

## PHILOKLEON *ITHYPHALLOS*: DANCE, COSTUME AND CHARACTER IN THE *WASPS*

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Criticism of the *Wasps* has progressed from what might be called an analytic position to a unitarian position: we are no longer told that the action of the last scenes—riotous and obscene, pure *kômos* and, perhaps, though this is disputed, *gamos*—has nothing to do with the earlier scenes focused on the political issue of the courts. There is, however, a vestige of that old uneasiness with the play even in the enlightened view of critics like Whitman and Henderson. They refuse to see in Philokleon the fully rejuvenated hero of the *Acharnians*, the *Peace* and the *Birds*. (Only Parker, in the notes to his translation, completely accepts this development.) Henderson, for instance, describes our final response to the play as rueful irony:

. . . although Philokleon might boast of his rejuvenated sexual prowess and promise the flute girl a great performance, his limp and withered phallos, visible to all, betrays the bitter reality of old age. . . we realize that beyond the wild, reeling dance of life with which Philokleon ends the play, await a hangover, court appearances and fines for damage.<sup>1</sup>

Such a judgment is based on two sound principles, that costume and stage action have large and symbolic significance; I question it, however, on other grounds: are we ever justified in projecting a character beyond the limits of the fiction which solely defines his existence, and does reality really impinge on the fantasy world of the *Wasps*? Though most recent critics pretend to like Philokleon, they nevertheless cannot seem to forgive him for not being Dikaiopolis or Peithetairos. He really should have some larger goal in life than wine and sex and abusing his enemies; though these are fine expressions of heroic temperament and the *Acharnians* and *Birds* devote due attention to them, we see them there as representing the social,

<sup>1</sup>C. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964) 143–66; D. Parker, *Aristophanes: Three Comedies* (Ann Arbor 1969) 1–3, 102–24; J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven 1975) 78–82.

political and even cosmic issues implicit in the action, rather than being satisfactory in and of themselves. Can Aristophanes' view of fantasy consist solely in the gratification of individual desires, without any sublimated manifestation thereof? I believe it can, and we must see here that it does; the *Wasps*, rather than being taken as a failed political comedy—What can be done about Kleon, the courts and the old people?—should be appreciated as the purest example of that kind of comedy which Aristophanes says elsewhere (e.g., the prologue of the *Frogs* and the parabasis of the *Clouds*) he will not write but always does, the comedy of wish-fulfillment where pleasures are either erotic or aggressive, but always physical. Certain technical aspects of the staging of the final scenes confirm me in this belief.<sup>2</sup>

While critics have debated the significance of the whole of the *Wasps*, students of meter, music and dance have debated the details of the stage action itself. After the series of episodes in which Philokleon abuses those who would inhibit his new activity, the chorus sings a brief song in Eupolideans—iambic metra combined with choriambic or cretics, arranged stichically, though in responsive sections—about the change in his character (1450–73), considering whether it is real or only apparent, and praising Bdelykleon for his handling of the situation. Xanthias then announces in trimeters that Philokleon has begun to dance and challenges the younger tragedians to a competition (1474–81); he will dance the old dances of Thespiis and they can dance their own new dances. Philokleon appears and he and Xanthias describe his movements in anapaestic dimeters (1482–95). They continue this description in trimeters (1496–1515) and Philokleon is joined now by the sons of Karkinos. The chorus delivers a *katakeleusmos* (two anapaestic tetrameters, 1516–17) to introduce the orchestral *agôn*, which they then proceed to describe in a lyric utterance which has been variously analyzed (1518–37). I want to consider first the meters of this closing section, and the dance steps there described, then say a word about costume, and finally relate all this to a critical interpretation of the play.

