

# QUESTION

ESSAYS & ART FROM THE HUMANITIES



## *Home & Belonging*

ISSUE 09

### ESSAYS

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### POETRY AND REFLECTIONS

Aya Al-Telmissany

QUESTION

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# Contents

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## Introduction

---

- 10 Cairo  
*Aya Al-Telmissany*
- 

## I. Familiarity, Familiarity, and Edifices of Belonging

---

- 14 The Welsh-Speaking Experience: Minoritised Language and Belonging Through the Lens of Phenomenology  
*Daniel Southall*
- 22 Foundations of Faith: Home, Belonging, and the Revival of English Monasticism at Downside Abbey  
*Alice Morrey*
- 30 “They Took from Me the Use of Mine Own House”: The Loss of Home in King Lear  
*Katie Giles*
- 

## II. Locating the Domicile: Habitation and Self

---

- 38 ‘Where Does the Outside Stop and the Inside Begin?’ Space, Gender and Identity in Sabba Khan’s The Roles We Play  
*Hanan Alahmadi*
- 48 I, the Uncanny: A Heideggerian Take on Visible Difference in the Light of the COVID-19 Pandemic  
*Chindilani Filifilidh Andekalithan*
- 

## III. Relationships With and Within the Private Home

---

- 58 Restoring Ontological Security: The Impact of Family Abuse on Older Women’s Perception of Home  
*Rebecca Zerk*

- 68 Domesticated: The Role of Dogs in Roman Home-Making Practices  
*Medi Jones-Williams*
- 84 Home, Belonging, and Conservatism in the Romance Fiction of 1922  
*Benjamin Bruce*
- 90 Inviting the Stranger In – Exchanging Privacy for Connectivity in the Digital Age  
*Susan Francis*
- 98 Reconstructing Identity: Depictions of the Personality and Home of John Aubrey in Patrick Garland’s Play Brief Lives  
*Elise Maynard*
- 108 The Healing Benefits of Molokhiya: On the importance of Gasping  
*Aya Al-Telmissany*
- 110 Reflections on Poetry  
*Aya Al-Telmissany*

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## Endnotes

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*Home & Belonging*



We believe this 9<sup>th</sup> issue of the *Question Journal* to be a particularly significant one, as it resonates with the priorities and challenges that communities around the world are facing at this very moment. The theme of *Home and Belonging* aims to pay homage to the communities affected by upheaval and displacement globally, particularly in places like Gaza and Ukraine. ‘Home’ and ‘belonging’ and the complex synergy between these two terms can be felt in many different ways. A home might be your physical place of residence, but it is also your connection to your family, your pets, your partner and your friends. Your home is your community, your town, your country. It is your language, your customs, and your culture. It is your place of worship, and even your place of work. Your home is also your body. With any number of hermeneutic windows into the home and any number of attachments to or relationships with it, there is one common thread to all: your home is where you belong. 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. The wide range of contributions to this year’s issue discuss the synergies between home and belonging through practice-based art and poetry, language and literature, theatre and music, race and culture studies, and history and archaeology.

This diversity of disciplines, meaning and affect is reflected in the three thematic sections that comprise this issue. In the first part, ‘Familiarity, Familiality and Edifices of Belonging’, Dan Southall, Alice Morrey and Katie Giles explore the conjoined sense of home and belonging through the regionally linguistic shaping of a collective sense of self, the expression of diasporic identity and collective memory in architectural form and the liminality between home as something felt and home as physical locale. In the second, ‘Locating the Domicile: Habitation and Self’, Hanan Alahmadi and Chindilani Filifilidh Andekalithan raise questions about what it is to ‘feel’ at home, looking at the dynamics of identity formation within the dichotomy of domestic and societal influence, and identification with the body itself as a site of belonging, precarious and vulnerable in its interfacing with the world. In the concluding part, ‘Relationships With and Within the Private Home’, Medi Jones-Williams, Rebecca Zerk, Ben Bruce, Elise Maynard and Susan Francis between them explore the integral role of pets in home-making since antiquity, the ways in which safety and security can be undermined within the private home, the ontology of the domestic self as the dispositions of sex and class were renegotiated in post-WW1 England, the theatrical

presentation of the duality between identity and the aesthetics of the private home, and the ruptured sense of home as private space by ubiquitous digital media. This issue is also bookended with two poems by Aya Al-Telmissany, which very sensually convey the yearning for the tantalising familiarity of sounds and smells one associates with home, and the way some essence of this can be recaptured, even when the place one calls home feels a long way away. Aya offers some reflections on this in a short commentary on her work, which concludes this issue.

We are incredibly proud and thankful to our contributors, editors, peer-reviewers and the editorial board for putting together this wonderful collection of essays, and we hope you will enjoy reading Issue 9 as much as we enjoyed creating it.

*Dylan Neill Andres and Mark Higgins*

*February 2025*







*I. Familiarity,  
Familiality, and  
Edifices of Belonging*



## The Welsh-Speaking Experience: Minoritised Language and Belonging Through the Lens of Phenomenology

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The notions of worlds, being-at-ease and in-betweenness have contributed substantially to minority studies in phenomenology. Owing to the group of Latina Feminist Philosophers that established these concepts, they are primarily applied in the context of race, gender and sexuality. However, little attention has been given to the experiences of minoritised language speakers, which appears to be a lacuna in the phenomenology of in-betweenness, world-travel, and belonging.

I will then claim that, although an epistemic lens could be used to chronicle the experiences of minoritised language speakers, we can expand the potential impact of speaking a minoritised language beyond failing to be heard, through the affective dimension expressed by Latina Feminist Phenomenology. This approach allows us to introduce the affective experiences of non-belonging and possible existential unease, in-betweenness, and split-subjecthood of minoritised language speakers. As such, this appears to be an ‘affective’ lacuna in broader minoritised language studies.

**A note on style:** This paper will investigate minoritised language speakers’ complicated experiences from their vantage point by drawing on a range of literature, from first-person descriptive accounts to broader philosophical theory. I believe this phenomenological method of varying writing styles illuminates intricate aspects of the minoritised language experience that cannot be captured with an impersonal, observational approach to philosophy.

### Latina Feminist Phenomenology (Worlds and Not-Being-At-Ease)

#### Worlds

Our being is tied to the world, the grand stage where our lives unfold. Each experience is specifically situated; it has a particular scene, whether a stuffy suffocating cubicle in the same old office block or alone in the isolated yet liberating natural landscape, which is equally as oblivious to our sufferings or successes.

No matter how much one wishes to disappear, we are always situated and affected by spaces and their social relations.<sup>1</sup>

Maria Lugones blankets all spaces, with their particular social relations, with the term ‘worlds’.<sup>2</sup> Worlds are described as ‘specific material circumstances that include particular histories’.<sup>3</sup> They amount to the predominant cultures’ description and construction of life. It is worth noting that the predominant culture of a world could be one deriving from subjugation. These worlds have their own rules and rituals, a particular way of life, and can vary in size, from being an insignificant pub in the valleys of South Wales to vast societies. We can go from one ‘world’ of sense and meaning to another; we can ‘world-travel’.<sup>4</sup>

Worlds are an amalgamation of physical and social space; ‘social’, in this case, is used to encapsulate the cultural, politico-economic, and emotional. Importantly, worlds are incomplete because they are constantly co-constructed by the acts of participants. Likewise, worlds can be idiosyncratic, meaning we can be in the same space but experience different ‘worlds’, and be in the same ‘worlds’ but experience them differently.<sup>5</sup>

To encapsulate the above, I will use an example: the energy of large cities momentarily transfixed me, so I decided to visit London. I went there with an open mind, prepared to absorb the surprises and diversity the London ways of life offer. The aim was to see London as a ‘local’, as someone who understands the physical space, norms, rituals and rules, and is sensitive to when they are enacting or even breaking them. But whilst visiting, I was baffled by the insistence on speed-walking; even on the escalators, you would get people stumbling up the stairs in a sprint. I decided against that and assumed my position on the escalator (the right side, I learned), aware that this may come with an invisible yet perceptible sign marking me as a silly tourist, an outsider. This was the ‘world’ of the London Underground.

From my vantage point, I noticed norms that were uncommon to me. If I were a Londoner, a veteran of the underground, those escalator runners would be just as common as the hills beside my home, but on that day, the pace of life was unfamiliar, and I did not feel at ease. I knew that any attempt to slow things down would have an insignificant impact because vast swathes of people uphold the norms, consciously or unconsciously.

### Not-Being-At-Ease

I highlighted ‘not being at ease’ because Lugones uses the term ‘ease’ to designate the level of belonging subjects feel in certain worlds. According to Lugones,<sup>6</sup> the non-exhaustive requirements for being-at-ease in worlds are as follows:

- \* Being a fluent speaker in the world (e.g. Being able to read and communicate in the world's prevailing language)
- \* Being normatively happy in the world (e.g. Being accustomed to the world's etiquette in various social situations)
- \* Being humanely bonded (e.g. Having social ties/relationships with others situated in the world)
- \* Having a sense of shared history (e.g. Feeling a connection towards the world, as if one has roots there)

One should view these requirements not as a checklist, but as a spectrum that alters as we navigate worlds. If one experiences a rupture in these requirements of being-at-ease, they might experience feelings of unease.

A scenario where one may feel unease in a world could go as follows: Someone travels to worlds that promise economic stability, education, and success that were impossible in their previous worlds. However, their lack of social ties, historical understanding, or grasp of the etiquette makes them feel like they are 'doing it wrong'. Combined with the possibility of facing prejudice, they are torn between ways of being and behaving, disorientating them and making them uneasy.

We can attempt to adopt the norms and expectations of the 'worlds' we inhabit to feel at ease. In the Underground example, I may be normatively adjusted and part of the pace one day, scurrying from work, sighing at any silly tourist sliding their day ticket too slowly through the turnstiles. However, for many in unwelcome worlds, it is not as simple as picking up the pace; rather, they could be seen as outsiders regardless of how much they strive to fit in. This may develop into a deep sense of non-belonging and make someone enact a 'different self' in worlds where they feel unease.

## Language and Worlds

### Language and Worlds

Languages play a pivotal role in the formation and development of 'worlds'. Languages convey rules and rituals, describe and construct expectations, and allow worlds to evolve. Each language (and variance of) also highlights a nuanced cultural inheritance, a way of thinking, acting, and feeling in their world.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, in worlds, being at ease requires an intimate understanding of how the specific language of the world works.

As an example of a world impacted by varying languages, we could use Welsh. One example Mererid Hopwood uses to highlight the differences in outlook between English and Welsh is the relationship with property.<sup>8</sup> Take the English

sentence ‘I have a dog’; in Welsh, we would say ‘mae ci gyda fi’, which translates to ‘a dog is with me’. In English, one would also say, ‘I have a cold’, whereas in Welsh, we would say ‘mae salwch arnaf’, which upon translation relays, ‘There is a sickness with me’. Additionally, as opposed to the English ‘I, Welsh does not capitalise this pronoun.

These differences in outlooks may seem minuscule on paper, but they hint at different ways of being in the world. In a peculiarly ‘Welsh world’, the role of the individual, their capacity to ‘own’ other beings, and whether sicknesses can be entangled with the individual would make this ‘world’ different. If we were to see an English visitor enter this world, and the Welsh inhabitants speak English to accommodate him, the different linguistic perspectives could still be felt.

The Welsh Language Philosopher J.R. Jones believed these outlooks were not pedantic differences in translation but rather reflected an intimate bond between languages, the communities, and the land on which they are spoken and crafted.<sup>9</sup> He called this a ‘bychanfyd ieithyddol’ (‘Linguistic Microcosm’).<sup>10</sup> Failing to recognise the different outlooks that derive from the languages and the worlds they help paint could hinder connections between people and ourselves from our identities.<sup>11</sup>

### Linguistic Unease in The Case of Welsh Speakers

In situations where language is the cause of unease, we could call this ‘linguistic unease’. You may remember that being a ‘fluent speaker’ was one requirement for ease in the ‘world’. However, I am not claiming that this requirement alone has been ruptured; ‘linguistic unease’ may influence all other requirements and affect norms, shared history, and interpersonal connections.

However, when we think about Welsh, it is a minoritised language often subsumed into Anglophone worlds, and the speakers are bilingual. This complicates ‘linguistic unease’ because Welsh speakers carry their languages with them. Therefore, they may find themselves trapped in the ‘uncomfortable border region’ between the differing world outlooks that competing languages present.<sup>12</sup> They may also carry remnants of worlds as they enter other ones.

Imagine a Welsh speaker called Gwen, who moved to London to take up specialist work. Now distanced from the Welsh language, she has severed the tie with an intimate part of herself, how she sees the world. She may feel less fluent than others in the office, and even if she is not, her accent could be enough to label her otherwise. Additionally, she does not know the norms of speech, like things she should and should not say, because her sense of shared history is very much that of peculiar Welsh worlds and customs. Finally, this prevents her from becoming

bonded with others as she is busy negotiating ways of fitting in. However, the solution is not as simple as learning to be at ease in this world. Why?

Firstly, learning to be at ease in this world may harm her ease in the Welsh ‘worlds’ because languages sometimes coalesce but often contradict. Secondly, because languages live within us, it is difficult to sever ties; ‘[the] script of words moving in the body is as concrete as flesh.’<sup>13</sup> This leaves Gwen in-between languages and the worlds they help construct, and between potential oppositional identities that languages may promote.

### Further Implications: Welsh Split Subjects and Linguistic In-betweenness

We could borrow from Mariana Ortega and call Gwen a ‘split subject’.<sup>14</sup> A subject is split when norms and practices from different worlds are not cross-compatible and compete inside one body. An example of this is Du Bois’ concept of ‘double consciousness’, where an African American in unwelcoming White worlds...

“ever feels his twoness- an American, a negro, two thoughts...two unreconciled strivings: two warring ideals in one dark body.”<sup>15</sup>

Having left some ‘worlds’ constructed through Welsh (albeit Welsh still clings to her) and uneasy in another, she is now stuck in a state of non-belonging on the borders of languages; she is in-between.

Welsh speakers may be familiar with Gwen’s in-betweenness. We even have a historical (albeit apocryphal) figure named ‘Dic Sion Dafydd’, colloquially used to denote someone who quickly negotiates this tension by ‘forgetting’ how to speak Welsh.

## A Novel Approach

### Adopting the Epistemic Lens of Language Use

The question herein lies: What is the Latina Feminist Phenomenology contributing to the discussion of minoritised language experience that other accounts fail to capture? An effective way to display this is to adopt the epistemic lens used by thinkers such as Lisa Bergin, Kristie Dotson, and others, who discuss languages’ role in transferring knowledge and belonging in social spaces. This will allow us to see aspects of minoritised language experience not captured in this epistemic approach.

Some multilingual speakers may feel that their languages or dialects possess an Epistemic Difference; a gulf caused by ‘differing social situations [...] differing knowledges of reality’.<sup>16</sup> These differences could vary from concepts that are not cross-translatable to subtle differences in language customs. An example of the latter could be that the speaker carries over their native language’s tendency to

use flat imperatives when learning English, which is misconstrued as rude. The speaker could persistently experience failed linguistic exchanges due to these epistemic differences. A failed exchange may mean that the audience does not discern or comprehend words as the speaker intended, or that the speaker fails to deliver their meaning as intended.<sup>17</sup>

This could lead to a testimonial smothering,<sup>18</sup> as they tailor their testimony to suit the audience's understanding. It could be seen as self-silencing, as they continually prevent themselves from saying what they wish, knowing that any endeavour will result in trying to bridge a language barrier. There may also be instances of testimonial quieting,<sup>19</sup> where owing to the multilingual speaker's less confident demeanour and inability to express intellectual depth in this unfamiliar language (and other features like accent), the audience fails to consider the subject a knower, meaning that they value their views less in discussion.

From an epistemic viewpoint, a multilingual speaker's ability to speak and be heard fails in a linguistic exchange because of a lack of communicable reciprocity from the audience and self-silencing on their part. Because knowledge fails to be transferred, the speaker may feel peripheral and excluded because they cannot contribute to a knowledge-sharing practice.

### What the Latina Feminist Phenomenology Contributes

I believe epistemic transfer and 'failing to be heard' is just one chapter of the minoritised language story. Languages are vital to conveying information, but they also play an emotional role in our experiences. Therefore, speaking a language entangles both the epistemic and affective as we strive to feel a sense of belonging.

Utilising Latina Feminist Phenomenology, namely the concept of 'worlds,' could facilitate and scaffold the nuanced and often internalised affective elements of being a minoritised language speaker. These elements, like being in-between languages, linguistic unease, and being a split subject, are all areas that 'worlds' help bring to life that the epistemic approach alone cannot reach.

### A Welsh Experience

Welsh is integral to my being. How the words roll off the tongue emulates the hills before my eyes; they sound exactly how they feel. Even the tragic words, like 'Dychrynlyd' ('Terrifying'), fight with my throat; the delivery reminds me of the moments that warrant the use of its terrifying sound. Finding the right word in Welsh is like satisfying an itch. Such fluency made me feel at ease in 'worlds' where Welsh is present.

As with most relationships, things between Welsh and I changed. Starting

university, English was a bridge to another world; its opportunities were a temptation only a fool would reject. It seemed any reverence one has for the prestige of Welsh should quickly dissipate when glancing at Welsh giants like Dylan Thomas and Richard Burton, who became successful by leaving the language behind. Like most educated through the Welsh medium, I was taught that ‘the dragon speaks two tongues’,<sup>20</sup> so when faced with the promises of the English-speaking social scene, it was acceptable, even standard procedure, to let your Welsh (just about) survive and to travel to English-speaking worlds. Carrying the remnants I have of the Welsh language today, I feel torn and in-between, like a tortoise who cannot decide whether the Welsh shell is a home or the coffin I will eventually get buried in.

However, I felt further unease as I fully adopted the successful, sleek, and smart English language, with its networks that seem to be a prerequisite for modern success. English was hardly there when I made friends or had feelings for the first time. Its conclusions were hollow because we did not have the same shared history. English felt like a distant bystander who suddenly started giving me advice. Regardless of the level of mastery, it still fails to feel fluent or homely; it is just a requirement for success. Each sentence sounds like walking to a song I dislike, but one I cannot turn off because I am in those ‘worlds’ now.

