

Shakespeare

by Sophie Chiari

Performances of William Shakespeare's plays on the European continent date back to his lifetime. Since his death in 1616, the playwright has never stopped dominating European literature. His Complete Works have gone through an incredible number of editions from the 18th century onwards. During the second half of the 18th century, he was translated into French and German. Yet in Southern Europe it was not until the 19th century that spectators became genuinely acquainted with his plays. In the 20th century, artists started to engage with the cultural traditions of Shakespeare in a variety of ways. By the 1980s, the playwright had not only become enrolled in the ranks of postcolonial critique, but he was also part and parcel of a European theatrical avant-garde. In today's Europe, newly created festivals as well as Shakespearean adaptations on screen continue to provide challenging interpretations of his plays.

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Shakespeare's Immediate Afterlife

The English author William Shakespeare (1564–1616) (→ [Media Link #ab](#)) wrote poetry (sonnets and narrative poems) as well as 38 plays – 39 if one includes *Double Falsehood*, that is, Lewis Theobald's (1688–1744) (→ [Media Link #ac](#)) 1727 reconstruction of a lost play, which was based on Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's (1547–1616) (→ [Media Link #ad](#)) *Don Quixote* and originally entitled *Cardenio*. Shakespeare seems to have been a voracious reader as he mused on books by great European writers in order to feed his drama. The geography of Renaissance Europe he alluded to in his plays was often synonymous with escape for characters in quest of identity, be they heroes or villains.

▲ 1

Ever since the age of Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) (→ [Media Link #ae](#)), Shakespeare has been dominating European literature for almost four centuries, and John Heminges (1556–1630) (→ [Media Link #af](#)) and Henry Condell (died 1627) (→ [Media Link #ag](#)) remain well-known as the joint editors of Shakespeare's posthumous First Folio edition (→ [Media Link #ah](#)) in 1623. Three other Folio editions with his works appeared in 1632, 1663, and 1685, becoming each time less and less reliable.

▲ 2

Performances of Shakespeare's plays on the Continent date back to his lifetime. Records mention touring productions of German adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* as early as in the first decade of the 17th century. Very early on, English companies had also begun to visit Eastern Europe (→ [Media Link #ai](#)) and perform their plays in sometimes

prestigious surroundings. In 1626, at the Warsaw Royal Court in Poland, the John Green Company, among others, played *Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*.¹ Initially, these performances had to take place in English or German because there was no Polish translation (→ Media Link #aj) yet.

▲ 3

At the same time, the works of Shakespeare had an impact on theatres in Renaissance England as well. For example, the first appearance of a woman on stage was in *Othello* – until then, it had been considered indecent to have women perform in theatres, which is why female roles had to be played by men. Indeed, on 8 December 1660, an actress (probably Anne Marshall, a leading English actress of the Restoration era) played the part of Desdemona at the Vere Street Theatre.

▲ 4

Of course, Shakespeare's works at the time were profoundly altered in order to fit the tastes of the audience. Indeed, in the 1660s, they were often seen as "virtually unmediated expressions of Nature"² instead of being perceived and protected as elaborate works of art (a view which, incidentally, was adopted in many European countries in the 18th century, as non-English actors started performing plays sometimes rewritten beyond recognition). As a consequence, theatre practitioners such as John Lacy (1615–1681) (→ Media Link #ak), William Davenant (1606–1668) (→ Media Link #al), and Edward Howard (1624–1700) firmly believed that Shakespeare's plays had to be rewritten in order to attract large numbers of spectators.³ *Othello*, *Henry IV Part 1*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Hamlet*, and *Pericles* were the only plays to achieve success without resort to adaptation.⁴

▲ 5

For example, in 1667 William Davenant and John Dryden (1631–1700) (→ Media Link #am) reworked *The Tempest* into a comedy emphasizing royalist and patriarchal values, namely *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island*. The adaptation premiered on November 7 and proved immensely successful, even though it contained less than a third of the original content of the play, featured a new character named Hippolito, and contained much music, dance, and comic material. Another notorious instance of successful adaptation was Nahum Tate (1652–1715) (→ Media Link #an), who famously revisited *King Lear* (→ Media Link #ao) in 1681 – only to turn its tragic ending into a happy one. And this was the version which was played for the next 150 years on the British stage.

▲ 6

Towards the end of the 17th century, Shakespeare's plays thus became a material worth refashioning to fit the tastes of audiences who were no longer interested in the recreation of the past, but in new forms of entertainment. His work was thus incorporated into Baroque music as in Henry Purcell's (1659–1695) (→ Media Link #ap) *The Fairy-Queen*, first performed on 2 May 1692 at the Queen's Theatre in London. Loosely drawn from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Purcell's *The Fairy-Queen* actually established a new, specifically English genre, which could be defined as a baroque masque or semi-opera with a distinctly Oriental flavour, as a Chinese entertainment is part and parcel of Act V. By providing a masque set in a Chinese garden, Purcell actually responded to the vogue of tea-drinking (→ Media Link #ar) and chinoiserie encouraged by William III of Orange (1650–1702) (→ Media Link #at) and his wife Mary II of England (1662–1694) (→ Media Link #au), and his *Fairy-Queen* was immediately successful.⁵

▲ 7

At that time, English-speaking French writers were just beginning to realise how rich and complex Shakespeare's works were. Yet, most of them still basked in the conviction that French literature represented the apogee of European civilization and viewed Shakespeare with a kind of superior fascination.

▲ 8

Shakespeare Lost in 18th-Century Translations

In the 18th century, Shakespeare's *Complete Works* were successively edited by Nicholas Rowe (1674–1718) (→ Media Link #av) in 1709, by Alexander Pope (1688–1744) (→ Media Link #aw) in 1725, and by Lewis Theobald in 1733.⁶ Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) (→ Media Link #ax) then proposed bringing forth an edition of Shakespeare's plays as early as 1745, eventually producing his first great edition of Shakespeare in 1765.⁷ After Johnson, Edward Capell (1713–1781) (→ Media Link #ay) and George Steevens (1736–1800) (→ Media Link #az) also proposed their own editions of Shakespeare's plays.⁸ For yet another new edition of Shakespeare's writings in 1790, the Irish scholar Edmond Malone (1741–1812) (→ Media Link #b0) eventually tried to put his plays in chronological order.⁹

▲ 9

All of these editions proved of great value for the theatrical directors of the time. Indeed, after the Licensing Act of 1737 had been passed, "which limited the London theatre world to two patent houses and stipulated that all new plays and additions to old plays had to be approved by the Lord Chamberlain",¹⁰ dramatists increasingly relied on plays already in stock and therefore turned to Shakespeare. The 18th century was consequently marked by intense competition between the male leads at Covent Garden and Drury Lane, namely Spranger Barry (1719–1777) (→ Media Link #b1), known as the "Irish Roscius", and David Garrick (1717–1779) (→ Media Link #b2), a self-made man from a family of wine merchants. Garrick aimed at restoring Shakespeare's texts to their original state in order to make them more popular, and he largely succeeded. His *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* were costumed in modern dress. In 1769, Garrick organized a Jubilee celebration in Shakespeare's hometown Stratford-upon-Avon, whose climax probably was Garrick's recitation of an "Ode to Shakespeare".

