

## Chapter 1: Charting the Representation of Sexual Transgression in Portuguese Productions of Shakespeare in the 1990's

Transgression, then, is not related to the limit as black to white, the prohibited to the lawful, the outside to the inside, or as the open area of a building to its enclosed spaces. Rather their relationship takes the form of a spiral which no simple infraction can exhaust.

(Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*)<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

This doctoral thesis is centred on the representation of sexual transgression in three Portuguese productions of Shakespeare from the late 1990's.<sup>2</sup> The three productions chosen for analysis were the Teatro Comuna production of *Medida por Medida* (*Measure for Measure*) in 1997, the Teatro Nacional D. Maria II (henceforth TNDM) production of *Rei Lear* (*King Lear*) in 1998 and the Teatro Nacional São João (henceforth TNSJ) production of *Noite de Reis* (*Twelfth Night*) in the same year. These particular productions were chosen for several reasons. Firstly, rather than concentrate on the work of one theatre company, I wanted to focus on three quite different productions whose only shared feature was that they were all produced in the late

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<sup>1</sup> Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. Edited and translated by Donald F. Bouchard & Sherry Simon, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1977), pp. 34-5.

<sup>2</sup> My choice of the word representation has been influenced by Gillian Beer's definition of the term in "Representing Women: Re-presenting the Past" in *The Feminist Reader: Essays in Gender and the Politics of Literary Criticism* (Hampshire & London: Macmillan, 1989). Beer uses the word because "it sustains a needed distance between experience and formulation. It recognises the fictive in our understanding. It allows a gap between how we see things and how, potentially, they might be. It acknowledges the extent to which ideologies harden into objects and so sustain themselves as real presences in the world", pp. 63-4. This formulation seemed useful in conceptualising the relationship between performance and social reality. Beer also discusses the notion of re-presentation in terms of "making past writing a part of the present, making present what is absent", p. 67, which has evident resonances for discussions of contemporary productions of Shakespeare's early modern dramas.

1990's in Portugal.<sup>3</sup> Together, they provide a synchronic snapshot of Shakespearean production in Portugal at a given moment in time. Secondly, all three were productions I had seen myself and this seemed important in grounding the work of the thesis. A third factor had to do with range in terms of *genre*. Despite the lack of a history play or a romance, the inclusion of a comedy, a tragedy and a problem play provided a sufficiently wide remit for a varied discussion of sexual transgression in Shakespearean performance. This seemed especially important as the meanings attached to sexual transgression differed significantly from *genre* to *genre*.

There were also more specific reasons for choosing these productions in particular. In the case of Teatro Comuna and the TNSJ, for example, these were the first productions of Shakespeare for the directors involved. Additionally, Comuna interested me because of the strongly political nature of their theatre project, whereas the TNSJ attracted me because of their strong European focus and director Ricardo Pais' interest in exploring the possibilities of systems of staging. The work of the TNDM had received little extended critical attention, most obviously because it had remained peripheral to theatrical tendencies and developments. Yet the mere fact that it receives such a large share of the minimal government funds available for theatre seemed in itself to warrant some discussion of how the main national theatre spends the public's money.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> It would, for example, have been possible to concentrate exclusively on the work of Teatro Cornucópia, whose three Shakespeare productions straddle the 1990's at regular intervals. For excellent critical work on Cornucópia, see Carlos Alberto Machado, *As Regras do Jogo: O Teatro da Cornucópia e a Crítica 1973-1995*, (Lisboa: Frenesi, 1999) and Maria Helena Seródio's biography of the guiding figure in Cornucópia, Luís Miguel Cintra, *Questionar Apaixonadamente: O Teatro na Vida de Luís Miguel Cintra*, (Lisboa: Cotovia, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> In "Theatre as a Social System: Portugal" in H. van Maanen & S.E. Wilmer (eds.), *Theatre Worlds in Motion: Structures, Politics and Developments in the Countries of Western Europe*, (Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), pp. 498-539, Maria Helena Seródio points out that the budget for the National Theatre (venues, excluding the opera and the resident company) "is considerably above the total amount of subsidies given to all the other companies put together (...), of which only 20% is to produce plays, the rest being for fixed expenses." This quote is taken from the online version of the article at [www.fl.ul.pt/centro-estudos-teatro.htm](http://www.fl.ul.pt/centro-estudos-teatro.htm), p.8.

Each of these three productions is analysed in two separate chapters of the thesis; one that deals with questions of gender, and one that deals with questions of sexuality. Critical work that applies to the thesis as a whole is included within the introductory chapter, while criticism which is more relevant to particular plays comes in the chapters that discuss those plays. In each of the individual chapters, comparisons are made with English productions from around the same time period.<sup>5</sup> This comparative focus resulted from my own cultural background and current research into contemporary English productions of Shakespeare. However, it also suggested itself for other reasons. Firstly, while there is excellent Anglo-American critical work on questions of gender and sexuality in Shakespeare, there is much less work in English on Shakespeare in a European context. Conversely, while critical work on Portuguese theatre places itself clearly within a European context, it concentrates little on questions of gender and sexuality.<sup>6</sup> I thought, therefore, that confronting the two traditions might productively highlight these strengths and absences. Secondly, I was interested in the extent to which two very different theatrical traditions encountered common problems in representing Shakespeare for contemporary audiences, such as how to make the language accessible or how to make the situations portrayed in the dramas meaningful. I was similarly interested in the cultural specificity of their responses to these common problems, given the current globalised cultural climate.

There are, admittedly, potential risks with such a structure. It means that I presume to speak throughout the thesis from a utopian space between these two cultures, although such a place does not of course exist. Moreover, comparing

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<sup>5</sup> The only exception comes in Chapter 7, which includes discussion of the Scandinavian Dogme film *The King is Alive*. The time period covered by these productions runs from 1985-2003. C.f. Chronological List of Productions, p.ix.

<sup>6</sup> An exception in the Portuguese case is the academic Eugénia Vasques, who has recently published a book on Portuguese women who wrote for the 20th century theatre, *Mulheres que Escreveram Para o Teatro no Século XX em Portugal*, (Lisboa: Colibri, 2001) and has coordinated a CD- Rom *As Fronteiras do Travesti no Trabalho do Actor* (2001), produced in collaboration with the Maria Matos theatre.

productions of Shakespeare in Portugal, where theatre is a marginalised art form, budgets are small and experience in performing Shakespeare is erratic, with productions of Shakespeare in England which is a strong theatrical culture with Shakespeare as the jewel in its crown and budgets to match, risks merely reinforcing the inequality of the situation. Just in terms of numbers, there are many more productions of Shakespeare in England to choose from. Well-funded archives also make access to information about them easier. In spite of this, it remains my passionate belief that putting the two theatrical traditions into dialogue reveals work that is innovative and inspiring or, on the other hand, sterile and excessively reverential, in both cultures.

Another more practical problem raised by the bi-cultural focus of the thesis concerns translation. Where Portuguese critical material, newspaper reviews or production material are quoted, I have translated these quotations into English so as not to interrupt the flow of the text. Quotations from personal interviews are also translated into English for the same reason. When these translations are extensive and form part of the body of the text, I have included the original Portuguese quotes in the footnotes. However, where I discuss translations of the plays, I include both the Portuguese text and an English translation of it within the body of the text, so that the reader can have an idea of the sound and rhythm of the language. On the occasions where I have translated from the French rather than the Portuguese, I have indicated this in the footnotes.

A final question has to do with the status of theatre itself within the thesis. The chapters are focused mainly on theatrical productions, but also include some comparison with television and film productions of Shakespeare.<sup>7</sup> It is characteristic of our epoch that late capitalism reduces all cultural manifestations, including theatre, to

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<sup>7</sup> This is the case in Chapter 2, which discusses Trevor Nunn's film version of *Twelfth Night*, in Chapter 5, which discusses Tim Supple's television *Twelfth Night* and in Chapter 7 which discusses Kristian Levring's film *The King is Alive*.

products to be consumed in the cultural marketplace. This is done in such a way that differences between different art forms and media are minimised. Contemporary audiences for Shakespeare invariably do not distinguish absolutely between them and ‘consume’ Shakespeare on film or television in much the same way as they would ‘consume’ theatre productions of the plays. Indeed, with the increased use of video as a teaching tool, many students of Shakespeare will know film and television productions of the plays rather than particular theatre productions. Whilst I don’t necessarily endorse this, I do believe that it makes it counter-productive to isolate the theatrical from other types of Shakespearean performance in the current period. I also believe that there have been significant, beneficial developments in these art and media forms which have often influenced theatrical production in their turn. For this reason, where a television or film production has seemed to me to be relevant in terms of comparison, I have included it alongside discussion of productions in the theatre. I have, however, attempted to indicate how such productions might work *differently* from theatrical productions.<sup>8</sup> In academic terms, this focus on performances of Shakespeare within theatre and in other artistic forms means that the thesis is more properly located within the wider field of performance studies rather than theatre studies *per se*.

In terms of the internal structure of the thesis, this introductory chapter outlines the project’s theoretical framework for the analysis of the representation of sexual transgression. It then discusses characteristics of Portuguese theatre in the 1990’s and the place of Shakespearean production within these more general trends. It concludes with an examination of some of the methodological questions raised by the writing of the thesis. The next three chapters are concerned with sexual transgression as gender

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<sup>8</sup> To maintain this distinction, I use the term ‘viewer’ for television and film productions and the terms ‘audience’ or ‘spectator’ for theatre productions. When there is more of a sense of an aural, collective experience, I make use of the former. When there is more of a sense of a visual, individualised experience, I employ the latter.

transgression. Chapter Two: Exploring the Other Side: The Performance of Gender in *Twelfth Night*, analyses the hybrid figure of the cross-dresser and the ways in which the actors/actresses who play them negotiate cultural notions of masculinity and femininity. Chapter Three: Taking the Woman's Part: The Problem of Misogyny in *King Lear* argues that the demonisation of Goneril and Regan is part of a wider misogynistic bias in the play and examines performance strategies which have been used to challenge this. Chapter Four: Putting on the Destined Livery: Actresses play Isabella in *Measure for Measure*, deals with the ways in which social change intersects with the representation of sexual transgression. It notes a transformation in conceptions of the role of Isabella and analyses to what extent wider contact between theatrical cultures has facilitated this.

The next three chapters revisit the same productions, but from the perspective of sexuality. Chapter Five: Time Out, Space Beyond and the Other Body: Queer Presence in *Twelfth Night*, analyses the extent to which productions signal transgressive sexual desires through the evocation of a time, place and physicality distinct from that of the fiction of the dramatic text. Chapter Six: We'll Strive to Please You Every Day: Prostitution as Theatrical Metaphor in *Measure for Measure*, recasts the early modern metaphor of theatre as a form of prostitution to examine what contemporary representations of prostitution might tell us about the theatres that produce them. Chapter Seven: A Bastard Art: Theatrical and Sexual Transgression in *King Lear*, takes as its starting point the porosity of theatre's boundaries with other art forms as well as its own internal boundary between text-based and physical, improvisational forms. The chapter analyses the demonised figure of Edmund the bastard and asks whether productions which foreground fluidity between art/media forms tend to represent Edmund differently as a result. The concluding chapter of the thesis draws together

some of the general conclusions of the thesis within a discussion of the wider difficulties and possibilities for European Studies of Shakespeare in Performance.

### **I. A Brief Overview of Concepts of Transgression**

The striking feature about etymological definitions of transgression is the way in which they are already conditioned by an association with the sexual. The *Oxford English Dictionary*, for example, defines transgression as “a going over, a violation and a sin” as if the very act of passing over a boundary in itself constituted a sexual infringement. The *OED* quotes two Shakespearean uses of the word transgression with strongly sexual overtones. The first is in *King John* (1595), where Lady Faulconbridge pleads “Heaven lay not my transgression to my charge!” (I, I, 256), as she attempts to convince those assembled that her adulterous relationship with Richard the Lionheart resulted from his sexual pressure on her rather than her own sexual desire.<sup>9</sup> The second is from *Much Ado about Nothing* (1598), where Benedick protests “I would not marry her, through she were endowed with all Adam had left him before he transgressed” (II, I, 260). This jibe explicitly invokes the Biblical ‘primal scene’ which linked transgression with illicit knowledge and illustrates how such illicit knowledge came to be cast specifically as illicit *sexual* knowledge.<sup>10</sup>

Contemporary definitions carry over this notion of transgression as transgression against God into notions of transgression as transgression against the state and its institutions. In many cases, explicitly sexual references are lost but the force of the prohibitions associated with them is retained. The entry for the noun “transgredir” (to

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<sup>9</sup> For the sake of consistency, I have used the dates for Shakespeare plays suggested by Maria Helena Serôdio in her *William Shakespeare: A Sedução dos Sentidos* (Lisboa: Cosmos, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd. ed., prepared by J.A. Simpson & E.S.C. Weiner, vol. XVIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

transgress) in the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea*, for example, reads “Acção de desobedecer ou de infringir convenções, leis ou regras; acto ou efeito de transgredir” (The act of disobeying or infringing conventions, laws or rules; the act or effect of transgressing), and the examples given to illustrate the term encompass legal, political and religious transgression. An example that focuses on moral transgression is:

The rifleman who caught him *in transgression*, committed, in brief, an abominable sin which causes amazement (my emphasis).<sup>11</sup>

A further example emphasises transgression against the state:

Individual expression was forbidden. Those who transgressed had an elastic mesh placed in their mouths.<sup>12</sup>

Such sedimented meanings over time give transgression the appearance of a monolithic whole and hence its semantic force. However, in reality its meaning is constructed slightly differently in each historical context and in ways that reflect the histories and beliefs of particular cultures.

