

THE PARASOL: AN ORIENTAL STATUS-SYMBOL IN LATE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL ATHENS*

THE parasol, whatever the conditions of use, ultimately functions as a social symbol as it satisfies no utilitarian need. The operative mechanism of that symbol varies from culture to culture but the parasol is polysemous even at its least complicated, when held by the person to be protected without allusion to foreign social systems and in the context of single-sex usage. For example, as an implement of fashionable feminine attire of over a century ago, the parasol signified the maintenance of a standard of beauty that precluded extended activities out of doors and the delicate constitution of the lady thus protected, both with further implications of 'good breeding' and economic inutility; and the wasteful employment of items that must be changed with the costume and discarded before unserviceable to suit the dictates of fashion. Both facets—termed 'conspicuous leisure' and 'conspicuous consumption' by Veblen—conjointly served to advertise the wealth of the individual man on the basis of whose property such extravagance and non-productive practice could be sustained.¹

A limited body of evidence shows that the parasol was not unknown in Late Archaic and Classical Athens;² to a certain extent it may even have functioned socially then as in the late nineteenth century. The Archaic practice of painting women with white skin in contrast to the red-brown or brown skin of men unfortunately cannot be admitted as evidence owing to the near-certainty that it was adopted from the East as an artistic convention. In fact the evidence, limited and ambiguous though it is, suggests that in Athens the parasol had a much greater semantic range, a range which was expanded by the use of parasol-bearers. Always a status symbol, dividing some form of elite from the rest of society, in Classical Athens the parasol came to demarcate much more than the sequestered possessions of the aristocratic male. Its ritual functions remain enigmatic, but in the public sphere the parasol was deployed as a means of distinguishing citizen from non-citizen; by extension, its use could suggest the city's superiority over other Greeks. There are many lingering uncertainties about specific aspects of the role of the parasol in Late Archaic and Classical Athens, including even the gender-

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¹ The theoretical function of the parasol outlined here is based on the socio-economic model of T. Veblen, *The theory of the leisure class* (New York 1908).

The following abbreviations are used:

Boardman = D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, 'Booners', *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* iii (1986) 35-70.

Caruso = Christiane Caruso, 'Travestissements dionysiaques', *Images et société en Grèce ancienne: l'iconographie comme méthode d'analyse* (Lausanne 1987).

Deubner = L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932).

Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague = F. Frontisi-Ducroux and F. Lissarrague, 'De l'ambiguïté à l'ambivalence. Un parcours dionysiaque', *AION* v (1983) 11-32; now more accessibly reprinted in D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin, ed., *Before sexuality* (Princeton 1990) 211-256, in English translation.

Kenner = H. Kenner, *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Bonn 1970).

Kossatz-Deissmann = A. Kossatz-Deissmann, 'Zur Herkunft des Perizoma im Satyrspiel', *Jdl* xcvi (1982) 75-90.

Parke = H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London 1977).

Price = S.D. Price, 'Anacreontic vases reconsidered', *GRBS* xxxi (1990) 133-175.

Simon = E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica: an archaeological commentary* (Madison 1983).

Slater = W. J. Slater, 'Artemon and Anakreon', *Phoenix* xxxii (1978) 185-194.

² G. Nicole, *DarSag* v (1919) s.v. 'Umbrella' 583-4 and Hug, *RE* ii A 1 (1921) s.v. 'Schirm' 433-5, collect the basic references. T. S. Crawford, *A history of the umbrella* (Newton Abbot 1970) is absolutely unreliable for Greek material (ch.1). He adduces almost no ancient evidence to support his discussion of the Greek world and admits that he was unable to track down his predecessors' citations.

restrictions of the users. Nonetheless, an investigation into the range of evidence for the use of the parasol yields insight into Athenian society of the period, and especially into the role of state ceremonial in the propaganda of imperial Athens.

References in Old Comedy attest to the use of the parasol (σκιάδειον) in the late fifth century by elegant Athenian women. Aristophanes includes parasols in a list of characteristically feminine objects (*Thesm.* 823), and talks of them opening and closing (*Knights* 1347-1348, with scholia). In the *Birds* Prometheus tries to disguise himself by carrying a parasol; the outrageous contrast between the burly demi-god and the feminine implement must have enhanced the humour of the scene (1549-1551; cf. 1508-1509).³ Strattis in his play suggestively entitled *Ψυχασταί* ('Keeping Cool') mentioned a fan and parasol together (*fr.* 59 *PCG*).⁴ The play, of which only six fragments survive, may have focused on the dangers of hedonistic luxury, but the fragment does not identify the parasol- and fan-users. In a fragment of Pherekrates a seated male perfume-seller uses a σκιάδειον as a shelter (*fr.* 70 *PCG*). The parasol reinforces the notion that selling perfume was not appropriate for a man; Athenaios compared Solon's exclusion of men from perfume-selling at Athens (xiii 612a, xv 687a).⁵ A fragment of Eupolis, ascribed to the *Taxiarchoi* by Wilamowitz, is even more intractable as evidence for parasol-usage (*fr.* 481 *PCG*). In this play, Dionysos may have appeared under a parasol, but the word used seems actually to have been σκιάς, which Pollux and Hesychius mistakenly equate with σκιάδειον; it must have been a large-scale shelter like a canopy.⁶ In addition to the comic attestation of the use of the parasol, we find a σκιάδειον σ[μικρ(όν)] included in the auction lists of the Hermokopidai, but the price is lost and the fabric and owner unknown.⁷ In total, the various citations do little more than confirm the existence of parasols in later-fifth century Athens. For an understanding of the social function of parasols, we are left to make what we can of the iconographic evidence.

A description of a fourth-century painting ascribed to Nicias makes explicit the contemporary significance of a parasol in the definition of social class (Paus. vii 22.6). A marble tomb outside Triteia in Achaia was decorated with a painting which featured a young woman seated on an ivory chair and a maid with a parasol. Opposite stood a man, presumably her husband, and his servant with the basic implements of the hunt, javelin and hounds. The composition efficiently conveyed the essential message about the social standing of the commemorated couple. Note the semantic equivalence of hunting equipment and parasol: each reflects the ideal or typical occupations for a given sex. The multiplication of figures is significant as the presence of personal attendants heightens the contrast between masters and labouring servants (compare contemporary Attic funerary iconography) and invites invidious comparison with other households. This family was sufficiently wealthy to be able to expend resources on slaves whose

³ For a discussion of *Birds* 1549-1551, and its importance as evidence for the use of parasols in the Panathenaic procession, see below p. 103.

⁴ The translation is Gulick's (Loeb edition of Athenaios, e.g. xii 551c). Only *fr.* 61 implies an excess of coolness, as noted by Kaibel.

⁵ Perfume-shops were afflicted by a double standard: despite lack of regard for male perfumers owing to their 'effeminate' profession (cf. Athen. xii 552f = Herakleides of Pontos), perfume-shops, like barbers' shops, were favourite lounging-places for exchange of gossip by men: Dem. xxv 52, xxxiv 13; Theophr., *Char.* 11.8. This can lead to a bad reputation: in Plut. *Tim.* 14.3, wasting time at a perfume-shop symbolises fall in status and power.

⁶ See also below for the *skiron*. Pollux vii 174: θολία δ' ἐκαλεῖτο πλέγμα τι θολοειδές, ᾧ ἀντὶ σκιαδίου ἐχρῶντο αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ τὸ σκιάδιον δ' ἔστιν ἐν χρήσει, καὶ σκιαδοφόροι καὶ ἔσκιαδοφόροι, καὶ σκιάς, ὅφ' ἦ ὁ Διόνυσος κάθηται, καὶ σκίρα ἑορτῇ. We might compare the statues of Dionysos and Nysa each shaded by a decorated σκιάς in the festival procession of Ptolemy (Athen. v 198d-f). For Dionysos' character as a rural god whose natural home is a grotto, see H. Lavagne, *Operosa antra* (Rome 1988) 47-55, 91-116, with references.

⁷ Stele II, line 144. Text published by W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* xxii (1953) 250-254 and discussed, id., *Hesperia* xxv (1956) 209-210.

sole function was to attend their 'conspicuous leisure'; their decision to commission an expensive painter also reflects their interest in advertising their wealth.