I am a Welsh split subject stuck between languages, at the borderlands of words and the conflicting worlds and selves they encourage. The memories tied to words are like an ambient, almost forgotten smell in either language. I retreat into silence because of my unease in English and Welsh, like a surfer trying to go unnoticed by the waves. I smother my testimony in worlds to try and get through in either language without ‘making a mistake’. Welsh interrupts me as I speak English, and I stutter as English infiltrates my Welsh. I keep bumping against the border, against the limits of language, and I am unsure where I belong.

## Conclusion

This piece brought minoritised language speakers’ experiences into the foreground of phenomenology and belonging by using notions prominent in Latina Feminist Phenomenology, such as worlds, not-being-at-ease and in-betweenness. With these terms, we introduced the role of languages in forming worlds and multilingual split subjects who may not feel-at-ease in certain worlds due primarily to clashing languages. Little attention had been given to the experiences of minoritised language speakers, which appeared to be a lacuna in the phenomenology of in-betweenness, world-travel, and belonging.

We also highlighted a second ‘affective’ lacuna in broader language studies beyond phenomenology by utilising approaches that consider language’s role in

subjects navigating social spaces that emphasise the epistemic element. Although the transfer of knowledge and ‘being heard’ play an essential part in belonging in social spaces, we can expand the potential impact of speaking a minoritised language to the affective dimension by utilising Latina Feminist Phenomenology. By introducing ‘worlds’ and the affective elements like unease, split subjects, and in-betweenness that derive from it, we expand and enrich the scope of language studies.

This piece aimed to facilitate and scaffold a discussion on the affective elements of being a minoritised language speaker that both Latina Feminist Phenomenology and broader language studies have underrepresented. By utilising these terms, we can enrich our understanding of Minoritised Language experiences and the concepts we use to describe them. Still, doing justice to such wide-ranging experiences requires doing philosophy differently. If our relationships with languages are personal and intimate, so should the philosophy attempting to explain and describe them. Words, after all, can feel as concrete as flesh.

# Foundations of Faith: Home, Belonging, and the Revival of English Monasticism at Downside Abbey

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[doi.org/10.52715/MORR0001](https://doi.org/10.52715/MORR0001)

**‘It almost seems as if the monks of those days were so excited by what they were doing that they were impelled to get it all down in black and white and tell the world.’<sup>1</sup>**

## Introduction

English Catholicism experienced a resurgence during the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Monasteries, such as Downside Abbey in Somerset, saw increasing numbers of young men becoming novice monks and the expansion of the monastery’s authority in both religious and secular circles. In building their Somerset home, the monks of Downside used the Neo-Gothic structure to reflect modern monasticism in England, as well as to provide both a physical and spiritual home. This was the impact of an increasingly confident Catholic community on the religious landscape of the nineteenth century and reflected the changing religious, political, and social concerns of the community. The Benedictine community of St Gregory the Great first made their home at Douai, France, in 1606.<sup>3</sup> They consisted of a group of English and Welsh monks who had established themselves at Douai, in order to lead a conventual life as a response to the Reformation in England and the loss of their home in England. In 1599, several English students from the religious college at Valladolid were professed, and six of them joined the English Mission. The English Mission was seen as the responsibility of exiled Catholics, as part of the design to return to England to convert others to Catholicism. This small group of monks left the continent, after the French Revolution in 1795 had resulted in a wave of anti-Catholic rhetoric. They arrived in Shropshire in England, where Catholicism was better tolerated, at the estate of Sir Edward Smythe (1758–1811, 5<sup>th</sup> Baronet).<sup>4</sup> However, by 1814 they had outgrown the estate and had sourced a new home in Somerset. They named this place ‘Downside’ and remained there until 2022. They have since moved to Buckfast Abbey in Devon, where they are lodging until they decide on a new, permanent home.<sup>5</sup> This paper aims to explore the intricate relationship between the abbey

church and its founders, shedding light on how their shared values and aspirations were intricately woven into its architectural fabric, evident even in their carved likenesses adorning its entranceway.

The community has always placed a great emphasis on stability, belonging, and collective memory. This sense of belonging is symbolised in the grandeur of the building, which was designed to reflect the ambitious nature of the community. The building incorporates aspects of Catholic tradition, such as its use of stone from the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey, which links the community to a wider historical narrative – one that is equal parts peaceful and contentious through the Reformation. In doing so, they created a home that blended historical Catholic identity with nineteenth century English society, and which represents the evolving nature of “home” and “belonging” for English Catholics during a period of religious revival. Aidan Bellenger (Downside, 1950-present), writing as the twelfth abbot of Downside in his 2011 book, *Downside Abbey: An Architectural History*, reaffirmed the principle that the building of the Abbey church embodied:

A developing modern view of the revived monastic life [...] The abbey church as it now stands, complete except for its west front (for which various plans have been made) is the product – and sign – of the renewal of monastic life, in its fullness in the last hundred years.<sup>6</sup>

These values found tangible expression in the construction of their abbey church, which began after the laying of the foundation stone in 1873, and was overseen in the main part by two members of the community: Hugh Edmund Ford (Downside, 1851-1930) and Aidan Francis Gasquet (Downside, 1846-1934).<sup>7</sup> It was an ambitious project for the community – the scale of which led Cardinal Manning (1808-1892) to ask if they were planning on building a town.<sup>8</sup> Its ambitious design and Neo-Gothic construction mark the abbey church of St Gregory as what Sir Nikolaus Pevsner would later describe as ‘the most splendid demonstration of the renaissance of Roman Catholicism in England’.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, the architectural decisions made within the abbey church have become symbols of the historically significant time for both the building and the community. However, it would not be consecrated until 1935, once the sanctuary decoration had been completed.<sup>10</sup>

## The Abbey Church

The abbey church was built in Gothic Revival style by a succession of architects: Dunn and Hansom (1872-1895), Comper (1899-1900), Garner (1901-1905), Walters (1911-1912), and Gilbert Scott (1923-1925).<sup>11</sup> Dunn and Hansom oversaw the earliest

sections of the abbey church including the east end, ambulatory, and exterior of the Lady Chapel which are in the French Perpendicular style. The transepts with chapels and the base of the tower, dated c. 1882, are also by Dunn and Hansom, but in a rich Early English style. Much of the interior was rib-vaulted in the thirteenth-century French style, and many of the carvings, tombs, recesses, paintings and stained glass are by Sir Ninian Comper as well as the Lady Chapel. Garner completed the chancel between 1901-05, in Early Perpendicular style. The furnishing and decoration of the abbey church were under the instruction of Fredrick Walters, as well as decorative work on several other chapels. The nave with its blind aisles, Perpendicular arcades, and triforium are in the Decorated style, and the south gallery chapels over a north cloister are by Gilbert Scott. This is connected to the ‘temporary’ west front in a simplified Perpendicular style. The west front was never finished and remains in rough stone, despite ambitious plans to extend the building. The tower was finished in 1938 by Gilbert Scott in “Somerset” Perpendicular. It houses the bell named the Great Bede – a memorial to Archbishop Roger Bede Vaughn of Sydney (1834-83) – and remains the second highest in Somerset.<sup>12</sup> For the Benedictines, the abbey church was more than just a place of worship; it was a symbol of their identity and aspirations, as well as a spiritual home. As the seat of the English Benedictine Community, the church represented a beacon of hope and belonging for English Catholics, who had long faced persecution under penal laws. In England, these were the Papist Act 1778, the Emancipation Act 1793, and the Emancipation Act 1829.<sup>13</sup>

The connection to the community’s past and sense of belonging can be seen in the architectural and spiritual decisions made within the abbey church. One of the most obvious is the Chapel of St Vedast, which sits on the east end of the abbey. St Vedast shares an intimate connection with the community, as the founder and first abbot of the Benedictine Abbey at Arras in Flanders, and through his relationship with one of his successors: de Caverel, the founder of the monastery at Douai. Within the chapel at Downside are four shields that represent the founders’ coats of arms: Caverel, Barberini, Smythe, and Hapsburg impaling Castile and Leon. Ten smaller shields represent the arms of the English Benedictine Houses within the English Benedictine Community (EBC): Washington, Buckfast, Belmont, Ampleforth, Ealing, Worth, Douai, Downside, Fort Augustus, Portsmouth, and St Louis. Likewise, the window in the chapel represents several key events in the history of the EBC. The first is an image of St Gregory the Great, to which the abbey church is dedicated to. It also contains an image of St Gregory blessing St Augustine on leaving for England, and an image of St Vedast himself. The trefoil contains an image of the monastery at Douai as it appeared before the events of the Revolution. Significantly, the window also

contains an image of Abbot de Caverel giving his charter to the founding monks of Downside. These images are all strongly connected to the foundational history of Downside. Despite the abbey church's decidedly nineteenth-century origin, this window simultaneously emphasises the community's inheritance and gives a sense of the continuity towards which the monks express a sense of legacy. Inspired by the medieval origins of the Benedictines, the architectural style of the abbey church reflects a return to the medieval era as a way of grounding the community's identity, both physically and ideologically, in a broader historical tradition. Here, the abbey becomes more than just a building; a sanctuary and a home, a place where the ideals of the community were made tangible and enduring.

### The Downside Controversy

Indeed, the building took shape during an interesting and unusual period of the community's life known as the Downside Controversy (1880-1900). This controversy, which involved almost all the members of the community – Downside, Ampleforth (1802), Stanbrook (1838), and Belmont (1875) – sought to change the constitutions of the English Benedictine Community (EBC). In 1899, Pope Leo XIII (1810-1903) promulgated the Apostolic Letter *Diu Quidem* (1899) to complement the directions of *Religiosus Ordo* (1890).<sup>14</sup> These two directives were intended to clarify the positions of the EBC and to revise the constitutions which had last been altered in 1619. These actions were the result of twenty years of conflict within the EBC – a battle between the senior clergy, who wanted to keep the traditions of their forefathers, and the junior members, known as 'The Movement,' who wanted to return to a more medieval sense of monasticism. The main aim of The Movement was to transform the system of governance used within the monastery and to remove the monasteries' dependence on a missionary presence. The system that was used in England until 1880 had evolved out of the necessity for a centralised government to organise the fragmented missionary presence of monks on the continent. Change was not always popular, and the instigators Ford and Gasquet spent many years in opposition.<sup>15</sup> This awareness has followed the building since its inception – as Phillipson recalled 'the occasion was felt to be as indeed it was – a great one in the life of St Gregory's: it was the inauguration of Modern Downside.'<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to note that Ford's acceptance of the role of abbot in 1900 was later couched in similar terms – his obituary called him 'the maker of modern Downside.'<sup>17</sup> The justification for reform, or indeed upholding the status quo, was often in terms of an appeal to history. This is reflected in the community's connection to the medieval and the desire

to recreate the medieval past in the architecture and symbolism of the abbey church. The two directives confirmed the progressive ideas of The Movement, and so in 1899 the priory was raised to the dignity of an abbey alongside monasteries at Ampleforth (founded in 1802 in York) and Douai (which took the name of the original site in France, founded in 1903 in Woolhampton). Together, these abbeys form a network of homes that embody The Movement's ideals, providing a sense of belonging and continuity across time and place. The Controversy rooted The Movement in medieval history – an intentional choice that connects the construction of Downside to the spiritual origins of the Benedictine Order.

### Individualism Versus the Community

Whilst the abbey symbolises a memorial to its own history, it also represents a celebration of the lives of significant figures within Downside's history – their tombs can be found within the transepts. Like much of the history of Downside, there is an emphasis on individual achievements in a communal narrative – a sense of belonging to a communal history. For example, the angels that are suspended above the arches of the nave contain the names of every one of the abbey's superiors since the monastery's inception – acting as touchstones that anchor each individual to the abbey church.

As key members of the Downside Controversy, the actions of Ford and Gasquet were instrumental to these developments of the abbey church, and it was their shared vision that is represented throughout the building. This was reflected in the correspondence between the two monks, from the days of their noviciate to old age. In a letter from Gasquet to Ford in May 1874, when the two were novices, Gasquet focuses on the early stages of the building work:

...the building is getting on famously. I wish you could get a glimpse of it now and then. It has really exceeded the 'monasteries in the air' we had any of us built. The idea given in the drawing falls very short of the reality unlike what it usually does. Most certainly if we are not good in that place it will not be from the want of a beautiful place.<sup>18</sup>

This letter demonstrates their shared vision as their plans for the future resulted in the progression of the house, through successive abbacies, and acted as the driving force behind Downside's successful revision to Minor Basilica in 1935 by Pope Pius XI (1857-1939). It also shows how the development of a 'complete monastic vision' and reform was influenced by the ambitious building plans they developed.<sup>19</sup> This collaborative effort in shaping their monastic futures continued throughout their lives and helped shape their approach to their own monastic identities, as well as the building itself. In developing the reform

movement, the young monastic community, led by Ford, sought to match the grandeur of the rising stonework and develop the monastic community beyond its walls.

The ambitious nature of Ford and Gasquet can also be seen in the influence they had over the decorative elements of the abbey. Not only do the two men appear above the doorway, but also in symbolic gestures around the abbey church, which demonstrates the confidence they had in their positions. For example, the church contains references to the saints both men were named after – St Francis of Assisi can be found at the foot of Gasquet's tomb in the abbey church, and up past the high altar, St Hugh of Lincoln and his swan. Many heraldic symbols around the church symbolise the Gasquet family, who also gave many donations to the community to help support the building work – for example, the windows in one of the upstairs chapels are dedicated to the Gasquet family, and the choir contains the cockerel motif of the Gasquet family. Likewise, the Ford family also gave money to the abbey and, as such, one of the upstairs chapels bears a dedication to the family.

However, the emphasis on individual achievement can be seen most clearly in the presence of the two men in the building itself. Through the hierarchical structure of the monastery, as superiors of the monastery, their bodies became part of the (physical) church's design as did their bodies belong to the (abstract) church as monks. This can be seen symbolically in the carvings of Ford and Gasquet above the door, which demonstrates the confidence they felt in their positions within the community too. These small touches add to the sense of importance that these two men had upon the building and is commemorated by the community in the presence of their memorials in the transept. Gasquet also appears in the nave, where a scheme by his great admirer, Gilbert Dolan (Downside, 1853-1914) was to represent all the saints celebrated in the Benedictine calendar on the arches. However, this scheme was abandoned, and instead, the heads of significant figures in the community appear – Gasquet, Dolan, and James. These figures were all involved in the building of the abbey, with the layperson Thomas James being the clerk of works during this period, and the monk Gilbert Dolan (Downside, 1853-1914) inheriting the position of monastic librarian from Gasquet.<sup>20</sup> These carvings symbolise the symbiotic relationship between individual and communal memory – the lasting home of the members of the community who have been commemorated, and the contribution to a shared legacy.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the abbey church of St Gregory the Great at Downside stands as a testament to the enduring values and aspirations of its Benedictine community. From its inception through to its relocation and eventual establishment in Somerset, the community's commitment to stability, belonging, and collective memory has been unwavering. The abbey church, with its rich architectural heritage, embodies these principles, reflecting a broader historical narrative that is both peaceful and contentious. The ambitious vision of Hugh Edmund Ford and Aidan Francis Gasquet, evident in their meticulous oversight of the building's construction, is woven into the very fabric of the church. Their influence is immortalised not only in the architectural grandeur but also in the detailed carvings and symbolic motifs that adorn the abbey. These elements underscore their significant contributions to the community and their shared vision for a revived monastic life. The abbey church serves as more than a place of worship; it is a cherished home and a symbol of belonging for the Benedictine community. It embodies the resilience, faith, and enduring importance of tradition that have defined the community's journey. The story of Downside Abbey, with its rich history and architectural splendour, offers a profound reflection on the community's commitment to creating a sense of home and belonging, preserving and honouring its heritage for generations to come.



## “They Took from Me the Use of Mine Own House”: The Loss of Home in *King Lear*

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The concept of ‘home’ in *King Lear* functions both as a physical location, and as a psychological feeling of belonging. In the opening of William Shakespeare’s *King Lear* (1606), the home of Lear and that of his subjects becomes a physically divided and therefore psychologically precarious state. Lear declares ‘[w]e will divest us both of rule/ Interest of territory [and] cares of state’, thus removing his responsibility over Britain and bestowing it upon his three daughters.<sup>1</sup> However, in being rejected by the children residing within his kingdom, he cannot relocate a sense of homecoming psychologically either. Yang argues in his 2012 article, on the concept of home within *King Lear*, that the different locations that Lear wanders through when cast out ‘appeal to the audience’s imagination and sense of pathos’,<sup>2</sup> but I argue instead that Lear, having built a society that does not value its unhoused and destitute, and forced partially through his actions into becoming unhoused, creates an environment where he cannot relocate ‘home’. Moreover, in banishing Cordelia and alienating Goneril and Regan through his behaviour, he removes any chance for himself to recreate a sense of home, meaning that he is not to be pitied for the road he has made for his own back.

Lear tries to relocate his physical ‘home’ to the houses of his oldest two children. His eldest, Goneril, controls Albany (an old term for Scotland), while his middle child, Regan, rules over Cornwall, deep in the south of Britain. Cordelia, his youngest, has had her portion stripped from her, but would presumably have overseen the geographical middle of the kingdom, safer from invasion by foreign forces and hence the most premium land allocated by Lear. He therefore must journey from the very north of his kingdom to the very south to seek refuge. As such, he loses the stability of a home, travelling across his kingdom in the same level of new-found destitution as Edgar. Lear has paradoxically put himself in this position, giving up his home willingly yet attempting to maintain control over those around him. He has also divided his family across the kingdom, demonstrated by the spatial parity between the two sisters’ homes and Cordelia’s removal, destroying the sense of belonging that family should offer.

Debates have been had over the leaving and apparent abandoning of the castle from I.1. As De Sousa remarks, ‘Lear presumably disposes of his abode along with

his throne, but in actuality the text remains silent on this issue.<sup>3</sup> As a result, we cannot be certain why he does not simply return to the castle he vacated when his daughters exile him from theirs. The fact that he does not consider returning to his prior home, argues Woodbridge, ‘suggests the text’s commitment to homelessness as a theme.’<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, it also suggests his commitment, once he has alienated or exiled anyone who could house and humour him, to continue his misery by refusing to be housed at all if he cannot be housed in the way he wishes.

