AN UNPUBLISHED GREEK "GRAVE" RELIEF IN THE BROOKS MUSEUM: CONTEXTUALIZING BANQUET SCENES WITHIN THE VOTIVE AND FUNERARY LANDSCAPES OF LATE CLASSICAL ATTICA

By

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(Under the Direction of Mark Abbe)

ABSTRACT

Numerous marble reliefs with figural scenes featuring a reclining male banqueter were dedicated in Classical Greece during the late fifth to fourth centuries BCE. An unpublished relief from the Memphis Brooks Museum of Art is an interesting and little-known example of this type. Most such reliefs have been identified as modest funerary monuments representing the deceased at his funerary banquet and have been classified as examples of the "Totenmahl" or "death feast". Although the Brooks Relief has been identified as a grave monument to date, this thesis demonstrates that it is, in fact, a different kind of votive relief produced in Athens in the fourth century BCE. How this marble relief would have been contextually displayed, identified, and interpreted by audiences as a dedication to a local hero, Eudotei, in Attica in the southern region of Laureion in the Late Classical period is examined.

INDEX WORDS: votive banquet relief, "Totenmahl", funerary monument, Late Classical, Classical, Greece, Attica, Laureion, Athens, Agora, rhyton, phiale, kline, hero-cults, Eudotei

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I. INTRODUCTION

During the later fifth and fourth centuries BCE, an unprecedented number of funerary and votive marble reliefs were dedicated in mainland Greece. Typically, such reliefs feature a prominent male banqueter reclining on a *kline* surrounded by other figures, and their production was highly concentrated in Athens throughout the Classical period. This thesis examines one interesting, albeit modest, unpublished relief of this type in the collection of the Memphis Brooks Museum of Art, currently dated by the museum to the mid fourth to early third century (Fig. 1).[1] As with the majority of reliefs featuring a reclining banqueter, it has been identified as a funerary monument representing a deceased subject at a funerary banquet, often classified in modern scholarship as an example of the so-called "Totenmahl" or "death feast" (Fig. 3). However, this thesis will argue that the Brooks Relief is in fact not a funerary monument, but a votive dedication from Attica to a local hero which can be dated more precisely to circa 350 BCE in the Late Classical period. How this marble monument might have been displayed, identified, and read by audiences as a votive object in Attica in the later fifth and fourth centuries is examined in order to recontextualize the Brooks Relief within Athenian tradition. In addition, the Brooks Relief's heretofore untranslated inscription and previously undetected remains of polychromy provide important evidence that adds to a more complete understanding of such votive monuments in Athens at the end of the Late Classical period.

[1] Museum label: Grave Relief, marble, H. 44.5 × W. 44.8 × D. 9.5 cm, Greece, mid 4th-early 3rd century BCE, Clarence Day Foundation Collection LI.90.3.

State of the Scholarship on Greek "Totenmahl" Banquet Reliefs

Greek "Totenmahl" banquet reliefs have been a focus of considerable and recent scholarship, yet confusion about their function remains. Although they are often thought to be solely funerary, a number of such reliefs demonstrably had a votive function. This misperception stems from two points: the modern terminology designating such figural scenes as depicting a "Totenmahl", or death feast, and the widespread use of such banquet imagery in Greek art. The use of the term "Totenmahl*"* reflects the long-held but erroneous modern assumption in scholarship that such Greek banqueting scenes were funerary due to the abundance of such visual imagery in grave stele in the subsequent Hellenistic period (Fig. 4).[2] Discussions of banquet reliefs in the last half century of scholarship have been complicated by the conflation of the so-called "Totenmahl*"* imagery with depictions of local Greek heroes in votive banquet relief, and the adoption of such heroic conventions in funerary monuments (Fig. 5).[3] Rhea Thönges-Stringaris' influential 1965 dissertation argued that the banquet imagery of funerary reliefs lacked the elements indicative of similar reliefs such as the adorants and the sacrificial animal, and therefore portrayed no worldly documentation of veneration, but instead referenced death and the afterlife.[4] In her view, the individuals depicted feasting were deceased citizens, honored with the dignity of the heroes' banquet, but not actually heroes as would have been defined in the fifth century.

In 1982, Jean-Marie Dentzer's dissertation emphasized similarly that banquet imagery conveyed prestige, aristocratic lifestyle and the practice of symposium, and had a strictly

[2] Thönges-Stringaris 1965, esp. 58-60. Dentzer 1982, esp. 1-2.
[3] See Fabricius 1999 for the corpus of Hellenistic "Totenmahl" reliefs.
[4] Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 58-59. One of the main distinctions between votive banquet reliefs and funerary monuments are their findspots. Votive banquet reliefs are found primarily in the vicinity of sanctuaries where they would have been displayed, while funerary monuments are found in necropoles. For a more detailed discussion see the section titled "Distribution of Athenian Votive Reliefs" in the main text, 9-10.

honorific meaning for a deceased elite individual. His system for understanding the imagery dealt completely in aspects of death with no reference to Greek heroes, but instead a heroized male type.[5] Recent research has demonstrated that the later tradition of funerary reliefs stemmed from earlier votive dedications in Athens that honored local Athenian heroes from the late fifth century through the fourth century (Fig. 6).[6] The highly flexible visual language is evident in more than two hundred reliefs honoring heroes, and came to be adopted in the funerary sphere in the late fourth and early third centuries. Most recently, the colloquium titled *Dining and Death* 2016, included new research by Johanna Fabricius and Carol L. Lawton firmly establishing that votive and funerary reliefs are not only distinct types of monuments but can be distinguished geographically and chronologically; the earlier tradition of votive banquet reliefs originating in Athens in the late fifth century BCE (Fig. 7).[7]

Lawton's 2017 catalogue of the votive reliefs excavated in the Athenian Agora details the votive reliefs dedicated to both gods and heroes from this period (Fig. 8).[8] Lawton suggests that the banquet reliefs served as record of an act of dedication in the manner of contemporary state record reliefs. They too were a cultural product of a historical era when the recording of events, both historical and mundane, were a focus, especially in Athenian democratic culture. Lawton systematically examines the imagery and iconography associated with votive banquet reliefs: the reclining elder male banqueter accompanied by a female companion of similar scale and a group of worshippers, servants and attendants at a smaller scale, all organized within an architectural

[5] Dentzer 1982, 1-2. There are three specific interpretations of banquet scenes representing a heroized deceased: (1) the scene represents a happy event in the past life of the deceased bringing together family and friends, (2) situates the scene beyond, where the banquet gathers the deceased in eternal happiness, (3) the meal represents a ritual of food offerings intended for the deceased in commemoration on the grave by his survivors.
[6] Fabricius 2016, 33-35. Lawton 2016, 385-389. Fischer and Tal 2003, 51-54. Van Straten 1995, 58-59. Closterman 2014, 6-10. Boardman 1995, 186.
[7] Fabricius 2016, 33-69. Lawton 2016, 385-404.
[8] For votive reliefs dedicated to deities, see Lawton 2017, 21-80. For votive reliefs dedicated to heroes, see Lawton 2017, 81-112.

frame. Notably specific to the votive banquet relief type are the banqueter's *polos* or crown, the *rhyton* or animal-headed drinking horn, the *kline* or couch with accompanying *trapeza* or table laden with bloodless offerings, often accompanied by a sacrificial animal, either a sheep or pig, and a krater for mixing wine and water. Such imagery – clear, concise, and legible to ancient audiences – was remarkably successful as a form of dedicatory honor for gods and heroes, and later came to be widely used in funerary monuments to elevate the deceased to a hero-like status. The modern term "Totenmahl*"* has no ancient equivalent in Greek or Latin, and in contemporary usage has come to encompass any and all reliefs featuring a reclining banqueter, regardless of its ancient function as funerary monument or votive relief. Thus, the use of this term is confusing and less than helpful in defining the ancient functions of the reliefs and will be discarded for the purposes of this thesis.

II. THE BROOKS RELIEF

Archaeological Description and Condition

The Brooks Relief has no archaeological provenience and was first documented in 1989 on the international art market with the London antiquities dealer Robert Symes (Fig. 1).[9] The close-to-square marble relief (H. 44.5 cm. x W. 44.8 cm. x D. 9.5 cm.) is carved in the format of a *naiskos* shrine framed by two pilasters and an architrave with antefixes. There is a broken off tenon (W. 6.0-8.0 cm.) on the central underside of the relief for mounting, presumably on a vertical shaft.[10] The front of the relief is carved in medium to high relief (D. 2.0 cm. maximum) with the figural relief overlapping the pilasters across the front sides. The marble is finely grained with silver-colored mica inclusions that are characteristic of Pentelic marble from Mt. Pentelikon in Athens (Fig. 2.A); this widely used marble was extensively quarried to create the monuments on the Athenian Acropolis during the second half of the fifth century. The reverse displays quarry face splitting and later rough pick work to define the relief block.[11] The lateral faces and top are roughly carved with a claw chisel with minimal smoothing or finishing (Figs. 2.B and 2.C). Small drill holes remain in the depths of the relief, but most of the carving is executed with a flat chisel in an efficient and quick, cursory manner. There is no variation in

[9] Museum records indicate that Robert Symes Limited, London sold the relief to Clarence Day (1927-2009) on December 6th, 1989; the relief was loaned to the Brooks Museum amongst a larger collection of classical antiquities on behalf of the Clarence Day Foundation, administered by the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, in March 1991.

[10] Fischer and Tal 2003, 54. Votive reliefs in the Classical period commonly feature tenon mounts and suggest a freestanding, elevated placement or display.