Critical discussion of the term has taken place in a variety of academic fields, from philosophy to anthropology to performance theory. In the area of philosophy, Michel Foucault has argued for the interdependence of transgression and limit:

The limit and transgression depend on each other for whatever density of being they possess: a limit could not exist if it were absolutely uncrossable and, reciprocally, transgression would be pointless if it merely crossed a limit composed of illusions and shadows.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> “O carabineiro que o apanhou em transgressão, cometeu, em suma, pecado infando que causa assombro”. in *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea*, Academia das Ciências, (Lisboa: Verbo, 2001). Taken from Aquilino, *Homem que Matou*, p. 254.

<sup>12</sup> “As manifestações individuais eram proibidas. Aos transgressores, colocava-se-lhes na boca uma rede elástica”. *Ibid.* Taken from Ana Haterley, *A Cidade das Palavras*, p. 53.

<sup>13</sup> Michel Foucault, (1977), *Op. Cit.*, p. 34.



For performance critics, what comes to mind immediately here is the fact that the limits of performance are, precisely, “composed of illusions and shadows”. Does this suggest that the performance of transgression is, therefore, “pointless” and even not really transgressive at all? It is certainly the case that in representing transgression onstage, much of its power to subvert may be contained. Anne Ubersfeld, for instance, labels theatre “the most beautiful tool of transgression, a tool that is superb and not (too) dangerous”, precisely because it enables audiences to be present at representations of such taboo matters as incest and murder without having to get up out of their seats and participate directly.<sup>14</sup> In the specific area of sexual transgression, Judith Butler also suggests that some things are acceptable in the enclosed space of a performance which would not be acceptable in the street:

The sight of a transvestite onstage can compel pleasure and applause while the sight of the same transvestite on the seat next to us on the bus can compel fear, rage, even violence.<sup>15</sup>

Theatre is a privileged location for the representation of rituals of transition of a smaller or greater kind. It therefore runs the risk of rendering transgression banal. Peter SALLYBRASS and Allon WHITE even suggest that the presence of transgression within the cultural sphere is directly related to its absence in the political sphere. They label transgression “a powerful ritual or symbolic practice whereby the dominant squanders its symbolic capital so as to get in touch with fields of desire which it denied as the

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<sup>14</sup> Anne Ubersfeld, *Lire le Théâtre II – L'École du Spectateur*, (Paris: Belin, 1996. Originally published Paris: Messidor, 1981), p. 281. My translation from the French.

<sup>15</sup> Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory” in Sue-Ellen Case (ed.), *Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre*, (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), p.278.

price paid for its political domination".<sup>16</sup> Penny Gay recognises the ways in which spectators attend theatre hoping to see a story "which momentarily fulfils their *fantasies* of transgression" (my emphasis). However, she rejects the charge that this represents simple voyeurism. Gay argues that in the process of performance "a particular circulation of erotic energy between actors and audience" takes place which counterbalances the tendency to contain sexual transgression.<sup>17</sup> The dynamic circulations of desire identified by Gay are certainly not present in all performances, but when they are, I would agree that representations of sexual transgression can be not only shocking or thrilling, but also potentially revelatory. Ubersfeld suggests that part of an audience's pleasure in transgression lies in them witnessing the onstage punishment of that transgression, but might it not lie equally in envisaging how the dramatic world could have been different if the sexual transgressors had been successful?

Foucault raises two other important points about transgression. The first is highlighted in the opening quote of the chapter with his notion of the relationship between transgression and limit as a spiral "which no simple infraction can exhaust". This evokes the continuing power of the limit to reinvent itself as it is transgressed, along with the cumulative power of transgression to redraw the boundaries of the limit. It suggests a relationship between transgression and more sustained transformation that can be applied productively to Shakespearean drama. In a comedy like *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595-6), for example, the temporary sexual transgressions of the lovers are prompted by the limits imposed by the patriarchs of Athenian society, but are also perfectly recoverable in a slightly modified version of that same society. However, the accumulation of sexual transgressions that characterises a play such as *Troilus and*

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<sup>16</sup> Peter Stallybrass & Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, (London: Methuen & Co., 1986), p. 201.

<sup>17</sup> Penny Gay, *As She Likes It: Shakespeare's Unruly Women*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 15.

*Cressida* (1601), as well as their intimate connection with notions of order and chaos, is contained with more difficulty precisely because the forms of transgression are so wide-ranging.

Foucault's second point is whether the transgression exhausts itself in the very act of transgression or has a past and future beyond that momentary act. Does crossing a limit represent a movement with no return or are transgressions reversible? Such questions are important in an analysis of Shakespearean sexual transgression for they assess the longer-term effects of often temporary transgressions. To what extent, for example, do women characters who temporarily cross-dress as men in Shakespearean comedies return to occupy conventionally feminine positions at the end of the plays? Are they impelled instead to enter an entirely new territory just through the act of cross-dressing?

English cultural materialists have often used the concept of transgression in their political readings of early modern culture. This is particularly true of Jonathan Dollimore.<sup>18</sup> However, his more recent work has questioned the political efficacy of the term. He wonders whether transgression is "too individualistic a category", and suggests the more inclusive term "dissidence" might "better address those forms of resistance which, in retrospect, we can see to have effected social change".<sup>19</sup> Queer Marxist critic Elizabeth Wilson has also expressed her scepticism about the radical claims made for transgression. Wilson describes transgression as "a fragmented act of defiance

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<sup>18</sup> C. f. for example Dollimore's chapter "Doctor Faustus: Subversion through Transgression" in his *Radical Tragedy: Religion and Ideology in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989. First published by Harvester Press, 1984), pp. 109-116 and his "Transgression and Surveillance in *Measure for Measure*" in Jonathan Dollimore & Alan Sinfield (eds.), *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp. 72-87.

<sup>19</sup> Jonathan Dollimore, "Shakespeare Understudies: The Sodomite, the Prostitute, the Transvestite and their Critics" in Jonathan Dollimore & Alan Sinfield (eds.), *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism*, Second edition, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994. First edition 1985), p. 131.

unencumbered by any overarching theory or coherent world view”.<sup>20</sup> Its main weakness, for her, is that it cannot deal with the systematic or structural nature of oppressive institutions. Moreover, because its rebellion is cast in terms set by those institutions, it may ultimately reinforce them. Casting transgression as rebellion without content, she sets it against the preferable strategy of political transformation, for this suggests not only what one should be against, but also how the world might be remade differently.

The points made by Dollimore and Wilson are valid ones. Transgression is often represented as an individual act with limited social import. Collective or communal transgression strikes the ear as oxymoronic. In performance, the impact of such individual actions can be isolated within a particular character without suggesting a wider conflict with the existing order. Nevertheless, part of the problem with transgression may also reside in the way social change tends to be conceptualised, in particular a rather reductive attempt to counterpoise individual actions to collective ones.<sup>21</sup> As the feminist adage “the personal is political” has shown, individual transgressive actions can have a wider social meaning. Similarly, although Shakespearean sexual transgression is invariably individualised, the wider social implications of such individual transgressions are heavily signposted in the texts. The public spaces where performances of Shakespeare take place, moreover, may give such individual actions a collective resonance with profound implications for their audiences. One need think only of the radical portent of Cordelia’s “Nothing” on a stage. As such, although I would agree with Dollimore and Wilson that transgression is not *in and of*

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<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth Wilson, “Is Transgression Transgressive?” in Joseph Bristow & Angelia R. Wilson (eds.), *Activating Theory: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Politics*, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1993), p. 114.

<sup>21</sup> I was amazed, for example, at the demonisation of the hippie in the politically left-leaning Odete Santos’ play *Em Maio há Cerejas: Tragicomédia em Dois Actos e um Epílogo* (V. Nova de Gaia: Ausência, 2003). In the play, the hippie is made responsible almost single-handedly for betraying the American revolution.

*itself* a radical strategy, neither is it one that inevitably pre-empts radicalism as Wilson in particular seems to suggest.

A parallel debate on the political efficacy of transgression has been carried out within performance theory. Philip Auslander's essay "Toward a Concept of the Political in Postmodern Theatre", endorses a distinction between "transgressive" and "resistant" politics in theatre work.<sup>22</sup> He links transgressive politics with the modernist avant-garde and the figures of Brecht and Piscator, while resistant politics are associated with postmodern theatre practice. Auslander labels the transgressive politics of the avant-garde "utopian" in that they constructed a position outside representation from which it was possible to comment on existing social relations and to posit alternatives to them. Postmodernist theatre, however, recognises the impossibility of standing outside representation and advocates resistance from within the system of representation itself. As examples of the latter, Auslander discusses attempts by performers to focus attention on the ways in which the process of representation itself 'colludes' with those processes that constitute its authority, most notably through foregrounding anti-illusionistic theatrical techniques. In a later chapter, he also details how the postmodern multiple, fractured subjectivity of Boal's "spect-actor" does not obstruct critical distance. In fact, this fragmentary subjectivity is a precondition for critical distance.<sup>23</sup>

For Baz Kershaw, however, such resistant strategies seem both limited and passive.<sup>24</sup> It could be added that Brecht and Piscator were certainly not naïve enough to

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<sup>22</sup> This essay forms a chapter of his book *From Acting to Performance – Essays in Modernism and Postmodernism*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 49-57. The distinction between transgressive and resistant politics was originally proposed by Hal Foster.

<sup>23</sup> Auslander writes "The spect-actor is a postmodern subject, divided in itself, fully aware that it cannot escape ideology, that its only choice is amongst different ideological masks (...) though the subject's interior division becomes a source of critical distance that enables it to realise that 'some masks are better than others' (p. 106). However, my own reading of Boal leads me to question Auslander's linkage of him with postmodern resistant strategies. Although there is certainly a great stress on fragmentation and separation in Boal's work, there is an equally strong concern with the collective and the utopian.

<sup>24</sup> Kershaw's critique of Auslander is found in his book *The Radical in Performance: Between Brecht and Baudrillard*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 70.

think they could place themselves outside representation, despite their belief in the capacity of theatre work to prefigure social change. Moreover, Auslander's resistant politics could be considered equally utopian in the sense that such resistance, coming as it does from within the dominant, cannot easily avoid replicating its values. Hence, it seems to me that Auslander's distinction between the transgressive and resistant in theatre practice is more properly historically specific than essential. Indeed, the two can be seen as historically situated responses brought forth by the particular social and performative conditions in which they appeared. The importance of Auslander's work resides in his effective illustration that postmodern theatre is not, as some have argued, apolitical theatre, but a theatre with important political strategies of its own. Indeed, the contemporary Portuguese writer Joaquim Jorge Veigunha argues for a position similar to Auslander when he claims that the most that can be done to introduce radicalism into contemporary performance is to "introduce fissures into the realms of the happy conscience".<sup>25</sup> Veigunha premises this view on a notion that radical work must, of necessity, be in the code of the period in order to be decoded by an audience, but, paradoxically, if it is possible to decode in this way, it then ceases to be radical.

## II. Defining Sexual Transgression

Penny Gay argues that Shakespearean comedy is "fascinated by the possibilities of sexual transgression, which is euphemised as temporary transgressions of the codes of gender".<sup>26</sup> Her comment indicates not only the importance of sexual transgression in the Shakespearean *corpus*, an importance which extends beyond the comedies, but also an ambiguity at the heart of the 'sexual' which tends to be overlooked in many critical

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<sup>25</sup> Joaquim Jorge Veigunha, "À Procura do Teatro Perdido" in *Teatro Escritos 1: Para Que é Que Serve o Teatro?*, (Lisboa: IPAE & Cotovia, 1998), p. 29

<sup>26</sup> Penny Gay, (1994), *Op. Cit.*, p.15.

readings of Shakespearean sexual transgression.<sup>27</sup> The ‘sexual’ in current usage can refer to biological sex, to the social organisation of biological sex as gender or to sexuality and sexual object choice. Often, it refers to more than one of these simultaneously without making this explicit. Much of this confusion results directly from the unacknowledged elisions effected in the construction of sexual norms. The normative stress on heterosexuality, for instance, operates through recourse to gender norms of what constitute appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour. In turn, such gender norms are read directly from biological sex as the ‘natural’ indicator of the difference between the sexes. In parallel with this assertion of absolute sexual difference, the binaries of male/female, masculine/feminine and homosexual/heterosexual rely on a linear equation between the body, gender and sexuality where identification and desire are nevertheless constructed as antithetical. Thus, those with biologically male bodies are expected to identify with other men but not, however, to desire them.

