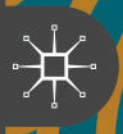

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Digital Shakespeares from the Global South

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CHAPTER 4

Practicing Digital Shakespeare in Latin America: Case Studies from Argentina and Brazil

Amrita Sen

Abstract This chapter looks at two distinct but connected websites—*Fundación Shakespeare Argentina* and the "Shakespeare in Brazil" section of the *MIT Global Shakespeares*—that are aimed at making globally accessible the performances and textual translations from Latin America. This chapter argues that these websites open up new possibilities of community building through their curatorial strategies and social outreach. They not only act as repositories of actual performances, but also function as archives of communal memories. Through bi-lingual records of social media exchanges and transcriptions of performances, they open up new possibilities of accessing and reading Latin American Shakespeares. This chapter interrogates the global relevance of these websites by taking into consideration the often overlooked history of Shakespeare transmission in Latin America.

A. Sen (✉)
University of Calcutta, Kolkata, India
e-mail: dr.amritasen.earlymodern@gmail.com

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If the internet is a great democratizing tool, then curated scholarly or educational websites play a special role in highlighting Shakespeare appropriations from regions outside of metropolitan centers of the Global North. This chapter looks at two websites—*Fundación Shakespeare Argentina* and the "Shakespeare in Brazil" section of the *MIT Global Shakespeares Video & Performance Archive*—to show how they help build digital communities by addressing both regional concerns and questions of broader global outreach. The *Fundación Shakespeare Argentina* (*FSA*) completed ten years in May 2021; and while the core of the *Global Shakespeares* archive, the *Shakespeare Performance in Asia* (SPIA) was launched in 2009, the section on Brazil is more recent. The two websites, though different in their content and context share a common goal of making visible Latin American Shakespeare adaptations. Both websites open up new possibilities of community-building through their curatorial strategies and social outreach. They not only act as repositories of actual performances, but also function as archives of communal memories. *FSA* and *Global Shakespeares* are also more immediately connected to one another through the performance videos and scholarly expertise they share on each other's websites via hyperlinks. Thus together they form part of a digital public sphere that brings Latin American Shakespeares in conversation with other Global Shakespeares.

To speak of Shakespeares in Latin America, is to, of course, recognize a plurality of cultural contexts and histories.[1] As Alfredo Michel Modenessi points out, "Latin American countries are grouped under one denominator due to historic factors, including our endless status as 'developing nations' plagued by conflict, exploitation, and oppression, domestic and foreign, after independence from the empires presiding over three centuries of miscegenation, marginalization, mythologization."[2] Shakespeare transmission and adaptation in the region is thus equally diverse. Beginning with the nineteenth century, performances and translations of Shakespeare began to appear, particularly in Argentina and Brazil. Recent

[1] See for instance Santos, "Mestizo Shakespeares: A Study of Cultural Exchange," 11.

[2] Modenessi, "'You say you want a revolution?' Shakespeare in Mexican [dis]guise," 38.

volumes such as *Latin American Shakespeares* (2005) and *Shakespeare and Latinidad* (2021) have helped bring to the forefront not only the long history of Shakespeare reception and adaptation in Latin America but also the continued relevance of the bard within contemporary Latinx communities. Still, Latin American adaptations remain overlooked in comparison to some of the other geographies within the Global South. Moreover, as Modenessi and Ruben Espinosa argue, Latinx representations within theatrical or cinematic adaptations located in London or Hollywood tend to uphold stereotypes that broaden the "Shakespeare-Latinx divide."[3]

In this context digital platforms can be particularly useful in showcasing Latin American Shakespeare adaptations and scholarship to a broader global audience, thereby helping dispel many of these stereotypes. The two websites that this chapter uses as case studies—the *FSA* and "Shakespeare in Brazil" in *MIT Global Shakespeares*—are distinct. *MIT Global Shakespeares* sees itself principally as a video archive, while the FSA is more amorphous, spreading news and recording the latest Shakespeare-related activities from Argentina. At the same time, the two sites share common goals—of making accessible a rich diversity of Shakespeare appropriations. They both profess clearly outlined educational goals, and curate essays and resource materials. As such, the two sites raise interesting questions for us on the expanding digital frontiers of Global Shakespeares. How do these sites balance local and global concerns? How might we begin to understand these sites not only from within the context of Shakespeare studies but also from the perspective of decoloniality that lies at the heart of Global Shakespeares projects? This chapter examines *FSA* and "Shakespeare in Brazil" (and by extension the *MIT Global Shakespeares*) as sites of decoloniality. It reads the websites through two connected lenses—that of cultural anthropophagy and the decolonial archive—to show how *FSA* and "Shakespeare in Brazil" address issues of Shakespeare appropriation and community-building from outside of metropolitan centers of the Global North.

