RUTH PADEL

Making Space Speak

"A Place Set Apart in the Middle of the City . . ."

1

All Greek gods are violent, in their fashion. Dionysos' specialty is to connect interior violence—violence of *phrenes*, distorted perception, individual emotional storm—with performed, exterior violence: violence done and seen, out in the world. His persona is the fostering link between madness and murder.

Tragedy, like Athens' physical theater, belongs in Dionysos' precinct. It grew up while historians and scientists formulated and worked on the principle that one infers interior movement—and the movement they too were interested in was mostly violent—from external movement, movement you could see.[1] Tragedy is this principle's dramatic truth. Its performed violence is only nominally onstage. It happens unseen. Spectators infer it and watch others doing so. Scenes like Aiskhylos, *Agamemnon* 1342–46 may sound labored and absurd to us, easily parodied. But sounding, inference, is precisely what they are about:

Chorus:	What mortal could boast of existence with unpunishing *daimōn* when these things he hears?[2]
Agamemnon (within):	Alas, I am struck with a timely blow within.
Chorus:	Hush! who cries . . . wounded with a blow?
Agamemnon:	Alas again! I am struck with a second blow.

Note: This is an abridged version of a chapter in my forthcoming book *In and Out of the Mind: Greek Images of the Tragic Self*, whose center is tragedy's metaphors of mind and their relation to tragic madness, physiology, causality, and character, especially as these are concerned with the linking up of outside to inside.

[1] *Sumballomai tois emphanesi ta mē ginōskomena*, Herodotos, 2.33.2; *opsis tōn adēlōn ta phainomena*, Anaxag., *FVS* B 21a. Cf. Hippokrates, *Sacred Disease* 10.40, *Ancient Medicine*. 24, *De victu* 1.11, G.E.R. Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy* (Cambridge, 1966), 341, 343–44, 353–56.

[2] *Akouōn* is the last word before Agamemnon's shout. *Tade*, its object, refers to the chorus' meditation on his victory and its likely cost (1331–40).

Chorus:	The deed is done it seems to me from the king's cries.

This is the theater exulting in possibilities of relating inside to outside, unseen to seen, private inner experience to the external watching and guessing of others: a concrete parallel to tragedy's personal dimension. All over tragedy, men and women suffer within, in their emotions. Other figures, and spectators, infer this unseen pain from words. One cannot see into another person's feelings. No external mark can tell us what people are inside.[3] We infer what is in them from how they look and what they say. The physique of Dionysos' theater, its contrasts of unseen and apparent space, embodies the personal dialectics of Dionysos' tragedy.

These dialectics rise from the audience's experience of people in real (civic and convivial) life. You cannot open up a man with a scalpel and see what he is within, says a contemporary drinking song.[4] From the beginning, the *agora*, center of assembly and commerce, had a "theatrical" character. It once functioned as a theater. This was remembered in the *orkhēstra*, part of the *agora* where the dancing-floor had once been. As the city-state developed in classical times, the theater became "a sort of duplicate *agora*."[5] Both were meeting-places, where male citizens felt, and saw themselves as, part of the civic body; where important speeches were set before them. Both qualify for the barbarian's suspicious description, as reported by the Athens-struck Greek historian, of the *agora*, "a place set apart in the middle of the city, in which men get together and tell one another lies" (Herodotos, 1.153). Being part of the citizen body in the *agora* shaped the citizens' experience as part of a tragic audience. They saw co-members of the audience across the theater. Any audience's self-awareness is an aspect of the way that audience completes its play.[6] Plays are put "in front of" us. But at Athens they were acted inside: inside the horseshoe circle that embodied the community. The audience's identity as a self-conscious member of that community was part of its experience of tragedy. An actor's entry into that space was entry into the attention of those who felt and saw themselves to be the city. And being the city meant judging, or inferring, the interior of others on the basis of what they had done and said; from how they had, publicly, seemed. The assembly and the law courts were a kind of theater, the theater an assembly-place, a court. In all these, it was crucial that you could not see inside another person and yet, somehow, you must. You, and the community, must proceed as if you could.

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[3] Eur., *Med.* 516, *Hipp.* 925–29, *El.* 373–74, 367, 385.

[4] *PMG* 889 (473); see W. S. Barrett, ed. and comm., *Euripides Hippolytos* (Oxford, 1964), comment on line 925 (340).

[5] Sokrates bought a book in the *orkhēstra* in the *agora*, Plato, *Apol.* 26 D—E, see J. Adam, ed., *Platonis Apologia Socratis* (Cambridge, Eng., 1939), ad loc. and Appendix 1. See R. E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks Built Cities*, 2d ed. (New York and London, 1973), 50–51; cf. T.B.L. Webster, *Greek Theater Production* (London, 1956), 5.

[6] Erika Simon, *The Ancient Theater*, trans. C. E. Vafopoulou-Richardson (London and New York, 1982), 7: "In the theater the audience completes the . . . creation." See the professional's point of view, Peter Brook, *The Empty Space* (Harmondsworth, 1972), 142, 150.

II

These spectators, facing their space where masked men told lies and made illusion, shared more with the people inside the semblances into which they hoped to see, than we do with actors in our theater. Each chorus was a group of citizens, trained at the expense of a rich citizen who wanted to be seen as public-spirited. Many spectators had sung in choruses themselves. They knew the people singing. They entered the theater by the same route, the *eisodoi*, used by the actors and by the chorus on their entrance, whereas among us "the moment of performance . . . is reached through two passageways—the foyer and the stage door."[7]

Shared experience of the *orkhēstra*. Shared route into the theater. Shared light, too; the audiences were not differentiated from performers by darkness.[8] The differences between them and the players were contingent. In Peter Brook's terms, this was "necessary theater," where the distinction between audience and players lies in architecture and role;[9] not, as with us, in profession and experience.[10] Audience and players

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[7] Brook, *Empty Space*, 141.

[8] Fifth-century Athenians perhaps experienced something like early European stage lighting in temples, e.g., lighting and light-contrasts on Athena's statue in the Parthenon. Their temples were doubtless theatrical, in our terms. But nothing like that—a lit figure, surrounding dark—happened in the theater.

[9] In a "necessary theater" there is "only a practical difference between actor and audience, not a fundamental one"; Brook, *Empty Space*, 150. Cf. Artaud's vision of an ideal theater which would abolish the separateness of actors and audience. Light will "fall upon the public as much as upon the actors"; "direct communication will be re-established between the spectator and the spectacle, between the actor and the spectator." A. Artaud, "The Theater of Cruelty, First and Second Manifestos," (1938), trans. M. C. Richards in *The Theory of the Modern Stage*, ed. E. Bentley (Harmondsworth, 1976), 61–62.

[10] By the mid-fifth century, speaking actors were professionals. But their profession was probably not institutionalized until the fourth century. *DFA*, 93f., 279. Singers for dithyramb were chosen on a tribal basis, but for tragedy and comedy this restriction was not made. In the fourth century there were professional singers from which a *khorēgos* could

shared the festival; they entered by the same route. The chorus in the *orkhēstra*, composed of citizens, was in several senses halfway between the audience and the actors.

Spectators also shared the players' concern in how the whole thing went. On the last day of the festival there was an assembly, attended by all. Prizes were given and everyone examined the conduct of not only the festival officials, but the spectators.[11]

Some contrasts between audience and players, built into our expectations of dramatic experience, were absent, therefore, from Dionysos' theater. Another absence interlocks with these. On our stage, light orchestrates the spectators' feeling by contrasting tones. Western understanding of theatrical space was changed forever by Adolph Appia and the subsequent development of his ideas about the use of light. Light is now theater's most important plastic medium, "scene-painter, interpreter," with "the character of a form in space." It directs our emotions. Its mobility, its plasticity, are part of our theatrical language.[12]

Because of the way we use light, our theatrical response is "intensified by an aesthetic emphasis upon extension in space . . . expressing dynamic patterns of human beings in action, who move through fluctuating planes of light; these in turn create a dynamic interplay of contours and forms."[13] The pattern of our emotional experience of the play is not only paralleled but controlled by the imaginary spatial architecture, an illusionary structure created by light.

Can we think theater lighting out of our own experience? We might argue that the music, with its emotionally significant modes, fulfilled the role of lighting in the Greek theater.[14] A flute-player on a Greek vase painting is often a sign that this scene is not mythical but from a tragedy

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choose his chorus (ibid. 90) but *khoreutai* themselves probably had no professional status. The community supplied many citizen choruses, men and boys, for manifold functions. Only their trainer was a professional. He and the chorus were paid. There were several distinctions (often temporary ones) between performers and audience. But these distinctions were not so institutionalized, nor so hard and fast, (a) as in the fourth century, or (b) as now in Western theater. See also the essay by Slater in this volume.

[11] See *DFA*, 68–70.

[12] L. Simonsen, "The Ideas of Adolphe Appia," in Bentley, *Theory*, 33–50. The theater "organizes" sounds and light into a "hieroglyph," Artaud, "Cruelty," 56 (in Bentley).

[13] Simonsen, "Ideas," 50.

[14] There were "modes" proper to tragedy, to a particular range of feeling and action; *DFA*, 258–59. The nature of each mode was widely known in the last half of the fifth century; W. D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966) 11, 34–36, 62. The tragedian-composer must have used music to color the drama emotionally. Appia developed his own technique and theory of stage lighting as a conscious implement of emotional manipulation onstage, while working for Wagner, under the stimulus of the tempo and color of his scores. Simonsen, "Ideas," 41.

depicting that myth. In painters' code, the musical nature of tragedy became one of tragedy's identifying characteristics.[15] Did that characteristically tragic accompaniment direct the audience's feelings about the words it accompanied?

