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Temples of Pompeii and Ostia

Pompey and Ostia had little in common with each other except their Roman heritage. Ostia was historical and had a documented history during the history of Rome as a Republic. The origins of Pompeii are mythological on the other hand. The cities had different functions as well, with Pompeii and a producer city and Ostia as an importing city. That major economic difference strongly effected the religious landscape of both cities due to trade with other parts of the empire. While both cities had foreign elements, the presence of the port at Ostia brought foreign cults to the city and made them almost as prominent as the old religions of the town. The religions that may have existed in the vicinity of Ostia were washed away by the Romans who occupied the site and the foreign religions that trade brought to the port of Rome. Pompeii on the other hand kept the strong influences from Greeks and Romans that it had had from the founding of the city until the final destruction in 79 A.D, though it did have foreign religions present in the city as time went on. The separate and different nature of the economic and social development of both Ostia and Pompeii led to different religious complexions in both cities in regards to both which cults were present. Ostia lost any indigenous religions it had to Roman cults and religious practices, though these were strongly supplemented by foreign cults brought to the port of Rome by traders from across the empire. Pompeii on the other hand did not receive as much trade as Ostia, so maintained Greek and Samnite influences that the Roman culture that became dominant in the city incorporated into its practices.

The Oscan people were present all around Ostia, but the city was a military camp in all likelihood for the Romans fighting the Oscans. Ostia functioned as the port city of Rome, which was only miles distant from the port. The function of the city was that of an importing and exporting city, sending goods from central Italy out to the different parts of the empire. A consumer city, as defined by Lomas in Parker’s work on Roman cities, was city that relied on exports and imports for survival.[[1]](#footnote-1) The economy of Ostia was tied to Rome and the regions around it, making Roman culture the default culture of Ostia. Peter Brown recorded in his recent work *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 A.D.,* he stated that Ostia was all important to Rome regarding shipping. According to Brown, “Every year, the Prefect of Rome and the senate could be thought of as waiting on the quays of Ostia, as the armada of ships bearing the Annona edged its way up, all too slowly, up the coast of Italy from Africa.”[[2]](#footnote-2) That trade from Rome to the distant corners of the Roman provinces brought many foreign traders to Roman shores, in particular in Ostia. Most of the traders from the distant provinces did not put down roots in Ostia, instead opting to return to their native provinces. What did remain in some cases was their religious cults. The original cults present in Ostia were derived from the cults of ancient Rome. Temples to Venus, Fortuna, Ops, Ceres, and Spes stood in the second Region of the city. These temples stood side by side and were almost as old as Ostia itself. The choice of worshiping those four deities in all likelihood related to the River Tiber which ran nearby and was all important to the commerce of that city. The building medium was brick, the 1most common medium in the city of Ostia. The presence of these cults provide early evidence for Roman religious dominance in Ostia and the absence of the religions indigenous the people of the region around Ostia.

More examples of Roman religion were to follow in Ostia. Later a temple to Neptune and the Dioscori was erected in the second region of the city. The temple dates to the early first century B.C. and was built as part of a festival that the Roman and Ostia people celebrated halfway between Rome and Ostia. An inscription inside of the structure spoke to who built the structure and why, stating:

NEPTVNO

CASTORI

POLLVCI

L(ucius) CATIVS

CELER

PR(aefectus) VRB(i)[[3]](#footnote-3)

The god Neptune was important in the Mediterranean world and was known in many different guises, though Neptune was his Roman guise. His worship by the Ostians was understandable, given the importance of trade to that city. More telling than a temple of Neptune was the person who donated the funds for the temple. L. Catius Celer was an urban prefect of Rome and the fact that he built a temple in Ostia verified the dominance of Roman culture and religious practices in Ostia. Religion became a defining link between the two cities, along with commerce and culture. The origins of religion in Ostia lie with the Rome and remained only until the overwhelming tide of foreign traders from the provinces led to new cults being present and popular in the city; however, the Roman core of religion in the city remained and lent itself to the practice of foreign religions in the port of Rome.

