

---

# GREEK TRAGIC THEATRE

Rush Rehm

---

ROUTLEDGE  




---

Theatre Production Studies  
General Editor: John Russell Brown

**Also available as a printed book  
see title verso for ISBN details**

## GREEK TRAGIC THEATRE

*Greek Tragic Theatre* is intended for those interested in theatre who want to know how Greek tragedy worked. By analysing how the plays were realized in performance, Rush Rehm sheds new light on these old texts and encourages actors and directors to examine Greek tragedy anew by examining the context in which it was once performed.

Emphasizing the political nature of Greek tragedy, as theatre of, by and for the *polis*, Rush Rehm characterizes Athens as a *performance culture*, one in which the theatre stood alongside other public forums as a place to confront matters of import and moment. In treating the various social, religious and practical aspects of tragic production, he shows how these elements promoted a vision of the theatre as integral to the life of the city—a theatre, whose focus was on the audience.

The second half of the book examines four exemplary plays, Aeschylus' *Oresteia* trilogy, Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and Euripides' *Suppliant Women* and *Ion*. Avoiding the critical tradition, Rehm focuses on how each tragedy unfolds in performance, generating different relationships between the characters (and chorus) on stage and the audience in the theatre.

**Rush Rehm** is Head of the Acting Program and Assistant Professor of Drama at Stanford University.

THEATRE PRODUCTION STUDIES  
General Editor: John Russell Brown  
*University of Michigan*

There has long been a need for books which give a clear idea of how the great theatre of the past worked and of the particular experiences they offered. Students of dramatic literature and theatre history are increasingly concerned with plays in performance, especially the performances expected by their authors and their audiences. Directors, designers, actors and other theatre practitioners need imaginative, practical suggestions on how to revive plays and experiment with rehearsal and production techniques.

*Theatre Production Studies* fills this need. Designed to span Western theatre from the Greeks to the present day, each book explores a period, or genre, drawing together aspects of production from staging, wardrobe and acting styles, to the management of a theatre, its artistic team, and technical crew. Each volume focuses on several texts of exceptional achievement, and is well illustrated with contemporary material.

*Already published:*

SHAKESPEARE'S THEATRE (second edition)

*Peter Thomson*

JACOBEAN PUBLIC THEATRE

*Alexander Leggatt*

BROADWAY THEATRE

*Andrew Harris*

# GREEK TRAGIC THEATRE

Rush Rehm



London and New York

First published 1992 by Routledge 11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005.

“To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge’s collection of thousands of eBooks please go to [www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk](http://www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk).”

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge 29 West 35th Street, New York, NY 10001

First published in paperback 1994

© 1992, 1994 Rush Rehm

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 0-203-20883-8 Master e-book ISBN

ISBN 0-203-26714-1 (Adobe eReader Format)

ISBN 0-415-04831-1 (hbk)

ISBN 0-415-11894-8 (pbk)

# CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	vi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>A note on translations and editions</i>	ix
<b>Part I The social and theatrical background</b>	
1 THE PERFORMANCE CULTURE OF ATHENS	3
2 THE FESTIVAL CONTEXT	11
3 PRODUCTION AS PARTICIPATION	19
4 THE THEATRE OF DIONYSUS	31
5 CONVENTIONS OF PRODUCTION	43
<b>Part II Exemplary plays</b>	
6 AESCHYLUS' <i>ORESTEIA</i> TRILOGY	75
7 SOPHOCLES' <i>OEDIPUS TYRANNUS</i>	107
8 EURIPIDES' <i>SUPPLIANT WOMEN</i>	121
9 EURIPIDES' <i>ION</i>	131
<i>Notes</i>	147
<i>Select bibliography</i>	161
<i>Index</i>	165

# PREFACE

Greek tragedy is read, studied, written about, lauded, and occasionally reviled, and yet the plays are rarely performed. When they are, the productions are usually disappointing. The style is too staid, or too wild; the translations are too stilted, or too hip; the mood is too then, or too now. And yet those of us who come in contact with tragedy in performance have recognized moments of sheer theatrical greatness, experiences of such astounding power that they beggar description, speaking as they do over centuries of cultural and historical difference. Perhaps in these moments of rediscovery something of the complex simplicity of Greek tragedy finds us out—the dance of the language, the agonizing passion of the characters, the surge of the chorus, or simply the sound of an incomparable name, evoking its story of pain and insight.

