

**Towards Dunsinane: Examining *Macbeth*'s Witchcraft in
Intercultural Adaptations Through an Interspiritual Framework**

By

Chong Shien Chung Isaac

**A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

**The Shakespeare Institute
School of English, Drama and Creative Studies**

**College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham**

5 September 2024

(74,289 words)

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Abstract

Across the globe there are belief systems that connect communities with the spiritual, supernatural, and divine. Surviving texts such as William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, and Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass* are a few plays that allow modern readers a glimpse of how Early Modern theatres perform these belief systems for their audiences. The question, then, is how accurate are these reflections of Early Modern spirituality and how do adaptations outside of the Early Modern English context culturally translate these beliefs for their own understanding? This thesis seeks to explore, specifically, *Macbeth*'s cultural fidelity to Early Modern spiritual beliefs, and how localised adaptations from various cultures choose to translate it for their own context. In doing so, this thesis will also delve into the ways in which these translations navigate the new interpretation of *Macbeth* as a result of incorporating their local belief systems into the narrative through the use of Spiritual Capital.

The first chapter explores *Macbeth* within the Early Modern context, comparing the various performances of witchcraft in the play with surviving magical documents such as sixteenth and seventeenth-century grimoires (books with spells written or copied into them) and documented spoken/lyrical charms. The second chapter will look at Welcome Msomi's *uMabatha*, studying its depiction of *sangomas* in the adaptation while also considering their role in South African history and communities. The third chapter will examine Los Colochos Teatro's *Mendoza* and how their Bruja is situated historically and socially. Ryutopia's *Macbeth* will be the focus of this thesis' fourth chapter as it explores the incorporation of Shintoist and Buddhist ideology into addressing Macbeth's moral failings. Lastly, the fifth chapter will look at Theatre Moollee's *Lady Macbeth* and how the adaptation attempts to use Korean Shamanism alongside psychotherapy to alleviate Lady Macbeth from her guilt. This

thesis will conclude with a consideration of further implementations of the Interspiritual framework, especially in global events such as at International Festivals.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people, without whom I would not have been able to complete this thesis:

First and foremost, to my parents for providing me with the resources and support in order to stay half a world away for so many years.

To my academic supervisors: Dr Chris Laoutaris and Professor Tiffany Stern, who have helped me constantly improve my research and writing skills from what it was four years ago as a newly graduated BA student to what it is now. As well as for frequently checking in with me in a pastoral capacity.

To my PhD mentor, Dr Erin Sullivan, who has also provided a listening ear and provided advice throughout my four years at the Shakespeare Institute.

To the rest of the faculty at the Shakespeare Institute and to the scholars whom I have interacted with at other various places, whose expertise and advice have been freely and happily given through many conversations.

To Rebecca White, for all the care, advice, and administrative expertise that has made my time at the Institute so much smoother.

To my readers: Alexandria Gallagher, Caitlin Broadus, Cheyenne Phillips, Kaitlyn Stine, Rhiannon McDonagh, and Scarlett Bailer for both your friendship and spending the time to look through this immense work and correcting the many little mistakes along the way.

To my other Musketeers: Bethany Gaunt, Ella McGrail, and Micaela Kluver whose friendships I have deeply treasured over these four years since first stepping foot in Stratford-Upon-Avon. Thank you for the many adventures together and hoping that they will continue long after.

To the many friends made in the Shakespeare Institute, there are so many more names than I can write into a single page, but know that you are all appreciated.

To Kate Welch and all the library staff, for always helping me through the many resource requests.

Table of Contents:

Introduction: Packing & Unpacking – Interculturalism and Interspirituality

- 0.1 Intercultural and Localised Stages 1-14
- 0.2 The Interspiritual Method and Spiritual Capital 14-24
- 0.3 Spiritual Capital as Cultural and National Identity 25-29
- 0.4 Interspirituality, Translation, and Adaptation 29-46
- 0.5 *Macbeth* and its Adaptations 46-51
- 0.6 Onwards 51-52

1. Once Upon the Heath: Meeting Macbeth

- 1.1 *Macbeth* and Early Modern Magic 53-60
- 1.2 Shakespeare and Conjuraton Magic 60-77
- 1.3 Lady Macbeth and the Subversion of Spiritual Capital 77-89
- 1.4 The Neutrality of the Weird Sisters 89-102
- 1.5 Miracles and National Identity 102-106
- 1.6 Ghosts, Legacy, and Identity 106-109
- 1.7 Back in Transit 109-111

2. Zululand: Smelling Out the Witches in *uMabatha*

- 2.1 *uMabatha*, *Sangomas*, and Spiritual Capital 112-117
- 2.2 Diminishing Spiritual Capital 117-132
- 2.3 Ancestral Spirits and Rituals 133-136
- 2.4 Fidelity and Capital 136-138
- 2.5 From Local to Global 139-142

3. Mexico: *Mendoza* and Revolutionary Magic

- 3.1 *Mendoza*, Revolution, and Political Identity 143-151
- 3.2 Bruja, *Brujería*, and Spiritual Capital 151-161
- 3.3 Bruja and Rebels – an Enrichment of Spiritual Capital in *Mendoza* 161-167
- 3.4 *Machismo* and Social Identity 167-171
- 3.5 One Actor, Two Spiritual Practices 171-173

• 3.6 The Road So Far	173-174
4. Japan: Ghosts and Shintoism – Ryutopia’s Phantasmal <i>Macbeth</i>	
• 4.1 The Spiritual Capital of Noh Shakespeare	175-185
• 4.2 Ghost-Changing Macbeth and Spiritual Capital Negotiations	185-193
• 4.3 The Spiritual Capital of Exorcist Witches	193-200
• 4.4 Banquo’s Spiritual Confrontation	200-205
• 4.5 Crossing Over	205-206
5. South Korea: Han Tae-Sook’s <i>Lady Macbeth</i> – Spiritual Capital in a Woman’s World	
• 5.1 The Spiritual Capital of Korean Shamans	207-215
• 5.2 The Value of Confession	216-231
• 5.3 The Spiritual Capital of Korean Psychology	231-237
• 5.4 Resolving the Ritual	237-238
Final Destination: Festivals and Capitals	
• 6.1 There and Back Again	239-260
• 6.2 In the Image of the Witch	260-264
• 6.3 Beyond <i>Macbeth</i>	264-265
Bibliography	266-297

Packing & Unpacking – Interculturalism and Interspirituality

0.1 Intercultural and Localised Stages

As Shakespeare expands further onto the global stage through adaptations, the prominence of intercultural discourse continues to be a growing relevant aspect of Shakespearean scholarship. However, Shakespeare's ever-growing prestige across the world heralds the discourse regarding the utility of his works in cultural storytelling and their attribution. Dennis Kennedy notes in a 2001 article that the 'idea that Shakespeare belongs to the world is certainly not new'.¹ Similar views are echoed by Jason Demeter, who states that 'notions of Shakespeare's universality had reached the status of self-evident truth within popular American culture well before the 1970s'.² Both Kennedy and Demeter follow up on their comments by asserting that contextual considerations should be taken into account lest the tensions between the canon and cultural circumstances are ignored in favour of the pedestalisation of Shakespeare. Yet, the universality of Shakespeare's canon continues to be a discussion amongst scholars, as showcased by a joint article published in the winter of 2023 by Henna Karamat and Abdus Salam Khalis titled "Shakespeare's Universality: Exploring the Timelessness and Relevance of his Works across Cultures and Societies".³ Such articles attempt to connect non-anglophone experiences with the Shakespearean themes of the canon, instead of how cultures across the globe respond to them. For example, Karamat and Khalis conclude that Shakespeare's 'works speak to universal human experiences and emotions,

¹ Dennis Kennedy, "Shakespeare worldwide", in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, edited by Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 251-264 (p. 251).

² Jason Demeter, "Shakespeare and civil rights: Rhetorical Universalism", in *The Arden Research Handbook of Shakespeare and Social Justice*, edited by David Ruiter (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), pp. 94-108 (p. 94).

³ Henna Karamat and Abdus Salam Khalis, "Shakespeare's Universality: Exploring the Timelessness and Relevance of his Works across Cultures and Societies", *Global Social Sciences Review*, 8.1 (2023), pp. 87-98 (p. 87).

making them relevant to all audiences, regardless of age and background [... his] works are integral to the curriculum in South Asian countries where characters, plots, and stories in art, literature, and real-life share many similarities'.⁴ Such stances are not particularly new and have been frequently repeated to perpetuate Shakespeare's bardolatry. In doing so, they impose the opinion that Shakespeare can speak for the experiences of others rather than identifying how cultures employ the canon as a tool for communication between cultures.

Yet concurrently, contemporary scholars have been endeavouring to stall and dispel these attempts at generalising Shakespeare's themes. As Aneta Mancewicz and Alexa Alice Joubin say, one 'of the key myths in the reception of Shakespeare as an international icon has been the idea that he represents universal human values'.⁵ While there are particular experiences, such as death and grief, that are felt by everyone regardless of each individual's culture, each with its own unique response to such events that deviates from Western Christian theology. While there are multiple Western Christian denominations, such as Mormonism and Anglicanism, each with its own unique ideological practices, the differences that separate them are based on doctrinal discourses. There are overarching religious beliefs that place them under the categorisation of Christianity, such as concepts of sin and salvation. In comparison, there are much broader regional differences in spiritual practices like Siberian Shamanism and Korean Shamanism, where the uniqueness of these practices is connected to societal histories and experiences. For example, as we shall see in the later chapters of this thesis, the concept of *Han* (an overflow of negativity that is unique to Korean society, which will be addressed later) and its Shamanistic practice are absent in its Siberian counterpart. Returning to differing responses to global experiences, both the Taoist practice of burning

⁴ Ibid., p. 87.

⁵ Aneta Mancewicz and Alexa Alice Joubin, "Introduction", in *Local and Global Myths in Shakespearean Performance*, edited by Aneta Mancewicz and Alexa Alice Joubin (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 1-22 (p. 13).

effigies for the dead to provide for them in the afterlife and the Shamanistic practice of spiritual possession to appease the dead demonstrate a fundamental contrast in thinking about the afterlife. In these cases, the living world is intrinsically tied to the afterlife. It is able to affect the supernatural world, contrasting with Western Protestant theology, which espouses a finality and separation between life and death. Such responses would therefore inform the methods in which the canon is interpreted and performed across the world. Scholars like Kennedy and Demeter constantly assert the importance of culturally specific contexts. As Sonia Massai highlights, ‘theorists of the global dimensions of cultural production believe that the global should not be understood solely in terms of a progressive cultural impoverishment and erasure of local difference’.⁶ This study aims to answer some of the questions that arise from the discourse mentioned above, particularly concerning the evolving interpretation of faith-based practices and ideas about the supernatural. Specifically, how do non-Protestant-centric cultures contend with the Christian influences found in works like *Macbeth*? Additionally, how do these cultures use the ideologies from their local spiritual practices to make the Shakespearean narrative their own? In doing so, this thesis will argue that *Macbeth* and its localised adaptations employ spiritual practices to either build or support national and/or cultural identity by using their representations to generate socio-political discussions about governance, representation, and gender dynamics.

To answer these questions, we must study various adapted productions of *Macbeth* and understand the contexts that inform how the narrative is culturally translated, adapted, and localised. While Shakespeare’s works occasionally portray non-Protestant practices and cultures, the opinions and connotations incorporated into these texts stem from Euro-centric ideas circulating in Early Modern England. As Ambereen Dadabhoy argues in her study of

⁶ Sonia Massai, “Defining Local Shakespeares”, in *World-wide Shakespeares: Local Appropriations in Film and Performance*, edited by Sonia Massai (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 3-14 (p. 4).

racial and cultural representations in Shakespeare's works, 'Early modern English and European representations of Islam and Muslims focused on their religious and cultural difference as signs of both alterity and incompatibility with European Christian cultures'.⁷ While Dadabhoy's study concentrates on the comparison of Shakespeare's representation of Islamic cultures to the politics of the United States, her argument also highlights one of the obstacles encountered when adapting Shakespeare's work in other cultures. Additionally, Hassana Moosa highlights the intertwining of race and religion in the portrayal of the Moroccan Prince within the canon text as well and its effect on racialising Islam through the character in the Early Modern period and in contemporary productions.⁸ Moosa's argument, when paired with Dadabhoy's own claims, points to the modern social debate surrounding the portrayals and connotations of race and religion in post-9/11 productions of Shakespeare's canon. Such discourses surrounding the portrayal of non-Anglo-Christian characters are essential, especially with contemporary racial-religious conflicts fuelled by politics and warfare.

The ideas and discussions surrounding the process of cultural translation can also be applied to other canonical works, such as *Macbeth*, where the Weird Sisters carry cultural markers identifiable across adaptations. While the term "witchcraft" is the general description given to the abilities demonstrated by the Weird Sisters, the name of the practice changes when the characters are translated into other forms of spiritual practitioners in different cultures, which also produces different interpretations from the audience. For example, as we will see later in this thesis, when the Weird Sisters are translated into Shinto priestesses, the

⁷ Ambereen Dadabhoy, *Shakespeare through Islamic Worlds* (New York: Routledge, 2024), p. 11.

⁸ Hassana Moosa, "Marking Muslims: The Prince of Morocco and the racialization of Islam in *The Merchant of Venice*", in *Global Shakespeare and Social Injustice: Towards a Transformative Encounter*, edited by Chris Thurman and Sandra Young (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), pp. 120-143 (p. 121).

rituals they perform fall under the categorisation of a dance form called *Kagura*, a religious dance, rather than witchcraft. The opinions audiences have of witchcraft, therefore, cannot be mapped onto the adaptation's new context, as the ritual is interpreted entirely differently. This study will explore intercultural adaptations, specifically localised productions of *Macbeth*, to uncover ways in which the spiritual and supernatural are transformed, translated, and recontextualised in non-Christian practices. *Macbeth* is one work within Shakespeare's canon that indisputably entangles and depicts the supernatural, spiritual beliefs, and religious concepts in its narrative, which will be further discussed later in this chapter and in a later analysis.

Intercultural Theatre, as a performance genre, presents a platform where multiple cultural aesthetics and ideologies intersect and interact, creating an environment for studying cultural responses to Shakespeare. Ric Knowles argues in his theory of Intercultural Theatre that the urgency of such discourse increases as 'cities and nations move beyond the monochromatic [...] as hybridity and syncretism becomes increasingly characteristic of cultural production everywhere [...] it becomes imperative that the way in which cultural exchange is performed be critically re-examined'.⁹ In a sense, Intercultural Theatre is a necessary feature that arises from an increasingly cosmopolitan environment to facilitate cultural sharing. Patrice Pavis attempts to make a broad definition of the form, writing that in 'the strictest sense, [Intercultural Theatre] creates hybrid forms drawing upon a conscious and voluntary mixing of performance traditions traceable to distinct cultural areas'.¹⁰ However, the term 'Intercultural Theatre' is a complex one, reflecting a range of meanings and categorisations that pertain to the process of adaptation. In his book, Knowles provides

⁹ Ric Knowles, *Theatre & Interculturalism* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 3.

¹⁰ Patrice Pavis, "Introduction: Towards a Theory of Interculturalism in Theatre?", in *The Intercultural Performance Reader*, edited by Patrice Pavis (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 1-26 (p. 8).

various other terms that are used synonymously with “Intercultural Theatre” such as ‘cross-cultural, extracultural, intracultural, metacultural, multicultural, precultural, postcultural, transcultural, transnational, ultracultural, and so on’.¹¹ Yet, each of them fails to provide an entirely accurate description of the genre. John Martin, in his handbook for actors and directors who intend to produce Intercultural performances notes, that this ‘exchange [of expressions due to interactions between cultures] is not multiculturalism, the simultaneous existence of several cultures side by side, nor cross-culturalism where people from one cultural background learn a form from another culture and practice it’.¹² Martin therefore notes that Intercultural Theatre is a genre of theatrical performance that creates a new diversity of art forms through the synthesis and hybridisation of various cultural practices. According to Martin, then, Intercultural Theatre goes beyond merely performing a translation of a play on stage. Rather, there is an infusion and transformation of interpretations due to the introduction of new contexts.

As mentioned above, Intercultural Theatre still constitutes a broad field of study despite its specificity to the hybridised synthesis of cultural display and performance. Instead, Localised adaptations of Shakespeare, as a subset of Intercultural Theatre, offer a specific intersection between cultures that prioritise the local response to his canon, enabling us to study the permutations of the Macbethian narrative across various cultural contexts.¹³ As Katherine Steele Brokaw highlights, many ‘of the artists who work with Shakespeare in communities recognize the vital importance of adapting the plays to fit local contexts and the present moment and find the ability to do so to be one of the biggest creative advantages of

¹¹ Knowles, *Theatre & Interculturalism*, p. 4.

¹² John Martin, *The Intercultural Performance Handbook* (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 2.

¹³ For the purposes of this thesis, the term “Macbethian” refers to the general narrative plot of Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*.

working with Shakespeare'.¹⁴ By retelling the Shakespearean canon through the infusion of local contexts and references, adapters make his works relevant to audiences beyond a British identity. Massai further draws a more comprehensive structure, which highlights the importance of considering localised theatre in intercultural study. She postulates that the 'spatial re-ordering of culture at the levels of the local, regional, national and international suggests that several recent enquiries into the role which Shakespeare has had in the shaping of national cultures and dramatic traditions should be complemented by new investigations into a much wider variety of localities, including specific local, regional, national and super-national 'positions''.¹⁵ By narrowing the focus of this thesis to localised adaptations of *Macbeth* in relation to their source text, the study is thereby provided with a dataset of spiritual translations for examination due to their unique assimilation and recontextualisation of the sourced material into the local culture. This process of assimilation and recontextualisation is further suggested by Christy Desmet, who argues that the 'idea of local Shakespeare [...] imagines readers/consumers from non-Anglo cultures who reconfigure Shakespeare's play in light of their own, unique local knowledges'.¹⁶ Localised Shakespeare empowers local communities by representing local cultures and narratives within globally recognised stories, thereby spotlighting them on the stage. This reinterpretation by local communities also includes their cultural interpretation and iconography, which relate to their unique religious practice. Examining the portrayals of the spiritual and supernatural in localised adaptations provides another access point to explore cultural differences, especially since spiritual beliefs often align with the common concerns of morality, death, and the

¹⁴ Katherine Steele Brokaw, *Shakespeare and Community Performance* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), p. 43.

¹⁵ Massai, *Defining Local Shakespeares*, p. 10.

¹⁶ Christy Desmet, "Import/Export: Trafficking in Cross-Cultural Shakespearean Spaces", *Multicultural Shakespeare: Translation, Appropriation and Performance*, 15.30 (2017), pp. 15-26 (p. 18).

afterlife. While these concerns occur across the world regardless of geographical location, there are distinct culturally unique perceptions and practices that surround them. By exploring Intercultural dialogue through a spiritual approach, the study highlights various points of comparison that aid in the communication and education of different cultures. Such positions are echoed by scholars like Alain Wolf, who argues, ‘a proper understanding of inter-religious dialogue is necessary for intercultural communication’.¹⁷ While Wolf’s claim is centred on theological discourse, I would argue that ‘intercultural communication’ is an important aspect of Intercultural Theatre, especially when adaptations employ the use of spiritual rituals. This thesis aims to highlight the significance of these spiritual inclusions in adaptations to open up the inter-religious dialogue that occurs as Shakespeare’s works, like *Macbeth*, get localised.

The uniqueness of ‘local knowledges’ within localised adaptations, as highlighted by Desmet, is double-edged. While the local references bring Shakespeare’s relevance closer towards local appreciation, they also distance the adaptation from being easily interpreted by a global audience. In her seminal book, *A Theory of Adaptation*, Linda Hutcheon highlights that differently ‘knowing audiences bring different information to their interpretations of adaptations’.¹⁸ Hutcheon’s observation does not criticise the different levels and types of knowledge audiences bring into viewing adaptations; instead, it attempts to expose the expectations of viewers when they approach an adaptation whose source text is either familiar or unfamiliar to them. While Hutcheon makes her argument in relation to adaptations in general, her view bears greater relevance to productions that not only employ local knowledge of socio-political contexts, but also linguistic references, cultural zeitgeists, and

¹⁷ Alain Wolf, “Intercultural Identity and Inter-Religious Dialogue: A Holy Place to Be?”, *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 12.1 (2012), pp. 37-55 (p. 44).

¹⁸ Linda Hutcheon and Siobhan O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 2nd Edition (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 125.

social interactions. Desmet provides an example of this disjunction in her article: in ‘Ong Keng Sen’s *Desdemona*, the proliferation of different national languages and traditions created a chaotic space in which cultural conversation simply became impossible’.¹⁹ According to Desmet, the Babel-like chaos of Ong’s adaptation is counterintuitive to the values espoused by Intercultural study. Yet, as a Singaporean who comes from the same multilingual environment as Ong, I would argue that such a cacophonous display of languages also showcases how an adaptation is able to use the chaos to invoke an emotion-based dialogue effectively. In *Theatre at the Crossroads of Culture*, Pavis argues that the ‘theatrical representation/performance of culture obliges us to find specific dramatic means to represent or perform a foreign or domestic culture, to utilize theatre as an instrument to transmit and produce information on the conveyed culture’.²⁰ Pavis’ argument of ‘foreign’ and ‘domestic’ cultures has become complicated over the years, especially as travel across borders is increasingly undertaken by touring productions. However, her consideration of performing culture becomes increasingly important as discourses surrounding cultural representation become even more prevalent.

Transmission of cultural information becomes complex when it happens amid a linguistic cacophony. However, while Desmet’s critique of Ong Keng Sen’s production merely spotlights one aspect of knowledge deficiency that hinders audience reception of Intercultural/Localised adaptations, it displays the immediate hurdles that they must contend with. Yet, it is also despite the audience’s unknowingness that the genre fosters the introduction and education of cultures. As Knowles further argues, ‘it seems [...] important to focus on the contested, unsettling, and often unequal spaces *between* cultures, spaces that

¹⁹ Desmet, *Import/Export*, p. 21.

²⁰ Patrice Pavis, *Theatre at the Crossroads of Culture*, translated by Loren Kruger (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 16.

can function in performance as sites of negotiation'.²¹ Scholarship and criticism of Localised Shakespearean adaptations, and by extension Intercultural adaptations, therefore sit within the triangular relationship established between the knowledge/unknowledge of the adaptor, local audiences, and non-local audiences. This project's approach to Interspiritual discourse between cultures, which will be further addressed later in this introduction, involves the contextualisation of spiritual practices at the beginning of each chapter's case study. In doing so, we will have some knowledge from which we can understand the local spiritual practices incorporated into the productions and how they change the interpretation of the source text. As Pavis notes, foreign material 'cannot be completely comprehended or mastered unless one knows how it was prepared'.²² This observation can be applied to both the local culture of the adaptation and the Early Modern period. Translation and transmission of narratives, themes, symbols, and signs need to be familiar and understood from both ends of the discourse to establish communication between both parties. In terms of the Early Modern period, it is making sixteenth and seventeenth-century ideas and perceptions understandable for a twenty-first-century audience. It is these temporal translations that are then culturally reinterpreted in localised adaptations of Shakespeare's works. Such observations are made even more complex when these adaptations are considered within a touring or festival context, which this thesis will explore at the end of this study as we discuss future applications. The use and focus of Shakespeare within this project's scope is particularly important as it helps provide some stability in discussing the interactions and interpretations of non-Anglophone adaptations. As Alexa Alice Joubin asserts, 'Shakespeare is both an icon that is familiar enough in local contexts for dramaturgical purposes and a stubbornly foreign presence that

²¹ Knowles, *Theatre & Interculturalism*, p. 4.

²² Pavis, *Towards a Theory*, p. 17.

can be called upon for political agendas'.²³ While this project does not predominantly focus on the use of Shakespeare's canon and brand as a political asset, his narratives can serve as a stable point of reference as this thesis explores multiple renditions of the Macbethian narrative. By providing the contextual basis for the adaptations' translations of the spiritual and supernatural, this project highlights the dialogue established by their recontextualisation, leading to a new interpretation that deviates from the source text. In doing so, this project aligns itself with Hutcheon's argument, that there 'is a kind of dialogue between the society in which the works, both the adapted text and adaptation, are produced and that in which they are received, and both are in dialogue with the work itself'.²⁴ Therefore, it is fundamental to Localised Shakespeare discourse that the conversation surrounding their adaptations is centred on their local culture and, in the context of this project, their perspectives on the spiritual and supernatural.

While the study of Intercultural Shakespeares continues to expand its scholarship on both aesthetic representation and cultural practice, little focus is given to the translation of religions and spiritualisms especially in adaptations that employ indigenous faith-based practices. According to Wolf, when 'it comes to recent academic contributions in the field of identity and intercultural communication [...] one encounters a revealing omission of anything to do with religion'.²⁵ While Wolf's argument centres primarily on intercultural identity and inter-religiosity, his assertion could similarly be applied to the study of Intercultural Theatre. For example, while Richard Schechner and Willa Appel's edited anthology, *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual*, spotlights the importance of religious rituals in Non-Western theatres, the various essays within the

²³ Alexa Alice Joubin, "Others Within – Ethics in the Age of Global Shakespeare", in *The Routledge Handbook of Shakespeare and Global Appropriation*, edited by Christy Desmet, Sujata Iyengar, and Miriam Jacobson (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 25-36 (p. 25).

²⁴ Hutcheon and O'Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. 149.

²⁵ Wolf, *Intercultural Identity and Inter-Religious Dialogue*, p. 38.

work scarcely touch on the impact of translating supernatural or religious characters through intercultural adaptation. While the various essays include descriptions of the beliefs behind the rituals, Schechner and his co-contributors focus entirely on studying performance traditions, such as cultural dances, rather than on the impact these rituals have on the reinterpretation of existing narratives through their use in adaptation. Inversely, Ewan Fernie's edited collection titled *Spiritual Shakespeares* focuses on the supernatural facets of Shakespeare's canon, but only within a Western context, without expanding on any intercultural interpretations. For the purposes of the collection, Fernie argues that 'Shakespearean spirituality promiscuously, irresistibly breeds with the spiritual possibilities of our own time'.²⁶ While Fernie's definition of 'spirituality' is sufficient in creating opportunities for contemporary scholars to reanalyse Shakespeare's canon through contemporary theoretical ideologies and draw connections, their arguments frequently relate back to Christian theology instead of incorporating non-Christian practices. Despite Dennis Kennedy and Yong Li Lan's *Shakespeare in Asia* showcasing essays on intercultural Shakespearean adaptations from Asia, the collection rarely mentions any potential spiritual reinterpretations of the discussed productions. However, in a later journal article, Yong does analyse supernatural adaptations, arguing that 'Asian performance practices not only present but also [affect] non-Christian understandings of how the human and non-human worlds relate; such encounters between the two worlds allow the vocabularies and aesthetics of these traditions to engage western/westernised principles of mimesis as the standard Shakespeare performance'.²⁷ While Yong mentions various ritual practices in her case study of a Korean adaptation of *Hamlet*, she approaches the discourse by highlighting the difference between

²⁶ Ewan Fernie, "Introduction: Shakespeare, spirituality and contemporary criticism", in *Spiritual Shakespeares*, edited by Ewan Fernie (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 1-27 (p. 18).

²⁷ Yong Li Lan, "Of Spirits and Sundry Other Phenomena in Intercultural Shakespeare: Text and Performance", *Anglistica*, 15.2 (2011), pp. 47-61 (p. 49).

naturalist and non-naturalist performance traditions through the ritual, rather than how the ritual impacts the interpretation of the play or the representation of these cultural inclusions.

In consideration of the various definitions provided by the above-mentioned scholars, this project aims to study the societal relationships between the cultural understanding of the spiritual and supernatural, which influences the reinterpretation of established texts within adaptations, specifically *Macbeth*. This project considers societal perception and interaction with the spiritual and supernatural as a form of Spiritualism. There are, of course, many definitions tied to the term “Spiritualism”, ranging from a broad reference in faith beliefs to the metaphysical belief in communication with the dead, which was made popular in the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries. This project’s reference to Spiritualism, and by extension Interspiritualism, primarily refers the former term, which broadly encompasses spiritual beliefs. At this point, I want to acknowledge that Interspirituality is also a contemporary religious practice that attempts to embrace multiple spiritual beliefs by assimilating their ideologies. While the practice seems to adopt notions of Interfaith dialogue, where people of different faiths come together to discuss building a harmonious society that respects different beliefs while retaining religious individuality, Interspirituality cannot be considered Interfaith. Some of its assimilated and hybridised practices are contradictory to specific traditions. Instead, in the context of this thesis, the term “Interspirituality” refers to the dialogue that occurs when two or more spiritual beliefs encounter each other during cultural translation. Furthermore, while the aims of this project overlap with those of Interfaith discourse at points, the Interfaith’s focus on theoretical, theological, and ideological discussions makes it difficult to analyse the translation of rituals.²⁸ While the aforementioned

²⁸ Asfa Widiyanto, “Interfaith Dialogue in the Post-Truth Age: Challenges, Strategies, and Prospects”, *Religious Inquiries*, 12.2 (2023), pp.105-245; *The Interfaith Movement: Mobilising Religious Diversity in the 21st Century*, edited by John Fahy and Jan-Jonathan Bock (New York: Routledge, 2020); John Fahy, and Jeffery Haynes, “Interfaith on the World

collection of essays edited by Fernie, among others, such as Patrice Pavis's *Performing Korea*, *Latin American Shakespeares* edited by Bernice W. Kilman and Rick J. Santos, *Observing Theatre: Spirituality and Subjectivity in the Performing Arts* edited by Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe, among others, contribute to fundamental discussions relating to the appreciation of intercultural adaptations.²⁹ The lack of scholarship on the religious context within non-Western cultures restricts interpretations to the boundaries of socio-aesthetical discourse.

Such categories, thus, sideline the consideration of other faith-based practices that exist within local communities such as Shintoism, Shamanism, and local practices of witchcraft like *brujería* – all forms of spiritual belief systems that this thesis will explore. This thesis proposes the term Interspiritualism as a way to bring various spiritual beliefs together dialogically, whether it be a major global faith like Christianity or a locally recognised one.

0.2 The Interspiritual Method and Spiritual Capital

Interspiritualism is a deeply intersectional framework that integrates and expands upon the concepts of spiritual capital and cultural studies, employing them to analyse the representations of witchcraft and the supernatural in localised adaptations of *Macbeth*. In doing so, the method highlights the cultural significance of translating the Weird Sisters into

Stage”, *The Review of Faith and International Affairs*, 16.3 (2018), pp. 1-8, show the relevance of Interfaith discussions today.

²⁹ Patrice Pavis, *Performing Korea* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 3-14; Rick J. Santos, “Mestizo Shakespeare: A Study of Cultural Exchange”, in *Latin American Shakespeares*, edited by Bernice W. Kilman and Rick J. Santos (Cranbury: Rosemont Publishing & Printing Corp., 2005), pp. 11-20; Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe, Gayathri Ganapathy, and Shrikant Subramaniam, “Towards *intuitive collaboration* as a concept for discussing intercultural performance”, in *Observing Theatre: Spirituality and Subjectivity in the Performing Arts*, edited by Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe (Berlin: Brill Publishing, 2013), pp. 61-75.

local spiritual practitioners and how they influence the interpretation of how a production reflects or communicates a cultural or national identity. One of the crucial discourses espoused by Intercultural Theatre scholars is the acknowledgement of ritual and religious performances that inform the way theatre is created in various cultures across the globe. Be it through dance, masks, or chanting, various theatrical traditions still maintain these faith-based influences within the practice's aesthetic and movements. It is thus unsurprising that scholars like J. Ndukaku Amankulor argue that in 'many societies the cultural form known as theatre goes together with religious and cultural practices'.³⁰ Religion is embedded and intertwined in the form of the theatre that is being performed. As we consider Shakespearean adaptations that use these theatrical traditions in their productions, Shakespeare's religious context invites cultural translation, be it references to the gods of Antiquity, Christianity, or even witchcraft, into an association that is familiar to the local audience; to ignore local comprehension is to alienate the viewership from the text and performance. As Hutcheon notes, in 'adapting, the story-argument goes, "equivalences" are sought in different sign systems for the various elements of the story: its themes, events, world, characters, motivations, points of view, consequences, contexts, symbols, imagery, and so on'.³¹ Yet, Hutcheon's suggestion is not easily accomplished, especially when it comes to Shakespearean texts. As Jessica Chiba also argues, the 'defence of translational choices still regularly reverts to the claim of equivalence, but equivalence cannot be established objectively'.³² While Chiba's assertion pertains specifically to the translation of Shakespeare's poetry into Japanese, the same argument could be made more generally to localised adaptations and their translation and recontextualisation of local culture into various

³⁰ J. Ndukaku Amankulor, "The Condition of Ritual in Theatre: An Intercultural Perspective", *Performing Arts Journal*, 11.3 (1989), pp. 45-58 (p. 45).

³¹ Hutcheon and O'Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. 10.

³² Jessica Chiba, "'Something rich and strange': Translating Shakespeare's Poetry into Japanese", *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, 111.1 (2023), pp. 105-120 (p. 113).

Shakespearean dramas. By choosing to perform Shakespeare through the lens of local culture, the need for a collaborative synthesis between two or more cultural faiths becomes immediate. The act of adaptation facilitates open dialogue between religious practices to create a narrative that is relatable to the local context.

This dialogue between the spiritual practices involved in the adaptation's cultural recontextualisation is, I would argue, a form of spiritual capital exchange. The Sociologist Robert Wuthnow paraphrases an unpublished paper by Bradford J. Verter from 1998 in defining what Spiritual capital is. He proposes that spiritual capital 'is meant to distinguish activities that have a specific religious emphasis or that are explicitly concerned with relating people to the sacred or divine'.³³ According to Wuthnow, the activities that fall under his definition of spiritual capital include prayer, meditation, discussions of spiritual texts, and practices that promote communication with the divine, such as spiritual rituals. Some of these activities, such as prayer and rituals, overlap with those that scholars like Richard Schechner have claimed to be important markers of Intercultural Theatre. In this sense, Intercultural productions make use of spiritual capital as a way of building the cultural identities of the nations that they originate from in performance. Michael Dobson, for example, highlights in an interview regarding South Asian adaptations that one 'of the things that happens when you take Shakespeare's plays to India, or back to India, and perform them in certain performance traditions is they become religious again'.³⁴ While Dobson's comment is a more general statement regarding the production of South Asian adaptations, his emphasis is on the potential religious retention of some performance traditions, such as Kathakali, which are sometimes incorporated into intercultural Shakespearean adaptations. To incorporate a

³³ Robert Wuthnow, "How Religious Groups Promote Forgiving: A National Study", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 39.2 (2000), pp. 125-139 (p. 128).

³⁴ Michael Dobson, *Michael Dobson in Conversation with Jyotsna Singh*, 20th July 2018, 14:13-14:23.

theatrical style like Kathakali, which retains its religious associations through its dance form and hand signs, into an intercultural Shakespeare adaptation, the production inherits and employs the spiritual capital to link it to the cultural identity of South Asia.

A better understanding of spiritual capital is provided by Mathew Guest, who uses Pierre Bourdieu's vocabulary of *embodied* state, *objectified* state, and *institutionalised* state from *Forms of Capital* to explain the concept. According to Guest,

The *embodied* state refers to the personal disposition made up of a collection of knowledge, tastes, and other resources an individual amasses throughout their experience, inculcated through education or a process of unconscious socialisation. [...] In the *objectified* state, spiritual capital appears as material and symbolic commodities, including theological knowledge and ideology. If the embodied state refers to embodied processes of consumption, the objectified state refers to what is consumed. The two are intimately related, not least because it is often necessary to possess certain knowledge before one knows how to properly consume or appropriate spiritual capital. [...] Finally, spiritual capital exists in an *institutionalised* state in the power religious organisations possess in determining the meaning of and access to the 'goods of salvation'. It is in its institutionalised state that spiritual capital is most clearly visible and demarcated.³⁵

Guest argues that Bourdieu's initial thoughts on religion as capital are limited within a hieratic structure wherein theoretical and religious value is generated by spiritual scholars, priests, and teachers who disseminate knowledge to the masses. This limitation is resultant from the fact that Bourdieu derived his concept of religious capital from his study of Catholicism and its structure. By expanding on Bourdieu's concept rather than following his

³⁵ Mathew Guest, "In Search of Spiritual Capital: The Spiritual as Cultural Resource", in *A Sociology of Spirituality*, edited by Kieran Flanagan and Peter C. Jupp (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 181-200 (p. 191-192).

restrictive definition, Guest, who also acknowledges Vertner's contributions to the interpretation of spiritual capital, introduces the necessary flexibility to examine other spiritual practices through this concept.

Currently, spiritual capital has only been used by scholars to analyse single-faith environments. For example, Guest's writing on spiritual capital focuses on how children of British Anglican clergy form their own individual identities. His study, therefore, is limited only to the spiritual capital of British Anglicanism and how its religious structure influences the lives of young people within that context. For the purposes of this thesis, I plan to expand on the framework by first applying these concepts to the performative arts and then examining how the spiritual capitals from different spiritual beliefs interact with each other during the process of intercultural adaptation. I am using 'capitals' here to indicate that one or more states of spiritual capital can interact with another, leading to a complex interaction that this thesis will address in a later chapter. The three states, as proposed by Guest, allow us to understand the relationship between the rituals performed on stage and how they reflect, build, or comment on cultural/national identity. The *embodied* state can be associated with the audience, both local and global, due to its focus on the personal knowledge and experiences of the individual. Guest's definition of the *embodied* state already echoes Hutcheon's argument that audiences enter the theatrical space with different levels of knowledge. Audiences therefore either understand the significance of the rituals being performed, as a whole or even partially, or do not yet have that capital and therefore receive that experience as part of their viewership. As I have proposed earlier, the rituals employed in the performances fall under the objectified state of Guest's definition. By performing religious dances, prayers, or chanting on stage, the theatre transforms these rituals into material that audiences can consume, which then adds to their store of experiences. I would also consider the performers of the rituals, such as witches, shamans, and priestesses, under

this category, as within the context of the theatre, their roles become visual symbols for their beliefs and practices. Lastly, if we consider spiritual rituals as products to be consumed by the audience, then the theatre acts as the institutionalised state through which these acts are accessed and disseminated through. While the theatre is not a replacement for spiritual institutions that provide ideological teaching, it serves as a site where audiences are exposed to spiritual rituals as actors perform them.

The incorporation of Bourdieu's vocabulary into how we interpret Intercultural Shakespearean productions within an academic context undoubtedly fosters a more cynical discourse, suggesting an economic agenda behind their stagings. This notion is especially true when we consider that intercultural adaptations are marketed as products for both local and global audiences, and that the spiritual rituals used in these performances are commodified as part of the process. However, economic considerations are integral in understanding the complex formulation of intercultural productions that are produced and toured in other countries. This thesis will discuss in more depth in the concluding chapter regarding international festivals, and occasionally in the case studies of *uMabatha* and *Lady Macbeth*, how governments and companies can attach economic capital to Shakespeare, culture, and spiritual practices to gain economic benefit. Verter highlights this in his theory of spiritual capital, stating that 'if religious capital is conceived [...] as something that is produced and accumulate hierocratic institutional framework, [then] spiritual capital may be regarded widely diffused commodity, governed by more complex patterns of production, distribution, exchange, and consumption'.³⁶ Verter's note points our attention to the intertwined way in which all things – be it social, cultural, or spiritual – are commodified, interacted, and studied with an economic evaluation. The use of Bourdieu's economic language and perspective does

³⁶ Bradford J. Verter, "Theorizing Religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu", *Sociological Theory*, 21.2 (2003), pp. 150-174 (p. 158).

not diminish the reverence people place on spiritual and religious beliefs but highlights additional facets of their presence in intercultural performances.

The cultural economics underpinning Shakespeare's global consumption have already been explored by other Shakespearean scholars. Susan Bennett argues that Shakespeare's cultural capital can be employed as a means of creating an image that could then be used to generate positive social advertisement through association. Bennett provides an example of this through the design of international festivals, writing that 'Bard Branding, in the form of the World Shakespeare Festival, it appeared, would be an occasion tailor-made for celebration of what the author and the company apparently shared [...] a high level of positive brand recognition'.³⁷ Bennett's example highlights one way in which Shakespeare's name is invoked as an event, manifesting a concept through which monetary capital can be generated from the sale of tickets and memorabilia. In this way, Shakespeare is simultaneously commodified for contemporary society and advertised as a figure of prestige and culture, thereby creating an environment for 'brand recognition'. Bennett further explains that companies can leverage the social prestige associated with Shakespeare's name to rebrand themselves from their established public image. However, this does not always result in their preferred outcome. She documents how the British Petroleum Company (BP) inserted themselves not only as sponsor of the event but also attached their logos to various paraphernalia which was met by a tsunamic backlash against the company by both audiences and performance troupes, both groups seeing through the propagandistic use of Shakespeare's image and name to boost BP's own social standing despite the company's ecologically devastating actions.³⁸ Such criticisms do not occur as singular phenomena but transpire when

³⁷ Susan Bennett, "Sponsoring Shakespeare", in *Shakespeare's Cultural Capital: His Economic Impact from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Dominic Shellard and Siobhan Keenan (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2016), pp. 163-179 (p. 166).

³⁸ Ibid., p. 166-172.

an external party, such as government organisations or corporations, involves itself in these productions. While the employment of Shakespeare's branding is not the central focus of this thesis, it cannot be fully untangled from the discourse as well. The economic marketing of Shakespeare's works is, obviously, an important factor in sustaining both the theatre production company as well as ensuring the continued lifespan of adaptive works in local and global contexts. The commodification, and thus commercialisation, of localised Shakespeare adaptations also invites the usage of capital vocabulary in both criticism and scholarship of these productions. Terms and concepts such as "negotiations", "brand", "import", and "export" have become commonplace words within the discourse due to a push from New Historicists and Cultural Materialists from the late twentieth-century.³⁹ These terms draw implicit associations between Shakespeare, adaptations, and corporatisation. It is these deeply embedded words that give readers a cynical outlook on these productions; corporate/governmental propaganda mars the interpretation of these narratives, as we have seen with the reaction to BP's involvement at the World Shakespeare Festival. Yet, such discourses surrounding the economic benefit of adapted works also provide us with insight into how characters and cultures are translated and represented in these reworked narratives.

If Shakespeare and his works can be conceptualised as a commodity and commercialised for public audiences, such methods can also be applied to the concept of culture and the various ways in which it manifests itself, which, in the case of this thesis, is through local spiritual practices. The commodification of local spiritual practices allows governments to market them to global tourists, enticing them to visit the local country and to spend their money, thereby generating local economic wealth. John Frow expounds on such practices, explaining that to 'speak of cultural capital is to invoke the history of the

³⁹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespeare Negotiations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 6.

integration of knowledge into commodity production—the establishment of knowledge as a central productive force’.⁴⁰ Frow’s approach to cultural capital deviates from this thesis’ consideration in that his analysis examines the phenomenon from a socio-economic perspective, suggesting that cultures can be divided by the environments and experiences of social class hierarchy, such as university cultures. However, I propose that his argument can be applied to geographical culture as well. Geographical cultures create homogeneous environments that cultivate distinct knowledge, beliefs, and practices, which can then be commodified and marketed to outside groups, as Frow posits. In doing so, governments and corporations that aim to attract global tourists to their countries employ these distinct local knowledges to create an image or brand through which they can advertise themselves. Sine Heitmann uses and expands on John Urry’s concept of the tourist gaze to explain this approach, writing that it ‘originates from the activity any tourist engages in when being on holiday, namely the importance of the visual gaze: we look at places, we look at people, we look at landscapes and buildings and we look at performances’.⁴¹ I would like to add onto Heitmann’s argument here and include the performance of religious culture as part of this ‘tourist gaze’. Another scholar who discusses the cultural impact of tourism is Eric Cohen, whose work helps in understanding how tourists expect a sense of authenticity when viewing either cultural performances or visiting a location.⁴² These expectations will be addressed as this thesis examines how its framework can be applied to larger performance events, such as international festivals. Unsurprisingly, religious performances are employed by various governments and industries across the world as tourist advertisements for a cultural

⁴⁰ John Frow, *Cultural Studies and Cultural Value* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 91.

⁴¹ Sine Heitmann, “Tourism Behavior and Tourism Motivation”, *Research Themes for Tourism*, edited by Peter Robinson, Sine Heitmann, and Peter Dieke (Wallingford: CAB International, 2011), pp. 31-44 (p. 38).

⁴² Erik Cohen, “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism”, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15 (1988), pp. 371-386 (p. 375).

experience. For example, the Japanese *kagura* dance is considered a spiritual ritual, yet it is also performed at shrines for tourists as a demonstration of Japanese culture, which this thesis will explore in more depth in a later chapter. Hence, religious practices and rituals are commodified and packaged, much like Shakespeare, as a means of tourist voyeurism of local culture.⁴³ The synthesis of these two commodified factors – Shakespeare’s canon and local spiritual practices – as part of localised adaptations, whether performed in their own communities or on tour, produces discourses that require economic considerations. This amalgamation of commodities is especially pronounced in localised adaptations of *Macbeth* which frequently incorporate local spiritual practices as a means of translating the supernatural characters and occurrences of the source text. Thus, I approach the use of spiritual practices as a touristic draw in the same way: their practice, and by extension their practitioners, are marketed as a commodified experience for economic gain. In this sense, the economic vocabulary infused into cultural rhetoric is particularly useful as this chapter discusses cultural interactions, exchanges, and negotiations within its discourse. While not all adaptations that include the representation of spiritual practitioners do so with economic or political considerations, it is worth noting that governments and adaptors employ their portrayals as a means of promoting local cultures to tourists, thereby exploiting them as cultural branding. In doing so, the adaptations potentially use stereotypical portrayals of spiritual practitioners to cater towards tourism, thereby raising a question of ethics in adaptation, which will be discussed later in this introduction and re-examined in the following chapters of this study.

⁴³ Greg Richard and Carlos Fernandes, “Religious Tourism in Northern Portugal”, in *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives*, edited by Greg Richards (London: The Haworth Hospitality Press, 2007, pp. 215-238 (p. 219). Greg Richards and Carlos Fernandes discuss the implications of religious tourism in their study of tourists in Northern Portugal, which can be applied to these instances of tourism.

However, the employment of culture and local spiritual beliefs in touristic consumerism creates tension between the tourist/global and a local audience. As this thesis will explore more closely in its case study of Welcome Msomi's *uMabatha*, the discourse on tourist consumerism affecting local culture and spiritual beliefs draws polarising arguments from both local and intercultural scholars/critics. On one hand, the simplification and exoticisation of local traditions generate interest in local traditions and tourism, thereby fostering growth for the local economy. On the other hand, such methods are also criticised because, as many Postcolonial scholars have argued, the exoticisation of cultural differences has historically been a colonial mode of perceiving the Other. For example, both Todd Cleveland and Ruth Meyer acknowledge in their studies of Africa that the exotic image of African culture and society is rooted in colonial ideas and portrayals of the continent.⁴⁴ The counterpoint argument to this discourse is also presented by Cleveland and Dimitrios Theodossopoulos who suggest that the tourist fascination with the exotic Other allows for some preservation of traditional local culture such as clothing and customs.⁴⁵ The overarching tension between these two perspectives is the unequal qualitative value placed on local culture: does the economic profit of exporting culture outweigh social belonging and identity? There is no simple way of untangling the social, cultural, and economic complexities involved in these discourses. Instead, this thesis aims to examine how the employment of local spiritual culture affects the interpretation of localised adaptations as they are presented to both a local and global audience, while also considering how these discourses influence their reception.

⁴⁴ Todd Cleveland, *A History of Tourism in Africa: Exoticization, Exploitation and Enrichment* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2021), p. 2; Ruth Meyer, *Artificial Africas: Colonial Images in the Times of Globalization* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2002), p. 19.

⁴⁵ Dimitrios Theodossopoulos, "Indigenous Attire, Exoticisation and Social Change: Dressing and Undressing Among the Emberá of Panama", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 18 (2012), pp. 591-612 (p. 595); Todd Cleveland, p. 90.

0.3 Spiritual Capital as Cultural and National Identity

If we consider religious rituals as spiritual capital, and recognise that these same rituals can serve as cultural identifiers in Intercultural Theatre, as Richard Schechner and other scholars have proposed, then the ways in which this form of capital is used and represented in intercultural adaptations can affect how a cultural identity is perceived. Imre Lazar argues that the ‘observable part of culture offers the sacred symbols and codes, rituals, and narratives, expressing values, creating the web of meaning for members of the culture’.⁴⁶ Lazar makes this argument in a general sense of how culture is perceived. However, her observation can also be very aptly applied to performances of Intercultural Theatre, especially in productions that use spiritual rituals. Even as audiences watch these forms of theatre to entertain themselves, the visual performance of these rituals directly contributes to their experience and understanding of culture, thereby affecting their *embodied* state. However, what is seen or not seen on stage during these ritual performances is also affected by political elements. As Jenny Wong observes in her study of East Asian translations of Shylock, Christian monotheism continues to be a point of contention, especially in China, because to ‘the Chinese, this is equivalent to the loss of cultural identity and is culturally and even politically inappropriate’.⁴⁷ According to Wong, this is the reason some adaptations of Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice* remove Shylock’s conversion to Christianity at the end of the play. Christian conversion, according to the concepts of spiritual capital, would fall under the objectified state as it is a ritual process through which the Christian community

⁴⁶ Imre Lazar, “Spirituality and Culture”, in *The Routledge International Handbook of Spirituality in Society and the Professions*, edited by Lazlo Zsolnai and Bernadette Flanagan (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 32-39 (p. 32).

⁴⁷ Jenny Wong, *The Translatability of the Religious Dimension in Shakespeare from Page to Stage, from West to East: With Reference to the Merchant of Venice in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2018), p. 268.

recognises an individual's entry into the religion and the embracing of its practices and ideologies. In this sense, the removal of spiritual capital is necessary to align the production with China's national identity.

If the omission of spiritual capital can be used to maintain national identity, I would argue that the inclusion of some spiritual rituals can also encourage and support the building of a national or cultural identity. The building of these identities tends to stem from a hope by the adaptors of these productions that they can improve their country's socio-political/socio-cultural environments. In examining the four case studies included in this project, both Welcome Msomi and Yoshihiro Kurita exhibit a desire to build a globally recognised cultural identity for South Africa and Japan, respectively. Whereas Antonio Zúñiga, Juan Carrillo, and Han Tae-Sook use their adaptations to comment on their government and the gender inequality, respectively. All four of these adaptations employ their own spiritual beliefs to communicate this idea of bettering their communities. As James Dingley suggests, to 'fully appreciate the importance of religion in nationalism, therefore, one needs to understand the importance of religion'.⁴⁸ One example of this occurrence is in *Macbeth*, where Malcolm describes the deeds of Edward the Confessor as 'miraculous work' in comparison to Macbeth.⁴⁹ Malcolm's speculation that Edward, the English King, is able to perform miracles and therefore is close to the divine contrasts with Macbeth's rule. Malcolm's attitude to Edward's spiritual powers foreshadows his embracing of English traditions, culture, and identity at the end of the play, encouraging a nationalistic unity between England and Scotland. In this way, the play employs spiritual capital to encourage the building of a united

⁴⁸ James Dingley, "Sacred Communities: Religion and National Identity", *National Identities*, 13.4 (2011), pp. 389-402 (p. 393).

⁴⁹ William Shakespeare, "The Tragedy of Macbeth", edited by John Jowett, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 2501-2566 (IV.3.147).

national identity. This moment will, of course, be studied further in the subsequent chapter on *Macbeth*. For now, I want to use it to prompt further considerations as to how intercultural adaptations use spiritual capital to build their narratives and identities. In her examination of East Asian adaptations, Alexa Huang argues that ‘twenty-first-century East Asian adaptations tend to interpret Shakespearean tragedies through issues of spirituality and through the artists’ personal, rather than national identities’.⁵⁰ While adaptors use their personal experiences and background to shape their adaptations, they also rely on their own spiritual experiences and histories. In doing so, the adaptors employ their *objectified* states of spiritual capital to engage with Shakespeare’s canon, which both influences and is influenced by their national and cultural identities, despite Huang’s claim. Dingley also poses an appropriate and relevant consideration that there is ‘a tendency in much of the literature [that studies the relationship between religion and nationalism] to be rather Euro-centric [...] and so fails to learn lessons from other societies, especially where religion still plays a more overt role in life’.⁵¹ Not only does Dingley highlight that not all governments have a clear policy on the separation of religious and state institutions, but in some cases, they are heavily intertwined. While the focus of this thesis is on spiritual practices, their practitioners, and how they impact the interpretation of *Macbeth*, it is impossible to separate them from their socio-political environments fully. Thus, the case studies examined in this thesis include discussions on colonial histories, feminist movements, and government intervention where relevant.

By adapting *Macbeth*, the choices made during the process of culturally translating the supernatural elements of the play, such as the Weird Sisters and the rituals they perform that align with local practices also invite discourse, exchange, and compromise of spiritual

⁵⁰ Alexa Huang, “‘It is the East’ – Shakespearean Tragedies in East Asia”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespearean Tragedy*, edited by Michael Neill and David Schalkwyk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 896-912 (p. 898).

⁵¹ Dingley, *Sacred Communities: Religion and National Identity*, p. 390-391.

capital. Wolf proposes his own model of approaching multifaith discourse, stating that his ‘intercultural model of inter-religious dialogue is based on Mall’s concept of intercultural philosophy, and in particular, the claim [...] that interculturality is inter-religiosity’.⁵² While Wolf’s framework focuses mainly on linguistic and cultural differences, his opinion could be expanded to include the experiences that occur through Intercultural Theatre. As the rituals are translated and localised, inter-religious discourse naturally occurs when adaptors and directors attempt to find a suitable mode through which supernatural entities and events, or religious and moral themes and concerns from the source text, can be transmitted and understood by local communities. These conversations are, of course, more likely to occur between the adaptor, director, and/or dramaturg of the production rather than among the audience themselves. As Craig A. Phillips notes of Jeannine Hill-Fletcher’s research on inter-religious conversations in communities:

Hill-Fletcher admits that most people do not have the expertise or leisure to engage in the kind of discourse necessary for real understanding of religious difference [...] she focuses her attention on the dialogues that happen when people of different communities gather, sometimes informally, for meals or in playgroups with their children.⁵³

Both Phillips and Hill-Fletcher rightly point out that inter-religious discourse by laypeople requires long conversations to attain a meaningful level of understanding and appreciation between multiple belief systems. Hill-Fletcher suggests seeking out sites of hybridity in both communal spaces and identities. In contrast, Phillips proposes using a concept of religious

⁵² Wolf, *Intercultural Identity and Inter-Religious Dialogue*, p. 43.

⁵³ Craig A. Phillips, “Cultural-Linguistic Resources for Interreligious and Ecumenical Dialogue”, in *Pathways for Interreligious Dialogue in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Vladimir Latinovac, Gerald Mannion, and Peter C. Phan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 15-28 (p. 20).

hybridity and cultural pluralism, which he takes from Stephen Mark Heim, but with a sharper focus on political and ideological language to ease conversations and overcome this barrier.⁵⁴

I would instead argue that seeing Intercultural Theatre as the *institutionalised* state of spiritual capital not only establishes the space as a communal site in which people can gather and experience spiritual rituals in a recreational manner, which could in turn lead to further conversations between them, but also experience the spiritual and cultural plurality that comes with the genre. While John Martin argues that ‘Interculturalism provides a forum where their practitioners can meet, find commonalities and move on to create new work which is as resonant as those traditional styles were when they were first created’.⁵⁵ The works of these practitioners communicate the outcomes of these discussions to the masses, thereby becoming the institution through which the hybridised spiritual capital is disseminated. What Interspirituality does is provide a framework and vocabulary that can enable scholars to examine the commonalities and compromises agreed upon in Intercultural work.

0.4 Interspirituality, Translation, and Adaptation

Interspiritualism aims to look at local spiritual beliefs and practices, such as witchcraft, Shamanism, and Shintoism, in their communities rather than just global faith systems and their ideologies, which have been the focus of Interfaith discourse. The framework focuses on the local spiritual culture, defined by belief systems related to the spiritual and supernatural, and how these surface within the adaptation. This approach aligns itself with Hutcheon’s statement regarding adaptation studies, that ‘the advantage of the more

⁵⁴ Stephen Mark Heim, *Salvations: Truth and Difference in Religion* (New York: Orbis Books, 1995), p. 147.

⁵⁵ Martin, *The Intercultural Performance Handbook*, p. 4.

general anthropological usage in thinking about adaptation is that it implies agency: people pick and choose what they want to transplant to their own soil'.⁵⁶ By using anthropology to contextualise the societal relationship between local communities and spiritual practices and practitioners, scholars can understand how these are represented in localised adaptations, forming an informed basis for interpretation. Interspiritualism further considers the representation of spiritual practitioners, or those who conduct their respective spiritual rituals within these adaptations.

To study character translation within a localised Shakespeare context is to analyse the changes in a character from the inspirational source to the adaptation via the omission of lines or the choice of word changes. As Hutcheon proposes, 'translation is not a rendering of some fixed nontextual meaning to be copied or paraphrased or reproduced; rather, it is an engagement with the original text that makes us see that text in different ways'.⁵⁷ Hutcheon attempts to expand the definition of translation beyond the linguistic so that the act in itself constitutes a transformation, especially within the context of adaptation studies. Such redefinitions are also echoed by scholars like Lawrence Raw, who argues that the distinction between the acts of adaptation and translation is 'very much present in popular Western discourse, where adaptation tends to be viewed as a creative version, rewriting of, or commentary on a source as opposed to translation that presumably offers sameness and strives for equivalence'.⁵⁸ Raw proceeds to argue that the hybridisation of both fields is necessary in understanding the recontextualisation of the source text in non-Western cultures. Similarly, Friederike von Schwerin-High proposes that a 'translation is not only a metatext, a commentary about language, it also constitutes a cultural artifact, a consumer product, and

⁵⁶ Hutcheon and O'Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. 150.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

⁵⁸ Lawrence Raw, "Finding Common Ground", in *Translation, Adaptation, and Transformation*, edited by Lawrence Raw (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), p. 43.

cultural capital'.⁵⁹ When placed alongside both Raw's and Hutcheon's definitions of translations, Schwerin-High's classification provides a foundational idea for approaching Intercultural Adaptation Study: they could be viewed as translations of their source texts, which have also been simultaneously transformed into a cultural product that could be potentially marketed. As Dennis Kennedy and Yong Li Lan similarly highlight, Shakespeare's 'plays are now treated as a means to reaffirm and export [local] traditions, and to reinvent the resources they represent'.⁶⁰ It is in this sense that localised adaptations, and all cultural aspects that are incorporated into them, garner cultural capital as argued above. Therefore, the approaches and discourses surrounding acts of translation are important to this thesis. While linguistic translation is not the central focus of this study, some of the field's approaches and considerations can be adapted and applied to the idea of cultural translations, highlighting the ways in which different characters or designs are visually and narratively transformed in their new context.⁶¹ By modifying how the spiritual and supernatural are represented on a localised stage through cultural translation, local adaptors either align with or deviate from their community's perception and interaction. These changes mark the new intended interpretations injected by the adaptor. As Sujata Iyengar proposes, the 'critic's job, then, is to observe how adaptations work through processes of replication and change'.⁶² By

⁵⁹ Friederike von Schwerin-High, *Shakespeare, Reception and Translation: Germany and Japan* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 1.

⁶⁰ Dennis Kennedy and Yong Li Lan, "Introduction: Why Shakespeare", in *Shakespeare in Asia: Contemporary Performance*, edited by Dennis Kennedy and Yong Li Lan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-27 (p. 15).

⁶¹ Ton Hoenselaars ed., *Shakespeare and the Language of Translation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012); Daniel Gallimore, "Tsubouchi Shōyō and the Beauty of Shakespeare Translation in 1900s Japan", *Multicultural Shakespeare Translation Appropriation and Performance*, 13.1 (2016), pp. 69-85; Gu Zhiwei, "Ethics and translation of Shakespeare's dramas —a case study on Zhu Shenghao's translation of *Romeo and Juliet*", *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 9.4 (2018), pp. 715-723.

The field of linguistic translation regarding Shakespearean texts continues to be a growing and relevant area of scholarship, as demonstrated by recent publications, including the above-mentioned examples and the articles published by Jessica Chiba, as mentioned in this thesis.

⁶² Sujata Iyengar, *Shakespeare and Adaptation Theory* (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), p. 32.

using Interspiritualism as the lens through which to study adaptations of *Macbeth*, this thesis will show that the variations between these productions and the source text will clearly highlight the adaptor's process of recontextualisation and provide a glimpse of various spiritual practices and ideologies. In doing so, the adaptations demonstrate the negotiations and hybridisation of non-Christian spiritual practices with Christianity. This approach allows them to not only foster an environment of cultural and spiritual harmony through dialogue but also to provide alternative methods of contemplating the afterlife when the theological ideology of either practice proves too restrictive.

By acknowledging the stage presence of the spiritual practitioners who stand in for the role of the Weird Sisters, audiences and scholars can more clearly see the choices made by the director during the process of cultural translation. As Pavis suggests, in 'order to outline some problems peculiar to translation for the stage and the *mis en scene*, we need to take account of two factors: (1) in theatre, the translation reaches the audience by way of the actors' bodies; (2) we cannot simply translate a linguistic text into another; rather we confront and communicate heterogeneous cultures and situations of enunciation that are separated in space and time'.⁶³ By recognising the potential visual interpretations of these localised adaptations, which result from actors performing outside their local communities and cultures, Pavis stipulates that translations occurring from the actor's body, aesthetics, and cultural rituals on stage are important factors in communicating the narrative recontextualisation. I agree with Pavis' argument that cultural reinterpretations of the source text through localised adaptation rely on more than just a direct linguistic translation. However, I would like to refine the argument by suggesting that it also relies on the presentation of the characters, including their gestures, words, and the rituals they perform, rather than the actors. Especially in a more cosmopolitan environment, actor bodies can come

⁶³ Pavis, *Crossroads*, p. 136.

in a variety of forms, which could affect interpretation. However, such interpretations firstly place undue criticisms and limitations on casting decisions, which contemporary discourses are attempting to deter. While the director can make casting decisions that fit his or her vision, the socio-political discourses surrounding body type related decisions remain highly complex and nuanced for the scope of this thesis. It is more productive to focus on how the character is presented and represented in the adaptations, as these decisions are consciously made by either the adaptor or director. This focus includes the costumes worn by these representations and the props they use. In their analysis of Asian Shakespeares, Dennis Kennedy and Yong Li Lan attempt to circumvent the issue by suggesting that translating Shakespeare into another language makes it new, as the Early Modern English forms of his words are adapted to be understandable to a modern non-English speaking audience.⁶⁴ Kennedy and Yong claim that by transplanting Shakespeare into a new language and culture, and weaving his texts with their own cultural stories and history, intercultural adaptations – especially localised productions – reinvent Shakespeare plays into narratives unique to both the individual culture, and a global audience. According to them, Shakespeare provides new stories for Asian theatres to explore and adapt for their local audiences, even if they choose to modernise their translation. These recontextualised adaptations, in turn, become new experiences for global audiences who are more familiar with Shakespeare's work but are not as exposed to different cultures. However, I would also argue that the freshness of these adaptations extends beyond the vocabulary of the adaptation to include the performer's body language, as their physical movements also communicate local ideas to the audience, especially when used in tandem with spiritual rituals like dance. Furthermore, while Kennedy and Yong's suggestion aids audiences, critics, and scholars in discarding notions of fidelity when approaching contemporary non-anglophone adaptations of Shakespeare's canon, it

⁶⁴ Kennedy and Yong, *Why Shakespeare*, p. 3.

downplays the process of recontextualisation that occurs when an adaptation's infidelity to the source text is highlighted.