[11] Lawton 2017, 12. Most reliefs of the Classical period are very roughly worked on the back with a pick, point, or punch.

surface smoothing of skin or cloth textures on the relief. The inscription (W. 33.0 cm.), crudely scratched in the architrave, features the ancient Greek characters ΧΡΥΣΙΣ ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ ΗΡΩΙΕΥΔΩΤΕΙ (H. 1.0 x W. 1.0 cm. each letter) and translated reads, "Chrysis (and) Moschion (dedicate this relief) to the hero Eudotei." The translation will be discussed in detail later in this thesis. The surface is slightly weathered all around and retains reddish-orange soil accretions, concentrated in the depths of the relief and the inscription; this staining is consistent with numerous ancient white marbles buried in the reddish soils of Attica.

The focus of the relief scene is the large bearded male, reclining on a *kline* and wearing a *himation* over his lower body and draped over his left arm (Fig. 1). Crowned with a diadem and/or *polos*, he leans against a pillow or folded textile and faces outward in the direction of the viewer while holding aloft in his right hand a ram headed *rhyton* and a *phiale* or shallow libation bowl in his left hand.[12] A similarly scaled woman in profile wearing a *chiton* and *himation* faces the hero and is seated on the end of the *kline* with her feet resting on a footstool.[13] Her hair is bound in a bun and she extends an offering of incense in a *thymiaterion* in her right hand towards the reclining banqueter.[14] Behind the woman stand five figures at a smaller scale, all in formal postures and civic polis dress (*himation*) with their active right arms raised, facing the banqueting pair. A *himation*-clad bearded elder is flanked by two women with heads covered in ritual dress (*chiton and himation*) and two smaller younger female figures, all in the conventional

[12] For a comparable example of the textile supporting the reclining banqueter (folded pillow or two large pillows), see Lawton 2017, 105, Fig. 5.
[13] Lawton 2017, 95-96. The female figures in votive banquet reliefs are similarly scaled to the reclining male banqueter or hero and may be identified as either heroines or the hero's consort. This female figure typically sits at the end of the *kline* or occasionally on a separate seat and although their scale indicates similar status to the hero, they do not participate in the banquet and thus are subordinate to their male counterpart in status.
[14] On incense as accompaniment to the proper banquet, see Lawton 2017, 96. Fischer and Tal 2003, 53. Dentzer 1982, 524-525.

"arm sling" pose associated with appropriate public conduct and divine audience.[15] In the center of the foreground, a young male attendant in a tunic is presenting a large sacrificial pig and holding the sacrificial implements (*kanoun*) in hand.[16] The table (*trapeza*) is laden with votive offerings of semicircular and triangular cakes (*plakounta* and *pyramides*).[17] At far right near the reclining banqueter is a nude youthful male attendant (*oinochoos*) in contrapposto three-quarter Praxitelean pose with his right arm elegantly raised.[18] He is decanting wine from an *oenochoe* into a slender, waist-high volute krater on which his left hand rests.[19] The naturalistic style and hierarchical scale of the figures are closely similar to other votive banquet reliefs that have been stylistically dated to the Classical period.[20] As examined later in this thesis, the Brooks Relief appears most likely to have been produced in Athens circa 350 BCE.

Relief as Monument: Type and Display

The format of marble *naiskos* reliefs derives from the lost art of contemporary wooden panel paintings (*pinax;* plural *pinakes*). Painted wooden panels depicting banqueting heroes probably served as the earliest hero votives of this format and underwent an interesting shift to marble reliefs in the mid-fifth century in Athens.[21] The standardized nature of the marble hero votives suggests the visual imagery was already established in the earlier tradition of wooden

[15] Dillon and Garland 2013, 96-98, Fig. 3.9. A 4th century votive relief dedicated to Asklepios featuring family members with arms raised in adoration of the god; an example of traditional Greek costume and ritual that was also appropriate for the worship of a hero.
[16] Lawton 2017, 10. Jensen 2009, 30-31. Van Straten 1995, 169, Fig. 103 and 106. The servant or attendant leading the sacrificial animal to be presented to the hero is depicted with the *kanoun* which scholars identify by its shoe-like shape.
[17] Lawton 2017, 96 and Van Straten 1995, 60. While breads and cakes are the most commonly represented offerings, there is evidence of the inclusion of the occasional pomegranate.
[18] Ajootian 1996, 91. The Praxitelean type and pose was a frequently replicated motif in antiquity and particularly prevalent in votive banquet reliefs for the attending figure decanting wine.
[19] Volute krater (mixing bowl), bronze, H. 87.3 cm., Greece, 450-375 BCE, Museum of Fine Arts Boston 99.483. Comstock and Vermeule 1971, no. 441. Vermeule 1988, p. 124. https://collections.mfa.org/objects/153081
[20] See Lawton 2017 for stylistic dating of similar votive reliefs in the 4th century. See Ridgway 1997 for more general stylistic dating of sculptural relief in the Classical period.
[21] For general trends in ancient polychromy, pinakes and grave stele in this period, see Pollitt 2014, 202-204 and Plantzos 2018, 257-258.

votives.[22] The extensive quarries on Mt. Pentelikon, opened for the erection of the Parthenon and other buildings on the Acropolis in the second half of the fifth century, made this marble and its skilled carvers readily available in Attica (Fig. 9). The surplus of marble material made the privatization of a civic act economically feasible for the average Athenian citizen. In other words, materials originally reserved for highly public, large-scale monuments, were now plentiful and accessible for the Athenian citizen to be used privately, in personal dedicatory reliefs. The desire for a permanent stone memorial over a more temporary wooden one might have served to liken the modest personalized marble votive dedications to the larger, public civic ones, such as the votive frieze on the Parthenon.[23] The marble relief format demonstrably emulates that of a *pinax*, rectangular and architecturally framed, and was mounted and displayed on a columnar shaft atop a plinth for viewing, similar to panel paintings (Figs. 10 and 11).[24] In ancient Greek sanctuaries, these votive monuments were plentiful, set along paths and in walls, and with eye-catching painting, they stood as permanent memorials for their votive dedication to the hero.[25] While more than two hundred marble votive reliefs have been catalogued, the actual number produced in more ephemeral materials, including wood, remains unknown.[26]

[22] Boardman 1985, 185-186. Stone production in the Classical period was monopolized by mainland Greece. The market for such production of stone relief may have been stimulated by a new series of gravestones which began around the same time circa late 5th to early 4th century.
[23] Clairmont 1993, 182. Stewart 2008, 170-171. Boardman 1995, 186. Votive relief sculpture produced at the end of the 5th century shared many similarities with the newly constructed Parthenon frieze including stylistic choices like the crowding of figures within an architectural frame.
[24] Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 58-59. While the majority catalogued votive banquet, reliefs were carved only on the front face, there is evidence of other votive dedications that were carved on both sides for display in the round. She cites an example of a record relief from Patras. For descriptive terms from texts alluding to the display context of panel painting now lost, see Jones 2014, 298.
[25] Damaskos 2012, 105. Sculpture as votive offering served doubly as political and ideological propaganda, decorating both public and private spaces, and so was plentiful.
[26] Boardman 1995, 132. The number of reliefs carved, painted and raised on columns or shafts for viewing would have been so numerous in the 4th century that they would have resembled a “forest”. This being said, only those of the highest quality appear in museum collections; those countless destroyed, of lesser quality, or too damaged for display are simply lost to time.

III. THE BROOKS RELIEF RECONTEXTUALIZED: THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF ATHENIAN VOTIVE BANQUET RELIEFS

Distribution of Athenian Votive Reliefs

The findspots and overall distribution of votive banquet marble reliefs are concentrated in Athens with other examples at Peloponnesian sanctuaries at sites like Corinth, Delphi, and Tegea, as well as isolated examples on the broader horizons of the Greek world at sites like Delos, Smyrna and Thasos (Fig. 7).[27] Specific findspots are few, but the find locations, in general, suggest their original display contexts were associated with sanctuaries.[28] The production of votive banquet reliefs appears to have originated in Athens, and the reliefs excavated at the Athenian Agora provide perhaps the most complete evidence of the range and nature of the local Athenian production. Reliefs outside of Athens may suggest an export trade, and some scholars have proposed small, secondary workshops.[29] In terms of specific findspots in Athens where the votive banquet relief excavation records are most concentrated, fifty of the two hundred plus known reliefs were found in the vicinity of the Athenian Agora. However, the findspots are not confined to the Agora proper, but have also been found on the north slope of the Areopagus, near the Asklepion on the south slope of the Acropolis, and near the Amyneion

[27] For the most complete corpus of banquet reliefs and their findspots, see Dentzer 1982, 567-626.
[28] Lawton 2017, 92. Many of the reliefs were reused in the tradition of spolia as construction fill and so are far removed from their original display context but are still often found in the vicinity of sanctuary complexes.
[29] Lawton 2016, 391-392. Reliefs from Thasos on the broader horizons of the Greek world are more similar to reliefs from Paros than those from Athens in mainland Greece. The similarities between the reliefs from Paros and the reliefs from Thasos could be explained by connections between workshops in the two colonies.

on the south slope of the Areopagus (Fig. 12).[30] Although by no means conclusive, given these findspots and what is known of the display contexts in sanctuaries and shrines, it would seem that the production of votive banquet reliefs was concentrated in central metropolitan Athens. Reliefs found in greater Attica were likely exported from these urban city workshops. Athens appears to have been the epicenter of production for mainland Greece and the Peloponnese; further removed locations such as Thasos and Smyrna appear to be more likely locations for secondary workshops.

