

## A HISTORY OF SHAKESPEARE ON SCREEN

A History of Shakespeare on Screen: A Century of Film and Television chronicles how film-makers have re-imagined Shakespeare's plays from the earliest exhibitions in music halls and nickelodeons to today's multi-million dollar productions shown in megaplexes. Topics include the silent era, Hollywood in the Golden Age, the films of Laurence Olivier and Orson Welles, the television scene to include the BBC plays, the avant-garde cinema of Jarman and Greenaway, and non-Anglophone contributions from Japan and elsewhere. This second edition updates the chronology to the year 2003 and includes a new chapter on such recent films as John Madden's Shakespeare in Love, Kenneth Branagh's Love's Labour's Lost, Michael Almereyda's Hamlet, and Billy Morrissette's Scotland, Pa. An up-to-date filmography, bibliography, and index of names make it invaluable as a onevolume reference work for specialists, while the accessible style will ensure that it also appeals to a wider audience of Shakespeareans and cinephiles.

KENNETH S. ROTHWELL is Professor of English Emeritus at the University of Vermont, Burlington. He was the co-founder and coeditor with Bernice W. Kliman of the *Shakespeare on Film Newsletter*. He co-chaired the Shakespeare on Film Seminar at the Tokyo 1991 World Shakespeare Congress, and he produced the Shakespeare on Film Festival at the Los Angeles 1996 World Shakespeare Congress. He compiled with Annabelle Henkin Melzer *Shakespeare on Screen: An International Filmography and Videography* (1990), and 'Occassional Paper no.8', a monograph on Shakespeare silent films for the International Shakespeare Association (2000) series.



# A History of Shakespeare on Screen

A CENTURY OF FILM AND TELEVISION

Kenneth S. Rothwell

Second Edition





PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Kenneth S. Rothwell 1999, 2004

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1999 Second edition 2004

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typefaces Palatino 9.5/12.5 pt. System LATEX  $2\varepsilon$  [TB]

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

ISBN 0 521 83537 2 hardback ISBN 0 521 54311 8 paperback

The publisher has used its best endeavours to ensure that the URLs for external websites referred to in this book are correct and active at the time of going to press. However, the publisher has no responsibility for the websites and can make no guarantee that a site will remain live or that the content is or will remain appropriate.



For my grandchildren,
Rosalind Springs Rothwell
Sara Mei-Ping Davis
James Waddell Rothwell
Charlotte Zhong-Xue Rothwell Davis
Phoebe Ming-Ming Davis



# - CONTENTS -

# List of illustrations ix Preface and acknowledgments to second edition xi Preface to first edition xiii Acknowledgments xv List of abbreviations xvi

1	Shakespeare in silence: from stage to screen	1
2	Hollywood's four seasons of Shakespeare	27
3	Laurence Olivier directs Shakespeare	47
4	Orson Welles: Shakespeare for the art houses	69
5	Electronic Shakespeare: from television to the web	91
6	Spectacle and song in Castellani and Zeffirelli	119
7	Shakespeare movies in the age of angst	136
8	Other Shakespeares: translation and expropriation	160
9	Shakespeare in the cinema of transgression, and beyond	192
10	The renaissance of Shakespeare in moving images	219
11	Shakespeare in love, in love with Shakespeare: the adoration after the millennium	248

Notes 275
Bibliography 299
Chronological list of films 318
Filmography and title index 328
Name index 367

[vii]



# - ILLUSTRATIONS -

1	King John (UK 1899), Courtesy of Nederlands Filmmuseum.	page 2
2	The Life and Death of King Richard III (USA 1912). Courtesy of The American Film Institute.	18
3	Hamlet: The Drama of Vengeance (Germany 1920). Courtesy of Det Danske Filminstitut and Mr. Allan O. Hagedorff.	24
4	The Taming of the Shrew (USA 1929). Courtesy of Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive.	31
5	A Midsummer Night's Dream (USA 1935). Courtesy of Photofes	st. 36
6	Romeo and Juliet (USA 1936). Courtesy of Photofest.	41
7	Hamlet (UK 1948). Courtesy of CTE (Carlton) Ltd.	56
8	King Richard III (UK 1955). Courtesy of Carlton International Media, Ltd.	63
9	Macbeth (USA 1948). Courtesy of Hamilton Projects, Inc.	72
10	Chimes at Midnight [Falstaff] (Spain/Switzerland 1966). Internaccionale Films Espanola (Madrid).	83
11	Othello (UK 1950). © BBC Picture Archives.	93
12	Hamlet (UK/USA 1970). Courtesy of Hallmark Hall of Fame Productions.	100
13	Othello (UK 1981). The BBC/Time Life "The Shakespeare Plays."	112
14	Romeo and Juliet (Italy/UK 1954). Courtesy of Carlton International Media Limited.	121
15	Romeo and Juliet (USA 1916). Courtesy of Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive.	131

