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‘Communication, Connectivity, and Convergence’

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Mike Erskine, *Tintagel Castle Bridge, UK*, 2020

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Contents

Editor's Introduction

The articles of this year's *Emergence* publication are all based upon papers given at the 13th annual Arts and Humanities Postgraduate Conference, organised by the University of Southampton's Arts and Humanities Graduate School Student Network (GradNet), on the 7th to 8th of June 2021, broadly on the theme of, 'Communication, Connectivity, and Convergence'. Contributors to this journal were invited to take part by the editors after the conference had concluded, and their papers have since gone through a rigorous peer review and writing/re-writing process to arrive at the pages which follow.

These papers reflect the diligence of research, intelligence of application, and high academic standards demonstrated by the next generation of up-and-coming academics, on topics ranging from history to art, and literature to linguistics. Whether it is through the dissection of social networks within the Tudor court, the impact of imported weaving techniques to renaissance Florence, or even the changing relationship and understanding between animals and early-modern seafarers, all of these papers engage with community, connectivity, or convergence in their own way. Below you will find out about how feminist activists connect, blurring the online and offline, to respond to sexual violence and harassment, how the communication between and of families on Russian talk shows relates to, and regulates, national morality, and what motivates translators to volunteer for non-profit organisations such as Wikipedia. Furthermore, our contributors highlight how the recent adaptation of *Anne with an E* can give opportunities to highlight the experiences of the LGBTQ+ community, and how something as simple as playing the piano can express intersubjective connectivity in novels at the dawn of the 20th century. They are all demonstrating the fruits of their current research, and we hope that you will find reading the articles below both enjoyable, and intellectually stimulating.

The GradNet 2021 Conference was reorganised by a new team following its cancellation thanks to the Coronavirus Pandemic and subsequent public-health measures in 2020. It has been a difficult time for many, and I am immensely thankful for both the organising committee and editorial team in overcoming the obstacles in front of them, and determinedly working towards the organisation of the conference and publication of this journal. Despite adapting to host the first ever digitised GradNet Conference and surpassing

both illness and the uncertainty of the time we've faced, all those involved should be truly proud of their achievements, finalised in this publication.

I would like to thank everyone who has been involved in producing this year's edition of *Emergence*, for their patience, diligence, and kindness, for helping fight against the loneliness of postgraduate life, and for making this journal a continuing contribution to global knowledge, doctoral community, and academic debate.

Daniel Wigmore

PhD Candidate, History

Emergence Chief Editor, 2021-2022

Arts and Humanities Graduate School Student Network (GradNet)

The Arts and Humanities Graduate School Student Network (GradNet) is an inclusive, student-led community for all postgraduates in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities. It strives to create an atmosphere in which students are able to connect, both as individuals and as developing professionals.

We aim to:

- Build and maintain a vibrant postgraduate community for the students, by the students.
- Cultivate identities as academic researchers, both individually and collectively.
- Engage in current academic debate.
- Nurture the acquisition and development of transferable skills for future careers.
- Provide opportunities for social interaction.

In order to achieve these aims, we aim to:

- Offer discussion-based, peer reviewed seminars led by current students.
- Organise social and cultural events.
- Organise an annual conference.
- Produce an annual journal, *Emergence*.

Emergence

Emergence is the University of Southampton's Arts and Humanities Graduate School peer-reviewed research journal, providing students with the opportunity to disseminate their research to a diverse audience of peers and professionals. Drawing on the papers which are given at our annual GradNet conference, *Emergence* aims to incorporate the voices of Southampton students as well as scholars across the UK for the purpose of producing a diverse, multidisciplinary platform which allows students to showcase their research. With support from the Graduate Humanities Office, *Emergence* is produced by students, for students, aiming to help postgraduate scholars develop their skills as academic researchers and writers, editors and proof-readers, building academic profiles for the future.

Get Involved

If you are interested in participating in any of the GradNet activities, please get in touch. As both GradNet and *Emergence* are student-lead endeavours, we are actively seeking postgraduate researcher involvement. There is no minimum obligation involved; participants are welcome to help as much or as little as they are able, and we offer a variety of opportunities which can suit a diverse range of academic abilities. Whether you'd like to submit a paper, serve on the editorial board, or help with organising our next event, we'd love to have you on the team! Please get in touch with us at Gradnet@soton.ac.uk.

Humanities Graduate School Student Network

For more on the University of Southampton network, please see:
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A praxeological approach to the study of volunteer translators' motivations across four language communities of Wikipedia

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The history of humankind has been characterised by the continuous development of social behaviours aimed at reaching a wide range of milestones and fulfilling tasks. To some extent, it can be argued that such objectives give meaning to our experience and define how we interact with one another. Towards the second half of the 20th century, there were various attempts to conceptualise this view of the world through the lens of what later came to be known collectively as 'practice theory'. Despite some notable differences and divisions within this school of thought, practice theorists tend to agree that human action – 'praxis' or 'practice' – is intrinsically a social endeavour.[1] Wenger, for instance, defines practice as 'the property of a community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a joint enterprise'.[2] Schatzki, who does not adhere to Wenger's concept of community, still emphasises the social dimension of practice, which in his view consists of 'common and orchestrated understandings, rules and normative teleologies'.[3]

In light of their intrinsically social nature, practices have been the main object of enquiry to understand human behaviour in a wide range of settings, from healthcare and construction sites to schools and translation agencies.[4] Regarding the latter activity, practice theory as a conceptual framework has also been applied to examine the work of translators

[1] Throughout this article, I will be using the adjective 'praxeological' to refer to the study of practice.
[2] Etienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice. Learning, Meaning, and Identity* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 45.
[3] Theodore Schatzki, 'Materiality and Social Life', *Nature and Culture*, 5:2 (2010), p. 129.
[4] Davide Nicolini, 'Practice as the Site of Knowing: Insights from the Field of Telemedicine', *Organization Science*, 22:3 (2011), 602-620.; Nick Marshall, 'Thinking, Saying and Doing in Collaborative Projects: What Can We Learn from Theories of Practice?' *Engineering Project Organization Journal*, 4 (2014), 107-122.; Paul Hager, 'Theories of Practice and Their Connections with Learning: A Continuum of More and Less Inclusive Accounts', in *Practice, Learning and Change*, ed. by Paul Hager, Alison Lee and Ann Reich (Dordrecht: Springer, 2012).; Maeve Olohan, *Translation and Practice Theory* (London; New York: Routledge, 2021).

in museums and online communities.[5] Nevertheless, research on translation practices in sites such as Wikipedia is still lacking. Consequently, in this article, I draw upon Wenger's concept of 'communities of practice' as a suitable strand of praxeological thinking to analyse the motivations of 16 experienced translators working in four of the current 325 language versions of the multilingual user-driven encyclopaedia.[6] The aim is to better understand how they were socialised into the practice of volunteer translation in a site that remains one of the most frequently consulted sources of information in the world.[7]

This article is divided into three main sections and a conclusion. In the first part, I discuss communities of practice in more detail, and I explain why some of their tenets can be applied to the study of translation in Wikipedia. In the second section, I focus on the research design, particularly the sampling criteria and the data collection process. In the third section, I examine the participants' responses from a praxeological perspective. Finally, in the concluding section, I briefly discuss the primary findings of the investigation, and I suggest avenues for future research.

Motivation as a driving force in communities of practice

As mentioned earlier, communities of practice are defined and sustained by a joint enterprise. This joint enterprise is nothing more than a goal towards which all efforts should be directed. Therefore, individuals within a given community – also known as practitioners – come together for the sole realisation of practice. Regardless of their personal circumstances, practitioners should leave their differences aside and devote time and effort to accomplish a series of milestones. In essence, practitioners mutually engage driven by either the desire or the necessity to achieve the aims of their community. In the case of a project as long-standing and diverse as Wikipedia, editors – including translators – join the encyclopaedia on a volunteer basis and collaborate with one another to serve the platform's mission. Such mission was clearly stated by Wikipedia's co-founder Jimmy Wales during a 2008 interview

[5] Robert Neather, '"Non-Expert Translators in a Professional Community: Identity, Anxiety and Perceptions of Translator Expertise in the Chinese Museum Community', *The Translator*, 18: 2 (2012): 245-268.; Chuan Yu, 'Negotiating Identity Roles during the Process of Online Collaborative Translation: An Ethnographic Approach', *Translation Studies*, 12:2 (2019): 231-252.

[6] See Wenger.; Wikipedia, 'Wikipedia' (2021) <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia> [accessed 28 November 2021].

[7] Alexa Ranking of Top Sites (2021) <https://www.alexa.com/topsites> [accessed 28 November 2021].

with *The Guardian.*[8] In Wales' view, Wikipedia should aim 'to create and distribute a free encyclopaedia of the highest possible quality to every single person on the planet *in their own language*' [my emphasis].

Previous studies on the motivations of volunteer translators have found that individuals working in not-for-profit organisations tend to become involved for cause-driven reasons. For instance, McDonough Dolmaya examined the motivations driving English Wikipedia translators.[9] Through data collected from a survey with 75 respondents, she found that 89.3% were interested in making information available to other readers in their language. Of these, 56% declared endorsing the aims laid out by Wikipedia's co-founder. Likewise, Olohan studied why individuals translate for the American media organisation TED.[10] Her analysis of 11 blog posts revealed that TED content translators shared a desire to increase the supply of global knowledge.[11] Cámara de la Fuente, using a self-administered structured questionnaire, discovered that TED translators were primarily keen on contributing to TED's mission.[12] Drawing on data collected from 177 questionnaires, her study also showed that TED translators had joined the site to feel that they were doing something productive in their free time and as an opportunity to acquire knowledge in an informal environment. More recently, Jones' spatial-narrative study of Wikipedia content-creation has shown that there are competing interests and instances of disagreement behind the altruistic or cause-driven endeavour of volunteer translators.[13]

Despite the significance of previous research in helping understand the motivations of Wikipedia translators, most studies have focused on the English Wikipedia. Against this backdrop, I shift the attention to other large communities of the user-driven encyclopaedia in this article. Specifically, I investigate the Spanish, French, Dutch and Swedish language

[8] Jimmy Wales, 'The wisdom of crowds', *The Guardian*, 22 June 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/jun/22/wikipedia.internet> [accessed 28 November 2021].
[9] Julie McDonough Dolmaya, 'Analyzing the Crowdsourcing Model and Its Impact on Public Perceptions of Translation', *The Translator*, 18:2 (2012), 167-191.
[10] Maeve Olohan, 'Why do you translate? Motivation to Volunteer and TED Translation', *Translation Studies*, 7:1 (2014), 17-33.
[11] Ibid., p. 25.
[12] Lidia Cámara de la Fuente, 'Motivation to collaboration in TED Open Translation Project', *International Journal of Web Based Communities*, 11:2 (2015), 210-229.
[13] Henry Jones, 'Multilingual Knowledge Production and Dissemination in Wikipedia: A Spatial Narrative Analysis of the Collaborative Construction of City-related Articles within the User-generated Encyclopaedia' (doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 2017).

communities. These four communities or language versions – as they are sometimes called – differ in their deployment and usage of automated content-creation devices such as Wikipedia's bespoke Content Translation Tool (CX) and software robots, most commonly known as 'bots'.[14] Although I do not intend to discuss these differences in this article, it is worth noting that they were considered a fundamental criterion for selecting these specific language communities over others as the objects of study.[15]

In its lay sense, the term 'community' has often been used to describe all the volunteers that work within a specific language version of the encyclopaedia. Ensslin argues that this view results from a process of 'pseudo-unifying collectivisation', where culturally diverse individuals are considered to belong to one single reified entity.[16] From a practice-theoretical angle, communities emerge when there is a joint enterprise, goal or domain, mutual engagement, and a shared repertoire. According to Wenger, the shared repertoire is an abstract arena that comprises the symbols, artefacts, materials and concepts that configure the practices of a given community.[17] To put it more succinctly, individuals within a community draw upon common understandings of practice and make use of bespoke materials to perform their activities and achieve their goals. As Table 1 below illustrates, McDonough Dolmaya's study results could be interpreted in terms of mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire.[18]

[14] The Spanish and French Wikipedia communities are the top users of CX, whereas the Dutch and Swedish Wikipedia communities stand out for their large-scale deployment of bots.
[15] José Gustavo Góngora-Goloubintseff, 'Translation in Wikipedia: A Praxeological Study of Normativity, Negotiation and Automation across Four Language Communities' (doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 2021).
[16] Astrid Ensslin, 'What an Un-wiki Way of Doing Things: Wikipedia's Multilingual Policy and Metalinguistic Practice', *Journal of Language and Politics*, 10:4 (2011), p. 545.
[17] See Wenger.
[18] McDonough Dolmaya.

Mutual engagement	Joint enterprise	Shared repertoire
To agree to translate articles into other languages. To participate in projects such as Wikipedia: Translation.	To make information available to speakers of other languages and achieve Wikipedia's mission.	Materials: multiple, such as content translation tools, online dictionaries, and other Wikipedia pages. Concepts/symbols: Translation as a means to an end, to bridge the gap between cultures.

Table 1. The motivations of the Wikipedia translators described using the three core components of communities of practice.

It is apparent that for a community of practice to emerge and thrive, there must be a sense of purpose and a series of materials and concepts to help achieve milestones. Although there is a paucity of research on Wikipedia content creators as a community of practice, scholars such as Yu have applied Wenger's conceptualisation to shed light on the activities of volunteer translators in the online Chinese crowdsourcing platform Yeeyan.[19] She found that the collaborators of the site mutually engage to perform tasks like editing, proofreading and decision-making. Yu also observed that translators would often praise or 'mutually recognise' each other's work to keep the practice afloat. As I discussed in a more complete study, Wikipedia editors often resort to similar tactics on forum-like spaces known as 'talk pages', which they may use to propose changes to a page but also to engage with their peers in amicable as well as in substantially less constructive debates.[20]

Research design

Having introduced the theoretical framework that informs the study, I now turn my attention to data collection and analysis. This article draws on data collected from semi-structured interviews with 16 Wikipedia translators of four language communities: Spanish, French, Dutch and Swedish. The interviews were held on Zoom between July and August 2020. The participants were selected following purposive sampling criteria. In brief, to be considered for the study, participants were asked to have at least three years of experience as Wikipedia translators at the time of the interviews, have translated no fewer than ten articles, and be

[19] See Yu.
[20] See Góngora-Goloubintseff.

fluent in English or Spanish. The study was neither publicly announced nor circulated. Instead, individuals deemed to meet the requirements were contacted privately via Wikipedia's 'email this user' function. In the case of the Dutch Wikipedia, where finding participants proved to be significantly more challenging, the site 'village pump' was used as a communication channel. The village pump fulfils a function akin to that of talk pages, enabling the dialogue between Wikipedia editors.

Following ethics regulations governing research with human participants, all 16 interviewees were previously informed of the study's aims. Those who agreed to be interviewed were asked to sign an informed consent sheet. The interviews were audio-recorded using the recording function available on Zoom as well as a backup device facilitated by the university. The one-to-one interviews lasted between 45 and 75 minutes and tackled four main thematic areas: a) motivation to translate in Wikipedia, b) knowledge of editing policies and guidelines, c) usage of automated content-creation devices, and d) perception of the future of translation in the online encyclopaedia. The data used for this article comes exclusively from the first thematic block. Upon completing the interviews, the transcripts were commissioned to an independent agency, which was required to sign a confidentiality agreement. In keeping with the same ethics regulations, the participants listed below were given gender-neutral fictitious names.

The software Nvivo12 was used to help organise and code the data. I assigned themes and subthemes inductively, following a coding process that was cyclical, structural and, in some cases, simultaneous.[21] As one of the most frequent methods in qualitative research, interviews have been used by practice theorists to gain insight into how individuals perform their activities. Semi-structured interviews, in particular, where participants have more freedom to express themselves, can contribute to understanding phenomena that otherwise would not be evident by simply observing practitioners in action. The analysis below draws upon data gathered from the participants' responses to the following question: 'Why did you decide to become a translator in Wikipedia?' Table 2 shows a list of all participants, including

[21] As noted by Saldaña, p. 41., inductive coding occurs when the researcher begins their analysis of the data without a preliminary list of codes. Johnny Saldaña, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (London: SAGE, 2021).; In this context, cyclical means that coding was done in various phases. Therefore, preliminary codes were subsequently revised and refined. The process was structural because the data was analysed against the Research Question. Since a few responses the participants gave could engender more than one theme, different codes were sometimes used simultaneously.

their age group and registration date in the encyclopaedia. This background information was collected using a separate questionnaire that participants completed in preparation for the interviews. The decision to gather this information separately guaranteed certain degree of anonymity. Additionally, collecting data ahead of the interviews ensured that the participants met the selection criteria laid out in the study and allowed me to gain insight into their profiles. In what follows, the participants' names are accompanied by the ISO code of their Wikipedia language community: ES (Spanish), FR (French), NL (Dutch), and SV (Swedish).

Name	Age group	Registration date
Alex (ES)	>50	2007
Ariel (ES)	31-40	2015
Cris (ES)	18-30	2009
Pau (ES)	41-50	2009
Ange (FR)	31-40	2004
Dominique (FR)	31-40	2004
Maxime (FR)	31-40	2008
Sam (FR)	18-30	2017
Guus (NL)	>50	2002
Jos (NL)	31-40	2005
Leslie (NL)	41-50	2012
Nik (NL)	>50	2005
Alva (SV)	41-50	2009
Charlie (SV)	>50	2012
Kim (SV)	>50	2006
Robin (SV)	18-30	2008

Table 2. List of participants' names, their age group and their date of registration in Wikipedia.

Understanding the motivations of Wikipedia translators

The responses given by the cohort of 16 participants in the study can be broadly divided into two categories: a) community-oriented and b) skill-oriented. The former can in turn be split into a1) having an interest in a particular topic, and a2) a desire to share free knowledge and improve Wikipedia articles. The two primary skill-oriented reasons mentioned by the participants were slightly different in nature. The first one had to do with the fact that some participants viewed translation as a less demanding task when compared to writing

something from scratch. The second skill-oriented reason to become a translator in Wikipedia stems from a self-perceived need to improve one's language skills in both the source and the target languages. Despite this divide between communal and skill-oriented motivations, the joint enterprise was similar in most cases: to improve Wikipedia and make knowledge accessible to others. In this context, individual aims such as the ones described above are subject to (and are the outcome of) achieving the community-oriented goals.

Thirteen participants declared having an interest in a topic. Such interest could be personal, professional or both. For instance, Alex (ES) said that they first joined Wikipedia in 2007 to write about their field of expertise, architecture. Similarly, Ariel (ES) and Cris (ES) felt compelled to write about what they knew best, engineering and astronautics, respectively. French Wikipedia editor Dominique, a computer scientist, rendered articles on the American free software activist Richard Stallman. Charlie (SV) was inspired by their teaching background when they thought that 'using Wikipedia at schools' could be a good way of improving their students' writing and reading skills. More interested in writing about their pastimes and personal interests than their professional ones, Pau (ES) and Guus (NL) have translated articles about photography and painting. According to Kim (SV), their passion for languages prompted them to become a translator in Wikipedia. For Ange (FR), it was an invitation to participate in the '100 Wiki Days' project – where editors translate one article a day for 100 days – that motivated them to become involved. Guus' (NL) interest in painting has also helped them achieve a cause-driven goal: to reduce the gender gap in Wikipedia. When asked to elaborate on their response, Guus added that '[they were] involved in [Wikipedia's] gender gap group, so the last few months [they had] been translating [articles] on female painters'.

Maxime (FR) reported having not one but multiple interests:

> Well, I have three different fields I'm translating about. Mainly trains from North America; they have a lot of things already existing, so it's easier for me to just translate, and I also try to do stuff about…Well, famous people, mostly women from North America or strange topics you can find that are on the English Wikipedia sometimes or the Spanish Wikipedia. So…Yeah, I translate things because I like the topic.

In a similar vein, Alva (SV) stated that they had translated 'quite varied articles about people, a company, an electrical device, a statistics thing, and a sports club'. Nik (NL) gave a similar answer: 'I came across some topics and said, "Okay, I want to translate that from English into Dutch because I like the article"'.

Brought to the surface by nine participants, the second motivation to become a translator in Wikipedia was to make knowledge available to others and improve Wikipedia along the way. This rationale resembles the one obtained by McDonough Dolmaya in her study.[22] Pau's (ES) statement below encapsulates this altruistic initiative, which is aligned with Wikipedia's overarching mission:

> My motivation is the purpose of Wikipedia, of creating a free database of knowledge for everybody and make it accessible for everybody; and the way, in my opinion, the easiest way, to approach it or to contribute to this target is translating.

As part of this process of enabling global access to knowledge, translators in Wikipedia may opt to fill specific gaps in their language communities. For instance, Alex (ES) and Kim (SV) observed that they had sought to turn the so-called 'red links' into blue links. In Wikipedia articles, a red link in the body of the text indicates that the page has not been created yet. From a practice-theoretical lens, this urge to fill knowledge gaps and correct wrong information can be interpreted as a recruiting force that lures individuals into becoming active contributors. The answer Alex (ES) gave elucidates this point:

> So, one day I started editing articles that I found were incomplete or with wrong things or missing…with typos, or whatever. It all came of a sudden. I became a Wikipedia editor almost unwillingly.

Kim (SV) even resorted to a label to describe their assimilation into the community. The Swedish Wikipedia translator referred to their socialisation into the practice as a 'snowballing experience': 'First you discover one thing to do, and then you discover another thing to do, and then you discover a third thing to do. It's like a snowballing experience'. Their

[22] See McDonough Dolmaya.

colleague Alva (SV) also shared the same motive: 'Translation…Well, if I saw missing articles, I would translate them'. Other translators such as Sam (FR) would make 'filling the gap' their mission in Wikipedia:

> Usually, I'm interested in translating English [Wikipedia] pages that don't exist in French and that are in my domain of research, more or less. So, it's what I do most of the time when I'm on Wikipedia.

As previously mentioned, another reason the participants gave to translate in the user-driven encyclopaedia was that the practice is perceived as being substantially easier than creating original content. Not only does the information already exist in the source language, but also the deployment of devices such as CX seems to have made the translation process less demanding and more user-friendly. The significance of materiality in practice is well documented, with some scholars contending that the mobilisation of devices ultimately shapes or configures the practitioners' performance over time.[23] Specifically, materials play an essential role in how a practice is and has been performed throughout history. In Wikipedia, the launch of CX in 2015 reconfigured the translation process, which went from being a tedious manual task possibly aided by programs external to the encyclopaedia, to becoming a relatively easy in-house activity. CX follows the WYSIWYG (What You See Is What You Get) principle, where editors are not expected to be versed in wikicode – the code used by wikis. As a result, translation practices in the encyclopaedia are likely to have become appealing to beginners, increasing their productivity. Pau's (ES) response below can be viewed as an example of the impact that automation could have on motivation:

> And [after the launch of CX], I realised that it is quicker to translate something, I mean, let's not talk about the quality of the translation, but it's better to take a Finnish text, or an English, German, French, whatever, and translate it into Spanish than starting something from scratch. I have created some articles from scratch, but it was very special things.

[23] Elizabeth Shove, 'Matters of Practice', in *The Nexus of Practices: Connections, Constellations, Practitioners*, ed. by Allison Hui, Theodore Schatzki, and Elizabeth Shove (London: Routledge, 2017).; Olohan, *Translation and Practice Theory*.

Finally, three participants mentioned that what prompted them to become translators in Wikipedia was a desire to improve their language skills. In this sense, participants considered translation as a means to an end, as a way to help Wikipedia but also help themselves become more fluent and competent translators. The importance of learning-by-doing is acknowledged and praised in practice theory, especially by Wenger.[24] The following statement by Ariel (ES) epitomises how having a personal goal is central to remaining involved in the project and achieving the joint enterprise:

> I wanted to get a better handle on…Because, well, in my field of work, I have to use several languages at the same time, so it was kind of practice to handle issues with diction, grammar…Because there are things that, well, one studies; but with languages, you enrich yourself through reading and using them.

From what has been discussed in this article, it follows that motivation seems to play a major role in enabling the existence and long-term sustainability of the translators' practices in Wikipedia. In short, this study has shown that motivation adds fuel to the participants' practices and helps keep them afloat. This driving force or joint enterprise can take on different forms, which go from having a personal interest in a topic and helping achieve Wikipedia's altruistic aims, to improving language skills and performing an activity that is sometimes perceived as less demanding than merely editing an article, even more so with the aid of content-creation devices such as CX. Regardless of the reasons, it is apparent that the participants' efforts have managed to converge, resulting in a major gain to Wikipedia.

Conclusion

The findings discussed in this article, which to some extent, are aligned with those obtained in previous studies, suggest that having a personal interest and sharing Wikipedia's aims seem to entice different individuals into the practice.[25] Although the results cannot be extrapolated to all translators working in the encyclopaedia, the participants' answers indicate that their personal interests in a wide range of topics played a major role in their socialisation into the practice. In praxeological terms, individuals are socialised through exposure to the practice,

[24] See Wenger.
[25] See McDonough Dolmaya.

by engaging with fellow practitioners and observing them in action and through performance. Moreover, translation in online communities such as Wikipedia thrives thanks to the willingness and altruistic effort of volunteers, despite some reported instances of conflict.[26] The participants' responses further indicate that their varied interests often converge for the benefit of Wikipedia, with the number of articles in different languages increasing over time. Such an expansion ultimately helps achieve the encyclopaedia's overarching joint enterprise or prime objective: to create high-quality content available in multiple languages.

The limited number of participants does not allow for generalisations. Nevertheless, this study has examined the motivations of Wikipedia translators from a practice-theoretical perspective, showing that personal interest often results in community gain. In brief, translators achieve their community's milestones by embarking on their personal projects. Further research is needed to ascertain whether similar results can be obtained in other language communities of Wikipedia. Future studies could also investigate the motivations of novice translators in the encyclopaedia and compare them with the rationale driving the work of their senior counterparts. More broadly, scholars interested in translation studies could conduct a comparative analysis of translators' motivations working in both professional and volunteer settings.

[26] See Jones.

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Intersubjective Musical Connectivity: From the Operatic Voice to Female Pianistic Singing in *A Room With A View* and *The Voyage Out*

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To what extent can music be conceived of as a vehicle for communication that connects us with the wider community beyond language? The ordinary language philosopher Stanley Cavell suggests that music initiates a pre-linguistic mode of understanding without recourse to the symbolic meaning of words. 'Music, like infancy, marks the permanence of the place of understanding as before what we might call meaning, as if it exists in permanent anticipation of—hence in perpetual dissatisfaction with, even disdain for—what can be said.' [1] Cavell's citation motivates us to ponder if music and speech cancel out each other in their distinct approaches to constructing our modes of understanding. When verbal language is silenced, suspended, or disrupted, it can be inferred that music endows our pre-linguistic self with an infantile expressivity that exchanges and adapts its primitive desire, ecstasy, fear and pain by alternative means of communication.

The tensions between music and words as I briefly evoke here are crucial to interpreting the representation of female piano playing in literary novels. My paper sets out a miniature study of female expressivity through music and words in the early twentieth-century literary setting. The enquiry can be underpinned by my central argument that female piano playing facilitates intersubjective connectivity in an analogous way to operatic singing. My take of 'intersubjective' can be attributed to Kenneth Bessant's definition of 'intersubjectivity', which is 'associated with the emergence of "between spaces"' in 'a plethora of relational processes' and 'communicative interaction' that results in the 'co-constitution of shared meanings and joint agency.'[2] This paper is structured in three parts to

[1] Stanley Cavell, *A Pitch of Philosophy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 160.
[2] Kenneth Bessant, *The Relational Fabric of Community* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 211-12.

explore the 'between spaces' and joint meaning-making shared by female piano playing, operatic singing and musical expressivity.

Firstly, the antagonism between music and words can be investigated in terms of Nick Montgomery's distinction between the 'paternal word' and the 'maternal voice'.[3] While male elites extrapolate the paternal word as the apparatus for autonomous verbal expression, music can reinforce the maternal voice to undercut communicative normativity as consolidated in ordinary patriarchal rhetoric. Notably, opera flouts the normative speech conditions in the valorisation of the maternal voice. By virtue of its intensely musical potential, operatic singing empowers an alternative mode of vocal communication; reconnects the singing women with the non-linguistic community; and verifies their existence without verbal confirmation.

Secondly, I elucidate the musical-historical context in which instrumental music practices emulate the conditions of operatic singing in terms of the latter's ability to communicate with a voice without subjecting itself to verbal meaning. I argue that this innate potential of operatic singing is particularly appealing for female instrumental players whose ordinary speech is suppressed in the patriarchal society. As female amateur instrumentalists perform music in the semi-private sphere, they transfigure their ordinary vocal expressivity into their musical voice, namely the textured sound of the mechanical pianoforte, harp, harpsichord, among other domestic music instruments. Their musical 'voice' in instrumental playing reclaims female expressivity by analogy with operatic singing and reshapes intersubjective communication in a dynamic musical process.

Thirdly, I propose the distinct phenomenon of 'pianistic singing' to reappraise the scintillating piano-playing scenes of two literary texts: E. M. Forster's *A Room with a View* (1908) and Virginia Woolf's *The Voyage Out* (1915). I contend that the pianistic transposition of opera transmits the affective sound of the pianoforte as an act of singing in the fictional contexts of the two works. The upper-middle-class domestic women's trivialised endeavour to enact operatic repertoires in pianistic settings can be construed as their indirect singing, accentuating their versatile pianism and their desire to sing vivaciously through the piano. Without embodying the physical voice yet imbued with operatic connotations, this indirect 'pianistic singing' empowers creative modes of communication that reconstruct

[3] Nick Montgomery, 'Colonial Rhetoric and the Maternal Voice: Deconstruction and Disengagement in Virginia Woolf's The Voyage Out', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 46.1 (Duke University Press, 2000), 34-55.

intersubjective relations and social meanings in the experiential reality within the novelistic worlds.

