Multicultural Shakespeare:

TRANSLATION, APPROPRIATION AND PERFORMANCE

WYDAWNICTWO UNIWERSYTETU ŁÓDZKIEGO

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The Global Origins of Shakespeare Studies

Guest editor:

Mark Bayer

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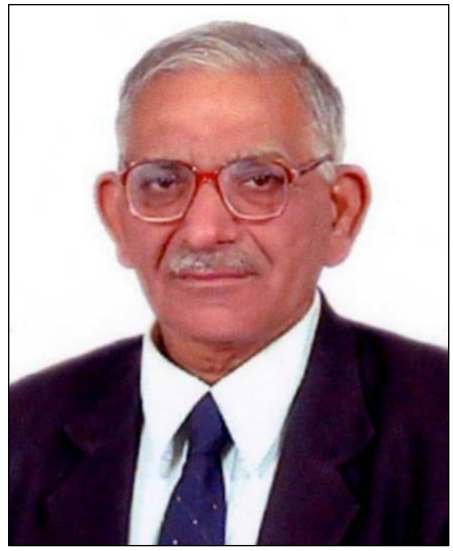

Vikram Chopra (31 July 1942 – 20 January 2023)

Professor Vikram Chopra's sudden death on 20th January this year is a great loss to the worldwide community of lovers of Shakespeare.

It was largely owing to Professor Chopra's persistent and tireless effort that the Shakespeare Society of India came into existence in 1987, with him as its first Secretary, and he remained closely associated with its management and with all its activities throughout his life. In 2019 he was elected President of the Society, but his tenure was cut short by his tragic and untimely death.

As a scholar, Professor Chopra made significant contributions to the study of Shakespeare's impact in India. He is the editor of two collections of essays on Shakespeare which bring together almost the entire range of Indian responses to Shakespeare. These are: *Shakespeare: Varied Perspectives*, with a Foreword by Kenneth Muir (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corp., 1996) and *Shakespeare: The Indian Icon: A Collection of Indian Responses: Social, Cultural, Academic*, with a Foreword by Jay L. Halio (Delhi: The Readers Paradise, 2011). He is also the editor of *Corona Crisis: Gems from Debris: A Spectrum of Fresh Reflections* (New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 2021), a collection of writings relating to Covid 19 by scholars and writers from all over the world. Unlike the usual impersonal, professionally driven academic collections, these publications bear the strong imprint of Vikram Chopra's personality, his wide and varied sympathies and his deep love of the subject.

There was a seamless continuity between Professor Chopra's life and his works, both of which remained totally untouched by the corrosive skepticism of modern thought. His life was marked by a deep and abiding love of nature and of human beings and he firmly believed that all great art including Shakespeare's testifies to "the holiness of the Heart's affections."

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Mark Bayer*

Introduction: The Global Origins of Shakespeare Studies

"[He] mines my gentility with my education"
As You Like It (1.1.18)

> During the past decade, the study of English and history at the collegiate level has fallen by a full third. Humanities enrollment in the United States has declined over all by seventeen per cent... What's going on?
>
> Nathan Heller, *The New Yorker*, February 2023

What's going on indeed. The well-known dispute that begins *As You Like It* between Orlando and his brother revolves around education, something that he feels is fundamental to his proper upbringing as a gentleman, to his gentility. The genteel instruction that Orlando speaks of here is something that we have referred to for centuries as humanism, and for almost as long Shakespeare has been considered central to a humanistic education. Over the last few decades, however, we have been inundated from both within and outside academic institutions with declamations that the humanities are in decline, that the genteel, diverse, and well-rounded education so important to Orlando is no longer understood as essential to a populace increasingly reliant on science and technology. Nathan Heller's "The End of the English Major" is only the latest of what have become sadly familiar prognostications.

While there is little doubt that the humanities are in decline, are we also witnessing the demise of Shakespearean education? The current health and breadth of organizations like the International Shakespeare Association and publications like this journal may suggest otherwise, and instead attest to a robust international culture of Shakespeare teaching and scholarship—implying that, perhaps, Shakespeare is doing quite well in the current educational climate. Pronouncements like Heller's, I think, are not wrong; they

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are well-researched and we ought to take them seriously. They do, however, fail to account for the unique, expansive, and global dimensions of Shakespeare study. Assessing the current state of Shakespeare studies therefore requires a more international perspective and one that turns not to a hypothetical future, but to the origins of Shakespeare studies in various national cultures, academic disciplines, and educational institutions throughout the world; by looking backward perhaps we can more easily predict future disciplinary trends. How did Shakespeare enter global circulation on such a mass scale, allowing for the establishment of formal organs of teaching and research in so many different nations? How has a majority of the world's population accrued at least a passing familiarity with Shakespeare? Perhaps most importantly, how did Shakespeare come to enter curricula and permeate academic institutions in such diverse global educational traditions?

Recent studies have attempted to diagnose the current crisis in literary studies, explicitly linking its current institutional precarity with their formation over century ago. John Guillory, for instance, has incisively identified a peculiar disjunction between literary scholarship's character as both an academic discipline organized around an identifiable field of study and shared methodologies, as well as a profession that demarcates credentialed experts qualified to engage in it. On this account, the present demise in literary studies, and the consternation among its practitioners, has occurred because the still vibrant profession of literary teaching and scholarship now presides over a discipline that has lost considerable purchase among the general public (Guillory 24-27). Shakespeare studies may not always take on the specific disciplinary cast that Guillory describes, but it nevertheless plays a signal role in humanities education and has in some ways become a synecdoche for literary studies in general—even if, in many parts of the world, teaching Shakespeare does not always take place in dedicated Departments of English.

Because Shakespeare studies necessarily integrates important elements of performance and popular culture, it also stands as something of an anomaly among the more familiar histories of literary study. These important differences may speak to Shakespeare's enduring educational value and malleability in a scholastic climate where the role of the humanities has diminished, but it also alerts us to multiple potential origination narratives, ones that differ from more familiar accounts by Guillory, Gerald Graff, and others that offer a trenchant overview of literary studies more generally but do not account for the unique position of Shakespeare who straddles several distinct disciplines with widely different professional conventions and expectations.

Just as the subject of Shakespeare and education has become heavily scrutinized, situating the plays in an international context is also commonplace. These studies, however, typically centre on performance, propaganda, and geopolitical conflict without accounting for the basic curricular infrastructure

necessary for citizens to achieve sufficient familiarity with Shakespeare to make the drama useful in other aesthetic or political contexts. Dennis Kennedy's collection *Foreign Shakespeare* (1993) is a groundbreaking forerunner in this regard, but it misses an important point that the essays in this issue continually turn to: the mechanisms of Shakespearean education that evolved in various countries were largely attempts to domesticate Shakespeare. For instance, in calling Shakespeare *ganz unser* ('entirely ours') August Wilhelm Schlegel seems to be trying to eradicate Shakespeare's foreignness and suggest that knowing Shakespeare is in some way vital to embracing a *German* heritage. In this way, Shakespeare gains currency as a potentially unifying figure in a globalized cultural economy and as a figurehead for more parochial national and regional concerns.

Deliberately adopting a broader perspective than most disciplinary histories, the essays in this issue trace the origins of Shakespeare Studies across various nations. They also canvass and interrogate the diverse methodologies that scholars use to study the plays, and how these variegated approaches have made Shakespeare so malleable and adaptable to various national and ethnic traditions. Earlier generations of commentators stressed Shakespeare's universality; these essays focus on his particularity. These papers demonstrate what Michael Bristol has called Shakespeare's "uncommon capacity to represent the complex pathos" (130) of modern life. They show how situating Shakespeare in an increasingly globalized environment works not to unify the plays into a univocal set of meanings, but allows for a proliferation of interpretations to suit distinct ideological and political agendas unique to specific nations at various stages in their history—something especially conspicuous when considering Shakespeare education in distinct national contexts.

Collectively, these papers recognize that Shakespeare's plays are formally studied and taught in almost every country in the world, but the authors also acknowledge that the ways that Shakespeare entered academic culture differs radically based on discrete local and historical circumstances. For instance, while it might seem natural that Shakespeare is almost universally studied in the United Kingdom based on his status as the 'national poet,' his institutional stature in other countries is more puzzling. While various forms of colonialism might explain his educational positioning throughout the commonwealth, what about countries like the United Sates that for well over a century defined itself against England? Perhaps more importantly, how has Shakespeare become an indispensable part of academic culture in nations that don't share an Anglophone heritage? These essays seek to canvass the various ways that Shakespeare studies, and different approaches to Shakespeare, emerged throughout the world in an effort to understand the vigorous academic commitment to Shakespeare in various nations. In other words, this issue focuses on the infrastructure that allowed for the development of the global Shakespeare we celebrate today.

Taken together, these papers explore the development of Shakespeare scholarship and teaching in multiple national and transnational circumstances. They trace Shakespeare's place in the curricula in different countries; explore the figures instrumental in making Shakespeare studies plausible, possible, and desirable; and examine the different emphases in Shakespeare scholarship in various cultural traditions. While no single volume could offer an exhaustive account of the international prominence of Shakespeare studies, the essays included here offer a remarkable geographical and methodological sampling of the history of the institutions, people, and ideas that have made Shakespeare's plays a vital global currency to interrogate everything from critical theory, to cultural autonomy, and even political revolution.

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Robert Sawyer*

The Institutionalization of Shakespeare Studies in the United Kingdom

Abstract: This essay is devoted to Shakespearean criticism in the UK between 1920 and 1940. I begin by examining the origins of Shakespeare study at Oxford and Cambridge, by figures such as I. A. Richards (1929) and William Empson (1930). I follow this by looking at F. R. Leavis and his journal *Scrutiny*, but I also trace his influence on his fellow Cambridge colleagues highlighting instances where they collaborated, as did Caroline Spurgeon with Arthur Quiller-Couch (the latter two co-editors of the *New Cambridge Shakespeare* series, 1921-1966) on the famous 1921 study for the British Board of Education entitled "The Teaching of English in England"—also referred to as *The Newbolt Report*, after the chairman of the committee, Sir Henry Newbolt.

Keywords: I. A. Richards, William Empson, Arthur-Quiller Couch, F. R. Leavis, *Scrutiny* Magazine, *The Newbolt Report.* Caroline Spurgeon

My essay considers the origins and institutionalization of Shakespeare studies and criticism in the U.K. I take as my starting point the first professorships in England devoted to the study of English literature, one at University College and one at King's College, both of which subsequently became London University. As Terence Hawkes explains, the teaching at University College "showed a practical bent appropriate to the utilitarian spirit which informed that college's ethos," while at King's College, "the emphasis was rather on moral matters, as befitted the Evangelicalism inspiring the college's founders." He concludes that these two different approaches "compete throughout its history in Britain as the opposed modes in which the subject is conceived" (Hawkes 1991: 928). I believe many of the same distinctions, as well as others such as national heritage and tradition, versus innovation inform the origins of the study of Shakespeare in the U.K.

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Before looking at the two most prominent educational institutions, Oxford and Cambridge, I want to begin with a governmental assessment at the time, particularly "The Newbolt Report" on the secondary school system. The mere fact that the government was enlisted to examine, and then propose solutions, to educational issues, particularly regarding Shakespeare, underscores my argument that this moment qualifies as an "origin" of Shakespeare study that still resonates in the 21st century. "The Newbolt Report," as Sarah Olive claims, "cemented" the "place of Shakespeare in [U.K.] schools" (1228).[1] Perhaps equally interesting is that these early educators and scholars tried to answer many of the same questions which are still current in Shakespeare studies a century after the Newbolt Report was issued, such as the deployment of the Bard in promoting national heritage, as well as the page-versus-the-stage divide; however, these origins almost all concur on one thing, that Shakespeare represents the apex of English literary studies.

Oxford

After graduating from King's College, and taking on various university positions, Walter Raleigh was chosen to fill the newly instituted Chair of English Literature at Oxford in 1907, while simultaneously composing the final drafts of a volume on William Shakespeare for the *English Men of Letters* series published by Macmillan. Raleigh's treatise on Shakespeare is an important but often overlooked work in the years leading up to the war, and his speeches, just as the war was ending, are equally significant. In the years between 1907 and 1918, Raleigh and his colleagues spearheaded numerous discussions concerning the content of English studies in university curricula—specifically their role in initiating, promoting, and embracing a new subject of scholarly study in English Literature, something never before attempted.

The *English Men of Letters* series, initially published in 1878 by Macmillan, assembled critical and biographical elements to produce a nationalistic march of English authors through the broader literary and non-literary world, all the while trumpeting their status as ciphers of a sanctified and sanctioned cultural mission. "Right from the start it was accorded semi-official status," proclaims John Gross, adding that "[n]o comparable series has ever come so close to attaining the rank of a traditional British institution" for both teachers

[1] Parts of this essay first appeared in *Shakespeare Between the World Wars: The Angelo-American Sphere*. (Palgrave, 2019). I want to thank their kind permission to reproduce some ideas and wording in this essay. In referring to the Newbolt Report, Hawkes claims its "spiritual father" was Matthew Arnold, and its "spiritual son" was F. R. Leavis (1991: 936).

and "conscientious students" (107). Yet even as the English empire was starting to shrink, the literary series continued to swagger along in spite of this fact (or perhaps because of it); attempting to capture minds of readers instead of miles of territory, its project was as political as it was critical. These attempts not only found a far-reaching audience both within and outside the academy, but almost all proponents settled on Shakespeare studies to be at the vanguard of these new programs. As Hawkes points out about the Macmillan series: "[o]ne of the great pinnacles of the enterprise, the jewel in its crown, was bound, of course, to be the volume on Shakespeare" (1986: 56).

Although the Shakespeare volume Raleigh was completing may have been intended to deliver the final conquering blow for the empire, Matthew Arnold and George Eliot had declined the opportunity for personal reasons. Decades later it was offered to Raleigh, surely a falling off in name recognition and literary prestige to the wider public, although his Oxford pedigree printed boldly on the cover may have made up some ground. Designed for multiple purposes, not the least of which was being an "adoptable" textbook for the soon-to-be increasing university student population, (many drawn from returning servicemen, and the newly literate middle-class), the books in the series sold widely, both in the U.K., and in the Commonwealth, and, most significantly, in the United States, a country which was highly-courted for its business market in the early years of the series. And as World War I broke out in the 1914, the series was heavily promoted in the U.S. hoping to secure and strengthen the political alliance and allegiance of the two countries. Indeed, the entry of America into the war "guaranteed the dominance of English as a world language," although before this point, German had been "the language of international science, of philosophy, of theology," yet it found itself "fatally weakened," after Germany's defeat in World War I (Hawkes 1991: 929). This profound move only accelerated the newly, but soon to be entrenched, study of Shakespeare in the U.K.

Raleigh's prominent portrayal of Shakespeare as a poet/philosopher of written words rather than as a practicing playwright for "fickle players" details the page/stage divide—an emphasis on readerly engagement that would continue throughout the earlier twentieth century on both sides of the Atlantic. While Raleigh encourages a wide range of readers to "study" the "works," he champions solitary engagements with the Bard because they would surely prove to be more stable and more permanent than Shakespeare's "continued vogue upon the stage," which Raleigh dismissed as "the smallest part of his immortality," a proclamation obviously surprising to many current Shakespeare enthusiasts, as well as many of Raleigh's contemporaries (Raleigh 2).

Another key professor at Oxford, who furthered Raleigh's ideas, was George Gordon, who had been hired from the University of Leeds where he taught from 1913-1922 to become the Merton Professor of English Literature at

Oxford, a position he held until 1928. In his inaugural lecture, he addressed the "ill" state of his country and its national language: "England is sick … and English literature must save it. The churches (as I understand) having failed, and social remedies being slow, English literature has now a triple function: still I suppose to delight and instruct us, but also, and above all, to save our souls and heal the state" (quoted in Eagleton, 20). During this time, he edited an edition of *Richard II* (1913), but perhaps even more to the point, in 1928 he published *Shakespeare's English* for the "Society for Pure English, tract 29," devoted to Shakespeare's vocabulary and as a means to elevate present-day rhetorical speech. In the same year he edited his book entitled *Nine Plays of Shakespeare* and later in life, he would publish books such as *Shakespearian Comedy and other Studies* (1945). The seeds of Shakespeare study planted by Raleigh began to blossom in a variety of ways.

Cambridge

In 1910, a Chair of English at Cambridge was established in memory of King Edward VII, and it stipulated the very precise nature of the position: "[i]t shall be the duty of the professor to deliver courses of lectures on English Literature from the age of Chaucer onwards, and otherwise to promote, so far as may be in his power, the study in the University of the subject of English Literature. The Professor shall treat his subject on literary and critical rather than on philological and linguistic lines" (qtd. in Tillyard 38)—rehearsing a similar debate between humanism and philology which had already begun at least a decade earlier in newly-formed research universities in the United States.

Appointed to this Chair in 1912, Arthur Quiller-Couch (known as Q) consolidated his new position in three ways: by being "intensely patriotic" to his country, intensely loyal to the Liberal party, and intensely opposed to "the German quasi-scientific approach to English" (Gross 187). Although the First World War has long been recognized as a major factor in the rise of modernism in English literature, as well as in the global arts in general, what has been less noted, as Chris Baldick reminds us, is "that the discipline of English Literary criticism—owes its own renaissance largely to the same catastrophe" of World War 1 (86). This was also the moment when departments of English were morphing from centuries-old methodologies of classical teaching to a more professionalized training ground in order to fill the demand for academic positions anticipating a post-war boom in student enrollment.

As Baldrick also notes, Q was not slow to announce his literary-critical credo, presenting it in his inaugural lecture in this form:

> I propose next, then, since our investigations will deal largely with style, that curiously personal thing: and since … they cannot in their nature be readily brought to rule-of-thumb tests, and may therefore so easily be suspected of evading all tests, of being mere dilettantism; I rebuke this suspicion by constantly aiming at the concrete … always seeking the author's intentions, but eschewing, for the present at any rate, all definitions and theories. (Q, 14-15)

Instead, he suggests that students follow the "Grand Style" of famous English authors, and he begins with three quotations from Shakespeare as examples of this Grand Style. The first comes from Viola in *Twelfth Night*: "I am all the daughters of my father's house / And all the brothers too," before reciting Macbeth's demands of the Doctor: "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased / Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow…?, and he concludes with Hamlet's greeting to Ophelia, as she is reading: "Nymph, in thy orisons / Be all my sins remembered!" (15).

While he goes on to quote from Milton, Gray, and Keats, Shakespeare is cited first. Q later adds we can then say "why worry me with any definition of the Grand Style in English, when here, and here and again here—in all these lines, simple or intense, or exquisite or solemn—I recognize and feel the *thing?* (15). In the "Preface" to the collection of lectures, he claimed "Literature is not mere Science, to be studied; but an Art to be practiced" ("Preface").

Employing what Arnold had called "touchstones," Q also saw Literature, and specifically Shakespeare, as an instrument for a nascent nationalism: "the binding of class to class in common respect for the national heritage and all that was precious in it, against the threat of its destruction by the barbaric Hun" (Baldrick 82). With John Dover Wilson, Q would go on to edit the "New Shakespeare" series published by Cambridge University Press beginning in 1921, an updated collection of the plays intended to replace the earlier "Cambridge Shakespeare."[2] Even the title, the "New Shakespeare" series suggests the emergence—one might even say origin—of an innovative production of Shakespeare's texts.

But a new generation of Cambridge professors, such as I. A. Richards and his pupil William Empson, would challenge the notion that literature is not "mere science," as I will detail shortly. Richards, who would soon be instrumental in the transformation of the English "Tripos" at Cambridge, was residing in Clifton at this time suffering from a "near-fatal" bout of pulmonary tuberculosis. Although he was held out of school for a time, he was about to return to the town's Upper School the following year, when he would change his focus from the "Classical Side" to "the Modern Side of the Curriculum" (Russo 5).

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[2] As Wilson would later note, "For some reason or other, the War (WW1), acted as a stimulus to the study of *Hamlet*" (1935: 14).

The two major characteristics of Q's and Raleigh's writing—Shakespeare as poet as opposed to playwright, and Shakespeare as the historical, patriotic, and national Bard—represented two threads often tangled in Raleigh's and Q's era which could only be unraveled by a new "disinterested" and allegedly "scientific" process. Moreover, if the older generation were ineligible to perform their patriotic duty at the front, they were more than capable of striking a blow at the Teutonic threat at Cambridge. In an academic variation of Julius Caesar, "conspirators" in the department were hunted down, and assassinations performed, only this time it was professional reputations which were wounded. Most significantly, Professor Braunholtz, a Romance philologist in the department, and Professor Breul, a naturalized British citizen who taught German and lost a son fighting for the British side, were suddenly treated as outcasts. The de facto demotion of the two professors precipitated the final victory by clearing the way for "the introduction of an English course virtually free of philology" (Baldick 89). Although Raleigh, still at Oxford, was consulted on the plan to introduce the new subject of English literature, he appeared reluctant to embrace such a "radical" idea, so the project became institutionalized and fell to the people and programs at Cambridge to unshackle English study from the "Teutonic yoke" (89).

I. A. Richards and Shakespearean Criticism

John Paul Russo, Richards' most prominent biographer, focuses on similar influential events but does not specifically connect them to Richards' literary theories. His "own severe case of tuberculosis when he was only fourteen, and two more attacks and year-long convalescences within a decade" emerged as the "personal trauma of his youth," claims Russo, and "World War I was to be its great shaping public event" (14). By slightly changing the focus of these events noted by Russo to understand Richards' literary criticism, generally, and his comments on Shakespeare specifically, in the light of these both personal and public events, I argue that Richards was trying to erase any broader vision which might reveal the still visible horrors of the worldwide conflict or remind him of his own disability.

As he once explained to Russo, he moved to "the study of the moral sciences because he 'just couldn't bear history'; that too much of it 'ought not to have happened'; that he always looked ahead, 'even now,'" when the interview was conducted in 1972 (Russo 1976: xxiii). I would also suggest that his failure to confront the trauma of war is not wholly unrelated to his limited engagement with Shakespeare. As Richards sought to avoid any widespread or public debate about the central canonical figure in English literature, he also seemed particularly averse to the patriotic bard evoked by Raleigh and Q, the national

symbol used to justify sectarian violence. Even if Richards' comments on Shakespeare are scattered and never create a cohesive or comprehensive theory, they do form a curious commentary that almost comprises an organized body of work; however, his comments on criticism in general, as well as his references to Shakespeare's status, present theories worth consideration, even if many Shakespeare handbooks fail to provide an entry for him.

After going up to Magdalen College on a small scholarship in 1911, Richards suffered from another onset of tuberculosis and did not return to Cambridge until the 1912-1913 school year. After returning to campus, he began preparing for his examinations in his major, the Moral Sciences, which included courses in logic, psychology, ethics, and philosophy. He later admitted, though, that he had been reading literature of every kind, including Shakespeare and even some modern novelists, indeed "everything except philosophy," until he decided to cram three weeks before the exams in June 1915 (Russo 47).

By the spring and summer of the same year, Richards struck up an acquaintance with Mansfield Forbes (1889-1936), a youngish and well-liked Professor of History at Cambridge. In his first meeting with Forbes in an official capacity, Forbes was so impressed with Richards' literary acumen that he suddenly offered him a "'job teaching English' as a 'freelance' or 'recognised lecturer' who were of 'inferior grade'" (Russo 66), according to Tillyard, a type of adjunct instructor, which meant Richards could "collect fifteen shillings from anyone who came to his course six times," a payment based on enrollment (Russo 66; Tillyard 32). "To be appointed as a lecturer" as Joan Bennett adds, "required no defined qualifications, such as a Ph.D. or published works," but she describes Richards' lectures as spell-binding because students "could not fail to notice … that he was breaking new ground" (47; 49).

While preparing to present his first series of lectures, Richards kept Forbes constantly apprised of his interests and potential topics. Writing that he had "thoroughly fermented [his] general theory of criticism," he noted his focus had narrowed to one issue: "the conditions of 'standard' reading," meaning a single interpretation of a literary work. Although readings would obviously differ over time and space, Richards felt "there must be a standard reading which is what we refer to when we speak of 'Hamlet,' and not of my 'Hamlet' at breakfast this morning" (qtd. in Cary 147). In other words, he sought to discover some steadfast interpretation which an "ideal reader" would find (148). He also explained in the same missive that he planned to break with tradition by avoiding any "historical questions" in his lectures (Cary 147).

This early and very "frank admission of his distaste for history," would, as we know, become a dominant characteristic in his most influential works between 1914-1940 (Russo 67). In the next letter to Forbes, Richards noted that he was "getting a lot of fun out of detailed criticism," adding that he had "just discovered how good 'Othello' is" (qtd. in Cary 148), which he planned to use

instead of *Hamlet* for his first lecture, now entitled "What we refer to when we speak of 'Othello'" (148). These lectures were to become part of the Richards' legend, supposedly so packed that the students spilled into the streets. Both Muriel Bradbrook and William Empson attended them, and as Empson would later recall, "more people would at times come to his lectures than the hall would hold, and he would then lecture in the street outside; somebody said this had not happened since the Middle Ages, and at any rate he was regarded as a man with a message" (qtd. in Brower, Vendler, and Hollander, 73). The search for a "standard reading" emanating from an "ideal reader" squares with Richards' ongoing quest for some "order" or stability, and I concur with John Fekete that Richards' "theoretical center of gravity" was always intertwined with the "problematic of order" (25).

Richards' book *Science and Poetry* (1926), which followed *Principals of Literary Criticism* (1925),[3] announced his search on the very first page of the very first section, entitled "The General Situation," when he declares that humankind's "prospects are not at present so rosy that he can neglect any means of improving them," including poetry but not, as we will see, automatically excluding science (1). While part of this idea directly descends from the Arnoldian notion of "the therapeutic capacity of literature to make the individual mind whole" (Taylor 2001: 23), the addition of rigorous inquiry in literary studies is a startling break not only from Arnoldian ideas, but even from more recent ones such as Raleigh and Q.

What Richards and his followers opposed was the "character criticism" of the late Victorian scholar A. C. Bradley's, promoting instead "a view of the plays as structures deploying depersonalized 'themes' in which opposed concepts (such as appearance and reality, disorder and order, death and life) present a moral or political scheme in general rather than particular psychological terms," the ebb and flow which shapes our daily existence (Hawkes 1991: 936). "The major gain of this sort of reading," which Hawkes calls "a sort of 'un-theorized structuralism,'" lies in its recognition of the Shakespearian text as precisely that: a text" instead of a "guide to the author's stage of mind, or the psychological make-up of the characters involved" (Hawkes 1986: 290).

It is also worth noting that in an appendix buried at the end of the first edition of *Principles of Literary Criticism*, he also employed Shakespeare to defend T. S. Eliot against charges of ambiguity, this time to counter those who

[3] Both *Principles of Literary Criticism* (1926) and *Practical Criticism* (1929) were companion volumes that he used to develop his critical method, and both were based on experimental pedagogy: Richards would hand his students poems in which the titles and authors' names had been removed and then use their responses for further development of their "close reading" and analytical skills.

condemned *The Waste Land* for its allusive saturation: "[t]he work offends against the most elementary canon of good writing," Richards begins by challenging pedantic critics who state that "the immediate effect should be unambiguous." Richards counters, however, with a simple question: "What would happen, if we pressed it, to Shakespeare's greatest sonnets or to "Hamlet"? The truth is that very much of the best poetry is necessarily ambiguous in its immediate effect" (*Principles*, "Appendix B," 1926). This concession by Richards, although almost hidden in his appendix, would lead his student William Empson to champion the multiplicity of poetical interpretation, an original idea that is still prominent, if not celebrated, in Shakespeare studies even today.

William Empson and Ambiguity

While Empson's transfer to the English Tripos at Cambridge in October of 1928 was lamented by his supervisor, Arthur Ramsey, Master of Magdalene College, and tutor in mathematics, due to Empson's analytical acumen, his study of numbers obviously served him well in his new focus on literature. Once he was assigned to Richards as his new supervisor, he made an almost immediate impression on his professor. "At his third visit," according to Richards, Empson "brought up the games of interpretation which Laura Riding and Robert Graves had been playing" in their 1927 book, *A Survey of Modernist Poetry,* a method which consisted of generating multiple meanings for various lines of poetry (Richards 1940: 7).

Prompted by such innovative interpretations, Empson carried with him to the meeting an unpunctuated form of Shakespeare's sonnet 129, "The expense of spirit in a waste of shame." Almost as soon as he arrived, according to Richards' account, Empson took the "sonnet as a conjurer takes his hat," and quickly "produced an endless swarm of lively rabbits from it," numerous interpretative possibilities which continued, not unlike the rabbits in Richards' analogy, to rapidly multiply (7). Empson then turned to Richards and slyly asked, "You could do that with any poetry, couldn't you," to which Richards wryly replied, "You'd better go off and do it, hadn't you?" Richards would also recall that such an enthusiastic inquiry by his new student "was a Godsend to a Director of [English] Studies," in spite of, or perhaps because of, Richards' ongoing commitment to find a standard reading for literary works (7). In a week's time, according to Richards, Empson returned "with a thick wad of very illegible typescript" (7) consisting of some 30,000 words, which would soon become the oft-cited *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (*STA*). This work by Empson, perhaps even more prescient than Richard's "practical criticism," remains as another origin point not only for the study of Shakespeare's poetry, but also his dramatic works, something Richard's had little use for except in

isolated soliloquies he critiqued as stand-alone pieces, just as the New Critics in the U.S. attempted to do.

Like a scientist adjusting the magnification of her microscope to narrow the view, Empson adjusted his instrument to focus on Shakespeare. While most readers seemed to believe "Shakespeare can only have meant one thing," he suggested instead that the reader "must hold in mind a variety of things he may have meant, and weigh them, in appreciating the poetry, according to their probabilities" (81). This juggling act in the reader's mind, a sort of literary theory of relativity, was complex enough to be granted almost equal atomic weight with the text itself. He also confessed that he, too, had formerly fallen back on the "either … or," proposition when critiquing literary passages, although actually meaning "both … and." Moreover, Empson's awareness of a parallel but radical "shift" in the theory of "atomic physics" which attempted "to attach the notion of a probability to the natural object rather than to the fallibility of the human mind" now provided him with a scientific basis for his work (81).[4] In other words, like the discovery that "a hydrogen atom may have two different energies at once," explains Jonathan Bate, Empson "demonstrated critically that a text may have two contradictory meanings at once, something impossible under previous literary theory" (315; 314); in his recent biography of Shakespeare, Bate even refers to Empson as "discover[ing] the twentieth-century Shakespeare"—a Shakespeare that would proliferate beyond Oxford and Cambridge and be presented to students for decades, not only in the U.K. but globally (302).

In the passage which follows his admission, we see Empson subtlety applying his Freudian theory to explain traditional editorial procedures in writing about the Bard: "[t]he conservative attitude toward ambiguity is curious and no doubt wise," Empson sardonically begins, for "it allows a structure of associated meanings to be shown in a note, but not to be admitted" in the text itself; in other words, it remains a subterranean suggestiveness rarely brought to the surface of the Shakespeare text by editors. Empson even implies that earlier, perhaps elitist editors, thought it "best not to let [the reader] know that he is thinking in such a complicated medium" (81). In simpler terms, editors would instead choose for readers a single meaning for most words, lines, or phrases in the text, while burying the multiplicity of meaning in the footnote graveyard at the bottom of the page. While Keats, of course, had proposed a century before Empson that a first-rate intelligence could hold contraries to be both true, without "any irritable reaching after fact & reason,"[5] the new scientific theories provided Empson with a workable principle which he repeatedly promoted in his work.

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[4] My citations are to the 2nd edition of *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, published in 1947.

[5] Keats qtd. in a letter to his brother Tom in 1817. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100227203/. Accessed 20 April 2023.

But what is even more striking to me is that unlike Richards, (or for that matter most of the New Critical tribe), Empson realized that Shakespeare wrote his plays to be staged for a public gathering, not to be studied in isolation while looking for patterns of meaning. In preparing us for this point, Empson first grounds the assertion in scientific fact by explaining that the "mind has compartments holding opinions and modes of judgment which conflict when they come together," and one becomes immediately "conscious of anything that mixes them up," as the brain, in basic terms, senses significant cognitive dissonance (*Seven Types*, 114). Surprisingly, however, Empson declares that "the most exciting and painful use" of such conflicting conditions come not in Shakespeare's poetry, as we might expect, but instead in the "scene at the end of *1 Henry IV*, where Falstaff, Harry Percy, and Prince Henry (natural gusto, chivalric idealism, and the successful politician), in a series of lightning changes, force upon the *audience* in succession their mutually incompatible views of the world" (emphasis mine, 114; 116).

In his final year at Cambridge, Empson became a reviewer for *Granta* (the Cambridge magazine), and almost immediately after Empson changed his major to English, he reviewed a production of *As You Like It* for the journal, defending Shakespeare rather violently against unwarranted editing. Because he felt "the guts" had been "taken out" of the play by the director, Terrence Gray, Empson chastised him for cutting the "dramatic poetry" of the comedy, calling it an "extraordinary" example of "castration" (The *Granta,* 16 November 1928: 120). His evaluation also fell back on one of the "either … or" and "both … and" dilemmas, but this time applied to a dramatic production. Complaining that, while not anticipating a great deal from the production, his "ear was still expecting to hear [Shakespeare] said both as if it was poetry and as if the meaning was of some importance" to the plot, a comment which neatly encapsulates even today one alleged debate between actor and academic (Empson in The *Granta*, 89-91).

Over the next three decades, Empson wrote a number of essays on Shakespeare; some of the more prominent were "Dover Wilson and *Macbeth* (1952); and a second challenge to Wilson called "Falstaff and Mr. Dover Wilson" (1953). Also in 1953, he penned "Hamlet When New," and near the end of his life in 1979, he published a review in *The London Review of Books* that critiqued the Arden edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (ed. Harold Brooks) called "Fairy Flight in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*." In the first two of these works, Empson challenged the editorial techniques of Dover Wilson and admitted that while "his essays have an air of attack" on Dover Wilson, he is merely showing cases where "he has slipped back into taking sides between two viewpoints instead of letting both be real" (Empson 1986: 37), surely a point with which most 20th-century Shakespeare scholars would agree.

Equally significant, back in the years just after Empson's expulsion from Cambridge and the publication of *STA*, a new journal, *Scrutiny*, was taking shape

which would promote a different agenda, (but one that might also be termed "propaganda" by its critics),[6] during the short cessation of world conflicts when it first appeared in 1932. While Empson and Richards were not central members, both contributed essays and both were critiqued in *Scrutiny* magazine in part because the journal was founded by their associates, also Cambridge graduates of the new Eng. Lit Tripos. The inaugural issue sounded its major themes in an essay entitled "The Political Background," when it declared that the two most prominent issues of the day were "war and capitalism"; however, Shakespeare soon became an equally important topic particularly during the journal's "pre-war phase," not only in sheer numbers but also in critical influence (Mulhern 136). Of all the contributions related to "the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," over one third of the critical essays and almost two thirds of the reviews were related to Shakespeare, supporting my claim, via Mulhern, that the poet/playwright provided a "central preoccupation in this chronological area" (136).

For many of the contributors to *Scrutiny*, Shakespeare formed the playing field on which any new critical battle would be waged. It seems clear that this focus resulted from the Bard's position as not only the "pre-eminently" English writer, but one who also "embodied the full moral potential of the national literary tradition" (136). Because L. C. Knights was one of the journal's founders (actually co-editing the journal before F. R. Leavis), it seems apt that readings and interpretations of Shakespeare would dominate the collections; in the eight years leading up to WW2, it was not only Knights who wrote on Shakespeare in the journal but also Leavis himself, as well as Muriel Bradbrook and other Shakespeare specialists. Since the story of *Scrutiny* has been elegantly narrated by Eric Bentley (1964), Mulhern (1979), and most recently by Christopher Hilliard (2012), I want to conclude by turning my attention to the lower-level educational institutes which participated in the origins of Shakespeare study on a parallel, yet more populist, track.

Government Institutions

Basic education for the majority of the English population remained irregular at best until the early twentieth century. Andrew Murphy describes how the Sunday School movement, first set up by Robert Raikes in the 1780s, led to more extensive networks of charitable schools through which the children of poorer families could gain some literacy skills, alongside an education in

[6] Although Mulhern suggests that "little space was given to official propaganda," some essays focused on it including D. W. Harding's "Propaganda and Rationalization in War" (4.1.[1934-35]).

Christian values (30-35). While the Bible formed the main focus of this schooling, cheap anthologies of other texts were increasingly used. Murphy also declares that from around the 1860s, "quotations from Shakespeare become a standard element of the reading books, with certain passages establishing themselves as absolute staples of the schoolbook repertoire" (50).

At the turn of the century, The English Association (U.K.) was founded (1906) and one of its first publications was a pamphlet on "The Teaching of Shakespeare in Schools," which was published in 1908, a pamphlet which regarded Shakespeare as "the supreme figure of our literature" (1908: 2). As compulsory education for all took hold with the Fisher Act of 1918, whole texts became more widely studied, and in the new world of mass education, Shakespeare was centrally set in a hierarchy of literary texts, second only to the Bible. At about the same time, Quiller-Couch, whom we met earlier, produced a series of editions of Shakespeare for secondary schools in the 1920s, which included an "acting appendix" consisting of advice on creating a school production of a Shakespeare play, but he limited his suggestions to considerations of declamation rather than interpretation or political nuances.

In 1921, "The Newbolt Report" (entitled *The Teaching of English in England*) was published[7] and "cemented" Shakespeare's status in pedagogical fields—it again gave prominence to two texts, the Bible and the works of Shakespeare, just as the Fisher Act of 1918 had. The report is generally regarded as a forerunner to the age of child-centered learning, and stressed the need for English to be enjoyable, but also continued to emphasize the universal values found in great literature and considers in prescriptive detail how best to teach Shakespeare. While admitting that Shakespeare's language is difficult, almost "an unfamiliar tongue in modern society," the Report concludes that teaching Shakespeare in the school system is warranted because of his "wonderful power of retelling a story in dramatic form": it admits that his "incomparable mastery of word music" should also be applauded (Newbolt 313).

As the Report makes clear, and as Q's edition of the plays which banished "acting advice" to appendices at the conclusion of his editions in the 1920s demonstrate, the bias toward reading Shakespeare and only a nod toward dramatic productions of the plays were one that began during the origins of Shakespeare studies and continued till the last quarter of the twentieth century when multiple approaches to Shakespeare appeared—including Performance

[7] Commissioned by the Board of Education to enquire into the state of English teaching in England at all educational levels. Since the turn of the century, significant developments had taken place in the provision of English at a tertiary level. The 1921 Report reflected back on this progress, and the majority of the Newbolt panel were also members of the English Association, including Caroline Spurgeon, Arthur Quiller-Couch (Q), J. Dover Wilson, Henry Newbolt, Chair, and four other members. They met on forty-two days, and a sub-committee met on eighteen days.

Criticism, among others. In addition, the reading of the plays as long poems, which characterized the earliest studies of Shakespeare, such as Richards (and the New Critics in the U.S.), were also finally laid to rest at about the same time in the U.K. The hundred years or so between the earliest Shakespeare studies and our current take on the Bard contain echoes and reverberations, if not outright challenges to the original scholars I began with in this survey. As Empson might reminded us, however, an "either / and" approach to Shakespeare studies always trumps an "either / or approach." Shakespeare's words and works contain multitudes of meanings and so should our critical approaches.

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Shakespeare Comes to Bengal

Abstract: India has the longest engagement with Shakespeare of any non-Western country. In the eastern Indian region of Bengal, contact with Shakespeare began in the eighteenth century. His plays were read and acted in newly established English schools, and performed professionally in new English theatres. A paradigm shift came with the foundation of the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1817. Shakespeare featured largely in this new 'English education', taught first by Englishmen and, from the start of the twentieth century, by a distinguished line of Indian scholars. Simultaneously, the Shakespearean model melded with traditional Bengali popular drama to create a new professional urban Bengali theatre. The close interaction between page and stage also evinced a certain tension. The highly indigenized theatre assimilated Shakespeare in a varied synthesis, while academic interest focused increasingly on Shakespeare's own text.

Beyond the theatre and the classroom, Shakespeare reached out to a wider public, largely as a read rather than performed text. He was widely read in translation, most often in prose versions and loose adaptations. His readership extended to women, and to people outside the city who could not visit the theatre. Thus Shakespeare became part of the shared heritage of the entire educated middle class. Bengali literature since the late nineteenth century testifies strongly to this trend, often inducing a comparison with the Sanskrit dramatist Kalidasa. Most importantly, Shakespeare became part of the common currency of cultural and intellectual exchange.

Keywords: Shakespeare, Bengal, Calcutta, Bengali translations, Bengali theatre, Hindu College, Presidency College, Kalidasa, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Michael Madhusudan Datta, Haraprasad Shastri, Hirendranath Datta, Rabindranath Tagore, Girishchandra Ghosh

India's encounter with Shakespeare originates in the colonial experience and continues as a colonial phenomenon through to India's independence in 1947 and long after. But the standard premises of colonial and postcolonial theory may be inadequate to chart, let alone explain, the process. We have come

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to recognize that the colonizing intellectual order generated an opposite development, sometimes virtually deconstructing itself, inseminating India's own languages and cultures, and contributing to the ideation of India's freedom movement. Far from being restrictive or imitative, this is a creative development that appropriates and reorders the material of the colonizing culture.

Shakespeare affords a telling case study. Even in their primary curricular role, his works accomplish much more than the colonial conditioning attributed to all English literary education in British India. No doubt the "humanistic functions" implicit in that literature were harnessed to the purpose of "sociopolitical control," as phrased by Gauri Viswanathan in her influential account (Viswanathan 3). But it is also possible to see those aesthetic and "humanistic" elements as inseminating a very different cultural process. This is especially (though by no means exclusively) apparent in the wider dissemination of Shakespeare through the Indian languages. The empire is already writing (and performing) back, in a counter-appropriation to the colonial appropriation of Indian cultural space. The origins of India's engagement with Shakespeare thus span a somewhat wide spectrum: linguistically, chronologically, formally and generically. In this paper, I will trace its development in the eastern Indian region of Bengal.

Shakespeare came to Bengal, and more specifically to its capital Calcutta, in the eighteenth century—alongside parallel developments in the two other major British settlements in India, Bombay and Madras.[1] A Playhouse of which little is known (David Garrick reportedly took an interest in it: Thakur 2) ran in Calcutta from 1753 to 1756.[2] But the first major establishment was the Calcutta Theatre, set up in 1775, followed by the Chowringhee Theatre (1813) and the Sans Souci (1839). The first Shakespeare performance of which records survive is an *Othello* in 1780 at the Calcutta Theatre to mark the retirement of the manager, who himself played the title role.

This so-called "garrison theatre" was patronized by the British community with a sprinkling of English-educated Indians. The wealthy among the latter extended patronage: Dwarkanath Tagore (Thakur), Rabindranath's grandfather, bailed out the Chowringhee Theatre from bankruptcy and helped rebuild the Sans Souci after its destruction by fire in 1839. Unsurprisingly, the garrison theatre was more open to Indian benefactors than Indian performers.

[1] All three cities now have new names (Kolkata, Mumbai, Chennai). I am retaining the earlier forms as being current in the period under discussion.

[2] Throughout this article, basic details of Shakespeare performances and translations in Bengal are chiefly drawn from Ananda Lal and Sukanta Chaudhuri, ed., *Shakespeare on the Calcutta Stage: A Checklist*, Calcutta: Papyrus, 2001. As the entries are in chronological order, page numbers have not been cited.

In 1848, a "native gentleman," Baishnav Charan Addy, played Othello at the Sans Souci. The response was equivocal, from the offensively racist ("real unpainted nigger Othello:" *Calcutta Star*, qtd. in Lal and Chaudhuri 22) to the patronizing ("his pronunciation of English was for a native remarkably good:" *Bengal Harkara*, qtd. ibid.). The number of English-educated Indians was growing incrementally. This led five years later, in 1853, to a happier outcome: another production of *Othello* by an all-Bengali cast at the Oriental Theatre, established the same year under Indian ownership. This was the first public performance in Calcutta of an entire Shakespeare play by an Indian cast. Next year, the same group acted *The Merchant of Venice* with an English actor, Mrs. Greig, as Portia (DasGupta 21).

The formal study of Shakespeare's text began with English schools set up in the eighteenth century by missionaries, by lay English or Anglo-Indian proprietors, and surprisingly often by Indians. As surprisingly, their first Indian students were chiefly from the humbler castes and classes, seeking employment under the British. An unflattering account notes that their sparse curriculum included "a play of Shakespeare, [and] some Essays of Bacon" (Mukhopadhyay 106). Two schools held in higher regard were run by Anglo-Indians, a Mr. Sherbourne and David Drummond. The former numbered several of the aristocratic Tagore family among his pupils.

The classroom exercises extended to performance. In December 1822, the *India Gazette* reported a function comprising "recitations from English" by students of Drummond's Dhurromtollah Academy, where "A boy of the name Derozio gave a good conception of Shylock" (qtd. in Lal and Chaudhuri 23). The following decades saw a series of student performances. The 1822 event is notable for another reason: the boy Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809-1831), from the Anglo-Indian community, went on to become a charismatic teacher at the Hindu College. He was a chief mentor of the radical "Young Bengal" movement with its enthusiasm for all things English, only gradually (but then most productively) brought to bear on Bengali culture.

Hindu College, the first higher institution of Western learning outside the West, opened in 1817 through Indian, not British, initiative. Its tradition of Shakespeare performances began in Derozio's time. Derozio also wrote two sonnets inspired by *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*; but he is thought to have focused more on the Romantic poets than on Shakespeare and Milton (Mukhopadhyay 93, 99). Shakespeare teaching at the College was consolidated in the 1830s by the Englishman David Lester Richardson. Lord Macaulay, whose 1835 "Minute" on education ensured an "Anglicist" (as opposed to "Orientalist") agenda for education in British India, reportedly told Richardson: "I can forget everything about India, but your teaching of Shakespeare, never" (Sen vii).

Richardson compiled a sizeable *Selections from the British Poets* (1840) that set the programme for English teaching in Bengal and perhaps India. It included the full text of *Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth*, *King Lear* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (in that order), plus an extract from 1 *Henry IV*, sixteen Sonnets and other short excerpts. Few students could have read all these texts, but they indicate the range of Shakespeare to which students were exposed. The section on Shakespeare in Richardson's introduction basically repeats the standard critical positions of the age. More than once, he asserts that Shakespeare is "the greatest poet that the world has yet seen"—as the French have grudgingly started to grant, the Germans more generously (Richardson xi-xii). The Bard as a British cultural icon is being repackaged for colonial students. It is noteworthy, however, that Richardson presents the racial predicament of Shylock and Othello with an eloquent understanding rare in that age, in the essays on the two characters in his collection *Literary Leaves* (vol. 2, London: W. H. Allen, 1840).

In the Preface to his translation of *The Comedy of Errors* (1869), the scholar-reformer Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar comments wrily on the celebration of Shakespeare as the "greatest poet:" "It would be impertinence for a person like myself to judge whether this is a correct and impartial view" (Vidyasagar 3:333). The colonial agenda was already provoking resistance. Thomas Carlyle had asserted in 1841: "if they asked us, Will you give up your Indian Empire or your Shakspeare, you English; … should not we be forced to answer: Indian Empire, or no Indian Empire; we cannot do without Shakspeare!" (Carlyle 116). Fortunately for the colonists, it was not an either/or choice but a package deal: Shakespeare was co-opted as the chief intellectual icon of the Empire, the avatar of its cultural superiority. The Indian market for Shakespearean publications was surprisingly wide. The 1821 Malone-Boswell edition of the Works was reprinted in its entirety from Calcutta in 1879 (Ray 3).

Even the Christian missionaries could not but grant qualified approval to Shakespeare's overtly secular works. Around 1843-46, John Macdonald of the (Scottish) Free Church Mission in Calcutta confessed his folly in exchanging—to someone else's perdition—a copy of Shakespeare he had unhappily owned, instead of burning it (Day 195). But in 1852, the Anglican William Keane, missionary canon of St Paul's Cathedral in Calcutta, saw the plays as imbued with "sound Protestant Bible principles" (qtd. by Thakur 21).

An awed acceptance of Shakespeare sealed the colonial conditioning of Indian youth. Kishorichand Mitra (Kissory Chand Mittra), one of the "Young Bengal", speaks for them when he writes "It is impossible to study Shakespeare and Milton, Bacon and Newton, Johnson and Addison, without being inoculated with the purest moral precepts and the most elevated ideas pervading their pages" (Mukhopadhyay 150). This accords with the standard colonial paradigm. "How many seminars we spent on detecting this moral significance in every paragraph, in every word, even in Shakespeare's commas and fullstops?" writes Ngugi wa Thiong'o a century and a half later (Ngugi 90).

But the same prizing of English letters could activate a creative reordering of the colonial intellectual legacy. The fiercely independent-minded Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, doyen of Sanskrit scholars and an educational and social reformer, writes in his celebrated "Notes" on reforming Calcutta's Sanskrit College of "the necessity of making Sanscrit scholars well versed in the English language and literature," for (to cite another of his works) "imbuing our vernacular dialects with the science and civilization of the Western world" (Basu 381, 324). He does not mention Shakespeare (or any other author), but we can assume that Shakespeare featured prominently in his programme. When Chandramukhi Basu (Bose) qualified as the first female Master of Arts of Calcutta University, Vidyasagar, a crusader for women's education, presented her with a copy of Shakespeare's Works.

