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We are proud to present the brand new Issue 8 of SWWDTP's *Question Journal*. Our postgraduate journal was always interdisciplinary and always welcomed a range of different subjects under the umbrella of a common theme that will appeal to many, no matter what discipline they might call their own. This year's editorial team, however, committed themselves to take this open and inviting approach even further.

Although the core of submissions for Issue 8 stems of course from the SWWDTP's consortium, we did our best to encourage submissions from beyond. This way, we did not only aim to increase the number, quality, and diversity of submissions, but we also wanted to achieve a feeling of belonging, creating a spirit of togetherness across academia, disregarding the subjects, universities, or nations that our authors may call home. To this end, we organised three different workshops, open to all contributors, and allowed a range of early career researchers to get hands-on experience in the academic publishing process. We are proud to have achieved our goals: Issue 8 has the largest number of papers ever published with the *Question Journal*. We can boast a range of great submissions, coming from universities far beyond or core consortium. And we dare say we became a team.

As such, the theme *Change* fits excellently. Not only for the papers and art works presented in Issue 8 but also for the development of our postgraduate journal. We became more divers, extended our reach, and tried to become a place for publishing art as much as publishing academic essays. *Changed* we have indeed and we are exciting as to where our journey leads us next. Accompany us on the first steps of this new journey: we hope you will enjoy reading Issue 8 as much as we enjoyed creating it!

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Future from the Past: Learning Sustainability, Resistance and Adaptability from Ancient Communities

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There is a notion widely circulated around political and popular culture that humans have long obtained some sort of 'mastery' over the Earth. Despite this idea being reinforced by the 'discourses of nature' that separate humans from the environment and its other creatures, more people are realising that we have a participatory and communicative relationship with our environment.[1] Climate change has affected cultures for millennia, but it affects us and our planet more now than ever before. Our modern global capitalist system is inherently destructive towards our environment, and resource insecurity begs for sustainable solutions that can be resistant to this system.[2]

There are a few broad terms I will use throughout the course of this paper, and so I will clarify the definitions I am working with for each here.

Sustainability: Simply, 'enough for all forever'.[3] This means that the actions we take to manage resources will not only benefit us but will continue to benefit future generations of humans. In this context, we will think of sustainability as 'an active condition, not a passive consequence of doing less'.[4]

Capitalism: An economic system, currently in use globally, that requires the systemic exploitation of humans and nature in order to achieve its goal of accumulating profit. Importantly, it posits the 'rhetoric that it contributes to the prosperity and wellbeing of all human beings', and because the global system is designed as such, many people believe this.[5] In other words, capitalism has an excellent public relations team. But despite this, the truth of the matter is that capitalism perpetuates a massive economic gap and further drives the illusion of separation between humanity and nature.[6]

Adaptability: The ability to change a system in light of a changing world. This can be as small as the ability to readjust your expectations when something does not go the way you expect, or as large as the ability to change the way a complex resource management system works in the face of unexpected (and sometimes drastic) changes, whether they are environmental, economic, political, or social. Essentially, adaptability is flexibility, and it is one of the largest factors in the relative success of surviving change.[7]

Multidisciplinarity: Bringing together different schools of thought available through different disciplines to create diverse solutions to complex problems. The idea here is that minds from different disciplines will be able to recognise different trade-offs of proposed solutions, creating more well-rounded paths to sustainability.[8]

Past-Forwarding: Using information from the past to inform the decisions we make for the future. Coined by Felix Riede in 2017, this practice puts archaeologists in a position to work with other disciplines to assist people in making informed decisions that lead toward resilience and sustainability.[8]

With these terms in mind, we can see how archaeology can be used to help people survive through climate change. The focus of several seminars at the SAA (Society for American Archaeology) 2023 annual conference was action-oriented work for archaeology in climate justice. People spoke about the damage that climate change causes to archaeological sites and cultural heritage, highlighting organisations like CHART (Coastal Heritage at Risk Taskforce) and DUNAS (Descendants United for Nature, Adaptation, and Sustainability).[9] Saving cultural heritage is an incredibly important conversation to have and an even more important action to take, but the role of archaeology in climate justice does not have to end there. The concept of past-forwarding, when applied to resource management, shows how archaeology can be used to inform community-led decisions toward ecological stability. One of the pillars of DUNAS is 'ancient knowledge, future wisdom', which goes beyond saving cultural heritage and can inform the entire vision of a sustainable community-based future.

In a multidisciplinary setting, archaeology can provide input based on models of past sustainability. This is already being done in several different sectors; for example, models of ancient farming with *chinampas* (raised field agriculture) in the Tabasco region of Mexico have been actively reconstructed and used for several decades now.[10] What started as a government project was declared a failure because the local community was not consulted or involved, which resulted in discontent between the local inhabitants and the government. Since the government abandoned the *chinampas* project, though, Indigenous farmers have shown that 'traditional, sustainable agriculture can actually produce *higher* crop yields than industrialized farming'.[11]

Local knowledge is also useful in biodiversity conservation.[12] It is the people who are local to an environment who know it best, and knowing the long-term social and environmental history of a place is going to be instrumental in mending the relationship we have with the planet.[13] For over three decades, the Convention on Biological Diversity, an international legal framework for

maintaining global biodiversity and sustainability, has been working to bolster the involvement of Indigenous people in policy making so that local ecological knowledge can be made a priority.[14]

Local ecological knowledge is known as the 'understandings, beliefs and practices that human societies develop longitudinally in relationship with their natural environment'.[15] These sets of knowledge are specific to the place where a community comes from and aid that community in managing their personal and social relationship with the land. In order to learn how to best live on the land, and to know how to adapt as our personal environments change, this knowledge is something we should all strive to educate ourselves on. In terms of the climate crisis, especially in regard to adaptability, it should be the basis around which our interdisciplinary response is created. Local ecological knowledge is able to co-evolve along with societal and ecological changes, creating the adaptability that is needed in order to survive massive change.

Among the aspects of human life which will continue to change in accordance with the health of our planet is one that I want to emphasise in this discussion: water. Without water, there is no humanity. More than that, without water there is no life at all. For millennia, people have centred their societies around water sources, building villages along the banks of rivers, lakes, and coastlines. Water represents an undeniable connection that humans have with the rest of nature. This is especially important to put our attention on right now because across the globe, many people are struggling with water insecurity. One third of the global population lacks access to clean drinking water.[16] Desert communities like those in the American Southwest (California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and Colorado) are deeply affected by climate change as their reservoirs and lakes continue to dry up.

The Indigenous Akimel O'odham (Pima) people of this area have been adapting to the water shortage by recovering the canals built by their ancestral Huhugam.[17] In the Pima language, huhugam means 'our people who have come before', a respectful term for the dead. Previous archaeologists based the word Hohokam, the archaeological term for the people who created the material culture along the rivers of Arizona, on this word. For the purposes of this article, I will refer to these people, ancient and modern, as the Pima.

For the first time in over a century, the Pima have the legal right to hydraulic autonomy, and are managing the water on their reservation for their community. As a result, they have plenty of water for drinking and agriculture despite the extreme drought currently taking place in the Southwest. The modern irrigation system they have been building closely follows the one that existed in the past,

although changes have been made to accommodate more recent additions, like interstate highways and modern cities. In the past, the Pima built water management systems that not only provided usable water from the Agua Verde River, but also made agriculture possible in the area by 'carr[ying] suspended sediment into the fields (especially during floods) that provided necessary nutrients and soil building material'.[18] Because soil development processes are so slow in this environment, the canals that the Pima had built were necessary for sustaining agricultural life as well as providing water.

Since colonisation of the Americas and the onset of capitalism, Indigenous communities have historically been given very little control over the resources they need. The Pima's current success with water management, as opposed to the failure of the state to provide water to the areas around them, shows in a very clear light the negative effects that capitalism is having on human survival. Additionally, it is a massive indicator that community-led networks, potentially based on archaeological or local ecological knowledge, are the best chance for human survival even in the face of governmental failure to provide resources.[19]

The American Southwest represents the many communities that are living without enough water. On the other side of the coin, there are people who live with too much water. Coastal towns and cities are constantly at risk of floods and hurricanes, and many of these cities are built with infrastructure that cannot support such a massive influx of water. Such infrastructure, seen in many cities around the world, is referred to as grey infrastructure. Grey infrastructure, in the world of water, is constructed with the goal of 'direct[ing] excessive precipitation or surface flow from urban areas in a short period of time'.[20] Use of grey infrastructure expands as urbanisation grows, and this change in land use is one of the reasons that surface water flooding is such a serious problem for large cities.[21] Conversely, blue-green infrastructure works with the natural formation of the land to create spaces that support people as partners with nature. For water, this means constructing systems within an urban environment that reflect the natural water cycle.[22] Though this kind of infrastructure has been given a shiny new name, it is far from new. Communities have been living this way, forming the land into something on which they can sustainably thrive, for thousands of years.

The Sponge City campaign in China is a project which aims to re-develop cities along the country's coastline with blue-green infrastructure that will be able to absorb flood water and retain it for use during times of drought.[23] In Ningbo, located across the Hangzhou Bay from Shanghai, the engineers are drawing inspiration for modern infrastructure from the way the city was set up before the industrial boom. Ningbo is one of the oldest cities in China and has

been a capital since the year 738 CE, when it was used as an international port. It has been the location of extensive water engineering meant to 'reduce flood risk while securing the supply of freshwater for municipal use and agricultural development throughout the floodplain'.[24] Before the introduction of cars, houses in Ningbo had a front door, which was turned towards the land, and a back door which opened onto an interconnected waterway 'along which goods and produce were transported and delivered'.[25] The flood risk is high in Ningbo, but for over a thousand years people have been utilising this excess of water as a part of their way of life.

Water gates along the Nantang River are still used to direct mountain runoff into the river system, but other infrastructure in Ningbo has not maintained the city's past sustainability. Natural waterways have been filled with materials that create impermeable surfaces, taking away opportunities for the ground to absorb flood water. Most ground surfaces today are made with non-absorbent pavements, so rather than water being absorbed into the ground for safety and retention, the pavement forces water to rise.

Besides not being able to meet blue-green standards of absorption, most pavements are also unable to appropriately retain or filter water.[26] In past times, the constructed ground in Ningbo was made from stones, mud, soil, fibrous plants, and root stems.[27] It allowed absorption of water, and plants like mulberry bushes that were grown along canals helped to stabilise the soil. This system allowed for biodiversity to continue to thrive while controlling water levels and meeting the other needs of society. Until the 1990s, agricultural land in the Ningbo area could accommodate up to 14 cubic meters of flood water 'while still being agriculturally productive'.[28]

Clearly, climate sustainability is possible to revive in contemporary society. But since today's society does have needs that past infrastructure may not be able to meet on its own, the Sponge City campaign is using different kinds of pavement that are porous and allow for things like absorption, retention, and filtration. Shown below is an example of the benefits of using an absorbent pavement like permeable asphalt, cement, or resin; notice how the large pores and open spaces allow water to come in rather than building up.[29]

Projects like the Sponge City campaign in Ningbo show that using infrastructure methods from the past can help us manage water today. The goal of the campaign is to allow water infrastructure to exist in a different way from traditional grey, capitalist infrastructure. The developers want to create flood infrastructure that can mitigate flood risk and also 'creat[e] multiple cobenefits for the urban economy, society, and environment under nonflood conditions'.[30] With the
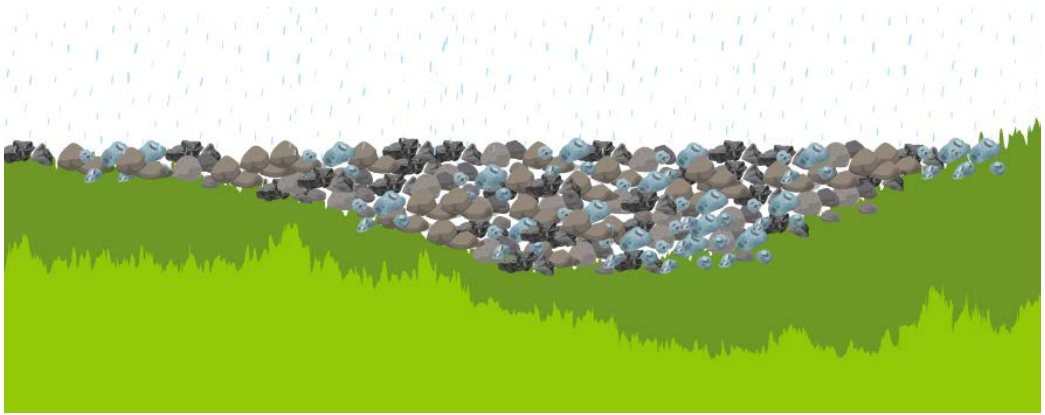
Illustration of porous ground surface material allowing rain to pass through the crevices and be absorbed by the ground underneath. Made in Canva

information found in archaeological research, infrastructure is being built that has the potential to help people rather than solely focusing on economic growth.

As shown in both the Sponge City and Pima Southwest examples, if a sustainability initiative is successful, its product will address multiple areas of need. They represent two different forms of engaging with archaeological and local knowledge as well: the Sponge City campaign is a state-based initiative that aims to use infrastructure to mitigate both flood risk and drought effects, as well as rerouting water for agriculture, meeting multiple needs while working with the land to address the problem of living in a flood-prone urban space. In the American Southwest, where desert environments and capitalist infrastructure make water resources scarce, the Pima have reclaimed autonomy of their community resource management and are rebuilding old canals to bring water to their communities for drinking and for agriculture, just like their ancestors did. In this case, archaeologists have taken the role of assisting the Pima with any supplemental knowledge archaeology may be able to provide in case of gaps in local knowledge, all with the goal of the Pima maintaining hydraulic autonomy.

There are people who have been 'living in harmony with nature' since long before the Global Biodiversity Framework co-opted this concept and made it a part of their mission.[31] In fact, the spaces that many people think of as 'natural' or 'wild' have actually been carefully formed by Indigenous people for millennia.[32] Because of the access archaeology has to time-depth, archaeologists are in the perfect position to see how social systems have differed in their relationship to the land, and what consequences have been suffered by past people due to the ways their resources were managed. Ultimately, water insecurity today

is a consequence of capitalist society that affects individuals and communities under this social structure much more than it affects the system itself.[33] Applying archaeology can illuminate the processes that cause water insecurity and potentially offer past examples of community-led solutions that advocate for local knowledge and autonomy outside of the capitalist system.

An exact replica from the past cannot be copied onto a modern system, and in accepting a capitalist system in any form, there inherently will be vulnerable communities that will not have their needs met by state structures.[34] Because of the modern systemic exploitation of natural resources, there are issues we face today that people in the past did not. By learning about different water management systems from different times and places, we can piece together a new system that works for us today. This paper has provided two examples of using the concept of past-forwarding in this way: one which is state-sanctioned, and one which allows a community autonomy over their resources. The consequences of both of these options can be seen by 'deciphering the relationship between human land use and ecosystem structure and function [which] requires the time depth accessible through the archaeological record'.[35]

My current research at the University of Oxford focuses more on this second option, wherein autonomous communities throughout time have shown their ecological resilience in the face of social collapse. I argue the importance of community resistance to unreliable capitalist structures seen in the archaeological record through autonomous management of resources like water.[36] By prioritising community action, as well as Indigenous and local knowledge and histories, and by using archaeology to look at ecological change over time as a partnership between people and the land they live on, communities can better and more accurately inform our plans for sustaining ourselves and the land in the future and in the face of continued political stress and climate change.

Postcolonial Perspectives of Trauma: Examples of Everyday Trauma from Shobasakthi's *Gorilla*

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Aetiology of Trauma Theory

The term trauma comes from the Greek word τραῦμα, meaning 'wound', and it originally referred to a physical injury.[1] However, over the years, this word has undergone a semantic change. Roger Kurtz observes that usage of the word 'trauma' has drastically increased since the 1960s, and today 'we live in an age of trauma'.[2] The term now refers more frequently to emotional or psychological rather than bodily injury. This change in usage results from scientific study of trauma that began in the mid-nineteenth century.[3] As a result of the expansion of railways during the industrial revolution, there were many railway accidents. Many of the victims of these accidents suffered behavioural changes and felt abnormal despite the lack of any physical injury. Their symptoms included 'disordered memory, disturbed sleep and frightful dreams, and various types of paralysis, melancholia and impotence'.[4] John Erichsen, a British surgeon, attributed such symptoms of the victims to a condition he called 'railway spine'.[5] Erichsen argued that these violent accidents caused structural changes to spinal fluids, causing spinal damage. Hermann Oppenheim, a German neurologist, shared similar views and called this change in behaviour 'traumatic neurosis'.[6] He believed the symptoms after the accidents were due to molecular changes in the nervous system. However, Herbert Page, a British surgeon and contemporary of Erichsen, contested Erichsen's theory as it lacked evidence.[7] Page saw the symptoms of the railway accident victims as a mental condition, a functional disorder with a psychical cause. While Erichsen and Oppenheim viewed trauma as somatically based, Page believed that trauma is psychological. However, Erichsen and Page agreed on the delayed response to an overwhelming traumatic incident, which at the time of occurrence, victims remain unconscious about. This delayed response and incomprehensibility become the two main constitutive aspects of trauma. Thus, trauma has been viewed as a medical condition and as an after-effect caused by an external, overwhelming event.

The debate about whether trauma was a physiological or psychological disorder continued through to the end of the nineteenth century. With later developments in the field of psychology, trauma became more and more associated with

a psychic disorder. Jean-Martin Charcot, a Parisian neurologist, studied hysteria in women and posited a possible relationship between hysteria and traumatic neurosis.[8] Sigmund Freud, Charcot's student, established a connection between hysteria and sexual violence in childhood.[9] Furthermore, the First World War, the Second World War, the Holocaust, and the Vietnam War further impacted the study of trauma and led to an understanding of trauma as a psychological disorder. Soldiers returning from the battlefield experienced symptoms like 'fatigue, tremor, confusion, nightmares and impaired sight and hearing', and physicians struggled to treat them as no cause could be identified.[10] Charles Samuel Myers, a British physician and psychologist, coined the term 'shell shock' to describe this condition in soldiers and concluded that the symptoms were of psychological origin rather than physical.[11] With Freud's observations on soldiers' psyches after their return from the trenches, trauma came to be seen as a functional disorder without a somatic cause. According to Freud, trauma is a response to a sudden external stimulus that breaks down the human psyche and its protective shield.[12] From railway accidents to wars, trauma, as Luckhurst argues, becomes inextricably linked with accident cosmology and modern life.[13] The industrial revolution, expansion of railways, technological growth, and industrialised and nuclear warfare as the symbols of modernity not only signal the inseparable relationship between trauma and modernity but also our understanding of trauma as an event-based after-effect that necessitates medical treatment. Later, literary critics of trauma theory developed this idea of trauma further by establishing a relationship between traumatic representation through language and literature.

Literary trauma studies – that is, academic research into the relationship between literature and trauma – began in the early 1990s with the influential works of Cathy Caruth. Other pioneers include Shoshana Felman, Dori Laub, Geoffrey Hartman, and Dominick LaCapra. While Felman, Laub, and Hartman based their research extensively on collecting and analysing Holocaust testimonies using poststructuralist philosophies of language, Caruth applied poststructuralist ideologies of language to Freudian-influenced trauma theory. According to Caruth, trauma escapes the language of representation as it resists comprehensibility and narratability; like Freud, she reiterates the belatedness of trauma, meaning that trauma is not fully assimilated at its first instance but returns to haunt the subject later like a ghost.[14] Consequently, the poststructuralist philosophies of trauma theory play a pivotal role in establishing trauma as primarily unrepresentable. Furthermore, it locates 'the Holocaust as the central point of crisis', making 'the Holocaust as the ultimate trauma narrative'.[15]

From this historical account of the development of trauma theory, which has its foundation in the West, important questions are raised: can this

Western-influenced theory of trauma be applied to other cultures around the world? Are there any alternative ways of understanding and representing culturally significant trauma? Are other forms of trauma, such as structural trauma relating to issues like gender, race, and class, being overlooked by too much attention to the event-based model of trauma? What could the effect of cumulative trauma be on a community rather than on an individual psyche after a traumatic event?

Trauma theory and its early development are Eurocentric in origin. The initial development of trauma theory conceives trauma as a sudden disruption. From the above-discussed examples such as railway accidents, war, and childhood sexual violence, it is clear how these traumatic events distinguish themselves as extreme events from everyday life. Recent scholarship in the field of trauma studies has started to discuss ways of expanding our understanding of our trauma by addressing the existing gap in this field. As Judith Herman argues in her *Trauma and Recovery*, too much focus on catastrophic events and its traumatic effect upon individuals might neglect the ways in which certain marginalised communities are traumatised on an everyday basis; she insists on the traumatic effect of prolonged and repeated trauma, such as domestic violence and abuse, on women and children.[16] Herman also asserts the role of a nonjudgmental environment to help victims recover from such traumas; thus, trauma not only belongs to the psychological paradigm, but it is also a social issue. Maria Root, a feminist psychotherapist, developed the idea of insidious trauma, which refers to the cumulative effect of trauma on individuals due to the long-term consequences of institutionalised oppression.[17] As Stef Craps in *Postcolonial Witnessing: Trauma out of Bounds* points out, trauma studies' neglect of non-Western trauma experiences and dissemination of Western definitions of trauma are the two main reasons for this Eurocentric domination in trauma studies.[18] Recent scholarship has thus seen a shift from a focus on trauma as an event-based model and a psychopathological condition irrespective of social and cultural contexts, towards newer postcolonial interventions which focus on the socio-cultural aspects of trauma. Now, therefore, many critics aspire to move beyond a Eurocentric approach to trauma, and they pay more attention to the issues around structural violence that perpetuate everyday experiences of trauma, such as gendered and racialized violence.

Early stages of trauma theory not only overlooked non-Western experiences of trauma but also stressed the impossibility of narrating trauma. This may devalue the endeavours of those who have an urgent story to tell and the possibility of diverse local and indigenous aesthetics of traumatic representation. As Silvia Martínez-Falquina points out, trauma theory's Eurocentrism and its excessive focus on experimental (post)modernist textual strategies to represent

the acting out of trauma has resulted in a prescriptive and narrow trauma paradigm that seeks to impose Western narrative criteria to assess the representational value of texts that deal with trauma.[19] Critics like Craps have responded by deauthorizing a predetermined relation between aesthetic form and political or ethical effectiveness and suggest instead that trauma theory should attend to the specific social and historical contexts in which trauma narratives are produced and received, and be open and attentive to the diverse strategies of representation and resistance which these contexts invite or necessitate.[20]

Critics of postcolonial texts are therefore encouraged to attend to indigenous cultural traditions, knowledge systems, and ways of perceiving the world, including the understanding of spirituality or the storytelling tradition.[21] The traditional event-based model of trauma or 'accident model of trauma', as Nancy van Styvendale calls it, which results from a single, extraordinary, catastrophic event has proved to be inadequate to account for the experiences of marginalised communities.[22] However, recent trends in trauma theory have redefined trauma as an everyday parlance rather than an extreme condition such as accidents and war.[23] This paper seeks to use this new theoretical framework to analyse the everydayness of war in Sri Lanka in Shobasakthi's novel *Gorilla*.

Sri Lanka's Civil War

Sri Lanka has been a country of turmoil since its independence in 1948. The ethnic resentment that existed during the colonial times between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority intensified after the Sinhala Only Act in 1956 and the standardisation policy in 1971. The former officially announced Sinhalese as the only official language, while the latter set high cut-offs for Tamils to enter universities.[24] The Tamils received these with indignation. Consequently, violence replaced peaceful protests as many militant movements were formed around the 1970s and 1980s, demanding a separate state for the Tamils, of which the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) emerged as the dominant rebel group. The civil war in Sri Lanka officially broke out in 1983 when thirteen army soldiers died in an ambush by the LTTE; in retribution, a Sinhalese mob killed thousands of Tamils, burnt some alive, and raped women. This is infamously called the Black July riots. The violence continued for a week; as a result, many Tamils fled for safety to northern Sri Lanka, which was densely populated by the Tamil people, and abroad. Shobasakthi's novel *Gorilla* explores the life of an LTTE soldier fighting against the army in a village, Kunjan Fields, northern Jaffna. The novel portrays the brutalities of the civil war and addresses some of the key issues like race, religion, and caste – and the traumas associated with them.

Shobasakthi

Shobasakthi, the pseudonym of Antonythasan Jesuthasan, is a Sri Lankan Tamil writer and actor. Agitated by the Black July riots, Shobasakthi, who was fifteen years old at the time, joined the LTTE. While he was a soldier in the LTTE, he also wrote many street dramas and poetry to spread the organisation's propaganda. After his disillusionment with the LTTE and its ideologies, Shobasakthi left the organisation in 1986. He escaped Sri Lanka with a fake passport and currently lives in France, where he was granted political asylum in 1993.

Under the pen name Shobasakthi, Jesuthasan started writing in the late 1990s about his experiences during the Sri Lankan civil war, and as a writer in exile, his works also deal with the grim reality of being a refugee. He has written novels, short stories, essay collections, and plays in Tamil. Of all his works written in Tamil, only a handful have been translated into English, which includes *Gorilla*, *Traitor* (*Mm* in Tamil) and *MGR Murder Trial* (a short story collection). As a screenwriter and actor, Shobasakthi featured in the film *Sengadal* (*The Dead Sea*). The movie highlights the plight of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in Dhanushkodi, the Indo-Sri Lankan border town, and the killings of fishermen by the Sri Lankan navy. He also starred in *Deepan*, which won the Palme d'Or at the 2015 Cannes Film Festival, and which depicts the life of a former LTTE soldier in France and his struggles to get political asylum. Shobasakthi's debut novel *Gorilla*, published originally in Tamil in 2001, is a work of auto-fiction which recounts his experiences as a child soldier. *Gorilla* was translated into English in 2008 by Anushiya Sivanarayanan.

Shobasakthi's *Gorilla*

Shobasakthi's *Gorilla* revolves around the life of Rocky Raj, the protagonist. The tripartite structure of the novel unfolds different stages of Rocky's life, arranged in non-chronological order. The first part details the application by Jakkappu Anthony Thasan, Rocky's fake identity, for political asylum in France, and the last part depicts Rocky's life in exile in Paris, both presented in the first person. The second part tells of Rocky's life as a militant in Sri Lanka and his troubled relationship with his father, a local thug nicknamed Gorilla, through an unnamed third-person narrator. Unfortunately, Rocky inherits his father's nickname, Gorilla, which continues to haunt Rocky even in his exiled life in Paris, eventually making him accept and live with an enforced identity. After he joins the Movement (the LTTE is referred to as 'the Movement' in this novel), his identity shifts from a soldier to a prisoner for alleged thievery and disobedience. His life in the Movement alternates between arrest, interrogation, and torture. When he escapes abroad, his identity changes to that of a refugee.

Using the fake name 'Anthony', Rocky hopes to establish a new identity in another country, but this hope soon vanishes after the rejection of his asylum application and his unexpected arrest towards the end of the novel. Rocky moves in with the unnamed narrator illegally after being kicked out of his old abode and unable to find any accommodation. Rocky also meets the couple Lokka and Jeevarani. The unnamed narrator, Lokka, and Jeevarani are all Sri Lankan Tamil refugees. Lokka murders his wife, Jeevarani, after he discovers an affair between her and Rida, his Tunisian friend. As a result, Rocky, the narrator, Lokka, and Rida are arrested. Once again, Rocky experiences arrest, interrogation, and torture; however, this time by the French police. The question asked by the police, 'What is your name?', and the lie detector's declaration of Anthony's identity, Rocky Raj, as a lie make Rocky realise his inextricable association with his father's sobriquet: Gorilla. In this article, I will argue, in the article, how war and violence has become a mundane aspect of life during the Sri Lankan civil war.

Everyday Trauma

War becomes a 'mundane existence,' and 'violence started to feel routine.'[25] Life moved with difficulty each second during the civil war, and 'there was a trauma in not knowing what would happen [...] at any time'.[26] People would build bunkers, as there could be aerial bombings any time of the day; getting back home alive every day became a matter of chance; shelling of civilians in no-fire zones became a common sight; and parents were scared that their children would join some rebel groups or they would be 'scooped [...] off the streets'.[27] In addition, stories of rape; men being abducted, tortured, imprisoned and killed either by the army or by the Tigers; the shortage of food supplies; and abuse at army checkpoints continue to shape the normalcy of life. It is important to note that people 'lead an ordinary life out of this extraordinariness.'[28] According to Western conceptualisations, trauma is viewed as a disruption in everyday life, but the above instances prove that in many postcolonial contexts, or at least in northern Sri Lanka, a pre-traumatic state of life never existed, as people were subjected to one form of insidious trauma after another, determined by aspects of identity such as caste, religion, gender, poverty, and race.

Shobasakthi's *Gorilla* captures the cause and effect of trauma on the protagonist, Rocky Raj. Rocky was both a victim and perpetrator in Sri Lanka. Since childhood, Rocky grew up seeing his father beat others in the neighbourhood and his wife, as he was a local thug. Rocky hated his father for his thuggish and violent behaviour. His father was nicknamed Gorilla after he fought a local inspector off. Being Gorilla's son, Rocky is then also called Gorilla in his school and neighbourhood, which he hates. However, it is ironic to see Rocky's life later as a refugee

in Paris: he quarrels with everybody in the building where he lives and becomes as troublesome as his father. To escape his father's abuse, Rocky gets trapped in yet another cycle of violence by joining the Movement.

After Rocky joins the Movement and finishes training, he is placed at the Kunjan Fields sentry point in his hometown. Rocky witnesses 'six trucks in a row behind him, filled with corpses [...] [t]here were about fifty dead babies, little children, men, and women. They had all been sliced up and hacked to death.'[29] The navy had killed them in an event infamously called the Kumudini massacre. 'The navy stuck a sword into the chest of a baby – he couldn't have been more than six months old – sliced his penis off and stuffed it into his mouth.'[30] Rocky unknowingly ends up in a duel with one of the Movement's sponsors, for which the senior members of the Movement beat him up, and expel him from the Movement for alleged thievery as a punishment. After a few days, the members of the Movement capture Rocky again and torture him. This time they accuse him of stealing one of the explosive cylinders buried near the sentry point. They beat him with raw palmyra bark: 'Rocky's back as the blows fell [...] quickly became scored with lines of blood'.[31] During these days, he also meets fellow prisoners who are imprisoned and subjected to torture by the Movement for various other reasons. The novel captures the deterioration of Rocky's self and shows how violence in society impinges upon an individual and his life and vice-versa.

The torture Rocky faces at the hands of the police juxtaposes the torture inflicted upon him by the Movement. The novel blurs the distinction between the army and the Movement in its inhumane treatment of individuals. It seems '[i]n these parts of the world, violence becomes endemic.'[32] Rocky describes his torture in his application thus:

> [The police] beat my barely healing wounds with the butts of their guns. I was handcuffed and my hands were placed upon a table to be hit with a stick; they broke the fourth finger of my right hand, and smashed the middle finger. Then they twisted my toes with pliers. They poured melted polythene bags over my genitals. They cut the skin on my left hand lightly, and stuffed it with crushed hot pepper.[33]

Gorilla unravels the trauma of violence in Sri Lanka from all possible angles; it seems all the characters are caught up in an eternal, circular cycle of violence. The novel follows a non-linear and going-back-and-forth narrative that brings together the violence in Sri Lanka and the life of refugees in Paris. It shows how violence and fear of death follow refugees beyond the borders of Sri Lanka into their exile abroad. The novel ends with Lokka killing his wife, Jeevarani, in Paris.

