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Partheneia, Hymenaioi, Kinetic Choreia, and the Transference of Joy in the Exodoi of Aristophanes' Peace, Birds, and Lysistrata^{*}

Abstract

In Aristophanes' plays, there are allusions to the lyric genres of *partheneia* and *hymenaioi*. Aristophanes alludes to Alcman's *partheneia* in the *Lysistrata* and presents on stage his take on the genre of *hymenaioi* in the *Peace* and the *Birds*. Aristophanes at the *exodoi* of the *Peace*, the *Birds*, and the *Lysistrata*, alludes to these lyric genres as *choreia* within his own choral songs. *Partheneia* and *hymenaioi*, as highly self-referential songs, contained references to their choral activity and even references to the kinetic element of their *choreia*. I suggest that the self-referentiality inherited in these lyric genres enabled Aristophanes to display the emotion of joy, that was fitting within the context of the *exodos* of an Aristophanic comedy. Comic *partheneia* and *hymenaioi* enabled Aristophanes to share the joy generated by the happy endings of his plays that was the proper emotion for the closure of a comedy presented at a festival to honor Dionysus.

Nelle commedie di Aristofane, ci sono rielaborazioni in chiave comica dei generi lirici (parteni e epitalami). Aristofane richiama i parteni nella *Lisistrata*, e propone in scena una nuova performance dell'epitalamio nella *Pace* e nelle *Uccelli*. Negli esodi di *Pace*, *Uccelli* e *Lisistrata*, il drammaturgo richiama questi generi tradizionali, enfatizzandone l'aspetto coreutico. Partheni e epitalami, come canti altamente autoreferenziali, contenevano riferimenti alla *choreia* e ai relativi aspetti cinetici. In questo contributo suggerisco che l'autoreferenzialità di questi generi lirici abbia permesso ad Aristofane di mostrare in modo evidente l'emozione del coro comico, in particolare la gioia, un aspetto pertinente all'esodo di una commedia. Parteni ed epitalami comici hanno così permesso ad Aristofane di condividere con il pubblico la gioia generata dal lieto fine delle sue performances: una emozione adatta a chiudere una commedia presentata a un festival in onore di Dioniso.

1. Introduction

*Partheneia*¹ and *hymenaioi*² mark the transition of a woman from one phase of life to another. *Partheneia* were likely performed in public³. *Hymenaioi*, performed during the

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¹ On *partheneia* as a genre see CALAME (1997, 88); KLINCK (2008, 24-25). For the definitional problems of the genre see also SWIFT (2010, 174f.); KOUSOULINI (2019, 5-8).

² I prefer the term *hymenaios* to the narrower term *epithalamia*. *Epithalamia* were the songs performed outside the house once the bride and groom were inside. The term *hymenaios* encompasses all the songs performed before, during, or right after a wedding ceremony. See MUTH (1954); LARDINOIS (1996, 151, n. 3); SWIFT (2006, 125, n. 2). For more on *hymenaioi* see MUTH (1954); TUFTE (1970); CONTIADES-TSITSONI (1990); HORSTMANN (2004); WASDIN (2018).

³ See on this CALAME (1983, 414); DE MARTINO – VOX (1996, 168); PEPONI (2007, 354).

wedding procession, attracted much ritual attention as these songs were the symbols of the bride and groom transitioning to man and wife⁴. *Partheneia* and *hymenaios* performed during the wedding procession have as their purpose the public display of the persons involved in the performance⁵. There is also a noticeable degree of continuity between these choral forms in terms of motifs and ideas⁶. Similarities between these genres are so numerous that it is sometimes difficult to draw a clear line between a *partheneion* and a *hymenaios*, especially when these choral forms are alluded to in the lyric parts of Greek drama⁷.

Attic drama often seems to simultaneously evoke different types of choral songs⁸. It is not unusual for a dramatic play to recall both *partheneia* and *hymenaios* at the same time⁹. It is hazardous to attempt detection of dramatic allusions to extant *partheneia* and *hymenaios*, not only because of the lacunosity of the extant fragments and especially because these choral genres were somehow related within the ancient Greek mentality. Athenians of the classical age were familiar with both genres¹⁰, and they may have considered them as “female” performed¹¹ songs that were part of rites of passage.

In Aristophanes' plays, there are allusions to the lyric genres of *partheneia* and *hymenaios*. More specifically, Aristophanes alludes to Alcman's *partheneia* in the

⁴ As Kavoulaki remarks, the wedding procession was the major rite of transition and, as such, attracted ritual emphasis reflected in literature and art. See KAVOULAKI (1996, 71f.). On the importance of the wedding procession see also SWIFT (2010, 243). Most of the fragments of *hymenaios* or references to *hymenaios* embedded in other genres seem to come from songs performed during this part of the ceremony. In the *Iliad*, the part of the wedding ceremony described is the procession (*Il.* XVIII 490-96). The same is true for the songs embedded in the Hesiodic *Aspis* (272-86) and the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 211 W). Theocritus in *Idyll* XVIII, describes the wedding procession for Helen's wedding. Stesichorus refers to the wedding procession of Helen (fr. 187 W). Sappho's 44 V describes a wedding procession. See on this, with more examples, OAKLEY – SINOS (1993, 26-34); KAVOULAKI (1996, 72). For the representation of the wedding procession in art see SUTTON (1997-1998); OAKLEY – SINOS (1993, 26-34).

⁵ *Partheneia* display in public the members of the chorus. *Hymenaios* performed during the procession display the couple. For the public performance of *partheneia* and its purpose see STEHLE (1997, 73-93). Swift argues that the ultimate goal of *hymenaios* was the joyous display of the bride and the groom. See SWIFT (2016, 276).

⁶ See on this SWIFT (2010, 241, 249f.).

⁷ See GRIFFITHS (1972, 10f.); LARDINOIS (1994, 74); SWIFT (2010, 249f.); BAGORDO (2015, 44-48).

⁸ See WEISS (2020a) for the generic hybridity of the tragic evocations of choral genres.

⁹ Both *partheneia* and *hymenaios* are alluded to in a series of plays. See on this HENDERSON (1987, 219f.); SOMMERSTEIN (1990, 223); CONSTANTINIDOU (1998, 18); CALAME (2004); BIERL (2007, 272, 274); SWIFT (2010, 186-88, 241-79); BIERL (2011); CAREY (2011, 446f.); BAGORDO (2015, 44-48); BUDELMANN – POWER (2015, 264); SWIFT (2016, 270-74); LAZANI (2018); WEISS (2018, 67-70); KOUSOULINI (2019, 60-70).

¹⁰ For the familiarity of the Athenians with *partheneia* see HAMILTON (1989, 460-64, 470f.); SWIFT (2010, 186-88); BUDELMANN – POWER (2015, 263f.); KOUSOULINI (2019, 64-67). For the performance of *hymenaios* in classical Athens see PARKER (2005, 182f.); TRIESCHNIGG (2009, 26f.); BUDELMANN – POWER (2015, 261-63); SWIFT (2010, 39f.; 2016, 271).

¹¹ I regard *hymenaios* performed during processions as female choral songs since a chorus of women (or *parthenoi*) seems to have been present during their performance.

Lysistrata and presents on stage his take on the genre of *hymenaios* in the *Peace* and the *Birds*¹². Aristophanes' way of engaging with Alcman's *partheneia* has been characterized as an example of interchorality¹³. Bierl persuasively argues that, in the case of *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes does not create an intertextual relationship between two texts. Instead, the poet creates a complex web between two different forms of *choreia*¹⁴. I suggest that the relationship between the comic *hymenaios* encountered in the *Peace* and the *Birds* and the lyric genre of *hymenaios* belongs to the same category of intertextual relationships. I will argue that the two Aristophanic *hymenaios* and the extant "lyric" *hymenaios* – focusing on *hymenaios* presumably sung by a group of singers during wedding processions – have a special kind of intertextual relationship, or in other words, that Aristophanes alludes to the genre of *hymenaios* as *choreia* within his choral songs. The interchorality of the *exodoi* of the *Peace*, the *Birds*, and the *Lysistrata* with non-dramatic choral forms like *partheneia* and *hymenaios*, as any other form of intertextuality, actively involved the Aristophanic audience¹⁵.