Pompeii had strong ties to the Oscan, Samnite, and Greek culture of the region of Campania, though these later blended into the Roman culture that came to dominate the city by the end of the Social wars. The city was not founded as a Roman city and lived outside of Roman authority until the time of the Samnite Wars of the fourth century. It was a city that produced many important goods that all Romans valued: garum and falernian wine. Many people made a fortune on these two products, in particular the garum as Pompeiian garum as to be the best garum. Pompeii was what Lomas would define as a producer city, which was a city that produced goods instead of relying on imports to survive.[[4]](#footnote-4) As the Romans conquered the Samnites, Pompeii became an associate city of Rome, with many rights of privileges of self-government. Sulla took the city once and for all for Rome after the Social Wars of the 90s B.C. All self-government ended and the city was governed in Roman fashion, with elections of *duoviri* each year. Due to the development of Pompeii outside of Roman authority, the temples of the city and the cults they embraced differed from those in Ostia.

The cities of *Magna Graecia*, nearby and throughout Campania came into contact with Pompeii and heavily influenced the religious landscape of the city. The Pompeiians built their temples in the style of Greek temples throughout southern Italy. One of the original examples of this came in the form of a Doric temple dedicated to the cult of Heracles. Dating all the way back to the sixth century when Rome changed from a kingdom into a Republic, the temple had the famous Doric columns known to have originated in the Peloponnese. The cult of Heracles was a popular one throughout *Magna Graecia* and mainland Greece, so it was not surprising that it enjoyed prominence in Pompeii. At the time Pompeii was under the control of a Greek city-state called Cumae, located in Campania down the coast from Pompeii. Later during the Roman period in Pompeii, it incorporated the cult of Minerva into the function of the shrine. Another example of this is the Temple of Apollo, a temple that was almost as old as the city of Pompeii itself.[[5]](#footnote-5) It stood on a raised platform like many Greek temples and continued to function until the destruction of the city. Later under Roman occupation he new Roman ruelrs of the city had the temple modified to match Roman tastes.[[6]](#footnote-6) The temple of Isis was another example of the Greek influence of the city. Though Isis originated in Egypt, the cult became thoroughly Hellenized and spread wherever Greeks lived. Isis served as a fertility goddesses originally, but in the Roman world she also worked as a goddesses of wisdom according to Plutarch.[[7]](#footnote-7) The temple of Isis was located on the Via Stabbiana next to yet another Greek influenced cult, that of Asclepius. Asclepius was a healing god who people went to in order to pray and make offerings for improved health. One important function of the temple of Asclepius was that of a healing place for the sick and injured, who slept in the temple itself. The origin of the cult of Asclepius and the practices of the cult originated and Greece and came to Pompeii through the strong Greek culture present in Campania. The Greek influence in Pompeii, even during the Roman period of the city, in the form of temples remained despite the introduction of new cults from other parts of the empire.

Both cities had strong elements of traditional religion that came to them from ancient Rome itself. As already mentioned, Ostia had strong Roman roots. One example of this was the Temple of the Bona Dea. According to the *Fasti* of Ovid she was celebrated in Rome as early as the third century B.C.[[8]](#footnote-8) Her roots were in Greece, though for many years in Republican Rome she had been honored by an important shrine on the Aventine Hill. The people of Ostia built the temple in the second century B.C. and it must have fallen into disrepair at some point before the reign of Augustus, who saw fit to have it refurbished as part of his vast refurbishing scheme for holy places in Rome and Italy. As time went on, Roman religious influence strengthened. Another of these was a temple to Capitoline Jupiter after the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill which was all important to the people of the city of Rome itself. The temple was built sometime in the second century B.C. after the Samnite wars had ended and remained in use until 79 A.D. Another Roman temple in Ostia was the Piazza of the *Lares Vincin*. *Lares* were guardian sprits that lived in many places. Homes had individual *Lares*, as did neighborhoods and towns. The Piazza of the *Lares Vincin* in Ostia dates to the years right after the earthquake of 62 A.D. The people of Pompey in all likelihood built it in order to better honor the *Lares* of the city to protect from future earthquakes and to thank the *Lares* that the town was not destroyed right then in 62 B.C. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is an example of how Roman religion became influential among the allies of Rome. Worshipping Jupiter was a way of honoring Pompeii’s Roman allies and after the city became a full Roman city it was a way of honoring the most important god of the Roman state. The Piazza of the *Lares Vincin* was an example of how Roman religious ideas had seeped far into the Pompeian public psyche by the time of the earthquake of 62 B.C. Though to the original Samnite and Oscan population of Pompeii these gods would have been foreign, they were of Italian origin and demonstrate how religious practices that came about in Italy remained the most popular and prominent religions in regards to religious structures.

