MINORITY SHAKESPEARE: A CULTURAL STUDY OF TRANSLATION AND PERFORMANCE IN WELSH, EUSKARA, AND TE REO MĀORI

by

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Abstract

This thesis takes an interdisciplinary approach to studying the cultural and theatrical performance of Shakespeare in minority languages. It combines archival research with live performance and audience analysis to evaluate how Shakespeare's works and legacy can be transformed within diverse cultural and linguistic contexts, and the subsequent sustained social impact of performing Shakespeare in translation in a minority language. By focusing on under-researched areas of performance history, this thesis contributes to wider discussions of what 'global Shakespeare' means, and the role Shakespeare has played in shaping contemporary society in three distinct locations: Wales, the Basque Country and New Zealand.

These marginalised communities decentre the dominant cultural narratives of their regions through decolonising Shakespeare to tell their own unique stories. The Other becomes the home territory for the playwright as theatre-makers syncretically 'tradapt' his work in rhizomatic, exciting and invigorating ways. By doing so, these minorised communities claim ownership over their own unique heritages and identities – and over Shakespeare – in order to educate, rejuvenate and preserve minority language and culture.

Chapter One offers a broad study of minority languages and cultures and their interactions with Shakespeare. It is organised around five key areas: adaptation, language, national identity, space, and festivals. This exploration of minority Shakespeare reveals a rich tapestry of traditions, in which I situate the work of theatre-makers from Wales, the Basque Country and New Zealand. Each of the following three chapters focuses on one of these main locations, and is divided into two parts. The first part of each chapter provides a detailed

account of the history of translation and performance of Shakespeare's works in Welsh, Euskara and te reo Māori, and his influence on local social and cultural practices. The second part presents a case-study of live performance from 2016-2020. By analysing recent productions, this thesis offers a new perspective on the current state of intercultural Shakespeare performance studies.

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Introduction

With the itchy skittishness of all travellers about to embark – somewhere between brittle excitement and plain terror – I suddenly wanted to be on my way.[1]

This is a story of rebellion, resistance and rejuvenation. It is also a story of representation, of identity, of protecting and nurturing minority or minorised languages and cultures from subsuming dominant cultural forces. Around the world, Shakespeare plays a small but significant part in shaping the various histories and cultures of minority languages that are encountered throughout this thesis. The three main areas of focus are Wales and Welsh, the Basque Country and Euskara, and New Zealand and te reo Māori. The relationship that Shakespeare has with these specific cultures remains largely uncharted territory. The productions I analyse are often the first instances of Shakespearean performance in these languages; as such my contributions to the wider field of global Shakespeare studies are covering unexplored ground. Using original interview insights, audience research, and providing a rigorous, historically-informed perspective, I scrutinise the artistic intentions and performance outcomes of specific, recent productions, within a still-developing element of each of these cultures.

Before outlining the structure of each chapter, I will take a moment to consider the underlying theory and methodologies that have informed my approach. A minority language has been defined by the 1992 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages as a language that is 'traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State

[1] Andrew Dickson, 'Prologue', *Worlds Elsewhere: Journey's Around Shakespeare's Globe* (London: Vintage, 2016), p. xxvii.

who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population'.[2] Minority languages can be recognised as official languages of a region or country, as the ones included in this thesis recently have been, but they are still only used by a minority of the population. Minority culture therefore refers to the specific cultural tropes inherent to the language. Stephen May indicates the urgency of the situation when he states that 'what is qualitatively and quantitatively different in the twenty-first century is the unprecedented scale of this process of decline and loss – some commentators have even described it as a form of "linguistic genocide"'.[3]

Using an interdisciplinary practice, I weave together archival material to give a detailed history of Shakespeare's relationship with Welsh, Euskara and te reo Māori, with instances of live performance and contemporary audience responses. I also bring together socio-cultural, adaptation and translation studies to evaluate the impact of adapting and performing Shakespeare in translation into these languages within modern societies. This analysis is situated within a framework of post-colonial theory, drawing on the work of critics such as Edward Said, Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin, to name a few.[4] It must be noted that this is a cultural and performance-based study rather than a linguistic one. As such, I do not analyse the lexical intricacies of the translations involved, but rather focus on the cultural transformations taking place and the effect they have within the communities in which they are performed.

The historical palimpsestic nature of Shakespeare's work and iconicity within our

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[2] European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, *Council of Europe*, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/0900001680695175> [accessed 21st July 2020].

[3] *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Language* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 2.

[4] See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 2003) and *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1993); Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin, *Post-Colonial Shakespeares* (London: Routledge, 1998).

global community is central to this thesis. When considering an anglicised post-colonial nation, it is hard not to read narratives of imperialist colonisation and progressive decolonisation into the subtext of a Shakespearean production. To discuss this interconnected, inseparable network of Shakespearean theatrical and cultural performance, I draw on three key concepts: Douglas Lanier's theory of the Shakespearean rhizome; Christopher Balme's application of syncretism in relation to theatre; and the combination of translation and adaptation under the portmanteau of tradaptation.

Acknowledging that we are in a 'post-fidelity' era, Lanier's application of the rhizome to Shakespearean adaptations offers an important shift in how scholars might interpret adaptation and performance: 'The rhizome, a destratified, proliferating network of disjunctive yet productive relations, is a means to reimagine the products that form "Shakespeare" as an open-ended, non-teleological process of adaptation and remediation, as a form of "nomadic thought"'.[5] Lanier argues that the Shakespearean rhizome reconceptualises the hierarchy of value placed upon the 'original' text, its authority and a 'residual fidelity' to such a concept, and places more emphasis on adaptation and 'the aggregated web of cultural forces and productions that in some fashion lay claim to the label "Shakespearean"'.[6] Therefore,

> [a] rhizomatic conception of Shakespeare stresses the power of those ever-differentiating particulars – specific adaptations, allusions, performances – to transform and restructure the aggregated Shakespearean field into something forever new. By emphasizing difference as essential to the cultural afterlife of 'Shakespeare', and by refusing to treat the Shakespearean text as a regulative standard or mystified icon of value, a rhizomatic approach seeks to demonstrate how 'Shakespeare' becomes ever-other-than-itself precisely through the varied particularities of its manifestations, which proliferate according to no preordained

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[5] 'Shakespearean Rhizomatics: Adaptation, Ethics, Value', *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, ed. by Alexa Alice Joubin and Elizabeth Rivlin (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 21-40, p. 27; p. 36.

[6] Ibid., pp. 26-7.

teleology.[7]

Texts in translation have inherently already moved the emphasis away from the Shakespearean 'original'. However, viewing these texts as something lesser than their sources is not productive. Rather, both sets should be viewed within an ongoing process that 'value[s] rather than regulate[s]' Shakespearean, cultural and linguistic difference as 'it is there that the cultural power of Shakespeare has long resided'.[8] Performing Shakespeare in a minority language automatically highlights cultural differences from the dominant variants of culture in the regions they are found in.

As explored in Chapter One, the concepts of syncretic theatre and tradaptation are closely related. Balme adapts the term syncretism from the 'discipline of comparative religion [that] denotes the process whereby elements of two or more religions are merged and absorbed into one another'.[9] This is particularly evident 'during a period of colonial contact'.[10] As a result, Balme points to three distinct forms of indigenous cultural theatre that have emerged in response to 'this situation of conflict and competition with the Western theatrical form':

1. A new theatrico-cultural system is introduced which eclipses and overlies an existing one. Isolated elements of the older system remain present.
2. The existing system remains dominant. The new theatrico-cultural system is visible only in the form of a few identifiable elements.
3. A new equilibrium is established between the old and the new systems with a balanced number of elements from both being utilized.[11]

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[7] Ibid., p. 31.

[8] Ibid., p. 36.

[9] *Decolonizing the Stage: Theatrical Syncretism and Post-Colonial Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 1.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., p. 17.

All three of these models can be witnessed throughout the examples in this thesis as theatre-makers react to the different stages of colonisation and decolonisation experienced in their countries.

Finally, the term tradaptation responds to the specific environment of post-1960 Québécois theatre: 'born in the white heat of Québec's national awakening, its emergence is shaped by that epoch during which Québec declared its identity and its language to itself and to the world'.[12] As such, the concept 'can help us to think clearly about theatrical translations/ adaptations, particularly when they are created by and for small, threatened and/or minority societies'.[13] Mark Fortier identifies that the 'international dissemination of Shakespeare often – if not always – requires adaptation, translation, or a combination of both', whilst questioning whether these 'forms of cultural reworking' are in fact the same thing.[14] Scholars differ over who coined the term: whilst Québécois theatre-maker Robert Lepage is often credited as its originator, Québécois translator and playwright Michel Garneau 'famously' used it to refer specifically to his reworking of three of Shakespeare's plays in the 1970s and 80s, which garnered international popularity when Lepage staged them as the *Cycle Shakespeare* in 1993.[15] Garneau tradapted *The Tempest* (1973), *Macbeth* (1978) and *Coriolanus* (1989), discussed in Chapter One. Tradaptation is all the more pertinent to this thesis as, beyond its application to minority cultures, Susan Knutson argues that 'tradaptations have intentions with respect to the past and the future, but they intervene in the *here and*

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[12] Susan Knutson, '"Tradaptation" *Dans le Sens Québécois*: A Word for the Future', *Translation, Adaptation and Transformation*, ed. by Lawrence Raw (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 112-22, p. 112.

[13] Ibid.

[14] 'Translation, Adaptation, and "Tradaptation"', *The Cambridge Guide to the Worlds of Shakespeare: Part XV International Encounters*, ed. by Bruce Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 1046-50, p. 1046.

[15] Ibid., p. 1048; Knutson, '"Tradaptation" *Dans le Sens Québécois*', p. 112.

now'.[16] The productions analysed here all demonstrate an overt awareness of their position within wider cultural movements, thus reinforcing my application of the Shakespearean rhizome in their examination. Furthermore, Denis Salter argues that:

> tradaptations should be exercises in radical contingency, responsible only for the particular historical moment in which they attempt to decolonize and reinterrogate the Shakespearean text. They should vanish once their particular historical moment has passed and new tradaptations should take their place.[17]

It is often noted that tradaptations do not age well as they are designed to respond specifically to one historical moment or event. This is the case of many of the productions featured here.

Just as the term's origins are mildly disputed (regardless of who used it first, all agree that it emerged out of a precise era in Québec history), scholars also differ over an exact definition for the term. Anna Cetera-Włodarczyk argues that '[f]ashionable and suggestive as it sounds, the concept of tradaptation remains deeply puzzling'.[18] However, as Fortier suggests, it now has wider applications than just 'a Québécois phenomenon from a specific time and sociopolitical situation'.[19] Therefore, it can be applied to 'a more wide-ranging and international dissemination of adaptation and translation', encompassing an '"infinite variety" of transformational strategies, foregrounding the predominance of cultural factors, consent for the radical reshaping of dramatic designs and the collaborative nature of the enterprise'.[20] Translation is just one way that texts can be tradapted.

Shakespeare can never be considered in the singular, but rather he always arrives in

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[16] Ibid., p. 113.

[17] 'Acting Shakespeare in Postcolonial Space', *Shakespeare, Theory and Performance*, ed. by James C. Bulman (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 117-35, p. 130.

[18] 'Unruly fidelity: Shakespeare's hybrids and the translator's agon', *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, Vol. 96 no. 1 (2018), pp. 147-59, p. 152.

[19] 'Translation, Adaptation, and "Tradaptation"', p. 1049.

[20] Ibid.; Cetera-Włodarczyk, 'Unruly fidelity', p. 153.

the plural. Each production approaches 'Shakespeare' the cultural phenomenon, Shakespeare the playwright, and each play informed by its own interactions with its native culture. As Dennis Kennedy has stated: 'foreign Shakespeare is more present than ever before, interrogating the idea that Shakespeare can be contained by a single tradition or by a single language'.[21] In addition, theatre-makers of diverse nationalities layer upon these productions and experiences their own questions of what theatre is, and what cultural identity and social progression mean, thereby moulding Shakespeare to suit their own sociopolitical motivations. Staging Shakespeare is always a political act, which is heightened within the context of a performance in a minority culture and language.

In this same vein, one cannot approach a cultural account of any society thinking in the singular. What it means to be Welsh, Basque, or Māori to one person, may not be the same thing for people of different generations or even within the same generation. Shakespeare was himself a 'foreigner' in the London of Elizabethan England: in the Elizabethan sense of the word it could refer to one 'of another county, parish'.[22] His plays also often ask the audience to see from the perspective of an outsider or involve characters seeking to escape their current situation. As such, his appeal to those from a minority culture is manifest in the very themes of his plays and the characters he writes. Through the continual performance of his plays in an increasing number of languages, and as the English language evolves further away from that of Shakespeare's time, the 'myth of cultural ownership' grows stronger and yet more tenuous simultaneously. As Kennedy affirms: 'In the end Shakespeare doesn't belong to any nation or

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[21] 'Shakespeare without his language', *Foreign Shakespeare*, ed. by Dennis Kennedy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-18, p. 16.

[22] 'foreigner, n.', *Oxford English Dictionary*, <http://www.oed.com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/view/Entry/73066?redirectedFrom=foreigner#eid> [accessed 1st August 2017].

anybody: Shakespeare is foreign to us all'.[23]

An important question to ask is to what extent do these productions of Shakespeare make a culture 'legible' for an audience, both on a local and a global scale?[24] Borrowing from Ayanna Thompson's theory on the performance of race in the theatre, Leticia García questions 'when we see culture, how do we make sense of what "culture" signifies and means within a specific production'?[25] Coupled with this might be a concern over to what degree the cultures on display in these productions are commodified and fetishised, as stereotypes are relied upon to demonstrate a culture to a potentially ignorant audience. Are they reinforcing outdated and possibly damaging myths about both Shakespeare and the receiving culture by drawing on a 'collective day-dream' or 'free-floating mythology', or are they creating new, sustaining ones?[26] As García further identifies, the canon is 'only transposable when done with care and concern'.[27] When considering the 'semiotic significance of race', as described by Thompson, questions arise such as what 'does the audience see with regard to race? How does the audience make sense of it'?[28] As such, when productions fail in cultural exchange the resulting cultural tourism or tokenism 'can actually replicate racist stereotypes *because* [they]

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[23] 'Shakespeare without his language', p. 16.

[24] Alexa Alice Joubin and Elizabeth Rivlin, *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, ed. by Alexa Alice Joubin and Elizabeth Rivlin (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 1.

[25] '*A Soldier in Every Son* - "Chaos Comes to Establish a New Order"', *Blogging Shakespeare*, 23rd July 2012, <https://www.bloggingshakespeare.com/year-of-shakespeare-a-soldier-in-every-son-chaos-comes-to-establish-a-new-order> [accessed 22nd July 2020]. Thompson asks the same questions concerning race. See Ayanna Thompson, *Passing Strange: Shakespeare, Race, and Contemporary America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[26] V.G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: Black Man, Yellow Man, and White Man in an Age of Empire* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1969), p. 131; Edward Said, 'The Scope of Orientalism', *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 31- 110, p. 53.

[27] 'Shakespearean Performance and the Problem of Cultural Appropriation', talk given as part of 'Not your Grandad's Shakespeare: Thinking through Shakespeare and Performance' seminar, hosted by Society for Renaissance Studies, 21st July 2020, <https://www.crowdcast.io/e/q43zw1el/1> [accessed 21st July 2020].

[28] *Passing Strange*, p. 77.

have not addressed the unstable semiotics of race'.[29] As Jyotsna Singh concludes: 'Shakespeare can serve as an important signifier for the "native" and minority cultures in a variety of locations as well as in conditions of contingency and flux. Of course, there are no overall guarantees of a progressive outcome'.[30] Indeed, not all of the productions discussed in this thesis have been successful in their adaptations of Shakespeare when due care and respect has not been paid for minority cultures.

I have chosen to give focus to Welsh, Euskara and te reo Māori because not only do theatre-makers working in these languages offer exciting and provocative challenges to Shakespeare and his works, but also they are often unknowingly in dialogue with one another. Despite the seemingly disparate nature of these cultures and the people that make them, there are striking similarities in the way they translate, adapt and stage Shakespeare's plays. Before giving a few examples of such, I will speak briefly about the logic behind this comparative exercise. There is an argument to be made that irrespective of linguistic and cultural background, everyone has a right to produce Shakespeare, and in turn exploit his cultural capital and to be able to compete internationally on global theatrical stages. As Kylie Bracknell, director of *Hecate* (2020) discussed in Chapter One, has stated: 'Shakespeare is one of the most revered playwrights of all time, so why not'?[31] Whilst the English will always fervently claim him as the National Poet, the extent to which his works have been translated, adapted, produced, appropriated, commoditised, fetishised and/or weaponised, renders

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[29] Ibid. Original italics.

[30] 'Afterword: The Location of Shakespeare', *Native Shakespeares: Indigenous Appropriations on a Global Stage*, ed. by Craig Dionne and Parmita Kapadia (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 233-9, p. 233.

[31] Quoted in Clarissa Sebag-Montefiore, 'Hecate is often erased from Shakespeare's Macbeth. Now she's centre stage – in Noongar language', *The Guardian*, 11th February 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2020/feb/11/hecate-is-often-erased-from-shakespeares-macbeth-now-shes-centre-stage-in-noongar-language> [accessed 25th February 2020].

Shakespeare, for better or worse, a global playwright. The productions examined here resist Shakespeare as a British cultural artefact as each nation works to redefine his works and cultural legacy in their own specific terms.

There is a difference in politics between a Basque translator choosing to work with Shakespeare over a Welsh or Māori translator. Linguistically, Euskara has been dominated by Spanish, so when considering the potential for cultural empowerment and ownership, one might expect them to translate a Spanish classical author. However, due to Spain's tumultuous political and cultural environments throughout the twentieth century, writers such as Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra were widely deemed unsuitable to represent a uniquely Basque cultural identity. Many late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Spanish writers were appropriated by the Falange to sustain 'a repertoire of homely Golden Age classics that played in lively, "unadulterated" forms in the towns and villages absorbed by the "nationalist" reconquest'.[32] Whilst Shakespeare would also feature heavily on the stage of the theatre of the Falange throughout Francisco Franco's dictatorship, as explored in Chapter Three, the productions largely presented 'sanitised' versions of the plays. This 'Shakespeare without Shakespeare' allowed the regime to capitalise on Shakespeare's cultural capital: 'the freedom to retain an aura of recognizable Shakespeareanism, while carefully reshaping the text to suit the prevailing mood […] was the fundamental tenet of these early Francoist performances'.[33] For Euskara translators who began to work with Shakespeare in the mid-twentieth century, therefore, the playwright stood as a double challenge to dominant cultural hegemonies: a redefining of a uniquely Basque cultural identity and a uniquely Basque Shakespeare that

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[32] Keith Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre 1772 to the Present* (London: Continuum, 2010), p. 88.
[33] Ibid., p. 89.

encompassed all of Shakespeare, rather than just the parts that were deemed suitable for public consumption at the time. Parallels can be drawn between the oppression of Basque language and Shakespeare's language, and the subversive act of recovering both.

Underlying the choices of Welsh and Māori translators to engage with Shakespeare is a direct protest against the historical active oppression of such languages by the English. They are, consciously or not, reclaiming a part of their cultural history that was suppressed through an extended period of acculturation and colonisation through taking ownership over an icon of English cultural power. Shakespeare was exported to play a central role in demonstrating the imagined cultural superiority of the colonisers, as discussed in Chapters Two and Four, standing as a beacon of English culture towards which all should aspire.

Theatre-makers working in minority languages demonstrate a complex relationship with their past and anxiety about their future. The productions they create express heightened political awareness, often responding to a seismic social shift, as they radically tradapt Shakespeare into their individual contexts. There is a need to build a sense of community through increasing the representation of minority cultures on a nation's stages. This is done through casting choices and also often through establishing a greater connection to a particular location, through site-specific theatre in both a physical and a metaphorical sense. The national and community identities enacted reveal a plurality instead of a singularity in their construction.

Furthermore, in line with their experience of colonisation, these identities have historically been Othered from dominant discourses of selfhood and citizenship. Said discusses the notion of the Other in relation to 'the Orient' as it is one of Europe's 'deepest

and most recurring images of the Other'.[34] The act of Othering engages 'in a process by which the empire can define itself against those it colonizes, excludes and marginalizes. It locates its "others" by this process in the pursuit of that power within which its own subjectivity is established'.[35] Cultural geographer Jean-Francois Staszak defines Otherness as:

> the result of a discursive process by which a dominant in-group ('Us,' the Self) constructs one or many dominated out-groups ('Them,' Other) by stigmatizing a difference – real or imagined – presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential discrimination.[36]

These asymmetrical power dynamics have constructed opposing cultural identities which are reinforced and challenged across time. However, as Joël Graf notes '[s]ubaltern groups are constantly constructing otherness themselves. "Othering" is by no means only a resource of the powerful but an integral part of legitimating strategies for all social actors'.[37] Theatre-makers working in minority languages aim to undo these cultural hierarchies through breaking down the barriers within the Us versus Them binary by claiming Shakespeare, a long-standing signifier of colonial authority, as a space and voice of their own. Through employing a syncretic mode of producing theatre, they can challenge the deeply damaging notion of the Other in order to celebrate cultural difference. Two contrasting modes of expression are united to bring them into a dialogue on equal terms.

Owing to the haphazard nature of researching minority languages, much of the research for the historical narratives laid out in the first part of each chapter has relied upon

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[34] *Orientalism*, p. 1.

[35] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 142.

[36] 'Other/otherness', *International Encylopedia of Human Geography*, ed. by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2008), pp. 43-7, p. 43.

[37] 'Constructing the Other while being the Other: The Zapatista Movement during the Mexican Revolution', *Masks of Identity: Representing and Performing Otherness in Latin America*, ed. by Přemysl Mácha and Eloy Gómez Pellón (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), pp. 109-24, p. 110.

scant pockets of preserved information. There are often no centralised archives or libraries to consult. Furthermore, over the centuries the cyclical nature of the renaissance and oppression of the languages that I study has meant that much evidence has either been destroyed or scattered beyond reach. The indigenous societies examined here are all built around an oral tradition, and as such written texts in the languages appear relatively late. Early translators writing and working in minority languages are often members of clergy. These men were usually more educated members of society with, crucially, greater access to resources. For example, Ioannes Leizarraga was a priest who was commissioned by the monarchy to translate the New Testament into Euskara. Leizarraga's work is considered to be one of the earliest attempts to standardise Euskara as he combined three regional dialects to create a higher register form of the language. Early Welsh translators of Shakespeare, acting on similar motivations, would employ comparable techniques of fusing dialects. Early te reo translators also use higher register forms of language, to give just a few of the commonalities found across the minority languages and cultures addressed in this thesis.

Chapter One opens with a wider discussion of how minority languages have historically treated Shakespeare, both as a playwright and a cultural icon, and with the rise of the phenomenon of 'global Shakespeare', how they continue to do so today. This introductory chapter draws out the various similarities and trends that occur around the world as distinct minority cultures use Shakespeare in an ongoing process of protection and promotion of their unique heritages. Whilst drawing on examples from many diverse regions, the chapter is concentrated on five key areas of discussion: adaptation, language, national identity, space and festivals. Each section interrogates how theatre-makers from minority cultures explore these issues through theatrical and cultural performances of Shakespeare's plays and image.

The remaining chapters are dedicated to three different minority languages and cultures. Chapter Two focuses on Wales, Chapter Three on the Basque Country and Chapter Four on New Zealand. Each chapter is divided into two parts. The first part includes a brief contextual outline of key cultural traditions, a history of language development, and the language's current position within society. As discussed in each of the contextual prologues, geographically isolated from their more dominant neighbours, an intricate folklore has evolved over time within these minority cultures, and a keen interest in maintaining those traditions has manifested itself throughout modern society. Key themes that resonate through Welsh, Basque and Māori theatre history are concerns with the pastoral, nature and an ancient folklore.

Nevertheless, it is within this milieu, and with a predominantly pastoral comedic mode of drama, that Shakespeare enters the narrative. Contemporaneous to the first performances of Shakespeare's plays in translation on the Welsh, Basque and New Zealand stages, the popular genre of theatre was light comedy: plays which, certainly in the case of Wales and the Basque Country, were deemed suitably safe for public consumption by the Church. In New Zealand, Shakespeare was an important part of creating a settler culture and so was performed in English with reverence from the beginning.

The main body of Part One of each chapter is a discussion of the history of Shakespearean translation into the minority language. The structure of working away from Shakespeare's birthplace also works chronologically, although all three languages I concentrate on are relatively latecomers to the global Shakespeare stage. Welsh translators turned first to Shakespeare as early as the nineteenth century. Basque translators would wait until the early-twentieth century and finally Māori translations of Shakespeare would appear

in the mid- to late-twentieth century.

The second part of each of these chapters is a case study of a contemporary production (from 2016-2020) that analyses the production itself as well as audience responses. In each case, I have travelled to Wales, the Basque Country and New Zealand to witness multiple productions, interview theatre practitioners, translators and audience members, and gather empirical data to support my research. I have carried out a mixture of oral and written questionnaires, depending on the nature of the production. The audience-based research I have undertaken was largely informed by performance scholars such as Stephen Purcell and Penelope Woods.[38] W.B. Worthen's work on analysing live performance and personal responses has also been integral to my approach.[39] I have drawn on the work of Susan Bennett and Helen Freshwater to interrogate what constitutes an audience across linguistic divides.[40]

I am indebted to many theatre practitioners, translators and audience members who generously gave up their time to speak with me. Whilst every effort was made to present a balanced set of voices across all three case studies, unfortunately due to many competing factors I am not able to include any direct interviews from any Māori directors or translators. Whilst no one voiced unwillingness to engage with me because of the nature of the project, it was simply impossible to find a time to speak or my requests for an interview remained unanswered. As such, I have had to supplement this relative absence of Māori voices with extensive archival research and secondary sources. When someone does give up their valuable

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[38] See Stephen Purcell, *Shakespeare and Audience in Practice* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and Penelope Woods, 'Globe Audiences: Spectatorship and Reconstruction at Shakespeare's Globe' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2012) can be found online: <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.554356> [accessed 9th April 2020].

[39] See W.B. Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Force of Modern Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[40] See Susan Bennett, *Theatre Audiences: A Theory of Production and Reception* (London: Routledge, 1997) and Helen Freshwater, *Theatre and Audience* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

time, it can be hard to get over feeling appreciative and therefore respond critically to their thoughts and opinions. Additionally, I have remained acutely aware of my own cultural heritage as a white British woman and this has added to my trepidation of being disrespectful. It is a tricky balance to strike between being respectful and interrogative.

Furthermore, Chapter Four cannot present any audience-based research in the manner that the other chapters do. Due to the nature of researching live performance, I have had to be responsive and adaptive in my approach. I initially went to New Zealand at the end of 2017 with the intention of researching Free Theatre Christchurch, a theatre company that was planning a large-scale production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to take place in 2018. Whilst there, I not only discovered that Free Theatre's production had been indefinitely delayed due to funding complications, but I also learned about the Pop-up Globe and was able to witness multiple shows. Consequently, it seemed a sensible decision to change focus and dedicate time and space to Pop-up Globe and the important work they do to rebalance representation within New Zealand mainstream theatre. This means, however, that I cannot offer any audience-based research beyond my own observations and reflections for the Pop-up Globe as there was not time to formulate questionnaires and have them ethically approved by the University and the theatre company. Future studies of Pop-up Globe and the extraordinary work they have achieved in their short lifetime would address this stark imbalance.

Common narrative threads emerge as each history is traced. These are further supported by the modern-day case studies. Chapter Two examines Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru's monumental production of *Macbeth* in 2017, staged in promenade around Caerphilly Castle. *Macbeth* has been the most popular Shakespeare play to be translated and performed

in Wales throughout history. Chapter Three assesses the journey Shakespeare has taken in translation into Euskara in the Spanish-side of the Basque Country, and the case study focuses on the innovative 2016 production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* produced by Tanttaka Teatroa, which formed a central part of Donostia-San Sebastián's European Capital of Culture Festival. *Dream* is also the most prominent Shakespeare play to be adapted into a Basque context. Working geographically away from England, finally I turn to New Zealand in Chapter Four to discuss the relatively late translations of Shakespeare's dramatic and poetic work to appear in te reo Māori. I will consider several productions created by the Pop-up Globe (Auckland) that featured a Pasifika influence: *Romeo and Juliet* (2016), *Othello* (2017-18), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (2017-19), and *Much Ado About Nothing* (2017-20). Perhaps unsurprisingly, *Othello* has been turned to the most by Māori translators and theatre-makers.

The work of theatre companies such as Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru, Tanttaka Teatroa, and Pop-up Globe seek to bring greater accessibility to theatre for audiences, whilst also raising awareness of their own cultural heritages. Crucially, particular communities that might not otherwise have had access to theatre or felt excluded from it are now being represented on their nations' stages, whilst a sense of national identity is being explored and strengthened.

As shall be made clear, choosing to produce Shakespeare in a minority language is a highly charged political act. Theatre companies are choosing to work against the dominant cultural forces of their regions in order to provide more opportunities for representation of and accessibility to minority cultures. It follows then that each decision made in the artistic process is also politicised, from the production's design and use of minority cultural cues to casting choices. As ever, there is a delicate balance to strike between cultural appropriation

and celebration, and even directors and theatre companies from a minority cultural background have to negotiate the issues which cluster around cultural appropriation. The employment of non-minority directors and actors occurs throughout the case studies in this thesis. It is important to question the motivations behind such decisions. Though they may be well-intentioned, such reasoning might not easily be communicable to an audience. The casting of non-minority actors by white/non-minority directors for a minority language production is a particularly thorny issue to address and I cannot claim to have a definitive answer as to the best working practices theatre companies could or should adopt. Nevertheless, it is important to lay out both sides of the argument and to state that clarity is always key. There is a danger of encouraging segregation rather than integration, of closing cultures further off from the wider population rather than opening them up for new audiences, of reinforcing an Us versus Them binary.

The inclusion of non-minority actors in an otherwise minority production could happen for several reasons. It could be that there are not enough minority actors to appear in a production or that those actors simply do not have access to such work due to other larger social and cultural boundaries. In a considerable number of the Māori Shakespeares studied in Chapter Four, many Māori actors had to learn te reo specifically for the production or newsreaders and teachers were employed instead of professional actors because of the level of literacy required. A census conducted in 2013 revealed that just eleven per cent of Māori adults claimed to be fluent in te reo; fifty-five per cent identified as having some ability to communicate in the language.[41] There is a comparatively higher level of literacy found in Wales and the Basque Country, therefore such practices are not as apparent: in 2019, it was

[41] 'Te Kupenga 2013 (English)', *Stats NZ*, 5th May 2014, <https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/te-kupenga-2013-english> [accessed 28th July 2018].

reported that 29.9 per cent of the Welsh population aged 3 and up could speak Welsh; and, in 2006, 37.5 per cent of the Basque population reported a fluent level of bilingualism between Euskara and Spanish.[42] The other side of the argument is an understandable concern over representation and taking away opportunities for minority actors to appear in such productions that are usually well-funded and receive a considerable amount of attention due to Shakespeare's inherent cultural capital.

If such decisions to include non-minority theatre-makers are made with appropriate care and respect for the minority culture, usually with the expert help of a cultural advisory team, it is less likely that cultural appropriation will occur. Theatre companies can instead focus on championing minority cultures in a productive and educational manner by actively encouraging a two-way dialogue between minority and non-minority actors and audiences about culture, language and theatre. Theatre companies have a great deal of responsibility concerning clarity in their depictions of minority cultures, either on stage or in paratexual materials. It could be argued, however, that there is also a certain amount of responsibility that falls on theatre critics and audiences to be adequately informed of distinct cultural practices to minimise the probability of misinterpretation or misinformation.[43]

A particularly hard problem arises if a production is sold as focusing on a minority culture and obscures the involvement of non-minority actors or actors from a different minority background. Such an issue occurs prominently in Chapter Four and the Pop-up Globe's production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which was advertised on the theatre's

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[42] Jac Williams and Lisa Walters, 'Welsh language results: Annual Population Survey, 2001- 2018', *Statistics for Wales*, 29th May 2019, <https://gov.wales/sites/default/files/statistics-and-research/2019-05/welsh-language-results-annual-population-survey-2001-to-2018.pdf> [accessed 4th June 2019]; *2006 IV Mapa Sociolingüístico* (Vitoria- Gasteiz; 2009), p. 33.

[43] Worthen writes about such an unfortunate occurrence at the Globe theatre between Brazilian theatre company Grupo Galpão and British theatre critic Michael Billington in *Shakespeare and the Force of Modern Performance*, pp. 157-61.

website as 'fus[ing] spectacular Jacobean costumes, and the lyrical poetry of Shakespeare with Māori folklore and language to create our flagship production for the 2017/18 season'.[44] The production was revived several times in 2018 and 2019, and toured to Australia in 2018, with a few cast changes. Pertinent to this discussion is the change in the actor playing Hippolyta/Titania: in September 2018, Asalemo Tofete took over the roles from Edward Peni. Crucially, neither of these actors are Māori: Peni is Samoan and Tofete is also Samoan but identifies himself under the wider term of Pacific Islander. Samoans form 3.9 per cent of New Zealand's population so are still a minority community, and whilst Māori and Samoan cultures and languages share a historical root, there are still distinct divergences to be found. And yet, the inclusion of non-Māori actors playing the central fairies was not acknowledged by the theatre company who instead repeatedly reinforced a connection with Māori folklore and language; the same trend can be found in the production's reviews. A very different approach is taken by Auckland-based Black Friars Company, also discussed in Chapter Four, who actively acknowledge the meetings of cultures in their productions.

The central concern here is motivation. Is there a degree of 'passing' occurring by not drawing attention to these actors distinct backgrounds, particularly if the audience and reviewers do not already know that they are not Māori? By not explicitly stating that the fairies are Māori but rather 'inspired by Māori folklore', is this 'passing' in some way mitigated or is it in fact buried deeper?[45] If the fairies are simply inspired by or are an 'evocation of' Māori culture, would it then be acceptable for a white, non-Māori actor to play

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[44] 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', *Pop-up Globe*, <http://popupglobe.co.nz/shows/a-midsummer-nights-dream/> [accessed 9th December 2017].

[45] Miles Gregory, 'Director's Notes', p. 5.

these central roles?[46] I suspect not, but then, why is it acceptable for a Samoan actor to play the part? One reviewer acknowledged a wider Polynesian influence in the costuming of Titania's train, who are played by the same actors who played the mechanicals and 'wear very tongue in cheek traditional Polynesian grass-skirts', however the majority of the reviews (mine included) focused on the portrayal of the fairies as exclusively 'reinterpretation[s] of the fairy characters as gods or spirits of Maori folklore'.[47] In some ways, the setting of the fairy kingdom in an ancient Māori world does much to 'honour [New Zealand's] bi-culturalism with the inclusion of Te Reo'.[48] However, difficult boundaries are crossed when the acknowledgement of the inclusion of actors from other minority cultures is missed.

A similar problem arises when white, non-Māori or non-New Zealand actors perform the haka, as occurs at the end of this production. However, instead of reading this moment as an act of cultural appropriation, it can be interpreted as cultural celebration. The three worlds of the play come together to dance a variety of dance styles, breaking down the barriers that were previously in place. As I have already stated, these are particularly problematic issues that can arise, without a clear, singular way to address them. It is important to encourage that due care and attention is offered from both sides of the production process in order to minimise potential offence or misreadings. As such, I have taken care to consider such issues in each of the chapters that follows.

It has been quite a journey as I have travelled around the world, discovering how

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[46] Laura Kenny, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream at Pop-up Globe, *ARC UNSW Student Life*, <https://www.arc.unsw.edu.au/blitz/reviews/a-midsummer-nights-dream-at-pop-up-globe> [accessed 1st May 2021].

[47] Elise Kelly, 'Theatre Review: Pop-up Globe's "A Midsummer Night's Dream" is an antipodean vision', *Isolated Nation*, 27th October 2018, <https://isolatednation.com/articles/2019/10/25/theatre-review-pop-up-globes-midsummer-is-an-antipodean-dream> [accessed 1st May 2021].

[48] Monica Moore, 'BWW Review: A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM at Pop-up Globe, Ellerslie, Auckland', *Broadway World*, 7th August 2019, <https://www.broadwayworld.com/new-zealand/article/BWW-Review-A-MIDSUMMER-NIGHTS-DREAM-at-Pop-up-Globe-Ellerslie-Auckland-20190807> [accessed 1st May 2021].

different theatre-makers and audiences, working in very different cultural and social contexts, interact with Shakespeare in refreshing and unique ways. As Tom Bird (Festival Director) and Dominic Dromgoole (then Artistic Director of Shakespeare's Globe) said of 2012's Globe to Globe Festival: 'Shakespeare is the language which brings us together better than any other, and which reminds of our almost infinite difference, and of our strange and humbling commonality'.[49] Through the flexibility of Shakespeare's works, diverse cultures are encompassed within this study. These intercultural exchanges simultaneously reinforce our 'infinite difference' by celebrating unique heritages and identities, and yet, through adapting the work of a single playwright, a global 'humbling commonality' is exposed. This thesis is located within the vast field of global Shakespeare but looks to the marginalised for inspiration, seeking to provide a space for them to tell their own stories of rebellion.

[49] Globe to Globe Festival programme, (London: Shakespeare's Globe, 2012), p. 1.

Chapter One: Introductions

We will learn how to wait in solidarity.
Just as we will continue indefinitely to praise, to swear and to curse in every language we know.[1]

This chapter unpacks some of the wider issues surrounding performing Shakespeare in minority languages. It is divided into five key areas of discussion: adaptation, language, national identity, space, and festivals. I examine examples from around the world to reflect how the three main languages in this thesis interact with one another and participate in global conversations surrounding Shakespearean performance practices. Each section addresses the same central question: How do theatre-makers working in minority languages engage with Shakespeare, the cultural icon and the playwright, to explore issues of adaptation/language/ national identity/space/festivals?

I begin by discussing the many theories of adaptation that have arisen since the turn of the twenty-first century, and the ethics behind performing Shakespeare in a minority language. How do theatre-makers working in minority languages adapt Shakespeare? Are there any recurring themes? Is it ethical to translate Shakespeare into languages previously displaced by English? What effect do the ethics of translation have on performance and audiences?

Language inherently plays a vital role in any theatrical production. The choice of language and who has access to language are important considerations, especially when performing in a minority language. Language can be used to celebrate, politicise and rebel.

National identity, too, is important to all of these discussions: how and who it is

[1] John Berger, *Confabulations* (London: Penguin Books, 2016), p. 143.

constructed for? How can Shakespeare be used to reinforce or destroy cultural myths and stereotypes? As different communities use Shakespeare to explore their own national heritages, a greater sense of cultural ownership of both Shakespeare and a unique national and cultural identity is achieved. This can lead to a trend of cultural showcasing as national identities are strengthened. There is a hope that these cultures will therefore receive greater protection, both socially and financially, as they gain recognition at home and abroad.

Individual locations and geographies affect production reception. Site-specific theatre is a popular genre as it facilitates a stronger connection between the production and the audience. Even if a production is not site-specific, great care is taken to make it explicitly connected to a particular place or culture through nuanced design, casting choices or language. Ideas of citizenship and community can therefore be analysed through performance.

One of the most common sites for this kind of cultural showcasing is a festival, particularly international festivals. Concentrated microcosms of national identities and heritages are created in order to demonstrate a coherent and cohesive display. As we shall see, and as Kyle Morrison, Artistic Director of Yirra Yaakin Theatre Company (Perth), has stated: before 'England went and colonised the world, Shakespeare was for the people'.[2] Time and again, therefore, Shakespeare is decolonised and recast as a writer and cultural figure of indigenous people across the world, playing his part to decentre dominant global narratives and reshape them by bringing (often) unheard, divers voices to the global stage.[3] Behind all of these themes lies Shakespeare's cultural capital and status as an international icon, which shall be considered throughout.

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[2] Quoted in Sebag-Montefiore, 'Hecate is often erased from Shakespeare's Macbeth'.

[3] Ibid.

Acts of Adaptation

To scrutinize the communities a new appropriation builds, as well as what or who is excluded from them, is to keep our sights trained on the broader human stakes.[4]

Any director adapting a Shakespeare play has an agenda, be it personal, artistic, textual, social or political, or a mixture of all of these. They have a particular theme that they want to explore, or a particular message they want to send to audiences. When working in a language that is not the dominant one for a country or region, that agenda is, consciously or not, directed towards the political and the social. Representation lies at the heart of the work: bringing those previously silent or silenced voices on stage, perhaps for the first time. This part of the chapter focuses on some of the ways that the act of adaptation or appropriation, if indeed those are the appropriate terms here, affect the final production, and how they are received by and respond to the social and cultural contexts in which they are created. What are the ethical implications of appropriating Shakespeare in such circumstances?

The debate over the semantics of the word 'adaptation', theatrical or otherwise, will most likely never cease. Fortier and Daniel Fischlin, for example, categorise any modern or historical production of Shakespeare as adaptation, be it 'theatrical, critical or editorial' as they all contribute towards the 'ongoing process of making Shakespeare "fit"'.[5] Margaret Kidnie argues, however, that this definition risks 'emptying the term of meaning, making it simply synonymous with production'.[6] Linda Hutcheon is more precise with her categorising:

- An acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works
- A creative *and* an interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging
- An extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work

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[4] Joubin and Rivlin, *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, p. 17.

[5] Quoted in Margaret Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), p. 5.

[6] Ibid.

> Therefore, an adaptation is a derivation that is not derivative – a work that is second without being secondary. It is its own palimpsestic thing.[7]

The palimpsestic quality of Shakespeare in minority languages is evident in the multiple 'feats of translation' that the plays have gone through: they have travelled 'across an ocean, across four hundred and twenty-five years to be embodied' by modern actors who are still negotiating the aftermath of colonisation.[8] These derivations knowingly and creatively appropriate Shakespeare's work into intercultural moments of performance. Alexa Alice Joubin and Elizabeth Rivlin opt for the label 'appropriation' in their discussion of Shakespearean adaptation, arguing that the term affords greater agency to both the appropriator and the appropriated as 'it can convey political, cultural and in [their] contention, ethical advocacy'.[9] Despite the term's potential 'aggressive' connotations of 'seizure and forced possession', Joubin and Rivlin turn to Diana Henderson to support their definition: 'we could also say that Shakespeare "collaborates" with and intervenes in appropriations: perhaps Shakespeare need not be a passive victim in the transaction'.[10]

The emphasis on cultural as well as linguistic translation that is apparent throughout the productions discussed across this thesis leads me towards the term 'tradaptation' as it conveys 'the sense of annexing old texts to new cultural contexts'.[11] This thesis contributes towards a more precise interpretation through its of the productions that follow. The theatre-

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[7] 'Beginning to Theorize Adaptation: What? Who? Why? How? Where? When?', *A Theory of Adaptation* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 1-32, p. 8-9.

[8] Lydia Garcia, post-show talk, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by William Shakespeare (dir. by Ty Defoe), 11th July 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1218956398442358> [accessed 12th July 2020].

[9] *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, p. 2.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Robert Lepage quoted in Jatinder Verma, 'The Challenge of Binglish: Analysing Multi-Cultural Performance', *Analysing Performance: A Critical Reader*, ed. by Patrick Campbell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 193-202, p. 201.

makers and translators who engage with Shakespeare in minority languages and cultures across this thesis all prioritise cultural transformations of the plays, treating language and translation as fluid constructions, and engaging with the texts' intertextuality as they acknowledge the past and present through theatrical production. As Knutson illustrates: tradaptation '*does* permit cultural exchange, but it shapes it, with intentionality and transparence, so that those elements entering into the exchange are visibly and audibly the ones the artists have wished to bring onto the "stage"'.[12]

Joubin, Rivlin and Cetera-Włodarczyk note the importance of collaboration in this process of creating intercultural Shakespeare which draws attention to another key term: syncretic theatre. Balme notes that syncretic theatre addresses 'the triad of imperialism, colonization, and decolonization' through the collaborative 'combination and amalgamation of indigenous performance forms within the framework of the Western notion of theatre'.[13] This term can be applied to any post-colonial intercultural production that emerges in response to a minority culture as they are in direct conversation with a country's past experiences of colonisation. As Balme further identifies: 'theatrical syncretism is in most cases a conscious, programmatic strategy to fashion a new form of theatre in the light of colonial or post-colonial experience'.[14] The role that language plays in syncretic theatre also resonates with the productions examined throughout this thesis: 'It is very often written and performed in a europhone language, but almost always manifests varying degrees of bi- or multilingualism'.[15] Multilingual theatre is an important part of minority cultural expression,

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[12] Original italics. '"Tradaptation" *Dans le Sens Québécois*', p. 113.

[13] *Decolonizing the Stage*, p. 1.

[14] Ibid., p. 2.

[15] Ibid.

as revealed in the next section of this chapter.

Theatrical syncretism presents both minority and dominant cultures as equal. It is therefore crucial to minority theatre. As Balme concludes: 'Syncretic theatre is one of the most effective means of decolonizing the stage, because it utilizes the performance forms of both European and indigenous cultures in a creative recombination of their respective elements, without slavish adherence to one tradition or the other'.[16] Arguably, any production of intercultural Shakespeare is syncretic as the playwright, often held up as the pinnacle of Western dramatic art form, is fused with performance idioms of indigenous or minority traditions to create a coherent whole.

Whilst Balme uses the term in relation to post-colonial societies in Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand and North America, I argue that it can also be applied to minority cultures within Europe where a different form of colonisation has taken place. Instead of the binary of 'European' and 'indigenous', it is possible to substitute 'Spanish' and the regional languages of the Iberian Peninsula, or 'English' and the many languages of the British Isles, for example. These areas have inherited 'a history of constant and often violent penetration of [their] borders'.[17] The result, as Terence Hawkes suggests, is 'a duality of experience and commitment which to this day makes [them] virtually ungraspable as a single, unified entity'.[18] This duality speaks directly to Balme's theorising and to the reality of the minority cultures engaged within this thesis.

Throughout this tradaptational process is a search for a kind of authenticity. This can

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Terence Hawkes, 'Bryn Glas', *Post-colonial Shakespeares*, ed. by Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 117-40, p. 119.

[18] Ibid.

be identified either as an authentic Shakespearean experience or an authentic depiction of the minority culture, or both. The exploration takes many forms. For example, in 2005 Toas Pueblo playwright James Lujan adapted *Romeo and Juliet* as an English-language 'New World retelling' of the play entitled *Kino and Teresa*.[19] In an attempt to remain 'faithful' to Shakespeare's original 'without sacrificing authenticity', Lujan used 'actual historical figures to stand in for Shakespearean characters with reasonable accuracy', tradapting the play to late seventeenth-century Santa Fe (New Mexico today): the Montagues were Native American and the Capulets were Spanish colonists.[20] Yong Li Lan argues that:

> What survives of Shakespeare without his language is how he came to represent our need to recover, at the same time as we reject, the original. And it is the loss of, and need for, an authentic cultural identity that, finding a stage in Shakespeare's universality, constitute the signature of his intercultural performance.[21]

Preoccupations surrounding fidelity are nearly always raised when working with a translation. To what or to whom should translators be faithful: the Shakespearean text or the living status of the language? Emily Apter argues that 'the ethical imperatives of translation' have moved away from placing fidelity at the centre of practice and towards a text's performability.[22]

This in turn causes another shift: 'Whereas discourses of fidelity are often predicated on a "rhetoric of possession", in newer discourses, Shakespeare's ownership is displaced by

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[19] 'The Challenge of Adapting Shakespeare to American Indian Cultures and History', paper given as part of the Indigenous Shakespeare and Cultural Translations seminar, SAA Conference 2018, 30th March 2018.

[20] Daryl H. Miller, 'Two culture-cross'd lovers', *LA Times*, 10th March 2005, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2005-mar-10-wk-kino10-story.html> [accessed 30th June 2020].

[21] 'Shakespeare and the Fiction of the Intercultural', *A Companion to Shakespeare and Performance*, ed. by Barbara Hodgdon and W.B. Worthen (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 527-49, p. 548.

[22] 'Translation with No Original: Scandals of Textual Reproduction', *Nation, Language and the Ethics of Translation*, ed. by Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 159-74, pp. 166-7.

performances that intermingle self-possession and possession by others'.[23] The act of displacing Shakespeare's language and the reshaping of more culturally visible texts onto potentially lesser known cultural histories allows for a greater degree of ownership to be claimed by the translator and the theatrical production, shifting the emphasis of possession. Indeed, Craig Dionne and Parmita Kapadia offer the term 'repossessed' to describe such adaptations, as theatre-makers 'reassert the value of their own pre-existing traditions and practices' through a process of active seizure and resistance to colonial authority.[24]

These adaptations carry with them an inherent self-awareness 'about their enmeshment in intertextual relationships and their interdependence with other texts'.[25] In line with Apter's theory, the productions studied here foreground performability over linguistic fidelity, creatively using language as another cultural asset. Inga-Stina Ewbank concludes that 'before a translator even begins to consciously appropriate Shakespeare, the language [they are] translating into has done a great deal of appropriating for [them]'.[26] Therefore, 'as Shakespeare texts are mediated through the particular poetics and politics of a culture, translations move on a sliding scale towards adaptations'.[27] Ewbank places translation within the same theoretical framework as adaptation, further assimilating the two practices. Tradaptation takes on a more literal meaning here, strengthening its application within a minority language context as multiple layers of translation often take place throughout minority Shakespeare productions.

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[23] Joubin and Rivlin, *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, p. 8.

[24] *Native Shakespeares: Indigenous Appropriations on a Global Stage*, ed. by Craig Dionne and Parmita Kapadia (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 3.

[25] Joubin and Rivlin, *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, p. 5.

[26] 'Shakespeare Translation as Cultural Exchange', *Shakespeare Survey*, Vol. 48 (1995), pp. 1-12, p. 7.

[27] Ibid.

Considering Shakespeare in translation or tradaptation, leads me to another substantial consideration: Shakespeare's 'universality'. Joubin and Aneta Mancewicz argue that the 'phenomenon of global Shakespeare is fuelled by the myth of the canon's utilitarian value'.[28] As such, 'the perceived moral authority of the Shakespearean canon has led to an impression that the works are both period specific and beyond history ("timeless")'.[29] They can 'empower the individuals as well as threaten the status quo'.[30] After centuries of critical attention and a global anglophone dominance, the cultural capital automatically attached to Shakespeare is monumental. It can be use to authenticate, legitimise and empower individuals or social change, or intimidate and prevent them.

However, rather than arguing for Shakespeare's 'universality', I believe, following Kennedy's example, that 'flexibility' is a more accurate term: 'His plays are open documents that can be made to fit many styles and many meanings'.[31] The plays do not and cannot seamlessly translate into endless cultures and times, nor can they have the exact same meanings for different audiences as 'how spectators and readers have responded to Shakespeare over time has been almost always determined by the locations and cultures they find themselves in'.[32] Alternatively, they can be tradapted into many different cultures to resonate with new audiences by presenting a reflection of their unique cultural identities.

When discussing Shakespeare's flexibility or the authenticity of a production, an

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[28] *Local and Global Myths in Shakespearean Performance*, ed. by Alexa Alice Joubin and Aneta Mancewicz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 2.

[29] Ibid., p. 3.

[30] Ibid.

[31] 'Flexible Shakespeare', Globe to Globe festival supplement programme (London: Shakespeare's Globe, 2012), pp. 2-4, p. 3. Two programmes were produced for the festival: an A5 sized one stating the programme of events and an A4 sized one featuring essays on global Shakespeare. This essay features in the latter, which I have called the supplement programme in order to distinguish the two. See also: Dennis Kennedy, 'Afterword: Shakespearean orientalism', *Foreign Shakespeare: Contemporary Performance*, ed. by Dennis Kennedy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 290-303.

[32] Kennedy, 'Flexible Shakespeare', pp. 2-3.

important question arises. What actually makes Shakespeare 'Shakespearean'? Is it the words, the characters, the themes, all of them, or none? Terry Eagleton argues that 'Shakespeare is even more ridiculously Shakespearean than Pinter is Pinteresque, which is to say that his distinctive "authenticity" lies in shameless self-plagiarism'.[33] As Kennedy continues: 'So many attributes are ascribed to him that when we call on Shakespeare to do us service we speak of a phenomenon rather than a man and his works, and almost necessarily allude to an icon, even an idol'.[34] When adapting Shakespeare into a minority language and culture, what is it that is being adapted? Both the plays and the playwright, as cultural texts and a signifier of something greater, are adapted and reworked to 'fit', as Fischlin and Fortier would say, each new context and performance.

Faithfulness to Shakespeare seems an innately personal and changeable concept, as 'users continue to define their particular ideological, institutional, or political investment in the work'.[35] Even an 'essence' of Shakespeare is hard to distil, as since '"Shakespeare" was from the beginning a mutable and mutating signifier, it is difficult to know to whom or what we ought to be faithful'.[36] However, Lanier poses a fresh and exciting challenge to the fidelity argument by situating '"his" cultural authority not in the Shakespearean text at all but in the accrued power of Shakespearean adaptation'.[37]

By removing the centrality of the text as the origin in our understanding of adaptation, and treating the production process as a nonlinear, reciprocal network, the received norm of

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[33] 'Afterword', *The Shakespeare Myth*, ed. by Graham Holderness (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 203-8, p. 205.

[34] 'Flexible Shakespeare', p. 2.

[35] Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation*, p. 9.

[36] Joubin and Rivlin, *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, p. 8.

[37] 'Shakespeare Rhizomatics: Adaptation, Ethics, Value', p. 29.

what is ‘proper’ Shakespeare is subverted. Productions become part of a never-ending, ‘rhizomatic’ process rather than a definitive product:

> To think rhizomatically about the Shakespearean text is to foreground its fundamentally adaptational nature – as a version of prior narratives, as a script necessarily imbricated in performance processes, as a text ever in transit between manuscript, theatrical and print culture, as a work dependent upon its latter-day producers for its continued life.[38]

In an increasingly globally connected world, considering Shakespearean adaptation rhizomatically or palimpsestically is a productive activity. By decentring the primacy of text, tradaptations are permitted to be freer, more playful and more inventive. Fischlin points to the importance of thinking rhizomatically about global Shakespearean adaptation, recognising ‘that epistemic rhizomes involving cross-cultural contact are far more active and important than monolithic systems acknowledge’.[39] Minority Shakespeare tradaptations highlight cultural difference rather than masking it, as hegemonic, often Eurocentric, discourses of ‘universal’ Shakespeare tend towards. By situating these syncretic tradaptations within a rhizomatic framework, scholars can consider them within wider historical narratives of equality, representation of multiple identities, and colonisation and decolonisation.

As we examine the role that language plays in minority Shakespeare, and as we discover what Shakespeare looks and sounds like in Welsh, Euskara and te reo Māori, these three key terms are paramount: tradaptation, syncretic theatre and rhizomatics. These inter-connected concepts offer important modes of analysis that through which I reveal the similarities between the minority cultures explored throughout this thesis.

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[38] Ibid.

[39] ‘“Flipping the Turtle on Its Back”: Shakespeare, decolonization, and First Peoples in Canada’, *The Routledge Handbook of Shakespeare and Global Appropriation*, ed. by Christy Desmet, Sujata Iyengar and Miriam Jacobson (London: Routledge, 2020). Google ebook. Due to Covid-19 restrictions, I have had to rely on a number of Google ebooks which do not state page numbers; these are noted in the footnotes.

Minority and Dominant Languages

Yet almost from the start of his importance as the idealized English dramatist there have been other Shakespeares, Shakespeares not dependent upon English and often at odds with it.[40]

This part of the chapter addresses how theatre-makers working in minority languages use language as a key element in the tradaptation process. Translators react to texts in many different ways, depending on the context in which they are writing: 'Translation is never a purely philological activity but a collusive re-creation in which cultural differences cling to grammar and syntax and history mediates the effect even of single words'.[41] I demonstrate a few of these varied and rich responses, focusing on three main areas: the act of translating Shakespeare into contemporary language to increase a production's accessibility and relevancy to a modern audience; translating Shakespeare into a pre-colonial version of the minority language to establish a dramatic canon; translating Shakespeare culturally and visually rather than linguistically if there are language barriers. This last theme reconfigures the power dynamics over who owns Shakespeare, making the Other the home domain for Shakespeare.

Any act undertaken in a minority language is immediately politicised by the nature of the act itself as it directly addresses the linguistic, social and cultural hierarchies inherent to colonised nations; often, speaking the indigenous language was a punishable offence during a country's colonisation. This violence against minority languages can be seen throughout all of the case studies presented in this thesis. Anita Maynard-Losh, the director of the bilingual Tlingit-English *Macbeth* discussed in the next section in relation to national identity, has

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[40] Kennedy, 'Shakespeare without his language', p. 2.

[41] Ewbank, 'Shakespeare Translation as Cultural Exchange', p. 6.

written of Native children punished for speaking Tlingit in school, 'a policy that was instrumental in threatening its survival'.[42] As Kenyan playwright Ngugi wa Thiong'o has argued: 'Language […] carries the values of a people, so that if a language is suppressed, it is the most potent symbol of wider oppression'.[43] By choosing to communicate and work in a minority language, theatre practitioners therefore actively elect to work against the grain of whichever (dominant) community they belong to, as the social order is reversed. The dominant language becomes minorised and the minorised becomes dominant. This can lead to innovative and provocative theatre as once this political act has been committed, theatre-makers, in many respects, have more agency over the texts they produce: 'Far from being a marginal activity, translation is, and always has been, fundamental to literary and cultural renewal and change'.[44]

Even if one considers *Macbeth* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, plays that have long performance histories in English and other dominant languages, often they remain unperformed in minority languages. This can be for a number of reasons: most likely the translations simply do not exist, or they are not in a form that is stageable as they perhaps utilise a composite form of language that blends together several regional dialects. If the translations do exist, then theatre companies need to invest time and, crucially, money into mounting these productions. That in turn implies a need for individual practitioners to be able to communicate effectively in these languages and, most importantly, an audience who will also engage. Roger Owen has stated of Welsh audiences, their 'support of Welsh-language

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[42] 'The Tlingit Play: *Macbeth* and Native Americanism', *Weyward Macbeth: Intersections of Race and Performance*, ed. by Scott L. Newstok and Ayanna Thompson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 127-32, p. 129. This was echoed by Mohegan theatre director Madeline Sayet in our interview, conducted via email, 9th August 2020.

[43] Quoted in Susan Bassnett, *Translation* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 41.

[44] Bassnett, *Translation*, p. 178.

culture was not predicated on consumer choice, but on a political commitment' and financial investment.[45] Staging a classical text in a minority language is a careful balancing act that is full of uncertainty.

When it is the first time that a play is being staged in a particular language, it can feel like a brand new play. The Artistic Director of Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru (the Welsh-language National Theatre of Wales), Arwel Gruffydd has stated that he feels 'sorry' for monoglot English speakers as they do not have the same access to Shakespeare's plays as those working in other languages.[46] A play in translation can resonate with the contemporary, living language, potentially feeling much more 'alive' than the Shakespearean text in English. As Pascale Aebischer has stated of the German Shakespeare productions she engaged with during the social lockdown instigated by the global outbreak of Covid-19:

> The German is so much more alive than the English translation [of the subtitles] and, dare I say it, than the Shakespeare text because the act of translation has created a text that is absolutely up to date in its colloquialisms and in its directness, that is then actually motivating these productions to be way more, in a way, true with the present moment.[47]

When a language is in danger of extinction, as many minority languages are, it is important that audiences and readers are able to connect with a translation, that a production feels relevant to them and that they see and hear themselves reflected back. As such, there exists an unspoken agreement that non-English productions of Shakespeare have a higher degree of flexibility when it comes to the text: 'in translation […] the plays [have] a habit of wriggling free. There [seems] to be something being liberated from Shakespeare's own language that

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[45] 'Staging the Brand: Roger Owen reflects on Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru', *Planet Magazine*, December 2006, <http://www.theatre-wales.co.uk/critical/critical_detail.asp?criticalID=223> [accessed 26th April 2019].

[46] Interview conducted, 14th February 2017, Caerphilly.

[47] Video transcript, 'Shakespeare Book Launch', hosted by Society for Renaissance Studies on Crowdcast due to Covid-19 restrictions, 28th April 2020, <https://www.crowdcast.io/e/3kqhxpmz> [accessed 28th April 2020].

[allows] theatre-makers to approach his work with quizzical freshness'.[48] This directly feeds into the myth of Shakespeare as the 'timeless' writer as his plays are adapted to endless different contexts. As Deborah Shaw, Director of the World Shakespeare Festival (WSF), stated:

> in Britain, there's a sense of responsibility that weighs us down. […] We are the guardians of Shakespeare but this should not be at the expense of contemporary writers being in dialogue with the plays. Sometimes I feel there's a millstone around our necks but if you are from Baghdad, you have to do Shakespeare in translation, so you are not as precious. You are going to muck about with it to a certain extent.[49]

Québécois translator Michel Garneau's tradaptations provide useful illustrations to several ways in which language is manipulated by translators as 'an instrument of cultural exchange'.[50] Garneau employed a strategy, as termed by translation theorist Lawrence Venuti, of 'acculturation' or 'domestication': this brings the text into terms familiar to the reader but 'erases signs of the foreign origins of the text'.[51]

This technique is comparable to Anthropophagist (or 'cannabalist') ideology that emerged from South America over the course of the twentieth century, described by Edwin Gentzler as follows: 'This replacement of European cultural icons with native symbols and fields of reference is characteristic of the cannibalist style, a devouring of Shakespeare and revitalization of [the plays] absorbed and transformed through the Brazilian experience'.[52] The act of absorption and transformation can be readily applied to the syncretic productions

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[48] Dickson, 'Prologue', p. xxii.

[49] Quoted in Arifa Akbar, 'All the world's a stage: Introducing the biggest Shakespeare festival ever', *The Independent*, 13th April 2012, <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre-dance/features/all-the-worlds-a-stage-introducing-the-biggest-shakespeare-festival-ever-7640233.html> [accessed 26th June 2020].

[50] Bassnett, *Translation*, p. 48.

[51] Ibid., pp. 47-8; p. 179.

[52] *Translation and Identity in the Americas: New Directions in Translation Theory* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 82.

examined here. Garneau treats Shakespeare thusly in a variety of ways, devouring Shakespeare to revitalise his plays with a Québécois experience.

The drive for contemporaneity can be witnessed in Garneau's translation of *The Tempest* (1973).[53] Working across Québécois dialectal variances, Garneau translated the play into a colloquial language which added 'immediacy of effect [and] local colour', 'constructing for Québécois audiences a readily audible politics of authority' through his use of non-standard French for 'disempowered' characters.[54] It is especially important for translators working in minority languages to create accessible work to ensure public engagement and promotion of the language as a living language: 'A sign of the vitality of a language is the way it is able to put its own stamp on material that is in another language'.[55] Simultaneously revealed is how political different forms of language use can be, meaning that the translations that work with these forms are necessarily going to be political too.

Moreover, Shakespeare's cultural capital can be used to raise the cultural status of the (minority) language through the creation or bolstering of a national literary and dramatic canon. Indeed, as early as the eighteenth century in Germany August Schlegel claimed Shakespeare was 'ganz unser' ('entirely ours'): this 'was an outright appropriation, dependent

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[53] Garneau retranslated the play in 1982 and it was published in 1989; it was staged by Lepage in 1992 and 2011. Margaret Jane Kidnie and Jane Freeman, 'Robert Lepage', *Brook, Hall, Ninagawa, Lepage: Great Shakespeareans Vol XVIII*, ed. by Peter Holland (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 113-47, p. 129.

[54] Denis Salter, 'Borderlines: An Interview with Robert Lepage and Le Théâtre Repère', *Theater*, Vol. 24 no. 3 (1993) pp. 71-9, p. 71; Kidnie and Freeman, 'Lepage', p. 130. See also Denis Salter, 'Between Wor(l)ds: Lepage's *Shakespeare Cycle*', *Theater*, Vol. 24 no. 3 (1993), pp. 61-70.

[55] *Tir*, June 1930, p. 12, quoted in Philip O'Leary, *Gaelic Prose in the Irish Free State: 1922-1939* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), p. 378.

upon the absence of an existing tradition'.[56] As Sìm Innes notes: 'The translation of classics such as Shakespeare and the synthetic enrichment of a literary register are often remarked upon in conjunction with the formation of the "national culture" of an emergent or newly formed nation state'.[57] Shakespeare is often perceived as a litmus test for minority languages: there is a persistent perception that if they can successfully encounter Shakespeare then they can be deemed worthy of cultural and financial investment. As André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett note, the translation of classical texts 'becomes one of the means by which a new nation "proves" itself, shows that its language is capable of rendering what is rendered in more prestigious languages'.[58] This was the case when Galician translators first turned to Shakespeare: 'Due to the minority cultural status of this language, the existence of versions of Shakespeare's work in Galician would serve to lend it social respectability and prestige'.[59] Jesús Tronch-Pérez identifies similar attitudes amongst early twentieth-century Catalan translators as 'Shakespeare was, together with Ibsen and Wagner, the most important foreign author to be translated into Catalan' at this time.[60]

To capitalise on a transference of Shakespeare's cultural capital, translators will often

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[56] Kennedy, *Foreign Shakespeare*, p. 3. Schlegel's declaration can be viewed as the climax to over a century of German Shakespearean translation, admiration and acculturation: from the late sixteenth century, touring playing companies were performing Shakespearean adaptations sometimes 'only tenuously linked to the original'. Roger Paulin, 'Shakespeare and Germany', *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century: Part V – Shakespeare in the wider world*, ed. by Fiona Ritchie and Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 314-30, p. 314. See also Benedict Schofield, 'Shakespeare Beyond the Trenches: The German Myth of *unser Shakespeare* in Transnational Perspective', *Local and Global Myths in Shakespearean Performance*, ed. by Alexa Alice Joubin and Aneta Mancewicz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 93-119.

[57] 'Shakespeare's Scottish play in Scottish Gaelic', *Scottish Language*, Vol. 33 (2014), pp. 26-50, p. 32.

[58] 'Proust's Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights: The "Cultural Turn" in Translation Studies', *Translation, History and Culture*, ed. by André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett (London: Pinter Publishers, 1990), pp. 1-13, p. 8.

[59] María Jesús Lorenzo-Modia, 'The Reception of Galician Performances and (Re)translations of Shakespeare', *Multicultural Shakespeare: Translation, Appropriation and Performance*, Vol 16 no. 31 (2017), pp. 75-88, p. 76.

[60] 'Non-catalyst and marginal Shakespeares in the nineteenth-century revival of Catalan-speaking cultures', *Shakespeare Survey*, Vol. 64 (2011), pp. 188-98. Tronch-Pérez goes onto argue that before the turn of the twentieth-century, Shakespeare was popularised, not through 'high' drama but burlesque and parody. Nevertheless, Shakespeare formed a small part of Catalan's '*Renaixença*'.

translate into a classical form of the minority language, simultaneously rewriting the play and their cultural history, and further politicising the production as 'the very idea of "writing back" implies a conscious challenge to a dominant power'.[61] To reclaim their language from a dominant cultural force, an older form of the language that predates colonisation is imagined or reconstructed; this technique is particularly prevalent in the New Zealand Shakespeares examined in my last chapter. Garneau's work is, once again, useful to support my argument. Language was 'central to the question of national identity' throughout the 1970s in Québec.[62] His tradaptation of *Macbeth* (1978) reinvented Shakespeare as a 'Québécois nationalist poet' through his treatment of language.[63] Garneau created a '*dialectalized* French' by building 'into his poetic language not only Québécois neologisms and slang, but archaisms that by the last quarter of the twentieth century were only current in the Gaspé region'.[64] He thus established a prelapsarian '*Edenic language* […] the language of pre-Conquest Quebec'.[65] The 'quasi-historicity' offered in Garneau's text was celebrated as an important act of taking cultural ownership over Québécois language and culture, and over Shakespeare.[66] As Bassnett argues: 'Implicit […] is the idea of colony *as* translation', as explored explicitly in Chapter Four.[67] The colony, particularly a settler colony, can be viewed as a translation of the

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[61] Bassnett, *Translation*, p. 50.

[62] Leanore Lieblein, '"Cette Belle Langue": The "Tradaptation" of Shakespeare in Quebec', *Shakespeare and the Language of Translation*, ed. by Ton Hoenselaars (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2012), pp. 255-69, p. 256.

[63] Tradaptation is Garneau's own preferred term for his work. Annie Brisset, *A Sociocritique of Translation: Theatre and Alterity in Quebec, 1968–1988*, trans. Rosalind Gill and Roger Gannon (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 109.

[64] Original italics. Antoine Berman, 'Foreword', *A Sociocritique of Translation: Theatre and Alterity in Quebec, 1968–1988*, Annie Brisset, trans. Rosalind Gill and Roger Gannon (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), pp. xiii-xx, p. xvii; Kidnie and Freeman, 'Lepage', p. 131.

[65] Original italics. Brisset, *Sociocritique*, p. 141; Robert Ormsby, 'Québécois Shakespeare Goes Global: Robert Lepage's *Coriolan*', *Shakespeare Survey*, Vol. 64 (2011), pp. 317-27, p. 319.

[66] Richard Eyre, quoted in Kidnie and Freeman, 'Lepage', p. 142.

[67] Original italics. *Translation*, p. 50.

coloniser's imposed culture onto a new context. Furthermore, Garneau delocalised *Macbeth* through adapting place names and character titles, thus making 'it possible for Québécois readers and audiences to project onto *Macbeth* their own history and destiny'.[68]

However, these hybrid forms of language do not always age well, as they are often 'a product of their linguistic and cultural moment of production'.[69] As seen in Chapter Three, early Euskara translators blended different dialects with the aim of creating a higher register language; unfortunately, their texts are 'virtually unplayable' due to their dense complexity.[70] Garneau did the same with *Macbeth*, but with the aim of bringing the Shakespearean text into direct dialogue with contemporaneous Québécois society and politics. As with many of the texts dealt with across this thesis, Garneau's work came at a time of immense social unrest in Québec: The Charter of the French Language was passed in 1977, establishing French as the official language of the region. Three years later, the first referendum was held, proposing Québec secede from Canada.[71] As the nation moves further away from this moment of 'double colonization', Garneau's responses become more like 'historical curiosities' rather than viable performance texts.[72]

An important part of building a national identity is taking cultural ownership, as seen with all of the productions discussed here. By making texts explicitly localised, the Shakespeare story resonates within a specific time and place, for a particular audience. Another example, contemporary to Garneau, is Manuel Laurenzo's 1976 Galician *Macbeth* which drew on 'traditional Galician folklore [,] rhythms and costumes […] as well as

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[68] Kidnie and Freeman, 'Lepage', p. 131; Ormsby, 'Québécois Shakespeare', p. 319.

[69] Kidnie and Freeman, 'Lepage', p. 129.

[70] Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre*, p. 132.

[71] Kidnie and Freeman, 'Lepage', p. 129.

[72] Lieblein, 'Cette Belle Langue', pp. 255-6.

innovative modern traits'.[73] Thus, this 'Shakespearean performance testified to a mise en scène that would give added value to Galician traditional culture by being in touch with high literature'.[74] Laurenzo was able to elevate and stake a greater claim over Galician cultural identifiers through eliding them with the high cultural value of a Shakespeare play.

Occasionally, performing in a minority language simply is not a viable option. This might be due to a general lack of actors and audiences who are able to communicate effectively enough in the minority language. In these cases, theatre practitioners either have to rely on the English text or a translation into a dominant language. Nevertheless, language remains 'very important' to how Shakespeare is considered.[75] Steps are taken to rewrite a particular version of a play for a specific audience and context, translating it culturally rather than linguistically. This act is particularly prevalent amongst twenty-first century adaptations. Directors such as Madeline Sayet, who is Mohegan, seek to transpose the plays into their own cultures through visual and aural cues. Shakespeare appeals because, according to Sayet, he is a 'master of minimalism [who gets] to the essential connective tissue of an issue'.[76] Her English-language productions of *The Winter's Tale* (2014) and *Macbeth* (2015), both produced by American Indian Artists, Inc., used key elements of set, costume and sound design to tradapt the plays to a Native American context, whilst creating greater artistic opportunities for actors and promoting 'indigenous perspectives in the arts'.[77] Sayet adapts

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[73] Lorenzo-Modia, 'The Reception of Galician Performances and (Re)translations of Shakespeare', p. 79.

[74] Ibid., pp. 79-80.

[75] Sayet, interview conducted via email, 9th August 2020.

[76] Quoted in Rebecca Sutton, 'Art Talk with Director Madeline Sayet', *National Endowment for the Arts*, 22nd November 2016, <https://www.arts.gov/art-works/2016/art-talk-director-madeline-sayet> [accessed 5th May 2020].

[77] Alison Kinney, 'How Madeline Sayet is Transforming the Way We Think About Shakespeare', *Mental Floss*, 29th April 2016, <https://www.mentalfloss.com/article/79333/how-madeline-sayet-transforming-way-we-think-about-shakespeare> [accessed 5th May 2020]. Sayet also directed a bilingual Mohegan-English *Tempest* in 2012.

Shakespeare to re-tell his stories in a way that is relevant to her community, even if the language remains the cultural dominant English, whilst challenging the 'neutralisation' of the colonial systems that lie within the texts.[78] As Sayet stated in our interview: 'when we bring our indigenous languages into Shakespeare we are saying no, we will not be destroyed so easily. We will take this story we have been handed and find a way to indigenize it, to turn it through our lense [sic]'.[79]

Language can be a way of signalling which characters belong to different worlds, offering a gateway to exploring power dynamics between different social groups. Often in a multilingual production, the supernatural characters speak the minority language. The older beings communicate in the ancient, almost secret, languages of their lands; this is successfully demonstrated in Chapters Three and Four with the fairies from *Dream*. In Tobacco Factory's (Bristol) 2018 production of *Macbeth* (dir. Adele Thomas), the witches spoke briefly in Scottish Gaelic in their first scene, whilst the rest of the characters spoke English exclusively. As they only spoke Gaelic once throughout the whole play, however, the choice risked being tokenistic and under-developed. There was no meaning attached to it as it was never returned to, even when the witches were alone on stage.

The code-switching inherent to multilingual productions can reflect contemporary society and the double or plural linguistic consciousnesses present. However, as seen with Thomas' *Macbeth*, if the codes are not sufficiently established, this can lead to confusion and frustration. This also characterised the mixed critical responses to Tim Supple's multilingual production of *Dream* (2007). Whilst Stuart Hampton-Reeves praised the seeming illogical

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[78] Madeline Sayet, 'Why Shakespeare? Episode 6: Amrita Ramaran with Sharifa Johka, Madeline Sayet, Ayanna Thompson and Wayne T. Carr', *Oregon Shakespeare Festival*, 28th July 2020, <https://osfashland.uscreen.io/programs/whyshakespeare?cid=1095414> [accessed 29th July 2020].