▲ 10

In Europe, the idea that Shakespeare was a genius began to emerge at that period, and this also coincided with the rise of the British Empire. From Garrick's time on, there was a real market for an illustrated and sentimentalized Shakespeare, as people wanted to see celebrated actors immortalized in their great Shakespearean roles. Towards the end of the century, the Swiss-born English artist Henry Fuseli, also known as Johann Heinrich Füssli (1741–1825) (→ Media Link #b4), frequently turned to Shakespeare for his inspiration (→ Media Link #b5). In 1789, he was one of the main participants in John Boydell's (1719–1804) (→ Media Link #b6) Shakespeare Gallery. Indeed, Boydell, a leading print-seller who hoped to advance a British school of history painting, had commissioned paintings related to Shakespeare's plays from the best artists of the era (i.e. Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) (→ Media Link #b7), George Romney (1734–1802) (→ Media Link #b8), Joseph Wright of Derby (1734–1797) (→ Media Link #b9), and Fuseli himself). Even though his enterprise departed from the stage tradition by turning Shakespeare into a historical figure, it proved an immediate success, and the Shakespeare Gallery existed until 1805.

▲ 11

Meanwhile, the first complete French and German translations of Shakespeare's plays were produced. Against all odds, in 1754, the last Polish king, Stanisław August Poniatowski (1732–1798) (→ Media Link #ba), who had seen Shakespeare performed in London theatres during his visit to England, translated the first four scenes of *Julius Caesar* into French, which was then the official language of his court.¹¹ The French themselves discovered Shakespeare thanks to Voltaire (1694–1778) (→ Media Link #bb), who mentioned Shakespeare's "great genius" alongside his "dreadful scenes" in his *Lettres philosophiques* (1734).¹² To the French writer (who seemed to be familiar with only three of Shakespeare's plays, i.e. *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Othello*), the playwright appeared as fascinating as he was repellent.

▲ 12

Pierre-Antoine de La Place (1707–1793) (→ Media Link #bc) issued his *Discours sur le théâtre anglais* a few years later, in 1745, thus ushering in ten Shakespeare plays in translation.¹³ Then, during the late 18th century, Jean-François Ducis's (1733–1816) (→ Media Link #bd) neo-classical French versions of Shakespeare's plays – one thinks of *Hamlet* (1769), *Roméo et Juliette* (1772), *Le Roi Lear* (1783), *Macbeth* (1784), *Jean sans Terre* (1791; "King John"), or *Othello* (1792)¹⁴ – were imported into many European countries. As Ducis spoke no English, his dramatic rewritings (he

changed names and oversimplified plots) were themselves based on Pierre-Antoine de La Place's translations. Aimed at theatre practitioners, they were immensely popular across Europe. Ducis' adaptation was thus in turn translated into Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Dutch, Turkish, and Russian.

▲ 13

At the same time, between 1776 and 1783, twenty volumes of collected plays eventually appeared in Pierre Le Tourneur's (1736–1788) (→ Media Link #be) fine and much more faithful French translation.¹⁵ Le Tourneur's edition attracted the patronage of Louis XVI (1754–1793) (→ Media Link #bf), and it also became an important influence in Europe. We know that in Sweden, for instance, "the Uppsala University Library bought Le Tourneur's French translation in 1780".¹⁶ Soon after, in 1776, *Romeo and Juliet* was performed by a German company whose members relied on a Swedish translation, itself based on Ducis's adaptation of the play into French. By contrast, in Denmark, there were direct translations from the original Shakespeare right from 1777 onwards, when *Hamlet, Prinz af Dannemark*, was published by Johannes Boye (1756–1830) (→ Media Link #bg).¹⁷

▲ 14

In Germany, Shakespeare's popularity was far less controversial than in France. From 1762 to 1766, Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813) (→ Media Link #bh) published a prose translation of twenty-two plays in German.¹⁸ Yet Wieland's sincere admiration of Shakespeare also was "in stark contrast with his harsh criticism aimed at individual passages".¹⁹ As a consequence, Wieland simply ignored a number of passages, while trying to improve others. His translation was both harshly criticized and hugely influential. Soon after its publication, and in imitation of Garrick's festival, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) (→ Media Link #bi) organised a Shakespeare jubilee in Frankfurt in 1771, declaring 14 October 1771 to be "William's day". Wieland's Shakespeare was then emended and completed by Johann Joachim Eschenburg (1743–1820) (→ Media Link #bj) between 1775 and 1782. Since then, Germany's Shakespeare cult has grown steadily in both size and enthusiasm.

▲ 15

In the 1780s, Russia also developed a lively interest in English literature, which was gradually taking precedence over French literary works.²⁰ Significantly, in 1783, Shakespeare was for the first time rendered into Russian. *Richard III* was translated and soon after, in 1786, Nikolai M. Karamzin (1766–1826) (→ Media Link #bk), himself a writer of prose fiction, produced a translation of *Julius Caesar*, done from the German rendering by Johann Joachim Eschenburg. Thanks to this translation, Russian writers could now discover Shakespeare's genius. Tsarina Catherine the Great (1729–1796) (→ Media Link #bl) herself adapted *The Merry Wives of Windsor* into Russian as *Vot kakovo imet' korsinu i bel'e* ("This Is What it Means to have a Buck-Basket and Linen")²¹ – a work entitled after Shakespeare's character Master Ford's line "This 'tis to be married! This 'tis to have linen and buck-baskets!"²² and indebted to the neo-classical aesthetics of her time – and *Timon of Athens* (based on a German translation) as *Rastochitel'* ("The Spendthrift").²³ Quite at the same time, in 1790, the first Hungarian translation of a Shakespeare play was a prose translation from a German *Hamlet*.

▲ 16

In Southern Europe, even though the learned part of the population had heard of Shakespeare's reputation, readers and spectators were not yet genuinely acquainted with his works. The situation can be summarized by looking at three countries, that is, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. In Italy, Shakespeare became popular in the late 18th century thanks to Ducis's work. The first translations were made in the mid- to late 18th century, but most of the plays were not performed, at least not in easily recognizable versions, until the mid-19th century. Yet a few Shakespeare performances are worth mentioning. A *Hamlet* version, based on Francesco Gritti's (1740–1811) (→ Media Link #bm) translation²⁴ of Ducis's adaptation, was performed in Venice in 1774. As to *Romeo and Juliet*, based on another French adaptation²⁵ by Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740–1814) (→ Media Link #bn), it was staged only a few years later.