Enthusiasms such as these are important in drawing us into the theatre, but they don't get us very far once we are there. For the challenge of the stage, as the Greeks well knew, is to wed ideas and insights to their concrete realization, incarnating words and actions in performance, giving the tale to be told a specific shape before a particular audience. With that in mind, this book addresses the question of how Greek tragedy *worked*, focusing on what the plays do rather than what can be extracted from them. My hope is that the reader—student, classicist, playgoer, theatre professional—catches some sense of the excitement of engaging Greek tragedy, and comes away with a better idea of how its theatrical challenges can be met by understanding how they once were.

**Part I** emphasizes the political nature of Greek theatre, in the sense that it was a theatre of, by, and for the *polis* ('city'), the social institution that bound Greeks together as a human community. In this light, I discuss Athens as a *performance culture*, one in which the theatre stood alongside other public forums as a place to confront matters of import and moment. Individual chapters follow on specific aspects of fifth-century tragic performance: the festival context, participation in and responsibility for dramatic production, the constraints and opportunities presented by the theatre of Dionysus, and important conventions of tragic staging. My aim is to show how the generic

elements of production cohered around a vision of the theatre as integral to the life of the city—a theatre, in short, whose focus was on the audience.

In Part II, I examine four exemplary tragedies—in the case of the *Oresteia*, a connected trilogy—as they might have been realized in original performance. My choice of the *Oresteia* and *Oedipus Tyrannus* may appear unadventurous, but the towering status of these works has kept critics from approaching them as plays enacted before an audience. Two tragedies by Euripides are probably too few, since his work is so diverse and much more of it has survived. By examining *Suppliant Women* and *Ion*, radically different in subject and form, I focus on works virtually unknown to the theatre, and yet plays of clear theatrical genius.

The discussion of individual plays skirts the critical tradition, focusing relationships between the characters (and chorus) on-stage and the audience instead on how each tragedy unfolds in performance, generating different in the theatre.<sup>1</sup> Such a sequential approach runs the risk of alienating those readers closely familiar with the texts, but a certain amount of ‘re-telling’ is unavoidable if we are to engage imaginatively in the dynamics of performance.

By following the path that each play lays out, I shift perspectives between that of a director staging a production and that of an audience helping to make the production come to life. The audience is a virtual one, ‘we’, although I do differentiate fifth-century spectators from their modern counterparts when issues of cultural and historical specificity are paramount. We need to keep in mind that, as Adrian Poole puts it, ‘the power of Greek tragedy to outlive the local conditions of its original production depends on the quality of the challenge which it once offered to those local conditions’.<sup>2</sup>

The book eschews any general comments about the differences between the three great tragedians, concentrating instead on the dramatic and imaginative integrity of the particular play under discussion. Generalizations about the nature of Aeschylean and Sophoclean tragedy are particularly dangerous, given that our sample is so small. On the basis of Sophocles’ seven extant plays, can we confidently pronounce the nature of the more than 100 others that we have lost? Let us simply admit that the fifth century was a time of extraordinary theatrical production, and appreciate that all three playwrights were innovators, theatrical experimentalists, beneficiaries of the tradition even as they challenged and reshaped it.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To acknowledge fully, and with full grace, the many people who have influenced my approach to Greek tragedy and its theatrical life is—like aspects of the plays themselves—simply beyond me. Preliminary work was undertaken at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, and my thanks go to the Secretary of the School, Bob Bridges, and the School Librarian, Nancy Winters. The photographs are courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Athen. I had a splendid year as a Junior Fellow at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, DC, and I owe a debt of gratitude to Zeph and Diana Stewart. My special thanks to Ron Davies, Laurence Maslon, Geoffrey Reeves, Bonna Wescoat, Dianne Wood, and the series editor John Russell Brown.