[79] Interview conducted via email, 9th August 2020.

nature of language-switching between seven different languages of India, including English, 'mid-scene, sometimes mid-sentence' as 'a symphonic layering of different languages', Poonam Trivedi accused Supple of serving the 'fad' of multilingual theatre by arbitrarily mixing languages, resulting in 'superficial tokenism towards authenticating a kind of fractional and bitty "Indian-ness"'.[80] The diverse responses to this particular production reveal the conflicting questions surrounding cultural appropriation and the problem of cultural tourism. Furthermore, it introduces the question of the intended audience for these productions. British reviewers were quick to assert that the production demonstrated 'Shakespeare's universality', whilst Indian reviewers found it 'almost gimmicky'.[81] It also raises serious questions about cultural ownership and who has the right to use culture: was a white British man, who openly admitted that he was not the right person 'to come to India to dialogue with [its ideas]', the appropriate choice for director of a project such as this?[82] It brings us back to the question of motivation and the responsibility that theatre companies have towards representing culture in a sensitive manner. *Dream* also highlights the fine balancing act that is ever-present in intercultural productions between cultural celebration and cultural appropriation, and how they can be perceived differently according to the cultural background of the audience. I discuss the colonial tourist gaze explicitly in Chapter Four.

When considering the post-colonial legacy of a country, the act of rewriting history to exclude colonisation, as many of the productions in Chapter Four do, complicates the modern

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[80] 'Review of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (directed by Tim Supple) at the Swan, June 2006 and the Roundhouse, London, April 2007)', *Shakespeare*, Vol. 3 no. 2 (August 2007), pp. 200-2, p. 201; 'Shakespeare and the Indian Image(nary): Embod(y)ment in Versions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Re-playing Shakespeare in Asia*, ed. by Poonam Trivedi and Minami Ryuta (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 54-75, p. 58.

[81] Andrew Haydon, *Culture Wars*, 20th March 2007, quoted in Trivedi, 'Shakespeare and the Indian Image(nary)', p. 59; Jacob Cherian *Economic Times* 19th January 2008, quoted in Trivedi, 'Shakespeare and the Indian Image(nary)', p. 58.

[82] Tim Supple, interview with Trivedi, quoted in Trivedi, 'Shakespeare and the Indian Image(nary)', p. 60.

production: ‘Translation is not an innocent, transparent activity but is highly charged with significance at every stage’.[83] Ethically, this poses some problematic questions. As Loomba and Orkin ask, ‘in what voices do the colonized speak – in their own, or in accents borrowed from their masters’?[84] By reimagining the past to exclude the process of colonisation, theatre-makers risk erasing the prolonged trauma experienced by indigenous people, in favour of an idyll that never existed: conceiving of performers ‘as surrogates for long-deceased ancestors’ hazards ‘displacing the past entirely […] rather than seeking to negotiate our relationship to that past’.[85] In the attempt to celebrate indigenous culture in this way, these productions ask for a collective forgetting or misremembering of history whilst interrogating ‘the presentist agenda of memory, since communities often reassemble fragments of collective memory into configurations that address their contemporary needs and desires’.[86]

On the other hand, the fact that these theatre-makers are choosing to produce Shakespeare in minority languages suggests a move towards social healing and celebration through the appropriation of dominant cultural narratives for the specific context of liminal peoples. It also allows a greater stake in cultural ownership, particularly if Shakespeare played a part in their country’s colonisation. They are acknowledging the past and its colonial legacy by choosing to reshape Shakespeare in their own unique ways. Brazilian translation theorist Haroldo de Campos argues in favour of the freedom of the translator: ‘Any past which is an

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[83] Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 2.

[84] *Post-Colonial Shakespeares*, ed. by Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 7.

[85] Christina S. McMahon, ‘Recasting the Colonial Past: History, Imagination, and Fantasy on Festival Stages’, *Recasting Transnationalism Through Performance: Theatre Festivals in Cape Verde, Mozambique and Brazil* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 68-96. Google ebook.

[86] Ibid.

"other" for us deserves to be negated'.[87] By refusing 'to see translation in negative terms', translators such as de Campos reveal the 'plurality of ways in which translation in a postcolonial context can be perceived':

> it is neither a betrayal of a superior original, nor an instrument of hegemonic expression, for the emphasis is not on the inequalities between linguistic and cultural systems, rather it is on asserting a right to an alternative conceptualization of the world, a right to an independence from the past without a wholesale rejection of whatever might be utilizable from the past, but in a completely new framework.[88]

Translators and theatre-makers working in minority languages seek a linguistic liberation within their syncretic work; operating rhizomatically, they both recognise the past through their engagement with Shakespeare and seek reconciliation in the present.

Language also has the ability to Other characters. The fairies and spirits of Shakespeare's plays are often Othered visually through costuming choices, but to isolate them linguistically reinforces their otherworldliness. For characters such as Hippolyta, Othello and sometimes also Emilia, the choice to Other them through their language access is an overt reference to the post-colonial legacy of a country. I include Emilia here as she is poignantly Othered in a central production discussed in Chapter Four. As Joubin and Rivlin argue: 'What the translated text makes apparent […] is the inevitability of linguistic alterity, now inscribed in "a new neighbourhood of otherness"'.[89] In the productions mentioned above, a double Othering occurs: if the entire production is in a language few or none of the audience speaks, a clear divide is created; if a few characters are set apart from the rest by a difference in

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[87] Quoted in Else Ribeiro Pires Vieira, 'Liberating Calibans: Reading of *Antropofagia* and Haroldo de Campos' poetics of transcreation', *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 95-113, p. 103.

[88] Bassnett, *Translation*, p. 54.

[89] *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, p. 8.

language, an even further separation is instigated.

Who has access to language is a significant choice to make. Can all the characters speak the same language and be understood? Can it be assumed that the audience will understand everyone? Does that matter? Theatre companies often provide sub/surtitles, or more advanced technology such as individual headsets which offer translations of the dialogue. Such technology is used with great effect by Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru, as discussed in Chapter Two. Occasionally, the audience are left to play the role of translator, relying on fellow audience members and the actor's body language to follow the dialogue. The dynamically active performers lead the audience, using gesture as a key communicative tool. As discussed below, *Hecate*, produced by Perth Festival, left the audience to follow the 'almost pantomimic approach to gesture and dance' which communicated 'much which non-Noongar speakers might otherwise struggle to perceive'.[90]

Before examining issues of national and cultural identities, I must address one of the UK's own minority languages: British Sign Language (BSL). As Kate Rumbold has identified: 'Deaf and hearing audiences can share the same anxieties about the cultural capital required to engage with Shakespeare'.[91] Whilst scholars such as Abigail Rokison-Woodall and Tracy Irish have begun insightful work into creating accessible texts of Shakespeare's plays for younger D/deaf learners, and captioned and interpreted 'performances are now an established part of the arts scene in Great Britain', companies such as the Willow Globe and Deafinitely Theatre have produced a handful of stage productions in BSL 'using the medium

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[90] Jonathon W. Marshall, 'Hecate (Yirra Yaakin Theatre Company, Perth Festival)', *Limelight Magazine*, 11th February 2020, <https://www.limelightmagazine.com.au/reviews/hecate-yirra-yaakin-theatre-company-perth-festival/> [accessed 18th February 2020].

[91] '"No words!": *Love's Labour's Lost* in British Sign Language', *Shakespeare Beyond English: A Global Experiment*, ed. by Susan Bennett and Christie Carson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 227-36, p. 234.

of Shakespeare to bridge gaps of language and cultural difference'.[92]

In the early 1990s John Lee directed BSL film adaptations of *The Tempest*, *Dream* and *Twelfth Night*, and some of the Sonnets, on site at the Willow Globe.[93] These films, the 'first of their kind', were released to DVD in order to make them widely accessible.[94] Similarly, Deafinitely's *Love's Labour's Lost* (2012; dir. Paula Garfield) was advertised as 'the first full-length Shakespeare play to be performed in BSL', and provided a valuable opportunity for the actors involved to play parts that are otherwise inaccessible to them.[95] In reality, the language was 'a mixture of pure BSL and generic comic pantomime' as the cast 'found some inventive ways of adapting [the play's] more distinctively verbal elements into visual language'.[96] The company has since adapted *Dream* (2014; dir. Garfield), which they also staged at Shakespeare's Globe theatre. As Rumbold has pointed out: 'Tackling Shakespeare was a new challenge for the company, but tackling what "Shakespeare" represented was perhaps of even greater significance'.[97] For many within the D/deaf community, 'Shakespeare' can mean exclusion and domination: 'English is the language of oppression, of being forbidden to use

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[92] Peter Llewellyn-Jones, 'Interpreting Shakespeare's plays into British Sign Language', *Shakespeare and the Language of Translation*, ed. by Ton Hoenselaars (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2012), pp. 199-213, p. 213; Susan Best, 'About Us', *Shakespeare Link*, <https://www.shakespearelink.org.uk/about-shakespeare-link> [accessed 8th April 2020].

[93] Sue Best, 'Shakespeare in British Sign Language', *Shakespeare Link*, <https://www.shakespearelink.org.uk/shakespeare-in-bsl> [accessed 27th June 2020].

[94] Phil Bowen quoted in *12th Night Silent* (dir. Christopher Martin), *YouTube*, 27th November 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9JjKcEHUDCY> [accessed 27th June 2020].

[95] Globe to Globe Festival programme, quoted in Rumbold, 'No words!', p. 227; see also Lucy Howard, 'Love's Labour's Lost- review', *The Guardian*, 25th May 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/may/25/review-loves-labours-lost-globe> [accessed 27th June 2020]. The production was also made freely available on YouTube during the 2020 Covid lockdown, with surtitles that paraphrased the text.

[96] Stephen Purcell, 'Love's Labour's Lost', *A Year of Shakespeare: Re-living the World Shakespeare Festival*, ed. by Paul Edmondson, Paul Prescott, Erin Sullivan (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2013), pp. 112-5, p. 113.

[97] 'No words!', p. 228.

sign language'.[98] This resonates with many of the theatre-makers discussed across this thesis: 'Mastering Shakespeare seemed powerfully to represent both independence and inclusion' for Deafinitely and other minority languages.[99] Through translating Shakespeare's plays and performing them at Shakespeare's Globe in BSL, Deafinitely staked a cultural ownership over their own language and over Shakespeare, building a defiant sense of identity and independence. These same negotiations between Shakespeare, culture and identity occur repeatedly throughout the productions examined in this thesis.

The multitudinous ways that language is used by translators in minority languages is reflective of, and works in dialogue with, the many ways that a sense of national identity is constructed: 'translations wield great power both in the construction of national identities at home and in the construction of images of other cultures'.[100] Whether translators are invoking an imagined past, calling upon contemporary contexts to inform their work, or visually translating the world of the play to renegotiate who owns Shakespeare, their engagement with Shakespeare reveals an underlying social desire to culturally relocate his work into a new context, ensuring audience accessibility and resonating with contemporaneous society. They reflect the complex, and often conflicting, ways that language is manipulated.

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[98] Tomato Lichy, quoted in Lyn Gardner, 'Beckett in British Sign Language? Why deaf theatre is coming of age', *The Guardian*, 10th December 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2009/dec/10/deaf-theatre-deafinitely> [accessed 27th June 2020].

[99] Rumbold, 'No words!', p. 228.

[100] Bassnett, *Translation*, p. 47.

Constructing National Identities

> *The formation of a national culture is dependent upon, and often involves, a particular version of the past which it would then either reaffirm or deny. With these heterogenous associations, at the moment of its emergence, nationhood articulates a double movement. Not just a sense of beginning, but also a sense of return and beginning over again*.[101]

Building on the social impact of language, this section discusses how Shakespearean theatrical productions construct a specific form of national identity, using the figure of Shakespeare to unify and yet make distinct particular aspects of a nation's cultural heritage in order to create a coherent identity for their audiences. As Ewbank has argued of Europe: 'Discovering Shakespeare gave an impetus, both dramatic and political, towards the creation of a national and often a popular drama'.[102] This statement has global applications. Richard R. Verdugo and Andrew Milne define national identity as 'a sense of belonging to and being a member of a geopolitical entity'.[103] I consider how this sense of belonging might change if a performance is aimed at a local audience versus a global one, as seen with Supple's *Dream*, and whether certain cultural myths or stereotypes might be maintained or reshaped through a need to create recognisable signifiers in performance. Lastly, I explore how Shakespeare is used to build or reclaim a nation's identity. These social constructions are complex and pluralised as they respond to contemporaneous social and political pressures. In some ways, this makes them site-specific, as shall be explored in the next section. Shakespeare himself 'placed the nation […] centre stage in his dramatic works, imagining a national community

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[101] John J. Joughin, *Shakespeare and National Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 1.

[102] 'Shakespeare Translation as Cultural Exchange', p. 4.

[103] *National Identity: Theory and Research*, ed. by Richard R. Verdugo and Andrew Milne (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2016), p. 3. See also Katherine Tonkiss, *Migration and Identity in a Post-National World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

and a sense of national identity' for contemporary audiences.[104] Branded by Lanier as the 'Coca-Cola of canonical literature', 'Shakespeare' has become a universal herald of everything from 'excellence to Englishness' and beyond, as more nations use his work and reputation to establish an individual sense of cultural identity.[105]

The construction of a national identity is a complicated task; indeed it is 'such a slippery concept that some scholars have called for abandoning the concept entirely'.[106] In its constitution, a national identity must be representative and yet recognisable, diverse and yet uniform, heterogenous and yet singular: 'as a concept, national identity is an "ideal type"'.[107] As Verdugo and Milne identify:

> The complexities are the outcome of three significant issues. First, the definition itself is viewed from three angles [Essentialist/Primordialist, Constructivist/ Postmodernist and Civic Citizenship]. Second, there are competing forms of identity, such as social class, race/ethnicity, gender, and so on. Finally, there appears to be debate about differences between identity, nationalism, and patriotism.[108]

Levels of immigration and cultural exchange within a country undoubtedly affect national identity. In addition, when addressing an international audience, performances of national identity have the potential to flatten the nuances of a culture, mythologising stereotypes and encompassing very little of the society they seek to represent. In a colonial context, the construction of new identities was an opportunity for English colonisers to establish a 'better'

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[104] Christopher Ivic, 'Introduction: Imagining Community', *Shakespeare and National Identity: A Dictionary* (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2017), pp. 1-10, p. 1.

[105] 'Shakespeare™: myth and biographical fiction', *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Popular Culture*, ed. by Robert Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 93-113, p. 93; Kate Rumbold and Kate McLuskie, *Cultural value in twenty-first-century England: The case of Shakespeare* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 211.

[106] Verdugo and Milne, *National Identity*, p. 2. They cite R. Brubaker and F. Cooper, 'Beyond Identity', *Theory and Society*, Vol. 29 (2000), pp. 1-47, p. 5.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid. See Verdugo and Milne, *National Identity*, pp. 4-6 for an in-depth description of the three.

version of the society they left behind: Shakespeare was a natural cultural export, along with religion.[109]

As with all immeasurable social constructs, a national identity is a fragile, mutable and inconstant thing: 'Paradoxically, the symbology of a nation's idealised construction and its imagined community is often secured by its very intangibility'.[110] It may be composed and construed very differently, depending on the intended audience, building a unique sense of community each time:

> Shakespearean appropriations emerge from, speak to, and help to define particular communities. Paradoxically, many such appropriations achieve their power precisely by crossing between national, cultural, temporal, and other kinds of communities. In announcing its alliances with and departures from its idea of Shakespeare, the appropriation constructs its own community in relation to others.[111]

In a local and a global setting, there is often a need to highlight a minority culture's differences from those around it, to celebrate and educate.

In the case of a country colonised by the British, especially one that is still feeling the after-effects of colonisation, there often exists a desire to reappropriate Shakespeare to take ownership over their own history and present state. For example, as Fischlin identifies: 'There is a surprisingly large and growing archive of decolonizing work that retells traditional Shakespearean narratives through the multi-voiced storytelling perspectives of First Nations communities spread across Canada'.[112] Loomba states:

> Shakespeare's imperial travels are tales of colonial formations, of decolonisation,

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[109] James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 2001), p. 77.

[110] Joughin, *Shakespeare and National Culture*, p. 2.

[111] Joubin and Rivlin, *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, pp. 11-2.

[112] 'Flipping the Turtle on Its Back'.

> national cultures, post-colonialism and even the new world order. These are often sad tales, in which the 'delight' of 'savage peoples' in Shakespeare is bought at the expense of their own stories.[113]

Early performances of Shakespeare in countries such as India 'marked both the cultural success of imperialism and, by initiating the transformation of the colonial icon itself, its failure'.[114] By the 'contradictory moves [that] are of course familiar in diverse colonial histories' of simultaneously using Shakespeare to enact Anglo-Indian cultural differences through theatrical performance whilst applying his work as a method of teaching natives 'how inadequate their own culture was', Shakespeare was unwittingly already beginning his transformation into an intercultural playwright.[115] At once both aristocratic and popular, he 'embodies "national" culture'.[116]

In order to enact colonial negation and negotiation, there is a 'double movement' and a need to return to the beginning when building a national identity, to reclaim those stories and cultural spaces. In the case of New Zealand, Canada or Australia, the impulse is to reimagine the country by returning to a time before colonisation. This dichotomy of cultures interrogates the past and our relationship with it. An early Canadian example is David Gardner's 1961 'Inuit interpretation' of *King Lear*.[117] However, whilst it was mostly well-received, the lack of Native actors problematised the 'Eskimo' as the cultural Other, 'rather than taking up *Lear* as a tool for exploring Indigenous concerns'.[118] Many of the issues faced in early North

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[113] 'Shakespearian transformations', *Shakespeare and National Culture*, ed. by John J. Joughin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 109-41, pp. 109-10.

[114] Ibid., p. 114.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid., p. 113.

[117] David Gardner, 'The 1961-62 Eskimo Adaptation of King Lear', *Canadian Adaptations of Shakespeare Project* (July 2003), pp. 1-4, p. 1.

[118] Kate Flaherty, '"Dead as earth": contemporary topicality and myths of origin in King Lear and The Shadow King', *Shakespeare Survey*, Vol. 68: Shakespeare, Origins and Originality' (2015), pp. 221-33, p. 221, n. 4.

American and Canadian indigenous productions are encountered in the productions I examine, particularly within those in Chapter Four. Their inclusion here provides productive points of comparison.

When negotiating potentially uncharted territory of putting an indigenous culture onstage in a syncretic production of a Shakespeare play, a conversation takes place about cultural sensitivity. There is a need for respect towards the portrayal of the indigenous culture, often supported through extra members in the production team who are indigenous themselves and act as cultural advisors on language, history and performance choices. A production might also have to be vetted by local indigenous people to ensure a cultural 'celebration rather than exploitation' takes place.[119] As noted, there is often a liberal attitude towards Shakespeare's text as it is manipulated towards a new context. An example of the layers of cultural consultation and sensitivity that go into such productions was seen in Perseverance Theatre's (Juneau) 2007 bilingual *Macbeth* (dir. Maynard-Losh), staged as part of a tour at the National Museum of the American Indian (Washington DC; NMAI). The text was partly translated into Tlingit (a Southeastern Alaskan language) by Johnny Marks, but 'the most bloody-minded speeches [were] rendered in English'.[120] As Maynard-Losh identified, language was employed to 'represent the culture', along with visual and musical elements: 'the characters [spoke] Tlingit when obeying cultural rules, English when not'.[121] The production's use of linguistic power dynamics reflected the historical imposition of English upon Native Americans, and issued a direct challenge to the cultural hegemony

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[119] Maynard-Losh, 'The Tlingit Play', p. 128.

[120] Nelson Pressley, '"Macbeth," North by Northwest', *The Washington Post*, 12th March 2007, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/03/11/AR2007031101554.html> [accessed 29th June 2020].

[121] 'The Tlingit Play', p. 128-9.

present in the US.

As a non-Native, Maynard-Losh was overtly aware of cultural differences she was bringing together and therefore sought 'support of the elders of the community'; only after meeting with them to discuss how the production would use Tlingit culture was she given 'their blessing to proceed'.[122] Every part of cultural representation went through careful design processes. Traditional costumes by Nikki Morris used materials used by the Tlingit before European contact and 'motifs that conveyed meaning without violating cultural sensitivities'.[123] Furthermore, there 'are cultural restrictions on traditional music' so original scoring was created.[124]

This *Macbeth* became an important intercultural moment. It was the first 'full-scale' production of a Shakespeare play to engage with Tlingit cultural practices, acting as a powerful statement of cultural reclamation and ownership: 'it became a mission, an invocation of ancestors, an event that bridged art, culture, history and community'.[125] Furthermore, by performing in the US capital, *Macbeth* participated in the 'vibrant Native theatre movement' at the heart of the nation.[126] As Marilena Alivizatou has written: 'Tradition and its contemporary appropriations thus emerge as central dimensions for reclaiming and enacting Native identity at the NMAI', and for syncretic Native Shakespeare.[127]

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[122] Ibid., p. 128.

[123] Scott Manning Stevens, 'Centers of Power: Indigeneity, Shakespeare and Colonialism', paper presented as part of 'Indigenous Shakespeare and Cultural Translations' seminar at the SAA 2018 conference, 30th March 2018.

[124] Maynard-Losh, 'The Tlingit Play', p. 128.

[125] Ibid., p. 127; p. 130.

[126] Vincent Scott, 'National Museum of the American Indian Native Theater Program', *Baylor Journal of Theatre and Performance*, Vol. 4 (2007), pp. 135-42, p. 140.

[127] *Intangible Heritage and the Museum: New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2012), p. 130. See also Marilena Alivizatou, 'The Paradoxes of Intangible Heritage', *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*, ed. by Michelle L. Stefano, Peter Davis and Gerard Corsane (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 9-22.

A further part of constructing a minority cultural identity is allowing space for creative expression on national and international stages. Whilst there is a tradition for productions to reproduce elements of a culture's history through design, such as costuming which uses pre-colonisation materials, these syncretic productions also offer important opportunities for contemporary modes of expression, as shall be explored below with Ty Defoe's 2020 Native American *Dream*. The theatre and Shakespeare can be inclusive spaces for all kinds of cultural expression, from the historic to the contemporary. A necessary part of building a sense of national identity is a twinned sense of building community. As Sayet has stated: 'When we do Native theatre, it's as much about building community as anything else'.[128]

Reflecting the local community is part of the mission statement for Alaskan Fairbanks Shakespeare Theatre.[129] They hold an annual Bard-a-thon which runs for a week over winter and also includes a programme of school workshops. As Carey Seward, Artistic Director of Fairbanks, has stated: 'We try to be like a candle in the dark, welcoming the community in'.[130] Two of Fairbanks' productions have engaged directly with the multilingual nature of Alaskan society: *Lear Khekwaii* (2013) and *Dream* (2015).

Both were set in Alaska and received financial support from the Shakespeare and American Communities Grant gifted by the National Endowment for the Arts.[131] The productions toured extensively, offering public performances to engage new audiences, but

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[128] Robert Hubbard, '"To the heart, she led them there": Native Theatre, Inclusion, and Shakespeare on the Great Plains', *Howlround Theatre Commons*, 18th July 2019, <https://howlround.com/heart-she-led-them-there> [accessed 30th June 2020].

[129] 'About us', *Fairbanks Shakespeare Theatre*, <http://www.fairbanksshakespeare.org/about_us.aspx> [accessed 30th June 2020].

[130] Quoted in 'A winter's tale for Alaska's Shakespeare fans', *BBC*, 13th February 2019, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-47152108> [accessed 30th June 2020].

[131] Tom Robenolt in interview with Laurie Newfeld, 'Alaska Live: A Midsummer Night's Dream with the Fairbanks Shakespeare Theater', *Alaska Live*, <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/shakespeare-uncovered/partner-content/series-ii-shakespeare-fairbanks-ak/> [accessed 30th June 2020].

with a particular emphasis on schools, simultaneously 'celebrating the language of [their] elders and showing kids that it still can be part of [their] life'.[132] *Lear* (dir. Tom Robenolt) was 'set in late 1800s Alaska, a time of major contact between First Nations and settlers', and used Gwich'in translated by Allan Hayton (who also played Lear).[133] *Dream* (dir. Robenolt) drew on Alaskan rituals surrounding the summer solstice and incorporated three official languages of Alaska (Tlingit, Yup'ik and Gwich'in, also translated by Hayton).[134] The languages reflected the three worlds of the play; when Bottom was transformed (into a moose), he changed language.[135] The production team acknowledged the power of the arts to expose audiences to and 'absorb' native languages, whilst centring the importance of building an audience as a community throughout their work.[136] As Robenolt has stated: when adapting Shakespeare, 'we can make it very local, and make it very important as well, and very relevant to the people that live here'.[137] Furthermore, seeing actors speaking Native language makes it 'tangible', 'possible', and crucially, 'fun' for younger audiences.[138]

Like many minority languages, Gwich'in is 'severely endangered'.[139] A similar situation is occurring with Scottish Gaelic as the majority of the speakers that routinely use it

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[132] Allan Hayton in interview with Laurie Newfeld, 'Alaska Live: A Midsummer Night's Dream with the Fairbanks Shakespeare Theater', *Alaska Live*, <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/shakespeare-uncovered/partner-content/series-ii-shakespeare-fairbanks-ak/> [accessed 30th June 2020]. Hayton was also involved in Maynard-Losh's 2007 *Macbeth*. *Romeo and Juliet* his the next proposed intercultural production.

[133] 'Alaskan theatre group stages King Lear in Gwich'in', *CBC News*, 5th January 2014, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/alaskan-theatre-group-stages-king-lear-in-gwich-in-1.2481685> [accessed 30th June 2020].

[134] Robenolt, 'Alaska Live'; Hayton, 'Alaska Live'. There had been a small hope of integrating all twenty official languages to honour the legislation passed in 2014 that recognised Alaskan Native languages alongside English, but that was deemed too complex.

[135] Hayton, 'Alaska Live'.

[136] Ibid.

[137] 'Alaska Live'.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Kathy Sikorski, quoted in Suzannah Caldwell, 'Breaking down boundaries by presenting "King Lear" in Gwich'in', *Anchorage Daily News*, 3rd July 2016, <https://www.adn.com/arts/article/breaking-down-boundaries-presenting-king-lear-gwichin/2013/04/02/> [accessed 3rd July 2020].

are found in elderly, isolated island communities.[140] Whilst in both places there are ongoing efforts to make language part of the curriculum, it 'isn't being passed on to many children these days' within families.[141] This makes theatre performances in those languages all the more vital as they increase exposure and engagement within audiences in a unique way. By hearing language performed, it becomes a 'tangible' thing around which a community can form and language revitalisation can occur. This engagement is heightened through the extensive tours conducted by productions such as *Lear*, *Dream* and the 2008 Aleut adaptation of *Othello* (dir. David Edgecombe) that Hayton starred in.[142] They deliberately visited small communities to enable isolated audiences to connect with and see reflected onstage a construction of their own national identity. Shakespeare's plays provide a way for theatre-makers to tell their histories by adapting and reshaping his stories. Looking to the future, Shakespeare can be a bridge to telling their own native stories. As Robenolt has said: 'if we can do *King Lear* and pull this off, next time we do another Shakespeare, or do Alaskan or Gwich'in stories, it will be much easier': easier for theatre-makers to create a production that resonates with audiences and easier to convince grant holders and audiences that the production is a worth-while investment.[143]

Occasionally, over-simplified images or stereotypes are relied upon in the construction of a national identity, particularly when considering an international audience. These can lead

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[140] Severin Carrell, 'Scots Gaelic could die out within a decade, study finds', *The Guardian*, 2nd July 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/02/scots-gaelic-could-die-out-within-a-decade-study-finds> [accessed 3rd July 2020].

[141] Sikorski, quoted in Caldwell, 'Breaking down boundaries'.

[142] Melissa Marconi Wentzel, 'Aleut Othello visits Yakutat', *Raven Radio*, 11th April 2008, <https://www.kcaw.org/2008/04/11/aleut-othello-visits-yakutat/> [accessed 3rd July 2020]. Othello was Aleut, whilst Desdemona (Tamara Rothman Miller) was Russian to reflect the historical relationships between the two countries.

[143] Quoted in Caldwell, 'Breaking down boundaries'.

to reductive and unhelpful portrayals of cultural tropes. A recent example of this was Fluellen Theatre Company's 2018 production of *Pembroke Arcadia*, which was commissioned by National Theatre Wales, and written and directed by David Britton. Whilst Peter Kirwan praised the 'excellent comic performances of Andrew Lennon as the clown-shepherd Dametas, and Kath Weare as his horny daughter Mopsa' as offering 'bathetic commentary on the hyperbolised romances of the noble figures', I found their over-pronounced Welsh-accents compared to a hyper-English-accented court to be frustrating. The reliance on easy stereotypes from 'one of the most prolific and consistant [sic] producers of classical theatre in Wales' was disappointing as it served to reinforce rather than challenge depictions of the unintelligent pastoral figure as seen in Shakespeare's own treatment of Welsh characters, namely the company's eponymous soldier.[144]

The other side to this story, however, is that simplified cultural coding might be necessary for both a local and a global audience. If this is the first time that some audiences are going to the theatre, seeing Shakespeare, or seeing a part of their cultural heritage that they do not routinely engage with performed onstage, as was the experience for audiences of Robenolt's *Lear*, easily recognisable tropes are required in order to overcome the many cultural boundaries at play.[145] If a play then tours abroad, those signifiers are all the more important.

The epic and almost mythical cultural prestige that is automatically bestowed upon Shakespeare is a valuable tool in building national identity. Shakespeare and his cultural value work in a self-perpetuating, infinite loop: 'The cycle of recognition, conferral and

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[144] 'About us', *Fluellen Theatre Company*, <https://www.fluellentheatre.co.uk/about> [accessed 30th June 2020].
[145] Hayton, 'Alaska Live'.

endorsement of value has been reiterated over the centuries until the unstable connection between the values and valued seems to disappear'.[146] Shakespeare's 'timeless' texts can legitimise a language or culture, which has both valuable and damaging effects. As Joubin and Mancewicz identify: 'the myth of Shakespeare's currency has turned global Shakespeare into a business model'.[147] Myths are being created and challenged about the cultures examined here, about their histories and practices, their audiences and communities, and the role that Shakespeare plays throughout. Simultaneously, they are strengthened and confronted over 'Shakespeare' as a playwright and a cultural icon. As Graham Holderness argues, 'Shakespeare' has come to signify much more than a man's name: the word 'acts as a sign post pointing towards something greater and more complete than itself'.[148] Just as the nebulous socially constructed national and cultural identities of a country can be remodelled and resisted, so too can the equally abstract fables surrounding Shakespeare. As Joughin writes: 'It becomes clear that, amidst this process of reappropriation, just as Shakespeare has often been co-opted to secure nationalism, then he has also continued to contest and transform it in complex and contradictory ways'.[149]

Let us end this section by looking at an example of national identity that has experienced considerable stress of late: Britain.[150] The conflicting and often contradictory currency of the composite British national identity waxes and wanes, flowing with the tide of politics and social trends:

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[146] Rumbold and McLuskie, *Cultural value in twenty-first-century England*, p. 51.

[147] *Local and Global Myths*, p. 7.

[148] *Cultural Shakespeare: Essays in the Shakespeare myth* (Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001), p. 107.

[149] Joughin, *Shakespeare and National Culture*, pp. 1-2.

[150] See Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

> In this, its colonial context, British national identity has always been part of a more deeply rooted and potentially conflictual condition which embraces or contests a particular state of belonging or being, viz.: the experience of bring 'English', or 'Irish'. Or 'Scottish', or 'Welsh', or 'British', or somehow each of these, and other, at a certain moment of time. It clearly matters which. So long as this is the case, the experiential nexus of 'being British' (whatever that is) will remain indeterminate and confusing.[151]

The question of what constitutes British national identity was raised loudly throughout the build up to, as well as during and after, the London Olympic Games in 2012. In many ways, performing Britishness was aligned with performing globalism. Needless to say, the carefully curated national identity that Britain wished to display to the world was largely Shakespearean in nature, from the bizarrely inspired choice of quotations in the opening and closing ceremonies, to the endless theatrical productions. As Purcell wrote:

> The Olympics [were] repeatedly portrayed in the media as an attempt to reinvigorate 'Brand Britain', asserting the country as a modern, caring, global nation. In the [WSF], Shakespeare – our 'greatest cultural export' – likewise [became] a touchstone in affirming, testing and occasionally challenging ideas about Britain's 'post-empire' identity. Whatever it is that global cultures make 'Shakespeare' mean, Britain [seemed] to be claiming that for itself.[152]

This 'Shakespeare' is as intangible and changeable as a national cultural identity. In 'the midst of the frenzied national branding exercise that has become a – perhaps *the* – defining feature of "mega-events" like the Olympic Games', he was 'working overtime' as an unofficial mascot alongside Wenlock and Mandeville, a herald of all things British at a time when the very nature of Britshness was being 'reinvigorate[d]' and confronted once more.[153]

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[151] Joughin, *Shakespeare and National Culture*, p. 6.

[152] Stephen Purcell, '"What country, friends, is this?": Cultural Identity and the World Shakespeare Festival', *Shakespeare Survey*, Vol. 66 (2013), pp. 155-65, p. 165.

[153] Erin Sullivan, 'Olympic Performance in the Year of Shakespeare', *A Year of Shakespeare: Re-living the World Shakespeare Festival*, ed. by Paul Edmondson, Paul Prescott and Erin Sullivan, (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2013), pp. 3-11, p. 5.

The Shakespearean fervour that dominated 2012 extended to every corner of the British Isles. As British cultural and national identities were being strongly reinforced for both national and international audiences, Shakespeare had an inevitable and unquestioned role to play. Promoted from the English National Poet to 'the favourite playwright and artist of the world', Shakespeare, in a move that for some carried colonial undertones, dominated the Cultural Olympiad as a multifaceted symbol of 'British cultural prestige, social inclusion, national achievement, creative potential and citizen empowerment all at once'.[154] And yet, as the productions examined across this thesis attest to, 'Shakespeare' is no longer, and perhaps never really was, solely British. As Kidnie has written: 'Shakespeare's drama has long functioned as an import/export commodity'.[155] The link between British national identity and Shakespeare is tenuous as he becomes ever more intercultural.

At the centre of the multiple advances to build a national identity discussed here lies a stronger drive to establish a sense of community. A nation, as described by Benedict Anderson, is after all an 'imagined political community', 'distinguished, not by their falsity/ genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined'.[156] The Shakespeare productions highlighted above were often the catalysts for a wider movement of cultural expression by providing an initial space for discussions surrounding the need to protect and revitalise the minority language. His inclusion has fuelled the global myths of Shakespeare's ubiquitous, universal truths. Furthermore, alongside aiding the construction of a national identity, Shakespeare played a monumental role in the establishment of an institutional national theatre

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[154] Shaw quoted in Sullivan, 'Olympic Performance in the Year of Shakespeare', p. 9; Ibid., p. 5.

[155] Margaret Kidnie, 'Dancing with art: Robert Lepage's *Elsinore*', *World-wide Shakespeares: Local appropriations in film and performance*, ed. by Sonia Massai (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 133-40, p. 133.

[156] *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2016). Ebook.

in England, and many other countries besides.[157] As we have seen, festivals play a significant part in the creation, affirmation and celebration of a nation's cultural identity. Dedicated, regular Shakespearean festivals unite diverse communities all over the globe, as different countries engage in dual expressions of their own national identities and their own Shakespeare.

Locating Shakespearean Spaces

> *We are liberating this space. We are decolonising and indigenising this space.*[158]

When minority cultures interact with Shakespeare's work, specificity of place often plays an important role in the production process. As Nicola Watson attests, a place can be made Shakespearean, temporarily or permanent, through the desire of the cultural tourist and the emotional geography they ascribe to a particular location.[159] Whether theatre companies are creating a site-specific production in an iconic location or constructing for themselves a unique theatrical space, place takes on an integral function. As touched upon, the relationship between place and its inhabitants is explored with particular emphasis on notions of citizenship and cultural ownership, and the meaning-making that underlies those concepts. Shakespeare's plays become one of the vehicles by which these issues are interrogated. As

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[157] See Michael Dobson, 'Shakespeare and the idea of National Theatres', *Shakespeare Survey*, Vol. 68: Shakespeare, Origins and Originality (2015), pp. 234-46.

[158] Leslie Ishii, Pre-show talk with Ty Defoe, Lydia Garcia and Leslie Ishii, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by William Shakespeare (dir. Ty Defoe), 11th July 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1218956398442358> [accessed 12th July 2020].

[159] Talk given at *Shakespeare and Culture Tourism: Memory, Place and Participation* (ed. by Márta Minier and Maddalena Pennacchia (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2019)) book launch, 6th July 2020, Zoom. See also Nicola J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

Lucia Esposito identifies, there has been a cultural shift in the value of meaning-making from the author to the audience with, as Nicoleta Cinpoes argues, more agency instilled in the individual experience and the 'Shakespearean footprint' an object or a place holds, rather than the original state of the thing itself.[160] Cinpoes builds on Kennedy's assertion that even 'with a genuine site the tourist tends to engage in a complex semiotic, seeing not the authenticity but rather the site as signifier'.[161] I interrogate what kinds of signifiers are being exploited by theatre-makers to create their unique minority Shakespeares.

Furthermore, this part of the chapter addresses wider questions of how theatre-makers working in minority languages utilise their own sense of identity in relation to place in order to produce Shakespeare. It will also continue to question the kind of myth-making that lies behind such productions: 'Shakespeare is many things in contemporary culture. He lives on splendidly in a number of contested sites, and even a few remaining uncontested ones'.[162] Are myths of Shakespeare's 'timelessness' and 'universality' perpetuated or quelled? In turn, how are local myths or stereotypes interrogated? What is the impact of performing Shakespeare in the context of a minorised culture, particularly in a culture that has been minorised by English?

Site-specific theatre is popular amongst theatre-makers working in minority languages as it offers an immediate, heightened connection with the local environment, embedding a production in a particular history, society and landscape. As Loomba has argued of early Anglo-Indian productions:

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[160] Talks given at *Shakespeare and Culture Tourism: Memory, Place and Participation* (ed. by Márta Minier and Maddalena Pennacchia (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2019)) book launch, 6th July 2020, Zoom.

[161] 'Shakespeare and Cultural Tourism', *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 50 no. 2 (May 1998), pp. 175-88, p. 182.

[162] Ibid., p. 181.

> Shakespearian transformations within a colonial/post-colonial arena […] are site-specific. Not only do these transformations comment on the nature of colonial exchanges and cultures, but, like all adaptations, they also reflect on the form as well as conditions of production of the Shakespearian theatre which they so colourfully mutate.[163]

Locations vary from a medieval castle where very little set is added, to a park where nature and constructed set pieces are blended together. An exact definition of site-specific theatre continues to be debated. Fiona Wilkie offers a working definition: 'performance occurring in non-theatre venues and in which the site is a vital element, instrumental in developing the theme or form of the work'.[164] She is quick to point out, however, that this interpretation 'risks implying fixity' as it does not allow room for 'the potential for movement, for transience or for playfulness'.[165] Wilkie explores a range of definitions for theatrical productions that take place outside of a conventional theatre, from site-sympathetic which relates to an 'existing performance text physicalised in a selected site' to site-generic which refers to a 'performance generated for a series of like sites (eg. car parks, swimming pools)'.[166] The type of site selected for the performance provides a common factor and the production could therefore move from one site to the next and have largely the same effect (much like a traditional theatre touring production).

On this sliding scale, site-specific is reserved for 'performance specifically generated from/for one selected site'.[167] As Helena Goldwater argues: 'To make a truly site-specific piece means it sits wholly in that site in its content and form, otherwise, if movable, it

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[163] 'Shakespearian transformations', p. 114.

[164] 'Out of Place: The Negotiation of Space in Site-Specific Performance' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Surrey, 2004), pp. 1-2.

[165] Ibid., p. 2

[166] Ibid., p. 54.

[167] Ibid.

becomes more about the site as a vehicle/vessel'.[168] With many of the productions examined in this thesis, the actual site becomes an additional tool used to highlight an integral part of the history or culture that is explored through performance.

I am interested in how particular productions respond to a particular community or location, therefore, for the purpose of this thesis I apply 'site-specific' to a range of productions that might be defined differently by others. Indeed, Mike Pearson, co-founder of Wales-based Brith Gof, a leading theatre company in site-specific theatre, refuses to define the genre, 'be it site-determined, site-orientated, site-referenced, site-conscious, site-responsive, site-related', at the risk of it being 'uncritically adopted as another genre category by mainstream art institutions and discourses'.[169] When certain moments of performance create a distinct sympathy towards or overt connection with a particular location, I shall explore that artistic choice in more nuanced terms.

It is generally agreed that site-specific theatre evolved from the work of revolutionary companies such as Brith Gof, established by Pearson and Liz Hughes in 1981, who popularised the form throughout the 1980s.[170] Brith Gof produced theatre that was influenced by Welsh traditions of oratory, poetry, music and preaching, almost always performed in a non-conventional theatrical setting, engaging with 'a widely distributed population living in communities remote from the circuit of municipal theatres'.[171] The move away from conventional theatrical spaces was due in part to a general lack of theatres in Wales at the time, but was also motivated by a need to challenge traditional theatrical tropes. In 1997,

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[168] Quoted in Wilkie, 'Out of Place', p. 53.

[169] *Site-Specific Performance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 1; Miwon Kwon, *One Place After Another* (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 2004), p. 1.

[170] Wilkie, 'Out of Place', p. 39.

[171] Mike Pearson, *Brith Gof: A Welsh Theatre Company 1. 1981-5* (Aberystwyth: Brith Gof, 1985), p. 3.

Pearson wrote:

> Wales has only a limited range of theatre auditoria. Experimental theatre has always sought other venues. This is not solely through expediency, but challenges the notion that the auditorium is a neutral vessel of representation, seeing it rather as the spatial machine of a dominant discourse which distances the spectators from spectacle and literally 'keeps them in their place'.[172]

Not only did Brith Gof challenge the dominant language of Wales by performing in Welsh, they also broke boundaries by removing the barriers between performer and audience member, and taking theatre outside of the theatre. The tradition of site-specific theatre is still strong throughout Wales today, as discussed in Chapter Two.

Place and space take on heightened responsibility in site-specific theatre: 'site is not just an interesting, and disinterested backdrop. […] The multiple meanings and reading of performance and site intermingle, amending and compromising one another'.[173] The space itself becomes the final character as the actors and audience members have to respond to it in different ways than they would to a conventional theatre. As Wilkie establishes: 'The site of Brith Gof's performances might then be understood not just as a geographical location, but as a place in which cultural identities and social relationships can be productively examined'.[174] This statement can also be applied to theatre companies working outside of the dominant cultural discourses of their countries. By staging interventions into different cultural spaces, these theatre-makers create politically motivated productions that engender or challenge culturally dominant ideas of place, community and identity.

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[172] Mike Pearson, 'Special Worlds, Secret Maps: A Poetics of Performance', *Staging Wales: Welsh Theatre 1979-1997*, ed. by Anne-Marie Taylor (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 85-99, pp. 94-5.

[173] Mike Pearson and Mike Shanks, *Theatre/Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 23.

[174] Fiona Wilkie, 'The Production of "Site": Site-Specific Theatre', *A Concise Companion to Contemporary British and Irish Drama*, ed. by Nadine Holdsworth and Mary Luckhurst (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 87-106, p. 93.

By directly engaging with the local landscape, theatre-makers re-inscribe meaning of space, adding layers to the palimpsest of social and cultural heritage. Drawing on the work of theatre designer Cliff McLucas, Joanne Tompkins introduces the concept of 'hosting' and 'ghosting' in relation to theatre performance in non-theatrical venues. The extant building acts as the host whilst temporary scenery and performance is the ghost.[175] When contemplating twenty-first-century performance, she argues that the 're-performance of historical texts certainly provides a different order of ghosting as original productions and/or subsequent productions of a well-known text are echoed in a site-specific context'.[176] Theatre-makers working in minority languages offer an added complication to this relationship as they reanimate the ghosts of a culture and history that colonialism has largely erased. As theatre director John McGrath has stated: 'Location isn't just about site, it's about how our memories live in geography and space'.[177] By using Shakespeare, one of the premium exports of imperial Britain, as their medium, practitioners from minorised backgrounds engage directly with the colonial narratives of their country's past in order to reshape their present. For example, Québécois theatre-makers Yves Sioui Durand and Jean-Frédéric Messier's *Hamlet-le-Malécite* (2004), produced by Ondinnok, the only First Nations theatre company in Québec, was 'staged at American Can, an old warehouse with a spectacular view over the working class Hochelaga-Maisonneuve district of the city in which the climactic final scenes

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[175] Joanne Tompkins, 'The "Place" and Practice of Site-Specific Theatre and Performance', *Performing Site-Specific Theatre: Politics, Place, Practice*, ed. by Anna Birch and Joanne Tompkins (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 1-17, p. 8. See also Joanne Tompkins, *Theatre's Heterotopias: Performance and the Cultural Politics of Space* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[176] Tompkins, 'The "Place"', pp. 8-9.

[177] 'Rapid Response', *New Welsh Review*, Vol. 85 (2009), pp. 9-14, p. 10.

of the play are set'.[178] According to Jennifer Drouin, the production thus exemplified 'the enormous potential of contemporary adaptation to exploit Shakespeare's canonical authority […] to draw attention to the pressing social issues of a marginalized community and to give voices to all those for whom theatre may become a survival strategy'.[179]

As established, Shakespearean tradaptations are extremely popular. Directors working in minority languages recast the plays in their own cultures, in historical or modern versions, in order to bring their audiences closer to the text. Furthermore, through this visual relocation, indigenisation and ultimate decolonisation, 'there is a strong sense that much of this theatrical work is part of a larger movement to right wrongs, address erasure, embody difference, reclaim public spaces, and give agency to [indigenous] activism'.[180] Whether or not they are working within a conventional theatre, to establish a specific connection with local indigenous audiences, theatre companies draw on indigenous cultural heritages and traditions. This gives the production a heightened familiarity for some as they see themselves represented on stage. For others, it is an educational experience as they are exposed to aspects of their culture that otherwise reside in textbooks or a museum. These productions bring history into the everyday, expanding the accessibility of theatre to those who may otherwise feel excluded or mis-represented. Hayton has spoken about his experiences of indigenous Alaskan audiences who had never seen Shakespeare before attending *Lear*, and the empowerment felt by seeing it in their own language.[181]

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[178] Jennifer Drouin, 'Hamlet-le-Malécite (2004)', *Canadian Adaptations of Shakespeare Project*, <http://www.canadianshakespeares.ca/a_sioui.cfm> [accessed 22nd July 2020]. See also Jennifer Drouin, '"To Be or Not To Be Free": Nation and Gender in Québécois Adaptations of Shakespeare' (unpublished doctoral thesis, McGill University, 2005).

[179] Drouin, 'Hamlet-le-Malécite'.

[180] Fischlin, 'Flipping the Turtle on Its Back'.

[181] 'Alaskan theatre group stages King Lear in Gwich'in'.

The translation's tone and register has the ability to make a production site-specific, through bringing the Shakespearean text into dialogue with a particular time period and place, through their setting, costuming and musical choices. Furthermore, they are often temporally specific. Iain MacDhòmhnaill's Scottish Gaelic *MacBheatha* (2013) allowed 'a glimpse of a high literary register of [the language], with perhaps unexpected political implications'.[182] Using a lexicon that reminded Cathy NicDhòmniall (Lady Macbeth) of 'the Gaelic of the Bible', the translation had 'the potential to remind the audience of the identifiably Scottish literary register of Gaelic [of] the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was used for both religious and secular purposes', whilst also calling to mind 'Gaelic Scotland's tradition of clanship poetry from a time of huge turmoil for the Highlands and Islands'.[183]

Innes points to the explicitly political act of 'returning Shakespeare's gaze' through performing Shakespeare in Scottish Gaelic as it becomes 'a space in which to reflect on both historical and ongoing prejudice against the language and its culture'.[184] As J. Derrick McClure has identified of another Scottish minority language: 'English is the language against which the status of Scots is measured. What clearer proof could there be that Scots is indeed an autonomous literary language than by successfully translating a great work in the language with reference to which it is defined'?[185] Whilst not site-specific in a physical sense, as all three productions of *MacBheatha* have taken place in theatres, the text itself, through its use of a particular form of language, is inseparable from the historical eras and places it is

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[182] Innes, 'Shakespeare's Scottish play in Scottish Gaelic', p. 35.

[183] Ibid., p. 35; p. 37.

[184] Ibid., p. 26; p. 32.

[185] 'When Macbeth becomes Scots', *Ilha do Desterro*, Vol. 36 (1999), pp. 29-51, p. 38. See also J. Derrick McClure, 'Scots for Shakespeare', *Shakespeare and the Language of Translation*, ed. by Ton Hoenselaars (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2012), pp. 217-39.

influenced by.[186]

Site-specific theatre critically changes the relationship between stage and audience: as Sally Mackey argues, '[p]lace-based performance […] expects more from its participants'.[187] If we are considering a production that is site-specific in the way that MacDhòmhnaill's *MacBheatha* was, then audiences were being asked to engage in a reflection on their relationship with wider social and historical events. If a production is physically site-specific, audiences 'may find themselves having to participate in other, tangible ways, often acting as an actor "substitute" […] to propel the action forward'.[188] Whether the performance is promenade, or outdoors with shared lighting, the new context reduces the distance between the stage and the audience, and affords a greater degree of integration and interaction.

A final 'space' to consider that has recently opened itself up for theatrical performance, primarily in response to the global Covid-19 pandemic, is video calling platforms. In July 2020, Ty Defoe directed a Native American *Dream*, working to 'decolonize and indigeniz[e] Shakespeare over Zoom', whilst raising relief funds for Arizona and Southern Utah's Native communities.[189] The fact that indigenous and minority ethnic communities were among the hardest hit in the US by the pandemic provided another poignant context to this performance. For Defoe, it was an opportunity to 'indige-queer' this

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[186] *MacBheatha* was first performed as a one-man show that focused exclusively on the character of Macbeth in 2012 at Glasgow's Tron Theatre. It then evolved into a two-person show to include Lady Macbeth and featured prerecorded speeches from the witches, and was staged in 2013 at the Citizen's Theatre in Glasgow, and in 2014 at Summerhall in Edinburgh as part of the Fringe Festival.

[187] 'Performance, place and allotments: Feast or famine?', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, Vol. 17 (2007), pp. 181-91, p. 181.

[188] Tompkins, 'The "Place"', p. 10.

[189] BWW News Desk, 'Ty Defoe Directs A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM For Southwest Shakespeare Company To Benefit Covid-19 Relief In Native Nations', *Broadway World*, 5th July 2020 <https://www.broadwayworld.com/phoenix/article/Ty-Defoe-Directs-A-MIDSUMMER-NIGHTS-DREAM-For-Southwest-Shakespeare-Company-To-Benefit-Covid-19-Relief-In-Native-Nations-20200705> [accessed 5th July 2020]. The production can be watched online here: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1218956398442358> [accessed 12th July 2020].

'dead, white playwright' and 'undo borders, binaries, racism, colonisation, heterosexism and anti-blackness on Turtle Island'.[190] In line with Sayet's earlier preoccupations over providing spaces for BIPOC actors, Defoe and his creative team centred *Dream* around creating a platform for Indigenous voices as 'there often isn't space' for them.[191] Lydia Garcia, the production's dramaturg, encouraged a mode of story-telling that drew attention to Shakespeare's own use of indigenous British tales but yet was 'true' to the new context of 'Indigenous actors embody[ing] the story and [making] that indigeneity [their] own'.[192] Tiffany López (Southwest Shakespeare Company), praised the company's ability to bring their own personal stories, cultural connectedness and specificity to the production which allowed 'vibrant, authentic and alive' performances.[193] This *Dream* was reclaimed, liberated and made relevant to a contemporary audience as it sought to bridge the cultural divide between Indigenous traditionalism and modernism, and between Shakespeare – 'a weapon used against [Indigenous people] to take [their] language away' – and a play that, through its decolonisation, can provide social healing.[194] Monique Mojica and Ric Knowles argue that creating 'Aboriginal theatre is about translation, building bridges, making reconnections. Each tiny fragment of research and creation contributes, accumulates, and adds up to something with which the disconnect brought on by *la conquista* can be healed'.[195] This statement can be

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[190] Pre-show talk with Ty Defoe, Lydia Garcia and Leslie Ishii, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by William Shakespeare (dir. Ty Defoe), 11th July 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1218956398442358> [accessed 12th July 2020]. Turtle Island is an Indigenous term that refers to North America, Canada and Alaska.

[191] Post-show talk with members of the cast and creative team, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by William Shakespeare (dir. Ty Defoe), 11th July 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1218956398442358> [accessed 12th July 2020].

[192] Pre-show talk.

[193] Post-show talk.

[194] Sayet, post-show talk.

[195] Original italics. 'Introduction: Creation Story Begins Again', *Staging Coyote's Dream: An Anthology of First Nation's Drama in English*, Vol. 2, ed. by Monique Mojica and Ric Knowles (Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 2008), pp. iii-iv, p. iii.

applied across all the examples throughout this thesis as Shakespeare has been weaponised against countless Indigenous nations but is now being reclaimed through progressive and consistent decolonisation.

Dream was framed by music from Mohawk musician Dawn Avery, which blended Iroquoian language with English, as well as traditional instruments with modern. This set the tone for the whole production as traditional Indigenous signifiers were embodied by modern Indigenous actors, thereby opening up a dialogue between the past and the present. For Sayet (who played Puck), it was a welcome chance to address the 'concept of traditional Shakespeare', a largely 'white supremacist construct that operates, particularly in the United States, around the plays', and to decolonise and interrogate the language and the space of *Dream*.[196] Grounding her performance in both visual and linguistic elements of her Mohegan heritage, she stated that it was 'a relief to be in that space, and remember that that space is possible around these works because so often the level of white supremacy and colonisation operating around these texts is just so harmful'.[197] Through this approach, Sayet felt enabled to engage with what she does in her own directing and academic work in terms of 'language repatriation' and decolonisation.[198] This 'healing work' brings all languages to the stage as equals, without 'compromising [the Indigenous] imaginative landscape'.[199]

Furthermore, the digital space provided by online platforms facilitates collaborations between artists and audiences 'on a much bigger canvas': within *Dream*'s cast were

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[196] Post-show talk.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Ibid.

[199] Ibid; Cloteal Horne, post-show talk with members of the cast and creative team, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by William Shakespeare (dir. Ty Defoe), 11th July 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1218956398442358> [accessed 12th July 2020].

participants speaking twelve different languages from Hawaii to New York.[200] These alliances allow for more integration and 'synergy' between artists within a global community, and therefore a greater claim to cultural ownership over their own cultures and over Shakespeare.[201] Fischlin has identified that community building 'through theatre is a vital part of the struggle to decolonize in these contexts'.[202] These communities are central to building an individual and a national identity, as highlighted elsewhere. Inherently connected to identity, place and belonging is citizenship. As Heike Roms has argued in relation to the Welsh experience: '"being Welsh" must no longer be defined in reference to an ordinary pedagogical object (such as culture, language), but by the very performance of "Welsh citizenship"'.[203] Staging a production in a specific location and community and bringing representation to that community instils, subconsciously or consciously, a greater sense of belonging within an audience.

Theatre-makers and audiences alike create Shakespearean spaces through the meanings that they bring to and inscribe upon performance locations. A huge amount of site-specific theatre arguably occurs within a festival context, as discussed in the final section of this chapter. Seeking to create a deeper connection between the play and the local community, minority language Shakespeares often occur within non-traditional theatrical settings. Or, if they do take place within a theatre, theatre-makers work to relocate the play to a specific time and place. If a language is working in opposition to English, as is the case with Scottish

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[200] López, post-show talk; 'A Midsummer Night's Dream to Benefit Native Nations', *The Red Book*, 9th July 2020, <https://www.azredbook.com/homepage-grid-feature-spot-4/a-midsummer-nights-dream-to-benefit-native-nations/> [accessed 13th July 2020].

[201] Defoe, post-show talk.

[202] 'Flipping the Turtle on Its Back'.

[203] 'Performing *Polis*: theatre, nationness and civic identity in post-devolution Wales', *Studies in Theatre and Performance*, Vol. 24 no. 3 (2004), pp. 177-192, p. 189.

Gaelic, Indian or Native American languages, an extra layer of social and cultural coding is added as they seek to distance themselves from the colonial ghost of Shakespeare and his imperial legacy and take ownership of the space and of the cultural icon.

Festival-going Shakespeare

Festival is an event, a social phenomenon, encountered in virtually all human cultures.[204]

Festivals are sites of paradoxes. They simultaneously unite communities and yet show off their unique diversities. They celebrate the collective and the individual. Whilst attempting to appeal to both local and global audiences, in an increasingly globalised society, they can risk homogenising the very specific set of cultural traditions and values that they acknowledge as special. As Alessandro Falassi identifies:

> Both the social function and the symbolic meaning of the festival are closely related to a series of overt values that the community recognizes as essential to its ideology and worldview, to its social identity, to its historical continuity and to its physical survival, which is ultimately what festival celebrates.[205]

Festivals sell a particular brand of collective identity, curated for a limited time only. As seen with several of the examples discussed above, festivals are a popular setting for minority language Shakespeares. By harnessing the energy of a particular place in a celebratory way, festivals bring communities together for the same purpose. This in turn increases a production's potential for audience exposure and outreach. At a Shakespeare festival, the

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[204] Alessandro Falassi, 'Festival: Definition and Morphology', *Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival*, ed. by Alessandro Falassi (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), pp. 1-10, p. 1.

[205] Ibid., p. 2.

playwright is embodied as a conduit, 'not restricted to that of a signifier of Western imperialism'.[206] Rather, Shakespeare functions as a 'trade route, an international stage on which the partialness of our cultural identities, and the histories of their collocations, is dramatized'.[207] This is a further paradox as simultaneous to Shakespeare's decentring and the 'reinvention of national identities' that such festivals aspire towards, one cannot 'ignore the fact that performing Shakespeare, even in a heavily adapted manner, always already confirms his canonical status and perpetuates his cultural authority'.[208] There is an argument to be made that an adaptation of Shakespeare is never allowed to exceed the cultural capital of the original play. No matter how provocative or progressive a production might ultimately be, Shakespeare is still central and a key selling point. As Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto points out concerning the work of Japanese film-maker Akira Kurosawa, 'the original is always valorized over the adaptation, which is never granted autonomy regardless of its aesthetic value'.[209] In spite of this, the moments of festive Shakespeare discussed below make genuine advances in re-balancing representation of minority languages on their nation's stages.

Festivals engage a particular form of collective memory. Festive memory 'rethinks the future in alliance with recasting the past'.[210] As such, festivals are particularly powerful sites for embodying the past and 'remaking cultural memory'.[211] As Christina McMahon states:

> when performers use the past imaginatively in productions at international theatre festivals, the changes they make to representations of race, colonial authority, and

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[206] Christina McMahon, 'From Adaptation to Transformation: Shakespeare creolized on Cape Verde's festival stage', *Theatre Survey*, Vol. 50 no. 1 (2009), pp. 35-66, p. 37.

[207] Lan, 'Shakespeare and the Fiction of the Intercultural', p. 548.

[208] McMahon, 'From Adaptation to Transformation', p. 37.

[209] 'Throne of Blood', *Kurosawa: Film Studies and Japan Cinema* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2000), pp. 250-69, p. 259.

[210] Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad, *Memory in a Global Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 1.

[211] McMahon, 'Recasting the Colonial Past', p. 69.

> the agency of historical subjects have lasting effects on the way some people in nations and transnational communities remember their pasts.[212]

The move to decentre Shakespeare by imaginatively using the past was expressly acknowledged by translator and director Kylie Bracknell in *Hecate* (2020), which was the first recorded full-length production of a play staged in an indigenous Australian language – in this case, the Noongar language of the First Nation peoples of Perth and South Western Australia. *Hecate*, produced by Yirra Yaakin Theatre Company, followed the 'worldwide trend to translate, and thus subvert, classic texts into different languages, often changing English – which, in the centuries since Shakespeare, has become the language of colonisation and globalisation – into that of the colonised and the marginalised'.[213] Whilst it is not always the case that translation is a subversive act, when considering marginalised languages there is (consciously or not) an element of subversion at play. For some, it is a central part of the adaptational process as a way of shifting focus from dominant discourse and in turn staking greater ownership over the playwright and their nation's stages.

Produced in association with Bell Shakespeare Company, *Hecate* was commissioned by and premiered at the Perth Festival. According to Artistic Director, Iain Grandage, one of the Festival's central aims is to 'affirm the primacy of Indigenous culture, a culture that sings the songs of our very geography'.[214] Critic Jonathan Marshall wrote that *Hecate* 'was a moment for white audiences to be humbled by being let into a *different* cultural realm, to which we must pay respect'.[215] One of the inherent aims of many of the festivals considered

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[212] Ibid.

[213] Sebag-Montefiore, 'Hecate is often erased from Shakespeare's Macbeth'.

[214] 'About Us', *Perth Festival*, <https://www.perthfestival.com.au/about/about-us/> [accessed 25th February 2020].

[215] 'Hecate (Yirra Yaakin Theatre Company, Perth Festival)'.

in this chapter is social and cultural healing as Indigenous and minority cultures are celebrated alongside and in dialogue with the dominant one.

Morrison (who played Macbeth in *Hecate*) has stated: 'One of the beautiful things that we are looking to do is to decolonise [Shakespeare] and give it back to the people'.[216] However when the project was first proposed, it faced a certain amount of backlash: 'We've received quite a lot of ridicule for it from our own community as people asked "Why would you want to do a dead white man's story?"'.[217] Bracknell's response was 'he is a human being and found a beautiful, melodic way to tell a story. And that is something that Noongar people have had a grasp on before time began […] Shakespeare is one of the most revered playwrights of all time, so why not'?[218] By decolonising Shakespeare through translation and performance, *Hecate* created space for indigenous actors on an international stage in an innovative way. As McMahon concludes: 'The past has significant relevance to the present, since representations of it become sites of political struggles wherein diverse communities cultivate collective identities and stake claims to socioeconomic resources'.[219] Imaginatively performing the past to reshape present conversations around decolonising the stage and decolonising Shakespeare for minority cultures is a part of the narrative of many of the productions encountered throughout this thesis.

Hecate was part of the Noongar Shakespeare Project, originally set up in 2012 when Yirra Yaakin participated in London's Cultural Olympiad. Bracknell translated and performed six sonnets alongside Morrison and Trevor Ryan as part of The Globe's 'Sonnet Sunday':

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[216] Sebag-Montefiore, 'Hecate is often erased from Shakespeare's Macbeth'.

[217] Bracknell quoted in Sebag-Montefiore, 'Hecate is often erased from Shakespeare's Macbeth'.

[218] Ibid.

[219] McMahon, 'Recasting the Colonial Past', p. 68.

'The primary driver of the creation of "Sonnets in Noongar" [was] positive, practical and above all urgent. The aim [was] to use the popularity and strength of the Shakespearean canon to help preserve (and even popularise) a much more ancient one'.[220] One of the ongoing legacies of the project is the 'Sonnets in Noongar' workshops which provide language learners the 'chance to keep the pride in their culture alive through learning their ancestral language'.[221] This demonstrates the continuing support a festival can provide.

The cyclical, often short-lived nature of festivals offers a concentrated form of cultural expression, which can take the shape of cultural show-casing; this is coupled with a consolidation of ring-fenced funding, an examination of particular values, and receptive audiences who may be underrepresented outside of the festival context. A production that has been created expressly for a festival can shape itself to the particular ethos of the event, promoting cultural expression through similar terms. The most celebrated parts of a culture are blended together for a festival setting, creating a unique form of national identity and community. This is of paramount importance to minority cultures as they seek to gain greater recognition, and in turn vital funding and support to ensure their future survival.

Cultural showcasing plays a particular role in international festivals, as seen with MacBheatha at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival or Shakespeare's Globe's Globe to Globe Festival, which invited thirty-seven companies to perform all '37 plays in 37 languages'.[222] Bird and Dromgoole had just ten months to programme what Bird rightly considers to be 'one

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[220] Rob Hand, 'Year of Shakespeare: Sonnet Sunday', *Blogging Shakespeare*, 26th April 2012, <http://bloggingshakespeare.com/year-of-shakespeare-sonnet-sunday> [accessed 1st February 2020]; 'Keeping Noongar alive through Shakespeare', *Equity Trustees*, <https://www.eqt.com.au/about-us/media-centre/stories-that-make-us/2019/july-19/keeping-noongar-alive-through-shakespeare> [accessed 1st February 2020].

[221] Ibid.

[222] Globe to Globe Festival supplement programme (London: Shakespeare's Globe, 2012), p. 1.

of the most ambitious theatrical projects that anyone has ever tried'.[223] As discussed previously, Shakespeare was at the forefront of many Olympiad cultural programmes, as the oxymoronic symbol of all things British and 'universal'. Purcell wrote:

> What the Festival productions seem to have had largely in common, though, was an emphasis on collaborative and social forms of meaning-making […] In the modern Shakespearean audience, as in the Olympic crowd, the twin goals of communal togetherness and individual agency, of 'universality' and 'diversity', work in a constantly fluctuating dynamic, both with and against each other.[224]

Through this emphasis on collaboration, the audiences regularly became active participants in the performance, taking on 'a kind of dramaturgical role' for audience members without access to the language of the play.[225] The Globe to Globe Festival 'did much to decentre dominant notions of "Englishness", inviting London's marginalized communities, languages and cultures to take ownership of the Globe space and achieve a temporary centrality'.[226] According to Deborah Shaw, 'Shakespeare is no longer English property'.[227] The WSF also sought to simultaneously 'assert and question British cultural identity' as well as those of the participating countries as they each presented a microcosm of culture through their performances.[228] This collaborative meaning-making through the questioning of identities can be witnessed across the productions and audiences examined in this thesis.

Meaning-making extends beyond the structured elements of a festival: 'For many

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[223] Paul Prescott and Erin Sullivan, 'Performing Shakespeare in the Olympic Year: Interviews with Three Practitioners', *Shakespeare on the Global Stage: Performance and Festivity in the Olympic Year*, ed. by Paul Prescott and Erin Sullivan (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp. 43-77, p. 53.

[224] 'Shakespeare, Spectatorship and the "Olympic Spirit"', *Shakespeare on the Global Stage: Performance and Festivity in the Olympic Year*, ed. by Paul Prescott and Erin Sullivan (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp. 133-62, p. 157.

[225] Ibid., p. 139.

[226] Purcell, 'What country, friends, is this?', p. 164.

[227] '"Somehow, Shakespeare always seems to have something to say to us"' (programme note), World Shakespeare Festival programme (2012), p. 2.

[228] Purcell, 'What country, friends, is this?', p. 164.

festival tourists, the most meaningful experiences derive from social interactions with peers rather than from specific activities'.[229] Shakespeare becomes a collaborative author as his texts are tradapted into a myriad of cultures and histories by theatre productions and their audiences. Festival audiences play a different role to those of traditional theatre productions. As such, a different set of behaviours is expected and performed. Falassi identifies four 'cardinal points of festive behaviour': '[r]eversal, intensification, trespassing, and abstinence'.[230] Shakespeare's participation in a festival in a minority language creates a reversal of and abstinence from dominant cultural norms and a subsequent intensification of the presence of the minority language and culture. Most of the festivals examined here are not specific Shakespeare festivals. As such, Shakespeare trespasses traditional boundaries where he should appear, relocating the playwright to a non-Shakespeare festival setting. There is often an added level of investment to productions occurring within a festival setting as audiences are, consciously or not, participating in the artistic and cultural intentions of the wider festival.

Closely linked to the act of cultural showcasing is community building and representation. The work done by Reneltta Arluk's 2020 *Pawâkan Macbeth* is an excellent example.[231] In 2017, the Stratford Festival (Ontario) staged *The Breathing Hole* which featured an Inuit cast and the Festival's first Inuit director, Arluk. She stated: 'The thing with Stratford and other big theatres in Canada is that Indigenous people have never been able to be a part of those stages […] So this is what makes it a really big deal [, it is] about breaking

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[229] Huan Sun, Shaofeng Wu, Yanning Li and Guangquan Dai, 'Tourist-to-Tourist Interaction at Festivals: A Grounded Theory Approach', *Sustainability*, Vol. 11 no. 15 (2019), pp. 1-15, p. 2.

[230] 'Festival', p. 3.

[231] Sayet quoted in Hubbard, 'To the heart, she led them there'.

down the power structure'.[232] Several cast members also appeared in *Romeo and Juliet* in the same season, acknowledging the importance of the opportunity to play non-Indigenous roles. Nicholas Nahwegahbow said that it is 'a double-edged sword because maybe it gets you noticed […] But at the same time you don't want to be just a native actor all the time'.[233] Three years later, Arluk returned to direct *Pawâkan Macbeth*, a bilingual 'Cree takeover […] inspired by the youth of Frog Lake First Nation'.[234] Set in a pre-colonial Canada, *Pawâkan Macbeth* blends Cree and English, whilst drawing on 'Cree history, legend and cosmology'.[235] The symbiotic relationship between new and old stories and texts, and what they each do for cultural visibility and expression is an important one that resonates throughout the examples revealed here.

Commissioned by Stratford Festival, two versions of the production have been in development since 2017 when Arluk workshopped *Macbeth* with secondary school students: a fifty-minute production designed to tour schools around Territory Six (co-directed by Barry Bilinsky); and a full-length version to be staged at the Festival (co-directed by Michael Greyeyes).[236] In May 2020, in response to their tour being postponed due to Covid-19 restrictions, selected scenes were staged on Zoom so that the production could continue its

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[232] Sima Sahar Zerehi, 'Stratford Festival stages play set in Arctic directed by an Inuk with Inuit cast', *CBC*, 19th November 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/stratford-festival-breathing-hole-inuit-director-1.3857197> [accessed 14th July 2020].

[233] Quoted in 'Indigenous stories spotlighted in Canada 150 play at Stratford Festival', *CBC*, 21st June 2017, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/kitchener-waterloo/stratford-festival-indigenous-1.4171062> [accessed 14th July 2020].

[234] 'Pawâkan Macbeth', *Akpik Theatre*, <http://akpiktheatre.com/pawakan-macbeth> [accessed 14th July 2020].

[235] Ibid.

[236] A reading of the work-in-progress will take place in August 2020, with a full scale production in 2021 or 2022. 'Pawâkan Macbeth', *Stratford Festival*, <https://www.stratfordfestival.ca/WhatsOn/PlaysandEvents/TheForum/Pawakan-Macbeth> [accessed 14th July 2020]. See also Liane Faulder, 'Pawâkan Macbeth: Cree culture meets the Bard in a new variation for a new world, via Zoom', *The Chronicle Herald*, 20th April 2020, <https://www.thechronicleherald.ca/lifestyles/entertainment/pawakan-macbeth-cree-culture-meets-the-bard-in-a-new-variation-for-a-new-world-via-zoom-444017/> [accessed 14th July 2020].

work of engaging wider communities.[237] As Greyeyes has stated:

> This is an important moment in the Canadian theatrical landscape. […] for Stratford Festival, that has its own kind of traditions, that has its own kind of canon, the things that it privileges, I think it's a very bold and daring proposal to bring a work like […] Reneltta's, to a national stage.[238]

The festival setting, and the inherent prestige attached, enabled Arluk to empower Indigenous voices on one of the country's most visible stages. The production also featured in Azimuth Theatre's Expanse Festival, furthering its outreach.[239]

Furthermore, Arluk's condensed *Pawâkan Macbeth* was created specifically to tour to schools and isolated communities, in a similar way to Hayton and Robenolt's Alaskan Shakespeare productions. All of the cast during the post-show discussion for the Zoom event spoke of the importance and poignancy of engaging directly with communities that the play draws upon, especially within younger audiences, as they did not have that kind of representation on stage as children.[240] Therefore, as well as participating in national discussions surrounding representation of indigeneity, *Pawâkan Macbeth* also operated at a grass-roots level.

By taking part in a nationally or internationally recognised festival, theatre companies can take advantage of its reputation:

> The prestige of a festival, its substantial media coverage, the rhetorical strategies participants and organizers of the festival use, and, in some cases, a festival's

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[237] Available to watch here: <https://www.facebook.com/akpiktheatre/videos/528519121385448/> [accessed 14th July 2020].

[238] Masha Lederman, 'Pawakan Macbeth translates the Bard into an Indigenous tale', *The Globe and Mail*, 18th February 2020, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/theatre-and-performance/article-pawakan-macbeth-translates-the-bard-into-an-indigenous-tale/> [accessed 14th July 2020].

[239] Mel Priestley, 'Consumed by Wihtiko: A review of Pawâkan Macbeth', *Mel Priestley*, 10th February 2020, <https://melpriestley.ca/consumed-by-wihtiko-a-review-of-pawakan-macbeth/> [accessed 14th July 2020].

[240] 'Pawâkan Macbeth – A Live Staged Reading', *Akpik Theatre*, 1st May 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/akpiktheatre/videos/528519121385448/> [accessed 14th July 2020].

> position as a state-supported venue work together to create a semblance of authenticity for the history it stages.[241]

The notion of prestige conferred by a festival has direct associations with the cultural capital Shakespeare wields. A festival is a cultural and financial investment: 'Festivals can be used to shape destination image and to promote economic development of the territory where festivals are held'.[242] By adding Shakespeare into the mix, a festival and destination's image are shaped in a particular way: 'Whenever Shakespeare crosses the threshold of a festival, itself a shrine of dictates, rules, and rigid schedules, the field of power intensifies'.[243] Eagleton has described Shakespeare as the 'quintessential commodity': the Shakespeare brand can be applied to seemingly endless products and events to popularise or elevate.[244] His name has evolved into a metonym for 'an entire politico-cultural formation, and thus more akin to "Disney" or "Rockefeller"', immediately implying a pre-determined set of connotations, paradoxically of high and popular culture.[245] All of these global festivals work to decentre the Englishness/Britishness of Shakespeare, making him more global than ever. And yet, as recognised by McMahon, Shakespeare's continued presence in international festivals paradoxically reiterates his centrality.

The festivals examined above reveal a global obsession with performing Shakespeare. Moverover, they also demonstrate the ongoing demand for not simply repeating the past but for adapting his work into new, festive contexts. Like Shakespeare, a festival can confer a

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[241] McMahon, 'Recasting the Colonial Past', p. 69. See also Keren Zaiontz, 'The Festival Performances of Ivo van Hove and Toneelgroep Amsterdam: "Everywhere we travelled we became the centre of the festival"', *Ivo van Hove: From Shakespeare to David Bowie*, ed. by Susan Bennett and Sonia Massai (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 83-98.

[242] Sun, Wu, Li and Dai, 'Tourist-to-Tourist Interaction at Festivals', p. 1.

[243] McMahon, 'From Adaptation to Transformation', p. 38.

[244] 'Afterword', p. 206.

[245] Ibid., p. 204.

particular reputation to a participating production, as well as building a strong sense of community through creating opportunities for representation and cultural showcasing.

Conclusion

Theatre-makers working in minority languages and cultures seek to decentre the dominant cultural forces at play in their regions by decolonising theatrical spaces and decolonising Shakespeare. This is done through imaginatively tradapting their unique national identities and histories to reshape their present states in syncretic theatre that places indigenous cultural expression on equal terms with Shakespeare's text. Using language, space, and cultural specificity, these moments of cultural expression offer reflections of a shared, lived experience and identity by engaging Shakespeare's texts in provocative dialogue. Furthermore, these productions operate rhizomatically within a palimpsest of cultural expressions to challenge hegemonic discourses, displacing Shakespeare's cultural dominance, the Shakespearean text, and notions of the Other.