White calls this metrical sequence following the anapaests an ode made up of strophe, antistrophe and epode. He finds a prosodiac tetrameter and hexameter in each of the first two sections and seven prosodiac tetrameters in the third.<sup>3</sup> Pickard-Cambridge calls the sequence “a short strophe and

<sup>2</sup>For bibliography on the various problems of rhythm, dance and stage business, see J. Vaio, “Aristophanes' *Wasps*: The Final Scenes,” *GRBS* 12 (1971) 335–51; for a major, and more recent, contribution to this discussion, see L. E. Rossi, “Mimica e danza sulla scena comica greca,” forthcoming in *Miscellanea M. Barchiesi* (Rome 1979).

<sup>3</sup>J. W. White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy* (London 1912) 222.

antistrophe, and several Archilocheans."<sup>4</sup> Dale says nothing of the section immediately following the anapaests, but considers the last seven lines Archilocheans and points out that some are synartete and some asynartete.<sup>5</sup> McDowell calls the whole sequence Archilocheans, which would mean thirteen altogether, though the second and fifth he must qualify as "cut off," and the sixth he admits presents a problem of scansion.<sup>6</sup> Webster says the sequence begins with "enoplians and ithyphallics . . . and ends with recitative Archilocheans."<sup>7</sup> It is often the case that a rhythmic sequence in Greek lyric can bear many labels, but the context should determine the choice when one must be made. The basic issue here is the metrical concept of *synartêsis*, for which the *locus classicus* is Hephaestion 15.2.47, where he analyzes the metrical unit we call Archilochean as 3½ anapaests to which 1 ½ trochaic metra—and he refers to this latter element as an ithyphallic—are added, and calls attention to the fact that Archilochos, to whom he attributes the introduction of this combination, always effected diaeresis between the two cola of the verse, whereas later his imitators allowed synaphaea to occur. In other words, Archilochos kept the cola of his asynarteta asynartete, whereas others made them synartete.<sup>8</sup>

ἄγ', ὦ μεγάλωνυμα τέκνα τοῦ θαλασσίοιο,	1518/19
πηδᾶτε παρὰ ψάμαθον	1520
καὶ θῖν' ἄλδς ἀτρυγέτοιο, καρίδων ἀδελφοί·	1521/2
ταχὺν πόδα κυκλοσοβεῖτε, καὶ τὸ Φρυνίχειον	1523/4
ἐκλακτισάτω τις, ὅπως	1525
ιδόντες ἄνω σκέλος ὥζωσιν οἱ θεαταί.	1526/7
στρόβει· παράβαινε κύκλῳ καὶ γάστρισον σεαυτόν·	1528/9
ῥίπτε σκέλος οὐράνιον· βέμβικες ἐγγενέσθων.	1530/1
καὺτὸς γὰρ ὁ ποντομέδων ἄναξ πατήρ προσέρπει	1532/3
ἥσθεις ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἑαυτοῦ παισὶ, τοῖς τριόρχοις.	
ἀλλ' ἐξάγετ', εἴ τι φιλεῖτ', ὀρχούμενοι θύραζε	1535
ἡμᾶς ταχύ· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεὶς πω πάρος δέδρακεν,	
ὀρχούμενος ὅστις ἀπήλλαξεν χορὸν τρυγῶδων.	

<sup>4</sup>A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Oxford 1962) 220.

<sup>5</sup>A. M. Dale, *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama* (Cambridge 1968) 187.

<sup>6</sup>D. McDowell, *Aristophanes: Wasps* (Oxford 1971) 330.

<sup>7</sup>T. B. L. Webster, *The Greek Chorus* (London 1970) 185.

<sup>8</sup>Dale (above, note 5, *passim*) uses "synartete" and "asynartete" consistently to mean "with word overlap" and "without word overlap" between the different cola of a compound verse. See further, with reference to the new Archilochos fragment, L. E. Rossi, "Asynarteta from the Archaic to the Alexandrian Poets," *Arethusa* 9 (1976) 207–29.

