

SHAKESPEARE IN PRODUCTION

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE

For over four hundred years, in every country where Shakespeare's plays have been performed, *The Merchant of Venice* has aroused controversy and excitement.

This edition is the first to offer a comprehensive account of the *Merchant* in performance. Charles Edelman's introduction challenges many of the myths and preconceptions associated with the play, and shows how historical events and cultural attitudes have shaped actors' interpretations and audience responses. The commentary, printed alongside the text, describes how different actors, directors and designers have approached each character and episode on stage, film and television, from the first performances in the 1590s down to the present day.

The extraordinary variety of *The Merchant of Venice* in production, from England to the United States, from Germany to Israel, from Canada to Australia to China, presented here in a clear and original way, will give every reader new and different insights into one of Shakespeare's most powerful but troubling plays.

SHAKESPEARE IN PRODUCTION

SERIES EDITORS: J. S. BRATTON AND JULIE HANKEY

This series offers students and researchers the fullest possible staging of individual Shakespearean texts. In each volume a substantial introduction presents a conceptual overview of the play, marking out the major stages of its representation and reception. The commentary, presented alongside the New Cambridge edition of the text itself, offers detailed, line-by-line evidence for the overview presented in the introduction, making the volume a flexible tool for further research. The editors have selected interesting and vivid evocations of settings, acting and stage presentation and range widely in time and space.

ALREADY PUBLISHED

- A Midsummer Night's Dream*, edited by Trevor R. Griffiths
Much Ado About Nothing, edited by John F. Cox
Antony and Cleopatra, edited by Richard Madelaine
Hamlet, edited by Robert Haggood
The Tempest, edited by Christine Dymkowski
King Henry V, edited by Emma Smith
Romeo and Juliet, edited by James N. Lochlin
The Taming of the Shrew, edited by Elizabeth Schafer

FORTHCOMING VOLUMES

- Macbeth*, edited by John Wilders
Twelfth Night, edited by Elizabeth Schafer
Troilus and Cressida, edited by Frances Shirley

THE MERCHANT OF
VENICE



EDITED BY
CHARLES EDELMAN
Edith Cowan University, Australia



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-77338-6 — The Merchant of Venice
William Shakespeare, Edited by Charles Edelman
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi - 110002, India
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.
It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of
education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521773386

© Cambridge University Press 2002

This publication 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 2002

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

ISBN 978-0-521-77338-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in
this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is,
or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Some portions of this book have appeared, in different form,
in *Shakespeare Survey* and *Theatre Notebook*.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-77338-6 — The Merchant of Venice
William Shakespeare, Edited by Charles Edelman
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

For Stratford's Gang of Three
PETER HOLLAND, RUSSELL JACKSON
ROBERT SMALLWOOD

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-77338-6 — The Merchant of Venice

William Shakespeare, Edited by Charles Edelman

Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

CONTENTS

List of illustrations	page viii
Series editors' preface	ix
Acknowledgments	xi
Editor's note	xiii
List of abbreviations	xiv
List of productions	xvi
Introduction	i
List of characters	94
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i> and commentary	95
Appendix 1	263
Appendix 2	265
Bibliography	267
Index	282

ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1 Henry Irving as Shylock. Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum. *page 24*
- 2 Augustin Daly's staging of the carnival following the elopement of Jessica and Lorenzo. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library. *28*
- 3 Jacob Adler as Shylock and Meta Maynard as Portia, Broadway production of 1903. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library. *31*
- 4 Ermete Novelli as Shylock. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library. *34*
- 5 Peter O'Toole as Shylock in Michael Langham's production, Stratford, 1960. Photograph by Angus McBean. Courtesy of the Shakespeare Centre Library. *60*
- 6 Patrick Stewart as Shylock and Avril Carson as Jessica in John Barton's production, Stratford, 1978. Photograph by Joe Cocks. Courtesy of the Shakespeare Centre Library. *67*
- 7 Dustin Hoffman as Shylock in Peter Hall's production, 1989. Courtesy of the photographer, John Haynes. *73*
- 8 Ron Leibman as Shylock and Byron Jennings as Antonio in Barry Edelstein's production, New York Shakespeare Festival, 1995. Courtesy of the photographer, Michal Daniel. *78*
- 9 Douglas Rain as Shylock in Marti Maraden's production, Stratford Festival of Canada, 1996. Photograph by Cylla von Tiedemann. Courtesy of the Stratford Festival Archives and Douglas Rain. *80*
- 10 Will LeBow as Shylock in the trial scene from Andrei Serban's production, American Repertory Theatre, 1998. Courtesy of the photographer, Richard Feldman. *83*
- 11 Gabrielle Jourdan as Jessica and Henry Goodman as Shylock in Trevor Nunn's production, Royal National Theatre, 1999. Courtesy of the photographer, John Haynes. *85*

