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Contents

From the Editor

The whole editorial board of the *Polish Journal of English Studies* would like to welcome you to our first issue in 2023. The current volume offers a selection of papers on a range of topics and disciplines some of which we have not tackled before. You will find here an article about a largely unknown but important episode in the life of E. M. Forster, an article which draws comparison between Shakespeare's King Henry V and President Zelensky of Ukraine, and a study in Neo-Victorian fiction. We close the present issue with a novelty – two papers in historical linguistics: a comparative study of a translation of a Psalm which spanned the period of over ten centuries, and a study in the medieval *Book of Hours*. As we promised when we began our journey, it is our aim to address every aspect of English studies on our pages, with every issue broadening the range of presented topics and disciplines.

The work of our editorial board stops now, but only temporarily, for the summer, as we are already well advanced in the preparation of the second 2023 issue entitled "Reading Old Age, the Ageing Body and Memory in British and American Literature and Texts of Culture". It will be available in December 2023.

The coming year will be very special for us as we will celebrate the tenth anniversary of the foundation of our journal. Please, bear in mind that the celebrations will not be possible without your assistance. If you feel that your field has been underrepresented in our journal or it has been completely absent, the only way to rectify it is to submit a proposal. We are looking forward to your submissions, which will be considered for publication in the jubilee issue in 2024.

Krzysztof Fordoński
Editor-in-chief of the *Polish Journal of English Studies*

E. M. Forster's Last Love

Peter J Conradi

Professor of English Emeritus at Kingston University

E.M.Forster and Mattei Radev, Long Crichel House, 1960's; courtesy of Mr Norman Coates

E. M. Forster believed all his life that "the true history of the human race is the history of human affection" (Moffat 2010, 320) and he maintained a utopian faith in the possibilities of human love. So an understanding of Forster's own love-life bears upon his literary output, as Wendy Moffat forcibly argued in her

ground-breaking 2010 biography *E. M. Forster: A New Life*. That book investigated Forster's gay life and sexual acts and – following Forster himself – recognized the sexual force as the wellspring of his creative work. However, Moffat passes over Forster's remarkable last romance with Mattei Radev, which dominated his final ten years in four sentences.[1]

Forster was sixteen when Oscar Wilde was put on trial, eighty-eight when homosexual acts in private were finally decriminalised. He had finished drafting his sole gay novel *Maurice* in 1914, but this was not published until 1971, one year after he had died. In 1963 he noted: "…when I am nearly 85 how *annoyed* [underlined] I am with Society for wasting my time by making homosexuality criminal. The subterfuges, the self-consciousness that might have been avoided" (Heath 2008, 216). He blamed homophobia for his lack of productivity after *A Passage to India* in 1924.

This makes for a simplified history, and there may be additional reasons why his great talents stayed fallow for nearly half a century. Simon Raven, writing just after his death, described him unkindly as "bone idle" (Beauman 1993, 366). He certainly found it hard to contemplate the modern world, abjuring or disliking the telephone, and railing against "modern" inventions such as the bicycle…. *Howards End* (1910) attacked the new century as the "civilisation of luggage".

Moffat strangely refers to *Maurice* as Forster's "only truly honest novel". But *Maurice*, while fascinating in its own right, is also by far his worst. It has neither memorable characters nor plot; and – had homosexuality been de-criminalised seventy years earlier – the prospect of further novels following *Maurice*'s template is a mixed one.

Colm Toibin offers similar cautions. He explores in his own wonderful fiction the psyches of two magisterial gay novelists – Henry James and Thomas Mann – avoiding reductiveness and celebrating complexity. "[Forster's] true nature" argues Toibin, was not only homosexual, "it was also wounded, mysterious and filled with sympathy for others, including foreigners and women. Despite his best intentions, he allowed all of himself into the five novels published in his lifetime, and only part of himself into *Maurice*" (Toibin 2010). And perhaps there is a connection between *Maurice*'s badness and its "honesty" because novels should not be honest. "They are a pack of lies that are also a set of metaphors… but they

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1   Radev's surviving partner Norman Coates believes that he offered Moffat the opportunity to read Forster's letters to Mattei and Eardley Knollys too late. He welcomes the present chance for his lover's place in Forster's story to be better known.

are not forms of self-expression, or true confession". Toibin, nonetheless, finds Forster's interesting love-life a subject worthy of research.

Forster – known to friends as Morgan – had a history of falling in love with dark-skinned outsiders, most famously Mohammed el Adl, a tram conductor in Alexandria, during WW1. During the last decade of his life, he fell in love with a new foreigner. When he met Mattei early in 1960 at Long Crichel House, he was instantly smitten. Mattei Radev was Bulgarian, dark, handsome and intelligent. He was also intensely private, modest and self-contained, tough and loveable. He had many admirers. Frances Partridge recorded that he was "extremely cosy and sympathetic…singularly detached from the cares of the world yet wise in his judgements". She also notes his gentleness, his consideration and acuity, his lack of general knowledge, his quick wit and occasional quick temper.[2] Forster at once fabricated an excuse to pursue Mattei – writing on March 2nd to ask whether a fountain-pen returned to him really belonged to Mattei. Evidently fascinated in his turn, Mattei travelled to visit him in Cambridge only a fortnight later. What made Radev respond and visit so swiftly? Both were outsiders, an affinity they recognised and acknowledged. At a difficult point in their relationship Morgan made a diary note reminding himself that he "had to remember [he] was an outsider who had been treated with courtesy" in Mattei's world, an old man associating with someone nearly half a century younger.[3]

True, he was a GOM of English letters, much loved, much travelled, famous, wealthy but a feeling of "not belonging" was life-long. An only child whose father died when he was one, he described himself as "the outsidest of outsiders" (Moffat 2010, 291) and suffered from such paralyzing shyness that he feared he might never consummate a sexual relationship, only doing so when he was 37. He remained outwardly celibate, living quietly with his stifling mother until she died in 1945, when he was 66. He favoured in his essay "What I believe" a view of the artist as out of favour and out of power. He was proud that he had achieved closeness with ordinary people and that none of his intimates had been eminent. His two published biographies were both of relative nonentities. At King's College where he had lived since 1946 he wrote

2   *Good Company* 1967-1970 *passim.* In 1962 she recorded, "Eardley's friend Matti Radev was there, an enigmatic but handsome Bulgarian with thick cream-coloured skin and a black shock of hair over the trapezium of his forehead." (Partridge, 1990. 107)

3   Jan 14 and 29, 1966.

to Mattei that the company was "small, aged, loquacious and boring"[4] Forster was aged, gay, lonely and lacking a partner.

Mattei too was – on many unrelated counts – another outsider. A Bulgarian stigmatised for his Macedonian origins, his shop-keeper family were branded class-enemies by the new Communist government after 1946 and their property confiscated. One cousin was imprisoned for criticising the Party, another was shot. Mattei managed to escape across the border into Turkey, where he subsisted for three months until bribing a boatman to row him out to a British cargo vessel. The idea of England, though he then knew little about it, attracted him. He hid for four days within a life-boat, surviving on lemons, a little bread and chocolate, finally working his passage to Glasgow. After detention in Barlinnie prison, he lived in an Orwellian house for the destitute in London with over 1000 rooms, working as an orderly in Whittington Hospital. He was before long diagnosed himself with TB and – unsure whether he would survive – spent more than a year in a Surrey sanatorium. His family were penalised for his defection, his start in life traumatic.

At the Whittington he had caught the eye of eye specialist and gay rights campaigner Pat Trevor-Roper, who helped find him lodgings in the attic of a Nash terrace mansion in Regents Park. At a party there in 1957, Mattei met novelist and music critic Eddy Sackville-West and Eardley Knollys, who had run an important gallery and now worked for the National Trust. These two – together with Desmond Shaw-Taylor, another music critic and the leading literary and art critic Raymond Mortimer – owned Long Crichel House in East Dorset, dubbed "England's last literary salon", and frequented as such by – among others – the Sitwells, Duncan Grant, James Lees-Milne, Rosamond Lehmann, Rose Macaulay and Elizabeth Bowen. Frances Partridge called Crichel this "headquarters of homosexuality" (Partridge 1993, 93). Eardley Knollys fell head over heels in love with Mattei and in 1959 helped him financially to buy a house on Ogle St., W1., thus setting him up as a picture-framer. He was notably successful, eventually employing sixteen assistants, framing pictures for the Queen's Gallery and refusing a royal warrant in case this discouraged clients of modest means.

At some point, as Mattei's surviving partner the theatre designer Norman Coates remembers, Morgan touched Mattei profoundly by saying "You and I are both outsiders". Although they made the occasional trip together – for example

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4   Undated card. While the Reform Club was, he apologised to Mattei, "rather dreary" and trivial: his friend Raymond Mortimer had petulantly resigned because he didn't like the new carpet.

to see Ely Cathedral – on July 21, 1962, Morgan wrote to Mattei, "You are right – it is a sin to waste time, and I wish I wasted less. I don't think though that one wastes time *sitting for a little together quietly which you and I sometimes do*" [my emphasis]. Walter Benjamin somewhere says that to love someone means to apprehend their inner emptiness: Forster and Mattei respected this in each other.

Mattei repaid Knollys's generosity in setting him up in Ogle St. by buying a hunting lodge in 1966 near Petersfield known as The Slade. Here Knollys and Mattei could entertain at weekends, garden and play Canasta together. Eardley's love for Mattei, following a brief physical relationship, was platonic and – on the whole – un-possessive.[5] A dozen peaceable letters from Forster to Eardley suggest that Forster's intense relationship with Mattei caused no undue disturbance.

Mattei's reserve was legendary, and made him doubly attractive as a screen for the projections of others. He enjoyed learning about the mysterious rules of English life and the class system. He preferred listening to talking about himself. In some ways he was old-fashioned. When Tracey Emin's *The Bed* was exhibited he deplored its astonishing self-indulgence, self-pity and vacuity, its defiance of the rules of discretion. But Mattei also carried within himself much unresolved pain and tension. It made him famously unreliable, forgetful and able to cut himself off.

Forster too was pathologically circumspect. Most of the hundred or so surviving letters and cards that he wrote to Mattei are brief and factual, concerning arrangements for meetings, his hand-writing remarkably firm and legible for a man in his 80's. Their relationship ripened during 1962, a time during which they grew demonstrably closer. In late April[6] – after Morgan had twice gone to see the film of *A Taste of Honey*, thinking the film much better than the original play – "I enjoyed every moment of your visit. Sometimes I wished I was your age but generally I was quite content to be my own age" while on 14 May occurred an unspecified and rapturous development between them that invites further speculation. "I expect to tell no one what happened on Saturday' Forster recorded. 'One of its results is to soften the tragedy of Rob [Buckingham] and [to] rest me." This needs unpacking.

Forster had found love in 1930 with a kindly policeman called Bob Buckingham. Bob would within a few years lead a respectable life with his wife May and

5   Norman Coates to me Feb. 25, 2023: "Was Eardley jealous [of Forster]? A little bit, probably, and if so he would have behaved sensibly (he was sensible) and as result their friendship remained and lasted". For another view see Fenwick 2021 [*Crichel Boys*] ch 12.

6   Forster mentions Easter, which fell on April 22.

their son Robin, while continuing occasionally to tryst loyally with Forster. Robin, who was 29, had been diagnosed the previous year with Hodgkins Disease and would die that September 8th.[7] Forster – Robin's godfather – would sit side-by-side with him, their hands touching; and he had grown used to starting out of sleep with the full horror of Robin's fate on his mind

The joyous development with Mattei on May 14 alleviated his grief, anxiety and distress. It lightened Forster's mood. "My concentration and steady sympathy have stopped and I have been enjoying my own sensations again, as in earlier years, and losing my sense of responsibility. A nice change." Here is a remarkable testimony to the power and centrality of Mattei in his life. He advises Mattei to hang onto a scarf of Morgan's "Don't post the little scarf – it is of no importance. Keep it until we meet – or better still keep it altogether in memory of our happiness together."

Two weeks later and one day after attending the world premiere of Britten's *War Requiem* in Coventry Cathedral [May 30], Forster proposes that "Next time we meet we must talk more. You said you wanted to know more about me, and I shall be pleased if you asked me. I want to know more about you, especially about your early life and home". Mattei's company made him happy. And three further years into their affair, in August 1965, Morgan echoes: "how happy Mattei and I were today and yesterday…I have been sheltered for the moment by Mattei and feel gratitude but not to the Christian or any God."

Communication could, however, be unreliable. Forster absent-mindedly puts W 11 instead of W1 on one letter, which consequently never arrives; he mislays another while drafting it. Then Mattei loses a letter from Morgan beneath a table leg. And Mattei's notorious elusiveness caused Morgan frustration and disappointment. "Will you be able to come on April 10? You can only come to Cambridge on a weekend, so if you are always engaged on a weekend you can never come to Cambridge. Please consider the above… I often think of you and know that you think of me, So do come along". (March 1 no year but 1963?) "You are not free to come to Cambridge for a whole month. 'not very good reading'"; however, "Lamentations are useless and perhaps undignified" (March 10, no year).

Forster warns himself against pleading or issuing rebukes, but is often overcome by his own feelings. Lamentations abound…"I write - no answer. I ring – no answer (still worse for I rang from London, where we might have met). I

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7   'Love does a great deal to cancel what seems unbearable' Forster had promised Bob Buckingham when Rob was still a child (July 19, 1939) Moffat 2010. 312.

write again to say: Can you come to stay here Saturday 20th? I so want to see you. Do write" (2/11/65). "Please write again and give me the first date at which you will be free to stay a night here. We cant go on thus for ever" (July 12 no year). When he invited Mattei to stay with him in Coventry at May Buckingham's suggestion, Mattei neither answered nor came, "which has not pleased this house", he informs Mattei pompously (4/26/67).

As for Mattei's letters, Forster destroyed most, safeguarding only two. During 1965 Mattei was hospitalised: Morgan feared a recurrence of TB. He wrote on June 24, "My dear Mattei What shattering news – I shall try not to worry about you since you ask me not do so but it is hard not to do so when I had looked forward to being with you, if only for a day". Mattei soon reassured him that his stomach bleeding was merely an allergic reaction to aspirin.

Mattei's second letter ran as follows:

> I was looking at a tree today and noticed that the stronger branches were supporting the weaker and these in their turn were giving strength to others still weaker. The same as a stronger rock would support a lighter one. Then I thought that in the unanimated world this must be a low [*sic*: he means l**a**w] – The stronger supporting the weaker as in the animated world the opposite is true. – The bigger animals destroy the smaller ones, stronger nations subordinating weaker ones; then I thought that the very same tree would not allow another smaller one to grow nearby; and that religions teach people of mercy, goodness = charity and so on – defying some of the laws of nature! Then I got confused and must stop. How are you?

Onto this Forster wrote "Keep" and started his droll reply on March 25, 1965: "that is a very nice letter, except for the sentence in it which you missed out. The sentence in question is "I am coming on April 10. Do you think you could take up your pen and write it now ?..."

After this schoolmasterish overture, Forster addresses Mattei's hunger to reconcile the "survival of the fittest" with a spiritual imperative.

> I agree pretty well with the rest of the letter, anyhow with its conclusion. I think, with you, that most of the universe, inanimate or animate, believes in force, and in the stronger attacking the weaker.

> But either through religion or through some other agency, the human race is a partial exception to this, and believes in mercy and gentleness and in helping the weak. A partial exception - it does not go far enough, still it goes a little way, and that is why I prefer the human race to other entities known to me. I cannot pretend that I myself am in any special need of mercy and helpfulness at the present moment, still 'Can you come on April 10th and stay with Morgan? Take up your pen and reply, dear Mattei.

One might infer a subtext: that who is the stronger between them is a moot point. At best it was – despite the half-century between them – a relationship of equals. Forster had fame and longevity, Mattei relative youth and beauty. But each might also be said to be attesting, in his own way, to the importance of love in human affairs. Love is after all another name for the mysterious force that can transcend power.

Early in 1966 came an unexplained break, heralded by Forster's private musings about Mattei's bad behaviour: "I have just realised that M. has let me down" and "M has certainly behaved worse than I would have expected"[8] (Jan 14 and 29, 1966) as also by Forster's stiff rebuke "A line to thank you for your Christmas letter- though why do you miss 'Love' in it? I thought that was established between us,…" (Jan. 2, 1966). When hurt Forster was capable of withdrawing, foregoing the chance of a meeting, or retreating into *froideur*. A sulk followed, with Morgan signing off formally "yours ever" or "best wishes". Norman Coates, Mattei's partner from 1973 until his death in 2009, speculates that Mattei might have caused offence by visiting Cambridge without seeing or telling Morgan: a letter from Forster to Eardley on Feb. 11, 1965 makes clear that the latter occasionally visited Dadie Rylands in Cambridge, and it is conceivable Mattei accompanied him. If so the curt card he wrote on March 7, 1966 conceals a desire to wound: "Look in on me *if you are in Cambridge again and have the time*. – M" [my emphasis].

Forster's most famous novel ends with the frustration of the desire of the English Fielding and the Indian Aziz for friendship: "No, not yet…no, not there". Echoing these fictional counterparts, Morgan and Mattei were also divided by race, class and age (48 years). But by summer Forster had stopped signing off

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8   It is this contretemps that triggers Forster's Jan 1966 reflection noted earlier, "I have to remember I am an outsider who has been treated with courtesy."

frostily "best wishes" or "yours ever" when the valediction "Love from Morgan" resumes. Affection between them prevailed until Forster's death in 1970.

Although fearful of coming out publicly as gay, Forster is refreshingly straightforward in his diary about experiencing sexual impulses. On August 18, 1965 he vouchsafes "I should like to record that during nearly 70 years I have been interested in lustful thoughts, writing and sometimes actions, and do not believe they have done me or anyone any harm" (Gardner 2011, 168). Despite two operations for prostate problems in the 1950s, he was still sexually potent into his 80's and capable of orgasm, while implying that this had to be self-induced.

Were Mattei and Morgan's relations platonic? Mattei admitted to Norman Coates that he and Morgan "cuddled". And it is tempting to read the following as an admission of the role sex played in their friendship: "I should have been a more famous writer if I had written or rather published more, but sex has prevented the latter. Here Mattei must be recorded and honoured. The 3 or 4 years I have known him have seen steady advance. Had I known him earlier I might have claimed too much" (Gardner 2011, 163). It is clear that he *taught* Forster something about Forster's own sexuality, for example during the joyous interlude chronicled in May 1962. And recording and honouring would mean expressing gratitude and indebtedness for posterity. A loose-leaf note reading April 5/6 [no year] "Mattei brought courage and clarity" endorses this view.

Forster famously recorded his interest in sexual politics: "I want to love a strong young man of the lower classes and be loved by him and even hurt by him. That is my ticket, and then I have wanted to write respectable novels" (Heath 2008, 216).[9] Whether Mattei offered any form of "kindly discipline" we are unlikely now to learn. There are four different missives in which Forster refers to a walking stick, which gets lost and needs replacing. One reads: "Can you come Saturday August 31 [1963]? When you come, you may have to give me another stick. But about that we shall see. I do hope you will <u>come</u> [underlined] at all events. Your loving and *underlining* Morgan". If it is tempting to read this as sexually suggestive, it may be wrong-headed. Mattei and Eardley shopped at the famous stick and umbrella shop – *James Smith and Sons* – on Gower Street.[10] And Forster's frequent pleas to Mattei are often reminders to him simply to turn up.

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9   This sentence comes towards the conclusion of Forster's so-called 'Sex Diary'. See also Moffat 2010, 316.
10   Norman Coates points out that a walking stick is not something that you would beat someone with, it would be a cane.

On Thursday July 9, 1964, E. M. Forster dined at the Reform Club with his much younger guest, who brought distressing news. Some days earlier, Mattei had been arrested in a public lavatory for soliciting. After being beaten up in the car on the way to the police station, he was refused access to a doctor and now awaited the court case on the 21st of the month with trepidation (Gardner 2011, 249 n. 995). He asked Forster to speak for his character in court. Forster did not think he risked much by doing so being – at the age of 85 – uncompromisable. Moreover Mattei's gaiety and courtesy in the face of his misfortune impressed him deeply.

He was distressed both by Mattei's ill luck and a little by his own. The discovery that the police in the UK "are as filthy here as anywhere" appalled them both. Each nursed an optimistic vision of innate English decency that was profoundly wounded by this "disaster" as Morgan termed it. He found it nearly impossible to concentrate. Playing Verdi's *Don Carlos* on his gramophone helped, but he feared that the civilised world was "ready to explode". On July 22, Mattei cabled Morgan a precis of the court hearing. Although Mattei incurred only a relatively small fine,[11] his sentencing made Forster feel physically sick. "What a cess-pool we are all living in…." On August 1, Mattei came to stay with him in his rooms at Kings College Cambridge and Morgan promised to give him a restful time. "I shall talk or not talk about the loathsome incident exactly as he wishes" Morgan told Eardley. He would contact theatre director Dadie Rylands who like Morgan had rooms in Kings if Mattei liked but no one else. In the event Forster found Mattei "so dignified and good". He wasn't looking very well, but he ate and slept all right, and – in his distraction – forgot his shaving-kit in Morgan's rooms.

Morgan brooded for weeks. That October he would write to Mattei – "the whole thing was quite unspeakable, I feel sort of dazed when I think of it now – one doesn't realise, anyhow in my comfortable life, that there is such a thing as real active evil. You have anyhow found out, if you did not know it already, how fond some of your friends are of you. That is the compensating good".

Mattei was instinctively polite, to the point of inscrutability. On August 27, Forster wrote hoping he was all right, noting how "difficult it is to be sure of people when they are so considerate of the feelings of others". Staying with

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11   Moffat says the charges "evaporated" and that Mattei paid only a small fine. If charges were dismissed, it is not clear why he was liable to pay any fine, nor why Forster felt sick at his sentencing.

Benjamin Britten that month Morgan burst out against the police occasionally, but "unattached of course to names or districts". He never implicated Mattei in his invective.