Douglas Lanier attempts to posit an alternative theoretical approach, which he terms Rhizomatic. He argues that if 'we conceive of our shared object of study not as Shakespeare the text but as the vast web of adaptations, allusions and (re)productions that comprises the ever-changing cultural phenomenon we call "Shakespeare," the rhizome can offer a compelling theoretical model'.⁶⁵ By suggesting that adaptations be studied together rather than against each other, the Rhizomatic model allows and acknowledges the plurality of voices that interact with the Shakespearean canon, rather than placing the source text as the authoritative voice. While such notions are useful for exploring the different influences that shape individual adaptations, the process and reasons behind the transformations and translations within these productions are equally important when considering the recontextualisation of the source texts. Both approaches to adaptations fundamentally attempt to destabilise the establishment of a purist interpretation of Shakespeare's texts as the sole authority. Lanier's argument stems primarily from the preoccupation of critics and scholars with creating an authoritative "Shakespeare" through their analysis, suggesting that Shakespearean texts are the definitive marker for comparing a successful work of Shakespearean adaptation. His position further harkens back towards Kennedy and Yong's opinion that 'the patterns of the institutionalization of Shakespeare usually imply [...] that converting the texts into other languages – not to mention theatrical conversion to other cultural milieus – results in a lesser product'.⁶⁶ These scholars collectively highlight the need for an appropriate distance between canon and adaptation when studying these productions to

⁶⁵ Douglas Lanier, "Shakespearean Rhizomatics: Adaptation, Ethics, Value", in *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, edited by Alexa Huang and Elizabeth Rivlin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 21-40 (p. 29).

⁶⁶ Kennedy and Yong, *Why Shakespeare*, p. 2.

avoid diminishing their significance. Within the proposed framework of Rhizomatics, Lanier suggests that:

Instead of beginning with the Shakespearean text and moving to adaptations, a procedure that only reinforces the primacy of that text to those adaptations, one might begin with an adaptation and move back toward and through the Shakespearean script to other adaptations, situating that script as one element – albeit a historically important element – in an adaptation chain.⁶⁷

Lanier's approach is useful in establishing an equal power dynamic between adaptations and the source text while simultaneously reminding scholars to acknowledge the multiple points of influence incorporated in adaptations. As the network of created adaptations and various sources, both offline and online, grows, the study of the intertwined interactions between influence and adaptation becomes challenging to navigate due to the sheer volume that could potentially be included in the examination. Reading of a later generation adaptation, which draws influence from multiple genres, forms, texts, and platforms, would be akin to attempting to read James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* – difficult but possible. A more productive study would be to identify specific transformations in the recontextualisation process through a side-by-side reading of the source text and adaptation, thereby highlighting the major influences that can then be examined and how they affect interpretation.

Such studies should, as Lanier has argued, consider each adaptation as a distinct production rather than a derivative of Shakespeare's canon. In some cases, the socio-political recontextualisation alone greatly disjoints the adaptation from the source text from the start of the performance. Kennedy and Yong, in their edition of various essays studying non-Anglophone Shakespearean adaptations, argue that when 'actors speak Shakespeare in a language colloquially shared with spectators — the condition of the performance of most

⁶⁷ Lanier, *Shakespearean Rhizomatics*, p. 31.

plays and films in history — his archaic verse is transformed into new writing [...] in English *Hamlet* is a series of well-known quotations, in Chinese it is a new play'.⁶⁸ Their observation on translated Shakespearean language is an important consideration, reinforcing the newness of Shakespearean adaptations when performed both locally and globally. Viewing the adaptation's connection to the source text as citation is, thus, another important consideration in the study of adaptation. Even if, as Kennedy and Yong have highlighted, the adaptation is considered a new production by local communities, it is still connected to Shakespeare through its citations. In her book, Hutcheon argues that adaptations are 'mosaics of citation that are visible and invisible, heard and silent'.⁶⁹ Hutcheon's definition of citation helps to illuminate how we view localised stage adaptations of Shakespeare's canon; citation exists not only through quotations but also extends to the presence of characters and the stage aesthetics. Quotations and citations within the adapted text demonstrate the adaptor's textual fidelity. However, the interpretations of these references are transformed when performed in a faithful representation of local culture and aesthetics, which recontextualise the meanings produced by these words. Whether the Macbethian narrative is used to critique socio-political environments, showcase local culture, or explore ideological ideas, the unifying aspect across these adaptations is the communication of the source narrative across cultures and languages. At the same time, the spirit of the play remains similar; it is its juxtaposition or allusion to local contexts that foregrounds the thematic concerns of these productions.

This thesis' concern lies not with the creation of an authoritative interpretation of *Macbeth* in various cultures but with the choices made during the process of translation and transmission of characters, spiritual concepts, and their expressions. Rather than bypassing the source text, this study needs to compare its various case studies against *Macbeth* to assess

⁶⁸ Kennedy and Yong, *Why Shakespeare*, p. 3.

⁶⁹ Hutcheon and O'Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. 21.

the impact of the adaptation's translation on the representation of the local culture. Looking at adapted works in relation to their source of inspiration is an undertaking that requires caution. In his attempt to analyse adapted works, Lanier argues against the practice at the surface level, stating that 'often the work of comparing Shakespearean scripts to adaptations fosters the illusion that (re)producers of Shakespeare engage directly and primarily with originary Shakespearean texts'.⁷⁰ Lanier's justification for scholars and critics to consider Shakespearean adaptations at a distance from their source texts is a logical way to free adaptations from constant scrutiny and comparison, thereby allowing them to flourish. However, in the case of this thesis, it is beneficial to relink the two to explore what the adaptation aims to achieve through the addition of speeches and other references, the exclusion of plotlines, or even the choice of words in translations. Inga-Stina Ewbank proposes, in 'cutting, suppressing, restructuring and adding, theatre directors and [...] academic critics are, each in his or her way and for his or her particular purpose, translators/rewriters of Shakespeare'.⁷¹ Indeed, while adaptations make the new narrative their own by including references and influences from outside the source text, adaptors cannot fully separate the new work from Shakespeare. It is, thus, inevitable that adaptors of Shakespeare, their works, or critics of their works, engage with the Shakespearean canon directly in some way.

An adapted work, whether it be from Shakespeare or another creator, is always tied to its source text, be it in terms of characters, tropes, or plot. The new work is, thus, unable to deviate too far from these parameters lest it become unrecognisable as an adaptation and instead becomes a wholly new and unrelated narrative. Furthermore, it is within this

⁷⁰ Lanier, *Shakespearean Rhizomatics*, p. 23.

⁷¹ Inga-Stina Ewbank, "Shakespeare Translation as Cultural Exchange", in *Shakespeare Survey 48: Shakespeare and Cultural Exchange*, edited by Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1-12 (p.7).

relationship between source and adaptation that the latter either consciously or unconsciously inherits/subverts some of the biases of its source, much like a genetic offspring inheriting the traits of its parent. Yong points out that in ‘Asian intercultural production, the collective ‘we’ who inherit Shakespeare is at once affirmed, yet also polemicized, by ‘traces’ of readings that establish his classic status’.⁷² Yong’s claim speaks strongly for post-colonial nations of the British Empire, which have inherited Shakespeare and, consequently, Euro-centric approaches to his works through their history. However, her argument could also be expanded to include societies outside the historical British Empire that have been subjected to Anglophone culture. In another anthology, Kennedy highlights that rather ‘than seeing the use of Shakespeare’s texts in foreign languages as a phenomenon separate from their use in English, [Anglophone critics] have normally chosen to see it as further vindication of the importance of their subject, and, by implication, of the superiority of English as the medium for Shakespearean cognition’.⁷³ Scholarship from Intercultural Shakespeare researchers has already highlighted such critics’ tendencies to dismiss the value of Intercultural adaptations of Shakespeare. As John Russell Brown notes in his research on non-Anglophone Shakespeare productions, critics do not leave the end of a play enthusiastic ‘every time a Shakespeare play is performed in a language other than English, but they are heard so frequently that “foreign Shakespeare” deserves careful study’.⁷⁴ Brown’s observation points towards the growing frequency of non-Anglophone adaptations, which connotes their popularity even in Anglophone countries. As mentioned by Kennedy and Yong, language is

⁷² Yong Li Lan, “Shakespeare here and elsewhere: Ong Keng Sen’s intercultural Shakespeare”, in *Shakespeare in Asia: Contemporary Performance*, edited by Dennis Kennedy and Yong Li Lan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 188.

⁷³ Dennis Kennedy, “Introduction: Shakespeare without his language”, in *Foreign Shakespeare: Contemporary Performance*, edited by Dennis Kennedy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 1-18 (p. 2).

⁷⁴ John Russell Brown, “Foreign Shakespeare and English-speaking audiences”, in *Foreign Shakespeare: Contemporary Performance*, edited by Dennis Kennedy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 21-35 (p. 21).

one of the most direct ways to break down the notions of a naturalistically performed Shakespeare play, thereby opening interpretations of the text to new methodologies and stagings. Hutcheon's proposition of a knowing and unknowing audience extends to this argument as well. While the lack of linguistic knowledge does not entirely excuse critics from their claim of Anglophone superiority over non-Anglophone interpretations, exposing and creating dialogues between different cultures and spiritual practices remain important aspects that foster an appreciation of these variances. Therefore, the deconstruction of a singular authoritative Shakespearean interpretation is valuable not only to post-colonial discourse but also to any non-English adaptation.

This thesis aims to apply Lanier's proposed Rhizomatic structure to compare multiple adaptations, while simultaneously recognises the presence of the source text within the respective works. The model seeks to acknowledge the influence of both the individual culture and Shakespeare's context within the process of cultural translation rather than elevating one above the other. As Lanier proposes, his Rhizomatic model emphasises 'difference as essential to the cultural afterlife of "Shakespeare" and [...] seeks to demonstrate how "Shakespeare" becomes ever-other-than-itself precisely through the varied particularities of its manifestations'.⁷⁵ Such differences are magnified by acknowledging the diversity of interpretations and influences that bleed into these adaptations, particularly the perceptions and practices of spiritualism in each respective culture. This thesis aims to maintain the philosophy espoused by Ram Adhar Mall, which states that '*interculturality* stands for an attitude, for the conviction that no culture is the culture for the whole of humankind'.⁷⁶ By acknowledging the uniqueness of each culture's local interpretation of Shakespeare's text, the study will attempt to deconstruct the idea of a universal Shakespeare,

⁷⁵ Lanier, *Shakespearean Rhizomatics*, p. 31.

⁷⁶ Ram Adhar Mall, *Intercultural Philosophy* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, 2000), p. 8.

rather than reinforcing the notion. In doing so, this thesis acknowledges and agrees with Mall's stance that echoes similar arguments put forward by Lanier, Kennedy, and Yong, that the 'universalistic bent of the European mind seems to be disillusioned in part because it is now forced to realize that the days when Europe alone was destined to make and influence history are gone'.⁷⁷ Acknowledging the plurality of narrative and stylistic variations fundamental to adaptation work is crucial for understanding how Shakespeare is used to communicate ideas in contemporary society. However, while localised adaptation remains the fundamental cornerstone of analysis, this discussion should also note the potential influences and interpretations that could arise from a global audience. Knowles reminds his readers that focusing only on localised productions leans heavily on 'the increasingly problematic assumption of monocultural audiences as target cultures'.⁷⁸ Modern theatre, including localised adaptations, is no longer geographically restricted to one community. Instead, productions are performed across a global stage through tours and festivals. It is important to consider whether the changes made to these touring adaptations cater to a global spectacle that leans towards a Christian and Anglophone interpretation, potentially sacrificing cultural representation in the process.

Contemporary adaptations allow for a shift in canonical narratives that reevaluate canonical portrayals by placing excluded voices at the forefront. Han Tae Seok's *Lady Macbeth*, for example, centres the events of the Macbethian narrative around Lady Macbeth rather than Macbeth. In doing so, the adaptation examines the source play's themes of ambition and power dynamics through the lens of a female main character, focusing on her emotional and mental states and the circumstances that influence her choices. Thus, there is a crucial need to identify how the source work presents its prejudices and how adaptors have

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 2.

⁷⁸ Knowles, *Theatre & Interculturalism*, p. 29.

confronted or negotiated with them. Shari Sabeti argues that as ‘readers we trust the adaptors to possess the knowledge they require to carry out the task [...] that this knowledge is delivered with some sincerity’.⁷⁹ Such assumptions from the audience are naturally to be expected as part of the Intercultural experience. However, when considered in a wider festival or touring context, the expectations of cultural education from non-localised audiences seeking authenticity from these events can prove more of a hindrance to these adaptations, as this thesis will explore in its conclusion. As Erik Cohen observes, authenticity, ‘for curators and ethnographers, is principally a quality of pre-modern life, and of cultural products produced prior to the penetration of modern Western influences: hence the common emphasis on cultural products which were “hand made” from “natural” materials’.⁸⁰ If Lanier, Kennedy, Yong, and Brown’s above-mentioned discourse argues against an “authentic” Shakespeare, then Cohen’s observation sits at the opposite end of the spectrum, where the demand for an “authentic” presentation from non-local cultures is equally detrimental because it perceives them as exotic and unmodernised. Instead, I would argue that a hybridised balance between the two should be striven for: where the presentation of culture, which in this case is through localised adaptations, is thoughtful and familiar to local culture and simultaneously understood to be a response and transformation of an Anglophone body of work. In this sense, the adaptors carry with them a responsibility to make well-informed choices in their translations, as their decisions influence the way their audiences interpret their plays. I would suggest that an audience-and-adaptor relationship is created through the adaptation, where the audience trusts the adaptor and performers to ensure the narrative reflects some measure of cultural fidelity. For example, Sheila T.

⁷⁹ Shari Sabeti, “Shakespeare, adaptation and ‘matters of trust’”, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 47.3 (2017), pp. 337-354 (p. 342).

⁸⁰ Erik Cohen, “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism”, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15 (1988), pp. 371-386 (p. 375).

Cavanagh explains that there ‘is often a fine line separating innovative, culturally enriching presentations from those that either seem subtly or overtly patronizing or predominantly feature disparate cultures as “exotic” [...] audiences may believe that they are learning more about another culture than they actually are’.⁸¹ Cavanagh’s argument highlights the likelihood that the adaptation’s audiences trust the performance to be a fairly accurate reflection of the local community’s traditions and practices. This factor places an additional burden on the localising adaptor: to ensure that the adaptation does not misrepresent the local culture and communities, lest the narrative become self-exploitative. Therefore, a robust discourse in adaptation ethics is crucial for maintaining trust between adaptors and audiences, especially in the context of intercultural theatre, which seeks to interact between multiple cultures within a performative experience.

This discourse is further complicated by spiritual beliefs, which are more related to the individual person than to a collective society. While spiritual practices are largely communal in terms of ideology, it is up to the individual person to decide how such teachings are executed in their daily life. The representation of indigenous spiritual practices and practitioners within localised adaptations reflects not only the general ideology of the spiritual practice governing the communities that believe in it, but also the personal interpretations of those beliefs carried by the individual adaptor. However, such representations can be checked against anthropological accounts of how spiritual practices and practitioners interact with the local community, serving as a mode of inquiry into adaptation choices. As Paula Baldwin Lind asserts, ‘informed choice is directly related both to the election of words and accurate expressions in the target language [...] that guide the modern reader throughout his/her journey into the world of each of the plays and help theatre

⁸¹ Sheila T. Cavanagh, “In Other Words: Shakespearean Transformations”, in *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, edited by Alexa Huang and Elizabeth Rivlin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 193-210 (p. 196).

directors at the moment of recreating that world in the same or in another cultural context'.⁸² Being informed of editorial and adaptation choices within the context of localisation aids adaptors, readers, and audiences in preventing the exploitation of cultural and spiritual representation for capital gain, whether for commercial or political reasons. As investigations into adaptations proceed further, readers should concurrently reflect on the extent to which the adaptors have considered the representations of their characters. Particularly, in localised adaptations of *Macbeth*, the Weird Sisters tend to be translated into the spiritual healers of their communities. However, their representation becomes complicated depending on the adaptors' fidelity in their interpretation of the source text.

Such complications are illustrated within this thesis' case studies, such as that of Welcome Msomi's *uMabatha*, which deviates from the cultural perception of *sangomas* to align the characters with how the source text portrays the Weird Sisters and will be examined in Chapter 2. Msomi's close fidelity to the source text rather than local culture, indeed, creates conflicting portrayals in which the representation of African spiritual practitioners has to submit to Early Modern English ideas of witchcraft, as will be explored in a later chapter. Nonetheless, Msomi's strong reliance on keeping to the text of *Macbeth* to communicate Zulu culture demonstrates one of the pitfalls of textual citations in adapted works, which is the prioritising of the Shakespearean canon – and therefore Early Modern English culture – over his own local stories and heritage. Desmet, quoting Marjorie Garber's *Quotation Marks*, notes that a 'quotation, as a verbal reproduction of a predecessor's words and sentences, is "a kind of cultural ventriloquism, a throwing of the voice that is also an appropriation of

⁸² Paula B. Lind, "Translating Shakespeare, Translating Culture: Text, Paratext, and the Challenges of Recreating Cultural Meanings in Text and on Stage", *Studia Litteraria Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis*, 13.3, (2018), pp. 219-235 (p. 225).

authority”’.⁸³ Desmet conflates the definitions of both quotation and citation to create Derridean signage, using Shakespeare’s authority to legitimise the revised narrative. Julie Sanders makes a similar argument regarding citation in her own research, albeit choosing to separate the two concepts rather than conflating them. According to her, citation ‘presumes a more deferential relationship; it is frequently self-authenticating, even reverential, in its reference to the canon of ‘authoritative’, culturally validated, texts’.⁸⁴ As Yong mentioned above, adaptations can be considered ‘new’ to their audience despite the use of Shakespearean quotation or citation; their presence within the adapted text does not immediately draw deference to Shakespeare. However, a strong reliance on and fidelity to the source text can counterproductively place the ‘authoritative’ text above cultural representation. In the context of this study, the ‘authority’ in question pertains to Shakespeare’s cultural brand, particularly concerning both Anglophone and English Post-Colonial cultures, as non-Anglophone cultures do not share the same affiliation with Shakespeare’s canon. Extending from Desmet’s argument, translating Shakespeare’s works without considering cultural and contextual changes in interpretation merely cites the canon through adaptation rather than reinterpreting it. While James R. Brandon argues that localised Shakespeare ‘is one whose plays are assimilated into indigenous theatre genres to the point of disappearance and their foreign origin largely erased’.⁸⁵ The adaptors’ fidelity to *Macbeth* could potentially inherit the Jacobean vilification of witchcraft and the supernatural, which may not be present in other cultures. In doing so, the fidelity to *Macbeth* misinforms an

⁸³ Christy Desmet, “Recognizing Shakespeare, Rethinking Fidelity: A Rhetoric and Ethics of Appropriation”, in *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, edited by Alexa Huang and Elizabeth Rivlin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 41-58 (p. 45).

⁸⁴ Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 4.

⁸⁵ James R. Brandon, “Some Shakespeare(s) in Some Asia(s)”, *Asian Studies Review*, 20:3 (1997), pp. 1-26 (p. 12).

unknowing audience who may vilify the spiritual practitioners within the adaptations rather than understanding the role they inhabit in their local communities.

By placing multiple adaptations in conversation with each other, this thesis aims to turn scholarly focus onto the potential discourse between culture and spiritual beliefs generated from their study. As John Russell Brown suggests, cultural ‘and political realities can be identified most easily in productions of Shakespeare when two versions of the same play are available for comparison’.⁸⁶ By using *Macbeth* as the central text for comparison, this thesis highlights the fundamental changes in contextual interpretations according to each production’s individual cultural perception of the supernatural. Emily Linnemann similarly quotes Stephen Purcell in saying that within ‘the theatre [cultural binaries] create a dialectical space where “inconsistent and contradictory attitudes can exist without synthesis” and audiences can be presented not with “solutions, but knots”’.⁸⁷ It is through acknowledging the plurality of cultures, and thus spiritualities, that localised Shakespearean adaptations flourish by translating and recontextualising their source materials for their audience to appreciate. This thesis, thus, does not seek to create a binary assessment of adaptations but instead aims to highlight the correlation between acknowledging the communal role of spiritual practitioners who become the cultural translations of the Weird Sisters, whether the adaptation demonstrates a cultural or textual fidelity, and how these representations critique or build up a national/cultural identity. While Stephen Purcell argues that ‘Fidelity’ is not a particularly useful concept in discussion of Shakespearean appropriations, where the

⁸⁶ John Russell Brown, “Shakespeare, Theatre Production, Cultural Politics”, in *Shakespeare Survey 48: Shakespeare and Cultural Exchange*, edited by Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 13-22 (p. 15).

⁸⁷ Emily Linnemann, “International Innovation? Shakespeare as Intercultural Catalyst”, in *Shakespeare Survey 64: Shakespeare as Cultural Catalyst*, edited by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 13-24 (p. 15).

intention is generally to signal a departure [from...] the Shakespearean text',⁸⁸ many adaptors and critics still attempt to draw parallels between the source text and the adapted work, which reinforces the need for a close comparison between source and adaptation. Therefore, this thesis aims to study the local beliefs represented in adaptations of Shakespeare and how they are incorporated into these productions. This study allows us to then form comparisons and discourses between Shakespeare, adaptation, and religious scholarship.

0.5 *Macbeth* and Its Adaptations

For the scope of this project's study, the large variety of adaptations that occur globally presents an immense dataset, making it too large to produce any effective analysis in its entirety. To narrow the scope of this project down, I imposed a few criteria in the choosing of the case studies. The productions that have been chosen specifically for this thesis require each adaptation to incorporate the local spiritual beliefs of its cultural context as cultural translations for the supernatural occurrences in *Macbeth*. Another consideration for this selection is that these productions were accessible either through the publication of a translated script or by a recording of the adaptation available online, either through a digital archive or YouTube, along with English surtitles. This second criterion highlights one of the project's limitations: the ability of a single researcher to understand multiple languages across a wide variety of sources. However, I would also argue that this obstacle also promotes the need for collaboration and cooperative discussions in the future as I continue to expand on this framework. Lastly, the spiritual practices being examined by this thesis should not overlap significantly, such as Korean Shamanism and Siberian Shamanism, for example. With these considerations in mind, I decided to focus this project primarily on four localised

⁸⁸ Stephen Purcell, *Popular Shakespeare: Simulation and Subversion on the Modern Stage* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 125.

adaptations of *Macbeth* from South Africa, Mexico, Japan, and South Korea, comparing the different ways in which various cultures choose to reinterpret and represent the practice of witchcraft, belief systems, and the supernatural on their stage.

This thesis' concentration on the translations of magic and the supernatural across the various cultures aims to create a potential lexicon through which multiple ideologies from various cultural and spiritual practices can come together to promote an alternative, unified, and harmonious approach to various psycho-spiritual and social issues such as the resolution of guilt, resolving societal discontent, gender inequality, or confronting one's death and afterlife for example. As Gábor Klaniczay highlights, 'witchcraft [is] a topic that [cuts] across established disciplinary boundaries and [provides] a possibility for fruitful exchanges between various fields of research, including social, legal, and cultural history'.⁸⁹ The intersections that the study of witchcraft creates with other aspects of culture hold the potential for a discourse that permeates into each unique cultural interpretation. For local adaptations of a source text steeped in its own culture's beliefs about witchcraft practice, translating the Weird Sisters and other supernatural entities and events allows for a display of their unique approaches and perceptions of the supernatural in their community. Pavis further suggests that the 'phenomenon of intergestural and intercultural translation reminds us that culture intervenes at every level of social life, and in all the nooks and crannies of the text'.⁹⁰ Each culture has formed its own perceptions regarding the supernatural and the afterlife, and in doing so, cultivated its own practices to interact with them. Interculturally translating these perceptions and practices highlights the unique contexts in which they are appreciated. By reintegrating local faith practice and understanding back into intercultural adaptation scholarship, this thesis aims to highlight the intertwined connectivity between an adaptor's

⁸⁹ Gábor Klaniczay, "A Cultural History of Witchcraft", *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, 5.2 (2010), pp. 188-212 (p. 190).

⁹⁰ Pavis, *Crossroads*, p. 155.

fidelity to the source text and the depicted representation of local culture. By doing so, adaptations and their critical analysis can be approached with a better contextual understanding, allowing for sensitivity towards cultural approaches across the world.

This thesis will begin its application of the framework by first analysing the source play, *Macbeth*. More specifically, the first chapter will look at the ways witchcraft is depicted in the play, and how these methods affect ideas of nation-building and national identity. In recent years, many scholars have continued to explore the complexities of Early Modern perceptions and discourses surrounding witchcraft practices and the supernatural. Such research is vital to this thesis as it clarifies the depictions of witchcraft within the play, be it necromancy, conjuration magic, and witchcraft, and miracles. By understanding these depictions, this project is then able to note the difference in reception between the magical acts performed by the Scottish characters of the Macbeths and the Weird Sisters, and the miracles rumoured to be performed by the English King, Edward the Confessor. By contrasting these characters together, the play venerates Edward the Confessor, reinforcing the idea that a united England and Scotland will flourish under English rulership. Furthermore, through the examination of the play's spiritual capital, I intend to establish a baseline from which the comparison of an adaptation's textual fidelity is either counterproductive to establishing its own local cultural identity, because it adheres to the source's own values, or demonstrates its own uniqueness by deviating from the text to suit its local context. This chapter will, thereby, provide this thesis with a vital point of comparison from which cultural translations can be explored and examined.

Following the analysis of *Macbeth*, this thesis will then proceed to analyse Welcome Msomi's *uMabatha*, and its representation of Zulu *sangomas*. While the adaptation itself has been praised and heralded as a pioneering attempt at Intercultural Theatre, its fidelity to Msomi's interpretation of Shakespearean canon, despite its cultural recontextualisation,

presents an interpretation of local culture that runs counter to the perceptions of spiritual practices and practitioners held by South African communities. In its attempt to appeal to a global audience, *uMabatha* diminishes the *institutionalised* state of spiritual capital held by the *sangomas*. The adaptation presents ideas and images that are unfamiliar to both local and non-local audiences, perpetuating the exoticisation and demonisation of Zulu spiritual healers to create a global fascination with South African traditions, thereby encouraging tourists to travel there. This chapter demonstrates how spiritual capital can be exploited for the sake of economic growth, which is more detrimental to the representation of local culture and national identity.

The second adaptation that this thesis will examine is Antonio Zúñiga and Juan Carrillo's *Mendoza*, a Mexican adaptation of *Macbeth* that transposes the source material's context to the Mexican Revolution. While their adaptation leans more toward the political themes of the source play, Antonio Zúñiga and Juan Carrillo add more lines to their translation of the Weird Sisters, the Bruja, to acknowledge her role in Mexican communities and move the narrative away from a strict reproduction. Their depiction of witchcraft is paradoxical as they diminish the number of spiritual practitioners from three to one. Still, at the same time, they focus more on her societal role by giving the Bruja more lines, which are more clearly nuanced by turning her into an authority-resisting rebel. Among all the case studies explored in this project, *Mendoza* is the most politically driven, particularly in its concerns about the governance of a post-Revolution Mexico. Even the adaptation's depiction of *brujería* cannot divorce itself from its colonial history. However, considering Mexico's colonial past in relation to indigenous spiritual beliefs also strengthens and reinforces the adaptation's political concerns. In this sense, the adaptation's use of spiritual capital lays the foundation for and enhances its constructions of a national identity. By exploring spiritual beliefs in *Mendoza*, this chapter aims to demonstrate how focusing a study on local faith-

based practices can also establish a dialogue that can educate audiences on both the socio-historic and political concerns of a localised adaptation.

The third case study of Ryutopia's *Macbeth*, a Japanese Noh/Kabuki rendition directed by Yoshihiro Kurita. In this production, the narrative gives a more active role to the adaptation's witches and includes Shintoist rituals. Kurita reinterprets the Weird Sisters into Shintoist priestesses through the performance of the rituals. However, rather than aligning his portrayal of the witches with that of the source text, Kurita's *Macbeth* offers a more nuanced depiction, where the witches attempt to provide spiritual comfort to the Macbeth couple despite their actions within the narrative. This adaptation is important to the overall discourse of this project as it is one of the few that attempts to generate spiritual hybridity between two non-Christian spiritual beliefs, namely Shintoism and Buddhism. In contrast, most of the other dialogues tend to include Christianity. Kurita's display of spiritual synthesis showcases the potential of Interfaith/Interspiritual dialogues to alleviate spiritual and emotional distress even after death.

For our last case study, this thesis will consider Han Tae-Sook's *Lady Macbeth*, which is an adaptation that rewrites the Macbethian narrative to foreground Lady Macbeth's perspective. Within the adaptation, she also rewrites the role of the Weird Sisters, transforming them into shamans to acknowledge their societal role as spiritual healers. *Lady Macbeth* demonstrates an attempt at hybridising Christian ideology with Shamanistic practice, with a common goal of relieving Lady Macbeth of her emotional and psychological affliction. The analysis of this case study seeks to explore the advantages of spiritual hybridity in addressing emotional discontentment, such as guilt, regret, and oppression. In comparison to the previous case studies, this chapter will demonstrate how embracing local spiritual practices can help confront and address psycho-spiritual ailments, such as ongoing

issues surrounding guilt and ambition, while also acknowledging Lady Macbeth's wrongdoings.

This project will conclude by considering the application of Interspiritualist study in the broader context of International Theatre Festivals. The environment of such events, particularly focusing on the Shakespearean canon, emulates the parameters established by this project, namely, presenting many Intercultural/Localised productions in proximity to each other. Furthermore, such festivals also tend to attract a wide variety of audiences from different cultural backgrounds, thereby creating dialogues between local and non-local communities from the host, guest localities, and beyond. Paradoxically, such festivals also create an impression of tourism for their participants, leading them to believe that these events offer an alternative way to experience non-local cultures without the need to travel.

0.6 Onwards

In summary, this thesis examines spiritual beliefs as they are represented in localised adaptations of *Macbeth*. It seeks to explore the importance of recognising the different interpretations that arise from incorporating various spiritual practitioners as translations of the Weird Sisters. To do so, this thesis will examine the local spiritual practices from early modern England, South Africa, Mexico, Japan, and South Korea, and the ways in which they are incorporated into individual productions. Overall, this project seeks to answer the following research questions:

- 1) Is there much resemblance between the spiritual practices and practitioners depicted on stage in the examined productions in comparison to their local counterparts?
- 2) In what ways does our contextual understanding of local spiritual practice affect the interpretations of these depictions and adaptations?

3) How do the depictions of local spiritual beliefs change our interpretation of the source text?

By answering the above questions, this thesis aims to generate conversations between different spiritual practices and how they negotiate and synthesise with each other to form a cohesive ideology that manifests itself in the spiritual and moral outcome of each production. Furthermore, this thesis will demonstrate how the dialogues that develop from answering these questions can be relevant and applied to the way we experience Intercultural Theatre, especially as various adaptations are performed more internationally with the rise of international festivals as a platform.

1. Once Upon the Heath: Meeting *Macbeth*

1.1 *Macbeth* and Early Modern Magic

Before we begin exploring the relationships and interpretations of fidelity between source text and localised adaptation, we must first understand what the recontextualised narrative is based on. Therefore, this project's exploration of spiritual representations in adaptations of other cultures must begin with *Macbeth*. A play filled with omens, premonitions, and witches, *Macbeth* is one of the few texts in the Shakespearean canon that extensively integrates the supernatural into its narrative, blending Macbeth's morality with its supernatural environment. Due to *Macbeth*'s narrative being fundamentally grounded in its spiritual aspects, intercultural adaptations of the play are required to mediate their own spiritual culture with the text's, thereby naturally establishing an Interspiritual platform. By beginning this thesis' overall study into localised translations of spiritual practice with an examination of depictions of magic in *Macbeth*, this chapter aims to establish a baseline to which the project can be referred back to in later chapters. As adaptations of such a spiritually-laden play, new works derived from *Macbeth* must inevitably interact with and either accommodate or contend with the way in which witchcraft is depicted in the text. This is especially so when we consider non-Christian adaptations of the text. To study this interaction across the various adaptations examined in this thesis, I will first establish how spiritual capital is depicted in *Macbeth*. The chapter aims to do this by focusing on the depictions of conjuration performed by the Scottish characters of *Macbeth*, displayed in three instances by Lady Macbeth, Macbeth, and the Weird Sisters, and contrasting them with the rumoured miracles of the English King, Edward the Confessor. These conjurations occur in Act 1 Scene 5, in which Lady Macbeth calls on murderous spirits to attend to her, Act 4 Scene 1, in which Macbeth calls for the attention of the Weird Sisters, and in the same scene,

in which the Weird Sisters call on the spirits to provide Macbeth with more prophecies.⁹¹ Each of these scenes involves either the performance of a ritual onstage or discusses its enactment. Apart from the displays of conjuration magic, there is another moment that can be categorised as a depiction of spiritual capital: the appearance of Banquo's ghost in Act 3 Scene 4.⁹² His appearance engages with spiritual capital differently because his ghostly body represents an *institutionalised* state of engagement with the audience instead of the *objectified* state of rituals that appear in the other scenes. The consideration of witchcraft practice within this chapter does not solely lie with the obvious supernatural characters of the play, but also with those who perform rituals with familiar syntax or structure to magical spells. This consideration allows this chapter to include, as part of its study, speeches and monologues that share distinct similarities with magical practice but were potentially modified for the narrative or stage. This chapter will argue that the play's various displays of magic are true to those practiced during the Early Modern period and, in doing so, reflect nationalist sentiments of English rule through the juxtaposition of spiritual capital. This establishment of spiritual capital in *Macbeth* will allow later chapters to demonstrate how the inclusion of local spiritual practices in adaptations of the play negotiate and transform these displays of the supernatural to develop their own cultural/national identities.

Magic during the pre-Caroline period constitutes a wide range of practices, from leechcraft to conjurations and necromancy. Richard Kieckhefer, a scholar researching magical texts, provides two classifications for these diverse forms of magic, stating that 'Demonic magic invokes evil spirits and rests upon a network of religious beliefs and practices, while natural magic exploits "occult" powers within nature and is essentially a

⁹¹ William Shakespeare, "The Tragedy of Macbeth", edited by John Jowett, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 2501-2566 (I.5.36-50); IV.1.49-60; IV.1.66-67.

⁹² Ibid. III.4.36-105.

branch of medieval science'.⁹³ While Kieckhefer's research is predominantly rooted in the Medieval period, magical traditions, spell structures, and formulae from the Early Modern period display a distinct inheritance from earlier centuries, making Kieckhefer's studies relevant alongside those of other Early Modern magical scholars. While it remains impossible to confirm Shakespeare's own knowledge of the magical arts, it is equally impossible to remove the historical magical context of the Early Modern period from any close study of *Macbeth*. As Alisa Manninen argues, 'Shakespeare grounds *Macbeth* in the witchcraft lore of his age through both the belief traditions he references in his depiction of the witches and the choice of Scotland as the location in which to explore the possibility of far-reaching supernatural influence on the state'.⁹⁴ Manninen draws attention to the play's own cultural fidelity to Early Modern spiritual beliefs. Yet, such beliefs are not confined to the various categorisations of time but are built upon centuries of tradition and practice. By understanding Early Modern witchcraft practices through surviving texts and traditions, we are able to examine how the play demonstrates the Early Modern belief in witchcraft and the supernatural, outside of the anti-witchcraft rhetoric that was also prevalent at the time. In doing so, the framework equips future scholars, adaptors, and critics with a means to consider and discuss potential differences in interpretation should the representation of local spiritual culture be incorporated into the adapted narrative.

Despite its many localised adaptations occurring across the globe, *Macbeth* remains thoroughly unique in its spiritual identity; it displays acts of witchcraft while simultaneously questioning their impact on reality. Scholarship on the Early Modern belief in witchcraft and its inclusion on the Early Modern stage is a well-trodden field. Scholars tend to link the

⁹³ Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 1.

⁹⁴ Alisa Manninen, *Royal Power and Authority in Shakespeare's Late Tragedies* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), p. 187.

display of witches in *Macbeth* firstly with the ascension of King James I, a few years before the play's production, due to his renowned belief in, and antagonism towards, witchcraft practice. These studies tend to argue that James' publication and wide circulation of his anti-witchcraft book, called *Daemonologie*, in 1597 (reprinted in 1603), is a partial inspiration for the Weird Sisters. John Newton argues in his introduction to *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604*, for example, that 'England became fascinated by the character of its new King, and the *Daemonologie* went through two editions that year, presumably proving more interesting to readers than his treatises on kingship'.⁹⁵ As Newton proposes, there are both commercial and patronage factors in the inclusion of witches and witchcraft in plays like *Macbeth* to attract viewership by an Early Modern audience. Such factors would therefore influence how witchcraft was portrayed on stage. Yet, plays such as *The Witch of Edmonton*, which were written years after James' ascension, do not portray their witches as stereotypically as *Macbeth* does. Instead, *The Witch of Edmonton* depicts its witch-figure, Elizabeth Sawyer, in a more sympathetic light, which Newton acknowledges in his introduction to the anthology, but only with regard to the staging of witchcraft trials in theatres. While James' writing might influence the portrayal of witchcraft in *Macbeth*, it is not the sole reason for that portrayal. Newton's co-contributor, Roy Booth, further proposes in a later chapter of the same book that 'it is clear that the acting company wanted more exploitation of the performance possibilities of witchcraft'.⁹⁶ Both Booth and Newton's proposals argue that the Early Modern fascination with witchcraft, especially due to the widespread number of witchcraft accusations during the period, and the circulation of anti-witchcraft propaganda, made the topic highly lucrative to insert into a play.

⁹⁵ John Newton, "Introduction", in *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604*, edited by John Newton and Jo Bath (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2008), pp. 1-27 (p. 12).

⁹⁶ Roy Booth, "Standing Within the Prospect of Belief: *Macbeth*, King James, And Witchcraft", in *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604*, edited by John Newton and Jo Bath (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2008), pp. 47-68 (p. 49).

Financial prospects aside, other scholars argue that the display of the Weird Sisters is tied to James I's fascination with witchcraft, his patronage of the King's Men, and the Early Modern public's curiosity towards their new king. While Arthur F. Kinney briefly touches on the act of conjuration performed by both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, in his book *Lies Like Truth: Shakespeare, Macbeth and the Cultural Moment*, most of his argument centres on the inclusion of the Weird Sisters in relation to James I and the public's perception of him. According to Kinney's impression of the historical context, many 'passages in the work [of the widely distributed *Daemonologie*] serve as illuminating lexias for measuring ways in which playgoers might have interpreted *Macbeth* at the Globe in 1606'.⁹⁷ Although the circulation of James I's writing provides some insight into the play's reception within the Early Modern context, Kinney's arguments do not fully account for the diverse methods of conjuration performed by the Macbeths alongside the Weird Sisters. Yet, the same arguments tend to permeate even recent scholarship that focuses on contemporary adaptations of the play. For instance, William C. Carroll writes, no 'doubt many chroniclers indebted to the Scottish throne felt the pressure to demonize Macbeth and associate him with the supernatural, particularly through prophecy, which had been associated by many writers with witchcraft, King James among them (in his *Daemonology* [1597])'.⁹⁸ While impressions do provide some contextual criticism of the presence of witchcraft in the play, their focus tends to revolve around a societal fear of witchcraft due to anti-witchcraft propaganda and legal accusations, and simultaneously avoids the familiarity and permeation of its practice in Early Modern society. Thus, the reliance of scholarship on anti-witchcraft materials such as James'

⁹⁷ Arthur F. Kinney, *Lies Like Truth: Shakespeare, Macbeth, and the Cultural Moment* (Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2001), p. 249.

⁹⁸ William C. Carroll, *Adapting Macbeth: A Cultural History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022), p. 19.

Daemonologie, as well as pamphlets and witchcraft trial documents, while useful, only paints a limited understanding of witchcraft practice during the Early Modern period.

Nonetheless, there is a growing field of scholarship that examines the popularity of witchcraft practice in the Early Modern period, such as Tabitha Stanmore's *Love Spells and Lost Treasure: Service Magic in England from the Later Middle Ages to the Early Modern Era*, which looks specifically at the commercial service of witchcraft for the lay/village person in the Early Modern Period, as well as Frank Klassan's work, *Making Magic in Elizabethan England: Two Early Modern Vernacular Books of Magic*, in which he transcribes two Early Modern spell books.⁹⁹ Both examples shed contextual light on the various ways in which witchcraft practices survive in Early Modern England across social circles despite the amount of anti-witchcraft propaganda circulated and activities conducted during the period. In her article, *Macbeth and the Weird Sisters*, Sandra Clark argues that, witchcraft 'in theory and in practice operated on an extremely broad social spectrum, from the intellectual explorations of early modern scientists and theorists of the occult to the popular reports of trials and persecutions'.¹⁰⁰ As we continue to further explore the practice of Early Modern witchcraft in this chapter, Clark's argument is an important reminder that the term "witchcraft" encompasses much more in its practice than just those being reported in anti-witchcraft propaganda.

Even considering historical studies that inform and nuance our perception of Early Modern witchcraft, it is difficult to gain a whole image of an Early Modern magic

⁹⁹ Tabitha Stanmore, *Love Spells and Lost Treasure: Service Magic in England from the Later Middle Ages to the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022); Frank Klassan, ed., *Making Magic in Elizabethan England: Two Early Modern Vernacular Books of Magic* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2019).

¹⁰⁰ Sandra Clark, "Macbeth and the Weird Sisters", *Shakespeare Studies*, 46 (2008), pp. 62-76 (p. 65).

practitioner. We can only perceive a limited view. For example, according to James Sharpe's summary of Alan Macfarlane's study, 'the alleged witch was normally a middle-aged or elderly woman, her victims normally yeomen farmers or husbandmen, the family members of such people, or their farm animals'.¹⁰¹ Macfarlane's study is contextually significant in informing scholars about how Early Modern communities designate individuals as witches, showing that anyone could be accused of witchcraft, rather than the more stereotypical elderly woman who lives by herself.¹⁰² However, his concept of the Early Modern witch is derived solely from the hundreds of surviving legal documents of witchcraft accusations that were surveyed for his examination and excludes a study of magical practices that were still being enacted during that time. Macfarlane's analysis nuances his readers' understanding of Early Modern witchcraft allegations, distinguishing between accusations and prosecutions, demonstrating the statistical differences between the two. Yet once again, these are images built on anti-witchcraft rhetoric rather than on the practice itself. Marion Gibson, whose publications are vital explorations of perceptions of witchcraft during the Early Modern period, similarly focuses her research predominantly on accusations and trials rather than on the diverse range of magical practices. Likewise, Stuart Clark, in *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, dedicates three chapters to Natural Magic, Demonic Magic, and Popular Magic, respectively, but they consist of descriptive theoretical analysis and lack examples of the practice, such as spells from surviving spell books or surviving diagrams of summoning circles.¹⁰³ The consideration of the many theories and practices of witchcraft during the Early Modern period forms a more complex picture than

¹⁰¹ James Sharpe, "Introduction", in *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stewart England: A regional and comparative study* (London: Routledge, 1970), p. xiv.

¹⁰² Alan MacFarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stewart England: A regional and comparative study* (London: Routledge, 1970), p. 158.

¹⁰³ Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 214-250; pp. 457-471.

those provided by scholarly studies that only rely on Anti-Witchcraft propaganda. As Tabitha Stanmore observes, community ‘interactions with witches and suspected witches have received a great deal of attention from scholars of the early modern period but this has, to an extent, left us with the impression that premodern people’s interaction with practical magic only came about in the context of witchcraft’.¹⁰⁴ Rather than a mere dichotomous relationship between witch and accuser, practitioners of various magical arts were historically integrated into their communities for centuries. Practitioners of magic and witchcraft during the period, as well as in centuries prior, range from court magicians to village leeches and serve various roles within Early Modern society. Thus, to assume that the predominant influence of the portrayal of witchcraft in *Macbeth* is based upon the zeitgeist surrounding witchcraft accusations disregards the complexities of Early Modern magical practice and its relation with the public. By highlighting the play’s fidelity to the spiritual practices of Early Modern culture, adaptors can find a more conducive cultural translation between the Weird Sisters and their own local spiritual practitioners, rather than vilifying them as a result of the anti-witchcraft lens that tends to loom over interpretations of the play. Admittedly, this study is a niche way to read the play and adaptors may not be consciously aware of these practices as they direct and rewrite the Macbethian narrative in their own productions. However, this project aims to introduce the scholarly community to it by embedding it in discussions of the play within this thesis and, in doing so, allow such perspectives to permeate into the theatre practitioner society.

Macbeth itself presents a complex depiction of witchcraft practice that seems centred on the Weird Sisters. However, this chapter will demonstrate that other characters of the play perform rituals of magic as well. The play either vilifies or venerates each character based on

¹⁰⁴ Stanmore, *Love Spells and Lost Treasure*, p. 2.

the intentions and consequences of magical use instead of demonising the practice itself. This contextualisation, then, influences the image of national unity between Scotland and England that the play attempts to craft. It is, of course, naturally logical to identify and associate witchcraft practices with characters that look like witches. Clark herself makes the same identification in her analysis of witchcraft practice in *Macbeth*, stating that although ‘it is the lower end of [the witchcraft practice] spectrum that is most apparent in *Macbeth*, nonetheless Shakespeare’s readiness to blend diverse materials and his eclectic way with sources ensure that the sisters are more imaginatively powerful because the sources of their power defy categorisation’.¹⁰⁵ As Clark highlights, it is difficult to classify the Weird Sisters’ practice in any clear way. Yet, I would also propose that apart from the Weird Sisters, the other magical practices in the play are identifiable, especially to an Early Modern audience. *Macbeth* does not use magic and witchcraft to indicate that a character is evil; instead it shows a character’s villainy through how they use these rituals. As this chapter will argue in a later section, the inability to categorise the Sisters’ magic is also an important consideration, reinforcing the argument that witchcraft, as a practice, is not immediately evil; rather, it is how one uses it that matters. This chapter will also suggest that opening the analysis to include scholarly practices of witchcraft, such as necromancy, which requires the practitioner to read and experiment with instruction manuals and grimoires, would help us understand the image of magic that *Macbeth* conjures. The aim of this chapter, of course, is not to dismiss the various critical works that have suggested and demonstrated the influence of anti-witchcraft rhetoric, such as *Daemonologie* and witchcraft accusations and reports, on the play, but to shift the scholarly fixation on the topic and its relation to *Macbeth* by analysing witchcraft practices and grimoires from the period to open the dialogue and show how witchcraft practices can also aid us in clarifying the thematic concerns of nationhood and tyranny within the work.

¹⁰⁵ Clark, *Macbeth and the Weird Sisters*, p. 65.

By linking *Macbeth*'s witches to anti-witchcraft propaganda such as *Daemonologie* by James I, scholars have greatly expanded on the prevalence of witchcraft beliefs during the Early Modern period. However, these analyses simultaneously assume that it is mainly the Weird Sisters in the play who perform any significant act of witchcraft. There are, of course, arguments that also point towards both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth as potential witches. For example, Diane Purkiss claims that Lady Macbeth aligns herself with witches through their shared interest in infants, writing that witches 'long for babies in order to turn them into a demonic equivalent of the salvific relic'.¹⁰⁶ Purkiss argues that Lady Macbeth's mention of dead children is similar to stories about witches using babies in their spellcasting. Similarly, Chris Laoutaris draws a connection between Lady Macbeth and the Weird Sisters through a corrupt shared sense of maternity. Laoutaris claims that critics 'have noted the closeness of Lady Macbeth's invocation to the 'spirits' to contemporary symptomatology of childbirth and its attendant diseases, but what has not been explored is the relation of these to the play's obsessive engagement with the materials of witchcraft'.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, *Macbeth*'s thematic interest in progeny intermingles with its portrayal of witchcraft and the supernatural, thereby creating a unique exploration of witchcraft within the domestic setting. However, such studies are, once again, limited to a specific area of magical practice, which is speculated village witchcraft derived from court accusations, anti-witchcraft propaganda, and rumours. In contrast, Early Modern magical culture comprises a broader range of practices, as shown in the play. I do agree that both Macbeths display magical knowledge and perform various acts that constitute as witchcraft. However, rather than relying on anti-witchcraft theories, I

¹⁰⁶ Diane Purkiss, "Body Crimes: The witches, Lady Macbeth and the Relics", in *Female Transgression in Early Modern Britain: Literary and Historical Explorations*, edited by Richard Hillman and Pauline Ruberry-Blanc (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), pp. 29-50 (p. 41).

¹⁰⁷ Chris Laoutaris, *Shakespearean Maternities: Crises of Conception in Early Modern England* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 187.

would argue that comparing their speeches to spells from surviving grimoires reveals the play's fidelity to Early Modern magical culture more broadly conceived. It is through the spiritual capital of these rituals and their significance to Early Modern society that the play vilifies the couple.

Even narrowing the study to the Early Modern period, there are magical charms, philosophies, and rituals that were passed down and circulated from the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries across both Continental Europe and the British Isles. The *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, published in 1584 and widely circulated before being unsuccessfully called to be publicly burnt by James I in 1603, as noted by Phillip C. Almond,¹⁰⁸ contains a variety of magical instructions, which include similar charms and rituals to those found in the *Malleus Maleficarum*. The *Malleus Maleficarum*, an anti-witchcraft text written in Latin and published in Germany in 1486, was used as a manual for Inquisitors in both mainland Europe and England. According to Tamar Herzig, the text was well circulated amongst the clergy, scholars, and laypeople in its Latin version, having at least 'twelve editions by 1523 [... and] reprinted more than thirty times [before the end of the seventeenth-century]'.¹⁰⁹ Despite retaining its Latinised text in its circulation, its popularity among both scholars and laypeople meant that its unreliable anecdotes and examples of magical practice (including spells and charms) were circulated alongside it. However, we should not take its wide dissemination as Early Modern society's pure rejection of magical practice. The copying of various charms from its text into other books connotes different uses for the text rather than merely as a means of hunting witches. Instead, we should view the popularity of both texts as part of the

¹⁰⁸ Phillip C. Almond, "King James I and the Burning of Reginald Scot's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*: The Invention of Tradition", *Notes and Queries*, 56.2 (2009), pp. 209-213 (p. 209).

¹⁰⁹ Tamar Herzig, "The Bestselling Demonologist: Heinrich Institoris's *Malleus Maleficarum*", in *The Science of Demons: Early Modern Authors Facing Witchcraft and the Devil*, edited by Jan Machielsen (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 53-67 (p. 55).

Early Modern dialogue surrounding magical practice: whether the supernatural exists, whether it can be manipulated through the power of God, and whether there are ways to protect oneself from it.

The various studies of Early Modern witchcraft and its presence on the stage that contribute to the *institutionalised* state of spiritual capital in *Macbeth* mostly focus on the pervasiveness of anti-witchcraft propaganda circulated between the fifteenth to the seventeenth-centuries. Currently, only a small number of scholars have examined how the *objectified* state of Early Modern spiritual capital, such as witchcraft rituals and potions, influences the audience's perception and interpretation of the supernatural in the play. It is through a broader understanding of the complex magical environment during the Early Modern period that other instances of magical practice beyond those performed by the Weird Sisters in *Macbeth* can be highlighted. Specifically, both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth engage in acts of necromancy and conjuration, which escalate the spiritual vilification of their characters in the play. By first understanding the context in which witchcraft is portrayed in *Macbeth*, we can better grasp how various intercultural adaptations transform the idea of witchcraft through their Interspiritual negotiations. By identifying moments of spiritual-cultural fidelity within the text, in which Early Modern magical practice and other supernatural events are demonstrated, we can examine how localised adaptations express and communicate their own cultural perspectives on concepts such as guilt and the afterlife.

1.2 Shakespeare and Conjuration Magic

Let us begin our examination by discerning what a conjuration spell is. While rare, sixteenth and seventeenth-century grimoires have survived to the present day. Such grimoires were, of course, used by members of society who were both literate and could afford to get

their hands on other grimoires and manuscripts from which they could copy or adapt their own spells. These books also provide us with a glimpse of the conjuration processes that captured the imagination and fascination of Early Modern theatre audiences, who saw plays such as Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, which features its own infamous conjuration scene and portrays practitioners who use such forms of magic.¹¹⁰ Faustus' conjuration employs the *objectified* state of spiritual capital through the ritual process to engage the audience with its spectacle, allowing them to delve into the moral dilemma of making deals with devils for personal gain. The practice and performance of magical conjurations were well known enough that Ben Jonson makes a joke about it in *The Devil is an Ass*, 'I shall suspect they can make circles only | Shortly, and know but his hard names [...]'.¹¹¹ What Jonson jokes about in these two lines is the conjurer's practice of drawing circles on the ground as part of the conjuration ritual. Such imagery was well seen on stage in the theatre as Faustus draws his own circle before summoning Mephistopheles, an act captured on a woodcut and printed with the playbook and other publications that discussed the subject. This joke leans into the *embodied* state of Early Modern spiritual capital by drawing on the audience's personal familiarity with conjuration magic, suggesting that they were accustomed to seeing these rituals performed. Daniel Harms, James R. Clark, and Joseph H. Peterson have identified a sixteenth-century manuscript acquired by the Folger Library – specifically, Folger MS Vb26 (renamed by its modern-day transcribers as the *Book of Oberon*) – as one of these surviving grimoires that contain examples of conjuration magic. One such example demonstrates a way in which a spirit could be bound to the summoner:

¹¹⁰ Christopher Marlowe, *Dr Faustus – The A- and B-texts (1604, 1616), A parallel-text Edition*, edited by David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 1.3.8-23.

¹¹¹ Ben Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass*, (London: Nick Hern Books, 1995), p. 1.2.26-27.

I conjure thee and bind thee, thou N., by all light and lights and stars and frost and cold, ice and snow, winter and summer, days and nights times, years and months, hours and minutes, degrees and by all the course of the air, that thou come and appear in this stone that I may see thee so well as one man seeth another, to do all this, and to tell me the truth of all things that I shall ask of thee.¹¹²

Kieckhefer proposes that a conjuration incantation, such as the one above, can commonly be broken down into a generic formula, comprised of four components: declaration, address, invocation, and instruction. He describes the declaration as an announcement of intent, the address as the intended entities of the spell, the invocation as the use of religious names or events that help empower the caster, and, lastly, the instruction as the requests the spirits are to fulfil.¹¹³ While Kieckhefer bases this observation on his study of Late Medieval grimoires, we can clearly see that such spells were still being copied and practiced centuries after that period. His formula can be clearly mapped onto the above example: the ‘I conjure thee and bind thee’ being the declaration, ‘thou N.’ being a placeholder for the address of the spell, ‘by all light and lights and stars and frost’ being the invocation using the power of nature rather than religion, ‘come and appear in this stone [...]’ is the instruction to fulfil.

Kieckhefer’s formula does not just correspond to conjuration spells found in the *Book of Oberon* but also applies to similar spell structures found in other surviving spell books from the period. Frank Klassen’s study of *The Antiphoner Notebook*, another sixteenth-century document, reveals a few necromantic incantations that conforms to Kieckhefer’s formula:

¹¹² Daniel Harms, James R. Clark, and Joseph H. Peterson, *The Book of Oberon* (Minnesota: Llewellyn Publications, 2023), p. 494.

¹¹³ Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer’s Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), p.127.

O Thow Spirits or Spirits w[hich] keepe this ground and treasure or earth, I conjure yow and charge yow by the mightye powre of god and by his strength, and by all the might powre and strength of the holy and blessed trinitye, that y[e] or yowe depart from this treasure earth and ground.¹¹⁴

In this short extract of the spell, we are still able to see all four components to the formula, albeit the usual positions of the address and declarations are switched. Furthermore, the invocation component of this spell resembles the more traditional structure, which calls on God to divinely empower the spell. Another example that showcases this pattern of invocation can be perceived in another spell in the *Book of Oberon*, which is used to force a spirit to appear to the conjurer should the spirit not come when called:

I conjure thee, spirit N., by the virtue of our Lord Jesus Christ almighty and by all his holy names, that ye go and be damned in hell into the fire everlasting. I bid and command and condemn you into the pains everlasting and all the righteous blood which hath been shed from the death of the righteous Abel unto this day be indeed to you a just cause to condemnation everlasting, there to remain for evermore [...] until in this precious stone you appear and accomplish my will. Amen.¹¹⁵

Again, we see patterns that conform to Kieckhefer's formula, with the invocation clearly drawing on biblical references to cause the spirits to obey the summoner. The Antiphoner spell was intended to exorcise demons that might be protecting buried treasure. While this act of magical practice was outlawed by legislation in the Early Modern period, such deterrence

¹¹⁴ "The Antiphoner Notebook", in *Making Magic in Elizabethan England: Two Early Modern Vernacular Books of Magic*, edited by Frank Klassen (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2019), p. 36.

¹¹⁵ Harms et al., *Book of Oberon*, p. 99.

clearly did not prevent individuals from employing magical methods to find quick solutions for their financial problems. For example, the Anti-witchcraft law of 1604 dictates that:

if any person or persons [...] shall use, practise, or exercise any invocation or conjuration of any evil and wicked spirit: or shall consult, covenant with, entertaine, imploy, feed, or reward any evil and wicked spirit [...] whereby any person shall be Killed, Destroyed, Wasted, Consumed, Pined, or Lamed, in His or Her body, or any part therof; that then every such Offender, or Offenders, their Ayders, Abettors, and Counsellors, being of the said offences duly and lawfully Convicted and Attainted, shall suffer paines of death as a Felon or Felons [...].¹¹⁶

Undeterred by such legislative interventions, magical practices continued to be employed by Early Modern society. As Stanmore explains, during ‘the sixteenth century cases [of treasure hunting via magical means] appear with increasing regularity, though this increase does not appear to be linked with the successive Acts against Conjurations’.¹¹⁷ Once again, we are reminded that despite the widespread circulation of anti-witchcraft propaganda and the implementation of various anti-witchcraft laws in the Early Modern period, magical practices remained both viable and familiar to society. These spells and their usage demonstrate how both occult and Christian spiritual capitals are amalgamated together in Early Modern society, despite efforts by religious and legislative institutions to separate them.

While it remains unknown whether Shakespeare or his contemporaries had access to or knowledge of such grimoires or their translations, using Kieckhefer’s formula, we can identify mentions, extracts, and adaptations of these spells scattered across the canon. One of

¹¹⁶ *The Statutes Project: Putting Historic British Law Online* [online], 1604: 1 James 1 c.12: An Act against Conjuracion, Witchcraft and dealing with evil and wicked Spirits, <https://statutes.org.uk/site/the-statutes/seventeenth-century/1604-1-james-1-c-12-an-act-against-witchcraft>, npg.

¹¹⁷ Stanmore, *Love Spells and Lost Treasure*, p. 68.

the most direct ways to identify the inclusion of conjuration magic within the various plays is by using the phrase ‘I conjure you’ as a textual marker. In the above examples, the extracts begin their conjuration incantations with ‘I conjure you’ before naming the spirits, which is one of the most common forms of declarations according to Kieckhefer. In his study of the *Munich Manual of Demonic Magic*, a grimoire from the fifteenth-century currently located in the Bavarian State Library, Kieckhefer notes that at ‘times the declaration is simple and unrepeatd, ‘I conjure you’ (*coniuro vos* or *coniuro te*) is by far the most common declaration, occurring fully 147 times in the Munich Handbook [...]’.¹¹⁸ Even in the Early Modern period, as demonstrated by the three spells above, the phrase remains a common component of conjuration practices. The phrase itself is clearly demarcated in instances throughout Shakespeare’s canon. For example, in *The Second Part of King Henry VI* (2 Henry 6), a stage direction notes that:

Here do the ceremonies belonging and make the circle; Southwell reads, ‘Coniuro te’, etc. It thunders and lightens terribly; then the spirit Asnath riseth.

SPIRIT *Adsum.*

WITCH Asnath,

By the eternal God, whose name and power

Thou tremblest at, answer that I shall ask,

For till thou speak thou shalt not pass from hence.¹¹⁹

The ‘*Coniuro te*’ mentioned in this stage direction is the same phrase noted by Kieckhefer as the common form of conjuration declaration, clearly indicating the magical incantation to be

¹¹⁸ Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, p. 131.

¹¹⁹ William Shakespeare, “The Second Part of Henry the Sixth; or, the First Part of the Contention”, edited by Rory Loughnane, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 251-330 (ScIV.21.1-3).

performed. Similarly, by ‘the eternal God, whose name and power | [thou] tremblest at’ acts as the invocation, and ‘answer that I ask’ finishes the ritual. It should be noted that this mention of ‘Conjuro te’ appears only within the Folio edition of *2 Henry 6* and is absent in preceding quartos. However, including such a direction despite the rise in anti-witchcraft rhetoric being circulated connotes that the publishers of the First Folio in 1623 assumed that some of their target readers, especially players who would use the Folio text as a performance text, would still be familiar with the process of conjuration magic to enact the stage direction should they choose to perform the scene as written. Similarly, in *The Comedy of Errors*, Doctor Pinch also performs a variation of a conjuration spell designed to exorcise spirits and demons that are possessing an individual:

I charge thee, Satan, housed within this man,
To yield possession to my holy prayers,
And to thy state of darkness hie thee straight.
I conjure thee by all the saints in heaven.¹²⁰

Like the scene in *2 Henry 6*, the conjuration performed here is a straightforward use of conjuration magic, through which spirits are called upon to do as the summoner asks; to either answer questions or to remove themselves from a person’s body. Yet, the more important connotation of this direct use of magical practice is that the Early Modern audience, for whom these plays were performed, was familiar with these rituals and therefore understood what was happening on the stage.

¹²⁰ William Shakespeare, “The Comedy of Errors”, edited by Sarah Neville, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 723-772 (IV.4.49-52).

Shakespeare does not just employ conjuration structures to demonstrate his characters' magical powers, but also modifies their structure to accentuate his jokes and thematic concerns. For example, in *Romeo and Juliet*, Mercutio parodies the conjuration spell to get Romeo to appear before himself and Benvolio:

I conjure thee by Rosaline's bright eyes,
By her high forehead and her scarlet lip,
By her fine foot, straight leg, and quivering thigh,
And the demesnes that there adjacent lie,
That in thy likeness thou appear to us.¹²¹

Mercutio's summoning of Romeo bears the same characteristics as the above examples of conjuration magic. However, one of the significant changes made to Mercutio's speech is the invocation component, where conjuration spells usually call on divine names; here, Mercutio translates them to the bodily attributes of Rosaline. In doing so, Shakespeare takes the understanding that in magical practice invocations are ways to divinely compel the spirit to appear by calling on God through his many names, and uses the image of Rosaline's body in the same manner in Mercutio's attempt; the only difference being that where divine names are used to force the spirit to appear, Mercutio's words tempt and incentivise Romeo's arrival before them. In doing so, Shakespeare makes a joke in the midst of his tragedy, tempting Romeo by the prospect of Rosaline's body, especially by the innuendo associated with the word 'demesnes', which Conner notes to either mean 'park-lands [or] hunting grounds'¹²²

¹²¹ William Shakespeare, "The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet", edited by Francis X. Conner, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 997-1078 (ScVIII.17-21).

¹²² Francis X. Conner, "The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet", edited by Francis X. Conner, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 997-1078 (fn8.20).

that are adjacent to her thighs. The modification of the conjuration spell to convey a sexual joke to an Early Modern audience implies that some of those watching the performance would understand the two layers: the ritual and the modification made to it. This modification appears in both the preceding quartos of *Romeo and Juliet* and not just in the Folio, as in 2 *Henry 6*, further implying that the joke and layperson familiarity with conjuration rituals were present even before *Macbeth* was produced. Once again, spiritual capital is employed in various states, especially in its *objectified* and *embodied* versions, to engage with Early Modern audiences, either through jokes or by making a spectacle of the supernatural. Despite the idea that conjuration magic was practiced mostly by the elite and literate, Shakespeare's, as well as his contemporaries', inclusion of it in their play texts suggests both the layperson's familiarity and fascination with this form of magical practice. Such displays of magical performances clearly oppose the idea that the Early Modern audience was only aware of witchcraft practices from descriptions being circulated by Anti-Witchcraft propaganda and accounts of witchcraft accusations. Instead, magical practices permeated Early Modern society sufficiently that such jokes were relatable, even if the specifics of the ritual, like names, terminology, and preparatory instructions, were more familiar to audiences with access to grimoires and had the ability to read them.