Mycenaean decorated kraters and terracotta figurines show that in the distant past, parasols had served as a status-symbol for men.⁸ The most striking example, the 'Sunshade krater' from Enkomi dated ca. 1370 BC, features a man, long sword at side, walking in a chariot procession (PLATE I (a)).⁹ A figure of smaller scale holds a parasol behind him, presumably over him. Fragmentary kraters from Mycenae and Tiryns almost two hundred years later evidently depict chariot passengers shaded by a parasol: a dignitary with an attendant.¹⁰

The Mycenaean images correspond with earlier Oriental royal iconography; the practice as well as the iconography of parasol-usage may have come from the sophisticated kingdoms of the East, though evidence for the use of the parasol in the Bronze Age Near East is still scanty.¹¹ Much earlier, a parasol-bearer follows Shurrukkin of Akkad in a victory procession on a relief from Susa in the Louvre dated ca. 2450 BC; in contrast to the wealth of depictions from Neo-Assyrian relief sculpture, it is the sole Bronze Age example offered by Unger in his discussion of parasols in the ancient East. I can add only the sunshade held over an enthroned man on a seal identified by Porada as Elamite of the fourteenth century BC. The rarity of occurrences compared with later periods suggests that the development of the parasol in Near Eastern royal iconography should be ascribed to the Neo-Assyrians.¹² In Egypt parasols and sunshades had been in standard use throughout the third and second millennia since the Fifth Dynasty. Parasols appear above the chariots of Rameses II on reliefs commemorating the Battle of Kadesh. On Tutankhamun's painted chest, an attendant holds a parasol for the pharaoh as he hunts.¹³

In the early first millennium in the Near and Middle East the parasol came to play a major role in imperial iconography; an attendant often held one for a ruler while others held a fan or flywhisk. The parasol-bearers are often beardless men, who are generally supposed to be eunuchs. In contrast to earlier Egyptian art, where women are also depicted with parasols and sunshades, the parasol is an attribute of men in the Near Eastern tradition. A limited array of formulae appears in Neo-Assyrian art: the king may be shaded by a parasol while he stands, as

⁸ The evidence is collected by J. Crouwel, *BSA* lxxviii (1973) 343-347, supplemented in *BSA* lxxi (1976) 55-56.

⁹ London, British Museum C 339, amphoroid krater fragment, LH III A 1 late. See E. Vermeule and V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean pictorial vase painting* (Cambridge Mass. 1982) Cat. III.21 and p. 21-22, with bibliography.

¹⁰ Both dated LH III B/C transitional (ca. 1230-1200/1190). Mycenae, krater fragments: Crouwel (n. 8, 1973) 343-347. Tiryns krater fragments: *id.*, (n. 8, 1976) 55-56. Discussion, dating and bibliographies in Vermeule and Karageorghis (n. 9) Cat. X.1 (Tiryns) and Cat. X.4 (Mycenae).

¹¹ Crouwel (n. 8 [1973]) 347, sensibly leaves open the question of foreign influence.

¹² E. Unger, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* xii (1928) s.v. 'Sonnenschirm'. Susa relief: see *id.*, *Sumerische und Akkadische Kunst* (Breslau 1926) fig. 33, and E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *Cinq millénaires d'art mésopotamien* (Paris 1964) pl. 115. Elamite seal: Foroughi collection; cf. E. Porada, *Expedition* xiii (1971) 28-34: 33, fig. 9, and S. Bittner, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des persischen Heeres zur Zeit der Achaimeniden* (Munich 1985) fig. 1 (line-drawing). M. C. Root kindly reminds me that the gap in Near Eastern parasol iconography may be fortuitous owing to the fact that Akkad has not been excavated, but suggests that the iconographic evidence may reflect the truth: that history-conscious Assyrian kings deliberately picked up on the old Akkadian image.

¹³ H. G. Fischer, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* v.7 (Wiesbaden 1984) s.v. 'Sonnenschirm', differentiates between the rounded parasol and the sunshade (rectangular portable awning which is sometimes even held by the user). For the latter, which ends in Egyptian art ca. 2000 BC: *id.*, *Metropolitan Museum Journal* vi (1972) 151-156. See also W. Needler, *Annual of the Royal Ontario Museum* (1959) 32-39, with references; she comments on the development of the parasol into 'a highly stylized symbol of kingship associated with ritual inscriptions behind the figure of the king ...' (35-36). Kadesh: W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* ii (Leipzig 1925), pl. 18 (Abydos), 81-2 (Luxor), 176 (Abu Simbel). Tutankhamun: J. E. S. Edwards, *Tutankhamun: his tomb and its treasures* (New York 1977) 76-77.

is Assurnasirpal in the reliefs from the North-west Palace at Nimrud, ca. 865-860 BC;¹⁴ he may have a parasol-bearer in his chariot, as on the relief of Tiglath-Pileser III from the South-west Palace at Nimrud;¹⁵ some royal chariots seem to have a parasol permanently installed as on a relief of Assurbanipal from Nineveh.¹⁶ The Neo-Assyrian approach to imperial iconography was highly influential: on three Phoenician bowls parasols shade men in chariots and seated on a throne;¹⁷ the motif of walking king with parasol-bearer appears on a seal of Rusa II of Urartu of ca. 675;¹⁸ and in the doorways of the Achaemenid Persian palace at Persepolis the Great King is regularly depicted processing with a bearded parasol-bearer (PLATE II (b)).

Achaemenid Persian use of parasols in royal iconography was adopted from their imperial predecessors already in the time of Cyrus. Two depictions of the king closely attended by figures who are probably parasol-bearers appear in Palace P at Pasargadai.¹⁹ In her study of Achaemenid imperial iconography, Root has shown that even while reducing to a minimal schema the image of the king with attendants, the Persians added new complexities to the signification of that image. At Persepolis the king is depicted with parasol-bearer only on the door-jamb between the main hall and the outside of a palace, deliberately placed so as to confront the incomer with an image of the king's majesty. Root concluded that the parasol 'is being used as an iconographical device intended specifically to indicate that the king is being shown appearing in state while in the act of leaving a given palace.'²⁰

The evidence suggests that in the Achaemenid world the parasol was not restricted to the Great King, though the full extent of use beyond the king can only be guessed. A parasol could be a royal gift: Artaxerxes I is said to have given a golden parasol to Entimos of Crete (Phanias *FHG* ii 296 = Athen. ii 48e). Was it the precious material of the parasol that made the gift noteworthy or was it because it marked a privilege of rank? The Lycian evidence in particular indicates that parasol-bearers were used by others than the Great King, though it is debated whether these users were aristocrats, local dynasts or Persian satraps.²¹ A representation of a man with a parasol-bearer appears on a painting of travel by boat from the Late Archaic Lycian tomb at Kızılbél. Later, long after the establishment of Achaemenid control in Asia Minor, parasols appear as an essential element in the Achaemenid-inspired audience scenes of the Nereid Monument of Xanthos (PLATE I (c)) and the heroon at Gölbaşı-Trysa.²² In Anatolia the

¹⁴ London, British Museum 124533, Room B, Panel 20. The Neo-Assyrian material is collected and summarized with references by B. Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes* (Bonn 1965) 106, 186 (catalogue); pl.41.1. Cf. E. W. Klimowsky, 'Sonnenschirm und Baldachin', *Schweizer Münzblätter* xiii/xiv (1964) Heft 55, 121-134 (a more summary discussion, with reference to ancient Indian use).

¹⁵ London, British Museum 118908, ca. 745-727 BC.

¹⁶ Louvre AO'19904, illustrated by Hrouda (n. 14) pl. 48.1.

¹⁷ Villa Giulia 61565, Boston MFA 27.170 and Leiden Rijksmuseum B 1943 / 9.1. See G. Markoe, *Phoenician bronze and silver bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley 1985): E2, E11, E13.

¹⁸ D. Collon, *First impressions: cylinder seals in the ancient Near East* (London 1987) #556, from Bastam, Iran.

¹⁹ So M. C. Root, *The king and kingship in Achaemenid art* (Leiden 1979) 285, who dates the reliefs to Cyrus' reign.