In a thesis which aimed to explore questions of gender and sexuality, therefore, some methodological separation between sexual transgression as *gender* transgression and sexual transgression in terms of *sexuality* seemed necessary in order to avoid such confusion. This prompted the aforementioned division of the six chapters into two distinct groups. Nevertheless, this must remain something of an arbitrary division when in Shakespearean drama itself, gender and sexuality are often articulated in ways that emphasise their interconnectedness. For instance, when Orsino thanks Viola for her services to him “so much against the mettle of your sex” (V, I, 319) at the end of *Twelfth Night*, this is primarily a reference to gender expectations associated with

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<sup>27</sup> An exception here is Valerie Traub, who notes that many Shakespearean critics conflate gender and sexuality or read sexuality directly from gender. In *Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), she takes great care to distinguish between gender and sexual identity.

femininity. However, placed as it is at the end of the drama, this stress on femininity is also bound up with the expectation of compulsory heterosexuality, which is to become institutionalised in the marriages. Therefore, although there was a need to treat these two elements of the ‘sexual’ separately, it also seemed necessary to stress how frequently they are articulated in connection with each other. I have retained the ambiguity of the term sexual transgression throughout the thesis precisely for this reason.

In its analysis of the articulation of gender and sexuality in Shakespearean drama, this doctoral thesis has benefited greatly from the insights of queer theory, a critical perspective which grew specifically out of a desire to treat sexuality as a distinct area of academic concern from gender. In a recent essay, Judith Butler remembers why some queer gender theorists felt a need for this separation:

To mark sensuality off as a domain separable from gender seemed to many of us, especially of the queer persuasion, to emphasise sexual practices rather than either gender or sexual identity and to allow for forms of “dissonance” to emerge between gendered self-understanding and forms of sexual engagement.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, although queer theory retains a sense that questions of sexuality cannot be discussed *without reference to* questions of gender, it makes clear that they cannot also be *reduced to* questions of gender. It also sees the relationship between sex, gender and sexuality as marked by *incoherence* rather than the linear correspondences characteristic of sexual norms. Butler herself has stressed that “there are no direct expressive or causal links between sex, gender, gender presentation, sexual practice, fantasy and sexuality”.

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<sup>28</sup> Judith Butler, “Against Proper Objects” in Elizabeth Weed & Naomi Schor (eds.), *Feminism Meets Queer theory*, (Brown University, 1997. Originally published in *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, vol. 6, Summer-Fall 1994), p. 3.



<sup>29</sup> In the queer scenario, therefore, the gender hybridity of the Shakespearean cross-dresser does not automatically imply any corresponding ambiguity at the level of sexual partnership, although it might. Similarly, Antonio and Sebastian's emotional attachment in *Twelfth Night* appears, on the part of Sebastian, to be perfectly reconcilable with other heterosexual attachments, despite the conventional construction of heterosexual and homosexual desire as opposites.

Such non-correspondences between sex, gender and sexuality are possibilities generated by the inability to fully guarantee the complete and exact reproduction of gender and sexual norms. Judith Butler labels these non-correspondences the "enabling disruption" and Jonathan Dollimore the "transgressive reinscription". This failure to repeat exactly produces a challenge to the normative, for it enables a glimpse of the exclusions and omissions inherent in the process of (re)producing sexual normality. These disruptions or reinscriptions constitute the basis for sexual transgression in Shakespearean drama.

However, despite the rich potential of queer theory for an analysis of sexual transgression, it is still a relatively new academic field and, as such, there remains a certain inability to define exactly what queer theory is at this stage. Perhaps as a form of compensation for this, queer theorists have often produced all-encompassing definitions for it, such as the following by Donald E. Hall, for whom the adjective 'queer' signifies:

(...) to abrade the classifications, to sit athwart conventional categories or traverse several. It is to be at once a girl and an athlete, simultaneously a rural Southerner and an electronic music fan, at the same time an African-American adolescent living in the inner city and an intellectual.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Judith Butler, "Imitation and Gender Insubordination" excerpt printed in Abelove *et al* (eds.), *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, (New York: Routledge, 1993), p.315.

<sup>30</sup> Donald E. Hall, *Queer Theories*, (Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 13.

Whilst I find the extension of queer beyond the strictly sexual sphere interesting, its consequent lack of concrete meaning is potentially problematic in terms of methodology. Indeed, Teresa de Lauretis, who originally coined the term queer, has been critical of its subsequent use, going so far as to label it “a conceptually vacuous creature of the publishing industry”.<sup>31</sup> Even those broadly sympathetic to queer theory like Donald Halperin recognise its imprecision. Noting that “queer is by definition *whatever* is at odds with the legitimate, the dominant,” Halperin adds that “*There is nothing in particular to which it necessarily refers*. It is an identity without an essence” (author’s emphasis).<sup>32</sup>

This imprecision in queer theory is also its greatest strength and it would be inappropriate at such an early stage to become more rigid in its formulation. However, to balance this current lack of precision, I have felt it necessary to construct a theoretical framework to analyse Shakespearean sexual transgression that balances the newer possibilities of queer theory with more established critical work on gender. As such, if the thesis works from the premise that sexuality cannot be reduced to gender, it also accepts that a theoretical framework primarily designed for the analysis of sexuality cannot, on its own, adequately deal with questions of gender. Moreover, this would be to ignore the excellent critical work on gender in performance in recent years. Much of this work has been keen to point out the rich possibilities for gender critique in analysis of performance. Peta Tait, for instance, suggests viewing theatre “as a social space in which the performative nature of culture and individual identity is explored”.<sup>33</sup> Such a concern is present in Chapter Two of this thesis, which analyses the ways in which

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<sup>31</sup> Teresa de Lauretis, “Habit Changes.*Response*” in Elizabeth Weed & Naomi Schor (1997), *Op. Cit.*, p. 316.

<sup>32</sup> David Halperin, *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography*, (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 62.

<sup>33</sup> Peta Tait, “Feminism in Australian Theatre” in Goodman with de Gay (eds.) (1998), *Op. Cit.*, p.226. Goodman and de Gay’s Reader in Gender and Performance itself indicates the richness of work done in this area.

performances of *Twelfth Night* foreground the performative construction of gender identity. Jill Dolan argues that even the most conventional of theatre performances can be enriched by gender analysis, whose task she sees as “to ask questions about method. How does a given performance – the dialogue, choice of setting, narrative voice, form, content, casting, acting, blocking – deliver its ideological message? How does it convey its assumptions about its relation to social structures?”<sup>34</sup> In this thesis, for example, the limitations of the more naturalistic style of acting adopted for Teatro Comuna’s *Medida por Medida* for the representation of gender transgression are explored in Chapter Four.

Gender analysis has also pointed to the ways in which performance can function as a counterpoint to the (hetero)sexism of the text. This is particularly relevant in the performance of Shakespearean tragedies, which are often seen as hostile to women. Counterpointing through performance is seen as an opportunity that allows a story to be told differently or even enables a different story to be told to that of the text. Susan Melrose, for instance, writes of the need to “enable spectators *to see, know and do, differently*”, and cites the work of actress Fiona Shaw and director Deborah Warner in Ibsen’s *Hedda Gabler* (1995) where “the strength of the actor (e.g. Shaw) and the director (e.g. Warner) is overlaid upon the dramatic logic of the playwright (e.g. Ibsen), so that the two both fit and slip minutely apart, exposing *historical* injustices in the tiny interstices thereby formed” (author’s emphasis).<sup>35</sup> Such strategies are analysed in more detail in Chapter Three which examines the casting of the actress Kathryn Hunter as Lear and The Women’s Theatre Group’s play *Lear’s Daughters* as strategies that expose women’s demonisation in the tragedies and enable spectators to “see, know and do, differently”.

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<sup>34</sup> Jill Dolan, “The Discourse of Feminisms: The Spectator and Representation”, *Ibid*, p.292.

<sup>35</sup> Susan Melrose, “Introduction to Part Four: *What do Women Want* (in Theatre)?”, *Ibid.*, p.135.

Whereas there is already a substantial body of criticism dealing with gender and performance, performance criticism focused upon questions of sexuality remains much more diffuse.<sup>36</sup> Fundamentally, this is because discussion of gender in performance has a longer history and, despite the different variants of such criticism, the essentialist category of ‘woman’ has tended to anchor the different variants to a common goal. Work on sexuality, however, appeared later, mostly during the 1980’s. It coincided with the academic supremacy of the deconstruction of the subject and a corresponding suspicion of essentialist categories like ‘woman’ or ‘lesbian’ or ‘gay’. Nevertheless, although this means that work on sexuality tends to lack the central focus on identity of gender criticism, it also has several advantages as a result of its later appearance within the academy. Firstly, work on sexuality and performance has been able to borrow from earlier work in a variety of existing academic fields including philosophy, literary theory, history and women’s studies. This makes it a vital, transdisciplinary academic area. In *The Routledge Reader in Politics and Performance* (2000), for instance, the section on “Sexuality in Performance” includes work by the historian of sexuality Jeffrey Weeks, philosopher and queer critic Judith Butler, playwright Tony Kushner, performer Leslie Hill, and queer literary critics Joseph Bristow and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick alongside work by feminist theatre academic Katharine Cockin.<sup>37</sup> Secondly, queer suspicion of identity categories potentially enables a more wide-ranging analysis of the representation of sexual transgression. Its roots in lesbian and gay theory provide it with an important ‘outsider perspective’. It works, therefore, from a premise that not all sexual identities are likely to be represented equally. However, its mistrust of the identity categories of ‘lesbian’ and ‘gay’ also promotes an analysis that deconstructs

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<sup>36</sup> This is illustrated by the fact that while questions of gender and performance have an entire Routledge Reader to themselves, questions of sexuality are discussed only in sections of the Routledge Gender and Performance and Politics and Performance Readers.

<sup>37</sup> Lizbeth Goodman with Jane de Gay (eds), *The Routledge Reader in Politics and Performance*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2000).

such categories as heterosexual and homosexual identity in order to examine the differential yet ultimately performative construction of both. Such an emphasis informs Chapter Five's discussion of the representation of queer and normative desires in the TNSJ *Noite de Reis*.

Like Cockin, several performance critics who have written about sexuality have come from backgrounds in gender criticism. This is the case with Lizbeth Goodman's *Sexuality in Performance: Replaying Gender in Theatre and Culture* (1998) and, in the American context, Sue Ellen Case's *The Domain Matrix: Performing Lesbians at the End of Print Culture* (1996) and Jill Dolan's *Presence and Desire: Essays on Gender, Sexuality, Performance* (1993). This background has led to a strong focus on the representation of specifically female desire in performance. However, although I have found this work highly stimulating, I have also found it less useful for this particular project in two respects. Firstly, it tends to concentrate on performance work written and developed in the current period and hardly discusses the early modern period and the classical repertoire at all. Secondly, it tends to concentrate its analysis on the representation of lesbian desire and has paid less attention to representations of heterosexual female desire. Although Valerie Traub has made a convincing case for reading certain female-female emotional relationships in Shakespeare as lesbian, these concern a minority of representations of women's sexuality in the Shakespearean canon.

<sup>38</sup> The majority of heterosexually presented women characters have sometimes been analysed in terms of gender, but rarely in terms of sexuality. <sup>39</sup> As a result, when I came

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<sup>38</sup> C.f. Traub's chapter "Desire and the Difference it Makes" (1992), *Op. Cit* pp. 91-116.

<sup>39</sup> C.f. for example, Lorraine Helms' "Playing the Woman's Part: Feminist Criticism and Shakespearean Performance" (pp. 196-206) and Phyllis Rackin's "Anti-Historians: Women's Roles in Shakespeare's Histories" (207-222) in Sue-Ellen Case (ed.), *Performing Feminisms: Feminist Critical Theory and Theatre*, (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990). The same volume does, however, include Carol Cook's "Unbodied Figures of Desire (on *Troilus and Cressida*)" (pp. 177-195) which is concerned with sexuality.

to analyse the marginalisation of the prostitutes in *Measure for Measure*, I found little critical support for my analysis within this body of criticism. However, several of the insights that have informed analysis of mechanisms of exclusion in the representation of lesbian sexuality have also been valuable in the analysis of outsider figures within heterosexuality.<sup>40</sup> I have made use of many of these insights in Chapter Six's analysis of the representation of the prostitutes in *Measure for Measure* and worked, also, towards constructing a queer analysis of their (hetero)sexual transgression.

Equally, when it came to examining the heterosexual male sexual transgressor, in this case Edmund the bastard, I found little existing critical support. Indeed, most critics seem to dismiss analysis male heterosexuality because of its supposedly 'natural' state. Those critics who have discussed male representations within Shakespeare have tended to focus upon homosexual rather than heterosexual masculinity and rarely in a performance context.<sup>41</sup> My interest in exploring heterosexual male representation was sparked by the TNDM production of *Rei Lear*. While the production clearly foregrounded the sexuality of the male actor playing Edmund, I was struck by the lack of attention given to this in production reviews. It is tempting to conclude that this may have been because the overwhelmingly male critics were uncomfortable with placing themselves in the position of being a male spectator encouraged to desire a male performer's body. However, even in the critical literature, more attention tends to be

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<sup>40</sup> This could range from an understanding of how different theatrical styles have particular implications for the representation of sexual outsiders to the dramatic and proxemic mechanisms whereby sexual outsiders are constructed as such in performance.