[ix]



# List of illustrations

16	Macbeth (UK 1971). "MACBETH" ©1971 Playboy Production and Columbia Pictures Industries, Inc. All Rights Reserved. Courtesy of Columbia Pictures.	
	,	152
17	King Lear (UK 1971). Courtesy of Photofest.	158
18	Othello (USSR 1955). Courtesy of Photofest.	171
19	Hamlet (USSR 1964). Courtesy of Photofest.	177
20	King Lear (USSR 1969). Courtesy of Photofest.	181
21	The Tempest (UK 1979). Courtesy of Eurolondon Films Limited, and Mr. John Henderson.	198
22	A Midsummer Night's Dream (Spain/UK 1984). Courtesy of Celestino Coronado and David Meyer, Cabochon Film Productions.	212
23	King Henry V (UK 1989). Courtesy of Kenneth Branagh and © 1989 Orion Pictures Corporation. All rights reserved.	221
24	Richard III at the National Theatre. Photo: John Haynes.	233
25	"Twelfth Night" Copyright 1996. © Fine Line Features, Inc. All rights reserved. Photo by Alex Bailey appears courtesy of New Line Productions, Inc. (USA); and Renaissance Films Ltd. [inc. Twelfth Night Productions	
	Ltd.] (UK).	243
26	William Shakespeare's <i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> (USA 1999). Twentieth Century Fox. Photo: Mario Tursi. Courtesy of Photofest.	252
27	Hamlet (USA 2000). A Miramax Films Release. Photo: Larry Riley. Courtesy of Photofest.	257
28	Scotland PA (USA 2001) © Lot 47 Films. By permission.	262
29	<i>Titus</i> (USA 1999). Fox Searchlight Pictures. Photo: Fox Searchlight. Courtesy of Photofest.	270



# - PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS TO SECOND EDITION -

The need for a second edition of *A History of Shakespeare on Screen* goes beyond the obvious requirement of updating the chronology. As thousands of classroom teachers through readily available VHS and DVD recordings have refocused student attention from text to performance, a minor revolution has occurred in academic attitudes toward Shakespeare on screen. Once universally scorned as "dumbing down," Shakespeare films are now often credited with both preserving and redefining a cultural heritage. The latest pedagogy has been accompanied by theoretical contributions from new wave academics, whose enthusiasm for both Shakespeare and mass culture has persuaded them to expand the limits of the Shakespeare movie from text to "paratext." In the beginning filmmakers deferred to Shakespeareans; nowadays Shakespeareans defer to filmmakers. Subservience has yielded to subversion.

This shift in the center of gravity has toppled the sovereignty of text over performance to the point that the term, "transgressive," which I used in the first edition of this book as a label for bizarre adaptations, has become meaningless. Post-modernism collapses the distinctions between high and low culture so that Will Shakespeare becomes just another working screen writer subject to "the spurns That patient merit of th' unworthy takes." The ancient cry of protest "But is it Shakespeare?" is heard now only from diehard Luddites, who have in the sweep of events ironically themselves been made over into the counter-revolutionary transgressors. This volume's cover illustration from Billy Morrissette's *Scotland*, *PA* illustrates how Shakespeare's *Macbeth* has been reincarnated in the context of that most American of mass cultural institutions, the MacDonald's hamburger.

Actually there is nothing new about any of this tug of war between text and performance. The grudge in Jacobean times between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones over whether in the court masque the text (*Lexis*) or the scenery (*Opsis*) should be given priority has been displaced forward into the struggle between author and *auteur*. This "dismemberment" of Shakespeare, as explicated by theorists like Richard Burt, Linda Charnes, Barbara Hodgdon, Douglas Lanier, Courtney Lehmann, Laurie Osborne, Lisa S. Starks, W. B. Worthen, and others, has not yet destroyed the powerful force of Shakespeare's work as a theogony,



Preface and acknowledgments to second edition

a kind of creation epic for western civilization. It has instead infused the parts like a sacramental wafer into the body and blood of the masses who partake of the feast. The old fashioned textual scholar remains on the high altar guarding the holy relics of folio and quarto. Never mind that only a faithful few still attend Mass.