▲ 17

Quite similarly, in Spain, the first staged play was *Hamlet* in 1772, but Ramón Francisco de la Cruz's (1731–1794) (→ Media Link #bo) translation was actually based on Ducis's adaptation.²⁶ A prose translation of the same play²⁷ was then produced in 1798 by the neo-classical writer Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1760–1828) (→ Media Link #bp), who strongly objected to Shakespeare's breach of decorum, thus censoring most of his puns. Meanwhile, in Portugal, Francisco Luis Ameno (1713–1793) (→ Media Link #bq) wrote *Ambleto em Dania* (ca. 1755), an opera based on *Hamlet*.²⁸ However, it was probably not drawn from Shakespeare's own version, but rather from a Spanish – or Italian – rendering of the play.

▲ 18

Romanticism and Bardolatry in 19th-Century Europe

Symbolically, in Germany, 1800 is the year when the performance of Friedrich Schiller's (1759–1805) (→ Media Link #br) adaptation of *Macbeth* was premiered in Weimar on May 14.²⁹ In almost the same year in France, Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein (1766–1817) (→ Media Link #bs) openly praised Shakespeare in *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales*, affirming that the playwright "opened a new literature" and that "it was he who gave to the English literature its impulse, and to their dramatic art its character".³⁰

▲ 19

Besides, at the turn of the century, Shakespeare's long forgotten sonnets suddenly became very popular all over Europe, above all because they were now interpreted in a biographical perspective. Thus, in his Viennese lectures of 1808, August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845) (→ Media Link #bt) insisted that the sonnets contained the "confessions of his youthful errors".³¹ The English poet William Wordsworth (1770–1850) (→ Media Link #bu) believed that, in the sonnets, Shakespeare "unlocked his heart".³²

▲ 20

Shakespeare's remarkable reputation in the 19th century is testified to by the fact that his plays continued more than ever to influence illustrators and painters alike. Charles Knight's (1791–1873) (→ Media Link #bv) *Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakespeare*, issued in eight volumes between 1838 and 1843,³³ relied on its visual material to attract a wide readership, and it rapidly became one of the most popular editions of the time. As the leader of the French Romantic school, Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) (→ Media Link #bw) drew upon Shakespearian topics throughout his career. In 1844, he published a famous series of lithographs of *Hamlet* (→ Media Link #bx).

▲ 21

Meanwhile in England, another Shakespeare Gallery was created by Charles Heath (1785–1848) (→ Media Link #by) in 1836–1837, and it was far removed from Boydell's enterprise. Whereas Boydell had favoured images reproducing scenes from the plays, "Heath's were of characters – and specifically of female characters – whose relation to the scene and play from which they are drawn are interestingly ambivalent".³⁴ The Pre-Raphaelites, a group of painters, were also interested in scenes which could *not* be represented on stage, and they produced more than sixty illustrations of Shakespeare's works at the time. John Everett Millais's (1829–1896) (→ Media Link #bz) painting of Hamlet's fiancée Ophelia (1851–1852) (→ Media Link #c0), for example, depicts her suicide which Hamlet's mother Gertrude narrates in her famous speech "There is a willow grows askaunt the brook",³⁵ but which was never shown on stage for obvious practical reasons.

▲ 22

In 19th-century Europe, Shakespeare came to be considered as "international property". From the mid-19th century onwards, for instance, Shakespeare was widely translated into Spanish, and Michele Leoni's (1776–1858) (→ Media Link #c1) translation of Shakespeare's major tragedies between 1819 and 1822³⁶ provided the Italians with a more authentic Shakespeare. The first complete translation of Shakespeare's plays was made by Carlo Rusconi (1812–1889) (→ Media Link #c2) in 1838,³⁷ but he was soon followed by Giulio Carcano (1812–1884) (→ Media Link #c3), who published a twelve-volume edition between 1875 and 1882.³⁸

Meanwhile, in France, François Guizot (1787–1874) (→ Media Link #c4) republished Le Tourneur's work in a revised form under the title *Œuvres complètes* (1821). However, Shakespeare was not always welcomed by an audience who deeply resented the French military defeats in the Spanish Peninsula War (→ Media Link #c5) in 1809 and five years later at Waterloo, and who considered the English playwright as an enemy. More than his lack of propriety, it was now the sheer Englishness of the playwright which actually disturbed the French. Thus, on 31 July 1822, the English company performing *Othello* at the Porte Saint-Martin Theatre in Paris was hissed off stage by frenzied spectators. In a tract entitled *Racine et Shakespeare* (1823), Stendhal (1783–1842) (→ Media Link #c6) even reported that some members of the audience shouted "Down with Shakespeare! He was an aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington!".³⁹

▲24

Despite the hostility of his fellow countrymen, in the 1830s, the French composer Hector Berlioz (1803–1869) (→ Media Link #c7) did turn to Shakespeare in order to enrich his musical world. Amongst other pieces, he derived his *Lélio* (1832) from *Hamlet*, *Béatrice et Bénédicte* (a libretto written in 1833 and first performed in 1862) from *Much Ado About Nothing*, and the dramatic symphony *Romeo and Juliet* (1839) from the play of the same title. Years later, in his 1859 translation of the complete works, Victor Hugo's (1802–1885) (→ Media Link #c8) son François-Victor Hugo (1828–1873) (→ Media Link #c9) eventually went back to the roots in order to reveal the full violence of Shakespeare's language, even though the translation's serviceable prose was not always able to suggest the multifariousness of the original.⁴⁰

▲25

In Germany, a complete and accurate translation work was initiated by August Wilhelm von Schlegel and completed by Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853) (→ Media Link #ca) in 1833.⁴¹ This became a masterwork of the German language, establishing Shakespeare as the third greatest German author after Goethe and Schiller. It thus comes as no surprise that the world's first academic Shakespeare society, the *Deutsche Shakespeare Gesellschaft*, was founded in Weimar in 1864 and continues to hold an annual Shakespeare conference.

▲26

The standard Russian translation also dates back to the 19th century. It is the work of Nikolaj V. Gerbel' (1827–1883) (→ Media Link #cb) who, together with Nikolaj A. Nekrasov (1821–1878) (→ Media Link #cc), co-edited the complete edition of Shakespeare (1865–1868).⁴² Before that, during his exile in Russia, Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855) (→ Media Link #cd), the Polish author and friend of Aleksandr S. Pushkin (1799–1837) (→ Media Link #ce), had "found Shakespeare's history plays especially appropriate to the political situation following the Decembrist Revolution of 1825".⁴³ As to Pushkin himself, he penned *Boris Godunov* (1825), a satirical and subversive play in verse inspired by Shakespeare's *Histories*⁴⁴ as well as by *Macbeth*, while basing his verse tale *Angelo* (1833)⁴⁵ on *Measure for Measure*. His contemporary, the actor Pavel Stepanovitch Mochalov (1800–1848) (→ Media Link #cf), became famous for his anti-romantic *Hamlet* and was highly acclaimed throughout the 1830s and 1840s. In fact, Mochalov's gripping performance really made *Hamlet* sound Russian, thereby bringing Shakespeare's plays closer to Russian social reality.