This care for Mattei's privacy, even with close gay friends such as Britten and Pears, is noteworthy. It bespeaks the culture of fear, secrecy and paranoia before decriminalisation in 1967, when many gay men lived with paralysing anxiety, and suicide was common. When writer and editor William Plomer was arrested for soliciting a soldier near Paddington Station, he feared not merely for his job and liberty but for his friends, burning letters from Joe Ackerley, Stephen Spender, Isherwood and John Lehmann and any from E. M. Forster that hinted at homosexuality (Moffat 2010, 250). But Mattei, while hyper-discreet, also belonged to a more confident younger generation, less easily cowed or brow-beaten.

One coda to Mattei's story would surely have given Forster pleasure. His novel *Howards End* ends with a certain wry optimism about who is to inherit the house that clearly symbolises England itself. Helen's child – illegitimate and outside the class system – is the unexpected heir. Similarly in *The Longest Journey* Stephen Wonham, also illegitimate and a yeoman to boot, "believed he guided the future of our race and that century after century his thoughts and his passions would triumph in England". In both novels the future of England and Englishness belongs in the end to the illegitimate outsider.

Unlike Forster's vision of a future yeoman England, Mattei's ideal was patrician and bohemian. When Eardley Knollys died in 1991 Mattei wrote "I think of Eardley every day. He was England for me"; and he soon received a telephone call from Knole House, the Sackville-West's ancestral home, to say that Eddy Sackville-West's paintings had been left to Knollys who in turn had bequeathed them, (together with his own collection) to Mattei. When would he like to bring a van to Knole to collect them? Mattei owned by the end of his life around 500 pictures including works on paper, and also 422 erotic drawings by Duncan Grant. The artists include – among others – Braque, Vanessa Bell, Modigliani, Gaudier-Brzeska, Graham Sutherland, Henry Lamb, Picasso, Pissarro, Ben Nicholson. A small selection of around 55 paintings, known as the Radev Collection, travelled around UK galleries in 2011. Thus, did Mattei the peasant-outsider from Bulgaria acquire one of the finest and most valuable private collections of art in England and, after the death of Frances Partridge in 2004, became Bloomsbury's last heir.
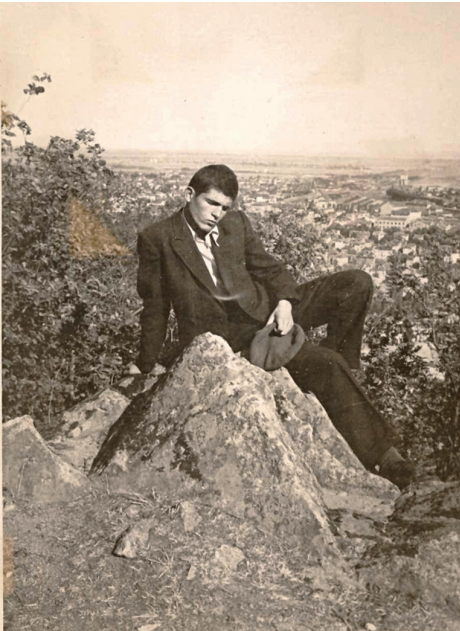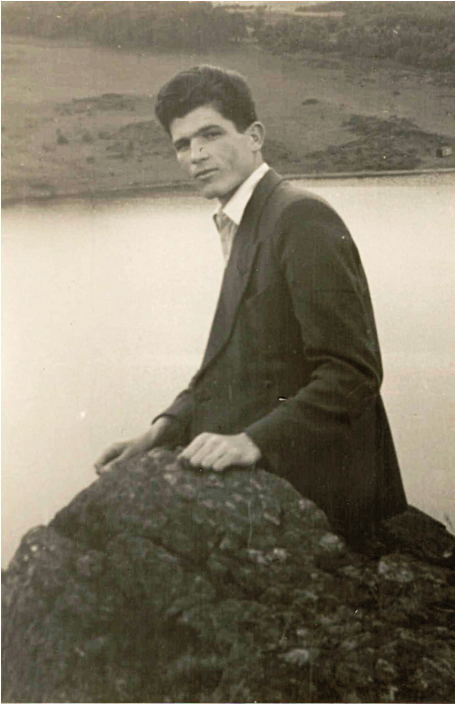
Mattei Radev, all late 1940's; courtesy of Mr Norman Coates

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Redeeming Time: Henry V's Transition from 'Comedian' to King

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Abstract: Inspired by the remarkable personage of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky and his transition from comedian and actor to an inspirational leader admired around the world, this paper will examine the similar fate of Hal/Henry V in Shakespeare's second Henriad. The focus will be on Henry's comic "career", prior to ascending the throne, "slumming" with Falstaff and his followers, in particular in *Henry IV Part One*. There will be an attempt to demonstrate how Henry, contrary to expectations, makes profitable use of his time to "learn the ropes". Henry in his interactions with Falstaff and others employs a wide range of comic techniques: jokes, insult comedy, imitations, political satire, etc. In contrast, however, with Zelensky who has bravely rallied his country and inspired the world with resistance to a larger aggressor in a defensive war, Henry V does the exact opposite invading neighbouring France on the most flimsy of pretexts. Although lionized in many productions as a great military leader, icon of Englishness and man of the people, this paper will argue for his ultimate failure as a leader, failing to heed the lessons of his comic "apprenticeship", in stark contrast to Zelensky.

Keywords: Second Henriad, Henry V, Volodymyr Zelensky, Transition, Comedian

Introduction

The transition of Volodymyr Zelensky from a comedian, actor and dancer to a world-renowned inspirational figure as the President of Ukraine in these disturbing times is undoubtedly one of the biggest news stories of 2022. One of the most peculiar aspects of his story is the fact that he actually played a secondary school teacher, who is surprisingly elected President, in the popular Ukrainian television series *Servant of the People*, which also became the name of his own political party. Inspired by this remarkable transition from actor to President, I would like to draw certain parallels with the character of Prince

Hal from the *Henry IV* plays, later Henry V in the play of the same name. A new production of *Henry V* starring Kit Harington (Jon Snow in *Game of Thrones*) actually seemingly draws attention to the similarities between the two leaders with Harington sporting a green T-shirt almost identical to Zelensky's signature garb.[1]

The character of Hal/Harry/Henry (Henry from now on) has generated a great deal of popular and critical attention. Opinions regarding his transition from "playboy" or "slacker", under Falstaff's tutelage, to "hero" of the Battle of Agincourt have varied greatly. E. M. Tillyard's view that "Henry V was traditionally not only the perfect king but a king after the Englishman's heart; one who added the quality of good mixer to the specifically regal virtues" (Tillyard, 299) personifies the traditional conservative patriotic view. In contrast, John Masefield's commentary would typify the more liberal, anti-war perspective, "Prince Henry is not a hero, he is not a thinker, he is not even a friend; he is a common man whose incapacity for feeling enables him to change his habits whenever interest bids him" (Masefield, 112).

Perhaps the best way to view Henry is through that most Shakespearian metaphor of the world as a stage (*As You Like It*) and all of us merely strutting players (*Macbeth*). Often quoted out of context, these conceits make reference not only to the fleetingness of human life (mortality), but also to the vacuousness of existence (absurdity). Henry is not just any actor/player, but specifically a comic one, a comedian.

My reading of Henry the character, and the attempted parallel with the current political situation and President Zelensky, is also indebted to the groundbreaking work by Jan Kott, who in his *Shakespeare our Contemporary* pointed out the relevancy of the plays to his day, namely the 1950s and 1960s in Communist Poland. Kott eloquently demonstrated how the plays, and the characters in them, continue to speak to the present-day political reality: "Shakespeare is like the world, or life itself. Every historical period finds in him what it is looking for and what it wants to see" (Kott, 3). I should also make clear that one needs to distinguish between the historical personages depicted in the plays (particularly the histories) and Shakespeare's creations, a distinction which Kott would, of course, also make apparent.

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1   For a discussion of the significance of Zelensky's trade-mark T-shirt, see https://www.inside-hook.com/article/news-opinion/zelenskys-t-shirt-means.

"Playing holidays", *Henry IV Part One*

In the first play of the Second Henriad *Henry IV Part One*, the Prince explicitly employs many of the techniques of the comedic craft. He is acting from the very beginning, jesting, learning various 'roles' and doing impersonations. He covers the gamut of comedic art and techniques: stand-up, insults, banter, word-play, acting out scenes, taking part in rehearsal and even providing political satire. Henry himself immediately compares himself to an actor of sorts in the second scene of the play, his soliloquy.

> If all the year were playing holidays,
> To sport would be as tedious as to work,
> But when they seldom come, they wished-for come,
> And nothing pleaseth but rare accidents.
> So when this loose behavior I throw off
> And pay the debt I never promisèd,
> By how much better than my word I am,
> By so much shall I falsify men's hopes;
> And, like bright metal on a sullen ground,
> My reformation, glitt'ring o'er my fault,
> Shall show more goodly and attract more eyes
> Than that which hath no foil to set it off.
> I'll so offend to make offense a skill,
> Redeeming time when men think least I will. (1.2: 188-210)

This scene has, of course, generated much debate and controversy. Arthur Quiller-Couch referred to it as "the most damnable piece of workmanship to be found in Shakespeare" (Wilson, 43). Samuel Johnson, in contrast, pragmatically suggested that it was "to keep the Prince from appearing vile" (Wilson, 43). There has been much discussion as to whether the soliloquy means that Henry is only using his friends, and Falstaff in particular, as a means to an end, as comic preparation for becoming King/President, razing expectation and playing the dark horse. *The Hollow Crown* film version of the play from 2012 presents the soliloquy as a voice-over, while Henry (Tom Hiddleston) walks among the "low-life" exchanging affectionate smiles, thereby lessening the impact.

Regardless of how one views Henry's intentions, there seems to be no doubt that he plays his role very effectively, at least in *Henry IV Part One*. Prior to the soliloquy, he comes onstage in 1.2 joking, punning and insulting like a stand-up comedian. Falstaff and Henry seem like a well-oiled comic duo act, setting one another up for punch-lines and gags. Henry wakes up his elderly mentor with a barrage of insults concerning his alternative lifestyle. Falstaff counters with a pun on the word 'grace', insinuating that Henry is in both political and religious peril: "And I prithee, sweet wag, when thou art a king, as, God save thy Grace—majesty I should say, for grace thou wilt have none—" (1.2: 16-18). Henry good-naturedly pretends not to understand the implications "Well, how then? Come, roundly, roundly" (1.2: 22) in order to extend the gag further and set up Falstaff for more verbal foolery. When Falstaff pushes things a bit too far, seemingly requesting he and his men be allowed to carry out crime in the future with the blessing of the monarch, Henry wittily turns the table and literally makes use of gallows humour, "by-and-by in as high a flow as the ridge of the gallows" (1.2: 37-38). This is seemingly too much for the elderly Falstaff and he immediately changes the subject with a lewd reference to the charms of the "hostess of the tavern" (1.2: 40). This triggers yet another chain of puns and insults, with Henry (or Shakespeare himself) famously making humorous reference to the original model for Falstaff, the historical Sir John Oldcastle, "my old lad of the castle" (1.2: 41-42).

Falstaff even feigns ignorance (one of his many rhetorical strategies) of the implications of his comic partner's jibes "What, in thy quips and thy quiddities?" (1.2: 44-45). The genius of this interchange is the levels of irony and sarcasm involved, with both seemingly aware that this cannot last, but enjoying it while they can. The scene keeps going at break-neck speed, which demands a great deal of skill and virtuosity for actors when performing the scene; it is, not surprisingly often abridged with sections cut out.

The scene concludes with Falstaff encouraging the Prince to participate in a robbery of a group of wealthy pilgrims at Gadshill. Initially reluctant, Henry finally agrees to the "jest", at his friend Poins' urging, only because they will be 'playing/acting' and providing the possibility for future comic material; setting-up Falstaff to shine on stage so to speak. Falstaff is not, however, in the know or if he is, one can never tell. After Falstaff and his men rob the pilgrims, Henry and Poins intend to double-cross Falstaff in order to see what tall tales it will generate. "Now could thou and I rob the thieves and go merrily to London, it would be an argument for a week, laughter for a month, and a good jest

forever" (2.2: 89-92). Their expectations are not disappointed. As they run off with the ill-gotten treasure, Henry delivers one of his most amusing lines at the expense of the grossly overweight and horseless Falstaff, who has taken to flight on foot "Falstaff sweats to death and lards the lean earth as he walks along. Were't not for laughing, I should pity him" (2.2: 103-105).

Henry's range of comic skills is impressive to say the least. While waiting in 2.4 for Falstaff to appear after the robbery, he carries out impersonations of Hotspur and his wife, in theatre productions usually attempting to imitate the voices and mannerism of the two respective characters.

> I am not yet of Percy's mind, the Hotspur of the North, he that kills me some six or seven dozen of Scots at a breakfast, washes his hands, and says to his wife 'Fie upon this quiet life! I want work.' 'O my sweet Harry,' says she, 'how many hast thou killed today?' 'Give my roan horse a drench,' says he, … (2.4: 97-102).

Jamie Parker as Henry, in the Globe production of the play from 2010, puts on a stock northern accent when imitating Hotspur and adds a bawdy touch to the lines about the horse by pulling out his shirt through his fly, implying a request for oral sex from his wife.

Although the popular version from *The Hollow Crown* series shortens and practically passes over the quoted lines, it does draw attention to the immediately preceding dialogue where Henry boasts to Poins of his skill in learning the lingo of the waiting staff, preparing himself for his future role as military leader, where he was famed for his ability to identify with and become sympathetic for the commoners and foot soldiers.

> Where hast been, Hal?
> With three or four loggerheads amongst three or fourscore hogs-
> heads. I have sounded the very bass-string of humility. Sirrah,
> I am sworn brother to a leash of drawers, and can call them all
> by their christen names, as Tom, Dick, and Francis. ... They call
> drinking deep dyeing scarlet; (2.4: 4-8, 14-15)

Henry's arguably feigned interest in the lives and language of the employees in the inn is usually portrayed as, once again, playing a game, but also learning

how to communicate with the common man, something which he perfects in the *Henry V* play when leading his troops into battle.

The audience is very much in on the game when Henry plays the lying game with Falstaff about the robbery. The genius of the scene is, among other things, how the audience or reader never knows if Falstaff even believes his own outrageous lies and tall tales. Upon realising he has milked the gag to its fullest, Henry reveals he knows the truth about the robbery and the interaction moves into insult comedy.[2] The insults are suited to the physiognomy of the two protagonists with the prolific use of phallic symbols. Henry begins with a rich listing off of fat references: "This sanguine coward, this bed-presser, this horse-backbreaker, this huge hill of flesh –" (2.4: 232-234), only to be countered fiercely by a barrage of thin 'dick jokes': "'Sblood, you starveling, you eel-skin, you dried neat's tongue, you bull's pizzle, you stockfish – O, for breath to utter what is like thee! – you tailor's yard, you sheath, you bowcase, you vile standing tuck!" (2.4: 235-238). After the story of the double robbery is revealed in all of its indignity, Falstaff masterfully justifies his apparent cowardly behaviour with an ingenious lie, seemingly indifferent as to whether he is actually believed or not, but primarily pleased that the stolen money is safe and sound. C. L. Barber points out how Falstaff provides the Prince here and elsewhere with a comic tutelage of sorts: "… Falstaff provides him with a continuous exercise in the consciousness that comes from playing at being what one is not, and from seeing through such playing" (Barber, 170). This acquired skill will, of course, serve him well not only in his future role as King, but when having to placate the concerns of his ailing royal father.

Henry not only plays and acts when "slumming" with Falstaff and his cohorts in the tavern in Eastcheap, but also when facing the disapproval of his father the King at court. Falstaff, always looking out for his own interests, encourages Henry to practice his lines and role in a dress rehearsal of sorts prior to the actual confrontation. "Well, thou wilt be horribly chid tomorrow when thou comest to thy father. If thou love me, practice an answer" (2.4: 360-362). This variation on a play within a play[3] combines comedy with deadly serious foreboding and foreshadowing concerning the future of their relationship. Initially, Falstaff plays the King and Henry plays himself.

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2   Made most popular by the American comedian Don Rickles.
3   Plays within plays, most famously in *Hamlet* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, almost always provide a critical mirroring of the primary plot.

> PRINCE Do thou stand for my father and examine me upon the
> particulars of my life.
> FALSTAFF Shall I? Content. This chair shall be my state, this
> dagger my scepter, and this cushion my crown.
> PRINCE Thy state is taken for a joined-stool, thy golden scepter
> for a leaden dagger, and thy precious rich crown for a pitiful bald
> crown.
> FALSTAFF Well, an the fire of grace be not quite out of thee, now
> shalt thou be moved. Give me a cup of sack to make my eyes
> look red, that it may be thought I have wept, for I must speak in
> passion, and I will do it in King Cambyses' vein. (2.4: 363- 374)

Falsaff makes reference here to an actual play about Cambyses King of Persia, thereby reinforcing the theatrical references. The Hostess, who is crying from laughter, also makes an explicit comparison to a theatrical performance she has already seen. "O Jesu, he doth it as like one of these harlotry players as ever I see" (2.4: 382-383).

Falstaff, as the King, scolds his errant son, but quickly shifts gears and begins to use the opportunity to plead his own case and presumably his own future as an advisor to the future monarch: "… there is virtue in that Falstaff. Him keep with, the rest banish. And tell me now, thou naughty varlet, tell me where hast thou been this month?" (2.4: 414-417). This banishing question is returned to shortly. Henry is dissatisfied with Falstaff's performance and decides to switch roles. "Dost thou speak like a king? Do thou stand for me, and I'll play my father" (2.4: 418-419). The comedy quickly dries up as Henry embraces the stern tone of his father the King, even explicitly comparing Falstaff to the Vice character from the Medieval morality play tradition.

> Why dost thou converse with that trunk of humors, that bolt-
> ing-hutch of beastliness, that swoll'n parcel of dropsies, that huge
> bombard of sack, that stuffed cloak-bag of guts, that roasted Man-
> ningtree ox with the pudding in his belly, that reverend vice, that
> gray iniquity, that father ruffian, that vanity in years? (2.4: 433-439)

Although the insults fly once again, the tone seems to have shifted into vicious-ness and cruelty. Falstaff defends himself, however, with great vigour and wit.

> No, my good lord: banish Peto, banish Bardolph, banish Poins; but
> for sweet Jack Falstaff, kind Jack Falstaff, true Jack Falstaff, valiant
> Jack Falstaff, and therefore more valiant being, as he is, old Jack
> Falstaff, banish not him thy Harry's company, banish not him thy
> Harry's company. Banish plump Jack, and banish all the world.
> (2.4: 458- 464)

The Prince's short answer, "I do, I will." (2.4: 465) is presented in theatre and film productions in a variety of ways, either as a stern condemnation, foreshadowing the end of *Henry IV part 2*, or as a resigned inevitable reality. In most performances of the scene the laughing has dried up at this point and an uncomfortable awkward silence ensues, only to be interrupted by a loud knocking from the guards sent to investigate the robbery.

There is limited comedy in the remainder of the play. On the battlefield at Shrewsbury in 5.3, prior to the culminating duel with his nemesis Hotspur, Henry has no time or patience for Falstaff's jokes and jibes, "What, is it a time to jest and dally now?" (5.3:55). Having said that, he does agree to generously go along with the lie that Falstaff was the one to definitively kill Hotspur, allowing his friend to assume the new role of a war hero, with all of the accompanying perks and rewards. Their relationship changes, however, from this point on.

"I know thee not, old man": *Henry IV Part Two*

Henry IV part 2 is almost universally viewed as less jovial and exuberant than the first part, being introduced by a chorus-like Rumor and being imbued with themes of illness, aging and death. There is much less interaction between Henry and Falstaff, with the former obviously gradually distancing himself from his previous life in preparation for ascending the throne, although he does express nostalgic regret for the "small beer" times back in the tavern. Falstaff has grown not only in size, but also in self-importance and literally hogs the stage and the limelight.

Henry only appears for the first time in 2.2 and in a conversation with Poins expresses fatigue with his new role as a "respectable" member of the court. The Page, a gift from Henry to Falstaff, the Chief Justice, Mistress Quickly, Ancient Pistol and Justice Shallow function as the comic foils in this play to a much greater extent than Henry himself. He and Poins, while in disguise, do briefly witness Falstaff in a romantic mood with the suitably named prostitute Doll Tearsheet.

Upon revealing their identities, there is a half-hearted attempt at comic banter, only to be cut short by news that the Prince is needed at court.

In 4.4, Warwick, one of the high-ranking nobles, reminds the bed-ridden Henry IV of the strategy behind the Prince's doings, once again making use of the acting analogy. Henry is studying various lines and roles which he will make use of in his future greatest performance, in *Henry V*.

> The prince but studies his companions
> Like a strange tongue, wherein, to gain the language,
> 'Tis needful that the most immodest word
> Be looked upon and learned; which, once attained,
> Your Highness knows, comes to no further use
> But to be known and hated. (4.4: 68-73)

In the infamous rejection scene in 5.5, Henry, now the freshly crowned King, quickly cuts short Falstaff's appeal of fellowship, seemingly knowing all to well the older man's ability to engage him with comic banter and possibly blunt his resolve.

> I know thee not, old man. Fall to thy prayers.
> How ill white hairs becomes a fool and jester!
> …..
> Reply not to me with a fool-born jest.
> Presume not that I am the thing I was. (5.5: 47-48, 55-56)

Henry has turned over a new leaf and no longer has room for his comedy mentor.

"Foreign quarrels": *Henry V*

In *Henry V*, the King assumes a new role and voice immediately. Henry, upon coming to power, instead of focusing on healing the civil rifts, which have plagued the country in the previous two plays, decides to follow the cynical dying words of his father in *Henry IV Part Two*, "to busy giddy minds/With foreign quarrels" (4.5: 213-214) and invade France. He justifies his aggression with a truly twisted interpretation of history, supposedly supporting his right to

the foreign throne. His new "regal" personality is very much on display in 1.2 when he receives a "joke" gift of tennis balls from his rival the French Dauphin as a response to Henry's claim of the rival French throne. Instead of taking this in stride, obviously a reference to his "salad days" with Falstaff, Henry renews his threats of violence full-throttle with the following words to the ambassador: "...And tell the Dauphin. His jest will savor but of shallow wit. When thousands weep more than did laugh at it." (1.2: 295-297) The time for jokes and comedy seems to be over.

