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LOCAL AND GLOBAL MYTHS IN SHAKESPEAREAN PERFORMANCE

Edited by Aneta Mancewicz and Alexa Alice Joubin

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Local and Global Myths in Shakespearean Performance

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Preface

This volume has its origins in a seminar at the 2013 European Shakespeare Research Association Conference in Montpellier co-directed by Aneta Mancewicz and Alexa Alice Joubin. Several contributors presented early versions of their chapters on this occasion, while some of the key critical ideas were formed in the course of the discussions. As other contributors joined later, the project expanded in terms of its theoretical framework and geographical scope.

The collection proposes a new understanding of local and global Shakespeare myths in theatre, cinema, and television, as the economic and social costs of globalization are increasingly under scrutiny. Drawing on a definition of myth as a powerful ideological narrative, the volume examines historical, political, and cultural conditions of Shakespearean performances in Europe, Asia, and North and South America. Some of the questions explored include: What kind of myths have been generated locally and globally in Shakespearean performance? Can we trace common patterns across different regions of the world? What is the role of Shakespearean myths in reflecting important social, cultural, and political concerns?

The book begins with an introduction that is divided into three sections. The first section, "Global Shakespeare as Myth" written by Alexa Alice Joubin, introduces new theoretical foundations for understanding aspects of the Shakespeare myth beyond bardolatry. Contradictory myths are the foundation to many conversations about Shakespeare today. Taking up where Graham Holderness left off in his landmark volume *The Shakespeare Myth* (1988), this section delineates the ways in which international films and performances construct myths of Shakespeare's moral authority and use

value. Supporting these performances are liberal political ideologies that work against bardolatry and yet condone other aspects of the Shakespeare myth in the global context. This section identifies two approaches that are particularly conspicuous in the application of the global as a myth to Shakespearean performances: the construction of Shakespeare as a cosmopolitan brand and as an aggregate of overlapping localities. Both these approaches are informed by site-specific epistemologies, that is a strong sense of locality or, in other cases, many overlapping localities. The discussion of broader questions concerning global and local relationships in the first section leads to definitions of terms in the following section. The second section, "Myth in Performance" written by Aneta Mancewicz, takes a European and an intermedial perspective. It defines key terms organizing this volume: myth, the relationship between local and global elements, and performance. Myth is introduced from several perspectives: literary (Northrop Frye), semiological (Roland Barthes), materialist (Graham Holderness), and theatrical (Heiner Müller). It is defined as a story that presents itself as true through a particular framing of events and that plays an ideological role. Myth is also explained as a historical structure that can change, disappear, or emerge again, but also as a construct which tends to form clusters. Local and global relationship, in turn, is defined with reference to imperial and national narratives that underlie the idea of Shakespeare's universality. Finally, the section describes theatrical and cinematic performances of Shakespeare as phenomena on the local and global spectrum. The critical introduction closes with the third section that explains the organization of the chapters into four distinctive parts and offers chapter summaries.

The chapters collected in the book present several case studies of performances in Europe, with a special emphasis on Germany, in light of its long tradition of mythologizing the Bard. Many chapters, however, span across other continents, looking at performances of Shakespeare in Brazil, Canada, China, India, Japan, and South Korea. The range of international references reflects the worldwide impact of Shakespeare's works, and it opens a broader discussion about their cultural and political significance in the twenty-first century. Given this geographical breadth and the focus on local and global mythologies, the book problematizes narratives about Shakespeare's cultural identity and value in the context of globalized performance in the twenty-first century.

Birmingham, UK — Aneta Mancewicz
Washington, DC, USA — Alexa Alice Joubin

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Alexa Alice Joubin and Aneta Mancewicz

Contradictory myths are the foundation to many conversations about Shakespeare today. What makes Shakespeare widely "useful"—if not appreciated—in so many different cultural contexts? Did Shakespeare's works go global because of their intrinsic aesthetic values, or are his works demonstrably better than those of other nation's poets by virtue of their circulation? What values and ideas does Shakespeare's cultural work sustain or undermine?