At the beginning of the play, he says to his oldest daughters that he intends, ‘by you to be sustained, [and] shall our abode/ Make with you by due turns’ (I.1.141-142). In early modern hospitality, there is an emphasis on ‘the duty of the host to receive all comers, regardless of social status or acquaintance’.<sup>5</sup> However, there was also a requirement for the guest to behave well while in another’s house; ‘an insistence that outward good behaviour must conform to an inward propriety of attitude [...and] refinement as an attribute of gentility,’ and Lear does not display good behaviour or have a propriety of attitude befitting his station, king or not.<sup>6</sup>

His behaviour in Goneril’s home is unbefitting of a father and guest. The fact that he has relinquished his rule of the kingdom and is residing in his daughter’s house means that he cannot allow ‘rank and not-to-be-endured riots’ (I.4.202) from his knights in the way that he does. He bemoans his treatment: ‘I have perceived a most faint neglect of late’ (I.4.67). Lear’s disbelief at his daughters’ rejection becomes evident in his exclamation: ‘by the marks of Sovereignty/ Knowledge, and reason, I should be false persuaded/ I had daughters’ (I.4.231-3) as they refuse him entry to their homes and license to act as he pleases. He has, however, given up the ability to be the head of the ‘body politic’, and is left in his body natural, which is homeless and wandering, both physically and psychologically.<sup>7</sup> This creates a disconnect between his self-identified sense of sovereignty and the control he truly has; as Rebecca Munson notes, ‘for a monarch, sovereignty of mind and sovereignty of state must necessarily be one and the same’, and currently he has neither.<sup>8</sup>

There are compelling reasons beyond mere cruelty for Goneril to refuse Lear entry into her home. In discussion with her husband, she asks him to ‘let me still take away the harms I fear/ Not fear still to be taken’ (I.4.330-331). By removing her father from the house, she argues, she saves herself from harms that she sees coming from the train of knights, who think nothing of striking her servants and will not be ruled. Additionally, her speech on Lear asking her outright what the matter is speaks not of her anger, but of her fear of the dispositions that ‘carry [Lear] from what [he] rightly [is]’ (I.4. 222). Lear is a short-tempered man, who speaks rashly and without regard to the effect of his words when angered, and Goneril seeks to alter his train, of whom he is fond. In taking these men with him

where he goes, he seeks to make a new court of those he feels he can trust. These men become his sense of a moveable 'home', and when this is stripped from him by his daughter, he reacts violently. He is, in short, acting like a tyrannical king, but without the position or power to uphold such rash decisions or harsh words. In allowing this behaviour, and being as volatile as he is, he is disrupting the sense of Goneril's home being a place of security for her.

In the early modern period, sovereignty was a quality that indicated 'supremacy or pre-eminence' (OED, 1) in general, and 'supreme dominion, authority, or rule' (OED, 2) in a political context, meaning it applied exclusively to monarchy.<sup>9</sup> He has rejected ruling the kingdom and overseeing his own household, but cannot relinquish the feeling of superiority and the ability to do as he pleases in another person's home, hence his self-appointed 'marks of sovereignty'. However, Regan, the middle sibling, makes the very salient point on being visited by Lear, when Goneril removes him, that a household cannot function under two rulers:

#### REGAN

How, in one house, / Should many people, under two commands, /  
Hold amity? 'Tis hard; almost impossible. (II.4.258-260)

This reflects Lear's mismanagement of the state, which has similarly deteriorated. She wants more power than Goneril, granted, so she is not unbiased in this statement, but it serves two purposes; to comment on his allocation of power by way of flattery and remarking how unstable it has rendered the peace of the kingdom, and to comment on his poor behaviour in trying to usurp Goneril as the decision-maker of her own house. Regan consequently bars Lear's entry to her court, removing both avenues of relocating 'home' available to him.

As Lear's exile from his daughters' homes leaves him without refuge, he begins to experience the full force of his vulnerability out in the natural world. His experience in the storm and its aftermath teaches him that the earlier unkindness he experienced resulted from his behaviour. Specifically, it resulted from the way that his attempts at invulnerability and omnipotence enabled him to treat kinship as disposable,<sup>10</sup> visible in his lamentations towards the end of the play that 'They told me I was everything- tis a lie, I am not ague-proof' (IV.6.104-5). His entitled ways, despite removing himself from power and his alacrity towards cutting ties with those who displease him, leaves him homeless and humbled by an inability to seek any semblance of homely security elsewhere.

Having alienated both of his oldest daughters, Lear is left to wander his kingdom and potentially to be 'brought near to beast' (Edgar, II.3.9). Edgar, the Duke of Gloucester's son and heir, has also been cast out of Lear's court, but not by choice. Like Cordelia, Edgar has been ousted by familial machinations and

takes on the role of Poor Tom, a known figure in the Jacobean folk imagination. He is renowned as a beggar and a charlatan, but along with echoing his sudden loss of security in his home, relieving him of both senses of a 'home', within *King Lear*, this role garners him safety, strange as it may seem.<sup>11</sup> As Lindsey Heyveld notes, given 'onstage spectators are nearly uniformly poor audiences', and 'poor spectators respond to dissembled disability with charity' (rather than the suspicion a 'good' audience, like a real-world audience member, bestows) he becomes a figure of pity.<sup>12</sup> Despite Poor Tom being mistrusted and a victim of violence in the Jacobean imagination, in a dramatic setting, characters such as Lear are kinder to him. Additionally, Edgar as a man is so renowned for being moralistic and noble that this wild, nonsensical, self-flagellating man, so opposite to his usual behaviour, hides his true identity.

Like Lear, he wanders in the storm, but when Edgar seeks shelter, Lear will not go inside. Lear feels assaulted from within by his own emotions and turns to speculation about the poor of his own country, whose 'houseless heads and unfed sides' (III. 4.30) cannot defend them from the onslaught of poor weather or poor circumstances. He has allowed their condition to continue in his tenure as king, having had no reason to contemplate the security of his home until it is taken from him, and he becomes one of the 'houseless heads'. Now he has a new awareness and pity for 'poor naked wretches, wheresoe'er you are, / That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm' (III.4.29–30). Lear urges himself to 'expose thyself to feel what wretches feel' (III.4.35), and so when he is offered a hovel in which to ride out the storm, he refuses. Instead, he braves the onslaught of weather as a distraction and a chance to expose himself to 'what wretches feel' properly.

Once inside, Lear continually badgers Edgar about their supposed similarities, serving as shorthand for his unravelling sanity as he seems 'not only unwilling but unable to separate his own misfortune and identity from Poor Tom'.<sup>13</sup>

As Foakes notes in editing *King Lear*, this poor naked wretch suddenly appears, and Lear projects onto him his own grievances.<sup>14</sup> Both Edgar and Lear have experienced betrayal by family members. However, Lear cannot fully mirror himself in Edgar because, while Edgar uses the open spaces of the natural world to conceal himself and willingly abandon his identity, Lear struggles to retain his power and sense of self in this environment, and his control must be forcibly stripped from him. Edgar's disguise of madness is also a defence rather than a true loss of sanity. Edgar has deliberately take[n] the basest and most poorest shape (II.3.7) to 'preserve' himself (II.3.6); Lear has brought himself to genuine mental distress. Yang's sense of pathos, referenced in the introduction, would arguably come into play here, but not for Lear. Edgar is pushed out of his home, while Lear willingly gives it up yet paradoxically wishes to retain control.

As a new home for the exiles of *King Lear*, such as Kent, Lear, Cordelia, and Edgar, the natural world outside of their homes ‘represents an object space that must be controlled; uncontrolled, it is a dangerous space of chaotic nothingness’.<sup>15</sup> But those who are exiled have no power to control their surroundings where they must make a home. In attempting to divide his kingdom in natural terms, allocating out ‘shady forests and wide skirted meads’ (I.1.59) of map delineated land, Lear struggles to create a sense of dominion over the natural world in actuality, which falls apart when Lear is forced to live vulnerable to the elements, with none of the shade of forests or protection of the skirts of the meads.

As Estok astutely remarks: ‘As he loses his voice and identity, [Lear] becomes more unseated, more unhoused, and less distinguishable from the undomesticated spaces that wildly threaten civilization. Without his land, Lear becomes frenetic in his questions about his identity.’<sup>16</sup> His land, his home, is part of his identity, and having carved it into portions to hand out to others, he has handed half of his body, the body politic, away to others. Only too late does he realise that he cannot rely on others to nurse him into a second childhood, nor can he force himself into the homes of his daughters and still retain the role of the powerful patriarch. Having removed himself from power, he has to allow himself to be helpless and homeless in the natural world he tried earlier to control and carve apart.

In the hovel, he rages against his ungrateful daughters, who only wish for control in their own houses, and severs all ties to them. He tries to put them on trial, allowing himself the power of control over their fates, despite having no such power. His rulings have no impact because since he left his castle and the ruling of the kingdom behind, he has lost the authority to demand anything, as well as the space in which to hold them to account as he did in the opening scene of the play. The sisters are not brought to his makeshift home, nor are they conscious of being tried. This trial is a desperate grab at a sense of control over proceedings, and even then, he is thwarted by its failure. Home and the unity of family consequently ‘becomes an unattainable place for Lear and brings forth ever more destructive thoughts’ due to Lear’s ‘pelican daughters’ (III.4.75).<sup>17</sup> In legend, young pelicans were depicted feeding on their parent’s blood, and Lear feels that his daughters are metaphorically feeding off his pain and blood.<sup>18</sup> He ignores the traditionally self-inflicted nature of the wounds of the pelican in this image in other contemporary sources, in favour of transferring blame to his bloodthirsty daughters. What was originally a bond of great security and provided a sense of home for him, his three daughters who all loved him, has soured and been severed by Lear’s irregular ire and his desire to keep control over his domain while shedding responsibility.

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By the end of the play, while imprisoned with Cordelia, Lear envisions their cell as an idealised home for them, where they can ‘laugh at gilded butterflies’ (V.3.14). This turns the physical space of ‘home’ and its implications of comfort, security and peace into somewhere purely mental and imaginary, accessible only in the mind for those imprisoned, lacking security, comfort, and peace. Unfortunately for Lear, ‘in *King Lear*, exile is a fate no man escapes’, and he cannot regain security in his comfort of a ‘home’; he has limited time with Cordelia before she is killed.<sup>19</sup> With her death, ‘home’ in *King Lear* becomes a feeling rather than a location for Lear, one that cannot be felt. Even released from prison, he is bereft of any living family by the end of the play, his older daughters having killed each other in an argument. He has cut himself off from Kent, his oldest and truest friend, who would have been a steadying force in his old age. As a result, he cannot even be ‘at home’, comfortable in the arms of his family, when he dies of a broken heart. Home, ultimately, is lost.

*II. Locating the  
Domicile: Habitation  
and Self*



## ‘Where Does the Outside Stop and the Inside Begin?’ Space, Gender and Identity in Sabba Khan’s *The Roles We Play*

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In Sabba Khan’s debut graphic novel, *The Roles We Play* (2021), the interplay of inside and outside spaces within the protagonist’s Pakistani-British family challenges traditional notions of identity and boundaries.<sup>1</sup> This paper employs feminist geographical critiques that question the binary opposition of inside/outside to examine the novel’s depiction of the fluidity of such boundaries and highlight the complexity of identity formation in a migrant home. As Doreen Massey argues, space is a dynamic product of social interactions, and identities are similarly shaped and reshaped by spatial relations.<sup>2</sup> I also draw on Homi Bhabha’s notion of the third space, a conceptual area where different cultures intersect and interact, facilitating the emergence of new identities and meanings.<sup>3</sup> I argue that in Khan’s graphic novel, the interaction between internal family dynamics and external societal pressures for integration and conformity results in migrant individuals adopting multiple, shifting, and potentially unbounded identities. This analysis aims to challenge masculinist dichotomous conceptualisations of space and to offer a more nuanced understanding of the interconnect- edness between inside and outside forces in shaping one’s sense of self and belonging.

Khan’s book combines elements of autobiographical writing and comics format, which is often termed by scholars as autobiographical comics or graphic memoirs.<sup>4</sup> Graphic life narratives have gained more popularity and critical attention in the few decades following the publication of Art Spiegelman’s *Maus* (1991). Nima Naghibi et al. highlight the emergence of a subfield of graphic life narratives that depict lives caught between ‘the geographic displacements and dispossessions of colonialism, conflict, and war, on the one hand, and the ongoing tensions and traumas of relocation and settlement in both carceral detention and global diasporas, on the other’.<sup>5</sup> Khan’s graphic memoir can be read within this subfield, which includes texts such as Marjane Satrapi’s *Persepolis* (2003) and Joe Sacco’s reportage in *Palestine* (2001). As Frederik Kjøhlert notes, the appeal of graphic life narratives for marginalised individuals lies in their ability to see and navigate their relationship with the world through the form’s self-reflective approach to autobiographical storytelling.<sup>6</sup> He suggests that ‘the nature and

tenor of those representations (as well as their status as visual objects designed to be looked at by others) might matter politically, especially for people on the social and cultural margins'.<sup>7</sup> Hillary Chute also makes clear that a central attraction of the form for women creators is its ability to depict and visually express what is often silenced or overlooked in contemporary culture, especially regarding gendered experiences.<sup>8</sup> Sabba Khan states in an interview that she is drawn to comics because architecture was not providing her with the space 'to be able to bring [her] whole self'.<sup>9</sup> The current article focuses on examining the thematic and formal spaces of marginality that Khan explores in her graphic memoir.

*The Roles We Play* is composed of thirty non-linear episodes, mainly telling of Sabba's family's migration circumstances from post-Partition Pakistan and her life as a second-generation Muslim female migrant in London.<sup>10</sup> The protagonist's parents, being the eldest and the first to migrate from their clan, feel responsible to represent and define what a family should look like 'outside of its original context'.<sup>11</sup> The home becomes a bustling hub of collective responsibilities, with every member of the family having a role to play in preserving their cultural identity.

Relocating to the diverse Green Street for secondary school marks a pivotal moment in Sabba's life, where she embraces her Muslim identity through wearing the hijab. She gradually develops awareness of how she is viewed as different. The transition to architectural school at eighteen furthers Sabba's sense of being othered for her gender, class, ethnicity, and religion. Sabba adopts certain small acts to fit in and to camouflage her identity by changing her way of speaking, dressing, and eventually deciding to remove her veil. In her search for a sense of self, Sabba embarks on a journey to navigate the tensions between her Islamic collective upbringing and the individualistic Western system, striving to reach a space where binary differences can coexist and reconcile.

### Methodology: Space, Gender, and Identity

Geographers have challenged the idea that space is a static backdrop for human activities and have come to view space relationally, as an active force that shapes and is shaped by social, economic, cultural, and political processes. Massey has emphasised the interconnectedness and interdependence between space and social phenomena. Her concept of space as 'a simultaneity of stories-so-far' highlights the idea that space is not a singular entity with fixed boundaries, but a multiplicity of narratives and experiences.<sup>12</sup> These stories are constantly being written and rewritten by different actors in different contexts, creating a complex and dynamic understanding of space. In Khan's book, the protagonist interrogates boundaries between the home and the city, between her own identity

and her parents': 'where does the outside stop and the inside begin?'<sup>13</sup> The parents in the migrant home, as well as city authorities or members of the host society, attempt to establish clear boundaries between these spaces to maintain authentic cultural identities. This attempt to fix identities of places results in the marginalisation of some groups, such as migrants and women. Muslims living in the West, especially veiled women, faced such social isolation in the aftermath of 9/11 and 7/7 events.

Feminist geographers are concerned with the representation of difference and sceptical about dominant discourses of identity that are bound to exclude and marginalise certain groups. Massey suggests that boundaries, such as inside and outside, are used to determine the identity of a place, which is a masculinist approach: 'the need for the security of boundaries, the requirement for such a defensive and counter-positional definition of identity, is culturally masculine'.<sup>14</sup> She suggests that the construction of gender relations is closely tied to the way we conceptualise space and argues for a more relational approach to identity, emphasising interconnections rather than boundaries. This approach can also be applied to the concept of place, 'where localities can in a sense be present in one another, both inside and outside at the same time'.<sup>15</sup> Identities of places are thus argued to be multiple, shifting, and possibly unbounded, much like personal identities.