▲27

In other eastern countries, Shakespeare was not so prominent. In Bulgaria for instance, the first play to appear in print was *Julius Caesar* in 1882. By contrast, Scandinavia soon took part in the cult of Shakespeare that had started in England – the playwright Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906) (→ Media Link #cg) himself being a great promoter of the Bard. *Macbeth* was rendered into Norwegian by Niels Hauge (died 1856) as early as 1855.⁴⁶ Only two years before him, Ivar Aasen (1813–1896) (→ Media Link #ch), the philologist and creator of *Nynorsk*,⁴⁷ had translated fragments of Shakespeare and relied on a "New Norwegian" rendering of a scene extracted from *Romeo and Juliet* in order to demonstrate the capabilities of his new national language.

▲28

It is needless to say that Shakespeare at this time also became strongly associated with the spirit of Romanticism, as a wave of enthusiasm for the Bard swept through the whole of Europe. Even his formerly neglected history plays were revived by actor-manager Charles Kean (1811–1868) (→ Media Link #ci) in mid-Victorian London. It is remarkable that Victorian productions tended to focus more on the actors' performances than on the plays themselves. The era featured great performers such as Sarah Siddons (1755–1831) (→ Media Link #cj), the most famous Lady Macbeth of all, her brother John Philip Kemble (1757–1823) (→ Media Link #ck), Henry Irving (1838–1905) (→ Media Link #cl), and Ellen Terry (1847–1928) (→ Media Link #cm). Siddons was the most renowned actress of her days, her first stage performance being that of Ariel in the Dryden and Davenant adaptation of *The Tempest*. She then played Rosalind, Gertrude, Imogen, Isabella, Beatrice, and Desdemona, and she even was the first woman to play *Hamlet*. On the institutional side, the Shakespeare Memorial Company (now known as the Royal Shakespeare Company) was founded in 1875 and soon became attached to Stratford's Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, which opened in 1879 and was destroyed by fire 47 years later.

▲ 29

In Southern Europe, although many people read Shakespeare, they had difficulty in seeing him performed. The case of Italy is particularly significant where "[a]ttempts were made to introduce Shakespeare to theatre audiences in 1820 (*Othello*), 1845 (*Othello*) and 1850 (*Hamlet*) but again with no great success".⁴⁸ Nevertheless, even though Shakespeare may not have been seen as fit for the stage, he was certainly regarded as a model by Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901) (→ Media Link #cn) throughout his career. The Italian composer wrote three operas on themes taken from Shakespeare's plays: *Macbeth* (first composed in 1847 and revised in 1865), *Otello* (1887), and *Falstaff* (1893).⁴⁹

▲ 30

Besides, the Italian actor and playwright Ernesto Rossi (1827–1896) (→ Media Link #co) started playing Shakespeare with great success, even outside Italy. We know for instance that from the late 1870s onwards, several internationally renowned actors or companies presented their Shakespeare productions in the main cities of Flanders. Rossi, together with Tommaso Salvini (1829–1915) (→ Media Link #cp), provided an impetus to the creation of a Shakespeare tradition in Flemish cultural life.⁵⁰ Against all odds, Rossi performed both *Hamlet* and *Othello* in Italian on the Belgian stage in 1876. The first Flemish performance of a Shakespearean play, *Romeo and Juliet*, took place eight years later, in 1884.

▲ 31

As for the Portuguese, they had to wait until 1877 before they were able to read a play directly translated from the source. King Luis I of Portugal (1838–1889) (→ Media Link #cq) issued a translation of *Hamlet*, soon known as "the royal translation",⁵¹ which was hailed by favourable reviews in the press. Before that, only two of Shakespeare's plays had been indirectly translated, and generally speaking, the English playwright had only been accessible to the educated elite, who were more likely to read him in the French adaptations of Ducis.

▲ 32

One last example will be enough to show that bardolatry had reached all European countries by the end of the 19th century. A high school student from Corfu, Andreas Varonos Theotokis (1802–1889), translated *Macbeth* into Modern Greek in 1819.⁵² In the late 1850s, as Iakovos Polylys (1826–1898) (→ Media Link #cr) published his translation of the *Tempest* (1859),⁵³ he prompted several other translators to follow suit. Yet it was thanks to the advocate of the revival of the Olympic Games, Demetrius Vikelas (1835–1908) (→ Media Link #cs), that Shakespeare was definitively introduced to 19th-century Greek audiences. During his stays in Paris, Vikelas translated *King Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Othello* (1878), soon followed by *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* (1881).⁵⁴ As a result, the Bard had become so influential by the end of the century that, in 1897, even the melancholy Austrian empress Elisabeth (1837–1898) (→ Media Link #ct) (who became well known under her nickname Sisi) embarked on translating no less than three plays by Shakespeare, namely *Hamlet*, *King Lear* and *The Tempest*, into Modern Greek.⁵⁵

▲ 33

20th- and 21st-Century Shakespeare: From Politics to Multiculturalism

Shakespeare's language continued to trouble the sensibilities of people. In his own country, the playwright was sometimes severely censored (→ Media Link #cu). If, by 1850, only seven editions of bowdlerized Shakespeare were available to the British readership, by 1900, there were almost fifty expurgated Shakespeare editions on the British book market (→ Media Link #cv).⁵⁶ Yet, at the turn of the 20th century, in *Le duel d'Hamlet*, directed by Clément-Maurice Gratioulet (1853–1933) (→ Media Link #cw), it was a woman, namely the fifty-five-year old French actress Sarah Bernhardt (1844–1923) (→ Media Link #cx), who played the title part.⁵⁷ Shown at the 1900 "Exposition Universelle" (→ Media Link #cy) in Paris, it was the second Shakespeare film ever made.⁵⁸

▲ 34

A few years later, in 1904, a Shakespeare statue designed by Otto Lessing (1846–1912) (→ Media Link #cz) was erected in Weimar. This clearly meant that bardolatry continued, not just in Germany but throughout Europe, despite the bouts of censorship in the Bard's homeland which were mentioned above. Artists and writers in early 20th-century England engaged with the cultural traditions of Shakespeare in a variety of ways. Harley Granville-Barker's (1877–1946) (→ Media Link #d0) productions of Shakespeare's plays at the Savoy Theatre in 1912 and 1914 were highly influential. After him, Shakespeare productions came to be characterized by a great diversity of styles. Yet, more often than not, his plays were now recreated in the service of a political ideology, be it Fascism or Communism.

▲ 35

During the First World War, the Honorary Secretary of the Shakespeare Tercentenary Committee, Sir Israel Gollancz (1864–1930) (→ Media Link #d3), produced a memorial entitled *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare* (1916).⁵⁹ The 166 tributes of the volume were written in 23 different languages, including all major European languages except German, for obvious reasons. The book purported "to create an imaginary unified community in the face of the deep, increasingly bloody divisions of the Great War"⁶⁰ as well as to invest Shakespeare with an imperial mission.