# A NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS AND EDITIONS

In discussing individual passages, I have followed (where possible) the lineation of the most recent Oxford edition:

## AESCHYLUS:

*Aeschyli: Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoedias*, D. Page (ed.), 1972.

*Agamemnon*, J.D. Denniston and D. Page (eds), 1957, rpt 1972.

*Choephoroi*, A.F. Garvie (ed.), 1986, rpt with corrections 1988.

*Eumenides*, A.H. Sommerstein (ed.), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

## SOPHOCLES:

*Sophoclis Fabulae*, H. Lloyd-Jones and N.G. Wilson (eds), 1990.

## EURIPIDES:

*Euripidis Fabulae*, J. Diggle (ed.), vol. 1, 1984, rpt with corrections 1989; vol. 2, 1981, rpt with corrections 1986; vol. 3, G. Murray (ed.), 1909, the last supplemented by the editions of *Helen*, R. Kannicht (ed.), Heidelberg, 1969; *Orestes*, C.W. Willink (ed.), 1986; and *Bacchae*, E.R. Dodds (ed.), 2nd edn, 1960.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. Those of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* can be found in *Aeschylus' Oresteia: A Theatre Version*, Melbourne, Hawthorn Press, 1978. The translations of *Ion* are by W.S. DiPiero and Rush Rehm.

All dates are BC unless otherwise noted.



## **Part I**

# **THE SOCIAL AND THEATRICAL BACKGROUND**



# THE PERFORMANCE CULTURE OF ATHENS

In the culture of fifth-century Athens, Greek tragic theatre was one kind of performance among many, drawing its strength (and often its material) from the greater and lesser public occasions that surrounded it. The areas of politics, law, religion, athletics, festivals, music, and poetry shared with the theatre an essentially public and performative nature, so much so that one form of cultural expression merged easily with another. Important aspects of family life—including various rites of passage, weddings, and funerals—also ‘went public’ in a theatrical fashion. Gatherings for wine, food, and entertainment called *symposia* developed into occasions for performance, especially music and solo poetry. Although barred from these drinking parties (unless present as musicians, dancers, or prostitutes), women sang and told stories when they worked at the loom, and their participation in various religious cults also included songs and dances of a more sober nature.

We find references to, and enactments of, these ritual and artistic practices in every tragedy, as if the overtly performative genre of theatre acknowledged its debt to the other manifestations of Athenian performance culture. We may compare the Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights who were drawn to particularly *theatrical* metaphors, viewing life as a dramatic role, as in Jaques’ ‘All the world’s a stage’ lament, or Macbeth’s despairing conclusion that ‘Life’s but a walking shadow, a poor player/ who struts and frets his hour upon the stage/ and then is heard no more’. The ancient sense of the theatrical seems to have been more generalized, transitive, all-encompassing. Far from singling out the stage as a metaphor, Athenian society as a whole was imbued with a sense of *event*, of things said and done in the context of a conventional frame, so that participation entailed both a commitment to the moment and a critical distance from it. Today, for example, we perceive a great difference between participating in a ritual where issues of belief are paramount, and attending a theatrical performance where suspension of disbelief is at issue. Ancient Athenians seem to have viewed these events as a continuum of performance rather than as opposed attitudes to the world.

There is no better example of the pervasiveness of performance in ancient Greece than the political system of participatory democracy by which Athenians

governed themselves. At least once every month (but usually two, three, or even four times) the citizens of Athens (free-born males over 18) gathered on the hill called the Pnyx for the meeting of the Assembly. Through the power of the spoken word, and by various appeals to reason, emotion, and morality, the Assembly speakers swayed the citizen body, much like actors in a large outdoor theatre. Here, however, anyone present was free to speak, although the size of the audience—6,000 or more—made such a prospect daunting. In this egalitarian public gathering, a speaker's performance would be judged critically and knowledgeably, for the Assembly was *the* means of formulating state policy, determined year in and year out by simple majority vote.