While some scholars do discuss *Macbeth*'s use of witchcraft in their analysis of *Macbeth*'s Act 4 Scene 1, they do so only briefly. For example, Farah Karim-Cooper likens Macbeth to a Faustian magus, writing that when 'Macbeth fatefully orders the murders of his rival Macduff's family, his pact with the Devil is sealed'.¹²³ In the context of her argument that the performance of Black magic is associated with wickedness, Macbeth's tyrannical choice of murdering Lady Macduff and her children fortifies the supernatural encouragement

¹²³ Farah Karim-Cooper, *The Great White Bard: Shakespeare, Race and the Future* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2023), p. 218.

given to him by the spirits in Act 4 Scene 1 to be ‘bloody, bold, and resolute’.¹²⁴ Yet, I would argue, her evidence of Macbeth’s supernatural connection comes too late. Similarly, Gary Wills mentions that ‘Macbeth has not given his soul over to the devil until he commits the formal act of witchcraft involved in his participation at the necromantic rites’.¹²⁵ Wills, firstly, associates Macbeth’s act of necromancy with the Weird Sisters’ conjuration rather than his own act. Secondly, he does not provide further analysis of the association between the two beyond the above acknowledgement. Similarly, Verna Theile proposes that witches ‘were the agents of the devil; Macbeth is an agent of the witches’¹²⁶ but stops short of calling Macbeth a witch or even a magical practitioner. Instead, her argument highlights a shared language between the two parties. The closest analysis that argues for Macbeth being a spell caster comes decades before from Henry N. Paul, who writes that ‘Macbeth is a conjurer [... he] pronounces his conjuration and commands the witches to answer “howe’er you come to know it,”’.¹²⁷ However, while he later highlights the ritualistic aspects of conjuration spells, such as the drawing of circles and the use of magical formulae, he also suggests that Macbeth forgoes them because he has graduated from the Devil’s school, an idea he draws from *Daemonologie*.¹²⁸ I disagree with his opinion because if we were to apply Kieckhefer’s formula of conjuration spell structure as we have done to other Shakespearean works, then Macbeth’s conjuration can be easily identified. Hence, while many scholars have recognised Macbeth’s potential categorisation as a witch, they fall short of clearly demonstrating his use of magic.

¹²⁴ *Macbeth*, 4.1.78.

¹²⁵ Gary Wills, *Witches & Jesuits: Shakespeare’s Macbeth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 46.

¹²⁶ Verena Theile, “Demonising Macbeth”, in *Magical Transformations on the Early Modern English Stage*, edited by Lisa Hopkins and Helen Ostovich (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 75-91 (p. 77).

¹²⁷ Henry N. Paul, *The Royal Play of Macbeth: When, why, and how it was written by Shakespeare* (New York: Octagon Books, 1978), p. 279.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

Since we have identified that the phrase ‘I conjure you’ can be used as a marker to highlight the moment in which a conjuration spell is being enacted, Macbeth’s address to the Weird Sisters in Act 4 Scene 1 is a clear indication of his use of magical spells:

I conjure you, by that which you profess,
Howe’er you come to know it, answer me.
Though you untie the winds, and let them fight
Against the Churches, though the yeasty waves
Confound and swallow navigation up,
Though bladed corn be lodged and trees blown down,
Though castles topple on their warders’ heads,
Though palaces and pyramids do slope
Their heads to their foundations, though the treasure
Of nature’s germen tumble all together
Even till destruction sicken, answer me
To what I ask you.¹²⁹

On the surface, Macbeth’s conjuration follows most of Kieckhefer’s formula, with some modifications to the wording. One of these changes that Macbeth makes to his speech is to address the spell to the Sisters by saying ‘by that which you profess’ instead of a specific name or category of supernatural entity, as one would find in most rituals. However, Kieckhefer also notes in his own study that these variances do occur in rituals. He explains that sometimes, ‘the nature of the spirit addressed cannot be determined. In one case, the subject of the address is the indeterminate ‘N.’, and elsewhere, the spirit who appears to a boy is addressed simply as ‘you who are before me’.¹³⁰ The variance of the conjuration spell,

¹²⁹ *Macbeth*, IV.1.49-60.

¹³⁰ Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, p. 156.

thus, makes sense according to Kieckhefer's argument, as the Weird Sisters have already appeared before Macbeth rather than him calling them to appear. The more prominent change that Macbeth makes is to the invocation element of the spell in a relatively similar fashion to Mercutio. Instead of calling on God and all his various names, which is the more common pattern across conjuration spells, Macbeth lists the potential devastation that the Weird Sisters could enact on society through their control over nature and their ability to create a supernaturally charged storm. If we were to consider that conjurers attempt to borrow God's authority to empower their spells by invoking His various names in their invocations, then Macbeth's replacement of the usual anaphoric 'by' with 'even though' implies a lack of reverence for the divine. Instead, he forces the Weird Sisters to heed his requests, despite their seeming destructive power to control the elements that could potentially shatter the foundations of buildings, flatten crops and trees, and sink ships. It is in this speech, then, that Macbeth demonstrates the extent of his ambitions; that he is willing to ignore the potential destruction of his kingdom just to be able to remain in power.

Despite the modification to the conjuration spell, Macbeth leans on a well-known tradition that had been made illegal by 1604. While the nature of spirits, specifically 'evil and wicked' according to the Anti-Witchcraft Act, conjured during necromantic rituals cannot be determined unless the instruction specifies them by name, it is not uncommon that such spirits were called upon to answer the conjurer. Kieckhefer further explains that the ritual had originally meant 'divination (*mantia*) by conjuring the spirits of the dead (*necroi*)...[but] when medieval writers interpreted such stories, they assumed [...] that demons took on the appearance of deceased persons [...thus necromancy] was *explicitly* demonic magic'.¹³¹ While Macbeth circumvents the legality of his conjuration by addressing the Weird Sisters rather than a specific demon or evil spirit, the use of necromantic rituals itself constitutes

¹³¹ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, p. 152.

spiritual transgression, thereby compounding the villainy of Macbeth's character. Even without identifying Macbeth's speech as a recognisable imitation of a conjuration spell, his words and ritualistic repetitions prompt scholars to draw parallels between him and the Sisters. As Verena Theile argues, 'Macbeth [...] absorbs and echoes the witches' language in an instant, making their language his reality'.¹³² While, as Theile also highlights, this does not outrightly make him a witch by any means, his use of conjuration magic places him within the categorisation of a magical practitioner, or even a magus (magician) figure like John Dee. Rather than being merely a complicit participant in the Sisters' witchcraft as Theile and Wills suggest, Macbeth attempts to actively work his own witchcraft upon them; he calls on the Sisters as if they themselves were spirits. Macbeth's performance of the conjuration ritual serves to magically bind them to him. As Kieckhefer suggests, 'necromancers clearly did see themselves as constraining the demons by their command'.¹³³ Macbeth's attempt at conjuration thus connotes his intent to command the supernatural even after he has already been made ruler of the Scottish kingdom. While it could be argued that he intended to only obtain information from them, the use of a conjuration spell establishes a specific power dynamic between Macbeth and the Weird Sisters, which is that of Summoner/Binder and Servant. This dynamic is similar to the relationship between Faustus and Mephistopheles, where Mephistopheles must serve Faustus until the terms of their contract are complete. In *Macbeth*, the Weird Sisters circumnavigate this technicality by interrupting his instructions by saying 'He knows thy thought: | Hear his speech, but say thou nought'.¹³⁴ In doing so, they need only to provide enough information to 'draw him on to his confusion' as Hecate had instructed them to do in Act 3 Scene 5, before being able to leave.¹³⁵ By Act 4, not only does

¹³² Theile, *Demonising Macbeth*, p. 81.

¹³³ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, p. 160.

¹³⁴ *Macbeth*, IV.1.68-69.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, III.5.29.

Macbeth show his tyranny through the assassination of both Duncan and Banquo, but he also hubristically assumes he can bend the supernatural powers of the Sisters to serve him through his own magical power.

As this section has argued, the way *Macbeth* uses the spiritual capital of conjuration magic is significant for how the play characterises Macbeth for its audience. Conjuration rituals, by themselves, are not immediate indicators that the caster is evil. The multiple examples in which they are performed onstage and in everyday life suggest that Early Modern audiences were familiar with these rituals and their uses. Instead, Macbeth's second prophecy, which he attains through the conjuration binding of the Weird Sisters, reflecting the *objectified* state of its spiritual capital, sets up a comparison later in Act 4 Scene 3 between himself and Edward the Confessor. As this chapter will argue in more detail later, Edward's virtuous character 'hath a heavenly gift of prophecy, | And sundry blessings hang about his throne | That speak him full of grace'.¹³⁶ This comparison between the two kings engages with each character's spiritual capital: Macbeth's use of conjuration magic's spiritual capital is a display of tyranny to bind and bend the supernatural to his will to see the future, whereas Edward's spiritual capital, which is both *embodied* as his good nature and *institutionalised* as king, grants him divine access to do the same. The play, therefore, constructs the concept of an ideal governance under an English ruler who is virtuous, rather than a tyrannical Macbeth.

1.3 Lady Macbeth and the Subversion of Spiritual Capital

The second instance of conjuration that this chapter will focus on appears much earlier in the text, specifically Lady Macbeth's infamous speech in Act 1 Scene 5. While

¹³⁶ Ibid., IV.3.158-160.

there is some speculation in Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles*, the main inspirational source behind the play, that the Weird Sisters had supernatural powers, and that Makbeth (the historical inspiration for Macbeth) had met with them and was prognosticated to, little is mentioned of Lady Makbeth, let alone any association between her and witchcraft. The only assertion Holinshed makes of the attempt at regicide is that 'his wife lay sore vpon him to attempt the thing, as she that was very ambitious brenning in vnquenchable desire to beare the name of a Queene'.¹³⁷ After which, Lady Makbeth is no longer mentioned throughout Makbeth's entry. However, her added magical association, both in *Macbeth* and in subsequent adaptations, is a major point of significance as it enhances the supernatural connections between her and her husband, solidifying their portrayal as a couple that dabbles in magical power.

Unlike Macbeth's conjuration, Lady Macbeth's speech in Act 1 Scene 5, seems to be structured differently from those found in grimoires. Where Macbeth's speech conforms mostly to Kieckhefer's formula, Lady Macbeth's conjuration demonstrates no such familiarity:

[...] Come you Spirits
That tend on mortal thoughts. Unsex me here,
And fill me from the crown to the toe top-full
Of direst cruelty. Make thick my blood.
Stop up th'accèss, and passage to remorse,
That no compunctious visitings of nature
Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between
Th'effect, and it. Come to my woman's breasts

¹³⁷ Raphael Holinshed, *The Firste [Laste] Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*, vol. 5, (London, 1577), EEBO, p. 244.

And take my milk for gall, you murd'ring ministers,

Wherever in your sightless substances

You wait on nature's mischief [...].¹³⁸

John Jowett, in his note about Lady Macbeth's conjuration, proposes that her speech 'suggests demonic incantation [and that] the actions are likely to be ritualistic'.¹³⁹ Jowett's note clearly aligns with this chapter's identification of the speech as part of a necromantic conjuration ritual. However, where Jowett only suggests of its incantatory language, this chapter will demonstrate its fidelity to Early Modern magical practices. Deviating from the more familiar structure of conjuration spells, Lady Macbeth makes her declaration and address by saying, 'come you spirits' before directly moving to her instruction. Furthermore, Lady Macbeth's conjuration lacks the invocation component that Kieckhefer identifies and instead immediately proceeds into its instruction, 'unsex me here'. Yet, despite the variance in its syntactic structure, Lady Macbeth's speech retains its ritualistic elements not only by addressing spirits, but also through the repeated use of instruction. In doing so, Lady Macbeth demonstrates a hybridity between elite magic, such as the conjuration rituals found in grimoires, and popular magic more commonly practiced by laypeople through the recitation, incorporation, or adaptation of prayers. For example, according to Thomas Potts' *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the County of Lancaster*, which was published in 1613, Anne Whittle is accused of using a prayer as a spoken charm:

Three Biters hast thou bitten,

The Hart, ill Eye, ill Tonge:

Three bitter shall be thy Boote,

¹³⁸ *Macbeth*, I.5.36-46.

¹³⁹ John Jowett, "The Tragedy of Macbeth", edited by John Jowett, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 2501-2566 (p. 2515).

Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost
a Gods name,
Fiue Pater-nosters, fiue Auies,
and a Creede,
In worship of fiue wounds
of our Lord.¹⁴⁰

As the accusation demonstrates, the employment of Catholic prayers as magical charms was still practiced among the lay people well into the Jacobean period, despite the circulation of anti-witchcraft rhetoric. Rather than adhering to the instructions provided in grimoires, the syntactical structure of Lady Macbeth's incantation appears to mirror that of Protestant Christian prayer, specifically those found in *The Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth*, also known as *The Book of Common Prayer*, which was printed and distributed to the Protestant churches across England in 1559. When read against these prayers, the structure of Lady Macbeth's incantation appears familiar:

Come holy ghoste, eternal God proceeding frō aboue.
Bothe from the Father and the Sonne, the God of peace and loue.
Visite our myndes, and into vs, thy heauēly grace inspire.
That in all truthe and Godlinesse, we haue true desire.
Thou art the very comforter, in al wo and distresse.
The heauenly gyft of God moste highe, whiche no tongue can expresse.
[....]

¹⁴⁰ Thomas Potts, "The Examination and Voluntarie Confession of Anne Whittle", in *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the County of Lancaster; Reprinted From the Original Edition of 1613*, edited by James Crossley (Manchester: Charles Simms and Co., 2006), fols. E2b-3a.

O holye Ghoste, into oure wittes, sende doune thine heauenly light,
 Kyndle our hartes with feruent loue, to serve God day and night.
 Strengthe and stablyshe al oure weaknes, so feble and so frayle
 That neyther fleshe, the worlde, nor Deuyll, against vs do preuayle
 Put backe our enemy farre from vs, and graunt vs to botayne,
 Peace in our hartes with God and man, wythoute grudge, or dysdaine [...].¹⁴¹

The use of Christian liturgy in magical incantation is not uncommon. Kieckhefer notes the long history of such incorporations even during the Medieval period, with magical rituals adopting Catholic vocabulary, that even ‘when magic is clearly [non-demonic] it sometimes mingles elements of religion and science: a magical cure, for example, may embody both herbal lore from folk medicine and phrases of prayer from Christian ritual’.¹⁴² It is this intertwining of Catholicism and magical practice that survives the centuries into the Early Modern period through the inheritance of spells such as the aforementioned conjuration rituals. Christina Larner, in her research into Early Modern witchcraft, suggests that because paternosters ‘aves, and creeds, either straight or adulterated, were frequently uttered [as charms during the pre-Reformation period]’, this has led scholars to interpret the persecution of witchcraft during the period as being rooted in anti-Catholic rhetoric.¹⁴³ However, both Kieckhefer and Larner’s arguments rely on Catholic liturgy and its incorporation into the magical rituals of the Medieval and Early Modern periods, respectively. In contrast, it is more likely that Lady Macbeth’s prayer structure would have been influenced by the Protestant prayers found in the *Prayer Book*, which would have been more familiar to Early Modern audiences due to their more recent circulation.

¹⁴¹ *The Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth, 1559* (Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2010), p. 171.

¹⁴² Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, p. 1.

¹⁴³ Christina Larner, *Enemies of God: The witch-hunt in Scotland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), p. 140.

By relying on a Protestant prayer structure, Lady Macbeth's conjuration draws on the spiritual capital of the Early Modern period, both in its *objectified* state through the liturgy and in its *embodied* state through the audience's familiarity. The play uses these states of spiritual capital, once again, to illustrate Lady Macbeth's villainy; not because she is performing a conjuration spell, since this chapter has established that conjurations were still being performed despite legislation and anti-witchcraft propaganda, but by perverting Christian prayer and liturgy to further her greed and ambition. In his analysis of religious references in Early Modern Drama, Walter S H Lim proposes that 'Shakespeare's invocation of materials pertaining to the experience of faith in both Catholicism and the Reformation for plot development, dramatic construction, and thematic emphasis in his plays can have theological and doctrinal resonance for members of an audience'.¹⁴⁴ If the Protestant prayer structure of Lady Macbeth's conjuration is recognisable to the audience, as this chapter argues, then Lim's proposal highlights the possible impact of Lady Macbeth's prayer-like speech. This reminder of prayers recurs later in Act 2 Scene 2, in which Macbeth overhears a prayer but is unable to participate,

But they did say their prayers, and addressed them

Again to sleep.

[...]

One cried 'God bless us!', and 'Amen' the other,

As they had seen me with these hangman hands.

List'ning their fear, I could not say 'Amen'

When they did say 'God bless us'.

[...]

¹⁴⁴ Walter S. H. Lim, *Shakespeare and the Theater of Religious Conviction in Early Modern England* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), p. 5.

But wherefore could not I pronounce ‘Amen’?

I had most need of blessing, and ‘Amen’

Stuck in my throat.¹⁴⁵

Macbeth’s verbal paralysis and inability to respond to the call of ‘God bless us’ with ‘amen’ reflects the weight of his guilt after murdering Duncan and therefore spiritual incapability to interact with God. As Lim further argues, ‘Shakespeare’s plays are open to bringing into the dramatic action doctrinal concepts, articles of faith, and devotional habits that may prompt reflection because of the way in which they are represented to generate certain effects in a performance’.¹⁴⁶ Macbeth’s spiritual silence at this prompt, then, evokes a moral reflection from the audience to consider the impact of sin on their moral being. Such reminders from the text are occasionally depicted in contemporary performances of *Macbeth*. For example, in Justin Kurzel’s 2015 film adaptation of the play, Marion Cotillard, who plays Lady Macbeth, delivers the conjuration speech while kneeling before a cross and a mural depicting angelic imagery in a chapel.¹⁴⁷ The juxtaposition of her calling on the spirits as she kneels, facing the iconographies of Christianity – the cross and the angels – suggests her inversion of religion and divinity in this moment and therefore spotlights the moral transgression she is about to commit as she discusses Duncan’s murder with Macbeth upon his return. Kurzel’s adaptation of this scene heightens the spiritual capital of this moment because it employs all three states of spiritual capital: the *embodied* state through the audience’s familiarity with prayer, the Christian iconography, which provides the *objectified* state, and the chapel, which involves the *institutionalised* state and its symbolisation as a place for divine interaction. Within the source play, this moral discourse is reinvoked in Act 5 Scene 1, in which the consequence of Lady Macbeth’s part in the murder, which began with the inverted prayer, is realised with her

¹⁴⁵ *Macbeth*, II.2.22-30.

¹⁴⁶ Lim, *Shakespeare and the Theater of Religious Conviction*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁷ *Macbeth*, dir. By Justin Kurzel (StudioCanal, 2015), 0:19:45.

inability to attain both spiritual and physical peace, which manifests in her sleepwalking and will be discussed later in this section.

Rather than merely adopting the liturgy of Christian theology, Lady Macbeth inverts the prayer structure to address unnamed spirits. Both Lady Macbeth's incantation and the above prayer begin their calls with 'come' as a cue for either the 'Spirits | That tend on mortal thoughts' or the 'holy ghoste' to be present to the invoker and then immediately proceed to instructing the individual entities. Both instructions direct their respective entities to inspire great passions within the caller; 'fill me from the crown to the toe top-full of direst cruelty' in opposition to '[k]yndle our hartes with feruent loue'. Yet, where the priest entreats the Holy Spirit to give his congregation strength and courage to repel sin, as is instructed in the prayerbook, which includes not just personal prayers but also congregational ones, Lady Macbeth calls on the spirits to give her the same to commit transgression. Her monologue, although prayer-like, is rife with a serious intention to command the spirits to heed her call and grant her the courage to pursue the deed of murdering her king to fulfil her ambition. One additional inversion that Lady Macbeth makes in her speech is to translate The Holy Ghost, who supposedly acts as 'the very comforter, in al wo and distresse' into 'murd'ring ministers | Wherever in your sightless substances | You wait on nature's mischief'. According to a variorum edition of *Macbeth* edited by Howard Furness, two editions of the play (Delius as well as Clarendon) note that 'sightless' does not just mean invisible but also visibly repulsive, as indicated by the interpretation of the word found in *King John*.¹⁴⁸ Yet, while the notes point towards a referential description of the spirits, they do not provide a contextual basis. The belief that spirits, in their original forms, possess horrifying visages is a common expectation in conjuration practice. Hence, there are frequent instructions within the

¹⁴⁸ *The New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, edited by Horace Howard Furness, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1873), p.57.

conjunction spells where the conjurer requests that the spirit being called to appear to them in a form that would not be frightening, ‘appear in this precious stone or glass [...] quickly without any tarrying so that thou come and that in thine own person truly in a beautiful shape visibly, plainly, aptly, and distinctly unto the sight of mine own eyes’.¹⁴⁹ However, Lady Macbeth clearly chooses not to employ this instruction and instead asks them to appear to her in whichever visage they so choose. In doing so, she tests the fortitude and determination that she asks of the spirits; that she will not fear them even if they were to appear before her in the most horrifying of forms that they can take. Her instruction for the spirits to give her the determination to conduct the murder culminates in the lines ‘[...]come] to my woman’s breasts |And take my milk for gall [...]’. By replacing her milk with the bitterness of gall, Lady Macbeth also inverts her earlier accusation of Macbeth, that he is ‘too full o’th’ milk of human kindness’.¹⁵⁰ Hence, she requests the spirits to extract the sweetness of kindness through her milk and instead to transform and experience it as bitterness from which she can draw out the determination to kill Duncan.

By the end of Lady Macbeth’s speech, there is no indication that any contract or transaction was made due to the lack of visible proof that the spirits attended her conjuration. However, the supernatural nonattendance is not an indication that her conjuration was ignored. The fourth book of *De Occulta Philosophia* (speculatively attributed to Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, a renown Renaissance magical theologian, but was published two decades after he died in 1599) suggests that, spirits ‘sometimes linger without appearing to the senses, for the sake of frightening you; your license to depart, then, serves to bind those spirits over until the next time, when they may be compelled to appear and pledge themselves’.¹⁵¹ The

¹⁴⁹ Harms et al., *Book of Oberon*, p. 95.

¹⁵⁰ *Macbeth*, I.5.13.

¹⁵¹ Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia: The Fourth Book*, vol 4, translated by Paul Summers Young (Obernkirchen: Black Letter Press, 2020), p. 74.

non-confirmation of Lady Macbeth's conjuration could, thus, suggest either outcome. In this sense, this act of spiritual practice subverts the social expectations of conformity to the Anti-Witchcraft Act of 1604; the audience is presented with an instance of probable accusation, yet unable to provide substantial evidence, much like with Macbeth. Alisa Manninen argues that in 'discussing Lady Macbeth and witchcraft, it is important to note that Shakespeare connects her to the supernatural in terms of such implicit references alone'.¹⁵² I agree with Manninen's suggestion in that no one in the play is able to verify if the conjuration worked; they merely provide expositional descriptions of the circumstances surrounding Duncan's murder that happen to coincide with Lady Macbeth's request, unbeknownst to them. Instead, her spell is a secret act shared only between her and the audience. Any indication that malicious spirits were summoned, fulfilling the requirements for legal prosecution under the Witchcraft Act of 1604, is thus non-demonstrable, even despite this shared knowledge. Laura Levine proposes that one 'might imagine that to relinquish the theatrical demonstration of a crime at a trial, one needs a real skepticism about the evidence of the senses, the evidence of what the eye sees in particular'.¹⁵³ However, in this instance, any evidence outside of Lady Macbeth's speech is non-existent; the senses do not perceive this spiritual transgression, and the audience is left with the 'theatrical demonstration of [the] crime'. Despite Manninen's claim that Lady Macbeth's witchcraft is implicit, the usage of spiritual capital in her speech and its modifications to Christian liturgy suggest a more explicit connection between the two. Like Macbeth, it is not the act of conjuration itself that is damnable, but the perversion of spiritual capital and the intention of the summoning. This interpretation is further compounded when placed in contrast to the supernatural powers of Edward the Confessor, which are indicated in Act 4 Scene 3 of the play.

¹⁵² Manninen, *Royal Power and Authority*, p. 192-193.

¹⁵³ Laura Levine, *Afterlives of Endor: Witchcraft, Theatricality, and Uncertainty From the Malleus Maleficarum to Shakespeare* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2023), p. 33.

Simultaneously, Act 5 Scene 1 also serves as a mirror to Act 1 Scene 5, as the scene remains spiritually unresolved. Despite her confession, Lady Macbeth remains unforgiven for her actions. As Paul D. Stegner argues, all ‘of [Lady Macbeth’s] confessions function as hollow imitations of Christian penitence [as she confesses them to pillows and witness who remain silent]’.¹⁵⁴ I agree with Stegner in that by the end of the scene, Lady Macbeth’s role in the crime is only hinted at and never fully divulged, leaving both witnesses unable to personally intervene and provide a resolution. Instead, all the doctor can do is to call for a priest, claiming that ‘More needs she the divine than the physician’.¹⁵⁵ The call for the divine to remedy a mind plagued by guilt echoes theological sentiments about the benefits of confession. For example, in 1561, Bishop James Pilkington writes that:

Confession is left free to all that feel themselves burdened in conscience, and want either counsel or comfort, and the weak and ignorant are moved to resort to a learned minister to receive the comfortable promises of absolution and forgiveness of sin by the lively word of God, applied to so troubled a mind as a sovereign salve for all such griefs.¹⁵⁶

While it remains unknown whether Shakespeare was aware of Pilkington’s treatise on confession, the vocabulary of the two is similar. Where Macbeth uses *physicke* to relieve Lady Macbeth of her mental suffering, Pilkington proposes confession as a ‘salve’ for the mind. While Lady Macbeth has already partially and unknowingly fulfilled Pilkington’s requirements for confession, her ailment remains unrelieved. This connection between confession and the mind was not limited to Pilkington’s argument. As Stegner argues, confession ‘retained its appeal [in post-Reformation Early Modern England] not because of

¹⁵⁴ Paul D. Stegner, *Confession and Memory in Early Modern English Literature: Penitential Remains* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ *Macbeth*, V.1.62.

¹⁵⁶ James Pilkington, *The Works of James Pilkington*, edited by James Scholefield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1743), *EEBO*, p. 524.

its utility in serving the interests of church or state authority, but rather because of its ability to console penitent that their sins have been forgiven by separating memories of their sinful past from the reconciled present and future'.¹⁵⁷ Stegner's argument captures the antithetical state of Lady Macbeth in *Macbeth*'s Act 5 Scene 1. It is unsurprising, then, that Lady Macbeth repeats lines spoken in her previous scenes in her sleepwalking as she grapples with her guilt: 'a soldier, and afeared? [...] Wash your hands, put on your night-gown [...] there's a knocking at the gate [...] what's done cannot be undone'.¹⁵⁸ These references throughout her speech are all variations of lines spoken in Act 1 Scene 5 and Act 2 Scene 2. She demonstrates her inability to divorce her 'sinful past' from her 'present and future', as Stegner argues, due to her lack of a proper confession.

The sole act of witnessing an unconsciously spoken confession is insufficient to provide penance. Lady Macbeth's performance deprives both her witnesses and the audience of the necessary parameters for any possible form of forgiveness. As John Bossy explains, in terms of Protestantism, the 'member of a community who was oppressed by secret sins might gain comfort and forgiveness by confession to any other member'.¹⁵⁹ By not fully confessing her sins, consciously or unconsciously, Lady Macbeth spiritually paralyses herself from attaining any spiritual catharsis. Lady Macbeth's sleepwalking links her physio-psychological state with her spiritual affliction. Her only recourse would be to make a full, conscious confession to witnesses. As Stegner claims, confession 'retained its appeal not because of its utility in serving the interests of church or state authority, but rather because of its ability to console penitents that their sins have been forgiven by separating memories of their sinful past from reconciled present and future'.¹⁶⁰ The spiritual paralysis of the onlookers is

¹⁵⁷ Stegner, *Confession and Memory*, p. 10.

¹⁵⁸ *Macbeth*, V.1.36-55.

¹⁵⁹ John Bossy, "The Social History of Confession in the Age of Reformation", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 25, (1975), pp. 21-38 (p. 27).

¹⁶⁰ Stegner, *Confession and Memory*, p. 10.

especially emphasized by the presence of the Doctor, a healer whose role is rendered redundant due by the nature of Lady Macbeth's affliction. Despite all the agency and power that Lady Macbeth obtains during the play, she is overwhelmingly consumed by guilt in the end and is left as a husk of her former self. Such an uncathartic resolution thus becomes a fount of potential storytelling, which some contemporary adaptations address by resolving Lady Macbeth's spiritual transgressions through Interspiritual hybridisation, using non-Christian ideology to answer the narrative's uncompromising spiritual nature. Both Theatre Moollee's *Lady Macbeth* and Ryutopia's *Macbeth* employ their own local spiritual practices and ideologies, such as Shintoist and Shamanist beliefs in acknowledging transgressions and appeasing the souls and spirits of individuals, providing Lady Macbeth with an opportunity to redeem herself from the uncompromising nature of her damnation in *Macbeth*. As I will go on to argue in subsequent chapters, Lady Macbeth's relationship with spiritual capital is an important aspect of her characterisation as it demonstrates how the belief systems of other cultures can help to resolve her guilt, thereby reinforcing their own cultural identities.

1.4 The Neutrality of the Weird Sisters

In comparison to Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, the conjuration enacted by the Weird Sisters is the most spectacular; they can call upon spirits to provide Macbeth with a second prophecy at his command, but without having to use the conjuration incantatory language that the Macbeths employ. While their prognostication to Macbeth at the beginning of the play remains predominantly unchanged from the source material, their description,¹⁶¹ speech patterns, and second prophecy are definite insertions to the play's source text, Holinshed's *Chronicles*. For example, the Sisters' rhyming tetrameter during their conjuration in Act 4

¹⁶¹ Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 244.

Scene 1 is starkly different from the two previous rituals performed by both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth:

FIRST WITCH Pour in sow's blood, that hath eaten
Her nine farrow; grease that's sweaten
From the murderer's gibbet throw
Into the flame.

ALL Come high or low,
Thyself and office deftly show.¹⁶²

Being neither prayer-like nor inspired by the conjuration formulae, their spells resemble the rhyming charms used by lay communities, passed down from the Medieval period into the Early Modern. According to B.J. Sokol, the 'poetic specifics of [the Weird Sisters'] scenes [...] contain clear echoes of typical (especially English) village witchcraft phenomena'.¹⁶³ Sokol himself does not provide any examples of how the Weird Sisters 'echo typical [...] village witchcraft' and instead likens their revenge on the Sailor's wife in Act 1 Scene 3 of the play, and the imagery of the sow killing its own young, to the accusations made against perceived witches. Sokol's comparison of the Weird Sisters' magic to that of accused of witchcraft still draws a negative perception of the practice. As I will argue in this section, the magic that the Sisters use stems from a tradition of spoken charms, which has a variety of uses and not just malefic spells documented in witchcraft accusations.

Spoken charms were a long-surviving traditional way for a layperson to invoke the divine or supernatural to aid and protect them. Such practices were more common during the

¹⁶² *Macbeth*, IV.1.63-67.

¹⁶³ B.J. Sokol, "Macbeth and the Social History of Witchcraft", in *Shakespeare and History*, edited by Holger Klein and Rowland Wymer (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), pp. 245-275 (p. 263).

Medieval period but still survived into the Early Modern period. As Lea Olsen surmises from her research, in ‘England between 1200 and 1500, a large proportion of the charms in circulation were devoted to healing’.¹⁶⁴ Olsen’s insight regarding the large number of charms that have been documented and survive illustrates the importance Medieval society, and by extension through inheritance the Early Modern communities, placed on these charms. The prevalence of spoken charms suggests that Early Modern society placed their use in high regard. This would also imply that spoken charms held a significant amount of spiritual capital for Early Modern individuals and communities. Due to the verbal nature of these charms, it is difficult to make clear identifications from their structure alone, as they can be formatted either in lyric or prose and are sometimes classified as prayers because of their invocation of the divine. In his study of the *Antiphoner Notebook*, Klassen suggests that entry 38 in the notebook, which is titled as a prayer to relieve a toothache, though written in prose, can also be formatted in lyric by separating the lines through its rhyming couplets, which then visually invokes the charm structure that modern readers are familiar with:

What manner of ill yt ever thow be
on gods behalf I coniure thee,
wth ye blessed crosse +
yt Iesus was done on wth force
I coniure ye wth nayles three
yt Iesus was nayld vpon a tree,
I coniure yee wth ye crowne of thorne
yt on Iesus head was done for scorne,
I coniure ye wth ye blisshed bloud

¹⁶⁴ Lea Olsen, “The Corpus of Charms in the Middle English Leechcraft Remedy Books”, in *Charms, Charmers and Charming*, edited by Jonathan Roper (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 214-237 (p. 214).

that Iesus bledd vpon ye roode
 I coniure ye wth woundes .5.
 yt Iesus suffred in his lyfe,
 I coniure ye wth ye holy spare,
 yt Longis till his hart cane bare,
 I coniure ye nevertheless
 wth all the vertues of ye messe.¹⁶⁵

The above format is only one form a spoken charm can take. Other surviving charms vary in the sense that they do not contain any rhyming words within the spell, that their lengths can range from three to four lines and go up to a few pages, or that they are formatted in a completely different way. The lyrical and rhyming format of spoken charms is, seemingly, the more easily identifiable and circulated variation of spoken charms, even after the many waves of anti-witchcraft propaganda. For example, the seventeenth-century poet, Robert Herrick, writes a charm of his own in his *Hesperides*, which was published and circulated in 1648:

Bring the holy crust of Bread,
 Lay it underneath the head;
 'Tis a certain Charm to keep
 Hags away, while children sleep.¹⁶⁶

Herrick's charm, seemingly intended for a readership of poetical verse, shares some structural similarities with the charm in the *Antiphoner Notebook*. Both charms employ the divine relics

¹⁶⁵ Frank Klassen, "The Antiphoner Notebook: Introduction", in *Making Magic in Elizabethan England: Two Early Modern Vernacular Books of Magic*, edited by Frank Klassen (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2019), p. 21-22.

¹⁶⁶ Robert Herrick, *Hesperides, or, the works both humane & divine of robert herrick, esq* (London, 1648), EEBO, p. 336.

or biblical references. In the *Antiphoner Notebook* charm, the various objects are connected with the crucifixion of Christ, whereas in Herrick's charm, it is the sacrament of the bread. Such usage of biblical references within the charms highlights the retention of their Catholic roots despite England's national practice of Protestantism. The circulation of Herrick's charm within his book in 1648 conveys societal familiarity with the rhyming, lyrical structure of spoken charms despite decades of witchcraft persecution. The documentation of these charms, both during and after the period of *Macbeth*'s initial production, suggests their frequent and continued use despite anti-witchcraft propaganda and legislation. Furthermore, the use of these charms to cure toothaches and protect children from hags suggests that not all instances of spoken charms were malefic to an Early Modern audience. Like the other magical practices mentioned in this chapter, their usage does not immediately indicate that the practitioner was evil or had malicious intentions. Instead, it is the context of the spellcasting that is important: who is the target of the spell, what the spell is intended to do, and the reason why the spell is being cast.

Despite the Weird Sisters retaining the lyrical rhythms of spoken charms in their speech, their spells omit the Catholic/liturgical links. Yet, their omission does not mean a lack of fidelity to the magical practices of the Early Modern period. Sandra Clark, for example, remarks that during the cauldron scene in Act 4 Scene 1, the Weird Sisters 'are intent on the correct ingredients for their charm, including human and animal body parts, all of which are suggestive of popular English witchcraft traditions'.¹⁶⁷ However, as stated earlier, due to the wide range of prayers or instructional texts that could be construed as magical charms, it is difficult to determine the specific meanings or intended outcomes of the cauldron ingredients if we were to rely solely on popular magic. Instead, I would like to

¹⁶⁷ Sandra Clark, "Macbeth and the Weird Sisters", *Shakespeare Studies*, 46 (2008), pp. 62-76 (p. 70).

explore Clark's point that there is significance to the specific ingredients the Weird Sisters include in their concoction. Agrippa, in his treatise on Natural Magic, taxonomises that:

All creatures who creep, are solitary, nocturnal, sad, contemplative, dull, covetous, fearful, melancholy, taking great pains, slow, feed grossly, and consume their young, such as the mole, wolf, ass, toad, cat, hog, bear, camel, basilisk, hare, ape, dragon, mule, all serpents and crawling things, scorpions, and ants [...the] screech owl, horned owl, bat, lapwing, crow, and that most envious of birds, the quail.¹⁶⁸

Agrippa's grouping of these animals includes some that also feature in the ingredients listed in the Weird Sisters' incantation, such as the toad, wolf, dragon, bat, and lapwing.¹⁶⁹ In the treatise, he classifies this group of animals as having Saturnine properties, which therefore encourages a melancholic disposition when used as an ingredient for a spell or potion. This connection between the ingredients and their ability to affect melancholy is an important one. Agrippa further explains that when melancholy 'is stirred, ignites and brings down a madness conducive to knowledge and divination, especially when it is assisted by celestial influence, and in particular by the influence of Saturn. [...] Saturn governs the contemplation of the arcane [...] draws the mind upwards and infuses it with knowledge and the sight of things to come'.¹⁷⁰ The magical properties and associations of the Weird Sisters' ingredients, then, clearly foreshadow Macbeth's psychological spiral after his interaction with them in this scene. Reading the scene through an understanding of magical practice, the interpretation thus aligns with Diane Purkiss' argument, that the 'play encourages slippage between definitions of the witch which made sense in village society and definitions of the witch which made sense to a learned sceptic like Scot and definitions of the witch which made

¹⁶⁸ Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia: Natural Magic*, vol 1, translated by Paul Summers Young, (Obernkirchen: Black Letter Press, 2020), p. 126.

¹⁶⁹ *Macbeth*, IV.1.1-38.

¹⁷⁰ Agrippa, *Natural Magic*, p. 256.

sense to European demonologists and their followers and definitions of the witch which made sense to humanist scholars'.¹⁷¹ By possessing the speech structure of spoken charms and referencing ingredients found in magical treatises like Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*, the Weird Sisters demonstrate Purkiss' argument in that their performances are familiar to a wide range of audiences and speak to their familiarity with magical practices.

However, it is the Sisters' many inconsistencies in their magical practices and the outcome of their prophecies that also fuel much of the criticism against them. Purkiss writes that 'the witches of *Macbeth* are a low-budget, frankly exploitative collage of randomly chosen bits of witch-lore, selected not for thematic significance but for its sensation value'.¹⁷² Purkiss' statement echoes that of previously mentioned scholars like Newton and Booth, who highlight the financial benefits of including the topic of witchcraft in the play's narrative, but also shares sentiments with others who argue that the Sisters are merely representations of Early Modern stereotyping and superstition rather than supernatural entities. Paul Menzer argues that, the 'play, in the end, is disappointingly un-mysterious [...] Macduff is *not* 'not of woman born'; he's the product of a Caesarean delivery. Birnam Wood's ambulation is *not* supernatural; it's a bunch of soldiers with twigs'.¹⁷³ According to Menzer, while the prophecies are fulfilled, their fulfilment takes the form of technicalities that subvert readers'/audiences' expectations, thereby undermining the supernatural power the Sisters display through their divination. Similarly, Eric S. Mallin argues that the 'witches' signature trick is to withhold information, to hoodwink or veil consciousness by concealing critical

¹⁷¹ Diane Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and twentieth century representations* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 207-208.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 207.

¹⁷³ Paul Menzer, *Anecdotal Shakespeare: A New Performance History* (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2015), p. 181.

data: the enchantment that promises success proves to guarantee error and disaster'.¹⁷⁴ The play upends audiences' expectations, built on their spectacular showcase of magical abilities and knowledge, by using technicalities to fulfil their prophecies. Yet, this approach to their magic also reinforces how the play vilifies or venerates its characters through the context in which the magical rituals are performed. As this chapter has already argued, Macbeth is not vilified by the play for his use of conjuration magic, since the rituals remain a familiar and recurring practice throughout the Early Modern period, but his use of it to control and force the Sisters to give him more information demonstrates his growing tyranny. Lady Macbeth is similarly vilified because she modifies the framework of Christian liturgy to aid her in the murdering of Duncan. In contrast, Edward the Confessor's use of the royal touch is referenced to demonstrate his ability to heal people on behalf of the divine, which this chapter will explore in the next section.

By relying on technicalities, as both Menzer and Purkiss have argued, the Weird Sisters do not exhibit any form of malice in the information they provide. At most, their information confuses Macbeth, conforming to Hecate's instructions to the Weird Sisters. In this way, the play is unable to contextualise or characterise them as villainous, despite their magical abilities and rituals. Due to the play being unable to categorise the Weird Sisters' magic and intent, the interpretation of their supernatural performances lies in the *embodied* state of the audience's spiritual capital. The audience has to rely on their own perceptions and knowledge of magical rituals and practitioners to form an opinion of the Weird Sisters. As Purkiss indicates, 'because the play lacks any interpretative figure who can make sense of events, correct interpretation of the witches in *Macbeth* lies outside of the play itself,

¹⁷⁴ Eric S. Mallin, "The Charm in Macbeth", in *Enchantment and Dis-enchantment in Shakespeare and Early Modern Drama: Wonder, the Sacred, and the Supernatural*, edited by Nandini Das and Nick Davis (London: Routledge, 2017) pp. 55-71 (p. 68).

privileging the spectators in general and one (royal) spectator in particular'.¹⁷⁵ However, their dulled display of prophecy indirectly opposes the notions put forward in *Daemonologie*, which argues that the Devil's servants, including witches, attempt to corrupt others by 'foretelling them manie greate things; part true, part false'.¹⁷⁶ It is not that the Sisters provide Macbeth with half-truths, but with knowledge too far in the future for him to understand. While anti-witchcraft rhetoric like *Daemonologie* can potentially influence one part of an audience's *embodied* state of spiritual capital, they still have to ascertain, through their own relative knowledge and experience, whether such arguments are true of the Weird Sisters or whether other factors affect their perception. For example, by the time *Macbeth* is first performed, the Early Modern audience already knows that the ascension of James I fulfils the Weird Sisters' prophecy regarding Banquo's lineage.

Unlike Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, the Sisters' power does not derive from their ability to conjure and invoke spiritual entities, but from the long foreknowledge of what is to come; the prophecy is fulfilled not because the Sisters can discern the future, but because the play was set in the past after events have already happened. To quote Menzer's opinion, the Sisters 'are not omni-spectral, they've merely read ahead'.¹⁷⁷ The first indication of them wielding their power in this manner is the spell that they put on a ship's captain in Act 1 Scene 3, which is led by the "First Witch"/First Weird Sister:

A sailor's wife had chestnuts in her lap,
And munched and munched and munched. "Give me," quoth I.
"Aroint thee, witch!" the rump-fed runnion cries.
Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master o' th' *Tiger*:

¹⁷⁵ Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, p. 207.

¹⁷⁶ James I, *Daemonologie* [1597] (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd, 1969), p. 22.

¹⁷⁷ Menzer, *Anecdotal Shakespeare*, p. 181.

But in a sieve I'll thither sail,
 And like a Rat without a tail,
 I'll do, I'll do, and I'll do.
 [...]

I'll drain him dry as hay.
 Sleep shall night nor day
 Hang upon his penthouse lid.
 He shall live a man forbid.
 Weary sev'nights, nine times nine,
 Shall he dwindle, peak, and pine.
 Though his bark cannot be lost,
 Yet it shall be tempest-tossed.¹⁷⁸

This reaction bears a resemblance to witchcraft accusations that Alan Macfarlane characterizes as the Charity Refused Model, in which 'acts of witchcraft were believed to be repaying the lack of charity on part of the future victim'.¹⁷⁹ Macfarlane's Charity Refused Model is derived from hundreds of witchcraft accusations, suggesting a templated pattern emerges when they are compared. These accusation templates were so frequently used that Reginald Scot makes mention of it in his own satirical writing: these 'miserable wretches are so odious unto all their neighbours; and so feared, as few dare offend them, or deny them any thing they aske: whereby they take upon them [...] that they can do such things as are beyond the ability of humane nature'.¹⁸⁰ Such frequency implies a stereotypical method through which a person is perceived and accused of witchcraft in the Early Modern period. This

¹⁷⁸ *Macbeth*, I.3.2-21.

¹⁷⁹ Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stewart England*, p. 174.

¹⁸⁰ Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft: Being a Reprint of the First Edition Published in 1584*, edited by Brinsley Nicholson (Yorkshire: EP Publishing Limited, 1973), p. 5.

scene, however, switches the perspective of such allegations to that of the witch rather than the accuser. Of course, the Sisters' fearful power in this moment is immediately overturned when the audience remembers that the crew of the *Tyger* ultimately returns to England to give their account despite their misadventures. As Dennis Bartholomeusz proposes, 'the first witch, insulted and starved of chestnuts, could not evidently sink the *Tiger*, for Fitch reached Aleppo and moved on to India, visiting Agra and Fatepur Sikri'.¹⁸¹ Hence, while the Sisters' curse seems powerful due to descriptions that align with popular stereotypes of witches, in the context of Early Modern memory and history, these fears are alleviated. Despite the play's narrative that the Sisters cursed a ship and its captain to encounter seafaring disasters, the audience's perception of their magic is diminished by their recollection of the *Tyger*'s voyage. Marjorie Garber highlights this temporal paradox in her critique of Shakespeare's history plays, stating that, 'the experience of the playgoer, however, the past becomes a future: when the audience enters the theatre, the historical events are yet to come'.¹⁸² Garber's observation is relevant to the situation in *Macbeth*, where history is used as a magical means to either curse or provide prognostications, as it has been used in the histories. Luke Lammers similarly highlights that 'time in the theatre is always double: the 'now' referred to by the characters is simultaneously a 'then' for the audience'.¹⁸³ The Sisters, thus, through their reference, paradoxically bring the audience's 'then' to their 'now', returning to Menzer's statement that 'they've merely read ahead'. Once again, audiences are tasked to

¹⁸¹ Dennis Bartholomeusz, "Shakespeare Imagines the Orient: The Orient Imagines Shakespeare", in *Shakespeare and Cultural Traditions: The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress, Tokyo, 1991*, edited by Tesuo Kishi, Roger Pringle, and Stanley Wells (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp. 188-204 (p. 196).

¹⁸² Marjorie Garber, "'What's Past Is Prologue': Temporality and Prophecy in Shakespeare's History Plays", in *Renaissance Genres: Essays on Theory, History, and Interpretation*, edited by Barbara Kiefer Lewalski (London: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 301-331 (p. 306).

¹⁸³ Luke Lammers, *Shakespearean Temporalities: History on the Early Modern Stage* (New York: Routledge, 2018), p. 3.

rely on their own *embodied* state to ascertain if there is any truth to the Weird Sisters' curse and magic, or if any of the trouble that plagued the *Tyger*'s journey – which Fitch also documents – is a coincidence. As Mallin argues, a 'spell can only work in a void of facts and known consequence'.¹⁸⁴ Yet, in this case, the 'facts and known consequence' have already been divulged to the audience, and the mention of the incident serves merely as a reference, thereby promoting a more sceptical outlook towards similar narratives and accusations.

To understand how the play intertwines history and prophecy, Garber proposes a new terminology to define this phenomenon. Garber writes that the 'history play as such is [...] lodged in the paradoxical temporality of what the French call the *futur antérieur*, the prior future [...] the most condensed form of the temporal paradoxes of the historical *futur antérieur* occurs in the form of prophecy'.¹⁸⁵ Once again, such definitions can be cross-applied from the history plays into *Macbeth*. James I's claim to be a descendant of Banquo was chronicled by Holinshed, who wrote, published, and circulated the following:

Fleauunce [who is the son of Banquho] therefore fled into Wales [after the assassination attempt on his life, ...] at length he also came into such a familiar acquaintance with the [...] princes daughter, that she of courtesie in the end suffered him to get hir with child [...] At the last yet, she delivered of a sonne named Walter [...] This Walter Steward had a sonne named Alane Steward [...]and so forth until] James the fift married the ladie Marie de Lorrein, duchesse of Lonuile, a widow, and by hir had he issue Marie queéne of Scotland, that tooke to husband Henrie Steward lord Dernlie, by whom she had issue Charles Iames, now king of Scotland.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Mallin, *The Charm in Macbeth*, p.66.

¹⁸⁵ Garber, *What's Past Is Prologue*, p. 306-307.

¹⁸⁶ Holinshed, *Chronicles*, p. 247-248.

The claim also clearly contextualises the prophecy that Banquo receives from the Weird Sisters, that he shall ‘get kings’,¹⁸⁷ making the narrative future actualised when James I ascends the throne in the audience’s timeline. Hence, it is not any supernatural entity or contract that empowers the Sisters’ prophecy, but the *futur antérieur*. The appearance of Banquo’s ghost is also another way the play reinforces the theme of national identity through spiritual capital, which this chapter will explore later. Returning the Sisters’ power of prophecy, Jessica Malay highlights that ‘Shakespeare constantly reinforces contemporary understanding of history that includes the future, thus making knowledge of the future possible’.¹⁸⁸ The prognostications performed by the Sisters contain information already known to the audience, be it Macbeth being made Thane of Cawdor, which Duncan announces to the audience and Ross in Act 1 Scene 2,¹⁸⁹ or that Banquo’s offspring will inherit the throne through James I’s claim of lineage, or that the *Tyger* has been on a disastrous voyage to Aleppo. Such application of the *futur antérieur* is then enhanced in the second meeting between Macbeth and the Sisters in Act 4 Scene 1. The visual procession of spirits within the scene, clearly presents an ominous spectacle for both Macbeth and the audience. Yet, it simultaneously reinforces the inevitability of Banquo’s succession through Macbeth’s downfall. Lammers suggests of this display that to ‘arrive, nevertheless, at “a clearer view of the ‘now’ gone by,” a playwright would have to grant characters moments of divination or foreboding [...] a style that probes the consequences of this fundamental epistemological limitation’.¹⁹⁰ Where Garber regards prophecy as a manipulation of temporal understanding, Lammers proposes a metaphysical element imbued in the prognostication: it presents a moral dilemma to Macbeth, whether he will quietly accept his lack of an heir to

¹⁸⁷ *Macbeth*, I.3.62.

¹⁸⁸ Jessica L. Malay, *Prophecy and Sibylline Imagery in the Renaissance: Shakespeare’s Sibyls* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 120.

¹⁸⁹ *Macbeth*, I.2.65.

¹⁹⁰ Lammers, *Shakespearean Temporalities*, p. 72.

inherit the throne or continue his moral spiral. In this sense, the prophecy is a null choice on the part of Macbeth: he has attained the height of his ambition to be king of Scotland, but he loses either way, as by the play's finale, the prophecy of Banquo's succession is fulfilled, whether he likes it or not. Hence, all anticipation of its actualisation is diminished; it is the tension of its unravelling that draws the audience's curiosity. Unlike Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, the spiritual capital of the Weird Sisters does not lie their rituals. Instead, their value lies in the audience's interpretation of them, using their own opinions, experiences, and knowledge. Like Macbeth, the audience is asked to choose if they believe in the power of the Weird Sisters magic. As subsequent chapters will show, the spiritual practitioners that the Weird Sisters are translated into offer different interpretations. Some adaptations enrich this group of characters by associating them with local spiritual healers, while others diminish and demonise them according to their interpretation of *Macbeth*.

1.5 Miracles and National Identity

At this point, this chapter has examined various displays of magic as performed by the play's Scottish characters. However, there is one other occurrence of magical practice discussed by characters in the play, despite having no on stage enactment: Edward the Confessor's performance of the royal touch. In Act 4 Scene 3, the Doctor and Malcolm talk about the supernatural healing that the English King is able to perform on the sick:

DOCTOR Ay, sir. There are a crew of wretched souls
That stay his cure. Their malady convinces
The great assay of art; but at his touch,
Such sanctity hath heaven given his hand,
They presently amend.

[...]

MALCOLM Tis called the Evil.

A most miraculous work in this good king,
Which often since my here-remain in England
I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven
Himself best knows; [...]
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks
Put on with holy prayers; and 'tis spoken
To the succeeding royalty he leaves
The healing benediction [...] ¹⁹¹

The hanging of 'a golden stamp about their necks', also known as an Angel coin, as part of the royal touch ritual draws similarities to the use of talismanic magic. Stephen Brogan implies this connection in his study of the ceremony, stating that the use of the coins during the Tudor revival of the practice bears a strong resemblance to cramp rings that were blessed and distributed in the fourteenth and fifteenth-centuries and worn to ward off diseases and physical ailments.¹⁹² The employment of the cramp rings and, subsequently, the Angel coins as protective tools draws on the same belief as the use of magical amulets from the Late Medieval period. According to Kieckhefer, amulets 'could ward off disease [...] but more often they protected their bearers against the attacks of visible and invisible enemies'.¹⁹³ Kieckhefer, however, provides a clear definition: amulets tend to comprise of natural materials, such as various animal body parts or plant cuttings. Unlike the natural materials used to create amulets, the Angel coins were made of gold. According to Paul:

¹⁹¹ *Macbeth*, IV.3.141-157.

¹⁹² Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2015), p. 42.

¹⁹³ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, p. 75.

For the use in touching for the evil, the Tudor sovereigns coined the angel, a gold coin worth about ten shillings. The stamp on the obverse showed the Archangel Michael slaying the dragon, and on the reverse a ship charged with the royal arms and carrying a huge cross at the masthead. The angel slaying the dragon was emblematic of the king's power over the evil, and the legend on the reverse was an appropriate text from the Vulgate.¹⁹⁴

Despite serving similar purposes, the use of a gold coin instead of natural materials is important in the taxonomy of magic. To this end, Kieckhefer provides an alternative form of magic: talismanic magic. According to Kieckhefer, 'talismans are generally similar to amulets in purpose and modes of employment [...but the] distinguishing feature is that talismans [...] have written words or at least letters inscribed on them'.¹⁹⁵ By stamping the figures of the Archangel Michael and the royal arms on either side, the Angel coin bears a closer resemblance to Kieckhefer's description of talismans, with the consideration that the symbols replace the use of words/letters. The association between the Angel coin and talismanic magic is important because the perception of its use in the play, in contrast to other instances of magical performance, highlights how the narrative employs spiritual capital to create a national identity.

By stating that the healing performed by Edward the Confessor is 'miraculous work', Malcolm sets up a comparison between the English king and Macbeth. Where Malcolm describes Edward the Confessor's healing as 'miraculous', Macbeth is characterised as 'devilish' earlier in the scene.¹⁹⁶ Despite both Macbeth and Edward performing magic – conjuration and talismanic magic, respectively – they are perceived as opposed: one is divine

¹⁹⁴ Paul, *The Royal Play of Macbeth*, p. 370.

¹⁹⁵ Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, p. 77.

¹⁹⁶ *Macbeth*, IV.3.118.

and the other is demonic. In this sense, the acceptance of Edward's magic aligns with Stanmore's argument that Early Modern society's perception of magic extends beyond its interaction with witchcraft and the ways anti-witchcraft rhetoric characterises its use. Instead, if we were to consider that magical rituals were neutral representations of the *objectified* state under spiritual capital, as this chapter has argued regarding various instances of conjuration spells being used across many dramatic works, then it is the play that characterises the practitioners of magic as either good or evil and, in doing so, influences how national identity is perceived. The play uses the royal touch's spiritual capital to promote the English sovereign's moral superiority over Scottish rulership. As Paul indicates, whatever 'may have been his own views as to its efficacy, Shakespeare knew how much his countrymen venerated this custom [of the royal touch]'.¹⁹⁷ The popularity of the royal touch in Early Modern society highlights the significant spiritual capital it possesses. Unsurprisingly, the spiritual capital of the royal touch was also employed by the monarchy to secure its political position by mythologising its narratives. As Brogan notes, during 'the early modern period it was widely thought that Edward the Confessor (c.1003-66) was the first English king to touch for scrofula and that since then every English king had practiced the royal touch by virtue of heredity'.¹⁹⁸ By performing the royal touch, not only does each monarch demonstrate their ability to divinely intercede and cure the sick, but also that they are directly descended from Edward and therefore have a legitimate claim to rulership. By referencing the royal touch in *Macbeth*, Edward is juxtaposed to Macbeth, a legitimate ruler, over a usurper. In doing so, the play supports Malcolm's anglicisation of the Scottish court in Act 5 Scene 11 when he makes his thanes 'earls, the first that ever Scotland | In such an honour named'.¹⁹⁹ By changing the titles of his noblemen, Malcolm demonstrates his loyalty to the English throne

¹⁹⁷ Paul, *The Royal Play of Macbeth*, p. 371.

¹⁹⁸ Stephen Brogan, "The Royal Touch", *History Today*, February 2011, pp. 46-52 (p. 46).

¹⁹⁹ *Macbeth*, V.11.29-30.

and reinforces the idea of a nationally unified Scottish and English identity. Hence, *Macbeth* employs the spiritual capital of the royal touch to bolster a narrative in which English rulership is legitimised and a national identity is constructed around it.

1.6 Ghosts, Legacy, and Identity

Compared to the other characters in the play, Banquo's spiritual capital does not reside in a performance of magic. Instead, by becoming a ghost, Banquo is transformed into a supernatural entity that draws from the audience's familiarity with burial rites. The appearance of Banquo's ghost in the play is therefore a significant use of spiritual capital, as he serves as visual reminder to Macbeth not only of his role in Banquo's murder but also that his rulership over Scotland is limited. In *Macbeth*, the ghostly appearance of Banquo during the banquet of Act 3 Scene 4 is altogether a noiseless presence, depicting the scene from Macbeth's perspective. According to John S. Garrison's interpretation of *Macbeth*, Banquo's 'ghost renders visible one of the central tensions in *Macbeth*: the supernaturally inspired murders have upset the normative lines of succession'.²⁰⁰ Garrison's claim specifically refers to Banquo's appearance during the banquet scene, arguing that his ghostly entrance becomes a visual reminder to both Macbeth and the audience of the Weird Sisters' prophecy about the line of succession that will emerge from Banquo's offspring. Succession aside, what is clear in the banquet scene is that Macbeth, and by extension the audience, is being confronted with the morality and guilt of Banquo's assassination to secure his position.

Like many of the supernatural rituals, events, and references explored in this chapter, the appearance of Banquo's ghost also relies on the spiritual capital of the Early Modern

²⁰⁰ John S. Garrison, *Shakespeare and the Afterlife* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 86.

audience. Lisa Hopkins argues that the concept of burial and the rituals it entails are an important motif to Shakespeare, especially in his late plays. She suggests that ‘Shakespeare seems to have felt that how and where the body was buried did matter to the spirit, and it is therefore not surprising that he represents the geographical and spiritual edges of Christendom as connected [in his plays]’.²⁰¹ Hopkins centres her argument on the mentions and the absence of physical graves in *Twelfth Night*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and *Henry VIII*. However, her suggestion can also be applied to Banquo’s final resting place in *Macbeth*. Instead of being buried in consecrated ground, or at least within the confines of Christendom, Banquo’s body lies ‘safe in a ditch [...] | With twenty trenched gashes on his head’.²⁰² To the knowledge of the audience, the ditch is unmarked and in an unknown location, with probable doubt that Banquo’s body received any burial rites. By burying his body in such a ditch, the play deprives Banquo of the spiritual capital that is expected of a Christian burial, which is familiar to the Early Modern audience, reinforcing the perverted environment – both natural and spiritual – of Scotland under Macbeth.

There is a secondary discussion of Banquo’s ghost: his appearance at the banquet is an indication of Macbeth’s psychological deterioration. Stuart Clark posits that *Macbeth* ‘is concerned not only with the illusory nature of particular things in the external world but with the illusion itself as a fundamental epistemological challenge’.²⁰³ Clark emphasises that hauntings are merely hallucinations and reflections of a guilty mind, rather than supernatural occurrences. Some modern interpretations have explored this concept either by having Macbeth speak to empty space or an empty seat in the room.²⁰⁴ However, it would not be too

²⁰¹ Lisa Hopkins, *The Edge of Christendom on the Early Modern Stage* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2022), p. 157.

²⁰² *Macbeth*, III.4.25-26.

²⁰³ Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 239.

²⁰⁴ Polly Findley’s *Macbeth* (2018), performed at the RSC, excludes Banquo’s ghost from the banquet scene and instead has Macbeth throwing food at an empty chair but has him reappear

much of a stretch to argue that the experience of Early Modern audiences was aligned with Macbeth's own perceptions during this scene. Instead of the ghost being a psychological figment of Macbeth's guilt, he is real to both the character and the audience. According to the *Ashmole MS 208*, also known as Simon Foreman's *Book of Plays*, in which he documents his viewing of *Macbeth* in 1610/1611,

[...] the ghost of Banquo came and sat down in his chair behind him. And he turning about to sit down again saw the ghost of Banquo which fronted him so that he fell into a great passion of fear and fury, uttering many words about his murder, by which when they heard that Banquo was murdered they suspected Macbeth.²⁰⁵

Foreman's note that 'the ghost of Banquo came and sat down in his chair behind him' allows us to infer that Banquo's ghost was physically present on the Early Modern stage and was at least real to both the audience and Macbeth, even if he was a psychological manifestation. Dennis Bartholomeusz makes a similar observation, stating that the 'audience at the Globe saw Banquo's ghost before Macbeth saw him, and possibly appreciated the ironic contrast between the figure of the ghost of Banquo, with his blood-soaked hair and eyes without 'speculation' in them, and Macbeth unaware, drinking a 'carouse' to him'.²⁰⁶

Bartholomeusz's argument highlights the humour in the visual contrast between Macbeth's ignorance and Banquo's haunting entrance, as perceived by the audience, which builds the comedic moment of surprise when he finally sees the ghostly visage. Thomas Campbell also

in the cauldron scene to give Macbeth his second prophecy; Rupert Goold's *Macbeth* (2010) makes use of his adaptation's medium as a recorded film to have Banquo's ghost appear and disappear between cuts; Joel Coen's *The Tragedy of Macbeth* (2021) has Banquo's ghost momentarily only walk past the entrance of the banquet hall before disappearing rather than remaining throughout the scene.

²⁰⁵ Bodleian Library, "Ashmole MS 208", *Shakespeare Documented*, fol. 207v, <https://shakespearedocumented.folger.edu/resource/document/formans-account-seeing-plays-globe-macbeth-cymbeline-winters-tale>, npg.

²⁰⁶ Dennis Bartholomeusz, *Macbeth and the Players* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 7.

highlights the importance of visually perceiving Banquo's ghost for the audience. In *Life of Mrs Siddons*, he opines that in the *Macbeth* production which starred Sarah Siddons as Lady Macbeth, Banquo's ghost was visually absent from the banquet scene: there 'was no rationale in depriving the spectator of a sight of Banquo's ghost, merely because the company at *Macbeth*'s table are not supposed to see it [...] We are the poet's guests, invited to see "Macbeth": to see what he sees, and to feel what he feels'.²⁰⁷ If we consider Campbell's claim alongside Bartholomeusz's, and Foreman's own documentation of the Early Modern production, then Banquo's ghost should be as real to the audience as it is to Macbeth. Yet, because Banquo remains silent – a visual reminder of his friend's murderous choices – Macbeth is able to refute his nonverbal accusations, albeit only in the belief of his guests rather than that of the audience. Like the Weird Sisters, Banquo's ghost is not characterised as either good or evil, and his spiritual capital borrows from the audience's spiritual capital. Yet, the play uses his appearance to remind both Macbeth and the audience of the inevitable: that Macbeth's tyranny will end someday, and that the Scottish and English thrones will unite with the ascension of James I. In subsequent chapters, this thesis will explore how adaptations merge the Weird Sisters' spiritual capital with Banquo's ghost to not only enrich his character but also provide new ways for him to reinforce aspects of their local cultural identity.

1.7 Afterwards

While many scholars have attempted to contextualise the portrayal of witchcraft in *Macbeth*, they have been unsuccessful in determining the extent to which the play is faithful

²⁰⁷ Thomas Campbell, *Life of Mrs Siddons*, vol. 2 (London: Effingham Wilson, 1834), p. 185-186.

to Early Modern magical practices. Ani Kojoyan, in her attempt to compare the supernatural moments in the play to those described in Scot's satirical anti-witchcraft writing, argues that 'the fact that Shakespeare did not go into the depth of the witchcraft stories in *Macbeth* and made only a slight reference to them, might mean that Shakespeare was not especially interested in an accurate, exact and thorough presentation of witch-lore and also in the presentation of the social problems of the village women in details on stage'.²⁰⁸ Yet, by studying the magical practices that have persisted from the Late Medieval to the Early Modern periods, this chapter has demonstrated *Macbeth's* fidelity to those practices in Early Modern society. The play does not make 'only slight reference to them' as Kojoyan argues, but uses the spiritual capital of magical rituals to either vilify or venerate its characters. In doing so, *Macbeth* crafts a narrative that glorifies the English throne by associating it with healing communities, thereby reinforcing a nationalistic union identity between Scotland and England through the ascension of James I.