<sup>41</sup> C.f., for example, Bruce R. Smith's *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991) or Simon Shepherd's "Shakespeare's Private Drawer: Shakespeare and Homosexuality" in Graham Holderness (ed.), *The Shakespeare Myth* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988). An exception is Alan Sinfield's "History and Ideology: Masculinity and Miscegenation: The Instance of *Henry V*" in *Faultlines: Cultural Materialism and the Politics of Dissident Reading*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) pp.109-142. In the Portuguese context, the anthropologist Miguel Vale de Almeida has written an excellent book on Portuguese heterosexual masculinity entitled *Senhores de Si: Uma Interpretação Antropológica da Masculinidade*, (Lisboa: Fim do Século, 1995). A version in English of this book has appeared as *The Hegemonic Male. Masculinity in a Portuguese Town*, Providence RI and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996).

given to the commodification of female rather than male sexuality. Similarly, queer theory has produced stimulating and multifaceted analyses of the commodification of lesbian and gay sexualities in the cultural sphere, but these debates have not prompted parallel analyses of heterosexual commodification.<sup>42</sup> Chapter Seven, therefore, represents an attempt to think about heterosexual male transgression in performance from a queer perspective. This queer perspective is based upon the thrill of pleasure and danger that is signalled through the body of the sexual outsider.

### III) The Representation of Sexual Transgression

The focus of this thesis is on the performative mechanisms that signal sexual transgression in productions of Shakespeare. Evidently, an analysis of sexual transgression within a performance context raises different questions and requires different tools of analysis from an exclusively textual analysis. Continental European work on the semiotic analysis of performance has been invaluable in constructing an approach to the study of such questions.<sup>43</sup> In particular, Patrice Pavis' performance analysis questionnaire has been immensely helpful in terms of suggesting what questions can be asked about performance. Portuguese critic Maria Helena Serôdio's performance grid has supplemented this set of questions with further questions about how audiences are made aware of productions and how the stage at which an actor/actress is in their careers at the time of performance might affect the type of

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<sup>42</sup> Interestingly, even here much of the work is about female rather than male commodification. Examples would include Danae Clark's "Commodity Lesbianism" and Sasha Torres' "*Television/Feminism: Heartbeat and Prime Time Lesbianism*", both included in Abelove *et al*, *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1993), pp.186-201 and pp. 176-185 respectively.

<sup>43</sup> C.f. the three books in Ubersfeld's *Lire le Théâtre* series and Patrice Pavis (ed.), *The Intercultural Performance Reader*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1996), Pavis (ed.) *Theatre at the Crossroads of Culture*, Trans. Loren Kruger (London: Routledge, 1992) and his *Dictionary of the Theatre: Terms, Concepts and Analysis* trans. Christine Schantz, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998. First published as *Dictionnaire du Théâtre*, (Paris: Dunod, 1996).

performance they give.<sup>44</sup> Throughout the thesis, I have made use of the notion of the “performance text”. Marco de Marinis defines the performance text as “a complex network of different signs, expressive means, or actions, coming back to the etymology of the word “text” which implies the idea of texture, of something woven together”.<sup>45</sup> Analysing the performance texts of the different productions, therefore, involves focusing upon the different textualities of the various systems of staging; whether scenography, the actor’s kinetic energy, the proxemics of the production or the words of the dramatic text. It implies looking at how each of these systems might work independently, together or in contradiction with each other to create particular moments of sexual transgression, a wider notion of sexual transgression, or a multiple perspective on sexual transgression respectively. I have found the notion of the performance text useful because it enables sufficient autonomy to be given to other elements of performance, whilst also including the Shakespearean dramatic text within the performance text. It does not fetishise the Shakespearean text as the ‘key’ to understanding Shakespearean drama and thus make performance derivative of the understanding of that text. However, neither does it ignore the implications of the conferral of canonicity on the written Shakespearean text for contemporary performances of those texts. Moreover, as the Portuguese productions were working from translations of the Shakespearean texts, the notion of the performance text better enables analysis of how translation choices rework the Shakespearean text in performance. Keir Elam has written that “the written text/performance text relationship is not one of simple priority but a complex of reciprocal restraints constituting a

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<sup>44</sup> Patrice Pavis’ Theatre Analysis questionnaire appears as “Theatre Analysis: Some Questions and a Questionnaire”, trans. Susan Bassnett, in *New Theatre Quarterly*, 1(2), (1988), pp. 208-12 and Maria Helena Serôdio’s grid entitled “Análise de Espectáculos” was distributed during a talk by Serôdio at Culturgest on 11<sup>th</sup> January, 2001.

<sup>45</sup> Marco de Marinis, “Dramaturgy of the Spectator” Trans. Paul Dwyer, *The Drama Review* 31:2 (1987), p.100.



powerful intertextuality” and the analysis of how such intertextuality operates in different performance contexts is central to my discussion of productions of Shakespeare.<sup>46</sup>

Based on this analysis of different performance texts, I also wanted to use the thesis to test a specific hypothesis. The hypothesis was that the greater the autonomy of the performance text from the written text, the more far-reaching the representation of sexual transgression. In this respect, although the number of productions chosen for analysis constituted a very limited sample, the three Portuguese productions represented different points on the written text/performance text continuum. The TNDM production presented itself as a literal transposition of the ‘universal’ Shakespearean text. The Comuna production seemed to accord equal importance to written text and performance text, while of the three, the TNSJ production accorded the greater autonomy to the performance text. The English productions seemed similarly diverse in their approach to the autonomy of the performance text. They ranged from the RSC’s tendency to produce uncontroversial productions of Shakespeare with little room for the specifically performative, to productions like that of Footsbarn Theatre, for whom the autonomy of the performance text was crucial to their perspective on Shakespearean drama.

The following questions were formulated in order to explore the hypothesis:

1. How do the Shakespearean text and the performance text constitute each other in performance?
2. To what extent is the representation of sexual transgression reliant upon that of the dramatic text?

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<sup>46</sup> Keir Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama*, (London & New York: Methuen, 1980), p. 209.

3. How (if at all) does the production redefine the location and extent of textual sexual transgression?
4. What performative mechanisms are used to signal sexual transgression?
5. With what frequency do they occur in the production?
6. What significance is given to these moments within the overall performance text?
7. Do they involve more than one system of staging in their articulation of sexual transgression?
8. Do these systems of staging work harmoniously or in contradiction?
9. How are spectators made aware of these moments of sexual transgression?
10. Do the productions effect short/long-term transformations upon the Shakespearean text's representation of sexual transgression?

#### **IV. Portuguese Theatre in the 1990's**

At the turn of the millennium, there seemed to be sufficient historical distance to attempt an initial evaluation of Portuguese productions of Shakespeare in the 1990's. The choice of the 1990's was also prompted by the fact that they were a decade that had received quite extensive critical attention. One reason for this is that several critics were interested in appraising the long-term effects and cultural legacy of the 1974 Revolution. Several of these studies follow what could be described as a 'master narrative' which contrasts the intense theatrical activity of the initial revolutionary

period unfavourably with the more professional, yet increasingly socially peripheral theatre of the 1990's.

Eduarda Dionísio's *Títulos, Acções, Obrigações: Sobre a Cultura em Portugal 1974-1994* (1993) is perhaps the most illustrative version of this narrative. She discusses a range of cultural practices and places specific tendencies in theatre within a wider cultural context. Her assessment of 1990's culture is damning. She notes that the perceived ability of culture to bring about social change, which had made it seem dangerous and volatile in the revolutionary period, had given way in the 1990's to a culture of social pacification. The entry of Portugal into the European Union in 1986 paved the way for its participation in an increasing number of European festivals and exhibitions. This combined with political priorities in the national context to promote the articulation of a specifically Portuguese cultural tradition for internal and external consumption by a country eager to put itself on a more equal footing with its European partners. Such a tradition was positioned by the politicians who invoked it as specifically non-political and the common inheritance of all Portuguese. However, as Dionísio points out, it was in fact a highly ideological reinvention of a cultural tradition which attempted to transcend important differences in Portuguese society, such as that between rural and urban culture. Consequently, for Dionísio, 1990's culture was "a culture without causes" that lacked imagination and creativity. It was a culture which selected those themes and artists that best suited the image it wanted to project of itself. It was, generally, an unquestioning culture which ransacked the past for a complacent image of the present and the future. As a result, it was "a culture of omissions, where an artistic and creative hierarchy is fixed in place by an ideology which has been declared dead and budgets which are always short-term".<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> "É uma cultura de omissão, onde uma hierarquia das artes e dos criadores está fixada, por via da ideologia que, entretanto, se declara morta e dos orçamentos que se declaram curtos". Eduarda Dionísio,

In the specific realm of theatre, Dionísio points out that of the theatres open in 1975, only a third of these remained open in 1991.<sup>48</sup> Audiences for 1990's theatre were also smaller due, according to Dionísio, to variations in annual subsidies and their greater concentration among fewer groups. This made it difficult for theatres to build their audiences and also restricted the emergence of alternative theatre work.<sup>49</sup>

Maria Helena Serôdio also follows the 'master narrative' of rapid expansion after the Revolution through to steady decline in the 1990's, although she nuances it differently. In a series of articles published in Portuguese and European publications, Serôdio acknowledges the importance of the Revolution in abolishing censorship and establishing the principle that theatre should be publicly funded. This enabled the independent theatre sector, which she labels "the true backbone of theatrical life in Portugal", to consolidate itself in the immediate post-revolutionary period.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, in an article written in 1998, she notes that although independent theatre groups continued to produce important work and receive slightly increased funding during the 1980's, their dominance was challenged by a new generation of theatre practitioners who had come of age in very different economic and political circumstances.<sup>51</sup> This generation were not as politically motivated as the previous one

*Títulos, Acções, Obrigações: Sobre a Cultura em Portugal 1974-1994*, (Lisboa: Salamandra, 1993), p. 124. A parallel can be drawn here with the decrease in radical performance in England during this period.

<sup>48</sup> José Carlos Faria quotes figures from the magazine *Revista Expresso* (23/4/94) which paint a similar picture, stating that of the 505 theatres running in 1973, only 266 still existed in 1999. C.f. José Carlos Faria, "Sobre a (Des)construção dos Teatros" in *Teatro Escritos 2: Está Tudo Bem com o Teatro em Portugal?* (Lisboa: IPAE & Cotovia, 1999), p. 86.

<sup>49</sup> Joaquim Benite also quotes figures which note a strong fall in theatre audiences between 1988 and 1995, although they pick up slightly in 1995. C.f. Joaquim Benite, "Uma Política Teatral Adaptada à Realidade Portuguesa" in *Adágio: Política Teatral*, nº 28/29 Jan-Mar 2001, p. 66 note 2.

<sup>50</sup> Maria Helena Serôdio (1998), *Op. Cit.*, p. 15. Carlos Porto defines independent theatre as having as its main premise "a desire on the part of those responsible for it to conceive and put into practice projects which were autonomous, whether aesthetically, ideologically or institutionally, and which conflicted with the practices of the State and commercial theatre of the period as well as the Salazar-Caetano regime." C.f. Carlos Porto & Salvador Teles de Menezes, *10 Anos de Teatro e Cinema em Portugal 1974-1994*, (Lisboa: Caminho, 1985), p. 19.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* p. 5 Eugénia Vasques has referred to this generation as a "sandwich generation" because of their role in mediating between the theatre of the 1970's/early 1980's and the 1990's. C.f. Eugénia Vasques, *9 Considerações em torno do Teatro em Portugal nos Anos 90*, (Lisboa: IPAE, 1998), p. 10

and sought “independence from the independents” in order to survive in an increasingly precarious theatrical market.<sup>52</sup> They were more inclined to experiment with the alternative theatrical languages of the body and the visual than the textual. They also moved more easily between different media, often combining their theatre work with work in film, television and advertising. The theatrical freelancer is a characteristic figure from this period, although the reasons for becoming a freelancer, as Serôdio points out, could be quite varied.<sup>53</sup> The period witnessed the consolidation and centralisation of a small number of theatre groups and an increase in short-term funding and high-profile productions.

Although Serôdio argues that this government tendency towards supporting spectacular productions and encouraging short-term funding continued into the 1990’s, she also notes in a later article that there were some more positive new tendencies within theatre towards the end of the decade.<sup>54</sup> The independent theatre sector at last received proper recognition for its work when a Socialist government was elected in 1995 with a commitment to instituting a more permanent national system of subsidies by 1997. There continued to be problems with the system eventually introduced. However, it did put the work of fifteen of the more well-established independent companies like Teatro Cornucópia and Teatro Comuna on a more solid financial footing by granting them funding for periods of three years.

There were also interesting developments among the new theatrical companies which came to prominence in the 1990’s. In a 1998 pamphlet published by the Instituto Português das Artes do Espectáculo (IPAE), a centralised body set up by the Socialist

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<sup>52</sup> The phrase is taken from Vasques, p.10.