Banqueting Imagery and Heroization in Classical Athens

The practice of reclining while drinking and dining, originally borrowed from the ancient Near East as evident in the iconic inclusion of animal-headed *rhyta* raised by the hero, was utilized by Greeks to assert the continuing vitality of their cultural tradition of private religious activities and dedications.[31] In classical Greek culture, the eastern form of the *rhyton* symbolized abundance and wealth to the heroes, just as the *phiale* was used for libation and tithing (Fig. 13).[32] These objects were adopted from Near Eastern contexts with elevated, elite connotations as they were appropriately used by royalty, and therefore when used in Greek tradition, served to define the hero as distinct from – and superior to – the individual.[33] Besides the inclusion of the formal components of drinking, the imagery of the reclining banquet first appears in Greek art at the end of the seventh century BCE, again inspired by visual art from the Near East. A

[30] Lawton 2017, 93. A few additional findspots include both residential and industrial areas southwest of the Agora proper.
[31] Dentzer 1982, esp. 433. Ebbinghaus and Molacek 2018, 245-257. Lawton 2016, 388-389. Closterman 2014, 7. Fischer and Tal 2003, 54. Originally proposed by Dentzer, the motif of the symposium originates from the drinking and dining practices of the ancient Near East. Camp 1986, 63. Lynch 2012, 525. The symposium and act of formal banqueting was considered one of the civic duties of the Athenian citizen in the late 5th and 4th centuries. Feasts were opportunities for the expression of power, provision and control of resources.
[32] On drinking horns, libation bowls, and the associated Near Eastern connotations and practices, see Ebbinghaus 2018, 139-140, 150, and 256. Hansen 2008, 119. The wealth associated with such items was one of the reasons their usage was so emphatically adopted into Greek society.
[33] Ebbinghaus 2018, 135.

Corinthian krater at the Louvre dated to the turn of the seventh century illustrates the type and is considered by scholars to have secured the timing for the emergence of such imagery in Greece (Fig. 14).[34] The use of such decorated vessel types in daily and ritualistic activity emulated the mode of veneration for local traditional heroes depicted on the object itself, in other words serving didactically, as instruction for proper reverential acts.[35]

Another example of the emergence of banquet imagery in the late seventh century may be cited in a relief from the Temple of Athena in Assos dated to the third quarter of the sixth century, which depicts four males engaged in eating and drinking (Fig. 15). This relief is particularly relevant because it situates the visual imagery of the banquet in a sacred context carved into the architrave of a temple, much like the imagery of the votive reliefs is carved into a *naiskos* shrine. More contemporaneous with the corpus of votive banquet reliefs from the fifth and fourth centuries is a *kylix* drinking cup depicting scenes from a symposium, circa 480 BCE (Fig. 16). All three reiterations of the banquet, whether in Greek ceramic vessel or architectural sculptural form, consistently rely on the iconic reclining male banqueter to convey the elevated activity of drinking and dining typically reserved for the elite and became widespread imagery in Classical Athens.

Why was this banqueting imagery so emphatically adopted in the cultural environment of mid fifth and fourth century Greece, and Athens in particular? This period saw a rise in interest in the relation of the individual to the gods, and subsequently divine-heroes, and has been

[34] For further discussion of the full series of Corinthian kraters that secure the date of the emergence of banqueting imagery in ancient Greece, see Wecowski 2014, 160-161.
[35] Lawton 2016, 392. Shapiro 2009, 177-178, Fig. 1. The most immediate source of banqueting imagery in Classical Attic votive reliefs was likely established as a tradition of heroic and often times divine banqueting scenes depicted in 6th century Athenian black-figure vase painting.

characterized by some scholars even as "the age of the individual."[36] This puts into perspective the votive dedications inscribed to unnamed heroes, but with the careful inclusion of the dedicator's name; almost a contract between the dedicator and the divine, the standardized reliefs were individually inscribed.[37]. Fifth century Athenian society was consumed with how to uphold and represent the glory of the city (*polis*), while maintaining both the status of the household (*oikos*) and the specific individual.[38] It was important that the individual party be identified in the process of worship and veneration so as to establish a direct relationship with the hero and his accompanying attributes (e.g. health and wealth), as well as maintain the image of the perfect Athenian citizen (prudent, intelligent, self-controlled, moderate, and orderly).[39] These changing ideals and the introduction of a clear, legible, narrative imagery in banquet reliefs went hand-in-hand, giving Athenian citizens the outlet needed for efficacious votive dedications, even at modest levels like the Brooks Relief.

Polychromy

As part of this study, the Brooks Relief was examined in ultraviolet and infrared light for evidence of ancient polychromy (Fig. 17).[40] While imaging with ultraviolet light did not reveal any vestiges of ancient pigment, in visible induced luminescence imaging (infrared) the Brooks Relief revealed the presence of Egyptian blue on the background of the relief, concentrated on

[36] Ekroth 2007, 102. The etymology of the Greek word hero, literally "protector" or "defender", has divine origins with the Greek gods attested in ancient texts and mythologies. For ancient Greek religion and the popularity of hero-cults like that of Asklepios in the 4th century, see Stewart 2008, 232-233.
[37] Lawton 2017, 92. Dentzer 1982, 344. Votive banquet reliefs almost always include the name of the dedicator, but less commonly include the name of the hero, often dedicated simply to "the hero".
[38] Stewart 2008, 149.
[39] Stewart 2008, 240. Greek private citizens were committed to an Athenian "middling" lifestyle and so the modest banquet reliefs were a preferred mode of veneration. Boardman 1985, 186. Likewise, there was a growing interest in the local heroes of Athens in the 4th century amidst the rise of individualism. Thus, there was a rise in smaller, individually dedicated monuments. Dillon and Garland 2013, 113. Individuals and families made their own dedications to the gods in thanks of the benefits granted to them, and families in general were encouraged to partake of religious events together hence the groups of "families" (adorants and/or worshippers) in votive banquet reliefs.
[40] For polychromy in archaic and classical Greek sculpture, see Brinkmann 2017, esp. 27.

the protected depths of the relief near the head of the seated female figure (Fig. 18).[41] Digital microscopy (between 30-150X) captured images of the blue pigment particles, which consistently appear in highly disturbed burial accretion rather than as a distinct, intact layer of pigment (Fig. 19). The presence of this pigment strongly suggests the background field of the relief was painted blue which was conventional in this period in relief sculpture. The use of such blue color was often associated with elevated or sacred subjects.[42] The tradition of painted wooden votive panels, or *pinakes*, now lost, probably was an immediate precedent for the use of such color in the marble reliefs.[43] Very few votive banquet reliefs appear to preserve any ancient coloration. For example, of the fifty votive banquet reliefs excavated at the Athenian Agora, only three retain any pigment: one with red in the anta of its frame, one with red in its background, and one with blue on its background and red in its figures' hair (Fig. 20).[44]

A similar use of blue is evident in large-scale architectural relief during the Classical period, including the background of the long frieze of the Temple of Hephaestus in the Agora.[45] Although red does not appear in the Brooks Relief, the color often adorned architectural detail like that of the architrave and is again evidenced in the Hephaestion where the red pigment is painted along the edges of the larger colored sections of the frieze.[46] Blue also appears as a background color in numerous contemporary Athenian funerary relief monuments (Fig. 21).[47] A

[41] On infrared photography techniques and the use of visible induced luminescence in revealing pigment types: Grossman 2003, 54. Warda 2011, 146. Verri, Ambers and Sweek 2010, 220-223.
[42] OCD, see "Egyptian blue" for its color symbolism. See also, Blume 2014, 168-172 for more on the synthetic and reflective properties of Egyptian blue pigment.
[43] Boardman 1995, 131. While not solely an Athenian phenomenon, Athens was one of the richest sources of votive banquet reliefs.
[44] Lawton 2017, 14. Of the three votive reliefs from the Athenian Agora retaining vestiges of pigment (catalogue entries 49, 77, and 121), catalogue entry 121 is the only votive banquet relief. The relief is a fragment and the reclining banqueter is no longer visible.
[45] For specific distribution of pigments on the east frieze of the Temple of Hephaestus, see Harrison 1988, 339-340.
[46] Harrison 1988, 339.
[47] Lawton 2017, 13. It is most likely that all votive reliefs, like contemporary document and grave reliefs, were originally painted. For additional references to polychromy both in relief and in panel painting, see Jones 2014 and Posamentir 2006.

later example, a circa second century BCE *naiskos* stele from Demetrias suggests how such painted reliefs would have looked to ancient audiences. The background, fragmented and faded, depicts a blue coloration and the architrave is painted in red like the fragmentary color on the Agora votive reliefs (Fig. 21.A). A third century BCE stele depicting the reclining banqueter Menelaos from Demetrias provides another example of traditional color scheme and has a (much abraded) blue ground and red architrave (Fig. 21.B).[48] While painting is more extensively preserved in these later Greek funerary reliefs and stelai from the Hellenistic period, they nonetheless suggest something of their Classical precedents.