During Imperial times, the cult of Augustus became important to the social structures of Roman cities. The population of Pompeii, after their conquest by Rome became distinctly Roman in culture and religion, though with a Greek subcurrent. In accordance with the argument of Estelle Lazar, the population f Pompeii remained homogenous, which influenced the religious culture of the city to not be as influenced by foreign cults like Ostia.[[9]](#footnote-9) The *Augustales*, the priests of the cult of the genius of the Deified Augustus were drawn from the ranks of freedman. For many provincial freedman, the Augustales served as a kind of servile equestrian order for the Roman cities outside of Rome. Many important men in Pompeii were members of that priesthood, such as Aulus Vettius Conviva, his brother Aulus Vettius Restitutus, and Gaius Calventius Quitus, who was granted an elaborate grave in the Necropolis of Pompeii, paid for by public funds because of his generosity to the people of Pompeii.[[10]](#footnote-10) In Pompeii the Temple of Augustus was called originally by archaeologists the Temple of Vespasian, though now most agree that it was a temple of Augustus at least when it was built.[[11]](#footnote-11) Like the earlier Greek influenced temple, the Temple of Augustus was raised on a pedestal. It was small compared to other temples in Pompeii such as the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus or even the foreign gods such as Isis or Asclepius. It lay at the end of the Vicolo Degli Scheletri and past the Vicolo di Eumachia, between the Temple of the Public *Lares* and the building of Eumachia. It faced the Forum of Pompeii, emphasizing the importance of the cult of Augustus to the public and business life of Pompeiians. These two buildings demonstrated the Roman religious hegemony that developed after the conquest of Pompeii.

Another building in Pompeii built to honor the Deified Augustus was the Temple of *Fortuna Augusti*, built on the intersection of the roads the Via del Foro and Via della Fortuna towards the end of the first century B.C.[[12]](#footnote-12) It was a small structure like the later temple of Augustus and performed a similar though different function, honoring Augustus and the entire Imperial family. One interesting point regarding the construction of the temple was the physical evidence of how and why it was built. A citizen of Pompeii, a certain Marcus Tullius, who served as a duumvir, commissioned the building. An inscription was etched on the back of the Cella wall, stating that:

'Marcus Tullius the son of Marcus, duumvir with judiciary authority for the third time, quinquennial duumvir, augur and military tribune by the choice of the people, erected this temple to Fortuna Augusta on his own ground and at his own expense.'[[13]](#footnote-13)

In Rome it was an honor for prominent citizens to dedicate public buildings like temples. The inscription giving the credit of the building of the temple of *Fortuna Augusti* was itself evidence of the Roman influence in regards to the religious culture and landscape of Pompeii. The temple of *Fortuna Augusti* remained in use until 79 A.D., marking the importance of Roman religious practices, in particular devotion to Augustus and his family. The Greek influenced pedestal that the temple of Augustus sat on demonstrated continual Greek influence on religion in Pompeii. Pompeii had become thoroughly Romanized by the time of the building of both of these structures, and the mix of Greek styles in temple building and Roman religious practices set the standard for religion in Pompeii for the rest of its existence as an inhabited Roman city.

The port of Ostia moved a lot of goods to many parts of the empire. Traders from across the Roman world came to Ostia to trade their goods in Rome, bringing their religion with them. . Early evidence of foreign cults arose in a temple dedicated in the second century B.C. which was in all likelihood dedicated to Asclepius and Hygeia, two deities with Greek origins that became popular across the Mediterranean world. That particular cult came to be in Rome itself by the early third century B.C, where it became an important cult with it’s own college of priests by the Imperial period. Interestingly the sanctuary in Ostia was on a podium in the fashion of a Greek temple. It was modified later to incorporate the Imperial cult, depicting the daughter of Marcus Aurelius below the statue of Hygeia. The authorities ordered her image to be placed there so people could offer prayers to Hygeia for the health of Lucillia the wife of Lucius Verus. The placing of an important member of the imperial family also showed the Roman hegemony regarding religion in the city of Ostia. Ostians, like Romans across the empire were expected to pray for the health of the emperor’s family as a patriotic duty. The temple of Asclepius and Hygeia was an excellent example of an early temple in Ostia to foreign deities in Ostia, though more exotic cults were to follow that one and cause serious controversial feelings among the people of both Rome and Ostia.

