The Palgrave Handbook of Humour, History, and Methodology

Edited by
Daniel Derrin · Hannah Burrows

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FOREWORD

This book is a carefully considered and curated study of humour and the past. Far from being assembled in haste, it has had a long gestation. Given its rich variety of topics and the expertise involved, that is not surprising—co-ordinating such a multi-talented team might challenge any editorial team. However, Daniel Derrin and Hannah Burrows have proved their organisational skill time and again during this developmental period. Together, they have staged not one but four collaboratories and panel presentations to explore resources and possible collaborations, launched and maintained a website (https://humour-softhepast.wordpress.com/), and administered a research grant to support the whole. For those authors lucky enough to attend sessions at the University of Aberdeen in 2015 and 2016, at Trinity College Dublin in 2016 and at Durham University in 2017, meeting and discussing face to face moved the book forward, providing inspiration, a vital critique and wonderful memories.

The real reason for cautious preparation is neither length nor number of authors: it is meeting the demands of the methodological challenges that this book is designed to address. For those who have watched the project from its inception, therefore, the book forms the end product of extended and deliberate discussion about how best to tackle this serious—if amusing—subject. It is not at all straightforward to approach texts and practices from times past and across many different languages and cultures, and to focus upon their nexus with humour further complicates the task. Humour is largely a modern concept and remains quite ill-defined, even in English-speaking cultures. Importantly, it is innately ambiguous, a potential trap for the unwary scholar in any age. Until very recently, cultural historians were loath to include humour in their remit, even when studying the so-called emotions of the past.

While much has been achieved since the first pioneering conference dedicated to the cultural history of humour, convened in Amsterdam in 1994, methodologies and terminologies have remained unclear. This is despite the rapid development of humour studies itself, a field that bridges across many disciplines, from neuroanatomy and psychology to linguistics and performance

art and politics. Indeed, looking back over the last quarter-century, it seems to me that cultural history and humour studies tended to remain in largely separate camps with little intellectual exchange. In 2013, I was invited to contribute to a University of Cambridge seminar on the history of the emotions, teaching a section titled 'Humour and Laughter'. Coming from a humour studies background, I welcomed the decision to include both terms, but found it difficult to identify either as an emotion. When I asked my (cultural historian) colleagues for clarity, they told me they regarded laughter as the emotion, humour as the cause.

From the stance of humour studies, however, laughter is a multi-valent form of human behaviour that can signal many things—amusement, certainly, but also nervous embarrassment, surprise, even antagonistic sarcasm and disparagement. Laughter may be fake, concealing all manner of non-humorous inner feelings (psychologists term this non-Duchenne laughter, and it induces quite different feelings in its audience than does true Duchenne laughter). Seen this way, laughter is not itself an emotion, but can be allied to a very wide range of emotions, including humour. When allied to humour, then it stands to it as weeping does to its own possible range of emotions, from grief to joy.

Humour on the other hand cannot be limited to being an emotion. It certainly can be what Wallace Chafe calls 'the feeling of non-seriousness' (*The Importance of Not Being Earnest*, 2007) that characterises amusement, but the word is also used variously to denote the stimulus to being amused or the creation of a humourist or comedian, and to describe a range of experiences and responsive behaviour that includes laughter and smiling. It has become a convenient umbrella term that sums up a very wide range of humour-related phenomena and, as such, has spread around the world, and has been adopted as a modernising neologism into languages such as Japanese and Chinese.

But is humour an emotion? The question of whether humour (in the general sense) is purely a cognitive or an affective experience has plagued humour studies from its inception in linguistic studies. Recently, however, neuroanatomy (using MRI scans) has convincingly demonstrated that in response to humour, the human brain activates both cognitive and affective pathways, and does so in a complex sequence. Distinguished by nanoseconds, several distinct neural steps occur for a human subject exposed to a humour stimulus: first comes recognition of something as humorous (i.e. not serious, a kind of recognition of a play-frame), then comes comprehension or decoding (what might be called 'getting it') and finally come the responses to it (possibly including laughter and smiling). While these steps are sequential, their outcomes are far from inevitably positive. For example, a humour recipient may recognise that something is intended as humour—and may even respond to it with signs of acceptance—but still may not like it nor enjoy the process. By the same token, enjoyment of the humour does not always require full comprehension, let alone a grasp of the hidden structures of topic/s, target/s and structural devices employed, nor possession of the specialist knowledge required for decoding humour's incongruities, ambiguities and wordplays. Consciousness of why

something is funny is not required in order to find it amusing—or only humour scholars would ever laugh. For many reasons, therefore, it is well-nigh impossible to separate the cognitive and affective elements of humour.

If these complexities exist for present-day humour and laughter, how much more must they apply to other cultural periods in the past? Many languages possess their own terms for words relating to humour, including its forms and purposes, and the social conventions surrounding the use of humour and laughter vary enormously between cultures and also within cultures, even today. All this presents formidable barriers preventing an easy application of contemporary concepts, theories and assumptions about where to find humour and how to approach it. Rising admirably to the challenge posed by such methodological difficulties, the editors and authors alike have nevertheless managed here to present a book designed to help others as well as to offer its own insights.

The book's structure guides the reader first through issues of theory and method, and then through case studies capitalising on detailed knowledge of periods and texts, linking historical material with particular theoretical approaches. Interestingly for me at least, this illuminates not only the source material but the general utility of the theory, whether traditional or modern. Daniel Derrin refers to this as 'conceptual grafting', a way to get around some of the problems that arise when trying to apply in specific historical contexts typically universalising 'theories of humour'. As far as I am aware, this is the first book to adopt such an approach, first discussing the limits of what is possible in identifying and accessing humour that is located in the past, and then linking a range of modern theories and techniques to specific texts and their cultural milieux. As such, I believe it marks an important step forward in constructive interchange between humour studies and cultural history, and justifies the book's title of 'Handbook'.

For full measure, the third part of the book puts this approach to a practical test. Several chapters investigate what happens when an informed application of theory and expert knowledge is carried into translating and interpreting past texts and images for modern audiences. Is the humour workable? What are the difficulties that arise? How do modern audiences respond to the humour? Does the superficial meaning of the humour only translate, or can its deeper significance or worldview pass from its original age to the present?

Throughout the book, the editors have ensured that it deals meticulously with the past widespread tendency in both humour studies and cultural history to conflate laughter and humour, reaching for precision in the terms and descriptions used across all chapters. Authors distinguish between benign and corrective (malicious) humour—and there is plenty of malice in some of the texts and interpersonal remarks here analysed! In other places, the humour considered is benign and uplifting, linked to religious insight. The principal argument made by all the specialists across their separate fields is that studying humour in past texts, images and records is rewarding in and of itself, for a number of reasons.

