

LENAION

IT would have been too much to expect that there would be no gaps and omissions in the volume of *Testimonia* on the Athenian Agora.¹ I hope in due course to put together a series of *addenda*, incorporating at the same time a number of new epigraphical items, and would be glad to receive comments or suggestions. But there is one regretted omission which I should like to make good at once. Several colleagues who are interested in the Dionysos shrines and the dramatic festivals have looked in vain for material on the Lenaion, and have even asked if there is now definite evidence that it was not in the Agora. One can only say that although the whole of the Agora, except the extreme north side, has been thoroughly explored, the Lenaion has not been found.² The reason why I did not include it in *Agora*, III is that I did not think of it as being in the Agora, perhaps following Judeich too faithfully.³ The particular evidence associating it with the Agora is dubious in the extreme. The whole problem is tied up with the difficulties surrounding the Dionysos shrines in general, and can best be dealt with in that context. Of the three famous shrines—Eleuthereus, in Limnai, Lenaion—only the first, at the theater, gives us firm ground to tread on. Although I have been more and more inclined to place the shrine in Limnai in south-eastern Athens,⁴ as part of my interpretation of Thucydides' account of the primitive city (II, 15), this is still an open question. So is the relation of the three shrines to one another—whether they were quite separate or somehow topographically related. What happened at each is a difficult question too.⁵ In spite of these daunting problems the possibility that the Lenaion was in the Agora should have been recognized, and a provisional note at least should have been included in *Agora*, III, as in the case of several other large and bothersome topics which transcended the limits of the Agora. The present note merely seeks to remedy the omission, without attempting any final solutions.

The subject is of precisely the kind which gave rise to a mass of muddled notes by commentators and lexicographers several times removed from direct knowledge.

¹ *The Athenian Agora*, Vol. III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton, 1957 (called below *Agora*, III).

² I had wondered whether the earlier structure noted by H. A. Thompson on the site of the Odeion (*Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 36-37) was to be associated with it; but apart from the difficulty noted below (p. 74) in placing the Lenaion right in the middle of the Agora, Prof. Thompson tells me that this structure is not altogether suitable, its principal feature being some monument which stood on the extant massive foundation.

³ *Topographie von Athen*², Munich, 1931, pp. 293 ff.

⁴ *B.S.A.*, LV, 1960, p. 65; *A.J.A.*, LXVII, 1963, pp. 78f.; *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, IV, 1963, pp. 170f.; cf. G. T. W. Hooker, *J.H.S.*, LXXX, 1960, pp. 112ff.

⁵ Most recently, T. B. L. Webster's revised edition of A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, Oxford, 1962, p. 145.

Confusion, conflation and transference could easily take place. This is what happened in the case of the famous stoas of Athens, and the Tholos and the Prytaneion.⁶ Here we have several Dionysos shrines, two having similar-sounding names, with dramatic performances in different places, and ikria and poplar trees here and there.

A. Pickard-Cambridge, in *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, gives most of the testimonia on the Lenaion among the texts relevant to the Lenaia.⁷ One may add, without much gain, Demosthenes, XII, 10 (a law); Pollux, IV, 121 (one can speak of Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον καὶ Ληναϊκόν); *Etym. Magnum*, Ἐπι ληναίῳ (περίαυλος should probably be περίβολος as in Hesychios, ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ); Suidas, ἐπι Ληναίῳ; schol. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 953 (though ἐν τῷ Ληναίῳ may mean “in the Lenaean chorus”). Schol. *Acharnians*, 961, in which Dionysos Lenaios is mentioned (cf. Suidas, Χόες) is given by Pickard-Cambridge⁸ among the texts concerning the Anthesteria. Hesychios, αἰγείρου θέα (*Agora*, III, 723) may possibly be relevant; one has to consider whether the hieron, near which stood the poplar, was the Lenaion.

If one does have the Lenaion in the Agora, then it may be that such features as the orchestra, the presumed old theater in the Agora, the ikria, the poplar tree, and perhaps the Dionysos of the Odeion were somehow associated with it.⁹

However, the specific evidence for the location of the Lenaion is doubtful and confusing. The link with the Agora is provided by Hesychios, Καλαμίτης, taken in conjunction with Schol. Demosthenes, XVIII, 129. Hesychios says Καλαμίτης ἦρωσ· τῷ Ληναίῳ πλησίον.