SERIES EDITORS' PREFACE

It is no longer necessary to stress that the text of a play is only its starting-point, and that only in production is its potential realised and capable of being appreciated fully. Since the coming-of-age of Theatre Studies as an academic discipline, we now understand that even Shakespeare is only one collaborator in the creation and infinite recreation of his play upon the stage. And just as we now agree that no play is complete until it is produced, so we have become interested in the way in which plays often produced – and pre-eminently the plays of the national Bard, William Shakespeare – acquire a life history of their own, after they leave the hands of their first maker.

Since the eighteenth century Shakespeare has become a cultural construct: sometimes the guarantor of nationhood, heritage and the status quo, sometimes seized and transformed to be its critic and antidote. This latter role has been particularly evident in countries where Shakespeare has to be translated. The irony is that while his status as national icon grows in the English-speaking world, his language is both lost and renewed, so that for good or ill, Shakespeare can be made to seem more urgently 'relevant' than in England or America, and may become the one dissenting voice that the censors mistake as harmless.

'Shakespeare in Production' gives the reader, the student and the scholar a comprehensive dossier of materials – eye-witness accounts, contemporary criticism, promptbook marginalia, stage business, cuts, additions and rewritings – from which to construct an understanding of the many meanings that the plays have carried down the ages and across the world. These materials are organised alongside the New Cambridge Shakespeare text of the play, line by line and scene by scene, while a substantial introduction in each volume offers a guide to their interpretation. One may trace an argument about, for example, the many ways of playing Queen Gertrude, or the political transmutations of the text of *Henry V*; or take a scene, an act or a whole play, and work out how it has succeeded or failed in presentation over four hundred years.

For, despite our insistence that the plays are endlessly made and remade by history, Shakespeare is not a blank, scribbled upon by the age. Theatre history charts changes, but also registers something in spite of those changes. Some productions work and others do not. Two interpretations may be entirely different, and yet both will bring the play to life. Why? Without

x *Series editors' preface*

setting out to give absolute answers, the history of a play in the theatre can often show where the energy and shape of it lie, what has made it tick, through many permutations. In this way theatre history can find common ground with literary criticism. Both will find suggestive directions in the introductions to these volumes, while the commentaries provide raw material for readers to recreate the living experience of theatre, and become their own eye-witnesses.

*J. S. Bratton
Julie Hankey*

This series was originated by Jeremy Treglown and published by Junction Books, and later by Bristol Classical Press, as 'Plays in Performance'. Four titles were published; all are now out of print.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the advice and encouragement of many, this book could never have begun, no less been completed.

Werner Habicht offers proof, if proof is necessary, that the most distinguished Shakespeareans are invariably the most generous with their time and knowledge. If readers find this book worthwhile, much of the credit belongs to him, and to Jonathan Bate, Julia Briggs, Alan Brissenden, Alan Dessen, John Drakakis, Alison Findlay, Penny Gay, Andrew Gurr, Michael Hamburger, Michael Hattaway, Dennis Kennedy, Ton Hoenselaars, Wilhelm Hortmann, Rosalind King, Alexander Leggatt, Avraham Oz, Carol Chillington Rutter, Kate Shaw, R. S. White and to other friends, colleagues and students.

Two editors of other volumes in this series, Richard Madelaine and John Wilders, offered much valuable advice. The fine actor, Gordon Gould, and equally fine director, Jack O'Brien, also have my thanks for their willingness to share their reminiscences with me.

I must thank my colleague Wolfgang Frick for his expert work in translating documents from the German; I have also imposed upon Peter Bedford, Dragana Zivancevic, Bill Leadbetter and Fr. David Watt for their knowledge of Hebrew, Spanish, Latin and matters historical.