If one accepts McDowell's text, with the forced prosody of  $\acute{o}(\acute{o})ds\acute{o}sin$  in 1526/7 (— — —  $\cup$ ), it is possible to read these six lines (1518–27) as a piece of strophic responsion:

$\cup$  —  $\cup$   $\cup$  —  $\cup$   $\cup$  —  $\cup$  | —  $\cup$  —  $\cup$  —  $\cup$  ||  
 — —  $\cup$   $\cup$  —  $\cup$   $\cup$  — ||  
 — —  $\cup$   $\cup$  —  $\cup$   $\cup$  —  $\cup$  | —  $\cup$  —  $\cup$  — — |||  
 $\cup$  —  $\cup$   $\cup$  —  $\cup$   $\cup$  —  $\cup$  | —  $\cup$  —  $\cup$  —  $\cup$  ||  
 — —  $\cup$   $\cup$  —  $\cup$   $\cup$  — ||  
 $\cup$  —  $\cup$   $\cup$  —  $\cup$   $\cup$  — — —  $\cup$  —  $\cup$  — — |||

The schema is then: enoplian | ithyphallic || prosodiac || enoplian | ithyphallic ||.<sup>9</sup> The extraordinary thing about McDowell's scansion of 1526/7 is that it emphasizes, as Aristophanes might have meant to do, a metrical development that is already clearly emerging, i.e., the originally asynartete ithyphallic is being absorbed by synaphaea into the recognizable form of the Archilochean verse. In the seven recitative Archilocheans (1528–37) which follow this short ode, the juncture between the enoplian and the ithyphallic is always "clouded," by actual word-overlap (1530/1, 1532/3, 1535 and 1537), an enclitic (1536), a forward-looking conjunction (1528/9) or a combination of article and noun (1534). In four lines there is a strong sense-break after the prosodiac, rather than after the enoplian (1528/9, 1530/1, 1532/3, 1535), which reminds us of the alternation in the strophe/antistrophe between asynartete enoplian-ithyphallic and independent prosodiac.

The questions that now arise concern delivery and dance: were these verses spoken or sung; what sort of dance steps were performed; and by whom? After the lyrics of the chorus at 1450–73 sections of spoken trimeters (1474–81, 1496–1515) are punctuated by anapaests (dimeters 1482–85, tetrameters 1516–17) and these would have been delivered in the intermediate or recitative style *parakatalogê*. After dance has become a subject of discussion and a spectacle, then, there is no actual song to accompany dancing until the six-line sequence at 1518–27. There follow the seven Archilocheans, which Webster is right in calling recitative. Rossi has

<sup>9</sup>See Rossi (above, note 2) note 5. I also follow here Rossi's nomenclature as presented in *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. "Verskunst," vol. 5 (1975) coll. 1210–19, soon to appear in English. He determines prosodiac from enoplian on the basis of conclusion: blunt = prosodiac (  $\tilde{x}\tilde{x}\tilde{x}\tilde{x}$  — ), pendant = enoplian (  $\tilde{x}\tilde{x}\tilde{x}\tilde{x}$  — x ); whereas Dale (above, note 5) 159 distinguishes them on the basis of beginning: falling = prosodiac ( —  $\cup\cup\cup\cup$  —  $\cup$  — ), rising = enoplian ( x —  $\cup\cup\cup\cup$  — ).

recently suggested that there could have been no actual dancing in this whole section, i.e., no developed choreography of the kind we visualize for long choral odes. He argues that the figures were mimed; Philokleon and the sons of Karkinos simply struck certain postures, but these were more or less in isolation from each other,<sup>10</sup> a kind of stylized movement intermediate between regular movement and dance, just as *parakatalogê* was intermediate between regular speech and song. I have argued elsewhere that there was a different form of musical accompaniment for *parakatalogê* and lyric: both were accompanied on the double flute, but for lyric one part of the instrument was played for melody following the singer note for note while the other was droned, and for *parakatalogê* both were droned.<sup>11</sup> I suggest a similar differentiation here. (The flute is mentioned in 1477.) Rossi and I have both used the same references to Archilochos in pseudo-Plutarch, *de Musica* 1140f–1141a, to develop our theories, so it is not surprising that they are mutually supportive:

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος τὴν τῶν τριμέτρων ῥυθμοποιίαν προσεξεύρε  
καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμογενεῖς ῥυθμοὺς ἔντασιν καὶ τὴν παρακαταλογὴν  
καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα κρούσιν . . . ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἰαμβείων τὸ τὰ μὲν λέγεσθαι  
παρὰ τὴν κρούσιν, τὰ δ' ἄδεσθαι, Ἀρχίλοχόν φασι καταδείξαι. . .