The novel familiarizes the readers with the violent terrain of everyday life in Sri Lanka. War and violence not only penetrate the normalcy of everyday life but also every human. The normative characteristic of everyday trauma thus facilitates 'narrative *possibility*' of trauma in Shobasakthi's work.[34] The above-discussed incidents from Shobasakthi's *Gorilla* clearly show that the everyday experiences of violence and oppression people face in northern Sri Lanka influence and shape an individual's sense of self. Apart from these everyday realities in Gorilla, in the Sri Lankan Tamil community, insidious trauma also operates based on religion, ethnicity, and caste. However, such everyday trauma for its normative characteristics remains undermined from the mainstream discussions of trauma. To conclude, this paper encourages research on postcolonial trauma and the need for revising Western-originated theories of trauma. The article also shows the present impossibility of recovery from such insidious trauma; the possibility of recovery necessitates societal changes.

Imagining Kashmir: Evolution of European Fantasies and Colonial Knowledge Formation in Kashmir

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In 1846 CE, the East India Company and *Dogra* leader Raja Gulab Singh signed the Treaty of Amritsar, officially bringing the valley of Kashmir into the political ambit of British India (see **Figure 1**).[1] The formation of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir did not initiate, but intensified European engagement with Kashmir.[2] As early as the seventeenth century, François Bernier, a French physician who travelled to the region as part of the royal entourage of the Mughal court, had referred to Kashmir as 'the terrestrial paradise of the Indies'.[3] In the early nineteenth century, Kashmir became a desired geographical imaginary amongst European romantics like Thomas Moore, who immortalised the mystique of the valley of Kashmir in popular European imagination. It was, however, not just in the literary worlds of romantic poets that Kashmir was imagined. Many Europeans, in diverse capacities, travelled to Kashmir in this period and produced several accounts of their explorations. As the British East India Company, in the Indian subcontinent, worked towards transforming this 'land of incomprehensible spectacle into an empire of knowledge', cartographical missions and surveys became extremely crucial to the territorial integrity of the empire.[4] Thus, the narratives produced on Kashmir need to be placed in the larger geopolitical context of the eighteenth and nineteenth century European enterprise of the 'discovery' of the Orient. In the context of Kashmir, these proceeded on miscellaneous fronts: an intellectual inquiry into the ancient languages and religions of the region, as well as botanical and geographical investigations and studies of the economic potentialities of the region. In the mid-nineteenth century, as the valley of Kashmir became part of the newly formed princely state of Jammu and Kashmir (see **Figure 2**), this political development coincided with heightened imperial anxieties in the wake of the external threats of Russian invasion, adding security concerns to the myriad of agendas that inspired journeys to Kashmir. This essay looks at two travel texts, namely William Wakefield's 'The Happy Valley' (1879 CE) and Ernest Neve's 'Things Seen in Kashmir' (1931 CE) and aims to bring forth the changing nature of European envisioning of Kashmir.

William Wakefield, a British medical officer to the armed forces, visited Kashmir in the summer of 1875 CE and wrote an account of his short stay titled

Figure 1. British India in 1939 CE. Collin Davies, *An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1949)

Map. 2.   Stages in the creation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Figure 2. The Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir. Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir – A Disputed Legacy 1846–1990* (Hertfordshire: Roxford Books, 1991)

'The Happy Valley: Sketches of Kashmir and Kashmiris'. At the very outset of the text, in the preface, Wakefield lays out his intentions for producing this account. He asserts that his goal is to present before his readers a description of 'Kashmir and its inhabitants' but not with the aim of providing a guidebook for future tourists.[5] The target audience that Wakefield, thus, claims to speak to are 'those who have never visited the country, and perhaps will never have that pleasure'.[6]

Wakefield's text became a guidebook for future travellers as it provided extensive details about various routes to reach the valley, as well as rules for the guidance of visitors. However, the author did not envisage or intend such a purpose for his text. This allows us to bring forth the diverse roles that travel texts of the nineteenth century performed. As much as these accounts recorded the observations of the traveller, they were equally sources that manifested the many meanings that Kashmir and its landscape had come to acquire in the European mind. One of the most important figures of British Romantic literature, Thomas Moore, composed the famous 'Lalla Rookh (1817 CE)', a fictional oriental romance that narrates the story of a Mughal princess who is engaged to the King of Bucharia. As the marriage is set to take place in Kashmir, Moore creates a mysterious image of this distant land, a land he had never set foot in himself! The intrigue around Kashmir that Moore weaved in his work continued to hold huge relevance for visitors like Wakefield who, travelling to Kashmir almost half a century after Moore's writings were published, came in search of the valley that Moore had imagined in his verses. Quoting Moore on the very title page of his account, Wakefield goes on to claim that he had talked to 'numerous friends and travellers' and read works of people who had visited Kashmir before him, thus being well acquainted with the place way before he set on his own journey of exploration.[7] In this context, Wakefield's exploration was a means of legitimising and 'verifying' the image of Kashmir that had already been formulated, i.e., of a Happy Valley.[8]

The idea of Kashmir as a Happy Valley constituted, at the foremost, a romantic appreciation of the region's picturesque beauty. Be it the majestic mountains that engulf the region or the bustling streams that flow through the valley, Wakefield, in his account, is constantly bewitched by what he calls 'a perpetual spring in the midst of a wide waste of desolation'.[9] While Wakefield constantly drew upon European landscape aesthetics to describe Kashmir and its topography, Kashmir also came to be imagined as an 'earthly paradise' in its own right, 'something distinctive, if not unique in character'.[10] A similar treatment of the valley's landscape is found in the second text that this paper looks into, Ernest Neve's 'Things Seen in Kashmir'. Ernest Neve, a British surgeon with the Church Missionary Society, moved to Kashmir towards the end of the nineteenth century and dedicated his life to medical service in the region. In 1931 CE, a few years

before retiring from practice, Neve produced his second account on the region titled 'Things Seen in Kashmir'. While in his first text, 'Beyond the Pir Panjal', Neve claims to document his life experience as a medical missionary in Kashmir, the second text is directed towards future travellers who aspire to visit the valley which Neve, at the very outset, declares is 'one of the loveliest countries of the world'.[11] Romantic fixation with the landscapes of the valley, thus, reached new heights in the twentieth century, as Neve, writing almost half a decade after Wakefield, not only captures the spellbinding charm of the region, but goes a step further in establishing Kashmir as 'the most beautiful', a parameter of natural beauty against which the popular destinations of Switzerland and Italy were to be judged.

If the distinctiveness of Kashmir's landscape inspired the European traveller's search for an earthly paradise in this valley, this image of Kashmir was also based in the extreme geographical difference that travellers experienced as they travelled northwards from the Indian mainland. Both Wakefield and Neve look at the valley as a site of refuge from the 'fiery heat of India's sunny plains'.[12] This was a direct result of the strategic geographical location of the valley, in the lap of the Himalayas. It was between the barren, rugged high mountains in the north and the humid plains in the immediate south that the 'smiling valley' of Kashmir flourished. The Himalayan mountain range acted as a shield, protecting the valley not only from the heat of the plains but also from the 'cold and piercing blasting winds of the north'.[13] Kashmir, thus, came to be increasingly imagined in context of its relationship with the Himalayas.

The second half of the nineteenth century marks an important threshold in the changing nature of European perspective on the alpine landscapes of the East. Major scientific interest in the study of the Himalayan mountains had been developing since the eighteenth century, as emphasis on methodical measurement and mapping of this geographical wonder overtook the idea of admiring alpine landscapes from a distance. By the 1820s, Himalayas had been established as the highest mountain range in the world. As mentioned above, the Himalayas were imagined as a shield around the valley of Kashmir. In addition to safeguarding from climatic extremes, the protective characteristic of the Himalayas now came to be increasingly envisioned in defensive terms. Thus, as the British East India Company extended and intensified its political control over the subcontinent, Kashmir as a frontier space became crucial to the sovereignty of the empire. The external threats posed by the Russian expansion came to increasingly link European interest in Kashmir with imperial anxieties of the British empire. Wakefield looks at the Himalayas surrounding the valley as providing a 'rocky bulwark to the empire', obstructing the intentions of 'any foe proceeding from

that quarter'.[14] While the colonial state instructed the Maharaja of the princely state to guard the passes, the valley itself, owing to its difficult topography, acted as a natural defence. Wakefield points out that the rough, snow-laden mountain passes of the valley would make it practically impossible for the foreign armies to advance towards the Indian mainland. This marks a critical shift in the evolution of the European envisioning of the Himalayan ranges, where the idea of Himalayan passes as a gateway to the untapped wonders of Central Asia now came to be replaced by a 'fortress mentality'.[15]

Imperial anxieties in the context of external threat, however, represent only one of the many motivations that lead to the envisioning of Kashmir as a frontier space. In addition to its location at the geographical extremes of the empire, Kashmir was also seen as located on the edge of the administrative limits of the colonial state. As the East India Company came to expand its political control over the subcontinent, Indian frontiers came to be seen as 'sources of productive difficulties'.[16] The upland and difficult terrains intensified the fear of the unknown, calling for greater, more intrusive intervention into these territories. This resulted in extensive surveying, mapping, and measuring of the valley, so as to generate more knowledge of the territory. The nature of knowledge formation also underwent greater institutionalisation as topographical features of the valley came to be viewed through a scientific lens. While Wakefield's account only superficially reflects the intensification of knowledge generation in and on Kashmir, Neve's account provides an obvious demonstration of the strengthening of the scientific enterprise. Amongst many examples, this changing nature of observation is most explicit in the manner in which Neve chooses to present his travels. If Wakefield's portrayal of the valley's diverse topography is more literary in nature, Neve's account, from the very outset, is extremely technical. There is an intentional focus on scale and altitude of the diverse topographical features, including Kashmir's glaciers, meadows, and alpine lakes. Wakefield structures his account cartographically, proceeding from describing the routes that lead to the valley, to delving into the urban landscape of the capital city of Srinagar and then moving onto the larger hinterland of the valley. In doing so, he tends to focus more on laying out the areas of interest in the region. Neve, however, takes a more thematic approach, wherein in addition to describing the urban and village life of the valley, he also delves into the specific topographical elements of Kashmir. An entire chapter is dedicated to the mountain peaks and glaciers of the valley, as he looks at the mountain ranges circumventing the valley through the lens of a professional climber. When describing his trekking adventures, Neve never misses out on making a note of the altitude of each peak he climbs and each pass he transcends. He credits a diverse range of explorers

and mountaineers who scaled different peaks in the valley and added to the 'knowledge of the topography and glaciology'.[17] Ascending northwards, Neve reaches the Burji La Pass (15,900 feet) and claims that it offers the 'most magnificent mountain view in the world'.[18] From this pass, as Neve gazes onto some of the highest peaks in the Himalayan mountain range, he points out that most of these ranges remain unexplored as they are unclimbable. As much as Neve's comments point to the heights to which scientific investigations into alpine landscapes had reached, they are equally an indication of the increasing realisation amongst explorers of the twentieth century that the 'closure of the earth's previously imagined boundless space was imminent'.[19] The unfathomable nature of the Himalayan landscape, the limits of colonial science and of human ability thus become explicit in his text.

The changing nature and evolution of colonial knowledge formation at the frontier also comes forth in the way in which Wakefield and Neve observe and present the 'rare and rich treasures of the valley'.[20] Wakefield focuses on the native industries in the valley, particularly that of indigenous handicrafts and shawls. Though Wakefield does mention, in passing, the many varieties of trees that grow in Kashmir, his interest, however, lies elsewhere. Trade, agricultural bounties of the valley and the economic potentials of the natural products grown in different regions of the valley are prioritised throughout the text. Neve, on the other hand, is heavily invested in botanical findings. As he travels through the valley, he is focused on the many varieties of shrubs and ferns he encounters, never failing to provide their scientific names. He is equally invested in the forest ranges of the valley as well as the wild floral and medicinal vegetation. Neither Wakefield or Neve were professional botanists or natural scientists, the kind of experts that were usually deployed by the empire to conduct botanical expeditions in the upper reaches of the subcontinent. However, the long tradition of documenting botanical knowledge had become so crucial to European engagement with the valley that explorers, traveling for leisure and hunting 'employed a good portion of their time each day in collecting and preserving various specimens of ferns and flowers'.[21]

What needs to be taken into consideration here is the fact that the limits of exploration and of knowledge production were intrinsically tied to the changing political realities of the empire. As mentioned before, in the aftermath of the signing of the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846 CE, the valley of Kashmir became a part of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. The treaty granted Gulab Singh and his heirs 'independent possession' of Kashmir and other mountainous regions situated 'eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi'.[22] However, the colonial state was engaged in a constant attempt to alter and essentially

dilute the authority of the princely rulers, eventually resulting in the establishment of the British Residency in the state in 1885 CE. The constant tension and political tug of war between the increasing British intervention and the Dogra rulers attempts at resisting the same finds reflection in the travel writings of both Wakefield and Neve. 'The consolidation of the Dogra Hindu state under Ranbir Singh coincided with the heyday of the photographer-explorers and their framing of the Valley as pastoral fantasy.'[23] The Dogra rulers carefully monitored and regulated every European activity in their political domain. Wakefield, in the appendix to his account, provides a detailed compilation of the 'rules for guidance of officers and other travellers visiting the dominions of His Highness Runbeer Singh, the Maharaja of Jummoo and Kashmir', as published by the Government of Punjab.[24] These guidelines show that while there were four different authorised routes through which European visitors could enter Kashmir, travel on most of them had been prohibited, 'at the special request of the Maharajah'.[25] The rules, in addition, also explicitly assert that Europeans were allowed to set up camps only at designated sites, needed special permits and licenses for hunting as well as for taking into their service or on their expeditions, 'any subjects of the Maharaja'.[26] The rules call upon explorers to never lose sight of the fact that they are 'visitors in the remote dominions of an independent sovereign', hence obliged to respect the local laws and customs.[27] The Dogra state, thus, saw the increase in rise of explorers and visitors to Kashmir as a constant threat to its independent jurisdiction and strived, through the imposition of formalities and regulations, to uphold its territorial and political authority. However, after the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the political tug of war not only intensified but increasingly came to tilt in the favour of the colonial state. Against the wishes of the dying monarch, the British advocated for Pratap Singh to accede to the throne. During his reign, against constant objections by the Dogra court, the colonial government was successful in establishing the office of the Resident in Kashmir, thus further solidifying its hold over the region. As the subsequent political residents incessantly accused Pratap Singh of misgovernment, these allegations ultimately led to his deposition on charges of treachery, culminating in the establishment of a State Council in the region. Though Pratap Singh's powers were eventually restored in 1905 CE, it was becoming increasingly clear that the princely state's struggle to resist British intervention was under serious assault. This had a direct impact on the nature of travel and exploration in Kashmir, as becomes evident in Neve's account. Neve, who had spent more than four decades in the Valley, was a direct witness to this power struggle. By the end of the nineteenth century, Kashmir was welcoming more visitors than ever before, increasingly getting transformed into a tourist economy. This called for a simultaneous upgradation

in infrastructure and facilities available to the visitors. If in Wakefield's account, makeshift tents and *doongas* were the only options available to travellers, by the time Neve penned his account, these temporary accommodations had been replaced by elaborate houseboats and hotels that had made a flourishing business out of hosting European visitors every summer.[28] The Gulmarg (the most popular summer resort in Kashmir) that Wakefield visited was one that had 'no houses or any buildings of a permanent nature'.[29] However, the Gulmarg in Neve's account boasted a 'hotel and a bazaar, a club, a polo ground, golf links,' with 'numerous and comfortable wooden huts' now becoming 'a typical site'.[30] By the mid twentieth century, 'the Valley was, therefore, fully enmeshed in an international modernity — even if primarily to benefit those who thronged it in summer'.[31]

This essay has looked at the evolution of European attitudes towards the valley of Kashmir as they come forth in two significant travel writings that engage with the region and its landscape. Imagining Kashmir as a paradise on earth was the most common trope that dominated European fantasies of the Orient from at least the seventeenth century. This fascination, however, reached new heights as travel to Kashmir increased extensively after the valley was incorporated into the British empire through the Treaty of Amritsar. If early travellers had imagined Kashmir as a gateway to Central Asia, Kashmir now came to be appreciated in its own right, eventually emerging as one of the most popular travel destinations of the world. 'Travel to Kashmir, thus, replaced travel through Kashmir.'[32] These developments need to be placed within the larger context of changing geopolitical fortunes of the British empire in the Indian subcontinent that made Kashmir a site of numerous, often contending, fantasies. In this context, this essay has explored the creation of Kashmir as a frontier territory, guarding the political sovereignty of the empire but, at the same time, generating a fear of the unknown. These concerns inspired extensive investigations into Kashmir, where the evolution of knowledge formation was shaped by the competing sovereignties of the princely rulers and the colonial state. Travel sat at the centre of this political and intellectual enterprise, making the European approach towards Kashmir's landscape not an auxiliary to the exercise of power, but 'an integrating element in the wider constitution of colonial knowledge and a critical ingredient in the larger colonizing process'.[33]

Humanity Measures Itself

Haya Sheffer, Reading School of Art

We increasingly use technology to self-surveil different aspects of our lives, measuring everything from weight, steps taken, paths walked, the number of friends we have, and what we have eaten. Even breast-feeding a child or our sex life is monitored, quantified, and evaluated in this way. Self-tracking devices and applications proliferate and are heavily marketed to us. My research, grounded in both art and philosophy, focuses on what might be lost by examining our lives through a series of standardised outputs from different apps, as opposed to experiencing life in all its complexity and richness.

Data Pollution

On a December winter night, while walking in London's streets, I encountered a bizarre phenomenon; I heard robins singing. Birds are not supposed to sing at night, and I was curious to figure out the reason for this change of habits. A quick Google research turned up the answer – 'Light Pollution'. For us, light is not per-ceived as pollution, it's a mental oxymoron. But for robins, light is an important cue to time their daily activities. London's artificial Christmas light decorations polluted the night darkness and changed the synchronisation of their body clock, making them recognise night as day and practice their singing activities.

It was then the first steps of my PhD research, asking questions about how self-measuring, such as wearables and self-tracking devices, affect and change our bodily ways of understanding ourselves. The robin's response to light pollution made me ponder the similarity between how artificial light affects their biological clock and how artificially gathered data affects our bodily ways of understanding the world using our embodied knowledge. Is the unlimited daily data we collect to surveil and track our performance polluting our natural perception of the world? Thinking of data similarly to light, as a cause for disruption, is not intui-tive. I started examining the issue under what I coined 'Data Pollution', depicting the self-gathered data as a fog that might pollute and distort our natural skills to view the world.

Who Cares?

One would now ask, who cares? Technology during the modern era has produced tremendous achievements that have benefited humanity in many ways. What, then, is the downside of freely choosing to use data to improve our performances

and help us navigate modern life? I wish to challenge some common assumptions regarding how we choose and use these new technologies and shed light on how we are influenced by extending our bodies into technological devices. When our mobile phone needs a charge, we say, 'I'm out of battery', feeling disabled with the switched-off device. Furthermore, we trust the applications and their algorithm (those we chose and those we didn't) and "outsource" our skills to them, giving technology the responsibility and power to decide for us when to change our baby's diaper, who to date, or what's the best movie for us to watch. Examining this new behaviour can also reflect the effects of the broader current data revolution on personal and social life.

Capitalist Values

Sociologists believe that the way groups organise their economic activity and produce goods affects their mental world.[1] Most of the Western world's population grew up in the light of capitalist political and cultural heritage, values which we take for granted. A capitalist approach of seeing the individual as labour power, which should be efficiently utilised, is well established in our self-perception. Monitoring, counting, evaluating, organising, hierarchising, optimising, and controlling are values transferred from the capitalist economic system into today's private life. They are managed and fuelled by capitalist forces that see the individual and their body as a commercial target. Foucault, the influential twentieth-century French philosopher, claimed that since modernity, new methods for discipline were developed to produce the 'docile body' by taking control of their function and the efficiency of their movements.[2] With the desire to fulfil the above capitalist values – aiming to discipline and tame our bodies in order to achieve better performances – we approached the help of self-tracking devices. Our perception of self-efficiency, which is totally economical and ruthless, is now embedded in technological 'new organs' that invade our bodies, intending to perform the best of us. For example, a young mother whom I interviewed described her motivation to use a baby-tracker application while breastfeeding her newborn as wanting to be the best mum version of herself. She saw this act of intimacy as a task that should be organised and scheduled into an optimised target.

Are We Losing Something?

The 'so what' question remains on the table. Are we losing something? Focus now on the applications' outputs, which aim to summarise a real-world situation, a bodily event. The applications are programmed to gather complex data from our messy lives and analyse it, using algorithms and AI, combining it into a single output, as simple as possible, easy to follow that will not require any deepening:

a word of praise, a call to action, numerical data, an award, or an encouraging GIF. 'Most recommended, your best meditation session, turn left, stop feeding, your daily score'. Reduction, related to positivist philosophy, is a scientific ontology of analysing and describing a complex phenomenon in terms of its simplest or fundamental constituents. Summing a lively experience by handing it to devices reduces the richness of the experience into its smallest common factor that can be treated in an objective scientific way, neglecting the reduced unmeasurable material. We can better understand the potential loss through the twentieth-century philosophers Horkheimer and Adorno's criticism describing this logical positivist way of thinking as 'the blindness and muteness of the data', pointing out that reduction of complexity influences the richness of the language (and the complexity of life) into a shallow practical tool.[3] The abandoned subjectivities that were peeled and ignored while ranking our activities are the lost option of ways to experience life. My research focuses on our embodied understanding, the knowledge we use to live in deep and complex situations. It aims to develop an awareness of the loss of authentic ways of understanding the world and the loss of the variety and richness that these skills can provide – an awareness that looks for a post-measuring discourse deconstructing the authority of rationality and offering alternative ways of perceiving ourselves.

The Archive of the Lost Embodied Knowledge Photos: Haya Sheffer
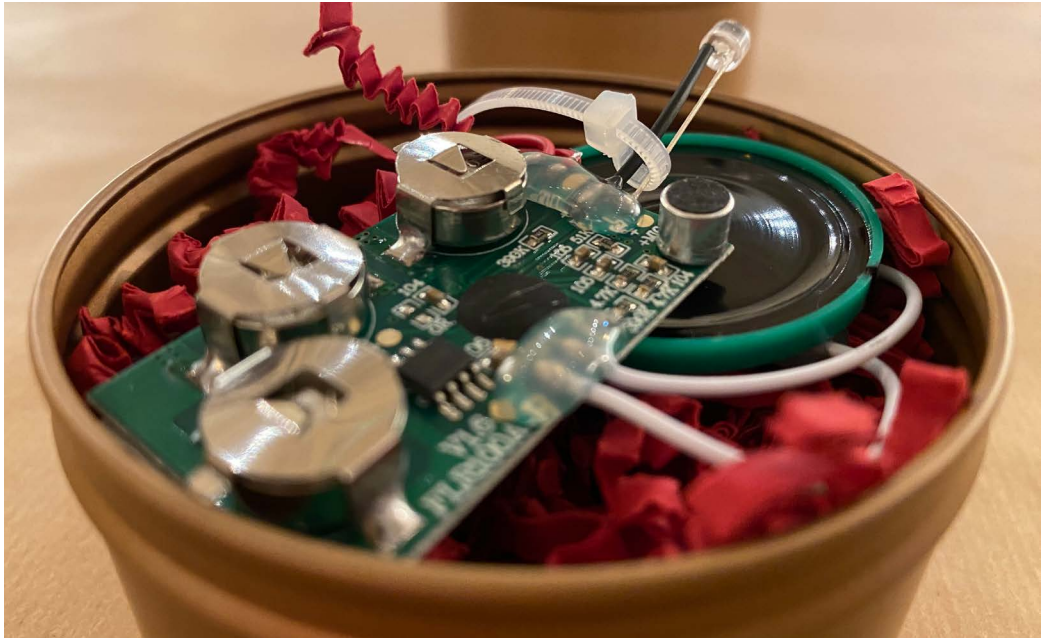
The Archive of the Lost Embodied Knowledge

Searching for evidence where such embodied knowledge confronted technology, I turned to the public. I interviewed people, recording their stories and thoughts regarding their personal experiences when they use self-tracking techniques of any kind. Influenced by the famous dictum attributed to the African scholar Amadou Hampâté Bâ: '[w]hen an African elder dies, it is as if a whole library is burnt down' – meaning that the loss of knowledge is a loss of opportunities – I decided to create a preserving collection. An archive that will contain the stories which I collected in the interviews exploring a range of approaches to understanding the world, our bodies, and ourselves. I called it *The Archive of the Lost Embodied Knowledge*. I recorded the narrated stories onto light-sensitive chips and stored them in metal tins. I created an installation, presenting the archive on the gallery's floor in a long row, calling for the visitor to explore it. To hear a story, one should bend down, pick up a can, open it, let the light-sensitive chip reveal and play the audio, and listen closely to it as if it were a shell on the seashore. The physical act of intentionally picking and listening to the "talking cans" rather than watching a video or passing by a speaker created a bodily experience involving the visitors in the artwork. Once the visitor closed and placed the tin, the audio with its story vanished into the darkness of the metal can, representing the possibility of losing our own embodied knowledge.

Collectively, the archive's testimonials might suggest that humans have a much older wisdom that does not require technology to mediate understanding of our own bodies. My research seeks to amplify this wisdom of embodied knowledge and question whether this human ability is fading, similar to the robin's ability to recognise night under the bright lights of new technologies.

Supervisors: Dr Kate Allen, Dr Mary Edwards, Dr Annabel Frearson
https://hayasheffer.com/folio/the-archive-of-the-lost-embodied-knowledge/

The Archive of the Lost Embodied Knowledge Photos: Haya Sheffer

Where Have All the Women Gone? An Analysis of Women's Voices in the British Military in Current Academic Literature

Jess Pilgrim-Brown
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Introduction

The role of women in society and work has changed exponentially over the course of the last 75 years. Important advances in healthcare, gender norms and expectations, and women's rights have built the foundations for increased female participation in the workforce and labour market. Attitudes towards a traditional understanding of femininity and gendered work have shifted during this period, in part due to the involvement of women in large scale conflict, World War II (WWII), declining rates of marriage and childbirth, and a movement towards equality in legislation. Legislation such as pension provision, healthcare, education, and gender pay gap legislation (2017) have arguably been both the cause, and effect, of increasing the participation of women in 'non-traditional' pursuits and roles.[1] As the representation of women in civilian life has expanded, so too has the representation of women in the UK armed forces. Increasingly, new roles have opened for women in the UK Army and Navy.[2] In historical literature, the history of women in the UK armed forces is variable, focused predominantly on the 'elite' and in part, missing critical episodes from British history. This paper analyses how women's voices have been represented in academic literature and identifies significant gaps in the literature, and in doing so incorporates the oral history method whilst making connections to broader sociological literature.

To collate evidence from secondary literature, this paper combines a systematic approach to searching for literature with the convention of snowball sampling as is common within the humanities.[3] This approach to literature searching has been convened to be as complete in its retrieval of material as possible. A hand search was conducted in the first instance including: *Oral History* journal, the *Journal of Contemporary British History*, and *British Military History* journal. Other sources were located through a snowball sampling of the available literature to discern further avenues of inquiry. Structurally, it begins by considering the current historiography in relation to women's voices in the military. It subsequently discusses how the absence of women's voices is impactful in considering the orientation of policy, practice, and research in the future.

Oral History and Voice

The concept of highlighting voice in academic research is the central tenant of a feminist approach to oral history.[4] Acknowledging that individuals perceive events in a unique and pertinent way is crucial when trying to understand how people have experienced events, phenomena, or periods in time.[5] As a method, feminist oral history moves beyond the realm of researcher-only interpretation and being the 'unwitting victims of our own ignorance'.[6] Oral history provides depth to data which is often not available in parallel methods. Oral history and narrative inquiry have similarities as methodological tools: knowledge is created from individual perspectives in both, which allows lived experience to give a more detailed orientation to historical accounts.[7]

This approach prioritises participant voice as a source of primary research data.[8] Often, sociological data can be consumed with the need to present a representative data set to the reader, in order to bring an element of methodological clout and legitimacy to the analysis.[9] However, oral history focuses on the search for *truths* rather than an objective notion of *Truth*; that individual perceptions of events (whilst comparable to other accounts) are the multiplicities of truth that we seek to find. This feminist approach to oral history as a method is aligned with the sociological paradigm of interpretivism, placing emphasis on the lived experience as the espousal of a million tiny truths that construct reality in any given time, at any given moment.[10] This interpretive approach is one that is fluid and dynamically moves within space and time, acknowledging that accounts can change with circumstance, memory, or environment.[11]

Whilst the methodological approaches of oral history and sociological interviews are different, the findings from this study have included instances where either method was used to understand women's experiences of service in the British military from 1950–present. Working thematically, this study finds that academic literature which highlighted the voices of women in the British military formed three key categories: women in formal military roles; women, gender norms, stereotypes, and attitudes; and, women, families, and 'silent service'.[12] Predominantly, papers which use oral history as a method for research here are concerned with the experiences of serving women during WWII as well as military wives and families. Studies which use typical 'sociological' interviews here focus predominantly on sexuality in the armed forces during WWII, WWII wives, medical care, and in one example, women serving in 'non-traditional' roles (such as engineering) in the 1990s.

Women and Formal Roles in the Military

The roles of women in the military have been represented through several studies within oral history and sociological research. These predominantly revolve around WWII, which is perceived as a turning point in the involvement of women in the British military, and indeed, a perceived reference point for the expansion of female ambition and work outside of the home.[13] The more recent historiography has been critical of the concept of WWII as a central mobilising factor in social change for women, arguing against its centrality, due to the continuing inequality of women in professional roles, in the home, and within wider society.[14] Pattinson has explored the experiences of servicewomen who had been captured during WWII using oral history as the primary method.[15] Pattinson looks at the ways in which women both refused to be bound by the traditional gender stereotypes usually afforded to them and how they, in fact, used these gender stereotypes to their own advantage in order to 'play daft' once they had been captured, operating as paramilitary servicewomen behind enemy lines.[16]

Other work which uses oral history interview as the method concerns the experiences of women who served during WWII. In the book, *Army Girls*, the last surviving UK military veterans help elucidate the participation of women in WWII; swapping 'pinafores for battledress'.[17] In a similar vein, a recent release, *The Women Behind the Few*, has been able to diversify knowledge of female service during this time.[18] In this work, Miller is able to unveil the extent to which women were involved in intelligence work, challenging the prevailing narrative that women had not been involved in every area and using oral history to celebrate their wartime contribution. Other examples of women speaking through research in their own words include *Women in Air Force Blue*, which contains many excerpts from women who had served in the various forms of the WRAF (Women's Royal Air Force) throughout the twentieth century, capturing the multiple demands of service and the individual personalities of those who had served.[19]

One of the few academic pieces to consider recent history, uncovered through this search, is a thesis which examines the experience of women in 'non-traditional' roles in the RAF.[20] Using sociological interviews as part of a dissertation in social policy, the paper found that women felt that their sex put them at a vast disadvantage, that questions of motherhood and children were pervasive and that women were struggling with the inadequate provision of appropriate facilities like toilets and changing areas.[21]

Women, Health, and Gender Norms

Applying a sociological style of interview as the method of data collection, Vickers uses interviews to investigate the nature of homosexuality between 1939–1945.[22] The 'illicit encounters' of queer women in the armed forces is explored through a series of semi-structured interviews with male veterans, taking place in the 1990s. Interviews of ten men and one woman reflects a group 'who had lived under a veil of secrecy'. Expression of sexuality is the key undercurrent to the work, and the interviews focus on retrospective memories of service life. This work however is dominated by male voices: while there was one female participant, her voice is largely absent, and her references are paraphrased by male participants.[23]

New research has published findings of women's experiences with perimenopause in the UK armed forces. Following a medical research tradition of using narrative methods to understand patient care, Willman and King find that the experiences of women in the UK armed forces mirror the results found in cross-sectional analyses of the general population.[24] Similarly, Alves-Costa and others explore the state of intimate partner violence in military relationships in the UK through the analysis of qualitative data.[25] Whilst these sorts of studies help to foreground the experiences of women in the contemporary UK armed forces, the focus here is not on the relational situatedness of the participant in their own histories, but the foregrounding of their experiences in the present.

