Translation as Collaboration? Erich Fried, Peter Zadek, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

Wolfgang Görtschacher

This article records and evaluates the collaboration between translator Erich Fried and director Peter Zadek in the translation of Shakespeare's play, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a translation made for the Theater der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, which premièred it on 9 May 1963. Neither Fried nor Zadek ever openly acknowledged the influence that was exercised on Fried by Zadek in the course of translation, or the later influence of Zadek and the actors in the course of rehearsals.

Keywords: Erich Fried, Peter Zadek, William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, theatre translation

Le présent article examine la collaboration entre le traducteur Erich Fried et le metteur en scène Peter Zadek à l'occasion de la traduction de la pièce de Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* [*Le songe d'une nuit d'été*], réalisée pour le *Theater der Freien Hansestadt Bremen* et dont la première eut lieu le 9 mai 1963. Ni Fried ni Zadek n'a jamais reconnu l'ascendant exercé par Zadek sur la traduction pendant l'élaboration de celle-ci ou l'influence exercée par le metteur en scène et les acteurs sur la traduction au cours des répétitions.

Mots clés : Erich Fried, Peter Zadek, William Shakespeare, *Le songe d'une nuit d'été*, traduction théâtrale

Preliminary Remarks

The potential co-operation between translator and director in the production of the translation of a play is still very much a *terra incognita* in translation studies. The reasons for this situation are manifold, but often have to do with a lack of source or archival material recording such collaboration. The situation is not much different when it comes to recording and evaluating the collaboration between the translator Erich Fried and the director Peter Zadek in the translation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a translation made for the Theater der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, which premièred it on 9 May 1963. Neither Fried nor Zadek ever openly acknowledged the influence that was exercised on the former by the latter in the course of translation, or the later influence of Zadek and the actors in the course of rehearsals. As a result, it is difficult to establish and evaluate Zadek's influence on the printed text first published by the Fischer Verlag in 1964. Only a detailed and parallel examination of the

director's copy held by the Erich Fried Archive in Vienna, and the director's copy in the Peter Zadek Archive, which is located in the Archiv Darstellende Kunst, Akademie der Künste Berlin, will shed more light on the co-operation between Erich Fried and Peter Zadek.[1] As the official opening of the Peter Zadek Archive only took place on 24 September 2012 when Elisabeth Plessen launched her book *Peter Zadek und seine Bühnenbildner* (Peter Zadek and His Stage Designers), this essay has to be regarded as work-in-progress and a first interim report from my project.[2]

Bremen, Zadek, and Fried's Commission

Widely differing reports of how Fried received his first commission for a Shakespeare translation have been in circulation. As Axel Goodbody rightly points out, "Fried's real breakthrough as a translator came with his version of Dylan Thomas's radio play *Under Milk Wood* in 1954."[3] *Unter dem Milchwald* was first broadcast by the BBC German Service on 10 March 1954. It reached a larger audience with broadcasts by radio stations in Germany, first by the NWDR, the Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk (Northwest German Broadcasting), on 20 September 1954 and, again two months later, on 8 December. These were followed by broadcasts from other German radio stations. According to Fried, "[t]his translation was enormously successful in Germany. It was broadcast by all radio stations and practically all West German and West-Berlin theatres staged it."[4] With this success Fried established his reputation as a translator of texts difficult to translate. He received more commissions than he could accept, among them one for four volumes by Dylan Thomas, another for a verse play by Laurie Lee and a third for two verse plays by T. S. Eliot.

Among Fried's acquaintances in the world of German letters was Rudolf Walter Leonhardt, who, in 1957, became editor of *Die Zeit*. As a result of this friendship Fried became a regular contributor to the newspaper. Fried also owed the commission for his first Shakespeare translation to Leonhardt. He recalls that Leonhardt "one day wrote in one of his essays that,

considering my previous translations, I should be commissioned to do a new and adequate Shakespeare translation. Shortly afterwards I received my first commission for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* from the theatre in Bremen."[5] Fried does not appear to have remembered any further details about the commission.

Zadek, born in 1926 in Berlin, emigrated with his parents to London in 1933 where he got to know Fried through Renee Goddard, Zadek's first partner.[6] In *Das wilde Ufer: ein Theaterbuch*, Zadek maintains that he visited Fried in London and that it was he who invited him to translate Shakespeare for him: "You are the only one whom I believe to be capable of thinking in contemporary terms and, at the same time, comprehending his poetic vision."[7] During this meeting in London, which occurred in late July or early August 1962, Zadek and Fried also discussed a possible translation of Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*, and Fried accepted the commission. In a letter dated 22 August 1962, Kurt Hübner, Bremen's theatre director, thanks Fried: "Much to my great delight Peter Zadek told me about your promise to translate for us both Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*."[8] Hübner also refers to Zadek when he confirms in writing that Fried wanted to submit his Shakespeare translation by 15 November 1962, as the première was scheduled for mid-February 1963.

In his reply to Hübner dated 22 September 1962,[9] Fried points out that he had accepted Peter Zadek's commission on various conditions, among them an advance payment of £200, "so that I do not have to be stingy with the required time" for the translation. None of these conditions, Fried points out, had been fulfilled until then. However, Fried concedes that "after reading *Tamburlaine* I had already told Zadek that I was really less interested in it."[10] Fried offers Hübner two options: either to drop the Marlowe-Fried project altogether and to use another translation, or to postpone the production of *Sommernachtstraum* (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*): "I told Peter Zadek that I needed at least two entire months for the

Sommernachtstraum. At the same time I told him that at the moment I was unwilling to negotiate deals with theatre publishers."[11]

Fried and the Tieck-Schlegel Translations

At the time Fried still "believed," as he pointed out in an interview with the author, "that the Schlegel-Tieck translation would do. If this were so, in the thinking of the people in Bremen, they would save a lot of money and also avoid a great deal of trouble and discussion. Then I put the original text alongside the translation and read them. And I arrived at the conclusion that, in fact, the translation wasn't close enough to the original."[12] Fried found out that "every now and then, Schlegel simply didn't understand certain phrases and passages."

In his "Epilegomena zu einigen Shakespeare-Übersetzungen" [Epilegomena to a Few Shakespeare Translations], a lecture he gave at the University of Heidelberg on 15 April 1964, Fried offers examples from the Tieck-Schlegel translations which encouraged him to venture on a new translation, explaining that "nothing encourages a poet or translator so much as the blunders or weaknesses of his models or predecessors." However, Fried emphasizes that "any seeming lack of respect towards Schlegel is, so to speak, lack of respect on the basis of great admiration and gratitude." At the same time, Fried stresses that "gratitude and admiration becloud your view when translating."[13]

Speaking for my part, though, I would agree with Ulrich K. Goldsmith who holds that "in some of the numerous new, 'modern,' translations it is easy to detect not only their respective debts to Schlegel, but also the traces of Gundolfian emendations. This would apply, among others, to the notable Shakespeare translations of the late Erich Fried."[14] Fried had a particular interest in the German tradition of Shakespeare translations and, as I shall point out in due course, always consulted the available translations when producing his own translation. However, he preferred to avoid Schlegel's technique of translation, explaining that "he [Schlegel] translated carefully and slowly, which is why he forgot, when in Act IV or in Act V, the same phrase occurred as in Act I and to translate it identically if possible, so that the

association between the two scenes is not destroyed." Consequently, Fried always translated "as quickly as possible." Quite often his translations were dictated to his secretary at great speed. "Wherever I can't get it right," Fried admits, "I underline a word so that I remember the context. Afterwards I correct slowly and carefully and, if possible, somebody recites the original to me at the same time."[15]

The Fried/Zadek Collaboration on the Translation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

After Fried finally agreed, in a telephone conversation with Hübner on 9 October 1962, to accept the commission, an interesting exchange of views emerged in the correspondence between Fried and Zadek. Although only preserved in parts in the Erich Fried Archive, this correspondence offers revealing insights into the co-operation between translator and director and the evolution of the playscript used by Zadek for his production.

