NOTES

Preface and Chapter I

- 1 Unless otherwise stated, all citations to *Coriolanus* in this chapter are from Parker's edition of the play. Some productions have used a text with the spelling 'Marcius', but for consistency I have used the spelling 'Martius' throughout the book except when quoting scholars and reviewers who use the former spelling.
- 2 We cannot know how collectively the early modern actors actually spoke here, but they do speak with a unified purpose.
- 3 Ripley (79) attributes the comic additions to Cibber.
- 4 The comments in this paragraph are based on the 1811 prompt-book, held in the Folger Library. See also Ripley's discussion (117) of the existing texts related to Kemble's productions.
- 5 Ripley (135) takes the prompt-book's direction 'Everybody to the last Act' at the top of Act 5 to mean that all the supernumeraries from the ovation appeared in this scene.
- 6 The prompt-book for these productions is held in the Folger Library.

Chapter II

- 1 While the SMT had only been running for eighty years, Stanley Wells notes that in some years the company held more than one season (*Royal Shakespeare* 5).
- 2 See Howard's "'My Travail's History'".
- 3 See also Hall's *Making an Exhibition*, 140–141. Ripley relates (391) that he was not able to locate the 1938 prompt-book.
- 4 The prompt-book is held in the archives at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust in Stratford-upon-Avon. It is based on the 1958 Cambridge edition, edited by John Dover Wilson. All references to the text in this chapter are to that edition.
- 5 Wells asserts that all of 2.2 was deleted, though it was rehearsed (*Royal Shakespeare* 8–9). The prompt-book directions for 2.2 are all crossed out but the dialogue for much of 2.2 is not. The sound recording of the production, held in the British Library's sound archive, does not include 2.2 but other parts of the play not cut from the prompt-book are also missing from the recording. See Weinstein for a discussion of the recording.
- 6 The colour picture in Rich and Aronson's book (134) gives the best view of the set.
- 7 There is no video recording of the production; comments about line delivery are derived from the sound recording in the British Library.
- 8 The same omissions occur in the Tribunes' dialogue in 1.1 and 2.1; after

Martius and the others exit in both scenes, the tape cuts out, though much of their political calculation remains in the prompt-book.

- 9 See Olivier's own account of critics comparing him unfavourably to Gielgud in *On Acting* 70–74.

Chapter III

- 1 The note on 374 of Brecht's play-text gives a composition date of between 1951 and 1952.
- 2 The note on 265 of Brecht's 'Study' gives a date of 1953; the note on 265 of the play-text gives a date of 1954.
- 3 This information appears in the notes to the Ensemble version of the play; see Wekwerth and Tenschert, 'Shakespeare's *Coriolan*' 332.
- 4 See also, for instance, Grass's preface to the published version of the play; Schofield; and Ripley 307–312.
- 5 The script may have been authored or devised collectively but most publications, including the play-text in the *Collected Works* edition, attribute authorship to Brecht. For an account that vehemently questions Brecht's authorship of this and other works see Fuegi.
- 6 As the notes at the end of Wekwerth and Tenschert's script indicate, the published version of the play prints Dorothea Tieck's translation of Shakespeare's 1.4–1.10. See also the note on 396 of the Brecht script.
- 7 Setje-Eilers 368 notes that the uprising did, however, encourage artists to demand further freedoms.
- 8 See Jansohn for a history of the Shakespeare-Gesellschaft during the Cold War.
- 9 See Gunter, 'In Search' 183–186 for an account of the authorities shutting down Adolf Dresen's 'experimental' 1964 *Hamlet*.
- 10 There is no video recording of this production; the audio recording is held in the sound archive at the British Library. It is not clear if surtitles were used for the benefit of English-speaking audiences.
- 11 I attribute authorship to Wekwerth and Tenschert because, although the second note in the published script of the Ensemble's *Coriolanus* says that the script represents Brecht's corrections, Wekwerth and Tenschert directed the play, and were responsible for its final shape. See 'Shakespeare's *Coriolan*' 332.
- 12 Photographs of the production are in the National Theatre archive in London.
- 13 See also Brecht's 'The Modern Theatre Is the Epic Theatre'.
- 14 See the note on 42 of Brecht's 'The Modern Theatre Is the Epic Theatre'.
- 15 The script is vague with regards to how the Lictors prepared the scene for the triumphal procession, but photographs show the captured armour on display stands.
- 16 See Wekwerth 'Experiments' and Carlson.
- 17 The programme for the 1971 production is held in the National Theatre archive in London.
- 18 Photographs of the 1971 production are held in the National Theatre archive in London.