This is clear and satisfactory, as far as it goes. Demosthenes asks whether he need remind his audience “how your father was a slave to Elpias who kept school near the Theseion . . . or how your mother reared you while performing daylight marriages in the hovel (κλεισίον) near the Kalamites.”¹⁰

The Patmos Schol.¹¹ comments, κλισίον· τὸ οἶκημα τὸ μεγάλας ἔχον θύρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ. Now notes on κλεισίον or κλισίον are also found in Pollux, IV, 125; Eustathios on *Odyssey*, XXIV, 208; Hesychios, κλισίον, and Bekker, *Anecd. Graeca*, I, 272, 13. Κλισίον commonly means a kind of cart-and-cow-shed; the big doors are a regular feature, no doubt being needed to take the carts and cows in and out. The Patmos Schol. sounds as if it might be a version of such a general note, without special reference to Aischines' mother and the location of her κλεισίον, and possibly somewhat

⁶ *Agora*, III, pp. 30, 179.

⁷ Oxford, 1953, pp. 22-26; note also the *didaskaliai*, pp. 110ff.

⁸ P. 2; cf. p. 74, below.

⁹ *Agora*, III, pp. 161-163, 220-221; cf. Hesychios, ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ, and Photios, Λήναιον, Pickard-Cambridge, *Dram. Fest.*, nos. 22 and 26, pp. 25-26; and Becker, *Anecd. Graeca*, I, 278, 8-9.

¹⁰ As usual one can assume that the places exist even if the story is dubious. *Kleision* may be something of a euphemism, as is *oikema* in the same sense (L.S.J., II, 1).

¹¹ *B.C.H.*, I, 1877, p. 142. On Kalamites this Schol. too says τὸ δὲ ἱερόν αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ Ληναίῳ.

garbled. Wachsmuth suggested¹² that ἐν ἀγορᾷ should be ἐν ἀγρῷ (perhaps ἐν ἀγροῖς would be better).

The Lenaion was, or contained, a large περίβολος, in which was a shrine of Dionysos (*Etym. Magnum*, Ἐπι ληναίῳ; Hesychios, ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ; Photios, Ληναῖον; cf. Suidas, ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ), and it was ἐν τῷ ἄστει according to Hesychios, ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ. Stephanos of Byzantion, however, on Ληναῖος, says that this was a festival of Dionysos ἐν ἀγροῖς. He mentions Apollodoros¹³ as his authority, though it is not entirely clear whether he gets ἐν ἀγροῖς from Apollodoros. Schol. *Acharnians*, 202, says that the Lenaion was ἐν ἀγροῖς (cf. also schol. on 504); this statement, as Pickard-Cambridge says,¹⁴ may be due to a misunderstanding of the text of the *Acharnians*, but Stephanos is not explained so easily.¹⁵ Conflation of Lenaion and Limnaion is found in Schol. *Acharnians*, 961 (similarly Suidas, Χόες), which, giving Apollodoros' account¹⁶ of the Anthesteria, speaks of the festival of Dionysos Lenaios where one would expect Limnaios. In Hesychios' corrupt note λίμναι Limnai and Lenaia seem to be confused (the Λαῖα, usually assumed to be a mistake for Λήναια, are said to have taken place at Limnai).¹⁷

Thus the evidence is confused and baffling, to say the least; and Pickard-Cambridge is not justified in assuming that Hesychios, *Kalamites*, and Schol. Patm. on Demosthenes XVIII, 129, taken together, provide a simple and conclusive proof that the Lenaion was in the Agora. It would not be merely perverse to claim that Demosthenes and Hesychios show in fact that the Lenaion was *not* in the central Agora, in the region of the old orchestra. The location of the latter is nicely fixed—right in the middle of the public square.¹⁸ Here stood Harmodios and Aristogeiton, and it was not even permitted to set up other honorary statues in the neighborhood. Now we know that there were curious juxtapositions at Athens, “chickpeas and law-courts, lambs and water-clocks”;¹⁹ dignity and impudence sat side by side; private

¹² *Neue Beiträge zur Topographie von Athen*, Abhandl. der Königl. Sachs. Gesellschaft, Leipzig, XVIII, 1, 1897, p. 54.