In the newly drafted chapter 11, I have more or less erased the sharp distinction between film and video in order to solve a difficult organizational problem as well as to acknowledge the way that technology has increasingly blurred the distinction between them. I have also corrected and amended errors and misjudgments in the first edition. For their detailed and exhaustive criticism, I am especially grateful to José Ramón Díaz Fernández, Thomas A. Pendleton, Stanley Wells, and my editor Sarah Stanton. I would also like to thank Peter Balderstone, Peter Donaldson, Juana Green, Nicholas Jones, and Elsie Walker, for allowing me to draw on their unpublished papers, all but Walker's having been presented to the "Shakespeare and the Movies" seminar at the 2003 Shakespeare Association meeting in Victoria, BC. I am indebted to the staffs of the Butler/Howe Library at the University of Vermont, the Library of Performing Arts of the New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, and the Museum of Modern Art Film Library. Gary Crowdus has allowed me to draw on my reviews of *Elizabeth* and *Much Ado about Something* in *Cineaste*; Jim Welsh authorized me to echo things I have already said in his journal, Literature/Film Quarterly; the editors of Shakespeare Bulletin have not objected to my incorporating traces of work published in its pages; Lot 47 Films granted permission to use the cover photo from Scotland, PA; for some production data about recent film releases I have used by permission <a href="http://pro.imdb.com">http://pro.imdb.com</a>. © 1990–2001 Internet Movie Database Limited. Individual Web sites for specific films have occasionally been drawn on as well. "Photofest" has been indispensable in locating stills.

Throughout all these perturbations, my faithful wife, Lyn, has never hesitated to take time out to help me, even in the midst of her own heroic struggle to bring a single payer universal health system to Vermont and the United States.

K.S.R. September 2, 2003 Burlington, Vermont



### - PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION -

This book has been at least a quarter of the century in the making and along the way I have accumulated staggering debts from many generous and wonderful people. At the top of the list are the veteran members of the Shakespeare on Film Seminar at the meetings of the Shakespeare Association of America and the International Shakespeare Association who from Tokyo to Cleveland and Los Angeles to Stratford-upon-Avon have patiently read and critiqued my annual contributions. They include H. R. Coursen, Samuel Crowl, Anthony Davies, Peter S. Donaldson, Lawrence Guntner, Russell Jackson, Jack J. Jorgens, James H. Lake, R. Thomas Simone, Robert F. Willson, Jr., and many others whose friendship and collegiality have become especially meaningful to me.

To Dr. Bernice W. Kliman I owe a special debt for having co-founded and co-edited with me from 1976 to 1992 the *Shakespeare on Film Newsletter*. Dr. Nancy Hodge, formerly executive director of the Shakespeare Association of America, underwrote my three-day Shakespeare Film Festival at the 1996 World Shakespeare Congress in Los Angeles, which became the launching pad for this long-delayed book. Sarah Stanton of the Cambridge University Press added another incentive when in Los Angeles she encouraged me to submit an outline for evaluation. An anonymous reader for the Cambridge University Press did me an enormous favor by ferreting out errors of fact and judgment in an earlier draft and his/her industry has been matched by Jocelyn Pye's meticulous copy editing.

The Research Committee of the University of Vermont Graduate College generously contributed toward underwriting the book's movie stills, and other permissions fees. Many on the staff of the University of Vermont Library aided me, among them James T. Barickman, Nancy Crane, Martha T. Day, Barbara T. Lambert, and Roger F. Wiberg. I also have debts to the staff of the British Film Institute Library and National Film and Television Archive, especially Luke McKernan and Olwen Terris. Helpful persons like Rosemary Hanes at the Library of Congress Motion Picture Division, and Terry Geesken of the Museum of Modern Art went out of their way for me. In the pre-videocassette era, Barry M. Parker, Joseph G. Empsucha, and Candace Bothwell initiated me into the mysteries of the Steenbeck at the Folger Shakespeare Library film

[xiii]



# Preface to first edition

archive. Ken Wlaschin of the American Film Institute made some rare silent film materials available. I'm grateful to the lively film department at Burlington College, Chairman Ken Peck, and my Orson Welles teacher, Susan Henry, for helping me to make the crossover from Shakespeare to movies.