- 19 The recording is held in the sound archive at the British Library.
- 20 Photographs of the 1970 production are held in the Royal Shakespeare Company Archives in Stratford-upon-Avon.
- 21 The prompt-book for the 1970 production is held in the Royal Shakespeare Company archive in Stratford-upon-Avon.

Chapter IV

- 1 According to the Office for National Statistics, work-days lost to strikes annually in Britain increased from 2.78 million in 1967 to 23.9 million in 1972. For more on labour unrest in the early 1970s, see Whitehead 70–98. For an account of the miner's strike, see Taylor, *The NUM* 49–109.
- 2 Beauman reports that attendance for Aldwych plays had been up to 82 per cent capacity for the 1970–71 season (314).
- 3 See Addenbrooke 151–152 and 156–159, and Beauman 295–297.
- 4 For critics making a connection between the two seasons see Crick; Elsom 'Roman'; and Hurren, 'Roman Balance'.
- 5 For Hall's comments on his 'radical' politics and the need to make Shakespeare's works relevant, see Addenbrooke 66. See the policy statement in *Royal Shakespeare Theatre Company 1960–1963* (8) for an articulation of the ideology of modern relevance. Hall reiterates these ideas in his interview with Berry, but refers to himself there as an exponent of 'classicism' (208–209). For Nunn's comments on his desire to create 'politically aware' and popular theatre in an ensemble context, see Addenbrooke 182–183. Nunn distances himself from a 'political' approach to theatre, however, in 'Director in Interview' (16). See also Sinfield's 'Royal Shakespeare' and McCullough.
- 6 The prompt-books for the 1972 and 1973 productions are based on Hibbard's Penguin edition of *Coriolanus*. Unless otherwise stated, all scene and line references to the play in this chapter are to that edition.
- 7 See the first note.
- 8 Nunn acknowledged that the power cuts from the strike set back construction of the new stage at Stratford (Nunn and Jones 57).
- 9 See Rutter's *Enter the Body* 75–81 for more on these issues in relation to the 1972 *Antony and Cleopatra*.
- 10 During a 1972 interview, Nunn paraphrased this passage from Nietzsche (Nunn and Morley 26).
- 11 I would like to thank Alexander Leggatt, who saw the production, for relating this detail to me during a conversation in January 2003.
- 12 Oakes relates that Williamson stopped a London performance of *Inadmissible Evidence* 'after a gruelling run of matinees and damn[ed] the show's management as "a second-rate Mikado with a whip"'. Apparently, Williamson also physically assaulted the impresario David Merrick.
- 13 The sound recording of the 1973 production is held in the British Library's sound archive. There is no film recording of the 1973 production. The archive does not contain a recording of the 1972 production.
- 14 The prompt-book directions do not indicate when he acquired this necklace, or what it represented.

- 15 In 1973 John Nettleton replaced Westwell as Sicinius and Philip Locke replaced James as Brutus, which may have affected changes in critical opinion.

Chapter V

- 1 In this section of the chapter, scene and line numbers follow G.R. Hibbard's Penguin edition of the play, upon which the RSC prompt-book is based. The prompt-book is in the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust archive in Stratford-upon-Avon.
- 2 He won it for performances in *Coriolanus*, the *Henry VI* plays and *Wild Oats*. See Daniell for an account of the European tour.
- 3 For more on the Arts Council under Conservative governments during the 1980s, see Sinclair 247–333.
- 4 The text was only cut by approximately 265 lines. For more on his 'relaxed' directorial approach, see Beauman 324; Breen; Hampton-Reeves and Rutter 80–107; and Mulryne 331–332.
- 5 There is no film of the production. The sound recording is housed in the British Library sound archive.
- 6 Daniell (35) describes this final moment in 4.1 from the tour, when Jill Baker played Virgilia. It is not clear from the 1977 prompt-book whether or not Chandler did the same in performances in England.
- 7 Scene and line numbers follow the BBC script in the BBC portion of the chapter.