The large concavity of the Pnyx established a relationship between the (changing) speakers and their audience that mirrored the relationship between actors and spectators at the great theatre of Dionysus, discussed in [Chapter 4](#). The same situation applied in the smaller political forums, such as the Council (a group of 500 who set the agenda for the Assembly), the assemblies of local districts (*demes*), and the meetings of kinship and neighbourhood organizations. For example, when the Council chamber was rebuilt at the end of the fifth century, the seating banks were set around the speaker's platform on the model of the cavea surrounding the orchestra in the Athenian theatre. Reporting an act of sacrilege by anti-democratic elements that took place in this very chamber, Xenophon describes the forceful removal of the suppliants as if it were a scene in a Euripidean tragedy—Zonly the actions were staged to terrify the Council members rather than a theatre audience.<sup>1</sup>

We get a sense of the eloquence and power of political speeches from Thucydides' *History*, an account of the Peloponnesian War fought between Athens and Sparta in the last third of the fifth century. The confrontation between opposing speakers in various Thucydidean debates has all the vitality and imaginative life of a dramatic scene, with the assembled citizenry as audience, alternately swept up in the rhetoric of the moment and then reflecting critically on its ramifications. An even closer analogue to the verbal life of a Greek tragic performance was found in the Athenian lawcourts. After hearing speeches offered by the litigants, the jury (ranging from 100 to 1,500 members) reached its verdict by simple majority vote, taken without consultation.<sup>2</sup> As with the decisions of the Assembly that could be overturned at a subsequent meeting, the trial-by-jury process was ongoing and open-ended. The loser of a case one day could file a counter-charge the next and try his opponent before a different set of jurors, a process that fully acknowledged the autonomy and individuality of any given audience.

Many lawcourt speeches have survived, composed by professional writers to be delivered by litigants, since there were no lawyers present at the trial. The legal system converted both plaintiff and defendant into actors interpreting their lines for the benefit of their jury-audience.<sup>3</sup> The speechwriter's task was to establish the good character of his client and attack that of his opponent. Was this the kind of man who would bring harm to the city? Would this sort of citizen

do that sort of thing? Whom should I believe? Histrionics from the sublime to the ridiculous operated in these forensic displays—one minute a speaker claims that he has observed all the duties owed his dead forebears, and in the next he mounts an attack on the legitimacy of his opponent's mother.

The creation and interpretation of a 'character' for a single lawcourt performance drew on, as it influenced, the comparable work of the dramatist in the theatre. The litigiousness of the Athenians provided a bottomless source of material for Greek comedy. It also left its mark on tragedy, in the genre's rich legal vocabulary and the frequency of 'courtroom scenes', ranging from the momentous trial of Orestes in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* to the arraignment of Polymnestor in Euripides' *Hecuba*, where the verdict is reached *after* the accused has been brutally punished.<sup>4</sup>

There were countless other occasions for forensic display and rhetoric in the city, reflecting the spontaneous and theatrical flair of her citizens. Athens was animate with debate and argument, and public life was a kind of lived performance in which a community of interested (or simply curious) parties could form at any moment. Lectures by philosopher-teachers known as sophists became popular during the fifth century, and the rhetoricians captured the imagination and custom of the sons of the Athenian elite, who developed their skills in persuasive argument in order to influence political events. Informal debates in the agora (market place) were common fare, as we know from the Platonic dialogues where Socrates prods some arrogant soul into revealing he has no rational basis for his most cherished opinions. The dialogue structure that Socrates adopts owes much to the tragedies staged in Athens, although the philosopher remained suspicious of the relationship between speaker and audience, between performer and 'performed upon', that operated in the theatre and other public forums:

Isn't it the public themselves who are sophists [educators] on a grand scale, and give a complete training to young and old, men and women, turning them into just the sort of people they want...when they crowd into the seats in the assembly, or lawcourts, or theatre?<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, the Athenian state devoted over a hundred days in the calendar year to public festivals, organized around religious cults that were sanctioned by the city. In recreating what these 'performances' were like, we should keep in mind the differences between pagan and modern attitudes towards religion. As Sir Kenneth Dover puts it, 'to the ordinary Greek, festive and ceremonial occasions were the primary constituent of religion; theology came a very bad second'.<sup>6</sup> Unlike the political forums of the city, most civic festivals were open to everyone—men, women, slaves, children, resident aliens, visiting foreigners. There were exceptions—men were excluded from the all-women festivals associated with Demeter, for example—but generally speaking the city gathered in all its variety, providing both performers and audience for the various events.

A basic ritual pattern characterized most festival worship, and the form it took included many recognizable theatrical elements. A procession involving an array of participants made its way to the temple where the cult-image of the deity was housed. The parade included priests wearing sacral robes, underlings who carried various ritual objects, attendants who led the beasts to be sacrificed, common folk who marched or simply watched as the others passed by. The Parthenon frieze gives a rich impression of what the grandest of these Athenian processions, the Panathenaia, may have been like.

Assembled before the altar outside the temple, the crowd then witnessed the performance of the sacrifice itself. Looking out from the altar steps over the gathered throng, the priest uttered prayers and formulae, and after a series of actions to signal the victim's consent, the dramatic moment arrived. The first animal was struck, the women raised a ritual cry, and the smoke of burnt flesh rose to the heavens. At large-scale festivals such as the City Dionysia and the Panathenaia, the ritual slaughter had less of a sacred character than one might suppose, since an enormous number of victims were offered (an excessive 240 cattle at the City Dionysia in 333 BC). It was customary that only the inedible parts of the animal were dedicated and burnt to the gods; the rest was cooked and distributed to the crowd in a city-sponsored feast. A similar practice was followed at local sacrifices and those made in private households, allowing the participants to enjoy meat that was far too expensive to be consumed on less than special occasions.<sup>7</sup>

After the feast, the other festival events occurred, and these frequently included performances organized as contests. There were athletic events, instrumental competitions on the *kitharode* (lyre) and *aulos* (a reed instrument comparable to a clarinet), solo songs with the singer accompanying himself on the lyre, choral singing and dancing, and so on. Many of the songs and choral odes make reference to their actual performance, reminding us that they were rehearsed, sung, and danced under the direction of the poet as choirmaster and choreographer.<sup>8</sup> Although the contestants officially offered their various performances to the divinity, their efforts were directed primarily to the tastes and interests of the people who gathered as celebrants to watch and listen, to judge and reward. This was certainly the case at the City Dionysia, the main festival where comedies and tragedies were performed, as we shall see in the following chapter.

In addition to the festivals in Athens, great pan-Hellenic (all-Greek) gatherings were celebrated at Olympia, Nemea, and Isthmia, renowned for their athletic competitions, and at Delphi, famed for contests in poetry and music. Athens sent an ambassador to each of these festivals, and her citizens entered the competitions as individuals—the ancient games lacked some of the nationalistic zeal that dominates the modern Olympic movement. Victories at these prestigious competitions could generate their *own* performances, for the victors would commission poets such as Pindar to compose victory-odes, called *epinicians*, that were sung and danced by a chorus in the victor's home town, and possibly

on other public occasions as well. The genre of encomiastic, or 'praise', poetry found its way into many tragedies, a means for the playwright to bring the contemporary world to the stage, and a further example of the pervasive modality of performance in fifth-century Athens.