Macbeth's fidelity to the Early Modern witchcraft and religious discourse, discussed in this chapter, needs to be considered when examining adaptations that use it as a source text. Pia Brînzeu argues that understanding the influences in Anglophone to non-Anglophone translated texts 'might highlight the diverse manifestations of difference and similarity between translators, who [...] make an effort not to betray the English text'.²⁰⁹ However, for a localised adaptation to maintain textual fidelity with a text like *Macbeth*, which is steeped in spiritual representation and discourse, is to twist their own local spiritual practices and ideologies to align them with Early Modern concepts rather than letting their own culture

²⁰⁸ Ani Kojoyan, "Inter-Textual Relations between Reginald Scot's "The Discoverie of Witchcraft" and Shakespeare's "Macbeth", *Armenian Folia Anglistika*, 9.1-2 (11) (2013), pp. 166-172 (p. 167).

²⁰⁹ Pia Brînzeu, "Intertextual Complementarity: Quantum Physics and the Romanian Translations of *Macbeth*", in *(In)hospitable Translations: Fidelities, Betrayals, Rewritings*, edited by Mădălina Nicolaescu and Sorana Corneanu (București: Universității din București, 2010), pp. 49-60 (p. 51).

inform the narrative. Even over time, let alone across geographic distance, the perceptions of witchcraft and their implications have changed within the Euro-American zeitgeist; so too must we make similar considerations when other cultures adapt *Macbeth*. Karim-Cooper provides an example of this consideration by arguing that, ‘it [has not] been fully acknowledged how medieval and Renaissance witchcraft lore has contributed to Anglo-European/American racism’.²¹⁰ As this chapter has demonstrated, *Macbeth*’s spiritual capital can be employed to create and support diverse socio-political narratives. It is also important to consider that contemporary audiences have been influenced by the socio-political changes that have occurred in the four centuries between the Early Modern period and the present day, thereby influencing their repository of knowledge and *embodied* state of spiritual capital. As this thesis moves to examine the different case studies from around the world, each subsequent chapter will explore how the spiritual capital in each adaptation of *Macbeth* can be used to discuss the various socio-political environments.

²¹⁰ Karim-Cooper, *The Great White Bard*, p. 216.

2. Zululand: Smelling Out the Witches in *uMabatha*

2.1 *uMabatha*, *Sangomas*, and Spiritual Capital

Over time, Shakespeare's canon has travelled out of Early Modern England into the wider world. In this process, his stories and narratives have been adapted and transformed as part of their assimilation into other cultures worldwide. In the cases studied in this thesis, part of this transformation involves the hybridisation of the Early Modern text of *Macbeth* with local histories, narratives, and spiritualities. However, another point to consider regarding the text's transformation is the adaptor's fidelity to the source. While Shakespeare's canon has been directly translated into other languages worldwide, localised adaptations infuse their own histories and narratives into their productions. It is during the process of localising adaptations that a tension often arises between textual accuracy and cultural understanding. Welcome Msomi's *uMabatha*, first performed in 1971 at the University of Natal, is a clear example that highlights the tension between the fidelity to the text and the attempt to incorporate cultural narratives.²¹¹ On the surface, Patrick Marmion's review of *uMabatha* seems accurate, as it 'faithfully follows Shakespeare's story'.²¹² In the context of a translation, fidelity to the source material helps non-native-speaking audience members follow the adaptation's narrative. Phillip Revzin echoes a similar opinion that for 'those who don't speak much Zulu, it helps to keep Shakespeare's outline in mind; Mr. Msomi follows the story closely enough that the words really don't matter'.²¹³ These perceptions of viewing *uMabatha* are perhaps a fair expectation given the play's attempt to follow *Macbeth*'s text

²¹¹ Since 1971, *uMabatha* has been reproduced numerous times. However, due to limited archival footage, this thesis will examine materials and reviews of the adaptation spanning the decades rather than limiting itself to a specific production.

²¹² Patrick Marmion, "Review of *Umabatha*", directed by Welcome Msomi. *Evening Standard*, 19 April 2001, *Theatre Record*, 21.8, (2001), p. 475.

²¹³ Phillip Revzin, "Theatre: A Zuluized Macbeth", in *Wall Street Journal*, Eastern Edn, 14 June 1995, npg.

closely. Both reviews highlight how Msomi's fidelity to the source play enables non-native speakers to gloss over the adaptation's narrative and instead focus on its refurbished aesthetics. However, this chapter will argue that Msomi's conflation of various spiritual practitioners as a localised translation of *Macbeth*'s Weird Sisters diminishes their spiritual capital, despite his attempt to build a cultural/national identity through his adaptation.

Marmion and Revzin's opinions regarding Msomi's adapted text closely resemble that of *Macbeth* remain accurate, in that the events in the adaptation remain fundamentally unmodified, with merely only the characters' names changed. In the adaptation, Mabatha (Macbeth) and Bhangane (Banquo) are greeted by three *sangomas* (Weird Sisters), who tell them a prophecy.²¹⁴ Hearing the prophecy later, Kamadonsela (Lady Macbeth) urges Mabatha to murder Dangane (Duncan), which prompts Makiwane (Malcolm) and Donebane (Donaldbane) to flee to neighbouring tribes. Mabatha becomes chief and assassinates Bhangane, Kamakhawulana (Lady Macduff), and Indodana (Macduff's son). Mafudu (Macduff) then gathers an army to resist and overthrow Mabatha, which culminates in the tyrant's death. While the translated names of the characters linguistically seem culturally appropriate, the recontextualisation of the Weird Sisters as *sangomas* (South African spiritual healers) signals a disjunction between the source text and local culture in the adaptation. This chapter will address the topic in a later section, but, in brief, the adaptation employs a culturally and historically recognised community of spiritual healers within Zulu society and vilifies them to remain faithful to Msomi's interpretation of source text.

Due to their role as spiritual healers in South African communities, the *sangomas*' spiritual capital is found in its *institutionalised* state. By choosing to represent them in his

²¹⁴ *Sangoma* is the popularized English spelling of the word *isangoma*, which refers to a specific community of spiritual healers in South African culture. Both spellings are used interchangeably in this chapter.

adaptation, Msomi uses the *sangomas*' spiritual capital to reinforce his work's cultural capital and build a sense of national identity. In an interview with Scott L. Newstok, Msomi states that:

With *Umabatha*, [...] we were able to bring in a sense of community and national involvement with the music and the dances and the celebrations, and that is also what appealed to [London audiences] What I emphasised was the history, nothing about the primitiveness, but more on the rich cultural traditions and customs of the Zulu people.²¹⁵

Msomi had initially created *uMabatha* in 1970 as an adaptation for a local audience that comprised mainly of people from the University of Natal, as documented by Mervyn McMurtry,²¹⁶ yet by the time of the interview with Newstok – after forty years of global tours and revival productions – Msomi's vision of the adaptation's audience had shifted to a global one. Msomi's inclusion of *uMabatha*'s appeal to non-local audiences in his statement points towards the global interest in the adaptation. When the adaptation first toured the United Kingdom, the *Birmingham Post* reported that the 'Natal Theatre Workshop Company which is bringing [*uMabatha*] has been inundated with requests for a world tour, especially from America'.²¹⁷ Furthermore, as Mervyn McMurtry notes, by November 1972, *uMabatha* 'had been invited to tour America, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Japan and Australia, and film, recording, and publishing companies from five continents applied for rights to the play'.²¹⁸ These two examples suggest that Msomi's adaptation had attracted

²¹⁵ Scott L. Newstok, "'Why *Macbeth*?' Looking Back on *uMabatha* After Forty Years: An Interview with Welcome Msomi", *Shakespeare in Southern Africa*, 21 (2009), pp. 73-80 (p. 76-77).

²¹⁶ Mervyn McMurtry, "'Doing Their Own Thane': The Critical Reception of *uMabatha*, Welcome Msomi's Zulu *Macbeth*", *Ilha Do Desterro*, 36 (1999), pp. 309-336 (p. 310).

²¹⁷ *Birmingham Post*, 18th March 1972, npg.

²¹⁸ McMurtry, *Doing Their Own Thane*, p. 310.

significant global interest and popularity over the two years since its first production. It is Msomi's idea of 'appeal' that requires further consideration and examination in the study of his adaptation. If we were to consider that the production 'appealed' to a non-local demographic like the London audiences, the question this chapter puts forward is: does the representation of the *sangomas*' spiritual capital emphasise the 'rich cultural traditions and customs of the Zulu people' as Msomi has claimed, and does its significance change in the context of a global audience? To address this, this chapter will look at resources from *uMabatha*'s various productions rather than focusing on a specific performance.

The shift in audience demographics brings with it a more complex discourse regarding the *sangomas*, due to the diversity in the audiences' *embodied* state of spiritual capital and understanding of South African spiritual practices. The connotations of the directorial decision to portray the *sangomas* in the adaptation have drawn it into much scholarly scrutiny. Rohan Quince, for example, explains that unlike 'the European tradition, in which witches are generally wicked [...] in Zulu society *sangomas* played a vital and integrated part, to be regularly consulted for advice and guidance'.²¹⁹ Within Zulu culture, the *sangomas* are practitioners who bridge a supernatural connection between the living and the spirits of the ancestors, known as *amadlozi*. While this spiritual practice appears conceptually similar to the necromantic magic practiced in Medieval and Early Modern England, the *sangomas* do not face the same level of stigmatisation. According to a study of traditional health practitioners in South Africa, in which *sangomas* are also categorised, Thembelihle Zuma et al. note that it 'was reported that the type of healer one became was not self-determined but instead was determined by spiritual entities or *Amadlozi* (ancestors) and required demanding and difficult training which participants had no choice but to comply

²¹⁹ Rohan Quince, *Shakespeare in South Africa: Stage Productions during the Apartheid Era* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2000), p. 51.

with'.²²⁰ Unlike witchcraft practice in the Early Modern period, which relied mainly on the verbalised chants, writing worded talismans, or making contracts with the supernatural, those who become *sangomas* are instead haunted by the supernatural without any prior choice or agreement. Bengt G. M. Sundkler describes that the 'urge to be possessed by the spirit and to become a diviner is felt as an irresistible force'.²²¹ Without understanding the difference between the *amadlozi* speaking through the *sangoma*, and necromantic magic practiced in sixteenth – and seventeenth – century England, the spiritual aspects of the adaptation become confusing. For example, the *sangomas*' line 'Do not forget, the voices that speak through us are the spirits of the dead' can be interpreted as a form of necromantic practice from a Christian perspective. In contrast, in a Zulu context, these are understood to be the voices of the ancestors attempting to communicate with the living.²²² However, as this chapter will demonstrate later, the *sangomas* of *uMabatha* do not conform to these explanations of their role.

The employment of the *sangomas*, then, seems to indicate an aesthetic reason for the choice rather than a cultural introduction; that the *sangomas* present themselves as typical picture of the culture's witch. Sarah Mayo makes a similar argument to Qunice in her study of the adaptation, highlighting that:

Although many critics and reviewers of the play accepted the presentation of *sangomas* as Zulu cultural equivalents to witchcraft without further question, this move amounts to a crucial dual translation—of Shakespeare on one hand, and of the

²²⁰ Thembelihle Zuma, Daniel Wight, Tamsen Rochat, and Mosa Moshabela, "The role of traditional health practitioners in Rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa: generic or mode specific?", *BMC Complementary and Alternative Medicine*, 16:304, (2016), p. 6.

²²¹ Bengt G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 22.

²²² Welcome Msomi, "uMabatha", in *Adaptations of Shakespeare*, edited by Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (London: Routledge, 2000), pp.168-187 (p. 181).

cultural and historical realities of ubungoma [divination] practice on the other—into a theatrical space in which their complex respective histories in colonial and postcolonial South Africa are erased.²²³

Mayo attributes the conflicting viewpoints within *uMabatha* to its fidelity to the Shakespearean canon and the Zulu approach to magic and the supernatural. While Mayo's article delves further into the distinctions between the societal position of the *sangomas* and the production history of adaptation, it provides a good preliminary survey of the issues involved in associating spiritual healers like the *sangomas* with the image of the Weird Sisters as presented in *Macbeth*. Both Quince and Mayo have approached their critique of *uMabatha*'s *sangomas* by examining them from the perspective of the *institutionalised* state: that they are perceived as spiritual healers by their community and that they perform divination rituals, respectively. In contrast, both Marmion and Revzin's reviews stem from their *embodied* state of knowing the play and from drawing similarities between the events of *Macbeth* and the adaptation, presumably including the various witchcraft rituals. The dialogue between these scholars, that *uMabatha* is a faithful translation of *Macbeth* but lacks cultural fidelity to Zulu perceptions of the *sangomas*, highlights the need for a clearer vocabulary and framework to study and appreciate the adaptation, which this thesis aims to provide.

2.2 Diminishing Spiritual Capital

²²³ Sarah Mayo, "'What witchcraft is this!': The Postcolonial Translation of Shakespeare and Sangomas in Welcome Msomi's *uMabatha*", *Postcolonial Interventions*, 1.2 (2016), pp. 189-226 (p. 191-192).

I would now like to readdress Msomi's interview statement about *uMabatha's* emphasis on 'history [...and] rich cultural traditions and customs of the Zulu people'. One of the ways in which the adaptation attempts to link its narrative with Zulu history is by including references to *Shaka Zulu*, a biography of a Zulu King written by E.A. Ritter in 1955, in its paratext. Lawrence Wright highlights that the 'notes [from the 1972 World Theatre Season production], compiled by director Pieter Scholz, acknowledge the use of extracts from E.A. Ritter's *Shaka Zulu*'.²²⁴ Yet, while there is little direct evidence or quotation linking the two, the narrative attempts to draw a similarity between the plots of *Macbeth* and Ritter's *Shaka Zulu*. In the biography, Shaka, an outcast warrior, is foretold to become king and eventually does. In the end, he was betrayed by his brothers who assassinated him in a fashion more akin to *Julius Caesar* than *Macbeth*. Yet, despite Ritter's dramatic account of Shaka Zulu's life alongside various depictions of spiritual practitioners familiar to local readers, Msomi chooses to forgo fidelity to *Shaka Zulu* in favour of *Macbeth*, thereby making the biographic narrative in the adaptation inconsistent. *Shaka Zulu* draws a very clear distinction between the various practitioners of witchcraft and their interactions with Shaka, such as *sangomas* and *abatagati* (wizards). Msomi's adaptation, instead, subsumes both into the portrayal of three *sangomas* as a cultural translation of the Weird Sisters. The confusion that arises from this conflation and translation of spiritual practitioners is that each group – *sangoma*, *abatagati*, and The Weird Sisters – holds different levels of spiritual capital: each group uses different rituals and is approached by its local communities for different specific reasons. Msomi's decision to conflate all of them suggests

²²⁴ Lawrence Wright, "Umabatha: Zulu play or Shakespeare translation?", in *The Shakespearean International Yearbook: Special section, South African Shakespeare in the twentieth century*, edited by Graham Bradshaw, T. G. Bishop, Laurence Wright (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), pp. 105-131 (p.106).

a false equivalence between the groups rather than a careful negotiation and contextualisation of these practitioners.

The adaptation opens with an immediate display of vilification of the *sangomas*, when the audience first encounters them discussing their future meeting with Mabatha, thereby beginning their diminishment of their spiritual capital. As the three entities discuss their planned encounter, the first Sangoma chimes in, saying she ‘will spit venom there’.²²⁵ The use of the word ‘venom’ hints at her intent to poison Mabatha through their interaction, thereby corrupting him. In comparison to *Macbeth*’s Act 1 Scene 1, in which the Weird Sisters merely state their intent to meet with Macbeth, the *sangomas*’ connoted predation on Mabatha’s character moulds the audience’s perspective, viewing them as the spiritual antagonists of the narrative. Ritter’s *Shaka Zulu* possesses some similar vocabulary. However, the word “venom” is used only once regarding the diviners. During a test conducted by Shaka to identify false diviners, the pretenders point to Shaka’s friend, Mgobozi, as the culprit who splashed blood on the walls of Shaka’s home, unaware that it was Shaka himself who had done the deed the night before. According to Ritter, ‘the manifest distress of all the people [at the accusation] showed the immense popularity of Mgobozi, and provided a striking contrast to the venomously gloating divining fraternity [...]’.²²⁶ Ritter’s use of ‘venomously’ in this context suggests the diviners’ intent to poison the relationship between Shaka and Mgobozi through their lies. Similarly, Ritter uses the word ‘venom’ to describe the suggestions that Shaka’s aunt, Mkabayi, gives to his brothers, all ‘this time Dingane and Mhlangana were given no peace by Mkabayi, who, with all the venom at her command, ceased not to urge them to pluck up courage and kill their half-brother’.²²⁷ As in the previous example, the word ‘venom’ is used in the context of betrayal, poisoning the

²²⁵ Msomi, *uMabatha*, p.168.

²²⁶ E.A. Ritter, *Shaka Zulu* (London: Longmans, Green and Co Ltd, 1955), p. 249.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

relationship between family members. For Msomi's *sangomas* to say that they 'spit' venom, then, would suggest that they are enacting a plan to metaphorically poison Mabatha and/or his relationships. Furthermore, their mention of spitting venom and casting spells does not occur only in the opening scene of *uMabatha* but recurs throughout the adaptation. In doing so, the characters conjure and associate themselves with snake-like imagery. Bhangane makes a clear reference to the *sangomas*' association with snakes in Act 1 Scene 3, where he calls them 'serpents'.²²⁸ This association is enforced through their interactions with other characters. For example, in the second meeting between the *sangomas* and Mabatha, in which the trio summons spirits to give their prophecy, Mabatha tells them to 'Let [him] hear them speak for your tongues are forked'.²²⁹ Once again, the image of the snake resurfaces, clearly implying that the *sangomas* tend to lie compared to the spirits, thereby attacking their reputation. As Mayo highlights, while 'sangomas can have special associations with snakes, particularly in visions through which the ancestors communicate with them, snakes, particularly the mamba, can also be the familiars of the more malevolent abathakathi [also spelt *abatagati*], and Mabatha's negative use of the snake image points more nearly to the latter'.²³⁰ Mayo's argument highlights one of the major issues of Msomi's conflation of the various Zulu practitioners into his *sangomas* for ease of cultural translation. However, to expand on Mayo's assertion, the adaptation's use of snake imagery becomes an additional point of misrepresentation for an unknowing global Anglo-Christian audience, as their interpretation would include the biblical reference to the Edenic serpent, which is usually associated with evil. Thus, in either a local or a global interpretation, the *sangomas* are portrayed in a vilified role rather than their more familiar local societal position as spiritual healers.

²²⁸ Msomi, *uMabatha*, p. 170.

²²⁹ Ibid., p. 181.

²³⁰ Mayo, *What witchcraft is this*, p. 213.

While Msomi attempts to incorporate and translate historical figures from South Africa into the Macbethian narrative by using the story of *Shaka Zulu* as the cultural inspiration for his adaptation, the deviation from the reality of their societal roles becomes detrimental to introducing Zulu culture to an uninformed audience. For example, in the *Birmingham Post*'s review of the 1972 production, the paper argues that the 'analogies between Macbeth and a period of Zulu history when the people were dominated by a great Zulu chief called Shaka, are very loose because he, too, lived in an atmosphere of witchcraft, regicide and clan warfare'.²³¹ The review implies that despite the contextual and sociohistorical differences between the two narratives, a parallel comparison between *Macbeth* and *Shaka Zulu* is adequate for understanding Zulu history. However, E.A. Ritter's depiction of the *sangomas* follows a pattern similar to Quince's explanation of their role rather than to Msomi's. In the account, it is believed that Shaka's community was struck with a series of bewitchments and hexes, and thus they sent for the *sangomas*, also called 'witchfinder[s]'²³² in the story, to investigate the matter. The epithet given to them suggests an oppositional stance by the *sangomas* towards other magic practitioners; they are employed to detect and remedy any witchcraft directed against an individual. These deviations from both societal perception and the inspirational source, hence, prompt scrutiny of Msomi's decision to align the Weird Sisters with the *sangomas* in his adaptation, who are also described as 'witchdoctors' in the *dramatis personae*.²³³ Msomi's choice of the term 'witchdoctors' for the *sangomas*, even before the adaptation begins, already foreshadows the contradictory depictions in its contextual translation. Sundkler notes that the term 'witchdoctor' is generally misleading in relation to the *sangomas*. He states that, especially in a religious context, 'we must divest ourselves of the all-too-common connotation of the word "witch-doctor" and

²³¹ *Birmingham Post*, npg.

²³² Ritter, *Shaka Zulu*, p. 90.

²³³ Msomi, *uMabatha*, p. 168.

realize that according to pagan African standards and ideas the “witch-doctor”, or to use a better term the diviner, is more than anyone else engaged in stamping out witchcraft’.²³⁴ Sundkler highlights that the role of the *sangomas* is to protect the community from acts of witchcraft rather than to use witchcraft on them. Msomi appears to draw superficial equivalences between them and the Weird Sisters from the beginning, based on their associations through their connections and interactions with supernatural forces rather than on the roles they play in their communities. This association by Msomi also conflicts with how *Macbeth* characterises the neutrality of the Weird Sisters, as discussed in the previous chapter. This suggests that Msomi had formed his own opinion that the magic of the Weird Sisters played an antagonistic role, and that he mapped the *sangomas* onto that perception. While *Macbeth* allows the Weird Sisters to be interpreted through personal spiritual capital, Msomi chooses to diminish the role of his own local spiritual healers to fit his own interpretation, which will be explored more in depth later in this chapter. Mayo paraphrases Pumza Fihlani and Liz Sly in her research, highlighting that the ‘term ‘witch doctor,’ however, is also disliked by working *sangomas* due to its contemporary association with harmful forms of sorcery or black magic and *umuthi*’.²³⁵ Yet, the adaptation, both in its initial and revival productions, reinforces this association between the two concepts despite the vastly different roles they play in Zulu culture and society.

While Shaka’s interaction with the *sangomas* is mentioned in Ritter’s work, as stated above, they do not provide him with a prophecy that he is to be chief of his clan. Instead, according to Ritter, it is in a separate event with an individual called The Nameless One that Shaka is made aware of this potential scenario, ‘The Nameless One turned towards Shaka, scrutinised him deliberately and long, and failing to make any visible impression on him said,

²³⁴ Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 253.

²³⁵ Mayo, *What witchcraft is this*, p. 211.

‘You are a man. Already I see a chief of chiefs’.²³⁶ The prophecy of The Nameless One seems to mirror that in *Holinshed’s Chronicles* and *Macbeth*.²³⁷ However, where Macbeth and Banquo are apprehensive of the Weird Sisters upon first encountering them, Ritter provides the appearance of The Nameless One with a terrifying precursor. Before The Nameless one pronounces his prophecy over Shaka, Ritter writes, that there ‘came a blood-freezing, cackling laughter, a demented demon enjoying the sight of the tortures of Hell’.²³⁸ While Ritter describes The Nameless One’s appearance in Christian terms, he also conveys the community’s fear as The Nameless One approaches. There is a clear indication in *Shaka Zulu* of an alternative, terrifying figure to serve as the prophetic catalyst required for the Macbethian narrative, had Msomi wished to adhere to a more faithful translation. Instead, Msomi disregards this alternative character in the narrative in favour of using the *sangomas*. He conflates the two events of *Shaka Zulu* and attributes the prophecy only to them. In Act 4 Scene 1 of *uMabatha*, Sangoma I announces Mabatha’s entrance with ‘I smell out a stranger approaching our circle’.²³⁹ This announcement by Sangoma I mimics Macbeth’s entrance in his second interaction with the Weird Sisters in *Macbeth*’s own Act 4 Scene 1 in which the Second Witch proclaims, ‘by the pricking of my thumbs, | Something wicked this way comes’.²⁴⁰ The line is crucial for highlighting the change in Macbeth’s character, marking the evilness of his actions and his becoming ‘something wicked’. Ewan Fernie further points out that the ‘influence the witches have over [Macbeth’s] soul is much debated, but the important

²³⁶ Ritter, *Shaka Zulu*, p. 29.

²³⁷ Raphael Holinshed, *The Firste [Laste] Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*, vol. 5 (London, 1577), *EEBO*, p. 243; William Shakespeare, “The Tragedy of Macbeth”, edited by John Jowett, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 2501-2566 (1.3.45).

²³⁸ Ritter, *Shaka Zulu*, p. 29.

²³⁹ Msomi, *uMabatha*, p. 181.

²⁴⁰ *Macbeth*, IV.1.44-45.

thing is that it's *debatable*'.²⁴¹ Whether the Weird Sisters did provoke Macbeth into his spiral through their prophecies, or his ambition got the better of him, remains ambiguous. As this thesis discussed in the previous chapter, *Macbeth* does not characterise the Weird Sisters as good or bad in the way that it does for the other magical-practicing characters. Instead, it is the audience who makes this judgement based on their own individual experiences and perceptions.

In *uMabatha*, the actions of supernatural practice are not portrayed as ambiguous as Fernie proposes; instead, the adaptation makes it clear that the *sangomas* are attempting to manipulate the "hero" of the story into committing acts of atrocity and tyranny. A stronger parallel could be drawn with Shaka's interaction with The Nameless One. Sangoma I's announcement closely echoes the statement made to him by The Nameless One before giving his prophecy: 'I smell a hidden person. Who is the stranger in your midst'.²⁴² It seems that Msomi replaces Ritter's Nameless One with his *sangomas*. In doing so, audiences who are aware of Ritter's *Shaka Zulu* account will associate the terrifying qualities of The Nameless One with the *sangomas*. At the same time, those who are unaware will continue to associate the *sangomas* with qualities that differ from Zulu historical context. As Quince stipulates, whether 'we see Mabatha as motivated by his own ambition or influenced by the spirits of his ancestors, however, the manipulators remain the three witches'.²⁴³ This vilification of the *sangomas* by the adaptation's narrative calls into question Msomi's claim to bring together South African communities and to involve the nation in his production, as the cultural/national identity being built comes at the expense of local spiritual healers.

²⁴¹ Ewan Fernie, *Demonic Literature and Experience* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 52.

²⁴² Ritter, *Shaka Zulu*, p. 29.

²⁴³ Quince, *Shakespeare in South Africa*, p. 51.

As this thesis highlighted in the previous chapter, some adaptations link the appearance of Banquo's ghost to the Weird Sisters in their respective versions as a display of their spiritual prowess. In *uMabatha*, this event is perceived by Mabatha as an attempt by the *sangomas* to bewitch his mind through their magic. During the dinner scene of Act 3 Scene 3, in which Mabatha sees the spectral vision of Bhangane, Mabatha exclaims 'You do not know what witchcraft is practiced here [...] Look there! This is witchcraft when those we know are dead [appear] once more'.²⁴⁴ The implication arising from these lines by Mabatha is that the vision of Bhangane's ghost is a conjuration by witchcraft, thereby accusing the only obvious spiritual practitioners of the adaptation – the *sangomas* – of being the culprits. In comparison, Macbeth's own cries during his banquet scene barely mention witchcraft during the haunting:

What care I? If thou canst nod, speak too.

If charnel houses and our graves must send

Those that we bury back, our monuments

Shall be the maws of kites.²⁴⁵

In his response to the ghost, Mabatha clearly attempts to place the blame for the circumstances externally, referring to witchcraft, whereas Macbeth does not. Instead of immediately labelling the event as witchcraft or bewitchment, Macbeth claims that men who have been violently murdered are being raised from the dead. As Macbeth processes the ghostly vision of Banquo, he says:

Ay, and since, too, murders have been performed

Too terrible for the ear. The time has been

That when the brains were out the man would die,

²⁴⁴ Msomi, *uMabatha*, p.180.

²⁴⁵ *Macbeth*, III.4.68-71.

And there an end; but now they rise again
With twenty mortal murders on their crowns,
And push us from our stools. [...] ²⁴⁶

The speech, said in the presence of an unknowing crowd of nobles, ironically points towards the murder of Banquo, whose unburied corpse, according to the murderer, lies ‘safe in a ditch’. ²⁴⁷ Similarly, the murderer in *uMabatha* tells Mabatha that ‘vultures will enjoy [Bhangane’s] body’, ²⁴⁸ implying his unburied status as well. However, where Macbeth is confused over the ghostly visitation, Mabatha’s accusations of witchcraft disassociate the adaptation from its Zulu beliefs. As Idowu explains, it ‘is believed by Africans that a person whose dead body is not buried, that is, with due and correct rites, will not be admitted to the abode of the blessed departed ones, and therefore will become a wanderer, living an aimless, haunting experience’. ²⁴⁹ In a cultural context, Bhangane’s appearance during the dinner scene would have been an unsurprising consequence of his murder due to his unburied status. Yet Mabatha attributes it to witchcraft and thus implies that there is an attempt at bewitchment. By implying bewitchment, Mabatha places an additional negative interpretation on the *sangomas* that is not present within the source text.

The scene itself bears some resemblance to an incident documented in Ritter’s biography of Shaka Zulu’s life, in which it was believed that a group of malicious spellcasters was bewitching the king. However, in this instance, it is Shaka who calls on the *sangomas* to help him and his community to investigate the situation. The chapter concludes with the *sangomas* announcing the culprits of the conspiracy against Shaka, that ‘These are the *abatagati* (wizards) who would bewitch our chief and his people, but we have smelt them

²⁴⁶ Ibid., III.4.75-80.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., III.4.25.

²⁴⁸ Msomi, *uMabatha*, p. 180.

²⁴⁹ E. Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religion: A Definition* (London: SCM Press, 1973), p. 174.

out, as we will smell out a great many more in this inner circle which stinks of witchcraft'.²⁵⁰ According to Ritter's biography, the *sangomas*, in alignment with community beliefs, are spiritual helpers who aid their society in dealing with supernatural afflictions. Yet, Mabatha's claim of bewitchment suggests a conflation between the *abatagati* and *sangomas* during the play's banquet scene, in addition to their already combined characterisation with The Nameless One. If we accept the premise that the adaptation puts forward in its 1972 programme, quoted by McMurtry, that it 'is not a Zulu version of Macbeth; it is a dramatisation of [...] South African history which uses the plotline and conventions of Shakespeare's play to give greater resonance to its fable',²⁵¹ as well as Msomi's own claims from his interview, then the deviation from 'South African history' as described within Ritter's work becomes stark. Where *Shaka Zulu* depicts spiritual healers favourably, *uMabatha* portrays them in a more vilified light.

This chapter does not dismiss the possibility that Msomi's personal spiritual beliefs may differ from those of indigenous practices. Indeed, the introduction of global religions, such as Christianity, into South Africa through missionary work, and the continent's history of European colonisation could influence his portrayal of *sangomas*. However, this consideration once again resurfaces the conflict between the *embodied* and *institutional* states of spiritual capital, discussed earlier this chapter. The *sangomas'* *institutionalised* state of spiritual capital means their roles and contributions are widely familiar to their communities. However, in a localised Macbethian adaptation like *uMabatha*, the difference between the *sangomas'* role in their community and their narrative actions becomes stark and confusing; the local familiarity of the *sangomas* is made unfamiliar through their misrepresented

²⁵⁰ Ritter, *Shaka Zulu*, p. 95.

²⁵¹ Michael Kustow, 'Sightlines', in *World Theatre Season '72 programme*, cited by Mervyn McMurtry, "'Doing Their Own Thane": The Critical Reception of *uMabatha*, Welcome Msomi's *Zulu Macbeth*", *Ilha Do Desterro*, 36 (1999), pp. 309-336 (p. 312-313).

equivalence to European witchcraft practitioners. This confusion is compounded when the impact of his global audience's trust in a faithful cultural representation is considered. In his interview with Newstok, Msomi reinforces that he 'never deviated from the traditions and the customs of the Zulu people'.²⁵² His emphasis invokes a trust in *uMabatha*'s audience that the adaptation is truthful in its cultural and spiritual representations. It is Msomi's claim and the adaptation's conflation of the *sangomas* and the Weird Sisters that creates the possibility that audiences will believe that the spiritual practice being portrayed is true to local culture. John Russell Brown, in his observation of the adaptation, opines that *uMabatha*

is still remembered for showing how the witches could enjoy their rituals [...]. These "weird sisters" were confident and yet uncanny and awesome, familiar and yet possessed by a power other than their own in everyday and individual existence. In English-speaking productions the witches are seldom credible, but here divergent elements required by the text were drawn together with an unforced conviction.²⁵³

Brown highlights the seeming credibility of Msomi's spiritual practitioners due to their perceived familiarity with the rituals they perform. His review of the production implies a belief that what he is consuming reflects an 'everyday and individual existence' in South Africa. In this sense, Brown demonstrates the trust espoused by Sabeti in the introductory chapter of this thesis, in which the audience/reader of an adaptation views it with the belief that the information presented is 'delivered with some sincerity' and authenticity.²⁵⁴

However, Mayo also explains that:

²⁵² Newstok, *Why Macbeth*, p. 76.

²⁵³ John Russell Brown, "Foreign Shakespeare and English-speaking audiences", in *Foreign Shakespeare: Contemporary Performance*, edited by Dennis Kennedy, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 21-35 (p. 31).

²⁵⁴ Shari Sabeti, "Shakespeare, adaptation and 'matters of trust'", *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 47.3 (2017), pp. 337-354 (p. 342).

As Zulu cultural markers [the *sangomas*] were delivered to audiences without cultural context, leading a Western audience especially with working knowledge of *Macbeth*, but not of Zulu culture, to make false equivalences between the two; the *sangomas* could thus read to global audiences at the most superficial level as the embodiment of homogenized superstition, and their manifold social roles—as arbitrators of justice, as subjects of a colonial justice system, as healers— remained mostly invisible.²⁵⁵

Once again, this chapter echoes Mayo's sentiments in that Msomi's cultural translation of the Weird Sisters into the *sangomas* presents a confusing interpretation for the adaptation's audiences. Yet, the argument here is that it is for this reason that Interspiritual dialogue is necessary; that the cultural study of these spiritual practices and practitioners allows adaptors to better understand their cultural translations. These dialogues would help them avoid such confusion when localising source texts, especially those involving spiritual ideologies and practices. Despite being a localised play that seemingly seeks to promote an understanding of South Africa, for *uMabatha* to categorise the *sangomas* as evil witchcraft practitioners draws a 'false equivalence' between the indigenous practice and Early Modern witchcraft. As argued by Mayo, the 'Zulu production's text, despite its incorporation of actual divination images, encourages rather than discourages this conflation with witchcraft through its close adherence to the plot and character interactions of *Macbeth*'.²⁵⁶ Hence, despite the localisation of the Macbethian narrative, Msomi's target audience is not the local South African communities, but rather those familiar with Christian ideology and the Shakespearean canon.

Msomi's intent to cultivate a Euro-American interest in Zulu cultural traditions manifests itself through the production's aesthetics. According to Wright, 'London audiences

²⁵⁵ Mayo, *What witchcraft is this*, p. 214.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

went berserk, overwhelmed by the energy, spectacle, and – dare I say it – the exoticism of [*uMabatha*].²⁵⁷ Wright’s statement describes the London audience’s reaction to the production’s aesthetics, offering insight into how the its visuals were received outside South Africa. R. Kavu Ngala, in his viewing of the production, also opines that costume ‘and Zulu structures of ritual both emphasized and reconstructed the performance framework of the spiritual world implied by *uMabatha* [...]’.²⁵⁸ Ngala’s identification of Zulu costume and rituals in his commentary is important, as it suggests some accuracy in the adaptation’s aesthetics. This accuracy is corroborated by the limited footage of the performance shown in a brief publicity interview video from the production’s creatives. Within the footage, the *sangomas* are shown with beaded hair, dancing around a cauldron.²⁵⁹ The use of the beaded hair clearly matches other descriptions that document *sangoma* attire, such as the entry found in *Britannica*: *Sangoma* ‘women are identified by the long [woollen] wig with beads that symbolizes humility before God’.²⁶⁰ Msomi’s choice to maintain traditional Zulu aesthetics seems to reflect an effort to remain faithful to the local culture. The accuracy of the Zulu aesthetics displayed on the stage fosters a trust between the audience and the adaptor that the adaptation reflects local culture. Apart from creating trust through Zulu aesthetics, the costumes also provide a way for the adaptation to draw its audience’s attention. According to the production’s choreographer/co-director, Thuli Dumakude, ‘we said we should think of television more than radio, so make it more visual for an audience to read what you’re doing

²⁵⁷ Lawrence Wright, “Shakespeare in South Africa: ‘Alpha’ and ‘Omega’”, in *Shakespeare’s Local Habitations*, edited by Krystyna Kujawińska Courtney and R. S. White (Łódź: Łódź University Press, 2007), pp. 57-80 (p. 67).

²⁵⁸ R. Kavu Ngala, “Staging the Zulu *Macbeth*: Text, Theatre, and Cultural Meaning”, in *The Shakespearean International Yearbook 13: Special Section, Macbeth*, edited by Tom Bishop, Alexander C. Y. Huang, and Stuart Sillars (Farham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), pp. 9-34 (p. 13).

²⁵⁹ AP Archive, “Zulu Macbeth”, *YouTube*, 21 July 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0pECqlUykog>, 1:09.

²⁶⁰ Denise Martin, “Sangoma: Zulu Healer”, *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/science/sangoma>, npg.

without having to really listen to the words themselves'.²⁶¹ Dumakude's comment highlights the importance of costumes as a means of visual storytelling and information dissemination to a global audience that does not understand the language in which the adaptation is performed. Hutcheon and O'Flynn also acknowledge this importance, writing that to 'appeal to a global market or even a very particular one, a television series or a stage musical may have to alter the cultural, regional, or historical specifics of the text being adapted'.²⁶² Hutcheon and O'Flynn's argument is relevant to Msomi's adaptation because it focuses on the visual aesthetics of the production. Yet it is Msomi's vilification of the *sangomas* that highlights the disjunction between the Zulu spiritual culture and *uMabatha*, despite the visual accuracy displayed on stage. If he intended to 'emphasise' Zulu tradition and culture, such an attempt is overturned by translating and editing the source text to place the *sangomas* of his adaptation in an antagonistic role. Msomi takes a familiar visual identification of local spiritual healers, such as the *sangomas*, and defamiliarises them by vilifying them by portraying them as poisoning their environment and communities, frequently saying that they 'spit venom'.²⁶³ In doing so, he subverts the trust created between the audience and cultural authenticity by misrepresenting local practices. Msomi's choice to place the narrative blame for Mabatha's crimes on recognised spiritual healers of the South African community, the *sangomas*, speaks not to the promotion of celebrating Zulu culture, but to its misrepresentation in favour of fidelity to the Shakespearean narrative.

Part of the *sangomas*' role in their communities is to help individuals suffering from ailments beyond the scope of other healers. Sundkler even points towards a supportive relationship between the *sangomas* and other healers, stating that there 'is co-operation

²⁶¹ AP Archive, *Zulu Macbeth*, 1:26-1:38.

²⁶² Linda Hutcheon and Siobhan O'Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 2nd Edition (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 30.

²⁶³ Msomi, *uMabatha*, p.168.

between diviner [*isangoma*] and herbalist [*inyanga*]: when the former has concluded her diagnosis, she sends her patient to some herbalist to get treatment by a specialist'.²⁶⁴

However, within *uMabatha*, while an *inyanga* is also present during Kamadonsela's sleepwalking scene, standing in as Msomi's translation of the Doctor character, this relationship between *isangoma* and *inyanga* is impossible to demonstrate due to the adaptation's vilification of the *sangomas*. The *inyanga*'s inability to produce a cure for Kamadonsela's ailment in the scene, thus, is not due to an emotional guilt that he cannot absolve as in *Macbeth*, but because the persons that he would usually consult in such cases is no longer in their familiar societal role and instead are the narrative's antagonists. This is made clear in the script as he says, 'I have not the skill to cure her sickness',²⁶⁵ which is true, but also suppresses any mention of anyone else who has the ability. This is, of course, in comparison to the Doctor's line in *Macbeth*, which says, more 'needs she the divine, then the physician',²⁶⁶ indicating the need for a spiritual healer or healing in place of himself. In *Macbeth*'s context, the Doctor's comment indicates a division between healing foci – the spiritual and the physical – and the need for different remedies according to the affliction. However, the *inyanga* is even more useless in comparison, as he is narratively cut off from the *sangomas*' diagnosis and therefore has no advice to give. Unlike the mythologised Weird Sisters, the *sangomas* in the *uMabatha* narrative are tangible, respected spiritual practitioners within their communities, further complicating their portrayal as villains in the play. These complications are highlighted when the Interspiritual discourse brings the canon's text into proximity with the adaptation. It is by understanding the adaptation's local communities and social relationships, and how they are impacted by their representations in adaptations, rather than accepting it entirely as a new play, as suggested by adaptation scholars in the

²⁶⁴ Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 24.

²⁶⁵ Msomi, *uMabatha*, p. 185.

²⁶⁶ *Macbeth*, V.1.62.

introductory chapter, that this discrepancy, which generates negative impressions of spiritual healers among unknowing audiences, is highlighted.

Msomi's depiction of antagonistic *sangomas* naturally encourages the local South African public to harbour negative feelings towards these spiritual practitioners, despite their role within their communities. The role of the *sangoma* cannot be consciously volunteered for. As stated previously, the role is conferred on an individual by circumstances beyond their control. Msomi's choice to vilify them is therefore even more frustrating, as it misrepresents an already vulnerable community. As Sundkler further notes, even in the twentieth-century, spiritual persecution against these practitioners still exists, that accusations 'of witchcraft against those who do not conform to the accepted standard and type of the Church are common'.²⁶⁷ While there are multiple factors contributing to the fear of *sangomas* in general, Sundkler's highlighting of the Church's influence in the matter is especially relevant to adaptations by non-Christian cultures of Euro-American texts in which Christian anti-witchcraft rhetoric forms a central thematic concern. It is in these situations that Interspiritual discourse becomes an important concern in the process of adaptation, facilitating a hybridisation between local spiritual practices and global faiths rather than pitting one against the other to perpetuate the rhetoric of the other. Witchcraft persecutions, as noted by Sundkler, still exist throughout the continent, with reports of abused people who have been accused of witchcraft arising as late as 2020.²⁶⁸ Hence, the misrepresentation of the *sangomas* in a play where witchcraft is labelled as evil is an important aspect to keep in current discussions, especially given its popularity and the recent revival of the adaptation.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷ Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 264.

²⁶⁸ Robyn White, "The Witch Camps Where Hundreds of Elderly Women are Left to Die", *Newsweek* (30th October 2020), <https://www.newsweek.com/witch-camps-elderly-women-die-ghana-1754907>, npg.

²⁶⁹ SABC News, *Welcome Msomi to Revive uMabatha*, Video, *YouTube*, 28 April 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T-9Hfun6HyM>, 0:00-0:10.

2.3 Ancestral Spirits and Rituals

Apart from the prayer structure examined in the previous chapter, Lady Macbeth has developed and retained her own form of spiritual capital. Many adaptations of her character, including Kamadonsela in *uMabatha*, either link her with their versions of the Weird Sisters or depict her performing her own magical rituals. In her conjuration speech, Kamadonsela proclaims, ‘On all the spirits of my ancestors, | Let my heart be like the devil’s thorn | My blood of Mamba’s poison’.²⁷⁰ Through her proclamation, Kamadonsela assumes a role similar to that of the *sangomas*, attempting to communicate directly with her ancestral spirits through her own magic. The use of the word ‘poison’ in this instance mirrors the *sangomas*’ use of the word ‘venom’, suggesting and reinforcing a shared link between the characters. Kamadonsela evokes an image similar to the *sangomas* by associating her blood with ‘Mamba’s poison’, which echoes the *sangomas*’ ‘spitting venom’ lines from the previous scene. In both instances, the imagery of snakes is evoked, drawing them closer together in association.

By calling on her ancestors within her spell, Kamadonsela breaches the cultural understanding that such practice can only be conducted under the appointment of the *Amadlozi* and after a period of training. Sundkler explains that the ‘spirits of the departed (Zulu: *idlozi*, plur. *Amadlozi*) become the guardian spirits of their descendants’.²⁷¹ The ancestral spirits are thus understood as generational protectors within a Zulu context, absent in the Early Modern understanding of the supernatural. Additionally, where James I and other anti-witchcraft propagandists only describe spirits as demonic and malevolent, ancestral worship and respect are part of the spiritual practice in Zulu culture. This aspect of ancestral

²⁷⁰ Msomi, *uMabatha*, p. 173.

²⁷¹ Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets*, p. 21.

spirit interaction is explained by Canon Henry Callaway, whose translation of South African anecdotes states that they ‘say a man dies, and when he dies he turns into a snake; and they gave that snake the name of Itongo, and they worship it by sacrificing cattle [...]’.²⁷² In contrast to the *sangomas* and Kamadonsela, Callaway’s mention of snakes as ancestral spirits in his documentation of South African spiritual culture indicates that snakes are not always associated with evil and deception. According to Penelope Bernard, in ‘southern Africa these water snake and mermaid cryptids are seen as working alongside human ancestral spirits (which are also believed to manifest as snakes, birds or other animals) to provide certain chosen individuals with insight into past, present and future events and in providing skills of healing’.²⁷³ However, in both the context of *Shaka Zulu* and *uMabatha*, it is the venom and the ability to poison others that indicate malicious intent in villainous characters. By mimicking *sangoma* vocabulary and then calling on her ancestral spirits to aid in her regicide rather than to protect her, Kamadonsela distorts the spiritual importance of the supernatural in Zulu culture, diminishing the spiritual capital of the ritual. Once again, this misrepresentation of spiritual conjuration stems from a cultural mapping of supernatural practice between *Macbeth* and *uMabatha*, creating a false equivalence between malevolent and ancestral spirits. While Callaway notes various other anecdotes suggesting that the *Itongo* may occasionally harm people, either in the form of nightmares or disease, the mitigation process usually involves inviting a spiritual diviner, such as a *sangoma*, to find a solution to appease the *Itongo*.

²⁷² Henry Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu. – Izinyanga Zokubula; or Divination, As Existing Among the Amazulu, In Their Own Words, with A Translation into English and Notes* (London: Trübner and Co., 1870), p. 140.

²⁷³ Penelope Bernard, “Suspending Disbelief and Experiencing the Extraordinary: How Radical Participation May Facilitate an Understanding of Aquatic Snakes and Fish-tailed Beings in South Africa”, in *Anthropology and Cryptozoology: Exploring Encounters with Mysterious Creatures*, edited by Samantha Hurn (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 139-156 (p. 145).

Kamadonsela's mimicry of *sangomas* by calling on her ancestors is made even more apparent when compared to the *sangomas*' spell in Act 3 Scene 4. In the scene, Sangoma II chants 'Into the pot I throw the skin of | An old horned snake, a horse and beetles | Strong medicine to call up the spirits of our ancestors'.²⁷⁴ The lines invert Callaway's aforementioned description; they make sacrifices to the ancestral spirits, but also include other baneful ingredients, such as an 'evil bird'.²⁷⁵ Like Kamadonsela, the *sangomas* speak to their ancestral spirits, invoking their powers to achieve their own goal, but at the same time misrepresenting the practice. By using similar words in their rituals, *uMabatha* shares the spiritual capital of its *sangomas* with Kamadonsela. In doing so, the adaptation links the *sangomas*' villainy with her, reinforcing the theme that the hero, Mabatha, is being bewitched and manipulated by these characters. Kamadonsela's attempt to conjure her ancestors without appointment or training further misrepresents spiritual practitioners, giving the impression that they practice malefic magic by choice. As Sundkler explained earlier in this chapter, a *sangoma* is designated by the *Amadlozi*. The association between Kamadonsela and the *sangomas*, and her attempt to conjure the ancestors without appointment, further reinforces the idea that they share a similar spiritual capital with the Weird Sisters and are therefore appropriate translations for each other. However, where Early Modern witches choose to practice witchcraft, the *sangomas* have little choice in the matter.

2.4 Fidelity and Capital

The term "fidelity" conjures two polarising stances in this context: fidelity to the source material versus fidelity to local culture. Robert Stam writes that words 'such as

²⁷⁴ Msomi, *uMabatha*, p. 170.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

infidelity and *betrayal* [...] translate our feelings, when we love a book, that an adaptation has not been worthy of that love'.²⁷⁶ Stam's work focuses on fidelity in film adaptations, but it is applicable to the critical reception of *uMabatha*. As we can infer from the reviews of Msomi's adaptation, its fidelity to its source text is much celebrated; this is the implied love these reviewers have for Shakespeare. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, these attributes have also sparked much debate and inconsistency in the portrayal of the spiritual practitioners in Msomi's adaptation. It is here that I would propose a third consideration: Msomi's fidelity is to his interpretation of *Macbeth* rather than to a mere textual translation. However, this suggestion does not negate the fact that the *sangomas* are still misrepresented in the adaptation.

As this thesis has argued in the previous chapter, *Macbeth* leaves the interpretation of the Weird Sisters to the audience's and readers' own opinions and experiences with witchcraft rather than contextualising the usage of magic as it does with other characters. By substituting the Weird Sisters of *Macbeth* with a combination of magical practitioners who make up the *sangomas* of *uMabatha*, the adaptation suggests that there is, to an extent, an equivalence between the two groups of characters. However, this equivalence achieved not only by diminishing the *sangomas*' spiritual capital, but also by using words and rituals with intentions uncharacteristic of their roles. Furthermore, vilifying the *sangomas*' words in their speech seems unnecessary if we consider the neutrality of the Weird Sisters' magic in *Macbeth*. What seems more likely is that Msomi has formed his own interpretation of *Macbeth*, grounded in his *embodied* state of spiritual capital, in which the Weird Sisters are villainous, and has attempted to match it with local spiritual practitioners. In his attempt to make his characters fit his interpretation of the Macbethian narrative, Msomi does not just

²⁷⁶ Robert Stam, "Beyond Fidelity: The Dialogics of Adaptation", *Film Adaptations*, (2000), pp. 54-76 (p. 54).

unmoor his *sangomas* from their local spiritual practice but also cultural figures from their own histories, thereby contorting their images into an unrecognisable representation.

uMabatha, instead of a synthesis between South African culture and the Shakespearean canon, demonstrates a counter-hybridisation in which the familiarity of local heritages and histories is placed at a distance from the adaptation's interpretation, providing space for Msomi's fidelity to his own interpretation of *Macbeth*.

While Msomi is entitled to his interpretation of *Macbeth* as an individual, his opinions about the source text and local spiritual practitioners become more complex when it is expressed through a theatrical medium. As this thesis has proposed in its introductory chapter, the theatre can be seen as an *institutionalised* state of spiritual capital because it is a place in which stories, information, and rituals are disseminated to communities through the mode of spectacle and entertainment for them to experience and consume, which inevitably influences their own *embodied* state of spiritual capital. Misrepresenting spiritual practitioners and cultures onstage can shape audience impressions, directly or indirectly. With particular regard to Msomi's adaptation, the issues of misrepresenting African spiritual practice should remain at the forefront of South African adaptation discourse, especially surrounding the depiction of African religion. As Idowu highlights, 'African traditional religion is religion indeed; therefore, it is necessary for both teachers and students to see it where it really belongs'.²⁷⁷ Rather than equating African spiritual practices with Early Modern witchcraft, it is important to examine the spiritual capital of local practitioners within the *institutionalised* state and the roles they play in the community, and then adjust the narrative accordingly. In doing so, the information about local culture disseminated through the theatre becomes a cohesive cultural identity rather than a divisive one.

²⁷⁷ Idowu, *African Traditional Religion*, p. x.

2.5 From Local to Global

Decades after its original run, there are scholars who contest the relevance of Msomi's adaptation, arguing that so much time has passed between its first staging and the present, and that there have been many social changes in South Africa, such as the collapse of the Apartheid state. Wright opines that Msomi's impact on academic discourse is outdated, stating that the 'phase of Shakespeare's influence on South African cultural development, starting with the missionaries and ending with *Umabatha* is over'.²⁷⁸ Yet, the constant resurgence of *uMabatha* productions and attributions pulls the adaptation back into the discourse, making its cultural significance contemporarily relevant. Phillip Smith suggests that it 'would be impossible to imagine, for example, the 2012 all-black RSC production of *Julius Caesar* in an African setting without *uMabatha*'.²⁷⁹ While Smith's implication overemphasises Msomi's contribution to the history of localised adaptations, it does speak to the growing global appreciation for the form. Msomi's adaptation has been so well received that a revival of the play was announced in 2018 as part of the Nelson Mandela Centennial celebration, according to the South African Broadcasting Corporation's news channel.²⁸⁰ In the same interview, the interviewer asks Msomi about the relevance of an *uMabatha* revival during a celebratory year for Nelson Mandela and if there is a commonality between him and Shaka Zulu, to which Msomi responds:

²⁷⁸ Lawrence Wright, "Shakespeare in South Africa: 'Alpha' and 'Omega'", in *Shakespeare's Local Habitations*, edited by Krystyna Kujawińska Courtney and R. S. White (Łódź: Łódź University Press, 2007), pp. 57-80 (p. 67).

²⁷⁹ Phillip Smith, *Shakespeare in Singapore: Performance, Education, and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2020) p. 1.

²⁸⁰ SABC News, 0:00-0:10.

There are leaders who are not really good leaders and there are leaders were very good. [In] *uMabatha* we highlight [...] the danger of a leader who does not follow the right instincts to lead people because Mabata ends up being killed and so then the rightful owner comes in. We are looking at having this production all over the world.²⁸¹

By associating Mandela, who served as the first president of Post-Apartheid South Africa, with Shaka Zulu and *uMabatha*, Msomi reimagines national identity in his adaptation. While Mandela was elected to the presidency many years after *uMabatha*'s first production, the 2018 revival brings history, politics, and the adaptation into proximity. Whether Msomi is referring to Mandela as Makhiwane, who directly takes leadership after Mabatha's death, or Folose – the adaptation's translation of Fleance – remains uncertain. What is clear from Msomi's statement is his intention for the revival production to go on a global tour. In doing so, the production promotes themes of a united South African identity but also perpetuates the misrepresentation of South African culture.

The importance of internationally touring intercultural performances should not be understated. Martin Orkin, for example, suggests that to 'a degree *uMabatha* [...] invites, for English-speaking and Shakespeare-educated South Africans, and then British audiences, cultural *encounter*'.²⁸² These encounters between localised adaptations and global audiences are crucial in starting and enriching discussions about cultural and spiritual differences. It is through these interactions that global audiences can experience and consume the spiritual capital of different cultures as it is disseminated through the rituals and narratives included in adaptations. McLuskie opines that Msomi's adaptation 'offers a way of understanding the

²⁸¹ Ibid., 5:48-6:25.

²⁸² Martin Orkin, *Local Shakespeares: Proximations and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 44.

process by which theatre practice is connected to political and aesthetic discourse [...] whether those connections are historical or geographical, Zulu or English, pre or post imperial, pre or post modern'.²⁸³ Such opportunities are useful when the information provided by the productions is accurate, thereby allowing audiences, critics, and scholars to undertake such discussions progressively.

However, despite the opportunities for cultural and spiritual exchanges presented by the global encounters of touring productions, there are still some considerations regarding the appeal to non-local audiences, especially given the diminished spiritual capital of *sangomas* in Msomi's adaptation. Speaking about Janet Suzman's *Hamlet*, Adele Seeff argues that it is a small 'wonder that productions intended for a global audience [...] seek to woo a global audience and, in doing so, use ethnicity and multilingualism to unexpected ends in order to "package" an image of South Africa for global consumption that might be at odds with the lived experience from the ground'.²⁸⁴ Seeff's observations can be applied to how *uMabatha*'s *sangomas* have been made unfamiliar to local understanding. At the same time, their costumes and aesthetics have been preserved as part of the production's spectacle for its global audience. Distiller suggests that 'Msomi's sense that South Africaness is something worth selling is significant [...] Marketability is one way to understand cultural worth'.²⁸⁵ Yet, Distiller's argument prompts a further question: what is the value of the spiritual capital in *uMabatha*, and why is it diminished for global consumption? This chapter has demonstrated that *sangomas* possess significant spiritual capital in local communities due to

²⁸³ Kate McLuskie, "Macbeth/uMabatha: Global Shakespeare in a Post-Colonial Market", in *Shakespeare Survey*, edited by Stanley Wells, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 154-165 (p. 155).

²⁸⁴ Adele Seeff, "Inheriting the Past, Surviving the Future", in *The Routledge Handbook of Shakespeare and Global Appropriation*, edited by Christy Desmet, Sujata Iyengar, and Miriam Jacobson (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 161-170 (p. 166).

²⁸⁵ Natasha Distiller, "'The Zulu Macbeth': The value of an African Shakespeare", in *Shakespeare Survey 57: Macbeth and its Afterlife*, edited by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 159-168 (p. 165).

their role as spiritual healers. However, that socio-spiritual value is not transferable to a global audience who are unaware of its importance to South African society. Instead, there is a reliance on the narrative to convey this value and understand its significance. Instead, what the global audience receives upon watching *uMabatha* is a repackaged, diminished representation of South African spiritual practice. As Wright opines, one ‘can’t but suspect that the ‘global’ success of *Umabatha* is based on some very superficial and under-informed responses’.²⁸⁶ Where Msomi attempts to market the notions of ‘South Africaness’ to a global audience, it is the very same tactics that are exploitative of the South African culture, turning it into an opportunity for non-South African audiences to engage in the cultural voyeurism of South African culture. Similarly, in Kate McLuskie’s study, she quotes a *Guardian* review that states that the play is ‘a form of tourist theatre which invites us to celebrate the exotic and treat it as a photo opportunity’.²⁸⁷ Even though *uMabatha* promotes notions of a unified national and cultural Zulu identity to a global audience, as seen through Msomi’s marketing of the adaptation’s ‘South Africaness’ as well as connecting his characters with various political individuals throughout its history, the disjunction between the play and the local cultural practices amounts to a false understanding of South Africa. *uMabatha*’s misrepresentation of spiritual practitioners highlights the importance of clearly communicating the cultural significance of various roles in local communities, even when the medium is entertainment. It is through the understanding of significances that cultural and spiritual capitals can be better and more clearly translated in intercultural adaptations.

²⁸⁶ Lawrence Wright, *Global and Local*, p. 106.

²⁸⁷ *The Guardian*, 5 August 1997, cited by Kate McLuskie, “Macbeth/uMabatha: Global Shakespeare in a Post-Colonial Market”, in *Shakespeare Survey*, edited by Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 154-165 (p. 155).

3. Mexico: *Mendoza* and Revolutionary Magic

3.1 *Mendoza*, Revolution, and Political Identity

While Scotland's medieval history inspired *Macbeth*, the play's narrative of usurpation and warfare can be transposed into adaptations set in other cultures that share similar histories and stories. Antonio Zúñiga and Juan Carrillo's adaptation, *Mendoza*, localises the *Macbeth* narrative by setting it during the Mexican Civil War, which occurred between 1910 and 1920. According to Alan Knight's summary of the war, the uprising against the then president, Porfirio Díaz, occurred in 1910 due to societal discontent with the increasingly authoritarian state, thereby establishing the start of the revolution with the following five years being a battle between the government and rebels, and the last five years resolving the frequent occurrences of infighting and the stabilising of a new government.²⁸⁸ Produced and staged on a bare Blackbox stage (save for several metal chairs that are brought on and off stage) in 2016, Los Colochos Teatro's *Mendoza* translates the characters and plot points of *Macbeth* into Mexican history. Mendoza, the titular character and adaptation's analogue of Macbeth, is a soldier of the revolution who has been made a general by Montaño, the adaptation's version of Duncan. Both Mendoza and Aguirre (Banquo) meet a Bruja (Witch). They are told that Mendoza will be made governor, but that Aguirre's son (and, simultaneously, Mendoza's godson), Emilio, will inherit the title in the future. Rosario (Lady Macbeth) and Mendoza plot and murder Montaño during his visit to their house, and, as the prophecy foretold, Mendoza is made governor. Esparza (Macduff) flees from Mendoza, leaving Teresa (Lady Macduff) and his son, Camilo, behind. The play ends with Emilio and García (Malcolm) forming an alliance and successfully retaking the title back from Mendoza. However, where Malcolm hands out titles and celebrates the end of a tyrannical rule,

²⁸⁸ Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 1-2.

Mendoza ends on a more poignant note, during which the surviving characters gather center stage with chairs and a table, setting them up around and over Mendoza's dead body, after which they sing a song together about Mendoza's life and satirically comment about how such narratives do not occur anymore. The adaptors' decision to include this song at the end of the adaptation suggests a commentary on Mexico's socio-political context of cyclical tyranny by those who come to power.

The adaptation solidifies its employment of the Macbethian narrative and the Mexican Civil War as an analogy for the growing discontent between contemporary Mexican society and its government, leading up to the general election of 2018. In doing so, *Mendoza* displays a concept called "cultural cannibalism". According to Rick J. Santos,

It is worthwhile to highlight that Latin American Philosophical tradition is based on "cultural cannibalism," a concept introduced by Oswald de Andrade [...] which describes a resistant method [of...] absorbing, transforming, and incorporating [elements from First World countries...] allowing those traditionally excluded and marginalized the opportunity to reclaim their agency.²⁸⁹

Using Santos' definition, Zúñiga and Carrillo 'cannibalise' the Macbethian narrative, digesting, transforming, and recontextualising it to highlight their concerns about a corrupt and violent government. The Bruja in *Mendoza* acts not only as a catalyst for the Macbethian narrative but also as an observer and commentator on the adaptation's events. This chapter aims to demonstrate that the cultural translation of the Weird Sisters into the character of the Bruja in *Mendoza* signifies the adaptation's use of spiritual practitioners to open Revolutionary discourse, thereby creating a new political identity for the nation. To do so, the

²⁸⁹ Rick J. Santos, "Mestizo Shakespeare: A Study of Cultural Exchange", in *Latin American Shakespeares*, edited by Bernice W. Kilman and Rick J. Santos (Cranbury: Rosemont Publishing & Printing Corp., 2005), pp. 11-20 (p. 11-12).

subsequent sections will explore the historical counteraction of indigenous witchcraft practices in the face of Mexico's colonialisation, as well as Mexico's relationship to notions of political masculinity. As we shall explore later in this chapter, women have been foundational to Mexico's Revolutionary movement. *Mendoza's* depiction of Bruja as a voice of Revolutionary discourse, then, links the spiritual with the political.

Instead of merely reproducing *Macbeth*, Zúñiga and Carrillo's localisation of the text into Mexican culture makes a clear statement that the play's core concern is the state of governance in Mexico, particularly in 2016, which was close to the end of the Mexican six-year governmental cycle. The duration of the electoral cycle is alluded to through an inserted monologue performed by the Bruja after she meets with Mendoza and Aguirre: 'Six years of sad adventure, five years of pain. Four years of shit swirling in dogs' muzzles, three years of pigswill spread by the ranches'.²⁹⁰ There is a clear countdown of the years by the Bruja, during which experiences get progressively worse, from 'sad adventure' to 'pigswill'. Enrique Peña Nieto's 2012 electoral win sparked significant protests and resistance over the results. For example, one of the most prevalent movements that emerged was the student protests under the banner of #YoSoy132. The term stems from a student protest that occurred when Nieto spoke at Universidad Iberoamericana during his campaign. However, both Nieto and the national media denied that the protest was organised by students, prompting 131 students to upload video statements online. To quote the Los Angeles Times' coverage of the event, to 'say "Yo Soy 132" — "I am 132" — was to announce one's solidarity with the 131 students'.²⁹¹ According to Mariana Favela, who was a doctoral student at the time and a participant in the movement, #YoSoy132 appeared to oppose the perceived corruption and

²⁹⁰ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 5. The translated script was generously provided by Los Colochos Teatro upon request.

²⁹¹ Richard Fausset, "In Mexico, Yo Soy 132 Ponders Next Steps", *Los Angeles Times*, 13 August 2012, <https://www.latimes.com/world/la-xpm-2012-aug-13-la-fg-mexico-students-20120814-story, npg>.

authoritarianism of Nieto.²⁹² Since 2012, many other incidents that have occurred concerning Nieto's government have come under scrutiny, such as the Iguala Mass Kidnapping, claims of social media manipulation, perceived censorship of the press, and other accusations of corruption. The Iguala Mass Kidnapping, which occurred in 2014, when police authorities allegedly abducted 43 students before being passed to a drug cartel and executed, sparked multiple protests, some of which turned violent, as reported by the *Washington Post* and *News Observer*.²⁹³ Unsurprisingly, the number forty-three is significant, especially when referenced in a political context.

