Archiving and Interpreting Greek and Roman Theatre: The Archive as Engine Room and Digital Hub

The Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama (APGRD) began life at the University of Oxford in 1996, at a time when there was no systematic gathering and/or interpretation of data relating to the performance history of the Greek and Roman plays on the modern stage. This neglect was in marked contrast to the performance history of Shakespeare, which had been well-documented since at least the mid-twentieth century, with the foundation of the Shakespeare Institute in Stratford-on-Avon in 1951. The example of Shakespeare had demonstrated unequivocally that the study of performance histories was central to the analysis of the plays themselves. The APGRD’s co-founders, Edith Hall and Oliver Taplin, recognised that anecdotal and ephemeral evidence about the ancient plays in performance needed to be collated because it too would provide important source material for serious researchers in Classics.

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1 www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk.
The APGRD, like many scholarly collections, began life as a random collection of *memorabilia* that was slowly catalogued and incorporated into an online database. By 2005, with much support and generosity from friends in far-flung places and after almost ten years of gathering data from around the world, and now sporting a much-used website and substantial library specialising in classical reception and theatre history, members of the APGRD team began to reflect on their practice. What does archiving performance mean? What are the pitfalls and problems involved in the archival process?

Some of these issues had been very much apparent from the outset – not least the personal, serendipitous, chaotic and over-determining nature of the archival process itself. Whilst there had been, and continues to be, no conscious sense of imposing control and exercising exclusion in the way that Derrida identified as characteristic of archival practice in general\(^2\), there are inevitably gaps and elisions in the collections, which have come about through unconscious prejudice as well as an attempt to collect material worldwide. It was essential too in those early days to reflect on the institutional context of the APGRD, both within what has been deemed an elitist discipline and an elitist university – even though in those days, classical reception and the APGRD, in particular, were very much perceived to be on the fringes of Oxford Classics Faculty’s core activities. It was also important to keep to the fore the fact that Classics and social class are inextricably linked, as has been well documented\(^3\); and consequently it was paramount to keep at the forefront of the APGRD’s concerns the need to resist any top-down, and no less any Euro-centric, approach to the collecting process\(^4\).

All shortcomings notwithstanding, the pedagogical benefits of the collection were more than apparent as early as 2005 – already

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\(^2\) Derrida 1996.

\(^3\) Hall, Stead 2015.

\(^4\) For a detailed account of how the APGRD relates to other performance archives, see Macintosh 2012.
the APGRD was beginning to attract world-leading students to undertake doctoral research, and international scholars were coming to Oxford to consult the archival holdings in order to complete their studies on the ancient plays. From 2010, the APGRD acquired its first professional archivist, Naomi Setchell, who immediately pointed out that items in collections are not simply ‘source’ materials for researchers that are secreted away in filing cabinets and only brought out from the basement for consultation by fellow researchers. On the contrary, very quickly and very much in line with contemporaneous thinking about the obligation on the part of scholars in general to engage more widely with those beyond the academy\(^5\), the APGRD began to find ways to open its collections to audiences beyond the University and to those beyond the local community in Oxford.

The role of the archivist has changed considerably over time. Archival theory today rejects the model of archivist who functions as custodian of the collection; instead, the archivist is now understood to be engaged in the process of ‘reopening’ or ‘liberating’ collections\(^6\). From the outset, the APGRD was sited at the interface between scholarship and practice; and one significant part of its ‘reopening’ function has been in its collaboration with practitioners and in its commissioning and development of new work. In 2006 the APGRD received money from the Onassis Foundation to commission new works inspired by Greek plays and to bring professional productions to Oxford. One of the most compelling of these productions was *Molora* (2008), a South African version of the *Oresteia* directed by the then unknown Yaël Farber, and it showed just how fruitful collaborations between professional playhouses and the academy can be\(^7\).

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\(^5\) The APGRD trained doctoral and early career researchers in public engagement through a four-year AHRC funded programme called *Communicating Ancient Greece and Rome* (CAGR) – www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/about-us/programmes/communicating-ancient-greece-and-rome.

\(^6\) Cook 1993; Nesmith 2005.