Probably. But these two ways of manipulating dramatic feeling are not identical, though they are similar, and, in our world, related. Tragedy's music was a vital part of the play but provided nothing like the illusory sense of extended space which modern lighting creates. The tragic poets, unlike modern producers, extended their world by language only.

This is not, of course, an absence of technique. It simply means we must think away features of our own response to drama, to concentrate on what was actually present in that theater. This is the more useful approach to mental experience in tragedy, too, especially the indigenous sense of divinity in the human world and mind. For among the positive elements in that theater, lacking in ours, is the central fact that civic space was also divine. This theater, like mind, city, self, was a human structure with a divine presence within it: part of Dionysos' precinct. Its altar may have been the focus of choral dances, and the site for the accompanying flutist, simultaneously a sacred and a choreographic center.[16] There was normally a stage altar too.[17] The theater's fictive world, like its real context, had a sacred focus. The libations in the theater, and its purification by death (of a suckling pig), underscored the religious nature of occasion and space.[18]

The theater was close to Dionysos' temple, rebuilt during that century. The priest of Dionysos was the chief member of the audience.[19] We lack this central emotional dimension to the theatrical experience, charged with the relationship between divinity and humanity, and all the tensions which belonged to the relationship with that particular divinity. The syntax of fifth-century theater is a product of Athenian male citizens'

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[15] J. Beazley, "Hydria-fragments from Corinth," *Hesperia* 24 (1955): 307, 310, 314, 318; *DFA*, 179–86. The "flute" was standard accompaniment to song and recitative in tragedy, the lyre mainly for special effects. Flute players are in place at other performances too (seen, e.g., on vases showing dithyrambic contests). But when they keep "strange company" on vases, this normally indicates a dramatic context; Beazley, "Hydria-fragments," 314.

[16] See P. Arnott, *Greek Scenic Conventions* (Oxford, 1962), 43–45.

[17] Was this a permanent part of the theater? Arnott, *Greek Scenic Conventions*, 43–53, 58–59, argues that it was. When Pollux, 4.123 calls it the *aguiēos bōmos*, Arnott says he means the permanent altar of Apollo Agyieus. But Oliver Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford, 1977), 106, 117, doubts that a permanent stage altar served as, e.g., Dareios' tomb. He prefers an early mound in the theater, levelled out ca. 460 when the *skēnē* was made. Does Pollux's word *aguiēos* suggest the altar was portable (as many were; see Yavis, *Greek Altars* [St. Louis, 1949] 172–75)? The main point is that many plays need some altar to be represented somewhere in the theater.

[18] *DFA*, 67.

[19] *TDA*, 16, 19, 143; *DFA*, 268.

experience of and inferences about, not only other people, but Dionysos, inside and outside people, inside and outside the theater.

SPATIAL SYNTAX

I

Within the theater's shared space, the first distinction is between space for the audience, *theatron*, where the audience went *theasthai*, to watch, and *orkhēstra*, which the chorus entered *orkheisthai*, to dance. Spaces were named after the role of people in them.[20] Interest in the spectators' role grows from the time of Peisistratos' organization of the festival. Painters depict spectators as well as performers.[21] Two spaces, two roles; they balance each other.

Within the performing space, a second contrast: *orkhēstra* and *skēnē* (from *skēneō*, "I dwell," "I am billetted," of soldiers in camp). *Skēnē* in military contexts means "tent," or in the plural, "camp" (e.g., Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousai* 658). It also means "market stall." Things that are flimsy, but crucially important—for a while.

In our context its meaning is "stage building," the hut behind the acting space for actors to change between scenes. The two actors (three, later in the century) took speaking parts in turn, often switching roles between scenes,[22] and entered the *skēnē* to do so. They often stayed within it (we assume) while other things happened; while, for instance, a choral ode was sung.[23]

In the fifth century, the *skēnē* was wooden, like most of the spectators' seats.[24] One temporary wood structure balanced the other. It had a flat roof. Actors stood on it: like the Watchman (probably) opening the *Agamemnon*. It was used for divine epiphanies.[25] In the *Psuchostasia*, Zeus, weighing the fates of Akhilleus and Memnon, and their respective mothers, possibly all appeared on it.[26]

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[20] *Orkhēstra*, used of the theater, appears first in [Arist.], *Prob.* 901B30. *Theatron* can mean simply "audience," even of nontragic events. Later it came to mean the whole group of buildings connected with the theater.

[21] Simon, *Theater*, 3–5; see M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton, 1961), 54, fig. 220.

[22] See *DFA*, 135, 137f.; Simon, *Theater*, 6; Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 452.

[23] Though actors did not necessarily leave the stage during a choral song; Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 54.

[24] *TDA*, 23–24; Simon, *Theater*, 5–6; Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 452f.

[25] Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 440, 445. Watchman in *Agamemnon*: Simon, *Theater*, 7, gives the conventional view. Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 276–77, argues against.

[26] Though Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 431–33, doubts this and thinks the weighing may not have been done onstage at all, nor Zeus have appeared as a character.

The *skēnē* probably appeared only around 460 B.C.E., and the *Oresteia* (458) may well be the first extant drama to use this hidden interior, facade, and door.[27] When we talk of the *skēnē* in tragedy, we are talking, probably, of the *Oresteia*, the first modern tragedy—drama whose care is the potent fatal interiority, deceptions, history, of house and person—and after.

In ancient critical literature, *skēnē* often refers to the space in front of the stage building. "Those from [or on] the *skēnē*" are the people who use that space: actors, not chorus. Actors and chorus have their own areas: the space in front of the *skēnē*, the circle of the *orkhēstra*. But in the fifth century there is coming and going between these spaces. Actors step into the chorus' space, and vice versa.[28] There was probably some wooden dais for the stage, but it was probably low, and easy to negotiate.[29] It was only in later centuries that first the Greek, then the Roman, theater raised the actors' stage and thereby entirely prevented that physical interchange.

Within the performing space, then, spatial contrast defined the role of people belonging in each space: the single actor versus the group. There is physical as well as verbal interchange between these. The early function of the *hupokritēs* was probably to "answer" the chorus.[30] The two come to and from, into and out of each other's space, a visual parallel for the dialogue between them, the simplest example of the way that spatial relationships become the physical vehicle for emotional and political relationships. Spatial oppositions reify others. The *skēnē* roof, for instance, is often (not exclusively) used for gods. Gods appear at a different "level," mirroring the role gods play in plot and human relationships or feelings. The language of space is part of the tragedian's armory, by which he lets each moment of the play suggest simultaneously different

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[27] There is controversy here; I am convinced by Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 452–59, esp. 454, who accepts and argues for Wilamowitz's suggestion that the *Oresteia* is the first extant drama to use the *skēnē*. Once the *skēnē* was introduced, dramatists used it vividly. Nearly every extant tragedy of Sophokles and Euripides uses it positively (Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 455).

[28] Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 128, 442; Simon, *Theater*, 7; see Bieber, *History*, 66, fig. 253 (Orestes and Pylades stand on orchestra level, represented as soil). Segregation of actors and chorus really began in the fourth century (Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 452 n. 1) but was not invariable even then.

[29] So most modern authorities: "some broad steps" (Simon, *Theater*, 7), a "low stage" (Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 441). There must have been something for the underground channel to run under (Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 448, "some crude covered trench").

[30] This is a controversial point. Classic formulations in G. F. Else, *Aristotle's Poetics: The Argument* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), 167; *DTC*, 79. The "answerer" interpretation is assumed by Simon, *Theater*, 5, defended by T. V. Buttrey, "*Hupo* in Aristophanes and *hupokritēs*," *GRBS* 18 (1977): 5–23. But *hupokritēs* can also mean "interpreter," "declaimer," and might have been applied to the actor from this semantic field, at least by the mid-fifth century. See also the essay by Svenbro in this volume.

aspects of one idea. "Distanced epiphanies,"[31] gods appearing above human beings: one of their functions is to symbolize the weightier (higher?) divine causality of many tragic plots.

II

So far, we have investigated contrasts between visible spaces of the theater. But one of Greek tragedy's "triumphs" is to make manifest scenes "far in the Unapparent."[32] Tragedy's most potent contrast is between the seen and "the unapparent," between visible and imagined space.

Several kinds of invisible space, in fact. One was space-at-a-distance, the elsewhere. Places the spectators were invited to imagine when someone came in from far off, bringing news from outside, from a battle, mountain, foreign city, or Delphic oracle, via one of the two *eisodoi*, "roads in." Dramatists could use the opposition between left and right to underline emotion hanging around a character and her fate. Tension between the *eisodoi* was part of tragedy's "symbolic topography." In suppliant plays, for instance, it was expected that one *eisodos* led "out" (abroad), and one led "in" (to the protecting city); one in the direction of danger, the other of safety.[33]

Then there is space within:[34] within the *skēnē* building, whether it represents a palace or temple, cave, or grove. This unseen space is a cul-de-sac. The *eisodoi* lead out and beyond, to change, but the door leads within, to closed space. There is no way out.[35] What happens in there is the plot's trapped outcome and dead end, the image of inevitability. This imaginary unseen has a complex spatiality, built often in detail in the audience's mind. Messengers from within offer spectators a way of making real space that does not exist, the interior geometry of a fictive house. An eyewitness describes to those outside the attempt of Orestes and Pylades to murder Helen inside the palace:

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[31] Oliver Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action* (Oxford, 1978), 119.