The themes covered here offer a productive framework for understanding the case studies of Chapters Two, Three and Four. As we travel around the globe, covering some forty-three thousand kilometres, we will begin to see the commonalities between the seemingly disparate nations of Wales, the Basque Country and New Zealand and how they engage with Shakespeare's work and cultural legacy in surprising, assertive and invigorating ways.

Chapter Two: Wales

Part One: A History of Shakespeare in Translation and Performance in Welsh

Introduction

> *For a good part of the last hundred years theatre in Wales has been prejudiced by the dominance of one imported mode – 'good quality mainstream theatre in the literary tradition from Shakespeare through Ibsen and Shaw to our contemporary writers' – and the widespread assumption that no indigenous theatre existed until the Arts Council assumed the responsibility for creating it*.[1]

Wales has always had a complex relationship with theatre.[2] It has largely followed an unconventional path, leading many to assume that Wales has not had a long and rich theatrical past. Due to a prolonged lack of a publicly and financially endorsed professional theatre and a heavy reliance on scattered, amateur companies across rural Wales, whose audiences have reacted to contemporaneous social and religious trends, the country has undergone several theatrical revolutions in the past two centuries. This speaks to the continuing evolving relationship Wales has with its own sense of national, cultural and linguistic identities: 'Welsh-medium drama and performance work [reflects] an on-going reassessment of the relationship between individual identity and social practice'.[3] Reoccurring questions arise: does a person need to speak Welsh to be considered truly Welsh? What place does Shakespeare hold within a minority society negotiating a theatrical space alongside/in competition with English? Arwel Gruffydd (Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru's Artistic Director)

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[1] Ioan Williams, 'Towards national identities: Welsh theatres', *The Cambridge History of British Theatre: Vol 3: Since 1895*, ed. by Baz Kershaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 242-72, p. 242; *The Arts in Wales: Priorities into Practice*, Vol. 7 no. 2 (July 1984). See also David Adams, *Stage Welsh: Nation, Nationalism and Theatre: The Search for Cultural Identity* (Llandysul: Gomer, 1996).

[2] See also Elizabeth Jeffery, 'Dydd Gŵyl Dewi Hapus!', *Translating Shakespeare*, 1st March 2017, <https://www.shakespeare.org.uk/explore-shakespeare/blogs/dydd-g%C5%B5yl-dewi-hapus/> [accessed 6th May 2020].

[3] Williams, 'Towards national identities', p. 269.

has argued that for centuries Welsh culture has been Othered by English ruling classes, 'creating a clear division between the common person and the state', and therefore giving 'fertile soil to radical thought, in art as well as politics'.[4] What, then, makes Shakespeare an appropriate 'radical' vehicle for the exploration of Welsh language and cultural identity?

The rapid theatrical cycle accounts for the sporadic Shakespearean productions throughout Welsh-language theatre history, as producers have variably turned to classic, foreign writers as well as their own: 'Whilst earlier writers ultimately sought forms of closure that celebrated the inter-dependence of identity and social practice, cemented by language, dramatists writing as the millennium turned tended to interpret cultural practice and tradition as restrictive and oppressive mythology'.[5] These early 'forms of closure' included translating Shakespeare's plays, as well as Welsh playwrights imitating Shakespeare's style in their original work as a way of linking Welsh-language drama with more established theatrical genres and practices. As will be demonstrated, Shakespeare can be seen as a catalyst for the Drama Movement at the beginning of the twentieth century.

However, as theatre has continued to develop in Wales, Shakespeare eventually became a part of that 'oppressive mythology' as theatre-makers pursued new voices to challenge hegemonic English-language cultural forces. As new generations of theatre companies were established, they often sought to break from the ideological and linguistic practices of their predecessors. At the turn of the twenty-first century, writers 'developed iconoclastic analysis of current mythologies valid across traditional cultural and linguistic

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[4] Quoted in Emma Geliot and Cathy Gomez, 'What gives theatre in Wales it radical edge?', *Theatre and Dance*, 26th September 2016, <https://theatreanddance.britishcouncil.org/blog/2016/09/what-gives-theatre-in-wales-its-radical-edge/> [accessed 26th April 2020].

[5] Williams, 'Towards national identities', p. 269.

boundaries'.[6] Welsh theatre practitioners are in a constant dialogue with their past. Shakespeare features as a small but poignant part of the Welsh-language theatrical canon as theatre-makers push the boundaries of contemporaneous theatrical practices.

As a further rupture from historical traditions, Welsh producers often take theatre outside of the theatre. The genre of site-specific theatre was arguably born in Wales in the 1980s, pioneered by companies such as Brith Gof, whose legacy is still felt throughout Welsh theatre today.[7] As theatre companies interrogate Welsh national identities and language, they also invite an immediate, deeper connection between society and its surroundings, history and sense of community. Shakespeare, I argue, acts as one possible mediator in these negotiations.

The structure of this chapter falls into two main sections. Part One begins with contextual information, both linguistic and historical, necessary to establish Shakespeare's position within Welsh-language theatre. It then traces the history of the translation and performance of Shakespearean plays in Welsh, and the establishment of Wales' national theatre movement, culminating in a discussion of the two National Theatres of Wales: Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru (ThGC), the Welsh-language national theatre, established in 2003, and its English-language counterpart, National Theatre Wales (NTW), established in 2009. Both theatre companies have produced Shakespeare's plays at prominent moments in their histories. Part Two examines one such instance when ThGC produced *Macbeth* (2017) as a large-scale, site-specific promenade, Welsh-language production staged in Caerphilly Castle and broadcast live to cinemas across Wales. I draw on audience responses gathered at a screening of the production in April 2017 to discuss how and why this production marked a

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[6] Ibid.

[7] See Pearson, *Site-Specific Performance* and Mike Pearson, *Moving Sites: Investigating Site-Specific Dance Performance*, ed. by Victoria Hunter (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).

pivotal moment in Welsh-language theatre history.

As Gruffydd has stated: 'Making theatre in the Welsh language is essentially radical […] It represents an insistence that a minority voice will be heard and shared; that a minority language culture should be represented'.[8] Over the course of this chapter, I discuss key events in Welsh-language theatre history, arguing that Shakespeare is ever more political and radical within a minority context. In the few instances that Welsh translators and theatre-makers have tradapted Shakespeare, these have sparked considerable shifts in Welsh theatre history and practices.

Contexts

The lady speaks in Welsh.[9]

In order to explore contemporary attitudes towards Welsh and Wales, let us first briefly examine the history of the language. Welsh still holds a contentious place within Welsh society: even as recently as 2017, BBC's Newsnight sparked outrage as it debated the validity of Welsh, without a Welsh speaker present or seemingly doing sufficient research into the current status of Welsh. The whole segment came dangerously close to echoing the infamous 1847 Blue Books Report in which three English government commissioners wrote a hugely damning account of the state of the Welsh nation; the polarising consequences are explored

[8] Quoted in Geliot and Gomez, 'What gives theatre in Wales it radical edge?'.

[9] Stage direction, III.ii, *1 Henry IV*, in *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. by Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson, David Scott Kastan and H.R. Woudhysen (London: Bloomsbury, 2001), p. 379.

later in this chapter.[10] Posing the question of whether 'the Welsh Language is a help or a hindrance', presenter Evan Davis called Welsh speaking a 'hobby', whilst guest speaker Julian Ruck openly attacked the spending of public money on the preservation and education of the language as 'nonsense'.[11] A spokesperson for Plaid Cymru, Sian Gwenllian, responded:

> The BBC Newsnight coverage marks a new low for that organisation's treatment of Welsh. A lack of research, lack of suitable guests and incorrect framing enabled Welsh to be genuinely debated as being a hindrance to the nation. People who speak Welsh should not have to justify their language in any situation.[12]

Whilst Welsh remains a minority language, recent surveys indicate numbers of Welsh-speakers have gradually increased over the last decade. According to the Welsh Language Use Survey (2013/14), twenty-three per cent of the population reported that they can speak Welsh, with over half of those identifying as being fluent or knowing 'a fair amount'; one in eight Welsh people use Welsh on a daily basis.[13] In 2018, the Annual Population Survey revealed that 29.9 per cent of the population over the age of three reported they could speak Welsh.[14] The Welsh government's current goal is for a million Welsh speakers by 2050.[15]

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[10] The inquiry was instigated by William Williams, the Welsh Member of Parliament for Coventry who was concerned over the state of education in Wales, and resulted in the appointment of three investigators: R.R. W. Lingen, J. C. Symons and H. V. Johnson. They travelled throughout Wales gathering statistical evidence. Particular emphasis was placed on the roles that the Welsh and English languages played in Welsh society, the acquisition of English language amongst labouring classes and the perceived seditious and inferior nature of Welsh. See: H.G. Williams, 'Nation State versus National Identity: State and Inspectorate in Mid-Victorian Wales', *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 40, no. 2 (Summer, 2000), pp. 145-68.

[11] Thomas Deacon, 'People are very angry at the way Newsnight handled a debate on the Welsh language', *Wales Online*, 10th August 2017, <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/people-angry-newsnight-welsh-language-13459637> [accessed 20th May 2019].

[12] Quoted in Deacon, 'People are very angry at the way Newsnight handled a debate on the Welsh language'.

[13] David Deans, 'The state of the Welsh language: Number of people speaking Welsh fluently falls by 7,000 over the last decade', *Wales Online*, 29th January 2015, <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/state-welsh-language-number-people-8538272> [accessed 20th May 2019].

[14] Jac Williams and Lisa Walters, 'Welsh language results: Annual Population Survey, 2001- 2018', *Statistics for Wales*, 29th May 2019, <https://gov.wales/sites/default/files/statistics-and-research/2019-05/welsh-language-results-annual-population-survey-2001-to-2018.pdf> [accessed 4th June 2019].

[15] 'Cymraeg 2050 Welsh Language Strategy', *gov.wales*, <https://gov.wales/sites/default/files/publications/2018-12/cymraeg-2050-welsh-language-strategy.pdf> [accessed 29th May 2020].

Welsh, like Euskara, is one of the oldest languages in Europe: 'Wales is the only part of Britain where a successor of Brittonic has had an unbroken history down to the twenty-first century. Indeed, Welsh is one of the rare examples of an indigenous language of the Western Roman Empire' that continues in usage; the only other examples are Euskara and Berber (indigenous to North Africa).[16] Welsh evolved out of Brittonic or British Celtic between 400-1100: 'The emergence of a separate Welsh identity was, therefore, a slow process, not completed until the twelfth century'.[17]

The transition from Brittonic through to Middle Welsh is hard to trace, due to a paucity of evidence: 'Not a sentence of Brittonic has survived'.[18] According to Janet Davies, 'the language was almost certainly written down, but the writing materials used were probably perishable, the more highly esteemed Latin being used for permanent inscriptions'.[19] As such, the earliest surviving records of written Welsh appear as marginalia: the first is the Surrexit memorandum, an account of a land-settlement in 'the margin of an eighth-century gospel book'.[20] The Computus Fragment (c. 920) explains 'the methods of recording the moon's course through the signs of the zodiac, [it therefore] provides evidence that Welsh was being used in the tenth century to discuss complex and abstruse topics'.[21]

Two series of poetry found in the Juvencus manuscript (880) are the first surviving record of Wales' literary history.[22] Evidently, Welsh has a long literary tradition, stemming from Celtic bardic traditions. The earliest surviving prose literature in Britain is in Welsh: the

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[16] Janet Davies, *The Welsh Language: A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), p. 12.
[17] T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 75.
[18] Davies, *The Welsh Language*, p. 13.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., p. 16.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.

Mabinogion is a collection of eleven stories written by different authors at different times. However, a largely oral tradition and a subsequent lack of manuscripts has made dating both prose and poetry from this time extremely difficult and a much-contested subject. The general consensus for dating the *Mabinogion* is the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, although the manuscripts in which they were found date from the thirteenth century.[23] Their significance as early records of Welsh folklore, culture and language is unquestionably immeasurable.

This assortment of oral traditions, randomly surviving manuscripts, and a general lack of remaining evidence quickly develops into a narrative trend throughout Welsh literary and theatrical history. The preponderance of smaller, rural, isolated communities across Wales' countryside has led to two main tendencies: the development of a plethora of small amateur theatre companies, each responding to their own unique surroundings, with 'performances […] too numerous to record'; and simultaneously, a serious lack of extant evidence for the many groups and plays that have existed.[24] The sparse documentation that survives speaks to a lively, popular theatrical tradition, one that develops in line with contemporaneous politics and social tastes, while also drawing on traditional mythologies. However, the general, persisting misconception is that Welsh literature and theatre have largely been non-existent until more recently.

Events that occurred in the decades before Shakespeare's birth would have seismic effects on the future of the Welsh language. In 1536, Henry VIII's first Act of Union politically annexed Wales; the second was passed in 1543. These Acts brought Wales under

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[23] 'Mabinogion, The', *The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English*, ed. by I. Ousby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 579. Similar debates of dating surround early elegiac poems such as *Y Gododdin*.

[24] See O. Llew Owain, *Hanes y Ddrama yng Nghymru 1850-1943* (Lerpwl: cyhoeddwyd ar ran Cyngor yr Eisteddofd Genedlaethol, 1948), p. 143.

English jurisdiction and, consequently, claimed to instil 'amicable Concord and Unity' amongst Henry's subjects by introducing a singular common law across both nations.[25] Welsh speakers were, therefore, critically divided between those wishing to advance politically in a relatively newly established Tudor court with (ironically) a Welsh family in power, and those wishing to protect their heritage and language. As no Welsh speakers were permitted to hold office unless they spoke exclusively in English, the 'national pride that drew many Welsh to London […] ultimately led them to become monoglot English-speaking Welshmen'.[26] This gradual Anglicisation seems doubly ironic in a court where Henry himself was multilingual: he could speak 'French and Latin well, understood Italian and learned some Spanish'.[27]

The Tudor monarchy was descended from Owen Tudor, a Welsh courtier and second husband of Catherine de Valois (Henry V's widow); he was Henry VII's grandfather.[28] Tudor hailed from one of the most prominent families in thirteenth and fourteenth-century Wales, Ednyfed Fychan, and was related to Owain Glyn Dŵr, whom Shakespeare memorialises in *1 Henry IV*. This far-reaching and important relationship between Wales and England goes in part towards demonstrating the complicated, often entangled history of the two countries, with each one presented as antagonist and friend to the other at various stages.

As Megan Lloyd writes: 'Most onerous to the Welsh was the "language" clause from

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[25] *The Statutes of Wales*, ed. by Ivor Bowen (London: T.F. Unwin, 1908), p. 76.

[26] Megan S. Lloyd, *"Speak It in Welsh": Wales and the Welsh Language in Shakespeare* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2007), p. xii.

[27] E.W. Ives, 'Henry VIII', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 21st May 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12955?rskey=h0eVTK&result=1> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[28] R.A. Griffiths, 'Tudor, Owen', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 3rd January 2008, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27797?rskey=cHnV4t&result=2> [accessed 1st March 2017].

the first Act of Union [which] ultimately sought to create an English-speaking ruling class'.[29] However, despite later rulings such as Edward VI's 1549 Act of Uniformity, which required English to replace Latin for public worship, 'some parts of Welsh life continued totally and unabashedly Welsh'.[30] Elizabeth I passed legislation in 1563 that necessitated all churches to have Welsh translations of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer alongside English versions. Various versions of both texts were published between 1549 and 1588. Bishop William Morgan published the whole Bible in 1588.[31] His translation deliberately used archaic terms, thus elevating the standard of Welsh with which many people were coming into regular contact. He also substituted certain South Walian terms to their northern equivalents, potentially sparking the social attitude still debated today that North Welsh is purer than South.[32] The hope was that Welsh people would learn English through the dual texts, and eventually abandon Welsh altogether; in reality, however, it had the opposite effect. Morgan's work is praised as 'the foundation stone on which modern Welsh literature has been based', as he 'not only produced a version of unfailing accuracy but also skilfully moulded the classical language of the poets into the literary Welsh known to us today'.[33] Gareth Miles, the translator of a Welsh-language *Hamlet* (2005), used Morgan's text to help him 'develop narrative

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[29] Megan Lloyd, 'Rhymer, Minstrel Lady Mortimer and the Power of Welsh Words', *Shakespeare and Wales: From the Marches to the Assembly*, ed. by Willy Maley and Philip Schwyzer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 59-74, p. 65.

[30] Ibid.

[31] This has been digitised by the National Library of Wales and can be read online: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=config.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=57402259> [accessed 12th April 2020].

[32] Michael Richter, 'National Identity in Medieval Wales', *Medieval Europeans: studies in ethnic identity and national perspectives in medieval Europe*, ed. by Alfred P. Smyth (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 71-84, p. 76. See also: Robert Harries, 'The dialects of Wales: How one country has five different words for the same thing', *Wales Online*, 30th September 2018, <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/dialects-wales-how-one-country-15194987> [accessed 15th May 2019].

[33] 'Welsh Bible 1588', *National Library of Wales*, <https://www.library.wales/discover/digital-gallery/printed-material/1588-welsh-bible/> [accessed 1st March 2017].

fluency'.[34] The use of an 'archaic' version of the language to elevate its status is a reoccurring theme throughout this thesis, particularly seen in Chapter Four.

Exploring a 'newly amalgamated British nation', Shakespeare includes Welsh characters in his plays.[35] From the comically proud Fluellen and Sir Hugh Evans, to the mysterious, exoticised Glendower, to the Welsh monoglot Lady Mortimer, Shakespeare considers the varied responses adopted by the Welsh to an English domination. In *Cymbeline*, Wales becomes an 'alpine pastoral […] hinging on the contrast between pastoral uplands and arable lowlands, forging an idealized cult of the mountain peasant'.[36] The Welsh are presented as two extremes: either a benevolent joke to the English, witnessed in the characterisation of Fluellen and Evans, or a dangerous threat, as seen with Glendower. Shakespeare does not even write specific lines for Lady Mortimer, who has historically often been cut from stage productions. Rarely, if at all, are the Welsh allowed to be on stage as a friend or equal.[37]

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a continuation of the contentious relationship between language, politics and identity in Wales. Indeed, from the nineteenth century onwards language played a crucial role in the process of revitalising Welsh national pride, especially in the wake of the revival of the eisteddfodau (singular: eisteddfod). These festivals, originating in Wales, were created specifically to celebrate Welsh culture and language. They are discussed later in this chapter, within the wider context of Welsh theatrical

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[34] Gareth Miles, 'Translator's Foreword: Hating Shakespeare' (programme note), *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare, translation by Gareth Miles (Swansea: Swansea Grand Theatre, 2005), pp. 2-5, p. 4.

[35] Lloyd, *Speak It in Welsh*, p. xii.

[36] Todd A. Borlik, '*Cymbeline*, Alpine Pastoral, and British Masculinity', p. 2. Paper presented as part of the Shakespeare and the Celts seminar at BSA 2019 (Swansea), 19th July 2019.

[37] For an in-depth discussion of Shakespeare's treatment of Welsh characters see: Lloyd, *Speak it in Welsh*; *Shakespeare and Wales: From the Marches to the Assembly*, ed. by Willy Maley and Phillip Schwyzer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Marissa R. Cull, *Shakespeare's Prince of Wales: English identity and the Welsh connection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

traditions. In the late nineteenth century, however, Welsh speakers were already fighting against a tidal wave of Anglicisation. In 1860, in the wake of the Blue Books uproar, Welsh was rapidly becoming a minority language. The inquiry had been instigated following a period of immense social upheaval in Wales and almost a decade of riots. It caused particular agitation because not only it was written by non-Welsh speaking English government commissioners, whose ignorance of and possible prejudices against Welsh society led to exaggeration and misinformation, but the report 'deployed colonial stereotypes to devalue the Welsh language and depict the people as an uncivilized multitude in need of anglicization'.[38] It was, therefore, the catalyst for the creation of a new Welsh national identity. The social unrest in Wales was largely blamed on the continuing presence of the Welsh language, which was dubbed 'particularily [sic] evasive, which originates from its having been the language of slavery'.[39] Published in 1847, the report further claimed: 'The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales, and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial property of the people. It is not easy to over-estimate its evil effects'.[40] Also heavily critiqued were the Welsh educational system, alongside Welsh society, religious and sexual morality.

The rapid industrialisation of the British economy saw greater migration into and out of Wales as more workers sought employment further afield, primarily in Wales' coal mines. The spread of railways and a more mobile society also led to easier dissemination of daily

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[38] Paul O'Leary, 'Revolution, Culture, and Industry, c. 1700-1850', *The Cambridge History of Welsh Literature*, ed. by Geraint Evans and Helen Fulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 253-63, p. 260.

[39] 'On the state of education in Wales – Part Two: Brecknock, Cardigan, Ragnor and Monmouth', *Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry Into the State of Education in Wales*, 1848, p. 302. The whole report has been digitised by the Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/National Library of Wales and can be read online: <https://www.library.wales/digital-exhibitions-space/digital-exhibitions/europeana-rise-of-literacy/the-blue-books-reports/report-of-the-commissioners-of-inquiry-into-the-state-of-education-in-wales#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-1280%2C-1%2C5576%2C4742> [accessed 8th April 2020] or <https://archive.org/details/reportsofcommiss00greaiala/page/302/mode/2up> [accessed 8th April 2020].

[40] Ibid., p. 66.

English-language national newspapers. Welsh-language weekly or monthly publications could not compete. Wales was suddenly an international forerunner of industrial and social change, and English was seen as the language of progress, not Welsh, in this new, mechanised world. The 1911 census revealed the damaging effects of this mass anglicising migration: for the first time in recorded history Welsh was deemed a minority language, with 43.5 per cent of the population reporting that they could speak it.[41] Just as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the late nineteenth century many aspiring Victorians spoke exclusively in English in order to progress socially. Yet, it was at this time that Shakespeare was first translated into Welsh, in order to galvanise national pride, and demonstrate the poetic scope and therefore perceived legitimacy of the language. Welsh Shakespeare was used to promote the language to a national audience primarily, and later an international one. This move is repeated by translators across this thesis.

Welsh did not become an official language of Wales again until 2011; throughout the twentieth century various governmental acts were passed to undo Henry VIII's edicts.[42] In 2012, the Official Languages Act was passed to ensure that Welsh and English were equal within the National Assembly for Wales.[43] The fact that no one can quite agree how many dialects exist reveals the complexity of the language and its relationship with Welsh national identity and ideas of citizenship: some sources say as many as fourteen, others six, reflecting the geographical regions of Wales; a similar situation to the Basque Country and regional

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[41] See J.W. Aitchison and H. Carter, *Language, Economy, and Society: The Changing Fortunes of the Welsh Language in the Twentieth Century* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000).

[42] 'Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011', Part 1, section 1, *legislation.gov.uk,* <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/mwa/2011/1/part/1> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[43] 'National Assembly for Wales (Official Languages) Act 2012 (anaw 1)', *legislation.gov.uk*, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/anaw/2012/1/pdfs/anaw_20120001_en.pdf> [accessed 1st March 2017].

varieties of Euskara.[44] Geography plays a vital role in language evolution. The most identifiable distinction is between north and south Welsh. More people identify as speaking Welsh daily in the north.[45] As such, rather than being a singular, universal identity, Welsh national identity is reflective of the language: it is plural, multifaceted and localised. This can be seen in popular culture as the language learning app Duolingo offers two options for learning Welsh: north and south.[46] Less than two years after Welsh was launched on the app, more than one million people have taken it up, revealing the growing national and international support for the promotion and protection of the language.[47]

The distinctions between north and south regional dialects simultaneously illuminate and complicate the language and its status: the evolution of a multitude of dialects indicates a language that is in constant use and responding to social changes, whilst also pointing to the inherent localisation of such development. Iwan Wyn Rees has stated 'that variation and a sense of tribal belonging can only harness the power of the Welsh language and breathe more fire into it'.[48] Not everyone is pro-Welsh, however. Whilst there are those who argue vociferously that to be Welsh is to speak the language, there are others who argue equally strongly in the other direction.[49] For them, a connection with place and landscape is of more importance, as demonstrated by the preponderance of site-specific theatre in Wales. These

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[44] Harries, 'The dialects of Wales'.

[45] 'Welsh language results: Annual Population Survey, 2001- 2018', *Statistic for Wales,* published 29th May 2019, <https://gov.wales/sites/default/files/statistics-and-research/2019-05/welsh-language-results-annual-population-survey-2001-to-2018.pdf> [accessed 16th April 2020].

[46] 'Welsh for English Speakers', *Duolingo*, <https://www.duolingo.com/enroll/cy/en/Learn-Welsh> [accessed 16th April 2020]. The main course is in South Welsh but there is a 'Dialects' section which explores North Welsh.

[47] Karl McDonald, 'More people are taking Welsh lessons on Duolingo than can actually speak Welsh', *inews*, 6th September 2019, <https://inews.co.uk/news/education/welsh-lessons-duolingo-wales-307126> [accessed 7th April 2020].

[48] Harries, 'The dialects of Wales'.

[49] See Daniel John Evans, 'Chapter 7: Everyday Welshness, Place and the Welsh Language', 'Post-Devolution Welsh Identity in Porthcawl: an ethnographic analysis of class, place and everyday nationhood in "British Wales"' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Bangor University, 2014), pp. 189-222.

discussions formed a central part of the decision-making process when Wales was establishing a national theatre.

Visibility of the Welsh language is integral to its continuing regrowth. This is most evident in the public initiatives begun throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. Plaid Cymru, Wales' national political party, was established in 1925 with a primary intention of promoting the Welsh language.[50] Welsh was introduced into the national curriculum in 1988 and is now a compulsory subject up to Key Stage 4 (Year 10-11). As of 2016, approximately sixteen per cent of school children attend Welsh-language schools and a further ten per cent attend bilingual schools.[51] The Welsh Language Act (1993) ensured that in the public sector, English and Welsh 'should be treated on a basis of equality'.[52] The same year, the Welsh Language Service was created to 'promote and facilitate' the use of Welsh.[53] They are awarded an annual governmental grant from the National Assembly of Wales to ensure national compliance with the Language Act. As such, all written material generated by ThGC and NTW is offered in both Welsh and English, and audiences have the option communicate in Welsh with the companies. It is within this recent period of linguistic rejuvenation that organisations such as S4C have emerged, alongside ThGC. Established in 1982, S4C is an exclusively Welsh-language publicly funded media and television broadcaster.

All of this contextual information highlights the mutable historical relationships Wales

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[50] John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin, 1994), p. 547.

[51] Megan Jones, 'Welsh-medium education and Welsh as a subject', National Assembly for Wales Research Service, 2016, <https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/27029/1/16-048-english-web.pdf> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[52] 'Welsh Language Act 1993 Chapter 38', *legislation.gov.uk*, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1993/38/introduction> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[53] Formerly called the Welsh Language Board. *Welsh Language Board*, <http://www.welsh-language-board.org.uk> [accessed 1st March 2017].

has with language and a pluralised national identity. I have demonstrated the complex nature of these relationships and how these have shaped Welsh theatre practices. This has, in turn, established Shakespeare's connection to the country and its theatre-makers. As will be made clear, Welsh translators take up Shakespeare at moments of extreme pressure on Welsh society to preserve and promote its own sense of Welshness, in both Welsh and English.

Early theatrical traditions and early Shakespeares

The following three sections consider the emergence of Welsh Shakespeare in performance and how the various theatrical movements in Wales have responded to Shakespeare's plays and legacy. The first area of interest is the evolution of the eisteddfodau, festivals that expressly celebrate Welsh language and culture. The earliest example of a Shakespearean play in Welsh was written in order to compete at an eisteddfod in the nineteenth century. Next, I examine the performance of Shakespeare's plays in translation across Wales outside of the eisteddfodau. I also include a few examples of English-language productions that have engaged with a particular aspect of Welsh history or culture. The final section focuses on the ever-developing experiments of a national theatre in Wales, culminating with the two institutions that now exist: ThGC and NTW. Both companies question what it means to be a Welsh national institution and represent a nation throughout their work. As such, they have interacted with Shakespeare's plays in innovative and provocative ways as they attempt to meet those social and political demands. The desire for a national theatre stretches back through the centuries, and takes shape as Shakespeare makes a first tentative entrance onto the

Welsh-language stage. As shall be seen, the concept of a 'national theatre' is one that is still deliberated today.

A theatrical tradition in Wales is as hard to define and as nebulous as its linguistic history. The first eisteddfod dates back to 1176: Lord Rhys invited musicians and poets from across Wales to his castle in Cardigan to compete.[54] From then onwards, eisteddfodau were held across Wales by Welsh gentry. They continued to be private events, however, and eventually declined in popularity. It was not until the revival of eisteddfodau in the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries that they became publicly available.[55]

The real drive to reinvigorate the eisteddfodau came following the aforementioned government report dubbed the Treachery of the Blue Books (Brad y Llyfrau Gleision).[56] By 1860 the National Eisteddfod Council was established and the pattern for the modern eisteddfodau created. Since 1861, there has been a National Eisteddfod every year except 1914 with the outbreak of the First World War and 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic.[57] Participants compete in Welsh speaking, poetry recital, music, singing, dance, theatre, visual art and design. There is even a competition for Welsh learners. As Alessandro Falassi explains: 'By singling out its outstanding members and giving them prizes, the group implicitly reaffirms some of its most important values'.[58] The intricate relationship between Welsh national identity and language is most conspicuous when examining the history of the

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[54] Richter, 'National Identity in Medieval Wales', p. 75.

[55] R. Paul Evans, 'Mythology and tradition', *The Remaking of Wales in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Trevor Herbert and Gareth Elwyn Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988), pp. 149-73, p. 151.

[56] A play by the same name was written by Robert Jones Derfel in 1854, in response to the Report. It has been digitised by the National Library of Wales and can be read online: <https://viewer.library.wales/4798923#?c=&m=&s=&cv=8&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F4798923%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=-972%2C-133%2C3820%2C3102> [accessed 8th April 2020].

[57] 'About Us', *Eisteddfod*, <https://eisteddfod.wales/about-us> [accessed 1st March 2017]; 'Ceredigion National Eisteddfod postponed for a year', *Eisteddfod*, 30th March 2020, <https://eisteddfod.wales/ceredigion-national-eisteddfod-postponed-year> [accessed 30th March 2020].

[58] 'Festival', p. 5.

eisteddfodau and how they have served to bolster Welsh nationalism over the centuries. With a particular emphasis on language, the eisteddfodau, which now garner international attention, have played a crucial role in the preservation of Welsh. There are several eisteddfodau that take place in Wales.[59] The Eisteddfod Genedlaethol (National Eisteddfod) changes its location each year, making it a truly national event as it is made accessible to different regional communities each time.[60] The concept of the eisteddfod has spread internationally to places such as the US, South Africa, Australia, England, Argentina and Jersey.[61]

The eisteddfodau are crucial to Shakespeare's plays' interaction with the Welsh language. As noted, his works were first translated into Welsh for competition, just four years after the formation of the modern eisteddfod. *Hamlet* was translated by David Griffiths (1864), under the imaginative pseudonym of William Stratford; this appears to be the earliest published Welsh translation of a Shakespearean play. *Hamlet (Tywysog Denmarc)* won the National Eisteddfod in Llandudno and was serialised for national publication by R. Hughes & Sons, as well as in the quarterly journal of the National Eisteddfod in 1866; it is believed that it was never performed.[62] According to Katie Gramich, Griffiths' translation, whilst 'sonorous […], now seems the epitome of Victorian fustian', particularly when compared to more recent

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[59] For example: Eisteddfod Yr Urdd <https://www.urdd.cymru/en/eisteddfod/what-eisteddfod/> or the International Eisteddfod at Llangollen <https://international-eisteddfod.co.uk/a-bit-of-background/history-of-lime/> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[60] 'About Us', *Eisteddfod*.

[61] Many different events take place across the globe, here are a few select examples: from the US <http://welshheritageweek.org/about/> [accessed 8th April 2020]; Australia <https://sydneyeisteddfod.com.au/our-story/organisation/> [accessed 8th April 2020]; Argentina <https://www.patagonia.com.ar/Trelew/127E_Eisteddfod+a+traditional+festival.html> [accessed 8th April 2020]; South Africa <https://www.eisteddfod.co.za/AboutUs.html> [accessed 8th April 2020]; England <https://www.bristoldance.co.uk/> [accessed 8th April 2020]; Jersey <https://www.jerseyeisteddfod.org.je/> [accessed 8th April 2020]. The eisteddfodau of the Channel Isles were created with the express intention of preserving the local dialects of Jersey and Guernsey.

[62] Katie Gramich, 'Afterword: Translating Shakespeare', *Shakespeare and Wales: From the Marches to the Assembly*, ed. by Willy Maley and Phillip Schwyzer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 211-20, p. 211.

translations.[63] Welsh translators were not simply translating Shakespeare, but were doing so 'into terms which the Wales of 1864 would know, understand and acknowledge', drawing on Welsh literary and poetical traditions.[64] Therefore, they made their translations, or tradaptations, more accessible for contemporaneous readers and audiences. In contrast to early Euskara and te reo Māori translators of Shakespeare who often wrote back to classical forms of their languages, Welsh translators were working to suit current attitudes towards literature, language and theatre. There was not the same need that Euskara and te reo Māori translators felt to create a literary canon, but rather Welsh translators were enhancing a pre-existing tradition by including Shakespeare, and attempting to increase its visibility across Wales. By translating Shakespeare, who automatically commands immense cultural capital, a certain degree of cultural and social validation could therefore be given to Welsh as it was shown to be able to accommodate the language of Shakespeare's plays. This attitude was reinforced across the centuries as further Welsh-language translators and playwrights adapted his work.

Whilst it is true that Shakespeare was rarely performed in Welsh during this time, beyond a speech or two at the eisteddfod, the fact that his works were deemed suitable to include in a festival championing Welsh culture and language speaks to the cultural authority he had at that time. Most commonly translated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were songs or speeches in the form of songs from a variety of Shakespeare's plays. The National Library of Wales lists twenty-three different scores created between 1895 and 1999; most of these date from the early twentieth century and explicitly state that they were written for the

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid., p. 211-2.

National Eisteddfod.[65] Of these, Lorenzo's monologue 'How sweet the moonlight sleeps' (*Merchant of Venice* I.v.54) was the most popular. It was first set to music in 1895 by David Emlyn Evans and then translated in 1898. Thanks to the publishing company Novello, established in 1811 in London's Soho, volumes of musical scores were made publicly accessible and, crucially, inexpensive. Pertinent to this discussion, Ivor Novello was a Welsh composer and actor, and successfully competed in eisteddfodau as a boy.[66] This sudden availability of popular musical scores led to a rapid growth of choirs and music societies across the UK. It also facilitated further Shakespearean-influenced competitors at the eisteddfodau, and accounts for the concentration of translations of songs occurring around the turn of the century: seven of the twenty-three in the National Library of Wales' catalogue date from before 1930.

Exactly when the first performance of a Welsh-language Shakespearean play occurred is a difficult puzzle to solve. Due to the dispersal of isolated, smaller theatre companies across the country and a lack of surviving documentation, tracing a performance history that represents the complete picture is challenging. As such, I cannot claim that this is an exhaustive account, rather I have focused on certain productions to explore what Shakespeare has meant to Welsh theatre-makers across time; this also applies to Chapters Three and Four. There have been many individuals who have used Shakespeare as a source for translation. For example, the famous Baptist preacher Christmas Evans (1766-1838) translated Shakespeare,

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[65] All records can be found online: *The National Library of Wales*, <https://www.library.wales/> [accessed 8th April 2020].

[66] Walter Macqueen-Pope, *Ivor: the Story of an Achievement; a biography of Ivor Novello* (London: Hutchinson, 1954), p. 29.

alongside Milton and William Cowper.[67] Similarly, John Alban Morris (1842-1909), a pastor and tutor at the Baptist College, Aberystwyth, was a prolific translator of Shakespeare's plays and poems: drafts of his translations of *Tempest*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Macbeth*, *Henry VIII*, as well as Shakespeare's longer poems and sonnets are held by the National Library of Wales.[68] As far as can be ascertained, none of their translations were ever staged. Given the unspoken status of the church as an unofficial form of theatre available to the general public during this time, it is perhaps unsurprising that these two preachers would also turn their hands to translating plays.[69] Evans, for example, was universally praised for his abilities as a performer: 'He was one of the three giants of the Welsh pulpit in the "golden age" of preaching'.[70]

Partial manuscripts for *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* also survive from this period: *Macbeth* (1872) was translated by Nathan Dyfed, a writer and 'ardent eisteddfodwr [who] gained over 100 prizes'.[71] A translation of *1 Henry IV* (1874) was presented at the National Eisteddfod in Bangor by Ioan Pedr, who was a minister and Welsh language tutor and scholar, but there is

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[67] John Thomas Jones, 'EVANS, CHRISTMAS (1766-1838), Baptist minister', *Dictionary for Welsh Biography*, < https://biography.wales/article/s-EVAN-CHR-1766?&query=shakespeare&lang[]=en&sort=score&order=desc&rows=12&page=1#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F4909188%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=-1449%2C334%2C8263%2C7132> [accessed 9th April 2020].

[68] Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, GB 0210 CARDMFS, Cardiff MS 2.1243, 2.1244, 4.1095, 4.1096, 4.1097, 4.1100.

[69] This is a hang-over from Shakespeare's time when churches were used as theatrical performing spaces. See Siobhan Keenan, 'Playing to the Gods: Church as Theatre', *Travelling players in Shakespeare's England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 45-65.

[70] Jones, 'EVANS, CHRISTMAS'.

[71] Nathan Dyfed was the pseudonym for Jonathan Owain Reynolds. Alongside his writing career, he was a wheelwright and an active supporter of Welsh-language movements, serving as secretary for the Cymreigyddion Society. Edward Ivor Williams, 'REYNOLDS, JONATHAN OWAIN Nathan Dyfed (1814-1891), author', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, <https://biography.wales/article/s-REYN-OWA-1814> [accessed 3rd March 2021].

no surviving evidence that it was performed.[72] Dyfed also translated *King Lear*, which was published in the Cardiff Weekly Mail on 6th December 1884. *Chwaryddiaeth y Brenin Llyr* is based on Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke's version. By using their edition, Dyfed was drawing on the popular literature of the time as Cowden Clarke's *Illustrated Shakespeare* had been published just a few years prior. Moreover, the play choice is significant as Dyfed was directly drawing connections between ancient Britain, the setting of *Lear*, and Wales. Dyfed aligned his translation, and therefore Shakespeare, with Welsh history and culture by taking advantage of the country's deep-rooted native mythology and bardic traditions.

What is most striking about Shakespeare's influence on nineteenth-century Welsh-language advocates is that Welsh playwrights imitated him in their own works. The earliest national call for dramatic literature produced 'a series of idealised presentations of Welsh history, in the "Drama Cantatas" of Beriah Gwynfe Evans', who was a journalist, dramatist and Welsh language activist.[73] In 1879, Evans won the play-writing competition at the National Eisteddfod at Llanberis with *Owain Glyndŵr*, which bore the subtitle 'Drama yn null Shakespeare' ('A play in the manner of Shakespeare').[74] It was staged the following year by the group that would later form the Llanberis Company, 'the first of its kind to perform substantial dramatic texts'.[75] *Owain Glyndŵr* was deemed so culturally significant that it was remounted in 1911 in Caernarfon as part of the celebrations dedicated to the investiture of the

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[72] Robert Thomas Jenkins, 'PETER, JOHN (Ioan Pedr; 1833 - 1877), Independent minister and college tutor, and Welsh scholar', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, <https://biography.wales/article/s-PETE-JOH-1833#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F4670446%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=846%2C1200%2C546%2C441> [accessed 3rd March 2021]; Kate Chedgzoy, 'Wales', *Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson, Stanley Wells, Will Sharpe, Erin Sullivan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 515.

[73] Williams, 'Towards national identities', p. 246-7; Edward Morgan Humphreys, 'EVANS, BERIAH GWYNFE (1848 - 1927), journalist and dramatist', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, <https://biography.wales/article/s-EVAN-GWY-1848> [accessed 3rd March 2021].

[74] Gramich, 'Afterword', p. 212.

[75] Williams, 'Towards national identities', p. 247.

Prince of Wales, Edward VIII.[76]

As the Welsh were rebuilding a stronger sense of national pride through reconstructing a national identity, playwrights and translators used Shakespeare to further their cause. Taking ownership of their culture and language required staking a claim over Shakespeare, the English National Poet, whilst also reclaiming the figure of Glendower, a character who reveals contemporaneous divided attitudes towards the Welsh in Shakespeare's time. According to the English in *1 Henry IV*, Glendower is immediately cast as 'irregular and wild' (I.i.40) and a 'great magician' (I.iii.82). It is easy to see why he is demonised and simultaneously praised in history and myth, as Glendower is a Welsh saviour from English oppression. Evans' play was a major catalyst for a national theatre drive that was gathering momentum at the turn of the twentieth century.

Twentieth-Century Welsh Shakespeare

The twentieth century witnessed a considerable rise in not only the amount of Shakespeare's plays produced, but the scale on which they were being made. These productions made significant contributions to the national effort to reinvigorate the Welsh language. The work of Thomas Gwynn Jones is one such moment.[77] A prolific translator and writer, Jones first turned to Shakespeare in 1902. His translation of *Macbeth* was serialised for weekly publication in *Papur Pawb* (*Everyone's Paper*). According to Jones' introduction to the 1942 publication of his translation, initially it did not draw much attention, but was eventually republished by Sir

[76] Humphreys, 'EVANS, BERIAH GWYNFE'.

[77] Arthur ap Gwynn and Francis Wynn Jones, 'Jones, Thomas Gywnn (1871-1949), poet, writer, translator and scholar', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, <https://biography.wales/article/s2-JONE-GWY-1871?&query=shakespeare&lang[]=en&sort=score&order=desc&rows=12&page=2> [accessed 1st March 2017].

Owen Edwards (a strong influencer on Jones' work) in 1916. After a hiatus caused by the First World War, Jones' *Macbeth* was finally produced in 1938. There was hope that it would have been staged a year earlier with Sybil Thorndike as Lady Macbeth as part of the National Eisteddfod at Machynlleth, but there was not a suitable theatre for it.[78] *Macbeth* was produced twice in 1938: first in Llanelli by a local theatre company (dir. Meriel Williams); then at the National Eisteddfod of Wales in Cardiff (dir. Haydn Davis).[79]

Whilst a lot of the research undertaken for this thesis has involved many hours buried in various archives, sometimes the archive has not told the complete story – a common occurrence when working with minority languages, as historically there has often not been a social drive to collect texts, or an official place to store them. Occasionally, anecdotal evidence has to supplement the archival. An example of this is Jones' translation of *Macbeth*. Nowadays, several different institutions house Jones' papers and manuscripts: the National Library of Wales hold some of Jones' letters dated from 1916 in which he discusses translating *Macbeth,* as well as a 1938 typescript that was used in performance for the second production, and several printed editions from 1942.[80] Similarly, the University of Aberystwyth have some of Jones' papers.[81] And, a copy of *Macbeth* is kept by the British Library.[82] However, a primary source of information for this production and its performances has been Professor Daniel Williams (Swansea University). His personal copy of the play includes an inscription from his grandfather to his brother dated October 1942: the note recalls the two of

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[78] Emyr Edwards, 'Macbeth yn y Gymraeg' (programme note), *Macbeth* by William Shakespeare, translation by Gwyn Thomas (Caerphilly: Caerphilly Castle, 2017), pp. 3-4, p. 3. Whether Thorndike learnt Welsh for the part remains a mystery.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Papurau Thomas Gwynn Jones, GB 0210 TGWYNNJON; NLW MS 22258E - T. Gwynn Jones: Macbeth.

[81] Aberystwyth, Aberystwyth University Archives, T Gwynn Jones and Arthur ap Gwynn Papers, GB 982 TGJ.

[82] London, British Library, General Reference Collection YF.2012.a.6801.

them sitting in the upper tier of the Prince of Wales Theatre in Cardiff (now requisitioned as a Wetherspoon's pub) in 1938 watching the production, 'as though on Mount Olympus'.[83] Reviews praised the production as being 'a step forward in history of Welsh drama, a valuable experience for a director, actors and audiences, and a contribution to the development of the Welsh language as a stage language'.[84] T.O. Phillips wrote that the production 'possessed atmosphere and finish, colour and tone. It was superbly dressed and well-conceived and played with a good deal of manner and distinction and smooth competency'.[85] For Jack James (Macbeth), Phillips had even more praise: 'Seldom can we hope to see a finer amateur interpretation, despite some lapses from sheer exhaustion towards the end'.[86] This piecemeal account highlights the general scattered nature of theatre archiving.[87]

The problem is compounded further by the predominance of small-scale amateur companies that existed across Wales throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: some three hundred and fifty groups 'continued unabated until the outbreak of World War Two'.[88] Theatre historian O. Llew Owain asserts that there were 'extensive' performances and translations of Shakespeare's work being undertaken at this time.[89] Theatr Garthewin, started by the Wynne family, is a good example. A disused barn on their estate served as the theatre building and they engaged Saunders Lewis, 'undoubtedly the greatest Welsh-language

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[83] Handwritten note on inside of *Macbeth* (Llundain: Foyle, 1942). My thanks to Professor Williams for giving me access to his personal copy.

[84] Edwards, 'Macbeth yn y Gymraeg', p. 4.

[85] Quoted in Edwards, 'Macbeth yn y Gymraeg', p. 4.

[86] Ibid.

[87] The archival records and papers held by the University of Aberystwyth might have offered further insights. Sadly the research trip planned to the archive had to be cancelled due to the 2020 Covid-19 lockdown in the UK.

[88] J. Ellis Williams, *Inc yn fy Ngwaed* (Llanybie: Llyfrau'r Dryw, 1963), p. 113.

[89] *Hanes y Ddrama yng Nghymuru 1850-1943*, quoted in Edwards, 'Macbeth yn y Gymraeg', p. 3.

playwright of the age', to write new plays; they also hosted many festivals.[90] John T. Jones' translation of *Hamlet* was presented in 1958 at the National Eisteddfod at Ebbw Vale and published 1960.[91] It was staged by the Garthewin Players in 1964 as one of several Welsh celebrations of Shakespeare's quarter-centenary.[92] Directed by Morris Jones, the production was deemed a success, not only for the 'intelligence of the performance' by the amateur company of 'thirty-five young people – mothers, electricians, office workers, farmers' sons', but the 'magnificently idiomatic translation conveyed the universal strength of Shakespeare, proof enough that Welsh can bear strains more demanding than those of cottage comedies'.[93] In keeping with many early commentators on Shakespeare in translation into minority languages, Father Illtud Evans uses the success of the moment to reaffirm the 'richness and maturity' of the Welsh language as it has withstood the test of Shakespeare.[94] As Gramich notes: 'the fact that the Welsh language is capable of bearing the weight of Shakespeare, as it were, suggests at least to this critic that, *pace* Saunders Lewis, it *has* a future'.[95] The production took advantage of the cultural capital of Shakespeare in order to bolster local pride in the language.

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[90] Gramich 'Afterword', p. 215. See also Hazel Walford Davies, *Saunders Lewis a Theatr Garthewin* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1995).

[91] National Library of Wales, GB 0210 GARWIN - Papurau Theatr Garthewin, 3; Stratford upon Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 'Trasiedi Hamlet, Tywysog Denmarc/cyfieithiad Cymraeg gan J.T. Jones', Class mark 50.07 Welsh/1960, <http://collections.shakespeare.org.uk/search/library/83192514> [accessed 1st March 2017]. Jones also translated and published *Romeo a Juliet* (1960), *Marsiandwr Fenis* (*The Merchant of Venice*, 1969), *Nos Ystwyll* (*Twelfth Night*, 1970).

[92] National Library of Wales holds Jones' papers, including a letter he sent to the Garthewin players along with his translation.

[93] Father Illtud Evans, 'The Future of Welsh', *The Tablet*, 11th June 1964, cited in Walford Davies, *Saunders Lewis a Theatr Garthewin*, p. 232.

[94] Quoted in Gramich, 'Afterword', p. 216. Father Illtud Evans (born John Alban Evans) was a Dominican priest and scholar, who travelled and wrote extensively having trained as a journalist before taking orders. As well as writing for *The Tablet*, he edited *Blackfriars*, a publication for English Dominicans. See Trystan Owain Hughes, 'The Roman Catholic Church and Society in Wales, 1916-62' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wales, 1998).

[95] Ibid. Original italics.

It was also seen as a way for people to learn Welsh 'afresh', reinvigorating the social drive to protect the language.[96] Evans uses *Hamlet* to write a call to arms for Welsh speakers. I quote his article at length to demonstrate the growing fear surrounding the need to protect Welsh against 'flood' of English influence:

> A drama festival in a quiet valley of Wales may seem but a small contribution to the work of re-establishing the language. […] So much can be learned from a local achievement, for its success is not simply due to the isolation from the mindless world of the juke-box and the pop singers' magazines. […]
> the use of Welsh is not a matter of archaeology, a minority choice. It is a means – and a play is as good a way as any – of finding afresh the roots of a community's meaning. […]
> No one will bother with Welsh […] unless it is seen to be an enhancement of what it means to be human. And that is a process that involves – to return to the analogy that Garthewin Festival provides – not only declaiming great poetry but serving the teas, mending the fuses, and saying hello to your friends.[97]

In order to truly protect Welsh, it cannot be seen as a museum piece or for special occasions; it must become part of the everyday fabric of Welsh society and continue to evolve along with it. Evans' article also alludes to the long-standing tradition of grass-roots theatre throughout Wales. It is probable that many other such productions were taking place across Wales, now lost to time because of a lack of surviving evidence.[98]

Wales also celebrated the quarter-centenary of Shakespeare's birth on a national level: Jones' 1942 translation of *Macbeth* was performed as part of the National Eisteddfod at the

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[96] Evans, 'The Future of Welsh', quoted in Hazel Walford Davies 'Saunders Lewis a Theatr Garthewin' (programme note), *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare, translation by Gareth Miles (Swansea: Swansea Grand Theatre, 2005), pp. 13-6, p. 15.

[97] Ibid., p. 14.

[98] Ceri Sherlock's 1988 Welsh-language *Hamlet* has met a similar fate. Beyond a note in *Shakespeare Survey* and the occasional mention in articles that simply state the fact that the production occurred, I cannot track down any more information about it. See Nicky Rathbone, 'Professional Shakespeare Productions in the British Isles, January-December 1988', *Shakespeare Survey*, Vol. 43 (1991), pp. 205-17, p. 206. Sherlock's classical theatre company, Theatrig, and similar companies had to compete for public funding from the Arts Council, meaning that a focus of their programming was often new writing in Welsh, alongside translations of European playwrights. It also meant that with so many theatre companies vying for the same pot of funding, not many of them survived for very long.

Grand Theatre in Swansea. Such was the cultural value placed on the production that the Welsh Committee of the Arts Council teamed up with BBC Wales to produce it.[99] The same production was televised, marking a further important moment in Welsh-language Shakespearean history as *Macbeth* was made freely available to the whole nation.[100] Moreover, this 'major' production was reckoned to have assembled 'the largest ever' cast for a 'Welsh television drama production', and included 'many of the best-known performers in Wales'.[101]

I will step away from the stage for a moment to address the adaptations produced by S4C and BBC Wales in the early 1990s: *Shakespeare: the Animated Tales*.[102] Conceived by S4C, the first television mini-series consisted of six plays.[103] Professor Sir Stanley Wells was the textual advisor; Professor Gwyn Thomas, the translator for ThGC's 2017 *Macbeth*, was responsible for creating the Welsh-language version of the same play for the animated series.[104] They have been praised by Sioned Wyn Roberts, S4C Commissioner for Children

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[99] '"Macbeth" at the Eisteddfod', *The Guardian*, 14th February 1964, p. 22. Available online: The Guardian (1959-2003); ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/hnpguardianobserver/docview/184915011/fulltextPDF/68C73189547C4717PQ/2?accountid=8630> [accessed 15th April 2020]. See also *19th Annual Report of the Arts Council of Great Britain 1963/64*, p. 70, <https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/download-file/The%2019th%20Annual%20Report%20of%20the%20Arts%20Council%20of%20Great%20Britain%201963_64.pdf> [accessed 27th April 2020].

[100] 'Television and Radio', *The Guardian*, 1st October 1964, p. 1. Available online: The Guardian (1959-2003); ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer, <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/hnpguardianobserver/docview/184921662/pageviewPDF/C6212A6D299847F9PQ/1?accountid=8630> [accessed 15th April 2020].

[101] 'Large cast of Welsh actors in Macbeth', *The Stage*, 24th September 1964, p. 9, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001180/19640924/074/0009> [accessed 27th April 2020].

[102] See Peter Holland, 'Shakespeare abbreviated', *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Popular Culture*, ed. by Robert Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 26-45. The episodes are available in English and have been dubbed into many other languages. It appears that, whilst all the episodes are available in Welsh now, originally only *Macbeth* was translated and broadcast on S4C in 1992.

[103] 'Shakespeare in Welsh – classic films available to all online', *S4C*, 30th June 2016, <http://www.s4c.cymru/en/press/post/28264/shakespeare-in-welsh-classic-films-available-to-all-online/> [accessed 15th April 2020]. The first series (1992) included: *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *Tempest*, *Twelfth Night* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The second series (1994) featured: *Richard III*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *As You Like It*, *Julius Caesar*, *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale.*

[104] Gerwyn Williams, 'Gwyn Thomas (1936-2016): Gŵr geiriau a dyn lluniau' (programme note), *Macbeth* by William Shakespeare, translation by Gwyn Thomas (Caerphilly: Caerphilly Castle, 2017), pp. 5-6, p. 5.

and Young People's Content, as a way to 'introduce Shakespeare's classic plays to pupils in a highly engaging way'.[105] S4C made the whole collection freely available in 2016 as part of the global celebrations marking 400 years since Shakespeare's death.[106] The production aimed to instil in the audience 'an appreciation and love of Shakespeare, out of a conviction of Shakespeare as a cultural artifact available to all, not restricted to a narrowly defined social or educated class nor to a narrowly defined form of performance'.[107] The fact that it was the Welsh-language television station that was the catalyst for what is now considered to be an important part of the modern Shakespearean adaptation canon speaks to the contemporaneous drive to promote Welsh as not only an educational tool, but an integral part of Welsh literary culture. This innovation continued throughout Welsh-language productions in the twenty-first century.

In 2003, Michael Bogdanov created the Wales Theatre Company (WTC), with the support of Swansea City Council and Arts Council of Wales (ACW; formally established 1994).[108] WTC evolved out of the ad hoc company Bogdanov set up for the Ludlow Castle Open Air Theatre, the main part of the annual Ludlow Festival, of which he had been in charge since 2001. Bogdanov directed *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Winter's Tale* in 2003. The irony of performing Shakespeare with an all-Welsh cast in the grounds of a castle designed to keep the Welsh out was not lost on Bogdanov. Nor was the fact that, according to Bogdanov at the time, 'Welsh theatre is in a parlous state […] It's non-existent, really': there was just one 'producing theatre in the whole country, Theatr Clwyd, and 65 per cent of its

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[105] 'Shakespeare in Welsh – classic films available to all online'

[106] Ibid.

[107] Holland, 'Shakespeare abbreviated', p.44.

[108] Bogdanov had previously established the English Shakespeare Company in 1986.

audiences [came] from the north-west of England. Ludlow [presented] the only current opportunity to get together a large-scale Welsh theatre company', and as he further lamented 'it [happened] to be outside Wales!'[109]

During its six years of existence, WTC produced fourteen 'large-scale pieces of work and [toured] throughout the UK to great acclaim', before being forced to fold due to a lack of funding.[110] An English-language *Cymbeline*, *Twelfth Night* and *The Merchant of Venice* were produced as a trilogy (2003-4), 'bringing together a great team of Welsh actors'.[111] They were followed by an ambitious production of *Hamlet* (2005), which was staged in English and Welsh (translated by Miles). One of WTC's final productions was a contemporary English-language *Romeo and Juliet* (2008). Early in its career, WTC was dubbed as 'the Welsh National Theatre-in-waiting'.[112] Ironically, Bogdanov had tried to establish a National Theatre of Wales in 1999, but was unsuccessful due to 'bureaucracy':

> There's a great belief in social democracy in Wales, but too often that leads to the cult of the amateur. […] The Welsh may have one foot in the 19th century, but the one in the 21st century is slowly dragging it forward. The dragon is stirring.[113]

In a bid to stir the dragon further into action, Bogdanov set up a company of his own. WTC was described at the time as 'blazing a trail', as it was still only 'large-scale producing theatre company in South Wales', 'complementing the work of Terry Hands' Clwyd Theatr Cymru in

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[109] James Rampton, 'Storming the ramparts', *The Independent*, 3rd July 2003, <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre-dance/features/storming-the-ramparts-94572.html> [accessed 14th April 2020].

[110] Karen Price, 'Bogdanov to wind up Welsh theatre company after tour', *Wales Online*, 4th February 2009, <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/local-news/bogdanov-wind-up-welsh-theatre-2121903> [accessed 14th April 2020].

[111] Michael Kelligan, 'A skilful contemporary interpretation', *Theatre in Wales*, 27th September 2008, <http://www.theatre-wales.co.uk/reviews/reviews_details.asp?reviewID=1948> [accessed 14th April 2020].

[112] *Western Mail* quoted in Rampton, 'Storming the ramparts'.

[113] Bogdanov quoted in Rampton, 'Storming the ramparts'.

the North'.[114] A detailed discussion of the many forms that the Welsh national theatres have taken over time will form the next section of this chapter. For now, let us turn our attention to WTC's bilingual *Hamlet*.

Co-directed by Bogdanov and Kirsty Jones, *Hamlet* was designed to speak directly to a contemporary Welsh audience. According to Miles, Shakespeare's text could be used as a challenge to 'the narrow, philistine, authoritarian puritanism upheld – at least in public – by the ruling classes of England and the United States'.[115] As such, 'Shakespeare [is] constantly translated; most recently into a Welsh Marxist vision of a crumbling neocolonial present'.[116] The translation was commissioned by ACW and was subsequently adopted 'as the official school text'.[117] The show opened at WTC's home in Swansea, the Grand Theatre, before touring Wales, as the company's other Shakespeare productions had done before.

Miles translated the play into '*Vers libre*', as according to him, it 'gives the translator a better chance of emulating the suppleness, power and density of Shakespeare's language', whilst Welsh blank verse can be 'oppressively mechanical'.[118] Iambic pentameter would not have worked either: it 'is a verse form designed to replicate natural, spoken English and is incompatible with the innate characteristics of Welsh. Or, at least, Welsh being more muscular and accented doesn't need it on stage'.[119] Miles was echoing a similar (somewhat provocative) sentiment expressed by Bogdanov about Welsh actors several years earlier:

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[114] Alice Jones, 'Preview: Hamlet, Touring, Wales', *The Independent*, 2nd November 2005, <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre-dance/features/preview-hamlet-touring-wales-324178.html> [accessed 14th April 2020]; Michael Kelligan, 'Hamlet', *British Theatre Guide*, 2005, <https://www.britishtheatreguide.info/reviews/hamletWTC-rev> [accessed 14th April 2020].

[115] Gareth Miles, 'Rhagair y Cyfieithydd' (Translator's Foreword), *Hamlet*, p. v, translated by Gramich, 'Afterword' p. 216.

[116] Gramich, 'Afterword', p. 217.

[117] Jones, 'Preview: Hamlet, Touring, Wales'.

[118] Original italics. Miles, 'Translator's Foreword', p. 5.

[119] Ibid.

> I passionately believe that Shakespeare sounds much better when it is delivered in a Celtic voice. Celtic actors have a warmth, a passion and a clarity that a lot of English 'head' actors just don't possess. […] They get bogged down in emphasising the literary side […] Many of the towering giants of Shakespearean acting have been Welsh or Irish because they have taken the language by the scruff of the neck and given it a good shake.[120]

Unencumbered by 'that RP nonsense', actors performing in accents are arguably freer to experiment with the texts.[121] As Bogdanov affirms: 'Any accent gives a play life'.[122] The same can be said of performing a text in translation: 'Once you're working in translation, you can be much freer with the language and make it much more accessible to a modern audience'.[123] As demonstrated in Chapter One, a translated text is not necessarily weighted down in the same way as a Shakespearean play in English; it is perhaps not surrounded in centuries of performance history and critical theory, and can in some ways be treated like a new play. This was certainly reflected in Miles' attitude towards his translation. Keen to avoid 'archaism and anachronism' in his choice of language, he wanted the translation to 'seem to be the text of a new Welsh play based on an ancient legend'.[124] As Miles concluded: '*Hamlet* was written to be performed, not to be studied in a lecture hall, seminar or classroom and certainly not to be declaimed in eisteddfodic recitation competitions'.[125] As such, Miles worked to tradapt 'a Welsh-language reproduction of the play, not a mere translation of the text'.[126] This attitude would be replicated in ThGC's 2017 *Macbeth*.

Drawing on contemporary politics to inform the design of the production, Bogdanov,

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[120] Quoted in Rampton, 'Storming the ramparts'.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Bogdanov, quoted in Jones, 'Preview: Hamlet, Touring, Wales'.

[124] Miles, 'Translator's Foreword', p. 4.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid.

Jones and set designer Sean Crowley updated *Hamlet* for a modern audience: 'the sixteenth century battlements of Elsinore Castle [were] replaced with a state of the art twenty-first century military base with all the electronic surveillance gear that goes with it', in a 'powerful and intelligent reworking of the Shakespearean classic'.[127] The production allowed audiences to see and hear Welsh actors performing in Welsh and English, possibly going some way to reassure them that Shakespeare in Welsh can be performed successfully in the aftermath of ThGC's *Romeo a Juliet* (2004), which is discussed later in this chapter. *Hamlet* made significant contributions to the creation of a modern Welsh Shakespeare that reflected the bilingual nature of the country.

Welsh Shakespeares in English

As will be revealed across the all examples in this thesis, theatre practitioners from minority backgrounds often have to work in the dominant language of their country, either due to issues around audience accessibility or a lack of actors fluent enough to perform in their minority language, or both. In Wales, the Wales' Actors Company was set up in 1985, and was known for its large-scale, open air productions. Their theatrical programme featured mostly Shakespearean plays performed in English. As the Company stated: 'As well as pioneering new venues and audiences in Wales with its open air and community productions it has a 90% local casting policy with a commitment to developing new actors'.[128] With that in mind, I

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[127] Kelligan, 'Hamlet'; Graham Williams, 'Hamlet review at Swansea Grand Theatre', *The Stage*, 28th October 2005, < https://www.thestage.co.uk/reviews/2005/hamlet-review-at-swansea-grand-theatre/> [accessed 7th April 2020].

[128] 'Wales' Actors Company', *Theatre in Wales*, <http://www.theatre-wales.co.uk/companies/company_details.asp?ID=38> [accessed 14th April 2020].

shall take a moment here to briefly discuss the work of three Anglo-Welsh theatre companies that work in English but embed their productions within Welsh contexts: Volcano Theatre, Swansea; the Willow Globe, Penlanole; and De Oscuro, Cardiff.

Volcano Theatre, established in 1983, initially sought to distance themselves from a specifically Welsh cultural agenda, 'actively disavowing any discussion of the "problem of Welsh-ness"'.[129] The company's tagline is: 'Contemporary European Theatre, Made in Wales'.[130] Despite this, 'Volcano had many of the attributes of those that did [address Welsh-ness]: a commitment to their chosen community, [and] an unorthodox affinity with a historical and political tradition which has played a vital role in the creation of modern Wales'.[131] As such, it is hard to separate Volcano from their actively pro-Welsh counterparts as they too 'sought to address complex issues of identity, history and social responsibility through performance'.[132] Heavily influenced by physical theatre practices, Volcano has adapted four different Shakespeare-related plays, fashioning 'a distinctive Welsh version of the Shakespeare canon': *Macbeth- Director's Cut* (1998; 2016; 2018), *Romeo and Juliet* (2004-5), *L.O.V.E.* (by Nigel Charnock, based on the Sonnets; 2012-13) and *Hamletmachine* (by Heiner Müller; 2019).[133] Nearly all of their productions tour nationally and internationally, increasing the accessibility of their work. Volcano claim to be 'outward-looking Welsh internationalists with deep Swansea roots, fascinated by the place [they] live and make work and its

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[129] Roger Owen, 'Theatre in Wales in the 1990s and beyond', *The Cambridge History of British Theatre: Vol 3: Since 1895*, ed. by Baz Kershaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 485-97, p. 493; Paul Davies, 'Physical theatre and its discontents', *Staging Wales: Welsh Theatre 1979-1997*, ed. by Anne-Marie Taylor (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), p. 163. Google ebook.

[130] Homepage, *Volcano Theatre*, <http://www.volcanotheatre.co.uk/> [accessed 8th April 2020].

[131] Owen, 'Theatre in Wales in the 1990s and beyond', p. 494.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Chedgzoy, 'Wales', p. 515.

relationship to other places'.[134]

The influence of their contemporaries can be seen throughout Volcano's distinctive style. Companies such as Brith Gof successfully established devised, site-specific theatre as a key identifying theatrical genre across Wales, whilst drawing on a host of international theatrical practices and aiming to 'develop a new, vibrant and distinctive theatre tradition in Wales […] relevant and responsive to the perceptions, experience, aspirations and concerns of a minority culture'.[135] As such, Volcano regularly create their productions using contemporary techniques in order to break theatre's fourth wall, stripping 'back action and character' to deliver 'strictly untraditional Shakespeare'.[136] Employing minimal casts (*Macbeth- Director's Cut* had just two actors, *Romeo and Juliet*, four; both were directed/co-directed by Paul Davies, Volcano's Artistic Director) and a range of performance styles, Volcano aim to challenge audience members and actors alike by repeatedly 'shaking up Shakespeare with dark humour and theatrically anarchic relish'.[137]

The notion of using Wales as a stage is perhaps most literally interpreted by the Willow Globe, featured in Chapter One. Planted in 2006 by Artistic Directors Sue Best and Philip Bowen, the theatre grows out of the landscape of the site, using a bank in the field to give 'a natural rake to the auditorium and the setting sun [lights] the stage of an evening'.[138] Alongside a varied theatrical programme, they host fortnightly 'Have-a-go' sessions,

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[134] 'About Us', *Volcano Theatre*, <http://www.volcanotheatre.co.uk/about-us> [accessed 8th April 2020].

[135] Brith Gof, *Brith Gof: A Welsh Theatre Company: 1981-85* (Aberystwyth: Brith Gof, 1985).

[136] 'Macbeth – Director's Cut', *Volcano Theatre*, <http://www.volcanotheatre.co.uk/whats-on/macbeth-directors-cut> [accessed 8th April 2020]; 'Romeo and Juliet', *Volcano Theatre*, <http://www.volcanotheatre.co.uk/whats-on/romeo-juliet> [accessed 8th April 2020].

[137] Charles Hutchinson, 'Review: Macbeth: Director's Cut, Volcano, November 22; LipService, Mr Darcy Loses The Plot, November 23, both at York Theatre Royal', *The Press*, 25th November 2016, <https://www.yorkpress.co.uk/leisure/theatre/14928276.review-macbeth-directors-cut-volcano-november-22-lipservice-mr-darcy-loses-the-plot-november-23-both-at-york-theatre-royal/> [accessed 8th April 2020].

[138] Sue Best, *The story of how the Willow Globe came to be where it is and how it was planted*..., p. 1. Available online: <https://www.shakespearelink.org.uk/about-willow-globe> [accessed 8th April 2020].

engaging with as many different groups of the community as possible, 'using the medium of Shakespeare to bridge gaps of language and cultural difference'.[139] The living theatre forms a central part of the local community, uniting the Welsh landscape, people and Shakespeare in a unique way.

Working in a comparable style to Volcano, De Oscuro, set up in 2010, is a 'Cardiff-based theatre company which champions multilingualism as a creative tool'.[140] The company adapted *Macbeth* (dir. Artistic Director Judith Roberts) in 2013 to create a multilingual ballet that included Welsh, English, Polish, and Hebrew; the Welsh translation was undertaken by Mererid Hopwood. All of De Oscuro's productions are multilingual, 'born out of a desire to work with the different languages spoken in Wales'.[141] *Mac//Beth* received mixed reviews, mostly due to its seemingly underdeveloped use of languages, which to some critics seemed 'arbitrary' and 'obscure' in terms of who could speak what, when and to whom.[142] The witches and Lady Macbeth occasionally spoke Welsh, leading Zoe Anderson to suggest: 'Perhaps that casts Welsh as a magical or female language, leaving English as the language of power, spoken by men and kings? If so, the point fades away as characters change back and forth'.[143] As discussed in Chapter One, multilingual productions are common in minority theatre, and the minority language often occupies the fantasy realm, whilst the dominant the real-life world of political power. This will be seen again in Chapters Three and Four with the

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[139] Sue Best, 'About Us', *Shakespeare Link*, <https://www.shakespearelink.org.uk/about-shakespeare-link> [accessed 8th April 2020].

[140] Homepage, *De Oscuro*, <https://www.de-oscuro.com/De-Oscuro/> [accessed 8th April 2020].

[141] 'Vision', *De Oscuro*, <https://www.de-oscuro.com/De-Oscuro/vision-gweledigaeth> [accessed 8th April 2020].

[142] Zoe Anderson, 'De Oscuro's Mac//Beth at the Linbury Studio Theatre', *Dancing Times*, 26th November 2013, <https://www.dancing-times.co.uk/macbeth_at_the_linbury/> [accessed 6th April 2020]; Sanjoy Roy, 'De Oscuro: Mac//Beth- review', *The Guardian*, 13th November 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2013/nov/13/de-oscuro-macbeth-review> [accessed 5th April 2019].

[143] 'De Oscuro's Mac//Beth at the Linbury Studio Theatre'.

treatment of fairies in *Dream*.

These Anglo-Welsh companies demonstrate the complex nature of Welsh theatre. They offer hybridisations in terms of performance practices through combining a myriad of techniques, and languages as they reveal that contemporary Welsh culture continues to remain a site of negotiation, dialogue and innovation. Shakespeare acts as one possible vehicle through which these companies explore these complex relationships.

Developing a Welsh National Theatre

Wales did not establish an official national theatre until the turn of the twenty-first century. The country now has two: ThGC came first in 2003, followed by NTW, its English-language equivalent, in 2009. The debate over whether or not Wales was actually in need of a national theatre reaches back in time across several centuries and continues to be relevant today. In 2004, Ioan Williams wrote that 'Welsh-language culture more than ever needed collaborative art forms in which to create and maintain its own imaginative spaces'.[144] He argued that 'it would take something stronger than optimism to feed a conviction that an audience which could dictate the form of *another* Welsh theatre was already beginning to emerge'.[145] Writing just after the establishment of ThGC, it was still too early to know if the fledgling company would be successful in garnering and maintaining such an audience base. The next part of this chapter examines ThGC and its sibling company, considering the work (both successes and failures) they have done to integrate themselves into the Welsh theatrical industry and what

[144] 'Towards national identities', p. 269.
[145] Ibid.

they continue to do to ensure that they are truly representative, national institutions.

Theatre has often occupied a highly charged political significance in Wales, no more so than when the idea of a national theatre was voiced. Fuelled by a preoccupation to present a Welsh national experience both at home and abroad, the various movements throughout time to create a national theatre have shared ideological roots. However, as Steve Blandford has argued:

> The way that such institutions are constituted […] will determine whether or not they are monolithic pale imitations of the same thing that exists elsewhere within a larger state or whether they will offer a framework in which a constant process of […] imagining the nation can take place.[146]

Concerns over providing a distinctive Welsh aesthetic, voice and experience manifested in different ways over the centuries. Earlier offerings focused on the portrayal of the people of Wales, as seen in the work of J.O. Francis and his contemporaries in the early twentieth century; whilst later ones have centred on a relationship with Welsh landscape, evidenced most prominently in the work of groups such as Brith Gof. The company was a key player in the formation of a modern network of theatre companies that for a long time constituted a national theatre.[147] Most recently with the establishment of ThGC and NTW, there have been attempts to marry the two stimuli as both companies are itinerant throughout Wales, engaging with different local communities for every production.

The healthy system of amateur theatre companies that continues to sustain Welsh theatre today has its roots in the eighteenth century. The first national drama movement was called Anterliwt (Interlude), 'which flourished in rural Wales during the later eighteenth and

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[146] 'Theatre Performances in a Devolved Wales', *Theatre and Performance in Small Nations*, ed. by Steve Blandford (Bristol: Intellect, 2013), pp. 53-70, p. 53.

[147] See David Hughes, 'The Welsh National Theatre: the avant-garde in the diaspora', *Contemporary British Theatre*, ed. by Theodore Shank (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 138-51.

the earlier nineteenth centuries', however, because 'the society it served lacked the wealth needed to create permanent structures and practices, this indigenous folk theatre disappeared completely when its social base was undermined'.[148] As already demonstrated, this is a recurring cycle that can be seen throughout Welsh-language theatre history.

The second of the national 'indigenous theatrical models' to emerge from Wales was the Drama Movement (1911-39). 1911 was the year that Welsh was officially recognised as a minority language for the first time.[149] This was also when Evans' *Owain Glyndŵr* was revived, which is 'a good indication of the kind of compromise that underlay [his] romantic nationalism'.[150] As discussed, the revival of the eisteddfodau is inherently tied to the development of theatre, on local and national scales. Whilst Anwen Jones puts the 'first sustained National Theatre movement' as starting around 1894, the same year in which Evans' *Owain Glyndŵr* was performed at Llanberis by the Draig Goch dramatic society, it is crucial to note that both Williams and Jones tie this moment in Welsh-language theatrical history to the same play, indicating the historical importance of its production. Shakespeare, therefore, has long since played a critical part in the Welsh amateur theatre repertoire. As Alyce Von Rothkirch states: 'Sources show that a great number of amateur dramatics societies existed in small towns and villages across Wales, a fact that belies the confident generalization that there was no drama in Wales before 1900'.[151] Newspapers from the late nineteenth century reveal a plethora of performances in both Welsh and English from a wide variety of genres occurring

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[148] Williams, 'Towards national identities', p. 242.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Ibid., p. 247.

[151] 'Changing Times: J.O. Francis and the First Welsh National Drama Movement', *Modern Drama*, Vol. 54 no. 2 (Summer 2011), pp.161-80, p. 165. See also Lisa Lewis and Anwen Jones, *Ysgrifau ar Theatr a Pherfformio* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2013); and Anwen Jones, *Perfformio'r Genedl: Ar Drywydd Hywel Teifi Edwards* (Cardiff: University of Taels Press, 2017).

across the country.

However, due to the enduring aftermath of the Blue Books report and a prolonged influence of religious non-conformism, professional theatre continued to be held with suspicious regard: 'the tendency of the Victorian Welsh middle class, in particular – those with the greatest publicly declared aversion to the professional theatre – to take shelter in a demonstrative and sometime puritan non-conformism' perpetuated the vogue for melodramas and prevented the arrival of literary drama. Indeed, Evans faced severe backlash against his historical plays: it was recorded at the time that '[scores] of youths and maidens … were expelled from Church membership for participating in or attending performances of Mr Evans's "Owen Glyndwr." The author was pilloried by pulpit and press, and embroiled in a newspaper controversy of a peculiarly bitter character'.[152]

In the meantime, travelling companies from England imported 'the standard theatrical fare for industrial areas around Britain'; this repertoire included plays such as *Maria Marten, or the Murder in the Red Barn*, *Sweeney Todd, or the Demon Barber of Fleet Street*, as well as *Hamlet* and *A School for Scandal*.[153] Live entertainment was aimed towards general appeal. Welsh professional theatre was restricted to music hall-esque productions, almost entirely in English and 'very little attempt was made to present plays about Wales' or 'express a national spirit'.[154] Two notable contemporaneous productions of Welsh nomenclature staged in London – *Little Miss Llewellyn* and *The Joneses* – went little further than having Welsh sounding

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[152] X, 'A National Dramatic Association', Part 2 of 'The National Needs of Wales', *Young Wales*, October 1904, pp. 59-63, p. 59.