\(^7\) For details of the Oxford Onassis Programme (2006-2012), see www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/about/programmes/onassis-programme. See Farber in discus-
Like most modern archives, the APGRD is a real space, a Study Room, with books, objects and documents, where a lot of teaching and discussion takes place during term-time. But it is also a virtual space, and this has been especially the case during the pandemic – through its busy schedule of online events, its database, and its digitised collections and its improved digital connections with other collections. Reopening the collections creates open space in which researchers, fledgling and seasoned, amateur and professional, scholars and practitioners, can access information, share ideas, create new work and write theatre history. In many ways the archive needs to function very much like an engine room of an organisation, where its ‘mechanical’ parts and its fuel are stored and where there is a regular interchange of ideas. The ‘reopened’ theatre archive promotes research, pedagogy and creativity and demonstrates that they can not only co-exist, but that their co-dependence needs to underpin the study of dramatic scripts, ancient and modern.

1. APGRD’s Modern Productions Database

The first and most apparent way in which the APGRD has reopened is through making its metadata available digitally and systematically. The very strength of the database (fig. 1) is its accessibility to non-specialists: it is not a tool designed simply for classicists; its target audience is equally theatre practitioners, translators, Translation Studies scholars, and the general public. For this reason, data can be interrogated in a number of ways: the search is not limited to the ancient Greek or Latin work(s) or author(s), but includes many searchable fields relating to the modern production, its context and details (title, date, contributor(s), country of performance, and venue(s) of the adapted material). Visually, the contextual data relating to the modern production is given prominence by being positioned at the top of the webpage;
such prominence on the page reflects the idea that the modern adaptation stands laterally, rather than hierarchically beneath, the ancient work from which it is inspired\(^8\). The material relating to the new production’s creative context and conceptual framework is thereby appraised and archived under the production itself, as part of both the history of reception and meanings of the ancient text as well as of the intellectual history of the period and geographical area in which the new production was generated.

Archival appraisal is a process, one that is not just developed and discussed internally amongst archivists, but is also part of a dialogue that APGRD scholars have amongst themselves and with the wider scholarly community, as well as with other databases and archives with which the APGRD collaborates. There are a number of important choices that need to be made when archiving performances, not least the question regarding what kind of performance gets to be archived. The APGRD’s rationale behind what to record and integrate into its collections is rooted in the conviction that it is important to record the full reach of the ancient dramatic texts in the modern world, including its celebrated modern adaptations that may well have eclipsed, at certain points in history, their ancient counterparts. For this reason, non-canonical material – such as Pierre Corneille’s *Œdipe* (APGRD ID: 6959), Jean Racine’s *Phèdre* (APGRD ID: 8719), or Jean-Georges Noverre’s *ballet d’action Agamemnon vengé* (APGRD ID: 9142) – is considered no less central to the reception history of the ancient texts than a revival of a canonical play.

The process of (re)contextualisation of the modern production goes way beyond recording practical contextual data relating to its first and subsequent performances (Where? Who? When?). It involves complicated decisions about its very nature, heavily determined by the degree of relationship to the ancient play it adapts. In line with theatre translation theory and adaptation studies, which substantially equalise the processes embedded in

\(^8\) Cfr. recent developments in adaptation studies, which have successfully challenged discourses tied to ‘fidelity criticism’ (Hutcheon 2006, pp. 6-7).
translation for the stage and theatrical adaptation, unless the performance was in the original language (in which case the label ‘original language’ applies), every modern production in the field ‘degree of relationship to the ancient play’ is labelled as an ‘adaptation’.

Lately, efforts have been made to improve the digital accessibility of the augmented translation field. This sub-section of the Modern Productions Database began development in 2011 with the generous support of the Mellon Foundation and the University of Oxford’s John Fell Fund. Initially, this sub-section was populated with inaugural entries mainly relating to early modern translations of ancient plays into French. It now includes early modern translations of ancient plays into a number of European vernaculars (Italian, Spanish, Dutch, German) and into neo-Latin.

Future aims include, in the first instance, expanding the translation section database forward in time and into geographical areas beyond Europe so as to be able to investigate the linguistic and cultural power dynamics of translation theory and practice in the colonies and in postcolonial contexts. Subsequent aims would be to oversee the conversion of the translation data into a Translations Database that stands alongside the Modern Productions Database to highlight the importance that translations have had outside of the performance realm.