This tragic incident has remained within the socio-political discourse as a recurring point of criticism against the Mexican government, years after its occurrence. In their analysis of a Mexican adaptation of *Henry IV Part 1*, Alfredo Michel Modenessi and Paula Morales highlight that:

Mexico remains caught in the unspeakable reality of the forty-three (and many more) people that are still missing half a decade after their appalling 'disappearance'; in the ever-increasing plight of nationals and migrants that find no answer to their needs, or even compassion; and in the mindless violence that continues to plague Mexico regardless of purported changes in politics and policies from either Right or Left.²⁹⁴

²⁹² Mariana Favela, "Redrawing Power: #YoSoy132 and Overflowing Insurgencies", *Social Justice*, 42.3/4 (2015), pp. 222-236 (p. 222).

²⁹³ Nick Mirnoff, "Protestors Burn Mexico City's Government Offices Over Suspected Murders of Students", *Washington Post*, 13 October 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/protesters-burn-mexican-citys-government-offices-over-suspected-murder-of-students/2014/10/13/ddfa3392-5346-11e4-ba4b-f6333e2c0453_story.html, npg; Tim Johnson, "Protestors Burn City Hall in Mexico Town Where 43 Students Vanished", *News Observer*, 22 October 2014, <https://www.newsobserver.com/2014/10/22/4256292/protesters-burn-city-hall-in-mexico.html?sp=%2F99%2F102%2F111%2F>, npg.

²⁹⁴ Alfredo Michel Modenessi and Paulina Morales, "William Shakespeare's *Enrique IV*, primera parte: Common [battle]grounds between medieval England and Mexico's present",

While Modenessi and Morales make this comment in relation to an adaptation of *Henry IV* rather than *Macbeth*, the fact that they draw a connection between Shakespeare's words and the incident demonstrates the unresolved trauma that continues to haunt the local community. Both scholars express scepticism about Mexico's political system, 'either Right or Left', to channel sympathy for the people, suggesting a cyclical movement of power and authority, a theme shared in Zúñiga and Carrillo's adaptation. *Mendoza* makes a direct reference to the Iguala Mass Kidnapping in Act 4 Scene 2, after the murder of Teresa and Camilo, the actors position themselves onstage and recite numbers from one to forty-three before collectively shouting 'Justice'.²⁹⁵ The comparison between the kidnapping and the killing of the Macduffs is obvious, especially with the specific number of forty-three. In doing so, the adaptation directly criticises the Mexican government. It is within this context that the closing stanza of *Mendoza* makes an obvious jibe at the local government:

It's good to know that nowadays
this type of thing
doesn't happen anymore.
Our government is honest
Even as we are all...
completely fucked.²⁹⁶

The lines of this extract can be interpreted as ironic, given that the adaptation takes place during the Mexican Revolution and that 'this type of thing' – referring to the political tyranny of the narrative – has resurfaced and is being commented on in 2016. To use these lines as the closing stanza of the song at the end of the production, the adaptation provides the audience

in *The Arden Research Handbook of Shakespeare and Social Justice*, edited by David Ruiter (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2021), pp. 143-159 (p. 147).

²⁹⁵ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 32.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

with the opportunity to mull over the political commentary as they exit the performance space, thereby allowing time for further reflection of the play.

Despite the directional and editorial changes made by the adaptation to the source text, *Mendoza* is still regarded as a close interpretation of *Macbeth*. Viewing a performance of the adaptation in 2016 as part of the *XV Festival Iberoamericano de Teatro de Bogotá*, Kevin A. Quarmby comments that ‘Mexico’s Los Colochos Teatro presentation, *Mendoza*, remained faithful to its Shakespearean legacy, despite changing its principal protagonist’s name’.²⁹⁷ While Quarmby does provide a short description of the adaptation’s plot and a brief scholarly review of *Mendoza* in the article, he offers no further clarification of what he means by the adaptation remaining ‘faithful to its Shakespearean legacy’. Instead, the adaptation’s script shows heavy edits to the text, either through translation, contextual localisation, or textual insertions such as the song mentioned above, choosing infidelity to the source text to depict its own local culture with accuracy. The edits made by Zúñiga and Carrillo in their adaptation, which will be explored in relation to the depiction of the Bruja, place a clear emphasis on the cannibalisation of the Shakespearean text for political commentary. Within the adaptation, Zúñiga and Carrillo draw their audience’s attention to the sobering reality of post-revolutionary Mexico by inserting an additional monologue for the Bruja. In Scene 4 of the first act, the Bruja states in exasperation that her community will ‘say our voices are black, but a country’s tragedies are not conjured on the witches’ tongues, nor in any witchlike consciousness, but in the rage, inequality and so much ambition’.²⁹⁸ This chapter will explore Zúñiga and Carrillo’s reinterpretation of the witch’s role within the adaptation’s narrative in a later section. Nonetheless, the Bruja’s inserted comment in the beginning act of the

²⁹⁷ Kevin A. Quarmby, “Anti-Shakespeare Rhetoric and Colombia’s “Theatre for Peace”, in *The Shakespearean International Yearbook 19: Special Section, Shakespeare and Refugees*, edited by Tom Bishop and Alexa Alice Joubin and Ton Hoenselaars and Stephan O’Neill (New York: Routledge, 2022), pp. 200-219 (p. 209).

²⁹⁸ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 5.

production highlights part of its commentary; that revolutions begin with the sentiments of the people and do not merely manifest themselves at the behest of witches. In doing so, the adaptation indicates that the Bruja is a character who observes and predicts the onset of a revolution, thereby becoming a voice that heralds it rather than a malicious force that causes political unrest, as this chapter will demonstrate. It is these transformed aspects and recontextualisation that culminate in *Mendoza*'s uniqueness as an adaptation rather than a mere reproduction of *Macbeth*. As Modenessi argues in another essay, since 'the late 1960s, stimulating Mexican productions like *Mendoza* have favoured appropriation over received conventions, inching Shakespeare away from a resilient colonialist mentality that sees Latin American arts through the glass of mimicry'.²⁹⁹ Where Modenessi's argument looks to the wider implications of Mexican adaptations in Latin America, this chapter will focus on the interpretation of *Mendoza* within its local context. While various Latin American countries share common historical and cultural markers, the subject matter of *Mendoza*, set specifically during the Mexican Revolution, fundamentally grounds its interpretation in a Mexican context. Hence, attempting to draw parallels and implications across the diverse regions, histories, and cultures of Latin America would require extensive deviation from the scope of this chapter.

This consideration extends to interpretations by overseas Mexican diasporic communities, whose experience with Shakespeare will differ due to shifting socio-political environments. In their analysis of Latin American diaspora adaptations within the United States, Trevor Boffone and Carla Della Gatta strongly argue that while 'different national and cultural histories of translation into Spanish may link the performance of Shakespeare by Latinx people in the United States and those in Central and South America, there is otherwise

²⁹⁹ Alfredo Michel Modenessi, "'Victim of Improvisation' in Latin America: Shakespeare Out-Sourced and In-Taken", in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Performance*, edited by James C. Bulman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 549-567 (p. 551).

not a strong parallel that unites the hemispheric Shakespeares'.³⁰⁰ To consider a Shakespearean adaptation as it is viewed in one country versus another, even when a community shares a heritage, would require an additional assessment of how Shakespeare is perceived across both societies. Sandra Young, in her survey of localised adaptations, highlights that in 'Mexico, for example, because of its political history, Shakespeare is freed from an association with colonialization'.³⁰¹ This interpretation of Shakespeare changes as productions and adaptations of his canon move across borders, especially between countries with two different colonial histories. By focusing on Mexico's local historical and socio-political backgrounds, Mexican Shakespearean adaptations are thus neither explicit reminders of Mexico's colonial past nor a direct means of reacting to it. Instead, as Modenessi claims, 'other [Mexican] directors have used Shakespeare as a vehicle to explore locally relevant, and often highly political, agendas'.³⁰² In the case of *Mendoza*, it is important to consider the Mexican revolutionary zeitgeist and the uniqueness of Mexico's local witchcraft practices rather than a general analysis of Latin America's socio-political status and practices. The adaptation interrogates issues of governance after cycles of revolution and violence post-independence. However, while the play's thematic focus centres on the political struggles of Mexican governance, the inclusion of the Bruja offers its audience a glimpse of Mexico's local spiritual practice while simultaneously providing a voice that recognises the causes of revolution in a community. In doing so, the adaptation makes use of indigenous spiritual culture with *Macbeth* communicates the cyclical nature of violence and governance. While

³⁰⁰ Trevor Boffone and Carla Della Gatta, "Shakespeare and Latinidad", in *Shakespeare and Latinidad*, edited by Trevor Boffone and Carla Della Gatta (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press: 2021), pp. 1-18 (p. 3).

³⁰¹ Sandra Young, *Shakespeare in the Global South: Stories of Oceans Crossed in Contemporary Adaptation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), p. 128.

³⁰² Alfredo Michel Modenessi, "'Meaning by Shakespeare' south of the border", in *World-wide Shakespeares: Local appropriations in film and performance*, edited by Sonia Massai (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 104-111 (p. 108).

the commentary of the adaptation does not directly call on its audiences to vote against any governmental parties in either its staging or its text, there is a strong indication that reflection on contemporary political events and climates is intended to prompt change. This chapter will argue that *Mendoza*'s intertwining of local spiritual practitioners and their spiritual capital with Revolutionary narratives demonstrates the adaptors' cannibalisation and transformation of the Macbethian narrative to discuss Mexico's political climate and thereby forge a new national identity.

3.2 Bruja, *Brujería*, and Spiritual Capital

The *brujería* practiced in Mexico, and the development of its spiritual capital, is not just a unique fusion between Catholicism and indigenous witchcraft, but the result of centuries of Spanish colonisation. During the colonial period in Mexico, a Mexican Inquisition was established from the sixteenth to the nineteenth-centuries to discourage indigenous belief in traditional spiritual practices and encourage conversions to Catholicism. Recent scholarship has revealed that the authority given to Inquisitors during that period factored into the racial and religious segregation of Mexican society. For example, Silvia Federici writes that 'many political and religious leaders from central Mexico were put on trial and burned at the stake by Franciscan father Juan de Zumarraga, in the years between 1536 (when the Inquisition was introduced in South America) and 1543'.³⁰³ Federici's report of Zumarraga's execution of both political and spiritual leaders in Mexico suggests that the political and religious spheres of colonial Mexico were linked and suppressed together as a demonstration of the Inquisition's authority. Richard E. Greenleaf's research can verify

³⁰³ Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation* (London: Penguin Random House, 2021), p. 239.

Federici's observation, that during Zumarraga's time in the Mexican Inquisitorial office civil 'officials waited to receive the relaxed heretics [who were lulled into a false sense of security after taking their oath of fidelity] and took them to the *quemadero*, outside the Zócalo, where they were burned by civil executioners'.³⁰⁴ Zumarraga's swift and violent removal of local political and spiritual leadership enabled the establishment of the Inquisition as the leading authority in colonial Mexico. As Laura A. Lewis notes, the Mexican Inquisition 'policed lineages and behaviours that challenged state and church authority, punishing idolatry, Protestantism, Judaizing, and "unnatural" practices like bigamy, polygamy, same-sex acts, prostitution, cohabitation, pacts with the devil, witchcraft, fortune-telling, astrology, and superstition, which, though milder, fell under the same category as witchcraft'.³⁰⁵ If Lewis' assertion is correct, then the Mexican Inquisition was not solely a method of religious control, but also provided authority and power to the Spanish colonisers over the indigenous people. This stance is corroborated by Mariana Nájera, who states that in 'the early stages of colonization, Christianity was fundamental for Spanish control of the New World'.³⁰⁶ Religious institutions, such as the Inquisition, gave colonisers the social authority to dictate the social construction of colonial Mexico. The Inquisition/witch-hunting, and its relation to Christianity and Catholicism thus have a different interpretation in the colonies than in mainland Europe and England. Not only were they used to maintain classist and gender control over the population, but they also sought to divide communities. The colonisation of Mexico was not only cultural, but also spiritual. Given the Inquisitorial presence in Mexico, the perception of the Bruja, both historically and contemporarily, becomes an

³⁰⁴ Richard E. Greenleaf, *Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition 1536-1543* (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1962), p. 25.

³⁰⁵ Laura A. Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 37.

³⁰⁶ Mariana Nájera, "Becoming Brujas: Colonial Witchcraft and Historical Transgression", *Rice Historical Review*, 2021, pp. 7-32 (p. 12).

important area of study. Ruth Behar explains that ‘Inquisitorial activity accompanied the “spiritual conquest” of Mexico virtually from the beginning, as the early Christian missionaries struggled to “extirpate” idolatrous survivals among newly converted Indians’.³⁰⁷ The Inquisition, thus, was not merely a medium for religious persecution of witchcraft, as Madariaga claims, but a fundamental authority in the colonisation and destruction of indigenous spiritual practices. While *Mendoza* itself does allude to Mexico’s colonial history and its relationship with local magical practices, it does not exclude these contextual meanings from local interpretations. Such interpretations, instead, align and clarify the local association between brujas and revolutionaries.

If the Inquisition is the authority that imposes religious and cultural segregation on local Mexican communities, then witchcraft and its practitioners are the rebellion against that authority. As this thesis has discussed in the previous chapter, the value of spiritual practitioners lies in how their communities perceive them. The perception of the bruja and the practice of *brujería* as historical symbols of rebellion against the Inquisition are important and relevant to *Mendoza*, as the adaptation uses them to discuss its theme of revolution. On the topic of witchcraft as rebellion, Ruth Behar argues that if

the Inquisition records are an indication, in the interchange of magical cures and remedies that took place in colonial Mexico, the social groups that juridically formed different castes interacted closely, sharing and spreading a complex repository of supernatural knowledge about marital and sexual relationships that the inquisitors simply called “superstition” and “witchcraft”.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁷ Ruth Behar, “Sex and Sin, Witchcraft and the Devil in Late-Colonial Mexico”, *American Ethnologist*, 14.1 (1987), pp. 34-54 (p. 34).

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Behar's argument indicates that discussions surrounding witchcraft created intertwined communities within a divided Mexico. The creation of these social groups and the sharing of witchcraft practices undermined the authority of the Inquisitors as they policed against such information as Lewis had indicated earlier. In doing so, the practice of *brujería* gains a cultural identity of rebellion, which is then incorporated into its spiritual capital. One other way that *brujería* subverts Inquisitorial/religious authority is through the cannibalising of religious liturgy and artefacts into its practice. According to Cant, after finding a coin inserted into a statue of Christ, a priest 'explained that people "mistreat" the sacred images [of Christianity] by trying to use them in their *brujería* (witchcraft) in order to harness images' power for selfish causes'.³⁰⁹ While the priest's use of the word 'mistreat' to characterise the use of religious artefacts in conjunction with *brujería* is biased, given his job, Cant's experience shows that, even in modern-day Mexico, religious authority is unable to dictate local spiritual beliefs.

The practice of religious cannibalisation is displayed in the adaptation when Mendoza and Aguirre first encounter the Bruja. During this first interaction, both friends show reluctance to engage with the Bruja, standing to leave the performance space as she takes a seat on one of the many chairs distributed across the stage, but she stops them.³¹⁰ Aguirre also demonstrates his faith by expressing that he can 'stop [her] right here with the cross of [his] Lord'.³¹¹ Aguirre's statement implies that the Bruja's practice is associated with demonic powers, which Catholic prayers and iconography can counter. However, the audience will also be aware that the Bruja has her own ways of calling on God and the saints. As demonstrated in the adaptation's opening, the Bruja describes the foreboding omens that

³⁰⁹ Alanna Cant, "What Can Witchcraft Do in Mexico?", *Anthropology News*, October 24, 2018, p. 3.

³¹⁰ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza 2016 Obra Completa*, Video Archive, *Youtube*, 3 December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ockF0XjmCt0>, 9:12.

³¹¹ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 3.

foretell the play's tragic plot. She also adds that 'Hopefully the virgin and all her saints come down with allies because [the people] will not be able to cope'.³¹² While directing the opening monologue to Canosa, the black chicken familiar she carries around, and the audience as she walks around the performance area, the Bruja pleads with the Virgin Mary and the saints to help her community. This invocation of the various Divine persons in Catholic belief differs from the Weird Sisters in *Macbeth*, who serve Hecate. The shift between the two distinct divinities already connotes a change in the underlying spiritual practices from the opening of the adaptation. At the same time, the Weird Sisters are vengeful in *Macbeth* for small slights, like being refused chestnuts. Zúñiga and Carrillo's Bruja calls on the divine figures of Catholicism to intercede and save her community. Cant anecdotally argues that, in her 'own research, [she] have found it helpful to reflect on how witchcraft seems to mediate relations of power and authority within the larger framework of the Roman Catholic Church'.³¹³ This cannibalisation of religious artefacts, by both Mexican society and *Mendoza* demonstrates how spiritual capital from other practices can be adopted and integrated into local belief systems, or, conversely, how local practices can also be integrated into various religious beliefs. As Cant further explains, 'while some people in Santa Cruz frequently express frustration and anxiety about witchcraft, individuals known to practice spells and fortune-telling are tolerated and are often considered by themselves and others to be devout Catholics'.³¹⁴ By being both 'devout Catholics' and concurrently practicing witchcraft, the Santa Cruz community places itself in a hybrid space. Homi K. Bhabha discusses this hybrid space in his book, *The Location of Culture*. In terms of culture, Bhabha uses various works by Franz Fanon to discuss the concept of a hybrid space, arguing that the 'changed political and historical site of enunciation transforms the meanings of the colonial

³¹² Ibid., p. 1.

³¹³ Cant, *What Can Witchcraft Do in Mexico*, p. 3.

³¹⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

inheritance into the liberatory signs of a free people of the future'.³¹⁵ In this context, Mexican society has transformed the colonial inheritance of Catholicism to include and tolerate local *brujería* practices, thereby making space for their existence.

This third, hybrid space, in which two differing belief systems coexist, can be seen as a demonstration of cultural and political identity. According to Jonathan Hart, culture 'hybridity and mediation [within a Latin American context], which involve an in-between identity [...], oppose an essential view of cultures that are situated in old oppositions and that appropriate and are appropriated'.³¹⁶ The spiritual hybridity within Mexican magical practice results from local resistance to codifying binary oppositions between indigenous spiritual practice and the Catholic Church, thereby creating the opportunity for 'mediation' that both Hart and Cant propose in their respective arguments. Such 'mediation' between spiritual practices creates a hybridised belief system that offers alternative ways to address the problems faced by an individuals or the community, rather than relying solely on a single ideology. The term 'mediation' conveys a sense of compromise between the two belief systems to achieve a preferable or advantageous outcome. Despite the Inquisition's attempt at eradicating indigenous spiritual practices, the spiritual culture of Mexico has evolved to incorporate spiritual beliefs and practices between *brujería* and Catholicism. The more prominent aspects of *brujería* practice continue to illustrate its ingrained Catholic influences. Kelly, in her survey of regional supernatural treatments in the Laguna region of Mexico, anecdotally describes part of a ritual during which a 'sick person stands [...and] step[s] over the incense burner in the form of a cross' to rid themselves of a supernatural affliction called *susto*, where a spirit haunts the patient.³¹⁷ The dispelling of the haunting, then, is aided by the

³¹⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 56.

³¹⁶ Jonathan Hart, *Columbus, Shakespeare, and the Interpretation of the New World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 166.

³¹⁷ Isabel Kelly, *Folk Practices in North Mexico: Birth Customs, Folk Medicine, and Spiritualism in the Laguna Zone* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), p. 60.

religious imagery of Christianity rather than solely the supernatural powers of the Bruja. Similarly, Cant observes that in ‘Santa Cruz Mixtepec, imagined or actual practices of *brujería* overlap with the material practices of Catholicism, both in its popular and more official formations’.³¹⁸ Within the third space, spiritual belief systems can negotiate and blend, adapting to their socio-political environment while retaining familiarity with local beliefs.

The Bruja demonstrates this blending of belief systems when she gives her second prophecy to Mendoza. She indicates that both ghostly and divine entities inhabit the supernatural world with which she communicates: ‘There’s a world beyond ours, a world that’s far away, but also close and invisible. That’s the place where God lives. Where the dead and the saints live [...]’.³¹⁹ In this sense, *Mendoza*’s Bruja acts as a bridge between the natural world and the divine. Yet, while she invokes her ability to communicate with the divine, she simultaneously places Canosa on the bare chest of a supine-positioned Mendoza, reminding the audience that she also prays to other supernatural beings. In the span of one scene, the Bruja demonstrates both her occult and divine connections: a *brujería* that has cannibalised its occult practices from the Old World, but also integrated aspects of a Catholicism, forming an antithetical practice that opposes the authority of Mexico’s colonial past, even in its contemporary iteration. The inseparability of Mexican *brujería* from its colonial origins exemplifies Hart’s argument that one ‘of the difficulties is that with colonization both Europe and the cultures it came into contact with changed’.³²⁰ While the recognition of *brujería*’s colonial inheritance does not automatically make *Mendoza* into a post-colonial adaptation, it allows the audience to interpret the Bruja as a reminder of resistance in the face of ‘spiritual conquest’ – to use Behar’s terminology – in which religious

³¹⁸ Cant, *What Can Witchcraft Do in Mexico*, p. 3.

³¹⁹ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 28.

³²⁰ Hart, *Columbus, Shakespeare, and the Interpretation of the New World*, p. 167.

doctrine and liturgy are assimilated and inverted in the persistence of witchcraft practice. However, even as the practice of *brujería* is a mediation between Spanish Catholicism and local beliefs, it still stands in opposition to the Catholic church due to its doctrinal position as well as its participation in Mexico's colonial history. The incorporation of *brujería* into *Mendoza*'s narrative positions the Bruja in a dichotomic relationship to Mendoza: community and hybridity in opposition to tyranny and imposition, which is especially apt in a play about revolution. In doing so, the adaptation echoes Modenessi's sentiment, that translating 'cannot merely inscribe foreign literatures and cultures into our language, it must also bring them to our third space, a point of conversation and conflict where resistance and transformation merge'.³²¹ The presence of the Bruja in *Mendoza* demonstrates the inseparable spiritual hybridity that results from Mexico's colonial history. In this sense, *Mendoza*'s cultural translation of the Weird Sisters into the Bruja creates the 'third space' as stipulated by Modenessi, where Early Modern English spiritual practices encounter *brujería* and Catholicism.

The subversion of Inquisitorial power, in a way, extends to the inclusion of Catholic/Old World rituals into the practice of *brujería* that is maintained until today. In *Mendoza*, the directorial decision to include a live black hen on stage as the Bruja's familiar, called Canosa, illustrates the cannibalistic practice of *brujería*. As Isabel Kelly documents, a 'black hen and its egg are used in curing an illness resulting from sorcery [...] Some Old World references have the black hen used to invoke the devil'.³²² Hence, it is not just cultural practices that are "cannibalised" but spiritual ones as well. Canosa's inclusion in the adaptation signifies an onstage reference to this amalgamation. Such an inference can be

³²¹ Alfredo Michel Modenessi, "'A double tongue within your mask': translating Shakespeare in/to Spanish-speaking Latin America", in *Shakespeare and the Language of Translation*, edited by Ton Hoenselaars (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2012), pp. 240-254 (p. 242).

³²² Kelly, *Folk Practices in North Mexico*, p. 123.

drawn due to the Bruja's constant interaction with Canosa. As mentioned above, her opening speech is already directed to her familiar. In addition, the Bruja uses Canosa during her spell in Act 4 of the adaptation when she places food on a bare-chested, supine-positioned Mendoza, which prompts Canosa to jump on top of him and peck at his body as she provides him with the second prophecy.³²³ By considering Canosa as representative of Old World occultism, *Mendoza's* Bruja illustrates the paradoxical nature of Mexican *brujería* in Act 4 Scene 1, the adaptation's counterpart to the same scene in *Macbeth*. Before Mendoza's entrance, the Bruja conducts a ritual alongside Canosa directed to an unnamed 'Lord of the dark'.³²⁴ The Bruja performs this ritual by creating a small rectangular perimeter with a long white cloth, then kneeling facing Canosa as she recites her prayer, reinvoking the idea that Canosa can act as a medium between her and the 'Lord of the dark'.³²⁵ The ritual's position within the text indicates that it is a replacement of *Macbeth's* cauldron scene, but where the Weird Sisters are throwing in grotesque ingredients to create a concoction of a dubious nature, the Bruja makes a prayer to her patron:

You will own his soul, his existence and he will fall sick,
and for this he'll feel pain, he'll feel his body broken,
his essence, pain will come, dejection will come,
unrest will come, he'll feel besieged, by your hand, by your feet.

Here I am kneeling down, here I am prostrated at your door,

I came at your command to unleash it, release him so his soul comes out,

his soul, his existence, that's why I came.

As a gift, as a substitute, receive him, accept him,

³²³ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza 2016 Obra Completa*, 1:23:26.

³²⁴ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 27.

³²⁵ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza 2016 Obra Completa*, 1:21:00.

with his body, with his essence; this is what I ask for,
my sacred lord.³²⁶

Rather than witchcraft, her prayer contains no indication of her intention to either enchant or confuse Mendoza, in comparison to *Macbeth*, in which spirits are raised to ‘draw [Macbeth] on to his confusion’.³²⁷ Instead, the lines ‘Here I am kneeling down [...] prostrated at your door’ underscore the seriousness of her ritual, imploring her patron to accept Mendoza as a sacrifice. Additionally, the Bruja makes no indication that the ritual is intended to be performed on Mendoza specifically, just that ‘Here shall fall, here shall stumble a son, an offspring, he may come to walk, he may come to stroll, or he may have a place to go to, he may have a place to arrive to, in this way he’ll cross through here, he’ll walk here, and here he’ll meet evil’.³²⁸ It is either a coincidence or providence that Mendoza enters the scene immediately after the ritual. However, the implication remains that a sacrifice is being prepared and presented to the ‘Lord of the dark’.

The invocation to ‘accept him, | with his body, with his essence’ echoes and adapts the Catholic eucharistic liturgy, which tasks the congregation with accepting the transubstantiated blood and body of Christ. However, where the eucharist is performed to save the souls of the congregation, it is not only by offering thanks and praise to God, but also by participating in communion with him, where the blood and body of Christ are consumed. This method of reconciliation through the Eucharist is described in *The Roman Ritual*, which states that in ‘a similar way are we assimilated to Him when the wine is transubstantiated into Him, and later given to us as the Communion of His Blood, the price of

³²⁶ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 27-28.

³²⁷ *Macbeth*, III.5.29.

³²⁸ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 27.

reconciliation, the sign of unity, the bond of charity’.³²⁹ The Eucharist is a fundamental and familiar aspect of the Catholic faith that the adaptation is employing to communicate themes of social unity, especially in a time of political turmoil. In *Mendoza*, the Bruja’s prayer is not a public communion like the Catholic Eucharist. Instead, it is a private prayer between herself and the ‘Lord of the Dark’. By taking into consideration her additional speech in Act 1 Scene 4 in which she describes the Revolution not as a product of witchcraft but as the result of society’s discontent, the sacrifice of Mendoza is likely for the benefit and peace of the Mexican people. By implying that Mendoza is a ‘gift’ or ‘substitute’, the Bruja is suggesting that the death of one life is worth the saving of many. Hence, Mendoza is placed in the position of a metaphorical sacrificial lamb for a greater cause. In this sense, the adaptation mixes the spiritual capital of the Eucharist in its *objectified* state with the Bruja’s spiritual capital as a symbol of rebellion to reinforce its own critique of the Mexican government.

3.3 Bruja and Rebels – an Enrichment of Spiritual Capital in *Mendoza*

This interpretation of witchcraft as an act of rebellion connects modern associations of brujas with revolutionaries to colonial perspectives. As Silvia Federici indicates, by ‘persecuting women as witches, then, the Spaniards targeted both the practitioners of the old [indigenous] religion and the instigators of anti-colonial revolt’.³³⁰ While Federici analyses the historical persecution of Latin American women from a Feminist perspective, her research allows us to understand that the association between brujas and revolutions is not a contemporary concept but one that is inherited from colonial history. By understanding the

³²⁹ *The Roman Ritual – In Latin and English with Rubrics and Planechant Notations*, vol 1, translated and edited by Phillip T. Weller (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1950), p. 245.

³³⁰ Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*, p. 251.

contextual association between the Bruja and the Revolution within *Mendoza*'s narrative, viewers of the adaptation can recognise the intertwining of the spiritual with the political; that the production's resistance to vilifying the Bruja, in comparison to the interpretations of the Weird Sisters we have observed, allows it to invoke criticisms of the government. Not only does *Mendoza* draw on the Bruja's spiritual capital as a symbol of rebellion, but it also enriches it by reinforcing this notion through her speeches. The Bruja's opening lines: 'The omens come from long ago. You but see, and I but give them voice',³³¹ implies a long-foreseen tragedy that is about to unfold. At the same time, her later line in Act 1 Scene 4, states that all she does is interpret the signs of revolution, which stems from the people's rage, inequality, and ambition,³³² clarifies the omens she sees. The Bruja can read the emotions of the Mexican people and predict the oncoming revolution. Richard L. Kagan's definition of prophecy is particularly apt for interpreting the Bruja's added speech: it 'is also a collective phenomenon; prophets rarely speak for themselves but rather serve as the mouthpieces for ignored, neglected, or marginal groups seeking to obtain legitimacy for a particular cause'.³³³ While Kagan is describing Spanish prophecies in the quote, his definition is still applicable to *Mendoza*'s Bruja prophecy. Within the context of the adaptation, the Bruja becomes a conduit for the people's growing discontent, which will result in the tragic narrative about to be enacted. Hence, the Bruja seeks absolution from the audience, highlighting that witchcraft and the supernatural are not scapegoats for the tragedies of revolution.

³³¹ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 1.

³³² Ibid., p. 5.

³³³ Richard L. Kagan, "Politics, Prophecy, and the Inquisition in Late Sixteenth-Century Spain", in *Cultural Encounters: the Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, edited by Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 105-126 (p. 106).

The main thrust of the adaptation's socio-political message lies in its engagement with the discourse of post-revolutionary Mexico. The period between the late twentieth-century and the new millennium has shifted perceptions and ideologies of the Revolution. Knight argues in another essay that by the centenary anniversary, ‘the ‘myth’ of the Mexican Revolution had evaporated, that it no longer conferred legitimacy as it had in the past: either because the people had given up believing in it; or, even if some still believed, because the regime had given up adhering to it’.³³⁴ Knight’s observation highlights the social cynicism towards a government that props up the ideals of a Revolution that fails to address the people’s discontent. Yet, despite the many years since the Revolution, the event still haunts Mexican society. Hence, it is not surprising that Zúñiga and Carrillo employ *Macbeth* as a medium to express their views on the rhetoric of Revolution. Horacio Legras highlights that in Revolutionary literature, ‘the revolution is resolved in a language of abjection and in a whirlpool of whimsical decisions portrayed as the fruits of petty passion or unrestrained ambition’.³³⁵ Legras’ description of Revolution-related narratives readily invites comparisons with *Macbeth*, establishing a parallel between the narrative and Mexico’s contemporary political climate. By portraying the Macbethian narrative as Revolutionary literature, Zúñiga and Carrillo communicate their scepticism about the ideals of Revolution and illustrate its cyclical nature. Robert White asserts that this interpretation of cyclical tyranny is present through the source play itself, stating that modern ‘performances of *Macbeth* [...] detect in the play’s ending that even if Macduff is an agent for divine retribution against the tyrant, yet his personal motive for revenge means that the pattern will recur’.³³⁶ Such sentiments are

³³⁴ Alan Knight, “The Myth of the Mexican Revolution”, *Past & Present*, 209.1 (2010), pp. 223-273 (p. 223).

³³⁵ Horacio Legras, “The Revolution and Its Specters: Staging the Popular in the Mexican Revolution”, *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 14:1 (2005), pp. 3–24 (p. 3).

³³⁶ Robert White, *Shakespeare Against War: Pacifist Readings* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2024), p. 100.

reflected in the Bruja's speech highlighted earlier in the chapter, that 'a country's tragedies are not conjured on the witches' tongues, nor in any witchlike consciousness, but in the rage, inequality and so much ambition'. By delivering her speech as a monologue, she implores the audience to recognise that her proclamation of Mendoza's rise in status and the revolution at the end of the narrative are not of her doing. Specifically, the word 'inequality' is not a concept experienced by those with power, but by those without.

Mendoza's Bruja illustrates an intertwined relationship between spiritual and political structures. The adaptation's portrayal of a non-demonised Bruja, which prioritises cultural fidelity over textual, allows the narrative to serve a political purpose by criticising Mexico's political figures. The Bruja's words in the inserted monologue serve as the crux of the adaptation's message: that as long as the people remain unhappy with the current state of governance, the cycle of usurpation will continue. Such themes recur and are reinforced by the many political references highlighted in this chapter, as well as in the ending song, which the surviving characters sing together as a group while sitting and drinking beer.³³⁷ The Bruja, then, is the spiritual counterpart to Mendoza's physical revolution; she represents a centuries-old act of rebellion against the oppressive authority of the Catholic Church during Mexico's colonial history. This aggressive and Revolutionary characterisation of the Bruja is hinted at early in the adaptation, when she provides a list of her descriptions, one of which is 'I am the woman who hides pistols and rifles in the folds of her neck'.³³⁸ In the context of her speech, the line is metaphorical. Yet, because of the Revolutionary setting of the adaptation, the Bruja's claim that she 'hides pistols and rifles' also suggests that she holds the potential to arm resistance against tyrannical authorities. In this sense, not only does the Bruja hold

³³⁷ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza 2016 Obra Completa*, 1:49:51.

³³⁸ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 3.

spiritual capital as a symbol of rebellion, but she also manifests it through her speeches, which further drive the adaptation's political message.

While the Bruja provides the voice of the people, Mendoza becomes the voice of the regime. During the banquet scene, Mendoza confronts the appearance of Aguirre's ghost by claiming that 'This land is re-writing history, with no changes, and behind your gaze lives a traitor'.³³⁹ In a parallel reading of the banquet scene, Macbeth does not state that his ascension changes history, making the line unique to *Mendoza*. Instead, he proclaims that Banquo 'hast no speculation in those eyes'.³⁴⁰ Comparing the two mentions of sight by both ghosts, as seen through their respective friends, reveals two different political approaches to the scene: where Macbeth denies Banquo's accusation of murder, Mendoza assertively labels his dead friend and tells him that history will be reinterpreted to Aguirre's detriment. Mendoza's intention to rewrite history reflects the ruling Mexican government's attempt to create a skewed narrative that celebrates the occurrence of the Revolution rather than acknowledging its impact on people's lives. In his analysis of the historical event, Thomas Benjamin highlights that monuments 'and rituals [by the regime] became places and occasions for emphasizing the discrepancy between the revolutionary ideal and the unhappy reality of contemporary Mexico'.³⁴¹ Mendoza's claim parallels the actions of the regime. It acknowledges the events of the Revolution, memorialising them in 'monuments and rituals', thereby controlling the narrative of these memories to praise their ruler. However, using the Revolution as propaganda to solidify their leadership is ultimately contradictory because the concept of revolution is fundamentally about rebellion against the establishment and, hence, is traitorous to authority's narrative. By labelling Aguirre a traitor, Mendoza thus places

³³⁹ Ibid., p. 26.

³⁴⁰ *Macbeth*, III.4.93.

³⁴¹ Thomas Benjamin, *La Revolución: Mexico's Great Revolution as Memory, Myth, and History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), p. 158.

himself in the position of established authority. If we consider Mendoza to be the metaphorical representation of the established authority after the third act of the adaptation, then the battle in the final act can be read as a revolution against his tyranny. The Bruja thus revolts against the post-Revolution political regime and zeitgeist; her rebellion encourages the demolition of a tyrannical power, as was the Revolution's initial ethos.

Mendoza is not the first adaptation to link the spiritual practitioner in the Macbethian narrative with the Revolution in Mexico. Maria Clara Versiani Galery and Anna Stegh Camati provide another instance in which the Weird Sisters are depicted as persons of resistance. In their description of a 2002 updated revival staging of Jesusa Rodríguez's 1981 Mexican adaptation called *¿Cómo va la noche, Macbeth?*, Galery and Camati highlight that the 'scenic image of the three women [who also act as maids] emerging from beneath the covers when the Macbeths try to sleep, as bare breasted revolutionaries, can be pointed out as one of the most effective'.³⁴² While this association between the Weird Sisters and the Mexican Revolution is not a frequently repeated pattern across adaptations with a Mexican heritage, the fact that a link has been established between the two and its perceived effectiveness speaks to the societal association between the two images. Such links reflect the long history of spiritual women's struggle and defiance against colonial and oppressive authorities. This can be seen in Federici's documentation, that in 'Oaxaca, the presence of women in popular rebellions continued into the [eighteenth]-century when, one out of four cases, they led the attack against the authorities [...] In Chiapas too, they were the key actors in the preservation of the old [indigenous] religion and the anti-colonialization struggle'.³⁴³ *Mendoza's* iteration of the Revolutionary Bruja is even more relevant to the adaptation's

³⁴² Maria Clara Versiani Galery and Anna Stegh Camati, "Shakespeare in Latin America: Appropriation Politics and Performance Practice", in *The Shakespearean World*, edited by Jill L. Levenson and Robert Ormsby (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 78-96 (p. 86).

³⁴³ Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*, p. 253.

political commentary amid rising discontent in Mexican society toward its government. These contextual associations thus illustrate one way in which Mexico's local culture cannibalises historical influences. As argued by Modenessi, 'Latin America consumes what it inherited and continues to obtain from past and foreign worlds without becoming a formula'.³⁴⁴ The practice of *brujería* was an act of rebellion against the colonial power of the Inquisition and is still perceived by local communities as defiance against oppressive control; its inclusion in Revolution narratives is analogous to social defiance. In doing so, the Bruja's prophecy remains consistent as a herald of the Revolution, empowering Esparza to be its physical representation. Like Macduff's revelation that he was birthed through a caesarean procedure, Esparza answers Mendoza's claim of being undefeatable against a person of natural birth with 'when I was born, she was already a corpse'.³⁴⁵ However, Esparza's reply also conveys a secondary interpretation rather than merely a twist on the Bruja's words: that, as a Revolution, he is born from the corpse of a dying society. In doing so, Esparza becomes the product of the Bruja's prior foretelling, that a revolution is born 'in the rage, inequality and so much ambition'. Hence, the concept of Revolution and its unique interpretation within Mexican society remains fundamental to the interpretation of Zúñiga and Carrillo's adaptation.

3.4 *Machismo* and Social Identity

By placing the Bruja's Revolutionary ideology in contrast to Mendoza's authoritarianism, *Mendoza* illustrates a gendered conflict that is rooted in its socio-historical

³⁴⁴ Alfredo Michel Modenessi, "You Say You Want a Revolution?": Shakespeare in Mexican [dis]guise", in *The Routledge Handbook of Shakespeare and Global Appropriation*, edited by Christy Desmet, Sujata Iyengar, and Miriam Jacobson (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 37-47 (p. 37).

³⁴⁵ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 35.

context. Morales' review of *Mendoza* highlights that the 'adaptation, with the machismo of our society, exacerbates the questioning of what it means to be a man'.³⁴⁶ The concept of masculinity in the Macbethian narrative is one of the more prominent thematic concerns explored in the source text, often through comparison between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. During Macbeth's raving in the banquet scene, for example, Lady Macbeth pulls him aside and asks, 'Are you a man?'.³⁴⁷ In the case of *Mendoza*, the comparison is not made between the couple but instead between the Bruja and the other male characters, due to the entanglement between gender and witchcraft practice within societal culture. For example, Aguirre immediately moves closer to the Bruja to confront her prophecy, placing his foot on the chair beside her and leaning threateningly towards her.³⁴⁸ Aguirre's display of defiance in the face of the Bruja first demonstrates a sense of machismo, or "manliness", as a sign of strength and power. In the context of Mexican society, discussions of witchcraft are especially gendered due to the historical impact of the Inquisition's attribution of many supernatural crimes to women, thereby creating a misogynistic perception of the practice, as Lewis indicates, that 'in Spain, witchcraft in Mexico was a shortcoming usually attributed to women'.³⁴⁹ If witchcraft is perceived as gendered in Mexico as Lewis claims it to be, then its incorporation in an adaptation that thematically questions ideas of 'machismo' thus sets the concepts against each other. Behar further explains that the concept of *brujería* represents an aspect of female resistance and empowerment within Mexican society, that since 'women were left with few domains in which to assert themselves, they developed, in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America, a rich symbolic language of beliefs and acts for resisting,

³⁴⁶ Paulina Morales, "'Mendoza': an urgent and necessary 'Macbeth,'" *Nexos* (25 July 2016), <https://cultura.nexos.com.mx/mendoza-un-macbeth-urgente-y-necesario>, npg.

³⁴⁷ *Macbeth*, III.4.56.

³⁴⁸ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza 2016 Obra Completa*, 9:29.

³⁴⁹ Lewis, *Hall of Mirrors*, p. 37-38.

punishing, and even controlling the men who dominated them'.³⁵⁰ Behar's assessment aligns with previous arguments made in this chapter regarding the usage of *brujería* as a means of asserting power against patriarchal authority. In doing so, the adaptation creates a complex political commentary that integrates the Bruja's spiritual capital with the gender dynamics of Mexican society.

In *Mendoza*, male characters such as Mendoza and Aguirre repeatedly reaffirm their machismo, especially by being vocally violent toward the Bruja. In their first meeting with the Bruja, for example, Aguirre demeans her by asking, 'Why do you slither and drool like that [...] If you don't speak, you'll go straight to the bottom of the earth, scheming whore, you disgusting, cursed witch'.³⁵¹ Aguirre makes a clear attempt at scorning her appearance by saying that she 'slither[s]' and 'drool[s]' as if she were old and snake-like, in addition to his denigrations and his imposing stance as highlighted above. In doing so, he implies that he is in a position of higher authority and thus able to threaten her into speaking. However, rather than presenting a one-sided conflict in which machismo degrades the Bruja, *Mendoza* also illustrates her ability to resist and subvert these machoistic slights. She answers Aguirre's taunts by making a string of powerful declarations:

I am just a cruel wind, a flash of lightning. I am the woman who waits. I am the woman who sees within [...] I am the moon, I am the stars, I am the uprooted woman. I am the woman who makes things turn. I am the woman who makes you dream [...]
I am the spirit woman because I can get in and out of the realm of the dead.³⁵²

The Bruja's response suggests a confidence in her existence and identity despite Aguirre's demeaning insults. Her anaphoric affirmation of 'I am' reinforces her identification as a

³⁵⁰ Behar, *Sex and Sin*, p. 42.

³⁵¹ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 3.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

human being alongside her status as a force of nature and cosmic being, rather than choosing to bring down the opposition, demonstrating the act of resistance associated with the practice of *brujería*. *Mendoza*, thus, showcases the gendered tension between machismo men and the women of its narrative, where masculine violence is confronted by feminine defiance, both natural and supernatural. On this topic, Nájera explains that these ‘*machista* associations are an early form of discourses of decency that, by linking femininity with pollution, danger, and monstrosity, made women into others [...the] marginalized sources from whence women putatively acquired their *brujería* further intensified the vilification of women and magic’.³⁵³ *Mendoza* and Aguirre already think themselves as better than the Bruja, choosing instead to immediately insult and threaten her. Both *Mendoza* and Aguirre display the intertwining relationship between machismo and *brujería*, suggesting that the elevation of one requires the denigration of the other, a relationship the Bruja defies.

The formation of machismo is rooted in Mexico’s history and the Revolution. As Sonya Lipsett-Rivera argues and defines, for ‘many years, men had channelled their violent emotions and frustrations with symbolic gestures; with the explosion of the war for independence, men could act out their violence openly, and the seeds of the Mexican macho were sown’.³⁵⁴ Yet this resistance is not confined solely to the Bruja. Teresa embodies this aspect especially. When asked by Rosario to seek out her husband, who fled the country, or to go into hiding, Teresa tells her ‘I don’t need a man to protect me. I was in the revolution, Rosario. I learned how to use weapons and to swallow up fear’.³⁵⁵ Her defiance against escape is immediately contrasted by the entrance of *Mendoza* and one of his men. *Mendoza* forces Teresa to kneel and watch as his partner grabs the puppet, whose head is made of fruit

³⁵³ Nájera, *Becoming Brujas*, p. 20.

³⁵⁴ Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, *The Origins of Macho: Men and Masculinity in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019), p. 6.

³⁵⁵ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 26.

and represents Camilo, and smashes it to the ground. Mendoza then slaps Teresa with blood-filled hands, signifying his killing of Teresa.³⁵⁶ Mendoza's personal and brutal murder of a defenceless Teresa and Camilo in this sequence clearly demonstrates the idea of machismo that permeates the environment of violence within the Mexican context.

This conflict between machismo and *brujería* is not tied solely to the first meeting between Mendoza, Aguirre, and the Bruja. Nevertheless, it is constantly reinforced and subverted throughout the rest of the adaptation. Throughout the production, Mendoza constantly attempts to reaffirm his masculinity, to the point of declaring to Rosario that he is 'so macho that [he] dare face anything that would scare the devil himself'.³⁵⁷ The hyperbole of being brave enough to fight an opponent that embodies the epitome of diabolical creatures paradoxically emphasises Mendoza's overcompensation for his masculinity.

3.5 One Actor, Two Spiritual Practices

Throughout its production, the adaptation clearly limits references to the performance of spiritual rituals to the Bruja and Rosario, both played by the same performer. The one visual difference is that the Bruja is performed with a mask, while Rosario is not. This costume choice demonstrates the Bruja's "Otherness" from the rest of the cast while simultaneously indicating that the actor is performing two separate characters. There are other masked characters in the performance's ensemble, from Medina, one of Aguirre's murderers, to the various guests at Mendoza's dinner banquet. However, only the Bruja is given substantial performance time. By employing the same actress to double as both the Bruja and Rosario, the adaptation visually draws a close connection between the two

³⁵⁶ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza 2016 Obra Completa*, 1:30:00-1:31:00.

³⁵⁷ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 26.

characters, specifically in their interactions with the supernatural. Given *Mendoza*'s political focus, the parallels between Rosario and the Bruja are significantly limited. Nonetheless, the choice to have the same performer play both Rosario and the Bruja further highlights the complex interweaving between Catholic practice and *brujería*.

By having one actor play both Rosario and the Bruja, the adaptation combines and contrasts the spiritual capitals of these two characters with those of Lady Macbeth and the Weird Sisters. In *Mendoza*'s adapted version of *Macbeth*'s Act 1 Scene 4, Rosario is depicted saying a prayer rather than invoking spirits:

Holy Father, my Lord, today I come before your cross, prostrate. Your ungrateful servant is calling you. Holy Father, you are my Lord. Change my sex and give me bravery. Hear the prayers of this humble sinner, I'll know how to repay you. Take the milk of my breasts and turn my milk to bitter gall [...].³⁵⁸

Rosario demonstrates a similar use of spiritual capital to Lady Macbeth, twisting the use of familiar religious rituals, such as prayer, to suit her own ambitions. However, because *Mendoza* uses a direct prayer rather than merely adopting a prayer structure as in *Macbeth*, Rosario's words further highlight the unnaturalness of her transactional request. Both characters do vilify themselves by perverting prayers and the significance they hold in Christian/Catholic society. However, Rosario transgresses more because her indication of repayment implies an attempt to entice God to directly grant her the courage to murder Montaña, a sin which is already condemnable by biblical commandments. The contrasting point between the two characters, Lady Macbeth and Rosario, however, is the entity to whom they direct their requests: Lady Macbeth's ritual is clearly diabolical, imploring spirits to aid her, whereas Rosario directs her prayer to God.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 13.

By directing their requests to two distinct supernatural powers – God and the Lord of the Dark – the play highlights the distinction between Rosario and the Bruja, despite both characters being performed by the same actor. Both the Bruja and Rosario perform their prayers while they prostrate themselves before their deities, creating a *mise-en-scène* of devotional servitude. However, where Rosario’s prayer attempts to entice God to provide her with the courage to perform a sinful act, the Bruja’s inverted prayer to an occult master merely presents the entity with a sacrificial gift, asking for nothing in return. In the context of an adapted Eucharist ritual, the Bruja presents Mendoza as a sacrifice to save the people of her community. In contrast, Rosario’s prayer is a self-serving plea for God to provide her with the resolution to commit murder. Thus, the Bruja illustrates a non-transactional relationship with the natural/supernatural worlds in comparison to Rosario. She tells Mendoza that she merely communicates with the world, that she shares a language with them, ‘I ask and they answer [...] I say what they’ve told me, what they’ve shown me’.³⁵⁹ In contrast to Early Modern ideas of magic, in which the spellcaster directs supernatural energies to accomplish their goals, the Bruja merely acts as a spiritual medium for both the natural/supernatural world rather than their manipulator. Despite her offering of a sacrifice as previously highlighted, her prayer merely presents the offering rather than requesting for something in return. Once again, audiences are reminded of the Bruja’s non-participation in the Macbethian events through the line above; she communicates her own observations and those of the rest of the world rather than attempting to influence the narrative.

3.6 The Road So Far

³⁵⁹ Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*, p. 28.

As we have observed throughout this chapter, the hybridity of Mexican spiritual practices that emerged from Mexico's colonial history plays an important role in distilling and understanding the interpersonal relationships between the various characters in *Mendoza*. The adaptation employs various uses of spiritual capital that reinforce its political commentary about the Mexican government in 2016. To do this, *Mendoza* infuses its Bruja with words that resist and defy socio-political dynamics, while also taking advantage of and enriching her role in both the local community and history. In doing so, we can better appreciate how these relationships provide implied criticisms of the adaptation's political environment. Zúñiga and Carrillo's cultural fidelity to the social role of the Bruja and their resistance to demonising her allow their adaptation to expand on the connotations of their political message through her associated meanings; the social and historical contexts of the Bruja and *brujería* practice inform and enhance her position within the narrative. She is empowered by the concept of spiritual hybridity and integration of various origins. She employs her ability to circumvent the consequences of ongoing political choices for the benefit of her community, albeit at the sacrifice of a few. Hence, the critical political narrative of *Mendoza* does not lie solely in the historical context, but is embedded within the characters. However, it is by viewing these characters through the lens of local spiritual practices and their history that the connotations are uncovered, providing audiences and scholars with the means to understand the underlying tensions and conflicts that enrich its political commentary.

4. Japan: Ghosts and Shintoism – Ryutopia’s Phantasmal *Macbeth*

4.1 The Spiritual Capital of Noh Shakespeare

To call Ryutopia’s *Macbeth* a haunting, localised adaptation of its source text might seem like an exaggerated description of the production. However, considering the adaptation’s theatrical form, the description becomes much more accurate. Yong Li Lan in her study about the theatrical group that the ‘Ryutopia Shakespeare Series aims to hybridize Shakespeare and *noh* to produce a unique third form’.³⁶⁰ While Yong provides a general description of Ryutopia’s aesthetics, the theatre group incorporates more than a single theatrical practice within its adaptations. Daniel Gallimore provides a more specific summation of Ryutopia’s practice, stating that ‘Ryūtopia combines traditional with contemporary techniques, using both *kabuki* and mainstream actors to perform Shakespeare in contemporary translations [...] in a contemporary *mise-en-scène*, but on a *noh* stage [...]’.³⁶¹ Gallimore’s description highlights the multiple performance practices incorporated into Ryutopia’s productions, including Noh, Kabuki, and contemporary Shingeki traditions, according to the Asian Shakespeare Intercultural Archive’s documentation. Earle Ernst provides some insight into these traditions, writing that Noh theatre ‘remained primarily the theatre of the intellectual and the well-to-do, [...] and] that the serious Nō plays are underlaid with a comprehensible and compact body of belief, derived largely from the Amidist strain of Buddhism, which gives the plays a constant ideological core lacking in the other forms of Japanese theatre’.³⁶² If we consider the Noh theatre as the overarching framework of the

³⁶⁰ Yong Li Lan, “After Translation”, in *Shakespeare Survey 62: Close Encounters with Shakespeare’s Text*, edited by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 283-295 (p. 288).

³⁶¹ Daniel Gallimore, “Shakespeare in Contemporary Japan”, in *Shakespeare in Hollywood, Asia, and Cyberspace*, edited by Alexander C. Y. Huang and Charles S. Ross (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), pp. 109-120 (p. 111).

³⁶² Earle Ernst, *The Kabuki Theatre* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii, 1974), p. 1.

adaptation, by which I mean that the overall aesthetics of the production informs the audience that the adaptation should be viewed mainly from a Noh perspective, then Ernst's description provides this thesis with the lens through which we can examine the adaptation, which is through its belief system. According to an interview, Yoshihiro Kurita, the director of the Ryutopia productions, states that his 'hope was that this marriage of Shakespeare plays with the Noh theatre would produce a new mixed breed of Original Shakespeare that could not be experienced in Britain or anywhere else in Japan, just on our stage'.³⁶³ Kurita's desire to establish a form of Shakespeare that can only be consumed in their theatre in Japan suggests that his intertwining of Noh traditions with Shakespeare creates a specific cultural identity that is specific to his theatre in Japan. For Ryutopia's *Macbeth*, I will be arguing that Kurita incorporates various rituals in his adaptation to depict the spiritual consequences found in *Macbeth*. In doing so, he demonstrates how the *institutionalised* state of Noh Theatre's spiritual capital and local cultural belief systems can help reconcile unresolved emotions found within the source text.

The adaptation's particular emphasis on the spiritual consequences of the Macbethian narrative is evident from the beginning. The production opens with Macbeth, the *shite* or the protagonist of the play, and Banquo entering the stage, followed by the witches, who are dressed in red kimonos and carrying branches. The red dress of the witches is significant to their characterisation as, according to Svitlana Rybalko, Noh costumes for female roles can be categorised into two forms: the 'first type of dress, [iroiri (with colour or red)] made in various shades of red, is intended for the roles of young girls, while the second, [ironashi (without colour or without red),] is worn in various shades of blue, green, brown, magenta

³⁶³ Yoshihiro Kurita, *A Meeting of Eastern and Western Classics – The Noh Staged Shakespeare of Yoshihiro Kurita*, Interview with Kensuke Yokouchi, *Performing Arts Network Japan*, <https://performingarts.jpf.go.jp/en/article/6871>, npg.

(but without bright red) for the role of middle-aged and elderly women'.³⁶⁴ Both Kabuki and Noh performance forms use red kimonos in their productions, each with its own meaning. The description provided by Rybalko is a more appropriate definition since the witches enter the performance space singing 'a children's song' according to the adaptation's stage directions, demonstrating their youthful association.³⁶⁵ In comparison, the kabuki tradition uses red kimonos to indicate women who come from a high status, according to Sadao Hibi.³⁶⁶ This aesthetic marker is corroborated by Minami Ryuta, who, in his review of Ninagawa Yukio's *Kabuki Twelfth Night*, writes that the audience was expected to 'recognise the characteristics of Princess [Octavia] as soon as she appears in a red kimono'.³⁶⁷ While the use of red costuming and singing of children's songs highlight the youthfulness of the witches, they are not necessarily children, nor should they be interpreted as such, especially since they participate in more mature activities, such as entertaining Duncan in his chambers as escorts. Instead, their youthful imagery subverts any direct visual vilification of their characters, allowing the audience to enter the world of the adaptation with a more open interpretation of the narrative's localisation.

The witches' red kimono costumes also draw associations with Shintoist priestesses who wear white robes and red pleated trousers. This association is reinforced by the witches' constant carrying of branches of bamboo leaves, which signal a connection with a Shintoist ceremonial ritual dance known as *Kagura*, the specifics of which will be covered later in this chapter. A.C. Underwood describes the Shintoist ritual as dances 'with songs and musical

³⁶⁴ Svitlana Rybalko, "Costume Art in the Noh Theater Community", in *Intercultural Relations*, 3:2(6) (2019), pp. 95–108 (p. 98).

³⁶⁵ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, *Macbeth*, translated by Daniel Gallimore, Online Video Archive, *Asian Shakespeare Intercultural Archive*, 0:00:30-0:03:12.

³⁶⁶ Sadao Hibi, *The Colors of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 2000), pg. 15.

³⁶⁷ Minami Ryuta, "Redefining the 'Foreign' of 'Foreign Shakespeares' in Asia: Ninagawa Yukio's *Kabuki Twelfth Nights* and its audience", *Shakespeare Review*, 46.4 (2010), pp. 925-940 (p. 935).

accompaniment, and also dramatic representations are given in a separate building [...disseminating the old folk tales] among the people, [...] which are called *kagura*'.³⁶⁸

However, while the witches in Ryutopia's *Macbeth* perform a simple dance, encircling either the stage or specific individuals, it is their waving of the bamboo leaves during the sequence that indicates a casting of an enchantment, which summons the adaptation's characters into the space or causes them to be entranced. The use of the branches visually prepares the production's audiences, particularly those familiar with *Kagura*, for the spiritual direction and themes of the adaptation. Spiritual practitioners usually employ these branches as part of Shamanistic rituals to appease the dead. Hence, having the witches enter the performance area carrying the instruments that form part of the *Kagura* ritual clearly indicates the intention of the production to enact the symbolic elements, which connote the process of 'appeasing the soul of the dead' through the performance of the Macbethian narrative.

The performance of the *Kagura* is used as a cue for the play to begin and for the rest of the characters to make their entrance. This is indicated by the stage direction, 'Macbeth, and Banquo are summoned by the Witches' spell',³⁶⁹ and is followed by the famous Macbethian hails which proclaim him Thane of Cawdor, Glamis, and king. Lady Macbeth is summoned and receives the news from the witches rather than a messenger, hinting at their role as coordinators of the play rather than merely characters, a theme this chapter will explore later. Duncan, who has arrived at the Macbeths' house, is blindfolded and entertained by the witches, who are disguised as escorts, before they close their circle on him and lull him to sleep with their branches, allowing Macbeth to murder the sleeping king. The actor playing Duncan revives and takes on the role of a guard, who then delivers the Porter's

³⁶⁸ A. C. Underwood, *Shintoism: The Indigenous Religion of Japan* (London: The Epworth Press, 1934), p. 54.

³⁶⁹ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 0:03:17.

speech, interacts with Macduff, and exits. When asked about the specific directorial reason behind this decision, Kurita explains that because

in the Noh theater there is no way to get the king off stage after he is killed, I used my imagination and had the king play the guard's role [...if] you think in terms of Mugen (Dream) Noh where all the characters are ghosts to begin with [...no] matter what characters may change into other characters, or how you have them leave the stage, or how you let them stay on stage after they have died, if the audience comes to the play with the image of a world of ghosts, you can do anything [...].³⁷⁰

Kurita's comment implies that the world of Ryutopia's adaptation is a space where the characters are ghosts, and the narrative recounts the past rather than unfolds the present. The events of the Macbethian narrative can neither be undone nor changed, but accepted, and taken accountability for. Reiko Yamanaka corroborates this, documenting that in Mugen Noh, 'the ghost tells us what it was he or she did during life that merited damnation, and with that, seeks the prayers of the *waki* in order to obtain salvation'.³⁷¹ We shall examine the role of the *waki* later in this chapter.

Another change made in this adaptation is that the witches are responsible for Banquo's murder rather than the murderers, yet they also comfort him by placing his head on their lap briefly. By substituting the murderers for the witches, Kurita expands on the witches' control over the Macbethian narrative, reinforcing the interpretation that this adaptation is performed from their retelling for Macbeth to confront the consequences of his

³⁷⁰ Yoshihiro Kurita, *A Meeting of Eastern and Western Classics – The Noh Staged Shakespeare of Yoshihiro Kurita*, Interview with Kensuke Yokouchi, *Performing Arts Network Japan*, <https://performingarts.jp/en/article/6871>, npg.

³⁷¹ Reiko Yamanaka, "Dreams, Memories and Recollections", *Journal of the Institute of Nogaku Studies*, 43 (2019), pp. 158(1)-152(7) (p. 153(6)).

actions. This modification allows both Macbeth and the audience a chance to reflect on the events of the play, as the narrative's progression is not happening in real-time, or at least Macbeth is not experiencing this story for the first time. As Komparu explains, 'Noh is always performed with the *shite* at the center, and conversely the *shite*, by being of one mind with the audience through seeing himself from its position, acts and dances within a communion of hearts'.³⁷² This shared opportunity for introspection demonstrates how the theatre can utilise the *institutionalised* state of spiritual capital, especially with adaptations of plays like *Macbeth*. Understanding cultural forms and their attitudes towards spirituality, thus, provides scholars with the tools to engage with hybridised and localised adaptations such as Ryutopia's *Macbeth*. This idea of the adaptation as a retelling will be explored in greater detail later in this chapter. Banquo then joins the witches as they enact the banquet scene where he recites the lines of Macbeth's guests, while staring at the king in an accusing manner, before exiting. In doing so, Kurita provides Banquo with an opportunity to confront Macbeth about the betrayal of their friendship. Banquo's ghost reappears and exchanges Macbeth's crown with a Noh mask, which will be further explored in a later section. The play closes with 'Malcolm, Macduff, and the six witches [singing a] song to the spirits of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth',³⁷³ with Macbeth and Lady Macbeth laying in the laps of the witches, who are now dressed in white to symbolise a funerary moment, as the lights fade to black. This costume change is more commonly indicative of the Japanese Buddhist funeral custom, as documented by Elizabeth Kenney, who notes the burial outfit of a deceased Buddhist individual as being 'a white kimono or a white happi and pants [...]; button-less tabi socks; backwards straw sandals'.³⁷⁴ The choice to use Buddhist tradition here maintains Macbeth's

³⁷² Kunio Komparu, *The Noh Theatre: Principles and Perspectives* (New York: John Weatherhill Inc, 1983), p. 158.

³⁷³ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 1:42:05.

³⁷⁴ Elizabeth Kenney, "Shintō Mortuary Rites in Contemporary Japan", *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, 9 (1996-1997), pp. 397-436 (p. 403 fn. 14).

position as a Buddhist practitioner, as indicated by a string of prayer beads that he carries for most of the production. By incorporating these numerous instances of local spiritual culture – from the costumes to the props and rituals – Kurita invests significant spiritual capital into the production.

At this point, I would like to return to the other two performance traditions that were incorporated into the adaptation: Kabuki and Shingeki. Ernst documents that there ‘appeared in the Kabuki a concern with delirium, suffering, and pain, with the vulgar, vicious, and murderous, with blood, shock, and horror’.³⁷⁵ If the aesthetic and ideological approach of Ryutopia’s practice is through the Noh theatre, then the Shakespearean narrative themes of their adaptations rely on the Kabuki tradition to be enacted. Regarding Shingeki, Ernst also includes this theatre form in his survey of Japanese theatrical form, noting that ‘shingeki, the modern theatre [...] includes plays from foreign countries translated into Japanese, or at times adapted to a Japanese setting’.³⁷⁶ It is, thus, unsurprising that such techniques are used to localise *Macbeth*. Carol Fisher Sorgenfrei describes the focus of Shingeki theatre, that it ‘was (and remains) primarily interested in making theatre reminiscent of the psychological realism that is generally considered the norm in text based, Euro-American drama’.³⁷⁷ The foreignness of Shakespearean plays to Japanese theatre makes them immediately appropriate for Shingeki adaptation. Ryutopia highlights both the violence and unresolved emotions in the play by including Noh and Kabuki traditions in their *Macbeth*. By incorporating these three Japanese performance traditions together, Kurita demonstrates his ability to create a cultural identity that is unique to both his theatre and Japan.

³⁷⁵ Ernst, *The Kabuki Theatre*, p. 21.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 269-270.

³⁷⁷ Carol Fisher Sorgenfrei, “Japan”, in *Routledge Handbook of Asian Theatre*, edited by Siyuan Liu (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 460-464 (p. 460).

However, like the localised productions discussed in the previous chapters, the adaptation inevitably contends with both the cultural and spiritual differences between the Early Modern English background of the source play and the Japanese context. As Yoshiko Kawachi argues, ‘Japanizing Shakespeare is a type of “negotiation” between Japanese culture and English culture’.³⁷⁸ The ‘negotiation’ between the two cultures that this chapter will focus on involves the use of Shintoist rituals by the adaptation’s witches and the concept of the supernatural on the Noh stage, in relation to the perceptions of Early Modern witchcraft established in previous chapters of this thesis. This chapter, therefore, aims to highlight the adaptation’s emphasis on addressing the lack of spiritual resolution for the Macbeth couple by employing Shintoist and Buddhist ideologies, which acknowledge the importance of taking responsibility for their actions as a means of bringing them peace. This spiritual resolution takes the form of a narrative cathartic release for both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth as they lay their heads in the laps of the witches, with smiles of comfort on their faces. This resolution of Kurita’s adaptation highlights the ability of Japanese spiritual practices to aid in taking responsibility for one’s actions by allowing the characters to retell their stories and confront their choices. The characters can thus find peace in the afterlife, whereas Christian ideology suggests condemnation in the finality of death. Kurita’s adaptation maintains some resemblances to the source text but alters its presentation to highlight how Christian ideology is sometimes limited in its interaction with the afterlife. It, instead, offers alternative methods of spiritual resolution through fidelity to the spiritual practices of its own culture.