²⁰ See Root *op. cit.*, 287-299; 288 (quote). A summary of the reliefs (285-6) is based on E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* i, *OIP* lxxviii (Chicago 1953) pls. 75, 79, 138-139, 178-181, 193-4.

²¹ H. Gabelmann, *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen* (Darmstadt 1984) 35-62 discusses the evidence, with references.

²² Kızılbél: M. J. Mellink, 'Excavations in Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı', *AJA* lxxv (1971) 245-255: pl.52, fig.14-15. Nereid Monument: London, British Museum frieze II, block 879, early fourth century. Gölbaşı-Trysa Heroon: Vienna (parasol painted on), ca. 385/375. Illustrated by W. A. P. Childs, *The city-reliefs of Lycia* (Princeton 1978) pl. 15. Gabelmann (n. 21) 43-50: 47 and pl. 6.1 (Nereid Monument); 50-53 (Gölbaşı-Trysa Heroon) for discussion with bibliographies.

use of the parasol was presumably an extension of the practice throughout the Near and Middle East; the only known occurrences in Anatolian iconography date to the period of Achaemenid Persian rule. Yet given the earlier close diplomatic relations of the Lydian and Phrygian kings with the powers further south and east, one may well suspect that Anatolian royal dignity had also required the adoption of the symbol.

In all the periods and cultures just reviewed, the parasol appears to be consistently depicted out of doors; even at Persepolis, where the isolation of the image denies a specific narrative context, the parasol is restricted to door-jambs leading outside. In each case it might be argued that the purpose of the parasol was practical: to provide protection from the sun. That it functioned, rather, as a social symbol is indicated by the limitation of the parasol to one person who is otherwise distinguished as a figure of authority.²³ An integral component of the use of the parasol as a mark of status in the East was the fact that it was carried by an attendant parasol-bearer.

Clearly Greeks knew the use of the parasol by Near Eastern men of rank; behind disparaging comments lies perception of the role of the parasol as a social symbol. In a passage doubtfully ascribed to Xenophon, Persians are not satisfied with the natural shade of trees and rocks, but require men to stand beside them making artificial shade ([Xen]. *Kyrop.* viii 8.17; quoted Athen. xii 515c). Later, Strabo describes Indians as followed by parasol (-bearers) in his discussion of the Indian love of personal adornment, though he lumps parasols together with elaborate clothing (xv 1.54).

In Greece the collapse of the elaborate social structure of the Late Bronze Age was apparently accompanied by the local disappearance of the parasol as a symbol of status for men. When it reappears, it is primarily in the hands of women. There is a gap in the record on the mainland until the later sixth century when the earliest surviving depiction in Attic vase-painting was produced. Lack of evidence makes the certain resolution of two problematic areas difficult. First: did parasols reenter the Greek world in the sixth century? or had they returned earlier but left no trace on the archaeological and textual record? The parasol was probably reintroduced from the East; knowledge of the date of introduction would have an impact on the interpretation. Second: when parasols returned, who primarily used them? In other words, do parasols in the sixth century necessarily signify the feminine?

For the first area of difficulty, one would argue reasonably that the absence of evidence need not be evidence of absence: rather than meaning that parasols were not employed before the Late Archaic period, it may simply result from the fact that parasols were constructed of perishable materials. A wooden parasol part, stratigraphically dated to the seventh century BC, is now reported from Samos,²⁴ but insufficient contextual information makes interpretation difficult. Does it out of a vast number of parasols used in the seventh century throughout the Greek world owe its unique survival to the unusual anaerobic environment created by the high water-table in the vicinity of the Heraion? Or does it reflect the ancient fact that the people of Samos, whose sanctuary is filled with testimony to active exchange with the East, were uniquely ready to adopt the customs of the Near Eastern peoples? Or was it imported, the votive offering of a Samian, *xenos*, or *barbaros*? When we turn to Attic vase-painting, our primary source of evidence, the dearth of parasols before ca. 530 might similarly be explained as a meaningless absence of evidence. But a shift of taste in subject matter could not solely account for the lack of earlier representations of parasols: women regularly brave the sun on earlier sixth-century

²³ Gabelmann allocated the inclusion of the female figure under the parasol on the Gölbaşı-Trysa relief to the typology of a ruling couple: Gabelmann (n. 21) 51.

²⁴ H. Kyrieleis public lecture, Toronto, October 1987; cf. *AR* 1984-85, 56. I am indebted to U. Kron for assistance regarding this important piece.

black-figure depictions of wedding and festive processions (a fact which reinforces the comments above regarding the inadmissibility of the convention of painting women's skin white).

The parasol part from Samos is even less helpful in resolving the second area of difficulty; just as the nationality so too the gender of its original owner cannot be known. In this dilemma we can take refuge in the fact that the Ionian Anakreon in the later sixth century viewed carrying a small ivory parasol the activity of women (σκιαδίσκην ἔλεφαντίνην φορέει / γυναιξὶν αὐτως, F 82 Gentili). To extrapolate further (if so to Anakreon, necessarily so to Athenians), would be to enter the realm of conjecture.

The first Attic parasols appear in the hands of men on the two exterior sides of a puzzling black-figured eye-cup in Naples, dated about 530 (PLATE I (*d,e*)).²⁵ On Side A, the man looks as though he is sneaking off somewhere with the parasol, and on Side B he walks holding his parasol down before him. Something that looks like a woman's head apparently emerges from the tops of the two male heads. On its own, one might have viewed this as an early means of depicting a mask, or, in Beazley's words, 'a token disguise', parasol and woman's head combining to indicate some sort of assumption of a woman's role.²⁶ Alternatively, one might read it as an indication of nature, as in the case of Lyssa in the Lykaon Painter's death of Aktaion: the dog-head emerging from her own provides a graphic clue to her essence.²⁷ The latter approach would turn the men of the eye-cup into effeminates. However, Brommer found two near-contemporary parallels for the addition of a beardless head over a man's head, neither of which could possibly support an interpretation that the head signifies either female disguise or effeminacy.²⁸ On the first, a mastoid in Rome, a flute-player accompanies the dance of eight nude youths. Though only two youths make the vigorous motions of dance, the others adopt the same stance, suggestive of a chorus. A beardless (?female) head appears over the heads of five of the youths. On the second, an oinochoe of somewhat later date, two armed youths dance in unison.²⁹ Both of these comparanda, then, show male figures engaged in choral performance of expressly masculine activities while 'wearing' the beardless head. The beardless head cannot in these cases signify male adoption of female persona or character. On the oinochoe clearer detail suggests that the superimposed heads are attached to something worn like a cap. Despite the continuing uncertainty over the exact meaning of these images,³⁰ one fact is gained from the comparison: the different male types—mature man, nude youth, warrior—who 'wear' the beardless head are so heterogeneous as to preclude the confident assumption that the combination of head-over-head and parasol on the Naples eye-cup was intended to suggest the adoption of a female choral role by a man. One could argue equally strongly that the Naples eye-cup proves use of parasols by women or by men in late sixth-century Athens; in view of current ignorance, it is best left out of an attempt to understand the social role of the parasol.

The earliest literary reference to a parasol in Greek contexts occurs in the poetry of Anakreon. The poet abuses one Artemon, who is said, among other things, to ride in a coach

²⁵ Naples MN H 2729 (Inv. 81138), BF eye cup, unattributed, 530-520. *CVA Italy* 20, Naples 1, pl.27 (Adriani 1950).

²⁶ Beazley in *CB* ii (1954) #99, 55-61: 57, n.1.

²⁷ Boston 00.346: bell krater, ca. 440 (*ARV* 1045.7).

²⁸ F. Brommer, 'Kopf über Kopf', *Antike und Abendland* iv (1954) 42-44.

²⁹ Both are illustrated by Brommer *op. cit.* Rome, Museo artistico industriale, BF mastoid, ca. 530 (A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, tragedy and comedy*² [Oxford 1962] 303, #18, pl.5b). Adolphseck, Landgraf Phillip von Hessen: trefoil oinochoe, ca. 500 (*CVA Germany* 11, Schloss Fasanerie, Adolphseck 1, pl.14.1,4; 16.3-4 [Brommer, 1956]). T. B. L. Webster, *Greek theatre production* (London 1956) 33, misinterpreted the cup in ignorance of the oinochoe.