Firstly, looking for such humour is often a pioneering effort: it is surprising how often in the past scholars have completely overlooked it. Treating the past with too much reverence can do it as much disservice as studying it too super-ficially. Secondly, searching for humour puts our knowledge of the past to the test, showing how demanding it is to peer at images and passages that look suspiciously odd and to be confident of one's interpretation of them as humour. This is not a task for the faint-hearted. Thirdly, however, the task reminds us not only of the distance between our own contemporary culture and that of the past, but also of some of the closeness that exists between the past and the pres-ent. While today's comic practices and theoretical approaches of course vary from those of the past, they also have surprising similarities. Despite the lack of direct equivalence of terms in many periods and languages, some of the studies reveal the sense of a shared experience of humour and of being amused. When we see Erasmus's *Folly* recommending laughter as a way of discreetly passing over tensions between married couples and avoiding divorce, we immediately recognise the insight. From that early modern world, it is just a step to Harvard University in the 1930s and the beginnings of personality assessment, when Gordon Allport chose to include in his instruments a test for sense of humour as an indicator of maturity and good mental health.

I am proud to recall that the first steps towards this book can be traced to Australia. The Australasian Humour Studies Network (AHSN), now hosted by the University of Sydney, was founded on a wave of interest in studying humour that was generated by the 8th Conference of the International Society for Humor Studies at the University of New South Wales in 1996. The AHSN has assembled each year since then to exchange papers and strengthen each other's belief that their topics, far from being simple and easy as many colleagues in the academy suppose, are in fact highly demanding. I and others in Australia and New Zealand have had the honour of providing a meeting ground for this group. During some of those events, the editors first explored the possibility of this project. After that, as they say, the rest is history. It seems only appropriate that I salute them in this foreword as they encourage exploration of the chal-lenges involved in appreciating historical humour. It is my belief that their book will play an important part in assisting the future achievements of humour scholars.

Sydney, Australia   Jessica Milner Davis

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Visual Humour on Greek Vases (550–350 BC): Three Approaches to the Ambivalence of Ugliness in Popular Culture

Alexandre G. Mitchell

Introduction

The importance of ugliness in ancient Greece, be it in literature, philosophical thought or the pictorial arts, is difficult to assess but is key to understanding ancient visual humour. According to most of our ancient literary, philosophical and visual sources, Athenian society from the sixth to the fourth centuries BC aspired to a certain esthetic ideal.[1] When Plato distinguished the different steps that lead to beauty, from objects in the sensible world to the idea of Beauty itself in the intelligible world, he was developing philosophically ideas that had already been in vogue for nearly a century. Indeed, the treatise entitled *Kanon* by the sculptor Polykleitos, which he expressed in his statuary (the *Diadumenos*, the *Doryphoros*), already substantiated a Greek vision of beauty linked to the notions of balance and mathematical harmony between the whole and its parts. The word *kosmos* expressed these ideas more accurately than the word *kalos* ('beautiful') for it referred not only to the concept of 'ornament' but also to 'universe' and 'order'.

In a society where the world was seen as beautiful and ordered or beautiful because it was ordered, was there any room for disruption, errors, humour and ugliness? Aristotle defined the laughable as 'a mistake or a kind of ugliness

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(*aischos*) that causes no pain or destruction: so for example the comic mask is something ugly and distorted but causes no pain'.[2] *Aischos*, ugly, the base, the deformed, was opposed to *kalos*, the beautiful, the noble. Both adjectives applied to moral character, to actions, as well as to appearance and things.[3] To understand ancient Greek humour, we must focus on ugliness. Obviously, it is not ugliness per se that causes laughter, it is ugliness in context or instrumentalised or the presence of surprise as a laughing catalyst. Already in the Renaissance, Madius (Vincenzo Maggi), in his treatise *On the Ridiculous* (1550), comments on Aristotle's poetics. He writes 'If ugliness alone were the cause of laughter, while it continues to exist, laughter should also continue. But, without ceasing the cause of ugliness, we nevertheless cease laughing; also those things that are ugly but are familiar to us, do not cause laughter. Therefore it is clear enough that the cause of laughter does not reside only in ugliness, but it is also the work of surprise'.[4]

It is obvious from a strictly logical point of view that ugliness is the inalienable companion of beauty: without a relevant visual comparison—except in a Platonic context—*beauty* does not mean anything. But why show visual ugliness (as opposed to moral ugliness) rather than hide it? The Greek approach was to expose in order to demonstrate. Even in Sparta, deformed children were not hidden, but left to die in full view of the public. There was no place in classical Greece for the kind of ultra-realistic stone portraiture that appeared four hundred years later at the end of the Roman republic, of fifty-year-old men with shrivelled faces, their features almost caricatured either because of an acute sense of morality, or because the busts were based on death wax masks. Greek artists would certainly have been able to produce similar portraits had they wished to but when having to choose between the two poles of *mimesis* (faithful imitation of nature) and aesthetic ideal, Greek artists leant towards their idealistic aspirations and yet drew on physical reality, including ugliness.

We need to distinguish between different kinds of ugliness when considering visual humour on Greek vases. At least three forms were displayed on vases: (1) caricature, an *intentional* form of ugliness, a popular and democratic egalitarian tool. (2) Then came the *inherent* ugliness of deformity, foreigners with non-Caucasian facial traits, the decrepitude of the elderly, all of which reveal deep anxieties about disease, the 'other' and the inevitability of death. (3) And, finally, the *construction* of ugliness both physical and moral through the intrusion of a ubiquitous and humorous mythological creature called the satyr in a 'civilised' society presents a third pathway to ugliness, that of the ambivalence of the (*Eliasian*) *civilising process*.

INTENTIONAL UGLINESS: CARICATURE, A POPULAR AND DEMOCRATIC EGALITARIAN TOOL

One of the major changes that accompanied the advent of democracy was when democratic egalitarianism finally took precedence over an aristocratic society built on honour and shame. It was in this context that ugliness finally

gained the right to be heard. This process is only visible over a long period of time. We observe the first fledgling signs with Thersites, the tremendously ugly crowd-pleaser in the *Iliad*: 'He is the ugliest man ever to come to Ilion, bandy-legged and stooped. His head is covered with only a small amount of thin downy hair. Achilles and Ulysses really abhor him for he quarrels with them constantly'.[5] As Halliwell writes, 'It is no accident that Thersites, a symbolic figure of ridicule incarnate from Homer onwards, receives an exceptionally full physical description in the Iliad that seems to match up his ugliness with the subversive unruliness of his bent for mockery'.[6] Thersites was not allowed to speak, as he was excluded from any deliberative participation in the aristocratic context of the Achaean camp. When he pushes too far his criticism of Agamemnon, 'king of men', he is violently beaten up by Odysseus amongst a laughing and jeering crowd, heroes and common sailors included. Thersites' speech is not unreasonable as such but he is too far ahead of his time. He is prevented from speaking out loud because he does not show enough *aidos* ('respect') towards aristocratic authority. It will only be in the context of democracy that *parrhesia*, the right to express oneself freely, would become law. The intentional visual ugliness of caricature, this visceral need to express one's opinion through ugliness in a movement of egalitarian democratic parrhesia, by belittling the values of beauty and harmony, was a way of levelling the aristocratic ideal and all its values to the ground. It is a necessary form of burlesque. Caricature was an egalitarian tool in a society that was seeking to emancipate itself from ancient kingly feats of arms, to promote the power of the people, of the Demos. The ugliness of caricature, exaggerated and intentional, had a political function.

