Translating Shakespeare across the Globe

Online Exhibition

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Jan Frans van Dijkerhuizen (ed.)
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Introduction

What becomes especially clear from the various items on display here is that translating Shakespeare has been a way of remaking him. Eighteenth-century Dutch translators, often basing themselves on French and German translations, were troubled by what they saw as Shakespeare’s disregard for neoclassical principles and corrected his most egregious ‘mistakes’. Early twentieth-century theatre groups in the Dutch Indies incorporated Shakespeare’s plays into a variety of indigenous theatre practices. In the twentieth-century Arab world, Hamlet has often served as a vehicle for political commentary.

While it is true, therefore, that especially in the twentieth century, people across the globe have felt compelled to translate and stage Shakespeare, what is most striking is how they have adapted his work to local aesthetic, cultural and political needs. It is in part through such acts of intercultural appropriation that Shakespeare has been kept alive and made to speak to new audiences and readers.

Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen
Translating Shakespeare across the Globe (2015)

Introduction
1. *Shakespeare in Dutch (and one French translation)*

Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen
De Dolle Bruyloft.

Blyeyndend Spel.

Gerijmt door

A. Sybant.

't Amsterdam, Gedaelt by Tymon Houthaak.

Voor Dirk Cornelisz. Houthaak, Boekverkooper, op
de hoek van de Nieuwe zijds Kolk. 1654.

The *Mad Wedding* is the first translation into Dutch of a single Shakespearean play – although it does contain significant omissions and alterations. An earlier play by Jan Vos, *Aran and Titus* (1641), was based on Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus* as well as on a 1620 German play on the same topic. Abraham Sybant (1627–1655) was a translator as well as an actor, and associated with various strolling companies that traveled the Low Countries, Northern Germany, Denmark and Sweden. He was also involved in the seven recorded Amsterdam performances of *The Mad Wedding* between November 1654 and August 1656. In addition, it is likely that an adaption of Sybant’s Dutch translation was performed in 1658 by German *Wandertruppen* in the town of Zittau, near Dresden.
Wat begeerd gy van my!

Helaas! hy is zinnebeeld.

Shakespeare in Dutch (and one French translation)
1.2 | William Shakespeare's Tooneelspelen: met de bronwellen, de aantekeningen van verscheide beroemde schryveren / naar het Engelsche en het Hoogduitsche vertaald [William Shakespeare’s Plays, with their sources and annotations by various famous authors / Translated from the English and the German]. Five volumes. Amsterdam: Albrecht Borchers, 1778–1782. [MNL, 1053 B 3-7]

This is the first Dutch effort to publish a translation of Shakespeare’s complete works. The project was abandoned after five volumes, with fifteen plays translated. The translators of the first three volumes are anonymous; volumes 4 and 5 were translated by Bernardus Brunius (1747–1785). Little is known about Brunius but he was in all likelihood the son of a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church and attended the University of Franeker. In 1779 Brunius also translated Laurence Sterne’s *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*. It is unclear where he learned his English.

The anonymous translators of the first three volumes relied on the first complete German translation of Shakespeare’s works by Johann Joachim Eschenburg (1743–1820), as well as on an English text, in all likelihood the 1768 edition by Edward Capell (1713–1781). In his preface to volume four, Brunius berates his predecessors for relying too extensively on Eschenburg. Like its German model, this translation is in prose. Only rhyming passages in Shakespeare’s plays are translated as verse. An example is Prospero’s epilogue to *The Tempest*, which retains the rhyming pairs of iambic tetrameters of Shakespeare’s original – although it is also drastically shortened.

There is no evidence that any of the fifteen translations were ever staged. It is worth noting that the translators’ view on the literary merits of Shakespeare’s plays was not unambiguously positive. In their preface to volume one, they announce that ‘since we aim to act as neutral translators who do not blindly approve of everything an author says, we have here and there added our own comments; we have marked with an asterix (*) all scenes that have a gap in their structure’. Indeed, the translators in fact start a new scene whenever an
Shakespeare in Dutch (and one French translation)
important character enters or leaves the stage, for example when Horatio and Marcellus enter in Act 1, Scene 1 of *Hamlet*, or when Ariel enters in Act 1, Scene 2 of *The Tempest*. Far from trying to defend Shakespeare, they in fact aimed to ‘put Shakespeare’s flaws clearly on display, as a warning to others’. Dutch views on Shakespeare were clearly influenced by eighteenth-century French attitudes and there is an echo here of Voltaire’s famous denunciation, in the *Lettres Philosophiques*, of Shakespeare as ‘a natural genius of force and fecundity with neither the slightest spark of good taste nor the slightest knowledge of formal rules’.