³⁰ Brommer suggested a cultic explanation, which Boardman 64 tentatively accepts. Kenner 133.

wearing golden earrings and to carry himself a little ivory parasol 'like women' (11-12), though the abuse appears to focus on Artemon's change of status from poor to wealthy rather than on the effeminacy of his dress (F 82 Gentili).³¹

πρὶν μὲν ἔχων βερβέριον, καλύμματ' ἔσφηκωμένα,
καὶ ξυλίνους ἀστραγάλους ἐν ὧσὶ καὶ ψιλὸν περὶ
πλευρῆσι <δέρμιον> βούς,
νήπλυτον εἴλυμα κακῆς ἀσπίδος, ἀρτοπάλισιν
5 κάθελοπόρνοισιν ὀμιλέων ὁ πονηρὸς Ἄρτέμων,
κίβδηλον εὐρίσκων βίον,
πολλὰ μὲν ἐν δουρὶ τιθεὶς ἀύχένα, πολλὰ δ' ἐν τροχῷ,
πολλὰ δὲ νῶτον σκυτίνῃ μάλιστα θωμιχθεὶς, κόμην
πάγωνά τ' ἔκτετιλμένος.
10 νῦν δ' ἐπιβαίνει σατινέων χρύσεια φορέων καθέρματα
παῖς Κύκης καὶ σκιαδίσκην ἑλεφαντίνην φορεῖ
γυναιξὶν αὐτως <--->.

How convenient that we have a whole series of nearly fifty Attic black-figured and red-figured vases featuring lyre-playing komasts of such description (PLATE II (a,e)).³² Unlike most komasts who may throw a himation over their arm or shoulder but are generally nude, these komasts are garbed in distinctive fashion with long chiton, mitra, soft boots, earrings and, sometimes, parasols. Parasols appear on sixteen vases, roughly one-third of the corpus, starting ca. 505 with the Kleophrades Painter's fragmentary calyx krater in Copenhagen (PLATE II (a,b)).³³ Towards the end of the series is the column krater attributed to the Orchard Painter in Bologna on which two of the komasts carry parasols (PLATE II (c)).³⁴ The main series begins in the 520s, nicely coinciding with Anakreon's arrival at Athens, and it continues through the Later Mannerists of the mid-fifth century. Indeed, a lyre on the Copenhagen fragments bears the inscription 'Anakreon' (PLATE II (b)).³⁵ It was irresistible; Beazley in his discussion dubbed them 'Anakreon and his Boon Companions' (abbreviated familiarly to 'Booners' by Kurtz and Boardman) and argued that, just as they seemed, they were men dressed as women 'taking part in a komos and not a sacred rite.'³⁶

The idea that these figures who seemed to be cross-dressing might be engaged in some sort of cultic activity had been about for some time before Beazley addressed the question. Buschor used the parasolia to identify the festival: the 'Booners' are women wearing false beards as part of the *Skirophoria*, a sort of parasol fest for Athena Skiras where cross-dressing took place.³⁷ Robert followed Deubner's argument that the festival was for Demeter and suggested that the Tholos in the Agora (also known as the 'Skias') was the home of the cult of Eleusis and that

³¹ It will be apparent that for much of the following, I am indebted to Slater; for the traditional interpretation of the passage see, e.g., D. A. Campbell, *Greek lyric poetry* (London 1967) 323-325.

³² Boardman 47-50 catalogues forty-six examples. Price 159-162 adds two more, a fragmentary RF column krater attributed by Cahn to the Pig Painter (Basel, Cahn Collection HC 776); and a RF cup (B) in a private collection attributed by Sommer to the Oedipus Ptr.: W. Hornbostel, *Aus der Glanzzeit Athens: Meisterwerke Griechischer Vasenkunst in Privatbesitz* (Hamburg 1986) #53, 111-14. In Boardman's schema, these are describable as H:man:H:man. Price's addition of four other pieces involves an expansion of criteria for inclusion; none have the parasol and so are not considered here.

³³ Copenhagen 13365 (ARV 185.32). Boardman #5.

³⁴ Bologna 234: column krater (A), Orchard Painter, ca. 470 (ARV 524.20). Boardman #41.

³⁵ H. R. Immerwahr, 'Inscriptions on the Anacreon krater in Copenhagen', *AJA* lxi (1965) 152-154.

³⁶ Beazley, in *CB* ii (1954) #99, 55-61, with the first comprehensive list; p.56, Beazley said with regard to the chiton/sakkos/parasol: 'While none of the three articles singly amount to a real disguise (of a man as a woman), the joint use of them must surely do so.'

³⁷ E. Buschor, 'Das Schirmfest', *JdI* xxxviii/xxxix (1923/4) 128-132.

its name and shape were derived from its imitation of the parasol used for the *Skirophoria*.³⁸ Indeed the unusual roofing with parasol spoke-like ridges probably did give the Tholos its nick-name but subsequent excavation of the building and close examination of the ancient testimonia on its uses disallow Robert's interpretation, which had never much of a following. Moreover, there is reason to doubt the use of a parasol at the *Skirophoria*, when it is said that the Eteoboutadaei carried the *skiron* for the priestess of Athena, the priest of Poseidon, and the priest of Helios as they walked to Skiron (a place near Eleusis).³⁹ The *skiron* was clearly no parasol, as Deubner observed, but something more like a canopy, designed to cover more than one person and supported by more than one person.⁴⁰ Deubner preferred to associate the 'Booners' with the Lenaia, showing men dressing as women as a sort of male response to women adopting the role of maenads.⁴¹

Historians of Greek religion and society know many instances of cross-dressing; others are gleaned from mythic structures and aetiologies.⁴² A high proportion of instances have a Dionysiac ambience and might seem to fit the ambiguities of the god.⁴³ The iconographic evidence for Greek cross-dressing is rarely clear, but when it is arguable, it is in the context of Dionysiac experience. There is a tradition that women wore *phalloi* in the *Lombai* festival procession for Artemis Orthia at Sparta (Hesych., s.v. 'Λόμβαι'). Was there a comparable *phallophoria* by women in Athens? Caruso collects some possible Attic red figure examples of women equipped with a satyr's *perizoma* as evidence that there was.⁴⁴ The cup in Corinth is the best-known example, and is most frequently interpreted as a personification (*Paidia*); a late krater is too fragmentary to admit certainty, but the presence of Dionysos himself again suggests the realm of personification.⁴⁵ Male cross-dressing is attested in the context of the *Oschophoria*, probably a Dionysiac celebration, when two young members of the Salaminioi, bearing grape-branches and dressed as women, headed a procession from Athens to Phaleron.⁴⁶

The interpretation of Athens NM 1220, an unattributed oinochoe of the late fifth century, provides an example of the range of semantic difficulties in dealing with iconographic cross-dressing.⁴⁷ Two figures, a bearded male and a female, dance wearing similar dress. Both seem to wear masks, which suggests a theatrical context and so by implication that the figures

³⁸ F. Robert, *Thymélé* (Paris 1939) 119-137; Deubner 40-50.

³⁹ Lysimachides *apud* Harpokration s.v. 'σκίρον': τὸ σκίρον σκιάδειόν ἐστι μέγα, ὅφ' ᾧ φερομένω ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως εἰς τινα τόπον καλούμενον Σκίρον πορεύονται ἢ τε τῆς Ἀθηνῶν ἱέρεια καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερεὺς καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἥλιου. κομίζουσι δὲ τοῦτο Ἐτεοβουτάδαι.

⁴⁰ Deubner 49-50; in this he was followed by Simon 22-24 and Parke 157.

⁴¹ Deubner 132-133. For the Lenaia see below, p. 101.

⁴² See: C. Gallini, 'Il travestimento rituale di Penteo', *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* xxxiv (1963) 211-228, Kenner 102-163, and Slater 190-191. Both of the latter raised the question in the context of the 'Booners'. Cf. Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 28-29. For reliance on mythic structures: W. Burkert, *Structure and history in Greek mythology and ritual* (London 1979). For *aetia*: F. Graf, ZPE lv (1984) 245-254.