Global Shakespeare as Myth

Myths give the airy nothing of ideologies a local habitation. Criticism of global Shakespeare over the past decade has considered at length what is local, metropolitan, racialized, marketable, and cosmopolitan about performances that pass through various historical, digital, and cultural

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spaces (Orkin 2005; Massai 2006; Thompson 2013; Burnett 2013). What is missing is theorization of the canon's perceived mythical capacity that fuels global circulations of Shakespeare. The phenomenon of global Shakespeare is fuelled by the myth of the canon's utilitarian value. We can better grasp the significance of global Shakespeare by understanding the cultural logic of the production and consumption of these myths—often articulated in the form of journalistic adoration of universal aesthetics.

In Graham Holderness's 1988 cultural materialist approach to the making of one specific myth about Shakespeare—bardolatry and contested biographies of the poet—he defines myth as a "real and powerful form of human consciousness" rather than some "non-existent ideological conjuring-trick." Based on partial truths, myth is a particular narrative structure serving a particular social function. He compares the figure of Shakespeare to legendary "cultural heroes." All societies, however they are organized, have myths. Some myths share common structural characteristics. In Holderness's analysis of the factors that enabled the mythologization of Shakespeare as a cultural hero, he observes that the mystery of identity is in fact the primary catalyst of hagiographic narrative patterns: the son of a Stratford glove maker becomes "England's greatest poet." Folklore figures are often not the persons they appear to be. They derive their mythical power from their hidden identity and parentage. Debates about authorship further solidify the mythologized status of Shakespeare. Holderness suggests that we are missing the point if we focus on verifiable evidence of Shakespeare's biography. "Historical details were merely narrative properties" that mythologize Shakespeare as a cultural hero. Holderness argues that it is the "institutions of bardolatry and quasi-religious worship" that are holding the Shakespeare myth in place (1988a, 10–11).

Nearly three decades after the publication of Holderness's *The Shakespeare Myth*, we are in need of a broader understanding of the Shakespeare myth in transnational contexts and particularly in performances. This volume takes up where Holderness left off. In her 1998 book, *The Shakespeare Trade*, Barbara Hodgdon started paying attention to the "ideological contours of the Shakespeare myth" and the ways in which this myth sustains "cultural consensus" (194). Following Holderness, Hodgdon's book attends to phenomena of collector's fetishes. Amateur and professional collectors are drawn to a range of representations of the figure of Shakespeare, such as "Shakespeare kitsch" and mass market souvenirs. Twenty years on, at this point in history, "Shakespeare" is associated

not only with bardolatry and a national poet's biography but also with performances—the primary venue where the general public encounters Shakespeare. Supporting these performances are liberal political ideologies that work against bardolatry and yet condone other aspects of the Shakespeare myth. When the myth of Shakespeare is mentioned, the focus seems to be, even in 2009, still on the figure of Shakespeare rather than larger performance cultures (Hackett 2009, 4–5). The current myth about Shakespeare is global in nature, and it draws upon celebrity culture instead of mystified biographies, and upon the cultural value of worldwide locations instead of just Stratford-upon-Avon. This collection offers new perspectives on materials that were not discussed in Holderness's book, notably, the wide range of uses of a global Shakespeare myth on stage and on screen.

Useful here is Northrop Frye's theory that myth consists of recognizable types of story serving an aesthetic function, "a story in which some of the chief characters are … beings larger in power than humanity." He further theorizes that this narrative is "very seldom located in [factual] history" but is often used as "allegories of morality" (1961, 597 and 599). Within the history of global performances of Shakespeare, the perceived moral authority of the Shakespearean canon has led to an impression that the works are both period specific and beyond history ("timeless"). The works are seen to be able to empower individuals as well as threaten the status quo.

For example, some sponsors and patrons were outraged by Gregg Henry's Trump-like Julius Caesar and Tina Benko's Calpurnia with an eastern European accent in Oskar Eustis's production for Public Theatre in New York (June 2017). Debates ensued on the roles of art and politics. The mythical status of Shakespeare's plays—namely, public investment in this specific genre of fiction—provoked strong reactions from all sides. Delta Air Lines and Bank of America, two major corporate sponsors, withdrew their support on account of what conservative news outlets and some audiences deemed offensive. Some critics believed that Eustis's production promoted violence against politicians. This incident demonstrates that the myth of Shakespeare's moral authority has enabled comparisons of characters and motifs in his plays to our contemporary political figures. Indeed, throughout the 2016 US presidential campaigns, critics from both camps drew comparisons between candidates and Shakespearean characters ranging from Richard III to King Lear. Increased awareness and scrutiny of Shakespeare's power as motivational material may be one reason why—despite the fact that Caesar has

historically been likened to multiple political leaders including Obama—Public Theatre's production became a lightning rod. Censorship of this particular production of *Julius Caesar* reveals more about corporate America's anxiety about free speech and the mythical power of the play than about the ability of the performance to incite violence or even political assassination.