Moreover, I regard that *partheneia* and *hymenaios* performed during the wedding procession had specific generic qualities that allowed Aristophanes to display emotions every time he alluded to them as forms of *choreia*. *Partheneia* and *hymenaios*, as highly self-referential songs, contained references to their own *choreia*. References to the kinetic element of *choreia* embedded in *partheneia* and *hymenaios* especially aided the Aristophanic chorus to effortlessly express and transfer emotions to the audience. I suggest that the self-referentiality inherited in these non-dramatic lyric genres enabled Aristophanes to display the emotion of joy that fits the context of the *exodos* in an

¹² On *partheneia* and the *exodos* of the *Lysistrata* see HENDERSON (1987, 219f.); SOMMERSTEIN (1990, 223); CONSTANTINIDOU (1998, 18); CALAME (2004); BIERL (2007, 272, 274); SWIFT (2010, 42, 186-88, 198f.); BIERL (2011); KOUSOULINI (2019, 60f.). On the similarities between *hymenaios* and the end of the *Lysistrata* see SWIFT (2010, 260-62). On *hymenaios* at the *exodoi* of *Peace* and the *Birds* see, for example, PARKER (1997, 292-295); CALAME (2004); SWIFT (2010, 42, 247); CALAME (2019, 120-24). Calame notes that it is risky to identify by specific labels and treat as representatives of various well-defined poetic genres, the songs alluded to in Aristophanes' plays. See CALAME (2019, 119-26).

¹³ Contemporary scholars argue that Greek drama tends to appropriate the performative elements of various choral genres. See HERINGTON (1985); SWIFT (2010). Interchorality is a term coined by Bierl to describe how choral poetics move in time and space throughout Greece through pathways that involve not just dialogues between individual texts and authors, but also between traditions regenerated through lived experience and reperformance. See BIERL (2011). See also CALAME (1994-1995, 136f.); SWIFT (2010, 1-3); CURTIS (2017, 14); ANDÚJAR (2018, 1-8).

¹⁴ The term *choreia* is not a modern construct. It first appears in Pratinas (708 *PMG*). It also appears in classical drama (Eur. *Ph.* 1265; Ar. *Ran.* 247, 336, *Th.* 856, 968, 981, 983). *Choreia* is first defined by Plato in the *Laws* (654b) as the combination of dance and music (song and accompaniment). Contemporary scholars frequently use this term to describe the performance of a song by a chorus. For the term *choreia* see MULLEN (1982); NAGY (1990, 339-81); HENRICH (1994-1995, 90f., n. 1); LADIANOU (2005); DAVID (2006, 23-51); LEY (2007); PEPONI (2007, 351); CIESIELSKI (2017, 115-18 with more bibliography); SCHEDTLER (2014, 113-53); WEISS (2020b).

¹⁵ See on this RUFFELL (2002, 155, 162); REVERMANN (2006b, 105, 118); VARAKIS (2018, 310, 325-28).

Aristophanic comedy¹⁶. The interchorality between the *exodoi* of *Lysistrata* with Spartan *partheneia* and the interchorality of the *exodoi* of the *Peace* and the *Birds* with *hymenaioi* generated emotions that could engage the audience by generating kinesthetic empathy¹⁷. In other words, comic *partheneia* and *hymenaioi* enabled Aristophanes to share the joy generated by the happy endings of his plays, which was the proper emotion for the closure of a comedy presented at a festival to honor Dionysus.

2. The Self-Referential Kinetic Choreia of Partheneia and Hymenaioi, and Audience Response

Many contemporary scholars argue that any descriptions of *choreia* encountered in an ancient Greek lyric composition aims at exacting a response from the audience.¹⁸ Carruesco, commenting on the pivotal role of the audience of choral performances, argues that in many descriptions of choral song and dance, it is the visual dimension of the watching which is emphasized¹⁹. According to him, the textual descriptions of *choreia* attract the gaze of the spectator, fascinating him and provoking a sense of wonder (θαῦμα) and pleasure (τέρψις)²⁰. Classicists who work within the context of cognitive theory often place emphasis on the linguistic descriptions of the choral performance of a group²¹. Olsen focuses on the kinetic element of *choreia* and argues that the descriptions of dance in archaic choral poetry can spotlight certain elements of a performance, construct hierarchies of beauty, excitement, or interest, and encourage specific forms of aesthetic response²². According to her, the verbal descriptions of movement and dance that

¹⁶ Aristophanic *exodoi* have traditionally been regarded as pure expressions of joy and cheerful celebrations of a successful comic hero. See, for example, MAZON (1904, 176); SOMMERSTEIN (1980, 11); MCLEISH (1980, 76). Carey speaks of Aristophanes' «predilection for comforting endings». See CAREY (2000, 424). Recently, this route of thought has been abandoned. See NAPOLITANO (2014; 2015); PIRROTTA (2016). On the final scenes of Aristophanes' comedies see also the approaches of VAIO (1971); ROSSI (1978); CALAME (2004); DI BARI (2013).

¹⁷ On the term see OLSEN (2016, 120, n. 15; 2017, 154; 2020, 339f.). Other classicists have also adopted it. See FERNÁNDEZ (2015, 312-21); BIERL (2017, 257, n. 95); CURTIS (2017, 4, n. 6); MEINECK (2018, 120-53). The term is widely used outside the discipline of classics. See, for example, JÄRVINEN (2007); SKLAR (2001a; 2001b); NOLAND (2009); REASON – REYNOLDS (2010); FOSTER (2010). Sklar defines this concept as the process of translating from visual to kinesthetic modes which generates the capacity to participate with another's movement or another's sensory experience of movement. See SKLAR (2001b; 2001a, 199 n. 3).

¹⁸ See PEPONI (2009, 65-67); KURKE (2012, 231); PEPONI (2012, 94); KURKE (2013, 147-49).

¹⁹ See CARRUESCO (2016, 70, 96).

²⁰ See CARRUESCO (2016, 92).

²¹ There is no contradiction between the study of embodied emotions and cognitive theory. See BUDELMANN (2010, 109f.). Ruffel, speaking of the audience's response to Aristophanic comedy, underlines that humor involves both emotion and cognition, as well as leading to an emotional and physiological response stemming from this cognitive disjunction. See RUFFEL (2008, 45-47).

²² See OLSEN (2016, 4f., 42-47; 2017).

accompany the dance itself (in the case of choral performance) might have shaped the visual and kinesthetic experiences of dancing for ancient audiences²³. According to Meineck, choral self-references can serve as an anchor for the projection of emotions²⁴. More specifically, the actions that take place during the performance of a song, such as gestures, dance, and movement, can involve the audience by making them want to mimic the expressivity of others²⁵. *Choreia* does not only cause the boundaries between the dancers and spectators to collapse, but is also a means to communicate with the gods. As Kurke has convincingly argued, *choreia* links together and merges the gods, dancers, and human spectators²⁶.

Among the lyric songs that contain dense descriptions of their own choral activity are *partheneia*. Modern scholars have long noticed the self-referentiality of the extant *partheneia*²⁷. Undoubtedly, at least in Alcman's *partheneia*, great emphasis is placed on the visual²⁸ and aural. The parthenaic chorus refers to its dancing and singing and the conditions of the performance of these songs. As the references of parthenaic choruses to their choral activity are explicit in extant *partheneia*, there are also descriptions of the kinetic element of *choreia*. Peponi first noticed the inclusion of the kinetic element of *choreia* in the self-referential descriptions of *choreia* in Alcman's *partheneia*²⁹. Peponi argues that dance is an explicitly thematized component of the unfolding musical action and tries to decipher the underlying choreography that is inscribed in Alcman's 3 *PMGF* through the medium of language³⁰. The extensive self-descriptions of the bodies and the movements of *partheneia* performers guided the gaze of the audience to watch not only the beauty of the chorus members but also their dance and performance³¹. *Partheneia* seem to have the generic quality of creating a reciprocal relationship between the audience and their performers. More specifically, the descriptions of the choral performance,

²³ See OLSEN (2016, 6). Olsen uses the term «communal resonance» to refer to the discursive construction of dance and movement in literary sources which can reflect and attempt to affect the embodied experiences and kinetic expressions of its audience. See OLSEN (2016, 10). She borrows the term from Albright's work. See ALBRIGHT (2011, 17).

²⁴ See MEINECK (2018, 52-119).

²⁵ See MEINECK (2018, 120-53). Meineck calls this phenomenon «emotional contagion». See MEINECK (2018, 127). Varakis uses the same term in connection with the emotion of joy in Aristophanic comedy. See VARAKIS (2018, 312-14 with more bibliography).

²⁶ See KURKE (2013, 147-50). Carruesco also underlines the series of reciprocal relationships *choreia* creates between the performers, the audience, and the gods. See CARRUECO (2016, 74f.).

²⁷ A lot has been written on the self-referentiality of parthenaic choruses. See, for example, PAVESE (1967, 133-34); LEFKOWITZ (1991, 23); PEPONI (2007); SWIFT (2010, 175-85; 2016); OLSEN (2016, 130-31); WEISS (2018, 23-29).

²⁸ See PEPONI (2004); FERRARI (2008, 114-16); SWIFT (2016).

²⁹ Peponi persuasively argues that in Alcman's *partheneia*, the chorus refers to the kinetic element of *choreia*, mentioning examples. See PEPONI (2004; 2007).

³⁰ See PEPONI (2007, 351).