³⁷⁸ Yoshiko Kawachi, “Rewriting Shakespeare in a Japanese Context”, in *Shakespeare’s World/World Shakespeares: The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress Brisbane, 2006*, edited by Richard Fotheringham, Christa Jansohn, and R. S. White (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 330-341 (p. 339).

If we consider the entire adaptation as a *Kagura*, in the sense that it disseminates an old tale, it reveals Kurita's attempt to infuse the adaptation with indigenous spiritual and cultural practices rather than merely representing an aesthetic choice. It is through these rituals that Kurita attempts to appease the souls of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, particularly with the song at the end of the adaptation. While *Kagura* dances are typically performed at Shinto shrines as a ritual to pass along stories, in Kurita's adaptation, the ritual serves as a visual indication of enchantment, ushering in various characters and allowing Macbeth's narrative to unfold before the audience's eyes. In terms of the ritual, the witches take the position of the *ninjo*, or ritual leader. According to Benito Ortolani's description, 'the *ninjo*, the director or main performer [...has] the task of organizing and directing the ritual performances, and of speaking the words of conjuration and summoning'.³⁷⁹ By summoning the other characters, or ghosts, if we take into account Kurita's description, the witches clarify their role in the adaptation: that they are there to provide a narrative centred around the appeasement of spirits of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, whose spirits still linger in the world of the living due to the lack of acknowledgement for the violence enacted in their names as well as unresolved guilt. The bamboo leaves that they carry further solidify this interpretation, recalling the observation by Ortolani. As further observed by Ortolani, the 'original meaning and function of the object held in the hand of the *ninjo*, the *torimono*, has been differently interpreted: as a symbol of the offerings to the god[s], as a taboo, or as an instrument of shamanistic transmission of messages from the dead, or supernatural manifestations of a god, or as an instrument for appeasing the souls of the dead'.³⁸⁰ This description of the *ninjo*'s role alongside the above-mentioned description of Noh Theatre overlaps specifically with the placation of the dead. If we regard the Noh Theatre as an

³⁷⁹ Benito Ortolani, *The Japanese Theatre: From Shamanistic Ritual to Contemporary Pluralism* (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 18.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

institution, then Kurita's decision to engage in this overlap of ritual and space for his adaptation creates a cultural identity and experience specific to his brand.

In addition to the overlap between ritual dance and Noh Theatre, Shintoism itself is a site of Interspiritual hybridity that bleeds into the costume and aesthetics of Kurita's adaptation. In his study of Japanese Shakespeare performances, Gallimore broadly ascribes the differences in moral interpretation of the values and teachings of Japanese Buddhism.³⁸¹ Yet, the generalised approach to spiritualism within his study discounts the variety of spiritual cultures practiced in local communities and their impact on the cultural interpretation of the adaptation. In this instance, ascribing the moral interpretation of Ryutopia's *Macbeth* solely to Buddhist values dismisses the various other spiritual beliefs that inform and influence Japanese culture. Instead, considering Kawachi's explanation that 'Noh performances have a relationship with Shintoism, an ancient religion of Japan which includes the worship of gods that represent various parts of nature, as well as ancestor worship',³⁸² then understanding the rituals and moralities of the spiritual practice of Shintoism, which embeds itself into the performance tradition, allows scholars and audiences to grasp the changing dynamics of culturally translating a play with supernatural elements like *Macbeth* from its Early Modern context into a locally Japanese one. The influence of Buddhist and Shintoist aesthetics and values is clearly demonstrated within the adaptation's performance. Macbeth, for example, holds a string of Buddhist beads throughout the performance as an indication of his religious piety, losing it only during his final confrontation with Macduff. This string of beads, while a small prop, is already a visual indication of the spiritual hybridisation that has occurred between Shintoism and Buddhism

³⁸¹ Gallimore, *Shakespeare in Contemporary Japan*, p. 113-115.

³⁸² Yoshiko Kawachi, "Shakespeare's Long Journey to Japan", in *Shakespeare's Asian Journeys: Critical Encounters, Cultural Geographies, and the Politics of Travel*, edited by Bi-qi Beatrice Lei, Judy Celine Ick, and Poonam Trivedi (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 37-54 (p. 46).

due to their long history together. Peter D. Arnott indicates that while Buddhism was formally introduced to Japan in 552 CE, ‘Shinto was not abandoned but lived side by side with Buddhism and learnt from it’.³⁸³ Hence, over the centuries, Shintoism has learned to assimilate Buddhist practices and aesthetics into its own, and vice-versa, which is reflected in Noh theatre due to their close connection. As this thesis has discussed in earlier chapters, props like Buddhist beads, due to their association with religious practices, hold in them some amount of spiritual capital in their *objectified* state. Ryutopia’s *Macbeth* then uses this spiritual capital to visually communicate Macbeth’s state of mind throughout the performance.

4.2 Ghost-Changing Macbeth and Spiritual Capital Negotiations

Considering the plethora of supernatural incidents, including the appearance of witches and ghosts, within Ryutopia’s *Macbeth*, Kurita’s adaptation points towards the employment of a specific sub-genre of Noh Theatre, *Mugen* Noh. According to Yukihide Endo, ‘Noh theater consists of two types of plays: genzai noh [present-time noh], which presents a relatively realistic portrayal of living persons, and mugen noh [phantasmal noh], which depicts ghosts and other supernatural beings that interact with Buddhist monks and seek salvation’.³⁸⁴ Kurita’s directorial choice to have Macbeth hold onto the string of Buddhist beads, while also interacting with the metaphysical elements of the play, makes a clear allusion to the *Mugen* Noh traditions that influence the structure of the adaptation. Minami Ryuta provides a more accurate suggestion in which he explains that ‘Phantasmal

³⁸³ Peter D. Arnott, *The Theatres of Japan* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1969), p. 17.

³⁸⁴ Yukihide Endo, “Performativity and Spirituality in Noh Theatre”, *The International Journal of Literary Humanities*, 20:2 (2022), pp. 107-119 (p. 107).

Noh [also known as *Mugen*], as a theatrical genre, necessarily ends with its protagonist's liberation from the memories of or remorse for the past [when they were alive]'.³⁸⁵ Instead of following *Macbeth*'s denouement, which involves Macbeth's death and the restoration of Scotland's throne to Malcolm, Kurita chooses to extend the conclusion of his adaptation by including a final song for the souls of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, sung by Malcolm, Macduff, and the witches.

The adaptation does not condemn Macbeth and Lady Macbeth's characters and instead places that judgement in the hands of the divine. As Malcolm indicates at the end of the production, 'let the soul of the murderer's demon wife be brought before God's royal court as well'.³⁸⁶ The capitalisation of 'God' in this moment is based on Gallimore's allusion to the Christian God. This can be inferred from earlier moments, such as when Duncan, who had become a guard, makes a reference to 'Kami-sama,' which Gallimore translates as 'Lord Almighty'.³⁸⁷ While God is also called Kami-sama in Japan, it would be strange for Kurita to add references to Christianity when all the spiritual practices shown on stage so far are either Shintoist or Buddhist. What is more plausible is that, in a way, Gallimore is engaging in back-indigenisation, re-localising these divine references back into a Christian context in his translation of the adaptation. This disjunction is an important differentiation, especially for those who rely on back translations and performance surtitles to understand its complexities and nuances. Jessica Chiba explains that 'Anglophone critics' observations on the film are necessarily mediated not just by their cultural hermeneutics but by the subtitles on which they

³⁸⁵ Minami Ryuta, "Is No Shakespeare in *Noh* Shakespeare: Re/Mis-Shaping Shakespeare on the *Noh* Stage", in *Shakespeare in Culture*, edited by Bi-qi Beatrice Lei and Ching-His Perng (Taipei: NTU Press, 2012), pp. 181-201 (p. 194).

³⁸⁶ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 1:49:00.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 0:35:00.

rely for an indication of what the characters are saying'.³⁸⁸ While Chiba's argument pertains specifically to the screen translations of Akira Kurosawa's *Ran*, a Japanese film adaptation of Shakespeare's *King Lear*, her observation about the impact of subtitles is applicable to theatrical audiences' reliance on the translated texts being displayed alongside stage productions or their archival footage, especially if the spoken language is not the first language of the viewer. Even if we were to consider the potential claim that Gallimore is attempting to draw an equivalence between the 'kami-sama' of Shintoism and the Christian God to communicate the translation across for an Anglophone audience, doing so without further clarification and consistently repeating the mischaracterisation of the dialogue, which will be explored later, further complicates rather than fosters the cultural discourse. Chiba makes a similar assertion, writing that although 'adaptation studies often deal with transcultural adaptations, they are less able to account for the necessary alterations brought about by recontextualization and the change of language'.³⁸⁹ The act of translation between multiple languages and cultures is certainly a complicated task, particularly in terms of adaptation, as it involves meanings and interpretations beyond those of language. This is the importance of negotiating spiritual capital: to find an appropriate alternative between the two spiritual cultures without diminishing spiritual capital as this thesis has shown with *uMabatha*. For example, Gallimore's translation does attempt to paint Macbeth as a servant of evil, stating in his final confrontation with Macduff that his 'life is protected by evil forces'³⁹⁰ as a translation of *Macbeth*'s 'I bear a charmed life'.³⁹¹ The specific word spoken

³⁸⁸ Jessica Chiba, "Lost and Found in Translation: Hybridity in Kurosawa's *Ran*", *Shakespeare Bulletin*, 36.4 (2018), pp. 599-633 (p. 600).

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 610.

³⁹⁰ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 1:35:54.

³⁹¹ William Shakespeare, "The Tragedy of Macbeth", edited by John Jowett, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 2501-2566 (V.10.13).

by Kurita's *Macbeth* is *maryoku*, which does not carry the same negative connotation as the translation implies. As with the discrepancy found in his above-mentioned translation of 'Kami-sama', Gallimore's back translation of *maryoku* into 'evil forces', implies a negative perception of *Macbeth*. In doing so, Gallimore's translation reinserts ideological values foreign and disjointed from the local culture. However, while there are some negative implications, the word *maryoku* does not hold the same weight as 'evil'. Instead, an alternative could be 'magical/supernatural power', which lessens the negative perception. Allowing for these alternatives already initiates the idea of negotiation, especially concerning words that hold spiritual/supernatural significance.

While Ryutopia's adaptation maintains *Macbeth*'s narrative of overcoming tyranny through *Macbeth*'s demise, there is no clear celebration of that triumph. Instead, there is an acknowledgement of remorse for the events and for the lives lost during the unfolding of the play. Komparu explains that in 'Noh there is poetic justice, a judgment against evil within the play, but it does not take the form of clear reward for good and punishment for evil because there are no characters that are innately evil'.³⁹² Noh Theatre's moral stance, thus, opens the interpretation of Ryutopia's *Macbeth* as an opportunity for some slight redemption even after *Macbeth*'s death, rather than forming a clear judgement of his character. This reluctance to judge an individual's actions is inherited from Noh Theatre's Shintoist and Buddhist origins. As described by Arnott, Shinto 'owned no sense of sin, the guilt-feelings which pervade Christianity had no place here'.³⁹³ Once again, a negotiation for an alternative resolution is required. Instead of the 'guilt-feelings which pervade Christianity', Kurita's inclusion of Shintoist and Noh ideology provides an alternative interpretation to Gallimore's approach, as it does not diminish or vilify Christian beliefs. Instead, it provides a respectful pathway to

³⁹² Komparu, *The Noh Theatre*, p. 50.

³⁹³ Arnott, *The Theatres of Japan*, p. 15.

overcome the limitations of finding peace in the afterlife according to Christian theology. In this sense, Kurita does not take away from the spiritual capital of either *Macbeth* or its Early Modern English Christian context, but infuses his adaptation with that of the Japanese belief system. Thus, it is through the understanding of the spiritual tenets of Noh and Shintoism that the ending *mise-en-scène* of Ryutopia's *Macbeth* displays a coherent denouement to the adaptation's narrative.

Kurita's inclusion of secondary and tertiary theatrical forms in his adaptation enhances the portrayal of Macbeth's emotional state. Jonah Salz explains that in Kabuki, psychologically 'rich portraits of men and women torn by contradictory obligations are depicted with swift and subtle dialogue, fluid and emotionally expressive dance, and dynamic *tableaux vivants* [also known as *mie*]',³⁹⁴ such as when Macbeth hesitantly approaches Duncan's room to murder him. As Macbeth attempts to find his conviction to kill Duncan, he utters 'Is that a dagger? Right there in front of my eyes, looking at me'.³⁹⁵ In this moment, both Macbeth and the witches, who have symbolically adopted the role of Duncan by donning his robe and holding his crown aloft, circle the stage together while a drum is beaten in the background. It is also at this point that the witches point the dagger towards Macbeth, providing him with the tools to enact the murder. The witches here play the role of the Kabuki stagehand (also known as *Kuroko/Kurogo*) who are usually dressed in black and move the scenery and props on stage. Ernst describes the build-up to the *mie* in Kabuki being supported by the rhythmic beating of a wooden board by a set of wooden clappers.³⁹⁶ However, in Ryutopia's adaptation, this rhythmic buildup is supported by drums followed by the ringing of a bell. Macbeth mimics this buildup by quickening the delivery of his speech

³⁹⁴ Jonah Salz, "Traditional Japanese Theatre", in *Routledge Handbook of Asian Theatre*, edited by Siyuan Liu (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 51-70 (p. 64).

³⁹⁵ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 0:31:18.

³⁹⁶ Ernst, *The Kabuki Theatre*, p. 111

until it reaches a nexus moment where he decides to kill Duncan. It is at this peak that Macbeth takes the dagger, jumps, and stabs downwards. If the *mie* is the high point that the performer strives towards, then using it in this moment clearly highlights to the audience the significance of Macbeth's choice when viewed through Kabuki acting. Trusting Gallimore's translation, the dagger is anthropomorphised to draw the attention of Macbeth and acts as an instrument of temptation for him to commit regicide. In comparison, the infamous dagger speech in *Macbeth*, during which Macbeth questions 'Is this a dagger which I see before me, | The handle towards my hand [...]',³⁹⁷ the idea that the dagger sees Macbeth is missing from the lines. The implication, therefore, suggests that within Kurita's production, Macbeth sees the dagger as an instrument that simultaneously leads him to perform the murder and incriminates him in it. It is in this moment that the actor playing Macbeth in Kurita's adaptation, then, requires the skills to enact the emotional conflict between his ambition and his duty as a good host to the king. While the same could be said of the corresponding scene in *Macbeth*, the emotions portrayed in this scene of the adaptation are heightened to the point where the character exclaims his lines in an emotionally intense manner. It is here that the Shingeki elements are employed to visually communicate and unpack the psychological spiral that Macbeth is experiencing. For example, when Macbeth expresses his overwhelming emotional turmoil by saying, 'Maybe the dagger is just a reflection of my heart, or some kind of trick dreamt up by my feverish brain'.³⁹⁸ In this moment, Macbeth's performance demonstrates not just a deliberation over the ethics of murdering his royal guest, but also an immense, profuse sense of anguish and fear at the thought of doing so. By pairing this anguish with the Mugen Noh's aim of having its *shite* acknowledge and regret his past choices, Kurita's adaptation blends performance with ideology to create a theatrical piece

³⁹⁷ *Macbeth*, II.1.33-34.

³⁹⁸ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 0:31:25.

rooted in Japanese spirituality, providing a resolution to the ghosts of Shakespeare's characters.

While the latter half of Macbeth's statement parallels his *Macbeth* counterpart, the inserted first half of the line provides the emotional weight of his speech, which is linked to his morality. It is the sight of the dagger, which is symbolically a manifestation of the darkness within Kurita's Macbeth's soul, rather than from a 'heat-oppressed brain'³⁹⁹ which his *Macbeth* counterpart attempts to self-diagnose. In an interview conducted by Samuel L. Leiter et al., Kabuki actor Onoe Baiko highlights the distinction between two actors that use the same performance form, saying that the 'difference comes from the fact that there is a deepness which comes from a spiritual background in the great actor'.⁴⁰⁰ It is in this moment that Hirokazu Kohchi, the actor who plays Macbeth in Kurita's adaptation, draws from his own spiritual pool to empower his character's emotional state. Kohchi, who is a well-known Kabuki actor, conforms with Salz's description of Kabuki performance. This is especially so as the monologue culminates into a *mie* moment during Duncan's murder. According to Kawatake Toshio's description, *mie* 'poses make the hero appear all the more larger in size than he is'.⁴⁰¹ Ryutopia's *Macbeth*, however, subverts the conventional expectation of *mie* in the sense that Macbeth is the anti-hero. Yet, the *mise-en-scène* remains familiar to a local audience. Once again, we see the dichotomous moral relationship within Macbeth, as he occupies the conventional position of a hero within the structure of Noh theatre. In his analysis of the two performance traditions, Arnott makes these distinctions:

³⁹⁹ *Macbeth*, II.1.39.

⁴⁰⁰ Onoe Baiko, Interview with Samuel L. Leiter et al, Samuel L. Leiter, Bando Tsurunosuke, Ichimura Takenjo, and Bando Mitsugoro, "Four Interviews with Kabuki Actors", *Educational Theatre Journal*, 18.4 (1966), pp. 391-404 (p. 398).

⁴⁰¹ Kawatake Toshio, *A History of Japanese Theatre II: Bunraku and Kabuki* (Yokohama: General Printing Co., 1971), p. 61.

Noh is austere, *kabuki* flamboyant; *noh* ritual, *kabuki* spectacle; *noh* offers spiritual consolation, *kabuki* physical excitement; *noh* seeks chaste models, *kabuki* delights in the eccentric, the extravagant, and the wilfully perverse; *noh* is gentle, *kabuki* is cruel; *noh* is concerned with the hereafter, *kabuki* bound by the here-and-now.⁴⁰²

Kurita's directorial choice to synthesise the two traditions in his adaptation demonstrates a complex interpretation of *Macbeth*: the narrative is simultaneously both spiritual and physical, chaste yet perverse, concerned about the present and the afterlife. Hence, Kurita reasserts his directorial choice of focusing the adaptation on Macbeth's internal conflict when murdering both Banquo and Duncan, while also satiating both his and Lady Macbeth's ambition through the fusion of Kabuki and Noh traditions.

In the canon's *Macbeth* where Macbeth performs an act of conjuration on the Weird Sisters, as this thesis has mentioned previously, it is he who is instead conjured by the witches in Kurita's adaptation. Not only is the act of summoning Macbeth explicit in the adaptation's script, but also in Macbeth's first line, 'What can they mean to call me with their mad spells'.⁴⁰³ As this thesis has discussed in its previous chapter on Early Modern conjuration, a power dynamic is established between the summoner and the summoned. In the case of Ryutopia's *Macbeth*, Macbeth effectively is a character without any real power, even from the start of the play, despite taking the role of king through the witches' summoning. Comparing the second meeting between Macbeth and the Witches in this adaptation with Act 3 Scene 1 of *Macbeth*, Ryutopia's Macbeth loses the magical words that could bind the Weird Sisters to him. Instead, Ryutopia's Macbeth makes a request to the witches in their second encounter, saying, 'I ask you, with all the powers you wield. Answer me, you who unleash the winds, who sow the seeds of the great treasure house of nature, who

⁴⁰² Arnott, *The Theatres of Japan*, p. 132.

⁴⁰³ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 0:03:17.

entertain the forces of great destruction itself, answer me my question'.⁴⁰⁴ No longer does Macbeth instruct the supernatural entities to accomplish his wishes through the phrase 'I conjure you',⁴⁰⁵ here, he comes to them to request a second prophecy. Hence, he submits to the supernatural entities rather than attempting to bend them to his will. Yet, while the witches display complete control over the narrative – from summoning various characters onstage to enacting different scenes and murdering Banquo on behalf of Macbeth – the adaptation remains focused on Macbeth's guilt and falling morality.

4.3 The Spiritual Capital of Exorcist Witches

In comparison to its source text, Ryutopia's adaptation significantly expands the presence of the witches, either by making them choral characters in several scenes or by having them summon the various characters into the play. Additionally, where *Macbeth's* Weird Sisters leave Macbeth to suffer the consequences of his tyrannical violence, the witches in Ryutopia's *Macbeth* sing to bring comfort to the souls of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, enacting a pseudo-death ritual for them. In doing so, the adaptation depicts the witches more ambiguously: they direct most of the retold narrative but simultaneously remain present to appease the souls of the dead. The adaptation places the witches as spiritual healers who console the dead, thereby prioritising cultural over textual fidelity. As Momose Izumi, paraphrasing Shimpei Matuoka, argues, the 'performance of Noh [...] harks back to the rituals for the appeasement of deceased souls'.⁴⁰⁶ By expanding their role, Kurita adds more

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 1:03:52.

⁴⁰⁵ *Macbeth*, IV.1.49.

⁴⁰⁶ Momose Izumi, "Shakespearean drama and the Noh: theatrum mundi and nothingness", in *Shakespeare and the Japanese Stage*, edited by Takashi Sasayama, J.R. Mulryne, and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 176-185 (p.177).

spiritual capital into their depiction as compared to the Weird Sisters. Unlike their counterparts in *Macbeth*, Kurita's witches are depicted more actively throughout the adaptation. After the initial entrance of Macbeth and Banquo, the chorus of witches enters from the *hashigakari*, the bridge-like section of the theatre that connects the backstage of the theatre to the performance space, which is viewable from the audience's position. As Yong Li Lan describes, the 'square, roofed wooden Noh stage is open on three sides and has a *Hashigakari* (bridgeway) attached to it. In *Mugen Noh*, the actors' entrance and exit along the *Hashigakari* present their passage between the world of the living on the main stage and that of the dead beyond the curtain at the end of the *Hashigakari*'.⁴⁰⁷ Thus, the opening scene of the adaptation establishes a direct connection between the witches and the realm of the dead. While the procession depicts the entrance of six choral characters chanting words amalgamated from the various Weird Sisters' scenes in *Macbeth* to a child-like tune as mentioned above, the stage directions denote that only three witches 'rise from the ground'.⁴⁰⁸ While the discrepancy in their numbers is small, adding three more choral members helps create a larger stage presence during the performance. The enchanting display also highlights the religious origins of Noh Theatre. Komparu recounts that when 'Buddhist sutras are chanted by a group each reciter proceeds at his own pitch and tempo, producing an eerie harmony believed to have some magical force, and Noh may have been chanted this way in early days, but it was gradually refined to the present method in which the head of the chorus sets the key and timing and the chant is sung by everyone at the same pitch and tempo'.⁴⁰⁹ An 'eerie harmony believed to have some magical force', is a close approximation of the song being sung, which recurs at points in which the witches perform their magic.

⁴⁰⁷ Yong Li Lan, "On Location in Asian Shakespeare Stage Adaptations", in *The Arden Handbook of Shakespeare and Adaptation*, edited by Diana E. Henderson and Stephen O'Neill (London: Bloomsbury, 2022), pp. 271-285 (p. 281).

⁴⁰⁸ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 0:00:30-0:03:12.

⁴⁰⁹ Komparu, *The Noh Theatre*, p. 162.

Komparu's association between Buddhism and Noh Theatre once again points us towards the entangled interactions between the three aspects of Shintoism, Buddhism, and Noh Theatre.

The overlap of spirituality and the theatrical form is not only present in the musicality of their entrance, but the witches themselves personify an overlap between the two aspects as well. Firstly, as previously mentioned, the witches constantly repeat aspects of the *kagura* dance throughout the adaptation, summoning various characters from beyond the *Hashigakari*, thus denoting their position as the *ninjo*, or performance leader, of the ritual. Secondly, because the *kagura* is most often performed by *miko*, also known as shrine maidens, the witches can also be considered as *aruki miko*. Ortolani provides the following definition: besides 'the *miko* belonging to the shrines, there were *aruki miko* (wandering *miko*) who also would act as mediums conjuring the souls of the living and the dead, pronouncing divine oracles, and [praying] for the faithful'.⁴¹⁰ The witches' conjuration of the various characters and their pronouncement of Macbeth's rise to power through their *kagura*, during which they encircle Macbeth, raising and swinging their bamboo leaves in a circular motion over him, certainly fulfils the first and second criteria of Ortolani's description. Specifically, it is the raising of the bamboo leaves, spinning, and the circular hand movements made by the witches that bear resemblances to the *kagura* dance. Thus, the witches' ritual role overlaps between *ninjo* and *aruki miko*. Lastly, in terms of Noh performance tradition, their actions within the adaptation's narrative place them in the archetypal role of the *waki*, also known as the supportive role. This role of the *waki* will be explored later in this chapter, which Komparu describes as 'the coordinator of the play'.⁴¹¹ The position of the *waki*, therefore, clarifies the witches' instigations to summon the various characters and proceed with the events of the Macbethian narrative in the same way the *ninjo*

⁴¹⁰ Ortolani, *The Japanese Theatre*, p. 22.

⁴¹¹ Komparu, *The Noh Theatre*, p. 158.

does for a *kagura* ritual. Their incitement can be observed as they influence the characters through their dialogue and interactions with other characters, albeit seemingly unseen. For instance, after the discovery of Duncan's murdered body, the First Witch poses a question directly to Malcolm while lying prone with Duncan's robe over her, asking 'Why do you say nothing? Isn't this your problem more than anyone else's?'.⁴¹² The Witch's words imply a prompt for Malcolm to react and take action against the presented scenario. Malcolm maintains his indecision and makes an excuse that his inaction is due to his grief, 'What can I say, father? I am trying to hang on as best I can'.⁴¹³ The connotation in Malcolm's reply is that he assumes that he is hearing the voice of his father emanating from the witches, despite not seeing them. In this sense, Malcolm foreshadows the banquet scene between Macbeth and the ghost of Banquo later in the narrative. However, where Macbeth is plagued by his decision to murder his friend, the witches/the ghost of Duncan are making attempts at spurring the young noble to justifiably avenge the murder, although it remains his decision in the end. It is only after further prompting by the Third witch, saying that 'Parading sorrows you don't have is a sure sign of someone who's out of touch',⁴¹⁴ that he decides to leave for England. This moment deviates from the corresponding scene in *Macbeth* Act 2 Scene 3, in which Malcolm readily decides to defect to England without any need for a prompt: 'To show an unfelt sorrow is an office | Which the false man does easy. I'll to England'.⁴¹⁵ As we can observe, it is the first half of *Macbeth*'s Malcolm line that is given to Kurita's Third Witch, prompting the adaptation's Malcolm to make his decision. In doing so, the adaptation clearly indicates the influential role of the witches, placing them as directors of the narrative. Such influences from the witches in Kurita's adaptation complicate the moral culpability of

⁴¹² Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 0:43:15.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 0:43:29.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 0:43:20.

⁴¹⁵ *Macbeth*, II.3.130-131.

the characters, as it is through the witches' influence that Malcolm directs himself to Edward's court rather than through his own initiative. This directorial choice also enhances the Noh theatre ideology for self-reflection. In this moment, rather than tell Malcolm directly to go to the English court, the witches question his inaction and highlight the performativity of his grieving to him, thereby giving him an opportunity to meditate on his position as Duncan's proclaimed heir. In doing so, the witches demonstrate their directorial authority as the *waki* of the play: they prompt the characters into action and progressing the rest of the story through their questions. *Macbeth*'s Malcolm inherently understands performative lamentations, allowing him to display leadership by taking control of the situation. In contrast, Kurita's Malcolm is allowed to express the reason behind his stoic grief by believing he is addressing the ghost of his father. In this sense, the moral culpability is paradoxically made even more obvious to the audience due to the witches' directed questions, which expose Malcolm's internal conflict in wanting to enact his duty as a son to grieve and avenge his father versus his duty to portray himself as a capable leader. It is the decision Malcolm makes when faced with these questions that illuminates the morality of his character when compared to the actions of Macbeth when he is presented with similar influences by the witches' prognostications.

Another instance in which the witches of Ryutopia's *Macbeth* illustrate their role as the *waki* of the play is in the adaptation's translation of *Macbeth*'s Act 1 Scene 5, during which Lady Macbeth attempts to call on the spirits to aid her ambition. Rather than speaking in the implied empty space of the source play, Ryutopia's Lady Macbeth performs her speech surrounded by the witches, saying 'Now, you murderous spirits, make me woman no more, from the top of my head to the tips of my toes, fill me with foul blackness'.⁴¹⁶ The implication of the witches remaining visibly on stage as Lady Macbeth implores the spirits,

⁴¹⁶ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 0:15:40.

then, is that they are the ‘murderous spirits’ being addressed in the speech. Yet, despite their narrative power, their observatory position throughout the production still maintains their role as *waki*. According to Peggy Muñoz Simonds’ description, the ‘*waki*, or secondary character, is onstage primarily to witness the action, which is usually a narrated memory of past violence’.⁴¹⁷ As previously mentioned, the narrative structure of *Mugen Noh* recounts events that have already occurred, usually from the perspective of ghosts, to bring them peace in the afterlife. Simonds’ indication, then, allows us to understand that where there is no indication in *Macbeth* that the spirits, let alone the Weird Sisters, are listening to Lady Macbeth’s imploration, the acknowledgement of the witches’ presence in this adaptation highlights their status as onlookers, and their role in facilitating the narrative works in a more meta-theatrical manner. Yet in doing so, the adaptation clearly foregrounds the moral consequences of the Macbeths’ actions. It is the two characters who still choose to commit regicide against Duncan and assassinate the other characters of the play. The witches merely provide a convenient means to accomplish these tasks. In essence, they create the circumstances to confront Macbeth’s character and illustrate the consequences of his choices, thereby illuminating his own moral failings, while fulfilling their role as the *waki*. Donald Keene explains that Noh plays ‘totally lack conflict because there is only one true personage, the *shite*, or protagonist: the other persons are merely observers or supporters of the action and not antagonists’.⁴¹⁸ The *shite*, in this context, would be the character of Macbeth whose actions the narrative is centred upon. Thus, according to the local understanding of the Noh structure, the witches act as a supportive role to the actions of the Macbeths, which culminates in comforting their spirits at the end of the play. In the context of Ryutopia’s

⁴¹⁷ Peggy Muñoz Simonds, “Shakespeare’s Ghosts and the Phantasms of Japanese Noh Plays: A Matter of Theatrical Technique”, in *Shakespeare East and West*, edited by Minoru Fujita and Leonard Pronko (Surrey: Japan Library, 1996), pp. 115-133 (p. 124).

⁴¹⁸ Donald Keene, *No and Bunraku: Two Forms of Japanese Theatre* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), p.18.

Macbeth, the witches do not represent an external antagonism that drives Macbeth to commit his crimes; it is his own internal conflict between his sense of duty and his ambition that is being highlighted. From the perspective of the *waki* and *shite* dynamic in the Noh Theatre context, the relationship between Macbeth and the witches in Ryutopia's adaptation illustrates a spiritual exploration of the individual rather than a corruption by external influence. Komparu explains that 'the most important function of the *waki* is to create a reason for the *shite* to appear and perform, and, in addition, he evokes, with appropriate responses, the thoughts feelings, and pleas, of the main character [...] this is not the same as the classical idea of "antagonist", since the *waki* is not someone who propels the action forward through his opposition'.⁴¹⁹ In a similar way as to how Zúñiga and Carrillo enriched *Mendoza's Bruja's* spiritual capital by infusing her character with various references and contexts from Mexico's Revolution, Kurita has enriched the spiritual capital of the *ninjo* and *aruki miko* roles of the witches by making them the *waki*. In doing so, he authorises them to use their spiritual capital to draw out Macbeth and Lady Macbeth's regret for their actions and choices, in order to bring them peace.

As the *waki*, the witches in Ryutopia's *Macbeth* hold a significant spiritual role. While this chapter has indicated above that their role as *ninjo* and *aruki miko* allows them to conjure spirits and act as a medium for them through the *kagura* ritual, the *waki*, too, play a spiritual role in the context of Noh Theatre. Komparu explains that the *waki* 'is also essential because as a priest he can communicate with ghosts and perform rites to help the anguished spirits he encounters achieve repose or enlightenment, a typical way of ending a play'.⁴²⁰ The witches' role, from a theatrical structure interpretation, is thus not that of a manipulative villain but that of a spiritual guide. This final aspect of the *waki* is clearly demonstrated at the

⁴¹⁹ Komparu, *The Noh Theatre*, p. 158.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

play's conclusion. After both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth meet their demise at the end of the adaptation, the witches, who by this point have also changed out of their red kimonos in exchange for white ones, spread themselves across the performance space and hold the heads of the Macbeths in their laps, establishing a tableau of comforting the ghosts of the two characters. According to Nakamura Yasuo, the *waki*, 'as an intermediary between the spirit world and reality, represented a most welcome savior for the masses in medieval times who constantly prayed for release from the sufferings of this life and admittance into the Pure Land (*jodo*) after death [...] the one who could offer repose and salvation'.⁴²¹ Given that this interpretation of the *waki* role is embedded and maintained through the centuries and continues to hold a similar significance in contemporary interpretations, then the designation of the witches in this position implies their part as spiritual healers within this context, despite their names being maintained as witches. This interpretation is further enhanced when considering the overall performance structure of Noh Theatre. As Simonds explains, 'Noh plays are thus a kind of stylized theatrical exorcism of unpleasant and sometimes evil supernatural forces from within the psyche for both the actors and the spectators'.⁴²² The witches convey an ambiguous interpretation where they are not religiously dressed yet are positioned and accessorised with religious connotations. However, despite the lack of religious costuming, the unique context of Noh traditions and structures encourages the spiritual interpretation of their role.

4.4 Banquo's Spiritual Confrontation

⁴²¹ Nakamura Yasuo, *Noh: The Classical Theatre*, translated by Don Kenny (New York: Walker and Company, 1971), p. 31.

⁴²² Simonds, *Shakespeare's Ghosts and the Phantasms*, p. 125.

While there is little indication that the Weird Sisters are involved with his ghostly presence in *Macbeth*, the witches in Kurita's adaptation are actively present within the scene. By having the witches be involved with the appearance of Banquo's ghost in the banquet scene, Ryutopia's *Macbeth* uses their spiritual capital as an opportunity to directly confront Macbeth about his choice to order the assassination of his close friend. Even though Macbeth plots Banquo's assassination in the scenes preceding the banquet, it is the witches who enact the murder. However, where Banquo meets a violent end in *Macbeth*, Kurita's Banquo is absorbed into the supernatural collective and assembles across the *Hashigakari* as part of their ritual at the start of the banquet scene.⁴²³ In particular, Banquo adopts and adds to Ross' line from *Macbeth*'s Act 2 Scene 4, 'By the clock it is now noon, and yet as pitch blackness strangles the sky of its brightness, I feel my life is ebbing away'.⁴²⁴ In comparison, Ross' line in the source play, 'By th'clock 'tis day, | And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp',⁴²⁵ uses the unnatural weather of Scotland as a supernatural omen for Macbeth's rule. Kurita's Banquo, thus, recontextualises the clause to enhance the perverseness of his death. Yet, despite the unnatural circumstances of his death, the return of his ghost is a natural expectancy; if not by Macbeth, then at least by the audience. Ironically, Shoichiro Kawai provides this description of the performance genre despite his argument that Kurita's adaptation is not a Noh play. He states that in 'the world of Noh, the return of the dead to the world of the living is a familiar motif and one may even argue that Noh masks themselves represent inscrutable psychic entities filled with deep-seated grudges'.⁴²⁶ In Ryutopia's *Macbeth*, the return of Banquo's ghost fulfils most of Kawai's criteria, except for the mask-

⁴²³ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 0:48:00-0:52:00

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 0:49:42.

⁴²⁵ *Macbeth*, II.4.6-7.

⁴²⁶ Shoichiro Kawai, "More Japanized, Casual, and Transgender Shakespeares", in *Shakespeare Survey 62: Close Encounters with Shakespeare's Text*, edited by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 261-272 (p. 267).

wearing. While Banquo himself does not don a Noh mask, the witches, who are also present in the scene, wear them, thereby indicating the supernatural nature of the moment. It is difficult to clearly ascertain from the video recording which specific masks each of the witches are wearing due to the distance between the camera and the stage, as well as the large variety of Noh Masks designs in existence. For example, one of the masks worn by the witches resembles a *Beshimi* mask, a male demonic character in Noh plays, characterised by golden eyes, a furrowed brow, flaring nostrils, and a downturned mouth. Even a cursory look at a catalogue of Noh Masks will show multiple variations, such as the *Chorei-Beshimi*, *Ko-Beshimi*, *O-Beshimi*, *Saru-Beshimi*, and *Beshimi-Aku-Jo*, each with slight difference in colour and intensity of their expressions.⁴²⁷ What remains constant throughout these masks, both in the *Beshimi* masks and in other supernatural character masks in the Noh tradition, is the use of gold colour for their eyes. While the specific masks of the witches are difficult to ascertain, the golden eyes of their masks are clear indications of their supernatural connection.⁴²⁸ The use of the golden-eyed masks in this scene suggests its importance because all forms of spiritual capital are being engaged in Macbeth's confrontation: the *embodied* state of the audience knowing that the masks symbolise a supernatural interaction paired which is reinforced by the spiritual capital of the witches, the *objectified* state of the masks by the donning of it, and the *institutionalised* state of the masks' significance within the boundaries of the Noh theatre space which allows for the confrontation to happen.

In this scene, Kurita's Banquo is given a voice, or more precisely, the voice of Macbeth's guests, turning them into auditory accusations that the audience themselves can hear. Kurita's Macbeth is, thus, forced into a confrontation with the ghost, with his refutations becoming more diminished and pathetic than those of his *Macbeth* counterpart.

⁴²⁷ Toru Nakanishi and Kiyoni Komma, *Noh Masks*, translated by Don Kenny (Osaka: Hoikusha Publishing Co. Ltd, 1986), p. 26-31.

⁴²⁸ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 0:56:23.

By having Banquo's ghost speak the reactions to Macbeth's crazed display during the infamous banquet scene instead of other members of his court, Ryutopia's *Macbeth* enhances the narrative's interrogation of Macbeth's guilt over murdering his friend. As Macbeth performs his raving monologue upon seeing the ghost of his murdered friend, one of the responses Banquo provides is 'Gentlemen, rise and be gone. His majesty is not well'.⁴²⁹ While in the source text, it is Ross who says these lines, Kurita's adaptation uses them as ironic and sarcastic taunts, allowing Banquo's ghost to lead Macbeth to react in an irrational way. In doing so, the dramatic moment allows Banquo the opportunity to verbally confront and accuse Macbeth of his murder, rather than merely being a silent visual reminder. Banquo's verbal performance in this adaptation undercuts the symbolic meaning of his ghostly appearance in the source text.

The moral discourse that emanates from Banquo's ghostly appearance during the banquet scene is heightened within the context of Noh Theatre because the implications of whether Macbeth sees Banquo or not are removed from the interpretation; the perceiving of the ghost is accepted as reality, and therefore the focus on the scene is on the confrontation between the two ex-friends. This is further clarified by Kurita removing the rest of the lords from the banquet and limiting the scene's bewilderment solely to Lady Macbeth. The comedic tension is also wholly absent from Kurita's adaptation due to both visual and auditory cues that precede Banquo's confrontation with Macbeth. After Macbeth mimes giving each of them food, sombre piano music begins to play, cueing the witches to wear their golden-eyed Noh masks.⁴³⁰ While the start of the piano music and the wearing of the mask are quick indications that supernatural events are about to occur, these audio-visual cues set a very clear mood for the scene, depriving it of comedic interpretation, whether

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 0:56:56.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 0:56:23.

through visual irony or the sarcastic tone of Banquo's remarks. Hence, Banquo's ghostly appearance during the banquet scene in Kurita's adaptation directly impacts the Macbethian narrative by creating an implicitly real confrontation between Macbeth and Banquo, rather than relying solely on Macbeth's reaction to the visual stimulations of the ghost. Ryutopia's banquet scene demonstrates a theatrical understanding of the confrontation between the two characters, showing that Banquo requires a confession from Macbeth to be appeased in death. This reiterates Kawai's argument that the characters of Noh can represent 'psychic entities filled with deep-seated grudges'. It is because Macbeth refuses to confess, even after Banquo provides him with a final opportunity by asking, 'Your majesty, what did you see',⁴³¹ that he enacts his grudge in a later scene. Kurita clearly demonstrates this concept in Macbeth's second meeting with the witches, where Banquo reappears masked and silently exchanges his mask with Macbeth's crown.⁴³² Once again, it is difficult to specify which variation of mask is used in this moment; however, what is highlighted in the exchange and the scenes afterward is that the mask intensifies Macbeth's madness as he spirals towards his death. In doing so, there is a clear implication that Banquo's grudge from the banquet scene remains with him and is then passed on to Macbeth, supernaturally catalysing his fall into madness. Yet, Komparu notes that the 'madness in Noh is not and should not be seen as a mere vestige of early religious rites; it is a poignant, sympathy-inspiring element intentionally introduced in some of the plays to give them greater depth'.⁴³³ As a masked Macbeth battles Macduff, the music of the piano swells alongside the singing of the witches. It is at this moment that Macbeth exclaims, 'what a fool I am'.⁴³⁴ The combination of the music and Macbeth's indication of regret highlights the poignancy Komparu describes, thereby invoking a sense of

⁴³¹ Ibid., 0:58:44.

⁴³² Ibid., 1:08:28.

⁴³³ Komparu, *The Noh Theatre*, p. 37-38.

⁴³⁴ Ryutopia Noh Theatre, 1:48:15.

sympathy for Macbeth. Therefore, where in *Macbeth*, the supernatural or psychological elements of the play could be a disputing factor regarding Macbeth's growing irrationality in acts 4 and 5, Kurita's adaptation displays a direct metaphysical connection between Macbeth, the witches, and Banquo. While Banquo's ghostly appearances on stage after his death in *Macbeth* are implied to lead the titular protagonist down an erratic psychological spiral, Kurita's adaptation clearly indicates that Banquo's ghost is responsible for Macbeth's madness.

4.5 Crossing Over

Throughout the adaptation's production, the characters of Ryutopia's *Macbeth* are constantly in dialogue with the dead, be it between Malcolm and the voice of his dead father, Macbeth and his dead friend, or even at the end between the Macbeths and the Witches, despite the lack of lines being spoken. The adaptation utilises its own synthesis of spiritual capital that stems from local rituals like *Kagura* and theatre genres like the Noh theatre. In doing so, Kurita creates a cultural identity that demonstrates how Shintoist practice, hybridised with Buddhist values, can allow those who have died an opportunity to reconcile their past actions through the acknowledgement of the soul. By understanding the cultural history of Shintoism and its influence on Noh theatre, audiences and scholars are better equipped to appreciate how spiritual ideology affects performance traditions and how Kurita uses these cultural languages to expand the ideas of spiritual redemption and provide it to the characters of *Macbeth*. These dialogues and rituals are particularly important in recent history, given the frequent occurrence of major, tragic events, such as large-scale warfare and significant natural disasters. For example, John Nelson, in his research on Inter-religious dialogue in contemporary Japan, documents a spiritual appeasement event that had taken

place in 1995 for those who died in Nagasaki during World War II in which Shintoist, Catholic, and Buddhist practitioners participated.⁴³⁵ This event, which involved multiple spiritual practices, is a significant display of solidarity for not solely the posthumous appeasement of the victims of war, but for letting the survivors and younger generations come to terms with and let go of the past. While such Inter-religious/Interspiritual dialogues and events flourish outside the boundaries of Shakespearean texts, performances, and adaptations, these productions continue to facilitate them by providing a visual representation of the spiritual potential of these hybridisations and demonstrating their use.

⁴³⁵ John Nelson, “Traversing Religious and Legal Boundaries in Postwar Nagasaki: An Interfaith Ritual for the Spirits of the Dead”, in *Multiculturalism in the New Japan: Crossing the Boundaries Within*, edited by Nelson H. H. Graburn, John Ertl, and R. Kenji Tierney (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), pp. 199-207 (p. 204).

5. South Korea: Han Tae-Sook's *Lady Macbeth* – Spiritual Capital in a Woman's World

5.1 The Spiritual Capital of Korean Shamans

Of all the theatrical adaptation case studies that this thesis has investigated so far, Han Tae-Sook's changes to the Macbethian narrative are the most revolutionary. Han's *Lady Macbeth* employs hypnotherapy in conjunction with Korean Shamanistic rituals in an attempt to redeem Lady Macbeth's character through the coaxing of a confession from her. Han's adaptation recentres the story of *Macbeth* around the titular Lady Macbeth, three Servants (who replace the Witches), and the Doctor (who also steps into the role of Macbeth). While Han, according to Im Yeeyon, hesitates to label the work as feminist,⁴³⁶ her adaptation does highlight the repression of Korean women in a patriarchal society. This chapter will argue that Han Tae-Sook infuses *Lady Macbeth* with spiritual capital to comment on the treatment of women in Korean society, specifically for those who wish to improve their social standing in their communities.

First produced in 1998, the play sets the plot of the adaptation in Act 5 Scene 1 of *Macbeth*. Han reinterprets Lady Macbeth's references to the earlier acts within this scene as a reliving of memory.⁴³⁷ While *Macbeth*'s Lady Macbeth remains alone in her haunted memories, Han's Lady Macbeth is accompanied by the Servants and the Doctor as they delve into her past, depicted through flashback scenes. Departing from its source material, the Doctor and the Servants dress similarly in simple black garb, chanting, dancing, and

⁴³⁶ Im Yeeyon, "Beyond the Gender Divide: Looking for Shakespeare in Han Tae-Sook's *Lady Macbeth*", *New Theatre Quarterly*, 32:1 (2016), pp. 19-30 (p. 19).

⁴³⁷ William Shakespeare, "The Tragedy of Macbeth", edited by John Jowett, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 2501-2566 (V.1.30-56).

hypnotising Lady Macbeth on a nearly empty black stage by calling on her to remember the instigating event of her ailment in an attempt to draw a confession about her role in Duncan's murder from her.⁴³⁸ Additionally, the production indicates the success of her hypnotism through the relaxation of her body, the change in the tone and pitch of her voice, and the chiming of bells.⁴³⁹ It is in this moment that psychiatry and Shamanism overlap; Lady Macbeth's demeanour in her hypnotised state also mirrors that of being in a trance when placed in the context of Shamanistic rituals, as highlighted by the chanting of the Servants. Despite being labelled servants for the entire performance, the trio's ritual is a version of the Shamanistic ritual of *Gut* (also spelled *Kut*), which aims to expel Lady Macbeth's *Han*.⁴⁴⁰ Shim Jung-soon explains that '*Han* is the Korean national ethos, traditionally associated with rather negative emotions such as frustrated desire, resentment, regret, and a sense of loss and sorrow'.⁴⁴¹ Shim understates the overwhelming intensity of these 'negative emotions' in her explanation. The intensity of *Han* felt by the individual is an overpowering sensation resulting from emotions cumulating into an agonising desire for relief. In her field study of Korean Shamanism, Yvonne Young-ja Lee further clarifies that this 'experience of *Han* creates incredible fervor and energy in desiring *Hanpuri* (resolution of *Han*) [...] Korean Shamanism is the indigenous religion that has explicitly dealt with the concepts of and beliefs in *Hanpuri*'.⁴⁴² Korean Shamans, as indigenous spiritual practitioners, act as spiritual healers

⁴³⁸ Theatre Moollee, *Lady Macbeth*, Online Video Archive with translation donated by Theatre Moollee, *Asian Shakespeare Intercultural Archive*, 0:11:10. Although the first noted production of the adaptation was in 1998, it has been reproduced multiple times over the past two decades, with minor changes in each version. The video on which this chapter relies, archived in the Asian Shakespeare Intercultural Archive, is undated, and the reviews of the adaptation may span many of its iterations.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 0:11:06.

⁴⁴⁰ *Han* is italicised to differentiate the concept from Han Tae-Sook, the adaptor and director of *Lady Macbeth*.

⁴⁴¹ Shim Jung-soon, "Female Trance in Han Tae-Sook's Production of *Lady Macbeth*", *New Theatre Quarterly*, 25.1 (2009), pp. 63 – 71 (p. 65).

⁴⁴² Yvonne Young-ja Lee, *Religion, Culture of Han and Hanpuri, and Korean Minjung Women: An Interdisciplinary Post-colonial Religio-cultural Analysis of the Indigenous*

within Korean society, aiming to spiritually relieve their communities of the suffering caused by *Han*. This act of expelling and resolving *Han* is known as *Kut*. Lee quotes Chung Hyun Kyung's definition of the concept: '*kut* [meaning ritual] gives many *han*-ridden clients "the voiceless ghosts to speak out their stories of *han*"'.⁴⁴³ *Gut* is not limited to the dead; it serves a bridge between the dead and the world of the living, aiding both natural and supernatural worlds. *Gut* plays a significant role in Han's adaptation as it responds to the accumulation of guilt built up within Lady Macbeth's character. *Han*, *Gut*, and *Hanpuri* are therefore three uniquely Korean concepts that are intertwined.

The idea of *Han* and its intertwined relationship with Shamanistic practice is not just privy to those who practice Shamanism, but is understood by Korean society more widely. Conceptually, *Han* is not only felt by Korean individuals but extends also towards their community and generations. Lee explains that '*Han* is not mere "subjective feelings" but also a reality of Korean people's life inherited from generation to generation'.⁴⁴⁴ According to Lee, *Han* is unique to both the individual, due to their own social circumstances, and the communal, due to shared trauma. Theologian Andrew Sung Park briefly explains the root cause of communal *Han* by stating that 'Koreans have experienced numerous foreign invasions, tyrannical oppression, and patriarchal suppression'.⁴⁴⁵ It is these various geopolitical and social circumstances across time that have cultivated a shared feeling of *Han* across Korean society. Therefore, despite Lady Macbeth's personal experience of *Han* being displayed as a performance on stage, local audiences can both identify and relate to her suffering and need for *Hanpuri*. While the references to *Han*, *Gut*, and *Hanpuri* in *Lady*

Encounter with the Colonial Religions in Korea (Denver: The University of Denver, 1999), p. 63.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., p. 63.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 1.

⁴⁴⁵ Andrew Sung Park, *The Wounded Heart of God: The Asian Concept of Han and the Christian Doctrine of Sin* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), p. 41.

Macbeth are familiar concepts for local Korean audiences, it is also important to consider global audiences. In an interview, Han states that it is her belief that the ‘human aspect of [*Lady Macbeth*] defies language and national borders, and can be understood in different countries because of the communicative power of the actors and musicians’.⁴⁴⁶ The integration of Shamanistic ritual in her adaptation, therefore, grounds the narrative in a culturally unique interpretation. In this sense, *Lady Macbeth* is a production intended for a global audience, but it also offers an additional interpretation for the Korean community. *Lady Macbeth*’s intended audience can therefore be said to be both local and global. Local audiences benefit from understanding the significance of the Shamanistic rituals incorporated into the adaptation, while global audiences are exposed to and consume new cultural/spiritual experiences and storytelling. As this thesis notes, the value of spiritual capital is depends on the audience’s background. Yet, even an unknowing – to reuse Hutcheon’s terminology – global audience, who does not see the same significance in these rituals as a local, benefits from attending these productions because their consumption through spectatorship still adds to their *embodied* state of spiritual capital. Being part of the local audience demographic herself, Shim demonstrates the ability to identify *Lady Macbeth*’s *Han* within the adaptation. In a review of the adaptation, Shim suggests that *Lady Macbeth*’s ‘strong will and desire can be doubly and convincingly interpreted by local Korean audiences as being motivated by the Korean ethos of *Han*’.⁴⁴⁷ Due to the fact that the concept of *Han* is familiar to Korean society, it can become a strong medium to communicate commentaries on social issues and injustices through a shared communal understanding. Shim’s easy identification of *Lady Macbeth*’s *Han* demonstrates how local audiences can easily sympathise with her despite her complicity in Duncan’s murder. Shim also notes that for ‘Korean audiences, this intense

⁴⁴⁶ Han Tae-Sook, “*Lady Macbeth’s Weapon*”, *The Open Page*, 8, (2003), pp. 20-22 (p. 22).

⁴⁴⁷ Shim, *Female Trance*, p. 65.

emotional process can easily create a familiar and yet highly charged emotional atmosphere of a shamanistic ritual of *Kut*, and thereby deeply involve them in the performance'.⁴⁴⁸ If Shim's assessment of local audience involvement is correct, then the cathartic end for Lady Macbeth at the end of both the ritual and the performance, as she becomes relieved of her guilt, serves a similar purpose for its audience. Han's adaptation not only relieves the fictional *Han* of Lady Macbeth, but also potentially alleviates some of her audience's *Han* as well.

There are, however, scholars who argue against the interpretation that the ritual being performed onstage is a *Gut*. They argue that *Lady Macbeth* lacks the visual identification confirmation needed to establish its incorporation of Korean Shamanism within the production or that the adaptation has been in any way locally translated. Im Yeeyon, for example, writes in her critique that 'Han Tae-Sook's production displays no physical aspects of *Gut*, with a shaman in a special costume and all the paraphernalia necessary for the ritual'.⁴⁴⁹ Im's argument is accurate to the extent that with its minimal stage aesthetics of a black upstage wall, a small black platform positioned stage centre that contains a small pool of water, monochrome costumes (in contrast with the colourful uniforms of Korean Shamans), and the lack of ritual tools such as sharp double-bladed fodder cutters known as *chak-tu*, the production provides no confirmation that a Korean Shamanistic ritual is being performed. In this sense, the stage aesthetics could not be further away from the local audience's visual expectations of a Shamanistic performance. As documented by Kim Kwang-on, the 'costumes of the Korean Shaman account for much of the visual excitement of the *kut*'.⁴⁵⁰ Yet, the monochromatic design of *Lady Macbeth*'s costumes and stage mutes

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 69.

⁴⁴⁹ Im, *Beyond the Gender Divide*, p. 24.

⁴⁵⁰ Kim Kwang-on, "The Implements and Costumes of the Shaman", *Koreana: Korean Art & Culture*, 6:2 (1992), pp. 44-48 (p. 48).

this idea of ‘visual excitement’ and instead focuses the audience’s attention on the psycho-spiritual encounter of Lady Macbeth. Im argues that the lack of such identifiers allows the adaptation to be read as universally humanist. However, Im’s statement is reliant on the visual representation of Korean culture on the stage, absent now in Han’s adaptation. Yet, there are also legislative reasons as to why the aesthetics of *Lady Macbeth* look so different from an actual *Gut* ritual. Kim Chongho notes that ‘the [Korean] government encourages shamans to work as performers of shamanic arts, while they are strongly discouraged to work as healers’.⁴⁵¹ Shamanistic practice has thus, in the eyes of the government, been relegated to a purely performative and aesthetic discipline. While Im desires for an accurate ritual to be performed, Han has to employ various other signifiers instead of directly displaying the practice due to the pressure from the Korean political system. The limitations on the spiritual capital of Korean shamans by governmental interventions add a secondary layer of *Han* for Lady Macbeth as she navigates through her *Gut*. Some interpretations suggest that this ritual serves as her initiation into becoming a shaman, a topic that will be covered in the next section. Im’s argument dismisses the implicit references made in the adaptation to Korean identifiers, such as the use of role-playing associated with *Gut*. Furthermore, her argument neglects the symbolic elements of the performance that connect it with its Korean heritage. For example, according to Ho Rui An’s review of a 2010 touring performance of *Lady Macbeth* in Singapore, the ‘shamanistic dimension is most evocatively realised in the play’s use of clay, flour and water [...] Young-ran Lee, who conceived of the props, explains in the post-show dialogue that the clay and flour symbolise sin and purity respectively’.⁴⁵² Lee Young-ran’s choice of using these materials in proximity to each other juxtaposes the two

⁴⁵¹ Kim Chongho, *Korean Shamanism: The Cultural Paradox* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 272.

⁴⁵² Ho Rui An, “Foul Is Fair”, *The Flying Inkpot – Theatre & Dance*, 2010, <https://www.centre42.sg/archive/reviews/14082/lady-macbeth-2010-review>, npg.

items in the performance of the ritual itself: white against brown, sculpture against dough, sin against purification. Hence, while the tools for a *Gut* ceremony are not represented on the stage, both Han and Lee have ensured that the essence of the ritual remains through the connotations provided via its props.

Even though there are no direct visual indications that the ritual performed by the Doctor and the Servants is a reenactment of any existing traditions, the use of chanting and role-playing by the four characters allows for an interpretation indicative of Shamanistic practice. Additionally, the characters' push for Lady Macbeth's confession is also rooted in the Christian elements infused into *Lady Macbeth*'s narrative. Such elements are implied by the Doctor's lines when he pleads with her to seek 'God if you cannot confide in me'.⁴⁵³ Like Ryutopia's *Macbeth*, the reference to the Christian God is obvious, firstly due to the capitalisation of the letter 'G'. Secondly, as Donald L. Baker explains, before 'the nineteenth century, Koreans believed in many gods and other supernatural entities [...not] in a Supreme Being, in a God with a capital G'.⁴⁵⁴ Baker argues that there is currently a lack of archaeological evidence to indicate that pre-nineteenth-century Koreans worshipped a monotheistic god, let alone Christianity's God. Unlike the subtitles of Ryutopia's *Macbeth*, there is little to no indication that the Korean to English translation has any issues with the word choices, such as introducing Christian references or words where none exist. The reference to God suggests that the Doctor's plea for Lady Macbeth to confide in the Christian deity is an accurate translation. It also implies that Han is using the spiritual capital of both Korean Shamanism and Christianity alongside the psychiatric intervention of the Doctor in her adaptation. From the onset, *Lady Macbeth* displays a unified effort from multiple spiritual cultures, alongside psychiatric practices, to overcome Lady Macbeth's guilt-based, sleep-

⁴⁵³ Theatre Moollee, 0:10:10.

⁴⁵⁴ Donald L. Baker, "The Impact of Christianity on Modern Korea: An Overview", *Acta Koreana*, 19.1 (2016), pp. 45-67 (p. 48).

deprived condition. Han thereby demonstrates the strength of a hybridised approach, using both spiritual and scientific methods as means for individuals to acknowledge and make peace with their crimes.

To relieve Lady Macbeth of her *Han*, the Doctor and the Servants put her in a trance as part of the *Gut* ritual. This trance state that the Psychiatrist Doctor and Shamanist Servants put Lady Macbeth into not only utilises links with hypnotherapy, but also engages with the *objectified* state of Korean Shamanistic rituals to illustrate the suffering and anguish of Korean women, also known as their *Han*. Trance states are usually indicated by a shift in vocal quality, similar to what happens in *Lady Macbeth*, implying that a spirit has taken possession of the shaman's body. Such possessions are a frequent aspect of Korean Shamanistic ritual – specifically *Gut* – in which the living interact with spirits. Through his analysis of Shamanistic rituals, Lee Du-Hyun concludes his research by highlighting that 'each type of trance possession in Korean shamanism not only involves role playing or the assumption of a particular identity, but also has the functions of religious salvation and the reduction of social tensions'.⁴⁵⁵ In Lee's argument, salvation does not align with the Christian definition, where the individual is saved by God and enters heaven. Instead, the spirit for whom the ritual is conducted is comforted and appeased, thereby letting them move on into the afterlife. While *Lady Macbeth's* performance of the *Gut* ritual is neither directly nor visually pronounced with indications of ritual tools or costumes, the use of hypnosis and role play by the Doctor and the Servants evokes some aspect of it. The employment of the ritual in the adaptation implies that Lady Macbeth is suffering from *Han* and therefore needs to attain *Hanpuri* before being able to move on. Lee's quotation from Chung becomes even more poignant when related to Han's adaptation, where Lady Macbeth is haunted by the reminders

⁴⁵⁵ Lee Du-Hyun, "Korean Shamans: Role Playing Through Trance Possession", in *By Means of Performance*, edited by Richard Schechner and Willa Appel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 149-166 (p. 164).

of her crimes, such as when she sees the image of Duncan, represented on stage by a large clay head that descends from above.⁴⁵⁶ Lady Macbeth's *Han* is made known to the audience from the beginning of the play when she describes her ailment to the Doctor: 'My heart is full of worms'.⁴⁵⁷ This statement prompts the Doctor and the Servant to advise Lady Macbeth to confess her sins and expel this ailment from her heart, thereby initiating the *Gut* process. Yet, while the proposed solution may seem simple and direct, Lady Macbeth's hesitancy to acknowledge her actions hinders the process. As Bernard Weiner et al. propose, 'the act of confession assumes both the acceptance of responsibility and personal blame'.⁴⁵⁸ At the beginning of the adaptation, Lady Macbeth demonstrates her unwillingness to recognise that her *Han* is a result of her ambition and a consequence of her guilt. Instead, she insists that a 'little mumbling in sleep signifies nothing'.⁴⁵⁹ The phrase 'signifies nothing' echoes Macbeth's line in *Macbeth*, spoken at the news of Lady Macbeth's passing three scenes after *Han*'s adaptation is contextually set, in which he says that 'Life is a tale | Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, | Signifying nothing'.⁴⁶⁰ However, while both lines communicate a dismissive response to the news they have just received, Macbeth makes an existential statement with his line. In contrast, Lady Macbeth uses hers to counter the Doctor's supervision of her state of well-being. Despite her *Han*, Lady Macbeth chooses to endure her circumstances rather than confess, displaying a determination to secure her social position as a queen over her own physical and spiritual health.

⁴⁵⁶ Theatre Moollee, 0:34:51.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 0:08:51.

⁴⁵⁸ Bernard Weiner, Sandra Graham, Orli Peter, and Mary Zmudlnas, "Public Confession and Forgiveness", *Journal of Personality*, 59:2 (1991), pp. 281-312 (p. 283).

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 0:07:25.

⁴⁶⁰ *Macbeth*, V.5.25-27.

5.2 The Value of Confession

The central theme of Han Tae-Sook's *Lady Macbeth* is the act of confession as a necessary aspect of relieving the titular character's spirit, thereby allowing her to depart the physical world peacefully. According to Mary Vandenberg, 'Psychology classifies guilt as an emotion, specifically a moral emotion [... which] is an affective response to some objective state of affairs that impacts one's sense of morality'.⁴⁶¹ Confession, then, according to Vandenberg, is the counteraction taken to relieve oneself from this 'moral emotion'. Such a definition can be applied to the situation experienced by the character of Lady Macbeth in both narratives, albeit inversely, since her lack of confession causes a cascading effect, which ultimately results in her taking her own life in the source text. While both *Macbeth* and *Lady Macbeth* display the accumulation of Lady Macbeth's guilt through her sleepwalking moment in the source play's Act 5 Scene 1, the approach and reaction to her confession greatly differ between the two texts. In *Macbeth*, Lady Macbeth's brief confession in the scene causes the Doctor to refrain from helping her in favour of remaining ignorant, claiming that 'Infected minds | [to] their deaf pillows will discharge their secrets'.⁴⁶² Han's Doctor does the opposite and encourages Lady Macbeth to confess. Where *Macbeth*'s Doctor recoils from the horror of the revelation of Duncan's murder, *Lady Macbeth*'s Doctor uses it as an opportunity for rehabilitation. Furthermore, the Doctor's line that references the Christian God does not reduce the significance of the Shamanistic beliefs and rituals performed in the adaptation. The Servants' aid in this ritual is demonstrable when Servant 1 advises Lady Macbeth that the 'Sickness of the heart must be cured by the heart. Pour out the truth in your

⁴⁶¹ Mary Vandenberg, "Shame, Guilt, and the Practice of Repentance: An Intersection of Modern Psychology with the Wisdom of Calvin", *Christian Scholar's Review*, 50:3 (2021), pp. 297-313 (p. 300-301).