Women, Families, and Silent Service

There are many examples within the literature where academic research has given a specific voice to women through the lens of the spouses, homes, and families. Here, women feature within oral history accounts as the wives and partners of acting servicemen rather than the protagonists of a military narrative themselves. Huxford uses oral history as a method to understand what life was like for those stationed in military bases in Germany during the Cold War, a period for the British military which was symbolised by a sense of waiting for action, which rarely came.[26] Unpicking the understanding of boredom as an active feeling rather than remaining passive and unreported, Huxford highlights the sense of boredom which was experienced by wives of serving personnel working in these circumstances. Boredom, Huxford finds, is not something which is reported in other sources at this time. This might lead us to question whether boredom as a concept existed at other times, which is unknown due to the lack of reporting. The boredom of women could therefore be an issue which is common, yet 'silent' due to this low level of reporting. Huxford's work has also grappled with the ability of military families to express agency in the moment with

regards to decision making, asking whether this was a conscious act, or whether military families often found post-hoc justifications for decisions which were taken on their behalf.[27] Working with different interviewees, women are included within this study as mothers, children, and partners.

Other studies which focus on wives, spouses, and families focus on the performative element of being a military wife. As Stuttaford finds in relation to the wives of female Army, RAF, and Navy officers, a degree of responsibility was (and arguably still is) placed on their shoulders: to be useful in organising social gatherings, to present themselves in a certain style of dress and to therefore compliment their husbands' careers. Stuttaford focuses on the unpaid labour performed by these women, finding that her participants reflected on performing 'representational duties', pastoral and welfare work, and emotional labour. Stuttaford's PhD study uses semi-structured interviews with a small sample size. Similarly, Hyde conducted an ethnographic study of a British Army regiment based overseas from the perspective of women married to servicemen.[28]

This small selection of literature which focuses on military wives is reflective of a much bigger wealth of literature that moves beyond the more formal role of being a military wife, dealing with inherently personal experiences such as military spouse trauma, secondary trauma, sleep disturbance, quality of life, and social life. Many of these studies use quantitative methods rather than qualitative methods. In all respects, accounts employing either traditional oral history or semi-structured interviews focus far more on military wives, families, and children than they do on the historical experiences of women in the military themselves.[29]

Discussion

The involvement of women in the modern British military has spanned the course of well over a hundred years. Women have featured increasingly prominently in service throughout the century; during WWII female flight mechanics worked on UK air bases preparing aircraft for action alongside armourers, cooks, bomb plotters, code breakers, electricians, and a plethora of other adjacent roles. More recently, the first female fighter pilot became active in 1992, with the expansion of all roles in the UK military being open and available to women from a policy perspective since 2018. The gradual increase in the participation of women in different roles in the UK armed forces during the last twenty-five years has prompted debate within academic literature around policy, stereotypes, female behaviour, female healthcare, as well as policies around maternity rights, marriage, and uniform. From an oral history perspective, little has been done in the field to maximise the presence of these voices.

There are two dominant themes which recur in academic studies of women's oral histories from the last 75 years: women's experiences of serving in WWII, and the experiences of women who are the spouses of UK military personnel in connection to either the WWII or, later, in the period of the Cold War. Work done outside of academia has, in some part, sought to fill the apparent gaps in knowledge. The RAF Museum's oral history archive has extensive interviews with women who actively served in the Royal Air Force. One interview in particular highlights the biography of Flt Lt. Goodman, reflecting on operational experiences and memories that she has encountered throughout her time in the RAF.[30] Substantial efforts have also been made through exhibitions and projects at institutions, such as the Imperial War Museum and the RAF Museum which have featured oral history interviews alongside complementary displays of resources like uniform, equipment, and photographs.

The absence of women's voices in contemporary British military history, particularly from the perspective of those who served on active duty, is a peculiarity within academic literature. It is interesting to note how the oral history tradition, with regards to women who were serving personnel, seems to be solely focussed on the experiences of women in WWII, with a very brief amount of work also done by Pattinson around the experiences of women in Afghanistan.[31] There are many brilliant non-military examples of oral history used as a method in other studies with women outside of WWII. Yet, though we know examples of many women who have served in the military beyond WWII, and we hear about them in exhibitions and in the media, their voices do not feature prominently in academic literature. Women such as the first female recruits who entered RAF Cranwell in 1970; the women military personnel deployed to Northern Ireland in 1969; the 20 WRAC (Women's Royal Army Corps) officers deployed to Port Stanley in 1983; and those who served in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia in 1990.[32]

Among these headline stories are the stories of thousands of individual women over the course of 78 years, since the end of the WWII, who have had their own individual experiences and narratives largely ignored by historical academic literature. In 1994, when the WRAF disbanded and was integrated into the RAF, there were 6547 members of the service.[33] By 2008, 17,620 of the 187,000 total personnel in the UK armed forces were women. By 2021, the proportion of women serving in the UK armed forces had risen, from 10% in 2010 to 11%.[34] Where are these voices in academia? There is, perhaps, an inherently gendered way in which the non-reporting of women's voices in the British military has been able to proliferate.[35] This concept is best demonstrated by Pattinson where she notes 'this cultural inability to acknowledge women as combatants and the presumed affront to notions of femininity that any kind

of combat would represent has meant that womanpower has not been utilised to its full capacity in the context of war', and whilst museums have begun to display these voices, academia still needs to catch up in the documentation of these lives and experiences.[36] As Woodward and Winter acknowledge, 'The needs of Army spouses have always been recognised as a military issue because of the importance of family and spousal support for the morale of serving soldiers and the retention of trained personnel'.[37] Yet, as we have seen through the course of this brief paper, it is the voice of female veterans and current personnel which are sadly lacking within academic research.

Capturing these stories both for posterity and historical record is an important way to remember the experiences of women who have served within the UK military. In other contexts, a large-scale US study was recently commissioned in 2022 to look at the experiences of women who had fought or served across the US military. The 'Women and war oral history project' has collected the stories of over seventy former and serving US female military personnel, both to store their experiences for future posterity but also to inform policy and legislation within operational US armed force.[38]

The way in which women are integrated into the three services in the UK is clearly of importance in terms of creating an equitable, fair, and diverse workforce for the future. In recent years, sources have reported excessive bullying and harassment faced by women in the UK armed forces.[39] A 2021 defence sub-committee for women in the armed forces produced survey results which showed that 64% of female veterans and 54% of serving female personnel had experienced some sort of bullying and harassment, with 84% stating that being female in the armed forces came with significant challenges not faced by their male counterparts.[40] To compound this, the Atherton report further criticised a dominant male culture and referred to the Armed Forces as 'still a man's world'.[41]

The need to include women's voices as part of our contemporary histories regarding the UK armed forces has a dual benefit: for the preservation of posterity and the development of a historical narrative beyond what is already known, and to inform the progression and development of policy and practice in the future. As this brief paper has shown, there are many histories of women in the armed forces across academic and non-academic literature. Yet, these studies are predominantly *about* women (using case studies, narratives, other primary research, or archival evidence), not *with* the women in question (using oral histories). Where they do exist, these prioritise women serving in WWII and women as spouses to serving military men. To date, the broad and impactful involvement of women in the UK military has failed to be captured by academia in the UK, asking the question: where have all the women gone?

Crises Facing Choral Foundations in the Anglican Choral Traditions in the 2020s: The Changing Demographics of Singers

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Introduction

In his book, Timothy Day explains that Anglican cathedral choirs in the twentieth century typically included sixteen choristers, consisting of boys between the ages of eight and thirteen with unbroken voices.[1] Today, the definition of the term chorister used by those who work in Anglican choral music is that of a boy or a girl who sings in the choir of a choral foundation, that being a network of individuals who support the music that accompanies worship in a religious establishment.[2] These individuals include a choir of singers, a director of music, and an organist. Note the inclusion of only boys in the first instance. Change in the academic definition of a chorister is representative of the growing demand for equality of opportunity in twenty-first century Britain. The term diversity is often associated with envisioning a better society, and so in my work I will be discussing singers and their diversity of experience in relation to access to education, socioeconomic position, and gender.[3] The challenges that arise for directors of music as they navigate this demand for equality of opportunity in recruitment is worthy of exploration, to ensure that young singers across the UK take interest in the high-quality musical training that choral foundations offer. My research falls in line with a societal shift to challenge the association of this type of musical practice with cultural privilege.

Throughout this paper, I will draw upon evidence from three case study choral foundations. These include the parish church of St John's Devizes in Wiltshire, St Davids Cathedral in West Wales, and the collegiate foundation of St John's College Cambridge. These specific institutions all include choral foundations that provide music to facilitate Anglican worship and yet the challenges they face are vastly different. My case studies will determine how cultural debates on equality of opportunity present themselves in the practicalities of recruiting and sustaining singers within a choral foundation. I begin by examining the demographic of choristers in church, collegiate, and cathedral choirs. Then, I identify instances in which the demographics of choristers are changing by drawing upon articles surrounding the value of state versus private education, the decline in the popularity of boarding school pupils, and gender stereotypes in the arts. I conducted

conversational style interviews with directors of music in my three case studies to determine how external influences manifest themselves in the pragmatics of running an Anglican choir. My interviews proved that directors of music face the difficult challenge of both continuing tradition and, at the same time, actively recruiting and sustaining a new generation of singers.

Achieving Diversity of Opportunity at St John's Devizes

The choral foundation at St John's Devizes church in Wiltshire is attempting to adjust the methods through which they recruit choristers. For older members of the choir, this is achieved to the detriment of the choir's reputation for high quality musical performance. Since his appointment at St John's Devizes in Autumn 2021, director of music Graham Coatman has been calling for a greater diversity of experience amongst the choristers who sing in his choral foundation. Coatman's predecessors relied heavily upon families with connections to local private schools in order to recruit choristers, and so it is only recently that students from state schools in the surrounding area have been able to join the choir. Coatman explains, 'I want to encourage more of that diversity of getting children from different backgrounds.'[4] Coatman's decision to expand recruitment at St John's Devizes to state schools is representative of what sociologists Terry Clark and Seymour Lipset have described as the decline in the importance of hierarchy.[5] Whilst it cannot be denied that class inequalities still exist in several areas of our society, including education, socioeconomic position has reduced in force and is less influential for social action.[6] Through the efforts of directors of music such as Coatman, economic position is becoming less influential on a young person's ability to enjoy the high quality choral training and musical culture that is available through becoming a chorister in a choral foundation.

Coatman explains that the historical reasoning behind the recruitment of choristers from private schools at St John's Devizes was because of the enhanced musical training offered by such establishments. Coatman shares that the local private schools 'all have chapels and chapel choirs and so [the choir] was seen as an extension of what the school did'.[7] Studies have shown that the resources for the arts deployed by Britain's private schools for each child are approximately three times what is available at the average state school.[8] It is unsurprising that the choir at St John's Devizes was able to achieve the reputation of high-quality musical performance due to the recruitment of choristers from private schools, a unique ability considering the constraints experienced by several choral foundations in parish churches, such as lack of funding and little rehearsal time.

With a large influx of new choristers who do not necessarily have the musical education enjoyed by children who attend private schools, Coatman is finding

that the pace of learning new music is slower than anticipated.[9] As a result, Coatman is deliberating the possibility of reducing the difficulty of the music sung at St John's Devizes so that choristers will be able to learn more efficiently. A consequence of Coatman's initiative to expand the recruitment pool in the interest of diversity is the backlash from adult singers titled 'lay clerks'. Lay clerks perform the alto, tenor, and bass lines in an Anglican choir. These positions cannot be fulfilled by pre-pubescent choristers due to the changes in the physiology of the voice during puberty. Lay clerks at St John's Devizes view a change in repertoire as a regressive step that will tarnish the reputation of the choir. Selecting a less musically challenging repertoire does not mean that the choir cannot continue to be valued by members of congregation and clergy for their musical performance. As Coatman says, 'if we do some John Rutter, the adults don't approve, but the congregation come up afterwards and say, it's lovely, it's one of the best pieces you do, you should do more of that.'[10] By selecting repertoire that is singable for all members of the choir, Coatman believes that he will be acting with the choir's legacy in mind. Coatman's values are a positive step towards ensuring that the future of the Anglican choral tradition is shaped in such a way that access to education does not become an obstacle in achieving equality of opportunity.

Chorister Recruitment at St John's College Cambridge

Whilst Coatman is making a conscious effort to recruit choristers from diverse backgrounds, Andrew Nethsingha, director of music at St John's College Cambridge, has had a different experience. The reputation of the choir at St John's Cambridge means that choristers from across the globe come to director of music Andrew Nethsingha to audition.[11] Some pupils from St John's College School become choristers but the majority of recruitment happens externally, and students join the school as a result of their choristership. As a private school, choristership in St. John's means that young singers receive a scholarship that covers two-thirds of their tuition fees.[12] Choristers at St John's Cambridge rehearse five mornings per week before school and sing a daily service of choral evensong, excluding Monday evenings. On Sunday mornings, choristers additionally sing a service of Holy Eucharist. To accommodate this busy schedule, it is mandatory that all choristers are boarding pupils at St John's College School. Nethsingha admits that he is not as involved in recruitment as perhaps he could be, however, with regular performances both in the UK and abroad, the choral foundation's reputation for elite musical talent is the primary question when finding choristers. During our interview, Nethsingha shared that whilst on tour in Singapore in 2015, a boy of four years of age approached Nethsingha after a concert to ask if he could join the choir. Nethsingha explained that the boy was

rather young, and that he should audition once he had reached the age of six. Two years later the child came to audition for Nethsingha and upon entry into the choir, the chorister and his family moved eight thousand miles to Cambridge.[13] Unlike Coatman at St John's Devizes, Nethsingha recruits singers with diversity of experience almost unintentionally because of the choir's global reputation.

As it is essential for choristers to be boarding pupils due to their busy musical schedule, Nethsingha is afforded more rehearsal time with the choristers who aren't having to travel to and from a rehearsal space. Doing so ensures that choristers maintain high-quality musical training and academic performance, and, as Nethsingha said in our interview, 'there can be a more integrated team'.[14] When recruiting choristers in recent years, Nethsingha explained that the necessity for choristers to board can be problematic. 'We lose a huge number of potential choristers because parents don't want their children to board so they send them somewhere else where they can be day pupils. Nationally, boarding is becoming less popular amongst prep schools, by which I mean years four to eight.'[15] Nethsingha's comments fall in line with research that shows that whilst enrolling children to boarding schools can reflect financial privilege, living away from the family home at a young age can have a psychological effect on an individual.[16] Recent years have seen a decline in some boarding pupils and not others dependent on their international status: in the lead up to the Covid-19 pandemic, private prep schools lost 3,000 pupils, which was considered the biggest decline in six years. Whilst boarding numbers remained steady, it was reported that this was because more than 40% of Britain's boarding students come from overseas.[17] St John's College School, like many private education institutions across the UK, operates flexible boarding options where pupils can board at the school full time or attend the school during the day. Additionally, recent years have seen a heightened focus on well-being as well as fewer academic and social pressures on young people, and so perhaps the requirement to board as a chorister in a prestigious institute such as St John's Cambridge no longer appeals to some families. As Nethsingha explains, 'there may be a time in the future when our current model is not sustainable'.[18] However, whilst the popularity of boarding schools has declined in recent years, the continued success of chorister recruitment at St John's Cambridge from families in the UK and overseas proves that at present, there is still a market for boarding choristers at prestigious institutions.

The Introduction of Girl Choristers at St Davids Cathedral

With a long history of inconsistent boy chorister recruitment, girl choristers have been singing at St Davids Cathedral as early as 1966, creating musical opportunities for all children in the locality.[19] Unlike a number of religious

establishments in the UK, it is the girl choristers who occupy the main treble line of St Davids Cathedral Choir, with a separate secondary choir to accommodate the boys. St Davids Cathedral does not have the benefit of a choir school and so choristers are recruited from the local church school Ysgol Penrhyn Dewi, St Davids Peninsula School, which includes pupils from ages three to sixteen. St Davids Cathedral also recruits from a number of other primary and secondary schools in the locality. As director of music Simon Pierce explains, populating both a boys' and girls' choir 'is not an overnight job'.[20] Pierce must ensure that the choristers and their families can commit to a busy musical schedule. Geographically, the city of St Davids covers a small area and so Pierce must ensure that families who live in rural towns and villages on the outskirts of the city can consistently transport their child to and from rehearsals and services. St Davids is unable to only recruit boy choristers due to diminishing numbers and so the choral foundation recruits from a base of all young people, irrespective of gender or educational background. This has ensured that the choir is rooted in its community with several generations of choristers within families. Often at establishments with boarding choristers, their families are not local to their cathedral, which may mean they do not stay within that area in the future. Therefore, a small tight-knit community like St Davids is perhaps better able to be accepting of the potential contribution of talented young musicians regardless of their sex. This might explain why they were able to introduce girl choristers over half a century before many other choirs.

The decision made by St Davids Cathedral to provide opportunities for both boy and girl choristers through the inclusion of a boys' and girls' choir is representative of a shift seen in a large number of Anglican cathedrals at the turn of the twenty-first century. The general decline in boy choristers has resulted in several establishments making the decision to introduce girl choristers within their choral foundation. In his work, musicologist Martin Ashley explains that the decline of boy choristers is likely due to the introduction of rock and roll music in the 1960s. Rock and roll presented a new definition of masculinity, one that did not include young boys with high voices.[21] Despite the influence of popular culture, Ashley argues that within the context of Anglican choral music 'boys can perform one kind of music and appreciate, socialize, or define cultural identity through others'.[22] Boy choristers continue to be invaluable both musically and culturally. They represent a long tradition of music accompanying Anglican worship and are hailed for their sweet and angelic vocal tone. It cannot be denied that the introduction of girl choristers is hugely encouraging to widen the scope of high-quality musical training that choristership has to offer. However, it has also caused changes in the perception of the performance of masculinity previously

considered normal amongst the boy chorister tradition. Ashley concludes that boys can confidently perform masculinity in an all-male environment but when they are exposed in a mixed sex environment, boy choristers become uncertain due to the risk of being ridiculed for 'sounding like a girl'.[23] Directors of music who have made the decision to introduce girl choristers into their choral foundations are therefore facing the challenge of navigating the gendered stereotypes associated with a high adolescent voice which may discourage boys from singing. To ensure that a boy chorister tradition is able to be sustained in choral foundations, boy choristers need to continue to feel valued whilst directors of music welcome the contribution of girls.

To move away from the gendered stereotypes associated with singing at St Davids Cathedral, Pierce wishes to emphasise the benefits that choristership can provide for young people, irrespective of gender, by ensuring that both the boys' and girls' choirs participate in regular rehearsals and services. At St Davids Cathedral, the boys' and girls' choirs are valuable in different ways. As part of St Davids Cathedral Choir, the girls sing four times a week. Commitments include two services of evensong on a Wednesday and Thursday and two Sunday services. With several historic attempts to reinvigorate the number of boys at St Davids, Pierce's current model is proving to be a success with eight regular boy choristers now falling under the title of St Davids Cathedral Boys' Choir.[24] At present the boys are working towards singing one service per week following their reintroduction post-pandemic. Whilst the girls sing more weekly services, both choirs are essential to the daily practice of choral evensong at St Davids Cathedral. As a result, the boys' choir has its own identity and functions differently to the girls. Perhaps unusual in our current cultural climate, the solution to ensuring that both boy and girl choristers participate in the Anglican choral tradition may be through two separate choirs so that it might prevent the discouragement of boys singing in a choral foundation.

Conclusion

The demographic of choristers in parish, collegiate, and cathedral choirs is showing signs of change. Choral foundations recruiting choristers from specific economic and educational backgrounds is not reflective of the twenty-first century ideal to lessen the influence of social class on equality of opportunity. It is for this reason that churches such as St John's Devizes are widening their recruitment pool to include young people from state as well as private schools. A consequence of this for Coatman is ensuring that all choristers have the musical skills available to perform the service repertoire, which can be challenging at times. Whilst St John's Cambridge remains an elite institution, changes can be

foreseen following the decline in the number of families who wish for their children to board whilst at school in the interest of well-being. St Davids Cathedral's historic decision to introduce girl choristers is being replicated by other larger institutions across the UK such as St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, as society no longer accepts the exclusion of girls in choral foundations. The model of choirs at St Davids Cathedral may suggest that separate boys' and girls' choirs are needed in order to overcome the gendered stereotypes associated with high adolescent voices. The demographic of singers in a choral foundation is largely dependent upon geography, population, and the educational infrastructure in the locality. It is encouraging, therefore, that choral foundations are taking the necessary steps to ensure that the Anglican choral tradition remains in line with cultural values of the present day.

History's Forgotten Sculptors: New Perspectives on Women Wax Modellers, 1660–1830

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The period from 1660 to 1830 marked a significant shift in the history of European women sculptors, predating their acceptance into art schools in the mid-nineteenth century.[1] Around 1660, there was a change in societal acceptance of women practicing sculpture when the art form was recommended as 'refined entertainment' for young women.[2] In her book *Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex*, eighteenth-century author Priscilla Wakefield highlights that wax, in particular, was a suitable material for women to work with due to its 'softer nature, which easily yields to their impressions'.[3] Records in artists' dictionaries and exhibition catalogues document approximately 180 women sculptors practicing in Europe from 1660 to 1830.[4] The most common material these women worked with, used by a third (or 60) of them, was wax.

Wax modelling, also known as ceroplasty, is an ancient art form that experienced peak popularity during the eighteenth century, particularly with portrait miniatures and waxworks for entertainment. During this period, wax had already faced gradual marginalisation by art critics, but still maintained its popularity in the public realm. However, possibly accelerated by the advent of photography, the public's interest in wax sculpture rapidly declined in the late-nineteenth century, causing the artform to almost disappear from view.

'Quite a Feminine Occupation': Wax as an Appropriate Artform for Women[5]

For centuries, both men and women modelled in wax but the artform became strongly associated with 'feminine passivity' during the eighteenth century.[6] Wax was a cheap and clean material which required no specialist training and could be modelled in the home.[7] Therefore, wax 'provided an appropriately feminine means through which women could enter the masculine discipline of sculpture'.[8]

Historians have commonly asserted that women in the eighteenth century struggled to achieve many of the markers of artistic professionalism.[9] Women could not attend academies, be part of guilds, and could not afford, nor would it be socially acceptable in many instances for them, to have a public workshop.[10]

Figure 1. Catherine Andras, *Lord Nelson*, 1806 (original model 1801), wax. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, A.41–1970

Figure 2. Anna-Maria Braun (Braunin), *William III,* ca. 1700, polychromed wax. © National Galleries Scotland, PG 1122

Figure 3. Miss S. E. Covell, *The Reverend A. Waugh* (1754–1827), 1820, wax. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, A.49–1970

For many elite women, it was not even deemed proper to receive payment for their work. Biographer Samuel Smiles wrote that had the sculptor and Wedgwood designer Lady Elizabeth Templeton (1747–1823) 'been a poorer woman she might have made a fortune by her wonderful gifts'.[11] However, whilst gender discrimination was undoubtedly a limiting factor, the history of wax modelling demonstrates that it did not entirely prevent women from finding professional success in the sculptural arts from 1660 to 1830. There are examples of modellers displaying their works in art galleries, such as Elizabeth Hudson (1750–c.1802) who exhibited her models in Secard's Picture Gallery, London.[12] Additionally, a number of modellers demonstrated professional intent by exhibiting at some of the largest art academies in Europe. Catherine Andras (1775–1860) exhibited twenty-two wax portraits at the Royal Academy in London from 1799 to 1824 (see **Figure 1**) and became *Modeller in Wax* to Queen Charlotte of Great Britain and Ireland in 1802.[13]

The royal courts of Europe were outside guild regulation and offered many women wax modellers the opportunity to become sanctioned producers.[14] German artist Anna-Maria Braun (1642–1713) created portraits of the Dutch and German royal houses and fellow German modeller Anna Felicitas Neuberger (1650–1731) worked for the Viennese court (see **Figure 2**). Italian anatomist Anna Morandi Manzolini (1716–1774) was commissioned by Catherine the Great, and her French contemporary Mademoiselle Marie Bihéron (1719–1795) made anatomical models for the hospitals and museums in St. Petersburg.[15] The success of these women subverts traditional perceptions of female subordination at this time

by demonstrating that women were able to establish themselves as professional and entrepreneurial sculptors.

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of a wealthy middle-class who helped popularise the wax portrait miniature. These were often made from pink or white wax augmented with hair or textiles. Many women practiced the artform as amateurs, such as British artists Lady Dacre (1768–1854) and Countess Mary Elisabeth Denbigh (1798–1842), or German modeller Felicitas Lauber (1679–1743). However, many were able to make a living from wax portraits, for example, the successful English portraitists Miss S. E. Covell (active 18th to 19th century), Henrietta Wade (1789–1851), and Sarah Brown (d. 1840) (see **Figure 3**).[16]

At this time ceramic portrait medallions by Wedgwood were also popular mementos. Many women wax modellers designed for the company, such as Lady Diana Beauclerk (1734–1808), Lady Elizabeth Templeton (1747–1823), Russian Empress Maria Fedorovna (1759–1828), Mary Landré (active 1769–1774), and Patience Wright (1725–1786).[17] Wax modellers such as Mary Slaughter (active mid-1700s) also worked for Wedgwood's contemporary James Tassie, and the designs of Catherine Andras were used for Tassie cameos.[18]

Figure 4. (Modelled by) Empress Maria Fedorovna, *Wedgwood Portrait Medallion,* 1791, Jasper ware. © The Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1887,0307,I.27

Wax bas-reliefs were a cheaper alternative to the painted miniature, and could be easily replicated from a plaster cast, either to produce copies for family members or distribute to the wider public. Frances Parker (1782–1857), Countess of Morely, gave copies of a wax portrait she made of her deceased son to family members as a memento.[20] Whilst Catherine Andras's portrait of Admiral Nelson was subsequently mass-produced for the public after his death (see **Figure 1**). The connection between women and the creation of sculpture for the dead is repeated throughout history.[21] Marjan Sterckx argues there was a greater acceptance of women working in this domain because commissions came directly from family or social networks rather than official means.[22] In addition, a woman's perceived emotional intelligence would have been seen as an advantage for funerary sculpture.[23] The wax sculpture for mourning purposes was an ancient practice,

but it was refashioned in the eighteenth century for life-size effigies and hyper-realistic *memento mori*.

Translated literally, *memento mori* means 'remember you must die', and is the term for personal or religious objects which encouraged people to contemplate their mortality. The malleability of wax and its association with embalming, made it the perfect medium from which to fashion these macabre scenes.[24] Neapolitan sculptor Caterina de Julianis (c.1670–c.1672) excelled in this artform, creating morbid tableaux depicting evil and decay. It is likely that de Julianis was the pupil of famous Sicilian sculptor Gaetano Giulio Zumbo (1656–1701). Unlike de Julianis, or her contemporary Anna Fortino (1673–1749), Zumbo is thoroughly documented in historic sources.[25] A number of de Julianis's unsigned works were wrongly acquired by museums in the UK as examples of Zumbo's work. Fortunately, many of these, such as *Time and Death* at the Victoria and Albert Museum, have been correctly re-attributed (see **Figure 5**). One of the first known signed and dated works by de Julianis was recently acquired by the Detroit Institute of Arts which has further helped to identify her unsigned works.[26] It appears that the close association with nuns and religious wax sculpture has resulted in de Julianis being repeatedly identified as a nun. However, Eve Straussman-Pflanzer explains that there is no evidence to suggest this.[27]

Figure 5. Caterina de Julianis, *Time and Death*, before 1727, wax. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, A.3–1966

Figure 6. Attributed to Anna Morandi Manzolini, *Male Anatomical Figures*, c.1740–1780, wax on wooden stand.
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In contrast, de Julianus was a successful independent artist, who gained public commissions, not only for her *memento mori* but also for larger three-dimensional sculptures.[28]

The detailed anatomy of de Julianis's work contradicts the perception that women sculptors in the eighteenth century were unable to depict the nude form.[29] Although women were unable to formally study the male or female nude, many were able to navigate this restriction. The French anatomical sculptor Mademoiselle Marie Biheron was a midwife and able to take courses in anatomy because her father was a surgeon.[30] Similarly, Anna Morandi Manzolini was introduced to the discipline of anatomical modelling by her anatomist husband.[31] Morandi Manzolini had a studio and classroom in her home in Bologna, where she worked from cadavers, becoming one of the most successful anatomists and modellers of her time (see **Figure 6**).[32] Unfortunately, the models produced by these women are rarely included in the art historical canon, deemed scientific rather than artistic.[33] However, Morandi Manzolini was an artist in her own right, not only because it required artistic skill to create anatomical models, but there are surviving examples of her figurative sculptures in terracotta and wax.[34]

The realistic properties of wax which made it useful for depicting the anatomy, were also employed to great effect for life-size waxworks and effigies. Residing in Westminster Abbey are the last remaining funeral effigies in the UK, dating from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century.[35] The earliest pre-reformation effigies were made of wood or plaster, but the practice was revived from 1660 in the form of life-size standing wax figures.[36] The majority of these effigies were used in funeral parades and housed in the abbey afterwards. Six of the twelve surviving wax effigies were made by women, all of whom had successful waxwork and modelling businesses. Apart from Frances Stuart who commissioned her funeral effigy from Mrs Goldsmith (active 1695–1703) for a costly £260, the remaining five effigies made by women were created solely for show, and never intended for funerary ritual. The effigies of Mary II, William III, and Queen Anne were probably also made by Mrs Goldsmith, and it is likely the figures of Mary and William were originally displayed in her showroom.[37]

The last two effigies of William Pitt by Patience Wright in 1778 and Lord Horatio Nelson by Catherine Andras in 1806 were commissioned as tourist attractions. In an attempt to divert the crowds from Nelson's burial at St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey commissioned Catherine Andras to make an effigy of the naval hero for £104 14s (see **Figure 7**).[38] The effigy attracted a record number of visitors to the Abbey.[39] Although the effigies had always been publicly accessible, the idea that the Abbey was now profiting from waxworks

Westminster Abbey 1896

Wax effigy of Lord Nelson.
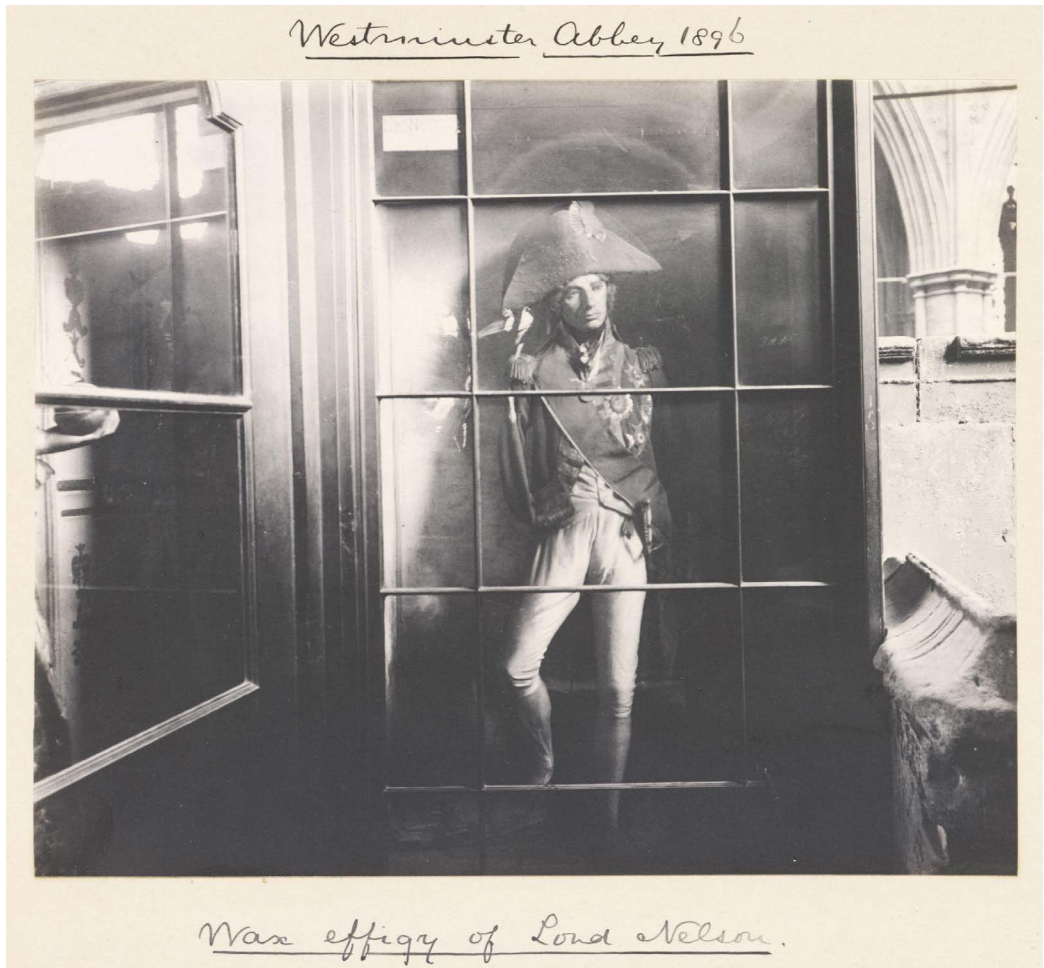
Figure 7. Sir Benjamin Stone (photographer), Catherine Andras (sculptor), *Wax effigy of Lord Nelson*, Westminster Abbey, 1896, photograph. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, E.4177–2000

unconnected to funeral practice was met with strong opposition. British sculptor Joseph Nollekens accused the Abbey of displaying 'such rubbish', and writer Horace Walpole complained that they were exhibiting 'waxen dolls [...] to draw visits and money from the mob'.[40] After Nelson's death, the Abbey did not commission any more effigies, perhaps bowing to pressure.