[153] J.O. Francis, *Beginners Please!* (1955), Aberystwyth, Aberystwyth University Archives, AMS J.O. Francis Collection,; D.R. Davies, *The Old Portable Theatre of South Wales*, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, D.R. Davis Collection of Drama Scrap Books, 20th century, 112.

[154] Von Rothkirch, 'Changing Times', p. 165; p. 168.

names in terms of demonstrating a sense of Welsh national identity.[155] As already established, a reoccurring motif in Wales' history can be found again here: 'progress was identified with anglicization'.[156]

Throughout the nineteenth century, Welsh-language communities were becoming increasingly isolated and fragmented across rural Wales. The Drama Movement was therefore 'part of a wider national movement which produced a widespread feeling that Wales required a dramatic literature and a prestigious theatrical institution in order to sustain its national self-respect'.[157] In 1911 Lord Howard de Walden launched a competition with a prize of £100 to 'stimulate […] attempts at expression in dramatic form'.[158] The competition was successful enough to prompt 'the production of a coherent group of new plays', and companies to perform them.[159] Francis won it 1912 with a political play called *Change*. As Williams writes: 'Almost within moments of the appearance of works like *Change*' a host of 'drama groups and companies sprang up to perform them in villages and towns from one end of Wales to the other, often competing in the increasing numbers of festivals and *eisteddfodau* and sometimes even undertaking semi-professional touring programmes'.[160]

Von Rothkirch points to a 'practical' factor that prevented a literary professional theatre: 'the absence of urbanization in Wales until the mid- to late nineteenth century and the relative poverty of much of the Welsh population'.[161] As numbers of Welsh speakers declined due to the spread of industrialisation, a new Welsh drama emerged. Produced in English, the

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[155] Ibid., p. 161.

[156] Ibid., p. 162.

[157] Ibid., p. 246.

[158] de Walden quoted in Owain, *Hanes y Ddrama yng Nghymru 1850-1943*, p. 107.

[159] Williams, 'Towards national identities', p. 247.

[160] Ibid., pp. 249-50. Original italics.

[161] 'Changing Times', p. 168.

dominant language, this new, 'realist, literary based drama' was inspired by the works of Ibsen, Shaw and Synge.[162] Welsh playwrights of the time produced work that explored aspects of the changing Welsh social and cultural life.

A further important event in 1911 was the establishment of the Welsh National Drama Co. Ltd., colloquially known as The Welsh Players. The work of this group and similar companies was 'immediately harnessed [by critics] to speak for the nation'.[163] And yet, as already noted, the overwhelming prevailing belief is that Wales has no dramatic history. Due to the propensity of amateur theatre groups that produced works by Francis and his colleagues and the 'continued critical invisibility of amateur theatre and […] the equal invisibility of Welsh writing in English, especially drama, in school curricula in Wales', such writers have been largely overlooked.[164] As Kirsty Sedgman explains:

> Wales is a performative nation. Or at least that is how it is commonly imagined. With one foot immersed in the bardic tradition, Wales is deemed a land of myth and legend; of anecdote, narrative and memory; of the eisteddfod […] Wales is a nation of performance […] But it is not a nation of 'theatre'.[165]

Despite a long, rich and varied history of amateur and community based theatre, the general consensus has been that Wales has lacked 'real' theatre: ignoring amateur and popular theatre, there 'was, indeed, no indigenous tradition of literary drama'.[166] What was missing, then, within this robust network? As Sedgman questions: 'If Wales already boasted a vital culture of dramatic activity then why wasn't this considered a "proper" theatrical tradition; real Welsh

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[162] Ibid., p. 167.

[163] Ibid., p. 177.

[164] Ibid.

[165] *Locating the Audience: How People Found Value in National Theatre Wales* (Bristol: Intellect, 2016), p. 29.

[166] Von Rothkirch, 'Changing Times', p. 163.

"national" theatre'?[167] Was it simply because a single, professional company did not have the word 'national' in its name?

And yet, the continued efforts of Welsh dramatists to create a national drama movement indicates a social desire to produce and receive theatre. The twentieth century would yield two further dramatic movements that suffered similar fates to their predecessors as audience's tastes, and cultural, social and linguistic trends fluctuated: the Theatre of National Consensus, 1949-1976; and the Third Theatre, 1976-1990. The rapid evolution of Welsh-language theatre and the ideology surrounding a national theatre is demonstrative of a nation grappling with huge social change. In 1944, Kitchener Davies won a prize for short play entitled *Meini Gwagedd* in the National Eisteddfod at Llandybie. Even though it was considered to be far from perfect, 'the very incompleteness of the experiment' left reviewers 'full of confidence for the future of Welsh drama, if it could be adopted as the model for a series of experiments, rather than the preferred Arts Council option of touring [English-language] Shakespeare productions'.[168]

Due to the isolating, mountainous geography of Wales, this web of smaller theatre companies and local communities has been necessary not only for the production of theatre, but also for ensuring that the many individual identities of Wales' disparate communities were represented. As Sedgman has questioned:

> In such a heterogeneous country, then, what meaning can the term 'cultural identity' really have, and how might a national theatre usefully assist in its promotion? How could a single company really begin to convey the intricacies of Wales' self-identity without resorting to unhelpful simplifications? And also, who should be allowed to wield that power?[169]

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[167] *Locating the Audience*, p. 29.

[168] Williams, 'Towards national identities', p. 255.

[169] *Locating the Audience*, p. 34.

There were those who feared a national theatre would weaken pre-existing communities, and that it would lead to a wide-ranging, popular theatre output being replaced by a more rarefied and potentially alienating 'high' culture.[170] Authentic, 'lived experience' theatre would be supplanted by a need to 'privilege intrinsic quality defined by elite judgment'.[171] There was real concern that Welsh theatre would be subsumed into a 'dangerously English' class-orientated configuration in order to appear more professional, and uncertainty about what that might mean for the future of Welsh-language artists: 'While the predominantly working-class population of the south-Wales valleys had their own tradition of dramatic activities coming from "lived experience", these new theatrical forms were middle-class, imposed on communities form the top down'.[172] As Blandford has written: 'For a stateless nation such as Wales the creation of national institutions is an almost inevitable part of the endless struggle to establish an identity, usually in the shadow of a much larger or more powerful neighbour', England.[173] A national theatre, in whatever form it might take, needed to still serve the Welsh people and represent Welsh diverse identities first and foremost. By the 1980s, as previously noted, this web of theatre companies spread across Wales was so successful that there were those who claimed that a Welsh national theatre 'existed already in the form of a diversity of companies' of marginal groups.[174] Practitioners such as Ceri Sherlock therefore have spoken out against a single national theatre company: 'I am much more interested in a number of

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[170] See Ruth Shade, *Communication Breakdowns: Theatre, Performance, Rock Music and Some Other Welsh Assemblies* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004).

[171] Sedgman, *Locating the Audience*, p. 31.

[172] Ibid.

[173] 'Theatre and Performance in a Devolved Wales', p. 53.

[174] Dafydd Elis-Thomas, quoted by Emyr Edwards, 'Tristwch ein theatr', *Y Faner*, 5th September 1986, p. 4, translated by Owen, 'Theatre in Wales in the 1990s and beyond', p. 490.

vibrant, innovative companies producing in the Welsh language'.[175]

On the other side of the debate, the advocates for a national theatre felt that in order for Wales to 'actively *compete* internationally on the same cultural level as other nations', one professional and nationally representative company was required.[176] This theatre would still support the work of other companies, but could represent Wales externally as well as internally, demonstrating 'cultural ability in a *public, visible way*'.[177] Just as will be seen with Euskera and te reo Māori in later chapters, a key motivation behind the creation of a national theatre in Wales was to ensure that Welsh and Wales could stake a claim on the international theatrical stage, take ownership of their cultural heritage and 'challenge pre-established representations, complexifying the often-reductive picture common to the outside world'.[178]

It was, and still is, a complex path to follow. The challenges faced by both national theatres are multitudinous, as they try to navigate a space for Welsh theatre-makers. To be a people-led, non-elitist company, to represent the 'unique national character' of Wales without reducing, diminishing or homogenising, to be 'suitably dissimilar in its formal properties and thematic concerns to England's dramatic output', is an ongoing negotiation between people and place.[179] And, it is this inherent tension between society and geography, between languages, between different cultural and historical identities, that lies at the heart of both ThGC and NTW. The complex relationship Wales has with language necessitates two companies in order to fully represent the linguistic diversity of the country.

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[175] 'Romeo a Juliet – "y cynhyrchiad anghywir"', *BBC*, 17th November 2014, <www.bbc.co.uk/cymru/adloniant/theatr/adolygiadau/romeo-ceri.shtml> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[176] Original italics. Sedgman, *Locating the Audience*, p. 33.

[177] Original italics. Elan Closs Stephens, 'Drama', *The Arts in Wales 1950-75*, ed. by Meic Stephens (Cardiff: Welsh Arts Council, 1979), pp. 239-96, p. 253.

[178] Sedgman, *Locating the Audience*, p. 32.

[179] Nadine Holdsworth, *Theatre and Nation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 14; Sedgman, p. 34.

As Anne-Marie Taylor argued in 1997, before either official national theatre was established: the 'possibility of Welsh theatre contributing to a mainstream of European cultural activity seems to lie in not emulating the centre but dramatizing and articulating the experience of living on the edge'.[180] John McGrath, founding Artistic Director of NTW, emphasised an integral connection to place in Welsh theatre: 'You can look at a nation through history, through identity, but really what we thought a nation is is a place – so let's explore what place means'.[181] As such, many of the practitioners and productions to emerge from Wales are site-specific, using the local landscape as a living, malleable theatrical component.

ThGC was designed to fill that void felt by a lack of a singular national theatre. Anwen Jones has compellingly argued that ThGC's conception in 2003 cannot be divorced from the contemporaneous political atmosphere. Indeed, the company seems to have been a direct result of the devolution of Wales' political leadership:

> The launch of a Welsh language theatre in the National Assembly's first term of office, the continuation of political and economic investment thereafter, along with the Assembly's subsequent commitment to the development of an English language, national, theatrical counterpart, links this latest phase in the history of a National Theatre movement in Wales to the gradual development of the Welsh devolution project itself.[182]

Both ThGC and NTW are inherently political from the very nature of their genesis and funding. As Jones goes on to state: without a 'sound, political framework', the national theatres of Wales came to function as 'cultural stopgaps'.[183] As such, they have been the sites

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[180] 'Surviving at the Edge: Patterns of Contemporary Theatre-Making', *Staging Wales: Welsh Theatre 1979-1997*, ed. by Anne-Marie Taylor (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 38-46, p. 45.

[181] Quoted in Blandford, 'Theatre and Performance in a Devolved Wales', p. 61.

[182] Anwen Jones, 'The Dynamics of Devolution: An Enquiry into the Role and Significance of Wales' Post-Devolution National Theatres', *North American Journal of Welsh Studies*, Vol. 8 (2013), pp. 84-99, p. 85.

[183] Ibid., p. 86.

of more than theatrical representation, in their early years trading in 'any distant theatrical vision or agenda for a role as a cultural mediator' for newly reformed political and social environments, a new Welsh nation, and at times becoming 'political battleground[s]'.[184]

There are, of course, positive ways to read this moment in Wales' history: 'devolution offered impetus and new possibilities to those who felt Wales to be a place of possibility, and, in turn, artists had the opportunity to contribute to the continuous reinvention of the country'.[185] It was a time to explore Wales' multiple, evolving, complex national identities, rather that continuing 'a search for a spurious authenticity'.[186] As David Adams has written, instead the search was for:

> a new, vibrant and distinctive theatre tradition in Wales, one which is relevant and responsive to the perceptions, experience, aspirations and concerns of a minority culture and a small nation and which is more than just a pale reflection of English theatre convention.[187]

This is not a new theme to Welsh theatre. Theatre companies have long worked to create theatre that questions the nature of Welsh identity. It is within this highly politically charged context that ThGC and NTW's productions of Shakespeare's plays must therefore be examined. As discussions continue to probe what makes a national theatre 'national', where does Shakespeare fit?

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[184] Ibid., p. 87; Blandford, 'Theatre Performance in a Devolved Wales', p. 53.

[185] Ibid., p. 54.

[186] Ibid. p. 55.

[187] *Stage Welsh*, p. 5.

Shakespeare on the Welsh National Theatre(s) stage

ThGC works to produce predominantly Welsh-language theatre which is often fused with other languages to create a multilingual theatrical experience. The company produces work all over Wales, engaging with the country's diverse communities. ThGC are forerunners in developing technology that allows audiences from multitudinous backgrounds to enjoy the same performance. Their application for mobile devices, Sibrwd (Whisper), facilitates audience engagement for those with a complete lack of the language spoken on stage by translating and paraphrasing the dialogue. Multiple languages are available, widening its potential usage even further. I discuss the function of Sibrwd in detail in Part Two as I gained firsthand experience of using the app whilst watching ThGC's *Macbeth*. Sibrwd plays an integral role in ThGC's mission to be a Welsh National Theatre by allowing both Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers to engage with their productions.

NTW was intended to be a 'company owned by the nation, reflective rather than constitutive of the myriad ways Wales perceives itself'.[188] Cultural ownership of a uniquely Welsh identity that represents the many, not the few, is at the core of their work. Their artistic mantra is the 'nation of Wales is our stage'.[189] Alongside situating their productions firmly within the Welsh 'rural and industrial' landscape to 'inspire [their] work and [their] audiences', NTW regularly tours work all over Wales.[190] As will be discussed, however, NTW has not always succeeded in being representative of Welsh society.

Both ThGC and NTW have varied programmes, in which Shakespeare appears only

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[188] Sedgman, *Locating the Audience*, p. 40.

[189] 'Homepage', *National Theatre Wales*, <https://www.nationaltheatrewales.org> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[190] 'Welsh Language Scheme', *National Theatre Wales*, <https://www.nationaltheatrewales.org/about-us/company-policies/welsh-language-scheme-2/> [accessed 1st March 2017].

sporadically. As mentioned, ThGC produced a controversially received *Romeo a Juliet* in 2004. The fact that there were concerns that it was simply too early for ThGC to stage *Romeo a Juliet* – due to Shakespeare being favoured over Welsh classical texts – speaks to underlying concerns of a lasting colonial legacy of Renaissance England. These concerns were carried through to 2012 and the WSF as in order to participate in the global celebrations, Shakespeare was a prerequisite. ThGC participated in WSF with *Y Storm* (*Tempest*), whilst NTW produced *Coriolan/us*. Most recently, in 2017, ThGC produced a ground-breaking production of *Macbeth*. The production was staged in promenade throughout Caerphilly Castle in February and was streamed live to cinemas across Wales, bringing in a much wider audience base than the castle would ever have been able to accommodate.

Acting as the national and international ambassador for a reformed nation put considerable pressure on ThGC (and later NTW) to always deliver successful productions and consistently 'embody a national theatre brand'.[191] Early on in ThGC's existence, Roger Owen pointed to the 'terrible fragility of the whole arrangement' and, when faced with a potential flop, the 'Oz-like subterfuge by which the principal members of the company […] tried to convince the public (and themselves) that here was a Grand National Institution' which was therefore incapable of failure.[192] At the same time, he also highlighted the precariousness attached to criticising any part of the Welsh-language movement so as to not undermine the entire thing. Commentators were therefore rendered voiceless when productions demanded critical attention.

In the same article that reported the launch of ThGC, in which Cefin Roberts (ThGC's

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[191] Owen, 'Staging the Brand'.

[192] Ibid.

first Artistic Director) stressed the importance of prioritising Welsh playwrights such as Meic Povey, *Romeo a Juliet* was also announced.[193] It seems that Shakespeare was an unspoken exception. Programming his plays was on the agenda from the outset, prematurely in the eyes of some critics. *Romeo a Juliet* (dir. Roberts) was met with almost universal negative feedback and general puzzlement from the choice of playwright, to the choice of translation, to the direction. As Owen noted: 'this was a production which lacked any sense of direction, and whose conceptual treatment of the material, as well as J.T. Jones's grossly outdated translation, seemed to have bewildered the actors into a state of torpor'.[194] The unexplained switch between English and Welsh for certain passages was unanimously criticised. Sherlock, in a particularly vociferous review, questioned the 'choice of the play and the aptitude of the director for a national job'.[195]

Sherlock echoed Owen and others when he challenged the company's motivations behind the production, accusing ThGC of forgetting their audience in the process: 'Unfortunately I failed to see what the main reason was for staging *Romeo and Juliet* at [ThGC] and the production didn't offer me anything fresh or new as an audience member'.[196] It seemed that the company was more concerned with staging the brand of national theatre, rather than producing a show that spoke to its audiences. Furthermore, by prioritising Shakespeare over a Welsh playwright to complete their first season, they took away an opportunity to promote Welsh voices. Dafydd Prys noted the missed opportunities of the production to create direct relevance to Welsh audiences, 'which one would assume would be

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[193] 'Lansio'r Cwmni Theatr Cenedlaethol', *BBC*, 5th March 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/welsh/hi/newsid_3530000/newsid_3535200/3535207.stm> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[194] Owen, 'Staging the Brand'.

[195] Quoted in Owen, 'Staging the Brand'. As noted above, Sherlock directed a Welsh-language *Hamlet* in 1988.

[196] 'Romeo a Juliet', *Theatre in Wales*, 22nd October 2004, <http://www.theatre-wales.co.uk/reviews/reviews_details.asp?reviewID=857> [accessed 1st March 2017].

the main perogative [sic] of a Welsh national theatre'.[197] How to address that prerogative is a reoccurring problem in the history of both of Wales' national theatres.

Owen writes about Welsh-language audiences as 'a tight-knit social group; and there is a latent understanding among them that one's role in attending and supporting work in the Welsh language is far more than just that of an end user': it is social and political commitment.[198] However, 'the effect of branding is to negate the importance of this commitment, and to create a greater conceptual distance between the audience and the company – a space where myth can operate'.[199] A branding exercise that attempts to rebrand a nation's theatrical output through a single theatre company risks homogenising the particular needs of the audience as they become representatives for a whole country. Simultaneously, the failings of the theatre company to meet those needs are masked.

Romeo a Juliet did receive some positive responses amid the torrent of negative criticism. Roberts was praised for choosing a play that would bring people, especially young people, back to the theatre, which directly addressed one of ThGC's early aims.[200] Arwel Jones commented on the Aberystwyth performance during the tour: 'He has a difficult job getting people back into the theatre and if Aberystwyth is any kind of a gauge – which has been very poor for its audiences – it succeeds'.[201] *Romeo and Juliet* was also on the Welsh secondary school curriculum at the time, increasing potential audience appeal. Other venues

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[197] Dafydd Prys, 'Romeo a Juliet', *Theatre in Wales*, 29th October 2004, <http://www.theatre-wales.co.uk/reviews/reviews_details.asp?reviewID=867> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[198] Owen, 'Staging the Brand'.

[199] Ibid.

[200] 'Cyfarwyddwr cyntaf i theatr', *BBC*, 23rd May 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/welsh/hi/newsid_2930000/newsid_2932500/2932504.stm> [accessed 16th September 2019].

[201] 'Romeo a Juliet – Y Celfyddydau yn trafod', *BBC*, 17th November 2014, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/cymru/adloniant/theatr/adolygiadau/romeo-celf.shtml> [accessed 1st March 2017].

were also reported to have been busy, so the production seems to have been moderately commercially successful, at least.[202]

Following *Romeo a Juliet*, Sherlock called for ThGC to 'reconsider the current regime and expectations set'.[203] According to Owen, the company's 'complacency in the face of the resounding failure' of the production points to the internal and external pressure ThGC was experiencing to 'project an image of its own success at all times'.[204] ThGC was walking a constant tight-rope between appeasing their financiers and their audiences, all the while assuring them of the success of this national project.

The ACW Annual Review Report 2009/10 'issued a direct challenge to the company', similar to one that would be levied at NTW in 2018.[205] The report declared that it was time:

> for [ThGC] to take stock. It has had many successes and has certainly created large scale drama in the Welsh language and attracted a loyal audience following. But there may be ways of working that would better fit the changing nature of venue availability or the needs of audience development or of emerging playwrights.[206]

The company responded by engaging in 'a fundamental revision of its mission and its methods'.[207] At the time, chairman Ioan Williams assured the public that 'the company has always been determined to create a more flexible, dynamic model of theatre which will give a new relevance to the term "national"'.[208] He continued: 'Among the most prominent concerns

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[202] Ibid.

[203] 'Romeo a Juliet – "y cynhyrchiad anghywir"'.

[204] Jones, 'The Dynamics of Devolution', p. 91; Owen, 'Staging the Brand'.

[205] Jones, 'The Dynamics of Devolution', p. 93.

[206] p. 11, quoted in Jones,'The Dynamics of Devolution', p. 93.

[207] Ioan Williams, 'Rethinking mission and methods at our Welsh-speaking national theatre', *Wales Online*, 31st July 2010, <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/lifestyle/showbiz/rethinking-mission-methods-welsh-speaking-national-1910694> [accessed 10th September 2019].

[208] Ibid.

are what it should mean when a theatre claims to be a "national theatre" for Welsh-speaking Wales'.[209] The word remains problematic, but as Williams has concluded, ThGC 'will succeed if it creates a theatrical medium in which we can all recognise ourselves'.[210] Since the ACW's 2010 report, ThGC has continued to redefine what it means to be national, producing theatre all over the country, and striving to be as inclusive as possible, as highlighted in Part Two.

The year of Shakespeare

In 2012, global cultural identities were celebrated through the WSF, in which both ThGC and NTW participated. As Erin Sullivan identified: 'Few if any venerated Shakespeare in a wholly uncomplicated fashion, instead folding into his plays their own cultural concerns, artistic forms and political engagements'.[211] What aspects of Welsh identities and cultures were explored through ThGC's *Y Storm* and NTW's *Coriolan/us*? What does 'translating' Shakespeare into Welsh culture look like for an international audience? The creative potential of 'performance as place-making' offered by ThGC and NTW demonstrated the country's continuing investment in site-specific theatre as a defining Welsh theatrical genre. The two companies produced site-specific productions of Shakespearean texts, empowering Welsh voices in both of the country's languages and acknowledging the national preoccupation of performing classic texts in Welsh voices to enable Welsh actors and audiences.[212]

Shakespeare's relationship with the Welsh landscape was seen prominently through *Y*

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[209] Ibid.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Sullivan, 'Olympic Performance in the Year of Shakespeare', p. 9.

[212] Pearson, *Site-Specific Performance*, p. 5.

Storm (dir. Elen Bowman), performed at the National Eisteddfod at the Vale of Glamorgan. Staged in a huge circus tent, the production was described in one review as an 'exhilarating', 'innovative, dynamic production', featuring a 'masterly' and 'accessible' translation by Gwyneth Lewis.[213] Alun Thomas argued that the production is more of an 'adaptation rather than a translation' (here the term tradaptation can once again be applied):

> Shakespeare's Jacobean verse [was] converted into modern Welsh, using stress, onomatopoeia, alliteration and rhyme within a line to create new rhythms. As a phonetic language Welsh is particularly suited to poetry […] This offers a rich scope for new understandings and interpretations of Shakespeare's text.[214]

The widely-praised production celebrated Welsh-language theatre by successfully tradapting the Shakespearean text into contemporary language, demonstrating its full poetic power and the capabilities of Welsh-speaking actors to contribute to global conversations of Shakespearean performance. Hailed as a 'flawless production, *Y Storm* [was] a complete and utter triumph'.[215] *Y Storm* engaged directly with both local and international audiences, embedding itself within Welsh language, landscape and cultural heritages, whilst also participating in international debates with other participants in the WSF on 'what Shakespeare "means" in the twenty-first century'.[216] For ThGC that meant a creative, dynamic and energetic celebration of Welsh language and actors.

The WSF was an occasion upon which ThGC could participate in international

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[213] Hannah Thomas, 'Review: Y Storm by Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru', *Wales Online*, 10th August 2012, <www.walesonline.co.uk/lifestyle/showbiz/review-y-storm-theatr-genedlaethol-2057214>, [accessed 24th February 2017].

[214] Alun Thomas, 'Y Storm, directed by Elen Bowman for Theatre Genedlaethol Cymru at National Eisteddfod Maes, Llandow, Vale of Glamorgan, Wales', *A Year of Shakespeare: Re-living the World Shakespeare Festival*, ed. by Paul Edmondson, Paul Prescott and Erin Sullivan (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2013), pp. 197- 200, p. 198. The whole WSF was documented as it was taking place in an online blog: *A Year of Shakespeare,* <http://bloggingshakespeare.com/tag/year-of-shakespeare> [accessed 29th April 2020].

[215] Ibid., p. 200.

[216] Sullivan, 'Olympic Performance in the Year of Shakespeare', p. 9.

cultural festivities, whilst championing Welsh culture as 'Shakespeare became a repeated point of focus in the desire to celebrate British creativity and the influence it has subsequently had on the rest of the world'.[217] ThGC did so by pushing against the potentially homogenising effect Shakespeare can have as a 'universal' figure by tradapting *Tempest*, thereby drawing specific attention to the multiple national and linguistic identities within the UK. Further to this, *Y Storm* was produced not only as part of the WSF but also as part of the National Eisteddfod, which, as we have seen, is aimed expressly at celebrating Welsh culture. So, there are two levels of festival coding to dissect here. Performed in such contexts, *Y Storm* automatically participated in wider conversations about identity, specifically Welsh identities.

NTW first turned to Shakespeare when they produced a site-specific *Coriolan/us*, in association with the RSC. The directors of *Coriolan/us*, Mike Pearson and Mike Brookes, are no strangers to creating large-scale, site-specific theatre; they practically invented the genre. As previously stated, Pearson was a founding member of Brith Gof, a company which re-examined the construct of theatre, and invited a closer relationship between performers, audience and the immediate landscape through re-contextualising local, familiar spaces. Brith Gof's work moved away from 'architectural concerns with enclosure and modelling within bound spaces, to performance as place-making; and through the use of media, from taking audiences to unusual sites to bringing unusual sites to them'.[218] Despite not being originally from Wales, Pearson's own dedication to Welsh theatre is apparent through the amount of innovative work produced over his illustrious career which, as established, directly engages with central Welsh theatrical genres. This made him an apt choice for directing NTW's

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[217] Ibid., p. 7.

[218] Pearson, *Site-Specific Performance*, p. 5.

contribution to the WSF; a trend of non-native directors is seen across the thesis.

'Using the nation of Wales as our stage' is repeatedly embraced throughout Pearson and Brookes' work. For *Coriolan/us*, they drew upon Bertolt Brecht's 1950s unfinished adaptation to create a huge-scale, multi-media, promenade production within the disused Hangar 858.[219] The dynamics of the space, and the relationship established between the audience and the actors took on an integral role as a 'discomforting, vulnerable and voyeuristic feeling [persisted] throughout the play'.[220] Audience members were given headsets to amplify the dialogue and music, and were free to wander the space, following the narratives they came across: immersing the audience 'in the language, the intimacy that these headphones provided meant that in a space so cavernous the nuances of the cast's uniformly and startlingly impressive performances were never lost'.[221] 'Inspired by today's era of 24-hour news, CCTV, and political instability and upheaval', the production featured two large screens that hung from the ceiling and relayed live-action of both the actors and the audience, ensuring that the audience was more than a crowd of uninvolved spectators: this 'was not a passive them-and-us dynamic of a typical theatrical construction; at play here was a tension between [the audience's] roles as spectators and participants'.[222] This hyper awareness of fellow audience members and a subsequent 'self-consciousness was not something this

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[219] Many thanks to NTW for granting access to an archive recorded version of the production.

[220] Alun Thomas, '*Coriolan/us*, National Theatre Wales and Royal Shakespeare Company, Dir. Mike Pearson and Mike Brooks, 8 August 2012, at Hangar 858, RAF St Athan, Vale of Glamorgan, Wales', *A Year of Shakespeare*, 30th August 2012, <http://bloggingshakespeare.com/year-of-shakespeare-coriolanus-2> [accessed 20th March 2019]. See also Susan Bennett and Julie Sanders, 'Here/There: National Theatre Wales's Coriolan/us, 8–18 August 2012, Hangar 858, RAF St Athan, Vale of Glamorgan (directed by Mike Pearson and Mike Brookes)', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, Vol. 23 no. 4 (2013), pp. 574-8.

[221] Harry Fox Davies, 'Coriolan/us- Shakespeare & Brecht', *A Year of Shakespeare*, 14th September 2012, <http://bloggingshakespeare.com/year-of-shakespeare-coriolanus-shakespeare-brecht> [accessed 20th March 2019].

[222] 'Multimedia Production of Shakespeare's Most Political Play to be Staged in a South Wales Aircraft Hangar', *Aberdare Online*, <http://www.aberdareonline.co.uk/node/20148> [accessed 20th March 2019]; Davies, 'Coriolan/us- Shakespeare & Brecht'.

production wished to avoid'.[223] Beyond interrogating a relationship between audience and space, and audience and actor, the production went on to question the construction of the audience itself.[224] This was further probed throughout ThGC's *Macbeth.*

Accents played an integral role in locating the production.[225] Richard Lynch (Caius Martius), Richard Harrington (Tellus Aufidius), Bethan Witcomb (Virgilia) and Nia Gwynne (Sicinius Jelutus) all retained distinctive Welsh accents. Accents can still be a point of high contention.[226] They can be codified differently, however, outside of a still-hostile English theatrical sphere. Whilst Matthew Thomas (Menenius Agrippa) spoke with a markedly Southern English accent, similar to those found throughout politics in England, Lynch and Harrington led their armies with distinctive Welsh accents, unwilling to perform on the political stage.

The production staked a powerful claim for Anglo-Welsh theatre on the global stage, not only through its scale but also the individual performances. As Susannah Clapp wrote: 'The speaking is so uniformly excellent – so intent, so spittingly clear, so totally natural […] Every line rings out, every argument about democracy, heroes, wheedling politicians hits home'.[227] As Clapp goes on: 'these brilliant offerings from [NTW] mean that we can no longer talk of "the National" and mean only the South Bank'.[228] In 2012, when notions of British national identities were being renewed on an international scale with the arrival of the

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[223] Purcell, *Shakespeare and Audience in Practice*, p. 136.

[224] Alongside Purcell's work, see Freshwater, *Theatre and Audience*.

[225] See Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare's accents: voicing identity in performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

[226] See critical responses to Rufus Norris' 2018 National Theatre production of *Macbeth*, for example.

[227] 'Coriolan/us; Troilus and Cressida – review', *The Guardian*, 12th August 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2012/aug/12/coriolanus-wales-troilus-cressida-review> [accessed 20th March 2019].

[228] Ibid.

Olympic Games, companies such as ThGC and NTW played important roles in that subsequent social and cultural rejuvenation. Recent debates, however, have begun to question NTW's position within Welsh society.

The history traced above has revealed several dominant narratives in Welsh theatre. I have demonstrated that the common misconception that Wales has no indigenous theatre is not only wildly inaccurate but has had serious consequences for the development of Welsh-language theatre and the establishment of an official, national institution that can call itself the National Theatre of Wales. The flourishing, if contested, presence of two national theatres points to the inherent bilingual nature of Wales and its theatre, and the continuing importance to hear theatre spoken in both voices. The rapidly changing nature of Welsh theatre over the course of the last two centuries has not only affirmed a social desire for theatre but created a Shakespeare who is seen as both friend and foe to Welsh theatre-makers throughout time. Often performed outside of a conventional theatre, the Shakespearean productions examined thus far have worked syncretically for a deepened connection with the local landscape and community, as well as a heightened political awareness of the significance of tradapting and performing Shakespeare in a minority language. Now, I will discuss the final production in this chapter to explore how it has furthered these conversations.

Part Two: Macbeth, brenin yr Alban; the Scottish Play in a Welsh voice

Introduction

Cenllysg Macbeth.[229]

ThGC's 2017 *Macbeth* was a production of many firsts. It was the first case of a site-specific promenade theatrical production broadcast live from a non-theatre venue (a castle, no less).[230] It was the first staging of *Macbeth* in Welsh on the professional Welsh-language stage. And, it was the first time Gruffydd had directed a Shakespearean play.[231] *Macbeth* was produced in partnership with Cadw, the 'Welsh Government's historic environment service', and with support from Chapter (Cardiff), an arts centre which has an international reach.[232] The production featured as a key component of Cadw's Year of Legends, 'which [celebrated] past and current Welsh legends'.[233] *Macbeth* was dedicated to the translator, Professor Gwyn Thomas, 'former Head of the Welsh Department at Bangor University and National Poet of Wales 2006-2008', and a prolific writer and translator.[234] The governmental scheme aimed to promote Wales' cultural heritage, following on from 2016's Year of Adventure.[235] Ken Skates affirmed that the main goal of the year was to bring 'the past to life' with 'cutting-edge

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[229] (I.iii.48) *Macbeth*, translated by Gwyn Thomas, dir. Arwel Gruffydd (2017).

[230] As claimed by Gruffydd. He acknowledged that Kenneth Branagh's 2013 *Macbeth* was broadcast live to cinemas from a deconsecrated church as part of Manchester's International Festival but the audience remained seated in one location throughout. Interview conducted with Gruffydd, 14th February 2017.

[231] Ibid.

[232] 'What we do', *Cadw,* <https://cadw.gov.wales/about/what-we-do> [accessed 1st March 2017]; 'About Chapter', *Chapter*, <https://www.chapter.org/about/about-chapter/> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[233] Daisy Bowie-Sell, 'Exclusive: New production of *Macbeth* to take place in Caerphilly Castle', *WhatsOnStage*, 21st November 2016, <https://www.whatsonstage.com/wales-theatre/news/macbeth-caerphiilly-castle-genedlaethol-wales_42309.html> [accessed 15th April 2020].

[234] Mike Smith, 'Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru to present new translation of Macbeth', *Art Scene in Wales*, 22nd November 2016, <https://www.asiw.co.uk/news/theatr-genedlaethol-cymru-present-new-translation-macbeth> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[235] 'Wales' past brought to life as part of Year of Legends', *BBC*, 3rd January 2017, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-38494328> [accessed 15th April 2020].

innovation': 'It's about creating and celebrating new Welsh legends, modern-day personalities, products and events that are made in Wales, or enriched by coming here'.[236] Speaking ahead of the cinema broadcast, Gruffydd argued that it 'is important that we can see and hear in the Welsh language the world's greatest works'.[237] *Macbeth* made a vital contribution towards the national effort to raise the social profile of the Welsh language.

Part Two examines the way *Macbeth* interacted with identifiably Welsh theatrical practices. I argue that it successfully engaged in wider conversations about Shakespeare's place within modern Welsh society, whilst making expert use of the technological advances developed by ThGC to ensure maximum audience accessibility. To discuss the continuing after-effects of the production, I will draw on firsthand experiences of seeing the live show, as well as audience research conducted at one of the encore cinema screenings. *Macbeth* furthered historical national conversations surrounding the identity of Welsh theatre by foregrounding language and an iconic landmark.

The production

ThGC had previously worked with Cadw during *Blodeuwedd* (2013) in north Wales. It was felt, therefore, that it was time to mount a production in the south, in line with the company's itinerant nature.[238] *Macbeth* had already been decided upon so several venues were explored before Caerphilly Castle was chosen. As Gruffydd said:

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[236] Quoted in 'Wales' past brought to life as part of Year of Legends'.

[237] Interview for introductory film, *Macbeth* by William Shakespeare, translation by Gwyn Thomas (Cardiff: Chapter Arts Centre, 2017). Many thanks to ThGC for granting access to an archive recorded version of the production so I could rewatch it.

[238] Interview conducted with Gruffydd, 14th February 2017.

> I'm quite sure that Shakespeare intended for [the supernatural elements] to frighten his audience. Having decided to stage the work in one of our numerous Medieval castles, and [having] visited a few of Edward the First of England's castles on cold, wet afternoons as night fell, it became clear to me that these places were ideal for instilling fear.[239]

As discussed in Part One, a lot of the theatrical work produced in Wales is site-specific. *Macbeth* moved from site-specific to site-sympathetic theatre. Site-sympathetic theatre as defined by Wilkie refers to theatre that has been created with an 'existing performance text physicalised in a selected site'.[240] For Gruffudd, Caerphilly Castle was the ideal location (See Figure 1): 'I thought, regardless of the lack of comfort, compared with cosy, modern theatres, that staging this play on a dark midwinter's night within the cold walls of one of these great castles, would create an interesting context and be a means of appreciating the work (and the historic site) anew'.[241]



Figure 1: Caerphilly Castle. Photo credit: ThGC.

[239] 'Supernatural elements are among the most interesting aspects of Macbeth: Arwel Gruffydd, Artistic Director, Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru', *Art Scene in Wales*, 17th January 2017, <https://www.asiw.co.uk/my-own-words/supernatural-elements-among-interesting-aspects-macbeth-arwel-gruffydd-artistic-director-theatr-genedlaethol-cymru> [accessed 20th March 2017].

[240] 'Out of Place', p. 54.

[241] Gruffydd, 'Supernatural elements are among the most interesting aspects of Macbeth'. Figure 1 is a still taken from production trailer: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0MObPKmERKk> [accessed 28th May 2020].

Costumes designed by Ruth Hall complemented the medieval architecture, keeping the whole design sympathetic to the site, 'totally fitting the age of the castle and casting a brooding atmosphere over the narrative'.[242] Not much could be built in the castle because of its heritage status, so lighting and sound rigs and set pieces were minimal. The castle therefore served as the venue and the scenic backdrop, almost becoming an extra character in the play as the audience were moved around cold, darkening corridors to the various performance locations. As the evening progressed, the production became almost immersive in quality, as the nature of the venue itself affected the performance. The plunging temperatures, slippery floors polished over centuries of use, and smell of stone were inescapable. Gruffydd hoped that the journey around the castle would 'give the audience a sense of being at the centre of the action, and in a more *real* way than watching the play in a theatre'.[243]

This atmospheric production engaged with the local landscape and history in a multifaceted way, building a palimpsest of histories in its design and use of space. The Shakespearean text was layered on top of the history of the castle, reclaiming it for the Macbeths. Originally built in the thirteenth century by Gilbert de Clare (Lord of Glamorgan), Caerphilly Castle was constructed as part of long-lasting campaigns against Welsh rulers to conquer Glamorgan and wider south Wales.[244] Performing a text by the 'English national poet' in translation into Welsh in a space that is the direct result of Welsh oppression can be read as a bold claim in not only taking ownership of the space but also of Shakespeare.[245] As

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[242] Michael Kelligan, 'Foul murder in Caerphilly's medieval fortification', *Theatre Wales*, 9th February 2017, <http://www.theatre-wales.co.uk/reviews/reviews_details.asp?reviewID=3690> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[243] Original italics. Gruffydd, 'Supernatural elements are among the most interesting aspects of Macbeth'.

[244] Jeffrey L. Thomas, 'Caerphilly Castle', *Castles of Wales*, <http://www.castlewales.com/caerphil.html> [accessed 14th April 2020].

[245] See Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

Bogdanov commented on staging Shakespeare at Ludlow Castle, there is a 'delicious irony' to be found in an 'entirely Welsh company […] storming' a castle that 'was originally built to keep the Welsh out!'[246] This was doubly so in the case of ThGC's *Macbeth*, considering the production's connection to the Year of Legends that was designed to promote Welsh culture.

Whilst Gruffydd pointed to 'the involvement of witches, the occult, and an old Pagan world' as being most of interest, he also posed pertinent questions: 'irrespective of the historical and supernatural elements, what message does *Macbeth* have for us today, here in Wales? And why translate it and perform it in the Welsh language'?[247] According to Gruffydd, aside from being one of the more popular plays, two of the central themes speak loudly to audiences today: 'ambition and power'.[248] For the director, Shakespeare offers a warning to audiences, contemporaneous and contemporary, 'to pause and reflect when considering our aspirations at the crossroad between the righteous and unrighteous path'.[249] Richard Lynch (Macbeth) echoed Gruffydd by saying: 'Thematically, it's about power. And it's about the desire for power, that's as relevant today as it was 500 years ago and it will be relevant in future. That's the genius of Shakespeare, he writes relevant, modern plays'.[250]

Thomas, the text's translator, was also keenly interested by the supernatural. It comes as no surprise that the other Shakespearean plays that he translated were *Tempest* (1996) and *Dream* (2002). His script for *Macbeth* was highly praised: it 'rang with a resounding truth against the hard, ancient walls of the Castle'.[251] He produced two versions: one in north and

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[246] Quoted in Rampton, 'Storming the ramparts'.

[247] 'Supernatural elements are among the most interesting aspects of Macbeth'.

[248] Ibid.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Huw Thomas, 'Theatr Genedlaethol's Macbeth broadcast to cinemas', *BBC*, 15th February 2017, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-south-east-wales-38980915> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[251] Kelligan, 'Foul murder in Caerphilly's medieval fortification'.

one in south Walian dialect, and the distinctions were made across the casting of the clans.[252] Delicately nuanced and following the rhythm and verse structure of Shakespeare's original where possible, even non-Welsh speakers were able to appreciate the linguistic beauty of the translation. As one reviewer stated: 'the original text full of the splendour of its creator's language allowed [Thomas] to practice on the expanded canvas the vast range of registers – from the spoken to the literary – seen in action in the hundreds of poems that he wrote'.[253] This was very much aided by the actors' delivery which opened up the text allowing the rhyme and rhythms to become subtly apparent throughout. The cast was led by Lynch and Ffion Dafis as the Macbeths, and although the production was 'played essentially in the round the diction of a distinguished cast was perfect'.[254] The quality of the text was especially evident in the witches' (Ffion Davis, Siôn Eifion and Gwenllian Higginson) speeches that combined particularly guttural, creeping phoneme groups and a haunting delivery. Dressed in long dark cloaks with natural elements adorning each – including a bird's skull, long skeletal feathers and sea weed – the witches truly did seem to be of the earth: ancient beings 'who, fitting in so well with the background, might have been there since work on the castle had first begun'.[255] They also capitalised on the highly effective lighting (by Joe Fletcher), seeming 'corporal' yet easily melting as 'breath into the wind' into the shadows (I.iii.81-2).

To increase the atmosphere of Macbeth's castle, a soundtrack of battle cries, swords clashing and horses neighing filled the first location. A low, red light accompanied. The choice of rooms and the layout of the audience in each of them created an almost shared space

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[252] Interview conducted with Gruffydd, 14th February 2017.

[253] Williams, 'Gwyn Thomas', p. 6.

[254] Eryl Crump, 'A new translation of Shakespeare's play staged in a medieval castle', *Daily Post*, 11th February 2017, <http://www.dailypost.co.uk/whats-on/theatre-news/review-macbeth-theatr-genedlaethol-cymru-12590324> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[255] Kelligan, 'Foul murder in Caerphilly's medieval fortification'.

for the actors and audience. Gruffydd stated that he 'wanted to give the audience the impression that the drama was happening now, in front of their eyes. That Macbeth truly exists and that [the production] turned Caerphilly Castle into Macbeth's castle'.[256] As an audience member at the castle, it was impossible to not clearly see my fellows. Not only were we moved between three locations within the castle and had to negotiate each other and the narrow corridors and staircases, but the lighting spilled over the audience so there was not a clear separation between the stage and us.

Furthermore, in the first location, the audience were sat around the edges of three small interconnected rooms that acted like a narrow corridor to focus our attention and meant that we were sat opposite someone at close range (See Figure 2). The second room was square-shaped and positioned the audience in traverse. The actors were able to enter and exit from all four corners and interact directly with us. The third space, which was used for the whole of the second half, had the audience sat around three sides of the large hall, creating a thrust stage. The hall was also used during the interval as a waiting space, where we were served hot apple juice and cake by medieval costumed attendants as if we were guests assembling for Macbeth's feast. This shared use of lighting and space made the audience hyper-aware of their surroundings and position in relation to the action. We became all the more complicit to Macbeth's plot as we could not hide in the dark safety of the auditorium. This intimate relationship between audience and stage reinforced the theatrical tropes established in previous Welsh Shakespeare productions of a heightened connection between place, audience and actors, as well as the genre of site-specific theatre as an identifiably Welsh style of theatre.

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[256] Interview for introductory film.



Figure 2: Witch (Gwenllian Higginson). Photo credit: Mark Douet.

Whilst not all reviews were praising (*The Stage* described the use of music and special effects as 'unnecessary – even hokey – at times'), most critics were overwhelmingly positive.[257] One reviewer went as far as claiming that it was 'without doubt the best production of *Macbeth* I have seen in any language'.[258] When I interviewed him, Gruffydd stated that he pitied monoglot English speakers as they cannot access a modernised version of the text without it causing controversy, and a production always has to take a particular angle on the play.[259] If it is the first time that it is being staged in a different language, however, one can simply 'do' the play. This attitude allowed Gruffydd and his production team to focus on making the production as accessible as possible, both through actors' performances and delivery of the text, and practically through technology employed to aid the audience.

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[257] Jafar Iqbal, 'Macbeth review at Caerphilly Castle – "lacking in atmosphere"', *The Stage*, 13th February 2017, <https://www.thestage.co.uk/reviews/2017/macbeth-review-caerphilly-castle/> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[258] Laura Edwards, 'Macbeth, Theatr Gen Byw', *Art Scene in Wales*, 19th February 2017, <http://www.asiw.co.uk/reviews/macbeth-theatr-gen-byw> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[259] Interview conducted, 14th February 2017.

Furthermore, when the stakes of performing in a minority language are so high, it is important that the translation be as up to date as possible: 'What we don't want in Welsh is a translation which compares unfavourably [to] the original'.[260] To ensure the continuation in growth of Welsh-language speakers, Welsh-language theatre must be able to compete with other forms of entertainment. In order to make Shakespeare relevant to modern Welsh audiences, the translation has to reflect the contemporary, living language.

Engaging with audiences

As a company working in a minority language, ThGC are extremely aware of the need to make their productions as accessible and inclusive as possible. One of the most innovative ways that ThGC increase their audience accessibility is through Sibrwd, an application that can be used on devices compatible with iOS or Android operating systems. Launched in 2014, Sibrwd is described by its developers as a 'whisper in your ear – opening up performances in any language'.[261] Whilst ThGC have in the past provided subtitles for their productions, Sibrwd eliminates the need to select which second language they provide access to: the app has the potential to allow users to select any language they require. ThGC also provide devices and headphones for audience members who need them. Speaking to the BBC ahead of the broadcast, Gruffydd stated that it is 'very important to us to bring people to Welsh-language theatre even though they may not be able to speak the language'.[262] As shown in Part One, this ideology has underpinned the company's work from its conception, and Sibrwd

[260] Gruffydd, interview for introductory film.

[261] 'About', *Sibrwd*, <http://sibrwd.com/about/> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[262] Video transcript, Thomas, 'Theatr Genedlaethol's Macbeth broadcast to cinemas'.

is a key part of the work done to progress audience accessibility and inclusion.

Sibrwd has been developed to provide descriptions or paraphrases to key moments throughout a performance, even providing direct translations of crucial lines. This is done aurally and visually as the dialogue also appears on the screen of the device. The design of the app ensures minimal disturbance to surrounding audience members as the colour scheme is muted, with white writing appearing on a dark background. In order to use the app, the device has to be set to airplane mode and connected to the Sibrwd server, reducing the possibility that users might step off the app and onto other platforms such as social media. Sibrwd is 'user friendly and is very unobtrusive', and using it enhanced my own experience of watching *Macbeth* as it gave just enough information at pertinent times, without distracting my attention away from the stage.[263] As recommended, I left one earphone off to also hear the actors. Even though *Macbeth* is a well-known play, Sibrwd allowed me to follow the action more closely, particularly in the lengthier dialogue-heavy scenes. It also kept me focused: just because the play was occurring in a language of which I know very few words, my mind was not allowed to wander as Sibrwd was there to prompt me along the way. The app also acted as a programme, providing a cast list, music credits and a director's note.

Developed by ThGC in collaboration with Galactig, Sibrwd received £400,000 from the Digital R&D Fund awarded by ACW, the Arts and Humanities Research Council and 'innovation charity' Nesta; there are hopes for future funding to develop the app and spread its outreach.[264] Hasan Bakhshi, Nesta's Senior Director of Creative Economy and Data Analytics,

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[263] Sara Pepper, 'A whispering app worth shouting about', *Creative Economy Blog*, 17th March 2015, <http://blogs.cardiff.ac.uk/creative-economy/2015/03/17/swbrid-a-whispering-app-worth-shouting-about/> [accessed 19th March 2017].

[264] Ian Youngs, 'Welsh theatre company launches translation app', *BBC*, 28th July 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-28522598> [accessed 19th March 2017].

has pointed to the 'international applicability' of Sibrwd: 'It's not necessarily tied to the Welsh language'.[265] As well as expanding the language repertoire of Sibrwd, Gruffydd also pointed to the 'ingenious ways we can use and adapt this technology', including aiding language learners and audience members with visual and auditory impairments.[266]

Gruffydd sees 'building bridges' between the Welsh speaking community and non-Welsh speakers to be a vital part of ThGC's work.[267] Sibrwd directly addresses the contentious question of whether a person needs to be able to speak Welsh to be truly Welsh as it removes a potential language barrier, without sacrificing either Welsh or non-Welsh speaker's performance experience. Welsh-language speakers are not distracted by the use of Sibrwd, whilst non-Welsh speakers can watch a production by ThGC without having to look away from the stage to follow subtitles. ThGC can therefore be representative of both sets of audiences, catering to their specific needs. Sibrwd grants equal access to the performance, increasing the inclusivity of ThGC's work. Furthermore, it does not incur any extra costs as the app is free to download and can be provided on a preloaded device. It also allows ThGC to continue their work in their own style that brings audience members to new and exciting locations each time, going some way to facilitating their nomadic programming. Even when the production is staged in promenade outdoors, Sibrwd can still be employed.

To increase audience accessibility for *Macbeth*, the production was also broadcast live from Caerphilly Castle on 14th February 2017 to eleven venues across Wales, as part of ThGC's new venture Theatr Gen Byw; encore screenings took place over several months

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[265] Ibid.

[266] Georgia Snow, 'Theatr Genedlaethol plans rollout of Sibrwd translation app', *The Stage*, 7th December 2015, <https://www.thestage.co.uk/news/2015/theatr-genedlaethol-plans-rollout-of-sibrwd-translation-app/> [accessed 19th March 2017].

[267] Interview conducted, 14th February 2017.

following, with an additional four venues added. Subtitles were provided in English for the encore screenings as 'it was important that [ThGC] could offer this production to non-Welsh speakers'.[268] Their distribution encompassed the whole country, with roughly half in the north and half in the south, opening 'doors to a new audience'.[269] Many of the venues were also part of the Hynt scheme, an ACW initiative that works nationally with theatres and arts centres to ensure accessibility for audience members with specific access requirements.[270] By broadcasting *Macbeth* to fifteen cinemas, ThGC were able to increase their audience base to much wider than Caerphilly and the surrounding areas. As Gruffydd has stated: 'As a national company it's important that we are innovative, and that we trial new ventures'.[271]

Accessibility had a multifaceted significance as the aim was to include as many people as possible from both sides of the production. A large number of 'wider community' participants were involved as ushers and supernumeraries; two casts of twenty-three were employed over the course of the run. Engagement with the local community was essential for Gruffydd, who felt that setting the play in Caerphilly Castle, an iconic part of the local landscape, aided this greatly. By aligning *Macbeth* with the historic site simultaneously brought the local population closer to the history of their town and to the Shakespearean play: it would 'be a means of appreciating the work (and the historic site) anew'.[272]

In addition, *Macbeth* was on the Welsh secondary school curriculum at the time, thereby increasing the audience appeal, the possibility of educational engagement, and wider

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[268] Gruffydd quoted in Thomas, 'Theatr Genedlaethol's Macbeth broadcast to cinemas'.

[269] Thomas, 'Theatr Genedlaethol's Macbeth broadcast to cinemas'. See Appendix A.1 for a map of the broadcasts.

[270] 'What is Hynt?', *Hynt*, <https://www.hynt.co.uk/en/about/what-is/> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[271] Thomas, 'Theatr Genedlaethol's Macbeth broadcast to cinemas'.

[272] Gruffydd, 'Supernatural elements are among the most interesting aspects of Macbeth'.

outreach work. Alongside the cinema broadcast, education packs containing 'information and games, together with a separate guide for tutors' were designed by ThGC and Y Ganolfan Dysgu Cymraeg Genedlathol (the National Centre for Learning Welsh) and Nant Gwrtheyrn (Welsh Language and Heritage Centre), for school students and Welsh-language learners.[273] Helen Prosser, the Director of Strategy at Y Ganolfan Dysgu Cymraeg Genedlathol, stated: 'It is very important that every aspect of our contemporary culture is open to those who are learning Welsh. […] compiling packs in order to help them enjoy productions opens another door for our Welsh learners'.[274] Further to this, three Welsh-language secondary schools in south-east Wales were invited to participate in a *Macbeth*-themed slam poetry event, Cipio'r Castell: Brwydr Slam. The schools worked with three poets to create and perform original slam poetry, as well as learning about Shakespeare's contemporary Welsh poets.[275]

As I have demonstrated, ThGC works hard to be inclusive, engaging audiences in a variety of ways to ensure that they are reflective of and appeal to as many different communities in Wales as possible. Sibrwd plays an integral role in their mission of 'building bridges', alongside their cinema broadcasts and education work.

Firsthand audience responses

The audience-based research for *Macbeth* was carried out over two performances: a live performance at Caerphilly Castle on 14th February 2017 (which was also the night of the live

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[273] Andy Howells, 'Macbeth for Welsh learners comes to Caerphilly Castle', *South Wales Argus*, 13th January 2017, <http://www.southwalesargus.co.uk/leisure/the_guide/15022747.Macbeth_for_Welsh_learners_comes_to_Caerphilly_Castle/> [accessed 1st March 2017].

[274] Quoted in Howells, 'Macbeth for Welsh learners comes to Caerphilly Castle'.

[275] 'Schools battle it out in Cipio'r Castell: Brwydr Slam project', *Literature Wales*, 2nd February 2017, <https://www.literaturewales.org/lw-news/schools-battle-cipior-castell-brwydr-slam-project/> [accessed 15th April 2020].

broadcast); and, an encore screening I attended on 23rd April 2017 at Chapter, Cardiff. As such, two methodologies will be blended together in my analysis of the production: my own personal responses and written responses of other audience members.[276] I was able to talk to a only few audience members on the night of the live performance, before everyone dispersed in the freezing cold: a group of three young women from Bridgend who were non-Welsh speakers and did not use Sibrwd but 'really enjoyed' it and were able to follow the plot; and a couple from the Wye Valley who found the app to be very useful.[277] The bulk of the audience response research came from the encore screening. On this occasion, I was able to hand out short paper-based questionnaires, provided in Welsh and English.[278] I asked five questions, keeping them as short and objective as possible to encourage responses.[279]

Of the thirty-six completed questionnaires received, sixteen preferred seeing theatre in English, five preferred Welsh and fifteen had no preference; exactly half of the forms were answered in each language. It should be noted that of those fifteen who stated no language preference, just three of the forms were answered on the English-language side of the form; one person wrote their answers in Welsh on the English side of the form; one person wrote in Welsh but stated that they preferred seeing English-language theatre. One person even started filling it out in English before crossing their answers through and answering on the Welsh side of the form instead. The complicated relationship Wales has with language was immediately made apparent.

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[276] For more on using personal responses to live theatre performance, see W.B. Worthen, *Shakespeare Performance Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[277] Interviews conducted on 14th February 2017.

[278] See Appendix A.2 for a copy of the questionnaire. This was approved by the University of Birmingham's Ethical Review Process. Application number: ERN_16-0308. Thank you to ThGC and Chapter for allowing me to conduct this research.

[279] Purcell discusses the limitations of gathering audience feedback in *Shakespeare and Audience in Practice*. See specifically pp. 16-8.

Seeing a broadcast of a production is obviously a very different experience to seeing the live show (and much warmer if the live show was in a wintery castle). The audience is constructed in a different way and will form a different relationship to the production.[280] What is important for this chapter is the linguistic engagement of the audience. The most popular reason for attendance was the language of the production (21). The play itself came a close second (20), speaking directly to the enduring popularity of *Macbeth*, and in turn Shakespeare, in Wales. Twenty-six respondents had seen a Shakespearean play before, either in Welsh and/or English. ThGC was also a popular reason (10), followed by the venue (6). Eleven people also cited 'other' for a variety of reasons, with the most common being that they or a family member was in the production (5). Only one person mentioned that the good reviews had prompted them to come, and one other stated that they had missed the opportunity to see it at Caerphilly. One person was learning Welsh so the subtitles helped them to follow along. One person specifically cited Thomas' translation as a motivating factor. The fact that language was the overwhelming reason why people had chosen to see the production speaks not only to the desire for Welsh-language theatre in Cardiff but wider Wales as the broadcasts were well-distributed throughout the country.

Furthermore, almost a third of the respondents were aged between 60-80 (10), pointing to the necessity of cinema broadcasts for audience accessibility. Whilst I do not wish to make any assumptions about age and mobility, Gruffydd himself acknowledged that the castle, with its narrow spiral staircases and uneven, slippery floors, was not an accessible

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[280] There are numerous studies into the relationship between theatre and cinema broadcasts. For a select reading list see: Erin Sullivan, '"The forms of things unknown": Shakespeare and the rise of the live broadcast', *Shakespeare Bulletin*, Vol. 35 no. 4 (2017), pp. 627-62; Pascale Aebischer, *Screening Early Modern Drama: Beyond Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Pascale Aebischer, *Shakespeare, Spectatorship and the Technologies of Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Beth Sharrock, *Paratexts to Shakespearean Live Theatre Broadcasts* (forth-coming doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham).

venue for many people, regardless of age.[281] Of the six people who indicated that the venue played a role in their decision to see the production, four were aged over fifty.

This small pool of data has allowed me to draw limited conclusions. Significantly, it confirmed Gruffydd's belief that it is important for Welsh-speaking audiences to hear theatre in their own language. Similarly, it revealed the social value attached to ThGC and indicated the importance of theatre in modern Wales as twenty-six respondents stated that they attend theatre regularly. It also spoke to an inescapable narrative trend that must be addressed before moving on to discuss Shakespeare in the Basque Country. Whilst 2018 was overwhelmingly the year of *Macbeth* for English theatre companies, 'from the start of the conversion and translation of Shakespeare's work in Welsh, one of the most popular plays, if not the most popular, was *Macbeth*'.[282] Over half of the productions addressed in this chapter have been tradaptations of *Macbeth*, closely followed by *Hamlet*. There have been no comedies staged in Welsh aside from *Tempest*, and the only other play to make it onto the Welsh-language stage in full has been *Romeo and Juliet*. *Macbeth* has dominated the Welsh-language stage and screen with seven recorded productions and three more unperformed translations.

As well as the importance of hearing classic plays performed in the Welsh language, Gruffydd repeatedly points to the political themes of the play as pertinent reasons for specifically staging *Macbeth* within a Welsh context.[283] Ahead of the cinema broadcast he stated: 'There's a temptation to compare some of our politicians to Macbeth and question their motive'.[284] Here, Gruffydd echoed early translators of Shakespeare. In an article entitled 'the

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[281] Thomas, 'Theatr Genedlaethol's Macbeth broadcast to cinemas'.

[282] Edwards, 'Macbeth yn y Gymraeg', p. 3. Edwards also points to further instances of Shakespearean translation, not included in this thesis at the risk of simply listing plays.

[283] 'Supernatural elements are among the most interesting aspects of Macbeth'.

[284] Gruffydd, interview for introductory film.

English Literature Game' (1895), Edwards (a patron of Jones who ensured that his 1902 translation of *Macbeth* was eventually published) discussed the significance of the play's content for Welsh audiences. He highlighted the key themes of political and religious sentiments, fear of rebellion and the importance of the monarchy as well as what, for Edwards, was the main message of the play: how 'character deteriorates when carrying out evil deeds'.[285] Jones himself would reflect Edwards' beliefs in the preface to his 1942 publication: 'Temptation and the fate of ambitious men are the true subjects of the play, and in the handling of those subjects lies Shakespeare's masterpiece, his wit, his creativity and his humanity'.[286] Perhaps recent upheaval of the Welsh political system coupled with the historical relationship between England and Wales in which both are presented as the other's sometime friend or antagonist has led to an unconscious mistrust in political power and ambition. As Gruffydd concludes: 'That's an interesting aspect of Shakespeare's work. It's perpetually relevant. […] there's something in Shakespeare that makes him an astute observer of humanity'.[287] Shakespeare, often used as a mediator who can be politicised to suit any agenda, is therefore exploited to interrogate these relationships.

Welsh Shakespeare has been revealed to be a responsive cultural force, that reacts to contemporary politics and social trends, and draws on a rich history of traditions. It aims to be as inclusive as possible, engaging audiences in dynamic ways. *Macbeth* falls into Balme's third category of theatrical syncretism as a 'new equilibrium' was established between the Shakespeare text and the historically identifiably Welsh practice of site-specific theatre.[288]

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[285] Quoted in Edwards, 'Macbeth yn y Gymraeg', p. 3.

[286] Ibid.

[287] Gruffydd, interview for introductory film.

[288] Balme, *Decolonizing the Stage*, p. 17.

The ways in which ThGC tradapted *Macbeth* to a uniquely Welsh setting whilst remaining conscious of the bilingual nature of modern Welsh society is demonstrative of their ongoing work to be representative and a truly national institution.

Recent debate and initial conclusion

ThGC and NTW's positions within Welsh society have been sharply interrogated throughout their histories. 2010 saw much public discussion surrounding ThGC. Towards the end of 2018, NTW's position within Welsh society and its artistic community was a topic of further debate, as two open letters were delivered to the Chair of NTW, Clive Jones. The first was signed by forty Welsh playwrights; the second was signed by two hundred Welsh actors. Both letters expressed deep concern over the direction of NTW and its ability to act as a national institution, accusing it of seeming 'to take pride in ridding itself of a theatrical [identity] and even its nationality'.[289] The letters signalled a seeming preference to appoint non-Welsh artists over Welsh in NTW programming and casting, despite the company's original aims to be a primarily Welsh national organisation, to support Welsh artists and theatre, and work 'against the marginalisation of the Welsh experience'.[290] The playwrights' letter distinguished a cultural shift in practice since the departure of the previous Artistic Director, McGrath, and the appointment of Kully Thiarai in 2016. NTW receives substantial funding from ACW, and yet according to the letters, the company continues to prioritise non-Welsh practitioners: the letter from the playwrights exemplified the selection of Liverpool-based 20 Stories High to

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[289] Georgia Snow, 'National Theatre Wales accused of "not being national, theatrical or Welsh enough"', *The Stage*, 21st September 2018, <https://www.thestage.co.uk/news/2018/national-theatre-wales-accused-of-not-being-national-theatrical-or-welsh-enough/> [accessed 23rd July 2019].

[290] Ibid.

deliver a flagship project in 2020. The actors' letter echoed closely these concerns, adding that many 'of [them] now feel a drastic disconnect from what once felt like a thriving and engaging theatrical forum that championed Welsh work and artists'.[291]

What incensed most, however, was NTW's production of *English* (dir. Richard Gregory; 2018), which was described as 'an investigation into language and identity'.[292] And yet, the production made no reference to the Welsh language. As the playwrights' letter argued: 'There is no version of the history of the English language in Wales which is not a history of its relationship with the Welsh language. How those two languages forge our identity is arguably the defining characteristic of our nation'.[293] *English* was accused of erasing 'this crucial aspect of the story of English in Wales entirely and deliberately'.[294] To make matters worse, Quarantine, the theatre company that created *English*, was from Manchester and Gregory admitted publicly that 'as an English-speaking English man, he did not feel equipped to speak about the Welsh language, or Welsh identity'.[295] So, why was NTW producing such a show – a show that in no way supported Welsh artists, culture or national identity but actively sought to ignore it? As one reviewer argued:

> the non-UK citizens in the room would have gone away assuming Wales was a county in England. The choice of words (afternoon tea, cricket, 'ee by gum') reflected only English values, with Welsh and Anglo-Welsh vernacular utterly ignored. This would be irritating were it an English company presenting in

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[291] Georgia Snow, 'Rhys Ifans, Amy Morgan and Steffan Rhodri among 200 Welsh actors adding to mounting concern over National Theatre Wales', *The Stage*, 13th November 2018, <https://www.thestage.co.uk/news/2018/rhys-ifans-amy-morgan-and-steffan-rhodri-among-200-welsh-actors-adding-to-mounting-concern-over-national-theatre-wales/> [accessed 23rd July 2019].

[292] 'English', *National Theatre Wales*, June 2018, <https://www.nationaltheatrewales.org/ntw_shows/english/> [accessed 23rd July 2019].

[293] Snow, 'National Theatre Wales accused of "not being national, theatrical or Welsh enough"'.

[294] Ibid.

[295] Ibid.

> Cardiff, but for [NTW] to be seemingly unaware of the nation it represents is unforgivable.[296]

It was this growing feeling of disenfranchisement and marginalisation that led to the two letters, and a petition for debate to be opened up about exactly what NTW should be doing for the people of Wales: 'We want it to be a theatre. We want it to be Welsh. These are two things we thought we could take for granted'.[297] The call by both groups was for more theatre, longer runs, but above all more representation and support for Welsh artists, and a prioritisation of Welsh voices.

The ACW was involved in the talks between NTW and the artistic community. Nick Capaldi, Chief Executive, issued a statement in which he warned NTW to 'think carefully about the nature of its umbilical relationship with Wales – the tap-root to that native talent that gives the company at its best its context and character'.[298] Whilst it is desirable for organisations to achieve international acclaim and the highest of artistic standards, that should not take precedence over serving national or local needs. As Capaldi stated:

> to be 'national' is a privilege, not a right. It's a designation that brings with it a particular obligation to be an exemplar in every way: creating work of national and international significance, but rooted unequivocally in the country of its birth; showing leadership in developing the arts in Wales; nurturing the partnerships and relationships that will develop new artists; building the arts audiences of the future.[299]

To be a National Theatre of Wales and to be representative of Welsh artists and audiences,

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[296] Nicholas Davies, 'English review at Wales Millennium Centre, Cardiff – 'a conversation about language'', *The Stage*, 21st June 2018, < https://www.thestage.co.uk/reviews/2018/english-review-dance-house-wales-millennium-centre-cardiff/> [accessed 23rd July 2019].

[297] Snow, 'National Theatre Wales accused of "not being national, theatrical or Welsh enough"'.

[298] 'Arts Council Statement on the NTW Debate', *Wales Arts Review*, 13th November 2018, <https://www.walesartsreview.org/arts-council-statement-on-the-ntw-debate/> [accessed 23rd July 2019].

[299] Ibid.

NTW must work to build bridges within its homeland before turning outwards. NTW has an obligation to the Welsh artistic community above all others.

When England first proposed a national theatre in the early twentieth century, there were strong advocates for a Shakespeare Memorial National Theatre, that would have further cemented Shakespeare at the heart of English drama. So, what does it mean to be national? How is it achievable? Where do NTW need to take their work next? These questions are still being debated a decade after the establishment of NTW. Capaldi states that to be a national institution:

> An attachment to time and place matters. But the true worth of any arts organisation derives from the creativity that drives its vision and the collaborators who give shape to its work. It's the creative professionals […] who imbue that work with character, authenticity and relevance. Because it's the artist, in all disciplines, addressing the world in its hopes and disasters, in its changes and disruption, who reinvents cultural expression appropriate for the times.[300]

People make a national establishment. Without the support of artists and audiences, NTW cannot be considered to be truly national. 'Trust and confidence need to be mended on all sides' to secure the future of NTW's place within Welsh culture.[301]

Both ThGC and NTW hold important, if at times contentious, positions in Wales' artistic community. Their co-existence speaks to the complex, heterogenous hybridity of Welsh social, linguistic and national identities, and highlights an ongoing underlying tension about whether one needs to speak Welsh to be a true Welsh citizen. Both companies show a lasting engagement with Welsh landscape through their site-specific productions and a connection with the place itself that goes beyond language. They are nomadic within the

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[300] Ibid.

[301] Ibid.

country, engaging specifically with a site or atmosphere of a location.

Shakespeare features just a handful of times within the national theatre companies' programmes, but when he does, it is always at a critical moment of wider cultural significance and celebration. The fateful *Romeo a Juliet* was intended to mark the establishment of ThGC, reflecting a social demand to hear the classic texts performed in Welsh. It is unfortunate that an outdated translation was used, rather than a fresh text that could have responded directly to the living state of Welsh. *Y Storm* and *Coriolan/us* participated in global festivities and discussions surrounding Shakespeare's twenty-first-century cultural status, ensuring that both sides of Welsh linguistic identity were represented. *Macbeth* transformed Shakespeare into a Welsh legend through the production's involvement in the Year of the Legend project, and facilitated deeper local and national engagement with the play and the performance site. Three key performance components continue into the examination of Shakespeare in the Basque Country, and beyond: the omnipresence of site-specific performance; the significance of festivals in global Shakespearean tradaptation; and the persistent complicated relationship between languages and national, social and cultural identities.

Chapter Three: The Basque Country

Part One: A History of Shakespeare in Translation and Performance in Euskara
Introduction

> *The historical preponderance of Spanish is such that [modern] Basque literature as a whole barely predates 1879 […] Up to then, the cultural ambit of expression in* euskera *had […] been extremely narrow, barely transcending the geographical boundaries in which it was spoken and with little or no out-let [sic] to the main international currents of literary and aesthetic production*.[1]

Chapter Three examines Shakespeare's relationship with the Basque Country, focusing on Euskara-language interactions to reveal how national identity can be manifested through theatre and language. Across Spain, Shakespearean scholarship was late to develop; even after the end of Francisco Franco's regime in 1975, 'traditional' preoccupations were repeatedly 'characterized by personal readings and ideological manipulations of Shakespeare', with little or no wider engagement with contemporary theory.[2] However, as criticism grew and matured, at 'the same time Shakespeare's popularity was steadily growing in different *autonomías*' through his potential for tradaptation into 'multiple cultural identities which share a social-political space'.[3] I will demonstrate how Shakespeare has helped to shape Basque theatre and the varying role his work has played across the centuries, as Basque theatre-makers explore their unique national identity whilst repeatedly drawing on a rich native mythology.

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[1] Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre 1772 to the Present*, p. 131. I use 'Euskara' to refer to the language of the Basque Country, which is the official term and spelling. 'Euskera' is the Spanish spelling. If 'Basque' has been used in a quote to refer to language, I shall leave it as is in the quote. My use of 'Basque' shall therefore be as an adjective. All translations from Euskara or Spanish are my own unless otherwise stated. Any references to Spanish as a language refer to Castilian Spanish.

[2] José Manuel González, 'Introduction: Shakespeare Criticism in Contemporary Spain', *Spanish Studies in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, ed. by José Manuel González (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), pp. 7-16, p. 8.

[3] Ibid., p. 10; E. Inman Fox, 'Spain as Castile: Nationalism and national identity', *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Spanish Culture*, ed. by David Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 21-36, p. 21.

As established in Chapter One, festivals are often a focal point for expressions of cultural identities through Shakespearean performance; this is most notably evident in Part Two of this chapter. Equally, as previously discussed, site-specific theatre is regularly employed to facilitate a deeper connection between a location and its inhabitants. The comedies, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* especially, are a common choice for theatre companies to celebrate their own culture and community, and the play has been particularly embraced by Basque theatre practitioners. There is always a heightened awareness of audience accessibility when considering minority language theatre. This is manifested in a variety of ways, from language choice to the use of subtitles.

Key questions to ask are: why Shakespeare? How is Basque cultural identity represented in these productions? And, conversely, how is a dominant social and cultural identity being counterbalanced through theatre? To concisely answer the first question, the immediate high cultural value ascribed to the Shakespeare canon works to concurrently elevate Basque theatre, culture and language status. Figures such as Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, considered to be the Spanish equivalent to Shakespeare in terms of literary output and reputation, were skipped over to represent the Basque cultural identity and help establish a dramatic canon. In the case of Cervantes, this was not only because he was not primarily a playwright but also because he has been so intrinsically linked to the Spanish Golden Age and Spanish cultural identity, meaning that it would be difficult for him to also represent a uniquely Basque identity. By choosing to invest in translations of foreign texts, Basque translators and theatre-makers are potentially refusing Spanish voices to express their own cultural identity. As will become clear, this belief was firmly held by the directors of two different productions of *Dream*, Pablo Viar and Jon Koldo Vázquez, and Fernando Bernués

and Iñaki Rikarte. This is further revealed in the disparity between the number of Shakespeare plays produced in the Basque Country compared with his Spanish contemporaries.

Or, perhaps it is not as straightforward as that. As demonstrated across this thesis, language complicates a nation's sense of identity, especially if the majority of the population cannot speak a particular language. In what follows, I demonstrate that promoting translations of non-Spanish works is not necessarily a rejection of Spanishness. The general Basque readership does not need to have Spanish-language texts translated; therefore, rather than having a negative purpose (rejection), investment in translation (especially of classics and of children's literature) can be seen as part of the positive purpose of social promotion of Euskara. This act involves gaining social spaces now predominantly occupied by Spanish. Investing more in Euskara over Spanish to help the former achieve the status of 'normal' or 'equal' does not necessarily mean to refuse the latter. Therefore, rather than viewing the situation as a mutually exclusive binary, it is more useful to see it as a hybrid of the two.

Within the context of the Basque Country, a post-colonial nation seeking to gain ownership of their own identity, Basque translators turned to Shakespeare at the start of the twentieth century in a bid to not only raise the reputation of Euskara but also establish a Basque literary canon. I use the term 'post-colonial' in relation to the Basque Country, taking my cue from Helena Buffery. She argues: 'it is […] undeniable that in the Catalan case, according to class, location and linguistic relation, imperialism can be experienced as colonial domination, class distinction or cultural endowment, whether separately or simultaneously'.[4] This theory can also be applied to the Basque Country and the way theatre-makers and translators have engaged with Shakespeare's works throughout history. Buffery states:

[4] Helena Buffery, *Shakespeare in Catalan: Translating Imperialism* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), p. 3. See also Said, *Culture and Imperialism*.

> Shakespeare in Catalan reveals diverse and shifting trends and practices, according to individual taste, group interests and aesthetic fashions, but also to cultural and linguistic consciousness, historical accident and inter-cultural contact. Hence, whilst on one level what we will find reconstructed here is an imperial Shakespeare, standing as a supreme and exclusive model of culture and civilisation, we will also see his imperialism positioned and his empire adjusted to exclude problematic aspects (such as its relationship with colonialism and with models of political imposition) and to include Catalan and Catalonia.[5]

As this chapter illustrates, Basque translators and theatre practitioners follow a similar path to their Catalan counterparts, manipulating Shakespeare's iconic cultural image and plays to suit their own specific agendas, which vary over time. When Shakespeare's plays were eventually performed on the Basque stage, theatre companies followed the same agenda as early Euskara translators: an attempt to move Euskara-language theatre away from outdated modes that were considered largely to be easy-watching entertainment for the masses and to elevate Euskara-language artistic output.

