

What the Votive?

The relationship between votive deposits and cult practices from the Archaic period to the Roman period in Pompeii: a study of two temples

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The temple of Apollo in Pompeii. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pompeii_-_Temple_of_Apollo.jpg

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The relationship between votive deposits and cult practices in Pompeii: a study of two temples

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1. Introduction

The city of Pompeii has been an important source of information for our understanding of Roman city culture. But Pompeii is much older than just the Roman period. Originally a city populated by Etruscans and Greeks, followed by Samnites, Pompeii as a settlement can be traced back all the way to the Archaic period. Only after the Samnites did the Romans set foot in the city. This means that the city is not only important for our understanding of Roman culture, but also for our understanding of ancient Italy. As it was an important piece of the cultural puzzle for those cultures, it provides a unique look into the Etruscan and Samnitic culture and how they interacted. The goal of this research project is to evaluate the religious landscape of these cultures, through two of the few buildings that has existed in all of these different phases: the temple of Apollo and the Doric temple, both of which are located in region VII of ancient Pompeii, which is located in the southwestern corner of the city.

This first chapter contains the layout of the different phases of Pompeii. After that, I will discuss some ideas on cultural change as they may have occurred in Pompeii. Finally, the research, research goals and research questions will be discussed.

1.1 The different phases of Pompeii

Here, each phase of the city will be discussed in detail, including the people who lived there during the time periods that will be discussed. This will be followed by an overview of the temples and the general votive gifts offered.

1.1.1 Archaic Pompeii

Pompeii arose as a proper city in the 6th century B.C.

(Beard 2008, 32; Cooley and Cooley 2004, 6). For a long time, it was believed that ancient Pompeii could be divided into an *Altstadt* (roughly indicated by the red part in Figure 1) and a *Neustadt*, with the *Altstadt* concerning Archaic Pompeii and the *Neustadt* all of the eras after that, when Pompeii supposedly expanded its borders (Ball and Dobbins 2013, 464; Cooley and Cooley 2004, 6; Van der Graaff 2019, 44).



Figure 1: A map of Pompeii showing the different phases. The original settlement is coloured red. The first expansion is blue, the second green and the third is yellow. en.wikipedia.org

There are some problems with this theory, however. The original *Altstadt* was thought to have consisted of the regions now known as VI and VII, but evidence was found in region VI that indicated these houses had only been built in the second century B.C. There also appeared to be a hiatus in the archaeology in the 5th century B.C., which would disprove the theory of rapid expansion (Ball and Dobbins 2013, 464). Analysis of the building materials has, however, found evidence for 6th-century activity in region VIII (Ball and Dobbins 2013, 465).

It is uncertain who exactly lived in Archaic Pompeii. Strabo, a historian from ancient Greece who lived in the 1st century B.C., wrote that Pompeii was originally inhabited by Oscans. The Oscan phase was followed by an Etruscan phase, though this appears to be more an account of dominant settlers (Wallace-Hadrill [unpubl.], 1-2). However, Strabo pays most attention to the Greek influences in the city (Wallace-Hadrill [unpubl.], 2). Excavations of the older layers of the city revealed a mixture of both Greek and Etruscan pottery (De Caro 2007, 73; Wallace-Hadrill [unpubl.], 4). There has since been a lot of debate on which of these two cultures was the dominant one in Pompeii. What is important to remember in this debate, though, is that trade was a crucial aspect of the daily life in Pompeii (Arthur 1986, 41; De Caro 2007, 74; Wallace-Hadrill [unpubl.], 6). This might be an explanation for the mixed appearance of the cultures in the city (Wallace-Hadrill [unpubl.], 6).

The old city also housed a small Forum, of which two buildings still stand till this day. These two buildings are the temple of Apollo and the Doric Temple for Minerva and Hercules (Beard 2008, 32; De Caro 2007, 73-74; Cooley and Cooley 2004, 83). These two buildings are our most important sources for the earlier phases of Pompeii. It is also the temple of Apollo that started the debate on the ethnicity of the inhabitants of the city.

The early temple of Apollo probably consisted of nothing but a votive column and an altar. In the 6th century B.C., a full Etruscan-style temple was erected. This temple was decorated with architectural terracottas, which were later excavated and form an important piece of evidence for Etruscan influence in the city (De Caro 2007, 73).

The Doric temple is thought to have been very important in Pompeii, as Minerva was considered one of the main protectors of the city. The temple stood in the Triangular

Forum, a little to the east from the temple of Apollo, and was built in the Doric style (Van der Graaf and Ellis 2017, 292).

Apollo appears to have been quite popular in the Archaic period. Literary sources tell us that the temple received a lot of votive offerings of black-figure pottery, as well as *bucchero*. As the *bucchero* type is most often associated with the Etruscan culture, it is believed the votives were mostly brought in by the Etruscan elite (De Caro 2007, 73; Rasmussen 1979, 1). This may also explain the documented decline in votive offerings that occurred at the temple after the Samnites settled in the city (Arthur 1986, 40; De Caro 2007, 75).

1.1.2 Samnitic Pompeii

Somewhere in the 5th century BC, the Samnites came down from the mountains and settled in Pompeii. The Samnitic phase of Pompeii then lasted until the early 3rd century B.C., when the Romans in turn conquered Pompeii from the Samnites (Van der Graaff 2019, 44), as part of their conquest of the whole of Italy.

The Samnites were a mountain folk, who originated in the Apennines (Scopacasa 2015, 1). They were also often associated with war, and were often seen as a primitive people in Classical times (Scopacasa 2015, 2). They had been around since the Bronze Age, but they started to develop rapidly in the Iron Age, together with several other regions in Italy (Scopacasa 2015, 58-59). Thanks to an abundance of graveyard records, we know that the Samnites had elites, and that they were influenced by other neighbouring cultures in Italy (Scopacasa 2015, 66/69).

The warlike nature of the Samnites also had a hand in how they reshaped Pompeii. They greatly expanded the old city, building new fortifications and public buildings (Van der Graaff 2019, 82). An example of these fortifications is the building of a new city wall, with twelve towers and seven gates (Van der Graaff 2019, 44). They built several more military fortifications, each seemingly in response to a war going on around them (Van der Graaff 2019, 45). The Samnites expanded the city upwards, into region VII, as can be seen in figure 1 in blue.

The temple of Apollo remained unchanged throughout the expansion process. However, as was discovered in previous research, votive offerings seemed to decline and possibly

even to stop entirely for a while (Arthur 1986, 40; De Caro 2007, 75; Van der Graaff 2019, 86). During the Samnitic period, it also seems like eventually Black-glaze ware made its appearance in the votive deposits (Arthur 1986, 35).

The Doric temple meanwhile received a refurbishment that included a new roof with statues of Hercules and Athena/Minerva Phrygia. The choice for this version of Minerva seems to have been influenced by the building of the Samnite enceinte, which is a fortress, in the same period (Van der Graaff and Ellis 2017, 293).

1.1.3 Roman Pompeii

The final phase in the existence of Pompeii that can be distinguished, is that of the Romans. As explained previously, the Romans conquered Pompeii in the 3rd century B.C. Although Pompeii remained nominally independent for a long time after the Roman conquest, the Samnite influence on the city diminished greatly after the Samnite Wars ended in 290 B.C. and even more after the Punic Wars (Scopacasa 2015, 147/154), which is why I believe the Roman phase of Pompeii already started directly after the end of the Samnite Wars, as the loss of this war would have meant a diminishing of Samnitic control over the city.

The Romans expanded the city until the 1st century B.C., when it reached its current limits (see figure 1). The Romans added several buildings, such as the Stabian baths, the House of the Faun and the temple of Jupiter in the 2nd century B.C. (Arthur 1986, 41) and the temple of Augustus (Amery and Curran 2002, 18), the Basilica and of course, the Capitolium followed in the 1st century B.C. (Ball and Dobbins 2013, 469). They also refurbished a lot of the existing buildings, by adding marble and travertine features (Amery and Curran 2002, 18). One of these buildings was the temple of Apollo.

In fact, it seems that the Romans completely levelled the previous incarnation of the sanctuary and replaced it with a new building (Ball and Dobbins 2013, 469; De Caro 2007, 76; Cooley and Cooley 2004, 83) (for a reconstruction, see figure 2). One might expect that, as Apollo was a Roman god as well, he might regain some of the popularity he had had in the Archaic period. Instead, it seems

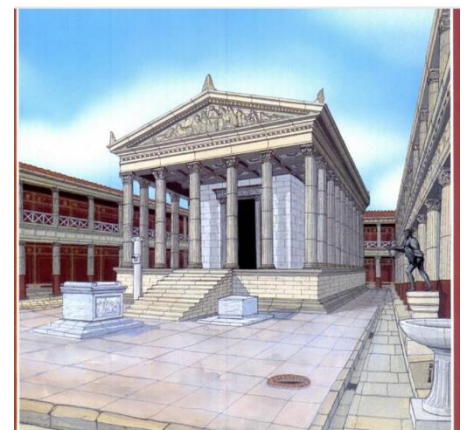


Figure 2: Reconstruction of the Roman temple of Apollo. (Giuntoli 1989, 14)

the temple the Romans built was smaller than the original had been (Arthur 1986, 41). It is possible this may be due to the newly built temple of Jupiter taking over as main cult centre (Arthur 1986, 41; De Caro 2007, 76).

The function of the Doric temple as a symbol of protection was gradually shifted to the temple of Venus that was built by the Romans in this period, meaning the Doric temple got left in more and more disrepair (Van der Graaff and Ellis 2017, 297).