This suggests not only an identity between asynarteta and *parakatalogê* but also between certain trimeters in lyric contexts and *parakatalogê*, and a characteristic accompaniment for *parakatalogê*. The importance of all this for our argument here is that several of the questions which have formerly been asked about the end of the *Wasps* become moot: no one is truly dancing, the chorus only sings very briefly (1518–27) and there is no elaborate musical accompaniment.<sup>12</sup>

There remains, however, a strong ithyphallic element in the rhythm of the closing lines, and this I think we can associate both with the kinds of dance steps which are being executed and, again, with Archilochos. The ithyphallic is so called because of an early association with Dionysian rituals in which dancers accompanied a huge phallos into the sacred precinct. We actually have a few lines of the kind of song they sang preserved by Athenaeus (15.622), who is quoting Semos of Delos:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Rossi (above, note 2) *passim*.

<sup>11</sup>W. T. MacCary, "Spoken and Sung in Greek Tragedy," forthcoming.

<sup>12</sup>The alternative view is that there is no relation between what is being said and how it is being said, on the one hand, and what is being done and how it is being accompanied, on the other, i.e., that in this scene there is a breakdown of the normal conventions governing the appropriate movement and musical accompaniment to the different modes of delivery. Dale considers this possibility (above, note 5) 204–14.

<sup>13</sup>Fr. 851 *PMG*.

ἀνάγετ', εὐρυχωρίαν  
 τῷ θεῷ ποιεῖτε·  
 θέλει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὀρθὸς ἐσφνδωμένος  
 διὰ μέσου βαδίζειν.

Clearly the performance described by Semos, of uncertain provenance and date, is to be associated with Aristotle's "leader of the phallic songs" and the *eisagôgê* and *pompê* of Dionysos' statue at the dramatic festivals in Athens.<sup>14</sup> Archilochos, of course, associates himself with this kind of proceeding and gives a clue to its tone which must correct any prejudice as to its solemnity (fr. 120 West):

ὡς Διωνύσου ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος  
 οἷδα διθύραμβον οἶνω συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας.

What sort of dance steps are these that Philokleon and the others perform? Roos thinks they compose an obscene dance which the audience would have associated with *hetairai*;<sup>15</sup> Philokleon thus introduces the symposium into this comic version of tragic dance. Lawler thinks it is a burlesque of new and old tragic dances with a large admixture of the *kordax*, the dance associated with comedy.<sup>16</sup> Dale agrees with this and thinks the effect was one of *para prosdokian*: in the context of a discussion of dancing in old and new tragedy, instead of the stately *emmeleia*, the comic *kordax* is danced.<sup>17</sup> Webster thinks there are even elements of the *sikinnis*, the dance of satyr-play.<sup>18</sup> I am not sure what McDowell thinks; he says it is wrong to think Philokleon dances the *kordax* or the *sikinnis* because he says himself that he will dance the dances of old tragedy and then must have done so.<sup>19</sup> Later, though, he seems to see all this deteriorating into wild gyrations with no particular pattern or dramatic associations.<sup>20</sup> I think our best approach is to question the use to which these technical terms are put. Were there entirely different repertoires of movement for the dancing appropriate to the three dramatic genres, or was there some overlap?

Lawler is particularly helpful here since she emphasizes the imitative quality of Greek dancing, suggesting that it was much closer to mime than

<sup>14</sup>Two further identifications between Dionysos and the ithyphallic are found in scholiasts on Hephaestion 15.2 (Consbruch, p. 124.2 and p. 210.5).