Julius Caesar holds a special place in American and world politics. The play is frequently taught in American public schools and, in other instances, the play has been used to discuss republicanism. John Wilkes Booth is notorious for having performed in *Julius Caesar* in New York shortly before he assassinated Abraham Lincoln at Ford's Theater in Washington, DC, during a performance of Tom Taylor's farce *Our American Cousin*. The incident itself has been mythologized, linking the power of art to political power.

Contemporary myths about Shakespeare have been jointly created by educators, scholars, practitioners, administrators, funders, artists, spectators, and readers. The myth of universality is built upon a discursive move that presupposes unchanging meanings of the same story to different cultures, an assumption that the plays are always locally relevant in the same way in aesthetic, moral, and political terms. The idea of universality is often backed by statistics (as many things are now) and not just literary merits. The 2012 World Shakespeare Festival, part of the Cultural Olympiad, featured 69 international productions, 263 amateur shows, 28 digital commissions and films throughout the UK. The Royal Shakespeare Company, the principal organizer, claimed that the festival reached "more than 1.8 million people" (2016). Shakespeare's name itself has been used to signify high culture. In Taipei, Taiwan, there is a luxury apartment complex named after Shakespeare. In Beijing, an English language school is named Shakespeare, with "to be or not to be" as their slogan. There are also bridal shops and wedding services throughout East Asia named Shakespeare. In Anglophone countries, politicians quote Shakespeare as if it were a gentleman's calling card.

More recently, 2016 saw an unprecedented number of commemorative activities across the globe to mark the quartercentenary of Shakespeare's death. The significance of the year 2016 has inspired projects that are dedicated solely to activities during that year, including the London-centric *Shakespeare400*, a consortium of performances, exhibitions, and events coordinated by King's College London to mark the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's death, and the more globally minded *Performance Shakespeare 2016*, a digital project to capture performances of Shakespeare

worldwide from January 1 to December 31, 2016. Oxford University Press reissued Israel Gollancz's *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare* (originally published on April 23, 1916), edited and introduced by Gordon McMullan, on the occasion of the 2016 centenary. Gollancz appealed to "Shakespeare's own kindred, whatsoe'er their speech," suggesting that Shakespeare, in 1916, was both a poet of British Empire and a playwright of the world despite the changing global order.

To put the 2016 festivities around Shakespeare in context, it is useful to recall that 2016 marks the 500th anniversary of Thomas More's *Utopia*, but there were no large-scale international commemorative events. King's College London hosted a small exhibition, which made reference to most people's selective attentiveness to Shakespeare and not other writers. There are exceptions, though. Fuelled by the global Shakespeare myth, 2016 as a landmark year not only brought the Shakespearean canon into the public consciousness but also enabled the mythologization of other cultural figures, including Tang Xianzu and Cervantes, both of whom passed away in the same year as Shakespeare, 1616. Without an ideological investment in the myth about Shakespeare, the anniversaries of Tang and Cervantes most likely would not have received any attention outside of select local communities such as Linchuan in China's Jiangxi province, the birthplace of Tang. Both Tang and Shakespeare have a special place within their national literary histories. Their names are evoked in festival planners' coordinated efforts to construct dreams about cultural and literary universalism in a post-national space. These dreams are based on commodified, cosmopolitan commemoration (Joubin 2017). The myth of Shakespeare is used by the Chinese embassy in the UK to generate visions of a global Tang Xianzu and simultaneously cement a well-established imaginary of a global Shakespeare. Festival planners in 2016 did not question the valence of comparison between the two playwrights. The coincidental effort to commemorate the playwrights and their cultures is a manifestation of a current consensus that exists in the UK and China about the economic utility of soft power. Shakespeare-inspired events around the world suggest that Shakespeare functions as the spokesperson for humanity and liaison for cultural diplomacy.