In 1840, students of Hindu College studied *Macbeth, King Lear, Othello* and *Hamlet.* Another syllabus from *c.*1843-53 surprisingly includes *King John* and *Henry VIII* besides *Hamlet, Macbeth, The Merchant of Venice* and *The Tempest.* These texts were also taught at the other colleges set up in Bengal in the earlier nineteenth century. Surviving exam questions show how widely students were expected to know the subject. This one makes a daunting demand for both close and wide reading:

> In what words of the Porter-Scene does Coleridge recognize the certain hand of Shakespeare? The same words occur in Hamlet, and the same idea in All's Well, &c; quote the lines in both these dramas.

Or this, on textual matters:

> What different readings have been proposed in the following passages; state which you prefer, with the reasons which influence your choice.

Or in broadly interpretative vein:

> Shew by an accurate comparison the truth of Schlegel's remark that, in the progress of action, Macbeth is altogether the reverse of Hamlet.[3]

Clearly, students were expected to delve deep into the text and background of the play from every angle and relate it to the rest of the canon, including plays not formally prescribed for study. What is lacking is any kind of theoretical perspective, or even formal and thematic issues of wider scope.

[3] For many details in this paragraph and the next, see Banerji 103-5, 121-2. Her source, in many cases, is the autobiography of the scholar and social activist Rajnarayan Basu (1826-99). I am also indebted to Banerji's work for some other leads.

Nor do the questions address the theatrical aspect of the plays: the academic cultivation of Shakespeare is starting to diverge from the performative. Yet performance remained very much a part of the total Shakespearean agenda. From 1827 onward, the students of Hindu College, as of the School Society, acted Shakespeare (usually in excerpts) in their institutions and elsewhere—most grandly, more than once, at the Government House before the Governor-General. The commercial English theatre was a notable background presence. Richardson of Hindu College coached its actors and attended their rehearsals. He would discuss ongoing productions with his students, and sometimes even hand out tickets. Another teacher of Hindu College, H.M. Parker, himself trod the boards, with a grand finale as Pistol in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (Mukhopadhyay 91). One Mr. Clinger, an English teacher at the Calcutta Madrassa (school of Islamic learning), instructed Bengali amateurs in Shakespearean acting (DasGupta 21).

A European-style theatre visit, with scripturally "forbidden" food and drink, would be a quintessential act of rebellion for "Young Bengal" activists, exemplifying the early radicalizing impact of Western education. In a satirical play of 1866, *Sadhabar Ekadasi* (The Married Woman's Widow-Rites) by the eminent dramatist Dinabandhu Mitra, one such youth, found drunk at night by a policeman, spouts a string of quotations including three from Shakespeare. But when Krishnadas Pal (Kristo Doss Paul) composes an oration (Mukhopadhyay 120-33) to vindicate the tribe of Young Bengal, his text is as liberally sprinkled with Shakespeare.

Still more telling evidence of the dissemination of Shakespeare are performances in affluent homes. The earliest on record is a School Society staging of scenes from *Julius Caesar* in 1830 at the house of Gopimohan Deb, a founder of Hindu College and scion of the Shovabazar Raj family, prominent among the new wealthy urban elite. These productions gradually led to public performances charging for entry. The first such endeavour was the Oriental Theatre, set up in a school, the Oriental Seminary. Here "Hindu Amateurs", trained by English actors from the commercial stage, produced *Othello* in 1853, *The Merchant of Venice* in 1854 and *Henry IV* in 1855. The development reached its highest point at the start of the next century, when the Dawn Society, a historic fellowship of many of Bengal's finest minds, regularly staged the plays of Shakespeare. The Society's leading spirit, Satishchandra Mukhopadhyay, also set up a Shakespeare Society that performed in commercial theatres (Lal and Chaudhuri 31-2).

The originary phase of Shakespeare's entry to Bengal ends up infusing the wider physical and mental space of the Bengal elite, with major effects for both Bengali theatre and Bengali intellectual life. The patronage of the new English-educated Bengali community brought into being a novel urban Bengali theatre, to which Shakespeare is integral in more ways than one. First, his plays

were regularly rendered in Bengali. By 1900 there were 39 translations, including seven of *Romeo and Juliet*, six of *Hamlet*, and five of *Macbeth* (a few of these are retellings in prose). More often than not, the stage versions were free adaptations in Indian settings with added songs and other embellishments. What the Bengali public wanted was a melding of Shakespearean drama with the not dissimilar traditional popular theatre or *jatra*, with its larger-than-life action, rhetorical verse dialogue, abundance of songs and music, and frequent supernaturalism.

In a signature development of colonial culture, a cherished indigenous form was thus reinvented in terms of a new occidental model. The Western trappings in sets and costume added a further exotic element. Very few of these plays were strictly Shakespearean in material. Many more were free but recognizable adaptations—using Shakespeare as Shakespeare used Plutarch, Cinthio or Holinshed, as a historian of drama perceptively puts it (Ahsan 77). Some combined Shakespeare with other ingredients, like *Antony and Cleopatra* with Rider Haggard in a *Cleopatra* (1914). The greatest number had no discernible Shakespearean element at all, but owed their composition to the Shakespearean model of form and affect. "Shakespeare has always been for us the ideal of drama," writes Rabindranath Tagore in the preface to his play *Malini* (Tagore 1939, 5:137b). This hidden but ubiquitous presence might be Shakespeare's most important contribution to Bengali theatre, as in comparable ways to the theatre of other regions and languages of India.

Yet despite this vibrant theatre, the seminal presence of Shakespeare in Bengal was textual: he was primarily imbibed through a flourishing reading culture. The early producers drew their knowledge of Shakespeare from his texts: that was the first medium of access. But this productive traffic between the study and the stage was countered by a division. Academic study became more and more intensive and even technical, focusing closely on the play-text. The theatre, on its part, became an independent self-driven entity, its Shakespearean features increasingly merged with other components, perhaps from very different sources.

This led to a divergence of outlook. The patrons of the new theatre comprised a small section of beneficiaries of the new education system. A different section formed an academic-minded community who took their Shakespeare seriously and ascribed an ethical dimension to learning generally. A Victorian scholarly ethos, rigid and sometimes puritanical, was pitted against the more open, urbanized and allegedly profligate culture of the theatre-going public. The opposition was largely artificial and never total. Most academics, and certainly their students, would visit the theatre, while leading theatre people from Girishchandra Ghosh (1844-1912) to Shishirkumar Bhaduri (1889-1959) were also very respectable Shakespeare scholars. Yet the symbiosis of academic study and stage performance carried an undoubted tension, sometimes within the same person.

Academic study naturally focused on the original texts while the theatre, with rare exceptions, opted for strongly Indianized versions. These were not so much translations as adaptations, sometimes freely reworking the originals. Plots were radically redrafted and characters renamed. The protagonist's new Bengali name might serve in place of Shakespeare's title. Girishchandra Ghosh, the greatest theatre personality of the age, made a reasonably close translation of *Macbeth* (1893), though with added music and dancing. Despite its exceptional literary merit, it failed at the box office. But to Girishchandra's chagrin, Nagendranath Chaudhuri's *Hariraj* (1896-97), a free and somewhat crude redaction of *Hamlet* set in Kashmir, proved a runaway success, with another leading actor, Amarendranath Datta (Dutt), in the title role. The play was revived at intervals until at least 1925, when it was staged by an all-women cast.

Hariraj presented "a Hindu Hamlet" and cited the twelfth-century Kashmiri chronicle *Rajtarangini* as a source. Satishchandra Chattopadhyay (Chatterjee), who adapted *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as the "opera" *Jahanara* (1904), extolled "the great poet Shakespeare, emperor of the occidental poetic world, universally worshipped"; yet asserted "I have been forced to make many changes in the characters to render the play intelligible to the ordinary men and women of our country." He warned the intending audience to "abandon [the] hope" of seeing "an undistorted image" of Shakespeare's play. So too *The Merchant of Venice* was reinvented by Bhupendranath Bandyopadhyay as *Saodagar* (The Merchant, 1915) with "Abundant Charming Songs and Graceful Dances". Some productions remained closer to the original, like a 1919 *Othello*; but as a rule, they neither cared nor dared to adopt textual or historical authenticity as a criterion.

Meanwhile, academic study focused more and more on Shakespeare's text, even to editorial and historical issues, and based its interpretation upon that close analysis. Such interpretation might result in a strongly affective and even theatrical rendering in the classroom, but it was always anchored in the text. It reflects the approach found in Victorian criticism as exemplified in the work of Edward Dowden and, classically, A. C. Bradley, even if H. M. Percival, the first celebrated Indian teacher of Shakespeare in Calcutta, only encountered Bradley's work long after retirement and treated it dismissively (Chaudhuri, Sukanta, 396).

A minor development featured distinctively Indian readings, chiefly by external application of premises from Indian philosophy or literature. Notable instances are Smarajit Datta's (Dutt) three volumes on *Macbeth* (1921), *Othello* (1923) and *Hamlet* (1928), each subtitled *An Oriental Study*. But with rare exceptions, such inquiries could only proceed by analogy or conjecture: it was not a promising field.

Down to the late twentieth century, the staple concerns of Shakespeare studies in Bengal and India were annotation, close reading and Bradleyan

character-analysis, within the usual liberal-humanist framework then current in the West. In Bengal, the high point of this approach was attained by Praphullachandra Ghosh (1883-1948). He had his teaching copies of Shakespeare specially bound, interleaved with blank pages. Every inch of those pages, and the margins of the printed book, were covered with notes in variously coloured inks, to indicate different categories of material that he would take up in the classroom. Yet his lectures also comprised a species of playreading: he would gesticulate, modulate his voice, or even burst out weeping, as in the scene where Othello chastises Desdemona, as reported by a student (Sujata Chaudhuri: personal communication, c.1980).

In another direction, this pedagogy of close reading led to editorial activity. Its earliest practitioners, as one might expect, were Englishmen. C. H. Tawney produced a notable edition of *Richard III* (London: Macmillan, 1888), and J. W. Holme edited the original Arden edition of *As You Like It* (London: Methuen, 1914), both while teaching at Calcutta's Presidency College (formerly Hindu College). But the initiative soon passed to Indian scholars, where it has remained. It was in their hands that Shakespeare scholarship in India came of age. The British had practised a more simplistic, patronizing pedagogy. Tawney, in the preface to his *Richard III*, agrees unquestioningly (and perhaps in that milieu not incorrectly) with another Englishman who taught in India, Kenneth Deighton (who brought out a series of editions from Macmillan for use in India), that "Indian students of Shakespeare require more help than is given in the school editions generally used in England and America" (Tawney vii). Indian scholars showed greater respect for their students' powers of understanding.

In Bengal, the first prominent Indian Shakespearean was Harrington Hugh Melville Percival (1855-1931)—despite his name, an Indian from Chattagram (Chittagong), now in Bangladesh. He initiated a line of celebrated Shakespeare teachers at Presidency College. The mantle descended from teacher to pupil across generations: through Praphullachandra Ghosh (1883-1948) and Taraknath Sen (1909-71) to Arun Kumar Das Gupta (1932-2023). I was fortunate to have the last two as my teachers, and the last subsequently as a colleague. Again we see the long-term fruition of the origins of Shakespeare studies in Bengal that I am tracing here.

Besides editions of Spenser and Milton, Percival left behind five Shakespeare editions, of *As You Like It* (Bombay: Longmans, Green, 1910), *The Merchant of Venice* (London: Henry Frowde, 1912), *The Tempest* (Calcutta: S. Chaudhuri, 1928), *Macbeth* (Calcutta: S. Chaudhuri, 1929) and *Antony and Cleopatra* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1955). The last appeared long after his death. Even the earlier ones were reconstructed from notes taken by students during his lectures and worked up under his supervision. As their provenance indicates, these are very much teaching editions, sometimes almost conveying

the voice of the lecturer in the classroom. In a handwritten "Foreword" affixed in facsimile at the start of each volume, Percival expresses his pleasure at "lectur[ing] again on Shakespeare through the Press". There is little or no textual or bibliographical apparatus. Percival was well versed in textual cruces, but preferred to resolve them by aesthetic rather than editorial criteria.

Percival's illustrious successors have left few publications commensurate with their scholarship and impact. They brought out no editions. On Shakespeare, the only notable book-length works are four volumes by Subodh Chandra Sengupta (1903-98)[4] (including three covering the Comedies, Histories and Tragedies respectively) and some remarkable textual scholarship by Sailendrakumar Sen (1919-99),[5] another of my distinguished teachers and, later, a colleague. Taraknath Sen published a long essay on Shakespeare's short lines—that is, lines shorter than the pentametric norm—with a detailed analysis of every such line in the Folio text of *Macbeth*. But his criteria (unlike Sailendrakumar Sen's) are theatrical and affective, not textual. The dominant critical strain of the past century continues to resonate.

I have moved beyond my chronological limits to indicate both continuity and departure. Curiously, the first major work on Shakespeare's texts to appear from Calcutta was not by a literary scholar but a scientist—Prafullachandra Ray, a legendary professor of chemistry and pioneer of industry. Late in life, between 1939 and 1941, Ray published no fewer than seventeen articles on "my favourite subject—Shakespeare" in the *Calcutta Review* (the journal of the University of Calcutta). They have been reprinted in volume form with the title *The Shakespearean Puzzle*. What the "puzzle" might be is itself something of a puzzle. It seems to be the generally "elusive, evasive or baffling" nature of the plays: whenever the scholar "fancies he has discovered something material or relevant to the life or writings of the poet [, he] finds himself at last groping in the dark" (Ray 2). Ray addresses many general questions about Shakespeare's artistic motives, the relation between his life, work and thought, and the evolution of his text. As one might expect, there is no independent research; but Ray has read deeply in the Shakespeare scholarship of his time, and conducts some major secondary inquiries based on their premises.

In English departments across Bengal and India, thousands of students were taking specialized courses in English at Bachelor's and Master's level at that date. Hundreds of thousands more took general English courses as part of

[4] *Shakespearean Comedy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950); *The Whirligig of Time: The Problem of Duration in Shakespeare's Plays* (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1961); *Shakespeare's Historical Plays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); *Aspects of Shakespearean Tragedy* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1972).

[5] Most notably in *Capell and Malone, and Modern Shakespeare Bibliography* (Calcutta: Firma KL Mukhopadhyay, 1960).

their Bachelor's programme. Shakespeare featured substantially at both levels. At Calcutta University down to the 1980s, the English Honours course included two Shakespeare plays and the general course required one. The Master's course had an entire paper on Shakespeare. Even high-school students would usually read some Shakespeare, in extract or even a full play. An army of college-educated youths across India thus encountered Shakespeare, however perfunctorily at times. At the other end of the spectrum, an enthusiastic minority had him hard-wired into their system.

In the third decade of the twentieth century, Shakespeare rather suddenly lost his proud place on the Calcutta stage, compounding the division between scholarship and performance. There were at least sixteen separate Bengali productions of Shakespearean drama between 1870 and 1920; between 1921 and 1951, none at all. Even an actor-director as well-read as Shishirkumar Bhaduri, who began life as a college teacher of literature, did not stage a single Shakespeare play. There is a comparable dearth in other Indian languages, even while students pored over Shakespeare's text in the country's schools, colleges and universities, and the educated elite read him extensively in print.

What accounts for this remarkable divergence between the theatre and the classroom? The history of the times suggests an obvious explanation. India won independence in 1947 after an intense freedom struggle in the preceding decades. It is an easy guess that the theatre of the colonizers, even in such a familiar and universalized form as Shakespeare's plays, would not have found favour with the public. Yet by the general paradox of colonial rule, the subject nation made its peace with the rulers' culture from the sheer need for survival: Shakespeare figured conspicuously in the academic curriculum of the colonial state. By a happier and not uncommon paradox, that cultural material, especially in so stimulating a guise as Shakespeare, triggered cultural innovations of its own, even to the point of challenging colonial rule.

Beyond the stage and the study, Shakespeare found his way to a third, more open-ended and hence more crucial sector. The college-going population of the late nineteenth century was a minute fraction of the total population of Bengal, almost entirely confined to males; but it expanded incrementally within those confines, driven by the urge to improve one's worldly lot or, in plain terms, to earn a living through an English education. That living, if it materialized at all, was usually modest and straitened; it could not support the more expansive lifestyle that might include theatre-going. Moreover, most beneficiaries of that education would leave Calcutta for their home towns and villages or other places of work. A few might organize amateur theatricals at those places, maybe even the occasional bit of Shakespeare. *Hamlet* was acted in 1857 at the residence of the reformer Keshabchandra Sen in Hooghly District, and *The Merchant of Venice* in 1870 in Krishnanagar in Nadia District. The same year saw the earliest recorded Shakespeare performance in Bengali, an

adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice*—again by a group from Bantra in Howrah District, though staged in a private house in Calcutta. But on the whole, there was little reverse traffic from the districts to the city.

I have described how stage versions of Shakespeare reworked the originals very freely indeed. From 1890, however, we find a number of poetic renderings closer to the originals, some of them by established poets and writers: Hemchandra Bandyopadhyay's *Romeo and Juliet* (1894), Nabinchandra Sen's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1894), Jyotirindranath Tagore's *Julius Caesar* (1907), besides a freer adaptation of *The Tempest* by Hemchandra.

Other redactions are cast as prose narratives, like Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar's retelling of *The Comedy of Errors* (1869). The first Bengali collected works start to appear from the 1890s: from the Hitabadi Press in 1895, then in a series of volumes by Haranchandra Rakshit (1896-1903). These too are in prose narrative form, though much of the dialogue is printed like a play-text. Earlier, there were Bengali renderings based on Lamb's *Tales of Shakespeare*. One of them, a *Romeo and Juliet* by Gurudas Hazra (1848), is the earliest surviving Bengali version of Shakespeare in any form.[6]

The shift of purpose from performance texts to reading texts is a matter of some moment. It made Shakespeare accessible to those who could not read him in English, and who, for whatever reason (and there were many), could not visit the theatre. In particular, it brought Shakespeare home to middle-class women, of whom a good number, by this time, were not only literate but voracious readers. Nirad C. Chaudhuri (1897-1999), who says he "imbibed" the names of Shakespeare and Milton "unconsciously", first heard the story of *King Lear* from his mother, and was introduced to *Julius Caesar* in full by his father when he was ten—that is, in 1907. Neither parent was an academic (Chaudhuri, Nirad C., 98-99, 189). Such dissemination may have started with the new academic programme, but it became an independent focal point of Bengal's interest in Shakespeare. Located at the cusp of academic study and a wider non-theatrical reception, it worked Shakespeare more deeply into the fabric of Bengal's cultural and intellectual life.

The impact of the academic programme must be correctly gauged. Even the high school curriculum commonly included some Shakespeare, at least in excerpt; and as we have seen, the college curriculum could embrace a great deal. But the "English education" of which it formed a part seldom implied any radical Westernization, except in a few untypical groups like the early "Young Bengal". As this education reached farther into society, it melded with traditional Indian culture and the Indian way of life to produce an English-

[6] There was reportedly an 1805 translation of *The Tempest* by Claude Monkton of Fort William College, the training institute for British civilians, but it has not survived.

educated but essentially homegrown middle class, of varyingly modified views and practices but firmly rooted in home soil.

Among its usual intellectual acquisitions was a greater or lesser familiarity with Shakespeare. "Everybody has a Shakespeare at home, everybody can open it and look at the text," writes Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay in 1875 (656). Applied to the English-educated middle class that Bankimchandra is addressing, this is only a modest overstatement. Around 1877-78, a visiting Indian student was introduced to a London audience with the remark that there were almost as many students of Shakespeare and Milton on the banks of the Ganga as of the Thames (Ray 3). In the same year, Rameshchandra Datta, in his historical novel *Maharashtra Jiban Prabhat* (Maharashtra's Dawn of Life, ch.19), charges his Bengali reader with knowing more of Shakespeare (among other European and even Persian writers) than of India's own epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* (202). That may be why from this novel onward, Rameshchandra's epigraphs are all from Bengali sources, though in three earlier ones exclusively from English, including nine from Shakespeare.

By the end of the century, there were thousands of people across India who had a reasonable knowledge of the Bard—in some cases, a very deep understanding. Quotations and allusions circulated freely, almost casually, as the shared legacy of the educated elite. Michael Madhusudan Datta or Dutt (1824-73), the first major poet of the nineteenth-century Bengal Renaissance, was a product of Hindu College. His extensive correspondence contains relatively few references to "the splendid Shakespearean Drama" (as he phrases it in a rare mention: 571), but several eulogies of blank verse (which Michael himself practised, in both plays and non-dramatic poems) as the best medium for a "national drama". He also cites Dr Johnson on Shakespeare and, during a stay in London, offers to help his friend Manomohan Ghosh in his "Shakespearian studies" by sending him "papers of questions"—whatever that might mean—"on his most famous plays" (letter of 8 January 1863: Michael 578).

Another pioneer of modern Bengali literature, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay (1838-94), has epigraphs to every chapter of his early novel *Kapalkundala* (1866). There are six passages from Shakespeare—as many as from the classical Sanskrit dramatist Kalidasa. Bankimchandra also composed the first well-known Bengali critical essay on Shakespeare (1875), comparing Kalidasa's heroine Shakuntala with Miranda and Desdemona and arguing for Shakespeare's superior insight. Less known but no less significant is an essay of 1878 by the historian Haraprasad Shastri (1853-1931) comparing Kalidasa and Shakespeare. But an informed interest in Shakespeare extended beyond humanists and men of letters to the entire educated community. The Bethune Society, a distinguished gathering of Bengal's intelligentsia, featured "On the Tragedy of Macbeth" alongside "On the Sanitary Improvement of Calcutta" in its lecture list for 1852 (Banerji 110).

Gradually, the reading of Shakespeare progressed beyond knowledge and appreciation to critical analysis and assessment, and to general integration into learned culture. Interestingly, Michael and Haraprasad contextualize the Indian reception of Shakespeare in the same way. Michael writes: "In the great European Drama you have the stern realities of life, lofty passion, and heroism of sentiment. With us it is all softness, all romance" (Michael 571). Haraprasad adjudges Kalidasa superior in rendering matters naturally pleasing and aesthetic, and in external description of all kinds; but Shakespeare alone can probe inward to draw beauty out of the naturally unbeautiful, compellingly depicting pain, violence and evil. In 1892, the philosopher Hirendranath Datta (1868-1942) made an extended comparison of Kalidasa and Shakespeare over eight numbers of the journal *Sahitya* (Literature). He too argues that Kalidasa is the poet of beauty, and Shakespeare of humanity even where it inheres in the ugly or evil. This interior or intellective realm is Shakespeare's particular province (Hirendranath 574-76).

Bankimchandra tends in the same direction when he judges Desdemona a more powerful piece of characterization than either Shakuntala or Miranda. Both the latter are untested in the world's ways, though their innocence differs in degree; Desdemona has encountered evil and suffering. Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) wrote a rejoinder to Bankimchandra in 1902, strongly arguing for Kalidasa's superiority by reversing the argument. He expands Goethe's remark that Kalidasa's play presents a comprehensive view of life, progressing from innocence through suffering and experience to attain a serene closure.

Rabindranath, scion of an affluent family, was largely educated at home. His tutor set him an assignment to translate *Macbeth* into Bengali. Only the Witch scenes survive (Rabindranath, *Rachanabali* 30:53-56). But his extensive acquaintance with Shakespeare appears all through his works. He did not write a full essay solely on Shakespeare, but there are some insightful passages. The most extensive is the previously mentioned comparison of Kalidasa's *Shakuntala* with *The Tempest*. The basic contrast, in Rabindranath's view, is between the enriching accord with nature in the forest hermitage where Shakuntala lives, and Prospero's engagement with nature in terms of power and subjugation. The idea is repeated in "The Religion of the Forest" (1919) with reference to several other plays by Shakespeare (*English Writings* 2:516-17).

Another basic idea about Shakespeare runs through many of Rabindranath's writings. He puts it artlessly in an early essay: Shakespeare could depict other people's hearts admirably in the dramatic mode, but not his own heart in the lyric mode ("Bhubanmohinipratibha" etc.: Rabindranath, *Rachanabali* 29:81). But Rabindranath soon fine-tunes this view to argue that Shakespeare's apparently objective projection of characters is possible only because he has first internalized them, imbued them with his own being. That, in turn, is made possible by the depth of his human insight. In a novel fusion of the

opposed Keatsian principles of negative capability and the egotistical sublime, Rabindranath argues that Shakespeare's creations appear to be endlessly varied and distinct; but they all emanate from the "basic principle of life that he generates from within himself", which is also "humanity's eternal wellspring of laughter and tears" ("Patralap," Exchange of Letters [on literature, with Lokendranath Palit]: Rabindranath, *Rachanabali* 8:469, 477-78). Rabindranath wrote a sonnet in 1916 to mark the third centenary of Shakespeare's death. The "world-poet," he says, was once confined to his native land, in an island setting evoking *The Tempest*; but he has climbed the sky like the midday sun, and now lights up the world. It is an eloquent but formal eulogy. The real tribute of the Indian poet (himself customarily called the "world-poet" by his countrymen) lies in his scattered readings and observations.

The promise implicit in the origins of Shakespeare's reception in Bengal can be grasped only by tracing its progress to this point: an integrated line of development, difficult to separate into phases. Significant refashioning starts only in the second half of the twentieth century. My ending thus marks a natural, though not quite a chronological, point of conclusion.

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Publishing Shakespeare in India: Macmillan's English Classics and the Aftereffects of a Colonial Education

Abstract: India's rejection of Macmillan's English Classics series constitutes an important counter-origin that exposes and dismantles underlying assumptions about how colonial Indian readers valued and consumed Shakespeare. In this paper, I examine the failure of Macmillan's English Classics series to bring about Indian assimilation to British values. I specifically consider Kenneth Deighton's Shakespeare editions in the series and argue that Deighton's Shakespeare attempted to utilize its extensive explanatory notes as a primer on Englishness for Indians. The pedantic notes, as well as the manner in which the texts were appropriated into Indian educational systems, were determining factors in their ultimate failure to gain widespread popularity in the colony. The imperial agenda that insists upon one dominant, valid discourse led to Macmillan misreading the market and misreading an already viable field of Shakespeare studies in India. Reflecting on narratives and histories surrounding the origins of Shakespeare studies in India, as well as how Shakespeare's works were produced for the colonies and the way in which they were duly rejected, reveals how exchanges of power and capital between metropole and colony shape Western systems just as heavily as they do others.

Keywords: Kenneth Deighton, William Shakespeare, postcolonial, colonialism, Merchant of Venice, Othello, The Tempest, Macmillan, English Classics, resistance, race, publishing, translation, book history, India

Thomas Babington Macaulay's 1835 "Minute on Education" was a damning testimony to Britain's desire to Anglicize colonial India: "[w]e must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." These words are frequently cited "as the nail in the coffin of a possible Indian modernity … [and] the decisive

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moment, too, after which the English language was bound to become the language of the ruling class in South Asia" (Stephenson 30). Despite Macaulay's aims, Indian modernity is very much a reality, and English is one among many languages currently prominent in South Asia. Macaulay's proposal to manipulate Indian education as a means to control colonial India came into existence as early as 1792, when the British economy began to feel the impact of Indians who did not want to buy goods from the East India Company. The solution to this problem was to teach Indians "to value and crave British manufactures, and to have a proper awe for British culture and the Christian religion"—a message that is mimicked in Macaulay's 1835 speech (Chatterjee, "How India Took" 102). Top industry leaders adhered to Macaulay's goal and did what they could to add to the British apparatus by using Macaulay's plan to create class hierarchies in colonial India and, as a result, create a class of Indians who would be useful to the British in running the empire.

The British publisher Macmillan, founded in 1843 as a bookstore by brothers Daniel and Alexander Macmillan, was among the companies enacting Macaulay's plan. They were publishing educational textbooks as early as 1844, and with Alexander's management, they quickly became leaders in British publishing, releasing hundreds of titles annually. By 1876, Daniel's son Frederick became a partner, and eventually, his brothers Maurice and George took up leadership positions at the publishing house as well ("Macmillan Publishing Ltd."). In an attempt to follow Macaulay's imperial mission, Maurice Macmillan produced the English Classics series, a book series containing famous works of literature specifically annotated for Indian school students.

However, as I will show through a select examination of Kenneth Deighton's editions of Shakespeare's plays in Macmillan's English Classics series, Macmillan's attempt to inculcate English literary studies using Macaulay's purported aim to sideline and devalue Indian culture altogether was unsuccessful since India's ingrained cultural values and literary traditions preceded British rule. Instead, Macmillan's series resulted in an almost immediate cultural resistance to Western perceptions of Shakespeare, and that resistance would eventually take shape in Shakespeare adaptations across various mediums in India and the Bengal region. While there is no evidence to indicate a natural progression between these various forms of resistance, together they contribute to an idea of how Shakespeare was viewed as epitomizing British influence, and how people made this influence serve their own ends. This paper is a preliminary examination of cultural rejection as a form of resistance and also explores some possible reasons for this rejection in the context of British educational policies. In this sense, I trace something of a "counter-origin" of Shakespeare studies in India—one that sets Shakespeare on a decidedly anti-imperialist track.

The English Education Act of 1835 marked a shift in how British influence in Indian education ideologically divided the British colonialists into the Orientalists and the Anglicists.[1] The Orientalists viewed "education in English … to be a waste of valuable time and resources," especially since the new act would ignore Parliament's 1813 "[ruling] that one hundred thousand rupees should be budgeted each year for Indian education." The Anglicists, on the other hand, "[felt] that access to English would allow Indians to deal with their new rulers on their own terms and help to dispel the mystique surrounding the foreigners" (Chatterjee, "How India Took" 103). The debate between the Orientalists and the Anglicists as well as Macaulay's thoughts on Eastern languages makes it appear as though the issue is merely about the language in which Indians are educated; however, as Gerald and Natalie Robinson Sirkin have argued, "the important matter was to teach "useful knowledge," and the question was, which language was the most expeditious for that purpose" (409). The issue, then, is in the subjectivity of the term "useful knowledge," but to Macaulay and those following his credo, usefulness of knowledge lay in the fact that a class of Indians should be created who could help the British in establishing and maintaining their empire. As a result, the Anglicist framework became crucial at this time in any venture aimed toward controlling colonial Indians.

Maurice Macmillan attempted to define "useful knowledge" as it pertains to Macaulay's "Minute" when he was chosen to direct efforts to produce educational texts for colonial India. His solution to offering useful education was through the English Classics series, which included inexpensive editions of English classics, marketed and annotated especially for Indian school students (Chatterjee, "Macmillan in India" 157). William Shakespeare, John Dryden, Sir Walter Scott, and Alfred Tennyson are among the authors included in the English Classics series, and all editions in this series were published with notes and introductions written by British men who held influential positions in the Indian education system. As "eminent citizens who worked on a voluntary basis [and] … were thus all-powerful in the matter of accepting and rejecting a given school textbook," they were most likely aware of editorial choices that would be viewed favorably among Text Book Committees. "Macmillan … went to great lengths to stay on the right side of" colonial Text Book Committees and was diligent in researching and justifying what they believed to be the needs of Indian education (Chatterjee, "How India Took" 106). Despite his efforts, Macmillan did not account for resistance from Indian parents and schoolteachers. While his series was widely considered a success in the Western

[1] The English Education Act of 1835 would reallocate funds the East India Company was required to spend on Indian education and literature. Initially, the funds were used to offer Indian education in regional languages, but with the passage of this act, the funds would be used to support a Western curriculum that promoted English ideals.

world, it was poorly received in India. The imperial agenda that insists upon one dominant, valid discourse led to Macmillan misreading the market and neglecting an already viable field of Shakespeare studies in India. As a result, I posit India's rejection of Macmillan's English Classics series constitutes an important counter-origin that exposes and dismantles underlying assumptions about how Indian readers valued and consumed Shakespeare.

In this paper, I examine the failure of Macmillan's English Classics series to bring about Indian assimilation to British values. I specifically consider Kenneth Deighton's Shakespeare editions in the series, as well as the marketing decisions made with regard to the editions as reflected in book catalogues and circulars of the day. I argue that Deighton's Shakespeare attempted to utilize its extensive explanatory notes as a primer on Englishness for Indians. The pedantic notes, as well as the manner in which the texts were appropriated into Indian educational systems, were determining factors in their ultimate failure to gain widespread popularity in the colony. Reflecting on narratives and histories surrounding the origins of Shakespeare studies in India, as well as how Shakespeare's works were produced for the colonies and the way in which they were duly rejected, reveals how exchanges of power and capital between metropole and colony shape Western systems just as heavily as they do others.

Macmillan's Interests in India, Education, and Shakespeare

India's fascination with Shakespeare dates back almost as early as its history with print culture. By 1770, theatre troupes were performing Shakespeare's plays, "long before Macaulay's famous 1835 Minute," and by the 1820s, "English schoolmasters had their Indian students [performing] scenes from the plays" (Lynch 256; Ganapathy-Doré 10). In fact, the themes of education innate in Shakespeare's works make his plays a perfect form of cultural capital for educational publishers. *Merchant of Venice*, for instance, features "Portia's speech on the crux of the play's educative process, the discrepancy that exists between knowing the good and doing the good: 'the brain may devise laws for the blood, but a hot temper leaps o'er a cold decree'" (Holmer 307; *MV* I.ii.17-19). British schools tended to highlight the more black and white elements from Shakespeare's plays since "the primary purpose of teaching Shakespeare in British elementary and secondary schools is to prepare students for their place in a class-based society and labor market" (Cunningham 297). Hence, this is the same mindset that was taken into consideration when British publishers conceptualized educational texts for the colonial market.

With critics, scholars, and theatre folk such as David Garrick, Samuel Johnson, and Alexander Pope actively working to place Shakespeare at the heart of British identity, it is no wonder that Shakespeare has been associated with

idealized perceptions of high culture, class, and education across the world over time; however, Macmillan assumed its own successes in England as evidence of the timelessness of Shakespeare, and that prompted them to advance into the colonial book market with Shakespeare's works (Holmer 296). Macmillan's 1864 Globe edition, Alexander Macmillan's "pride and joy," was reprinted several times, which was "influential … in stimulating an interest in English masterpieces"—the entire point of Macmillan's English Classics series (Chatterjee, "Macmillan in India" 154; Altick 19). Moreover, in the English translation of an 1876 essay called "Shakuntala, Miranda and Desdemona," Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay somewhat grandiosely and exaggeratedly claims that "everyone has Shakespeare at home; everyone may open the original text and read it" (qtd. in Banerji 11). In essence, the success of Macmillan's Globe edition of Shakespeare's collected works proved to them that there was still a demand for Shakespeare, and assertions such as Chattopadhyay's confirmed that Shakespeare was still a popular commodity in colonial India, at least among the English-speaking, largely upper-class populations. Therefore, it is no wonder Maurice Macmillan chose to include Shakespeare in the English Classics series marketed to India.

Macmillan had long been known primarily as an educational publisher; Maurice Macmillan's choice to launch the English Classics series for Indian schools was thus presumably a wise business decision (Panofsky 185). The English Classics were produced as small books "requiring less paper and binding material per volume" compared to typical printed books, and the series also fit perfectly with the cultural renaissance sweeping across colonial India, which placed renewed importance on ancient literature and religion as well as the wide dissemination of new literature (Altick 16). This movement impacted all facets of colonial life but especially featured efforts to purify Indian languages "polluted by rusticity, loose colloquial forms, and an abundant sexuality" (Ghosh, "An Uncertain" 27-28). Because "reading Shakespeare" has long been considered "the apex of intellectual achievement," at least by the elite, Shakespeare's analogous connection to the Indian cultural renaissance meant incorporation of Shakespeare's plays in the English Classics series was an excellent opportunity for Macmillan to capitalize on such a moment in Indian history (Scheil 93).

However, Macmillan operated under the assumption that the origin of Shakespeare studies in India could only be defined as narrowly and imperiously as they allowed, effectively ignoring the fact that colonial Indians may have already held certain ideas regarding Shakespeare prior and subsequent to British rule. Shakespeare's texts first arrived in India by way of trade vessels, and although there is only limited information about the performances and reception of Shakespeare prior to the consolidation of British rule, it does offer some evidence that at that time, Indians were interpreting Shakespeare on their own terms, and that there was already considerable interest in his plays (Lynch 256).

Deighton's editions allowed no such scope for a nascent form of Shakespeare study and education, so they were rejected by most of the Indian market, except for educational institutions that could not afford to refuse the texts thrust onto them as a result of contracts and deals they were forced to honor. This resulted in cultural rejection as a tentative form of resistance to Macmillan's distinctly Western interpretation of Shakespeare in its efforts to adhere to Macaulay's imperial agenda. The main problem with Macmillan's approach to publishing for Indians was that Macmillan subscribed to the values emphasized in Macaulay's "Minute on Education" and believed that the Indian education system needed to be Anglicized. So, even though Maurice Macmillan took into account economic factors that resulted in his English Classics series being cheap and portable books, his decision to "deliberately [avoid] India-specific notes" in the English Classics series worked against him (Joshi 206; Chatterjee, "Macmillan in India" 157). Such a blatant oversight leads one to conclude that Macmillan's ethnocentric and culturally arrogant ideas affected their early business decisions with regards to the colonial market.

Kenneth Deighton and Shakespeare

Upon returning from his "honeymoon tour of India," Maurice Macmillan set to work on his English Classics series, the goal of which was to present classic English texts for Indian school students, "with careful explanations of those words and concepts which would be unfamiliar to [Indians]" (Chatterjee, "Macmillan in India" 157). W. T. Webb and F. J. Rowe were designated series editors, and men who at one time held influential positions within the Indian education system were chosen to be editors of select titles or authors included in the series (Towheed 134; Chatterjee, "Macmillan in India" 157). This is how Deighton found himself employed by Macmillan.

The little that is known about Deighton's work experience prior to his employment with Macmillan appears to have been sufficient preparation for the publisher to hire Deighton to edit Shakespeare's works for a colonial market. "He had already published school editions of Shakespeare for India when he took on the Macmillan project," and all the first editions of the Shakespeare plays that he edited for Macmillan's English Classics series state his credentials as a government-appointed school inspector of Bareilly, India, and the principal of Agra College, where he worked for eighteen years (Marcus 139). Both of these positions show that Deighton had ample knowledge of the inner workings of the Indian school system, which qualified him to be the Shakespeare editor in a major colonial book series. Other than that, not much else about Deighton is easily accessible or published. However, Deighton's "insider" knowledge makes his miscalculation of the market for Shakespeare in Indian education even more

surprising, and discloses the deep entrenchment of the colonial ideas that underwrote these editions.[2]

In all, Deighton edited the following 24 of Shakespeare's plays for Macmillan's English Classics series:

Table 1. Deighton's Editions of Shakespeare

Deighton's Shakespeare Editions in Macmillan's English Classics Series		
Anthony and Cleopatra	*As You Like It*	*Coriolanus*
Cymbeline	*Hamlet*	*Henry IV, Part 1*
Henry IV, Part 2	*Henry V*	*Henry VIII*
Julius Caesar	*King John*	*King Lear*
Macbeth	*Merchant of Venice*	*Midsummer Night's Dream*
Much Ado About Nothing	*Othello*	*Richard II*
Richard III[*]	*Romeo and Juliet*	*The Tempest*
Twelfth Night	*Two Gentlemen of Verona*	*Winter's Tale*

[*] Deighton co-edited this play with C. H. Tawney.

Source: *Catalogue of the Publications and Importations of the Macmillan Company*.

Upon first glance, it is difficult to identify any pattern or reason in Deighton's selections, but closer examination reveals thoughtful considerations were made when determining which of Shakespeare's plays would be included in Macmillan's English Classics series. For example, it is interesting that Deighton's editions feature all of Shakespeare's histories and tragedies, many of which are tied to the development of the English nation. Yet he is very selective when it comes to comedies and romances, perhaps because interpretations and ideas regarding comedy and romance are extremely subjective, especially within

[2] In the preface of the first Shakespeare edition Deighton published with Macmillan, he bemoans the challenge of teaching Indian students "cast in a mould of thought and living in an atmosphere so remote from anything English." Deighton argues that "the explanation of things that to an English boy would be plain enough, of things that no one who had not had experience of teaching Indian students would suppose possible to be misunderstood, is vitally necessary" (qtd. in Marcus 132). He claims "no sneer is intended at the intellect of Indian students," but he is in no way as understanding as some of his contemporaries (qtd. in Marcus 140). Orientalist James R. Ballantyne, who published an edition of *Macbeth* in 1848, notes Indian students' propensity for critical thinking, remarking that they "demand closer reading of the text than do their British counterparts, and the denser annotation required for Indian students is more a matter of meeting their need for precision than of repairing their deficient cultural literacy" (qtd. in Marcus 134).

varying cultures. *Titus Andronicus*, arguably Shakespeare's most gruesome and gory play, is also not included, and *Pericles*, a play that features father-daughter incest as one of the main problems that plagues the title character, also did not make the cut. For the most part, it is fairly simple to decipher Deighton's conservative editorial choices since Deighton was editing these editions for Indian students. Conversely, Deighton's careful deliberation over plays to exclude from this series might also have to do with the cultural renaissance impacting the colonial book market during the time he was publishing his editions. Even though the openness to new literature was a part of this movement, it was also concerned with avoiding rampant sexuality and raunchiness in literature—all qualities relatively common in many of Shakespeare's plays. As a result, Deighton appears to have worked only with plays that are comedies or romances or boast reputations grand enough for critics to overlook questionable issues such as excessive violence and gore, for example, in tragedies like *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. Deighton's editorial choices also highlight the interplay between the development of the editorial tradition and the consolidation of the British Empire. Leah S. Marcus cogently explains the rationale for sanitizing Shakespeare for a colonial market:

> Colonial educators were not necessarily unaware that Britain had committed outrages in the course of its conquest and government of its territories. They saw Shakespeare as a force that could heal the breaches they had created through the messy, violent process of colonization by appealing across political and cultural differences to the common humanity they shared with their subaltern students. Shakespeare had to be innocent of colonial designs so that he could deliver the colonial message. (Marcus 23)

In spite of any perceived misgivings regarding the harsh realities of colonization, positioning colonial editions of Shakespeare as shining examples of all that is refined, cultured, and English only served the imperial agenda and has left a lasting impression on Shakespeare studies. The mere fact that colonial editions of Shakespeare have been reprinted in this century and continue to reintroduce audiences to editorial choices made in service to the British Empire validates the importance of post-colonial study of Shakespeare.[3]

Case Study: Deighton's Editions of Shakespeare

Because the English Classics series as a whole was ultimately deemed unsuccessful, it is necessary to examine how Deighton's Shakespeare editions might have contributed to the failure of the series in India, and what kinds of

[3] See Forgotten Books' 2012 Classic Reprint series.

cultural resistance they encountered. For this purpose, I will briefly examine only Deighton's editions of *Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*.

Although Deighton's organization seems simple enough, based on the table of contents, the formatting for his editions is off-putting if the target audience is meant to be students (Indian or not). To clarify, in each edition, the play and notes are separated, so students who wish to utilize the notes section will consistently need to flip to the back of the book to read Deighton's annotations; moreover, there are no indicators within the text of each play to represent which words or phrases are further explained or defined in the notes section.[4] Theoretically, the lack of such indicators makes the notes section somewhat useless, which is a problem in and of itself, but especially because it was not uncommon for other educational texts produced at the time to use small dots or circles to mark words for which editors had provided annotations.[5] In spite of this flaw in formatting, should any students demonstrate the incredible patience required to utilize Deighton's notes sections, they would be assaulted by entirely too many notes that are largely philological in nature, not consistently useful, and appear to underestimate their intellectual capacity. For example, Deighton's half-page annotation for the first instance of the word "it" in *Merchant of Venice* is far too much detail, in comparison to his rather vague explanation of the word "stuff" as a word that is "often used by Shakespeare … of non-material things, *e.g. J. C.* iii. 2. 97, 'Ambition should be made of sterner *stuff*'" (*MV* I.i.2; *MV* I.i.4; 82). And even when Deighton's notes appear to be useful, the details are vague. This can be seen in *Othello* when he annotates "God bless the mark!" and explains, "No satisfactory explanation of the origin of this phrase has yet been discovered. Kelly says it was used by the Scotch in comparing one person with another" (*Oth.* I.i.33; 109). In spite of the explanation for the phrase being somewhat unclear, the larger problem is this is the only instance where the name Kelly appears in the entire edition, placing the credibility of the person Deighton has cited as indeterminate and indeterminable. Half-page annotations for simple words, referencing examples of words in Shakespeare's other plays as definitions for certain terms that appear in Deighton's editions, and notes that are unhelpful overall seem unnecessary. The frustrating organization and excess of information, factored in with the language barrier many students surely experienced, makes Deighton's editions impractical for all audiences.

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[4] This frustrating organization was standard practice at the time. The more modern practice of including footnotes located at the bottom of any given page would come later.

[5] Oxford University Press and Penguin Books are two publishers whose editions featured small dots or circles to indicate words with annotations in the notes section. By the time Macmillan produced the Pocket Classics series for the American market, they also adopted this technique as standard practice.

All of Deighton's editions of Shakespeare's plays are similarly dense; his edition of *Merchant of Venice* includes 89 pages of notes and a four-page index to the notes, following an 82-page play and 20-page introduction, and his edition of *Othello* includes 95 pages of notes and a four-page index to the notes, following a 107-page play and 12-page introduction. It appears almost as though the strategy was to colonize the Indian reader's mind by overwhelming it with information Deighton had no guarantee that foreign students would diligently read. Each edition begins with an introduction that provides an outline of the play, historical context, important dates, and other relevant facts, but often, the information is not useful for readers since Deighton either fails to take a firm stance on issues he chooses to discuss or outright refuses to elaborate on certain points. For example, when he introduces the Wilson-Halpin Double Time theory in his introduction for *Othello*, he only explains it is a theory regarding how time passes in the play but does not elaborate further because apparently "it is impossible to discuss here" (*Oth.* xii). Deighton is similarly vague at the end of his introduction for *Othello*, where his final remarks declare that it would be impossible "to summarize even upon a single point the vast mass of criticism which in England, Germany, America, and France has grown up round *Othello*," and then addresses Indian students specifically:

> To Indian students, to those at all events who are reading the play for the B. A. degree, I would suggest that they should confine themselves to some one commentator; and of all the commentators with whom I am acquainted, Hudson in his *Shakespeare: his Life, Art and Characters*, seems to give in the simplest language the most satisfactory conspectus of the various points of interest, together with a clear and intelligent analysis of all the important characters in the play. (*Oth.* xviii)

This note is strange, considering the point of Deighton's introduction is to provide "a clear and intelligent analysis of all the important characters in the play," so it does not make sense for him to advise readers consult a different book for the same purpose[6] (*Oth.* xviii). Furthermore, Hudson's summary of *Othello* is an odd reference for Deighton to point his readers to, given Hudson was American and explicitly defined himself against Britain, and also because Deighton seems reluctant to express bold statements about characters and plot points in his introduction, while Hudson's summary is incredibly problematic as

[6] Many books at the time contained introductory notes explaining the purpose of a specific book, but pointed messages addressed to students were rare both in books produced for the colonial market and those produced for other venues such as the American market. Even across Deighton's editions, his message to the reader in *Othello* stands apart from his other introductory notes.

it is brazenly racist and sexist, among other things.[7] Perhaps that was the point. For example, after an excessive discussion questioning whether Othello is black at all (Hudson surmises perhaps he was "a dark-skinned white person"), Hudson claims Desdemona's beauty is a result of her ability to appreciate Othello for his "unattractive appearance" and also praises Iago for his cleverness in using Othello's "peculiar features" in harassing him and creating lies about him[8] (Hudson 449, 455). In fact, Hudson echoes many Romantic-era critics and spends a great deal of his summary lauding Iago's character, describing his mind as "sleepless, unrelenting, inexhaustible, with an energy that never flags, and an alertness that nothing can surprise, he outwits every obstacle, and turns it into a help," while repeatedly criticizing Othello for falling victim to Iago's manipulation. The only time Hudson seems to praise Othello is at the end of his summary, when he claims Othello's murder of Desdemona is "the most heroic self-sacrifice" since "the taking of Desdemona's life is to him far worse than to lose his own," which does not seem very heroic at all, as it strips Desdemona of her humanity (Hudson 460).

One might argue Hudson's words cannot be held against Deighton, in spite of Deighton's endorsement of Hudson's book; however, Deighton's deliberate effort to avoid including notes that might in any way encourage Indian readers to reflect on the ways in which they differ from their British rulers as Othello and Shylock differ from others in Venice speaks volumes.[9] To clarify, Shakespeare's characters occasionally highlight the social implications of fair

[7] Hudson's commentary on Shakespeare "occurred when modern English departments were first taking shape" and, therefore, greatly influenced the state of Shakespeare studies in the western world (Bayer 274). As a result, Deighton likely overlooked Hudson's pointed criticism against the intellectual pretension he claimed pervaded Britain's critical establishment and, instead, appears to focus on how Hudson approaches Shakespeare studies as a way to engage readers "from all walks of life and [instill] in them a sense of moral personhood"—a goal that aligns well with Macaulay's "Minute" and the overall imperial agenda (Bayer 276).

[8] Ania Loomba depicts the early seventeenth century as "either the last period in history where ethnic identities could be understood as fluid, or as the first moment of the emergence of modern notions of 'race'" (203). "Colonial assumptions" such as Hudson's are rooted in the impulse to align Shakespeare's heroes and themes in such a way that they may be viewed favorably with imperial English values. Thus, to illustrate Othello unquestionably as a person of color would be to associate the colonial "other," as well as the other "uncomfortable" elements of his character, with Englishness (Marcus 11).