⁴³ Kenner 112 has references and discussion. See also: A. Henrichs, 'Changing Dionysiac identities', *Jewish and Christian self-definition* III (London 1982) 137-160, esp. 158-159 on Dionysiac role reversal.

⁴⁴ Caruso 103-109. See also C. Bérard and C. Bron, 'Le jeu du satyre', in *La cité des images*, ed. J. P. Vernant and C. Bérard (Lausanne/Paris 1984) 127-145, esp. 141, and Kossatz-Deissmann 84-90, who concludes that these images do not depict cultic transvestism.

⁴⁵ Corinth CP 885: Q Painter (ARV 1519.13). Kossatz-Deissmann 86 argues against the interpretation as a personification. Miletos, Archaeological Museum: krater fragments, ca. 380, attributed to the Pronomos Painter by G. Kleiner and W. Müller-Wiener, *IstMitt* xxii (1972) 45-92: 79, #11, Taf. 23.1. Illustrated by Kossatz-Deissmann fig. 24; Caruso fig. 6.

⁴⁶ Parke 77-80: 78-79; Simon 89-92: 90-91. Cf. Deubner 142-147: 142-143.

⁴⁷ Illustrated by Deubner pl. 33.2, after which H. A. G. Brijder, 'A pre-dramatic performance of a satyr chorus by the Heidelberg Painter', *Enthousiasmos* (Amsterdam 1986) fig. 4, and Kenner fig. 37, after which Caruso fig. 15.

are male actors who, if presented as women, by the normal conventions of Attic theatre cannot be properly considered instances of 'cross dressing'. The 'female' figure holds a thyrsos and is thereby identifiable as a maenad. Brijder has argued that the bearded male figure is a man disguised as a satyr, but though the mask fits such an interpretation, the 'satyr' does not wear quite the same garment over his chiton as that shown by Brijder to occur in earlier representations of theatrical satyrs.⁴⁸ It goes over one rather than both shoulders and so recalls the traditional maenad's animal-skin, though here clearly depicted in cloth. In other words, whether on stage or off we have here a male (?satyr) wearing women's (maenads') clothing, as Kenner and Caruso have argued. Not only are male figures twice dressed as maenads in Classical Attic ceramic; Caruso points to a small late-fifth century fragment from the Pnyx which apparently features a man or satyr wearing false breasts.⁴⁹

What relevance has all this to the 'Booners'? It will be recalled that Beazley suggested that they were men dressed as women 'taking part in a komos and not a sacred rite': cross-dressing might have been a more widespread phenomenon than that specifically related to cult or normally understood by ritual. But the possible instances of iconographic cross-dressing outlined above rely on means other than what is found on the 'Booners' – and all date generations later. Over the past decade and a half articles with new interpretations of the Anacreontics have appeared on an average every four years, and continue to exemplify the difficulties they raise.

First, Slater argued that the phrasing of Anakreon's poem about Artemon and the probable context of its presentation suggest that Artemon was actually a friend, and that their whole circle perhaps engaged in wearing such attire at *komoi*.⁵⁰ Anakreon himself in the last line of the fragment shows that he understood the outfit as feminine. For some reason or other, Anakreon and his companions felt it was appropriate to *komazein* dressed – not disguised, for they retain their beards – in an outlandish fashion reminiscent of women. On this interpretation the 'Booners' portray a group of men who deliberately mix items of dress in unusual fashion in order to distinguish themselves as a particular kind of komast, or, we might say, to express their corporate 'alterité.'

Then, in a complete *volte-face* the authors of two studies stressed the Oriental rather than effeminate affinities of the 'Booners': long chiton, mitra, boots, yes, even earrings, are easily paralleled for men in the East Greek world, and may well have been the clothes Anakreon himself wore at *komoi*.⁵¹ The vases reflect a Lydizing or at least an Ionicizing fashion in the komastic practice of Late Archaic Athens, which was otherwise so receptive to foreign ideas. The resulting appearance of effeminacy should not be mistaken for transvestism, though it perhaps was so mistaken in the fifth century, when the original ethnic connotations of the garb had been forgotten and could be misunderstood. The point was argued fully by Boardman on the basis of his extensive catalogue of the corpus. His conclusions serve as the starting-point for Frontisi-Ducroux' and Lissarrague's social analysis.

The presence of earrings and parasols on the 'Booners' has always been troubling, but the difficulty of the earrings at least is now removed. In support of his thesis that the komasts are

⁴⁸ *op.cit.* 72 and fig. 4.

⁴⁹ Athens, Agora P 169: L. Talcott *et al.*, *Small objects from the Pnyx ii*, *Hesperia* Suppl. x (Princeton 1956) 23, #249; after which Caruso fig.17. See Kossatz-Deissmann n.76. The second satyr dressed in female garb, a plastic vase (Vienna IV 829), is also illustrated by Caruso fig. 16.

⁵⁰ Slater 185-194; I am most grateful to him for his permission to read a manuscript with further discussion on the matter.

⁵¹ Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 11-32; Boardman 35-70, anticipated in some respects by suggestions that the 'Booners' depict East Greek or Lydian dress: S. Karouzou, 'Anacréon à Athènes', *BCH* lxxvi (1942) 248-254 (East Greek); K. DeVries, 'East meets West at dinner', *Expedition* xv (1973) 32-39 (Lydian, possibly East Greek), followed by H. A. Shapiro, *AJA* lxxxv (1981) 133-143: 139-140.

not cross-dressing, Boardman draws attention to the evidence for the wearing of earrings by East Greek men in the Archaic period, evidence which should be noted as more pertinent for the period than the passage of Xenophon in which a man is proven to be not Greek owing to the fact that his ears are pierced (Xen. *Anab.* iii 1.31). Fashion readily changes; even something so apparently fundamental a vestimental gender-determiner as earrings could conceivably change in social value over a century and a half.

Parasols remain problematic, even for the theory of Ionicizing or Lydizing komasts. Simply put, where they are known in the East, they appear in the hands of a parasol-bearer as the mark of authority for a man; when they appear in Greece in unambiguous context, they are the implement of women, whether or not used with a parasol-bearer. It is always possible and even likely that women used parasols in the Near East; there is simply no evidence so far as I know other than for the much earlier period in Egypt. However one interprets the 'Booners', Anatolia provides the most likely bridge for the transfer of the idea of the use of parasols. For the social history of parasol-usage in Greece, what is at stake is whether or not in the Late Archaic period some men *in propria persona* used parasols. Noting first that the 'Booners' comprise the majority of Attic parasol-representations in the sixth and fifth centuries, and that the earliest representations, on the Naples eye-cup, are held by men, Boardman concludes:⁵²

It seems likely, then, that the parasol was known first to the Greeks as the oriental insigne of a male dignitary, which in the exotic society of Archaic Lydia or East Greece fell into women's hands too, and that although this was to be its Classical Greek function, its appearance in mainland Greece was at first in men's hands only and in the context of the komos.

By implication the parasol joined the long chiton and mitra as appropriate gear for a komos in Ionia. Boardman's identification of Western Anatolia as the zone of transition from Oriental male symbol of status to Greek female sign of social standing must be correct; but is it right to posit a male komastic intermediary? It will be recalled that in the East a parasol-bearer is an essential component of the status symbol. By contrast, most of the 'Booners' carry their own parasols in the modified custom adopted by Greek women (where the projection of the fact that so encumbered they cannot engage in activity is most important); there is no evidence that Anatolian or Persian men would have acted so and, given the nature of the symbol, a great likelihood that they would not.

The role of the parasol in the majority of the 'Booners' representations is highlighted by one exception, late in the series: the cup in the Getty, dated to the 470s and attributed to the Briseis Painter (PLATE II (*d,e*)).⁵³ Here alone in the series parasol-bearers appear, and one at least is in a position paralleling the Near Eastern image of authority; the other seems to have difficulty keeping up with the erratic motions of her master. The most recent interpretation of the Anakreontic vases would see this scene as intended 'to parody the dress and customs of the Persians' within the context of an understanding that the whole series pertains to proto-comedy.⁵⁴ When compared with contemporary images of women with parasols (eg. PLATE V (*b,c*)), the level of Oriental parody possible is diminished; such a parody would have required a different dress to be effective. The choice of young female rather than young male attendant breaks with the Oriental tradition.