I could not have done without the assistance of my very professional colleagues at the Edith Cowan University Library, the Scholars Centre at the University of Western Australia Library and the staff at the many libraries, museums and theatres around the world. In England, I benefited from the expertise and courtesy to be found at the Shakespeare Centre and Shakespeare Institute at Stratford, and at the London Theatre Museum. Louise Ray at the Royal National Theatre was extraordinarily helpful.

In the United States and Canada, those at the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Theatre Collection of the New York Public Library and the Harvard University Theatre Collection helped me through a maze of potential problems, as did Ellen Charendoff and Jane Edmonds at the Stratford Ontario archives, Jim Taylor at the Washington Area Performing Arts Video Archive, and Robert Orchard, Katalin Mitchell and others at the American Repertory Theatre. Thanks also to the Columbia University Library, and to Tom Leowe of the University of Michigan's Theatre Department.

xii *Acknowledgments*

Part of my research was done while I had the privilege of being a member of the Common Room at Wolfson College, Oxford – my appreciation to Professor Jon Stallworthy and his colleagues for their kindness and hospitality. My thanks to the School of International, Cultural and Community Studies of Edith Cowan University for awarding me a travel grant.

Finally, I am grateful to the general editors of the ‘Shakespeare in Production’ series, J. S. Bratton and Julie Hankey, and to Sarah Stanton of Cambridge University Press, for inviting me to do this edition, and for providing such expert guidance. As usual, Lesley, Jacob and David Edelman offered support and assistance.

EDITOR'S NOTE

My first experience of the *Merchant* in performance was in 1962, when CBS TV broadcast the New York Shakespeare Festival's production from Central Park. Since then, especially in the past few years, I have seen a good many other productions – some in person, others by the archival videotapes now held in increasing numbers by theatre companies and libraries. When the practice of recording productions first began, these tapes were hardly watchable, but now the quality can be so high that one is able to gain a genuine impression of the performance.

Obviously, almost all of the commentary in this book is taken from reviews, biographies and other printed sources, but where no reference is given for an observation on a more recent performance, the reader may assume that it is my own.

THE SALADS, LANCELOT, ARRAGON

The text of the play given here is identical to M. M. Mahood's 1987 edition for Cambridge University Press, which serves up three 'Salads', as they are usually called: Solanio, Salarino and Salerio. But some editions, and nearly all productions, combine Salarino and Salerio into one character, and give him the latter's name.

In my introduction and commentary, where the distinction is unimportant, I silently change Salerio to Salarino, but when commenting on an actor's interpretation, I have been forced to adopt the somewhat clumsy, but I hope clear, Salerio/Salarino. When discussing Solanio and his friend together, I take the coward's way out and use 'the Salads', although I quite like the great theatrical diarist Gordon Crosse's 'Sallies'.

Lancelot is often spelled Launcelot, and Arragon is often Aragon. Except in quotations, I have adopted Mahood's spelling.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Amer. I</i>	Shattuck, <i>Shakespeare On the American Stage</i> , vol. I
<i>Amer. II</i>	Shattuck, <i>Shakespeare On the American Stage</i> , vol. II
<i>Annals. I</i>	Odell, <i>Annals of the New York Stage</i> , vol. I
<i>Annals. II</i>	Odell, <i>Annals of the New York Stage</i> , vol. II
APA	Association of Producing Artists
ART	American Repertory Theatre
<i>BDET</i>	<i>Boston Daily Evening Traveler</i>
<i>BET</i>	<i>Boston Evening Transcript</i>
<i>BG</i>	<i>Boston Globe</i>
<i>ctd</i>	cited
<i>CR</i>	<i>Chicago Review</i>
<i>CSM</i>	<i>Christian Science Monitor</i>
<i>CT</i>	<i>Chicago Tribune</i>
<i>CW</i>	<i>Catholic World</i>
<i>DM</i>	<i>Daily Mail</i> , London
<i>DT</i>	<i>Daily Telegraph</i> , London
<i>Enc</i>	<i>Encounter</i>
<i>ETJ</i>	<i>Educational Theatre Journal</i>
<i>FT</i>	<i>Financial Times</i> , London
<i>GCA</i>	<i>Globe and Commercial Advertiser</i> , New York
<i>Gdn</i>	<i>Guardian</i> , London
<i>GM</i>	<i>Globe and Mail</i> , Toronto
<i>HR</i>	<i>Hudson Review</i>
<i>IHT</i>	<i>International Herald Tribune</i>
<i>Ind</i>	<i>Independent</i> , London
<i>IO</i>	<i>Inter Ocean</i> , Chicago
<i>Irv.Amer</i>	<i>Mr Henry Irving and Miss Ellen Terry in America</i>
<i>JC</i>	<i>Jewish Chronicle</i> , London
<i>JE</i>	<i>Jewish Exponent</i> , New York
<i>JP</i>	<i>Jerusalem Post</i>
<i>LD</i>	<i>Literary Digest</i> , New York
<i>Lst</i>	<i>The Listener</i>
<i>Macl</i>	<i>Macleans</i>
<i>NQ</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>NR</i>	<i>New Republic</i>