[9] Oddly, this was one of Hudson's points, at least in an American context. But it seems Deighton only refers to Hudson's scholarship so long as it aids him in propelling Britain's imperial mission, which further adds to the incorrect assumptions he made about the colonial market that eventually would cause the English Classics series to fail in India.

and dark skin, but Deighton carefully avoids discussing the significance of such instances in his annotations. For example, in his introduction for *Othello*, he fails to mention Othello's skin color, and how it might have played a role in Othello's jealousy and Iago's ability to manipulate him so skillfully. Addressing how race is handled in Shakespeare plays that include racial themes is crucial to connecting with the characters and plot, as it enables audiences to "recognize and talk about the barriers that divide us and suggest ways that we can rethink and improve on our collective responsibility of living together in a plural society" (Smith 124). Furthermore, many non-white characters in Renaissance drama are minor or side characters, often depicted rudely as stereotypes; thus, critical discussions about race are even more important in examinations of a play like *Othello*, which features a black man as the protagonist—as a character who cannot be dismissed as a mere caricature (Hendricks 6). Regardless of Deighton's own stance on race, he is absolutely at fault for completely avoiding the mention of the topic in his notes for *Othello* as it is an integral part of the title character's development and the discourse surrounding the play. The persistent negative commentary Othello must endure essentially labels him as "other" and becomes the seed for much of his self-doubt throughout the play; so, even though Othello does not detest his own skin color, it is important for Deighton to point out the ways in which people use the fact of it against him. Indian readers might have been more receptive to Deighton's edition of *Othello* if he had made more of an effort to include annotations and notes that reflect the fact that colonial subjects under British rule cannot experience Deighton's edition of *Othello* with the same appreciation or perspective as a reader, editor, or publisher with a decidedly British background and imperial agenda.

Deighton once again dodges mentioning skin color in his plot summary for *Merchant of Venice*, a play that is solely about conflicts that arise from differing religious and cultural ideals. In the play, when Portia prepares to see potential suitors, she declares, "If he have the condition / of a saint, and the complexion of a devil, I had / rather he should shrive me than wive me," indicating that marrying someone with a dark or "devilish" skin tone would be less than favorable (*MV* I.ii.123-25). And later, when the Prince of Morocco, a moor, chooses the wrong casket and fails the test designed to find a suitable husband for Portia, she states with relief, "Let all of his complexion choose me so" (*MV* II.vii.77). Deighton, however, glosses over the Prince of Morocco's small yet significant role as a potential suitor, never even mentioning in his copious introductory notes that he is a moor, and he also fails to consider Portia's conflicted views regarding race and culture. The closest Deighton comes to writing about character details that bring to light differences between Indians and their British counterparts is in his notes about Caliban and Prospero from *The Tempest*, who represent the colonized and their colonizers, respectively. A post-colonial reading of Caliban "champion[s him] as the first rebel to

misread and re-write what he has learned under Prospero's instruction: he takes Prospero's language as his own, using it to deny Prospero's version of reality and to subvert Prospero's rule" (Brydon 75). Deighton, however, labels Caliban as "a devil who has known no other state than his fallen one. To Prospero he owes it that he possesses the faculty of speech … Fear is the only motive by which he can be held in obedience" (*Tmp*. xvii-xviii). And Prospero, though at fault for studying magic and losing his kingdom on account of his inability to be an effective ruler, should be revered for how "he liberates Ariel from the spell by which Sycorax had bound him and … employs him … for such purposes only as are beneficent," for how "he devotes himself to the education of Miranda," and for how "he endeavours, so far as it is possible to humanize the brutal Caliban" (*Tmp*. xiii). In essence, in the rare instances when Deighton cannot ignore character details that emphasize differences, his words clearly paint a picture wherein the British are depicted—even symbolically—as a boon to their subjects.

Deighton also fails to address adequately Shylock's ostracization throughout *Merchant of Venice,* which is clearly evidenced in his notes from Act 1, Scene 3, when Antonio and Bassanio have a laugh at Shylock's expense when they invite him to dine with them as they eat pork for dinner. Deighton's note explains that pork is "an abomination to Jews," and then he goes on to elaborate further, "for the miracle in which Christ, when casting out the devils with which two men were possessed, caused them to enter into a herd of swine, see *Matthew*" (*MV* 97). Deighton's choice to refer only to information from the Bible further demonstrates how he used his editions to push purely English values and culture.[10] While it is easy to comprehend why Deighton would annotate in this manner—and Macmillan by extension since the publisher essentially endorsed the editor's notes—it is equally understandable why such methods would not be entirely convincing or stimulating to an otherwise intelligent Indian readership, a group already somewhat familiar with Shakespeare, including the educators who would peruse Macmillan's editions before choosing or refusing to pass them along to students.

Another possibility as to why the English Classics series did not sell well, resulting in the failure of the series as a whole, is that Macmillan was competing with itself. At the time, Alexander Macmillan's 1864 Globe edition of Shakespeare's collected works was selling for $1.75, while Deighton's

[10] This cultural insensitivity is not unlike Ballantyne's religious insensitivity in the preface of his edition of *Macbeth*, where he discourages "young Hindus" from becoming preoccupied with long, challenging passages, "which the Indian pupil is prone to do, as the flesh-fly is to settle on the tainted specks in the sirloin" (qtd. in Marcus 135). As Marcus goes on to point out, "most if not all [Indian students] were probably vegetarian, and in any case unlikely to consume like 'flies' the flesh of an animal revered by Hindus."

individual editions of the Shakespeare plays were selling for 40 cents each (*Catalogue*). These are prices to the booksellers, who would then mark up those prices to make a profit based on their understanding of local Indian economies and book markets. However, a comparison of prices cannot be the only component considered when sales numbers are factored since Macmillan allowed colonial booksellers to set their own prices for books being sold in India, and booksellers' prices were not consistent or deemed important enough to maintain records (Chatterjee, "Macmillan in India" 155). In fact, the practice of allowing booksellers to set their own prices continues today with major British publishers such as Macmillan, Routledge, and Oxford University Press.

The next time Macmillan prepared individual educational editions of Shakespeare's plays was with the Pocket Classics series, which was meant to provide classic literature in books that were easily portable. Though the series appears to have been geared toward an American market, scholars such as Rimi B. Chatterjee have argued Maurice Macmillan's insistence that Deighton's colonial edition not include any India-specific notes makes it possible to compare the Pocket Classics with the English Classics to determine how Macmillan might have learned from the mistakes made in Deighton's editions. For instance, Charlotte Whipple Underwood's 1899 edition of *Merchant of Venice*, published as a part of the Pocket Classics series, includes small circles (°) within the text of the play to indicate words that contain explanatory comments in the notes section. Unfortunately, the notes section is still 77 pages long, followed by a nine-page index to the notes. Of course, there is no stipulation that there should only be a few notes since if many notes are needed, they ought to be included; however, Underwood's notes are often excessive and unhelpful, like Deighton's. Furthermore, while Underwood's notes resemble Deighton's, in that both include annotations for several of the same phrases and concepts, Deighton's explanations are not open to interpretation and leave no room for questioning, whereas many of Underwood's notes seem geared toward inspiring more critical thinking in students. For example, when Underwood includes an endnote for the term "want-wit" from *Merchant of Venice*, instead of explaining what the term means, her annotation reads as follows: "Of the several meanings given in the dictionary for *wit*, which is the one intended here?" (*MV* I.i.6; 122). Deighton, on the other hand, provides a somewhat vague note, though leaves no room for questioning by explaining that "want-wit" is an "appellation … which [Antonio] gives himself" (82). Underwood's notes also include pronunciation guides, such as how the word "ocean" from "Your mind is tossing on the ocean" should be "[pronounced] as a trisyllable" to remain consistent with iambic pentameter; Deighton, in contrast, never provides notes to assist with proper pronunciation (*MV* I.i.8; 122). Deighton's decidedly poor editing choices further indicate he did not care for his Indian readers—a typical colonial attitude.

Overall, Underwood's annotations illustrate a good balance between providing clear explanations for terms or ideas students might find confusing or unfamiliar while also encouraging critical thought—a marked improvement on Deighton's editions. After all, the primary reason why British publishers were making educational texts for Indian students was, in part, to teach them how to think, feel, and be British. Most likely, critical thinking was not something deemed important to stress in British-produced educational texts meant for Indian students, even though Parna Sengupta's examination of the "object lesson" shows that colonial India was actually very much interested in teaching students to think critically (96-97).

Oddly enough, when the English Classics series was a failure in the colonial market, Macmillan was able to sell the surplus of print copies to English students who appreciated the plethora of notes and used Deighton's editions almost like an early version of *SparkNotes* since "they had been more fully and considerately annotated than ordinary English textbooks," according to many students who wanted to avoid the critical thinking aspects of education and preferred straightforward answers for their exams and papers instead[11] (Chatterjee, "Macmillan in India" 157). This reaction in the English market resulted in at least three reprints of Deighton's colonial edition of *Merchant of Venice* during the Age of Imperialism; so, the English Classics managed to turn a profit anyway because they were successful in the English market.

Cultural Rejection as a Form of Resistance

Imperial Britain's goal to use propaganda, products, and texts, as is the case in this study, to somehow change colonial India into a satellite Britain was flawed from its inception. Cultures appropriate texts they deem useful and reject those they do not because it is not the text that gives meaning to the culture that has claimed it, but rather the culture that gives meaning to the text. The most significant outcome of Macmillan's failure with the English Classics series is that in attempting to limit and control colonial India's interpretation of

[11] Andrew Murphy discusses how later editions such as the Arden Shakespeare, for which Deighton edited three editions after his work with Macmillan, followed an approach similar to school editions like the English Classics by assigning specific texts to individual editors who worked under general editors' supervision (207). Marcus argues the lingering colonial influences pulled into subsequent editions of Shakespeare highlight the lasting influence of Macmillan's publications, the persistence of the imperial mission—particularly in the development of English studies as a field, as Gauri Vishwanathan establishes in *Masks of Conquest*—and the dovetailing of both in post-colonial Shakespeare studies.

Shakespeare only to what is expressed in Deighton's editions, they inadvertently removed their Shakespeare texts from being considered by Indian citizens at all.

By 1905, Macmillan realized that if Indians were rejecting their texts, then they needed to use other means to sell them. Macmillan did so by signing an exclusive deal with Bombay, India, where publishing of school textbooks "was solely in the hands of the government," that promised Bombay would only purchase educational textbooks from Macmillan. Naturally, other British publishers were jealous of such an incredible contract and tried to find ways to impinge on Macmillan's deal with Bombay—all to no avail; Macmillan was able to maintain a good relationship with the colonial market and profit from the deal with Bombay for over twenty years (Chatterjee, "How India Took" 107). In essence, even though Macmillan initially approached the colonial market incorrectly by overlooking the value Indians understandably place on their own cultures and perceptions of the world, investigating the failure of the English Classics series in India displays how Macmillan was able to revise its relationship and marketing strategies toward colonial India.

It is important to note, however, that Macmillan and Deighton did not really care how Indians received Shakespeare, given Deighton's editions did not contain enough contextual information to make the texts have any value to Indian readers. Both failed to acknowledge that Indians' engagement with Shakespeare did not originate with the English Classics series; thus, it is no surprise Indians almost instantly rejected Western interpretations of Shakespeare as peddled by the colonial British since such texts ignored the reality of Indian adaptations that preceded British rule, that Shakespeare studies in India while perhaps not robust as in Britain, was nevertheless already a viable field of education (Lynch 256; Ganapathy-Doré 10). Sensing rejection of and possible resistance to colonial cultural influences, the British passed censorship laws to prevent public Indian performances of Shakespeare in languages other than English in hopes of controlling British efforts to Anglicize India, but some Indians were able to resist this means of control as well by performing Shakespeare in English with Indian cultural elements incorporated into stage performances such as the ones produced by Utpal Dutt early in his career. These performances featured cultural symbols and values relatable to local audiences, connecting with Indian citizens far more effectively than Macmillan's English Classics series. Macmillan's initial unyielding commitment to Macaulay's imperial agenda prevented them from understanding that Shakespeare could be significant and memorable for Indians, as evidenced by India's rich history of colonial and post-colonial adaptation and appropriation of Shakespeare.

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Shakespeare Studies in Iran: The British Knight for Persia[1]

Abstract: Shakespeare's travels into Persia started in the middle of the nineteenth century when modern socio-political forces and the need for a powerful army were fomenting important changes in the traditional structure of government, production, and culture alike. Shakespeare appeared in Persia at a time when the country was experiencing a fundamental transition from older traditions into a western-like government, infrastructure, education, and ideas. Shakespeare was important to this process in two ways. He was enlisted to enrich the cultural property of the country and therefore became ensconced in the educational system. Perhaps more importantly, his plays were used to critique the ruling political system and the prevailing habits of the people. *Hamlet* has always been a favorite play for the translators and the intellectuals because it starts with regicide and ends with murdering a monarch and replacing him with a just king. *Othello*, another favorite, was frequently retranslated partly because there were similar themes in Persian culture with which readers could easily connect. Thus, Shakespeare became a Persian Knight and moved from one historical era to another to function as a mirror to reflect the aspirations of the elite, if not those of the common folk. This paper traces Shakespeare's steps in Persia chronologically, expounding the socio-political context in which Shakespeare and his plays operated not only within the context of academia, but also without in society amongst the people and the elites as political allegories to sidestep censorship and to attack the despotic monarchs and ruling power.

Keywords: Shakespeare, Shakespeare Studies, Modern Theatre, Persia/Iran, Qajar Dynasty, Constitutional Revolution, Pahlavi Dynasty, Censorship, 1979 Revolution, Islamization

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Overview

> It would seem as if it were yesterday when Gholam-Hossein Saedi's *Othello in Wonderland* was acted out abroad. Saedi had pictured the state cultural monitoring and censorship, as well as Islamization of everything in the Islamic republic [of Iran] in the form of a play. The film of the performance was brought into Iran. Then Mr. Khatami [a mullah] was the Minister of [the Ministry of Culture and Islamic] Guidance. One of the characters in the play also was the Minister of [the Ministry of Culture and Islamic] Guidance who was interpreting [*Othello*'s text] and enacting odd orders. One or two consultants were accompanying him. We were joking with Mr. Khatami that the play mockingly displays him. He replied: "No, it refers to Moadikhah, the former Minister, because the person who plays the role has a white turban on his head and mine is black!"[2]

Located on the 'Silk Road', Persia, now called Iran, has continuously acted as a crossroads between East and West. Iranian people have always welcomed other cultures and freely adapted whatever they considered useful and, therefore, "an eclectic cultural elasticity has been said to be one of the key defining characteristics of the Persian [Iranian] spirit and a clue to its historic longevity" (Milani, *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran* 15).[3] During the Qajar dynasty (1789-1925) Persia first became exposed to the industrialized west and its cultures and languages, which initiated a unique period in its modern history. Christophe Balay and Michel Cuypers claim, "by the end of the 19th century Iranians were exposed to a movement that had no counterpart in their history before: the flow of Western Culture" (7). William Shakespeare's importance in this cultural interchange is not surprising. Shakespeare's constant journeys along the Silk Road between his homeland and the Middle East and Asia for the last four centuries are by now well-known. Shakespeare who never travelled abroad in real life was an important witness to the crucial social and political changes in Iran. Since the late nineteenth century Shakespeare's name and words have magically evolved and endlessly mutated, constantly reinvented to fit the rapidly changing Iranian cultural and political context. Throughout the turbulent modern history of Iran, Shakespeare has evolved to meet the social needs for change and

[2] Mohammad-Ali Abtahi's memoir, Vice President of Mohammad Khatami for Legal and Parliamentary Affairs (2 September 2001 – 12 October 2004), mentioned in the following website: https://www.isna.ir/news/8311-00954/. Accessed 12 May 2021.

[3] Professor Peter Avery claims that, from Herodotus onwards, "Iranian adaptability and quickness to borrow from others have frequently been commented on. But rarely has this been done with enough emphasis on the original genius and absolute and unchanging characteristics distinctly Iranian, to make "borrowing fresh, hitherto unthought-of development, mere imitation being out of the question" (qtd. in Partovi 30).

evolution, making him firmly entrenched not just in modern Iranian art, literary history and education, but also as an important political touchstone.

Shakespeare has taken different roles in successive periods in contemporary Iran, shifting according to the political motives on the ground. Even in post-revolutionary Iran, where we might expect that English as "the language of the 'enemies', the United States of America (a.k.a. 'the Great Satan'), and its closest ally, the United Kingdom" (Borjian, *English in Post-Revolutionary Iran: From Indigenization to Internationalization* xiii) and all the related symbols of the western culture and literature would have been severely curtailed, Shakespeare accomplished his mission successfully, becoming institutionalized in the Iranian cultural and educational spheres. However, despite the fact that "one of the most prevalent cases of countering global forces and Westernized versions of modernity and development today is the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI)" (Garcia ix), the result of all these complex and frequent ebbs and flows with regard to English and Shakespeare in Iran is that indigenized, and adapted English and Shakespeare co-exist today.

Shakespeare Meets the Qajar Dynasty (1789-1925)

Shakespeare Studies in Iranian education has always mirrored cultural change and revolution. Not surprisingly, Shakespeare's name and works in Iran first appear in the diaries and memoirs of elites and intellectuals. The Persians' first encounter with Shakespeare as one of the influential figures in the European theatre was through the travel notes of Mirza Saleh Shirazi[4] who, for the first time, wrote Shakespeare's name in Persian after apparently attending "a performance of Shakespeare's *King Lear* at Covent Garden" (Ganjeh 91). In his *Travelogue* on 16 June 1816, Mirza Saleh writes a succinct history of England and the Elizabethan era, then he points out that: "Shakespeare is one of the well-known poets of the [Elizabethan] era who has appeared in that era" (*Travelogues* 349). As early as the nineteenth century, Shakespeare was familiar to some Persian travellers; but his works had yet to permeate academic and educational culture. This is largely because the concept of 'theatre' was not yet well-known or received among the Iranian public. Rev. Justin Perkins reported on April 11, 1835, "The Persians are not very fond of such (i.e. theatrical) entertainments. A German ventriloquist was here, not long ago, and the people ascribed his performance to the direct agency of the devil and treated him with corresponding abhorrence" (208).

[4] Mirza Saleh Shirazi was among the second group of students sent to Europe by Abbas Mirza to study the new sciences. He was in England during 1815-1819 and his *Travelogue* was eventually published in Tehran in 1968.

To set the stage for "theatre" and Shakespeare to enter into Iran, one of the most renowned intellectuals of his time, Abbas Mirza (1789-1833), the Qajari crown prince, was the first to imagine a modern college based on European models. His idea was something of a preparatory school for students who were then sent to Europe to study modern sciences in European universities and return to start conveying their knowledge to the next generation of students in a modern college in Iran (Balay and Cuypers 14-5). In 1851, the first such organized institution of higher education, called Dar a1-Funun was founded by Amir Kabir (1807-1852),[5] the chief minister to Nasir al-Din Shah (1831-1896). Dar al-Funun was a technical school when it started, but gradually for the purpose of facilitating communication, included instruction in foreign languages such as French, English, Arabic as well as Persian and foreign literatures and dramatic arts (Balay and Cuypers 17). Thus the students educated in Europe and later in Dar al-Funun facilitated a productive cultural exchange with the west in the coming years.

The advent of the Persian western-style theatre might also be traced back to the reign of Nasir a1-Din Shah who visited Europe on diplomatic trips three times in 1873, 1878, and 1889. Nasir al-Din Shah recorded in his diary on his journey of 1873 to Europe that he was particularly impressed by performances of circuses, operas, and theaters (Nasir al-Din Shah 95). Upon returning from his second trip to the Europe, Nasir al-Din Shah ordered the building of a European-style auditorium in the main premises of Dar al-Funun suggesting that theatre and higher education were from their inception closely intertwined. In March 1886 the construction of the first theatre hall was complete, managed by Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, Mozayen al-Dowleh (1843-1932), who had studied painting in France, and Monsieur Lemaire, the French music professor.[6] Moliere's *Misanthrope* (Sargozasht-e Mardomgoriz), translated by Mirza Habib Esfahani (printed in Constantinople in 1869), and some of Moliere's other plays were the first performed in this Hall (Gaffary 376; Emami 14; Ganjeh 96; Jannati 59).

Although there is no record of Shakespeare translation and performance in Farsi before 1900, the Iranian-Azerbaijani Turks and Iranian-Armenians had translated his plays into their own native languages, and staged them in Tabriz and Tehran since the 1870s. Even Azadeh Ganjeh maintains that, "Since the 1850s there have been at least 50 translators of Shakespearean drama, but to this day the translator whose excellence is still unmatched is the Iranian-born, Paris-educated career diplomat, Hovaness Khan Massehian" (53) who translated Shakespeare's plays into Armenian. Massehian's translation of *Hamlet* was

[5] Mirza Taghi Khan-e Farahani known as Amir Kabir.

[6] On Mozayan al-Dowle and Lemaire see: R. A. Khaleqi. *The History of Iranian Music* (Sargozasht-e musigi-ye Iran). 2nd ed. Tehran, 1974, Vol. 1.

printed in 1894 by the Armenian publishing society (Ganjeh 85). Later to become the Persian Ambassador to the Great Britain, in 1916, Hovannes Massehian was invited to participate in the 300th anniversary of Shakespeare's death in Stratford-upon-Avon. He explained the challenges and joys in interpreting Shakespeare plays and the culture woven in them in the context of Persian culture and traditions:

> […] an educated Iranian person in the first encounter with this great poet-playwright will become subdued and stunned by his greatness. […] little by little when he gets to know him more, he will feel in Shakespeare the soul of story-telling of his national poet Ferdowsi, and philosophy and belief of Rumi, the breeze of Sa'adi and Hafez poems and wisdom of Omar Khayyam. (qtd. in Ganjeh 54-55)

It was in 1900, through the translation of *The Taming of the Shrew* (Majliseh Tamashakhan: Be Tarbiat Avardaneh Dokhtareh Tondkhuy) by Hosseinqoli Mirza Saloor (Emad a'saltaneh), that Iranians got their first glimpse of Shakespeare in Persian. Thanks to the efforts of the elites and intellectuals during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "theatre" was gaining popularity in Iranian society—especially at educational institutions. Shakespeare's works were among the leading plays which were acted out in theatres. In 1880, the Armenian community started to integrate the theatre into education and built a school, and next to it a theatre with a stage. The theatrical group was managed by the principal of the school and in 1881 spawned a "Club of Theatre Lovers" (Anjoman-e Dustdaran-e Te'yatr), the purpose of which was the education of the young, the artistic development of theatre, and pecuniary support for the school (Ganjeh 157). The only well documented Shakespeare performance at this institution was a staging of *Othello* in Turkish in Tabriz in 1888. A document in Akhtar newspaper, no. 16, vol. 15, on 26 December 1888, was mentioned in the *Quarterly Journal of Theatre*. It remarks that in 1888, Mr. Safrazian and his wife Alma had come from Tbilisi with other Russian subjects to give a performance of *Othello*. This is also the first documented female theatre performance in Iran mentioning one of the star actors, Shushanik Tessian, who was a teacher at the Armenian girls' school (Ganjeh 155-56). By 1897, it became customary for women to play female roles.[7]

The first performances of Shakespeare's works in Tehran took place in the declining years of the Qajar dynasty: *The Merchant of Venice* and *Much Ado*

[7] In that year, Mrs. Babayan, the wife of Gabriel Babayan, the principal of the Armenian school, performed in *Scapin*. A great improvement occurred in women's theatrical activities when in 1902 two sisters from Tabriz, Vartir and Haranush Faligian came to Tehran and created the "Tehran Women's Theater Group" (goruh-e te'yatr-e banovan-e Tehran) (Ganjeh 159).

about Nothing directed by Reza Azarakhshi were performed between 1903 and 1921. However, the growing admiration for Western theatre faced resistance from the fundamentalist religious leaders. Ganjeh argues that:

> theatre did not develop as expected, as Naser al-Din Shah and Amir Kabir were soon confronted with opposition from mullahs and religious teachers, who had regularly attended the Dar al-Funun performances. At first, there were rumours about the content of the plays, with the clergy worried about morality and the consequences of such gatherings. These pressures led to the rule that entering theatre performances were restricted to the royal family and its guests. Later, objections were raised to devoting such a space to such nonsensical Western rituals while faithful Muslim students were not given any proper place for their daily prayers. According to available records, the theatre hall subsequently served as a prayer hall for the students. Nevertheless, every now and then, a few theatre performances were held there until 1891, when it was closed to theatre activities - probably because the shah considered it as a real threat. Ultimately, the space was transformed into a lecture hall (97).

Evidently Nasir a1-Din Shah himself was also in fact "only in favour of [theatre and] educational reform to the extent that it would not jeopardize his dictatorial rule. In other words, his love of [public literacy,] theatre and art was not deep, nor was it for the interests of society and the people" (Emami 124).

But theatre and the dramatic arts had already begun to catalyze social and political reform. The Mullahs and religious teachers' opposition could not change facts on the ground, as "traveling abroad made Iranian intellectuals aware of the significant role of theater in the process of social changes" (Malekpour 27). The first intellectual who highlighted the significance of theatre for educating the public was Mirza Fath-Ali Akhundzadeh (1812-1878).[8] Akhundzadeh, as Farrokh Gaffary states, is "the first Asian to have shown the importance of European-style theater, [who] has been called the Moliere and the Gogol of the East" (375; Navabpur 88). In a letter to Mirza Aqa Tabrizi, Akhundzadeh emphasizes the importance of Western-style theatre and playwrights: "… Moliere and Shakespeare deserve a bow" (Akhundzadeh 7). Akhundzadeh complains that Mullahs and religious teachers have "forbidden the theatre—this 'beautiful gift'" (Gaffary, 375). He appreciated that the theatre was essential in reforming and modernizing society: "One should build foreign style theatres in Iran instead of Taziya Halls" (qtd. in Ganjeh 11). Hence Akhundzadeh, as an Iranian elite, philosopher and the founder of modern literary criticism, played a significant role not only in introducing theatre to Iranian society, but also influenced the development of Persian drama.

[8] Also known as "Mirza Fatali Akhundov" and "Mirza Fatali Akhundzade."

Akhundzadeh also had a lasting impact with regard to Shakespeare's introduction to Iranians (Ganjeh 11). Living in Tbilisi, he met the members of "Decembrist Revolt" such as Lermontov, Pushkin, Griboyedov, Marlinsky, Alexander Odoevsky, and had a chance to delve deeply into European literature and philosophy. He mainly focused on French authors such as Molière, Voltaire, Russo, Mirabeau, Montesquieu, Renan, Eugène Sue and Dumas. However, along with the Russian writers such as Pushkin, Gogol, Lermontov, and Tolstoy, he also went through the works of Shakespeare (Balay and Cuypers 20). Akhundzadeh accentuates that: "In England a few centuries ago appears a poet called Shakespeare who depicts the sufferings of England's kings in an effective way that even the most callous one (a cold-hearted person) upon hearing could not stop oneself weeping" (Amini).

The popularity Shakespeare enjoyed at this point in time not only affected the development of translation approaches, but also encouraged young authors to adapt the same dramatic structures as in Shakespeare's plays. Supported by Akhundzadeh, Mirza Aqa Tabrizi was the first to write plays in Persian. One of Mirza Aqa's pieces called *The Story of Shah-Quli Mirza's Journey to Karbala* (Ḥekayat-e Karbala Raftan-e Shah-Quli Mirza …) has a plot similar to that of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*:

> In the play masses or the lower classes come onto the stage. Mirza Aqa prepares the play for a theatre-in-theatre. Iraj Mirza, a character of the play, arranges a "performance" to get rid of his acquisitive uncle-Shah-Quli Mirza. In the play, the uncle misbehaves in his treatment of the peasantry. This leads to their (the audience's) revolt and the interesting point is that the uproar of the revolt even drowns the performers of the play-within-play, thereby ending the play in the commotion of the riots (Sepehran 210).

Mirza Aqa Tabrizi clearly uses the outline of *Hamlet* in a theatrical form as an effective tool to fulfill his duty as an artist to demonstrate the tragic situation of the people, and to criticize the totalitarian system of the country. The technique of theatre-in-theatre provides a possibility for Mirza Aqa, like Hamlet, to speak his mind confidently.

Interest in drama more generally and Shakespeare in particular coincided with the Constitutional Revolution (1905-1907), which led to the establishment of a parliamentary system in Iran. The intellectuals of the Constitutional period developed new attitudes and tastes toward dramatic forms and theatre in Iran as it was gradually introduced to the common people. Iraj Emami notes that:

> In 1905, a group of well-known Iranian intellectuals gathered for the first time with the aim of spreading the Dramatic Arts, and founded a club called The

> Culture Club.[9] Their objective was to free Dramatic Art from the exclusive circles of the aristocratic elite and take it among the people. Most of the productions by this group were characterized by political views and criticisms, and were performed in the main parks of Tehran such as Atabak Park, Amin-al Dawla Park, etc. The founders of this Zill-al-Sultan group were Muhammad Ali Furughi, Ali Akbar Davar, and Seyyed Ali Nasr, also known as the founders of Iranian contemporary theatre (137).

They began to encourage the production of modern theatre because among revolutionary forces "it was strongly believed that theatre was one of the vehicles to diffuse the constitutional ideas among the population at large" (Floor 222). Clearly, theatre was perceived as contributory to democratic education. In the constitutional era, theatre was considered an essential tool for enlightening the people and developing the country, and it was used by the activists to promote their political objectives (Kazemimojaveri; Emami 138).

The Constitutional era also marks Iranian intellectuals developing interest in Shakespeare's plays and poetry. The attention that had previously been given to Moliere and his works completely changed in favor of Shakespeare.[10] Several literary publications emerged focusing on Western cultural works, such as *Majalle Adabi Raad*, and *Bahar* and began publishing critical essays on Shakespeare. In 1909, the parliamentary member and founder of *Bahar* magazine, Yusuf Etesami, published an essay that included a brief history of drama, a biography of Shakespeare, and Persian translations of excerpts from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Macbeth* translated from Arabic and French (*Bahar* 221). Through these publications, Shakespeare's popularity grew to the point that the newspaper *Raad* even published the news of Shakespeare's birthday being celebrated in Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Shakespeare's emerging importance during the Constitutional Revolution allows Ganjeh to label the Constitutional period the 'Shakespeare period' (5).

Like Hamlet, Iranian constitutional intellectuals strongly believed in the enlightening power of theatre. Modern theatre was imported as a cultural commodity to function as a tool of refinement, the dissemination of ethics, and the imposition of modern social moralities, modernization, and democracy. Iranian intellectuals' faith in theatre as a vehicle for promoting democracy gave a decisive political and social role to Western theatre—and especially Shakespeare (Ganjeh 7-8). Persuaded by Western history, Iranian constitutional revolutionists believed that human progress was easily attainable if:

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[9] Rashid Yasami. *Adabiyyat-i Mu'asir-i Iran*. 1st ed., Tehran, 1316/1937, P. 27.

[10] See Mehdi Nassiri's paper on, 'Neghahi be Jaryan e Tarjomeh Adabiyat Nomayeshi dar Iran' (A Survey on Translation Movement in Dramatic Literature in Iran). Iranian Association of Theatre Studies: https://iatc.theater.ir/fa/75948/. Accessed 9 April 2023.

> they broke the three chains of (1) royal despotism, (2) clerical dogmatism, and (3) foreign imperialism. The intelligentsia thus considered constitutionally based government, secularism, and nationalism to be the three vital means for establishing a modern, strong, and developed state of Iran. The first, they argued, would destroy the reactionary power of the monarchy. The second would eliminate the conservative influence of the clergy, and the third would eradicate the exploitative tentacles of the imperialists (Abrahamian 62; Ganjeh 103-4).

Shakespeare Helps the Pahlavi Dynasty (1925-1979)

Having already staged a coup d'état in 1921, Reza Khan proclaimed himself as the Shah of Persia in 1925. As the first king of the Pahlavi dynasty (1925-1979), he took progressive steps towards modernizing the Iranian nation through promoting and establishing a modern educational system. Reza Shah and later his son Mohammad Reza were in favor of social, economic, military, and cultural transformation in Iran. To this purpose, "young people were sent to western countries to learn modern science, technology, and culture so as to help westernize the country on their return. Modern college and university education were also developed under the Pahlavis" (Borjian, *English in Post-Revolutionary Iran: From Indigenization to Internationalization* 2013; Riazi 2005). Reza Shah also began financing the arts as part of his attempt to modernize Iran's cultural sphere.

On the theatrical front, in 1933 Reza Shah established the 'National State Theatre Company' and invited Vahram Papazian[11], a talented Armenian actor who was famous for his Shakespearean roles, to teach modern theatre to Iranian theatre artists and to cast a number of plays such as *Othello* and *Hamlet*. The Iranian theatre became particularly vibrant during Papazian's stay in Iran. Intellectuals and reformists attached great expectations to a *Hamlet* performance as a vehicle for fostering progress of modern theatre and facilitating modernisation (Ganjeh 4). The new political parties in Tehran were prepared to use theatre as a tool for propaganda and as a practical means of disseminating their ideas and slogans, and the educated class of the country was to promote theatre to be a source of enlightenment, a podium for expressing modern and reformist ideas (Mohandespour).

Alas the combination of politics and theatre in the early days of the Pahlavi dynasty ultimately resulted in the exercise of strong censorship by

[11] Reza Shah chose the most acclaimed actor in the neighboring country. It was in the same year that the Moscow press called Papazian one of the best modern tragedians and a French critic remarked that he had seen Parisian audiences moved to tears, declaring that Papazian was the best Othello he had seen (Ganjeh 129).

Reza Shah's government (Floor). Although among the plays produced by Papazian, *Hamlet* received the greatest attention (Ganjeh 130) by the audiences, his *Hamlet* would be the only performance of the play for decades, because *Hamlet*'s story proved "too inflammatory" for Reza Shah:

> The Pahlavi regime hoped audiences would relate *Hamlet* to the corrupt Qajar regime and engender more support for their government. But Reza Shah was displeased following the performance. He subsequently banned any play featuring murdered kings, mad princes, unfaithful queens, and usurped thrones from the National Theatre. Other than this single performance by Papazian, *Hamlet* would not grace another Iranian stage while a Pahlavi sat on the throne (Tafreshi).

Despite the fact that the ascension of the Pahlavi dynasty brought even larger support for Shakespeare's works and the production of European plays in general, it also brought new trends in censorship. Because of theatre's robust political aspect and consequently increasing censorship, Willem Floor underlines, playwrights became progressively introverted and turned to experimentation with technique.

Nevertheless, while some writers sought their inspiration in the avant-garde movement, others preferred to draw on the Iranian dramatic tradition and popular stories: "the mix of modern and traditional, symbolism and realism, foreign influence and social ills remained the main menu that the theatergoer was offered until the end of the Pahlavi regime" (Floor 291). To tackle the censorship problem, even some of the translators and intellectuals of the time decided to relate Shakespeare plays in prose. These simplified versions of Shakespeare's works were warmly welcomed in Iranian society and attracted the attention of various age groups. Mohammadkhan Bahador translated simplified versions of Shakespeare's *Julies Caesar* (1926), *Coriolanus* (1935) and *Tempest* (1936); Soltan Hamid Amir Soleymani published the book, *Shakespeare's Masterpieces* (1928); and Ali Asgar Hekmat compiled a book under the title of *Five Stories by Shakespeare* (1941-42).

Reza Shah's reign also witnessed the opening of the first modern university in 1934. The Faculty of Letters and Humanities at the University of Tehran was one of the earliest of its six faculties, in which the Department of English Literature was one of the major components, offering courses on Shakespeare's plays and sonnets. Based on the *Guide Books* that the university published annually since 1939, Shakespeare was part of university's curriculums in the School of Humanities, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literature, Department of English Language and Literature. In the "Syllabus published for the Academic Year 1939-1940" for the freshmen in the Faculty of Arts as part of their course, English Verse, (based on the course book, *Oxford Book of English Verse*), students studied three sonnets of Shakespeare: Sonnet 29: When, in

disgrace with fortune and men's eyes; Sonnet 116: Let me not to the marriage of true minds; and an excerpt from *The Merchant of Venice*, Act IV, Scene I: The quality of mercy is not strained.

As the university developed, it began to offer BA, MA and Ph.D. degrees in English language and literature. For the BA and MA students they designed the general courses including Shakespeare as part of their curriculum such as 'Introduction to Literature I-II'; 'Drama I-II', 'Survey of English Literature I-II-III'; "Studying the Works of the World's Well-known Playwrights." However, for the Ph.D. candidates they planned a specific course on Shakespeare called: "Shakespeare: Plays and Methods of Representation." According to the course syllabus, Ph.D. candidates are to study Shakespeare's plays and his playwriting methods, discuss Shakespeare's crucial place in Renaissance Studies, examine the phenomenon of "Shakespeare Industries" and the relevant topics such as the film and theatrical productions of his plays, and debate, in detail, *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Titus Andronicus*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *The Tempest*.

Following the abdication of Reza Shah in 1941, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi came to power and ruled until the 1979 revolution. His reign is considered "the peak of theatrical activities in the western form in Iran" (Bozorgmehr 334). The reign of Mohammad Reza Shah continued the trend towards modernization and Westernization coupled with a seemingly paradoxical desire to revive of the country's heritage as well as develop a sense of national identity (Gaffary 378). He paid particular attention to theatre as a Western product and "helped considerably make it popular by building more theatre halls, to the point that more than 500 foreign plays were translated and performed in this period" (Jalili Kohne Shahri and Pishgar 91). In this period Alaudin Pazargady published his translations of Shakespeare's plays in two volumes which included all Shakespeare's comedies and tragedies. On stage, however, Shakespearean performances were limited because, as before, "the Pahlavi regime was opposed to the performance of those plays in which kings were murdered" (Malekpour 62). Hence in this period, only two or three of Shakespeare's plays were permitted to be performed on the stage. The SAVAK (Iran's secret police) was particularly concerned about the political readings of Shakespeare's plays and on one occasion refused to issue a license for the film version of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: "the film, SAVAK suggested, taught the dangerous lesson of regicide" (Milani, *Eminent Persians: The Men and Women Who Made Modern Iran* Vol. 1, 2016; Ganjeh 229-30).

In Mohammad Reza's time the first cultura1 and arts organization that operated on a wide scale was the Department of Fine Arts, which was established in 1950 and functioned autonomously. In 1957, this department established the Department of Dramatic Arts (Emami 143). In the 1960's the

Department of Fine Arts decided to invest part of its increased budget in drama. Several drama schools were founded and foreign teachers were invited to improve the artistic skills and dramatic knowledge of theatre students. Patrick Quinby of Bowdoin College in Maine was invited two times to teach drama at the University of Tehran. Classic European plays, including Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* were translated and staged by a group of students (Ganjeh 26). In 1964, the Faculty of Dramatic Arts was opened by the Ministry of Culture and Arts, which became the first institution of higher education in Iran to offer a diploma equivalent to a Bachelor's degree. In 1965, the University of Tehran created the Faculty of Theatre, in the Faculty of Fine Arts, which finally incorporated theatrical pedagogy within already existing Iranian universities (Emami 143, 147).

To promote the traditional and modern theatre in Iran, Shiraz Arts Festival was founded in 1967 and continued annually till 1977. Queen Farah Pahlavi in an unprecedented step invited several talented foreign artists together with well-known theatre companies to stage extremely experimental productions in the Arts Festival in Shiraz. Ganjeh accounts that:

> Shakespeare officially came back to Iran, again with foreign theatre groups. In 1971, for the first time after 39 years, an interpretation of *Hamlet* was staged at the fifth annual Shiraz Festival of Arts under the name of *Becket, Hamlet, King Lear*. The director was Mustafa Dali, a French-Algerian, who was also teaching theatre at Tehran University's faculty of dramatic art. […] Two years later, Slobodanka Alexic's *Hamlet in the Cellar*, a successful performance by Atelier 212 from Yugoslavia, performed in 1973 at the Shiraz Arts Festival. There are records of other Shakespeare plays performances, such as Andrei Serban's *La Ma Ma* production of Shakespeare's comedy, *As You Like It* in 1977 (207, 230).

Shakespeare Sidesteps Censorship in Post-Revolutionary Iran

The Westernization of the Shahs ended abruptly in 1979 when the so-called Islamic Revolution led to the fall of the last Pahlavi Shah and the establishment of the Islamic Republic. From the beginning, the religious revolutionaries were opposed to the presence of the western elements in society, which resulted in eradicating British and American educational operations established under the Pahlavis' era and ushered in a decade-long suspension in the field of arts and theatre.[12] A year later the situation worsened with the beginning of the Iran-Iraq

[12] It took the British a good two decades to reestablish themselves within the educational domain of Iran by reopening the British Council in 2001, only to be closed again in 2009. The Americans have not been permitted to return to the country ever since (Borjian, *English in Post-Revolutionary Iran: From Indigenization to Internationalization* 59).

war (1980-1988) and hopes of establishing a democratic government dwindled. The war provided "a solid legitimation [for] the Islamic state and empowered it to purify the cultural scene from what the ruling clergy called 'imperialist culture'" (Ganjeh 28).

The 1979 Political Revolution thus prompted the 1980 Cultural Revolution during which all universities in the country were forced to close for three years. On April 18, 1980, after Friday prayers, Ruhollah Khomeini (1902-1989), founder of the Islamic Republic, gave a speech harshly attacking the universities: "We are not afraid of economic sanctions or military intervention. What we are afraid of is Western universities and the training of our youth in the interests of West or East" (qtd. in Ganjeh 236). The government violently took over the campuses and submitted the professors and employees of the universities and institutions to ideological investigation. Believing that Islamic values and identity were marginalized throughout the modernization era in Iran, the Islamic and revolution's values and principals also were applied to the course syllabuses as an act of rebellion against the secularization and Westernization which were encouraged during the Pahlavi era.[13]

During and after the Revolution, English was viewed as the language of the enemy. However, as time passed and the necessity of the interaction with the international world became apparent, this anti-English view gradually shifted towards regarding English appropriate and useful. English as the instrument of modernization and westernization for the Pahlavis', changed into a practical tool for introducing Islamic values and policies in the international sphere for the Islamic clergymen who were in power. Later even "English, the language of a globalized economy, gained a high utility status in numerous domains such as media and social networks, tourism, education, technology, and trade" (Riazi, 2005). Despite severe resistance at the beginning, "English education in today's Iran is marked by two diverging and seemingly incompatible models: the indigenized or culturally—and ideologically—adapted English vs. the international or Anglo-Americanised English" (Borjian, *Bridge or Wall? The English Language in Iran* 202).

Following the 1979 Revolution, the fate of the modern theatre tradition became uncertain as well. After the Islamic Revolution "all these festivals were abandoned and both the Faculty of Theatre and the School of Dramatic Art were closed for a few years" (Emami 16). Floor accentuates that theatre in Iran during the Islamic Republic was "socially, religiously, and, above all, politically suspect" (297). Theatrical activity dramatically decreased during the devastating Iran–Iraq War in the 1980s, and aside from the occasional production, this

[13] Strain and New York State English Council (1971) writes that more than 90% of the Iranian school students elected English as a foreign language. All these factors led to a situation of modernization becoming amalgamated with the Iranian culture.

burgeoning Iranian theatrical scene did not resurface until the 1990s.[14] The members of the Cultural Revolution which after the 1979 revolution were to purge the western elements from the universities and Islamize them in Iran, divided theatre and cinema into two categories: "valued art" and its contrary "anti-valued art." Fortunately, Shakespeare's plays were labelled "valued." In two public meetings (July 30 and January 19, 1993), even Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, expressed his point of view on Shakespeare (reflected on his twitter account):

> I have read most of works by Shakespeare and enjoyed them. Plays by Shakespeare are historical stories that he has formed beautifully and they see most of his works in accordance with 'values'. Shakespeare plays, such as *The Merchant of Venice* or *Othello* are all in accordance with values, but Western values (qtd. in Ganjeh 265)

Theatre under the Islamic Republic of Iran is governed by the Dramatic Arts Center and its umbrella organization, the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance (Vizarate Farhang va Irshade Islami). The government-controlled agency has been criticized for its censorship of artists and ideas that are believed to be "Anti-Islamic" or in opposition to the political loyalties of the Iranian government (Karimi Hakak). As a consequence of the emergence of the Islamic Republic, revolutionary playwrights dominated the stage (Ganjeh 28).

One of the main obstacles to Shakespeare study and performance after the revolution was the on-going censorship. Both playwrights and actors, to push back the boundaries of censorship, have been very inventive, selecting "plays that indirectly provide a sometimes critical if not satirical view of conditions in contemporary Iran" (Floor 300). Therefore, Shakespeare's works have been subject to numerous adaptations in an Iranian cultural context due to their themes and literary merits. Even historically considered, since Shakespeare first permeated Persian culture, to avoid censorship, translators and dramatists used symbolism, altered the language, adapted the content to make it more relatable to an Iranian audience, and created alternative endings to Shakespeare's plays. As translators explored various ways to render Shakespeare for the Persian-speaking audience, "they engaged in a process of cultural adaptation to meet the needs of their audience and their time" (Tafreshi). Adapting Shakespeare's works such as *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Richard III* as the appropriate metaphor for the current political situation in Iran, Iranian artists gave voice to the unvoiced repressed people and masses. The plays of Shakespeare became an effective

[14] Lazgee, Seyed Habiballah (February 1994). *Post-revolutionary Iranian Theatre: Three Representative Plays in Translation with Critical Commentary* (PDF). University of Leeds, School of English (Workshop Theatre). Retrieved 12 July 2014.

medium of expression in the educated culture—a voice of the reformists, protesters, marginalized groups, and the opposition groups within and without Iran.

The popularity of Shakespeare's plays mostly lies in their plots as the appropriate metaphors for the changing political situations in Iran, and their fluid nature that enable them to conform to diverse circumstances to comment on current events. Consequently, Shakespearean adaptations play a crucial role in enriching Persian literary culture and becoming the voice of the intellectuals and elites in different political phases in Iran. The first well known adaptation of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* is *Zohreh and Manouchehr* (1925-26) by Iraj Mirza. Iraj Mirza aptly adapts Shakespeare's poem into Iranian cultural context that "an Iranian reader reading the story never feels himself in a strange world or life" (Mahmoodi Bakhtiari). Akbar Radi's *Hamlet with Season Salad* (1988), Mostafa Rahimi's *Hamlet* (1992), Atila Pesyani's *Qajari Coffee* (2008), *Doubt* (2009) by Varuzh Karim Masihi, Ebrahim Poshtkuhi's *Hey! Macbeth, Only the First Dog Knows Why It Is Barking!* (2010), Hossein Jamali's *Hamlet: The Retribution Affair* (2015), a narration in "naqqali," a classic Persian genre, Hamid-Reza Naeemi's *Richard* (2018) are the other examples of contemporary adaptations of Shakespeare's plays which try to demonstrate the Iranian people's discontent with the censorship, corruption, hypocrisy, and above all the exercise of absolute power and despotism from a small group in power in Iran.

However, Shakespeare's first post-revolutionary voice was first heard through an adaptation of *Othello* in 1985. *Othello in Wonderland*, adapted by Gholam-Hossein Saedi, depicts the Damavand Troupe preparing to perform Shakespeare's *Othello* in the newly founded nominal Islamic Republic of Iran. The play opens with the actors waiting for the director to return from his visit to the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, to get the required "Letter of Permission" to act out the play for the public. The director shows up triumphant, but declaring that there are some conditions, such as "Islamic veiling" for the actresses and a final monitoring and revision of the performance by the authorities in charge. Soon enough the Minister of Islamic Guidance, with two companions, a female representative, Zeynab Sister, and a Revolutionary Guard, arrives in and begins literally rewriting the *Othello*'s text to Islamize the setting, and to convert Othello and the other characters into Islamic revolutionaries. *Othello in Wonderland* bravely ridicules the implication of harsh censorship by the Islamic government and condemns its attempts to take art as hostage and confiscate its voice and power.

During the last two centuries, Shakespeare has acted as a great educator as well as a Trojan horse for sidestepping censorship and attacking the authoritarianism, dictatorship and totalitarianism through the different socio-political phases in Iran. Reading Shakespeare's works in Persian or seeing them on the Iranian stage, one is struck by how little the characters and places resemble sixteenth century England and more portray contemporary Iran and its

people. Shakespeare's translated plays and their Persianized adaptations have attracted wide attention in modern Iran and enjoyed popularity among different generations, classes and various age ranges. In the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries, it can finally be concluded that Shakespeare is the most important and most frequently taught Western figure in Iranian culture and literature.

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Turkish Shakespeare Studies: An Origins Story

Abstract: Shakespeare is among the most important non-Turkish authors in Turkey and has become an indispensable part of the theatre repertory and the educational curricula. Yet, the origins of Shakespeare studies have a complicated legacy dating back to the imperialistic motivations of foreign schools in Ottoman Turkey. However, starting with the republican period, Shakespeare productions and studies were utilised to spread the progressive reforms of the republic that were maintained through the theatres and the various universities primarily set in Istanbul and in Ankara. Accordingly, this article will explore the origins of the academic study of Shakespeare in Turkey.

Keywords: Turkey, higher education, Shakespeare studies, curriculum

The origins of Shakespeare studies in Turkey cannot be traced to a single continuous institution or school because the integration of Shakespeare into educational institutions coincided with a turbulent transition from the Ottoman Empire to the modern Turkish state. The origins of Shakespeare studies in Turkey are instead a multi-layered and palimpsestic continuity of many discontinuities. As a result, Turkey has a long tradition of reading, translating, and staging William Shakespeare's plays as part of the country's modernisation process. Ranging from faithful productions to free adaptations, Shakespeare has become one of the most important non-Turkish authors and an indispensable part of the theatre repertory and the educational curricula. Academic studies of Shakespeare in Turkey in higher education have paralleled and were integrated into the progressive reforms of the republic. Led and encouraged by the founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938), this instrumentalisation was maintained through the theatres and the various universities or faculties, primarily in Ankara and in Istanbul. The study of Shakespeare in survey courses and separate courses in higher education had two aims: studying English language and culture and enhancing the use of theatre to exhibit and teach

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progressive forms of egalitarian gender relations that encouraged equitable social opportunities.