The close association of 'parasol' with 'woman' in the minds of Early Classical vase-painters is highlighted by some of the so-called Lenaia vases, grouped according to the presence of a

⁵² Boardman 64-5.

⁵³ J.Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.293: cup (A, B) (*Para* 372.8 bis). Boardman #20.

⁵⁴ Price 142.

mask of Dionysos set on a post.⁵⁵ In the 'Lenaia' stamnoi of the Villa Giulia Painter, Side A almost consistently has two devotees—human maenads, as it were—who ladle wine into skyphoi from stamnoi on an offering table before Dionysos (*cf.* PLATE III (a)). On the reverse, three women dance, with suitable Dionysiac implements in hand: thyrsos, skyphos and krotala. But on four of his 'Lenaia' stamnoi, women on the reverse hold a parasol instead of a thyrsos. These are his stamnoi in Boston (PLATE III (a,b)), Florence (PLATE IV (a)), Paris (PLATE IV (b)) and Detroit (PLATE IV (c,d)).⁵⁶ An examination of the whole series shows its highly repetitive character. So mechanical is it, with its tendency on Side B to turn into a generic 'three figures filling the reverse' formula, that the painter occasionally forgets his ritual subject-matter. On the stamnos in Detroit he even neglected to render the image of Dionysos on Side A (PLATE IV (c)). Other cultically incongruous but equally feminine elements are added. On the stamnoi in Boston (PLATE III (b)) and Detroit (PLATE IV (c)), we might note the klismos, which is far more appropriate to an interior domestic setting than to a shrine of Dionysos. The Villa Giulia Painter paints no other parasols in his corpus and no other stamnos painter of 'Lenaia' scenes includes them. What are the parasols doing here? I suspect that the bored painter casually substituted one female-type object for its paradeigmatic equivalent, the parasol for the more appropriate thyrsos, though we could give him more credit and suggest that this was intended as a sign that these maenads are real Athenian women rather than the mythical wild companions of Dionysos. In social terms, all that is conveyed by carrying one's own parasol is that one is precluded from labour.

The employment of a parasol-bearer by women is attested by their occasional appearance in art from the last third of the sixth century. The earliest examples are from two fragmentary black-figure vessels in the Acropolis collection of the Athens National Museum. One is a single fragment on which only the head of a woman and the parasol are preserved (PLATE V (b)), but the angle of the parasol shows that it is held by an attendant.⁵⁷ The treatment of the eye, with the inner corner open, parallels developments in red-figure of the end of the sixth century. The second vase should probably be dated somewhat earlier. In this (?market) scene, only the handle of the parasol remains (PLATE V (a)).⁵⁸ It is clearly held by a short woman, who stands behind her mistress as in the Near Eastern tradition. A lekythos, late work of the Brygos Painter, of ca. 480-470, provides a third instance of parasol-bearing for a female figure (PLATE V (c));⁵⁹ here a woman shades a child walking before her to the right. The age differential between the two reinforces the message of social distinction, as does a further detail: of the two only the child wears earrings.

⁵⁵ It is immaterial for this study whether the vases can be associated with one specific festival and, if so, which one. Many scholars now accept the identification as Lenaia by A. Frickenhaus, *Lenäenvasen: 72 BWPr* (1912), e.g. Deubner 123-134, and C. Gasparri, *LIMC* iii, s.v. 'Dionysos', 420-514: 426, 504-505. Others follow M.P. Nilsson, *Jdl* xxxi (1916) 309-339: 327-332, who associated them with the Anthesteria. See B. Philippaki, *The Attic stamnos* (Oxford 1967) xix-xxi, with bibliography p. xix n.5; A. Henrichs, 'Greek maenadism', *HSCP* lxxxii (1978) 121-160: 153-155; and the iconographic study of J.-L. Durand and F. Frontisi-Ducroux, 'Idoles, figures, images: autour de Dionysos', *RA* 1982, 81-108.

⁵⁶ Boston 90.155 (*ARV* 621.34), Florence 4005 (*ARV* 621.37), Louvre G 408 (*ARV* 621.39), and Detroit 63.12 (*ARV* 621.42; maenads without image of Dionysos on Side A). Collected by A. Schöne, *Der Thiasos* (Göteborg 1987) 178; #581, #584, #586, and #588, who reassociates the Skira festival with parasols and on the basis of the four stamnoi identifies the 'Lenaia' vases with the Skira. Buschor (n. 37) 132 knew of three and suggested that they represented a separate women's parasol-festival which could not be the Lenaia.

⁵⁷ B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I* (Berlin 1925) #682, pl. 46. The fragment is from a large vessel.

⁵⁸ *op. cit.* #681 (d-f), pl. 46.

⁵⁹ Paestum, Museo Archeologico. *ARV* 384.212. P.C. Sestieri, 'Tomba Greca scoperta in Contrada "Pila" presso Paestum', *AA* lxix (1954) 99-102; *cf.* his n.1 for the earrings.

The addition of a parasol-bearer constitutes a more complex statement as it involves the employment of slaves in non-productive activity. We might call this the conspicuous consumption of slave labour, a term which I find has greater descriptive power than Veblen's 'vicarious leisure.'⁶⁰ The 'consumers' were women, and, we may add, the slaves were women too: whatever the practice in the East, no eunuch carried parasols for an Athenian lady.⁶¹ The chronology excludes an interpretation that links this level of private luxury in Athens with the wealth derived from victories of the Persian Wars; it is part, rather, of the Late Archaic aristocracy's self-assertion in the face of a changing social order. Even so, the practice was probably inspired by the example of aristocratic behaviour in contemporary Asia Minor, and so was part of a broader social development of the late Archaic and Classical period.⁶² The adoption by Athenian women of items from the world of the male elite of the Achaemenid empire doubtless helped to reinforce the developing Greek attitudes about the effeminacy of Persian men.

A formal composition evocative of the Oriental expression of high status appears on a skyphos of ca. 440 attributed to the Penelope Painter (PLATE V (d)).⁶³ The combination of mortal women with satyrs on both sides of the skyphos requires a cultic reading; the swinging of a girl by a satyr on Side A possibly represents the Aiora from the third day of the Anthesteria. On Side B, a parasol-bearing satyr follows a woman muffled up in a cloak. She is usually identified as the *Basilinna*, wife of the *archon basileus* and ritual bride of Dionysos, perhaps here engaged in her ritual wedding procession, or, Simon suggests with an eye to the temporal unity of the skyphos, attending the rites of the third day, after her 'sacred marriage'.⁶⁴ There is no known ritual reason for the shading of the *Basilinna*; the usage here presumably marks the extension of the social practice into the sphere of cult, as a sign of the *Basilinna*'s dignity. Or is she thereby marked as 'royal'?

The most famous parasol of Greek art is probably that held by Eros for Aphrodite on the East frieze of the Parthenon (PLATE VI (a)).⁶⁵ Despite Eros' more relaxed pose, he is apparently intended to be read as Aphrodite's parasol-bearer, attending her in this as in other ways.⁶⁶ Eros' role as parasol-bearer extends this symbol of social division from the human into the divine sphere. The indolent Aphrodite above all can be expected to require shade to protect her beauty. But in this complex monument, images are often multivalent: though at one level a cosmetic reflection for the goddess of Love is intelligible and the addition of a parasol-bearer elevates the status of the lady, some have suggested that the parasol makes subtle allusion to

⁶⁰ Veblen (n. 1), chapter 3.

⁶¹ The only instance I know when a parasol-bearer may be meant to be a eunuch in vase-painting is the figure labelled 'Phryx' on an Apulian red-figured situla: Villa Giulia 18003: ca. 350, Ptr. of Athens 1714 (A.D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The red-figured vases of Apulia* [Oxford 1978] 212, #149. *LIMC* ii, s.v. 'Aphrodite' #1277). 'Phryx' stands behind Pelops in the presence of Oinomaos, effectively identifying his master. It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the large number of parasols and parasol-bearers in South Italian red figure, except to comment that with the exception of this example, to my knowledge all parasol-bearers and all those shaded by parasols are women.