The first illustration shows the appearance of the ghost of King Hamlet in Gertrude’s bedchamber (Act 3, scene 4). The short dialogue reads as follows: [Hamlet:] ‘What do you desire of me?’ / [Gertrude:] ‘Alas! He has lost his reason’. In the second illustration Alonso discovers Ferdinand and Miranda playing at chess in the final scene of *The Tempest*. The caption translates Alonso’s lines: ‘If this prove / A vision of the island, one dear son / Shall I twice lose’ (5.1.177–179).
DESDEMONA.

TREURSPEL,

DOOR

M: NIEUWENHUIJSZEN,

Med: Doct:

te AMSTELDAM bij

C: DE VRIES,

1789.

*Desdemona: A Tragedy* (1789) is an adaptation of *Othello* by Martinus Nieuwenhuijzen (1759–1793), a physician from Edam. It is interesting especially for the ways in which it adapts Shakespeare’s play to eighteenth-century French neo-classical tastes. Nieuwenhuijzen’s professed aim was to ‘make Othello fit for the modern stage while leaving intact as much as possible of that which makes Shakespeare unique’. In his preface, Nieuwenhuijzen admits to his ambivalent attitude towards the play. He disapproves of Shakespeare’s disregard for the unities of time and place yet he was taken with ‘the main action and the excellent characters’, especially Desdemona, whom he sees as the ‘tragic heroine’ of the play.

Nieuwenhuijzen removed all references to Othello’s blackness, turning him instead into a North-African: ‘I was concerned that the appearance onstage of a Moor would be too monstrous for a main character – it is sufficient if he has an olive-colored countenance and is surly and rough in his demeanour’.

Nieuwenhuijzen’s Othello does not strangle Desdemona but stabs her with a dagger, while the handkerchief has been replaced by a crucifix. Brabantio does not appear as a character. Indeed, in the opening scene Desdemona informs Emilia that Brabantio has overcome his initial objections to her marriage: ‘Through my tears I saw how my father’s wrath vanished’.
The musical score, on a special fold-out sheet, presents a melody and accompaniment for Desdemona’s willow song in Act 4, Scene 3. The music was composed especially for this play by one 'Mr Marsch from Groningen'. 

This is a Dutch translation of a 1792 neo-classicist French adaption of Othello by the playwright and Academician Jean-François Ducis (1733–1816). Ducis did not read French and based his own Shakespeare adaptations on translations by Pierre Le Tourneur (1736–1788) and Pierre de la Place (1707–1793). Like Nieuwenhuizen’s Desdemona, this version of Othello was adapted to neo-classicist tastes, with the action confined to Venice, Othello’s skin colour...
‘copper-like’ rather than black, and Desdemona stabbed to death by her husband rather than smothered (in a later revision Othello is in fact kept from murdering Hédelmone by a servant who rushes in at the last moment). Othello is the only character whose name is retained; Desdemona is rechristened Hédelmone, Iago appears as Pezaro, and Brabantio is renamed Odalbert. Ducis was disturbed by Iago’s famous motiveless malignity and provided Pezaro with a clear motive in destroying Othello, revealed at the end of the play: he too loved Hédelmone and acted out of extreme jealousy. In addition, Ducis’ Othello is not so much driven to jealousy by Pezaro’s machinations but is presented as naturally prone to suspicion since he is a Moor. On the one hand, Ducis – and Uylenbroek with him – downplays Othello’s identity as a Moor by giving him a light complexion. At the same time, he presents Othello’s ethnic background as the cause of his marital jealousy. Like other translations and adaptions from the period, Uylenbroek’s Othello was written in rhyming pairs of alexandrines. It continued to be performed on Dutch stages until 1846.