⁴⁶² *Macbeth*, V.1.60-61.

heart'.⁴⁶³ Rather than to 'deaf pillows', Han's Doctor and Servants encourage Lady Macbeth to declare her guilt to the onlookers, be it themselves or the audience present. By doing so, Han's characters imply an intention of listening and rectifying as part of a therapeutic process rather than relying on a repression of guilt, merging the spiritual capitals of both Christian confession and Shamanistic *Gut*. By working together with the Servants in this adaptation, the Doctor employs the Christian concept of confession alongside the Korean Shamanism's ability to spiritually redeem Lady Macbeth by helping her confront and alleviate her guilt. By engaging with the Christian practice of confession, the production aligns with Vandenberg's definition of confession and repentance: the 'Christian practice of repentance asks believers to regularly examine themselves and confess their sins to God'.⁴⁶⁴ Vandenberg's definition can certainly be applied to both *Macbeth*'s Lady Macbeth and her counterpart in the adaptation.

More importantly, in the context of South Korea, whose history with Christianity is more recent and therefore not as pervasive as compared to Early Modern England, the Doctor's call to the Christian God is a surprising one. According to a study by Donald L. Baker, in 2016 less than '30% of the South Korean population is Christian'.⁴⁶⁵ While slightly less than a third of South Koreans identify as Christian, the community is quite large in the context of East Asia, which tends to have a diverse range of spiritual beliefs, like Buddhism and Taoism. Considering Baker's statistics, Han's inclusion of Christianity, even in 1998, points towards an attempt at harmonising local beliefs with a relatively new religious tradition. In the adaptation, Lady Macbeth demonstrates her ability to consolidate both Christian and Shamanistic spiritual practices within herself. Han illustrates the hybridisation of spiritual practices not only by having the Doctor make references to God, but also by

⁴⁶³ Theatre Moollee, 0:10:08.

⁴⁶⁴ Vandenberg, *Shame, Guilt, and the Practice of Repentance*, p. 309.

⁴⁶⁵ Baker, *The Impact of Christianity on Modern Korea*, p. 45.

having Lady Macbeth parallel her spoken lines with biblical verses. During her reenactment of Duncan's murder, she states that 'Once you've gone to the King's chamber with a dagger in your hand, have already committed murder in your mind'.⁴⁶⁶ Her line has been added to the scene by Han, and does not derive from *Macbeth*. The line recalls the biblical verse of Matthew 5:28, which says, 'But I tell you that anyone who looks at a woman lustfully has already committed adultery with her in his heart'.⁴⁶⁷ While Lady Macbeth's line mirrors the biblical quotation, it is also more violent as it discusses the act of murder versus committing adultery against a lover. Not only do the paralleled lines suggest an association between thoughts and enacting sin, but they also show how Han seamlessly blends Christian spiritual capital in her adaptation to communicate the severity of their actions.

As indicated above, Han has stated her preferred interpretation is that the character and narrative of Lady Macbeth defy social, cultural, and geographical boundaries. Yet, she has created an adaptation that speaks specifically to Korean women while also addressing the experience of a more general audience simultaneously. She further claims that a work generated naturally from emotions and experiences is more productive than attempting to enforce a feminist centred rewriting of texts because 'the illumination of the position of women in this world, or what women mean to humanity, can be more readily achieved'.⁴⁶⁸ Yet, in stating that opinion in the context of *Lady Macbeth*, where the female protagonist undergoes trance hypnotism as part of a purification ritual, Han reveals the socio-cultural specificity despite her claims of geographic neutrality. While Han's statement, on its own, remains a relevant talking point for women worldwide, especially given recent politics in various countries such as the ongoing debates regarding women's healthcare rights in the United States, Han's character of Lady Macbeth displays the unique internal tension felt by

⁴⁶⁶ Theatre Moollee, 0:25:22.

⁴⁶⁷ *The Bible*, Matthew 5:28.

⁴⁶⁸ Han, *Lady Macbeth's Weapon*, p. 22.

Korean women generated by their society's distinct patriarchal context. Chungmoo Choi, in her research from 1992, provides anecdotes on how women are treated in South Korean society. One example that she documents is how a faculty member at Korea University was denied customary financial support upon her father's death because the rule for claiming aid for women was limited to the passing of their father-in-laws.⁴⁶⁹ Choi argues that

This anecdote illustrates the deeply rooted gender discrimination in Korean society as well as the tenacious and rampant practice of patriarchal ideology that governs the everyday life of Korean women today. [...] In reality, such discriminatory logic colors a wide range of socioeconomic issues including marriage and divorce, inheritance and distribution of wealth, labor and wages, and education, all of which deeply affect the lives of Korean women.⁴⁷⁰

Being written in 1998, Han's *Lady Macbeth* reflects some of this frustration with Korean society. It is not surprising that Shim was able to easily identify and sympathise with Lady Macbeth and her *Han*. Han's adaptation displays this frustration at a patriarchal society by having Lady Macbeth exclaim the following lines after kneeling on stage with the Servants and Doctor, declaring the infamous Macbethian hails behind her in slowly increasing volume:

(*With great expectation and anxiety.*) Stay! You imperfect speakers! Tell me more!
I know I will rule more lands thanks to my fortune in the war. But what do you mean,
"I shall be King"? Tell me. On what grounds do you speak such a prophecy?⁴⁷¹

These lines are more recognisably Macbeth's in the source text.⁴⁷² However, in *Lady Macbeth*, it is the titular character that adopts them, implying the conflation of both

⁴⁶⁹ Chungmoo Choi, "Korean Women in a Culture of Inequality", in *Korea Briefing, 1992*, edited by Donald N. Clark (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1993), pp. 97-117 (p. 105).

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 105-106.

⁴⁷¹ Theatre Moollee, 0:13:41.

⁴⁷² *Macbeth*, I.3.65-73.

Macbeths' ambitions within herself. Han's decision to retain the phrase 'imperfect speakers' in reference to the Doctor and Servants is odd in a recontextualised setting. Scholars such as Jaspreet S. Tambar have interpreted this phrase pertaining to the Weird Sisters as literal, arguing that the lack of closure to their prophetic speech makes them 'imperfect'.⁴⁷³ Maria Franziska Fahey makes a similar argument in her own analysis of the play, arguing that Macbeth's phrasing draws parallels between the Weird Sisters and equivocators.⁴⁷⁴ While such analysis provides a linguistic understanding and appreciation for the source material, within the recontextualised adaptation, the phrase now also includes the demeaning way in which shamans are perceived in modern Korean society, which this section will explore later. The implication generated by Lady Macbeth's adoption of the lines is further solidified by the fact that Han's Doctor role-plays Macbeth minutes after this moment. Thus, it is not due to logistical necessity that Lady Macbeth adopts Macbeth's lines, but rather a clear directorial choice in the adaptation. By having Lady Macbeth recite Macbeth's lines, she takes on his ambition to 'be king' and attains a position in which no figure has authority over her.

This ambitious drive to be better than her male peers, then, reflects Lady Macbeth's overwhelming discontent with her current social position as a woman and wife in a patriarchal society; in short, this is her *Han*. Lady Macbeth's social position is clearly showcased minutes after her exclamation, as denoted by the Doctor's re-entrance dressed and role-playing as Macbeth. Within the source text, Macbeth's reunion with Lady Macbeth comes after her conjuration speech, but in Han's adaptation, that moment is delayed until just before the murder of Duncan. Macbeth's entrance narratively suggests the presence of societal patriarchy in Lady Macbeth's world. Having warmly welcomed her husband home,

⁴⁷³ Jaspreet S. Tambar, "Grammatical Expressions of Time in *Macbeth*", *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, 110.1 (2023), pp. 67-79 (p. 75).

⁴⁷⁴ Maria Franziska Fahey, *Metaphor and Shakespearean Drama: Unchaste Signification* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 78.

Lady Macbeth gladly mentions the good fortunes noted in the prophecy. Macbeth immediately chastises her, saying, ‘Woman! You cannot put all your desires into action’.⁴⁷⁵ Macbeth’s reprimand of Lady Macbeth’s comment and implied ambition comes as a surprise due to firstly the immediacy of the line, given that it is his first line after reuniting with his wife, and secondly because she had affectionately called him ‘My dearest love’ at his entrance.⁴⁷⁶ The exclamation of Han’s Macbeth is starkly different compared to his first words to her in *Macbeth*: ‘My dearest love, | Duncan comes here tonight’.⁴⁷⁷ The contrast between how the couple greet each other displays a clear indication of the power dynamic between them at the start of the play, in which Macbeth holds much more authority over her. Their positions will soon be reversed, yet this introduction to their relationship provides some context for where Lady Macbeth’s *Han* stems from. Understanding *Han* within the context of *Lady Macbeth*’s narrative and its relationship to the Korean community is fundamental to interpreting and appreciating the nuanced local aspect of the adaptation. As Lee highlights, ‘*han* is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, since it is religio-cultural and psycho-social’.⁴⁷⁸ The highlighting of *Han* within Han’s localised adaptation of *Macbeth* naturally creates a need for an Interspiritual dialogue, as it intertwines both social and spiritual capital, permeating not just the cultural but also the spiritual and psychological facets of Korean society. These concepts of *Han*, *Gut*, and *Hanpuri*, and their relationship with each other are so ingrained into the Korean thinking that despite the waning of social reliance on Shamanism in favour of other growing spiritual practices in the region like Christianity, they remain familiar to Korean people even in a play like *Lady Macbeth*.

⁴⁷⁵ Theatre Moollee, 0:16:22.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 0:15:39.

⁴⁷⁷ *Macbeth*, I.5.54-55.

⁴⁷⁸ Lee, *Religion, Culture of Han and Hanpuri, and Korean Minjung Women*, p. 49.

Han's adaptation, nonetheless, is not a demonstration of Shamanistic ritual performed on a Shakespearean character in the Naturalistic sense of theatrical performance. Rather, it is an exploration of the character, her actions, and the spiritual conflict that results from said actions, through the process of rituals. As Shim proposes, in 'reimagining Lady Macbeth's inner world, [Han] negotiates between the Western world view inscribed in Macbeth and the traditional Korean Confucian-shamanistic world view [... Lady Macbeth's] strong will and desire can be doubly and convincingly interpreted by local Korean audiences as being motivated by the Korean ethos of *Han*'.⁴⁷⁹ Through her adaptation, Han communicates her personal belief that 'Lady Macbeth tells me that both her life and death stem inherently from herself, and it is this point that I wanted to emphasise'.⁴⁸⁰ Furthermore, the 'inner world' that Shim points towards in her argument clearly describes the ambiguous aesthetics of the stage, which is devoid of any indication regarding its setting. Such a non-Naturalist setting allows for a narrative rewriting and exploration of Lady Macbeth's *Han* while incorporating cultural fidelity without the limitations of conforming to an aesthetic. In doing so, the adaptation is able to dissect the various spiritual practices down to their ideologies and then synthesise them. In other words, Han engages with the fundamental purposes of the rituals rather than their appearance and performance. By identifying Lady Macbeth's guilt-ridden self as the manifestation of her *Han*, the confession of her sin becomes her *Hanpuri*, and the process of drawing the confession is the *Gut* that allows her to achieve her *Hanpuri*. Korean audiences viewing *Lady Macbeth* are thus able to relate their own cultural heritage to the adaptation.

Lady Macbeth herself presents a position that signals the benefits of Shamanistic healing and spiritual hybridity. In her interpretation of the narrative, Shim argues that 'Lady Macbeth herself plays the role of a shaman',⁴⁸¹ stating that her *Gut* mirrors the process

⁴⁷⁹ Shim, *Female Trance*, p. 64.

⁴⁸⁰ Han, *Lady Macbeth's Weapon*, p. 21.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

through which a *mansin* (shaman) is called to the vocation. While the feeling of *Han* fills the individual with an overwhelming sense of affliction, the extent to which Lady Macbeth is tortured by hers is depicted in a much more intense way. In Han's narrative, Lady Macbeth attains a degree of agony in response to which she asks if the smell of blood will 'vanish if I cut these hands off?'.⁴⁸² The threat of self-mutilation as a way to relieve herself from her guilt speaks to the unbearable experience that she is enduring. In a way, this sensation mirrors those felt by individuals who are called to become *sangomas*, as this thesis has explored in its previous chapter. As Laurel Kendall asserts, the 'gods choose a Korean *mansin* (shaman) and announce her destiny through a period of torment; ill health, madness and other misfortune'.⁴⁸³ Han reinterprets *Macbeth*'s Lady Macbeth's circumstances in Act 5 Scene 1 as a form of spiritual trial for the character. Han's Lady Macbeth implies this spiritual trial within the first few minutes of the adaptation, when she proclaims, 'Out damn spirit! Anxiety, away from me'.⁴⁸⁴ Her line is reminiscent of her source counterpart's most famous lines: 'Out damned spot'.⁴⁸⁵ This has been clearly rewritten within the adaptation to invoke the idea that Lady Macbeth is attempting to exorcise a 'spirit' that plagues her with the guilt of her actions. Specifically, it is the anxiety of her crime being revealed that haunts both her sleeping and waking hours. Hence, the reason why she exclaims, 'Anxiety, away from me,' is the worm that has been in her heart that she mentions at the beginning of the play. As Lady Macbeth resists the treatment halfway through the narrative, Servant 1 claims to her that they 'are helping [her] see [her] inner self. Only then can [she] return to the real world, escaping the world of [her] own imagination'.⁴⁸⁶ The plea of Servant 1 clarifies and reminds the

⁴⁸² Theatre Moollee, 1:01:12.

⁴⁸³ Laurel Kendall, "The Contraction and Expansion of Shamanic Landscapes in Contemporary South Korea", *CrossCurrents*, 61:3, (2011), pp. 328-344 (p. 329).

⁴⁸⁴ Theatre Moollee, 0:09:30.

⁴⁸⁵ *Macbeth*, V.1.30.

⁴⁸⁶ Theatre Moollee, 0:41:58.

audience that they are viewing a purification ritual for Lady Macbeth's soul, that she must overcome this trial to heal herself spiritually. This attempt at an exorcism further implies that Lady Macbeth is possessed by a malicious spirit, which, although originating from within her, must be purged, thereby likening her to the spiritual trial experienced by uninitiated shamans.

One part of a *Gut* ritual, when dealing with the *Han* of a deceased person, requires the shaman to become possessed by a spirit, through which attempts are made to appease the spirit, thereby allowing the spirit to expel its *Han*. According to Lee Du-Hyun, it 'should be noted that [a *naerim mudang*] overcomes *sinbyong* [also spelled *shinbyung*] (possession sickness) during her or his initiation'.⁴⁸⁷ The framework of possession can thus be applied to the circumstances of Lady Macbeth, as she is possessed by the guilt of her crimes, which fills her with *Han*. In this sense, Shim's suggestion that Lady Macbeth is a potential shaman alongside the servants, but only once she overcomes this spiritual possession of guilt and anxiety. This interpretation can be supported by researchers like Lee, who explains, 'shamanistic illness called *shinbyung* [...] comes as a sign of calling to be a shamanistic priest'.⁴⁸⁸ Im once again tries to argue against this interpretation. Instead, she highlights that 'Shim's view of Lady Macbeth as a shaman purging her own *Han* is rather unusual in that a shaman generally works as a medium for his/her clients to connect to the supernatural to ease their suffering or realize their wishes'.⁴⁸⁹ While Im's discernment is correct in stating that the lack of a medium-client relationship hinders Lady Macbeth from being classified as a working shaman, her interpretation does not account for the possibility that this act of service exists between her, the servants, and the Doctor. If we consider Lady Macbeth's mental and emotional suffering as part of her *shinbyung*, then it would be necessary for her to undergo a

⁴⁸⁷ Lee, *Role Playing Through Trance Possession*, p. 163.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴⁸⁹ Im, *Beyond the Gender Divide*, p. 24.

Gut ritual with other shamans to attain *Hanpuri* and thereby become initiated. Laurel Kendall documents one such example of this process, in which other shamans perform a *naerim-kut* on an initiate who experiences an intense *shinbyung*.⁴⁹⁰ Rhi Bou-Yong makes a detailed observation in his documentation of the process, noting that in ‘the Korean shamanistic initiation, the prospective shaman or *sindal* (literally “spiritual daughter”) is initiated into the calling through the *naerim kut* ceremony under the direction of the *sin ōmōni* (literally “spiritual mother”)’.⁴⁹¹ Im’s argument thus potentially misconstrues the shaman-client relationship. Lady Macbeth is not the shaman in this ritual, but the client who is to become a shaman. In doing so, she has to exchange her position of power for a place in a community that is being limited and restricted by the government, as mentioned previously.

More moments of ritual performance throughout the adaptation can be paralleled with the *naerim kut* ceremony. For example, when ‘Servant 2 leads the [reenactment to the beat of banging sounds], introducing scenes from Lady Macbeth’s memory’.⁴⁹² The use of percussion, chanting, and bells throughout the production would be familiar indications to local audiences that, while it is not necessarily a *naerim kut* ceremony that is being performed, aspects of a Shamanistic ritual are being enacted on stage. Kim Wonsik documents one variation of a Shamanistic ritual involving an individual holding a divination stick being performed, writing:

The Shaman’s praying, singing, ringing the bells, [and] beating the drums are just suggestions. They work all together in the situation to make the stick holder go into a trance state. [...] By hypnosis, we may also find out several things from the patient

⁴⁹⁰ Laurel Kendall, “Initiating Performance: The Story of Chini, a Korean Shaman”, in *The Performance of Healing*, edited by Carol Landerman and Marina Roseman (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 17-59 (p. 18).

⁴⁹¹ Rhi Bou-Yong, “Shamanism and the Korean Psyche”, *Koreana: Korean Art & Culture*, 6:2 (1992), pp. 31-35 (p. 32).

⁴⁹² Theatre Moollee, 0:23:37.

concerning the causes of his disease and the therapeutic methods that will be effective. [...] The muscles on the face become rigid, do not move freely. He responds well to the Shaman's spoken words and to his actions and carries out the Shaman's expectations as shown through singing and dancing gestures. The enchanted stick answers the questions which the Shaman has stressed and expects to have answered [...].⁴⁹³

The first important note from this example is the use of 'praying, singing, ringing [of] the bells, [and] beating [of] the drums' within the ritual to induce the individual into a trance state. These sonic devices are included sporadically throughout the performance of *Lady Macbeth*, as noted in the various examples provided earlier in this chapter. Han's directorial choice of incorporating these devices into the atmospheric landscape of her adaptation not only lulls Lady Macbeth into her trance but also evokes the image of these rituals in the minds of the local audience. Kim also highlights the interchangeability between 'trance' and 'hypnotism'. We can thus infer that both states of mind work similarly. Kim also identifies the communicative relationship between the shaman and the hypnotised individual, noting that the shaman assumes an interrogative role, asking and emphasising specific questions to elicit a response. This relationship is simulated throughout the performance as the Servants and the Doctor constantly question Lady Macbeth during their various reenactments of her crime, ultimately resolving at the end of the adaptation. Where *Macbeth's* Lady Macbeth is unable to purge herself of the lingering spirit of guilt in her isolation, Han's Lady Macbeth is able to confront a similar spirit through the aid of the Doctor and the servants. Han's Doctor and Servants, thus, collaborate, blending Shamanistic spiritual practices with hypnotherapy to rehabilitate Lady Macbeth as she processes the guilt of abetting in Duncan's murder. It is

⁴⁹³ Kim Wonsik, "Korean Shamanism and Hypnosis", *American Journal of Clinical Hypnosis*, 9.3 (1967), pp. 193-197 (p. 196).

only after the completion of the ritual that Lady Macbeth's guilt is alleviated, allowing her to pass on into the afterlife and leave the stage.

As this chapter has discussed, several of the Doctor's lines in *Lady Macbeth* indicate a call for Lady Macbeth to turn to the Christian God for forgiveness. Yet, his words are simultaneously intertwined with those of the Servants, who use Shamanistic methods in response to Lady Macbeth's psycho-spiritual plight. The intertwining and simplifying of religious aesthetics help the audience focus on the ritual being performed rather than the differences between the two beliefs. Han thus displays an attempt towards hybridising the two spiritual practices to create an effective dialogue between Korean Shamanism and Christianity. *Lady Macbeth* echoes Lee's opinion that 'an ordinary evangelical Christian can understand *Han* better when it is expressed in Christian terms such as the awareness of the unresolved darkness inherent in [a person] even after the confession of all [the person's] "sins"'.⁴⁹⁴ Lee highlights a need to hybridise the spiritual vernacular to better communicate concepts like *Han* to others, thereby opening a discourse between two or more spiritual cultures. As this thesis has proposed throughout its various chapters, translation and communication between spiritual cultures require a negotiation of spiritual capital that serves as an appropriate alternative to each other. Lee's above example demonstrates this negotiation by approaching both concepts through their *institutionalised* states of spiritual capital. This approach makes the concepts understandable to both parties, allowing for active communication and dialogue. By drawing on similar ideas, the two spiritual practices can effectively communicate with each other, thereby allowing for a clear goal towards which both ideologies are being directed: Lady Macbeth's guilt. This dialogue reflects Oak Sung-Deuk's observation that a 'major point of contact between shamanism and Protestantism was

⁴⁹⁴ Lee, *Religion, Culture of Han and Hanpuri, and Korean Minjung Women*, p. 46.

a kind of power encounter in healing'.⁴⁹⁵ Han's adaptation exemplifies Oak's argument through its employment of symbiotic spiritual remediation. To achieve this harmonious cooperation between the two spiritual practices, Han chooses to strip them of their visual identifiers, both in costume and in ritual, distilling them to their fundamental ideologies. Such a use of hybridity is not unfamiliar to Shamanism. Park Kwon-Sang notes that various faith systems that have entered Korea and branched out in the country have been influenced by Shamanism and vice versa, and that this 'flexibility testifies to shamanism's spiritual vitality and resourcefulness'.⁴⁹⁶ The synthesis and consequent formation of hybrid beliefs and their spiritual capitals are therefore not just an idea that Han enacts on stage through *Lady Macbeth*, but also a cultural philosophy that she adopts for the adaptation's narrative.

The intertwining of culture with spiritual practice in *Lady Macbeth* allows the adaptation to connect with its local audience. Park explains that the 'roots of Korean Shamanism may [lie] buried deep in our ancient myths but [...] the religion remains very much alive in the spiritual consciousness, culture, arts, and religions of the modern Korean'.⁴⁹⁷ Claiming that Han does not clearly contextualise her adaptation uniquely to Korean culture, as Im has argued, without considering its Shamanistic influence, is premature. While Im's critique focuses on the accuracy of aesthetics and performance, the props (such as the flour and water) used throughout the adaptation hold significant symbolic meaning and highlight their integral role in the ritual to relieve Lady Macbeth from her *Han*. According to Lee Hyon-U's interpretation of the adaptation, Lady Macbeth's 'painful struggles for purification are not finished until her subconscious is strangled to death by the

⁴⁹⁵ Oak Sung-Deuk, "Healing and Exorcism: Christian Encounters with Shamanism in Early Modern Korea", *Asian Ethnology*, 69:1 (2010), pp. 95-128 (p. 96).

⁴⁹⁶ Park Kwon-Sang, "Editor's Note", *Koreana: Korean Art & Culture*, 6:2 (1992), p. 3.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

imaginary snake [made from the dough that was a result of mixing flour with water]’.⁴⁹⁸

There are multiple ways to interpret the use of serpentine symbolism in Lady Macbeth’s purification ritual, both from a Christian and a Shamanistic perspective. From a Christian position, the snake recalls the Edenic temptation of Adam and Eve, which results in the first sin.⁴⁹⁹ In this sense, Lady Macbeth is being strangled by her own part in Duncan’s murder. However, within Shamanistic practices, snakes have a more divine connection. Chang Chu-kun provides an example in his chapter on Korean Shamanism in which a large snake was found in a person’s garden and was perceived as a symbol of good fortune as well as a symbol of *Ŏp* (the god of the backyard).⁵⁰⁰ While it seems counterintuitive that a symbol of fortune is employed to strangle Lady Macbeth to purify her of her sins, it is less surprising when we consider it as part of her *naerim-kut*. As Rhi documents in his research on Shamanism and Psychology, immense ‘pain is also an essential part of the Korean shaman’s initiation process [...] the “false master,” the spirit who is causing the *sinbyŏong*, is driven out and a benevolent helping spirit (*mŏmju*) is enshrined in the new Shaman’s body’.⁵⁰¹ It is fortune, then, that drives out the ambition of Lady Macbeth, albeit through a violent confrontation. Han, having distilled the basic ideologies of both spiritual practices, uses simple imagery that speaks to both interpretations. In either case, Lady Macbeth’s strangulation is penance for her misdeeds. However, where the Christian interpretation is direct, the local interpretation is infused with more nuance.

⁴⁹⁸ Lee Hyon-U, “Progress of Femininity in Korean Shakespeare since 1990”, in *Shakespeare’s World/World Shakespeares: The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress Brisbane, 2006*, edited by Richard Fotheringham, Christa Jansohn, and R. S. White (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 273-291 (p. 279).

⁴⁹⁹ *The Bible*, New International Version, Genesis 3:1-7.

⁵⁰⁰ Chang Chu-kun, “An Introduction to Korean Shamanism”, in *Shamanism: The Spirit World of Korea*, edited by Richard W.I. Guisso and Yu Chai-shin (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1988), pp. 30-51 (p. 36).

⁵⁰¹ Rhi, *Shamanism and the Korean Psyche*, p. 33.

By the end of the ritual, Han's *Lady Macbeth* demonstrates this synthesis of the two spiritual cultures that this chapter has been arguing. As the performance draws to a close, *Lady Macbeth* approaches a pool of water that has been hidden in a slot in the centre-stage platform. It is in this moment, after reenacting and confronting her role in murdering Duncan, that she attempts to wash her hands, an act that turns into a pseudo-baptism as she starts throwing handfuls of water over herself, saying, 'Running water purifies all. Water, flow over me and wash these hands'.⁵⁰² While water and the act of washing are running themes throughout the source play, *Lady Macbeth* amplifies the performance. Lee Hyon-U notes of the performance that 'Lady Macbeth struggles to erase the traces of her crime through drenching her whole body'.⁵⁰³ Han draws a very strong parallel between *Lady Macbeth*'s actions and the ritual of Christian baptism, during which the sins of the individual are washed away. The concept of water purification is also important within Korean Shamanistic practice. According to the nationally-renowned shaman, Kim Kum-hwa, the 'gods like purity [...] if a person with evil thoughts or someone who has witnessed a death recently comes to a *kut*, it causes contamination'.⁵⁰⁴ In the context of the Macbethian narrative, *Lady Macbeth* fulfils both criteria of contamination, firstly by encouraging Duncan's murder and secondly by being an active participant in the act. *Lady Macbeth*'s attempt to baptise herself is a significant demonstration of an action that holds notable meanings for various spiritual beliefs. While the presence of water is important in the act of baptism, the element concurrently features heavily in *Gut* rituals. According to Kendall, to 'receive these spirits, [the shaman apprentice] must balance on the rim of an earthen jar filled with water and call them to this pure high place'.⁵⁰⁵ While Kendall provides only one instance in which water is

⁵⁰² Theatre Moollee, 1:03:43.

⁵⁰³ Lee, *Progress of Femininity in Korean Shakespeare*, p. 279.

⁵⁰⁴ Kim Kum-hwa, "Interview with Yi Sung-nam", *Koreana: Korean Art & Culture*, 6:2 (1992), pp. 50-55 (p. 54).

⁵⁰⁵ Kendall, *Initiating Performance*, p. 31.

present in the ritual, ‘an earthen jar filled with water’ for the apprentice to dance on top of, Kim Kum-hwa also describes another *Gut* ritual in which the element is present. Kim describes that the altar ‘consists of a seven-layer tower constructed from a steel drum, wooden dough boards, a small table, a pine board, a water pitcher and a brass bowl with the *chaktu*, a double-edged knife on the very top’.⁵⁰⁶ While in both cases the apprentice does not douse herself with the water as Lady Macbeth does, and merely dances on top of the container, its presence across multiple *Gut* rituals provides some insight into its importance. In the context of *Lady Macbeth*, the element is amplified in meaning due to the various important roles it plays across spiritual beliefs. *Lady Macbeth*, then, should not be viewed merely as an intercultural piece of theatre, but also an illustration of how an Interspiritual discourse within the narrative allows for a more complex appreciation of its various cultural influences.

5.3 The Spiritual Capital of Korean Psychology

I would like to now return to Yvonne Young-ja Lee’s statement that one aspect of *Han* is ‘psycho-social’, Han focuses much of the Doctor’s efforts into psychologically engaging with Lady Macbeth to create an opportunity for her to attain *Hanpuri*. During the performance, the Doctor and the Servants line up into a tableau and chant an edited version of the Macbethian hails, ‘All hail, Macbeth! You shall be King hereafter! Great King! King Macbeth! The one and only King!’,⁵⁰⁷ to place Lady Macbeth into a hypnotic trance state, as described at the start of this chapter, thereby allowing them to reenact the causes of her *Han* and remedy it. This hypnotic state is, once again, a fundamental element of Lady Macbeth’s

⁵⁰⁶ Kim, *Interview with Yi Sung-nam*, p. 54.

⁵⁰⁷ Theatre Moollee, 0:12:51.

Gut ritual, linking spiritual practice with the field of psychology. As Shim clarifies, traditionally, ‘the shamanistic ritual of *Gut* and its crucial phase of trance, a state of possession by the spirits, are believed to provide a psychological escape mechanism for purging *Han*’.⁵⁰⁸ Rhi also provides a similar insight in his study of Shamanism, saying that in ‘the state of ecstasy, the shaman links this world, the human world, with the other world. This process is identical to the psychological process used to break down the barriers between the unconscious and conscious worlds’.⁵⁰⁹ Rhi highlights an overlap between the psychological and the spiritual fields that can be synthesised to achieve a cathartic *Hanpuri*. The psychological impact of *Han* is thus fundamental, not just in interpreting the adaptation but also in understanding the cultural influence within it. As Rhi anecdotally notes, after ‘returning to Korea in 1968, as a Jungian analyst, I couldn’t possibly understand my Korean patients without first understanding the symbolism found in Shamanism and other folk beliefs, which played such an important role in their dreams, and, by extension, their unconscious’.⁵¹⁰ While Rhi bases his suggestion on personal experience, other scholars have also agreed that this cultural phenomenon is associated with psychological factors of Korean society. This psychological approach extends not just to *Han* but to *Shinbyung* as well. Lee Min-Soo et al. proposed that ‘*Shinbyung* is one of the possession syndromes evolved in an attempt to project traumatic suffering on the shamanistic world’.⁵¹¹ While Lee Min-Soo et al. attempt to make a scientific diagnosis regarding *Shinbyung*, their vocabulary and contextualisation remain within the spiritual environment. Within the Korean cultural context, *Han* works in tandem with the psychological state of the individual.

⁵⁰⁸ Shim, *Female Trance*, p. 80.

⁵⁰⁹ Rhi, *Shamanism and the Korean Psyche*, p. 32.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., p. 32.

⁵¹¹ Lee Min-Soo, Park Yong Chon, and, Park Seon-Cheol, “South Korea”, in *Routledge Handbook of Psychiatry in Asia*, edited by Dinesh Bhugra, Samson Tse, Roger Ng, and Nori Takei (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 183-195 (p. 185).

Through *Lady Macbeth*, Han explores the psychological impact of *Han* on Korean society. Lee Hyon-U quotes an interview response by Han from the *Korea Herald* in which she says that Lady Macbeth's 'psychological turmoil is symbolic of the psyches of many women'.⁵¹² While *Han* is not entirely a positive aspect of Korean society, as it constantly plagues individuals and communities both psychologically and spiritually with unresolved negative emotions constantly, it is a useful tool for communicating ideological fundamentals between spiritual practices, thereby allowing for hybridisation. In the case of *Lady Macbeth*, *Han* serves as a way to discuss the internal tension of women in Korean society through performance. It is, of course, not the haunting of the guilt of regicide that plagues the minds of women, but the anxiety of ambition. As Andrew Park argues, in Korean society, patriarchy 'makes women develop the anxiety about falling into nothingness, and assigns to men the anxiety of ambition for actualizing one's potential'.⁵¹³ Han uses Lady Macbeth as a to connect the struggles of *Macbeth's* Lady Macbeth with those encountered by South Korean women. As she tries to calm a hysterical Doctor after reenacting Duncan's murder, Lady Macbeth comments that men 'enjoy the process of obtaining power [...] women enjoy power itself'.⁵¹⁴ In saying so, Lady Macbeth clearly echoes the sentiments put forward by Park as she chastises the Doctor/Macbeth's cowardice in the regicide. Lady Macbeth thus demonstrates the root of her *Han*: the embrace and celebration of power attained by the murder of another, in opposition to her societal position as dictated by the Patriarchy. Lee Hyon-U further explains that 'the more extended the character of Lady Macbeth becomes as a subject of power and desire, the more extended her pain and agony become'.⁵¹⁵ If Han intended for Lady Macbeth's *Han*-ridden psyche reflect Korean women, then employing

⁵¹² Lee, *Progress of Femininity in Korean Shakespeare*, p. 278.

⁵¹³ Park, *The Wounded Heart of God*, p. 53.

⁵¹⁴ Theatre Moollee, 0:30:38.

⁵¹⁵ Lee, *Progress of Femininity in Korean Shakespeare*, p. 278.

psychological exploration through the Doctor is an interrogation and deconstruction of Patriarchal expectations.

By giving the Doctor a more active role in the adaptation's narrative in comparison to his *Macbeth* counterpart, Han provides him with an opportunity to use his profession to benefit Lady Macbeth. Upon hearing Lady Macbeth's sparse confession of her deeds, *Macbeth*'s Doctor proclaims that 'More needs she the divine, then the physician'.⁵¹⁶ Prior to this line, audiences might assume the Doctor is present in the scene to address Lady Macbeth's sleepwalking, as the information exchanged between him and the Gentlewoman pertains to that affliction.⁵¹⁷ It would be unsurprising to an Early Modern audience that a doctor was called in to solve such an affliction, as there is documentation of such practices occurring. John Hall, for example, who was a doctor practicing in Stratford-upon-Avon and Shakespeare's son-in-law, talks about a woman who was similarly afflicted with sleeplessness due to an illness that was contracted after childbirth. According to the diary entry, he prescribed 'corn poppy syrup 1 ½oz, syrup of violets ½oz, scabious water 3oz, a little rose water, oil of vitriol for acidity' for her sleeplessness.⁵¹⁸ However, even with a possible remedy to address some of the symptoms that afflict Lady Macbeth, *Macbeth*'s doctor can only prescribe divine intervention to heal her. In comparison, Han's Doctor forcefully drags Lady Macbeth's confession out of her as a form of remedy. The intensity of the Doctor's therapy is as overwhelming to Lady Macbeth as her own *Han*, to the extent that she pleads with him to tell her, 'On what authority do you punish me'.⁵¹⁹ While the ritual itself is intended to purge Lady Macbeth's *Han* from her, it is a torturous process for her; hence Lee Hyon-U's comment that she is not fully purified 'until her subconscious is

⁵¹⁶ *Macbeth*, V.1.2.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, V.1.1-29.

⁵¹⁸ Greg Wells, *John Hall, Master of Physicke: A Casebook from Shakespeare's Stratford* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p. 231.

⁵¹⁹ Theatre Moollee, 1:07:34.

strangled to death'. Han's revision of the interaction between the Doctor and Lady Macbeth highlights a profound point raised by *Macbeth*: the Doctor's ineptness. Within the Early Modern period, discussions surrounding the potential connections between the spiritual and physical were already being discussed by theorists. For example, Michael Macdonald points towards Richard Napier's work and collaborations with contemporaries such as Simon Foreman as an example of scholarly interest in the connection between the two concepts. Macdonald notes that Richard Napier, 'like the other educated men of his day, believed that physical maladies and spiritual afflictions were often conjoined'.⁵²⁰ While Napier's work itself may not have directly influenced *Macbeth*, the contents of Macbeth's admonishment towards the Doctor in Act 5 Scene 3 would have made sense to some Early Modern audience members:

Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
And with some sweet oblivious antidote
Cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart?⁵²¹

While Macbeth speaks mostly metaphorically in his chiding of the Doctor, his frustration at the Doctor's inability to prescribe a remedy or an alternative to alleviate Lady Macbeth's affliction is almost palpable. Even if audiences were to consider the Doctor as a witness to Lady Macbeth's confession, it is not sufficient to relieve her of her guilt, as this thesis has discussed in chapter 1.3, as she is unconsciously performing the ritual rather than making an active choice.

⁵²⁰ Michael Macdonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, anxiety, and healing in seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 223.

⁵²¹ *Macbeth*, V.3.43-48.

Where *Macbeth*'s Doctor is unable to provide any remedy, *Lady Macbeth*'s Doctor forcefully extracts the confession from Lady Macbeth. Han's Lady Macbeth still relives her past experiences in the adaptation, but she is no longer alone in her journey. Instead, the Doctor and the Servants are there throughout the reenactments to bear witness to the crime in its entirety, allowing them to uproot her *Han* from its source. Where the act of confession in Christian ideology is limited to the amount an individual is willing to confess, Shamanism can act as an alternative means of relieving guilt. Han's Doctor, his use of hypnotherapy alongside Shamanistic practices, aligns with the psychological studies of contemporary South Korea. The doctor takes the line 'More needs she the divine' and acts upon it rather than merely remaining as a bystander. With the aid of the servants' Shamanistic *Gut*, he calls on Lady Macbeth to pluck her rooted sorrow from her own memory. When pressed by Lady Macbeth about the authority that allows him to perform such acts on her, he replies with 'I am what is left in your heart, deep down in your heart'.⁵²² The Doctor recognises the roles he has been performing throughout the ritual: Lady Macbeth's memory and perception of Macbeth. He, therefore, has become both the anchor of her humanity as well as the root of *Han*: that she did not act with the intention of setting her husband on the throne, but acted on her own ambition to attain power. Han's Doctor is therefore empowered by collaborating with the spiritual practitioners who are the servants, as the adaptation acknowledges their therapeutic abilities.

Understanding *Han*, therefore, allows for a dialogue between spiritual cultures. As Andrew Sung Park proposes, '*Han*, the pain of victims, can be a focal point of interreligious dialogue for all major world religions'.⁵²³ Han's use of a psychological approach to communicate a spiritually and culturally significant concept within a localised adaptation of

⁵²² Theatre Moollee, 1:07:30.

⁵²³ Park, *The Wounded Heart of God*, p. 129.

Shakespeare conjures and connects various spiritual practices in dialogue. While the other case studies of this thesis have pointed towards engaging in discussion between different spiritual practices, the more common outcome usually prioritises one above the other. However, *Lady Macbeth* takes this Interspirituality a step further by having the different practices working together in a harmonious relationship.

5.4 Resolving the Ritual

Han's demonstration of spiritual hybridity extends the capabilities of Interspirituality, showing that multiple ideologies can be synthesised to aid in resolving emotional and spiritual ailments. In doing so, Han's adaptation is able to transform into an advocative narrative for Korean women that shows how gender envy created by a patriarchal society is detrimental to the individual's mental and spiritual health. Instead of conforming to patriarchal standards, it is better, then, to divorce and liberate oneself from such comparisons. Han's incorporation of shamans, whose social group, while not totally voluntarily, is separated from patriarchal ideals, provides a narrative environment in which women can heal. They are able to regain their lost social standing within their local communities. Han demonstrates the need to distil the fundamental ideologies of spiritual practices as part of the hybridisation process. By doing so, the various spiritual practices are liberated from the restraints of ritual aesthetics and can be used to accomplish a common goal. Despite the governmental intervention of attempting to limit shamanistic practices to performances instead of recognising shamans as spiritual healers, Han's *Lady Macbeth* continues to represent the healing potential of their rituals on stage. In doing so, Han utilises the knowledge and spiritual capital of local audiences, alongside global beliefs like Christianity, to communicate the importance of confronting social oppressions.

We have come to the end of a very brief journey across the world, its various cultures, and how they have chosen to interact with Shakespeare and his canon. However, we have one more stop before we disembark: international theatre festivals, which we will explore in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Final Destination: Festivals and Capitals

6.1 There and Back Again

We have undertaken a journey that took us through South Africa, Mexico, Japan, and South Korea. Throughout the project, this thesis has examined how spiritual capital has been negotiated and employed in various ways to either build or critique national and cultural identities. Our first localised case study into *uMabatha* established the importance of negotiating spiritual capital between cultures to translate culture, tradition, and belief systems without diminishing their value to local communities. This negotiation is especially important when using spiritual capital to create a national identity that is being advertised to the world by appealing to global audiences. The second case study involving *Mendoza* demonstrated how adaptors can use spiritual capital as a means of creating political critique. *Mendoza*'s use of a Bruja as a cultural translation for *Macbeth*'s Weird Sisters, while still infusing her lines with Revolutionary rhetoric, not only follows a well-established link in Mexican culture between empowered spiritual women and rebellions but also demonstrates the ability to use these associations as a means of political dialogue. The case study of Ryutopia's *Macbeth* exhibited how spiritual capital can be used to create a cultural identity that addresses the play's characters' need to acknowledge their actions and choices to achieve a resolution in their narrative. Kurita's adaptation creates the opportunity for Japan's local spiritual practices to showcase their ability to provide posthumous closure to those who have already died. In doing so, Ryutopia's *Macbeth* provides an alternative perspective towards spiritual reconciliation as opposed to the Christian finality of death. Lastly, *Lady Macbeth* showcases the curative potential of spiritual capital in addressing societal issues. While the case study on Ryutopia's *Macbeth* particularly examined the Macbethian characters in their afterlife, Han's *Lady Macbeth* employed the hybridisation of Christian beliefs alongside Shamanistic

practices and psychotherapy to address the unresolved guilt and frustration in a still living Lady Macbeth, albeit hinting that she dies by the conclusion of the adaptation. Han demonstrated a potentially advantageous societal outcome through the use of spiritual capital. While these four aspects of the Interspiritual framework are still being reflected on and developed, the method has the potential to branch out and highlight further discourses in other Intercultural adaptations. Such approaches remain relevant in Intercultural studies in four main ways:

- 1) When non-local audiences travel to another country and watch an adaptation at a local theatre.
- 2) When localised adaptations travel to another country as part of a touring schedule and are viewed by non-local audiences.
- 3) When localised adaptations travel to another country as part of an international festival.
- 4) When the localised adaptation is viewed through a digital medium such as online archives (including film adaptations).

The largest point of interaction between localised adaptations and non-local audiences occurs during international festivals like the World Shakespeare Festival, the Globe to Globe Festival, and the RSC Complete Works Festival, as well as through various digital media. However, since this study focuses on theatrical performance rather than film, this chapter will concentrate on the future application of the Interspiritual framework within theatrical festivals, due to the events' accessibility to a wide demographic of audiences.

As the Macbethian narrative persists and permeates across borders through its many adaptations, so too does the question of translating the supernatural element of the source

text. In terms of textual translation, Sarah Maitland provides an example of the difficulties of working on translating the text into English for a touring run of *Mendoza*:

In the case of the 2017 CASA Latin American Theatre Festival, there are three source texts, representing three ‘known knowns’ with which the translator must contend: first, we have the official Mendoza playtext (2012), which is supported by a performance of the play (2016) recorded live some years afterwards, and we have Macbeth, the ‘first’ source text from which all others spring. A fourth source text, the unknown quantity in this process, is the performance that has not yet happened: the 2017 festival production.⁵²⁴

As Maitland highlights, one of the struggles of touring localised adaptations, especially productions that have ran on multiple instances, is the editing of the text throughout the years. Another example of such textual editing is the 2016 production of Han’s *Lady Macbeth*, which added material like the singing of *pansori* (a traditional genre of song) that was absent from previous runs.⁵²⁵ Linguistical translators, thus, are required to contend with not just a singular unified text but a continuously evolving one. Fluctuations within the text may also denote a different cultural element and, by extension, interpretation in the adaptation, as seen in Han’s revived production. Such concerns, as we have seen in Ryutopia’s *Macbeth*’s back translations into English, highlight the potential misconceptions regarding the spiritual practices of non-Christian-centric cultures, especially when considered within the context of international theatre festivals in which Intercultural adaptations and productions are a central focus. The discourse reiterates Alain Wolf’s argument in the opening chapter of this study,

⁵²⁴ Sarah Maitland, “Coming to terms: Towards a hermeneutics of expectation in theater surtitling”, in *New Paths in Theatre Translation and Surtitling*, edited by Vasiliki Misiou and Loukia Kostopoulou (New York: Routledge, 2023), pp. 30-49 (p. 38).

⁵²⁵ Kim Young Shin, “Lady Macbeth Sings Pansori”, *Korea.net*, 20 December 2016, <https://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/Culture/view?articleId=142770>. npg.

that ‘to be intercultural is to be inter-religious’.⁵²⁶ As we have seen from the previous case studies, spiritual beliefs and spiritual capital play an important role in how *Macbeth* is performed, translated, and adapted. Yet, as we will see later in this chapter in reviews of productions presented during the Globe-to-Globe Festival, language becomes a primary barrier to Intercultural, and by extension of Wolf’s argument, Interspiritual, discourse.

By being exposed to diverse interpretations across cultures through platforms like international festivals, audiences gain a wealth of information that they then bring to their readings/re-readings of the source text. As Pia Brînzeu highlights, in the Intertextual Field of Translation, ‘when the position of the observer changes from that of a mere reader to that of a translator, linguist, researcher, teacher, student or any other person interested in the process of translation in comparing variants, translations are turned from isolated particles into the waves of a web’.⁵²⁷ Brînzeu theorises that the audience’s repository of knowledge and knowing, as Hutcheon indicates, is expanded and they therefore bring a new interpretation to their viewing/reading of the source text. This expansion of knowledge would also include the audience’s *embodied* state of spiritual capital, as this thesis has been arguing. In this sense, the Intercultural, Interspiritual, and Intertextual are intrinsically linked in international Shakespeare festivals, where many productions and adaptations collide and interact. Isabel Guerrero applies Henri Schoenmakers’ definition of theatre festivals as meta-events or a collection of singular events in her analysis, stating that as ‘*meta-events*, theatre festivals allow for comparisons that are not possible outside the festival frame’.⁵²⁸ International

⁵²⁶ Alain Wolf, “Intercultural Identity and Inter-Religious Dialogue: A Holy Place to Be?”, *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 12.1 (2012), pp. 37-55 (p. 52).

⁵²⁷ Pia Brînzeu, “Intertextual Complementarity: Quantum Physics and the Romanian Translations of *Macbeth*”, in *(In)hospitable Translations: Fidelities, Betrayals, Rewritings*, edited by Mădălina Nicolaescu and Sorana Corneanu (Bucureşti: Universităţii din Bucureşti, 2010), pp. 49-60 (p. 55).

⁵²⁸ Isabel Guerrero, “Celebrating Global Shakespeare: The Reinvention of Shakespeare Festivals in the UK”, *The Grove – Working Papers on English Studies*, 24 (2017), pp. 25-37 (p. 26).

Shakespeare festivals organically create a similar environment to what this project has attempted by placing different adaptations of *Macbeth* in proximity to each other. Many of the arguments made in the introductory chapter of this project can be applied to international festival events. As Emily Linnemann notes, ‘working internationally encourages the exposure of contrasts between different cultures’.⁵²⁹ Linneman’s opinion aligns with the arguments of many intercultural scholars discussed in this thesis’ introduction. Yet, it is situated within the scope of international festivals, where comparisons are made directly rather than in singular productions. Linneman’s application indicates that we should be able to approach the analysis of festival productions using this project’s framework, slightly modifying the scope to incorporate a collective analysis and its impact on a wider audience. The application of this study’s framework into the wider context of the environment of international theatrical festivals is, additionally, aligned with observations made by Nataliya Torkut et al.’s research, which states that the ‘Shakespeare festival movement demonstrates how global Shakespeare combines with local interpretations, thus encouraging recipients to explore the world of William Shakespeare’s creative contribution’.⁵³⁰ Not only do international theatrical festivals organically create an environment for comparative dialogue, but they also foster conditions in which audiences engage with the collection of adaptations more than at individual performances.

Beyond the cultural exposure between the transnational collection of adaptations and festival participants at Shakespeare festivals, the audiences also experience a large linguistic variety, which facilitates interaction among them. In her analysis of such events, Isabel

⁵²⁹ Emily Linnemann, “International Innovation? Shakespeare as Intercultural Catalyst”, in *Shakespeare Survey 64: Shakespeare as Cultural Catalyst*, edited by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 13-24 (p. 15).

⁵³⁰ Nataliya Torkut, Maiia Harbuziuk, and Oksana Sobol, “Shakespeare Festivals as a Medium Of Value Transfer”, In *European Values In Ukrainian Education: Challenges and Frontiers*, edited by Olena Tupakhina, Kateryna Sirinyok-Dolgaryova, and Rusudan Makhachashvili (Lviv: Liha-Pres, 2019), pp. 159-172 (p. 162).

Guerrero highlights that international festivals present ‘Shakespeare not only as a global author but, even more importantly, they sought to make their audiences consciously aware of that global feature, encouraging them to enjoy the plays in languages in which they might not have been heard before on the English stage’.⁵³¹ While this thesis has highlighted the linguistic hurdles in such situations, these events also provide opportunities for cooperative interactions between cultures. Guerrero documents such interactions, stating that part ‘of the success of the Globe to Globe might be accounted for by the presence in the audience of London denizens who were diasporic members of the community of the visiting company [...They] helped those spectators who did not understand the language to overcome the linguistic barrier’.⁵³² While Hutcheon imagines the linguistically and culturally unknowing audience from the perspective of an individual participant, a theatrical audience rarely consists of a singular member. While Hutcheon’s concerns regarding audiences’ unknowingness are still relevant to individual audience members, they can be mitigated through communal aid. Such acts of communal interaction feature more frequently at international theatrical festivals not only due to the size and demographic of their audiences but also because the event itself fosters and encourages such reciprocation. As Torkut et al. argue, being ‘a cultural event, theatrical festivals create the communicative space where all the participants – directors, playwrights, actors, spectators, and scholars of either theatrical or literary studies – can take an active part, exchange their opinions, and feel incorporated into a peculiar community’.⁵³³ It is this communal environment that fosters an environment conducive to cultural and Interspiritual dialogue. In the festival environment, Torkut et al. describe how various states of spiritual capital interact. Whether it is the personal experiences

⁵³¹ Isabel Guerrero, *Celebrating Global Shakespeare*, p. 26-27.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁵³³ Torkut, Harbuziuk, and Sobol, *Shakespeare Festivals as a Medium Of Value Transfer*, p. 161.

of individual participants, the productions performing rituals, or the specific rituals themselves, all interact with each other in a single event.

However, if international festivals amplify the dialogical opportunities due to the proximity of adaptations, they also magnify the potential cultural exploitation. While we have discussed the detrimental effects of Welcome Msomi's diminished cultural representation to appeal to non-local audiences, such practices are amplified in the context of international festivals. In another article focusing on the Edinburgh International Festival, Guerrero indicates that productions 'often employ other strategies in order to ensure their accessibility, such as stressing the cultural differences of their source culture, privileging form over content, simplifying traditional techniques, or blending different cultural traditions'.⁵³⁴ Guerrero argues that such strategies often decontextualise the adaptation for a more global audience to bridge the linguistic divide that frequently occurs in these situations, especially for non-Anglophone productions. Msomi, for instance, simplifies the representation of the *sangomas* as a means of navigating his cultural translations, as we have seen, but in doing so creates an exoticised image of Zulu culture. While Msomi's representation of the *sangomas* allows for some accessibility to an unknowing audience, his simplified characterisation invokes a complex discourse that is reflected in productions involved in international festivals. However, the complexities that arise from such simplifications, as demonstrated through the scholarly reception of *uMabatha*, represent only a fraction of this kind of confusion since it is only a singular event. Due to the size and nature of international festivals, dialogues about cultural representation are amplified when as more adaptations attempt to communicate their own cultural contexts.

⁵³⁴ Isabel Guerrero, "'My Native English Now Must I Forego': Global Shakespeare at the Edinburgh International Festival", *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, 103.1 (2020), pp. 57-74 (p. 60).

Such confusion can be mitigated by initiating discussions that aim to clarify the directorial choices of aesthetics and cultural representation through the inclusion of a post-show discussion event. In an interview about the Globe-to-Globe Festival, for example, Tom Bird, the festival director, indicated that the companies invited by the festival were advised to keep their productions within a certain time frame.⁵³⁵ While the organisers indicate that such limitations were intended to ensure the festival's timetable smoothly due to the volume of plays being performed, these strategies can also be adopted to provide audiences with opportunities to engage in dialogues with the creatives, during which cultural contexts can be better explained. Such opportunities would be one of the main advantages of holding an international festival compared to individual touring runs. Its audiences would be more culturally diverse, presumably creating a discourse that includes information from various backgrounds. For example, as shown in the chapter on *Lady Macbeth*, the post-show event provided clarification on the nuances of stage and story elements that might have been unnoticed by non-local audiences, such as the props and the use of Shamanism to combat *Han*. The presence of the post-show dialogue does not mean that the adaptation failed to communicate these concepts; rather, it allows audiences to better digest the information and add it to their repository of knowledge, experience, and spiritual capital.

Opportunities to begin these conversations, where spiritual knowledge and capital can be exchanged, are not confined to post-show dialogues but also extend throughout the many events of these international festivals. As Torkut et al. suggest, festival culture's ability to transfer values 'often combines different forms and means of interaction between participants that [help] to create a more significant impact on the recipient and [promote] more effective dissemination of values not only through passive contemplation but also through active

⁵³⁵ Tom Bird, "The Globe to Globe Festival: An Introduction", in *Shakespeare Beyond English: A Global Experiment*, edited by Susan Bennett and Christie Carson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 13-18 (p. 15).

participation’.⁵³⁶ Torkut et al. discuss this concept in terms of how Shakespeare’s canon can create discussions about themes such as morality, gender roles, and Otherness. I would argue that this concept of value transfer can also be applied to Interspiritual discourse through the exchange of spiritual capital. Torkut et al. argue in their research that the diversity of international plays performed at these festivals exposes global audiences to how different countries and cultures use and adapt Shakespeare’s canon to communicate their socio-political environments. However, Torkut et al. limits their study to the conveying of European values, even though it includes a performing troupe from South Korea. What Interspirituality aims to provide to such a discussion is a framework flexible enough to accommodate multiple cultural values in conversation with each other, rather than limiting the study to just one. As this thesis has shown, spiritual capital provides a comprehensive vocabulary to discuss and exchange information regarding spiritual belief systems, rituals, and ideology. As seen throughout the various case studies of this thesis, Interspiritualism’s focus on the spiritual practices of local culture opens an educational gateway into conversations regarding socio-cultural history, religious hybridity, and ethical cultural portrayal. In doing so, this project furthers Torkut et al.’s concept. They explain that the ‘emerging dialogue creates a productive background for awaking the axiological context as well, because, being involved in the discussion, people join the exchange of aesthetical, spiritual, and moral values’.⁵³⁷ Interspiritualism provides a similar focus, but also opens the discourse to show how these exchanges can be readjusted to trace how these values can shape and influence socio-political discussions.

However, despite the potential discourses that these frameworks could generate, their success depends on the reception, consumption, and digestion of these international

⁵³⁶ Torkut, Harbuziuk, and Sobol, *Shakespeare Festivals as a Medium Of Value Transfer* , p. 160.

⁵³⁷ Ibid., p. 161.

productions. The reviews of theatre critics who have watched these performances provide insight into the reception of touring Shakespeare adaptations in a festival setting. Speaking about the Globe to Globe Festival, Robert Ormsby suggests that assuming ‘for themselves [their] ownership of Shakespeare, reviewers treated the foreign productions just as they treated the Globe’s “foreign” spectators, by asserting the otherness of Globe to Globe visitors and defining authentic Shakespeare against such otherness’.⁵³⁸ While receptivity to theatrical performances is relative to the understanding and appreciation of each audience member, much can be discerned by comparing reviews of the same play from critics of different backgrounds. With regards to the Pakistani rendition of *The Taming of the Shrew*, for example, Alexander Gilmour writes in his review for the *Financial Times* that

Theatre Wallay interpreted the story as an awfully sunny rom-com with inane gags, cartwheels and sexy badinage. It was highly attractive, proficient and often funny. But any moral doubt was missing and this groundling, for one, found it sexist and unpalatable.⁵³⁹

While the full review itself is very short, being under a total of ten sentences long, Gilmour, unconcerned by the relocation and recontextualisation of the play to Lahore, expresses a clear distaste for the localised adaptation by Theatre Wallay. Instead, his desire to see the ‘moral doubt’ of the source play betrays what he deems to be an aspect of Shakespearean authenticity that connects adaptation to source text. In comparison, Nosheen Iqbal, a then reviewer for *The Guardian*, writes:

⁵³⁸ Robert Ormsby, “Shakespearean Tourism: From National Heritage to Global Attraction”, in *The Shakespeare World*, edited by Jill L. Levenson and Robert Ormsby (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 431-442 (p. 437).

⁵³⁹ Alexander Gilmour, “The Taming of the Shrew – Theatre Wallay, Pakistan”, *Financial Times – Life & Arts*, 2-3 June 2012, p. 8.

On the face of it, there's little to love about Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*. The play unavoidably revels in chauvinism and, you might argue, enforces the worst traits of a patriarchal culture – woman as property, man as all-conquering saviour who comes, sees and crushes his wife into subservience. But in this Pakistani production by Theatre Wallay, rewritten in Urdu by three women, gender politics become more complicated; the men are no more in control than the women are meekly compliant.⁵⁴⁰

Where Gilmour provides a fleeting description of the play, Iqbal highlights not only the women writers of the adaptation, but also how the adaptation resists the social oppression of women through their rewriting, as well as his easily disproven claim that it was 'sexist'. Iqbal's description, then, clearly highlights Gilmour's need to assert authority and ownership over the adaptation, as Ormsby has stipulated. The contrast between the two reviews also demonstrates the difference in reception between the two reviewers, with Gilmour rejecting the adaptation by calling it 'unpalpable'. In contrast, Iqbal engages with its themes and celebrates its new perspectives.

While the opinions of reviewers are limited and informed by their personal experiences with Shakespeare's canon and other cultures, the differences in reception highlight the potential range of value transference that Torkut et al. suggest in their study. As Ania Loomba suggests, whether 'a critic lives in (or comes from) Britain, North America or the 'third world' also has a strong impact on both the meanings and the broader pedagogical and political significance she finds in 'race' and Shakespeare'.⁵⁴¹ While Loomba's argument mainly focuses on the cultural differences based on different gender experiences, her point remains relevant to how different cultures across the globe focus on and express the themes

⁵⁴⁰ Nosheen Iqbal, "The *Taming of the Shrew* – Review", *The Guardian*, 30th May 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/may/30/taming-of-the-shrew-review>, npg.

⁵⁴¹ Ania Loomba, "Shakespeare and Cultural Difference", in *Alternative Shakespeares*, edited by Terence Hawkes, 3 vols (London: Routledge, 1996), II, pp. 164-191 (p. 165).

found in Shakespeare's canon differently due to their context, which in turn influences different societal aspects like education and perceptions of community. Such impressions are compounded within the festival environment, as Donna Woodford-Gormley argues: while 'festivals such as the Globe to Globe have the goal of fostering the "multicultural good", they also raise questions about the ethics of a multicultural endeavor in which a "Western" [culture] interprets, judges, or fetishizes another culture's appropriation of Shakespeare'.⁵⁴² As aforementioned, catering to Western interpretations through intercultural adaptations is a complicated issue that potentially perpetuates the exoticisation of non-Western cultures. What Interspirituality aims to do, instead, is to provide audiences with the vocabulary to discuss their reception of these adaptations. For example, Gilmour's suggestion that 'any moral doubt was missing' could be better defined by what he would categorise as morality, whether it stemmed from his own spiritual or cultural background, and whether his opinion was being argued from an *embodied* state of spiritual capital or an *institutionalised* state.

One of the frequently highlighted criticisms of the non-Anglophone Globe-to-Globe Festival productions is the necessity for audiences to overcome the language barriers presented in the adaptations. Discussing the National Theatre of Greece's production of *Pericles*, Alex Needham writes that:

For non-Greek speakers however, the Globe's minimal surtitling made this production of *Pericles* seem like a Charlie Chaplin film. To make themselves understood, the dozen actors supersized their performances, mugging broadly, waving their fists at the numerous helicopters flying over the Globe's open roof and occasionally lapsing into English [...] And while the qualities of loyalty and endurance celebrated in the play were sometimes required of the audience, the company – visiting London for the first

⁵⁴² Donna Woodford-Gormley, *Shakespeare in Cuba: Caliban's Books* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), p. 137.

time since the 60s – triumphantly smashed through the barriers of language and economics.⁵⁴³

While Needham does praise the production for its success at the end of his review, his choice to liken the production to a ‘Charlie Chaplin Film’, implying he deems it more like silent pantomime because of the summarised subtitles, and his lack of linguistic understanding, frames the adaptation in a less serious light than the source text connotes. Such sentiments are echoed in relation to other productions such as Robert McCrum’s opinion of Bitter Pill’s *Merry Wives of Windsor* performed in Swahili: ‘it was hard not to come away with the worry that it was the several Swahili speakers among a sympathetic Globe audience who had the best of an overlong evening’.⁵⁴⁴ Such responses to linguistic barriers display a resistance to being receptive to non-local adaptations when contrasted with productions like Deafinitely Theatre’s rendition of *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, which was performed in British Sign Language (BSL). According to Lucy Howard’s glowing review:

Love’s Labour’s Lost isn’t an easy play to bring off: an early comedy with a convoluted plot (as well as various sub-plots and a play-within-a-play), complex language including Latin, puns and wordplay, and an unusually ambivalent ending, which skirts dangerously towards tragedy. Despite these challenges, the physicality of BSL lends itself well to the job, and not only for people who know how to read its signs. Words and emotions are constantly emphasised through facial expressions and demeanour as well as signing.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴³ Alex Needham, “Pericles – Review”, *The Guardian*, 30 April 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/apr/30/world-shakespeare-festival-shakespeare>, npg.

⁵⁴⁴ Robert McCrum, “The Merry Wives of Windsor”, *The Observer*, April 29 2012, p. 35.

⁵⁴⁵ Lucy Howard, “Love’s Labour’s Lost – Review”, *The Guardian*, 25 May 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/may/25/review-loves-labours-lost-globe>, npg.

If the audience must rely solely on the performance of the body to understand the adaptation's text, then the question arises as to why one production is treated as a silent comic show and another as a well-executed means of expression. Such criticisms of visiting adaptations are not limited to the Globe-to-Globe Festival. At the Royal Shakespeare Company's International event, the World Shakespeare Festival, occurring around the same period, similar reviews were being written. For example, reviewing Companhia Bufomecânica's *Two Roses for Richard*, an adaptation of *Richard III* that was performed in Portuguese with surtitles, Charles Spencer from the Telegraph writes:

Nevertheless, it is a relief when the trip stops. We have quite enough gimmicky Shakespeare of our own. Do we really need to import it from Brazil, which, on this evidence alone, really is the place where the nuts come from.⁵⁴⁶

Not only does Spencer's statement demonstrate resistance towards the idea of other countries/cultures performing Shakespeare in the United Kingdom, viewing it as an 'import', but he also belittles and insults the production by calling it 'gimmicky' and 'where the nuts come from'. The implication that Spencer makes, then, is why invite these productions to the United Kingdom when it produces what he deems better renditions of Shakespeare, thereby drawing a clear distinction between the producer/owner of "authentic" Shakespeare and "other" Shakespeare. Nonetheless, it is an important factor for interpreting cultural and, by extension, spiritual translations. As demonstrated by the opposing reviews of Theatre Wallay's *The Taming of the Shrew*, cultural vocabulary can easily be misinterpreted. However, the lack of an attempt to understand the linguistic translations and cultural reinterpretations also highlights a secondary symptom of reluctance to comprehend the cultural differences displayed in the adaptation. It is, thus, unsurprising that Iqbal's review,

⁵⁴⁶ Charles Spencer, "Richard III as you've never seen her before", *The Daily Telegraph*, May 11 2012, p. 27.

which suggests some understanding of the Urdu spoken during the performance, also acknowledges the cultural influences of the production, unlike Gilmour.