## Home

The migrant home in Khan's novel is defined not only by the family traditions, but also in terms of how it differs from the outside world or the city. It is constructed by the first-generation migrants' attempt to protect their cultural identities and to preserve their heritage and pass it to younger generations. This is depicted in the novel as creating a 'bubble', a surviving mechanism, out of fear of the hostility of the host society:

This home with toxic foundations, where we tell ourselves this is what we do 'back home'. We convince ourselves it is our culture, but in essence it is born out of extremities, an absence of trust and inability to grow safely. A need to protect one's self becomes a fight over survival.<sup>16</sup>

The outside society pressures immigrants to assimilate and to perform their cultural identity only within their homes or neighbourhoods. Homi Bhabha describes this process as 'the creation of cultural diversity and the containment of cultural difference'.<sup>17</sup> This means that while Britain endorses cultural diversity, as can be seen in its multicultural educational policy, there is always

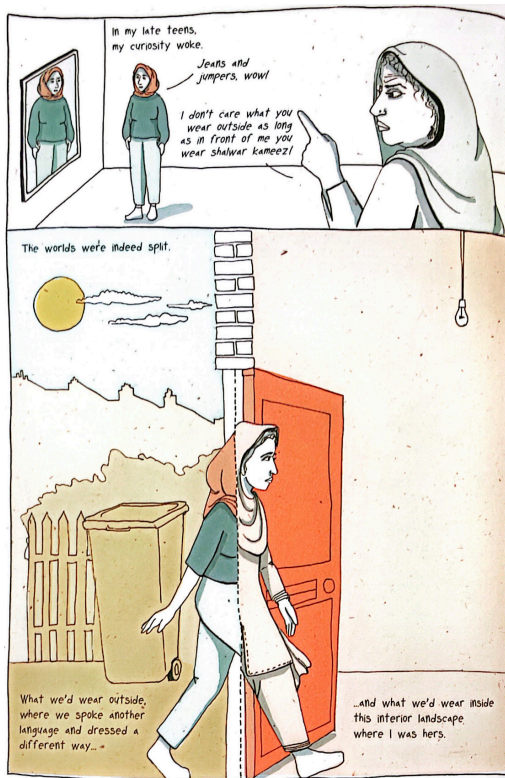


Fig. 1

a corresponding containment of it. Younger generations, like Sabba and her siblings and cousins, grow in this domestic environment where they are torn between their family's expectations and the outside society's requirements for integration. These double pressures create an environment of extremity, toxicity, and domination. The extremity in the home is exemplified in forcing children to wear cultural clothes, speak their mother tongue (Fig. 1) and the application of strict gender norms, symbolised in the novel by male adults' occupation of the larger part of the home while women are 'relegated to the back channels. The corridors, the stairs, [and] the kitchen.'<sup>18</sup> Unequal family dynamics and spatial arrangements result in toxic relationships within the home. For example, Sabba has to share her mother's bedroom 'where [they] would cry together' mainly because of men's oppression.<sup>19</sup> Sabba realises that she is becoming an extension of her mother because of this shared space and co-dependent relationship: 'It begins to come full circle, my mother's ache in my bones. [...] Where does she stop and I begin?'<sup>20</sup> Sabba is thus prescribed a fixed place within their home and a

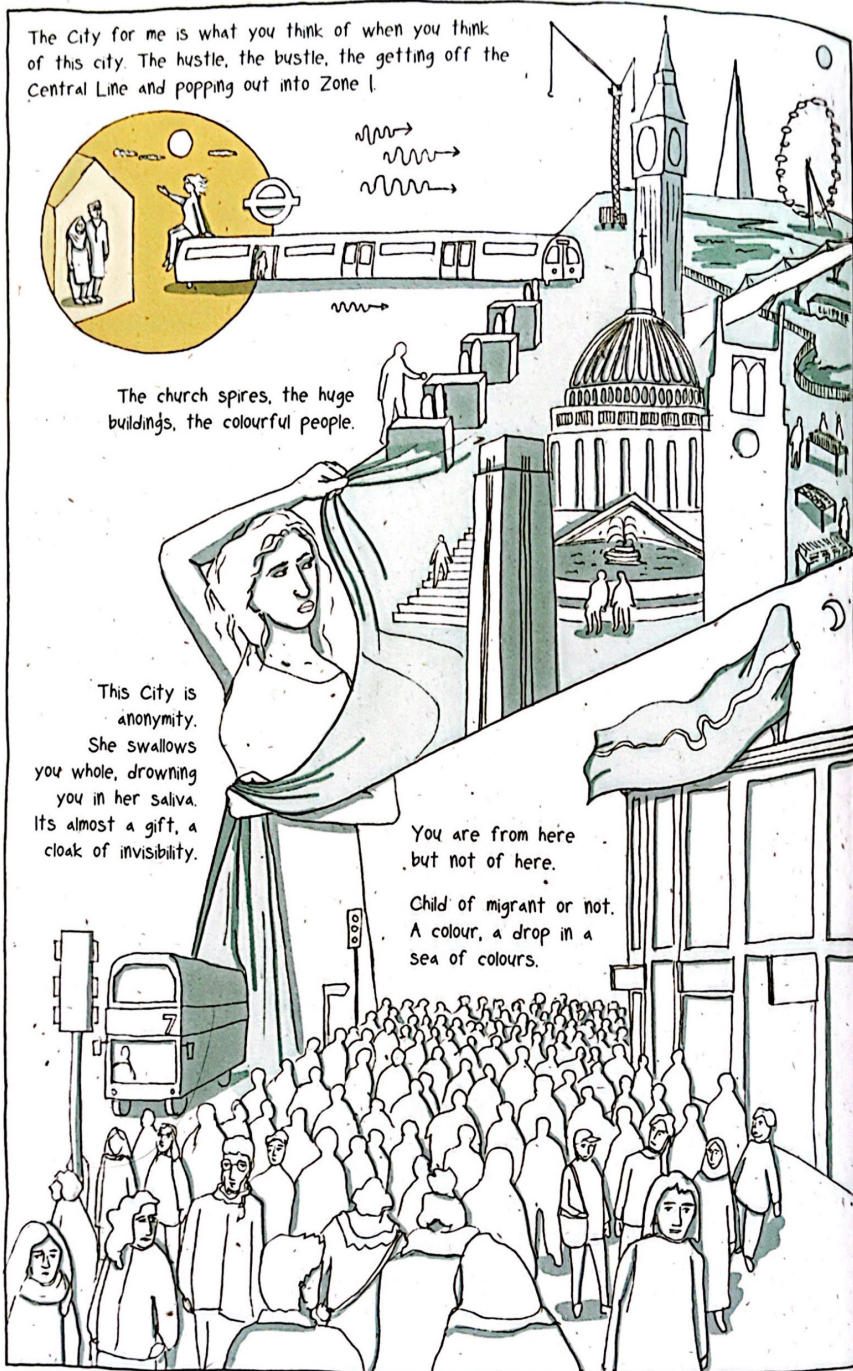


Fig. 2

fixed identity as ‘the good girl’ who caters for her parents’ emotional needs.<sup>21</sup> She contemplates breaking up with this circle to find her true self.

## City

Migration has long been a fundamental aspect of human existence that continuously reshaped identities of places and individuals and was shaped by various historical processes such as war, famine and globalisation. Khan acknowledges the Partition of India and Pakistan at the end of the British colonial rule in 1947 as the reason for the family’s displacement and their subsequent struggles in London. Anthropologist Henrietta Moore notes that the geopolitical transformations of the late twentieth century have disrupted dichotomous categories of identity such as West/East, Us/them. She suggests that the West can no longer be understood in relation to specific locations or geographically defined populations; rather, it has become a ‘discursive space, a set of positionalities, a network of economic and political power relations, a domain of material and discursive effects’.<sup>22</sup> In Khan’s graphic novel, the city has more than one phase or meaning for different characters. For Sabba’s immigrant parents, the city is their domain, their ‘bubble’ where they seek ‘safety against the hatred’; London is their home.<sup>23</sup> But for Sabba, the city means places, people, and practices often associated with ‘London’. As the image (Fig. 2) suggests, Sabba views London in a more dynamic and diverse way than her parents. For her, London represents a vibrant and bustling metropolis characterised by its iconic places, diverse people, and unique cultural practices. She associates the city with the fast-paced lifestyle, public transportation like the Central line, and the energy of central zones. The faceless walkers in the image represent the anonymity which Sabba finds freeing: ‘this city is anonymity [...] Its almost a gift, a cloak of invisibility’.<sup>24</sup> The city represents freedom for the protagonist as it allows her to blend in and disappear into the urban landscape. This anonymity enables individuals to navigate this space without being confined by their identity or social roles.

The graphic novel also suggests that individuals participate in shaping the cityscape through their lived experiences as much as this space shapes their private lives. This view of the city destabilises the unified vision of space constructed by planners, urbanists and cartographers. Through walking and experiencing the city, Sabba develops a sense of belonging, making the city spaces her own by infusing them with personal significance, memories, and emotions:

How these silent monuments have laid witness to my conflicts. The riverside walks where I laughed and cried so many times... The friendships I nurtured and the friendships I gave up on. Bits of my soul, like an offering, scattered in the streets.<sup>25</sup>

Sabba thereby dynamically shapes her perception of the city rather than viewing it as a static entity. Yasminah Beebeejaun builds on De Certeau's contention that urbanites' everyday actions allow them to recover meaning and a sense of belonging, and states that:

Instead of a vision of the city as a coherent knowable space, the walker is able to temporarily, at least, take over the spaces she or he moves through and imbue them with their own meanings, bringing past memories and present emotions with them. Rather than operating within fixed or static space, the walker dynamically inhabits it, shaping its qualities.<sup>26</sup>

The protagonist realises that this sense of belonging can be temporary as she wonders: '[the city] has given me an invisibility cloak, will she take it back....? Without it my colour exposed?'<sup>27</sup> Sabba's sense of anonymity gets disturbed when the 7/7 London attacks draw attention and public scrutiny to Muslim residents of the city, especially women who publicly express Islamic beliefs and traditions through veiling. Twenty-one-year-old veiled Sabba is travelling on the tube, a few days after the attacks, when she overhears a comment: 'it's people like HER, who believe in blowing themselves up'.<sup>28</sup> Prevailing paranoia and Islamophobia at this particular time and space then lead to stereotyping her identity; she is viewed as a potential terrorist. In this context, Sabba's identity is defined by her colour and physical presentation of herself.

## Self

Clearly, both home and city impose certain definitions of the female, second-generation migrant protagonist's identity. The author represents this performativity of certain 'roles' in order to conform to the expectations of both inside and outside through the image of fitting in certain boxes (Fig. 3). The urge to make others feel unthreatened by difference motivates the performance of such fixed roles as Muslim, Non-Muslim, hijabi, Western...etc. The veil, which is a 'small' aspect of her difference, becomes the site of Sabba's major 'conflict': her sense of belonging and self-actualisation.<sup>29</sup> As Morey and Yaqin suggest, cultural markers such as dress and physical appearance are treated as 'a kind of moral index, confirming non-Muslim viewers in their sense of superiority and cementing the

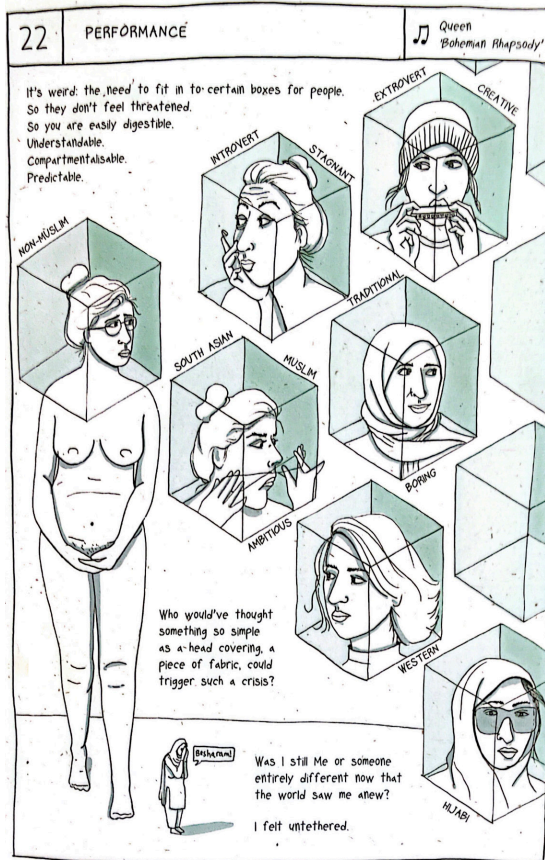


Fig. 3

threatening strangeness of the Muslim Other'.<sup>30</sup> Veiling defines who the protagonist is for white English society - backward, South Asian, asexual, Muslim, and potential terrorist - as much as unveiling causes a split between her 'new self' and her Muslim family and peers.

Sabba's unveiling journey prompts a reflection on this identity crisis: 'was my sense of self of my own choosing? Or was it something simply inherited, passed down and passively accepted'.<sup>31</sup> The contradictions of the values and world-views of the home and the city—the collectivity of Sabba's Islamic upbringing versus the individuality taught in school and college—creates a sense of in-betweenness, of being 'neither here nor there'.<sup>32</sup> Through her mother's words, the first system tells her not to 'loose [her] roots' by removing her veil.<sup>33</sup> Conversely, the latter asks her to rationalise 'restricting [her]self for something [she] cannot see' in the words of her English peers.<sup>34</sup> Homi Bhabha suggests that disruption

of geographical space through migration and the encounter between different cultural groups leads to the emergence of a 'third space' which he describes as follows:

What is manifestly new about this version of international space and its social (in)visibility, is its temporal measure – “different moments in historical time ... jumps back and forth”. The non-synchronous temporality of global and national cultures opens up a cultural space – a third space – where the negotiation of incommensurable differences creates a tension peculiar to borderline existences.<sup>35</sup>

The third space is where people from diverse cultures interact, negotiating differences in beliefs and values. Sabba engages in such encounters with both her British peers and her parents, to reconcile the cultural generational gap between her generation and theirs. In this hybrid space, Sabba manages to break away from her mother's survival mechanism, which is symbolised by discarding the veil after moving out of her mother's bedroom and having her own space. She also engages in a romantic relationship with a white middle-class British man, which is represented as a border-crossing between each other's worlds. Khan highlights the challenges they face in reconciling their backgrounds but also emphasises the potential for unity and connection through shared values like faith:

Would my parents accept him?

A non-believer

An atheist

A child of the colonisers.

Could we overcome our  
ancestral histories of power plays  
and domination tactics?

Sabba asks:

Can we transcend  
these divisions that  
compartmentalise us?

Her partner responds:

Could we bridge the gap?

What a tragedy if religion is the  
reason you can't make it work.

Surely faith should bring people  
together not push them apart.<sup>36</sup>

This excerpt reflects the negotiation of cultural, religious, and historical differences between Sabba and her partner. Their dialogue marks the emergence of a 'third space' where new cultural identities can be formed through the interaction and hybridisation of different cultures. The couple's struggle to overcome divisions based on religion, belief systems, colonial histories, and the attendant power dynamics illustrates their attempt to create a shared space that transcends these differences.

## Conclusion

The construction of home, city, and self in *The Roles We Play* illustrates the intricate relationship between these spaces. Internal and external influences converge to mould the protagonist's identity and sense of belonging. The migrant home in the novel is a dynamic space that is constructed by a set of relations and power dynamics of both the inside of the home and the outside context of multicultural London. The city can also have different meanings for each character; for Sabba, it carries diverse and sometimes contradictory meanings, such as: invisibility, freedom, multiculturalism, racism, and Islamophobia.

Despite her parents' assertion that choice is an illusion and that she must conform to the causes of the Muslim Ummah, the protagonist strives to explore the individualistic values of British society in her pursuit of self-actualisation. This clash of values engenders a state of conflict and liminality, characterised by an existence between traditional norms and modern ideals. Sabba's choices symbolise her pursuit of a novel, hybrid, and creative space where she seeks to redefine herself.

## I, the Uncanny: A Heideggerian Take on Visible Difference in the Light of the COVID-19 Pandemic

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**‘Uncanniness is the mark of the  
anxiety of Being-towards-death.’  
- Berlanti Azhak<sup>1</sup>**

There are seven steps down from my hallway into my bedroom. I have lived in this house for years and I know this little staircase intimately. Its dark walls lead down to the black bedroom. A slight bump runs horizontally down the centre of each wall. The steps are exposed wood, still bare from when I pulled up the mouldy blue carpet.

And yet today, I miss the second-to-last step. I fall the rest of the way, landing on the dark wood floor of the bedroom, and, although I am in pain, I primarily feel confused. How could I possibly have missed the step? It was right there: I could see it. It was not an unfamiliar staircase. I did not slip or trip. It was as if I had momentarily forgotten how to walk downstairs, like my brain had thought the next step would be on an even footing with the previous one. I am tired, I think: it has been a long day. And so, I chalk it up to that and go to bed.

But this keeps happening. Over the next few weeks, I notice that I have to count stairs as I am going up and down them, otherwise I will fall. This makes the winding staircase up to my first-floor flat especially treacherous. I have to remember not only the change in level but also the twists and turns. I know it is not my eyes that are the problem: I can see the stairs just fine. It is as if, on its way between my eyes and my brain, the signal gets confused and forgets what to do with the information.

I worry that I might have a brain tumour. The MRI comes back tumour-free, but with lesions in the white matter. They think it is MS, until they don't. Over the next two years I lose the ability to walk. My body spasms when I try to stand. My hands begin to curl up and refuse to do what I ask them to. I move to a wheelchair-accessible flat nearby. It's not all bad: my cat loves the garden that comes with the new place. But it is deeply unsettling to be living in a body that is not at all how it is supposed to be.

Moving makes me wonder about the concept of ‘home’. I had moved house 24 times by the age of 25: I do not think of ‘home’ as a particular location. I find myself considering it instead as a primordial concept. What is our first home? My PhD looks at birth as an ontological given, and so I think about the womb as the first home. This feels uncomfortable: my mother was not a home for me. And so I am drawn further inward even than that, towards the centre of the centre. Inside the mother, inside the womb, before I come out into the world, there I am. Me, in my body. Me, as my body.

And so I think: perhaps the body is the primary site of home. In which case, what happens when it begins to break down? What happens to me when my home feels different, and what impact does the increasing visibility of that difference have?

In this paper I will give a Heideggerian interpretation of the ‘uncanny’ as unhomely and consider how it might be applied to the experience of sudden-onset disability and to people’s responses to visible difference.

### Uncanny As Unhomely

The difference between the uncanny and the straightforwardly scary is one of liminality. A jump-scare is not a liminal thing- it is right there in your face, leaping out at you. The uncanny is not a Chucky doll with an axe, running after you down the hallway.<sup>2</sup> It is not the girl from *The Exorcist* twisting her head around 360° and projectile vomiting at a priest.<sup>3</sup> It is the movement you just caught in your peripheral vision... or did you? Did that doll just move on its own? Surely not: that would be impossible. But it looks slightly out of place...

Heidegger was interested in the question of the meaning of being.<sup>4</sup> When we say ‘I am’ or ‘it is’, what does this mean? He spoke about humans as the only creatures who have an understanding of existence and its implications. We know we are mortal; we know that life will end one day, and we understand that we do not know with certainty what happens after that. In *Being and Time*, Heidegger attempts to understand the relationship humans have with the concept of our own existence.<sup>5</sup>

Heidegger wrote in German, and the word we translate as ‘uncanny’ in the original text is *unheimlich*, a word which can literally be translated as ‘unhomely’. The uncanny is the bringing of an unsettling fear to a previously settled space.<sup>6</sup> It is liminal: not quite normal, not quite paranormal.