<sup>15</sup>E. Roos, *Die Tragische Orchestik im Zerrbild der Altattischen Komödie* (Stockholm 1951) 201-2.

<sup>16</sup>L. Lawler, *The Dance of the Ancient Greek Theatre* (Iowa City 1964) 58.

<sup>17</sup>Dale (above, note 5) 209.

<sup>18</sup>Webster (above, note 7) 185.

<sup>19</sup>McDowell (above, note 6) 323.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*

is modern ballet. She catalogues the *schēmata* and we begin to visualize them as accompaniment to dramatic action. The reconstruction is finally of a chorus, and individual actors, who respond with stylized movements to the things that are said and the action they are involved in. There are peering and watching postures appropriate when a messenger approaches; there is a particular stance for knocking at a door. The ancient commentators (Pollux, Athenaeus) tell us which *schēmata* are associated with which dramatic genre, but finally we feel that Greek dance was not so specialized as dance today. We have different schools of dance which train dancers in special ways, to move to certain rhythms and assume certain postures; we think of these types of dance in connection with different types of dramatic performances as well as being distinct in their own right. Thus we would expect only a classically trained *corps de ballet* to appear in a full production of grand opera, but we would expect a chorus line trained in jazz dancing to appear in a musical comedy. The Greeks were very sensitive to the different modes and rhythms of music and felt that some had particular appropriateness to certain dramatic contexts, the Dorian and Phrygian modes to tragedy, for instance. There was always the tendency, however, to test these limits, and of course at the end of the fifth century there was a great revolution in Greek music, attributed in large part to Timotheus, the musician, but also involving Euripides. What is so difficult about the end of the *Wasps* is that it presents us with music and dance which pretend to be tragic, in a comic context, and from the description of the dance movements and the general associations of the rhythm of the music, it seems more comic than tragic and we wonder whether this is (1) just a haphazard mixture, (2) a consistent parody of the new music and the new dance, or (3) what it says it is, namely, a representation of the music and dance which used to be seen and heard in tragedy in the time of Thespis and Phrynichos.

I single out a few *schēmata* for special consideration. In 1482–88 Philokleon is emerging from the house and uses tragic diction in telling Xanthias to make way for him:

- Φι. τίς ἐπ' αὐλείοισι θύραις θάσσει;  
 Ξα. τουτὶ καὶ δὴ χωρεῖ τὸ κακόν.  
 Φι. κληῖθρα χαλάσθω τάδε. καὶ δὴ γὰρ  
 σχήματος ἀρχή—  
 Ξα. μᾶλλον δέ γ' ἴσως μανίας ἀρχή.  
 Φι. —πλευρὰν λυγίσαντος ὑπὸ βώμης.  
 οἶον μυκτῆρ μυκᾶται καὶ σφόνδυλος ἀχεί

The mention of the technical term *schēma* in describing his entrance suggests that he is striking the pose known as *thyrokopikon* or

*krousithyron* and associated with tragedy.<sup>21</sup> He then describes a violent twist of the torso which Lawler identifies as the *schêma poiphygma*,<sup>22</sup> McDowell, following Meineke, as the *igdis*,<sup>23</sup> both associated with comedy. He next describes a “Phrynichan kick” which causes his nose to blow and his backbone to crack; this he likens to the strutting of a cock. Lawler has marshalled evidence for a whole category of bird *schêmata* in tragedy.<sup>24</sup> When the sons of Karkinos enter he threatens them with a “knuckle *emmeleia*.” He thinks one of these young tragedians looks like an owl, and this suggests the tragic *schêma* of peering or watching (*skôps* or *skôpeuma*).<sup>25</sup> In the closing section other movements are suggested: the dancers spin like tops, move in a circle, kick so high the audience must exclaim, spin, slap themselves on the belly and again kick and spin; all these violent movements are better attested for comedy than for tragedy. The Phrynichan kick, however, is once more specified, and this is both violent and tragic.