Such reviews from Spencer, McCrum, Needham, and Gilmour run counter to the festival's ideal of creating a multilingual event. Yet, their remarks are also symptomatic of a wider discourse when it comes to these events. Writing on the Globe to Globe's encouragement to translate and perform the Shakespearean canon in each theatre company's local language, Jane Plastow speculates that 'it appears that translation has been invoked as a tool of post-colonial cultural conquest and exoticization, providing titillation for London audiences who could fraudulently, be led to believe that Shakespeare was flourishing and beloved in local language translations across the globe, when in fact, these translations attracted no local audience or investment in their countries of origin'.⁵⁴⁷ The reception of *uMabatha* during its run in London, as mentioned in the case study, aligns with Plastow's argument that these productions reinforce ideas of colonial bardolatry, portraying Shakespeare as a universally appreciated figure despite linguistic differences. However, the association between Shakespeare and Englishness also reinforces the opinion that only Anglophone readers can truly understand his words, thereby demonstrating English superiority in fully unpacking and understanding the meanings and themes in the canon. By suggesting that non-anglophone adaptations are inauthentic Shakespeares, these reviewers draw a distinction and claim regarding the ownership of Shakespeare's works.

Such receptions of intercultural works bear similarities to the local and non-local dynamics of tourism. As Cohen argues, tourism 'typically involves some encounter with the

⁵⁴⁷ Jane Plastow, "The Politics of African Shakespeare", in *The Routledge Handbook of Shakespeare and Global Appropriation*, edited by Christy Desmet, Sujata Iyengar, and Miriam Jacobson (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 171-180 (p. 176).

“Other””.⁵⁴⁸ While Cohen made his observation decades earlier, specifically regarding the physical movement of tourists, his point is relevant to the perception of intercultural adaptations and translations of Shakespeare, particularly in performances at festivals in the United Kingdom. In the context of international festivals, the definitions of local and non-local that this project has been using are reversed, with ‘local audiences’ referring to the festival’s host country and ‘non-local’ to the guest participants. However, despite the flipped positions of ‘local’ and ‘non-local’, the issue of ‘Othering’ that Cohen indicates remains a point of discourse. This project has used much of this discourse’s vocabulary to contextualise the positionalities between production and reception. Alexander Huang defines in an article that as ‘a critical category, locality encompasses a number of related ideas, including the fictional setting of a drama, the physical and cultural location of a given performance, the geo-cultural and political coordinates of particular groups of audience, as well as various layers of meaning embedded in the performing venue’.⁵⁴⁹ Localities help both scholars and audiences to enter these performances with an anticipation of encountering the unfamiliar. This foresight asks us to experience these adaptations with an open mind, to accept and engage with the different contexts rather than to reject them. This recognition is important, not to embolden claims of Shakespearean authority, but to emphasise the importance of cultural context in adaptation and interpretation.

To take the position of the reviewers mentioned in this chapter is to also ignore important questions put forward by adaptation scholars. John Russell Brown proposes that scholars ‘should ask why Shakespeare’s plays are performed with such popular success in so many languages and in so many different political intellectual, societal and artistic

⁵⁴⁸ Erik Cohen, “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism”, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15 (1988), pp. 371-386 (p. 376).

⁵⁴⁹ Alexander C. Y. Huang, “Where is Shakespeare? – Locality and Performative Translation”, *Ilha Do Desterro*, 49 (2005), pp. 255-264 (p. 257).

traditions'.⁵⁵⁰ As highlighted by this thesis, the localisation of Shakespeare's texts aids the local culture in communicating its own spiritual beliefs and cultural practices to audiences who come from a range of backgrounds. Plastow suggests that the 'primary interest for many playwrights and directors [...] lies in taking fabulous tales and reinterpreting them, freely and audaciously, to regain local relevance'.⁵⁵¹ As demonstrated by this thesis, Plastow's argument is applicable if the adaptation displays a faithful representation of local cultural practices. In contrast, the prioritising of textual fidelity sets local contexts in contention against that of the source text. It is, thus, crucial for adaptations to maintain a strong fidelity to their local contexts. In doing so, these adaptations can communicate their own local situations and environments to a global audience. Furthermore, the cultural fidelity of local spiritual beliefs in adaptations addresses one of the potential issues proposed by Cohen, which is that 'the commoditized cultural products lose in the process their intrinsic meaning and significance for the local people'.⁵⁵² As I have argued throughout this thesis, the amount of spiritual capital placed on local practitioners/rituals/institutions is relative to those who find significance and meaning in them. *Mendoza*, Ryutopia's *Macbeth*, and *Lady Macbeth* all display a recognition of how local spiritual practitioners have enriched their communities in their productions. If we consider these adaptations as a commodity of international festivals, these examples show how 'intrinsic meaning and significance for local people' can still be maintained, especially when viewed by a global audience.

The commodification of intercultural adaptations at these international Shakespeare festivals is also supported/supported by the commodification of Shakespeare as a brand.

Robert Ormsby speaks of this phenomenon, highlighting that at 'larger festivals (for example,

⁵⁵⁰ John Russell Brown, "Foreign Shakespeare and English-speaking audiences", in *Foreign Shakespeare: Contemporary Performance*, edited by Dennis Kennedy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 21-35 (p. 22).

⁵⁵¹ Plastow, *The Politics of African Shakespeare*, p. 178-179.

⁵⁵² Cohen, *Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism*, p. 381.

Shakespeare's Globe; Stratford-Upon-Avon; Ashland; Oregon; and Stratford, Ontario), visitors from across the globe watch performances, view exhibits of Shakespearean paraphernalia, take backstage and costume-shop tours, purchase a vast array of souvenirs, hear lectures and readings, and participate in seminars and workshops'.⁵⁵³ Shakespeare and his works are packaged and made into cultural commodities that can be sold to a global audience. The productions and adaptations involved in these festivals can also be considered part of the commodities being marketed; arguably, they are the main merchandise advertised in these events. The promotion of these packages allows the festival curators to advocate for Shakespeare's relevancy and legacy centuries after his death. Sullivan comments on this festival market phenomena, stating that according 'to [John J. MacAloon], 'legacy discourse' is 'brand discourse' in a more palatable guise; it avoids the potential crassness of the language of marketing and commercialization while still encompassing its core principles – that the value of a product or experience does not derive solely from the thing itself, but also from the idea and story that surrounds it'.⁵⁵⁴ Shakespeare, and by extension the adaptations of his works, are marketed at these international theatre festivals, transforming them into commodities that reinforce the Shakespearean brand.

International festivals like the Globe to Globe naturally carry the socio-political potential to showcase a celebration of nationhood and national identity to a global community. Government involvement in these localised adaptations performed overseas, usually through funding, can encourage a sense of national pride and display international collaboration. However, such methods usually require the company to argue that its project is

⁵⁵³ Robert Ormsby, "Shakespearean Tourism: From National Heritage to Global Attraction", in *The Shakespeare World*, edited by Jill L. Levenson and Robert Ormsby (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 431-442 (p. 431).

⁵⁵⁴ Erin Sullivan, "Olympic Shakespeare and the Idea of Legacy: Culture, Capital and the Global Future", in *Shakespeare on the Global Stage: Performance and Festivity in the Olympic Year*, edited by Paul Prescott and Erin Sullivan (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2015), pp. 283-322 (p. 286).

also beneficial to the government in some way. Furthermore, governmental involvement can extend beyond financial support to include permission for extended overseas stays, especially for productions that aspire to take their runs to other countries. According to Mervyn McMurtry's research into the production history of *uMabatha*'s 1972 production at the World Theatre Season:

The South African Government only granted approval for the tour on the condition that all financial arrangements, including air fares, accommodations, and maintenance of dependants of the fifty-five cast members were secured. This amounted to almost R50 000, a sum raised in South Africa in five months, mainly from private subscription. Ironically then, after its successful opening, the company were guests of honour at a reception at South African House, hosted by the South African ambassador Hendrik Luttig, who had refused to assist Daubeney in obtaining sponsorship from the South African Government [...].⁵⁵⁵

The disjunction between the South African Government's initial reluctance to allow the cast and crew of *uMabatha* at the World Theatre Season to celebrate of the localised adaptation after it found fame and recognition overseas suggests an intention to use this newfound success to influence its national and international identity.

This practice of using the works of both Shakespeare and intercultural adaptations as a soft international power extends beyond just touring productions; it can also be found at international festival events. Ormsby highlights the fact that like 'many festivals, [the Globe to Globe] was a kind of global market-place where governments exercised diplomacy by subsidizing performances, thereby encouraging companies to embody [according to Ric

⁵⁵⁵ Mervyn McMurtry, "'Doing Their Own Thane': The Critical Reception of *uMabatha*, Welcome Msomi's *Zulu Macbeth*", *Ilha Do Desterro*, 36 (1999), pp. 309-336 (p. 310).

Knowles] “national cultures””.⁵⁵⁶ While the use of these festivals to promote governmental diplomacy is not explicit, glimpses of this conversation can be seen in the marketing of the event. The press release from Shakespeare’s Globe conveyed a sense of creating a global jubilee of Shakespeare’s works, writing that ‘[the Globe-to-Globe Festival] will also celebrate the vast array of ethnic communities and languages that make up London’s vibrant multi-cultural landscape’.⁵⁵⁷ As London is the capital city of the UK, it is also easily a representative of the country. By painting the city as diverse and culturally inclusive, the event reinforces the identity of the UK as a country that is welcoming to global visitors. Another example would be the theme of Singapore’s 2012 M1 Fringe Festival, which was Art and Faith. The festival brought together a collection of productions and adaptations that focused on spiritual practices, placing them in proximity to each other, thereby creating an Interspiritual dialogue within the festival. This theme reinforced the government’s narrative that Singapore is a multi-religious country that promotes the benefits of religious discourse and tolerance.

However, the use of such events as a diplomatic tool also limits the longevity of the adaptations that their organisers commissioned. For example, Plastow describes the difficulties of South African adaptations that were unable to find funding opportunities in their own local communities after the Globe to Globe festival, writing that:

Three of the five countries concerned – South Africa, Kenya, and Nigeria – are commonwealth members, and all have British council representation, but in no case did either The Globe or these funders apparently consider that it might be have been

⁵⁵⁶ Ormsby, *Shakespearean Tourism*, p. 437.

⁵⁵⁷ Shakespeare’s Globe, *Shakespeare’s Globe Celebrates London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games with Unprecedented Multi-lingual Shakespeare Festival*, Press Release, in *Shakespeare Globe Archive*, 20 January 2011, npg.

worth investing in assisting these plays to be seen in the cultures from which they originated.⁵⁵⁸

If the governmental support of these festivals was partly to bolster its international diplomacy, it is unsurprising that the financial investments provided for these productions were limited to the duration of the event and not extended afterward. Hutcheon highlights this observation early in her discourse, stating that general ‘economic issues, such as the financing and distribution of different media and art forms, must be considered in any general theorizing of adaptation’.⁵⁵⁹ Especially for small to medium-sized performance companies, approaching government institutions for funding helps to alleviate the financial dependency on ticket sales. The ability to obtain government recognition and patronage, therefore, depends on the profitability of the production or adaptation, whether political or economic, rather than merely applying for it from institutional bodies. Such involvement also suggests a need to align a production’s socio-political messages, to some extent, with that of governmental policies.

There are various festivals, such as the Singapore International Festival of the Arts (formerly known as the Singapore Arts Festival), that pursue the cultural, economic, and political advantages of maintaining the pieces after the event concludes. William Peterson notes that while ‘forging international links and bringing the best from overseas is vital to the festival, so too is the development of Singaporean work, especially pieces deemed capable of reaching an international audience’.⁵⁶⁰ Peterson documents that the festival itself acts as a sifting process for local productions commissioned by the event. Works deemed satisfactory

⁵⁵⁸ Plastow, *The Politics of African Shakespeare*, p. 176.

⁵⁵⁹ Linda Hutcheon and Siobhan O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 2nd Edition (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 30.

⁵⁶⁰ William Peterson, “The Singapore Arts Festival at Thirty: Going Global, Glocal, Grobal”, *Asian Theatre Journal*, 26.1 (2009), pp. 111-134 (p. 122).

by both the festival and government administration for global consumption receive further investment for international export. The implication here is that the administration views these works as a political investment that will enhance Singapore's image as these productions continue to participate in future festivals. This process demonstrates the potential capability of ensuring an afterlife of locally-commissioned productions from both festival organisers and governmental institutions. Yet, there are still restrictions on the narratives of these adaptations, as this section highlighted earlier. Peterson documents this process, writing that 'supporting local work in the context of an international arts festival with the understanding that it is expected to break boundaries and speak to a potential festival audience outside of Singapore, artists are programmed to avoid that which is grounded in lived Singaporean experience'.⁵⁶¹ Such stipulations are counterproductive to the efforts of potential intercultural and, by extension, Interspiritual dialogue, due to Singapore's often celebrated practice of Interreligious harmony.

6.2 In the Image of the Witch

Aside from the Cultural-Artistic impact of Interspiritual dialogue, the framework's ability to create discourse and understanding also has socio-political ramifications. Specifically for this project, many communities around the world that are perceived to practice witchcraft still face either oppressive circumstances or persecution. For example, the *South African Pagan Rights Alliance*, a non-profit paralegal advocacy group, has documented many published news reports of attacks and murders against victims perceived to be practicing witchcraft between 2000 and 2023 alone, averaging between one to three attacks

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., p. 128.

per year.⁵⁶² While there are many articles in this collection, as with many criminal statistics, this number of reported cases only reflects a fraction of violent cases made against these communities who are practitioners or have been accused or perceived to be practicing witchcraft. There are many more examples: in 2020, an indigenous Maya spiritual practitioner, Domingo Choc Che was tortured and lynched by a group of seven people,⁵⁶³ And in 2022, a pastor in Tennessee named Greg Locke threatened to expose and publish the personal information of six people whom he perceived to be practicing witches.⁵⁶⁴ Similar incidents still occur in the twenty-first-century due to ignorance and intolerance of spiritual plurality within diverse communities. The lack of dialogue, negotiation, compromise, and understanding exacerbates this issue. Such detrimental projections can be potentially reflected in reactions to productions and adaptations of *Macbeth*. As this thesis has discussed in its case study on *uMabatha*, the diminishment of the spiritual healers' spiritual capital adds to the audience's knowledge, experience, and opinions of such practices.

If we consider that not all audience members of *Macbeth* or its adaptations would have been exposed to the Macbethian narrative or any scholarship on its interpretation, they would have only their societal influences to rely on. As Guerrero highlights, 'it would be a mistake to assume that all festival-goers possess such previous knowledge about the plays and that, even if they do, they are prepared to depend uniquely on that and radically change their usual mode of reception, setting aside their linguistic understanding to focus completely

⁵⁶² South African Pagan Rights Alliance, *Remember Their Names – Victims of Witchhunts in South Africa 2000 to 2023*, (26 June 2023), <https://paganrightsalliance.org/remember-their-names>, npg.

⁵⁶³ Jeff Abbot, "Outrage as Guatemalan Maya Spirit Guide is Tortured and Burned Alive", *The Guardian*, 10 June 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jun/10/guatemalan-maya-spiritual-guide-tortured-burned-alive>, npg.

⁵⁶⁴ Justin Velleho, "Pastor Greg Locke Threatens to Dox 'Witches' that Infiltrated His Wife's Bible Book Club", in *Independent*, 15 February 2022, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/pastor-greg-locke-witches-qanon-b2015742>, npg.

on watching, complementing the non-verbal language of the performance with their previous knowledge'.⁵⁶⁵ Guerrero's statement agrees with the reception and reviews of the various Globe to Globe productions mentioned in this chapter. Guerrero's argument also aligns with this thesis has been presenting Interspiritual interaction, suggesting that audiences form their opinions of the local spiritual practices represented on stage through their own *embodied* state of spiritual capital. The adaptation, in turn, also informs, changes, and adds to the audience's repository as they consume the production. The exposure, dialogue, and educational opportunities created by the production's fidelity to local culture as a means of self-representation are important for combating and dispelling negative perceptions of different spiritual cultures.

These discussions surrounding witchcraft and spiritual practices continue and will foreseeably remain relevant for as long as communities choose to employ *Macbeth* for their own storytelling. The image of the Weird Sisters has become an icon for the play, as highlighted by Melissa Johnson:

While Shakespeare may have drawn images such as the use of a cauldron for mixing magical ingredients and the calling of animal familiars from popular early modern beliefs about witches, his translation of these images onto the stage remains the primary conduit of these ideas to the general public, as evidenced by the numerous memes and other pop cultural references playing on the lines of *Macbeth*'s weird sisters, specifically, as a kind of shorthand for immediately identifying their characters as witches.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁵ Guerrero, *My Native English*, p. 60.

⁵⁶⁶ Melissa Johnson, "'You should be women' – The figure of the witch in Young Adult adaptations of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*", in *Liberating Shakespeare: Adaptation and Empowerment for Young Adult Audiences*, edited by Jennifer Flaherty and Deborah Uman (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2023), pp. 123-136 (p. 131).

While Johnson talks of the Weird Sisters' icon in relation to modern Anglophone pop culture, such images and signs can be nuanced and made inclusive by the cultural dynamics of these characters. These images and signs bear significant weight as the source play continues to be adapted for newer and younger generations. As Johnson argues of modern Young Adult adaptations, if 'the witches of Shakespeare and James I are demonstrative of malevolence, the witches of those YA authors who adapt *Macbeth* are demonstrative of a way to harness these perceptions and turn them towards a productive solution'.⁵⁶⁷ Considering Johnson's suggestion that contemporary Young Adult writers already nuance and change the perception of witches within their own genre, exposure to various unvilified interpretations of witches can provide adaptors with new sources of inspiration to draw from and integrate into their nuanced narratives. In doing so, such cycles of adaptation, exposure, and re-adaptation, facilitate Brînzeu's analogy of viewing these translations through the vocabulary of quantum physics in that 'a translation is no longer a static object, but a dynamic pattern, a process based on the energy of generating new translation'.⁵⁶⁸ If we consider each production to be in an active, or potentially active, state of influencing other adaptation narratives, then the importance of cultural representation consistent with local practices and understanding needs to remain at the forefront of adaptation discourse. As Cohen argues, commodification 'does not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products, neither for the locals nor for the tourists, although it may do so under certain conditions'.⁵⁶⁹ However, Cohen's observation only works when the recipient of the commodified adaptation learns and builds on the cultural understandings of what is presented on stage. Hence, when international festivals attempt to peddle intercultural productions, maintaining the adaptation's cultural significance

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 133.

⁵⁶⁸ Brînzeu, *Intertextual Complementarity*, p. 55.

⁵⁶⁹ Cohen, *Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism*, p. 383.

remains an important consideration, lest the commodification of culture merely become a Capitalistic venture rather than an educational one.

6.3 Beyond *Macbeth*

We have taken a long journey through time and space, beginning from Early Modern England, through the South African, South American, and Asian continents, before landing in modern-day United Kingdom. During our travels, we have explored how different cultures have integrated their local spiritual practices into adaptations of *Macbeth*, encouraging a reinterpretation of witchcraft presented to us in the Macbethian narrative, whether for political or spiritual reasons. Throughout this thesis, using spiritual discourse and capital as a means of analysing these adaptations has been an enlightening way to explore the new interpretations these infusions provide. However, we can also take the results of these studies, as we have done in the context of international festivals, and apply them to adaptations of other plays like *The Tempest*, *Othello*, or *The Merchant of Venice*, where race and non-Christian spiritual practices are integrated into the canon texts. The use of the Interspiritual framework and discussions around the spiritual capital of these plays would require more time and collaboration in the future, but could provide fruitful insights, especially for adaptations like Lü Po Shen's *Bond*, which recontextualises *The Merchant of Venice* into Medieval China. Such a recontextualisation generates discourse about how to represent Shylock's Jewishness and the cultural translations it entails. Interspiritual discourse could play a productive role in the future study of such cultural translations. As such, I hope that the Interspiritual framework can further develop to bring these discussions to light. As we have seen throughout this thesis, Interspirituality has provided a new set of vocabulary through which we can study, understand, and appreciate Intercultural adaptations. Even as the ghosts

of Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, Banquo, and the Weird Sisters continue to haunt performative spaces, digital archives, novelisations, and popular cultures long after the characters end their stories at Dunsinane, Interspiritual dialogues must also persist to examine their continued impact on local cultures and spiritual practices.

Bibliography

- Abbot, Jeff, "Outrage as Guatemalan Maya Spirit Guide is Tortured and Burned Alive", *The Guardian*, 10 June 2020,
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jun/10/guatemalan-maya-spiritual-guide-tortured-burned-alive>
- Agrippa, Heinrich, *De Occulta Philosophica: Natural Magic*, vol 1, translated by Paul Summers Young, (Obernkirchen: Black Letter Press, 2020)
- , *De Occulta Philosophica: The Fourth Book*, vol 4, translated by Paul Summers Young (Obernkirchen: Black Letter Press, 2020)
- Almond, Phillip C., "King James I and the Burning of Reginald Scot's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*: The Invention of Tradition", *Notes and Queries*, 56.2 (2009), pp. 209-213
- Amankulor, J. Ndukaku, "The Condition of Ritual in Theatre: An Intercultural Perspective", *Performing Arts Journal*, 11.3 (1989), pp. 45-58
- "The Antiphoner Notebook", in *Making Magic in Elizabethan England: Two Early Modern Vernacular Books of Magic*, edited by Frank Klassen (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2019)
- AP Archive, "Zulu Macbeth", *YouTube*, 21 July 2015,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0pECqlUykog>
- Arnott, Peter D., *The Theatres of Japan* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1969)
- Baiko, Onoe, Interview with Samuel L. Leiter et al, Samuel L. Leiter, Bando Tsurunosuke, Ichimura Takenojo, and Bando Mitsugoro, "Four Interviews with Kabuki Actors", *Educational Theatre Journal*, 18.4 (1966), pp. 391-404

- Baker, Donald L., "The Impact of Christianity on Modern Korea: An Overview", *Acta Koreana*, 19.1 (2016), pp. 45-67
- Bartholomeusz, Dennis, *Macbeth and the Players* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969)
- , "Shakespeare Imagines the Orient: The Orient Imagines Shakespeare", in *Shakespeare and Cultural Traditions: The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress, Tokyo, 1991*, edited by Tesuo Kishi, Roger Pringle, and Stanley Wells (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp. 188-204
- Behar, Ruth, "Sex and Sin, Witchcraft and the Devil in Late-Colonial Mexico", *American Ethnologist*, 14.1 (1987), pp. 34-54
- Benjamin, Thomas, *La Revolución: Mexico's Great Revolution as Memory, Myth, and History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000)
- Bennett, Susan, "Sponsoring Shakespeare", in *Shakespeare's Cultural Capital: His Economic Impact from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Dominic Shellard and Siobhan Keenan (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2016), pp. 163-179
- Bernard, Penelope, "Suspending Disbelief and Experiencing the Extraordinary: How Radical Participation May Facilitate an Understanding of Aquatic Snakes and Fish-tailed Beings in South Africa", in *Anthropology and Cryptozoology: Exploring Encounters with Mysterious Creatures*, edited by Samantha Hurn (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 139-156
- Bhabha, Homi K., *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994)

Bird, Tom, "The Globe to Globe Festival: An Introduction", in *Shakespeare Beyond English: A Global Experiment*, edited by Susan Bennett and Christie Carson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 13-18

Birmingham Post, 18th March 1972

Bodleian Library, "Ashmole MS 208", *Shakespeare Documented*, fol. 207v,
<https://shakespearedocumented.folger.edu/resource/document/formans-account-seeing-plays-globe-macbeth-cymbeline-winters-tale>

Boffone, Trevor, and Carla Della Gatta, "Shakespeare and Latinidad", in *Shakespeare and Latinidad*, edited by Trevor Boffone and Carla Della Gatta (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press: 2021), pp. 1-18

Booth, Roy, "Standing Within the Prospect of Belief: *Macbeth*, King James, And Witchcraft", in *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604*, edited by John Newton and Jo Bath (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2008), pp. 47-68

Bossy, John, "The Social History of Confession in the Age of Reformation", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 25, (1975), pp. 21-38

Brandon, James R., "Some Shakespeare(s) in Some Asia(s)", *Asian Studies Review*, 20:3 (1997), pp. 1-26

Brînzeu, Pia, "Intertextual Complementarity: Quantum Physics and the Romanian Translations of *Macbeth*", in *(In)hospitable Translations: Fidelities, Betrayals, Rewritings*, edited by Mădălina Nicolaescu and Sorana Corneanu (București: Universității din București, 2010), pp. 49-60

Brogan, Stephen, "The Royal Touch", *History Today*, February 2011, pp. 46-52

- , *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2015)
- Brokaw, Katherine S, *Shakespeare and Community Performance* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023)
- Brown, John R., “Foreign Shakespeare and English-speaking audiences”, in *Foreign Shakespeare: Contemporary Performance*, edited by Dennis Kennedy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 21-35
- , “Shakespeare, Theatre Production, Cultural Politics”, in *Shakespeare Survey 48: Shakespeare and Cultural Exchange*, edited by Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 13-22
- Callaway, Henry, *The Religious System of the Amazulu. – Izinyanga Zokubula; or Divination, As Existing Among the Amazulu, In Their Own Words, with A Translation into English and Notes* (London: Trübner and Co., 1870)
- Campbell, Thomas, *Life of Mrs Siddons*, vol. 2 (London: Effingham Wilson, 1834)
- Cant, Alanna, “What Can Witchcraft Do in Mexico?”, *Anthropology News*, October 24, 201
- Carroll, William C., *Adapting Macbeth: A Cultural History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022)
- Cavanagh, Sheila T., “In Other Words: Shakespearean Transformations”, in *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, edited by Alexa Huang and Elizabeth Rivlin (New York: Palgrave Macmillin, 2014), pp. 193-210
- Chang, Chu-kun, “An Introduction to Korean Shamanism”, in *Shamanism: The Spirit World of Korea*, edited by Richard W.I. Guisso and Yu Chai-shin (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1988), pp. 30-51

- Chiba, Jessica, "Lost and Found in Translation: Hybridity in Kurosawa's *Ran*", *Shakespeare Bulletin*, 36.4 (2018), pp. 599-633
- , "'Something rich and strange': Translating Shakespeare's Poetry into Japanese", *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, 111.1 (2023), pp. 105-120
- Choi, Chungmoo, "Korean Women in a Culture of Inequality", in *Korea Briefing, 1992*, edited by Donald N. Clark (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1993), pp. 97-117
- Clark, Sandra, "*Macbeth* and the Weird Sisters", *Shakespeare Studies*, 46 (2008), pp. 62-76.
- Clark, Stuart, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Cleveland, Todd, *A History of Tourism in Africa: Exoticization, Exploitation and Enrichment* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2021).
- Cohen, Erik, "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15 (1988), pp. 371-386
- Conner, Francis X., "The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet", edited by Francis X. Conner, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 997-1078
- Dadabhoy, Ambereen, *Shakespeare through Islamic Worlds* (New York: Routledge, 2024)
- Demeter, Jason, "Shakespeare and civil rights: Rhetorical Universalism", in *The Arden Research Handbook of Shakespeare and Social Justice*, edited by David Ruiter (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), pp. 94-108

Desmet, Christy, “Import/Export: Trafficking in Cross-Cultural Shakespearean Spaces”,

Multicultural Shakespeare: Translation, Appropriation and Performance, 15.30

(2017), pp. 15-26

---, “Recognizing Shakespeare, Rethinking Fidelity: A Rhetoric and Ethics of Appropriation”,

in *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, edited by Alexa Huang and Elizabeth

Rivlin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 41-58

Dingley, James, “Sacred Communities: Religion and National Identity”, *National Identities*,

13.4 (2011), pp. 389-402

Distiller, Natasha, “‘The Zulu Macbeth’: The value of an African Shakespeare”, in

Shakespeare Survey 57: Macbeth and its Afterlife, edited by Peter Holland

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 159-168

Dobson, Michael, *Michael Dobson in Conversation with Jyotsna Singh*, 20th July 2018

Ernst, Earle, *The Kabuki Theatre* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii, 1974)

Ewbank, Inga-stina, “Shakespeare Translation as Cultural Exchange”, in *Shakespeare Survey*

48: *Shakespeare and Cultural Exchange*, edited by Stanley Wells (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1-12

Fahey, Maria F., *Metaphor and Shakespearean Drama: Unchaste Signification* (New York:

Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

Fahy, John, and Jan-Jonathan Bock ed., *The Interfaith Movement: Mobilising Religious*

Diversity in the 21st Century (New York: Routledge, 2020)

Fahy, John and Jeffery Haynes, “Interfaith on the World Stage”, *The Review of Faith and*

International Affairs, 16.3 (2018)

- Fausset, Richard, "In Mexico, Yo Soy 132 Ponders Next Steps", *Los Angeles Times*, 13 August 2012, <https://www.latimes.com/world/la-xpm-2012-aug-13-la-fg-mexico-students-20120814-story>
- Favela, Mariana, "Redrawing Power: #YoSoy132 and Overflowing Insurgencies", *Social Justice*, 42.3/4 (2015), pp. 222-236
- Federici, Silvia, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation* (London: Penguin Random House, 2021)
- Fernie, Ewan, "Introduction: Shakespeare, spirituality and contemporary criticism", in *Spiritual Shakespeares*, edited by Ewan Fernie (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 1-27
- , *Demonic Literature and Experience* (New York: Routledge, 2013)
- Frow, John, *Cultural Studies and Cultural Value* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995)
- Furness, Horace H., ed., *The New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1873)
- Galery, Maria C.V., and Anna Stegh Camati, "Shakespeare in Latin America: Appropriation Politics and Performance Practice", in *The Shakespearean World*, edited by Jill L. Levenson and Robert Ormsby (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 78-96
- Gallimore, Daniel, "Shakespeare in Contemporary Japan", in *Shakespeare in Hollywood, Asia, and Cyberspace*, edited by Alexander C. Y. Huang and Charles S. Ross (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), pp. 109-120
- , "Tsubouchi Shōyō and the Beauty of Shakespeare Translation in 1900s Japan", *Multicultural Shakespeare Translation Appropriation and Performance*, 13.1 (2016), pp. 69-85

- Garber, Marjorie, ““What’s Past Is Prologue”: Temporality and Prophecy in Shakespeare’s History Plays”, in *Renaissance Genres: Essays on Theory, History, and Interpretation*, edited by Barbara Kiefer Lewalski (London: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 301-331
- The Guardian*, 5 August 1997, cited by Kate McLuskie, “Macbeth/uMabatha: Global Shakespeare in a Post-Colonial Market”, in *Shakespeare Survey*, edited by Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 154-165
- Garrison, John S., *Shakespeare and the Afterlife* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)
- Gilmour, Alexander, “The Taming of the Shrew – Theatre Wallay, Pakistan”, *Financial Times – Life & Arts*, 2-3 June 2012
- Greenleaf, Richard E., *Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition 1536-1543* (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1962)
- Greenblatt, Stephen, *Shakespeare Negotiations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)
- Gu, Zhiwei, “Ethics and translation of Shakespeare’s dramas —a case study on Zhu Shenghao’s translation of Romeo and Juliet”, *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 9.4 (2018), pp. 715-723
- Guerrero, Isabel, “Celebrating Global Shakespeare: The Reinvention of Shakespeare Festivals in the UK”, *The Grove – Working Papers on English Studies*, 24 (2017), pp. 25-37
- , ““My Native English Now Must I Forego’: Global Shakespeare at the Edinburgh International Festival”, *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, 103.1 (2020), pp. 57-74

- Guest, Mathew, “In Search of Spiritual Capital: The Spiritual as Cultural Resource”, in *A Sociology of Spirituality*, edited by Kieran Flanagan and Peter C. Jupp (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 181-200
- Han, Tae-Sook, “Lady Macbeth’s Weapon”, *The Open Page*, 8, (2003), pp. 20-22
- Harms, Daniel, and James R. Clark, and Joseph H. Peterson, *The Book of Oberon* (Minnesota: Llewellyn Publications, 2023)
- Hart, Jonathan, *Columbus, Shakespeare, and the Interpretation of the New World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)
- Heim, Stephen M., *Salvations: Truth and Difference in Religion* (New York: Orbis Books, 1995)
- Heitmann, Sine, “Tourism Behavior and Tourism Motivation”, *Research Themes for Tourism*, edited by Peter Robinson, Sine Heitmann, and Peter Dieke (Wallingford: CAB International, 2011), pp. 31-44
- Herrick, Robert, *Hesperides, or, the works both humane & divine of robert herrick, esq* (London, 1648), *EEBO*
- Herzig, Tamar, “The Bestselling Demonologist: Heinrich Institoris’s *Malleus Maleficarum*”, in *The Science of Demons: Early Modern Authors Facing Witchcraft and the Devil*, edited by Jan Machielsen (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 53-67
- Ho, Rui An, “Foul Is Fair”, *The Flying Inkpot – Theatre & Dance*, 2010,
<https://www.centre42.sg/archive/reviews/14082/lady-macbeth-2010-review>
- Hoenselaars Ton, ed., *Shakespeare and the Language of Translation* (London: Bloomsbury 2012)

Holinshed, Raphael, *The Firste [Laste] Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*, vol. 5, (London, 1577), EEBO

The Holy Bible, New International Version, Bible Gateway,
<https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-International-Version-NIV-Bible/#booklist>

Hopkins, Lisa, *The Edge of Christendom on the Early Modern Stage* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2022)

Howard, Lucy, “Love’s Labour’s Lost – Review”, *The Guardian*, 25 May 2012,
<https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/may/25/review-loves-labours-lost-globe>

Huang, Alexa, “‘It is the East’ – Shakespearean Tragedies in East Asia”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespearean Tragedy*, edited by Michael Neill and David Schalkwyk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 896-912

Huang, Alexander C. Y., “Where is Shakespeare? – Locality and Performative Translation”, *Ilha Do Desterro*, 49 (2005), pp. 255-264

Hutcheon, Linda, and Siobhan O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 2nd Edition (New York: Routledge, 2013)

Idowu, E. Bolaji, *African Traditional Religion: A Definition* (London: SCM Press, 1973)

Im, Yeeyon, “Beyond the Gender Divide: Looking for Shakespeare in Han Tae-Sook’s Lady Macbeth”, *New Theatre Quarterly*, 32:1 (2016), pp. 19-30

Iqbal, Nosheen, “The Taming of the Shrew – Review”, *The Guardian*, 30th May 2012,
<https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/may/30/taming-of-the-shrew-review>

Iyengar, Sujata, *Shakespeare and Adaptation Theory* (London: Bloomsbury, 2023)

- James I, *Daemonologie* [1597] (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd, 1969)
- Johnson, Melissa, “‘You should be women’ – The figure of the witch in Young Adult adaptations of Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*”, in *Liberating Shakespeare: Adaptation and Empowerment for Young Adult Audiences*, edited by Jennifer Flaherty and Deborah Uman (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2023), pp. 123-136
- Johnson, Tim, “Protestors Burn City Hall in Mexico Town Where 43 Students Vanished”, *News Observer*, 22 October 2014,
<https://www.newsobserver.com/2014/10/22/4256292/protesters-burn-city-hall-in-mexico.html?sp=%2F99%2F102%2F111%2F>
- Jonson, Ben, *The Devil is an Ass*, (London: Nick Hern Books, 1995)
- Joubin, Alexa A, “Others Within – Ethics in the Age of Global Shakespeare”, in *The Routledge Handbook of Shakespeare and Global Appropriation*, edited by Christy Desmet, Sujata Iyengar, and Miriam Jacobson (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 25-36
- Jowett, John, “The Tragedy of Macbeth”, edited by John Jowett, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 2501-2566
- Kagan, Richard L., “Politics, Prophecy, and the Inquisition in Late Sixteenth-Century Spain”, in *Cultural Encounters: the Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, edited by Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 105-126

- Karamat, Henna, and Abdus Salam Khalis, "Shakespeare's Universality: Exploring the Timelessness and Relevance of his Works across Cultures and Societies", *Global Social Sciences Review*, 8.1 (2023), pp. 87-98
- Karim-Cooper, Farah, *The Great White Bard: Shakespeare, Race and the Future* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2023)
- Kawai, Shoichiro, "More Japanized, Casual, and Transgender Shakespeares", in *Shakespeare Survey 62: Close Encounters with Shakespeare's Text*, edited by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 261-272
- Kawatake, Toshio, *A History of Japanese Theatre II: Bunraku and Kabuki* (Yokohama: General Printing Co., 1971)
- Keene, Donald, *No and Bunraku: Two Forms of Japanese Theatre* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966)
- Kelly, Isabel, *Folk Practices in North Mexico: Birth Customs, Folk Medicine, and Spiritualism in the Laguna Zone* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965)
- Kendall, Laurel, "The Contraction and Expansion of Shamanic Landscapes in Contemporary South Korea", *CrossCurrents*, 61:3, (2011), pp. 328-344
- , "Initiating Performance: The Story of Chini, a Korean Shaman", in *The Performance of Healing*, edited by Carol Landerman and Marina Roseman (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 17-59
- Kennedy, Dennis, "Introduction: Shakespeare without his language", in *Foreign Shakespeare: Contemporary Performance*, edited by Dennis Kennedy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 1-18

- , "Shakespeare worldwide", in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, edited by Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 251-264
- Kennedy, Dennis and Yong Li Lan, "Introduction: Why Shakespeare", in *Shakespeare in Asia: Contemporary Performance*, edited by Dennis Kennedy and Yong Li Lan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-27
- Kenney, Elizabeth, "Shintō Mortuary Rites in Contemporary Japan", *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, 9 (1996-1997), pp. 397-436
- Kieckhefer, Richard, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998)
- , *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Kim, Chongho, *Korean Shamanism: The Cultural Paradox* (London: Routledge, 2003)
- Kim, Kum-hwa, "Interview with Yi Sung-nam", *Koreana: Korean Art & Culture*, 6:2 (1992), pp. 50-55
- Kim, Kwang-on, "The Implements and Costumes of the Shaman", *Koreana: Korean Art & Culture*, 6:2 (1992), pp. 44-48
- Kim, Wonsik, "Korean Shamanism and Hypnosis", *American Journal of Clinical Hypnosis*, 9.3 (1967), pp. 193-197
- Kim, Young S., "Lady Macbeth Sings Pansori", *Korea.net*, 20 December 2016, <https://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/Culture/view?articleId=142770>
- Kinney, Arthur F., *Lies Like Truth: Shakespeare, Macbeth, and the Cultural Moment* (Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2001)

Klaniczay, Gábor, “A Cultural History of Witchcraft”, *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, 5.2 (2010), pp. 188-212

Klassen, Frank, “The Antiphoner Notebook: Introduction”, in *Making Magic in Elizabethan England: Two Early Modern Vernacular Books of Magic*, edited by Frank Klassen (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2019)

Knight, Alan, *The Mexican Revolution: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

---, “The Myth of the Mexican Revolution”, *Past & Present*, 209.1 (2010), pp. 223-273

Knowles, Ric, *Theatre & Interculturalism* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

Kojoyan, Ani, “Inter-Textual Relations between Reginald Scot’s “The Discoverie of Witchcraft” and Shakespeare’s “Macbeth”, *Armenian Folia Anglistika*, 9.1-2 (11) (2013), pp. 166-172

Komparu, Kunio, *The Noh Theatre: Principles and Perspectives* (New York: John Weatherhill Inc, 1983)

Kurita, Yoshihiro, *A Meeting of Eastern and Western Classics – The Noh Staged Shakespeare of Yoshihiro Kurita*, Interview with Kensuke Yokouchi, *Performing Arts Network Japan*, <https://performingarts.jp/en/article/6871>

Kustow, Michael, ‘Sightlines’, in *World Theatre Season ’72 programme*, cited by Mervyn McMurtry, ““Doing Their Own Thane”: The Critical Reception of *uMabatha*, Welcome Msomi’s *Zulu Macbeth*”, *Ilha Do Desterro*, 36 (1999), pp. 309-336

Lammers, Luke, *Shakespearean Temporalities: History on the Early Modern Stage* (New York: Routledge, 2018)

- Lanier, Douglas, "Shakespearean Rhizomatics: Adaptation, Ethics, Value", in *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation*, edited by Alexa Huang and Elizabeth Rivlin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 21-40
- Laoutaris, Chris, *Shakespearean Maternities: Crises of Conception in Early Modern England* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008)
- Larner, Christina, *Enemies of God: The witch-hunt in Scotland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981)
- Lazar, Imre, "Spirituality and Culture", in *The Routledge International Handbook of Spirituality in Society and the Professions*, edited by Lazlo Zsolnai and Bernadette Flanagan (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 32-39
- Lee Hyon-U, "Progress of Femininity in Korean Shakespeare since 1990", in *Shakespeare's World/World Shakespeares: The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress Brisbane, 2006*, edited by Richard Fotheringham, Christa Jansohn, and R. S. White (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 273-291
- Lee, Du-Hyun, "Korean Shamans: Role Playing Through Trance Possession", in *By Means of Performance*, edited by Richard Schechner and Willa Appel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 149-166
- Lee, Min-Soo, Park Yong Chon, and, Park Seon-Cheol, "South Korea", in *Routledge Handbook of Psychiatry in Asia*, edited by Dinesh Bhugra, Samson Tse, Roger Ng, and Nori Takei (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 183-195

- Lee, Yvonne Y., *Religion, Culture of Han and Hanpuri, and Korean Minjung Women: An Interdisciplinary Post-colonial Religio-cultural Analysis of the Indigenous Encounter with the Colonial Religions in Korea* (Denver: The University of Denver, 1999)
- Legras, Horacio, “The Revolution and Its Specters: Staging the Popular in the Mexican Revolution”, *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 14:1 (2005), pp. 3–24
- Levine, Laura, *Afterlives of Endor: Witchcraft, Theatricality, and Uncertainty From the Malleus Maleficarum to Shakespeare* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2023)
- Lewis, Laura A. *Hall of Mirrors: Power, Witchcraft, and Caste in Colonial Mexico* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2003)
- Lim, Walter S. H., *Shakespeare and the Theater of Religious Conviction in Early Modern England* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023)
- Lind, Paula B., “Translating Shakespeare, Translating Culture: Text, Paratext, and the Challenges of Recreating Cultural Meanings in Text and on Stage”, *Studia Litteraria Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis*, 13.3, (2018), pp. 219-235
- Linnemann, Emily, “International Innovation? Shakespeare as Intercultural Catalyst”, in *Shakespeare Survey 64: Shakespeare as Cultural Catalyst*, edited by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 13-24
- Lipsett-Rivera, Sonya, *The Origins of Macho: Men and Masculinity in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019)
- Loomba, Ania, “Shakespeare and Cultural Difference”, in *Alternative Shakespeares*, edited by Terence Hawkes, 3 vols (London: Routledge, 1996), II, pp. 164-191
- Los Colochos Teatro, *Mendoza – Translated Working Script*

---, *Mendoza 2016 Obra Completa*, Video Archive, *YouTube*, 3 December 2016,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ockF0XjmCt0>

Macbeth, dir. By Justin Kurzel (StudioCanal, 2015)

Macdonald, Michael, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, anxiety, and healing in seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

Macfarlane, Alan, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stewart England: A regional and comparative study* (London: Routledge, 1970)

Maitland, Sarah, “Coming to terms: Towards a hermeneutics of expectation in theater surtitling”, in *New Paths in Theatre Translation and Surtitling*, edited by Vasiliki Misiou and Loukia Kostopoulou (New York: Routledge, 2023), pp. 30-49

Malay, Jessica L., *Prophecy and Sibylline Imagery in the Renaissance: Shakespeare’s Sibyls* (New York: Routledge, 2010)

Mall, Ram A., *Intercultural Philosophy* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc, 2000)

Mallin, Eric S., “The Charm in *Macbeth*”, in *Enchantment and Dis-enchantment in Shakespeare and Early Modern Drama: Wonder, the Sacred, and the Supernatural*, edited by Nandini Das and Nick Davis (London: Routledge, 2017) pp. 55-71

Mancewicz, Aneta, and Alexa Alice Joubin, “Introduction”, in *Local and Global Myths in Shakespearean Performance*, edited by Aneta Mancewicz and Alexa Alice Joubin (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 1-22

Manninen, Alisa, *Royal Power and Authority in Shakespeare’s Late Tragedies* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015)

- Marlowe, Christopher, *Dr Faustus – The A- and B-texts (1604, 1616), A parallel-text Edition*, edited by David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014)
- Marmion, Patrick, “Review of *Umabatha*”, directed by Welcome Msomi. *Evening Standard*, 19 April 2001, *Theatre Record*, 21.8, (2001)
- Martin, Denise, “Sangoma: Zulu Healer”, *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/science/sangoma>
- Martin, John, *The Intercultural Performance Handbook* (New York: Routledge, 2004)
- Massai, Sonia, “Defining Local Shakespeares”, in *World-wide Shakespeares: Local Appropriations in Film and Performance*, edited by Sonia Massai (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 3-14
- Mayo, Sarah, ““What witchcraft is this!”: The Postcolonial Translation of Shakespeare and Sangomas in Welcome Msomi’s *uMabatha*”, *Postcolonial Interventions*, 1.2 (2016), pp. 189-226
- McCrum, Robert, “The Merry Wives of Windsor”, *The Observer*, April 29 2012
- McLuskie, Kate, “Macbeth/uMabatha: Global Shakespeare in a Post-Colonial Market”, in *Shakespeare Survey*, edited by Stanley Wells, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 154-165
- McMurtry, Mervyn, ““Doing Their Own Thane”: The Critical Reception of *uMabatha*, Welcome Msomi’s Zulu *Macbeth*”, *Ilha Do Desterro*, 36 (1999), pp. 309-336
- Menzer, Paul, *Anecdotal Shakespeare: A New Performance History* (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2015)

Meyer, Ruth, *Artificial Africas: Colonial Images in the Times of Globalization* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2002)

Meyer-Dinkgräfe, Daniel, and Gayathri Ganapathy, and Shrikant Subramaniam, “Towards *intuitive collaboration* as a concept for discussing intercultural performance”, in *Observing Theatre: Spirituality and Subjectivity in the Performing Arts*, edited by Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe (Berlin: Brill Publishing, 2013), pp. 61-75

Minami, Ryuta, “Is No Shakespeare in *Noh* Shakespeare: Re/Mis-Shaping Shakespeare on the *Noh* Stage”, in *Shakespeare in Culture*, edited by Bi-qi Beatrice Lei and Ching-His Perng (Taipei: NTU Press. 2012), pp. 181-201

---, “Redefining the ‘Foreign’ of ‘Foreign Shakespeares’ in Asia: Ninagawa Yukio’s *Kabuki Twelfth Nights* and its audience”, *Shakespeare Review*, 46.4 (2010), pp. 925-940

Mirnoff, Nick “Protestors Burn Mexico City’s Government Offices Over Suspected Murders of Students”, *Washington Post*, 13 October 2014,
http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/protesters-burn-mexican-citys-government-offices-over-suspected-murder-of-students/2014/10/13/ddfa3392-5346-11e4-ba4b-f6333e2c0453_story.html

Modenessi, Alfredo M., “‘A double tongue within your mask’: translating Shakespeare in/to Spanish-speaking Latin America”, in *Shakespeare and the Language of Translation*, edited by Ton Hoenselaars (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2012), pp. 240-254

---, “‘Meaning by Shakespeare’ south of the border”, in *World-wide Shakespeares: Local appropriations in film and performance*, edited by Sonia Massai (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 104-111

- , “‘Victim of Improvisation’ in Latin America: Shakespeare Out-Sourced and In-Taken”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Performance*, edited by James C. Bulman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 549-567
- , “‘You Say You Want a Revolution?’: Shakespeare in Mexican [dis]guise”, in *The Routledge Handbook of Shakespeare and Global Appropriation*, edited by Christy Desmet, Sujata Iyengar, and Miriam Jacobson (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 37-47
- Modenessi, Alfredo M., and Paulina Morales, “William Shakespeare’s *Enrique IV*, primera parte: Common [battle]grounds between medieval England and Mexico’s present”, in *The Arden Research Handbook of Shakespeare and Social Justice*, edited by David Ruiter (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2021), pp. 143-159
- Momose, Izumi, “Shakespearean drama and the Noh: theatrum mundi and nothingness”, in *Shakespeare and the Japanese Stage*, edited by Takashi Sasayama, J.R. Mulryne, and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 176-185
- Moosa, Hassana, “Marking Muslims: The Prince of Morocco and the racialization of Islam in *The Merchant of Venice*”, in *Global Shakespeare and Social Injustice: Towards a Transformative Encounter*, edited by Chris Thurman and Sandra Young (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), pp. 120-143
- Morales, Paulina, “‘Mendoza’: an urgent and necessary ‘Macbeth,’” *Nexos* (25 July 2016), <https://cultura.nexos.com.mx/mendoza-un-macbeth-urgente-y-necesario>
- Msomi, Welcome, “uMabatha”, in *Adaptations of Shakespeare*, edited by Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (London: Routledge, 2000), pp.168-187

- Nájera, Mariana, “Becoming Brujas: Colonial Witchcraft and Historical Transgression”, *Rice Historical Review*, 2021, pp. 7-32
- Nakamura, Yasuo, *Noh: The Classical Theatre*, translated by Don Kenny (New York: Walker and Company, 1971)
- Nakanishi, Toru and Kiyoni Komma, *Noh Masks*, translated by Don Kenny (Osaka: Hoikusha Publishing Co. Ltd, 1986)
- Needham, Alex, “Pericles – Review”, *The Guardian*, 30 April 2012,
<https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/apr/30/world-shakespeare-festival-shakespeare>
- Nelson, John, “Traversing Religious and Legal Boundaries in Postwar Nagasaki: An Interfaith Ritual for the Spirits of the Dead”, in *Multiculturalism in the New Japan: Crossing the Boundaries Within*, edited by Nelson H. H. Graburn, John Ertl, and R. Kenji Tierney (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), pp. 199-207
- Newstok, Scott L., ““Why *Macbeth*?” Looking Back on *uMabatha* After Forty Years: An Interview with Welcome Msomi”, *Shakespeare in Southern Africa*, 21 (2009), pp. 73-80
- Newton, John, “Introduction”, in *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604*, edited by John Newton and Jo Bath (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2008), pp. 1-27
- Ngala, R. Kavu, “Staging the Zulu *Macbeth*: Text, Theatre, and Cultural Meaning”, in *The Shakespearean International Yearbook 13: Special Section, Macbeth*, edited by Tom Bishop, Alexander C. Y. Huang, and Stuart Sillars (Farham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), pp. 9-34

- Oak, Sung-Deuk, "Healing and Exorcism: Christian Encounters with Shamanism in Early Modern Korea", *Asian Ethnology*, 69:1 (2010), pp. 95-128
- Olsen, Lea, "The Corpus of Charms in the Middle English Leechcraft Remedy Books", in *Charms, Charmers and Charming*, edited by Jonathan Roper (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 214-237
- Orkin, Martin *Local Shakespeares: Proximations and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2005)
- Ormsby, Robert, "Shakespearean Tourism: From National Heritage to Global Attraction", in *The Shakespeare World*, edited by Jill L. Levenson and Robert Ormsby (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 431-442
- Ortolani, Benito, *The Japanese Theatre: From Shamanistic Ritual to Contemporary Pluralism* (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1990)
- Park, Andrew S., *The Wounded Heart of God: The Asian Concept of Han and the Christian Doctrine of Sin* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993)
- Park, Kwon-Sang, "Editor's Note", *Koreana: Korean Art & Culture*, 6:2 (1992)
- Paul, Henry N., *The Royal Play of Macbeth: When, why, and how it was written by Shakespeare* (New York: Octagon Books, 1978)
- Pavis, Patrice, *Theatre at the Crossroads of Culture*, translated by Loren Kruger (London: Routledge, 1992)
- , "Introduction: Towards a Theory of Interculturalism in Theatre?", in *The Intercultural Performance Reader*, edited by Patrice Pavis (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 1-26
- , *Performing Korea* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)

Peterson, William, "The Singapore Arts Festival at Thirty: Going Global, Glocal, Grobal",
Asian Theatre Journal, 26.1 (2009), pp. 111-134

Phillips, Craig A., "Cultural-Linguistic Resources for Interreligious and Ecumenical
Dialogue", in *Pathways for Interreligious Dialogue in the Twenty-First Century*,
edited by Vladimir Latinovac, Gerald Mannion, and Peter C. Phan (New York:
Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 15-28

Pilkington, James, *The Works of James Pilkington*, edited by James Scholefield (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 1743), *EEBO*

Plastow, Jane, "The Politics of African Shakespeare", in *The Routledge Handbook of
Shakespeare and Global Appropriation*, edited by Christy Desmet, Sujata Iyengar,
and Miriam Jacobson (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 171-180

Potts, Thomas, "The Examination and Voluntarie Confession of Anne Whittle", in *The
Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the County of Lancaster; Reprinted From the
Original Edition of 1613*, edited by James Crossley (Manchester: Charles Simms and
Co., 2006)

The Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth, 1559 (Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2010)

Purcell, Stephen, *Popular Shakespeare: Simulation and Subversion on the Modern Stage*
(London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

Purkiss, Diane, "Body Crimes: The witches, Lady Macbeth and the Relics", in *Female
Transgression in Early Modern Britain: Literary and Historical Explorations*, edited
by Richard Hillman and Pauline Ruberry-Blanc (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited,
2014), pp. 29-50

- , *The Witch in History: Early Modern and twentieth century representations* (London: Routledge, 1996)
- Quarmby, Kevin A., “Anti-Shakespeare Rhetoric and Colombia’s “Theatre for Peace”, in *The Shakespearean International Yearbook 19: Special Section, Shakespeare and Refugees*, edited by Tom Bishop and Alexa Alice Joubin and Ton Hoenselaars and Stephan O’Neill (New York: Routledge, 2022), pp. 200-219
- Quince, Rohan, *Shakespeare in South Africa: Stage Productions during the Apartheid Era* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2000)
- Raw, Lawrence, “Finding Common Ground”, in *Translation, Adaptation, and Transformation*, edited by Lawrence Raw (London: Bloomsbury, 2012)
- Revzin, Phillip “Theatre: A Zuluized Macbeth”, in *Wall Street Journal*, Eastern Edn, 14 June 1995
- Rhi, Bou-Yong, “Shamanism and the Korean Psyche”, *Koreana: Korean Art & Culture*, 6:2 (1992), pp. 31-35
- Richard, Greg, and Carlos Fernandes, “Religious Tourism in Northern Portugal”, in *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives*, edited by Greg Richards (London: The Haworth Hospitality Press, 2007, pp. 215-238
- Ritter, E.A., *Shaka Zulu* (London: Longmans, Green and Co Ltd, 1955)
- The Roman Ritual – In Latin and English with Rubrics and Planechant Notations*, vol 1, translated and edited by Phillip T. Weller (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1950)
- Rybalko, Svitlana, “Costume Art in the Noh Theater Community”, in *Intercultural Relations*, 3:2(6) (2019), pp. 95–108

- Ryutopia Noh Theatre, *Macbeth*, translated by Daniel Gallimore, Online Video Archive, *Asian Shakespeare Intercultural Archive*
- SABC News, *Welcome Msomi to Revive uMabatha*, Video, *YouTube*, 28 April 2018.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T-9Hfun6HyM>
- Sabeti, Shari, “Shakespeare, adaptation and ‘matters of trust’”, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 47.3 (2017), pp. 337-354
- Sadao, Hibi, *The Colors of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 2000)
- Salz, Jonah, “Traditional Japanese Theatre”, in *Routledge Handbook of Asian Theatre*, edited by Siyuan Liu (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 51-70
- Sanders, Julie, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
- Santos, Rick J., “*Mestizo Shakespeare: A Study of Cultural Exchange*”, in *Latin American Shakespeares*, edited by Bernice W. Kilman and Rick J. Santos (Cranbury: Rosemont Publishing & Printing Corp., 2005), pp. 11-20
- Schwerin-High, Friederike, *Shakespeare, Reception and Translation: Germany and Japan* (London: Continuum, 2004)
- Scot, Reginald, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft: Being a Reprint of the First Edition Published in 1584*, edited by Brinsley Nicholson (Yorkshire: EP Publishing Limited, 1973)
- Seeff, Adele, “Inheriting the Past, Surviving the Future”, in *The Routledge Handbook of Shakespeare and Global Appropriation*, edited by Christy Desmet, Sujata Iyengar, and Miriam Jacobson (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 161-170
- Shakespeare, William, “The Comedy of Errors”, edited by Sarah Neville, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor,

- John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 723-772
- , "The Tragedy of Macbeth", edited by John Jowett, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 2501-2566
- , "The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet", edited by Francis X. Conner, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 997-1078
- , "The Second Part of Henry the Sixth; or, the First Part of the Contention", edited by Rory Loughnane, in *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works Modern Critical Edition*, edited by Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 251-330
- Shakespeare's Globe, *Shakespeare's Globe Celebrates London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games with Unprecedented Multi-lingual Shakespeare Festival*, Press Release, in *Shakespeare Globe Archive*, 20 January 2011
- Sharpe, James, "Introduction", in *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stewart England: A regional and comparative study* (London: Routledge, 1970)
- Shim Jung-soon, "Female Trance in Han Tae-Sook's Production of *Lady Macbeth*", *New Theatre Quarterly*, 25.1 (2009), pp. 63 – 71
- Simonds, Peggy M., "Shakespeare's Ghosts and the Phantasms of Japanese Noh Plays: A Matter of Theatrical Technique", in *Shakespeare East and West*, edited by Minoru Fujita and Leonard Pronko (Surrey: Japan Library, 1996), pp. 115-133

Smith, Phillip, *Shakespeare in Singapore: Performance, Education, and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2020)

Sokol, B.J., “*Macbeth* and the Social History of Witchcraft”, in *Shakespeare and History*, edited by Holger Klein and Rowland Wymer (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), pp. 245-275

Sorgenfrei, Carol F., “Japan”, in *Routledge Handbook of Asian Theatre*, edited by Siyuan Liu (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 460-464

South African Pagan Rights Alliance, *Remember Their Names – Victims of Witchhunts in South Africa 2000 to 2023*, (26 June 2023), <https://paganrightsalliance.org/remember-their-names>

Spencer, Charles, “Richard III as you’ve never seen her before”, *The Daily Telegraph*, May 11 2012

Stam, Robert, “Beyond Fidelity: The Dialogics of Adaptation”, *Film Adaptations*, (2000), pp. 54-76

Stanmore, Tabitha, *Love Spells and Lost Treasure: Service Magic in England from the Later Middle Ages to the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022)

The Statutes Project: Putting Historic British Law Online [online], 1604: 1 James 1 c.12: An Act against Conjuraton, Witchcraft and dealing with evil and wicked Spirits, <https://statutes.org.uk/site/the-statutes/seventeenth-century/1604-1-james-1-c-12-an-act-against-witchcraft>

Stegner, Paul D., *Confession and Memory in Early Modern English Literature: Penitential Remains* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)

- Sullivan, Erin, “Olympic Shakespeare and the Idea of Legacy: Culture, Capital and the Global Future”, in *Shakespeare on the Global Stage: Performance and Festivity in the Olympic Year*, edited by Paul Prescott and Erin Sullivan (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2015), pp. 283-322
- Sundkler, Bengt G. M., *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1984)
- Tambar, Jaspreet S., “Grammatical Expressions of Time in *Macbeth*”, *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, 110.1 (2023), pp. 67-79
- Theatre Moollee, *Lady Macbeth*, Online Video Archive with translation donated by Theatre Moollee, *Asian Shakespeare Intercultural Archive*
- Theile, Verena, “Demonising Macbeth”, in *Magical Transformations on the Early Modern English Stage*, edited by Lisa Hopkins and Helen Ostovich (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 75-91
- Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios, “Indigenous Attire, Exoticisation and Social Change: Dressing and Undressing Among the Emberá of Panama”, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 18 (2012), pp. 591-612
- Torkut, Nataliya, Maiia Harbuziuk, and Oksana Sobol, “Shakespeare Festivals as a Medium Of Value Transfer”, In *European Values In Ukrainian Education: Challenges and Frontiers*, edited By Olena Tupakhina, Kateryna Sirinyok-Dolgaryova, and Rusudan Makhachashvili (Lviv: Liha-Pres, 2019), pp. 159-172
- Underwood, A. C., *Shintoism: The Indigenous Religion of Japan* (London: The Epworth Press, 1934)

- Vandenberg, Mary, "Shame, Guilt, and the Practice of Repentance: An Intersection of Modern Psychology with the Wisdom of Calvin", *Christian Scholar's Review*, 50:3 (2021), pp. 297-313
- Velleho, Justin, "Pastor Greg Locke Threatens to Dox 'Witches' that Infiltrated His Wife's Bible Book Club", in *Independent*, 15 February 2022, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/pastor-greg-locke-witches-qanon-b2015742>
- Verter, Bradford J., "Theorizing Religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu", *Sociological Theory*, 21.2 (2003), pp. 150-174
- Weiner, Bernard, Sandra Graham, Orli Peter, and Mary Zmudlnas, "Public Confession and Forgiveness", *Journal of Personality*, 59:2 (1991), pp. 281-312
- Wells, Greg, *John Hall, Master of Physicke: A Casebook from Shakespeare's Stratford* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020)
- White, Robert, *Shakespeare Against War: Pacifist Readings* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2024)
- White, Robyn, "The Witch Camps Where Hundreds of Elderly Women are Left to Die", *Newsweek* (30th October 2020), <https://www.newsweek.com/witch-camps-elderly-women-die-ghana-1754907>
- Widiyanto, Asfa, "Interfaith Dialogue in the Post-Truth Age: Challenges, Strategies, and Prospects", *Religious Inquiries*, 12.2 (2023), pp.105-245
- Wills, Garry, *Witches & Jesuits: Shakespeare's Macbeth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)

- Wolf, Alain, "Intercultural Identity and Inter-Religious Dialogue: A Holy Place to Be?", *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 12.1 (2012), pp. 37-55
- Wong, Jenny, *The Translatability of the Religious Dimension in Shakespeare from Page to Stage, from West to East: With Reference to the Merchant of Venice in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2018)
- Woodford-Gormley, Donna, *Shakespeare in Cuba: Caliban's Books* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021)
- Wright, Lawrence, "Shakespeare in South Africa: 'Alpha' and 'Omega'", in *Shakespeare's Local Habitations*, edited by Krystyna Kujawińska Courtney and R. S. White (Łódź: Łódź University Press, 2007), pp. 57-80
- , "Umabatha: Zulu play or Shakespeare translation?", in *The Shakespearean International Yearbook: Special section, South African Shakespeare in the twentieth century*, edited by Graham Bradshaw, T. G. Bishop, Laurence Wright (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), pp. 105-131
- Wuthnow, Robert, "How Religious Groups Promote Forgiving: A National Study", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 39.2 (2000), pp. 125-139
- Yamanaka, Reiko, "Dreams, Memories and Recollections", *Journal of the Institute of Nogaku Studies*, 43 (2019), pp. 158(1)-152(7).
- Yong, Li Lan, "After Translation", in *Shakespeare Survey 62: Close Encounters with Shakespeare's Text*, edited by Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 283-295
- , "Of Spirits and Sundry Other Phenomena in Intercultural Shakespeare: Text and Performance", *Anglistica*, 15.2 (2011), pp. 47-61

- , “On Location in Asian Shakespeare Stage Adaptations”, in *The Arden Handbook of Shakespeare and Adaptation*, edited by Diana E. Henderson and Stephen O’Neill (London: The Bloomsbury, 2022), pp. 271-285
- , “Shakespeare here and elsewhere: Ong Keng Sen’s intercultural Shakespeare”, in *Shakespeare in Asia: Contemporary Performance*, edited by Dennis Kennedy and Yong Li Lan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Yoshiko, Kawachi, “Rewriting Shakespeare in a Japanese Context”, in *Shakespeare’s World/World Shakespeares: The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress Brisbane, 2006*, edited by Richard Fotheringham, Christa Jansohn, and R. S. White (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 330-341
- , “Shakespeare’s Long Journey to Japan”, in *Shakespeare’s Asian Journeys: Critical Encounters, Cultural Geographies, and the Politics of Travel*, edited by Bi-qi Beatrice Lei, Judy Celine Ick, and Poonam Trivedi (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 37-54
- Young, Sandra, *Shakespeare in the Global South: Stories of Oceans Crossed in Contemporary Adaptation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019)
- Yukihide, Endo, “Performativity and Spirituality in Noh Theatre”, *The International Journal of Literary Humanities*, 20:2 (2022), pp. 107-119 (p. 107)
- Zuma, Thembelihle, Daniel Wight, Tamsen Rochat, and Mosa Moshabela, “The role of traditional health practitioners in Rural KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa: generic or mode specific?”, *BMC Complementary and Alternative Medicine*, 16:304, (2016)