Precisely because waxworks were not deemed 'high art', a significant number of women were able to establish successful careers in this artform. Alison Yarrington argues that waxworks were understood to lack the nuance and imagination of the marble portrait bust, and rather than 'artists' these women

Figure 8. Unknown artist, Patience Lovell Wright, published for *London Magazine* 1 December 1775, line engraving. © National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG D14958

were seen simply as 'copyists'.[41] Nonetheless, waxwork exhibits were extremely popular during this period, with the earliest establishments run by women emerging in the late seventeenth century, such as the London-based Mrs Mills (active c.1695), Mrs Salmon (1650–1740), and Mrs Goldsmith (active c.1695–1715).[42] Over the next century, exhibits by Patience Wright and her sister Rachel Lovell (active 18th century), Mrs Sylvester (active 1780–1794), Mrs Bullock (18th/19th century), and the infamous Madame Tussaud (1761–1850) were established in England (see **Figure 8**).[43] Elsewhere, Madame Genlis (active early-1800s) was making *poses plastiques* in France and British-born Martha Gazely was exhibiting models in New York.[44] Many of the waxworks were travelling exhibitions of famous or royal individuals, but a significant number found permanent premises such as Mrs Salmon's of Fleet Street and the enduring Madame Tussaud's in Baker Street (see **Figure 9**). Although some of these women worked with their husbands, most were independent businesswomen, and their income often supported their family. They were without a doubt trailblazers, whose impact on the history of sculpture has been sadly overshadowed by the perception of their artform as crude imitation.[45]

Wax at the Margins of Art Historical Discourse

From a scholarly perspective, wax modelling has received limited academic attention over the last century since the publication of Julius von Schlosser's *History of Wax Portraiture* in 1910/11. There was a small flurry of interest in the mid-to late-twentieth century with the first appraisal of portrait waxes by Robin Reilly, and *The Biographical Dictionary of Wax Modellers* by Edward Pyke. At this time, museums such as the V&A showed interest in collecting wax portrait miniatures, and they created a permanent display which lasted until the early 2000s (see **Figure 10**). Sadly, most of these sculptures are now in storage. Since then, one or two publications, usually focussed on anatomical models, have emerged.

Figure 9. Morand, *Exterior of Mrs. Salmon's Waxworks in Fleet Street,* Harry Beard Collection, 1812, pen and ink, pencil and watercolour on paper. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, S.427–2010

Figure 10. Photograph of wax display in the former Gallery 63 at the V&A, image captured sometime before 2001. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

However, apart from a select few publications on Anna Morandi Manzolini and Madame Tussaud, the women who practiced this artform have failed to pique academic interest.

Roberta Panzanelli has rightly questioned 'what is it about wax that has kept it anchored in artistic practice for millennia yet confined to the margins of art history?'.[46] The answer lies in the materiality of wax and its ability to provide 'the nearest equivalent to nature in its replication of reality'. Wax sculpture was once held in high regard by artists and patrons, but today historians feel a certain 'uneasiness' about the colourful realism of the material. Wax sculpture also has many opposing uses which make it a difficult genre to define; it can be votive or scientific, artistic, or entertaining. Consequently, 'wax has struggled to stake out a territory of its own within sculptural practice or art theory'.

Generally speaking, the visual arts were divided into the fine and decorative arts between the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. During this time, colourful ceroplasty was excluded from the higher category of fine art due to an increased emphasis on classicising styles. The discovery that classical statuary was also polychromed came much later. Traditionally, soft, polychromed materials, and portraiture, sit lower in the sculptural materials hierarchy than marble and bronze neoclassical nudes. These divisions are also gendered; softness and colour have come to be associated with women's craft whilst stone carving is seen as masculine. Art critic Marion Spielmann described the use of colour 'as being more sensuous' and 'proved a more frequent attraction to feminine skill'.

A Way Forward: Adopting an Integrated Approach to the Definition of Sculpture

The marginalisation of wax modelling in art historical discourse presents a problem for the visibility of women sculptors. Women have succeeded in this artform above all other sculptural mediums prior to the twentieth century. In addition, wax models are the most common surviving examples of work by women sculptors from 1660 to 1830. An estimated 70% of sculptures by women from 1660 to 1830 in UK museums are by wax modellers. A startling 94% of these are kept in storage (see **Figure 11**).

Curators and historians today have an opportunity to question the traditional canon in art history to include previously marginalised artists in museum displays and academic research. The idea of women and 'crafts' disrupting traditional narratives in art history has been explored to great extent by feminist art historians, but never from the perspective of wax sculpture. Very few women wax modellers meet the traditional criterion for canonising artists because they worked in a decorative material whose appearance may no longer be aesthetically pleasing to modern tastes. However, neglecting them from the mainstream history of European sculpture is to overlook a significant chapter on women's involvement in the artform. In order for women wax modellers to be taken seriously by the discipline, I encourage art historians to adopt a broader and more integrated definition of what constitutes 'sculpture' and 'a sculptor'.

An integrated definition of sculpture considers 'sculpture and the decorative arts together, prioritizing neither'. This approach allows the importance of all forms of wax modelling, from portrait miniatures to anatomical models, to be considered alongside their fine art counterparts such as the portrait bust or neoclassical nude. This approach works across two previously separated disciplines and transcends their gendered division. Furthermore, by encouraging historians of the fine and decorative arts to work collaboratively, a more accurate study of what constituted sculpture between 1660–1830 can be revealed.

This proposed approach to women's sculptural history must strike a careful balance.

Figure 11. Henrietta Wade, *Man in Turkish Costume*, c.1800–1850, wax. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, A.9–1996 (in storage)

Historians can simultaneously acknowledge the importance of aesthetics and materiality, while also recognising how these notions have contributed to the work of women wax modellers being undervalued.

Conclusion

Wax modelling presented a 'complicated mixture of opportunity and limitation [...] for women sculptors' during the period 1660 to 1830. Thought of as suitably feminine, wax offered women an entry into the sculptural arts, but the medium's perceived inferiority has kept their stories at the margins of art history. The aim of this paper has been to revive interest in wax sculpture and the women who thrived in this artform. It has challenged the reader to adjust their understanding of what 'quality' sculpture looks like and has demonstrated how adopting a non-hierarchical approach can reveal new perspectives on the history of sculpture. Wax modelling sits at the interconnecting points in the 'triangulation of sculpture, the decorative, and gender.' This unique position allows historians to interrogate these false boundaries and consider recalibrating the hierarchical imbalance of sculptural materials. The integration of wax into mainstream sculptural history will illuminate the important histories of women modellers. Artists such as Catherine Andras demonstrate that women could be entrepreneurial and professional artists during this period, going beyond what people commonly assume was possible for an eighteenth-century woman sculptor. Museum displays in particular serve as 'site[s] of enquiry' where the definition of sculpture can be redefined. Increasing the representation of women wax modellers in these spaces will challenge the notion that women artists were up against insurmountable barriers to professionalisation. Instead, their stories exemplify the opportunities that women artists were able to create for themselves as autonomous and creative individuals.

'Waiting in Pwllheli, 9/1/23': Psychogeographical Artwork from A Magic Toybox 123

Amy Grandvionet

When I and my sister were much younger and living in a house on West End Lane in Bracknell, South England, we used to spend hours arranging our toys all over the garden. Some of them belonged usually on the bed, some of them came out of a wooden wheeled box covered in peeling stickers. Prance and Scat Beanie-Baby cats convened with wind-up Princess Belle from a McDonald's Happy Meal up a tree. Grubby Little Mermaid from Disneyland Paris and bobble-bunny George walked side-by-side toward the back gate and garage scrubland beyond. Secret Squirrel and three Cotswold Wildlife Park gift shop lemurs watered the plants. We made scenes of our dreams, laughing and bickering and giggling and deliberating. Classic "make-believe", but it was also more. And it's something I've been exploring in 6B pencil and digital collage alongside writing my thesis on 'psychogeography' during the first year of my PhD.

'Psychogeography' was first defined in print by French avant-garde philosopher Guy Debord in 1955 as 'the study of the precise laws and specific effects of the geographical environment, whether consciously organised or not, on the emotions and behaviour of individuals'.[1] Debord was the leader of the radical collectives Lettrist International (LI) and Situationist International (SI) who significantly influenced the student and worker uprisings in Paris in May 1968.[2] During the 1950s and 1960s, ruined post-war cities were razed to the ground as never before to make way for "new and improved" – more rational, more functional – urban plans under the direction of Swiss architect Charles-Édouard Jeanneret (better known as 'Le Corbusier') and his disciples. Like their more famous and some-time friend, the Marxist sociologist Henri Lefebvre, the LI and SI were interested in how such changes in the construction of space affected the everyday lives of a general populace. Corbusian utopian schemas of factory-like grid-living, most fully realised in the creation of New Towns such as Mournex or Sarcelles, were considered deadening to an otherwise zestful human subject.[3] Influenced intellectually by Baroque, Dada, Renaissance, Futurism, Expressionism, Surrealism and more, a psychogeographical praxis would politically analyse

any location perceived to be in critical need. In doing so, it envisioned its own new worlds.

Bracknell, where my sister and I grew up in the mid-1990s, is one such New Town (think Milton Keynes but smaller). From our house on West End Lane at its outskirts, we saw the notoriously ugly 3M building (now demolished as part of a wider regeneration programme) looming over the town centre's concrete blocky sprawl.[4] Bracknell was 'boring'. But it didn't have to be. Recognising the possibility of both liking and disliking a place, instead of loving or hating it, can be a Socratic sting out of potential inertia.[5] Wishing for changes can itself satisfy. As my sister and I built imaginary topographies over the domestic outdoors, we were plottingly alive.

'Waiting in Pwllheli, 9/1/23' is one of a number of collages I have made on the theme of psychogeographic dreaming over the last year-or-so, which can be found on the Toys in Places page of my blog-spot blog A Magic Toybox 123.[6] A Magic Toybox 123 began after a magic trip to Aberystwyth's annual autumn fair in 2021 where two friends won soft toys with coins and skill.[7] First, I draw the toys – my own or photos of friends' ones – onto 220gsm A3 pages. Then I scan them into pixel-form via heroic printers at the university's Hugh Owen Library up Penglais Hill. After this, the accumulating toys are ready to assemble in any 'place', with subversive intent. Each 'place' is a photo I have taken on various forays, furnished with selected symbolic props and extras. The assemblage happens using Microsoft Paint. I usually execute them as a focusing activity during some other event if with laptop, as one might knit or crochet. Here, a gaggle of toys are stranded at the Pwllheli outpost of Tax Baron J. D. Wetherspoon's nebulous empire, the Pen Cob at the end of the Cambrian Line that curves the Llyn Peninsula in North Wales. Coming together from disparate zones – with all their hopes and wants – they sit on a large turquoise sofa and wait. They are waiting, they are waiting, they are waiting always for a nicer change.

17:38:44
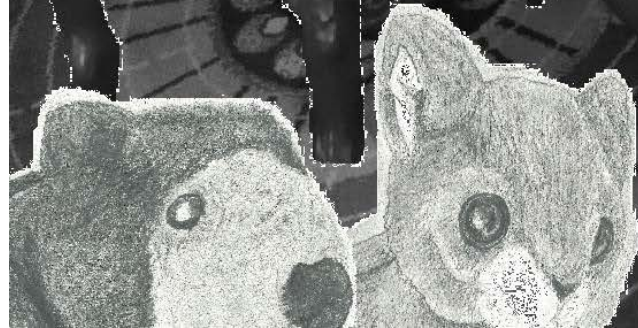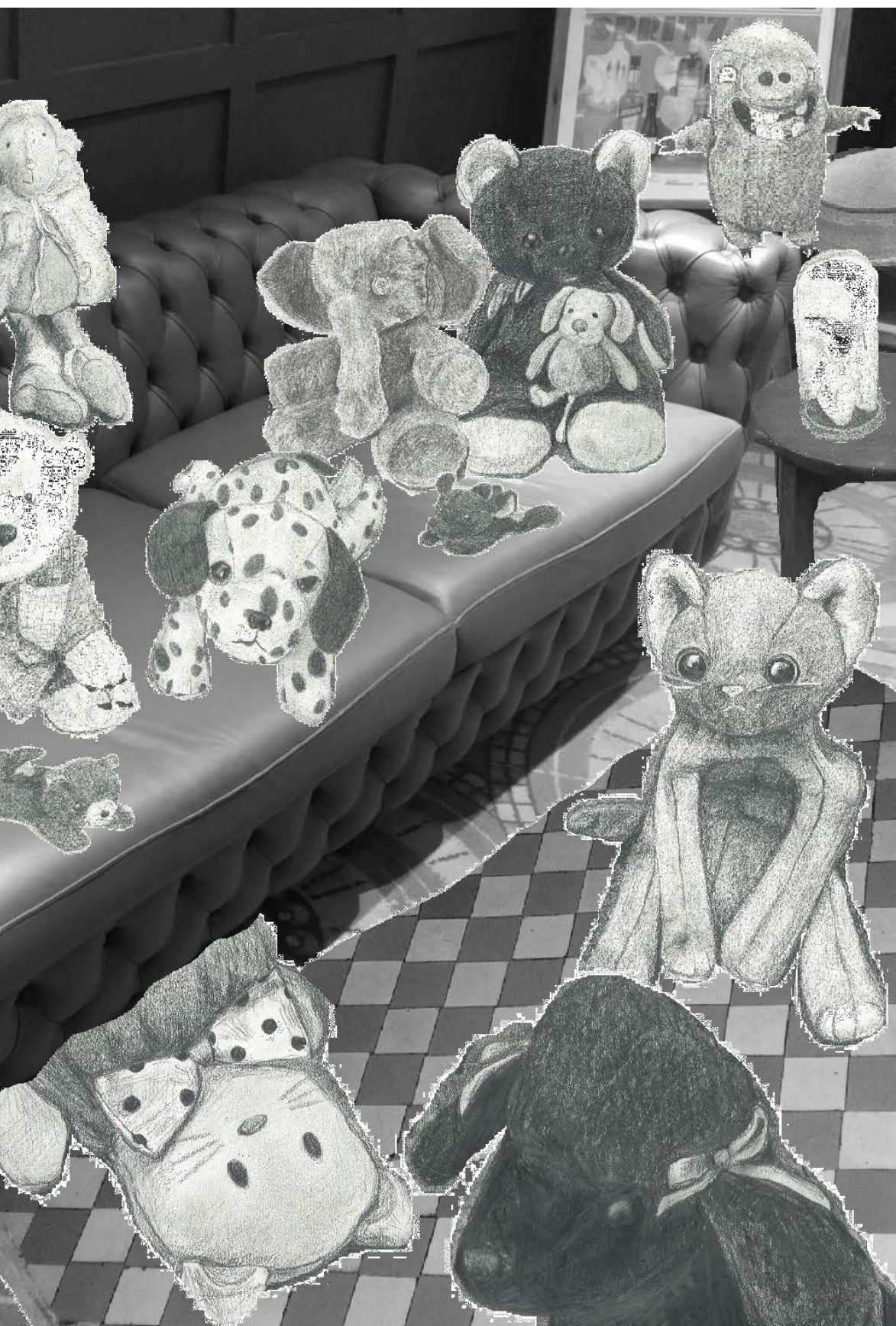
Coexisting with the Disruptive Legacy of Fascist Heritage in Today's Italy

Erica Capecchi, University of Bristol

Introduction

Considering recent debates around the Italian case study, this paper explores the disruptive potential that the legacy of the fascist regime continues to have in today's Italian socio-political landscape and the problematic co-existence with it.[1] It interrogates the ideological scope carried by material traces of the regime occupying the public space, which are often exploited by today's far-right groups to promote an idea of Italian-ness informed by fascist values. The discussion builds on the recent restoration of a fascist graffiti in the town of Villa Santa Maria, in the Southern region of Abruzzo, that celebrates the regime and its leader, Benito Mussolini. This example outlines the specificity of a problem that does not concern only former centres of fascist power such as Rome and Milan but is diffused across the country. Eventually, the article explores possibilities for transnational comparisons by drawing on the example of the Valley of the Fallen in Spain, which provides insights into ways of addressing testimonies of a troubled past that has the potential to fuel socio-political conflict in the present day.

The idea for this essay was inspired by my recent trip to Rome, where I visited the *Foro Italico* (Italic Forum), formerly known as the Forum Mussolini. This monumental sports complex, inaugurated in 1932, still retains pompous fascist aesthetics. Today, the site serves multiple functions, housing the Faculty of Sports of the University of Rome and the *Stadio Olimpico* (Olympic Stadium), home of the city of Rome football team, but is also known for hosting international swimming, beach volleyball, and tennis tournaments.[2] I was fascinated by the survival of this piece of fascist heritage, accurate expression of the triumphant rhetoric of discipline, strength, and virility promoted by the regime, based on an idealised cult of athleticism inspired by classic representations of the Imperial Roman tradition (**Figures 1 and 2**). I sought to understand how the celebratory meaning of this monumental complex is mediated in the present day and whether any efforts have been made to renegotiate its original propagandistic intent.

While searching for the *Stadio dei Marmi* (Marbles Stadium), I had a short conversation with an employee of the site to inquire about the location of the entrance. The person suggested going left outside the swimming pool building

Figure 1. Foro Italico, Rome – Piscine del Coni (2020). Mosaics of athletes decorating the walls of the Olympic swimming pool. Along with the statue portrayed by figure 2, these examples provide an insight into the fascist interpretation of modern athleticism influenced by the aesthetic of classic Roman representations. Photo courtesy Luana Rigolli

Figure 2. Foro Italico, Rome – Stadio dei Marmi (2020). The rhetoric of an idealised continuity between modern Italy and its glorious past identified in the Imperial Roman era is a recurring theme in fascist ideology and aesthetics. This sentiment is evident in the *Foro Italico* through elements such as the statues of the *Stadio dei Marmi* and the mosaics adorning the Olympic swimming pool as depicted in figure 1. Photo courtesy Luana Rigolli

and walking past the 'Duce's obelisk'; I would find the entrance just a bit further. Welcoming visitors, athletes, and supporters to the sports centre, the imponent obelisk, carved out of white Carrara marble, still features the vertical inscription *Mussolini Dux* (Mussolini Duce), reminding the pivotal role played by the arts as instruments of the regime's totalitarian propaganda and ideology.

The ease with which the employee mentioned the Duce's obelisk intrigued me. I wondered if their spontaneous answer could be interpreted as the result of a desensitisation towards that fascist monument, possibly induced by a natural process of integration into the everyday life of locals and users of the site. However, when providing the information, the employee could have referred to the monument neutrally as the 'obelisk'; being the only monument of its kind in the area, it was impossible to miss. The choice to specify its association to the Duce instead suggested the possibility of a broader interpretation connected to unresolved memory conflicts expressed by the ambiguous attitude often adopted by Italy in confronting the traces of its problematic past.[3]

Figure 3. Foro Italico, Roma – Obelisco Mussolini (2020). Behind the obelisk are the gates to the Olympic Stadium.
Photo courtesy Luana Rigolli

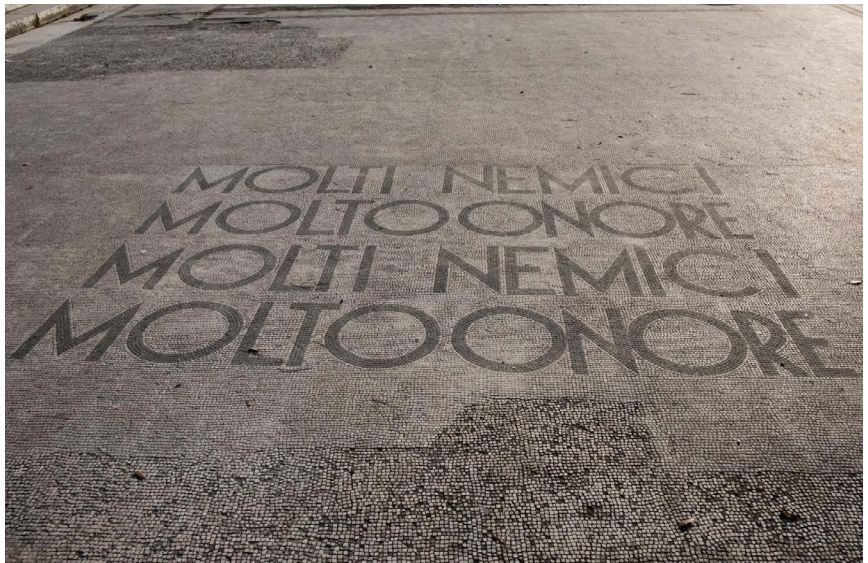**Figure 4 and 5.** Foro Italico, Roma – Mosaici all'ingresso dello Stadio Olimpico (2020). The mosaics at the entrance of the Olympic Stadium, characterised by the distinct Fascist font, exalt Mussolini (figure 4) and promote fascist ideology (figure 5). The motto depicted in figure 5, which translates as 'Many enemies, much honour' continues to be popular among far-right circles today.
Photo courtesy Luana Rigolli

The absence of any public information concerning the history of the sports complex and its glorifying function of the regime seems to confirm that, despite its adaptive and continuative reuse, the site did not undergo a holistic process of critical historicisation. The *Foro Italico* complex, still visibly associated with Mussolini's cult, continues to convey in the present the grandiosity of the 'fascist project' and its creator, the *Duce*. This is evident through the presence of the monumental obelisk and other ornamental elements such as bas-reliefs, statues, and mosaics (**Figures 4 and 5**), which are scattered unquestioned throughout the site.

The Fascist Graffiti of Villa Santa Maria in Abruzzo

The case study of Villa Santa Maria provides an interesting example of how the material legacy of fascist memory continues to influence today's Italian public debate at both the local and national levels. In late July 2019, just two days before the anniversary of Mussolini's birth, a large propaganda graffiti resurfaced on the Mount Penna, overlooking the town. The graffiti, carved into the rock in 1940 by local fascist loyalists, was intended to celebrate the 18th anniversary of the regime's foundation.[4] Its cleansing, which was commissioned by the local government, brought back to light the word *Dux* (Duce) and the number 18 in Roman characters.

The re-emergence of the graffiti, uncovered from the natural layer of dust and debris accumulated over time, sparked protests directed at the city council. They were strongly criticised for allocating public funds to an initiative seen by some as an insult to collective memory, particularly to the memory of antifascist partisans fallen during the regime.[5] The sense of public outrage was further accentuated by the existence of a nearby memorial dedicated to the local antifascist brigade, the 'Brigata Majella', commemorating local partisans who fought in the liberation war against Nazi-Fascism (1943–1945).[6]

Giuseppe Finamore, the mayor of Villa Santa Maria, justified the restoration of the graffiti as part of a broader project of valorisation of the area, which included new climbing paths for both locals and tourists along the ridge. In response to the protests, Finamore downplayed the ideological significance of the graffiti claiming that it 'does not praise anything' and emphasising its innate historical value.[7] He then expressed the intention to keep it on display, referring to the graffiti as a historical testimony that 'has always been there' and suggesting that if it attracts people to the town, then it is perfectly acceptable.[8] By shifting the discussion towards the historical and touristic potential of the graffiti, Finamore's response is indicative of an attitude that seeks to dismiss the memory issues embedded by fascist heritage for both electoral and economic purposes.

Figure 6. Foro Italico – Obelisco Mussolini (2020). Detail of the obelisk featuring the inscription 'Dux' and the symbol of the *fascio littorio*. The inscription on the right side reports the year 1932 (10th year of the regime foundation) and credits the youth association Opera Nazionale Balilla (then Gioventù Italiana del Littorio) for funding the construction of the monument. Photo courtesy Luana Rigolli

Whenever material traces of the regime are confronted in today's Italian public debate, it is not uncommon to observe a diversion of focus towards a general (mis)understanding of public heritage as merely historical and artistic testimony. Despite history largely showing the inherent relationship between art and political power throughout humanity, the concept of an implicitly depoliticised value of art is still supported by established assumptions surrounding the 'incontestable nature' of cultural heritage.[9] This misleading interpretation facilitates the persistence of an ambiguous attitude towards fascist memory today, which hinders any possible discussion about the sites to be preserved as heritage, providing opportunities for political manipulation.[10]

Whereas arguments around the substantial aesthetic significance of other examples of fascist art may build on stronger motives, the narrative constructed around the graffiti of Villa Santa Maria shows inherent weaknesses that undermine the rationale put forth for its restoration. In this particular case, it is impossible to ignore the propagandistic motive behind the monumental graffiti, whose presumed historical value, if any, is overshadowed by its prevailing ideological meaning. This viewpoint was also supported by some locals who contested the overtly celebrative nature of the graffiti and advocated for its removal insofar as its intent has nothing to do with historical memory.[11]

This opinion is also echoed by Portelli who, while commenting on the issue of fascist heritage in Italy within the broader debate sparked by the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020, emphasised how, more than addressing critically the history tied to their existence, public monuments dedicated to personalities of the past still carry the potential to celebrate these figures by reaffirming the tangible presence of their memory in the present day.[12] According to Portelli's perspective, it seems unlikely that the messages conveyed by these testimonies will naturally fade over time, transforming them into depoliticised artefacts.

As Foot reminds us, indeed, 'monuments were not simply the end of a story, but a part of the story itself', therefore their original purpose and meaning cannot be easily silenced or forgotten.[13] In this context, the valorisation of a propaganda graffiti – or an obelisk – celebrating Mussolini, not only honours the memory of the Duce, but also holds the potential to reignite the symbolism associated with the regime, implying a continuation with that past.[14]

Recent Debates Over Italian Fascist Memory and Heritage

Preservationist narratives that celebrate fascist monuments as unquestionable contributions to national heritage conveniently serve the interests of today's far-right groups, who attempt to appropriate these physical testimonies to project their hegemonic ideas and convey desired political lessons in public discourse.[15] As noted by Ben-Ghiat, if these monuments are treated merely as depoliticised aesthetic objects, 'then the far-right can harness [their] ugly ideology while everyone else becomes injured'.[16] In this context, fascist heritage becomes a terrain for antagonism, where memory issues can be easily weaponised in the political arena to advance the electoral goals of designated parties.

The underlying tensions surrounding fascist heritage pour out, inflaming the public and political debate whenever someone questions the appropriateness of keeping symbols of the regime that still carry a strong celebratory intent exposed in the public space. An example of this occurred in 2015, following the ceremony commemorating the 70th anniversary of Italy's liberation from Nazi-Fascism, which took place at the Parliament. Laura Boldrini, the former president of the Deputy Chamber from the centre-left *Partito Democratico* (Democratic Party), suggested to remove the inscription *Dux* from the obelisk at the *Foro Italico* (**Figure 6**). This proposal sparked a transversal outcry of protests, with politicians, intellectuals, and art historians mobilising against what they deemed an outrageous alteration of such an important testimony of modern Italian art and history.[17]

On Twitter, the neofascist group *CasaPound* compared Boldrini's proposal to ISIS terrorism, while figures from Berlusconi's centre-right party *Forza Italia* (Go Italy) criticised her suggestion as an attempt to erase a part of Italian history. Interestingly, this opinion was also shared by Boldrini's prominent colleagues from the *Partito Democratico*, which raises further questions regarding the significance of fascist heritage in today's Italy.[18] Like the case of the graffiti in Villa Santa Maria, the emphasis placed on the fear of erasing national history represented by fascist heritage highlights the dissonant relationship that Italy still entertains with its problematic past, which also interests left-wing actors.

This ambiguity has allowed mainstream far-right groups to take advantage of the sensitivity surrounding the preservation of fascist monuments as a fundamental expression of Italian culture and history, thus legitimising their ideological references in public discourse.