Athenian black- and red-figure vases were the perfect expression of this eminently popular culture, as they cost almost nothing to produce, being made from clay and involved almost negligible labour costs. They were therefore accessible to everyone, rich and poor.[7] As most vases were produced for the market and not on commission, craftsmen had to comply with the rules of market economy: they followed fashion or went against it, to sell more vases. Since they had to be appreciated by as many buyers as possible in order to be sold, their figurative scenes represent what most Athenians believed at the time. In this sense it truly was a popular artform. The concept of 'popular' culture has a convoluted and controversial history. It was traditionally opposed to a dominant 'high' culture which controlled it by imposing its values and cultural norms. In this view, popular culture developed on the reception of these values, through the imitation of the 'high' culture. But this dichotomy was completely revised by Pierre Bourdieu,[8] moving to different perceptions altogether, on different modes of cultural appropriation.[9] In terms of fashion and the culture that is reflected through the images depicted on the vases it is evident that some representations aspire to aristocratic and elite values that trickle down to the entire *demos* (population).

Caricature is a transformation, a grotesque or ridiculous representation of people or things by exaggerating their most characteristic features. To ensure

their caricatures were understood by their contemporaries, ancient painters were in possession of a veritable comic arsenal.[10]

Some ancient caricatures still surprise the modern observer, such as a small wine container in the Louvre Museum (Fig. 9.1).[11] On one side of this *askos*, we see a man, naked, leaning over his cane from which hangs his only garment, a folded tunic. This male character is almost entirely bald and wears a goatee. The most surprising aspect of this scene is the disproportionate size of his head, which is simply gigantic compared to his stunted body, a large head that reminds us of press cartoons or Punch and Judy shows. Who was the butt of the joke? His attitude is a very common one in Greek vase-painting, that of the passer-by or onlooker (Fig. 9.2),[12] one of many thousand images of idle citizens found on vases, often in the context of the palaestra. The excessive size of his head and his thoughtful attitude also recall the caricature of a sophist, the intellectual whose head was larger than his body and who spent his time talking.

He was sketched by a simple craftsman from the potters' district who had little reason to respect these smooth talkers who travelled from city to city to offer their services, as described by Aristophanes: 'a crowd of sophists, diviners […] with long hair […] horoscope makers, lazy-bones'.[13] It may be the same kind of intellectual who was mocked in the *Philogelos*, a collection of jokes in ancient Greek.

> People tell a young egg-head that his beard is coming in, so he goes to the front door to welcome it. When his friend realises what he's doing, he says 'No wonder

Fig. 9.1

Fig. 9.2

people think we're idiots—how do you know your beard isn't coming through the back door?'[14]

Mythology was not immune to caricature. Most Greek heroes were either the result of the union of a god and a mortal like Herakles, or the offspring of kings, like Odysseus, son of Laertius, king of Ithaca. Painters often present Odysseus at his best, highlighting his famous *metis*, or craftiness, a quality the Greeks were particularly fond of, being great negotiators in politics and trade.[15] But some vases deliberately caricature the hero. Among the most famous, those of the Kabirion sanctuary, ten miles from Thebes (Greece) caricature him in a completely grotesque way on several occasions, either when he escapes from the island of Calypso on two amphorae, running on the waves, or in the company of the magician Circe.[16] But one of the most interesting vases is in London. This oinochoe (or jug) (Fig. 9.3)[17] shows a highly caricatured Odysseus, wearing his sailor's *polos* hat and carrying off the *Palladion*—the small statue of Athena which, according to tradition, was the guarantor of Troy's safety. The scene is easily understood if we compare it to its 'serious' version, an oinochoe from the Louvre for example (Fig. 9.4).[18]

Fig. 9.3

In the caricature, Odysseus has stolen the sacred image of Athena from the city of Troy. The painter has given him a pot belly and a bloated scrotum, a head that is not proportionate to his body and a particularly hairy face. His sailor's hat is worn very low on his forehead, which increases the hero's inelegant appearance, just like his ruffled hair sprouting from either side of the *polos*. If Diomedes is the other caricatured character, with his gigantic nose, we have an additional source of amusement here, because of Odysseus' trickery. According to tradition it was Diomedes who returned to the Greek camp with the *Palladion*, not Odysseus. For those who might want to interpret this scene as a visual representation of a theatrical stage scene, it should be noted that their entire bodies are caricatured, not just the face, which eliminates the possibility that they are wearing comedy masks. There are no hints to the *realia* of stagecraft. The painting even escapes Oliver Taplin's list of 'visual theatre signals'.[19] We must adjust our perspective to that of the ancient customer and insist on the fact that on the one hand we are dealing here with playfulness between images and on the other hand that the burlesque of the scene is due

Fig. 9.4

to a social need to belittle even the great eponymous hero of the *Odyssey*. With these figures, we are now in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, a time in which society had become far more egalitarian and where, unlike Thersites, the unfortunate dishevelled hunchback of the Homeric era, one could make fun of the powerful kings of old with impunity. The fact that the vase was designed in Apulia and not in Athens does not hurt our interpretation of the vase, since a city like Taranto, even if founded by Sparta, also became a democracy from the fifth century onwards.

This burlesque humour and the need to humble a king is particularly clear in the many representations of Herakles bringing the Erymanthean boar *alive* to King Eurystheus. Here, burlesque and comic inversion serve to satisfy a need for democratic justice. The ugliness here is moral (the king's cowardice) and not physical.

The burlesque was often linked to situations of comic inversion where gods, heroes or kings were ridiculed as we have seen with Odysseus. Among Herakles' twelve labours imposed on him by King Eurystheus, only the capture of the Erymanthean boar contains a touch of humour for not only did Herakles survive the ordeal, but he brought the monstrous beast alive back to the palace. Eurystheus, terrified both by the hero and by the boar, hid in a *pithos*, a kind of
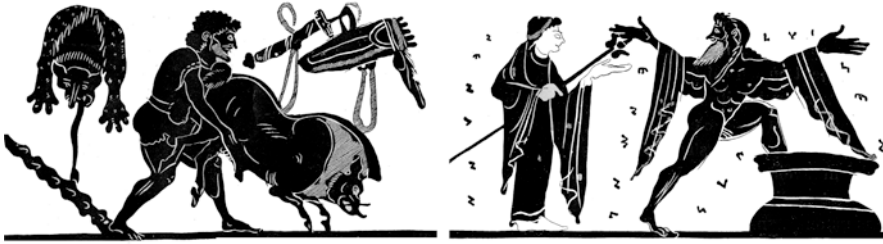
Fig. 9.5