The Paternal Word versus Maternal Voice: The Language-Music Dichotomy and the Operatic Voice

The binary perspective on the 'paternal word' versus the 'maternal voice' maps readily onto the dichotomous treatment between language and music. The paternal word is associated with the symbolic 'law of the father'—the patriarchal value system has inherited from an Enlightenment or humanist view of subjectivity as a coherent and unified mode of self-expression.[4] Masculine rhetoric represents the autonomous and rational ideal of subjectivity through the stabilised signification of words. Conversely, the maternal voice evokes the 'semiotic otherness' of patriarchal rhetoricity by empowering the 'aural, vocal, or physical qualities in language' that 'inform and can disrupt "literal" signification' and 'destabilize meaning'.[5] While normative verbal language can be designated as the exclusive apparatus for autonomous male thinkers, the law of 'paternal word' ostracises their female counterparts that fail to express themselves consistently via intelligible words. Music is unfettered by the patriarchal norms of language and can be rendered a variated version of the maternal voice given its resonance with the 'aural, vocal, or physical qualities in language'.[6] Complementary to the maternal voice, music is corrosive of solid verbal meanings entrenched in '"masculine" epistemological structures, hierarchies, and habits of thought' and thus can yield fertile loam for female expressivity beyond ordinary verbal parameters.[7]

The musicalisation of voice is germane to the reclamation of female expressivity that is at once subdued by the paternal word and comprised in ordinary communicative settings. Prominently, the performance of voice in opera, primarily in arias more than in recitatives,

[4] Mary Murray, *'The Law of the Father?': Patriarchy in the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 1-2.
[5] Montgomery, p. 34.
[6] Ibid, p. 34.
[7] Ibid, p. 51.

illuminates the positivity of non-normative linguistic communication *in* and *through* music.[8] Although humans do not sing to each other in everyday communications, the various ways in which musical singing motivates dramatic interaction in opera problematises the status of language as the predominant model of effective communication.[9] In other words, by musicalising the human voice concerning its pitch, rhythm, tempo, articulation and duration, operatic singing provides singers a channel through which their voice can be transmitted in the public sphere without securing meanings in words. Moreover, it radicalises our expressive modes of communication as performative.[10] The emission of voice in an operatic mode informs and enriches, rather than imitates and represents, ordinary vocal expressivity as mediated through language. This exemplary vocal-musical cross-fertilisation stimulates a new perspective to reappraise female expressivity in relation to the wider community beyond language.

Aspiring towards Opera: Pianistic Singing of the Nineteenth Century

An evocation of the nineteenth-century musical-historical context shows that instrumental music practice aspires to the vocal conditions of operatic singing. Although instrumental music-making does not emit a voice via physical breath, the mechanistic revolution of Romantic musical instruments increasingly emulates and approximates the physiology of singing. For instance, Romantic operas have shaped the virtuosic development of string instruments and their repertory since the nineteenth century.[11] Likewise, the early prototype of modern grand pianos since the late eighteenth century benefits from quasi-operatic acoustic design. The properties of the new modern piano enable the instrument to assimilate the effects of artistic singing by virtue of an expanded dynamic and tonal range. The

[8] Two common schemes of operatic singing are arias and recitatives. The differentiation between the two is derived from the librettist's poetic and textural distinction between 'song' and 'speech' in setting a libretto into music. Recitatives, associated with speech, are utilised when dramatic action and interactions occur. Conversely, arias are associated with the musical singing of songs; the emotional expression in arias often enables characters to reflect on dramatic action, establish their positioning and determine their next action. For a fuller explanation of the distinction between the two, see Tim Carter, 'What Is Opera?', in *The Oxford Handbook of Opera*, ed. by Helen Greenwald (Oxford Handbooks Online: Oxford University Press, 2015) <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195335538.013.001> [accessed 27 November 2021].

[9] Cavell, p. 136.

[10] My take of 'performative' here builds on Judith Butler's suggestion of identity formation through the 'dramatic and contingent construction of meaning' in both verbal discourse and other modes of performance. See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), p. 190.

[11] See Maiko Kawabata, 'Violinists' Singing': Paganini, Operatic Voices, and Virtuosity', *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth-and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music*, 5.9 (2007), 7-39.

strengthened strings, reinforced sounding board and enlarged keyboard intensify lyrical expression on the piano.[12] In organology, the mechanism of the sustaining pedal can be rendered the resuscitation of the human singing organ—the lung—on the mechanical instrument.[13] The application of artistic pedalling invokes resonances of lyrical singing and diversifies colouristic and textural effects in piano playing.[14] With the versatile usage of the pedal, the pianist can sublimate percussive keyboard attacks into *bel canto* lyricism, which has aesthetically affected the compositional principles of Frédéric Chopin (1810-49).[15]

The raft of pianistic transcriptions of Romantic operas in the nineteenth century indicates how piano playing seeks to actualise the vocality of singing in extended performance settings. During the Industrial Revolution, the mechanistic advancement and mass production validate the modern piano as the most adjustable, affordable and available instrumental type for adapting operatic works to be performed beyond the opera house. There existed two divergent trends of the pianistic adaptation of opera in the nineteenth century. The first trend is the virtuosic adaptation by professional pianists: Romantic pianist-composers, such as Franz Liszt (1811-86) and the Swiss-Austrian Sigismond Thalberg (1812-71), famously arranged excerpts of Italian operas to showcase their transcendental pianism at their distinguished virtuoso concerts.[16] The daunting technical display of the pianist-virtuosos, as complemented by the sonorous effects of the modernised piano, rendered the simulated opera as equally convincing as a theatrical production. Concomitant with the first trend of virtuosic adaptation is bourgeois amateur female pianists' domestication of grand operatic works within the boundaries of middle-class households. In the semi-private drawing room, domestic women

[12] *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, ed. by Larry R. Todd, 2nd edn (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2004).
[13] Organology is the study and classification of musical instruments in relation to their cultural history, technical development and scientific principles. The perspective on the similarity between the sustain pedal and the human lung is inspired by the comparative study of different approaches to sustaining a note on various musical instruments, such as the piano, string, woodwinds and brass instruments. See Nathan C. Phillips and Virginia Killian Lund, 'Sustaining Affective Resonance: Co-constructing Care in a School-based Digital Design Studio', *British Journal of Educational Technology*, 50.4 (2019): 1532-1543 (pp. 1536-38).
[14] Elfrieda Hiebert, 'Listening to the Piano Pedal: Acoustics and Pedagogy in Late Nineteenth-Century Contexts', *Osiris*, 28.1 (2013), 232-53.
[15] *Bel canto* is an Italian style of singing in the second half of the nineteenth century featuring the 'beauty and evenness of tone, legato phrasing, and skill in executing highly florid passages'. The techniques of bel canto can be traced back to the various strategies used by the Italian singers between c. 1780 to c. 1830 to liberate their personalised renditions of melodic lines and musical declamations from notational instructions. Bel canto thus endows performers the agency to 're-create' music rather than merely interpreting the printed notation. See Robert Toft, *Bel Canto: A Performer's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 3-4.
[16] Kenneth Hamilton, 'The Opera Fantasias and Transcriptions of Franz Liszt' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1989).

performed extracts of operas by either subscribing to piano reduction scores by other composers or using full orchestral scores, occasionally improvising their own arrangements from memory. Interestingly, the female amateur's pianistic setting of opera eluded the serious attention of music critiques yet prevailed in the fictional context of literary writing, most prominently in the English novels by Jane Austen and George Eliot.[17]

Although middle-class housewives' domesticated operatic adaptations have been unduly disregarded by most musicologists and music historians, literary writers textually re-enliven their pianistic rendering of opera as dramatic transcendence over their insipid everyday life. I note that middle-class women's exploration of illicit operatic themes, such as adultery, incest or homicide, in their domestic piano playing can be examined through Barry Emslie's notion of the 'domestication of opera'. [18] It refers to opera composers' and producers' attempts to dilute, castrate and housetrain the threatening force of the traditional opera; fantastic and exotic elements are turned into their restrained form as 'subjects for play', enabling the 'new industrial European bourgeoisie' to play with 'forbidden elements' without being 'carried away by them', such as representing Isolde's love potion by a glass of water.[19] In a similar way, middle-class women's transposition of asocial operatic themes into ordinary pianistic tunes implicitly vouchsafes their sexual license to taste the morally forbidden subjects in their seemingly genteel music-making. What goes unnoticed is the transgressive dimension of bourgeois women's piano-vocal arrangement: their pianistic rendition grafts the theatrical potential of the operatic world into ordinary reality; reformulates their perceptual, experiential and existential modes; and reconstitutes intersubjective relationships as a result.

Implicit Opera: The Pianistic Evocation of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* in *The Voyage Out*

In Virginia Woolf's first published fiction *The Voyage Out*, opera is never explicitly performed. The only operatic presence throughout the novel is the possession of the printed copy of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* by the piano-playing protagonist, Rachel Vinrace. By contrast, unequivocal evocations of the performance of old piano music can be pinpointed. Piano

[17] Regula Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener: English Representations of Domestic Music-Making* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008).
[18] Barry Emslie. 'The Domestication of Opera', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 5.2 (1993), 167-77.
[19] Ibid, p. 167.

works in the Austro-German lineage, from the Baroque, Classical to early Romantic eras, are textually enacted as *live* performance as they are performed in the real-time process along with the narrative temporality. What does simply *mentioning* Wagner's opera do to qualify the multi-variant senses in which music connects different subjectivities? This section explores how the *acoustic implicitness* of Wagner's opera in *The Voyage Out* envisages Rachel Vinrace's aspiration to musical singing, which envisions the pianist's indirect vocal expressivity through piano playing in connection with the wider community.

Biographically, the production of the various manuscripts of *The Voyage Out* coincides with the young Virginia Woolf's early years of marriage to Leonard Woolf, whose distaste for, and resentment towards, Richard Wagner may have negatively impacted Virginia's affinity with Wagnerian and post-Wagnerian operas.[20] However, Szegedy-Maszák asserts that 'it is an exaggeration to believe that there was a rift between [Virginia's] early experiences of Wagner's stage works and her later interest in the works of Beethoven'.[21] In her preparation of the novel's new edition in 1920, Virginia Woolf turns to the Wagnerite Saxon Sydney-Turner (1880-1962) for clarifying the source of the late Beethoven's Sonata as played by the protagonist in *The Voyage Out*.[22] As an intellectual of the Bloomsbury Group, this erudite Wagnerite has figured prominently in Virginia's formative years of music education until 'her future husband appeared on the scene and took a firm stand against the legacy of Wagner'.[23] Building on Szegedy-Maszák's argument, the implicit role of *Tristan* in *The Voyage Out* cannot be scrutinised as the pianist-protagonist's retroactive maturity to 'leave behind the popular Wagner for the older works' as reflective of Woolf's own change of musical taste.[24] Alternatively, I propose it can be explored as the pianist-protagonist's evolving yet premature understanding of Wagner's operatic aesthetics, which ripens in the course of her self-education on the sacrosanct German musical canon. This regressive trajectory from the later Wagner to the earlier Beethoven insinuates the pianist's increasingly concretised grasp of the classical music world, a process developed in parallel with the character's gradual formation

[20] Mihály Szegedy-Maszák. 'Wagner or Beethoven?: Shifts in the Musical Taste of Virginia Woolf', *Neohelicon*, 39.1 (2012), 89-103.
[21] Ibid, p. 102.
[22] Ibid, p. 95.
[23] Ibid, p. 91.
[24] Ibid, p. 95.

of intimate bonds in ordinary human relationships with the individuals that she encounters during the voyage.

Notably, Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* consolidates the connectivity between the misanthropic Rachel Vinrace and the gregarious Clarissa Dalloway; the latter's voyeuristic perspective unveils the young pianist's virtuosic fantasies to the reader. In the post-dinner informal conversations at the saloon among the women, Clarissa discovers Rachel's latent musical competency via the score she has been using. The familiar operatic work by Wagner serves as the first point of contact and strengthens the bond between the two utter strangers.

> "We sit in here," said Helen, opening the door of the saloon.
> "You play?" said Mrs. Dalloway to Mrs. Ambrose, taking up the score of *Tristan* which lay on the table.
> "My niece does," said Helen, laying her hand on Rachel's shoulder.
> "Oh, how I envy you!" Clarissa addressed Rachel for the first time. "D'you remember this? Isn't it divine?" She played a bar or two with ringed fingers upon the page.
> "And then Tristan goes like this, and Isolde—oh!—it's all too thrilling! Have you been to Bayreuth?"
> "No, I haven't," said Rachel.
> "Then that's still to come. I shall never forget my first *Parsifal*—a grilling August day, and those fat old German women, come in their stuffy high frocks, and then the dark theatre, and the music beginning, and one couldn't help sobbing. A kind man went and fetched me water, I remember; and I could only cry on his shoulder! It caught me here" (she touched her throat). "It's like nothing else in the world! But where is your piano?"
> "It's in another room," Rachel explained.[25]

At this stage, Clarissa still has not attended Rachel's live piano playing. Neither have the readers been permitted narratorial insights into Wagner's operatic world through Rachel's aurality. Despite this, Clarissa's exhilaration to witness the pianistic revival of Wagner's masterpiece through Rachel's fingerwork is explicitly registered: '"But you will play

[25] Virginia Woolf*, The Voyage Out*, intro. and notes by Lorna Sage (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.46-47.

to us?" Clarissa entreated. "I can't imagine anything nicer than to sit out in the moonlight and listen to music—only that sounds too like a schoolgirl!"'[26] Clarissa's impassioned reminiscence over the *Parsifal* production at the Bayreuth Festival projects her visceral emotions towards the young pianist, whilst her voiced request for Rachel's live performance ('I shall insist upon your playing to me tomorrow') enkindles Rachel's fondness for her.[27]

The sight of Wagner's music score not only triggers Mrs. Dalloway's fantasised mimesis of the *Tristan und Isolde* plot but also sparks fascinating insight into Rachel's pianism. The fact that Rachel has not experienced the stage world of Wagner's operas, yet she could possibly probe into the master composer's complex symphonic, operatic, and theatrical visions via printed scores, points to her outstanding musical literacy at a fairly young age. In an earlier episode of the voyage, Rachel was reading the translated version of the medieval narratives of *Tristan*. Whilst she found the semantics of the translated verse 'senseless' and responded to it with 'a shout of laughter', Wagner's musical retelling of the same melodramatic content captivates her attention.[28]

Although Woolf does not specify which edition or version of the *Tristan* score Rachel possesses, it can be textually deduced that she uses Franz Liszt's pianistic arrangement, in lieu of Wagner's original operatic score, for two reasons. The first reason is the presence of two operatic characters as pantomimed by Mrs. Dalloway. Upon sightreading several bars of Rachel's score ('She played a bar or two with ringed fingers upon the page'), Clarissa's prompt exclamation 'then Tristan goes like this, and Isolde—oh!' suggests the double presences of both operatic characters as suggested by the music.[29] Liszt's pianistic adaptation, *Isolden's Liebestod: Schluß-Szene aus 'Tristan und Isolde'*, S. 447, is built on Isolde's final aria '*Verklärung*', which embodies the desolate heroine in the anguishing absence of her lover Tristan. However, according to Eric Chafe, the beginning four bars of Liszt's arrangement alludes to the motif of '*sehnend verlangter Liebestod*' from the love-duet in Act 2 of Wagner's opera, wherein both Tristan and Isolde are present together yearning for love-death.[30] The libretto of the duet '*sehnend verlangter Liebestod*' is set to the four preludial bars of Liszt's

[26] Ibid, p. 47.
[27] Woolf, p. 48.
[28] Ibid, p. 33.
[29] Ibid, pp. 46-47.
[30] Eric Thomas Chafe, *The Tragic and the Ecstatic: The Musical Revolution of Wagner's Tristan and Isolde* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 11.

arrangement; the semantics of the instrumental line is therefore self-evidently patent in Liszt's version: 'longingly hoped-for love-death'.[31] Mrs. Dalloway's mawkish outcry echoes Tristan and Isolde's intense yearning for the oxymoronic love-death, which she later denounces as 'too emotional, somehow'.[32]

The second reason for Rachel's extrapolation of Liszt's score is the currency of printed music scores across the English musical market since late Victorianism. Liszt's piano arrangement of Wagner's *Tristan* was firstly written in 1867, shortly after the premiere of Wagner's opera in 1865. Liszt's *Liebestod* adaptation was not only acknowledged by Wagner but also more famously circulated even than Wagner's original work. In fin-de-siècle England where *The Voyage Out* is set, not many instrumental transcriptions based on Wagner's operatic works existed in comparison with the copious arrangements in the twentieth century. Famously known as an opera arranger, Franz Liszt undoubtedly launched the most well-received adaptation of the Wagnerian legacy across Europe, among his other exhaustive arrangements of Wagner's operas as collected in Charles Suttoni's anthology.[33] In view of the commercialised musical culture across the British marketplace and the pan-European fad over Wagner in the late nineteenth century, Rachel's access to, and purchase of, the Wagner-Liszt scores in her hometown London is far from unimaginable.

Rachel's employment of the Wagner-Liszt *Tristan* score indicates her latent fascination with the Wagnerian world of singing, albeit only represented in its notational structure. In Liszt's 1876 correspondence to the publisher Breitkopf & Härtel, Liszt humbly admitted that his pianistic transcriptions on Wagner's operas were only 'modest propaganda on the inadequate piano for the sublime genius of Wagner'.[34] Despite his modest claim, the preludial bars of *Liebestod* were 'approached with unusual imagination' after Liszt's several improvisatory trials, which effectuate the love-death declamation in a no less sublime manner than Wagner's original vocal-orchestral statement (Figure 1). Through the lens of Liszt, Rachel ventures into the virtuosic performativity of Wagner's music whilst Mrs Dalloway resuscitates her impressions at Bayreuth. The implicit presence of *Tristan* creates an in-between space

[31] Chafe, p. 11.
[32] Woolf, p. 47.
[33] Franz Liszt and Charles Suttoni, *Complete Piano Transcriptions from Wagner's Operas* (Chelmsford: Courier Corporation, 1981).
[34] Kenneth Hamilton, 'Wagner and Liszt: Elective Affinities', in *Richard Wagner and His World*, ed. by Thomas S. Grey (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 27-64 (p. 50).

wherein communicative interactions between Wagner and Liszt, Rachel and Clarissa, or any combinations of these characters take place. Rachel's highly anticipated enactment of *Tristan* is later overshadowed by her renditions of Bach's fugue and Beethoven's sonata. Nevertheless, the relational dynamics of this evocative Wagnerian scene suggest the co-constitution of new socio-musical perceptions—Clarissa's prescient vision of Rachel's pianism as founded on the Wagner-Liszt canon, and Rachel's cultivation of a musical voice via emulating Liszt's virtuosic adaptation of operatic singing.

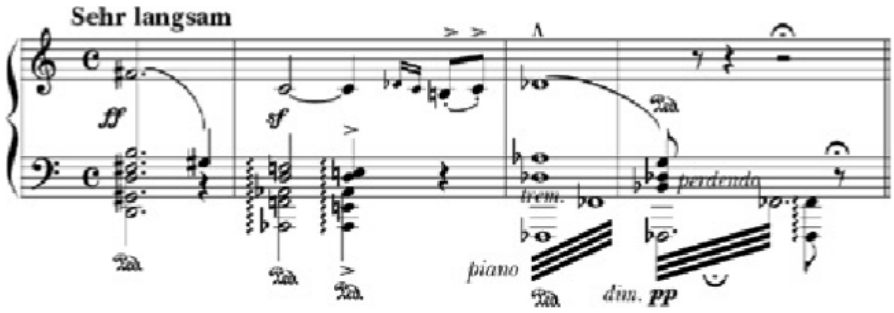

Figure 1. Preludial bars of Liszt's adaptation, mm. 1-4.[35]

'*Un son harmonieux se mêle au bruit des eaux*': The Enchanting Pianistic Aria of Gluck's *Armide* in *A Room With A View*

In E. M. Forster's *A Room With A View*, the pianist protagonist, Lucy Honeychurch, enacts her vision of transgressive eroticism by domesticating the exotic operatic femme fatale in the Edwardian upper-middle-class social setting. On her drawing-room piano, the adolescent pianist enlivens the aria from the early modern opera *Armide*, Wq. 45 by Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-87). At the garden of Windy Corner, Lucy fittingly cultivates the illusion of the enchanted garden scene (Act II, Scene III), in which the valiant crusader Renaud succumbs to the witchcraft of the diabolical princess-sorceress Armide. This piano-playing scene is accompanied by Lucy's dilemma wherein she has already accepted the proposal of Cecil Vyse, an aesthetic connoisseur ingrained in feudal perspectives, whilst still battling against her erotic penchant for George Emerson, the lower-middle-class proto-Modernist enamoured of liberty and passion. Right before her piano playing is requested, George's awkwardness reassured Lucy of 'the weakness of men'; Lucy thereupon acquired the conviction that 'even

[35] Hamilton, 'Wagner and Liszt', p. 51.

men might suffer from unexplained desires, and need help'.[36] Lucy's pianistic evocation of Renaud's aria «*Plus j'observe ces lieux, et plus je les admire*» ('the more I observe these sights, the more I admire them') wittingly seduces the sexually unguarded George into her lubricious enchantment. Interestingly, Lucy transcribes the aria from her vivid memory of its staged production instead of relying on the famously performed piano arrangement by Friedrich Brissler.[37] In the following scene, Lucy's pianistic rendition contrives profound interlinks with the acoustic setting of Gluck's aria, including the incidental sound and the musical singing:

After luncheon they asked her to play. She had seen Gluck's *Armide* that year, and played from memory the music of the enchanted garden – the music to which Renaud approaches, beneath the light of an eternal dawn, the music that never gains, never wanes, but ripples for ever like the tideless seas of fairyland. Such music is not for the piano, and her audience began to get restive, and Cecil, sharing the discontent, called out:

> 'Now play us the other garden –the one in *Parsifal*.'
> She closed the instrument.
> 'Not very dutiful,' said her mother's voice.
> Fearing that she had offended Cecil, she turned quickly round. There George was. He had crept in without interrupting her.
> 'Oh, I had no idea!' she exclaimed, getting very red; and then, without a word of greeting, she reopened the piano. Cecil should have the *Parsifal*, and anything else that he liked.
> 'Our performer has changed her mind,' said Miss Bartlett, perhaps implying, 'She will play the music to Mr Emerson.' Lucy did not know what to do, nor even what she wanted to do. She played a few bars of the Flower Maiden's song very badly, and then she stopped.[38]

As can be textually evidenced in the passage, Lucy's pianism evokes the incidental sound as derived from the fictional locale of the aria at «*un séjour si charmant*» ('such a lovely place'), where «*un son harmonieux se mêle au bruit des eaux; Les oiseaux enchantés se taisent*

[36] Edward Morgan Forster, *A Room With A View* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2012), p. 160.
[37] Michelle Fillion, *Difficult Rhythm: Music and the Word in E. M. Forster* (Illinois, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), p. 70.
[38] Forster, pp. 161-62.

pour l'entendre» ('a harmonious sound mingles with the ripple of waters; the enchanted birds listen to it in silence').[39] The pastoral façade of the garden lures Renaud into sensorial engagement with the illusionistic surroundings, so much so that the once 'invincible hero' vocalises «Non, je ne puis quitter des rivages si beaux» ('No, I cannot leave such entrancing shores').[40] Renaud's absorption induces his unexpected drift towards Armide's revengeful seduction, exposing himself in the vulnerable siesta: «*des charmes du sommeil j'ai peine à me defender… Tout m'invite au repos sous ce feuillage épais* » ('the attraction of sleep overcomes me… everything invites me to rest under the thick foliage').[41] In Forster's novel, the young pianist's 'song without words' is unfortunately disengaged from the vocal implications as pre-scripted in the libretto. The narratorial commentary about the audience response ('her audience began to get restive') indicates the inefficacy of Lucy's pianistic rendition in eliciting the verbal meanings transmitted via Renaud's voice, hence her failure to transmogrify her 'restive' audience into the mesmerised Renaud.[42]

Despite her failure to hypnotise the audience, Lucy's pianistic singing exceeds the verbal strictures of Quinault's libretto. This musical scene in Forster's novel is dismissed as Lucy's unserious musical attempt reflective of her post-engagement retrograde taste for 'the amateur piano arrangements that she had once avoided'; the lack of originality in her arrangement is denigrated as a perturbing contrast to her previous virtuosic accomplishments in performing Beethoven's sonata.[43] Departing from this view, I contend that Lucy's enactment of the aria can be designated as an intensely creative act for two reasons.

Firstly, without recourse to printed music pages, Lucy's improvisation of the aria based on her memory side-lines the notational instructions as appeared in any pre-existing editions of music scores. Although Lucy's playing could be a bad arrangement, her improvisatory act defies the conception of music performance as an unimaginative representation of pre-composed works. Her performance is unable to subordinate her audience to the coherent

[39] The French libretto in Gluck's *Armide* is written by Phillipe Quinault, who had written for Lully's eponymous opera in 1686. Gluck keeps the libretto unchanged from Lully's opera. See Jean-Baptiste Lully, Philippe Quinault, and Théodore de Lajarte, *Armide* (Harmonia Mundi France, 1993), p. 9. All French-English translations are by myself.
[40] Lully, pp. 8-9.
[41] Ibid, p. 9.
[42] Forster, p. 162.
[43] Fillion, p. 68.

illusionistic world represented by Gluck's opera yet may expose them to her personalised musical theatre of a different kind.

Secondly, Lucy's rendition plays with the implications of vocal types and instrumentation on the piano. The original score of «Plus j'observe ces lieux, et plus je les admire» indicates that Renaud's *hautre-contre* vocal line of is set to *alto clef* (see Figure 2).[44] For rendering Renaud's musical singing in the piano-vocal reduction score, the existing arrangement marks the vocal melodies in one octave higher. For instance, Friedrich Brissler's vocal-piano arrangement sets Renaud's voice in *treble clef*, which is one octave higher than Gluck's original vocal setting (see Figure 3, m. 32), though the actual vocal singing shall sound an octave lower than it is written. The pianistic introduction (Figure 3, mm. 1-31, before the voice joins in m. 32) retains Gluck's authentic melodic line for the flute and the accompaniment for the violin, which are both set in treble clef. If Lucy improvises the aria in a similar arrangement to Brissler's and plays till after Renaud's vocal line commences, it would be impossible for her to play *both* the vocal part *and* the instrumental accompaniment as suggested by Brissler's notation since she was playing in a solo rendition. Alternatively, she can keep the left-hand accompaniment as if it were reproducing the violin part of Gluck's scores, whilst using the right hand solely to bring out the vocal line. However, she also cannot play the vocal part according to its actual pitch, i.e., an octave lower than it is written in treble clef, since that unavoidably encroaches upon the left-hand accompaniment. This means Lucy's pianistic evocation of Renaud's voice likely entails its tonal repositioning in the vocal range an octave higher than it should sound—such high pitch lies outside of the comfortable vocal zone of the *haute-contre* and is technically unattainable by male singers. Rather, it can only be sung by female singers or castrati and thus de-masculinises Renaud's vocal

[44] Haute-contre denotes the true highest tenor voice frequently used in French opera in the Baroque and Classical periods, with a vocal range stretching from *C3* to *D5* (With the middle C being *C4*, *C3* is one octave lower than *C4* while *D5* is an octave and a full tone higher than *C4*). This specific voice type is usually assigned to the operatic roles of warriors or heroic figures. In Gluck's *Armide*, the voice type of Renaud the crusader is haute-contre. See Lionel Sawkins, 'Haute-contre (opera)', in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Oxford Music Online: Oxford University Press, 2002) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O006866> [accessed 27 November 2021].

characterisation, presenting the heroic voice in the hyper-feminised *tessitura* of an alto or a soprano.[45]

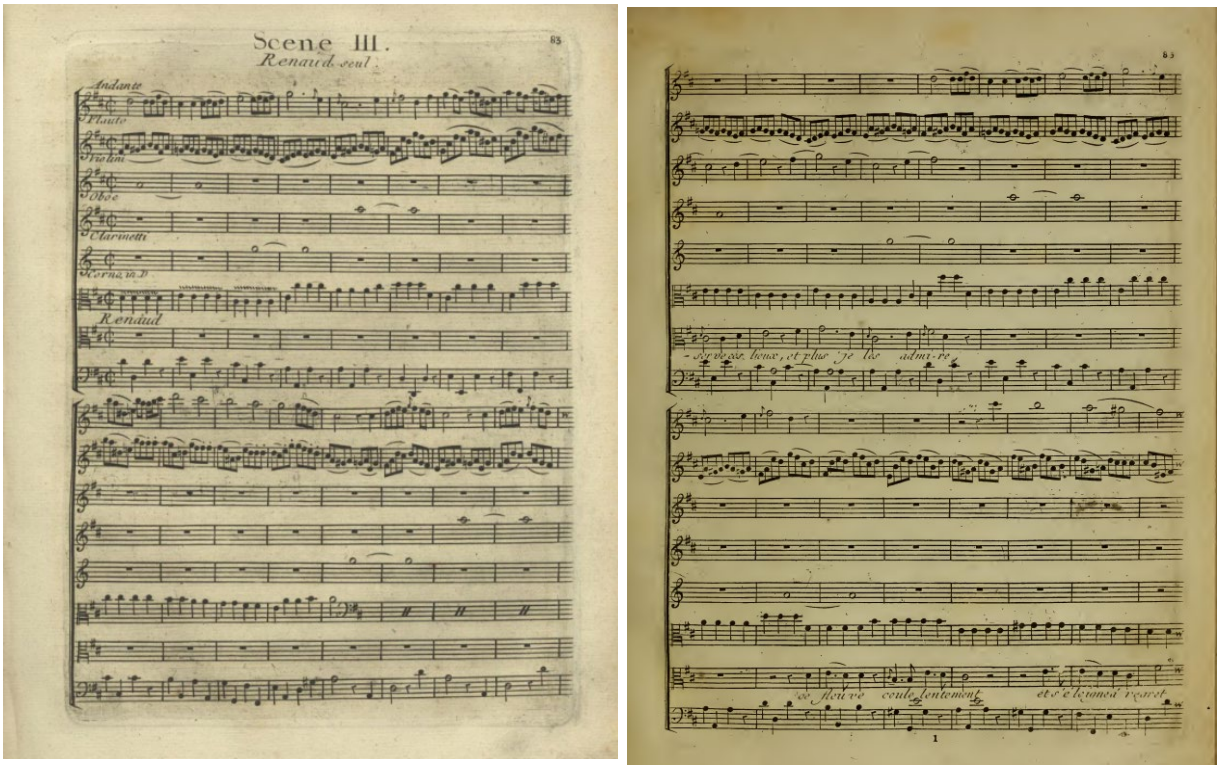

Figure 2: Gluck's original score of *Armide*, Act 2 Scene 3. The first page (mm. 1-16) shows Renaud's voice is set to alto clef; the second page (mm. 33-48) shows the libretto set to Renaud's vocal line. (Paris: Bureau du Journal de Musique, first edition 1777)

[45] Tessitura is a musical term that denotes 'the part of a vocal (or less often instrumental) compass in which a piece of music lies.' The tessitura is 'not decided by the extremes of its range, but rather by which part of the range is most used', namely the range in which a given vocal or instrumental type can present its most quintessential timbre. See Owen Jander, 'Tessitura', in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford Music Online: Oxford University Press, 2001) <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.27741> [accessed 27 November 2021].