Henry takes to his new role with much enthusiasm and has been lauded for his bravery and knack for connecting with the common man in the various patriotic speeches before the battles. With Falstaff deceased at the beginning of the play, Bardolph hung for stealing from a church and the other "low lifes" kept at a distance, Henry is rarely challenged and exposed to mockery. He is very much isolated from any critical voices in the final play, with the exception being the commoner foot soldiers, Williams, etc., who interact and criticise him, when, he is of course in disguise, the night before the final battle at Agincourt. He also, rather randomly, pretends to be Welsh in yet another disguised conversation with Pistol.

His last extended acting role is the "cringy" interaction with Princess Katherine, where his French language skills are grossly inadequate and his courting strategy non-existent. This Henry has practically nothing in common with the wisecracking Hal of *Henry IV Part One*. Although his invasion is "successful", the peace does not last long and both foreign and civil war emerge once more during his son's (Henry VI's) reign.

Conclusion: Zelensky's triumph and Henry's failure

There are a remarkable number of parallels between Shakespeare's character of Henry V and the Ukrainian President. Volodymyr Zelensky's modest beginnings provide a foil for the wonder of his transformation into a world leader, although, as is the case with Henry, there has been cynical speculation that he has been gunning for power right from the beginning of his acting career. The fact that Henry is heir to the throne contrasts starkly, of course, with Zelensky's starting point as a Russian-speaking Jewish entertainer.

Zelensky, in contrast to Henry, took his comic team with him into politics. He did not reject his former comic colleagues, but, on the contrary, brought them

into his administration as advisors, even publicly kissing the head of his Falstaffi-an acting colleague Yevhen Koshovy on the occasion of his official inauguration.

Both leaders have successfully "pressed the flesh" and used their rhetorical skills to generate support when mixing with their soldiers on the front lines. Zelensky's impressive knowledge of languages (Russian, Ukrainian, English) is in vivid contrast, however, to Henry's awkward "wooing" of Katherine and his bumbling attempts to speak French. Olena Zelenska's prominent and active position by her husband's side is also diametrically different from Queen Katherine's submissive-ness, lack of agency and silence. Both leaders make use of their backgrounds as comedians and comics to hone and perfect their leadership and marketing skills. With Henry's invasion of France, however, their paths radically diverge.

Harold C. Goddard comments on the transition Henry undergoes in the plays as follows:

> Now Henry had a marvelous chance to begin being such an ideal ruler. He was obviously endowed by nature with a spirit of good fellowship. He had an imaginative genius for a teacher. He had the opportunity of a king. He ought to have taught all England to play. But what did he do? Instead of leading his kingdom first to justice under the spirit of the Chief Justice and then to good-fellowship under the spirit of Falstaff, he led it to war under the ghost of his father. (Goddard, 210-211)

This potential ideal outcome could very much be applied to Zelensky and the actual result (the invasion of another sovereign country) could be, at least in my reading, a description of the current invasion of Ukraine. Henry becomes very much everything he has previously mocked, with his rhetoric in *Henry V* closely resembling the macho posturing of Hotspur in *Henry IV Part One*. The rejection of Falstaff (the jester, who cuts through all the pompous pretense) seemingly leads to a loss of self-awareness, loss of self-criticism, loss of play, the ability to laugh at and mock oneself. By banishing Falstaff and eventually executing his cronies, Henry loses touch with his comic side, the part of him which would allow himself to be humbled, to be mocked, to be taken down a step and which would (I hope) have given him second thoughts about pursuing such a blood-thirsty, brutal policy in France. While Henry, with the cynical help of his church leaders, claims a highly shaky right to the French throne, Putin justifies the war

with Ukraine with convoluted explanations, concerning the legitimacy of na-
tionhood, the presence of so-called "fascists" who need to be rooted out, etc.
Although traditionally celebrated as an iconic English King, Henry V is arguably
just the opposite. His comic apprenticeship provides him with a number of use-
ful skills, which are, unfortunately, disappointingly used to invade "the vasty
fields of France" (Prologue: 12).

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Escaping the Women's Sphere in Neo-Victorian Fiction

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Abstract: This article looks at two turn-of-the-century neo-Victorian works – *Tipping the Velvet* (1998) by Sarah Waters and *Dan Leno and the Limehouse Golem* (1994) by Peter Ackroyd. Both novels offer a detailed depiction of cross-dressing and theatre in the latter part of the nineteenth century and its effects on the main characters. The article analyses each work individually to sufficiently examine significant relationships and their impact on the main heroines' character formation. Furthermore, it looks at gender performativity in the Victorian setting and the unique environment of the music halls. As demonstrated, the examined characters achieve liberation by occupying both male and female spheres and by refusing to propagate the strict rules encompassing gender binaries. As a result, both characters are able to freely explore their possibilities while wearing male clothes and arrive at a more authentic and well-rounded image of who they are.

Keywords: neo-Victorian literature, cross-dressing, Sarah Waters, Peter Ackroyd, music halls

Introduction

Neo-Victorian literature carries within it the inherent need to transform and reinterpret the past in order to free its characters from the stifling rules of the nineteenth century. As a result, the predetermined roles are abandoned in favour of nonconformity and, in some cases, deviancy that reflects the interests of the contemporary reader. The portrayal of underdeveloped, ostracised, and overlooked characters is the observable characteristic of many novels written after the second half of the twentieth century and the novels written at the turn of the millennium, which this article discusses, also continue in this tradition. *Tipping the Velvet* (1998) by Sarah Waters and *Dan Leno and the Limehouse Golem* (1994) by Peter Ackroyd give voice to Victorian women who refuse to embody

limiting roles prescribed to them by society. Instead, the main characters go on a journey to self-discovery that centres around their transformation aided by cross-dressing and theatre.

Judith Butler, in her book *Gender Trouble,* observes that it is "impossible to separate out 'gender' from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained" (2002, 6). Gender is commonly viewed as a social construct, adhering to an arguably skewed and limited understanding of what belongs in the category of feminine or masculine. Like many other theorists, Butler is against limiting gender binaries, using their performative functions as a reflection of unstable and changeable opinions throughout history. Additionally, phenomenological and feminist theories acknowledge that "the acts by which gender is constituted bear similarities to performative acts within theatrical contexts" (Butler 1988, 521). However, it is worth noting that there is a marked difference between the formed and self-aware performance on the stage and the internalised acts that constitute one's gender. In the theatre, all the acts and roles can come into question; thus, the characters' formation and actions are disseminated, together with the ideals behind their roles. Consequently, the theatre environment allows the exploration of the norms imposed on individuals off the stage.

Theatre represents a relatively safe space for anyone who diverges from the arbitrary standard. Therefore, it is also an ideal setting for a neo-Victorian novel exploring the margins of society and the refusal to follow predetermined roles. This article illustrates how performance permits the discussed characters to occupy both male and female spheres. By refusing the limiting binaries, the heroines in both novels draw attention to deeper issues of the era in which they live and the freedoms gained by their transgressions.

Entering the Stage and the Streets in *Tipping the Velvet*

In her neo-Victorian trilogy, which debuted with *Tipping the Velvet*, Sarah Waters portrays women who gradually grow tired of hiding who they are. The main protagonist in the 1998 work is a young woman Nancy Astley, who undergoes a transformation from an ordinary Victorian girl into an unapologetic transgressor of the oppressive rules during her early adulthood. Nancy, or Nan, belongs in the category Kathleen Renk calls "female rogues" or "gender outlaws" since her portrayal outwardly challenges as well as highlights "the limitations placed on women's social, economic, and public roles, while demonstrating how

women's lives have been circumscribed by these imposed limitations" (2020, 92). Throughout the book, the main character's appearance, interests and experiences continuously draw attention to the importance of breaking the rules that, arguably, should not have been imposed on her in the first place.

Nancy emphasises her plainness at the beginning of the novel. She describes herself as "a slender, white-faced, unremarkable-looking girl, … [with] her lips continually moving to the words of some street-singer's or music-hall song" (Waters 1999, 4). Waters depicts an ordinary young woman who should not be viewed as someone whose subsequent behaviour is deviant. The narrative also immediately points to one of Nancy's most significant passions – the music halls. The main heroine enjoys her passive, voyeuristic role from the audience, where she can observe the braver and more outspoken performers. Nevertheless, as the story continues, her need to discover who she truly is and find a place where she can grow and thrive pushes her towards more risky and active roles.

Several people play a crucial role in the development of Nancy's character. While some shape her towards secrecy and shame, others show her that the world will never accept her unless she learns to love herself. The person who helps to initiate Nancy's transformation is a male impersonator Kitty Butler,

> who signals to Nan that it is possible for her not only to access the stage but also to experience same-sex love and desire, and thus Kitty makes two seemingly unavailable realms accessible to Nan. (Koolen 2010, 379)

Kitty becomes a symbol of freedom and exploration in the eyes of the young and inexperienced main heroine; however, as the two women grow closer, Nancy realises that behind the performance and confidence, Kitty is yet another woman who fears outwardly transgressing the Victorian rules.

Kitty's performance on the stage consists of a "masher act" where she dresses as a man and sings suggestive songs. Nancy admires this show, and Kitty's appearance also shocks and attracts her. While the short hair typically suggests that women "had spent time in hospital or prison; or they were mad" (Waters 1999, 12), Kitty is "like a very pretty boy, for her face was oval, and her eyes were large and dark at the lashes, and her lips were rosy and full" (13). There is nothing upsetting or scary about Kitty's looks. On the contrary, Nancy's description makes it clear that the unusual features can still be appreciated and admired.

The otherness is portrayed as beautiful and captivating, reinforcing the view that there is no place for discriminatory opinions.

It is because of Kitty that one of the most significant turning points in the novel takes place. When Nancy and Kitty become a cross-dressing masher duo, their performance further arouses Nancy's hidden sexuality and leads to a romantic relationship between the two women. As Rachel Wood notes:

> The space of the theater is an iconic one in this novel, acting as a microcosm of a city space that permits Nan's playfulness with identity and her subversive pleasure in passing off a variety of identities. (Wood 2013, 309)

Their performance is enjoyed both by the oblivious audience as well as the Victorian "toms" looking for a role model. "Waters emphasizes the erotic thrill that Nan and Kitty receive from cross-dressing" (Koolen 2010, 380). However, while Kitty limits the male clothes to the stage, Nancy, having experienced the transformation through the male attire, cannot restrict her masculine endeavours the same way.

The Victorian music halls are a unique space for the performers whose transgressions on the stage are welcomed. However, as Patricia O'Hara points out in her study of a Victorian journal *The Music Hall and Theatre Review*, it was crucial to "stress the artiste's off-stage domesticity and modesty – qualities not in evidence in the performances of women who took center stage in the music hall" (1997, 141). Performers such as Kitty and Nancy are allowed to portray the other sphere under the condition that their femininity permeates their lives outside the theatre. Additionally, the publications from the Victorian era made sure to divide yet also find ways of "reconciling the public male impersonator with the private, 'essentially feminine' woman" (O'Hara 1997, 148). Thus, in Waters's novel, Nancy's self-expression and stage clothing are controlled by the more repressed and cautious Kitty. Nancy is only allowed to wear male clothes that do not cross over from theatricality to authenticity. The main heroine herself points this out when she, while in her stage outfit, is "clad not exactly as a boy but, rather confusingly, as the boy [she] would have been, had [she] been more of a girl" (Waters 1999, 120). She is expected to make it clear with her makeup and feminine curves that she is still a woman and not someone who belongs to the male sphere. As a result, the depiction of femininity follows the traditional path in which feminine traits are associated with visible features of the body (Butler 2011, 6-7).

Consequently, while with Kitty, Nancy "is not to be read as threatening the binary between female and male because she is just temporarily performing masculinity for the audience's entertainment" (Koolen 2010, 380). Furthermore, since Kitty struggles between being true to herself and continuing the Victorian farce, the impersonator is split between her public and private roles, and she "is not comfortable with the potentially dissident implications of her and Nan's double act" (Wood 2013, 310). In the end, Kitty portrays a male entertainer on the stage and also follows the rules pointed out by O'Hara.

On the other hand, as Jeanette King writes, Nancy is described as a transgressor of "gender boundaries both sexually and professionally, taking on the so-called masculine traits in order to become [a] 'New Wom[a]n'" (2005, 132). She and the other heroines of the neo-Victorian genre "court 'deviance' in order to further their own evolution, ignoring the social imperative of marriage and the evolutionary imperative of maternity" (132). Because of this, Kitty cannot become the story's main character since she pursues heteronormative marriage and motherhood to fit in. Furthermore, she describes her initial attraction to Nancy as something she should not feel, and when Nancy tries to open their lives to more people like them, Kitty immediately draws a line between them and "toms".

Such different viewpoints signal that the relationship between the two women cannot continue. Their break-up forces Nancy to start over; however, she finds herself "in a city that favoured sweethearts and gentlemen; a girl in a city where girls walked only to be gazed at" (Waters 1999, 191). Being a Victorian woman is very limiting, and once, walking unchaperoned, Nancy has to face the criticism of her surroundings.

> Women may have had increased freedoms to *use* particular areas
> of the city in specific ways, but to wander through the streets with-
> out purpose is still potentially problematic behaviour for a woman,
> as public visibility is implicitly mapped onto sexual availability.
> (Wood 2013, 311)

Therefore, the idea of dressing as a man in public is born out of necessity. This time, Nancy does not want to keep a hint of femininity, nor does she avoid altogether crossing over to the male sphere. What Nancy desires at that moment is to become invisible. However, this decision carries with itself a considerable danger since "there are no theatrical conventions to delimit the purely imaginary

character of the act, indeed, on the street …, there is no presumption that the act is distinct from a reality" (Butler 1988, 527). Therefore, Nancy must ensure that she subdues her femininity in order to become a believable man, and her embodiment must fulfil both the perceivable and internalised conditions.

This endeavour proves to be successful; nevertheless, Nancy soon realizes that although she is able to avoid the scrutiny, there are new gazes pointed her way she has not noticed before. By dressing as a man, Nancy unknowingly enters the world of prostitutes/renters. The attention comes from men whose vocabulary and body language has been carefully crafted to ensure greater safety and avoid misunderstandings between the ones in the know. Nancy decides to become one of them as well, which is a decision influenced by her need to be in control. As a renter, she never reveals her gender; instead, she plays the part of a male homosexual prostitute. The main heroine compares this impersonation to her career on the stage. However, the one distinction she makes is the lack of an audience, which she regrets at times:

> I would gaze about me at the dim and dreary place in which my gentleman and I leaned panting, and wish the cobbles were a stage, the bricks a curtain, the scuttling rats a set of blazing footlights. I would long for just one eye - just one! - to be fixed upon our couplings: a bold and knowing eye that saw how well I played my part, how gulled and humbled was my foolish, trustful partner. (Waters 206)

This creates an interesting contrast between her initial decision to wear male clothes in the streets and her new profession. Yet, once again, what the main heroine emphasises is her own agency and control over the situation. She does not want to be gazed upon by those who would deem her as a transgressor; instead, dressed as a man, Nancy "broaden(s) the social and sexual boundaries imposed on females" (Renk 2020, 116). Ultimately, Nancy wants her imagined audience to appreciate her transformation as well as her seizure of power.

The Rich and the Poor in *Tipping the Velvet*

Nancy embodies numerous roles during her young adulthood. After leaving Kitty and the theatre and after learning more about the lives of lower-class Victorian prostitutes, she also becomes a companion of a wealthy upper-class widow,

Diana Lethaby. Georges Letissier describes Diana as "a wealthy, childless wid-ow, … [who] affords a first instance of an iconoclastic alternative to the Victo-rian society's ordinary ways and rules" (2011, 384). The society in which Diana spends her time is full of older women whose fortunes allow them to indulge in societal taboos.

With the taboos removed, Nancy sees her relationship with Diana as trans-actional. Although she can never ignore her emotions entirely, Nancy overlooks Diana's more minor transgressions and abusive behaviour to enjoy the comforts of her company. Diana showers her new lover with gifts, and the ones that Nan-cy treasures the most are the male clothes, which the main heroine describes in great detail. Still, this relationship cannot last because of Diana's control. Nan-cy is treated as an object, a plaything in the eyes of the older woman. As Nancy points out: "it became a kind of sport with her, to put me in a new costume and have me walk before her guests, or among them, filling glasses, lighting cigarettes" (Waters 1999, 280). Unlike Nancy or even Kitty, Diana does not have to worry about repercussions because of her high social standing.

The world Diana opens up to Nancy is "antisocial [and] anti-familial" (Letis-sier 2011, 385). In an attempt to transgress the rules, it also refuses the structures the main heroine seeks. To Nancy, cross-dressing has a more profound signifi-cance which, while living in this upper-class bubble, starts to lose its meaning. Her clothing reflects luxury and compliance, while before, it embodied the main character's desire to understand herself and seek control over her circumstanc-es. The cross-dressing turns into an empty performance that no longer directly fights "to expose the tenuousness of gender 'reality' in order to counter the vi-olence performed by gender norms" (Butler, 2002 xxiii). Nancy's place in this world is also questioned since Diana does not let her form meaningful relation-ships or familial bonds. The Sapphist upper-class revels in "scandal-mongering, aphorisms, and grotesquely hyperbolic comments" (Letissier 2011, 385). Thus, just like the clothes become more outlandish and inauthentic, so does the main character's behaviour which undergoes a drastic change that greatly contrasts with the heroine that has been depicted so far.

In the last part of the novel, Nancy struggles to regain her power when she moves in with political activists and siblings Florence and Ralph Banner. This move introduces yet another world to the young protagonist, who, despite being far removed from the innocent fishmonger's daughter she used to be, is still ignorant about the lives of the working class in London. Nancy feels excluded

from the conversation, and every time the Banners talk politics with their visitors, she compares her marginality to that at Diana's house. Adding that "at least they [Diana's friends] had liked to look at me. At Florence's house, no one looked at me at all" (Waters 1999, 378). This observation emphasises the main heroine's relationship with performance. At Banners household, she is unsure of her role. She hides her sexuality in fear of being shunned, and her lack of understanding of current affairs makes her feel isolated and inconsequential.

As a result of her unremarkableness in the lives of Florence and Ralph, Nancy once again tries to adjust her behaviour and discover what her new role is. Additionally, the feminine and uncomfortable clothes she initially wears also show this struggle. It is only after Nancy puts on more masculine outfits that she finds the confidence to be more genuine around her new acquaintances. Nancy also realises that the years of dressing up in male clothes have altered her appearance:

> The truth was, I had looked awful ever since leaving St John's Wood; and now, in a flowery frock, I only looked extraordinarily awful. The clothes I had bought, they were the kind I'd used to wear in Whitstable and with Kitty; and I seemed to remember that I had been known then as a handsome enough girl. But it was as if wearing gentlemen's suits had magically unfitted me for girlishness, for ever - as if my jaw had grown firmer, my brows heavier, my hips slimmer and my hands extra large, to match the clothes Diana had put me in. (Waters 1999, 381)

The inner transformation Nancy has undergone during her formation years in London manifests itself in her appearance. However, this change is not unwanted or refused by the main heroine, who does not want to return to her old life and clothes. When Nancy starts wearing trousers again, no one seems to care. She is not seen as a transgressor since, in the poor parts of the city, "it was a luxury to have any sort of clothes," and women often wore "their husbands' jackets" (Waters 1999, 407). Cheryl Wilson also observes that after Nancy becomes romantically involved with Florence Banner, she is finally able to "begin[] the painful separation of her sexual identity from her music hall performances" (2006, 302). Florence does not take part in the pretence and role-switching that Nancy has previously employed. Thus, the main heroine finally appears to be en route to an even deeper acceptance of herself and a move away from the performative acts she did to protect herself.

Therefore, by the end of the novel, Nancy Astley becomes a confident character who refuses to hide her desires. The transition greatly contrasts with the young girl introduced at the novel's beginning. As Louisa Yates observes, with Florence, "Nan defines a contemporary family of choice in a nineteenth-century setting, a family in which the roles are constantly negotiated" (2011, 106). Comfortable and meaningful clothes are a significant part of the heroine's journey, who finally starts seeing her outfits as an extension of herself. The refusal of long hair, flowy dresses and feminine roles complete the image of an individual who does not subscribe to the limiting gender rules. Instead, she shapes the world according to her needs.

Religion and Theatre in *Dan Leno and the Limehouse Golem*

The other novel discussed in this article shares many similarities with Waters's work. *Dan Leno and the Limehouse Golem* by Peter Ackroyd depicts a woman who also refuses to follow the limiting rules of the era. Instead, the main heroine Elizabeth Cree breaks as many rules and laws as possible in her quest for self-exploration and self-expression. As Petr Chalupský observes, London seems to be the perfect place for the novel due to "its two faces: the official, public, rational city and the unofficial, hidden, shadowy city" (2016, 69). This also describes the main heroine, who revises her roles according to her needs. She is able to reveal more about her true nature when she pretends to be a man, whether it is in writing or her costume, which becomes a significant part of the exploration of her identity. The novel deals with the issues of societal rules, expected roles and gender identity, and it does not fail to shock the reader with its gruesome depictions of murders and abuse. The narrative alternates between court proceedings, Elizabeth's narration and her husband's diary entries. However, as it is revealed at the end of the novel, the diary entries are also written by Elizabeth, who fabricates them to frame her husband for her murders.

Elizabeth does not have a solid family background, so she finds refuge in the music halls. The unique environment that accepts people from various walks of life attracts the main heroine, who is still searching for a place in the world. Coming from a religious background, Elizabeth considers the halls as an acceptable alternative to going to church. The fact that "many of these halls and little theatres were once chapels and churches" (Ackroyd 2007, 68) validates her interest even more, and just like her mother is obsessed with the church, Elizabeth indulges in her love of the performance arts. Patricia Pulham writes that

"[t]he novel makes use of the underlying theme of London's Victorian Music Halls to destabilize gender, identity, and sexuality, while simultaneously staging its own textual 'theatre' of voices" (2009, 162). The main character is able to experience a sense of community after joining the performers. Additionally, she encounters an environment where "[a] woman's voice was always heard" (Ackroyd 2007, 225), significantly contrasting with the world outside the theatre.

