to 100 m away (pink), from 101 to 200 m away (red), from 201 to 300 m away (darker red), and further than 301 m away (white/no fill), as measured from the nearest point on the edge of the forum.
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Mayeske, 82-136.
Figure 4.25: The locations of the bakeries with mills (black dots) and without mills (green dots) by forum proximity. The forum proximity regions are from 1 to 100 m away (pink), from 101 to 200 m away (red), from 201 to 300 m away (darker red), and further than 301 m away (white/no fill), as measured from the nearest point on the edge of the forum.
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 59; Mayeske, 82-136.

Figure 4.26: The locations of the bakeries with stables (black dots) and without stables (green dots) by forum proximity. The forum proximity regions are from 1 to 100 m away (pink), from 101 to 200 m away (red), from 201 to 300 m away (darker red), and further than 301 m away (white/no fill), as measured from the nearest point on the edge of the forum.
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Mayeske, 82-136.
Figure 4.27: The locations of the bakeries with latrines (black dots) and without latrines (green dots) by forum proximity. The forum proximity regions are from 1 to 100 m away (pink), from 101 to 200 m away (red), from 201 to 300 m away (darker red), and further than 301 m away (white/no fill), as measured from the nearest point on the edge of the forum. Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Mayeske, 82-136.

Figure 4.28: The locations of the bakeries (black dots) by proximity to the city gates. The gate proximity regions are from 76-125 m away (light blue), from 126-175 m away (blue), from 176-225 m away (darker blue), and further than 226 m away (white/no fill), as measured from the nearest city gate. Source: Model created by Briar Teron.
Figure 4.29: The locations of the bakeries with sales areas (black dots) and without sales areas (green dots) by proximity to the city gates. The gate proximity regions are from 76-125 m away (light blue), from 126-175 m away (blue), from 176-225 m away (darker blue), and further than 226 m away (white/no fill), as measured from the nearest city gate.
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Mayeske, 82-136.

Figure 4.30: The locations of the bakeries with mills (black dots) and without mills (green dots) by proximity to the city gates. The gate proximity regions are from 76-125 m away (light blue), from 126-175 m away (blue), from 176-225 m away (darker blue), and further than 226 m away (white/no fill), as measured from the nearest city gate.
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 59; Mayeske, 82-136.
Figure 4.31: The locations of the bakeries either connected to residences or located within converted residences (black dots). Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Mayeske, 82-136.

Figure 4.32: The locations of the bakeries with living quarters (black dots) and without living quarters (green dots). Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Mayeske, 82-136.
**Figure 4.33:** Graph of the percentage of bakeries in a particular region that have living quarters. Regional categories: Forum Proximity (1-100 m, 101-200 m, 201-300 m, 301+ m); Expansion Phase (Phase I, Phase II, Phase III).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron.

**Figure 4.34:** The locations of the bakeries with sales areas (black dots) and without sales areas (green dots).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Mayeske, 82-136.
Figure 4.35: Graph of the percentage of bakeries in a particular region that have sales areas. Regional categories: Forum Proximity (1-100 m, 101-200 m, 201-300 m, 301+ m); Gate Proximity (76-125 m, 126-175 m, 176-225 m, 226+ m); Doorway Density (0-5 m, 6-10 m, 11-15 m, 15+ m).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron.

Figure 4.36: Graph of the percentage of bakeries in a particular region that have stables. Regional categories: Forum Proximity (1-100 m, 101-200 m, 201-300 m, 301+ m); Expansion Phase (Phase I, Phase II, Phase III); Doorway Density (0-5 m, 6-10 m, 11-15 m, 15+ m).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron.
**Figure 4.37:** The locations of the bakeries with stables (black dots) and without stables (green dots). Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Mayeske, 82-136.

**Figure 4.38:** Graph of the percentage of bakeries in a particular region that have latrines. Regional categories: Forum Proximity (1-100 m, 101-200 m, 201-300 m, 301+ m); Expansion Phase (Phase I, Phase II, Phase III). Source: Model created by Briar Teron.
Figure 4.39: The locations of the bakeries with latrines (black dots) and without latrines (green dots) relative to the locations of the public fountains (blue dots) and the extents of their service ranges (blue circles).
Source: Model created by Briar Teron. Information from Laurence, 47; Zanker, 120.