Understanding the Brooks Relief's Inscription: The Hero Eudotei in the Topography of Attica

Inscribed architraves on sculptural reliefs mimic a tradition of inscribing buildings that began as early as the sixth century BCE in the Archaic period. The practice of inscribing an individual's name seems not to be of foreign influence or associated with status, but rather an appropriation of an individual's rights in the drastically changing landscape of Late Classical Greece.[49] Architectural dedications tended to be predominately votive in nature, most recording gifts given by an individual. Like the votive banquet reliefs, each carefully included the name of the dedicator as record of veneration and as a testament to personal piety.[50] In Athens, local

[48] Harrison 1988, 339-340. The greenish tint to the blue background color of painted relief and stele is not in fact the product of deterioration over a long period of time but actually caused by a material applied for preservation after excavation. Smith and Plantzos 2012, 493. Stamatopoulou 2016, 405-417. Ridgway 1997, 193. Demetrias in particular has such a wealth of painted stone monument because not only did artists from Attic workshops move to Demetrias for work after Demetrios of Phaleron passed his anti-luxury decree in 316/317 BCE essentially ending the production of all large scale dedicatory monument in Athens, but also that a great many of the works were used as architectural fill at the site during war time where the clay used to pack them actually worked to preserve the painted surfaces. For an extensive corpus of painted funerary monument and grave stele as examples of what painted votive banquet reliefs may have looked like, see Posamentir 2006 and 2011.

[49] Umholtz 2002, 261. Inscriptions naming donors in architectural dedications were not a drastic departure from earlier traditions as some scholars have suggested, but a continuous progression contemporaneous with changes in Classical and Late Classical society where an ancient Greek citizen's identity became separate from that state.

[50] Umholtz 2002, 262-263. The inscription of dedicators' names in large scale architecture is assumed based on literary data referencing painted dedications. No extant architectural dedications by individuals are known from the period between 460-360 BCE, but later surviving Hellenistic examples aid in evidentially citing the trend.

examples include inscribed altars in the Agora and columns of sanctuaries, and more broadly, include inscribed architraves like that of the Knidian Treasury at Delphi.[51] The widespread acceptance of such practice in both secular and sacred buildings, including temples, is also attested to in literature.[52] Keeping in mind that votive banquet reliefs are carved within an architectural frame creating a *naiskos* shrine, the inclusion of the text in the architrave is typical and precedented at a much grander and even more widely viewed scale on sacred buildings that were themselves dedications.

Extant inscriptions on votive banquet reliefs are relatively rare, with an estimated less than fifty out of the corpus of two hundred plus displaying inscriptions.[53] The discovery of bases inscribed with dedications to "the hero", however, suggests that some of these dedicatory monuments displayed inscriptions on the plinths and columnar shafts that the reliefs were mounted on, rather than the relief architrave.[54] These base inscriptions could have been carved into the vertical stone support or more expeditiously, and perhaps more likely, painted on. Of the sample of seventeen inscribed votive banquet reliefs tabulated for this study, the name of the hero is seldomly identified; more commonly the inscription ends as a dedication simply "to the hero" (Table 1).[55] Presumably, the name of the hero would have been clear in its original context in local Athenian demes.[56] These reliefs were often dedicated in sanctuaries associated with individual heroes and when seen in context, their votive function and association with a specific

[51] Umholtz 2002, 267-271. These are only a few examples, but record dedications appear on a variety of structures including temples, treasuries, altars, stoas, gateways, fountain houses, and commemorative monuments.
[52] Umholtz 2002, 289-299.
[53] Lawton 2017, 92. Dentzer 1982, 344. Both scholars attest that votive banquet reliefs with inscription are relatively uncommon in Attica. For example, of the 49 votive banquet reliefs excavated in the Athenian Agora, only two are inscribed.
[54] For evidence of inscribed bases in the Athenian Agora, see Thompson 1968, 36-38 and Walbank 1989, 71-75.
[55] This representative group of 17 tabulated reliefs with inscription was sourced from Dentzer 1982. While his catalogue is the most comprehensive collection of votive banquet reliefs to date, this group of 17 inscribed reliefs is by no means absolute and serves rather as a sampling of the inscription types recorded in votive banquet reliefs.
[56] Klöckner 2017, 120-121. Rotroff 1978, 206. Lawton 2017, 93. Dentzer 1982, 454.

hero would have been unambiguous.[57] Given the display context and subsequent audience association of the depictions on votive banquet reliefs, the inscription probably serves a secondary purpose of documenting the dedication and agency of the dedicant, where the primary purpose is relayed first and foremost, visually.

The Brooks Relief serves as a new addition to the corpus of votive banquet reliefs with a full-length inscription which until now, was undocumented and untranslated. The text in the inscription of the Brooks Relief transcribed is: ΧΡΥΣΙΣ ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ ΗΡΩΙΕΥΔΩΤΕΙ (Fig. 22). Translated, it reads: "Chrysis (and) Moschion (dedicate this relief) to the hero Eudotei."[58] Grammatically, the format is fairly standard: the nominative case or subject identifies the dedicators by name; the verb, often implied rather than inscribed, contextually denotes dedication; the dative case or direct object identifies "to whom" the action of dedication is being applied (i.e. the hero). The names of the dedicators do not include a patronymic or any indication of deme citizenship. Furthermore, it should be noted that the naming of the dedicators likely has little to no relationship to the figural scene; these reliefs were formulaic, produced quickly and in bulk, and likely inscribed not by the sculptor, but laconically by a separate individual, perhaps even the dedicators themselves. Thus, this is not an example of Athenian citizens striving to adopt civic practice, but of humble purchasers seeking veneration of a relatively unpopular, regionally specific local hero.

The inclusion of the word "hero" confirms the votive function of this relief. A heroized deceased depicted on a funerary relief would never have been identified as such; the term hero in

[57] Thompson 1968, 68. The Monument to the Eponymous Heroes or namesakes of the Attic demes erected in the Athenian Agora emphasizes the importance of deme distinction and association for the 4th century Athenian.
[58] I thank Stephen Tracy for this translation and commentary on the inscription; personal correspondence March 14, 2020. The inscription will be added by John Bodel to the collection of Greek and Latin inscriptions in the USA Spring 2020. See U.S. Epigraphy Project (USEP) for entry. http://usepigraphy.brown.edu.

ancient Greek was reserved for divinity. Closely comparable to the Brooks Relief inscription is a banquet relief excavated in the Athenian Agora (Fig. 23).[59] The Agora relief's inscription in Greek characters is: ΧΡΥΣΙΣ ΗΡΩΙ. It reads similar to the Brooks Relief, "Chrysis (dedicates this relief) to the hero (unnamed)". The word "Chrysis" and the word "hero" are easily identifiable in the Greek lettering and serve as the nominative and dative cases in both reliefs. The dedicator's name was a common one, which can be translated as "golden one".[60]

Most interesting in the Brooks Relief inscription is the inclusion of the hero's name: ΕΥΔΩΤΕΙ. As stated previously, heroes appear generally to not have been named, and more often were determined by their display context and vicinity to a specific shrine, temple or sanctuary. Eudotei is a heroized minor divinity mentioned only in one other inscription on a stone from Brauron: [Τ]ΕΛΈΣΤΗϹ ΕΎΔΩΤΗΙ ΕΥΞΆΜΕΝΟϹ. It reads "Telestes to Eudotei in fulfillment of his vow".[61] Perhaps inscribed on a stone shaft or column to elevate a relief for display, but more likely inscribed on a standard document relief, this is, according to Stephen Tracy, the only other attestation of Eudotei known in ancient Greek tradition. As a minor heroized divinity, the rarity of the inclusion of such a hero's name serves to further support the authentication of the relief, as it is not a name that could be forged in the modern period without prior knowledge of this little-known text.

Furthermore, the presence of the hero's name provides insight into the origin of the relief amidst the larger topography of Attica. With one inscribed record of the name in Brauron, there are also three document reliefs with mining leases titled or called "Eudoteion" (meaning "well-

[59] Votive relief dedicated to a hero by Chrysis. Lawton 2017, 105-106, No. 123, Fig. 5, Pl. 36. *Agora* XVIII, 288, 313-314, No. V597. Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 81, No. 91. Van Straten 1974, 173, No. 105, Fig. 26. Rotroff 1978, 204, No. 37. Camp 1980, 29, Fig. 57. Dentzer 1982, 304-305, No. 18. Klöckner 2002, 325-329, No. 221. Parker 2005, 46.
[60] OCD, see "Chrysis".
[61] Themelis 1998, 77-78. SEG XLVI 260.

endowed" or "bounteously giving") in the south-eastern region of Laureion where there were prosperous active silver mines (Fig. 24).[62] Eudotei seems to have been a local hero, intimately associated with both the region of Attica and its economic activities; Laureion provided essential silver wealth for the Athenian empire and was closely associated with such wealth. Approximately seventy-five inscriptions excavated from the Athenian Agora reference and/or record the silver mines in the peninsula, the majority dating from the fourth century.[63] This documentation establishes a connection between Athens and Laureion dependent on trade, and emphasizes the Brooks Relief was a product of Athens, crafted for, exported to, and displayed in Laureion. One might even imagine that the standardized format of the relief was produced in bulk, and quickly inscribed with the dedicators intentions perhaps during a business trip to Athens.