Elizabeth's dissatisfaction with her life, as well as her hatred for her abusive mother, are important aspects in the formation of her character. She is motivated to get as far away from her past as possible, and her roles and costumes on the stage aid this transformation. Maureen Moran points out that even during the late Victorian era, "identity for many still depended on traditional moral and religious principles and codes of social conduct" (2006, 3). What was preferred was conventionality, normalcy, and obedience; however, the outfits Elizabeth puts on offer new possibilities and roles she gladly takes on.

The transformation that Elizabeth undergoes on the stage already shows that after she becomes the character called Little Victor's Daughter, or later the character of the Older Brother, she transcends the reality in which she exists and becomes consumed by the role:

> It was as if I had some other personality which walked out from my body every time I stood in the glare of the gas, and sometimes she even surprised me with her slangster rhymes and cockney stuff. She had her own clothes by now — a battered bonnet, long skirt and big boots suited her best — and, as I slowly put them on, she began to appear. Sometimes she was uncontrollable, (Ackroyd 2007, 106-107)

In the passage, she addresses her role in the third person because she acknowledges the uniqueness and individuality of each persona she embodies. She enjoys becoming someone else as she can escape the "firmly policed … boundaries of 'normal' identity with respect to gender and sexuality" (Moran 2006, 4). Initially, the character of an innocent girl is enough to keep Elizabeth occupied; however, she soon realizes that it is very restricting: "She was just too sweet, and I longed to kill her off by some violent action" (Ackroyd 2007, 150). Little Victor's Daughter still has to follow the limiting rules of the era, therefore, not allowing Elizabeth to indulge in pretence and further possibilities fully. Susana Onega notes that what follows is a much more liberating role in which Elizabeth assumes "her first

transexual impersonation" (2011, 289). The part of the Older Brother makes her feel "above them all" as "she can change [herself] at will" (Ackroyd 2007, 153). Furthermore, Elizabeth likes the fact that everyone knows she is portraying the part of Little Victor's Daughter and her brother: "I could be girl and boy, man and woman, without any shame" (153). The sense of superiority that stems from her dressing up strengthens the argument that crossing from one sphere to another gives Elizabeth more opportunities, and she becomes freer.

Elizabeth thus outwardly transgresses the public rules within the theatre space that offers her protection.

> In the theatre, one can say, 'this is just an act,' and de-realize the act, make acting into something quite distinct from what is real. Because of this distinction, one can maintain one's sense of reality in the face of this temporary challenge to our existing ontological assumptions about gender and arrangements. (Butler 1988, 527)

O'Hara also points to the discussion of gender that occurred at the turn of the century. As she writes: "the conception of gender identity as essential and inherent was being actively contested in New Woman writings" (1997, 147). Nevertheless, as O'Hara also notes, a line was drawn between the New Women and the cross-dressers on the stage. She explains this by pointing to the artificial emphasis on the femininity of actresses who engaged in masher acts (1977, 143). What, however, might be derived from this is also an attempt to protect the act on the stage and silence the critics who could question its morality and possible effects on the performers and the established order.

Benjamin Poore also notes that cross-dressing is a significant motif in neo-Victorian literature, viewed

> as a means of self-liberation and self-discovery for Victorian women whose movements and behaviour are otherwise rigorously proscribed and surveilled. This is another characteristic move of neo-Victorianism, of course: to subject Victorian certainties to modern (feminist and/or queer) scrutiny, and to find that, in terms of modern identity politics, it is the Victorian orthodoxy that is deviant, and the 'villainous' or 'unspeakable' behaviour quite natural or explicable. (2017, 23)

Thus, as Poore points out, it is the otherness and all the idiosyncrasies of these characters that are celebrated by the modern reader and viewer. Both Waters and Ackroyd dress their heroines in male clothes to showcase the significant transformation that ensues. Elizabeth's change is all the more extreme once she becomes a cross-dressing serial murderess. Nevertheless, this change reflects the neo-Victorian desire to free its characters from nineteenth-century boundaries. Elizabeth moves on from the overlooked marshes, where she grows up unnoticed and uncared for, to the limelight of the music halls. Nevertheless, besides representing the often overlooked and unusual, Scott Freer points to another crucial aspect of this genre which is embodying "the grotesque 'Other' of a Victorian criminal underworld" (2008/2009, 52). Elizabeth's role, which surpasses all expectations, is that of the feared Limehouse Golem. Her murderous spree results in much more significant infamy than on the stage, and Elizabeth closely follows and revels in the discourse surrounding her crimes.

In neo-Victorian works, unconventional characters are often restricted to the margins. They are scrutinized and judged; however, in Ackroyd's novel, Elizabeth is able to protect her position within society by what Pulham describes as "shape-shifting" (2009, 166). Her public roles include an innocent girl and, later on, a respectable married woman. Unlike Waters's heroine Nancy King, who goes through a series of transformations in order to arrive at an authentic version of herself, Elizabeth parodies the gender divide. Butler describes this act as "the parodic inhabiting of conformity that subtly calls into question the legitimacy of the command" (2011, 82). The main character consciously mimics weakness and innocence in front of others despite being capable of caring for herself. She is aware of not fitting into the predetermined mould; nevertheless, her transgressions are more calculated and thought out. As a result, "gender is an act which has been rehearsed" (Butler 1988, 526) by the main heroine. Elizabeth has had years of experience observing the world and learning the customs she is expected to follow. While on the stage, her performance is protected, and her wrongdoings outside the theatre are disguised with the help of costumes and calculated acts.

In order to understand the main heroine better, it is necessary to examine the complicated relationship with her mother. In Elizabeth's own words, she was an

> only child, and always an unloved one … the bitter fruit of her [mother's] womb, the outward sign of her inward corruption, the token of her lust and the symbol of her fall. (Ackroyd 2007, 11)

Elizabeth's upbringing is abusive and strict. Her mother sees her as a daily reminder of her own moral fall and her failure to embody "the Victorian feminine ideal … [of a] highly idealised … woman as disembodied, spiritual and, above all, chaste" (King 2005, 10). Elizabeth's mother becomes obsessed with religion to save her corrupt soul; however, she is also convinced that because her daughter was born out of wedlock, she is "the sign of the devil" (Ackroyd 2007, 50). Additionally, the fact she is a girl predisposes her to further sin and shame. In the novel, Elizabeth recounts some of the abuse she had to face:

> There is a place between my legs which my mother loathed and cursed — when I was very little she would pinch it fiercely, or prick it with her needle, in order to teach me that it was the home of pain and punishment. (13)

Thus, it is understandable that Elizabeth seeks refuge in male clothes to escape the judgement and pain associated with her gender. This abuse leads to deep-rooted issues with her intimacy as well as her disdain for fallen women. Elizabeth is another victim of the Victorian belief that "the female body is always the potential source of deviance, particularly of sexual deviance" (King 2005, 67). As a consequence, when she becomes the Limehouse Golem, she murders prostitutes, women who sell their bodies, and therefore commit the ultimate sin Elizabeth has been warned about since childhood. The worst offence in her eyes, instilled in her by her mother, is losing innocence and succumbing to primal desires. She considers the women she murders to be weak – they represent the limiting idea of a woman reduced to the margins of society as the weaker sex who give themselves to men. Their surrender is another offence in the main character's eyes, and the fact that she murders other women while wearing male clothes creates a further void between her and their spheres.

Surpassing the Margins in *Dan Leno and the Limehouse Golem*

The variety of forms, personas and rules Elizabeth embodies throughout the novel illustrate her unique journey to self-discovery. As Adrienne Rich argues: "this drive for self-knowledge, for woman, is more than a search for identity: it is part of her refusal of the self-destructiveness of male-dominated society" (1972, 18). Elizabeth's roles as the Older Brother and the Limehouse Golem

further help to uncover some of her motives. However, it is important to note that the information about her performative murders is only accessible through the diary entries fabricated under her husband's name. As a result, the main character once again portrays a man, and through these diary entries, her thoughts become accessible.

As the reader learns, the diary entries supposedly written by John Cree are "*preserved in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum*" (Ackroyd 2007, 24, original emphasis). They become evidence, just like the reports of the trial. Elizabeth, therefore, achieves the fame she had desired during her acting days, and her writing can be found among other books and documents written about and for men. Rich notes that "every woman writer has written for men" (1972, 20), and Elizabeth not only achieves this but also is perceived as one. Onega goes on to aptly analyse the meaning behind Elizabeth's writing:

> The fact that she kept a different record for each type of murder, signing one with a female and the other with a male name, situates the origin of her murderous behaviour in the presumed cultural divide that ascribes women to the private sphere and men to the public one. At the same time, the fact that the private and public murders run parallel to each other points to Elizabeth's self-fragmentation, pinpointed by her transformation from slum-born poor and illegitimate child to music-hall comedian, middle-class married woman and phantasmal Limehouse Golem. (2011, 276)

The public murders are the ones she commits in male clothes, under the guise of the Limehouse Golem, for her pleasure and moral judgement. When she commits the first performative, public murder, she notes that it is "to mark [her] entrance upon the stage of the world" (Ackroyd 2007, 28). This crime moves Elizabeth from the limited private sphere to the public one, allowing her greater freedom of expression.

When Elizabeth is finally tried for her crimes, it is not for the murders of the Limehouse Golem nor some of the murders she has done without the costume, but the poisoning of her husband. The possibility of Elizabeth committing hideous murders is described as impossible by her legal defence. All that is necessary to make this judgement is her appearance and gender. "Just look at her. Does she seem to you a monster incarnate, a veritable terror, as Mr. Greatorex has

implied? On the contrary, I see all the womanly virtues in her face. I see loyal-
ty, and chastity, and piety" (Ackroyd 2007, 158). The word "womanly" is used
as a justifiable argument, the representation of good and innocent, gentle and
obedient. A woman, in Mr. Lister's eyes, but also in the eyes of the general pop-
ulace of that time, was born with specific virtues that predisposed her to a life
of submission. Even her last character is dressed all in white for her execution.
The virginal white, connected with innocence and purity, is the last time Eliza-
beth attempts to be perceived as someone else.

The numerous characters and roles Elizabeth Cree portrays during her life
are significant in discovering herself. When she becomes the murderess or the
respectable wife, she achieves more freedom than other women as she is not re-
stricted by just one of these portrayals. On the contrary, with every new costume
change and every new character she introduces, Elizabeth revises her life. When
she becomes the Limehouse Golem, she surpasses the description of a man and
becomes a creature, a monster, a supernatural being that transcends the limits
of gender binaries. Wandering through the dark streets of London, Elizabeth
experiences "liberating escapes from the restraints of … convention" (Chalup-
ský 2016, 196). She herself acknowledges this superiority and sees herself as the
rightful judge. While she is not the heroine of the Victorian era but rather a de-
viant murderess, she does embody the qualities of a neo-Victorian heroine who
refuses to be reduced to only the "other" and the periphery.

Conclusion

Both discussed novels portray female characters who refuse only to embody
a limiting role of a Victorian woman. "Nancy's cross-dressing onstage as a male
impersonator and offstage as a male prostitute drives the narrative" (Emmens
2009, 139). Similarly, Elizabeth's switching between various roles makes the nov-
el distinctively neo-Victorian. Both women's path to self-realisation is achieved
through their love of music halls and performance. While Nancy is viewed
as a transgressor of the rules due to her sexuality, Elizabeth becomes a criminal
with a warped idea of justice.

These novels challenge the limiting depiction of gender as a strict and total
binary, and instead, through contesting Victorian certainties, the main charac-
ters manage to embody more than just Victorian women. Music halls repre-
sent a space where transgressions are allowed and nurtured, while the streets

of London present a further challenge to the preconceived notions that started to be questioned by the end of the nineteenth century.

As it has been illustrated with excerpts from Butler's works on the performativity of gender, the depiction of crossing from one sphere to another contributes to the discussion of gender being a social construct formed and upheld by society. Both neo-Victorian heroines uncover the inherent artificiality of pretending to be someone they are not, yet, at the same time, performance becomes the common link that frees them from the constraints of the era and their gender. Thus, Waters and Ackroyd join the ranks of other neo-Victorian authors whose works reflect the need to revisit and rescue forgotten voices that are still relevant now.

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Principles of Mood Selection in Psalm 20: A Diachronic Study on Psalm Translations from Old to Late Modern English

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Abstract: The paper analyses verbal structures employed in 16 translations of Psalm 20 coming from Old, Middle, Early Modern and Late Modern English periods, spanning over ten centuries, with a view to determining the principles of mood selection in each of the psalter translations and observing any diachronic shifts in this respect. The major finding of the study is that grammatical choices seem to lie at the intersection of language change and the type of translation aimed at by the translators rather than reside in the source text underlying the rendition. The changes in the grammatical structure of the language inevitably surface in the text of the translation unless they are blocked by the overriding principle of formal faithfulness to the original, resulting in such marked choices as adherence to the subjunctive in main clauses in a Late Modern English rendition. The paper is a preliminary step in a larger diachronic study of the subjunctive in English and its findings suggest that it is possible to investigate the change in mood selection also on the basis of linguistic material gathered in biblical translations.

Keywords: English, mood, psalter, subjunctive, translation

1 Introduction

The use of (predominantly mandative) subjunctive has in recent decades become a subject of multiple studies, especially those juxtaposing its synchronic use in varieties of English from across the globe.[2] Sadly, the recently observed renaissance of the

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1   I would like to express my profound gratitude to the anonymous reviewer of this paper for their most helpful corrections and insightful comments on this paper. These have greatly contributed to the paper and improved its final shape.

2   To mention only a few well-known studies on the topic: Turner (1980) investigated the subjunctive in British English; Övergaard (1995), Crawford (2009), Hundt *et al*. (2009), Kjellmer (2009), and Waller (2017) in British and American English, Peters (1998) in Australian English. Recently, attention has been drawn to the use of the subjunctive in other varieties of English: see for instance Hundt (2018) and Deshors and Gries (2020). For the investigation of the use of the subjunctive in non-mandative context, see: Auer (2008), Schlüter (2009).

subjunctive[3] has attracted much less diachronic interest: Moessner (2020) is the only book-length diachronic study covering the history of the subjunctive in English from Old English to Early Modern English.[4] Therefore, still a lot remains to be done, especially when it comes to the analysis of actual texts as opposed to the data obtained from various corpora.[5] This paper is a preliminary step aimed at filling this gap.[6]

The objective of the present study is to investigate the patterns of distribution of the subjunctive in opposition to other constructions in Psalm 20 across 16 psalter translations in OE, ME, eMnE and lMnE, four from each period. Although wide-cast diachronically, the study is conducted on a text consisting of only ca. 170 words. Therefore, the conclusions drawn from this research need, perforce, to be formulated with caution. Due to the specificity of the type of text selected for the analysis, the findings should, nevertheless, shed some light on the possible influence of the source text on mood selection in translations of biblical texts, which are considered to adhere more closely to the original than it is the case in other types of renditions. The text selected for this purpose is Psalm 20, where the majority of sentences are simple clauses linked by means of coordination and the use of subordination is very limited. Considering that the gradual decrease in the use of the subjunctive observed from OE onwards was quite conspicuous in main clauses, the use of the subjunctive in these in later periods could be indicative of the endeavour to stay close to the source text. Whether this is the case will become apparent in the course of the study.

The methodological approach adopted in this study and a brief diachronic account of the use of the subjunctive in English presented in Section 2 of the paper should be sufficient to sketch the background against which to view the results obtained in the study. I treat each of the texts analysed in this paper independently and hence provide their concise descriptions, especially in terms of their adherence to the source text. At the same time, to preclude showing too narrow a picture, I measure overall preferences in each of the periods (to the extent that it is possible in the scope of this paper). All of this is given in the

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3   Not all researchers agree as to the actual renaissance of the mandative subjunctive. See Kastronic and Poplack (2014) for an example of a paper contesting this phenomenon. The paper, however, is not without its problems.

4   One cannot omit to mention Visser (1966 [1972]) who in his historical account of English syntax discusses the subjunctive, illustrating its use in 57 contexts in each of the periods with a set of representative quotations.

5   While the advantages of the use of corpus data for linguistic analysis are multiple and undeniable, it is also true that such studies have limitations of their own as it is common practice to discard all data (multiple *that*-clauses, and coordinated structures) that cannot be searched automatically (Serpollet 2001, 536).

6   In Lis (in prep.) I will offer a diachronic study of the use of the subjunctive across four major periods in the history of English on a selection of 20 texts of five different types.

subsections of Section 3: 3.1 for Old English (OE), 3.2 for Middle English (ME), 3.3 for Early Modern English (eMnE), and 3.4 for Late Modern English (lMnE) periods. Section 3.5 gathers and compares all the data both synchronically and diachronically. Finally, Section 4 offers some tentative conclusions.

2 Methodology

For the purposes of this analysis I have selected four translations of Psalm 20 from each of the four main periods in the history of English, i.e. OE, ME, eMnE and lMnE, which gave me in total 16 renditions to examine. Psalm 20 counts only nine verses and consists of approximately 170 words, which translates into a corpus of 2,720 words. The textual data were obtained either through transcription (from manuscripts or original printed texts) or through consulting, where available, reliable editions of the texts in question.[7] Within the analysed text, 22 clauses can be distinguished,[8] giving a total of 352 clauses for the whole corpus. Each clause was examined in terms of mood and grammatical form. The identification of the subjunctive was based on strictly formal criteria, and thus in the contexts where ambiguity between forms arose (cf. Section 3.2), they were classified as ambiguous, instead of being assigned to either the subjunctive or indicative on the basis of their semantic component. This decision was dictated by the need to maximise the transparency of the data presented numerically.[9]

This approach is encapsulated by a reworked definition based on that offered for the first time in Lis (2021, 56):

> The subjunctive is a mood realised by means of the subjunctive form, as long as it was available, and the so-called "plain form" (Aarts 2011) later on in the present tense or *were* in the past, functioning in competition with "other constructions" even if on a limited scale, used to convey non-factual information, "an action or a state as conceived (and not as a fact)." (OED)

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7   Precise information as to the source for each of the analysed texts can be found in Section 3.

8   This is the number of clauses in the Latin text, which is, as will be explained in Section 3, the source for the majority of the translations. In order to analyse exclusively these contexts, which are present in all the texts, I decided to limit the study to these 22 clauses common to all the translations.

9   Certainly, many researchers, e.g. Johansson and Norheim (1988) and Övergaard (1995), would adhere to semantic criteria in order to argue the use of the subjunctive in certain contexts, in which, due to the use of the forms in 1st and 2nd person, it is formally impossible to prove its employment, but this is not the approach adopted here.

The parts of the definitions enclosed in square brackets are my additions, necessary in order to render it applicable to this diachronic study. In particular, prior to eMnE, inflectional endings still served to differentiate subjunctive forms from the indicative and imperative in these earliest periods of the history of English. The endings ultimately disappeared later in the ME period, rendering positive identification of the subjunctive impossible from eMnE onwards except for the contexts in which the indicative makes use of overt inflectional endings on the verb. Therefore, the more distant the texts, the easier it is to differentiate between the subjunctive and other moods. This is depicted in Tables 1 and 2 below. In the former, I present inflectional endings for the indicative and subjunctive for each of the four periods in the history of English, setting in bold the instances in which it is possible to identify the subjunctive.

TABLE 1: Inflectional endings in indicative and subjunctive[10]

Person & number	present							
	OE		ME		eMnE		lMnE	
	strong / weak		strong / weak					
	indicative	subjunctive	indicative	subjunctive	indicative	subjunctive	indicative	subjunctive
1sg	-e	-e	-(e)	-(e)	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
2sg	-(e)st	**-e**	-(e)st	**-(e)**	-st	**-Ø**	-Ø	-Ø
3sg	-eþ	**-e**	-eth	**-(e)**	-th / -s	**-Ø**	-s	-Ø
plural	-aþ	**-en**	-e(n)	-e(n)	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
	past							
1sg	-Ø / -e	**-en / -e**	-Ø / -(e)	-(e)	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
2sg	-e/ -(e)st	**-en / -e**	-(est) / -(e)st	**-(e)**	-Ø-st	**-Ø**	-Ø	-Ø
3sg	-Ø / -e	**-en / -e**	-Ø / -(e)	-(e)	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø
plural	-on	**-en**	-e(n)	-e(n)	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø

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10   The information concerning inflectional endings comes from: Lass (1992, 134) for OE, Lass (1992, 138) for ME, and Lass (1999, 161) for eMnE.

Table 2, in turn, provides the conjugational paradigm for the verb "to be", with items in bold being distinctively subjunctive forms. Additionally, I have underlined a few forms (in the case of the indicative) for which it is possible to positively determine that the indicative and not the subjunctive is employed, but the opposite is impossible.