The votive type in both temples changed as well. Instead of the multitude of vases and cups that were offered during the Archaic and Samnitic periods, previous research now tells us that there now seemed to be figurines and miniature vases (De Caro 2007, 78). Moulds have also been found at the site of the temple, indicating possible votive production (Arthur 1986, 35; De Caro 2007, 78).

1.2 Cultural change and the impact on Pompeii and beyond

To better understand what kind of changes Pompeii might have gone through, it is imperative that we look at some of the ideas that exist on cultural change that was brought about by the last two big cultures that resided in Pompeii. This chapter will only discuss the Etruscan/Greek phase in relation to the Samnitic phase, as the Etruscans and Greeks were the first to actually settle in the area and thus did not really cause any changes in the city.

1.2.1 Samnitic culture and the impact on Pompeii

The first major change that occurred in Pompeii was the Samnitic overhaul. They of course expanded Pompeii far beyond the city's previous boundaries (Van der Graaff 2019, 82). But what might their influence have been on the cult practices of the sanctuaries of Pompeii?

In the period of the Greeks and Etruscans, it seems Pompeii was focused heavily on trade (Arthur 1986, 41; De Caro 2007, 74; Wallace-Hadrill [unpubl.], 6). As the Samnites were more warlike, it seems only logical that Pompeii started playing a bigger role in Italic wars as well. The Samnites fought in both the Pyrrhic War and in the Punic Wars (Scopacasa 2015, 146/153).

When it comes to gods, it seems the Samnites did adhere to the traditional Mediterranean Pantheon of the Olympic gods, though there were some gods they worshipped more than others. The first of these gods was Hercules. It is believed that his popularity was connected to the importance of pastoralism in the Samnitic community (Scopacasa 2015, 109). Though, as the Samnites were a society of war (Scopacasa 2015, 2; Tagliamonte 2017, 421-422), it could also be that they simply preferred Hercules for his strength.

Another popular deity was a goddess by the name of Mephitis. She was something of a 'mediator' goddess, though what exactly she was mediating has never exactly been clear (Battiloro 2010, 136-137). Because of the amount of worship these two gods enjoyed in the Samnitic religion, it is very much possible that some of the attention shifted from Apollo to these two gods during the Samnitic period.

Most of our initial information on the Samnitic culture comes from graveyards. What is interesting is that most of the objects used as grave goods, later became popular as votive offerings as well (Scopacasa 2015, 189). This also means that when it comes to votive offerings, there was not much of a change, as the Samnites also had Etruscan *bucchero* to offer to the gods (Scopacasa 2015, 83). But on the other hand, in Samnium there was evidence for more military-based votives. It is very much possible that these might also have started to make their appearance in Pompeii (Tagliamonte 2017, 436).

1.2.2 The impact of Romanisation

When talking about cultural change in connection to Roman expansion, there is always a very big elephant standing in the middle of the room. This elephant is called Romanisation (Roth 2017, 295). The views on Romanisation and, by extension, Roman imperialism, have changed over time, but only since the 20th century have these views actually been debated. Most views try to find either an aggressive, economic or defensive angle for the Roman expansions. The defensive view poses that the Romans were simply acting against threats to their society. This would make the expansions a reactive process without any specific political agenda (Terrenato 2019, 24-25). The theory of aggressive imperialism, meanwhile, assumes this political agenda is the sole motivator for the expansions. Military prowess was very important to the Romans,

meaning all of the elite would have been very eager for wars as a means of improving their status. However, a greater economic agenda still lacked in this approach (Terrenato 2019, 25). The final approach, expansion from an economic perspective, has only been around for a relatively short time. According to the views of those following this approach to Roman expansion, the main goal of these expansions was to expand the market economy, by gaining access to more natural resources and slaves (Terrenato 2019, 26).

Besides the difficulty of actually defining Romanisation, there is also another problem with this concept. There has been a lot of debate in recent years on the amount of influence the Romans actually had over areas they 'colonized'. It seems they at least had a hand in a lot of the architecture in the cities they conquered, though the concept of the planned "Roman" town has recently been contested (Stek 2017, 275/282). Furthermore, it was previously believed the Romans also supplied each city they conquered with public buildings that are regarded as quintessentially Roman, such as a Capitulum. These public buildings can, however, not always be correlated to similar buildings in Rome itself (Roth 2017, 307). Moreover, it seems most lists of Capitulia were very loosely defined (Crawley Quinn and Wilson 2013, 123). From the identifiable Capitulia, the one that could be given a date could not be correlated with the Roman times (Crawley Quinn and Wilson 2013, 141).

The same goes for the influence Romans had on other aspects of society, such as religion. It seems that instead of impressing their beliefs on the towns they 'colonized', the Romans would simply add to the already existing religions (Stek 2017, 283). Then there is the case of the anatomical votives, which were long associated with Roman influence on religion. While it is true these votives were often found in and near Roman sanctuaries, both colonized and otherwise, they have also been found in places the Romans never came (Roth 2017, 308). Furthermore, they seem to have been around since before the Romans even started thinking of conquest, as there is some evidence for anatomical votives starting from the 5th century B.C. It also seems the tradition of anatomical votives started in Greece (Glinister 2006, 16). This further disconnects these votive types from the Romans.

On the other hand, though, when it comes to Pompeii, there are at least two cases of the Romans re-imagining temples that were built long before their time. One is the temple of Mephitis, which was built by the Samnites (Van der Graaff and Ellis 2017, 298). The other one is the temple of Apollo, which, as stated before, was completely renewed. This seems to point to a certain amount of enforced influence by the Romans.

The votive types seem to include more figurines, though this is also not necessarily a Roman trait. The apparent local production of the figurines might mean the Romans were exerting some form of influence on the religious practices, though, by encouraging the economy of specific votive objects.

1.3 Research goals

This research will focus on the changes between the different stages of the temple of Apollo in Pompeii, and, to a slightly lesser extent, of the Doric temple. By looking at votive deposits from both of these temples I will attempt to sketch a comprehensive picture of the religious changes that occurred here and, perhaps, in the rest of Pompeii. I will also attempt to relate these religious changes to the bigger cultural changes that occurred in Pompeii during the Samnitic and Roman phases.

1.3.1 Research question

The main research question is:

- What can the votive deposits in the temple of Apollo and the Doric temple tell us about cult practice in the 6th century BC, the 4th century BC and the 2nd century BC in Pompeii?

I believe votive deposits will allow a better picture of cult practices at the temple than for example architecture or inscriptions, because votive gifts were given by everyone, no matter their status, as they would still be able to give a votive to thank the gods. This means that votive objects are a reliable record of the cult practices of the entire population of Pompeii, instead of just the elite.

This was usually not the case with architectural changes, which were only executed by the rich. Furthermore, though the architecture could tell us about the effect the cultural changes in the city had on the temple itself, they would not tell anything about the

effect these changes in turn had on cult practices and, by extension, the lives of the people of Pompeii.

Inscriptions would also be less suitable than votive deposits, as these were only affordable to the richest of them all, meaning the large group of slightly less well-off people would be left out of the equation completely, as the elite would be the only social group with the ability to pay for the honour of having an inscription dedicated to them.

I am choosing to focus on these three periods specifically as they are all periods in which the 'new' rulers were completely settled in the city. As was previously discussed, in the 6th century, Pompeii was predominantly Etruscan and Greek. Though some evidence has been found that Pompeii existed before this century, there is too little information stemming from before 700 B.C. to draw any meaningful conclusions. The 4th century had given the Samnites enough time to rebuild the city to their image and for normal life to resume, while in the 2nd century Pompeii was already firmly under Roman control.

1.3.2 Subquestions

To help answer the main question, several subquestions are posed:

- What votive types do the deposits consist of?

This question is important, as before change can be determined, it should be known what you are dealing with in the terms of votive objects. Whether the votive deposits consist of ceramics or figurines could mean a lot for the types of rituals that were practiced at the temples.

- Are there notable differences in the types of votive gifts between the deposits of different phases?

This question is the first step towards detecting meaningful change. If the votive gifts change, then it might be because of bigger changes happening in or around the temple. When attempting to draw conclusions about the cause of potential changes it is crucial to first determine what the differences between the votive deposits actually are. It is also important to look at the changes within a single sanctuary first, before attempting

to draw a line from those votive deposits to the deposits found at other sanctuaries in the city.

- What can these differences between the deposits tell us about changing cult practices in Pompeii?

Before the votive deposits can be related to religious practice, it is important to first define which votive type corresponds to which ritual. If these connections between votive and ritual are absent then relating the votive deposits to any bigger picture would be impossible. Therefore, this question presents an important step in the process of answering the main research question.

- Are there comparable changes in votive deposits of other contemporary temples in Pompeii?

It is almost impossible to draw conclusions from just a single source, as the changes observed could just be a local occurrence. Therefore it is necessary to compare the results from the sanctuary of Apollo to another contemporary sanctuary. For this purpose I have chosen to compare the votive deposits from the sanctuary of Apollo to those from the Doric temple of Minerva/Hercules, as this is the only other temple that has been around as long as the temple of Apollo and that has enough information available to draw conclusions from.

- Can these changes tell us something about the bigger cultural changes in Pompeii?

This is the final subquestion that needs to be answered before I can answer the big research question. This question will require a study of the relations between the cult practices and rituals in the sanctuary of Apollo and the Doric temple and the changing lives of the people of Pompeii. As the cultural shifts between the three time periods seem fairly large, it might be possible these changes can also be observed in the ritual practices in the temples. This in turn could tell us something about the extent of potential cultural changes that came with the conquests of the Samnites and the Romans. On the other hand, if no connections can be made between these aspects, then

it might also be possible that the changes that can be observed in the votive deposits and ritual practices are localised phenomena.

1.4 Expected results

I am expecting a wide variety of votive ceramics, due to the heavy focus on trade in all phases of Pompeii. As there is no real evidence for production sites during the Archaic phase of Pompeii, I am expecting most of the ceramics from that period to have been imported.