³¹ The chorus members constantly appeal to a second-person, trying to guide his/her gaze (e.g., in 1, 50 *PMGF* or 1, 55 *PMGF*). See on this PEPONI (2004, 300); OLSEN (2016, 130f.); SWIFT (2016, 260, 276).

among other things, incite an emotional response from the audience and become the medium to communicate and share several emotional conditions³². The linguistic descriptions of *choreia* encountered in *partheneia* also draw the attention of the audience to the ritual activity of the *parthenoi*³³. Regarding the kinetic element of *choreia*, the audience of *partheneia*, through kinesthetic empathy, could have felt that it was part of the ceremony attended also by the gods³⁴.

Contemporary scholars have underlined the similarities between *partheneia* and *hymenaioi* in terms of the motif of self-referentiality³⁵. This is especially true for *hymenaioi* that come from the most public part of the wedding ceremony – the procession. *Hymenaioi* seem to link the audience to their performers and use similar techniques to gain the attention – that is to exercise control over the gaze – of their audience. In the surviving *hymenaioi*, the emphasis is placed on the beauty of the person in honor of whom the song is performed – the bride³⁶. There are also references to the performance of the song. Descriptions of the kinetic element of *choreia* are again included³⁷. One should suppose that *hymenaioi* publicly performed have also been composed in order to exact a specific audience response. Moreover, the descriptions of the performance of *hymenaioi* performed during the wedding procession seem to involve more and more people while the couple is being displayed. Processional songs performed at weddings appear in ancient Greek sources as a moving feast that constantly acquires new participants³⁸. Both *partheneia* and *hymenaioi* seem to try to direct the gaze of their external audience and emotionally involve it, to engage the view of the audience in what their singers wished

³² Peponi was the first, at least to my knowledge, to associate the self-referential choral language of *partheneia* not only with the response of the audience, but also with emotions. According to her, the self-referential choral language of Alcman's fr. 3 *PMGF* operates as a code that refers at the same time to musical action and emotional attitude. See PEPONI (2007). Weiss coined the term «imaginative suggestion» to denote the association process whereby the verbal element of a choral performance encourages the audience to experience its music and dance in a particular way, that is the means for the communication of certain images, narratives, and emotions. See WEISS (2018, 17, 23-29).

³³ See SWIFT (2016, 257f., 268).

³⁴ Gods in archaic Greek poetry are described as being present at religious festivals and taking pleasure in song and dance. See, for example, Alc. fr. 307 LP; Pind. *Ol.* 3, 34-35, *Pyth.* 10, 34-41, 11, 1-10; Eur. *Ba.* 114-1149. On this issue see KURKE (2013, 147f., 167f., n. 45 with more examples and bibliography).

³⁵ See SWIFT (2010, 249f.); BAGORDO (2015, 44-46); SWIFT (2016, 274f., 276-83).

³⁶ See, for example, Sapph. 44, 15, 108, 112 V.

³⁷ See, for example, Hom. *Il.* XVIII 494; Hes. *Sc.* 272, 277; Theoc. XVIII 3, 7-8.

³⁸ In the *Iliad*, the singing and dancing begin while the brides are being displayed in the crowd (XVIII 492-93). All the city seems to participate in the wedding procession. A group of young men performs a vivid dance and musical instruments play (lines 494-95). In the *Aspis* (lines 273-279), different participants succeed one another. In Sappho's 44 V, more and more people are involved in the procession and the performance of the song while the chariots move. In Stesichorus' fr. 187 *PMG*, although the internal audience does not directly participate by singing or dancing, they physically participate in the procession. They are described to cast at the chariot Cydonian apples, myrtle leaves, crowns of roses, and garlands of violets.

them to see³⁹. But the audience of the *hymenaioi* is not only mixed with the performers. The belief in divine presence in ancient Greek weddings is well-attested in literature and art⁴⁰. Performers and spectators of *hymenaioi* are mixed with the gods.

I will argue that the *exodoi* of Aristophanes' *Peace*, *Birds*, and *Lysistrata*, which allude to non-dramatic choral songs, link together their performers, the audience, and the gods, as this is fitting for the *exodos* of an Aristophanic comedy. I focus on the medium of kinetic *choreia* which I examine through the linguistic descriptions of the performers. The interchorality of the *exodoi* of *Peace*, *Birds*, and *Lysistrata*, with *partheneia* and *hymenaioi*, raised their emotive power, enabling Aristophanes to include extensive descriptions of the dramatic *choreia* of the performers, which included descriptions of their kinetic *choreia*. The references to the kinetic *choreia* of the performers guided their gaze, reinforced their choral experience of the Aristophanic *exodoi*, and created a link between the performers, audience, and divine. I suggest that the glue that links everything together is an emotion, joy⁴¹.

3. Interchorality and Kinetic Choreia at the End of Aristophanes' *Peace*, *Birds*, and *Lysistrata*

Several of Aristophanes' extant plays end in a celebratory way. Most of these *exodoi* involve food, wine, and celebration⁴². Some of them stage what we may recognize as a *kōmos*⁴³ – a festive procession of revels – especially when the chorus celebrates the hero's

³⁹ Kavoulaki notes that all processions have something spectacular since any moving procession captures the eyes, mind, senses, and imagination. See KAVOULAKI (1996, 1f.). This also applies to wedding processions. Olsen observes that processional songs are full of references to the activities of their performers and focused on their bodily movements, thus; they contain references to the kinetic element of *choreia*. See on this OLSEN (2020, 331f.).

⁴⁰ Gods often appear as divine accompaniment in vases depicting the wedding ceremony. See on this OAKLEY – SINOS (1993, 28-33). On divine presence in ancient Greek weddings attested in literature and art see also SUTTON (1997-1998, 34-44); HAGUE (1983, 133-35); KAVOULAKI (1996, 77 with more bibliography). Nonetheless, I have to notice that in many cases we do not know whether a vase-painting depicts a divine (or, generally, 'mythic') scene, or a purely human, more or less daily-life one. As Oakley and Sinos argue, this also applies to many of the vases depicting the wedding ceremony. See OAKLEY – SINOS (1993, 7, 13, 43-47) for the ambiguities concerning the depiction of wedding scenes on Attic vases.

⁴¹ Joy is usually described as a lively feeling of happiness arising from the expectation of something good, or its realization. It is linked to one's desires and can be created by any happy incident. On this emotion see FUNK (1904, *s.v.* joy); CASTON (2016, 95); RIU (2019, 25-27). On the richness of the vocabulary of the ancient Greeks to describe joy see RAMELLI – KONSTAN (2010, 185); RIU (2019, 25-27). On the expression of joy in 5th-century B.C. theater, see SHISLER (1942); STANFORD (2015, 42-44); WRIGHT (2005) and most of the contributions in DE POLI (2019). On joy in Aristophanic comedy see SILK (2000, 93); HALLIWELL (2008, 247); VARAKIS (2018); PEREGO (2019).

⁴² There are exceptions, such as the *exodoi* of the *Thesmophoriazusae* and the *Clouds*. See ROBSON (2009, 11).

⁴³ On the representations of *kōmos* in ancient Greek literature and art see HEATH (1988); LISSARRAGUE (1990). For the relationship of Old comedy and *kōmos* see the – sometimes conflicting – approaches of

victory, escorting him offstage with a song of triumph, or a marriage song⁴⁴. In most of these cases, dancing is involved. Indeed, the *exodoi* of the *Wasps*, the *Peace*, the *Birds*, the *Lysistrata*, the *Thesmophoriazusae*, the *Ecclesiazusae*, and the *Frogs* seem to involve dancing⁴⁵. Although terms that denote movement or dance are encountered in some of these *exodoi*⁴⁶, the same words and phrases abound in the *exodoi* of the *Peace*, the *Birds*, and the *Lysistrata*. The *exodoi* of the *Peace*, the *Birds*, and the *Lysistrata*, share in common that they allude to *partheneia* and *hymenaioi*, two non-dramatic choral forms. This is obvious from the linguistic descriptions of their *choreia* which resemble the descriptions of the *choreia* of extant *partheneia* and *hymenaioi*. Emphasis is placed on the kinetic element of *choreia*, as in the corpora of the extant *partheneia* and *hymenaioi*.

Trygaeos in lines 1316-28 of the *Peace*, urges the chorus to join in the songs performed to celebrate his wedding (καὶ πάντα λεῶν συγχαίρειν κάπικελεύειν, line 1317, «and all the people rejoice and cheer on us»)⁴⁷. He also describes some of the actions that are going to take place on and off stage. Among them, choral dancing is included (ὄρχησαμένων, line 1319, «dancing»). The members of the chorus continue by singing along. From lines 1329 until the end of the comedy, one encounters what has been described by modern scholars as a «very lively»⁴⁸ or traditional⁴⁹ wedding-song. The

CORNFORD (1914, 1-34); PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE (1927); ADRADOS (1975, 37-39); GHIRON-BISTAGNE (1976, 207-97); RECKFORD (1987, 490); PÜTZ (2007, 156-91); BIERL (2009, 267-325). The festivities at the end of plays like the *Acharnians*, the *Peace*, the *Birds*, and the *Ecclesiazusae* have often been compared to the Plautine banquet-scenes. See on this KUNST (1919, 8, 35f.); PÜTZ (2007, 4, 164-69, 172-76). Konstantakos persuasively argues that these celebratory endings are scenes of *kōmos*, i.e., revel processions taking place outdoors, in the streets, and not staged symposia. See KONSTANTAKOS (2005, 184).