Rather than mimicking Western forms and contrary to other nations once part of the British Empire (Bhatia 99-103; Ritter 17-46), the founding principles of Shakespeare studies under Atatürk were largely anti-imperialistic. Given that Shakespeare studies in the pre-republic period were maintained by missionary schools that aimed at cultural imperialism and the creation of Anglophilic comprador classes in a nation whose governing institutions were undergoing a period of rapid and overwhelming transition, utilising Shakespeare for the formation of a national progressive agenda could be considered one of the earliest examples of writing back against the Anglophone empires of the U.K. and the U.S. In this article, I will explore the origins of the academic study of Shakespeare in Turkey, concentrating on how the foundation of the Republic of Turkey has continued and transformed the study of Shakespeare in Turkish academia.

Origins of Ottoman Shakespeares

The earliest documentary evidence for Shakespeare performances by Greek and Armenian theatre companies located in Istanbul dates to 1842 and the earliest printed version of Shakespeare dates to 1876 when *Othello* became the first play translated into Turkish from an abridged French version. Before then, most of the written references to Shakespeare in Turkey consisted of scarce and intermittent notes on otherwise lost performances (Enginün 23-24).[1] The reason for the relative lack of discussion of Shakespeare in Turkey during this period resulted from the popularity of French literature, which overshadowed Shakespeare's presence until 1866 when Ira Aldridge (1807-1867) successfully performed *Othello* in Istanbul and 1871 when Shakespeare was performed for the first time in Turkish through a performance of *Romeo and Juliet* by the Gedikpaşa Theatre Company, again in Istanbul (And 30; Enginün 24-26; Forrester 278-284). Both performances established Shakespeare's popularity whose works would also attract attention through the formal establishment of foreign and missionary schools that used literature and Shakespeare to leverage their largely imperialist agenda. These schools establishing Shakespeare as a cultural imperial icon designed to emphasize the superiority of the English tongue, literature, and culture. The imperial motivations of especially British and American schools for promoting Shakespeare are by now familiar and cast a long shadow on the reception of Shakespeare in Turkey.

[1] Namık Kemal is a notable exception whose notes on Shakespeare in 1874 instrumentalised Shakespeare's works like *Julius Caesar* for his own republican cause that caused him much trouble later especially during Abdülhamid II's (1842-1918) autocratic reign (1876-1909) (Enginün 126-127).

Figure 1: Ira Aldridge as 'Aaron the Moor' in *Titus Andronicus*, British Library (2300.h.5.). https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/ira-aldridge-as-aaron-the-moor-in-titus-andronicus

Among the most important British Schools were those of the English High School for Girls that was founded by Jane Walsh in 1857, and the English High School for Boys, founded by the General British Consul Mr. Waugh under the headmastership of W. J. Wolfsberger in 1905 in Istanbul (Pears 95; Vahapoğlu 76, 116; Polat Haydaroğlu 117-120; Göknel 30; Ertuğrul, *Azınlık* 190-191). As a 1906 document reveals, the curriculum of the schools had courses on "English Grammar and Composition, English Literature, History, Turkish, English and French language teaching" where Shakespeare was studied as part of the English Literature course (Göknel 34). The 1888 Indenture of the school for girls maintained that the school aimed at "educating young girls on liberal English principles without any restriction as to race or religion" (qtd. in Göknel 24), which implies that Shakespeare was possibly used as a progressive educational tool in these schools.

On the one hand, this statement could be considered a façade to deflect criticisms that Turkish students at these institutions in 1881 were being brainwashed by the western and Christian curricula and towards both schools' initial missions to spread the Protestant religion in Istanbul (Ertuğrul, *Azınlık* 202-203). On the other hand, British schools were influential in the spread of Shakespeare studies by educating future influential Turkish scholars who maintained their own national identities while studying and teaching English literature and culture, like Berna Moran, Mehmet Ercüment Atabay, Oya Başak, Dilek Doltaş, or Esin Akalın, to name a few, along with other Anglophone institutions.

While the first school to teach Shakespeare in Turkey was a British one, the schools under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), founded in 1810, were among the most effective missionary schools. Beside many other subjects, American schools utilised Shakespeare for both the cause of spreading Christianity and the Anglophone culture in Ottoman Turkey.[2] The most influential of these schools was Robert College. Established first as a theology school as the Bebek Seminary in 1840, Robert College (for boys) was formally established by Cyrus Hamlin, the college's first president, and Christopher Rhinelander Robert, its principal financer, in 1863 (Freely 37-67; Greenwood 3-27).

[2] Because Ottomans ruled over many holy sites for Christians and were comparatively tolerant towards religious minorities and foreigners, the ABCFM turned its major interest towards Turkey (Vahapoğlu 76; Polat Haydaroğlu 120-122; Ertuğrul, *Azınlık* 64-65). Directing its energies primarily to convert the Armenian (and unsuccessfully the Greek) population into Protestantism, the Board built schools and hospitals in five key areas from the 1860s onwards; namely in European Turkey, Western Turkey, Central Turkey, Eastern Turkey, and in Syria (Kocabaşoğlu 9-22, 102-112; Polat Haydaroğlu 128-32; Tekeli and İlkin 112-118).

Figure 2: Robert College, Wikimedia Commons.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Robert_College_(14243596745).jpg

Famous for its progressive and innovative curriculum, Robert College became a hub in Istanbul for the study of the natural sciences, engineering, and the humanities from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.[3] In 1871, the American College for Girls was established at Gedikpaşa as a sister establishment to widen the college's aim to reach out to the Christian community in Ottoman Istanbul (Kocabaşoğlu 167-168, 203-4; Freely 131-136; Jenkins 29-49; Childress 554). Aiming at the conversion and education of non-Protestant Christians in Ottoman Istanbul, the first students of both gender divisions of the college consisted predominantly of Armenian, Greek, and Bulgarian pupils who, through their versatile education, became prominent figures in their communities, ranging from ambassadors to businesspeople and to educators themselves in the upcoming years (Freely 67, 136-148). Given that the Robert College Rare Books Library contains Lionel Booth's transcription of Shakespeare's Folio from 1864, it is highly likely that Shakespeare was part of the curriculum from the beginnings of the college.[4]

[3] Gradually moving to the Hisar district, now which hosts the main campus of Boğaziçi University that was until 1971 part of the college, the principal language of instruction at Robert College has been English.

[4] I am thankful to Cara Murphy Keyman, the Head Librarian of Robert College, for providing me the catalogue entries of their collections.

While "The Annual Examinations of Robert College" (1868) refers to grammar and declamation as means to assess the students (Greenwood 101-2; Freely 66-67), the 1883-1884 catalogue of the college provides a more detailed account of the courses where it specifies that a separate Shakespeare course was taught in sophomore classes (*Catalogue of Robert College: 1883-84* 22, 25). Likewise, a report by the Consul H. N. Jewett on 15 September 1887 reveals that Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* was taught at senior level where students analysed the text, sentence structures, and general historical background (Polat Haydaroğlu 132-133). Beside the said folio transcription, two other collected works of Shakespeare edited by Americans Henry Norman Hudson and Hamilton Wright Mabie from 1872 and 1900 were used in Robert College, apart from the many copies of individual plays and secondary sources on Shakespeare from 1904 to 1928 located at the college's library. Judging from the library collections, the acquisition of first collected works and then individual plays indicate the college's gradual move into a more nuanced and specialised education of Shakespeare that also had a positive impact on the quality of future Shakespeare scholars in Turkey.

These high standards were maintained by several eminent professors who taught Shakespeare courses and delivered periodical seminars. Some of the scholars who taught Shakespeare included Earnest H. Watson, Mr. Griffiths, and Ernest Bradlee Watson, who established the Hisar players (Freely 220; *Report of the President of Robert College 1902-3* 53; *Report of the President of Robert College 1916-17* 11, 31; *Robert College Record (1919)* 56, 58; *Robert College Record (1920)* 20, 30-31). With these curricular and extracurricular activities, the college became central in the dissemination of Shakespeare and establishing Shakespeare as an academic field in Ottoman Turkey.

The case of Halide Edip Adıvar is noteworthy as she was first clandestinely enrolled in the college in 1891 by her father who was a court official when there was a ban that prevented Muslim students to attend foreign schools because they taught the Bible (Fincancı May 43-46; Kocabaşoğlu 167; Jenkins 132-133; Childress 555; Vahapoğlu 122). While Halide Edip was later dismissed from the school because of an informant that also prevented her father's advancement in the court, the incident illustrated the eagerness of Turks to have their children obtain education at Robert College because of the quality of education (Jenkins 132; Özdemir 65-66). Gradually and after the ban that prevented Muslim students to attend foreign schools was lifted by Ottoman authorities, Turkish students were also admitted to the college including Halide Edip Adıvar (Freely 157). Steadily, Robert College became an important centre for the children of progressive Turkish families who wanted their children to receive a high-quality modern education in a foreign language, increasing both the recognition and the impact of Shakespeare in Turkey (Jenkins 142-152).

Despite the overwhelming impact of foreign schools in the study of Shakespeare and English literature in Ottoman Turkey, Ottoman schools tried to incorporate Shakespeare as part of their language teaching programmes. The instrumentalisation of Shakespeare in language education was possibly influenced by the rising pre-eminence of Shakespeare in Turkey due to several factors: the rise of Turkish Shakespeare theatre productions and the translations of Shakespeare either as full-length books (like *The Comedy of Errors*, translated by Hassan Sırrı in 1887), instalments in literary magazines or excerpts between 1876 and 1891, and the printing of short Shakespeare biographies or analyses of his plays from 1891 to 1900 (Enginün 434-438).

With the reopening of Ottoman language schools within the higher education system as the *Elsine Mektepleri* in 1866, later in 1879, and again in 1883, especially to meet the needs for recruiting the Translation Chamber of the Ottoman court, the Ottoman government tried to form a national alternative to foreign schools which they perceived as imperialist institutions (Balcı, "Osmanlı" 84-93; Işıklar 29; Balcı, *Babıâli* 168-169). Although there is scarce documentary evidence about which books were used in these schools, it is likely that Mehmed Ali Nüzhet Paşa's *Elsine-i Garbiyye Edebiyat ve Üdebası*, that is, *Literatures and Authors of Western Languages* (1888-1889), was assigned as a handbook (Özdemir 40-41). Being among the first recorded Turkish instances of the study of the English language and literature along with a special section on "Shakespeare and his Works," which featured a biography and the earliest examples from Shakespearean texts in Turkish (Nüzhet 44-56), the work shows the probable importance given to Shakespeare in these Ottoman language schools. Yet, the impact of the book and the curriculum were minimal on the academic level because of the overwhelming success of foreign schools and the relative lack of Turkish educators. The publication of a short article on how Shakespeare created a barrier for language acquisition in 1892, the same year when the Languages Schools were dissolved (Enginün 437; Balcı, "Osmanlı" 93), outlines the failures of the first attempts at nationalised foreign language education and the use of Shakespeare to further that goal. Most Ottoman language schools were discontinued; by 1908 none of the public schools in Turkey taught English and there were no serious measures to recruit English teachers at these schools (Özdemir 81).

The failure of Shakespeare in Ottoman schools is ironic because political activists like Abdullah Cevdet were simultaneously writing full-length translations of Shakespeare's hitherto censored *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth* to further the republican cause during the tumultuous period between 1908 and 1909 that saw the establishment of the Second Constitutional

Monarchy and the dethronement of the autocratic Sultan Abdülhamid II.[5] While the rather progressive administration of the leading İttihat ve Terraki Party envisioned employing graduates of the American College for Girls as teachers in public schools, there are no references that this was realised (Özdemir 81). Similarly, the failed attempt of Tevfik Fikret (1867-1915)—who was among the most important progressive intellectuals of his time and taught at both Galatasaray High School and Robert College—to establish nationwide bilingual schools, where Turkish and English would be taught simultaneously (Kaplan 99-102; Freely 159-150; Özdemir 40-41), illustrates how the first attempts at Shakespeare studies by Turkish institutions and scholars were unsuccessful.

The Republic Era: Our Shakespeare

The study of Shakespeare in foreign schools as a means to further a political agenda, however, was utilised later by the early republic to increase literacy in English language and literature and further the nationalised agenda of emancipating women in Turkey. While the primary aims of foreign and missionary schools were to convert students (and their families) to Protestant Christianity and create an Anglophilic cadre to expand the (imperial) control of their homelands over Turkey's regions, these schools nevertheless had a positive impact on the quality of teaching of English language and literature in Turkey (Kocabaşoğlu, 81-83; Polat Haydaroğlu, 207-211). Besides prioritizing the education of girls, foreign schools made significant contributions to fashion "progressive" Turkish women (Kocabaşoğlu, 85-87; Polat Haydaroğlu 210; Jenkins 142-152, 250-256; Childress 554-556; Stone 76-77), who became part of the modernisation project initiated by Atatürk in the first fifteen years of the Republic (1923-1938). Halide Edip Adıvar and Mina Urgan's foreign school backgrounds are of particular interest as they became the leading figures of Shakespeare studies in Turkey from the 1920s until the 1970s.[6]

Halide Edip Adıvar, in particular, illustrated the bifurcated reception of Shakespeare in Turkey following the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Similar to subsequent debates on the function of Shakespeare in Turkey, Halide Edip had a love-and-hate relationship with Shakespeare, as a reflection of her traumatic experience of westernisation as a conservative person and the invasion of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I by the victorious European powers.

[5] Halid Ziya Uşakligil's article series published at the *Serveti Fünun* journal in 1909 on Shakespeare entitled as "A Gift to University Students" is noteworthy for underscoring Shakespeare and his work as academic subjects in Turkey (Enginün 439).

[6] Urgan's Turkish books on *Shakespeare* and the *History of English Literature* are still used as supplementary materials in English Language and Literature departments.

Partly to alleviate this trauma, she published several articles on Shakespeare and his works, including a piece on how *Julius Caesar* could be read from a nationalistic lens during 1914 and 1916 when she was also active in the struggle for the cultural and political independence of Turkey. In her famous Sultanahmet Meeting Oration against British and European imperialism in 1919, she cited from *Macbeth* to respond to justifications for the invasion of Turkey by allied powers: "Those who call us Turks sinful are so sinful themselves that the ocean's waters cannot cleanse them" (Enginün 441). Reflecting the frustration with the West and the Turk's efforts to become part of it, Halide Edip Adıvar wrote back at the imperialist British by appropriating Shakespeare to criticise them. Her speech was indicative of how a British Shakespeare would be fashioned as "our Shakespeare" in post-republican Turkey.

Figure 3: Halide Edip Adıvar during the Sultanahmet Meeting (1919), Bosphorus Review. https://bosphorusreview.com/being-hundreds-of-birds-at-once

The first efforts to acculturate Shakespeare into Turkish were spearheaded by Muhsin Ertuğrul (1892-1979) who almost single-handedly brought Shakespeare to a wider audience. Being the first Turk to perform Hamlet in Turkish in 1912, he was a dramatist, artistic director, educator, and producer, who through his intermittent directorships of the Istanbul City Theatre and the State Theatres created a legacy on how Shakespeare has been interpreted in Turkey (Ertuğrul, *Benden* 302-306; Enginün 289-298). Through his educational visits to productions in countries like France, Germany, the U.K. or the U.S.S.R., Ertuğrul had a great impact on the modernisation and flourishing of Turkish theatre where Shakespeare became the backbone of his repertory (Ertuğrul, *Benden* 207-458). Through his productions of *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *The Comedy of Errors* and *Romeo and Juliet* in the 1920s and 1930s, which used a variety of theatre techniques ranging from avant-garde costumes and scenery to those trying to recreate historical accuracy, Ertuğrul created interest in Shakespeare both within and without the academia (Enginün 296).

Figure 4: Muhsin Ertuğrul as Hamlet (1912), İstdergi.
https://www.istdergi.com/sehir/yasam/muhsin-ertugrul-130-yasinda

The theatre, among many artistic forms, was used to naturalise the progressive revolutions of the republic to a wider audience and eventually legalised female Muslim performers. The theatre therefore became an important forum for exhibiting and teaching modern and progressive egalitarian gender relations. While problems about the participation of women in public life persisted into the 1920s, with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's personal insistence, laws were passed to allow Muslim women to perform in public spaces. Bedia Muvahhit (1897-1994) became the first officially sanctioned Muslim female performer and performed Desdemona in December 1923, directed by Muhsin Ertuğrul (Nutku, *Atatürk*, 39-43, 302-306; Nutku, *Darülbedayi'den* 183). Consciously chosen to create a comparison and contrast between the toxic masculinity associated with the past and the progressive ideals of the republic, *Othello*, which was an already popular play in Turkey, illustrated how women could become Desdemonas if patriarchal restrictions continued. This progressive idealism was not only used in domestic politics. To express early republican Turkey's progressivism in the international arena, Muvahhit reprised her role in the 1930s in a diplomatic mission in Greece, performed both in Turkish and Greek (Uluskan 339-340; Akçura 55, 90-91). Thereby, Shakespearean drama at this time constituted an educative medium in line with the general nationalisation of education in Turkey from 1924 onwards.

Figure 5: Bedia Muvahhit (1930s), Biyografya.
https://www.biyografya.com/biyografi/292

The use of Shakespeare in the repertory for the national agenda of educating present and future generations about progressive gender models and naturalising the presence of women in public life was effective in considering Shakespeare as a nationalised tool for propagating the ongoing and subsequent progressive reforms of the early Turkish Republic. As an extension of this nationalisation, the real rise of academic studies of Shakespeare in higher education started after the 1924 Law on the Unification of Education (*Tevhidi Tedrisat Kanunu*), which centralised all foreign language learning schools under the Ministry of Education, and the advent of widespread education of French, English and German courses in Turkish schools (Vahapoğlu 140-143, 151-157; Freely 230-239; Greenwood 250; Jenkins 226-250; Sezer 177-181; Childress 555). Shakespeare was also put to progressive ends through the state-sponsored translation campaign conducted by several institutions like the Istanbul City Theatre, which even distributed free copies of their translations, the Ministry of Education, and the departments of English Philology in higher education from 1924 until the 1950s and beyond (Enginün 344-353).[7]

The demand for experts in English language and literature in Turkey as part of the 1924 law necessitated the establishment of Turkish high school and undergraduate programmes through which Shakespeare became central in Turkish academic studies through the Gazi Education Institute (1924), The Faculty of Languages History and Geography in Ankara (1936), and the English Philology Department at Istanbul University (1940). After the enactment of the Law of Unification of Education in 1924, foreign schools were either closed down or taken under strict control as part of the law and the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). With the 1924 law, the principles of "national education" were established and foreign language education were incorporated into secondary and high schools through compulsory courses which necessitated a rise in the number of Turkish graduates from English Philology Departments (Demircan 92).

[7] As stated earlier, not everybody agreed upon the use of foreign literature to refashion national cultural identities, and there were many heated debates. For instance, Vedat Nedim Tör's 1929 critical talk about the function of Shakespeare as a modernisation tool generated many responses between 1929 and 1930 (Enginün 444-445), which were repeated in the 1940s and 1950s. Starting with 1934, when the British Council and its extensive library was established in Turkey, the authorship question around Shakespeare became another means to defend or criticise the use of Shakespeare as a tool for a nationalised modernism in Turkey (Enginün 446-459).

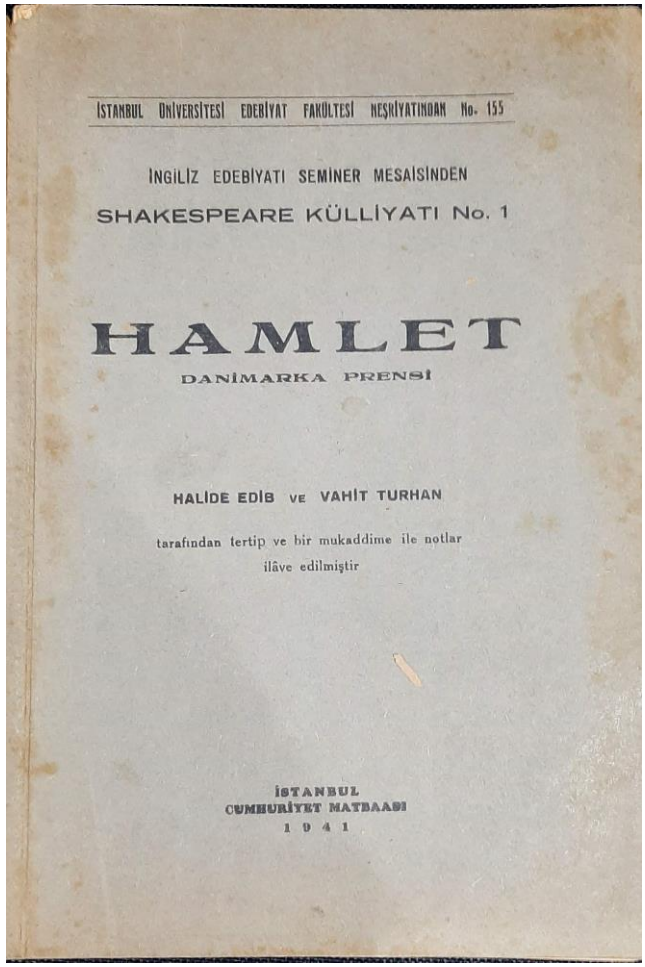

Figure 6: Adıvar and Turhan's translation of *Hamlet* (1941) in the Shakespeare Külliyatı, personal library

The foundation of the Gazi Education Institute as a boarding school in 1925-1926 in Ankara was one of the important moves to nationalise education by training future teachers that also included foreign language teachers (Altunya 11-22, 157, 162, 270). The number of students at Philology Departments and language schools in Istanbul and Ankara increased, new teachers from high school graduates of the Galatasaray High School or former American or English schools were employed, and competent and hardworking students were sent abroad to be trained as foreign language teachers from at least 1928 until World War II (Altunya 790–804; Özdemir 93-97). These measures increased the quality of educators, as seen in the 1935 translation of the *Tempest* by Mustafa

Işıksal, a teacher at a village institute, as part of the Gazi Education Institute publications.[8]

Gazi Education Institute had many valuable scholars who were also highly influential in the study of Shakespeare in Turkey. Oxford alumni Saffet Dengi and Hadiye Sayron were two important female figures of the 1930s who shaped the study of Shakespeare not only at Gazi Education Institute, but also later at Ankara University (Altunya 829). The two-year programme of the English Department at Gazi Education Institute was established in 1944 by Sayron along with figures like E. V. Gatenby, John Bell and Namdar Rahmi Karatay. The programme eventually expanded and changed into a three-year programme in 1962 and a four-year programme in 1978 (Altunya 804-818; Demircan 103; Davis 202; Uzmen 44; Özdemir 97-98). The initial course outline for the 1944 two-year programme shows that Shakespeare was taught as part of a two-year Survey of English Literature course that possibly made use of Halide Edip Adıvar's survey book from 1943 and other related sources that could be found in Ankara following the establishment of the British Council in 1934 and The Faculty of Languages History and Geography in 1936 (Altunya 812, 820, 829).[9]

The most decisive development for the study of Shakespeare in Turkey was the foundation of the Faculty of Languages History and Geography in Ankara in 1935 as a personal project of Atatürk himself to promote the study of the humanities in Turkey (Aytür 59; Uzmen 43). As part of this vision, the Department of English Philology was established in 1936 entirely by Turkish Shakespearean scholars like Hamit Dereli (1909-1993), Saffet Dengi [later Saffet Korkut] (1909-1946), Orhan Burian (1914-1953) and İrfan Şahinbaş (1913-1990) (Aytür 59-60; Uzmen 43). Among the many carefully chosen and hardworking students of the early republic, Dereli, Dengi, Burian and Şahinbaş were sent to English Departments to study for their PhDs at the universities of Cambridge and Oxford and received their education from eminent scholars and literary critics like I. A. Richards (1893-1979) and F. R. Leavis (1895-1978) who became to be known as the forerunners of Practical Criticism (Aytür 60). These young Turkish scholars applied the teaching methods of I. A. Richards

[8] For details on village institutes or *Köy Enstitüleri* that run from 1940 to 1954 and aimed to "modernise" rural life with progressive education, see Aysal 267-282.

[9] Unfortunately, the present library catalogue and holdings of Gazi University do not give a clear picture of which resources were used in the past for teaching Shakespeare. It is likely that some of the resources have been discarded, or transferred to the National Library, or that resources, especially from 1934 onwards have been used from the British Council Library and the libraries at The Faculty of Languages History and Geography. See Davis who argued that the number of the books at Istanbul and Ankara were "rapidly increased with the help of the British Council" (201).

with their own fascination with Shakespeare when they formed the curriculum of the four-year undergraduate programme (Aytür 60-61).

Possibly having brought the majority of the resources from their stay in the U.K., the faculty's extensive library has one of the best and most well-preserved repositories of global and contemporary Shakespeare criticism from the 1890s onwards in Turkey—ranging from English, French, and German secondary works and multiple copies of individual plays that were functional and influential in both the studies and the research on Shakespeare in the department.[10] Particularly, apart from the many courses that encompassed all literary periods and genres of English literature, and more general courses like "Outlines of English Literature," "Readings from Literature," or "Modern Prose," the department, which had first a year-based structure, had in total three Shakespeare courses until junior level (Aytür 60-61; Uzmen 45). There was one "Introduction to Shakespeare" course at freshman level, where students analysed selected passages from Shakespearean plays and poetry line by line and commented on their significance (Aytür 60-61; *Selections from Shakespeare* 3). Two subsequent courses until junior level on "Shakespeare" analysed each year a comedy or a tragedy from several viewpoints (Aytür 60-61). As an exam sheet from 1952 indicates, students were asked to identify the speakers of twelve passages from the said Shakespeare play and comment upon the overall significance of the passages (Aytür 61). In separate poetry courses, the relationship between Spenserian, Shakespearean, and Miltonian sonnets was also analysed (Aytür 61), contextualising Shakespeare in his time and beyond.

Apart from being outstanding scholars at the department, which would become part of Ankara University in 1946, Dereli, Dengi, Burian and Şahinbaş contributed to the dissemination of Shakespeare in Turkey through other means. They taught at village institutes, a project that aimed to raise the intellectual level of rural people, and at the State Conservatories (Aytür 62-63). They delivered public lectures on Shakespeare, wrote articles and books on Shakespeare, and became founding members of the Translation Committee, *Çeviri Kurulu*, where several of Shakespeare's works were translated for the first time into Turkish (Aytür 62-63; Dengi, "Shakespeare Trajedisi" 3-25; Dengi, *Shaksipeare Kimdi* 7-31). Saffet Dengi's public speeches as a female professor were also revolutionary to illustrate progressive gender roles that were beyond their time when even in some European universities Shakespeare was still reserved as a male domain.[11] These scholars established Shakespeare as both an

[10] The library has today several works on and about Shakespeare and 145 of them are individual titles on Shakespeare from the 1890s until the 1950s.

[11] For instance, in 1938, when Dengi's study on the authorship question was presented publicly and circulated widely in print form, women at Oxford Union were not allowed to participate in debates (Lewis 59). Likewise, the first female professor at

academic discipline and a means to spread progressive and humanist education within and without academia with events and research that faced the public.[12]

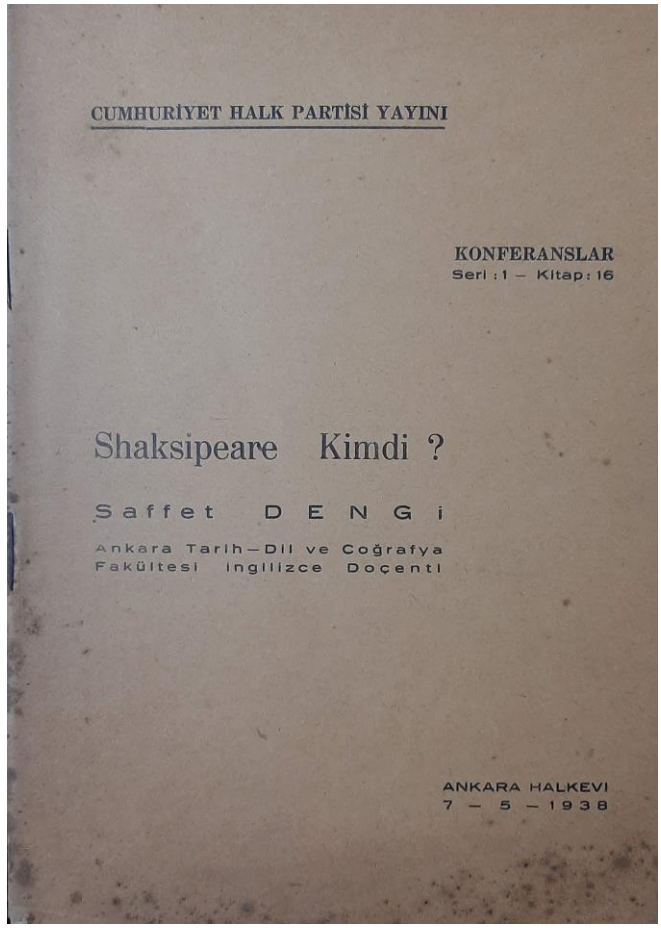

Figure 7: Titlepage of *Shaksipeare Kimdi* (1938), personal library

Oxford University, where Saffet Dengi received her PhD, was Agnes Headlam-Morley in 1948 (Stöckmann 289). Given that Halide Edip Adıvar, Saffet Dengi, and Hadiye Sayron became the first female professors in English departments before 1940, and there were several female translators before and around that time, like Kamurân Şerif, Seniha Bedri Göknil, Seniha Sami, or Belkıs Boyar, the presence of many female academics and translators around the 1930s and 1940s indicate how Shakespeare studies were quite progressive in early republican Turkey.

[12] This can be also seen via the faculty library that holds several works of the first scholars of the department along with works on or about Shakespeare written or translated by faculty members at Istanbul University illustrating the close relationship and cooperation among the first departments of English philology in Turkey.

İrfan Şahinbaş, who was renowned for dramatizing passages he taught in his Shakespeare courses and beyond, was also crucial in the establishment of the first Theatre Department in Turkey in 1958 (reopened later in 1964) that allowed Shakespeare to be studied from a different perspective than those utilised by the conservatories (Aytür 62; Uzmen 43-44). Dereli, Dengi, Burian and Şahinbaş have raised several generations of Shakespeareans in Turkey through which their now conventional teaching methods have been well preserved and are used even in today's English Language and Literature Departments.

Interrelated with the nationalisation and reformation movement in Ankara, the gradual transformation of the *Darülfünun* in Istanbul, then the only modern university in Turkey, expanded its use of Shakespeare in the higher education curriculum. Following changes in laws in 1924 and in 1933, the university, later renamed Istanbul University, introduced first general courses on English Literature and then courses in Departments of Modern Philology (Başkan 25). The Department of Modern Philology, later renamed as the Department of Western Languages and Literatures, was established in 1933 where English courses were taught. The general migration of scholars from Nazi Germany into countries like Turkey, who welcomed Jewish scientists, proved to be influential in the newly established university's transformation into a Western-style scientific institution (Yücebaş 264-265; Urgan 174-177). Erich Auerbach (1892-1957), known worldwide for his seminal works on comparative literature, accelerated this transformation after becoming the head of the Department of Western Languages and Literatures from 1936 until 1947.

When Halide Edip Adıvar joined the department and delivered the opening speech to the Faculty of Letters in 1939 with a talk on Shakespeare (Enginün 450), Istanbul University's subsequent emphasis on Shakespeare studies was firmly entrenched. Reflecting the progressive gender ratio in early republican Turkey, Adıvar shortly became the head of the Department of English Philology in 1940. When she formally established the four-year undergraduate programme in the same year, the quality of Shakespeare studies in Turkey increased, especially through the publication of many critical secondary works on Shakespeare and his time by department members. The libraries of both the department and the faculty have an extensive list of books ranging first from collected works to individual works and secondary sources showing the gradual specialisation of the department's resources and focus on Shakespeare.[13]

[13] The library has today several works on and about Shakespeare and 118 of them are individual titles on Shakespeare from the 1890s until the 1950s. Like the department in Ankara, the libraries at Istanbul University hold copies of works by faculty members of The Faculty of Languages History and Geography that proves the reciprocal cooperation between the departments.

Moreover, the department gathered and trained eminent academics in the 1940s like Vahit Turhan, Mina Urgan and Berna Moran, all of whom either wrote full-length studies on Shakespeare and/or translated his works into Turkish (Urgan 65, 199, 203; Uzmen 45). Translation workshops resulted in the series *Shakespeare Külliyatı*, the Shakespeare Collection, where several plays, like *Hamlet* (1941), *As You Like It* (1943), *Coriolanus* (1945), or *Antony and Cleopatra* (1949), were translated into Turkish by Adıvar, her assistants including Turhan and Urgan, and their students (Araboğlu 992). The zenith of these efforts would result in the three-volume English Language and Literature Survey Book that had an entire volume devoted to Shakespeare and his works (Adıvar 117-268), which became the first thorough and in-depth academic analysis of Shakespeare written in Turkish. Along with the Gazi Education Institute and the Department of English Philology in Ankara, the Department of English Philology in Istanbul shaped the basics of the curricula, the canon, the pedagogy and the methodology of the proper studies of Shakespeare in Turkey—the impact of which can be still felt.

With the establishment of extensive studies of Shakespeare in Turkey, Shakespeare became a central part of the curriculum of secondary schools well into the 1990s, which have been influential in cultivating even greater interest in the academic study of Shakespeare in Turkey.[14] Nowadays, most students get their first taste of Shakespeare at universities. Adıvar's successors, like Mina Urgan and Cevat Çapan formed the next generation of Shakespeareans at Istanbul University. Engin Uzmen, Ayşegül Yüksel, and Özdemir Nutku, the last of whom later continued to work at various universities in İzmir, became the leading Shakespeare scholars at Ankara University. Through the establishment of Hacettepe University in the 1960s and Boğaziçi University in the 1970s, more academic hubs were established within the English Language and Literature departments of these universities. With Engin Uzmen, who moved to Hacettepe University, Himmet Umunç, Bülent Bozkurt, and Gülsen Canlı, a great deal of the scholarship about Shakespeare at Hacettepe University was shaped by these scholars from the 1970s onwards. Süheyla Artemel, Oya Başak and Cevza Sevgen from Boğaziçi University were important figures that influenced Shakespeare studies in Istanbul around the same time. Starting with the 1990s,

[14] Although there are language sections in almost all high schools, only a few including Robert College and TED colleges teach Shakespeare. Yet, the institutions who still teach Shakespeare at middle and high school level have been quite influential to create interest in future Shakespeare scholars like İnci Enginün and Deniz Bozer from TED Ankara College established in 1953, or Talat Halman, a Robert College alumnus, who was not only the first Minister of Culture in Turkey but also a lifelong Shakespeare enthusiast who translated several of his works into Turkish.

with figures like Laurence Raw, the transcultural aspect of studying Shakespeare in Turkey was foregrounded along with Shakespeare's traditional position in higher education curricula to teach the English language and culture.

From a historical perspective, most of these studies were conducted initially through conventional methods of teaching like close readings, school performances and translation workshops (Öğütcü 94). Yet, gradually, scholars began to use eclectic methodologies and teach several plays in one term. Over the last ten years, new media have also been incorporated into the teaching of Shakespeare in most of the curricula of the now 200 English Language and Literature Departments and dozens of Theatre Departments in Turkey.

Since the early 2000s, there has been much progress and change in the study of Shakespeare in Turkey through the incorporation of spatial, gender, racial, linguistic, translational, ecological, and posthuman perspectives in these studies by both senior scholars and early career researchers. Yet, the obscure aftermath of the dissolved Turkish Shakespeare Association (founded in 1964),[15] the rather short-lived Centre for Studies on Shakespeare and His Age (1990-1998) at Hacettepe University, İnci Enginün's meticulous but widely unknown account of Shakespeare in Turkish, and the several conferences on Shakespeare in Turkey,[16] all of which have had relatively little impact on Global Shakespeare studies, illustrate the opportunities that have been missed to further Shakespeare studies in Turkey.

Learning from and building upon these experiences, the Turkish Shakespeares Project attempts to both document and add to Shakespeare studies in Turkey through its ongoing digital archive of the Turkish Shakespeare Bibliography and the performance history of Shakespeare in Turkey. Conducted by an overwhelming majority of female researchers, studies at the Turkish Shakespeares Project are also reflective of the overall progressive social agendas of studying Shakespeare in Turkey where the rising trend of the share of woman scholars can be understood as a direct consequence of the origins of Shakespeare studies that have been utilised for the emancipation of women in early republican Turkey. Building upon these origins, Shakespeare studies in Turkey have a promising future that demand attention by non-Turkish scholars, as well.

[15] For a recent study on this association, see Firidinoğlu.

[16] Notable events have been "Shakespeare and His Time" at Bilkent University (1989), the Oya Başak Conference at Boğaziçi University (2004), the "ShakesYear 450 Conference" at Hacettepe University (2014), and the "Shakespeare Konferansı" at Yaşar University (2016).

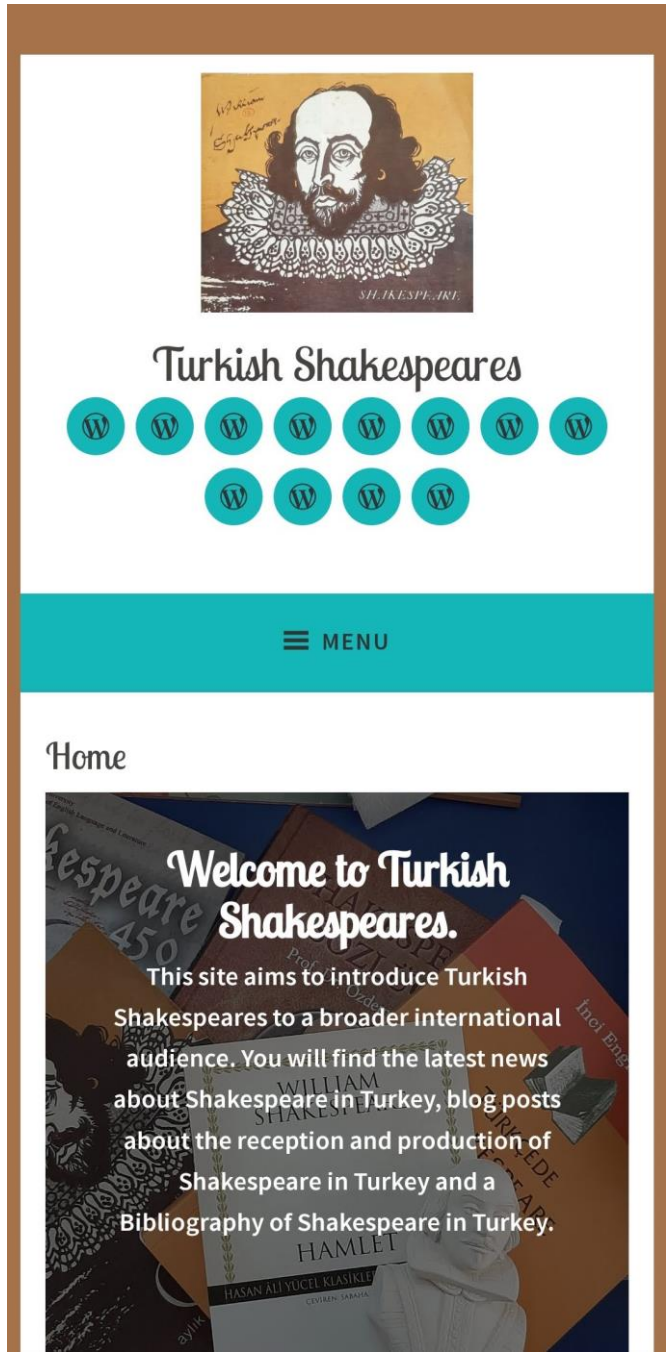

Figure 8: Screenshot of Promotion Video, Turkish Shakespeares

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Laina Southgate*

"Shakespeare is a Finnish national poet:" Developing Finnish Shakespeare Scholarship from the Enlightenment to the Twentieth Century

Abstract: In this article, I will take up the idea of "origins" as it pertains to Finnish Shakespeare during Finland's time as an autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia from 1809-1917. While not technically the beginning of Shakespearean performances, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are the beginning of the rhetorical use of Shakespeare in public discourse used to establish cultural sovereignty distinct from Sweden and Russia. Beginning with a brief overview of Shakespearean mentions in the latter half of the eighteenth century, I will analyse the public discourse found in Finnish literary journals and newspaper articles in the 1810's and 20's. Following an analysis of J. F. Lagervall's 1834 *Ruunulinna,* I will then briefly track how shifting attitudes towards translations such as those found in J. V. Snellman's writings influenced the emerging Finnish literary and theatre tradition, most notably with Kaarlo Slöör and Paavo Cajendar's Shakespeare translations and the establishment of the Finnish Theatre in 1871. Finally, an analysis of Juhani Aho's untranslated essay in Gollancz' 1916 *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare* will highlight the legacy of prior Finnish Shakespearean traditions, while also highlighting the limits of translation. Ultimately, I suggest that Shakespeare was appropriated early on as an accessible figure of resistance in the face of Swedish linguistic supremacy and the increasing threat of Russian assimilation and oppression.

Keywords: Shakespeare, Global Shakespeare Studies, Finland, Adaptation, Translation, Imperialism, Colonialism, Sweden, Russia

On March 5, 1864, Finnish historian and journalist Yrjö Sakari wrote a review of Kaarlo Slöör's translation of *Macbeth.* Sakari, who goes by the pen-name Yrjö-Koskinen or simply, Y.K., asserts that Slöör's is the first real translation of

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Shakespeare into Finnish despite J. F. Lagervall's 1834 *Runnulinna* which Koskinen says is: "above all some kind of imitation of *Macbeth,* which belongs to literary history, not to literature." Koskinen goes on to write that *Macbeth* is the "noblest" of Shakespeare's plays, and despite some minor issues with the Finnish grammar and word choice, perhaps this Finnish version surpasses the Swedish translation.[1] "There are plenty of places where the Finnishness completely compares to the Swedishness," Koskinen claims, "and there are a few places where Slöör's progress is even more advanced [than Hagberg's Swedish translation]" (*Suometar* 1864).[2]

For Koskinen and other reviewers of Slöör's *Macbeth,* the success of his translation rests on its fidelity to the English source text (Aaltonen, *Time Sharing,* 4). For instance, in the review, Koskinen provides textual examples from Shakespeare's English, Hagberg's translation and Slöör's so that the reader may compare: The witches in *Macbeth* exclaim: "Double, double toil and trouble; / Fire, burn; and cauldron, bubble" which in Swedish becomes "Fördubbla mödan, mödan, mödan fördubbla;/Heta kittel, sjud och bubbla,"[3] and in Finnish "Väsymättä liiku, liehu;/Pala tuli kiehu!"[4] The Finnish is "nicer" asserts Koskinen, "The Swedish, you can see, is a weak formation of the English." Other than claiming that the Finnish is "nicer" and the Swedish "weaker," the actual difference between the two, according to Koskinen, is open to interpretation.

Koskinen's review is a useful place to begin this discussion of Shakespeare studies in Finland for three reasons. Koskinen is fixated on what constitutes "literature;" there is an anxiety surrounding the abilities of the Finnish language to not only produce an excellent translation of *Macbeth,* but one that is perhaps better than a Swedish version; and English is upheld as the superior language from which to begin crafting a Finnish Shakespeare and ultimately a Finnish literary tradition. Essentially, these concerns form a microcosm of Finland in the nineteenth century. Finland was under Swedish imperial rule for nearly 700 years until 1809, after which Russia occupied the region making Finland a Grand Duchy until 1917. During this period, Finnish was a minority language while Swedish remained the language of government and high culture. The rise of nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe was a threat to Russian Autocratic rule, and Finland's position as a Russian imperial

[1] The Swedes also chose to begin translating Shakespeare with *Macbeth*. The first Swedish translation of Shakespeare was performed by E. G. Geijer fifty years earlier.

[2] https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti/binding/425493?term=Sl%C3%B6%C3%B6r&term=Macbethin&term=Macbeth&term=Macbethista&page=3/. Accessed 22 December 2022.

[3] Loosely: "Double the toil, toil, double the toil; / Heat cauldron, simmer and bubble."

[4] Loosely: "Tirelessly move, stir; / The fire came to a boil!"

borderland with close cultural ties to Sweden meant that Finland presented a "too strong orientation to the West (Polvinen 29)." Indeed, Russian fears of Western influence in the Finnish borderlands were legitimate; since the early nineteenth century Finnish intellectuals sought to distance themselves from Russian imperialism through the establishment of a Finnish national literature and an engagement with an increasingly globalized Europe via the European Republic of Letters (Kortti, 197). Finnish intellectuals interested in Shakespeare were essentially changing one form of (Russian and Swedish) cultural imperialism for a broader European one that they viewed as more benign.

This long history of colonialism coupled with the emergent national romantic movement resulted in the formation of Finnish intellectual circles who utilized a Western ideal of literature to reinforce Finland's own cultural legitimacy. Shakespeare emerges as a foreign vehicle for Finnish writers seeking to align themselves with the rest of Europe, or as Keinänen and Sivors write, a "literary whetstone" upon which one's authorial identity is honed (*Disseminating Shakespeare* 2). Koskinen's 1864 review underscores the palpable anxiety surrounding the legitimacy of Finnish as a literary language during the nineteenth century, and by extension, the legitimacy of Finland as a unitary, and ultimately, European nation state. The differences for Koskinen between a Shakespearean "imitation" versus a translation, "literary history" and "literature," and the status of a Finnish Shakespeare versus a Swedish one are the core concerns of this paper.

Shakespeare, when adapted by marginalized nations, can be fetishized as a British cultural icon while at the same time used to "confer legitimacy on the project of capitalist empire-building" (Litvin 4), and indeed, the above review brandishes Shakespeare to foreground Finnish anxieties surrounding the legitimacy of the Finnish language. Koskinen's review is not the only piece to do this, nor is the mid-19th century even the origin of Shakespeare's presence in Finland. Indeed, "origin" is thorny when applied to Finnish Shakespeare. The literal point of origin is perhaps the first performance of Shakespeare in Finland, thought to be an eighteenth century production of *Romeo and Juliet* that was disseminated into the region in either German or Swedish through a traveling performance company as early as 1768 (*Perruque* 144). The next documented performance was a production of *Hamlet* in Turku in 1819 (Nummi 118).

This paper takes up this idea of "origins" as it pertains to Finnish Shakespeare during Finland's time as an autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia from 1809-1917. While not technically the beginning of Shakespearean performances, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are the beginning of the rhetorical use of Shakespeare in public discourse to establish cultural sovereignty distinct from Sweden and Russia.

Secret Societies, Literary Elites and Shakespeare in The Newly Emerging Press 1770-1834

J. F. Lagervall's 1834 *Runnulinna* is often cited by scholars as the de-facto starting place for analyzing Shakespeare in Finland. While it is the first full adaptation of one of Shakespeare's plays in Finnish, however, the use of Shakespeare to evoke a connection between Finland and Western Europe predates Lagervall's adaptation. Indeed, the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century feature successive intellectual groups that sought to establish a Finnish literary language and promote Finnish nationalism. Mentions of Shakespeare appear in early literary journals and Finnish newspapers in the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century produced largely by the Swedish speaking Finnish intellectual elite in general. Such forums are public facing, and in these writings, Shakespeare is utilized to extend the geographical reach of the newspaper or journal while also signaling intellectual allegiance with Western Europe. Importantly, other than evoking Shakespeare's status as a playwright or connecting him to England, there is relatively little critical engagement with his works. Instead Shakespeare is often listed alongside other Western hegemonic literary figures such as Dante, Homer, and Cervantes. This is partly due to the fact that other than these newspapers and journals; a Finnish literary tradition did not yet exist.

What, then, did Shakespeare scholarship look like in these early writings, and how does it affect the origins of Finnish Shakespeare? By tracing these early examples from members of literary societies such as The Aurora Society (1770-1779), the publications of the Turku Romantics (1810's and 1820's), The Saturday Society (1830), and The Finnish Literary Society (1831-present), it is possible to detect the gradual shift in not only Finnish nationalism but also the ways in which Shakespeare is deployed as a rhetorical tool and symbol to help evoke Finland's civility, independence, and linguistic sovereignty. Therefore, early references to Shakespeare rely on his Englishness to evoke a larger geographical scope for the journal or newspaper, or, in J. F. Lagervall's *Ruunulinna*, reject the Englishness of *Macbeth* and attempt to absorb the play into a Finnish context. Later translations of Shakespeare like those of Kaarlo Slöör and Paavo Cajender are expected to both adhere to Shakespeare's source text while also somehow establishing a distinct Finnish voice. Finally, by the end of the nineteenth century Shakespeare becomes the symbol of a Finnish national ideal, upheld alongside Finnish icons such as Elias Lönnrot, Johan Ludvig Runeberg, and Aleksis Kivi.