¹³ Jacoby, *F.G.H.* IIB, no. 244, frag. 17.

¹⁴ See *Dram. Fest.*, p. 23, no. 4 and no. 5, and p. 36. In *Dith. Trag. Com.*², p. 145, it is noted that the proposed site in the agora may have been *outside* the primitive city. One may still doubt, however, whether such a site could legitimately be said to be ἐν ἀγροῖς.

Note that the expression ἐν ἄστει is a flexible and extensible one. It could be used of the southeastern suburb Agrai; in an inscription about the cults of Erchia published by G. Daux, *B.C.H.*, LXXXVII, 1963, pp. 603ff., lines 38-41, we read of a sacrifice to Zeus Meilichios ἐν ἄστει ἐν Ἀγρας.

¹⁵ Stephanos is mistaken of course when he adds ἔστι δὲ καὶ δῆμος.

¹⁶ Jacoby, *op. cit.*, frag. 133.

¹⁷ Pickard-Cambridge, *Dram. Fest.*, p. 25, no. 23, and p. 37. Note Schmidt's text, Λίμναι· ἐν Ἀθήναις [ἄς] τόπος ἀνεμῆνος Διονύσῳ ὅπου τὰ Λήναια ἤγετο. Schmidt suggests [ἄς] = ἐν ἄστει.

¹⁸ *Agora*, III, pp. 93, 162.

¹⁹ Euboulos, quoted by Athenaeus, XIV, 640 b-c; Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 190, frag. 74; Edmonds, *F.A.C.*, II, p. 114, frag. 74, cf. *Agora* III, p. 185.

houses stood cheek by jowl with venerable shrines.²⁰ But it is hard to believe that Aischines' mother's disreputable establishment was in the middle of the Agora, an area regarded as in some sense sacred, marked off by *horoi* and *perirrhantaria*. Books were sold there, if this is indeed the orchestra where one could buy the works of Anaxagoras.²¹ The *kleision* would more probably be found on the fringe or beyond.²²

Professor Webster²³ rightly lays greater stress on more general considerations of dramatic history; Photios, *ikria*, says these were structures in the Agora from which people watched the Dionysiac contests before the *theatron* in the shrine of Dionysos was built; Photios, *Lenaion*, says that this was a large enclosure where they held contests before the *theatron* was built.²⁴ The performances in the Agora, says Webster, may have been those at the Lenaia.

But nothing is certain and much remains puzzling. One cannot even be sure that the orchestra in the classical Agora was very old or belonged to a theater in the more precise dramatic sense. It might legitimately have been so called because of the dances described by Xenophon, performed in honor of the Twelve Gods, whose altar stood just below to the north.²⁵ And one might have, with Judeich, a hypothetical proto-theater in the hypothetical Archaia Agora west of the Acropolis.²⁶

Again, the Kalamites is a most elusive hero. Presumably he was some sort of vegetation figure. Judeich says with Wachsmuth that he was the Hero of the Cornstalk rather than of the Reed. But surely the name comes from *kalamos*, not *kalame*. LSJ says of Kalamites, without a hint of doubt, "Hero of the probe or splints, nickname of Aristomachos, a surgeon who had a statue at Athens, called Heros Iatros." If one believes this, then the Kalamites, and so the Lenaion, was

²⁰ For an example of a shrine used to define the limit of a private house, in Kydathenaion, see Agora, I 4408b, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 272, Stele 6, lines 78-79; *Agora*, III, p. 59; for a curious association of a *κλισία* with a shrine see *I.G.*, II², 4825, of Roman date, found *ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ Καλαμῶτου*, (a modern hero), in which a dedicator makes an offering to the gods *σὺν τῇ κλισίᾳ*.

²¹ Plato, *Apology*, 26, d, e; cf. *Agora*, III, p. 163; a passage in a letter of Diogenes, Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*, p. 247 ("I was sitting in the theater sticking—*κολλῶν*—books") suggests that it may possibly after all have been in the theater.

²² Cf. *Agora*, III, pp. 222-3.