[32] T. Hardy, preface to *The Dynasts*. He asks why these should not be repeated and replies: "the meditative world is . . . more quizzical . . . less able . . . to look through the insistent substance at the thing signified."

[33] Oliver Taplin, "Sophocles in His Theater," in *Sophocle*, ed. J. de Romilly, Entretiens Hardt 29 (Geneva, 1982), 157–69. He shows how in the *Oid. Tyr.* the *eisodoi* can indicate respectively roads from and to Thebes, and so express visually the "circuit" of Oidipous' life.

[34] H. Scolnikov, "Theater Space, Theatrical Space, and the Theatrical Space Without," in *The Theatrical Space*, ed. J. Redmond (Cambridge, 1987), 11–27, stresses that in performance the unseen theatrical space is as real as the visible (14). But her equation of "space without" as "conceived space" and "space within" as "perceived space" confuses the Greek situation, though it fits her examples from other traditions. She says that the *ekkuklēma* pushes the without into the within (16). But (a) in Greek terms these are reversible, and (b) it makes better Greek sense to *stress* the reverse. My use of "space within" corresponds therefore to her use of "space without."

[35] Taplin, "Sophocles," 158. When there *has* to be a way out (as sometimes happens later in New Comedy) a special explanation is put forward: see A. M. Dale, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, 1969), 127–28, on Philoktetes' cave.

> They entered; came
> beside the chair of Helen
> whom Paris won.
> They sat down
> low, one this side, one that . . .
> cast suppliant hands about her knees.
> . . . .
> One led her forward
> and she followed . . .
> his colleague . . .
> closed them all . . .
> inside the halls.
>
> (Eur., *Or.* 1409–48)

Analogously, the poet invites his audience to imagine there are women behind the costumes worn by those male actors. By the end of three days, they had seen many female figures in the tragedies, whose femaleness they had created in their own imaginations. To mask their male selves, actors playing women may have worn long white sleeves under their robes, corresponding to vase painters' portrayal of women with white skin, without shading, in contrast to red male bodies whose volume was indicated by shading.[36] The two important interiors spectators had to imagine for themselves, woman and house, were in Greek societies (as in others) bound closely together in male perceptions. Men expected not to know all of what lay within.[37] They imagined but did not know. Conflict in the dramas between male and female, public and private, knowledge and imagination, is intricately related to the theater's physical contrast between real and imagined, seen and unseen space.

The tragedian also invited the members of his audience to make vivid for themselves the family's history, time past and now invisible except to those gifted, like Kassandra, in seeing the unapparent. The unseen history of the immediate stage-moment parallels the unseen space of action. Spectators construct both in their imagination, guided by hints from the poet.

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[36] Simon, *Theater*, 13; *DFA*, 202; A. Rumpf, "Classical and Post-Classical Greek Painting," *JHS* 77 (1947): 10–11.

[37] "It seems not fitting that a man should know all that passes within the house," [Arist.], *Oecon.* 3.1.

Unseen space, unshared time: they are significant not only in themselves, but as image and parallel for the unseen thoughts and feelings which the actors' words convey. Unseen space, unseen feelings, complement and contrast with sensibly perceived space, acts, language: they are echo chambers within which acts and words reverberate. But they lie within the spectators who create them in imagination.

From one point of view, it is the action that happens on the stage that is important to the audience. The act offstage is fleshed out in the audience's imagination only by attention given to it onstage.[38] But from another point of view, the onstage actions are there to create invisible (more obsessing, more terrible) space and action in the audience's mind, just as tragedy's words are important partly because they create in the mind a picture of emotions surging within the speaker: emotions which are imagined to cause, and be expressed by, the language.

Words in relation to invisible emotion, onstage action in relation to unseen events, give the audience the occasion to construct an image of an unseen interior, fatally torn. Words, like the theater's visual paraphernalia, join the unseen to the apparent. Behind the *skēnē* is an imagined space which the theater conceals but continually refers to. The important tragic act will happen unseen and mostly *within*. We think of unseen acts as performed offstage. For the Athenians it was within-stage, inside something within the spectators' field of vision, but into which they could not see. They inferred what they could not see from what they could.

One more concealed interior: tragedy refers continually to the underworld. In later Greek theater, when the stage was high, ghosts, furies, and rivers rose from a trapdoor in its floor. In the fifth century there was probably a furrow under the acting area, through which the actor playing, say, the ghost of Dareios could rise when he was summoned ("not with an easy road out") from Hades.[39]

Tragic language gestures to the lower world all the time. Erinyes and the dead affect present action, rising to this world to do so. The audience expects such forces to rise from below. The dead are much with the figures of tragedy—a motive force in many plays, not only plays of vengeance, or arguments about some corpse. In real life, the spectators knew they trod ground that contained and concealed the dead. In the theater they saw human figures walking above a hidden unseen. Time and place that belong to the dead are alive in the tragic present, in tragic space. The tragic theater is a threshold to the underworld, paradigm of a place in which the dead impinge on the living, the past on the present.[40]

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[38] So Taplin, *Action*, 160.

[39] Aiskh., *Persians* 630–90, 839; cf. *Prometheus* 1093. Even a fifth-century Prometheus could thus disappear downward. Many scholars have denied this trapdoor to fifth-century Athens, notably *TDA*, 35, 51, 65, 210. But others argue forcibly for it. Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 218, 274, 447–48, comes down on their side.

Important events happen in, important forces issue from, any of three unseen interiors: house, underworld—"house" of Hades—and mind. The house, like the underworld, could function as an image of mind, and color Greek associations to what happens in it. So could any interior where human met divinity, any sacred enclosure.[41] Connections made in the Greek imagination among mind, temple, cave, grove, underworld—houses or homes of divinities—contributed to the contemporary individual's experience of unseen space and unseen self in a tragic performance.

THE STAGE FACADE: ILLUSION OF DEPTH

I

Channels connect seen and unseen spaces: the underground entrance, the two side entries. But the central barrier between seen and unseen is the *skēnē* front.

On this boundary the relation of illusion to reality is at its most intense. The audience knows that the *skēnē* is the factory of illusion where actors put on and exchange masks. In this hidden space the poet fabricates a potent alternative space, with internal spatial divisions (made in messenger speeches), with geometries of human relationships that spatial divisions represent. All this inside one lonely lump in the audience's field of vision. There is a doubleness in the way the audience members see the *skēnē*. The whole theatrical space, which they can see, contains another space which they cannot. The imaginary full space, the house, the image of bonded relationships on which human society depends, is concealed within the real, comparatively empty public space, the performing area. Yet it is also visible, at the center of the audience's sight.

All this makes it very different from the background facade in a proscenium arch theater, which is large and often partial. In Greek, the actors are "those from" as well as "those on the *skēnē*." Their figures emerge from an illusion-making enclosure. Anaxarkhos (the fourth-century Demokritean philosopher, who went to India with Alexander) compares ordinary existence to the painting on the *skēnē*. He means that ordinary things are illusory, are like impressions encountered in sleep, like the painted facade representing a theatrical house.[42]

The *skēnē*, then, is both the center and the margin of illusion. Its face is the boundary between seen and hidden, where these two dualities, seen and unseen, reality and illusion, touch. We might remember that the theater's own reality, established here in Dionysos' precinct, is illusion.

What did the Athenians do with this all-important wall? Can we reconstruct what the audience saw when it looked at the *skēnē*?

Not with certainty. There is enormous controversy about that wall. The evidence is mostly post–fifth century and capable of many interpretations. Any account of painting on the fifth-century *skēnē* front is speculative.[43] But the theater's visual appearance was part of contemporary emotional experience of tragedy. Not to take a view on scene painting would be to dodge the issue. Some evidence for it does exist. If we have ideas about the whole of tragedy, scene painting must take its place in these.

II

We might start with the word, *skēnographia*. It first appears in the fourth century, meaning painting on the *skēnē*.[44]

Later, however, in Latin as well as Greek, the word is often associated purely with architectural drawing, and seems sometimes almost to mean "drawing an architectural facade in linear perspective."[45] But nowhere can *scaenographia* be proved actually to mean "the use of linear perspective." It may have come to mean simply "drawing the facade of a building." But it might *seem* to mean "using linear perspective" because Vitruvius, when he *describes* the process of facade drawing, does so in terms of the perspective of ca. 20 B.C.E.[46] Some kind of perspective is used by his day, and there are Roman paintings which seem to have found (perhaps by accident) the single viewpoint, core of Renaissance perspective.[47]

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[40] Pickard-Cambridge, in *DTC*, 106–7, believes that the experience of the dead as a living force is intrinsic to tragic form. Cf. the Greek practice of exposing the bier outside the door of the house (*TDA*, 111). Tragedy, so concerned with the dead, happens where you place your real-life dead: outside the door.

[41] I argue and document these points in *In and Out of the Mind*.

[42] See Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos* 7.1.88.

[43] I discuss rival theories and possible use of this evidence more fully in an appendix to *In and Out of the Mind*.

[44] Anaxarkhos, and Arist., *Poet.* 1449A18–19 (deleted, along with so much, by Else, *Aristotle's Poetics*.

[45] *Scaenographia* is wrongly assumed by many scholars, e.g., Granger (Loeb ed. of Vitruvius) and E. Keuls, *Plato and Greek Painting* (Leiden, 1978), 63, to mean "use of linear perspective."