Discussing his own understanding of the word ‘uncanny’, Freud drew parallels with the word ‘Geheimnis’ or ‘secret.’<sup>7</sup> Like I explained in a recent presentation on the topic, this demonstrates the in-betweenness of the uncanny.<sup>8</sup> It is something we can see, but that might not be there; something that can’t be

explained, and yet is within our sphere of experience. Something uncanny can invoke existential anxiety within us, since it reminds us that our day-to-day experience is not all there is. It reminds us of something beyond, whether that is the paranormal kind of uncanniness we see in psychological horror movies, or the all-too-normal kind we encounter when we properly consider the ever-looming spectre of death.

### Death and the Uncanny

For Heidegger, humans are *Dasein*: that special kind of being that is aware of itself as being.<sup>9</sup> A significant part of this is our awareness of death. We know we will die, and we know that at various points throughout life, our possibilities of being will be cut off in different ways. We do all sorts of things to turn away from this awareness, to pretend that life will go on forever and nothing will ever go wrong. ‘It’ll never happen to me’ is the refrain of Heidegger’s everydayness.

So, what about when it does happen to you? What happens when one is suddenly face-to-face with oneself as a mortal entity?

There is a current trend in online disabled communities to describe non-disabled people as ‘pre-disabled.’ The point of this is to underline that if we live long enough, we all become disabled. The breakdown of the body is an intrinsic part of the human experience. For most people, the body only starts seriously breaking down when they are nearing death. For those of us with long-term disabilities or chronic illnesses, however, it breaks down earlier and remains disabled sometimes for decades.

You only need to spend half an hour scrolling through the content of disabled creators to learn just how often we are told we should have tried yoga, or a special diet, or cold-water swimming. People are desperate to find a reason why they are immune to whatever diseases we might have. This kind of health moralising, as well as being patronising, and frankly insulting, is simply not true. People who live seemingly healthy lives can suddenly be struck down with cancers, and there are enough aging rock stars around to demonstrate that hard living does not necessarily end in premature death. As my own medical journey continues, we are learning that my health problems spring partly from genetics and partly from childhood abuse, neither of which I had any control over.

Heidegger wrote that ‘at bottom, the ordinary is not ordinary; it is extraordinary, uncanny’.<sup>10</sup> Within the non-disabled experience is contained the seed of disability, just waiting to be watered. We have far less control over our lives than we want to believe, and suddenly being unable to walk down a familiar flight of stairs really underlines that at base, I have no control at all. The uncanniness of this experience can invoke the feeling of existential anxiety mentioned earlier, which

goes beyond the colloquial understanding of the word and speaks to the giddy feeling when we remember that we are mortal. The uncanny forces a glimpse of the things we live with all the time but hesitate to admit to, such as fear, uncertainty, and death. What might this mean for those of us whose very existences are viewed as uncanny?

### COVID and Being-towards-Death

I caught COVID just a few weeks before my staircase experience. Three years on, it has become clear that COVID has somehow activated damage that has been present within me for a long time.

At eight years old, I sustained neurological injuries which had an impact at the time but did not affect my ability to walk. This is probably the origin of the holes in the white matter of my brain. But neuroplasticity is an amazing thing, and, especially in childhood, the brain is good at rewiring pathways to compensate for whatever it lacks. When I got COVID, that compensation was reversed, and I am now experiencing the full effects of the damage that has been latent for decades.

This is not unique to my experience. Like many zoologic viruses, COVID has a variety of neurological, psychiatric, and other medical aftereffects.<sup>11</sup> COVID seems to have a way of identifying preexisting conditions within the body and activating latent or dormant damage states, even after the patient is no longer testing positive.<sup>12</sup> This shows us that we should be immensely careful about the current crop of coronaviruses if we do not want to risk an increase in severe health conditions amongst the general population.

And yet in the societal reaction to COVID, we are seeing a turning-away that discloses just how uncomfortable we are with the idea of vulnerability to mortality. COVID is currently seeing a renewed surge and new variants, with 2,815 cases and 146 deaths in the UK over the last week at the time of writing, and yet masks are not even required in hospital settings anymore.<sup>13</sup> Amongst the disabled community, particularly those of us who are also LGBTQIA+, parallels are being drawn to the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s. Then, too, we saw patients being dismissed, people refusing to believe HIV existed, and a general refusal to wear prophylactics — in that case, condoms; in the case of COVID, masks (see Halkitis for a scholarly overview of some parallels).<sup>14</sup>

To take a Heideggerian view, what we are seeing in the wider response to COVID is a falling into the everyday.<sup>15</sup> The idea of people's lives changing to accommodate the fact that there is a potentially deadly virus still mutating and spreading around the world is too reminiscent of our own mortality, and therefore we are pretending that the threat is over. But those of us with serious health conditions cannot simply ignore what is happening and go on with our lives.

Likewise, I cannot turn away from the uncanniness of my disability in general; it is happening to me. Not only to me, either, but within me. I *am* uncanny, and I can tell from others' reactions that they feel this, too. Other people have been more desperate than me for a diagnosis: they want to be able to say to themselves, 'Yes it's such a shame she has X, but at least it's because of Y so I won't get it.'

Whilst understanding ourselves as Being-towards-death is one of the qualities that distinguishes us as human, another is Dasein's capacity to fall back into the everyday. Without spending at least some of our time living as if death is not potentially coming at any moment, Heidegger implies, we would also be turning away from what it means to be human.

I wonder about this as I write endless philosophical essays about my experiences, as I work on a PhD about what it means to be born and to die. Most people who become disabled do not write philosophy about it: they just get on with it. They try to fall back into the everyday as much as they can, but the everyday does not catch them, and so they — we — are suspended in an odd limbo space in between being human and being a kind of living harbinger of death.

But this outside-ness, this other-ness, is not exclusively the remit of disabled people. All marginalised groups experience it. Isabela Fonseca, writing about the Romani people, describes us as 'the quintessential Other'.<sup>16</sup> Black, Indigenous, LGBTQIA+ groups have all been othered and therefore been unable to experience the particular everydayness which we are told is the norm.<sup>17</sup> Being othered tells us that there is something uncanny about us, that we do not fit in. In othering people, we are informing them that they are, if not exactly inhuman, at least not quite right.

If you want to know which groups of people are viewed as uncanny in wider society, just think about how people dress up for Hallowe'en. Have you seen the Gypsy Fortune Teller, the name itself containing a racial slur? Have you seen Pocahontas, whose own proper name — Matoaka — was overwritten when she was taken into captivity by colonisers as a teenager? What about all those Hallowe'en costumes that involve disability or disfigurement: scars, canes, facial differences?

It is normal to feel uncomfortable with difference, to not know what to do when confronted with something unfamiliar. When we live in a society that calls itself civilised and maintains that civilisation by the enforced application of social rules, anything that sits outside of the norm is met with suspicion. This brings with it a sense of not-at-home-ness. Society is not at home with us, and so we cannot be at home in society. I feel this in my body as a disabled person, but I have also felt it throughout my being as a Romani person, historically displaced

from every society we have attempted to enter for centuries. The structures that supposedly work to uphold society do not work for those of us who are uncannily misaligned. At the time of writing, Sonya Massey has recently joined the growing list of Black people killed by police.<sup>18</sup> Just yesterday, a video emerged of a police officer brutally beating a Muslim man who is lying on the ground in Manchester airport.<sup>19</sup>

The message is clear. Public services, and public safety, do not exist for the uncanny.

### Closing Thoughts

Living in an embodied state of uncertainty feels like a constant manifestation of the uncanny. My own reactions to my body's strange movements and unexpected symptom progressions mirror the reactions of others who are visibly uncomfortable.

Perhaps this is why so many non-disabled people constantly tell us how 'inspirational' we are. A concept maligned by much of the disabled community, the idea of the disabled inspiration serves to assuage the guilt of those who wish to other us. By othering us in a seemingly 'nice' way, they get to have their cake and eat it too. But still, they want us to sit at another table — or better yet at home, out of sight. In the words of Andrew Gurza, disabled people are allowed to be only 'the pitied monster or the superhero who defies the odds.'<sup>20</sup> What people who tell us how 'brave' we are fail to realise is that they are the reason why we have to be so brave. How can I comfortably make a home in my body when I am constantly being told how *unheimlich* it is?

What can we do about all of this? I would love to give a rallying cry for disabled rights, for the rights of marginalised folks everywhere, and in fact if you follow me on Instagram, you will know I spend a lot of my social media presence doing just that. But in reality, I have little hope for change. I have lived through too many things, been forced to see too many horrors from which other people have turned away, to believe that most people will choose to engage with something difficult for the sake of the greater good. Probably I would not choose to either if I had grown up in different circumstances.

The thing is that we all do this. It is part of the human condition to be watchful, to notice things that are 'other', to find patterns and therefore also to find the things that do not fit in with those patterns. But this is not an excuse to not hold ourselves to account. What I would like to do then is encourage you to take one tiny action. The next time you encounter a person or situation which gives you a feeling of uncanniness, rather than turning away, instead turn and look. I do not mean stare at them with abject curiosity; rather, I mean look within yourself.

What is it about this that makes you feel uneasy? What does it hit on with regard to your own life, your own pain? Perhaps if we were all a little more honest with ourselves in this way, we might come to do less accidental harm in the world.

I will end on a poem by Ilija Jovanović, which I share in both the original Romani and in English, because Romani is a language that has always been so hidden, and to only share the English version would be doing exactly what I have been arguing against throughout this paper.<sup>21</sup>

### **Integracija**

Saekh xamosardan, lačhardan, tasadan  
o averčhandipe ćire vastenca,  
thaj po agor čhungarden pe leste  
thaj thodan le tala ćire prne.

### **Integration**

You continuously kneaded, improved and strangled  
the feeling of strangeness with your hands,  
and finally you spat at it  
and trampled it under your feet.



# *III. Relationships*

*With and Within*

*the Private Home*



# Restoring Ontological Security: The Impact of Family Abuse on Older Women's Perception of Home

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[doi.org/10.52715/ZERK0001](https://doi.org/10.52715/ZERK0001)

**Trigger Warning:** This paper discusses older women who have experienced abuse from family members. Some readers may find the content distressing or triggering. Please proceed with caution if these topics are sensitive or harmful to you.

This paper examines how abuse by family members disrupts older women's experiences of home, transforming it from a place of security into one of conflict. Drawing on the concept of ontological security advanced by sociologists Anthony Giddens, Ann Dupuis, and David Thorns, who identified the home as a source of security, stability, and identity, the paper analyses how abuse reshapes the home into an environment marked by control, harm, and violence. Through the analysis of data drawn from the stories of seven older women, the study reveals how physical, emotional, and psychological abuse from family members erodes women's sense of ontological security, with damaging effects on their health and wellbeing. For these women, reclaiming autonomy in their home environment — either by removing the abusive family member (henceforth AFM) or by relocating themselves — was crucial to restoring both physical and psychological senses of security. The women experienced a renewed sense of ontological security at home, which positively impacted their overall wellbeing. This study emphasises the need for targeted support to help older women rebuild a secure, autonomous living space during their recovery.

## Ontological Security within the Home

The prominent sociologist, Anthony Giddens, discussed the concept of 'ontological security' in his 1991 book, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. He defined ontological security as a stable mental state derived from 'a sense of continuity and order in events.'<sup>1</sup> For Giddens, a sense of ontological security is achieved through consistent routines, social practices, and environments that reinforce a stable self-identity. For example, a person who finds

comfort and stability in their daily commute, community-based interactions and evening relaxation rituals.

Giddens claimed that ontological security is a fundamental psychological need, crucial for living a fulfilling life. It provides individuals with the stability required to navigate personal and social challenges, especially within the complexities of modern life. Without it, a sense of continuity and control over one's existence becomes difficult to maintain.

Building on Giddens's work, Ann Dupuis and David Thorns conducted an empirical study with 53 older New Zealand homeowners, the majority of whom were widowed or single (92%), female (77%) and aged over 60 years old (85%).<sup>2</sup> Their goal was to explore and clarify the concept of ontological security within the domestic environment.

Dupuis and Thorns asserted that a 'home' brings together the physical environment of a house with deeply emotional sets of meanings related to familiarity, security, permanence, and continuity. In this way, the home is more than a physical space: it becomes a significant site of personal and emotional investment, consciously created to contribute to an individual's sense of identity and continuity.

In their 1998 article, Dupuis and Thorns surmised that older people could attain a sense of ontological security in their home if the following conditions were met:

- \* The home provides a spatial context in which the day-to-day routines of human existence are performed.
- \* The home is a site free from the surveillance that is part of the contemporary world which allows for a sense of control that is missing in other locales.
- \* The home acts as a secure base around which identities are constructed.<sup>3</sup>

Dupuis and Thorns' study claimed that the home holds significant meaning for older women, particularly in achieving ontological security. However, their research did not explore the experiences of women who faced abuse from AFM. This paper compares their findings with new data from my study, which examines the experiences of women who suffered abuse at home from various AFM. This paper compares the data of the older women who participated in that study which did not examine the meanings of the home for women who experienced abuse from AFM to new data, extracted from participants in my study who faced abuse at home from various family members. Both samples include individuals aged over 60, predominately from specific majority ethnic backgrounds (Pākehā in one sample and White Welsh in the other), offering insights into later life.<sup>4</sup>

However, cultural differences in family dynamics and perceptions of home between Pākehā and Welsh contexts shape the sources and expressions of ontological security, as these variations influence how individuals experience stability, identity, and belonging, thus, potentially limiting the comparability of research findings across these groups.

Research Sample and Methods

All participants were recruited from the Dewis Choice Initiative (2015-2024), which provides long-term intensive support to older people who have experienced abuse from an AFM.<sup>5</sup> The sample included seven older women who received long-term support from the Dewis Choice service team.<sup>6</sup> All the women had experienced physical, psychological, emotional, and economic abuse from an AFM.

Name (pseudonym)	Age in years	AFM	Homeowner
Jayne	70	Son	Jayne
Ann	64	Mother	Ann
Emily	75	Daughter-in-law	Daughter-in-law
Delyth	92	Son	Delyth
Denise	69	Granddaughter	Denise
Barbara	62	Son	Barbara
Gwen	76	Daughter	Gwen

Table 1. Older women’s age, relationship to the AFM, and which person had homeownership.

The older women were single (n=2) or widowed (n=5). All seven older women were living in the same household as the AFM when the abuse took place. Six AFMs moved into the women’s households, whilst one woman lived in an annex attached to her AFM’s home. A difference lies in the types of family members responsible for the abuse.

The women were interviewed on average three times between January 2018 and April 2021. The narrative-driven interviews explored the nature and impact of the abuse on the women's health, well-being and subsequent help-seeking. Interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim, and pseudonymised to protect confidentiality. The data was regrouped by identifying common themes.<sup>7</sup> The study obtained ethical approval from the National Health Service and Aberystwyth University.

My study has its limitations: it focuses on a subset of clients from the Dewis Choice Initiative and therefore the findings should be viewed in that context. While the small sample size limits generalisation, the study highlights the often-overlooked experiences of older women abused by family members.<sup>8</sup>

## Findings

### The home as a primary source of emotional and psychological security, and safety

Dupuis and Thorns' study suggested that for older women, the home was perceived as a sanctuary: a primary source of emotional and psychological security where older women can feel safe, comfortable, and in control. However, for the older women in my study, the home as a place of safety and stability was undermined by the AFM.

Across six of the seven documented cases in my study, AFMs continuously eroded the women's ontological security in the home by instilling a state of fear, instability, and unpredictability. Three AFMs used physical aggression to undermine women's physical and psychological security. Delyth, recalled an assault by her adult son:

Well, he gets so nasty... He got me in the corner there [living room] and held me by my throat here [places her hands around her throat] and threatened me, 'I could hit you' he said. I tried to not talk and irritate him best as I could and me being deaf now it irritates him more.

Delyth described how she became hypervigilant in her own home, altering her behaviour to try to avoid violence.<sup>9</sup> The oppressive environment created by the AFM made the home a place of fear, conflict and anxiety.

All AFMs used verbal aggression to intimidate the interviewees. When asked to describe what it felt like to live with her adult son, Jayne said:

Horrible, horrible. I couldn't breathe, every time he opened his mouth I was jumping. Oh my God his voice was going through me. I didn't really want to hear him talking.

Jayne's quote highlights her constant state of heightened alertness to her son's presence, associating his voice with a threat to her safety, triggering intense psychological distress.<sup>10</sup> To seek to protect herself, Jayne tried to minimise contact with her son, avoiding spaces within the home where he was present. Six women in my study used avoidance as a safety strategy, echoing findings from studies on younger women's experiences of intimate partner abuse.<sup>11</sup> The women described retreating to their bedrooms which became both a safe refuge and a space of confinement.

### **Autonomy and freedom to do 'what you wanted, when you wanted'<sup>12</sup>**

Dupuis and Thorns conceptualise the home as a private space, free from public gaze and surveillance. However, for all the older women in my study, privacy within the home was compromised and their right to personal space was undermined by the AFM.

Five older women reported that AFMs constantly monitored their behaviours and actions in the home, reducing their freedom to do what they wanted, when they wanted. Emily revealed how she was restricted from exercising autonomy over her daily routines.<sup>13</sup> She said:

She [daughter-in-law] interrupted my space when I was watching telly or not feeling too well and if I wanted to go and lie down, I wasn't allowed to do it, I wasn't allowed to get out of my clothes till 10 o'clock at night.

When asked what day-to-day life was like living with her son and daughter-in-law, Emily likened it to living in a 'prisoner of war camp' signifying the constant surveillance, strict rules and oppressive conditions in her own home.<sup>14</sup> Like other women in my study, Emily said she was unable to exercise independence and felt she was no longer the primary decision-maker in her life.

In six of the seven case-studies, the women described how when they moved into their home the AFM positioned themselves as 'head of the household' exercising an overarching authority. This is a similar form of abuse among intimate partners.<sup>15</sup> In this way, the AFMs defined the house rules, including the use of space. This resulted in the older women feeling a loss of ownership of their home, along with their right to occupy the space. Ann illustrates this theme:

I have to go upstairs to my bedroom like a naughty schoolgirl you know, it's my house!