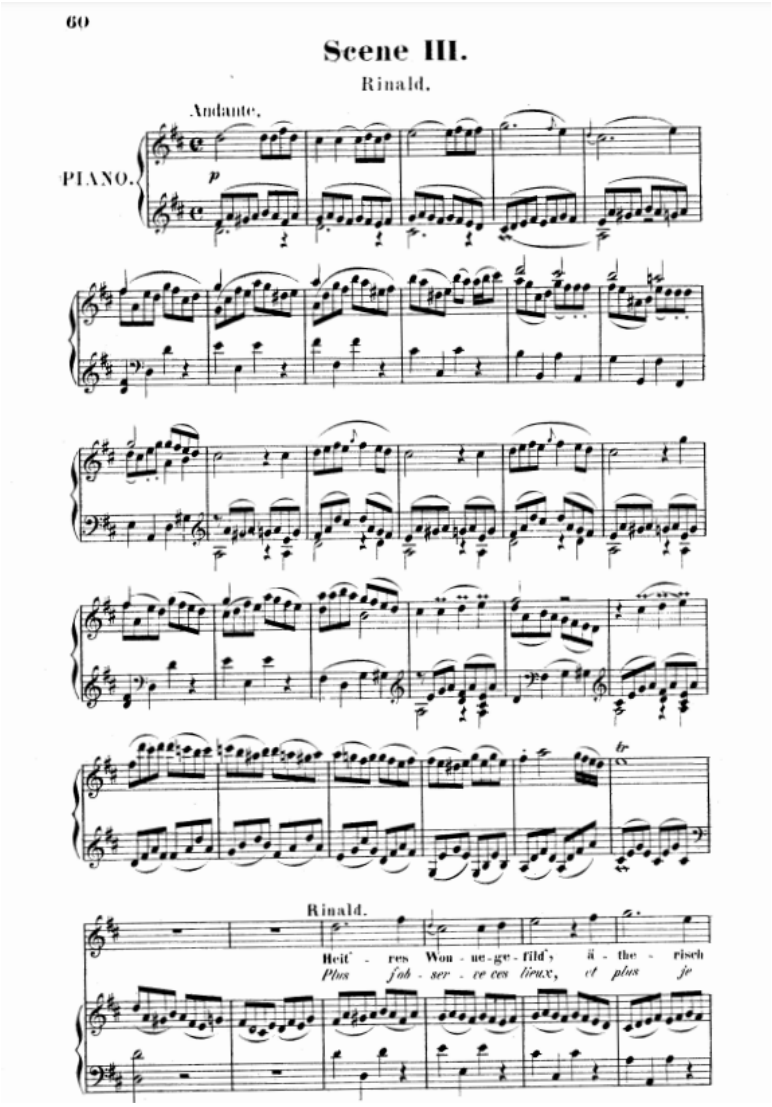

Figure 3: The first page of Friedrich Brissler's vocal-piano arrangement of Act 2, Scene 3 from Gluck's *Armide*. Renaud (Rinald)'s first vocal line starts from m. 32. (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, first edition 1860)

Does the narratorial remark that Lucy's arrangement is 'not for the piano' insinuate the impossible task of arranging the aria in a satisfactory way on the pianoforte?[46] Or does that imply the piano-playing protagonist's deviation from Brissler's normative transposition in terms of its tonal relocation and re-instrumentation? We as readers do not know how much further Lucy's improvisation ventures into the *Andante* scene. Nonetheless, we can be certain that Lucy's piano playing produces the consistent musical flow that 'never gains, never wanes, but ripples for ever'.[47] The distinct *tessitura* of her pianistic singing can never be translated

[46] Forster, p. 162.
[47] Ibid.

back into the conventional vocal type and the ordinary verbal meanings as defaulted in Gluck's authoritative scores.

Lucy's creative music-making realises the performative power of music. Nicholas Cook suggests that music performance 'does not report on something but *does* something: it creates a changed relationship between individuals involved'. [48] In vocal contexts, the 'performative meaning emerges directly from the music' rather than from the semantic meaning of words since music 'consists of audible relationships between the parts, which … blur into the flesh-and-blood individuals performing them.'[49] This performative meaning of music is epitomised in Lucy's pianistic singing that eludes the libretto but enlarges the full potential of instrumental music—the tonal, harmonic, melodic elements of the aria complement the performer's emotions, impulses, sentiments or motivations that are unverbalised in words. In the terms of Cook, it is Quinault's libretto and Gluck's musical setting that script the basis of the opera's 'potential for relational meaning, much as a theatrical script does', yet it is Lucy the performer that transforms the theatrical potential into reality.[50]

Lucy's pianistic singing achieves what normative linguistic communication cannot think of performing and expressing; it effectuates changed relationships with both of her male suitor-listeners. Through dramatic analogy, Lucy's playing enlarges the suggestive dynamic of Armide's wizardry, realises it via her performance, and produces an imaginary garden of enchantment with George Emerson whilst expelling Cecil Vyse. Under Cecil's sneering gaze, Lucy's animation of Armide's seductive potential through piano playing is overtly mischievous—clearly, the piano-playing sorceress is not intent on enrapturing her judgmental fiancé in her deployment of the aria. Instead, her music summons her intended listener George. Lucy's *inamorato* George had disappeared into the house prior to lunchtime; his unnoticed reappearance amid her performance of «*Plus j'observe ces lieux, et plus je les admire*» invokes the approaching figure of Renaud encroaching on Armide's fatal sphere in Gluck's musical setting. George's apposite attendance at the piano-playing scene shows his tacit complicity in culminating the quasi-adulterous plot with Lucy. Contrasted with George's non-irruptive arrival, Cecil's intrusive manipulation of Lucy's next repertoire ('Now play us the other garden –the one in Parsifal') indicates his swelling discontent with his fiancée's musical-

[48] Nicholas Cook, *Music: A Very Short Introduction*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), p. 23.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.

sexual allusion to George.[51] The Flower Maiden's Song at Cecil's behest only symptomises his linguistic and intellectual suppression over Lucy's pianism, which provokes the latter's rebellious act to shut the piano.

Beyond this scene, the dramatic parallelism induced by Lucy's performance persists between Gluck's *Armide* and the pianist's ordinary life. Armide's aborted stratagems on murdering Renaud are echoed by Lucy's incompetence in obliterating her erotic undercurrents with George after her engagement. As Armide ponders «*Quel trouble me saisit! Qui me fait hésiter!* » ('What trouble seizes me and makes me hesitate!') in the ensuing scene (Act 3, Scene 5), Lucy also scruples to pursue her marital plan with Cecil.[52] Although George's impetuous kisses in their previous encounters irritated Lucy, the revelation that 'her anger faded at the sight of him' (*RV* 172) evokes Armide's confession: «*Ma colère s'éteint quand j'approche de lui. Plus je le vois, plus ma vengeance est vaine*» ('My anger is extinguished when I approach him. The more I look at him, the weaker my revenge becomes.').[53] The engaged couple's conflict over Gluck's aria and Wagner's Flower Maiden's song builds up to the climactic point: Lucy calls off her engagement with Cecil and eventually elopes with George back to the foreign territory of Italy, where the exotic sorcery of 'passion requited, love attained' holds them spellbound as if they were reinstated back in Armide's enchanted garden.[54]

Conclusion

Rachel's implicit *Tristan* and Lucy's imperfect *Armide* draw upon the potential of piano playing to sing with an indirect voice. Their pianistic settings of operatic singing do not simply reproduce or represent what is acoustically and dramatically pre-scripted by the music notations. Instead, diverging from the vocal-musical settings of the operas, their pianism recomposes intersubjective relations, shared meanings and communicative interactions in the liminal space of voice, text and music. Although Rachel never explicitly performs the pianistic transcription, *Tristan* connects her intangible musical vision with Clarissa Dalloway's Wagnerian sentiments and possibly with Liszt's virtuosic undertaking. Lucy's pianistic aria,

[51] Forster, p. 162.
[52] Lully, p. 9.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Forster, p. 221.

perceived as flawed by the general audience, interweaves the revengeful plot from *Armide* with her adulterous eroticism with George Emerson, whilst castrating the masculinity of the characterised vocality of her chivalric suitor. Both examples epitomise the ways in which piano performance, either implicit or explicit, creates intersubjective connectivity and new socio-musical experience that cannot be conceived outside of the literary works.

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Friendship or Faction? Fellowship at the Court of Henry VIII

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For more than a generation, the prevailing view among academic historians was that Henry VIII's court was bloodthirsty, cutthroat, and factional. Popular histories and historical fiction, most notably Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall* (2009), have reinforced the image of the Tudor court as a place of political intrigue and ideological struggles. Such interpretations present the Tudor elite as a group of ambitious and duplicitous individuals whose primary concern was their own enrichment and aggrandisement. However, in recent decades this narrative has been challenged on the grounds that it leaves no room for cooperative government, which undoubtedly existed, and because it also neglects the role of the King. This article builds on the work of revisionist historians by questioning the assumption that animosity and rivalry were the defining features of the Tudor elite's interactions.[1] Instead, it argues that the Tudor elite were more bound together by shared characteristics and a common outlook than scholars have previously appreciated. The article illustrates this through the application of prosopography, a methodology that focuses on the relationships and connections between individuals.

Writing about the Tudors over the last forty years has been set within a factional framework. The reaction against constitutionally-focused narratives in the 1980s produced historiography primarily concerned with personalities and politics. The two most forceful proponents of this approach were David Starkey and Eric Ives. Starkey rightly pointed out that institutions were only one side of the story, the other being personality.[2] However, Starkey overreached when he characterised the relationship between councillors and courtiers as 'restless struggles for power and profit', which left no space for cooperation or collaboration.[3]

[1] Historians such as George Bernard, *Who Ruled Tudor England: Paradoxes of Power* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021); Steven Gunn, 'The Structures of Politics in Early Tudor England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5 (1995), 59-90; and Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal* (London: Barrie&Jenkins, 1990).
[2] David Starkey, 'Introduction: Court history in perspective', in *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. by David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), p. 6.
[3] David Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics* (London: George Philip, 1985), pp. 27-8.

Similarly, Ives talked of the 'pervasive force' of faction and its primacy within Tudor politics.[4] These approaches tended to focus on politically contentious events, such as the fall of Anne Boleyn or the expulsion of the minions in 1519, and then to assess the relationships between key individuals. When human relations are conceptualised in this fashion, animosity and discord almost inevitably come to the fore. This is not to suggest that factional struggles did not occur at all, but rather that they were short-term reactions to political events rather than the products of ideologically entrenched groups.

A number of historians have questioned the factional model and proposed alternative conceptions of Tudor politics. For instance, Greg Walker criticised the factional approach on the grounds that it obscures the complex motivations of the key actors. Instead, Walker claimed that broader political contexts and culture must be central to explanations of particular events and used as general principles for understanding the reign.[5] In particular, Walker stressed the importance of understanding contemporary language and iconography in any assessment of Tudor politics and political culture. For example, Walker convincingly argued that historians fundamentally misunderstood the meaning behind the word 'frenchified' as a description of Henry VIII's chamber servants in 1519.[6] The description of Henry's chamber servants as 'frenchified' was thought to mean they favoured an alliance with the French and were pushing the King in this direction. However, in the context of sixteenth-century England, 'frenchified' meant one had loose morals and behaved in a rowdy manner and had nothing at all to do with foreign policy. Therefore, the expulsion was about removing men who were tarnishing the King's reputation through their bad behaviour rather than a purge along factional lines.

Meanwhile, George Bernard highlighted that a world dominated by factional struggles is a world in which political instability is the rule, which is implausible as a characterisation of Tudor government.[7] According to Bernard, Henry VIII played a decisive role in exercising discipline among his courtiers and councillors, preventing them from conspiring in groups.[8] Peter Gwyn interprets Henry VIII in a similar way, as 'bull-like in his bulk and arrogance',

[4] Eric Ives, 'Faction at the court of Henry VIII: The Fall of Anne Boleyn', *History*, 57 (1972), 169-88 (p. 181).
[5] Greg Walker, *Persuasive Fictions: Faction, Faith and Political Culture in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), p. 1.
[6] Walker, pp. 48-9.
[7] Bernard, p. 132.
[8] Ibid, p. 133.

dominating all that he surveyed.[9] This was an image very much opposed to Starkey and Ives's portrayal of a weak and lazy monarch who was consequently a natural victim of faction. But if Henry's close companions did not combine to manipulate the weak King, what was the nature of their relationships? By incorporating and building on the approaches of revisionist historians, the following article attempts to reconstruct the relationships between the Tudor political elite, and present them in a mould that would have been recognisable to contemporaries.

By investigating the backgrounds and relationships of privy councillors, connections are revealed that transcended narrow and short-term political allegiance.[10] This approach places the individuals themselves at the heart of the study rather than simply presenting a narration of events. Also, it takes the long-term view and assesses participants' relationships across their whole lives rather than just at moments of political crisis. When individuals are set within this context, it becomes much less straightforward to divide them into opposing camps. Rarely have historians considered such personal factors when constructing their political narratives, and when they do, they focus on specific individuals rather than looking at the networks themselves as a determining framework and common feature.

Critical to this reappraisal of interpersonal relationships at Henry VIII's court is the application of the methodology of prosopography. Prosopography, a form of collective biography which investigates the common characteristics of a group of historical actors, offers one of the best ways of revealing connections between individuals. It collates biographical information relating to members of a defined group and then analyses the data to uncover trends and patterns.[11] This method allows for the identification of groups based on shared experience and common characteristics, which are independent of political considerations.[12] Thus, prosopography reveals the inner workings of a society or political system more clearly than taking an individual or institutional approach.

Applying this methodology to the Tudor privy council between 1485 and 1603 resulted in the identification of a network of councillors previously unnoticed by historians. These were

[9] Gwyn, pp. 4-5.
[10] In my PhD I am investigating the connections between all Tudor privy councillors in order to reveal the inner workings of the Tudor state and polity.
[11] K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, 'Introduction', in *Prosopography: approaches and applications*, ed. by K.S.B Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1-35, (p. 7.)
[12] Dion Smythe, 'Prosopography', in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. by Robin Cormack, John F. Haldon, and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 177-181 (p. 180).

a group of men who were intimate servants of Henry VIII and served in his privy chamber. This network was bound together by background, social relations, and friendship rather than political ideology. As a result, historians who place councillors into factional units or treat individuals in isolation have largely overlooked them. Such a narrow focus fails to consider the whole range of interpersonal relationships and biographical details that characterise human interaction. The existence of this network suggests that friendship at the Tudor court was just as likely to bind men together and influence their actions as faction.

Historians have often remarked that in the early part of his reign, Henry VIII surrounded himself with young companions who shared his passions for sport and revelry. For David Starkey, Henry VIII's affable and gregarious personality created 'good fellowship, boon companions, friends and favourites.'[13] Similarly, Greg Walker, while downplaying the role of faction in the privy chamber, discussed the closeness of Henry and his intimate household officials.[14] However, the relationships between the household servants themselves have received little attention. By subjecting Henry's companions to prosopographical analysis, a coherent group of men emerges who remained connected throughout Henry's reign. These men were Anthony Browne (c.1500-1548), Anthony Wingfield (1488-1552), Charles Brandon (1484-1545), John Russell (1485-1555), William Fitzwilliam (1490-1542), Arthur Plantagenet (1472-1542), Thomas Cheyne (1485-1558), and William Kingston (1476-1540). They often operated as a collective, not for political or ideological motives but more as a network of mutually supporting friends. Also, significantly, they moved into senior leadership positions within the government and royal household over the course of Henry's reign, making them a potentially potent political force. They thus constitute another facet of Henrician politics that deserves consideration by historians. What follows is an assessment of these men's main biographical details and the factors that linked them together.

The backgrounds of the eight men identified reveals that they shared a similar upbringing and education. Aside from Arthur Plantagenet, who was the illegitimate son of Edward IV, all the men in this group were from county gentry families. Strikingly, none of them received any formal academic education; there is no record of any of them attending a

[13] David Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', in *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. by David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), pp. 71-118 (p. 77).
[14] Walker, pp. 35-53.

university or the Inns of Court. From the little we know about their education, it appeared to be conventional for aspiring gentry in the late medieval period: focusing on vocational skills in landholding, martial pursuits, and local magistracy.[15] This was the extent of their academic achievements, and none of them were regarded as particularly learned by contemporaries or historians. However, they shared a love of courtly pursuits and thrived in the festival atmosphere of Henry's early years on the throne.

At Henry VIII's accession in 1509, most of the men were members of the Royal Household. Russell, Fitzwilliam and Kingston were gentleman ushers, while Brandon, Cheyne, Plantagenet and Wingfield were esquires of the body.[16] These positions involved intimate service of the monarch, and the officeholders would have had daily contact with the king and each other. According to the Household Ordinances of 1494, an esquire of the body 'ought to array the King and unarray him' and 'there must be twoe esquires for the bodie…to lie there [the King's bedchamber] or else in the next chamber.'[17]A gentleman usher would also guard the door of the chamber and act as a deputy to the Chamberlain, the head of the chamber.[18] Moreover, the total number of men occupying these roles was small. The late fifteenth-century household ordinance, *Liber Niger Domus Regis*, only included four gentlemen ushers and twelve esquires and knights of the body.[19] Some of these men were also members of the King's most intimate service department, the privy chamber. Russell and Cheyne were gentlemen of the privy chamber from 1516, Browne from 1519, and Plantagenet from 1526.

In addition to their professional activities, the men were also members of the King's circle of young jousting companions. Most were aged between 19 and 25 years old at Henry's accession. Kingston was slightly older at 33, and Plantagenet older still at 37, but both were active in the tournaments and court revels of the 1510s. In 1513, an elaborate pageant called 'the ryche mount' was staged to commemorate the feast of Epiphany. Brandon and Cheyne were named to receive 'hose and shoes' and accompany the king, while six unknown men

[15] Helen M. Jewel, *Education in Early Modern England* (London: MacMillan, 1998), p. 53.
[16] Anthony Browne was not a member of the household as he was only nine years old.
[17] *Articles Ordained by King Henry VII for the regulation of his Household, 31st December 1494*, in *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp. 106-135 (p. 118).
[18] 'Articles Ordained by King Henry VII', pp. 116-118.
[19] 'Liber Niger Domus Regis Edward IV', in *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1790), pp. 15-85 (pp. 33-7).

would play the part of disguised gentlemen chaperons for the ladies.[20] In light of the fact that the named companions of the King in this revel contained four esquires of the body, it is likely that other members of this network who were in the same post were among the 'disguised gentlemen'.[21] Similarly, all eight men were mentioned in the revel accounts for 1516-7 as participants in court entertainments. Brandon, Fitzwilliam and Kingston took leading roles in jousting tournaments in both years and were given apparel by the master of revels.[22] In addition, Fitzwilliam, Russell, Browne, Brandon and Cheyne were present for New Year celebrations at Greenwich in 1518, during which the King granted them gifts.[23] Thus, this group of young men worked closely together in their official capacity as household officials and then played together in their leisure time. In their young impressionable years, then, they were in almost constant contact with each other. At the very least, their professional activities created a rapport between them, and their social interaction helped establish friendships that would be sustained throughout their careers.

During the 1530s, these eight men moved into senior leadership positions within the household and government. In 1539, Cheyne was treasurer of the King's household, Kingston was Comptroller, Wingfield was vice-chamberlain, and Browne was Master of Horse. Russell had been comptroller since 1536 but was elevated to a baronage and succeeded Fitzwilliam as Lord High Admiral. Fitzwilliam, meanwhile, became Lord Privy Seal and Earl of Southampton. The new post of Lord Great Master was created for Charles Brandon, who was to have overall control of the royal household. Thus, by 1540, all three household departments (chamber, hall, and stables) were controlled by members of this network. As a consequence of holding these positions, moreover, all were members of the privy council: indeed, they constituted seven of the nineteen council members of 1540. As a result, these men controlled access to the King and made up the largest component of the privy council. Importantly, however, they did not operate as a political party with a specific agenda; instead, their interactions were above all characterised by their mutual support.

[20] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, *1509-47*, ed. J.S. Brewer, J. Gardiner and R.H. Brodie, 21 Vols, Vol. 2 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1862-1932, en. 12.5, p. 1499. [Hereafter *L&P HVIII*].
[21] Those named to accompany the King were esquires of the body Sir Henry Guildford, Charles Brandon, Thomas Cheyne and Edward Neville. Henry Bourchier, second earl of Essex, was Captain of the king's spears.
[22] *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol. 2, en. 12.9, p. 1505.
[23] *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol. 2, en. 10.6, p. 1479.

Significantly, several members of the network were succeeded in their offices by other members of the group. In this way, the network retained its control of the important offices of state and demonstrated an awareness of its position as a collective. For example, when John Russell became Lord High Admiral in succession to William Fitzwilliam in 1540, he kept William Broke in the office of beaconage and John Trefonwell as commissary general of the Court of Admiralty.[24] This would suggest that Russell either trusted Fitzwilliam's judgment or that he shared a connection with the men in Fitzwilliam's circle. When Russell was created Baron Russell and made Lord President of the Council of the West in March 1539, there was some confusion over who would replace him as comptroller. John Husee, Plantagenet's agent at court, reported to his patron on 9 March 1539 that Cheyne would become comptroller and Kingston treasurer.[25] He corrected this in a letter of 12 March in which he related that Cheyne would be treasurer and Kingston comptroller while Wingfield would be appointed vice-chamberlain.[26] Significantly, all the men in contention for these important posts were members of the chamber network.

These men would have spoken with each other on a daily basis, meaning that most of their communication went unrecorded and is largely lost to the historian. But Arthur Plantagenet's appointment as Deputy of Calais in 1533, which necessitated his absence from court, provides a rare insight into the nature of their relationships. In particular, the despatches of John Husee shed light on his interactions with his friends.

The sense of a network of mutual concern is revealed by a stream of letters sent by Husee to Plantagenet in 1539, which detailed the whereabouts and activities of other members of the network. Plantagenet was particularly concerned to hear about Fitzwilliam's health, as he was ill with an infected leg at the time. Husee wrote four letters between 7th and 31st January, mentioning Fitzwilliam's health and movements in all of them. Furthermore, these were men who Plantagenet trusted to further his interests and who were in a position to assist their isolated friend. Several of them acted as commissioners for property Plantagenet was pursuing and served as intermediaries with other influential court figures. For instance, in May 1539, Cheyne was appointed as a commissioner for a property that

[24] *L&P Henry VIII*, Vol. 15, en. 979, p. 492.
[25] The National Archives, State Papers 1-7: Foreign and Domestic of Henry VIII. SP 1/144 f.65. [Hereafter TNA, SP].
[26] TNA, SP 1/144, f. 65.

Plantagenet was pursuing. He also asked Fitzwilliam to press the King for a suit 'concerning Guisnes'.[27] These interactions show how personal relationships could assist courtiers and councillors in their business dealings. They also demonstrated that Plantagenet respected his friends' judgement and trusted them to act in his best interests.

A particularly telling incident occurred in April 1539, when Kingston tipped off Plantagenet that a certain 'Mr Hare' had been spreading evil rumours about him at court. However, Plantagenet should not worry, he insisted, because his 'friends' Kingston and Browne had intervened with the King on his behalf: 'Mr Browne said the King accepted the letter in good part, and both said they were your friends, that the King favoured you, and that I should write you to beware of the danger of such importunate wretches'.[28] It is significant that Husee not only used the word 'friends' but also that Browne and Kingston took it upon themselves to defend their friend's reputation. The language of friendship was often deployed in this period, but here we have evidence of actions as well as words. The support provided during this incident appeared to contain no political agenda aside from helping an isolated friend who could not defend himself.

Aside from professional activities, these men sent gifts to each other and interacted on a personal level. For instance, Russell wrote letters to Plantagenet to keep him abreast of the latest court developments but which also contained personal enquires. One such letter was from August 1534, in which Russell asked, 'how do you like the air there [Calais]?'[29] The conversation was likely a continuation of Russell's concern regarding Plantagenet's initial appointment as deputy of Calais in 1533. Russell had attempted to dissuade Plantagenet from taking up the post after he had turned it down himself due to the post's remoteness from the court.[30] Therefore, Russell displayed a genuine concern for his friend's health and position and did his best to keep him updated on the latest political developments in England.

The relationship between Fitzwilliam and Browne was arguably the closest within this network as they were half-brothers. After the death of William's father, Thomas Fitzwilliam (d.1498), his mother, Lucy (d.1534), remarried Sir Anthony Browne (d.1506). This union led to the birth of the younger Anthony Browne in 1500. Fitzwilliam and Browne were brought

[27] TNA, SP 3/5, f. 106.
[28] TNA, SP 1/150, f. 102.
[29] TNA, SP 3/7, f. 40.
[30] Diane Willen, John Russell, First Earl of Bedford: One of the King's Men (London: Royal Historical Society, 1981), p. 24.

up at the royal court and forged a lasting bond, referring to each other as 'brother' throughout their lives.[31] In their careers, the brothers shared the same political office several times, usually in the county of Surrey. For instance, they served as bailiffs of Surrey, keepers of Guildford Park and the Great Park, and as justices of the peace.[32] Also, Browne was distraught at Fitzwilliam's death in 1542 while leading troops in the north of England. He wrote back to London to ask Lady Fitzwilliam what 'he willed for the burying of his body' and noted that it currently lay in the local parish church with Browne promising 'service daily over him till he be removed.'[33] He also confided in his friend Russell that 'he dare not write to my lady sister [Lady Fitzwilliam]' because 'he is too in grief', and asked Russell to comfort her in his place.[34] The members of the network were united in grief at the death of one of their own and turned instinctively to each other for support.

Gift-giving also featured prominently in their interactions. For example, Russell wrote to Plantagenet in 1533 that 'I have received your letter and a goshawk by your servant, for which I thank you. I am glad you and your Lady are in good health.'[35] This particular gift did not bring the joy intended as a subsequent letter from Russell demonstrated: 'I thank you for the goshawk you sent me, which has by chance broken out of the mew and escaped.'[36] The fact that Russell felt comfortable admitting that he had lost the gift Plantagenet had sent him also revealed a closeness that went beyond colleagues. Fitzwilliam sent several gifts to Plantagenet during his posting in Calais. Interestingly, Fitzwilliam regularly sent the lord deputy venison from his lands.[37] The choice of meat was significant as Plantagenet would write to his wife, asking her to procure venison for Christmas 1538, which suggests that it was a particular favourite.[38] It is likely that Fitzwilliam, as a close friend, was aware of this too and knew his gift would be especially appreciated. Also, as a keen hunter, Fitzwilliam was recorded sending deer he had personally killed to other courtiers, which might have been the case with

[31] For instance, in 1539: *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 14, en. 520, p. 201, and in 1541: SP 1/168, f. 78.
[32] *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 4, en. 2132, p. 954; *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 4, en. 3087, p. 1385; *L&P HVIII*, Vol .4, en. 3325, p. 1506; *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 4, en. 5243, p. 2310.
[33] *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 17, en. 951, p. 538.
[34] *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 17, en. 970, p. 545.
[35] TNA, SP 3/7, f. 46.
[36] TNA, SP 3/7, f. 39.
[37] Fitzwilliam sent a delivery of venison in August 1534 (TNA, SP 3/3, f. 84). Then in 1534 he sent two packages, the first in January and again in August (TNA, SP 1/110, f. 174 and TNA, SP 3/5, f. 1).
[38] Plantagenet asking his wife for venison at Christmas 1538: TNA, SP 3/1, f. 13; Lady Lisle promising that 'the venison will not be forgotten' upon Plantagenet's return to Calais: TNA, SP 3/1, f. 76.

Plantagenet's gifts.[39] If so, it would further strengthen the personal connection between the two men.

Contained within one of the letters accompanying one of Fitzwilliam's gift parcels was a reference to the men's wives. Fitzwilliam had sent the parcel through an intermediary, Anne Basset, a lady-in-waiting to Queen Jane Seymour. Anne Basset wrote that 'My lord Admiral has given me a buck, ready baked, for you, and says it shall be sent by one of his servants who lives in London.'[40] In the same letter, Basset says she has 'recommended you [Lady Lisle] to Lady Hampton [Fitzwilliam's wife], and Lady Browne [Browne's wife]'.[41] This suggested a connection between the men's wives that would have further strengthened their personal connections.

A further example of this was a letter from Mary Kingston to Lady Lisle in 1539, in which she sought help on behalf of her son: 'I beg you to be a good lady to my poor son Harry Jerningham, the bearer, who is appointed to wait upon my lord Admiral… and to help him to a horse if he have no friends there to provide him one.'[42] Harry Jerningham was accompanying Fitzwilliam to Calais for the formal reception of Anne of Cleves. Similarly, Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk and Brandon's wife, wrote to Lady Lisle to thank her for the 'good wine and dog' and that she desired to be 'recommended to her and her husband, and thanks them both for their kindness.'[43] Again, these are examples of the men's wives acting within their own network to support their families. The families of the councillors were a fully integrated part of the network and worked in concert to gain advancement and favour.