<i>NS</i>	<i>New Statesman</i>
<i>NYDN</i>	<i>New York Daily News</i>
<i>NYP</i>	<i>New York Post</i>
<i>NYPL</i>	New York Public Library
<i>NYRB</i>	<i>New York Review of Books</i>
<i>NYT</i>	<i>New York Times</i>
<i>Obs</i>	<i>Observer</i> , London
<i>PAC</i>	<i>Performing Arts in Canada</i>
<i>pmt</i>	promptbook
<i>PP</i>	<i>Plays and Players</i>
<i>qtd</i>	quoted
<i>RSC</i>	Royal Shakespeare Company
<i>SB</i>	<i>Shakespeare Bulletin</i>
<i>Shak. I</i>	Odell, <i>Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving</i> , vol. I
<i>Shak. II</i>	Odell, <i>Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving</i> , vol. II
<i>SN</i>	<i>Shakespeare Newsletter</i>
<i>SQ</i>	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
<i>SR</i>	<i>Saturday Review</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Sunday Times</i> , London
<i>TA</i>	<i>Theatre Arts</i>
<i>TES</i>	<i>Times Educational Supplement</i>
<i>TJ</i>	<i>Theatre Journal</i>
<i>TLS</i>	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
<i>TW</i>	<i>Theatre World</i>
<i>VV</i>	<i>Village Voice</i> , New York
<i>WSJ</i>	<i>Wall Street Journal</i>
<i>WP</i>	<i>Washington Post</i>

Note

Journal references appear in an abbreviated form in the text, but can be found in full in the Bibliography.

PRODUCTIONS

This list provides a guide to productions mentioned in the text. For earlier productions, the year indicates the first, or most significant performance of a particular actor or by a particular company – throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, English, American and German actors worked at many theatres in the course of their careers, so a complete and detailed chronology is not possible here.

Unless otherwise noted, English theatres are located in London, but even in the age of the patent duopoly, the luminaries of Drury Lane and Covent Garden frequently performed in Ireland and in other cities in England. American productions that had their main run in New York often toured elsewhere. Productions at Stratford, with the exception of John Barton's in 1978, were in the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, later renamed the Royal Shakespeare Theatre.

In early productions especially, Portia was played by any number of actresses. Only the main ones, where they are known, are given here.

Year	Manager/ Director	Company/ Theatre	Shylock	Portia
<i>c.</i> 1596	W. Shakespeare (author)	Lord Chamberlain's		
1605	Shakespeare	King's Men		
1701	George Granville (author)	Lincoln's Inn Fields	Thomas Doggett	Anne Bracegirdle
1741	Charles Macklin	Drury Lane	Macklin	Kitty Clive
1752	Lewis Hallam	Williamsburg	Patrick Malone	Beatrice Hallam
1767	Charles Macklin	Covent Garden	Macklin	Maria Macklin Elizabeth Younge [Mrs Pope]
1777	F. L. Schröder	National, Hamburg	Schröder	Dorothea Ackermann
1783	A. W. Iffland	National, Mannheim	Iffland	Karoline Renschübb
1784	J. P. Kemble	Drury Lane	Kemble	Elizabeth Kemble
1786	J. P. Kemble	Drury Lane	Tom King	Sarah Siddons