⁴⁴ See RECKFORD (1987, 497f.). Although any choral activity undertaken by a group of komasts cannot be considered an organized choral performance, komastic celebration is a category of kinetic expression or, in other words, a form of *choreia* at least not with the strict sense of the word. On whether or not *kōmos* is a form of χορός see HEATH (1988, 185); NAGY (2007, 212); OLSEN (2016, 21-26). For the ritual aspect of the *kōmos* see GHIRON-BISTAGNE (1976, 207-97); RECKFORD (1987, 498); SCHMITT-PANTEL (1992, 222-31); PEIRCE (1993, 219-66); SFYROERAS (1992); CALAME (2004); BIERL (2009, 267-25 with more bibliography).

⁴⁵ On the *exodos* of the *Wasps* see ROSSI (1978); LAWLER (1964, 58); WEBSTER (1970, 185); MACCARY (1979, 140-47); CALAME (2004, 182); ZIMMERMANN (2019, 113f.). On the *Thesmophoriazusae* see CALAME (2004, 162). In the *Frogs*, the chorus sings a farewell song to Aeschylus. They carry torches, and they extoll the poet with his songs and dances, as Pluto urges them to do (lines 1525f.).

⁴⁶ See, for example, V: 1517 (βεμβικίζωσιν ἑαυτούς), 1520 (πηδᾶτε), 1523-28, 1529f., 1535 (ὄρχούμενοι), 1537 (ὄρχούμενος ... χορόν); *Eccl.*: 1165f., 1168, 1180 (αἶρεσθ' ἄνω). I follow Henderson's edition and translation throughout the text unless otherwise stated.

⁴⁷ Henderson prints κάπικελεύειν but preserves the writing κάπιχορεύειν in the apparatus. See HENDERSON (1998b, 596). Κάπιχορεύειν is an emendation found in one manuscript tradition and κάπικελεύειν is available as a valid variant. Κάπικελεύειν is usually preferred as a *lectio difficilior*.

⁴⁸ See on this CALAME (2004, 172).

⁴⁹ On the traditionality of this song see PARKER (1997, 192); CALAME (2004, 172). Parker also calls this *hymenaios* «earthy and akin to folk-songs». See PARKER (1997, 293).

meters used are the telesilleian⁵⁰ and reizianum⁵¹. This song resembles the *choreia* of extant wedding songs. It contains the traditional refrain of the *hymenaios* (lines 1331f., 1335f., 1344f., 1349f., ὦ Ἰμῆν Ὑμέναιε, «Hymen, Hymeneus, O») that is sung antiphonically⁵² either by Trygaios and the chorus or by the two semi-choruses. The song also contains a *makarismos* for the groom (ὦ τρις μάκαρ, line 1334, «Happy, happy, happy man») who is blessed for his good fortune⁵³. Trygaios is picked up by the chorus and carried in triumph (lines 1341-43). There are several references to the future sexual life of the couple (lines 1346-48, 1351-54), as it was usual in *hymenaios*⁵⁴.

The vocabulary of the *exodos* is like that of processions, and more specifically of wedding processions. Great emphasis is put on the kinetic element of this *choreia* since a series of movements is described. Trygaios orders the members to respond physically to the happy news of his wedding. Since the bride is approaching (καὶ τὴν νύμφην ἔξω τινὰ δεῦρο κομίζειν, line 1316, «and escort the bride outside here»), they have to bring torches (δῶδάς τε φέρειν, line 1317, «and fetch torches»)⁵⁵, and dance among the citizens in gaiety (line 1316-67); their movements are described as the movements of a group, having a communal character⁵⁶. After they have celebrated through a wedding feast that includes dancing (line 1319), the chorus members ought to carry back their farming tools to the fields (line 1318ff.)⁵⁷. Trygaios calls his wife to move and join him in the fields (δεῦρ' ὦ γύναι εἰς ἀγρόν, line 1329, «Come along, wife, to the countryside»)⁵⁸. The chorus at some point follows Trygaios outside the scene. Trygaios orders them to follow

⁵⁰ Parker remarks that Aristophanes often uses telesilleans in his wedding songs. This meter is of popular origin. See PARKER (1997, 292f.).

⁵¹ The phrase ὦ Ἰμῆν Ὑμέναιε, ὦ is in the reizianum meter following the u-uu- combination of short and long syllables. According to Shisler, Aeolic meters were also used in Greek tragedy to express joy. See SHISLER (1942, 185-86).

⁵² As Calame remarks, wedding songs could take an amoebaeian form. In some of Sappho's *hymenaios*, there are marching exchanges sung by men and women (e.g., Sapph. 114 V and the description of the multiple voices that sing the *hymenaios* in 44 V). See CALAME (2004, 172).

⁵³ *Makarismos* is a traditional feature of *hymenaios*. See HAGUE (1983, 134, 141, n. 11); SWIFT (2010, 246f.); WASDIN (2018, 184-94).

⁵⁴ See on this CALAME (2004, 173). Sexual innuendos were part of *hymenaios*. See, for example, Sappho's 110a, 111 V, or Theocritus' XVIII 8-13. On the sexual humor of Sappho's wedding songs see KIRK (1963); SWIFT (2010, 247f.). On the light-hearted joking in Theocritus' wedding song see SWIFT (2010, 248).

⁵⁵ For these aspects of the wedding procession see Homer (*Il.* XVIII 492f.).

⁵⁶ Olsen observes that in another dance-centric description of *choreia* (*Il.* XVIII 590-606), the description of motion is a fully communal one. See OLSEN (2016, 45f.).

⁵⁷ Longus describes a similar rustic wedding procession (4, 38, 2-4). According to him, the public part of the wedding celebration takes place in a rustic environment and the guests sing in their way. Some of them sing harvest songs, others sing *skommata*. Other guests play various musical instruments, and others dance.

⁵⁸ The groom seems to lead the bride. In the *Aspis*, the groom leads the bride to her new home (ἦγοντ' ἀνδρὶ γυναικῶν, line 274). The same happens in the *Catalogue of Women* fr. 211 W (ἦγοντ' ἀνδρὶ γυναικῶν). Hector and his friends in Sappho's 44 V, bring Andromache to Troia (Ἐκτωρ καὶ συνέταρ[ο]ι ἄγοισ', line 5).

him, using a term encountered in the descriptions of many choral processions (κᾶν ξυνέπησθέ μοι, «and if you follow me») in line 1358⁵⁹.

Through the self-referential language used, it is possible to gather information regarding the choreographic shape and structure of the chorus. There are at least two rows of *choreutai*. In lines 1341f., the *choreutai*, who are in the first row, are urged to carry the nuptial chariot, as it was usual in wedding processions (ἀλλ' ἀράμενοι φέρωμεν / οἱ προτεταγμένοι / τὸν νυμφίον, ὄνδρες, «Let's those of us up front / hoist the bridegroom aloft / and carry him, lads!»)⁶⁰. The performers of the song express their wish to gather the vintage of the bride (lines 1337-40, τί δράσομεν αὐτήν; τρυγήσομεν αὐτήν, «What shall we do to the bride? / We'll gather her fruit»)⁶¹. This sequence of questions and answers in four reiziana at 1337-40 has puzzled many contemporary scholars. Parker claims that this metrical sequence is very much in the manner of folksong, as it survives in children's games⁶². Newiger suggests that the irregularity in the structure of the song can be explained by its function as an accompaniment to a form of physical activity⁶³. Karanika regards the whole scene as a series of capturing rustic rituals, many of which are related to the vintage⁶⁴. She notes that the sequence of questions and answers performed in rhythms evokes dancing steps⁶⁵; that is, it is plausible that the phrase τί δράσομεν αὐτήν; τρυγήσομεν αὐτήν refers to the choreography. In this case, it indicates a lively dance that mimics an agricultural activity.

In the *Birds*, the members of the chorus are urged by the Messenger to perform songs and dances to welcome home Peisetairos and his bride, Basileia (lines 1706-19). The chorus responds by singing a *hymenaios* and then quickly tries to take a dancing place (ἄναγε δίεχε πάραγε πάρεχε, / περιπέτεσθε, lines 1720f., «Get back! Divide! Form up! Make room / Fly»), as they state in a self-referential way⁶⁶. Then they state that they will

⁵⁹ During processions, the members of the chorus follow the leader. See, for example, Pindar's *daphnephoricon* (94b, 66-70 S-M); Aesch. *Eum.* 1032; Ar. *Pl.* 1209.