I agree with Lawler and Webster that there is a mixture of comic and tragic *schêmata* here, but like McDowell, I think there is a conscientious attempt to evoke the dance of old tragedy. (Philokleon’s contemporaries in the chorus fought at Marathon [1081], so to have seen the productions of Thespis and Phrynichos is within the fantastic limits of his experience.) What I am suggesting, then, is nothing less than an expectation on Aristophanes’ part that violent and obscene dancing will be associated by the audience with the early stages of Greek tragedy.

Now, to bring this back to the main critical point, and consider the problem of costume and its relation to dance and genre: I do not think we can, with Henderson, doubt Philokleon’s sexual potency, when he is capable of executing vigorously the extravagant steps described. Henderson takes too literally Philokleon’s reference to his limp phallos at 1343 and Bdelykleon’s ridicule of the same object at 1380. He even suggests elsewhere that replacement of an erect phallos for a limp one might have been possible for other Aristophanic heroes.<sup>26</sup> I know of no depiction in art or suggestion in the scholia or ancient commentators that justifies the expectation of such accuracy. When we see ithyphallic dancers on vases they are naturalistically depicted: i.e., we see erect penises, not erect phalloi, and these dancers, interestingly enough, we tend to see only in

<sup>21</sup>Lawler (above, note 16) 56.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup>McDowell (above, note 6) 323.

<sup>24</sup>Lawler (above, note 16) 46 f.

<sup>25</sup>This is the emendation of E. K. Borthwick, *CQ* 18 (1968) 47–51.

<sup>26</sup>Henderson (above, note 1) 111, note 18.



representations of satyr-play, not of comedy. When we are shown or told about the leather appendage attached to the tights worn by the comic actor, it is either pendant or strangely rolled up, but never terribly erect. Then, too, it is completely against the scenic conventions of Greek drama for something to be both spectacularly presented and described in dialogue. When the chorus in Euripides' *Ion* describes the frieze on the temple of Apollo at Delphi, it is because the audience could not see it, rather than because they could. So, too, with Philokleon's phallos; it is because it is a perfectly ordinary piece of comic costuming that he and Bdelykleon must comment on its flaccidity, and this they do before his dramatic rejuvenation rather than after. In his rejuvenated state Philokleon performs figures from the dances conventionally associated with all three dramatic performances produced in honor of Dionysos (and to recall an early stage in their development, before they became distinctive genres) and this partially to musical accompaniment whose rhythm is conventionally associated with proto-dramatic phallic performances in honor of Dionysos. We need only now consider what all this rejuvenation means in the history and significance of Aristophanic comedy and in its relation with tragedy and satyr-play.

I have called Philokleon *ithyphallos*. This is, in the technical vocabulary of the commentators on ancient drama, one of those male votaries who accompany the phallos-pole in the Dionysian procession. Athenaeus quotes Semos of Delos:

The so-called *ithyphalloi* have the mask of drunkards and are wreathed, having flowery sleeves. They have white chitons with a white stripe down the middle and are swathed in Tarentine cloth, which covers them down to the ankles. They enter silently through the gate and when they are in the middle of the orchestra, they turn to the audience, saying: "Make way, make way, make room for the god. For the god wishes to walk through your midst, erect and potent."<sup>27</sup>

They themselves then are not ithyphallic, but they accompany the phallos-pole, and they sing in the rhythm we know as ithyphallic. I want to associate Philokleon with such a figure not only because they both are in turn associated with sexual potency and Dionysos, but also because *ithyphalloi* (and the ithyphallic metrical element) can be so easily recognized in Aristotle's cryptic reference to the improvisational origins of both tragedy and comedy—

<sup>27</sup>Translation from Pickard-Cambridge (above, note 4) 137. For a description of the similar opening ceremonies of the dramatic festivals in Athens, see A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford 1968<sup>2</sup>) 60 ff.