Hero Cults and Athenian Popular Religion

Modest marble votive monuments, like the Brooks Relief dedicated to local heroes, exemplify some of the more popular forms of Athenian religion – a world of belief often far removed from the familiar highly public, civic art and votive dedications on the Athenian Acropolis.[64] Banqueting reliefs arguably reflect a widespread belief in allegedly traditional heroes intimately associated with the sacred geography of Attica.[65] It is worth emphasizing that this was a relatively short-lived phenomenon from the late fifth to late fourth centuries and came into being in an age when the Athenians emphatically publicly celebrated themselves as being of

[62] Information provided by Stephen Tracy. For the specific mining leases inscriptions, see Lalonde, Langdon and Walbank 1991, P14 line 21, P26 line 219, and P30 line 19. See MacDonald 1961, 19-21 for general information on mining and the silver industry at Laureion. Crosby 1950, 191-193. The mines at Laureion were nearly always named for a divinity, a hero, or an operator. Typical leases recorded on a stele included the name of the mine, the purchaser, the price, and the register who oversaw the transaction.
[63] Crosby 1950, 189-190.
[64] For the Parthenon frieze as votive relief, see Kroll 1979, 349-352 and Stewart 2008, 170-171.
[65] Kearns 1989, 10-13. Parker 2011, 103. Ekroth 2002, 152 and 303.

a pure, unadulterated stock, and autochthonous (literally "sprung from the earth") of Attica; this during a time when their ethnic identity was increasingly diversifying as the horizon of the Greek world broadened through Empire and then Alexander's conquests.[66] The Brooks Relief features traditional polis citizen costumes all worn in ceremonial manner and the sacrificial pig, consistent with Athenian sacrificial calendars or the record of which animals were purchased when, and for what ritual events (Table 2).[67] In the context of popular Athenian religion, the Brooks Relief thus, is arguably best understood as a visual example of the practices associated with such hero-cult traditions.

Furthermore, local religious practice in Attica was often associated with particular *demes*, the political sub-divisions of a population.[68] Such heroes, often unnamed but regionally identified most commonly as Aiakos, Eurysakes, Iatros, Kallistephanos, Leos and Strategos, were thought in Attica and elsewhere to have the power and influence over human affairs long after their death.[69] Their worship was generally smaller in scale and site specific opposed to the more cosmopolitan worship of the gods that were named, like Asklepios, Aphrodite, and Dionysus, and not restricted to any one particular territory.[70] In practice, local Athenian heroes appear to have been worshipped with similar sacrificial rituals and modes of honor as the gods celebrated in the more public, civic monuments such as the Parthenon. Local heroes were a

[66] Stewart 2008, 152. The cult of "earthborn" kings was active in Athens in the late 5th century. On the Persian wars, Peloponnesian War, and occupation of Athens during the Classical period: Camp 1986, 61-62.
[67] Stewart 2008, 170-171, Fig. 87. The construction of the Parthenon frieze in the mid-5th century inspired a whole industry of votive reliefs in Athens which were formulaically framed by architectural features that alluded to a naiskos shrine. They similarly made use of hierarchical scale, included one or more individuals, and occasionally included a sacrificial animal. Van Straten 1995, 262-264 and Ekroth 2002, 303. Sacrificial calendars show that pigs were the most commonly sacrificed animal as they were the least expensive for purchase. Sheep and bulls were more expensive and reserved for deities.
[68] OCD, see "demes". For a full list of Attic demes, see Traill 1986.
[69] For local heroes known from literary and epigraphical sources associated with shrines in the vicinity of the Agora, see Parker 2011, 103-104. Lawton 2017, 93. Rotroff 1978, 204-207.
[70] Parker 2011, 104.

private source of benefaction, with dedicatory monuments placed in small road-side and rural sanctuaries featuring intimate scenes including individuals and family members. Such reliefs were privately coordinated by their patrons with an artisan, and thus these reliefs reflect the intentions and concerns of the individual Athenian citizen rather than Athens, the city, as a whole.[71]

Offerings and the sacrifice of an animal appropriate for a hero or god were the primary modes of worship in ancient Greece. While other physical acts such as processions and festivals were accompanying events framing the sacrifices, the offerings of gifts whether bloodless in the form of cakes, fruits and libation, or culminating in the death of a designated animal were integral to the veneration of the heroes.[72] There are two approaches to animal sacrifice in the Greek world: bloodletting and consumption.[73] Votive banquet reliefs such as the Brooks Relief, fall into the category of consumption, where the sacrifice takes on the basic form of a meal prepared for the hero.[74] Although the actual slaughter is never depicted in Greek antiquity, as demonstrated by the Brooks Relief, the presence of a sacrificial animal being presented to a reclining elder male is a key feature of hero votive banquet reliefs, distinguishing them clearly from funerary monuments.[75] Inclusion of a sacrificial animal in a banquet scene not only

[71] Dillon and Garland 2013, 100-103. Kroll 1979, 350-351. Construction on the Acropolis was significant for Athenian citizens. Not only did citizens collectively have a say in the monumentalization and physical representation of their religion, but construction was expedited so that Athenians saw their ideals concretized in the span of 15 years. Citizens sought to establish their own personal, local heroes in modest stone relief similarly.
[72] Ekroth 2002, 13-17.
[73] For animal sacrifice, altar ritual, and distinctions between bloodletting and consumption in preparation for a sacrificial meal, see Ekroth 2002. Van Straten 1995. Hamilton 2009, 29-32.
[74] Ekroth 2002, 16. There are three kinds of sacrificial rituals in hero-cults most closely associated with a hero's banquet: (1) animal sacrifice with destruction of the meat and no meal, (2) inclusion of cakes, breads and cooked meat in a meal, (3) animal sacrifice with portion of cooked meat to the hero and portions to the worshippers. While breads and cakes are always included on the trapeza set before the reclining banqueter, the ultimate fate of the animal sacrifice is unknown, whether it is to be consumed or destroyed.
[75] Rotroff 1978. Translation of a semi-complete epigraphical inventory of a hero's banquet listing the various tools, sacrificial implements, and ritual costume that the accompany formal drinking and dining. See also, Lissarrague 1990 for more on traditional Greek banqueting aesthetics and accouchement.

documents that the family has made such offerings to the hero, but also anticipates the forthcoming action of the sacrificial ritual, undetermined by the narrative scene. The sculpted relief of the Brooks Museum thus erected in the hero's sanctuary served as a powerful, visually striking document of the offerings and banquet honoring the unnamed hero in perpetuity.

Stylistic Dating

In order to propose a new date for the Brooks Relief that is narrowed down to the mid-fourth century, it is necessary that a more detailed investigation of the stylistic tendencies, aside from broader religious and cultural trends, be addressed. While the inscription and its poor orthography provide little insight to the dating of the relief, there are discernable formal and iconographic chronological developments in votive banquet relief style that more accurately date such sculptural objects.[76] In the late fifth century for instance, there is a lack of framing pilasters in votive banquet reliefs; the only architectural feature being the roofline or architrave (Fig. 25.A). Banqueters during this period are usually depicted in profile and overall the carving is typically in low relief, all of which contrasts with the Brooks Relief's key features. It is only in the first half of the fourth century when architectural side borders begin to appear and also when the reclining banqueter starts to be shown in three-quarter and frontal views, rather than strictly in profile (Fig. 25.B). The number of attending worshippers increases between the fifth and fourth centuries as well, again evident in the Brooks Relief with its five accompanying adorants (Fig. 1). The *oinochoos* or Praxitelean male decanting wine, shrinks in scale throughout the fourth century too, perhaps making room for the additional worshippers as well as further emphasizing the importance of the banqueter through the use of hierarchical scale.[77] Given this

[76] For general stylistic dating for 4th century sculpture, see Ridgway 1997, esp. 193.
[77] For stylistic dating specific to votive banquet reliefs produced in the late 5th and 4th centuries, see Lawton 2017, 97-98.

information, a proposed date of circa 350 BCE for the Brooks Relief is most appropriate, both in Athens and more broadly with the naming of the mines after the hero in Laureion, as well as with the stylistic currents of the Late Classical period.[78]

[78] I thank Carol Lawton for confirming this proposed date; personal correspondence March 16, 2020.

IV. CONCLUSIONS: HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BROOKS RELIEF

It is the Classical period, a period of acute retrospective and self-identification in the local geographical consciousness of Athenians paired with an acute interest in local notions of citizenship in various competing demes of Attica, that produced the phenomenon that was the votive banquet scene. The Brooks Relief, with its inscription, vestiges of polychromy, and overall excellent state of preservation, is an important addition to the corpus of Athenian votive reliefs dedicated to the traditional heroes of Attica from the late fifth through fourth centuries BCE. It provides new insights into popular beliefs in this period, when the flexible imagery of such votives was increasingly incorporated into Athenian funerary monuments. Evidence of a tenon for elevated display, worshippers in ritual dress and posture, the presence of a sacrificial pig, as well as the undeniable naming of a hero in dedicatory inscription, are all features consistent with contemporary votive banquet reliefs, and served as both a visual and textual means of identifying such votives and distinguishing them from funerary monuments. It is unpublished archaeological objects, like the Brooks Relief, with a definite function and undeniable evidence of such, that aid in rectifying outdated notions of conflating votive and funerary banquet reliefs. The Brooks Relief, with a new, proposed date of circa 350 BCE, a product for public sanctuary veneration rather than private familial funerary practice, suggests that private intimate interactions with divine heroes were much related to the Athenian collective

identity and even tied to the rise of sacred mystery cults in Attica in the later fifth and fourth centuries.

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FIGURES

Fig. 1. The Brooks Relief, Pentelic marble with pigment, H. 44.5 x W. 44.8 x D. 9.5 cm, provenience unknown, circa 350 BCE, Memphis Brooks Museum of Art LI.90.3.

A

B

C

Fig. 2. Details of the Brooks Relief, Pentelic marble with pigment, H. 44.5 x W. 44.8 x D. 9.5 cm, provenience unknown, circa 350 BCE, Memphis Brooks Museum of Art LI.90.3, A. Verso evidencing quarry face splitting and silver-colored mica inclusions, B. Left lateral face with claw chisel tool marks and minimal smoothing or finishing, C. Right lateral face with claw chisel tool marks and minimal smoothing or finishing.