huge grain container. It seems that vase-painters particularly enjoyed showing the last stage of the story. On numerous vases in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, Eurystheus is found hiding in a pithos. In these scenes, Herakles is carrying the wild boar, either on his back or over his shoulder, placing his foot on the edge of the pithos and preparing to throw the beast inside the container. Painters often show Eurystheus gesticulating in despair, begging Herakles to spare his life. The position of the boar like Damocles' sword above the king's head begging from the bottom of his pithos expresses Herakles' genuine superiority as a popular and Panhellenic hero. Our vase (Fig. 9.5) shows him fleeing as Herakles approaches, one foot already in the pithos.[20] Eurystheus was king of Mycenae. To see a man of superior status flee in a cowardly manner to hide in his own palace is burlesque. It is the ridicule, the degradation of the king, that makes the masses laugh, especially at a time when there were no more kings. But this scene was so often reproduced in Greek art that one might wonder if, stripped of any surprise effect, it made viewers laugh at all. The repetitiveness of the representations suggests something else: it was not so much the surprise that made the viewers laugh, but a ridiculed false king and the comical reversal of the situation. Indeed, the humour of this scene owes something to the tricked trickster, the fact that the king gets a taste of his own medicine. As Henri Bergson writes: 'Not infrequently comedy sets before us a character who lays a trap in which he is the first to be caught. The plot of the villain, who is the victim of his own villainy, or the cheat cheated, forms the stock-in-trade of a good many plays'.[21] Despite the fact that Herakles was faithful to the king throughout all his labours, the king abused his monarchical powers to impose impossible ordeals in the hope of getting rid of him. The situation is ironic because it turned out to be to his disadvantage. This often-reproduced burlesque scene reveals a kind of visceral need for justice. Eurystheus gets what he deserves because he never behaves as a true king.

Inherent Ugliness Hinting at Deep Anxieties in Greek Society: The Dwarf, the Foreigner and the Elderly

Regardless of the technique of caricature, some figures differed from the classical ideal body type and were considered ugly per se: the dwarf, the foreigner with African traits, the decrepit elderly man. Each of those is addressed separately.

The Dwarf and Social Cohesion

Achondroplasia was the most common form of dwarfism among the representations of short-legged dwarfs on Greek vases. Why were the latter mocked in ancient Greece beyond the obvious contrast between their physical appearance and a 'normal' or idealised body type?[22] This phenomenon is easily explained by Henri Bergson's 'social laughter'.[23] This kind of laughter is linked to the fear of difference, and all the more so in a democratic and egalitarian society where no head should surpass any other. People mock and laugh at each other within a group because laughter is a social tool that forces each person to remain in his or her place, to conform to rules and customs, not to break out of the ranks, to ensure the group remains a harmonious entity. In doing so, social laughter emphasises the rules, values and elements that bind a society together and imposes a form of social cohesion.

Giving birth to certain congenital deformities must have caused, like it often does today, a feeling of guilt coupled with divine injustice, which may explain the presence of representations that hoped to counter fate or the evil eye. Why a feeling of injustice?[24] One might have grown used to the loss of a limb due to sudden illness or combat, but how could one reconcile one's faith in the wisdom and justice of the almighty gods when children were born mentally or physically diminished? To escape this feeling of powerlessness, artists ensured that their approach to art based on experience and mimesis remained constrained by an idealism that tried to show what one should look like rather than what one really did. In such a society, artists and citizens in general tried to control the world around them by striving for order and balance. Dwarves played the same role as various representations of the *Other*. The origin of *ethnic jokes*, or jokes on other cultures,[25] is often linked to the fear of the *Other*, to the perception of differences. Dwarves lent their distinctive features to caricature to amuse the general public, reassure them and reaffirm the Polyclitean canon - a tribute to normalised imagery.

A black-figure kantharos from the Kabirion of Thebes (Fig. 9.6) shows five grotesque athletes exercising.[26] Two figures are wrestling, their penises dangling instead of being tied like most ancient Greek athletes, who practised in the nude. The athlete on the left is prognathic, with a snub nose and scruffy hair. The second pair of wrestlers are caricatured dwarfs. Their legs amount to a quarter of the total length of the body, and the dwarf on the right's head is particularly disproportionate. To the far right, another dwarf is performing a

Fig. 9.6

war dance, the *pyrrhike*, his hand almost touching the ground as he leans to the ground, weighed down by his large and heavy shield (*oplon*) and helmet. The humour in this scene is particularly apt: the athlete and the warrior embodied superior moral and physical values in Greek society. Only the wealthiest citizens had the idle time to exercise at the palaestra or arm themselves. They were perfect targets for potters.

African pygmies were no longer represented in the fifth century as they had been in the previous century. The foot of the famous François vase (570 BC) showed pygmies fighting cranes: they were abnormally small men but whose body parts were well proportioned. Most red-figure vases in the fifth century that depict pygmies, however, present them as if they were dwarfs,[27] like a rhyton in the Saint-Petersbourg museum (Fig. 9.7), attributed to the Brygos painter.[28] These warriors are grotesquely misshapen. They are small, have stocky legs, fat bellies and large buttocks; their scrotum bag hangs so far down it is almost being dragged on the ground. They both wear pointed Scythian soft hats, more suitable for oriental warriors than dwarfs even claiming to be pygmies. The reference to Scythians, oriental foreigners per se, alienates them even more from Greek figures. The first pygmy grabs the crane by the neck and is about to strike it with a club, while the second pokes the hindquarters of the beast with the tip of his sword. In doing so, his left arm is shown dangling like a monkey's arm. The physician Galen tells us that painters or sculptors could not make a better parody of a human hand than by drawing a monkey's paw.[29] And, according to Athenaeus: 'The Scythian sage Anacharsis said that when human jesters were introduced at a banquet, he did not smile, but burst out laughing when an ape was brought in. This animal, so he said, was laughable by nature, but human jesters only by practice'.[30] Our pygmy-dwarfs' attitude—despite their beards—also resembles that of the babies or toddlers represented on the hundreds of miniature choes sold at the Anthesteria, with painted images of toddlers up to all kinds of mischief and very often teasing animals. Evidently, toddlers acting as battle-hardened warriors are ridiculous. In short, the two figures on this vase encapsulated a wide range of what vase-painters thought were inherently ugly or ridiculous traits: African miniature men, dwarfs, Orientals, apes and toddlers.

Fig. 9.7

The Foreigner and the Fear of the 'Other'

The fear of the outsider is the fear of the 'other' and of course of the dissolution of the group by *barbaric* pollution. Difference was not seen as an enrichment but as social impoverishment, a weakness. The Greek defines himself in opposition to the 'other'. Greece's city-states discovered their quasi-national identity as a so-called free and civilised Greece built in opposition to a so-called totalitarian Persian empire during and after the Persian wars. In this context, the need to make fun of the 'barbaric' foreigner (from *barbaros*, who does not speak Greek), whether they are Persian or African, is both linked to the fear of losing what the Greeks had gained, civilisation, and to forging a coherent and social identity that was distinct from other cultures.