The dialogue accompanying the illustration reads as follows: ‘[Othello:] How! Innocence! / [Hedelmone:] Yes! I swear by the eternal Omnipotence (etcetera)’.
1 Shakespeare in Dutch (and one French translation)
This is the first volume of the 20-volume French Shakespeare translations by Pierre Le Tourneur, whose Othello formed the basis for the later adaptation by Jean-François Ducis. Ducis’ Othello in turned provided the model for the 1802 Dutch adaptation of Othello by Uylenbroek. Le Tourneur’s translations attracted some 2,000 subscribers, as well as the patronage of the king, yet France still viewed Shakespeare with suspicion and Voltaire was outraged by the lavish praise of Shakespeare in Le Tourneur’s preface. That this first edition of Le Tourneur’s translations begins with Othello has perhaps to do with the fact that an earlier translation by Pierre-Antoine de la Place, published in 1746, had been the first French translation of a complete Shakespearean play. The ‘Romance d’Othello’ reproduced here is a setting of Desdemona’s willow song.
1 Shakespeare in Dutch (and one French translation)

Translating Shakespeare across the Globe (2015)
2. *Shakespeare in Malay*

Doris Jedamski
It is difficult to determine when and how exactly Shakespeare arrived in the Dutch East Indies, but so-called stamboel or bangsawan theatre groups are known to have performed various Shakespeare plays from 1899 onwards. Such performances featured mostly indigenous and Eurasian actors and were marked
by improvisation and cultural appropriation; they were interspersed with musical elements, tableaux vivants, and other comic or acrobatic acts. As a result, a night at the theatre was lively and loud and could easily last an hour or two longer than announced. For Eurasian theatre companies, plays like *Romeo and Juliet* were in part a means to reflect on their own hybrid position within colonial society. Like many European writers, Shakespeare probably found his way to the Dutch East Indies via Dutch translations. Later, Indonesian audiences were also likely to encounter western works of literature in the form of early film adaptations. These in turn were often freely adapted for stage or print by Indonesian acting companies or writers.

There must have been an abundance of Malay Shakespeare translations – or rather abridged adaptations for stage or print – in the colonial Dutch East Indies. Non-governmental translations – ‘too numerous to be listed’ according to a 1939 article in the Sino-Malay magazine *Sin Po* – have unfortunately not been preserved. We only know of their existence since they were widely quoted by indigenous intellectuals of the time. In order to counteract the many independent translations and adaptations, the Dutch-colonial *Kantoor voor de Volkslectuur* [Office for the People’s Literature] or *Balai Poestaka* [Hall of Literature] produced its own adaptations of Shakespeare, copies of which are in the Leiden University Library collection. In 1932, a compilation of Shakespeare works in Malay was published. It was based on Charles and Mary Lamb’s famous children book *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807), but only eight of the twenty ‘tales’ were selected and adapted: *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Measure for Measure*, *King Lear*, *The Tempest*, *A Midsummer’s Night Dream*, *All’s Well that Ends Well*, *Hamlet*, and *MacBeth*. That same year, *Balai Poestaka* had also published a short prose adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice* by H.A. Salim (a *Balai oestaka* employee), containing a photograph of the well known Dutch actor Louis Bouwmeester (1842–1925) as Shylock.
2.2  |  Saudagar Venezia (The Merchant of Venice), Batavia 1932. [hh 626]
3. *Shakespeare in Sundanese*

Doris Jedamski
3.1 | Tjarita Anoe Mashoer Pahlili Beubeureuh (Twelfth Night). Translated by Margasoelaksana. Batavia 193X. [V 3243, no. 1111]

3 Shakespeare in Sundanese

sangkan maneh diwarab, sanggeus sasaeran kitoe.
prameswari téroes angkat.

Koe poetran gaši-gaši, ditjépég panangkanan,
barina dièngke-èngke, disina tyolik dipolsan, lamaran
tjek manahna, énggeus manaang spdjiajoe, leg regese padeeoean.

Malah mandar prameswari, lilir mananahanana,
olah dijondjé-djondjé bae, aja dina kalëpatan,
prameswari ngarendjag, manahna réwaw kalanjkoeng,
ditjépég teh koe poetran.

Djérti andjeunna ngadjérét, sok sieun dikoeomoonam,
wantoe-wantoe poetran teh, tjek manahna kapan
owah, keur kitoe aja sora; ngajowovok menta toeloeng,
ti kamar noe deuek pisan.