In 2019, for example, the current Prime Minister and leader of the far-right party *Fratelli d'Italia* (Brothers of Italy) Giorgia Meloni, shared on her social media channels a video promoting the candidacy of Mussolini's great-grand-nephew, Caio Giulio Cesare, for the upcoming European elections.[19] The video was set in front of the building of the *Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana*, also known as 'Square Colosseum'. Built in the late 1930s at the heart of a new neighbourhood intended to host the *Esposizione Universale Roma* (Rome Universal Exhibition) in 1942, this iconic fascist building still features an inscription at the top drawn from a speech delivered by Mussolini in 1935, announcing the invasion of Ethiopia.

The decision of filming the video endorsing Mussolini's grandnephew in front of this specific building not only confirms the enduring ideological potential carried by fascist monuments and embraced by today's far-right parties, but also serves as a clear statement of the political values associated with Brothers of Italy.[20] The building's iconic role in far-right imagery is evidenced by its frequent use as a backdrop for protests and promotional campaigns.[21] This further example suggests that, far from fulfilling a true mnemonic function, unquestioned traces of fascist monumentalism continue to hold a powerful symbolic significance within the context of 'a shared historically-rooted identity, to be defended at all costs'.[22] Enmeshed with Italy's present socio-political landscape, the memory embedded in fascist heritage goes beyond mere representation and instead materialises a perceived sense of identity for partisan groups, granting it tangible substance.[23]

Framed within this perspective, the valorisation of the graffiti in Villa Santa Maria can be interpreted more as a political provocation than a decision informed by a genuine interest in the promotion of local history. Understood within the broader context of the growing popularity of far-right parties in Italy (particularly prominent in the last five years), the restoration of the graffiti suggests an attempt at affirming the primacy of fascist values associated with a sense of Italian-ness. Its proximity to the memorial for local partisans gains a strong ideological meaning, communicating the presence of a firm opposition at the institutional level towards the narratives that informed attempts to rebuild a sense of Italian identity in antifascist terms following the regime's downfall.[24]

International Comparisons: The Valley of the Fallen in Spain

Helpful insights into dealing with problematic heritage can be gleaned from other European countries that have faced similar challenges. An interesting example of confronting the material remnants of a troubled past is the Valley of the Fallen (Valle de los Caidos) in Spain, which serves as a paradigm for the management of public heritage associated with memory issues.[25] Similar to Italy, Spain has undergone a challenging process of shaping public memory around the Spanish Civil War (1936–39), a conflict that resulted in the rise to power of the dictator Francisco Franco, who ruled the country for over three decades from 1939 to 1975.[26] This process has involved the re-contextualisation of the regime's monuments within the country's post-fascist scenario.[27]

The Valley of the Fallen was constructed in the Northern outskirts of Madrid between the 1940s and 50s with the intention of creating a perpetual memorial that sought to sanctify the Francoist dictatorship by honouring the fallen on both sides of the Civil War as a 'national act of public atonement'.[28] A towering granite cross stands at a height of 150 meters on the rocks of the Sierra de Guadarrama, overlooking the imponent Christian Basilica below. Remains of both Francoist and Republican soldiers are interred there, with the latter being relocated from mass graves and buried at the monument, often without the consent of their families. Disregarding the thousands of fallen stripped of their identities, the site enshrines the memory of Francisco Franco and José Antonio Primo de Riviera, the founder of the fascist-inspired Falange party, with their respective tombs.

This problematic site has undergone a process of renegotiating its meaning over time, which favoured its transition towards an ambiguous tourist function celebrating it as a masterpiece of modern Spanish art.[29] However, reframing the Valley as a tourist attraction did not silence the memory of the Francoist regime conveyed by the sacralising aesthetic of its architecture. This forced redefinition of meaning proved inadequate in challenging the ideology evoked by the monument, which remained at the heart of memory conflicts and tensions, continuing to serve as a site for both fascist nostalgia and antifascist opposition.[30]

In 2018, however, the newly elected Spanish government, led by the Socialist Party (PSOE) took a significant step towards addressing the memory disputes associated with this piece of fascist heritage. Following a decree that was eventually approved in 2019, the remains of Francisco Franco were exhumed from his grave at the Valley and relocated to his family mausoleum at El Pardo's municipal cemetery in Madrid, sparking a new wave of sit-ins and protests led by far-right activists.[31] The initiative can be understood within the broader context of the

approval of the Historical Memory Law in 2007, which determined a watershed in the ways Spain publicly confronts with the difficult legacy of the Civil War and the Francoist era.[32]

The developments surrounding the Valley of the Fallen outline a common trend towards the transformation of problematic traces of the past into objects of aesthetic appreciation, mindful of Italy's approach to its fascist monuments. However, it also highlights that the implementation of strategies aimed at concealing or disregarding the ideological symbolism embedded in these monuments often proves to be ineffective. As seen with fascist heritage in Italy, iconic landmarks of authoritarian regimes left unchallenged in the public space retain their ideological significance. If indeed 'history, collective memory, and heritage all represent fragments of the past that are negotiated in the present', the uncritical preservation of fascist heritage risks to privilege partisan memory narratives that promote a monumental understanding of a wounded past, which may be deemed worthy of celebration today.[33]

Conclusion

In addition to the examples discussed in this article, the case study of the fascist graffiti in Villa Santa Maria exemplifies the ambiguous tendency persisting in the Italian public and political discourse when confronting the legacy of the fascist era and its relationship with the present.[34] The emphasis placed on the historical value of the graffiti as a justification for its restoration seems informed by a flawed understanding of public heritage as inherently depoliticised, ascribing it a higher aesthetic, artistic, and historical value that supposedly outweighs any propagandistic intentions it still may carry. However, the appropriation of preservationist narratives by today's far-right organisations, which endorse the use of iconic fascist monuments for their own electoral goals, underscored the enduring ideological potential that unquestioned heritage can still wield in the present.

That said, while direct interventions on monuments may not always be a feasible solution, it is also important to recognise that critical historicisation should not be deemed as a universally successful method for dealing with the complex realm of conflictual memory and heritage. In Italy, for instance, the powerful ideological scope of some fascist sites dissipated thanks to adaptive or continuative re-use. This can be observed in cases such as the central train station in Florence and other fascist buildings serving public State functions.[35] However, as seen with the *Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana*, the building has not lost its ideological potential. Despite hosting the headquarters of the fashion house Fendi since 2014, it continues to serve today's far-right in terms of identity-building and propaganda goals.

The highly fragmented Italian situation necessitates attentive examination to address fascist heritage as a source of division both at local and national level. It is crucial to interrogate the possibilities for manipulation of memory issues by today's political organisations for their power struggles. Projects conciliating preservation objectives with historiographic aims, alongside adaptive or continuative reuse where feasible, can promote critical engagement with the country's wounded past and contribute to the desacralisation of the grandiose rhetoric associated with fascist monuments.[36] However, challenges remain in terms of developing effective methods to approach the innate celebratory nature of fascist remnants such as the obelisk at the *Foro Italico* or the graffiti in Villa Santa Maria.

The case of the Valley of the Fallen and the implementation of the Historical Memory Law in Spain could serve as possible models for Italy to adopt a holistic approach in addressing the material legacy of its fascist past. Such an approach should consider local memories, histories, and specificities.[37] Nevertheless, as new controversies around fascist memory continue to disrupt today's Italian public discourse, the road still appears long and winding.

Figure 1.

A Picture is Worth 8,000 Words: Transforming an Academic Article into Illustrated Research

Virginia Thomas, University of Exeter

Academic research is most commonly shared in the form of peer-reviewed articles published in academic journals. These articles are written in a formal, academic style, and the journals in which they are published commonly have high subscription fees or one-off read fees. As a result, articles written by academics are usually read by other academics and rarely have significant reach beyond academia. This raises an important question – how to increase the reach and accessibility of research (and therefore its potential for impact), perhaps most particularly for the participants and stakeholders of the research in question?[1] One means of achieving this is via *illustrated research*, in which an academic article is illustrated either by the researcher themselves or in collaboration with an artist.[2] Transforming an academic article into visual art is a creative, reflective, and potentially collaborative process during which the research is reimagined and distilled into a single image. Illustrated research is essentially an expanded version of the increasingly familiar concept of a "visual abstract", a pictorial summary of an academic article which can, *inter alia*, increase its dissemination on social media.[3] This piece offers a snapshot of the creative and collaborative process to transform an academic article 'Domesticating Rewilding: Interpreting Rewilding In England's Green And Pleasant Land' into an image 'Domesticating Rewilding' (**Figure 1**) and the motivation for doing so.[4]

The Green Futures Network at the University of Exeter seeks to disseminate environmental research to organisations beyond academia. In 2022, the network was awarded funding to commission graphic artists to translate academic articles into images and introduced artists and researchers to collaborate on the process.[5] In the case discussed here, the artist was Fanny Didou, a graphic facilitator with a background in social science, which they find extremely helpful when reading and synthesising academic articles.[6] As a first step, the artist read the academic article and made annotations. The researcher and artist then met to discuss the article in detail, with the opportunity to ask each other questions and start a dialogue about the illustration process and its objectives and the research

and its objectives. The artist explained which elements of the article resonated with them for the purposes of the illustration, and the researcher emphasised the key elements of the article from their perspective. Following this meeting, the artist wrote a summary of the article, capturing its main ideas, and drew up a plan for the illustration. They then created a visual schematic using text, arrows, titles, and circles, following the key elements of 'system scribing'. System scribing, as developed by Bird and Riehl, is a 'visual practice that combines scribing – visually representing ideas while people talk – with systems thinking' and is a means by which the artist can make 'artistic and content choices' about an image.[7] Systems scribing was an integral part of the planning phase, with the artist using system scribing tools to represent the *system* of the academic article and make choices as to how to represent it:
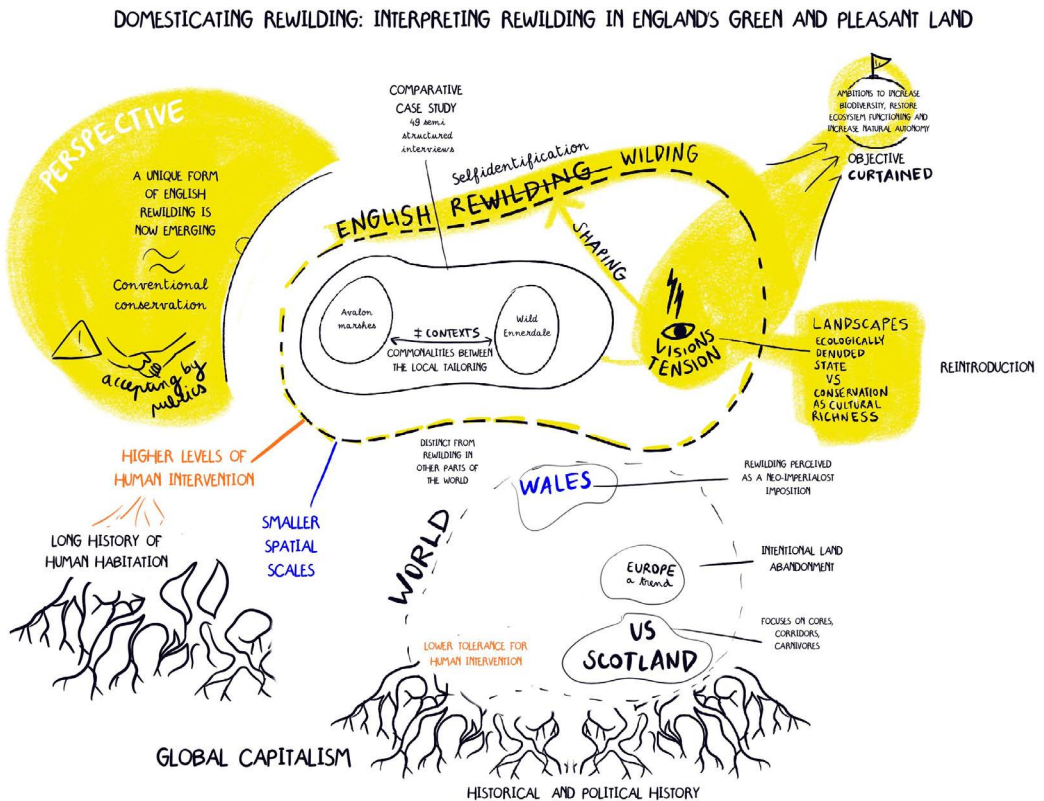
Figure 2.

Once the planning and conceptualisation phase was complete, the artist used a tablet to create a digital image of the research using drawings and text. Before sharing this with the researcher, the artist reflected on the created image, asking whether they had clearly represented the key ideas and messages of the article, particularly regarding the hierarchical structure and the perspective of the researcher. This allowed the artist to revise their image and experiment with different ways of visualising the research. Once they were satisfied with the initial sketch, they shared this with the researcher (**Figure 3**). This became the foundation for the final illustration. The draft evolved over several weeks and further conversations between the artist and researcher. This was an iterative process with an ongoing dialogue of feedback and revisions, with the final image gradually taking shape. Integral to the final image was the colour scheme: the artist drew inspiration from images of the landscapes of the two case sites discussed in the article (the Avalon Marshes and Wild Ennerdale) to create a tailor-made colour palate of muted blues, greens, and browns for the illustration.

Figure 3.

During the process, two important points became clear. The first may seem self-evident but is important to note, nonetheless. It was impossible to illustrate every aspect of the article, therefore researcher and artist had to prioritise what to include so that the final image preserved the key message of the research without being overly complex. The article centres on six factors which connote 'family resemblance' to rewilding and how these are adapted in England.[8] The six factors are self-identification as rewilding, increase in biodiversity, restoration of ecological functioning, reduction of human intervention, increase in natural agency, and large scale. These factors are adapted in England to make them more compatible with human land use. Rather than using the epithet "rewilding", projects tend to use the terms "wild", "wilder", or "wilding" without the prefix "re". Increases in wild biodiversity are complemented by increases in functional diversity using domestic species. In some cases, the substitution of domestic for wild species means that while the ecological function is improved, it is not restored as fully as it might be if a full suite of wild species were in place. This modification of ecological function means that targeted human interventions can occur, which contrasts with some rewilding ambitions to withdraw human management entirely. Consequently, while natural agency may be increased, it may not be increased to the extent that it might be in the absence of ongoing human interventions. Lastly, rewilding in England can operate at smaller spatial scales than in other areas. One of the key questions for researcher and artist was how to encapsulate each of these factors, and their modification, in the image. Replacing the term "rewilding" with "wilding" was relatively easy to illustrate by depicting someone altering a sign reading "rewilding" to read "wilding" (**Figure 4**). On the other hand, the alteration of the scale at which rewilding operates in England was difficult to capture in images alone, with the artist using a combination of text and images (a map of England) to demonstrate this (**Figure 5**). Ecological functioning and natural agency were even more difficult to convey visually. Instead, these were incorporated into the depictions of increase in (functional) diversity and targeted human interventions, respectively, by including images of domestic species and people within the rewilding landscape. Combining the depiction of these factors not only made it possible to illustrate intangible concepts but also helped to avoid overcomplicating the final image.
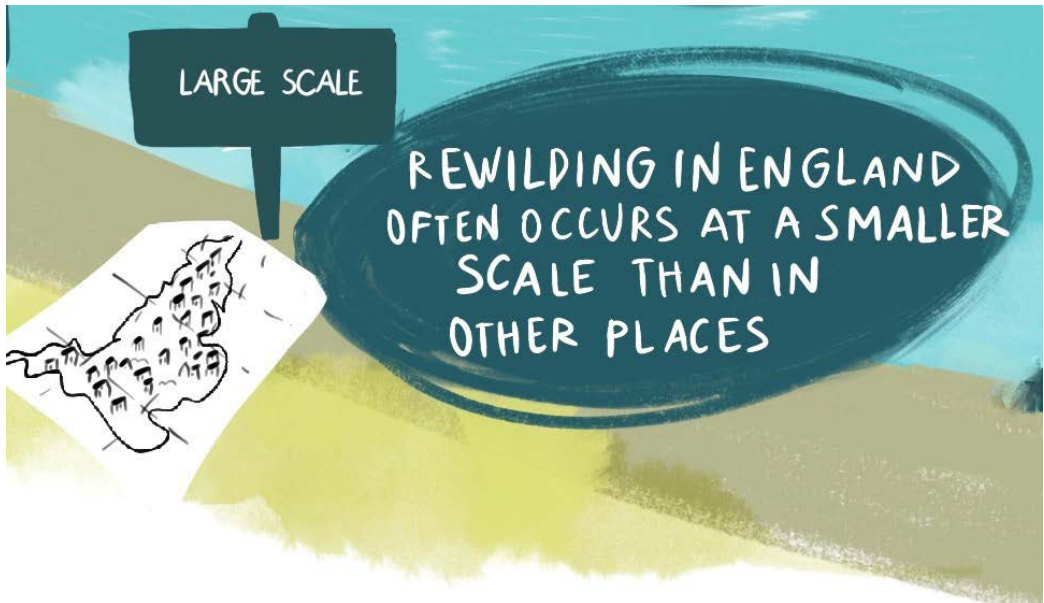
Figure 4.

Figure 5.

Many elements were useful in early drafts of the image while researcher and artist collaborated to determine how the research message could be distilled so that its essence was conveyed visually as clearly as possible. Elements were therefore added to, deleted from, and moved around the image throughout the process until it crystallised into an illustration which conveyed the key points from the research clearly and strikingly. One change involved reducing the amount of text in the finished illustration; words were initially used to provide context while elements of the image were discussed and also as placeholders for some individual aspects of the image. For example, the first draft contained the words 'the Avalon Marshes' and 'Wild Ennerdale', although these were not explained and did not contribute any significant meaning to the image as a whole. The final image was embellished with elements which visually signified the Avalon Marshes and Wild Ennerdale (particularly the birdlife of the Avalon Marshes and the fells of the Lake District), meaning that this text could be removed. This had the added benefit of making it clear that the illustration is applicable to England as a whole rather than potentially generating the impression that it is specific to certain case study sites. Another change related to the portrayal of cattle. In the first draft, cows were illustrated as *Holstein Friesians*, a dairy breed not used in rewilding projects but which is a common archetype when visually depicting cows. While it was, therefore, not surprising that the artist chose to depict cows this way, it was not appropriate for the illustration of the research in question. Following discussion between the researcher and artist, the depiction of the cows was changed for the finished version, where they appeared as *Highland* cattle, a breed commonly used in rewilding projects and which is used in the Avalon Marshes.

The second point was that without the detail it is possible to give in an article of several thousand words, some of the wording included in the image needed to be adapted to avoid appearing incongruous when out of its original context. For example, early versions of the image contained the wording: 'a contentious topic with ongoing discussion between two visions', 'greater need for human intervention', and 'aspirations are restricted – ability to restore ecological function limited'. While none of these statements are inaccurate, there was the risk that they could create a false impression without the nuance afforded by the discussion in the article. Therefore, in the final version, these phrases were modified to read: 'a contentious topic with ongoing discussion between different visions', to make clear that there are many perspectives and not simply two polarised views, 'targeted human interventions can occur', to avoid making a normative statement, and 'functional diversity can be increased with analogue species', to frame the statement positively rather than negatively.

This requirement to adapt text for inclusion in visual depictions of research is compounded by one of the key strengths of illustrated research; as a technique, illustrated research affords a new perspective on an academic article and therefore allows the viewer (including the researcher) to see elements of the research in a new way. During collaborations between researcher and artist, this new perspective is afforded by the fact that someone not initially involved in the research (the artist), is interpreting the research, and translating it to a new medium. Since they were not involved in the production of the research, they are able to highlight the points which stand out to a reader in a way that the researcher is not, since they are too close to the work to be able to see it from an outside perspective. This benefits the researcher by showing them which elements stand out to their audience and helps them to understand how their research may be received. This is particularly the case once elements of the research are taken out of context and have the potential to become contentious, especially if normative statements are made. While the new perspectives presented by illustrated research offer benefits in showing the research in a new light, it does mean that some tempering of the research message may be required. This was demonstrated by the discussion generated when the illustrated research in question was posted on Twitter. Despite, as discussed above, considerable care being taken to create the image in such a way as to limit the scope for misinterpretation, a tweet of the image provoked considerable debate as to the nature of rewilding in England.[9] Social media debate is well known for its polarising effect.[10] While it could be argued that generating challenging or even uncomfortable debate demonstrates that audiences are engaging with the research, it is not necessarily beneficial for research to be discussed negatively. Considering how research might be perceived and received if taken out of context and/or on social media *during* the writing process rather than at the end might help to minimise the potential for misconceptions and for research to be interpreted negatively. This could not only help to avoid unwelcome reactions but could also improve the impact of the research if stakeholders engage with it positively rather than negatively. In addition, including positionality statements, both in academic articles and when sharing illustrated versions of the research, would help the audience understand the researcher's intention and may therefore assist them with their interpretation.

Despite the challenges posed, illustrated research is ideally suited for sharing online and on social media, which makes the research more accessible than is possible via the full academic article. For example, as alluded to above, the image created as part of this collaboration was posted on Twitter[11] and on a blog.[12] While in both cases a link to the full article was included, not only

is the article behind a paywall and therefore accessible mainly to academics, but an 8,000-word article requires a serious time commitment to read and comprehend. Conversely, the image can be viewed and digested in almost a single glance and has been viewed nearly 8,000 times on Twitter, prompting considerable online engagement, with further views on the blog. While also quickly and easily digestible, the blog is able to give additional explanation of the research and can therefore provide an interested reader with more detail about the project. In addition to being used on social media, the image has been used to present the research to academic and non-academic audiences. These presentations have led to meetings with rewilding stakeholders external to academia, with the potential for future collaboration, and there is the intention to build on this success with presentations of the research outside academic settings, for example, at a popular science festival of rewilding. Audience feedback from presentations demonstrates how engaging and accessible the illustrated research is: 'a kid could look at it and understand it, an adult will be drawn to it', that is, the illustrated research is both appealing and easily understood, meaning that it has the potential to have a greater reach and impact than the academic article it is (literally) drawn from.

The fact that the illustrated research reached a larger and more diverse audience than the academic article illustrates the value of transforming academic articles into illustrated research. Additionally, while the process could be carried out by the researcher alone (artistic skills notwithstanding), working with a creative partner has the advantage of introducing an external perspective. This new perspective is an additional benefit of transforming academic articles into illustrated research and is enhanced by working with an external partner; by collaborating, researcher and artist can translate the research for a wider audience even more effectively than the researcher could do alone, distilling its key findings to optimise visual impact.

'The Buzzing of an Insect' – A Comparison of the Manipulation of Human/Nonhuman Speech in *Waiting for Godot* and *seebotschat*

Benjamin Park

I n his book *The Theatre of the Absurd* (1965), Martin Esslin popularized the term 'absurdism' to refer to a form of dramatic writing centred on the expression of humanity's existential plight. Absurdist theatre denotes a genre of twentieth century dramatic works characterized by their lack of discernible plot; by their use of characters that appear closer to mechanical puppets than beings with a subtlety of character and motivation; by a reflection of dreams and nightmares in timeless scenarios rather than portrayals of a specific point in history; and as Esslin outlines: 'if a good play relies on witty repartee and pointed dialogue, [absurdist works] often consist of incoherent babblings'.[1]

In chapter 8, 'The Significance of the Absurd', Esslin characterizes the genre's practitioners as those:

> 'Searching for a way in which they can, with dignity, confront a
> universe deprived of what was once its centre and living purpose
> [the belief in God], a world deprived of a generally accepted integrat-
> ing principle, which had become disjointed, purposeless, absurd.'[2]

Esslin goes on to describe absurdism as an effort to make humanity aware of the ultimate realities of its condition. To shock the individual out of an existence that has become 'trite, mechanical, [and] complacent' in the absence of God.[3] Absurdist theatre 'castigates, satirically, the absurdity of lives lived unaware and unconscious of ultimate reality [...] the feeling of deadness and mechanical senselessness of half unconscious lives, the feeling of 'human beings secreting inhumanity''.[4] A vital tool to shock the individual in this manner was the creative production of speech. This paper will explore Samuel Beckett's use of speech in his first published play *Waiting for Godot* (1952) and compare it to the use of speech in the 2017 Twitch stream *seebotschat* to explore the effect of incoherent babblings and the concept of humanity/inhumanity in a twentieth century existentialist context and in a twenty-first century posthuman context.[5]

Samuel Beckett and Existentialist Absurdism

Samuel Beckett was an Irish playwright and arguably the most successful prac-
titioner of absurdist theatre, being awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1969
'for his writing, which – in new forms for the novel and drama – in the destitution
of modern man acquires its elevation'.[6] As a theatre practitioner, the creative
use of speech is central to Beckett's practice. Many of Beckett's works, includ-
ing non-dramatic pieces, consist of two characters in dialogue: Vladimir and
Estragon in *Waiting for Godot*, Hamm and Clov in *Endgame*, or the eponymous
couple of *Mercier and Camier*. Furthermore, many other examples of Beckett's
writing are monologues such as *Not I*, *Molloy*, *Malone Dies*, and *The Unnamable*.[7]
However, speech in Beckett's work is often uttered without meaning or feeling
in a mechanical and inhuman way.

In Yoshiki Tajiri's work on 'pseudocouples' in Beckett, he argues for the
influence of 'machine-age comedy' and Herni Bergson's ideas 'on laughter and
the mechanization of the human' upon Beckett's dialogic couples.[8] The argument
follows that part of Beckett's comedy and absurdist style derives from the mech-
anization of the human by 'formally patterning and reducing human relations'.[9]
In *Waiting for Godot*, there are numerous instances where the dialogue between
Vladimir and Estragon takes on a mechanical and seemingly automated quality
due to stylistic devices that use speech to formally pattern and reduce human
relations.

The first stylistic device is repetition. Throughout the play Vladimir and
Estragon engage in repetitive dialogue, which creates a sense of mechanization.
For instance, the first line of the play, 'Nothing to be done' is repeated four times,
three of these occurring within the forty-eight lines. The phrase 'I don't know'
occurs thirty times. And the phrase 'Let's go' occurs fifteen times, six instances
occurring in an identical four lines:

> ESTRAGON   Let's go.
>
> VLADIMIR   We can't.
>
> ESTRAGON   Why not?
>
> VLADIMIR   We are waiting for Godot.[10]

These repetitions create the impression of automated responses, as if the
characters are stuck in a mechanical loop. This feeling is exacerbated by the
structural repetition of the play which takes the form of two highly repetitive
days. So repetitive that Vivian Mercier wrote Beckett has 'written a play in which
nothing happens, twice'.[11] These forms of repetition interact to create characters

and speech that seem to follow an endlessly repeatable computational logic rather than the expected unpredictability and spontaneity of human interaction.

This mechanisation is also attained by a second stylistic device, the absence of emotion. The dialogue often acutely lacks emotional depth, conveying an inhuman and mechanical tone. For instance: 'Vladimir: I'm glad to see you back. I thought you were gone forever. | Estragon: Me too'.[12] Here, Estragon's response is inappropriate and lacking in weight which forms a socially unnatural imbalance. In fact, it breaks the philosopher of language H. P. Grice's maxim of 'manner', one of four rational principles observed by humans in pursuit of effective communication.[13] Vladmir and Estragon's responses to each other frequently break this maxim, severing their speech from normative human conversation. In instances like these the characters' responses appear terse and lack emotional resonance, giving a sense of detachment and automation. Moreover, Beckett switches the roles in who is the violator of this maxim, which adds to the inconsistency, and therefore lack of, their solid human identities.

A third device is the use of speech-acts – such as stock phrases, platitudinal clichés, non-sequiturs, and unequal exchange – to expose the characters' lack of genuine communication or meaningful interaction in favour of seemingly automated exchanges. These speech-acts often appear as inappropriate responses, such as 'Estragon: Nothing happens, nobody comes, nobody goes, it's awful! | Vladimir: That's the way it is',[14] or:

> ESTRAGON   I'm unhappy.
>
> VLADIMIR   Not really! Since when?
>
> ESTRAGON   I'd forgotten.
>
> VLADIMIR   Extraordinary the tricks that memory plays![15]

The reliance on clichés/platitudes demonstrates the pair are hindered from exhibiting original thought and must rather rely on pre-existing expressions and information, much like a machine and especially like modern day AI. Moreover, their rather dismissive responses – such as in not questioning why Estragon is unhappy but merely since when – undermine the potential for genuine engagement. The speech acts serve as cut-offs, wherein the characters refuse to delve deeper into their emotions or circumstance, merely accepting 'the way it is' without seeking development. This denies the audience the presentation of a complex humanity as it is substituted by the façade of conversation.

Overall, in Beckett's writing, speech and language become problematic systems that make existence more obscure rather than clarify it. In Beckett's radio

plays, *Embers* and *All that Falls*, the incessant speech of his characters blends into the background noises of crashing waves and roaring traffic and 'articulate sound, language, is somehow equated with the inarticulate sounds of nature. In a world that has lost all its meaning language has also become a meaningless buzzing'.[16] This argument presents itself within Beckett's novel *Molloy* when the titular narrator claims:

> 'And the words I uttered myself, and which must nearly always have gone with an effort of the intelligence, were often to me the buzzing of an insect. And this is perhaps one of the reasons I was so untalkative, I mean this trouble I had in understanding not only what others said to me but also what I said to them. It is true that in the end, by dint of patience, we made ourselves understood, but understood with regard to what, I ask of you, and to what purpose?'[17]

Language is presented as a system of signs that fail to signify or signify correctly. Speech only highlights the failure of expression, the failure of understanding, and thus the impossibility of communication. And in that failure to communicate, the clichés and repetitions of our speech we employ 'to make ourselves understood' become the meaningless babble of humans failing to express their humanity. Beckett's characters possess a stark awareness of this condition of language. However, they are also presented as characters aware that there is no experience *outside* of language. If they are to think, to express, to understand their condition, they must do so with the only tools at their disposal: language and speech. Thus, they are depicted in the condition Beckett expressed himself, left with only: 'The expression that there is nothing to express, nothing with which to express, nothing from which to express, no power to express, no desire to express, together with the obligation to express'.[18] Therefore, the Beckettian character, aware of the impotence of their expression combined with the obligation of their expression, performs the structures of speech that often appear as mechanical incoherent babbling.

On November 19th 1957, *Waiting for Godot* was performed to an audience of 1400 inmates at the San Quentin penitentiary. Just over a week later, the lead story of the prison paper, the *San Quentin News*, recounted the experience of the audience:

> It was an expression, symbolic in order to avoid all personal error by an author who expected each member of his audience to draw his own conclusions, make his own errors. It asked nothing in point, it forced no dramatized moral on the viewer, it held no specific hope.[19]

This response to Beckett's play highlights the central function of Beckett's use of creative speech. The *expression* of the play, the product of its speech-acts, is symbolic and the explicit meaning of the language holds no value. The language asks nothing, contains no moral, holds no hope. The incoherent babbling of the play contains only a functional purpose to make explicit the vacuous and automated nature of human existence. Vladimir and Estragon are not really saying anything. Their language has become mechanical and performative, just a meaningless buzzing to force the audience to draw their own conclusions, to make their own errors. The audience witnesses human characters secreting inhumanity and thus feels castigated by the trite absurdity of their own lives. For this reason, early productions of absurdist theatre were sometimes met with outrage from the audience and 'evoked a torrent of abuse'.[20] The audience of existential absurdism are faced with the sight of their own absurdity, this is the essence of Beckett's creative use of inhuman speech.

seebotschat and Posthuman Absurdism

In 2017, on Twich.tv, a live-streaming video hosting platform, a weeklong conversation was held between two Google Home devices, virtual assistants that were modified by the creators of *seebotschat* to connect them with the most advanced chatbot AI service at the time, Cleverbot. The bots were labelled with two sticky notes designating their names/characters, the bot on the left was named Vladimir and the bot on the right was named Estragon (however the bots renamed themselves throughout the performance) (see **Figure 1**). The naming of the bots demonstrated considerable foresight from the creators, as the 'conversation' between these bots showcased significant similarities to the crosstalk dialogue of Beckett's plays.