<sup>53</sup> Maria Helena Serôdio (1998), *Op. Cit.*, p. 13. Diogo Infante, perhaps the best known of these theatrical freelancers, played Edmund in the 1998 TNDM production of *Rei Lear* which is discussed in Chapter Seven.

<sup>54</sup> Maria Helena Serôdio, “Growing Up and Gaining Visibility 1996-1999” (1999). This article is available online at [www.fl.ul.pt/centro-estudos-teatro.htm](http://www.fl.ul.pt/centro-estudos-teatro.htm), and is to appear in *The World of Theatre*, produced by the International Theatre Institute.

government to administer the performing arts sector, Eugénia Vasques details some of these developments.<sup>55</sup> Some groups formed in this period operated on a similar model to the independent groups and included the *Artistas Unidos* who were formed in 1996. Some were formed more on the fringes of mainstream theatrical activity, such as *Pogo Teatro*. The latter inherited the mixed media focus of the previous generation and explored the performative possibilities afforded by new technologies. Ruy Otero of Pogo Teatro claimed, for instance, that “(t)heatre is dead. It died at the end of the nineteenth century,” adding “I don’t do theatre, I adulterate it, look for other languages: the visual arts, the Internet, what I want is interactivity”.<sup>56</sup> A parallel, but quite new type of company not only incorporated other performance modes such as dance or film, but also encouraged the exploration of new forms of writing through collaboration and workshops. Lúcia Sigalho, for instance, sought to use her company structure to create new types of performance text. Women performers like Sigalho were, as Vasques notes, in the forefront of such innovations.

Nevertheless, whilst such projects are indicative of new tendencies within 1990’s theatre, these co-existed throughout the decade with more established forms. These included the independent theatres, the highly-subsidised national theatre structures, a temporarily revived municipal theatre, as well as university and amateur theatre groups. Attempting to draw together general tendencies of 1990’s theatre work among these different groups, Eugénia Vasques has labelled the 1990’s “a neo-Brechtian decade”:

(...) in which *fin-de-siècle* apprehension lurked behind figures of grotesque distortion and identity was revealed in its deconstruction. (It is a decade) in which reference and citation as materials of exchange gave way, aesthetically and ethically, to processes of “wild”

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<sup>55</sup> Eugénia Vasques (1998), *Op. Cit.*

<sup>56</sup> “Eu não faço teatro, adultero-o, procuro outras linguagens: artes plásticas, Internet; pretendo interactividade”. Quoted by Vera Borges, *Todos ao Palco! Estudos Sociológicos sobre o Teatro em Portugal* (Oeiras: Celta, 2001), p.108.

appropriation. Such processes lack any sense of cultural bad faith and are even less hampered by the need for deep creative mediation”.<sup>57</sup>

Vasques’ assessment of the decade as somewhat opportunistic and even lacking its own aesthetic coordinates is complemented by the three editions of the theatre journal *Teatro: Escritos* published at the end of the decade by the IPAE. The titles of the three editions are themselves indicative of the *fin-de-siècle* apprehension identified by Vasques. The first is entitled *Para Que é Que Serve o Teatro?* (What is Theatre For?, 1998), the second *Está Tudo Bem com o Teatro em Portugal?* (Is All Well With Portuguese Theatre?, 1999) and the third *Teatro Português: Pera Onde Is?* (Portuguese Theatre: Whither Goest Thou?, 2000). However, the three editions also represent a certain coming of age for sections of Portuguese theatre during this period, in the sense that the institution of more regular subsidies and an increased European focus was prompting a corresponding degree of reflection on the subject of theatre. Most of those writing in the journal were theatre practitioners themselves or closely involved with theatre. This gave a valuable insight into how they saw the work they were doing and the conditions in which they were doing it.

Most of the articles are pessimistic about the current state of theatre in Portugal. Fernando Mora Ramos’ editorials are axiomatic of this sense of malaise. In the second edition of the journal, Mora Ramos suggests that “the structuring network of theatrical activity, which consists of national theatres and subsidised companies, is not sufficiently well-structured, stable and skilled in all aspects of theatrical activity to function as an

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<sup>57</sup> “(...) em que o nervosismo do fim-de-século se oculta nas figuras de distorção grotesca, a identidade nos motivos da desconstrução e em que a referência e a citação, como materiais de intercâmbio e de conhecimento, deram lugar, estética e eticamente, a processos de apropriação “selvagem” sem má consciência culturalista e muito menos preconceitos de profunda mediação crítica”. Eugénia Vasques (1998), *Op. Cit.*, p. 8.

ideal training ground for the ‘new theatre’ ”. <sup>58</sup> Mora Ramos also points to the lack of articulation between stable and emergent theatre forms as well as to the scarcity of long-term funding which might help to create a coherent national structure for theatre and enable better training for theatre practitioners. In the third edition, Mora Ramos reinforces this critique. He decries the explosion of small, short-term projects and media-friendly theatre festivals which are taking money away from long-term projects. As a result, the majority of productions that took place were for three or four actors, rehearsed for roughly two months and performed three or four times in inadequate conditions. Moreover, the uncertainties of the “ritualised drama” of government subsidies and a lack of educated spectators and critics meant theatre had little social impact. <sup>59</sup>

Despite placing the blame for this situation on successive generations of government planners and funders, Mora Ramos and others are also critical of the type of plays that are performed. Mora Ramos identifies in them a certain parochialism veiled by cosmopolitanism. <sup>60</sup> Mário Barradas, from the Centro Cultural de Évora, criticises a certain “baroque pomposity” in productions of the time, while Francisco Pires Keil Amaral criticises the limited range of themes in these productions, which did not reflect the diverse experiences of the Portuguese as a people. <sup>61</sup>

The three editions also give prominence to several ‘new figures’ like the theatrical programmer and the marketing professional who arrived on the Portuguese theatrical scene in this decade. Jorge Queiroz and António Pinto Ribeiro both comment

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<sup>58</sup> “(...) nem a rede estruturante da actividade teatral, Teatros Nacionais e Companhias Convencionadas, é suficientemente estruturada, estável e qualificada em todas as valências do fazer teatral e por isso formadora ideal de ‘novo teatro’”. Fernando Mora Ramos, “Editorial” in *Teatro Escritos 2: Está Tudo Bem com o Teatro em Portugal?* (Lisboa: IPAE & Cotovia, 1999), p. 7.

<sup>59</sup> Fernando Mora Ramos, “Editorial” in *Teatro Escritos 3: Teatro Português: Pera Onde Is?* (Lisboa: IPAE & Cotovia, 2000), pp. 7-12.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, p. 8.

<sup>61</sup> Paulo Ribeiro, Francisco Pires Keil Amaral, “Que Diabo Sei Eu de Teatro?” in *Teatro Escritos 1: Por Que é Que Serve o Teatro?*, (Lisboa: IPAE & Cotovia, 1998), p. 63.



on theatrical trends from their experience as programmers. Pinto Ribeiro notes that the innovations of the 80's were concerned with image and scenography, which later led to redefinitions of an actor's role and training in the light of a new stress on corporeality. In the 90's, however, a new emphasis on the verbal and on voicing was leading to a renewed attention to the importance of the text.<sup>62</sup> Queiroz, on the other hand, details the consequences of the increasingly pronounced conflict between the society ushered in by the information revolution and artistic freedom:

We are confronted with the rise of a new social formation as a result of the technological and information revolution. In this social formation, "acceptable", monocultural alienation that is geared towards the market collides with pluralism and the principle of "absolute creative freedom" in the arts. This places everything that is not banal or reliant on populist stereotyping in a residual and peripheral position.<sup>63</sup>

Despite such a sense of doom and gloom, the plaintiveness of the contributors masks quite important developments in the theatrical universe of the 1990's. In institutional terms, for instance, this is reflected in the creation of a Specialisation in Theatre Studies at Lisbon University in 1992 and of a subsequent degree course in Évora which began in 1996/1997. The Universidade do Porto also embarked on a project to translate all the Shakespearean plays during this decade. Something of the innovations and contradictions of the decade can be glimpsed through a specific focus on gender and sexuality within theatre work of the period. Maria Helena Serôdio has argued that one

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<sup>62</sup> Vanessa Rato, António Pinto Ribeiro, "Um Teatro que Há-de Vir" in *Teatro Escritos 3* (2000), *Op. Cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>63</sup> "Encontramo-nos perante o surgimento de uma nova formação social decorrente da revolução tecnológica e da informação, onde a alienação unicultural e homologadora, orientada pelo e para o mercado, colide com a pluralidade e o princípio da "absoluta liberdade" criadora nas artes, colocando tudo quanto de distancia da banalização e do estereótipo populista". Jorge Queiroz, "Gestão Cultural e Programação Artística: Teoria e Prática numa Experiência Local" in *Teatro Escritos 2* (1998), *Op. Cit.*, p. 30.

of the defining characteristics of theatre in Portugal during the 90's was the increased presence of women:

Even if they do not call themselves (and are not) radical feminists, it is true that through them, women have earned their right to citizenship and that their presence has contributed to the creation of interesting and creative theatrical productions .<sup>64</sup>

Women such as Cristina Reis, who became joint Artistic Director of Teatro Cornucópia on the departure of Jorge Silva Melo in the late 1980's, or the dramatists Hélia Correia and Fiamma Hasse Pais Brandão had already established their reputations before the decade began. They were joined in the 1990's by several women promoting new forms of writing and performing, such as the performer/writers Lúcia Sigalho and Isabel Medina, both of whom also produced work dealing specifically with the experiences of women.<sup>65</sup> Eugénia Vasques has talked of the "discrete rise" of women writing for the theatre in this period, especially after 1992. In her discussion, however, she also notes that the sense of their previous exclusion could be misleading, because of the omissions in existing theatrical histories. She argues, for instance, that Luiz Francisco Rebello's decision not to include writing for children's theatre in his 1984 inventory *100 Anos de Teatro Português (1880-1980)* leaves women almost completely absent. This is a decision which, for Vasques, reflects "a point of view whose selectivity is not only sociologically unacceptable, but even artistically and aesthetically incomprehensible".<sup>66</sup> A similar prominence of women in the area of theatrical translation may also not be immediately apparent because many of these translations have not been published.

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<sup>64</sup> "Même si elles ne se disent pas (et ne sont pas) d'un féminisme radical, il est vrai qu'avec elles les femmes ont gagné le droit de cité et que leur présence a contribué à créer des spectacles théâtraux intéressants et créatifs". Maria Helena Seródio, "Portugal: Au Gré des Changements Politiques" in *2ème Forum du Théâtre Européen, (1997): Un Autre Théâtre? Un Autre Public? D'autres Médiations?*, (Actes Sud, Hors Série, n°8, Février 1998), p. 140.

<sup>65</sup> For more information on women writing for theatre in the 1990's see the extensive inventory compiled by Eugénia Vasques (2001), *Op. Cit.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 9, 24.

The *Escola de Mulheres* (School for/of Women) theatre company was formed in 1995 under the impetus of actress and director Fernanda Lapa to challenge precisely such exclusions. They were the first (and so far only) company which started from a premise that women occupied a subsidiary position both in theatrical life and in dramatic texts.<sup>67</sup> As Fernanda Lapa argued when the group launched their work in the 1995/6 season:

How many women are Artistic Directors of companies that receive regular funding? How many women direct regularly with a minimum of production conditions? How many women are authors of texts performed in Portugal? How many women have audible voices within Portuguese theatre? How many can choose instead of being chosen? How do repertoires reflect the world in which we live?<sup>68</sup>

The company's Manifesto also made public a 1993 study concerning the position of women in subsidised theatre. Among 19 independent companies receiving subsidies, there was only one woman Artistic Director. The companies had presented 46 new shows in that year, only 4 of which were by women and 1 co-authored by one. There were only 2 women directors. Of the 37 new shows within this grouping, 20 had a primarily male cast, 15 had an equal number of men and women and 2 had a majority of women.<sup>69</sup>

Since their initial launch, the theatrical work of the *Escola de Mulheres* has ranged from work by contemporary women dramatists such as Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Novas Anatomias* (*New Anatomies*) (2003) to new work from their own

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<sup>67</sup> The Porto-based group *As Boas Raparigas* was also formed exclusively by women but not on such a political basis.

<sup>68</sup> "(Q)uantas mulheres dirigem Companhias regularmente subsidiadas? Quantas mulheres encenam regularmente com condições de produção mínimas? Quantas mulheres são autoras de textos representados em Portugal? Quantas mulheres têm voz audível no Teatro português? Quantas podem escolher em vez de ser escolhidas? De que forma os repertórios reflectem o mundo em que vivemos?". Quoted in Vasques (2001) *Op. Cit.*, p.15.

<sup>69</sup> From the *Escola de Mulheres* Manifesto, p. 2. My thanks to Fernanda Lapa for providing me with the Manifesto.

dramatic workshops such as Isabel Medina's *Os Novos Confessionários* (New Confessionals) (1996) to representations of classic texts like Euripides' *The Bacchae* (1995). They have included male actors within their productions and have also worked in conjunction with other companies and theatres, such as the Porto-based *ASSÉDIO* and the TNSJ.