Chapter VI

- 1 For more on the National Theatre see Callow; Cook, *The National Theatre*; Elsom and Tomalin; Lewis, *The National*; and the National Theatre, *The Complete Guide*.
- 2 After the London staging closed in August 1985, the company toured *Coriolanus* to the Herod Atticus Theatre in Athens for a two-night run in mid-September.
- 3 Accounts of the difficulties experienced in opening the South Bank complex appear in Elsom and Tomalin 273–280, 299–301, 304–307; Fay 235–237; and Lewis, *The National* 89–90, 108–110. For more on strikes at the National, see Elsom and Tomalin 282; Fay 238–239, 241, 274–275; Hall, *Diaries* 248–253, 296–299, 302–305, 421–435; Hall, *Making an Exhibition* 293, 300–302; Lewis, *The National* 115–117, 124–125, 127–130. Hall discusses voting Tory in his *Diaries* 434. For accounts of the *Romans in Britain* scandal, see Fay 278–282; Hall, *Making an Exhibition* 314–315; and Lewis, *The National* 141–148.
- 4 See Kavanagh 123–150 for a discussion of the abandonment of consensus by both left- and right-wing constituencies in the 1970s. See also Harrison, 'The Rise' for a discussion of postwar consensus. For accounts of such changes in Britain during the 1970s and 1980s, see Harrison's *Finding A Role?*; Kavanagh; and Vinen.
- 5 For more on the alternative theatre movement of the 1970s, see Itzin,

- Stages in the Revolution*. Kershaw offers an account of alternative and community theatre in Britain from the 1960s to the 1980s on 93–205. See Peacock 2–5 for the effect that the abandonment of consensus politics by the radical left had on oppositional theatre in Britain in the 1970s. For accounts of the Arts Council's funding of 'alternative' theatre, see Sinclair 148–176; and Witts 318–329.
- 6 Peacock offers an account of British theatre during the Thatcher era. Sinclair notes on 273 that half the Arts Council's Drama Panel resigned in frustration after being consistently ignored by senior Council officers. See also Fay 303–309; Lewis, *The National* 172–182; and Hall, *Making an Exhibition* 332–335.
 - 7 For accounts of the strike, see Adeney and Lloyd; Taylor, *The NUM* 173–234; and Wilsher et al.
 - 8 See Adeney and Lloyd 202–217; Taylor, *The NUM* 214–228; and Vinen 165.
 - 9 See Bedford 139–142, 151–153; Hall, 'J'accuse' 7; Worth.
 - 10 The prompt-book is based on Hibbard's edition of the play. All line and scene references in this chapter are keyed to Hibbard's edition.
 - 11 The sound recording of the production is held in the British Library's sound archive. There is no film of the production.
 - 12 Bedford remarks that McKellen suggested during rehearsal that Coriolanus should present his son to Aufidius but that the idea was rejected at the time because the scene was supposed to be 'about the ladies' (300).

Chapter VII

- 1 For general histories of Hungary that include accounts of the Kádár era, see Kontler; Lendvai; and Molnár, *Concise*. For accounts of twentieth-century Hungarian history that include lengthy analyses of the country under Kádár, see Congdon and Király; Gyáni et al.; Molnár, *From Béla Kun*; and Tökés. See also Gough.
- 2 For an account of the Hungarian theatre under this form of communism see Márkus, 'War'; and Schandl, especially 1–32.
- 3 For accounts of reformers within the communist party and the activities of intellectual dissidents, see Gough 212–58; Molnár, *From Béla Kun* 199–211; Tökés 167–209.
- 4 For accounts of Shakespeare in Hungary, see Dávidházi, 'Camel, Weasel, Whale'; Dávidházi, *Romantic*; Dávidházi, 'Weimar'; Klein and Dávidházi, eds; Márkus, 'War'; Reuss; Schandl.
- 5 His script is based on a translation by Eörsi István. References to scene numbers and to quotations in English from the play in this chapter follow Parker's edition. Because the typed prompt-book, which is Székely's director's script, does not include line numbers, I use page numbers after the parenthetically cited Hungarian dialogue as the most precise way to indicate that dialogue's location in Székely's script. The prompt-book is held in the archive of the Országos Színháztörténeti Múzeum és Intézet in Budapest.
- 6 The video is of a television broadcast of the production. The broadcast

used Székely's text of the script, which indicates cuts, textual alterations and blocking. Comparisons of production photographs, the director's script and the video reveal that the broadcast performance was very similar to the stage production. The video is in the archives of the Országos Színháztörténeti Múzeum és Intézet in Budapest.