⁶⁰ According to Sappho's 44 V, the bride and part of her dowry were carried by the groom and his comrades. A chariot was used in Stesichorus' fr. 187 *PMG* to carry Helen and Menelaus.

⁶¹ On the double entendre see CALAME (2004, 173). For the connection of food and sex in Aristophanes see HENDERSON (1975, 47f.); SHAW (2014). Sommerstein argues that the chorus wanted to have sex with Opōra and regards that this statement was a threat to gang-rape her. Nonetheless, he acknowledges that this was probably a jocular pretense. See SOMMERSTEIN (1998, 113, n. 17). On the intentions of the chorus towards the bride see also ROBSON (2015, 328, n. 36).

⁶² See PARKER (1997, 293).

⁶³ See NEWIGER (1965).

⁶⁴ See KARANIKA (2014, 121-23).

⁶⁵ She rightly argues that Trygaios puts the song in a dance context since he asks the chorus to go back to the country after dancing and making the libation in lines 1320f. See KARANIKA (2014, 122).

⁶⁶ The use of repetitions and rhythm often gives the impression that the participants of a procession should move fast. Dikaiopolis in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* gives orders to his family members on how to prepare for a procession rather urgently (lines 241-44). The members of the chorus of Pindar's *daphnephoricon* 94b S-M state that they have to move fast (line 6). In Menander's *Dyscolus*, Mother tells to her daughter, Plaggon, to hurry up (lines 430-33).

perform a wedding song in accordance with their role in the wedding procession (ἀλλ' ὑμεναίοις / καὶ νυμφιδίοισι δέχεσθ' ᾠδαῖς / αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν Βασίλειαν, lines 1728-30, «now with wedding / and bridal songs please welcome / Himself and his Princess»⁶⁷). The meter used in the wedding song (lines 1731-43, 1749-54) is the telesilleian, a series of short aeolo-choriambic stanzas. The language resembles the choral language used in songs performed during wedding processions. The members of the chorus use the *makarismos* (μάκαρα μάκαρι σὺν τύχᾳ, line 1721, «the man blest with blest luck») and a mythical exemplum, as they consequently sing for the wedding of Zeus and Hera (lines 1731ff.)⁶⁸. They constantly repeat the refrain to Hymenaios (lines 1736, 1741f., 1754, Ὕμην ὦ, Ὕμέναι' ὦ, «Hymen Hymeneus»).

Apart from the fact that the meter of the wedding song indicates dancing, there are many words and phrases used in the *exodos* that indicate movement or dance. The members of the chorus are called upon to accept Peisetairos in the house (δέχεσθε ... δόμοις, line 1708, «welcome [...] to his [...] palace»). The Messenger describes Peisetairos approaching having Basileia at his side and in his hand the shaft of Zeus (lines 1709-14). The groom is described as coming back (προσέρχεται ... δρόμῳ, lines 1709f., «Yea he draws near [...] on its path»⁶⁹). The whole procession is described as a beautiful spectacle (line 1716) that can be felt through the sense of smell experienced as it is approaching (ὀσμὴ δ' ἀνωνόμαστος ἐς βάθος κύκλου / χωρεῖ, καλὸν θέαμα, θυμιαμάτων δ' / αὔραι διαψαίρουσι πλεκτάνην καπνοῦ, lines 1715-17, «A fragrance unnamable ascends to the welkin's very depths, / a fair spectacle, / and breezes puff asunder the wreaths of smoke from the incense»⁷⁰). This beautiful spectacle is described as a moving one.

The chorus performs the *hymenaios* when the procession arrives and Peisetairos appropriates the choral song. The hero states that he is pleased by the *choreia* of the performers, explicitly referring to the different elements of the choral performance (lines

⁶⁷ The term ᾠδαῖς here refers to sonic expression, that is, to the singing element of *choreia*. Nonetheless, as Peisetairos refers to a specific kind of ᾠδῆ – the song performed during the wedding procession – he not probably refers to the entire *choreia* of the chorus members. Since *choreia* involves both vocal and kinetic activity, bodily movement is essentially conceived as the physical projection of the voice itself (see PEPONI 2009, 57f.). On this see also OLSEN (2017, 159f.).

⁶⁸ *Hymenaios* probably contained mythical exempla. Sappho's 44 V containing the description of the wedding procession of Hector and Andromache, probably, belongs to the mythical part of a wedding song. See on this SWIFT (2010, 247). Calame regards the *nymphagogia* which unites Hera and Zeus as a paradigmatic one. See CALAME (2004, 178).

⁶⁹ In the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, Peleus is described as approaching Phtia (fr. 211 W). The same happens in the Hesiodic *Aspis* (line 274) and the *Catalogue of Women* fr. 211 W. Hector in Sappho's 44 V, is coming to Troy (line 5).

⁷⁰ As Kavoulaki observes, processions tend to captivate all the senses. See KAVOULAKI (1996, 1f.). For example, special reference to the sense of smell is encountered in Sappho's 44 V (wedding procession) and the First Delphic hymn to Apollo (cultic procession).

1743f.). Peisetairos is pleased by the songs performed, likely through singing and dancing (ἐχάρην ὑμνοῖς, ἐχάρην ᾠδαῖς, «I'm pleased by your chants, pleased by your songs»), and he is content with the verses used by the chorus (ἄγαμαι δὲ λόγων, «and bowled over by your words»). Peisetairos sees the wedding procession as a *choreia*, as he orders his bride to dance along with the other tribes of birds (συγχόρευσον, line 1761, «join me for a dance»); that is, he describes a communal choral activity⁷¹. He gives his bride directions for how to physically manage dancing under the circumstances (ῥεξον ὦ μάκαιρα σὴν / χεῖρα καὶ πτερῶν ἐμῶν / λαβοῦσα συγχόρευσον· ἄρων / δὲ κουφιῶ σ' ἐγώ, lines 1759-61, «Hold out your hand, my happy one, / and holding to my wings / join me for a dance; I'll lift you up and swing you»)⁷². Their joined members become a somatic link between the bride and the groom, the two most important figures of any wedding song. Basileia may join the «communal aerial dance», in which the other birds already participate in (line 1761)⁷³. Every procession must end somewhere, and Peisetairos indicates the place where this procession should end: the palace of Zeus and the nuptial couch (ἐπὶ <δά>πεδον Διὸς / καὶ λέχος γαμήλιον, lines 1757f., «to Zeus' yard and to the bridal bower») into which he invites the chorus members.⁷⁴ The hero directs the chorus members to follow him, as he leads the wedding procession in its ending point (ἔπεσθε νῦν γάμοισιν, line 1755, «Follow now the wedding party»). The wedding procession seems to leave following the couple in the direction indicated by singing a paeon (lines 1763-65)⁷⁵.

At the *exodos* of the *Lysistrata*, the celebrants of the newly founded peace return on stage for a final round of songs. Again, references to dance appear. The comedy is ending with an invitation to sing and dance choral hymns to honor the gods (lines 1273-90)⁷⁶. The Spartans and Athenians are called upon to dance for the gods to mark the happy ending (ἐπ' ἀγαθαῖς συμφοραῖς / ὀρχησάμενοι θεοῖσιν, 1276f., «to celebrate our great good fortune / let's have a dance for the gods»)⁷⁷. Although it is not certain that the whole chorus took part in singing, Bierl persuasively argues that several words and phrases

⁷¹ In Calame's words, this verb denotes a «communal aerial dance». See CALAME (2004, 180).

⁷² It is not unlikely that the word wing refers to his phallus that was visible to the audience. See HUBBARD (1991, 193); STEHLE (2002, 375). According to Stehle, Aristophanes gave Peisetairos an erect phallus to create a visual allusion to the phallus-bird found in vase-painting. See STEHLE (2002, 375, n. 24).

⁷³ See CALAME (2004, 180).

⁷⁴ See on this CALAME (2004, 180). Peiseteros invites all the tribes of the birds that perform this song (συννόμων, line 1756, «fellow songsters»).

⁷⁵ *Hymenaios* performed during the wedding procession had affinities with victory songs, if not specifically with paeans. Chariton of Aphrodisias links the wedding to the procession of a victor (*Chaereas and Callirhoe* VIII 1, 12). On the similarities between *hymenaios* and victory songs see OAKLEY – SINOS (1993, 27); KAVOULAKI (1996, 77).

⁷⁶ These lines are attributed either to *Lysistrata* or the Athenian delegate. See WILSON (2007, 63). See also on these lines RUTHERFORD (2015, 60-64 with more bibliography).

⁷⁷ See BIERL (2011, 426).

contained in this *exodos* are explicitly self-referential in the manner of lyric choruses⁷⁸. These repeated choral self-references may indicate a choral performance, even of passages that are not traditionally considered to be choral⁷⁹.