Based on the background information presented in this chapter, a rapid decline in votive gifts between the Etruscan/Greek and Samnitic phases of the temple is expected, as the Samnites. A war-focused society might have less use for a god like Apollo and there are no indications that the sanctuary was repurposed during that period to serve another god. The decline in votive gifts will probably show in a decline of *bucchero*, as these are often associated with Etruscans and there will probably be less Etruscans at the sanctuary during the Samnitic phase. Black-glaze ware can also be expected to be added to the votive deposits, as there are literary sources that confirm the presence of this ware-type in Pompeii. There might be some figurines, but as Apollo is not necessarily a war-god, I do not think there will be any military figurines found in the deposits. I am also expecting a decline in imported pottery, as the focus on trade became less and local production sites made an appearance during the Samnitic phase.

In the Roman period another decline in votive gifts is expected, as it seems Apollo did not gain in popularity in that period, despite him being a Roman god as well. For votive types I am expecting figurines, but I am not necessarily expecting anatomical votives. Anatomical votives seem to appear more often than not, at sanctuaries that have nothing to do with healing at all, which is one of Apollo's main aspects (Glinister 2006, 13). I am also expecting an increase in imported votive objects, as trade may have played a bigger role again, though the presence of more production sites also indicates that there are still a lot of votive objects that were locally produced.

In this paper I will first discuss the methodology, after that I will briefly discuss the theoretical background of votive deposits and their relations to cult practices. Then, the

results of the research will be presented, after which these results will be discussed in relation to the cult practices.

2. Methodology

To properly investigate the research question, I will use two primary means of data collection. The first is an analysis of the votive gifts that were found at the temple of Apollo and the Doric temple. The second method of investigation consists of literary research into votive deposits and their relations to cult practices.

2.1 Quantitative data analysis of the votive contexts

I will be using a quantitative to investigate the votive deposits found at the temples. A quantitative data analysis which will allow me to investigate the different types of votive gifts found in the deposits, as well as the differences between the deposits from both of the temples and the differences between the time periods.

Excavation reports are the primary resource used to perform this analysis, as these will provide me the most direct access to the votive deposits. For the temple of Apollo, the primary excavation report used is De Caro 1986, which offers the most complete list of found artefacts on the temple area. For the Doric temple, which I will be using in my comparison, the excavation report of D'Alessio 2001 will be the primary resource. This excavation report offers a detailed account of the votive deposits found on the temple area.

Articles by Arthur (1986) and De Caro (2007) will also be used to perform this analysis. These articles are not excavation reports, but they still offer a reasonable timeline of found votive types which will aid in building a more comprehensive picture of the developments.

The data will be analysed with the use of tables, through Excel, and graphs. The latter are added because the analysis concerns a lot of data. The graphs will also give a better understanding of the ratio of each votive type in a certain time period than a table would be able to. Tables, on the other hand, will give a better idea of the different types of votive gifts and the total numbers. I have chosen to use Excel for the tables as this is the easiest option available to me for now. These tables and graphs will serve as the basis of my analysis and any comparisons that follow from that. The tables will also be divided by time period and temple, to keep a better overview of the votive objects. The

different time periods per temple will be compared to one another as well, to give an overview of the differences through time. Another comparison will be made per time period between the two temples. These comparisons will reveal any changes observed in each temple and how these changes relate to those observed in the other temple.

The votive objects will be analysed based on three categories. The first category is a general overview of both the types and the number of votive objects found at the temples. Next, I will analyse the votive deposits in terms of function. Finally, I will look at the provenance of the votive objects. Through looking at these three categories, I believe I will be able to gather enough information to enable me to answer a few of the subquestions I have posed. The functions will be divided based on a pre-existing classification made by Van Loon in her thesis (Van Loon 2017, 362). The provenance of the votive objects will be classified on whether an object was most likely obtained through mainland import, overseas import or local production.

2.2 Literary research on votive deposits

The literary research that is conducted will mostly be used to answer the question of cult practices in Pompeii, with a focus on votive practices. First it is necessary to look at the connection between votive deposits and cult practices. Second, I will take a look at existing traditions in votive practices.

2.2.1 Votive deposits and cult practices

Not everyone could build a new statue for a temple, or rebuild certain sections. Votive gifts, however, were a way for the everyone, including commoners, to offer a gift he normally wouldn't be able to give, such as an exotic fruit, or a body part (Iles-Johnston 2004, 326).

There has been a lot of research on votive deposits in the past and so it is crucial to be aware of the theoretical background of votive deposits and how these can be linked to cult practices before attempting an analysis. Literary research will give the most comprehensive and complete picture of what votive practices were and how they related to other cult practices. I will mainly be using the thesis written by Van Loon for this aspect of my research.

2.2.2 Votive traditions

The other framework that is crucial before starting the analysis is that of votive traditions. I am also going to be investigating which types of votives could be considered common to give to Apollo and Minerva or Hercules. It is important to investigate this before trying to come to conclusions about the votive deposits in the temples, because without knowledge on what is usual, nothing can be said about potentially unusual gifts.

The process of votive offerings is also an important aspect of my research, because it will aid in our understanding of cult practices. Understanding cult practices, which votive offerings are a part of, is a necessary facet of answering questions about changing cult practices. These questions will, in turn, aid in answering the main question of this paper.

Literary research is the best way to investigate votive traditions in the temples. I will be looking at articles and books by, among others, Van Loon (2017) and Turfa (2010). I have chosen to do literary research, as votive traditions and rituals have been researched before and conducting my own research into this subject would be another research project in itself.

3. The theoretical side of votive objects

This chapter will provide a deeper look into the theoretical concepts behind votive objects and religious practices. But before those concepts can be discussed, first it is necessary to define 'votive'. A votive object is an object given to the gods either in thanks or in expectation of reciprocation (Van Loon 2017, 297).

3.1.1 From votive deposits to cult practices

A votive offering could be many things. It could be something personal, or something manufactured. Sometimes the offerings also had inscriptions of thanks. A votive offering could be given either in expectation or in thankfulness, but there was always an expectation of reciprocation behind the offering (Van Loon 2017, 297; Nagy 2016, 262). Votive offerings appear to have very much been a part of everyday life. It seems the gods themselves did not particularly care if they received a real apple or a terracotta representation. As long as you were sacrificing something, the details did not matter (Iles-Johnston 2004, 326). However, even within the category of votive offerings there was some difference in status.

A rich person could, for example, leave public votive inscriptions, after having either renovated or built a sanctuary. From Etruscan times, several golden plaques have been found inscribed with the name of the donor and what they had done (Nagy 2016, 264-265). This kind of practice was also quite common in Roman times. The temple of Apollo itself contains a votive inscription by Marcus Holconius Rufus, who was one of the people who rebuilt the temple in the Roman period (Dobbins et al. 1998, 741).

There might also have been an element of elite competition in the votive objects, as the votive offerings gradually got more and more expensive. Gold and silver jewellery has been found in votive deposits dating back to the 6th century B.C. These gifts were more expensive than the grave goods found in nearby graves (Scopacasa 2015, 114-115).

The use of everyday objects as votive gifts does not seem to have been unusual. It might even have been the norm, though this does make the identification of votive objects more difficult (Van Loon 2017, 298). Though votive deposits are often the product of many decades of the offering of votives, this does not necessarily make it impossible to draw conclusions about the ritual practices from the general trends observed in these

votive deposits. This is because there is much about general ritual practices to be gleaned from the types of votives found in such a deposit and, by proxy, of the common ritual practices at a specific cult place (Van Loon 2017, 316).

For example, the presence of votives associated with eating or drinking indicates the presence of ritual consumption practices. These rituals show a great resemblance to banqueting ceremonies that can be derived from grave goods. The rituals are also often associated with elites (Van Loon 2017, 308). The presence of a combination of different wares used for food such as bowls, cooking stands, jars or amphorae could point to animal sacrifice, especially when these were found in the same pit (Van Loon 2017, 311). Small ornaments and statuettes were often parts of personal offerings, while cups, jugs and amphorae may also have been used as part of small-scale libation offerings (Van Loon 2017, 315). Miniature objects may have been an indication of rituals involving children (Van Loon 2017, 318-319).

3.1.2 Common votive traditions in Etruscan, Samnite and Roman culture

It seems that, in Etruscan times, votive offerings were quite common. Many things could be used as votives, including coins, weapons, pottery and statuettes. From the 4th century B.C. onwards, anatomical votives also made an appearance (Turfa 2010, 49). Most of the votives were deposited in certain places surrounding the sacred places. Due to the large number of differing votive types it seems that there was not really a distinction in which type was offered to which god (Iles-Johnston 2004, 343). At first it was believed that anatomical votives were reserved for deities of healing (Iles-Johnston 2004, 343), but this has since been disproved by other scholars (Glinister 2006, 13).

In ancient Samnium, meanwhile, the first types of votive offerings might have progressed from grave gifts (Scopacasa 2015, 189). It could also be possible that graves counted as cult places for the Samnites, as we have no evidence of cult places or sanctuaries from before the 3rd century B.C., while votive gifts have appeared in graves since the 5th century B.C. (Scopacasa 2015, 107; Stek 2009, 39). This probably did not apply to sanctuaries that were already built by others, such as the Doric temple. Besides these more 'common' types of votive gifts, the Samnites seem to have differentiated the deities in their votive offerings. Figurines that were dedicated to specific gods were

found aplenty. Certain gods, such as Hercules, seem to have received special attention, as a lot of figurines have been found that were dedicated to him (Scopacasa 2015, 109). The figurines usually indicate personal votive gifts.