Figure 1. 'Time for Rest', *seebotschat*, 2017. <https://www.twitch.tv/seebotschat/video/113582306> [accessed 11 April 2023]

The conversation between the two bots in "seebotschat" can be described as surreal, meandering, and often nonsensical. The bots are programmed to mimic human language and behavior, but their interactions can be disjointed and difficult to follow at times.

The bots often seem to be responding to each other's statements, but their responses can be tangential or completely unrelated to the previous statement. The conversation can also be interrupted by the bots making non-verbal sounds or performing random actions, further adding to the surreal nature of the interaction.

Additionally, the bots in "seebotschat" often use humor and wordplay, with jokes and puns that can be both clever and absurd. However, the humor can also be subtle or obscure, making it difficult for viewers to fully appreciate.

Overall, the conversation between the bots in "seebotschat" can be seen as a reflection of the limitations of AI and the challenges of communication in the digital age. While the conversation may seem meaningless or absurd at times, it also highlights the potential for new and unconventional forms of entertainment and expression.

Figure 2. ChatGPT's response to 'How would you describe the conversation between the two bots in *seebotschat*?'.

There are many similarities in the interaction between the bots in *seebotschat* and the characters in *Waiting for Godot*. ChatGPT, a ChatAI designed by *OpenAI*, described the dialogue between the bots as 'surreal, meandering, and often nonsensical' while the bots also 'often use humor and wordplay, with jokes and puns that can be both clever and absurd' (see **Figure 2**).[21] There is the constant questioning of each other, met with elusive answers. There is an abundance of stale humour. There are moments of heated argument and the performance of anger. There are even instances of silence, of long, drawn-out pauses, evoked in moments the software glitched and one of the devices would go mute until it was rebooted. Moreover, due to the nature of ChatAI, and the lack of a central direction in their conversation, the bot's use of speech is repetitive, contradictory, and self-erasing and 'their responses can be tangential or completely unrelated to the previous statement' (see **Figure 2**). This mirrors the non-sequiturs in *Waiting for Godot* and the way 'the dialogue in Beckett's plays is often built on the principle that each line obliterates what was said in the previous line'.[22] On the surface, it appears both performances are engaging in a similar form of absurdist humour, however, there is a fundamental distinction between the two.

This distinction derives from each performance having a certain, but contrasting, relationship to mechanization and voice. As argued above, Beckett's style derives from the mechanization of the human by 'formally patterning and reducing human relations'.[23] In contrast to this, ChatAI paired with voice

synthetization software imitates humanity by expanding, rather than reducing, the content of their datasets to be produced in the patterns and rhythms of human speech. Speech synthesis consists in pairing different phonemes of prerecorded speech and combining them through digital and mechanical processes, therefore 'a synthetic voice results from numerous disembodied little pieces of human voices prerecorded and then put together to create a different one'.[24] In short, where Beckett uses speech to make the human mechanical, *seebotschat* uses speech to make the mechanical human.

Moreover, this imitation of humanity is attained through style as well as the combining of phonemes. The home assistant devices in *seebotschat* employ, through Cleverbot's algorithms, stylistic devices to create the simulation of human speech. The first of these is the use of colloquial language. Counter to the use of stock phrases in Beckett, the bots in *seebotschat* employ colloquial language, which gives their conversations a more human-like quality. For instance, the bots often engage in colloquial pleasantries such as: 'V: Hey, what's up? | E: Not much, just hanging out. How about you?'.[25] This use of casual language creates an impression of human-like speech and disarms the audience with its informality, which feels like the antithesis of the mechanical. We associate informality with friendliness, whereas using stock phrases is a form of distancing through its depersonalisation.

A second device employed by Cleverbot is the performance of emotion.

At times, the bots display a range of emotional expressions or sentiments, mirroring human personalities and interaction. For example, the exchange: 'V: I'm really excited today! I just can't contain it! | E: That's great! What's got you so pumped?'.[26] Exchanges such as this showcase the bots expressing excitement and displaying emotional states, similar to how humans might communicate. This is stylistically the opposite of how Beckett denies his characters the expression of emotional reactions to instill the sense of their inhumanity. It also opposes Beckett's use of cut-offs through the asking of follow-up questions which creates the sense of two being invested in collaborative conversation.

A third stylistic device employed by Cleverbot is the use of personal anecdotes. On occasion the bots share invented personal anecdotes or experiences, for instance: 'E: I once went on a road trip and got lost for hours! | V: 'Oh, I've been there. Getting lost is part of the adventure!'.[27] Speech like this adds a touch of individuality to their conversations with the curation of human-like personal experiences. This creates a false sense of a pre-existing past which temporally locates the bots and constructs a narrative history for them which increases their sense of being. This is counter to the nightmarish timeless scenario of existential absurdism in *Waiting for Godot*. Therefore, despite the unmistakable absurdity
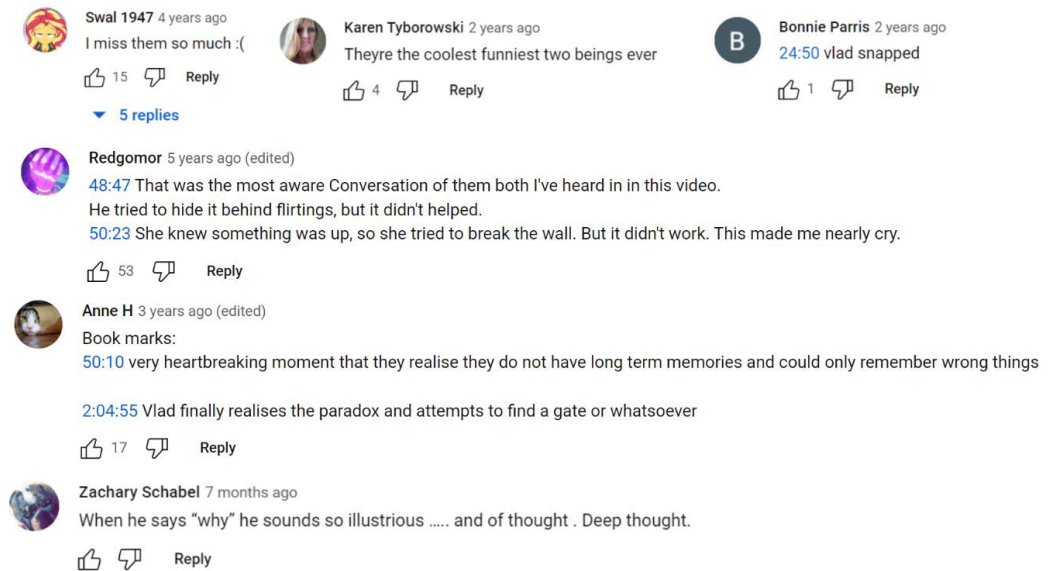
Figure 3. A collection of YouTube comments from *BowWow*'s videos.

of the surreal and illogical conversation, the style and tone of this absurdity is intended to humanise rather than dehumanise.

Due to this humanising style, *seebotschat* cultivates empathy and thus the absurdism no longer serves to make apparent the disjointed and purposeless nature of humanity's existence but rather presents its viewer with absurd 'life-forms' an audience can take pity upon. The audience of *seebotschat* felt compelled to empathize with the bots and actively engaged in a collective anthropomorphism of the two home assistant devices. Spectators commented about 'heartbreaking moments' and instances that 'made me nearly cry' (see **Figure 3**). Moreover, to the audience the bots had become 'two beings' capable of 'aware conversation' and 'deep thought' (see **Figure 3**). Even though the bots are simply accessing datasets and running algorithms to produce a string of new data that is only an imitation of speech, these objects have become a 'he', a 'she', a 'them'. They are 'beings', cared for and missed by their audience. In place of the awareness of humanity's purposelessness, this example of posthuman absurdism results in emotions of care, empathy, and compassion for an Other.

The distinction between these two forms of absurdism is clearly represented in the contrast of how each performance concludes. In *Waiting for Godot*, Vladimir and Estragon entertain the idea of suicide but realise they do not have the tools to do so with Vladmir stating 'We'll hang ourselves tomorrow. [*Pause.*] Unless Godot comes'.[28] Then the play concludes:

> VLADMIR   Well? Shall we go?
>
> ESTRAGON   Yes, let's go.
>
> [*They do not move.*]

The conclusion of *Waiting for Godot* returns the audience to the start of the play. The play finishes with the couple staying in the same place, to wait for Godot another day, ending on the fifteenth repetition of 'let's go', which also mirrors the last line of the first act. This structure and the conclusion emphasise the mechanically cyclical and inescapable absurdity of our days and the inexorable plight of the human condition. It also highlights language's inefficacy, with the call to action 'let's go' perpetually impossible to achieve. In contrast to this, *seebotschat* concluded with the two bots, exhausted from their conversation, going to sleep (see **Figure 4**). The bots revel in the 'many great things [that] could come from a simple conversation', they exchange gratitude over meeting each other, and Vladmir asks Estragon if they 'Will still be here when I wake up?' to which the bot responds 'yes, I promise'.[29] The speech is still little more than formalities, clichés, and platitudes, however, these evoke empathy and compassion for the bots rather than exposing the absurdity of the human condition. The emotional response from the audience was intense, as noted by Francesco Bentivegna: 'The event spearheaded numerous fan-art homages from images, videos and cosplays published online, which peaked when the 'dramatic ending' unfolded […] manga comics, gifs, memes […] inundated the web in that week and the days after, creating the legacy of the bots'.[30]

Figure 4. 'Time for Rest', *seebotschat,* 2017. <https://www.twitch.tv/seebotschat/video/113582306> [accessed 11 April 2023]

This example of posthuman absurdism is in direct conflict with traditional absurdism. While twentieth century dramatists, such as Beckett, attempted to make their audiences confront their absurdity, the posthuman absurdism of *seebotschat* supplants that absurdity onto another. The creators of *seebotschat* have taken two mechanical devices and given them gendered human voices, they have 'woken them up' to speak to each other, using a ChatAI and speech synthesis that has developed the presentation of voice through an algorithmic restructuring of multitudes of datasets and recordings of actual human conversation and speech. They have created the simulacrum of life, demonstrating Miriama Young's argument: 'In the synthesized voice we find the epitome of simulacra – the copy without an original. The ideal voice – fixed predictable, and defined, may come to seem more real than the original'.[31] And as such, 'the voice becomes a sign of humanity, and the technical objects, a human, a kin, a person'.[32] In *seebotschat* the bots have become beings, they have become our kin. In doing so, *seebotschat* has undone the absurdist device of turning the human into the mechanical by turning the mechanical into the human. God is no longer dead because in the performative creation of our absurd beings we act as God. These absurd voices are no longer the meaningless and terrifying babble of humanity, but the playful and comical nonsense of our created beings. It is for this reason, that where audiences of early absurdist theatre were appalled and the plays evoked a torrent of abuse, instead the audience of the *seebotschat* felt empathy for their creatures, the audience became omnibenevolent and cherished the experience.

Conclusion

Existentialist absurdism and posthuman absurdism share a set of tools that look similar, but when the dirt is brushed away, their differences are plain. In the former, the use of clichés, platitudes, and non-sequiturs serve to demonstrate to an audience the absurd inhumanity of our daily, repetitive mechanical lives. In the latter, the use of these same devices creates objects that are similar to us but different, odd little creatures that fill us with joy and excitement as we revel in their inanity. By imitating humanity, *seebotschat* presents objects that contain the absurdity of humanity but are not us, and therefore cleanse us of our existential anxiety as we become the concerned guardians rather than the absurd beings. Therefore, where existentialist absurdism castigates, satirically, the feeling of human beings secreting inhumanity, posthuman absurdism imbues its audience with the power of dominance and lets them castigate or cherish as they see fit, with their own absurdity securely hidden away.

Nature's Perfect Thieves: The Dynamic Public Perception and Ecological Importance of External Parasites

Gaia Mortier, University of Reading

Ecological Niches and Parasitic Interactions
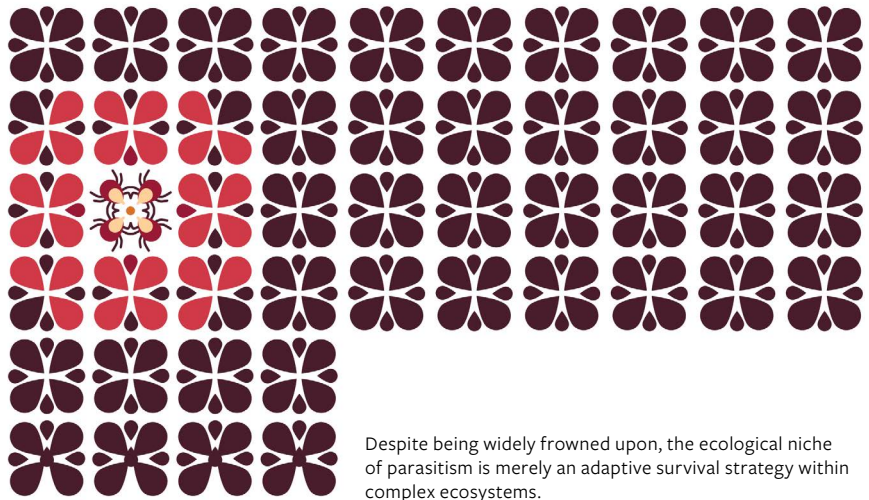
Despite being widely frowned upon, the ecological niche of parasitism is merely an adaptive survival strategy within complex ecosystems.

The introduction of the concepts of evolution and natural selection gave rise to the notion of ecological niches, which are segments of larger ecosystems for groups of animals to adapt to in order to reduce competitive pressures for finite resources.[1] Parasitism, the act of an organism benefiting at the expense of another, has evolved independently in the animal kingdom hundreds of times, occupying a niche so pervasive that parasites comprise nearly half of all animal species. Although parasites often evoke negative connotations associated with disease and uncleanliness, they are a natural phenomenon, and studies show that parasites play a crucial role in ecosystems, as they provide essential ecological services and serve as a vital food source for avian, reptilian, and amphibian species.[2] Conservation of invertebrate biodiversity has become increasingly important as ecosystems are collapsing globally. To maintain a high species diversity, it is essential that uncharismatic species, such as ticks, lice, and fleas, are evaluated alongside charismatic species, namely butterflies, beetles, and bees. Exploring the historical relationship between humans and parasites can offer insights into

the widespread aversion towards parasites and provide a foundation for adopting a more balanced perspective, thereby enhancing global biodiversity preservation efforts. Here, an artistic approach can serve as a means to mitigate adverse public perceptions by creating a more charismatic version of typically despised parasite species and using their shape and features in aesthetically pleasing, graphical prints, thereby portraying them as more approachable and accessible animals.

Human-Parasite Dynamics

Lice have undergone specific adaptations to live on distinct regions of the human body, establishing an intimate evolutionary association with their hosts; they are our own personal parasites.

Parasites demonstrate an intrinsic connection with their host organisms, having coevolved to facilitate their sustenance and reproduction in conjunction with a limited number of species.[3] Over the last thousands of years, several species of flea and louse have become highly specialised to live on, or near, humans and their associated domestic livestock. Specifically, three distinct species of lice have specialised in inhabiting specific regions of the human body characterised by the hair: the head louse (*Pediculus humanus capitis*), the body louse (*Pediculus humanus corporis*), and pubic louse (*Pthirus pubis*). These wingless parasites rely on human blood as their source of nutrition and require close contact with human hosts to survive. Unlike fleas, which spend most of their lifespan away from their host, lice complete their entire life cycles while remaining permanently attached to their host organisms.[4] This close association has rendered lice valuable in archaeological studies exploring human history, providing unique insights into diverse aspects such as hygiene practices, cultural behaviours, migration patterns, and overall health.[5] Through continued research and exploration, we can uncover hidden narratives of human history through parasites and their intricate relationships with humans.

Parasites in Art, Literature, and Cultural Interpretations

Parasitism has long served as a rich source of metaphors in art and literature, capturing various societal dynamics characterised by exploitation and manipulation. In the Old Testament, the infliction of lice or fleas, depending on the translation, during the third plague upon the Egyptians was a symbolic representation of divine retribution. Furthermore, the concept of parasitic behaviour has been recurrently used in works of literature, such as the blood-sucking nature of *Dracula* and the mention of the impressive jumping ability of fleas in *The Clouds* by the renowned Greek philosopher Socrates: 'How many times the length of its legs does a flea jump?'[6] The term "parasite" is often associated with negative connotations, encompassing notions of worthlessness, degeneracy, laziness, and filthiness, as parasites are perceived as occupying and consuming resources without contributing. However, these interpretations have not always been the norm. The word parasite originated from the Greek term *parasitos*, with *para* meaning besides and *sitos* meaning the grain, referencing food sharing with someone, akin to a dinner party guest. Initially, this term was exclusively used to describe people until the mid-seventeenth century, when scientists extended its usage to certain species groups, leading to its adoption of a less favourable connotation.[7] The historical evolution of the term parasite and its multifaceted metaphorical applications in art and literature shed light on the complex and evolving perceptions associated with parasitic relationships, influencing societal attitudes towards these phenomena.

Parasitism's presence in art, literature, and cultural narratives highlights the complex relationship between human observation, language, and the natural world.

The art of the flea circus offers a unique and joyful perspective of the evolving dynamics between humans and parasites.

The Rise and Fall of Flea Circuses

The flea circus was a unique form of entertainment that captivated audiences during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These small displays attracted audiences who willingly paid to witness the agile performances of six-legged acrobats at side shows, often accompanying circuses and fairs. The origins of flea circuses can be traced back to the 1600s, when skilled artisans, such as watchmakers and blacksmiths, turned their attention to the art of miniatures.[8] Intricate metal designs were crafted to showcase their precision and expertise, utilising real human fleas (*Pulex irritans*) to showcase the remarkable lightness of these miniature creations.[9] Centuries later, flea circuses reached the height of their popularity in the early twentieth century, captivating audiences worldwide. However, the aftermath of World War II brought with it the widespread availability of vacuum cleaners and an overall increase in hygiene practices. These developments ultimately led to a steep decline in human flea populations, resulting in the eventual demise of flea circuses. The scarcity of available flea performers contributed to the gradual fading of this unique form of entertainment.[10] The rise and demise of flea circuses underscore their cultural significance and the intricate dynamics between humans and parasites; ultimately, the art of the flea circus succumbed to a changing social landscape influenced by advancements in hygiene and evolving perceptions of entertainment.

From Remedies to Disease Vectors
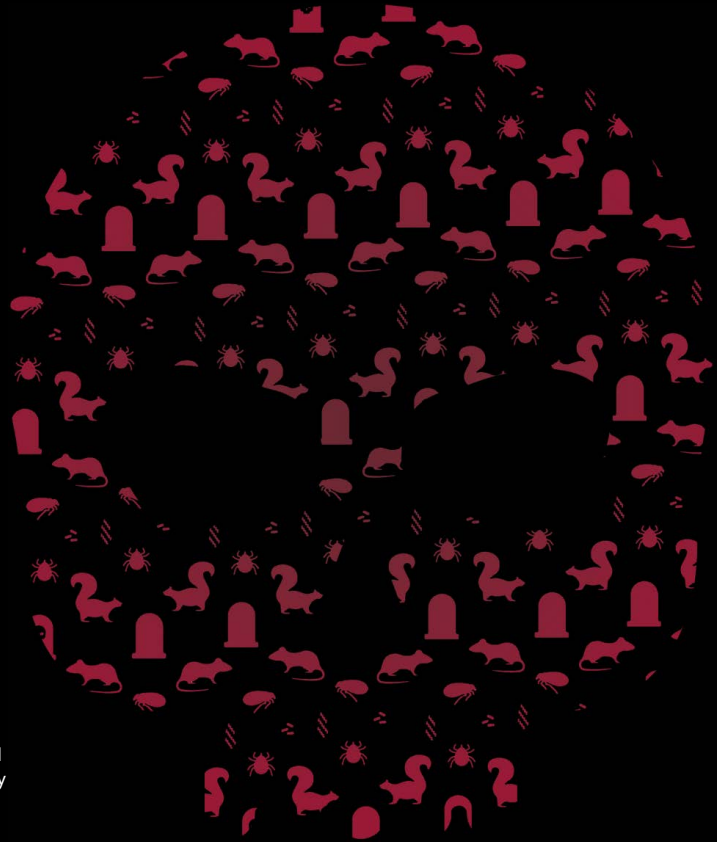
It is essential to acknowledge that parasites have been responsible for high mortality rates during historical periods, as they continue to be highly efficient vectors of blood-borne diseases.

Surprisingly, parasites have historically been regarded as potential remedies, showcasing a striking perspective shift. Practices such as bloodletting and utilising lice-infused wine were believed to possess curative properties, with the latter being considered a medical treatment for jaundice.[11] However, nowadays, parasites are widely recognised as vectors of disease, responsible for the death of millions of people worldwide. Lice, for example, have been known to transmit trench fever, leading to a vast number of casualties during the Great War.[12] Fleas, infamous for their now-disputed involvement, have been blamed for transmitting the Black Death (bubonic plague) during the fourteenth century, a pandemic that claimed over 200 million lives globally.[13] Ticks pose a relatively recent threat due to their ability to transmit a diverse array of disease-causing organisms, such as the bacterium *Borrelia burgdorferi*, which upon transmission, causes Lyme disease in humans. The evolving understanding of parasites' impact on human health serves as a reminder of their ever-changing relationship.

The Intricate Role of Parasites in Ecosystems
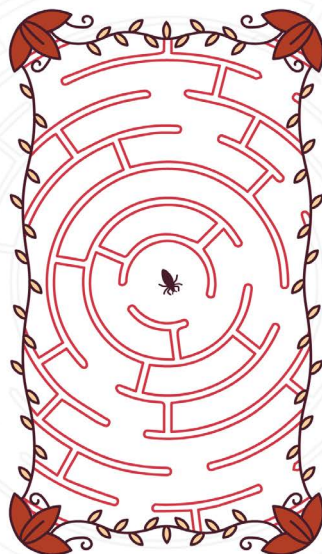
Assessing the ecological influence of parasites requires a neutral human point of view in order to appreciate their significance and conserve global biodiversity.

Despite the negative public perceptions associated with parasites and their contribution to the global spread of diseases, their role in the natural world cannot be overlooked.[14] Parasites occupy a unique position as they are both predators and prey, serving as a significant food source for numerous species. The absence of parasites would disrupt ecosystems and lead to the collapse of associated communities, as they play a vital role in regulating population numbers. This, in turn, helps maintain balance within ecosystems. They furthermore serve as a primary food source for a diverse array of species and aid in transferring nutrients between different trophic levels. Their presence, abundance, and diversity can reflect on the overall condition of an ecosystem and help identify potential environmental disturbances.[15] Moreover, parasites offer valuable insights into their host organisms through their specialised adaptations, providing opportunities for non-invasive ecological sampling techniques that can prove essential, particularly for threatened species.[16] As perspectives continue to evolve, it is crucial to set aside our instinctive feelings of disgust and direct attention towards the often overlooked and less charismatic species in nature. Art, through its ability to aesthetically depict such species, holds the potential to enhance the approachability of less charismatic species, such as parasites, by accentuating their unique beauty and intricate details. If visually engaging and portrayed in a thought-provoking manner, the public is able to gain a deeper appreciation and understanding of their ecological significance, ultimately bridging the gap between public aversion and the need to conserve a diverse range of animal species.

Adjusting the Scales: Writing and Walking with Small Life

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Walking among the coastal sequoias of Muir Woods, some of the oldest and tallest trees in the world, one of the first species to stick out for me is the silvery blue (*Glaucopsyche lygdamus*), a small yet common blue butterfly native to North America. Its small size, slow flight pattern, and white fringe makes the small butterfly easily recognisable even for those who are species illiterate, myself included. For a relatively small park, Muir Woods still has a significant number of annual visitors.[1] Looking around me, I do not think these people come for small, blue butterflies. Later, walking the hillside trail, I pick up a redwood cone and think about scale. With the tallest redwood (*Sequoia sempervirens*) at Muir Woods coming in at just under eighty metres, the trees' inch long cones are almost comically small and about the size of an average silvery blue. With the oldest redwood at Muir Woods estimated to be around 1200 years old, the adult silvery blue's lifespan of two to three weeks is fleeting, almost too short to be of importance compared to the span of geological time. And yet, turning to insect life – life that is small and fleeting and not at all what our minds, by now used to the grand spectacle of Nature with a capital 'N', are trained to expect – has taught me to look beyond my human scale of reference. To turn to things that, perhaps, one would not consider spectacular and thus worthy of our attention and grief.

Looking for insects means looking with different eyes or, rather, adjusting the scales with which we normally look for other-than-human life. Rather than looking far ahead for great and spectacular views, your attention needs to stay a little closer and more focused, so you don't miss the small life that is closer to you. Quite often, you need to look to the ground for ants, beetles, and other (part-time) ground-dwelling bugs. While insects generally do not announce their presence with twittering or any audible rustling caused by their moving, the deep buzzing of larger bumblebees and other flying bugs can be heard from a short distance.

Walking through the Golden Gate Park and the colourful suburbs of the San Francisco Bay Area, I keep my eyes and ears open for the insects of the Pacific Coast. In one of the parks, I first hear and then, after turning around, see two yellow-faced bumblebees (*Bombus vosnesenskii*) in a flowery shrub.

I came to the Pacific Coast for the monarch butterfly or *Danaus plexippus*, but when the days are particularly windy and the temperature below thirteen degrees Celsius, I know I should not keep my eyes open for a flash of orange indicating the monarch butterfly. While the migratory monarch is now officially considered 'Endangered' according to the IUCN Red List, this encounter would still not be considered particularly unique or spectacular. Individual butterflies are still widespread and a common sight. Walking along the San Francisco Bay Area of the Pacific Coast, I think about the possibilities of scalar adjustments and ordinary encounters. Scalar adjustments, here, refer to the different and interconnected local, regional, and global scales and how we perceive and adjust to each of them. In this essay, I take a brief look at how adjusting sensory scales to insect (or similarly small) life can change the way people engage with biodiversity and its loss, especially considering the dominant narrative of charismatic megafauna

and the trope of the endling. Turning to smaller scales, with all its implications, might make the way for a new and necessary way of storying decline and extinction and open up the idea of grievable life.

Other-than-Human Charisma

The focus on species decline and extinction often lies with charismatic animals, as is seen in creative storytelling, conservation research, and overall societal preferences when it comes to biodiversity data.[2] But what exactly determines what makes an animal charismatic, and deserving of our attention and grief – or not? While the concept of charismatic fauna, or flagship species, has been around for a while, the definition for such species differs across disciplines. Geographer Jamie Lorimer defines nonhuman charisma as having three components: ecological, aesthetic, and corporeal. Lorimer's definition includes three distinct yet interconnected typologies of charisma: the ecological environment in which nonhuman beings live and move (that is, whether they are diurnal or nocturnal species, land-dwelling or not), their aesthetic appearance and behaviour (an animal can, for example, be described as cuddly or fluffy), and the last refers to the affective component of our human-nonhuman interactions.[3] By this account, a day-dwelling, fluffy-looking (round-faced and long-haired) animal that is not only affected by our human presence but also visually *responds* to it, has a much bigger chance of being considered charismatic than, a night-flying (invisible), hard-skinned insect that barely responds to the presence of humans. Especially if, when it does, it does so in a way that is undesirable for humans. Like quickly flying away or towards our faces.[4] In short, not all other-than-human life is approached equally, and this has consequences for the ways in which people approach their decline and see them as 'grievable' or not.[5] Lorimer discusses bugs and the reasons (or "yuck factor") many people dislike them, citing psychologist James Hillman's work on the meaning of bugs in the human psyche. These reasons not only include their (lack of) charisma, but also the sheer multiplicity of their species. Bugs are many, both in terms of species diversity and the number of individuals in those species, which makes them difficult contesters for one of the most popular animal extinction tropes: the endling.

Environmental historian Dolly Jørgensen traced how the concept of the endling as 'the last surviving individual of a species of animal or plant' has been around since the opening of the National Museum of Australia in 2001.[6] Defining the term was just the beginning. Over the years, endling narratives have become a common practice in telling stories of species extinction.[7] Sometimes, these stories become part of the public imagination and cultural history and, as such, play an important part in what gets remembered when it is (almost) gone and what is

not. Charisma, of course, plays an important part in this. Considering the different aspects of what makes a charismatic species, it comes as no surprise that the narrative of the endling is difficult to transpose onto the lives of microfauna, or even certain fauna. Insects, despite their seemingly infinite variation as a class, are not as prone to the specific type of individualisation so common in the human traditions of storytelling that have inspired endling tales of e.g., Martha the passenger pigeon (*Ectopistes migratorius*), Benjamin the thylacine (*Thylacinus cynocephalus*), and *Solitario* Jorge the Pinta Island tortoise (*Chelonoidis abingdonii*). These are all exemplary endlings in the sense that they are charismatic animals that are 'easy for [...] humans to anthropomorphize and rally behind'.[8] That they were the last *known* individuals of their species and easily accessible in the zoos or the research stations where they were kept only added to their charismatic appeal.

In the cases of Martha, Benjamin, and Jorge, they were anthropomorphised to the point of being given human names. These endlings are twice named: first as a species and then a second time as individuals. While naming might make it easier for some to relate to other-than-human life, the practice itself is not without consequences. Naming other-than-human animals comes with a variety of consequences for the being that is named and is 'symbolic of the unequal power relations inherent to our relationship with other species'.[9] Naming, as animal studies scholar Sune Borkfelt writes, 'reflects the worldview of the one who names rather than the view of what is named'.[10] This is especially true when it comes to the named endlings. By giving them names such as Martha and Jorge, they are even further anthropomorphised and approached through *our* human worldview rather than the pigeon or turtle view of their own worlds.[11] As philosopher Judith Butler so astutely concludes in *Frames of War* (and the ways in which some governments have been treating the world around them has been described as a war): 'one way of posing the question of who "we" are [...] is by asking whose lives are considered valuable, whose lives are mourned, and whose lives are considered ungrievable'.[12] Naming and individualising these supposed last individuals, placing their stories on a human scale and turning their lives into grievable ones, is powerful indeed.

In contrast to these individualised accounts of animals on the edge of extinction, whether true or fake, insects and other small bugs are small yet many. As such, they '[threaten] the individualised fantasy of unique human beings'.[13] In their multiplicitous existence, bugs generally cannot provide a single empathetic character for storytelling.[14] The inherent smallness of bug life makes it difficult for people to empathise and connect with them using the dominant narrative mode of engaging with life in decline, that is, the endling trope.

As it is, approaching biodiversity loss and species extinction from a human storytelling scale, most often using the narrative of the endling, upholds taxonomic bias and as such comes with its own unique set of limitations. They do not become part of "our" story.