The Athenian delegate starts with a reference to the dancing that takes place in front of the audience⁸⁰. He commands the *choreutai* to go forward using the term χορός (πρόσαγε χορόν, line 1279, «Bring on the dance»). The male members of the chorus likely stand close to their wives (ἀνήρ δὲ παρὰ γυναῖκα καὶ γυνή / στήτω παρ' ἄνδρα, lines 1275f., «Let's have husband stand by wife and wife by husband»⁸¹). The performers of this “Athenian song” order themselves in a self-referential way to leap into the air (line 1292)⁸². In this song, a series of gods, among them Dionysus, are invoked. The Athenian delegate refers to the marriage of Hera and Zeus (lines 1284f.), that is, to a mythical paradigm for wedding songs⁸³. Then the Athenian delegate or Lysistrata herself⁸⁴ addresses the Spartan delegate and asks him for a new song (line 1295). This new song that the Spartan will perform, has affinities with *partheneia* and overflows with descriptions of kinetic *choreia*. In the final lines of the *exodos*, the Spartan delegate performs his song, invokes the Spartan Muse, mentions divinities and heroes that were important to Spartan cultic life, and urges the performers to dance to honor Sparta (εἶα μάλ' ἔμβη, / ὦ εἶα κοῦφα πᾶλλον, / ὡς Σπάρταν ὑμνῶμες, lines 1302-05, «Ho there hop! / Hey there, jump sprightly! / Let's sing a hymn to Sparta»).

The self-referential phrases and words encountered in the whole *exodos*, as seen above, but especially in the last song of the Spartan delegate, operate in the text as linguistic markers of *choreia*. The last song from the Spartan delegate is dense with descriptions of female *choreia*. The Spartan delegate describes the comic choral activity

⁷⁸ See BIERL (2011, 426, n. 43, 428f.).

⁷⁹ See BIERL (2011, 427).

⁸⁰ The distribution of the lines of the *exodos* is highly disputable. The most common distribution of the lines is the following: 1247-72 Spartan delegation leader; 1273-78 Athenian delegation leader; 1279-90 Athenian delegation leader. See ZIMMERMANN (1985-1987, vol. II, 42-49, 80f.) and HENDERSON (1987). Sommerstein and Wilson attribute 1273-90 to Lysistrata and 1291-94 to the semi-chorus. See SOMMERSTEIN (1990) and WILSON (2007). On the distribution of these lines, see also BIERL (2011, 425, n. 38 with more bibliography).

⁸¹ Although the condition of the surviving *partheneia* does not allow us to be certain, some words and phrases likely refer to the formation of the chorus. For example, the phrases Ἀγησιχ[ό]ρ[α] πάρ' αὐτεῖ, / Ἀγιδῶι ... αρμένει (1, 79-80 *PMGF*) or [Ἀ]στυμέλοισα κατὰ στρατόν (3, 73 *PMGF*) are considered to indicate the position of the chorus leaders of Alcman's *partheneia*. See PEPONI (2004), (2007).

⁸² As Bierl remarks, the instruction to leap into the air (ἀρεσθ' ἄνω) that relates to the choral dance itself, is similar to the phrase ἀνηρομέναι used in Alcman's fr. 1, 63 *PMGF*. See BIERL (2011, 428, 434).

⁸³ According to Bierl, Zeus and Hera symbolize the re-celebration of the marriage between the couples at the Olympian level. See BIERL (2011, 427).

⁸⁴ Wilamowitz and Henderson assume that the Athenian delegate is the one who speaks here. See VON WILAMOWITZ (1927); HENDERSON (1987).

as the performance of a hymn to honor Sparta and the gods (line 1304, line 1320)⁸⁵. In this particular description of *choreia*, the emphasis is placed on the kinetic element. A choral projection is made to the dancing that takes place in the city of Sparta⁸⁶, which is the place where choruses perform for the gods (τᾶ σιῶν χοροὶ μέλοντι / καὶ ποδῶν κτύπος, lines 1305f., «home of dances for the gods / and of stomping feet»)⁸⁷. The city rejoices in female choral activities; however, the female choral activity described is closer to the activities of bacchantes or komasts than to the activities described in the extant *partheneia*⁸⁸ (χᾶτε πῶλοι ταὶ κόραι⁸⁹ / πᾶρ τὸν Εὐρώταν / ἀμπάλλοντι πυκνὰ ποδοῖν / ἀγκονίωαί, ταὶ δὲ κόμαι σείονται⁹⁰ / ἄπερ Βακχᾶν / θυρσαδδῶν καὶ παιδδῶν, lines 1307-12, «where by the Eurotas' banks young girls frisk like fillies / raising underfoot / dust clouds, and tossing their tresses / like maenads waving their wands and playing»). The chorus leader of female Spartan dances is Helen, who is designated as a χοραγός (line 1315, «chorus leader»), and leads (ἀγείται, line 1314, «led by») the members of the chorus⁹¹. The description of the dance that takes place in Sparta is enriched by a choral interjection referring to the activity of the Aristophanic chorus; that is, to the hic and nunc of the performance (lines 1302-1304)⁹².

The Spartan delegate continues his use of the vocabulary of kinetic *choreia*, by urging the chorus to exit the stage (ἀλλ' ἄγε, line 1316, «let us go»)⁹³ and specific parts of the bodies of the chorus members to move rhythmically (κόμαν παραμπύκιδδε χερὶ,

⁸⁵ A hymn in ancient Greek society of the classical age is clearly perceived as a form of *choreia*. It was traditionally performed by a chorus or a solo singer accompanied by the lyre and a dancing chorus. On the performance context of the Homeric hymns see LONSDALE (1994-1995); PEPONI (2009); NAGY (2011); FAULKNER (2011), (2013). Modern scholars have examined one of the Homeric hymns (to Apollo) as a paradigmatic example of *choreia*. See on this HERINGTON (1985, 16); LONSDALE (1994-1995); PEPONI (2009); OLSEN (2016, 27-31).

⁸⁶ See BIERL (2011, 429).

⁸⁷ Ποδῶν κτύπος is probably an allusion to Alcman's *καναχάποδα* used in fr. 1, 48 *PMGF*, as Bierl argues. See BIERL (2011, 434). Nonetheless, the noise of stamping feet often designates choral activity, especially when it is encountered in descriptions of female choral songs or processional songs. See, for example, Pind. *Pae.* 6, 15-8; Eur. *El.* 178-80; Ar. *Ran.* 330f.; Call. *Artem.* 246f.; Ap. Rh. I 536-41.

⁸⁸ In two of Alcman's fragments, we encounter themes that usually belong to Dionysiac contexts (53, 56 *PMGF*). It is not unlikely that they were *partheneia* to honor Dionysus. Contemporary scholars have considered these lines an allusion to the Dionysiades. See CALAME (1997, 185-91); BIERL (2011, 430, n. 52).

⁸⁹ It is likely that the description of the dancing girls as πῶλοι in line 1307, has as models, Agido and Hagesichora who are described in Alcman's 1 *PMGF* in the same manner (fr. 1, 46-51, 58f. *PMGF*). See on this BIERL (2011, 433).

⁹⁰ In Alcman's 3 *PMGF*, the chorus refers to its dancing activity using the phrase κόμ[αν ξ]ανθὰν τινάξω (line 9).

⁹¹ Helen is pure and pretty (ἀγνὰ χοραγός εὐπρεπής, line 1315, «their chorus leader pure and pretty») just like Hagesichora, the chorus leader in Alcman's 1 *PMGF* (ἐκπρεπής in fr. 1, 46 *PMGF*).

⁹² Bierl notes that the adjective κοῦφος designating the noun ποῦς is a common choral self-reference. See BIERL (2011, 430, n. 51 with examples).

⁹³ This translation belongs to Calame. See CALAME (2004, 172).

ποδοῖν τε πάδη, line 1318, «band your hair with your hand, with your feet start hopping») or to make noise (κρότον δ' ἄμᾶ ποίη χορωφελήταν, line 1319, «and start making some noise to spur the dance»). Earlier in this song, one is informed that one way to please the city of Sparta is to make noise during dancing (lines 1306f.). This is the noise that is heard in Sparta when female choruses perform and one should assume that this is the noise that the Aristophanic chorus made at the end of the *Lysistrata*⁹⁴. This is why the delegate urges the chorus members to make some noise to honor Sparta (lines 1315-21). The meter used throughout the *exodos* is dactylo-trochaic. Certainly, the chorus members danced vivaciously⁹⁵.