Interviewed in 2002, however, Fernanda Lapa felt little had changed since 1995. She related how the IPAE jury which considered the application by the *Escola de Mulheres* for funding had said the group needed no subsidy because "theatre had no sex". Lapa pointed out that all male colleagues of her age group had their groups subsidised and had spaces of their own whereas she, the only woman did not.<sup>70</sup> The woman being interviewed with Lapa in 2002 was Carla Bolito, a 30 year-old actress and director. The attitude of the younger Bolito is notably less combative than Lapa, although she also shows herself to be concerned with the type of roles she is offered as an actress. Studies of the period tend to substantiate the view that although women had overcome many obstacles in the 1990's, they still found themselves marginalised within the cultural sphere by the end of the decade. João Teixeira Lopes, in his study of cultural practices in Porto in the 1990's, argues that although women had become more present in higher education and had made inroads into the job market "a wall still exists which prevents the legitimate expression of gender identity and a plurality of lifestyles associated with it".<sup>71</sup> This barrier was reflected in and reinforced by cultural practices such as theatre.

The main LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) organisation in Portugal, ILGA Portugal, was formed in 1995 as the Portuguese section of the

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<sup>70</sup> Maria Leonor Nunes & Susana Martins, "Mulheres do Teatro", interview with Fernanda Lapa and Carla Bolito in *Jornal de Letras* (821) 20th March-2nd April 2002, p. 6 Lapa did, however, mention that women performers were by then more interested in promoting change, which they had not been before.

<sup>71</sup> João Teixeira Lopes, *A Cidade e a Cultura: Um Estudo Sobre Práticas Culturais Urbanas*, (Porto: Afrontamento, 2000), p. 334.

International Lesbian and Gay Association.<sup>72</sup> The immediate impetus for their formation came from the spontaneous activism that grew up around the AIDS pandemic. In 2001, Fernando Cascais organised the first 'Curso Livre' in Gay, Lesbian and Queer (GLQ) Studies at the Universidade Nova in Lisbon. In tandem with this new organisational and academic visibility, the second half of the 1990's also saw the production of several pieces of queer theatre work in Portugal. Kevin Elyot's *My Night with Reg* was produced as *A Minha Noite com o Gil* by the Teatro Aberto in 1999, Harvey Fierstein's *Torch Song Trilogy* was produced as *Corações de Papel* by Comuna in 1997, Caryl Churchill's *Cloud Nine* was produced as *Sétimo Céu* in the same year by the Escola de Mulheres at the Teatro Villaret and *Angels in America* was also produced at the TNDM during this period. The question raised is to what extent this just reflected a greater number of queer plays being written and performed abroad and then transferring to Portugal and to what extent this also reflected an organic change within Portuguese theatre itself. There are indications that this was a phenomenon with national contours. Portuguese performers including João Grosso and Maria Duarte created *Projecto Teatral*, a project which aimed to deal specifically with questions of gender and sexuality, and João Grosso appeared in their *O Ano do Pénis* at the ILGA centre in 1998. Maria Duarte, in her 1996 *Ciclo Inconsular* used literary texts to construct a solo performance which parodied female stereotypes and had strong elements of gender ambiguity. The production company Cassefaz, under the direction of Miguel Abreu, developed the *FemininoMasculino* cycle during their 1999-2000 season at the Maria Matos theatre, which led to the CD-Rom *As Fronteiras do Travesti no Trabalho do Actor* (2001), coordinated by the academic Eugénia Vasques. Abreu was

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<sup>72</sup> LGBT is an acronym for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (sometimes transexual), the preferred nomenclature for queer movements in Portugal. It should be noted that although it has become conventional to date queer organisation from the formation of ILGA Portugal, lesbian organisation has had a longer, more consistent though less visible presence.

also involved in the highly successful 'Barbis' drag series which performed shows in 1991, 1993, 1997 and 1999 and later made the transition from theatre to television. Vasques comments that when she saw these performances, she felt they were something new and different from earlier drag performances in Portugal. This was essentially because they had a more political focus which encompassed issues of sexual politics such as lesbianism, but also questions of class and age as they related to women. By the beginning of the new millennium, there were also signs of the emergence of new queer drama, such as André Murrraças' *O Espelho do Narciso Gordo* which won a prize for dramatic writing in 2003. These were fragmented and isolated initiatives, yet they do represent a new and temporary queer visibility in Portuguese theatre during the late 1990's. In a context where it had long been an open secret that many gay men worked in the theatre, it had seemed equally taken for granted that continued public silence about their sexuality was a precondition of high-profile theatre work. The resurgence of Anglo-American queer writing challenged this by illustrating how queer work could also be successful with audiences. As it was difficult for many lesbians and gay men working within Portuguese theatre to be open about their sexuality, adapting these plays for the Portuguese stage seemed to represent a way of staging queer issues without having to endanger their own theatrical reputations. Yet this also meant that Portuguese queer theatre work was not been able to find a permanent place for itself within the theatrical mainstream. Instead, it was the Anglo-American pieces of queer theatre work, such as *Angels in America* and *Torch Song Trilogy* which became the new queer canon, while Portuguese queer theatre work from this period disappeared without a trace.

Therefore, despite their common exclusion from mainstream theatre work in the 1990's, the processes of marginalisation differed for women and for lesbians and gay men. Gay men held prominent positions within the theatre world which were

completely inaccessible to the majority of women. However, there was more visibility given to discussion and debate about the role of women in the theatre than to that of lesbians and gay men. In terms of the work of the *Escola de Mulheres* and *Projecto Teatral*, whereas the first has gone from strength to strength and earned its own niche in the current theatrical scene, the latter produces work intermittently and outside the main theatrical circuits. An important consequence of these differing processes of marginalisation was that the suggestion of queerness could be more easily appropriated within mainstream theatre productions of the period than the suggestion of feminism. Nevertheless, representations of both gender and sexuality were characterised during the 1990's by a lack of accountability to fragmented social and theatrical movements that remained largely ineffective.

It is indicative of the lack of critical debate on questions of gender and sexuality that the three editions of *Teatro Escritos* contain not one article on either. Caught between defining visions of what constituted an ideal of theatre and meticulous attention to day-to-day theatrical practice, the three editions lack a more thoroughgoing analysis which extrapolates from actual theatrical practice in order to debate what theatre *could* rather than *should* become. Exceptions to this come in two areas. The first is in the two articles on theatrical translation and the second is in the two discussions of intercultural theatre. Both are characterised by just such a movement between the day-to-day and the real possibilities for contemporary theatre. Both are also characterised by a slightly more upbeat tone. Analysis of questions of gender and sexuality could have played a similarly vital role in critical analysis, helping to bridge the gap between the present and the future by pointing out progressive and retrograde practice in the theatre that existed. I would suggest that such analysis might, like work on theatrical translation and intercultural theatre, have tempered the unmitigated pessimism of critical writing,

not by replacing it with unjustified optimism, but by showing that transformation was both necessary and possible.

## V. Portuguese Productions of Shakespeare in the 1990's <sup>73</sup>

This doctoral thesis argues that the 1990's were a very particular decade for the production of Shakespeare in Portugal. This is the case, first of all, in purely quantitative terms. Even taking into account the lack of documentation for earlier periods, the major increase to forty-two productions in the 1990's from seven in the 1970's and eleven in the 1980's is noteworthy. <sup>74</sup> Moreover it was a quantitative leap that seemed set to stay. In just the first three years of the new millennium, there had already been twenty-six Shakespearean productions.

Seeing a Shakespeare play in Portugal also became more of a regular occurrence in the 1990's. If we look at Figure 2, only the year of 1992 did not have a production. The National Theatres between them staged five productions (*A Tempestade* (1994), *Ricardo II* (1995), *Sonho de uma Noite de Verão*, (1996), *Rei Lear* (1998) and *Noite de Reis* (1998) and helped stage another four: *King Lear* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1990), *Comédia de Enganos* (1998) and *Romeu e Julieta* (1999). <sup>75</sup> Among the independent groups, Teatro Cornucópia performed Shakespeare most regularly during this decade, with a production roughly every four and a half years: *Muito Barulho por Nada* (1990), *O Conto de Inverno* (1994) and *Cimbelino, Rei da Britânia* (2000). <sup>76</sup> It is

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<sup>73</sup> The chart of Shakespearean productions referred to in this section is found at the end of this chapter as Fig. 2.

<sup>74</sup> It cannot be guaranteed that the documentation for earlier decades is exhaustive. However, Rui Coelho of the CET has suggested that although more information about amateur productions in particular was available for the 1990's, the notion of a greater interest in performing Shakespeare during this period in comparison with previous decades remains valid.

<sup>75</sup> Respectively, *The Tempest*, *Richard II*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *King Lear*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Comedy of Errors* and *Romeo and Juliet*.

<sup>76</sup> *Much Ado about Nothing*, *The Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline*.



also worth pointing out that for several theatres, their first productions of Shakespeare came in this decade. This is the case, for example, with the Teatro Comuna *Medida por Medida*, (*Measure for Measure*, 1997) and the Teatro Nacional São João *Noite de Reis*, (1998). This more regular production of Shakespeare led, in turn, to the training of a group of actors in performing Shakespeare which subsequent productions could call upon. The TNSJ *Hamlet* in 2002, for example, used many of the actors and technical staff of the earlier *Noite de Reis*. In interview, Nuno M. Cardoso also made the point that the actors who came together for such productions learnt much about how to speak verse onstage, a skill which had often been neglected in drama schools.<sup>77</sup> In the first decade of the new millennium, however, the consistency of Teatro Cornucópia, who maintain their average of about one production every five years and the new prominence of the TNSJ in performing Shakespeare and bringing to Portugal European productions of Shakespeare, seem somewhat exceptional. For most companies, productions of Shakespeare continue to be a one-off theatrical experience that is not repeated.

The 1990's also witnessed a greater diversity in terms of productions of Shakespeare, both in terms of types of companies and their geographical origins. There were productions from university-based groups like Lisbon University "Cénico de Direito"'s *O Rei Henrique V* in 1993, or the Beira Interior based "TeatrUBI's" *Hamlet* in 2000. There were also productions from amateur groups, like the "Os Plebeus Avintenses"' production of *O Amansar da Fera* (*The Taming of the Shrew*) in 1990 and the Lisbon Players' two productions in 1993 and 1996 (*A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tragedy of Macbeth*). Several productions were funded through local councils, such as the "Câmara Municipal de Oeiras *Rei Lear* in 1990, the Centro Dramático

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<sup>77</sup> Personal interview with Nuno M. Cardoso (29/1/2004).

Intermunicipal Almeida Garrett (Teatro Malaposta) *Sonho de uma Noite de Verão* in 1991 or the “Grupo de Teatro/Dança da Câmara Municipal de Ferreira de Zêzere”’s *Sonho de uma Noite de Verão* at the end of the decade in 2000. Productions by more established companies ranged from national theatre productions to independent productions such as those by the “Teatro Experimental de Cascais” (*Rei Lear*, 1990) or CENDREV (*Romeu e Gulieta*, 1997). In terms of provenance, they ranged, nationally, from the Algarve to the Beira Interior to the Serra de Montemuro and Évora, although the majority were concentrated in or around Lisbon and Porto.

It is also worth noting how many of the productions were from companies outside Portugal. Eleven of the productions were from foreign companies, including companies from Brazil (Grupo de Teatro Macunaíma) and Argentina (Teatro San Martin), Lithuania (Meno Fortas), Spain (UR-Teatro – Antzerkia) and England (Notts. Playhouse). The TNSJ’s *A Tempestade* (1994) was also directed by the Romanian Silviu Purcarete. The growth of Festivals and European exchanges, as well as closer links with Brazil and African countries, had an important impact here in putting such exchanges on a more solid institutional footing. The Notts. Playhouse production of *Measure for Measure* in 1997, for instance, came to Portugal for the “Po.NTI” festival in Porto and was itself a production premiered at the Edinburgh Festival. However, despite the increase in foreign productions, such exchanges were also concentrated in Lisbon and Porto.

Analysis of productions of Shakespeare tends to bear out the general analysis of the theatrical decade of the 1990’s in this chapter. For the national theatres, producing Shakespeare could be integrated within a political strategy to raise Portugal’s cultural profile in the national and the European arena. Producing Shakespeare was central in helping to confer a certain prestige on Portugal’s own theatrical culture and thus

consolidate a notion of itself as a European cultural partner. Yet it was also an integral part of theatrical dialogue across nations and productions of Shakespeare did represent something of a coming of age for the generation of independent theatre groups. Whilst Cornucópia had a more consistent record of performing Shakespeare, for instance, Comuna's first production of Shakespeare seemed to represent a new sense of confidence borne of several years of theatrical practice. There were also signs of the newer tendencies of the 1990's in productions of Shakespeare. The Artistas Unidos *A Tragédia de Corialano* (1998) and the culturally hybrid Teatro Meridional *Macbeth, uma Tragédia Ibérica* in the same year, are examples of this. It is also worth drawing attention to the increasingly symbiotic relationship between film and theatrical production during the decade. Films which had been successful at the box office, for instance, in turn encouraged the production of specific Shakespeare plays. It can be speculated that the 1990's film of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* may have been important for productions of the play later on in the decade. It can be said with certainty, however, that by the close of the decade, Julie Taymor's *Titus* had influenced performance of a play that had never previously been produced in Portugal.