Finally, in Roman times, a lot of the process of votive offering seems to have been standardised. Prayers that accompanied the offerings were done according to a specific formula (Iles-Johnston 2004, 344). Votive offerings themselves, too, seem to have undergone some form of standardisation. This is evidenced by the votive production that seems to have taken place at the temple of Apollo (Arthur 1986, 35; De Caro 2007, 78). The votive type most associated with the Romans were anatomical votive objects. (Stek 2009, 24). This type of votive has long been associated with Romanisation. However, it has since been postulated that the apparent connection between anatomical votives and colonisation was simply the result of selective research (Stek 2009, 27).

4. Results part 1: the temple of Apollo

In the following chapter the results of the data analysis of the temple will be presented, as well as the context of the votive deposits.

4.1 Context of the votive deposits

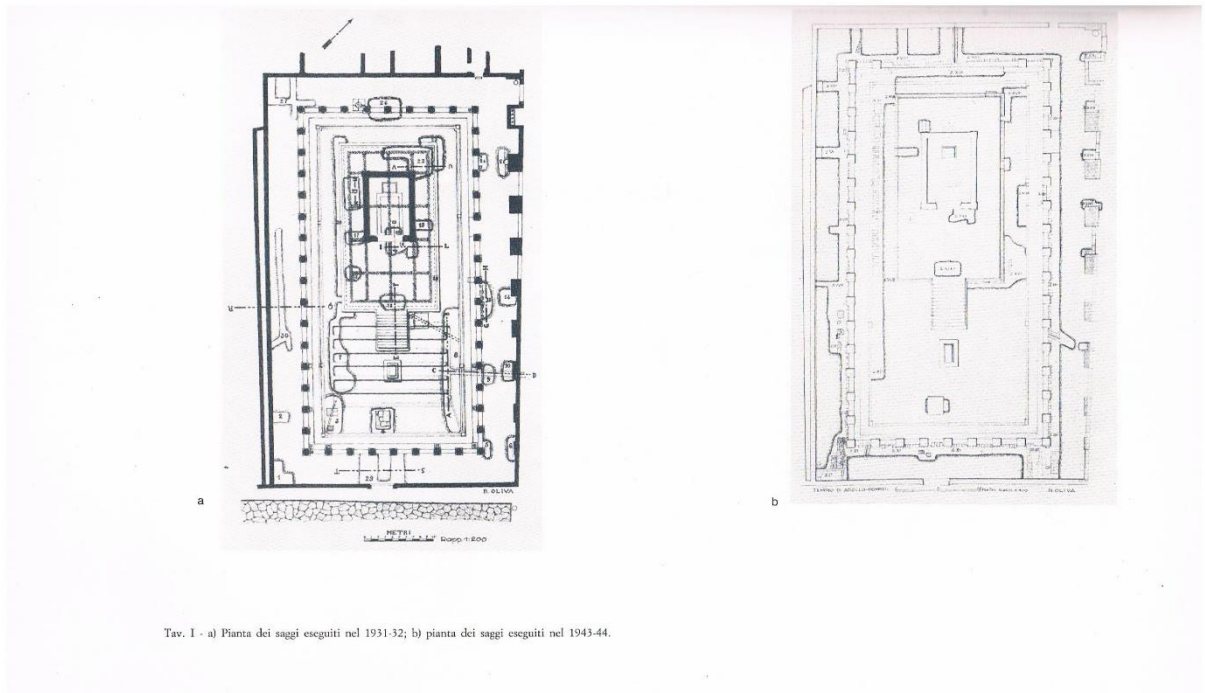


Figure 3: the placement of the trenches laid by Maiuri during excavations conducted in 1931-1932 (left) and 1943-1944 (right). de Caro 1986, plate 1.

Figure 3 shows the placement of the trenches laid by Maiuri in his excavations from 1931-1932 and in 1943-1944. As can be seen on the drawing, most of the trenches were planned near walls. This is because Maiuri was mostly interested in the architecture of the sanctuary (Carroll and Godden 2000, 743). It seems that the votive material from the Archaic period was found all around the temple-area. For the most part, the precise numbers of the trenches were not given, nor was it specified by De Caro during which excavation these votive objects were discovered. For two trenches the specifications were given however. These are trench number 3, which can be found in the south-western corner of the temple on the left image in Figure 1, and trench 8, which can also be found on the left image in Figure 1, next to the eastern wall of the temple (De Caro 1986, 8-9). Unfortunately, the placement of the votive material in neither the 4th century

nor the 2nd century received a detailed treatment such as the material from the Archaic period. Other articles tell us that the cisterns on the eastern and western sides of the temple were crammed with objects, so it seems reasonable to assume a fair number of the objects included in the report come from these cisterns (Arthur 1986, 35). Another unfortunate thing about the context is that, as most of the votive deposits were backfilled during the Roman period, stratigraphy is difficult to ascertain (Arthur 1986, 35), though at least this makes the Roman votives easy to identify. Luckily, the ceramic types make it possible to still distinguish the older phases, as a lot of the ceramics found appear to belong to specific periods.

4.2 Data analysis

Here I will present the results from the quantitative analyses of the votive deposits in the temple of Apollo.

4.2.1 Quantitative analysis of the votive deposits from the temple of Apollo

Here, the votive objects from the deposits of the temple of Apollo are presented in Table 1. As can be seen from the table, most of the votive material presented here dates to the 6th century, after which a decline in votive objects can be observed. It must be noted, however, that this is only the result of a single excavation. Though I have found another article which mentions certain other objects, notably from the 4th century B.C. to the 1st century A.D., I did not have the clearance to access the materials from that investigation (Scarpelli et al. 2012, 672). Perhaps this article could have added some more materials to these periods. In the column on the 2nd century-votives I have added the figurines and incense burners that were mentioned in the article, as well as another chalice that could be seen in one of the pictures of the article (Scarpelli et al. 2012, 672). I have added question marks behind the entries of the incense burners and the terracotta figurines, as unfortunately, no amounts were specified in the article. The functional classification I will be using in the second part of the analysis is based on an existing classification made by Van Loon (see Van Loon 2017, 362 for the full classification she proposes.)

Votive deposits 6th century B.C.							
Votive type	Ceramic type						
	Laconian	Ionian	Chalcidian	Black-figure	Red-figure	Black-glaze	<i>Bucchero</i>
Votive gift type							
Cup	3	15		108	1	38	27
Krater			3	82	1		2
Oinochoë				5			2
Skyphos				4		1	
Lekythos				1			
Askòs				1			1
Alabastron				1			
Chalice						1	
Kantharos							22
Tilted plate							72
Jug							2
Pitcher							3
Total	3	15	3	202	2	40	131

Table 1: the types of votive objects from the deposits of the sanctuary of Apollo dating to the 6th century B.C.

Table 1 shows the different votive types from the 6th century B.C. Black-figured ceramics are in the majority throughout most of the 6th century, though Red-figured and Black-glaze ceramics start to make an appearance in the final quarter of the 6th century. Most interesting, in this layer, is the amount of pottery of the *bucchero* type. This is an Etruscan type of ceramics and shows, with certainty, their presence in 6th century Pompeii. The *bucchero* pottery also serves as an indication of date, as they were predominantly made between the 7th and the 5th century B.C. (Rasmussen 1979, 1). The same can be said for the presence of the Black-figured pottery, which was most popular during this period as well (Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology 1950, 2). Figurines are notably absent from this phase.

As can also be seen in Table 1, the most prominent type of ceramic is the kylix, or cup. Several different types of cups have been found in the deposits, though the only type of cup that appears among multiple ceramic-types is the type C-cup. The decorations found on the black-figured and red-figured cups show several humanoid figures, though none of them appear to have any relation to Apollo specifically. Another popular votive gift was the krater, which is a type of vase. This votive object also appeared in multiple forms, though it was most prominent among the black-figured ceramics (82 of the

fragments). The tilted plate was also often found in the votive deposits. This votive was found exclusively among the *bucchero* pottery.

Table 2 shows the function of the ceramic votives found at the sanctuary of Apollo. Besides the ceramics established in the classification made by Van Loon, I have also placed the jugs among the pouring vessels. Most of the ceramics found in the deposits concern vessels used to carry wine or drink from, such as the cups, or the oinochoë and the skyphos. In fact, most of the objects seem to have some connection to either food or drink.

Function of the votive objects	
Drinking	220
Eating	72
Pouring	14
Mixing	88
Personal care	2

Table 2: the function of the votive objects from the deposits of the temple of Apollo dating to the 6th century B.C.

The only exceptions here are the alabastron and the lekythos, both of which fall under ceramics used in personal care. What is also interesting to note here is that all of the ceramic votives found at the sanctuary have a primary function that is not necessarily rooted in religion as all of the objects were used in the daily life of the people as well, unlike most figurines, which were often created specifically for ritual purposes. There is no evidence that these objects were altered in any way to suit cult practices.

Table 3 shows the provenance of the votive objects. The local votive objects consist entirely of *bucchero*, while the imported objects consist of all the other types specified in Table 1. These all originate from different parts of Greece, which would indeed mean that the Greeks had a strong presence in the settlement as well. This table also falls in line with my expectations for mostly imported votive ceramics in the Archaic period, as the imported objects are more than double the number of local ceramic votives. I consider the Black-glaze ware imported as well, as there is no evidence for production sites in this time period yet, and this type of ceramic also finds its origin in Greece.

Origin of the votive objects	
Mainland import	131
Overseas import	265

Table 3: the provenance of the votive objects from the deposits of the sanctuary of Apollo dating to the 6th century B.C.