Direct marital connections also joined the families of some of the men. For instance, Thomas Cheyne married Anne, John Russell's stepdaughter, in 1528. However, the marriage led to a dispute over Anne's jointure, which required the King's intervention to settle the matter.[44] This event has led historians to claim that Russell and Cheyne were enemies on rival sides of the dispute between Anne Boleyn and Cardinal Wolsey.[45] However, the incident had

[39] Fitzwilliam sent Cardinal Wolsey venison he had killed while hunting with the King in 1528: TNA, SP 1/50, f. 55.
[40] TNA, SP 3/1, f. 85.
[41] Ibid.
[42] TNA, SP 3/13, f. 5.
[43] *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 7, en. 1080, p. 419.
[44] SP 1/48, f. 227; SP 1/49, f. 167; SP 1/49, f. 167.
[45] Stanford Lehmberg, 'Thomas Cheyne, c.1485-1558', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 3rd January 2008, < https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5263?rskey=bo32rB&result=1 > [accessed 05/11/2021].

no bearing on their future cooperation and good relations. On the contrary, they worked closely together as privy councillors and officers of state for a further 25 years without incident. Moreover, Russell wrote of Cheyne's son's death at the siege of Boulogne in 1544 with a concern for 'his comfort' in his final hours.[46] He subsequently praised Cheyne to Henry VIII for his 'great pains and diligent service' despite all he had endured.[47] Similarly, Cheyne left £100 to Russell's widow and son when he died in 1558.[48] Therefore, rather than the marriage dispute being symptomatic of an antagonistic relationship, it appears to be a minor blemish on an otherwise cordial and affectionate relationship. Presumably, once the financial arrangements had been resolved, the familial connection actually strengthened their relationship. This episode demonstrates the importance of considering all aspects of these men's connections. If Cheyne and Russell are only viewed in relation to political disputes between Anne Boleyn and Cardinal Wolsey a distorted picture of their relationship emerges. However, if the full scope of their interactions is considered a more harmonious and cooperative relationship emerges.

Military service was another particularly prominent feature of these men's interactions. As close companions of the King, they accompanied Henry on his various military campaigns. Thus, for instance, we know that Fitzwilliam and Anthony Wingfield were involved in the capture of Tournai in 1513 because that is when they received their knighthoods.[49] Later in 1536, once they became leading magnates and officeholders, Brandon, Russell, Fitzwilliam, and Browne led Henry's forces against the Northern rebels. Several dispatches to the council in London survive which were jointly signed by the men.[50] The shared experience of war would have further strengthened the bond between the men as they spent months together on campaign. To be successful commanders, they had to be able to cooperate and communicate effectively. That they were able to do this was demonstrated by an exchange between Russell and Browne during the 1544 French war. Russell wrote that despite 'four sundry voyages into France… he [Henry VIII] has not there one foot more than he had 40 years past' and that 'should [Henry] return home without winning anything, this should encourage

[46] TNA, SP 1/190, f. 128.
[47] TNA, SP 1/191, f. 81.
[48] The National Archives, *Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Register,* PROB 11/42B, fols. 2*r*-5*v*. Russell died in 1555 and so it is unknown if Cheyne also planned to leave a bequest to him as well.
[49] *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 1, en. 2301, p. 1027.
[50] TNA, SP 1/108, f. 3; TNA, SP 1/110, f. 176; TNA, SP 1/110, f. 176; TNA, SP 1/112, f. 151.

the Frenchmen little to set by any army that shall pass over hereafter'.[51] Russell's reports to Henry were a little more subtle and argued that they must stop wandering about in a 'wylde warre' without an aim.[52] This demonstrated a willingness by members of the network to talk candidly with each other about their situations and was all the more remarkable as if this was discovered, they were sure to suffer the King's displeasure.

A further aspect of their relationship was the provision of hospitality. Members of the network regularly dined together in the course of their duties. For instance, Russell and Fitzwilliam were tasked with inspecting the fortifications at Calais in 1541, but as part of their preparation, they organised the dispatch of their own cooks as the men available in Calais were not to their liking.[53] Therefore, it was clear that a discussion about dining arrangements had taken place between the men and that they were coordinating their plans. This in turn demonstrated their eagerness to dine on good food together. Similarly, Fitzwilliam visited Weston at his house in 1539 when the latter was 'very sick in bed'; during the meeting, Weston promised to assist Fitzwilliam and his other friends in the forthcoming election of a knight of the shire for Surrey.[54] Thus, the men concerned were comfortable interacting on a social level, and despite illness, were still willing to help their friends.

In 1540, the formal reception of Anne of Cleves in Calais presented an opportunity for Fitzwilliam and Plantagenet to enjoy each other's company. Plantagenet laid on a lavish welcome for Fitzwilliam and his party. An observer claimed that 'The Deputy and his officers have continually feasted the lord Admiral' and recorded that they had organised a jousting tournament in his honour.[55] A lavish reception such as this might be expected to mark the arrival of the prospective Queen, but this event was a week before: it seems highly likely that this was simply a reflection of the genuine enthusiasm for the arrival of an old friend.

The personal connection between Fitzwilliam and Plantagenet was reinforced by a letter of 22 October 1539, in which Plantagenet sought Fitzwilliam's fashion advice: 'Will have advice of my lord Admiral's fashion…and likewise my lady's harness, which shall be after the sort of the ladies resorting the Court.'[56] This was in preparation for a visit to court by

[51] TNA, SP 1/189, ff. 153-4.
[52] TNA, SP 1/189, ff. 151-2.
[53] TNA, SP 1/165, f. 173.
[54] *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 14, en. 520, p. 201.
[55] TNA, SP 1/155, f. 89.
[56] *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 14, en. 368, p. 129.

Plantagenet, and after so long in Calais, he wanted to make sure that they arrived in the latest court fashion. Incidentally, it was Fitzwilliam who facilitated this trip to court when he obtained a licence to return for Plantagenet and sent the Deputy of Calais money for the crossing.[57]

A final connection between these eight men worthy of mention was their membership of the Order of the Garter, England's most prestigious chivalric order.[58] The first member of the network to be elected a Knight of the Garter was Charles Brandon in 1513. Arthur Plantagenet and William Fitzwilliam followed in 1523 and 1526, respectively. At the chapter meeting in 1539, three knights were elected. They were Russell, Cheyne and Kingston.[59] All three were nominated, along with Anthony Browne, by Fitzwilliam. At the following year's chapter meeting, Browne was elected with votes from Fitzwilliam, Russell, Cheyne and Kingston.[60] Also, in 1540, the stalls were arranged so that Cheyne and Russell, and Browne and Kingston were sharing a stall in St George's Chapel, Windsor, for the installation service.[61] In subsequent chapter meetings, the friends often voted as a block for other members of the network. For example, in January 1541, they all voted for Anthony Wingfield, but the king selected Edward Seymour instead.[62] A further meeting in April 1541 saw Wingfield elected with Russell, Fitzwilliam, and Browne all voting for him.[63] The members of the order were thus bound together by ties of chivalric brotherhood, which added a more formal dimension to the already strong ties of affection that linked them together.

Historians have not previously noted the existence of this network within the Tudor court. However, as this article has shown, these eight men constituted a coherent and powerful group within Henrician government. While they were connected by a shared background and social relations, there is no evidence that they were bound by a specific political agenda or ideology. They navigated the various regimes of the early and mid-Tudor period as a loose collection of friends rather than a united political unit ready to throw its weight behind one cause or another. Instances where members of the network appeared to

[57] SP 3/4, f. 114.
[58] All eight men were members of the Order by 1541, apart from William Kingston, who was elected in 1539 but died in 1540.
[59] *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 14, en. 833, p. 389.
[60] *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 15, en. 707, p. 329.
[61] *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 15, en. 707, p. 329.
[62] *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 16, en. 440, p. 218.
[63] *L&P HVIII*, Vol. 16, en. 751, p. 364.

be taking sides in factional disputes were temporary aberrations, for example, the dispute between John Russell and Thomas Cheyne discussed earlier. Rather, they used their relationships and positions to benefit other members of the network and displayed genuine affection in their interactions. It is also important to note that there is no hint that these arrangements were overtly transactional with no recompense or return immediately expected. In short, this group was grounded on friendship and mutual loyalty rather than political principles.

Moreover, this case study has demonstrated how an examination of the characteristics of Tudor privy councillors as a collective makes it possible to identify new patterns and groups that transcended factional classifications. This analysis shows clearly that similarity and cooperation were just as common, if not more prevalent, than animosity and discord. Thus, prosopography facilitates a different reading of the sources, focusing on groups rather than individuals. This is a more fruitful way of approaching the study of politics, as group dynamics and social cohesion lie at the heart of human interaction. Indeed, by understanding the composition, overlap, and interaction of the different groups within Tudor society, we can better understand the Tudor polity as a whole.

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Motherhood and child abandonment: narrative and critical discourse analysis of tabloid talk show communication

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The process of identity negotiation in naturally occurring family discourse has been widely researched.[1] However, in scholarly studies to date, there has been a greater focus on language in workplaces and talk in natural family environments such as during family meals.[2] Research on family discourse in media talk has also yielded a number of valuable publications, however, there is little research on family identities presented on air.[3] I argue, that it is important to investigate family identities, norms, and values presented and discussed on federal television and the web because I see communication in media as a sociocultural tool for norms regulation and a mirror of social change. In this article, I contribute to this endeavour by looking at the case of the talk show *Pust' Govoriat* (henceforth referred to as PG) and by analysing how mother and son co-negotiate norms through the identity construction process around child abandonment and motherhood in Russia. The data I discuss is collected as transcripts of the talk show episodes. Following De Fina's analysis of discursive identity construction within the narrative analysis, I suggest that the mother identity negotiated in PG has a discursive potential to regulate societal norms and values; therefore,

[1] Cynthia Gordon, 'I just feel horribly embarrassed when she does that': Constituting a Mother's Identity', in *Family Talk : Discourse and Identity in Four American Families,* ed. by C. Gordon, S. Kendall, S. and D. Tannen, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 71-103.; Diana Marinova, 'Finding the Right Balance between Connection and Control: A Father's Identity Construction in Conversations with His College-Age Daughter', in *Family Talk: Discourse and Identity in Four American Families,* ed. by C. Gordon, S. Kendall, and D. Tannen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) pp. 103-123.

[2] Shari Kendall Deborah Tannen, 'Gender and language in the workplace', in *Gender and Discourse,* ed. by Ruth Wodak, (London: Sage, 1997), pp. 81–105.; Elinor Ochs, Ruth Smith, Carolyn Taylor, 'Detective stories at dinner-time: Problem-solving through co-narration', *Cultural Dynamics*, 2 (1989), 238-57.

[3] Julia Lerner, and Claudia Zbenovich, 'Adapting the Therapeutic Discourse to Post-Soviet Media Culture: The Case of Modnyi Prigovor', *Slavic Review*, 72 (2013), 828–849.; Joanna Thornborrow, '"Has it ever happened to you?": Talk show stories as mediated performance', in *Television Talk Shows: Discourse, Performance, Spectacle,* ed. by A. Tolson (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2001), pp. 117-137.; Greg Myers, '"I'm out of it, you guys argue': Making an issue of it on the Jerry Springer Show', in *Television Talk Shows: Discourse, Performance, Spectacle,* ed. by A. Tolson (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2001), pp. 173-192.

the norms constructed in the tabloid talk show are an integral part of Russia's socio-cultural and political reality.[4]

In this article I begin with an overview of the theoretical assumptions that inform the analysis of the tabloid talk show from the linguistic point of view. I then move to provide some socio-political context for the problem of children abandonment in Russia, before the detailed analysis of one extract. I conclude by arguing how detailed narrative and critical discourse analysis informed by the specifics of the genre enables to understand current socio-political processes in Russia in regard to familial norms and values.

Identity construction in the tabloid talk show: narrativisation, moralisation, and confrontainment

This paper approaches the non-essentialist, social constructivist paradigm in identity studies, with the emphasis on the interactional, relational, and discursive nature of the self.[5] Such a paradigm views identity as a product of the social and something that must be worked on. The discursive turn in identity construction research accommodates studies that include such approaches as ethnomethodology and conversational analysis (EMCA), membership categorisation analysis (MCA), discursive psychology (DP), narrative analysis (NA), positioning theory, critical discourse analysis (CDA).[6]

[4] Anna De Fina, 'Doing narrative analysis from a narratives as practices perspective', *Narrative Inquiry*, 31, 1, (2021), 49-71. <http://doi.org/10.1075/ni.20067.def >

[5] Bethan Benwell and Elizabeth Stokoe, *Discourse and Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 314.

[6] Charles Antaki, 'Conversational analysis and social psychology', *BPS Social Psychology Section,* 32 (1995), 21-4.; John Heritage, 'Conversation analysis and institutional talk', in *Handbook of Language and Social Interaction,* ed. by K. L. Flitch and R. E. Sanders (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2005), pp. 103-146.; Charles Antaki, and Sue Widdicombe, *Identities in Talk* (London: Sage, 1998), p. 224.; Derek Edwards, 'Discourse, cognition and social practices: The rich surface of language and social interaction', *Discourse Studies,* 8 (2006), 41-9.; Derek Edwards and Jonathan Potter, *Discursive Psychology* (London: Sage, 1992).; Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 'Analysing narratives as practices', *Qualitative Research: QR*, 8 (2008), 379–387. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794106093634>; Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, *Analyzing narrative discourse and sociolinguistic perspectives* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).; Michael Bamberg, 'Positioning with Davie Hogan: Stories, tellings, and identities', in *Narrative Analysis: Studying the Development of Individuals in Society,* ed. by C. Daiute and C. Lightfoot (London: Sage, 2004), pp. 135-159.; Norman Fairclough, 'CDA as Dialectical Reasoning', in *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies* ed by J. Flowerdew and J.E. Richardson, 1st edn (London: Routledge, 2018) <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315739342>.; Ruth Wodak, Rudolf De Cillia, Martin Reisigl and Karin Liebhart, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

In my collection of data narratives or stories comprise one of the main discourse types in the tabloid talk show. Through narratives, PG participants not only construct who they are but also manage various interactional tasks: they perform self-categorisation, self-justification, self-defence. Narratives become a major site of identity construction and morality, and social norm negotiation. As such, this paper draws on narrative analysis, focusing on language, content, and social practices embedded in the storytelling. In this regard, I consider the narratives as practice approach that insists on the priority of the linguistic analysis, addressing the notions of contextualisation and intertextuality (or, in De Fina's term, 'connectivity').[7] Contextualisation suggests how a narrative fits a broader discourse, and intertextuality emphasises that the narratives speakers produce usually entwined with other texts and discourse types such as opinion-giving, arguments, and evaluations.

Hutchby labels tabloid talk show format as 'confrontainment' because in such shows confrontation or conflict is a main entertaining instrument. In tabloid talk show confrontation is presented as a spectacle with a focus on the private domain, which is carried to grotesque extremes in an effort to incite confrontation and conflict. Melodramatic display of conflicts' escalation is usually followed by moral assessments of the studio audience, the experts, and the host.[8] Such a 'confrontaiment' usually unfolds under the host's rigorous orchestration and is initiated not for the search of the objective truth, rather for the unresolved clash of different identities and worldviews.

Another distinctive feature of a tabloid talk show is the narrativisation of lay experience that has become one of the significant elements of the genre, through which 'personal experience stories get transformed into public discourse, that is, how participants' personal narratives become interactionally mediated narratives'.[9] Into analysis of the conflict, I bring conversational analytic (CA) perspective that allows to understand how different opinions, stances, and evaluations unfold in the interaction. Thus, I use CA transcription notations to highlight meaningful patterns in turn-initiation, turn-taking and sequence

[7] De Fina, 'Doing narrative analysis from a narratives as practices perspective', pp. 49-71.
[8] Ian Hutchby, 'Confrontation as a spectacle: The argumentative frame of the Ricki Lake Show', in *Television Talk Shows: Discourse, Performance, Spectacle*, ed. By Andrew Tolson (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2001), pp. 155-172.; Myers, pp. 173-192.
[9] Thornborrow, '"Has it ever happened to you?": Talk show stories as mediated performance', p. 125.

organisation in the ongoing communication.[10] Through performing confrontation, opposite opinions, and evaluations embedded in the narratives, PG interactants take up particular stances, transmit ideologies, and make evaluations to prove to be right, normal, and morally accepted; therefore, I bring such a key concept as positioning.[11] I will particularly look at internal stances (when a speaker takes up a position in regard to his or herself), affective stances (when a speaker positions him or herself in regard to an utterance in the conversation), and external evaluations (when a speaker take up a stance in regard to someone else).[12] I bring into discussion van Leeuwen's concept of legitimation to analyse how morality is negotiated and participants' actions and opinions are legitimised.[13] Before delving into the analysis, I first provide some background information about the PG show, TV Channel One and the topic of children abandonment and motherhood under investigation.

Pust' Govoriat in the context of the problem of abandoned children in Russia

Pust' Govoriat (PG) has been one of the first tabloid talk shows of the post-soviet era. It was first broadcast in Russia in 2001 and since then was nominated for the TEFI Russian National Television Award seven times which is a testament to the show's impact on Russian culture. The average number of people watching is currently around 4 million. It is being broadcasted in prime-time from Monday to Thursday at 7.40 pm on Channel One, which from the Soviet period has been one of the main television channels in Russia. As a federal channel, Channel One receives the state's budget and 'follows the Kremlin's line particularly closely' in relation to news and socio-political shows.[14] In this regard, it is important to view PG as one of the most popular programmes of the Federal Channel One with the latter being utilised as a state's tool of propaganda.

The topic of the episode I analyse in this paper is related to the social issue of orphanhood and child abandonment. The share of children and adolescents under the age of

[10] Gail Jefferson, 'Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction', in *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation,* ed. by G. Lerner (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), pp. 24-31.
[11] John W. Du Bois, 'The stance triangle', in *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*, ed. by Robert Englebretson (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007), pp. 139-182.; Alexandra Jaffe, *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, (Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 272.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] Theo van Leeuwen, *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 105-123.
[14] Stephen Hutchings and Vera Tolz, *Nation, Ethnicity and Race on Russian Television: Mediating Post-Soviet Difference* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 32.

18 is 22.4% of the total number of Russians'.[15] This means that the number of children in Russia is about 30 million. Out of this number, according to the national statistics, there are 515,191 orphans and children left without parental care in Russia in 2020[30], however, the number of abandoned children is declining.[16]

A study conducted by the Analytical Centre under the Government of the Russian Federation commissioned by the Timchenko Foundation revealed that there were four major reasons for the child abandonment problem.[17] First, children were sent to orphanages from families because their parents abuse alcohol (40.4 %). The second reason is that children were left unattended (24.5 %). The third reason is due to the difficult financial situation of the family (14.1 %). And lastly, 13.0 % of children were left without families because children have health problems or were born with disabilities. As it can be concluded from this study, the parents of such children are alive, but are deprived or restricted in parental rights, or evade the upbringing of their children — for example, by leaving them in the maternity hospital, refusing to pick their children up from educational or medical organizations, and so on.

According to a UNICEF report, Russia is among the countries with the highest proportion of children who are brought up in institutional settings. However, the problem of abandoned children is not widely discussed in Russian society and media.[18] This topic is not discussed in the socio-political shows, nor in news, nor in reports of the pro-governmental media resources. In this sense, PG producers who approved the discussion of abandoned children topic in prime-time on the Federal Channel One confront the logic of dominant discourse and propaganda, according to which such problematic social issues are minimal or not visible.

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[15] 'V RF chilso detei I podrostkov dostiglo maksimuma za poslednie 10 let', *Rossiiskaia Gazeta*, (June 2020), <https://rg.ru/2020/06/01/v-rossii-dolia-detej-v-chislennosti-naseleniia-dostigla-istoricheskogo-maksimuma.html> [accessed 15 September 2021]

[16] 'Realizatsiya mer sotsial'noi podderzhki otdel'nih kategorii grazhdan', *Rosstan biulleten'. Minprosveshcheniia forma stat.nabliudeniia 103-RIK*, 2020. <https://rosstat.gov.ru/compendium/document/13291> [accessed 3 September 2021].; 'Kolichestvo sirot v Rossii snizilos' do rekordno nizkogo urovnia', *Izvestiia New Portal*, (May 2018), <https://iz.ru/785391/2018-09-05/kolichestvo-sirot-v-rossii-snizilos-do-rekordno-nizkogo-urovnia> [accessed 3 September 2021]

[17] Garifulina, El'vira , 'Issledovanie prichin sotsial'nogo sirotstva', <https://deti.timchenkofoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Исследование-причин-социального-сиротства_Э.Гарифулина.pdf> [accessed 20 August 2021].

[18] 'Annual Results Report. Child Protection', *UNICEF*, (2017), <https://www.unicef.org/media/47761/file/Child_Protection_2017_Annual_Results_Report.pdf> [accessed 10 September 2021].; Semenova, Anna, Iaznevich, Elizaveta, Diachkina, Polina, 'Vospriiatie naseleniem Rossii problem sirotstva i vozmozhnostei ee resheniia', (December 2017), <https://tochno.st/materials/vospriyatie-naseleniem-rossii-problemy-sirotstva-i-vozmozhnostey-ee-resheniya> [accessed 10 September 2021].

Analysis

Below, I analyse the communication between the host, the mother, the son, and the studio audience within the episode called 'The Milokhins' mother: the meeting that the stars from the Orphanage have been waiting for seventeen years' aired on 21 Jan 2021.[19] At the time of writing, the episode has 5 497 840 views on YouTube and 250K views on the 1tv.ru website, which proves that the topic is in demand among the Russian-speaking audience. In the episode, participants discuss the behaviour of mother Liubov'(or Liuba). She gave birth to her sons, Dania and Il'ia, and, when they were three- and four-years-old respectively, Liubov' left them in an orphanage. Sometime later she met another man and became a mother to two more children. Dania and Il'ia became famous TikTok bloggers and influencers. Dania Milokhin has 11.6M followers in TikTok, making him one of the richest young bloggers in Russia. However, Dania refused to take part in the show. At the beginning of the episode, the mother meets her son, Il'ia, for the first time since leaving him in the orphanage seventeen years ago. When Liubov' enters the studio, she approaches the couch where Il'ia is sitting. Her face is full of tears. Il'ia stands up, hugs her and says (all translations from Russian to English are made by the article's author):

Excerpt 1. The mother's narrative.[20]

Participants:

I(l'ya) – son

L(iubov') – mother

H(ost)

A(udience)

1	I:	hi mom (.) seventeen years (.)
2	L:	I am sorry {{ crying }} °thank you for hugging me°
3		(.)
4	H:	I will lighten the mood
5		how much you look like each other (.) how much your sons resemble you
6		what happened?
7		Liub, tell us what happened back then seventeen years ago?
8	L:	when I met his father I was seventeen years old

[19] Channel One, 'The Milokhins' mother: the meeting that the stars from the Orphanage have been waiting for seventeen years', *YouTube*, (January 2021), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VfhCWUtlymY> [accessed 15 March 2021].

[20] N.B. This transcript has been translated from Russian to English by the author of this paper.

9		I was foolish
10		well, we began to live, everything seemed to be fine {{Il'ia sheds a tear}}
11		(.)
12		So (.)
13		then got pregnant with Iliushka
14		well he started cheating, and my parents took me away from him.
15		I lived with my parents.
16		came like there on his knees, begged to forgive him,
17		sort of forgave him, I thought we'll have a family sort of
18		then we lived in an apartment, everything was fine when gave birth to Iliushka.
19		then got pregnant with Danilka. He persu:: persuaded me
20	I:	was it a planned pregnancy?
21	L:	you? yes.
22	H:	weren't you going to have a second {{child}}?
23	L:	it just happened that way and he persuaded me
24	H:	persuaded? (.) persuaded what?
25	L:	well, he tried to persuade me to give birth to a second child. He wants a second son
26	H:	and you thought about getting rid of him?
27	L:	no I:: mm:: my parents (.) my mum said to me
28		look at him that you don't need to have kids from him
29		well he does not help you this is who he is
30		well, then everything worked that way, and everything was fine, the children were taken to kindergarten
31		when I didn't have time, either my mum picked them, or my brother
32		and he was sort of a father came no help no money nothing
33	H:	and what did he do?
34	L:	He didn't even have a job (.) even didn't have a job
35	A:	alcohol? Drugs? were there in the family?
36	L:	yes, that was it. I could tell by his behavior
37		his behavior changed
38	A:	has he ever been prosecuted?
39	L:	yeah yeah he was imprisoned before
40	A:	then how many times he was prosecuted?
41	L:	he was already a jailed man when we met (.) I found it out [
42	H:	[but you loved him?
43	L:	yes
44	H:	So you forgave everything, forgot his past
45	L:	yeah (.) for four years [
46	H:	[and you thought about starting new life, that all is going to be fine
47	L:	Yes I hoped
48	H:	Now as we have known Liubov'→
49		Looked at her family
50		Saw that it is such a perfect family that all is perfect
51		There are no such problems which we usually come across here
52	A:	And you are a perfect mother, I see that
53	H:	When she enters it could be seen there are no problems in the family. Perfect family.

This excerpt illustrates Liubov's self-representation in her narrative. Liubov's narrative is elicited by the host in lines 6-7 when he first asks a generalised question (what happened?) and then he uses an address form and an imperative verb (Liub, tell us) to ascribe Liubov' with a narrator role. Liubov's narrative (lines 8-47) presents a mix of events and her evaluations of those events. When Liubov' tells the story of her life, from first marriage to pregnancy, she

presents particular aspects of her identity through the selection of various linguistic devices. Such story management is captured by the notion of narrative positioning.[21] This positioning is indexed through the discursive construction of agentive and epistemic selves in a narrative. Agentive selves are those figures in a story that take actions, and epistemic selves are those which manifest beliefs, opinions, evaluations. The epistemic facet of the identity is constructed explicitly in the excerpt.

I will start with agentive self that is constructed throughout Liubov's storytelling: as a teller, she becomes a character in her story. The distinction between the story, and the story-telling itself is useful to examine categorisations and characterisations of Liubov' and others. Such 'identity claims' are used to advocate, justify or question a point of view.[22] For example, in line 9, Liubov' uses self-characterisation within the story by naming her own self as 'foolish' and this device helps her to justify her actions. Throughout the conversation, we see what happened with Liubov' and what she thinks and feels about herself or the situation. For example, in line 8, she says 'I met his father', and in line 9, she steps out of the story to evaluate herself 'I was foolish'. The same pattern can be observed in line 10: Liubov' first indicates the event in the story's plot 'we began to live' and right after it provides an evaluation 'everything seemed to be fine'.

Liubov's narrative is about the period of her life when she met her children's father. He is neither named in the narrative, nor labelled as a husband or partner. To refer to this man, she uses (line 8) 'with his father', third-person pronoun 'he' (lines 14, 23, 25, 34), or she omits his nomination and deletes grammatical subject (line 16) 'came, like'. Such nomination of her ex-partner suggests that Liubov' positions him as a distant person to her in a narrative in comparison with the nomination of her sons. Despite the fact that this is the first time she sees Il'ia (and she never saw Dania in person), she uses diminutives with their names (Iliushka is a diminutive of Il'ia in line 13, Danilka is a diminutive of Danila in line 19) to indicate her loving feelings towards them.

[21] Bamberg, 'Positioning with Davie Hogan: Stories, tellings, and identities'.; Michael Bamberg and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 'Small Stories as a New Perspective in Narrative and Identity Analysis', *Text & Talk - An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language Discourse Communication Studies* (Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co, 2008), pp. 377-396.

[22] Alexandra Georgakopoulou,'On MSN with buff boys": self and other identity claims in the context of small stories', *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 15 (2008), 597– 626.

Liubov' describes her life starting with the events indicating the key points in her relationship with her ex-partner. The first key event is their acquaintance ('we met', line 8), then they began living together (line 10), after that she became pregnant with her first son (line 13). Then Liubov' performs narrativisation of the problems in her family. Her partner began cheating (line 14), he was sorry (line 16), she forgave him and became pregnant with her second son (lines 17-19). In this part of her narrative, Liubov' starts to position herself as a victim by ascribing no agency to herself through the use of first-person plural verbs (line 10), agent in Accusative case (line 14) 'my parents took me away from him', agentless clauses (line 23) 'it just happened that way'.

Such a chronological narrative structure constructs Liubov' as someone who was stuck in particular circumstances and had no power to act, but it does not provide any clues on why these two boys came to be abandoned in the orphanage. Therefore, the Host and the audience co-produce the narrative to shed more light on the identity of Liubov's partner in which the interactants assume to find a reason of children abandonment. Liubov' understands that her narrative lacks those necessary attributes of her ex-partner. Therefore, in line 33 and 34, when the Host asks about his occupation, Liubov' is eager to classify this man as someone who had no job, she intensifies this with 'even' word by repeating the clause two times 'he didn't even have a job'. In line 35, someone from the audience asks if there were drugs and alcohol in the family which she confirms. Another guest from the audience asks if her ex-partner was subjected to criminal prosecution. And in line 41, listeners find out that he was already a criminal when they met. This is the detail which chronologically should have come prior to all the events in Liubov's life, but it did not happen. Such a reverse chronological order may signal Liubov's fear to be judged as an unwise and thoughtless woman who started living with a criminal. Her desire not to be judged in her decisions can also be traced in the legitimation strategy she performs.[23] She legitimises her decision to return to him after his cheating by referring to her values (line 17) that are in saving the family 'I though we will have a family sort of'. Liubov' makes her decision to give birth for a second child from an unfaithful criminal legitimate by referring to his desires and power. In lines 19, 23, 25 she justifies her second pregnancy with such words 'he persuaded me', 'he tried to persuade me', 'he wants a second son'. In van Leeuwen's terms such a legitimation type is

[23] van Leeuwen, pp. 105-123.

called authorisation which is a refence to the authority of tradition and persons in whom authority of some kind is vested. Through this legitimation Liubov's refers to her husband's authority and family preservation norm. Thus, Liubov' manifests the patriarchal and traditional family norms according to which the husband's words and desires are the priority and even dysfunctional family better to be saved. These legitimations are met with no contradictions or further questions from the audience, rather people from the audience and the Host take a co-telling roles which signal their alignment and display of solidarity.[24]

In lines from 42 to 45, we see the Host try to get Liubov to elaborate her epistemic self: he prompts her to declare if she loved her ex-partner and if she was ready to forget all his past.