List of productions xvii

Year	Manager/ Director	Company/ Theatre	Shylock	Portia
1797	Ferdinand Fleck	National, Berlin	Fleck	
1800	G. F. Cooke	Covent Garden	Cooke	Harriet Murray
1803	J. P. Kemble	Covent Garden	Cooke	Sarah Siddons
1814	Edmund Kean	Drury Lane	Kean	Miss Smith
c.1815	Ludwig Devrient	National, Berlin	Devrient	
c.1835	Karl Seydelmann	National, Berlin	Seydelmann	
1836	Charles Kemble	Covent Garden	Kemble	Helen Faucit
1837	Benjamin Webster	Haymarket	Samuel Phelps	Polly Huddart [Mrs Warner]
1839	William Macready	Haymarket	Macready	Helen Faucit
1841	William Macready	Drury Lane	Macready	Mary Warner
1852	Karl Quanter	Hoftheater, Dresden	B. Dawison	
1853	Catherine Sinclair	San Francisco Theatre	Edwin Booth	Sinclair
1854	Edwin Booth/ Laura Keene	Royal Victoria, Sydney	Booth	Keene
1858	Charles Kean	Princess's	Kean	Ellen Tree [Mrs Kean]
1861	Edwin Booth	Winter Garden, NY	Booth	Jane Eliza Thomson [Mrs Charles Young]
1867	Edwin Booth	Winter Garden/ Haymarket	Booth	Marie Methua Scheller
1875	Augustin Daly	USA tour	E. L. Davenport	Carlotta Leclercq
1875	Squire Bancroft/ Marie Bancroft	Prince of Wales	Charles Coghlan	Ellen Terry
1875	F. von Dingelstedt	Burgtheater, Vienna	F. Mitterwurzer	
1879	Henry Irving	Lyceum	Irving	Ellen Terry
1886	Lawrence Barrett	USA tour	Barrett	Minna Gale
1887	F. R. Benson	Stratford	Benson	Ethel Johnson
1889	Barrett/Booth	USA tour	Booth	Helena Modjeska Minna Gale
1893	F. R. Benson	Stratford	Lyall Swete	Constance Benson
1893	Richard Mansfield	USA tour	Mansfield	Beatrice Cameron
1894	F. R. Benson	New Theatre, Oxford	Benson	Constance Benson

xviii *List of productions*

Year	Manager/ Director	Company/ Theatre	Shylock	Portia
1897	Ben Greet	Olympic	Nutcombe Gould	Lily Hanbury
1897 ff.	F. R. Benson	Stratford/touring	Benson	Constance Benson Marion Terry Margaret Halstan Eleanor Calhoun
1898	Augustin Daly	Daly's, NY	Sidney Herbert	Ada Rehan
1898	William Poel	St George's Hall	Poel	Eleanor Calhoun
1901	Jacob Adler	People's, NY	Adler	Sara Adler
1903	Jacob Adler/ Arthur Hopkins	58th Street, NY	Adler	Meta Meynard
1905	Max Reinhardt	Deutsches, Berlin	R. Schildkraut	Else Heims Agnes Sorma
1905	Arthur Bouchier	Garrick	Bouchier	Violet Vanbrugh
1905	E. H. Sothern/ Julia Marlowe	USA tour	Sothern	Marlowe
1907	Ermete Novelli	USA tour	Novelli	Olga Giannini Novelli
1907	F. R. Benson	Stratford	Arthur Bouchier	Violet Vanbrugh
1906–7	Robert Mantell	USA tour	Mantell	Marie Russell
1908	Herbert Beerbohm Tree	His Majesty's	Tree	Alexandra Carlisle
1910	Gerolamo Lo Salvio	Film d'arte Italiana	Novelli	Olga Giannini Novelli
1910	Oscar Asche	Australian tour	Asche	Lily Brayton
1911	Boris Thomashevsky/ Rudolf Schildkraut	People's, NY	Schildkraut	Sara Adler
1913	J. Forbes- Robertson	Drury Lane	Forbes- Robertson	Gertrude Elliot
1913	John Drinkwater	Birmingham Rep.	Ivor Barnard	Margaret Chatwin
1913	Max Reinhardt	Deutsches, Berlin	Albert Basserman	Else Heims
1915	Henry Jewett	Boston Opera House	Lark Taylor	Cynthia Latham