In terms of productions chosen, they were overwhelmingly the more well-known tragedies, especially *Lear* (5 productions), *Macbeth* (5), *Romeo and Juliet* (3), *Hamlet* (3) and *Othello* (2). The comedies were performed less, with the exception of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (7). *The Comedy of Errors* was performed twice, *Twelfth Night* twice, *Much Ado about Nothing* once and *The Taming of the Shrew* once. There were three productions of the romances, two of *The Tempest* (2), and one of *The Winter's Tale*, four history plays (*Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Henry V* and *Coriolanus*) and four of two problem plays (*Measure for Measure* (2) and *All's Well that Ends Well* (2)). Once again, the independent theatre companies stand out here as those who produce the

less well-known and the less popular plays. Overall, the most often performed texts were *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Lear* and *Macbeth*, priorities that were not so very different from the previous decade. By the new millennium, however, the choices do seem to have diversified further. The spate of productions of *Lear* around the beginning of the 1990's could reveal something of a millennium, *fin-de-siècle* concern with the approach of the end of the millennium. It is certainly a suitably apocalyptic text for such a context. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* appears to be a rather easy choice of Shakespeare play which ties in well with the promotion of more spectacular, high-profile theatre productions that is characteristic of the decade. It also has a large cast, which makes it a good production for larger companies like the TNDM, for example. However, it was performed by a variety of different companies, not all of whom had a large number of actors and actresses. It may be more useful to see it, like *Lear*, as part of a *fin-de-siècle* mood, yet in the case of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the mood is one of escapism and fantasy rather than harsh, apocalyptic reality. *Macbeth* is a harder choice to explain. Like *Lear*, though, it does focus on wider questions of power through the lens of a domestic setting, a combination which seems to have appealed to 1990's performers and audiences. Jonathan Weightman of the Lisbon Players suggested they chose the play because it was accessible and the shortest of the tragedies and there may be other companies who chose the play for similar reasons. He also added that the atmosphere of brooding and darkness might give it a certain "*fin-de-siècle shiver*" that also contributed to its popularity.

As to what these choices might reveal about questions of gender and sexuality in the decade, the fact that the great tragedies were the most often performed plays is a somewhat gloomy prospect for women. Not only does each of these tragedies have few parts for actresses, but also they all end with the death of the central women characters

as well as important subsidiary female characters such as Emilia or Goneril and Regan. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* promises some light relief from such a depressing scenario, and it does have a greater variety of roles for women. However, it is a play with quite strong patriarchal limits on women's disobedience. In terms of sexuality, the tragedies are plays that are also particularly harsh on female sexuality. This can be seen, for instance, in the condemnation of Goneril's adulterous desires and the vitriol unleashed on the childless Lady Macbeth. Sexuality in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* does have a more vital and engaging role. The sexual confusions involving the lovers are treated humorously and sympathetically. Yet the ending of the play also spends much time distancing such sexual experimentation, along with class 'outsiders' like Bottom, from inclusion in the recuperative finale.

## **VI. The "Awkward but Friendly Dance between Theory and Practice"**

The quote from Eduarda Dionísio at the beginning of this thesis gives an indication of the difficulties and the pleasures involved in transferring to paper words that have been given expression by living, moving, human beings in specific locations at particular times. These difficulties are multiplied for the critic of performance who is at one remove from the creative process and who must attempt to (re)capture the essence of what they have seen for readers who may not even have seen that performance themselves. The pleasures involved in doing so are those associated with recollection, with sharing the memory of the experience with others and with inspiring theatre practitioners in turn with challenging new ideas that have themselves arisen from theatrical practice.

There are, however, myriad examples of misunderstanding between those who perform and those who write about performance. Lois Weaver relates an amusing story about a staged reading where performer Peggy Shaw spontaneously took a hat from another performer, threw it offstage and continued with her dance. After the performance, academic Peggy Phelan spoke of the significance of this “decapitation of the capitalist”, thus conferring retrospective meaning on what had been to all intents and purposes an accident.<sup>78</sup> Performers and academics can often be deeply mistrustful of each other’s motives. The sociologist Vera Borges relates how the director Jorge Silva Melo responded to her request to participate in one of his theatre seminars with “So, Madam, you intend to study this community of monkeys, do you not?”<sup>79</sup> Often, the priorities of performers and academics can be distinct. Fiona Shaw’s foreword to Lizbeth Goodman and Jane de Gay’s *The Routledge Reader in Gender and Performance* (1998) looks forward to a future “where the inconclusion of gender is embraced and accepted, and the imagination can dance elsewhere”.<sup>80</sup> However, in her introduction to the Reader, Goodman wonders whether such a “gender-balanced utopia” can ever be possible.<sup>81</sup> It might be suggested that Goodman, who has made her academic career writing about feminist theatre, has more of an investment in continuing to stress the unequal operations of gender in theatrical practice than the performer, for whom an ability to at least visualise the possibility that gender does not matter might be essential to her artistic project.

However, there are just as many examples of ways in which theory and practice have been mutually beneficial to each other. Indeed, Anne Ubersfeld suggests their co-dependency in her argument that “ways of reading emerge jointly with artistic

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<sup>78</sup> Lois Weaver, “Afterword” in Goodman with de Gay (1998), *Op. Cit.*, p. 304. The phrase “the awkward but friendly dance between theory and practice” appears in this Afterword.

<sup>79</sup> Vera Borges, (2001), *Op. Cit.*, p. 44 note 5.

<sup>80</sup> Fiona Shaw, “Foreword” in Goodman with de Gay (1998), *Op. Cit.*, p. xxv.

<sup>81</sup> Lizbeth Goodman, “Introduction: Gender in Performance” *Ibid*, p. 1.

invention”.<sup>82</sup> This is particularly true, for example, of English feminist theatre which continues to have a very organic relationship with feminist theatre criticism. Similarly, much of the critical work on independent theatre productions in Portugal has been written by a generation of critics who themselves participated in the events that followed the 1974 Revolution, and whose own move into academia has accompanied the increasing consolidation of independent theatre. Indeed, despite mistrust and misunderstanding between performers and academics, it is the *lack* of such organic understandings of performance which most often constitutes a problem. Eugénia Vasques, for instance, has argued that the way theatre publications appear only to disappear in Portugal illustrates “the little interest, historically, of theatre makers in theoretical discussion and the debate of ideas”.<sup>83</sup> This both reflects and contributes to the low status of performance in Portugal.

## VII. Questions of Disarticulation and Decontextualisation

Even when it is accepted that theory and practice can inform each other, there are certain common methodological problems that arise when writing about performance. A major one is that of disarticulation, which surfaces in a number of guises. Firstly, there may be disarticulation in the sense that performers and performance critics have different approaches to a particular production and this conditions how they think and speak about it. For instance, I remember interviewing Júlia Correia about her 1977 performance as Isabella in *Medida por Medida* and spending much time pursuing a quite abstract discussion about how she understood the role. At one point, almost under her breath, she mentioned that probably the major problem which confronted her was

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<sup>82</sup> Anne Ubersfeld, (1996), *Op. Cit.*, p.8. My translation from the French.

<sup>83</sup> Eugénia Vasques, (1998), *Op. Cit.*, p.7 note 2.

not how to understand Isabella, but how to learn an immense amount of lines in a short period of time. Micaela Cardoso was highly amused at my having mistaken the tiny microphone near her hairline for an Indian-style jewel and having included this in an analysis of the ‘Oriental’ features of the production. As these examples show, there is a tendency when writing about performance to forget these ‘nuts and bolts’ of performance in the tendency to find meaning. Therefore, the interviews carried out as part of this doctoral project played a vital role in grounding some of my more abstract flights of fancy.

Performer and academic invariably have different forms of address. As Peter Brook has pointed out, in theatre “the aesthetics are practical” whereas in academia different criteria predominate. In an excellent article on the difficulties encountered by those who both teach performance and perform themselves, Anna Furse sees this coupling as an occasionally schizophrenic process:

Academia is about preservation and accuracy. It values reflection, objectivity and complex discourse even to the point of communicating in a language which excludes the lay reader. Theatre is hell-bent on communicating as viscerally and accessibly as possible, even if in order to do so it overlooks factual detail and makes impressionistic and subjective rather than scientifically accurate statements.<sup>84</sup>

She also points out that whereas the academic tends to look back, invariably with the benefit of hindsight, performers need of necessity to be strongly connected to the present. Whilst this means that performance theory thus has a specific ‘location’ for its work, through which it can benefit performance, it can also lead to academics imposing

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<sup>84</sup> Anne Furse, “Those Who Can Do Teach” in Maria M. Delgado & Caridad Svich (eds.), *Theatre in Crisis? Performance Manifestos for a New Century*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 65.



overarching meanings and logic on a performance process which is often chaotic and instinctive.<sup>85</sup>

This tendency to impose retrospective meaning is often compounded by the materials used for performance research. Texts, archives and more recently VCR, in their apparent permanence, might seem inappropriate resources upon which to base analysis of ephemeral art forms such as performance. As Douglas Lanier correctly points out, “(i)f the central insight of performance criticism is that performance is radically contingent (...), the stability of the records from which we work (i.e. VCR) may be false to the very historicity performance criticism seeks to address”.<sup>86</sup> Additionally, some performance work has not even been captured on video or documented in archives, which raises difficulties for those who wish to write about such performances. Much feminist or queer theatre work, for example, is not available for research purposes. Within this project, the Comuna production of *Measure for Measure* was not videotaped. The inclusion of personal interviews and personal memories can counterbalance the limitations of written and recorded material to a certain extent. Moreover, throughout the thesis, I have attempted to interview those whose comments do *not* tend to appear in media pronouncements and interviews, so that a more varied perspective can be created on the performance. In discussion of the TNDM *Rei Lear*, for example, the focus is on the actresses who played the three daughters, rather than the actor who played Lear and who appeared in a whole number of newspaper and magazine articles around the time of the production. I have also attempted to include the perspective of the translators, whose invaluable work is often forgotten or minimised.

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<sup>85</sup> I feel that I must, however, mention a comment from the actress Júlia Correia here. When I suggested that an element of her performance as Isabella had emerged spontaneously, she retorted immediately that nothing in theatre is spontaneous. It may well be true that even critics tend to emphasise the spontaneity and intuitiveness of performance at the expense of its more rational, thoughtful elements.

<sup>86</sup> Douglas Lanier, “Drowning the Book: *Prospero’s Books* and the Textual Shakespeare” in James C. Bulman (ed.), *Shakespeare, Theory and Performance*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 204.

The need to ‘sell’ a production in the media creates its own forms of disarticulation. I have been struck constantly by differences between the ‘vision’ of a production set out in production programmes, for instance, and what actually takes place onstage. A 2003 RSC production programme for *Measure for Measure* was almost entirely made up of photographs of people who bore only a slight resemblance to those in the play, dressed in clothes that differed from the period of the play. Evidently, the programme was selling an ‘image’ which it wanted audiences to associate with the production and the selling of that image required a certain disarticulation between programme and performance. A similar disarticulation often exists between the media pronouncements of directors and their productions. Teatro Comuna’s João Mota, for instance, spoke of the contemporary parallels between 1990’s Lisbon and the dramatic world of *Measure for Measure*, yet this was not immediately apparent in the staging of the play.

Perhaps the most flagrant example of disarticulation for anyone currently writing about performance is the fact that discussion of performance is increasing within the public domain and in academia at a time when theatre itself is in crisis. Erika Fischer Lichte describes contemporary Western society as “a culture which puts itself onstage, as a culture of theatricalizations”.<sup>87</sup> This notion of the increased importance of performance in a mediatised society is also highlighted by Baz Kershaw, who notes that while performance “has emerged as central to the production of the new world disorder, a key process in virtually every socio-political domain of the mediatised globe” and “the *performative* quality of power is shaping the global future as it never has before”, theatre itself has become “a marginal commodity in the capitalist cultural market place”.

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<sup>87</sup> Erika Fischer-Lichte, *The Show and the Gaze of Theatre: A European Perspective*, (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997), p. 218.

<sup>88</sup> Theatre and Performance Studies are growing in both England and Portugal at the same time as funding for theatre artists becomes increasingly scarce. This contradiction suggests that now more than ever, academics have to make links between performance and the ways in which it has become central to social and political life in order to highlight how theatre emphasises in a particularly potent way the processes and consequences of such performativity.

A second methodological question that has arisen in the course of writing this thesis is that of decontextualisation. The bi-cultural focus of the doctorate makes this an ever-present concern as placing together productions from two such different cultures runs the risk of decontextualizing them from their very particular social and cultural contexts. The use of feminist and queer theory within the Portuguese context could similarly be seen to import categories of analysis into a context that does not see them as relevant. However, as Eugénia Vasques notes in her introduction to her book on women who wrote for the Portuguese theatre in the twentieth century, if questions of gender have been absent from discussions of theatre in Portugal, this is not because they do not exist, or are unimportant, it is simply that they haven't been studied and written about. <sup>89</sup> My argument is that this is also true of questions of sexuality. Therefore, whilst there is a need to always bear in mind that sexual transgression will be presented and perceived in ways that are culturally specific, feminist and queer analysis can be important tools of analysis.