Walter Benjamin writes that the survival of a text is secured by its translations (Benjamin 1923), and scholars such as Michael Dobson have pointed out how the figure of Shakespeare has become the "transcendent personification of a national ideal" (14). Indeed, Susan Bassnet suggests that the

translations of Shakespeare in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe are an example of intercultural transfer, or the exchanges and encounters between a source culture and its target culture (59). But for Finnish intellectuals evoking Shakespeare before the first Finnish translation of *Macbeth* in 1834, it is Shakespeare's Englishness that is mentioned time and again, not the content of his dramatic works. For instance, in a 1796 contribution simply titled "Anecdote" in The Aurora Society's newspaper *Tidningar Utgifne Af et Sällskap i Åbo* (*Newspapers published by a society in Turku*)[5] a "twist arose concerning the precedence of the Scottish and English Authors." This "twist" is discussed between Dr. Johnson, and Dr. Rose Chiswick, and they banter about the way Johnson treated Scottish writers ("contemptuously" according to the anecdote), the merits of David Hume, and their opinion on Lord Bure whom Johnson hadn't known had written anything. "I think," Dr. Rose Chiswick playfully asserts, " however, that he wrote a line that supersedes anything of Shakespeare or Milton" (*Åbo Tidningar*, 1796 No. 39).[6]

Four years later in 1800, an article titled "Finland's Literature" published in *Abo Tidningar* provides a more substantial mention of Shakespeare, again evoked alongside other writers. The contributor in "Finland's Literature" does not, in fact, discuss Finland's literature but rather Shakespeare's influence on Schiller, Goethe and Lessing: "They imitated him not only in the free and excessive drawing of meaningful characters and passions, but also in the irregular composition on the beautiful, in the whimsical phasing of space, time and people."[7] In 1809 a description of the private collections found in the Royal Danish Library was published in *Abo Tidningar*. The article claims that this library is among the most beautiful in Europe, and it features texts closer to home such as Danish and Swedish books, but it is also international: "As soon as a work of importance is published, be it in England or Italy, it is immediately bought. So there was already … [a] beautiful edition of Shakespeare with copper [plates] after the Gallery in London."[8]

Each of these three excerpts evoke Shakespeare as an educational and cultural marker. In the first example, the exchange between Johnson and Cheswick establishes a shared sense of understanding between the contributor and reader. Provided without context, it is necessary that the reader first recognize the figures of Johnson, Cheswick, David Hume and Lord Bure. Second, the reader should be aware of tensions between Scottish and English

[5] Colloquially called *Åbo Tidningar* and this paper will refer to it hereafter as such.

[6] https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti/binding/408947?term=Shakespeare&page=3/. Accessed 22 December 2022.

[7] https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti/binding/414473?term=Shakespear&page=1/. Accessed 22 December 2022.

[8] https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti/binding/414671?term=Shakespear&page=1/. Accessed 14 December 2022.

literature, and third, understand how such tensions are connected to Milton and Shakespeare. The second example does something similar, except the aperture broadens to German literature. In this contribution, Finnish Literature becomes synonymous with German literature, and in this configuration, the English playwright Shakespeare emerges as an inspirational model. The reader is required to traverse three geographical zones and several literary luminaries: Finland (topically at least), Germany, and England. The final example introduces Denmark to the global reach of this newspaper; however, here too the "globe" is contained to smaller regions. The library contains Europe, and while Swedish and Danish books are present, the real draw is how international it is, and that a copy of Shakespeare's play is available—"just" like in London.

The above excerpts are all from *Abo Tidningar* which is considered to be the first Finnish newspaper. It was issued by the Aurora Society, a secret Finnish literary society founded at the Royal Academy of Turku in 1770. The purpose of this paper was to promote the study of Finnish history and Finnish language at a time when Finland was still under Swedish rule. The most notable member of The Aurora Society and editor of *Abo Tidningar* is the so-called "father of Finnish history" Henrik Gabriel Porthan. Porthan completed his doctoral thesis pertaining to the scholarly research of oral folk tales which formed the basis for later attempts at creating a united Finnish national language. Porthan "postulated that, through collection and comparison, a scholar could reconstitute the original organic unity of a cultural system that had been fragmented with the disruptions of history" (Karner 158). One way to think about the use of Shakespeare in early public discourse is through André Lefevere's "conceptual grid." Lefevre argues that countries such as Finland with less widely-known languages "will only gain access to something that could be called 'world literature,' if they submit to the textual system, the discursive formation, or whatever else one wants to call it, underlying the current concept of 'world literature'" (76). While these notations of Shakespeare are not translations, they are an early attempt at creating a bridge between Finland and the rest of Europe or fitting into the "grid" of accepted world culture. Finnish became a source of academic interest, but it was not until the nineteenth century that Finnish nationalism began to really take hold—a movement that truly begins with Russia's annexation of Finland in 1809. For the first time Finns were offered a semblance of self-governance and the potential to destabilize Swedish as the lingua-franca.

Even after Russia annexed Finland in 1809, Swedish remained the language of government, education, and high culture (Sommer 5). Importantly, linguistic assimilation was essential for educated Finns, and as Tuija Pulkkinen writes, the school system certainly provided an opportunity to improve one's social class, "however, this meant adopting a Swedish name and Swedish as a home language, Swedish being the sole language of higher education"

(Pulkkinen 126). The so-called Turku Romantics are the successors of the Aurora Society, and while not an organized group in the same sense, the most notable members such as Adolf Ivar Arwidsson, Elias Lönnrot, Johan Villhelm Snellman, Johan Runeberg and Zachris Topelius corresponded with each other and established two journals, *Aura* (1817-18) and *Mnemosyne* (1819-23). This group of young intellectuals studied under Porthan, but the transition into being a Grand Duchy of Russia incentivized them to further Porthan's ideas of Finnish identity.

The Turku Romantics pursued Finnish "as a medium of high culture" (Sommer 7), and they were animated by the "Finnish struggle for national pursuits" (Karner 158). For them Herder and Hegel were each a major source of inspiration, in particular the Herdian concept of a common language being essential to establishing a nation combined with Hegel's conception of the *volk* or "the people." While these journals presented nationalist goals, they, like *Abo Tidningar*, were intended to be read by the educated Swedish speaking elite. They were focused on literature and included poetry by the group, as well as translations of Goethe, Schlegel, and others. These journals are more politically oriented than *Abo Tidningar*, and the attempts to create a public discourse surrounding the legitimacy of the Finnish language and culture is more explicit. The purported goal of *Mnemosyne* was to create for Finns a magazine which could spread "important truths, opinions and ideas, and make self-knowledge."[9] Promoting the Finnish language is also of utmost importance (despite the journal being written in Swedish) because "a language so beautiful … so original and close to nature, and yet so expressive … that if anything deserves the attention of the philosopher and to be saved from destruction this certainly deserves it." The importance of the Finnish language is foregrounded in this next generation of public discourse, but even here Shakespeare is summoned to forge a European connection.

In 1820, one year after the journal was founded, in an article titled "Notable places in England," we are introduced to William Shakespeare: "Stratford upon Aven is Shakespeare's birthplace. The inscription on a wretched house certifies that the great poet came into the world and died there." The contributor goes on to say that a woman descended from Shakespeare gave them a tour of the home, and among the things shown to them were "his handkerchief, his drinking glass, a slipper that belonged to his wife, a small casket in which his last will lies, a chair on which he wrote his immortal works, part of his song, the hat which he wore in the role of Hamlet, a small chair for his son, which he also called Hamlet."[10] This introduction comes after other notable foreign writers

[9] https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/2396021?page=1/. Accessed 14 December 2022.

[10] https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/501482term=Shakespeare&term=Shakespear&page=4/. Accessed 20 December 2022.

were similarly presented: Cervantes' *Don Quixote* was introduced a year before in 1819,[11] and an excerpt from Goethe's *Maxim's and Reflections* appears (in Swedish translation) in 1819. The reflections on Shakespeare's birthplace stands out among other tributes afforded to foreign writers, however. Rather than focusing on his work like the contributions for Cervantes and Geothe, it is Shakespeare's Englishness that renders him as important. It is by privileging his Englishness, and ultimately, his corporeality that a sense of intimacy is created between the bard and his Finnish readers. There is a contradiction between introducing England's most iconic playwright in a journal intended to promote literary works and intellectualism via his home, his body, and his personal belongings. By attempting to humanize the bard, "Notable places in England," in actuality, raises Shakespeare to the status of celebrity, further setting him apart from other literary figures.

In an 1822 article for *Mnemosyne* titled "Over the Heroes of Humanity," Shakespeare is once again mentioned, however this time alongside other canonical writers. This article ruminates on the role of literary figures in the establishment of national literature and how new national endeavors are built on the foundations of earlier models: "Where is the genius for the sculpture of the ancients found? Just its shadow, like shadow. Lost in sculpture and architecture, God still wanders the earth: the soul has chosen another body."[12] This "other body" is transformations of canonical writers: "A Homer, a Pindarus, a Sophocles never appeared again; an Ossian, a Dante, a Shakespeare does not arise again. Other nations have no need of new poets."[13] The subtext here, of course, is that Finland is in need of both new poets and literary models—apparently these figures need not necessarily be Finnish.

The First Finnish Adaptation: J. F. Lagervall's *Ruunulinna*

In J. F. Lagervall's 1834 *Runnulinna,* a Shakespearean "imitation," *Macbeth* is transported from Scotland to Karelia, and the characters names are changed. In a clear effort to make Shakespeare more familiar to a Finnish audience, Macbeth is changed to Ruunulinna, Lady Macbeth to Pirjo, and King Duncan to Rostio. Shakespeare's iambic pentameter is changed to runometer, also known as Kelevalameter. Initially *Ruunuliina* was met with positive reviews, but these

[11] https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/500086?term=Cervantes/. Accessed 13 November 2022.

[12] https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/502779?term=Shakespear&page=11/. Accessed 10 November 2022.

[13] https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/aikakausi/binding/502779?term=Shakespear&page=11/. Accessed 13 November 2022.

gradually changed: "If we call this little [play] representative," writes one reviewer, it has happened because it is "the only and best," and as with any other representation, represents nothing." Lagervall's *Ruunulinna* was never professionally performed; however, it did remain the "only" example of a Finnish Shakespeare for thirty years. The negative connotation of "imitation" is a result of shifting attitudes towards translation in the nineteenth century, although these would not come to fruition until the 1860's. *Ruunulinna* is directly influenced by the struggles between Swedish and Finnish, and indeed Lagervall explains in his afterward that he chose the most easily understood dialect throughout Finland as the play's language. He also modified spelling and included Finnish proverbs (*Perruque* 147). In contrast to the earlier mentions of Shakespeare explored in this paper, Shakespeare's Englishness plays a subordinate role in Lagervall's play. The act of appropriating Shakespeare into a Finnish context becomes a way "to vouch for the existence of the language of translation and, by doing so, vouch for the existence of a people" (Brisset 341).

Lagervall advocates for the Finnish people when he claims in his epilogue that *Macbeth* "has long been understood in English by Shakespeare and repeated as if it had taken place in Scotland; but Walter Scott … denies it happened there. Where then would it have happened? In our own country" (88). Essential to understanding Lagervall's approach to his *Macbeth* is the declaration "understood in English by Shakespeare." Finnishness is tied to the act of translating Shakespeare into the Finnish vernacular, and the way Lagervall has phrased the sentence suggests a separation of *Macbeth* the text from Shakespeare as its author. In this configuration, *Macbeth* is not Shakespeare's play but rather an ownerless story that Shakespeare has merely interpreted and "understood" in English. The subtext is that if *Macbeth* does not belong to Shakespeare, who is to say that the play cannot belong to Lagervall?

The three witches in *Macbeth* are nameless, but Lagervall provides them names gleaned from Finnish mythology: Mammotar, mother of worms, Kivutar, goddess of pain and suffering, Lemmes, mother of alders, and Luonnatar mother of the seas. In Shakespeare's original the first witch says: "When shall we three meet again? / In thunder, lightning, or in rain?" (I.I.1-2). Lagervall alters these lines by first having Kivutar say: "Missä näemmä toinen toista?" (Loosely "Where will we see each other"), to which Mammotar replies: "Siellä missä liemu loistaa, Missä ukko jyrisee Että ilma tärisee." In English these lines are close to "When the hut shines, when the old man rumbles, so that the air vibrates."[17] What is important in these lines is the word "Ukko." When literally translated Ukko means "Old man," but a Finnish reader would know that Ukko is the Finnish god of the sky, weather, harvest, and thunder. Using "Ukko" instead of a more neutral word for thunder like "jylinä" presents a distant echo of Shakespeare mediated through Finnish mythology. In this sense, Lagervall's

rhizomatic translation of *Macbeth* certainly involves Shakespeare as one of its branches, but Finnish mythology and the *Kalevala* compete for influence.

In addition to using Finnish linguistic markers for nationalistic purposes, Lagervall also includes visual ones. A portrait of Elias Lönnrot—the man who compiled the *Kalevala*—dressed in trousers and holding a Kantele (a traditional Finnish harp) is featured on the title page. Notably he is also wearing a patalakki, a traditional Finnish cap associated with antiquity. Derek Fewster notes that such a move simultaneously signals to Finnish readers that this play is not only a gesture towards the modernity of the Finnish language, but also through the transformation of Lönnrot into a "sage of the ancients" that is "representative of immemorial, or at least, medieval past" (90). Despite the fact that this version of *Macbeth* was never performed, its existence is significant in conjunction with Finnish nationalism. The Finns are concerned with "the right to one's own culture" ("*Time-Sharing*" 90), and that there must be a national literary and theatrical tradition to establish oneself as an independent nation. Indeed, through translating *Macbeth* into Finnish, Lagervall rewrites Macbeth "from within the Finnish culture as a piece of Finnish history" ("*Time-Sharing*" 90).

Shifting Attitudes Towards Finnish Shakespeare: 1840's-1890's

Following Lagervall's *Ruunuliina,* attitudes towards Finnish Shakespeare began to change. Resistance to the imitative nature of *Ruunulinna* prompted calls for a closer translation of Shakespeare. One such advocate was philosopher, journalist, and statesmans J. V. Snellman. Snellman was absorbed with Hegelianism and believed that Finnish must become the official language of Finland, and the Swedish elites should learn it (even though Snellman himself never fully became fluent in Finnish). From the establishment of the Finnish Literary Society in 1831 through the mid-nineteenth century, tensions between the Finnish nationalists such as Snellman agitating for the legitimacy of the Finnish language and the Swedish elite increasingly heightened. As Tuija Pulkkinen points out, a postcolonial attitude towards the Finnish language culture and the exalted Swedish language in the country began to emerge, resulting in the perception of Swedish rather than Russian as being the "adversary by the nationalist movement championing the use of Finnish and the creation of a Finnish-language culture in the early decades of the nineteenth century" (119). Russian officials encouraged this, believing that a stronger Finnish language would displace Swedish, thereby weakening Western influence in Finland (Polvinen, 133).

Snellman's attitudes towards the Finnish language and translation are therefore reflected in how Shakespeare is approached in the mid-nineteenth century, and Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" is a useful way to

think through this phase of Finnish nationalism. Printing literature, as Anderson argues, differentiates between spoken and "print-languages" in a way that "laid the basis for national consciousness" (56) because having a more widely available language shortened the distance between the language of government and the language of the people. Anderson uses the example of the "dethronement of Latin" to suggest that the printing of common languages helped non-Latin speakers become "aware of the hundreds of thousands, even millions of people in their particular language-field, and at the same time that *only those* hundreds of thousands, or millions, so belonged" (57)—a clear parallel between the emergence of Finland through the "dethronement" of Swedish.

Snellman's attitudes toward language extended to the translation of foreign texts. Snellman established a newspaper in which he broadcasted his views, *Saima* in 1844; in it, he discussed his vision of the establishment of Finnish literature. He believed that there were two ways to create a national literature in Finland: either making Finnish the language of education from primary school onwards or to translating the "best works from other nations' literature (Mäkinen 51). From 1870-1873 Snellman became the chair of The Finnish Literary Society, and during that time he proposed a translation program to bolster Finnish national literature. In his proposal he writes: "Domestic original literature cannot be produced by rewards and prizes … Every nation of every time can take into its own literature those products of geniality that other nations have produced. Thus, such books have become common property among the civilized nations in Europe." (qtd. Mäkinen, 58). Snellman goes on to list authors who would offer the best exemplars, and Shakespeare, of course, makes the list.

I began with a review of Kaarlo Slöör's translation of *Macbeth,* and generally the public was pleased with how close to Shakespeare it remained. Where the late eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries cared about Shakespeare insofar as he offered a bridge between the Finnish elite and the West, this attitude gradually shifted towards a reverential mode of adaptation. "When the mode of translation is reverence" writes Aaltonen, "the Foreign, as represented by texts chosen for translation, is held in high esteem and respected" (*Time Sharing 64*). Indeed, Slöör's translation of *Macbeth* was the result of a competition held by The Finnish Literary Society in 1864. The competition was created in honour of the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth, and it offered a prize for the best translation of a Shakespeare play.

Take, for example, the following poem written by Zacharias Topelius in honour of the 1864 tercentenary:

> Behold, therefore he belongs to the
> World, Whosoever the great love wills,
> And therefore he is worthy of

Witness For all peoples and countries.
And at his cradle this moment
We reach, on the foundation of Europe,

To the Great peace, alliance of the
Peoples. The hands of the Finnish
people. For the poet of mankind he is.
To
Regard highly, to hold dear
The Ray of the Lord's grace
prunes. It is to serve the Lord
What is all light, if not His, Of

What William Shakespeare's wreath of
honor, If not a broken reflection
The light of the source alone?[14]

We can see in this poem echoes of earlier versions of Shakespeare addressed in this paper, as well as allusions to the same anxieties surrounding the status of Finland as a contested zone between Sweden and Russia. Is it not possible to see distantly reflected in the lines "Behold, therefore he belongs to the/World" the copper plated Shakespeare in the Royal Danish library? So too, perhaps, the Romantic Shakespeare of the 1810's and 20's is present when Topelius writes that Shakespeare is "the foundation of Europe." This foundation, we learned, is his home still occupied by his descendant in Stratford upon Avon. Alexa Huang and Elizabeth Rivlin write that "appropriations, like translations, conjure differing interpretive possibilities that already inhabit Shakespeare's texts" (8). Rather than unifying Shakespeare, his various appropriations "attacks its illusion and reveals multiple Shakespeares, or to put it differently, A Shakespeare perpetually divided from itself" (8). Indeed, thus far this paper has identified Shakespeare the figure (newspaper articles and public discourse), the spectre (*Runnulinna*), the model (Snellman and other translations) and, now, Shakespeare the Finnish national poet.

[14] My translation—this poem (as far as I know) has not been translated into English. A version of it is found in Gollancz, Israel. *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare.* Oxford University Press, 1916.

Looking Towards a Twentieth Century Shakespeare—The Finnish Contributions to *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*

Published by Oxford University Press in 1916 upon the 300th anniversary of Shakespeare's death, *Homage* consists of 166 contributions from scholars, poets, historians and other intellectuals from around the world. Loosely organized to begin with contributions from England and work their way out towards the European periphery and beyond, Gollancz writes that while the original plan was to have only one hundred contributors: "the British Empire alone could not well be represented by less than one hundred contributors." (xxxviii). On the face of it, the goal of *Homage* is to demonstrate the far-reaching cultural capital of Shakespeare, and by extension, the British empire. Indeed this seems to be what King George V took from it, as made clear in his announcement of thanks to Gollancz for his edition: "Their majesties have graciously commanded that their thanks be sent to you for this illustrious record of reverence for him to whose memory the whole civilized world is now doing honour" (Antipodal, 43). This effort to commemorate Shakespeare naturally coincides with the construction of national identity, or what Benedict Anderson writes, the impulse to codify nation-states as simultaneously "new: and "historical" (Anderson, 12). Gordon McMullan claims that in *Homage* we can see a contradiction between: "[the] global publication created at the height of the First World War [that] underlines the hegemonic status of Shakespeare in the early twentieth century as an icon of Englishness and empire, [and] also [a project] which serves as a precursor of the contemporary role of Shakespeare as a figure of global culture" (xvi).

There are three Finnish contributions to *Homage*, and these contributions sit uncomfortably between these two disparate ideas: that of the hegemonic status of 'English' Shakespeare and also his role as a figure of global culture. Scholars have read *Homage* as a "document of empire" (McMullan 10), in which Shakespeare is used to uphold and reinforce British Imperialism. While this perspective includes countries that were not a part of that empire—countries such as China, Poland and Japan, for example, are each allotted a contribution—Finland, nevertheless, stands out. Not only does Finland lack geographical and economic ties to England, but at the time of *Homage*'s publication, Finland was still a Grand Duchy of Russia and would not gain independence until 1917: it belonged to a rival empire. The three entries from Finnish academics (two essays and one poem) nevertheless claim Shakespeare as their own national poet and an antidote of sorts to the ever present threat of Russification. For example, when Finnish author Juhani Aho writes in his essay that "Each new play of Shakespeare that has since been acted in Finnish has strengthened the poet's hold on our people," (542), he suggests to the reader that Finland is influenced by Shakespeare and that by extension Finland is a Western, not Eastern, nation. The tone of his contribution is one of reverence to England's imperial project.

On the other hand, Eino Leino's poem "Shakespeare-Tunnelma" or, loosely, "'The feeling' of Shakespeare" takes his contribution to *Homage* as an opportunity by which Shakespeare becomes a vehicle upon which Finnish nationalism can be clearly expressed to the West. "Thou race held in bondage" writes Leino in reference to the Finns, greets "England in unison" (535).

The third and final Finnish contribution is largely untranslated and pursues a middle ground. Written by Finnish novelist Juhani Aho and titled "Ensimäinen Suomalainen Shakespearen Ensi-Ilta Suomessa" or "The First Finnish Shakespeare Premier in Finland," the text movingly describes the 1881 production of *Romeo and Juliet:* "Let me reminisce a little and lay my wreath at the feet of the greatest genius of a great nation from a distant suburb on English culture—the conquest of which the motherland hardly known much about, but whose possession from the first day has become so great that our national Finnish stage showcases Shakespeare every year—Shakespeare more than any author." Aho does indeed proceed to reminisce, and explores the building of the first Finnish national theatre, and success of the actress Ida Aberg. Aho explains that Adberg was so successful because she was Nordic: "her countenance was neither Greek, nor French but a bit angular and Nordic … this is why she is more expressive and personal" (539). Aho suggests that in this performance of *Romeo and Juliet*, "Shakepeare stood for us," and taught Finns that "our language was not the epic dialect of the Kalevala, but that of the highest dramatic feeling."

This contribution, I think, brings to the fore a key question for these Finnish contributions to *Homage* in particular, and perhaps the status of translation in general: who is the intended audience? Many of the contributions to *Homage* present a united "English" Shakespeare, and in this sense, "every tribute in a strange script or foreign language could be seen as a kind of imperial trophy, a sign of successful interpolation of the colonial writer into the imagined community of Shakespeare's England." I think that on one level, the largely untranslated essay of Aho is operating as a kind of trophy. *Homage* does not need to be overly concerned with the content of the essay and operates under the assumption that it is appropriately reverent of Shakespeare and England's empire. The parts of the essay that are loosely translated in the margin support this—the reader can grasp that there is an important Finnish version of *Romeo and Juliet*, a famous actress was in it, and Finns feel culturally and Hoenselaars writes that "[i]instances of commemorating the writer, the plays, and the poems, inevitably enhance our appreciation of the functions of authorship, the transmission of the text, and dynamics of literary fame. However, on the whole the cultures of commemoration also tend to be complex in social and political terms" (5). Indeed, the complexity of this process is embedded in the project of *Homage* itself. On one hand, Finland's use of Shakespeare is a good example of this, and also of England's "informal empire", which Robert Young defines as "the way in which the extent of British power, at its height, cannot simply be

measured by the amount of territory coloured red on the world map" (29). Many countries were tied to Britain through cultural influence in this way. In this sense, the cultural capital of Shakespeare operates as a kind of loose or informal colonialism of Finnish nationalism and Finnish literature, or, as Jyotsna Singh suggests, a form of colonial mimicry: "the process of national liberation involves mimicry of colonial process … the act of repetition" (Singh 2020). On the other hand, however, the way in which Leino, Hirn, and other Finnish intellectuals approach and adapt Shakespeare is to adapt and change him to fit within their own Finnish context. In this way, Shakespeare is shifted to become not "England's bard" but rather Finland's "muse and playwright." This is a more global perspective of Shakespeare—perhaps an unintended implication of Gollancz'*A Book of Homage of to Shakespeare.*

In each of the examples I have traversed in this paper, Shakespeare is either utilized as a literary model, elevated to the level of celebrity, or rejected in favour of themes closer to home. Gunnar Sorelius writes that with the exception of Lagervall's *Ruunulinna* there is no sign that [Shakespeare] was used in the formation and strengthening of a national culture (9). Alexa Joubin counters that "Nordic Shakespeares are neither part of the world of the English cultural sphere nor cultures that are diametrically opposed to the Anglophone world" (292). Indeed, we see this liminal space play out in the establishment of Finnish literature.

From the periphery of Europe, Finnish Shakespeare is easily overlooked. Imperial ties to Sweden and Russia create a literary landscape marked by longing for freedom and international recognition. Finnish Shakespeare most often positions Finland first, and Shakespeare second—even in canonical translations of his plays that are revered for their fidelity to their source. Such an attitude is certainly utilitarian. Ultimately, Finnish Shakespeare can be measured by how well Shakespeare is be utilized to either support, promote, or establish Finnish cultural and linguistic sovereignty. For a Western audience, Finland flips the idea of the foreign on its head—his plays may be influential, but in the absence of a useful translation, a description of his home will do just as well.

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Competing for Supremacy: The Origins of Shakespeare Studies in Japan

Abstract: This paper reveals that Shakespeare studies in Japan originated through competing notions of literary studies. Traditional Japanese ideas about literature differed markedly from Anglophone ones, which focused on grammatical and literary-historical facts based on the notion of Shakespeare's universal appeal. Their principles were contested by Sôseki Natsume, who questioned Shakespeare's vaunted universality between the 1900s and the 1910s. Although specialist scholars began forming Shakespeare as an object of disinterested study in the 1920s, it was contested again by some reflective scholars who wished to employ Shakespeare as a means of liberal education. These contests for supremacy spawned divergent origins of Shakespeare studies in Japan.

Keywords: Shakespeare, Japan, Imperial University of Tokyo, Sôseki Natsume, Shôyô Tsubouchi, Yoshisaburô Okakura

Plural Origins

The study of foreign languages and literature was inextricably entwined with moral education before Japan resumed its diplomatic relations with Western countries in 1868. As Benjamin Duke puts it, "[t]he Chinese classics set the agenda of the literary curriculum as a means to inculcate moral and ethical values essential for good government, according to Confucian teachings" (11). This notion was inevitably applied to English studies, as evident in the English preface added by Japanese editors to an 1869 English-Japanese dictionary:

> "The English language offers the readiest means of acquaintance with the manners and customs of the various nations of the world, and the knowledge

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> thus derived, by showing us our defects and how to remedy them, must be of utility to the Empire" (Takahashi, Takahashi, and Maeda n.p.).

The study of the English language and English studies were combined, and Japanese students conceived that English literature would be, in the words of Gerald Graff and Michael Warner, "a moral and spiritual force and a repository of "general ideas" which could be applied directly to the conduct of life and the improvement of national culture" (6), just as the Chinese classics had been. Shakespeare studies were no exception.

However, that was not the experience of Anglophone instructors employed by the Japanese government to teach English literature at the first Japanese university (the current University of Tokyo), which changed its name from Kaisei Gakkô to Tokyo University in 1877, was reorganized as the Imperial University in 1886, and then as the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1897. They began to teach Shakespeare in 1873, with guiding principles that differed markedly from Japanese ones and that proved embarrassing for Japanese students. A notable instance is Sôseki Natsume's (1867-1912) comments on Anglophone lectures on Shakespeare at the Imperial University in the early 1890s. Sôseki had studied English literature under the guidance of the Scottish scholar James Main Dixon, who taught Shakespeare, as well as the English language, from 1886 to 1892. Sôseki complained about Dixon's teaching methods:

> "He would make us read poetry aloud, read prose passages to him, do composition; he would scold us for dropping articles, angrily explode when we mispronounce things. His exam questions are always of one kind: give Wordsworth's birth and death dates, give the number of Shakespeare's folios, list the works of Scott in chronological order. For him, such an approach to literary studies was questionable: "Can this be English literature? Is this any way to instil an understanding of what literature is, English or otherwise?" He remarked in disgust that he "did not know the answer to that after three years of furious study" (Natsume 16: 593-94).

Sôseki's critical pronouncements show that Anglophone literary studies were not compatible with what he had expected of a literature class. Indeed, before embarking on teaching Shakespeare at the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1903, he had used the following texts as material for teaching English in higher schools: Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*, George Eliot's *Silas Marner*, Dinah Craik's Victorian novel *John Halifax, Gentleman*, and Philip Hamerton's *Human Intercourse* and *The Intellectual Life* (Kawashima 165). The former three works can be called *Buildungsromans*, and Hamerton's book deals with the way of living, with clear didactic overtones.

In Sôseki's mind, the study of language and literature consisted of learning morals through English. As Vilslev points out, Sôseki's notion of literature and literary studies "springs from a confrontation between Western and Eastern traditions of literature; its point of departure being the realisation of distinct literatures" (274). Indeed, he blatantly confessed his failure to appreciate *Hamlet* when recollecting his school days (Natsume 12: 207). Confronting this distinction between Western and Japanese literary studies, Sôseki felt the need to re-purpose Shakespeare studies when beginning to teach that subject.

Against this background, this paper aims to reveal that Shakespeare studies in Japan rose out of competing origins. As Graff and Warner put it, "[f]rom their beginnings, academic literary studies were held together not by any shared definition of literature or of the discipline, but by tacit social agreements that enabled incompatible principles to coexist in uneasy truce" (2). This holds true for Shakespeare studies in Japan, where, in the words of Graff, one idea about English literature was invariably "contested" by another "competing model" (55). I show that the crucial periods of transition and contestation in Shakespeare studies in Japanese education institutions were the 1900s and the 1920s. The first marked a transition from deference to Anglophone principles in the 1870s to the questioning of them in the 1900s. The other involved the emergence of Shakespeare studies as a specialized subject in the 1920s, along with its competing model—liberal education. What is crucial to recognize is that these transitions were not straightforward, but rather can be understood as a contest for supremacy. To shed light on these competing aspects of Shakespeare studies in Japan, I primarily analyze how professors responded critically to their predecessors and contemporaries.

Anglophone Principles

Although the department of English at the Imperial University was established in 1889, the teaching of Shakespeare had already begun in 1873, being entrusted to Anglophone instructors employed by the government. The primary method of introducing Shakespeare at the university depended on the foreign instructors. The first professor to teach Shakespeare at the university was James Summers—an Englishman who was appointed as a professor of English literature and logic in 1873, and who delivered lectures on *Hamlet* and *Henry VIII* (Toyoda 23-27). How Summers taught the plays of Shakespeare can be inferred from the examination for one of his courses in 1875:

> First Class: English Language and Literature.
> Write out and paraphrase the first few lines of Wolsey's address: "Farewell & c … as I do.

> Why is Shakespeare held in esteem? And why is Spencer less read than Shakespeare? [...] Give the characteristics of these writers […] Write ten lines from Hamlet's address to his father's ghost and paraphrase a few lines."
>
> Explain the expressions: —
> "I find thee apt."
> "Is by a forged process of my death Rankly abused."
> "The serpent that did sting thy father's life, Now wears his crown." (Tokio 105)

These examination questions involved the memorization of passages ("Write out"), philological nuances ("paraphrase" and "Explain the expressions"), and literary-historical facts ("Give the characteristics of these writers"). Although the question "Why is Shakespeare held in esteem?" may demand a bit more than philology, no evidence shows that Summers delivered lectures on the content of Shakespeare's plays or took any interest in their humanistic or aesthetic value.

Something similar can be said about Summers's successor, William A. Houghton, an American instructor who taught Shakespeare's works from 1877 to 1882. He used William Rolfe's American version of George L. Craik's *The English of Shakespeare Illustrated in a Philological Commentary on his Julius Caesar, Hamlet, King Lear, The Merchant of Venice*, and *Richard II* (Toyoda 28). His choice for the textbook makes sense given that Rolfe's editions had come into popularity in American schools as early as 1867 (Graff 39). Rolfe's edition of *Julius Caesar* is festooned with a battery of commentaries focused entirely on philological points and historical information, without making any mention to the meaning of the likes of Brutus and Antony's addresses to the public. This shows how Houghton also required Shakespearean texts chiefly for students to memorize grammatical and literary-historical facts.

More noteworthy, however, is that Houghton also required students to dismiss their traditional notion of literary studies. In 1881, his student, Shôyô Tsubouchi (1859-1935), who would later complete an entire translation of Shakespeare's works, took an examination that required writing critically on the character of Gertrude in *Hamlet*, receiving a poor grade on the basis that his criticism was moralistic. In his criticism of Gertrude, Shôyô had applied the Confucian tenets of "rewarding the virtuous and punishing the evil", a pillar of East Asian cultures when judging human behaviour (Tsubouchi 12: 345-46). Houghton was followed by Dixon, who taught from 1886 to 1892. The teaching of Shakespeare's texts thus continued to consist in students memorizing grammatical and literary-historical facts until around 1904.

Despite different ideas about literary studies, at the time, between the West and Japan, the majority of Japanese students admired Anglophone instructors and tended to reflexively and uncritically accept their new model of literary studies, at a time when the West was recognized as a staple of

progressive modernity (Takemura; Kawato). This adulation was prompted by a Japanese desire to assume a Westernized self-identity. Indeed, according to Europeans living in Japan, Japanese intellectuals in the 1870s earnestly adapted themselves to the West, so that they tended to be ashamed of revealing their past and history. For instance, a German doctor Erwin Baeltz stated in his 1876 diary:

> [T]he Japanese have their eyes fixed exclusively on the future, and are impatient when a word is said of their past. The cultured among them are actually ashamed of it. "That was in the days of barbarism," said one of them in my hearing. Another, when I asked them about Japanese history, bluntly rejoined: "We have no history. Our history begins today." (17)

In Baeltz's view, Japanese people were not concerned with their "history" but with the "future," namely a Westernized self-image. Such an attitude was observed in scholarship, as Sôseki bitterly recollected during his student days in the 1880s:

> In my day it was even worse. Attribute something—anything—to a Westerner and people would follow it blindly, all the while acting as though it made them very important. […] I might read one European's critique of another European's book, for example. Then, never considering the merits of the critique, without in fact understanding it, I would spout it as my own. This piece of mechanically acquired information, this alien thing that I had swallowed whole, that was neither possession nor blood nor flesh of mine, I would regurgitate in the guise of personal opinion. And the times being were, everyone would applaud. (Natsume 16: 593-94)

At a time when Japanese peopled tended to privilege the Western yardstick of modernization, it is not surprising that Japanese students automatically accepted Anglophone teaching of Shakespeare.

The Anglophone approaches to literary education in Japan were based on their own education. Anglophone professors had generally studied Shakespeare in their native countries during the nineteenth century. Indeed, their examination questions were similar to ones appearing in contemporary Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, which English students in secondary schools were required to take to measure their knowledge of literature, including Shakespeare. For instance, the 1904 Cambridge Local Examination included the following questions on *Richard II*:

> Explain the following passages:
> (a) Thy word is current with him for my death,
> But dead, thy kingdom cannot buy my breath

(b) My wretchedness unto a row of pins,
They'll talk of state; for every one doth so
Against a change.
(c) Bound to himself! what doth he with a bond
That he is bound to?
(d) Bearing their own misfortunes on the back
Of such as have before endured the like. (qtd. in Jones 121)

As Kearney puts it, "English texts, just as much as classical, could be made to yield a harvest of grammatical, etymological, historical and rhetorical material and thus be made sufficiently demanding for the classroom" (263). This similarity implies that Anglophone instructors recycled the same kinds of examination questions used in English schools that themselves had only emerged in the nineteenth century.

Taking the post in 1896, Lafcadio Hearn delivered a series of lectures on Shakespeare that were in stark contrast to his predecessors. According to one of his students, Hearn admired Shakespeare's unparalleled genius and did not allow his students to seek out the meaning of words, use glossaries or dictionaries, or learn Shakespearean grammar before beginning to read his plays for pleasure and personal edification (Kaneko 125). Hearn's attempt to treat Shakespeare as *belles-lettres* drew flocks of undergraduates to his spellbinding classes. However, his Spenserian view of Shakespeare might have given students the impression that, as Borlik rightly puts it, "Shakespeare's greatness is an index of the greatness of the English race." Indeed, the Bard's genius was ascribed to an "organic memory" that had inherited the "particular mental tendencies and capacity" of "hundreds of former lives." There is hardly any doubt that "particular" meant "English" (Kaneko 390).

Nevertheless, Hearn praised the "universality" of Shakespeare's characters:

> There is a common universal truth of human nature in Shakespeare's characters, which is independent of custom and country, and is therefore quite as much Japanese as it is English […] Should Japanese society so change its structure within another hundred years as to resemble the great Western societies, Shakespeare's plays will then seem to a Japanese audience quite as natural as a Japanese play does to any Tokyo audience of the present time. (39-40)

As Borlik puts it, "[s]ubscribing to contemporary notions of social evolution, Hearn prophetically envisions a Westernized Japan in which cultural barriers to the appreciation of Shakespeare have all been eroded" (393). If his genius were conditioned by collective memory, and that memory were universal, then the Japanese would have no choice but to conform to Anglophone opinions as a universal truth until they became Westernized.

This origin of Shakespeare studies was spawned by Anglophone instructors, who, recycling the disciplinary norms that they had received in their native countries, employed Shakespeare's texts chiefly as memorization exercises for grammatical and literary-historical facts with little concern for the content of his works, and praised Shakespeare's genius as a universal truth.

A sea change, however, occurred in 1903, when, succeeding Hearn, Sôseki became the first Japanese-born teacher of Shakespeare at the Imperial University of Tokyo, following his return from an official visit to Great Britain in 1900-1902, where he had studied English literature at the behest of the Japanese Ministry of Education. There he attended weekly private tutorials in London with W. J. Craig, who was serving as the principal editor of the first Oxford Shakespeare and had overseen the first edition of the Arden Shakespeare series. Confronting the principles of his Anglophone predecessors, to which he was totally alien, Sôseki came to believe that "universality was not a priori, but historical" (Karatani 12-13). Therefore, he felt the need to resituate Japanese Shakespeare studies within another framework that comprised neither the inculcation of moral values, nor linguistic and literary-historical facts, nor the adulation of Shakespeare's universality: he decided to look only at the characteristics of the work itself without any recourse to its historicity (Natsume 16: 180).

Questioning the Universality of Shakespeare Studies

In allowing scope for the emotional engagement of the reader with Shakespeare's characters, Sôseki used these more psychological principles to oppose the philological principles that had previously guided Shakespearean education in Japan (Uchimaru "Sheikusupia" 197-218). Meanwhile, another qualm he had coalesced around how Shakespeare was attended by notion of universality. This section elucidates how Sôseki responded critically to the presumed universality of Shakespeare in his teaching of the plays in classes at the Imperial University of Tokyo.

Sôseki's lectures were audacious in their attempts to engage with Shakespeare's plays independently and without excessive deference to received Anglophone hermeneutics of the plays, as evidenced by one of his students: "he neither had academic snobbery nor blindly accepted the judgement of Western scholars but tenaciously determined his own attitudes towards English literature, albeit not obtruding them on his students" (qtd. in Nogami 173). The students were also encouraged to "have their own opinions" about Shakespeare's plays (Komiya 17). Another student similarly remarked that "instead of boasting his knowledge by citing large numbers of the opinions of Western Shakespeare

critics, he tenaciously maintained his own opinions and repudiated the indiscriminate embrace of the judgement of Westerners" (Urase 102).

These criticisms coalesced around the Anglophone notion of English literature, particularly Shakespeare. Indeed, when embarking on teaching English literature in 1903, Sôseki harped on the difficulty that Japanese learners of English literature would encounter:

> There is nothing in common in the lit[re] of a nation with that of another, except what is natural & universal to humanity; while our task which is of primary significance in literary estimate seems to be most arbitrary & to a great extent national, if not local or individual. And it is a matter of course that we cannot appreciate the literature of a nation, with whom we have little in common, but as a foreigner. (Mori 1-2)

As there was nothing in common in literature between Great Britain and Japan, it was difficult for Japanese people to read English literature as the English would. To unlock "the treasury of a foreign literature" actually required "a key handed down from the ancestors of the nation only to their children". Without such a "key", it would be "next to impossible to try to criticise Eng. literature like an Englishma[n] as a Japanese" (qtd. in Mori 5). Therefore, Sôseki insisted on the right to read English literature as a "foreigner".

His questioning of universality sharply contrasts with Hearn's ahistorical view that "[t]here is a common universal truth of human nature in Shakespeare's characters, which is independent of custom and country." While admiring Shakespeare's dramatic techniques, Sôseki confessed his sense of Shakespeare as a cultural "other" in his marginal notes on the play-texts that he referred to, in which his gloss of Hamlet's "Now I might do it pat" (3.3.73) speech highlights disparate views on revenge by responding to Dr. Johnson recognizing the speech as "too horrible:" "We Japanese do not find the speech so horrible, either because (1) we do not have a strong sense of "damnation," or (2) we have a strong passion for revenge, or for both these reasons." Hamlet's motivation for (in)action was premised on a Christian cultural context foreign to Japanese Confucian moral values. Suicide can also be seen as a noble act, not a mortal sin, in the face of disgrace, according to moral codes derived from Japanese Confucian disciplines (Natsume 27: 351).

Sôseki's sense of Shakespeare as a cultural "other" is evident in the interpretation of *Othello* he espoused in his 1906 lectures on the play. He commented on the words of Othello, who has decided to kill Desdemona, "But they are cruel tears" (5.2.21) as follows:

> Johnson says that "I [Othello] lament the punishment which justice compels me to inflict". His interpretation is that, although Othello sheds tears, he seeks

> justice. However, I like to interpret this "cruel" as being "cruel" to himself. This is cruel to Othello, and, therefore, he sheds tears. (Nogami, *Natsume* 237)

In Johnson's interpretation, Othello sheds tears because he has to be "cruel" to Desdemona. It is dictated by the "cause" (5.2.1) and "justice" (5.2.17) of God, because Othello, who sees himself as a Christian, believes that Desdemona is unfaithful in a Christian sense (Honigmann 84). For Sôseki, though, Othello feels killing is "cruel" to himself, and therefore sheds tears. In essence, Sôseki refused to view Othello's act as dictated by God, which is alien to him, and thus related it to such ethical conflicts as may occur in traditional love-suicide stories in Japan. By implicitly or explicitly exposing Shakespeare's otherness, Sôseki elicited different interpretations from Anglophone critics. His perception of Shakespeare as a cultural "other" inevitably invited him to question Shakespeare's universality. If Shakespeare was not universal, then it follows that any literal understanding or translation of his words would become difficult for Japanese people to appreciate. This qualm prompted his critique of Shôyô Tsubouchi's faithful rendition and production of *Hamlet* in 1911.

Critique of Japanese Translations

Although Shôyô's first-ever full-length Japanese translation of *Hamlet* can be seen as part of an effort to transplant the play into a Japanes cultural milieu, Sôseki criticized it for essentially doing the right things in the wrong way. In his critical review entitled "Tsubouchi Hakase to Hamuretto [Dr Tsubouchi and *Hamlet*]," Sôseki first regarded the translation as "a model of fidelity and respect for the original text" (Natsume 16: 382-83). For him, though, the entire venture seemed ill-conceived due to Shôyô's lack of concern with Shakespeare's otherness:

> *Hamlet* is a play written three hundred years ago in England. It is unrhymed, written in so-called blank verse with five beats to the line. Based on their awareness of these superficial features, one can well expect the minds of modern Japanese audiences with regard to this play, whether appreciative or critical, to be made up before reading it. What I mean to say is that rather than reading *Hamlet* with a belief bordering on a superstition that its concerns are closely bound up with the realities of modern Japan, I prefer to take a more critical stance on the extent to which our emotions and interest are excited by *Hamlet*. (Natsume 16: 381-82)

The interrogation echoes almost verbatim the criticism advanced in Sôseki's lectures on literature. This similarity suggests that his critique was targeted at

Shôyô's "belief bordering on a superstition that its concerns are closely bound up with the realities of modern Japan." If Shôyô assumed that *Hamlet* would appeal to Japanese audiences when his language was translated faithfully to the source text, then he concealed Shakespeare's historicity under the guise of universality:

> I would state unflinchingly that a man called Shakespeare was standing up there and ruining all our pleasure. If the gap between *Hamlet* and a Japanese audience is to be properly closed, we should not need England or three hundred years of history or the poetic language or all those troublesome adjectives. *Hamlet* by itself is enough. (382)

Actually, this historicity ("England or three hundred years of history or the poetic language") led to "a discrepancy of interest between the play and the audiences:"

> If one were to ask the several thousand people who saw the production whether they had enjoyed it so much that they had lost all thought of themselves and become completely absorbed in the action, then there probably would not be even one who could say that they had. I have no doubt in my mind that there was such a discrepancy of interest between the play and the audiences. (382)

Such a discrepancy was further highlighted by the fidelity to the source text:

> [I]t is to my profound disappointment that it is precisely because the Doctor is so faithful to Shakespeare that he ends up being unfaithful to his audience. He uses not a single word or phrase to appeal to Japanese psychology or customs. To the very last, his distorted Japanese follows Shakespeare to the word. (383)

In Sôseki's view, Shôyô's faithful translation paradoxically highlighted what Dennis Kennedy has called "Shakespeare's otherness" (187).

Such a "distorted Japanese" brought "only a dim appreciation based on a deliberate adaptation of our sensibilities:"

> When I appeal to my experience, I learn that the realm of poetry created by Shakespeare does not possess that universality that European critics ascribe to it. For us as Japanese it requires years of training to develop a proper appreciation of Shakespeare, and even this is only a dim appreciation based on a deliberate adaptation of our sensibilities (385).

If Shakespeare's historicity "distorted" the Japanese language and required adaptation of Japanese sensibilities, then Shôyô was called upon to stop being a "faithful translator of Shakespeare" by concealing its historicity under the guise of universality:

> Rather than being a faithful translator of Shakespeare, the Doctor should choose between giving up the idea of staging his translation, or, if he is to go ahead with the performance, of being unfaithful. (383)

Thus, Sôseki's concern with Shakespeare's otherness spawned another origin of Shakespeare studies, namely adaptation. In short, through what Genette (304) terms "proximation," Sôseki called upon the translator to bring the text in closer proximity with the social and cultural conditions of his time.

Specializing Forces

Sôseki's new ideas concerning Shakespeare studies were, however, contested, or practically ignored as unprofessional by burgeoning specialists in the 1920s. This shift formed another origin of Shakespeare studies in Japan, which followed a similar trajectory with what Joseph North has termed a "scholarly turn" from "belletrists" in Great Britain and the United States during the 1920s:

> [I]t becomes clear that one side—that of the belletrists—is going to lose. They are determined amateurs in a game that is speedily turning professional. They are unscientific: in eschewing the world of "verifiable facts" and instead opting to commit themselves to the world of "interpretations and values," they seem destined to confirm to the wider university that their practices of aesthetic appreciation, in Graff's words, have "no objective basis and therefore [do] not qualify for serious academic study." (22)

The harbinger of academic Shakespeare studies in Japan was John Lawrence, the British philologist who suceeded Sôseki at the Imperial University and taught Shakespeare philologically from 1906 until 1916. Unlike his Anglophone predecessors, Lawrence was a professional philologist who earned an MA at the University of Oxford in 1898, after receiving his doctoral degree at the University of London. He treated Shakespeare's texts as opportunities for philological analysis. Although his lectures gained high acclaim among research-inclined students, they seemed to have dismayed those who had a curiosity to study literature, not language. For instance, a student's description of his *Macbeth* class gave the impression that it was so devoted to linguistic minutiae as to be insufferably boring. Instead of interpreting the plays, Lawrence only parroted the interpretations of other prominent English Shakespeare critics (E.N. 273). Lawrence was concerned with treating Shakespeare as an object of disinterested study and ignored all aspects of aesthetic or humanistic merit sedimented in the plays.

After Lawrence, Shakespeare was handed over to his disciple, Sanki Ichikawa, who became the first Japanese scholar to hold the chair of English

with the title of full professor at the university. He started teaching in 1916 immediately following his return from Great Britain and the United States and delivered lectures on Shakespeare between 1920 and 1927. Ichikawa's annotated editions of *King Lear* and *Othello* focused exclusively on Shakespeare's language, and offered a running paraphrase and his historical explanations of the language without any commentaries on the content of the play.

Therefore, Ichikawa was seen as disconnecting literature from its human relevance, as was acutely observed by a popular novelist, Ryûnosuke Akutagawa:

> Students will become totally at a loss in the study of literature if they want to study seriously. If they study English literature philologically as Mr Ichikawa brilliantly does, then I think it makes perfect sense. Yet, then, the works of Shakespeare or Milton cease to be plays and poetry, becoming simply a meaningless row of English words. (Akutagawa 2: 436)

For Akutagawa, Ichikawa emptied out the content of literature in the service of linguistic analysis.