On the epistemic level, Liubov's identity is constructed as a forgiving and loving wife, and a poor woman who was stuck in difficult life circumstances and faced her husband's alcoholism (lines 35-36), criminal acts (lines 39, 41), cheating (line 14) and no financial support (line 32). In line 32, Liubov' talks about her children's father's physical, emotional and financial abandonment 'he was sort of a father came no help no money nothing'. All the details of her struggles are revealed not by her own self but with the leading questions from the audience (lines 35, 38, 40) as I exemplified above.

Another distinct feature of Liubov' way of telling her life story is the moralisation through the use of reported speech and self-correction.[25] Ochs and Capps claim that reported speech can be used in regard to morality.[26] They note 'tellers strive to represent themselves as decent, ethical persons who pursue the moral high road in contrast to certain other protagonists in their narrative'.[27] Accordingly, (lines 27, 28, 29) Liubov recounts the words of her mother to justify her moral choice and to de-emphasise her own accountability. By animating her mother's advice not to give birth because of the inappropriate behaviour of Liubov's husband, Liubov' diminishes her agency and by that, tries to defend her actions.

[24] Charles Goodwin, 'Notes on story structure and the organization of participation', in, *In Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis,* ed. by J. Maxwell Atkinson and John Heritage (London: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 225–246.
[25] Thornborrow, *The discourse of public participation media from talk show to Twitter, Abingdon*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2015), p. 210.; Shoshana Blum-Kulka, 'The Many Faces of *With Meni*: The History and Stories of One Israeli Talk Show', in *Television talk shows : discourse, performance, spectacle*, ed. by Andrew Tolson (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2001), pp. 99-123.
[26] Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capps, *Living narrative: creating lives in everyday storytelling*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 368.
[27] Ibid, p. 284

Another tool of backgrounding her agency is the ellipsis of the grammatical subject 'got pregnant' (line 13, 19), 'forgave' (line 17), 'gave birth' (line 18).[28] Also, Liubov's self in her personal narrative is collectivesed through the first-person plural (lines 10, 18), which helps to create collective accountability. Her agency is suppressed through the passivation.[29] Thus, as a main social actor in the narrative, Liubov' is represented more like a 'patient' rather than an 'agent'. This diminishes her accountability which helps her to elicit empathy from the audience.

One more discursive feature I focus on in relation to moralisation is repair, in particular, 'self-repair', or self-correction.[30] Repair is the mechanism speakers use to correct selves or/and others on grammatical, semantical, stylistical, and ideological levels; therefore, repair sheds light on the nature of social interaction in relation to power, truth, and morality negotiation. Liubov's self-repair occurs in conversation when it comes to the discussion of her pregnancy and her thoughts about abortion. In line 19, she initiates repair because she hesitates on the word 'persuaded' to define her decision to have her second child. She cuts off the word and pauses 'he persu::' (line 19). Similarly, when the Host asks, 'You thought about getting rid of him?' (line 26), Liubov' initiates three self-repairs in a row: she stretches vowels, uses 'mmm', and pauses 'no I:: mm:: my parents (.) my mum said to me', (line 27). Her utterances with repairs illustrate her uncertainty about her own position and the moral aspect towards the issue of having or not having the baby, especially when the host's questions are formulated more like an accusation (line 26). The way the conversation ends signals the host's support and alignment with Liubov'. Despite all the details of her tough story (drugs, alcohol, prison), the host, defends her. He says, 'it is such a perfect family that all is perfect' (line 50), 'there are no such problems which we usually come across here' (line 51), 'there are no problems in the family. Perfect family (line 53). The host positively evaluates Liubov's family and herself as a wonderful mother, and demonstrates alignment with Liubov' both on the agentive and the epistemic levels. In this sense, he demonstrates his availability to align in terms of shared norms because her ex-partner's addictions, according to Host's

[28] van Leeuwen, pp. 105-123.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, 'A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation', *Language,* 50 (1974), pp. 696–735.

words in line 51, are not characterised as problematic and are dissimilar to an average Russian family (there are no such problems which we usually come across here).

At this point of my analysis, I turn to positioning approach since I see the Host's alignment as a stance or position with respect to family values and norms as salient to the sociocultural field. I bring three types of stances to characterise the conversation above. First, Liubov's evaluative positions in regard to her own self and in regard to her family values are an integral part of her identity construction through stance-taking. Scholars conceptualise such evaluations of propositional content differently: as appraisal or judgment, or attitudinal stance.[31] I refer to those as internal evaluations because I see them as stances towards the content within the narrative. Liubov's stances are made of such internal evaluations of her identity 'I was foolish' (line 9) and her imply her thoughts about forgiving her partner for the sake of the family (line 17).

The second type of stance-taking relates to speakers' opinions about an utterance - 'affective stances'. The Host's final contributions are characterised as affective stances that indicate his feelings about what Liubov' has said. In this sense, he shares those patriarchal and traditional family norms through which Liubov' legitimised her actions. The last type of stances I analyse is external evaluations. These are interpersonal stances that Liubov' takes in regard to her husband.

Regarding external evaluation, I bring van Dijk's tools to analyse how Liubov' constructs an opposition of 'positive me' versus 'negative him'.[32] A major tool for Liubov' for creating positive self and negative others (in this case her ex-partner) is to deemphasise her responsibility and emphasise his responsibility. Her agency is either backgrounded through the use of Accusative case 'my parents took me away' (line 14), or backgrounded through ellipsis 'got pregnant' (lines 13, 19), or suppressed through the agent-deletion 'just happened'(line 23). The responsible others category which is represented by her ex-partner and expressed through third-person-singular active-verb constructions (lines 14, 19, 23, 25, 34, 39, 41). Therefore, the narrative created by Liubov' together with the Host and audiences manages to regulate the norm and morality around the issue of children abandonment. Her refusal to raise her sons and desire to have a new husband and to give birth to another

[31] Halliday, Michael Alexander Kirkwood, *An introduction to functional grammar*, 2nd edn (London: Edward Arnold, 1994).; See Fairclough, *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*.
[32] Teun A van Dijk, 'Discourse and manipulation', *Discourse and Society,* 17 (2006), pp. 359-383.

children meets with no objections of PG audience members. The Host co-constructs Liubov's biographical narrative and makes positive evaluations of her victimised identity. He also puts her actions on the scale of morally acceptable to morally unacceptable. Further in the episode, PG producers, the Host and participants never turn to the children abandonment problem at a national level.

Discussion and conclusion

In this paper, I analysed the PG excerpt that represents mother identity construction and negotiation of norms and morality around children abandonment. To sum up, the mother's narrative indicates the representation of her innocent and positive self that is co-produced with the help of the Host and the audience. She tells her narrative in which she is positioned as a person who was stuck in difficult life circumstances and had no power to change them. Following De Fina's narratives-as-practice approach, I first analysed how the narrative unfolds in its interactional structure and lexical-grammatical features.[33] I also showed that opinion-giving and evaluations are embedded in this joint narration. I focused on the internal evaluations made by the mother that help her to legitimise her actions and create her victimised identity.[34] Furthermore, I analysed how through aligning affective stances the Host negotiated shared family norms and values that are presented as patriarchal in the narrative.[35]

The Host summarises Liubov's narrative (in which she told about the criminal and addictive persona of her ex-partner) with the words 'it is such a perfect family / all is perfect / you are a perfect mother'. I demonstrated how through interpersonal stances Liubov' constructs 'positive or innocent me and negative others' opposition. Secondly, I contextualised the narrative in terms of its fitting into the socio-political context. The problem of child abandonment is a concern in modern Russia, especially because in most cases the parents of abandoned children are alive. This episode presents a similar pattern. The mother left her children in an orphanage because she had difficult emotional, financial, and personal circumstances. When her life became better, she had a new family and refused to bring her abandoned sons back. Her 'victimised' self-presentation receives no objections from the

[33] De Fina, 'Doing narrative analysis from a narratives as practices perspective', pp. 49-71.
[34] van Leeuwen, pp. 105-123.
[35] Jaffe, pp. 272.; Du Bois, pp. 139–182.

studio audience and the Host. Such an absence of accusations toward the mother also represents how participants negotiate what is morally acceptable and unacceptable. This negotiation on the scale of morality is done by every participant ambiguously. When the mother positions herself towards the issue of abortion, for example, she uses pauses, sound stretches, first-person plural instead first-person singular, reported speech to passivate her agency. Such devices may indicate that she is struggling to present the idea of abortion as morally acceptable.

The absence of the mother's clear position on abortions and accountability in relation to her decision to live with a criminal and to give birth to children in a dysfunctional partnership is received with no objection from other participants. The Host's discursive behaviour is ambiguous as well: he uses hesitations, repetitions, and word search to mitigate his accusation. At the same time, the Host explicitly praises Liubov', and categorises her as a good mother.

Thus, the identity of the mother is a complicated concept, within which talk show participants regulate patriarchal gender roles, women's morally accepted choice in favour of personal life rather than being a responsible mother. Despite the fact that PG participants constructed the son's identity as a boy with no parents and expressed empathy to him, they never turned to the socio-political problem of the abandoned children. PG episodes within the wider sociopolitical situation are contextualised as an attempt to particularise the problem, and to position this problem as a case of this particular family rather than present it on a national scale. Such a de-politisation of a national problem is a distinct feature of the PG tabloid talk show's communicative nature. To present stories and to discuss difficult issues in this particular way (by reference to one family) may indicate not only an entertaining goal of PG producers but also state intentions (as main Channel One funder) to not to attract too much attention of the public to the national problems such as children abandonment by their living parents.

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Blurring the Online and Offline: Digital Connectivity Within Feminist Activism Against Street Harassment

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Chalk Back (@chalkbackorg) describes itself as 'An international youth-led movement committed to ending gender-based street harassment with public chalk art, digital media and education'.[1] In this article, I explore the ways in which Chalk Back exemplifies the use of digital connectivity within contemporary feminist activism as a form of consciousness-raising and as a way to converge a collective response to sexual violence and harassment.[2] Chalk Back, through intertwining public art and online activism, blurs the boundaries between not only the online and offline, but also the local and global, the personal and political, and the individual and collective. In relation to this, I examine how speaking out and digital connectivity manifest in Chalk Back's feminist street art and the ways this highlights some of the positives of digital connectivity within feminist activism against sexual violence and the feminist politics of speaking out. However, there are limitations to this form of activism, particularly in regard to the heightened emphasis on speaking out, which contribute to the precarity of contemporary feminisms, which I discuss in the final section of this article. Despite the main account of Chalk Back (@catcallsofnyc) having close to 170,000 followers on Instagram and the movement receiving some international mainstream media coverage, the movement has received scant academic attention, which I seek to redress in this article.

The initiative was started by Sophie Sandberg, who created the first Chalk Back Instagram account (@catcallsofnyc), in March 2016. This was around nineteen months before the hashtag #MeToo went viral in response to allegations of sexual harassment and assault against Harvey Weinstein, demonstrating how #MeToo was preceded by numerous online feminist campaigns. According to the Chalk Back website the movement now spans six

[1] Chalk Back, 'Chalk Back' <https://www.chalkback.org> [accessed 29 September 2021].

[2] Consciousness-raising is a process whereby members of an oppressed group come to realise the commonality of their experiences. During second-wave feminism this often occurred in consciousness-raising groups whereby individual narratives were shared and then placed within shared experiences and ultimately oppressive structures, a clear demonstration of 'the personal is political'.

continents, forty-nine countries, and one hundred and fifty cities, with approximately sixty Instagram accounts.[3] Therefore, Chalk Back is simultaneously transnational and site-specific in its blurring of the online and offline. However, despite this global presence, the majority of accounts that form the movement are based in the United States and Europe, reflecting the dominance of Western and Anglophone regions and ideologies in contemporary feminist discourses. There are more than one hundred and fifty individual activists that form the rapidly growing collective 'fighting for equal access to public space'.[4] Alongside the Instagram accounts, they also run campaigns, community events, public collective chalking events, and workshops through which 'Chalk Back members seek to influence bold cultural change within our communities'.[5] The objectives of Chalk Back are 'to give people a place to share their stories of harassment, use it to raise public awareness and ultimately denormalize [and eradicate] catcalling'.[6]

The 'Catcalls of' Instagram accounts, which form the Chalk Back movement, largely follow Sandberg's format of @catcallsofnyc. Anonymous instances of street harassment, which are submitted to the account via private message, are written in chalk in the form of direct quotations onto the streets where they happened. The size of the street writings is dictated by the size of image that can be captured on a camera phone from a standing position as the activists photograph the writing and post it to Instagram to 'spur dialogue and story sharing'.[7] The street writings typically contain the Instagram handle of the profile and the hashtag #StopStreetHarassment, which is also included in the social media image caption. The Instagram posts also usually show the original message the account received, which adds context or expresses how the victim felt or reacted to the incident. Therefore, the posts articulate the harm caused and/or the victim's agency and identify the location in which the harassment occurred.

They accept submissions from all genders; however, the majority are from women and girls. Notably, some are from those who experience intersectional harassment, which can be transphobic, homophobic, racist, and simultaneously misogynistic. In one example that @catcallsofnyc chose to share, a Muslim woman was harassed by a white man who said

[3] Chalk Back, 'Chalk Back'.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

'Sweetheart maybe you owe us a little SOMETHING after 9/11'.[8] This demonstrates how @catcallsofnyc often seeks to draw attention to the intersectionality of some street harassment, which in this case is a combination of misogyny and Islamophobia. Quite often submissions will begin with a rhetorical phrase such as 'I don't know if this qualifies' (for example, @catcallsofnyc 24 January 2021). This highlights how street harassment is often dismissed as something harmless and shows a sense among victims that their experience does not fit within the genre of narratives that are tellable or serious enough. However, the street writings and Instagram posts illustrate the severity of street harassment, challenging the perception that it is 'not that bad' or that victims should be flattered.[9] Indeed, often the instances of harassment consist of threats of sexual violence and they are often targeted against girls who are below the age of consent in the United States.

In a comment made underneath a post on 13 September 2020, @catcallsofnyc explain that they have struggled with deciding what to write in public (as they include 'trigger warnings' online when there are explicit references to rape, as contradiction followers have pointed out and questioned). 'Trigger warnings', sometimes referred to as 'content warnings', provide an indication that a piece of content, usually online, contains material related to a potentially traumatising or upsetting topic, such as 'TW: R*PE', giving viewers the ability to choose whether or not to engage with that content. In offline public spaces it is not possible to include 'trigger warnings' and Chalk Back stay true to their intentions by sharing such stories word for word. However, sometimes explicit words are somewhat censored both online and offline as an asterisk is used to replace one of the letters, such as 'f*ck' (on social media this may in part be done as a way to circumvent the removal of content by the platform). The inclusion of 'trigger warnings' can be seen as an online mechanism to foster safe spaces, particularly for survivors of sexual violence. However, they may just give an 'illusion' of protection or safety, as argued by Roxane Gay.[10] The publicness of the street writings removes people's choice to encounter such experiences in the way that victims have been stripped of that agency. Whereas the inclusion of trigger warnings online gives viewers

[8] Catcalls of NYC, *Chalkback: What We Do, How We Chalk | the @catcallsofnyc Narrative*, online video recording, YouTube, 18 July 2019 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e3aoYC9MCp0> [accessed 29 September 2021].
[9] For an exploration of the notion 'not that bad' in relation to rape culture and sexual violence, see *Not That Bad: Dispatches from Rape Culture*, ed. by Roxane Gay (London: Allen & Unwin, 2018).
[10] Roxane Gay, *Bad Feminist: Essays* (London: Corsair, 2014), pp. 149, 151.

a choice on whether or not to engage with the material and shows @catcallsofnyc's desire to create a safe space online.

By utilising public art, Chalk Back is able to access a much wider audience and provoke spontaneous interactions which go beyond the boundaries of the echo chamber of their online following and exchanges.[11] Furthermore, the infiltration of the public space at street level and use of explicit messaging juxtaposes daily life with representations of violence and harassment. This makes such incidents visible, when they are often ignored and obscured. The street writings are impactful in their unexpected and confrontational nature, designed to shock and outrage members of the public. Therefore, this amplification of such experiences functions as a vehicle for awareness raising for unexpecting audiences. Also, by marking the streets where the incident occurred, the movement challenges the myths that street harassment only happens in certain locations by visually demonstrating its ubiquity. On 28 October 2014 Hollaback! (a movement established in 2005 to end harassment) released the video '10 Hours of Walking in NYC as a Woman', which documented the relentless street harassment a woman faced whilst walking through the city and now has over fifty million views on YouTube.[12] However, in contrast to Chalk Back illustrating that street harassment can happen anywhere, the video faced allegations that they only walked through predominantly minority or immigrant areas and edited out white perpetrators, thus reinforcing racialised and classed stereotypes.

Although Chalk Back utilises on-the-ground graffiti tactics and voluntary activists, it is clearly centred on online activist strategies and principles. This use of online activism and international community-building within Chalk Back allows for widespread communication and dissemination. This extends the work's impact beyond its geographical and temporal reach, even when the original work has long been washed away from the streets of New York City. The inclusion of the Instagram handle and hashtag in the street writings not only provide context and publicise the account and aims of the movement, but also function as a mobilising tactic. Indeed, the hashtag encourages viewers who decide to post a photo of the street writing on social media to partake in hashtag activism, thereby using offline activism to

[11] An echo chamber is a situation or environment, especially on social media, where people only encounter opinions the same as their own, which then reinforces their own beliefs.
[12] Rob Bliss and Hollaback!, *10 Hours of Walking in NYC as a Woman*, online video recording, YouTube, 28 October 2014 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b1XGPvbWn0A> [accessed 7 February 2022].

mobilise further online activism. Moreover, #StopStreetHarassment is a broad hashtag that can be applied to numerous campaigns and actions; it is not specific to Chalk Back nor was it created in response to a specific incident, like #YesAllWomen. Therefore, it is possible that it is used by those unfamiliar with Chalk Back due to its generality, meaning it can transcend a specific campaign or moment.

Notably, social media is a space in which speaking out can be enacted whilst circumventing the avenues of the legal or media domains. Indeed, as noted by Tanya Serisier, online feminist speech and hashtag activism has, in recent years, seemingly offered the promise of providing a more open platform for women to speak and be heard, resulting in a heightened belief in the power and necessity of speaking out.[13] Moreover, Serisier describes 'the potential hashtags provide for a genre of individual stories to form a single collective story in ways that mirror earlier feminist traditions of using consciousness-raising and speak-outs to build a collective feminist story of sexual violence'.[14] Through this collective storytelling and validation individual narratives are more likely to be believed and granted broader significance and credibility; countering the disbelief and scrutinisation that often greets individual stories.[15] By exploring Serisier's arguments in relation to Chalk Back it is evident, due to their use of hashtags both online and offline, that they facilitate this collective storytelling, granting the individual narratives that they crowdsource validation, credibility, and significance. Therefore, this resists the dismissal of experiences of street harassment.

This collectivity shifts the focus from the credibility of an individual story to the recognition of structural gendered harm, as maintained by Serisier.[16] In regard to Chalk Back, their use of the hashtag both online and offline encourages viewers to search it on social media, bringing up thousands of results from worldwide accounts of Chalk Back sharing similar experiences of street harassment. Therefore, the hashtag creates a narrative of lived, shared experiences, exemplifying that these are not just localised, isolated, and individual incidents but part of a much larger global systemic problem, echoing other examples of feminist hashtag activism, such as #MeToo. This extends Kaitlynn Mendes, Jessica Ringrose, and Jessalynn Keller's argument that the solidarity provoked through hashtag activism and

[13] Tanya Serisier, *Speaking Out: Feminism, Rape and Narrative Politics* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 91, 96.
[14] Serisier, pp. 95-96.
[15] Ibid., pp. 96, 99, 103, 109.
[16] Ibid., p. 103.

built through online networks 'often transforms into a feminist consciousness amongst hashtag participants, which allows them to understand sexual violence as a structural rather than personal problem'.[17]

Second-wave feminism encouraged women to rethink their individual experiences as something shared by connecting with others, enabling them to speak as political subjects.[18] However, through social media, survivors are more able to acknowledge and articulate their experiences with enhanced clarity and raise consciousness by connecting their shared experiences on an unprecedented scale compared to the consciousness-raising groups of the second-wave, as supported by Frances Rogan and Shelley Budgeon.[19] The transnational nature of Chalk Back places individual stories experienced in a specific location into a global picture of street harassment, using digital connectivity to exemplify the scale of the issue beyond the local and national. Chalk Back uses digital connectivity as a form of amplification and consciousness-raising, highlighting both online and offline that these are not just individual and localised incidents of street harassment, or harmless flattery, but part of a ubiquitous and global structural problem that extends beyond individual experiences written onto the streets in a specific location. Hester Baer argues that online feminist campaigns are renegotiating feminism for a neoliberalist age by highlighting the interplay of the individual and the collective, enabled by digital platforms, exposing individual experience made collective by structural inequalities.[20] However, online feminist campaigns like Chalk Back are continuing the consciousness-raising work of the second-wave, rather than totally renegotiating feminism, whilst using social media as a space in which feminist speech can be enacted, amplified and connected.

Through the prevalence of hashtag activism in contemporary feminism, the symbol of the hashtag has come to signify more than its digital function. It now can be seen to symbolise activism, collectivism, solidarity, and shared experiences. Therefore, when it is included in a context where it fulfils no digital function, such as on the streets, not only does it galvanise

[17] Kaitlynn Mendes, Jessica Ringrose, and Jessalynn Keller, '#MeToo and the Promise and Pitfalls of Challenging Rape Culture through Digital Feminist Activism', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 25.2 (2018), 236–46 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506818765318> p. 238.

[18] Frances Rogan and Shelley Budgeon, 'The Personal Is Political: Assessing Feminist Fundamentals in the Digital Age', *Social Sciences*, 7.8 (2018), 1-19 <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci7080132> p. 15.

[19] Rogan and Budgeon, p. 14.

[20] Hester Baer, 'Redoing Feminism: Digital Activism, Body Politics, and Neoliberalism', *Feminist Media Studies*, 16.1 (2016), 17–34 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2015.1093070> pp. 18, 29.

viewers but it also signifies that the individual narrative shown is part of a collective narrative of shared experiences. Indeed, hashtags are not part of the personal narrative itself but are used to imply that the individual stories share a commonality.[21] Hashtags can help the reader to understand what is being told. In the case of Chalk Back, #StopStreetHarassment informs viewers that the intention behind writing instances of street harassment in public is to end street harassment. Also, the conscious choice of the term 'harassment' in the hashtag, as opposed to 'cat calls' (as in the names of the accounts), clearly seeks to highlight the severity of such experiences by connecting it to other forms of harassment. This provides a discursive framework through which victims can understand and re-examine their experiences.

The use of handwriting in the case of Chalk Back provides a sense of embodied existence, in which the identifiable mark of a person is made as a proclamation of presence and agency. Although the victims are not the ones to mark the pavements, the marks of someone's presence serves as a statement of solidarity with those survivors. There is an attempt to reclaim the public space on their behalf through the physical and visual amplification of their experiences. The Chalk Back activists are interlocutors who translate and communicate victims' personal experiences, resituating them within the public realm and positioning them as political and collective rather than individual. In doing so, they validate each victim's speech and experience, offering a form of external verification. The documentation of the street writings online places physical action and corporeality in the digital sphere, further amplifying victims' experiences and reinforcing this statement of solidarity, agency, and reclamation online and offline.

Courtney E. Martin and Vanessa Valenti highlight that online activism goes beyond the tangible, serving to heal, reclaim, and forge solidarity, which Chalk Back enables through its effective use of digital connectivity.[22] Chalk Back gives a platform for victims to publicly share and re-author such experiences of harassment safely and anonymously, as a form of healing. This allows them to reclaim a sense of agency and power compared to the feeling of being silenced, sexualised and objectified when the harassment took place. Moreover, through digital connectivity victims are able to connect with other survivors who have shared experiences and sensibilities, regardless of geographical location and others are encouraged

[21] Serisier, p. 100.
[22] Courtney E. Martin and Vanessa Valenti, '#FemFuture: Online Revolution', *New Feminist Solutions*, 8 (2012), 1–34, p. 12.

to share or submit their own experiences of street harassment. All of this furthers Mendes, Keller, and Ringrose's argument that 'disclosing painful personal experiences works as a form of personal healing', giving victims agency in how their voice is heard and fostering connection, solidarity, support, and comfort.[23]

Furthermore, 'online comment sections reveal the larger networks of support and political affinity that take shape around feminist responses to rape culture online', as highlighted by Carrie A. Rentschler.[24] This can further offer a sense of validation that contrasts the scrutinisation and disbelief that victims often face in their lives. However, whilst the comment sections of the 'Catcalls of' accounts fulfil a community-building function, providing a space that offers support and validation, they are also a space of abuse, backlash, and further harassment. This tension is highlighted by Serisier who argues that breaking the silence surrounding sexual violence 'can be an incredibly empowering experience, a way of reclaiming subjectivity and agency after a desubjectifying experience of violence. But it is an experience that is fraught with vulnerability and risk'.[25]

Initiatives like Chalk Back place the responsibility onto victims, especially women, to speak out and publicly share their trauma in order for their experiences to be acknowledged. The name, Chalk Back, suggests having to speak against or talk back to your perpetrator, neglecting the dangers of doing so. This exemplifies feminism's overreliance on speaking out to solve structural problems pertaining to sexual violence. Indeed, Serisier argues that 'feminist anti-rape politics is founded on the belief that producing and disseminating a genre of personal experiential narratives can end sexual violence'.[26] In others, ''breaking the silence' through telling personal stories can and will 'end the violence'', which is evidently not the case, nor has speaking out significantly reduced violence against women.[27] The objectives of Chalk Back, which I outlined earlier, point to such promises and the over emphasis or reliance on speaking out within feminist politics as a solution to sexual violence. Consequently, pressure and a sense of responsibility is placed on victims to come forward in order to enable

[23] Kaitlynn Mendes, Jessalynn Keller, and Jessica Ringrose, 'Digitized Narratives of Sexual Violence: Making Sexual Violence Felt and Known through Digital Disclosures', *New Media & Society*, 21.6 (2019), 1290–1310 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818820069> p. 1305.
[24] Carrie A. Rentschler, 'Rape Culture and the Feminist Politics of Social Media', *Girlhood Studies*, 7.1 (2014), 65-82 <https://doi.org/10.3167/ghs.2014.070106> p. 77.
[25] Serisier, p. 11.
[26] Ibid., p. 4.
[27] Serisier, pp. 4 and 12.

this social change, rather than working towards a world in which publicly sharing narratives of violence is no longer required nor expected. It also neglects silences and the implications of those silences. For example, in digitally crowd sourcing experiences of street harassment, Chalk Back excludes victims without access to the internet or the ability to articulate their experiences via social media platforms or understand their experiences within a feminist discursive framework. Notably, the predominant format of Chalk Back's street writings uses direct quotations of street harassment. This perhaps reinforces the silence and assumed passiveness of the victim in the offline public space. Therefore, although they include the message they received from the victim in their Instagram posts, I argue that insufficient space is given for them to speak.

Despite its promises, the feminist politics of speaking out, especially online, presents significant risks. This is true both for the victims who choose to share their experiences and for those who amplify such narratives in the public realm, exemplifying the precarity of this form of feminist activism. Notably, although the victims who share their stories to Chalk Back avoid direct personal attacks due to their anonymity, they can still witness the inevitable backlash on the Chalk Back account in the comment section.[28] Chalk Back activists, as well as people who comment on the Instagram posts expressing solidarity or their own experiences, face targeted online abuse. Significantly, online abuse can have significant offline impacts, such as forcing women to self-censor or retreat from such work. This contrasts the sense of community, support and solidarity which Chalk Back seeks to provide and that online spaces can offer. However, despite the risk of online abuse, the digital sphere is still regarded as more accessible and safer than offline activism, as highlighted by Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller.[29]

The activists also risk facing confrontation while writing these messages onto the streets, which is often done alone, putting them in a position of vulnerability. Since 2019, @catcallsofnyc often film and post to social media the writing process and the encounters that they have with members of the public and their reactions. Many are highly supportive of their work and others are willing to engage in debate. However, others are hostile and dismissive and the activists often face harassment themselves when street writing.[30]

[28] Examples of which, alongside supportive and validating comments, can be seen in Catcalls of NYC.
[29] Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller, '#MeToo and the Promise and Pitfalls of Challenging Rape Culture through Digital Feminist Activism', p. 243.
[30] These different types of interactions are documented their videos, such as Catcalls of NYC.

Paradoxically, in their documentary footage, Catcalls of NYC also remark on how often the public ignore the writings on the pavement.[31] They are both simultaneously hyper-visible and invisible to those too consumed in their own daily lives, reflecting how often instances of street harassment go ignored by bystanders.

Their work is also vulnerable to removal, disruption, and legal consequences. In 2019 a member of @catcallsofnyc was arrested and charged for graffiti and trespassing whilst chalking an incident of school harassment allegedly committed by the principal outside the school on a public pavement. The account argues she was 'unlawfully arrested' and that stories of harassment were being silenced (Instagram caption @catcallsofnyc 5 April 2019). The case was later dismissed. Similarly, in early 2020, city workers were instructed by a police officer to wash away the writing they had just completed, an issue repeatedly faced by Chalk Back, as the police officer deemed it too offensive, but they also admitted to not understanding the meaning of the work (a video of the incident was posted to Instagram by @catcallsofnyc on 17 February 2020). Catcalls of NYC have also faced censorship on social media, most notably on TikTok, due to including the words that were, paradoxically, spoken in public by a harasser, resulting in a level of self-censorship in order to navigate such platforms, such as the use of asterisks I discussed above.