Just as the unsightly physical appearance of dwarfs was used to ridicule certain characters, so were African physical characteristics because of their stark contrast with (idealised) Caucasian features. The destruction of the group or social fabric by its pollution with foreigners most certainly explains the marked fear of the other and the fear of difference. Among the many representations of African slaves or servants, there is, for example, a comic image on a fragmentary black-figure Boeotian kantharos (Fig. 9.8).[31]

A naked slave, caricatured, with typical African traits, prominent lips, snub nose, curly hair, ithyphallic (with a sexual erection), desperately tries to keep a dog from gobbling up the meat that was placed on a *trapeza*, or small two-tray banquet table, by pulling with all his might on the dog's leash. Frank Snowden could not understand why Greek artists represented so many Africans and pygmies with African traits.[32] It seems that Greek artists actually chose to borrow African traits as a caricature device. Their appearance was so different from the 'average Greek', their skin colour, their curly hair, their prognathism, their fleshy lips, their flat or snub nose, made them to be 'natural caricatures'. If we add dwarfism, these traits become even more caricatured and grotesque than they already were to the Greek eye.[33]
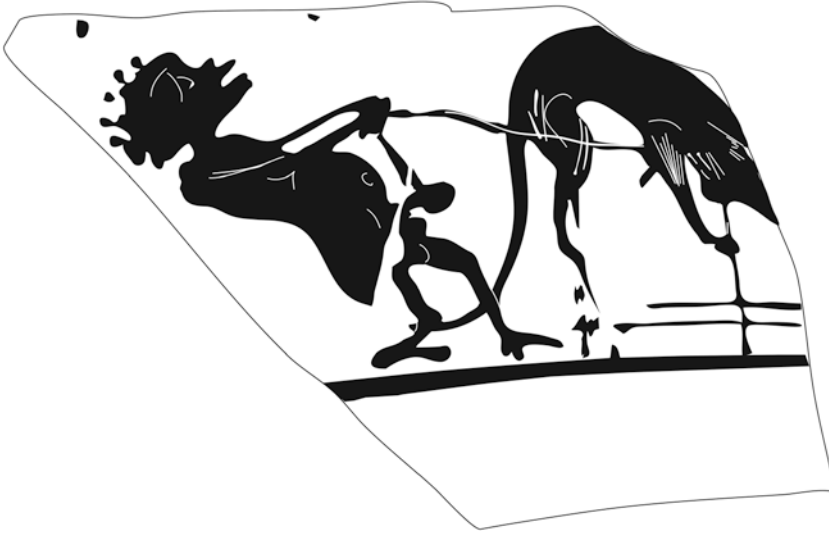
Fig. 9.8

All these elements are integrated in the caricature of Kephalos, a well-known Boeotian hero, on a kantharos preserved in the Athens Museum (Fig. 9.9).[34] This caricatured figure, with its round skull, prognathic lower jaw, thick lips and a snub nose, wears a ridiculous, stunted and twisted petasos. The petasos was a hat often worn by hunters and travellers because its wide edges protected its wearer from the rain. The personage is naked, except for his stick and the hunter's chlamys wrapped around his left arm, which reveals his huge belly and swaying genitals. His name is inscribed, *KEPHALOS*. The ugliness of his caricatured face is all the more amusing given that usually in Greek vases, the handsome version of this hunter is the one chased by the lovesick goddess Eos ('Dawn'). The hound, whose appearance is as grotesque as his master's, is chasing a fox with a bushy tail. Thanks to Apollodoros and other ancient authors,[35] we know the story of Kephalos' magic hunting dog who caught every prey it set its sights on, including the famous Teumessian fox, which ravaged the region of Cadmeia. However, it is very difficult to imagine that our pot-bellied dog or his master on the Athens vase will catch or catch up to anything.

The Old Man

Old age was feared for it was a reminder of the inevitability of death and the eventual annihilation of the social group. Caricature is sometimes only present to exaggerate pre-existing physical ugliness. When a painter insists on the ugliness and decrepitude of old age rather than its nobility, like that of the venerable and wise Nestor, this reveals something other than the egalitarian and

Fig. 9.9

democratic need that we have previously analysed. We are dealing with an anxiety linked to the coming of death, because of the Greeks' gloomy vision of the afterlife, where souls, good and bad, live like shadows (*eidola*) in the underground world of Hades.[36] Even the great hero Achilles told Odysseus—who had come to the underworld to ask Tiresias to help him find his way home to Ithaca—that he would rather be a cow herder, the servant of a poor peasant than roam the glorious Elysian fields.[37] The grey kingdom of Ploutos, an epithet of Hades meaning 'wealthy' (in souls), was not seen as a sort of peacefulness that followed the turmoil of life. One understands better the Greek obsession with youth which was seen as a value in itself. The contrast between youth and old age was far more pronounced then than it is today. The arrival of old age was a threat to be mocked or mourned. Theognis writes that old age was destructive, lethal and 'the most evil of all things among mortals; more grievous than death and all diseases'.[38] Other authors make fun of it, like Aesop in 'The Old Man and Death': an exhausted old man, tired of carrying wood, invokes Death. When it appears and inquires as to why it was invoked, the old man replies: 'to help me carry my burden'; and Aesop adds: 'the fable shows that every man, even in misfortune, is fond of life'.[39] Demetrius writes 'Lysias is said to have remarked to an old woman's lover that it was easier to count her teeth than her fingers'.[40] In vase-painting, the fear of death and its closest physical state, old age, was expressed differently. The emphasis is placed on youth, beauty and virile strength. There are few representations of old age. A number of black- and red-figure vases depict the encounter between the paragon of youth, Herakles, and the personification of old age, the vile Geras. The interpretation of these scenes is not easy because it is not mentioned in any ancient text.

A red-figure pelike (Fig. 9.10) depicts Herakles, tall and athletic, the paws of his lion skin nicely tied across his chest, leaning over his club, elongated like a cane.[41] His right hand nonchalantly placed to his hip he converses with the old man. The name of the latter is inscribed on the other vases that show the same meeting.[42] He is a stunted character, a hunchback, crooked, bent over a cane just as twisted as he is. He is macrophallic (with a very large penis), bald, with an unusually curved nose. The macrophallia of Geras is a sign of social inelegance, even debauchery.[43] There are other mythological characters considered to be inherently ugly: Charon, the Underworld's ferryman, often found on white-ground *lekythoi*, wearing his old hat, an emaciated face with high cheekbones or Boreas, the North Wind, with his scruffy beard and shaggy hair. According to mythographers, the latter only managed to lay with a Fury and a harpy. The God Hephaestus himself was ridiculed by his peers because the ugliness of his malformed foot contrasted with his divinity and the beauty of his wife, the goddess of beauty and love, Aphrodite. All these characters are ugly, but Geras' ugliness is exaggerated to the point of being grotesque.

Bergson explains it very well: 'For exaggeration to be comic, it must not appear as an aim, but rather as a means that the artist is using in order to make manifest to our eyes the distortions which he sees in embryo'.[44] The comedy in the image also comes from the obvious parallel with the numerous representations of citizens conversing, leaning over their cane (Fig. 9.2). Herakles' club looks more like a cane than a weapon. The superiority of youth over the

Fig. 9.10

Fig. 9.11

decrepitude of old age is tragic-comic, all the more so if we compare this scene to the other four scenes of the meeting. Indeed, in those the old man is violently knocked out. We better understand the inscription, which comes out of Herakles' mouth, *KLAUSEI*, 'you will cry!' The painter is referring to the next stage of the encounter, that is the caning. According to Shapiro, this episode has been interpreted as the symbolic victory of Herakles against death and his apotheosis.[45] But he is not only mocking death here, it is also old age and the fact that he is striking old age reveals an anxiety rather than a victory. Finally, if Herakles' apotheosis is a great moment in the cycle of his adventures, his death itself—poisoned by a scorned wife—is not heroic, to say the least.