▲ 36

Curiously, after World War I, doubts about Shakespeare's authorship multiplied. The controversy had in fact been roused by the work of the American writer Delia Salter Bacon (1811–1859) (→ Media Link #d4), who proposed that Shakespeare was a fictitious person whose works had really been written by a group of men, one of them being the English philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626) (→ Media Link #d5).⁶¹ In 1920, John Thomas Looney (1870–1944) (→ Media Link #d6), an English schoolmaster, suggested that it was probably not Francis Bacon, as his American namesake had claimed, but the Earl of Oxford, Edward De Vere (1550–1604) (→ Media Link #d7), who was the real author of the plays. Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) (→ Media Link #d8), Looney's ardent supporter, even thought that the early death of Oxford's father and the remarriage of his mother offered the oedipal basis Freud needed for explaining the psychological conflict in *Hamlet*. From then on, the supporters of the Oxford theory never ceased reassigning the authorship of Shakespeare's plays, in spite of massive evidence proving that Shakespeare did write his own plays, and that his possible collaborations with other playwrights were part and parcel of a fairly typical practice of early modern playwrights.⁶²

▲ 37

In France, such controversy was easily brushed aside as Shakespeare's plays, in increasingly accurate form, were central to the French theatre of the 20th century. One of the founders of modern French theatre, Jacques Copeau (1879–1949) (→ Media Link #d9), was very much influenced by Shakespeare, and he eventually translated Shakespeare's *Tragédies* together with Suzanne Bing (1885–1967) (→ Media Link #da) in 1939.⁶³

▲ 38

Similarly, in the 1920s, some German translators tried to challenge the traditional use of translation. The son of the mayor of Leipzig, Hans Rothe (1894–1978) (→ Media Link #db), was a much-disputed translator taking liberties with the original text in order to cater for the demands of the modern theatre. He began publishing his translations from 1922 onwards, cutting complex passages, turning blank verse into prose, or clarifying the syntax.⁶⁴ Actors found Rothe's scripts easily speakable and particularly liked them in spite of the harsh criticism of European Shakespeare scholars,

but in 1936, the Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945) (→ Media Link #dc) banned them, forcing all theatres to rely on the Schlegel-Tieck version instead. Rothe's translations were only used again after the Second World War.

▲ 39

At the height of the Fascist period in Italy, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) (→ Media Link #de) was depicted as a modern Gaius Julius Caesar (100–44 BC) (→ Media Link #df) in school textbooks. It is in this context that Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* was performed when the actor and director Nando Tamberlani (1896–1967) used the theatrical space of the Basilica of Maxentius in Rome in 1935. Incidentally, in the same year the Russian Sergei Prokofiev (1891–1953) (→ Media Link #dg) completed his ballet based on *Romeo and Juliet*, writing a score notoriously difficult for dancers to cope with.⁶⁵ Two years later, as a direct answer to Tamberlani, the American director Orson Welles (1915–1985) (→ Media Link #dh) denounced the use of theatre as a propaganda tool and staged his own play *Julius Caesar: Death of a Dictator*.

▲ 40

In post-war England and Germany, two international centres were promptly established, namely the Shakespeare Institute in Stratford-upon-Avon in 1951 and the Shakespeare Bibliothek in Munich in 1964, which implies that Shakespeare remained the backbone of theatre repertory in Germany. In fact, he even represented something from which the German playwright Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956) (→ Media Link #di) wanted to break away. Nevertheless, Brecht purported to "grapple" with the English playwright and resorted to Shakespeare in order to fashion his "epic" (later called "dialectical") theatre. At the beginning of the 1950s, he even wrote an unfinished adaptation of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, in which he aimed at emphasizing class struggle, attempting to show both the tribunes and the plebeians in a favourable light.

▲ 41

In Russia, Boris Pasternak's (1890–1960) (→ Media Link #dj) idiomatic translations, which were published in the late 1940s and early 1950s, have remained very popular with Russian readers and audiences alike. Significantly, for both *Hamlet* and *King Lear*, the film director Grigori Kozintsev (1905–1973) (→ Media Link #dk) used his translations.

▲ 42

Meanwhile in France, the project of a popular theatre reappeared after World War II and was implemented by Jean Vilar (1912–1971) (→ Media Link #dl), the director and inventor of the Festival d'Avignon, who saw theatre as a "public service".⁶⁶ In his first Avignon season in 1947, Vilar staged Shakespeare's *Richard II*, thus pioneering the staging of plays with historical settings in ancient surroundings, a method which was copied all over France in the 1950s. His successor Roger Planchon (1931–2009) (→ Media Link #dm), on the contrary, preferred to draw on Brecht's practice. In 1957, Planchon became director of the Théâtre de la Cité at Villeurbanne, a working-class suburb of Lyons, where he presented his version of *Henry IV*.

▲ 43

European Shakespeare proved increasingly eclectic and adaptable. In 1960, Benjamin Britten's (1913–1976) (→ Media Link #dn) opera *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, including parodies of grand and *bel canto* operas, was premiered at the Aldeburgh Festival on 11 June. One year later, the Polish theoretician Jan Kott (1914–2001) (→ Media Link #do) published *Szkice o Szekspirze* (English edition: *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, 1964), a book revolving around the failure of ideologies,⁶⁷ which was translated into nineteen languages and had an enormous influence on modern productions of the plays.

▲ 44

The 1960s also marked the eastern European appropriation of a Shakespeare who was heavily politicized. In the spring of 1965, for instance, a landmark production of a "plebeian" *Hamlet* trying to break with the dogmatic constraints of Socialist Bulgaria was directed by Leon Daniel (1927–2008) at the Theatre of the Armed Forces in Sofia. It was only in

the 1970s that the poet and translator Valeri Petrov (*1920) (→ Media Link #dp) decided that a full translation of Shakespeare into Bulgarian was needed, making a supreme achievement in translating the playwright's complete works between 1970 and 1981.⁶⁸

▲45

Besides being discussed from the perspectives of feminism, new historicism, and cultural materialism in the 1970s and serving as a weapon to postcolonial (→ Media Link #dq) critique (as can be seen in Aimé Césaire's (1913–2008) (→ Media Link #dr) *A Tempest*), Shakespeare has now become part and parcel of a European theatrical avant-garde, with playwrights such as the American Robert Wilson (*1941) (→ Media Link #ds),⁶⁹ Peter Brook (*1925) (→ Media Link #dt), or Ariane Mnouchkine (*1939) (→ Media Link #du), all relying on a global network. As to Brook's experimental theatre at the Bouffes du Nord in Paris, it changed and challenged the way French people usually perceived Shakespeare, and his *Timon of Athens*, *The Tempest*, and *Lear* proved to be exciting and successful. However, his shortened production of *Hamlet* in 2000, starring the black actor Adrian Lester, was regarded as a failure by many critics. In the 1980s, working for her company Le Théâtre du Soleil, Ariane Mnouchkine borrowed from the various traditional Asian theatres for her staging of three of Shakespeare's history plays at the Cartoucherie. Her memorable five-hour production of *Richard II* (1982) was imbued with an orientalism (→ Media Link #dv) that was meant to reproduce the atmosphere of a medieval court.