4. *Transferring Joy at the Exodoi of Aristophanes' Peace, Birds, and Lysistrata*

The interchorality of the *exodoi* of the *Peace*, the *Birds*, and the *Lysistrata* with *partheneia* and *hymenaioi* enabled the poet to smoothly incorporate extensive descriptions of choral activity that also contained references to the kinetic element of *choreia*. The interchorality of these dramatic choral songs with non-dramatic choral forms, as any other form of intertextuality, not only actively engaged the audience in the dramatic action, since it demanded from them the activation of a cognitive process to recognize and appreciate the allusions to another form of poetry, but the audience of the *exodoi* of Aristophanes' *Peace*, *Birds*, and *Lysistrata* viewed and simultaneously heard the descriptions of the comic *choreia* of the chorus. The self-referential descriptions of the *choreia* made by the chorus members and the descriptions of the choral activity of the performers – as described by a hero, a Messenger, or a member of the chorus – include many references to the kinetic element of *choreia*, as seen above. The audience was heavily exposed to a seemingly intense choral activity enhanced by the descriptions of it and was called upon to recognize the affinities of this *choreia* with non-dramatic choral forms. But to what end? I suggest that Aristophanes used the descriptions of the performers' choral activities as a means to emotionally involve the audience⁹⁶. More specifically, he aimed at creating kinesthetic empathy to transfer an emotion to his spectators. To this end, I focus on the intratextual indications that the emotion prevailing at the end of these comedies was joy, and that the members of the audience were included in this emotional register, aided by the descriptions of *choreia* in these dramatic songs.

⁹⁴ Bierl regards the allusion to noise as a self-reference with which the collective reinforces its actions in a speech act. See BIERL (2011, 430).

⁹⁵ Muff characterizes some of the songs of the *exodos* of *Lysistrata* as *hyporchemata* sang for dancing. See MUFF (1872, 161f.). The *hyporchema* was a lively kind of mimic dance that accompanied the songs used in the worship of Apollo or Dionysus. For the hyporchematic songs encountered in Sophocles' tragedies as expressions of joy see MILO (2019).

⁹⁶ This practice is also encountered in texts describing other types of choral performances.

In the *Peace*, Trygaios tries to activate the emotions of the chorus members and the audience⁹⁷. In lines 1316-28 of the play, he urges the chorus, which is designated as the people of Athens, to take part in the celebration. In lines 1316-19, he orders the chorus to behave according to the occasion. In line 1316, he orders them to maintain *euphēmia* (εὐφημεῖν χρῆ), «Let us speak auspiciously»⁹⁸, which was necessary during public ritual prayer in Greek cultic life⁹⁹. One may suppose that, from that point and on, the speaker marks what is going to take place on stage as a quasi-ritual action in which others also participate. Trygaios orders everyone to rejoice (συγχαίρειν) and praise them (line 1317), obviously including in the λεών the Athenians on and off stage. The hero expects that material abundance will be restored to all the Greeks (τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, line 1321, «to the Greeks») and everyone will have a reason to be happy.

Trygaios links χαρά (συν-χαίρειν) with this choral performance and gives the impression that he sees this *choreia* as a communal activity, using the preposition σύν- and the phrase πάντα λεών. He continues to use the first-person plural (ὄρχησαμένους καὶ σπείσαντας καὶ Ὑπέρβολον ἐξελάσαντας, line 1319, «dancing and pouring libations and driving Hyperbolus away»; κάτευξαμένους, line 1320, «and making prayers») to describe the activities that are part of the wedding feast that are going to take place off stage¹⁰⁰, which include dancing. Trygaios, in turn, bids the chorus members goodbye (ᾧ χαίρετε χαίρετ' ἄνδρες, lines 1356-67, «Good luck and fare ye well, gentlemen») and promises that he will share some cake with all the members of the wedding procession, if they follow him (lines 1357f.)¹⁰¹. As Kawalko-Roselli notes, Trygaios not only exhorts simultaneously the chorus and the male spectators in the play's final lines to follow along in the wedding procession, but the condition that he sets forth (if they follow him, they will share cakes) suggests the participatory role of the audience in this play¹⁰². In his words, «the specter of actors and chorus celebrating together on stage (1317, 1357), provides a model for the integration of the audience into the finale and looks ahead to the

⁹⁷ Calame argues that the hero adopts the role of the master of ceremonies. See CALAME (2004, 174). He regards that the same happens in the *Lysistrata* (the Athenian ambassador as the speaker in the introduction to the long choral part at the end of the play) and the *Birds* (Peisetaios in his final intervention). See CALAME (2004, 177-80).

⁹⁸ For the meaning of *euphēmia* in Greek tragedy see STEHLE (2004; 2005, 103f.).

⁹⁹ See STEHLE (2005, 103f.).

¹⁰⁰ It is possible that some of these actions are taking place on stage. Faraone coined the term «performative future» to describe the use of future tense by an author to describe an ongoing performance, be it verbal or non-verbal, such as singing, dancing, and the casting of magical spells. See FARAONE (1995). See also on this HENRICHS (1994-1995, 104, n. 97). Although the tense used here is the aorist, it is not impossible that some of these actions (e.g., praying and dancing) are taking place on stage.

¹⁰¹ Pastries and cakes in Aristophanes are often metaphors for the female genitalia. See on this HENDERSON (1975, 114f., 144). See also DAVIDSON (1997) for the relationship between eating and sexual pleasure in ancient Greece.

¹⁰² See KAWALKO-ROSELLI (2011, 35f.). On this see also REVERMANN (2006a, 174).

anticipated realization of continued celebrations off stage»¹⁰³. The hero, by including the audience into the celebrations, tries to inscribe their emotions into the emotional register of joy.

The chorus participates in the occurring actions and adopts the appropriate emotion. The first-plural person of the singers fantasizes itself participating with the groom in the deflowering of the bride, which is metaphorically described as gathering her vintage (lines 1337-40) and the verbal expression of their wish is likely accompanied by a series of movements. As Calame observes, during the performance of this song, the spectators were addressed, even indirectly, to take place in the performance, as Aristophanes mingles the “you” of the chorus members with the “you” of the audience¹⁰⁴. By the end of this *hymenaios*, Trygaios makes a final call to enjoyment (χαίρετε, line 1357) that includes both the members of the chorus and the spectators, and, as Calame argues, this call signifies, through its performative form¹⁰⁵, that Trygaios’ invitation for all the people to rejoice together, (συγχαίρειν) in line 1317, is realized in the dance¹⁰⁶. The wedding song turns into a song marking the return of harmony and plenty for all people¹⁰⁷ and the spectators are summoned to reach «that stage of conviviality with the gods which gastronomic pleasures and choral activity imply»¹⁰⁸.

The Messenger in the *Birds* describes the positive emotional state of the chorus (πάντ' ἀγαθὰ πράττοντες, line 1706, «you achievers of complete success»; τρισμακάριον πτηνὸν ὀρνίθων γένος, line 1707, «you triple-blessed winged race of birds»; ὀλβίοις δόμοις, line 1708, «prosperous palace») and then commands the chorus to sing a song (lines 1718f.) to celebrate Peisetairos’ return; he seems to imply that the action on stage is of a ritual character. The members of the chorus are ordered to have a somehow corporeal response to the emotion on display. The Messenger urges them to have a somatic response; that is, to open their mouths to perform a song guided by the Muse (ἀλλὰ χρηὴ ... ἀνοίγειν ἱερὸν εὐφημον στόμα, lines 1718f., «Now let the divine Muse open her holy lips in auspicious song»). Their response to the Messenger is a somatic one, as they start singing and dancing.

¹⁰³ See KAWALKO-ROSELLI (2011, 35).

¹⁰⁴ See CALAME (2004, 174f.).

¹⁰⁵ Performative forms (or utterances or statements) is a notion developed by the philosopher J. L. Austin. According to him, these utterances use a certain form of words not to describe or express or make a statement. Performative utterances aim to do something. See AUSTIN (1962). Benveniste also worked on the notion. According to Benveniste, a performative utterance is a speech act. Speakers accomplish an action as they pronounce a performative utterance. See BENVENISTE (1963, 3-12). For the application of this notion in classics see CALAME (1999). Performative forms can be considered to be an expression of the performative voice of the ancient Greek chorus, according to Calame. See CALAME (1999, 128-30).

¹⁰⁶ See CALAME (2004, 175f.).

¹⁰⁷ See CALAME (2004, 173).

¹⁰⁸ See CALAME (2004, 175f.).

The chorus members respond by singing a song that resembles the *choreia* of the *hymenaios* and contains references to the kinetic element of *choreia*. Not only the chorus but also the groom and the whole city, including the spectators¹⁰⁹, should feel blessed for their good fortune. According to the chorus of the *Birds*, the whole city takes part in the good fortune of Peisetairos (διὰ τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρ', line 1728, «thanks to this man»; μεγάλοι μεγάλοι κατέχουσι τύχαι / γένος ὀρνίθων, lines 1726-27, «Great, great is the luck that embraces / the race of birds»). Additionally, the chorus seems to regard that all the city participates in the good fortune that Peisetairos' wedding brings (ὦ μακαριστὸν σὺ γάμον τῆδε πόλει γήμας, line 1725, «What a blessing for this city is the marriage you have made»). In this case, too, joy is transferred by *choreia* as the chorus members share Peisetairos' joy by singing and dancing. The aim of their *hymenaios* is to cause pleasure to Peisetairos (lines 1743f.), who describes the *exodos* as a communal choral activity in which the bride should participate in (line 1761). In the final lines, as Kawalko-Roselli remarks, there is an overlapping of the wedding procession and festive celebration. The chorus' sung coda (lines 1763-65) uses the communal wedding celebration to motivate the spectator's participation in the performance's celebration¹¹⁰. The self-referential choral language used describes dance and movement, a *choreia* on the go that is approaching, according to the Messenger. The spectators, in this way, are also involved in the *choreia* that has approached them and are urged to share the emotion that prevails. The nuptial procession becomes a metaphor for the exit of the chorus¹¹¹. The spectators can not only vicariously take part in this wedding, rejoice, and have their share in the good fortune of the whole city by viewing the *choreia* of others enhanced by its self-referential descriptions, but they will be involved in the wedding procession, as the chorus exits to join them in an off-stage celebration.