The individuals who run Chalk Back accounts are also forced to bear the emotional weight of the experiences that are submitted, which are often traumatic, graphic, and violent, negatively impacting activists' mental wellbeing. In addition to this, the accounts are run on a voluntary basis, reinforcing the unpaid nature of women's labour. Indeed, Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller argue that, counter to assumptions of slacktivism (the idea that online activism requires very little time, effort or commitment and does not achieve anything), there is a considerable amount of hidden unpaid labour involved in feminist activism, which, like other forms of 'women's work', is 'highly affective, precarious and exploitative'.[32] Consequently, this privileges those with the time, flexibility, and financial security and thus the ability to partake in unpaid activism, often alongside paid labour.[33] All of this contributes to the emotional toll and burden placed on the activists, a common occurrence within

[31] See, Catcalls of NYC, *Chalkback.*
[32] Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller, '#MeToo and the Promise and Pitfalls of Challenging Rape Culture through Digital Feminist Activism', p. 239.
[33] Kaitlynn Mendes, Jessica Ringrose, and Jessalynn Keller, *Digital Feminist Activism: Girls and Women Fight Back Against Rape Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 79.

feminist activism. This increases the risk of burnout, heightening the precarity and unsustainability of such activist practices. Martin and Valenti highlight that there is a 'psychology of deprivation', which is not new for feminist activists, as the feminist movement continues to devalue its own labour and depends on unpaid work that can lead to burnout, holding the movement back from creating structural change.[34] Through their Media Information Literacy Toolkit, which is an interactive space on their website intended to support activists in the network, Chalk Back somewhat attempts to mitigate the negative effects of online feminist activism. They do this by providing guidance on how to deal with trolling, online harassment, and hate comments as well as tips for practising self-care, helping one's mental health and establishing boundaries in order to participate in online activism responsibly and sustainably.[35] However, such 'tips' are limited in their ability to mitigate the very real impacts of continuous online abuse and being confronted with experiences of sexual harassment on a daily basis, which contribute to the precarity and unsustainability of such forms of online feminist activism.

By combining public art and graffiti tactics with online activist strategies, Chalk Back exemplifies the contemporary blurring of the online and offline, in which the two realms are becoming increasingly inextricably intertwined. The use of the hashtag #StopStreetHarassment both online and offline not only serves as a galvanising tactic but also signifies the way social media offers a space in which narratives of lived, shared experiences can be forged through digital connectivity, functioning as a form of consciousness-raising. Furthermore, their online activism and offline visible presence exemplifies how digital connectivity can also be employed as a vehicle for community-building and forging healing and solidarity. However, as I have demonstrated, this heightened emphasis on speaking out within contemporary feminist activism is not without its risks and vulnerabilities. In particular, social media as well as the offline public realm can often become a battleground between feminisms and anti-feminisms in which gendered abuse is used as a disciplinary and silencing tool. These risks contribute to the precarity of this form of feminist activism due to the emotional burden it places on feminist activists.

[34] Martin and Valenti, p. 23.
[35] Chalk Back, 'Media Information Literacy Toolkit' <https://www.chalkback.org/mil> [accessed 8 November 2021].

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The Importations and Transmissions of Weaving Techniques in the Renaissance Florence (1552-1600): Convergence and Divergence

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The economic historian Carlo Cipolla (1922-2000) noted: 'the introduction and application of new techniques are not just technical facts, but they are socio-cultural events'.[1] This article aims to analyse Cipolla's statement, by investigating the importation of tapestry-making (1545) and the incomplete project of weaving tapestries with goat hair in Renaissance Florence (1581-1592). In Early Modern Europe, technical innovation, and in particular, the importations of new weaving techniques were based on connection and communication. This article illustrates that the absence of communication and convergence, caused by socio-cultural and political reasons, can prevent the widespread diffusion of foreign weaving techniques.

Scholars have widely investigated textile industries in medieval and Renaissance Florence.[2] However, the predominant approach, among historians, was based on the existing methodologies of economic history, namely analysing the production as a driving economic or labour force or by examining the overall manufacturing trends of textile industries or

[1] 'l'introduzione e l'applicazione di nuove tecnologie non sono solo un fatto tecnologico, sono un fatto socio-culturale'. Carlo M. Cipolla, *Storia economica dell'Europa Pre-Industriale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1974), p. 239.; Roberta Morelli, *La Seta Fiorentina nel Cinquecento*, (Milan: Giuffrè, 1976), p. 11.

[2] See for instance, Francesco Ammannati, *Per filo e per segno. L'Arte della Lana a Firenze nel Cinquecento*, (Florence, Firenze University Press, 2020), pp. 3-114.; Patrick Chorley, 'Rascie and the Florentine cloth industry during the sixteenth-century', *Journal of European Economic History*, No. 32 (Winter 2003), pp. 487-527.; Florence Edler De Roover, *L'Arte della Seta a Firenze nei secoli XIV e XV* (Florence: Olschki, 1999), pp. 3-120.; Franco Franceschi, *Oltre il Tumulto, I Lavoratori fiorentini dell'Arte della Lana fra Tre e Quattrocento* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), pp. 1-376.; Richard Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), pp. 3-607.; Richard Goldthwaite, 'Le aziende seriche e il mondo degli affari a Firenze alla fine del '500', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vol. 169, No. 2 (628), (2011), pp. 281-342.; Hidetoshi Hoshino, *L'Arte della Lana in Firenze nel Basso Medioevo* (Florence: Olschki, 1980), pp. 1-260.; Paolo Malanima, *La Decadenza di un'economia cittadina* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982), pp. 5-258.; Federigo Melis, *L'Economia fiorentina del Rinascimento* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1984), pp. 1-264.; Armando Sapori, *Una Compagnia di Calimala ai primi del Trecento* (Florence: Olschki, 1932), pp. 1-420.; Sergio Tognetti, 'Attività industriali e commercio di manufatti nelle città toscane del tardo Medioevo, (1250 ca.-1530 ca.)', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vol. 159, No. 2, (588), (2001), pp. 423-479.; Sergio Tognetti, *Un'industria di lusso al servizio del grande commercio* (Florence: Olschki, 2002), pp. 16-159.

histories of single enterprises.[3] Conversely, I will assess textile production in Renaissance Florence within the cultural and political history research framework, considering the practice of weaving techniques as a socio-cultural phenomenon, influenced by political decisions and based on human interaction. My research will combine the principles of economic history with a cultural and political framework, offering a new perspective in textile and tapestry studies in Renaissance Florence.

Moreover, the article will include tapestry-making, imported in Florence in 1545, in the history of the Florentine textile industries, offering a new theoretical approach for the studies of this Netherlandish weaving technique. In Renaissance studies, the research on tapestries has been mainly cartoon-driven or patron-driven, overlooking the technical side of this luxurious textile production.[4]

To investigate the research questions of the article, the Florentine economy and manufacturing system should be briefly recalled. Since the late thirteenth century, the wealth of Florence largely depended on the textile industries, wool and silk textile production, regulated by the two guilds, *Arte della Lana* and *Arte di Por Santa Maria (Arte della Seta)*. The textiles industries constituted the leading sectors of the Florentine economy, 'like two beautiful eyes in front of the head'.[5] These industries went well beyond internal self-consumption, reaching European and Mediterranean cities through international trading networks. So, weaving and textiles production decisively contributed to the prosperity of the city and the employment of the population. In the mid-sixteenth century, it around 50% of the Florentine population was employed in these two industries.[6] However, the success of the civic economy was based on an evident paradox. Historically, the city and its territories did not produce enough raw materials to sustain the manufacturing industries and allow the exportation of locally-woven textiles. Tuscan wool was woven only in rural areas for

[3] Carlo M. Cipolla, *Introduzione allo studio della storia economica* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1988), pp. 13-14.
[4] Candace Adelson, 'The Tapestry Patronage of Cosimo I de'Medici: 1545-1553' (unpublished PhD dissertation. New York University, 1990), pp. 1-901.; Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance, Art and Magnificence* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), pp. 6-10.; Lucia Meoni, *Gli Arazzi nei musei fiorentini. La collezione medicea*, Vol. I (Livorno: Sillabe, 1999), pp. 36-559.; Lucia Meoni, 'Arazzeria Medicea', in *La grande storia dell'artigianato, Il Cinquecento*, ed., by Franco Franceschi and Gloria Fossi, vol. III (Florence: Giunti, 2000), pp. 225-260.; Lucia Meoni, *La Nascita dell'arazzeria medicea: dalle botteghe dei maestri fiamminghi alla manifattura ducale dei Creati fiorentini* (Livorno: Sillabe, 2008), pp. 2-39.
[5] 'l'Arte della Lana e l'Arte della Seta a guisa di due begli occhi stanno in fronte al capo'. Archivio di Stato di Firenze (hereafter, ASF), Miscellanea Medicea, Insert 27, fol. 1090.; Morelli, *Seta Fiorentina*, p. 1.
[6] Malanima, *Decadenza di un'Economia*, pp. 76-80.

producing low-quality textiles for self-consumption.[7] Similarly, local silk had never been a sufficient resource.[8] However, this structural weakness led Florence to establish itself as a manufacturing district, a capital for the transmission of skills and a crossroad for trading and merchants. This happened as the city organised various trading networks, attracting materials and skills.[9] Consequently, Florence and its manufacturing industries benefited from the communication and exchange of skills.

The wool-weaving was the first of the textile industries to prosper. The Florentine luxurious wool production started to flourish in the first half of the fourteenth century, following the crisis of the dominant Flemish-Brabantian manufacture.[10] This crisis in the Low Countries was caused by the political instability in Europe and the onset of the Hundred Year's War (1337-1453).[11] Moreover, the Florentines increased the supply of high-quality English wool.[12] The first half of the fourteenth century was a turning point for the history of the European textile industries.[13] The Florentines replaced the Flemish cities in production and trade, establishing a monopoly for wool textiles in Italy and across the Mediterranean. This dominance was based on the convergence of raw materials and weaving skills. The increasing importation of high-quality English wool, which was imported from the West Midlands, boosted the production and allowed the Florentine weavers to improve the quality of their textiles.[14] In addition to high-quality raw materials, the Florentine wool weavers imitated the high-quality weaving technique and textile typologies of Flemish and Brabantian cities. Among these luxurious textiles, there were the lightweight cloths *tintillani*, made of finest

[7] Malanima, *Decadenza di un'Economia*, pp. 89-90.
[8] Ibid, p. 108.; Morelli, *Seta Fiorentina*, p.23.
[9] Goldthwaite, E*conomy*, pp. 4-9, 23-31, 170-171.
[10] The Flemish and Brabantian cities, such as Leuven, Brussels, Douai, Ypres, Ghent and Malines, produced high-quality woollen textiles with the finest English wool. Finished textiles were traded all across Europe. Hoshino, *Lana Basso Medioevo*, pp. 130-132.; John H. Munro, 'Industrial Transformations in the North-West European Textile Trades, c. 1290-c. 1340: Economic Progress or Economic Crisis?', in *Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century*, ed. by B.M.S. Campbell (Manchester-New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 110-148.
[11] John H. Munro, 'The woollen cloth industry in Italy: The rise, expansion, and decline of the Italian cloth industries, 1100 – 1730', in, *Il Rinascimento Italiano e l'Europa, Commercio e Cultura mercantile*, ed. by Franco Franceschi, Richard A. Goldthwaite, Reinhold C. Mueller, vol. 4 (Treviso-Costabissara: Cassamagna, 2007), pp. 112-114.
[12] Ammannati, *Lana nel Cinquecento*, p. 6.; Franceschi, *Oltre il Tumulto*, pp. 4-5.; Godlthwaite, *Economy*, pp. 272-273.; Hoshino, *Lana Basso Medioevo*, pp. 138-144
[13] Hoshino, *Lana Basso Medioevo*, pp. 138-144.
[14] Ibid, pp. 119-120, 142-143.; On English wool see: John H. Munro, 'Spanish Merino wools and the Nouvelles Draperies: an industrial transformation in the late-medieval Low Countries', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (August 2005), pp. 448-449.; John Oldland, *The English Woollen Industry, c.1200-c.1560* (London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2019), pp. 1-19.

English wool or the red-coloured *panni scarlatti*, dyed with kermis. These fabrics became the most expensive textiles on the European and Mediterranean markets.[15] This technical imitation was facilitated by the professional immigration of German and Flemish-Brabantian weavers to Florence.[16] The immigration of German and Netherlandish weavers to Florence started in the fourteenth century and reached its peak in the mid-fifteenth century when foreign weavers outnumbered Italians.[17]

This convergence of skills and people continued in the fifteenth century when the Florentines began to weave *Panni perpignani,* a French lightweight cloth, named after the city of Perpignan and made of Spanish combed wool.[18] Moreover, *Panni suantoni*, a coarse cloth, was woven with wool imported from Southampton in England.[19] Other examples of importation of a foreign textile type are the *rascie fiorentine*. The textile was a cloth serge, predominantly black-coloured, mainly used for men's clothing and hosiery.[20] This typology came from Eastern Europe and the Balkans, as the word is similar to the historical region of Raska, modern-day Serbia. *Rascia* was introduced in the fifteenth century, but its commercial success took place in the 1550s.

The trading success of *rascie* was attributed to the presence of high-quality Spanish Merino wool in Florence.[21] As the case of *rascie* demonstrates, the Spanish Merino wool became prevalent in sixteenth-century Florence.[21] Merino was imported in the late fourteenth century, substituting the English wool in Florence.[22] Merino wool originated from the fourteenth century from the crossbreeding of Berber with Iberian flocks.[23] It was characterised by shorter and finer wool fibre.[24]

The second textile production was silk-weaving. In the fifteenth century, this textile industry strongly emerged as a driving force of the Florentine economy. The first establishment of silk-weaving in Florence was based on the professional immigration of Lucchese silk-weavers.[22] In 1314, when the condottiere Uguccione della Faggiola conquered

[15] Hoshino, *Lana Basso Medioevo*, pp. 178-186.
[16] Franceschi, *Oltre il Tumulto*, pp. 119-135.
[17] Ibid, pp. 119-135.
[18] Ammannati, *Lana nel Cinquecento*, p. 79.
[19] Hoshino, *Lana Basso Medioevo*, p. 237.
[20] Chorley, 'Rascie', pp. 520-522.
[21] Ibid, pp. 493-505.
[22] Edler De Roover, *L'Arte della Seta*, pp. 4-5. Franco Franceschi, 'I forestieri e l'industria della seta a Firenze fra Medioevo e Rinascimento', in *La seta in Italia dal Medioevo e il Seicento*, eds. by Luca Molà, Reinhold C. Mueller, Claudio Zanier (Venice: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 2000), pp. 406-410.

Lucca, the major centre of silk in Central Italy, many local silk-weavers fled to Florence. In Florence, the *Signoria* granted exceptional tax exemptions to the incomers and substantial corporative privileges to establish the industry in the city.[23] The Lucchese weavers introduced in Florence new and high-quality silk textile typologies, such as velvet, taffeta and satin.[24] Notably, the Lucchese specialists imported the production of luxurious golden-wrapped silk textiles, such as *diaspri*, an Oriental-style silk fabric with floral design, decorated with golden threads.[25] The presence of foreign silk-weavers had always been constant until the sixteenth century. For instance, a community of Bergamasque weavers lived and operated in the sixteenth Florence. These Lombard weavers specialised in the *velette*, a Bolognese typology of lightweight silk cloth, first introduced to Florence in 1476.[26] This brief overview illustrates that the fortune of Florentine manufacturing industries and the citizen economy was based on the continuous importation, imitation and diversifying of weaving techniques and professional immigration.

In sixteenth-century Florence, the tradition of the importating of skills continued to contribute to the prosperity of the citizen economy. However, unlike the aforementioned weaving techniques, the *Signoria* or guilds were not involved in the domestication of tapestry-making. The institutional asset of the city was revolutionised by the official establishment of the Duchy in 1531, under the control of the Medici family. This prominent family had directed Florentine politics since the fifteenth century, but they had not held any official role.[27] In 1531, Alessandro de Medici (1510-1537) was appointed as the first Duke of Florence by Habsburg Emperor Charles V (1500-1558). Alessandro began to reform the state and reduced the role and function of guilds.[28] However, his despotic government was not tolerated in the city and in 1537 he was assassinated by his cousin Lorenzo.

After a few years of uncertainty, Cosimo de Medici, (1519-1574), the son of the Maria Salviati and the *condottiere* Giovanni Dalle Bande Nere and the young descendent of a minor

[23] Franceschi, 'Forestieri', pp. 406-407.
[24] Ibid, p. 405.
[25] Ibid, p. 409.
[26] Ibid, pp. 412-414.; Morelli, *Seta*, p. 9.
[27] Raymond De Roover, *Il Banco Mediceo dalle origine al declino (1397-1494)*, trans by Gino Corti (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1988), p. 29.; Nicolai Rubenstein, *The Government of Florence under the Medici* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 77-153.
[28] Goldthwaite, *Economy*, pp. 348-349.

branch of the Medici family was appointed as Duke.[29] In 1545, Cosimo decisively reformed the state, shaping an autocratic state. He subordinated all pre-existing institutions, such as the local guilds. The ceiling tondo*, The Apotheosis of Cosimo*, (Figure 1), placed at the centre of the Sala Grande (Salone dei Cinquecento), in Palazzo Vecchio, testified to the new social hierarchy of Ducal Florence, with the Duke towering above the guilds.[30]

Figure 1. Giorgio Vasari and his workshop, *The Apotheosis of Cosimo*, 1563-1565, oil on panel, Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

[29] Elena Fasano Guarini, 'Cosimo I de'Medici, duca di Firenze, granduca di Toscana', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 30 (1984), p. 30.
[30] Henk Th.Van Veen, *Cosimo and his Self-Representation in Florentine art and culture*, trans. by Andrew P. McCormick (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 59-60.

Within this vast reform of the Florentine state, Cosimo assumed the traditional function of the guilds and *Signoria*, beginning to oversee the technical innovation and the introduction of weaving techniques in Florence. He introduced a system of charters or patents, (*patenti*), granting to companies and individuals exclusive exercise rights over new importer techniques in the Duchy.[31] The importation of weaving techniques were also regulated by patents. This is the case of the sayettes of Hondschoote. In 1552, the merchant Biagio Bertinelli was granted a 15-year exclusivity for weaving light twills, as they did in the city of Hondschoote in Flanders'.[32] The patent granted to Bertinelli was later followed in 1562 with a ban on Flemish-made twills from Hondschoote to foster the internal production of this imported technique.[33]

In addition to the initiatives of private merchants, Cosimo himself effectively led the professional immigration in the Duchy, encouraging the relocation of printers, such as the Flemish printer Lorenzo Torrentino (Laurens van den Bleeck), (1499-1563).[34] In doing so, Cosimo sought to diminish the relevance of the guilds, increase internal production and enhance his political prestige as the ruler of the city.

Notably, in 1545, Cosimo imported into Florence tapestry-weaving. The Duke facilitated the arrival in the city of two renowned Flemish tapestry masters, Nicholas Karcher and Jan Rost, in addition to twenty-five Flemish collaborators. Nicholas Karcher had arrived in Italy around twenty-five years earlier with his brother Jan, and entered the court of Ercole II d'Este. In 1540, Karcher moved to the court of Gonzaga in Mantua. Meanwhile, Jan Rost, who was registered as a master in the 1520s in Brussels, arrived in Ferrara in 1530, where he was subsequently employed at the local tapestry workshop. The negotiations to import tapestry-making in Florence were led by the silk merchant Bernardo Saliti, who was based in Ferrara. From January to June 1545 Saliti sent three letters to Medicean courtiers, imploring them to import tapestry-making.[35]

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[31] Luca Molà, 'Artigiani e brevetti nella Firenze del Cinquecento', in *Storia dell'Artigianato*, ed. by Franco Franceschi and Gloria Fossi (Florence: Giunti, 2001), p. 57.

[32] 'certa telas didicisse ad instar illaru[m] que componunt in terra onoschot Flandrie regionis et quas ibi et ubique vulgus appellare convenit saias comunis', ASF, Pratica Segreta, 186. fol. 105r.

[33] Molà, 'Artigiani', p. 59.; Malanima, *Decadenza di un'Economia*, p. 72.

[34] On Torrentino, see Berta Maracchi Biagerelli, 'Il privilegio di stampatore ducale nella Firenze Medicea', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vol. 123, No. 3, (447), (1965), pp. 304-314.; Goffredo Hoogewerff, 'Lorenzo Torrentino', in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale per il Quarto Centenario dalla Prima Edizione delle Vite di Vasari*, ed. by Giorgio Vasari (Florence: Sansoni, 1952), pp. 93-104.

[35] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, vol. 1170a, insert II, busta 10, fols. 30r-v. 31r-v. 32r-v.

In 1546, Rost and Karcher signed two similar contracts that established their independence as two separate workshops. In these legal documents, dating from 1546, the Flemish masters pledge to:

> *' continuously exercise their profession in the city of Florence, namely the art of weaving with a sufficient number of approved masters and workers that have some understanding of design. They [the masters] pledge to work with 24 looms in the workshops and locations and in the way that His Excellence [Cosimo] will order at least for the duration of this contract [3 years].'*[36]

Tapestry-weavers also needed to impart their expertise to local apprentices to establish the technique in the city. In the tapestry weavers' individual contracts, they were obliged to:

> *'to accept and keep in his house continuously for all the duration of this contract [ten years] all the young children from Florence and its territories that they wish to learn the art of tapestry-weaving and dyeing. [...] The young apprentices are paying their board, and the master Giovanni [Jan Rost] is obliged to teach them for free the art of tapestry-weaving and dyeing.'*[37]

Consequently, the evidence indicates the occurrence of an exchange and transmission of skills between tapestry-makers and the local children. However, this process of communication was rather limited in comparison to other textile weaving techniques in Florence at this time. The technique of tapestry-making was only taught in the Gran Ducal workshop and tapestries were exclusively produced by one or two state-owned workshops. Conversely, in the Low Countries, private entrepreneurs organised the production.[38] The

[36] '[...] e di exercitare di continuo nella città dj Firenze l'arte dj tappezzerie et Arazzerie con bonj sufficientj et approuati maestrj et lauoranti che s'intendino d[e]l disegnio et con xxiiij telaia almeno p[er] tutto il tempo che durera la presente conuentione [...]' ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9930, fol. 127r. Adelson, 'Patronage', p. 533.
[37] 'm.[aestr]o Gioua[n]ni ad accettare et tenere i[n] casa sua co[n]tinuam[en]te dura[n]te il t[em]po d[e]lla p[rese]nte p[ro]roga et co[n]dotta tutti q[ue]lli putti fiorentini et d[e]llo stato ch[e] da q[ui] Inna[n]zj uolessino i[m]parare tale mestiero p[er] Insegnare loro d[e]c[t]a arte et Tintura'. ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano, 9930, fol. 73r. Adelson, 'Patronage', p. 584.
[38] See Campbell, *Tapestry*, pp. 276-280.; Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), pp. 119-140.

Netherlandish workshops were not state-owned workshops, but private entities, run and owned by entrepreneurs; they could also directly manage sales to the primary or secondary market.[39] In fact, the sets could have been commissioned by a patron, but more regularly they were sold to clients either directly in the workshops, fairs or collective salerooms, such as the tapestry-makers halls.

Although the Florentine workshops of Rost and Karcher formally remained private entities, Cosimo figured predominantly in the organisation of tapestry workshops. Cosimo owned the looms and all the instruments and covered all the production expenses. Meanwhile, the Flemish weavers were responsible for the internal management of the personnel and the weaving of the tapestries, with a degree of influence over the primary and secondary market as well. Even though they could find external commissions, they needed to give priority to the Grand Ducal commissions, like the majestic *Stories of Joseph* (Figure 2).[40]

In 1554, the Florentine apprentices, called the Creati Fiorentini, took over the management of the workshops.[41] However, the Creati could not operate on behalf of external clients; they only worked for Cosimo and later for his son Francesco. External clients needed to ask permission to commission tapestries with the Medicean workshop, although the Duke could also refuse the request. As a consequence, there existed an exclusive buyer-producer relationship in the Florentine tapestry production. Indeed, in the city there was one client, the Medicean court, and one producer, the Medicean tapestry workshop.

[39] Campbell, *Tapestry*, pp. 276-280.; Guy Delmarcel, *Los Honores: Flemish tapestries for the Emperor Charles V*, trans. by Alastair Weir (Antwerp: SDZ/Pandora, 2000), pp. 13-15.
[40] Meoni, *Arazzi*, p. 38.
[41] Ibid, pp. 64-68.; Meoni, *Nascita*, pp. 30-38.

Figure 2. Agnolo Bronzino, *The Banquet of Joseph and his brothers*, woven by Nicholas Karcher and his workshop, 1550-1553, 240x170 cm, wool, silk and metallic threads, Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome

In addition to economic and manufacturing peculiarities, motivated by political reasons, the Flemish weavers fiercely resisted assimilation to the local social fabric and manufacturing industries. Notably, they were not subject to the guilds and they also introduced Flemish regulations into Florence, such as the statutes of Flanders.[42] The *Capitoli di Fiandra* is the Italian translation of the Imperial edict that regulates Netherlandish tapestry production, promulgated by Charles V on 16th May 1544.[43] This decree supervised all aspects of tapestry production from the supply and treatment of the material to the sizes of the product. The Flemish weavers also refused to apply the Florentine city marks, such as the Ducal crown, and instead created their own mark, a red shield flanked by Fs, which stands for *Factum in Fiorenza* (made in Florence).[44] This mark was based on a Brussels prototype, a red shield flanked by two Bs, which meant Brussels and Brabant.[45]

[42] Adelson, 'Patronage', pp. 63-64.; Meoni, *Arazzi*, p. 38.
[43] On the Imperial decree (1544) see Sophie Schneebalg-Perelman 'Le Retouchage dans la tapisserie bruxelloise, ou, Les origines de l'edit impériale de 1544', *Annales de la Societe royale d'Archeologie de Bruxelles*, L (1963), pp. 191-210.; Delmarcel, *Tapestry,* pp. 21-22.; Campbell, *Tapestry,* pp. 282-285.
[44] Adelson, 'Patronage', p. 65.; Ammannati, *Lana nel Cinquecento*, pp. 27, 206.
[45] Campbell, *Tapestry,* pp. 282-285.

Overall, the domestication of tapestry-making had some peculiar traits that differed from other importation of skills in Florence, a heterodoxy from the local manufacturing industries that was caused by socio-political factors. Firstly, the importation was primarily decided by the Duke, who prioritised the needs of his court. Secondly, the Flemish weavers resisted assimilation. These two reasons led to a lack of communication and connection with the wider textile industries.

The overlooked story of Ulivieri Ventura Vicenti, a 'painter, carpet-weaver and tapestry-weaver' from the Hospital degli Innocenti (*Spedale degli Innocenti*) testified to the lack of connection between tapestry-weavers and the Florentine wool and silk weavers.[46]

The *Spedale* was a charitable institution that had taken care of abandoned children (*gittatelli* or *innocenti*) in Florence since the beginning of the fifteenth century.[47] The Hospital was funded by the silk-weavers guild. In the sixteenth century, the Hospital fell under the control of the Medici Grand Dukes.[48] The Hospital traditionally ran several workshops to teach foundlings a profession; workshops included shoemaking, wool, silk or linen weaving. Ulivieri was educated at the Hospital in the art of painting and possibly weaving, during which time, he also established a close friendship with the Prior Vincenzio Borghini.[49] As a result of this relationship with Borghini, Ulivieri inherited a part of the Prior's painting collection upon his death in 1580.[50] In the 1570s, Ulivieri was the painter of the Hospital. He painted the *Deposition* for the Lenzi's chapel in the Hospital's church, (Figure 3) and the art panel

[46] 'Ulivieri cognominato Ventura Vicenti, pittore, arazzere et tappezzere et alievo della casa delli innocienti di Firenze', Biblioteca Moreniana (Florence), Bigazzi, 168, 'Libro degli Arazzi et Tappeti', fol.1r.
[47] Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence* (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press, 1990), pp. 33-105.
[48] Arnaldo D'Addario, 'L'istituzione dei Buonuomini del Bigallo e la subordinazione degli enti ospitalieri ed assistenziali fiorentini alla direttiva centralistica del Principato di Cosimo I de'Medici', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Vol. 157, No.4 (582) (Oct.-Dec. 1999), pp. 691-521.; Diana Bullen Presciutti, 'Carita e potere: representing the Medici grand dukes as fathers of Innocenti', *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April 2010), pp. 234-59.; Nicholas Terpstra, 'Competing Visions of the State and Social Welfare: the Medici Dukes, the Bigallo Magistrates and Local Hospitals in Sixteenth-Century Tuscany', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 54, No. 4 (2001), pp. 1319-55.
[49] On Borghini see Gino Belloni, Riccardo Drusi, Artemisia Calcagni Abrami and Piero Scapecchi, eds, V*incenzio Borghini: Filologia e Invenzione nella Firenze di Cosimo I* (Florence: Olschki, 2002), pp. 60-353.; Gianfranco Folena, 'Vincenzio Maria Borghini', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 12 (1971), pp. 680-689.; Edmund P. Pillsbury, 'Vincenzo Borghini as a Draftsman', *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Jun.1973), pp. 6-11.; Rick A. Scorza, 'Vincenzo Borghini and Invenzione: The Florentine Apparato of 1565', *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 44 (1981), pp. 57-75.; Rick A. Scorza, 'Vincenzo Borghini and the Impresa', *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, Vol. 52 (1989), pp. 85-110.
[50] ASF, Notarile Moderno, 638, fols. 38v-39r.; Rick A. Scorza, 'Vincenzo Borghini's Collection of Paintings, Drawings and Wax Models: New Evidence from Manuscript Sources', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 66 (2003), p. 120.