▲46

In the 1990s, German theatres kept reinventing Shakespeare. For her production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Düsseldorfer Schauspielhaus, 1995), Karin Beier (*1965) radically rethought Shakespeare in performance and used actors from all over Europe, each speaking his or her own tongue. In a century eager to promote cultural tourism (→ Media Link #dw), the Germans' special affinity with Shakespeare materialized through a small reconstruction of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre which was opened in Rheda-Wiedenbrück in 1988 before being moved to Neuss (→ Media Link #dx), just outside Düsseldorf. An annual international Shakespeare festival has been held there since 1991. Six years later, under the impulse of the American actor, director and producer Sam Wanamaker (1919–1993) (→ Media Link #dy), a reconstructed Globe Theatre (→ Media Link #dz) opened on Bankside in London, testifying to the more and more widespread need for an "authentic" Shakespeare.

▲47

Generally speaking, the turn of the 21st century saw the emergence of new research groups⁷⁰ as well as of newly created festivals which all show performances around the figure of William Shakespeare. These festivals are now part of the European Shakespeare Festivals Network.⁷¹ All these activities have allowed many Europeans to better understand the importance of cultural exchange (→ Media Link #e0) in the interpretation of Shakespeare. For instance, in 2009, Kåre Conradi (*1972) (→ Media Link #e1) of the Norwegian Ibsen Company joined the British Shakespeare Company for a performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* under the direction of Robert J. Williamson. The two directors could thus share a creative understanding of the performing arts and of Shakespeare in particular. On a much broader scale, in 2012, the Globe organized a multicultural event in which all the plays of Shakespeare were presented, each in a different language (→ Media Link #e2), each by a different company from around the world. There was even a Turkish production from the Istanbul theatre Oyun Atolyesi, a Spanish production from the Madrid-based company Rakata, and a Greek production from the National Theatre of Greece.⁷²

▲48

The 20th century is also the age of cinema, and Shakespeare's plays have therefore been popularized on screens from as early as the 1920s, when they began to attract film-makers. *The Taming of the Shrew*, starring Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939) (→ Media Link #e3) and Mary Pickford (1892–1979) (→ Media Link #e4), was released on the silver screen in 1929. As the taste for Shakespeare became increasingly boosted by films, Laurence Kerr Olivier (1907–1989) (→ Media Link #e5) (whose Shakespeare trilogy, i.e. *Henry V*, *Hamlet*, and *Richard III* was a huge success), Franco Zeffirelli (*1923) (→ Media Link #e6) (with his film versions of *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and Verdi's *Otello*), Roman Polanski (*1933) (→ Media Link #e7) (best known for his interpretation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*

in 1971), Kenneth Branagh (*1960) (→ Media Link #e8) (who first directed *Henry V* in 1989 and who has never wavered in his dedication to Shakespeare since then) and the Russian Grigori Kozintsev (who directed two gripping film versions of Shakespeare plays, namely *Hamlet* in 1964 and *King Lear* in 1971) followed suit.

▲ 49

The huge success of *Shakespeare in Love*, a 1998 British film directed by John Madden (*1949) (→ Media Link #e9), co-written by Marc Norman (*1941) (→ Media Link #ea) and the playwright Tom Stoppard (*1937) (→ Media Link #eb), re-imagined part of Shakespeare's story and turned the playwright into a global icon as well as into a commercial good. The digital afterlife of Shakespeare films (especially through DVDs teeming with interpretive guides, interviews, and additional scenes) increased their impact on spectators even more. Television adaptations then flourished everywhere in Europe, but the BBC series (1978–1984) remains the only one to cover the whole canon.

▲ 50

Today, Shakespeare appears to be increasingly merchandized, and although he remains the embodiment of Englishness for European pupils, students, and tourists, he is also considered as an intercultural icon, bridging the gap between different countries, different tongues, and different religious and social values. Thus, Shakespeare has definitely become European at last.

▲ 51

Sophie Chiari, Aix-en-Provence

▲ 52

Appendix

Translations of Single Works by William Shakespeare

Ameno, Francisco Luis (ed.): *Ambleto em Dania, no place*, ca. 1755.

Boye, Johannes (ed.): *Hamlet, Prinz af Dannemark: Tragødie / af Shakespear; Oversat af engelsk*, Copenhagen 1777.

Catherine II of Russia (ed.): *Vol'noie no slaboie perelozhenie iz Shakespira, komedia Vot kakovo imet' korzinu i bel'e*, St. Petersburg 1786.

idem: *Rastochitel'*, St. Petersburg 1786.

Ducis, Jean-François (ed.): *Hamlet: Tragédie, imitée de l'anglois; représentée, pour la 1. fois par les comédiens français ordinaires du roi, le 30 septembre 1769*, Paris 1770 (first performed in 1769).

idem (ed.): *Jean sans Terre ou la Mort d'Arthur: Tragédie, En trois actes & en vers*, Paris 1792 (first performed in 1791).

idem (ed.): *Macbeth: Tragédie En Cinq Actes: Représentée Pour La Première Fois, En 1784, Et Remise Au Théâtre Avec Des Changements En 1790*, Paris 1790 (first performed in 1784).

idem (ed.): *Othello ou le more of Venice: Trag.*; *Représentée à Paris pour la première fois sur le Théâtre de la République le lundi 16 nov. 1792, l'an premier de la république / Par le citoyen Ducis*, Paris 1793–1794 (first performed in 1792).

idem (ed.): *Le Roi Léar: Tragédie En Cinq Actes / Par M. Ducis, De L'Académie Française; Secrétaire ordinaire de Monsieur: Représentée à Versailles devant Leurs Majestés; le Jeudi 16 Janvier 1783; & à Paris, le Lundi 20 du même mois, par les Comédiens Français*, Paris 1783 (first performed in 1783).

idem (ed.): *Roméo et Juliette: Tragédie; repr., pour la première fois, par les Comédiens françois ordinaires du Roi, le 27 juillet 1772, Paris 1772 (first performed in 1772).*

Gritti, Francesco (ed.): *Amleto: tragedia / del signor Ducis, tradotta dal N.U. Francesco Gritti, Venice 1796.*

Hauge, Niels (ed.): *Macbeth, Christiania 1855.*

Luis I of Portugal (ed.): *Hamlet: Drama em cinco actos: Traducção portugueza, Lisbon 1877.*

Mercier, Louis-Sébastien (ed.): *Les tombeaux de Vérone: Drame en cinq actes, Paris et al. 1785.*

Moratín, Leandro Fernández de (ed.): *Hamlet: Tragedia / de Guillermo Shakespeare: Traducida é ilustrada con la vida del autor y notas criticas, Madrid 1798.*