Some Shakespearean plays, such as *Hamlet*, have always already begun even before the curtain is raised. In Dominic Dromgoole's Hamlet *Globe to Globe*, which chronicles the tour of his production to 197 countries in two years, the former artistic director of the London Globe admits that he and his crew "were circling around and always return[ed] to *Hamlet*,"

because of "the protean nature of the text" and the "kaleidoscope of possible responses to the play." In Dromgoole's view, these features made *Hamlet* a suitable choice for a worldwide tour (2017, 14). Among the most important organizing principles and unspoken assumptions about Shakespeare's naturalized global appeal is the myth of Shakespeare's universal moral and aesthetic values. The assumption here is not that *Hamlet* would carry the same dramaturgical and social meanings around the world, but rather that the play—despite its bare-bones staging—would hold audiences' interest as the troupe toured through six continents and played to spectators in refugee camps, formal venues, and village squares. The investment not only in the universality of Shakespeare but particularly in *Hamlet* calls to mind Laura Bohannan's 1966 essay "Shakespeare in the Bush" in which the anthropologist reflected on her erroneous assumption that *Hamlet* had one "universally obvious" interpretation as she told the plot to elders of the Tiv tribe in West Africa (1966, 24). The essay documents various points of difference in moral worldviews between the Tiv and Bohannan's mid-twentieth-century American society.

It is neither possible nor desirable to debunk the myth. Rather, in this book, we seek to understand the foundation and operating principles of such myths. Similar to racial stereotypes, myths offer half-truths. Our task is to reveal the construction of ideas that enable Shakespeare's global status. Case studies in this volume decode the obscure content of the myth while highlighting tactical uses of it. We trace common patterns in several performance traditions and observe the uses to which Shakespeare has been put to. At the same time, the editors and contributors are keenly aware of our own subject position, as Michael Dobson astutely observes in his Afterword to this volume. While critics might fantasize about intellectual independence from institutionalized mystification, few would "bite the hands" which feed the "Shakespeare cult's paid-up intellectuals." After all, donations, fees paid to, and grants received from the Folger Library, the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, and London's Globe keep the Shakespeare industry alive.

Two approaches are particularly conspicuous in the application of the global as a myth to Shakespearean performances: the construction of Shakespeare as a cosmopolitan brand and as an aggregate of overlapping localities—the notion that Shakespeare is everywhere in all localities.

First, in the UK, Shakespeare as a locally manufactured global brand has helped major festivals market both national pride and palatable multiculturalism simultaneously. The 2006 Royal Shakespeare Company Complete

Works Festival, the 2012 World Shakespeare Festival, successive Globe-to-Globe seasons, and other similarly structured festivals including the Edinburgh International Festival and the Barbican International Theatre Events regularly pitch Shakespeare as global celebrity against Shakespeare as national poet. The myth of Shakespeare's currency has turned global Shakespeare into a business model.

Secondly, Shakespeare is associated with select historical sites and imaginary sites of origin that still hold sway. The playing spaces he was affiliated with are seen as sacred, hence the financial and intellectual investment in reconstructing Shakespeare's Globe in London near its original site and Elsinore, "Hamlet's castle" in Denmark, as a tourist destination. The history of the London Globe has been well documented and I will not belabour the point about its cultural significance. Denmark's Elsinore, Kronborg Castle (2017), has been marketed as Hamlet's castle ("Home of Hamlet" is its tagline on the official website).[1] The Danish entrepreneurs who publicize it under the Elizabeth English spelling used by Shakespeare actively discourage modern editors of Shakespeare's play from updating the castle's name to its Danish form, Helsingör, fearing the possible economic consequences of the disappearance of its customary trade-name from Shakespeare's pages. The castle proactively invites and hosts site-specific productions of *Hamlet*. The Hamlet-Sommer festivals put on scenes and full productions of *Hamlet* on an open-air stage in the castle's courtyard every year. Over time, they have created a mythologized sense of site-specific authenticity. In Elsinore, the fictional inhabits the actual site of production. In turn, the performance site and its cultural location reconfigure the fictional. Similar to the London Globe's celebration of theatrical cosmopolitanism and local authenticity as the space Shakespeare wrote for, the Hamlet-Sommer makes the castle into an enticing point of mythical origin.

Site-specific epistemologies inform both approaches. At the core of global myths about Shakespeare lies a reified sense of locations. Artists often work across several cultural locations, some of which lie at the crossroads of fiction and reality. In the process of myth making, multiple localities may be layered upon each other to create a deceivingly harmonious image of Shakespeare. As such, Shakespearean myths are repositioned beyond national boundaries and traditionally understood colonial authority. Shakespeare inhabits a post-national space where multiple cultures converge.