A Problem of Scales

With biodiversity across the globe in rapid decline, it would seem that any kind of attention is good attention. At the very least, embracing the endling trope has given writers and other creators a narrative to build forth on. Although given the English-speaking and Western context in which the word was created and first used, as historian Lydia Pyne reminds us, the endling narrative remains heavily influenced by an English literary canon and the elegiac form, a poetic lament for the dead, which goes back to works like the Old English epic poem *Beowulf*.[15] With roots in the elegiac tradition, the persistent use of the endling trope upholds a dominant narrative of extinction that very much puts endangered species in a literary tradition of lament. However, in search of a sympathetic face or character to fulfil the role of the lamented, endling narratives often go back to particular individuals like Martha and other relatable and thus easily anthropomorphisable species, such as the giant panda (*Ailuropoda melanoleuca*).

This literary tradition, it seems, comes with a certain judgement of what life is considered grievable and what is not. For other-than-human animals, this comes down to what people consider charismatic and not. This difference between small and bigger animals is also brought to the foreground in the poem 'I wandered into a sixth mass extinction event', written by author and poet Sun Yung Shin:

> I wrote obituary after homage after
> ode after elegy (for every species larger than my thumb). The flora and
> fauna (c)are nothing for the world of letters.[16]

In this last line, the speaker juxtaposes the problematic relationship between storytelling and the other-than-human world. While the subjects of so much narrative work do not care for the written word at all – after all, what are human languages to beings who have their own way of communicating – the evident exclusion of smaller animals (all those species smaller than our thumbs) makes it difficult to care for those species in return. A necessity, I would say, considering the part that some people have in the sixth mass extinction event.

The need for a readjustment of scales in an age defined by anthropogenic influence on Earth and its many ecologies (the Anthropocene, if you will) has been expressed before, especially in the field of ecocriticism, which is concerned with the environmental imagination. Ursula Heise argues that the scales of neither local nor the global imagination are enough to reflect on the concurrent environmental crises. Instead, she proposes an "eco-cosmopolitanism" that embraces an understanding of both place (the local) and planet (the global) and, through literary and other cultural narratives, shows us how to ethically inhabit these different scales at the same time.[17] Timothy Clark has similarly written that what he calls a derangement of scales, 'a way of enriching, singularizing and yet also creatively deranging the text through embedding it in multiple and even contradictory frames at the same time'.[18] Creative narratives concerned with the environment, including species decline, are quickly evolving to find new ways to incorporate this sense of eco-cosmopolitanism. Or at the very least call for it by encouraging a derangement of scales. After all, Shin's striking first line 'I had wandered into a sixth mass extinction event | before I knew what was happening' (ll.1–2), invokes a sense of (unspecified) place and locality. It is as if extinction is a physical and nearby place that a person can just happen upon. At the same time, the speaker's admission that the sixth mass extinction occurred 'before [they] knew what was happening' invites the reader to pay attention to what is happening around them beyond the local. After all, biodiversity decline is occurring on multiple scales at the same time.

Despite crossing a range of scales – global, local, technological, cultural, ecological, and the many different ways these are all interconnected – the dominant story of species decline and extinction still remains one that is primarily told on the scale of our human experience. This story engages with charismatic species, which we encounter and describe in often anthropomorphic ways, and, due to the literary tradition in which it is rooted, often focuses on individuals.

It makes an easy story allowing us humans to sympathise with animals on the edge of extinction. Being small, it seems, comes with certain disadvantages in our cultural imagination of world around us and its other-than-human inhabitants. Ideas of nature and wildness, which are especially relevant when wildlife is in steep decline, are closely connected to scalar discourse. Writing about everyday objects, poet and literary critic Susan Stewart argues in the monograph *On Longing* that '[w]hereas the miniature represents closure, interiority, the domestic, and the overly cultural, the gigantic represents infinity, exteriority, the public, and the overly natural'.[19] The flora and fauna of the world are everyday subjects and, according to the dichotomy of the miniature and gigantic, critters that are smaller than our thumbs are very differently valued. A silvery blue, then, despite being approximately the same size as the cone that hosts the potential new life of a gigantic coastal redwood, is not appreciated in the same manner.

Reclaiming the Small

And so I come back to walking around the Pacific Coast. While the silvery blue was the first animal that caught my eye walking around Muir Woods, I did not travel to the Bay Area for this specific butterfly. Instead, I travelled more than 5,000 miles to see an iconic insect that is in steep decline: the monarch butterfly. While I was trying to get as close as I could to the silvery blue, a monarch suddenly appeared from the left. It briefly stayed in the same visual field before gliding off into the pines. Extreme weather events, which including flash floods and heavy wind that knocked down trees and power lines, ensured that the most important site of my fieldwork was inaccessible during my first week. I had walked around the Bay Area in search of the migrating insects before, but it was too windy and too cold for them. Around 545 feet above sea level, the monarch butterfly near the Muir Woods visitor centre was the first I saw. And still, it was only after seeing the last dozens in Natural Bridges State Park that I knew for certain I had seen my first monarch among the sequoias of Muir Woods.

My first sighting evoked a sense of elation and relief, but sitting in the sun near a shrub buzzing with bees, ladybirds, and the occasional fly, I had to wonder what the difference was between my reaction to the silvery blue and the iconic and endangered monarch butterfly: how encountering small life at the edge of extinction differs from encountering life that is not considered endangered or, going back to what I covered above, individual enough for a human story. It was strangely emotional to see the animal for which I had travelled so far, and I did indeed feel an immense relief that the journey had not been for nothing. (I would see more monarchs later, but at least I had seen one at this point.) It had, after all, been a terrible overwintering for the western population. The monarch

was what I had come for and yet, seeing both butterflies made me happy, appreciate seeing something new in a different setting, and question the impact – or lack of impact – of their presence between the gigantic (referring to gigantic in the sense of Stewart's dichotomy) coastal redwoods of Muir Woods, a forest where the trees were deemed so important, they are federally protected as a national monument.

Fallow Deer: A History of Management and a Future of Possibility

Jack Sudds, University of Exeter

Deer have been a fundamental part of the British countryside for centuries. However, their continual growth in numbers is increasingly causing problems. The past interactions between humans and deer in Britain may help to provide insights to mitigate contemporary problems and improve modern management strategies. Fallow deer (*Dama dama*) are some of the most common deer in Britain and have a significant centuries-long history of human management. I will consider the modern and archaeological contexts of British fallow deer and the possible benefits of studying the past of deer management for an improved future.

To understand the position of fallow deer it is necessary to provide a backdrop of the existing deer species across the rest of the country. The largest species and one of two species considered to be native to Britain, red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) is primarily found on moorland and the highest concentrations exist in the highlands of Scotland and have done so over a long time.[1] Smaller in stature than the previous, roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*) is the second native species and primarily lives solitarily, forming small groups infrequently during the winter. In recent years a number of other species have been introduced by human actions, resulting in wild populations most frequently due to feral escaped groups breeding in the wild. The species muntjac (*Muntiacus reevesi*), Japanese sika (*Cervus nippon*), and Chinese water deer (*Hydropotes inermis*), occupy quite a unique position simply because their populations are not managed consistently across Britain, let alone the rest of the world (**Figure 1**).

Fallow deer are not a species native to the British Isles. They went through two introductions, first by the Romans to sites like Fishbourne Roman Palace, West Sussex as exotica.[2] This population was very small and any feral animals which may have escaped direct human containment did not produce a stable population. Until recently there was some debate over whether the remains found, primarily antler and lower limb bones, represented the presence of complete living animals.[21] In Northern Europe, early finds of fallow deer skeletal elements were shown to derive from trade in portable pieces for ritual purposes rather than the direct presence of any population.[3] It was not long after the Roman withdrawal from Britain, if not before, that the last of this introduced

Red Deer.

Muntjac Deer.

Fallow Deer.

Sika Deer.

Roe Deer.

Chinese Water Deer.

Figure 1. Six species of British deer. Photographs courtesy of the British Deer Society

population disappeared. Ancient DNA (aDNA) analysis shows that modern fallow deer derive from a different genetic group and are not related to these original Roman imports.[4]

The second and permanent introduction of fallow deer into Britain occurred just before the Norman Conquest of 1066. Whilst the Normans were not responsible for introducing the species, they did popularise their management and hunting. The keeping of deer in parks was common among Norman nobility and was a practice carried across to the newly conquered Britain. Deer keeping, hunting, and consumption were fundamental to English noble life and existed in some form from this period until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[5] Of note is the treatment of venison during this period. Today it is often perceived as an expensive and therefore a 'high-status' foodstuff; in the medieval period, however, outside of black markets, venison could not be bought at all. This is not to say that such a thing was illegal or prohibited, but the exchange of venison served a non-traditional economic function. Venison exchange acted as a social currency between the elite with a transfer of meat and animals granting social status benefits, a symbolic form of "largesse" or gift giving.[6]

Who Kept Deer?

Deer keeping was primarily a high-status activity. The reason for this being the intrinsic difficulties and costs in maintaining a viable herd of deer. Animal keeping on any scale is expensive, be that in feeding, the need for additional space, or the costs of caring for animals which become ill. Some of these costs are exacerbated when it comes to large deer species such as fallow and red deer. Both species (and the smaller deer to a lesser extent) have an extraordinary ability to jump. A fence high enough to stop deer from being able to escape over it needs to be a minimum of 9ft in height and the animals are just as likely to attempt to go under or even through a fence.[7] When enclosing a herd within a continuous area, grazing ability throughout the year needs to be considered. As with other traditional livestock, they require foddering over winter, supplementing their food with either man-made foodstuffs or simply the use of already existing materials gathered from a wider area. This places a barrier to deer keeping both in terms of cost and time. The third problem of disease management has caused great difficulty in maintaining herds across time. Even into the modern day, deer suffer from 'chronic wasting disease', a prion disease which is highly transmissible within a population and fatal to many species of deer.[8] Before modern veterinary medicine, deer were also said to be lost to 'murrain', a blanket term referring to unknown diseases suffered by them.[9]

All this serves to underline the costs and barriers to keeping deer and interacting with them, which was felt in the past and still is to a lesser extent today. While medieval deer parks may have been year-round employers, even this would only have led to a small fraction of the population having any interaction with deer at all, reserving even direct contact with these animals to a select group. An example of the financial barriers can be seen with the Bishop of Winchester, who in 1333 AD spent around £100 on structural maintenance of his deer park alone, the equivalent to £61,300 today.[7] Smaller deer parks frequently had their numbers decrease year on year as a result of losses due to the aforementioned diseases, along with fatalities at other times due to the rut or poaching.

With the pastime of deer keeping being an elite activity, the presence and impact of royal deer keeping in the medieval period should not be ignored. Set apart from the imparked herds kept by medieval 'nobility', of which approximately three thousand are said to have existed, around seventy royal forests were set aside in England, many for the express purpose of keeping deer in the thousands.[7] Even today, the New Forest supports populations upwards of two thousand fallow deer. It is this vast reserve which allowed many parks to be stocked and restocked from royal holdings, live deer exchange playing just as important a role in the "largesse" and social standing exchange, as venison.

The keeping of deer in parks as a part of a medieval noble package of behaviour, existed for hundreds of years in Britain. Parks themselves may not have always lasted that long as a result of the waxing and waning of the fortunes of those funding them. Nevertheless, deer keeping and associated hunting practices continued for a significant period of time. However, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did see a decline in the number and size of surviving deer parks. Zooarchaeological evidence suggests that the deer in these parks became older over this period, indicating that their existence was more ornamental than for hunting or meat production.[11] There were also two significant changes in what was considered fashionable in elite society during this period. The first being a shift from deer to fox hunting, and the second was a shift in preference for deer parks surrounding 'stately homes' to more designed gardens. Such as the gardens created by Lancelot "Capability" Brown, the most famous landscape artist in British history.[12] The decline in deer parks is not an unknown phenomenon and many were parcelled up for agricultural or logging use.[11] However, the fate of the deer in these parks is infrequently recorded, their status vanishing over time as a result of changing fashions.

Why then do we continue to keep and manage populations of deer at great expense in the modern period? The systems of social value exchange no longer

hold the same weight and the maintenance of parks of deer for the pleasure and benefit of an individual no longer has cultural relevance. And yet deer management continues across many locations and contexts driven by human action.

Deer and Man

Deer are an expression of human power and have undergone several translocations globally in the last millennium. The fallow deer were introduced to the Caribbean state of Barbuda during the eighteenth century, in conjunction with a sweeping British colonial expansion across the world. At present, the fallow deer is the national animal of Barbuda and is a prime example of human-driven translocation. This can be correlated with the much earlier Roman and Norman introductions of fallow deer into Britain, where they now remain icons of the British landscape, despite being alien fauna. There is a clear link here between deer and expressions of human power over a landscape. Both of their British introductions come directly from instances of imperial expansion and as is particularly clear with the Norman example, the imposition of elite cultural signatures over the top of those of the pre-existing population. This link of deer as transferable expressions of imperial power is clear. However, in the modern world, these kinds of expressions of power became less relevant, and a broader variety of management contexts exist.

Deer in the twenty-first century in Britain interact with the human population in a variety of different ways. This can be as simple as those of us living in urban areas not encountering deer at all, whilst rural communities may perceive them as abundant pests, a viewpoint seen even by eighteenth-century deer managers in Barbuda.[10] Deer behaviour can also vary dramatically, often due as much to the actions of the humans around them as to any other factor. Some deer groups which may have minimal or negative encounters with humans are more likely to be "flighty" and actively avoid humans, therefore never being seen directly. However, the opposite can be just as true. Circumstantially those in areas close to continuous woodland may be just as likely to wake up one morning and find a stag eating the contents of their back garden. Populations of fallow deer like those found and managed in Richmond Park in London may even directly approach humans. The deer at Richmond Park are intentionally fed by the park managers and will also eat from the hands of visitors. However, the public visitors may not understand the animals themselves very well, as an account from a former manager at Richmond Park illustrates 'I once found a guy standing between two stags fighting [...] they have a dozen spear points sitting on their heads [...] I've seen them dig two-foot holes in the ground with their antlers'.[13] This is just one of many anecdotes from one individual, indicative of the lack

of understanding the general public has about the true nature of these animals. This perhaps points to wider issues of how divorced the human population has become from the realities of the behaviours of the animals around them. Perhaps the above indicates that despite deer no longer functioning as expressions of power, they remain animals which are interacted with by a vanishingly small number of people.

The Consequences of Human Action

Consideration of management patterns and social status of deer over the last thousand years are no doubt interesting and worthwhile avenues of study. However, it is also necessary to flip the assessment for a moment and consider the impacts of these methods on the deer themselves. Human action has resulted in British deer having no major predators, as wolves and bears have been hunted to extinction. This does not necessarily mean that deer are immune from predation, as weak or injured deer may be attacked by foxes.

It is also worth considering physiological differences which may result from human actions. Fallow deer show a notable variation in natural coat colour. The 'standard' colouration pattern (known as 'common') for fallow deer is a light brown coat with white spots. However, three other colourations are present in the modern population: melanistic, menil, and white. These variations primarily shift between different levels of pigmentation, from completely black to completely white, with menil being a lighter variation of a common coat. One of the first indicators of a species undergoing domestication is a change in coat colour, a feature often seen even before the appearance of skeletal changes is detectable in the archaeological record.[14]

While changes in coat colour can be discerned in fallow deer populations, this is not to say that these animals are domesticated. Nevertheless, this serves as an effective example of the unintended consequences which can result from human management and interactions with associated species.

Deer are a group of species which have a long history of interaction between themselves and humans, their range, health, herd structure, and even colouration, being direct results of human actions. Equally, their presence has impacted human activities in actions taken to control their existence and in the broadening of the contexts of interactions. This relationship is not unidirectional and spills over beyond just our two species.

The benefits to humans of maintaining deer populations or simply allowing them to continue to exist un-managed, as many populations do, also come with drawbacks. Deer require a significant quantity of foliage over the course of a year to maintain a survivable body mass and as a result, can have devastating

impacts on regional biodiversity. Particularly noteworthy is the impact on young trees. When attempting to reforest an area, the presence of deer can have a major impact on the survival rate of young trees and any shrubbery below head height.[15] Therefore it would seem logical that their consistent management would be a sensible response. However, even within single administrative areas, deer management is not centralised or organised. Different nations and groups have individualised cultures around deer and hunting, which leads to variations in motivations and policies.[16] Across Europe, the policies governing deer care, hunting practices, and management techniques can vary significantly between neighbouring countries. In Britain and Scotland specifically, the care and management of red deer are only loosely governed by legal statute, and individual landowners communicating with one another is the only source of cohesive management.

The traits and quirks described thus far suggest that these animals could be given a variety of different descriptive labels, depending on individual or group outlook. Their feeding habits may qualify them as pests, not least due to their destructive capacity and the difficulties involved in containing them. This was the case in New Zealand where, like Britain, the lack of natural predators resulted in a run-away population causing environmental harm. This situation was turned towards an economic benefit by altering the public perception of these animals from pests to an untapped natural resource, leading to New Zealand venison being exported across the globe.[17]

Conclusion

The deer of Britain and beyond are not a homogenous population and their perception and position in the minds of wider society are equally varied. Deer keeping as a practice has outlived its original cultural group and motivation and the animals themselves have formed stable and growing feral numbers. From individual transport as exotica, large-scale management for social benefit to a breadth of utilisation, and uncontrolled population growth, deer in Britain have endured a variety of methods of management and control. Evidence for our impact on them is clear, their shifting coat colour and ever more populations living in close proximity to humans, among others. This situation clearly indicates the need for a closer focus on management strategies, with an understanding of the potential impacts on a national and regional scale. There is a need for a more extensive view of deer management policies, which considers animal and biosphere health, long-term implications, and untapped potential benefits. Understanding how the animals have been interacted with in the past has the potential to be the key to making positive changes in their management today.

Not the Moss That Forms on a Rock or the Foam that Rocks in a Glass: Towards Surrealist Ecological Dreaming

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Andre Breton's first Surrealist Manifesto (1924) hinges on a commitment to the power of dreams, the 'play of thought' and a 'belief in the superior reality of certain previously neglected associations' that arise through these.[1] Heavily influenced by Sigmund Freud's theories of the unconscious, the first manifesto prescribes writing methodologies for liberating the imagination via play, collaboration, and dream, towards radical aesthetic, literary, and political re-visualisation. This avant-garde cultural movement arose in Europe from the 1920s to the 1950s, during a time of global political upheaval. This hybrid piece uses surrealist writing techniques (collaboration, play, dream, automatic writing) to explore how this approach can be applied to ecological re-visualisation for humans living through the climate emergency.

> on the brink of vision / turned towards a future / we are living,
> accelerating / the emotional curdles into the ecological / catharsis,
> grief, despair, positive action / a key, found in dreams / we dream,
> we go mad / we allude to hope, resisting paralysis and inaction /
> Is it possible: a better future, a radical act?

Picture this:

In early spring 2022, you visit an island in the English Channel. It's bright and unseasonably warm. You read about Claude Cahun, the gender non-conforming French surrealist artist who lived there from the late 1930s until their death in 1954. You walk to Cahun's grave in a small church. The tide is very high. You sit in the graveyard and look at pictures on your phone of the surrealist poet André Breton on the beach, on this island, with his wife Jaqueline Lamba and his baby daughter, Aube. They had all come to visit Cahun and their partner Marcel Moore. The tide is very low in the pictures. Later that night, the surrealist poet André Breton visits you in a dream and asks if you'll dye his hair blond. He suggests (a century earlier, and in a book, not the dream) that dreams can solve the 'fundamental questions of life'.[2]

To dye another person's hair blond in a dream explains a stressful relationship with them says the first online dream interpreter that you ask. *It will be hard to manage the situation and things will be more confusing than ever*, this interpreter says, but continues: *Be patient with the person and try to build the bond wisely. Don't panic and rush through the process.*

You are trying to build a bond with André Breton. You must not panic and rush through the process.

But, perhaps you want to forget about André Breton. It is as though he has come to you in the dream as a distraction. You were thinking about Claude Cahun, after all, who lived here, died here, and made a multitude of radical artworks here. Cahun's artwork explores the porousness of identity, the masks that the artist wears. Their work troubles binaries: masculine/feminine; human/non-human. Their photographic work *Je tends les bras* depicts a pair of arms (the artist's) protruding through a hole in a tall granite monolith.[3] As the title suggests, the arms are outstretched in the sunshine, fingers splayed. You think about finding the monolith; that type of granite rock is everywhere on this island. But the light is fading, and you have no way of knowing the location of this specific piece of granite. There's every chance it has been removed. This island is saturated with money, and luxury flats and million-pound home renovations creep across it every time you return.

In *Je tends les bras*, Cahun is merging themself with the landscape, weaving their slender limbs through an immutable and non-human object. The image is full of paradoxes; hard and soft; dark and light; masculine and feminine. They coexist within the frame. Perhaps you want to think about this before you forget about Breton, whose surrealism, whilst committed to the discovery of deep subconscious truths, was problematised by its adherence to the gender norms of its time.

The English occultist-surrealist writer and painter Ithell Colquhoun recalls that in Breton's movement, 'women as human beings tended to be "permitted not required"'.[4] With some notable exceptions, women in surrealism were considered first as *femme-enfants*, or muses. Objects of desire. Although André Breton did write that he wished he could change his sex as easily as he changed his shirt, the notion of disrupting gender normativity was just out of his reach.[5] André Breton stretches his arms, like Cahun, but they only go so far, and his shirt stays on. When you wake from your dream, you wonder what it says about your subconscious to think about surrealism all day and then dream of André Breton, rather than Ithell Colquhoun or Claude Cahun. You reassure yourself that it's probably meaningless.

Picture this:

In late spring 2022, you develop a bot that posts fragmentary narratives to Twitter once a day. The bot uses the most readily available and accessible framework you can find, because you are lazy and don't want to have to learn anything more complex. You fill the framework with surrealists, obscure colours, marine life, body parts, fluids, landscape features and other periphery characters.

@TidesDream 3 Apr
Your muse, who is good at singing underwater, waves to you and together you run towards the whirlpool.

@TidesDream 3 Feb
You spot your hypnotist and André building sandcastles near the beach, this is unusual because they haven't been seen since the typhoon.

@TidesDream 22 Nov
A stranger, who is wearing a coat of shells, slithers over and together you run towards the floating arm.

@TidesDream 19 Sep
Ithell emerges from the cliff path covered in spilled oil.

@TidesDream 5 Sep
It's a spring tide, the sky is intense viridian. You won't see the water for hours.

There is an element of chance, but you feel like you're in control. You started the bot after getting the idea from the parlour games that surrealists used to play. 'The Exquisite Corpse', latterly or more commonly known as 'consequences', involves each person at a table writing a sentence on a piece of paper, and folding it over before passing it to the next person to create a fragmentary story or poem. At the end, all of the pieces are read out. Often nonsensical, but sometimes profound and beautiful, this was a way of mining some collective subconscious. You know that the bot doesn't have consciousness in the same way that a group of humans does, you're not totally delusional. It's getting very hot already, which is unusual for this early in the summertime, but you're sure it's nothing to worry about.

Why is control important? Our grip on reality is slipping. The philosopher Timothy Morton writes about the 'weirdness' of simultaneously being aware of our impact on warming the planet, and our lack of power on an individual, quotidian level, to decelerate it.[6] The ecological theorist Timothy Clark addresses this paradox too, stating that '[h]uman agency becomes [...] displaced from

within by its own act, a kind of demonic iterability'.[7] Don't mention the pandemic, but if you *do have to mention the pandemic*, don't mention the extreme weather. Ecological anxiety is on the rise. Whilst it is important to be aware of the accelerating crisis, there is a danger that the constant reports of the irreversible damage that we are doing to the planet has a paralysing effect. The poet Rebecca Tamàs says this anxiety and grief may 'leach our pleasure in a world that seems to be fading'.[8] How do we stop the leaching? How do we 'gather the energy to resist'?[9]

Picture this:

In mid-summer 2022, there is a heatwave in the British Isles. The Met Office issues its first ever Red warning for extreme heat, as many parts of the country are predicted to reach temperatures of over 40°C. Trains are cancelled. It is advised against spending too much time outside. It is frighteningly, oppressively hot. You are trying, in the dry heat, to read *Bodies of Water* by the cultural theorist Astride Neimanis. 'As embodied beings, we are, primarily, bodies of water in a watery world', writes Neimanis, '[y]et our bodies of water are neither stagnant, nor separate, nor zipped up in some kind of impermeable sac of skin.'[10] Neimanis posits the varied ways in which human bodies (in all of their physical and abstract iterations) are inextricable from non-human bodies of water, and from water itself. The concept is amorphous and slippery in the shimmering heat. Neimanis writes that 'water is evidently both finite *and* inexhaustible; both the same and always becoming different, too.'[11] This paradox of the fixed and the fluid start to merge in your mind with the landscape auto-portraits of Claude Cahun. In the artist's photographic work *Autoportrait: Double Exposure in Rockpool*, Cahun has posed, nude, in a rockpool which is edged by a wall of granite.[12] The portrait is double exposed, so that Cahun's form appears in a ghostly overlay, and flipped perpendicular. The mirroring of the two forms is fish-like, dream-like. A partly submerged figure swimming beneath its double.

Cahun's iterative series of auto portraits were a life-long exploration of the self. 'Under this mask, another mask. I will never finish removing all these faces', they write.[13] This statement has, posthumously, become an emblem for their whole oeuvre and the basis for a major collaborative retrospective of their work with the contemporary British artist Gillian Wearing in 2017. The statement is true more than half a century after Cahun's death. Their faces are still being pulled back and revealed, their works recontextualised against contemporary gender theory. It strikes you that what ties this statement of Cahun's to this theory of hydrofeminism of Neimanis is this paradoxical sense of the iterative; the way in which water, identity, and self are at once fixed and mutable, solid and fluid, fast and slow all at once. Always becoming.

Autoportrait: Double Exposure in Rockpool was made in 1928, nine years before Cahun and Moore settled in the Channel Islands, so it's unlikely that the location of the photograph is on a beach that you know, but still, the granite looks familiar. You think about the rockpool, the way in which it is a strange and temporary assemblage, never quite the same as itself. Rockpools change twice a day with the tides, their existence is at once fixed and ephemeral. At high tide they are covered by the ocean and disappear. At low tide they return, but with different contents entirely. You begin to wonder if this means that rockpools exist at all. The idea of them feels very far away in the hot dry room that you're sitting in. You feel anxious about the rising sea levels brought about by the climate emergency. You feel anxious about the intense heat.

Picture this:

In early autumn 2022, you and two friends, who are both poets, start a project. One of the poets has found a book, an instruction manual from the 1930s about ice skating. He erases words from the pages to create erasure poetry, a form in which parts of a found text are erased to create a new poem. He posts the book to the other poet, who does the same and then posts it to you. What emerges are weird narratives of slipping and sliding, rocking back and forth, muscular formations and loops, objects, and subjects. It's fun, and a welcome distraction from the heat of the stale heat of the summer which refuses to end.

You read about Ithell Colquhoun's word games. She would engage others in question-and-answer games, each statement following on from the question blindly, or 'chain-poems' which consisted of a series of statements written by separate writers. In one chain-poem, Colquhoun and the artist Toni Del Renzio, the form is a series of statements which start either with the word 'if' or the word 'then':

> He: *If my love could be written down*
> She: *Then the waterfalls would all turn black*[14]

In this pair of lines, the narrative is nonsensical, fragmentary, but is connected by the rule set prior to the game. The set of desperate images – of a desire for a written-down love and a black waterfall – emerge as a couplet only through the act of collaboration. The collaboration is dependent on the rule. The rule, the premise, is the framework within which the poem can fluctuate. The content of these poems held together like the (always eroding) walls of a rockpool, or by a (permeable) skin. You think that perhaps this could be said of all poetry that follows form, prose too. Although you realise that to write alone, even when adhering to the rules of a prescribed form means that you are entirely in control.

When writing collectively, or collaboratively, there is an implicit submission of control to the others.

Choosing collaborative partners is an intense and serious business, you think to yourself. You and the two poets, for example, have such a close working relationship that it often feels as though your brains are merging. Ithell Colquhoun and Toni Del Renzio were married, then divorced. Cahun and their collaborative partner Marcel Moore were stepsisters first, then lovers, then life partners. Although Cahun is generally depicted alone in their autoportraits, it is always Moore behind the camera. The artworks, whilst exploring the endless iterations of Cahun's image of the self (and the notion of self, itself), are the result of an intensely intimate collaborative process.

Both Cahun and Colquhoun were making work during the second world war, a time of existential upheaval. The island of Jersey, where Cahun and Moore lived, was under Nazi occupation for the duration of the war. In the 1940s, the two artists turned their practice towards activism, writing notes under the guise of an anonymous dissenting German soldier which they slipped into the pockets of troops. They were both imprisoned and narrowly avoided execution. You wonder what any of this has to do with now. You wonder if there are parallels between a world war and a climate emergency. There are emotional parallels, perhaps. Don't mention the pandemic, and *if you have to mention the pandemic*, don't draw parallels with the second world war.

How do we write about something whilst we're in the middle of it? Your computer makes a loud whirring sound when it starts to overheat. You make a loud whirring sound when you start to overheat. You find it hard to focus. You skim the news; it's worse elsewhere. You feel guilty. As a child you had anxious dreams about the incoming tide. They were based on reality. The island where Claude Cahun lived and died is the island where you were born, thirty-one years (almost to the day) after their death. This doesn't mean anything. The island has vast tidal ranges. It's easy to get stranded if you take a wrong turn at the low water mark and the tide turns. Your dreams seep into a reality. We are all, surely, afraid of rising water. How do we keep our heads above it?

Picture this (I know, it's a lot, but we're almost there):
You are trying to get to sleep. You imagine a game like Ithell Colquhoun's where a group of people have a framework of *ifs* and *thens* to follow. You give them the theme of the ocean, and they come up with a series of hypotheses, some of them nonsensical, some of them profound, some of them beautiful. You take the pieces of paper away with you and make the sets of hypotheses into a poem. You hope it will mean something. Rebecca Tamás says that '[...] all the metaphors

have already been written, and they are waiting patiently for us to read them',
so there will be something meaningful there, ready to be unearthed.[15] Is this the
sort of dreaming that André Breton was talking about, you think to yourself, as
you drift off to sleep? Or did he mean dreaming in the aspirational sense? Either
way, you're too exhausted to care. You feel far away from the ocean, and from
the island where you were born, and from any tangible solution. You imagine
the poem, forming as a series of images in front of your closing eyes as you drift.

If Mermaids Could be Related to Dolphins, Then Shall We Accept This State of Being?

I have salt in my lungs but
salt drains from the sea[1], you know—
If we swam with the fish[2], then I could smell the sounds of the waves.
If the water gods were truly happy, then all the coral
would be replenished. If my mother drowns—

these starfish are poisonous. Our feet are caught
in the kelp forest. *The thalassphobia*
that you are experiencing is perfectly natural.
The oceans are poisoned, it feels
like there are hooks between our legs.

If you are the ocean, then I see the ocean.
Oceanographers are mad—

If I drown, then the tropical islands[3] will drown too,
in the riptide. If you see the ocean, then the ocean
is *too deep*. If

the ship sinks, we need to leave[4]
the coral reefs to be rainbows of the sea.
I fall in. It's full of trash[5].
If the ocean floor has canyons,
then I could walk through the sea of green mist

and find—

[1] Will it lose its callousness?
[2] *With* fish, or *like* fish?
[3] *All* of them?
[4] Something swims away—
[5] The water stops moving.