Votive deposits 4th century B.C.		
Votive type	Ceramics	
	Italic	Black-glaze
Votive gift type		
Cup		37
Krater	1	
Skyphos	4	33
Lekythos	1	1
Bottle	2	1
Open vase	4	
Lekane	2	
Miniature cup		6
Hydria	1	
Total	15	78

Table 4: the types of votive objects from the deposits of the sanctuary of Apollo dating to the 4th century B.C.

Table 4 shows the different votive types that were found in the deposits from the 4th century B.C. Only two types of ceramic wares can be distinguished, meaning there is a significant decline in the variation of the votive types. A decrease in overall number can also be observed.

Perhaps this is one of the categories the missing article could have given additional information on. For now, Black-glaze ceramics are in the majority here. Ovens and kilns were found that point in the direction of a local production of these wares, which could explain their larger presence in this time-period (Arthur 1986, 32). *Bucchero* have, as expected, disappeared from the archaeological record, though the presence of the Italic objects does indicate some Etruscan influence may have remained.

As can be seen in Table 5, wine vessels, which include drinking vessels like the cups, remain the most popular votive object.

Though most of the votives once again have primary uses that are not rooted in religion, the appearance of the open vase does show that decorative objects were slowly starting to be incorporated in the votive deposits. The appearance of the miniature cups does, in

Function of the votive objects	
Drinking	77
Mixing	1
Storage	1
Personal care	2
Decorative	4
Offering	6
Eating	2

Table 5: the function of the votive objects from the deposits of the temple of Apollo dating to the 4th century B.C.

my opinion, show a religious purpose, as people would not have been able to use these objects in their daily life. This may show the start of a shift towards more ritual-specific votive objects, instead of the so far common trend of use-ware.

When looking at the provenance of the votive objects, which can be seen in Table 6, another change can be observed. The imported ceramics now consist of only a small amount of Italic pottery, while overseas import has disappeared entirely. Further, the start of local production of votive ceramics can be observed with the introduction of the Black Glaze pottery. Ovens and kilns used to produce these wares were found throughout Pompeii (Arthur 1986, 32).

Provenance of the votive objects	
Mainland import	15
Local production	78

Table 6: the provenance of the votive objects from the deposits of the temple of Apollo dating to the 4th century B.C.

Votive deposits 2nd century B.C.		
Votive type	Ceramics	Figurines
Votive gift type		
Unidentified ceramic	2	
Miniature chalice	7	
Female figurine		2
Terracotta figurine		?
Thymiatheria		?
Total	9	2+?

Table 7: the types of votive objects from the deposits of the temple of Apollo dating to the 2nd century B.C.

Finally, the 2nd century votive deposits show another decline in the amount of votive gifts, as visible in Table 7, though as stated, these data are incomplete. However, some interesting observations can still be made. First, there is the appearance of female figurines. This is the first indication of anatomical votives at the temple of Apollo. These figurines could well be the products made from moulds also found near the temple, which would point to a local production of votive wares (Arthur 1986, 32). Other studies support this theory of local production (Scarpelli et al. 2012, 672). The presence of the thymiateria, or incense burners, is also interesting, as this could point to some amount of Etruscan influence returning to the votive deposits (Nagy 2016, 262). Finally, this is the first period that has very little in the way of ceramics. The two ceramic fragments were too small and too damaged to draw any conclusions about the ware-type (De Caro

1986, 111). For now, it seems most of the votive objects consisted of miniature chalices though this is probably subject to change if there is ever an opportunity to look at the other study.

The production of votive objects is predominantly local (see Table 8). This is proven by the production sites and by the moulds found at the sanctuary that were probably used to make the figurines. The two pieces of pottery are not included in Table 8 as De Caro was not able to identify the ceramic ware type and as such it is for now impossible for me to determine the provenance of these fragments, though it seems probable that they were produced locally as well (Scarpelli et al. 2012, 672).

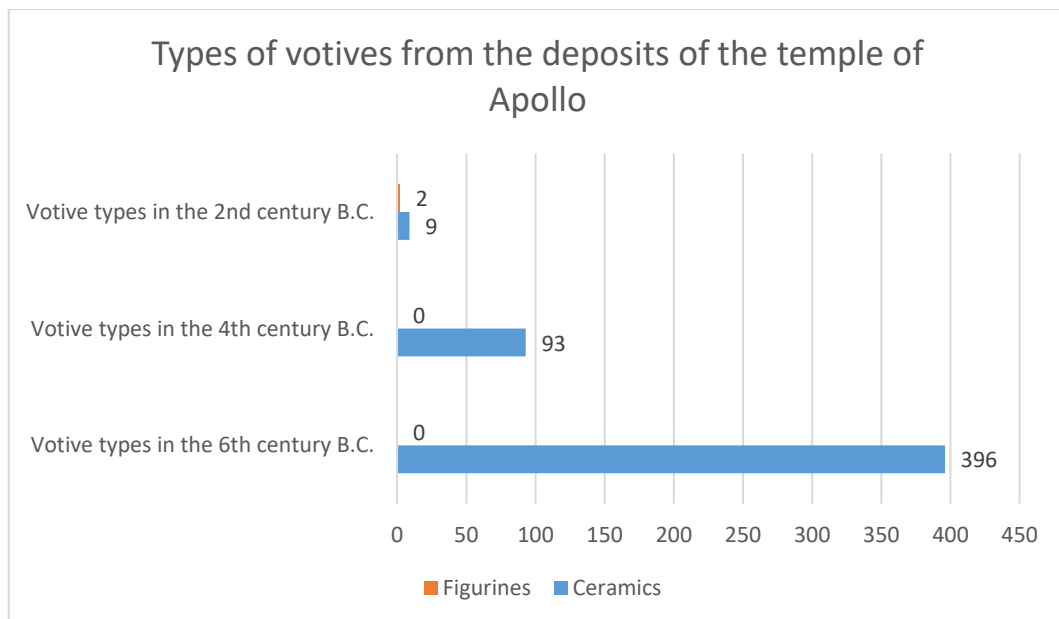
The function seems to point to a mostly ritual-specific type of votive objects. As can be seen in Table 9, the amount of ritualistic figurines and ceramics far outweigh the use-ware ceramics in this time-period.

Provenance of the votive objects	
Mainland import	?
Local production	9+?

Table 8: the provenance of the votive objects from the deposits of the temple of Apollo dating to the 2nd century B.C

Function of the votive objects	
Offering	9+?
Unidentified	2

Table 9: the function of the votive objects from the deposits of the temple of Apollo dating to the 2nd century B.C.



Comparing the three different periods is made somewhat difficult by the missing information. There seems to be a slow development from the use of household objects as votives to that of specially made votive offerings. Where the Etruscan/Greek period has a large percentage of use-ware ceramics and no figurines, the Samnitic period shows the appearance of both local production of ceramics and miniature votive offerings. In

the Roman period, almost all of the ceramics seem to have disappeared, to be replaced by figurines and miniatures that were not only locally produced, but also could not be used for any other purpose than that of a votive offering.

The rate of local objects compared to imported objects also changes through the three phases. Where the Etruscan phase shows a lot of imported Greek ware, the Samnitic phase shows mostly local ceramics or at least ceramics that were from Italy. Some of the Black-glaze pottery that was found in these deposits may still have come from overseas but with the added presence of the production sites I find this unlikely. The same can be said of the Roman phase, where, though the ceramics have all but disappeared, local production has been attested of the figurines found in the deposits. The presence of the thymiatheria may still indicate some county-wide trading, though.

5. Results part 2: the Doric temple

Here the results of data analysis of the votive deposits of the Doric temple are presented, as well as any context of the votive deposits that can still be given.

5.1 The context of the votive deposits

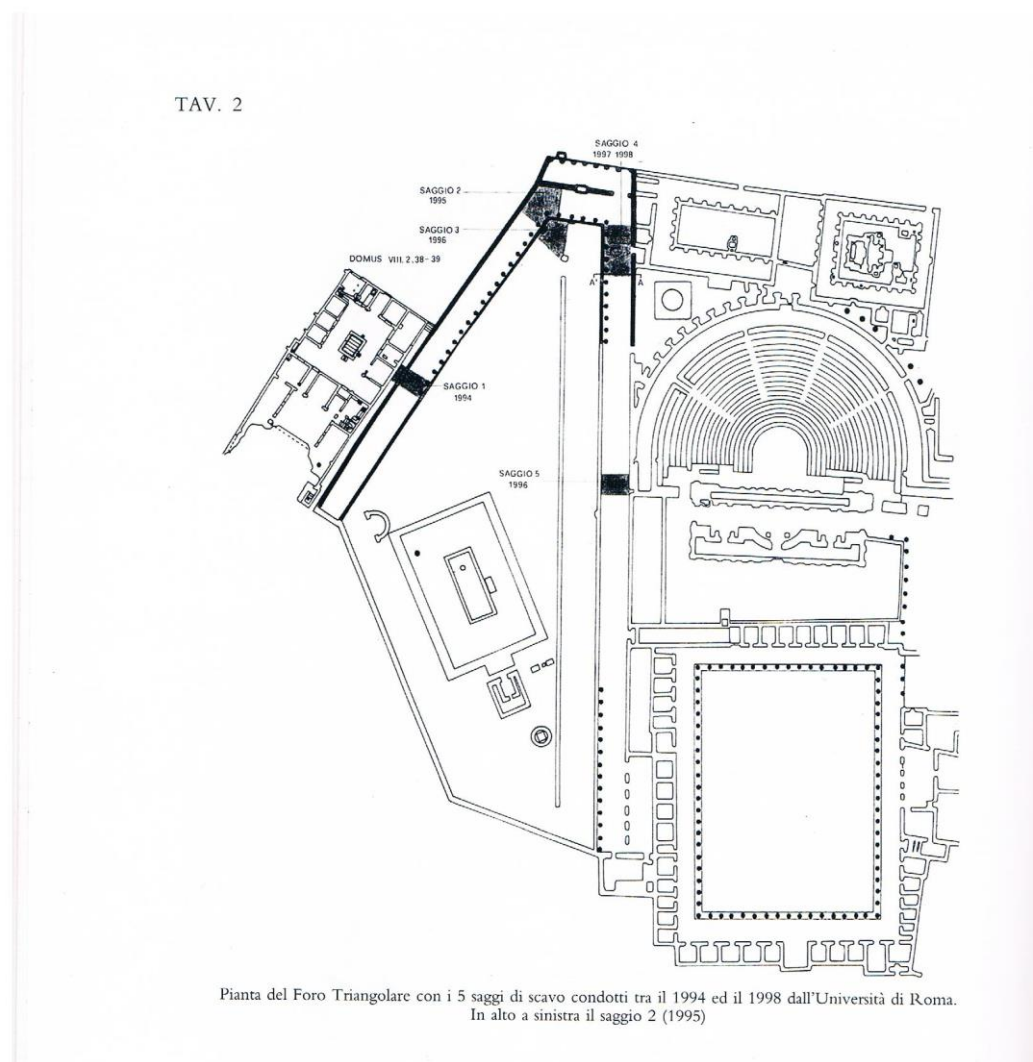


Figure 4: the placement of the trenches laid in excavations between 1994 and 1998 (D'Alessio 2001, plate 2).