The next scene (Fig. 9.11) shows, like so many other vases of the Theban Kabirion, a comic world upside down.[46] We are shown an unusual race between an old white-bearded man making broad and measured arm movements while a young athlete follows him closely, out of breath, with his elbows thrown backwards as if to give himself more momentum. Clearly in this scene, age comes before beauty, hence its comedy.

Constructed Ugliness Both Physical and Moral: The Ambivalence of the Satyr's Presence in a 'Civilised' Society

The satyr, mythological servant of Dionysos, is the epitome of physical and moral ugliness. He is half man, half beast, has the donkey's tail and ears; has shaggy hair, a scruffy beard and a snub nose.[47] He is also a coward who cares only for wine. In addition to this, he is in perpetual erection, because his immense sexual desire is almost always frustrated. What does this living symbol of physical and moral ugliness have to do with a polite society? As I will elaborate further, inspired by Norbert Elias' *Civilizing Process*, we are now in the fifth century BC at the height of what Elias would have called the *monopolisation of violence*, an era obsessed with culture and civilisation, and a political regime that forced the former nobility to adapt. They moved from a time when violence was inflicted with impunity by the aristocracy and from gargantuan feasts to the contests and games of the symposium, the democratic *Court*

culture par excellence, organised with meticulousness, with rules, an *archos* (head of the banquet), values, customs, the way to behave and acceptable topics of discussions. Norbert Elias speaks of the *civilising process*, a dual movement of aristocratic values trickling down and people aspiring to these same values. What is the function of the satyr in this context?

The Civilising Process Applied to Greek Antiquity

Elias' brilliant theory of the civilising process, the monopolisation of violence by the state, the adaptation of nobility and the creation of a curial culture, as well as the aspiration to imitate the mores and values of this Court by the people, has been of benefit to many researchers in very different fields.[48] Elias demonstrated all these phenomena based on the evidence of an increased public demand for etiquette manuals from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century with hundreds of rules of propriety, explaining how to properly eat, drink, blow one's nose, spit or defecate. These manuals of good manners were Elias' best source to investigate the civilising process. This theory has been criticised for its ethnocentrism and its penchant for evolutionism, given the specific European and chronological nature of this phenomenon, from the ninth century AD to the nineteenth century, but even the most vociferous detractors like H. P. Dürr have not offered any alternative models. A recent article by Jon P. Jørgensen shows however that Elias' theory can apply with some adjustments to ancient Greece, to the transition from the archaic (aristocratic) to the classical (democratic) period.[49] Besides what can be gleaned from this article as an antiquarian, it has the potential to open the *civilising process* to areas other than Western Europe from the medieval period to the nineteenth century.

The Greek classical period is characterised by an increasingly firm social control of violence and aggression and corresponds to Elias' civilising process. This process is possible in the civic space and political structures of the city-state. It is for instance the passage from a civilisation where one was armed before stepping out the door to an Athenian city where it was unthinkable to walk in arms in the streets of the city, even at the height of the Peloponnesian war. So much so that Aristotle wrote in the fourth century BC that 'the Greeks bore arms and bought wives from each other. In general, the remnants of these old customs that have persisted are completely ridiculous'.[50] The comparison does not end there. The way the tyrant Pisistrates seized power in 561 is comparable to Elias' principle of 'monopolisation of violence by the State'. In this case, the monopolisation of violence is reflected in the transition from an aristocratic to a tyrannical government. The tyrants came from the ranks of the nobility and therefore won a fierce competition with other aristocrats. What is fascinating here is the build-up to the tyrannical coup. Despite its violence, it took place with the help of clubs and not deadly spears.[51] Symbolically and in a very pragmatic way, the baton puts things in order. It is a punitive and reformist instrument. Athenian society had already had to develop a certain restraint due to the 'monarchical' mechanism which had transformed the behaviour of the aristocrats from an

unrestrained violent group to a form of agonistic competition with a more curial character. Just as Elias associates *curial society* with the control of violence and explains how the aristocracy restructured its war customs into civilities, so can change in Athens be associated with the dynamics of the symposium culture. There is an excellent passage from Aristophanes' *Wasps* performed in 422 BC where we witness a real culture clash between the peasant Philocleon and his young son Bdelycleon as they are heading to a symposium.[52] The son explains to his father how to behave appropriately at the symposium, from clothing to behaviour, even humour (especially to avoid dirty jokes), and keep to certain conversation topics (politics, sports). In short, he must learn to behave in an elegant, civil and social manner. We understand how the 'good' behaviour at the symposium means that the aristocracy had totally changed its way of being, from violent and externalised behaviour to a refined and civilised style where it was necessary to avoid offending others.[53] Clearly these aristocratic court manners had trickled down to the point of embracing the entire population. One would really have to live far from the city not to be aware of it, like Philocleon. As Jørgensen explains it, the aristocracy naturally preserved an important role in democracy, since its members were orators and generals and therefore had considerable influence in the laws that had been adopted. But we can see that the aristocrats had adapted to the new political system and that they were now behaving like good little democrats.

Let us return now to the satyr and his incongruous presence in a society where civility has become a value in itself. Literature is not of much help, but Greek vases can provide an answer to this enigma. For different reasons, commercial ones, especially the vases, reproduced all these various movements, values and counter-values, elite culture trickling down and popular culture aspiring to imitate, as suggested by Elias.

The Right Way to Use a Wine Jug: Symposium Etiquette

Fifth century sympotic culture was the equivalent to Elias' *curial culture*. The vases show us very clearly how to behave at the banquet, if only the way to use wine from the krater where the pure wine was mixed with water in very precise proportions decided by the banquet *archon*.

A skyphos in the Oxford Museum (Fig. 9.12), shows two young men on either side of a column krater.[54] One of them carries a skyphos in one hand and holds a cup at arm's length that he presents to his companion. The latter fills an oinochoe directly from the krater and then pours the mixture into the drinking cup. Sometimes painters also added ladles to serve wine or wine filtering cups to purify the liquid. The scene presents the quintessential symposium, the democratic, collective and regulated domestication of the liquid, the absorption of which could make one lose their control and their rational mind.

The satyr follows a very different etiquette because he is not subject to the rules and laws that govern the City. He is a forest creature, uncivilised and individualistic. A series of cups and *lekythoi* show satyrs fornicating with

Fig. 9.12

amphorae or jumping out of craters and pithoi. A satyr shown on the inside of a cup in Geneva (Fig. 9.13) has already plunged headfirst into a krater.[55] Only the lower body, legs, tail and genitals are visible hanging out of the krater. He is shown upside down, as if he were doing a headstand in the container. His grotesque attitude reveals the satyr's immense gluttony. The presence of a wine cup (*kylix*) drawn in black figure like an emblem, in the foreground, on the body of the crater indicates that it is a krater filled with wine and what the satyr hopes to find there.