The different Mithreaum of Ostia were an example of this overwhelming influence on the part of foreign religions on the port of Rome. Ostia held many of these places, all of which were built and patronized by prominent wealthy Romans who lived in Ostia. These were shrines to the eastern god Mithras which had no analog in Pompeii itself. The Mithreaum were elaborate structures which functioned as gathering and worshipping places for men who joined the cult. Women were forbidden from membership, which may have in the end hindered the cult’s appeal against later religions like Christianity which appealed to all classes and genders. One such Mithreaum was the Mithreaum of the Seven Spheres, located in the second region of Ostia near a cluster of *Insulae*.[[14]](#footnote-14) The building was constructed during the first century A.D., in all likelihood built some time beyond the destruction of Pompeii. The builders were all Romans, as can be attested by inscriptions discovered in the nineteenth century by the archaeologists who excavated in the nineteenth century. The funds for the alter were laid out by Lucius Tullius Agatho, who was in all likelihood based on the Roman tradition of wealthy prominent citizens donating funds, was an important man in Ostia.[[15]](#footnote-15) Another inscription attests to a Roman who was a priest at the temple, who must have been from a wealthy family. His son, who must also have been a devotee of Mithras, dedicated an inscription in his father’s honor, which stated that:

“M. AEMILIO

EPAPHRODITO

PATRE ET SACERDOTE”[[16]](#footnote-16)

This M. Aemilio Epaphroditus was probably another notable Ostian. He was noted in the third inscription found in the building dedicating the altar.[[17]](#footnote-17) The fact that all three of the inscriptions indicate Romans and not foreign involvement supported Lomas’s ideas about the ethnic composition of the city and also the people involved in religion. The cult of Mithras was foreign, though the men who practiced it were in all probability wealthy Roman men. The presence of important Roman patron of the Mithreaum of the Seven Spheres showed that religions brought into Ostia from provinces had become an important part of life in the city. Many of these existed in Ostia, showing just how dominant foreign religions had become in the port of Rome due to importing and exporting.

Another notable Mithreaum was the so called Mithraeum of the Snakes in the fifth region of the city. The chamber where the rituals were held in Ostia was highly decorated with images of the god in mosaic form and earlier pictures. *Genius loci* are on the walls of the cellar, though these are probably older than the shrine itself. Snakes are an important symbol in the cult of Mithras, representing the earth and what may have been happening was cultural syncretism between the snake as a genius loci and the Mithradic idea of the snake as representing the earth. The origin of the cult of Mithras lay in Mesopotamia. According to the work of Jacob Latham, the Mithraism spread far and wide with relative speed. He stated that “. . . Cybele was worshipped at Athens and in Magna Grecia, speciﬁcally Sicily, from the late ﬁfth century BCE.”[[18]](#footnote-18) Many upperclass Romans suspected it as being a dangerous foreign element in Italy and Rome itself, though according to Latham that did not stop the religion from spreading and becoming an important component in the religion of Roman men of all classes.[[19]](#footnote-19) The belief in Mithras spread towards Asia Minor and then when Rome came into contact with the satrapies of Asia Minor as clients the knowledge of this cult came to Italy. The presence of the cult of Mithras demonstrated the diverse nature of religion in Ostia that contact with so many foreigners, through foreign trade, that native Roman Ostians participated in.