[46] The key passage (capable of different interpretations; see J. White, "Perspective in Ancient Drawing and Painting," *JHS* supp. 7 [1956]) is Vitruv., 1.2.2: *Scaenographia est frontis et laterum abscendentium adumbratio ad circinique centrum omnium linearium reponsus.* Whatever the technicalities of optics implied by Vitruvius' account (see M. F. Burnyeat, "All the World's a Stage-Painting" [forthcoming]), "facade-drawing" would be a wholly adequate *meaning* for the word. It can *refer* to several different things.

We should give the word's later history due weight, when we consider the *skēnē* of the stage to which it first referred. If *skēnographia* came later to mean "drawing a building's facade," it did so mainly because the stage was where you saw such facades drawn. The likelihood is that from the first, tragic scene painting consisted of flat panels, painted with architectural shapes—columns, pediment, roof—attached more or less permanently to the *skēnē* wall.[48] By the fourth century, vase painters often use an architectural frame, perhaps just two or four columns, as a tragic hallmark. Their scene represents a moment from tragic drama.[49]

Some tragedies, of course, were set away from civilization and its sign, a human building. The *skēnē* must then have stood for a cave—as in many satyr-plays—or a grove. Would the panels be changed for such tragedies? Some scholars suppose that Philoktetes' cave, for example, was marked by rocky outlines on the *skēnē* front, or by a screen in front of the *skēnē* door, painted with rocky shapes, which gave the cave two entrances.[50]

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[47] See White, "Perspective," 61, 77–83; D. Haynes, *Greek Art and the Idea of Freedom* (London, 1984), 96–98. The word was used at Rome in Vitruvius' day by three different professional groups: stage painters, interior decorators, and architects making designs for buildings; see A.M.G. Little, *Roman Perspective Painting and the Ancient Stage* (Kennebunkport, Maine, 1971), 2.

[48] So most scholars, e.g., Simon, *Theater*, 22; refs. in A. L. Brown, "Three and Scene-Painting Sophocles," *PCPS* (1984): 6, 15 (n. 23). There is also the view (very unlikely, I think) put forward by Trendall and Webster, *IGD*, 9, that a theater had three sets: one (columns, pediment, etc.) for tragedy; one (rocks, cave, etc.) for satyr-plays; a third for comedy.

[49] See S. Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur und antike Bühnenmalerie—zwei Rekonstruktionsversuche nach griechischen Vasen," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archaeologischen Instituts in Wien* 54 (1983): 59–70, with illustrations. A fourth-century vase painter seems often to be "thinking of" the stage building rather than the temple actually described by the text; *IGD*, 91 (III.3, 27 and 29), 46 (III.1, 10). Sometimes a modern interpreter finds doorway and porch "highly reminiscent of stage architecture," ibid., 52–54 (III.1, 17). The stage setting is often represented by columns, portico, pediment; e.g., ibid., 66 (III.2, 8). A vase's representation of a dramatic performance (signifier) often "melts" into the representation of the scenes which the drama represented (the doubly signified); see *DFA*, 179, 182.

[50] Simon, *Theater*, 21; cf. refs. in Brown, "Three," 12, 17, n. 52. Brown thinks it unlikely that there was scene painting in the fifth century which "could have formed an integral part of the plays" (13–14). He guesses the *skēnē* was painted "if only with a coat of whitewash to suggest marble (not that whitewashing can be denoted by *graphein*)" (9). But we are dealing not with "decoration" (8) of the stage but the visual foundation for the audience's whole imaginative grasp of a tragedy. Bieber too (*History*, 108) ignores the fact that how a "necessary theater" *looks* is integral to the audience's emotional experience of the play. She says "an effective framing of the scene of the performance . . . did not take place before the last part of the fifth century." But she does not consider the people and their context. *Who* did or did not find their own "framings" "effective"? She does not question emotional, esthetic, or sociological bases on which existing "frames" first were, and then failed to be, effective to changing audiences in the sequence of harrowing years that lies behind those words "the late fifth century." The question—What shifts in ways of seeing, in sensibility, led Athenians to change their framing of dramatic scenes in this particular way?—must be answered at many interdependent levels.

I doubt even this. I suspect that the architectural background stayed on the *skēnē* through all tragedies, even the wildest. Tragedy uses the language of house persistently, both to signify the structures and values on which human relationships depend, and as an image for the self. It both needs and destroys those structures. Its most apt and characteristic backing is the visual image of a house. Vase painters reflect this in their metonymic porticos or frames. After the fifth century, the close relationship between house facade and tragic background becomes reified in stone. By the third century B.C.E., the theater's facade has real columns, a real pediment. The *skēnē* has become a huge house with a forebuilding.[51] What the fifth century marked in two dimensions, the Hellenistic theater recreates in three.

III

What about the painterly context, out of which fifth-century scene painting begins? The second quarter of this century, the years of the earliest extant tragedies, sees a revolution in painting. Until now, the leading two-dimensional visual art has been vase painting. Now mural painting overtakes it.

Vase painters cannot compete in excitement with the new techniques developed on larger, flat surfaces, but they can reflect them. Randomly, distortedly, they do try—luckily for us, since it is mainly from vase painting, and the descriptions of such later writers as Pausanias, that art historians guess at the vanished art of fifth-century painting, developed especially by Mikon and Polygnotos.[52] Mikon is connected with the wall paintings of ca. 473 B.C.E., in the sanctuary of Theseus, north of the *agora*.[53] Polygnotos is associated at several points with Sophokles, and seems to have painted scenes from his work in a central Athenian public building.[54]

The revolution which begins around the beginning of the century, pushed forward by the mural painting of the century's second quarter, is the portrayal of the third dimension.

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[51] Bieber, *History*, 110f.

[52] J. Barron, "New Light on Old Walls: The Murals of the Theseion," *JHS* 92 (1972): 20–45, pioneered this approach to the relationship between vase painting and the mural painters (23–25).

[53] See Paus., 1.17.3; M. Robertson, *Greek Painting* (London, 1978), 122–23.

[54] See *IGD*, 4, 66, 69.

Vase painters had been foreshortening the human figure from at least 510 B.C.E. on.[55] But now Polygnotos and Mikon have established the possibility of an "enclave in space." Vase painting reflects this. We see on contemporary vases the real beginning of an "idea of pictorial space." Painters, while they decorate their surfaces, are beginning consciously to create "a window opening on a feigned world." They indicate depth, in space as well as in bodies that fill space.[56] That feigned world moves away from the contact the eye makes with its two-dimensional surface.

Various other related techniques for evoking the third dimension appear in the first half, especially the second quarter, of the century: the use of color contrast (to suggest light and shade); shading, a light hatching at first on clothes and objects, then on living bodies.[57] By Plato's time the word *skiagraphia*, "painting with shadow," is used for the representation of illusory volume. It may refer loosely to chiaroscuro.[58] Plato often uses it as an image (especially in the *Republic* with its huge-scale imagistic framework of light and shadow), when speaking of the contrast between reality and illusion. *Skiagraphia* is his metaphor for the deceptive world of things we should not trust, the world perceived by our senses.[59] *Skiagraphia*, like *goēteia* (enchantment), exploits the weakness of our nature; it allures and cheats us.[60]

The encyclopedists of later times equated *skiagraphia* with *skēnographia*. This cannot be true of the classical period. Yet their error points to the core idea which the two share: illusory representation, on a flat surface, of spatial depth, either in living bodies (*skiagraphia*) or architectural shapes (*skēnographia*).[61]

Third-dimensional painting develops far more quickly through the century with the human figure than with architecture.[62] But foreshortening of linear objects does begin at this period too. By 470, even 480, we find a vase painter and a provincial mural painter trying to foreshorten couches. They must be affected by the more sophisticated attempts of Athenian mural painters, like Polygnotos and Mikon.[63] By the second half of the century vase painters are clearly foreshortening architecture, showing, for instance, a temple in three-quarter view (see plate 17).[64] Vase painters lag behind wall painters. They assimilate and copy the wall painters' techniques.[65] By 460 B.C.E., the more innovative mural painters could well have faced the possibility of painting a building frontally, in crude recession. We do not know that they did so at this early date. But the idea would be consistent with their overall interest, evident from 475 B.C.E., in spatial depth, and with the fact that perspectival architectural drawing is consistently linked with the stage, from the later fifth century on.

Moreover, painting in these years is conscious of a new way of being looked at. It invites spectators to play with the way they see: to go into and out of imagined space. In an Athenian krater of the second quarter of the century, found at Orvieto, several figures stand in a complex spatial relationship. The eye takes the higher figures to be "farther in" to the picture's depth. But the "farthest in" figure in fact holds a spear which protrudes in front of the scene's decorated frame, while figures "in front" of that one hold spears which disappear behind the same frame. This is not clumsiness on the painter's part. He is in control of his medium. It is a visual paradox. The vase painter reflects the deliberate ambiguity with which the more avant-garde mural painters play with ways of seeing. Playing with the painting's relation to its form, they offer their spectator two ways of approaching their feigned world (see plate 18).[66]

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[55] G. Richter, *Perspective in Greek and Roman Art* (London, 1970), 22–23. How consciously this is done is shown in words on a vase of this period, *egrapsen Euthimides ho Poliou hōs oudepote Euphronios*. The *hōs* must refer to the foreshortening (White, "Perspective," 24 with n. 1). The introduction of red figure enabled artists to "obey the emotional urge towards foreshortening the human figure"; White, "Perspective," 23. There were several phases of "perspective." The second, inaugurated ca. 460 B.C.E., was related both to Polygnotan painting, and to the theater (see B. Schweitzer, *Vom Sinn der Perspective* [Tübingen, 1953], 14–17).