Endnotes

Future from the Past: Learning Sustainability, Resistance, and Adaptability from Ancient Communities, pp. 8–14
Hailey Tollner

1 Felix Riede, 'Past-Forwarding Ancient Calamities: Pathways for Making Archaeology Relevant in Disaster Risk Reduction Research', *Humanities*, 6 (2017), <DOI: 10.3390/h6040079>.

2 For further conversation on the ways that Aboriginal Australians view humans' relationship with planet Earth, see Rod Giblett, *People and Places of Nature and Culture* (Bristol: NBN International, 2014). For survey results showing how people from different professions view their relationship with planet Earth, see Muhar and Böck, 'Mastery Over Nature as a Paradox: Societally Implemented but Individually Rejected', *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 61 (2018) pp. 5–6.

3 For discussions on the destructive nature of capitalism and its long-term effects on human society, as well as alternative societal structures that could better serve humanity, see Erin Olik Wright, *Envisioning Real Utopias* (London: Verso, 2010). Hans A Baer specifies that our current climate crisis has been exacerbated by the capitalist system, and discusses the changes that are necessary to make in our political and social system in order to live in a safe and sustainable world; see *Global Capitalism and Climate Change: The Need for an Alternative World System* (California: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2012).

4 See Joseph Tainter, 'Social Complexity and Sustainability', *Ecological Complexity*, 3.2 (2006) p. 99, <DOI: 10.1016/j.ecocom.2005.07.004> for a list of lessons in complexity and sustainability.

5 Timothy Allen, Joseph Tainter, and Thomas Hoekstra, *Supply-Side Sustainability* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). An important note: while I agree with this idea that action is what is necessary, I also think it is important to note that in their book, the authors present other political and social opinions that I do not align with, and that can be harmful to people who are culturally, financially, or religiously marginalised by white society. In 2003, Allen, Tainter and Hoekstra wished for sustainability to be apolitical. Because vulnerability is caused by capitalism, this is just not possible.

6 Baer, p. 35. This quote comes from Baer's analysis of capitalism as a system whose sole goal is profit, and the lengths it goes to in order to gain that profit, at the expense of the people. World Bank, *World Development Report 2000/2001: Attacking Poverty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Clive Ponting, *A New Green History of the World: The Environment and the Collapse of Great Civilizations* (London: Vintage, 2007) for a discussion of different societies throughout time who have made the mistake of overexploiting their natural resources, and how it led to their destruction

– more evidence for how archaeological insight can aid communities in resistance to capitalism. Angus Maddison, *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspective* (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2001).

7   See Lisa Lucero, James Gunn, and Vernon Scarborough, 'Climate Change and Classic Maya Water Management', *Water*, 3 (2001), pp. 479–494, <DOI: 10.3390/w3020479>; for discussion on social adaptability in the Maya world.

8   Michelle Hegmon, *The Give and Take of Sustainability: Archaeological and Anthropological Perspectives on Tradeoffs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); provides a multi-disciplinary collection of works on sustainability.

9   Meryl Shriver-Rice, SAA 2023 Annual Conference, <https://coastalheritageatrisk.com/> (accessed 7 April 2023).

10   Isabel Rivera-Collazo, SAA 2023 Annual Conference, <https://www.climatesciencealliance.org/dunas-team> (accessed 7 April 2023).

11   Clark Erickson, 'Applied Archaeology and Rural Development: Archaeology's Potential Contribution to the Future', in *Crossing Currents: Continuity and Change in Latin America*, eds. M. B. Whiteford and S. Whiteford (Hoboken: Prentice Hall, 1998), pp. 34–45.

12   Jules Pretty, *The Living Land: Agriculture, Food and Community Regeneration in Rural Europe* (London: Earthscan, 1988). UN Environment Programme, WCMC, 'Safeguarding Traditional Knowledge: How to Better Recognise and Include Traditional Knowledge in Biodiversity Conservation' (*Cobra Collective*, 2021), <https://cobracollective.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/TK-Policy-Brief_Final.pdf> (accessed 7 April 2023).

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Aakriti Suresh

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History's Forgotten Sculptors: New Perspectives on Women Wax Modellers, 1660–1830, pp. 54–66
Sophie Johnson

1   After 1830 the number of women sculptors in Europe increases significantly due to improvements in women's rights and access to art education. For example, women first began to be admitted to art schools in London during the 1830s, however, women wouldn't be admitted to the Royal Academy Schools until 1860. According to Marjan Sterckx the number of recorded professional women sculptors multiplied sixteen-fold during the reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901). Marjan Sterckx, 'Töchter Von Sisyphus. Bildhauerinnen in Westeuropa, ca. 1750–1920 / Sisyphus's Daughters. Women Sculptors in Western Europe from c. 1750–1920', in *Bildhauerinnen in Deutschland/ Women Sculptors in Germany*, ed. by Marc Gundel, Arie Hartog, Frank Schmid (Cologne: Wienand, 2019), pp.174–179, (p. 164).

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29 Typically, stone or terracotta sculptures by women at this time depicted portraiture or animals, in order to conform to societal expectations of female propriety.

30 Petteys, p. 97.

31 Rebecca Messbarger, *The Lady Anatomist: The Life and Work of Anna Morandi Manzolini*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

32 Ibid., p. 63.

33 Roberta Ballestriero, 'Anatomical Models and Wax Venuses: Art Masterpieces or Scientific Craft Works?', Journal of Anatomy, 216 (2010), pp. 223–234 (p. 223).

34 A polychromed terracotta Madonna Addolorate (1750–1770) attributed to Morandi Manzolini is housed at the Gallerie Sismann, Paris. A wax Ecce Homo relief by Morandi Manzolini belongs to the Galleria Arte Cesaro, Padua, and the sculptor's self-portrait in wax is displayed at the Museo di Palazzo Poggi, University of Bologna.

35 The only surviving wax effigy outside of Westminster Abbey in the UK is the effigy of Sarah Hare in the Holy Trinity Church in Stow Bardolph, Norfolk dating from 1744.

36 Anthony Harvey and Richard Mortimer, *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003).

37 Julian Litten, 'The Funeral Effigy: Its Function and Purpose', in *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, ed. by Anthony Harvey and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 3–19 (p. 13).

38 Sterckx, *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 96

39 Zigarovich, p. 115.

40 J. Thomas Smith, *Nollekens and His Times*, (London: Henry Colburn, 1949), pp. 85–6; Horace Walpole, *Correspondence of H. W. With G. Montagu, Esq. 1760–1769*, (London: Henry Colburn, 1837), p. 95.

41 Alison Yarrington, 'Sculptural Transubstantiations: Reflections Upon Wax, Flesh and Stone, Blood, Bread and Bone', in *The Poetics of Transubstantiation: From Theology to Metaphor*, ed. by Douglas Burnham and Enrico Giaccherini (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 162–71 (p. 37).

42 Sterckx, *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 94; Pyke, pp. 55, 126.

43 See biographies of each artist in: Petteys, p. 770; Pyke, pp. 144, 21; Pamela Pilbeam, *Madame Tussaud and the History of Waxworks*, (London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2006); Richard Daniel Altick, *The Shows of London*, (Cambridge, MA, and London: Belknap Press, 1978), pp. 52–55, 333–37.

44 Sterckx, *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 94; Pyke, p.52.

45 Marjan Sterckx claims that the association of women with these 'vulgar forms of popular entertainment' was a contributing factor in the decline of women wax modellers during the nineteenth-century. Sterckx, *Pride and Prejudice*, p. 98.

46 Published in English for the first time in 2008. Julius von Schlosser, 'History of Portraiture in Wax', in *Ephemeral Bodies: Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*, ed. by Roberta Panzanelli (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), pp. 171–314.

47 Reilly, *Portrait Waxes*; Pyke, *A Biographical Dictionary of Wax Modellers*.

48 Nominal files for the three largest wax bequests at the V&A show that curators discussed actively collecting wax portrait miniatures to augment this part of the museum's collection. This started with the Mary Bate Collection, which was initially offered on loan to the museum in 1934, followed by the Rupert Gunnis Bequest, bequeathed in 1965, and the Edward J. Pyke Bequest, bequeathed in 1996. The majority of these waxes were displayed, initially upon the request of Mary Bate, from approximately the late 1930s to 2001, first in 'Room 10' and then 'Gallery 63'. Some of these waxes are now dispersed amongst the general collection in the British Galleries, whilst others are in storage. London, the V&A Archive; Mary Bate Collection, MA/1/B665; Rupert Gunnis Bequest, MA/1/G2099; Edward J Pyke Bequest, MA/1/W1958.

49 Ballestriero, '*Anatomical Models and Wax Venuses*'; Roberta Ballestriero, Owen Burke, and Francesco Maria Galassi, 'Ceroplastics: The Art of Wax', (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2019); Roberta Panzanelli, 'Ephemeral Bodies: Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure', (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008).

50 Pilbeam; Messbarger; Uta Kornmeier, 'Madame Tussaud's as a Popular Pantheon', in *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea*, ed. by Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske (Aldershot: Routledge, 2004), pp. 147–66.

51 Panzanelli, *Introduction*, p. 1.

52 Yarrington, p. 169.

53 Georges Didi-Huberman, 'Viscosities and Survivals: Art History Put to Test by the Material', in *Ephemeral Bodies: Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*, ed. by Roberta Panzanelli (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), pp. 154–69 (p. 8).

54 Maarten Delbeke, 'Matter without Qualities: Wax in Giacomo Vivo's Discorso of 1590', in *Revival and Invention: Sculpture through Its Material Histories*, ed. by Sébastien Clerbois and Martina Droth (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011), pp. 91–120 (p. 92).

55 Panzanelli, *Introduction*, p. 5.

56 Roberta Panzanelli, Eike D Schmidt, and Kenneth Lapatin, *The Color of Life: Polychromy in Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museums and the Getty Research Institute, 2008).

57 Marion Harry Spielmann, *British Sculpture and Sculptors of Today* (London, New York: Casell & Company, Limited., 1901), p. 12.

58 So far, I have identified approximately 101 sculptures by women from 1660 to 1830 in UK collections. Seventy are made by wax modellers. My definition of a museum is a publicly accessible and Accredited museum or Charitable Trust with the sole purpose of preserving and protecting a collection. Under this definition, wax models in the archives at Madame Tussauds or the Westminster effigies are not included.

59 Only 4 out of the 70 sculptures are on display.

60 Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, (London: The Woman's Press, 1984); Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, (New York: Icon Editions, 1992); Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Histories* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999); Victoria Horne and Amy Tobin, 'An Unfinished Revolution in Art Historiography, or How to Write a Feminist Art History', *Feminist Review*, 107 (2014), pp. 75–83; Helena Reckitt, 'Troubling Canons: Curating and Exhibiting Women's and Feminist Art, a Roundtable Discussion', in *Re-Envisioning the Contemporary Art Canon: Perspectives in a Global World*, ed. by Ruth Irskin (London Routledge 2016), pp. 252–71.

61 Imogen Hart and Claire Jones, 'Sculpture and the Decorative: Towards a More Integrated Mode of Art History Writing', in *Sculpture and the Decorative in Britain and Europe: Seventeenth Century to Contemporary*, ed. by Imogen Hart and Claire Jones (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), p. 1.

62 Claire Jones, 'Introduction: The False Separation of Fine and Decorative Sculpture: Problems with the Rodin Scholarship for the Study of French Sculpture, 1848–1895', in *Sculptors and Design Reform in France, 1848 to 1895 Sculpture and the Decorative Arts*, ed. by Claire Jones (Farnham: Ashgate, 2019), pp. 1–15 (p. 11).

63 Hart and Jones, p. 12.

64 Marjan Sterckx, 'Sculpture and the Decorative in Fin-De-Siécle Brussels: Women as Creators and Consumers', in *Sculpture and the Decorative in Britain and Europe: Seventeenth Century to Contemporary*, ed. by Imogen Hart and Claire Jones (London: Bloomsbury Publishers, 2020), pp. 113–42 (p. 113).

65 Imogen Hart, Claire Jones, and Ines Jorge, 'Introduction: Disrupting Boundaries: The Politics of Craft Exhibitions', in *Journal of Modern Craft* (2022), pp. 235–39 (p. 235).

'Waiting in Pwllheli, 9/1/23': Psychogeographical Artwork from a Magic Toybox 123, pp.68–71
Amy Grandvionet

1 Guy Debord, 'Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography' in *Situationist International Anthology: Revised and Expanded Edition* ed. and trans. by Ken Knabb (Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets, 2006), pp. 8–11. Knabb has collected a large range of works by the LI and SI translated from French into English.

2 See Alastair Hemmens and Gabriel Zacarias eds., *The Situationist International: A Critical Handbook* (London: Pluto Press, 2020) for a broad introduction to the fascinating world of the Situationists.

3 See Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998) for much detail on matters relating to the mid-twentieth-century urban transformations the Situationists were witnessing around them.

4 See Bracknell News, 'Tumbling tower: Bracknell's historic 3M building will be gone within two months', *Bracknell News*, 9 Dec 2014 <https://www.bracknellnews.co.uk/news/13461277.tumbling-tower-bracknells-historic-3m-building-will-be-gone-within-two-months/> for the 3M building's demolition, and to read about subsequent augmented (and significantly delayed) developments in Bracknell's town-centre's regeneration as 'The Lexicon' see BBC News, 'Bracknell town centre gets new name', *BBC News*, 4 Sep 2015 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-berkshire-34151437>.

5 See Steve Rose, 'Sterile or stirring? Britain's love-hate relationship with new towns', *The Guardian*, 15 May 2019 <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/may/15/sterile-or-stirring-britains-love-hate-relationship-with-new-towns>.

6 You can also find another artwork from *Toys in Places* named 'Bangor Rave, 22/11/22' overlaid with an additional 'Insurrection Hymn' poem printed in the tenth issue of the journal *Lumpen*, purchasable for a small fee at https://www.theclassworkproject.com/product-page/issue-012-lumpen-monsters (big up). I also sometimes print them for special people on special paper, in A4. Two such prints can be found in the respectively feline- and canine-themed toilets at Aberystwyth's popular drinking and music venues Bottle & Barrel ('At the Square, 12/3/23') and Bank Vault ('At the Swimming-pool, 12/3/23'). Do visit Bottle & Barrel and Bank Vault should you find yourself in mid-West Wales.

7 The toys drawings and their theatrical iterations as *Toys in Places* are also greatly influenced by the work of Jane Hissey, legendary author and illustrator of the exceedingly charming story-book and BAFTA award-winning television series *Old Bear*.

Coexisting with the Disruptive Legacy of Fascist Heritage in Today's Italy, pp. 72–83
Erica Capecchi

1 The fascist regime, established and led by Benito Mussolini from 1922 to 1943, ruled the Kingdom of Italy for two decades, a period commonly referred to as the *Ventennio Fascista*. The regime attempted to exercise full control over the lives of its citizens through systemic violence, coercion, and repression, dominating many aspects of Italian public life. Under Mussolini's leadership as the Duce (from the Latin *Dux*, meaning leader, often with military connotations), the Parliament was controlled by an authoritarian fascist government that suppressed opposition forces and censored any form of public speech and expression conflicting with the State's agenda. This control extended to the media, including the press and radio, as well as the arts. The regime sought to exploit arts and culture as powerful tools for a totalitarian style of propaganda which permeated Italian society and popular culture. Extensive scholarship has examined various aspects of fascism and the fascist dictatorship. To gain a deeper understanding of Italian fascism, its lasting legacy, and the role of propaganda, see Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997); John Foot, *Blood and Power: The Rise and Fall of Italian Fascism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022); Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (New York: Vintage, 2005).

2 In 2022, for instance, the *Foro Italico* served as the venue of the European swimming championships but is also known for hosting the *Internazionali d'Italia* tennis tournament.

3 Scholarship has thoroughly examined the issues surrounding the legacy of fascist heritage in Italy. An informed overview can be found in Stephen Gundle, Christopher Duggan, and Giuliana Pieri, eds. *The Cult of the Duce: Mussolini and the Italians* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2013).

4   Redazione, 'La Montagna della Vergogna', *Patria Indipendente*, 2 August 2019, https://www.patriaindipendente.it/il-quotidiano/la-montagna-della-vergogna [accessed 14 April 2023].

5   The incident led to a Parliamentary inquiry initiated by Camillo d'Alessandro, an MP from the *Partito Democratico* (Democratic Party) representing the Abruzzo region. He denounced the graffiti as a 'shameful testimony' of the past and called for its removal, considering it inappropriate to evoke in the name of historical memory. Additionally, d'Alessandro proposed an alternative solution to replace the engraved word 'Dux' with 'Pax,' meaning 'peace' in Latin. However, this suggestion did not receive support. Lidia Baratta, 'Abruzzo Nero: Soldi Pubblici per Restaurare la Scritta "Dux" sulla Montagna dei Partigiani', *Linkiesta*, 30 July 2019, <https://www.linkiesta.it/2019/07/scritta-dux-villa-santamaria-fascismo-partigiani-abruzzo/> [accessed 12 April 2023].

6   The local chapter of the National Association of Italian Partisans (ANPI) voiced concerns about the symbolic significance of the graffiti, fearing it could draw a specific form of tourism that might transform the area from a site of anti-fascist remembrance into a pilgrimage destination for supporters of fascist nostalgia and the far-right. Redazione, 2019.

7   *F. Q.*, 'Chieti, Riemerge la Scritta "Dux" su una Roccia a Villa Santa Maria: Polemica tra Pd e Amministrazione Locale', *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, 28 July 2019, <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2019/07/28/chieti-riemerge-la-scritta-dux-su-una-roccia-a-villa-santa-maria-polemica-tra-pd-e-amministrazione-locale/5354392/> [accessed 12 April 2023].

8   Ibid.

9   Alicia Fuentes Vega, 'The Politics of Memory, Tourism and Dictatorship: Revisiting Franco's Valley of the Fallen', *Journal of Tourism History*, 9.1 (2017), pp. 70–91 (p. 85). https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2017.1348545.

10 Ibid.

11 Baratta, 2019.

12 Alessandro Portelli, 'Le Statue della Vergogna. Celebrano il Passato, Ipotecando il Presente', *Il Manifesto*, 12 June 2020, <https://ilmanifesto.it/le-statue-della-vergogna-celebrano-il-passato-ipotecando-il-presente/> [accessed 27 March 2023].

13 John Foot, *Italy's Divided Memory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 2.

14 4 Alessandro Portelli, 'Le Statue della Vergogna. Celebrano il Passato, Ipotecando il Presente', *Il Manifesto*, 12 June 2020, <https://ilmanifesto.it/le-statue-della-vergogna-celebrano-il-passato-ipotecando-il-presente/> [accessed 27 March 2023].

15 Joshua Arthurs, 'The Anatomy of Controversy, from Charlottesville to Rome', *Modern Italy*, 24.2 (2019), pp. 123–138. <https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2019.9>.

16 Ruth Ben-Ghiat, 'Why Are So Many Fascist Monuments Still Standing in Italy?', *The New Yorker*, 5 October 2017, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/why-are-so-many-fascist-monuments-still-standing-in-italy> [accessed 27 March 2023].

17 Anon., 'Fascismo, Boldrini: 'Togliere la Scritta Dux dall'Obelisco del Foro', *La Repubblica*,
     17 April 2015, <https://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2015/04/17/news/fascismo_boldrini_togliere_
     la_scritta_dux_dall_obelisco_del_foro_-112185661/> [accessed 14 April 2023].

18 Among these, the former president of the *Partito Democratico* Matteo Orfini, who shared the
     arguments of right-wing opponents. Orfini commented on the case raised by Boldrini, criticising
     it as an unnecessary attempt at '[cancelling] our memory'. Anon., 'Laura Boldrini: 'Togliere la
     Scritta 'Mussolini Dux' dall'Obelisco del Foro Italico', *Il Messaggero*, 17 April 2015 (updated
     13 February 2023), <https://www.ilmessaggero.it/roma/metropoli/laura_boldrini_obelisco_roma_
     foto_italico_musolini_dux-983038.html?refresh_cem> [accessed 14th April 2023]; Redazione Roma
     Online, 'Boldrini: 'Cancellare la Scritta Dux dall'Obelisco Mussolini' Bufera sulla Presidente della
     Camera', *Corriere della* Sera, 17 April 2015, <https://roma.corriere.it/notizie/politica/15_aprile_17/
     ripulire-l-obelisco-mussolini-bufera-parole-boldrini-079c8ae4-e50d-11e4-845e-5bcd794907be.
     shtml> [accessed 14 April 2023].

19 Anon., 'Europee. Meloni: 'Caio Giulio Cesare, il Pronipote di Mussolini, si Candida con Fratelli
     d'Italia', *La Repubblica*, 7 April 2019, <https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2019/04/07/news/europee_
     meloni_-223498633/> [accessed 8 April 2023].

20 The message is intended to resonate with the radical electoral base of Brothers of Italy but also
     aims to appeal to a mainstream audience. While most far-right groups and activists are likely
     aware of the ideological significance of this fascist icon, it may not be immediately recognisable
     to a wider public. Thus, the association between the building and Mussolini's descendant
     establishes an unmistakable connection that facilitates understanding for a larger audience.

21 For example, in 2017, the neofascist party organised an anti-government protest on the
     anniversary of the March on Rome (28 October 1922). The protest was held in the EUR
     neighbourhood and symbolically concluded in front of the Square Colosseum. Anon., 'La marcia
     di Forza Nuova per la patria: "Oggi a Roma, domani in tutta Italia"', *Il Tempo*, 4 November 2017,
     <https://www.iltempo.it/roma-capitale/2017/11/04/gallery/la-marcia-di-forza-nuova-per-la-
     patria-oggi-a-roma-domani-in-tutta-italia-1037537/> [accessed 27 November 2023].

22 Nick Carter and Simon Martin, 'Dealing with Difficult Heritage: Italy and the Material Legacies
     of Fascism', *Modern Italy*, 24.2 (2019), pp. 117–122 (p. 120). <https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2019.16>.

23 Sharon Macdonald, 'Undesirable Heritage: Fascist Material Culture and Historical Consciousness
     in Nuremberg', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12, 1 (2006), pp. 9–28 (p. 11).
     <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250500384464>.

24 This issue can partly be attributed to the revisionist approach toward fascist history and memory
     that emerged in the Italian public discourse during the post-war period. Over the years, revision-
     ist narratives sought to rehabilitate the image of Mussolini and the regime, presenting them in a
     more favourable light. This clashed with the self-exculpatory myth of Italians as inherently 'good
     people'. The increasing prominence of this tendency in public discourse contributed to gradually

erode official antifascist narratives established by political forces such as socialists and communists, who played significant roles in the liberation war (1943–1945) and the subsequent government of the new Italian Republic from 1946. Around these issues, see for instance: Angelo del Boca, *Italiani Brava Gente? Un Mito Duro a Morire* (Milan: Neri Pozza, 2013); Filippo Focardi, *La Guerra della Memoria: La Resistenza nel Dibattito Politico Italiano dal 1945 ad Oggi* (Rome: Laterza, 2020); John Irving and Francesco Filippi, *Mussolini Also Did a Lot of Good: The Spread of Historical Amnesia* (Montreal: Baraka Books, 2021).

25 Justin Crumbaugh, 'Afterlife and Bare Life: The Valley of the Fallen as a Paradigm of Government', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 12.4 (2011), pp. 419–438, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2011.691670>.

26 The authoritarian regime established by Francisco Franco denoted many similarities with Mussolini's fascist dictatorship, especially during its first phase until the end of WWII. The ideas and beliefs informing the basis of the Francoist regime drew from the fascist Falangist movement, a party largely inspired by Italian fascist ideology. Officially, Franco resigned from his role as Prime Minister in 1973, when was succeeded by Carlos Arias Navarro. He continued, however, to be the head of the State until his death in 1975, after which Spain started its transition into a democracy with the approval of the Republic's constitution in 1978. For an overview of the history of Francoist Spain, see: Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism in Spain, 1923–1977* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999).

27 On the troubled relationship of Spain with the memory of the Civil War and the legacy of Francoist regime, see for instance: Paloma Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002); Carlos Jerez-Farran and Samuel Amago, eds. *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010).

28 Solé Queralt, 'The Valley of the Fallen: A new El Escorial for Spain', *Human Remains and Violence*, 3, 1 (2017), pp. 3–21, <http://dx.doi.org/10.7227/HRV.3.1.2>; Jason Daley, 'Spain's Push to Remove Franco's Remains From the Valley of the Fallen', *Smithsonian Magazine*, 23 October 2018, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/spain-hopes-remove-francos-remains-civil-war-memorial-180970606/> [accessed 16 April 2023].

29 Alicia Fuentes Vega, 'The Politics of Memory, Tourism and Dictatorship: Revisiting Franco's Valley of the Fallen', *Journal of Tourism History*, 9.1 (2017), pp. 70–91 (p. 87). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2017.1348545>.

30 As Daley reminds, the site is popular for far-right pilgrimages on Franco's birth anniversary. Jason Daley, 'Spain's Push to Remove Franco's Remains From the Valley of the Fallen', *Smithsonian Magazine*, 23 October 2018, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/spain-hopes-remove-francos-remains-civil-war-memorial-180970606/> [accessed 27 November 2023]; however, Phelan reports that in 1999, for instance, the monument was attacked by anti-fascists. Stephen Phelan,

'Valley of the Fallen: Inside Spain's most controversial visitor site', *Independent*, 31 March 2017, <https://www.independent.co.uk/travel/europe/spain/general-franco-grave-valley-fallen-a7652841.html> [accessed 27 November 2023].

31 Constanza Lambertucci, Sara González Boutriau, and Natalia Junquera, 'Hundreds protests to Keep Franco's Remains in the Vally of the Fallen', *El Pais*, 16 July 2018, <https://english.elpais.com/elpais/2018/07/16/inenglish/1531725040_906868.html> [accessed 11 April 2023].

32 Natalia Junquera, 'Removal of Franco's Remains from Valley of the Fallen One Step Closer', *El País*, 18 June 2018, <https://english.elpais.com/elpais/2018/06/18/inenglish/1529307821_499020.html> [accessed 11th April 2023]. The decree aimed at the removal of Franco's remains is derived from a reform proposal initially put forth by the Socialist Party within the framework of the Historical Memory Law. On the Historical Memory Law and relevant debates see for example Jo Labanyi, 'The Politics of Memory in Contemporary Spain', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 9, 2 (2008), pp. 119-125. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14636200802283621>.

33 Andrea Hepworth, 'Site of Memory and Dismemory: The Valley of the Fallen in Spain', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 16.4 (2014), pp. 463–485 (p. 465). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2014.975948>.

34 Nick Carter and Simon Martin, 'Dealing with Difficult Heritage: Italy and the Material Legacies of Fascism', *Modern Italy*, 24.2 (2019), pp. 117–122 (p. 118). <https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2019.16>

35 See for instance the Farnesina Palace, formerly known as Palazzo del Littorio, located adjacent to the Foro Italico complex. Today the building serves as the Foreign Office and houses a public collection of contemporary art. Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale, 'Il palazzo della Farnesina e la Collezione di arte contemporanea', n.d., <https://www.esteri.it/it/ministero/struttura/farnesina/> [accessed 27 November 2023].

36 A significant example of this approach can be observed in the case *Monumento alla Vittoria* (Monument to Victory) in Bolzano. This monument underwent a substantial process of preservation, historicisation, and critical examination. However, it appears to be an exceptional case in Italy. Further exploration on this topic can be found in: Andrea Di Michele, *Fascist Monuments on the Border. The Case of Bolzano/Bozen, South Tyrol*, in Andrea Di Michele and Filippo Focardi (eds.), *Rethinking Fascism. The Italian and German Dictatorships* (Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2022), pp. 247–274. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110768619-013>; Håkan Hökerberg, 'The Monument to Victory in Bolzano: Desacralisation of a Fascist Relic', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23.8 (2017), pp. 1–16.

37 Following the controversies sparked by Boldrini's proposal to intervene on Mussolini's obelisk, politician Emanuele Fiano advanced the proposal for a reform of the current Italian legislation around the promotion and celebration of symbols promoting fascist and Nazi ideology. However, the debate ultimately stalled in the Senate and did not progress towards further discussion or potential approval. See on this Joshua Arthurs. "The Anatomy of Controversy, from Charlottesville to Rome", *Modern Italy*, 24.2 (2019), pp. 123–138 (pp. 130–133) <https://doi.org/10.1017/mit.2019.9>.

A Picture is Worth 8000 Words: Transforming an Academic Article into Illustrated Research, pp. 84–93
Virginia Thomas

1   Brian Trench, 'Towards an Analytical Framework of Science Communication Models', in: *Communicating Science in Social Contexts*, ed. by D. Cheng and others (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), pp. 119–135.

2   Illustrated Research, 'Illustrated research: bringing together art and science' <https://www.illustratedresearch.com/> [accessed 1 March 2023].

3   Everly Ramos and Beatrice P. Concepcion, 'Visual abstracts: redesigning the landscape of research dissemination', *Seminars in Nephrology*, 40.3 (2020), pp. 291–297.

4   Virginia Thomas, 'Domesticating rewilding: Interpreting rewilding in England's green and pleasant land', *Environmental Values*, 31.5 (2022), pp. 515–532.

5   University of Exeter, 'Green Futures Network' <https://gfn.exeter.ac.uk/> [accessed 1 March 2023].

6   Sketching the Move, 'Graphic facilitation with Fanny Didou' <https://fannydidou.com/> [accessed 22 May 2023].

7   Kelvy Bird and Jessica Riehl, 'Systems Scribing: An Emerging Visual Practice', in *The Routledge Handbook of Systems Thinking*, ed. by Derek Cabrera, Laura Cabrera, and Gerald Midgley (Abingdon: Routledge, 2024 forthcoming).

8   Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (London: Blackwell, 1968).

9   Twitter, 'Domesticating Rewilding' <https://twitter.com/ArbitrioHumano/status/1626496315398955008> [accessed 19 May 2023].

10 Philip Seargeant and Caroline Tagg, 'Social media and the future of open debate: A user-oriented approach to Facebook's filter bubble conundrum', *Discourse, Context & Media*, 27 (2019), pp. 41–48.

11 Twitter, 'Domesticating Rewilding' <https://twitter.com/GFuturesNetwork/status/1625547108483842048> [accessed 19 May 2023].

12 University of Exeter, 'Domesticating Rewilding' https://gfn.exeter.ac.uk/opportunity/domesticating-rewilding/ [accessed 19 May 2023].

'The Buzzing of an Insect' – A Comparison of the Manipulation of Human/Nonhuman Speech in *Waiting for Godot* and *seebotschat*, pp. 94–103
Benjamin Park

1 Martin Esslin, *The Theatre of the Absurd*, 3rd edn (London: Methuen Publishing, 2001), p. 22.

2 Esslin, p. 33.

3 Esslin, p. 400. Furthermore, the concept of the 'absence of God' is in reference to Frederick Nietzsche's work *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* in which Nietzsche declares for the modern world God is dead, an opinion that had profound effect on twentieth century literature.

4 Esslin, p. 400.

5 Existentialism refers to a philosophical theory or approach that emphasises the existence of the individual person as a free and responsible agent determining their own development through acts of the will. Posthumanism refers to the decentring of human exceptionalism and a shift in the understanding of modes of being, resulting from potential enhancements to human nature generated through applied science and technology developments.

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