List of productions xix

Year	Manager/ Director	Company/ Theatre	Shylock	Portia
1915–18	Ben Greet	Old Vic	Greet	Beatrice Wilson Sybil Thorndike Margaret Halstan Hutin Britton
1916	Herbert Beerbohm Tree	New Amsterdam, NY	Tree	Elsie Ferguson
1918	George Foss	Old Vic	Russell Thorndike Ernest Milton	Florence Saunders
1918	Max Reinhardt	Deutsches, Berlin	Alexander Moissi	Else Heims
1919	J. B. Fagan	Court	M. Moscovitch L. Bouwmeester	Mary Grey Muriel Pratt
1921	W. Bridges-Adams	Stratford	L. Bouwmeester	Dorothy Green
1921	Walter Hampden	Broadhurst, NY	Hampden	Mary Hall
1921	Max Reinhardt	Schauspielhaus, Berlin	Werner Krauss	Agnes Straub
1922	Robert Atkins	Old Vic	Ernest Milton	Florence Buckton Sybil Thorndike
1922	David Belasco	Lyceum, NY	David Warfield	Mary Servoss
1923	Robert Atkins	Old Vic	Atkins	Florence Buckton
1924	Robert Atkins	Old Vic	Hay Petrie	Florence Saunders
1924	Max Reinhardt	Josefstadt, Vienna	Fritz Kortner	
1925	Andrew Leigh	Old Vic	Balliol Holloway	Edith Evans
1925	Walter Hampden	Hampden's, NY	Hampden	Ethel Barrymore
1927	Jürgen Fehling	Staatliche, Berlin	Fritz Kortner	Elisabeth Bergner
1927	Andrew Leigh	Lyric, Hammersmith	Lewis Casson	Sybil Thorndike
1928	Winthrop Ames	Broadhurst, NY	George Arliss	Peggy Wood
1928	Ben Greet	England tour	Greet	Margaret Webster
1928	F. R. Benson	King's, Hammersmith	Benson	Madge Compton
1929	Harcourt Williams	Old Vic	Brember Wills	Martita Hunt
1930	Andrew Leigh	USA tour	M. Moscovitch	Selena Royle
1930	Maurice Schwartz (excerpts)	RKO Vaudeville	Schwartz	
1932	John Gielgud	Old Vic	Malcolm Keen	Peggy Ashcroft
1932	T. Komisarjevsky	Stratford	Randle Ayrton	Fabia Drake

xx *List of productions*

Year	Manager/ Director	Company/ Theatre	Shylock	Portia
1932	Ernest Milton	St. James's	Milton	Mary Newcomb
1934	Max Reinhardt	Campo San Trovaso, Venice	Memo Benassi	Marta Abba
1934	Stanley Bell/ Oswald Stoll	Alhambra	Franklin Dyall	Marie Ney
1935	Arthur Phillips	Lyric, Hammersmith	Phillips	Rosemary Scott
1936	Leopold Jessner	Habimah, Tel Aviv	Aharon Meskin Shim'on Finkel	Hanna Rovina
1938	John Gielgud/ Glen Byam Shaw	Queen's	Gielgud	Peggy Ashcroft
1938	Orson Welles	Columbia Records	Welles	Brenda Forbes
1938	Donald Wolfit	People's Palace	Wolfit	Rosalinde Fuller
1943	Lothar Müthel	Burgtheater, Vienna	Werner Krauss	
1943	Esmé Church	British tour	Frederick Valk	Kay Bannerman
1948	Michael Benthall	Stratford	Robert Helpmann	Diana Wynyard
1953	Albert Marre	NY City Center	Luther Adler	Margaret Phillips
1953	Hugh Hunt	Old Vic	Paul Rogers	Irene Worth
1953	Dennis Carey	Stratford	Michael Redgrave	Peggy Ashcroft
1954–5	Michael Benthall	Australian tour	Robert Helpmann	Katharine Hepburn
1955	Tyrone Guthrie	Stratford, Ontario	Frederick Valk	Frances Hyland
1956	Michael Benthall	Old Vic	Robert Helpmann	Diana Wynyard
1956	Margaret Webster	Stratford	Emlyn Williams	Margaret Johnston
1957	Jack Landau	Stratford, CT	Morris Carnovsky	Katharine Hepburn
1959	Tyrone Guthrie	Habimah, Tel Aviv	Aharon Meskin Shim'on Finkel	Shoshana Ravid
1960	Michael Langham	Stratford	Peter O'Toole	Dorothy Tutin
1962	Joseph Papp/ Gladys Vaughan	Delacorte, NY	George C. Scott	Nan Martin
1962	Allen Fletcher	Globe, San Diego	Morris Carnovsky	Jacqueline Brooks
1963	Erwin Piscator	Freie Volksbühne, Berlin	Ernst Deutsch	Hilde Krahl