TABLE 2: Paradigm for the verb "to be"[11]

Person & number	present							
	OE		ME		eMnE		lMnE	
	strong / weak		strong / weak					
	indicative	subjunctive	indicative	subjunctive	indicative	subjunctive	indicative	subjunctive
1sg	eam / bēo	**sīe / bēo**	am	**be**	am	**be**	am	**be**
2sg	eart / bist	**sīe / bēo**	art	**be**	art	**be**	are	**be**
3sg	is / bið	**sīe / bēo**	is	**be**	is	**be**	is	**be**
plural	sindon, sint, (e)aron / bēoð	**sīen / bēon**	be(n) / are(n)	be(n)	be / are	be	are	**be**
	past							
1sg	wæs	**wǣr-e**	was	**were**	was	**were**	was	**were**
2sg	wǣr-e	wǣr-e	were	were	wast / wert	wert	were	were
3sg	wæs	**wǣr-e**	was	**were**	was	**were**	was	**were**
plural	wǣr-on	**wǣr-en**	were(n)	were(n)	were	were	were	were

Generally speaking, the subjunctive in OE was "used to cast some doubt on the truth of the proposition or to express obligation, desire and so forth" (Traugott 1992, 184) and was "associated with such properties as potentiality,

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11   The paradigms of the verb "to be" for OE and ME are provided after Lass (1992, 140) and Lass (1992, 141), respectively. The eMnE data come from Fillbrandt (2006, 137) for the present forms and Denison (1998, 161) and Lass (1999, 176–177) for the past.

contingency, hypothesis, conjecture, unreality, exhortation, prohibition, wishing, desiring" (Traugott 1972, 98), whereas the presence of the indicative meant that a proposition in question was (believed to be) true (Traugott 1992, 184, Molencki 2012, 305).[12] Nevertheless, as emphasised by Traugott (1972, 98 and 1992, 184), a straightforward account of the use of the two moods cannot be provided, as their application was not strictly limited to the contexts which would satisfy these criteria and reveal the attitude of the speaker.[13] Thus, the indicative could be employed in *if*-clauses and the subjunctive functioned in reported speech, expressing a fact (Traugott 1972, 100-101, and 1992, 184) since "certain verbs and certain syntactic structures favor[ed] subjunctive complements" (Traugott 1972, 98). However, this latter use was probably only possible because the subjunctive was already "semantically empty" in such clauses (Fischer and van der Wurff 2006, 143).

Importantly, the subjunctive could occur both in main and subordinate clauses. This continued in ME (Mustanoja 1960 [2016], 451-473), even though the typical environment of the subjunctive even in OE was dependent clauses, because main clauses, "where modality needed a stronger expression, already usually contained a modal verb" (Fischer and van der Wurff 2006, 142).

On the whole, the contexts for the use of subjunctive did not change in ME, but the number of subjunctive forms used in these underwent a gradual reduction, just as the external marking of the mood did. In Visser's (1966 [1972], 789) words,

> [t]he modally marked forms of the present tense go on being used
> in Middle and Modern English in almost the same cases as in Old
> English, but with a gradually diminishing frequency.

One could generalise and state that the circumstances conducive to the use of the subjunctive were still wishes and exhortations for the present subjunctive, and unrealisable wishes and hypothetical situations for the past subjunctive (Fischer 1992, 248). As regards the former, the difference (between OE and

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12 A slightly different approach is presented in von Mengden (2012, 286), who states that "[t]he indicative is the default value and the subjunctive is mainly used when the predication represents the wish of the speaker rather than a real event".

13 That such correlation was strong is not, however, in doubt and can be well observed on the basis of the use of the subjunctive with verbs of thinking which often take subjunctive complements: such verbs express subjective beliefs and opinions, not the objective truth (Traugott 1972, 101).

ME) in the use of the subjunctive in this context lies in the fact that, while in OE the subjunctive was "the prime signal of the wish," meaning that it was not introduced by any overt means indicating wishing (Traugott 1972, 99), in ME this use "survived primarily in complements of the verb *wish*, and then especially when expressing a wish contrary to fact at the time of the wish, as in *I wish he were here*" (Traugott 1972, 149). Traugott (1972, 149-150) states that traces of the use of the subjunctive remain after verbs of saying, reporting, thinking, hoping, wondering, in negative contexts and also, although "quite marked", "in the exclamatory, almost hortatory" contexts. Yet, contrary to the OE use of the subjunctive in reported speech, its application in reported affirmative statements in ME was only occasional (Mustanoja 1960 [2016], 460). This contrasts with "indirect questions, revealing the speaker's unfamiliarity with the subject of the inquiry" (Mustanoja 1960 [2016], 460) where the subjunctive was still employed (Mossé 1952 [1991], 118, Mustanoja 1960 [2016], 460).

The frequency of the use of subjunctive continued to decline throughout the eMnE period (Strang 1970, 209, Görlach 1991, 113), but its existence does not seem to have been threatened in the period (Rissanen 1999, 228, Dons 2004, 222, Cowie 2012, 609). The downward trend in the frequency seems to be related to the gradual disappearance of formal means of distinguishing of the subjunctive from the indicative (Smith 1996, 152, Rissanen 1999, 228). In fact, a concurrent increase can be observed at the time to use more analytic and thus less ambiguous periphrastic constructions (Rissanen 1999, 228).

This is not to say that the subjunctive was hardly in use in eMnE. Some researchers would even see it as "part of everyday familiar speech, even among lower-class characters" (Barber 1976 [1997], 173 and Kihlbom 1938, 262).[14] Others simply acknowledge its presence in a variety of contexts (Visser 1966 [1972], Görlach 1991, Rissanen 1999).

Strang (1970, 209) noticed a reversal of the frequency decrease trend in the use of the subjunctive in the 18th century. This is corroborated by Auer's (2009) corpus study of adverbial clauses where she observes "a rise in frequency in the second part of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century, that is, 1750-1849, which is followed by a continuous decrease until

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14   Barber (1976 [1997], 173) formulates his claim on the basis of dramatic texts in which the subjunctive is visible in the speech of people from all walks of life. The same findings are obtained by Kihlbom (1938, 262) in her study of private letters with respect to which she notes that "the subjunctive appears to have been the general rule in the colloquial language of the latter part of the 15th century".

1990" (Auer 2009, 70). As mentioned in the Introduction, recently the subjunctive has also experienced a renaissance in its mandative use.

3 Texts and data
3.1 OE
3.1.1 Presentation of texts

As I mentioned in the Introduction, four renditions of Psalm 20 will be analysed for each of the periods in the history of English. The four OE versions of Psalm 20 come from the following translations. The oldest text is the Regius Psalter (RegiusP) dated to 950-1050 and kept in the British Library in London (Royal MS 2 B V). It was most probably written in a scriptorium in Winchester (Toswell 2014, 261) and contains "an excellent version of the Roman Psalter" (Toswell 2014, 264) and high quality interlinear Anglo-Saxon glosses in which the scribe omitted all pronouns and nouns directly denoting God (Toswell 2014, 266).

Next chronologically is the Paris Psalter (ParisP) dated to 1025-1050 and kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (BnF MS Latin 8824). King Alfred's authorship of the OE translation of the first 50 psalms in this manuscript is usually accepted, although the character of this translation is at times debated.[15] In contrast to the Regius Psalter, OE rendition is presented this manuscript in a column parallel to the Latin (*Romanum*) text of the psalms.

The Cambridge Psalter (CambridgeP) is the third translation to which I resorted. The text is preserved in MS Ff.1.23 now kept in Cambridge University Library and dated to the mid-11th century. It is assumed that it was written in Winchcombe Abbey in Gloucestershire and hence the alternative name: Winchombe Psalter. In Toswell's (2014, 268) view the gloss (to Roman Psalter) as presented in this manuscript could function as a stand-alone text and the manner in which it is presented on the page resembles more an *alternate-line* than *interlinear* glossing.

The most recent OE text analysed in this study is that of interlinear gloss to the Roman Psalter as presented in the Eadwine Psalter (EadwineP) now kept in Trinity College, Cambridge (MS R.17.1). It is dated to the 12th century and is in fact one of the most exceptional psalters in being trilingual and presenting next to three versions of the Latin text and the OE rendition, an Anglo-Norman gloss to the *Hebraicum*. Despite strong criticism of the quality of the OE gloss voiced by other researchers,

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15   See the discussion in Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013, 58).

Toswell (2014, 391) perceives it to be a work "of an independent mind" and considers both its syntactic and lexical decisions as "a move away from past models and an exploring of contemporary language (however unsuccessful) and locution".

For the purposes of this study, with the exception of the ParisP for which I used Charzyńska-Wójcik's (2013) edition and gloss, the remaining texts were consulted in the original and transcribed from the respective manuscripts.

3.1.2 Data

As signalled above, since Psalm 20 only counts nine verses and consists of 22 clauses, the total number of analysed contexts for each translation is 22. Within this total only three clauses are subordinate and two function as main clauses.[16] The remaining 17 clauses are independent, in the majority of cases employed in compound sentences. The data concerning mood selection in these as well as the information concerning the number and person of each verbal form are provided below in Table 3. A glance at the table is sufficient to notice some *lexical* variation. In contrast, the decisions concerning the selection of the *mood* appear to be consistent in the majority of cases between the renditions but also with the underlying source text whose grammatical moods employed in these places are presented in Table 11 (Section 3.5). Divergences (set in bold) can be noted in rows 9, 10, 14 and 22. It is notable that apart from the 3rd person singular, there are also instances of the use of the subjunctive in the 1st person plural in all the translations with the exception of CambridgeP.

Table 3: OE data

	RegiusP			ParisP			CambridgeP			EadwineP		
	[text]	[mood]	[form]	[text]	[mood]	[form]	[text]	[mood]	[form]	[text]	[mood]	[form]
1	gehyre	SUB	3sg	gehyre ðe Drihten	SUB	3sg	gehyre þe drihten	SUB	3sg	gehere þe drihten	SUB	3sg
2	gescylde noma […]	SUB	3sg	gefriðie þe se nama […]	SUB	3sg	gescylde þe nama […]	SUB	3sg	gescylde þe nomæ […]	SUB	3sg
3	he asende	SUB	3sg	onsende	SUB	3sg	sende	SUB	3sg	he asende	SUB	3sg
4	he behealde	SUB	3sg	gehæl	SUB	3sg	gescylde	SUB	3sg	he behealde	SUB	3sg

16 Subordinate clauses are marked with an '[s]' and main clauses with an '[m]' on the ordinal number of the clause in Table 3 and all the subsequent tables.

#												
5	he gemyndig sie	SUB	3sg	gemyndig sy Drihten	SUB	3sg	gemyndig sy drihtyn	SUB	3sg	he gemyndig sie	SUB	3sg
6	onsægdnis þin fatt sie	SUB	3sg	þin ælmesse sy andfengu	SUB	3sg	on sægdnysse þine gefættige gewyrðe	SUB	3sg	þin offrung onseigdnesse fett sie	SUB	3sg
7	selle	SUB	3sg	gylde þe Drihten	SUB	3sg	sylle þe drihtyn	SUB	3sg	selle þe drihten	SUB	3sg
8	he getrymme	SUB	3sg	he getrymie	SUB	3sg	gestrongie	SUB	3sg	he getrymme	SUB	3sg
9	we blissiað	IND	1pl	we moton fægnian	MAY	1pl	we beoð	IND	1pl	we blissiæþ	IND	1pl
10	we beoð gemiclode	IND	1pl	we syn gemyclade	SUB	1pl	we beoð gemiclude	IND	1pl	we beoð gemiclode	IND	1pl
11	gefylle dryhten	SUB	3sg	gefylle, Drihten	SUB	3sg	gefylle drihten	SUB	3sg	drihten gefylle	SUB	3sg
12 [m]	ic ancneow	IND	1sg	we ongitað	IND	1pl	ic oncneow	IND	1sg	ic oncneow	IND	1sg
13 [s]	halne gedeþ	IND	3sg	Drihten wile gehælan	IND	3sg	halne gedeþ drihten	IND	3sg	halne gedeþ drihten	IND	3sg
14 [s]	gehyrð	IND	3sg	he hine gehyrð	IND	3sg	gehyre	SUB	3sg	gehereþ	IND	3sg
15	we […] beoð gemiclode	IND	1pl	we […] us micliað	IND	1pl	we beoð gemiclod	IND	1pl	we […] beoð gemiclyde	IND	1pl
16	hy gewriðene synd	IND	3pl	hy synd […] gebundne	IND	3pl	hi gebundynne syndum	IND	3pl	hi synt gewriðene	IND	3pl
17	hy feollon	IND	3pl	hi afeollon	IND	3pl	gefeollon	IND	3pl	gefeollen	IND	3pl
18	we arison	IND	1pl	we […] arison	IND	1pl	we […] aryson	IND	1pl	we […] ærysæþ	IND	1pl
19	arehte we synt	IND	1pl	synt uppahafene	IND	1pl	uparelite we synde	IND	1pl	ryhte bioþ gewordene	IND	1pl
20	halne do	IMP	2sg	Drihten, gehæl	IMP	2sg	drihten halne doo	IMP	2sg	drihten gedo […] hælne	IMP	2sg
21 [m]	gehyr	IMP	2sg	gehyr	IMP	2sg	gehyr	IMP	2sg	gehiere	IMP	2sg
22 [s]	we gecigen	**SUB**	1pl	we […] clypiað	IND	1pl	we gecigað	IND	1pl	we gecygen clipien	**SUB**	1pl

When it comes to the frequency of occurrence of each of the moods (cf. Table 4 below), it is exactly the same for RegiusP, CambridgeP and EadwineP (despite the differences noted above), but not for ParisP, which opts for a periphrastic

expression with the verb *moton* in the context where remaining translations employ the indicative. Interestingly, the percentage participation of the subjunctive is exactly the same for all translations and equals 45% of the analysed 22 clauses.

Table 4: Frequency of different grammatical structures in the OE data

[mood]	RegiusP		ParisP		CambridgeP		EadwineP	
	n°	%	n°	%	n°	%	n°	%
SUB	10	45%	10	45%	10	45%	10	45%
IND	10	45%	9	41%	10	45%	10	45%
MAY	0	0%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%
IMP	2	9%	2	9%	2	9%	2	9%

3.2 ME
3.2.1 Presentation of texts

The four ME translations of Psalm 20 used in this study represent the only prose translations of the psalter available for the period: Richard Rolle's Psalter (RRP) translation (1st half of the 14th century), Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter (MEGPP, middle of the 14th century), Early Version (EV) of the Wycliffite Bible (1370s-1380s) and Late Version (LV) of the same (1388-1400). Each of these translations is unique. Both RRP and EV are usually held to adhere strictly to the Latin source text (*Gallicanum*). Rolle's reverence for the source text is evident even in the structure of his psalter, in which each Latin verse is followed by literal ME rendition and later on commented upon. In the case of EV the source text is not provided but the linguistic features of the rendition clearly indicate a close relation to its Latin source. LV, also a rendition of the *Gallicanum*, is generally viewed as a revised version of EV and one that is freer in its syntactic and lexical choices. MEGPP's unique character is best visible in the explanatory glosses incorporated into the translation, at times replacing the original wording of the psalter. The inconsistencies between the Latin source text (*Gallicanum*) and the ME rendition are easily noticeable since Latin verses always precede ME. All ME transcripts used in the study come from Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013).[17]

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17 For more on the translations, see Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013), Sutherland (2015) and Lis (2017).

3.2.2 Data

As is clear from even a cursory inspection of Table 5 below, an even greater congruence in mood selection is to be observed between the ME translations of Psalm 20 than was the case for the OE texts. There is also a clear correspondence between the structures in use in these renditions and the underlying Latin text (cf. Table 11 in Section 3.5). A slight hint of divergence can only be seen in rows 16-19 and 22 where some of the translations employ verbs whose forms are ambiguous between the indicative and the subjunctive, i.e. either *ben* or purely lexical verbs ending in *-e(n)*, which sets them apart from the texts in which verbs are clearly in the indicative, or, as is the case of EV in row 22, from *shall*.

Table 5: ME data

	RRP			MEGPP			EV			LV		
	[text]	[mood]	[form]	[text]	[mood]	[form]	[text]	[mood]	[form]	[text]	[mood]	[form]
1	here the. the lord	SUB	3sg	my soule, her our Lord þe	SUB	3sg	here thee the Lord	SUB	3sg	the Lord here	SUB	3sg
2	hile the. the name […]	SUB	3sg	þe name […] defende	SUB	3sg	defende thee the name […]	SUB	3sg	the name[…] de|fende	SUB	3sg
3	send he	SUB	3sg	sende he	SUB	3sg	sende he	SUB	3sg	sende he	SUB	3sg
4	defend he	SUB	3sg	defende he	SUB	3sg	defende he	SUB	3sg	defende he	SUB	3sg
5	menand be he	SUB	3sg	be he þenchand	SUB	3sg	myndeful be he	SUB	3sg	be he myndeful	SUB	3sg
6	thin offerand fat be made	SUB	3sg	be þyn offryng made gode	SUB	3sg	thi brent sacrifise be maad fat	SUB	3sg	thi brent sacrifice be maad fat	SUB	3sg
7	gif he	SUB	3sg	gif he	SUB	3sg	gelde he	SUB	3sg	gyue he	SUB	3sg
8	he conferme	SUB	3sg	conferme he	SUB	3sg	conferme	SUB	3sg	conferme he	SUB	3sg
9	we sall ioy	SHALL	1pl	whe shul ioyen	SHALL	1pl	we shul gladen	SHALL	1pl	we schulen be glad	SHALL	1pl

10	we sall be worschipid	SHALL	1pl	we shul herien	SHALL	1pl	wee shul be magnified	SHALL	1pl	we schulen be magnyfied	SHALL	1pl
11	Lord fulfil	SUB	3sg	our Lord fulfille	SUB	3sg	fulfille the Lord	SUB	3sg	the Lord fille	SUB	3sg
12 [m]	i. knew	IND	1sg	haue ich knowen	IND	1sg	I haue knowe	IND	1sg	Y haue knowe	IND	1sg
13 [s]	lord has makid safe	IND	3sg	ur Lord made sauf	IND	3sg	the Lord made saf	IND	3sg	the Lord hath maad saaf	IND	3sg
14 [s]	He sall here	SHALL	3sg	He shal here	SHALL	3sg	He shal […] heren	SHALL	3sg	He schal here	SHALL	3sg
15	we […] sall in kall	SHALL	1pl	we shul herien	SHALL	1pl	wee […] shul inwardli clepen	SHALL	1pl	we schulen inwardli clepe	SHALL	1pl
16	thai ere obligid	**IND**	3pl	hij ben bounden	IND / SUB	3pl	thei ben oblisht	IND / SUB	3pl	thei ben boundun	IND / SUB	3pl
17	thai fell	**IND / SUB**	3pl	feld adoun	**IND**	3pl	fellen	**IND / SUB**	3pl	felden doun	**IND**	3pl
18	we rase	IND	1pl	we ros vp	IND	1pl	wee risen	**IND / SUB**	1pl	we han*. [haue I.] rise	IND	1pl
19	we ere rightid	**IND**	1pl	ben adresced	IND / SUB	1pl	ben up riʒt	IND / SUB	1pl	ben reisid	IND / SUB	1pl
20	Lorde make saf	IMP	2sg	Lord, make […] sauf	IMP	2sg	Lord, mac saaf	IMP	2sg	Lord, make […] saaf	IMP	2sg
21 [m]	here	IMP	2sg	her	IMP	2sg	here	IMP	2sg	here	IMP	2sg
22 [s]	we inkall	**IND / SUB**	1pl	we haue cleped	**IND**	1pl	wee shul […] clepe	**SHALL**	1pl	we […] clepen	**IND / SUB**	1pl

In terms of frequency, the participation of the subjunctive remains almost the same as in the OE renditions (45%) and is equal 41% in all ME translations (cf. Table 6 below). Interestingly, not a single occurrence of periphrasis with *may* is to be found in these texts but *shall* appears in all translations, taking over almost half of what was rendered in the indicative in the OE renditions. This would suggest that *shall* started to be employed in its future function, however, I do not classify these uses of *shall* as straightforward instances of the indicative in light of the fact that, as explained by Görlach (1991, 112),

> [i]t is uncertain whether 'future' existed as a 'pure' tense in ME or
> whether all instances of *shall/will* should not be classified as modals

[...] but the semantic weakening of *will* (originally 'wish') and *shall* (originally 'be obliged to') throughout ME is uncontested.

The use of the imperative remains unchanged and two occurrences of verbs in this mood are noted in all ME texts.

Table 6: Frequency of different grammatical structures in the ME data

[mood]	RRP		MEGPP		EV		LV	
	n°	%	n°	%	n°	%	n°	%
SUB	9	41%	9	41%	9	41%	9	41%
IND	5	23%	5	23%	2	9%	4	18%
SHALL	4	18%	4	18%	5	23%	4	18%
IMP	2	9%	2	9%	2	9%	2	9%
IND/SUB	2	9%	2	9%	4	18%	3	14%

3.3 eMnE
3.3.1 Presentation of texts

The four eMnE renditions of Psalm 20 selected for the analysis represent three different Christian denominations: Anglicanism, Catholicism and Protestantism. The first among the translations, chronologically, is the 1535 Coverdale's Bible (CoverdaleB), i.e. the first complete *printed* Bible in English. The text of the psalms in the Bible was translated by Myles Coverdale from Latin and German sources.[18] The psalms in his translation were at the basis of the Church of England's worship for over 400 years (Daniell 2003, 181-182), having been included in the Book of Common Prayer.

Another text strongly tied with the Anglican Church is that from the Bishops' Bible (1568). The idea behind this Bible was put forward by Archbishop Matthew Parker, inspired by Cranmer's earlier failed project, who managed to gather a group of bishops to translate the Bible into English anew (Daniell 2003, 338). The work on the Book of Psalms was entrusted to the Bishop of Rochester, Edmund

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18   The Bible is composed of two parts, one of them (the New Testament and portions of the Old Testament) being the text translated by William Tyndale from the original languages, the other, Coverdale's own translation from Latin and German sources (Daniell 2003, 174–176).

Guest, however, as conceded by Lewis (2016, 46-47) the translation might have been later reworded by Thomas Becon since the Book of Psalms is followed by initials "T.B." A still different possibility is that "T.B." stands for Thomas Bickley, who was one of Parker's chaplains (Lewis 2016, 47). Daniell (2003, 340) explains Bickley's participation in the project by hypothesising that the psalter was perhaps one of the parts of the work not completed by the bishops to whom they were assigned and thus it was among the renditions that were later finalised by "certain other learned men" referred to by Parker. Even less is known about the actual sources of this translation.

In contrast to the two Anglican renditions, the Geneva Bible (GB) from 1560 is a Protestant Bible. It was taken to America in the early 17th century and used there by generations of colonists (Daniell 2003, 294-295). The merit of the text lies in the fact that for the parts not translated earlier by Tyndale from the original languages (i.e. poetic and prophetic books), it provided a fresh translation directly from Hebrew into English (Daniell 2003, 297). So, it offers the Book of Psalms based on a different source than the Latin Vulgate, which had served in this capacity so far.