A

B

Fig. 3. Examples of banquet reliefs identified as the “Totenmahl”, A. Banquet relief, marble, approx. H. 40.0 x W. 40.0 x D. 10.0 cm., provenience unknown (Greece?), circa 360-350 BCE, Mahdia Museum C1199, B. Banquet relief, marble, approx. H. 30.0 x W. 50.0 x D. 10 cm., provenience unknown (Greece?), circa 360-350 BCE, Mahdia Museum C1200.

A

B

C

D

Fig. 4. Grave stele featuring reclining banqueters, A. Grave stele of Piraeus, marble, approx. H. 100 cm., provenience unknown, 2nd century BCE, National Archaeological Museum, Athens 997, B. Grave stele with a funerary banquet and departing warriors, marble, H. 109.9 cm, Greece, 2nd century BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1992.11.58, C. Grave stele of Dioles with a funerary banquet, marble, H. 86.0 x W. 42.0 cm., Athens, circa 320 BCE, Archaeological Museum of Piraeus 16, D. Grave stele of Kephisios with a funerary banquet, marble, H. 57.0 x W. 32.0 cm., Athens, circa 320 BCE, Archaeological Museum of Piraeus 261.

Fig. 5. Funerary banquet relief, marble, H. 40.0 cm x W. 69.0 cm., Asia Minor, 2nd century BCE, Bignor Park Collection, England.

A

B

C

Fig. 6. Examples of votive banquet reliefs from the Late Classical period, A. Votive relief depicting a reclining banqueter, heroine and worshippers, marble, H. 33.5 cm x W. 37.5 cm., Greece, 4th century BCE, National Archaeological Museum, Athens 3873, B. Votive relief dedicated to a hero, marble, H. 24.0 x W. 26.7 x D. 5.1 cm., Attica, late 4th century BCE, Metropolitan Museum of Art 57.42, C. Votive banquet relief, marble, H. 39.0 x W. 57.0 cm., Greece, circa 300 BCE, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN1594.

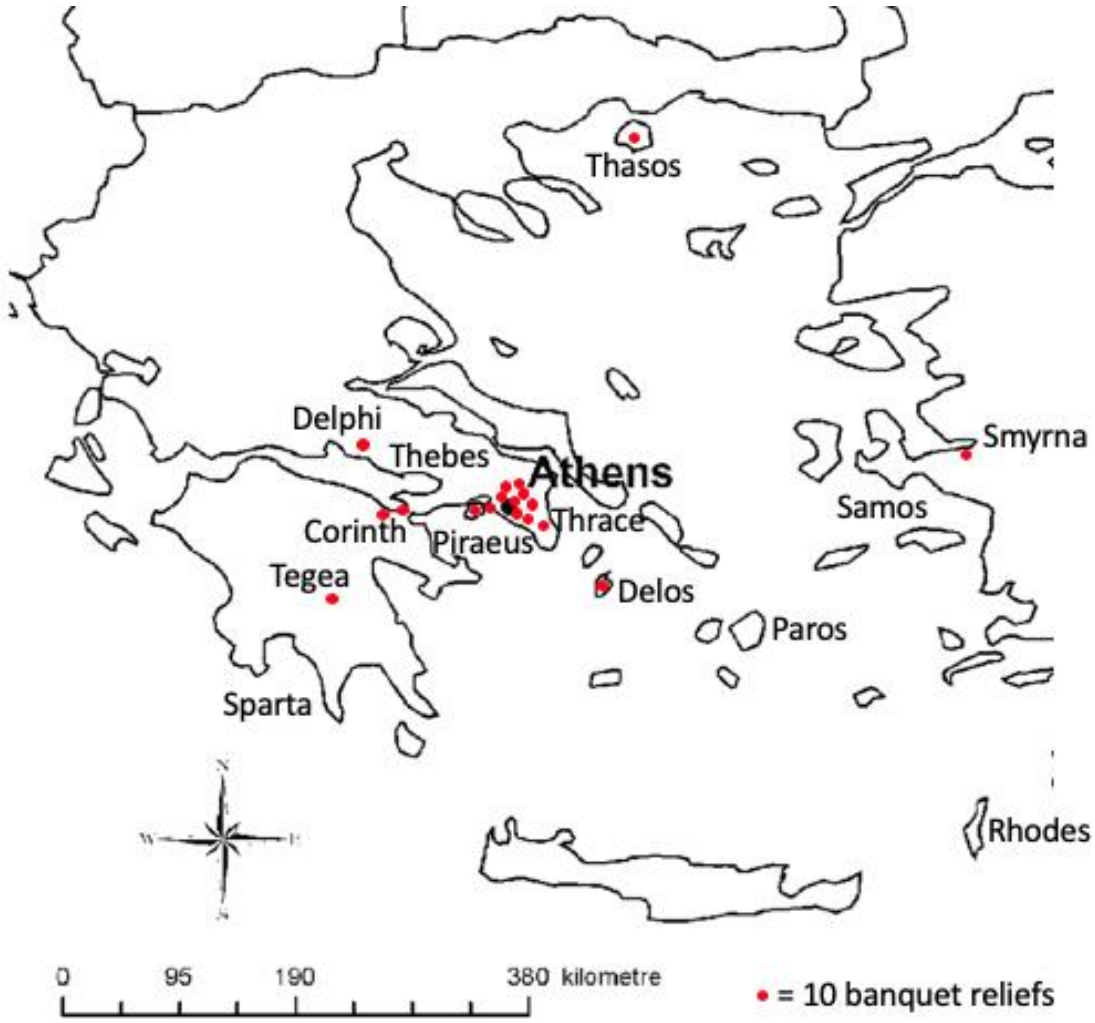
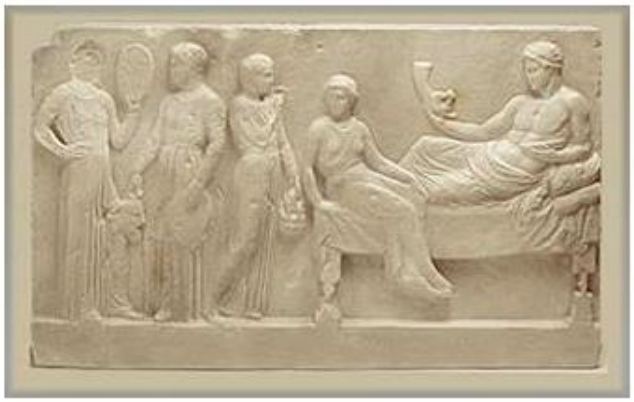


Fig. 7. Distribution map of votive banquet reliefs in ancient Greece, circa 5th-4th centuries BCE.

A

B



C

Fig. 8. Examples of votive reliefs featuring deities, A. Votive relief to Asklepios, marble, H. 60.0 cm., Greece, circa 375-350 BCE., National Archaeological Museum of Athens, B. Votive relief to Herakles, marble, approx. H. 50.0 cm., Greece, 4th century BCE, Epigraphical Museum, Athens 3942, C. Votive relief to Dionysus, marble, H. 55.0 cm., Greece, circa 410 BCE, National Archaeological Museum of Athens 1500.

Fig. 9. Banquet relief, Pentelic marble, H. 38.4 x W. 39.4 cm., Greece, 400-350 BCE, The Michael C. Carlos Museum 1984.016.

Fig. 10. Votive relief to hero (unidentified) and detail of elevated display of votive relief monument, marble, H. 38.0 x W. 59.0 cm., Attica, circa 375-350 BCE, National Archaeological Museum of Athens 15245.

Fig. 11. Votive relief to hero Amphiaraos and detail of elevated display of votive relief monument, marble, H. 49.0 cm., Oropos, circa 400-350 BCE, National Archaeological Museum of Athens 3369.