Ann's quote highlights the frustration she felt with her freedom of movement being restricted in her own home. All the women in my study were aware that

the AFMs' behaviour was unacceptable but did not feel able to assert their rights. The women described how past attempts to assert their rights had resulted in confrontation or negative repercussions from the AFM, including verbal abuse and increased threats, or actual physical violence.

### Home as a secure base for constructing identities

Dupuis and Thorns' study discussed how the home played a vital role in maintaining a sense of self and coherence in their life narrative. The home served as a secure base for constructing identities and personal expression through controlling, modifying, and personalising the physical environment.

In my study, five older women expressed that their homes no longer reflected their identity but instead mirrored that of the AFM, affecting how the women wished to be perceived by others. In four cases, the AFMs' chaotic lifestyles, often influenced by substance dependency and mental health issues, resulted in unsanitary living conditions in the home. Jayne described how her home used to reflect her personality and values, bringing her a sense of pride and comfort. Jayne felt that her son not only abused her, but also abused her home. Indeed, she stated:

His [AFM] bedroom is like oh my God! [...] it's absolutely smelling in there. Must have been oh about 30-35 cans of his urine [...] uch a fi [Welsh phrase for disgusting]. I had to live with that... Filthy, just filthy.

Living in a small bungalow with her son's bedroom positioned near the front entrance, Jayne explained how the smell from the room pervaded the entire house. The use of the pronoun 'his' by Jayne suggests she attributed ownership and responsibility to the son for the state of the bedroom and associated issues. The degradation of Jayne's living space by her son's actions eroded her sense of personal identity, dignity, and self-expression in her home. Indeed, its conditions led to embarrassment, and she felt she had to conceal it from the public gaze.

### Home as a primary space to socialise and maintain meaningful connections

Dupuis and Thorns' study found that for older women the home was the primary space where they would socialise and maintain meaningful connections with family and friends. In my study, all seven older women felt that they were unable to invite friends, family, and practitioners into their home because of the embarrassment associated with the home environment and/or the behaviour of their AFM towards visitors. Ann described how her mother refused to allow her privacy with guests, turning up the volume on the television rendering conversation

impossible, making disrespectful comments to visitors, and asking when they were going to leave. Ann said:

I couldn't have friends for coffee, I couldn't do anything that I wanted to do in my own home which involved bringing other people in because my mother would be so nasty [towards visitors].

Ann's account illustrates how her mother's presence undermined the home as a space of social support and connection to the outside world — both crucial for fostering ontological security. The lack of visitors did not only deepen the women's isolation but also reduced opportunities for others to observe the abuse and express concerns, potentially facilitating a disclosure.

For Jayne, her home was her primary site of socialisation, as she was unable to leave her home without support due to an anxiety disorder. Prior to Jayne's AFM moving into her house, she had enjoyed having her niece visit her with her small children. With her AFM living with her, Jayne no longer felt that her home was a safe environment and felt unable to invite family or friends to visit. Like all the women in the study, Jayne described how the AFMs' presence restricted her freedom to maintain social relationships within home. The women described how the erosion of their support networks left them feeling lonely and disconnected, reducing their opportunities to seek help from friends.<sup>16</sup>

My study highlighted the detrimental impact of abuse on older women's sense of ontological security within their homes, revealing how what should be a sanctuary of safety and personal identity was transformed into a site of fear, instability, and isolation. The home, once a place of autonomy and self-expression, became associated with loss of control, restrictions on freedom, and social disconnection due to the abusive behaviours of the AFMs. For all the women in my study, these conditions — along with the emotional toll of living in an environment dominated by fear, conflict, and degradation — were the primary catalysts for seeking help. Six of the women sought external support to remove the AFM from their homes, while one older woman decided to move to a new house in search of reclaiming her sense of safety and identity.

### Regaining ontological security in the home

No longer living with the AFM, all seven women sought to regain a sense of security by making their homes physically secure. With aid from police and domestic abuse services, new door locks were fitted, security measures were installed, and the women received security advice. As a result, the women described feeling safer in their own homes. Although six of the women remained in contact with

the AFM, the abuse no longer took place within the women's houses. Thus, the women were able to reestablish the home as a site of ontological security.

Jayne explained how, once her son had left the home, she felt safe and in control. No longer a place of fear and uncertainty, her home environment had become predictable and manageable. Jayne said:

I'm quite happy now [...] My home is my comfort blanket. When I'm here I'm safe.

Jayne's quote demonstrates a significant shift towards achieving ontological security in the home. Jayne's use of the term 'comfort blanket' to describe her home reflects a strong sense of emotional and psychological security felt by her. Furthermore, it implies that the home, after removing the AFM, provided consistency and familiarity. Both of these are crucial for maintaining a coherent sense of self.<sup>17</sup>

For all seven women, the home became a stable and comforting environment where they felt able to relax and feel at peace in an environment free from surveillance. Emily said:

Knowing that you can come into somewhere that you can go to bed when you want, you can have a read when you want, and that you don't have to open the door to anybody if you don't want to. And that is absolutely amazing.

Emily regained a sense of independence, control and autonomy over her environment, daily rituals, and socialisation practices. The home is now a place where Emily can live freely and make decisions without fear, restriction, or surveillance, which was vital for restoring her mental wellbeing, dignity, and self-worth, as highlighted by Dupuis and Thorns.

All seven women took practical steps to re-establish ownership over the spaces within the home, creating a secure base for constructing self-identity. The women removed all possessions that were owned or associated with the AFM. Jayne described cleaning and redecorating her son's room after he left:

Oh, it's beautiful, it's beautiful! Oh, it's so fresh, it's so clean the smell has gone, oh my God. I feel like a different woman, this is my home!

Jayne repurposed the bedroom, personalising it for her nieces' visits. She took pride in creating a welcoming and colourful space, reflective of her personal identity and how she wanted her nieces to perceive the space. No longer embarrassed of her home, she welcomed family and friends into the space. Jayne's increased

socialisation within the home was experienced by all the women who participated in the study. Ann's comment reflects this:

It is actually my home now and I can think, oh you know, I can do what I want to, this is my home, where I can have people round for a coffee you know (laughs). I could have friends come to stay which I couldn't do before.

In summary, the quotes above illustrate a positive transformation in the women's relationship with their homes, where they have regained a sense of ontological security. When the women ceased residing with the AFM, the home embodied emotional safety, control, identity continuity, resilience, and autonomy, encapsulating the core meanings of home as discussed by Giddens, Dupuis and Thorns. Importantly, the older women described how their new home environment promoted overall wellbeing and offered a sanctuary to aid them in their recovery.

## Conclusion

The findings illustrate how older women's sense of ontological security in the home was destabilised by AFM. As a direct consequence of the AFMs' behaviour, women described no longer feeling safe, comfortable, and in control within their own homes. Instead of being a haven, the home became a place of fear, restriction, and conflict. The AFMs' actions not only confined the women's use of physical spaces but also confined the women's emotional and social lives, fundamentally undermining women's sense of ontological security.

The findings present the women's journey towards regaining ontological security once they were no longer living with the AFM. The older women reported achieving a sense of safety and contentment at home, signifying that they were able to re-establish a secure base for identity construction and overcome earlier experiences that threatened their ontological security.



# Domesticated: The Role of Dogs in Roman Home-Making Practices

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## Introduction and Definitions

What makes a home? A 2017 sociological study defined home-making as ‘the active work of stabilisation required to produce a reliable base, made up of repeated configurations of people, places, and things, around which both habits and meaning can form’.<sup>1</sup> In anthropology and archaeology, the term ‘thing’ has been applied to various non-human ‘actants’ including objects, plants, and animals, operating and interacting within a social framework.<sup>2</sup> We can therefore extend the definition of home-making to include animals, namely dogs.

The relationship between dogs and home-making dates back to prehistory: dogs were the first wild animals to be domesticated by humans, and remain the most popular pet across the world today.<sup>3</sup> Archaeological and fossil evidence for modern-day dogs can be traced back to the Upper Palaeolithic era (15,000–13,000 years ago).<sup>4</sup> The first deliberate dog burial from Bonn-Oberkassel (Germany), from approximately 14,200 years ago, demonstrates early development of social bonds between dogs and people.<sup>5</sup> The impact of dogs on home-making is evidenced by growing research on animal-human relations in evolutionary



Fig.1 The UK'S most popular dog breed, the labrador retriever. Photo: author

processes.<sup>6</sup> For example, cognitive scientists have studied the impact of dog domestication on our social evolution, or ‘self-domestication’, suggesting the early human-dog relationship was symbiotic.<sup>7</sup> In addition, linguistic anthropological research suggests our relationship with dogs benefitted language development, crucial for group identity and social inclusion.<sup>8</sup>

The concept of ‘interanimality’, where shared experiences transcend species boundaries, has been explored in prehistoric contexts, such as the human and non-human animals depicted in figural representations at the Neolithic sites of Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük in Turkey, and human-animal interactions in Bronze Age Crete.<sup>9</sup> Despite interdisciplinary interest in non-human agency across archaeology and classical studies, these notions have not yet been applied to evidence of dogs in ancient contexts.<sup>10</sup> Dogs were integral to ancient Roman home-making practices in the early Imperial era (c. 30 BCE – 100 CE). I will take a holistic approach by presenting an overview of evidence including written and epigraphic sources, domestic material culture, and zooarchaeology from across the Roman Empire, applying theories of interanimality and sensory archaeology. I have categorised the evidence into three main areas in which dogs played multifaceted roles in Roman society: dogs in home economics, dogs in material culture, and dogs as companion animals.

### Dogs in Home Economics

Ancient Roman households included family members, servants/slaves, and animals; all were expected to contribute to home economics, or ‘the active work of stabilisation required to produce a reliable base’.<sup>11</sup> Like human slaves, animals were considered property, operating within a patriarchal household system.<sup>12</sup> Despite the increased variety in dog breeds during the Roman era (with morphological evidence for diversification and selective breeding, and over fifty breeds mentioned in ancient texts), researchers have followed the broad categorisation of dogs based on their role within Roman home economics as originally described by elite Latin authors like Varro and Columella. For example, zooarchaeology from Pompeii reveals diversity in dog breeds, but their remains are categorised according to these ancient descriptions: small lapdogs, medium-sized hunting dogs, and large household and livestock guardians.<sup>13</sup> These contemporary accounts are written from an anthropocentric perspective, but we can utilise them to gain insight into dogs’ lived experiences of home-making in the Roman era.

Columella emphasised the importance of dogs in agrarian home-making practices, stating that buying a dog should be ‘among the first things which a farmer does, because it is the guardian of the farm, its produce, the household



Fig. 2 A modern Italian shepherd dog. Photo: author

and the cattle'.<sup>14</sup> The dog names that Columella recommends, including *Celer* (speedy), and *Ferox* (ferocious), indicate favoured canine characteristics in Roman domestic contexts.<sup>15</sup> He also suggests that a dog's physical appearance influenced its duties in Roman villas and farmsteads: white fur was preferred for sheep dogs (and is still favoured on Italian farms today, see Fig. 2), while black fur was suitable for household guard dogs, making them less visible to trespassers after dark.<sup>16</sup> This reminds us that Roman dogs existed within the wider sensory environment of a human household, although their perception of sensory stimuli differs from ours: a heightened sense of smell and better hearing abilities than humans make them excellent home security, today as in antiquity. It also reflects the evolutionary dialogue between dogs and humans, where selective breeding for desirable traits and pre-determined genetics, such as coat colour, both play a role.<sup>17</sup>

Administrative documents provide evidence for dogs' economic roles beyond traditional household contexts. Wooden tablets written by soldiers stationed on the northern frontier at Vindolanda in the late-first century CE mention the role of dogs at the fort. Tablet 594 refers specifically to a type of 'Celtic' hunting dog, which was one of pre-conquest Britain's exports to the Roman Empire.<sup>18</sup> On tablet 677 the only legible word, 'puppy', suggests young dogs were being brought to the fort, possibly to be trained for a life in military service.<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, tablet 597, a shopping list/inventory, refers to dog collars, which Varro identifies as being made from leather and studded with metal nails to shield their necks from wolf bites.<sup>20</sup> The use of dogs to protect livestock from wolves is another reminder of dogs' domestication journey. These examples also speak of the entanglement between ancient people and animals in everyday life, and of how dependent Romans were

on dogs for the stability ‘required to produce a reliable base’, from the centre to the periphery of the Empire.

### Dogs in Material Culture

Material culture demonstrates the omnipresence of dogs in the domestic sphere, formed through ‘repeated configurations of people, places, and things’, as defined in the introduction. It also provides evidence for practices described in literature, such as chaining dogs to the entrance of a home, as described by Columella.<sup>21</sup> Although leather collars generally do not survive archaeologically, iconographic evidence of dogs wearing collars and being chained up can be found across mediums, from bronze figurines (Figs.10-11) to mosaics, like Pompeii’s best known ‘CAVE CANUM’ (Beware of the Dog) floor mosaic from the House of the Tragic Poet (Fig. 3). While this example is perhaps the most familiar, its design is not unique: various other tesseral dogs ‘guard’ the entrances to houses preserved in Pompeii. The mosaic manifestation of dogs extends beyond mere decoration: these images were designed to actively shaped the perception and behaviour of those who encountered them in the threshold of a home, the liminal area demarcating the bustling Pompeian streets from the private realm of the house.



Fig. 3 ‘Cave Canum’ mosaic floor, House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii. 1st century CE. Photo: Wikimedia Commons



Fig. 4 Cast of guard dog, Pompeii. Pompeii: Photo: Wikimedia Commons

Some mosaic floors from Pompeii lack the written warning as the image alone served as visual shorthand to viewers and visitors: this house is protected. Appearing where a ‘real’ dog would be expected, the design functions as a tongue-in-cheek allusion to dogs’ role as domestic security.<sup>22</sup> The interplay between perception and reality in these mosaics highlights the agency of both art and animals as non-human actants in Roman home-making practices, where images embedded into the flooring constitute part of the home’s character in addition to its structural integrity.<sup>23</sup> The practice of chaining up domestic guard dogs in Pompeii is also attested by the cast created from the cavity of a dog struggling to escape from its chains amid the volcanic eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE (Fig. 4).

However, Columella advised owners to allow their dogs to roam freely at night, which is evidenced by the frequency of dog paw prints in ceramic building materials, like roof tiles found in towns and cities across the Roman Empire.<sup>24</sup> An example unearthed during the 2024 excavations of Falerii Novi demonstrates the co-production of history by humans and non-human actants (Fig. 5). The embodiment of the dog’s pawprint within the clay represents the entanglement between humans, animals, and things within the everyday environment.<sup>25</sup>

Dogs were not only accidentally embodied within a town’s urban fabric: architectural terracottas were created in canine form, functioning as utilitarian waterspouts and gutters, and decorative elements with apotropaic (protective) qualities (Fig. 6).<sup>26</sup> Unlike marble statuary, reserved for public or elite building



Fig. 5 Tile with dog's paw print.  
Image: author/Falerii Novi Project



Fig. 6 Waterspout in the form of a hound.  
Image: Princeton University Art Museum, Inv.  
Y1989-51



Figs 7–8 Lamp and kiln wasters depicting a 'lapdog' on a small couch. Photos: British Museum, Invs.1926,0216.127; 1867,1122.207





Fig.9 Terra sigillata fragment depicting hunting dog. Photo: Dig Ventures

projects, terracotta fixtures were more accessible forms of architectural adornment, being made in molds. Dogs also abound in portable material culture from the early Roman era. Terracotta vessels used in domestic settings like jugs, discus lamps, and tableware have all been found to depict dogs (Figs 7-9).

According to Eleanor Betts, an expert in sensory archaeology, these ceramics vessels (and their contents) can be considered sensory artefacts.<sup>27</sup> Designed to be held in the hand, a lamp contains fuel that lights a room with measurable properties. Meanwhile tableware contains food and drink which stimulates the senses and can impact perception. Eating and drinking are communal activities involving multiple senses which can influence the formation of memories and group identities.<sup>28</sup> The repeated use of objects (like certain pottery forms) in specific social contexts can actively shape user experience and memory formation by fostering feelings of belonging during an event, and prompt users to recall memories of past experiences.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, ceramics featuring canine iconography may have evoked memories of shared experiences with dogs. Soldiers eating from terra sigillata vessels featuring images of hunting dogs (Fig. 9), for example, potentially remembered the puppy mentioned in Vindolanda tablet 677. Notably, these ceramics were mass-produced, as evidenced by kiln wasters and finished products featuring a canine design (Figs 7-8). The dog depicted here, a spoiled lapdog



Fig. 10 Bronze figurine of a dog wearing chained harness. Image: MET, Inv.2021.40.3



Fig. 11 Bronze figurine of a child holding a puppy. Photo: MET, Inv.13.225.4

perched on a miniature couch, appears akin to modern Maltese or Pomeranians: small in stature with long fur and a curled, fluffy tail. Made in molds and transported *en masse* across the Roman Empire, these objects were widely accessible and regularly handled, embedding imagery and memories of dogs into everyday domestic contexts.<sup>30</sup>

Pottery is not the only medium in which dogs appear from the domestic sphere. Dogs are often found in the form of bronze figurines, in which they are typically represented in playful poses and/or with humorous expressions which convey individual personalities, and sometimes with children (Figs 10–11). These naturalistic, mold-made miniatures incite joy and surprise from modern-day museum visitors, while their haptic qualities and portable nature point to their functions in the Roman period. As totems, they may have provided personal protection, while as children's toys they could have facilitated play.

In contrast to naturalistic figurines, stylised zoomorphic brooches, particularly popular among the military in the western provinces, often appear in the form of hunting dogs (Fig. 12). Romano-British small-finds specialist Lindsay Allason-Jones theorises that in addition to serving an apotropaic function, these brooches communicated masculine values associated with military group identity (hunting and warfare being masculine domains in the Roman era).<sup>31</sup> The distribution of these brooches suggests that they were lost at a high rate, and also traces the mobility of soldiers abroad.<sup>32</sup> These objects highlight how dogs provided a sense of security, belonging, and protection when soldiers were travelling far from home.