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Notes

1. ^ Limon, Gentlemen 1985.
2. ^ Dobson, The Making 1992, pp. 31f.
3. ^ ibidem, p. 29.
4. ^ ibidem, p. 26.
5. ^ Keates, Purcell 1995, p. 234.
6. ^ Rowe, Works 1709; Pope, Works 1725; Theobald, Works 1733.
7. ^ Johnson, Plays 1765.
8. ^ Capell, Mr William Shakespeare 1768; Steevens / Johnson, Works 1773.
9. ^ Malone, Plays 1790.
10. ^ Sabor, Shakespeare 2008, p. 58.
11. ^ The translation entitled "Essay de traduction du César de Shakespeare" can be found in the Czartoryski Library, Cracow, BCz coll. no. 911, pp. 81–95.
12. ^ Voltaire, Dix-Huitième Lettre 1734.
13. ^ See La Place, Discours 1754.
14. ^ Cf. Ducis, Hamlet 1770; idem, Roméo et Juliette 1772; idem, Le Roi Léar 1783; idem, Macbeth 1790; idem, Jean sans Terre 1792; idem, Othello 1793–1794.
15. ^ Le Tourneur, Shakespeare 1776–1783.
16. ^ Sorelius, Shakespeare 2002, p. 10.
17. ^ Boye, Hamlet 1777.
18. ^ Wieland, Shakespeare 1762–1766.
19. ^ Von Schwerin-High, Shakespeare 2004, p. 132.
20. ^ Donnels O'Malley, Dramatic Works 2006, p. 121.
21. ^ Catherine II of Russia, Komedia 1786.
22. ^ Shakespeare, Merry Wives, Act 3, Scene 5, verses 130f.
23. ^ Catherine II of Russia, Rastochitel' 1786.
24. ^ Gritti, Amleto 1796.
25. ^ Mercier, Les tombeaux 1785.
26. ^ This 1772 Hamlet was translated by the playwright Ramon de la Cruz, and was entitled Hamleto, rey de Dinamarca. It was not a direct translation, but a derivative of Ducis' translation. In Spain, the first direct translation of a Shakespeare play was that of Leandro Fernández de Moratín in 1798. Moratín offered a more authentic version of Hamlet under the pen name of "Inarco Celenio".
27. ^ Moratín, Hamlet 1798.
28. ^ Ameno, Ambleto em Dania ca. 1755.
29. ^ Schiller, Macbeth 1801.
30. ^ Staël-Holstein, De la littérature 1818, vol. 1, p. 322; quoted in Bate, Romantics 1992, p. 73.
31. ^ Quoted in Shapiro, Contested Will 2010, p. 58.
32. ^ ibidem.
33. ^ Knight, Pictorial Edition 1838–1843.
34. ^ Poole, Shakespeare 2004, p. 53
35. ^ Shakespeare, Hamlet, Act 4, Scene 7, verses 166–183.
36. ^ Leoni, Tragedie 1819–1822.
37. ^ Rusconi, Teatro 1838.
38. ^ Carcano, Opere 1875–1882.
39. ^ Stendhal, Racine et Shakespeare 1823, p. 157, quoted in McWatters, Stendhal 1987, p. 16; online: Racine et Shakespeare 1907, <http://archive.org/details/racineetshakesp00stengoog>.
40. ^ Hugo, Œuvres complètes 1859.
41. ^ Schlegel / Tieck, Shakspeares dramatische Werke 1825–1833.
42. ^ Gerbel / Nekrasov, Polnoe sobranie 1865–1868.

43. ^ Wells, Shakespeare 2003, p. 288.
44. ^ Pushkin, Boris Godunov 1831.
45. ^ idem, Angelo 1833.
46. ^ Hauge, Macbeth 1855.
47. ^ *Nynorsk* (Neo-Norwegian) is one of two official written standards of Norwegian. It was created by Ivar Aasen and is still in use today.
48. ^ Young, Hamlet 2002, p. 128.
49. ^ Van, Rencontre 1999, pp. 109–117.
50. ^ De Vos, Shakespeare Performances 1979, pp. 184–197.
51. ^ Luis I of Portugal, Hamlet 1877.
52. ^ Cf. Merry, Encyclopedia of Modern Greek Literature 2004, p. 394.
53. ^ Polykas, *Ē Trikymia* 1859.
54. ^ Vikelas, Saikespeirou tragōdiai 1876–1884.
55. ^ Matei-Chesnoiu, Shakespeare 2006, p. 45.
56. ^ Green, The Encyclopedia 2005, p. 171.
57. ^ This short film only showed Hamlet's duel with Laertes from Act 5, scene 3.
58. ^ The earliest Shakespeare film, Herbert Beerbohm Tree's (1853–1917) *King John*, dates back to 1899.
59. ^ Gollancz, Book of Homage 1916.
60. ^ Kahn, Remembering Shakespeare 2001, p. 459.
61. ^ Bacon, Philosophy 1857.
62. ^ Cf. Shapiro, Contested Will 2010.
63. ^ Copeau / Bing, Tragédies 1939.
64. ^ Hamburger, Translating and Copyright 2004, p. 163.
65. ^ Sanders, Shakespeare and Music 2007, p. 67.
66. ^ Cf. Vilar, Le Théâtre service public 1975.
67. ^ Kott, Szkice 1961.
68. ^ Petrov, Sübrani süchineniia 1997–2000.
69. ^ Wilson notably directed a small-scale, monologue-like *King Lear* in German in Frankfurt (1991) whose title role was played by the acclaimed German actress Marianne Hoppe (1909–2002). Another German production of his was *The Winter's Tale*, performed at the Berliner Ensemble in 2005.
70. ^ In November 1999, Murcia University hosted the international conference "Four Centuries of Shakespeare in Europe", which attracted scholars from nineteen different European countries. On this occasion, the organizers decided to set up a research network devoted to pooling information on Shakespeare. This association is now called ESRA (European Shakespeare Research Association), online: <http://www.um.es/shakespeare/esra/index.php> [24/03/2014].
71. ^ Online: <http://www.esfn.eu> [24/06/2013]. In Poland for instance, the Gdansk Shakespeare Festival started in 1993. Its artistic director, Jerzy Limon (*1950), aims at proposing a variety of theatrical productions from Poland and abroad. The Rumanian International Shakespeare Festival was founded in Craiova, Romania, in 1994, whereas the Shakespeare Festival of Catalonia was born nine years later in Santa Susanna. In Armenia, the Yerevan International Shakespeare Festival was founded in 2004 by the director Hakob Ghazanchian and Andrzej Żurowski, a Shakespeare scholar. In Hungary, since 2005, the Gyula Castle Theatre has been organising the International Shakespeare Festival. Last but not least, the Shakespeare Festival at the Silesian-Moravian Castle is a festival which is part of a large Czech-Slovak project called The Summer Shakespeare Festival. Other European festivals also exist outside the European Shakespeare Festivals Network. To quote but one instance, every year since 2002, Shakespeare in Styria has gathered together an international group of young actors and musicians in the Styrian Alps to perform and produce multiple events around the central core of a Shakespearean play .
72. ^ Festivals have also helped people realise that Shakespeare could convey very different things from the page to the stage. In France for example, the recent translations of Jean-Michel Déprats (*1949) have had a huge impact on today's performances. Déprats's translations, conveying the "sharpness" and "vocal energy" of dramatic speech, are deliberately made for the stage. According to him, "[t]ranslation implies making sense of the original, keeping its rhythm, echoing its sonorities, transposing its metaphors and its prosody, while not distorting its poetic resonance" (Déprats, Shakespeare's Stagecraft 2004, pp. 133, 135, and 138).