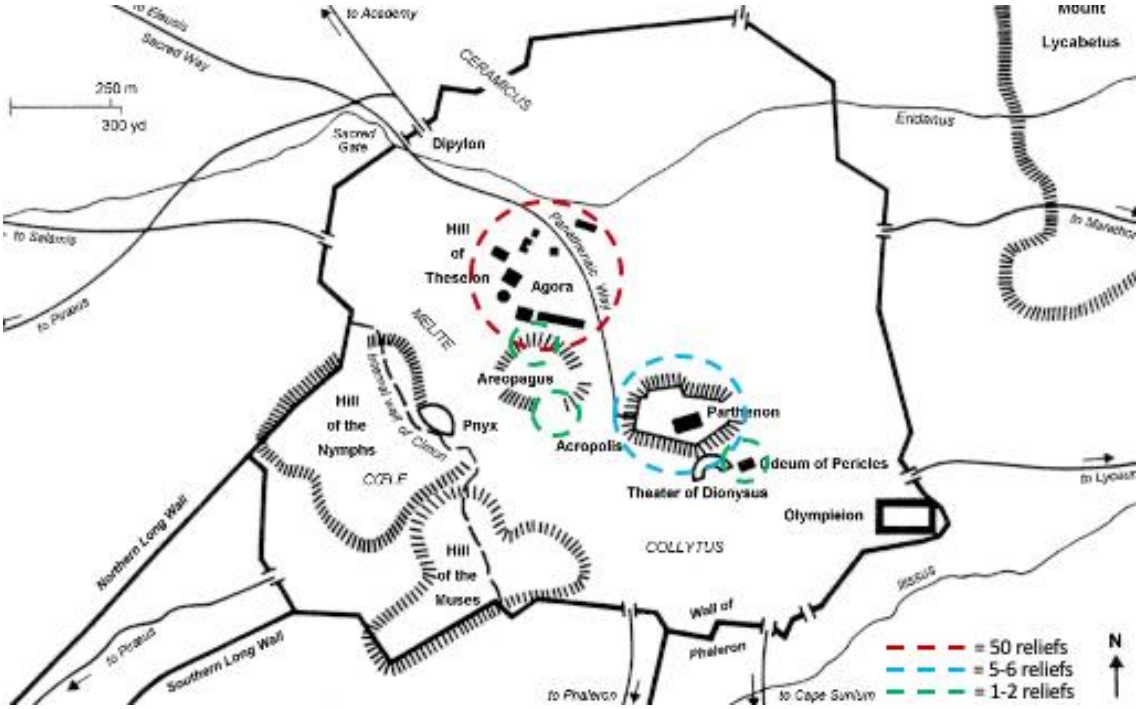
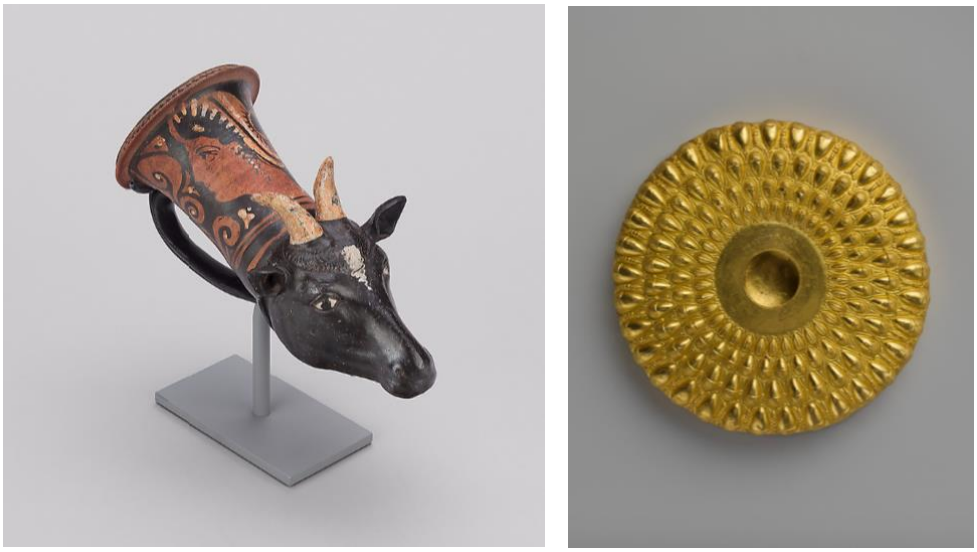


Fig. 12. Map of votive banquet relief distribution in Athens in the 5th-4th centuries BCE



A B

Fig. 13. Examples of Greek rhyton and phiale types, A. Rhyton (Drinking Vessel) in Shape of a Sheep's Head, terracotta, H. 20.9 × W. 11.4 × D. 12 cm, Greece, circa 320-310 BCE, Art Institute Chicago 1986.883, B. Gold phiale (libation bowl), gold, H. 3.6 x W. 23.5 cm., Greece, 4th-3rd century BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 62.11.1.

Fig. 14. Column krater depicting the banquet of Heracles and Eurytios, ceramic, H. 46.0 x W. 28.2 x D. 46.5 cm., Corinth, circa 600-590 BCE, Louvre E635.

Fig. 15. Sculpted architrave block from Temple of Athena at Assos with banquet scene, andesite, H. 81.0 x W. 287.0 x D. 16.0 cm., Assos, third quarter of the 6th century BCE, Louvre 2829.

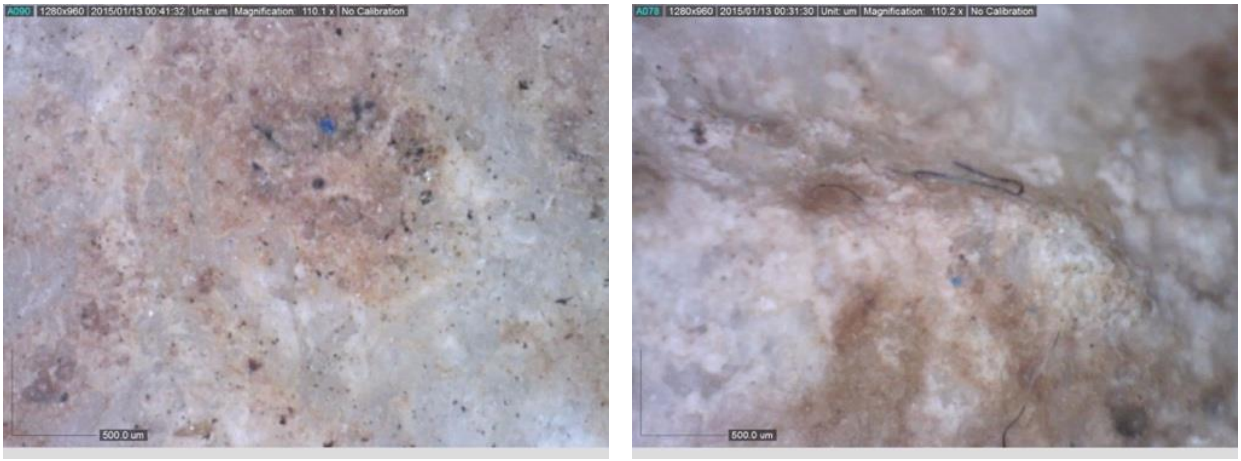
Fig. 16. Kylix drinking cup depicting a symposium scene (detail), ceramic, H. 11.7 x W. 29.8 cm., Athens, circa 480 BCE, Boston Museum of Fine Art 01.8034.

A B

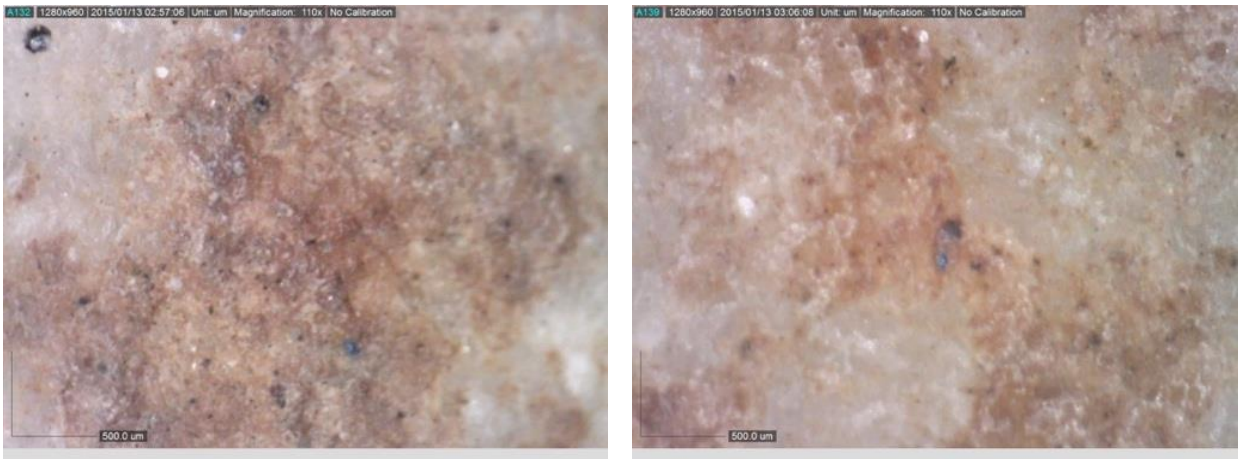
Fig. 17. Vestiges of polychromy on the Brooks Relief, A. Ambient light image with burial accretions concentrated around the head of the seated female companion, B. Visible luminescence light (VIL) image with vestiges of Egyptian blue highlighted in white preserved in the burial accretions concentrated around the head of the seated female companion.

A B

Fig. 18. Details of the vestiges of polychromy on the Brooks Relief, A. Detail, ambient light image of burial accretions around the head of the seated female companion, B. Detail, Egyptian blue pigment highlighted in white around the head of the seated female companion.



A B



C D

Fig. 19. Microscopic detailed images of Egyptian blue pigment particles on the surface of the Brooks Relief (between 30-150X), A. Background surface of the relief behind the shoulder of the seated female companion, B. Background surface of the relief beneath the bun/hair of the female companion, C. Raised surface of the relief on the hand of the seated female companion, D. Background surface of the relief above the head of the first male worshipper.

A

B

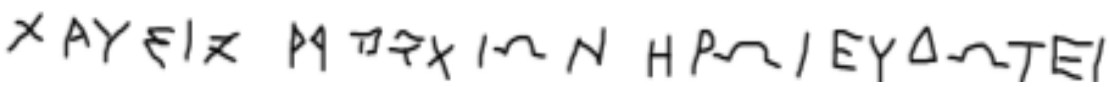
C

Fig. 20. Votive reliefs with vestiges of pigment, A. Votive relief depicting Demeter, Kore, Hermes, Ploutos with worshippers with traces of bright blue on its background and traces of bright red on its figures' hair, marble with pigment, H. 21.8 x W. 31.2 x D. 5.5. cm., Agora, circa 330 BCE, Agora Archaeological Museum S1251, B. Votive relief dedicated to Zeus Meilichios with traces of red on its background, marble with pigment, H. 18.5 x W. 15.5 x D. 4.2 cm., Agora, 3rd century BCE, Agora Archaeological Museum I3868, C. Fragment of a votive relief that once depicted a banqueting hero with traces of red on the anta of its frame, marble with pigment, H. 13.5 x W. 13.5 x D. 6.5 cm., Agora, middle to second half of the 4th century BCE, Agora Archaeological Museum S819.