Ichikawa was discharged from teaching Shakespeare in 1927, and the task was, in turn, entrusted to Takeshi Saitô, who wielded authority as the first native professor of literature at the Imperial University of Tokyo. Although Saitô also had studied under the aegis of Lawrence, he was nevertheless engaged with English literature (in addition to language). However, to his mind too, Shakespeare should be treated for literary-historical analysis, as Mukoyama has pithily summarised:

> [I]t was Dr. Ichikawa who left the old way of study of English literature which is commonly called the descriptive grammar and started scientific study of English language by observing the linguistic phenomenon as they actually are in their historical development, so it was Prof. Saito who left the then prevailing older way of study of English literature which is commonly called the impressionistic criticism and started factual study of the literature by observing the literary works as they actually are in the light of historical development of English literature. (124)

Saitô's "factual study of the literature" was crystallised in *A Historical Survey of English Literature with Special Reference to the Spirit of the Time* (1927), which many scholars credited with heralding the advent of English literary studies as an academic discipline in Japan (Okada 46).Thus, the scholarly turn under the paradigms of the linguist (i.e. Ichikawa) and the historicist (i.e. Saitô) brought with it a very clear trend towards literary professionalism in the 1920s.

However, this model of Shakespeare studies as an object of detached study was questioned from its inception, as a scholar stated in 1921:

> Scholars of English literature usually study it as an academic discipline, without any regard for their emotional engagement with literary texts. As a result, English literature has been dried up into something like a dried sardine. English literary scholarship has so far dried it even further, presenting it as English literature. ('Henhen' 63)

Such a sharpened focus of the discipline was further problematized in the 1930s, as a prominent scholar, Akira Honda, warned in 1936:

> Shakespeare scholars should not be confined to the small corner wherein they are active investigators […]. Readers of Shakespeare would continuously decrease in numbers if scholars still confined themselves to the small corner without any regard to something else. (111-12)

Indeed, another prominent scholar of English, Rintarô Fukuhara, pointed out that the huge gap emerged between literary scholarship and the interest of the general public since its specialization began:

> Although English literature was studied and taught in a more academic and universal way during the Taishô era, it ceased to be a real object of interest for the Japanese […] English studies were divorced from the citizens. They were increasingly specialised and divided into many small research branches. They came to be beyond the interest of the general public. (*Nihon* 29)

This disconnection between Western scholarship and the Japanese was disclosed by Karl Löwith, the Jewish-German philosopher who was a student of Martin Heidegger and fled Nazi Germany to Japan in 1936. He problematized the Japanese reception of European sciences as a form of intellectual compartmentalization—akin to a "two-storey house" with no staircase between a higher (European) and a lower, more fundamental (Japanese) floor:

> They [Japanese intellectuals] live as if on two levels [floors, *Stockwerken*]: a lower, more fundamental one, on which they feel and think in a Japanese way; and a higher one, on which the European sciences [*Wissenschaften*] from Plato to Heidegger are lined up. And the European teacher asks himself: where is the step on which they pass from one level to the other? (232)

In describing this intellectual compartmentalization as an inability to pass between two floors, Löwith criticized Japanese intellectuals' inability or refusal to connect European sciences to the Japanese way of thinking and feeling. The development of Shakespeare studies resulted in a great division between "the European sciences" and feeling and thinking "in a Japanese way."

Considered in this framework, specialist scholars accommodated Shakespeare studies into the upper floor with no step into the lower Japanese "living" floor.

Shakespeare Studies as a Means of Liberal Education

Prominently figuring among the critics of specialization was Yoshisaburô Okakura (1868-1936), the doyen of English studies whose commitments straddled a line between scholarship and education. He expressed his doubt in his 1924 essay:

> It's a shame that the so-called scholars and artists tend to neglect their ultimate goal of carrying themselves to a higher level. They are wasting valuable time studying for its own sake, despite the fact that scholarship *per se* is only a means, or a tool, to an object. In so doing, they consider their work done. Due to this, current scholarship gives me no satisfaction. ("Brown Study" 248)

Undoubtedly, Okakura voiced distaste for the scholars who were not concerned with drawing from scholarship any consequences for themselves. Therefore, he wished to shift the focus of scholarship from an object to "a means":

> [T]he scholars and artists of our country must seek to cultivate their minds so that they can follow the dictates of their hearts and row their way by means of the boats and paddles that they themselves have crafted. ("Brown Study" 248)

Okakura saw literary studies as a means of "education (*kyôiku*)" and "cultivation (*shûyô*)" ("Brown Study" 248).

Okakura also insisted on how relevant *Hamlet* was to "our own tastes" (i.e. the lower floor), rather than unquestionably accepting scholarship, in his preamble to a locally published edition of *Hamlet* in 1932:

> If our minds have not been cultivated enough to be emotionally engaged by English literature, we should be faithful to our current tastes. We should do so even if it has been identified as the flower of literature since old times […]. It is necessary for those willing to read *Hamlet*, whether they are Western or Eastern, to ask themselves how relevant *Hamlet* is to their inner reality, why the play is a masterpiece, and then to seek those answers in themselves. ("Jo" n.p.)

His claim was not that the Japanese should read into *Hamlet* whatever they thought would be valuable as a cultural property of their own. Instead, Okakura was encouraging the Japanese readers of the play to consider their own relationships to the texts that they were reading.

Okakura promoted this principle in his teaching of Shakespeare, apparent in a 1933 speech at the Shakespeare Association of Japan, the first formal organisation for the study of Shakespeare in Japan. He recommended comparing Shakespeare's plays with their Japanese equivalents as a catalyst:

> How can Shakespeare be made intelligible? An answer to the question is as follows: we had drama here in the age of Shakespeare. There are a number of similarities in the development of drama between there and here. What I find important is, therefore, to ask elder people, who are familiar with our drama, to gather further materials from other people as well, and then to infer from our drama what their drama was like, based on research on ours. In other words, it is necessary to draw a parallel between the West and Japan and then to undertake comparative studies. ("Achira" 47-48)

Okakura argued that Shakespeare should be learnt inductively through parallels. His students were, therefore, encouraged to listen to kabuki or a *Jôruri* recitation accompanied by a buzzing effect based on the sound of a shamisen (a three-stringed Japanese musical instrument), to facilitate the understanding of Shakespeare's plays. In Okakura's words, "you can't fully understand *Hamlet* without knowing *Tsubosaka*" (Fukuhara, "Wakaki" 116). His concern focused not on how the English would understand Shakespeare, but how Shakespeare could be made relevant to Japanese people (Uchimaru "Teaching").

However, when aiming at "education," "cultivation," or relevance, literary studies ceased to be regarded as being professionally serious. Indeed, what Okakura was driving at was similar to John Henry Newman's idea of "liberal education" as a formative power that could make the objects of knowledge subjectively one's own (134). Therefore, his idea was blatantly contested by a specialist scholar of American literature: "I couldn't entirely agree with Okakura's attitude towards and approach to the study of English literature" (Sugiki 264). Thus, Okakura's idea of Shakespeare studies as a means of liberal education was not recognized as being academically serious.

Competing for Supremacy

Multiple strands of Shakespeare studies in Japan contested each other for supremacy. While discipline-oriented research on Shakespeare still remains the standard for serious academic study in higher education, the audacious Sôsekian treatment of Shakespeare is resurging under the banner of "Global Shakespeares" studies. Okakura's emphasis on Shakespeare's relevance to his readers is now seriously considered by the scholars and teachers of Shakespeare in schools. These incompatible, but multifarious, principles have coexisted, while contesting one another, since the early stages of Shakespeare studies in Japan.

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Activist Discourse and the Origins of Feminist Shakespeare Studies

Abstract: This essay reconsiders interpretations of Shakespeare by Irish writer Anna Murphy Jameson and the American Transcendentalist Margaret Fuller. Developing an informal method in which the voice of the female critic rallies in defence of Shakespeare's heroines, they intervene in a male-dominated intellectual sphere to model alternative forms of women's learning that take root outside of formalized institutional channels. Jameson, in *Shakespeare's Heroines*, invokes the language of authentic Romantic selfhood and artistic freedom, recovering Shakespeare's female characters from earlier critical aspersion as figures of exceptional female eloquence and resilience; she adopts a conversational critical voice to involve her female readers in the interpretative process itself. Fuller, in *Woman in Nineteenth Century*, speaks authoritatively as a kind of female prophet to argue that women's creative reinterpretations of Shakespeare point the way to a revitalization of a sterile literary critical field. Both writers call for the reform of women's education through revisionist interpretations of history attuned to the representation of female exceptionalism. In embryonic form, these nineteenth century feminist writings formulate a persistent strain of socially engaged, activist feminist criticism of Shakespeare.

Keywords: Anna Murphy Jameson (1794-1860), Margaret Fuller (1810-1850), feminist literary criticism, *Shakespeare's Heroines* (1832), *Woman in the Nineteenth-Century* (1845), Romantic literature, Romantic literary criticism, Romantic sociability, nineteenth century public sphere

In 1895, Jane Addams (1860-1935) first addressed the Pullman Strike (1894) in a speech at the Social Economics Conference in Chicago. She revived the speech on numerous occasions between 1895 and 1897 (Knight 111). The social worker, pacifist, women's rights advocate, and founder of Hull House

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documented conditions in Chicago's slums—notably in *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902) and *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910)—in an "anecdotal style" (Crunden 66) that furnished material for professional sociologists. For her speech addressing bloody labour unrest, Addams looked to *King Lear* to read the Pullman crisis as the tragedy of the aging patriarch. By calling Pullman "a modern Lear," Addams comments not only on Pullman's need to exercise control over his employees but also on the ideology of benevolence he espoused—a generous impulse that nonetheless pits employees and employers against each other. She suggests that any adherent of benevolent paternalism, no matter how generous or visionary he might be, is corrupted by refusing "frank equality" with his men (Addams 272). The argument of Jane Addams's "A Modern Lear" culminates in the sweeping observation that, to embrace change fully, the workingmen of America must, like Cordelia, turn their backs on the noxious "old relationships" (Addams 279). For Addams, the conflict between the employer and his employees is presented on a psycho-dramatic level as the conflict between the father and the adult child.

Susan Kemp and Ruth Brandwein (343) have argued that feminism and women's social work in the United States share roots in nineteenth century charitable and benevolence schemes. We might trace a similar correspondence between Shakespeare Studies and activist rhetoric in the nonfiction prose of nineteenth century women intellectuals—most strikingly in the programmes of self-development they advocate for women readers. From the late eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries, leisured American women reading in the home—through independently designed and often idiosyncratically constructed schemes of self-improvement—supplemented their reading of Shakespeare and the Bible with the latest British novels (Kelley 154-155). By the late nineteenth century in America—the period of Addams's girlhood and formative education in an evangelical seminary—many young American Progressives would find in social reform causes an outlet for the repressed energies fostered by their strict religious upbringings (Crunden 16-38).

The Progressives' familiarity with Shakespeare assisted them in their efforts to find common ground with nineteenth century audiences and made the reform lecture of the variety delivered by Addams into a mesmerizing performance. In countless Gilded Age novels—from James's *The Bostonians* (1886) to Wharton's *The House of Mirth* (1905)—Addams's fictional counterparts signalled alternative routes for women's fulfilment outside of traditional marriage and spinsterhood through the emergent profession of social work. In tandem with familiar novelistic patterns, the Progressive reformers' habit of borrowing powerful Shakespearean archetypes to narrate their version of history as a series of struggles against the forces of evil, tyranny, and abuse—both material and psychological threats—supplied nineteenth century women

intellectuals with additional records of female strength and persistence in orchestrating challenges to authority.

The origins of contemporary feminist engagements and reinterpretations of Shakespeare are rooted in the even earlier efforts of nineteenth century female intellectuals such as the Irish art historian and critic, Anna Murphy Jameson, and her transcendentalist counterpart Margaret Fuller. Though Jameson's and Fuller's complementary feminisms have been compared by scholars previously, Fuller has not been widely recognized as an important voice in the early nineteenth century feminist criticism of Shakespeare. Jameson's *Shakespeare's Heroines* and Fuller's *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* turn to interpreting women's roles in Shakespeare as relevant and educative for their readers and vitally inform the second wave of feminist criticism of Shakespeare in Britain and the United States. Like their nineteenth century predecessors, second wave feminist literary critics described their enterprise as revisionist historiography that promotes "an understanding of the interdependence of the private and the public, family and society, work and home" (Greene and Kahn 20). Specifically, nineteenth century feminists' tendency to read Shakespeare's plays for the critical insights they furnished on women's psychology under patriarchy remains one dominant lens for the critical reinterpretation of Shakespeare from a feminist vantage point. The nineteenth century essays anticipate modern feminist engagements with Shakespeare's portraits of eloquent—and potentially subversive—female characters voicing challenges to patriarchal power. For Jameson and Fuller, Shakespeare's plays offer sites for the feminist recovery of unlikely sources of feminine eloquence and resistance, and the insights that the plays offer may be applied to the situation of their nineteenth century female readership. In this respect, these nineteenth century essays depart from any simplistic veneration of Shakespeare's genius in the prevailing critical idiom, as Shakespeare's female characters are reconsidered in terms of their analysis of power struggles.

Because nineteenth century intellectuals were inclined to read Shakespeare in explicitly moral terms and to take from the plays pointed lessons for the present, commentaries on Shakespeare reflect a significant feature of the nineteenth century culture of social reform with its focus on oratory. Unlike Emerson's and Coleridge's lectures, the early feminist commentaries on Shakespeare by Anna Jameson and Margaret Fuller that I am concerned with here were intended as guides and motivational texts for women reading *in private*, and, in this respect, they retain a conversational, improvisational tone and extemporaneous quality. As recent scholarship on "Romantic sociability" has demonstrated, a more accurate conception of the nineteenth century public sphere incorporates even the informal channels (Wallace 68) through which women writers intervened in the intellectual discourse.

Thus, Anna Jameson's extensive writings on Shakespeare's women illustrate what the dialogue with Shakespeare meant to nineteenth century women intellectuals, both with respect to their allegiance to the literary tradition and creative departures from it. Jameson's work, above all, is an astonishing piece of early feminist criticism of Shakespeare. The work is a *tour de force* that demonstrates her intimate knowledge of Shakespeare's heroines, from Portia to Isabella, debates male Shakespearean critics, and implicitly directs women readers in their desire for self-improvement. This appeal to Shakespeare pervades nineteenth century literature of reformists and intellectuals. However, to illustrate how the activism of notable nineteenth century women intellectuals was measured against their reading of Shakespeare, it is also necessary to place those women in relation to works by their male contemporaries: Emerson's *Representative Men*, Coleridge's lectures, and Hazlitt's essays—texts that attempted to conform to the patterns and rhythms of everyday speech (Gustafson 72) and the university lecture, all the while disseminating the Romantic critical idiom in an accessible style. For these writers. Shakespeare exemplified evolving Romantic conceptions of the artist and the critical spirit (St. Clair 140-57). In Hazlitt's formulation, Shakespeare "was the least of an egotist that it was possible to be. He was nothing in himself; but he was all that others were, or that they could become" (324). Hazlitt's words reflect the image of Shakespeare favored by Romantic critics. He is not only a rich source of literary interest but also furnishes a version of the artist as a self-effacing student of human psychology. Jameson borrows extensively from this habit of interpretating Shakespeare as one powerful source for the Romantic imagination by explicitly commenting on the psychology of Shakespeare's women in a way that was potentially emancipatory for her largely female readership.

In 1832, Anna Jameson published *Characteristics of Women: Moral, Poetical and Historical*, a hybrid genre of literary criticism that appealed to readers of her previously published collected biographies of women and announced the ambitious aim to render Shakespeare's heroines persuasive as portraits of feminine psychology. Both *Memoirs of the Loves of the Poets* (1829) and *Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns* (1831) had been well received by nineteenth century women readers, allowing Jameson to make a name for herself (Hoeckley 9-37) in the interconnected sphere of women's biography, historiography, and conduct book literature. Anticipating a wide readership, Jameson's text appeals to women readers on many levels at once, while dwelling on the psychology of Shakespeare's heroines and their enduring relevance. Jameson's tendency to praise certain Shakespearean heroines more than others—namely, Portia, Isabella, Beatrice, and Rosalind—illustrates how Shakespeare grants argumentative forcefulness and strength of conviction to certain young heroines and encourages readers to form attachments to these figures with an eye

toward self-cultivation along the lines exhibited by Shakespeare's figures of female exceptionalism.

Feminist scholars have commented extensively on both *Characteristics* and *Woman*. Though Fuller is not considered a major voice in feminist criticism of Shakespeare, Jameson's reputation has been salvaged by scholars who regard her as an influential feminist forebear. It is odd that these accounts dwell on Jameson's role in mythmaking, disseminating gendered stereotypes (Russell 39) and softening Shakespeare's heroines into exemplars of the nineteenth century domestic virtues. For instance, Julie Hankey (426) has been troubled by Jameson's unconvincing "idealization of Shakespeare's women" and circular reasoning. Though Jameson's method is innovative and informal, her *readings* tend to celebrate Shakespeare's heroines behaving altruistically, not rationally—a critical stance that is justified strenuously by an appeal to the sympathy of her readers. Her *Characteristics* is therefore often misread as part of the standard fare in nineteenth century conduct literature, compromised by her turn to feminine models of nurturance and self-denial.

Yet this first wave of rather tepid recovery of Jameson overlooks the novelty of Jameson's intervention in the Romantic critical discourse through her careful dialogue with male critics and through her tendency to celebrate the integrity and emotional authenticity of Shakespeare's figures of female eloquence. Jameson's text functions largely as a self-help manual that affirms Western culture's exemplars of female excellence vis-à-vis a rapid survey of Shakespeare's plays. Dispensing with academic formalities, Jameson's critical voice is at once colloquial and confident, illustrative of her deep engagement with the plays and her intertextual range. Thus, Jameson restores Juliet to a position of prominence among Shakespeare's female leads; her intense emotional responsiveness is not read as a sign of weakness but rather tied to a "singleness of purpose, and devotion of heart and soul" (*Characteristics* 131). Jameson praises Juliet's youthful warmth by aligning her commentary with Hazlitt's enthusiastic appraisal of Juliet's character by underlining Juliet's Romantic counterparts—Haidée of Byron's *Don Juan* and in Schiller's Princess Thekla. Jameson further insists that the true "French Juliet" (*Characteristics* 131) is not to be found in the pages of Rousseau's eighteenth century Héloïse—a text she finds disturbing—but rather by turning to the original twelfth-century nun Héloïse for a model of integrity and courage; as Jameson indicates in a lengthy footnote that severs the connection between Juliet and Rousseau's heroine, Jameson recovers the twelfth-century historical figure and links "her eloquence, her sensibility, her fervour of passion, her devotedness of truth" (*Characteristics* 131) to Shakespeare's Juliet.

With extreme care, Jameson champions "Characters of the Intellect" such as Portia and Isabella as paradigms of female excellence that women readers might emulate. Jameson's version of Isabella is that of a *portrait of*

feminine integrity whose "conscientiousness is overcome by the only sentiment which ought to temper justice into mercy, the power of affection and sympathy" (*Characteristics* 105). Here, the effort to align Isabella's perceived sainthood with nineteenth century conceptions of domestic virtue rings false. Though jarring to modern ears, such tensions recur throughout Jameson's text and point to the strain involved in clarifying her exact position on Shakespeare's women, while placating the male-dominated critical establishment. As an intellectual that must measure her enthusiasm against the standards of her era and social class, the commentary may not fully represent her authentic critical voice, but one tempered by audience expectations and what her own set of self-imposed constraints imposed by current orthodoxies would allow.

Jameson's Anti-Satirical Education

Jameson's successful take on the collected biography itself, and her appeal to a wide audience of women readers speaks to the nineteenth century reading public's interest in reframing the past from the "moral and picturesque point of view" (Jameson, *Memoirs* x). By broadening the possible subjects available in the "popular archive" (Booth 259), Jameson's writings opened the field onto a range of hitherto unexplored and unlikely female subjects for investigation to supply a series of lively records of feminine exceptionalism. This approach, in turn, established the scope and aims of her subsequent brand of feminist Shakespearean criticism. *Characteristics* thus marks a shift in Jameson's writing from one kind of anthology to another—from a catalog of historical role models to the more nuanced analysis of Shakespeare's rendering of feminine psychology.

The form of *Characteristics* is experimental, incorporating imagined dialogue with male interlocuters—both fictive and real. Conversations with Shakespeare's women generate revisionist readings of the plays. Through these negotiations with voice, genre, and intertextuality, Jameson deftly negotiates a prominent place for her book within the overcrowded and male-dominated field of Shakespearean criticism. Speaking on behalf of "woman" and in support of a code of feminine morals somewhat paradoxically upheld by nineteenth century traditionalists, she aligns her project with a humane philosophy that grants strong and eloquent women a broader sphere of activity. Anne Russell has suggested that Jameson's conception of "womanliness" is far more permissive than it is reactionary, incorporating both "the restrictions of ideal womanliness while still offering a potential freedom" (46). Jameson redefines "proper womanhood" as more emancipatory through her writing on Shakespeare and implies that freedom for women readers is to be found to some extent in creatively reinterpreting the classics.

Anna Jameson's collected body of writings furnishes, as Alison Booth indicates, "models for Anglo-American middle-class women's cultural quest" (264). The relatively early *Characteristics* anticipates later works such as *Legends of the Madonna* (1852) and *Sisters of Charity and the Communion of Labor* (1857), insofar as it equates the pursuit of culture with religious forms of veneration and prayer. Jameson addresses the *Characteristics* to a potentially wide readership—aspirational women—committed to restoring the "serious spirit of Christianity" (Jameson, *Characteristics* 52) to women's educational programmes. In eschewing fashions and trends in literary criticism, Jameson borrows heavily from the language of nineteenth century reformers and intellectuals to stress the timeliness of her cause:

> I wished to illustrate the manner in which the affections would naturally display themselves in women—whether combined with high intellect, regulated by reflection, and elevated by imagination, or existing with perverted dispositions, or purified by the moral sentiments. I found all these in Shakespeare; his delineations of women, in whom the virtuous and calm affections predominate, and triumph over shame, fear, pride, resentment, vanity, jealousy. (Jameson, *Characteristics* 70)

Her analysis of Shakespeare's women lends credibility to her campaign in defense of women's experiments with educational methods devised outside of formal institutions of higher learning. Further, her selected case studies seek to demonstrate the strategic advantage of women's learning in the face of external pressures, real and perceived attacks, and assaults against one's integrity.

Characteristics inserts itself into nineteenth century debates about gender through a pointed framing device that takes the form of a heated exchange between the personae of Medon and Alda, a figure for Jameson herself. Because Medon is a figure of impenetrable male skepticism, Alda must work hard to convince him that her study of Shakespeare's women is worthwhile. He considers it trivial, a frittering away of her time, "dreaming over Shakespeare" (Jameson, *Characteristics* 50). He urges her instead to create satirical portraits from "real life" that "would at least stand a better chance of being read" (Jameson, *Characteristics* 50). She counters with the charge that satire belongs to:

> A state of society in which the levelling spirit of *persiflage* has long been a fashion; to the perverse education which fosters it; to the affections disappointed or unemployed, which embitter the temper; to faculties misdirected or wasted, which oppress and irritate the mind; to an utter ignorance of ourselves, and the common lot of humanity, combined with quick and refined perceptions and much superficial cultivation; to frivolous habits, which make serious thought a burthen. (Jameson, *Characteristics* 52)

Jameson perceives in a culture that rewards verbal cruelty only bad faith efforts and shallow performances. She interprets the Romantic rejection of the witty, urbane fare favored in the eighteenth century as one facet of her feminist enterprise. Jameson decries satire—perhaps unfairly—to promote a new model for women's education, however. She thus dismisses the neoclassical tradition to link—or, in her view, simply to return—the pursuit of culture to more authentic forms of self-expression. Above all, she wishes to link women's writing to an anti-competitive, humanistic spirit.

Anticipating the quest for an authentic female voice in nineteenth century poetry undertaken subsequently by Elizabeth Barrett Browning in *Aurora Leigh*,[1] the voice of Alda in the introduction's frame debate stresses her anomalous position and solitary endeavor—as well as her vulnerability to swift attack. She also underlines the corrective function of the emphasis on Shakespeare's women. Alda refers her project directly to Shakespeare and to readers' attachment to Shakespearean characters; rejecting the weight of formalized critical opinions, she appeals to readers that wish to live vicariously through Shakespeare's memorable figures. Her method resists formal academic training, insofar as it combines "history and real life" (Jameson, *Characteristics* 55) to spur spontaneous reflection and unusually intense personal identification with Shakespeare's characters.

Alda defends her tendency to moralize about literary characters when her stern interlocuter, Medon indicates that her position is naïve and untenable. Her Essentialism, according to Medon's logic, fails to consider anomalous positions and dissenting opinions. Alda thus turns to the rhetoric of self-help to scold him:

> We can do with [Shakespeare's characters] what we cannot do with real people: we can unfold the whole character before us, stripped of all pretensions of self-love, all disguises of manner. We can take the leisure to examine, to analyse, to correct our own impressions, to watch the rise and progress of various passions—we can hate, love, approve, condemn, without offense to others, without pain to ourselves. (Jameson, *Characteristics* 56)

Alda's sense of the possible forces Medon to assent to her point of view. Her approach deconstructs the study of Shakespeare into a fine analysis of the emotions, a strategy that actively involves the reader's own psychology. The "leisure" (Jameson, *Characteristics* 56) that makes this kind of study possible is neither frivolous nor misdirected, fostering rather fresh readings of seemingly minor figures from Shakespeare's plays. Blending a colloquial

[1] Browning writes: "The works of women are symbolical. / We sew, sew, prick our fingers, dull our sight,/Producing what?" (Aurora Leigh, ll 456-58).

voice with encyclopedic knowledge of Shakespeare's women, Jameson's text inaugurates a modern direction in feminist Shakespearean criticism. Intermingling psychological observations (if somewhat amateurishly) with directives for aspirational readers, Jameson indicates how even the private study of Shakespeare forced nineteenth century readers to examine the reach of gendered stereotypes on their own cultural moment and activity, while extending her critique to a broad audience. Jameson's criticism implies that more traditional commentaries on Shakespeare—focused exclusively on the psychology of the leading male—might no longer engage a mass readership or heterogenous mixture of nineteenth century publics. Though her text eschews traces of formal academic training and coding, it prefigures the modern interest in somewhat arbitrarily resurrecting minor literary figures from obscurity, while labelling Shakespeare himself a kind of feminist playwright.

Jameson also designates her text a protected space for women to indulge in even exaggerated or highly idiosyncratic responses to purely fictive characters, aligning her reinterpretation of Shakespeare with a broader ambition to stir up her readers' "sympathy and interest" in imaginative subjects (Jameson 260). She interprets Cordelia as a "passive and tender" testament to the wisdom that suffering confers and compares her to "one of the Madonnas in the old Italian pictures, 'with downcast eyes beneath th'almighty dove'" (Jameson 260). The image of the Madonna recurs throughout Jameson's writing, signaling her attempt to settle on an ideal of feminine purity and singularity. She also counters the nineteenth century attack on the bluestocking to link real historical figures such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Mme de Staël to her reading of Portia. Alongside Jameson's central emphasis on Portia's savvy and knack for strategizing, Jameson's chapter on Portia asserts that an intellectual woman can also be "a trusting spirit," exhibiting "hopefulness and cheerfulness of temper" (Jameson 86). This pointed refutation of the pervasive nineteenth century image of the bluestocking as dour and conniving is striking; it also allows Jameson to gradually divorce the images of feminine exceptionalism she recovers from history from any hints of scandal or impropriety.

Moreover, Jameson's voice of female self-reliance and intellectualism—Alda—detaches the study of Shakespeare from formal strictures and paradigms, employing characterological rhetoric to position Shakespeare at the forefront of her readers' quest for authentic selfhood. At first glance, *Characteristics* appears improvisational, an incomplete performance. Yet if we extend Lionel Trilling's account of the distinctive features of "nineteenth century art" (99) to *Characteristics*, Jameson becomes both a significant Romantic critic and a feminist avant la lettre—both in terms of her dialogical framework and conception of women's education as a series of idiosyncratic responses to major figures and formative texts. In Trilling's view, the nineteenth century writer's assertion of "personal

authenticity" (99) encourages audience participation and strives for self-determination. According to this critical paradigm, "the authentic work of art instructs us in our inauthenticity and adjures us to overcome it" (99). Jameson's Romantic critical idiom gains further momentum, of course, in the absence of any one single teacher, guide, prompter, or dominant cultural influence, drawing instead from disparate fields that she attempts to reconcile to her critical stance.

Nonetheless, Jameson's *Characteristics* does exhibit considerable dialogue and concurrence with mainstream critical norms and inflections: memorably, the extension of Schlegel's desire to classify Shakespeare's characters, and Coleridge's assertion that we are drawn to Shakespeare primarily for the emotions, and for his representative rather than aberrant figures. For instance, she takes a Coleridgean position on Iago, asserting that the villain's "disbelief in the virtue of Desdemona is not pretended, it is real. It arises from his total want of faith in all virtue; he is no more capable of conceiving of goodness than she is capable of conceiving evil" (Jameson, *Characteristics* 64).[2] Jameson's repeated borrowings from Romantic critical discourse suggest neither repetitiveness nor deference to her more authoritative predecessors. Rather, the stress on representative figures and on the emotional force of Shakespeare that animated critical discourse in the early nineteenth century gives Jameson the confidence to present herself as a competent critic on the basis of this shared philosophical stance.

Jameson, like the Romantics in general, repudiates eighteenth century critical models, and the tendency to dismiss Shakespeare's female characters on the grounds of apparent powerlessness and dullness. In Jameson's view, it is patriarchal social arrangements that have stripped women of their inherent forcefulness, and any role that Shakespeare had in reproducing these arrangements is tied to a larger dramatic strategy bent on the representation of "nature" (Jameson, *Characteristics* 57). In the frame debate, Alda corrects Medon's tendency to rehearse the familiar consensus on Shakespeare's "inferior" women: "In Shakespeare the male and female characters bear precisely the same relation to each other that they do in nature and in society—they are not equal in prominence or in power—they are subordinate throughout" (Jameson, *Characteristics* 57). Jameson insists on the contrast between male and female deviations from rectitude through Alda's juxtaposition of Lady Macbeth and Richard III as illustrative of the "essential distinction between masculine and feminine ambition" (*Characteristics* 57), a theory that distinguishes daringly between Richard's villainy and Lady Macbeth's astuteness. In Jameson's view, "the consistent preservation of the feminine character" (*Characteristics* 58) manifests itself in the figure of Lady Macbeth who remains susceptible to the

[2] Compare Jameson's view to Coleridge's assessment of Iago in the memorable phrase, "the motive-hunting of motiveless malignity."

full range of emotions that Richard suppresses. If the extent to which Jameson's defense of Shakespeare's representation of inherent feminine principles is often strained to the point of illogic, her overarching emphasis on how a dramatic strategy facilitates a feminist challenge to patriarchal power is fundamentally sound.

Jameson positions her feminist reappraisal of Shakespeare most stridently against Samuel Johnson, both on the grounds of faulty conclusions and "learned scorn" (*Characteristics* 73). Whereas Johnson faults Shakespeare for inelegant formal arrangement and failure to produce a moral, Jameson rallies to the defense of Shakespeare's "anachronisms" (*Characteristics* 73) in terms of their expression of a higher logic and responsible engagement with the historical record. Thus, Shakespeare's portraits of historical figures receive a special note of praise from Alda:

> He has not metamorphosed Cleopatra into a turtle-dove, nor Katherine of Aragon into a sentimental heroine. He is true to the spirit and even to the letter of history; where he deviates from the latter, the reason may be found in some higher beauty and more universal truth. (*Characteristics* 73)

Alda's voice in the frame dialogue thus participates in wider nineteenth century efforts to recover Shakespeare from the eighteenth-century critical standard while also introducing an embryonic form of feminist criticism. Alda wishes instead to apply to the plays the same critical acumen normally reserved for "objects of faith and worship" that remain "eternal under every aspect, and independent of all time and all locality" (*Characteristics* 73). Jameson here uses Alda's voice defensively when responding to Johnson and the weight of eighteenth-century scholarship. Using this persona as a distancing device when choosing to develop the feminist alternative to Johnson and disregarding gendered expectations for historical figures, Jameson experiments with the feminist critical voice to counter Johnson's cool appraisals with Romantic speech to argue for the value of forming literary opinions and resolving conflicts of interpretation on the basis of "one's own individual taste and judgment" (Jameson 329).

Alda allows Jameson to use her gender strategically, presenting herself as an amateur scholar, at once non-threatening but also well-versed in Shakespearean literary criticism, and thereby capable of intervening in this discourse. Her evasiveness and refusal to engage directly with political debates is a striking feature of this strategy. She refuses to adopt a political idiom, instead presenting her feminist campaign through the layered façade of Alda's seemingly innocuous, often flighty assertions: "I do not choose presumptuously to fling these opinions in the face of the world, in the form of essays on morality and treatises on education. I have rather chosen to illustrate certain positions by

examples, and leave my readers to deduce the moral themselves, and draw their own inferences" (*Characteristics* 50). In this declaration to the reader, Jameson through the voice of Alda further clarifies her critical stance: she offers what are meant to be flexible guidelines for her readers. Jameson's text reframes the critical discourse on Shakespeare in terms of an evolving conversation among scholars and dilettantes alike.

Jameson's defensiveness about the relative informality of her project is apparent. The chapter devoted to Portia opens with a qualification that nonetheless signals her preference for female exceptionalism: "The intellect of woman bears the same relation to that of man as her physical organization; it is inferior in power, and different in kind" (Jameson, *Characteristics* 75). Jameson's critical approach attests to the value of dissenting from the weight of the established critical consensus and determining for oneself the precise value to be derived from the study of Shakespeare. In the ensuing chapter on Rosalind, she justifies her preference for Beatrice's forcefulness, while praising Rosalind's "superiority as a woman": "It is easy to seize on the prominent features in the mind of Beatrice, but extremely difficult to catch and fix the more fanciful graces of Rosalind" (Jameson, *Characteristics* 118). Jameson asserts that Rosalind's "softness and sensibility" (Jameson, *Characteristics* 118) eclipse Beatrice's wit but also that Beatrice's intellectual superiority is easily supported by textual evidence. Jameson recognizes that bold heroines who depart from the gendered expectations of her day could be (and, in fact, were) summarily dismissed by readers and critics alike.

For instance, Jameson perceives in Hazlitt's essays—praised effusively throughout her text and cited often as a justification for her method—a glaring deficiency that she finds impossible to ignore: in Hazlitt's interpretation of eighteenth-century texts, he expresses a marked preference for the demure servant Pamela at the expense of the controversial Clarissa Harlowe (Jameson, *Characteristics* 78). For Jameson, the recovery of Shakespeare's heroines is susceptible to similar challenges in the face of dissenting or skewed precedents; her undertaking must be substantiated by various means, by the persuasiveness of her own authorial voice and its explicit moralizing on the interdependent fields of feminine exceptionalism and perfection, and by a careful refutation of the arguments of other critics. Due to these contributions, Kimberly VanEsveld Adams has positioned Jameson's arguments in a critical conversation extending back to Mary Wollstonecraft and through the 1840s to Margaret Fuller. Rarely deviating from this premise, "Jameson makes her starting point the sameness of men and women as 'souls' or 'moral natures,' in order to demonstrate that her feminist beliefs are not contradictory but founded on religious beliefs" (62).

Set in this context, Jameson's text implies that the study of Shakespeare develops the whole person, preparing women most of all for public life and altruistic ventures. In so doing, she demonstrates how an engagement with

Shakespeare's women suggests a new model of women's education that takes place outside of formal avenues—one that privileges creativity, independence, and energy. In her championing of the usual suspects (Viola, Portia, Isabella) Jameson stresses intellectual forcefulness and argumentative vigor; and, in a memorable passage in her text, she lays claim to Lady Macbeth as a powerful figure of the imagination, as *the expert* on female suffering. For Jameson, Lady Macbeth is more sinned against that sinning. In downplaying the monstrous elements of Lady Macbeth underscored principally by Samuel Johnson, Jameson settles instead on an image of resourcefulness brought to the surface under intense pressure. Jameson also ties Lady Macbeth's perverse ambition to the impulse to supply what her husband lacks through the resources of her "splendid imagination" (*Characteristics* 358). Similarly, she finds Katherine of Aragon an interesting case study neither on account of her rank nor for her religious devotion but principally for her ability to exploit her modest abilities to the fullest. Jameson's Queen Katherine is not even remotely royal or formidable in the traditional sense: "The natural turn of her mind was simple, serious, and domestic, and all the impulses of her heart kindly and benevolent" (337). She is recovered here not in terms of her display of aristocratic privilege but in terms of an exemplary industriousness that prefigures Victoria; thus, Katherine's letters feature prominently throughout Jameson's discussion of Shakespeare's late romance of *Henry VIII* to promote a version of the "pacific, domestic, and unpretending Katherine" that is faithful to Shakespeare's dramatic representation of her (339).

In early nineteenth century anti-feminist polemic, the extent of a woman's learning indicated her presumed impropriety and monstrosity beneath the formidable bluestocking exterior (Polwhele 1798). Jameson's discussions of Shakespeare's heroines address the question of whether the early modern representation of female wit is compatible with nineteenth century conceptions of sexual purity and submissiveness. Jameson elides this central tension by claiming that: "Women … are by nature too much subjected to suffering in many forms—have too much of fancy and sensibility, and too much of that faculty which some philosophers call *veneration*, to be naturally satirical" (*Characteristics* 53). The text's emphasis on the socially efficacious power of female intelligence both reinforces and undermines contemporary reactionary writings, in which the bluestocking's literary activity threatens the social whole because their prodigious output removes women from the domestic sphere. For Jameson, however, the eloquence of Shakespeare's heroines enhances her plea on behalf of women's private study and reflection.

Similarly, her comments on Hermione defend the wronged queen's "consciousness of her own worth and innocence, and the necessity that exists for asserting and defending both" (Jameson, *Characteristics* 206). In impassioned language, Jameson translates early modern eloquence into a nineteenth century

conception of duty: Hermione's gender and integrity justify her defense of her actions in the trial brought against her by her husband. The assault against the bluestocking movement and the reactionary moment in which they were disseminated indicate that there was no fixed opinion on how women's education should be reformed—though women's pursuit of intellectual rigor is strenuously justified and modelled by Jameson throughout her writings on Shakespeare in an effort to counter the weight of the polemicists' ire.

Margaret Fuller's Miranda: An Intertextual Approach to Feminist Criticism

Whether she knew it or not, it is the American Margaret Fuller in her capacity as a densely allusive essayist who most fully realizes Jameson's vision for feminist criticism of Shakespeare, a version of which appears in fits and starts in the expanded text of *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845). Originally published as an essay in *The Dial* (1843), it is highly likely that Jameson read the revised text of *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845) and that it informed her later work (Adams 17-21). Constructed as a form of prophecy that takes root in the manic reading of canonical texts, Fuller's intertextual method yields a caustic feminist critique of a culture in decline, severely incapacitated critically, constrained linguistically, and incapable of reaching its immense potential as a result—especially for women.

The nineteenth century literary critical scene is demonstrably barren, in Fuller's view, given its failure to engage responsibly with the past—and with available discourses on self and society. At various junctures, Fuller's *Woman* extends the essay structure beyond what it can reasonably bear or contain within its rather narrow boundaries. Jameson herself called the essay "ill put together and … obscurely expressed" (qtd. in Adams 18). Nonetheless, at various points it is apparent that Fuller's attempt to unfold from within herself and from within her emergent critical voice the resources that her culture failed to supply requires strenuous effort—and one that cost her the enthusiastic and wide reception that Jameson had received in England in the previous decade. In Julie Ellison's words, Fuller's "abstruse research reveals the desire for the feminine soul in the founding texts of Western culture" (277). On the one hand, Fuller's frenetic reading attests to her unchecked ambition and confidence in her ability to assess the European tradition according to her emergent set of feminist values. On the other, Fuller's manic reading underscores the difficulties she encountered in attempting to square her activist agenda and feminist voice to the tradition—given even the support that Shakespeare and other models lend to her cause.

Lacking a tight structure, Fuller's commentaries on Shakespeare are interspersed throughout the text of *Woman* and reveal the search to find voice for her generation among Shakespeare's women: she settles rather abruptly on Miranda. In *Woman*, the Miranda figure appears not to second Fuller's rapid-fire survey of the American scene in the 1840s, but rather to challenge and clarify the democratic aims of the feminist critique. Fuller's Miranda is not a faithful reproduction of the dutiful daughter and model pupil in Shakespeare's *Tempest*—nor does she reflect an attempt to rank Shakespeare's heroines in order of their importance and according to their merits in the manner of Jameson—but rather a strategic reconfiguration of the Romantic critical voice and critical spirit.

A kindred spirit and necessary check on Fuller's pessimism, Miranda anchors Fuller's prophecy in the potential for female self-reliance. Fuller's experiments with the critical voice therefore carry Jameson's earlier critical engagement to their logical extreme, responding to the aims of a more ambitious and expansive democratic project for women's education. In Fuller's text, Miranda's path is unimpeded, for "not only refined, but very coarse men approved and aided one in whom they saw resolution and clearness of design" (Fuller 21). Correcting the errors of wayward, "coarse men" (Fuller 21) is one emphasis of the feminist critique that Fuller derives from Jameson, thereby deepening and intensifying the aims of the earlier model. Fuller shares in Jameson's mania to correct the negative weight of cultural training on women's psychology and intellectual formation. As the textual incarnation of "a dignified sense of self-dependence," Fuller's Miranda suggests that the feminist complement to Emersonian self-reliance takes root not in the rejection of the authority of the fathers but rather in revisionist readings of the feminine spirit.[3] Where Emerson calls for an investigation of the nineteenth century scene and an autonomous and independent American literature, Fuller suggests that American literature can emerge from readers' responsible engagement with the critical tradition. Textual "fathers" may be enlisted and positively reframed in support of feminist capability, and as key sources of the emancipated self. In the expanded 1845 text of *Woman*, Fuller's engagement with Shakespeare is extensive, far-ranging, and complex. The figure of the eloquent Miranda allows Fuller to arrive at a sense of the fundamental problem before her: "The difficulty is to get [women readers] to the point from which they shall naturally develop self-respect and learn self-help" (21). If, as feminist critics concur, Miranda is another version of Fuller, she also points to the inner resources available to particularly energetic and self-disciplined women. Jameson's *Characteristics* indicates what alternatives self-directed study made available to nineteenth century women. Her pointed rejection of the culture of public ridicule and

[3] For the fullest expression of Emerson's view, see his essay "Nature."

literary feuding reflects, of course, a familiar tenet of Romanticism. Perhaps even more importantly, the philosophical turn in Jameson's writing generates a muscular feminist idiom, turning women into collaborators rather than competitors in the pursuit of knowledge. As feminist scholars have repeatedly shown, Jameson's character studies of Shakespeare's women produce feminist role models. What is less often noticed is the extent to which these remarkably suggestive responses to Shakespeare's women speak in the language of authentic Romantic selfhood, to resist cultural training for submission and supporting roles. Jameson's method thus reflects the Romantic impulse to celebrate the powers of the imagination and to glean from Shakespeare's figures powerful models of feminine eloquence.

Jameson's text and its influence on subsequent feminist criticism of Shakespeare, and on the feminist recovery of Jameson herself thus point to negotiations within feminism over the methods that might turn Shakespeare into an ally for reformist and feminist causes. That feminists over the centuries from Mary Wollstonecraft through Margaret Fuller have showcased their learning by a habit of quoting from and reinterpreting Shakespeare may speak volumes about the trappings of patriarchal culture, and the anxieties that have attended female authorship in the past. To take one notable example: Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) has disturbed feminist scholars who distrust her tendency to place her work in dialogue with male authors in an apparent discrediting of her female predecessors. This approach, which suggests that Wollstonecraft's method is inauthentic and overburdened by a recourse to patriarchal authority, has influenced other feminists that perceive in Anna Jameson's writing a similarly banal conformity that is oversaturated in religion. Seen another way, the work of Jameson, Fuller, and other early feminists who have struggled over how to interpret the woman's part in Shakespeare, and what it might mean to recover lost women's voices, demonstrate continual reworkings of the feminist critique of Shakespeare at a crucial origination point for this strand of scholarship. The models of female self-reliance developed in Jameson's and Fuller's engagement with Shakespeare's women constitute an active site of resistance to customary forms and reflect a strategic renegotiation of what it means to engage meaningfully within an established critical tradition.

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"Not For An Age, But For All Time:" Autobiography and a Re-origin of Shakespeare Studies in Canada

Abstract: Despite independence as a country, Canada belongs to the Commonwealth and has deep colonial roots and the British educational system was key in creating Canadian curricula. Given the centrality of Shakespeare's work in the British literary canon, it follows that it would also figure heavily in the academic requirements for Canadian students. At the dawn of the Confederation (1867), the high school curriculum used Shakespeare to emphasize a "humanist" approach to English literature using the traditional teaching methods of reading, rhetoric, and recitation. Presently, Shakespeare continues to be the only author in the high school curriculum to whom an independent area of study is dedicated. The origin of Shakespeare in Canada through curriculum and instruction is, thus, a result from the canonic tradition imported from Britain.

This traditional model no longer fits the imperative of multiculturalism, as reflected in the Canadian Constitution Act (1982). Yet, with the appropriate methodology Shakespeare's texts can be a vehicle for multiculturalism, social justice, and inclusivity. In light of recent disillusionments concerning the relevance of Shakespearean texts in high school curricula, this paper proposes an alternative pedagogical approach that envisages changing this paradigm and fostering a re-origin of Shakespeare studies in Canada through an intentional pedagogical process grounded in individual experience.

Scholarship has highlighted the importance of autobiographies in the learning process and curriculum theorists William Pinar and Madeleine Grumet designed a framework that prioritizes individual experience. Our approach to teaching Shakespeare's works aligns with the four steps of their *currere* method, presented as: (1) contemplative, (2) translational, (3) experiential, and (4) reconceptual, fostering an opportunity for self-transformation through trans-historical social themes present in the text.

The central argument is that Shakespeare's text can undergo a re-origin when lived, given its initial conception as embodied, enacted narrative in the early modern period. In this method, students immerse themselves in Shakespeare's text through films and stage productions and then manifest their interpretations by embodying the literature

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based on their autobiographical narratives. To undergo a re-origin in the Canadian secondary curriculum, current pedagogical approaches to teaching Shakespeare require a paradigm shift.

Keywords: William Shakespeare, Shakespeare studies, Autobiographical theory, Canadian English curriculum, Secondary school, Literature

Shakespeare studies in Canada was based for decades on an inherited British curriculum. This paper examines the disillusionment with the applicability and relevance of these works for the contemporary classroom, along with the implications of retaining Shakespeare's oeuvre as essential literature in the Canadian curriculum. We begin with a historical account of the Canadian English curriculum, with special attention to the role of Shakespearean texts within a school system that has been transformed dramatically as the nation embraces a new reality—nearly unrecognizable from its colonial roots. This is followed by a discussion of the impact of Canadian constitutional decisions regarding diversity and multiculturalism that necessitate new approaches to Shakespeare. Although Shakespeare studies are normally connotative of a post-secondary discipline, we identify the origin of Shakespeare in Canada as situated within broader educational endeavours. Before it was established as a field of undergraduate and graduate studies, Shakespeare studies originated in the secondary classroom. It is in this broader educational sense that we approach Shakespeare studies in this paper.

We continue with an examination of autobiographical theory—an alternative educational approach that envisages retaining Shakespeare's work with the intent of imparting to students the inherent artistic value of his text, yet without compromising on social change. We conclude with a consideration of how this theoretical framework may be used to engage Shakespeare's texts in a transformative way and thus aid students in understanding the social issues embedded in the plays. In short, we advocate new opportunities for teaching Shakespeare to a diverse Canadian population, and suggest possibilities for reintroduction and a re-origin of Shakespeare studies in Canada.

For many, Shakespeare and his works are often connotative of white supremacist, heteronormative, colonialist, and patriarchal ideals due to the canonized representations of his plays. In reconceptualizing the origins of these texts, we endeavour to present them in the new light of autobiography and consequential education—an approach to curriculum and instruction that does the exact opposite of the stereotypes commonly associated with Shakespeare's works. Autobiography supports transformational goals such as decolonization, reconciliation, queer equality, intersectional feminism, accessibility, and mental health awareness, among others. As educators implement effective pedagogical

strategies, the process of reading, studying, and performing Shakespeare can once again become "not of an age, but for all time" (Ben Jonson).

Our paper advances autobiographical theory as a transformative collection of pedagogical exchanges that hold the potential to reintroduce and foment a re-origin of Shakespeare studies in Canadian curriculum and instruction. As historical texts become part of individual experiences and are intentionally framed as vehicles for social change, they can promote a cultural paradigm shift within the secondary and post-secondary contexts. Application of autobiographical theory to the curriculum and instruction of Shakespeare's narratives can, therefore, gradually reshape his texts to reflect contemporary social justice movements and thereby achieve consequential objectives inside and outside the classroom.

The Origins of Shakespeare Studies in the Canadian Curriculum

Despite independence as a country, Canada's colonial roots meant that the British educational system was key in developing Canadian curricula. This system still influences and is embraced by Canadian education due to Canada's position in the Commonwealth. Other British colonies, such as the United States of America, broke away from this model of teaching Shakespeare through wars of independence and created their own educational models. Given the centrality of Shakespeare's work in the British literary canon, it follows that it would also figure heavily in academic requirements of Commonwealth students, including those in Canada. At the dawn of Canadian Confederation (1867), the academically rigorous high school curriculum used Shakespeare to emphasize a "humanist" (Colarusso 219) approach to English literature using the traditional teaching methods of reading, rhetoric, and recitation. Shakespeare's works were also used to prioritize unity across Canadian provinces by using his allusions to Greek and Roman societies—both considered cradles of Western epistemology. In addition, Shakespeare continues to be the only author in the high school curriculum referred to as an independent area of study.