[3] Espinosa, "'Don't It Make My Brown Eyes Blue': Uneasy Assimilation and the Shakespeare-Latinx Divide," 89; see also Modenessi.

Digital Cultural Anthropophagy and *Fundación Shakespeare Argentina*

The *Fundación Shakespeare Argentina* which celebrated its tenth anniversary in the middle of the pandemic, was set up as a non-profit dedicated to "deepening the knowledge, enjoyment, appreciation and spreading of the life and works of William Shakespeare in Argentina."[4] As a bi-lingual website, accessible in both Spanish and English, the *FSA* in many ways addresses questions of audience diversity, and attempts to balance regional users of its resources with global ones. One of the key features of the *FSA* website is its dynamic design that makes it more obviously user-friendly and navigable than its static counterparts. The *FSA* sets out to promote not only Shakespeare performances including those by its own troupe, the Compañía de Repertorio de la Fundación Shakespeare Argentina, but also makes available a wide range of educational tools. With the onset of the pandemic, the *FSA* has been part of global endeavors to keep theaters alive online. For instance, *FSA* directors Mercedes de la Torre and Carlos Drocchi collaborated on the live-streamed reading of *Much Ado About Nothing* on the web-series *The Show Must Go Online* started by the British actor Robert Myles. *The Show Must Go Online* was a response to the closure of the physical theaters because of the pandemic, and live-streamed readings of Shakespeare's plays in the order in which they appear in the *First Folio*. The series is available for free on YouTube.[5] The FSA also made available its production of *Much Ado About Nothing* on the online theater platform TEATRIX from March 2020.

The *FSA*'s pandemic response, that of accessing multiple global platforms, is not a novelty, but in fact an inherent aspect of how the website has been operating over the past decade. Its approach is what might best be described as digital cultural anthropophagy. Derived from the Brazilian modernist poet Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto Antropófago* (*Cannibalist Manifesto*) (1928), cultural anthropophagy "describes a resistant method to absorb information from First World countries without losing cultural autonomy."[6] It is, therefore, a decolonial response to European cultural

[4] *Fundación Shakespeare Argentina*, https://shakespeareargentina.org/en/about-us/.

[5] *The Show Must Go Online*.

[6] Santos, 11.

hegemony, a response that does not however, foreclose European influences, but rather assumes a position of power and agency during such discursive exchanges. As Leslie Barry observes, as a methodology cultural anthropophagy "neither apes nor rejects European culture, but 'devours' it, adapting its strengths and incorporating them into the native self."[7] As a model of hybridity or even of creolization, cultural anthropophagy conveys a hunger to engage with the world, a methodology that imbibes the alien or the other from a position of conscious volition. In his *Manifesto Antropófago*, Andrade had early on made Shakespeare complicit, alluding to *Hamlet* is his now well-known quip "Tupi, or not tupi, that is the question."[8] Andrade here combines Hamlet's existentialist dilemma with the Tupi Indians of the Brazilian coast who were known for their cannibalistic practices. The line appears in English in the original 1928 version, and is an example of precisely the cultural cannibalism that Andrade was advocating. What is particularly appealing in the way that Andrade and others understand and advocate cultural anthropophagy is the way in which it includes the indigenous with the global, the regional with the cosmopolitan.[9] While cultural anthropophagy has been particularly influential within Latin American contexts, as recent titles such as *Eating Shakespeare: Cultural Anthropophagy as Global Methodology* (2019) prove, scholars from across the globe are waking up to its cannibalistic possibilities. For Global Shakespeares in particular, cultural anthropophagy offers an important critical tool for understanding the continued relevance of the Bard in the post-colonies.[10]

The *FSA* website organizes itself around the rubrics of "Activities, Education, Shakespeare, Argentina, Library, Company and News." In each subsection the *FSA* voraciously devours global influences. For instance, the section under "Library" contains links to Stanley Wells' lecture series posted on the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Website. But it also contains audio and videos of FSA's own interviews with a wide range of international scholars and artists including Alexa Alice Joubin,

[7] Barry, "Oswald de Andrade's 'Cannibalist Manifesto'," 36.