- 7 Schandl covers these productions in her chapters 2, 3, 7 and 8. Especially significant was Cserhalmi's turn as Hamlet in an experimental 1981 production, which the actor described as encapsulating the struggle their postwar generation of intellectuals faced between futile action and equally futile inaction in a functional but profoundly decaying society (Schandl 57–58). This opinion was echoed by *Hamlet's* director and Cserhalmi's close friend Gábor Bódy, who committed suicide shortly after Székely's *Coriolanus* opened in 1985. Bódy must have felt the dilemma of his society's artists sharply considering that he may have been informing on colleagues since the 1970s (Schandl 63–64).
- 8 I am very grateful to Ágnes Juhász-Ormsby for providing the translations of the reviewers' comments.

Chapter VIII

- 1 For accounts of this scandal, see Walsh; and 'Iran-Contra Affair' in Levy. For an account of the impact of the scandal on Bush's 1988 presidential campaign, see Parnet 305–320.
- 2 For accounts of the NYSF's history and Papp's role in it, see Epstein; Lennox; Little; and Turan and Papp. Epstein offers a general account of the Marathon on 429–439.
- 3 For discussions of this tradition, see Cartelli; and Sturgess.
- 4 The radio programme script for *Coriolanus*, held in the New York Public Library's Billy Rose Theatre Collection, adopted the same carnival-barker-cum-authentically-Jacobean tone.
- 5 For other overviews of Berkoff's career, see Cross; and Curren.
- 6 Berkoff explains these ideas more fully in 'Three Theatre Manifestos'. See Cross; Curren; and Rosen for more on Berkoff's directorial style.
- 7 Scholars have noted Berkoff's tendency to maintain exceptional control over his productions, and have questioned his commitment to his avowed democratic principles. As Rosen argues (102–103), Berkoff places himself at the centre of his own stagings, often taking over the lead role himself, as he did for a 1995 *Coriolanus* in Leeds (though not for his other stagings of the play in Germany in 1991 and Australia in 1996). For an account of the German production, see Berkoff's *Coriolanus in Deutschland*.
- 8 As Cross suggests, Berkoff has actually 'needed the theatre Establishment as something to defy ... in order to define and create both his own dramaturgical and performance style and his "outsider" persona' (83). Besides his role as Hitler, he also plotted against America as Soviet General Orlov in the 1983 James Bond vehicle *Octopussy*, and played Soviet Colonel Podovsky, who tortured Sylvester Stallone's hero John Rambo in *Rambo: First Blood Part II* (1985).

- 9 According to Masha Leon, Paul Hecht's Menenius also had a homburg, a cane and a fur-trimmed black overcoat (*The Forward* 6 January 1989).
- 10 He made twenty-nine clarifying alterations, which often follow the glosses in Brower's Signet edition. Because Brower's edition served as the basis for the prompt-book, all references to the play in this chapter are from that edition.
- 11 The programme and prompt-book are held in the New York Public Library's Billy Rose Theatre Collection.
- 12 The same effect occurs in 3.1 to 'All's' lines, in 4.5 to the First Serving-man's speech, and the First Watch's lines in 5.2.
- 13 More specifically, his headwear seemed derived from rap music's African-inspired fashion of the late 1980s, while the rest of his outfit looked like a combination of rap artist Grandmaster Flash in his political music video 'The Message' (1982) and the S1Ws, a security detail dressed in military fatigues which came to perform with the political rap group Public Enemy in the 1980s.

Chapter IX

- 1 For accounts of these events, see McRoberts 190–244.
- 2 For an account of the *Cycle*, see Salter, 'Between Wor(l)ds'.
- 3 Unless otherwise stated, all translations in this chapter are mine.
- 4 For discussions of Shakespeare and globalization, see Massai; Kujawinska-Courtney and Mercer; and Worthen. For discussions of Lepage's Shakespearean work, see Fricker; Hodgdon, 'Macbeth'; Hodgdon, *The Shakespeare Trade*; Kidnie; Knowles; Lieblein; Salter, 'Between Wor(l)ds'; and Steen and Werry.
- 5 The FTA programme, pp. 6–8, indicates that the plays are written in three different types of Québécois.
- 6 The *Cycle* toured to France, Switzerland, Germany and within Québec. It was co-produced with the Am Turm Theatre in Frankfurt, the Théâtre Maubeuge (France), the Festival d'Automne in Paris, the Zürcher Theater Spektakel, Montréal's FTA and Théâtre Rèpere, the Québec company with which Lepage often worked. *Coriolan* was co-produced in Nottingham with the Nottingham Playhouse. For an account of the dual Québécois and international identities of Lepage's current company, ExMachina, see Harvie and Hurley.
- 7 For more on the language in Garneau's *Macbeth*, see Brisset 109–161.
- 8 Garneau either deletes or alters references to the Graeco-Roman world from forty-two places in Shakespeare's script. Typical of Garneau's translation is his prosaic rendering of Cominius' 'You shall not be / The grave of your deserving' (1.10.19–20), Coriolanus' 'and at all times / To undercrest your good addition / To th' fairness of my power' (1.10.71–73) and his 'For they do prank them in authority / Against all noble sufferance' (3.1.24–25), respectively as 'je ne te laisserai pas enterer tes mérites' (p. 59), 'je porterai le nom que tu me donnes / avec fierté' (p. 61) and 'parce qu'ils font croire / aux pauvres gens / qu'ils ont quelque chose à dire / sur la conduite du monde' (p. 109). Throughout the chapter, all