Sarta kadangoeun sidik, koe noe kasep Radjapoetra,
dina manahna tèg bae, jen eteh Kangdjéng Radja,
noedjoe ngintip andjeunna, énggeus hënteu seueur sa-
öer, asepét ngalowog pédang.

Anoe moendoe toeloeng tëdi, barung nolol tina la-
wang, teu tempo harita keneh; ditoebhès koed Radjap-
poetra, hënteu mindo noebelan, gnà nga-broëe bae nga-
gèbroe, babar sapada harita.

Sakoledat ketangi, geungin lain Kangdjéng Radja,
da satémënn aeta teh. Path anoe ngintip tea, ramana

Ophelia, tapi wantoe noedjoe bèndeoe, Sang Poëtra teu
mirosa.

Parameswari ngadjérèt, pilharina ka poetran, ah-
ach maneh Hamlet, nêpi ka loek macahan, dosa ngè
pisas. Pangeran Hamlet ngawangsoel, ka iboena rada
heures.

Nudja aëng dosa abdi, ka iboe mæh no ngeeng-
koelan, ibo etlalaa tjaroe, da palaj ka saderenka,
sok kadjnun kenisja, dapen kapalaj dikaboe, etet kapan
awen pisas.

Kinanti

Saparantos njoer kitoe, koe Radjapoetra kagalih,
jen kaseoran andjeunna, rada kalèpasan teuring, tapi
da énggeus kapalang, atasè diwangansoel deu.

Bede dihadjinkéun anggeor, ngalodekken eusi
gali, njarios rek sejebpan, moal dipandang-dipindah,
reb aja ajèna manaang, ngjéng warij noo moes-
tari.

Bênèr ge moenggoeh ka iboe, poëtra këdah hount
radim, tapi moen iboe lëpat mæh, poëtra teh wadjib
ngageung, soepeja iboena tobat, ka Geesti Nee Mah-
sëtji.
3.2 Tjarita Anoe Mashoer Pangeran Hamlet (Hamlet). Translated by Margasoelaksana. Batavia 193X. [V 3243, no. 1114]
These two adaptations in Sundanese, a language spoken in West Java, were published in 1933 by Balai Poestaka. Together with a Sundanese translation of *King Lear*, they form three of at least six volumes in a series entitled *Tjarita anoe mashoer*… – or, in English, *The Story of the Famous*…, with the protagonist’s name at the end of each title. Hence, *King Lear* became *The Famous Story of Raja Lir*, while *Hamlet* was turned into *The Famous Story of Prince Hamlet*. It was probably in order to fit this pattern that *Twelfth Night* was changed into *The Story of the Famous Switched Fiancé*. Another reason for this change could have been the traditional expectation that stories worth telling had to deal with kings and supernatural heroes, a notion that had long been challenged by various forms of modern story-telling, but which Balai Poestaka was keen to nourish. In this context, it is also worth noting that the series had been launched in 1932 with three indigenous folktales. Against its own policy of providing Malay, Javanese, Sundanese and sometimes even Madurese translations of works which it deemed important, Balai Poestaka published these Shakespeare plays only in Malay and Sundanese versions.
4. *Shakespeare in Papiamento*

Jef Schaeps

This version of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* is the first and, to this day, the only translation of a work by Shakespeare into Papiamentu, the language spoken
by the majority of the inhabitants of the Caribbean ABC islands, Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. The translator, Jules de Palm (1922–2013), was born in Curaçao but resided for most of his life in the Netherlands, obtaining his PhD from Leiden University in 1969. He translated *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* in 1967, at the request of the Dutch director and actor Henk van Ulsen.

Although De Palm retained a great deal of the original play, he did make a number of adjustments, and referred to his translation as an ‘adaptashón’. He kept the names of the Athenians and the fairies but replaced the artisans’ names by local ones. Peter Quince became Wei, while Nick Bottom was rechristened Trai; Snout’s name was changed to Supla and Starveling’s to Pilongo. In a 1967 interview with the Dutch newspaper *Het Binnenhof* De Palm stated that long monologues were not appreciated by Antillean audiences, and references to the classical gods and myths rarely understood. Therefore, when, in Act 1, Scene 1, Hermia promises to meet Lysander the next day, calling on Cupid, Venus and Dido as her witnesses, De Palm shortened her speech by making her swear on her mother instead. In the same interview, De Palm claimed that *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* is one of the few Shakespearean plays that would appeal to Antillean audiences, since it is ‘burlesque, erotic and romantic’.