The primary book used for the information on the votive gifts from the Doric temple is an excavation report by Maria D'Alessio. In figure 4, the location of the trenches where excavations were conducted can be observed. These were mostly placed outside of the actual temple. All of the votive deposits that are presented in this chapter were found in trench 2 of the figure. Like with the sanctuary of Apollo, most of the votive deposits

were backfilled and then built over, sometime in the Roman period. This, unfortunately, means that the primary context of the votive deposits can no longer be ascertained, as their original relation to the temple is now unknown (Miller-Ammerman 2004, 532). The phases can, however, still be distinguished by the type of the ceramics and figurines, especially by the style (Miller-Ammerman 2004, 532). Not many ceramics have been selected in this publication, as to D’Alessio the border between votive ceramics and use-ware ceramics was too blurry (Miller-Ammerman 2004, 532-533). This means that in this analysis there is an overrepresentation of non-ceramic votives, which will most certainly heavily influence any conclusions that can be drawn from this material. Most of the votive objects in the report were drawn from the excavation that occurred in 1995, underneath the portico of the Doric temple (D’Alessio 2001, 17).

Despite the obvious shortcomings of only having half of the material found in the trench documented in the report, I still believe a useful comparison can be made here with the material I have on hand.

5.2 Data analysis

5.2.1 Votive deposits from the Doric temple

Here, the votive gifts from deposits from the Doric temple are presented.

Votive deposits 6th century B.C.	
Votive type	Ceramics
	Red-on-white
Votive gift type	
Closed-form vessel	3
Aryballos	1
Oinochoë	1
Total	5

Table 10: the types of votive objects from the deposits of the Doric temple dating to the 6th century B.C.

Table 10 contains the votive gifts that were found in deposits dating to the 6th century B.C. As can be seen from the table, not much material was actually uncovered. The found votive objects consist purely of ceramics. The ceramics are made of a purified clay and decorated with red-coloured floral patterns and lines. D’Alessio classifies the ware-type of the ceramics as ‘depurata dipinta’. This tradition of red-on-white painted pottery

is around in the Archaic period Etruria so it is logical there is some in this deposit (Arizza 2016, 513). What is interesting in this deposit is the absence of any kind of *bucchero* pottery, which is another type of pottery that was associated with an Etruscan presence and which I would have expected to find in this deposit.

The function of the ceramics could only be determined for two of the objects and can be found in Table 11. Once again, it seems like it concerned objects that could also be found in the daily life of the citizens of Pompeii. There is one object (the oinochoë) which was used to pour wine and other liquids and one object (an aryballos) which was used for personal care. The amount of ceramics is too small to draw any conclusions about a majority of functions.

Function of the votive objects	
Pouring	1
Personal care	1
Unidentified	3

Table 11: the function of the votive objects from the deposits of the Doric temple dating to the 6th century B.C.

As the amount of material is so little, not much can be said about provenance. As all of the ceramics were red-on-white though, which is a ware-type that was produced in Etruria, and there is no evidence for production sites dedicated to this type of pottery in Archaic Pompeii, it seems likely that all of these ceramics are the result of trading on the Italian mainland.

Votive type	Votive deposits 4th century B.C.			
	Ceramics		Figurines	
	Red-figure	Black-glaze	Statuettes	Busts
Votive gift type				
Closed-form ceramic	4			
Open-form ceramic		6		
Cup		1		
Skyphos	1	7		
Lekane	3			
Lekythos	2			
Aryballos	1			
Pyxis	1			
Kourotrophos			30	
Woman in drapes			17	
Standing woman			15	
Unidentified busts				160
Female head				24
Total	12	14	62	184

Table 12: the types of votive objects from the deposits of the Doric temple dating to the 4th century B.C.

Most of the material in the votive deposits from the Doric temple comes from the 4th century B.C. Table 12 shows the different votive types. In this category, most of the votives are made up of female figurines and busts. In the first half of the 4th century, red-figured ceramics could also be found, which gradually progressed to Black-glaze ware in the latter half of the 4th century. The ceramics, though small in number, show a lot of variation, as can be seen in Table 8. The biggest part of the ceramic votive offerings is made up of skyphoi. These were mostly found among the Black-glaze pottery (7 out of 14 total). The rest of the Black-glaze pottery consists of the open-form ceramics and the cup. This means that there is greater variation in the red-figure ceramics, though the number is little enough that it becomes difficult to draw meaningful conclusions.



Figure 5: A figurine of a woman wearing a polos.
<http://amica.davidrumsey.com/>

Most of the busts are only of the head. A lot of them appear to be wearing something called a *polos*, which is a type of hat (Miller-Ammerman 2004, 533). An example of a *polos* can be found in figure 5. Some of the busts show traces of paint (D'Alessio 2001, 23). Similar busts have been found in, among others, an Athenaion in Campanella (D'Alessio 2001, 26), which might mean there is some connection between these busts and Athena. The busts are made of terracotta.

Table 13 shows the functions of the votive objects from the deposits. The largest part of the votive objects is made up of objects used specifically as offerings. These are all of the statuettes and busts. There are 10 pieces of pottery of which the functions could not be identified.

Function of the votive objects	
Drinking	9
Storage	3
Personal care	4
Offering	246
Unidentified	10

Table 13: the function of the votive objects from the deposits of the Doric temple dating to the 4th century B.C.

The first class of figurines that is distinguished by D'Alessio is that of the *kourotrophos*. This is a statuette of a woman holding a baby. Though the *kourotrophos* has often been associated with fertility, she can also be an aspect of Athena, which might explain her presence in the temple (Hadzisteliou Price 1978, 3). The second and third class of figurines are standing females, probably of the Tanagra-type. This votive offering was

produced locally and also has associations with fertility. They are also considered a cheaper type of votive (Glinister 2006, 10).

This also helps when determining the provenance of the votive objects, which can be seen in Table 14.

The figurines belonging to the Tanagra-type were locally produced. The same can be said for the Black-glaze ceramics, due to the production sites that were found throughout Pompeii that date to

this time period. The busts are probably the result of mainland import. Both the material and the style of the busts show a strong resemblance to busts found in Sicily and the surrounding regions (Miller-Ammerman 2004, 533). The red-figure pottery was probably imported from Greece, though the time period is quite late for this type of pottery.

Provenance of the votive objects	
Overseas import	12
Mainland import	184
Local production	76

Table 14: the provenance of the votive objects from the deposits of the Doric temple dating to the 4th century B.C.

Votive type	Votive deposits 2nd century B.C.	
	Figurines	Ceramics
	Statuettes	
Votive gift type		
Figurine of Athena	124	
Figurine of Aphrodite	17	
Woman in drapes	9	
Miniature chalice		15
Total	150	15

Table 15: the types of votive objects from the deposits of the Doric temple dating to the 2nd century B.C.

The votive deposits from the 2nd century, visible in Table 12, show continuity in the continued presence of the Tanagra-type figurine. The 2nd century also shows the first recognizable figurines representing the goddesses Athena and Aphrodite. Figure 6 shows one of the figurines of Athena. These figurines were also moulded, though the makers combined two different moulds to get to this result (Miller-Ammerman 2004, 533).

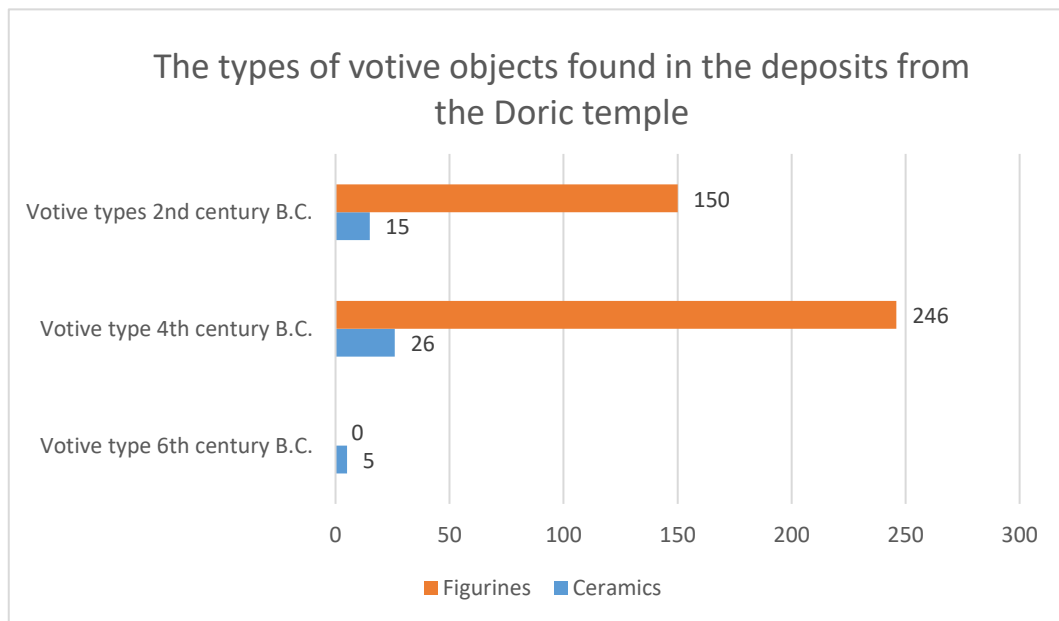


Figure 6: one of the figurines representing Athena. Miller-Ammerman 2004, 534

Besides the figurines, miniature chalices were also found. This is a clear indication of a specialized votive object. Like the miniatures found at the sanctuary of Apollo, these chalices were not suitable for regular use.