The last among the eMnE translations to be analysed here is the psalm from the Douai-Rheims Bible (DR), whose volume II of the Old Testament, containing the Book of Psalms, was printed in 1610 in Douai. This was a translation created to respond to the need for the Bible in the vernacular voiced by the members of the Catholic Church (Daniell 2003, 358). In line with the long Catholic tradition, it was rendered from the Latin Vulgate, i.e. from the text with ecclesiastical authority, following it closely (Daniell 2003, 359-362).

The analysis presented in the following section is based on a facsimile of the original 1560 edition of the Geneva Bible, Charzyńska-Wójcik's (2013) transcription of the 1610 text of the Douai Psalter, and transcriptions of the 1535 Coverdale Bible and 1568 Bishops' Bible available at the *Textus Receptus Bibles* website.

3.3.2 Data

The grammatical choices as regards the mood or use of the periphrastic constructions in the four translations are presented in Table 7 below. The variation in the decisions concerning the use of the subjunctive, indicative, *shall*-, *will*-, *may*- and *let*-constructions is unquestionably much more conspicuous than was the case for the OE and ME renditions analysed above. Since in the eMnE period "the category of modal auxiliary was [still] not yet fully established", "the ellipsis of the main verb

(gapping) [wa]s more flexible than today" (Rissanen 1999, 234). At the beginning of the 16th century *shall* and *will* could be already noted in contexts in which they conveyed "pure futurity" but this was not the rule (Cowie 2012, 608). In fact, the OED provides some 18th-century attestations of *will* in its purely lexical function. Therefore, a decision was taken to distinguish *shall* and *will* from the indicative. Moreover, in order to facilitate comparison between the periods, instances of *will* and *shall* in the lMnE data will also be set apart from other instances of the indicative.

Table 7: eMnE data

	CoverdaleB			GenevaB			Bishops'B			DR		
	[text]	[mood]	[form]	[text]	[mood]	[form]	[text]	[mood]	[form]	[text]	[mood]	[form]
1	the Lorde heare	SUB	3sg	the Lord heare	SUB	3sg	God heare	SUB	3sg	ovr Lord heare	SUB	3sg
2	the name […] defende	SUB	3sg	the name […] defende	SUB	3sg	the name […] defende	SUB	3sg	the name […] protect	SUB	3sg
3	sende	SUB	3sg	send	SUB	3sg	let him sende	**LET**	3sg	send he	SUB	3sg
4	strength	SUB	3sg	strengthen	SUB	3sg	ayde	**LET**	3sg	defend he	SUB	3sg
5	remembre […] offerynges	SUB	3sg	let him remember	LET	3sg	let him remember	LET	3sg	be he mindeful	SUB	3sg
6	accepte	SUB	3sg	turne […] offrings into asshes	LET	3sg	turne into asshes	LET	3sg	be thy holocaust made fatte	SUB	3sg
7	graunte	SUB	3sg	grante	SUB	3sg	let him graunt	**LET**	3sg	geue he	SUB	3sg
8	fulfil	SUB	3sg	fulfil	SUB	3sg	accomplishe	**LET**	3sg	confirme he	SUB	3sg
9	we will reioyse	**WILL**	1pl	we may reioyce	**MAY**	1pl	we wyll reioyce	**WILL**	1pl	we shal reioyce	**SHALL**	1pl
10	triuphe	**WILL**	1pl	set vp the banner	**MAY**	1pl	triumph	**WILL**	1pl	we shal be magnified	**SHALL**	1pl
11	the Lorde perfourme	SUB	3sg	the Lord shal performe	**SHALL**	3sg	God wyll perfourme	**WILL**	3sg	our Lord accomplish	SUB	3sg

12 [m]	knowe I	IND	1sg	know I	IND	1sg	I knowe	IND	1sg	haue I knowen	IND	1sg
13 [s]	the Lorde helpeth	IND	3sg	the Lord wil helpe	**WILL**	3sg	God wyll saue	**WILL**	3sg	our Lord hath saued	IND	3sg
14 [s]	will heare him	WILL	3sg	wil heare	WILL	3sg	he wyll heare	WILL	3sg	he shal heare him	**SHALL**	3sg
15	we wil remebre	WILL	1pl	we wil remember	WILL	1pl	we wyll remember	WILL	1pl	we wil inuocate	WILL	1pl
16	they are brought downe	IND	3pl	they are broght downe	IND	3pl	they shal be made to bowe	**SHALL**	3pl	they are bound	IND	3pl
17	fallen	IND	3pl	fallen	IND	3pl	fall	**SHALL**	3pl	haue fallen	IND	3pl
18	we are rysen	IND	1pl	we are risen	IND	1pl	we shall arise	**SHALL**	1pl	we haue risen	IND	1pl
19	stonde vp right	IND	1pl	stande vpright	IND	1pl	stande vpright	IND	1pl	are set vpright	IND	1pl
20	saue (Lorde)	IMP	2sg	saue Lord	IMP	2sg	saue thou o God	IMP	2sg	Lord saue	IMP	2sg
21 [m]	helpe (o kynge)	IMP	2sg	let the King heare	**LET**	3sg	the king may heare	**MAY**	3sg	heare	IMP	2sg
22 [s]	we call vpon	IND / SUB	1pl	we call	IND / SUB	1pl	we call	IND / SUB	1pl	we shal inuocate	**SHALL**	1pl

Frequency-wise the participation of various grammatical structures is as presented in Table 8 below:

Table 8: Frequency of different grammatical structures in the eMnE data

[mood]	CoverdaleB		GenevaB		Bishops'B		DR	
	n°	%	n°	%	n°	%	n°	%
SUB	9	41%	6	27%	2	9%	9	41%
IND	6	27%	5	23%	2	9%	6	27%
LET	0	0%	3	14%	6	27%	0	0%
MAY	0	0%	2	9%	1	5%	0	0%
IMP	2	9%	1	5%	1	5%	2	9%
SHALL	0	0%	1	5%	3	14%	4	18%
WILL	4	18%	3	14%	6	27%	1	5%
IND / SUB	1	5%	1	5%	1	5%	0	0%

Whereas CoverdaleB and DR employ the subjunctive to exactly the same extent as the earlier ME translations (41%), Bishops'B makes hardly any use of it (9%), with GenevaB occupying the middle ground (27%). Bishops'B is also exceptional in its lower use of the indicative (than the level noted in the other three texts) and in its generous use of periphrastic *let*-structure and repeated occurrences of *will* and *shall*.

3.4 lMnE
3.4.1 Presentation of texts

The lMnE renditions are more varied in terms of their dates of publication, with the earliest coming from 1750 and the most recent from 2009. More precisely, the 1750 rendition is Richard Challoner's revision of the DR text. The second text is by over a century younger and is a part of the Bible translated from the original languages by Robert Young in 1863. The remaining two translations were published already in the 21st century but differ in the languages of their source texts: whereas Robert Alter's (2007) rendition is from Hebrew, John Cunyus (2009) translated from the Vulgate.

For Young and Alter I relied on my own transcriptions, the transcript of the text of Challoner was offered to me by Charzyńska-Wójcik (pc)[19] and that of Cunyus comes from Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013).

3.4.2 Data

The four translations exhibit some diversity when it comes to their selection of grammatical structures (Table 9) but the variation seems to be more limited than in the case of eMnE. Young's 1863 rendition is unique among the lMnE texts to make extensive use of the subjunctive. The remaining three translations differ systematically from the earlier texts in their conspicuous use of *may*.

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19   It will be a part of Charzyńska-Wójcik (*in prep*.).

Table 9: lMnE data

	Challoner			Young			Alter			Cunyus		
	[text]	[mood]	[form]	[text]	[mood]	[form]	[text]	[mood]	[form]	[text]	[mood]	[form]
1	may the Lord hear	MAY	3sg	the Lord answer	**SUB**	3sg	may the Lord answer	MAY	3sg	may the Lord hear	MAY	3sg
2	may the name […] protect	MAY	3sg	the name […] set	**SUB**	3sg	the name […] make you safe	MAY	3sg	may the name […] protect	MAY	3sg
3	may he send	MAY	3sg	send	**SUB**	3sg	may He send	MAY	3sg	may He send	MAY	3sg
4	defend	MAY	3sg	support	**SUB**	3sg	may He sustain	MAY	3sg	watch over	MAY	3sg
5	may he be mindful	MAY	3sg	remember	**SUB**	3sg	may He recall	MAY	3sg	may He remember	MAY	3sg
6	may thy […] offering be made fat	MAY	3sg	reduce	**SUB**	3sg	may He relish	MAY	3sg	may […] offering be made fat	MAY	3sg
7	may he give	MAY	3sg	give	**SUB**	3sg	may He grant	MAY	3sg	may He give	MAY	3sg
8	confirm	MAY	3sg	fulfil	**SUB**	3sg	may He fulfill	MAY	3sg	strength-en	MAY	3sg
9	we will rejoice	**WILL**	1pl	may we sing	**MAY**	1pl	let us sing	**LET**	1pl	we will be happy	**WILL**	1pl
10	we shall be exalted	**SHALL**	1pl	set up	**MAY**	1pl	raise	**LET**	1pl	we will be made greater	**WILL**	1pl
11	the Lord fulfil	**SUB**	3sg	the Lord fulfil	**SUB**	3sg	may the Lord fulfill	**MAY**	3sg	may the Lord fulfill	**MAY**	3sg
12 [m]	have I known	IND	1sg	I have known	IND	1sg	do I know	IND	1sg	I have known	IND	1sg
13 [s]	the Lord hath saved	IND	3sg	the Lord hath saved	IND	3sg	the Lord has res-cued	IND	3sg	the Lord made His Christ secure	IND	3sg
14 [s]	He will hear	**WILL**	3sg	He an-swereth	**IND**	3sg	He has answered	**IND**	3sg	He will hear	**WILL**	3sg
15	we will call upon	**WILL**	1pl	we […] make mention	**IND / SUB**	1pl	we […] invoke	**IND / SUB**	1pl	we will invoke	**WILL**	1pl

16	they are bound	IND	3pl	they have bent	IND	3pl	they have tumbled	IND	3pl	they are bound	IND	3pl
17	have fallen	IND	3pl	have fallen	IND	3pl	fallen	IND	3pl	have fallen	IND	3pl
18	we are risen	IND	1pl	we have risen	IND	1pl	we arose	IND	1pl	we […] have risen	IND	1pl
19	are set upright	IND	1pl	station ourselves upright	IND	1pl	took heart	IND	1pl	are standing up straight	IND	1pl
20	Lord, save	IMP	2sg	o Lord, save	IMP	2sg	o Lord, rescue	IMP	2sg	Lord, make	IMP	2sg
21 [m]	hear us	**IMP**	2sg	let Him answer	**LET**	2sg	may He answer	**MAY**	2sg	hear us	**IMP**	2sg
22 [s]	we shall call upon	**SHALL**	1pl	we call	IND / SUB	1pl	we call	IND / SUB	1pl	we invoke	IND / SUB	1pl

In terms of frequency of the subjunctive, Young's rendition appears to be most traditional, predominantly ranging in its selection of verbal structures between the indicative (32%) and subjunctive (41%). Alter's text opts either for the indicative (32%) or periphrasis with *may* and *let* (54%). Challoner's revision makes use of all the available structures, with the exception of periphrasis with *let*. Cunyus' preference lies with the indicative (27%) and periphrasis with *may* (41%), although some instances of *will* are also noted (18%).

Table 10: Frequency of different grammatical structures in the lMnE data

[mood]	Challoner		Young		Alter		Cunyus	
	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%	nº	%
SUB	1	5%	9	41%	0	0%	0	0%
IND	6	27%	7	32%	7	32%	6	27%
LET	0	0%	1	5%	2	9%	0	0%
MAY	8	36%	2	9%	10	45%	9	41%
IMP	2	9%	1	5%	1	5%	2	9%
SHALL	2	9%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
WILL	3	14%	0	0%	0	0%	4	18%
IND / SUB	0	0%	2	9%	2	9%	1	5%

3.5 Comparison and discussion

All the observations noted so far are gathered together and presented again in a simplified form in Table 11 below. It is also there that some general tendencies appear to emerge out of what seems a disarray when individual periods are analysed in Sections 3.1-3.4. It seems that starting with the eMnE period a greater diversity in mood selection started to obtain in psalm translations, albeit not in all of them. Whereas in Geneva and Bishops' Bibles replacements with hortative *let* are employed in some cases, Coverdale's translation and the Douai rendition preserve the subjunctive in the manner reminiscent of all the earlier translations. Interestingly, the same phenomenon is to be observed in Young's 1863 rendition. How substantial this diversity is can be illustrated by means of verses 4 and 6 from all the analysed renditions, preceded by the Latin *Romanum* and *Gallicanum* texts:

verse 4:

Romanum	**Memor sit** Dominus omnis <omnes> sacrificii tui, et holocaustum tuum **pingue fiat**.
Gallicanum	**Memor sit** omnis sacrificij /<[sacrificii]>/ tui: & holocaustum tuum **pingue fiat**.
RegiusP	he **gemyndig sie** ealre ofrunga ðinre ofrung 7 onsægdnis þin **fatt sie**
PariP	**Gemyndig sy** Drihten ealra þinra offrunga, and þin ælmesse **sy andfengu**.
CambridgeP	**gemyndig sy** drihtyn ealle onsægydnysse þine 7 on sægdnysse þine **gefættige gewyrðe**
EadwineP	he **Gemyndig sie** eælre þinre onseigdnesse 7 þin offrung onseigdnesse **fett sie**
RRP	**Menand be** he of all thi sacrifice; and thin offerand **fat be made**.
MEGPP	**Be** he **þenchand** on al þy sacrifice, and **be** þyn offryng **made gode**.
EV	**Myndeful be** he of alle thi sa|crifise; and thi brent sacrifise **be maad fat**.
LV	**Be** he **myndeful** of al thi sacrifice; and thi brent sacrifice **be maad fat**.
CoverdaleB_1535	**Remembre** all thy offerynges, and **accepte** thy brent sacrifice.
GenevaB_1560	**Let** him **remember** all thine offrings, and **turne** thy burnt offrings into asshes.
Bishops'B_1568	**Let** him **remember** all thy offeringes: and **turne** into asshes thy burnt sacrifices.
DR_1610	**Be** he **mindeful** of al thy sacrifice: and be thy holocaust **made fatte**.
Challoner_1750	**May** he **be mindful** of all thy sacrifices: and may thy whole burnt offering **be made fat**.
Young_1863	**Remember** all Thine offerings, And all Thy burnt-offerings **reduce** to ashes.

Alter_2007	**May** He **recall** all your grain-offerings, and your burnt-offerings **may** He **relish**.
Cunyus_2009	**May** He **remember** all your sacrifices, and **may** your burnt offering **be made fat**.

verse 6:

Romanum	**Letabimur** /Læ[ae]tabimur/ in salutari tuo, et in nomine Domini Dei nostri **magnificabimur**.
Gallicanum	**Letabimur** /<Læ[ae]tabimur>/ in salutari tuo: & in nomine Domini dei nostri **magnificabimur**.
RegiusP	we **blissiað** on hælo þinre on naman ures we **beoð gemiclode**
PariP	þæt we **moton fægnian** on ðinre hælo, and on ðæm naman Drihtnes ures Godes we **syn gemyclade**
CambridgeP	we **beoð** on hæle þinre 7 on naman drihtnys godys urys we **beoð gemiclude**
EadwineP	We **blissiæþ** on þinre helo 7 on drihtnes namæn ures godes we **beoð gemiclode**
RRP	We **sall ioy** in thi hele: and in the name of oure god we **sall be worschipid**.
MEGPP	Whe **shul ioyen** in þyn helþe, and we **shul herien** in þe name of our Lord.
EV	We **shul gladen** in thin helthe ȝiuere; and in the name of oure God wee **shul be magnified**.
LV	We **schulen be glad** in thin helthe; and we **schulen be magnyfied** in the name of oure God.
CoverdaleB_1535	We **will reioyse** in thy health, & **triuphe** in ye name of the LORDE oure God:
GenevaB_1560	**That** we **may reioyce** in thy saluacion, and **set vp the banner** in the Name of our God,
Bishops'B_1568	We **wyll reioyce** in thy saluation, and **triumph** in the name of our Lorde:
DR_1610	We **shal reioyce** in thy saluation: and in the name of our God we **shal be magnified**.
Challoner_1750	We **will rejoice** in thy salvation; and in the name of our God we **shall be exalted**.
Young_1863	**May** we **sing** of Thy salvation, In the name of our God **set up a banner**.
Alter_2007	**Let** us **sing** gladly for Your rescue and in our God's name **our banner raise**.
Cunyus_2009	We **will be happy** in your security. We **will be made greater** in our God's name.

The grammatical choices made by Coverdale and the DR translators might reflect the fact that the use of the subjunctive in simple clauses was still possible at the time, declining at a greater pace only in the lMnE period. Alternatively, they might be related to the source text used for the translation since both DR and Coverdale's Bible employed as their source the Latin Vulgate, whose mood selection they reflect almost perfectly (cf. Table 11). The situation

is more complex with Young's rendition, which, similarly to Geneva and Bishops' texts, was translated from the original languages and yet is manifestly *different* from these two renditions in terms of the grammatical choices it makes. Moreover, Cunyus (2009), who also translated from Latin, does not resort to the subjunctive even once in the body of Psalm 20, choosing instead the structures natural for PdE.

Therefore, the answer to the question as to what determined these grammatical choices seems to lie at the intersection of language change and the type of translation aimed at by the translators rather than in the source text underlying the rendition. This hypothesis is corroborated by all the translations at hand. The OE translators, having at their disposal the present and past tenses and the rising modals, opted precisely for the grammatical structures present in the Latin text from which they translated (cf. Table 11). The ME renditions with their unrivalled reverence for the underlying original concur with the Vulgate in their choices in the area of mood, with available formal means of expressing the future already surfacing in the translations in verses 6, 7 and 8.[20] Greater diversity appears among the eMnE renditions, which is understandable in light of the fact that it was the time of religious reformation and turmoil, giving slowly rise to a variation in approaches to translation and acceptance of the idea that the text should serve the readers in their religious pursuits rather than represent a tribute to the 'original'. These changes continue to transpire through the lMnE renditions. The different positions taken with respect to the purpose of translations and their relationship to the *original* are visible both in the eMnE and lMnE renditions at the level of grammatical choices. A good illustration of this phenomenon is Young's (1863) approach: in his preface to the translation he pledges to remain faithful to the original even at the grammatical level, where the structures in use in Hebrew would be unnatural for speakers of English. The idea he proposes in the preface was that it was the readers that should adjust themselves to the ancient text and not the other way round.

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20   Verse 10 in Latin also employs future, but this time in its perfect form, which resulted in greater diversity among the translations. As transpires from the data from Table 9, in ME *shall* was preferred over *will* to express the future, with tables turning in the eMnE period to *will*'s favour, although not in all renditions.

Table 11: OE-lMnE data

		LATIN		OE				ME				eMnE				lMnE			
#	[verse]	Romanum	Gallicanum	RegiusP - 950-1050	ParisP - 1025-1050	CambridgeP - ca. 1050	EadwineP - 12th c.	RRP - before 1350	MEGPP - ca. 1350	EV 0s-1380s	LV - 1388-1400	CoverdaleB - 1535	GenevaB - 1560	Bishops'B - 1568	DR - 1610	Challoner - 1750	Young - 1863	Alter - 2009	Cunyus - 2009
1	2	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	MAY	SUB	MAY	
2	2	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	MAY	SUB	MAY	
3	3	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	LET	SUB	MAY	SUB	MAY	
4	3	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	LET	SUB	MAY	SUB	MAY	
5	4	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	LET	LET	SUB	MAY	SUB	MAY	
6	4	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	LET	LET	SUB	MAY	SUB	MAY	
7	5	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	LET	SUB	MAY	SUB	MAY	
8	5	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	LET	SUB	MAY	SUB	MAY	
9	6	IND	IND	MAY	IND	IND	IND	SHALL	SHALL	SHALL	WILL	MAY	WILL	SHALL	WILL	WILL	MAY	LET	WILL
10	6	IND	IND	IND	SUB	IND	IND	SHALL	SHALL	SHALL	WILL	MAY	WILL	SHALL	SHALL	SHALL	MAY	LET	WILL
11	6	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SUB	SHALL	WILL	SUB	SUB			MAY	
12 [m]	7	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND
13 [s]	7	SUB	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	WILL	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND
14 [s]	7	IND	IND	IND	IND	SUB	IND	SHALL	SHALL	SHALL	WILL	WILL	WILL	SHALL	SHALL	WILL	IND	IND	WILL
15	8	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	SHALL	SHALL	SHALL	WILL	WILL	WILL	WILL	WILL	IND / SUB	IND / SUB	IND / SUB	WILL
16	9	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND / SUB	IND / SUB	IND	IND	IND	SHALL	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND
17	9	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND / SUB	IND	IND / SUB	IND	IND	IND	SHALL	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND
18	9	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND / SUB	IND	IND	IND	SHALL	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND
19	9	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND	IND / SUB	IND	IND							
20	10	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP
21 [m]	10	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	LET	MAY	IMP	IMP	LET	MAY	IMP
22 [s]	10	IND	IND	SUB	IND	SUB	IND / SUB	IND	SHALL	IND / SUB	IND / SUB			SHALL	IND / SUB	IND / SUB	IND / SUB		

4 Conclusion

The study has attempted to investigate mood selection practices in 16 translations of Psalm 20 spanning over ten centuries of the history of English in which the structure in focus, i.e. the subjunctive, has undergone a major change. The findings obtained in the course of the investigation could be summarised as follows. The grammatical choices in OE renditions are both remarkably similar to one another and in full compliance with the moods in use in the underlying Latin text. The ME translations exhibit an even great convergence as a group, at the same time remaining exceptionally *faithful* to the Latin source. The chief change observed in these translations is the use of *shall* to render the future tense in the *Gallicanum*. A major shift in the mood selection practices is to be noted in the texts from the eMnE period onwards, where – due to language change – a diversity in grammatical choices obtains. Some of the renditions (CoverdaleB, DR and Young) preserve the use of the subjunctive as observed in the OE and ME renditions but the remaining five texts opt for periphrastic grammatical structures in line with the current language use.