Other Mithreum existed in the city, to the extent that Mithraism must have not only been an important cult to the Ostia, but that also the cult structures must also have been noticeable and prominent structures in the city of Ostia. Another Mithreaum was the Mithreaum of Felicissimus. Located in the fifth region like the other two Mithreaum, the Mithreaum of Felicissimus was a small structure with elaborate mosaics on the floor depicting the symbols of Mithraism: a chalice, raven, and zodiac signs.[[20]](#footnote-20) A more interesting fact than those was that the patrons of the building of the structure commissioned it during the second century A.D. That fact indicated that for Ostia the foreign cult of Mithras was there to stay, until Christianity replaced it as the choice religion of the empire. Yet another Mithreaum in Ostia was the Mithreaum of Lucretius Menander, located this time in the first district of the city near the River Tiber. The structure of the cult building was itself even later, being built some tie mint he third century A.D.. It is a small building like the other Mithreums in the city of Ostia, with an isle down the center and a podium in the front of the building. The alter was made of brick, the ever popular medium for building in Ostia, with a marble black in front of it bearing an inscription. The inscription again tells us a lot about Ostia and the makeup of the population. It stated that:

DEO INVICTO MITHRAE

DIOCLES OB HONOREM

C. LVCRETI MENANDRI

PATRIS

D(ono) D(edit) D(edicavit)[[21]](#footnote-21)

A freedman named Deocles, a name implying Greek origin, dedicated this plaque for his former master and patron. The man honored by the inscription was one of the leading priests in the cult of Mithras in Ostia. The name also implied Greek origins, which would seem to imply that the pattern for foreigners leaving a religious mark on the city of Ostia was incorrect. Though these two men may have been of foreign origin, they Romanized by taking Roman customs and names, demonstrating again the foreign nature of cults being practiced by the Roman citizens of Ostia.

The destruction of Pompeii put an end to the society of the city. The survivors fled to Rome, where the emperor Titus urged citizens of the city of Rome to be kind to the now homeless people of Pompeii and help them in their time of need.[[22]](#footnote-22) The former Pompeiians scattered across the south of Italy, with many going to Rome. The volcano ended the life of the city, though the culture of the people from the city changed towards wherever they moved to and put down roots, which in many instances was the city of Rome and other smaller towns in Campania. In a sense it could be said that Roman culture and the wider culture of Campania triumphed regarding the religion of choice of the Pompeiians, because they survivors moved to live in other places in Campania and Rome itself and incorporated the cultures of those places. Ostia lived on though after Pompeii’s destruction and the religious culture of Ostia continued in the same way it had before, with more foreign influences in regards to religion coming to the city via trade and immigration to nearby Rome as the Imperial period drew on.

Later religious structure were built by the people of Ostia in honor of the emperor, linking Rome even more closely with Ostia; however, this topic has been covered in this paper. A more interesting development was the building of a Serapeum. Serapis was the product of syncretism in Ptolemaic Alexandria, where the major cult shrine to the goddess existed. Serapis was a combination of the Egyptian gods Osiris and Apis who had been Hellenized as an official cult of the Ptolomey dynasty. Built in the late 120s A.D. during the reign of the five good emperors, who had a powerful attachment to Greek ideas and religion, a citizen of Ostia commissioned the structure in honor of the emperor Hadrian. An inscription found in the building recorded the honor intended for the emperor Hadrian, which the website dedicated to the layout of Ostia Antica recorded, stating:

VIIII K FEBR TEMPLVM SARAPI QVOD [.] CALTILIVS P[? ---]

SVA PECVNIA EXSTRVXIT DEDICATVM [es]T[[23]](#footnote-23)

Once again, a Roman was behind the dedication of a temple to a foreign god, this time though it was in honor of a Roman emperor. Also in the temple were later additions in the form of shrines to the Dioscuri and Heracles. The Dioscuri, who had a temple in another part of Ostia already mentioned in this paper, were guardians of travel in the city of Ostia.[[24]](#footnote-24) The inscription on the shrone to Heracles and the Dioscuri indicated the name of the local man who dedicated them, stating:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) S(erapidi)

CASTORIBVS

MMMM (= Marci quattuor) IVLI(i) CHRY

SOPHORVS SEVIR

AVG(ustalis) IDEM Q(uin)Q(uennalis) CVM

AELIANO QVI ET SA

RAPIONE FIL(io) ET ZOSI

MO ET PHILIPPO FIL(io)

V(oto) S(uscepto) R(eddiderunt)[[25]](#footnote-25)

Another important thing to note about these inscriptions were that they were in Latin and not Greek. The language choice of these inscriptions indicated that the Greek cults in Ostia were in Roman hands and the people of Ostia ran them in Roman fashion. The temple was offered by an important citizen, just as most Roman building projects were in order to honor the man who was generous enough to provide the funds as long as the building stands.