[8] Andrade, 'Cannibalist Manifesto,' 38.

[9] Young, *Shakespeare in the Global South* 131; Camati, "Tupi or Not Tupi, That Is the Question," 123–124.

[10] Refskou, Carvalho and Amorim, "Introduction."

Sheila T. Cavanagh, Irina Brook, and William Sutton. The *FSA* importantly connects with other digital projects such as *MIT Global Shakespeares* and the *World Shakespeare Project* (*WSP*). The partnership programs of the *FSA* and *WSP* are detailed under the "Education" section and provide a much needed counterfoil to *WSP*'s own portal.[11] For instance, the video and image archives from 2019 document how students and faculty of Escuela de Lenguas Modernas, Universidad del Salvador (USAL) were part of *WSP*'s global digital learning community on Shakespeare that started well before the pandemic.[12] Older pages help document the long association of *FSA* and *WSP* over the years, and double up as a digital archive of the collaborative potential of Global Shakespeare projects, particularly those that have strong online components. As the *FSA* page clarifies regarding its partnership with *WSP*, "[t]hrough these international projects, the FSA forges and strengthens bonds with the educational community, contributing therefore to the knowledge, spreading and integration of our country to the rest of the world."[13]

It is through these collaborations and digital links that the *FSA* participates in the building of a virtual Shakespeare community. In the process it also connects the world to developments in adaptation and pedagogy in Argentina. One of the important resources that the *FSA* showcases is its interview with the late Argentinian artist, poet, and critic Rafael Squirru. Amongst his many accomplishments, Squirru was known for spearheading the establishment of the Buenos Aires Museum of Modern Art. He had also translated some of Shakespeare's sonnets and three of his plays—*Hamlet*, *The Tempest*, and *Romeo and Juliet*—although the last remains unpublished. The translations were illustrated by surrealist painter Juan Carlos Liberti, and links to Squirru's website enables one to see samples of these remarkable images. The other important set of resources that *FSA* offers, although they are not curated under a single heading are the

[11] The WSP directed by Sheila T. Cavanagh connects students at Emory University with students from partner institutions from across the globe using innovative digital technologies. The WSP website contains details of these student and faculty exchanges, including images and videos. However, not all the partner institutions, especially those from the Global South, offer parallel digital archives on their own websites documenting their experiences of these transcontinental Shakespeare classes. For more on WSP see Cavanagh.

[12] FSA, "WSP In Argentina 2019."

[13] FSA, "World Shakespeare Project in Argentina."

writings on and by Jorge Luis Borges. These include Borges' own essays on Shakespeare—"William Shakespeare: Teatro-Poesia Biografia," "La Cuestión Shakespeare," "El Teatro," "El Lenguaje de Shakespeare," "El Destino de Shakespeare," and his short story "Everything and Nothing." These form important counterparts to the other more familiar short story by Borges on the bard, namely, "La Memoria de Shakespeare" ("Shakespeare's Memory"). Borges had famously stated "if I think and think of Shakespeare, I think of a multitude,"[14] and the bard appears repeatedly in his own poems, stories, essays, and interviews. As Grace Tiffany observes "Borges's writings present a Shakespeare who, unlike Borges himself, could make the godlike sacrifice of his individual identity for the imagined lives of his characters."[15] Borges' writings explore the many facets of Shakespeare—as a dramatist but also as an English literary icon who has assumed global significance. The *FSA* seems to take on Borges' mantle—"With the same free spirit with which Borges exalts the great English writer, the Fundación Shakespeare Argentina specifies what is its task of dissemination […]"[16] Channeling this Borgesian spirit, the *FSA* embraces the plural—it reaches out globally to performances, projects, translations.

What further accentuates FSA's global reach is its active utilization of social media. Its bi-lingual twitter feed embedded in the website further opens up possibilities of accessing and reading Latin American Shakespeares within a global context. But it is also actively present on Facebook, Vimeo, Instagram, Flickr, and Pinterest. As the long list of congratulatory videos, tweets, and messages celebrating the FSA's ten years attest, the website while disseminating local Argentinian Shakespeares, has succeeded in reaching a broader global audience.