I propose, therefore, that the decisions concerning the choice of grammatical constructions reflect both (i) the structure of the language at the time of rendition, *and / or* (ii) the translator's views on the function of the translation and its relationship to the source text. In particular, in the case of OE it is impossible to determine conclusively *on the basis of the analysed data* whether the mood selection stemmed from the adherence to the Latin text or simply reflected the current state of the language as it is congruent with the two. In order to obtain a means to differentiate between the two I would need to work on a broader selection of textual data encompassing also such contexts in which default language use would be different for Latin and OE.

In ME the grammatical repertoire available in the language was already more diverse but the renditions do not exhibit any structures not present in the *Gallicanum*. This could indicate a purposeful dependence on Latin, which would also be congruent with what is known about the renditions at hand,[21] but does not stand in opposition to the use of the relevant moods in this period of the history of English. Thus, I am unable to postulate in any conclusive manner that their

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21   RRP, MEGPP and EV were not envisaged as texts independent of Latin and they remain conspicuously faithful to their source texts, with the first two being even presented next to it at all times. EV, despite not being given next to the source, relied on Latin in all aspects, including word order. LV, although planned as a more *idiomatic* text did not diverge from EV unless it was necessary in order to render the text intelligible to the reader.

choices with respect to grammatical shape of the verbs were determined by the approach to the translation.

It is only in the eMnE translations that a diversity in the area of grammatical constructions sets in, which could thus be attributed to the language change surfacing in the texts. On the other hand, however, the eMnE translations are products of the age of reformation, when for the first time sources different than the Latin Vulgate, i.e. the original languages, could serve as the basis for such a rendition. Therefore, whereas in the context of the eMnE texts translated from Latin (CoverdaleB and DR) one could point to the source text as the driving force in mood selection, for the other two texts, without a resort to the underlying source texts, it is impossible to prove their independence of them and thus, I cannot postulate that that their diversity in terms of mood selection is due to the changes in the English language.

The lMnE translations seem to support the untenability of this claim. Both translations from the Latin Vulgate (Challoner and Cunyus) and Alter's rendition from Hebrew opt for periphrastic *may* structures in place of the subjunctive, in line with linguistic developments of the period. In contrast, the 1863 Young's translation from the original languages is consistent in its preference for the subjunctive, despite it no longer being the unmarked choice in simple clauses at the time. This, however, can be accounted for Young's convictions concerning biblical translations and their function (cf. Section 3.5).

Therefore, it is not so much the source text itself, but the translator's approach to this source and to the purpose of the rendition that motivate translators' decisions concerning mood expression. The changes in the grammatical structure of the language inevitably surface in the text of the translation unless they are blocked by the overriding principle of formal faithfulness to the original (cf. Young's rendition), even at the cost of producing a text less intelligible to the target audience.

As mentioned at the beginning of this study, the paper is only a preliminary investigation into the diachronic developments in the area of mood selection in contexts conducive to the use of the subjunctive. Despite the fact that my larger study (Lis *in prep.*) will be limited to dependent clauses where use of the subjunctive has been less threatened, it can be deduced from the results obtained here that a bigger study resorting among others to some biblical translations need not be imperilled with obtaining skewed results since the renditions, when *viewed as a whole*, do seem to reflect the linguistic changes taking place in the language, in spite of their reverence for the sacred text.

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Scriptural content of the English medieval Book of Hours: Tracing textual traditions of nine lessons from the Book of Job[1*]

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Abstract: This contribution examines nine lessons from the Office of the Dead, found in a group of English translations of the Book of Hours. The text of the lessons comes from six chapters of the Book of Job and therefore constitutes scriptural content of this medieval prayer book. Selected for this analysis are four primers as well as the two vernacular versions of the Bible available at that time, namely the Early and Late Version of the Wycliffite Bible (cf. Dove 2007). As far as the primers are concerned, three of them have received an edition, while New Haven, Yale University Library, MS Beinecke 360, which is examined in this contribution, still remains to be edited and analyzed in depth. This study attempts to establish the textual tradition of its non-psalmic scriptural passages as well as that of other primers. This will be achieved by performing comparative analysis expressed by objective mathematical values, with the results presented in tabular form and illustrated with fragments of the actual text. The analysis performed in this paper will shed some light on the complicated history of scriptural content of the selected English primers.

Keywords: Book of Hours, Book of Job, English primers, text similarity measurement, Wycliffe's Bible

1. Introduction

The Book of Hours is recognized by many as the most glamorous and popular book owned by the laity in the Middle Ages. This medieval prayer book, often referred to as 'primer',[2] or known by its Latin name 'Horae' (Duffy 2006, 3), was essentially a collection of prayers meant for private devotion in the daily life of

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1   *The author would like to express deepest gratitude to Prof. Magdalena Charzyńska-Wójcik for her invaluable help, illuminating comments and continuous support at every stage of preparation of the paper. I would also like to thank Dr Jerzy Wójcik for his help with the digital aspect of the performed analysis.

2   Throughout this text, the terms 'primer' and 'book of hours' will be used interchangeably.

an individual (Scott-Stokes 2006, 1). The origins of books of hours can be traced back to the thirteenth century, and though due to the cost of their production they were initially possessed only by the wealthy, the invention of print in the fifteenth century soon made them available to a wider public (Duffy 2006, 4).

The core of any book of hours were psalms, yet before their content became standardised, primers constituted diverse collections of texts, including scriptural ones, and even today they cannot be easily categorised (Morey 2000, 183; Kennedy 2014, 694). That is not to say, however, that there are no typical elements to be enumerated. On the contrary, at the beginning of most books of hours one can find a calendar noting annual saints' days and celebrations of the Church (Scott-Stokes 2006, 7). The foundation of those prayer books consisted of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the fifteen Gradual Psalms and the seven Penitential Psalms, Litany of the Saints, the Office of the Dead. The most complete books of hours also included the Psalms of Commendation, the Placebo and Dirige, the Ave Maria, the Pater Noster, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Deadly Sins (Duffy 2006, 6; Scott-Stokes 2006, 7; Morey 2000, 182).

While the main focus of research on primers is usually put on the psalms,[3] this contribution is concerned with other scriptural content of those devotional books, namely the nine lessons from the Book of Job, embodying the anguish felt by those suffering in Purgatory. The lessons are to be found in the Office of the Dead.

In the second half of the twentieth century, Henry Hargreaves reignited interest in a group of manuscripts, English translations of the Book of Hours, by pointing out their connection (or lack thereof) to the later version of the Wycliffite Bible when it comes to the scriptural texts they contain (Hargreaves 1956, 215). Hargreaves (1956) notes the presence of passages from the Book of Job in the Office and mentions a few fragments of the fifth and ninth lesson from the editions of Maskell (1846) and Littlehales (1895). However, apart from one comment made by the author regarding their resemblances to, or divergences from the Wycliffite Bible, they have yet to be examined further (Hargreaves 1956, 216-217).

The aim of this contribution is to analyze the text of the nine lessons from the last manuscript of the English vernacular Books of Hours to have been

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3   Cf., for example, Hargreaves (1956), Kennedy (2014), Sutherland (2015), Charzyńska-Wójcik and Wójcik (in prep.).

discovered, i.e. Beinecke MS 360, which, as noted above, has not yet received a lot of scholarly attention. It has been compared here with three other vernacular primers and the text of the Book of Job from the two versions of the English Bible available at the time when the primers emerged. My choice of the primers fell on those whose texts received editions. When it comes to the available English translations of the Book of Job, these were parts of the first two English translations of the complete Bible associated with John Wycliffe (cf. Daniell 2003), referred to in the literature as the Early and Late Version (henceforth EV and LV respectively).

There are several issues that could be raised in such study, but the focus here will be on situating the text of Beinecke 360 in the broader textual tradition of its non-psalmic scriptural passages. Attention will also be paid to classifying the textual tradition of the passages from the Book of Job as presented in the three other English primers which Beinecke 360 is compared with here. Moreover, the findings concerning the Book of Job will be analyzed in the light of the claims circulating in the literature as to the textual tradition of the psalms contained in English vernacular primers.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 enumerates particular chapters of the Book of Job from which the nine lessons are taken and provides the information on the texts selected for this study. Section 3 discusses the applied methodology, which relies on digital technologies and therefore enables comparative analysis expressed in terms of objective mathematical values. Section 4 presents the obtained similarity scores, displayed in tabular form and illustrated with examples from the actual text. As shown in the conclusions presented in Section 5, the study examination will hopefully prove helpful in tracing textual traditions of the Middle English primer.

2. The texts

As signalled above, the subject of analysis are nine lessons from the Book of Job found in six English translations: four in the Book of Hours for the use of Sarum and two from complete Bibles. The lessons come from the following chapters: vii. 16-21, x. 1-7, x. 8-12, xiii. 23-28, xiv. 1-6, xiv. 13-16, xvii.1-3 and 11-15, xix. 20-27, x. 18-22.

When it comes to the primers, the main interest lies in MS Beinecke 360 titled *Psalter and Hours*, created in England between 1400 and 1415. It has, to the best of

my knowledge, not been the focus of any in-depth study as far as its text is concerned. This may be due to it having been discovered last[4] and having received no editions. The texts of its lessons have been edited for the purpose of this study and compared with primers that have received editions (for the most part in the nineteenth century) and have, therefore, been an object of prior studies, albeit their complexity has so far made them a challenging subject for more detailed analysis. In effect, few scholars have so far been interested in exploring their scriptural content.

The text contained in MS Beinecke 360 is going to be compared with Cambridge, St. John's College (St. John's), MS G. 24, edited by Littlehales (1891), Cambridge, University Library (CUL), MS Dd. 11. 82 edited by Littlehales (1895), British Library, MS Additional 17,010 edited by Maskell (1846). The final two texts come from the Early and Late Wycliffite Version: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 369 and British Library, MS Royal I. C. VIII, respectively, edited by Forshall and Madden (1850). As Forshall and Madden's edition shows textual variants from several other manuscripts collated partly or throughout, these variants have been discarded for the sake of this study, which aims to compare the lessons of the primers with an actual text rather than a collation.

3. Methodology[5]

The texts had to undergo several processes in order to be suitable for digital analysis. The first step was to transcribe all the texts into a single Word file. As noted above, five of the six texts analyzed have received an edition and these editions have been relied on here. What required modification were the abbreviations found in the editions of St. John's G. 24 and CUL Dd. 11. 82, which were expanded and italicized for the purpose of this study. This intervention was not necessary in the case of BL Additional 17,010, as Maskell's (1846) edition does not preserve them. When it comes to Beinecke 360, as signalled above, there was no edition to rely on, so the transcript of its text was prepared by the author of this contribution from the manuscript available athttps://collections.

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4   In the scholarly literature, the manuscript was classified among vernacular primers between the years 1980 and 2014 (Charzyńska-Wójcik and Wójcik in prep.).
5   The overall methodology applied to the data analyzed here is the one proposed by Charzyńska-Wójcik (2021) and further developed in Charzyńska-Wójcik and Wójcik (2022 and in prep.), Lis and Wójcik (in press), and Wójcik (in press).

library.yale.edu/catalog/10269839. However, certain elements such as medieval punctuation marks could not be preserved, and their modern equivalents were established. Moreover, all abbreviations were expanded and italicized. The textual elements not considered relevant for the analysis were excluded from comparison. This applied to the titles of the lessons as well as liturgical instructions and additions such as 'Responses' and 'Versicles' – short sentences that are said or sung in worship, found in the four primer texts. These were all left out.

A proper digital analysis required normalizing the texts so that differences in spelling of the same word, which were frequent before spelling became standardized, were not treated as meaningful. Spelling normalization followed the general principle of providing one stable modern spelling whenever a given word was listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. When it was not the case, the *Middle English Dictionary* headword was selected. In order to ensure the consistency of the process, it was performed with the use of software called VARD (cf. Baron 2008), a tool designed to aid digital analyses of Early Modern English texts, which contain a large amount of spelling variation (Baron and Rayson 2008). And while the texts analyzed here represent Middle English, the use of VARD is still justified as it allows the user full control over the normalization process. As such, it has already been shown to produce valid results for Middle English texts (cf. Charzyńska-Wójcik and Wójcik in prep.). Text similarity, using the cosine distance method,[6] was calculated with the use of R software (R Core Team 2020), freely available software environment (Magali and Gries 2020, 376). Similarity scores range from 0 to 1, with 1 representing most and 0 least similar texts.

4. Results

As noted above, with psalms having constituted the main area of interest for researchers dealing with primers from the perspective of their vernacular text, few scholars have been interested in exploring the Book of Job and its textual tradition. In her Ph.D. dissertation, Allen (1970) claims that the lessons found in BL Additional 17,010 and CUL Dd. 11. 82 greatly resemble the text of LV, though the latter shows more variation from the LV rendering. The text of St. John's G.

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6   This is a process in which similarity scores are obtained by calculating the cosine of the angle between texts represented as vectors. For more information about the method see, for example, Han, Jawei et al. (2012). As already mentioned, applying the method to analyses of historical texts has been proposed by Charzyńska-Wójcik (2021)

24, on the other hand, is said to bear no close connection to either EV or LV (Harris-Matthews 1980). Allen (1970) also remarks that as regards the ninth lesson, CUL Dd. 11. 82 seems to be more similar to the text of St. John's G. 24 rather than BL Additional 17,010.

The lessons from Beinecke 360 and the remaining three primers will be analyzed against the above-mentioned findings on the Book of Job as well as the existing research on the psalms contained in the primers. According to Hargreaves (1956), Kennedy (2014) and Sutherland (2015), the psalms found in CUL Dd. 11. 82 and BL Additional 17,010 come from LV, whereas St. John's G. 24 stands out and, according to Kennedy (2014) and Sutherland (2015) exhibits greater similarity to EV, while Hargreaves (1956) classifies it as an independent rendition. As far as the psalms in Beinecke 360 are concerned, they are not discussed by Hargreaves at all, while Kennedy (2014) and Sutherland (2015 and 2016) observe that they bear a close connection to LV. It is the purpose of the following analysis to verify the information provided by the researchers against the obtained similarity scores and to detect the source of the lessons in the analyzed texts.

For each lesson all six texts were compared, resulting in nine tables with 36 scores each. In total, 324 scores were obtained, ranging between 0.842 and 1. To make this discussion more concrete, let me present the obtained similarity scores for the first lesson, with bold type used to mark the highest score and underlining marking the lowest score, a convention which will be applied in the remaining lessons as well. The results will be illustrated with the actual text.

	J_1_EV	J_1_LV	J_1_B360	J_1_G.24	J _ 1 _ Dd,11.82	J_1_ Add.17,010
J_1_EV	1	0.946	0.937	<u>0.923</u>	0.934	0.943
J_1_LV	0.946	1	0.94	0.929	0.967	**0.984**
J_1_B360	0.937	0.94	1	0.978	0.956	0.954
J_1_G. 24	<u>0.923</u>	0.929	0.978	1	0.943	0.943
J_1_Dd,11. 82	0.934	0.967	0.956	0.943	1	0.972
J_1_Add.17,010	0.943	**0.984**	0.954	0.943	0.972	1

Table 1. Similarity scores for the first lesson from the Book of Job

As transpires from the above, the six texts exhibit similarities ranging from 0.923-0.984. The score 1 appears six times and is the result of comparing a given text with itself. Moreover, half of the scores repeat, as comparing A with B produces

the same outcome as comparing B with A. Out of the six texts, LV and BL Additional 17,010 are most similar (0.984), while EV and St. John's G. 24 exhibit most differences (0.923). As far as Beinecke 360 is concerned, it is most similar to St. John's G.24 (0.978) and most distinct from EV (0.937). In (1) below I present the text of the first lesson, with bold type used to mark elements that differ across the texts. It has to be noted, however, that this does not mean that one should expect each text to exhibit divergences with respect to all the marked elements. Rather, bold type should be treated as an indicator that a given word or phrase is different (or not present) in at least one version.

(1)[7]
a. J_1_EV
I despeirede, now I shal no morliue; spare to me, Lord, **nothing forsothe** ben my daȝes.
What is a man, **for** thou **magnefiest** hym? **or what** thou settis to **aȝen** hym thin herte?
Thou visitist hym the **morutid**, and **feerli** thou prouest hym.
Hou longe thou sparist not to me, **ne letist** me, that I swolewe my spotele?
I haue synned; what shal I don to thee, O! kepere of men? Whi hast thou **put** me contrarie to thee, and am maad to myself **heuy**?
Whi **takist** thou not awei my synne, and **whi dost** thou not awei my wickidnesse? Lo! nowe in **pouder** I slepe, and if erli thou seche me, I shal not **stonde stille**.
b. J_1_LV
Y dispeiride, now Y schal no more lyue; Lord, spare thou me, **for** my daies ben **nouȝt**.
What is a man, **for** thou **magnifiest** hym? **ether what** settist thou thin herte **toward** hym?
Thou visitisthym **eerly**, and **sudeynli** thou preuest hym.
Hou long sparist thou not me, **nether suffrist** me, that Y swolowe my spotele?
Y haue synned; A! thou kepere of men, what schal Y do to thee? Whi hast thou **set** me contrarie to thee, and Y am maad **greuouse** to my silf?

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7   The continuous texts of St. John's G. 24, BL Additional 17,010 and Beinecke 360 were split into verses according to the other three, with all the texts being adjusted to the division made in EV. The original spelling is preserved in all the texts quoted in this paper.

Whi **doist** thou not awei my sinne, and **whi takist** thou not awei my wickid-
nesse? Lo! now Y schal slepe in **dust**, and if thou sekist me eerli, Y schal not
abide.

c. J_1_Bnck

Spare me lord **forsoþe** my daies ben **nouȝte**.

what is man þat þou **magnefiest**: or **wh*er*** to settist þou þin herte **aȝens** hym?

þou visitist hym in þe **daweuynge**: *and* **sodeynli** þou prouest hym

hou longe sparist þou not me *and* **suffrist** þat I swolewe my spotil.

I haue synned. what schal I do to þee? O þou keper of men: whi hast þou **sette** me
contrarie to þee? and I am made **heuy** to my silf.

whi **takist** þou not awey my synne. and **wh*er* for berist** þou not awey my wickid-
nesse: lo now I slepe in **powdir** and if þou sechist me eerli: I schal not **wiþstonde**

d. J_1_L1891

Spare me lord; **forsothe** my days been **nouȝt**.

What is man **that** thou **makest gret**. **or wer** to settest thou thyn herte **toward**
hym.

Thou uisitest hym in the **dawynge**; and **sodeynliche** thou prouest hym.

How longe sparest thou nouȝt me. **ne suffrest** that y swolwe my spotel;

I haue synned. What schal y do to thee thou ke*per*e of men; Whi hast thou **sett**
me contrarie to the and y am maad **heuy** to myself;

Why **takest** thou nouȝt a wey my synne; and **wherefore berest** thou nouȝt a wey
my wickednesse; Lo now y slepe in **poudre** and; ȝif þou seche me erly; y schal
nouȝt **withstonde**.

e. J_1_L1895

Lord, spare þou me, **for** my daies ben **not**!

what is man, **for** þou **magnefiest** hi*m*?

þou visitist him **eerli**; and **sodeynli** þou preuest hi*m*

hou longe sparest þ*ou* not me, **neþer suffrest** þat y swolewe my spotele?

y have sy*n*ned, o þou keper of men, what shal y do to þee? Whi hast þou **set** me
contrarie to þee? *and* y am maad **greuouse** to my silf?

whi **doist** þou not awey my synne? *and* **whi takest** þou not a-wey my wickid-
nesse? Lo, now, y slepe in **poudur**; and if þou sekest me eerli, y schal not **abide**.

f. J_1_M

LORD, spare thou me **for** my daies ben **nouȝt**:

what is a man **that** thou **magnyfiest** him, **ethir what** settist thou thin herte **to-
ward** him

Thou visitist him **eerli**: and **sudenli** thou preuyst him.

How longe sparist thou not to me **nether suffrist** me: that I swolewe my spotele.

I haue synned. A, thou kepere of men, what shal I do to thee: whi hast thou **sett** me contrarie to thee, and I am made **greuous** to my silf.

Why **doist** thou not awei my synne: and **whi takist** thou not awei my wickid-nesse. Lo, now I shal slepe in **dust**: and if thou sekist me eerli, I shal not **abide**.

As is clear, although the quoted fragments generally show more similarities than divergences, they differ in respect of several elements. The texts of Beinecke 360 and St. John's G. 24 exhibit four differences, which concern lexical items: *magnefiest* vs. *makest gret*, *aʒens* vs. *toward*, *and* vs. *ne*, and the exclamation *O* present in Beinecke 360, but not in St. John's G. 24. Those four points of divergence resulted in the score 0.978. When it comes to the texts of Beinecke 360 and EV, however, the number of differences is four times greater. For instance, the text of EV begins with the words *I despeirede, now I shal no morliue*, which are not present in Beinecke 360. In terms of lexical divergences, verbs are most varied (for instance *lettist* vs. *suffrist*), with single cases of differing nouns (*morutid* vs. *daweuynge*) and adverbs (*feerli* vs. *sodeynli*). All the differences resulted in the similarity score of 0.937.

The rest of this section will present the similarity scores obtained for the other lessons, followed by a discussion in the context of the textual traditions of the analyzed texts.