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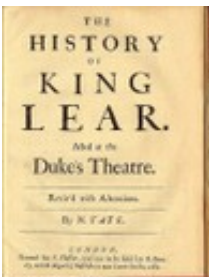
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- John Philip Kemble (1757–1823) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/74763759>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/123576636>)

Link #cl

- Henry Irving (1838–1905) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/69036352>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118775642>)

Link #cm

- Ellen Terry (1847–1928) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/47558240>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118801651>)

Link #cn

- Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/22329110>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118626523>)

Link #co

- Ernesto Rossi (1827–1896) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/30333977>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118836412>)

Link #cp

- Tommaso Salvini (1829– c. 1915) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/10140981>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118836447>)

Link #cq

- Luis I of Portugal (1838–1889) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/121595990>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/121484270>)

Link #cr

- Iakovos Polyas (c. 1826– c. 1898) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/22450810>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118902555>)

Link #cs

- Demetrius Vikelas (1835–1908) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/59262896>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/119154307>)

Link #ct

- Elisabeth I of Austria (1837–1898) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/72185406>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118529897>) ADB/NDB  (<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118529897.html>)

Link #cu

- Censorship and Freedom of the Press (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/european-media/censorship-and-freedom-of-the-press/juergen-wilke-censorship-and-freedom-of-the-press>)

Link #cv

- Book Market (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/backgrounds/the-book-market/ernst-fischer-the-book-market>)

Link #cw

- Clément-Maurice Gratioulet (1853–1933) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/2740038>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/139149287>)

Link #cx

- Sarah Bernhardt (1844–1923)  (<http://viaf.org/viaf/68925417>)

Link #cy

- Weltausstellungen (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/de/threads/crossroads/wissensraeume/alexander-c-t-geppert-weltausstellungen>)

Link #cz

- Otto Lessing (1846–1912)  (<http://viaf.org/viaf/47567020>)





- <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/de/mediainfo/shakespeare-memorial-in-weimar>
Otto Lessing (1846–1912), Shakespeare-Denkmal, 1904




Link #d0

- Harley Granville-Barker (1877–1946) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/12354552>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118639323>)

Link #d3

- Israel Gollancz (1864–1930) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/29619864>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/117549029>) ADB/NDB  (<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd117549029.html>)

Link #d4

- Delia Salter Bacon (1811–1859) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/65354460>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/143262459>)

Link #d5

- Francis Bacon (1561–1626) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/31992319>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118505696>)

Link #d6

- John Thomas Looney (1870–1944) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/12249470>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/143537385>)

Link #d7

- Edward De Vere (1550–1604) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/61587080>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118638750>)

Link #d8

- Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/34456780>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118535315>) ADB/NDB  (<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118535315.html>)





Link #d9

- Jacques Copeau (1879–1949) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/24599907>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118670018>)




Link #da

- Suzanne Bing (1885–1967) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/22401533>)

Link #db

- Hans Rothe (1894–c. 1978) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/107044268>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118603221>) ADB/NDB  (<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118603221.html>)




Link #dc

- Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/49226219>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118540041>)




Link #de

- Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/90162262>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118585967>)

Link #df

- Gaius Julius Caesar (100–44 BC) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/100227925>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118518275>)


Link #dg

- Sergei Prokofiev (1891–1953) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/71579098>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118596721>)

Link #dh

- Orson Welles (1915–1985) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/110467783>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118630822>)




Link #di

- Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/2467372>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118514768>) ADB/NDB  (<http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118514768.html>)

Link #dj

- Boris Pasternak (1890–1960) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/68933968>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118591940>)

Link #dk

- Grigori Kozintsev (1905–1973) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/27141981>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/121164381>)

Link #dl

- Jean Vilar (1912–1971) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/7398312>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118804553>)

Link #dm

- Roger Planchon (1931–2009) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/89801828>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118792482>)

Link #dn

- Benjamin Britten (1913–1976) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/2655519>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118515527>)

Link #do

- Jan Kott (1914–2001) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/66586118>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/11904174X>)

Link #dp

- Valeri Petrov (*1920) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/64148275>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/119321319>)

Link #dq

- Postcolonial Studies (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-and-the-world/postcolonial-studies/harald-fischer-tine-postcolonial-studies>)

Link #dr

- Aimé Césaire (1913–2008) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/109520593>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118519948>)

Link #ds

- Robert Wilson (*1941) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/49578568>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118633503>)

Link #dt

- Peter Brook (*1925) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/54145090>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118515713>)

Link #du

- Ariane Mnouchkine (*1939) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/84234485>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/119044714>)

Link #dv

- From the "Turkish Menace" to Orientalism (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/models-and-stereotypes/from-the-turkish-menace-to-orientalism/felix-konrad-from-the-turkish-menace-to-exoticism-and-orientalism-1453-1914>)

Link #dw




- Tourism (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/the-history-of-tourism/ueli-gyr-the-history-of-tourism>)

Link #dx



- (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/de/mediainfo/globe-theatre-in-neuss-germany>)
Globe Theatre in Neuss, Germany

Link #dy

- Sam Wanamaker (1919–1993) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/51876902>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/12961453X>)

Link #dz



- <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/de/mediainfo/shakespeares-globe-theatre-london>
Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, London

Link #e0

- Cultural Transfer (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/cultural-transfer/wolfgang-schmale-cultural-transfer>)



Link #e1

- Kåre Conradi (*1972) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/224710443>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/1047875322>)

Link #e2

- Mosaic of Languages (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/crossroads/mosaic-of-languages/harald-haarmann-europes-mosaic-of-languages>)

Link #e3

- Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/32004709>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118682997>)

Link #e4

- Mary Pickford (1892–1979) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/122296698>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/119031035>)

Link #e5

- Laurence Kerr Olivier (1907–1989) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/34467436>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118736299>)

Link #e6

- Franco Zeffirelli (*1923) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/96459414>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118812807>)

Link #e7

- Roman Polanski (*1933) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/112552900>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118595431>)

Link #e8

- Kenneth Branagh (*1960) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/106362344>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118939653>)

Link #e9

- John Madden (*1949) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/12504398>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/122592948>)

Link #ea

- Marc Norman (*1941) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/79137963>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/122859677>)

Link #eb

- Tom Stoppard (*1937) VIAF   (<http://viaf.org/viaf/101362857>) DNB  (<http://d-nb.info/gnd/118618695>)