Locality helps us see the physical, fictional, and geocultural dimensions of myth making. In the case of Australian director Baz Luhrmann's

Romeo + Juliet (Twentieth Century Fox, 1996), North American Protestantism is pitched against Latin American Catholicism, which is mapped onto cinematic interpretations of Protestant, Elizabethan England's anxiety about Catholic Italy, the setting for Shakespeare's play. Mexico City and Boca del Rio in Veracruz, the film's primary shooting locations, are dressed up as a fictional American city called Verona Beach. The fictional and geocultural localities, attitudes towards Latinity in the film, and Elizabethan English fantasies about Spain and Italy are meshed together to create new localities where youthful exuberance, religious sentiments, and early modern and postmodern notions of feud and hatred play out.

The concept of locality encompasses a number of related ideas, including the setting of a drama, the city and venue of a performance, the cultural coordinates of the audience, and all the meanings derived from these physical and allegorical sites. Representations—theatrical or otherwise—signify relationally, and each locality is further constructed by interactions between local histories embedded in and superimposed on the performances of Shakespearean myths. Such interactions and their potential for revolutionizing the performative and political practice are examined in the chapters by Benedict Schofield (Chap. 6) and Anna Stegh Camati (Chap. 7).

The local is not always the antithesis to the global or an antidote to the hegemonic domination that has been stereotypically associated with the West. Even though the humanities as a discipline tend to regard universal claims as suspicious and celebrate the local as a Quixotic force, in studying the local and global myths of Shakespeare, we have come to realize that—–depending on circumstances, as each chapter shows—the local and the global can play many different roles. Globalization may well enforce homogenization and political efficacy, but it also exposes both complementary and irresolvable local differences. In some instances, the local is made subservient to dreams of Olympism, dreams of universalism, and dreams of neo-imperialism, as exposed in the chapters by Bettina Boecker (Chap. 2), Kevin A. Quarmby (Chap. 4), and Marcela Kostihova (Chap. 3). There are also times when the local becomes the coercive and oppressive agent, such as during China's Cultural Revolution and during the Cold War in Eastern Europe. In such cases, the global represents a potentially liberating space. The additional purchase of the global is used to reduce the oppressive authority of the local. Locality as a critical category can solve part of the conundrum of the multiplicity of myths about Shakespeare.

Myth in Performance

We would now like to turn our attention from site-specific epistemologies to the politics of myth making. Myths are particularly fascinating to study when they are falling apart. It is no coincidence that Roland Barthes's *Mythologies* appeared in 1957, when French imperial myths were coming to a violent end with the decline of the second colonial empire. Similarly, Holderness's aforementioned collection *The Shakespeare Myth* was published in 1988, when British myths of postwar welfare society came under threat from Thatcherism. The present study of local and global Shakespeare myths emerges as we are witnessing the disintegration of the postcolonial world order, with the weakened position of the US and the future of the European Union shrouded in uncertainty. In this changing political situation, myths of Western domination and triumphant globalization begin to crumble. At the same time, as some narratives disappear, others return or emerge. Thus, we can see the rising myths of national independence and Asian dominance.

It is both exciting and urgent to explore the shifting myths around the globe, and it seems useful do to so through Shakespearean performance. After all, Shakespeare himself is one of the most powerful global myths, "as potent as the myths of Greek and Roman culture, and the Bible" according to Ton Hoenselaars and Ángel-Luis Pujante (2003, 24). Moreover, his international reputation was established in the very processes of colonization and globalization that are now under revision. Performances of his plays around the world thus offer a lens through which we might watch the decline and the dawn of modern mythologies. The focus on Shakespearean staging in this collection produces important insights into the dynamic and performative nature of myths as well as their circulation in local/global contexts.

Myth as a strategy of signification is at the heart of meaning making processes within and across cultures. Applicable in a range of areas, it provides a vital perspective on ways in which stories and ideas are constructed, disseminated, and exploited to endorse a particular worldview. The discussion of Shakespearean myths in this collection draws on several media and disciplines such as theatre, television, film, literature, history, politics, economy, cultural studies, and anthropology. What unites these diverse perspectives is a shared understanding of myth as a story which presents itself as true by careful construction of its constitutive elements, which plays a powerful ideological role, which tends to generate further myths, and which might

change, disappear, and then perhaps return in a new cultural and political context. This definition weaves together key ideas about myth expressed by some of the most prominent scholars writing on the subject. At the same time, the collection advances a performance-based approach to myth—one that is grounded in performance theory and analysis.