The first Peter Zadek letter extant in the Erich Fried Archive is dated 15 November 1962,[16] and was obviously written in response to draft translations Fried had sent:

> I consider the Puck and Oberon verses superb in some cases. I am sometimes disturbed by such makeshift solutions as: "und das Käuzchen kreischt so schrill" ['and the little owl screeches so shrill'[17] for "Whilst the screech-owl, screeching loud" (Act 5, Scene 1, line 354)], but on the other hand lines such as: "Uns ist wohl nun: keine Maus / Störe dies geweihte Haus" ['All is well now: let no mouse / Disturb this consecrated house' for "And we fairies […] / Now are frolic; not a mouse / Shall disturb this hallowed house," (Act 5, Scene1, lines 361, 365-66)] are brilliant and witty and hit, in my opinion, the right note. On the whole I am confident that this translation will finally blow off the dust which lies on all Shakespeare translations.[18]

For all Zadek's optimism and support of Fried's translation venture he was fated to receive the following letter from Fried, hardly two months after the latter's initial acceptance of the commission. In this letter, dated 3 December 1962, Fried pleads inability to supply a translation that is watertight, the way it must be done to make sense:

> Of course, to improve Schlegel where his translation is outrageous, and to outdo the one or other poem, this would be possible. But that is a piecing-together, a patchwork. I do not find the poems difficult, for example Puck's and Oberon's at the end of the play, but very ordinary dialogues, such as those between Hermia and Lysander, Hermia and Helena, I do. Besides, I have come to the conclusion that the scenes of the workmen cannot be translated better than Schlegel did. […] Apart from that, I have also overestimated the possibility of supplying a proper perfectionist's translation within the time available. […] At the moment I feel defeated by the text. Perhaps it would be possible to translate *A Midsummer Night's Dream* slowly, as a sideline, later, without internal or external compulsion, as I have already tinkered around with it so intensively. In such a case I would offer it to you first. [19]

Fried's frank and quite understandable letter lists many problems translators encounter in their day-to-day activity, but also provides insights into his method of work and his translator's ethic which involve: (1) a thorough examination of translations already published; (2) the difficulty of meeting his own expectations within the period of time given; (3) in parts, a feeling of inferiority with regard to the Schlegel/Tieck orthodoxy still prevalent in the Germanic countries; and finally, (4) Fried's unhappiness with having to work towards a deadline.

In his subsequent letter of 14 December 1962 Fried mentions a telephone conversation he had with Zadek following the arrival of Fried's own letter on Zadek's doormat. One can only speculate about the content of Zadek's telephone call but the result certainly seems to have been that Zadek must have persuaded Fried to continue his translation. Fried mentions a method of co-operative translation they have mutually agreed on in their conversation on the phone: "I shall send you my translation *Ein Sommernachtstraum* by 31 January. However, I shall either underline or mark in the margin those lines which are provisional and with which I am not yet pleased."[20] In reply Zadek sent a telegram, the receipt of which Fried acknowledges in his letter of 14 February 1963. In this letter Fried mentions various alternative versions he has already sent the director in previous letters, and wants to discuss them with him, still by letter. Additionally, he asks him to look at another list of suggested emendations. In Act 3, Scene 2, lines 86-87 ("Which now in some slight measure it will pay, / If for his tender here I make some stay") Fried offers an alternative to Demetrius' last lines: "Daß ich auf dieses kalte Bett mich strecke / Du wart nur, bis ich morgen dich entdecke!" ['That I should stretch out on this cold bed! / Wait until I find you tomorrow!']. Another suggestion concerns an alternative to Hermia's last line before she falls asleep in Act 3, Scene 2, line 447 ("Heaven shield Lysander, if they mean a fray."): "Dann kämpfen sie. – O Himmel, schütz Lysander" ['Then they are fighting. – O Heaven, protect Lysander']. The last

suggestion listed in Fried's letter is a new translation of Puck's last half-line in Act 3, Scene 2, line 463 ("… and shall be well"): "… und alles wird wieder gut" or "und alles geht gut aus" ['and everything will be all right again' or 'and everything will end all right'].[21] Only four days later, on 18 February 1963, Zadek posts his reply in which he informs Fried that he has sent him a five-page letter listing questions and comments on the *Sommernachtstraum* translation. Zadek also expresses his intention of enclosing the director's script of the production that Fried had requested in his most recent letter. In a handwritten postscript to his letter Zadek informs Fried that the rehearsals will start in mid-March.

In his letter of 14 February 1963 Fried also asks Zadek whether he has received the alternative version of Bottom's song, which, he writes, was enclosed in his letter of 10 January 1963. He adds that he considers "the version with the subsequent part in prose considerably better."[22] In his alternative version Fried expands the original ballad stanza and adds a second stanza of the same kind, because – as he puts it in his explanation – the target-language audience was not familiar enough with the cuckoo motif and needed a slightly expanded context for it to have its effect. Fried points out in his introductory explanation that, as he reads Shakespeare's original, Bottom does not understand his own song. Fried tried to get the same effect in his first four-line version ("Der Kuckuck, der der Grasemück' / So gern ins Nestchen heckt. / Und lacht darob mit arger Tück / Und manchen Ehmann schreckt" ['The cuckoo, who likes so much / To lay its egg into the nettle-creeper's nest. / And this is why it laughs with terrible malice / And terrifies many a husband'], but he felt that the compression of the ballad stanza made it totally incomprehensible to his German audience.

This is why he decided to let Bottom sing an additional quatrain and at the same time revised the first four lines. This is the version found on an additional sheet pasted onto the blank left-hand page in the director's copy of the translated play held by the Erich Fried Archive:

Der Kuckuck legt der Grasemück	[The cuckoo lays in the sparrow's
Ins Nest gar flink sein Ei.	Nest very nimbly its egg.
Drum heißts, daß er ihr Eheglück	Which is why they say that it
Den Männern prophezei.	Prophesies to men their married happiness/luck.