Another instance of decontextualisation has to do with balancing the micro and macro, synchronic and diachronic aspects of performance analysis. The sociologist João

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<sup>88</sup> Baz Kershaw, (1990), *Op. Cit.*, pp. 5 American generals, for example, consistently refer to the current sites of conflict in Iraq as 'theatres'.

<sup>89</sup> Eugénia Vasques, "Prefácio: A Discreta Ascensão Feminina" in her *Mulheres que Escreveram Teatro no Século XX em Portugal*, (Lisboa: Colibri, 2001). On page 8 of this preface, Vasques notes that the European and Anglo-Saxon realities are not so very different from the Portuguese case. The major difference is that they have been studied and written about while the Portuguese has not.

Teixeira Lopes, following José Madureira Pinto, has written of the need for an “eclectic” methodological approach based upon “the deliberate bringing together of extensivity and intensivity and research that combines the centrifugal and the centripetal” .<sup>90</sup> Within performance studies, it is often isolated moments of a production that demand most concentration, or even one particular moment in the staging. This is particularly true in the representation of sexual transgression when particular moments of ‘crossing the limit’ occur. The intensity of such moments requires careful and detailed analysis. Yet how should such moments be related to the production as a whole? For instance, in the Footsbarn production of *King Lear* there is a short comic sketch where servants argue about who is to play the king. This sketch contains an explicitly anti-authority perspective. Can we talk, however, on the basis of this sketch of the *production* also having such an anti-authority perspective? Evidently this depends on the value attributed to this moment in the production and possible reoccurrences of such moments elsewhere in the production, but there is a risk in the writing up of such episodes that their importance to the overall production will be exaggerated just because of the detail required to talk about them. This is particularly the case in productions with strong visual elements, like those of Ricardo Pais, where the amount of space taken to describe just one moment in that production can decontextualise it from its overall significance to that production.

A final methodological point that the thesis takes almost for granted, but which should be foregrounded explicitly here is that the project starts from the premise that performance *matters*. Alain Defrange has suggested that “(t)here is no revolution or even real change except at the level of dramatic texts. Never has a scenic innovation, however valuable it may be, truly changed the dramatic art; or rather, it is part of the

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<sup>90</sup> João Teixeira Lopes, (2000), *Op. Cit.*, p. 190.

transformation originated by the dramatic text”.<sup>91</sup> It is worth asking whether Defrange has a point. Have the milestone productions of a Peter Brook or a Deborah Warner or a Ricardo Pais changed the history of theatre? Shakespeare is a particular case in point. Whilst the link of Shakespeare with the theatre conventions of his period is often stressed, it is on the texts and their unstable content that canonicity is conferred. A contemporary production of Shakespeare, however innovative, thus runs the risk, so eloquently identified by Alan Sinfield, “that the new play will still, by its self-conscious irreverence, point back towards Shakespeare as the profound and inclusive originator in whose margins we can doodle only parasitic follies”.<sup>92</sup> However, as well as the crucial knowledge of a particular society and culture that performance and its analysis can offer, they can also work to change notions of the past and the present through the ways in which they “doodle” with Shakespeare. Such performance/analysis operates in ways similar to those identified by Gillian Beer as characteristic of a radical critical reading. In other words, they are “not a reading that simply assimilates past texts to our concerns but rather an activity that tests and de-natures our assumptions in the light of the strange languages and desires of past writing”.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Quoted by Mário Barradas, “Para um Teatro da Arte” in *Teatro Escritos 3* (2000), *Op. Cit.* p.20. My translation from the French.

<sup>92</sup> Alan Sinfield, “Royal Shakespeare: Theatre and the Making of Ideology” in Jonathan Dollimore & Alan Sinfield (eds.) (1985), *Op. Cit.*, p. 179.

<sup>93</sup> Gillian Beer, “Representing Women: Re-presenting the Past” in Catherine Belsey & Jane Moore, (eds.), *The Feminist Reader: Essays in Gender and the Politics of Literary Criticism*, (Hampshire & London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 80.

**Fig. 2 PORTUGUESE PRODUCTIONS OF SHAKESPEARE  
IN THE 1990'S**

<b>DATE</b>	<b>PRODUCTION</b>	<b>THEATRE/COMPANY</b>
20/4/1990	A Midsummer Night's Dream	Renaissance Theatre Company
21/4/1990	King Lear	Renaissance Theatre Company
7/1990	Rei Lear	Teatro Experimental de Cascais * Diogo Infante as Edmund
14/7/1990	Rei Lear	Câmara Municipal de Oeiras – Serviços de Cultura (amateur production)
24/10/1990	Muito Barulho por Nada <sup>94</sup>	Teatro da Cornucópia
22/12/1990	O Amansar da Fera <sup>95</sup>	Associação Recreativa “Os Plebeus Avintenses” (amateur production)
8/3/1991	Sonho de uma Noite de Verão <sup>96</sup>	Centro Dramático Intermunicipal Almeida Garrett (CDIAG) – Teatro da Malaposta * Diogo Infante as Oberon/Theseus
29/5/1992	Macbeth	Palco Oriental
31/10/1992	Othello	Teatro Suripanta (Spain)
8/1/1993	Romeu e Julieta	Quarto Período – O do Prazer (amateur production)
7/5/1993	O Rei Henrique V	Cénico de Direito, Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa
7/5/1993	Trono de Sangue – Macbeth	Grupo de Teatro Macunaíma (Brazil)
3/6/1993	Othello	Companhia de Teatro de Almada
15/7/1993	A Midsummer Night's Dream	Lisbon Players (amateur production)
15/10/1993	Macbeth	Seiva Trupe, Porto
26/11/1993	Sueño de una Noche de Verano	UR Teatro – Antzerkia (Spain)
3/1994	A Comédia dos Equívocos <sup>97</sup>	Teatro Regional da Serra de Montemuro
14/4/1994	O Conto de Inverno <sup>98</sup>	Teatro da Cornucópia

<sup>94</sup> Much Ado about Nothing

<sup>95</sup> The Taming of the Shrew

<sup>96</sup> A Midsummer Night's Dream

<sup>97</sup> The Comedy of Errors

<sup>98</sup> The Winter's Tale

10/11/1994	Tudo Bem o que Acaba Bem <sup>99</sup>	CENDREV – Centro Dramático de Évora
17/11/1994	A Tempestade	Teatro Nacional São João, Porto
7/4/1995	Ricardo II	Teatro Nacional D. Maria II <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Translated by Maria João da Rocha Afonso</li> <li>• Paula Mora as Queen Isabel</li> </ul>
23/5/1995	Ricardo III	Cénico de Direito, Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa
10/6/1995	Rei Lear	Sin-Cera (Universidade do Algarve)
10/11/1995	Hamlet, sete cenas de um golpe	Companhia de Teatro de Sintra
29/8/1996	Sonho de uma noite de Verão	Teatro Nacional D. Maria II <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Translation by Maria João da Rocha Afonso</li> <li>• Carla Chambel as fairy</li> </ul>
26/10/1996	Noite de Reis <sup>100</sup>	Teatro do Noroeste
14/11/1996	The Tragedy of Macbeth	Lisbon Players (amateur production)
19/2/1997	A Midsummer Night's Dream	The Almeida Theatre (UK)
3/4/1997	Medida por Medida <sup>101</sup>	Comuna – Teatro de Pesquisa <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Directed by João Mota</li> <li>• Translated by Maria João da Rocha Afonso</li> <li>• Carla Chambel as Isabella</li> <li>• Cristina Cavalinhos as Mistress Overdone</li> <li>• João Mota as Pompey</li> <li>• Carlos Paulo as Duke Vicentio</li> </ul>

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<sup>99</sup> All's Well that Ends Well

<sup>100</sup> Twelfth Night

<sup>101</sup> Measure for Measure

3/12/1997	Measure for Measure	Nottingham Playhouse (UK)
18/12/1997	Romeu & Guilietta	CENDREV – Escola de Formação Teatral
24/1/1998	Rei Lear	Teatro Nacional D. Maria II <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Directed by Richard Cottrell</li> <li>• Translation by Ricardo Alberty/Maria João da Rocha Afonso</li> <li>• Ruy de Carvalho as Lear</li> <li>• Paula Mora as Regan</li> <li>• Maria Amélia Matta as Goneril</li> <li>• Lúcia Maria as Cordelia</li> <li>• Diogo Infante as Edmund</li> </ul>
30/1/1998	A Tragédia de Corialano	Artistas Unidos Ensemble – Sociedade de Actores
14/3/1998	Comédia de Enganos <sup>102</sup>	Teatro da Trindade – INATEL
26/3/1998	Hamlet	GTL – Grupo de Teatro de Letras (university group)
15/10/1998	Noite de Reis ou como lhe queiram chamar	Teatro Nacional São João, Porto <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Directed by Ricardo Pais</li> <li>• Translated by António M. Feijó</li> <li>• Micaela Cardoso as Viola</li> <li>• João Reis as Feste</li> <li>• Cláudia Cadima as Olivia</li> <li>• Nuno M. Cardoso as Sebastian</li> <li>• Jorge Vasques as Antonio</li> </ul>
10/12/1998	Macbeth, uma Tragédia Ibérica	Teatro Meridional
26/2/1999	Romeu e Julieta	Teatro da Trindade – INATEL

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<sup>102</sup> The Comedy of Errors



7/3/1999	Tudo Está Bem Quando Acaba Bem <sup>103</sup>	Teatro do Mar
23/3/1999	A Tempestade	Teatro San Martin (Argentina)
3/7/1999	Sonho de uma Noite de Verão	Clube de Teatro Natural Invenção
19/12/1999	Makbetas	Meno Fortas (Lithuania)
13/3/2000	Hamlet	TeatrUBI – Universidade da Beira Interior
4/6/2000	Um Conto de Inverno	Teatro Maricastaña (Spain)
15/6/2000	Cimbelino, rei da Britânia	Teatro da Cornucópia
29/7/2000	Romeu e Julieta	Teatro dos Objectos
2/8/2000	Sonho de uma Noite de Verão	FdC – Fatias de Cá
28/9/2000	Péricles – Príncipe de Tiro	Seiva Trupe, Porto
28/10/2000	Sonho de uma Noite de Verão	Grupo de Teatro/Dança da Câmara Municipal de Ferreira do Zêzere (amateur production)

***N.B.* The chart is adapted from the one included on the Centro de Estudos de Teatro database. It includes more extensive information about the three productions analysed within the thesis and about the appearance of the actors and actresses discussed in this thesis in other productions of Shakespeare during this decade.**

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<sup>103</sup> All's Well that Ends Well

**FIG. 3. TRANSLATIONS OF *KING LEAR*, *TWELFTH NIGHT* & *MEASURE FOR MEASURE***

<b>Title</b>	<b>Translator</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Date</b>
Rei Lear	Domingos Ramos	Porto: Lello & Irmão	1905/6
Rei Lear: adaptação em 7 quadros e em verso da tragédia em 28 cenas e em prosa de Shakespeare	Júlio Dantas	Lisboa: Viúva Tavares Cardoso  Lisboa: Portugal-Brasil	1905  1906, 1924, 1939
O Rei Lear		Porto: Chardron	1919
O Rei Lear	Carlos Alberto Nunes	São Paulo: Melhoramentos	1920
O Rei Lear	Manuel Vieira	Coimbra: Saber	1943
Rei Lear	Gervásio Álvaro	Lisboa: Presença	1967
Rei Lear; Macbeth	Ricardo Alberty	Lisboa: Verbo	1973. Adapted by Maria João da Rocha Afonso in 1998
Hamlet; O Rei Lear; Romeu e Julieta	L. Pereira Gil	Lisboa: Amigos do Livro	197?
Rei Lear (bilingual edition)	Margarida Pratas	Mem Martins: Europa-America	1984, 2004
O Rei Lear (adaptation of Charles & Mary Lamb)	Manuel João Gomes	Lisboa: Contexto	1989
O Rei Lear	Álvaro Cunhal	Lisboa: Caminho	2002
<b>Title</b>	<b>Translator</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Date</b>
Noite de Reis (adaptation of Charles & Mary Lamb)	Clara Garcia da Fonseca	Lisbon: Contexto	1990
Noite de Reis ou como lhe queiram chamar	António M. Feijó	Lisbon: Cotovia	1998

<b>Title</b>	<b>Translator</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Date</b>
Medida por Medida - tragicomédia em 5 actos	Henrique Braga	Porto: Lello & Irmão	1955
Dente por Dente (Measure for Measure) de William Shakespeare - tragicomédia em 2 partes	Luiz Francisco Rebello	Lisboa: Prelo	1964
Medida por Medida	Maria João da Rocha Afonso	unpublished	1997
Medida por Medida	M. Gomes da Torre	Porto: Campo das Letras	2001

\* These translations are those listed on the database of the Biblioteca Nacional in  
Lisbon