γενομένη (δ') οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστική, καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικά ἄ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα, κατὰ μικρὸν ηὔξηθη . . . (1449a)

—and, if we think how formally similar these two celebrations of the same god must have been, he encourages us by saying further that tragedy was in the beginning satyric and became solemn only later.<sup>28</sup> (Archilochos is the perfect figure to represent for us that dual aspect of Dionysos which I am trying to suggest was captured by Thespis and Phrynichos and alluded to by Philokleon: he is drunk, he sings in the right meter and he incorporates in his verse that combination of aggression and eroticism which we see in Philokleon.) When the chorus meditates on Philokleon's nature they say first *physis* (1458) and then *tropoi* (1461). He is completely ungoverned by society's *nomoi*, and the real irony of the play is not that Philokleon is old and cannot perform sexually as he would like, but rather that he wasted so much of his natural energy in service to the state (a perversion more than a sublimation, since the state is governed by Kleon), and only now, at the end of the play, has he recognized his true self, so this then is a true rebirth for him. That the dramatic context for this recognition and rebirth should be an assimilation in rhythm and dance of comedy to tragedy is significant; he is getting back to Dionysos, who is originally both comedy and tragedy. I find the best description of Philokleon and his a-political triumph in Northrop Frye's analysis of the tragic character:

. . . for the theory of tragedy one naturally looks to the psychology of the will to power, as expounded in Adler and Nietzsche. Here one finds a "Dionysiac" aggressive will, intoxicated by dreams of its own omnipotence, impinging upon an "Apollonian" sense of external and immovable order. . .<sup>29</sup>

Philokleon's salient characteristic has been defined throughout as *dyskolia* (882, 942), an aggressiveness towards defendants in the courtroom that dissolves later into the pure erotic energy we hear about in the symposium scene and see for ourselves in the dance finale. We associate it early on with

<sup>28</sup>There is a strange echo of Aristotle's argument in Hermogenes (*Id.* 1.6 [229/295]). Aristotle makes his point about the difference between early tragedy and later tragedy by citing "magnitude" of plot, and diction, and change of meter: early tragedy used the trochaic tetrameter, later tragedy the iambic trimeter. His word for tragedy getting more solemn is *apesemnunthē* (1449a). Hermogenes is concerned with *semnotēs* and decides, basically, that the ithyphallic clausula destroys the solemnity of dactylic bases to which it is attached because it is trochaic and "the trochaic is the opposite of *semnotēs*."

<sup>29</sup>N. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton 1957) 214 f.

the phallic stingers of the chorus<sup>30</sup> and appreciate that it has been transferred to Bdelykleon (1105) to culminate the over-all pattern of the reversal of rôles for father and son. Philokleon pursues his natural inclinations, but Bdelykleon is bound by social and political convention which has begun already to create in him that need to regulate the lives of others and which reminds us of Euripides' Pentheus. The clearest indication that the *Wasps* is a different kind of comedy, full of Dionysos, is found in its contrast with Menander's *Dyskolos* of a century later, where Knemon's fierce independence is punished and he must be forced to join a dance led by slaves rather than leading the dance himself. We know, of course, that the actors of the New Comedy wore no phallos at all, *ithys* or otherwise, and we might speak almost literally, then, of the ultimate emasculation of the genre.

<sup>30</sup>Again, I think people have been too literal-minded about these appendages. The great debate over whether chorus-members in general wore the phallos, and whether these chorus-members in particular wore both the phallos and the stinger, or either, has not been carried on in conjunction with the critical appreciation of the play. There is a clear thematic movement from phallic aggression to the more "natural" erotic function of the phallos, and it is only reasonable to assume that this was supported by the costuming. Since the leather phallos conventionally hung from the costume rather than stood erect, it would have been no trick at all for the "wasps" of the chorus to make it serve two functions, *peos* before and *kentron* behind. (Cf. McDowell [above, note 6] 11, note 2.)