²³ *Dith. Trag. Com.*², p. 145; cf. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XLII, 1960, p. 496.

²⁴ Cf. also Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, 278, 8-9; Hesychios, *ἐπὶ Δηναίῳ ἀγῶν*; Suidas, *ἐπὶ Δηναίῳ* (Pickard-Cambridge, *Dram. Fest.*, pp. 25-26, nos. 22, 25).

²⁵ *Hipparchicus*, III, 2; *Agora*, III, pp. 78, 121; cf. *Dith. Trag. Com.*², p. 38.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 296.

In a lecture entitled *συνέπειαι τινες τῆς λατρείας τῶν ἡρώων εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας Ἀθήνας* (Annual of the Philosophical School of the University of Athens, 1963-1964, pp. 276-284; cf. also "The Panathenaic Festival," in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1961, pp. 224-231) H. A. Thompson suggests that festal gatherings in the Agora stemmed from funerary celebrations in honor of the heroized dead buried in the region; and in support of the idea of an early theater in the classical Agora notes that from the beginning of the sixth century there was an extensive open space suitable for large gatherings, and right in the middle of this was the Odeion and the probable site of the Orchestra.

perhaps near the Theseion, southeast of the Agora.²⁷ But, although *kalamos* undoubtedly had several clinical usages, I do not think there is any evidence for equating the Kalamites with the Iatros.

Some editors of Demosthenes have taken the Kalamites to be a living personage called Heros.²⁸ Kalamites will then be a sort of nickname, "splint-man," "bone-setter" (Loeb), as we might say "sawbones." But there is no reason why Demosthenes should not say simply *iatros*. Aischines is the object of his jibes; the Kalamites is merely used to fix a location. And Heros is an unlikely name. On the other hand functional or occupational heroes are common. They bear the title Heros together with a noun which describes their sphere or activity. Athens had several, including an exact parallel in the Kyamites.²⁹ The ancient commentators, for what they are worth, take Kalamites to be a hero.

The Kalamites may have been associated with Demeter, or Dionysos; possibly also with Aphrodite (and that not only through the mediation of Aischines' mother). Alexis of Samos, quoted by Athenaeus,³⁰ says that the Aphrodite of Samos, to whom the hetairai who followed Perikles to the seige dedicated a statue from their large profits, bore the title *ἐν καλάμοις* or *ἐν ἔλει*. In any case Kalamites is probably the Reed-Hero. Reeds and marshes bring us round to the Dionysion in Limnai again. It would of course be rash to use such tenuous evidence to argue that Lenaion and Limnaion were close together. But the old idea³¹ that all three shrines were to the southeast, more or less closely associated like Apollo Pythios and Delphinios,³² is not disproved. Probably nothing but some lucky find will take us nearer to a solution of these Dionysiac enigmas.

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²⁷ See *Agora*, III, p. 115, for this Hero and his location; cf. Lucian, *Skythes*, 1-2; Pauly-Wissowa, IX, Halbbd. 17, col. 805.

Goodwin in his edition of the *De Corona*, Cambridge, 1901, discusses the subject in an appendix, VI, pp. 339-342.

²⁸ C. A. and J. H. Vince, Loeb edition, London and New York, 1926, p. 104 (in a note they express doubts of their own translation); F. P. Donnelly, New York, 1941.

²⁹ Pausanias, I, 37, 4; see Pauly-Wissowa, XI, Halbbd. 22, col. 2233, and cf. VIII, Halbbd. 16, col. 1113 for this type of hero.

³⁰ XIII, 572f.; cf. Theokritos, XXVIII, 4 (a shrine of Aphrodite at Miletos *καλάμω χλωρόν*). Aphrodite also has the title Schoineis, Pauly-Wissowa, 2 Reihe, II, Halbbd. 3, col. 615. The Patmos Schol. on Demosthenes, XVIII, 129, suggests as one of the possible reasons for the name Kalamites, ἢ ἀπὸ καλάμων παραπεφυκότων <τῶ> ἱερῶ; but this looks like guesswork.

³¹ Discussed by Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 214-215.

³² Pausanias, I, 19, 1; Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 386-387; *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, IV, 1963, pp. 166-168.