Fig. 12 Copper-alloy brooch of hunting dog and hare. Photo: Portable Antiquities Scheme, Unique ID: SWYOR-FA6BC5

In addition to floor mosaics, images of dogs also adorned the walls of Roman houses. Two frescoes depicting dogs were recently discovered in wealthy domestic residences in Pompeii.<sup>33</sup> The first, located in a *cubiculum* (bedroom/study) of an elite home, features a young child with a small fluffy dog akin to a Pomeranian (Fig. 13). Like the statuette of the child and puppy (Fig. 11), this tender depiction of a friendship between a child and their dog, was appropriate for the personal and intimate nature of the room. However, the child could also be interpreted as the infant Dionysus due to the bunches of grapes (one of the god's most identifiable attributes) in their possession.

The second fresco (Fig. 14), discovered in the *triclinium* (dining room) of another wealthy residence, depicts the mythological encounter between Helen and Paris, with a large mastiff-type dog at the Trojan Prince's feet. The strong physique and rounded ears of this dog resemble those of the Molossian hound seen elsewhere in Roman material culture, namely sculpture.<sup>34</sup> As this breed originated from Greece, the choice of canine in this wall painting reinforces the Hellenic influence on elite Roman material culture during this period, when ships carried cargoes of Greek artworks to the ports of Ostia and Pompeii to furnish wealthy houses and elevate their owners' cultural capital. The use of Homeric iconography in the dining room highlights the learnedness of the household, a deliberate choice by the patron of the wall painting to communicate their social identity and status to the wider community.<sup>35</sup>



Fig.13 Fresco depicting a cloaked child and small dog. House of the Painters at Work, Regio IX, 12, Pompeii. Photo: Ghedini et al 2024, fig.37



Fig.14 Fresco featuring Helen, Paris, and Molossian hound. Regio IX, Insula 10, Pompeii. Photo: Scappaticcio, and Zuchtriegel 2024, 2

While both images may reference dogs in relation to Greek gods and heroes, their intended audiences were very different. The first is located within a space which only family members and close contacts would have access to. The dining room, on the other hand, was a more public space within the Roman *domus* (house), so its wall paintings had potential to reach a wider audience. The connecting themes but contrasting contexts of these two wall paintings demonstrate the diverse roles of dogs in Roman domesticity and their nuanced symbolic meanings in the material and visual culture of the Roman household, which functioned as both a public and private space.<sup>36</sup>

### Dogs as Companions

Roman writer Pliny described dogs' innate intellectual abilities which make them 'man's most faithful friend', stating: 'Dogs are the only animals that are sure to know their masters; and if they suddenly meet him as a stranger, they will instantly recognise him. They are the only animals that will answer to their names, and recognise the voices of the family.'<sup>37</sup> This passage echoes an episode in *The Odyssey*, in which the reunion between Odysseus and his aged dog Argos is the climactic moment in the Homeric hero's homecoming.<sup>38</sup> After protecting the household throughout his master's 20-year absence, the home has fallen into disarray due to the dog's old age. Despite the time they have spent apart, Argos is the first to recognise Odysseus through his disguise.

Their reunion signals the dog's death, but also allows Odysseus to reclaim his home, the protagonist's central driving force throughout the epic poem. Pliny's passage recalls a moment that highlights the importance of animal-human connections in the construction of home, belonging, and identity in antiquity. While there is evidence of dogs as companion animals in antiquity, the parameters for

what defined a pet vs a working animal were very different from today, complicated by evidence of overlap across the two categories.<sup>39</sup> Argos, for example, was Odysseus' long-term companion, but also his household guardian. As such, Gilhus suggests the label 'personal animals' be used instead of 'pet'.<sup>40</sup>

Bioarchaeologists adapted the term 'embodiment' to describe the ways a person's life experiences affect their personal identity, wellbeing, and physical body.<sup>41</sup> When zooarchaeological remains survive, this theoretical framework can also be applied to dogs to reveal the complex relationships between dogs and humans. Osteological evidence indicates that special care was given to some dogs' rehabilitation, reflecting their close bond with humans.<sup>42</sup> Multidisciplinary analysis has been carried out to understand different Roman dogs' diets, revealing the common practice of humans and dogs sharing food, or feeding them scraps from the table, as mentioned in epigraphic and written sources.<sup>43</sup>

Isotopic analysis of canine bone collagen has revealed higher-than-average nitrogen levels in individual Roman dogs, meaning they were fed more meat/fish than others, suggesting they were kept as companions.<sup>44</sup> Small dogs are specifically described as pets by Roman authors, which is supported by isotopic signatures in their skeletal remains.<sup>45</sup> In contrast, working dogs are reported to have eaten grain-rich diets so they did not get a taste for the animals they were tasked with protecting or hunting.<sup>46</sup> Despite their dietary differences, working dogs were treated well by their owners to maintain their physical health. Arrian (writing in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE), advises readers to share a bed with hounds and provides instructions on how to massage them properly.<sup>47</sup>

Like domestic settings, funerary contexts are a space where 'both habits and meaning can form' and provide poignant evidence for the significance of dogs within Roman family life. Death in the Roman world has been described as a 'process', during which social identities and familial hierarchies were redefined.<sup>48</sup> Repeated rituals, such as funerary feasting and the deposition of grave goods, reinforced feelings of belonging and social bonding between mourners.<sup>49</sup> The link between dogs and children has already been explored elsewhere in studies of funerary sculpture and Roman ideology.<sup>50</sup> One marble funerary altar from early-Imperial Rome highlights the enduring bond between a boy named Anthus and his small dog (or puppy) in its iconography (Fig.15). A contemporary burial from Gaul contained a puppy interred alongside a one-year-old and ceramic grave goods.<sup>51</sup> This canine companion could have been the child's pet or a sacrificial animal by their parents to accompany/protect them on their journey to the afterlife.

Canine grave markers also exist, featuring touching epitaphs that demonstrate reciprocal inter-species relationships in the Roman Empire. One such



Fig. 15 Funerary altar of Anthus. Photo: MET, Inv. 2018.838



Fig. 16 Epitaph of Margarita (Pearl). Photo: British Museum, Inv. 1756,0101.1126.

life as a beloved lapdog, who had her own soft bed – perhaps like the ‘Maltese’ depicted on its own comfortable couch in the lamp shown above (Figs 7-8). Monumental funerary markers were the reserve of the rich, so it is no surprise that Pearl’s owners could afford to indulge her during her lifetime. Moreover, inscription is particularly striking as it is written from the perspective of the deceased dog, Margarita (Pearl).<sup>52</sup> Pearl tells us from beyond the grave that she was born in Gaul and trained to flush out furry beasts in the forest, but that her snow-white body was not designed to be enchained (Fig. 16). Instead, she enjoyed the inscription is a carefully constructed display of literary learnedness by her wealthy owners: classicists have noted the similarity in the opening lines of Pearl’s epitaph and that of the epic poet Vergil.<sup>53</sup> This highlights the ways in which dogs could be used as status symbols in the Roman era as they often are today, albeit in different ways.

## Summary

In conclusion, dogs were indispensable to Roman home-making in the early imperial period. The domestic roles of dogs extended far beyond companionship: their duties as guards, hunters, and guardians of livestock anchored the security and economic stability of households. Representations of dogs in mosaics, figurines, and frescoes, as well as their physical remains, show how integral they were to Roman life (and death), embodying both functional and symbolic roles within the construction of home and family life. New evidence from recent excavations in Italy and Britain emphasises that our understanding of dogs and people in the past is ever-evolving. As data for dogs in the Roman world grows in abundance,

future studies of their remains could benefit from analysis through the theoretical lenses of interanimality and sensory archaeology. This study highlights the unique contribution of dogs to the sense of home and belonging in ancient Roman society, underscoring the enduring bond between dogs and humans across time and place.

## Home, Belonging, and Conservatism in the Romance Fiction of 1922

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After 1918, 8,479,156 women gained the vote, and more were to follow, but this did not always grant them greater power or autonomy. Following their success, the government was determined to return women to hearth and home after their war service in factories, ministries and hospitals. Despite being an era of social change, historian Sue Bruley has said it was also one ‘dominated by conservatism’.<sup>1</sup> Mainstream scholarship has often failed to take seriously the voices of mass-market conservative writers of the era. This study intends to put three neglected bestselling romance writers of 1922, Ethel M. Dell, Elinor Glyn, and Ruby M. Ayres, back at the front and centre of the debate about domesticity, home, and belonging, since their popularity meant their words were materially significant in the lives of thousands of women. This study asks in what ways these three romance novelists lived, and how their writings were in dialogue and dispute with their conservatism with its traditional ideas of home and belonging.

The concept of the romance engaging with the social situation can seem perplexing since, as Mary Cadogan has said, ‘Romantic fiction, is not [...] expected to reflect [on] historical events, and it generally ignored the shake-up of values in the early twentieth-century [...]’ which in part explains why these novelists’ work was often ignored or belittled.<sup>2</sup> This literary form has always been considered as fantasy, and both Dell and Ayres appear to make little reference to the issues of the moment.<sup>3</sup> The First World War, for example, is conspicuous by its absence, even though 1922 was a year when the nation was still traumatised by its effects. For Glyn, *Man and Maid* was not about the war but ‘it merely has the background of Paris during the last days of 1918,’ and the interest should be seen in the ‘human emotion’.<sup>4</sup> Cadogan, though, is ultimately incorrect in her assumption, and paradoxically the works discussed here are in dialogue with the social change confronting women.

The novels considered here are Dell’s *Charles Rex*, about a wayward aristocrat and the young girl who stows away on his yacht, Glyn’s *Man and Maid*, the war-time story of a disabled veteran, Nicholas Thormonde V. C., and his proud and independent secretary, while, of the novels Ayres wrote in 1922, under scrutiny are *The Matherson Marriage*, about destructive jealousy in a relationship, and A

*Gamble with Love*, in which Georgie Dean finds herself caught between a cruel husband, John Rutland, and a devoted ex-boyfriend, Giles Mallory. These novels show that despite romance writing being described as ‘an apparently reactionary genre,’ the writing often debates this formulation.<sup>5</sup>

In 1922, Ethel M. Dell owned a large, servanted house near Guildford with the services of a chauffeur. She was a diffident woman, and one newspaper noted pointedly that her house was partly surrounded by ‘[a] brick wall about ten feet in height’ and that the reclusive writer ‘devoted her time solely to her work’.<sup>6</sup> This, for her, was a safe domestic space where she could work and live uninterrupted. Ruby M. Ayres, in 1922 living in Greater London, eventually moved to a large house in the wealthy enclave of St George’s Hill, Surrey, where she worked on her novels and answered her fan mail while her husband worked in the city.<sup>7</sup> Elinor Glyn rarely had a domestic space to call her own after her husband’s death and her move to Hollywood as a screenwriter in 1919, but she continued to try and create domestic spaces, buying houses and decorating them lavishly, but rarely staying long, often selling them soon after.<sup>8</sup> These three women took refuge in the home, and yet, as bestselling writers they were independently wealthy, with significant power within the publishing industry; at one point Dell’s work accounted for half of her publisher’s turnover.<sup>9</sup> Despite having little in common with Virginia Woolf’s ideals, these writers embodied what Woolf thought a female novelist required, which was ‘money and a room of her own’.<sup>10</sup> They achieved this financial independence against what Woolf called ‘the patriarchy’, despite these writers appearing indifferent to feminism. Indeed, Glyn was greatly influenced by her former lover, Lord Curzon, who enthusiastically supported the Men’s League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.<sup>11</sup>

Critic Nancy Armstrong has said that domestic fiction created a new form of power emerging ‘with the rise of the domestic woman and established its hold over British culture through her dominance over [...] those [...] practices we associate with private life’.<sup>12</sup> Critic Jay Dixon affirms this, commenting that ‘home [...] is the women’s sphere - standing for stability, safety, peace and strength’.<sup>13</sup> For writers like Dell, Glyn and Ayres it offered them a protection from those male institutions that derided or ignored the romance. Alison Light has written that home was ‘the place where women were, after 1919 [...] and where women writers were coming into their own’.<sup>14</sup> If home was attached to ‘feelings of belonging’ as Light surmises, it is demonstrated in the sedate home life of Maud and Jake Bolton in *Charles Rex*. Yet for all these writers, home became a contested space. It is in these disputes that the reader understands the shifting power relations between women, who often had the vote and had tasted independence in the war years, and men, that Light sees as being symbolically ‘emasculated by the



Ruby M. Ayres, Howard Coster, 1935 © National Portrait Gallery

aftermath of war'.<sup>15</sup> That male values were attempting to reassert themselves is clear from S. P. B. Mais's newspaper article, 'Men Who "Own" Their Wives', where Mais declares that '[i]t is impossible to have two masters in one house: where a husband deposes a definite role to his wife there is happiness', something *The Matherson Marriage* unhappily refutes.<sup>16</sup>

That the post-war years were 'dominated by conservatism' was likely of some comfort to Ayres, Dell, and Glyn. Ayres remarked that '[i]t is a pity for women to take up work that keeps them out of the home all day'.<sup>17</sup> Iris Marion Young, though, makes a distinction 'between the "private sphere"' which confines women and "'privacy" which refers to "the autonomy and control a person has to allow or not allow access to her person"'.<sup>18</sup> Bart Verschaffel worries that 'linking woman and house could be a means to simplify and control the feminine', as becomes clear in the Matherson household.<sup>19</sup> Even so, for Dell and Ayres, and

even Glyn, home was a choice. As Chiara Briganti and Kathy Mezei have pointed out, ‘novels and houses furnish a dwelling place that invites the exploration [...] of private and intimate relations and thoughts’ (italics in the original). Not only that, but this genre of writing uses ‘private domestic space as frame and metonym of inner psychological space’.<sup>20</sup> The home serves as a projection of the personality of their owners such as Nicholas Thormonde or the egregious Basil Matherson.

In *The Matherson Marriage*, Basil is the ruler of his country home, ‘Green Gables’, and continually threatens his wife, Pansy, with sending their four-year old son to boarding school to punish and control her. When Pansy’s old lover, Lyn Ramsden, becomes entangled in their lives, Basil says that without Lyn they will be ruined. However, Lyn’s presence only drives Basil to uncontrollable jealousy. Clearly, Basil’s hold over ‘Green Gables’ is a way to disguise the faltering power he has over his life and leads him to demand that Pansy’s sister Violet leave their home after she calls him a ‘bully’. As so often in these sagas, it is money that gave Basil his hold over his wife, giving her ‘wealth and position’ of which the house is part. His waning power is because he is ‘an inveterate gambler’ now on ‘the verge of ruin’.<sup>21</sup> Without ever mentioning the subject, the book appears as an advertisement for divorce and barely counts as a romance given the mental and physical damage inflicted. The book picks up on the debates of the day even so; in the following year the divorce laws were redrawn to give women equal access under the law, and soon women, according to Roderick Phillips, ‘sought a majority of divorces’.<sup>22</sup>

In *A Gamble with Love*, the ageing Chloe Tenant is privately called ‘an alleged artist’, even by the largely sympathetic Giles Mallory, for her strange paintings, but her hold over the world is secure since ‘she’s rich and doesn’t care what people think’.<sup>23</sup> She lives in a London flat and is a hostess, like Lady Ottoline Morrell or Edith Sitwell, who opened their homes to artists and writers in the inter-war years but often found themselves ridiculed.<sup>24</sup> Chloe has ‘an erratic [...] band of satellites’ like Mallory, who will support her in her work and in London enables her to retain her power and authority.<sup>25</sup> However, on reuniting with her estranged husband Bill, she reopens his house in Derbyshire for Christmas, inviting her closest friends but also Mallory, Rutland, and his wife Georgie, who was once very close to Mallory. Rutland’s jealousy over that relationship eventually causes Bill Tenant’s death in a nearby reservoir when he goes beneath the frozen surface to rescue Mallory, whom Rutland has left to die. Chloe’s reconciliation has come at a price. She remarks that Bill ‘hates this flat and my so-called “art” which she was obliged to give up’.<sup>26</sup> In venturing beyond a domestic space she controlled, she takes on a Derbyshire house which proves too big and unwieldy; even Bill

says that 'I prefer something smaller'.<sup>27</sup> The architecture itself encourages the tragic events. The upper storey includes 'a queer gallery, from which many doors opened'.<sup>28</sup> The gallery allows the malign clairvoyant Mrs Sheerman to overhear remarks that provoke her into acts of malice. The rooms allow for a game of hide and seek in which Mallory is nearly killed, pushed down the narrow backstairs. At the novel's conclusion, Chloe returns to her old life of bad paintings, face powder and bright colours: 'Without it she would have died of despair'.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast to these novels, in Elinor Glyn's *Man and Maid* the narrator, Nicholas Thormonde, always maintains the ascendancy in his apartment and uses the space, as Basil Matherson tries to, as an assertion of his power. Thormonde is a disabled war veteran, living 'a rich orphan's life' in Paris in the latter months of the Great War.<sup>30</sup> Like one of Alison Light's male figures, he is emblematically emasculated by his missing eye and leg. He himself says that 'I am too sensitive to leave my flat for any meals', but his Parisian apartment and his wealth afford him the power that ensures he never relinquishes his masculinity.<sup>31</sup> Demonstrating his hold over his secretary, the impoverished, aristocratic Alatheia Sharp, he summons her with a bell, controlling her within the space: 'She is to have her lunch here [...] An hour for lunch which she can have on a tray in the small salon, which I have arranged for her work room.'<sup>32</sup> The novel ends in the mutual realisation of their love as the war ends, but Thormonde never surrenders his idea of power, contained in the apartment's chambers. He begins the book believing that "[w]omen only like physical masters", and at its conclusion, 'a wild sense of triumph and power' overcomes him, knowing he has Alatheia within his grasp.<sup>33</sup>

Ethel M. Dell's *Charles Rex* is centred on the rakish and enigmatic Charles Burchester, Lord Saltash. A young boy he has rescued from being beaten stows away on his yacht but is later discovered to be the twenty-year old Antoinette, known as 'Toby'. The book uses simple gender identities; Saltash has '[b]ulldog instincts', his maleness shored up by his ownership of a castle, 'ancient, battlemented, starkly splendid'.<sup>34</sup> His friend, Jake Bolton, the racehorse trainer, is similarly depicted in traditionally gendered terms. His wife, Maud, remarks to him: "you are the master in this house, remember." She is an embodiment of a certain sort of femininity, which is first shown as she holds her youngest child while 'singing a baby lullaby very softly in the beautiful room with the bay windows'.<sup>35</sup>

Into the Bolton's settled domestic space comes Toby, who instantly disrupts several categorical imperatives. In her first appearance she uses words and phrases such as 'Oh hell!' which she is told 'isn't said in this house' by either sex. She then vaults 'a sweeping Dorothy Perkins just coming into bloom' (a rose tree in the Bolton garden).<sup>36</sup> Although her close-cut hair allies her with the fashions of the time (Ruth Adam has noted how 'the women of the Twenties began to

look masculine'), it similarly showcases her ambiguous gender in a heteronormative space (where heterosexuality is a fixed state).<sup>37</sup> Jake Bolton questions her, asking, "Are you a boy or a girl?" to which Toby responds, "Mostly boy, sir". Her fluid identity seeks to undermine the Bolton's domesticity and appears to be a response to the changes in gender roles the war had allowed.<sup>38</sup> Hers, though, is a muted assault on the book's values. Despite her rough and ready ways from her time as a California circus rider, her language, and her conflicted gender status, at the book's conclusion, Toby has become Antoinette and has domesticated the restless Saltash, marrying him in the process.<sup>39</sup> The narrative reinforces a heteronormative conservatism against the demands of more unorthodox forces that Billie Melman finds in the 'popular transvestite sub-plot' of some post-war novels, at a time when '[m]arriage and the conjugal family seemed [...] precarious'.<sup>40</sup>

These three novelists' lives secured them against the flux of societal change that followed the war. They wrote in a conservative genre and both *Man and Maid* and *Charles Rex* reinforce their ideals: Alatheia Sharp's stubborn independence is crushed by Thormonde's power, much like Lord Saltash in *Charles Rex*, and Alatheia and Antoinette submit to an enforced domesticity. But in both novels, ideas of female independence are in dialogue with other forms of value, and in *A Gamble with Love*, Chloe Tenant eventually lives beyond the book's patriarchal values, while Pansy Matherson is freed from the prison house of her marriage on her husband's suicide. The drama of these novels depends on ideas of domesticity and home undergoing disruption, and what violence occurs appears to be a part of the unresolved trauma of the war years. These texts come into conflict with the authors' espoused values and the state of the nation in 1922, but what is striking is that their resolution does not always favour traditional answers.