Crucifixion, still for the same church, which was painted alongside Francesco Morandini da Poppi (1544-1597).[51]

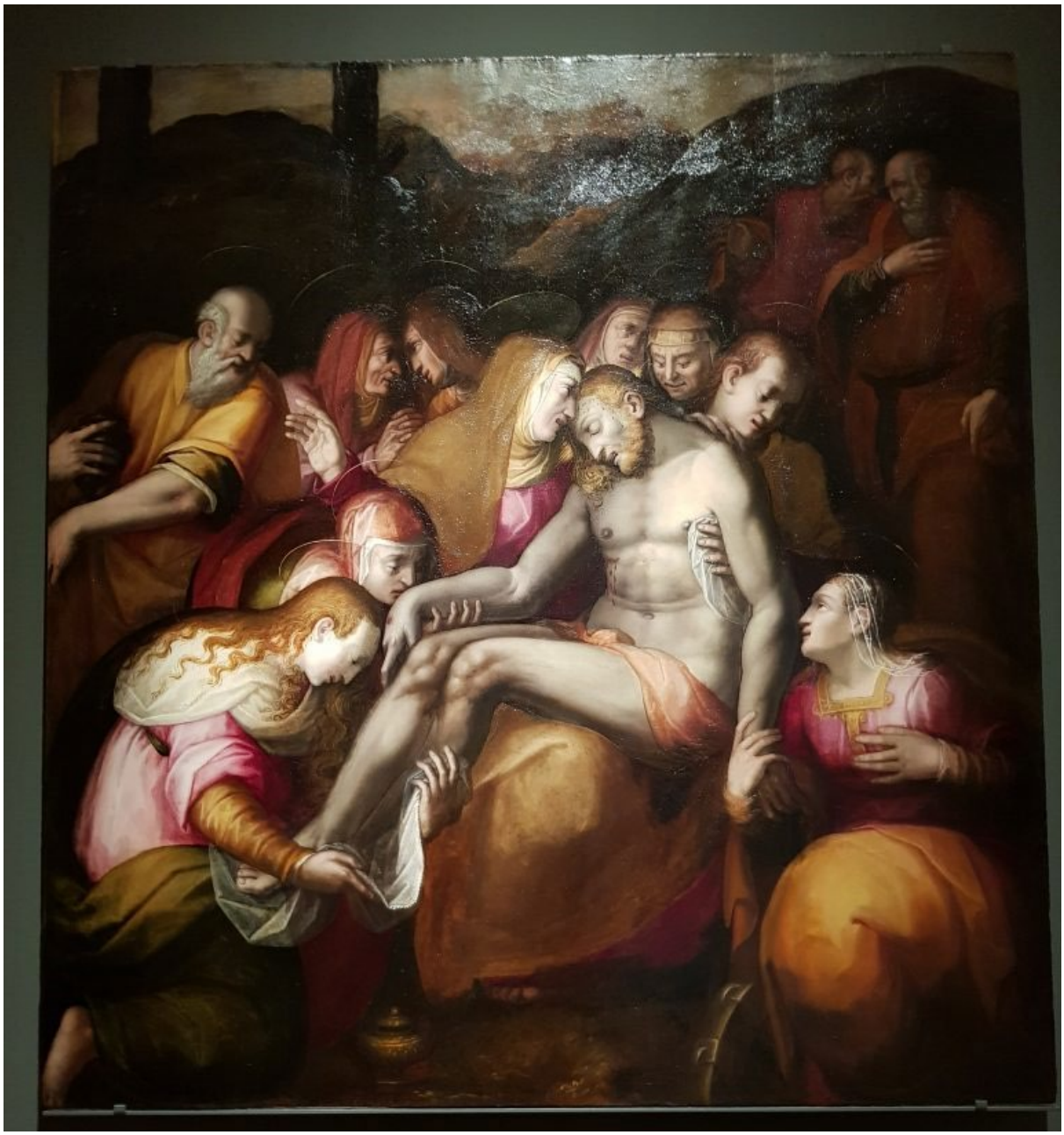

Figure 3. Ulivieri Vicenti, *Deposition*, 1580s, 208x196cm, oil on panel, Museo dell'Istituto degli Innocenti, Florence

Also, since the sixteenth-century, the Medicean court took into account the Innocenti's workshops. The Duke recruited masters for teaching the foundlings, notably, the Duke assigned to the Hospital the Spanish weaver Antonio de Lima, who directed a carpet

[51] Luciano Bellosi, *Il Museo dello Spedale degli Innocenti* (Milan: Electa, 1977), p. 241, n.61-62.

workshop for foundlings in the 1570s.[52] However, Lima was rather indolent and he was accused by Borghini of embezzlement.[53] Lima was dismissed in 1580.[54]

In 1581, Francesco de Medici, son and successor of Cosimo, continued the carpets workshop and appointed Ulivieri as master.[55] Additionally, Francesco commissioned Ulivieri to add Tuscan goat hair, an indigenous raw material, to their textile and carpet production.[56] Ulivieri explained that 'His Excellency thought that carpets made of wool (*lana* and *stame*) were not that solid, like the ones woven in the East' and therefore to improve the firmness of textiles 'he asked me [Ulivieri] to try Tuscan goat hair for weaving'.[57]

Ulivieri was not accustomed to processing goat hair and took more than a year to familiarise himself on how to weave and dye it, in addition to training his weavers to goat hair. Ulivieri's surviving account book, currently stored at the Biblioteca Moreniana, reveals a step-by-step guide on how Ulivieri undertook this technical experiment.[58] Firstly, Ulivieri and his weavers, mainly women of the Hospital, attempted to spin goat hair and wind it into bobbins.[59] However, the 'coarse and wild' material did not stick together to form a thread.[60] Consequently, Ulivieri asks 'a wool-weaver of the Hospital to card the goat hair's so, the carded goat hair lost its natural wildness and we could wind it into a bobbin and spin it'.[61] Following additional experiments in 1582, Ulivieri was prepared to weave textiles that employed goat hair, namely bed covers (*celoni*), carpets and combed woollen textiles (*stamigne* and *albagi*).[62] Goat hair appeared to Ulivieri to be compact, waterproof and dust-proof.[63]

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[52] Marco Spallanzani, *Carpets Studies, 1300-1600* (Genoa: Sagep, 2016), p. 109.
[53] ASF, Mediceo del Principato, 662, fol. 355r.
[54] Archivio dell'Istituto degli Innocenti di Firenze (herafter, AIOF), 5353, fol. 88 left.
[55] Biblioteca Moreniana (hereafter, Moreniana), Bigazzi, 168, 'Libro degli Arazzi et Tappeti', fol. 1r.
[56] Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, 'Nova Inventione di metter in opera il pelo di capra', fols. 1v-2r.
[57]'Lana e stame e per che pareva a dalcuni come a sua A.[ltezza] Ser.[enissima] che i detti tappeti non fussino di quella sodezza che sono quelli di levante et p[er] questo no[n] considerando questi tali che che la materia non sono le medesime come io dissi a sua A.[ltezza] proprio con dir che il modo del tesser gli era il medesimo'. Moreniana (Florence), Bigazzi, 168, 'Nova Inventione', fol. 1v.
[58] Moreniana, Bigazzi, 'Libro', fols. 1r-45 left.
[59] Moreniana, Bigazzi, 'Nova Inventione', fol. 2v.
[60] 'Materia tanta rustica et villana'. Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, 'Libro', fol. 19 right.
[61] 'Mi risolvei il farlo cardare a u[n] lanino qui nello spedale con i medesimi cardi con che sono soliti cardare la lana. del che no[n] fu indarno perche il detto pelo si venne a dirompere e perdere in parte di quella sua vilanita che gli e da natura e mediante questa cardatura il ~~detto pelo~~ ai vine a unire piu in sieme essere piu facile al poterlo filare e per dire una piacevolezza'. Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, 'Inventione', fol. 3r.
[62] *Stamigne* and *albagi* are both combed woollen textiles. *Stamigne* were open-woven fabrics, used as sieves, bags or sails. *Albag*i were used in waterproof clothes and sails. On these textiles' definition see Aniello Gentile, *Dizionario Etimologico dell'arte tessile* (Naples: Società Editoriale Napoletana, 1981), pp. 22, 121.
[63] Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, 'Inventione', fols. 1r-5v.

From December 1582 onwards, Ulivieri and the women of the Hospital began to master the processing of Tuscan goat hair, and successively wove the first carpet, made of this material.[64] On the 3rd March 1583, Ulivieri and the new Prior of the Hospital, Niccolò Mazzi, presented a petition to Francesco to grant them a twenty-year exclusivity patent for weaving with goat hair in Florence and Tuscany.[65] The document records:

> *'Fra Niccolò da Cortona, Prior of the Innocenti Hospital and Ulivieri alumnus of said Hospital, painter and tapestry-maker [...] explain to him [Francesco] that they have brought to fruition and place into operation the process of using goat hair to make rugs, and through Ulivieri's work, after much difficulty, have brought to perfection the ability to do not only carpets, but also bedcover (celoni), tapestries, stamigne and rough woollen clothes (albagi) similar to one from Calabria*.'[66]

A few days later, 10th March 1583, Ulivieri was granted the patent for weaving goat-hair textiles.[67] However, while tapestries were mentioned in the patent, Ulivieri and his workshop did not weave any tapestries (*arazzi*). The lack of communication between Ulivieri and the Ducal tapestry workshop might motivate this absence. Overall, it seems that Ulivieri proceeded by experimenting on known textile types. Tapestry-making represented a novelty in Florence and he did not know how to weave them. The lack of connection between the Flemish and Florentine tapestry-weavers and the local textile production could have prevented Ulivieri from weaving tapestries. In addition to this technical inexperience, the sudden death of Ulivieri's patron, the Grand Duke Francesco, in 1587 resulted in the closure of the workshop and the end of experiments on textile types. Ulivieri recorded in his account

[64] Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, 'Libro', fol. 24 left., 25 left.
[65] On Niccolo Mazzi, see his account book, AIOF, 13443, fols.; Girolamo Mancini, 'Il Contributo dei cortonesi alla coltura italiana', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Vol.79, No. 3-4, 303-304 (1921), pp. 84-85.; Valentina Marchesi, 'Niccolò Mazzi, traduttore di Pietro Bembo', *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia di Scienze e lettere La Colombaria*, vol. LXXVII (2012), pp. 67-81.
[66] 'Niccolo da Cortona Priore dello Spedale delli Innocenti et Ulivieri allevato del detto spedale, pittore et tappeziere [...] li espongono [...] di mettere in opera il pelo di capra nostrla per fare tappetti, et per opera di detto Ulivieri, doppo di molta difficolta ridottolo a perfettione da poterne far non solo tappeti, ma arazzi, celoni, stamigne et erbaggi simili alli calavresi'. AIOF, 6227, fol. 36r.; The English translation is by Philip Gavitt. Philip Gavitt, 'An Experimental Culture: the Art of the Economy and the Economy of Art under Cosimo I and Francesco I', in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de'Medici*, ed., by Konrad Eisenbichler (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), p. 212.
[67] ASF, Diplomatico, Spedale degli Innocenti, 10 marzo 1583.; Gaetano Bruscoli, Lo *Spedale di Santa Maria degli Innocenti dalla sua fondazione fino ad giorni nostri* (Florence: Ariani, 1900), pp. 76-77.

book twenty-four carpets in total (ten made of sheep wool and fourteen made of goat hair) and many samples of textiles, woven by the workshop (1581-1592).[68] The majority of the carpets (fifteen) were commissioned by the Medici family, namely Francesco, the Granduchess and the cardinal Ferdinando.[69]

There is an extant written description of how Ulivieri envisaged tapestry-making with goat hair. He wrote:

> *'likewise, [goat-wool] can be used to weave tapestries, which can be capricious and beautiful things. The most excellent [tapestries] would be where satyrs and fauns are depicted. These figures appear real because their fleeces are made up of natural goat hair*.'[70]

In conclusion, the article analysed the importation of tapestry-weaving in Renaissance Florence from a new perspective and illustrates the incomplete project of tapestry-making with Tuscan goat hair in the Hospital of the Innocenti. This project clearly demonstrated how the technical innovation in Renaissance Florence was driven and determined by human interaction.

[68] Spallanzani, *Carpets*, pp. 120-123.
[69] Ibid, pp. 119-123.
[70] 'Et medesimamente se ne pol fare arazi che sarebbeno closa capricciosa e bella e massimo dove fusse satiri o fauni che parrebero veri p[er] conto di quelli velli che fa il detto pelo naturalmente'. Moreniana, Bigazzi, 168, 'Nova Inventione', fol. 3v.

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Beasts of Use and Beasts of Dispute: Animals and Knowledge in Early English Voyages of Exploration

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Animals were essential to voyaging during the early English period of exploration. Not only were they used as sustenance, entertainment and sellable goods, but they were vital to the methods seafarers used to navigate and document exotic places. During the early modern period, the way humans interacted with animals was ultimately influenced by the cultural understanding of mans' top position in the natural order.[1] Due to their prominence in the everyday life of sixteenth and seventeenth century people, animal lives can offer us a window into the larger workings of human society. The growing literature of animal history, by scholars such as Lorraine Daston and Erica Fudge, has continually demonstrated the value of investigating non-human figures.[2] As all documented animal actions are inevitably filtered through the human perspective, these accounts can reveal a lot about human society through history. Pioneered by Keith Thomas in his classic work, *Man and the Natural World*, the extent that animals were involved in everyday life in early modern England is understood now more than ever.[3] Moreover, *Atlantic Studies and the History of Science* has shown us time and again that the early modern period offered more species and animal breeds to Europeans than ever before.[4] As a result, animal lore, tradition and understanding underwent a period of questioning and development.[5] While much work has been done on animals in settled English

1. Referred to as the 'Great Chain of Being' animals were given a hierarchal place depending on their symbolic of physical purpose. Based off the teachings of Genesis, it was understood that man's top position was God-given. See Joyce Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1-33.; Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 43-74.; and Arthur Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1970).
2. Lorrain Daston, 'The Nature of Nature in Early Modern Europe', in *Configurations*, 6.2 (1998), 149-172.; *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750,* ed. by Daston and Katherine Park (New York: Zone Books, 1998).; Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Human and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).; *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality and Humanity in Early Modern England* (London: Cornell University Press, 2006).
3. Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London: Penguin, 1991).
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5. Ibid. pp. 1-26.; See also, Anderson.

society, less historiographical attention has been given to animals in transitory periods of history, such as maritime exploration. Though present as commodities in increased global trade, animals served a more influential role in translocational history than as tradable goods. The combination of unknown lands and species, with the condensed society of a voyage crew, ultimately led to more eclectic and experimental interactions as seafarers used animals to learn more about the world around them.

From flying fish to polar bears, elephants to chinchillas, seafarers were constantly experiencing and interacting with the animal world. Much work on maritime history has definitively agreed that seafarers, in particular career sailors, made up part of a distinct society which stemmed from English social conventions but were shaped by their translocational career.[6] Cheryl A. Fury's detailed work on the social history of Elizabethan seamen shows how we should consider the layout of a ship as a smaller reflection of English society, even if the people within do not always reflect typical social etiquette and convention.[7] With animals being so central to the seafaring experience, and also English life, we are able to use accounts of encounter to assess various aspects of seafaring society and their conventional English origins. Specifically, as exploration opened up a world of unexplored nature, the interactions seafarers had with animals showcases the development of new ideas, and the experimental aspect that went along with the process.

The case studies for this article have been chosen to demonstrate how animals influenced the process of accumulating new knowledge about the natural world. Firstly, I will explore how animal bodies communicated information about the land and sea they occupied; the importance of animal behaviour was vital to helping seafarers understand and navigate dangerous, foreign worlds. Then I shall discuss how communicated knowledge from animal bodies could be disputed, opening upon an intellectual arena of connectivity between seafarers. Due to the importance of 'reading' animals, and the subjective element of interpretation involved in the process, we can see how disputed ideas about the exotic resulted in a messy and sometimes convoluted process of knowledge growth in early Atlantic maritime communities.

6. Cheryl A. Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men: The Social History of Elizabethan Seamen, 1580-1603* (Greenwood Press, 2001).; James S. Dean, *Tropic Suns: Seadogs Aboard an English Galleon* (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2014).
7. See Fury.

Surrounded by nature, seafarers astutely used the presence of animals to help aid their voyages. From locating edible food to predicting weather, animals could reveal a lot about the locations they inhabited. John Davis, one of the chief navigators who attempted to locate the Northwest Passage documented his three northern voyages in his book, *The World's Hydrographical Description* (1595) which was shortened and included in Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*.[8] Davis' 'report' discussed how he had no experience of travelling in northern climates and so followed a similar route to Martin Frobisher, another pioneer of northern travel, who sailed in the 1570s. Aside from the experience of others, the presence of animals also aided Davis and his crew as they indicated the presence of food. 'Coasting the shore towardes the South wee saw an incredible number of birds: having divers fishermen aboord our barke they all concluded that there was a great skull of fish'. [9]

The work of historian Louise Curth has shown that many factors influence how a person interacted with nature. Geographical location, past experience, exposure to theological ideas and a person's social and economic class are but a few.[10] Because of their professional experience, it is the fishermen who identified the flock of seabirds to likely meant fish were also present. As a result of publication, readers could witness the importance of the various positions on a ship as different experiences and perspectives of animals contributed to the voyage's survival and ultimate success. The knowledge voyagers had of the animal world could thus directly impact their professional value to the overall seafaring company. Through this we can conclude that animal bodies did more than communicate information about the environment; the ability to read and interpret animal presence could also communicate professional expertise.

Captain Richard Hawkins, who sailed predominantly in the southern Atlantic equally developed his own survivalist methods based off the behaviour of animals. In his *Observations*, an educational publication recounting his 1593 voyage in the South Sea, he documented his method of identifying safe and ripe exotic fruit to eat.

8. John Davis, 'The Worldes Hydrographical Discription' in *The Voyages and Works of John Davis, the Navigator* (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1880), pp. 191-228.; See also, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. by Richard Hakluyt, 12 Vols, Vol. 7 (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1903), pp. 381-93.
9. Ibid, pp. 381-93.
10. Louise Hill Curth, *The Care of Brute Beasts: A Social and Cultural Study of Veterinary Medicine in Early Modern England* (Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 1-31.

> 'In ripening, presently the birds or vermine are feeding on them; a generall rule to know what fruit is wholesome and good in the Indies, and other parts. Finding them to be eaten of the beastes or fowles, a man may boldly eate of them.'[11]

Maintaining a healthy crew was essential to conducting a successful voyage. Hawkins' *Observations* was purposely written as an instructional account, informing readers of the best ways to keep a ship's company healthy.[12] Without fit and able men a ship could fall into disarray and a weakened crew would make sailing significantly more difficult. Adapting methods of navigation around areas of the world unknown to them was essential for survival. Watching how locals, even those of a different species, interacted with their environment was a key method in determining your own movements. In the case of Richard Hawkins, he discovered that by watching the foraging activities of animals, he too could learn the best place to locate edible food. Without the help of other humans, animals were the next best source of information. And, without them, navigation of lesser-known spaces, whether it be terrestrial or aquatic, would have been drastically more difficult.

Though always useful, the presence of animals could be either positive or negative depending on the species. The famous Walter Raleigh, traveling up the rivers of Guiana was extremely interested in the wildlife he witnessed, documenting his encounters in his publication *The Discovery of Guiana*.[13] Upon entering the province of Amapaia, which had a lot of marshy ground, Raleigh was cautious of some of the local water.

> 'There breed divers poisonous worms and serpents, and the Spaniard not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grievious kind of flux by drinking thereof, and even the very horses poisoned therewith.'[14]

Knowledge of the natural world could be the difference between life and death. In many voyage accounts the presence of serpents and worms was indicative of disease and poison, whether it be on the land or in water.[15] By knowing this, Raleigh was able assess the

11. Sir Richard Hawkins, *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knt, in his Voyage into the South Sea in the Year 1593* (London: 1622), p. 87.
12. Ibid, p. 87.
13. Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bevvtiful Empire of Guiana* (London: 1596).
14. Ibid, p. 46.
15. See Hawkins.; and Richard Jobson, *The Golden Trade: Or, A Discovery of the River Gambra* (London: 1623).

health of water sources by looking at them. Furthermore, by mentioning the unfortunate fate of the Spaniards, Raleigh demonstrates how he (and by extension his countrymen) were more aware of the natural environment in Guiana and thus more suited to occupy, and potentially colonise, it. Just as snakes and worms indicated poison, different species could also indicate the health and abundance of a place. Raleigh's descriptions of deer who came down to feed by the water 'as if they had been used to a keeper's call' and of great white fish 'as big as a whind pipe' invoke images of natural harmony and the Garden of Eden.[16] It is no wonder he concluded 'there is no country which yieldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants, either for these common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, and the rest, than Guiana doth', further emphasising the country as a suitable place for colonisation.[17]

Reading animal behaviour or presence was not a practice that developed exclusively among maritime communities but was deeply rooted in English culture. In England there was a dense culture of folklore surrounding animals and what their presence meant. Swallows, for example, indicated the arrival of summer. As a migrating bird, they are in the UK only in summertime and so this connection is not surprising.[18] Other examples were less naturalistic. Owls, for instance, might predict death or a shift in fortune. While the explanation and origin for this belief is not clear it was referenced in Shakespeare's *Henry VI*.[19] Much of the maritime practice of reading animal behaviour was clearly embedded in this tradition, only expanded to include the many exotic species housed around the world. One way in which we can see this in action is through looking at the diaries of seafarers, rather than official voyage narratives which have been used so far.

Richard Madox was a Bible clerk from College All Souls, Oxford yet having never been to sea, he decided to join a trading expedition to the east led by Edward Fenton. Unfortunately, the voyage never made it to the east and was attacked off the coast of Brazil. Richard Madox died during the trip back home, leaving behind a detailed private diary.[20] Though he focused most of his attention on the actions of the crew, Madox also took great interest in the nature he witnessed, finding meanings for the presence of various species. On

16. Raleigh, pp. 76, 124.
17. Ibid, p. 139.
18. Anderson.
19. Ibid, p. 46.; H Kirke Swann, *A Dictionary of English and Folk-Names of British Birds* (Worcester, 2010), p 20.; *An Elizabethan in 1582: The Diary of Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls*, ed. by Elizabeth Donno (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1976).

June 25th he noted 'a numer of porpases wer also leaping abowt us which maketh me afrayd of a storme'.[21] Then, on December 1st he recorded:

> 'We also saw today a large torpedo fish from which indication we conclude we are not far from shore. On the other hand, birds are seen everywhere so that evidence can scarcely be drawn from them. However, there are some which never leave the shore except unwillingly so if you should see a number of these, know you are not far from land, but if you should sight two or three, say to yourself a single swallow does not make it summer.'[22]

By paying attention to the nature that surrounded him, Madox was able to prepare for potentially unfavourable weather conditions and roughly locate his proximity to land. For a sailor, these skills would have been invaluable. As the ship became increasingly wrapped in the world of nature as it sailed further out from shore or closer to the unfamiliar exotic, the value of identifying and interpreting animal behaviour increased. Nevertheless, Madox was not a sailor. But, his lack of experience only emphasises the significance of animals to the maritime world. Often as the only visible lifeforms, animals were central to the voyaging experience as they anchored men to the liveable world, hence their continued inclusion in Madox's private diary. Traveling across unpredictable oceans to lesser-known lands was extremely dangerous. Seafarers had to be mindful of weather, provisions and sustenance. Moreover, for the less experienced sea travellers, reading the 'signs' of maritime animals could provide a level of reassurance and control over the unfamiliar and threatening oceanic environment. Having come from a land where animal lore was embedded in local custom, seafarers, both novice and experienced, had a larger culture to draw on. Yet, they still faced many problems as the exotic animals they encountered in the early Atlantic period were largely unfamiliar. And so, while the practice of reading animals was vital and even common, conclusions could also be uninformed and experimental.

As effective communicators of the world around them, the interpretations seafarers drew from animals became points of discussion and often dispute. Work by both Peter Mancall and Gerald Maclean has shown how descriptions of new and exotic species often

21. *Elizabethan in 1582*, p. 147.
22. Ibid, pp. 244-5.

relied on comparisons to known animals.[23] As a result, descriptions could be considered inaccurate and not resonate with another individual if they found a different, more fitting, comparison. By looking at the drawings of Conrad Gessner, a Swiss physician and naturalist, we can see how disputes regarding foreign animals potentially came about. His redrawing of the walrus by Olaus Magnus, who used first-hand descriptions by thirteenth century seafarers, would have you believe that walruses could climb steep rocks with their four legs. They also had a long tail, upward-pointing tusks, and a spiked ridge down their back.[24] While Gessner's own interpretation was more accurate, facing the tusks in the right direction, the creature was still depicted as having four legs alongside a tail and fore-flippers. Though Gessner and Magnus were drawing from official witness accounts, inaccuracies were still prevalent. As more people went to sea those inaccuracies and misinterpretations became increasingly obvious and began to face criticism from contemporary seafarers.

Aside from being a chaplain and diarist, Richard Madox was an avid reader. His desire to set foot on a ship may have come from reading exciting travel literature. During the voyage he took with him a copy of André Thevet's *New Antarcktic.*[25] Originally written in French in the late 1550's, the book was translated into English by 1568. Thevet also worked as a priest before adopting the title 'explorer' and travelling to the near East and South America. Full of tales of cannibalism and adventure, the *New Antarcktic* also offered many descriptions of peoples, places and nature. The text contains some of the first European descriptions of many South American plants and animals such as the macaw and sloth.[26] Madox took an interest in the animals Thevet documented, particularly the ones that he too believed to have witnessed off the coast of Guinea. He then proceeded to assess Thevet's descriptions against his own experience. 'What [Thevet] says consercing the dorados which we call dolphins not at all true, because they are visible and accompany the ship for a long time'.[27] Interestingly, it appears Madox may have misread Thevet's book because if we look at the following passage Thevet equally states that dolphins followed his ship: 'this fish folowed our shippes the space of seven wekes without once forsaking of them, year night and day, untill that she found the sea

23. Peter Mancall, 'The Raw and the Cold: Five English Sailors in Sixteenth-Century Nunavut', in *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 70.1 (2013), 3-40.; Gerald Maclean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
24. Conrad Gessner, *Historian Animalium*, Vol. 4 (1558).
25. André Thevet, *The New Found Vvorld, or Antarctike* (London, 1568).
26. Ibid.
27. Donno, p. 228.

unsavery or not for hir nature'.[28] Before Thevet wrote his own description and experience of dolphins, he discussed the words of Pliny the Elder. Thevet summarised that Pliny believed 'she hideth hir self in the sea a certayne time, but in passing further he hath defined this tyme to be when it is extreme hot, for that it cannot endure so greate a heate'.[29] It is likely that it was Pliny's description of the dolphin that Madox took issue with as Madox did not witness the dolphins ever hiding. The fascinating thing about the account in Madox's diary is it shows us three stages of information about dolphins being passed through different hands. Pliny, the original voice in this instance supplied a description of the animal. This is then taken into consideration by Thevet when he too comes in contact with what he believes to be the same animal. Though Thevet does not outright disagree with Pliny's statement, he does assume that Pliny received the information from Aristotle rather than first-hand. Madox then misinterprets Thevet's thoughts, likely believing his summary of Pliny's work as his own opinion. Throughout the years it is easy for information to get twisted, accounts to be misread or even animals to be identified incorrectly. There are multiple different dolphin species living off the coasts of southern Africa today, not including the many species of whale that could have been mistaken for dolphins during this period.[30] Unfortunately, it is impossible to know whether Madox, Thevet and Pliny were discussing (and witnessing) the same species as physical descriptions were often brief and usually commented on the quality of their meat rather than their appearance. Nevertheless, it was the concept of the dolphin that connected Madox to Thevet and Thevet to Pliny. While not physically conversing, published accounts of animal encounters opened up new pathways of connectivity as western seafarers were able to compare and contrast their own experiences or understandings of the parts of their world less familiar to Europeans. As a result, knowledge growth within the maritime communities during this period was heavily influenced by perspective and experimentalism, rather than hard documentation. A significant reason for this was because disputes were common surrounding the workings of animals and, more significantly, nature. It was only after a period of significant exploration and the increasingly availability of specimens brought back to land that scientific classifications of exotic animals were able to solidify.

28. Thevet, p. 32.
29. Ibid.
30. For information of the whale and dolphin species of southern Africa see, 'Whales and Dolphins' *Marine Protected Areas, South Africa*. <https://www.marineprotectedareas.org.za/whales-and-dolphins> [Accessed: 30/10/2021]

The behaviour of animals was not the only point of contention between seafarers; efforts to classify exotic species equally invited disputes. During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the term fish was a lot more flexible than it is in modern day.[31] Beavers, for example, were sometimes considered fish, as were whales. But the category of 'fish' came with its own distinct connotations within the larger animal kingdom. Much contemporary natural understanding was rooted in the teachings of Pliny's *Natural History*.[32] Pliny considered water to be the most important of the four elements due to its unyielding force and role in the creation of life. Coupled with the fluidity of oceans, seas and rivers, Pliny argued that there must be more fish in the sea than animals on land. One of the reasons for this was because the nature of fish was thought to reflect the nature of water. Themes of fluidity reflected on ideas of breeding and so Pliny concluded fish were so prevalent because they were willing to breed with different species, including land animals.[33] As a result, the unrestrained world of water became a place of hybrid beasts such as mermaids, originally identified as the crossing of an ape and a fish.[34] Every land animal thus had the potential for a water equivalent.[35] Coupled with the tendency for travellers to describe new species through comparisons to the familiar, many aquatic animals adopted sea versions of pre-identified creatures. Sea-dogs, sea-wolves and sea-horses are but a few examples.[36] However, as classification during this period heavily relied on the individual reports of travellers, not everyone would always agree with the appointed names of newly witnessed animals.

Travelling up the River Gambia in search for gold, Richard Jobson was placed in charge of the 1620 voyage of exploration. On his journey he encountered many hippopotamuses and developed a rather strong opinion about their contemporary name as seahorses.

'The other is a Sea-horse, who in this River do wonderfully abound, and for that

31. Elspeth Graham, 'Ways of Being, Ways of Knowing: Fish, Fishing, and forms of Identity in Seventeenth-Century English Culture' in *Animals and Early Modern Identity,* ed. by Pia F Cuneo (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), pp. 351-74.
32. The earliest English edition is translated from a French version, see, *A Summarie of the Antiquities and Wonders of the World Abstracted out of the Sixtene First Bookes of… Pliny.* (London: 1565). The first direct translation, however, was first printed in 1601. Philemon Holland, *Plinie's Natural Historie of the World,* 2 Vols*.* (London: 1601).
33. See Holland.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Sea-dogs was sometimes used to refer to sharks, mentions of sea-wolves likely referred to monk seals and sea-horses were hippopotamuses or walruses.