Leaving the enormous crowds of the pan-Hellenic games, let us briefly consider performances of a more intimate nature, the rituals of weddings and funerals. These rites played a *central* role in the life of the Greek family, and, as such, constitute a recurring motif in Greek tragedy. Since neither ritual was conceived as a single event, but rather as an ongoing series of performed activities, they offered the playwright a variety of possible points of reference. On their wedding day, an Athenian bride and groom were given (separately) a ritual bath, and then dressed in white with a crown or garland to mark the occasion. The evening began with a banquet offered by the bride's father, where the gathered company danced and sang wedding hymns, followed by a nocturnal procession as the groom conveyed the bride to her new home. If circumstances allowed, the journey was made by horse-or mule-cart, accompanied by torch-bearers and friends who played music and sang. The groom's parents met the couple at the threshold of their new home, and during the night, the parties who accompanied the procession sang *epithalamia*, songs 'outside the marriage chamber'. In the morning more songs awakened the couple, who later received gifts in a ceremony that led up to a final wedding banquet. References to these rites are found in almost every extant tragedy, from the nuptial bath that Polyxena will never have in *Hecuba* to the wedding procession Admetus remembers in *Alcestis*, from the wedding hymn that Sophocles' Antigone sings en route to her 'burial', to the poisoned wedding gifts that convert Glauke into her own nuptial torch in *Medea*.

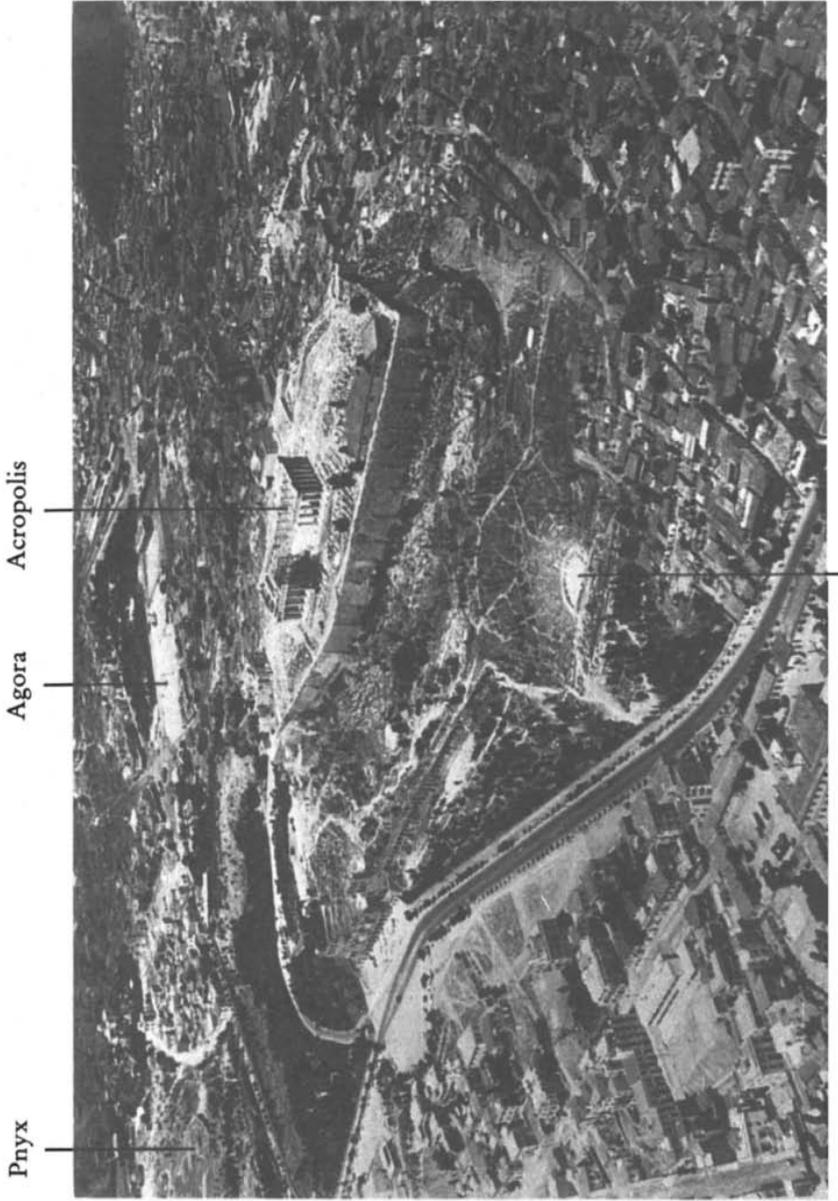
At the other end of the ritual spectrum, funerals constituted a performance for and about the dead. The ritual tasks of preparing the corpse—washing, anointing, dressing, crowning, adorning with flowers, and covering it for burial—fell to the female members of the family. The body was laid out in the courtyard where mourners paid their respects, and the women wailed dirges and other lamentations. When the time came for burial, the funeral party dressed in black, and the men led the funeral cortège while the women followed behind the bier, reciting the ritual lament, occasionally accompanied by professional musicians and dirge-singers. As with the wedding, no priest officiated the rites, for the funeral was organized and performed solely by the family and friends of the deceased. After the inhumation or cremation, a final dirge was performed, offerings were poured, and the mourners departed. That evening a banquet was held where the funeral party delivered eulogies for the deceased and sang funeral hymns. As in the case of weddings, such theatrical features as costuming, singing, dancing, and making speeches constituted a good part of Greek burial custom. And tragedy is replete with funeral activity—the lamentations and threnodies that resound through Aeschylus' *Persians*, the focus on burial in Sophocles' *Ajax* and *Antigone*, the procession of corpses in Euripides' *Suppliant*