	J_2_EV	J_2_LV	J_2_B360	J_2_G. 24	J_2_Dd,11. 82	J_2_Add.17,010
J_2_EV	1	0.942	0.912	0.903	0.944	0.934
J_2_LV	0.942	1	0.921	0.91	1	0.991
J_2_B360	0.912	0.921	1	0.928	0.922	0.922
J_2_G. 24	0.903	0.91	0.928	1	0.911	0.903
J_2_Dd,11. 82	0.944	1	0.922	0.911	1	0.992
J_2_Add.17,010	0.934	0.991	0.922	0.903	0.992	1

Table 2. Similarity scores for the second lesson from the Book of Job

	J_3_EV	J_3_LV	J_3_B360	J_3_G. 24	J_3_Dd,11. 82	J_3_Add.17,010
J_3_EV	1	0.973	0.948	0.945	0.969	0.974
J_3_LV	0.973	1	0.938	0.932	0.983	**0.997**
J_3_B360	0.948	0.938	1	0.987	0.953	0.941
J_3_G. 24	0.945	0.932	0.987	1	0.944	0.934
J_3_Dd,11. 82	0.969	0.983	0.953	0.944	1	0.98
J_3_Add.17,010	0.974	**0.997**	0.941	0.934	0.98	1

Table 3. Similarity scores for the third lesson from the Book of Job

	J_4_EV	J_4_LV	J_4_B360	J_4_G. 24	J_4_Dd,11. 82	J_4_Add.17,010
J_4_EV	1	0.948	0.947	0.939	0.947	0.946
J_4_LV	0.948	1	0.922	0.923	0.99	**0.992**
J_4_B360	0.947	0.922	1	0.974	0.919	0.911
J_4_G. 24	0.939	0.923	0.974	1	0.919	0.911
J_4_Dd,11. 82	0.947	0.99	0.919	0.919	1	0.981
J_4_Add.17,010	0.946	**0.992**	0.911	0.911	0.981	1

Table 4. Similarity scores for the fourth lesson from the Book of Job

	J_5_EV	J_5_LV	J_5_B360	J_5_G. 24	J_5_Dd,11. 82	J_5_Add.17,010
J_5_EV	1	0.906	0.906	0.913	0.942	0.892
J_5_LV	0.906	1	0.896	0.908	0.975	**0.976**
J_5_B360	0.906	0.896	1	0.944	0.931	0.894
J_5_G. 24	0.913	0.908	0.944	1	0.938	0.895
J_5_Dd,11. 82	0.942	0.975	0.931	0.938	1	0.967
J_5_Add.17,010	0.892	**0.976**	0.894	0.895	0.967	1

Table 5. Similarity scores for the fifth lesson from the Book of Job

	J_6_EV	J_6_LV	J_6_B360	J_6_G. 24	J_6_Dd,11. 82	J_6_Add.17,010
J_6_EV	1	0.862	0.905	0.899	0.842	0.869
J_6_LV	0.862	1	0.914	0.918	0.946	**0.991**
J_6_B360	0.905	0.914	1	0.941	0.896	0.905
J_6_G. 24	0.899	0.918	0.941	1	0.917	0.922
J_6_Dd,11. 82	0.842	0.946	0.896	0.917	1	0.951
J_6_Add.17,010	0.869	**0.991**	0.905	0.922	0.951	1

Table 6. Similarity scores for the sixth lesson from the Book of Job

	J_7_EV	J_7_LV	J_7_B360	J_7_G. 24	J_7_ Dd,11. 82	J_7_ Add.17,010
J_7_EV	1	0.934	0.961	0.954	0.933	0.933
J_7_LV	0.934	1	0.943	0.939	0.976	0.979
J_7_B360	0.961	0.943	1	**0.984**	0.96	0.963
J_7_G. 24	0.954	0.939	**0.984**	1	0.956	0.959
J_7_Dd,11. 82	0.933	0.976	0.96	0.956	1	**0.984**
J_7_Add.17,010	0.933	0.979	0.963	0.959	**0.984**	1

Table 7. Similarity scores for the seventh lesson from the Book of Job

	J_8_EV	J_8_LV	J_8_B360	J_8_G. 24	J_8_ Dd,11. 82	J_8_ Add.17,010
J_8_EV	1	0.922	0.969	0.902	0.907	0.927
J_8_LV	0.922	1	0.939	0.918	0.975	**0.997**
J_8_B360	0.969	0.939	1	0.958	0.919	0.943
J_8_G. 24	0.902	0.918	0.958	1	0.901	0.921
J_8_Dd,11. 82	0.907	0.975	0.919	0.901	1	0.975
J_8_Add.17,010	0.927	**0.997**	0.943	0.921	0.975	1

Table 8. Similarity scores for the eighth lesson from the Book of Job

	J_9_EV	J_9_LV	J_9_B360	J_9_G. 24	J_9_ Dd,11. 82	J_9_ Add.17,010
J_9_EV	1	0.9	0.906	0.882	0.903	0.893
J_9_LV	0.9	1	0.876	0.854	0.873	**0.995**
J_9_B360	0.906	0.876	1	0.923	0.939	0.874
J_9_G. 24	0.882	0.854	0.923	1	0.897	0.858
J_9_Dd,11. 82	0.903	0.873	0.939	0.897	1	0.867
J_9_Add.17,010	0.893	**0.995**	0.874	0.858	0.867	1

Table 9. Similarity scores for the ninth lesson from the Book of Job

As transpires from the data presented in Table 1-9, there are several detailed observations to be made. I am going to focus on tracing the textual affinities of the primers with respect to the EV and LV, but first let me make some general remarks. Especially worth noting are the similarity scores for the third lesson, which exhibit the smallest range of divergences (0.932-0.997), as well as the scores obtained for the sixth lesson, which exhibit the greatest range (0.842-0.991). Interestingly enough, it is the third lesson that presents the highest score between the texts of EV and LV (0.973), while in the sixth lesson the two versions of the Wycliffite Bible exhibit greatest differences (0.862).

According to the data presented above, while the lessons mostly conform to the textual tradition established for the psalms, with Beinecke 360, BL Additional 17,010, and CUL Dd. 11.82 resembling LV and St. John's G. 24 showing similarity to both EV and LV, each lesson contains at least one instance where particular texts do not conform to the pattern. In particular, although the texts of CUL Dd. 11. 82 and BL Additional 17,010 follow the tradition of LV for eight lessons (with the scores ranging from 0.946-1 for CUL Dd. 11.82 and 0.976-0.997 for BL Additional 17,010), in the final lesson only BL Additional 17,010 shows greater similarity to the text of LV (0.995) than that of EV (0.893), whereas CUL Dd. 11. 82 exhibits greater similarity to EV (0.903) than LV (0.873). More frequent discrepancies can be observed with regard to Beinecke 360 and St. John's G. 24. What is interesting, although based on prior research on the psalms contained in these primers, the texts might be expected to represent two different textual traditions, LV for Beinecke 360 and EV for St. John's G. 24, they appear to mostly come from the same source: LV for the first, second, and sixth lesson and EV for the third, fourth, fifth, seventh and ninth lesson. This means that where one conforms to the tradition established for the psalms, the other does not. It is only in the eighth lesson that each text follows a different tradition, but not the one proposed in the literature so far. As regards the textual traditions for the Book of Job proposed in the existing literature, they appear to be confirmed, for the most part, by the data obtained in the present study, with a few discrepancies. It transpires from the above that the text of St. John's G. 24 follows the tradition of both EV and LV, thus contradicting the claim that the lessons bear no connection to either version of the Wycliffite Bible. Moreover, while BL Additional 17,010 and CUL Dd. 11.82 exhibit great similarity to LV, it is not always the latter that shows more variation from the text of the Bible, contrary to the claim made by Allen (1970).

In sum, out of the nine lessons, the tradition of LV is followed three times by the text of Beinecke 360 (in the first, second and sixth lesson, with the scores ranging from 0.921-0.940), four times by the text of St. John's G. 24 (in the first, second, sixth and eighth lesson, with the scores ranging from 0.910-0.929), eight times by the texts CUL Dd. 11. 82 (with the scores ranging from 0.946-1) and in all analyzed lessons in BL Additional 17,010 (with the scores ranging from 0.976-0.997).

5. Conclusion

It appears then that the textual traditions established by the researchers for the psalms are not necessarily uniform in the case of the text of Job and represent a general tendency rather than classification applicable to the entire scriptural content of the primers. Moreover, it might suggest that upon closer examination, the offered textual traditions of the psalms could turn out to be much more diverse for particular instances. It follows that the content of English primers should not be treated as a homogeneous whole, but each text should be examined and classified individually. The results obtained in my study for the textual tradition of the lessons from the Book of Job behind the text of Beinecke 360, St. John's G. 24, CUL Dd. 11. 82 and BL Additional 17,010 tie up in this respect with the results obtained by Charzyńska-Wójcik and Wójcik (in prep.) for the Seven Penitential Psalms contained in the primers.

It is hoped that the present study will encourage further interest in tracing connections between different versions of medieval books of hours as well as contribute to spreading the use of text similarity measurements to analyze historical texts. Not only does the proposed methodology offer a sensitive and reliable tool for comparative analysis, but it can be applied to an unlimited number of texts, enabling research on a scale that has not been possible before.

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Conference Report

The 30ᵗʰ Annual Conference of the Polish Association for the Study of English, Kraków 1-3 July 2022

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The Polish Association for the Study of English held its 30ᵗʰ annual conference, hosted by the Institute of English Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków on the first three days of July 2022. As it was an anniversary event, taking place on-site for the first time after two years of pandemic-induced lockdowns and rules on social distancing, the organisers asked the participants to reflect upon the theme of "Transitions." As is the custom with PASE conferences, papers in all fields of English Studies were invited: literature, linguistics, translation, cultural studies, and EFL methodology. The suggested topics included the following: beginnings and endings; changes, alterations and transformations; thresholds, turning points and critical junctures; transitoriness and the state of in-betweenness; critical engagement with the past, reform and revolution; redefinitions of concepts and theories, paradigm shifts; the search for new ideas, approaches, and methodologies.

The conference attracted a number of distinguished scholars from Poland and abroad, as well as several junior scholars, for whom PASE conferences always provide a welcoming platform. Whereas all the main Polish universities were represented, there were also attendees from the United Kingdom, Germany, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, the Czech Republic, Ukraine, and the United States.

The conference was opened by Professor Władysław Witalisz, Dean of the Faculty of Philology, who welcomed the participants on behalf of the Rector and the Faculty. An opening address also was delivered by Professor Andrzej Pawelec, Head of the Institute of English Studies. Professor Jacek Fabiszak, President of the Polish Association for the Study of English, highlighted the fact that on the thirtieth anniversary of the organisation, PASE had returned to its place of origin, i.e. the Jagiellonian University. The opening ceremony was followed by the first plenary lecture, given by Professor Andreas H. Jucker from the University of Zurich, currently President of the European Society for the Study of English. In his interdisciplinary lecture "The pragmatics of emotion in fiction" Prof. Jucker argued that emotions are an integral part of the fictional

worlds around us, be it in the form of movies or television series, novels or theatre plays. From a perspective informed by the research done in pragmatics, the lecturer indicated ways in which emotions may be explored in fictional contexts.

The three other plenary lectures addressed the theme of transitions in all the fields represented at the conference. Prof. Andrzej Łyda's (University of Silesia in Katowice) lecture, titled "Emotive shifts: academia, genre, and translation," explored the rarely researched question of emotivity in academic discourse. Drawing on a corpus of examples from the genre of research article and popular science journal article, Prof. Łyda focused especially on the problem of "emotivity in translation" in academic discourse.

The second day of the conference opened with Prof. Felix Sprang's (University of Siegen) inspiring talk about entanglements of speech and silence. In his wide-ranging lecture "Literary transitions: from silence to utterance" Prof. Sprang referred to classical rhetoric and Renaissance poetics, Victorian notions of the dialectical relationship between silence and speech, and examined contemporary poetics in order to claim that literature is rooted in silence. The closing plenary lecture was delivered by Prof. Elżbieta Chrzanowska-Kluczewska of the Jagiellonian University. Transcending the boundaries of literature, art and linguistics, Prof. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska's fascinating talk "Semiotic transitions: Transmedial crossings of textual frames" presented Lotman's idea of *frame* as an important integrational category valuable for all kinds of semiotic research on a broadly conceived textuality. As the lecture included Kraków's historical monuments among its numerous references, for many conference participants (according to our reports) it proved to be a further inducement to go sight-seeing.

Nearly eighty papers were delivered during the three days of the conference. All were grouped into panels or thematic sessions. One of the most popular panels was "Beyond the Anthropocene: Post-Anthropocentric Approaches in/ to Literature, Visual Culture and Theory," coordinated by Tymon Adamczewski, Katarzyna Więckowska, and Tomasz Dobrogoszcz. The presentations concerned various aspects of posthumanist thinking and textual production in literature, visual culture and other contexts. In times of the planetary crisis, the organisers invited explorations of experimental poetics as well as post-anthropocentric theoretical positions. María del Pino Montesdeoca chaired another topical panel, devoted to the impact of Brexit on literature and culture ("Brexit: Transitions to New Literary and Cultural Perspectives").

A significant number of papers concerned rewritings, rereadings and reinterpretations. The "Adaptation as Transition/Transition as Adaptation" panel, coordinated by Jacek Fabiszak and Anna Wołosz-Sosnowska, comprised presentations which traced the transition, or change and movement, from the adapted to adapting texts in selected literature. Izabela Curyłło-Klag and Ewa Kowal, the coordinators of the panel "The Myths of Modernism / Modernism and Myths: Then and Now," asked the participants to reflect both on the modernists' love of myths and the myths which now surround the modernist writers themselves. The papers in this panel discussed writers and works that have engaged in rewriting of ancient scripts and/or have entered into dialogues with the modernists as pivotal figures within the literary mythos. Another panel devoted to the legacy of modernism was "Littoral Modernisms: from the Centre to Peripheries," proposed by Ryszard Wolny. The presentations explored the phenomenon of modernism transitioning outside Europe and into alternative forms. Modern rewritings and reinterpretations were also the subject of the panel "The Robinsonade: Transits and Transitions," hosted by Jakub Lipski and Patrick Gill. The papers in this panel investigated the castaway plot across media, periods and regions.

There were also thematic sessions focusing on literary spaces, theatre and film, Shakespearean transitions, connections between the self, the body and writing, new media, new historical fictions, transitions in African literatures, theoretical linguistics, applied linguistics as well as translation studies.

The conference venue was the new Paderevianum building, home of the Institute of English Studies, while the plenary lectures took place in the nearby building of the Faculty of Law and Administration, both located in central Kraków. We were especially pleased with the efficient air-conditioning in both venues, which saved us from the early July heatwave.

The crowning non-academic event of the conference was the dinner, sponsored by PASE in order to celebrate its anniversary. All the conference participants were invited to enjoy the atmospheric garden of the Italian-style Mięta restaurant.

Following the conference, the participants received a call to submit their contributions to the *Polish Journal of English Studies*, published by PASE. The readers of the journal are already familiar with some of the inspiring talks which were published in the 8.2/2022 issue.

Conference Report
"Shakespeare Politically In/correct"
23rd April 2023, Gdańsk

Anna Wołosz-Sosnowska
Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

It was professor Jerzy Limon's idea to celebrate the anniversary of Shakespeare's birthday not only with a birthday cake and a theatrical performance, but by bringing together Shakespeare scholars from all over the world and hold an intellectually challenging discussion on that special day. After a three-year break, due to Covid-19 pandemic and lockdowns (the previous conference was an online event held in Polish on 23rd April 2020 - "Szekspir w czasie teraźniejszym (złożonym)") Polish Shakespeare Association in co-operation with Gdańsk Shakespeare Theatre organized a one-day conference titled "Shakespeare Politically In/Correct" which took place at the Gdańsk Shakespeare Theatre thanks to the courtesy of the director Agata Grenda. The hybrid format of the conference allowed people from all over the world to join in, making this truly an international event.

The organisers of the conference wanted to focus on the universal dimension of Shakespeare's text, film and stage adaptations, and translations that may be problematic for the contemporary audience and readers for social and political reasons. Shakespeare in the context of political in/correctness, censorship, and contemporary politics were the issues that were of particular interest.

The conference was opened by the President of the Polish Shakespeare Association Professor Jacek Fabiszak who welcomed the participants and expressed gratitude to Gdańsk Shakespeare Theatre and its director Agata Grenda for allowing the conference to take place at the theatre. The conference consisted of three parts: a keynote lecture, a session held in English, and a session held in Polish.

The key notespeaker, Dr. Imke Lichterfeld from Bonn University was introduced by Dr. Anna Kowalcze-Pawlik, Deputy President of PSA. Dr. Lichterfeld talked about the significance of casting in theatre and film, and, particularly, how colour-, gender-, race- and disability-casting may impact the reception of a performance. Staging Shakespeare creates a gateway for new casting choices which will be more inclusive and the adaptations constitute a great opportunity to question casting choices made both in the past and present. The lecture was very well received and inspired a lively discussion during Q&A session.

After the keynote address, a session held in English started with five presentations covering various topics. The first speaker, prof. Ronan Paterson from Teesside University talked about using Shakespeare for political purposes in post-war Berlin by both the Allies and the Soviets in a paper titled "Berlin, Moscow and Cannes: Shakespeare, Soft Power and the Iron Curtain". Ronan Paterson provided the listeners with the historical background concerning the division of post-war Germany into sectors and how the political tension spread to culture and how both sides used cultural soft power to gain socio-political dominance.

The next speaker was Maria Sawicka from Warsaw University with a paper "'I Am a Jew.' ינא ידוהי : Identity and Social Exclusion in the Multicultural World of William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*", who presented an in-depth textual analysis of the play focusing on Shylock's language and the identity-shaping process. She also talked about Shylock's identity in reference to other Jews living in Venice, Christians, and the society in general. Moreover, the initial analysis became a starting point for the discussion on issues of cultural identity, perception of self, and one's place in modern society. Sawicka's paper reminded us of the significance of textual analysis, and how the method can still be revealing and inspirational.

The third paper "War – Violence – Religion in Theatrical Adaptations of *Macbeth* by Grzegorz Jarzyna, Agata Duda-Gracz, and Andrzej Wajda" was delivered by prof. Jacek Fabiszak and Anna Wołosz-Sosnowska from Adam Mickiewicz University. The authors focused on interpreting three adaptations of *Macbeth*, two theatrical and one television theatre performance, all of which appeared before 2020. Despite various aesthetic and staging choices as well as a diversity of settings (Duda-Gracz set her *Macbeth* in 11th c. Scotland; Wajda in a post-war, post-apocalyptic future; Jarzyna in the 21st century Iraq/Afghanistan during the war on terror) their common denominator was the perception of evil and violence as an unavoidable element of humanity, stemming from a reflection on the significance of religion in the human society. Particularly in the case of Jarzyna's and Duda-Gracz's *Macbeth* religion is one of the reasons for widespread violence, without providing any moral help, while Wajda in his production shows a world without religion, which, however, is not a world without violence and evil. The comparison of the productions was to draw attention to the relationship between religion and violence.

The next paper, "Caliban. Politically Incorrect: On Disability Representations" was presented by Dr. Anna Kowalcze-Pawlik from the University of

Łódź. She began her paper with a historical overview of representing Caliban since the 19th c. onwards: Caliban- slave, Caliban- animal, Caliban-non-human creature. On that basis Kowalcze-Pawlik moved on to interpreting Caliban in terms of inclusion and exclusion once the character is represented as the disabled and that his exclusion gains a new dimension as disability becomes new otherness. The examples used in the presentation came from *The Tempest* by Szymon Kaczmarek from Gdańsk Shakespeare Theatre (2021) and *The Tempest* by Elizabeth Freestone from Royal Shakespeare Company (2023).

The final presentation in this session was delivered by Joanna Różańska from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Her paper "Shakespeare in Dubai – Be or How to Be?" sheds light on the position of Shakespeare on theatrical stages in Dubai and the Emirates, where socio-cultural arrangements concerning public display of affection make staging some Shakespeare plays (i.e. historical plays), which display nudity, problematic. The author took into consideration Dubai's sociological structure and self-censorship imposed by artistic and theatrical circles. The paper met with a lively response from the audience.

The second session of the conference was delivered in Polish and focused, too, on many interesting topics and issues. The first presentation was given by Dr. Jan Grzanka who, deploying a philosophical paradigm, talked about Jacques Lacan's seminal work on *Hamlet* in 1958-59 with a particular attention paid to characters' desire(s). Following Lacan's ideas, desire in *Hamlet* pushed everybody to make both good and bad decisions.

After the philosophical interpretation, Dr. Barbara Świąder-Puchowska turned the attention to theatrical adaptations of *Hamlet* since 1989 in her paper "The Prince of Denmark in 'the New Poland'. Hamlet in the Polish Theatres after 1989". Świąder-Puchowska provided a detailed overview of issues and themes which have recurred; she reflected on the popularity of the play and the political agenda that theatrical directors had when staging the play. In the recent years, the political dimension of the productions have not been so overt, which poses a question whether *Hamlet* has lost its "political edge" due to the transformation.

The next speaker, Bożena Pysiewicz from the Poster Museum in Wilanów, talked about theatrical posters from Shakespeare productions showcased in the museum's collection. Her presentation "Shakespeare on the Poster" was about the posters that have been collected for over 60 years, from productions which have or have not been realized. In her presentation, Pysiewicz did not divide

the posters in terms of technique in which they had been made, but in terms of themes and interpretative elements which appear on them. She also discussed in greater detail works submitted to the competition organized by AMS Poster Gallery "Szekspir ∞" in 2016 and how the posters entered the urban domain of Polish streets.

The final paper of the conference, "Not in Front of the Kids! Censorship and Political Correctness in Literary Adaptations of Shakespeare's Plays for Young Readers", was delivered by Dr. Michał Pruszak who talked about the history of literary adaptations for children since the 19th century until today. Pruszak drew attention to the self-imposed censorship of the authors when the publications were directed at younger readers. The censorship encompassed altering delicate subjects of violence, abuse, and race.

The one day conference concluded with a heated discussion on the role of Shakespeare in contemporary Poland in particular and the world in general; issues such as socio-economic and post-pandemic situation, war in Ukraine, political vagaries were addressed. The variety of papers allowed the listeners not only to look into the past political (ab)uses of Shakespeare , but also reflect on contemporary ones. The issue formulated stated in the title of the conference "Shakespeare Politically In/Correct" has not been comprehensively and definitively discussed because it cannot be. The question of political in/correctness in reference to Shakespeare is open requiring further research. The conference constituted a significant voice in this ongoing investigation.

Autors' Biodata

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