> the name of Sea-horse is a common word, in regard of the Greene-land voyages, where they use the same to the Sea-mosses they kill there, who are of contrary shapes, I think it fit to describe this fish or beast, or what I may call him, because questionlesse, there was never beast, nor any thing in that kinde, set forth to shewe in these our Countries, that would produce more admiration.'[37]

The term sea-horse was also used for walruses by the voyagers who travelled to Greenland over the previous fifty years.[38] However, Jobson, like all travellers, was using his knowledge of the familiar to interpret the new. As a result, he found the term sea-horse most applicable to the hippo rather than the walrus, largely because of its closer shape to a horse. During this period walruses were sometimes referred to as sea-mosses, and so Jobson would have known that the name sea-horse was not set in stone. In order to fight his cause, Jobson compiled a lengthy list in his voyage narrative, discussing all the ways in which a hippo was more deserving of the title.

> 'He is in fashion of body, a compleate horse, as round buttock'd as a horse of service, and in his whole body answerable: his head like unto a horse with short eares, but palpably appearing which he wags, and stirres, as he shewes himselfe, onely toward his mouth, he growes broade downe like a Bull, and hath two teeth standing right before upon his lower chipp, which are great and dangerous in regard he strikes with them: his crye, or neighing, directly like a great horse, and hath in the same manner foure legges, answerable to his body, whereupon hee goes, and wherewith hee likewise swimmeth, as a horse doeth, yet in these is his greatest difference, for they are somewhat shorter in proportion, then horses are, and where they should be round hoofte, it devides it selfe into five pawes.'[39]

The first, and most obvious aspects to draw on was the animal's appearance - the head, ears and four legs. Though Gessner's earlier drawings may have featured four legs on a walrus, horses do not have flippers. Then Jobson continued to strengthen his argument by commenting on the mannerisms and behaviour of the animal, most notably the way it swims

37. Richard Jobson, *The Golden Trade; or The Discovery of the River Gambra* (London: 1623), pp. 91-2.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.

and the 'neighing' noise it makes. To a modern eye, the hippo may not reflect the features of a horse as clearly and even contemporary artistic depictions often appear more pig-like.[40] However, to the men who had never encountered a hippo, nor likely seen a horse for a significant period of time, the resemblance was probably more striking that we would initially give credit. What Jobson's account shows is a snapshot of the debates and discussions that went on between seafarers. Though we only have access to the opinionated debates that were printed, it is undeniable that conversations and disagreements about the classifications of exotic animals, or indeed their behaviour, would have been commonplace within the maritime community. Through animal encounters, men had stories to tell, share and dispute, connecting them together in a community of discussion and discovery.

Animals were a central part of any long-distance voyage. Their presence in the natural world was vital to seafarers as their bodies and behaviour were used to navigate unknown lands and waters. As living organisms, their need for food helped indicate to seafarers potentially healthful food sources. Moreover, their astute senses more easily identified shifts in the climate. By watching their behaviour, seafarers were thus able to identify upcoming weather conditions and prepare accordingly. But the early voyages of exploration caused a shift of knowledge in the wider European world and maritime communities. At the forefront, seafarers increased their distances and began exploring more exotic and foreign places. With it came exotic animals. As individuals, seafarers attempted to make sense of these new animals, documenting their experiences and opinions in private diaries and published accounts. However, as information was limited, many seafarers returned home with contrasting experiences and perspectives. Understanding and interpreting the new animal world was thus an experimental process, full of opinionated disputes. Ancient literature came into question as well as earlier foreign travel accounts from the sixteenth century. Until more physical specimens were brought back to the mainland, people had to rely on witness accounts which often failed to consider the possibility of sub-species in a larger family of animals. As a result, descriptions were open to contention because seafarers were not always witnessing and encountering the same animal. And so, from a central role in sailing, animals were now also a central part of discussion, connecting seafarers together as they shared and disputed each other's claims.

40. See, Edward Topsell, *The Historue of Foure-Footed Beastes* (London: 1607).

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Queering History: *Anne of Green Gables*, Literary Re-vision and the LGBTQ+ Community

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Introduction

Coined by Adrienne Rich, the term Re-Vision was initially meant to describe a type of re-writing intended to reclaim women's place in history and literature - such as Jean Rhys' famous reinterpretation of Jane Eyre, *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966). While scholarship on re-visionary writing has since evolved to include postcolonial, working-class, queer and disabled re-writings, it is still generally studied as a literary genre instead of one permeating every storytelling medium. Modernised adaptations, however, often fulfil the criteria set by scholars of re-vision. By either infusing modern themes and questions into the original text or transposing its events to a new context, modern adaptation seeks to show a new perspective, to 'study anew', to 'recast and re-evaluate'.[1] There is, especially in Western countries, a well-established literary canon that tends to reinforce the power and influence of the ruling classes (white, male, upper-class, heterosexual, cisgender, able-bodied, etc…). Re-vision utilises this literary canon and its influence to reclaim histories and question established biases. As Liedeke Plate and H.G. Els Rose explain, the paradox of re-vision is that it is both conservative and transformative:

> 'As process and as product, rewriting is engaged in cultural transmission and inheritance. (…) In this sense, rewriting's teleology is conservative: although it is a transformative process, its re-productive capacity produces tradition, the semblance of things eternally present and unchanged, carried on across time and space. Yet rewriting may also be primarily vested in change.[2]

[1] Peter Widdowson, '"Writing Back": Contemporary Re-Visionary Fiction', *Textual Practice*, 20.3 (2006), 491–507 (p. 496) <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502360600828984>.

[2] Liedeke Plate and H. G. Els Rose, 'Rewriting, a Literary Concept for the Study of Cultural Memory: Towards a Transhistorical Approach to Cultural Remembrance', *Neophilologus*, 97.4 (2013), 611–25, pp. 613.

Thus, if the literary canon is going to continue existing rather than be entirely overturned, it must be questioned, re-interpreted and re-appropriated in order to reflect the diverse set of experiences present in society. This begins with the understanding that the history we are taught by our education systems is only one part of a whole, one carefully selected version of history. History, in fact, is not a monolith but fragmented 'histories'. As French historian Pierre Nora explains, these emerging histories are often those of marginalised groups:

> 'The 'democratization' of history takes the form of a marked emancipatory trend among peoples, ethnic groups, and even certain classes of individuals in the world today; in short, the emergence, over a very short period of time, of all those forms of memory bound up with minority groups for whom rehabilitating their past is part and parcel of reaffirming their identity.'[3]

Thus, the re-appropriation and re-vision of classic works of literature therefore can allow marginalised communities to reclaim their place in both history and popular culture.

The potential of re-visionary adaptations of canonical novels to represent non-normative experiences and give a voice to the voiceless is one of the core reasons queer communities, in particular, can benefit from them. Representation in media is a primary issue for LGBTQ+ rights; empathy for people of different backgrounds and experiences develops more easily when we are exposed to those people and their stories from a young age, whether in reality or fiction. But despite the advancements in LGBTQ+ rights made in the past decades, thoughtful representation in mainstream media is still hard to come by. A 2009 Stonewall report on BBC programming found, for example, that 'Lesbians hardly exist on the BBC. Where gender was specified during a reference to gay sexuality, 82 per cent were about gay men.' When it does include representation, the BBC is said to 'rel[y] heavily on clichéd stereotypes in its portrayal of gay people. It seems reluctant to present lesbian and gay people in everyday scenarios, such as stable relationships or family life'.[4] Lesbians, for instance, are often

[3] Pierre Nora, 'The Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory,' in *Tr@nsit Online,* 22 <http://www.iwm.at/index.php?optionpcom_content&taskpview&idp285&Itemidp463> [accessed 30 December 2021]

[4] Catherine Cowan and Gill Valentine, *Tuned Out: The BBC's Portrayal of Lesbian and Gay People* (Stonewall, 2016), p. 6. <https://www.stonewall.org.uk/resources/tuned-out-2006> [accessed 29 September 2020].

sexualised and feminised to appeal to a male audience. 'In contrast to these "femme" stereotypes', the report states, '"butch" lesbians – who adopt a more "masculine" image in terms of body, manner and dress – are virtually invisible on television'.[5] While media culture has changed since 2009, in particular through the rise of streaming platforms, these tropes are still omnipresent. To Heather Emmens, this stereotyping of LGBTQ+ identities is a way in which 'dominant cultural forces seek to domesticate non-normative instances of gender and sexuality'.[6] Breaking away from stereotypes in favour of more diverse representation would allow queer communities to reclaim their identity and affirm themselves outside of these dominant cultural forces.

Much of the re-visionist approach to queer representation is thus rooted in the need for queer characters who feel more authentic and complex to viewers with similar identities. Because LGBTQ+ people are often seen as easily recognisable through stereotypes, it rarely acknowledges that historical figures and characters could be queer without these outward signifiers. It is, moreover, difficult for LGBTQ+ people to directly access their history as sexual and gender identity are not passed down genetically. They either need to actively educate themselves, reach out to mentors in the community or be exposed to representation in media. If they are still questioning or unaware of their identity, the last option is the only one available. As stated in the Stonewall report, 'television programmes and characters have helped some gay people to recognise their own sexuality, or come out, for the first time by providing information about being gay'.[7] Beyond helping queer people feel understood and understand themselves, representation in re-vision is also a helpful tool to expose cisgender and heterosexual people to queer characters they can empathise with, as well as to normalise queer people's presence in society.[8]

The recent push for more media representation and acknowledgement of the historical existence of LGBTQ+ people and communities has thus led more adapters to work with a queer lens. Mark Vicars describes the act as 'queering' a text as 'making the familiar strange', describing it as 'productive for 're/textualizing identity as a source of knowledge in

[5] Heather Emmens, 'Taming the Velvet: Lesbian Identity in Cultural Adaptations of Tipping the Velvet', in *Adaptation in Contemporary Culture: Textual Infidelities*, ed. by Rachel Carroll, 1st edn (New York, NY: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009), pp. 134–46 (p. 136).
[6] Emmens, p. 134.
[7] Cowan and Valentine, p. 13.
[8] Ibid, p. 14.

communities, practices, and social relations'.[9] Highlighting queer people and their textual presence where they might have been in a past many see as fixed can, however, be destabilising, which is one of the main reasons this process often encounters pushback. This is evident in the treatment of texts such as L.M. Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* in literary scholarship, popular culture and, more recently, modernised, re-visionary adaptation.

Anne of Green Gables and Queer theory

At first glance, most of the texts we consider 'classics', *Anne of Green Gables* included, represent a strictly heteronormative reality. Queer identities and alternative lifestyles, however, are woven into both L.M. Montgomery's novels and its contemporary society. As Laura Robinson notes, Montgomery's first *Anne* novel establishes from the very start that the traditional heterosexual family structure is not the only option: 'by having siblings rather than a married couple adopt a child, *Anne of Green Gables* makes clear that any grouping of individuals may constitute a family and that sexuality need not be the denning feature'.[10] While Matthew and Marilla appear as heterosexual (and largely conservative) people, their status as unmarried siblings co-parenting an adopted child represents an alternative vision of family. In the serialised adaptation *Anne With An E*, Marilla questions her decision to adopt, stating 'I see it clear now: this very idea was folly. You can't make up a family. Only kin is kin', but her mind is soon changed by her growing affection towards Anne.[11] Adoption itself provided an opportunity for women to build a family and experience motherhood without the necessity of marrying men. As Claudia Nelson remarks, many women of Anne's generation went on to adopt in romantic partnerships with other women, leading to a 'lesbian baby boom' in the 1920s and 30s.[12] Domestic partnerships between women, often referred to as 'Boston marriages', were common in the nineteenth century and generally accepted by society, unlike their male counterparts, because women were seen as non-sexual beings and

[9] Mark Vicars, 'Queering The Text: Online Literacy Practices, Identities, and Popular Culture', in *New Media Literacies and Participatory Popular Culture Across Borders*, ed. by Bronwyn Williams and Amy A. Zenger (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012), pp. 167–79 (p. 169) <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/abdn/detail.action?docID=981608> [accessed 20 September 2020].
[10] Laura Robinson, 'Bosom Friends: Lesbian Desire in L.M. Montgomery's Anne Books', *Canadian Literature*, 180 (2004), 12–28, (p. 19).
[11] 'Your Will Shall Decide Your Destiny', *Anne with an E* (Canada: Netflix and CBC, 2017), 35:45.
[12] Claudia Nelson, 'Nontraditional Adoption in Progressive-Era Orphan Narratives', *Mosaic : A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature*, 34.2 (2001), 181–97 (p. 182).

these relationships as innocent 'romantic friendships'.[13] Boston marriages are repeatedly represented in the *Anne of Green Gables* novels, from Miss Patty and Miss Maria in *Anne of the Island* to Aunt Kate and Aunt Chatty in *Anne of Windy Poplar*.[14] Even Marilla and Rachel Lynde end up living together after Mr Lynde and Matthew both pass away.

The debate about Anne's sexuality in the novels is a lively one among academics; her relationship with Diana and other women throughout the series tends to blur the line between platonic and romantic, and Montgomery's own experience (being pursued by a close female friend and reading a psychoanalytic study on lesbianism, for instance) proves she was not ignorant of the possibility of romantic and sexual attraction between women.[15] Most notably, scholar Laura Robinson stirred up controversy in 2004 with her presentation and following article: 'Bosom Friends: Lesbian Desire in L.M. Montgomery's Anne Books'. In it, she analyses Anne's relationships with some of the women in her life, particularly Diana. Anne and Diana's friendship is intense from the start, beginning with a vow and leading to frequent romantic declarations. When Diana's mother forbids her to see Anne, for example, she makes her friend promise 'never to forget me, the friend of your youth, no matter what dearer friends may caress thee?' and takes a lock of her hair.[16] Anne also breaks down upon realising that Diana will get married someday, explaining: 'I love Diana so, Marilla, I cannot live without her. But I know very well when we grow up that Diana will get married and go away and leave me'.[17] To Robinson, this is 'the sensuous language of courtship', and establishes Anne as a suitor to Diana.[18]

Responses to Robinson's work varied from positive interest to complete outrage. Many academics, journalists and readers reacted adversely to her theories. One National Post journalist writes in an overtly sarcastic tone: 'oh, I know, she married Gilbert Blythe, and they

[13] Savannah Dawn Powell, 'Queer in the Age of the Queen: Gender and Sexuality of the Mid Modern Period in Victorian England and North America', *Molly Brown House Museum*, 2016 <https://mollybrown.org/queer-in-the-age-of-the-queen-gender-and-sexuality-of-the-mid-modern-period-in-victorian-england-and-north-america/> [accessed 15 December 2020].
[14] Alison Elizabeth Hnatow, 'Anne-Girls: Investigating Contemporary Girlhood Through Anne With An E' (unpublished Bachelor's Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 2020), p. 38.
[15] Robinson, p. 13.
[16] Lucy Maud Montgomery, *Anne of Green Gables* (Mint Editions, 2020), p. 154 <https://www.scribd.com/book/467156640/Anne-of-Green-Gables> [accessed 30 October 2020].
[17] Montgomery, p. 143.
[18] Robinson, p. 20.

had seven children, but at university you learn to look more deeply',[19] while another dismisses Robinson's claims as 'all conjecture'.[20] A particularly passionate reader of the *Edmonton Journal* believes the article 'showed exactly how horribly others could think of the world at times', insisting:

> 'Anne Shirley is one of the many characters that Montgomery fills with love although she experienced little during her life. What right have we to turn this love into something bad and scornful?'[21]

Some of these reactions clearly come from conservative, reactionary beliefs that homosexuality is inherently evil. While progress has been made on the acceptance and normalisation of queer identities, these beliefs are still pervasive in many countries and communities. According to the Human Dignity Trust, as of 2020 72 jurisdictions around the world still criminalise 'private, consensual, same-sex sexual activity'.[22] Other negative reactions are based on the idea that Anne's attraction to women would invalidate her romance with Gilbert Blythe, a relationship many readers are attached to. As Robinson remarks, 'Anne's inevitable marriage may also yield a reading that is less empowering for the heroine if readers do not assume that she is heterosexual'.[23] These reactions are linked to a still common denial of bisexuality and pansexuality as real and valid sexual orientations; many people have now accepted homosexuality as a fact, but still believe people can only be attracted to one gender in their lifetime. In truth, when asked by YouGov to place themselves on a sliding scale representing attraction, over a quarter of people in the UK identified as other than 100% heterosexual, with many placing themselves somewhere in the middle.[24]

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[19] Ian Hunter, 'Outing Anne and Other Scary Tales: [National Edition]', *National Post* (Don Mills: 8 June 2000), p. A19, Banking Information Database, 329708432.
[20] 'Anne Theory Is Pure Conjecture: [Final Edition]', *Edmonton Journal* (Edmonton: 29 May 2000), p. A12, Banking Information Database, 252813452.
[21] Kathleen N Black, '`Gay' Anne Claim Is Ridiculous: [Final Edition]', *Edmonton Journal* (Edmonton: 6 June 2000), p. A13, Banking Information Database, 252725884.
[22] 'Map of Countries That Criminalise LGBT People | Human Dignity Trust' <https://www.humandignitytrust.org./lgbt-the-law/map-of-criminalisation/> [accessed 3 November 2020].
[23] Robinson, p. 14.
[24] Gaby Hinsliff, 'The Pansexual Revolution: How Sexual Fluidity Became Mainstream', *The Guardian*, 14 February 2019, Section Society <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/feb/14/the-pansexual-revolution-how-sexual-fluidity-became-mainstream> [accessed 3 November 2020].

The suggestion that Anne might have been attracted to women, therefore, does not deny her attraction for Gilbert or other men; both can coexist as part of the same theory.

Finally, much of the criticism of Robinson's work comes down to the idea that it is purely conjecture, with nothing to back it up but close reading and interpretation. But as Kelly Parkatti remarks in her defence of Robinson's paper, much of literary theory is already based on these elements:

> 'Literature is always open to interpretation, and certainly theories are useful in analysing literature. Everyone has a right to their own theories, therefore none of them can be wrong. Literature can be a great tool to make us think about the world around us, whether or not these interpretations are in the context of the time when the original work was written, and whether or not these connotations were intentional. Sometimes older literature can provide striking insights into current society. Secondly, perhaps we should stop and think: why has there been such a horrified reaction?'[25]

The vehemence of this debate indeed shows that academia, and society as a whole, are still far from full acceptance when it comes to queer identities. Gavin White moreover remarks that Robinson's paper had not been published in an academic journal at the time of the outrage, thus suggesting that most of the popular discourse surrounding it was made without full knowledge of the paper's contents.[26] With or without details and argumentation, audiences are thus likely to react strongly to popular characters being re-envisioned or interpreted as queer.

Anne With An E and representation

Whether their creators were aware of Robinson's work or not, at least two of the most recent adaptations of the novel have infused explicitly queer themes and characters into their version of the story. The popular series *Anne With An E*, produced by Netflix and CBC, chose to represent several LGBTQ+ characters, both extrapolated from the novel and added to the

[25] Kelly Parkatti, 'Why Horrified Reaction to Prof's Anne Theory?: [Final Edition]', in *Edmonton Journal* (Edmonton: 7 June 2000), p. A11, Banking Information Database, 252725602.
[26] Gavin White, 'Falling Out of the Haystack: L.M. Montgomery and Lesbian Desire', in *Canadian Children's Literature / Littérature Canadienne Pour La Jeunesse*, (2001), 43–59, pp. 46.

series. The first example is the interpretation of Aunt Josephine, Diana's great-aunt. In the novel, Josephine is a wealthy spinster, who quickly becomes a mentor to Anne. In the series, Diana first tells Anne she is visiting them because 'her companion passed away': 'Her best friend forever and ever. Aunt Josephine never married. Neither of them did. They lived with each other their whole lives'.[27] What might appear clear to a twenty-first-century viewer is less obvious to the characters. Josephine has to confirm the nature of her relationship twice for Anne to understand; the first time she tells Anne that she was married 'in [her] own way'.[28] Later, when Anne, Diana and their friend Cole visit her to attend her annual party, Anne notices that Josephine and her partner Gertrude shared a bed and finally comes to a full realisation.[29] This episode, and the party itself, is a celebration of the LGBTQ+ community, 'filled with what would be the modern-day drag scene, with individuals experimenting with Victorian gender presentation, and what could be described as Pride'.[30] This positive representation is refreshing in a context where LGBTQ+ people in fiction are still largely shown suffering or dying. As Rowan Ellis notes in a video essay:

> 'There is still something genuinely revolutionary about having LGBT characters in kids' media. I still get messages on that video from people saying that it's inappropriate to talk about gay people to children, as if children can't be gay themselves, or have gay parents, or gay friends, or gay uncles...As if gay marriage isn't legal and a thing that exists that they can understand and know about. But it's also pretty revolutionary to have queer representation in historical fiction in a way that isn't just derived from misery.'[31]

In *Anne With an E*, the acceptance of one's sexuality is instead synonymous with liberation. Josephine describes Gertrude as 'the first person with whom I didn't have to hide',

[27] 'Remorse Is the Poison of Life', *Anne with an E* (Canada: Netflix and CBC, 2017), 13:02.
[28] Ibid, 40:55.
[29] 'Memory Has as Many Moods as the Temper', *Anne with an E* (Canada: Netflix and CBC, 2018) <https://www.netflix.com/watch/80198391?trackId=14170289&tctx=2%2C3%2C858c5095-ae49-4d13-8c31-4534ce205f7d-125092571%2Cf5f76b5f-33f5-44e2-b63c-f551eab5208a_39150349X3XX1608544510359%2Cf5f76b5f-33f5-44e2-b63c-f551eab5208a_ROOT%2C> [accessed 28 December 2020], 12:15.
[30] Hnatow, p. 38.
[31] Rowan Ellis, *A Children's Show With Gay Characters?*, Youtube, 2019 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DMCSjZXQ2wg> [accessed 9 November 2020], 0:25.

and Cole tells her that it sounds 'like a miracle'.[32] Anne, Cole and Diana all grow from their exposure to this community in different ways. Anne discovers that there are places out there where her eccentricity will be embraced; Cole comes to terms with his sexuality and discovers a new form of art to dedicate himself to, and Diana is shown that there are possibilities in her future beyond being a good wife and mother.

Instead of contenting itself with one token LGBTQ+ character, *Anne With An E* shows a range of characters with different identities, different backgrounds and at different stages of their lives. Josephine is older, comfortable in her identity and surrounded by like-minded people who accept her, while Cole is still coming to terms with his sexuality throughout the series and is confronted with the less progressive mindset of Avonlea. At first, Cole is pictured as a shy, artistic boy more interested in being alone or in the company of girls than in spending time with other boys. He is increasingly bullied and picked on, growing close to Anne who has been through a similar ordeal. When Cole initially comes out to Josephine, she tells him: 'You have a life of such joy before you. Not without hardship. Not without bumps in the road. Be safe with those you trust. But when you do find people to trust, the bond will be that much greater'.[33] This, in fact, is precisely what happens with Anne. As Hnatow points out, Anne's reaction to Cole's coming out is possibly the best-case scenario one can expect when coming out to a loved one in the twenty-first century.[34] Anne thanks Cole for sharing that information with her then, and when Cole remarks that his identity is against the law, tells him that 'the law is wrong'.[35] This statement is much easier to make in hindsight, from the perspective of a time when the law has changed, but still carries a clear message and an example of good allyship.

The decision to portray these stories has caused some backlash with conservative viewers of the series. One reviewer states that they were prepared for the show to be 'somewhat modernized and tainted from the original story', but were shocked by the way season two 'pushes much more liberal views on the audience'.[36] They particularly refer to Josephine's party as an episode 'dedicated towards homosexuality', with 'several gay couples

[32] 'Memory Has as Many Moods as the Temper', 21:00.
[33] Ibid, 35:05.
[34] Hnatow, p. 41.
[35] 'Struggling Against the Perception of Facts', *Anne with an E* (Canada: Netflix and CBC, 2018), 20:56.
[36] Maria M., 'Watch Out for Season Two', *Common Sense Media*, 2018 <https://www.commonsensemedia.org/tv-reviews/anne-with-an-e> [accessed 16 December 2020].

dancing, holding hands, speaking amorously to each other, etc', and call the episode 'simply weird'. This reviewer seems to believe the portrayal of an openly queer group of people is pushing a liberal agenda, and that homosexuality constitutes a 'mature theme' that should not be incorporated into a family show, which returns to the idea that LGBTQ+ identities are a taboo subject children need to be shielded from. A few reviewers disagreed with this view and argued for the importance and accuracy of this representation. One mother and teacher writes:

> 'Yes, the new series reflects that there were what we now call LGBTQ students in Avonlea. But that's because -and I need you to stay with me here- OF COURSE THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN LGBTQ KIDS IN AVONLEA. Just because it wasn't widely discussed or acknowledged back in the day doesn't mean that they didn't exist. And it certainly doesn't do our kids any favours to pretend that they don't deserve proper representation on screen.'[37]

This review presents a truth still widely contested by conservative groups, that children can be LGBTQ+ without external influence, and can therefore benefit from positive representation early on in life. The portrayal of lesser-known aspects of history such as Boston marriages and the existence of queer subcultures also allows twenty-first-century LGBTQ+ people to reclaim their own history and re-establish their presence in familiar historical eras.

***Project Green Gables*: Anne and online identity**

The independent web series *Project Green Gables* stands out among the many *Anne of Green Gables* adaptations for its decision to cast Anne as an openly queer black girl. Its treatment of Anne's sexuality is representative of a shift in mentalities, particularly from newer generations, and of the freedom afforded by independent media creation. In episode 40, titled *Just Thought You Should Know*, Anne and Diana are answering questions from viewers on social media when Diana jokingly reads out 'So Anne, when are you going to confess your undying love for Diana?'. While she expects Anne to laugh it off, her friend instead gets flustered and responds:

[37] CanadianMumof3, 'Refreshing New Take on the Themes of an Old Friend.', in *Common Sense Media*, (2018) <https://www.commonsensemedia.org/tv-reviews/anne-with-an-e> [accessed 16 December 2020].

> ‘Well, I don’t know if I’m just confusing my feelings and I don’t even know myself if it’s platonic or not, I could be just confusing my strong attachment to you for something that is not because I’ve never had a strong friendship with anyone that’s not my own fictional characters.’ [38]

Diana responds that she had no idea Anne liked her this way and, while she loves her dearly as a friend, does not reciprocate her feelings. From the rest of the video, it is clear their friendship is strong enough to get past these unrequited feelings. Diana’s rejection is gentle, supportive and unprejudiced. Unfortunately, this does not apply to everyone around Anne. In the next video, she explains that Diana’s mother has been watching her videos and reacted negatively to Anne’s confession:

> ‘After I put up the last video, Diana suddenly stopped answering my texts and the next day at school she tells me on the brink of tears that her mother told me not to text me anymore, or to hang out with me anymore, for her “own good”’.[39]

While Anne experiences homophobia from a few members of her community, she is unconditionally supported by her friends, family, and most of her viewership. In the same video, she directly thanks her audience for the outpour of encouraging messages she receives and explains how she feels about her coming out experience, stating that she doesn’t ‘consider [her] queerness the most relevant or interesting thing about [her], and that she ‘wouldn’t even have to come out of a closet if it wasn’t built around [her] by people who assume [her] to be straight in the first place’.[40] With this, Anne calls into question the culture of heteronormativity: that being heterosexual is the default and anyone differing from this default must, therefore ‘come out’. Audience feedback on the series’ representation of LGBTQ+ themes was overwhelmingly positive. One user states the need for representation of every kind, writing that they would like LGBTQ+ characters to be ‘so EVERYWHERE that they're allowed to be in dumb romantic comedies and bad sci-fi. Like I don't want every story to be

[38] *Just Thought You Should Know #40*, Project Green Gables, 2016 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n4PfuZJ1qfk&list=PL3RpwkbU8xqyWJHICW-DJSYWux-Iky5j_&index=41> [accessed 9 October 2020], 2:03.
[39] *Well Then #41*, Project Green Gables, 1:10.
[40] Ibid, 0:07.

just about coming out or getting beaten up, though those stories are still important.'[41] Another addresses Anne's character directly in the comments, reassuring her that it is 'okay to be confused and take your time to work out how you feel and who you like'.[42] The difference in feedback between the readership of a 2004 academic article and that of a 2015 independent web series exemplifies the way public views of LGBTQ+ identities have and are still evolving in the twenty-first century, in part due to the advent of new media and internet culture which allows new generations to grow up exposed to beliefs and cultures beyond that of their families and communities.

Conclusion

While the controversy surrounding Robinson's theory shows that a lot of work remains to be done, adaptation is at the forefront of change when it comes to the thoughtful representation of queer people and identities on screen. With more freedom to implement representation and a younger, less conservative audience, independent new media adapters have been leading the way and proving to mainstream media producers that there is an audience for LGBTQ+ stories past and present. The process of adapting and queering familiar works of classic literature serves multiple purposes. Firstly, the historical nature of these stories allows adapters to infuse time-accurate representation into them, and to reclaim and spread queer history. The popularity of the source texts can also encourage more people to tune in to these adaptations and be exposed to queer representation. Finally, to the opportunity to watch characters they already know and are attached to through a queer lens can help audiences form a personal bond to the LGBTQ+ community and experience, whether they are straight, queer or questioning their sexuality.

[41] M PK, 'Comment on "WLW Spectacles On - Behind the Scenes"', *Youtube*, 2016 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KRSzglTD6wc&lc=UgjitP5zz9oDangCoAEC> [accessed 30 October 2020].
[42] Ceili E, 'Comment on "Just Thought You Should Know #40"', *Youtube*, 2016 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n4PfuZJ1qfk&list=PL3RpwkbU8xqyWJHICW-DJSYWux-Iky5j_&index=41> [accessed 30 October 2020].

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