The translation section of the Modern Productions Database is complementary to the research project *Translating Ancient Drama*, which recognises the pivotal role that translations of an-

9 Cfr., amongst others, Bassnett 1985, pp. 3, 9; Hutcheon 2006, p. 16; Win- dle 2011, pp. 159-160; Krebs 2014, p. 3; Bassnett 2014, p. 10. The decision to label all modern productions adaptations was made in 2010.

10 ‘Scripts’ also feature as a sub-section of the Modern Productions Database and denote the performance text used in the production itself; translations become ‘scripts’ if and when they are performed.

11 A co-edited volume containing the research conducted on the period between 1450 and 1600 is forthcoming (Di Martino, Dudouyt, Bastin-Hammou, Jackson 2022).

12 www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/about/research/translating-ancient-drama.
cient Greek and Roman drama have played not just as part of the reception history of the ‘originals’, but as reflecting and actively impacting on the intellectual history, history of the theatre, and the linguistic trends of the period and geographical area from which they originated. A direct focus on the life and breadth of translation of ancient drama into modern languages inserts itself into recent interest in translation theory and practice in classical reception studies, and responds to the exhortation of modern literary specialists that translation be part of literary history.

In connection with this research project, Estelle Baudou and Giovanna Di Martino have run a series of practice-based translation workshops whose objective is to develop practical and theoretical tools to approach the translation of both whole and fragmentary Greek tragedies, with a view to performance. The research takes its cue from the understanding that these texts are to be viewed as nascent ‘scripts’, as something that will only be fully understood in their multiple meanings in performance. It also sits within recent developments in classical reception studies, which not only acknowledge the performative dimension of these texts in analysing and teaching them, but also include their performance history as part of the multiple layers of meaning they present to us today. The methodology of these workshops employs dramaturgical practice; it explores the meanings and structures of both the source and target texts through theatrical exercises. The workshop’s translation process is embedded in theatre practice from the outset: the workshop-produced translation results from the combination of the ‘physical’ and collective exploration of the dramaturgy of the passage with the collective

14 Cfr., amongst others, Gillespie 2011.
15 Baudou-Di Martino 2022 and www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/about/research/ translating-ancient-drama.
16 Cfr., amongst others, Macintosh 2013 and Bassnett 2014.
‘translation’ of the exploration into words that has emerged from the theatrical exercises and the group’s reflections.

2. APGRD’s multimedia/interactive ebooks

Digitising collections has the benefit of providing near universal access and bringing material out of the university setting to reach a much broader audience. But digitisation is not the simple panacea that it may seem. When limited budgets prevent large-scale digitisation of your collection, how do you make objects available to those unable to make the journey to you? How do you repurpose expensive academic print publications, which were inspired by those objects to be both open access and appealing to wider audiences? It was these motivations that prompted the APGRD’s successful application to the UK’s Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) for Follow-on Funding, in order to create two open access interactive/multimedia ebooks.

Each ebook is a performance history of an ancient Greek tragedy – Medea and Agamemnon, respectively (figs. 2-3)\(^\text{18}\). The ebooks were based on two early APGRD print publications, Medea in Performance 1500-2000 (2000) and Agamemnon in Performance 458 BC to AD 2004 (2005), which they have considerably enhanced and updated. These repurposed ebooks provide a cross between a digital exhibition and an interactive ebook and their pages are built around a range of digitised material and new digital objects – from historic playbills, theatrical ephemera and photographs, to interactive timelines and animated maps as well as audio and video clips from performances and interviews with theatre practitioners and academics. Both ebooks can be read traditionally (chapter by chapter) or the reader can build their own pathway via hyperlinks, which allow them to jump across chapters to related material. So you could, for example, start with a digital map that animates Medea’s long journey away from her homeland.

\(^{18}\) Macintosh, Kenward, Wrobel 2016 and Macintosh, Kenward 2019; see too Macintosh, Kenward 2020.
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(present-day Georgia) across the Black Sea to Greece, and then jump across chapters to view photographs of productions that have sought to explore Medea’s characterisation as a mistrusted immigrant. Additionally, each ebook has extensive glossaries, pop-over boxes with further information, and recommended ‘further reading’ pages to make the subject more accessible to a general readership (figs. 4-5).