[14] Enguidanos et al., "Now I am More or Less Who I am," 165.

[15] Tiffany, "Borges and Shakespeare, Shakespeare and Borges," 147.

[16] Melgarejo, "Borges, Shakespeare y la divulgación del arte."

Performance Archives, Brazil, and *MIT Global Shakespeares*

The *MIT Global Shakespeares Video & Performance Archive* is an evolving archive. It draws its roots from the MIT Shakespeare Project that was started by Peter S. Donaldson in 1992.[17] But it also builds upon *Shakespeare Performance in Asia* (SPIA) and its impressive database of "more than forty hours of video recording of complete performances of Shakespeare plays and adaptations in a wide variety of genres, forms, and languages" compiled by Alexa Alice Joubin.[18] *Global Shakespeares* has expanded its scope to now include dedicated sections on East and Southeast Asia, India, Brazil, Europe, and the Arab World. As a collaborative project, it draws upon the expertise of scholars from across the world. The regional pages, moreover, have their own editors. As an archive *Global Shakespeares* showcases not only videos of performances but additional materials such as introductions, essays, scripts, glossary, and bibliography. These seem to fit in well with the archive's aim to "serve as a core resource for students, teachers, and researchers."[19]

As opposed to YouTube, which Stephen O'Neill for instance describes as an "accidental archive,"[20] and Christy Desmet brands as "the quintessential crowd-sourced site,"[21] *Global Shakespeares* is a scholarly, curated site. As a self-professed archive, *Global Shakespeares* has understandably generated discussions on exactly what sort of a digital archive it is; and by extension on the very nature of *any* digital archive. Desmet, for instance, argues: "[t]he online archive is a hybrid creature, located ambivalently within a spectrum of three organizational structures: the database, the archive, and the collection."[22] While a database sorts data, the archive becomes a repository, and the collection offers a glimpse of an arranged form of "whole" data.[23] The online archive itself, however has generated much debate amongst archival scholars in regard to how

[17] Trettein, "Shakespeares's Globe Goes *Global Shakespeares*," 155.

[18] Joubin, "Online Media Report," 245.

[19] *MIT Global Shakespeares*, "About the Archive."

[20] O'Neill, *Shakespeare and YouTube*, 11.

[21] Christy Desmet, "The Art of Curation."

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

it might be understood viz-a-viz traditional brick and mortar archives. While online archives are often distinguished on the basis of whether they are the digitized products of analog collections, or are born digital (repositories of materials that only have virtual existence), archivists like Kate Theimer for instance ask for a further distinction between "digital archives" and "digital historical representations" such as databases and Google Books.[24] Theimer in fact remains skeptical as to whether all digital archives can at all be deemed equal to traditional archives.[25] Even for advocates of online archives, it is their hybridity that stands out; a hybridity that is understood in multiple ways. For Kenneth Price, coordinator of the Walt Whitman Archive, online archives, especially scholarly ones "blends features of editing and archiving."[26] The online archive pushes at the boundaries of what we have traditionally understood as archival space and archival practice.

The archive, of course, has always been a contested space. Jacques Derrida traces the origins of the archive to *arkhē* or commandment and also to *arkheion* or the residence of the commanding magistrates.[27] It was in the house of the *archons*, the law-makers, that the "official documents [were] filed."[28] As Derrida elaborates "The archons are first of all the documents' guardians. […] They are also accorded the hermeneutic right and competence. They have the power to interpret the archives."[29] The archive, is therefore, linked with questions of power, authority, and access. For postcolonial scholars, the archive raises other related questions—those of inclusion and silence.[30] While Derrida speaks of the violence of the archive, Walter Mignolo for instance highlights the violence of the colonial archive. Writing of museums as "places where the western archive was enacted" Mignolo highlights how they "were also the place to collect and organize artefacts of the non-European world – collected artifacts, but not

[24] Theimer, "A Distinction Worth Exploring."

[25] Ibid.; see also Clement et al. "Toward a Notion of the Archive of the Future," 112.

[26] Price, "Edition, Project, Database, Archive, Thematic Research Collection"; Clement et al., 113.