In reimagining curriculum and instruction in a much-changed nation, educators find themselves facing similar challenges to those experienced by social reconstructionist theorists in the second half of the twentieth century. Among these challenges is an issue that was never eradicated with the vigorous educational reform observed in North America in the last century: the disciplinarian tendency to regard certain canonized texts and the pedagogical methodologies involved in teaching them as final and immutable. This reluctance in promoting immediate change has often rendered curricula inflexible and learning outcomes either unmet or undesirable. While much of this tendency is a direct consequence of the inability to transcend the reductionism

and mechanistic perspectives of the Newtonian-Cartesian worldview as a society, education and its subfields have been actively deconstructing this paradigm.

The legacy of English playwright William Shakespeare is a prominent example of such a paradigm. His work has long been studied in the secondary classroom as a significant, and often unrivalled, specimen of English literature. The quality of Shakespeare's narrative and language demonstrates his keen ability to observe human nature and recreate it on stage. However, this ability has been shrouded by centuries of rigid pedagogies and overall treatment of children as nothing more than empty "vessels […] ready to have imperial gallons of facts poured into them until they [are] full to the brim" (Dickens 4), as described in *Hard Times*. Although this quotation depicts the average classroom in the Victorian era, ultimately this is the pedagogical model of repetition, memorization, and recitation that was inherited to teach Shakespeare at the turn of the twenty-first century and is still used today. Consequently, Shakespeare's work is often regarded as intimidating, inaccessible, and convoluted.

From Canada's infancy, less than thirty years after Confederation, Shakespeare held a prominent place in the Canadian education system. In his position as the Minister of Education for Ontario, The Honorable George W. Ross names the pinnacle of English literature multiple times in his publication, *The School System of Ontario (Canada): Its History and Distinctive Features* (1896), as a necessary and distinctive part of Canadian curriculum. During this time, to receive a first-class standing in secondary school students were to master texts from "the best English and American writers [including] The Ancient Mariner, from Coleridge; Evangeline, from Longfellow; The Merchant of Venice and Richard II, from Shakespeare [sic]" (Ross 76-77).

In the middle of the twentieth century, during the time Canada and the rest of the world were experiencing the horrors of World War II, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation decided to air original half-hour adaptations of Shakespeare's plays—in 1944 and 1945. The reason for this decision was due to "the perception that Shakespeare was appropriate broadcast material for Canadian youth" (Straznicky 94) that could bolster their educational experience and implicitly contribute to the war effort. These adaptations focus on Shakespeare's poetry and prose, not the plot, and all of the plays selected to be adapted and aired in this form were part of the secondary school curriculum. These included *The Merchant of Venice*, *Julius Caesar*, *Henry V*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Richard II*, and *Henry IV: Part One*. These abridged plays were aired during school hours on a show called *National School Broadcasts*, "Readings from Shakespeare," and had a small but very specific demographic. Although it is understandable that Ross and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation would promote British and American literature in the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries—since Canada and its literary scene were both in their formative stages—it does not explain why these texts are still

foregrounded in the Canadian secondary curriculum. Today, Canada has a rich and diverse literary scene, but most students are not exposed to the breadth of Canadian literature until university.

The famed Canadian literary critic, Northrop Frye, does connect the British-born bard to an element of Canadian nationalism. Published in 1957, Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism* had an enormous impact on genre studies and utilized examples from Shakespeare to clarify his points. Frye continued to use Shakespeare "to work through his theories about literature […] and numerous essays have made him a towering figure in Shakespearean and in Canadian Cultural studies" (Makaryk 18). A notable figure in Canadian theoretical and literary studies, Frye's impact on Shakespeare's use in the classroom has a direct link to his writings, popularity, and a sense of Canadian nationalism. Frye is still hailed as a hometown hero in his birthplace of Moncton, New Brunswick, where students will study up to four Shakespeare plays at the secondary level, and his "central critical insights are easy to summarize and share with students" (Hawkins 132) in both secondary and post-secondary classrooms. The claiming of Northrop Frye as a paragon of Canadian literature and criticism means that Shakespeare is also central to the Canadian literary national framework.

Almost one hundred and thirty years after Ross's recommendations were published, the texts he references are still taught in secondary schools across Canada. Most notably, Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* is still routinely taught as the Shakespeare selection for grade twelve in the Canadian province of Alberta but is recommended by the *Alberta Authorized Resource List* (2004) to be taught in grade ten classes. In secondary school, Shakespeare is either recommended or required to be taught both at the university prerequisites levels—10-1, 20-1, and 30-1—and in classes that do not qualify for university entrance—10-2, 20-2, and 30-2 (Province of Alberta). It is not only *The Merchant of Venice* that makes the list, but every other play adapted and aired by the Canadian Broadcast Corporation from 1944-1945 remains in the secondary school curriculum—with the exception of *Richard II*.

Other than *The Merchant of Venice*, three other works from Shakespeare's oeuvre are included for grade ten instruction—*Julius Caesar*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. In grade eleven, *Macbeth*, *Measure for Measure*, and *As You Like It* are recommended for the 20-1 and 20-2 classes. In grade twelve, the recommended offerings are *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Henry IV: Part One*, and *The Tempest*. Furthermore, according to the current *English Language Arts Curriculum* (2003), Alberta students are required to complete a twentieth-century play—by the likes of Samuel Beckett or Arthur Miller—or a play by Shakespeare in 10-1, 10-2, 20-2, and 30-2 classes. In 20-1 and 30-1 classes, students are required to complete one Shakespeare play per year at a minimum (Province of Alberta). Since many university English

programs are shutting down across Canada, it is unlikely that many of these students will study Shakespeare again in their lifetime due to a move away from incorporating Shakespeare's plays into first-year English courses at the university level. The belief that students need to learn Shakespeare to thrive in university is no longer valid and, therefore, brings into question the need for studying Shakespeare at the secondary level—especially if it is not being used as a vehicle for social justice and change. It is not only the curriculum, however, that is to blame for the entrenched bardolatry in secondary classrooms.

Teachers also contribute to "'Shakespearituality'—a unique regenerative energy which they strive to pass on to their young students" (Colarusso 215) in the name of tradition. The bardolatry is not, however, entirely the fault of the teacher. From the ease of access to teaching aids to parents knowing what to expect in the classroom, there is an appeal to teaching Shakespeare using the same plays and the same methods. When inquiring students question the value of learning Shakespeare, it is common to reference his "[i]nimitable poetry, universal themes, empathy for the human condition, and [his] profound influence on language and culture" (Colarusso 216). Instead of addressing the root of why Shakespeare still permeates the curriculum, in an age of change partially instigated by The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), Canadian educators need to decolonize classroom texts, the Canadian educational system, and their own positionality. In their efforts towards reconciliation and decolonization, educators must first critique who decides that Shakespeare's poetry is "inimitable". Then they must examine if "universal themes" exist in a multicultural Canadian context and for which "human condition"—British, African-Canadian, Indigenous, etc.—Shakespeare creates empathy. Finally, they must consider the language and culture on which he has a "profound influence" and if that language and culture are representative of the multicultural mosaic Canada claims to be.

A New Educational Model

Transformations in the economic, political, and social landscape of Canada that have largely occurred over the last half century have frequently posed challenges for traditional models of education. Consequently, the standard literary texts belonging to the Western canon no longer fit the priority for multiculturalism, as reflected in the Canadian Constitution Act of 1982. The Constitution of Canada is the overarching document that provides the legal basis for laws, bylaws, and institutional policies within national and provincial territories. The passing of the *British North America Act* of 1867 by the British Parliament (later retitled

Constitution Act, 1867) coincided with Confederation—a process through which Canada was officially established as a country. This document outlined the foundational approach to what was understood as the basis for social justice. Like other analogous official stances with a democratic political agenda inside and outside the Americas, the Constitution Act of 1867 results from the emerging sense of nationality felt in the nineteenth-century Western world. Despite its egalitarian aspirations rooted in Enlightenment philosophies of social justice, the first constitutional draft failed to account for a growingly nuanced social milieu in what would later become one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world.

Due to its lack of specificity regarding multiculturalism, the original Constitution Act of 1867 was reconceptualized as a new act in 1982. In its first portion—also known as the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*—The Constitution Act of 1982 outlines a top-down initiative targeting less privileged social groups and demographics in the country that were not accounted for in 1867. Notably, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was also constitutionally entrenched with this amendment, unlike its predecessor, the *Canadian Bill of Rights*. This means that "the rights and freedoms of the Charter would be superior to infringing legislation" (Tarnopolsky 167), protect Canadians at a federal level, and be subject to judicial review. Not only did this second act further protect the general rights and freedoms of visible and invisible minorities but it also impacted various specific aspects of life and living for these populations, such as policy making and education. The document also proposes that laws which are inconsistent with these new propositions should have no legal effect (Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms).

One element of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms stands out as particularly important in addressing the diversity of Canadian society. With regard to equality, the Charter has led to the recognition and enforcement of the rights of a number of minority and disadvantaged groups (Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms). This element from the second Constitution Act not only targets diversity, but specifically addresses populations lacking the accessibility and privilege observed among those who still benefit from colonizing efforts. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms also targets specific areas:

> The Charter protects those basic rights and freedoms of all Canadians that are considered essential to preserving Canada as a free and democratic country. It applies to all governments—federal, provincial and territorial—and includes protection of the following: fundamental freedoms, democratic rights, the right to live and seek employment anywhere in Canada, legal rights (life, liberty, and personal security), equality rights for all, the official languages of Canada, minority language education rights, Canada's multicultural heritage, and Indigenous peoples' rights. (Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms)

This section of the 1982 Constitution Act points to the need for intentionality in the implementation of diversity as well as to multiculturalism as a foundational principle of democracy.

With the intent to decolonize, and capitalize on the promise of The Charter, Canadian educators at various levels of instruction have had to reimagine pedagogical approaches, methodologies, practices, and theoretical frameworks to continue reaching all segments of the Canadian population. Education holds a significant potential for social transformation in the complex social fabric of Canadian society. The prospect of decolonizing Canada through education thus depends upon an intentional pedagogical endeavour rooted in intra- and inter-curricular shifts. This endeavour should necessarily differ from the traditional methods used to teach classical texts. While radical curriculum reconceptualizations were witnessed in various North American contexts and spanned a wide array of disciplines, the study of English literature has often been overlooked at the expense of meaningful student understanding of the material.

Ron Phillips (2019) suggests that provincial governments in Canada continue to have the most jurisdiction over educational matters, regardless of the imperatives contained in the Canadian Constitution. He argues that educational disparities and incompatibilities between provinces and territories work to the detriment of less privileged demographics, especially Indigenous populations (Phillips 4). Due to the misconception that the federal government has a lessened ability to interfere in educational decisions than the provincial government, local curriculum makers have taken multiple stances on curriculum development. Phillips states:

> The federal government has had constitutional responsibilities to First Nations since Confederation in 1867. However, for many years the federal government has chosen to ignore its constitutional responsibility in education because the establishment, development, and operation of an education system is expensive, requiring education structures, qualified personnel, and operating procedures. The federal government also allowed and encouraged Canadians and the international community to falsely believe that constitutionally education is exclusively a provincial jurisdiction. (Phillips 5)

This decentralized leadership poses an additional challenge for equitable efforts toward diversity nationwide. The impact of this multifocal regimen can also be felt at more rudimentary levels of instruction, such as catering for specific social contexts, lesson planning, classroom dynamics, individual needs for differentiation, etc.

Frequent changes in provincial government leadership as different political parties adopt a new mandate also pose a further complication to

educational stakeholders. Depending on the political party in power, the leadership dictates the desired outcomes of the curriculum, frequently to the detriment of minorities and marginalized populations. Budgetary fluctuations—in the form of cuts, removed support, and defunding of education within the province—are another major factor impacting the ability of curriculum makers to design feasible and sustainable outcomes, especially for Indigenous populations, high-risk urban areas, and isolated communities.

In particular, the study of literary works in Canada continues to prioritize authors in the British canon. The main reason for this perpetuation is arguably the retention of the colonizer's language along with the assumption that, since the main mode of communication has remained virtually unaltered, the traditional standards in place must still be applicable. It was not until the late twentieth century, and with the changes observed in social theories, that a need to reconceptualize curriculum approaches on a deeper level began to be more pervasively felt. In fact, some of these shifts only began impacting Canadian English curricula in the last few decades.

The widespread disenchantment regarding the validity of Shakespeare's work results in challenges to its pedagogical relevance in the English-speaking world. Some regional governments in Canada (CBC News Calgary; Simons) have opted to remove Shakespeare as a foundational text from the curriculum altogether (Brean; Province of Ontario). These pieces have emphasized the irrelevance of allegedly stagnated texts to today's classroom and have strived to overthrow them as a literary legacy that points directly to a colonizing pedagogy and is delivered in a colonial tone. This process unfortunately lies at the root of intergenerational trauma and pain for Indigenous peoples and other marginalized communities. Since the origin of Shakespeare studies in Canada is thus situated, a reintroduction or re-origin of these texts into the current social context is necessary to renew and reconceptualize their intrinsic literary and artistic value.

Autobiography as a Theoretical Alternative

In light of recent disillusionments concerning the relevance of Shakespeare studies in provincial high school curricula, this article proposes an alternative pedagogical approach that envisages changing the educational scenario that circumvents meaningful teaching for diverse populations. This general discontent entails a tripartite claim, consisting of (1) the inaccessibility of Shakespeare's language, (2) the historical distance between the narrative and the present reality, and (3) the inherent biases embedded in Shakespeare's plays. Yet much of the alleged stagnation of early modern plays stems from inadequate approaches to this genre of literature, generating poor student understanding and overall challenges with the language and semantics of the text.

In advocating for the continued significance of Shakespeare's work not only as intrinsically valuable literature but its original conception as rehearsed, embodied, enacted, and performed narrative, we point to the importance of exposing students to lived experiences of these texts. Furthermore, in emphasizing its relevance as a collection of narratives that still dramatically influences Western literature, we explore the potential applicability of these works to current social paradigms. With the appropriate methodology, Shakespeare's texts can be reintroduced as a vehicle for heightened multiculturalism, social justice, inclusivity, and change.

Reconceptualist scholarship in curriculum studies has highlighted the importance of autobiographies in the learning process. Reconceptualism, also known as social reconstructionism, is identified as one of the four waves of curriculum reform in North America and one of the most radical approaches to changing instruction. With its roots in social theories, the movement gained momentum in the mid-twentieth century and still instigates reform and change (Kliebard 154). Autobiographical theory (or *currere* method) is an all-encompassing theoretical framework that prioritizes individual experience (Miller 61). One of the hallmarks of the theory is its amalgamation of several reconceptualist social theories within and without the realm of education. It merges progressive tenets that stemmed from poststructuralism and postmodernism during the twentieth century and that are reflective of the philosophical, political, and social changes witnessed globally during this historical period with social fragmentation, cultural pluralism, and coexistence of differences. Autobiographical theory's combined use of postcolonialism, feminism, critical race theory, and queer theory, among many others, has rendered it a thorough and multifaceted framework with a priority for deconstruction and transformation. This theoretical richness and completeness is possible due to autobiography's focus on the self and its priority for the individual experience as a unique and valuable version of reality. In fostering heightened consciousness in the process of understanding external phenomena, autobiographical theory creates an opportunity for deeper, more meaningful, and lasting connections with people, events, and concepts outside the self.

Initially proposed by William Pinar (1994; 2004) and Madeleine Grumet (1981) in the 1970s, autobiographical theory incorporates four steps: (1) re-gressive, (2) progressive, (3) analytic, and (4) synthetical (Pinar 19-27). These steps entail revisiting lived experience, an estimating of prospect or future experience, a process of bracketing by means of inquiry, and repositioning oneself into the present. The theory proposes that students can grow socially and intellectually by becoming conscious and aware of their autobiographical narratives and how they inform their positionality. Since the *currere* method targets phenomenology and individual lived experiences, it enables instructors to propose intentional connections with the materials as tailored to the needs of

each student. Yet this phenomenological process does not need to be merely accidental. In carefully looking within, contemplating their individual story, and taking an intentional step toward self-awareness, students can become consciously sensitive to their biases as well as the biases of others.

The idea of consequential education can be combined with auto-biographical theory in many respects, chiefly in that both promote the teleological transformation and reconceptualization afforded by educational exchanges. Consequential learning has been defined as "an equity-oriented framework in which students create learning pathways to pursue what matters to themselves and to the communities they care about" (Kim 79). Autobiographical theory, in turn, investigates how lived experiences inform curriculum and instruction, thus impacting complex educational processes and the potential transformations therein. Hence, the two theoretical frameworks are complementary and entail a priority for individual experience as well as social transformation.

Shakespeare's work suits these goals in remarkable ways and offers a new way to situate Shakespeare studies in Canadian school curricula. First, his plays were written to be embodied and performed, rather than merely read. Students have for centuries been required to read, reread, memorize, write exams, and compose essays on Shakespeare's works without an opportunity to experience the texts thematically. Nor have they been able to discuss the social implications of the complex interpersonal relationships in them. The physicality of gesture, movement, and dialogue are powerful attributes of experience, which—in the passive, introspective reading of a text—lay dormant. Shakespeare's works do not have to be restricted to the written word but can be experienced as speech, vocalizations, and many other modes of embodied action that take place in space and time. When studying this literature, students should not only read and write about these themes and narratives, but should be encouraged to explore the text and their autobiographies in a multimodal manner.

An Autographical Approach to Teaching Shakespeare

The central argument in this paper is that Shakespeare's text can undergo a re-origin when lived, given its initial conception as embodied, enacted narrative in the early modern period. In this method, students immerse themselves in Shakespeare's text through films and stage productions and then manifest their interpretations based on their autobiographical narratives. When students embody this literature by engaging in creative adaptations, reader's theatre, and collaborative theatrical experience, they encounter a meaningful understanding of their autobiographies.

In following the first step of Pinar (1994; 2004) and Grumet's (1981) framework, a formal opportunity should be given for students to reflect on their lived experiences in relation to diegetic themes prior to encountering these as portrayed, articulated, and represented in Shakespeare's work. Virtually every play written by Shakespeare offers a variety of trans-historical themes that are paralleled in today's culture and society, such as racism (*The Merchant of Venice*; *Othello*), classism (*Much Ado About Nothing*; *Twelfth Night*), sexism (*The Taming of the Shrew*; *Antony and Cleopatra*), and ableism (*Richard III*; *King Lear*), to name a few. In creating a discussion of social norms, traditionalized behaviours, upbringing, religion, etc., the unique positionality of each student emerges. These themes can also be used as touchpoints to prior learning. Situating the current social issues of racism and sexism in the early modern period—for example, the association between dark skin and the devil or the banishment of women from the stage—allows students to gain the contextual clues needed for a well-rounded analysis.

Traditional stage productions of Shakespeare's works have evolved throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to include many forms beyond the traditional theatre of the classically trained. One of the most groundbreaking and diverse musicals to hit London's West End is the 2019 production of *& Juliet*. This musical suggests, through the characters of Anne Hathaway and Shakespeare, a possible trajectory to *Romeo and Juliet* if Juliet chose not to die by suicide. The multicultural cast also includes a non-binary actor, Alex Thomas-Smith, playing the role of May, a non-binary character. *West Side Story* (2020 Broadway revival) updates the choreography to reflect the cultural heritage of the characters and cuts problematic songs, such as "I Feel Pretty," to focus on the tragic aspects of sexual assault, gang violence, and police brutality present in the narrative. Finally, Reneltta Arluk's *Pawâkan Macbeth* (2017) is an important element of decolonization and reconciliation due to its Indigenous representation and retelling of Shakespeare's tale through Indigenous storytelling.

Educators can also use one of the many film adaptations of Shakespeare's text, such as *The Tragedy of Macbeth* (2021) starring Denzel Washington, but these should be selected carefully with the goal of using the representation present in the film to connect the secondary school audience to their autobiographical narratives through adaptation. For example, by using the Denzel Washington production, a black, male student can see himself represented in the character of Macbeth, who is usually portrayed as a white man in film productions. Film adaptations of Shakespeare's plays are released every year and there is a continuous catalogue of films to choose from. The advantage of using a production released in the last ten years is that students will be able to quickly identify with the characters and gain a general understanding of the plot.

These instances are practical examples of how Shakespeare can be retold as educators embark on the next steps of autobiographical theory.

By observing innovative productions, along with more traditional productions staged by Shakespeare's Globe or the Royal Shakespeare Company, students can analyze and understand the non-textual elements of Shakespeare's text that originate in the theatre. Educators can also access resources to accompany these productions in their classrooms, such as the *Anti-Racist Shakespeare* seminars, which are hosted by Shakespeare's Globe and include scholars from around the world for their students. Organized every few months, these seminars are connected to a current Shakespeare's Globe production in London, England. They invite the director of the current production along with Shakespearean scholars who specialize in that particular play or the themes therein to an hour-long discussion. Despite the various levels of institutionalized Shakespeare studies, including post-secondary education and academia, engaging scholarly anti-racist discourses broadens the perspectives of educators and students as to how Shakespeare's plays can be re-presented in the twenty-first century. New seminars are uploaded to YouTube regularly and they currently have recordings of seminars on *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet*, *Measure for Measure*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Tempest*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *King Lear*, *Julius Caesar*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for students to view and educators to use in their classrooms. The professional recordings of the productions—along with the directorial, anti-racist insights from the seminars—help students identify the non-textual elements of the plays while fostering the creativity of interpretation. Since Shakespeare did not include stage directions, set design, costume choices, or sheet music in any of his texts, there is considerable room for interpretation. These interpretative choices infuse meaning into the text based on diverse voices, different perspectives, and autobiographical experiences. If students observe a variety of productions, the textual commonalities between them become evident.

Next, students can interact directly with Shakespeare's text and design a character encounter that allows them to layer their analysis with an embodiment of the narrative. The space for this interaction is varied and can be adapted based on the resources available. Some instructors may only require only a classroom space. Alternatively, students can bring Shakespeare's texts to life in a theatre with costumes, lights, music, and choreography. On a smaller scale, creative adaptations are one of the most accessible ways for students to engage with Shakespeare's narrative and their individual autobiographies. For example, a student may choose to rewrite Hamlet's "Get thee to a nunnery" speech (3.1.131) from Ophelia's perspective using a feminist voice. Another student may choose to translate King Lear's grief over Cordelia's death into a photo essay as a method of catharsis to grieve the loss of their own loved one.

Another method of analytical interaction is reader's theatre, which allows students to interact with the play without having to read the daunting early modern text on their own. In being assigned a role, each student steps into a character and portrays the character's voice as their own. This amalgamation of student and character can lead to a disparity between the character's language and the student's positionality. It is in these teachable moments that the instructor can address and discuss difficult topics such as racism, sexism, ableism, etc., and ask students to analyze why they may be uneasy. Students must decide how to *re*-present the problematic language and topics ingrained in the play based on their own autobiographical narratives. While standardized pedagogical techniques allow for these experiences only through reading and writing assignments, reader's theatre engages students visually, auditorily, and kinesthetically, thus creating a stronger reconnection to the material and the themes therein.

This analytical process is indispensable to all performance-based activities and may include the preparation of monologues, scene work, or a full production experience. Cross-curricular collaboration with educators in the fields of drama, art, history, and English can create an even more well-rounded, well-informed production experience for students. These performance-based activities are a far more intimate engagement with the text than creative adaptations and reader's theatre. Students are able to fully embody not only a character's voice, but also their movements, dress, and interpersonal interactions. This lived experience allows students to face the biases in the world as well as their own. In order to portray their character with purpose and interact with those around them, they must address these biases, synthesizing their autobiographical narratives with the text to reconceptualize the character in a unique way.

The synthetical step in the *currere* method, which denotes the process of reconnection with the immediacy of one's surroundings, is understood in phenomenology as the living present. After the analysis and embodiment of the text, students re-enter the present with a new perspective and "recognize […] the role played by the individual as well as the individual's social environment in the knowledge production process" (Horn Jr. 507). Shakespeare's text is not only reshaped by students' autobiographical experiences but becomes a deliberate and intentional part of their autobiographical narrative. This is demonstrated as a reconceptualized living present and can be displayed in either the private or public sphere.

From a theatrical perspective, students may choose to engage in the public performance of monologues, scene work, or theatrical productions. These options allow a broad audience to enter into the students' reconceptualized narratives and gaze upon their choices in a collective living present. For example, gender may be addressed by gender-swapping a character, by the

character being embodied by a person of a different gender, or by creating a non-binary role. At the current socio-historical juncture in Canadian society, the *re*-presentation of Shakespeare would not only allows students to discuss ubiquitous themes such as racism, sexism, classism, and ableism in the classroom but also carries the potential for conversations regarding these important societal issues among an extended audience.

Conclusion

To survive the changes in the Canadian socio-cultural context over the last several decades and the implications they have generated for curriculum, current pedagogical approaches to teaching Shakespeare need to undergo a paradigm shift. In the specific Canadian context and the role of colonialism in shaping traditionalized curricula, his plays are increasingly irrelevant to many Canadians when taught by means of traditional pedagogies imported from the British educational system. The retention of Shakespeare as a foundational text in Canada also hinges on deeper issues of identity and belonging that may only be appropriately understood through the lenses of a postcolonial undertaking. Autobiographical theory offers a pedagogy based on individual experiences as a means for students and instructors to reconnect with these texts and promote a new origin of Shakespearean studies in the Canadian curriculum. The impact of colonialism on the canonizing of texts and the crystalizing of pedagogical methods has also rendered the engagement with Shakespeare's works sterile and passive—a genre of literature that can be holistically understood only when lived rather than read, repeated, memorized, and recited.

Jacques famously states in *As You Like It* that "[a]ll the world's a stage, / and all the men and women merely players" (2.7.146-147). The same principle proves true in secondary classrooms. Students and educators are the storytellers of their autobiographies and it is only through intentional contemplation, translation, experience, and reconceptualization of narratives that transformation is possible. In contemplating the origins of Shakespeare studies in Canadian education and allowing for its re-origins, teachers are invited to re-engage his work. When Shakespeare's plays continue to be taught as read, stagnated text and without intentional autobiographical connections, the relevancy of his work to a postmodern classroom becomes a matter for educational concern. This traditional approach only solidifies and perpetuates the biases contained within a foundational text in Western literature. Alternatively, the autobiographical and consequential approach to curriculum and instruction can support social justice goals in classrooms and communities, thus promoting a trans-historical understanding of society with attention to change and healing. As Canadian educators implement autobiographical theory as a method of learning Shakespeare,

the process of reading, studying, and performing his works re-originates his legacy in a way that transforms both instructor and student, thus achieving consequential objectives inside and outside the classroom.

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From Metaphor to Metonym: Shakespearean Recognition in the United States University

Abstract: This essay historicizes the Shakespeare curriculum at UC Berkeley's English department over the last one hundred years. An elite research university in the United States, UC Berkeley's extensive course offerings have expanded due to changes in undergraduate education and external cultural shifts. With a growing number of courses on sexuality, race, gender, etc., that became part of the purview of an English department, the teaching of Shakespeare expanded as well. I demonstrate how the emphasis on Shakespeare in the U.S. undergraduate curriculum shifts over time from one form of recognition—an acknowledgement of his value or worth—to a recognition of identifying with his work based on prior experience. Distinguishing between courses that combine "Shakespeare and" and those that combine "Literature and," I expose the consequences each has for the canonicity of both Shakespeare and subject fields with which his works are placed in conversation, explicitly and implicitly. I argue that the expansion of Shakespeare in the American undergraduate curriculum coincides with and depends on the compression of key aspects of interpretation that pose challenges for the new knowledges it seeks to create. I illuminate how an expanded Shakespeare curriculum saw a compression of Shakespeare into metonymic mythic status, which has implications for the teaching of literature from various identity and cultural groups. I demonstrate how the origins of an expansive undergraduate Shakespeare curriculum in the United States positions Shakespeare as the interlocutor for a wide range of topics.

Keywords: Shakespeare, Berkeley, college curriculum, English major, canonization, recognition, metonym

At the first meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America (SAA) in 1973, scholar R.L. Widmann chaired a panel entitled, "Shakespeare and the Computer" ("Shakespeare Association of America"). The scholars on the panel delivered

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papers about how this once-modern technology could be used in conjunction with Shakespeare Studies. Amidst panels about pedagogy, textual studies, and various critical approaches, this forward-looking panel put Shakespeare in conversation with a twentieth-century invention, ostensibly to create new knowledges about Shakespeare, computers, or the conjunction of the two. By 1976, SAA included panels and discussions on psychology, film, translation, and international Shakespeares.

Today, Shakespeare Studies has expanded well beyond the purview of early modern literature, theatre, and culture to place Shakespeare in conversation with new theories, technologies, methodologies, and cultural perspectives—just about anything. This paper examines the origins of an expansive undergraduate Shakespeare curriculum in the United States and how it positions Shakespeare as *the* interlocutor for a wide range of topics. In the United States, Shakespeare Studies has been largely located in English departments, with Theatre departments founded from the mid-nineteenth century forward as professional schools, oftentimes structurally and theoretically distinct. While numerous factors outside undergraduate education inform Shakespeare's status within U.S. educational culture, the expansion that a wide-ranging undergraduate Shakespeare curriculum fosters is simultaneously a compression of Shakespearean meaning that extends the reach of his canonicity. I argue that the expansion of Shakespeare in the American undergraduate curriculum coincides with—and in fact depends on—the compression of key aspects of interpretation that pose challenges for the new knowledges it seeks to create.[1] This has come about, I argue, as the teaching of Shakespeare has harnessed his global and long-term cultural authority to use the plays to teach "Shakespeare and" an ensemble of other subjects—often to the benefit of both, but not without a diminution of meaning.

From Metaphor to Metonym

In Augusto Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1974 in Spanish, 1979 in English), he credits Shakespeare with moving away from typology and abstraction to characterization (Boal 64). The early modern idea of personation "was a new form of characterization" (Mullaney 102), and today's acting approaches to Shakespeare align with Boal's contention and depict Shakespeare's characters

[1] Scholars have argued that newer theoretical lenses depend on a compression of possible interpretive meanings of Shakespeare's works. For example, in 1993, Paul A. Cantor declaimed the resulting minimization of Shakespeare's universality as a consequence of New Historicism.

through "emotional-realist acting" (Mazer).[2] Boal's assertion that the poetical construction of Shakespeare's characters allows for more rounded characters than those of his predecessors has been the subject of much scholarship and one of the reasons for Shakespeare's enduring popularity in the theatre and on film.

But by the twenty-first century, and especially for students, Shakespeare's characters have colloquially become metonym for the abstract: Romeo as love or young love, Othello as jealousy, Hamlet as indecision. These concepts are not monolithic; Guisela Latorre defines abstraction as "not a unitary concept, but a situation of malleable and situated knowledges adaptable to our individual and subjective collectivities" (Gutierrez). Interpretations of these characters' primary attributes have shifted over time, as Shakespeare's plays moved beyond vehicles used in the classroom to teach moral, rhetorical, and poetical excellence to metonym of what his characters, his stories, and his own persona represents today.

The abstracted and somewhat simplistic shorthand that Shakespeare connotes today developed gradually over the last century. This dualistic expansion of Shakespeare into all modes of narrative while simultaneously compressing interpretations of his works stems from a desire for recognition. Recognition has two primary definitions: acknowledgement of value or worth and the identification of someone or something based on prior experience.[3] The initial draw for Shakespeare's inclusion in the undergraduate curriculum in the U.S. was due largely to the former definition; this value is crucial to Shakespeare as canonical.[4] But what has developed over time is primarily the latter form of recognition. As Shakespeare is taught in high schools and even in some elementary schools, and adapted to be performed for younger audiences, by the time students reach the university level, he is both familiar to students yet retains an elevated status, causing many university instructors to negotiate prior instructors' Shakespearean teachings—challenging students with new and unfamiliar interpretations—in a recursive cycle of learning and re-learning.[5]

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[2] Mazer's critique of "Stanislavski 2.0" addresses the consequences of such acting approaches for Shakespeare. See also Dawson on early modern personation.

[3] Per *The Oxford English Dictionary*, these are the "Acknowledgement of something as true, valid, legal, or worthy of consideration" ("recognition" 3a), and "The action or an act of identifying a person or thing from a previous encounter or knowledge" ("recognition" 8a).

[4] Aleida Assmann notes, "Elements of the canon are marked by three qualities: selection, value, and duration." (100).

[5] See Burton, Coeyman, and Haughey for Shakespeare in secondary education. To note, Shakespeare is the only author who is required in Common Core standards, which were adopted for California secondary education in 2010. When people other than Shakespeare scholars say they are familiar with Shakespeare, they are often referring to at most eight of his plays.

I turn my attention here to the origins, and consequences, of an expanded Shakespeare curriculum that over the last century saw a compression of Shakespeare into metonymic mythic status.

To evaluate this premise, I look to the curricular changes within the English department at the University of California, Berkeley, over the last one hundred years as an indicator of cultural shifts in undergraduate education on Shakespeare. The University of California, Berkeley, was established in 1868 as the original University of California. As one of ten campuses in today's University of California system, it stands alongside UCLA (Los Angeles), UCSD (San Diego), and UCI (Irvine) as consistently one of the top-ranked universities and always among the preeminent public universities in the country. Notably, Berkeley is one of the few top twenty-five English departments to still require Shakespeare for undergraduate majors, as it has for over one hundred years.[6] With a lengthy history (by American terms) and a large undergraduate population, the changes in curriculum over the last century provide a window into the motivations and consequences for the position of Shakespeare in the American undergraduate curriculum, even in departments without Berkeley's reputation and breadth of course offerings.

Using changes in undergraduate education as an insight into larger cultural consequences is laden with methodological pitfalls.[7] With over 2,800 four-year colleges and universities (those that grant an undergraduate Bachelor's degree), generalisations about American undergraduate education are often comprised of conventional (and oftentimes faulty) anecdotes that cannot and should not be extrapolated to all U.S. colleges and universities.[8]

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[6] "Of the top twenty-five national universities (as ranked in the *U.S. News and World Report*), only Harvard and Berkeley explicitly require Shakespeare, and of the top twenty-five liberal-arts colleges, only Wellesley and the US Naval Academy do so" (Maxwell 67).

[7] For this reason, scholarship on Shakespeare curricula often focuses on a singular university. See *Shakespeare on the University Stage* (ed. Andrew James Hartley) for many excellent examples of this type of research. In 1997, Bruce R. Smith evaluated the changes to the curriculum, the rationale for those changes, and the (sometimes adversarial) responses to the changes during his twenty-five years as a professor at Georgetown University. More recently, in 2020, Lynn Maxwell writes about teaching Shakespeare at Spelman College, a Historically Black College and University (HBCU) and historicizes a professor's rationale for teaching Shakespeare to Atlanta University students more than one hundred years earlier. For a history of how Shakespeare criticism became part of academic scholarship in the United States, see Bayer.

[8] Paul Menzer refers collectively to "Campus Shakespeare" based on anecdotal suppositions about the entirety of U.S. university curricula.

My attention to Berkeley is twofold: to investigate its curricular changes as a top-tier research intensive university that has had a Shakespeare requirement for English majors for over a century, and to mark how strategies for "Shakespeare and" within university curricula became an origin point for Shakespeare's metonymic value in US culture. Resources and curricula vary drastically by state with public universities reliant on state funds and significant government pressure to reduce student tuition while private universities have a considerable donor base and the latitude to charge significantly higher tuition. Other factors that influence curricula include the resources of public state university systems, the presence of two-year colleges that award Associates' degrees and enable Bachelors' students to complete lower-division requirements at a fraction of the cost, the cost of housing and expenses in the location of the university, and the value of the Arts and Humanities to university administration. Again, Berkeley is an anomaly based on the size of its English department, its national ranking, and its Shakespeare requirement and course offerings, but it provides a long-form case study of how Shakespeare's purview within the English major can work alongside a growing and diverse curriculum.

I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the importance of individual scholars who have comprised the faculty at Berkeley over the years.[9] In the United States, the curriculum is developed and approved by the faculty with near-absolute autonomy for the selection of readings, assessment, and teaching methods. Yet it would be methodologically questionable to ascribe sustained changes in curriculum and influence over the direction of the undergraduate major to any one faculty member, and perhaps even to a group of faculty, in isolation from larger changes to the department, university, literary studies, and artistic and theoretical movements—though several of Berkeley's faculty founded and shaped these movements. Not all faculty have ongoing, direct influence over departmental course offerings, teach their areas of specialisation, or make their research explicit in the undergraduate classroom.[10] Even at elite universities, faculty are not immune from national disciplinary trends; the way they stay elite is by not straying too far from the current norm, even if they gain the reputation for being trendsetters.

[9] Some notable long-time faculty focused on early modern studies and/or critical theory from the last fifty years include: Janet Adelman, Joel Altman, Stephen Booth, Joel Fineman, Stanley Fish, Catherine Gallagher, Stephen Greenblatt, Jeffrey Knapp, Sharon Marcus, Stephen Orgel, Norman Rabkin, and Hugh Richmond. Alan Nelson became involved with Shakespeare studies after retirement.

[10] I can attest to this in the specific case of Berkeley. I attended Berkeley in the mid/late 1990s and earned my BA in English in this department. I took undergraduate courses with Janet Adelman, Joel Altman, and Stephen Booth.

UC Berkeley English: The Early Twentieth Century

In the first half of the twentieth century, undergraduate education in the United States served vastly different goals than it does today. But Shakespeare was always part of the curriculum at Berkeley. The 1910 course catalogue from UC Berkeley lists one upper-division Shakespeare class, 117D—Studies in Shakespeare. It included just three plays for the ten-week course: *King Lear*, *Henry IV*, and *All's Well That Ends Well* (1910-11, 78). By 1915, there were two quarters of reading and interpretation of Shakespearean plays offered, 117C and 117D, covering twelve plays (1915-16, 113). At this early juncture, the number of upper-division Shakespeare electives—easily more than any other singular author—foreshadowed his position in the curriculum for the next century. In 1922, the upper-division electives morphed into 117J, described as "Shakespeare's development and characteristics as a dramatist; the relation of his work to the Elizabethan theatre and to contemporary thought and literature; the text of Shakespeare" (1922-23, 99). An additional course, 117I, "Reading and analysis of 15 plays" was temporarily introduced in the mid-1930s as a precursor to 117J (1935-36, 235). This suggests a deep textual understanding of his dramatic literature was considered a vital prerequisite to understanding his works in the larger context of early modern theatre and culture, and to the larger genre of dramatic literature.

In 1922, Shakespeare became a requirement for English majors at Berkeley; all undergraduate English majors were required to take 117S during their junior (third) year. By placing Shakespeare as a centrepiece of upper-division coursework, one might infer four key assumptions about Shakespearean recognition and canonicity at this time. First, it positions him as aspirational—the study of Shakespeare requires the completion of lower-division courses, and it can only be entered into after a baseline familiarity with other writers. Second, it sets the standard for *how* to read in upper-division courses, no matter the genre, time period, or subject matter—Shakespeare becomes the template for advanced literary study. Third, it establishes the model for in-depth study of a single author. And finally, the requirement marks a point of commonality among all English majors at the same juncture in their literary studies, suggesting that Shakespeare is a benchmark for aptitude required before any further study.

A few years after Shakespeare was made a requirement for English majors, in 1925, the department introduced an upper-division Shakespeare course specifically for non-English majors, Course 117E—Shakespeare, "Lectures on fifteen plays of Shakespeare," (1925-26, 106), which remained in the curriculum until 2003. This disabuses the perception that the student of English is the *only* student qualified to study Shakespeare, and at the same time, it distinguishes the capability and expectations of the student of English from those

in any other major: it generates and responds to interest from the larger student population that a Liberal Arts education offers advanced Shakespeare to everyone, and it suggests that some familiarity with Shakespeare is beneficial to all undergraduates. But the inclusion of this second course also speaks to Shakespeare's perceived difficulty: any undergraduate might study Shakespeare, but only specially trained English majors might become proficient in this subject. The course material was delivered via lecture without a stated limit on the number of students in contrast to 117S, a restricted course for English majors, limited to forty students per section. The department understandably reserved a smaller faculty-to-student ratio for their majors, and in so doing, made the Shakespeare course for non-majors less interactive through lecture-style delivery, a model of learning that involves a more passive listener rather than an engaged seminar discussion.

In 1944, Shakespeare electives consisted of two quarters of Shakespeare, 117A-117B, described as "Lectures on the entire works of Shakespeare, including nondramatic poems. Open to both majors and nonmajors. 117A is not a prerequisite to 117B" (1944-45, 256). That year, the required junior-year course ceased to be the mandatory Shakespeare class. It was reformulated as ENGLISH 100: Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism, I and II, and limited to twenty students per section. Along with the change to the junior seminar, the senior seminar became an intensive single or dual author course, which remained intact until 1988. In 1943-44, seniors could choose from a course on either Milton or Chaucer. In 1944-45, they could choose from the following: Milton and Donne, Shakespeare, Chaucer, or Yeats. Only Shakespeare was offered twice during the academic year.

The options for the senior seminar focused largely on pre-twentieth-century authors. In 1960, Milton and Chaucer were each taught six times, Shakespeare and "Contemporary Authors" each taught twice, and all other authors taught once. By 1970, the single-author as a capstone-style course was waning: Shakespeare was taught twice, Chaucer and Milton each taught once, but "Major Authors" was taught all three quarters. In 1980, Chaucer, Milton, and Shakespeare were each taught once. In 1988, the single-author senior seminar was replaced by English 150, which is described as "Senior Seminar. Mandatory. Topics will vary" (1988-89, 187). The new Senior Seminars were small discussion-based courses, often centred on the faculty member's area of specialty, and they exited the curriculum sometime between 2007-11.

English 117J was a course number that ran consistently in the 1920s through 1940s, and it shifted in focus with the fluctuations and additions of the other courses on Shakespeare. When it reappeared in 1953, it was described as "Studies of selected plays, with practice in various critical approaches; e.g., establishing text, relations to source, changing concepts of comedy and tragedy, *influence of physical conditions on technique*" (my emphasis) (1953-54, 158).

This marks a turn away from formalist and New Critical approaches that focused strictly on the text of the plays to increased attention to performance/literary genres and a turn to more materialist concerns and the intersection with Shakespeare and other subjects. This amounted to a diminished emphasis on idealist and humanistic notions that art makes people better, or poetry can improve a person and began to acknowledge the political, social, and economic circumstances under which certain works attained their revered status. Predating the advent of New Historicism, Ethnic Studies, and even the U.S. Civil Rights Movement, the approach taken in 117J departs from a reverential value-based form of recognition toward a more recursive acknowledgement that diverse and multiple disciplinary concerns might shed light on Shakespeare (and vice-versa), whether they be historical-cultural contexts or critical and theoretical approaches originating in other disciplines.

Expansion: The Later 20th Century

The San Francisco Bay Area was home to much political activism in the 1960s and 1970s, and UC Berkeley was central to that agitation. The Free Speech Movement (1964-65) on Berkeley's campus drew national attention, the Black Panther Party was founded in adjacent Oakland in 1966, and the Delano Grape Strike (1965-70) in central California drew attention to El Movimiento, the Chicano civil rights movement. The assassination of Dr Martin Luther King, Jr in 1968 coincided with protests against the Vietnam Conflict (1955-1975) that escalated during this time. The first Ethnic Studies department in the United States was founded at San Francisco State University in March 1969, and UC Berkeley established theirs later that year.

In 1976, the English department added a number of "Literature and" upper-division courses, including Literature and Arts, Psychology, Popular Culture, Philosophy, Science Fiction, and Literature and the Supernatural. In the mid-1970s-80s, the early years of film theory and computer technology reached the English department; new classes included The Language and Literature of Films beginning in 1976-77 and a course on Computers in the Humanities: Literary Applications beginning in 1984-85. The expansion of topics for the study of English also extended to the introduction of courses that explicitly addressed identity groups. Beginning in 1970, Berkeley's English department offered an upper-division course on Black Literature. The first course in the department to address literature from a racially specific group, it was several years before it was joined by courses on Women Writers, Literature and Sexual Identity (both first taught in 1976), American Studies (1984), and Studies in Third World Literatures in English (1985). More cultural studies-centred upper-division courses were introduced in 1991-93 including Literature of American Cultures, The Cultures of English, and Studies in World Literature in English,

and a lower-division class in Multicultural Literary Perspectives. These courses were all optional compared to the mandatory Shakespeare requirement and breadth of Shakespearean offerings, suggesting that Shakespeare was not positioned to directly absorb a myriad of topics but instead that students could draw connections, if they wished, across their classes.

In 2001, Black Literature was expanded to three additional upper-division courses, African American Literature and Culture Before 1917, African American Literature and Culture Since 1917, and Topics in African American Literature and Culture. By 2005, lower-division classes on African American literature and culture and Chicana/o literature and culture were added, along with three upper-division Chicanx literature classes that followed the model of African American Literature: Chicana/o Literature and Culture to 1910, Chicana/o Literature and Culture Since 1910, and Topics in Chicana/o Literature and Culture. In 2017, a Special Topics course on Literatures of the Asian Diaspora in America was first offered, and in 2019, Asian American Literature and Culture were introduced at both upper and lower-divisions along with Literature and Disability in 2005. The addition of multiple classes for both Black and Chicanx literatures somewhat mirrors the canonization process previously reserved for Shakespeare, with both lower and upper-division courses in the same subject of study.

The inclusion of the identity-based courses had important consequences for the teaching of Shakespeare. Rather than being excised from the roster of required courses, Shakespeare expanded along with the reach of diverse literatures, maintaining his presence in a growing department that embraced a wide range of knowledges. By this time, Shakespeare could be studied for perceived aesthetic and humanistic value of the plays and poetry, or with the premise that "Shakespeare and" elevates a topic and simultaneously widens Shakespeare's purview—just as "Literature and" invigorates the English department with cultural studies methods.

Within Berkeley's English department, Shakespeare studies branched out to different media with classes on film and theatre, both of which still exist today. In 1974, Shakespeare and Film (117F) was an ancillary course of only two hours per week—barely enough time to watch an entire movie—tacked on to the textual study of Shakespeare.[11] Two years prior to the addition of the

[11] The film major for undergraduates was founded in 1976 "in response to demands by undergraduates to be able to major in Film" ("Film and Media at Berkeley"). It is important to note that Berkeley's film department writes its history through the literary lens—"During the period of rapid expansion in the academic study of film nationwide, Berkeley film culture continued to make its mark. In the early 1970s, three major film *journals* (my emphasis) were founded … which opened film studies to the intellectual currents of structuralism, semiology, feminism, and Marxism" ("Film and Media at Berkeley").

course on The Language and Literature of Films, Shakespearean films were worthy of their own course, but only when studied in conjunction with the primary texts. Described as "[s]tudies in filmed versions of Shakespeare's plays. Discussions and analysis of films; cinematic techniques; relationship of film techniques to interpretation of dramatic texts. The course will be offered in conjunction with a regular course in Shakespeare, and enrolment will be limited to students concurrently enrolled in the lecture course" (1974-75, 267). By 1980, 117F became a stand-alone course, of four to four and a half hours per week. The course involved textual analysis, the growing fields of film theory and adaptation studies, and was described as "[c]lose study of the texts and of films based on 8-10 plays. Lectures will emphasize the critical implications of transposing plays to film" (1980-81, 138). Yet the study of cinematic narrative structures through Shakespearean storytelling was not the primary goal. Instead, "the goal of the course" was the "critical understanding of Shakespeare, and the course satisfies the departmental requirement of a course in Shakespeare in the major" (1980-81, 138). Unlike the earlier version designed to focus on cinematic techniques, here the objective was to utilize film as a technological-pedagogical tool for the literary analysis of Shakespeare. Shakespeare and Film ran until 1995, and a wider range of non-Shakespearean courses on film appeared on the course roster beginning in 2013.

Another important shift was an emphasis on theatrical practice. Although since 1953, 117J had focused on the "influence of physical conditions on technique," (1953-54, 158) in 1970, that part of the course description changed to "influence of theatrical conditions on technique" (1970-71, 320). The remainder of the course description retained the language of its 1955 precursor. Both theatre and film—actual avenues of performing dramatic literature—were secondary to textual study. Following the introduction of Shakespeare and Film in 1974, Shakespeare in the Theatre (117T) became a course offering in 1975. It took up both early modern and twentieth-century performance, and it was described as "[t]he interrelation of Elizabethan plays and stage practices. Classroom exercises, written assignments, and a final examination" (1975-76, 89). Like the film class, it was introduced as a two- or two-and-a-half-hour class, and students had to have taken or be taking 117A, 117B, or 117S to have permission to enrol. After several fluctuations, 117U was retired after the 1981-82 year, and 117T became a stand-alone class that later involved student performance as well as textual study.[12]

[12] I took this course in 1998 with Stephen Booth. We read only one play, *Twelfth Night*, and no criticism or theory, over fifteen weeks. All students had to perform in one of two casts, the full production of the show (which was cast as all-female, due to the high number of women in the course) and the "Ren Run" or cue-to-cue production,

Unlike courses on literatures of identity groups that remained distinct from Shakespeare—both granting these literatures autonomy from Shakespeare and implying that early modern dramatic literature and contemporary conversations about race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality need not intersect with his works—performance and media forms entered into the curriculum as appendages to the literary study of Shakespeare. In addition to departments devoted to theatre and film that were formed and expanded during this time, [13] these disciplines gained credibility as subjects within the English department ostensibly due to their introduction via Shakespeare. Further, Shakespeare's expansion into various narrative forms such as film and media insinuate the possibility, even the desirability, of his expansion to race, gender, and sexuality at the curricular level.