Part One of this chapter offers a history of translation and performance of Shakespeare's work in Euskara and is split into three main eras. The first begins with the earliest tradaptation of a Shakespearean play in 1925 up to the beginning of Francisco Franco's dictatorship (1939). The second expounds upon the situation of the Basque Country under Franco (1939-75). The third brings us up to 2016, which marked a significant turning point in Shakespeare's relationship with Basque theatre, witnessing an explosion of artistic output produced within the Basque Country. Part Two concentrates on one such instance: Tanttaka Teatroa's *Dream*, or *Uda gau bateko ametsa*/*Sueño de una noche de verano* (*Ametsa*/*Sueño*), directed by Fernando Bernués and Iñaki Rikarte. The production marked the first professional production of a Shakespeare play performed wholly in Euskara on the Basque

[5] Buffery, *Shakespeare in Catalan*, p. 3.

stage. As such, I am able to present original research on this element of Basque culture that is still in its infancy in the process of negotiation and establishment. To gather firsthand responses to Tanttaka's production, I spent two weeks in Donostia-San Sebastián interviewing the directors, cast members, the translator, as well as audience members. As established in Chapters One and Two, there is a flexibility or tradaptability to Shakespeare's works that make them readily accessible to minority cultures. Chapter Three explores how applies in a Basque context.

Contexts

> *Few languages have exercised so much fascination upon the collective linguistic consciousness as Basque.*[6]

What follows is an attempt to capture the essences of Basque culture, focusing on areas that are pertinent to this thesis to provide a focused frame of reference. I give attention to the history of Euskara, standardisation and translation, Basque folklore and mythology, cultural practices related to performance, and education. Nick Gardner points to the 'vexed topic' that is defining precisely what constitutes the Basque Country, 'with definitions varying over time, by language and even by political viewpoint'.[7] An equally complex situation can be ascribed to Euskara*,* the language spoken by Basques. For this thesis, the Basque Country refers to the three provinces that make up the Basque Autonomous Community: Araba, Bizkaia and

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[6] R.L. Trask, *The History of Basque* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. xiii.

[7] 'The status of Basque: situation and prospects', p. 1: paper given at the University of Birmingham on 5th March 2013 as part of the Robert L. Trask Memorial Lecture, <http://www.euskaltzaindia.eus/dok/plazaberri/2013/martxoa/Basque_Birmingham_PLAZABERRI.pdf> [accessed 1st April 2017].

Gipuzkoa. Henceforth referred as the Basque Country, this is the portion of Euskal Herria that belongs to the Iberian Peninsula. Whilst Nafarroa has historically been part of the Basque Country and is still part of the wider Basque region, it is now its own autonomous community and so is not included in my geographical range. In this region, theatre practitioners are constantly fighting against a well-established and better-funded Spanish-language theatre industry that threatens to overwhelm the Basque. Specific attention will be paid to the city Donostia (situated in Gipuzkoa). Shakespeare, as I will show, has played a small but significant role in the growth of Basque theatre; the playwright's works were not translated into Euskara until the twentieth century but have been retranslated several times since then.

The Basque people inhabited the European Continent before Indo-European invasions; as such their language is 'beyond dispute the sole surviving pre-Indo-European language of Western Europe'.[8] However, their society has historically been largely based on an oral tradition. The result is that the earliest surviving texts in Euskara date from the sixteenth century onwards. Furthermore, the isolating geography of the mountainous region, which potentially helped to protect the Basques from outside intrusion and preserve their language, also had the effect of keeping the various Basque communities separate from each other, encouraging diversification of the language. Each region had its own particular dialect that may not have been comprehensible to those from outside the territory; even individual villages developed variances on that dialect.[9] The complexities of the linguistic situation of the Basque Country comes into sharp focus when considering the first attempts to standardise the language in the sixteenth century. As Ioannes Leizarraga states in his preface to his 1571

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[8] Trask, *History of Basque*, p. 35.

[9] Enrique Aramburu, *La lengua mâs antigua de Europa: el vasco en su literatura y apellidos* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2001), p. 24. See also Luis Villasante, *Historia de la literatura vasca* (Burgos: Editorial Aranzazu, 1979) and *Historia de la literatura vasca*. ed. by Patrizio Urkizu Sarasua (Madrid: UNED, 2000).

translation of the Bible: 'Everyone knows what difference and diversity there is in the manner of speaking in the Basque Country, almost from house to house'.[10] This linguistic diversity continues to be present today.

The rise of the printing press enabled Basque writers to move away from Spanish or French and produce texts in their native tongue. Nowadays, Euskara is an official language in the Basque Country along with Spanish.[11] It did not gain official status until 1978, meaning that the historical (and continuing) influence of Spanish and French has been substantial.

The first step away from an oral tradition towards a written one was the work of Bernart Etxepare (1493?-1545), who published a book of fifteen poems entitled *Linguae vasconum primitiae* in 1545, 'dealing with themes such as love and religion'.[12] Within Basque literature, 'poetry has always been a crucial genre', particularly when considering the inherent oral nature of the Basque literary tradition.[13] The style and metre of Etxepare's writing suggests that he was an experienced poet in bertsolaritza, an improvised, rhyming verse poetry, that continues to be a popular genre today. However, the 'dominance of religious texts in this era was almost absolute', as was the presence of writers who belonged to the Church.[14]

Whilst Etxepare wrote in the Nafarroa Beherean dialect (Lower Navarrese; French Basque), with French-influenced orthography, the next Euskara-language writer was a priest called Ioannes Leizarraga (1506-1601) who employed a mixture of Lapurdian, Zuberoan and

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[10] Reproduced by José Ignacio Hualde and Koldo Zuazo in 'The standardization of the Basque language', *Language Problems and Language Planning* Vol. 31 no. 2 (2007), pp. 143-68, p. 145.

[11] Ibid., p. 143. Euskara has a 'more restricted official status' in Nafarroa, and is not recognised as an official language in the French Basque Country (Lapurdi, Nafarroa Beherea, and Zuberoa). See Appendix B for a map of the Basque Country and its regions.

[12] Maria Jose Olaziregi, 'Basque Country, Poetry of the.', *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics*, 4th edn. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 126-8, p. 126.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., p. 127.

Nafarroa Beherean (all French Basque) in the first (known) attempt to standardise Euskara. These dialects were considered the most prestigious of the Euskara variations at the time, and whilst Leizarraga has been criticised for not including southern dialects, it is important to remember that he was a pioneer. He was also dependent on a very small pool of available resources. Leizarraga employed a lot of Latin loan words where pre-existing Euskara words could have sufficed, arguably diluting Euskara instead of strengthening it as a language.[15] The Latin influence stemmed from his position as a priest. Latin was the language of the Church, and Leizarraga's translations therefore could be viewed as an attempt to elevate the status of Euskara by incorporating a socially higher status language. It would have also potentially aided his readers by blending in words from a language they would have been more familiar reading. Leizarraga was in fact commissioned to translate the New Testament by Joana Albretekoa (Jeanne III), the queen regnant of Nafarroa, following her conversion to Calvinism in 1560.[16] This reveals not only Leizarraga's social status but also the reason he employed the three French dialects of Euskara for his translation and why they were considered to be the most respected dialects at the time. Elsewhere, the Spanish side of the Basque Country (called the Kingdom of Navarre at the time) was no longer independent and was under the rule of King Ferdinand of Aragon.

Leizarraga published three books, all in 1571, and all were Euskara firsts: the New Testament, a calendar of religious holidays, and a Christian instruction manual. Furthermore, he was one of the first known writers to use the term 'heuscal herria', which nowadays reads as 'Euskal Herria' ('Basque Country'). The first book published in the Spanish Basque

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[15] Trask, *History of Basque*, p. 220.

[16] Aramburu, *La lengua mâs antigua de Europa: el vasco en su literature y apellidos*, p. 51. See also Juan María de Olaizola Iguiñiz, *El Reino de Navarra en la encrucijada de su historia: el protestantismo en el País Vasco*, 2nd edn. (Pamplona: Pamiela, 2011).

Country was ‘an anonymous collection of proverbs entitled *Refranes y sentencias*, written in the Bizkaian dialect’ from 1596.[17] Given the relative lateness of these texts, compared to the age of the language, it is easy to see why and how Shakespeare makes such a late entrance on to the Basque stage (1925 marks the first Shakespearean tradaptation into Euskara).

To return briefly to the bertsolaritza, the improvised verse poetry: these ‘performances are little short of miraculous’.[18] These events are often staged as competitions between two bertsolari, who are given a theme around which they compose and perform an original song, unaccompanied. Bertsolari are traditionally male, but there is an increasing number of younger female poets. The theme can be extremely varied, as can the melody and metre chosen by each competitor. They are competing for a txapela, a Basque beret that is an iconic part of the traditional dress. As berets form the award for many Basque competitions, the word ‘txapeldun “one who has the beret” has become the ordinary word for ‘‘champion’’’.[19] Accompanying bertsolaritza competitions as traditional forms of entertainment are a variety of sports, such as sokatira (tug of war) and aizkolaritza (wood chopping), possibly linked to the Jentilak, giants that are central to Basque folklore, and dances such as ezpata-dantza (the sword dance) and godalet dantza (the goblet dance). Influences of these traditional dances can be seen in contemporary Basque dance today. Three key productions of *Dream* examined below drew heavily on the genre.

Sadly, owing to the historical oral tradition of Basque culture and the adoption of the Christian faith, much of the deep rooted folklore and early Basque religion that pre-dated the

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[17] Trask, *History of Basque*, p. 47.

[18] Ibid., p. 327.

[19] Ibid.

Romans have been 'all but obliterated'.[20] Only key figures remain. Witches have a very strong presence in Basque folklore. This is reflected in the most prominent figures: the lamiak or lamiñak. They are 'usually portrayed as beautiful but malevolent women with animal feet who deceive, enchant and kill people, often especially young men', similar to sirens from Greek mythology.[21] A belief that all natural things were imbued with a spirit was prevalent. Characters particular to individual communities are also present, particularly those that reflect the geography of the region. The first *Dream* of 2016 that I explore later made extensive use of these mythological creatures to inform the portrayal of the fairies.

Similarly, agriculture and industry that exploit the natural geography of the Basque Country are vital. Mark Kurlansky suggests it is possible that Basque fishermen, renowned ship builders and whalers, found a way to reach North America long before Christopher Columbus did in 1492: accounts from the time report 'indigenous people [to North America] already speaking a patois that was part indigenous and part Euskara'.[22] The importance of fishing and farming is reflected in the cuisine typical to the Basque Country; a prime example of which was served during Tanttaka's *Dream* (the focus of Part Two).

With respect to education, the Basque government had a plan to reform the entire system by 2020, with the goal to 'advance the excellence of the system with a steady pace and achieve a fair, cohesive and active society'.[23] A study carried out by the Arrue Project between 2004-11 demonstrated that 64 per cent of primary school and 58 per cent of secondary school pupils included in the survey went to ikastolak (Euskara-language schools), whilst just 7.4 per

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[20] Ibid., p. 13.

[21] Ibid., p. 324.

[22] *The Basque History of the World* (London: Vintage Books, 2000), p. 59.

[23] 'Heziberri 2020', *Departamento de Educación*, <http://www.hezkuntza.ejgv.euskadi.eus/r43-573/es/contenidos/informacion/heziberri_2020/es_heziberr/heziberri_2020.html> [accessed 1st August 2017]. The results are yet to be published.

cent and 13.2 per cent went to primarily Spanish-medium schools, meaning that 28.5 per cent of primary school students and 27.9 per cent of secondary school students went to bilingual schools.[24] Recent years have seen an increase in the promotion of Euskara-medium teaching. This is not at the expense of language proficiency in Spanish but more in a bid towards bilingualism or multilingualism within students, 'in line with the sociolinguistic and sociocultural reality'.[25]

Given the politically, socially and culturally turbulent history of the Basque Country, it is unsurprising that the Basque theatre industry is fragile and relatively new, and is in constant competition with outside influences. The most recent example of this social disturbance is the vociferous left-wing separatist group Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), which was established in 1959 in reaction to the policies of Franco's dictatorship. In their four-decade 'campaign of violence' for the Basque Country to separate from the rest of Spain, over eight hundred people were killed.[26] ETA only recently announced a 'definitive cessation' to its armed activities in October 2011, and officially 'completely dissolved' in May 2018.[27] The legacy of the group is still very present throughout Spanish politics and society.

With all of these complex relationships between Basque culture, history, language and folklore in mind, I will now give a brief overview of Basque theatre history in relation to

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[24] Department of Education, Language Policy and Culture of the Basque Government and The Sociolinguistics Cluster, *Talking Pupils The Arrue Project 2011*, ed. by Belen Uranga (Donostia: Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia, 2013), p. 23.

[25] Department of Education, Universities and Investigation, *Decretos curriculares para la Educación Infantil, Básica y Bachiller en la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco*, 2010, p. 10, <http://www.euskadi.eus/gobierno-vasco/contenidos/informacion/dif10/es_5495/adjuntos/dc_bachillerato_c.pdf> [accessed 1st August 2017].

[26] Guy Hedgecoe, 'Ghost of ETA refuses to fade for Spanish right', *Politico*, 16th September 2019, <https://www.politico.eu/article/eta-spanish-right-basque-country-alsasua/> [accessed 22nd April 2020].

[27] ETA spokesperson, 'Full text: Basque ceasefire declaration', *BBC*, 20th October 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/mobile/world-europe-15395157> [accessed 1st April 2017]; Tobias Buck, 'After Eta: Spain's History of Violence', *Financial Times*, 27th January 2017, <https://www.ft.com/content/8ad74460-e350-11e6-8405-9e5580d6e5fb> [accessed 1st April 2017]; Isla Binnie, 'Basque separatist group ETA says is has 'completely dissolved', *Reuters*, 2nd May 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-spain-eta/basque-group-eta-says-has-completely-dissolved-el-diario-website-idUSKBN1I31TP> [accessed 24th February 2020].

Shakespeare and his works in translation into Euskara to date. The translations and productions discussed below offer unique insight into the development of a Basque Shakespeare, how Basque practitioners have historically drawn on the past to inform the present and what language(s) they use to explore Shakespeare's relevance in contemporary Basque culture.

The beginnings of Shakespearean translation into Euskara

Shakespeare is included relatively late within the Basque literary canon, and makes an even later appearance on the Basque stage. Theatrical interactions with the playwright have fluctuated, mirroring the changing state of Basque culture and its ability to express itself over the decades. It took progressive individuals to bring Shakespeare into Euskara in an effort to establish a Basque literary canon, one that would have international prestige, and to expand a dramatic canon primarily confined to pastoral comedies. Shakespeare was turned to in an age-old bid to imbue Euskara with higher cultural value, for, as demonstrated in Chapter One, 'Shakespeare' now signifies more than a playwright's name. In the case of minority cultures, Shakespeare is used to challenge a social identity that has been imposed upon them by a dominant nation. In the Basque Country, that has been the Hispanic social identity cultivated in central areas such as Castilla y León and, most crucially, La Comunidad de Madrid, that have historically sought to homogenise the variances of provinces such as Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country, chiefly through the normalisation of the Spanish language.[28]

The first of Shakespeare's dramatic works to be translated into Euskara would not

[28] See Fox, 'Spain as Castile'.

come until 1925: it was 'a rather free translation' (or tradaptation) of *Macbeth* carried out by Toribio Alzaga, 'the founder of modern Basque theatre'.[29] Shakespeare's name appears on the title page, allowing Alzaga to benefit from his aura of prestige. Five acts were reduced to three and a prologue. The play was retitled as *Irritza* (*Ambition*). Its new title reflects the aspirations of the translator as the year before its publication the central government in Madrid had banned the publishing of Euskara-language books and all school books written in Euskara were retracted.[30] The play was translated into Gipuzkoan, the dialect of Euskara that 'quickly became a bastion for a new Basque theatre', and was the basis for Euskara Batua as it was the branch of Euskara with the richest literary history.[31] Euskara Batua, as I will show, is now the universal version of the language that emerged in the 1960s. Alzaga blended in lexical terms and neologisms from other local dialects, thereby achieving 'a linguistic balance between traditional theatre at the end of the 19th century and its practical side with another discourse that was unrestrained yet more cultivated'.[32] The text therefore has 'a suitable rhythm for staging compared to some other versions that were done later on, as well as a greater communicative quality'.[33] The successes of the translation are owed to the fact that Alzaga was himself a playwright and theatre director, and therefore already knowledgeable in stage craft, unlike his successors. Xabier Mendiguren praises Alzaga as managing 'to raise the level of the theatre in Gipuzkoa without taking away its folk character'.[34]

Considering the political and cultural disturbances of the time, with a foreign

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[29] Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre,* p. 131; Xabier Mendiguren Bereziartu, 'William Shakespeare's plays in Basque', trans. by Mikel Morris, *Senez*, Vol. 24 (2002, Special issue), published online: <http://www.eizie.eus/en/Argitalpenak/Senez/20021001/mendi2> [accessed 22nd June 2016].

[30] Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre*, p. 131.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Mendiguren, 'William Shakespeare's plays in Basque'.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

(Hispanic) force attempting to quash Basque culture and language, Alzaga's work is remarkable for numerous reasons. As Keith Gregor concludes: it 'is easy to underestimate the impact of the publication' and it is a wonder it was ever published and, indeed, that it was ever staged given the politically contentious nature of the plot.[35] Plays such as *Julius Caesar* and *Richard III* would later face heavy censorship under Franco's dictatorship across Spain.

Whilst a visually spectacular Spanish-language production of *Macbeth*, directed by Cayetano Luca de Tena and translated by Nicolás Gonzalez Ruiz, 'was hailed as *the* theatrical event of the season' at the new National Theatre of the Falange, El Español in Madrid in 1942, the script was heavily adapted to suit the tastes and motives of the new regime: 'The "dignified" production of Shakespearean drama, such that could compete with the very best of foreign productions of his work, was a possible vehicle for the recognition the regime so anxiously sought'.[36] Whole passages were eliminated, including the Porter's scene and Macduff holding aloft Macbeth's severed head, as they were considered 'dangerous and horrifying' for contemporaneous audiences.[37] Perhaps most telling, however, are the individual edits made to the script at the close of the play: references to 'watchfull Tyranny', 'cruell Ministers' and 'dead Butchers' were removed, and 'Exil'd friends' was altered to 'nuestros soldados fugativos [sic]' ('our fleeing soldiers').[38] Additionally, through editing out the final speech by Malcolm, attention was further shifted away from the thousands of Falange enemies forced into exile, with the production's producers 'preferring the hint of

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[35] Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre,* p. 131.

[36] Ibid., p. 89. Original italics.

[37] Ibid., p. 90.

[38] Keith Gregor, *Shakespeare and Tyranny: Regimes of Reading in Europe and Beyond* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), p. 7.

cowardice to an evocation of mass expatriation'.[39] As seen later in this chapter, Franco introduced 'mechanisms of surveillance and restrictions of freedom not seen since the days of the Inquisition', forcing theatre companies to present a Shakespeare 'without Shakespeare', that abided by the censorship of the regime.[40]

Shakespeare was appropriated and adapted significantly by Alzaga and Gonzalez Ruiz for similar reasons. Even though the texts were highly altered by both dramatists, Shakespeare's name still featured prominently on publicity, playbills and publications of the texts.[41] Both were, therefore, tapping into the cultural capital carried by the playwright's name, giving them 'the freedom to retain the aura of recognizable Shakespeareanism, while carefully reshaping the text to suit the prevailing mood'.[42] For Alzaga that meant attempting to raise the status of Basque theatre as an internationally-competitive industry, and for Gonzalez Ruiz that meant producing high culture theatre that was endorsed by the Falange and simultaneously offered an ennobled image of the situation in Spain to the Spanish people, and the rest of the world.

As well as serving as Chair of the Euskal Iztundea (the School for Basque Speech and Language) from 1915 onwards, Alzaga was a key member of the amateur theatrical group Euskal Fedea, both based in Donostia.[43] Twenty-three out of the fifty-one plays that make up the group's repertoire over its twenty-two years of activity were translated or written by him,

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[39] Ibid. The Spanish Falange was a nationalist political party with extreme right-wing, fascist beliefs.

[40] Ibid.

[41] *La tragedia de Macbeth* (theatre programme) by William Shakespeare, Centro de Documentación de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música, <http://teatro.es/catalogo-integrado/la-tragedia-de-macbeth-856475-10> [accessed 22nd June 2016].

[42] Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre*, p. 89.

[43] Patrizio Urkizu Sarasua, *Teatro vasco. Historia, reseñas y entrevistas, antología bilingüe, catálogo e ilustraciones* (Madrid: UNED, 2009), p. 128; Arantxa Iurre, *La mujer en las artes escénicas en Euskadi. Siglo XX Teatro* (Derio: Ecolograf, 2012), p. 50.

including *Irritza*. Whilst most thought the production a success, there were some who found it to be 'premature' for contemporaneous audiences, and the purported lack of originality led to some describing it as 'sterile'.[44] In a time when the theatrical industry heavily relied on patronage, particularly that of the Catholic Church, Alzaga failed to adequately appropriate nationalist ideology, outside of the comedies that he translated and produced. Under the patronage of the Church (initiated in 1921) Alzaga, considered an expert in 'comic tricks and in witty dialogue', succeeded in creating fundamentally comic 'light' theatre through 'an almost perfect symbiosis between the rustic people and the actors'.[45] He achieved this by presenting classic characters from mythology such as witches and demons, as well as popular themes such as love and family life. With *Irritza* he was, however, attempting a task that no one else had previously pursued: that of producing foreign theatre in Euskara. Whilst the text survives, nothing more is known about the first production other than that it opened on 21st December 1925.

As leading Basque theatre historian Patrizio Urkizu Sarasua states, as far as his research has shown him, *Macbeth* was the first complete translation of a foreign play into Euskara that was not 'inspired by the environment of our country'.[46] By this he means one that had not been first written in French or Spanish and translated into Euskara, but rather a play originating from a totally separate cultural background. Producing the play opened up a myriad of questions hitherto unanswered by Basque theatre-makers, chiefly, of how translated texts should be treated. There was a fear, which Urkizu still expressed as late as 2009, that the

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[44] Urkizu, *Teatro vasco*, p. 129. See also Xabier Mendiguren, 'Toribio Alzaga or the intentions and failures of the bourgeois Basque theatre', *Jostirudiak- Irritza*, Classics 30, ed. by Xabier Mendiguren (Bilbao: Labayru, 1990).

[45] Urkizu, *Teatro vasco*, p. 129.

[46] Ibid., p. 183.

production of translated texts would discourage writers to create original material and the industry would be taken over in its infancy by foreign artistic influences before it had had a chance to stabilise and define itself.[47] Acknowledging the potentially disastrous effect that rejecting all other modes of theatre could have on Basque artistic output, however, Urkizu borrows the words of Catalan director Adrián Gaul during the 1920 opening season of the Escuela Catalan d'Art (Barcelona): 'Localism is the deception of popular emotion. We desire that the [Basque] theatre live with its face to the world. When we lend our hands to our neighbours, that is when we better affirm our own personality'.[48] Whilst accepting the inevitability and the benefits of producing foreign texts in translation, however, Urkizu returns to a plea that any 'palpitations of [social] unquiet be solved directly by Basque writers, rather than relying on translations', lest Basque theatre-makers come to rely too heavily upon other voices to fight their battles for them.[49]

Nevertheless, within the context of the aftermath of the third Carlist War (1872-76) and a 'nascent cultural revival' at the turn of the century, *Irritza* and the work carried out by the members of Euskal Fedea are key examples of the battle the Basque community has had to withstand to protect their linguistic heritage.[50] For centuries the Basque language, culture and industry have fought against political regimes that threaten to subsume it into a homogenous Hispanic society; this situation is not unlike other regions of Spain that are likewise fiercely proud of their individual languages and identities, such as Catalonia and Galicia. A cycle of suppression and renaissance is continuously repeated in Basque cultural

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[47] Ibid., p. 185.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Mendiguren, 'William Shakespeare's plays in Basque'.

history right up until the end of Franco's dictatorship; the most recent revival of Basque culture is still in process today.

It is worth noting that Alzaga's translation is the only Shakespearean translation to emerge from the early twentieth century, and the only one to be staged until the 1980s. There was still a vested interest in genres such as pastoral comedy and tales that were already familiar and relatable to provincial audiences. As such, there was a perceived wariness felt towards foreign texts, particularly those which came from completely different cultures or were presented in unfamiliar formats.[51] Admittedly, as was also seen in Chapter Two, there could be more from this period that simply was not recorded due to the lack of cohesion between different artistic groups. For now, let us move forward to one of the darkest times in the history of modern Spain and the Basque Country.[52]

The Era of Franco and Shakespeare

Franco's dictatorship (1939-75) is one of the direst periods of social repression in Spain's history. Franco and his extreme right-wing, conservative Nationalist party led Spain as a stringent totalitarian state, banning all religions other than Catholicism, and sporadically prohibiting all languages other than Spanish, depending on which suited the contemporary political movements. Whilst some sources claim that half a million lives were lost during the Civil War that erupted in 1936 and devastated the country for three years, the actual number will never truly be known due to the vast number of unmarked mass graves employed heavily

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[51] Urkizu, *Teatro vasco*, p. 129.

[52] See Paul Preston, *The Spanish holocaust: inquisition and extermination in twentieth-century Spain* (London: Harper Press, 2012).

by the Falange; a further two hundred thousand fled into exile.[53] As recently as 1st July 2017 a Spanish family finally found peace as their father's body was exhumed from a mass grave in Guadalajara cemetery to be given a 'dignified' burial.[54] Spain technically remained neutral during the Second World War, however Franco not only met with Hitler to discuss the terms by which Spain would join the war (which were ultimately rejected as being too demanding), but also sent an estimated fifty thousand volunteers to fight on the side of Germany and their allies. Further to this, Franco adopted the title El Caudillo meaning The Leader, reflecting Hitler's use of Führer. Immediately following the war, Franco enforced wide-scale concentration camps and mass executions of those considered political or ideological enemies of the state, raising the overall death toll to close to one million.[55]

With a backdrop as utterly bleak as this, and outright fatal for anyone not conforming to the authoritarian regime, it is astounding that any translation into Euskara occurred in this period. Tellingly, translators during this time chose, or were forced by extradition, to work outside of the Basque Country, as it was too risky for them to remain and work in Euskara. Given the vehemence with which the Basques have protected their language and heritage over the centuries, it is perhaps less surprising that the dictatorship did not stop them entirely from producing work in their native language.

As such, it would not be until 1951 that Shakespeare would be translated again into Euskara. Bingen Ametzaga was exiled during the Civil War because of his position within the

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[53] These numbers are according to the 'central database of casualties, the missing and victims of reprisals in Spanish Civil War and Franco's dictatorship', *Innovation and Human Rights*, <https://scwd.ihr.world/en/> [accessed 18th March 2020].

[54] James Badcock, 'Franco victim's body exhumed for dignified burial after 75-year battle', *The Telegraph*, 1st July 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/07/01/franco-victims-body-exhumed-dignified-burial-75-year-battle/> [accessed 3rd July 2017].

[55] Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 11.

first Basque Government as Minister for Education, going first to England and then to South America in 1940. He continued to write widely on Basque culture and literature and translated *Hamlet* alongside *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Dream*.[56] An exquisite copy of *Hamlet* is held by the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, which was presented to Queen Elizabeth II by the people of Uruguay as a gift for her coronation, such was the cultural value attached to its creation.[57] Ametzaga spent time in Uruguay during his exile.[58] Only *Hamlet* was published at the time (1952), and it would take until 2015 for *Dream* to be finally in print. Whilst *Macbeth* was published in 2017, *Julius Caesar* remains unpublished.

Ametzaga began translating early modern English works with Christopher Marlowe's *The Passionate Shepherd to his Love* in 1943. His translation of Sonnet 14 was published in 1954 in *Euzko Gogoa*. This journal ran between 1949-59 and was dedicated to theatrical publications; Ametzaga was a key contributor. It was the first post-war monolingual publication of its kind and was 'the meeting place of the best of Basque writers'.[59] Ametzaga was a prolific translator, working not just from English into Euskara, but also translating from Spanish, French, Italian, German, Latin, Greek, as well as working from Euskara and English into Spanish, and writing extensively himself.[60] Ametzaga's work is considered the forerunner to the meticulous, 'systematic' translation of the Shakespearean dramatic canon into Euskara

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[56] Whilst it is recorded that *Macbeth* was translated in 1957, due to the lack of publication at the time, the dates of the other translations are unknown. Ametzaga is also referred to as Ametza throughout sources.

[57] Euskara is also a minority language in Uruguay. Ten per cent of the population are of Basque ancestry. See *Cultural Education – Cultural Sustainability: Minority, Diaspora, Indigenous, and Ethno-Religious Groups in Multicultural Societies*, ed. by Zvi Bekermand and Ezra Kopelowitz (New York: Routledge, 2008).

[58] Xabier Irujo, 'Introduction', *Macbeth* by William Shakespeare, translated by Bingen Ametzaga (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2016), p. 6.

[59] Mendiguren, 'William Shakespeare's plays in Basque'.

[60] Xabier Iñaki Ametzaga, *Obras completas y referencias Vincente Ametzaga Aresti*, *Vol 1: El hombre vasco* (Editorial XAmetzaga, 2010), p. 23, reproduced online: <http://editorialxAmetzaga.blogspot.co.uk/2010/12/editorial-xAmetzaga.html> [accessed 1st April 2017].

undertaken by Bedita Larrakoetxea.[61] The latter's earliest Shakespearean translations of *Macbeth* (1957) and *Tempest* (1959) also appeared in *Euzko Gogoa*.

Euzko Gogoa was first released in 1950 in Guatemala by its founder Jokin Zaitegi, a priest who was originally sent to Venezuela by his order in 1929, and remained largely in South America until 1972; he returned to Arrasate (Gipuzkoa) to live until his death in 1979. Zaitegi was a great writer himself and brought together over one hundred and twenty Basque writers to contribute to *Euzko Gogoa* over its decade of activity.[62] There is no evidence to suggest that Amezaga's translations were ever performed, but it is thanks to Zaitegi, who was 'tired of reading journals in Spanish' and who fought for his national identity, that they survive.[63]

The linguistic complexity of the texts produced by these early Shakespearean translators is demonstrative of the density and complexity of Euskara, both linguistically and historically. No standardisation of the language was attempted until the late 1960s, when Euskaltzaindia (The Royal Academy of the Basque Language) began to develop Euskara Batua, a unifying language that aimed to provide a common form of Euskara. This has remained the dominant strand of Euskara. However, whilst codification of the language, in particular the written language, is near completion, it is 'one thing to create or standardize a code; quite another for its potential users to accept and use it'.[64] As such, there are between five to eight officially recognised historic dialects still in wide use across the Basque Country; no two sources agree on just how many there are, such is the prolific number of unofficial

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[61] Mendiguren, 'William Shakespeare's plays in Basque'.

[62] In the latter half of its life, the journal was published from Biarritz, which safely falls on the French side of the Basque Country.

[63] 'Jokin Zaitegi (1906-1979)', *Argia,* <http://www.argia.eus/siglo/prota/79jokin.htm> [accessed 1st April 2017].

[64] Gardner, 'The status of Basque', p. 14.

dialects that can vary village to village, and the relative newness of a formal structure to Euskara.[65]

Ironically, it is largely thanks to Franco's dictatorship that standardisation and the subsequent strengthening of Euskara occurred. The uprising against the Republican government in 1936 critically divided the Basque Country. Whilst the self-proclaimed Nacionales controlled Araba, there were areas that did not support the regime and remained loyal to the Republic such as Bizkaia or Gipuzkoa. There, communicating in Euskara was viewed as a separatist action: 'These abominable separatists do not deserve to have a homeland… Basque nationalism must be ruined, trampled underfoot, ripped out by its roots', claimed General Gil Yuste, the Spanish military governor of Araba.[66] As Robert Clark states: 'Of all the acts of suppression, however, symbolically the most damaging was the attempt of the occupation authorities to destroy the Basque language as a functioning communications medium'.[67] Left without a mother-tongue and faced with the butchery of the Franco regime, Basque people in these provinces had no choice but to hide their language. From the beginning of the rule of the Falange, Euskara was not permitted in any public spaces, particularly schools and churches. Cultural institutions such as the Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (University of the Basque Country), which had opened in 1938, and Euskara-language publications and radio stations were closed at the start of Franco's reign. Mass book burnings occurred. A decree was passed that required all Basque names to be translated into

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[65] As a brief overview: Wikipedia lists five dialects; Koldo Zauzo lists six; NABO lists seven; britannica.com lists eight; Herbert Pierrepont Houghton's *An Introduction to the Basque Language: Labourdin Dialect* lists six; C*olloquial Basque: A Complete Language Course* by Begotxu Olaizola Elordi and Alan R. King (London: Routledge, 2007) goes as far to suggest there are three main groups into which all the dialects can be categorised. For a comprehensive history see Koldo Zauzo's *The Dialects of Basque* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2013).

[66] Reproduced in Robert P. Clark, *The Basques, the Franco Years and Beyond* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1979), p. 80.

[67] Ibid., p. 81.

their Spanish equivalents on all official documentation, and, in the worst cases, Basque names were scrubbed off or scratched out on monuments and headstones.[68] In the first three months of the Nationalist 'Reconquest' of Donostia in 1936, nearly a thousand executions took place.[69]

In stark contrast, in those Basque provinces that did support Franco, particularly Araba and Nafarroa, Euskara language and education blossomed and citizens were rewarded financially for their support. Those who enthusiastically took up arms in the name of Franco's uprising quickly proved to be 'some of the most reliable and effective troops on the rebel side, officially called the Nationalists, but soon known to its Republican opponents as the Fascists'.[70] Particular classes were petitioned. As such, whilst in parts of the Basque Country, 'the petty-bourgeoisie favoured autonomist solutions which were directly opposed to the totalitarian *españolismo* of the Falange', the support of the radical right-wing came from their appeal to 'the smallholding peasantry [that] provided the austere, self-sacrificing image that was at the heart of the right's ideology'.[71] The result was that the Falange were financially supported by Basque industrialists from Araba and Nafarroa in their early days.

By the 1960s, the Spanish government changed tactic from total suppression in separatist Basque regions to national regulation, 'clearly [realising] the impossibility or the inadvisability of trying to eliminate the language'.[72] The promotion of Euskara that grew in momentum throughout the 1960s consequently caused a movement to reignite the Basque professional theatre. Carlos Bacigalupe has demonstrated that there was a fledgling theatre

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[68] Ibid., p. 137.

[69] Richards, *A Time of Silence*, pp. 41-2.

[70] Trask, *History of Basque*, p. 26.

[71] Original italics. Richards, *A Time of Silence*, pp. 19-21.

[72] Clark, *The Basques, the Franco Years and Beyond*, p. 138.

industry beginning to put down roots in the late 1960s: 'They are fooling themselves those who think that in the last third of the 60s, theatre in Euskara either did not exist or barely had any relevance'.[73] More groups were establishing themselves and coming together to form collectives: in 1967, the Asociación Gerediaga de amigos de la Merindad de Durango (founded in 1965) brought together thirty-two groups to 'open new horizons for [their] vernacular in theatrical material, which were previously very limited, uniting them with new universal currents capable of attracting the public's attention'.[74] Whilst most of these companies harkened back to a 'pre-war' tradition of pastoral folk plays, there was one that stood out as 'rupturing the old moulds': Jarrai.[75]

Founded in 1959 in Donostia, Jarrai are said to have 'attempted to inspire and revitalise Basque theatre'.[76] By opening up debates about 'old and new theatre' trends and promoting Euskara-language work as central to their agenda from their conception, the company sought to create a new Basque theatre in the aftermath of a long and violent period of extreme repression.[77] Even though it was still technically illegal for Euskara to be used in public spaces, from the mid-1950s there seems to have been a gradual relaxation of the stringent laws previously enforced. In 1955, for instance, a Chair of Basque Studies was

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[73] Carlos Bacigalupe, 'Los 89 fueron nuestros. Revisión cronológica, no exhaustiva, para una historia del teatro vasco durante los últimos 25 años', Festival Internacional de Teatro de Santurtzi. 25 años de teatro en Euskadi (1979-2004), pp. 92-4, reproduced in Patrizio Urkizu Sarasua, *Teatro vasco. Historia, reseñas y entrevistas, antología bilingüe, catálogo e ilustraciones* (Madrid: UNED, 2009), pp. 210-12, p. 210.

[74] Ibid., p. 210.

[75] Patrizio Urkizu Sarasua, 'El teatro vasco entre la tradición y la modernidad: la década del 60', *Euskonews & Media*, published online: <http://www.euskonews.com/0076zbk/gaia7602es.html> [accessed 1st July 2016].

[76] Bacigalupe, 'Los 89 fueron nuestros', p. 212.

[77] Idoia Gereñu Odriozola, 'JARRAI (1959-1968), hito del teatro vasco de vanguardia' (unpublished doctoral thesis: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, 2016), p. 226.

introduced at the University of Salamanca, and Euskara language academies were permitted to reopen in the Basque Country.[78]

Jarrai preferred writers who were beginning to experiment with realism such as contemporary American playwrights like Arthur Miller, Tennessee Williams and Eugene O'Neill, who were following in the footsteps of the likes of Henrik Ibsen (who also featured heavily in Jarrai's repertoire). They favoured playwrights who brought to the stage the 'struggle of generations'.[79] These disillusioned playwrights spoke directly to Basque artists facing similar social problems: they portrayed characters on the social and economic peripheries of a dominant society, struggling with personal and group aspirations to grow and better themselves, just as the Basques were searching for their own individual voice. As Urkizu has stated: the 1960s was a time when the 'theatrical avant-garde was at its peak and was well represented in Donostia. […] there was a clear intention to elevate the level of the plays presented, adapting playwrights who were at that moment most popular'.[80] Popularity was just as important as cultural prestige in order to gain and maintain an audience.

It is necessary to take a moment here to unpick what Urkizu means by 'avant-garde', particularly as it is a reoccurring term associated with Jarrai and their contemporaries. Turning away from previously popular folkloric narratives and motifs, Jarrai sought new horizons for their theatrical output. The result, from an outsider's perspective, is a palimpsestic theatre: Basque artists had been unable naturally to develop their own genres of avant-garde and modern theatre, so when the time of liberation arrived (with Franco's death in 1975), the artistic response was a cacophony of exploration, diversification and consolidation. Anything

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[78] Clark, *The Basques, the Franco Years and Beyond*, p. 137.

[79] Urkizu, 'El teatro vasco entre la tradición y la modernidad'.

[80] Ibid.

not associated with the past, that allowed Basque artists to have a voice and served as a validation of the work they were producing, was seized upon; hence why Jarrai's repertoire is so extraordinarily diverse. From native writers such as Piarres Larzabal and Pepe Artola to a plethora of foreign writers, Jarrai staged a huge range during their years of activity. The quest for newness and a disassociation from the past rendered Shakespeare, and other classical writers, redundant at this time in Basque theatre, and apart from anything else, there was a serious lack of readily performable play texts available to artists. Furthermore, the extensive use of Shakespeare's plays by the Falange to support their extremist views led 'many left-wing and university people [to] regard the classics – including Shakespeare – as conservative and even reactionary'.[81] Due to his automatic high cultural status, Shakespeare was considered unthreatening by the Falange; his plays were seen as a 'safe option for theatre directors [to] easily escape the very severe censorship of Franco's regime'.[82] Shakespeare therefore became to be viewed as representative of a '"culture" in a country where most members of the intelligentsia had been either killed, imprisoned, or exiled'.[83]

Moreover, by translating and performing those that were in vogue at the time, a precedent could be established for native playwrights, simultaneously encouraging them to produce original work that was current with what was occurring throughout the rest of Spain. As Idoia Gereñu Odriozola indicates, the arrival of the avant-garde brought a new didactic function to Basque theatre, presenting spectators with socially and politically charged material:

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[81] Rafael Portillo and Manuel J. Gómez-Lara, 'Shakespeare in the New Spain: Or, What You Will', *Shakespeare in the New Europe*, ed. by Michael Hattaway, Boika Sokolova and Derek Roper (London: Bloomsbury, 1995), pp. 208-20, p. 210.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

> [Theatre] was not simply something cheerful or fun in itself, [it] also had to raise awareness and transmit the language. On this occasion, however, its task was to go further; now, whilst the spectator witnessed a play in Euskara, the avant-garde Basque theatre also had to evidence the inequality of the Basque situation and the persecution on the part of the dictatorship. […] Turning its back on naturalism, symbolism arrived […] the social change had opened the doors for the renovation of the Basque theatre.[84]

Jarrai facilitated revolution, bringing Euskara out of secrecy and the privacy of the home and into the public sphere, thereby allowing public discussion to evolve and empowering Basque voices, both on stage and off.

By 1964, Jarrai were not alone in favouring modern playwrights: for example, the same week that Jarrai presented O'Neill's *Diff'rent*, other leading Spanish-language theatre companies across the Peninsula, such as the Teatro Español Universitario (Spanish University Theatre) staged *The Chairs* by Eugène Ionesco, and the Agrupación Artística Antígona (Antigone Artistic Association) staged *Ping Pong* by Arthur Adamov, whilst the Agrupación Artística Candilejas (Footlights Artistic Association) produced *Waiting for Godot* by Samuel Beckett.[85] Jarrai also performed Euskara translations of Ionesco, Albert Camus and J.B. Priestley, all of whom, while differing wildly in style and content, experimented with theatrical form and therefore directly appealed to groups such as Jarrai that were aiming to challenge their artists and audiences alike. Translated into Euskara, the group also staged the work of several Spanish playwrights, as well as Jacques Deval, Friedrich Dürrenmatt and Max Frisch, all of whom are widely known for their comedies, progressive styles and themes, and most of whom were very politically active.[86]

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[84] 'JARRAI (1959-1968)', pp. 266-7.

[85] Urkizu, 'El teatro vasco entre la tradición y la modernidad'.

[86] They translated plays by Juan Gorostidi, Pedro Muñoz Seca, Victor Ruiz Añíbarro, Joaquín Calvo Sotelo, Enrique Jardiel Poncela.

Jarrai have been dubbed the 'landmark of avant-garde Basque theatre. As much as for their trajectory, as their style and managing to obtain their key objective: converging the theatre, the avant-garde and the oral traditions of the Basque Country'.[87] This is similar to Alzaga's motivations: he (unsuccessfully) sought to marry old and new theatre styles together with a new voice, that of Shakespeare. Jarrai's 'landmark' status is evident in the huge variety of playwrights that feature in their repertoire between 1959 and 1968 alone: of the twenty-two, seven were native to the Basque Country, specifically to Gipuzkoa, the same region in which Jarrai was founded.[88] The majority of them were predominantly comedic writers but all focused heavily on Basque culture and society within their work.

The fact that over two-thirds of the playwrights that Jarrai chose to produce during this time were not Basque is indicative of the dearth of native playwrights active in the mid-twentieth century. By electing to produce almost exclusively twentieth-century playwrights, Jarrai repeatedly demonstrated their primary objective of social and theatrical progression, but also suggested implicitly the lack of suitable performance texts of classic writers such as Shakespeare. The content and context of modern plays over early modern plays were potentially more appealing to both theatre companies and audiences as they may have been seen as more accessible. Furthermore, translators, perhaps unfamiliar with early modern English verse structures and language, opted for more readily available texts to translate. The void in the Basque theatrical canon was subsequently filled with contemporary voices that were already liberated from social repression. Companies such as Jarrai were empowered as

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[87] Gereñu, 'JARRAI (1959-1968)', p. 541.

[88] These seven playwrights were some of the most prolific writers in Euskara throughout the twentieth century: Piarres Larzabal, Xabier Lizardi, Pepe Artola, Jazinto Karraskedo, Telesforo de Monzón, Gabriel Aresti and Xalbador Garmendia. Aresti and Garmendia were also translators, working extensively with Jarrai over the course of the decade.

they sought not only emancipation but also to stake a claim on their own national stage, offering a mirror up to Basque society that 'reflected a social identity, and that of the public itself, with the aim of raising awareness in the spectator'.[89] As discussed, the theatre took on a particular pedagogical role at this time, striving to educate and reinforce a unique Basque cultural identity.

As social tastes changed, Shakespeare gradually became more prominent within the Basque Country. Between 1950 to 1980, Bedita Larrakoetxea became the first and, to date, only author to translate all of Shakespeare's plays in Euskara (he translated into the Bizkaian dialect). According to Mendiguren, Larrakoetxea was prompted to translate the complete works when he discovered 'the dire situation of [Euskara] as a result of the post-war cultural oppression[;] he [therefore] resolved to immerse himself into the Basque cultural movement'.[90] Larrakoetxea, alongside working as a prize-winning translator, was primarily a priest and teacher who was forced into exile, first to England and then to Argentina, by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Whilst his dramatic texts demonstrate 'philological rigour and "moderately formalistic" respect for the original style […] providing a readerly Basque equivalent to Shakespeare's English', unfortunately a prioritisation of 'semantic fidelity at the expense of stylistic and pragmatic proximity to the audience' renders them 'virtually unplayable'.[91] They were originally published in *Euzko Gogoa* alongside original Euskara-language plays and translations of Jacinto Benavente, Aeschylus and Sophocles, and all were considered extremely difficult to understand from the beginning: as one commentator stated, 'What can one make of the tragedies of Sophocles? That they are easier in Greek than in

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[89] Gereñu, 'JARRAI (1959-1968)', p. 83.

[90] Mendiguren, 'William Shakespeare's plays in Basque'.

[91] Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre*, p. 132.

Euskara'.[92] It was feared at the same time that the translations produced by Larrakoetxea would have very little relevancy to contemporary readers, even if they were 'valuable for students of the highest level' in Euskara learning.[93] However, it is crucial to remember the context within which Larrakoetxea and his colleagues were working: they were the forerunners of Euskara translation and were therefore offering 'introductory literary models to Basque literature which hitherto had been marginalized by the clearly diglossic situation of the language, mainly confined to religious rural settings'.[94] As Mendiguren elucidates, there were two key priorities for Basque writers at this time: to galvanise respect for Euskara amongst wider, international literary circles by creating an Euskara canon, and to elevate the status of the language through translating internationally popular works that could then be used as models for native writers.[95]

Franco's regime imposed impossibly strict measures in an attempt to homogenise Spain into one language and identity. Fortunately, due to the efforts of individuals such as Ametzaga and Larrakoetxea, and groups such as Jarrai, not only was a Basque literary canon born, but also a new wave of theatre practices. So, whilst Shakespeare did not have much of a stage presence during this time, his work still helped lay the foundations for a literary canon that ensured that Basque literature was internationally aware and competitive. This is another instance of Shakespeare's work being employed to validate and elevate. However, in this case it was on a language and culture-wide scale, not just as a tag line in an advert to raise the cultural value of a product.

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[92] Patrizio Urkizu Sarasua, 'El teatro vasco del siglo XX del costumbrismo al simbolismo político', *Basque Literature,* <http://www.basqueliterature.com/es/basque/historia/hogeimende/antzerkia> [accessed 1st April 2017].

[93] Ibid.

[94] Mendiguren, 'William Shakespeare's plays in Basque'.

[95] Ibid.

After Franco's death and the end of his dictatorship, Spain was permitted more freedom, politically, socially and creatively. As José Manuel González has written: since 1986 when Spain entered the European Union, political 'stability and European membership facilitated social change in contemporary Spain where Shakespeare is now fully accepted and recognized as the embodiment of current values and aspirations', and as such new 'translations have appeared in Spanish, Catalonian, Basque, and Galician. Shakespeare has, therefore, come of age in the new Spain where he has now been nationally appropriated'.[96] This new age in Spain's history led to an exponential growth in nationwide engagement with Shakespeare's work: 'over thirty different productions of his plays were staged in Spain in the period 1989-1992'.[97] Compared with other classical writers, such as Lope de Vega or Cervantes who were rarely performed in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Shakespeare suddenly dominated Spain's stages.[98] This was not necessarily for the content of the plays or 'Shakespeare's poetic and dramatic skills', however, but the perceived neutrality of his social status: those who subsidised these 'productions [were] interested in conveying political or social messages through the authorized but "neutral" voice of this very prestigious foreign author'.[99] As seen in Chapter One, Shakespeare's plays were tradapted by superimposing contemporary 'ideological and political attitudes', in line with the beliefs of whichever party was financing and promoting these productions.[100] The contemporaneous translations of Shakespeare's plays to emerge from the Basque Country were political for very different

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[96] *Spanish Studies in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, p. 8.

[97] Portillo and Gómez-Lara, 'Shakespeare in the new Spain', p. 215.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

reasons, however, as translators faced dealing with a general low level of competency in Euskara as well as an unfamiliar format in which they were working.

Shakespeare in the Basque theatre in a post-Franco state

When the EITB ('Basque autonomous TV channel') bought the rights to the BBC Shakespeare series in the 1980s, his plays were given fresh, coherent voices in Euskara.[101] Mendiguren points to the 1980s as the decade that saw the 'beginning of Basque mass media' as specific Euskara-language television, radio and newspapers began to emerge.[102] The series was dubbed into Euskara with Spanish subtitles. These new translations were produced in Euskara Batua; Mendiguren was a key contributor to the series. The resulting texts, which had to be handled carefully for the purpose of dubbing, 'kept as tightly as possible, both structurally and rhythmically, to the original texts'.[103] Half of the translated texts were published prior to broadcast, enabling audience members to familiarise themselves with the plot and language beforehand.[104] Most of them were published by *Antzerti*, the magazine curated by the Centro Vasco de Arte Dramático (Basque Centre of Dramatic Art) that was established in 1983 in Donostia, which created an edition of parallel Euskara-Spanish texts.

An immediate problem faced by translators and audiences alike was a lack of familiarity with Euskara Batua, similar to the problem that Larrakoetxea encountered: as a relatively recently established language that was still in 'flux', 'the average Basque receptor

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[101] Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre*, p. 132.

[102] 'William Shakespeare's plays in Basque'.

[103] Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre*, p. 132.

[104] Included in the series were: *As You Like It, Love's Labour's Lost, Henry VIII, Julius Caesar, Measure for Measure* and *Richard II.*

[was] essentially attached to his or her dialect or subdialect, not being knowledgeable of the language as a tool to fully enjoy in its entirety, despite all the help the video tape might afford'.[105] The phonological and phonetic standard of Euskara Batua was still in the early stages of being concretised, compounding the problem of transmission of an unfamiliar dramatic and poetic form, and story.

Furthermore, Meniduren and his colleagues raised similar concerns that surrounded Larrakoetxea's texts in terms of linguistic density and an agenda that was 'purist, very local or overly literal for a performance' in relation to the BBC series.[106] Constrained even more by the restrictions of dubbing and a struggle between producing an academically informed translation and one that was comprehensible, Mendiguren claims to have aligned his translation with that of Alzaga's *Irritza*, 'since it eludes the clumsiness and rawness of translations that are too formal by adapting closer to the personality and idiosyncrasies of the target language'.[107] Mendiguren and his collaborators encountered fundamental problems when attempting their translations: not only were they working in a language that was, despite being one of the oldest languages on the planet, in its infancy in terms of systematisation, they were also working in a mode that had no formal structure or precedent. No one had previously attempted to dub Shakespeare into Euskara for a television audience.

On top of this, the modern, professional Euskara-language theatre industry was relatively young itself; groups such as Jarrai, despite their zeal and energy, were not professional companies, at least initially.[108] Such was this newness of Basque theatre as a

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[105] Mendiguren, 'William Shakespeare's plays in Basque'.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Gereñu, 'JARRAI (1959-1968)', p. 233.

professional institution that it was not until 1976 that the Federación de Grupos de Teatro Vasco (Federation of Basque Theatre Groups) was established; the first professional theatre group in Bilbo (Bilbao), Maskarada, was not established until 1980.[109] Also in 1976 the Concurso de Teatro en Euskara 'Victor Garitaonaindia' ('Victor Garitaonaindia' Competition for Basque Theatre) was created to celebrate and encourage original play texts written in Euskara, reflecting Urkizu's earlier concerns about the dearth of native playwrights creating original work. In the 1980s, key players such as Urkizu and Alfonso Sastre were still questioning the achievability of a National Theatre and how to go about creating an institution that serves the people whilst resisting Spanish influences: 'The problem resides in that a search for a national and current theatre, one that is not localist or nostalgic, is its own being, and at the same time communicative on an international level, is a business that almost seems impossible'.[110] Theatre-makers of the late twentieth century were still riddling out how to be current and individual within the theatre industry of the Iberian Peninsula, without simply recreating the past, and being progressive enough to join in international conversations.

In 1993, Mendiguren lamented that:

> There is no record of any [professional] Basque theatre company having staged a single work of Shakespeare's up to the present, which is why it is possible to aver that [Shakespeare] is a modest latecomer to the Basque cultural scene and that our awareness of Basque versions of his plays must be limited to the few readers who have been able to read the renderings by Larrakoetxea and a slightly larger circle of TV spectators who have sampled the BBC versions which have been dubbed for Basque television.[111]

This complaint is exemplified further through the next notable performance of Shakespeare

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[109] Ibid., p. 540.

[110] 'Cómo se hace un teatro nacional?', *Antzerti Berezia*, 1984, article reproduced in Urkizu Sarasua, *Teatro vasco. Historia, reseñas y entrevistas, antología bilingüe, catálogo e ilustraciones* (Madrid: UNED, 2009), pp. 206-8, p. 207.

[111] Quoted in Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre*, p. 132.

on the Basque stage. Contemporary to Mendiguren's comments, Basque theatre company UR Teatroa-Antzerkia produced *Sueño de una noche de verano* (*Dream*) in 1992 with unprecedented and monumental success.[112] However, it must be immediately noted that due to the continuing fragile nature of the Euskara-language theatre industry, the company were obliged to produce this work in Spanish. Despite the formation of fledgling national institutions such as Antzerti**,** an Euskara-language school of dramatic arts, in the early 1980s the majority language in urban areas was still Spanish.[113] A serious lack in public funding resulted in the company closing in 1985. This lack of investment in Euskara is reflected in the literacy levels within the population: as Euskara was only declared an official language in the Basque Country in 1979, the Law for the Normalisation of the Use of Euskara was not declared until 1982. It was not until 1983 that the Basque Government was declared officially bilingual, which then fed into the education system and began the move towards bilingualism in practice.[114] Whilst support for Euskara was growing on a governmental basis, it was too soon to expect widespread fluency.

UR, now hailed as one of the most 'mythical' theatre companies to originate from the Basque Country, was founded in 1987 by Artistic Director Helena Pimenta, the same year she established a theatre school in Errenteria (Gipuzkoa).[115] A formidable director within Spanish

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[112] Roberto Herrero, 'Volver con esta obra significa para mí un gesto de recapitular', *El diario vasco*, 25th June 2010, <https://www.diariovasco.com/v/20100625/cultura/volver-esta-obra-significa-20100625.html?ref=https:%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F> [accessed 21st April 2020].

[113] Urkizu, *Teatro vasco*, p. 213-7. Antzerti, which translates from Euskara as 'theatre', can refer to both the journal that was dedicated to theatrical publications in the 1930s, as well as the theatre company and performing arts school of the 1980s.

[114] Nick Gardner, 'Language Policy for Basque in Education', submitted to the Education and Lifelong Learning Committee of the Welsh Assembly, May 2002, p. 6, reproduced online: <http://www.euskadi.eus/contenidos/informacion/dia6/en_2027/adjuntos/publications_in_english/language_policy_for_basque_in_education.pdf> [accessed 1st August 2017].

[115] A.E., 'Helena Pimenta y Ur Teatroa regresan a Bilbo con un Macbeth profundo y en plena madurez', *Gara*, 28th October 2011, <http://gara.naiz.eus/paperezkoa/20111028/299742/es/Helena-Pimenta-Ur-Teatroa-regresan-Bilbo-Macbeth-profundo-plena-madurez> [accessed 20th February 2020].

classical theatre, Pimenta is 'considered one of the best "servants" to Shakespeare in [the Spanish] language'.[116] *Sueño* was her professional Shakespearean debut, but not the beginning of her fruitful relationship with the playwright: also in 1987, Pimenta wrote and directed a Spanish-language play called *Xespir* with her amateur company Atelier (founded in 1980) that combined aspects of *Richard III*, *Othello*, *Coriolanus* and *Romeo and Juliet*. *Sueño* took both the Hispanic and international theatrical communities by storm, receiving multiple awards, and touring globally.[117] *Sueño* was part of a trilogy that also featured award-winning productions of *Romeo y Julieta* (1995) and *Trabajos de amor perdidos* (*Love's Labour's Lost*; 1997). *Sueño* proved so popular that it was revived in 1997, 2009, and 2010.[118]

It must be made clear here that Pimenta is not originally from the Basque Country, but from Salamanca (Castilla y León). By choosing the Basque Country in which to establish a theatre company and school, Pimenta simultaneously boosted local industry and manifested a passion for marginal theatre. It was also indicative of another more serious fact: the Basque Country lacked native directors, or at least lacked directors with the knowledge and confidence to work on the scale of Pimenta. A similar situation may be occurring at the moment in Bilbo as Calixto Bieito, originally from Miranda de Erbo (Castilla y León) took over the artistic directorship of the major theatre Teatro Arriaga in 2016 with the hopes of raising it to a 'good model for European theatre'.[119] The contrary side to this argument is that

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[116] Liz Perales, 'Helena Pimenta', *El Cultural de Prensa Europea de Siglo XXI,* <http://www.remiendoteatro.com/Notas/Helena%20Pimenta3.htm> [accessed 1st April 2016].

[117] S*ueño de una noche de verano* dossier, produced by UR Teatro (Madrid: Carmen García Distribución, 2009), p. 3, reproduced online at <http://www0.usal.es/webusal/files/DOSSIER-SUE%D1O%20DE%20UNA%20NOCHE%20DE%20VERANO.pdf> [accessed 4th May 2016].

[118] *Sueño* dossier, p. 18; 'La directora teatral Helena Pimenta vuelve a versionar la obra "Sueño de una noche de verano"', *Gara*, 17th June 2010, <https://gara.naiz.eus/paperezkoa/20100617/205349/es/La-directora-teatral-Helena-Pimenta-vuelve-versionar-obra-Sueno-una-noche-verano> [accessed 24th April 2020].

[119] Ane Zugadi, 'Calixto Bieito asume la dirección artística del Teatro Arriaga de Bilbao', *El País*, 13th January 2016, <https://elpais.com/cultura/2016/01/13/actualidad/1452691594_789082.html> [accessed 1st July 2017].

there were Basque theatre directors operating at the same time as Pimenta, however, they were not working in Euskara either. A prime example of this is Bernués, born in Donostia and considered one of the leading figures in modern Basque theatre, who cannot speak Euskara. This is gradually changing with new generations of directors: Rikarte, Bernués' co-director of the Euskara-language *Dream* discussed in Part Two, is fluent in Euskara and works regularly in the language. Yet, he chose to study a Masters in Theatre and Textual Translation at the Real Escuela Superior de Arte Dramático (Royal School of Dramatic Art) in Madrid, due to a lack of suitable courses in the Basque Country.

I shall pause here to examine Pimenta's Spanish-language *Sueño*, because the way in which the mechanicals were represented is of particular interest to this thesis. Each mechanical was portrayed as a different caricature from a region of Spain: Patxi (Bottom) was Basque and Rocio (Flute) was Andalusian, for example. That the mechanical with the largest role was Basque speaks to the inherent influence amongst the production's creative team. Furthermore, the majority of the cast and production team had previously worked with Pimenta or trained at Basque institutions, meaning that their performances were informed by current practices in contemporary Basque theatre. This was particularly evident in the portrayal of the fairies that was heavily influenced by Basque folklore and contemporary dance; this has developed into a common tendency when portraying Shakespeare's fairies on the Basque stage.

The stereotypes were brought out in costumes, and the heavily pronounced accents and mannerisms that were adopted: Bottom wore a black beret and carried an animal-skin flask that are typical of the Basque Country, and Flute attempted to dance Flamenco at every opportunity. The inclusion of a Polish mechanical, referred to as 'Polaco' ('Polish one'), acted

as a comment on the treatment of immigrant workers in Spain: unlike his colleagues, Polaco was unnamed, and was a largely silent figure who resembled Snug but played the Wall in *Píramo y Tisbe*. The incorporation of parodies of all Spanish regions except the central areas worked to create a contrast between the clearly centralised court and the mechanicals. The lack of regional stereotyping for the portrayal of the court members is a familiar theatrical trope: a comparable situation in England is the prolonged use of regional accents for comedic characters and RP for authoritative. Whilst the mechanicals were presented as lower position workers, a unity was forged between the disparate regions. According to Pimenta: the nature of their characterisation aids the 'self-parody of the theatrical world' that the mechanicals offer up.[120] This satirical act complicates the comedy in their performances by asking the audience to laugh at minorised characters; this uncomfortable tension was also established in Chapter Four and the portrayals of Emilia and Hippolyta in productions at the Pop-up Globe.

As discussed in Chapter One, notions of national or regional identity go far beyond language. Clearly in Pimenta's production, what it meant to be 'Basque' was not about the language Patxi spoke. The production was able to comment on the nuances of individual regional identities through easily recognisable visual cues. Creating succinct versions of a regional identity concentrated into one character would not have been an easy task, so the production relied on the most obvious tropes. As such, it walked a fine line between potentially reductive stereotypes and celebrating regional identities.

UR have also produced *La tempestad* (2004), *Coriolano* (2005), *Dos caballeros de*

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[120] Helena Pimenta, 'Acerca de un sueño', *El Mundo*, 27th May 2016, <http://www.elmundo.es/cultura/2016/05/27/5746ce9be2704e93138b46a0.html> [accessed 1st July 2017].

Verona (2007) and *Macbeth* (2011).[121] Despite all these productions being performed in Spanish, UR continue to be considered one of the most prestigious theatre companies to originate from the Basque Country: 'To name Ur Teatroa is to speak of one of the most mythical companies of Basque theatre'.[122] This demonstrates that, when it comes to language, Basque theatre continues to be a hybrid space, aware of the accessibility issues surrounding practitioners and audience members, and the need for negotiation on Basque stages.

As we have seen, for most of Basque theatre history, Shakespeare played a peripheral role: whilst his plays have been translated sporadically across the twentieth century, the approach seems to have been more academic than practical, with no evidence surviving of any of his plays making it onto the Euskara-language stage, aside from Alzaga's *Irritza*. Through the need to establish an Euskara literary canon and rewrite 'dominant intellectual and political traditions', Shakespeare's works have been tradapted to 'fill gaps in "national" literature'.[123] Rafael Portillo and Manuel Gómez-Lara suggest that 'the use of [Basque translators'] own native language is more important than any specific messages that may be drawn from the plays', as evidenced by the sporadic and indiscriminate nature of the translations that have emerged thus far, with Larrakoetxea being the obvious exception to that rule.[124] Even as late as 2007, Josu Montero asked 'whether it was possible even to talk of the existence of Basque playwrights as a significant collective, when the programmes for the theatres were regularly inundated with Spanish plays, or foreign classics in Spanish'.[125]

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[121] The translations for *Romeo and Juliet*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Tempest* and *Macbeth* were all undertaken by Pimenta; she has also written a dramaturgical history for *Dream*. She has also directed *La comedia dels errors* (2000) for the Teatre Nacional de Catalunya. Pimenta has directed more of Shakespeare's plays than any of his Spanish contemporaries.

[122] 'Helena Pimenta y Ur Teatroa regresan a Bilbo con un Macbeth profundo y en plena madurez'

[123] Loomba and Orkin, *Post-colonial Shakespeares*, p. 2; Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre*, p. 125.

[124] 'Shakespeare in the new Spain', p. 219.

[125] Quoted in Gregor, *Shakespeare in the Spanish Theatre*, p. 131.

More recently, in 2014, Juan Garzia Garmendia published his Euskara translation of *Dream*, having translated *Hamlet* in 2002. *Dream* was published for free online, ensuring as many people as possible could have access to the text. So far, his translations have not been staged, but he was involved in the early stages of Tanttaka's monumental production of *Dream*. His seminal work translating the Sonnets won the Basque Literature Prize for translation in 2015. This brings us to 2016, when Shakespeare's relationship with Euskara-language theatre dramatically changed. Two large-scale, professional productions of *Dream* took place. Both excelled in different ways. And, one of them would mark the first ever professional production of a Shakespeare play performed entirely in Euskara. All of these moments of Euskara Shakespearean tradaptation have laid a critical foundation to discuss the performance of two distinctly Basque renderings of *Dream* in recent years.

Shakespeare with three tongues

Offered as a contribution to the global celebrations that took place in 2016 in commemoration of the quatercentenary of Shakespeare's death, Teatro Arriaga (Bilbo) produced a dynamic, multilingual *Ametsa*/*Sueño* that incorporated English, Spanish and Euskara.[126] The production played between 6th and 16th April with a run of eight performances, two of which were aimed specifically at school audiences. Shakespeare is taught in secondary schools in Spanish, often in shorter versions of the text or from significant passages.[127] I was able to see these two

[126] See Elizabeth Jeffery, 'El sueño de una noche de verano/Uda gau bateko ametsa, (A Midsummer Night's Dream) Teatro Arriaga, April 2016', *Reviewing Shakespeare*, <https://bloggingshakespeare.com/reviewing-shakespeare/el-sueno-de-una-noche-de-verano-uda-gau-bateko-ametsa-midsummer-nights-dream-teatro-arriaga-april-2016/> [accessed 24th August 2020].

[127] Inmaculada de la Fuente, 'Ni todo vampiros ni solo Quijote', *El País*, 10th August 2010, <https://elpais.com/diario/2010/08/10/sociedad/1281391201_850215.html> [accessed 1st August 2017].

performances as well as interview Pablo Viar and Jon Koldo Vázquez; Viar was the production's director, dramaturg and Spanish translator, and Vázquez acted as the assistant director and Euskara translator. I was also able question the cast about their relationships with Shakespeare. Crucially, the production employed Basque directors and twenty Basque actors (and one from Extremadura).[128]

The play opened and closed with the original English: Theseus and Hippolyta (Gabriel Ocina and Eneritz Artetxe) spoke to each other in English until Egeus (Antonio Rupérez) entered; the epilogue was delivered by Theseus in English.[129] Meanwhile, the court spoke Spanish whilst the fairy kingdom spoke Euskara. Set on an almost blank stage, the highly stylised production made subtle but poignant use of a few props and pieces of furniture. The production was heavily informed by Basque folklore.

Viar comes from Bilbo but trained at LAMDA, in a similar move to Rikarte.[130] *Ametsa/Sueño* won the prize for the Best Production of Basque Theatre at the 2017 Premios Ercilla de Teatro y Toros, among the most prestigious theatrical awards available in Spain. For Vázquez, however, it was not only his first Shakespeare play but also his first professional translation.

Language choice was key to ensuring audience accessibility throughout this production. Surtitles in both Spanish and Euskara appeared on either side of the stage. Theseus and Hippolyta were the only two characters with access to the original English text,

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[128] Natalia Campo, 'El Teatro Arriaga presenta "El sueño de una noche de verano"', *EITB*, 31st March 2016, <https://www.eitb.eus/es/cultura/videos/detalle/3951808/el-sueno-noche-verano-teatro-arriaga/> [accessed 25th March 2020].

[129] This was due to Ocina's ability to speak English, rather than any artistic motivation. Interview conducted with Pablo Viar and Jon Koldo Vázquez, 13th April 2016, Bilbo.

[130] In 2006, Viar won an award for Meritorious Director for his production of Giuseppe Verdi's *Macbeth*; in 2009 he was assistant director for Tomaz Pandur's production of *Hamlet*; in 2010 he was involved in The Bridge Project led by the Old Vic theatre, and was a tour production assistant for *Tempest* and *As You Like It*, directed by Sam Mendes; and in 2013 he translated, adapted and directed *Venus and Adonis* for the Teatro Arriaga.

heightening the construction of the theatricality of the production: by switching into and out of English, an extra degree of separation was established between the worlds of the court, the fairy kingdom and the audience. The choice of English also acted as an echo of the past, which was reflected in their slow, lethargic delivery, as if spoken in a dream. When the rest of the court became animated, they switched into fluidly rendered Spanish, which retained the rhyme and rhythm of Shakespeare's text. Titania was able to switch into Spanish when interacting with Bottom, but none of the mortals spoke Euskara. Joseba Apaolaza (Oberon) commented that the use of Euskara for the fairies was important as it gave them a 'secret language to communicate with each other'.[131] Crucially, this positioned Euskara as a hidden language of the natural earth, spoken only by the immortals.

This connection with ancient folklore was reinforced by the characterisation of the fairies as lamiak (female creatures with webbed feet). For Viar, it was vital to emphasise the indigenous nature of the fairy kingdom, whilst simultaneously linking its inhabitants to the blurring of reality and fantasy that lies at the heart of the play: the fairies are complicit in 'creating and sharing the fiction' in a play that is an 'encyclopaedia of human emotions'.[132] A delivery that foregrounded the harsher phonetic patterns of the language, particularly from Aritza Rodríguez who portrayed an acrobatic, animalistic Puck, increased the allusions to a mythical world from which they originated. The scratchy tones summoned images of dangerous creatures emerging from the deep, which was highlighted by the costuming of the fairies. In their first scene, the three fairies' characterisation appeared akin to traditional presentations of Macbeth's witches as they were dressed in dark rags, hunched over and

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[131] 'El Teatro Arriaga presenta "El sueño de una noche verano/Uda gau bateko ametsa"', *Artezblai*, 4th April 2016, <http://www.artezblai.com/artezblai/el-teatro-arriaga-presenta-el-sueno-de-una-noche-verano-uda-gau-bateko-ametsa.html> [accessed 25th March 2020].

[132] Interview conducted with Viar and Vázquez, 13th April 2016.

intoning in croaking voices for their initial interaction with Puck, sharing the First Fairy's speech.

Research plays an important part in Viar's production process. This was most keenly seen in the ever-evolving portrayal of the fairies of Titania's train who represented more than just creatures from Basque mythology. For each scene in which they appeared, they embodied a different stage of womanhood: from infantilised creatures playing with the Indian boy; to sexualised beings connected with their bodies and with the earth; to nurses singing nursery rhymes that hauntingly filled the auditorium as the audience left, a last vestige of the dream world; to furies, twisted and gnarled. They were also seen as multiplications of Titania, instilling her with an omnipresence throughout the wood. Crucially for Viar, they were not to be thought of as incarnations of Tinkerbell, and Puck was most definitely not Peter Pan: these fairies were 'scary creatures' and had the potential to 'steal children and punish bad behaviour'.[133] Therefore, Viar researched Nordic sagas, as well as Basque mythology, to inform the actors' performances, giving them a 'marked point of origin'.[134] These were creatures to be feared rather than enjoyed.

Whilst Viar's Spanish translation paid close attention to the metrics and rhymes of the original, Vázquez adopted a more direct translation technique for the Euskara sections. He was originally brought into the production to act as an assistant director for the Euskara elements but was later tasked with playing Flute as well. As his main profession is acting, Vázquez's key objective with the translation was comprehensibility and transmitting a potentially unfamiliar text in a potentially unfamiliar language to the audience as clearly as

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[133] Ibid.

[134] Ibid.

possible. As such, his Euskara translation did not pay attention to the metric patterns of the English and included very few rhymes, unlike traditional Basque verse which does often rhyme: a prime example is bertsolaritza, as described previously. Spells were the exceptions to this rule to distinguish them aurally from the rest of the text. A 'living, fluid' translation was the intended result.[135] Vázquez saw that he had three options when it came to translating: working directly from the original text; using a modernised English edition; or adapting a previous Euskara translation. He opted for the second choice. He originally sought to employ Hika, an informal dialect of Euskara, not used in Bilbo, which was then supplemented with verb formations from another more formal dialect, Zuka. This proved to be too complicated so Vázquez turned to Euskara Batua. As earlier translations of *Dream* employ various dialects themselves, Vázquez did not use them. Instead, he admitted to me, rather embarrassedly, that he used an edition of 'No Fear Shakespeare' in order to aid the translation process. This helped him understand the complexities of the English text and transmit them in Euskara in a way that would be easy for the audience to understand.

This motivation for clarity above all else is compounded by the relative youth of Euskara Batua as a standardised language and the fact that for many Basques it is not a first language. Whilst the percentage of students attending ikastolak (Euskara-medium schools) is increasing, for many students their first language and the language of the home is still Spanish, particularly in urban areas where Spanish is a necessary tool. In 2011, the research project Euskal Hiztun Berriak (New Basque Speakers) was launched: this was 'the first attempt to do a systematic qualitative study of the language attitudes, educational experiences, and habits of language use among individuals who have learned Basque by means other than

[135] Interview conducted with Vázquez, 13th April 2016, Bilbo.

family transmission'.[136] The researchers found that the percentage of Euskara language speakers in the Basque Country had risen from 'barely a quarter of the population' at the time of Franco's death, to 36.4 per cent, with a further 19.3 per cent 'who describe themselves as "passive bilinguals," that is, able to understand (but not speak) Basque well'.[137]

As previously mentioned, the study carried out by the Arrue Project showed that over half of the students included in the survey went to ikastolak, whilst a comparatively small percentage went to Spanish-language schools, and the rest went to bilingual schools.[138] Shakespeare is on the curriculum for secondary school students in the Basque Country in Spanish, but not Euskara or English. This explains the inclusion of two dedicated school performances included in the run, both of which were well attended. The students, all of whom were estimated to be between thirteen and fifteen, communicated with each other in Spanish and a few attempts in English when speaking with their teachers, suggesting that they were more comfortable communicating in Spanish, and possibly studying the text in Spanish too. Interestingly, these two performances were also billed as being in Euskara, whilst the rest were advertised as being performed in Spanish. Whether this was a technicality on the part of the theatre, or part of a marketing plan remains uncertain. According to Viar, the performances themselves did not vary, so most likely this was part of a marketing scheme or a way for the theatre to fulfil a quota of Euskara-language performances.

When asked the question 'Why Shakespeare?', Vázquez answered that 'humans are

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[136] Jacqueline Urla, Estibaliz Amorrortu, Ane Ortega, and Jone Goirigolzarri, 'Basque Standardization and the New Speaker Political Praxis and the Shifting Dynamics of Authority and Value', *Standardizing Minority Languages, Competing Ideologies of Authority and Authenticity in the Global Periphery*, ed. by Pia Lane, James Costa, and Haley De Korne (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 48-81, p. 52.

[137] Ibid., p. 53.

[138] *The Arrue Project 2011*, p. 23.

still the same, therefore Shakespeare is still alive'.[139] The fact that multiple translations exist suggests his importance in the Basque Country; Viar alluded to the historic relationship the Basque Country has with England and Wales due to their shared industries, particularly steel works, mining and ship building.[140] Spanish writers such as Cervantes is Madrid's responsibility to produce, affirmed Viar – a sentiment echoed by the directors of the next *Dream* to grace the Basque stage. Viar further suggested that Shakespeare, as a more globally recognised figure than writers such as Cervantes, de Vega or Pedro Calderón de la Barca, is better suited for Basque theatre-makers to explore issues of their own identity, rather than those who are the iconic writers of the Spanish Golden Age. Seeking to challenge the meta-narratives of dominant literatures elsewhere in Spain and reinforce the validity of Euskara-accented voices, these directors claim that they turned to Shakespeare in a political act of self-validation. This is more widely reflected in the programming of institutions such as Teatro Arriaga and companies such as Tanttaka: since January 2016, Teatro Arriaga has produced or hosted a touring production of seven adaptations of Shakespeare's plays, whilst they have hosted just three productions of plays by Calderón and de Vega – none of which were produced in-house. Tanttaka has never produced a play by a Golden Age playwright.