The books have been built in iBooks Author but are also available, though in slightly less interactive format, as EPUB files for wider accessibility. Since the ebooks are free to download on multiple platforms and, crucially, do not require internet access once downloaded, our collections can now be shared with audiences all over the world, and especially in countries where online access is intermittent. A single download by a teacher can reach a room of students for whom a trip to the APGRD’s archive in Oxford would simply not be possible. In the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, they have proved an especially effective online teaching resource: at NYU’s Tisch School of the Arts, we understand that they have been used for actor training, not simply because they are a free resource, but also because they are interactive and give a «much needed sense of liveness, especially for classes that have a workshop element… allow[ing] students to engage with the material in meaningful ways, to use the visual and audio aspect as part of their own presentations and creative practice».

There have, of course, been challenges along the way and the project has proved a steep learning curve for all of us: technically, as we got to grips with the possibilities and limitations of various software; administratively, as we clarified permissions and copyright for each digital object; and creatively, as we sought to build visually striking pages with accessible, but not reductive, text. As always, software and budget limitations meant that some compromises had to be made. For example, some items could not be included, but these moments also provided opportunities to be

19 Letter to F. Macintosh from Tisch School of Arts, NYU, 16/6/2020.
more inventive with what we could use. Reflecting on this process, we developed a freely available toolkit in which we share best practice guidelines.20

The toolkit and ebooks are beginning to provide models for other research projects (and not just in theatre). For example, at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln the process of producing an ebook is being used as a training programme for students from across the Humanities and Sciences to develop transferable workplace skills. The Nebraska students were trained by members of the APGRD team, first via Skype sessions and then during a residency in the summer of 2019 in Oxford, on all the necessary skills – project management, archival research, writing, editing, permissions, digitisation, design – involved in co-curation and ebook.21 We are also very excited that making items from our collection accessible in this manner has helped to inspire further performances. We have reports from practitioners who have used our ebooks to inform their rehearsals, and at least one of the theatre companies, Barefaced Greek, whom we commissioned during the curation of Medea, a performance history to make their first short films in Greek, has gone on to enjoy considerable prominence on YouTube.22

The ebooks allow for remote and potentially creative encounters with the archive. We feel that we have developed a prototype for a new style of digital open access publication, which brings elements of performance, commentary, text and artefacts to diverse audiences. These audiences can use the ebook to delve as narrowly or as broadly into the subject as they may wish, and to engage with archival material academically, creatively and emotionally.

20 www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/ebooks%20toolkit.pdf.
21 For more on this, see the students’ blog post «A formative part of our undergraduate experience”: Nebraska-Lincoln students trained at the APGRD» – www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/digital-resources/blog/2020-03-16.
22 For more, visit their website, www.barefacedgreek.co.uk/films; see also Eastman in this issue; and on the Company’s APGRD Blog Post, see below.
3. APGRD’s podcast and blog

Another plank in this programme of widening access to the material relating to ancient Greek and Roman theatre and its performance history is the APGRD blog and podcast series, launched in 2018 and 2020 respectively. Both digital resources cover a wide range of topics, from interviews with creative practitioners about recent productions and projects on ancient dramatic texts, to scholarly discussions about mask theatre practice, ancient and modern, or the spread of ancient theatre in Sicily and the Black Sea region, as well as reflections by actor trainers about the pedagogical tools needed for the teaching of ancient theatre in schools and universities.