In 1983, when Berkeley transitioned to the ten-week semester, they introduced a lower-division course on Shakespeare, students could then fulfil the Shakespeare requirement in lower-division coursework, thereby opening up space in upper-division to focus on other writers or genres. By 1985, several other Renaissance/early modern classes had been added and the upper-division Shakespeare course offerings included 117A, 117B, 117J, and 117S, as well as Shakespeare and film (117F) and Shakespeare and Theatre (117T), and Shakespeare for non-majors (117E). Since then, the Shakespeare course offerings have remained the same: English 17 as a lower-division option and seven upper-division options. This is a substantial number of course offerings in Shakespeare in comparison to other U.S. universities—eight in Shakespeare plus an additional three in Renaissance literatures. [14]

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which did not permit the actors to rehearse, and they only received their part/role. I was assistant to the director Don Weingust, then a graduate student in Theatre, and I worked with the actors in the Ren Run doing improv exercises in lieu of rehearsing their lines. I also played a non-speaking lady in Olivia's court in the full production.

[13] The Department of Dramatic Art was founded in 1941, and the undergraduate theatre major began in 1945, although the first record of a production on campus is from 1870 (Berkeley was founded in 1868). Several drama clubs arose immediately after the founding of the university, and in "in the early 1890s, Louis Dupont Syle, a member of the Department of English, directed students in the production of full-length plays of serious content" ("Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies").

[14] During the same period, Bruce R. Smith wrote of the course offerings at Georgetown, a university of comparable size, "Comparison with an MLA survey indicates that our 9 sections of Shakespeare each year are more than three times the national average for universities of comparable size. (The average, according to statistics collected by the MLA for 1989-90, is 2.6 courses.)" (Smith 453).

Compression: From Canon to Myth

For Shakespeare, or any other author, to become canonical, his value must be based on the selection and organisation by authorities who present his works in an elevated relationship to the larger field. Eric Weiskott argues, "[a]rchives and canons are both selective structures, and they point in the same direction in literary time—toward the past—but to different effect. The archival procedure is accumulation; the canonizing procedure is excision" (202). Indeed, Shakespeare's works, or a metonymic understanding of a select few of his plays in abstraction, become the basis for explanation of anything in our larger culture; "It's Shakespearean" is almost a meme, revealing the arrested development of an entire generation to analogize everything to Shakespeare. His works have become shorthand for nearly all narratives, an expansion of his cultural use predicated on a compression of understanding of his works in mainstream media. For instance, in having the title characters get married, Taylor Swift's immensely popular "Love Story" (2008) gets *Romeo and Juliet* completely wrong, but it hardly mattered to listeners who were already predisposed to understand Shakespeare's play as the greatest love story ever told. Berkeley's curricular changes, like Swift's "Love Story," demonstrate that canonization is not static, and Shakespeare's repetition within the curriculum and the broader culture integument for more than a century makes evident that what a Shakespearean education is designed to do changes with each iteration.[15]

Amid the dominance of materialism in the twenty-first century lurks some idealism, brought on in part by establishing Shakespeare as the interlocutor par excellence. But the move from one type of recognition to another also has to do with replacing the faulty notion of universality by situating Shakespeare in a broader contemporary cultural context. This tension is exemplified in Aleida Assmann's distinction between the work of Harold Bloom and Stephen Greenblatt.[16] She writes, "Bloom writes in the spirit of the canon, developing a praising style, venerating the text and its author with a semireligious fervour. Greenblatt, on the other hand, establishes a relation of distance and estrangement to his object of research" (102). UC Berkeley's English department canonized Shakespeare initially through championing the timelessness of his works, but

[15] In 1997, Bruce R. Smith wrote of his twenty-five-year tenure at Georgetown, "What has changed is the context in which Shakespeare is being taught. The new curriculum in effect substitutes critical orientation for chronology as an organizing principle. Literary history remains a way of approaching texts from the past, but it is only one of three" (Smith 453).

[16] Assmann reminds her reader that Greenblatt was Bloom's student at Yale. Her remarks are in light of Bloom's 2003 *Hamlet: Poem Unlimited* and Greenblatt's 2004 *Will in the World*. "Both books became bestsellers, although they could not have been more contrary in their approaches" (Assmann 101).

maintained his canonicity by demonstrating that cultural context is paramount—to the study of Shakespeare and to all types of literature—with Shakespeare as the model for engaging cultural context. Berkeley actualized this not through "Shakespeare and" courses to explicitly tie his works to race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality, but through "Literature and" courses that focused on cultural groups and theoretical lenses historically absent from Shakespeare studies.

This has implications for the cultures and knowledges that are taught in conversation with Shakespeare. In theatre (and film), racial and ethnic representation typically is funnelled through metonym, signifiers, and attributes to convey an affective identity that goes beyond a monolithic, static construct. Performance scholar Bert O. States writes,

> "We might say that the loss of metaphor led to the discovery of metonymy […] Metaphor is a device for getting in more world on the principle of similarity, or correspondence […] Metonymy and synecdoche […] are devices for reducing states, or qualities, or attributes, or whole entities like societies, to visible things in which they somehow inhere." (States 65)

Shakespeare's transition from creator of metaphor to harbinger of metonym in the public consciousness has accorded him mythic status in western culture, a cultural touchstone that has become a stand-in for storylines and character types. Indeed, Shakespeare encompasses all the primary definitions of myth: his works are considered traditional stories that are understood to explain a wide variety of human situations with remarkable clarity, his popular reception usually involves a widely held but inaccurate belief or idea of his universality, and his talismanic stature is as a revered person or thing ("myth"). At Berkeley, and at many American universities, Shakespeare's mythic status has rested on an intersection of these strains, distinct from the study of identity at the curricular level.

Scholars have been making these connections for decades, and during a conversation on "Engaging Race & Renaissance Studies" in 2021, Michael Witmore and Ian Smith concurred that Shakespeare functions as a place or a medium that we consult to determine, among other things, who gets to speak and who and what gets remembered. Smith commented that racial literacy is necessary for "learning how to be in relation to others, and learning how to be in relation to oneself." Shakespeare became compressed when he shifted from a reputation solely for rhetorical and metaphoric virtuosity to his metonymic mythic status. As literary studies have expanded over decades to engage more diverse topics and epistemologies, Shakespeare's value continues to extend to new knowledges. The Berkeley curriculum fostered a conversation between Shakespeare and other literatures across course offerings that, more recently at other universities, has been compressed into autonomous "Shakespeare and"

courses. "Shakespeare and …" is typically posited as conflicting with a more traditional pedagogical approach to the plays. The productive dialogue instantiated over several decades in the Berkeley curriculum demonstrates that this is a false binary, that on the one hand other disciplines have benefitted from their exposure not only to the current construction of Shakespeare as a myth, but from the interpretive possibilities embedded in his plays. At the same time, Shakespeare's metonymic status and enduring cultural value are reproduced through an encounter with disciplines not automatically associated with literary study and literatures that extend beyond the consciousness of his works.

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Book Reviews

Van, Nhan Luong. *Translation & Shakespeare in Vietnam*. Saarbrücken: LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 2016. Pp. 9 + 284.

Reviewed by ***Shao Huiting****

In 2016, to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the death of William Shakespeare, scholars, publishers, theaters and commercial medias turned to Shakespeare's works worldwide. In the same year, Dr. Van Nhan Luong published his monograph *Translation & Shakespeare in Vietnam*, which was originally his Ph.D. thesis at the University of Southampton in 2014. He declares that the translation in Vietnam has never been studied systematically before (i). This pioneering work provides a comprehensive study, which engages in evaluating the functions and contributions of translation in Vietnam and clarifying problems through a case study of *Romeo and Juliet* (i).

Dr. Van Nhan Luong holds an international perspective as he acquired education both from Britain (Post-doctor, University of Huddersfield; Ph.D., University of Southampton) and Vietnam (M.A., University of Da Nang). According to his Linkedin page, he has recently been a lecturer in English Studies in Aston University (UK), Dean of the Faculty of English Language and Culture in Dong A University (Vietnam), and Director for Language Studies at UK-Vietnam Institute of Education Development. His subsequent career shows his continuous efforts on education, language and culture developments between the two countries.

Translation & Shakespeare in Vietnam is a well-structured, balanced and logical work, consisting of seven chapters and two appendices. Appendix 1 lists English Source Text (ST) and Vietnamese Target Text (TT) of Dang The Binh's translation (1963) Chapter V analyzes. The one-page Appendix 2 includes Chapter VI's examining of ST and TT of 34-line conversations between Romeo and Juliet in Act III, Scene 5 translated by Bich Nhu and Truong Tung.

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This research is also scientific and highly academic, which presents ideas and theories of global scholars, opens a window for translation research of Shakespeare's plays in Vietnam, and refreshes a comparative perspective in Shakespeare studies in Asia.

Chapter I introduces research questions and structure, explains the importance of translation in intercultural communication and clarifies research methods. Chapter II builds a theoretical framework for the research with a survey of translation theories and strategies, which are used in Chapters V and VI to analyze the semantic features between ST and TT (3). Dr. Van firstly defines what translation in question is. Quoting from different scholars, who take translation as a science, an art and a skill (8), as well as a general field of study, a product and a process (9), Dr. Van traces the etymological meaning in Latin and looks it up in the *OED*. Many other scholars explain "translation" in terms of semantics, stylistics and cultures (10). Translation theories, such as Philological theories, Philosophical theories, Linguistic theories, Functional theories and Poly-system theories, are introduced while analyzing the Vietnamese translation of *Romeo and Juliet*. Dr. Van also expounds the concepts of equivalence, literary translation, back translation and translation of metaphor. Peter Newmark's translation methods and Mona Baker's translation strategies are also applied.

In Chapter III, Dr. Van, with patriotic concerns and critical attitudes, honestly evaluates the achievements and criticizes problems of education and translation in Vietnam by comparing with the neighboring Asian countries, such as Japan, China, Korea and Thailand, where translation excellently fulfills its social role in bringing new knowledge to its readers, while translation in Vietnam still focuses on the entertainment (78). Another non-negligible issue is that the number of professional translators who can do quality translations remains small in recent years (75).

Consequently, there are obvious gaps in translations of Shakespeare's plays among Japan, China, Korea, Thailand and Vietnam. "The complete Shakespeare in Japanese had long been available (by Tsubouchi Shōyō [1859-1935], published in 1928, previously in separate volumes since 1884 and first collected in 1909)" (Baker and Hao 28). Chinese translator Zhu Shenghao (1912-1944) "translated into Mandarin thirty-one and a half of the thirty-seven plays in the First Folio, including *1 and 2 Henry IV*, *Richard II* and *King John*" (Baker and Hao 26). Similarly holding strong patriotic feelings, Zhu translated those plays with fire, famine and sickness during the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), retranslated and edited after wholesale fire destruction in 1937 and partial loss in 1941. The publication of *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (*Shashibiya quanji*, Beijing, 1978), based on Zhu Shenghao's work and supplemented and edited by various scholars, was considered as the most significant event marking the revitalization of Shakespeare after the Cultural

Revolution (Baker and Hao 26-27). Dr. Van mentions that "Zhu's translation is the core for the full Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* in 2000" (104), which is actually not the earliest version. Shakespeare was introduced to Korea in 1906 in Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help*, a book of Victorian didacticism popular as a guide for westernizing (Im 260). "Until experimental theatre came into vogue in the late 1970s, *shingeuk* companies dominated the theatre, presenting Western classics in full, faithfully translated texts and adopting realistic acting conventions and Western costumes and wigs" (Im 260). In Thailand, the name of Shakespeare became widely known in Siam in 1916 as one of his plays, *The Merchant of Venice*, was translated by King Vajiravudh under the Thai title, *Venit Vanit* (104). Previously, "Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* had been translated by Prince Narathipprapanpong between 1890-1893, and *The Comedy of Errors* by Luang Thammapiban in 1893" (104). In Vietnam, however, it was not until 1963, that the first translation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* made by Dang The Binh came to readers, which had been used as a national textbook for fifty years to 2013 (2, 113).

In Chapter IV, Dr. Van takes performance as translation, and actor and director as translators and illustrates the historical development of drama translation. Drama in Vietnam has been greatly acculturated. The traditional Vietnamese drama is only in *singing drama*, which has different types inclusive of *Tuong* (*Hat Boi*, originating from China from the 13th century), *Cheo*, and *Cai Luong* (early 20th century) (98). These three drama types always use Chinese classic stories and characters conveying moral lessons and the contributions of heroes (99). After the French arrival in 1858, French *oral drama* with new acting styles, structures and contents as well as tragedies and comedies became popular at the beginning of the 20th century (99). Different from Chinese classic stories, French *oral drama* contains modern stories and characters closer to real life. "Nguyen Van Vinh (1882-1936) was the first person who introduced his translated French comic plays of *Molière* (1622-1673) … in which *Le Madade Imaginaire* was the first play performed in the Vietnamese language on 25/04/1920 at the Central Theatre in Ha Not city" (99).

Translation has also developed through multilingual practices, such as Tao Ngu's plays (Cao Yu, 1910-1996) (99). His plays follow the structure of western playwrights to describe social reality, explore human nature and express strong emotions. For instance, "in terms of plot, *Thunderstorm* partly follows *Hamlet*; in terms of poetic spirit, *Thunderstorm* is like *King Lear*" (Hao 169). Dang Thai Mai's and Nguyen Kim Than's translations of Tao Ngu's plays became popular in Vietnam before 1950 (99). During the 1940s and 1950s, literature, especially oral drama, often focused on contents while paying less attention to artistic features (100-101). The translations of Dang Thai Mai are quality works because they clearly maintain Tao Ngu's artistic and writing style, and they are suitable for stage performance and reading (100). Therefore, Dang

Thai Mai introduced his translation of Tao Ngu's *Peking Man* (1941) in 1963 (101). Meanwhile, the first Vietnamese translation of *Romeo and Juliet* by Dang The Binh was published in the same year (101). As for the abstract artistic features of *Romeo and Juliet* and Chinese plays, one of my articles "The Poetics of Love in *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Peony Pavilion*" could be referred to. The former by Shakespeare was published in 1597, and the latter by Tang Xianzu in 1598. They similarly explore the connection between love and death. Despite cultural and geographical gaps, Shakespeare and Tang as writers, as well as their characters in loving, resonate with each other. The two plays, one tragedy and the other comedy, both show the strong spirit for love and freedom in sixteenth-century Europe and China. Similarly, the year 1963 was not far from September 2nd, 1945 when Vietnam ended its feudalism and started communism (118). Tao Ngu's and Shakespeare's plays also brought that strong spirit of freedom to the Vietnamese people through translation around the middle of the 20th century.

In Vietnam, theater had not received significant attention in the field of translation studies until the 1980s (83). Vietnam was at war with the U.S. from 1954 to 1975, so it is reasonable to infer that Shakespeare's plays were first on stage after 1978 (105). The Youth Theatre was inaugurated in 1978, where besides modern plays, classic plays such as *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello* and *Thunderstorm* had been performed (105). It was not until 2009 that Vietnamese audiences had the first opportunity to watch *Romeo and Juliet* in English directed by Paul Stebblings (1953), which was difficult for them to understand (105), while the Vietnamese version was first introduced in the Idecaf Theatre in Ho Chi Minh City in 2011, which is an adaptation using the basic content of *Romeo and Juliet* and combining *Tuong* and Western oral drama (105). As a contrast, the performance of Shakespeare's plays in China proceeded over 100 years earlier:

> *The Merchant of Venice* was acted in Hong Kong in 1867 and 1871, and in Shanghai by students of St. John's College in 1896 and 1902. Then, in 1927 it was made into a silent film, the first Chinese Shakespeare movie, *Woman Lawyer*, directed by Qiu Qixiang. Ten years later, in June 1937, to satisfy the degree requirements, the first graduating class of the National Drama School performed *huaju The Merchant of Venice* in Nanjing, directed by Yu Shangyuan … According to *Shen-pao*, Shakespearean civilized plays were staged 108 times between 1914 and 1918. (Hao 169)

Chapter V concentrates on the semantic features of the first translation of *Romeo and Juliet* in Vietnam. The country was at war with France, so the social conditions did not allow the translator to choose the type of target audience (113). As we know, the prologue of *Romeo and Juliet* is a standard Shakespearean sonnet, but most of the poetic features with rhythmic iambic

pentameter were lost in the TT (113). The Vietnamese language cannot keep the iambic pentameter with 10 syllables in each line, and each line has a different number of syllables. For example, the first line of the prologue "Two households, both alike in dignity" is translated into "Ngày xưa, ở thành Vêrôna tươi đẹp." It cannot retain the exact rhyme scheme either, for English is poly-syllabic while Vietnamese is mono-syllabic, and words in English have many different meanings while Vietnamese words are rarely used in such multi-level meanings (109). Skipping the first and last lines, the translation turns the prologue's original rhyme scheme ABAB CDCD EFEF GG into AA BB CC DD EEEE in Vietnamese, with the following rhymes of the twelve lines: anh/bình; đỏ/họ; nhân/phần; thác/nát; thù/giờ/cố/trổ (110, 111). Dr. Van concludes that the equivalent effect and the relevant rhyme are maintained, so the TT is a translation, not an adaptation (111).

95% of the population of Vietnam in the Vietnam war was illiterate, so *domestication strategy* ('*Vietnamization*' with Cultural Substitutions) is a better method to bring *Romeo and Juliet* closer to the Vietnamese audience (117). Despite the fact that they witnessed a social transformation from feudalism to communism, older Vietnamese people still kept their feudal language in daily communication and writings. With many Kanji-Nôm expressions following Chinese historical legends, Dang The Binh uses cultural substitution through popular Vietnamese expressions (118). The next positive point of this translation is that, thanks to Binh's life experiences, the language candidly expresses the emotion of Shakespeare's characters (156).

The famous love scene Act III, Scene 5 in *Romeo and Juliet* is the only extract for teaching in Vietnam (159). Chapter VI compares Bich Nhu and Truong Tung's and Dang The Binh's translations of the flowery conversations between Romeo and Juliet in this scene (159). Based on word-to-word analyses, Dr. Van discusses their ambiguities, examines them with back translation and explores omission, concluding that Dang The Binh, like Bich Nhu and Truong Tung, cannot convey connotative meanings in some lines (177). In general, the translation of Bich Nhu and Truong Tung omits some lines in the ST while that of Dang The Binh, despite excessively diverging in some cases from the ST meaning, keeps close to the original in terms of lines and structure (189). Dr. Van provides an alternative translation after discussing the previous advantages and disadvantages. His version strongly focuses on "the rhythm of speech patterns," preserves the original *gestur*e and *behavior*, pursues faithfulness to transmit messages as well as evokes the same feeling and effects (192).

The final Chapter VII summarizes the book by presenting the answers to the research questions, examining its limitations and pointing out future research directions. As Dr. Van realizes himself, there are limitations in his monograph. The historical documents are randomly selected, for it is the first systematical study. The resources related to Shakespeare in Vietnam both at schools and

theatres are rare. The language gap between English and Vietnamese is difficult for readers and researchers. This research only introduces an overview on performance as a translation, which could be carried out in further research (201).

This academic book, with great structures, knowledge, theories and practices, focalizes Vietnam, extends to Asia, and also gives a glance at Shakespeare's globalization in the East. From a critical perspective, some scholarly details about historical developments in other countries need to be updated, a flaw I attempt to rectify in this book review. This monograph is a good sample for translation and culture studies itself, and also marks a milestone for translation studies in Vietnam. Previous and subsequent Vietnamese scholarly works often concentrate on historical, cultural, spiritual, religious and linguistic studies when they probe into the translation in Vietnam, while Dr. Van not only explores intercultural reaction and multilingual practices in this work but also exercises many specific translation theories to analyze Dang The Binh's translation of *Romeo and Juliet* in 1963, when Vietnam was at a turning point in culture and politics. North Vietnam was tainted with Russian culture and the South with French and American cultures. Moreover, Chinese culture has been rooted in Vietnam for more than 1000 years. The stage performance after the 1980s is also psychotherapeutic for local people after Vietnamese civil conflicts and wars (Ali and Wolfert). Therefore, the first research work on analyzing the 1963-translated version and drama performance in Vietnam is socially influential.

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Reviewed by ***Wang Aisu****

Professor Wang Gaidi's monograph, *A Study of Shakespeare's Sonnets from the Ethical Perspective*, published in 2021, introduces and practices an innovative approach to reading Shakespeare's sonnets. Wang argues that, with a deep probe into the motivation of Shakespearean sonnets, it is not impossible to find the vivid life experience of Shakespeare and his emotional traces, which helps the further study of Shakespearean biography. Wang's study is genuinely instructive to both scholars and students who are interested in the society, culture, and ethics in the Shakespearean age.

A Study of Shakespeare's Sonnets from the Ethical Perspective begins with a literature review of Shakespeare's sonnets in the 21st century. Then, the following chapters discuss the ethical environment in Shakespeare's time (chapter two), the ethical relations in Shakespeare's sonnets (chapters three-five), and the "misreading" and "reinterpretation" of the ethics in Shakespeare's sonnets by early modernists, like Oscar Wilde (chapter six). The body of this monograph, which lies in chapters three to five, unscrambles ethical relationships and emotions between the Renaissance friends, couples, lovers, and the paternal relationship and offers readers a self-contained body of information on the ethical truth underlying "love," "friendship," and "family affection" in Shakespeare's sonnets.

The studies on Shakespeare's sonnets in the 21st century feature a wide range of global research, which not only refers to the historical background of the text, but also some other disciplines, such as culturology and philosophy, thereby presenting a more flexible and diverse approach. Besides, the historical research into Shakespeare's sonnets has gradually stepped out of the influence of art and aestheticism. While some scholars have shown a strong passion to seek out the verifiable historical context of the Renaissance, the new criticism turns its attention to Shakespeare's narrative poems and plays, and interprets his works through close reading. For example, Patrick Cheney and William Flesch

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examine respectively the sonnets in Shakespearean plays, Shakespeare's sonnets and his plays, so as to find out their inner-related wholeness (Schoenfeldt 7-8). Additionally, cultural studies have enabled new arguments regarding Shakespeare's works, such as the contentions that he is more sympathetic towards homosexual love than that of the couples (Matz 71), and that Shakespeare sympathizes with and respects women in the patriarchy (Bell 309-311). The study of Shakespeare's sonnets in the 21st century is characterized by interdisciplinarity and globalization, since human culture and human biology are inseparable (Barker 82).

Wang's study is innovative in terms of research perspective, object, and method. Firstly, it is based on the premise that Shakespeare's sonnets are regarded as being closely connected with the ethical order and moral code of the Renaissance, rather than artistic works transcending time and space. Wang proposes that "humanism is the core of Renaissance culture, and the interpretation of various social relationships in Shakespeare's sonnets should be based on it" (Wang 2021, 33; for the reviewed book, page numbers only henceforth). Secondly, unlike previous analyses of male or female images in Shakespeare's poems, it focuses on the relationships between men, men and women, and men and children, which foregrounds the ethical relationship and its significance in the Renaissance. Finally, it adopts the method of case study in Shakespearean research. In this way, the study of Shakespeare's sonnets as a case can provide a valuable reference for the study of Shakespeare's drama and poetry. Put simply, Wang's study juxtaposes the ethical and moral ideas of Shakespeare's time with the concerns of modern research, which enables the reader to be aware of contextualization and intertextuality of sexual significance in Shakespeare's sonnets.

According to Wang, since the ethical order and moral code in the Renaissance were succinctly and accessibly presented in Shakespeare's sonnets, her study focuses on the ethical environment of the Renaissance and highlights the culture of the Renaissance expressed in these sonnets. Wang's study starts with the analysis of the ethical environment in Shakespeare's time by consulting Robert Matz's *The World in Shakespeare's Sonnets: An Introduction*. "This book works on the cultural conventions of the Renaissance within Shakespeare's sonnets. While reading, we often come across some interesting cultural facts" (29). She thereby distinguishes her viewpoint of ethics from the multitude of controversial standpoints in Shakespeare studies, making her study on Shakespeare's sonnets innovative. In other words, it does not recommend a study of the sonnets as that which would reveal the biographical story of Shakespeare, but, conversely, begins from a biographical perspective in order to elucidate the Renaissance culture in these sonnets. Wang's study tries to balance Shakespeare's sonnets and the poet himself. At the same time, the studies of Shakespeare's works rationalize the mystery of the characters and

their relationships in the poems. Take the roles of women for example, Wang examines them meticulously and completely that "the roles of wife, mother, nurse, widow, mistress, queen, besides daughter, appeared, thus, to reveal the mystery and importance of female roles" (56). In addition, Wang attempts to identify the cultural customs and social etiquette between the lines, deliberately avoiding seeking the relation between the characters in the poem and their corresponding persons in the reality. During Wang's research processing, a clear logic and a progressive approach are adopted. Then, the main characters and their relationships in the sonnets are summarized by means of generalizing Robert Matz's understanding of creative motivation, environment, and core content, with a focus on the culture of love, marriage custom, etiquette, and clothing in the Renaissance period. When evaluating Matz's *The World in Shakespeare's Sonnets: An Introduction*, Wang responds to several important points of contention. For example, who did the personal pronouns "you" and "I" in the sonnets refer to? (15) Which "grammar school" did Shakespeare attend? (17) How was Shakespeare's experience in seeking for literary patrons? What was the cultural connotation of "friend" in the Renaissance? What were the identities of the women in the sonnets?

Unlike previous analysis of individual male or female images in Shakespeare's sonnets, Wang's humanist research focuses on the relationship between men, men and women, and men and children, and profoundly analyzes the ethical relationship and its connotation of patriarchy in the Renaissance. The men in the sonnets, whether literary patrons or rival poets of Shakespeare, represent the patriarchal nature of early modern English society. Previous studies on Shakespeare's sonnets argue that women had no right to join in the movement of the Renaissance (King 4) and are not described as independent subjects in these sonnets. Therefore, we interpret female images as being refracted through the patriarchal discourse that prevailed throughout Shakespeare's sonnets. Even though women are frequently mentioned as having very important roles in Shakespeare's sonnets, such as wife, mother, nurse, widow, mistress, and queen, they usually appear together with the male images, such as husband and male lover. Thus, the patriarchal ideology prevails in Shakespeare's sonnets. Take Queen Elizabeth for example: "she is the woman Shakespeare worships most; however, she is appreciated from the male standpoint in his sonnets" (85). Furthermore, the images of children in Shakespeare's sonnets are blurred or even not mentioned at all. They usually appear accompanied by adults. Therefore, children, especially sons, as the offspring of men and the inheritors of property, are products of patriarchal culture. According to Wang's study, Shakespeare took a different approach by juxtaposing poetry and "the son" and then replacing "the son" within poetry, so that poetry skillfully becomes the successor of "father" of youth and beauty. Take sonnet 17 for example, the last lines "And stretched meter of an antique song: / But were some child of yours

alive that time, / You should live twice, in it, and in my rhyme" (Wang 2010, 96) place his sonnets on an equal footing with the descendants of his young friends, telling them that what the descendants of his friends can do, so can his sonnets. Shakespeare challenged how the family lineage was passed down under the cultural values of his time, launching a battle between poetry and the succession of "the son." In Wang's opinion, though Shakespeare made his poetry the inheritor of young people's lover and friends, he had neglected the children, since they were always mentioned vaguely or utilitarianly, without any positive personality.

Wang's case study provides a model for studying Shakespeare's other works. "Many scholars believe that Shakespeare's sonnet sequence has the flavor of autobiography and try to analyze Shakespeare's personality and life through his sonnets, also as a way to understand the 38 plays he wrote" (Chiu 127). However, for Wang, Shakespeare's sonnets, insofar as they are closely related to his actual life experience, consist of more complicated relationships between characters and exemplify the specific ethical relationship in the Renaissance. That is why these sonnets are to be taken as a case among his large numbers of plays, poems, and other works. Moreover, Wang's interpretation of the deconstruction and rewriting of identity and themes in Shakespeare's sonnets presents them as a forerunner of the traditional rebellion of modern literature within the ethical context of the Victorian period. Take the British writers, Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw, and Frank Harris for example, their intentional "misreading" aims to challenge the classic writers, like Shakespeare, and to bring him down from his pedestal, revealing him to be a man, real and interesting (Shaw 49-50), and declares the advent of modern literature. While Shakespeare's sonnets are negated and destroyed by these modern writers, they are passed down by other writers when they are alluded to or quoted in their novels or plays. Thus, to study Shakespeare's sonnets as a case can not only set an example for studying his other plays, but also reveal the significance of his works in the current ages.

Generally speaking, what underlies the value of *A Study of Shakespeare's Sonnets from the ethical Perspective*, is Wang's multi-disciplinary research approach. Firstly, it is meaningful to examine Shakespeare's biography, his motivation of writing, and the trajectory of his life and emotion. Then Wang's study concentrates on the objective historical environment, the tremendous social and ethical themes contained in the sonnets, which are often overlooked by contemporary scholars. Finally, Wang attains the multi-disciplinary research results of ethics, philosophy, history, literature, etc. when her study relates the ethical environment of Shakespeare's time to the latest trends in the research of Shakespeare's sonnets in the 21st century.

However, cautious readers can find some imperfections in this book. Take chapter two for example, Wang presents the ethical environment by consulting

Robert Matz's book *The World of Shakespeare's Sonnets: An Introduction*, which is not sufficient to satisfy the reader's desire to know more about the ethical viewpoint at that time. As for the last chapter, it is too vague to provide an understanding of the function of early modernists' "misreading" and "reinterpretation" of ethics in Shakespeare's sonnets. Moreover, the main part of this book, at only 100 pages, is not abundant enough to account for all the relationships in Shakespeare's age. The readers who have a desire for a much more comprehensive survey of the culture of Shakespeare's times would suffer disappointment. Therefore, a more well-rounded elucidation is necessary to improve the study. Concerning this problem, Wang explained to Professor Hao Tianhu that the parts on another relationship between men, namely, homosexuality, were deleted from her original manuscript, as a result of the censorship. Therefore, the readers who have a desire for more information on this topic are encouraged to turn to her other publications, such as *Re-reading Literary Classics* (2022) and "The Displaced Cultural Space in *The Portrait of Mr. W. H.*" (2012). Indeed, the publication of *A Study of Shakespeare's Sonnets from the Ethical Perspective* makes a contribution to the further study of Shakespeare's sonnets and other works. It is safe to say that the reader enjoys the reading experience of this book and really appreciates its great efforts to enable a better understanding of the connotations of Shakespeare's sonnets and the Renaissance English culture.

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Reviewed by ***Jiayuan Zuo****

The adaptations of Shakespeare's plays in China have been fascinating for both the audience and scholars. In the wake of China's first Shakespeare festival in 1986, *Shakespeare in China*, compiled by the Shakespeare Society of China, came out in 1987, wherein the operatic adaptation was discussed extensively and fervently with the blossoming concept of "intercultural theatre." From then on, China witnesses an increase both in the quantity and quality of performances and adaptations of Shakespeare's plays, which constitute an ultimate fountain for Zhang Ying, a professor of Nanjing University, to complete her monograph titled *Intercultural Adaptations of Shakespeare's Plays in Contemporary China* in 2021.

In the monograph, Zhang Ying foregrounds two types of Shakespearean plays' intercultural adaptions in China, namely, operatic adaptation and film adaptation, and renders an in-depth exemplification via twelve carefully selected cases. Operatic adaptations, the main focus of Chapters 2 to 9, encompass *Peking* opera, *Kun* opera, *Yue* opera, *Huangmei* opera, *Yu* opera, and other major ones adapted in both mainland China and Taiwan. Additionally, the bilingual collaborative theatre in this book, a type of multilingual theatre, also falls under the category of operatic adaptations, aside from the traditional operatic adaptations and experimental one-man opera. These operatic adaptations not only satisfy the expectations of domestic audiences and invigorate traditional Chinese operas (228), but also introduce Chinese operatic culture to overseas audiences through touring productions (123). In Chapter 10, Zhang examines Chinese film adaptations and productions of Shakespeare's plays, a field in which she specializes. Overall, Zhang scrutinizes the strategies and methods employed in the adaptations, the rewrites and variations that occur, and the new connotations and meanings that emerge. The adaptations and performances of Shakespeare's plays on the Chinese stage and screen, as she contends, demonstrate the universality and timelessness of Shakespeare's plays, and also evince a strong sense of local identity (16).

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Before delving into case studies, Zhang Ying builds a comprehensive background and rationale for her research. In the Preface, Zhang reviews the adaptations and performances of Shakespeare's plays in China and extracts two major forms she categorizes as intercultural theatre: *huaju* performances and the adaptations to traditional Chinese opera (6). The latter, arguably a successful transformation from the Western to the Chinese theatrical system, is Zhang Ying's focus. In Chapter 1, Zhang investigates whether it is viable to practice the operatic adaptation of Shakespeare's plays in China. Chinese opera and Western theatre are two distinctive theatrical systems, but she perceptively reveals that the architectural structures of performance venues in Shakespeare's plays and the ancient Chinese opera share similarities, laying the foundation for the operatic adaptation of Shakespeare's plays (17). By tracing the evolution of early performance venues in China and Britain, she finds that performance venues in Chinese opera and British drama are alike in site selection, architectural design, and stage layout. In addition, their themes are both accessible to the audience. Their languages cater to both refined and popular tastes. Both value communication and interaction with the audience. The stage sets are simple, while the costumes are relatively gorgeous. The lines signify the story background. These resemblances rationalize Chinese operatic adaptations of Shakespeare's plays (22-49). Zhang also explores how the four artistic methods in Chinese opera, that is, singing, dialogue, dancing, and martial art, promote the expressiveness and transformation of Shakespeare's plays.

For operatic adaptations, Zhang Ying first chooses *Kun* opera *Macbeth* (Chapter 2), *Huangmei* opera *Much Ado About Nothing* (Chapter 3), *Yue* opera *Twelfth Night*, *The Winter's Tale* (Chapter 4), and *Hamlet* (Chapter 5) as cases, all of which were from the two Shakespeare festivals held in China in 1986 and 1994. Zhang notices that behind these adaptations lie two inevitable choices the adapters make to preserve the spirit of Shakespeare's plays while emphasizing a sense of localization, so as to showcase "the symbiosis and connection of Eastern and Western cultures in intercultural theatre" (67).

One choice is transplantation, a wholesale localization, as shown in *Kun* opera *Macbeth*. In addition to localized names, costumes, and props, what Zhang Ying dissects is how the adapters seamlessly transform the key characters from the Elizabethan stage, such as Macbeth and his wife, the witches and ghosts, into the context of *Kun* opera. For Macbeth and his wife, there are no corresponding character types in *Kun* opera, so *Kun* opera *Macbeth,* in order to revivify the quintessence of the original characters, prioritizes the actors' performance as an effective compensation, such as singing, dancing, soliloquy, and dialogue (56-66). Zhang perceives that one of the plots in operatic *Macbeth*, in which Mrs. Tie (Lady Macbeth) is forced to die by a ghost, weakens the original inner torture of Lady Macbeth, but it befits the traditional ideal of a happy ending in Chinese opera (67). *Yue* opera *The Winter's Tale*, after being

transplanted into a Chinese context, turns more localized and congruent with the tradition of *Yue* opera (94). Compared with the original play, the adaptation downplays the religion, divine power, and supernatural elements in accord with the principle of "preserving the essence of Shakespeare's play and ignoring unnecessary forms" (96), thereby skillfully and reasonably resolving the cultural conflicts. Nevertheless, Zhang regretfully indicates that the second half of the adaptation seems too rushed to match the elaborate characterization and progressive plot of the first half or to show the amazement elicited by the Queen's resurrection, as in the original play (101-102).

The other choice is transformation, an integration of two theatrical modes, as demonstrated by the following three cases. The love theme and certain carnival scenes in *Much Ado About Nothing*, claims Zhang Ying, echo the orchestic and lyrical nature of *Huangmei* opera (69). Faced with the challenge of how to couple Chinese life with an exotic touch, the director presupposes a certain border area in an unknown dynasty as the background to make the plot, characters, and costumes reasonable (71). *Huangmei* opera *Much Ado About Nothing* has made breakthroughs in combining the spirit of Shakespeare's plays with the form of *Huangmei* opera, which credits to the director team's decision to "preserve the rich spirit of Shakespeare's play and perform it with the unique singing style of *Huangmei* opera" (70) and earns Zhang Ying's praise for its "exquisite" execution (83). *Yue* opera's eclecticism and inclusiveness allow it to forge an early relationship with Shakespeare. Guided by Zhu Guangqian's "psychical distance" of tragedy (Zhu 280), a concept in *The Psychology of Tragedy* that stresses the alienation effect, Zhang analyzes the efforts made by *Yue* opera *Hamlet* to retain the necessary features of a Western tragedy. By using Chinese "ghost opera," the supernatural atmosphere in the original play is flawlessly integrated into the adaptation. Although Hamlet's inner turmoil and tragic trait may be compromised in *Yue* opera, Zhang notes that the audience is empowered to judge the characters' nature and empathize with them, which, in turn, would enhance the aesthetic effects and ethical implications of the adaptation (119). The transformation process enables Western tragedy to achieve its emotional value within the Chinese cultural context and the form of *Yue* opera (120). In *Yue* opera *Twelfth Night*, the integration of the two cultures is more salient. Zhang remarks that *Yue* opera *Twelfth Night* has completely abandoned its tradition in terms of costumes, props, and stage sets. Even if the sentence pattern is retained, the actors' lyrics intermingle Western cultural imagery, such as "knights" and "Zeus," with traditional Chinese idioms (90). Thus, Zhang regards this adaptation as "a very bold attempt" (94).

Cross-cultural communication is always mutual among these operatic adaptations, as Zhang Ying asserts. Ren Mingyao once advocated a marriage between Shakespeare and Chinese opera, as it is a necessity for cross-cultural communication (203). *Peking* opera *Hamlet* in Chapter 6 verifies that the

audience in China encounters Shakespeare through Chinese operas, while in return, overseas audiences enjoy them through the lens of Shakespearean plays' plots. *Peking* opera, led by Mei Lanfang and featuring a Chinese operatic culture, has had a profound influence on world theater (122). Since 2005, *Peking* opera *Hamlet*, adapted by the Shanghai Jingju Theatre Company, has been touring around the world. Zhang Ying observes that operatic *Hamlet* fully embodies the traditional linear structure of Chinese opera and the expression of emotion through dance and song. *Peking* opera *Hamlet* maximizes Chinese opera's aesthetic characteristics, makes adaptations proper for tour, and provides subtitle translation to reduce language barriers (127-130). Despite the fundamental differences between Chinese and Western theatre, the integration of *Peking* opera and Shakespeare's play effectively conveys the cultural concept of "seeking harmony in diversity" and offers overseas audiences an opportunity to experience the traditional aesthetics of *Peking* opera (142).

Besides mainland China, Zhang Ying switches her attention to Taiwan in Chapters 7 and 8, where the innovative amalgamation of opera and Shakespeare's plays has been developed since the 1980s. *Peking* opera in Taiwan, though insistent on conventional performance norms, creatively incorporates modern theater concepts and dramatic performance techniques into the traditional staging (143). In Chapter 7, Zhang specifically mentions the experimental *Peking* opera *King Lear*, a one-man opera performed by Wu Xingguo. While still maintaining *Peking* opera's technical and role-based traditions, he shows a "deconstruction and alienation" from *Peking* opera and Shakespeare's play (158) and injects the actor's subjectivity into the adaptation (153), reflecting the "experimental and pioneering nature" (157) of this performance. By tracing Wu Xingguo's trajectory, Zhang intends to interpret the unique connection and interaction between Wu Xingguo and the characters in *King Lear*. For example, the misunderstandings between Wu Xingguo and his master Zhou Zhengrong mirror the misunderstandings between Gloucester and Edgar (156). *Yu* opera in Taiwan is of high status and has been moving forward with modernization (159). In Chapter 8, drawing on Patrice Pavis' "hourglass" model (Pavis 4), Zhang argues that the three *Yu* operas, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Measure for Measure*, and *King Lear*, successfully rewrite local culture by transforming religious conflicts and Christianity into regional ethnic discrimination and into Taoism respectively, which, as it were, reflects the dominant factor of local culture and adapts to the cultural connotations of Taiwan (161).

Chapter 9 goes on to the multilingually collaborative theatre, a new form of intercultural adaptation that facilitates cross-cultural communication. Even though China had previously attempted bilingual theatre, the Sino-British *Kun* opera *The Handan Dream* is a more sophisticated example of multilingual theatre. Combining the *Record of Handan* by Tang Xianzu, a famous Chinese

playwright and poet of the Ming Dynasty, with eight of Shakespeare's works, covering tragedies, comedies, history plays, and romance plays, *The Handan Dream* embodies the dual qualities of intercultural theatre and bilingual theatre. Zhang Ying labels this as a "fusion" (191). *The Handan Dream* discards the unique Taoist overtones in the *Record of Handan* and uses the universal truths and values embedded in both Eastern and Western plays as a hidden line, pursuing harmony while subtly retaining the differences between East and West. These changes not only prevent homogenized performance (209) but also expand the diversity of intercultural theatre with a new stage style (189).

Zhang Ying also canvasses, apart from operatic adaptation and multi-lingual theatre, Chinese films adapted from Shakespeare's plays in Chapter 10. She briefly traces the production and release of Shakespearean films worldwide, with a specific focus on China, and mainly evaluates *The Banquet*, a film adaptation of *Hamlet*. *The Banquet*, released in 2006, "pioneered the intercultural and cross-media adaptation of *Hamlet* in China" (213). Although the film adheres to *Hamlet*'s plot, mission, and tone, it has a noticeable shift in artistic framework and cultural concepts. *The Banquet*'s framework is transposed to a Chinese martial arts film with highly symbolic Chinese cultural symbols, such as the *Nuo* opera. The themes of revenge and procrastination are replaced with power and desire, transforming *The Banquet* from a tragedy of a prince's revenge to that of a woman's destruction by desire. Zhang takes the film as a successful convergence of Eastern and Western cultures according to the market's response. *The Banquet* disintegrates and reconstructs *Hamlet*, and highlights differences and oppositions within, which is special and significant in the intercultural adaptation of theatre (225).

In this monograph, Zhang Ying pays much attention to a comparative perspective, capturing the changes in transformation and seeking out the specific reasons for those changes, all of which root in a variety of materials. Intercultural adaptions between Shakespeare's plays and Chinese operas are restored from multiple resources, such as quotations from the directors' interview records, essays from directors and actors, and even the actors' statements. In Chapter 2 and Chapter 6, Zhang utilizes the main actors' self-analysis as supplementary materials to explain how the transformation of the original play is achieved through operatic lines and actions, which helps to revive and outline the process of operatic adaptation. Interviews with several directors conducted by *Theatre Arts* after the 1986 Shakespeare Festival (e.g. Ma), such as the directors' inspirations and thoughts, also provide valuable information. Additionally, Zhang never confines herself to textual materials, but also resorts to visual materials to observe the details of the actors' actions on the stage. More noteworthily, Zhang Ying impressively and meticulously reads the female characters in the adaptations within a historical and cultural context. She speaks highly of the transformation and portrayal of Queen Huo (Queen

Hermione) in *Yue* opera *The Winter's Tale*, whose virtuousness is her main characteristic, a virtue more familiar to Chinese audiences. In *Yue* opera *Hamlet*, the tragedy of the female suffering and that of the prince are interwoven to arouse Chinese audiences' sympathy, and Lei Liya's tragic fate (Ophelia) is vividly displayed and attributed to women's lower social status. In *Huangmei* opera *Much Ado About Nothing*, Li Aiqiao's (Leonato) hatred for his daughter is transformed into his final self-blame and suicide, an adaption to embrace the Chinese belief that "to feed without teaching is the father's fault." Zhang ponders that such a revision is closely related to the growing popularity of gender equality in China during the 1980s (83).

In this work, Zhang Ying does not forget the audience that should have participated in the construction of the opera, yet she only adumbrates them in an imagined way with envisioned reactions. The directors have mentioned the audience's age structures and their actual reactions on several occasions, but Zhang does not include them in her study. It seems not objective enough to neglect the audience's on-site reactions when making evaluations and judgments about the adaptations. In addition, it is somewhat puzzling that *Wu* opera *Macbeth*, which has appeared in the Preface, is carelessly excluded from the appendix, a chronology of Shakespeare's operatic adaptations and film adaptations. Anyway, be that as it may, these foibles cannot overshadow or undermine the overall excellence of the book.

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Theatre Reviews

A Midsummer Night's Dream. Dir. Armela Demaj. Metropol Theatre, Tirana, Albania.

Reviewed by ***Marinela Golemi****

Although the National Theatre of Albania in Tirana was demolished on 17 May 2020, its legacy carried on online. In light of this culturally devastating event and due to limitations occasioned by the pandemic, the Nationwide Theatre Festival was transformed into a virtual event. The new Nationwide Online Theatre Festival was named "Moisiu On" and adopted the slogan "The theatre continues" (#teatrivazhdon) to suggest that theatre is still on and online. This was a truly intracultural experience that brought together 20 troupes from all regions of Albania who performed popular productions that had previously won the people's hearts. The entire event was broadcast live daily on Facebook, Albania's preferred social media platform, making it accessible to all Albanians, including Albanian diaspora like myself. Amongst the festival performances was Armela Demaj's colourful production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*Ëndrra e Një Nate Vere*). Although I didn't have the chance to see the initial 2019 premiere at the Metropol Theatre, or its return to the stage in 2020 due to popular demand, I enjoyed the recorded 2021 Facebook Live production.

One of the most captivating features of the production was its spectacular use of colours. The stage set consisted of 8 large, leafless, wooden tree cut-outs, painted with green neon paint, which were evenly spaced out to occupy half of the stage and part of the balcony. The wooden ceilings and stage backdrops were entirely covered with specks of blue-green fluorescent pigment to mimic the image of a brilliantly illuminated starry sky. The blue-green hues that enfolded the stage reminded of aurora borealis. The scene appeared simultaneously fantastical and artificial because of the extraordinary spectrum of colours.

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Demaj's production of *Ëndrra e Një Nate Vere* was reminiscent of black-light theatre, where puppeteers dressed in black, against a dark background, manipulate the puppets while remaining almost invisible. Nina Edwards suggests that the awareness of the puppeteers' presence is a crucial component of the performance because it emphasizes the skills of the artists even if they are not fully visible or centered on the stage (119). The allusion to the invisible puppeteers that perform their magic in the dark perfectly describes the roles of Oberon, Titania, and Puck. For example, Demaj's production opened in the dark, blue neon lit sky of the forest near Athens, where Puck's body was noticeable because of his neon speckled leotard and neon face painting. Through this visual trick Demaj showed that the forces of the magical green world are always present and responsible for puppeteering the actions of the coupled humans.

Through lighting, costume design and makeup, Demaj distinguished the play's fantastical elements from the ordinary, courtly setting. The background never changed; instead, the actors' journey from Athens to the forest beyond the city was illustrated by switching from white to black and blue stage lighting. For instance, in the second act, when the audience is introduced to the fairy world, the production directly mimics the black light theatre aesthetics, because only the fluorescent bodies of the dancing fairies, performing rhythmic acrobatics with neon ribbons, were visible in the black-lit starry background of the stage. Immediately afterwards, Oberon and Titania emerged on rolling pedestals from opposite stage doors as the lights turned blue and smoke arose from the ground. Overall, the green world of the play was coloured through black lighting, whereas the courtly scenes and the scenes with the mechanicals were performed under strong white light. However, there were moments when the production blended black and white lights to show how the two worlds collided. For example, when the mechanicals performed, there was a mixture of black and blue background light, with soft white light spotlights. Similarly, the stage lights blended between black and white to form a blue-white hue when Oberon and Puck meddled with the young Athenian couples. In these circumstances, colours and lights worked double duty to make the actors and stage visible and to express visually the narrative collision of the two worlds.

The visual rhetoric of Demaj's production was also expressed through costume colours. The wardrobe of all the courtly characters, apart from Hippolyta, reflected 20th-century Western European fashions. Lysander, Demetrius, Theseus and Egeus were dressed in velvet-trimmed topcoats, paisley vests, silk scarves and top hats. Similarly, the mechanicals were dressed in a variety of balloon-sleeve linen shirts with wool vests, wifebeater shirts with wide-leg pants and suspenders, bandana scarves, bowler hats, and flat caps. Demetrius sported a pastel-pink chiffon scarf that corresponded with Hermia's pastel-pink corseted dress to signal that they were a rightful pair, as her father Egeus wishes. Meanwhile, Lysander wore a dark celadon scarf that matched Helena's dress. However, when Oberon and Puck interfered in their love affairs

and the couples were confused, they removed these vestimentary signifiers. Demetrius and Lysander took off their topcoats and scarves and remained in their loosely fitted, long-sleeve white shirts and khaki pants. On the other hand, Hermia and Helena removed their bodices and long skirts to reveal white corsets and pantaloons underneath. When they were bereft of their original costume colours, the spell was reversed, and they found their true loves. Although the play ended with all four characters dressed as they were in the beginning, they were finally paired with their rightful yet colour-mismatched partners. In this manner, costume design was as affective as the words and bodies of the performers in displaying their emotional journey and showing the interrelationships between the characters.

Demaj's production was filled with chromatic spectacle and live music. The omnipresent Puck was often watching the characters from the balcony in the dark while playing music, a kalimba or a drum. For example, Puck double tapped a large drum that hung from the ceiling every 3 seconds as he introduced Titania and Oberon. Meanwhile, fluorescent petals were falling all around the stage as if bright stars were falling to the ground, making the earth a reflection of a starry sky while fairies danced around Titania and Oberon and harmonised vowel sounds in sync. Puck's epilogue was delivered under black light, and then he led the fairies offstage while also singing "hum ha". Finally, he sped up the "hum ha ha" tempo as the scene came to a climactic closure in absolute darkness. At the end, the white lights awakened the characters, the actors and the audience from a dreamy performance. This Albanian production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was a visual feast.

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