Near the end of the *Lysistrata*, joy is expressed. The Athenian and the Spartan delegates had a symposium. A joyous atmosphere full of wine, drinking, and dancing is described in lines 1221-46. The Athenian delegate declares that the sight of the dancing Spartans pleases him (ὡς ἤδομαί γ' ὑμᾶς ὀρῶν ὀρχουμένων, line 1246, «I just love to watch you people dance»), stating that dance was one of the reasons for his joyfulness. In the final lines, as the members of the chorus are urged to imagine that they participate through choral projection to the performance of a *partheneion*, in a similar way, the members of the audience are urged to make an association between the dramatic *choreia*, which evolves in front of their eyes, the imagined *choreia* evoked, and their own choral experiences. As the two city representatives are merged under a common *choreia*, which

¹⁰⁹ For Cloud Cuckoo land as a parallel to Aristophanes' contemporary Athens see AUGER (1979, 81-89); BOWIE (1993, 174-77); SLATER (1997); CALAME (2004, 180).

¹¹⁰ See KAWALKO-ROSELLI (2011, 36).

¹¹¹ See CALAME (2004, 177f.).

is almost dance-centric, the spectators are left free to share the emotional state of the chorus members. The chorus members are summoned to make some noise for Sparta (lines 1315-21) and move rhythmically (lines 1316-19). It is not impossible that the final performative form used here (ἄλλ' ἄγε, line 1316f., «let us go»), which is a linguistic description of the movement of the chorus, establishes a relation between the ideal spectator, represented by the choral voice, and the real audience of the *Lysistrata*¹¹².

Ancient Greek comedy has great potential for transferring emotions. As other scholars have stressed, there is a high degree of emotional involvement from the audience of Aristophanic comedy¹¹³. Taplin remarks that the comic theater refers to itself and the circumstances of its performance and forces the audience to process such self-referentiality¹¹⁴. According to him, in this way, the comic audience has a deep emotional involvement in comedy and sometimes strongly reacts¹¹⁵. According to Ruffel, the potential for a coherent emotive response was more plausible in comedy than in tragedy, owing to the social and public dimension of laughter¹¹⁶. The interchorality of these *exodoi* with *partheneia* and *hymenaioi* not only engages the audience's intellect but also enables Aristophanes to include extensive descriptions of the *choreia* of their performers. As Calame notes, in many *exodoi*, Aristophanes creates the joyous atmosphere of *kōmos* in which the actors, the *choreutai*, and the audience participate, since the poet often mingles the “you” of the chorus members with the “you” of the audience¹¹⁷. The *exodoi* of the *Peace*, the *Birds*, and the *Lysistrata* do not only allude to *partheneia* and *hymenaioi* but end in a triumphal way¹¹⁸, alluding to the poet's victory in real life, where the members of the chorus and the audience will have to mingle to celebrate and share their joy¹¹⁹.

¹¹² Calame argues that the Spartan delegate by uttering this phrase establishes a relation between the virtual spectator/ideal author represented by the choral voice and the empirical audience of the comedy. See CALAME (2004, 172). Nonetheless, although it is true that in the very last lines (1316-21) the address could involve both chorus and spectators, the mention of Athena Chalcoecus, a Spartan goddess *par excellence*, obscures the celebration. This dance is clearly identified by many markers as a Spartan one, and the “instructions” are given precisely by the Spartan delegate. At the time of the *Lysistrata*, it is doubtful that an Athenian audience would comply to Spartan instructions. I own this observation to the anonymous reviewer of *Dionysus ex Machina*.

¹¹³ For the active engagement of the audience of Aristophanes' comedies see, for example, WALCOT (1971); CHAPMAN (1983, 1-3); VAN STEEN (2000, 6); SLATER (2002, 131); VARAKIS (2014, 213-15; 2018).

¹¹⁴ See TAPLIN (1986, 164-66).

¹¹⁵ See TAPLIN (1986, 170-73).

¹¹⁶ See RUFFELL (2008, 49). On Aristophanic comedy's potential for transferring positive emotions see also VARAKIS (2018, 310-16).

¹¹⁷ See CALAME (2004, 175). For the ambiguous use of the pronoun ὑμεῖς in Aristophanes see WALCOT (1971, 3 n. 14).

¹¹⁸ In the *Birds*, the members of the wedding procession exit singing a paeon (lines 1763-65). The *Lysistrata* ends with a triumphal hymn to Sparta and the gods. See CALAME (2004, 165f.). Calame notes that at the end of the *Peace* the wedding song is also turned into a victorious hymn. See on this CALAME (2004, 175f.).

¹¹⁹ Triumphant songs are used to evoke victory for the play in many of Aristophanes' comedies (*Ach.* 1227-34; *Pax* 1315f.; *Av.* 1763-65; *Lys.* 1291-94). See on this FLICKINGER (1915, 210f.); LAWLER (1951, 62);

I suggest that the dramatic interchoral songs of the *exodoi* of *Peace*, *Birds*, and *Lysistrata* also allowed Aristophanes to generate a high degree of kinesthetic empathy. The spectators of the *exodoi* of Aristophanes were invited to take part in the prevailing emotional atmosphere. Joy, the prevailing emotion of this part of these comedies, was easily transferred as the spectators, simultaneously viewing the choral activities of the performers and hearing their linguistic descriptions, could feel their emotions in the flesh. As Varakis has convincingly argued, although comic audiences were not themselves moving rapidly or jumping on stage, they have been exposed to stage figures who were physically active and fast-paced. One must assume that this kind of exposure would have affected the spectators' levels of energy and affective state through empathetic engagement¹²⁰. This condition was enough for creating kinesthetic empathy. The references to the kinetic *choreia* were smoothly incorporated into Aristophanes' dramatic choral songs, aided by their interchorality with *partheneia* and *hymenaioi*, two genres that abound in descriptions of *choreia*. These references aimed at transferring emotions and further engaging the audience.

The emotion that prevails in these *exodoi* is joy. But what kind of joy is this? Joy at the *exodoi* of the *Peace*, the *Birds*, and the *Lysistrata* was not only generated by the happy ending of these plays, but was one of the appropriate emotions for a dramatic play staged to honor Dionysus, the god of theater. According to Lanza, ritual is incorporated into the theater in the form of emotions like grief expressed through lament, and joy expressed by other means¹²¹. In these instances, joy is expressed and transferred by the interchorality shared between these dramatic songs and non-dramatic choral forms that abound in self-descriptions of their *choreia*. These descriptions, reaching Aristophanes' *exodoi* as a generic "inheritance" of *partheneia* and *hymenaioi*, allow the comic poet to remove barriers between performers and audience and effortlessly involve the audience at an emotional level. However, the chorality of these *exodoi* deepens their connection to the Dionysian ritual. In Henrichs' words, «choral dance is the most palpable link between Attic drama and Dionysian ritual»¹²². The joy generated and transferred through kinesthetic empathy is a suitable emotion for a participant in a Dionysian ritual. This emotion, as in cases of non-dramatic *choreia*, unites the performers, the audience, and the

CALAME (2004, 182-83). For the predilection of victory songs to privilege the positive emotional responses of viewers and celebrants towards victorious athletes see ATHANASSAKI (2012, 176-90).

¹²⁰ See VARAKIS (2018, 310, 325-28).

¹²¹ See LANZA (1983, 107f. and 115f.).

¹²² See HENRICHS (2019, 387). See also on this RECKFORD (1987, 490); BIERL (2009, 267-324); ZIMMERMANN (2019, 112). On the ritual dimension of choral dance see BURKERT (1985, 102). Lanza and Calame underline the relationship of spectacle and ritual within the contexts of ancient Greek theater. See LANZA (1983, 107); CALAME, e.g., (2004). Varakis also views the performers and the spectators of Aristophanic comedy as «active participants of a religious and political ritual». See VARAKIS (2014, 213). On the emotional dimension of ritual participation see CHANIOTIS (2006).

god of the theater at the *exodoi* of the *Peace*, the *Birds*, and the *Lysistrata* in a chain of reciprocity.

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