[27] Derrida, 2.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] See for instance Spivak, "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives"; Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*.

the memories of the people from where the artefacts were removed, either by looting or purchasing."[31] The result is an archival silence, an absence of crucial memories and narratives. For Mignolo, as for other scholars of postcolonial studies the process of decolonization becomes important in confronting and countering these silences of the archive. As Catherine E. Walsh and Mignolo argue in their introduction to *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis* (2018) "decoloniality undoes, disobeys, and delinks from this matrix; constructing paths and praxis toward an otherwise of thinking, sensing, believing, doing, and living."[32] Here I wish to read *MIT Global Shakespeares* and its "Shakespeare in Brazil" section as an attempt at decolonizing the Shakespeare archive.

Modenessi in a recent essay calls out the "neo-exoticist trumpetry" of a production of *Much Ado About Nothing* at London's Globe Theatre in 2017. Critiquing the casual misappropriation of Latin American (in this context Mexican) history and cultural markers by the Globe production, Modenessi praises local productions such as Los Colochos' *Mendoza* (Macbeth) for a more "thoughtful articulation of Shakespeare's art and themes with Mexico's realities and artistry."[33] What Modenessi highlights is symptomatic of the larger problem of cultural misappropriation or even cultural tourism that is often seen in theatrical and cinematic productions from metropolitan centers. Digital archives (much like online repositories that Heidi Craig and Laura Estill write about in their chapter) can offer a counter to what Modenessi describes as "hegemonic" appropriation, by making productions from the Global South visible. If the colonial archive silences the non-metropolitan voices, then the decolonial archive attempts to restore the plurality of memories, experiences, and histories. By making available many of the performances and cinematic adaptations from peripheral geographies *Global Shakespeares* thus constructs an archive that challenges the colonial logic.[34] Curated by scholars from regions, the website moreover makes visible their critical labor while also building an inclusive global community centered around Shakespeare appropriation and scholarship.

[31] Mignolo, "Enacting the Archives."

[32] Walsh and Mignolo, "Introduction," 4.

[33] Modenessi, 37.

[34] Not all the entries on the *Global Shakespeares* site have full videos owing to copyright issues, but many of them do. Even when full videos are unavailable selected clips often are.

"Shakespeare in Brazil" is one of the major regions covered by *MIT Global Shakespeares* and is curated by Anna Stegh Camati, Cristiane Busato Smith, and Liana Leão. The section is introduced by its three regional editors who provide a much needed history of Shakespeare transmission in Brazil. It in fact compliments the separate "Shakespeare in Latin America" essay by Aimara da Cunha Resende that is available on the *MIT Global Shakespeares* site. At the time of writing this chapter in 2021, the section on Brazil has 39 videos of performances. In comparison, East and Southeast Asia has 72 videos, Europe 45, the Arab World 20, and India around 19. Outside of *Global Shakespeares'* own regional emphasis areas, Argentina has videos from around 4 productions, while Colombia and Uruguay have one each. Brazil, is therefore, better represented than some of the other regions and countries in this growing archive.

The videos from the Brazil section are mostly of stage performances, as opposed to those for instance from India which are a mix of theater and film clips. This rich selection of theatrical performances form an invaluable resource and the production notes provided by the regional editors not only make these more accessible to a global audience but can also double up as useful teaching resources. One of the key features of the *MIT Global Shakespeares* is how metadata is managed, and in the "Shakespeare in Brazil" this becomes especially useful in tagging theater companies. A group of the performances curated on the site are by the Cia. Rústica (Rustic Theatre Company) from the city of Porto Alegre in Rio Grande do Sul in Southern Brazil.[35] The three productions, *Macbeth, Herói Bandido* (*Macbeth, the Bandit Hero*, 2004), *Sonho de Uma Noite de Verao* (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 2006), and *A Megera Domada* (*The Taming of the Shrew*, 2008), all directed by Patrícia Fagundes were part of a project called the "In Search of Shakespeare" ("Em busca de Shakespeare").[36] The productions of the Cia. Rústica are marked by their minimalist stages and musicality. In *A Megera Domada* the use of unisex clothes by the actors at the beginning of the play further add to tensions in the prescribed gender roles of Shakespeare's characters. While *Sonho de Uma Noite de Verao* also has a bare stage, the lighting strategies, costumes, and most of all the music bring about a dream-like quality.

[35] Camati, *A Megera Domada (The Taming of the Shrew)*.