One of the aims of both the blog and podcast is to showcase, explore and share the APGRD’s collections with the wider public. The podcast episode Sicily and Greek Theatre and related blog post Leopoldo Metlicovitz’s poster for Agamemnon, INDA 1914, for example, feature Oliver Taplin and Giovanna Di Martino discussing the photograph of a production of Aeschylus’ Agamemnon performed in Syracuse in 1914 on the eve of World War I (figs. 6-7). This production inaugurated what was to become the longest-running modern festival of ancient drama. Every year, between May and July, spectators from all over Italy and beyond still gather in the ancient Greek theatre at Syracuse to watch a Greek tragedy or a comedy at sunset. The photograph discussed in the podcast episode belongs to the Leyhausen-Spiess collection, held at the APGRD and containing the collected papers of the founder of the Delphic Institute and the Collegium Delphicum, Professor Wilhelm Leyhausen (1887-1953), and his wife, Anne-Marie Loose Leyhausen, who ran the Delphic Institute and Collegium Delphicum after her husband’s death in 1953. The collection comprises 26 boxes of material documenting important European produc-
tions of ancient drama from 1914 to 1971, in addition to those connected with the activities of the Delphic Institute.

As well as showcasing archival material held at the APGRD, the blog and podcast also aim to share recent published research on ancient Greek and Roman theatre and its reception; all these publications are available for consultation in the APGRD’s Study Room and the authors are invited to discuss their work in writing and in person. This is the case, for example, in the blog post *Adventures in Ancient Black Sea Theatre* and the podcast episode *Ancient Theatre Around the Black Sea*, which feature two of the editors, Edith Hall and Rosie Wyles of *Ancient Theatre and Performance Culture Around the Black Sea* (2019), which they co-edited with David Braund. They take us on an exciting journey through the rich performance history of the Black Sea region, the discoveries of new material artefacts as well as the re-contextualisation of well-known literary evidence.

These digital resources also offer a productive and exciting way of talking about and conversing with creative practitioners. The blog post *Barefaced Greek: bringing Greek drama to YouTube audiences*, for example, discusses the beginnings of the company that has now produced seven short films of passages taken from Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*, Sophocles’ *Antigone*, Euripides’ *Trojan Women*, Aristophanes’ *Frogs* and *Lysistrata*. As we have heard, the Company’s earliest commissions were for the APGRD ebook *Medea, a performance history* (2016); and one of their most celebrated ones, the Watchman’s speech from the *Agamemnon*, was commissioned for *Agamemnon, a performance history* (2019). Another podcast about innovative creative practice is the episode

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23 For more on the Leyhausen-Spiess collection, see www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/research-collections/special-collections-archive/leyhausen-spiess-collection. The 1914 production of Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* is also discussed in Macintosh, Kenward 2019.


26 www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/digital-resources/blog/2018-06-19; see also Eastman in this issue.
recorded in the summer of 2020, which features Paul O’Mahony, Artistic Director of the UK-based theatre company Out of Chaos, Joel Christensen, Professor of Classical Studies at Brandeis University, and Lanah Koelle, Fellowship Manager at Harvard’s Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington. These three guests discuss their project Reading Greek Tragedy Online, currently in its second season, which consists of a weekly series of performances by international actors, and discussions of the plays with leading scholars co-hosted by the Center for Hellenic Studies, the Cosmos Society, and Out of Chaos. In December 2020, the project also organised a global livestream reading of the Odyssey all over the world (Odyssey Round the World), and in the summer of 2021 a competition for school students in the US, Canada, Greece, and Italy.

4. Greek Tragedy-Masterclasses on Film

It was on the strength of the success of Out of Chaos’ Reading Greek Tragedy Online project, which reached diverse international audiences eager for artistic expression during global lockdowns, that the APGRD joined forces with the Company to develop the first film in the Greek Tragedy-Masterclasses on Film project, funded by Oxford University’s Humanities Cultural Programme (figs. 8-9). The project aims to produce a series of free, high-level, and durable digital resources on Greek tragedy designed for university and school students and an expansive, global, online audience expedited by the Covid-19 pandemic. The project brought together international theatre practitioners and

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27 www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/digital-resources/podcast/episode-5.
28 www.out-of-chaos.co.uk/greek-tragedy.
29 www.out-of-chaos.co.uk/greek-tragedy.
30 For more, see chs.harvard.edu/event/odyssey-round-the-world/.
31 For more, see www.out-of-chaos.co.uk/playingmedea.
32 www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/about-us/programmes/artistic-collaborations-torch #Masterclass.
experts to make a 40-minute film about Sophocles’ *Antigone*[^33], the ancient play that has been at the heart of politico-legal, philosophical, religious, gender, and psychoanalytical debates from antiquity onwards.