*Women.* In fact, aspects of the funeral ritual occur so frequently in tragedy that scholars once thought the earliest drama sprang from laments at the grave-site.

Both the Athenian wedding and funeral rites were conceived as performances where the participants moved back and forth between the roles of actor and spectator, conjoining public and private worlds in a way that is hard for us to imagine. This is not to romanticize life in fifth-century Athens, where slavery was practised, where women had extremely limited opportunities, where living conditions were primitive, where disease was poorly understood. But in grappling with the performance culture out of which tragedy grew, we must realize that it operated radically differently from our professional, pre-packaged society, where everything is marketed for consumers—from peanuts to sidearms, from sex to salvation, from care for the elderly to care for the dead. To be sure, Athenians bought and sold in their market place, the agora in the centre of the city, but as they haggled over prices they also talked of the Assembly, the latest case in the lawcourts, a nephew's initiation, the upcoming festivals, a friend's wedding, the theatre —events that took place within a short walk of the fish stalls, as we can see in the aerial photograph of the city (Plate 1).

One such event deserves our closer attention, for it played an important role in the development of tragedy—the contests for reciting the great epic poems of Homer, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Although unofficial performances of Homer went back many years, official competition among rhapsodes was included in the Panathenaic festival sometime between 566 and 514 BC, with the odds on an earlier rather than a later date. Unlike other pre-tragic contests, epic recitation was not based on music, spectacle, or lyric poetry, but on the semi-dramatic presentation of a complex narrative. We learn from Plato that a rhapsode was similar to an actor, interpreting from memory the lines of a great poet, combining the technical demands of verse and vocal production (the crowds were large) with the emotional expression and sympathy required to play several different roles in the course of a performance.<sup>9</sup> Roughly two-thirds of the *Iliad* is in direct speech, and the rhapsodes must have varied their delivery, volume, and tone to convey the different characters and their response to changing situations. Although composed long before the first tragedy, the poems are highly theatrical, and the most compelling sections read like scenes written for the stage—the great quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles in Book 1 of the *Iliad*; the encounters in Book 6 between Hector and his mother Hecuba, his sister-in-law Helen, and his wife Andromache (a scene much admired by the tragedians); the great embassy in Book 9, where Odysseus, Phoenix, and Ajax try to persuade Achilles to rejoin the battle; the unprecedented encounter between Priam and Achilles in Book 24, where mortal enemies momentarily unite in the communality of grief.<sup>10</sup>

The oral and aural qualities of Homeric poems remind us of their intimate connection with performance. Eric Havelock points out that 'we read as texts what was originally composed orally, recited orally, heard acoustically, memorized acoustically, and taught acoustically in all communities of early



Theatre of Dionysus  
*Plate 1* Aerial view of the city of Athens