Sie lauschen statt der Nachtigall	They listen instead of to the nightingale
Dem Kuckuck grau und schlicht.	To the cuckoo gray and plain.
Er spottet sie mit seinem Schall	It mocks them with its call (lit. sound)
Doch keiner widerspricht. [23]	But nobody contradicts.]

The director's copy in the Peter Zadek Archive contains the same version on a separate sheet, also pasted onto the blank left-hand page. This is probably the version that was arrived at in a cooperative effort by Fried and Zadek.[24]

For the printed text, Fried once again revised Zettel's song:

Der Kuckuck legt der Grasemück	[The cuckoo lays in the sparrow's
Ins Nest gar flink sein Ei.	Nest very nimbly its egg.
Man sagt, dass er ihr Eheglück	They say that their joy/luck in marriage
Den Männern prophezei.	Is prophesied by it.
Er singt nicht wie Frau Nachtigall,	It does not sing like Mrs. Nightingale
Der Kuckuck grau und schlicht.	The cuckoo gray and plain.
Es heißt, er zählt der Hörner Zahl;	They say it counts the number of horns
Und *kein* Mann widerspricht!	And *no* man contradicts.]

The printed version is more explicit ("der Hörner Zahl" [the number of horns]), more coherent and effective in its irony which Fried achieves by creating a sharp contrast in the end-rhyme positions ("Frau Nachtigall" / "der Hörner Zahl") in lines 5 and 7 of Zettel's (i.e. Bottom's) song. The rhyming lexemes stress the association between Titania's infidelity and the cuckolding of her husband Oberon. The number of horns ("Der Hörner Zahl") is a metaphor for the latter's suffering through Titania's infidelity, something which was bound to happen in the complications of the situation in which Zettel and Titania were. Although this metaphor is well known and widely used in many languages, e.g. Italian, Portuguese, Polish, among others, it is not current in German, which is the main reason why Fried felt he had to expand the song from four to eight lines.

In his reply of 27 February 1963,[25] Zadek acknowledges receipt of Fried's revisions and suggestions. Despite a number of reservations he still regards Fried's translation as "basically excellent," but offers some comments, questions, and suggestions. The first refers to Lysander's "In dessen Krampf Himmel und Erde klaffen" in Act 1, Scene 1, line 146 ("That in a spleen unfolds both heaven and earth"), which Zadek qualifies as "slightly excessive,

although the English original," he concedes, "is melodramatic." Zadek explains his reaction, saying: "I assume it is because of the collocation of 'Krampf' and 'klaffen.'" Despite Zadek's comment, Fried did not revise his translation. The second comment concerns Hermia's "Früher, als ich noch Lysander nie gesehen" ("Before the time I did Lysander see" 1.1.204), which Zadek criticises as "tortured" and suggests instead the conventional syntactic phrasing of "Früher als ich Lysander noch nie gesehen." Again, Fried was not persuaded by Zadek's – metrically – rather less attractive suggestion. The same can be said of Zadek's advice to him to look into the translation of Zettel's "keine andre Sekretion übrig" ("they would have no more discretion" 1.2.65). This is Zadek's comment: "It appears to me to be too far from the original and a scurrility that is somewhat contrived." Zadek also comments on the mechanics' first names. For him "Klaus Zettel [for Nick Bottom] is a markedly German name," while he regards Franz Flaut [for Francis Flute] as "too idiosyncratic, especially in the context of Tom Schnauz [for Tom Snout]." Zadek suggests that for all the mechanics Fried should find first names that are international. In Fried's published translation, the *dramatis personae* includes the modified and anglicised names of Niklas Zettel (for Nick Bottom) and Frank Flaut (for Francis Flute).

Fried's Translation and Zadek's Rehearsals in Bremen

Zadek started the rehearsals for *Ein Sommernachstraum* on 27 March 1963.[26] In his letter to Fried of 27 February, he had announced them for 20 March, with the première scheduled for the end of April. In his letter to Fried of 27 March 1963 Bremen's dramaturge Hans Peter Doll expressed his delight at Fried's plan to attend the rehearsals from 7-10 April. He also confirmed that Fried's travel expenses would be covered by the Fischer Verlag. Furthermore, Doll requested Fried's presence in Bremen two to three days prior to the première; his theatre would cover all of Fried's expenses for the second stay.[27]

Fried always preferred to translate plays when they were commissioned by a theatre or a television channel, because, as he was eager to point out in the interview with the author, "I have been able to learn something at the rehearsals."[28] When Fried was asked to give a paper for the launch of literary translation studies at the University of Düsseldorf, he stressed the importance of the performability of Shakespeare translations:

> even if one thinks one has supplied the most superb translation, one always finds out that the process is not complete. Passages that actors and directors have problems with – even if their suggested emendations are nonsense – are rarely masterly achievements of the translator. The translator is therefore well advised not to regard the actors and directors as incompetent outsiders but to go through his translation once again and to check the passages involved.[29]

Fried's translation practice corresponds closely to Susan Bassnett's thesis for theatre translation, namely that "the principal problems facing the translator involve close engagement with the text on the page and the need to find solutions for a series of problems that are primarily linguistic ones […] these considerations should take precedence over an abstract, highly individualistic notion of performability." However, Fried's approach deviates considerably from Bassnett's "creation of a target language text that can then be submitted to the pre-performance readings of those who will undertake a performance."[30] While he gives priority, in his translation process, to a "close engagement with the text on the page and the need to find solutions for a series of problems that are primarily linguistic ones," as opposed to an "abstract, highly individualistic notion of performability," he nonetheless considers that feedback from the director and actors stimulates another, necessary stage of revision.

An undated letter sent by Zadek lists suggestions made by the actors in the course of rehearsals. As it contains numbered sections that coincide with the play's division into five Acts – on the sheet that I found in the Erich Fried Archive there are references to lines in Acts 2 to 5 – this sheet could be part of Zadek's five-page commentary announced in his letter of 18 February 1963. The first comment refers to Act 2 Scene 1 line 120 and Fried's use of the compound noun "Wechselbalg" [literally: changeling-brat] for Shakespeare's "a little changeling boy," which the actor referred to by Zadek as "Kübel" regards as "ugly, too

strong." Zadek's comment in brackets describes the actor's approach, in an ironic expression, as "ver-Rothet," in a reference to the Shakespeare translator Hans Rothe (1894-1978), whose provocative stance towards Shakespeare and translation led to polarised and political discussions among several well-known scholars and theatre people in Germany.[31] It is interesting to note in this context that in his letter of 14 December 1962 Fried mentions that he has yet to receive the translations of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* that Zadek had promised to send and, in brackets, asks him to send him Rothe's too, adding the ironic remark that he "will not copy from his translation."

Another comment refers to Act 3 Scene 2 line 375 and the phrase "her Indian boy," which an actor preferred to have rendered as "brauner Knabe" ['brown boy']. Zadek immediately comments that he regards the actor's suggestion as "really wrong" and reports on a dispute they had about this expression during the rehearsal. The actor playing Theseus draws attention to Act 4 Scene 1 line 176 – "Egeus, I will overbear your will" – and suggests that both the auxiliary *will* and the noun *will* should be rendered. In his own handwriting Fried adds the provisional translation "ich will Eueren Willen beugen" as an alternative to his first translation, which is quoted by Zadek – "dies gilt mehr als Euer Wille" ['this weighs more than your will']. It is interesting to note that in the published volume Fried retains his first translation.