Directed by Van Ulsen, Ilushon di anochi the play was performed in Willemstad, Curaçao, in January 1968. De Palm’s translation was never printed but published as a typescript by Sticusa, a foundation aiming to stimulate cultural exchange between the Netherlands and its colonies. For some decades De Palm acted as its vice chair.
5. *Shakespeare in Turkish*

Petra de Bruijn
This Turkish translation of Shakespeare’s *Antony and Cleopatra* was made in 1913 by Abdullah Cevdet (1869–1932). Originally trained as an ophthalmologist, Cevdet was a political activist, poet and translator of literary, political and philosophical works (23 of these are in the Leiden University Library collection). Before he embarked on *Antony and Cleopatra*, Cevdet had already translated *Hamlet, Julius Caesar, Romeo and Juliet* and *Macbeth*. He was one of the founders of the Young Turk movement, which opposed the Ottoman Sultan, yet as a result of his critical attitudes, he remained a relatively marginal figure even when the Young Turks came to power after the Revolution of 1908.

As can be seen from the list of characters shown here, Cevdet translated Antony and Cleopatra from the French. Indeed, in the preface to his translation of the play, Cevdet remarks that he first got the idea of translating this play when he
was imprisoned in 1896/1897 and was given a copy of the French translation by a fellow prisoner, probably François Victor Hugo. He published his translation in 1921, during the Turkish War of Independence (1918–1923), as a protest against the occupation of Anatolia and the ongoing warfare which Turkey had endured for nearly a decade. He read Antony and Cleopatra as an examination of nationalistic virtue, and of the contrast between the meaninglessness of warfare on the one hand and human love on the other.

5.2  Halide Edib Adıvar and Vahit Turhan, Hamlet, Danimarka prensi. Istanbul: Istanbul Universitesi yayınılar, 1943. [2046 E 37]
In the early 1940s Halide Edib Adıvar and Vahit Turhan, of the University of Istanbul, initiated a seminar at the department of English literature on translating Shakespeare. During the 1940s and 1950s, in collaboration with their students, they produced a series of Shakespeare translations in prose. This translation of *Hamlet*, first published in 1941, was the first in the series. It was also the first Turkish Shakespeare translation based directly on an English source; earlier translators had relied on French texts. While most Turkish intellectuals were francophone, Halide Edip Adıvar (1882–1964) was an exception. Also a novelist, she was one of the most prolific and prominent Turkish intellectuals of the first half of the twentieth century. She had been one of the first Turkish girls to attend the American College for girls in Istanbul. During the 1920s, political conflicts with the first president of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), forced her to go into exile, and she lived in the United Kingdom and the United States for extended periods.

With its elaborate introduction, notes and commentary, this translation helped to establish the scholarly study of English literature as an academic discipline in Turkey. The 1941 performance of *Hamlet* in Istanbul, based on this translation, was a tremendous success.
6. *Shakespeare in Arabic*

Birte Kristiansen
This is a scholarly study in Arabic of the many translations of *Hamlet* into Arabic. Indeed, in the Arab world, *Hamlet* has been the most popular of Shakespeare’s works. The play was first staged in Arabic at the end of the nineteenth century and first published in an Arabic translation by Tanius Abduh in 1902. Abduh’s version differs strongly from the original: some scenes were shortened or deleted altogether while other scenes were extended, and even new scenes were added. Most notable are the songs added by Abduh, which drew heavily on Arabic love poetry. Abduh’s *Hamlet* was to have a long-lasting influence on later Arab versions of the play, even when his translation was no longer performed. Many later versions of *Hamlet* have had a strongly political dimension, often containing satirical comments on current Arab politics. In the Arab world, *Hamlet* continues to be seen as a play with strong contemporary relevance, ever reinvented by translators and directors as a vehicle for political commentary.