⁶² Cf. the fifth-century adoption of fan-bearers, and adaptations of items of dress such as the *kandys*, sleeved garments and the *ependytes*: M. C. Miller, 'Peacocks and *Tryphe* in Classical Athens', *ArchNews* xv (1989) 4-8, with references, to be discussed in greater detail in a forthcoming book; *ead.*, 'The *Ependytes* in Classical Athens', *Hesperia* lviii (1989) 313-329.

⁶³ Berlin F 2589 (ARV 1301.7). Deubner 118-120. *LIMC* iii, s.v. 'Chorillos' #2.

⁶⁴ E. Simon, 'Ein Anthesteria-Skyphos des Polygnotos', *AntK* vi (1963) 18-19.

⁶⁵ East vi.40+41. F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries* (Mainz 1977) 117-121, 262-263, pl.179. *LIMC* ii, s.v. 'Aphrodite' #1404.

⁶⁶ One might compare the later development of Eros as fan-bearer: Leyden I 1950.64: pyxis, Group of the Athenian Head-Pyxides (ARV 1224,3); London E228: kalpis, Helena Ptr. (*LIMC* ii, s.v. 'Aphrodite' #1364).

the incorporation of parasols in the Panathenaic procession.⁶⁷

In Aristophanes' *Birds*, as noted above, Prometheus is given a parasol (1549-1551). Then, to aid his disguise as a metic attendant of a *Kanephoros*, he is also given a stool. It is the earliest allusion to the employment of parasols in the Panathenaic procession; the scholia explain that at the Panathenaia the daughters of the metics carried parasols and stools for the Athenian *Kanephoroi* and fourth-century sources confirm the existence of the practice in Classical times.⁶⁸ The lack of any trace of such activity on the Parthenon frieze is convincingly explained by Rotroff as owing to the choice of dramatic moment: the East frieze represents the regrouped sacrificial procession on the Acropolis, when no extraneous person would belong.⁶⁹

A procession for Athena seems to be the subject-matter of the Brygan lekythos (PLATE V (c)). The little girl solemnly advances, holding in her hands two sprigs which Sestieri identified as olive. Olive boughs are held by figures interpreted as priestesses of Athena in black-figured painting as on the amphora of the Painter of Berlin 1686,⁷⁰ and by a group of worshippers advancing to her altar on a black-figure band-cup of ca. 550.⁷¹ In the most famous festival procession for Athena, the Panathenaia, it is reported that old men served as *Thallopheporoi*, bearing green branches which are presumed to have been olive (Eustathius, *Od.* 1557, 25).⁷² On the lekythos the presence of olive sprigs suggests that the little girl similarly approaches an altar of Athena and in the context of a public festival procession rather than family offering. She appears to be of an age for *Arrhephoria*, an office filled by girls who were between seven and eleven years old. Though their major ritual duties were at other points in the festival calendar, *Arrhephoroi* did play a role in the Panathenaia; they participated in the start of the weaving of the peplos at the Chalkeia.⁷³ It is possible that the lekythos depicts an aristocratic *Arrhephoros* taking part in the Panathenaia, but no evidence supports the suggestion. As young children generally played an important role in Athenian cultic life, the lekythos may provide us with an example of the employment of parasol-bearers for females in the public context of yet another Athenian cult.

When a parasol-bearer is introduced into a festival procession as on the lekythos or by implication the skyphos, it may reflect the type of easy translation of private display into the public sphere of cult so characteristic of Classical Athens. We might compare the elaborate fringed and sleeved garment worn by the *Kanephoros* at the head of a procession to Apollo

⁶⁷ Eg: M. Robertson, *The Parthenon frieze* (London 1975); Brommer (n. 65), 263. E. Pemberton, *AJA* lxxx (1976) 123, suggests an allusion to the parasol of the Great King.

⁶⁸ Scholion to 1551: ταῖς γὰρ κανοφόροις σκιάδειον καὶ δίφρον ἀκολουθεῖ τις ἔχουσα. Hesychius, s.v. 'διφροφόροι:' αἱ ταῖς κανηόροις εἶποντο, δίφρους ἐπιφερόμεναι. Harpokration, s.v. 'σκαφηφόροι:' ...Δημήτριος γοῦν ἐν γ' Νομοθεσίας φησὶν ὅτι προσέταττεν ὁ νόμος τοῖς μετοίκους ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦς μὲν σκάφας φέρειν, τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας αὐτῶν ὑδρεῖα καὶ σκιάδια. διελικταὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν τ' Νόμων. See Deubner 31-32, n.14. Is Prometheus then meant to be disguised as an Athenian with her metic? Such a hero would have been too big to be mistaken by Zeus as just the metic.

⁶⁹ S. Rotroff, 'The Parthenon frieze and the sacrifice to Athena', *AJA* lxxi (1977) 379-82, accepted by Simon 65. Ziehen thought that it meant that the parasols were held over the *Kanephoroi* not during the procession but on the Acropolis during the long sacrificial ritual: *RE* xviii.3 (1949) s.v. 'Panathenaia' 457-489 at 465; he includes a good discussion of the sources. Nicole (n. 2) 583-584 noted the presence of a metic holding a parasol for an Athenian on East III, but I cannot find it; it is questionable whether one of the women depicted at the head of the procession would be a metic.

⁷⁰ Berlin F 1686, BF amphora (name vase) *ABV* 296.4.

⁷¹ Private collection. Illustrated by Simon pl. 16.2, 17.2; drawing: C. Bérard in *La cité des images* (n. 44), fig. 152.

⁷² Parke 44.

⁷³ Deubner 11-13, on the selection of the *Arrhephoroi* and their role at the Chalkeia. W. Burkert, 'Kekropidensage und Arrephoria', *Hermes* xciv (1966) 1-25: 3-4 for the number. For parasol-bearing in the Panathenaia, see below.

(PLATE VI (b)).⁷⁴ It fits no specific cultic dress code but establishes her personal claim to wealthy elegance. Any woman accustomed to the dignity of employing a parasol-bearer presumably required her attendance on all out-of-door occasions including festival processions.

But we are told that at the Panathenaia, parasol-bearers were specifically required for the *Kanephoroi*, a requirement which has again no evident ritual significance. The fact that it is the daughters of metics who must hold the parasols has been seen as an example of the liberality of the Athenians, who practised a policy of non-exclusion from their great state festival procession even towards foreigners.⁷⁵ Aelian recognised the naiveté of such a reading; he viewed the practice as characteristic of Athenian arrogance (*VH* vi 1):

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὕβρισαν καὶ ἐκείνην τὴν ὕβριν. εὐτυχίας γὰρ λαβόμενοι τὴν εὐπραγίαν σωφρόνως οὐκ ἤνεγκαν. τὰς γούν παρθένους τῶν μετοίκων σκιαδηφορεῖν ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς ἠνάγκαζον ταῖς ἑαυτῶν κόραις, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ταῖς γυναξί, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας σκαφηφορεῖν.

Panathenaic *skiadephoria* was something more than the simple extension into the public sphere of the private display of social standing. In the Panathenaic procession parasols served the social function of elevating daughters of Athenian citizens above the daughters of the resident foreigners who carried them. The informal social distinction within the citizen body between one class and another was deliberately translated into a hierarchical ceremonial distinction between Athenian citizen and non-Athenian in the public sphere.

The Panathenaic Festival was redesigned in the mid-fifth century to suit the political requirements of the newly-emergent imperial state. Probably in the early 440s a decree was passed requiring Athens' allies to give a cow and panoply, a ritual confirmation of their tributary status.⁷⁶ Perikles' citizenship decree of 451/450 presumably had the effect of hardening the distinction between citizen and metic⁷⁷ and it was probably around this time that the decree was passed requiring that 'the daughters of the metics carry parasols and stools for the daughters of the citizens' in the Panathenaic procession.⁷⁸ The metics were non-Athenians, many of them from precisely the same states as the allies of the Athenians who brought cow

⁷⁴ Ferrara Spina T 57c, volute krater, Kleophon Painter, ca. 440-430 (*ARV* 1143.1). Cf. *Hesperia* lviii (1989) 313-329.