Among others who either advertently or inadvertently have helped along the way are the late Robert Hamilton Ball, Thomas Berger, Lynda E. Boose, Richard Burt, Mary Courtney, José Ramón Díaz-Fernández, Christina Egloff, Barbara Freedman, Kathy Grant, Kirk Hendershott-Kraetzer, Kathy Howlett, Michael Klossner, Patricia J. Lennox, Andrew M. McLean, Frank Manchel, Michael Manheim, the late Roger Manvell, Marjorie Meyer, Michael Mullin, Laurie Osborne, the late Ed Ruhe, Lisa S. Starks, Steve Toth, the late Sam Wanamaker, Stanley Wells, and Sara Woods. If I have overlooked anyone, I am truly sorry. Any errors in the pages that follow are of course entirely my responsibility.

Not least, I am grateful to my faithful and loving wife, Lyn, who put up with my becoming a grouchy recluse for two years.



### - ACKNOWLEDGMENTS -

On behalf of Neal-Schuman Publishers, Michelle Rivera Rodriguez has granted permission to quote from, and/or paraphrase and rework sections (particularly in chapter five, on television) of my previously published commentaries in Shakespeare on Screen: An International Filmography and Videography (New York: Neal-Schuman, 1990). I owe thanks to James Welsh, editor of Literature/Film Quarterly for permission to draw on my "Zeffirelli's Romeo and Juliet: Words into Picture and Music," LFQ 5.4. (Fall 1977), 326-32; Bege K. Bowers, co-editor of CEA Publications, for use of excerpts from my "Roman Polanski's Macbeth: the 'Privileging' of Ross," CEA Critic 46, 1&2 (1983-84), 50-55; Luis Gmaz for permitting some use of my review essay, "Kenneth Branagh's Henry V," in Comparative Drama 24.2 (1990), 173-78; and Jason Arthur of Routledge for authorizing borrowings from my "In Search of Nothing: Mapping King Lear," in Lynda E. Boose and Richard Burt (eds.), Shakespeare, The Movie (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 135-47. Frequently I have also relied on the Shakespeare on Film Newsletter for relevant data. Jacqueline Kavanagh of the BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham Park, Reading, allowed access to materials stored there and has given me helpful advice.

Excerpts from film reviews in *The New York Times* are: Copyright © 1896, 1921, 1922, 1927, 1929, 1947, 1949, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1960, 1966, 1967, 1971, 1974, 1980, 1983, 1985, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1996, by the New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission. In addition, Brian Whittaker, publishing director of *Sight and Sound* and *Monthly Film Bulletin*, has kindly consented to my quoting from film reviews.

Shakespeare quotations are from: G. Blakemore Evans (ed.), *The Riverside Shakespeare*. Copyright © 1974 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Used with permission.



# - ABBREVIATIONS -

BBC British Broadcasting Company

BFI British Film Institute

BUFVC British Universities Film & Video Council

CD Comparative Drama
CSM Christian Science Monitor
ETJ Educational Theatre Journal

FM Film Music FQ Film Quarterly FR Films in Review

LFQ Literature/Film Quarterly MFB Monthly Film Bulletin MG Manchester Guardian

MPW Moving Picture World and View Photographer

NFTVA National Film and Television Archive

NYHT New York Herald Tribune NYO The New York Observer NYRB New York Review of Books NYT The New York Times

PMLA Publications of the Modern Language Association

QFRT The Quarterly of Film, Radio,

and Television

RSC Royal Shakespeare Company

SB Shakespeare Bulletin

SFNL Shakespeare on Film Newsletter

SN Shakespeare Newsletter
SQ Shakespeare Quarterly
SS Shakespeare Survey
S&S Sight and Sound

TA Theatre Arts (previously Theatre Arts Monthly)

TN The Nation
TNY The New Yorker

[xvi]



Abbreviations

TRS The Riverside Shakespeare

TS Theatre Survey VV Village Voice

WAC BBC Written Archives Centre

WP Washington Post

[xvii]