[56] Robertson, *Painting*, 164, 122–23. He notes how Paus., 10. 25–31, describes a work by Polygnotos at Delphi. Pausanias moves about the picture, uses language (like "above these," "higher up again," "further in") which could not be used of archaic painting. See also Barron, "New Light," 24.

[57] Rumpf, "Classical," 10–13. Shading evolves over the first half of the fifth century.

[58] Robertson, *Painting*, 137. Plato uses *skiagraphia* and related words often. Philostratos' *Life of Apollonios of Tyana* (2.22) says that *zōgraphia* is a painting even with no color, if created only of *skia* (shadow) and *phōs* (light), for with these you can see resemblance, *eidos* (form), *nous* (intelligence), bravery. Those who look at paintings need the mimetic faculty: *skiagraphia* plays upon this faculty within the beholder.

[59] Keuls, *Plato*, 62, is surely right that Plato does not attack the painter's technique in itself. He uses it as an image for what he is attacking.

[60] *Rep*. 602d. We have perceptions, says Sokrates, which we cannot trust. Oh, says his interlocuter (mistaking, thereby exemplifying, Sokrates' point), "you mean distance and things painted with shade" (*Rep*. 523b). False reputation is drawn round me as a *prothuron*, "a *skiagraphia* of virtue," ibid., 365c. Illusory pleasure is "shadow-painted," *Rep*. 583b.

[61] Keuls, *Plato*, 74, discusses the encyclopedists' equation of the two, en route to her unconvincing suggestion (see M. Robertson's review of Keuls, *CR* 29 [1979]: 317) that *skiagraphia* referred to the use of contrasting colors. She assumes that *skēnographia* means the use of perspective (cf. above nn. 47–49).

[62] White, "Perspective," 23–25, Richter, *Perspective*, 26f., cf. n. 56. The name-vase of the Niobid Painter (below, n. 66) is ca. 460, like the *Oresteia*; and probably the *skēnē* (n. 29).

[63] See Richter, *Perspective*, fig. 10 (ca. 470) and the preliminary sketch for the north panel of the Diver's Tomb at Paestum, M. Napoli, *La Tomba del tuffatore* (Bari, 1970), fig. 91: provincial work ca. 480. The artist's greater Athenian contemporaries like Mikon and Polygnotos "may have been more subtle," but "cannot have been altogether different in kind," Barron, "New Light," 45. Both the Paestum tomb and the vase painting ca. 470 show cavities in rudimentary recession. White, "Perspective," 24–27, stresses the "oblique construction" and "the very softest recession" of rectangular objects in vases from the second quarter of the century.

[64] Richter, *Perspective*, fig. 159; cf. White, "Perspective," 27.

[65] Robertson, *Painting*, 122–23.

As tragedy gets into its stride, painting develops its portrayal of both architecture and persons in the third dimension. At the moment that tragedy (probably) acquires its *skēnē*, painting finds ways of opening a window on a world that moves away from the watching eye into illusory space. In this quarter of a century, tragedians and painters satisfy a common desire: to portray human figures with feigned depth, set ambiguously, in complex spatial and emotional relationships, within a large-scale frame. Each makes an "appeal to the invisible," within the possibilities of its own technique.[67]

They develop ways of opening that window on feigned worlds not only side by side but perhaps interdependently. Polygnotos has those points of contact with Sophokles. And it is likely that when the *skēnē* was incorporated into the stage—probably 460 B.C.E.—its introducers looked around for an apt way to present it, and went naturally to the experts who were specializing in creating illusion on large flat vertical surfaces, the mural painters. The stage became the most public place to see the new technique, the painting of architecture in recession.

If we saw it now ourselves, we would find it clumsy and simple, perhaps: just arbitrarily foreshortened architectural forms. But the idea was startling in itself. And this account helps to explain how *skēnographia* later became associated with perspective when perspective did arrive.[68] Very simple in essence, the *skēnē* wall could have looked something like figure 1, with painted columns and a painted underceiling over the real stage door.[69]

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[66] So Robertson, *Painting*, 124, 128–29. This, plate 18, is the name-vase of the Niobid Painter, discussed in Schweitzer, *Perspective*, 13, Barron, "New Light," 23–25. Both comment on the painter's use of space. All authorities have seen in the vase, since it was discovered, the influence and inspiration of mural painters, especially Polygnotos (Barron, "New Light," 44–45). Somewhat similar visual paradoxes, in a comparable era, are visual jokes of Renaissance painters playing with *their* new ways of seeing, new techniques of relating pictorial space to frame, new relations to the third dimension (see M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-century Italy* [Oxford, 1974], 89–90, 102); White, "Perspective," 32, 38, 40, 42, also draws parallels between the fifth-century development of pictorial space and that of Renaissance Italy.

[67] Cf. Dale, *Collected Papers*, 124–26, discussing invisible events (whirlwinds strike a house, *Herk. Fur.* 905; cf. *Bakkh.* 591) and layouts of an imagined interior.

[68] The stage facade probably directed the development of foreshortening in architectural drawing. Since architectural painting was seen most often, and most publicly, in the theater, this might help to explain the absence of the "single station" in Greek attempts at perspective (cf. Richter, *Perspective*, 61; Robertson, *Painting*, 164). The theater would offer painting a platform in which new techniques got the widest publicity.

[69] Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur," 77, apparently thinks columns would be painted on and

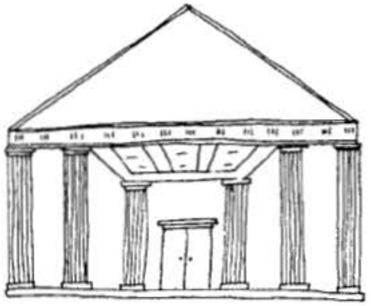

FIGURE 1. Rough sketch of possible *skēnographia* for fifth-century tragedy.

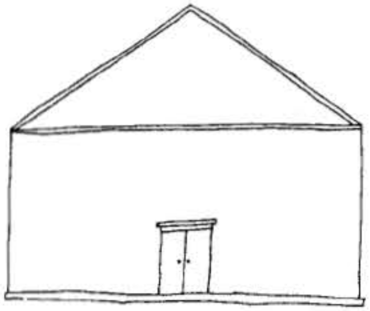

FIGURE 2. Rough sketch of *skēnē* wall with real door.

But all that actually need have been there is what we see in figure 2.

We do not and cannot know that wall painters responded so ambitiously to the new possibilities of the tragic stage as soon as 460 (though we know they did by the last quarter of the century). However, if we transfer the visual ambiguity of the Orvieto krater (see plate 18) to the contemporary stage, this vase becomes an accurate emblem for the play between objectivity and subjectivity which a tragedy incites in its audience. The audience shares the theater and the experience with the performers, and yet is distanced from them. They can "go into" that feigned world, enticed in by the structure they see—which recedes from them into the unseen—or draw back from it. They can be objective and feel pity. They can be subjective and feel fear. The relationship is encapsu-

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in front of the real door. They would seem to be left hanging when the door opened. He assumes only two side doors. But cf. below, n. 71.

lated in Aristotle's statement that tragedy works by creating pity and fear in its audience (*Poetics* 1449b27). You simultaneously enter and draw back from the tragic world. There is a doubleness in your relationship to it and its frame. In one sense, tragedy's "frame" is the theater itself. But its emblem is the *skēnē* front with its revolutionary portrayal of a three-dimensional facade on a two-dimensional wall.

THE TRAGIC DOOR: DIALECTICS OF INSIDE AND OUTSIDE

I

When Athenian theater began using the *skēnē*, Western tragedy acquired an inner chamber, a place of potent concealment; and a vital passageway to that interior, the channel which makes and unmakes the relationship between seen and unseen. The *skēnē* door becomes in Racine the supreme "objet tragique."[70]

In the fifth century, there was probably only one real door in the *skēnē* (see plate 19).[71] At some point during the century, painters perhaps painted other, illusory doors in the facade. From the sixth century on, doors are a favorite motif in Greek art anyway.[72] The fourth century added at least one more real door to the *skēnē* wall.[73] But the tragedies we have need only a single central door.[74] What was its significance? Is it a potent tragic object for Greek tragedy too?

I think it is. I think it becomes so the moment it is used. It makes the genre's supreme doubleness apparent. A Greek tragic plot is articulated through its exits and entrances, through the *eisodoi*, and through that

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[70] Roland Barthes, *Sur Racine* (Paris, 1963), 9–11, suggests there are three "tragic loci": chamber, antechamber, and scene. His discussion is very suggestive and helpful if one also remembers the differences in culture and stage between Racine and fifth-century Greek tragedy, above all the relation of "house" to its environment. Barthes' Racinian geography derives from a potent image of Greece, important in Racine's "thoughtworld," with little relation to that of Greek tragedies themselves. In each epoch of tragedy, particular relations (spatial, economic, emotional) between house and landscape in drama interact with the way the audience experiences and understands such relations in real life. Cf. below, n. 89.

[71] This is controversial. One door is assumed by, e.g., Simon, *Theater*, 24–25 (with n. 86); Dale, *Collected Papers*, 120, 268. Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 439–40, summarizes the single "practicable door" controversy, rejecting (convincingly) two doors for the fifth-century stage.

[72] See Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur," 73; Simon, *Theater*, 6–7 (who assumes they were used in the painted *skēnē*).

[73] See fourth-century and later *skēnai* in vase-paintings, discussed by Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur," 70, with illustrations. Above all plate 19, the Würzburg fragment. See sundry reconstructions: Bieber, *History*, 69, fig. 226; Simon, *Theater*, fig. 10; Gogos, 74–79, 83, fig. 11.