Hundreds of vases are livened up by visual puns based on the transgression of stylistic rules, much like some comic book characters who emerge from the frame of their vignette. These puns were visual games without narrative elements, which caused comic shifts between container and content, blurring the formal differences between the decorative frame and the characters painted within it. Painters transformed small conventional details into series of images that were often repeated and known to the public to create a comic effect, stand out from the competition, surprise viewers and attract potential buyers. Parodies were similar to visual puns, except that the transgression was not stylistic but narrative in nature. Parodies made fun of well-known aspects of everyday life or mythology. The codes of imagery were obvious to the people of Athens who saw them every day, but the painters who wanted to make sure that the viewers would recognise a visual parody at first glance always made sure to leave enough details in the scene to recognise the serious model and enough quirky details to understand how the image had been distorted. Let us take an example.

Satyrs, with their frenetic sexuality, drinkers of unmixed wine, and frenzied servants of Dionysos living in the mountains and forests, are at the opposite end of the spectrum from athletes, living incarnations of *arete* (virtue). However, a column krater in Munich (Fig. 9.14), shows us precisely the impossible, satyrs at the heart of the Polis, trying to participate in agonistic events.[56] To show satyrs acting (or pretending to act) as citizens is absurd and highly amusing. Our satyrs are all ithyphallic and training for the pentathlon: the disc,

Fig. 9.13

Fig. 9.14

the javelin, the long jump, boxing. Two others, covered in long clothes, carry large objects resembling the forked sticks typical of palaestra's trainers. A double-pipes player stands at the centre of the composition. On the other side of the same vase, human athletes are also training for the pentathlon. From left to right, we recognise the coach (identified by his forked stick), two boxers, a javelin thrower, a double flute-player, another javelin thrower, a discus thrower, a second double-pipes player and a runner. Because the satyrs on this krater are

placed in a 'role' that is not theirs, pretending to be citizens of the city, this vase has been considered by a number of researchers to be inspired by a satyric drama. Two dramas are mentioned: Aristias is said to have staged a satyric drama by his father Pratinas in 467, entitled *Palaistrai*, which included boxer satyrs,[57] and Aeschylus' *Isthmiastai*, in which satyrs prepare the Corinthian Games.[58] As I have demonstrated elsewhere there are numerous scenes in which satyrs pretend to be citizens.[59] In fact, our scene is simply a parody and not a scene of satyric drama. All it takes is looking on the other side of the vessel to find 'real' athletes. In addition to the parody, there are two additional sexual jokes in the scene: first, the non-forked sticks of our satyr trainers are actually giant dildos, and second the satyrs' usual erection in an athletic context.[60] Athletes could not be in erection because the foreskin of their penis was always tied with a *kynodesme*, which made it impossible to have an erection or unwanted movements during sportive workouts.

Parody is a two-way process. By means of satyrs, real athletes with physical prowess and aristocratic values are belittled, degraded to the level of alcoholic braggarts, which was certainly comforting on some level for average Athenians. But, the latter also laughed at the satyr, this mythological prankster and his all-too-human shortcomings, at the opposite of good manners, of the City and of 'well-behaved' citizens. This figure of the in-between, as fascinating as the king's buffoon, made it possible to make fun of what citizens sometimes thought quietly to themselves. What was the function of the satyr in a society where the *civilising process* was almost finalised, where *sophrosyne* (civility and restraint) was seen as a virtue, a society where everyone spoke of *kalos kagathos* (handsome and upstanding) as an almost universal principle? The satyr served as a safety valve, an agent of carnival that disrupted this self-righteous world by acting as a clown. He represented the secret desires, the animal impulses that slumbered within the 'civilised' being, the Dionysian primordial forces and the 'shivers of intoxication' Nietzsche wrote about.[61] The satyr functions like an Athenian fantasy caught in a social entanglement. It allows him to make fun of good manners, while highlighting them, to breathe a little, in an increasingly hierarchical, claustrophobic world of citizens who 'must' behave well in all circumstances.

Norbert Elias' ideas have been particularly useful for understanding the purpose of the satyr and its humorous function in ancient Greek visual culture. The animality described by Elias, which had to be overcome by society in order to be able to move forward, is reflected in Athens by the comic and ugly satyr who symbolises the transition from a world of Dionysian ecstasy and mysteries, wild rites that included tearing animals alive and eating them raw (*diasparagmos* and *omophagy*), to the theatrical world in a new civilisation of the 'cooked' with its 'acceptable' sacrifices.[62] What is left of the ancient violence and unruliness in the beautiful and orderly world of the symposium? The ambivalence of the satyr, a curious and comical figure because of its moral and physical ugliness.

Notes

1. Abbreviations of reference works in vase-painting: *ABV*: Beazley, J. D., *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956; *ARV²*: Beazley, J. D., *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963; *Add*: Burn, L, Glynn, R., *Beazley Addenda*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982; *Add²*: Carpenter, T. H., Mannack, T., Mendonca, M., *Beazley Addenda*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989; *(BA#)*: Oxford: Beazley Archive (BA) Database number; *CVA*: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*; *KH* 1: Wolters, P. and Bruns, G., *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1940; *KH* 4: Braun K. and Haevernick, T. E., *Bemalte Keramik und Glas aus den Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, Berlin, 1981; *LIMC*: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*; *Para*: Beazley, J. D., *Paralipomena; Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971; *PV²*: Trendall, A. D., *Phlyax Vases*, 2nd ed. (*BICS*, Suppl. 19, 1967); *RVAp*: Cambitoglou, A., Trendall, A. D., *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia*, vol. 1–2, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979, 1982; *RVP*: Trendall, A. D., *The Red-figured Vases of Paestum*, British School at Rome, 1987.
2. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1449a34–35. Common editions of ancient texts are cited in the bibliography; however, all translations of the Greek are my own.
3. See also Sidwell, *From Old to Middle*, 252–253.
4. Quoted and discussed further by S. Attardo, *Linguistic Theories of Humor*, 37–39.
5. Homer, *Iliad*, 2: 212–277.
6. Halliwell, *Greek Laughter*, 10.
7. A red-figure pelike in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, LOAN399 (BA 44463) attributed by Lezzi-Hafter to the Achilles painter, has a graffito under its foot '4 for 3.5 obols', that is 0.15 ancient drachma or 1.05 euros for four vases. See Vickers and Gill, *Artful Crafts*, 85–87, Figs. 4.3–4.4.
8. Bourdieu, *La distinction*.
9. In recent years, studies of 'popular' cultural practices in the classical world have tried to redefine the ancient sociological landscape. See especially the works of Grig, *Popular culture*, and Forsdyke, *Slaves Tell Tales*.
10. On ways of distinguishing representations of masks worn by painted characters from *caricatured* faces on Greek vases, see Mitchel, *Origins*, 254–257.
11. Athenian red-figure askos, Paris, Louvre Museum, G610; (BA 2720). Provenance: Italy. 460–440 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.
12. Athenian red-figure skyphos, Laon, Municipal museum, 37.1034; (BA 212122), *ARV²* 832.32, *Add²* 295. Provenance: Eretria (Greece); Amphitrite painter; 450–430 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.
13. Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 102–103.
14. Baldwin, *Philogelos*, 43.
15. See Detienne, *La mètis*.
16. Boeotian black-figure skyphos from the Theban Kabirion sanctuary, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G249; *KH* 4.67.409, pl. 23. 450–375 BC; Boeotian black-figure kantharos from the Theban Kabirion sanctuary, London, British Museum, 1893.3–3.1. 450–375 BC; Boeotian black-figure kantharos from the Theban Kabirion sanctuary, Nauplion, archaeological museum, 144; *KH* 4.67.405. 450–375 BC; Boeotian black-figure kantharos from the Theban

Kabirion sanctuary, Mississippi, Mississippi University, P 116; *KH* 1.100K20=*KH* 4.67.402. 450–375 BC.