A B

Fig. 21. Examples of painted stele, A. Relief naiskos stele, marble with pigment, H. 61.0 x W. 61.5 x D. 8.5 cm., Demetrias, 2nd century BCE, Volos Museum A245, B. Painted funerary stele of Menelaos, marble with pigment, H. 68.5 cm., Demetrias, middle of the 2nd century BCE, Volos Museum A336.

A



B

ΧΡΥΣΙΣ ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ ΗΡΩΙΕΥΔΩΤΕΙ

C

Chrysis (and) Moschion (dedicate this relief) to the hero Eudotei

D

Fig. 22. The Brooks Relief's inscription, A. Inscription in the architrave of the Brooks Relief photographed in raking light, B. Transcription of the inscription, C. Greek characters, D. English translation.

Fig. 23. Votive relief dedicated to a hero by Chrysis, marble, H. 23.0 x W. 24.5 x D. 6.5 cm., Athenian Agora, late 4th century BC, Agora Archaeological Museum 4707.

Fig. 24. Map of Attica showing Athens, Laureion and Brauron, 5th-4th centuries BCE

A

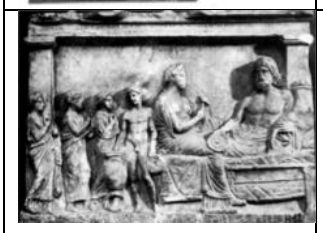
B

Fig. 25. Stylistic changes in banquet reliefs in the late 5th-4th centuries, A. Banquet relief, marble, H. 57.5 x W. 84.2 x D. 13.5 cm., Greece, 4th century BCE, Michael C. Carlos Museum 1999.011.003, B. Banquet relief, marble, H. 41.2 x W. 57.1 x D. 9.9 cm., Greece, 2nd half 4th century BCE, Walter's Museum 23.222.

TABLES

Table. 1. Representative group of votive banquet reliefs with inscriptions from the 5th-4th centuries BCE

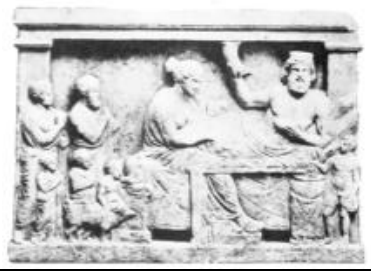
Object image	Location, dimensions, date,	Inscription	References, citations
	Delphi Museum no. 90, H. 19.0 x W. 16.0 x D. 5.0 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	...ΚΟ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΩ[Ι]	Dentzer 1982, R 90, fig. 354, p. 367, 454/5, pl. 64
	Delphi Museum, no. 3815, 1101 & 8874, H. 39.5 x W. 27.0 x D. 9.0 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	ΆΡΤΕ... [...ΚΛ]ΕΥΜΈΝΗΣ [Ά]ΝΈΘ[ΗΚΕ.. .ΈΠΙ?]ΝΊΚΙΟΝ	Dentzer 1982, R 93a and R93b, fig. 357, p. 368, 471, 517, pl.64
	Agora Archaeological Museum, no. I4707, H. 23.0 x W. 24.0 x D. 6.0 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	ΧΡΥΣΙΣ ΗΡΩΙ	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, p. 81, no. 91; SEG XX 166; van Straten 1974, p.173, no. 105, fig. 26; Rotroff 1978, p. 204, n. 37; Camp 1980, p. 29, fig. 57; Dentzer 1982, pp. 304-305, n. 18, p. 315, n. 103, pp. 320-321, n. 159, p. 327, n. 216, pp. 344, 453, 468, 584, no. R 143, fig. 409, pl. 69; Klöckner 2002, pp. 325, 329, no. 221, fig. p. 330; Parker 2005, p. 46; *Agora* XVIII, pp. 288, 313-314, no. V597
	Agora Archaeological Museum, no. I2638, H. 20.0 x W. 23.0 x D. 7.0 cm., c. second half of the 4th century	[---] Η΄ΗΡΩ [---]	SEG XIX 323; *Agora* XVII, p. 185, no. 1046; *Agora* XVIII, pp. 288, 314, no. V598

	National Archaeological Museum, Athens, no. 1522, H. 18.0 x W. 17.0 x D. 3.5 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	ΠΡΑΞΙΤΕΛΗΣ	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, no. 176; Dentzer 1982, R 149, fig. 415, p. 470, 484, pl. 70
	National Archaeological Museum, Athens, no. 2413, H. 49.0 x W. 91.0 x D. 1.1 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	ΈΠΙ ἹΕΡΈΩΣ ΔΙΟΦΆΝΟΥΣ ΤΟῦ ἈΠΟΛΛΩΝΊΟΥ ἈΞΗΝΙΈΩΣ	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, no. 173; Dentzer 1982, R 159, fig. 425, p. 344, 485, 463, 468, pl. 72
	Berlin State Museum, no. 819 H. 41.0 x W. 43.0 x D. 5.5 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	ΉΓΕΜΌΝ ἈΡΧΗΓΈΤΗΣ	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, no. 110; Dentzer 1982, R 203, fig. 461, p. 321, 455, 463, 484, pl. 77
	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, no. 234, H. 43.0 x W. 57.0 x D. 1.3 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	ΔΙΊ ἘΠΙΤΕΛΕΊΩ ΦΙΛΊΩ ΚΑῚ ΤΗ͂Ι ΜΗΤΡΊ ΤΟῦ ΘΕΟῦ ΦΙΛΊΑ ΚΑῚ ΤΥΧΗ͂Ι ἈΓΑΘΗ͂Ι ΤΗ͂Ι ΤΟῦ ΘΕΟῦ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΊ ἈΡΙΣΤΟΜΆΧΗ ΘΕΩΡΊΣ ὋΛΥΜΠΙΟΔΩ ΡΟΣ ἈΝΈΘΕΣΑΝ	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, no. 84; Dentzer 1982, R 228, fig. 483, p. 313, 316, 358, 460, 503, pl. 80
	Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, no. 322, H. 41.0 x W. 49.0 x D. 6.5 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	ΕΥΚΑΡΙΙΩΕΙΙ	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, no. 184; Dentzer 1982, R 246, fig. 499, p. 371, pl. 83

	Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, no. I1024, H. 13.0 x W. 21.0 x D. 6.0 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	[Z]ΕΥΞΙΠΠΩΙ	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, p. 96, no. 185; Dentzer 1982, R. 247, fig. 500, p. 454, 457, 461, pl. 83
	Astro Museum, no. unknown, approx. H. 30.0 x W. 30.0 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	Ἥ[Ρ]ΩΙ ΕΫΥΞΆΜΕΝΟΣ ἈΝΈΘΗΚΕ	Dentzer 1982, R 271a and 271b, fig. 523, pl. 86
	Delos Museum, no. A3201, H. 35.0 x W. 32.0 x D. 1.5 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	[Τ]ΙΜΟΚΡΆΤΗΣ ἈΝ[ΙΩΙ]	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, p. 72, no. 20; Dentzer 1982, R 277, fig. 528, p. 374, 455, 472, 501, pl. 87
	National Archaeological Museum, Athens, no. 1513, H. 29.0 x W. 44.0 x D. 6.0 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	ΛΥΣΙΑΣ ἈΠΟΛΛΟΔΏΡΟΥ ΧΟΡΑΓΏΝ	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, no. 101; Dentzer 1982, R392, fig. 623, p. 335, 508, 523, pl. 101
	Private collection, Villa Guilloteau, Nice, dimensions unknown, c. 420-300 BCE	Ἡ[Δ]ΎΛΟΣ Ἀ[Ν]ΕΘΗΚΕ / Ε[Ὑ]ΚΟΛΟ[Σ	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, no. 92; Dentzer 1982, R 469, fig. 690, p. 454, pl. 111
	Museum of Fine Arts Boston, no. 19.318, H. 13.0 x W. 9.0 cm., c. late 4th century BCE	ΜΕΝΟΣ	Dentzer 1982, R 500, fig. 720, 1982, p.453, pl. 116; Bodel, *Greek and Latin inscriptions in the USA*, p. 37

	Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 57.42, H. 24.0 x W. 26.0 cm., c. late 4th century BCE	IATPΩI A[ΝΈΘΗΚΕ...]	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, P. 79, no. 77; Dentzer 1982, R 503, fig. 723, p. 455, 491, pl. 117; Bodel, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the USA*, 1997, p. 183
	Private Collection, dimensions unknown, c. 420-300 BCE	ἍΤΤΙΣ ΄ΗΡΩI ἈΝΕΘΗΚ(Ε)	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, no. 111; SEG XXII, 1967, 165; Dentzer 1982, R 504, fig. 724, p. 452, pl. 117

Table. 2. Sample of Attic votive reliefs featuring sacrificial pigs, circa 5th-4th centuries BCE

Object image	Location, dimensions, date	References, citations
	Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, no. 322, H. 41.0 x W. 49.0 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, No. 184; Dentzer 1982, R246, fig. 499
	Berlin State Museum, no. 826, H. 28.0 x W. 31.0 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	Thönges-Stringaris 1965, no. 122; Dentzer 1982, R97, fig. 363
	Louvre, no. 2417, H. 21.0 x W. 30.0 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	Dentzer 1982, R240, fig. 493, p. 306, 309, 328
	Archaeological Museum of Piraeus, no. 1830, H. 39.0 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	Dentzer 1982, R229, fig. 484
	Private collection, H. 40.0 x W. 55.0 cm., c. 420-300 BCE	Dentzer 1982, R244, fig. 497