The understanding of myth as a story is rather broad, particularly once we combine elements of literary (Northrop Frye), semiological (Barthes), materialist (Holderness), and theatrical (Heiner Müller) perspectives. In Frye's description, which draws on Aristotle's *mythos*, myth is a "plot examined as a simultaneous unity, when the entire shape of it is clear in our minds" (1961, 590). Such plots can appear in a range of media and forms. Analysing Shakespeare, and other writers, Frye presents myths as metaphors or themes that span different works and periods. Barthes in turn understands myth as "a mode of signification," citing as its examples a grammar sentence and a *Paris-Match* picture (1991, 114–115). In *The Shakespeare Myth* and *Cultural Shakespeare* (2001), Holderness and his contributors turn their attention to objects, institutions, popular manifestations, and discourses surrounding the Bard. Finally, Müller sees myths as acts of historical disruption within drama, which have a potential to revolutionize the *status quo*. In the present collection, mythical instances are discussed as ideological narratives surrounding Shakespearean performances on stage, screen, and television. Each example shows a story that has sought to establish itself as true through a particular framing of events.

Myth's insistence on truth is inherently paradoxical. As Frye puts it, "A myth, in nearly all its senses, is a narrative that suggests two inconsistent responses: first, 'this is what is said to have happened,' and second, 'this almost certainly is not what happened, at least in precisely the way described'" (1990, 4). The comment might be read as a reformulation of Aristotle's implicit description of poetry as not "what has happened, but what may happen, – what is possible according to the law of probability or necessity" (1902, 35). Barthes goes one step further and describes myth "as a story at once true and unreal" (1991, 127). The claim about the dual nature of myths is crucial. It rectifies the popular notion that mythical stories are by definition false. It also explains their ideological role: the recognition of the potential veracity of myths is vital if we want to argue that they function as meaning making tools that shape public views. It is in this spirit that Frye labels myths as "cultural frameworks of human societies" that, in turn, form a basis for "structures of ideas" that derive from them (1990, 204–205). It is also precisely because he acknowledges the

truth value of myth that Barthes argues that it "makes us understand something and it imposes it on us" (1991, 115). The very same assumption underlines Holderness's description of myth as "a real and powerful form of human consciousness, holding some significant place within a culture" (1988a, 11).

The potential of myth to occupy such an important ideological role is well articulated by Barthes, according to whom myth is "a system of communication" or "a type of speech" (1991, 107) that represents "a *second-order semiological system*" (1991, 113). In his account, a sign, made of a signifier and a signified, belongs to the first-order semiological system. The sign, however, can become a signifier in the second-order system when, associated with a new signified, it acquires another level of signification, thus forming a myth as a second-order sign (1991, 113). In this process, the myth fundamentally distorts the signifier to which it is attached (1991, 121) and "*naturalizes*" the signified (1991, 128). Barthes's iconic example of this process is a *Paris-Match* picture of a black soldier saluting the French flag. Different elements in the photograph are carefully arranged to enforce the imperialist agenda. At the same time, they all appear to the viewer as perfectly natural and realistic.

Barthes's definition supports an idea of myth as a highly ideological concept that endorses a particular vision of the world. In the collection, several chapters explicitly engage with this idea. For instance, Marcela Kostihova reveals neoliberal and neoconservative agendas in the myth of authentic Shakespeare in the Canadian television series *Slings and Arrows* (broadcast from 2003 to 2006); Frank Widar Brevik examines the myth of Shakespeare's purity in Hollywood cinema, whereas Ruyta Minami uncovers the myth of Shakespeare's sophistication in Japanese culture.

Another important feature of myths is that, in presenting a particular worldview, they tend to form clusters. As Frye notes, myths "show an odd tendency to stick together and build up bigger structures" (1961, 598). This tendency can be explained by Barthes's theory of "a *second-order semiological system*." Since the relationship between a signifier and a signified is arbitrary and selective on the first semiological level, and it continues to be so on the second semiological level, where the relationship between a signifier and a signified is only partially motivated, this creates a certain incompleteness, which in turn encourages several mythical signifiers to emerge (1991, 125–6). Müller's account of myths provides another, more metaphorical explanation of their capacity to form groups. According to him, "Myth is an aggregate, a machine to which always new