[36] Ibid.

Fig. 4.1 *Bruxas da Escócia* (*The Witches from Scotland*) by Cia Vagalum Tum Tum (Courtesy: *MIT Global Shakespeares*)

The music and dialogue accompany each other throughout the production, the former adding new layers of meaning to the Shakespearean text. Camati draws attention to what she describes as the "intermediality" of Fagundes' adaptation that brings together "different dance rhythms, such as the *tango*, *bolero*, *samba*, jazz, blues, *passo doble*, *bossa nova*, among others, composed for the musical arias, duets and choruses" in addition to influences from Broadway and Hollywood.[37] The cabaret that drives the music as well as the dance, allows Fagundes to tease out differing characters and their erotic desires (Fig. 4.1).

In contrast, the Cia Vagalum Tum Tum productions featured in the archive are meant for children. With colorful backdrop, elaborate make-up, costumes, and music the Company transforms Shakespeare's greatest tragedies into comic performances for a younger audience. *Othelito* (2007), *O Bobo do Rei* (*The King's Fool*, 2010), *O Principe da Dinamarca* (*The Prince of Denmark* 2011), *Bruxas da Escócia* (*The Witches from Scotland*, 2014), all directed by Ângelo Brandini, use aspects of

[37] Camati, "IntermedIal performance AesthetIcs In PatrícIa Fagundes' A Midsummer Night's Dream," 149.

commedia dell'arte, clowning, and acrobatics.[38] In *O Principe da Dinamarca* (*Hamlet*) for instance, it is the skeletons in the graveyard that tell the stories of their violent deaths through clowning. The *Bruxas da Escócia* (*Macbeth*) goes for a colorful retelling, with the roles of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth being played by women. Tereza Gontijo as Macbeth and Christiane Galvan as Lady Macbeth add comic dimensions to the characters but also implicitly engage with questions of gender roles and effeminacy that the play raises. Instead of murdering Duncan with a dagger, a switch is flipped on the throne—the king disappears and his cardboard cut-out is carried out. That this intrepid mechanism works is first tested out on a Teddy Bear by Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. Later, puppets are used to stand in for Macbeth's new subjects. The adaptation, available as a wonderful resource for introducing children to Shakespeare, also encourages scholars to think of the bard's performances outside of usual adult audiences.

Many of the videos under "Shakespeare in Brazil" come with tags to other global performances. *O Principe da Dinamarca* for instance points one to other adaptations of *Hamlet*—the Tibetan film *Prince of the Himalayas* (2006), Shanghai Peking Opera's *The Tragedy of Prince Zi Dan* (*Revenge of the Prince*, 2006), Shanghai Yueju Company's *Wangzi fuchou ji* (*The Revenge of the Prince*, 1994). This allows for a much needed comparative perspective of the bard's plays. It also facilitates comparison amongst plays produced within Brazil. For instance, Cia Rústica's *Megera Domada* leads one to *A Megera Domada de Rua* (*The Street Taming of the Shrew*, 2009). Performed by Ueba Produtos Notáveis, a street company from Rio Grande do Sul, *The Street Taming of the Shrew* relies on actors to enact multiple roles, and utilizes masks and dolls to accommodate the lack of a formal stage. The "Shakespeare in Brazil" section thus showcases a truly wide selection of performances and critical notes that reveal the rich tradition of Shakespeare appropriation.

Conclusion

Digital media can make visible and accessible Shakespeare appropriations from hitherto overlooked cultural contexts. They can simultaneously reach out to local and global audiences. The *FSA* and "Shakespeare in

[38] Camati, *Bruxas da Escócia*.

Brazil" as part of *MIT Global Shakespeares* belong to a new phase of Global Shakespeares, reaching out to a new generation of Shakespeare users. Like other open access curated sites from the Global South such as *Shakespeare ZA* or *Shakespeare in Bengal* that are discussed elsewhere in this collection, they perform multiple functions—as repositories of actual performances or memories of past performances, educational tools, and disseminators of news and events related to Shakespeare appropriations. Bilingual sites such as the *FSA,* moreover, can reach out to a larger global community. Simultaneously using social media tools, these largely educational websites offer important and viable alternatives to non-curated sites such as YouTube.

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Editor
Amrita Sen
University of Calcutta
Kolkata, India

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