Viar's syncretic production of *Ametsa*/*Sueño* is significant for more than simply aesthetic reasons. It brought together a predominantly Basque company of actors, translators and directors to create the 'most important production of the season' for Teatro Arriaga, celebrating Basque creativity.[141] It also demonstrated a playful but poignant attitude towards language, blending together the three languages in specifically coded ways. This selective

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[139] Interview conducted, 13th April 2016.

[140] Ibid.

[141] 'El Teatro Arriaga presenta "El sueño de una noche verano/Uda gau bateko ametsa"'.

treatment of language is a recurring theme throughout productions created in a minority language context, as shown further in Chapter Four. As discussed in Chapter One, it is often the magical characters who take on the minority language, which thereby acts as a process of linguistic and cultural Othering. They are set apart from the rest not just in appearance through costuming but dialectally too. This could have negative connotations if the fairies are treated as imaginary, as the language remains fantastical rather than manifesting as real. On the other hand, one could view the immortal fairies as having utmost power within the world of the play, and so in turn Euskara becomes a secret but enduring language of influence. Their Othering need not necessarily be interpreted critically but celebratory as dominant cultural hegemonies are challenged.

Over the course of the last century, Shakespeare has appeared intermittently on the Euskara-language stage. When he has, however, it has always been at a significant moment of social change. The earliest appearance, Alzaga's *Irritza*, was staged in an act of dangerous defiance against the central, Spanish-language government. Alzaga's pioneering work sparked a movement within Basque theatre away from traditional, pastoral, light drama and towards progressively more provocative, 'avant garde' theatre that would question Basque cultural and social identities. As these multifaceted identities have continued to emerge, so too has a sense of celebration of uniquely Basque traditions and stories, even in times of extreme censorship and repression. If a production employed Spanish as the aural language, the visual language of the play was heavily coded with Basque cultural signifiers. This was true of Pimenta's *Sueño*, and continued to be true of the next production that I examine.

Part Two: Donostia/San Sebastián 2016
Introduction

The cradle of modern Basque theatre was San Sebastián.[142]

Part Two focuses on one contemporary Basque tradaptation of Shakespeare: Tanttaka Teatroa's large-scale production of *Uda gau bateko ametsa*/*Sueño de una noche de verano* (*Ametsa*/*Sueño*; *Dream*).[143] Directed by Bernués and Rikarte, *Ametsa*/*Sueño* was billed as the headline performance of the Lighthouse of Voices of Donostia/San Sebastián European Capital of Culture Festival, and took place throughout late June and July 2016. I will briefly outline the Festival before examining the production itself. As Chapter One demonstrated, festivals are important meeting grounds for Shakespeare and expression of cultural identities. To evaluate the production's outcome, I will draw on interviews conducted with members of the creative team, as well as the audience. I also discuss the production's aftermath as well as the specific ways in which it interacted with Basque culture, with a particular emphasis on the role that language played. *Ametsa*/*Sueño* marked a critical moment in Basque Shakespeare performance as this was Shakespeare's Euskara-language debut on the professional Basque theatrical stage. As with ThGC's *Macbeth*, an important contributing factor to the production's success was the sense of community and connection to a specific location that it was able to build throughout its run.

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[142] Luis Michelena, *Historia de la literatura Vasca* (Madrid: Minotauro, 1960), p.138.

[143] See also Elizabeth Jeffery, 'A Midsummer Night's Dream/Uda gau bateko ametsa/Sueño de una noche de verano, Cristina Enea Park, San Sebastián, 2016', *Reviewing Shakespeare*, <https://bloggingshakespeare.com/reviewing-shakespeare/midsummer-nights-dream-uda-gau-bateko-ametsa-sueno-de-una-noche-de-verano-cristina-enea-park-san-sebastian-2016/> [accessed 24th August 2020].

Donostia as the European Capital of Culture

2016 marked a significant shift in the dynamics of the contentious relationship between Spanish- and Euskara-language theatre: Donostia was nominated as the European Capital of Culture (along with Wrocław, Poland) and therefore played host to a year-long, city-wide festival that foregrounded Basque culture amongst a celebration of internationalism. Festivities began in 2015 and continued into 2018, but the majority of specific Hiriburutzak/ Capitalidad events took place over the course of 2016. The Festival was organised around three focal points or Itsasargiak/Faros (Lighthouses): Bakea/Paz (Peace), Bizitza/Vida (Life) and Ahotsak/Voces (Voices). Artists were encouraged to respond to one of the three: the Lighthouse of Peace aimed to spread 'values of pacifism and respect'; the Lighthouse of Life focused on 'improving the everyday evolution of people, families and society in general'; and the Lighthouse of Voices emphasised 'the ability of artistic expressions such as cinema, theatre, visual arts, literature and music to inspire emotion, reflection and connections with other people'.[144] Alongside these Lighthouses, the Festival's programme was organised into Energia-Olatuak/Olas de energía (Waves of energy), Enbaxadak/Embajadas (Embassies), Kaiak/Muelles (Quays) and Elkarrizketak/Conversaciones (Conversations). The images invoked by the titles for the different strands of the Festival are reflective of Donostia's intimate relationship with the sea, and the Festival's core mantra of welcoming others to the city to share in the celebration of Basque culture.

Waves of Energy was designed to encourage local artists to participate in the Festival

144 'The Lighthouse of Peace', *Donostia/San Sebastián 2016*, <http://dss2016.eu/en/dss2016eu/peace> [accessed 22nd June 2016]; 'The Lighthouse of Life', *Donostia/San Sebastián 2016*, <http://dss2016.eu/en/dss2016eu/life> [accessed 22nd June 2016]; 'The Lighthouse of Voices', *Donostia/San Sebastián 2016*, <http://dss2016.eu/en/dss2016eu/voices> [accessed 22nd June 2016].

through offering substantial grants.[145] Furthering the effort to extend the Festival's influence as far abroad as possible, the three Embassies, representing the three Lighthouses, 'transcended borders' to discover 'the historical, cultural, linguistic and social complexity of the continent'.[146] The purpose of the Quays was to research new performance methodologies.[147] Finally, Conversations aimed to complement the main cultural programme through specific projects that were generated around 'the idea of the creative power of exchange'.[148] 'Chejov vs Shakespeare' was one such Conversation that juxtaposed the 'poetical justice' of Shakespeare, as dubbed by Amos Oz who provided the project's brief, and the 'sad human justice' of Chekhov to inspire a group of European writers to exchange letters on the themes of literature, conflict and the role of the writer.[149] Through this vibrant and extremely diverse programme, Basque voices were being championed both at home and abroad as the Festival had representation in other cultural hubs such as London, Matsudo and Tokyo.[150]

The first slogan attached to Donostia's Festival was 'Cultura contra la violencia' ('Culture against violence'); it was then changed, shortly before the Festival opened, to 'Elkarrekin bizitzeko kultura' in Euskara and 'Cultura para convivir' in Spanish

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145 'Waves of Energy', *Donostia/San Sebastián 2016*, <http://dss2016.eu/en/dss2016eu/waves-of-energy> [accessed 22nd June 2016].

146 'Embassies', *Donostia/San Sebastián 2016*, <http://dss2016.eu/en/dss2016eu/embassies> [accessed 1st April 2017].

147 'Quays', *Donostia/San Sebastián 2016*, <http://dss2016.eu/en/dss2016eu/quays> [accessed 1st April 2017].

148 'Conversations 2016', *Donostia/San Sebastián 2016*, <http://dss2016.eu/en/dss2016eu/conversations> [accessed 22nd June 2016].

149 'Chejov vs Shakespeare', *Donostia/San Sebastián 2016,* <http://conversations.dss2016.eu/en/dss2016eu/voices/chejov-vs-shakespeare> [accessed 1st April 2017].

150 See the following sources for more information: *London Basque Diaspora*, <http://londonbasquediaspora.org/about/> [accessed 22nd June 2016]; 'European Capital of Culture 2015-2019 – Joint Presentation and Networking Event', *EU-Japan Fest*, 8th February 2016, <http://www.eu-japanfest.org/blog_en/european-capital-of-culture-2015-2019-joint-presentation-and-networking-event/> [accessed 1st April 2017].

('Culture to live together').[151] These few words were to sum up not only a year-long festival celebrating Basque and international cultures alike, but a ten-year-long process of application, organisation and creative output to build the Festival's cultural programme. Every step was motivated by a social need and desire to, as the former mayor of Donostia Odón Elorza González has stated, 'raise up new waves of civic energy for peace'.[152] Within the context of ETA's disbandment, the necessity of using cultural activities to bring Basque society together was even more pertinent, to unite both the victims of ETA and previous members of the group and further the social healing that is still needed in urban areas such as Donostia.[153] This need for peace was exemplified in the names of the different Lighthouses: focusing on the themes of peace, life and voices strongly suggested a society seeking recovery and a better, more cohesive and peaceful future. These expressions, and the ideas of social cohesion and cultural expression that they invoke, are evocative of the various festivals explored across this thesis.

The programme of Donostia's Hiriburutzak/Capitalidad was varied and had a prominent international component. One of the strongest foreign voices was that of Shakespeare through Tanttaka's bold and free tradaptation of *Dream*. Shakespeare, in this case, was simultaneously utilised as a tool for inclusivity and working towards social unity as well as being uniquely and proudly nationalistic. This dynamic landmark production brought together thousands of people. The rest of this chapter will discuss the production as a case study of the societal effects Shakespeare has brought to the Basque Country and will explore why, at a time of heightened celebration of all things Basque, Shakespeare was featured in

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[151] *Donostia/San Sebastián 2016 European Capital of Culture*, <http://dss2016.eu/en/> [accessed 22nd June 2016].

[152] Donostia/San Sebastián 2016 Cultural programme, p. 6.

[153] Prado Campos, 'Pablo Berástegui: "Donostia 2016 pretende unificar el tejido roto tras años de violencia"', *El Confidencial*, 19th January 2016, <https://www.elconfidencial.com/cultura/2016-01-19/donostia-2016-san-sebastian-capital-cultural-europea_1128961/> [accessed 12th April 2020].

such a prominent way. I will draw on fieldwork conducted in June and July of 2016, before considering the aftermath of this monumental production.

Tanttaka Teatroa's Shakespearean Dream

Tanttaka was formed in 1983 in Donostia by Bernués, Mireia Gabilondo and Kike Díaz de Rada. Since then they have always aimed to produce bilingual theatre; all productions are performed in Euskara and Spanish. The award-winning company's repertoire is extremely diverse and it is 'precisely in this apparent indefinable style that they define their way of understanding scenic production'.[154] Their work is nearly always formed out of collaborations with other companies, both local to Donostia and further afield. This process of working formed an essential element of their production of *Ametsa*/*Sueño*.

This was not Tanttaka's first interaction with Shakespeare: in 1997 they mounted *Todo Shakespeare (o casi)* (*The Complete Works of William Shakespeare (Abridged)*), adapted by Adam Long, Daniel Singer and Jess Winfield for the Reduced Shakespeare Company, translated by Ritxi Lizarza and directed by Patxi Barco and Carlos Zabala. The successful production began life in Donostia and subsequently toured Spain; it was reprised in 2005.[155] A fierce parody, it tells the story of a group of friends, 'fed up with Shakespeare being represented as a fat man who writes scripts for Mel Gibson and Kenneth Branagh [,] they decide to sell books that summarise the best scenes of the English genius'.[156] This theme of

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[154] '¿qué es?', *Tanttaka Teatroa,* <http://www.tanttaka.com/zerda.php?lang=es> [accessed 1st April 2016].

[155] Julia Amezúa, 'Genial parodia', *ABC Castilla y León*, 19th September 2005, <http://www.abc.es/hemeroteca/historico-19-09-2005/abc/CastillaLeon/genial-parodia_61965909730.html> [accessed 1st April 2016].

[156] Julio Máñez, 'Tanttaka Teatroa llega al Rialto con "Todo Shakespeare o casi"', *El País*, 8th March 1999, <https://elpais.com/diario/1999/03/08/cvalenciana/920924298_850215.html> [accessed 1st April 2016].

drawing on previous experiences with Shakespeare to create specifically Basque productions echoes throughout this chapter.

The text for Tanttaka's *Dream* was tradapted by Patxo Telleria specifically for this production. Along with Bernués and Rikarte, Telleria is a key player in modern Basque theatre.[157] Telleria is an actor as well as a playwright and director, and is said to have participated in the rejuvenation of Basque theatre in the 1980s, alongside figures such as Bernués.[158] He had previously adapted Shakespeare's dramatic work in his play *Alde Zaharreko Maitaleak-Los amantes del Casco Viejo* (*The Lovers of the Old City*; 2016). Telleria has described it as a 'play of and for actors'.[159] Written for a cast of two, the play focuses on a man and a woman who are attempting to stage *Romeo and Juliet* but approach it from very different dramatic schools of thought: she from Grotowski and he from Stanislavski. Telleria also incorporated lines, characters and themes from: *Dream*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *Much Ado About Nothing.* Speaking of the creation process, Telleria said: 'I wanted to encompass all of Shakespeare, not losing anything, like a boy who wants everything, without restraint… I had the irreverent idea of using the most dramatic scenes of his plays to construct a tailor-made theatrical sketch for the pleasure of the performance'.[160] This liberal treatment of text carries through in his tradaptation of *Dream*. Like many of the productions examined in this thesis, Telleria's work stems 'from a specific time and

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[157] Bernués is the Artistic Director of Tanttaka, as well as working extensively in television and film. He also held the position of Festival Director for a time, before having to step down to focus on directing and coordinating *Ametsa*/*Sueño*. Rikarte is an actor and playwright and had previously worked on Shakespeare as an assistant director on *Rey Lear* directed by Gerardo Vera in 2008 for the Centro Dramático Nacional (National Drama Centre).

[158] See Patrizio Urkizu Sarasua's seminal work: *Teatro vasco. Historia, reseñas y entrevistas, antología bilingüe, catálogo e ilustraciones*.

[159] 'Los amantes del casco viejo', *Kulturklik*, <http://www.kulturklik.euskadi.eus/evento/2016112213545712/los-amantes-del-casco-viejo-/kulturklik/es/z12-detalle/es/> [accessed 22nd June 2016].

[160] Ibid.

sociopolitical situation', tradapting *Dream* to a uniquely modern, Basque context.[161]

Whilst the core of the play and its themes remained, the text and final production were conditioned by distinct factors: the Festival, the unusual setting and the heightened involvement of the audience. As such, Telleria worked closely with Bernués and Rikarte from early on in the production process. Fearing a text that echoed his forerunners in Euskara translation, Telleria was acutely aware of the need to adapt the language to a sound 'better suited to our ears', whilst 'looking for theatrical effectiveness'.[162] According to Telleria: 'literary translations are quite forced, like cardboard, and we wanted to get away from that'.[163]

During my time in Donostia, I was able to interview Telleria, Bernués, Rikarte, as well as the cast. Bernués and Rikarte stated that the reason they chose to stage *Dream* was because for many years Bernués had had a vision of moulding the play onto the Cristina Enea park. The park is 'emblematic' for Bernués, as it is for many, as the heart of the city.[164] Furthermore, 'to be able to use a public space from a cultural standpoint is important'.[165] Securely claiming the space for inherently Basque cultural practices was key: 'One of the aims [they] had, and that [they] reached, was to evoke a space of discovery and creation with an open attitude coming out of [the] most immediate dynamics of those who work here. [They] also wanted to offer a project that would be, socially, very attractive'.[166] As described by Bernués, the production was not only something everyone could be proud of, but

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[161] Fortier, 'Translation, Adaptation and "Tradaptation"', p. 1049.

[162] 'Donostia 2016 y Tanttaka Teatroa proponen "Sueño de una noche de verano"', *Artezblai*, 27th June 2016, <http://www.artezblai.com/artezblai/donostia-2016-y-tanttaka-teatroa-proponen-sueno-de-una-noche-de-verano.html> [accessed 24th February 2020].

[163] Ibid.

[164] 'Interview', *Donostia/San Sebastián 2016* monthly magazine, June, pp. 20-1, p. 21.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Teresa Flaño, 'Fernando Bernués: «Donostia 2016 ha servido para mostrar que aquí tenemos potencial escénico»', *El diario vasco*, 21st January 2017, <http://www.diariovasco.com/culturas/201701/21/fernando-bernues-director-teatral-20170121010909-v.html> [accessed 22nd January 2017].

'necessary': '[they are] a territory that embraces proposals from outside but [Basques] must make a leap to be creative' in their own voices and mediums.[167] As such, Shakespeare's play was embraced but there was a constant underlying need to appropriate and tradapt the play to a Basque setting.

The Cristina Enea park was opened in the nineteenth century by Duke Fermín de Lasala y Collado and named after his wife, Cristina Brunetti de los Cobos; it was created at a time of liberation for the inhabitants of Donostia as the city's walls were demolished around the same time.[168] The park is not only visually appropriate for the mounting of the play, but also carries the weight of another historically important moment in the city's history, thereby layering the production and the Festival with added cultural significance. Despite the diverse backgrounds of the directors and the differing approaches they take to working with texts, both were certain that this play needed to be staged in this park: in contrast to Bernués who has described himself as a more visual director, Rikarte takes a more formalistic approach to working with text, focusing on delivery of metre and meaning.[169] Bernués said that 'it just makes sense' to stage *Dream* in the park, 'in a natural environment', as the setting reflected the magical nature of the play.[170] Lying at the heart of the city, the park offers open spaces as well as intimate groves and winding paths to connect them, of which the production made excellent use.

Describing what he felt to be the core of *Dream*, Bernués said: 'it is one of the most magical, festive and illuminating plays, that permits interaction between the real and

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[167] Ibid.

[168] 'Cristina Enea', *Donostia San Sebastián,* <http://cristinaenea.org/pagina.php?queidioma=1&pg=9> [accessed 22nd June 2016].

[169] Interview conducted with Fernando Bernués and Iñaki Rikarte, 29th June 2016, Donostia.

[170] Ibid.

imaginary worlds'.[171] Speaking of the 'responsibility' and 'pleasure' of directing Shakespeare, Bernués defined *Dream* as one of the most 'open' plays there is, thereby allowing it to be approached from many different directions: 'the classics have the virtue of overcoming everything […] In this sense, in *Dream* you find aesthetic suggestions of many types and colours'.[172] It is this pliable, diverse nature of the play that lends itself to a myriad of adaptation choices, and makes it all the more appropriate to be adapted in the context of a minority culture expanding its theatrical canon as it can be appropriated in many ways. The potential elasticity of *Dream* comes in the marrying of the real with the fantastic.

Despite changing the order of some scenes and adding modern inferences to the characters, the creative team indicated that loyalty to Shakespeare was central to their artistic decisions: 'We wanted to give a more contemporary reading, but one that continues being recognisable'.[173] The directors stated that this loyalty was manifested through an openness and playfulness that made it readily accessible for theatre practitioners and audience members of any background.

Audience accessibility was central to the adaptation process; as well as narrative updates, the text was linguistically modernised too, translated into modern Euskara and Spanish. Twenty of the thirty performances were performed in Spanish and ten in Euskara. Telleria 'wanted to use a more even language […] yet keeping in mind the musicality and literary beauty of the English author'.[174] In my interview with Telleria, he said that it was a 'dream' (pun not intended) to work with Shakespeare because he deals with 'everything' in

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[171] 'Interview', p. 18.

[172] Ibid., p. 20.

[173] Ibid., p. 21.

[174] Ibid., p. 18.

his works, 'life, death, love, families…'.[175] Shakespeare speaks to and from the soul, both Bernués and Telleria affirmed; his work can 'unite lots of very different people synchronously, transcending the habitual'.[176] The magical elements of a play such as *Dream* facilitates this ascension above the mundane as the audience are transported into a realm other than their own and that of the mortal characters of the play. The theme of the perceived 'universality' of Shakespeare's works would be reflected in the audience responses I gathered following the performances.

A definitive sense of uniting a community was achieved in this production, not only in the number of people involved. Despite initial figures totalling around eighty creative and production team members, the final total was over 140: this included dancers from four local schools, a professional choir, musicians, chefs from local culinary schools, waiters, producers, actors, ushers, and a small army of lighting and sound technicians to coordinate the promenade performance throughout the park for an audience of 250 members per performance over the month-long run. Customary Tanttaka collaborations were in full swing.

The 'singularity' of the production's 'multi-sensorial experience' lay in its sheer scale.[177] The production received a budget of half a million euros and was one of the 'headlining' events of the entire Festival and the central focus of the Lighthouse of Voices: 'The Cristina Enea forest, gastronomy, the magic of the summer solstice and Shakespeare's talent for comedy [were] the main ingredients for one of the most special projects' in

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[175] Interview conducted with Patxo Telleria, 24th June 2016, Donostia.

[176] K.M., 'Donostia 2016 estrena 'El sueño de una noche de verano', *Radio Euskadi*, 15th June 2016, <http://www.eitb.eus/es/radio/radio-euskadi/programas/iflandia/detalle/4163466/donostia-2016-estrena-sueno-noche-verano-cristinaeena/> [accessed 20th June 2016].

[177] Itziar Zorita and Lorena Montejo, 'En el bosque de Shakespeare', *Donostia/San Sebastián 2016* monthly magazine, July-August, p. 23.

Donostia's Festival.[178] Audience members were transformed from passive spectators to active participants within the promenade performance that began with a sumptuous wedding feast. Very little set was added to the park aside from key pieces of furniture, which transformed the space indisputably into the home of the fairies. A combination of an idyllic setting and the unique tradaptation imbued the production with a real sense of ownership over the Shakespearean tale, both from within the production team and for the audience. Even walking through the park during the day and seeing Titania's bed growing out of the grass or Oberon's armchair suspended in the trees seemed natural, reinforcing the open nature of Shakespeare's worlds felt by the directors (See Figure 3).



Figure 3: Titania's bed. Photo credit: Elizabeth Jeffery.

So, whose wedding were we invited to attend? Theseus, Hippolyta and Philostrate were amalgamated into the character of the Duchess (Ane Gabarain), who was to act as officiary at Hermia (Aitziber Garmendia) and Demetrius' (Gorka Otxoa) imminent wedding. It was their wedding feast that we enjoyed at the beginning of the performance, each course

[178] 'Meat for broken hearts, sweet treats for reconciliation', *Donostia/San Sebastián 2016,* 13th June 2016, <http://dss2016.eu/en/so-long-san-sebastian-2016/news/item/4046-meat-for-broken-hearts-sweet-treats-for-reconciliation> [accessed 20th June 2016].

designed to represent the different stages of falling in love: from the 'first glances and whispers' as a starter, to the 'heat of passion' as a main course and the 'sweet madness' of love for dessert, all accompanied with locally sourced wine.[179] Whilst we ate, Egeus (Isidoro Fernández), Demetrius and an increasingly intoxicated Helena (Sara Cozar for the Euskara performances, Vito Rogado for the Spanish) interacted with the guests, awaiting the arrival of Hermia. Before the ceremony could begin however, we learned that the acting troupe hired as a wedding gift for Hermia to perform *Dream* at the end of the evening had cancelled at short notice. Four of the waiters (Ramon Agirre, Josean Bengoetxea, Mikel Laskurain, Jose Ramon Soroiz) who had been serving wine came forward, avowing that they knew the play well and volunteered to perform. They were the first to head off into the park to begin frantic rehearsals. As the ceremony commenced they were interrupted by the arrival of Helena and Lisandra (Miren Gaztañaga), a female Lysander. Hermia and Lisandra were the second group to escape into the park, on a Vespa this time, and Egeus' pleas for help to find his daughter formed the impetus for the whole wedding party to follow them. The elimination of Theseus and Hippolyta allowed for greater focus to fall on the family nucleus. It also increased the dramatic tension as Hermia not only very publicly rejected Demetrius at the point of saying 'I do', but simultaneously revealed herself to be in love with a woman.

We immediately encountered an elegant incarnation of Cristina Enea herself (Naiara Amedo) who, in a rather Lewis Carrollian way, warned us to beware of journeying forward into the woods, as all was not as it may seem on the surface (See Figure 4).[180] From there, the story fell back in line with the original as we moved through the park, encountering the

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[179] Each guest was presented with a menu upon arrival to explain the courses.

[180] Still taken from news report on the production, 'Shakespeare parkean', *EITB*, 17th June 2016, <https://www.eitb.eus/eu/kultura/donostia-2016/osoa/4169270/uda-gau-bateko-ametsa-shakespeare-parkean/> [accessed 28th May 2020].

fairies, the newly formed and acutely metatheatrical mechanicals, and the lovers. Telleria's adaptation incorporated all: 'humour, love, metatheatre, music, dancers, a total immersion in a magical world that encompasses all the senses and wakes up the imagination'.[181]



Figure 4: Cristina Enea (Naiara Amedo) and choir. Photo credit: EITB.

The show received an overwhelmingly positive response, both in person and online, impressing audiences with its inventiveness in use of space and music, and the way in which it treated the original story, updating it to modern social anxieties; one young lady described it to me like a trip to Disneyland Paris, such was the grandeur of the spectacle.[182] The switching of Lysander to Lisandra was commented on in a positive way as audience members enjoyed an incorporated reference to gay pride amongst the other expressions of love that occurred.[183] Same-sex marriage has been legal in Spain since 2005, and the Pride movement has been gathering influence in recent years. Whilst Madrid is said to host the biggest Pride parade in

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[181] Ricardo Fernández, '"Sueño de una noche de verano" en Cristina Enea', *El Cafe de Rick*, 25th June 2016, <http://www.elcafederick.com/sueno-una-noche-verano-cristina-enea/> [accessed 9th April 2017].

[182] Interview conducted, 21st June 2016, Donostia. For more on the ethics of analysing performance in such terms, see Bridget Elscome, 'Being Good: Actors' Testimonies as Archive and the Cultural Construction of Success in Performance', *Shakespeare Bulletin* Vol. 28 no.1 (2010), pp. 77-91.

[183] Interview conducted, 28th June 2016, Donostia.

Europe, Donostia also is an important city in Spain overall for Pride parades.[184]

Through incorporating Basque dance, food and wine, choral music, and making extensive use of one of the most iconic spaces in the city, Tanttaka's production brought Shakespeare syncretically into Basque culture in a dynamic and prominent way, 'with a balanced number of elements' from old and new theatrico-cultural systems.[185] Shakespearean characters were embodied through inherently Basque cultural practices, customs and images. The run opened with an Euskara-language performance. This emphasis on Euskara together with the sheer scale of the production and the huge endorsement from the Hiriburutzak/ Capitalidad resulted in Tanttaka firmly staking a claim in the validation of Shakespearean performance in the language. Bernués spoke of the 'responsibility' of directing Shakespeare: at such a critical moment in the playwright's relationship with Basque theatre, the responsibility could not have been greater. As well as capitalising on the cultural prestige already attached to Shakespeare's play, in the quest to elevate the status of Euskara as an important language deserving of attention, it was vital for Bernués and Rikarte to strike the right note with their production: to be socially inclusive and politically active whilst simultaneously being entertaining and poignant was paramount.

Firsthand responses to a 'diferente' *Dream*

How this production made meaning for its audiences is the focus of the next section. Their responses to the tradaptation, to the overall performance and to Shakespeare were recorded as

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[184] 'World Pride Parade', *World Pride Madrid*, <http://www.worldpridemadrid2017.com/en/prideparade> [accessed 9th April 2017].

[185] Balme, *Decolonizing the Stage*, p. 17.

part of the audience-based research I undertook during my time in Donostia. Whilst the quality of the production was widely praised, people's opinions on Shakespeare and his contemporary relevance in the Basque Country varied. As is highlighted below however, most considered his works to be 'universal', illustrating the extent of Shakespeare's cultural hegemony.

I shall interrupt the chronology of this chapter for a moment here to discuss the methodology that lay behind my audience-based research. For the practical fieldwork conducted to gather primary data on how Shakespeare is received in contemporary Basque society, I drew upon the work of Penelope Woods and Stephen Purcell, both of whom have worked extensively with audience responses to live theatre.[186] They use questionnaires and interviews with audience members in order to collect immediate responses. I, therefore, adopted a similar approach when travelling to Donostia. A paper questionnaire would not have been practical given the nature of the production, which was promenade and in a huge park, and the audience quickly dispersed after the show. I opted to conduct oral interviews with audience members and record their answers with their permission, which allowed me to approach a variety of people, in terms of age and gender.[187]

I spent twelve days in Donostia (20th June-1st July) not only watching the play as many times as possible to formulate my own response, but also interviewing audience members after each show that occurred whilst I was there. I also collected online responses to the play as audience members took to Twitter, in particular, to extol its virtues and plead for tickets.

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[186] See Purcell, *Shakespeare and Audience in Practice*; Woods, 'Globe Audiences: Spectatorship and Reconstruction at Shakespeare's Globe'.

[187] This was approved by the University of Birmingham's Ethical Review Process. Application number: ERN_16-0308. Interviews were conducted in Spanish, or a mix of Euskara and Spanish, and translated into English by me.

The production played from 21st June until 24th July 2016, and, as mentioned above, offered twenty performances in Spanish and ten in Euskara. Tanttaka faced a similar situation to UR: the majority language in the Basque Country is still Spanish, therefore their programming had to reflect that. Performances in both languages, however, sold out weeks before the show even opened, such was the excitement for 'the wedding of the year', as the tagline of the posters read. Through monitoring the ticket website, I was able to ascertain that the Spanish performances sold out first (two weeks prior to opening) due to the prominence of the language in urban areas of the Basque Country; however, the Euskara language performances quickly sold out afterwards (a week before opening). This further illustrates the continuing presence of Spanish and the popularity of Spanish-language theatre in the Basque Country.

My initial port of call on my first morning in Donostia was the box office, as despite selling out online, promises of tickets released on the day were made and I hoped to be able to talk to the box office staff about ticket sales and the public response to the show thus far. When I arrived, I was met with a queue of people already forming at 8.30am, even though the box office did not open until 10am. I was therefore able to ask questions to those already there; I was interested to ascertain whether they had a preference for which language they attended the theatre in and why they had chosen to see this particular production. No personal data such as names or ages were recorded as part of my interviews; any references to age groups are estimations based on observations.

I asked each group or individual queuer four questions: do they prefer to see theatre in Spanish or Euskara; had they seen a play by Shakespeare before this one; do they often go to the theatre; and finally, why had they chosen to see this production? The same questions were then asked to audience members post-show. Of the fourteen people in the queue, only one had

come to try to buy tickets specifically because it was a Shakespeare play. He was an older man who preferred to see Spanish-language theatre but one who also went to the theatre often and had read a lot of Shakespeare, through Spanish translations. Only five other people had seen a Shakespeare play before, either on stage, at the cinema or on television (one woman had studied English at university so had seen and read Shakespeare in English); one woman had read bilingual editions of Shakespeare but had not seen a staging of his plays. Aside from the first older man I mentioned, only two others in the queue said that they went often to the theatre: they were two young women that had come together to try to buy tickets, one of whom was studying scenic design and so tried to see as much theatre as possible.

Of these fourteen people, ten indicated that they would choose to see theatre in Spanish, one was indifferent, and three preferred Euskara. It is important to note the ages of the people who said that they would prefer Euskara-language theatre (I include here the young woman who would go to both equally): of the four, two were aged in their early thirties or younger, and the remaining couple were aged between forty and fifty years old. One man in his sixties, who had come to buy tickets on behalf of his son, stated that whilst he preferred to attend theatre in Spanish, his parents and children preferred Euskara: he pointed directly to growing up in the era of the Franco dictatorship as the reason why he could not speak Euskara.

This disparity in age-to-language fluency aligns itself with the data gathered from audience members interviewed following the show as well: during the time of the dictatorship, Donostia as an urban centre of resistance and Basque nationalism was met with particular violence from Francoists; whilst clandestine, privately funded ikastolak were operating in the mid-1950s, they were not legalised until 1968 and did not receive sufficient

public funding or encouragement from the government.[188] Nowadays, however, the figures look promising, as mentioned previously: over half of primary and secondary school students attend ikastolak, and of the remaining, three times the number of students who attend solely Spanish-medium schools attend dual language institutions.[189]

Over the course of eight performances, I succeeded in interviewing twenty-one groups of people of varying sizes that totalled sixty-two people; one show was unfortunately cancelled due to inclement weather conditions and no performances occurred on Mondays. Two performances were in Euskara and six in Spanish. Whilst this does not give me a particularly large pool of data, given the overall number of performances in the run, some conclusions can still be made based on the trends within the responses I gathered.

Sixty-five per cent of the audience members I spoke to usually attended the theatre in Spanish due to language barriers, and the majority of these people originated from the Basque Country. Only sixteen per cent regularly sought out Euskara-language productions, and eleven per cent did not have a preference. Eight per cent were English-speaking audience members who did not understand either Spanish or Euskara. Of those who preferred Euskara or had no preference, the majority of them were people estimated to be in their thirties or younger; again, this is presumably due to a growth in the prominence of ikastolak throughout the Basque Country in the late twenty-first century, which has led to a new generation of Basques whose primary language is Euskara. Not all of them had attended an Euskara-language performance, however, due to timing and performance availability, thereby demonstrating the pull the production had as they were willing to sacrifice their language

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[188] Clark, *The Basques, the Franco Years and Beyond*, p. 138.

[189] *The Arrue Project 2011*, p. 23.

preference in order to see the play. It is also a further indication of the Euskara-Spanish bilingualism inherent in Donostia as they were still able to follow the performance.

Fifty-five per cent had seen a Shakespeare play prior to attending this production, either in Spanish or in English; their answers were a mixture of seeing other stage productions or film adaptations. When asked if they thought Shakespeare was important within the Basque Country the general answer was 'no', but most alluded to the 'universality' of his works and that they were still relevant enough within Basque society: 'his plays can fit into any place, equally in England or in the Basque Country'.[190] This view is supported by Telleria and the production's directors, as highlighted above in my interviews with the practitioners. The same interviewee also alluded to the 'historical closeness' that the Basque Country and England have, just as Viar did.[191]

Whilst the production received a resoundingly positive response, only five people had come specifically because it was a Shakespearean play. The same number admitted to going to theatre often, or 'as often as money will permit because it is quite expensive'.[192] Everyone I interviewed noted the location and the fact that it was outdoors as part of their motivation to come and see the production. The park itself was a major incentive for many: echoing Bernués, many had grown up in and around the Cristina Enea park and felt it was an important place for them as individuals and as a society. Localism was key in the claiming of Shakespeare for Basque audiences. Through situating the play in a firmly Basque setting, reinforced by the use of essential Basque cultural tropes, Bernués and Rikarte established a uniquely Basque experience: 'the postmodern delight in eclectic transtemporality [was] given

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[190] Interview conducted, 22nd June 2016, Donostia.

[191] Ibid.

[192] Interview conducted, 28th June 2016, Donostia.

free rein' in a production that divorced the play from its Elizabethan roots to tradapt and relocate it temporally, spatially and culturally.[193]

Curiosity was the next main reason for attending, with many commenting that the production was very different to anything they had seen before, or seen advertised. Those who had seen an Euskara-language performance all commented on the translation: it was described as 'fluid', 'beautiful', 'clear' and 'very Basque'.[194] By 'very Basque' they were referring to the humour and the dexterity of the language used, particularly in reference to the mechanicals who seemingly improvised the play-within-the-play at the culmination of the show, showing a connection to the tradition of the bertsolaritza. The same person also described the text as 'very close' to the original, despite Telleria's alterations, which is testament to the success of the tradaptation process as they could still clearly feel a connection to the original play; regardless of the modern updates and Telleria's 'irreverent' attitude towards language, he was able to capture the poetry and dramatic tension of Shakespeare's play to render it suitably 'Shakespearean' still. As we saw in Chapter One, exactly what makes a production Shakespearean is highly personal and subjective. I also interviewed one English family who did not speak Euskara or Spanish but were able to follow the performance regardless, such is the omnipresence of *Dream*.

The words that were employed most frequently to describe the production were 'bonito' (beautiful) twenty-seven times, 'diferente' (different) twenty times, 'novedoso'/'novedad' (novel or a novelty) eight times, and 'original' six times. Even Bernués, who has admitted that he is not easily satisfied with his own work, stated that he was 'proud'

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[193] Kennedy, 'Shakespeare without his language', p. 14.

[194] Interviews conducted, 21st June 2016 and 7th July 2016.

of the outcome: 'Donostia 2016 has served to demonstrate that here we have dramatic potential…it has helped to break the inertia and, in general, the society of Donostia has come out of its own trenches a little'.[195] The production also worked to 'reveal [Basque] possibilities' as creators and artists.[196] Crucially, both the production and the Festival acknowledged the importance of public funding for the arts. Many of the contributions that went on to have afterlives would not exist without the Festival. *Ametsa*/*Sueño* played a fundamental role in this social movement towards renewed Basque artistic and cultural expression. By extension, Shakespeare, as a playwright and a cultural icon, made a contribution to this renaissance and celebration. Whether this is consciously recognised or not is a matter for debate as according to most audience members the fact that it was a Shakespeare play was not the main reason that attracted them to the production.

Admittedly, 'Shakespeare' will always come with a set of predetermined social codes and significations which act as 'open signifier[s]' for 'traditionalism, learnedness, hand-crafted quality, and high art' that can be used in this instance implicitly to elevate Basque culture and theatre; as noted, several audience members referred to the 'universality' of Shakespeare.[197] In this case, however, as one audience member stated, 'it could have been written by anyone, not necessarily Shakespeare'.[198] Community, artistic expression and story-telling lay at the heart of Bernués and Rikarte's production of a play that just happened to be written by Shakespeare, reinforcing Peter Brook's belief that, when working in Paris, the perfect performance text would be 'a new play, written in French, and written by

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[195] Flaño, 'Fernando Bernués'.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Lanier, 'Shakespeare™', pp. 93-4.

[198] Interview conducted, 21st June 2016, Donostia.

Shakespeare'.[199] Perhaps, the ideal translation of Shakespeare is one that captures the energy of the original and breathes new life into it, brings it out of the past and into diverse contexts, and speaks directly to its new audience.

Basque voices, cultural practices and identities were fully embraced and celebrated throughout this syncretic tradaptation as thousands of people from various communities were brought together to share in the spectacle. Furthermore, it served to demonstrate the ongoing fluidity and flexibility of the linguistic situation in the Basque Country, and the dynamic ways in which translators, directors and actors continue to encounter Shakespeare's work.

Conclusion

Shakespeare is employed by Basque translators, writers and theatrical practitioners in multiple ways and for a myriad of reasons. 'Shakespeare' can refer to the canon of work and the 'Shakespeare' who comes with a predetermined set of social signifiers. The plays and the icon can be used to both define and distance: they can create definition of and for Basque society and literature, whilst distancing that society and artistic output from dominant forms of expression or governing bodies. As González concludes: 'Shakespeare's drama was believed to be a powerful instrument for making people aware of the social and political situation. It was produced not only to reflect reality but to change it'.[200] Historically, Shakespeare has been politicised by Basque translators to affect reform within their immediate social environs.

The earliest cases of Basque theatre-makers producing Shakespeare was part of a bid

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[199] Reported by Jean-Claude Carrière in a talk in Los Angeles in 1991, reproduced in Kennedy, 'Shakespeare without his language', p. 15.

[200] González, *Spanish Studies in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, p. 10.

to renovate the Basque stage and break with stale modes of performance. Alzaga's *Irritza* was considered both successful and unsuccessful: whilst the production received good reviews, it was perceived by some to be premature for audiences of the time. Alzaga did not go far enough to marry the old with the new, which proved fatal in a time when the Basque theatrical industry was still reliant on patronage, particularly that of the Church. His work is, however, an early indication of the desire to expand and diversify the Euskara-language dramatic canon. Moreover, as *Irritza* was the first play to be produced that was not 'inspired by the [Basque] environment', it began important conversations amongst scholars and theatre directors (often the same people) about how to treat texts in translation whilst still maintaining a native tradition.[201] This is a concern that has persisted ever since Alzaga's time.

The next generations of Shakespearean translators were driven by a need to establish an Euskara-language literary canon, and one that could compete on an international level. Ametzaga was a prolific translator, who made significant contributions to the body of work translated and written in Euskara, laying the foundations for Larrakoetxea's methodical translation of the complete dramatic works. It is unfortunate that Larrakoetxea's texts are viewed as obsolete for modern practitioners, not only for their linguistic density, but for the fact that they are translated into the Bizkaian dialect, a lesser known strand of Euskara. They were also carried out at a time when Euskara was in a vital transition stage with the simultaneous repression of the Francoist regime and the birth of Euskara Batua. Concurrent with the social desire to found a literary canon was the ambition to elevate the status of the language itself, which led translators to turn to Shakespeare, who already carried a vast amount of cultural capital.

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[201] Urkizu, *Teatro vasco*, p. 183.

Contemporaneous to this academic drive in Euskara Shakespeare studies, theatre companies were producing modern playwrights to represent Basque social needs. Generating a repertoire that tapped into a plethora of vastly differing playwrights, Jarrai and their contemporaries sought to challenge Basque theatre and their audiences. The fact that they were operating concurrently with Larrakoetxea, but did not stage Shakespeare, reveals a motivation to be current whilst potentially demonstrating the immediate unsuitability of the translator's work for the stage.

UR's Spanish-language *Sueño* showcased Basque theatrical traditions on national and international stages in the early twenty-first century. Tanttaka worked to bring more equality to Euskara-language theatre, but such is the pervasive presence of the Spanish language that only one third of the performances of their *Ametsa*/*Sueño* were performed in Euskara. However, Donostia 2016 was able to engage over eight thousand people, in creatives and audience members, with a single theatrical production, which is certainly no small feat.[202] That Shakespeare was in part responsible for this coming together speaks to the continuing flexible adaptability of his plays and the social importance attached to his cultural status.

Furthering Shakespeare's relationship with the Basque Country and, more specifically, the Cristina Enea park, four film adaptations of *Dream* were screened in July 2017, 'some very literal, others liberally inspired by' the play.[203] The mini season entitled 'Cuatro sueños cuatro noches de verano' ('Four dreams, four summer nights') was hosted by Tabakalera as part of their cinema and audiovisual programme; the arts centre was a prominent supporter of Tanttaka's 2016 production. All screenings took place outside within the park, were free to

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[202] This figure is based on the number of people directly involved in the production and the fact that each performance sold 250 tickers.

[203] 'Cuatro sueños cuatro noches de verano', *Tabakalera* <https://www.tabakalera.eu/es/cuatro-suenos-cuatro-noches-de-verano> [accessed 7th July 2017].

watch and carried Spanish subtitles, thereby ensuring the greatest degree of accessibility, financially and linguistically. Tabakalera's continuing promotion of Shakespeare is indicative of the prolonged social effect that Tanttaka aimed to achieve: a dual engagement with the arts and the city as a cultural and artistic space. The Cristina Enea park was shown to be more than a space to relax in; it can also be a creative, inspiring and productive place at the heart of the city. In the same manner, Basque culture can respond in vital and innovative ways to Shakespeare.

Language plays an important role in the hybridity of Basque cultural identities. As the Basque Country has cycled through periods of liberation and repression, language has continued to occupy a contentious position. Historically, generations of Basque people have been deprived of the chance to learn Euskara and many have developed a complicated relationship with language. The modern response to this has been a defiant celebration of the hybrid nature of modern Basque society. This possibly explains the preponderance of productions of *Dream* (the most heavily produced Shakespeare play in the Basque Country) as it not only has a celebratory ending but marries two differing worlds together.

Donostia's Festival and its slogan, 'Culture to live together' acted as a direct challenge to the past, present and future of a minority culture that continues to redefine itself. Shakespeare, a seasoned festival attendee, was tradapted, drawing on Basque traditions, to suit contemporary Basque tastes and look to a harmonious future. This was manifested through the joy-filled climax of *Ametsa*/*Sueño*, the overwhelmingly positive audience responses, and the continued use of the iconic Cristina Enea park for Shakespearean cultural activities. *Ametsa*/*Sueño* explicitly engaged a specifically Basque space and the cultural memories attached to it. The production offered a renewed connection with the past through

the character of Cristina Enea, a deepened relationship with the present through the extensive use of the familiar space and the updated character choices, and a more hopeful projection of the future as the show clearly demonstrated the capacity for Basque social unity.

Ametsa/Sueño participated in the Euskara Shakespearean rhizome through its layering of the play onto an important cultural Basque site, syncretically bringing together and equalising Basque cultural practices and the Shakespearean text. Over the course of this chapter, Shakespeare has proven to be a mechanism for provocation, progression and pleasure. His works were turned to in moments of extreme social oppression and liberation. A similar pattern can be witnessed in New Zealand. Let us turn now to the final language examined in this thesis: te reo Māori.

Chapter Four: Aotearoa New Zealand[1]

Part One: A History of Shakespeare in translation and performance in te reo Māori

Introduction

Bibles and Shakespeares, twin talismans of sacred and secular English authority.[2]

Chapter Four explores the position Shakespeare holds within New Zealand theatre, with a focus on productions that incorporate Māoritanga (Māori culture) and te reo Māori (te reo; Māori language).[3] The cultural figure of Shakespeare has played conflicting roles throughout Māori history, acting as an advocate for both oppression and civil rights at different times. As with the previous chapters, I take a chronological approach to discuss the few, but important, translations of Shakespeare's work in te reo that exist. Just as New Zealand is the most recent

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[1] The full name of New Zealand is Aotearoa New Zealand which acknowledges 'Māori and Pākehā names, in order to juxtapose two contesting national narratives', Judith Pryor, *Constitutions: Writing Nations, Reading Difference*, (Abingdon: Birkbeck Law Press, 2008), p. 117, n. 1. Aotearoa New Zealand is variably hyphenated, separated by a /, or left as two separate items. As I have done in previous chapters, I shall be referring to New Zealand as its English-language name for the sake of consistency. Furthermore, both Māori and non-Māori writers use Aotearoa and New Zealand as interchangeable separate names in their work. Where Aotearoa is referred to in quotations, I have left it as the original. Pākehā refers to New Zealanders of predominantly British and Irish descent. Similarly, as I have done in other chapters, I will not be italicising non-English words. Scholars vary as to whether they employ italics or not. For example, Te Kawa a Māui (School of Māori Studies) at Victoria University of Wellington states that te reo words, particularly those not in common usage, should be italicised. See: *Te Kawa a Māui Māori Studies Academic Writing Guide*, (Victoria University of Wellington, 2011), <https://www.wgtn.ac.nz/maori/study/undergraduate-degree/resources> [accessed 3rd March 2021]. However, New Zealand's Ministry for Culture and Heritage states that they should not. See: David Green, 'Guide to style', *NZ History*, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/hands/a-guide-to-style> [accessed 3rd March 2021]. Not italicising words works towards their normalisation and acceptance rather than continuing to distinguish them as Other. Furthermore, it is argued that as te reo Māori is the original language of New Zealand and one of the official languages no italics are required.

[2] Mark Houlahan, 'Shakespeare in the Settlers' House', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, No. 20 Settlement Studies: Special Issue of the Journal of New Zealand Literature (2002), pp. 112-24, p. 113.

[3] I am taking my cue from Catherine Silverstone for the uses of macrons, although alternative sources may use macrons differently. In te reo, long vowel sounds are denoted either by a macron or a double vowel: Maori can be written as Māori or Maaori. Therefore, I have employed macrons in this chapter, as specified by Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development), except where they are absent in texts I cite; it is incorrect to add macrons to older texts where they have not already been included. Te reo is invariably capitalised or stated as te reo Maori. I use 'te reo' to refer to Māori language, except for when the text I am citing differs. In this case, I shall leave it as it is cited. See also: Elizabeth Jeffery, 'Shakespeare in Māori', *Translating Shakespeare*, 6th February 2018, <https://www.shakespeare.org.uk/explore-shakespeare/blogs/shakespeare-m%C4%81ori/> [accessed 6th May 2020].

of the countries included in this thesis to experience a form of colonialism, it is also the most recent to engage with Shakespeare's work. I address what it means to be 'antipodal' Shakespeare, examining productions that express the 'particular tensions of ongoing postcolonial relations – foundational yet historically imbalanced relations – [that make] apparent in complex and at times baffling ways the ongoing evolving ramifications of cultural dependence and exchange that emerge from the history of empire and of nation'.[4] The productions included here offer unique observations into the structure of modern New Zealand society and Shakespeare's mutable role within it.

Translators did not turn to Shakespeare's plays until the mid-twentieth century; the Sonnets were not considered until the eve of the millennium. The limited occasions on which Shakespeare has been translated provide insight into the act of building a cultural identity that occurs with their genesis and eventual performance. What is the nature of the identity being created, and who is it for? How is Māori culture portrayed on stage and screen both within New Zealand and abroad? Who are the intended audiences for these specific cultural manifestations? Particularly with respect to productions such as *A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira* (*Troilus and Cressida*), produced by Auckland-based Ngākau Toa for the Globe to Globe Festival hosted by Shakespeare's Globe in 2012, Shakespeare was employed to showcase a particular version of Māori culture. Similarly, the inclusion of Māori cultural aesthetics in productions by the Auckland-based Pop-up Globe (PuG) promoted a distinct kind of social identity that differentiates Māori and Pākehā.

New Zealand is still experiencing the effects of British colonisation, seen most readily

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[4] Gordon McMullan and Philip Mead, 'Introduction: ANZAC and the Tercentenary in London, April 1916', *Antipodal Shakespeare: Remembering and Forgetting in Britain, Australia and New Zealand, 1916-2016*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and Philip Mead (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 1-28, p. 28.

in the disparity of support, both financial and social, between Māori and Pākehā cultural practices.[5] Some argue that a 'settler culture' such as New Zealand can never be described as post-colonial as the colonising nation 'maintained a colonial relationship with the indigenous peoples (and was complicit in their ongoing dispossession)'.[6] Settler colonialism has no end, as it is seen as a 'structure rather than [an] event'.[7] Instead of having an aim of conquest, 'settler colonialism destroys to replace' and rebuild a society that is independent from the parent nation.[8] The relationship that a settler culture has with Shakespeare who, as had been made clear, confers a particular set of social cues related to cultural prestige, is made all the more pertinent when considered in the context of a British settler culture. In the early days of Britain's relations with New Zealand, Shakespeare's work was integral within the education system as part of the perceived European 'enlightenment' of Māori people. As such, many twenty-first-century productions tradapt Shakespeare into Māori culture to confer a sense of nostalgia for an ancient Māori world that predates European settlement. This is most prominently seen in Toby Mills' 2001 film adaptation *Te Po Uriuri*, and Don Selwyn's film *The Maori Merchant of Venice* (2002), which will be discussed in due course.

Importantly, translators of Shakespeare in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries elected to work in a classical form of te reo; as seen in Chapter Three, this is similar to the early Basque translators' treatment of the texts. Furthermore, the first translator of

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[5] See Hone Kouka, 'Re-Colonising the Natives: The State of Contemporary Māori Theatre', *Performing Aotearoa: New Zealand theatre and drama in an age of transition*, ed. by Marc Maufort and David O'Donnell (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 237-45; Christopher Balme, 'Between Separation and Integration: Intercultural strategies in contemporary Maori theatre', *The Intercultural Performance Reader*, ed. by Patrice Pavis (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 179-87, p. 180.

[6] Tate A. LeFevre, 'Settler Colonialism', *Oxford Bibliographies*, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766567/obo-9780199766567-0125.xml> [accessed 3rd July 2018].

[7] Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native', *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 8 no. 4 (2006), pp. 387-409, p. 388.

[8] Ibid.

Shakespeare, Dr Pei te Hurinui Jones, recontextualised the plays to a Māori setting, thereby suggesting a synergy between two seemingly disparate cultures, and concurrently facilitating a reinforcement of Māori cultural identities. This syncretic trend has continued throughout Māori Shakespeare productions to today. It strengthens a palimpsestic quality surrounding the works as they become layered with historical influence. By translating Shakespeare's work into a form of te reo that predates the plays, Māori translators claim a specific kind of ownership by reworking and appropriating a symbol of colonisation to tell their own stories. In the process they establish te reo as a classical language that has the capacity to deal with a 'high' cultural icon such as Shakespeare. This feeds a particular sense of cultural pride. As Catherine Silverstone has stated:

> In an ironic paradox, Shakespeare – the emblem of the language which has linguistically colonised aspects of *te reo* – is the vehicle by which Māori are able to reclaim and develop their language. In effect, Shakespeare becomes the means by which Māori are 'given' back their language, enabling a return to a prelapsarian world before an encounter with European colonisation.[9]

The voice of the oppressor is reworked to give liberation to the oppressed. In a move comparable with early Welsh and Euskara translators, Māori translators tradapted Shakespeare in a defiant act of reclamation, using their work to build a sense of national identity and reassert the cultural and social importance of te reo.

Two key terms re-occur throughout this chapter: 'showcasing' and 'nostalgia'. The former invariably facilitates the latter. As producers of Māori Shakespeares add their contributions to the global stage, they aim to exhibit and promote Māori culture and language nationally and internationally. Through this careful construction of a cultural lens that aims to

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[9] 'Speaking Māori Shakespeare', *Screening Shakespeare in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Mark Thornton Burnett and Ramona Wray (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp. 129-45, pp. 130-1.

reveal the best parts of Māoritanga, an intrinsic nostalgia for an idyllic past is created. Additionally, there is a long, and ongoing, tradition of Western consumption of 'exotic' productions that show off native cultures from distant lands. Drawing on Said's notion of 'imaginative geography', I examine the construction of these productions: 'representations (or misrepresentations – the distinction is at best a matter of degree) [inhabit] a common field defined for them, not by some inherent common subject matter alone, but by some common history, tradition, universe of discourse'.[10] Are these productions aimed at Māori audiences, or are they authentically folksy enough to pass as Māori for non-Māori audiences?

The limited but rich history of Shakespeare in translation into te reo forms the discussion for Part One. I also highlight pertinent English-language productions that carry a strong Māori or Pasifika influence.[11] Part Two focuses on PuG, which was established in 2016. As part of their artistic statement, Artistic Director Miles Gregory stated that PuG endeavour to produce at least two shows per season that include Māori or South Pacific cultural references.[12] So far, the company has produced five such productions: *Romeo and Juliet* (2016), *Much Ado About Nothing* (2017), *Othello* (2017), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (2017), and *Emilia* (2020); *Much Ado*, *Othello* and *Dream* have all been remounted multiple times since their first stagings. Portraying Māori culture on stage and screen raises potentially thorny but important questions about cultural appropriation and the colonial tourist gaze. If productions are easily 'exportable', 'possibly because they defamiliarize Shakespeare through the use of spectacle […] or local poetic and visual conventions […], while bringing to the fore

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[10] Edward Said, 'Orientalism Now', *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 200-328, pp. 272-3.

[11] Pasifika refers to the culture of the Pacific Islands; the title applies to over one thousand islands in Oceania. There are three main groups that constitute the Pacific Islands: Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia. New Zealand is the largest country in Polynesia and has the highest global concentration of Polynesian Pacific Islanders. Polynesia also includes Hawaii, Samoa, Tonga and the Cook Islands, to give but a few examples.

[12] Interview conducted with Miles Gregory, 21st March 2018, Skype.

recognizable tropes of their reception history in Anglophone localities', how is audience reception affected?[13] And, equally, how does that affect the choices of theatre and film-makers when deciding what version of Māori culture they ultimately portray?

Contexts

One reo to rule them all?[14]

To evaluate Shakespeare's impact on contemporary performance practices in New Zealand, I will first address some of the country's cultural and linguistic narratives, focusing on the history of te reo, theatre and Māori mythology. The exact beginnings of te reo are hard to locate as historically it is an oral culture. Much of what is known about early Māori settlements in New Zealand is derived from complex Māori mythology and tribal histories, and archeological evidence.[15] Early English-language texts on the Māori are skewed through a colonialist lens, and so must be treated with caution. Most archeologists today subscribe to a theory of mass migration to New Zealand from Polynesia in the fourteenth century; 'each group of settlers brought with them the [contemporaneous] culture in vogue in the tropical islands'.[16] They also imported their own variances in language, which is still seen throughout New Zealand.

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[13] Sonia Massai, 'Defining local Shakespeares', *World-wide Shakespeares: Local appropriations in film and performance*, ed. by Sonia Massai (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 3-11, p. 10.

[14] Quinton Hita, 'One reo to rule them all?', *e-tangata*, 13th October 2019, <https://e-tangata.co.nz/reo/one-reo-to-rule-them-all/> [accessed 10th May 2020].

[15] Richard Walter, Hallie Buckley, Chris Jacomb and Elizabeth Matisoo-Smith, 'Mass Migration and the Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand', *Journal of World Prehistory*, Vol. 30 (2017), pp. 351-76, p. 353.

[16] Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Maori* (Wellington: Māori Purposes Fund Board, 1949), p. 1. Many New Zealand and Pacific Islands' texts are available online through the New Zealand Electronic Text Collection- Te Pūhikotuhi o Aotearoa, created by Victoria University of Wellington: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/> [accessed 7th May 2020].

Before contact with European settlers, the Māori had no written language but a refined oral and visual language culture; specific gestures are encoded in particular ways. The earliest surviving text written in te reo dates from 1815, created by Thomas Kendall (an early missionary to settle in New Zealand). Working with Samuel Lee of Cambridge University, Kendall published the first book to standardise te reo using a Latin alphabet system entitled *A grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand* (1820), 'which contained the orthographic foundations of written Māori'.[17] Lee transcribed the words of Chiefs Hongi Hika and Waikato which Kendall translated into English. In 1844, missionary William Williams published the first te reo-English dictionary, which remains a key resource. Jones, the first Māori translator of Shakespeare, was involved in editing the seventh edition in 1970.[18]

When New Zealand officially became part of the British Empire in 1840 with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, English became the enforced dominant language. Speaking te reo became a punishable offence, particularly in schools.[19] The language was not recognised as an official language of New Zealand until 1987.[20] The Language Act followed decades of campaigning for te reo to be better represented in national culture.[21] By then, fewer than twenty per cent of Māori people spoke te reo.[22] In recent years, it has experienced a

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[17] Rawinia Higgins and Basil Keane, 'Te reo Māori- the Māori language- Pākehā engagement with te reo, 1769 to 1840s', *Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-reo-maori-the-maori-language/page-2> [accessed 10th May 2020].

[18] Silverstone, 'Speaking Māori Shakespeare', p. 129.

[19] Brendan Sheridan, 'Othello and the New Zealand Wars', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, Vol. 37 no.1 (2019), pp. 91-104, p.94; actor Rawiri Paratene speaks of his parents and grandparents' recollections in the 2012 documentary *Road to the Globe: Troilus and Cressida* (directed by Mike Johnathon and produced by Alexander Behse; Monsoon Pictures, 2014).

[20] 'Maori Language Act 1987', *New Zealand Legislation*, <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1987/0176/latest/whole.html#whole> [accessed 28th July 2018].

[21] Higgins and Keane, 'Te reo Māori'.

[22] Eleanor Ainge Roy, '"Māori has gone mainstream": the resurgence of New Zealand's te reo language', *The Guardian*, 28th July 2018 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/28/google-disney-maori-new-zealand> [accessed 28th July 2018].

resurgence. A census conducted in 2013 revealed that fifty-five per cent of Māori adults identified as having some ability to communicate in te reo (up from forty-two per cent in 2001); eleven per cent said that they could speak fluently.[23] Furthermore, there has been sharp increase in younger Māori speakers and there are hopes that te reo will be compulsory in primary and secondary schools by 2030.[24] Parallels can be drawn here with the Basque Country and Wales, through their respective drives to increase language-learning, particularly in schools.

Lately, te reo has garnered both national and international attention: 'language experts say [te reo] has never been more widely used, normalised or respected'.[25] The 2016 Language Act built on the 1987 Act to provide more support for the representation and preservation of the language. Te Mātāwai, an independent statutory body, was established to 'support the revitalisation of' te reo, by promoting an increase in speakers and fluency.[26] The results for the 2018 census are still forthcoming; however, provisional results show a significant increase in younger speakers.[27] In October 2019, the Kotahi Rau Pukapuka Trust was launched with the ambition of translating one hundred books into te reo.[28] Starting with *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, 'the library will include books for young readers and adults […], original work in te reo and translations from global languages', engaging translators from across the

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[23] 'Te Kupenga 2013 (English)', *Stats NZ*, 5th May 2014, <https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/te-kupenga-2013-english> [accessed 28th July 2018].

[24] 'Greens lay out plan for compulsory te reo Māori in all schools', *stuff.co.nz*, 14th September 2017, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/96842839/greens-lay-out-plan-for-compulsory-te-reo-mori-in-all-schools> [accessed 28th July 2018].

[25] Roy, 'Māori has gone mainstream'.

[26] 'Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori 2016/Māori Language Act 2016', *New Zealand Legislation*, 23rd May 2016, <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2016/0017/29.0/DLM6174515.html> [accessed 10th May 2020].

[27] '1 in 5 Māori people speak Te reo Māori', *Stats NZ*, 5th April 2020, <https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/1-in-5-maori-people-speak-te-reo-maori> [accessed 10th May 2020].

[28] 'Very special project brings te reo to the world', *Auckland University Press*, 9th October 2019, <https://aucklanduniversitypress.co.nz/news-and-events/very-special-project-brings-te-reo-to-the-world/> [accessed 10th May 2020].

country.[29]

The project renewed discussions over the preservation of te reo's dialects. Today there are three officially recognised variants of te reo: 'eastern North Island, western North Island and South Island Māori', however each iwi (tribe) has its own mita (dialect).[30] As seen in Chapters Two and Three, identifying how many variants of an indigenous language exist is complicated. For te reo, this is compounded by the fact that no standardised version exists. Historically the 'Waikato-Ngāpuhi dialect complex [was] regarded [by some] as standard Maori' due to the similarities between the two regions and the larger number of speakers compared to other dialects.[31] However, linguistic shifts reflect the living status of a language, and Peter Keegan asserts that from the late twentieth century onwards, eastern regional influences have been prolific, due to the numbers of writers, educators and news readers from that area.[32] Furthermore, the language used in official documents is 'more based on an eastern variety than other regions, reflecting the origins of the Te Taura Whiri [Māori Language Commission] staff involved in this work'.[33]

There has been a recent resurgence in interest in regional dialects, with young learners particularly keen to learn the mita of their iwi.[34] Guidance is offered to teachers to highlight 'some of the language variations in class, [so that] teachers can increase their students'

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Higgins and Keane, 'Te reo Māori'.

[31] Peter J. Keegan, 'Māori dialect issues and Māori language ideologies in the revitalisation era', *MAI Journal*, Vol. 6 no. 2 (2017), pp. 129-42, p. 135. See also: A. H. McLintock, 'Dialectal Differences', *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/1966/maori-language/page-13> [accessed 10th May 2020]. See Appendix C for a map of Aotearoa New Zealand.

[32] 'Māori dialect issues', p. 134.

[33] Ibid., p. 135.

[34] Ibid.

language awareness'.[35] There is a widespread preoccupation surrounding the need to protect individual dialects over creating a standardised version of te reo:

> the language will need a critical mass to survive into the future. But that critical mass is being built around a standardised language. As more focus is placed on a standardised language, and as that group grows, dialect will get squeezed even further.[36]

Across New Zealand, great emphasis is still placed on a connection to one's iwi, its mita, and how to state one's whakapapa (genealogy). A recent example of the tension surrounding this issue came in 2012 as concerns were raised when Waikato-based Te Wananga o Aotearoa won a substantial grant to take over teaching te reo in the Taranki area. As Head of Te Wānanga Māori at the Western Institute of Technology, Tengaruru Wineera has stated: 'Taranaki has its own unique dialect (and) associated with that is values, histories, so it kind of has its own culture'.[37] Echoing Wineera, Puna Wano-Bryant, Chairperson of Te Reo o Taranaki, argued that 'the unique landscape and experience of this region has shaped the Taranaki dialect': it is 'the distinctive words that we use to describe how we live, because every region has a different landscape and environment, made up of different genealogy'.[38] Within these complicated social and political dialogues, Shakespeare appears on the New Zealand stage: PuG would face these particular tensions when they attempted to incorporate elements of Māoritanga in their 2016 production of *Romeo and Juliet* (highlighted in Part Two).

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[35] Ministry of Education, *Curriculum Guidelines for Teaching and Learning Te Reo Māori in English-medium Schools: Years 1–13* (Wellington: Learning Media Ltd., 2009), p. 8.

[36] Hita, 'One reo to rule them all?'. See also: 'Renowned reo Māori speakers boost resurgence of Ngāpuhi dialect', *RNZ*, 19th January 2020, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/407470/renowned-reo-maori-speakers-boost-resurgence-of-ngapuhi-dialect> [accessed 10th May 2020].

[37] Nadia Stadnik, 'Language barriers', *stuff.co.nz*, 30th December 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/taranaki-daily-news/news/8128048/Language-barriers> [accessed 10th May 2020].

[38] Ibid. Te Reo o Taranaki is a charitable trust that has specific aims of revitalising the Taranaki dialect.

Let us look at some central aspects of traditional Māori social constructs and mythology, as these translations act as moments of 'counter-appropriation' by relocating 'Shakespeare within a distinctively Māori *whakapapa*', whilst also pointing to 'his role alongside the Bible and the gun as an instrument of cultural hegemony' through their cultural reframing.[39]

The marae (open forum in front of the meeting ground) is a sacred space which is central to each iwi; traditionally only men are permitted to speak in a marae. This is where whaikōrero takes place. Whaikōrero is the art of oration: 'formal speeches […] during a *pohiri* [formal welcome] and other gatherings […] using imagery, metaphor, *whakataukī* [proverbs], *pepeha* [tribal saying], *kupu whakaari* [prophetic sayings], relevant *whakapapa* and references to tribal history'.[40] Whaikōrero is as much about 'ritual, as history, as *tikanga* [custom]', as the art of rhetoric.[41] This style is emulated in many of the translations featured here.

In Māori mythology, humans, 'birds, fish, trees, weather patterns […] are all members of a cosmic family', whānau.[42] They are connected through tātai (genealogies) and kōrero (stories); these are collectively named whakapapa, 'meaning to make a foundation'.[43] Whakapapa explains 'the relationships between all things and thus [helps] to place [humans]

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[39] Original italics. Michael Neill, 'From the Editor', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 52 no. 4 (Winter, 2001), pp. iii-x, p. v. I do not wish to cause offence by oversimplifying the structures of Māori folklore. However, some explanation is needed to give context to the productions discussed here.

[40] John C. Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary Online*, <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/word/9313> [accessed 22nd October 2018]; all subsequent definitions are taken from this source unless otherwise stated.

[41] Poia Rewi, *Whaikōrero: The World of Māori Oratory* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010), p. 3.

[42] Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, 'Te Ao Mārama – the natural world – An interconnected world', *Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-ao-marama-the-natural-world/page-2> [accessed 10th May 2020].

[43] Ibid.

within the world' and within a cosmology made up of a pantheon of atua [god/gods].[44] Mana, tapu and mauri are three key principles that joins everything in Te Ao Mārama (the natural world). In brief, mana is defined as 'prestige, authority [,] spiritual power, [it] is a supernatural force in a person, place or object'.[45] Mana links with tapu, which is defined as 'sacred, prohibited […], under *atua* protection'.[46] Mauri is defined as 'life force, vital essence [,] source of emotions […] Also used for a physical object, individual, ecosystem or social group in which this essence is located'.[47] Mauri and tapu are required for mana to flow within the world. The most powerful mana comes from Te Kore (The Void), a realm beyond ours that has its own complex subdivisions. The natural world is divided into Te Ao (the world of light) and Te Pō (the world of darkness).

All of these ideologies have been passed down orally 'as part of the collective memory' of the iwi.[48] The manu kōrero (orator) in a marae still plays a central role in society. Similar to the Welsh eisteddfodau, there are national annual Ngā Manu Kōrero competitions held for secondary school students with the aim of promoting and developing te reo acquisition.[49] The translators discussed below draw upon this rich tapestry of ideologies and traditions to create a Māori Shakespearean canon, as they linguistically and culturally translate his works, tradapting Shakespeare's plays for Māori spaces.[50]

Māori theatre existed before the arrival of European settlers in the form of whare

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary Online*.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Original italics. MacDonald Jackson, 'Translating Shakespeare's Sonnets into Māori: An Interview with Merimeri Penfold', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 52 no. 4 (Winter, 2001), pp. 492-8, p. 492.

[49] 'Ngā Manu Kōrero 2018 National Secondary School Speech Contests', *New Zealand Post Primary Teachers' Association*, <https://www.ppta.org.nz/dmsdocument/404> [accessed 28th July 2018]. Established in 1965, one particular competition is dedicated to Jones.

[50] See Ewbank, 'Shakespeare Translation as Cultural Exchange'.

tapere. These sites hosted entertainment such as 'storytelling, dance, music and games'.[51] Early New Zealand productions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries 'exploited the dramatic potential of Māori forms such as the haka', but did little research into other performance traditions.[52] It was not until the formation of the Māori Theatre Trust (1967) that Māori theatre-makers had formal representation; it 'demonstrated the production values of combining Māori mythology and traditional Māori performance forms with the lighting and sound technology of the modern [Western] stage'.[53] The Trust 'opened exciting vistas for Maori theatre', providing valuable opportunities for Māori artists.[54]

In the wake of growing political activism throughout the 1960s and 70s, Māori theatre 'evolved into an outspoken maverick' and several companies emerged developing work inspired by the contemporary changing state of Māori life yet influenced by an intricate mythology.[55] Selwyn and Ruth Kaupua Panapa established Tamaki Creative Maori Arts in 1984, a training programme aimed specifically at Māori practitioners to promote kapa haka (performing arts). The duo produced the first te reo-language production of a Shakespearean play in 1990: *Te tangata whai rawa Weneti* (*The Merchant of Venice*). The decade also saw the flourishing Māori theatre 'become a jewel in the New Zealand theatrical crown', alongside

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[51] Mark Derby and Briar Grace-Smith, 'Māori theatre – te whare tapere hōu – Origins of Māori theatre', *Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/maori-theatre-te-whare-tapere-hou/page-1> [accessed 11th May 2020]. The Ōrotokare Trust was established in 2008 to research lost whare tapere traditions.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Janinka Greenwood, Lynne Harata Te Aika and Niki Davis, 'Creating Virtual Marae: An Examination of How Digital Technologies Have Been Adopted by Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand', *International Exploration of Technology Equity and the Digital Divide: Critical, Historical and Social Perspectives*, ed. by Patricia Randolph Leigh (Hershey: IGI Global, 2011), pp. 58-79, p. 72.

[54] A. Armstrong, 'Māori Theatre Trust', *Te Ao Hou* Vol. 59 (June 1967), p. 51, <http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao59TeA/c22.html> [accessed 10th May 2020].

[55] Kouka, 'Re-Colonising the Natives', p. 237; Katherine Brisbane, 'The nations and their theatres: New Zealand', *The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre Volume 5: Asia/Pacific*, ed. by Don Rubin, Chua Soo Pong, Ravi Chaturvedi, Ramendu Majumdar, Minoru Tanokura and Katherine Brisbane (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 333-55. Google ebook.

the creation of a new hybrid genre called marae theatre.[56] Pioneered by Māori practitioners such as John Broughton and Jim Moriarty, marae theatre:

> [set] out to combine aspects of marae experiences with elements of live theatre. The play is the reason for gathering, but just as important are the rituals of the hui, where people share in the traditions of the marae. In this way they are not just onlookers or part of the audience, but join in.[57]

A form of syncretic theatre, as discussed in Chapter One, marae theatre blends Māori ritual and Western theatrical tradition, and has become a useful educational tool.[58] As Balme argues, it is an effective move towards decolonizing the stage as both Western and indigenous 'culturally heterogeneous signs and codes are merged together' in a single performance.[59] As discussed in Part Two, the work of PuG can be described as syncretic theatre as they fuse European and Pasifika performance practices throughout their productions.

By 2007, however, playwright Hone Kouka lamented that 'Māori theatre is languishing' due to the vast under-representation of Māori voices in New Zealand: 'in 2005 there were no productions written, directed or produced by Māori in any of the large state-funded theatres throughout New Zealand. [Their door] remains politely closed to us'.[60] As Gretchen E. Minton states: 'The Maori side of the story is one that was, as so many indigenous voices have been, silenced for many years. Until recent decades, anything

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[56] Kouka, 'Re-Colonising the Natives', p. 237; Mark Derby and Briar Grace-Smith, 'Māori theatre – te whare tapere hōu – First Māori theatre companies, 1970–1990', *Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/maori-theatre-te-whare-tapere-hou/page-2> [accessed 12th May 2020]. See also Howard McNaughton, 'Negotiating Marae Performance', *Theatre Research International*, Vol. 26 no. 1 (2001), pp. 25-34.

[57] Broughton, quoted in Balme, 'Between Separation and Integration', p. 183. See also: Balme, *Decolonizing the Stage* and Mark Maufort, *Transgressive Itineraries: Postcolonial Hybridizations of Dramatic Realism* (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2003).

[58] Balme, 'Between Separation and Integration', p. 183.

[59] *Decolonizing the Stage*, p. 1.

[60] Kouka, 'Re-Colonising the Natives', p. 238-9.

representing New Zealand culture was most assuredly English'.[61] As will become clear: 'we have come to expect [that] such cultural colonisation always includes Shakespeare'.[62]

Since 2007, Kouka and others have worked to reverse this lack of representation. In 2014, Kouka set up the annual Kia Mau Festival (Wellington), which now draws international participants: in 2019, 'around 160 indigenous artists and practitioners [brought] their world views to [Wellington's] stages'.[63] Several Māori theatre groups have been established, joining theatres such as Taki Rua (Wellington) and the Court Theatre (Christchurch) in showcasing Māori work.[64] Collectives such as Te Pūtahitanga a te Rēhia (Independent Māori Theatre Collective) offer vital collaborations, whilst companies such as Te Rēhia Theatre (Auckland) provide important opportunities for Māori practitioners.[65] One of Te Rēhia Theatre's founding members, Regan Taylor, has been heavily involved reshaping *Othello* for contemporary Māori audiences. Furthermore, there are theatre companies operating in English that represent indigenous communities. Black Friars (Auckland) was formed in 2006 'to challenge the dominant stereotypes surrounding Pasifika people and to "keep talented young brown people off the street and on the stage"', making theatre that is relevant to Polynesian people in New Zealand.[66]

This small selection reveals a diverse and vital theatrical scene, which strives to

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[61] 'A Polynesian Shakespeare Film: The Maori *Merchant of Venice*', *The Upstart Crow*, Vol. 24 (2004): Art, Design & Architecture Collection, pp. 45-55, p. 45.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Eleanor Wenman, 'Gather round the stage this winter for indigenous theatre at Kia Mau Festival', *stuff.co.nz*, 20th May 2019, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/stage-and-theatre/112796629/gather-round-the-stage-this-winter-for-indigenous-theatre-at-kia-mau-festival?rm=a> [accessed 12th May 2020].

[64] Taki Rau was formerly known at the Depot Theatre.