The last line and its translation referred to in Zadek's letter concerns Act 5 Scene 1 line 118 – "This fellow doth not stand upon points" – a single line by Theseus which Fried translated as "Dieser Bursche stellt sich nicht mit einzelnen Punkten her." The actor suggests a translation that reads the original line as "dieser Bursche spricht nicht zur Sache, auf den Punkt" ['this fellow does not come to the point']. Again in his own handwriting Fried offers the following translation: "Dieser Bursche meints nicht auf den Punkt genau" ['This fellow does not mean it quite precisely']. However, in this case as well, Fried maintains his original translation in the printed text.

It has not yet been possible to identify the two actors "Kübel" and "Mandel" explicitly referred to by Zadek.[32] Neither of them turns up in the playbill, as Theseus was played by Kurt Hübner and Fred Maire acted as Oberon. In his letter to Fried, Zadek misattributes some critical comments and suggestions about the translation, as he assigns the role of Theseus to "Mandel" and of Oberon to "Kübel." The author and translator Elisabeth Plessen, Zadek's partner since 1980, told me in an email dated 5 June 2012 that she does not think that the names are nicknames of any actors, as I had implied in my email: "Perhaps these are the names of actors that Peter had to reshuffle … at any rate, I have never heard of them."[33] However, she suggested that I contact two players from Zadek's original cast, Hannelore Hoger (Hermia) and Friedhelm Ptok (Demetrius), but neither of them could help me solve the riddle. An examination of the names of the actors involved suggests that Zadek may have bestowed on them his own private pseudonyms which he constructed out of elements of their first names and surnames on the portmanteau principle. In his letter of 18 July 2012 to me, Ptok described his sense of the co-operation between Zadek, the actors, and the translator:

> One was not forced to quarrel with him about particular renderings: he wanted the visual impression to correspond with his aural impression. […] he did not need a translator but a poet. He did not enter into any discussion with the actor but he allowed him simply to go on acting; he then formed his own opinion or talked to the poet-translator.[34]

The Erich Fried Archive includes a director's copy of the play, where the name "ZADEK" appears in the director's own handwriting in the top right-hand corner of the first page.[35] Zadek has added to the translation stage directions which can also be found in Fried's printed text. For Theseus' first speech (Act 1 Scene 1 lines 1-6) Fried submitted an alternative version which, as far as we can tell from the director's copy of the play, found Zadek's approval. It is interesting to note that in line 2 Zadek improved Fried's first version by cancelling the phrase "Rückt nah und näher" ['moves close and closer'] and replacing it with "Rückt schnell heran" ['closes in quickly'], which is exactly the phrase that Fried uses in his alternative and final version.

Another good example of Zadek's influence can be found in one of Lysander's longer speeches in Act 1 Scene 1 lines 141-149. For lines 143-144 ("Making it momentary as a sound, / Swift as a shadow, short as any dream"), Zadek alters Fried's version "… schneller als ein Ruf, / Flüchtig wie ein Schatten, kurz als wie ein Traum," which is almost a word-for-word translation of the original, to "… schneller als ein Ruf, / Kurz wie ein Traum, und flüchtig wie ein Schatten." ['… swifter than a cry (call) / Short as a dream and momentary (fleeting) as a shadow']. In the published version Fried more or less acknowledges Zadek's idea by keeping the positions of the adjectives but once again returns to the paratactic construction of his first version: "schneller als ein Schall / Kurz wie ein Schatten, flüchtig wie ein Traum." Fried's final version is closer to the original than Zadek's use of the coordinating conjunction *and*, which also makes the parallelism with the previous line much weaker. Fried's additional replacement of *Ruf* with *Schall* enables him to build an alliterative pattern between *schneller*, *Schall*, and *Schatten*. In the original we find two alliterative pairs – *sound* and *swift* as well as *shadow* and *short*.

I would like to offer another example which shows that Fried sometimes accepted Zadek's alternative version for the printed text. In Act 3, scene 1, line 60, "What hempen homespuns have we swaggering here," Zadek replaces Fried's first version, "Was machen sich da fuer hausback'ne Hanfstricke breit," ['What homespun hemp breds are swaggering here'] with "Was treibt sich da für grobes Pack herum" ['What coarse rabble is milling around here']. Zadek manages to transfer the regular blank-verse line into his translation, but he also uses a similar metonymic expression "grobes Pack." The noun *Pack* is the abridged version of the compound noun *Lumpenpack* (*rags* and *pile* in their respective denotations) while the adjective *grob* (coarse) still indicates its almost pleonastic use in the context of the noun *Lumpen* (rags). This is the translation retained by Fried for the published text.

The second director's copy, in the holdings of the Peter Zadek Archive at the Akademie der Künste Berlin, is marked with a white sticker "Regie" (Director) in the top left corner of the

cover, while in its top right corner the stamp "Theater der Freien Hansestadt Bremen G.m.b.H. Bibliothek" identifies its former owner as the theatre library in Bremen.[36] Many questions remain unanswered: Were both copies used during Fried's first attendance at Zadek's rehearsals in mid-April 1963, one by Fried and one by Zadek? Is the copy in the Peter Zadek Archive a revised edition of the one in the Erich Fried Archive, which was produced after Fried's first visit? Only a careful and detailed comparison of both copies and the identification of the differing styles of handwriting will hopefully – in the course of my long-term project – enable me to answer these questions.

After the Première

In compliance with the theatre's request, Fried arrived in Bremen on Sunday, 5 May 1963. On Tuesday, two days later, he gave a reading in the Kammerspiele of the Theater Bremen. He attended the play's première on Wednesday, 8 May, and stayed in Bremen until Saturday, 11 May, 1962. In his letter to Kurt Hübner, posted at Bremen Airport on Saturday morning,[37] Fried reports that he has just read the first reviews of the play's première in the newspapers *Weser-Kurier*, *Bremer Nachrichten*, and *Bremer Bürgerzeitung*. He concedes that the journalists attempt to evaluate his translation very decently, but he complains that "all three regard it as sober ['nüchtern'],"[38] a euphemism for prosaic. He then points out that, in his translation, he "by no means adhered to Eliot's theory that verse should not call attention to itself."[39] Fried continues with the following apologia: "I have not confounded the difference between verse and prose. On the contrary: by observing Shakespeare's rhyme schemes, by relinquishing the convoluted syntax (which is in prose at least more tolerable than in verse!), I believe I have come close to essential poetry."[40] Fried assumes that the critics' impression of a prosaic quality originated in the impression they had gained during his poetry reading in the Kammerspiele of the Theater Bremen a day earlier: "I deliberately read many idea-based poems [Gedankengedichte] to prove that there is no need to translate in the same style in which one writes."[41] Another source for this criticism Fried finds in his comment, published

in the playbill, that he sometimes added a foot, to which he adds (in brackets): "not more often than Shakespeare himself."[42] However, Fried concludes, "this does not mean that I did not adhere to the basic iambic rhythm (and more to the metrical changes than have other translators!)." Fried goes on to complain that "critics should have simply attempted to read out my verses (e.g. from the playbill) in the 'classic manner' – and they would not have found them more prosaic than Schlegel's."[43] However, Fried concedes that the critics might have a different understanding of a prose quality:

> Unless they imply by prosiness the sacrifice of inversions, which Shakespeare uses only very rarely, and of the so-called 'poetical licence' to drop syllables and to distort the syntax for the sake of the rhyme. I have not sacrificed a single rhyme or verse-line in order to be faithful to the original. And in order to transfer the puns I have taken fewer linguistic liberties than Schlegel took whenever he could not come up with a rhyme.[44]

This letter proves sufficiently that Fried did not rigidly adhere to general principles of translation or even a particular translation theory: "one doesn't really translate starting out from a theory; in the end everything depends on the text concerned."[45] In his *Ein Shakespeare für Alle* [One Shakespeare for All], the companion volume to the four-volume edition of Fried's translations of Shakespeare, Friedmar Apel stresses, however, that Fried was conscious of the German tradition of Shakespeare translation[46] and also followed with interest the debate regarding translation theory.[47] In a programme for Deutschlandfunk [German radio], entitled "Shakespeare und seine Übersetzer" [Shakespeare and His Translators], broadcast in November 1966, Fried pointed out that "the translation of Shakespeare's plays differs from almost everything else in that I not only have to translate the original into German, but I also have to bear in mind all my predecessors' translations, especially Schlegel's."[48] According to Fried, a translator is "never permitted to develop his own distinctive style; he should be as faithful to the original as possible. […] If one translator translates three different authors, one should not find in his translations stylistic similarities which cannot also be found in these three authors."[49] Both in his "Epilegomena" and in his "Erich Fried über seine Arbeit" he gives examples from Schlegel's translation which

encouraged him to venture on into a 'new' translation. His ultimate credo as a Shakespeare translator, indeed, as a translator in general, is that Shakespeare "is modern enough as long as one doesn't want to dress him up as a contemporary or see his characters as existing outside history."[50]

Conclusion

This essay has tried to trace the influence that Peter Zadek and some of his actors exercised on the translator Erich Fried and his translation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The most important dimension of this study for me was the need to go back to the archives. I have tried to find material, mostly unpublished, that documents the co-operation between Zadek and Fried. Like the majority of the translators interviewed by Marja Jänis for her essay "What Translators of Plays Think About Their Work,"[51] Fried wanted to attend rehearsals. During the ones he attended from 7 to 10 April 1963 in Bremen, final changes were made to the text of the translation. Their quality and extent, however, can only be analysed in terms of a detailed comparison of the two director's copies, one held by the Erich Fried Archive in Vienna and the other by the Peter Zadek Archive in Berlin. As I was careful to suggest at the very beginning, this essay is to be considered an interim report from my Fried-Zadek project, which is why the suggested comparison may be left to another essay. At the same time I hope I have shown how crucial and important archival research is in the field of Translation Studies.

Notes

[1] Two director's copies of Fried's translation have survived, the first in the holdings of the Erich Fried Archive (Vienna); the second is owned by the Peter Zadek Archive (Berlin).

[2] I would like to thank Stephan Dörschel (Nachlaß Peter Zadek, Archiv Darstellende Kunst, Akademie der Künste, Berlin), Volker Kaukoreit (Nachlaß Erich Fried, Österreichisches Literaturarchiv der Nationalbibliothek, Vienna), and Elisabeth Plessen for their invaluable support and advice. I am grateful to the copyright owners for permission to quote from unpublished material.

[3] Axel Goodbody, "Eine Synthese deutscher und englischer Dichtungstraditionen: Erich Fried and Michael Hamburger as Translators and Poets," in *German-Speaking Exiles in Great Britain*, ed. Ian Wallace (Amsterdam, Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1999), p. 174. See also Steven W. Lawrie, *Erich Fried: A Writer Without a Country*. Austrian Culture 24 (New York et al: Lang, 1996), pp. 172-188. All subsequent English translations of German quotations in this paper are mine.

[4] Erich Fried, "Es erinnert sich Erich Fried," in *"Hier ist England" – "Live aus London": Das deutsche Programm der British Broadcasting Corporation, 1938-1988*, ed. Gundula Cannon (London: BBC External Services, 1988), p. 149. ["Diese Übersetzung wurde in Deutschland ein ungeheurer Erfolg. Sie ging über alle Rundfunksender und praktisch über alle Bühnen der Bundesrepublik und Westberlins."]

[5] Erich Fried, "Es erinnert sich Erich Fried," p. 149. ["[er] schrieb […] eines Tages in einem seiner Essays, in Anbetracht meiner bisherigen Übersetzungen solle man mich doch beauftragen, endlich eine neue adäquate Shakespeare-Übersetzung in Arbeit zu nehmen. Kurz darauf kam mein erster Auftrag, *Sommernachtstraum*, vom Theater in Bremen […]."]

[6] Peter Zadek, *Die heißen Jahre 1970-1980* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2006), p. 33.

[7] Peter Zadek, *Das wilde Ufer: Ein Theaterbuch*, comp. Laszlo Kornitzer (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1990), p. 249. See also P. Zadek, *My Way* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2004), pp. 363-367."Du bist der einzige, von dem ich mir vorstellen kann, daß du heutig denkst und das poetische Bild verstehst."

[8] Letter from Kurt Hübner to Erich Fried dated 22 August 1962. Nachlaß Erich Fried, OLA 4/90, Gruppe 2.2 (lf. Korr. an E. F.), Theater der Freien Hansestadt Bremen."Peter Zadek hat mir zu meiner grossen Freude von Ihrer Zusage berichtet, sowohl Shakespeares SOMMERNACHTSTRAUM als auch Marlowes DER GROSSE KÖNIG TAMERLAN für unser Haus zu übersetzen."

[9] Letter from Erich Fried to Kurt Hübner dated 22 September 1962. Nachlaß Erich Fried, OLA 4/90, Gruppe 2.1 (lf. Korr. von E. F.), Theater der Freien Hansestadt Bremen. "um nicht mit der Arbeitszeit geizen zu müssen."

[10] Letter from Erich Fried to Kurt Hübner dated 22 September 1962. "Tamerlan interessiert mich, wie ich Peter Zadek schon nach dem Durchlesen des Manuskripts gesagt habe, eigentlich weniger."

[11] Letter from Erich Fried to Kurt Hübner dated 22 September 1962. "Ich habe Peter Zadek erklärt, daß ich mindestens zwei volle Arbeitsmonate für den SOMMERNACHTSTRAUM brauche. Ebenso habe ich ihm erklärt, daß ich derzeit nicht willens bin, das Diskutieren mit Theaterverlagen selbst zu übernehmen."