[74] Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 440.

door.[75] But the special thing about an entry through this door is that it is simultaneously an exit, from the imaginary filled space of the *skēnē*. When a messenger reports Jokasta's suicide and Oidipous' self-blinding, he does so after observing Jokasta coming in. His speech is full of interior spatiality. Jokasta

> went at once *to* her wedding bed,
> shut the *doors* when she *entered* it . . .
> Oidipous rushed *in* . . .
> he darted *up and down*. . . .
> Some daemonic *guide* . . .
> seemed to show him the way . . .
> he drove *in against* the double doors,
> wrenched them *from* their sockets. . . .
> Then we saw. . . .
>
> (*Oid. Tyr.* 1237–64, emphasis added)

When the messenger enters the stage, he exits from this chamber of horror. The messenger, recounting Orestes' attempt to murder Helen, likewise describes the obverse of the audience's experience. The audience saw Orestes and Pylades go *out* through the door. The messenger saw them come murderously *in*.

In such speeches, the audience is offered a vivid sense of the real, complicated space from which characters emerge: space with important internal boundaries, like the doors which Oidipous smashes in, doors which should have kept him out long ago. Entry is exit from the place whose reality is illusion, and vice versa. This is not necessarily true of a proscenium arch theater, or in a tradition that puts a three-walled interior, a room, onstage.

The symbolic possibilities of that door were explored by dramatists writing for a society which respected the ambiguity and doubleness of a door's deity. Appropriately to Hermes, Strophalos, Epitermios, Prothuraios, tragedy happens in a *prothuron*, a space before a door. The characteristic tragic setting is some kind of boundary, usually a gate or door: "outside the courtyard gates" (Soph., *Ant.* 18). Kassandra calls on Apollo Agyieus, lord of roads, when she encounters the doors to the house of Atreus (Aiskh., *Ag.* 1080–81). She entered from the *eisodos*, the road from Troy. Now she faces a gate into a cul-de-sac, where her life will end: a door into the dark. In another play, when Apollo identifies to

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[75] Taplin, *Action*, 20. The primary focus of Taplin, *Stagecraft*, was on entry and exit. Taplin, "Sophocles," further shows how a dramatist could use *eisodoi* to direct the drama's emotional resonance.

Kreousa, whom he raped and abandoned long ago, their grown-up son, Kreousa clings to his temple gates in gratitude:

> I hated these doors,
> and the god's oracle, before.
> They are lovely now.
> Blissfully, I hang even from the door-ring
> with my hands: I salute the gates.
>
> (Eur., *Ion* 1611–13)

She directs attention to the door of the god's temple at Delphi, outside which the tragedy has been played. Sometimes the setting is on a wilder margin: "We have come to the furthest plain of the world . . . ": so begins the play set in a place visited by the personified world-margin himself, Ocean (Aiskh., *Prom.* 1, 268). Marginality, Hermes' characteristic, is characteristic also of most tragic settings. They are poised on a threshold or boundary. And stage action often focuses on the door.[76]

II

Vase paintings of dramatic scenes (they begin in the fifth century, though we have many more from the fourth) often characterize tragic stage building by the *prothuron*, a small kiosk, four columns and a pediment, that looks like a porch. This appears so often that earlier scholars believed that the fifth-century stage building had a real projecting *prothuron* around the stage door.[77] But the material once used to support this idea now testifies to the vase painters' sense of tragedy's *prothuron* quality. Their *prothuron* is a metonym for the *skēnē*. It represents the stage. It expresses, perhaps, the painters' sense that tragedy happens in a "space before a door," the core idea in the word *prothuron*.[78]

Presumably the vase painters are also excited by the ambiguity of the stage space and stage painting, architecture in recession. Their growing interest in foreshortened architecture seems to be linked to their increasing interest in portraying dramatic scenes. The door in that facade was the one real thing. It moved in a different plane. Presumably it went inward, away from the watching eye, for Greek doors mostly opened inward.[79] The door made actual the promise of foreshortening in the painted building. Through it you could indeed see some partial distance into the unseen.

There was an intense relationship, then, between painting and the stage, expressed in the fifth-century history of architectural foreshortening. In the development of this relationship, doors play a crucial role.[80] Greek doors are mostly painted double, like the double doors Oidipous smashes down. When Greek painters want to show an open door, up to the second quarter of the fifth century, they paint one leaf closed, the other absent. About 440 B.C.E., they try to show the opened leaf, but in profile. We see the door knob and hinge sideways, and the interior within. Then finally, from about 430 onward, they paint one or both leaves open and receding inwards, foreshortened. Often there is a figure within, half-hidden behind the opened door. This is how open doors are done on vases thereafter, especially in scenes from the stage, most famously in the Würzburg fragment (plate 19; see also plate 20).[81]

Painters from ca. 450 may be affected, as I have argued, by the buildings they see so publicly painted in recession on the tragic *skēnē*. Tragic scene painting, focused on that vital real door, stimulates them to show the door itself receding, and the interior it really half-reveals.[82] But they also react, I think, to qualities of the tragic texts themselves. They find the half-open door a right image for tragedy, its half-hiddenness, its doubleness.

Technically, vase painters lag behind contemporary mural painters such as Polygnotos who painted scenes from Sophokles.[83] Was it he who first portrayed tragedy's ambiguous door and explored, with his unique, innovative technical power, the painterly implications of a real door opening in an illusory facade?

Whoever began it, surviving vase paintings of the tragic scene which choose a half-open door, with perhaps a figure half-hidden behind, to represent a tragedy, are a perfect emblem of tragic *feeling*. They express the tension between secrecy and revelation, the hidden and the manifest, which variously characterizes tragic texts.[84] That door half-displays what is lying in wait, both in space (within the *skēnē*) and in time, in the still-to-be-unfolded play. Such paintings bring out the imaginative significance, in tragedy, of the relation between inside and outside.

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[76] See Taplin, *Action*, 33–35, 46–47, 105, 136.

[77] Pickard-Cambridge, in *TDA*, 75–90, reviews evidence for a fifth-century projecting *prothuron* and disposes of the idea.

[78] *Prothuron* in Homer means the doorway or space before it; in the fifth century it may also be a recess in a wall, but generally just the space before the door (e.g., Pind., *Pyth.* 3.78). Contexts may suggest it means a built "porch," but these are often ambiguous, e.g., Thuk. 2.67.

[79] See Dale, *Collected Papers*, 122 (with n. 1), 264; Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur," 73, 77.

[80] Richter, *Perspective*, 27, 35.

[81] Above, notes 72 and 73. A door's three phases: (a) Richter, *Perspective*, fig. 117, a kylix ca. 475–450 (this form of representation goes back to the sixth century; Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur," 72, with n. 26); (b) Richter, fig. 156, a pyxis ca. 440; (c) plate 20, Richter, fig. 158, a pyxis ca. 425, showing a figure behind the door (cf. Gogos, 73 with n. 25, fig. 1). This is a fifth-century epinetron, 430–420 B.C.E., showing Alkestis' wedding (Eur., *Alk.* is 438 B.C.E.). Here both doors are half-open, receding inward. Phase (c) is typical of open doors thereafter, esp. in scenes from the stage (Gogos, 77), e.g., *ICD*, III.3, 28 (Artemis' temple in *Iph. Taur.* with open doors, vase ca. 370–360); III.3, 31 (a crude version of the Würzburg scenario: Iphigeneia is not in stage costume here, but see Gogos, 77, with fig. 4). Open doors in comedy, *IGD*, IV.16, 18. Cf. drawings from fourth-century vases in *TDA*, 84–98, figs. 12, 14, 18, 19, 29.

[82] Gogos, "Bühnenarchitektur," 73, takes the representation of doors as an early indication of fifth-century stage painting's influence on vase painting, though he ignores the mediating effect of mural painting.

[83] *IGD*, 4, 69 (Thamyras); 66 (Nausikaa).

III

A door is a pragmatically universal image of ambiguous temptation, uncertain invitation, and hesitation. The half-open tragic door crystallizes the ambiguities that "door" in itself evokes, at least in Western tradition.[85] These paintings point to the guessing relationship between what an audience can see of a structure in a tragedy, and what they know or fantasize may lie behind it. The stage is the "place where the invisible can appear." But, importantly, "we can never see all of the invisible."[86] A fifth-century audience knew the importance of this limitation far more profoundly than do theatergoers of our day. We bring to the theater other experiences, those of television and cinema, whose relations to the invisible and illusion are quite different.

The half-open door reminds us that we can never see all, not just of the *skēnē* and the dramatic situation, but of the human being. Tragedy uses the vocabulary of house and door to demarcate self from other. The stranger is the one at the door, *thuraios*. A human being has a door to the interior, to the soul. The mouth is traditionally a fenced door. The background illusory house is important not just in itself, but as a structure parallel to the individual self. The *skēnē*, and what it stands for, is an image of the unseen interior of a human being. The audience imagines thoughts and feelings, and attributes these (in the particular way members of their society are used to attributing feelings to other people) to the dramatic character. The words that character speaks are imagined to express, and also often to conceal, these illusory, hidden feelings.

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[84] Tension between secrecy and revelation: e.g. (in different ways), Aiskh., *Ag.* 615–16, 1372–76; Soph., *Phil.* 55, 908–15; Eur., *Hipp.* 232, 250, 279, 297, 362–68, 498, 520, 593, 648, 1060, 1091, 1308, 1312. See the discussion in Froma Zeitlin, "The Power of Aphrodite: Eros and the Boundaries of the Self in the *Hippolytus*," in *Directions in Euripidean Criticism*, ed. Peter Burian (Durham, N.C., 1985), 52–111, 189–208. Between seen and unseen, e.g., Eur., *Ion* 778–81, 190–229, 233, 249–50, 272, 1321–22; see Dale, *Collected Papers*, 119–29, and the remarks of Zeitlin in her first essay in this volume.