Year	Manager/ Director	Company/ Theatre	Shylock	Portia
1963	Richard Baldrige	APA, Ann Arbor	Paul Sparer	Rosemary Harris
1965	Clifford Williams	RSC, Stratford	Eric Porter	Janet Suzman
1966	George Tabori	Stockbridge, MA	Alvin Epstein	Viveca Lindfors
1969	Otto Schenk	Austrian/W. German TV	Fritz Kortner	Sabine Sinjen
1969	Orson Welles	unfinished film	Welles	
1970	Jean Gascon	Stratford, Ontario	Donald Davis	Maureen O'Brien
1970	Jonathan Miller	National, Old Vic	Laurence Olivier	Joan Plowright
1971	Terry Hands	RSC, Stratford	Emrys James	Judi Dench Susan Fleetwood
1972	Yossi Yzraeli	Cameri, Tel Aviv	Avner Hyskiahu	Germaine Unikovsky
1972	Cedric Messina	BBC TV	Frank Finlay	Maggie Smith
1972	Peter Zadek	Schauspielhaus, Bochum	Hans Mahnke	Rosel Zech
1973	Jonathan Miller	BBC TV	Laurence Olivier	Joan Plowright
1973	Ellis Rabb	Lincoln Center, NY	Sydney Walker	Rosemary Harris
1976	Bill Glassco	Stratford, Ontario	Hume Cronyn	Jackie Burroughs
1978	John Barton	RSC, Stratford	Patrick Stewart	Marjorie Bland Lisa Harrow
1980	Jack Gold	BBC TV	Warren Mitchell	Gemma Jones
1980	Barry Kyle	Cameri, Tel Aviv	Avner Hyskiahu	Gita Munte
1980	Zhang Qi-hong	Chinese Youth Theatre	Jiang Shui	
1981	John Barton	RSC, Stratford	David Suchet	Sinead Cusack
1984	John Caird	RSC, Stratford	Ian McDiarmid	Frances Tomelty
1984	Mark Lamos	Stratford, Ontario	John Neville	Domini Blythe
1985	Thomas Langhoff	Deutsches, Berlin	Fred Düren	Dagmar Manzel
1987	Bill Alexander	RSC, Stratford	Antony Sher	Deborah Findlay
1988	Michael Langham	Washington, DC	Brian Bedford	Kelly McGillis
1988	Peter Zadek	Vienna Burgtheater	Gert Voss	Eva Mattes
1989	Michael Langham	Stratford, Ontario	Brian Bedford	Seana McKenna
1989	Peter Hall	Phoenix/46th Street, NY	Dustin Hoffman	Geraldine James

xxii *List of productions*

Year	Manager/ Director	Company/ Theatre	Shylock	Portia
1991	Tim Luscombe	English Shakespeare Company, Lyric, Hammersmith	John Woodvine	Lois Harvey
1992	José Carlos Plaza	Teatro María Guerrero, Madrid	José P. Carrión	Ana Belin
1993	C. T. Gonzaga	Limite: 151, Brasilia	Edney Giovenazzi	Gláucia Rodrigues
1993	David Thacker	RSC, Stratford	David Calder	Penny Downie
1993	Mark Lamos	Hartford Stage Co., Hartford, CT	Mike Nussbaum	Joan McCurtrey
1994	Peter Sellars	Goodman, Chicago	Paul Butler	Elaine Tse
1994	Jude Kelly	West Yorkshire Playhouse, Leeds	Gary Waldhorn	Nichola McAuliffe
1994	Kang Ansheng	Children's Art Theatre Shanghai	Xia Zhiqing	Cai Jinping
1995	Peter Zadek	Berliner Ensemble	Gert Voss	Eva Mattes
1995	Barry Edelstein	NY Shakespeare Festival	Ron Leibman	Laila Robins
1996	Alan Horrox	Thames Television	Bob Peck	Haydn Gwynne
1996	Marti Maraden	Stratford, Ontario	Douglas Rain	Susan Coyne
1997	Gregory Doran	RSC, Stratford	Philip Voss	Helen Schlesinger
1998	Richard Olivier	Shakespeare's Globe	Norbert Kentrup	Kathryn Pogson
1998	Andrei Serban	ART, Cambridge, MA	Will LeBow	Kristin Flanders
1999	Michael Kahn	Washington, DC	Hal Holbrook	Enid Graham
1999	Trevor Nunn	Royal National	Henry Goodman	Derbhle Crotty