For further information on *Hamlet* in Arabic, see Margaret Litvin, *Hamlet’s Arab Journey: Shakespeare’s Prince and Nasser’s Ghost*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011. (Available as an e-book at Leiden University Library.) Examples of Shakespeare performed in Arabic can be found at MIT Global Shakespeares. See also Litvin’s blog on Shakespeare in the Arab World.
This 1929 Arabic translation of *The Tempest* was published in a beautiful, richly illustrated edition and was based on several English editions. Earlier Arabic translations of Shakespeare had often been based on translations – into French and Russian for example – rather than on English sources.

The sources of the illustrations in this volume are not specified – this is a common practice in Arabic books and generally not thought of as a violation of copyright. Some of the images are in fact reproductions of well known works such as Arthur Rackham’s illustrations for the 1899 and 1909 editions of *Tales from Shakespeare* and the 1797 engraving which Henry Fuseli made for the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery. Others are late nineteenth-century photographs of Shakespeare actors such as Lady Constance Benson (as Miranda) and Frank Benson (as Caliban).
7. *Shakespeare in Chinese*

Alice de Jong
7.1 Min Linxian 闵林县, Yue Jinghai 玥静海 and Chen Jialin 陈家麟, 亨利第六遗事 Hengli di liu yishi (The History of King Henry the Sixth). Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1916. [SINOL. 5769.Shakespeare.1]

亨利第六遗事 Hengli di liu yishi is the earliest Shakespeare translation in the Leiden East Asian Library collection. It was acquired through the legacy of J.J. Duyvendak, who was professor at Leiden University from 1930 until his death in 1954. It is a Chinese version from 1916 of all three parts of Henry VI, published just after the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the year when the emperor was expelled from the Imperial Palace in Beijing and the Chinese Republic was founded.
A mere 102 pages long, this volume, a joint effort by three different translators, is not a full translation but rather a paraphrase of the three plays. Indeed, in this early Republican era, no complete translations of Shakespearean plays were available in China. The first performance of a Shakespeare play took place in Shanghai in 1913. It was a version of *The Merchant of Venice*, translated as 肉券 (*Roll of Flesh*) and adapted from Charles and Mary Lamb’s *Tales from Shakespeare*.

The cover of this rare booklet shows a flowery bamboo framework and a rather Chinese-looking Henry with ermine-trimmed cloak and red cap – an adaptation of his royal portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.
8 Shakespeare in Hebrew

Hannah Neudecker
8.1 Maḥazoṭ. Translated by Abraham Shlonsky, Merḥavyaḥ: Sifriyat-Poʾ alîm etc. 1971 [5732]. [8343 E 8]

This volume contains translations into Hebrew of Hamlet (Hamlet) and King Lear (Ha-melech Lir) by Avraham Shlonsky. It was published as part of the series Tīrgūmīm misjirat ha-olam; Machazot (Translations of World Poetry and Plays), published in 1971, although Shlonsky’s Hamlet translation dates from 1946. The series also contained translations of the novel Yevgeniy Onegin and various plays by Alexander Pushkin.

Avraham Shlonsky (1900–1973) was a well-known Israeli poet, editor and translator. In addition to Shakespeare and Pushkin, he also translated works by Anton Chekhov, Nikolai Gogol and Romain Rolland. He was instrumental in the development of modern Hebrew, both as a translator and as a writer of original works. Shlonsky did not read English and translated Shakespeare from his mother tongue Russian. The language of his Shakespeare translation was praised for its literary sophistication. One example of this is Shlonsky’s version of Hamlet’s ‘go not to mine uncle’s bed’ (Act 3, Scene 4): ‘minʾi dodayikh midodi’
(‘withhold your love from my uncle’) contains a wordplay on *dod*, meaning both ‘love’ (in the plural) and ‘uncle’. The illustrated pages (pp. 80-81) show Hamlet’s famous monologue (Act 3, Scene 1): ‘To be, or not to be.’
Shakespeare in Hebrew
‘Translating Shakespeare across the Globe’ was published as an online exhibition (.xml) in the image database of Leiden University Libraries in 2015.

In 2018 the texts and images have been converted from the XML structure and (after some minor adjustments) saved as a PDF document in the new image database.

The original online exhibition is not available anymore.

André Bouwman
Universitaire Bibliotheeken Leiden

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