[85] The door "is a . . . cosmos of the half-open . . . origin of a daydream that accumulates desires and temptations . . . to open up the ultimate depths of being and . . . to conquer all reticent beings." It offers "images of hesitation, temptation, desire." A poet "knows that there are two 'beings' in a door, that a door awakens in us a two way dream." So Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, tr. M. Jolas (Boston, 1969), 222–24. Such associations certainly fit the door's many roles in Greek imagination.

[86] Brook, *Empty Space*, 47, 49.

The dramatist "makes space speak" by using the symbolic language of stage space to back up the words. Expression in space interacts with linguistic expression.[87] The vase painters depict a tragic scene without words, but often feature not only the half-open door, but also a figure behind it: a hieroglyphic comment on tragedy's full representation of human beings. The open mouth or door, through which speech comes, is the only real thing in the mask. Yet the mouth in a sense is only half-open: the person is half-concealed behind the words that come out of it. *Skēnē* matches mask. Symbolism of the one underlines the qualities of the other. Both speak to the metonymic quality of speech itself.

So the doubleness of the *skēnē*, incarnate in its door, is an apt foil to the ambiguities with which human figures appear; ambiguities of mind, feeling, relationship, word. The audience's double awareness of the foreshortened scene painting matches the doubleness—compounded of fluctuating objective and subjective response—in its relation with the stage figures. The visual "dialectic of inside and outside,"[88] expressed in the theater's exits and entrances, reflects a specific dialectic of inside and outside with which tragedy pictures the human interior in relation to the nonhuman world outside. The spatial language of this theater says something about its society's understanding of consciousness. The proscenium arch, and theatrical explorations of interior space, developed over centuries in which understanding was increasingly located within the human self. While Western tragedy interiorized its tragic sites, Western thought looked increasingly within the mind, to explain the source of feeling and action[89]—which Greeks of the fifth century at least half attributed to the outside world.[90]

IV

Tragedy's site is the margin, and dramatists often treat the physical space which represents it in a way modern critics call "elastic" and ambiguous. The acting space is seen in several ways at once. "Space as well as time had a certain elasticity." The setting seems to waver sometimes: between, for instance, the Akropolis and the nearby Areopagos.[91] One piece of equipment gave that space before the door a special ambiguity. It must have been in use by the time of the *Oresteia*, which exploits it and probably arrived along with the *skēnē*. This was the *ekkuklēma*, the "rolled-out thing": a probably wheeled low platform, rolled out from the suddenly opened *skēnē* door, usually at the end of the play. It carries outside the result of the tragic act "within."[92] Orestes standing over the bodies he has just killed, saying "See!" It brings to view the result of events within the *skēnē*. Indoors now comes out. Usually, as the scene goes on, "the indoor-outdoor distinction tends to be neglected."[93]

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[87] See Artaud, "Cruelty," 53, 63.

[88] "Often it is from the very fact of concentration in the most restricted . . . space that the dialectics of inside and outside draws its strength," Bachelard, *Poetics*, 229. See C. R. Lyons, "Character and Theatrical Space," 36, in Redmond, *Theatrical Space*, whose analysis of the function of space in later tragedy depends on an interaction of character and scene.

[89] "In an age and climate which encourage private life between four walls, our theaters look for most of their drama in an enclosed box with the fourth wall missing. The stage itself is shaped like that," Dale, *Collected Papers*, 259. Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 443, 454, 456 suggests that some pre-*skēnē* plays had an interior setting, e.g., inside a council chamber (*Pers.*), or Akhilleus' tent (*Myrmidons*). But (454 n. 2) even then the indoor/outdoor distinction would be fluid. Such a setting would be quite different in aim and effect from the interiority of scenes like *Othello*, v.2.

[90] I document this point throughout *In and Out of the Mind*.

Classicists are used to this idea and forget how very strange it is, what bewildering violence the *ekkuklēma* does to the distinctions on which the play rested till now. At the start of an *ekkuklēma* scene, the dramatist suddenly removes the boundary in the spatial dialectics which framed the play's conceptual, emotional tensions. The *ekkuklēma* incarnates the spatial ambiguity—and its violence—of the fifth-century tragic stage.[94]

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[91] Dale, *Collected Papers*, 120 (see below n. 94).

[92] Conventional uncritical views of the *ekkuklēma*, e.g., Webster, *Production*, 17, 173; Bieber, *History*, 73. But its fifth-century existence has been challenged. Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 437f. stresses how unreliable are the later testimonials for the fifth-century stage which supply most of our evidence for the fifth-century *ekkuklēma*. The only direct indication of its fifth-century use comes from Aristophanes' verb *ekkuklein* (*Akharn.* 407f., *Thesm.* 95f.). Pickard-Cambridge, in *TDA*, 100–103, 118 argued against a fifth-century use. He cites *eskuklein* used in an apparently nontechnical sense; *Wasps*, 1474–75. But this line is *funnier* if we assume a fifth-century *ekkuklēma*. "Some *daimōn* has rolled [in a tragical manner] into the house." The basic issue (focused by M. Lefkowitz, "Aristophanes and Other Historians of the Fifth-century Theater," *Hermes* 112 [1984]: 143–53), is: can we accept a hypothesis based (a) on interpretation of Aristophanes, though also (b) on interpreting the dramatics of the extant tragedies (Taplin's project in *Stagecraft*), plus (c) the muddled, unreliable post-fifth century comments, often derived purely from the texts? My answer would start from what we do know about Aristophanes: that he was very *funny*. Interpretation which takes what is funny as its first criterion is the best we can do. Even Pickard-Cambridge, in *TDA*, *Theater* 115, concedes there must have been *some* "absurd effect" on which Aristophanes' use of *ekkuklein* and *eskuklein* turned. Dale, *Collected Papers*, 124, shows that "opponents of the *ekkuklēma* ruthlessly sacrifice" jokes. Taplin, *Stagecraft* 442–43, accepts Aristophanes as evidence for the *ekkuklēma* but only after 425 B.C.E. The evidence is inconclusive. Even opponents of the *ekkuklēma* "cannot prove that mechanical devices were not used in fifth-century theater" (Lefkowitz, "Aristophanes," 153). Taplin, *Stagecraft* 442, concedes "we do not have sound evidence" of its use—but he adds "except for the revelation of interior scenes." This, coupled with the principle of reading Aristophanes in as funny a way as possible, is the clinching argument, I think.

[93] Taplin, *Action*, 12; see *Stagecraft*, 442–43. If one doubts that *ekkuklēma* and *mēchanē* were used in fifth-century drama, I can still say that the fourth century expresses in its theater apparatus the dialectics of inside and outside which were actually created in fifth-century drama: that the dialectics belong to the tragedies themselves, but were not concretely articulated until the fourth century. My argument, as a whole, does not depend on accepting a fifth-century *ekkuklēma* (though in fact I do).

[94] Dale, *Collected Papers*, 125, argues that the "spatial ambiguity of the *ekkuklēma*-produced interior" illustrates that "fluidity of stage scene which is so alien to our conven-

Space that was *prothuron*, before the door, now displays that which stood behind, within.

An *ekkuklēma* lays bare contradictions in the relationship between illusion and reality, inside and outside, set up by the *skēnē*. The door kept the interior away from the audience. Suddenly through this door appears the interior the audience could not see. Yet it is in itself, of course, another very obvious illusion. If we transfer the ambiguities of the *ekkuklēma* to the entity for which, I think, the *skēnē* also stands: the human self, we find the *ekkuklēma* corresponds to the ways—the rhetoric, images, music, lies—with which a character presents her illusory interior to the audience. The *ekkuklēma* makes visible the "unapparent."[95] By the verbal expression of emotion, a dramatist invites the audience likewise to look through: through the word's "insistent substance," in Hardy's phrase, and thereby contemplate the "thing signified," the self.

There are not many true arguments with self in Greek tragedy. Many soliloquies are in fact a series of apostrophes: to a series of gods, to Death, to a landscape or country, to the light, to the lower gods. Mostly the audience sees one character in interaction with others. When the audience first sees Iphigeneia, she is in a foreign land, priestess of the Taurians' Artemis cult which demands human sacrifice. They see her first in lyric interaction with the chorus, captive Greek women like her, then in dramatic interaction with a Taurian herdsman, who describes newly arrived Greek strangers. Iphigeneia is saddened by a dream which seems to say her brother is dead. She behaves as a priestess of Artemis should and orders the Taurian to bring these strangers to her, since the temple has long missed Greek blood (Eur., *Iph. Taur.* 289). But when he has gone, she addresses her own heart:

> Oh poor heart! Before
> you were always gentle to strangers,
> full of pity, dealing out full measure of your tears—
> when it was Greek men who came to your hands—
> to blood of your own race. But now
> I have grown savage,

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tions" (cf. Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 454 n. 2). She comments (121), that a text often vacillates "with a curious ambiguity between the imagined scene and the actual mechanism visibly used to present it." In her view, spatial and verbal ambiguities interact. A further insight is that of Taplin, "Sophocles," 157, who wants the "stage map" to be more precisely designated. Taplin's stage is "a place where three roads meet" (he is discussing *Oid. Tyr.*), i.e., the two *eisodoi* and the doorway to and from the *skēnē*. He compares this spatial meeting to the play's confrontation between present, past, and future *time*. I think the stage a more complex crossroads still. Routes to and from it include also the passage from the underworld (trapdoor), the sky (*mēkhanē*), and the route of the audience's gaze, the frontward path: their emotional identification with the actors is important too.