Christianity came to Ostia in the form of St. Peter himself probably for the first time. He recorded that he had a vision during his time in Rome that he was meant to base the Catholic Church in the city of Rome, which effected the religious landscape of Ostia. One of the most notable Christian structures in Ostia was the Church of Aurea, a church built to honor a girl martyred in the mid third century. She came from wealth because she was buried on her own property, which became a shrine to the Christians of Ostia.[[26]](#footnote-26) This church would become important to a notable Roman convert to Christianity, Augustine. Augustine, the notable father of the church came through when he came to Italy to work under the famous polytheistic senator Symmachus. After Augustine’s dramatic conversion to Christianity in Milan under the tutelage of Ambrose, he was ordered back to North Africa to serve as a priest. Ostia was the port Augustine and his entourage, which included his mother, travelled to in order to catch a ship back to their native North Africa. Peter Brown covered Augustine’s stay in an entire chapter of his famous biography of Augustine. He described it as a town of contrasts by the late fourth century A.D., with a bustling port with vulgar people living in it and wealthy people in grand houses further into town.[[27]](#footnote-27) Peter Brown mentioned that one Christian Roman family of great importance lived in Ostia, and according to Brown “This stay in Ostia may well have been Augustine’s first contact with a formidable Christian clan, the Anicii, the wealthiest family in the Empire . . .”.[[28]](#footnote-28) Though many important families lived in Ostia, the fact that so prominent of Romans who were Christians said something about the town of Ostia itself. Augustine may well have stayed at their grand home in Ostia during his stay in the port before his departure back to Africa. The most notable thing that happened to Augustine there was his mother died. Augustine was pained when his mother passed away in Ostia. They buried her there in Ostia, where he grave remained as a shrine in later time. The Christian church of Aurea was yet another example of a foreign religion putting down Roman roots in Ostia. The visit of Augustine and the warmth which the most powerful family of the city, which happened to be Christian, received him showed that Christianity was run by Romans in Ostia at this time, and not foreigners from other more strongly Christian regions, such as Greece or North Africa.

Religion in Pompeii and Ostia had different origins. Pompeii started as a city in the region occupied by the Samnites and came under earlier Greek influence, as testified to by the presence of Greek cults and temple styles in the city early in the third century B.C. Later the city came under Roman influence and later Roman rule, and the city adopted more Roman styles of worship and Roman cults, though there was syncretism in regards to religion as testified by Roman temples with Greek architectural styles. Ostia on the other hand from the start had strong economic links to Rome as the port to the city itself. These links to Rome gave it a Roman religious identity almost from the first, wiping away any religious practices that may have existed among the locals around the city of Ostia. The first temples and cults in Ostia were Roman in character, though the more Rome conquered and extended foreign trade the more foreign cults came to the forefront in Ostia. Greek cults that made their way from *Magna Graecia* or Greece itself came first, followed by cults from the east such as Mesopotamia. The destruction of Pompeii prevented Christianity from coming to be a presence in the city like it did in Late Antique Ostia. What the development of different religious cults say about the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum is complex. Ostia developed as a port of the city of Rome itself, making the religious culture of the city Roman. That changed as time went on and foreign cults, operated and organized by Roman citizens of Ostia, came to dominate Ostia’s religious landscape because of the foreign trade that came through the city. Pompeii on the other hand began as a city in the region of the Samnites. It came under Greek influence and rule and only much later under Roman influence and rule. Contact with *Magna Graecia* brought about a strong Greek heritage in the religious structures of Pompeii. Roman domination of culture and religion came about later in the city, with temple to Capitoline Jupiter and the Public *Lares* being built in the city. Later, foreign cults showed up in the city, but never to the extent to which Ostia witnessed. If Pompeii had not been destroyed it may not have been the case, but it will forever be impossible to say one way or another because of the cities destruction in 79 A.D. Ultimately, it was the type of city, either producer or consumer, that decided the earliest recorded religions of Ostia and Pompeii and the later influences of foreign cults in each city.

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17. “Mithreaum of the Seven Spheres.” [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
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27. Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo: Forty-Fifth Anniversary Addition, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007): 121. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Ibid., 121. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)