The *Antigone* masterclass was filmed, in accordance with Covid-19 rules, at the English Touring Theatre’s studio space in south London. Actors Evelyn Miller and Tim Delap, directed by Paul O’Mahony, worked together on the confrontation scene between Creon and Antigone (lines 446-525) in Oliver Taplin’s translation of the Sophoclean tragedy (Oxford 2020). They performed the scene in two very different ways: first and unusually as an intimate family dispute; secondly, as a public confrontation between the forces of the state and the claims of the individual and a clash between male and female perspectives. Comment and context were provided by APGRD team members Fiona Macintosh and Oliver Taplin together with Lyndsay Coo (Senior Lecturer in Ancient Greek Language and Literature, University of Bristol) and Jane Montgomery Griffiths (Scholar-practitioner, Melbourne), whose contributions by Zoom were subsequently edited into the rehearsal footage by filmmaker Joel Philimore. The aim of the film was to make *Antigone* accessible to new audiences by introducing and integrating multiple performance and philological approaches, and by demonstrating the craft and process of acting and the role of the rehearsal in the creation of a play-text’s meaning. This first round of funding has demonstrated proof of concept for a larger array of future masterclasses, with plans for a second on *Oedipus Tyrannus* funded by Harvard’s Center for Hellenic Studies, well underway.

There is a huge appetite for multiple kinds of pedagogical material relating to theatre in general, but in marked contrast to Shakespeare, there is surprisingly little relating to Greek theatre. By developing free resources that are accessible via the APGRD’s digital resources pages on the website, as well as on other platforms such as Apple Books and YouTube, the aim is to reach au-

[^33]: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y6Qi3RjODIk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y6Qi3RjODIk).
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diences across the world hungry for access to high quality performances and discussions of Greek and Roman theatre. The ‘re-opened’ archive will also, ideally, connect with other free resources making ancient theatre and performance history part of a new and more democratic age.

Abstract.
From the outset, the APGRD was sited at the interface between scholarship and practice. Like most modern archives, it is a real space, a room, with books, objects and documents. But it is also a virtual space with online events, databases, and digitised collections and digital connections with other collections. In many ways, the archive needs to function very much like an engine room of an organisation, where its ‘mechanical’ parts and its fuel are stored and where there is a regular interchange of ideas. It is a ‘reopened’ theatre archive that aims to promote research, pedagogy and creativity and demonstrates that they not only need to co-exist, but that their co-dependence is necessary to underpin the study of dramatic scripts, ancient and modern.

Keywords.
Archives, databases, performance, ebooks, blogs, podcasts, archival theory, theatre practice, translation theory and practice.

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Fig. 1. The Modern Productions Database, APGRD.

Fig. 2. The front cover of *Medea, a performance history*. Acknowledgement: APGRD, with illustrations by Thom Cuschieri, APGRD.
Fig. 3. The front cover of *Agamemnon, a performance history*. Acknowledgement: APGRD, with illustrations by Thom Cuschieri.

Fig. 4. Page 20 of the Agamemnon ebook under construction – built around digitized elements from a signed copy of the 1926 *Cambridge Festival Theatre Review* from the APGRD’s archive. Acknowledgement: APGRD.
Fig. 5. Page 4 of the Medea ebook – combining photographs, a map, an audio recording of the actor Helen McCrory, and a talking-head video of academic and theatre-maker Olga Taxidou. Acknowledgement: APGRD.

Fig. 6. The Atreidai Palace in the set of the 1914 Agamemnon at Syracuse. Leyhausen-Spiess collection, APGRD.
Fig. 7. The Lion Gate in the set of the 1914 Agamemnon in Syracuse. Leyhausen-Spiess collection, APGRD.

Fig. 8. Lyndsay Coo (top left), Paul O’Mahony (top right), Fiona Macintosh (bottom left), and Oliver Taplin (bottom right) discussing Antigone in the Masterclass on Film: Antigone, APGRD.
Fig. 9. Actors Evelyn Miller and Tim Delap (on the right), directed by Paul O’Mahony (on the left), in the Masterclass on Film: Antigone, APGRD.