The miniature ceramic chalices are the only ceramics dating to this period that D'Alessio saw fit to include in her report on the votive objects. A ware-type for the chalices is not given and the pictures are in black-and-white.

The votive objects all seem to have a local provenance. The figurines match moulds found in Pompeii meaning they were certainly produced locally (Arthur 1986, 35; Miller-Ammerman 2004, 533). The same goes for the chalices. According to D'Alessio, these types of chalices have been found in houses near places with scorch marks, indicating a form of local production (D'Alessio 2001, 140).



The function of the votive objects also points to a unanimous ritual-only purpose. Neither the chalices nor the figurines could have been used for anything else than as an offering, which is unfortunately also the reason why no other ceramics have been added to the report. Perhaps this current picture of predominantly specially made votive objects could have been changed had all of the other ceramic objects that were found around the terrain of the temple also been added to the excavation report.

Due to the disparity between the number of votive objects ascribed to each period, drawing conclusions is once again difficult. However, there are still some observations to be made. Ceramic votives seem to continue from the 6th to the 4th century B.C., but have disappeared completely in the deposits from the 2nd century B.C., though this might again be the result of D'Alessio omitting nearly all of the ceramics from her report. Though a continuation of figurines can be observed between the deposits from the 4th and the 2nd century B.C., the busts are also absent from the deposits of the latter time-period. This seems to indicate a shift away from imported votives to objects that were produced locally. It is unclear how much influence the missing ceramics might have had on this observed shift.

6. Discussion

In this chapter, the different analyses performed in the previous chapter will be related to each other. First, I will look at how the votive deposits relate to common cult practices. Then, I will compare the two temples to each other and finally, I will attempt to contextualize the votive deposits when looking at the bigger cultural changes happening in Pompeii.

6.1 Relating the deposits from the two temples to the cult practices

The Etruscan/Greek deposits from the temple of Apollo seem to relate quite nicely to the common cult practices, concerning the use of everyday objects. The kraters are present in the archaeological record. The deposits also seem to correspond nicely to the way the Etruscans could make everything into a votive object, as most of the votive objects given could also be used in everyday life. The local pottery was probably offered by less well-off people than the imported pottery, as the local variant would have been cheaper than imported ceramic.

The abundance of ceramics associated with drinking seems to point to a feasting ritual. The same probably goes for the plates. I do not believe the plates can be related to animal sacrifice in this case, as none of the other votive objects Van Loon classified as part of such a ritual could be found in these votive deposits. It is also possible the jugs were used in small-scale libation offerings, which is another option given by Van Loon (Van Loon 2017, 315). As there are only two jugs documented in the report, this does seem the most likely option for the use of these vessels. The votive objects that are related to personal care also most likely belonged to small personal offerings, as these were usually personal belongings.

Nothing much can be said about the votive offerings from the Doric temple, though as these were exclusively ceramics, they do seem to adhere to the same rules as the deposits from the temple of Apollo, as the two identified objects were objects that could be used in daily life. The most important missing objects would be any ceramics of the *bucchero*-type, though this might be due to methodological difficulties. The oinochoe might once again point to the presence of feasting or libation rituals, while the aryballos was likely used as a personal offering.

The most interesting in the Samnitic deposits is that no figurines were found in the deposits from the temple of Apollo. This might be due to incomplete data because of the article I could not access but it is certainly still notable that the list of almost 100 artefacts did not contain a single figurine. This could mean that the Samnites did indeed not visit the temple, choosing instead to focus their attention on temples of gods they thought better of, and the continuity of ceramics could point to a smaller remaining group of Etruscans that did.

Ceramic vessels associated with drinking are once again in the majority, which might point to the continuation of the feasting ritual, though the cups were also used as part of libation rituals. I find this option less likely though, due to the quantity of the cups. The miniature cups might similarly have been used in libation rituals. They could also have been used to carry organic materials or indicate the presence of children. Which of these is the most likely is now impossible to tell. Due to the nature of the production I do believe, however, that they most likely indicate personal offerings of a cheaper scale than the other ceramics.

The Doric temple follows the expectations more nicely, as is shown by the appearance of the figurines in the deposits from the 4th century. What is interesting there is that there appear to be no clear figurines of Hercules, even though he was a very popular god among the Samnites and figurines of Hercules have been found in other Samnitic sanctuaries (Scopacasa 2015, 109). As the Doric temple is also often associated with Hercules, it might be that these associations then follow more from the architecture than from the votive deposits themselves, though again, this might be because I am missing some data. The figurines of the Tanagra-type show that the cheaper production of votives started to take precedence over that of the ceramics. This might mean that votive offerings were practiced more by commoners than by the elite from the 4th century B.C. onwards and could also point to a more individualistic approach to religious practices.

The archaeological record for the Roman phase is very incomplete for the sanctuary of Apollo. The presence of the figurines, considering the local production probably Tanagra-type as well, does show the presence of more common citizens practicing

votive offerings at the temple. The presence of the thymiatheria might point to some more communal ritual activities as well.

The record of the Doric temple is more complete, at least when it comes to figurines. The absence of the more expensive ceramics may point to votive offerings being done exclusively by the common citizens of Pompeii, while the elite branched out to bigger temples such as the new temple of Jupiter on the new Forum. The busts might have pointed to elite people taking credit for donations, but due to the cheap material and the large amount of busts I believe this is unlikely. The connection of the busts to the temple was also unclear to D'Alessio, though she believed that some meaning might have been lost after the people of Pompeii copied the style from the busts in Sicily (Miller-Ammerman 2004, 536).

6.2 Relating the two temples

In the 6th century B.C., both the Doric temple and the sanctuary of Apollo show a preference for ceramic votives, though the comparison is made more difficult due to the small amount of material documented for the Doric temple. The presence of *bucchero* shows a clear Etruscan influence in the sanctuary of Apollo. Greek influence is seen as well, as all of the imported ceramics originate in different parts of Greece. In the Doric temple, only the Etruscan influence is visible in the presence of the Etrusco-corinthian fine ware.

In the 4th century B.C., the most notable absence is that of any discernible figurines in the sanctuary of Apollo, while this is the period that is dominated by figurines in the Doric temple. For ceramics, both the Doric temple and the sanctuary of Apollo show Black-glaze ware, which was probably produced locally. The Doric temple also shows a clear Greek influence in the presence of the Red-figure ceramics. Though these are absent in the temple of Apollo, some of the Black-glaze ware might still have been imported from Greece or elsewhere. The temple of Apollo also shows continuation in the presence of the Italic wares. These might indicate the presence of the Etruscans, as these were one of the cultural groups that produced these ceramics. These are also notably absent from the Doric temple. This might indicate a difference in the people

who visited these temples, with less Etruscans offering to the Doric temple than to the temple of Apollo.

Finally, in the 2nd century B.C. the votives of the Doric temple have transitioned to figurines exclusively. Moreover, most of these figurines can be directly connected to the goddess we know was worshipped there. This type of practice cannot be observed at the sanctuary of Apollo, though this might be due to missing records. With the available data, it seems that though figurines did finally start to make an appearance in the sanctuary of Apollo as well, these were not specifically related to the god the temple belonged to. The sanctuary of Apollo, however, does still show some ceramics in the archaeological record, while these are completely absent in the Doric temple. While this, again, might be the result of missing records, it might also indicate a difference in religious practices. Figurines are often the product of personal offerings, while the ceramics (especially the thymiatheria) at the temple of Apollo do still indicate some communal practices may have taken place.

In general, though, both temples seem to show a shift from elites offering their imported ceramics to more common people offering locally produced ceramics and figurines. In parallel runs a shift from ceramic votive offerings to the offering of figurines, as figurines seem to be in the majority in the Roman period for both temples and, in the case of the Doric temple, in the Samnitic phase as well.

6.3 Relating the votive deposits to bigger cultural changes

In this chapter I will try to contextualize the votive deposits to the bigger cultural changes occurring in Pompeii.

6.3.1 The Samnitic reorganisation

The Samnites changed a lot of the architecture of Pompeii when they conquered the city, though they mostly stayed away from the temples. I predicted a decline in the amount of votive offerings found at the temple of Apollo, which was proven to be correct. The shift to locally produced ceramics I had also predicted, as I expected there to be more Black-glaze ceramics due to the presence of the production sites. In the Doric temple, a rapid increase can be observed in this period, but that is also to be expected due to the popularity of both Minerva and Hercules with the Samnites.