⁷⁵ Parke 43-44. See also the brief discussion in D. Whitehead, *The ideology of the Athenian metic* (Cambridge 1977) 86-88, who does stress the extremely limited extent to which metics, as non-citizens, could have any part in the cults of Athens; participation was otherwise restricted to occasional rights to partake of a portion of the sacrifice. They were apparently not even able to do this at the Panathenaia. Whitehead treats *skiadephoria* as one of the liturgies of metics.

⁷⁶ Inferred from Kleonias Decree, dated ?447: IG i³ 34.41-43; ML² #46. For a discussion and the now orthodox dating to the earlier 440s, see R. Meiggs, *The Athenian empire* (Oxford 1972) 166-167, 599-600. The tributary status itself was later emphasized at the Dionysia, Panathenaia, and the Eleusinia.

⁷⁷ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 26.4; Plut. *Per.* 37.3. Interpretations of the intent of the decree vary widely, from restriction of intermarriage between lower-class Athenians and metic tradespeople in Athens, and between cleruchs and local women, to restriction of aristocratic marriages outside the state. Cf. C. Hignett, *A history of the Athenian constitution* (Oxford 1952) 343-47; A. R. W. Harrison, *The law of Athens* (Oxford 1968) I 25-26; Whitehead (n. 75) 149-51; S. Humphreys, *The family, women and death* (London 1983) 24-25; N. Loraux, *The invention of Athens*, tr. A. Sheridan (Cambridge MA 1986) 150. C. Patterson thoroughly discusses the issues in *Pericles' citizenship law of 451-50 BC* (New York 1981) 95-107 and concludes 'the law is only one piece of a larger development, the emergence of a public status of being an Athenian...' and, we may add, definition by exclusion. Cf. Badian, *JHS* cvii (1982) 12.

⁷⁸ Presumably the stools were carried on their backs during the procession; the parallelism with the image on the Apadana Eastern Stair reliefs at Persepolis is striking, but is probably coincidental (Schmidt [n. 20] pl. 51; west face of north wing).

and panoply. Ober has recently made important observations of the elitist character of Classical Athens.⁷⁹

The citizen population of Athens was collectively a political elite vis-à-vis noncitizens, and a citizen's political status was normally inherited. Foreigners and slaves, who were excluded from citizenship, could be looked down upon by even the poorest and least well-educated person. The citizen 'in-group' was, therefore, a hereditary aristocracy when compared to noncitizen 'out-groups.'

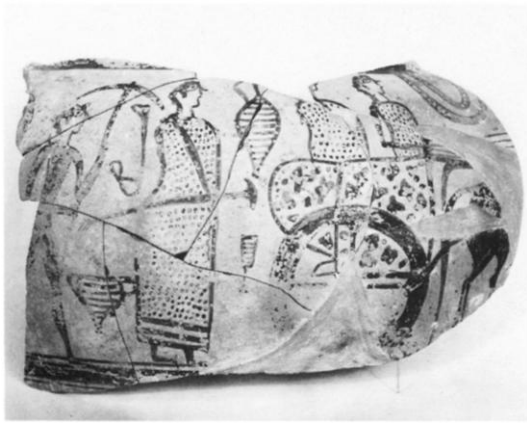
In the *skiadephoria* of the Panathenaia the Athenians were making precisely such a statement. It was part of a carefully-orchestrated public display of the imperial power vested in the *demos* of Athens, using the imagery of the Achaemenid East but reworked in Greek terms. The role of ceremonial in expressing state aspirations and formulating public opinion has been increasingly recognised in recent years, but usually the focus is on later periods or other cultures. It is time to reconsider the significance of public ceremonial in Classical Athens as the microcosmic embodiment of an imperial order sanctioned by the gods.

The social anthropology of parasol usage in Archaic and Classical Greece is a topic rich in implication despite the small corpus of evidence. A probable import from the highly stratified societies of the East, the parasol identified its user as one who was not compelled to engage in manual labour. Whether first reintroduced in Iron-Age Greece for men or women, it rapidly came to be considered the feminine implement *par excellence*. The further refinement of the parasol-bearer may have been a factor from the start of Greek usage. The use of a parasol-bearer in art as in life heightens the expression of social differentiation by formally highlighting the relationship between mistress and slave. From the private sphere of social distinction to the public spheres of cult and imperial expression was in some ways an easy step, but a step in which by implication the whole of the Athenian people presented itself as elevated above its contemporaries.

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⁷⁹ J. Ober, *Mass and elite in democratic Athens* (Princeton 1989) 261. Cf. M. I. Finley's comments on the required payment of the *metoikion* as a poll-tax, 'the degrading mark of the outsider' in *The ancient economy* (London 1973) 163-64.



(a) London C 339: amphoroid krater fragment from Enkomi. Photo Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



(c) London: Xanthos, Nereid Monument, Frieze II, block 879. Photo Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



(b) Teheran Archaeological Museum: Persepolis, Council Hall, North doorway, West jamb. Photo Courtesy of The Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago.



(d) Naples Inv. No. 81138 (H 2729): eye cup (A), unattributed. Photo Courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta.



(e) Naples Inv. No. 81138 (H 2729): eye cup (B), unattributed. Photo Courtesy Museo Archeologico di Napoli.

THE PARASOL: AN ORIENTAL STATUS-SYMBOL IN LATE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL ATHENS



(a) Copenhagen Inv. No. 13365: calyx krater fr., Kleophrades Ptr. Photo Courtesy The National Museum Copenhagen, Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities.



(b) Copenhagen Inv. No. 13365: calyx krater fr., Kleophrades Ptr. Photo Courtesy The National Museum Copenhagen, Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities.



(c) Bologna Pell. 234: column krater, Orchard Ptr. Photo Courtesy Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna.



(d) The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu 86.AE.293: (A) Briseis Ptr., Attic Red-Figure Cup Type B, ca. 480-470.



(e) The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu 86.AE.293: (B) Briseis Ptr., Attic Red-Figure Cup Type B, ca. 480-470.

THE PARASOL: AN ORIENTAL STATUS-SYMBOL IN LATE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL ATHENS



(a) Boston 90.155: stamnos (A), Villa Giulia Ptr. Anonymous Gift. Photo Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



(b) Boston 90.155: stamnos (B), Villa Giulia Ptr. Anonymous Gift. Photo Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

THE PARASOL: AN ORIENTAL STATUS-SYMBOL IN LATE ARCHAIC
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(a) Florence 4005: stamnos (B), Villa Giulia Ptr. Photo Courtesy Soprintendenza alle Antichità, Firenze.



(c) Detroit 63.12: stamnos (A), Villa Giulia Ptr. Photo Courtesy The Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, Membership Fund.



(b) Louvre G 408: stamnos (B), Villa Giulia Ptr. Photo M. Chuzeville, Courtesy Musée du Louvre.



(d) Detroit 63.12: stamnos (B), Villa Giulia Ptr. Photo Courtesy The Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, Membership Fund.

THE PARASOL: AN ORIENTAL STATUS-SYMBOL IN LATE ARCHAIC
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(a) Athens National Museum, Acr. Coll. 681: unattributed Attic fragments. Photo after B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I* (Berlin 1925) pl. 46, d-f.



(b) Athens National Museum, Acr. Coll. 682: unattributed Attic fragment. Photo after B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I* (Berlin 1925) pl. 46.



(c) Paestum, Museo Nazionale: lekythos, Brygos Ptr. Photo Courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica di Salerno.



(d) Berlin F 2589: skyphos (B), Penelope Ptr. Photo Courtesy Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

THE PARASOL: AN ORIENTAL STATUS-SYMBOL IN LATE ARCHAIC
AND CLASSICAL ATHENS



(a) London: Parthenon East Frieze vi.40+41. Photo Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



(b) Ferrara Inv. no. 44894, T 57c V.P.: volute krater, Kleophon Ptr. Photo Courtesy Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Ferrara.

THE PARASOL: AN ORIENTAL STATUS SYMBOL IN LATE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL ATHENS



(c) Ashland University, Ohio, USA. Unguent jar. Donation of Professor and Mrs Delbert H. Flora.

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