[65] 'te hau tūtū – independent māori theatre producers' room', *Toi Poneke*, <https://toiponeke.nz/events/2018/7/24/te-hau-tutu> [accessed 12th May 2020]; 'About/Kaupapa', *Terehia Theatre*, <https://terehiatheatre.com/about-us-te-kaupapa/> [accessed 12th May 2020]; 'Tuakiri/About Us', *Te Pou*, <https://tepoutheatre.nz/html/webpage/view/18> [accessed 12th May 2020].

[66] 'About', *Black Friars*, <https://www.facebook.com/pg/theblackfriarsnz/about/?ref=page_internal> [accessed 12th May 2020].

represent the many cultural exchanges present in multicultural modern New Zealand society. As New Zealand theatre-makers, both Māori and Pākehā, continue to question and explore their own cultural heritages through theatre, creating unique hybrid forms, where does Shakespeare fit? I will now examine the history of Shakespeare's work in translation in te reo, arguing that Shakespeare plays a modest but important role in the shaping of New Zealand's contemporary theatre.

Early translations into te reo Māori

Despite evidence that Shakespeare's works were in the luggage of the first settlers to journey to New Zealand from Europe throughout the eighteenth century, it would take almost two hundred years for his works to be translated into te reo.[67] Sydney Parkinson, the artist for James Cook's Endeavour, is believed to brought with him *The Complete Works*: 'New Zealand thence became British and Shakespearean in a single historical moment'.[68] The Endeavour reached New Zealand in September 1769, the same month that David Garrick hailed Shakespeare as the 'god of our idolatry' in his Shakespeare Jubilee.[69] As Michael Dobson has argued: 'even before this apogee of canonization Shakespeare had often been recognized as occupying a position in British life directly analogous to that of God the

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[67] See D. J. Carr, 'The books that sailed with the Endeavour', *Endeavour*, Vol. 7 (1983), pp. 194-201. James Cook made several voyages to and around New Zealand and was the first European to map the country; the first known European to 'discover' New Zealand was Abel Tasman in 1642.

[68] Mark Houlahan, 'From the Shakespeare Hut to the Pop-up Globe: Shakespeare, memory and New Zealand, 1916-2016', *Antipodal Shakespeare: Remembering and Forgetting in Britain, Australia and New Zealand, 1916-2016*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and Philip Mead (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 117-44, p. 139.

[69] David Garrick, *An ode upon dedicating a building, and erecting a statue, to Shakespeare, at Stratford-upon-Avon* (London: T. Becket, and P.A. De Hondt, 1769), p. 1.

Father'.[70] Shakespeare's early presence during European colonisation therefore functioned as a tool, or weapon, of acculturation that was imposed upon Māori people, 'a luridly resonant material signifier of European presence and textual power'.[71] Alongside his repeated deification, Shakespeare was central in the enforcement of a cultural agenda, and teaching English to the indigenous population: the Bible and his works acted as 'twin talismans of sacred and secular English authority'.[72]

Mark Houlahan repeatedly refers to the Complete Works, 'which used to be a common object in many New Zealand homes', as a 'physical talisman' of the time, echoing Frank Sargeson's earlier assertions about Shakespeare's cultural dominance.[73] A leading literary presence throughout the twentieth century, Sargeson is credited 'for his achievement and influence in New Zealand fiction'.[74] He wrote of Shakespeare's place within early settled New Zealand:

> At a time when the supremacy of the printed word was yet to be challenged by films and radio, Shakespeare […] was believed by many New Zealanders to be the man, and indeed the *English* man, who had come close to writing a book which might challenge the supremacy of the family Bible.[75]

Shakespeare even supersedes God in this case of collective idolatry. The fact that he is the '*English* man' to challenge divine authority falls into alignment with prevailing Western

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[70] *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660-1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 7.

[71] Houlahan, 'Shakespeare in the Settlers' House', p. 113.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Frank Sargeson, 'Shakespeare and the Kiwi', *Landfall*, Vol 18 no. 1 (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1964), pp. 49-54, p. 49; Mark Houlahan, 'Shakespeare and the Kiwi, 1916', *Shakespeare's Jubilees 1769-2014*, ed. by Christa Jansohn and Dieter Mehl (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2015), pp. 333-48, p. 334.

[74] William Broughton, 'Frank Sargeson', *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature*, ed. by Roger Robinson and Nelson Wattie (Oxford and Auckland: Oxford University Press New Zealand, 1998), pp. 474-6, p. 476. In 1964, along with James Bertram, Ngaio Marsh and D. F. McKenzie, Sargeson contributed towards a special edition of the 'then flagship journal for New Zealand writers', *Landfall*, which marked the quatercentenary of Shakespeare's birth. Houlahan, 'Shakespeare and the Kiwi, 1916', p. 334.

[75] Sargeson, 'Shakespeare and the Kiwi', p. 49.

ideology of the early twentieth century: to make New Zealand a 'better Britain'.[76] As Houlahan writes: 'New Zealand would model itself after Britain but, in the benign environment of the South Pacific, it would become a superior version of the parent culture'.[77] Shakespeare was a vital part of that process as early colonisers sought to reconstruct the most noteworthy parts of British culture. Sargeson goes on to verify early attitudes towards Shakespeare when he writes:

> Sometimes there might also be a Tennyson, but he was a mark of refinement and not at all in serious competition with Shakespeare – for the decisive reason that Shakespeare was raised high above questions of social standing by powers attaching to his name which were as mysterious as they were undefined. Even his admitted reputation for indecency did him no damage; Tennyson on the contrary could not have survived the discovery of one dubious word.[78]

Shakespeare was already untouchable in this infant society, an aspirational icon of Englishness.

From as early as the 1870s, Shakespeare was a compulsory part of school and university curricula in New Zealand, with the 'introduction of state education and the founding of university colleges'.[79] The Shakespeare Globe Centre New Zealand (SGCNZ), established in 1991, continues to do outreach work 'with teachers and students, actors, directors and the corporate sector to keep Shakespeare alive and kicking in Aotearoa'.[80] However, in 2012 Shakespeare was dropped from NCEA (National Certificate in Educational

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[76] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 77 and p. 116.

[77] Houlahan, 'Shakespeare and the Kiwi, 1916', p. 333.

[78] Sargeson, 'Shakespeare and the Kiwi', p. 49.

[79] Mark Houlahan, 'New Zealand', *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 318-9, p. 318.

[80] Melissa Wastney, 'All the world's a stage: celebrating the work of Shakespeare with our students', *Education Gazette*, Vol. 95 no. 13, 25th July 2016, <https://gazette.education.govt.nz/articles/new-gazette-article-page-30/#jumpto-building-bridges-and-making-mirrors__003a-bringing-shakespeare-to-aotearoa-new-zealand-and-the-pacific> [accessed 17th October 2018].

Achievement) exams due to 'unpopularity' and the texts being perceived as too difficult; higher level students can still opt to study his work.[81] The fact that Shakespeare has been marginalised within the national curriculum raises questions about the perceived inaccessibility of his texts.

Shakespeare's works were not translated into te reo until the mid-twentieth century when Jones translated three of his plays: *Julius Caesar* (*Huria Hiha*; 1942), *Othello* (*Owhiro*; 1944) and *The Merchant of Venice* (*Te Tangata Whai Rawa o Weniti*; 1945). Jones was a 'bicultural pioneer' for more than just his work with Shakespeare.[82] An interpreter, translator, Māori historian, prolific writer in both te reo and English, Māori leader and politician, Jones carried out significant work for the promotion, revival and consolidation of te reo and Māoritanga.[83] His unusual bilingualism saw him appointed on the committee to revise Williams' te reo dictionary, as well as contributing to a translation of the Bible.[84] Jones was one of few of his generation who could move confidently between Māori and Pākehā worlds, rendering him a significant figure in both.[85]

The timing of Jones' translations is important to consider. In 1939, New Zealand entered the Second World War alongside Britain; unlike the First World War, New Zealand acted independently rather than under the command of the British forces. However, for 'most New Zealanders, association with Britain in its time of crisis was both natural and

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[81] Charley Mann, 'Shakespeare in twilight of academia', *stuff.co.nz*, 8th September 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/7637322/Shakespeare-in-twilight-of-academia> [accessed 16th October 2018].

[82] Catherine Silverstone, 'The Legacy of Colonisation', *Shakespeare, Trauma and Contemporary Performance* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 55-78, p. 63.

[83] 'Pei Jones', *He Herenga Kōrero*, 2010, <http://www.heherengakorero.co.nz/peiJones/bibliography.html> [accessed 13th February 2018].

[84] Silverstone, 'Speaking Māori Shakespeare', p. 129.

[85] In 1961 he was awarded an OBE for his services to Māori people.

necessary'.[86] There were still significant economic factors that made New Zealand's participation in the War somewhat motivated by 'defensive self-interest' as the country was reliant on 'British power for security'.[87]

Houlahan has traced the 'plethora of Shakespeare-related activities in New Zealand' during the First World War.[88] Shakespeare Clubs were responsible for raising substantial sums to help the war effort and the 'promulgation of Shakespeare as an instrument of righteous conduct is an unsurprising public observation'.[89] Admittedly, much of the zeal generated coincided with the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death in 1916 as New Zealand strove to be a 'better Britain', however, it is hard not to imagine that a similar atmosphere did not reemerge thirty years later with the outbreak of a second global conflict.[90] A correlation between the advent of Jones' translations and the War can be drawn as national identities and international relationships were once again put under pressure.

Jones' choice of plays is highly significant as he translated works that centralise the internal and external conflict of powerful but victimised or marginalised characters; this is of particular import when considering these plays in a settler context. Moreover, Jones tradapted the plays to integrate Māori cultural structures and beliefs. *Othello*, with centuries of race-related criticism layered upon it, carries specific nuances. The translation of the play's title is revealing: *Owhiro* is not a direct translation but a cultural adaptation of Whiro, the Māori god of darkness and disease. 'O Whiro' translates as 'Of Whiro', thereby immediately alluding to

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[86] 'Fighting for Britain', *Ministry for Culture and Heritage,* updated 20th December 2012, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/second-world-war/fighting-for-britain> [accessed 16th October 2018].

[87] Ibid.

[88] Houlahan, 'From the Shakespeare Hut to the Pop-up Globe', p. 130.

[89] Ibid., p. 132.

[90] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 77 and p. 116.

a central theme of the play: the potential darkness within humans that have been influenced by Whiro.[91]

Jones used an ancient form of te reo, harkening back to a pre-colonisation New Zealand, which has been described as reminiscent of whaikōrero.[92] As such, *Huria Hiha* and *Owhiro* remain unperformed. Similar to early Euskara translations, Jones used a variant of te reo not commonly used by modern speakers, rendering them difficult to perform. This was evidenced when Selwyn produced the first recorded staging of a Shakespearean play in te reo, *Te Tangata Whai Rawa o Weniti*, as the casts were largely made up of newsreaders and teachers: effectively, those who could tackle the density of the classical language.[93] I discuss later in this chapter the potential 'implicit devaluation of Maori cultural texts' that occurs through relying upon a figure such as Shakespeare to promote Māori language and culture.[94]

Shakespeare's Sonnets in te reo

A decade after Selwyn's ground breaking stage production, two translators used the Sonnets as inspiration. Merimeri Penfold and Mills responded in differing ways but with similar motivations: to reclaim Shakespeare for Māori voices.

In 2000, Penfold became the first to undertake translating Shakespeare's Sonnets into te reo as part of the 'Dislocating Shakespeare' conference (University of Auckland); the

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[91] Elsdon Best, 'Whiro', *Maori Religion and Mythology Part 1* (Wellington: A.R. Shearer, 1976), p. 185, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Bes01Reli-t1-body-d4-d4-d9.html> [accessed 16th October 2018].

[92] Emma Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare: Te Tangata Whaì Rawa o Wenìti/The Maori Merchant of Venice', *Kunapipi*, Vol. 28 no. 1 (2006), pp. 79-95, p. 87.

[93] As seen in previous chapters, evidence of early minority-language productions is often hard to find or does not survive. Such is the case here with Selwyn's stage production.

[94] Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 88.

collection was published as *Nga waiata aroha a hekepia: Love sonnets by Shakespeare*.[95] Penfold chose sonnets that she considered to be 'the most powerful and moving'.[96] In an interview with MacDonald Jackson, Penfold explained that she viewed the task as 'a challenge to the Māori language – to find out whether it could accommodate a Shakespeare sonnet and be flexible enough to handle its ideas and convey the range of its meanings'.[97] Unlike Jones, Penfold employed modern te reo in her translations but drew heavily on the same 'cultural background', transposing the sonnets to Māori cultural ideologies.[98] One of the greatest demands was bridging the gap between early modern England and Māori culture to allow the poetry to flow in the same way; she therefore sought 'not identical effects but for roughly comparable ones suited to the energies of the Māori language'.[99]

Penfold was able to compare cultural attitudes perceived in Shakespeare's sonnets with the history of whaikōrero. Despite the huge transformations occurring in early modern England regarding the way in which people received information with the advent of the printing industry, the culture 'remained overwhelmingly oral in many respects', Penfold argued, therefore some 'striking similarities' co-exist amongst the potentially alien.[100] Shakespeare's 'fascination with highly wrought intricacies of language, in his feeling for the rhythmic energies of the spoken word' correlate to the 'rich Māori heritage of poetic myth'.[101]

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[95] Penfold translated sonnets 55 ('Not marble nor the gilded monuments'), 60 ('Like as the waves make towards the pebbl'd shore'), 64 ('When I have seen by Time's fell hand defac'd'), 65 ('Since brass, nor stone, nor earth, nor boundless sea'), 73 ('That time of year thou mayst in me behold'), 74 ('But be contented: when that fell arrest'), 127 ('In the old age black was not counted fair'), 130 ('My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun') and 138 ('When my love swears that she is made of truth').

[96] Merimeri Penfold, 'Translator's Notes', *Nga Waiata Aroha a Hekepia/Love Sonnets by Shakespeare* (Auckland: Holloway Press, 2000), p. 4.

[97] Jackson, 'Translating Shakespeare's Sonnets into Māori', p. 492.

[98] Ibid., p. 493.

[99] Ibid., p. 494.

[100] Penfold, 'Translator's Notes', p. 4.

[101] Jackson, 'Translating Shakespeare's Sonnets into Māori', p. 493.

It was this distinct set of traditions that both Jones and Penfold called upon to create their translations.

Mills echoed Penfold in his approach, directing *Te Po Uriuri* (*The Enveloping Night*) in 2001. This award-winning short film was inspired by Sonnet 147 ('My love is as a fever, longing still') translated into te reo by Mills.[102] He has worked extensively with Māori communities, specifically Te Rakau Hua o te Wa o Tapu, a charitable trust that works with vulnerable people. Mills received funding from the New Zealand Film Commission, Te Māngai Pāho (a company specifically aimed at promoting Māori art and artists) and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. As part of the ongoing promotion of te reo, the film can now be accessed freely online.[103]

Set 'in the same time when Shakespeare was alive', the film recreates a fictional past, depicting a carefully constructed version of Māoritanga.[104] The lines of the sonnet form the only dialogue. The film artfully moves from colour to black and white (and red when blood is present), reflecting the descent into obsessive jealousy as the central theme. These colours are integral to Māori iconography, and 'carry cosmological significance'.[105] Situating the 'visceral, and suitably mythic' film within the Māori Shakespearean canon, it resonates with the aesthetics and ideologies of other Māori directors of Shakespeare as they regularly depict a fictional, pre-European world, and seek to explore and popularise Māoritanga through

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[102] *Te Po Uriuri* was entered into the New Zealand International Film Festival in 2001 and 2002, as well as Hamburg International Film Festival in 2002.

[103] It can be viewed here: *Te Po Uriuri (The Enveloping Night)* (dir. Toby Mills)*, NZ Onscreen,* <https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/te-po-uriuri-2001> [accessed 1st July 2018].

[104] Toby Mills, 'Director's Comments', *Te Po Uriuri (The Enveloping Night) Press Kit*, p. 3, sourced online: New Zealand Film Commission, <https://www.nzfilm.co.nz/films/te-po-uriuri-enveloping-night> [accessed 1st July 2018].

[105] Hazel Petrie, 'Decoding the colours of rank in Māori society what might they tell us about perceptions of war captives?', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 120 no. 3 (September 2011), pp. 211-39, p. 212.

Shakespeare's work.[106]

In an ironic but not unprecedented statement, Mills wrote: 'Shakespeare's poetic/ lyrical qualities evident in his written word draw me to another language – my own'.[107] Like Jones and Penfold before him, and as Selwyn and others went on to do, Mills used Shakespeare, one of the icons or 'talisman' of New Zealand's colonisation, to further his own relationship with te reo.[108] The fact that Shakespeare is being used as a means to reclaim that language speaks to the flexibility of Shakespeare's work, as well as the abilities of Māori artists to tradapt a British colonial cultural icon to rejuvenate their own.[109]

Don Selwyn's *Maori Merchant*

Selwyn's 2002 *The Maori Merchant of Venice* was a landmark achievement in New Zealand cinema.[110] Not only was it the first Shakespearean cinematic production in the country, it was also the first feature-length film to be produced in te reo. Acting as a cross-cultural communicator, the film de-centred Europe, both physically and ideologically, through the use of te reo and a strong Māori aesthetic: 'Selwyn merged two modes of cultural representation, bringing lavish sets and costumes inspired by seventeenth-century Venice together with an array of Maori arts and cultural performances' to reframe the Shakespearean narrative.[111] Settler Europe met ancient Māori as the visual landscape of the film harmonised the two

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106 'Te Po Urirui/The Enveloping Night', *NZ Film*, <https://www.nzfilm.co.nz/films/te-po-uriuri-enveloping-night> [accessed 1st July 2018].

107 'Director's Comments', p. 3.

108 Houlahan, 'Shakespeare and the Kiwi, 1916', p. 334.

109 See Kennedy, 'Flexible Shakespeare', pp. 2-4.

110 See Angela Moewaka Barnes, 'Ngā Kai Para i te Kahikātoa: Māori Filmmaking, Forging a Path' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, 2011).

111 Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 79.

cultures, whilst also exploring their inherent differences. Both the New Zealand and European worlds and their inhabitants were presented as Other throughout the film. *Maori Merchant* is a key example of syncretic theatre, as it is interplays 'the Western theatrico-dramatic tradition and the indigenous performance forms of a postcolonial culture'.[112]

Selwyn first produced Jones' *Merchant of Venice* at the translator's request.[113] The play was staged in 1990 as part of Auckland's Te Koanga Spring Festival of Māori Arts, but it took over a decade for the film to be created due to funding complications.[114] *Maori Merchant* was released in 2002 and won the Audience Award for Best Feature at the 22nd Annual Hawai'i International Film Festival's Golden Maile Awards in the same year. Like Jones, Selwyn was a progressive individual: as well as an actor, director and producer of both theatre and film in te reo and English, he was a founding member of the New Zealand Māori Theatre Trust and Tamaki Creative Māori Arts.[115] In 1992, he also established He Toanga Films, the company that acted as a training ground for many Māori technicians and producers, and eventually produced *Maori Merchant*. According to Janinka Greenwood, Selwyn saw potential in the film industry to 'bring much more global coverage for minority or indigenous perspectives'.[116] Furthermore, as Mark Thornton Burnett writes, Selwyn's film invited audiences to 'concentrate not so much on issues of nomenclature as questions about how categories of the Shakespearean are mobilized', whilst 'Shakespeare variously explained and

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[112] 'Between Separation and Integration: Contemporary Maori Theatre', *Centre for Research in the New Literatures in English*, Vol 1 (1993), pp. 41-8, p. 42.

[113] Julie McDougall, 'Māori take on Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice* in Aotearoa/New Zealand', *Multicultural Shakespeare: Translation, Appropriation and Performance*, Vol. 8 no. 23 (2011), pp. 93-106, p. 94.

[114] Sandy George, 'Selwyn readies Maori Merchant Of Venice', *Screen Daily*, 19th November 2000, <https://www.screendaily.com/selwyn-readies-maori-merchant-of-venice/404276.article> [accessed 1st June 2020].

[115] Derby and Grace-Smith, 'Māori theatre'. See also Janinka Greenwood, *History of Bicultural Theatre: Mapping the Terrain* (Christchurch: Christchurch College of Education, 2002).

[116] Selwyn, cited in Greenwood, Harata Te Aika and Davis, 'Creating Virtual Marae', p. 72.

capaciously imagined functions in terms of cultural (and economic) capital'.[117]

As evidenced by the companies that funded the film 'whose explicit function is to further the revitalisation of te reo', *Maori Merchant* was primarily aimed at Māori audiences.[118] Shakespeare's story became the vehicle for 'the film's central purpose' of 'Maori language recuperation'.[119] Even within the Māori community, with the varying levels of te reo literacy, there was a consciousness to not be exclusive, but to encourage speakers and learners of all levels: as Selwyn stated, 'We want people to be able to […] hear the beauty of the Maori language'.[120] In praise of its engagement with te reo, Lana Simmons-Donaldson wrote that the film's 'usefulness and relevance as an educational tool, even motivational tool for particularly young Maori will be hard to match'.[121]

Due to a lack of classically trained Māori actors, and the nature of Jones' translation, Selwyn employed newsreaders and teachers as actors: Scott Morrison (Anatonio/Antonio) stated the translation is 'a different kind of language […] that you don't hear that often'.[122] He suggests that Jones' language is pre-colonial, therefore capturing 'the essence of how Maori language would have been spoken before the arrival of Europeans', reflecting the language of whaikōrero.[123] As such, 'the enactment of Jones' Maori text catalysed specific semantic

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[117] 'Adaptation, Shakespeare and World Cinema', *Literature/Film Quarterly*, Vol. 45 no. 2 (2017), <https://lfq.salisbury.edu/_issues/first/adaptation_shakespeare_and_world_cinema.html> [accessed 24th June 2020]. See also Mark Thornton Burnett, 'Applying the Paradigm: Shakespeare and World Cinema', *Shakespeare Studies*, Vol. 38 (2010), pp. 114-22; Mark Thornton Burnett, *Shakespeare and World Cinema* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[118] Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 79.

[119] Selwyn, 'The Maori Merchant', quoted in Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 79.

[120] Selwyn, 'The Bard', quoted in Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 85.

[121] 'Te Tangata Whai Rawa o Weniti – The Maori Merchant of Venice', *Ko te Whanau*, Vol. 4 no.1 (February 2002) p. 2, quoted in Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 85.

[122] quoted in 'Shakespeare goes Maori', *BBC*, 4th December 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/film/1691261.stm> [accessed 1st December 2017].

[123] Ibid.

effects'.[124] By drawing on this tradition, 'the Shakespearean text is forced to resonate on a completely new level. The issue of race, always central to the play, becomes much more complex'.[125] Selwyn affirmed that 'by providing a Maori equivalent of Shakespearean linguistic images', Jones' text could encourage more Māori to 'have faith in their own language, in the indigenous language of this country'.[126] These assertions 'illustrate the degree to which the film was able to position itself within a Maori cultural and political context informed by the experience of cultural marginalisation'.[127] The use of te reo resulted in the language itself acting as a cross-cultural communicator, as Shakespeare's language was counter appropriated, becoming a rhizome, a 'palimpsest that [reasserted] the voice of the colonized native'.[128]

The film offered a unique amalgamation of cultural histories which urged 'viewers to think actively about the ways in which Venice and Belmont are conceptualized'.[129] Set in a fantasy New Zealand, everyone in Weniti (Venice) dressed in clothing that signified early modern European but spoke classical te reo, whist Peremona (Belmont) was identifiably traditionally Māori. The very title indicates the palimpsestic quality of mixed cultural cues inherent to the film, eradicating geographical boundaries.

Such dichotomies were created from the establishing shots: the film opened with Hairoka (Shylock; Waihoroi Shortland) delivering lines from his speech 'Hath not a Jew eyes' (III.iii.54), immediately foregrounding tensions surrounding racial identity and prejudice. The

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[124] Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 87.

[125] Benedict Reid, 'Flicks: The Maori Merchant of Venice', *Investigate* (February 2002), np.

[126] Selwyn, 'The Bard', quoted in Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 87.

[127] Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 87.

[128] Minton, 'A Polynesian Shakespeare Film', p. 46.

[129] Matthew Thornton Burnett, 'Australia/New Zealand: Post-modernism and Revisionism' in 'Shakespearean cinema: the rest of the world', *The Shakespearean World*, ed. by Jill L Levenson and Robert Ormsby (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 247-8, p. 247.

dialogue was heard before Hairoka appeared, signposting the importance of language. As the camera moved up his body, it was revealed that he was dressed in clearly European style clothing. The shot quickly cut to a ship, reminiscent of Cook's Endeavour, caught in a storm whilst dramatic Western classical music played in the background. Already time and space were collapsing in on themselves. The next scene showed the train of suitors making their way to Pohia's (Portia; Ngarimu Daniels) house, whilst Turehu (fairies) flew through surrounding trees. All of the suitors, the only Pāhekā actors in the film, were caricaturised in their costuming as they wore elaborate traditional dress from their own countries, with varying amounts of historical signifiers. A female voice sang in te reo as the procession arrived in Peremona and watched a dance by Pohia's female attendants. Pohia's house seemed a hyper-Māori construction as its inhabitants were dressed in traditional-esque clothing, and large statues filled the background, thus 'a blended aesthetic of historical European and traditional indigenous imagery' was foregrounded.[130] Nature thrived in abundance in Peremona as the scene moved to a modern Western sailing yacht progressing through an untouched New Zealand landscape, establishing a colonial narrative within the subtext of the film. This close interweaving of Māori and European aesthetics throughout forced the viewer to continuously consider their own position in relation to both.

A particular sense of nostalgia for an imaginary Old New Zealand and a form of the language that no longer exists, was established. The effect was a romanticised society, in which Māori culture was feminised as Pohia's home was predominantly female, providing stark contrast to the male, European world of commerce: 'a rich concoction of European and

[130] Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 79.

Polynesian'.[131] In contrast to the stereotype of a society dominated by the often hyper-masculinised Māori warrior, Peremona was peaceful, ornately crafted, a 'dreamlike idyll'.[132] Secluded from Weniti, Pohia's home provided an escape from the dangerous masculinity of Europe.

Despite being constructed as the native to New Zealand, Pohia was the exotic Other, rather than European settler Patanio (Bassanio; Te Rangihau Gilbert). This attitude reflected early encounters between New Zealand settlers and Māori people: 'a hint … of the Victorians' exotic "Maoriland"' pervaded throughout the film.[133] As Emma Cox elaborated: 'When considered from a critical perspective that is cognisant of Eurocentric objectification of minority (and particularly indigenous) cultures, the unashamedly exoticised and fantastical representation of Peremona might be criticised for promulgating particular mythologies and stereotypes of Maori culture'.[134] The purveyance of an aesthetic built on quasi-Māori cultural structures could serve to further stereotypes rather than build relationships with contemporary audiences. Furthermore, by employing imagery evocative of 'Maoriland', *Maori Merchant* ran 'the risk of operating in a similar manner to the early New Zealand films (by Europeans)', that have a tendency 'to exaggerate or minimise aspects of Maori character and culture, to make the action more accessible and attractive to a foreign audience'.[135]

However, this viewpoint has the potential reduce and undermine Māori creative expression. Whilst Jackson's assertions give light to 'the historical processes by which Maori

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[131] Macdonald Jackson, 'All Our Tribe', *Landfall*, Vol. 204 (2002), pp.155-63, p. 158.

[132] Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 81.

[133] Jackson, 'All Our Tribe', pp. 158-9.

[134] Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', pp. 81-2.

[135] Merita Mita, 'The Soul and the Image', *Film in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. by Jonathan Dennis and Jan Bieringa (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1996), pp. 36-54, p. 42.

representation has been taken out of Maori hands', to 'question certain modes of Maori representation because they bear the marks of European (mis)appropriation (or even simply of European influence)' could lead to an 'oppressive ethics of originality' which ultimately fails to 'acknowledge the impurity of all beginnings in the postcolonial moment'.[136] According to Selwyn, in order to break out of stereotypes Māori practitioners must embrace a diversity of texts: 'We have to ... accommodate the range of European and Maori writers because only then are we going to be able to have a kaleidoscopic view of what we have to offer the rest of the world'.[137]

Throughout time, Shakespeare has been used by Māori artists and practitioners as they take ownership of this cultural icon and their own cultural heritage, tradapting Shakespeare's stories to tell their own. This action has complications as it has the potential to implicitly devalue historical and contemporary Māori cultural texts, whilst simultaneously furthering the pervasive mythological power of the historically colonial figure of Shakespeare. As Houlahan has noted: 'it seems part of the scandal of Shakespeare in settler societies like [New Zealand] that it took Shakespeare to provide the occasion for the first full-length Maori film'.[138] Jackson argues that the film serves Shakespeare 'well', 'bolstering Euro-imperialist cultural authority'.[139] On the other hand, there are arguments to be made about the act of advantageously aligning Māori cultural practices and te reo with Shakespeare 'and the

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[136] Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 82; Christine Prentice, 'Nationalism Vs. Internationalism? Witi Ihimaera's The Matriarch and Critical Abjection', *Nationalism Vs. Internationalism: (Inter)National Dimensions of Literatures in English,* ed. by Wolfgang Zach and Ken L. Goodwin (Tubingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 1996), pp. 549-55, p. 553.

[137] 'The Bard of Aotearoa', p. 16.

[138] Houlahan, 'Shakespeare in the Settlers' House', p. 121.

[139] 'All Our Tribe', p. 159; Cox, 'Te Reo Shakespeare', p. 88.

attendant cultural capital' that is automatically assigned.[140]

Demonstrating that te reo Māori can accommodate and challenge a writer such as Shakespeare automatically created a larger space for Māori theatre makers on the global stage: 'Cleaving an endangered language to some of the most famous and complex poetic verse in the English language can only be a good thing'.[141] The film operated as an opportunity for showcasing Māori culture; much of the literature generated around New Zealand's contribution to Shakespeare's Globe 2012 Festival would also concentrate on the idea of 'showcasing', acknowledging Selwyn's production as the genesis of this movement. Through the distribution of *Maori Merchant*, Shakespeare was tradapted to showcase Maoritanga and te reo on an international scale. Furthermore, as Valerie Wayne has suggested: 'this film's derivative narrative in a sense shields it from being taken as a direct representation of contemporary Māori experience'.[142] Therefore, concerns about 'disseminating negative constructions' of Māori culture apply less in this case, instead:

> the anachronistic setting and upper-class context of the Shakespearean play suit the elevated language and the heightened presentational style. The movie appropriates the play to present a formal, poetic, and dignified version of Māori culture. It takes a narrative that is complicit with the injustices of religious and cultural colonialism and retells it in ways that support decolonization by promoting the recovery of an indigenous cultural heritage.[143]

Whilst Wayne's use of 'upper-class' was problematic, her evaluation of the presentation of

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[140] Catherine Silverstone, 'Festival Showcasing and Cultural Regeneration: Aotearoa New Zealand, Shakespeare's Globe and Ngākau Toa's *A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira* (*Troilus and Cressida*) in *te reo* Māori', *Shakespeare beyond English: a global experiment*, ed. by Susan Bennett and Christie Carson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 35-47, p. 39.

[141] Margo White, '"Shakespeare Korero", Rev. of Te Tangata Whai Rawa o Weniti/The Maori Merchant of Venice', *Metro* (March 2002), pp. 114-5, p. 115.

[142] 'Te Tangata Whai Rawa o Weniti, The Maori Merchant of Venice (review)', *The Contemporary Pacific*, Vol. 16 no. 2 (Fall 2004), pp. 425-9, p. 428.

[143] Ibid.

Māori culture rang true. The dislocation between the reality of contemporary audiences and that of the film was furthered by the classical form of te reo employed and the multiple historical signifiers in the costumes and sets, yet Māori culture can be reclaimed, rejuvenated and repopularised through this appropriation.

Maori Merchant worked to build a Māori cultural identity that aimed to be relatable to both Māori and non-Māori audiences in a society that is still trying to reconcile two disparate cultures in one nation. The film's ongoing afterlife as an educational tool and a cultural artefact can help ensure a healthier future for te reo and Maoritanga. Shakespeare's cultural capital, when used in a syncretically 'balanced' way to enhance Māori voices rather than replace them, can be an important asset for Māori theatre and film-makers.[144]

Māori Shakespeare at the Globe and beyond

At the request of Shakespeare's Globe theatre, Te Haumihiata Mason translated *Troilus and Cressida* (*A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira*) into classical te reo for the Globe to Globe Festival. Given the short time that the organisers had to assemble the companies for the six-week festival, it is probably no coincidence that Mason and Rawiri Paratene were called upon, nor that a historically warrior-based culture was asked to produce the Shakespearean play that deals most overtly with warrior culture.[145] Mason had previously translated Sonnet 18, which was presented to the Globe by SGCNZ in 2009, as part of the 400th anniversary of the publication of the Sonnets. It was read by Paratene, who was then appearing as Friar Laurence

[144] Balme, *Decolonizing the Stage*, p. 17

[145] Prescott and Sullivan, 'Performing Shakespeare in the Olympic Year', p. 54.

in *Romeo and Juliet* (dir. Dromgoole); in 2007, he had taken part in the Globe's International Actors Fellowship, so he and Mason were already familiar faces when it came to programming the 2012 festival.

The Sonnet 'scribed […] on to soft flax paper [featuring] a green fern frond in the background', acted as a visual combining of Māori art with Shakespeare's text, a precursor to Ngākau Toa's production.[146] Like her predecessors, Mason found comparisons between Shakespeare's language and that of classical te reo: 'Our great Maori orators, just like Shakespeare, were masters at creating concise turns of phrases that were loaded with imagery and meaning and as such there are many historic love stories to reference relevant language from'.[147] The occasion was described in similar terms to those that would be applied to *A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira*. As the chief executive of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, Huhana Rokx stated: 'Ultimately this collaborative effort not only celebrates Shakespeare in a culturally unique way but also showcases our own Maori language of love, reintroducing this classical narrative to a new generation of learners and speakers'.[148] Nearly all the commentary surrounding Ngākau Toa's production demonstrated a particular concern with 'showcasing' Māori culture and language, as well as aligning Māori culture with Shakespeare's work.

I will begin by discussing Mason's translation before examining *A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira* as a significant moment in the regeneration of Māori culture. Shakespeare's Globe specifically requested a classical form of te reo be used.[149] Known as kupu tawhito or te reo

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146 'Shakespeare's Globe receives te reo Maori Sonnet', *The Big Idea*, 17th August 2009, <https://www.thebigidea.nz/stories/shakespeares-globe-receives-te-reo-maori-sonnet> [accessed 31st July 2018].

147 NZPA, 'Shakespeare sonnet in Maori', *NZ Herald*, 13th August 2009, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10590594> [accessed 31st July 2018].

148 'Shakespeare's Globe receives te reo Maori Sonnet'.

149 Waka Huia TVNZ, Transcript of interview, 'Part 1 of 2 The Maori adaption of the Shakespeare's "Troilus & Cressida"', *YouTube*, 8th May 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=88kZQWsPazE> [accessed 9th December 2017].

kōhutu (ancient language), it is 'devoid of transliterations characteristic of modern Māori (e.g. motokā /car)', thus suggesting 'a desire for cultural authority and linguistic "purity" outside the grip of the English'.[150] The same version of the language was also used by Jones. Mason relied on four 'bibles' to tradapt the play steeped in Māoritanga: the Williams' Māori dictionary; David Crystal's *Shakespeare's words: A Glossary and Language Companion*; the play text itself (provided and pre-edited by the Globe); and a book containing contextual information of the play: 'Every line was a challenge'.[151] The cast admitted it was a difficult script to learn, even for fluent speakers, but was important for revitalising 'historical aspects of *te reo*', furthering the production's main objective of cultural showcasing.[152]

Reflecting Penfold's earlier assertions, Mason focused on what, for her, lay at the core of Shakespeare's work: 'it's more about the human condition. Regardless of your race or skin colour, we are all humans with all our virtues and frailties'.[153] This was echoed by comments from the cast: 'the classical Maori is very poetic, very bawdy, very prosaic – it's got all the different forms of language that Shakespeare uses […] our language fits perfectly with the rhythm of Shakespeare'.[154] Director Rachel House said: 'After all we still have inter-tribal warring going on. […] It basically feels like one of our own stories, having explored the themes and given it our own interpretation'.[155] The irony here is not lost, as Silverstone notes, of 'using English to help rejuvenate a language that it has historically subordinated and in

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[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Silverstone, 'Festival Showcasing and Cultural Regeneration', p. 39.

[153] 'Part 1 of 2 The Maori adaption of the Shakespeare's "Troilus & Cressida"'.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Sharu Delilkan, 'To be, or not to be', *Theatre Scenes*, 6th April 2012, <http://www.theatrescenes.co.nz/preview-troilus-and-cressida-auckland-town-hall-to-the-globe-theatre/> [accessed 31st July 2018]. In 2012, House was already an awarding-winning director and performer, including appearing in an English-language *King Lear* in 1996 produced by Theatre At Large, and *The Whale Rider* (2002) alongside Paratene; she has produced theatre and film, for both Māori and non-Māori audiences.

many ways still does'.[156] And yet, as seen here and elsewhere in the Māori Shakespearean canon, the global cultural authority attached to Shakespeare makes him a vital tool for such efforts.

Following on from *Maori Merchant*, *A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira* was part of a sustained campaign to revitalise and reclaim Māori culture 'directed toward redressing the devastating effects of the British colonisation of New Zealand on Māori, which can be measured in lower educational achievement, poorer heath records and lower life expectancy between Māori and their Pākehā […] counterparts'.[157] Paratene, the first Māori actor to graduate from the New Zealand Drama School and a founding member of Ngākau Toa, viewed the production as furthering Selwyn's 'legacy of taking Te Reo Maori to the World.'[158] As previously noted, much of the dialogue surrounding the production was couched in terms of cultural showcasing, rejuvenation and pride. Central to the project was a reinforcement of a positive Māori national identity for audiences at home and abroad and a latent call for global support to protect the language and culture.

As stipulated by the Globe, minimal theatrical set was permitted. This, combined with inevitable language barriers, meant that for House non-verbal storytelling was key. Not being fluent in te reo herself aided certain aspects of the creative process: 'not knowing what the individual words meant but having to understand the actors' movement and gestures' helped ensure that a non-te reo speaking audience would be able to follow along.[159] Traditional

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[156] Silverstone, 'Festival Showcasing and Cultural Regeneration', p. 39.

[157] Catherine Silverstone, 'Ngākau Toa's A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira (Troilus and Cressida)', *Shakespeare's Globe Blog*, 23rd April 2012, <https://blog.shakespearesglobe.com/post/88278678138/ngākau-toas-a-toroihi-rāua-ko-kāhira-troilus-and/amp> [accessed 31st July 2018].

[158] *Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira*, sponsorship document, p. 9, quoted in Silverstone, 'Festival Showcasing and Cultural Regeneration', p. 36.

[159] Delilkan, 'To be, or not to be'.

costumes designed by Shona Tawhiao, tāonga puoro (traditional instruments) played by Richard Nunns and James Webster, and a host of cultural advisors, led to a production that was thoroughly grounded in Māori culture and history.[160] Understanding the nature of the Globe, House stated:

> Audience interaction is key at The Globe so we are keen to show the sexiness of our culture, through our unique costumes and Maori movement. […] I also suspect people will freak out about the tattooed bums at first but I'm sure they will get used to it.[161]

Opening with a 'ferocious, trembling *haka*' the cast made good use of the Globe to tell the story of Torohi and Kāhira's fraught relationship.[162]

The production was given extra prominence as it opened the dramatic contributions to the Festival, preceded only by a 'carnival interpretation' of *Venus and Adonis* by the Isango Ensemble (Cape Town).[163] In line with Mason's translation priorities, the whole production worked to 'transport the action of Shakespeare's play from Ancient Greece to Te Ao Māori, the world of the Māori prior to European explorers'.[164] The multiple layers of history present on stage, blending ancient Māori culture with an early modern English backdrop, sought to raise awareness of and promote Māori cultural practices both at home and abroad, whilst celebrating Shakespeare's resonance across the globe. As the Globe's Festival demonstrated it was not just British cultural prestige that Shakespeare was called upon to advocate in 2012, but the international status of every culture that participated.

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[160] This team included Tweedie Waititi, Morrison, Shortland and Mason.

[161] Delilkan, 'To be, or not to be'.

[162] Original italics. Stephen Purcell, 'Troilus and Cressida', *A Year of Shakespeare: Re-living the World Shakespeare Festival*, ed. by Paul Edmondson, Paul Prescott and Erin Sullivan (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2013), pp. 210-2, p. 210.

[163] Globe to Globe Festival programme (London: Shakespeare's Globe, 2012), p. 4.

[164] Silverstone, 'Festival Showcasing and Cultural Regeneration', p. 36.

Despite this, through recasting the play in a historical context far removed from the original, the production had the potential to distance a non-Māori audience, thereby creating an alienating and romanticising effect. Historically, English-language Shakespeare has been made virtually untouchable by the cultural reverence gathered over centuries of global idolisation, thereby excluding audiences who cannot access the social codes attached to his plays. Even with the efforts of theatre companies in England to make 'Shakespeare for everyone', as the RSC's current artistic mantra states, he continues to be viewed by many as inaccessible and irrelevant. In turn, by holding up *A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira* as an example of Māori culture, it potentially mythologises Māori culture as a fiction for the stage, removing a non-Māori audience from the realities of the history of Māori people. The characters, all of whom had been recast with Māori names, could easily have become exoticised because of the possible foreign nature of the new setting, making the play a relic of a detached, isolated and idealised past. Consequently, the culture they represented also could receive this same Othering. Even within Māori communities, the production ran the risk of exclusivity by creating a hyper-Māori culture that few identified with.

However, as Purcell concluded, the storytelling remained accessible, 'clear and physical, with live percussion used very effectively throughout to indicate shifts in mood and tempo'.[165] House succeeded in delivering the performance of 'an ideal masculinity' which is 'ultimately impossible to perform consistently', whilst Co-Director Jamus Webster integrated choreographed moments of cultural identity showcasing, such as the movements of the warriors and the haka that opened and closed the performance.[166] Andrew Dickson in his

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[165] 'Troilus and Cressida', p. 212. The production also made excellent comedic use of the surtitles that paraphrased the action of each scene. Many thanks to Shakespeare's Globe for providing access to the archive recorded version.

[166] Ibid., p. 211.

somewhat provocative but positive review found it to be ‘as thoughtful a representation as I’ve seen of the play’s sardonic gender politics’.[167]

Due to its sheer scale, the Festival was paradoxical in nature: it simultaneously professed to celebrate ‘our infinite difference’, encouraging artists to express themselves in their own languages, and yet they were to perform ‘the Globe way’.[168] However, the guidelines given to each company were minimal to allow ‘Shakespeare experimentation and freedom on an international scale’ and avoid ‘misunderstandings or accusations of postcolonial posturing’.[169] Particularly in relation to New Zealand, a country still feeling the after-effects of British colonisation, this sense of diplomacy was paramount.

When a group of New Zealander spectators performed a haka in the yard after the performance, responding to the one performed by the cast, the Globe was quick to subsume their expression of cultural and national pride into the spirit of the Festival, ‘an example of “true Globe style”, seamlessly appropriating local cultural practices into the mythology of the Globe’.[170] For Silverstone, however, the performance honoured ‘the work the production has done in promoting te reo inside and outside Aotearoa New Zealand’, and served as a:

> profound reminder and acknowledgement of the importance of community and whanau (familial) networks, not only in helping to enable the production but also in continuing to support and develop te reo and other taonga (cultural treasures) beyond the event of a high-profile performance such as this.[171]

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[167] ‘Troilus and Cressida – review’, *The Guardian*, 24th April 2012 <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/apr/24/troilus-cressida-review> [accessed 31st July 2018].

[168] Dominic Dromgoole and Tom Bird, ‘Welcome’, Globe to Globe Festival programme (London: Shakespeare’s Globe, 2012), p. 1.

[169] Kevin A. Quarmby, ‘“Would they not wish the feast might ever last?” Strong Spice, Oral History and the Genesis of Globe to Globe’, *Multicultural Shakespeare: Translation, Appropriation and Performance*, Vol. 11 no. 26 (2014), pp. 17-30, p. 27.

[170] Silverstone, ‘Ngākau Toa’s A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira’.

[171] Ibid.

As with Selwyn's film, *A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira* was an important part of the ongoing reparative work that is beginning to have a sustaining effect in New Zealand. According to Silverstone: alongside 'developments in Māori cultural practices, te reo, film, radio, theatre, television and education more broadly, the production offers a vibrant performance that looks to a future in which te reo and other taonga are yet more secure'.[172]

With corporations such as Disney, Google and Vodafone investing in the language by providing increasingly broader services, the sustainability of te reo seems more assured. As John McCaffery has stated: since 2015, 'Māori has gone mainstream … What we're seeing is a clear indication that the language's status and prestige has risen dramatically'.[173] According to a survey conducted by Te Puni Kōkiri 'attitudes towards the Māori language among Māori and non-Māori are improving … the Māori language currently enjoys a high status in Māori society and also positive acceptance by the majority of non-Māori New Zealanders'.[174]

By using Shakespeare to showcase Māoritanga, a greater sense of cultural ownership can be achieved, with a consequent raising of accessibility, awareness and cultural pride; as Chapter Three demonstrated, this is similar to Tanttaka's 2016 production of *Ametsa/Sueño*, that explicitly used Shakespeare to elevate Euskara cultural prestige and social recognition. By bringing Māori voices and concerns to the foreground, a collective remembering and education can take place. As Michael Neill has written:

> the 2012 *Troilus* was a culmination of a decades-long process, aligning Shakespeare with issues of cultural survival, underpinning a determination to enhance the Maori language and its protocols (*tikanga*). The delight of the Globe audiences and the world-wide publicity surrounding the event suggest that

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[172] Ibid.

[173] Quoted in Roy, 'Māori has gone mainstream'.

[174] Ibid.

mounting this difficult, tragical satire in Maori was a cultural triumph.[175]

Building on the foundational work laid by theatre-makers such as Selwyn, Ngākau Toa's work unified audiences, at the very least, in the success of the production in bringing a multitude of people together in a shared space to witness theatre. As Silverstone has argued: 'In this respect it relates to work produced primarily in the 1990s that draws attention to New Zealand as a site of production, especially in the context of historical and contemporary race relations between Māori and *Pākehā*'.[176]

For the company, and seemingly the country, the production was an opportunity to 'showcase' Māoritanga: the Minister of Arts, Culture and Heritage, Chris Finlayson hailed *A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira* as a 'great opportunity to demonstrate the strength of Maori Theatre performance' and te reo.[177] This kind of cultural showcasing seems inevitable in the context of a festival designed to bring disparate cultures together under the auspices of a shared celebration of one playwright. It can, however, do significant work on the local stages, particularly when one considers the important rejuvenation potential of a production such as this.

The cultural pride that was brought to the Festival first found its roots at home, evidenced by the support the production received from organisations such as Te Waka Toi-Creative New Zealand (Arts Council of New Zealand, which awarded the company a $60,000 grant), Te Puni Kokiri, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, as well as NZ International Arts

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[175] Original italics. 'Unsettling the Bard: Australasia and the Pacific', *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespearean Tragedy*, ed. by Michael Neill and David Schalkwyk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 797-810, p. 806.

[176] Original italics. Silverstone, 'Festival Showcasing and Cultural Regeneration', p. 36.

[177] Quoted in 'Maori on the International Stage', *The Maori Troilus and Cressida*, <themaoritroilusandcressida.com/thecast> [accessed 1st December 2017].

Festival, Arts Alive Auckland Council, and Wellington City Council. Even though *A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira* was commissioned as part of an international project, there was a focus amongst the production team to promote kapa haka and te reo within New Zealand communities: 'Discourses of pride appeal to a collective sense of self-esteem and solidarity'.[178] Social inclusion and 'citizen empowerment' were realised through the various performances held around New Zealand that were koha (donation) based.[179] The production formed an important moment in the contemporary renaissance of Māori culture and language. Furthermore, the qualifications of the creative team speak to a keen investment in the promotion and celebration of Māori cultural practices: Mason was the Language Standards Manager at Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori; Paratene has long been involved in teaching te reo; many of the rest of the company were broadcasters for te reo stations and specialists in kapa haka.[180] Both Paratene and Mason commented throughout the process that it was 'an important part of the journey [of the] recovery of our language'.[181]

The ideas of cultural showcasing, preserving language and Māori cultural practices, and making them accessible to New Zealand and international audiences are central to the Māori Shakespeare canon. Taking ownership of te reo and kapa haka through performances of Shakespeare's plays continues to be a powerful movement in New Zealand theatre. Moreover, Mason and House employed familiar performance choices by setting the production in an imagined pre-colonisation New Zealand. This trope, and many of the artists involved in *A*

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[178] Silverstone, 'Festival Showcasing and Cultural Regeneration', p. 42.

[179] Sullivan, 'Olympic Performance in the Year of Shakespeare', p. 5.

[180] Silverstone, 'Festival Showcasing and Cultural Regeneration', p. 37-8.

[181] Paratene, interview with Paul Diamond, 'Rawiri Paratene – *The Maori Troilus and Cressida*', *Sunday Morning*, *National Radio New Zealand*, 11th December 2011, <www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/sunday/20111211> [accessed 1st December 2017]; Scotty Morison, quoted in Kerry McBride, 'Te Reo Fits Shakespeare "Perfectly"', *Dominion Post*, 8th March 2012, <www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/culture/arts-festival-2012/6541903/Te-reo-fits-Shaksepeare-perfectly> [accessed 1st December 2017].

Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira, went on to appear in *Romeo rāua ko Hurieta* (2015) produced for Māori Television.

Romeo and Juliet was translated by Mason for Matariki (Māori New Year) and was performed at the Māori Court in Auckland Museum.[182] Directors Tearepa and Reikura Kahi already had a long-standing relationship with te reo Shakespeare as they both appeared in *Maori Merchant* and created *The Road to the Globe*, a documentary following the development of *A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira*.[183] One of the central aims of the project was to engage younger Māori speakers, using Shakespeare's work as a gateway to classical Māori stories; this echoes Robenolt and Hayton's beliefs concerning Alaskan minority Shakespeare seen in Chapter One. Kahi stated:

> What Shakespeare gives us at the present time is the story is written, the themes are universal, and it allows us to build a strong Māori language access. We want to […] encourage this new young exciting wave of Māori language speakers. It's more than just translating words from one culture into another. We are trying to create a Māori world view within Shakespeare, to try and give the language cultural context.[184]

Similar to Mills' *Te Po Uriuri*, Shakespeare was used as a catalyst for Māori artists and audiences to explore their own cultural heritage. Promoting te reo, particularly within younger audiences, continues to be a primary aim of many Māori theatre-makers.

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[182] 'Romeo And Juliet In Te Reo Māori', *Te Wānanga o Aotearoa*, 27th July 2015, <https://www.twoa.ac.nz/Hononga-Stay-Connected/News-Events/2015/07/26/romeo-and-juliet-in-te-reo-maori-romeo-raua-ko-hur?sc_lang=en> [accessed 1st December 2017]; Hone-Haunui Rapana, 'Māori Romeo and Juliet rehearsals underway as part of Matariki celebrations', *Te Ao Maori News*, 10th June 2015, <https://www.maoritelevision.com/news/regional/maori-romeo-and-juliet-rehearsals-underway-part-matariki-celebrations> [accessed 1st December 2017]. It was intended to be the start of a tradition of performing a Shakespeare play on Matariki over the next decade, however, whilst *Dream* was announced as the next production, no evidence can be found of it taking place.

[183] A similar documentary was made for *Romeo rāua ko Hurieta* and was aired the week leading up to the broadcast of the play.

[184] Michelle Duff, 'Romeo and Juliet translated into Maori for Matariki', *stuff.co.nz*, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/arts/69644556/Romeo-and-Juliet-translated-into-Maori-for-Matariki> [accessed 12th February 2018].

Set in an alternate universe 'where colonisation has not happened', Mason, once again, tradapted 'the whole play into a Māori world'.[185] The families became the warring Monataku and Kapureti iwis. Corresponding linguistic alternatives were found to idioms that did not translate: for example, 'Do you bite your thumb at us, sir?' became 'E whakapohane mai ana koe?' ('Do you bare your buttocks at me?'), 'a severe insult to pre-colonial Māori'.[186] Queen Mab became a personification of Tahakura (dream, or a figure that appears in a dream).[187] Traditional Māori weapons, such as patu parāoa (whalebone club), mere pounamu (greenstone club), and taiaha (wooden fighting staff) were used for the fights.

However, whilst costumes had elements of traditional Māori clothing incorporated into them, such as greenstone accessories and a colour scheme that reflected Māori beliefs (seen in Mills' *Te Po Uriuri*), they were largely Western in design. Male characters wore a base costume of dark trousers with white shirts and female characters wore floor-length dresses over which Māori elements were layered. This choice was possibly due to budget restrictions but also allowed a bridging between the production and its audience as it introduced a degree of familiarity. In a production that potentially contained many alienating aspects, such as the Māori court setting, the inclusion of Māori iconography, the use of te reo, and even the Shakespearean text, Western costumes offered a point of access to audience members.

As I have demonstrated, a preoccupation with a fictional, uncolonised New Zealand or a mythologised pre-colonial world is prevalent throughout Māori Shakespeare. As Māori

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[185] Ibid.

[186] Ibid.

[187] Bruce Biggs, *The Complete English-Maori Dictionary* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013). Google ebook.

theatre-makers engage with specific parts of their history, they continue to shape national and cultural identities for themselves and their audiences, not just linguistically but visually too.

Non- te reo Shakespeares

The aesthetic and cultural tradaptation of Shakespeare is particularly pertinent in the productions discussed next. From the late twentieth century, a trend of Māori influenced English-language productions that appropriate Shakespeare's work to tell Māori stories has gathered momentum. As discussed earlier, whilst the promotion of te reo acquisition is increasing, levels of fluency remain low, particularly in older generations. English-language productions are therefore necessary, and progress discussions of cultural identity and ownership beyond language. The aim is to reframe the nature of Shakespeare's cultural hegemony in localised terms, creating productions that incorporate a 'fusion of styles' reflective of the companies performing them.[188] Many Māori or Pasifika student groups now compete in the annual regional festivals hosted by SGCNZ.[189]

Othello is the most popular choice of play for these cross-cultural productions. In 1994, Theatre at Large staged *Manawa Taua/Savage Hearts*, 'a self-consciously bi-cultural project' set during the First Taranki War (1860).[190] The play 'incorporated *Othello* as an

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[188] Christian Penney, quoted in Mark Houlahan, '*Romeo and Tusi*: An Eclectically Musical Samoan/Māori Romeo and Juliet from Aotearoa/New Zealand', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, Vol. 19 no. 3 (2009), pp. 279-88, p. 287.

[189] The company runs many different educational programmes across New Zealand. The twenty-four regional festivals culminate in a national festival which is open to the public. 'SGCNZ University of Otago Sheilah Winn Shakespeare Festival', *SGCNZ*, <http://www.sgcnz.org.nz/programmes/sgcnz-university-of-otago-sheilah-winn-shakespeare-festival> [accessed 14th May 2020]. See also Rob Conkie and Nicola Hyland, 'Kissing and drowning the book: Shakespearean theatre in the Antipodes', *The Shakespearean World,* ed. by Jill L. Levenson and Robert Ormsby (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 154-70.

[190] Michael Neill, 'Post-colonial Shakespeare? Writing away from the centre', *Post-colonial Shakespeares*, ed. by Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 164-85, p. 181.

intertext', in what Silverstone has described as 'a post-colonial/postmodern pastiche'.[191] *Manawa Taua* blended together a 'range of performance styles and texts […] Thus Shakespeare was implicated in a discourse of cultural exchange between Maori, Pakeha, British and other European cultures, networking between the component cultures of the settler situation'.[192]

Unfortunately, deep rifts within the production's cast and creative team, which 'divided along broadly ethnic lines', has meant that it has largely been erased from the archive.[193] According to Neill: 'At the heart of the dispute lay a disagreement about the kinds of stories it was appropriate to tell about [New Zealand's] history – a disagreement in which Shakespeare's ur-narrative of miscegenation was profoundly implicated'.[194] The cultural politics attached to the appropriation of Shakespeare and Māori history proved too complex and too recently felt for the 'highly successful' production to survive.[195] These kinds of disputes have continued to erupt within New Zealand theatre, as Part Two demonstrates.

In 1997, *Othello* was brought to New Zealand prime-time television when the 'extraordinarily successful' series *Shortland Street* ran a storyline that focused on secondary school students staging the play: in 'the rather unsubtle way of soap operas, these storylines

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[191] Sheridan, 'Othello and the New Zealand Wars', p. 93; Catherine Silverstone, '*Othello*'s Travels in New Zealand: Shakespeare, Race and National Identity', *Remaking Shakespeare: Performances across Media, Genres and Cultures*, ed. by Pascale Aebischer, Edward J Esche and Nigel Wheale (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 74-92, p. 85. Sheridan also discusses two other productions that treated *Othello* in a similar way: Court Theatre, Christchurch (dir. Cathy Downes; 2001) and Downstage Theatre, Wellington (dir. Jonathon Hendry; 2007).

[192] Silverstone, '*Othello*'s Travels in New Zealand', p. 85.

[193] Neill, 'Post-colonial Shakespeare?', p. 182. It was not published or recorded and the final script was destroyed; only early drafts remain, stored in the archive of Playmarket (Wellington). See: Silverstone, '*Othello*'s Travels in New Zealand', p. 92 (fn. 34).

[194] Neill, 'Post-colonial Shakespeare?', p. 182.

[195] Ibid.

are used thematically to comment on other aspects of the action'.[196] The programme attempted to largely side-step the racial themes of the play, examining instead individual relationships between the teenagers and their drama teacher. However, even though the teacher worked 'to offer a "whited-out" and delocalised production of the play, the bodies of actors confound this narrative' and were 'read metonymically as a reference to racial tensions in New Zealand culture more generally'.[197] In the process of making Shakespeare more accessible for viewers by reflecting the play's narrative in the storyline of the episodes, *Shortland Street* also made apparent the inherent tensions within settler culture.[198] The character of James, in particular, highlighted this issue as he struggled to reconcile his own heritage with the 'ethnic otherness' in *Othello*.[199] Furthermore, the casting of Pacific Island student Eli as Othello could be construed as reinforcing 'disturbing negative stereotypical associations between racial "otherness" and violence', a concern that continues to haunt actors and directors.[200]

Throughout, there is an inherent preoccupation concerning the need to strike a balance between that which is familiar to their audiences whilst simultaneously being specifically local. Between 1997 and 2000, Pacific Underground tradapted *Romeo and Juliet* (*Romeo and Tusi*, by Oscar Kightley and Erolia Ifopo) by incorporating Māori and Samoan cultures: Romeo was Māori and Tusi (Juliet) was Samoan, offering 'an hilarious Pacific twist on

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[196] Silverstone, '*Othello*'s Travels in New Zealand', p. 78. *Shortland Street* was first broadcast in 1992. Other Shakespearean-influenced storylines have included references to *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*.

[197] Ibid., pp. 81-2.

[198] Ibid., pp. 83-4. Pacific Island student Eli was cast as Othello and was interested in Minnie, a Pākehā student who played Desdemona; Minnie reciprocated Eli's feelings but their relationship was hindered by James, a Pākehā student who played Iago.

[199] Ibid., p. 83.

[200] Ibid., p. 82.

Shakespeare's theme'.[201] Houlahan has argued that Pacific Underground faced a double challenge:

> on the one hand, to keep in touch with the traditional audience, happy to applaud the RSC, the Shakespeare presented needed to be reassuringly familiar and 'Shakespearean'; on the other, Samoan and Māori performers have been aware that high 'English' culture can alienate not only themselves, but their friends, their relatives, their whole community. The challenge was then to produce a local Shakespeare that, first of all, was entertaining, but which could also speak across a diverse range of cultural groupings.[202]

A frequent anxiety in post-colonial Shakespearean theatre lies in the relationship the 'local' performer has with the text, especially in a settler culture which can present a 'fawning reception' to English touring troupes performing Shakespeare: 'can they ever match the presumed gold-standard of "English" Shakespeare? Or can they unsettle a prior frame for Shakespeare, while drawing on the energy of the Shakespeare text'?[203] Avoiding alienation whilst also being identifiably local, and crossing cultural boundaries without relying on stereotypes is a narrow path to negotiate, but one which all artists from minority cultural backgrounds must. In 'its freewheeling irreverence, and its willingness to cite a host of cultural influences, Shakespeare among them', whilst aiming to engage as wide a range of audiences as possible, Pacific Underground 'sketched one form of what New Zealand Shakespeare might look like'.[204] This approach was also seen in ThGC's *Macbeth* and Tanttaka's *Ametsa/Sueño*, as the plays were syncretically adapted to celebrate Welsh and Basque culture, making both the play and the cultural references accessible and locally

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[201] 'Romeo and Tusi', *Playmarket*, <https://www.playmarket.org.nz/bookshop/playmarket-play-series/romeo-and-tusi> [accessed 1st December 2017]. See also Jonny Givins, '1000% energy, attack and commitment', *Theatre Review*, 4th September 2013, <https://www.theatreview.org.nz/reviews/review.php?id=6250> [accessed 28th November 2018]. The production was revived in 2013, directed by Sasha Gibb.

[202] '*Romeo and Tusi*', p. 281.

[203] Ibid., p. 284.

[204] Ibid., p. 288.

specific. A similar attitude is revealed in PuG's work, highlighted in Part Two.

Continuing this trend of making Shakespeare more accessible, especially to younger audiences, South Auckland-based Black Friars have produced three Shakespeare plays to date: *Othello Polynesia* (dir. Michelle Johansson; 2009), *The Merchant of Venice* (dir. Johansson; 2014) and *Macbeth* (dir. Billy Revell and Johansson; 2016). The company's central aim is to make Shakespeare more relevant for Polynesian students in New Zealand, tradapting Shakespeare 'as a deliberate act of decolonisation'.[205] Johansson has stated: 'By taking what might be perceived as a "white" text, and "poly"-nizing it, we appropriate these stories for our own brown purposes. We use Shakespeare to defy expectations, because they're extremely good stories, and because we can'.[206] Their aim is to break down stereotypes surrounding Polynesian communities, particularly in South Auckland which is often cast as 'socio-economically disadvantaged'.[207] As such, Black Friars' productions offer a politicised Shakespeare, who has been tradapted into Polynesian cultures to celebrate and expose. They stake ownership over the white text through recontextualisation and bringing together Polynesian actors, performance practices and Shakespeare on one stage.

Othello Polynesia was created, with support from Creative New Zealand and Neill acting as a script advisor, as part of SGCNZ Complete Works programme.[208] The racial roles were reversed, Othello becoming the only 'palagi [a Samoan term for foreigner] character in a

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[205] Johansson quoted in Wastney, 'All the world's a stage'. See also: Michelle Johansson, '"Coz Tybalt shanked Romeo's dox": Poly-nizing Shakespeare on the Southside', *English in Aotearoa*, Issue 88 (Apr 2016), pp. 15-20. As noted on p. 240, fn. 11, Polynesia refers to a large geographical region, which includes New Zealand and Samoa. Polynesian cultures and languages, whilst distinct, have shared roots and cultural practices that continue to be evident today.

[206] Quoted in Wastney, 'All the world's a stage'.

[207] Indira Stewart, '"Something wicked this way comes" – a Polynesian experience', *Radio NZ*, 20th September 2016, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/313705/'something-wicked-this-way-comes'-a-polynesian-experience> [accessed 3rd January 2020].

[208] 'Production Information: Othello Polynesia', *Theatre Review*, <https://www.theatreview.org.nz/reviews/production.php?id=1192> [accessed 28th November 2018].

brown society'.[209] New perspectives on racial tensions were explored: 'We see *Othello Polynesia* as our own story, it's about identity and brotherhood and these things are still just as relevant today'.[210] Similarly, Black Friars' *Merchant of Venice* was set in the 'multicultural community of the Mangere markets', removing Shylock's 'Jewish-ness' and replacing it to 'make comment against the loan sharks that constantly prey on Pasifika people in their most vulnerable times – particularly funerals'.[211] Both of these syncretic productions tradapted Shakespeare to a Pasifika setting, reclaiming the playwright and the theatre as decolonised sites of intercultural expression.

Macbeth employed similar cultural fusions, setting the play in a 'pan-Polynesian Hawaiki'.[212] The set, costumes, music and performance techniques combined to allow 'the weight of indigenous Pasifika histories, myths and legends to settle into the space'.[213] Furthermore, 'deep and powerful voices of a 14-strong choir blended the famous couplets with Pasifika languages into the general business of the play, creating a loud, proud and unequivocally, brown production'.[214] Shakespeare was appropriated for a modern Polynesian audience, demonstrating that his plays and the theatre can be a place for them too. Revell stated that 'all of his stories are universal and can be applied to all of us'.[215] Black Friars offer important opportunities for representation for Polynesian actors and audiences, and participate

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[209] 'Shakespeare as you have never seen it before', *Creative NZ*, 15th May 2009, <https://www.creativenz.govt.nz/news/shakespeare-as-you-have-never-seen-it-before> [accessed 14th May 2020].

[210] Johansson quoted in 'Shakespeare as you have never seen it before'.

[211] Johansson quoted in Wastney, 'All the world's a stage'.

[212] Dione Joseph, 'Theatre Review: Macbeth by Black Friars Theatre', *NZ Herald*, 21st September 2016, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/news/article.cfm?c_id=1501119&objectid=11714238> [accessed 14th May 2020].

[213] Ibid.

[214] Ibid.

[215] 'The Black Friars present…', *The Coconet*, <https://www.thecoconet.tv/cocoblog/the-black-friars-present/> [accessed 14th May 2020].

in ongoing global conversations surrounding cultural ownership. They offer another form of how New Zealand Shakespeare might look. Many Black Friars actors have gone on to work for PuG, playing further roles in the shaping of a distinctly New Zealand cross-cultural Shakespeare.

Othello was tradapted again in 2015 for a syncretic production called *SolOthello* (dir. Craig Geenty). Regan Taylor, who went on to play the eponymous character in PuG's 2017 production, created *SolOthello* as a one-man show using three te mata lokako o rehia (performance masks) to focus on four characters: Othello, Iago, Roderigo and Desdemona.[216] This extreme tradaptation follows Balme's first model of syncretic theatre as the new theatrico-cultural systems 'eclipses and overlies' the old.[217] Produced by Te Rēhia Theatre and performed at Kia Mau Festival, the show also touring nationally and internationally throughout 2016-18.[218] Through participating in events such as Rutas Pan-Americanas Festival, Taylor was able to take an indigenous story to international indigenous communities.[219]

Motivated by a desire to make Shakespeare relevant for his own iwi and influenced by his experiences at the marae, Taylor combined Shakespeare's text, 'very colloquial "Kiwi bloke" language' and te reo, saying with 'Shakespeare, the use of language with the imagery

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[216] Solo performance has played a pivotal role in the shaping of New Zealand theatre. See George Parker, 'Actor Alone: Solo Performance in New Zealand' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Canterbury, 2007).

[217] Balme, *Decolonizing the Stage*, p. 17.

[218] 'SolOthello', *Te Rēhia Theatre*, <https://terehiatheatre.com/?fbclid=IwAR1bvMjlijB55EDhwZvKFwEbF5d8vQ5AcYO6HRK1pImBOPRNhiH_WPE4RH4> [accessed 12th February 2018].

[219] *SolOthello* was performed by Tainui Tukiwaho in Toronto. Angela Sun, 'Review: SolOthello (Rutas Panamericanas 2016)', *Mooney Theatre*, <https://www.mooneyontheatre.com/2016/10/08/review-solothello-rutas-panamericanas-2016/> [accessed 13th May 2020].

is not too dissimilar to an orator giving a korero'.[220] Similar to previous productions examined in this chapter, *SolOthello* was set in 'pre-colonial New Zealand', recontextualising the story to an intertribal war.[221] Drawing on New Zealand's syncretic theatre tradition, commedia dell'arte was fused with traditional Māori kapa haka to 'find a new codification for these masks'.[222] As Taylor stated: 'They can work in commedia but once they are layered with te reo and they are doing kapa haka style movements then I think they come more alive'.[223] This was particularly seen in the silent performance of Desdemona: Taylor used 'mahi a ringa, which is Maori waiata hand gesture and that translates her vocabulary rather than talking'.[224] At the same time, Taylor was keen to make the show as accessible as possible, touring to marae and schools, with the goal of developing 'more Maori audiences seeing more Maori theatre' and encouraging non-Māori audience members to engage with the show.[225]

Shakespeare was also a source of inspiration for Māori theatre-makers when Taki Rua, 'New Zealand's foremost Māori theatre company', co-produced *Cellfish* (dir. Jason Te Kare; 2017) with Theatre of Auckland.[226] The production examined the US Shakespeare Behind Bars programme in a New Zealand context,'indigenously "colonis[ing]" Shakespeare's

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[220] Ewen Coleman, 'Theatre Review: solOthello', *stuff.co.nz*, 16th June 2016, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/culture/81124908/theatre-review-solothello> [accessed 12th February 2018]; Taylor quoted in Megan Gattey, 'Othello reimagined by maori man and his masks', *stuff.co.nz*, 13th June 2016, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/culture/80841238/othello-reimagined-by-maori-man-and-his-masks?rm=m> [accessed 13th May 2020].

[221] Hannah McKee, 'Shakespeare gets a Maori twist in SolOthello', *stuff.co.nz*, 10th June 2016, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/stage-and-theatre/80922072/shakespeare-gets-a-maori-twist-in-solothello> [accessed 12th February 2018].

[222] 'Shakespeare with a Maori spin', *stuff.co.nz*, 30th July 2015, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/manawatu-standard/lifestyle/70667550/shakespeare-with-a-maori-spin> [accessed 12th February 2018].

[223] Ibid.

[224] McKee, 'Shakespeare gets a Maori twist in SolOthello'; 'Shakespeare with a Maori spin'.

[225] 'Shakespeare with a Maori spin'.

[226] 'About Taki Rua', *Taki Rua*, <https://www.takirua.co.nz/about> [accessed 12th May 2020]. *Cellfish* was revived and toured in 2018 and 2019, taking part in the Kia Mau Festival.

writings, [and] remoulding it into powerful Aotearoa storytelling'.[227] Written by Te Kare, Miriama McDowell and Rob Makaraka, *Cellfish* explored 'the themes and plot of *Macbeth*' as they 'seep into the drama classes run by Miss Lucy in a high security Kiwi men's prison'.[228] Based on McDowell's experiences working in a Christchurch prison, the script interwove lines from other Shakespeare plays and Sonnets whilst mixing te reo and English, combining 'Shakespeare, te reo and prisoners […] for a powerful, introspective performance'.[229] By participating in the Kia Mau Festival and touring the productions, both *SolOthello* and *Cellfish* contributed towards contemporary discussions of what it means to be a Māori theatre-maker, whilst offering two more versions of a potential New Zealand Shakespeare to both national and international audiences.

When I travelled to New Zealand at the end of 2017, it was to research Free Theatre Christchurch, 'an interdisciplinary performance laboratory' established in 1979.[230] I was able to interview the company's creator and Artistic Director Peter Falkenburg and one of its actors, Marian McCurdy about their Shakespearean productions.[231] Free Theatre have staged several of Shakespeare's plays throughout their career but pertinent to this thesis is their Ubu Nights programme which featured 'Not Hamlet' in 2017, during which the state of contemporary bicultural New Zealand was interrogated; and *A Winter's Tale and Pōwhiri*

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[227] 'Cellfish', *APAM*, <https://apam.org.au/artist/taki-rua-productions/> [accessed 12th May 2020].

[228] John Smythe, 'The Quest for Love Permeates and Predominates', *Theatre Review*, 12th June 2019, < https://www.theatreview.org.nz/reviews/review.php?id=11764> [accessed 12th May 2020]; Eleanor Wenman, 'Powerful Cellfish performance makes you laugh, cry and think', *stuff.co.nz*, 12th June 2019, < https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/arts/113420881/powerful-cellfish-performance-makes-you-laugh-cry-and-think> [accessed 12th May 2020].

[229] Qiane Matata-Sipu, 'Cellfish: A play about love and prison', *The Spinoff*, 10th June 2018, <https://thespinoff.co.nz/atea/10-06-2018/cellfish-a-play-about-love-and-prison/> [accessed 21st June 2020]; Wenman, 'Powerful Cellfish performance'.

[230] 'About Free Theatre Christchurch', *Free Theatre*, <http://www.freetheatre.org.nz/about.html> [accessed 14th May 2020].

[231] Interview conducted with Peter Falkenburg and Marian McCurdy, 23rd November 2017, Christchurch (New Zealand).

(2019) and *A Summer Night's Dream* (2020), which sought to syncretically blend Māori kapa haka with Western modes of theatre.[232]

'How Not to be Hamlet' saw actors George Parker and Aaron Hapuku use their 'distinct biographies' to explore modern New Zealand society.[233] Planned 'as a theatrical "mouse-trap" for audiences with audio-visual media, live music, puppets and political parody', the performance invited audience members into the rehearsal room.[234] For Falkenberg, it was an opportunity to explore New Zealand's fragile national identity: due to the country's history of isolation, it constantly swings between 'over-confidence' and 'insecurity', particularly when competing on an international scale.[235] According to the director, an aspiration to be more like England has kept New Zealand theatre bland and conservative, and so Free Theatre's mission has been to challenge that cultural hegemony.[236]

'Shakespeare is our brother in soul', asserted Falkenberg and McCurdy, as he writes highly gestural, physical language.[237] This was seen most readily in their large-scale, promenade production of *Winter's Tale and Pōwhiri* which participated in Christchurch Arts Festival. The Festival celebrated local artists 'exploring Christchurch's identity. [Its] whakapapa of artists [have] created and defined a clear identity and affected the national

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[232] Free Theatre has also staged *King Lear* (1983) and *Hamletmachine* (1991). *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was originally scheduled for 2018 but was delayed due to funding complications.

[233] George Parker, 'Not Hamlet Ubu Night – Trouble in Paradise', *Free Theatre Blog*, 12th July 2016, <http://www.freetheatre.org.nz/blog/not-hamlet-ubu-night-trouble-in-paradise> [accessed 8th November 2017].

[234] 'How Not To Be Hamlet?', *Free Theatre*, <http://www.freetheatre.org.nz/how-not-to-be-hamlet.html> [accessed 15th May 2020]; Free Theatre Christchurch, 'Not Hamlet Ubu Night', *Scoop Culture*, 8th September 2017, https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/CU1709/S00180/not-hamlet-ubu-night.htm> [accessed 15th May 2020]; 'Ubu Nights', *Free Theatre*, <http://www.freetheatre.org.nz/ubu-nights.html> [accessed 15th May 2020].

[235] Interview conducted, 23rd November 2017.

[236] Ibid.

[237] Ibid.

one'.[238] Free Theatre's production offered a dynamic contribution, collaborating with many of Christchurch's performing arts groups to give 'a great sense of looking back, culturally, to look forward'.[239]

Described as an 'immersive swirl of Shakespeare, smoke and light', *Winter's Tale and Pōwhiri*, co-produced with Matapopore, combined lines from *Richard III* and *The Winter's Tale*.[240] The opening pōwhiri brought together Māori artists and kapa haka groups such as Te Pao a Tahu.[241] The whole event was free, increasing its accessibility. As well as Māori groups and musical bands, the production featured an ensemble of Free Theatre actors who performed alongside 'masked NASDA actors from ARA Institute, Christchurch Circus Centre performers and over-sized puppets operated by performers from Circotica [who] parodied scenes from the classic Shakespearean films being projected onto the former Rydges Hotel'.[242] Shakespeare's words were fused with iconic Christchurch theatrical practices and landmarks to explore its unique cultural identities and unite its community.