The disappearance of the *bucchero* might also be linked to the presence of the Samnites, as their arrival probably caused a diminishing influence of the Etruscan culture on the votive deposits. However, it seems that the disappearance of the *bucchero* happened simultaneously across the whole of Italy, meaning the Samnites probably had no influence here.

There is also some continuation of ritual, as the temple of Apollo seems to show a continuation of feasting rituals, though the frequency seems to have diminished. As Samnitic votive offerings progressed from grave goods, it is not surprising that they kept the feasting rituals. This was an important funerary ritual in the Samnitic culture (Scopacasa 2015, 93). This could be related to the growing trend of individual offerings of votive objects that can be observed in the Doric temple. The Samnites offered a lot of figurines, especially of worshippers (Scopacasa 2015, 112-113). The shift to figurines could therefore be an indication of Samnitic influence on the religious practices at the Doric temple, while the absence of figurines at the temple of Apollo might be due to the fact that the Samnites were less interested in Apollo as a god.

All in all, it seems the Samnites did have some form of influence on the religious practices at both of the temples, due to the introduction of figurines in the archaeological record and the diminishing amount of votives found at the temple of Apollo.

6.3.2 The effect of Romanisation

The archaeological record for the Roman period is, as stated before, very incomplete in the temple of Apollo. This makes it difficult to garner any meaningful information on the effect that the Romans might have had on the cult practices at the sanctuary. The same goes for the Doric temple as there is no telling how many ceramics from the Roman period were omitted from the report.

Some amount of influence may show in the introduction of figurines to the archaeological record of the temple of Apollo. As the Romans also rebuilt the temple completely, it does seem that they were planning on influencing the cult practices at the temple. The same happened to the Doric temple, except in the opposite direction. Perhaps the missing report might have brought some clarity to this situation. If the

situation at the sanctuary of Apollo is in any way similar to that of the Doric temple, it seems there may have been a shift away from the use of ceramic votive objects to the use of specialized, locally produced votive objects. As the Romans did have production sites built for these figurines, it does seem likely that the introduction of these figurines was due to Roman influence on the cult practices of the temple. However, the presence of the Tanagra-type figurines in the 4th century B.C. in the Doric temple could already be related to local production as well, so the production did not solely come about due to the Romans.

For now, it does not seem the arrival of the Romans caused much change in the religious practices of the temples besides rebuilding both of them, though this was considered common war practice and is not necessarily related to Romans specifically (Stek 2009, 31).

7. Conclusion

7.1 Votive deposits and cult practices

The purpose of this research has been to know more about what the votive deposits of the sanctuary of Apollo and the Doric temple could say about the cult practices. Through a quantitative analysis of votive deposits from the sanctuary of Apollo and the Doric temple I tried to glean information about the general trends in the cult practices, as individual ritualistic acts are impossible to determine due to the nature of votive deposits.

The first subquestion I asked in order to fulfil this purpose was which types of votive objects could be found in the deposits. Through the quantitative analysis I learned that the votive objects consist of both figurines and ceramics. The votive deposits in both temples that dated to the 6th century B.C. consisted mainly of ceramics, while there is a gradual increase in the number of figurines found in the deposits throughout the 4th and 2nd century B.C. The analysis also showed that drinking vessels made up the majority of the ceramic assemblages.

With that question answered, the next step would be to look at the differences between the different time periods. The temple of Apollo showed a decrease in votive objects throughout all of the time periods, though this is not certain for the 2nd century B.C. due to missing data. The 2nd century B.C. also saw the introduction of figurines in the votive deposits. There is also a gradual shift from mostly imported ceramics to locally produced ceramics and figurines. In the Doric temple there was also an introduction of figurines in the 4th century B.C., which in the 2nd century included some goddess-specific figurines as well. The same shift from imported votive objects to locally produced offerings can also be observed in this temple. Nothing much can be said about the ceramics in the deposits from this temple though, due to a large amount of missing data.

When it comes to cult practices, a lot can still be said despite the missing data. In the temple of Apollo, ceramics seem to have been in the majority during the 6th and 4th century B.C. This could point to an elitist approach to votive offerings, as not everyone would have been able to give up their dinnerware so easily. A lot of the offered votives also consist of imported ceramics, further pointing to an elite as they would have been

more likely to be able to afford importing ceramics from elsewhere. The predominant presence of cups and other ceramic vessels associated with drinking could point to feasting rituals being held at the temple. It is quite possible that common folk was invited to these rituals, but these feasts were probably organised by elites as well. In the Doric temple, the presence of elites in the 6th century B.C. is further proven by the presence of Etrusco-corinthian fine wares. Due to the small amount of documented material, nothing much else can be said about ritual practices in this period. In the 4th century, however, the introduction of figurines points to an increase in personal votive offerings, in contrast to the more communally-oriented rituals that are often associated with ceramic assemblages, though the ceramics that were documented show that feasting rituals might still have happened during this time period as well. The type of figurine also suggests that people came to the Doric temple with a specific purpose, as all of the figurines have some connection with fertility. As these figurines were also produced locally, there is another shift away from the more expensive ceramic votives to a cheaper option. The 2nd century sees a continuation of this trend of personal votive offerings and figurines. A special type of figurine that makes its first appearance here is that of the god-specific figurines. These were probably also produced locally, meaning there was still a lot of focus on cheaper alternatives for rituals. All of the Athena-specific figurines also call upon the same aspect of the goddess, Athena Ergane, who had connections to fertility and health.

As for comparable changes in other temples in Pompeii, it seems that some similar changes can be observed between the temple of Apollo and the Doric temple. Both show a decline in the amount of ceramic votives that appear in the votive deposits. In both temples, there is also evidence of figurines in at least the deposits from the 2nd century B.C. There is also a shift from imported votive objects to an increasing number of locally produced votive objects in the deposits from the 4th century B.C. onwards. Both temples also show a shift in the type of rituals, away from communal rituals to more individual rituals.

Finally, I discussed how much influence the cultural changes in Pompeii may have had on these changes in the cult practices and votive deposits. It is very much possible that the disappearance of the feasting rituals is due to a diminishing cultural influence from

the Etruscans and the Samnites. In both of these cultures banquets were very important, while for Romans banquets held less meaning. With so much missing data in both of the temples though, this is difficult to know for certain. The introduction of figurines may also be an indication of Samnitic influence on the ritual practices at the Doric temple, while the absence of figurines at the temple of Apollo may be seen as an indication of a diminished interest, together with the decrease in votive objects that were found in the deposits from the latter temple during the Samnitic period. The Romans completely rebuilt the temple of Apollo, making sure it was now fully Roman. They also might have caused attention to shift away from the temple by building a new Forum with a Capitulum, which became the new city centre. It also seems like the Doric temple may have become less important, as the role Minerva played in the city of Pompeii was slowly given to Venus.

In terms of what the votive deposits were able to say about the changing cult practices in the 6th century B.C., the 4th century B.C. and the 2nd century B.C., which was the main question of this research, it is clear the votive deposits hold a lot of information on the cult practices and the changes they went through throughout the centuries. As votive offerings are, especially for early societies, a crucial resource of information, it can be good to be aware of the many aspects of society that can be derived from votive deposits alone.

7.2 Further research

Unfortunately there were some problems while conducting this research. Most of these problems can be traced back to limited options of access and a limited time. The reports I used as a basis of my analyses were both somewhat incomplete. The report on the temple of Apollo only had very little material for the Roman period, while the report on the Doric temple was missing almost all of the ceramic material that was found in the deposits. Another report that might have been able to add to the records for the temple of Apollo I was unable to get access for. Finally, due to a deadline I was unable to perform an additional presence/absence analysis on the little ceramic material from the Doric temple I did have, which might have also cleared up the picture slightly.

For further research, it might be nice to look at the missing report on ceramics. It really is a shame that so little material has been documented for the Roman period. If more reports detailing the Roman and Samnitic votives become available it would be nice to be able to add that data to this record to see if it changes anything. New data could mean the inclusion of figurines in the votive record from the sanctuary of Apollo, as well as perhaps shed some light on the votive deposits from the Roman period, of which I now had little to no data.

Abstract

In this paper I am taking a look at how votive deposits can help us learn more about cult practices in Pompeii and if these cult practices could then be linked to bigger cultural changes, through a study of the temple of Apollo and the Doric temple. Both of these temples have development phases that start in the Archaic period and end in the Roman period, at the end of Pompeii. Through a quantitative analysis based on excavation reports I am able to get information on the composition of the votive deposits in three time periods: the 6th century B.C., when Pompeii was mainly inhabited by Etruscans and Greeks, the 4th century B.C., when Pompeii had a Samnitic phase and the 2nd century B.C., when Pompeii had entered its Roman phase.

The quantitative analysis of the temple of Apollo showed a decline in votives, though this might be influenced by missing data as neither of my excavation reports were complete. The analysis also showed that in the Roman period there was an introduction of figurines in the deposits. The biggest part of the deposits was made up of ceramics. In these ceramics, there was a shift from imported ceramics to locally produced ceramics. The type of ceramics also pointed to a possibility of feasting rituals being performed at the temple during the Etruscan and Samnitic phases.

In the Doric temple the missing data unfortunately included most of the ceramics. The introduction of figurines also occurred in the Samnitic phase, not the Roman phase. Like the temple of Apollo, the Doric temple shows a shift away from imported ceramics to locally produced ceramics and figurines. The figurines may also point to more individually oriented rituals at the temple as these were usually considered personal gifts.

Some of the changes can also be traced back to the cultural phases of the city, as the Samnites often used figurines as votives. The absence of feasting rituals may also be due to cultural influence, as it was mostly the Etruscans and Samnites who liked these rituals, while the Romans were more individually oriented.

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Images

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Figure 2 - Giuntoli, S., 1989. *Art and History of Pompeii*. Bonechi Guides, 14.

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