[12] Wolfgang Görtschacher, "Nur die Schattseite des Dichters? Erich Fried als Übersetzer von Dylan Thomas," in *Österreichische Dichter als Übersetzer*, ed. Wolfgang Pöckl (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), p. 131. "Ich habe zuerst geglaubt, daß es die Schlegel-Tieck-Übersetzung auch tut. Die Leute meinten, daß sie sich dann viel Geld, Mühe und Diskussionen ersparen könnten. Ich habe mir dann das Original und die Übersetzung nebeneinander angeschaut. Und ich kam zum Ergebnis, daß die Übersetzung wirklich nicht eng genug am Original war, und manchmal hat Schlegel einfach Dinge nicht erkannt."

[13] Erich Fried, "Epilegomena zu einigen Shakespeareübersetzungen," *Ruperto Carola* 35 (1964), p. 198. "Denn natürlich macht einem Dichter oder Übersetzer nichts soviel Mut wie Schnitzer oder Schwächen seiner Vorbilder oder Vorgänger. […] Jede scheinbare Respektlosigkeit Schlegel gegenüber ist daher sozusagen eine Respektlosigkeit auf der Grundlage großer Bewunderung und Dankbarkeit. Nur ist es wichtig, sich beim Übersetzen nicht von Bewunderung und Dankbarkeit den Blick trüben zu lassen."

[14] Ulrich K. Goldsmith, "*Hamlet*: From Shakespeare to Schlegel, to Gundolf, to Fried," in *Polyanthea: Essays on Art and Literature in Honor of William Sebastian Heckscher*, ed. Karl-Ludwig Selig (The Hague: Van der Heyden, 1993), p. 79. In this quotation Goldsmith refers to the Shakespeare translator and scholar Friedrich Gundolf (1880-1931).

[15] Wolfgang Görtschacher, "Nur die Schattseite des Dichters?," p. 132. "Er hat gewissenhaft und langsam übersetzt, und dadurch hat er vergessen, wenn im vierten oder fünften Akt dieselbe Formulierung vorkommt wie im ersten Akt, daß man die dann womöglich gleich übersetzen soll, damit die Assoziationsbrücken nicht kaputtgehen. […] Also ich übersetze möglichst schnell […]. Überall wo ich es nicht hingekriegt habe, unterstreiche ich ein Wort, so daß ich mir den Zusammenhang merke. Dann korrigiere ich langsam und gründlich, womöglich indem ich mir von jemand anderem gleichzeitig den englischen Text vorlesen lasse."

[16] Letter from Peter Zadek to Erich Fried dated 15 November 1962. Nachlaß Erich Fried, OLA 4/90, Gruppe 2.2 (lf. Korr. an E. F.), Peter Zadek.

[17]For all Shakespeare quotations: William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Trevor R. Griffiths (Cambridge: CUP, 1996). The lexeme "so" is underlined in Zadek's letter.

[18]Letter from Peter Zadek to Erich Fried dated 15 November 1962. "Ich finde die "PUCK" und "OBERON"-Verse teilweise hervorragend. Es stören mich manchmal solche Verlegenheitsäusserungen wie "und das Käuzchen kreischt so schnell." Dafür ist ein Vers wie: "Uns ist wohl nun: keine Maus / störe dies geweihte Haus." ausgezeichnet und witzig und hat für mein Gefühl genau den richtigen Ton getroffen. Im großen Ganzen habe ich ein sicheres Gefühl, daß diese "SOMMERNACHTSTRAUM"-Übersetzung mal endlich den Staub, der auf den ganzen Shakespeareübersetzungen liegt, wegblasen wird."

[19] Letter from Erich Fried to Peter Zadek dated 3 December 1962. Nachlaß Erich Fried, OLA 4/90, Gruppe 2.1 (lf. Korr. von E. F.), Peter Zadek. "Kurz, ich fühle mich einfach nicht dazu berufen, diese Arbeit zu machen, hieb- und stichfest, wie sie gemacht werden muß, um überhaupt Sinn zu haben. […] Gewiß, den Schlegel zu verbessern, wo dieser unmöglich ist, und das eine oder andere Gedicht besser dichten, das ginge. Aber das ist eine Klitterung, ein Flickwerk. Schwierig finde ich nicht Gedichte, wie Puck, Oberon usw. am Ende (die Dir geschickten Fassungen sind auch schon längst verbessert), sondern ganz einfache Dialogstellen, wie Hermia und Lysander, Hermia und Helena… Außerdem komme ich zur Überzeugung, daß man die Szenen der Handwerker nicht gut besser übersetzen könnte als Schlegel. […] Abgesehen davon, auch zeitmäßig habe ich die Möglichkeit einer wirklich perfektionistischen Übersetzung überschätzt. […] Augenblicklich fühle ich mich vom Text sehr besiegt. Möglich wäre es aber vielleicht, dass ich langsam, nebenher, später, ohne jeden inneren und äusseren Zwang doch versuche den Sommernachtstraum zu übersetzen, da ich daran soviel rumgebosselt habe. In diesem Fall würde ich ihn Dir zuerst anbieten."

[20] Letter from Erich Fried to Peter Zadek dated14 December 1962. Nachlaß Erich Fried, OLA 4/90, Gruppe 2.1 (lf. Korr. von E. F.), Peter Zadek. "Ich schicke Dir also bis 31.1. meine Uebersetzung "Ein Sommernachtstraum", wobei ich mir vorbehalten habe, und Du auch am Telefon dem zugestimmt hast, Zeilen, die mir noch nicht gefallen, in vorlaeufiger Form hinzuschreiben und durch Unterstreichung oder Anzeichen am Rand kenntlich zu machen."

[21] "Erich Fried an Peter Zadek, 14. Februar 1963," in *Alles Liebe und Schöne,Freiheit und Glück*. Briefe von und an Erich Fried, ed. Volker Kaukoreit (Berlin: Wagenbach, 2009), pp. 41-42.

[22] "Erich Fried an Peter Zadek, 14. Februar 1963", pp. 41-42. "Ich halte die Fassung in diesem Brief mit anschließender Prosa für wesentlich besser."

[23] *Grasemück* is an archaic designation: Fried brings in a particular kind of sparrow for the sake of the rhyme.

[24] Earlier renderings, probably developed in their correspondence and / or during telephone conversations, contain alternative versions of the last two lines. Fried started with "Der fragt mit seiner Rufe Schall / Und keiner sagt "mich nicht!" which he changed to "Es neckt sie seiner Rufe Schall / Doch keiner widerspricht." Both versions can be found on a separate sheet that was probably enclosed in Fried's letter of 10 January 1963 to Zadek, as it contains an introductory paragraph that explains the difficulties of Bottom's song. In addition, Fried criticises Schlegel's translation as well as his own earlier version.