This sense of going to the heart of a community was carried through in Free Theatre's *Dream*. The production had always been intended to be a promenade show staged outdoors.[243] When asked why *Dream*, Falkenberg said that they never questioned the choice, but it made sense commercially to stage a popular play which would be accessible to younger audiences

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[238] Charlie Gates, 'Revamped Christchurch Arts Festival to bring "sharp winter jolt" to city', *stuff.co.nz*, 14th June 2019, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/christchurch-life/art-and-stage/113469247/revamped-christchurch-arts-festival-to-bring-sharp-winter-jolt-to-city?rm=m> [accessed 15th May 2020].

[239] Erin Harrington, 'A Winter's Tale & Pōwhiri', *Theatre Review*, 27th July 2019, <http://ftp.theatreview.org.nz/reviews/printreview.php?id=11825> [accessed 15th May 2020].

[240] Charlie Gates, 'Immersive swirl of Shakespeare, smoke and light opens Christchurch Arts Festival', *stuff.co.nz*, 26th July 2019, < https://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/christchurch-life/114551874/immersive-swirl-of-shakespeare-smoke-and-light-opens-christchurch-arts-festival> [accessed 15th May 2020]; 'A Winter's Tale & Pōwhiri', *Christchurch Arts Festival*, <https://artsfestival.co.nz/events/a-winters-tale> [accessed 15th May 2020].

[241] Ibid.

[242] 'A Winter's Tale and Pōwhiri', *Free Theatre*, <http://www.freetheatre.org.nz/a-winters-tale.html> [accessed 15th May 2020].

[243] Interview conducted with Falkenberg and McCurdy, 23rd November 2017.

'without patronising them'.[244] Produced in partnership with University of Canterbury's School of Music, with the support from Christchurch City Council Enliven Projects Fund, Life in Vacant Spaces, and the Ara Institute in 'the orchards and woodlands' of Seven Oaks, *Dream* offered audience members 'an evening of dreaming in nature', as a 'community celebration of this special place'.[245] Traditional Free Theatre collaborations occurred as the company engaged actors, giant puppets operated by Christchurch Circus Trust, Lyttelton Circa Arts, musicians, and taonga puoro performer Geoff Low. Seven Oaks artists opened their studios. A complimentary barbecue was also offered to the local community, and free entry granted to Waltham residents.[246] Free Theatre once again situated Shakespeare at the centre of their work to bring together a community, both artistic and in a wider sense, encouraging a wide range of artists and audiences to respond to his plays.

All of these examples have served to demonstrate further forms of what New Zealand Shakespeare can look and sound like. Performers repeatedly tradapt and reconstruct the playwright and the plays to explore and expose the cultural forces of ownership, individual and national identity, and language. Often, the productions take on a celebratory nature, but they rarely lose sight of the need to critique and evaluate the past in order to work towards a more equal, culturally integrated future.

Over the course of Part One, I have demonstrated Shakespeare's inconsistent and contradictory role within New Zealand society and theatre. Early contact between European settlers and Māori people saw Shakespeare deployed as a crucial device in the acculturation of

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[244] Ibid.

[245] 'A Summer Night's Dream (and free Seven Oaks Community BBQ)', *Christchurch City Council*, <https://ccc.govt.nz/news-and-events/whats-on/show/3670> [accessed 15th May 2020]; 'A Summer Night's Dream', *Free Theatre*, <http://www.freetheatre.org.nz/a-summer-nights-dream.html> [accessed 15th May 2020].

[246] Ibid.

indigenous people, and the process of establishing the colony as a 'better' Britain. Alongside the Bible, Shakespeare was exported to symbolise the pinnacle of British culture as Māori culture was erased.

Since Māori translators and theatre-makers have started to engage with Shakespeare, however, a common goal has emerged: to take ownership over his works and cultural figure in an act of reclaiming their own language and culture, tradapting and appropriating 'the ultimate British literary icon to speak Aotearoa's indigenous language'.[247] This can been seen throughout the te reo- and English-language productions examined above. The practice of translating into a classical version of te reo that draws upon the tradition of whaikōrero was started by Jones, and continues in the work of Penfold and Mason.

Furthermore, theatre productions often seek a further level of translation as Shakespeare is translated aesthetically and culturally into a classical Māori world, as seen prominently in Selwyn's *Maori Merchant* and Ngākau Toa's *A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira*. This attaches a peculiar sense of nostalgia to depictions of a fantasy utopian New Zealand. These productions are arguably problematic as they side-step the history of the country's colonisation in favour of presenting an idealised image, relying on stereotypes rather than reality. In the case of Selwyn's film, as I have argued however, the use of Māori iconography served to demonstrate to an international audience the potential for Māori creativity. These productions engage Shakespeare rhizomatically as they tradapt his plays into a carefully constructed past to comment on the present.

A Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira was a further opportunity for showcasing Māoritanga and to build a sense of Māori cultural identity, both within New Zealand and abroad; and, for Māori

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[247] Minton, 'A Polynesian Shakespeare Film', p. 54.

artists to participate in international conversations about Shakespearean performance. The juxtaposition of Māori cultural practices and early modern English architecture was at once an unsettling reminder of the role that England has played in global colonialism, and a celebration of Māori performance practices and cultural expression as the company took ownership of the iconic space.

Together, such productions reveal the cultural stakes involved in creating theatre in New Zealand. When Sharon Mazer questioned the possibility of a national theatre in New Zealand, similar to critical responses towards a Welsh national theatre, she wrote of the need to:

> experience a more fluid sense of what it is to live together on this small, relatively isolated cluster of islands, to build a national identity that is not necessarily singular or unified but understood as composed of complementary, sometimes even divergent strands of historical movements, and to find new ways of weaving our individual performances together in art as in life.[248]

Intersections between Māori theatre and Shakespeare offer unique insights into these genres, as well as how they come together in a syncretised way: 'The result is a complex and interwoven story of New Zealand – one that involves and acknowledges its past as a British colony'.[249] As seen in Chapter One, this reflects the fragmentary nature of Shakespeare's identity in his 'home' nation, whist simultaneously draws attention to the ironic way that his exportation is diversified. By acknowledging the settler culture specific to New Zealand, these moments of interaction provide a space for us all to learn about New Zealand's diverse past and present, and the importance of representation and diversity.

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[248] 'A National Theatre in New Zealand? Why /Not?', *Theatre and Performance in Small Nations*, ed. by Steve Blandford (Bristol: Intellect, 2013), pp. 109-21, pp. 119-20.

[249] Ibid.

Part Two: The Pop-up Globe
Introduction

Shakespeare constantly presents other cultures – non-English cultures […] whether it's in Othello *or* The Merchant of Venice *or* Romeo and Juliet *– because almost all of his plays are about cultures meeting*.[250]

Part Two focuses the cultural intersections that take place throughout PuG's productions. The Auckland-based theatre, led by Artistic Director Miles Gregory, was established in 2016 and has been making waves throughout New Zealand theatre ever since. The cultural hybridity that can be detected in the work of PuG, whether that is manifested visually and aurally through the production's design or not, is threefold. A reconstruction of an early modern English theatre has been built in twenty-first century New Zealand: early modern England meets the South Pacific meets the expectations of modern audiences. This presents unique challenges to directors, actors and designers. As director Ben Naylor has stated: 'You are constantly playing with the tension between tradition and contemporaneity'.[251] Whether the South Pacific is made a dominant feature of the production or not, the modern audience will bring to the performance their own very specific expectations and experiences of the theatre.

I will pay particular attention to PuG's Shakespeare tradaptations that explicitly acknowledge New Zealand's complex racial history: *Romeo and Juliet* (dir. Naylor; 2016), *Othello* (dir. Naylor; 2017), *Much Ado* (dir. McDowell; 2017), *Dream* (dir. Gregory; 2017). By attending performances of *Othello*, *Much Ado* and *Dream* in both Melbourne and Auckland in late 2017, I will draw on my firsthand responses, as well as practitioner

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[250] Miles Gregory quoted in Dionne Christian, 'Dream run for te reo – Pop-up Globe's dreamy line up', *NZ Herald*, 9th December 2017, <http://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/news/article.cfm?c_id=1501119&objectid=11956157> [accessed 23rd April 2018].

[251] 'Interview with Director', *Pop-up Globe for Schools* education pack (2016), p. 12.

interviews conducted with Gregory and Naylor.[252] In the first four years of operating, PuG made significant advances in terms of racial diversity and representation on New Zealand's stages, explicitly acknowledging their place within the global Shakespearean palimpsest by syncretically treating the plays.[253]

The Theatre

PuG is the first modern reconstruction of the second Globe theatre (1614-42). Extensive research is a core part of the company's on-going work as they explore building dimensions and construction, imagine how the interior might have looked and employ techniques and materials that 'were used at the time'.[254] The process of reconstructing the theatre began with analysing Wenceslaus Hollar's preparatory sketches for his panorama of London created in the 1630s.[255] CAD drawings were made of Hollar's sketch before being transformed into a scale model. The resulting sixteen-sided building, claims Tim Fitzpatrick, lead on the reconstruction process, was corroborated by archeological evidence unearthed in 1989 on the sites of the original Globes on Bankside.[256]

There have been several different versions of PuG. Each incarnation of the modern theatre has been adapted to keep up with advances in research into early modern buildings.

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[252] I attended *Othello* and *Mucho Ado* in Melbourne, and *Dream* in Auckland.

[253] As I initially travelled to New Zealand with the expectation of researching Free Theatre and stumbled across PuG whilst I was there, there was not the time to formulate audience questionnaires and have them ethically approved by the University or the theatre company.

[254] 'Scenic Workshop: Q&A with Malcolm Dale' (programme note), *Season 3* (Auckland: Pop-up Globe, 2017), p. 14.

[255] Tim Fitzpatrick, 'First Globe, Second Globe & Pop-up Globe' (programme note), *Season 3* (Auckland: Pop-up Globe, 2017), p. 44.

[256] Ibid.

Realising the interior was a challenging task as no one 'really knows what the interior of the second Globe looks like so we get to imagine what it might have been and bring it into reality'.[257] The most recent interior was modelled on the Middle Temple Hall, based on the knowledge that Shakespeare's company performed for 'the King and other nobility at palaces, homes or great halls. This makes it seem likely that they would have made the interior of the Globe similar to the spaces they were going to perform in'.[258] However, as David Lawrence, PuG Head of Research and Enrichment, has stated, almost 'everything about how we think 16th/17th century playhouses worked is supposition'.[259] The comprehensive work done at PuG continues to interrogate the technical innovations available to seventeenth-century theatre-makers, offering a 'living embodiment of [their] research rather than a monument to caution or compromise'.[260] All this feeds directly into PuG's productions as they fuse the early modern with the modern in energising ways.

Initially intended to be a single-season event in 2016 to coincide with the global celebrations marking the quatercentenary of Shakespeare's death, PuG quite literally popped up in just one week in a car park in Auckland. Dubbed as 'Shakespeare's other home in the southern hemisphere', PuG's first season was a resounding success: with 'a total of 128 performances, this was the largest home-grown theatre event in New Zealand history, and the largest ever Shakespeare festival in Australasia'.[261] Built out of one hundred tonnes of scaffolding, the theatre has been described as a huge Meccano set that can be dismantled and

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[257] Dale, 'Scenic Workshop' p. 14.

[258] Ibid.

[259] 'Research and Modification' (programme note), *Season 3* (Auckland: Pop-up Globe, 2017), pp. 18-9, p. 18.

[260] Ibid., p. 19.

[261] Nick Awde, 'Auckland's Pop-Up Globe: Shakespeare's other home in the southern hemisphere', *The Stage*, 10th November 2016, <https://www.thestage.co.uk/features/2016/shakespeares-other-home-in-the-southern-hemisphere/> [accessed 6th April 2018].

reassembled with relative ease.[262] The first season was so popular that it was extended twice before coming to an end, and by the time the second season came to rehearse PuG had grown to be the 'largest theatre production company in New Zealand'.[263] In 2017, the company (and the building itself) transferred to Melbourne for their first international season, whilst a second theatre was built in a permanent location in Auckland. PuG 'popped down' at the beginning of 2020. Future plans for the theatre have yet to be announced.

In the context of New Zealand's settler society an extra social tension is added in the reconstruction of an early modern English theatre. It is impossible to divorce the cultural history of the theatre from the history of New Zealand, particularly given the role that Shakespeare played in the colonisation of the country, as seen in Part One. On top of the visual cues of British cultural colonisation, the British accents of the many actors imported from Central School of Speech and Drama seemed to strike a strange imperialist chord that echoed back through time. Moreover, the plays programmed alongside the overtly Pasifika-influenced productions in 2017 were performed by an all-male company, the King's Men, and were 'traditional' in style: *Henry V* (dir. Gregory) was performed in medieval armour, and *As You Like It* (dir. Tom Mallaburn) was performed in early modern garb.[264] Consciously made or not, the colonial undertones were hard to ignore.

The overall environment created by PuG was similar in Melbourne and Auckland. Walking onto the sites of the theatres, a distinct festive feeling hung in the air, not unlike the atmosphere created at Shakespeare's Globe; it even rained heavily during the productions I

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[262] Siena Yates, 'A Time and a Place: Pop-up Globe', *stuff.co.nz*, 14th January 2016, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/stage-and-theatre/75840998/a-time-and-a-place-pop-up-globe> [accessed 27th February 2018].

[263] Awde, 'Auckland's Pop-Up Globe'.

[264] Each season, at least two in-house companies of actors were formed taking their names from early modern English theatre companies or from well-known figures from the era. If a production then transferred, the acting company retained its original name.

saw in Melbourne so I felt very at home. In Auckland, audience members had come dressed for the occasion wearing flower crowns and fairy face paint. Invitations to participate in a particular way continued throughout the evening as the actors made extensive use of the yard. As various members of the audience were asked direct questions or called up onto stage they took on an active role in the telling of the story. As Jacques Drew (Beatrice in *Much Ado*) has stated, 'this was what the Globe was designed for – to talk to the audience directly, to bring them in all the time'.[265] As a collective, we were encouraged to respond vocally and physically to the productions, which caused both moments of shared intimacy and distancing.

When asked what the slogan of the PuG's international season – 'Shakespeare like it's 1614' – meant for Gregory, he laughed and said it was a trick of the marketing department.[266] It did, however, instil in audiences a set of predetermined social cues that enabled them to act and respond in certain ways to the performances, just as open-air theatre carries a different set of expectations to indoor theatre.[267] 'Shakespeare like it's 1614' implies an authentic liveness to the productions, encouraging audiences to behave as an imagined seventeenth-century one might have. Gregory has described the experience of attending PuG as: 'This isn't dusty Shakespeare. This is now. Alive. Like a party'.[268] He goes on to state:

> Our audiences are blown away by the immersive experience of seeing Shakespeare performed in the space for which it was written. The relationship between actor and audience, the spectacular space itself, together with the power of Shakespeare's incredible work, means attending plays at [PuG] is totally

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[265] Amy Baker, 'Comedy and tragedy all in a day's work at pop-up Globe's second season', *stuff.co.nz,* 17th February 2017, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/auckland/local-news/north-harbour-news/89250590/Comedy-and-tragedy-all-in-a-days-work-at-pop-up-Globes-second-season> [accessed 10th December 2017].

[266] Interview conducted with Gregory, 21st March 2018.

[267] See Rosemary Gaby, *Open-Air Shakespeare: Under Australian Skies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Michael Dobson, 'Shakespeare in the open: outdoor performance', *Shakespeare and Amateur Performance: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[268] 'Welcome', *Pop-up Globe*, <https://popupglobe.co.nz/about/welcome/> [accessed 1st February 2018].

different from anything you've seen before.[269]

Much has been written on audiences at London's 1997 reconstruction Globe and their perceived participation.[270] Particularly in the early days, comparisons to Disneyland abound, as scholars variably critiqued and celebrated the festive qualities of the theatre and the more incidental form of spectatorship.[271] The behaviour of the audiences at PuG mirrored those in London: they were all very vocal in demonstrating their delight or disgust, encouraged by the cast members and the nature of the building itself.

The level of participation expected from the audience was established before the show even began as often characters spilled out of the theatre to interact with audience members in the grounds outside. The cast for *Dream*, for example, played instruments and held conversations with members of the public in character, and a vast majority of them entered through the yard for their first entrance, asking people to move out of the way of the imminent parade. The mechanicals' musical efforts reacted organically to those they encountered: a couple taking a picture of themselves were suddenly surrounded and serenaded, or those queuing at the bar or for the toilets were sung at in harmony. Ahead of *Much Ado*, Dogberry and Verges were roaming yard collecting names for potential members of the watch.

A certain degree of complicity and responsibility was therefore instituted from the outset, as the audience was never permitted to be passive spectators but rather was shepherded

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[269] Ibid.

[270] See Stephen Purcell, *Shakespeare in the Theatre: Mark Rylance at the Globe* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); *Shakespeare's Globe: A Theatrical Experiment*, ed. by Farah Karim-Cooper and Christie Carson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Rob Conkie, *The Globe Theatre project: Shakespeare and authenticity* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006); W.B. Worthen, 'Globe Performativity', *Shakespeare and the Force of Modern Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 79-116.

[271] See Dennis Kennedy, 'Shakespeare and Cultural Tourism', *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 50 no. 2 (May 1998), pp. 175-88; David Schalkwyk, 'From the globe to globalisation: Shakespeare and Disney in the postmodern world', *Journal of Literary Studies*, Vol. 15, nos. 1-2 (1999), pp. 33-65.

into the role of active contributors to the ultimate performance. This treatment of the audience as complicit participants is a familiar trope within this thesis: the way the audience was constructed for Tanttaka's *Ametsa/Sueño*, or the shared lighting used in ThGC's *Macbeth*, for example, offered similar experiences to those of PuG. We were, in some way, as responsible as anyone else for Hippolyta's treatment at Theseus' hand or Desdemona at Othello's, because of the immediate interaction offered by the theatre space and the cast. The tiers of seating wrapped around a thrust stage, the yard space and the shared lighting demanded elevated engagement, just as the direct address did. The theatre was immediately established as a shared space. Furthermore, Shakespeare 'like a party' engaged audience members in a particular way even before they bought their tickets, encouraging specific expectations and behaviours.

The challenges of intercultural theatre

I will focus first on two productions that expose the complicated challenges of intercultural theatre and the act of incorporating indigenous cultures into otherwise Westernised productions of Shakespeare; these productions operate within Balme's second category of syncretic theatre as 'the existing system remains dominant' and the new system is 'visible only in the form of a few identifiable elements'.[272] *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello* directly engaged with questions of cultural appropriation, the performance of culture and the politics of representation.

[272] Balme, *Decolonizing the Stage*, p. 17. The same can be argued of PuG's *Much Ado*. *Dream* moved towards establishing an equilibrium between new and old theatrico-cultural systems as more Māoritanga was presented onstage.

Romeo and Juliet opened PuG's first season in 2016. From the outset, Naylor was keen to explore Māori cultural and linguistic practices through theatre, aiming to incorporate 'Renaissance masque and sword-fighting manuals combined with the structure of the Māori *pōwhiri* and *kapa haka* in the physical language of the work' to create 'a production which felt at home in this smoke-and-mirrors, new-old environment on the other side of the world, and with a multi-national, multi-ethnic cast'.[273] Romeo was played by British Jonathan Tynan-Moss and Juliet was played by Pacific Islander Christel Chapman.

Naylor was, however, met with extreme opposition and a general wariness from both Māori and Pākehā members of the company. After consulting members of a local iwi to justify their use, they were finally permitted to use certain gestures on stage: a wiri (gesture signifying movement of waves and can symbolise danger) and some dance movements were incorporated into the closing jig.[274] No te reo was present. The costumes were deliberately 'non-specifically contemporary' but Tynan-Moss wore a waistcoat that was dark green, a highly significant colour in Māori culture as is explored further in my discussion of *Othello*. The inclusion of elements of kapa haka were either so well-integrated or so minor that they were not commented upon in any of the production's reviews.[275] Most commended the use of the unusual theatre space which replicated 'the compelling physical intimacy of

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[273] Original italics. 'Romeo and Juliet', *Ben Naylor*, <https://bennaylor.me/productions/romeo-juliet/> [accessed 22nd May 2020].

[274] Interview conducted with Ben Naylor, 26th March 2018, London.

[275] See: Heidi North-Bailey, 'Bound to be captivated', *Theatre Review*, 20th February 2016, <https://www.theatreview.org.nz/reviews/review.php?id=8859 > [accessed 22nd May 2020]; 'Theatre review: An intimate portrayal of youthful love', *NZ Herald*, 22nd February 2016, < https://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/news/article.cfm?c_id=1501119&objectid=11593247 > [accessed 22nd May 2020]; Matt Baker, 'REVIEW: Romeo and Juliet (Pop-up Globe)', *Theatre Scenes*, 29th February 2016, <http://www.theatrescenes.co.nz/review-romeo-and-juliet-pop-up-globe/> [accessed 22nd May 2020]; Danielle, 'The Pop Up Globe', *The Restless Empire*, 4th August 2016, <http://www.therestlessempire.com/839-2/> [accessed 22nd May 2020].

Shakespearean theatre in which earthy buffoonery rubs shoulders with the most transcendent poetry'.[276]

There is a fine line between cultural celebration and appropriation. As a white British man, Naylor was particularly aware of this, and did not want to impose anything on the production because of his individual cultural identity. However, as he emphasised in my interview, Naylor is Jewish; coming from a minority background, he has an inherent desire to incorporate other cultures in his work in a sense of sharing cultures.[277] It was therefore challenging to be met with attitude of not being able to do something because 'you're not one of us'.[278]

The conversations that began during *Romeo and Juliet* concerning cultural ownership and appropriation continued more loudly in *Othello*. As Silverstone has stated: 'If performances of *Othello*, particularly in postcolonial or settler cultures, are haunted by Shakespeare as a marker of British cultural authority, they are also insistently haunted by ideas about race and race-relations'.[279] This notion renders *Othello* all the more pertinent as racial tensions and social hierarchy in relation to race continue to be ever-present in New Zealand: 'If [*Othello*] did not begin as a play about race, then its history has made it one'.[280] This is particularly apparent when considering the disparity in financial support offered to Māori kapa haka in contrast to Pākehā theatre; in 2007, Kouka stated that 'a Māori voice is almost non-existent in any of the state-funded theatres of New Zealand. Māori have once

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276 'An intimate portrayal of youthful love'.

277 Interview conducted, 26th March 2018.

278 Ibid.

279 '*Othello*'s Travels in New Zealand', p. 77.

280 Ben Okri, 'Leaping out of Shakespeare's Terror: Five Meditations on *Othello*', *A Way of Being Free* (London: Phoenix House, 1997), quoted in Michael Neill, 'Introduction', *Othello: The Moor of Venice* by William Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 113.

again been relegated to hold the position of "talent" and have very little or no creative and financial control'.[281] As Part One demonstrated, there is a current resurgence in Māori culture evidenced in the growth of research centres and schools that incorporate te reo into the classroom. The inclusion of te reo as a compulsory subject is still an area of great contention within New Zealand; te reo is not compulsory but the current government have plans to make it 'universally available' by 2025.[282] For Naylor, *Othello* is particularly relevant, not only in modern New Zealand, but globally: 'as nationalism and its attendant demons – racism and xenophobia – again insinuate themselves into mainstream political discourse worldwide […], the play asks us once more to confront the lies that sound like truth'.[283]

Othello was remounted as part of PuG's international season in Melbourne, thereby exposing the production to a new audience base; it was this version that I was able to see. The actor playing the title role changed during this transition from Te Kohe Tuhaka to Taylor, both of whom are of Māori descent. Tuhaka was resistant to using any specifically Māori cultural references on stage. Instead, different pronunciations of the word 'Moor' were used to interrogate racial prejudices.[284] Taylor, however, translated parts of the text into te reo. As a result, there was a significant shift in audience reception of the character. The actor playing Emilia, Roimata Fox, was also Māori and so the relationship between Othello and Emilia changed in dynamics once te reo was used onstage. With an 'incredibly ethnically diverse

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[281] Kouka, 'Re-Colonising the Natives', pp. 237-8.

[282] Laura Walters, 'Māori Party says Labour's te reo plan lacks vision, courage, aspiration', *stuff.co.nz*, 15th September 2017, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/96887608/mori-party-says-labours-te-reo-plan-lacks-vision-courage-aspiration?rm=m> [accessed 8th May 2018]; Henry Cooke, 'Winston Peters tells ministers touting compulsory te reo to get 'on the same page'', *stuff.co.nz*, 8th May 2018, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/103716538/nanaia-mahuta-compulsory-te-reo-in-schools-not-if-but-when> [accessed 9th May 2018].

[283] Ben Naylor, 'Othello' (programme note), *Othello* by William Shakespeare (Melbourne: Pop-up Globe, 2017), p. 30.

[284] Interview conducted with Naylor, 26th March 2018.

company', it was a deliberate choice to have all of them play their own ethnicity.[285] It was key for Naylor and his company to not make their production of *Othello* explicitly political but instead to 'celebrate that we are all coming together to make this, rather than be didactic about the play as an evocation of racism'.[286] *Othello* was performed by the mixed-gendered company, The Queen's Company, who also appeared in *Much Ado*.

I shall take the character of Emilia as a starting point. Already a subjugated figure at the hands of her husband, in this production, she was further minorised by being represented by a Māori actor. Iago was played by Haakon Smestad, who is half Norwegian, half Turkish. His lighter skin tone and European accent served to reinforce historical connections to nineteenth-century European settlers marrying Māori women, which was initially encouraged as a means of 'civilising' Māori people.[287] Emilia's storyline became all the more poignant within the context of a New Zealand-based audience who are likely familiar with the high levels of domestic violence that Māori women in particular face: a study carried out by the University of Auckland in 2010 revealed that 57.6 per cent of Māori women included in the survey had experienced both physical and sexual abuse from partners; the next highest ranking category was 'European and others' at 34.3 per cent.[288] The violent relationship that was portrayed between Iago and Emilia, and the violence used by Othello in the denouement, reinforced these social tropes through the actor's bodies. As Sudipto Chatterjee and Jyotsna Singh state: 'we cannot extricate the tragic resonance [at the end of the play] from *the*

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[285] Naylor, *Pop-up Globe for Schools* education pack (2016), p. 13

[286] Ibid.

[287] Angela Wanhalla, 'Intermarriage', *Te Ara*, 5th May 2011, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/intermarriage/page-1> [accessed 27th April 2018].

[288] Janet Fanslow, Elizabeth Robinson, Sue Crengle, and Lana Perese, 'Juxtaposing beliefs and reality: prevalence rates of intimate partner violence and attitudes to violence and gender roles reported by New Zealand women', *Violence Against Women*, Vol. 16 no. 7 (2010), pp. 812-31.

racialized body of the Shakespearean actor'.[289] This notion was doubly true in this case as the broken body of Emilia was also present in the final scenes, in stark contrast to fair-haired Desdemona (played by white British Jasmine Blackborow). Furthermore, the image of the Māori body onstage could not escape modern associations with domestic violence, as reviewers immediately compared *Othello* with *Once Were Warriors* (dir. Lee Tamahori): the performance served as an 'unsettling reminder of the callous violence that was so powerfully evoked' in the 1994 film.[290]

Despite Tuhaka's reluctance to incorporate any elements of his Māori cultural heritage within the production, it is clear that reviewers and audience members could not help but draw certain associations. The objectification of the Māori body continued as reviewer Tamati Patuwai dubbed Tuhaka 'an arresting specimen of Ngāti Porou and Tuhoe lineage'.[291] Whilst I am aware that a shift in gaze and context has occurred, the dehumanising language employed here echoes the language of early reviews of actors of colour playing the role: Ira Aldridge and Paul Robeson, for example, came under extreme scrutiny as audiences struggled to disassociate their performances from an imagined personal history of an 'African jungle' and see past 'this black, powerful, howling flesh'.[292] Patuwai's review does eventually praise Tuhaka's performance as 'commendable', however it is indicative of the continuing exotictisation of the actor's body that the reviewer chose to prioritise commenting on his

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[289] Original italics. 'Moor or Less? The Surveillance of *Othello*, Calcutta 1848', *Shakespeare and Appropriation*, ed. by Christy Desmet and Robert Sawyer (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 66.

[290] 'Theatre Review: Othello', *NZ Herald*, 13th March 2017, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/news/article.cfm?c_id=1501119&objectid=11816959> [accessed 27th April 2018]. Based on the 1990 book by Alan Duff, *Once Were Warriors* tells the brutal story of the domestic life of an urban Māori family as they struggle with domestic violence, alcoholism, poverty. See 'Once Were Warriors', *NZ On Screen*, <https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/once-were-warriors-1994/background> [accessed 23rd June 2020].

[291] 'A Remarkable Feast for the Senses', *Theatre Review*, 13th April 2017 <https://www.theatreview.org.nz/reviews/review.php?id=10162> [accessed 27th April 2018].

[292] N.S. Sodkhanskaya, *Dyen* (1863), quoted in Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock, *Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958), pp. 265-6.

appearance in relation to his race rather than his ability to deliver the text.[293] This comment made in the context of a PuG production, in a building that has British cultural identity woven into its very fabric, sits all the more uncomfortably in a settler culture 'haunted by Shakespeare as a marker of British cultural authority'.[294] Furthermore, part of Tuhaka's resistance to employing Māori culture onstage was a fear of being type cast, which, in light of this review, seems justified as audiences did it anyway.[295]

The change in actor playing Othello naturally had a significant effect on the production, not least because of the different ways Tuhaka and Taylor approached the character. The most significant addition was Taylor's incorporation of kapa haka; he worked extensively with McDowell, who acted as the production's cultural advisor.[296] Interestingly, to use Māori culture onstage was considered 'too much' for an Auckland audience to handle, Naylor revealed; it was only in the removal of the play from that context which enabled the company to explore more.[297] This is similar to attitudes revealed in *Savage Hearts*. There was also more Māori representation in the second company, so this combined with the geographical distance instilled a certain liberation within the cast to use their heritages in performance.

Smestad's Iago was heavily influenced by Norse mythology, whilst Taylor's heritage was exploited most in the final scenes of the play. As Othello continued his descent into jealous madness, visual and aural elements of kapa haka were integrated into his performance. It was as if Othello was reverting back into a Māori warrior as he carried out a series of

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[293] Ibid.

[294] Silverstone, '*Othello*'s Travels in New Zealand', p. 77.

[295] Interview conducted with Naylor, 26th March 2018.

[296] Ibid.

[297] Ibid.

movements from the haka: he stamped his foot in time with his words, widened his eyes, and performed a wiri. His accent, previously clipped RP, slipped into New Zealand, and remained so for the rest of the show.[298] It was a controversial performance choice, but one that Naylor was keen to enable.[299] The icon of the Māori warrior, and the modern negative associations, lent itself well to a play that centres on the potential toxicity of masculinity. Naylor reported that in these moments some audiences laughed, possibly in response to the association the haka has now with rugby. There were frustrating comments of 'can't New Zealanders do anything without doing a haka?', as audience members struggled to see past those modern connotations.[300]

Subtle visual signifiers of Māori culture were incorporated into the production's design: whilst the soldiers were dressed in black (an homage to the All Blacks, Naylor stated), Othello's uniform was adorned with dark green shoulder caps, and he wore a dark green belt and scabbard, in reference to greenstone and its central importance within Māori culture.[301] He also greeted his fellow soldiers with a hongi (a sign of respect in which two people press their noses and foreheads together to share their life breath). Crucially, his life breath was later stolen by Iago in the trance scene.

The first example of te reo occurred in a brief exchange between Emilia and Bianca. In contrast to Fox's darker skin tone, Bianca was played by Victoria Abbott, who is Pākehā

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[298] The rest of the cast used their own accents throughout.

[299] Interview conducted, 26th March 2018.

[300] Ibid.

[301] Ibid. Pounamu (greenstone) is only found in the South Island. They are Māori toanga and are invested with a great deal of mana; representing a connection with one's ancestors, they are passed down between generations and gain more mana as they age. Pounamu can be decorative such as pendants, earrings or cloak pins, or tools or weapons such as the mere pounamu used by the cast in 2015's *Romeo and Juliet*. Ornamental carvings often represent elements of the natural world and are imbued with different spiritual significance depending on the shape. For example, the koru signifies an unfurling native fern and symbolises hope, life and new beginnings; hei matua is a fish hook signifying the ocean which offers good health, prosperity and safety whilst travelling to the wearer; and, the hei-tiki is a symbol of status.

and whose makeup made her face appear even lighter. Emilia called Bianca a strumpet to which Bianca replied: 'I am no strumpet; but of life as honest/As you that thus abuse me' (V.i. 120-2). Emilia responded with a quickly fired te reo insult that drew gasps and laughs from the audience. Despite the rest of the character's previous derision towards Bianca, they all moved to protect her from Emilia's outburst. Bianca left the stage victorious, whilst Emilia was shoved off violently by Iago: the Pākehā Bianca triumphed over the Māori Emilia. This was not only the first moment of te reo on stage but the first explicit acknowledgement of Emilia's heritage other than her accent. It is unlikely that an audience of primarily Australian origins would have understood the te reo used here. What is more probable is that they were reacting to the gestures of the two actors: Abbott incorporated biting her thumb at Fox into the exchange. A more uncomfortable, but not impossible, interpretation is that they were laughing at Fox as the minority Other, and were therefore responding to something foreign which created an awkward sense of alienation in the audience.

Othello and Emilia also communicated in te reo immediately following Desdemona's death; the actors improvised the dialogue each night. The audience were aided in comprehension by the repetition of key words such as 'tane' or 'husband' in both te reo and English. The tight sense of urgency with which the scene was already imbued was heightened at the introduction of te reo as even the proud Othello dispensed with formality, and to a non-te reo speaking audience member, a desperate and futile secrecy was added as non-te reo speakers were excluded from what they were saying.

Naylor's productions did not shy away from potentially thorny issues surrounding the representation of race. Instead, they challenged audiences to re-evaluate modern associations

with the image of the Māori body onstage by foregrounding the cast's heritages and Māori cultural practices.

Shakespeare 'like a party'

The performative nature of the PuG itself was interrogated explicitly in the two productions examined next: *Much Ado* and *Dream*. The way in which these shows blended Polynesian linguistic and visual cultural aspects offered a celebratory syncretic theatre that worked in dialogue with the values of Shakespeare's Globe.

Much Ado fully embraced cultural aesthetics of the South Pacific as McDowell 'artfully [wove] elements of Polynesian music, dance and ritual into the unfolding drama'.[302] Relocating the play to an island 'where life is slow, hot, and you can't do anything without the locals knowing about it', designer Chantelle Gerrard incorporated elements of Polynesian tradition into the visual make-up of the production, whilst McDowell and Paul McLaney, the musical director, interwove aural aspects.[303] The production opened and closed with a song performed by the company in a Polynesian language. Watchman George Seacole (Black Friars' graduate Asalemo Tofete, who also played Benedick) launched into Samoan to berate audience members for misconduct once he had been given his charge by Dogberry (Kieran Mortell).[304]

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[302] Paul Simei-Barton, 'Theatre Review: Much Ado About Nothing gets Pacific flavour', *NZ Herald*, 1st March 2017, <http://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment-reviews/news/article.cfm?c_id=1502967&objectid=11809018> [accessed 16th February 2018]. My review of *Much Ado About Nothing* can be read in *Shakespeare Institute Review*, Issue 4 (2019), pp. 55-8. The same production was revived for PuG's fifth and final season in 2019-20.

[303] Miriama McDowell, 'Much Ado About Nothing' (programme note), *Much Ado About Nothing* by William Shakespeare (Melbourne: Pop-up Globe, 2017), p. 29.

[304] The roles of Benedick and George Seacole were originally played by Semu Filipo. Tofete took over the role on 28th November 2017. I witnessed the play on 4th December 2017, so all references to these roles pertain to Tofete's performance.

The formal moments such as the wedding or Claudio's (Theo David) attendance of Hero's (Abbott) tomb were heightened by the inclusion of Pasifika cultural fusion. For the wedding, the women kept their early modern style dresses but also wore brightly-coloured flower crowns whilst the men adopted traditional long skirts with loose, white shirts. Claudio sang a Pasifika song over Hero's grave. The company also performed a Pasifika traditional style closing dance that was then blended with Jacobean jig movements. The overall design was playful in its blending of cultures: modern influences were present as Beatrice wore Converse trainers, Benedick drank out of a plastic water bottle during his goading scene and Ursula (Blackborow) was seen reading *Fifty Shades of Grey* ahead of getting ready for the wedding.

The audience took on a particular role in this production, responding enthusiastically to the cues given to them: as Drew has stated, they 'are another character in the play'.[305] A reciprocal dialogue, that continued throughout, was established almost immediately as Dogberry and Verges (Johnny Light) moved through the gathering crowd in the yard to select their unsuspecting victims to perform the Banana Boat Song onstage, which we were all invited to participate in. *Much Ado* fully invested in the notion of 'Shakespeare like a party', unifying the multiple cultures present in New Zealand contemporary society. This was further explored in Gregory's *Dream*.

Played by the all-male company, the Buckingham's Men, the three worlds that PuG attempts to harmonise were made most apparent in perhaps the most literal example of the Shakespearean rhizome examined in this thesis: the court was set in early modern Europe, the mechanicals were modern day 'tradies' or tradesmen who wore high-vis jackets and hard hats,

[305] quoted in Baker, 'Comedy and tragedy all in a day's work in pop-up Globe's second season'.

and the fairy kingdom was Māori and spoke solely in te reo (translated by Pierre Lyndon).[306] Whilst the inclusion of te reo did lead to some criticism that it 'bastardised what made Shakespeare unique', Gregory was quick to point out that 'just because something is in another language doesn't mean it's not comprehensible' and that the production was an opportunity for 'showcasing one of New Zealand's official languages'.[307]

Gregory was keen to explore the 'fear of the Other' that he feels is central to *Dream*.[308] He had a strong creative team of cultural advisors to help realise a fairy court that was respectful and sensitive to Māori culture and history which included traditional music consultant Ani-Piki Tuari, traditional caving consultant Henare Mato and traditional fight director Beez Te Waati, as well as internationally renowned fibre artist and designer Tawhiao, who designed the fairy kingdom. McDowell acted as a cultural consultant as the production explored New Zealand's past and present social foundations. Key to that process was Associate Director Tuhaka:

> I am interested in it from a perspective where the whole company […] is allowed to be anchored in the traditions, anchored in the stories and the reasons for doing what we're doing are clear. It's the same way I felt when I was part of PuG as an actor [in *Othello*]; everything was anchored in the knowledge of Shakespeare, the beauty of and the history of it, the history of the theatre itself and the knowledge that all the directors brought. For me, it's about having a good balance of that as we explore the culture.[309]

It is thought-provoking that Tuhaka was willing to include elements of Māori culture in *Dream*, but not *Othello*. Perhaps the intervening years had fortified his conviction in PuG's

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[306] 'Shakespeare director scorns reo Māori objectors', *Radio NZ*, 22nd January 2018, < https://www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/348647/shakespeare-director-scorns-reo-maori-objectors> [accessed 14th December 2018]. My review of *Dream* can be read in *Shakespeare Bulletin*, Vol. 36 no. 2 (Summer 2018), pp. 354-8.

[307] 'Shakespeare directors scorns reo Māori objectors'.

[308] Interview conducted, 21st March 2018.

[309] Quoted in Christian, 'Dream run for te reo'.

ability to handle such an issue or perhaps he felt enabled by the change in play to one that has a less turbulent history in New Zealand.

Many of the cast had to learn te reo for the production.[310] Even though the fairies spoke exclusively in te reo, the key moment I will focus on initially is Hippolyta's (Edward Peni, who also doubled as Titania) presence in the opening scene. This character became pivotal for Gregory and the company in understanding the world of the play. Flora and fauna not native to New Zealand were present throughout as the production team emphasised that they were not interested in making a 'History Channel documentary where pre-European New Zealand is presented on stage'; the whole performance began with a Morris dance of sorts in which figures dressed in tall white cloaks adorned with stag skulls paraded around the stage.[311]

Hippolyta, already dressed in an early modern style dress, was representative of a captured leader. The 'last of her tribe', she was led in bound in chains and gagged, and was to be married off to Theseus so that he could 'prove his absolute dominance' in this ultimate act of subjugation.[312] Whilst almost all of Hippolyta's lines had been cut, when she did free herself from the gag she spoke in te reo. The moment drew laughter from the audience. For me at least, it was an uncomfortable reaction, but possibly not an incongruous one. Despite Hippolyta's awkward presence, the scene had already been established as reasonably jovial with the visual gag of Egeus failing to identify which of the cloaked figures was his daughter. The outburst from the audience, however, quickly dissipated, possibly as people realised the

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[310] Te Kohe Tuhaka, 'Developing the Fairy Court' (insert programme note), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by William Shakespeare (Auckland: Pop-up Globe, 2017-8), pp. 8-9, p. 9.

[311] Christian, 'Dream run for te reo'.

[312] Interview conducted with Gregory, 26th March 2018.

implications of their laughter: either an awkward moment of self-recognition or the opposite, they had laughed at something foreign because it was just that. Something other than themselves. Theseus (Te Kare, who also doubled as Oberon) gave a fierce look towards Hippolyta to quell her rant, which could also have been the source of the laughter, but surely that implies far worse: the audience laughed in response to the oppression of a minority figure. The stakes were suddenly raised, for both the characters and the audience.

What was most poignant about Hippolyta's characterisation was that she spoke fluent English in the final scenes. Her assimilation into an English-speaking culture was already beginning just a few days after her capture; it acted as a haunting reminder of the role Shakespeare played in teaching Māori people English throughout the nineteenth century. Whilst there are obvious practical elements at stake here in that Hippolyta's lines could now be understood by a non-te reo speaking audience and she could engage with the rest of the characters, I still found the transition to be uncomfortable. We saw the reverse process that Taylor took in *Othello*: Hippolyta moved away from her cultural heritage, albeit not entirely as she retained visual cultural cues in her costume such as a greenstone necklace and the same white feathers in her hair that Titania wore, and she performed the hongi with Hermia and Helena following the wedding.

The fairy kingdom was unabashedly Māori and its inhabitants were clearly in control of very powerful magic, which was often used to great comedic effect. As one reviewer suggested:

> Shakespeare (almost inextricable from its colonial, racial, privileged and often misogynistic contexts)[,] Te Ao Maori and classic kiwiana are brought to the stage in various guises. Sitting awkwardly in balance at times, it is nevertheless a

> positive step towards genuine inclusivity and makes this production highly memorable.[313]

As mentioned above, a great deal of the production team were dedicated solely to realising a respectful yet dynamic Māori world that had 'the feel of pre-colonisation New Zealand'.[314] Tuhaka's focus when directing the Māori world was not on folklore, in fact he actively tried 'to steer away from delving into deep and meaningful folklore', centring his approach on the story, the text and the language instead.[315] As Tuhaka reasoned: 'The heart of Shakespeare's text is entertainment', so the tonality, 'physicality and movement of the cast members' was paramount.[316] Tuhaka worked with Te Waati, 'a haka theatre expert', to create the fairies' first entrance, which involved them emerging from under the stage as if from a subterranean world and a fight between Titania and Oberon using taiaha.[317] Titania was the clear victor.

Traditional costumes designed by Tawhiao worked to visually solidify the Māori fairy kingdom, drawing on her work in natural fibres and traditional weaving techniques (See Figures 5 & 6).[318] She 'referenced a lot of old Māori portraits', claiming that there is 'not much information pre-European'.[319] Inspired by Māori folklore, the Patupaiarehe (also known as 'tūrehu and pakepakehā […] fairy-like creatures of the forests and mountain tops') were

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[313] Dione Joseph, 'Review: A Midsummer Night's Dream', *NZ Herald*, 8th December 2017, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/news/article.cfm?c_id=1501119&objectid=11956095> [accessed 23rd May 2020].

[314] Tuhaka, 'Developing the Fairy Court', p. 9.

[315] Ibid.

[316] Ibid.

[317] Ibid.

[318] Many thanks to Pop-up Globe, especially Sandra Roberts, for granting access to and providing permission to reproduce these images.

[319] Shona Tawhiao, 'Costuming the Fairy Court' (insert programme note), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by William Shakespeare (Auckland: Pop-up Globe, 2017-8), pp. 6-7, p. 6. For an image gallery of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* see: 'A Midsummer Night's Dream, *Dropbox*, <https://www.dropbox.com/sh/031ztoynnt26blo/AACFY9dg8EyRUw6ztgOSdoxHa/Productions/A%20Midsummer%20Night's%20Dream?dl=0> [accessed 31st January 2018].

her main influence; they are often depicted as dangerous, particularly towards intruders in their realm.[320] Whilst Reuben Butler (Puck and Philostrate), Te Kare and Peni played the main three fairies, Titania's train was played by the mechanicals who donned recognisably Māori pieces of clothing over their overalls, such as woven grass skirts or shoulder capes, and sang in te reo and answered to Māori names.



Figure 5: Titania (Edward Peni) and Oberon (Jason Te Kare). Photo credit: Pop-up Globe media centre.

As with *Othello*, no sub or surtitles were provided so the audience was left to follow the dialogue aided only by the highly gestural performances. Butler's performance was particularly acrobatic and heavily informed by kapa haka. Odd words such as 'Pākehā' received laughter of recognition from the audience, just as occasional words spoken by the lovers were acknowledged with gasps or laughter from the invisible fairies, such as Lysander's (Will Alexander) command 'Away, you Ethiope' (III.ii.257) or Helena's (Thomas

[320] Tawhiao, Costuming the Fairy Court', p. 6; Martin Wikaira, 'Patupaiarehe – Patupaiarehe and ponaturi', *Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/patupaiarehe/page-1> [accessed 23rd May 2020].

Wingfield) ‘puppet’ insult (III.ii. 288). There were also moments of physical interaction between these otherwise separate worlds as Puck and Oberon toyed with the lost lovers: Hermia (Max Loban) suddenly slapped Lysander during Act III, scene ii, high-fives were answered by invisible hands, swords were taken out of scabbards and bottoms slapped by unseen perpetrators. Whilst Lysander and Demetrius (Patrick Carroll) sought a place to fight, the fairies were able to control their movements, freezing them, pinching them, before manipulating them into sleeping positions. These were playful yet scary beings, as Gregory affirmed (unknowingly echoing Viar’s assertions): ‘certainly not pretty fairies with gauze wings – although the Victorians often portrayed them in this way’.[321] When being put under the spell of Love-in-Idleness, Lysander, Demetrius and Titania convulsed as if going through a painful transformation.



Figure 6: Puck (Reuben Butler). Photo credit: Pop-up Globe media centre.

[321] ‘Director’s Notes’ (insert programme note), *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* by William Shakespeare (Auckland: Pop-up Globe, 2017-8), p. 5.

The closing jig combined the three disparate worlds that *Dream* presents by including moves from an Elizabethan jig, modern break dancing and the haka. Butler switched to English for the epilogue, which, whilst understandable from an audience comprehension standpoint, was a little disappointing. A far more powerful message could have been sent about the power of te reo and its place within contemporary New Zealand had he delivered it in te reo. Despite this, the whole production offered a celebration of New Zealand's diverse cultures and languages, not shying away from the darker sides of the play or the country's history.

Before concluding this chapter, I would like to offer a small epilogue of my own, that draws on the themes highlighted throughout PuG's syncretic productions. *Emilia* (by Morgan Lloyd Malcolm; dir. McDowell; 2020) offered an exploration of New Zealand's social and cultural diversity through its casting and performance choices, and featured a creative team made up exclusively of women of colour.[322] The play tells the story of Emilia Bassano. To situate the production within a New Zealand context, the cast performed an opening karakia (ritual chant), bringing elements of Māori culture onstage through music and movement.[323] McDowell has spoken about the importance of promoting diversity within theatre: 'If we put the image of diversity on stage, people start to accept that we are diverse. But, if we continue to tell stories with only one colour, then that's all we'll ever know about the stories'.[324] Reviewer Jennifer Cheuk approached the production with caution, 'weary of performances

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[322] Transcript of interview, 'Emilia: Miriama McDowell directs diverse, all-female cast in Pop-up Globe's final season offering', *Te Karere TVNZ*, 11th March 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5VlLcXypFA8> [accessed 26th May 2020]. *Emilia* was commissioned by and staged Shakespeare's Globe (London) in 2018, before transferring to the Vaudeville Theatre (West End) in 2019. PuG's production was its international premiere.

[323] Liz Gunn, 'Emilia, Pop-up Globe, 5 March 2020: Theatre Review', *13th Floor*, 8th March 2020, <https://www.13thfloor.co.nz/emilia-pop-up-globe-5-march-2020-theatre-review/> [accessed 26th May 2020].

[324] Transcript of interview, 'Emilia'.

with obviously hand-picked people of colour to fulfil their quota of pseudo-diversity'.[325] However, through the historical characters that the play gives focus to, *Emilia* immediately displaces the often privileged white male gaze to put marginalised female figures in the spotlight. As such, the production progressed the 'commentary on "otherness", which [was] simultaneously broken down with the diverse cast choice' and the dominating female presence both on stage and off.[326] *Emilia* made inescapable and indisputable progress in terms of representing Māori women onstage, bringing a host of diverse voices together to challenge social hierarchies and our contemporary view of history. As Lloyd Malcom has stated, *Emilia* is a play 'designed to be occupied' by those performing it, offering important opportunities to marginalised actors to inhabit roles they may not otherwise have the chance to play.[327]

Conclusion

Over the course of its short-lived history of just five seasons, PuG made a significant mark within New Zealand's theatre, producing seventeen shows and welcoming over 350,000 attendees in Auckland alone.[328] Through the range of cultural identities that were presented on PuG's stages, the construct and politics of the Other were challenged, whilst individual cultural identities were interrogated and celebrated. Unlike the use of Māori culture in

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[325] 'REVIEW: Emilia (Pop-up Globe)', *Theatre Scenes*, 8th March 2020, <http://www.theatrescenes.co.nz/review-emilia-pop-up-globe/> [accessed 26th May 2020].

[326] Ibid.

[327] Morgan Lloyd Malcolm, transcript of interview with Francesca Rudkin, 'Pop Up Globe ending time in NZ with Emilia', *NewsTalkZB*, 8th March 2020, <https://www.newstalkzb.co.nz/on-air/the-sunday-session/audio/morgan-lloyd-malcolm-and-miles-gregory-on-emilia-the-final-pop-up-globe-play/> [accessed 27th May 2020].

[328] Miles Gregory, transcript of interview with Francesca Rudkin, 'Pop Up Globe ending time in NZ with Emilia', *NewsTalkZB*, 8th March 2020, <https://www.newstalkzb.co.nz/on-air/the-sunday-session/audio/morgan-lloyd-malcolm-and-miles-gregory-on-emilia-the-final-pop-up-globe-play/> [accessed 27th May 2020].

Gregory's production of *Dream* that portrayed Māori people as an exotic, mythical Other, productions such as McDowell's *Much Ado*, and to some extent Naylor's *Othello*, revelled in diversity. *Emilia* was a defiant continuation of the conversations began in other PuG productions about equality and representation, offering a 'universal story about voice and marginalisation and being able to be heard' as PuG's final production.[329]

Whilst early, tentative attempts to represent Māori culture onstage were met with resistance and fear of cultural appropriation in Naylor's *Romeo and Juliet*, since 2017 PuG consistently produced work that attempted to break down the space between past and present, colonial and post-colonial, things that are inherently British/Pākehā and Māori, and confront those disparities, in both celebratory and conflicting ways. PuG's acting companies were champions of difference as they sought to blend but also accent the diversity of their casts and their histories. Whilst PuG came under fire in 2018 for its casting policies in relation to gender and a misplaced use of the '#MeToo' movement, in terms of ethnicity they produce some of the most integrated and multiracial casts on New Zealand stages.[330] Looking to the future, Gregory has stated that PuG is a 'resolutely kiwi company', so wherever the theatre 'pops up' next it will retain its unique identity, showcasing its syncretic fusion of early modern England and contemporary New Zealand's diverse cultures.[331] Shakespeare has been tradapted for New Zealand's artists and audiences, and another possible New Zealand

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[329] Lloyd Malcolm, transcript of interview, 'Pop Up Globe ending time in NZ with Emilia'.

[330] See Eleanor Ainge Roy, 'Pop-up Globe apologises for marketing #MeToo season with all-male cast', *The Guardian*, 20th July 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/20/pop-up-globe-apologises-for-all-male-cast-in-metoo-season> [accessed 20th May 2020]; Kurt Bayer, 'Sexism row over Pop-up Globe's all-male Auckland productions rumbles on', *NZ Herald*, 22nd July 2018, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/news/article.cfm?c_id=1501119&objectid=12093007> [accessed 20th May 2020]; Glenn McConnell, 'Pop-up Globe to include women, bringing an end to all-male Shakespeare', *stuff.co.nz*, 27th July 2018, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/stage-and-theatre/105812664/popup-globe-to-hire-women-bringing-an-end-to-all-male-shakespeare>[accessed 20th May 2020].

[331] Transcript of interview, 'Pop Up Globe ending time in NZ with Emilia'. Sadly, as a result of the international social lockdowns and theatre closures instigated as a result of the global outbreak of Covid-19 in 2020, PuG has gone into administration.

Shakespeare has arrived.

Seeing a production at PuG was an 'immersive experience' that facilitated an immediate and specific connection between the two spheres of stage and audience, and a dissolution of the barriers that exist to separate them.[332] It was immersive through its metatheatricality, as all participants enjoyed partaking of the acknowledged game of theatre. PuG was joyously challenging in its celebratory amalgamation of seemingly disparate cultures, without a fear of the Other. By championing Māori and other minority cultures in New Zealand in a prominent way, PuG was able to participate in the national effort to make Māori 'mainstream'. Shakespeare, in turn, acted as a cross-cultural mediator in those local and global discussions.

[332] Gregory, quoted in 'Overview', *Pop up Globe*, <https://popupglobe.co.nz/about/overview/> [accessed 9th December 2017].

Conclusion

The most extreme examples of foreign Shakespeare can show us what we miss most of all in Anglo-American theatre: the power of danger, the cruelty of power, the real prospect that a dead English playwright might still shake audiences to the bone, get the censor riled, make the Queen angry, get the actors arrested, and make us want to do something besides sit back and politely applaud.[1]

Over the course of this thesis I have demonstrated how minority cultures around the world engage with Shakespeare's works and legacy. Shakespeare's stories have facilitated a deeper connection with many minority cultures' own histories and heritages through the act of syncretically tradapting his plays linguistically, culturally and aesthetically into their unique traditions and cultures. Shakespeare the icon, therefore, has been brought into conversation with minority cultures as theatre-makers playfully and inventively rework his plays. As Kennedy argues: 'Perhaps intercultural performances, which force the issue of Shakespeare's foreignness and urge audiences to reassess comfortable attitudes about the integrity of culture, can teach us how to regain some of what we have lost'.[2] Shakespeare has been decolonised and decentred to allow marginalised voices to reclaim a place on their nation's stages and to take ownership over dominant cultural spaces and texts.

Chapter One argued that there are five key areas or themes that theatre-makers from minority backgrounds respond to: adaptation (or tradaptation), language, national identity, space and festivals. All of these have been considered in the singular and the plural. Issues surrounding language and national identity, in particular, have been revealed to be intricately complex. This has been reflected in the amount of multilingual theatre present as theatre-

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[1] Dennis Kennedy, 'Afterword: Shakespearean orientalism', *Foreign Shakespeare: Contemporary performance*, ed. by Dennis Kennedy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 290-303, p. 302.

[2] Ibid., p. 301.

makers establish their pluralised identities for local and global audiences. In the productions I have explored throughout this thesis, Shakespeare has been engaged with a particular kind of festive memory that celebrates the collective and individual identities of audiences, advocating the national and international status of minority cultures.

Chapters Two, Three and Four explored how Welsh, Euskara and te reo Māori Shakespeares looked and sounded, whilst provocatively challenging the very construct of theatre and audiences. The Shakespearean rhizome has been invaluable when analysing the contemporary performances of ThGC, Tanttaka and PuG. It has illuminated the ways in which these productions and theatre companies operate within the palimpsest of their own country's theatre history and within wider global Shakespeare conversations. Over the course of this thesis, the past has been repeatedly interrogated and politicised in order to challenge the present. Inherent to all of the case studies has been a fierce energy to defend their language and culture, firmly claiming the Other as a central space within their societies. Social healing, reparation and recuperation have also been essential as these communities continue to address their own forms of colonisation.

As I have established, any act undertaken in a minority language is hugely political by the nature of the act itself. As José Manuel González concludes: 'Shakespeare's drama was believed to be a powerful instrument for making people aware of the social and political situation. It was produced not only to reflect reality but to change it'.[3] Shakespeare is a mechanism for provocation, progression and pleasure but over time he has often played an inconsistent and contradictory role in these nations.

The term tradaptation, and all of its cultural baggage, has been applied to a diverse

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[3] González, *Spanish Studies in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, p. 10.

range of productions, encompassing linguistic, cultural and historical syncretic transformations. With each new intervention, there has been a concerted effort to firmly adapt and translate Shakespeare's plays into each unique context. As such, the presentation of Welsh, Basque and Māori Shakespeares has evolved as each responds to contemporaneous cultural and political shifts and new theatrico-cultural systems. Welsh theatre-makers transport Shakespeare out of the theatre to engage directly with local landscapes, communities and histories. Basque Shakespeares reflect the multilingual status of the region by celebrating culture in many voices. Māori producers of Shakespeare explicitly confront the country's settler colonisation through playfully and inventively decolonising the texts and the theatre. As tradaptations mutate throughout history, they exemplify and celebrate cultural difference, operating didactically to teach society about its past, change the present and inform the future.

Due to the historical oppression of the minority languages explored here, the theatre-makers discussed have often been pioneering as they have been the first ones to translate and stage Shakespeare: for example, Don Selwyn's 1990 stage production of *The Merchant of Venice* utilised Dr Pei te Hurinui Jones' te reo translation. *Merchant* was one of the first plays Jones tradapted in the wake of the Second World War. Minority linguistic and cultural interactions with Shakespeare have come at times of socio-political change, as they respond to contemporary shifts in culture. In particular, Wales has repeatedly demonstrated that, as a cultural community, it responds rapidly to such upheaval. Critical productions of Welsh Shakespeare have been created in such moments, such as Beriah Evans' early play *Owain Glyndŵr* which came with the re-establishment of the eisteddfodau in the nineteenth century and a strengthening of a modern Welsh national identity; or, ThGC's fateful *Romeo e Juliet* which was programmed to mark the company's inception. In the Basque Country, Toribio

Alzaga's early Euskara adaptation of *Macbeth* emerged at a time of extreme social repression in the early twentieth century. A little later, in response to the devastation felt by the Spanish Civil War Bedita Larrakoetxea, an early translator of Shakespeare into Euskara, commenced his mammoth task of translating the entire dramatic canon. Tanttaka's *Ametsa/Sueño* was programmed as part of Donostia/San Sebastián's European Capital of Culture Festival, marking a significant turning point in the region's goal to create greater social and cultural cohesion.

Language and culture wield immense power. Rather than exclusively focusing on their similarities, I will spend a little time examining the key differences between how these distinct cultures have engaged with Shakespeare's work and legacy, and how they continue to interact with his cultural iconicity. Whilst all three case studies have worked to make their version of Shakespeare explicitly Welsh, Basque or Māori, they have approached the task in a variety of ways, namely in how language and space have been used by translators and theatre-makers. Both elements have been adapted in surprising and complex ways in the productions explored here, reflecting the intricate relationships that theatre-makers and audiences have with their own languages and local spaces.

Historically, translating Shakespeare has offered the chance to elevate the status of a language by capitalising on the high cultural prestige attached to the playwright. Within New Zealand, typically this has been done through translating into an archaic form of the language, akin to whaikōrero, as witnessed in the work of Jones. Within the Basque Country, this involved blending regional dialects together and resulted in a linguistic form comparable to that used in historical Biblical translations, seen predominantly in the work of Larrakoetxea. However, the earliest Welsh translator to engage with Shakespeare, David Griffiths, translated

Hamlet into contemporary Welsh, utilising 'terms which the Wales of 1864 would know, understand and acknowledge'.[4] Whilst his translation now 'seems the epitome of Victorian fustian', at the time, Griffiths was working to increase the accessibility of the Welsh language through his work with Shakespeare. It is worth noting that early translations of Shakespeare's plays in all three languages are now considered incredibly hard to understand, let alone perform.

As the priorities of translators has shifted overtime, translating Shakespeare has become an occasion to exhibit the robustness of the living language by using colloquial or dialectal linguistic modes. This was seen most prevalently in twenty-first century Wales and the Basque Country as translators such as Gwyn Thomas, who translated ThGC's *Macbeth*, and Patxo Telleria, who translated Tanttaka's *Dream*, worked to reflect the living status of the language. In New Zealand, there is still the tendency to work back to a classical form of the language: for example, Te Haumihiata Mason's translations of *Troilus and Cressida* and *Romeo and Juliet* draw on the tradition established by Jones. Ultimately, Shakespeare has been viewed by many as a challenge, and if minority languages encounter his plays successfully, they merit further financial and social investment.

Even when considering a monolingual production, there is always an element of bi- or multilingualism operating in the background, usually related to issues of audience accessibility. For example, whilst ThGC's *Macbeth* was performed exclusively in Welsh, the theatre company offered audience members the opportunity to use their translation app Sibrwd live on the night, or English subtitles in the cinema. Tanttaka's *Ametsa*/*Sueño* offered performances either in Euskara or Spanish, and all promotional material was available in both

[4] Gramich, 'Afterword', pp. 211-2.

languages. The performances were weighted two-thirds in favour of Spanish language, echoing the linguistic make-up of the region. However, the production was loaded with Basque cultural signifiers, firmly staking the visual language of the play as Euskara. The two case studies revealed a level of bilingualism that was embraced further in PuG's *Othello*, *Much Ado* and *Dream*, as the only productions from the case studies to mix languages onstage. Indeed, New Zealand has offered the most multilingual and multicultural productions, demonstrating the fluid nature of language and culture, and the particular form of multiculturalism inherent in New Zealand society.

The theatrical space has been utilised in varying ways by the three focal theatre companies. ThGC used Caerphilly Castle to create a distinct, heightened connection with the local history and landscape, reinforcing the national identity of Wales and Welsh as an ancient nation and language through the historical space and overall design of the production. *Macbeth* brought history into the present through a translation that presented Welsh as a vibrant, living language, and a strong sense of a Welsh national identity that accommodates the bilingual nature of the country and celebrates the minority language. Welsh is made accessible and relevant through ThGC's work.

In Donostia, Tanttaka sought to establish similar intimate and immediate connections with a significant part of the local landscape and culture through the Cristina Enea park and specific local traditions. However, their focus was more on present reconciliation and recuperation. The central message of Donostia's Capitalidad, 'culture to live together', had the explicit aim of establishing social cohesion and actively using the arts to create social healing for present and future generations. The production presented a politicised Basque identity that embraced its cultural heritage but looked to a more peaceful future, whilst

acknowledging the imbalance of languages and promoting Euskara alongside Spanish as a language of artistic value.

Conversely, as they work to reclaim space and time, PuG established a connection to history in a very different way by recreating not just any an early modern English theatre, but a theatre that has explicit links to Shakespeare. As such, rather than tapping into the cultural capital of a pre-existing local space, PuG used an explicit historical connection to the playwright's own time and business to add further layers of history and legacy. They capitalised not only on Shakespeare's cultural legacy but the legacy of the Globe theatre as the site that is, at least in the popular imagination, predominantly responsible for Shakespeare's success. As Matu Ngaropo (Macduff, *Macbeth*, dir. Mallaburn, 2018) has stated: 'you absolutely feel a sense of that connection to a huge history and a legacy of Shakespeare's work. That hits home pretty hard'.[5] Rather than shying away from colonial history, PuG actively and powerfully engage in a meaningful dialogue with it. They loudly and proudly take ownership of early modern history and space in order to establish themselves as viable, productive, and inclusive, both at home and abroad, claiming vital spaces for minority cultures in the process. The juxtaposition of Māori and early modern English theatre practices served as a powerful reminder of the spread of English colonialism and imperialism, but also provided an opportunity for cultural and spatial reclamation and ownership. The temporary nature of the building that was easily broken down reflected the ever-changing relationship a settler culture has with its own history.

Shakespeare acting as a didactic cross-cultural mediator is not without pitfalls. Some productions have offered problematic portrayals of certain characters, with varying degrees of

[5] Tina Wickliffe, 'The bros and the bard', *Te Ao Māori News*, 12th March 2018, <https://www.teaomaori.news/bros-and-bard> [accessed 17th April 2021].

success. Othello and Hippolyta's transformations in PuG's productions revealed the harsh realities of colonial domination of Māori people, and placed pressure on the audience to take responsibility over that history, rather than 'sit back and politely applaud'.[6] However, the most disturbing trope to emerge is the depiction of the supernatural characters as the exotic Other minority culture in bicultural productions. If read in a certain light, it resigns these mythical creatures to the imagination and thus condemns minority cultures along with them. If interpreted more positively, the choice becomes celebratory as these characters have the ability to affect the most change in the world of the play.

Furthermore, visually and culturally translating Shakespeare into diverse cultures and histories can lead to some unsophisticated or stereotypical representations of characters, or outright cultural appropriation. Selwyn argued that such characterisations in fact demonstrated Māori creative potential as it was the first time that such cultural practices were being broadcast to such a wide audience. In order to make a culture legible for international (and even national) audiences, a series of shortcuts might be relied upon. However, if due care and respect are given, as Leticia García and Ayanna Thompson implored theatre-makers and audiences to pay attention to, as discussed in Chapter One, this could lead to cultural showcasing rather than appropriation.

The social roles of theatre and of Shakespeare continue to be debated. In recent years in Wales, those discussions have focused on the role of the institution of the National Theatre: the dual presence and work of ThGC and NTW remain sites of contest, particularly when they fall short in their obligation to serve Welsh artistic communities and 'work against the

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[6] Kennedy, 'Afterword', p. 302.

marginalisation of the Welsh experience'.[7] ThGC's work towards inclusivity and accessibility, however, through Sibrwd and their nomadic programming, is to be celebrated as they continue to reflect the bilingual nature of Wales and reach out to the many different communities spread across the country. The power of the arts in social healing was powerfully seen in *Ametsa/Sueño*'s inclusion in Donostia's Capitalidad. However, the most explicit moment of intercultural inclusivity and celebration came at the end of PuG's *Dream* in which the whole cast united to perform the closing jig which incorporated elements of the haka, Elizabethan dancing and modern break dancing.

Whilst the PuG occasionally made politically questionable casting decisions, overall they have worked to rebalance representation on New Zealand's mainstream stages, actively embracing a sense of 'national identity that is not necessarily singular or unified but understood as composed of complementary, sometimes even divergent strands of historical movements'.[8] All of the many national identities found across this thesis, from the deeply political to the deeply personal, have stood as a constant reminder for the need for understanding, listening and respect. And, the power that theatre can have in uniting a community.

The flexibility of Shakespeare's texts and cultural signifiers has resulted in a vibrant canon of minority Shakespeares. These intercultural productions reveal and add complexity to our global communities, asking us all to recognise and protect these important but fragile histories and cultures into the future. If the cultural rejuvenation that these moments offer is

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[7] Snow, 'National Theatre Wales accused of "not being national, theatrical or Welsh enough"'.

[8] Mazer, 'A National Theatre in New Zealand? Why /Not?', pp. 119-20.

allowed to progress, minority Shakespeares will continue to tell their stories in loud, proud and unequivocal ways.

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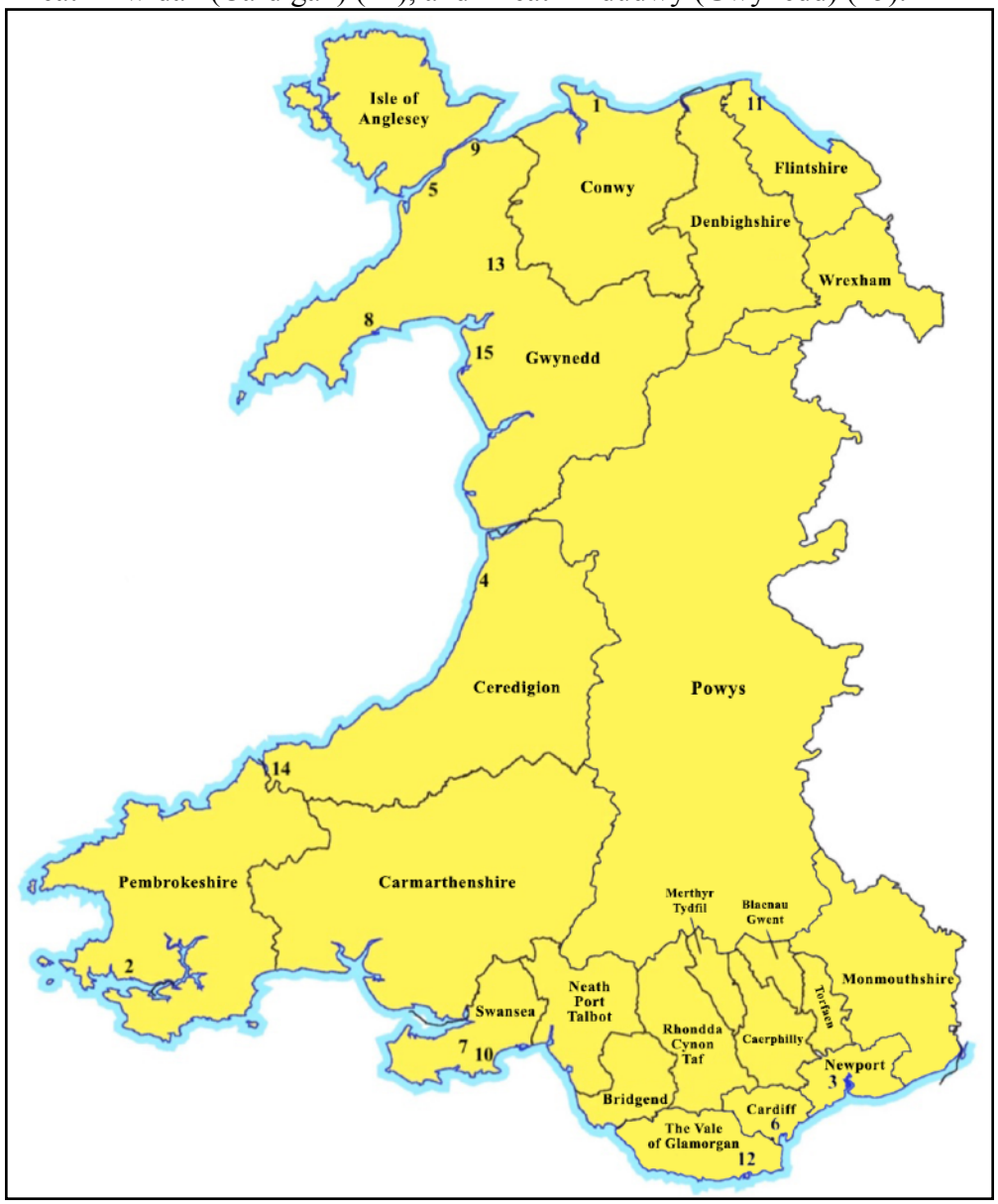
Appendix A – Wales

A.1: Broadcast locations for ThGC's *Macbeth* (2017)

The map below shows the coverage of the locations for ThGC's broadcast of *Macbeth* (2017); it shows the approximate locations of each venue. Theatr Colwyn (Colwyn Bay) (1); Theatr Y Torch (Milford Haven) (2); Theatr Glan yr Afon (Newport) (3); Canolfan y Celfyddydau Aberystwyth (4); Galeri Caernarfon (5); Chapter (Cardiff) (6); Neuadd Les Ystradgynlais (Swansea) (7); Neuadd Dwyfor (Pwllheli) (8); Pontio (Bangor) (9); Canolfan y Celfyddydau Taliesin (Swansea) (10); Theatr Clwyd (Mold) (11).

Repeat screenings occurred at: Neuadd Dwyfor, Theatr Colwyn, Galeri Caernarfon, Theatr Clwyd, Pontio, Canolfan y Celfyddydau Aberystwyth, Theatr Glan yr Afon and Chapter.

Additional locations: Canolfan y Celfyddydau Memo (Barry) (12), Cellb Blaenau Ffestiniog (13), Theatr Mwldan (Cardigan) (14), and Theatr Ardudwy (Gwynedd) (15).



(Image credit: Welsh Government)

A.2: Questionnaire conducted at the repeat screening at Chapter (Cardiff) on 23rd April 2017

Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru: Macbeth
23 Ebrill 2017

Mae'r arolwg hwn yn rhan o brosiect doethuraeth annibynnol yn Sefydliad Shakespeare (Prifysgol Birmingham), sy'n archwilio dramâu Shakespeare sy'n cael eu perfformio mewn ieithoedd lleiafrifol. Mae dangosiad heddiw o *Macbeth* yn ffurfio astudiaeth achos, gyda chaniatâd caredig Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru a Chapter.
Hoffai Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru hefyd glywed am eich profiad heddiw. I gysylltu â'r cwmni a rhoi gwybod iddo am y dangosiad heddiw, ewch i: https://www.surveymonkey.co.uk/r/TheatrGenBywEnglish

1. Beth yw eich dewis iaith wrth fynd i'r theatr?
   Cymraeg Saesneg Dim gwahaniaeth

2. Ydych chi wedi gweld drama gan Shakespeare o'r blaen?
   Os felly, pa un ydoedd, ac ym mha iaith?

3. Ydych chi'n mynd i'r theatr yn aml?
   Ydw Nac ydw

4. Pam y dewisoch chi weld y cynhyrchiad hwn?
   Y cwmni theatr Y dewis iaith Y ddrama ei hun Y lleoliad
   Arall:

5. Beth yw eich ystod oedran?
   O dan 16 16-20 20-30 30-40 40-50 50-60 60-70 70-80 80+

Diolch yn fawr i chi am gymryd rhan.

Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru: Macbeth
23rd April 2017

This survey forms part of an independent PhD project at the Shakespeare Institute (University of Birmingham) which explores Shakespeare's plays performed in minority languages. Today's screening of *Macbeth* forms a case study, with kind permission from Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru and Chapter. Theatre Genedlaethol Cymru would also like to hear about your experience today. To get in touch with the company and let them know about today's screening, please visit: https://www.suverymonkey.co.uk/r/TheatrGenBywEnglish

1. Which language do you prefer attending the theatre in?

2. Have you seen a Shakespeare play before? If so, which one was it and in which language?

3. Do you go to the theatre often?

4. Why did you choose to see this production?
   - The theatre company
   - Language choice
   - The play itself
   - Venue
   - Other

5. What is your age range?
Under 16; 16-20; 20-30; 30-40; 40-50; 50-60; 60-70; 70-80; 80+

Thank you for participating.

Appendix B – Basque Country

Map of Basque Country Regions



(Image credit: Zorion)

Appendix C – New Zealand

Map of New Zealand Regions



(Image credit: ontheworldmap.com)