English quotations from *Coriolanus* are from Parker's edition, and I follow his scene and line numbering for English quotations. All quotations from *Coriolan* are from Garneau's published translation. I cite Shakespeare's text as an approximate equivalent of Garneau's language. Because Garneau does not employ line numbers, I use his page numbers after the parenthetically cited French dialogue as the most precise way to indicate each quotation's location in the French text.

- 9 Because no prompt-book exists for the production, information about cuts and scenography is derived from the video of a 1993 performance in Montréal at the FTA, now held in the archive of ExMachina in Québec City.
- 10 The archived video cuts out before the shooting, but Paul Taylor indicates that, in the Nottingham mounting, Coriolan was shot (*The Independent* 26 November 1993). However, Michael Coveney indicates that, in the Montréal run, he was stabbed (*The Observer* 6 June 1993).
- 11 For more on this issue in relation to Lepage's theatre, see Steen and Werry 146.
- 12 For more on how Lepage disrupts the effect of subjectivity by putting the effect into conflict with the materiality of his performers' bodies, see Hodgdon, 'Macbeth'.
- 13 Philip and Cassistat seem to have operated the marionettes that represented their characters in these scenes. For an extended account of Lepage's approach to *mise-en-scène*, see Dundjerović.
- 14 *The Guardian* 26 November 1993; *TLS* 10 December 1993; *Weekend Telegraph* 27 November 1993; *The Independent* 26 November 1993.
- 15 In addition to the *Cycle* plays, Lepage toured his *Le Polygraphe* and *Les Aiguilles et L'Opium* to France.

Chapter X

- 1 See Barry Day for an exhaustive history of the new Globe's creation. Gurr and Orrell; and Mulryne and Shewring, eds, provide discussions of early modern performance conditions at the Globe as well as accounts of the building and uses of the new Globe.
- 2 See also Conkie 186–201; and Karim-Cooper.
- 3 For critiques of various aspects of such authenticity, see Conkie passim; Cornford; Escolme 62–73; Shaughnessy 1–4; Silverstone; and Worthen 79–116.
- 4 For more on the critics' treatment of spectators at the Globe see Prescott.
- 5 See the rehearsal blogs by Leicester; Marcell; and Sesay. See also interviews with Cake and Dromgoole.
- 6 Observations about the stage action are derived from the archival performance video housed at the Globe theatre offices in London. All scene and line numbers and quotations are from Parker's edition.
- 7 See Cornford for alterations to the Globe during Dromgoole's tenure.

Chapter XI

- 1 See, for instance, Burt's 'To E- or Not to E-?'; Jess-Cooke; and Taylor, 'Afterword'.
- 2 Burnett and Wray (1) cite both Burt's and Taylor's scepticism about the future of Shakespeare's cultural authority.
- 3 With the exception of Volumnia's thirty-six-line diatribe to her son in 5.3, there are only a handful of speeches longer than ten lines in the screenplay, and most are under five. Characters whose perspectives on Coriolanus are greatly curtailed or eliminated include Cominius, the Tribunes, the Citizens, the two Officers in 2.2 and the Volsce Serving-men, who are gone from 4.5. Unless otherwise specified, quotations from *Coriolanus* and references to scene and line numbers in the play follow Parker's edition. Logan's additional character or stage directions are from his *Coriolanus Shooting Script*. Because Logan's script does not indicate line numbers, I cite it using its page numbers.
- 4 She is quoting Tasker 39.
- 5 Both *The Hurt Locker* and *The Green Zone* arguably do something very similar.