[25] Letter from Peter Zadek to Erich Fried dated 27 February 1963. Nachlaß Erich Fried, OLA 4/90, Gruppe 2.1 (lf. Korr. von E. F.), Peter Zadek. "Ich finde immer noch, daß die Übersetzung grundsätzlich ganz hervorragend ist […]. Das finde ich überzogen, obwohl das englische Original melodramatisch wird. Es kommt, glaube ich, durch die Zusammenstellung der Worte "Krampf" und "klaffen". […] Es scheint mir zu weit vom Original weg zu gehen und ein zu bewußter unanständiger Witz zu sein. […] Mir macht der Name Klaus Zettel etwas Sorgen, da Klaus so ein ausgesprochener deutscher Name ist. Die Nachnamen der Rüpel sind sowieso Phantasie-Namen und Peter als Vorname ist international. Franz Flaut ist mir auch etwas zu spezifisch, besonders im Zusammenhang mit Tom Schnauz. Wenn möglich, müßte man doch für alle Namen finden, die international sind."

[26] Letter from Hans Peter Doll to Erich Fried dated 27 March 1963. Nachlaß Erich Fried, OLA 4/90, Gruppe 2.2 (lf. Korr. an E. F.), Theater der Freien Hansestadt Bremen.

[27] Letter from Hans Peter Doll to Erich Fried dated 27 March 1963. Nachlaß Erich Fried, OLA 4/90, Gruppe 2.2 (lf. Korr. an E. F.), Theater der Freien Hansestadt Bremen.

[28] Wolfgang Görtschacher, "Nur die Schattseite des Dichters? Erich Fried als Übersetzer von Dylan Thomas", p. 132. "Mit Vorliebe habe ich außerdem Stücke immer dann übersetzt, wenn es ein Theater oder eine Fernsehanstalt bestellt hatte, weil ich dann bei den Proben etwas lernen konnte. "

[29] Erich Fried, "Übersetzen oder Nachdichten?," in *Ist Literaturübersetzen lehrbar?* Beiträge zur Eröffnung des Studiengangs Literaturübersetzen an der Universität Düsseldorf, eds. Fritz Nies, Albert-Reiner Glaap, and Wilhelm Gössmann (Tübingen: Narr, 1989), pp. 35-36. "Man kann dann bei den Proben seine Übersetzungen noch überprüfen. Selbst wenn man die schönste Übersetzung geliefert zu haben glaubt, kommt man immer noch darauf, daß sie nicht fertig ist, und daß Stellen, mit denen Schauspieler und Regisseure Schwierigkeiten haben – sogar dann, wenn ihre Änderungsvorschläge Unsinn sind –, selten Stellen sind, an denen der Übersetzer eine Glanzleistung vollbracht hat. Der Übersetzer tut also gut daran, nicht die Schauspieler und Regisseure als inkompetente Outsider zu betrachten, sondern sich seine Übersetzung noch einmal vorzunehmen und die entsprechenden Stellen zu überprüfen."

[30] Susan Bassnett, "Translating for the Theatre: The Case of Performability," *TTR: traduction, terminologie, redaction* 4, no. 1 (1991), p. 111.

[31] See Rudolf Frank, "Geflügelte und beschwingte Worte: Zu den Übersetzungen von Hans Rothe," in *Der deutsche Shakespeare*, eds. Reinhold Grimm et al., *Theater unserer Zeit 7* (Basel: Basilius, 1965), pp. 109-119; Rudolf Stamm, "Der elisabethanische Shakespeare?," in *Der deutsche Shakespeare*, eds. Reinhold Grimm et al.,, pp. 128-140; Ruth Freifrau von Lebedur, "'The country that gave birth to you a second time': An Essay About the Political History of the German Shakespeare Society 1918-1945," in *German Shakespeare Studies at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Christa Jansohn (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), pp. 255-271, esp. pp. 262-266.

[32] See Volker Canaris, *Peter Zadek: Der Theatermann und Filmemacher* (Munich, Vienna: Hanser, 1979), p. 270.

[33] Elisabeth Plessen, email to the author, 5 June 2012. "vielleicht sind es Namen von Schauspielern, die Peter dann umbesetzt hat … jedenfalls habe ich sie nie gehört."

[34] Friedhelm Ptok, lLetter to the author, 18 July 2012. "… um Übersetzungen mußte man nicht mit ihm streiten: er wollte sehen, was er hörte. […] Er brauchte keinen Übersetzer, sehr wohl einen Dichter. Den Schauspieler hat er nicht gefragt, aber ihn handeln lassen auf der Szene und dann geurteilt oder beim übersetzenden Dichter angefragt."
[35] Nachlaß Erich Fried, ÖLA 4/90 Gruppe 1 (Einzelübersetzungen). Shakespeare in der Ordnung Wagenbach. Ein Sommernachtstraum. Folder: Fried, Erich (übers.). "Ein Sommernachtstraum".
[36] Nachlaß Peter Zadek. Sommernachtstraum, 1963. Archiv Darstellende Kunst, Akademie der Künste, Berlin.
[37] Letter from Erich Fried to Kurt Hübner dated 11 May, 1962. Franz-Gauker-Sammlung, Mappe 14, Korrespondenz "Hübner," Archiv Darstellende Kunst, Akademie der Künste, Berlin.
[38] Letter from Erich Fried to Kurt Hübner dated 11 May, 1962. "Eben las ich noch Weser-Kurier, Bremer Nachrichten, Bremer Bürgerzeitung. Alle Kritiken sind ja etwa wie erwartet, bis auf Titanias sehr positive Aufnahme. Alle versuchen, zu meiner Übersetzung sehr 'fair' zu sein, aber alle drei finden sie 'nüchtern'."
[39] Letter from Erich Fried to Kurt Hübner dated 11 May, 1962. "Nun finde ich, daß ich keineswegs Eliots Theorie folgte, daß Verse unmerkbar sein sollen." See also T. S. Eliot, "'Rhetoric' and Poetic Drama," and "A Dialogue on Dramatic Poetry" in *Selected Essays* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), pp. 37-42 and pp. 43-58.
[40] Letter from Erich Fried to Kurt Hübner dated 11 May, 1962. "Ich habe den Unterschied zwischen Versen und Prosa nicht vermischt. Im Gegenteil: Durch strenges Befolgen der Shakespeareschen Reimschemata, durch Verzicht auf geschachtelten Satzbau (der in Prosa immer noch zulässiger ist als im Vers!), glaube ich der 'Dichtung' nahegekommen zu sein. "
[41] Letter from Erich Fried to Kurt Hübner dated 11 May, 1962. "Wenn mir 'Nüchternheit' vorgeworfen wird, so beruht das wohl darauf, daß ich absichtlich viele Gedankengedichte vorlas, um zu zeigen, daß man nicht im gleichen Stil übersetzen und selbst schreiben muß. "
[42] Letter from Erich Fried to Kurt Hübner dated 11 May, 1962. "übrigens: gar nicht viel öfter als Shakespeare selbst".
[43] Letter from Erich Fried to Kurt Hübner dated 11 May, 1962. " Die Kritiker hätten doch nur versuche müssen, mal meine Verse (z.B. aus dem Theaterheft) in der "klassischen Manier" zu lesen, laut – und hätten sie kaum "nüchterner" als Schlegel gefunden. "
[44] Letter from Erich Fried to Kurt Hübner dated 11 May, 1962. "Außer wenn sie unter Nüchternheit den Verzicht auf Inversionen verstehen, die sich bei SH nur sehr selten finden, und auf schlechte sogenannte 'dichterische Freiheit' der Silbenweglassung und Entstellung um des Reimes willen. Ich habe der Texttreue keinen einzigen Reim oder Vers geopfert. Und meine philologischen Freiheiten um der Wortspiele willen sind geringer als die, die Schlegel sich nahm, wo ihm sonst kein Reim einfiel!"
[45] Wolfgang Görtschacher, "Nur die Schattseite des Dichters?," p. 138. "Man übersetzt ja nicht so ungeheuer bewußt von einer Theorie ausgehend, sondern letzten Endes hängt es immer vom jeweiligen Text ab."
[46] Ingrid Schramm's "Die Bibliothek Erich Frieds" [Erich Fried's Library] offers information about all the translators and translations Fried consulted and worked with. His library and literary estate, bought by the Austrian National Library in 1990, provides a representative cross-section of three hundred years of Shakespeare translations. It includes three volumes of the early translations by Christoph Martin Wieland (*Ein St. Johannis-Nachts-Traum, Das Leben und der Tod des König Lear* and *Wie es euch gefällt*) and Johann Joachim Eschenburg – of the latter Fried had only volume 13, a supplement to the 12-volume edition published in 1782, which contains seven apocryphal ascriptions. However, Fried's literary estate includes many photocopied translations by Wieland and Eschenburg. Furthermore, his library holds