[95] See above, n. 32.

because of the dreams in which I thought
Orestes is dead. You strangers—whoever you may be—
will find me ill-disposed to you.

(*Iph. Taur.* 344–49)

We half-see the inner struggles she has had, these years, between her role as Artemis' priestess and her Greek sympathies. But the dream has changed her. She feels differently toward these Greeks. The soliloquy goes on. She remembers her own sacrifice at Aulis and its terror. She addresses the supposedly dead Orestes. And her feelings change again. She abuses Artemis who keeps murderers out of her shrine, "yet herself enjoys human sacrifice" (*Iph. Taur.* 384). She changes her view of this goddess by whom she is defined:

It is not possible that Leto, Zeus' wife,
gave birth to such stupidity.

(*Iph. Taur.* 385–86)

Then she ends by deciding that the Taurians misread their goddess (*Iph. Taur.* 390–91).

Euripides suddenly displays to the audience Iphigeneia's inner feelings. Before and after this speech, the audience sees her externally, as she interacts with Taurian attendants in her priestess role. But this speech is an emotional *ekkuklēma*. It gives the audience a glimpse behind that role, a glimpse which the Taurians cannot have. The *ekkuklēma* is the visual analogue of words by which a character comes "out," yet that are themselves the vehicle of illusion, since there is no character there inside, only an actor.

We see the *ekkuklēma*'s symbolic power fully in relation to the complementary equipment, the *mēkhanē*, which swung actors down onto the stage from above,[96] sometimes representing human heroes on winged car or steed, but also, often, representing gods. The divine epiphany on the *mēkhanē*, deus ex machina, was popular in fourth-century tragic performance. It may have begun in the fifth century.[97]

Together the two machines epitomize ways dramatic situations change. The interior opens up, something comes out from within, or a new force enters from the outside, and rearranges the situation. The two illustrate a tension in tragic imagery of mind between emotion as something within, expressed outside, and emotion as demonic force which enters from the outside and disturbs. *Ekkuklēma* and *mēkhanē* embody the theater's dialectics of outside and inside, and above all the way dramatists use these dialectics representing human feeling.

The two machines had human equivalents. The later writer Philostratos assumes that Aiskhylos created tragedy with all the features he himself knows of, in the second century C.E. In some respects he is anachronistic. He includes high boots, typical of the later stage. But he also includes some features of true fifth-century tragedy: "types of heroes and what must be done on and behind the *skēnē*." He also mentions "*angeloi* and *exangeloi*."[98]

It is clear what he means. *Angeloi*, "messengers," tell you what has happened outside the tragic site. They bring in a report from Mount Kithairon (Eur., *Bakkh.* 1024–1152) or the beach at Troezen (Eur., *Hipp.* 1153–1264). But the *exangelos*, "messenger-out," brings out news from inside. The difference is manifest in the *Oidipous Tyrannos*. An *angelos* arrives from outside, from Corinth, to say Oidipous' presumed parents are dead. The *exangelos* comes out from within, to speak of Jokasta's suicide, and Oidipous' self-blinding in the palace (*Oid. Tyr.* 924f., 1223f.).

Philostratos sees Aiskhylos as the great man who made tragedy into what it is in his day. He may not be right, that Aiskhylos began the system of *angeloi* and *exangeloi*. He implies that fifth-century poets and audience were aware of the difference between *angelos* and *exangelos*, and used this terminology to refer to it. Maybe they did not. But it seems likely they were at least aware, for the two match so firmly the *mēkhanē* and *ekkuklēma*. *Ekkuklēma* and *exangelos* bring news out of the house and onto the stage, in the entry that is also an exit. *Mēchanē* and *angelos* bring news into the theater from somewhere altogether elsewhere.

A formal apparatus, both human and mechanical, therefore underlines the tension between the inside and the outside of theatrical space, internal and external sources of dramatic change. By this apparatus, tragedy's visually perceived, physical relationships become a concrete correlate for ideas and images of inside and outside, intellectually and imaginatively perceived, which run through tragic language about human interiors.

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[96] Illustrated in *IGD*, III.1, 17, III.3, 34: two South Italian vases of the later fifth century illustrating Aiskh., *Carians*, Eur., *Med.* The standard view of *mēkhanē* (based on *TDA*, 127–28): e.g., Webster, *Production*, 11f.; Bieber, *History*, 76; Simon, *Theater*, 6; *IGD*, 8, who cite vase painting from the late fifth-century onward. Taplin, *Stagecraft*, 444–47, discusses its problems. His only real candidates for its use in extant tragedy are Okeanos (Aiskh., *Prom.*) and the Muse (Eur., *Rhes.*; *Stagecraft*, 445, 261). Lefkowitz, "Aristophanes," doubts any fifth-century use of the *mēkhanē*. But it is substantiated by late fifth-century vases from South Italy, at least. Even Pickard-Cambridge, who opposed the *ekkuklēma*, accepted the *mēkhanē*. As with the *ekkuklēma*, the criterion of Aristophanic passages should be how funny they are. Aerial suspension is closely linked with tragedy. Lefkowitz rightly attacks ideas derived from fourth-century or Hellenistic commentaries, whose assumptions were "deduced directly from the text" (144, 148). That should not preclude our own use of a text and its context. But again, my argument, as a whole, does not depend on a fifth-century *mēkhanē*.

[97] Through Taplin, *Action*, 12, 185 n. 20, doubts that fifth-century epiphanies happened on the *mēkhanē*.

[98] Philostratos, *Lives of the Sophists*, 1.9.

The inside and outside of the theater's space offers the watching imagination a way of thinking about the inside and outside of other structures important to tragedy: city, house, self.

The performance of a tragedy, articulated through spatial dualities, reinforces the drama's other dualities by which it presents human beings. The audience see movement between opposed spaces. Actors step into the chorus' space, the chorus into the actors' space. Ghosts rise from the underworld. The door is simultaneously an exit and an entrance. Seen and unseen are kept apart, yet the one is invaded by the other. Such movements crystallize visually the communication, invitation, menace, between opposed people which the drama (verbal analogue to the theater's space) embodies. The "language" of any theater is a mix of movements: movements of thought and relationships expressed in words, movements of body expressed in space.[99]

Emotions created by a drama are brought about in a mixture of verbal and bodily language. Greek tragedians use entry and exit to underline the feelings of their characters. Body movements provide the dynamics within which emotion works. The stage is mapped by movements in opposite directions, safety to danger, danger to safety; enclosedness to openness and change, or vice versa; abroad to home; underworld (or divine world) to the human world, and vice versa.[100]

However, this theater's movements in space were also a formal mirror for the more intimate and even more violent movement which the words tell the audience to imagine happpening in other spaces. The words often point outward. In each epoch of tragedy, the world to which tragic language points will be different. In Greek tragedy, it points to a world outside which is truly haunted by furies, where gods journey over oceans, mad people wander over continents, prophecies flit around above a murderer's head; where ships sail toward us, away from us, ram each other and sink.[101] Where people meet appalling pain, both physical and mental; where they are quite literally torn apart.[102]

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[99] Artaud, "Cruelty," 53–56, stresses theater's need for physical "expression in space." Theater has a "unique language, halfway between gesture and thought." To the "auditory language of sounds," it adds the "visual language of objects, movements, attitudes, gestures" which together create an "alphabet" of signals. The theater organizes its "language" into "hieroglyphs," intricate units, ways of showing people and objects whose symbolism and interconnections are related at all levels. We cannot recreate the "alphabet" used by the fifth-century theater. We work with hypotheses drawn from ambiguous evidence. But we can try to be alive to any part of that language that may reach us.

[100] As Taplin's whole project in *Stagecraft* has shown us; see detailed examples in his "Sophocles."

[101] Aiskh., *Eum.* 397–404, *Supp.* 538–73; Soph. *Oid. Tyr.* 482; Aiskh., *Supp.* 712–23, *Pers.* 374–428; Eur., *Hel.* 1451–54, 1612.

[102] Soph., *Trakh.* 765–88, *Ant.* 1226–69; Eur., *Bakkhai* 1125–39.

But tragedy's words always point inward too,[103] to an inner world of equally violent movement, destruction, pain, which corresponds to the "underside" of theater's visible space.[104] Through the hieroglyphics of Athenian tragedy, movements in space, both seen and unseen, convey the culture's understanding of movements into and out of mind and self, and above all, of their unseen violence.

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[103] Cf. a modern director's understanding of the blend of inner and outer landscape in Shakespeare's language. The Elizabethan stage was "a neutral open platform—just a place with some doors. . . . This theater not only allowed the playwright to roam the world, it also allowed him free passage from the world of action to the world of inner impressions. . . . Shakespeare was not satisfied with . . . unknown continents: through his imagery—pictures drawn from the world of fabulous discoveries—he penetrates a psychic existence whose geography and movements are just as vital for us to understand today." Brook, *Empty Space*, 97.

[104] The theater uses images and movements not "solely for the external pleasure of eye or ear, but for that . . . of the spirit. Thus, the theater space will be utilized not only in its dimensions and volume but, so to speak, *in its undersides [dans ses dessous]*." Artaud, "Cruelty," 68.

Nothing to Do with Dionysos?

Athenian Drama in Its Social Context

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