17. Apulian red-figure oinochoe, London, British Museum, F366, close to the style of the Felton painter, 350 BC; *PV²* 85, no. 194, *RVAp* 177, no. 94. Photograph © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

18. Apulian red-figure oinochoe, Paris, Louvre museum, K36, 360–350 BC, Circle of the Ilioupersis painter. (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Diomedes_Odysseus_Palladion_Louvre_K36.jpg).

19. Taplin, *Pots and Plays*, 37.

20. Athenian black-figure amphora, Syracuse, Regional Archaeological museum Paolo Orsi, 21965; Leagros Group; 520–500 BC. Digitised drawing after Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, 10, 210–211, figs. 136–137.

21. Bergson, *Laughter*, 2.2.

22. Dasen, *Dwarfs;* Dasen, 'Infirmitas'.

23. See the chapter by Jessica Milner Davies in this handbook.

24. Mitchell, 'Disparate bodies'; Mitchell, 'The Hellenistic turn'; Mitchell, 'Les handicaps à l'époque de Galien'.

25. Davies, *Ethnic Humor.*

26. Black-figure Boeotian kantharos from the Theban Kabirion sanctuary, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 3179; *KH* 1.99K16, pl. 29.1–2, 50.11=*KH* 4.64.355. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell. As explained above in the context of Taranto in Apulia, Greek democracy was no longer the monopoly of Athens: from the end of the fifth century and early fourth, Thebes had also moved from an oligarchic government to a democratic one. Statements based on Greek vases from different regions of the Mediterranean are therefore not invalidated because of their dispersion.

27. Mitchell, *Greek Vase Painting*, 208–209.

28. Athenian red-figure rhyton, St Petersbourg, Hermitage museum, 679; (BA 204087), *ARV²* 382.188 (1649), *Para* 512, *Add* 113, *Add²* 228; Brygos painter; 480–470 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

29. Galen, *On the Natural faculties*, I, 22.

30. Athenaeus, *The Learned Banqueters*, 14.613d.

31. Fragment of a black-figure Boeotian kantharos from the Theban Kabirion sanctuary, Athens, National archaeological museum 10530; *KH* 1.103K44, pl. 15.4 = *KH* 4.63.320. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

32. Snowden, *Blacks*, 161.

33. See the (non-exhaustive) bibliography on the representations of Africans in classical antiquity in Mitchell, *Greek Vase Painting*, fn. 90.

34. Boeotian black-figure kantharos from the Theban Kabirion sanctuary, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 10429; *KH* 1.98K9, pl. 10.11, 44.4=*KH* 4.63.303. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

35. Apollodorus, *The Library*, 2.4.6–7; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 9.19.1; Suidas, *s.v.* 'Teumēsia'; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 7.762.

36. On humour as a revealing catalyst of hidden anxieties, see Mitchell, 'Humor, women, and male anxieties'.

37. Homer, *Odyssey*, 11: 489–491.

38. Theognis II, 1021. See *Greek Elegiac Poetry*.

39. Babrius, Phaedrus. *Fables*, 60.

40. Demetrius of Phalerum, 262.

41. Athenian red-figure pelike, Rome, National Etruscan museum of Villa Giulia, 48238; (BA 202567), *ARV²* 284.1, *Add* 104, *Add²* 208. Provenance: Ceveteri (Italy). Matsch painter; 480–460 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

42. Athenian black-figure lekythos, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie, 12; (BA 303575), *ABV* 491.60, *Add²* 122, *Para* 223. Provenance: Greece; Class of Athens 581; 510–500 BC. Athenian red-figure skyphos, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1943.79; (BA 211723), *ARV²* 889.160, *Add²* 302, *Para* 428. Provenance: Spina (Italy). Penthesilea painter; 460–440 BC. Athenian red-figure neck-amphora, London, British Museum, E290; (BA 207611), *ARV²* 1571, 653.1, *Add²* 276. Charmides painter; 460–440 BC. Athenian red-figure pelike, Paris, Louvre museum, G234; (BA 202622), *ARV²* 286.16, 1642, *Add* 104, *Add²* 209. Provenance: Capua (Italy). Geras painter; 510–490 BC.

43. Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1011–1020.

44. Bergson, *Laughter,* 1.3.

45. Shapiro, *Personifications,* 94.

46. Boeotian black-figure kantharos from the Theban Kabirion sanctuary, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 301. 450–375 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell. See also Mitchell, *Greek Vase Painting,* 248–279.

47. On the ambivalence of the satyr, see Lissarrague, 'l'ambivalence'; Lissarrague, 'sexualité'; Lissarrague, 'satyres bons à montrer'.

48. Elias, *Civilising Process.*

49. Jørgensen, 'taming'.

50. Aristotle, *Politics,* II, 1268b.

51. On the bearing of arms in ancient Greece, see Wees, 'Bearing Arms'.

52. Aristophanes, *Wasps,* 1212–1217.

53. Herman, *Morality.*

54. Athenian red-figure skyphos, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 520; (BA 200611), *ARV²* 76.84, *Add* 83, *Add²* 168, *Para* 328. Epiktetos; 520–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

55. Athenian red-figure cup, Geneva, Museum of Art and History, 16908; (BA 11019), *Add* 88, *Add²* 178. 510–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

56. Athenian red-figure column krater, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2381; (BA 202099), *ARV²* 221.14, *Add* 98, *Add²* 198. Provenance: southern Italy; Nikoxenos painter; 525–490 BC. Vectorised drawing © Alexandre G. Mitchell.

57. Simon, 'Satyr-plays', 130.

58. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, 60.

59. Mitchell, *Greek Vase Painting,* 156–206. On the innocuous presence of the double-pipes player in the scene as well as on hundreds of other black- and red-figure vases featuring athletes and without the presence of satyrs or actors, see Mitchell, *Greek Vase Painting*: 188.

60. Compare to the giant dildo on the Athenian red-figure amphora, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 98.882; (BA 202711), *ARV²* 279.7, *Add* 102, *Add²* 208, *Para* 354. Provenance: Capua (Italy); Flying-angel painter; 500–490 BC.

61. Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy,* 18.

62. See Lévi-Strauss, *Raw.*

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