multiple editions of the translations by August Wilhelm Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck. From the nineteenth century, Fried also owned editions of translations by Eduard von Bauernfeld, A. Schumacher, Ernst Ortlepp, Heinrich Voß, and Johann Wilhelm Otto Benda. The twentieth-century Shakespeare translators Fried was interested in, include, among others, Friedrich Gundolf, Richard Flatter, Hans Rothe, and Klaus Reichert.

[47] See Friedmar Apel, ed., *Ein Shakespeare für Alle* (Berlin: Wagenbach 1989), p. 23.

[48] Erich Fried, "Erich Fried über seine Arbeit," in *Shakespeare und seine Übersetzer*, ed. Gerhard Müller-Schwefe. Unpubl. Manuscript (Cologne: Deutschlandfunk, 1966), p. 1. "Aber das Übersetzen von Shakespearedramen unterscheidet sich für mich von fast all dem unter anderem dadurch, daß ich nicht nur den Originaltext verdeutschen muß, sondern dabei die Arbeiten vieler Vorgänger vor Augen oder im Kopf habe, vor allem Schlegels."

[49] Erich Fried, "Erich Fried über seine Arbeit," p. 2-3. "Ich glaube, als Übersetzer darf ein Dichter nie versuchen, seinen eigenen, unverkennbaren Stil zu entwickeln, sondern er muß dem Urtext möglichst treu bleiben. […] Aber wenn ein Übersetzer drei verschiedene Autoren übersetzt, sollte man womöglich seinen Übersetzungen keine stilistischen Gemeinsamkeiten anmerken, die sich nicht auch bei diesen drei Autoren finden."

[50] Erich Fried, "Nachwort," in *Shakespeare-Übersetzungen: Romeo und Julia, Julius Caesar, Hamlet* (Munich: Hanser, 1968), p. 304. "Shakespeare ist modern genug, solange man ihn nicht als Zeitgenossen verkleiden oder seine Gestalten außerhalb der Geschichte sehen will."

[51] Marja Jänis, "What Translators of Plays Think About Their Work," *Target* 8, no. 2 (1996), pp. 341-364, esp. pp. 358-359.

Bibliography

APEL, Friedmar. *Ein Shakespeare für Alle*. Ed. F. Apel. Berlin: Wagenbach 1989.

BASSNETT, Susan. "Translating for the Theatre: The Case Against Performability." *TTR: traduction, terminologie, redaction* 4, no. 1 (1991): 99-111.

CANARAIS, Volker. *Peter Zadek: Der Theatermann und Filmemacher*. Munich, Vienna: Hanser, 1979.

ELIOT, Thomas Stearns. *Selected Essays*. London: Faber and Faber, 1951.

FRIED, Erich. "Epilegomena zu einigen Shakespeareübersetzungen." *Ruperto Carola* 35 (1964): 197-207.

_____. "Erich Fried über seine Arbeit." In *Shakespeare und seine Übersetzer*. Ed. Gerhard Müller-Schwefe. Unpubl. Manuscript. Cologne: Deutschlandfunk, 1966. 1-19.

_____. "Nachwort." In *Shakespeare-Übersetzungen: Romeo und Julia, Julius Caesar, Hamlet*. Munich: Hanser, 1968, pp. 301-09.

_____. "Es erinnert sich Erich Fried." In *"Hier ist England" – "Live aus London": Das deutsche Programm der British Broadcasting Corporation, 1938-1988*. Ed. Gundula Cannon. London: BBC External Services, 1988, pp. 148-49.

_____. "Ein Sommernachtstraum." In *Shakespeare. 27 Stücke von William Shakespeare in der Übersetzung von Erich Fried*. Ed. Friedmar Apel. 3 vols. Berlin: Wagenbach, 1989, vol. 1, pp. 263-310.

_____. "Erich Fried an Peter Zadek, 14. Februar 1963." In *Alles Liebe und Schöne, Freiheit und Glück*. Briefe von und an Erich Fried. Ed. Volker Kaukoreit. Berlin: Wagenbach, 2009, pp. 40-42.

GOODBODY, Axel. "'Eine Synthese deutscher und englischer Dichtungstraditionen': Erich Fried and Michael Hamburger as Translators and Poets." In *German-Speaking Exiles in Great Britain*. Ed. Ian Wallace. Amsterdam, Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1999, pp. 163-98.

GÖRTSCHACHER, Wolfgang. "Nur die Schattseite des Dichters? Erich Fried als Übersetzer von Dylan Thomas." In *Österreichische Dichter als Übersetzer*. Ed. Wolfgang Pöckl. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991, pp. 123-86.

JÄNIS, Marja. "What Translators of Plays Think About Their Work." *Target* 8, no. 2 (1996): 341-364.

LAWRIE, Steven W. *Erich Fried: A Writer Without a Country*. Austrian Culture 24. New York et al: Lang, 1996.

SCHRAMM, Ingrid. "Die Bibliothek Erich Frieds." In *Einblicke. Durchblicke*. Fundstücke und Werkstattberichte aus dem Nachlaß von Erich Fried. Comp. Volker Kaukoreit. Vienna: Turia & Kant, 1993, pp. 131-154.

SHAKESPEARE, William. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Ed. Trevor R. Griffiths. Cambridge: CUP, 1996.

ZADEK, Peter. *Das wilde Ufer: Ein Theaterbuch*. Comp. Laszlo Kornitzer. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1990.

_____. *My Way: Eine Autobiographie*. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2004.

_____. *Die heißen Jahre 1970-1980*. Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2006.