# Inviting the Stranger In – Exchanging Privacy for Connectivity in the Digital Age

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## Intro

In half a century from now, when Generation X finally hand the baton over and enter the realms of history, there will no longer be a living cohort who has experienced first-hand the transition from a pre-digital to a post digital age.<sup>3</sup> The difference this subtle shift may have on societal interaction, on the relationship between humans, the home, and the outside world, is impossible to measure. At this point in history, the portal to look back on an analogue existence remains just about open, and we have the unique ability to qualify through lived experience the changes that are taking place.

There is no doubt that technological advancements, expediated by a globally networked society, have seeped through to the very core of human existence – the home. Connectivity has become so ubiquitous to everyday living that for many, a mere hour spent unplugged from social networks is a rarity. The house, described by Gaston Bachelard as the ‘spaces of our intimacy’, has changed immeasurably.<sup>4</sup>

The reaction to these changes, as seen through the eyes of the media, sociologists, and psycho analysts, has largely been cautiously negative. When lamenting the overwhelming state of servitude induced by the constant tsunami of digital content, the theorist Julia Kristeva has gone as far as to ask, ‘These days, who still has a soul?’<sup>5</sup>

To consider these questions, this article will look at the fears articulated in response to digital developments, to the resurgence of that strange and troublesome terminology, the soul, and to the changing cultural landscape of privacy within the home. As a backdrop and an agitator to these concerns, the #sleepingsquad, a group of online video broadcasters whose nocturnal activities throw into turmoil ideas of privacy within the home, will add to the debate.

## The #sleepingsquad

In late 2019, the spread of the Covid pandemic was already in motion, unnamed and unknown to the world. Oblivious to the threat that lay ahead, the #sleepingsquad shared their intimate footage online, streaming live content as they slept on the sharing platform, YouNow. On this sprawling video outlet,

individuals across the globe appear on camera from the privacy of their own homes, gathered under hashtags of shared interests, trends, and topics of conversation. Amongst a diverse community seeking connection, the #sleepingsquad's activity stood out. This strange mix of authenticity, performance, community, and intimacy, bound up in the act of sleeping online to an unknown audience, seemed to say something significant to the realities of privacy and the home in the digital age.

Intrigued by the paradoxes at play, I chose, as an artist, to utilise my practice to interrogate the temporal anomaly of this personal, yet passive exchange. Translating digital into analogue, I committed to draw each encounter (Fig. 1). While the graphite medium emerged in stark contrast to the pixels on the screen, the hand drawn method facilitated a slow, extended reflection - an intimacy and timeframe which seemed in sympathy with the subjects online.

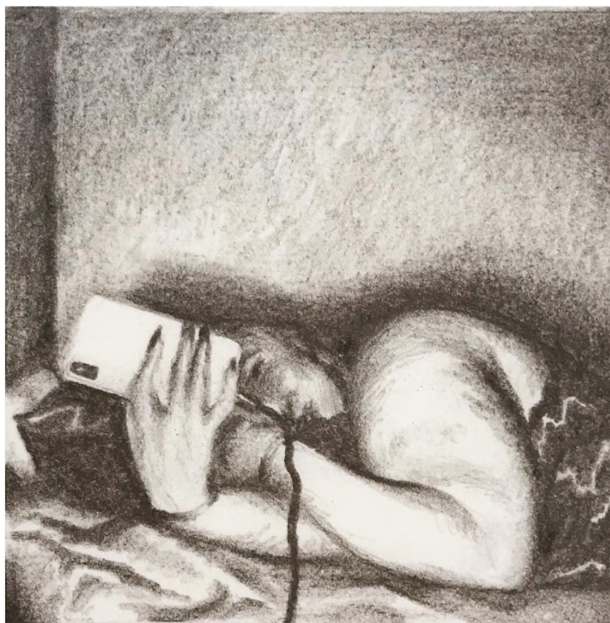
The #sleepingsquad appear on screen as a host of dark thumbnail images. In some, figures are just about visible, hunched shapes rising and falling in silhouette under blankets. In others, awkwardly angled cameras pick out the corner of a wardrobe or the edge of a curtain. Followers comment alongside the video screen, making sporadic observations. They wonder if they're hungry or dreaming, or simply want to share the silence alongside the sleeper. The open invitation to observe and connect is both compelling and poignant. Offering a particularly vulnerable exchange, the activities of the #sleepingsquad are typical of the sort of online phenomena that attracts widespread concern. These fears, however, regularly shift their focus, taking new forms as the digital morphs around us.

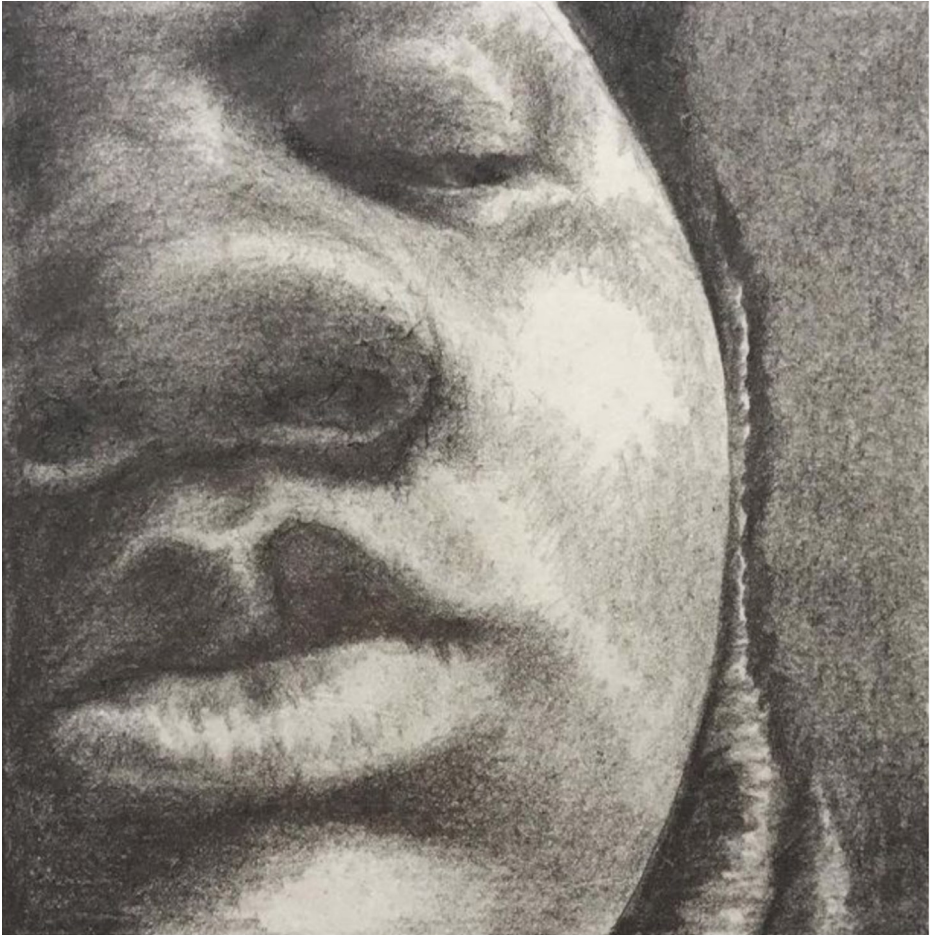
### New Media Concerns

A decade ago there was little else that fostered such helpless despondency in the hearts of parents than the idea that children might fritter their lives away on networked gaming and social media. Now it is children who struggle to drag parents away from WhatsApp messages and TikTok videos, on phones they carry from room to room. While the speed of digital development has always been swift, the Covid pandemic of 2020, whose restrictions 'limited face-to-face interaction [...], significantly increased Internet use'.<sup>6</sup> While most families were already using digital technologies, the uptake had been slow in some households, where pastimes, occupations, and lifestyles remained firmly rooted in the analogue world. However, this behaviour changed overnight. Confined to the house, families adapted quickly. Bedrooms became offices, kitchens schools, and most people, of all ages, became proficient in online broadcasting tools. The digitally cautious learnt through necessity how to connect through Zoom in ways unimaginable just weeks before, often with amusing results.<sup>7</sup> Professor Robert Kelly, while being



Fig. 1





interviewed online by BBC news, was suddenly interrupted by his children in the background- a vivid example of the breaching of the private world into the public space.<sup>8</sup>

Despite these developments, never have humans been more simultaneously connected and disconnected. Kristeva articulates perhaps our most fundamental fear when she describes the contemporary human as having 'neither the time nor the space needed to create a soul'.<sup>9</sup> She suggests that, in the never-ending flow of media that apprehends us, infiltrating our most sacred of spaces, our 'psychic life is blocked, inhibited and destroyed'.<sup>10</sup> These are ominous words that suggest a hollowed-out version of humanity, a zombified population, stupefied by an endless infusion of digital content, oblivious to the rich complexities of the world

around us. This raises the question as to why these technological advancements should stir up such fears and agitate such primordial terrors as the loss of the soul, bringing back into philosophical discourse ‘that age-old chimera’ often regarded as a relic of an overly religious past.<sup>11</sup> It appears that the soul, the house, and the digital, together create such a volatile entanglement that they pose a considerable threat. To fully understand this connection, we need to look back as well as forward.

### Linking House to Soul

Historically, philosophers like Plato and Saint Augustine of Hippo have reached for the allegory of the house when seeking to articulate the inner world of human existence.<sup>12</sup> The definition of the soul has proved troublesome to transcribe by previous scholarship. Kristeva borrows Freud’s terminology of *psychic apparatus*, ‘irreducible [...] to the biological substrata’. Yet the average person rarely shares this difficulty.<sup>13</sup> This threshold between an inner and outer world, between private thoughts and public demeanours, has imbued the house and home with an anthropomorphic tone. Around 400AD, Saint Augustine beseeched the divine in his Confessions, saying: ‘The house of my soul is too small for you, [...] May it be enlarged [...]. It is in ruins: restore it.’<sup>14</sup> Subsequent religious writers and medieval Christian mystics, such as Julian of Norwich (c.1343), in *Revelations of Divine Love*, and St Theresa of Avila (1577), in her *Interior Castle*, have renewed the debate again, aligning the privacy and protection of the house with the body, housing the innermost thoughts of the soul.<sup>15</sup> While recognised by a relative few in today’s largely secular society, these deeply religious and sacred connotations continue to permeate our language and understanding in relation to the home. Read through any contemporary house interiors magazine and you will hear terminology as much attuned to a devotional liturgy as to a publication on the practicalities of decor. Descriptions such as ‘my safe space, my sanctuary, my very own piece of heaven’ demonstrate this complex entanglement between numinous ideals and the structures which house us.<sup>17</sup>

Twentieth century writers Gaston Bachelard, Carl Jung, and Paul Tillich all spoke of the house in terms of a womb like space. Protected from the perils and harsh conditions of the outside world, this primordial structure creates a ‘first universe’ from which to launch out into the wider universe.<sup>18</sup> A private space from which to ‘thrust forward into space at large, into infinite space’.<sup>19</sup> From housing the soul to protecting the unborn, for the digital to seep into these most sacred of spaces threatens some inherent boundaries residing at the very essence of the self. It is hardly surprising that tensions between privacy, the home, and the digital agitate such deeply felt responses.

## Changing Versions of Community

But while the digital may breach the defences of our personal time and private spaces with ease, linking us to an international community day or night, actual bodily connection with those on our doorstep continues to suffer. In a population where lone living has seen a dramatic increase, loneliness has been recognised as a major health concern.<sup>20</sup> To address the issue, a UK minister for loneliness was appointed in 2018.<sup>21</sup> Working from home increased during the pandemic and added to this isolation. One can now leave the house, drive to the nearest supermarket, purchase a week's groceries, and return to undertake a day's work at the computer, without having spoken to a soul. While contemporary life may well be 'a swirling sea of social relations', as Gergen describes in *The Saturated Self*, 'face-to-face community is vanishing into the pages of history.'<sup>22</sup>

Only half a century ago, the house would have been a regular destination for visitors. Home visits for doctors or clergy were considered a regular aspect of daily work. Nowadays, while visitors to the door may be frequent in the form of deliveries, for many, a physical person entering the home is a rarity. Connection online, albeit a truncated and incorporeal form, may be the best on offer. According to Gergen, we 'exist in a world of co-constitution'.<sup>23</sup> Trading privacy in search of community, as demonstrated by the #sleepingsquad, may become a necessity for the relational human, who, if Gergen's theories are to be believed, is only fully constituted through relationships.<sup>24</sup> But Kristeva is right to be concerned, for privacy and community are not a binary. I would argue instead that the combination of both, is a balance vital to achieve for nurturing the soul.

## Privacy and Security

To return to the methodology of looking back to bring context to the present, domestic privacy has always been an enduring concern for householders. The phrase, 'an Englishman's home is his castle', stretches back to the 1500s, and underlines just how closely privacy was linked to security and the need to fortify the home. Contemporary housing may carry any number of protective technologies, from personalised biometric locking systems, to alarms and camera surveillance. However, prior to the nineteenth century and the introduction of electric lighting, night was a dark and threatening reality. Theft, violence, and murder were a very real possibility, whether in city or rural dwellings. According to historian Roger Ekirch, households were vigilant at the practice of *shutting in*, bringing valuable goods and livestock into the protection of the home during darkness.<sup>25</sup> Thresholds, that 'sacred boundary' between the public and private, were considered 'frontiers at night that unexpected visitors were not to cross'.<sup>26</sup>

Most households were fortified against attack, with domestic arsenals containing ‘sword, spikes, and firearms, or (in) less affluent homes, cudgels, and sticks’.<sup>27</sup> Electric lighting may well have alleviated some of the fears of night for contemporary dwellings, but according to a 2007 survey, despite being illegal, at least a third of UK residents still choose to keep some sort of domestic weapon by their bed.<sup>28</sup>

Interestingly, protection against digital intrusion does not appear as high on the average home’s agenda. Today’s uninvited guests are more likely to be big corporation retail, international intelligence, or our own government surveillance, all intent on gathering ‘mind-boggling quantities of personal data [...] every time we use our iPhones tablets and other gadgets’.<sup>29</sup> But even with this knowledge, and despite a plethora of science fiction novels and dystopian Hollywood blockbusters painting a grim picture of AI, few of us have taken action against these intrusions. Homes are nowadays anthropomorphised with the voice of the Amazon-created speaker Alexa, informing us of the latest news headlines, or soothing us to sleep with the sounds of rainforests. If we are reminded every now and then, by a sudden unexpected outburst or revealing malfunction, that every word of our conversation is being logged, the accessibility to instant information is far too convenient for us to take any action.<sup>30</sup> Even when AI is not taking the form of personalised robots imbued with voices, it is a constant presence, through biometrics, persuasive algorithms, and predictive analytics. Perhaps it is the invisibility of this technological presence, the friendly human voice with which it speaks, or simply the ease with which it satisfies our daily needs, that has dissuaded us from concerning ourselves too deeply with its harmful potential. But like the #sleepingsquad who willingly engage with the stranger online, despite the obvious dangers, this appears to be the perfect example of our capacity to sleepwalk into vulnerable relationships with technology. Alternatively, it also reveals our capacity to accept and respond to new forms of living.

### The Window of the Pandemic

The Covid pandemic offers a unique opportunity to observe this entanglement of the digital, the home, and the human soul. As the desire to overcome isolation catapulted many into the swift adoption of social media and sharing platforms, those providing such services were forced to rush through developments, bringing them up to functionality at breakneck speed. How humans creatively engaged with these platforms though, as the #sleepinsquad demonstrates, was surprising for the service providers and for the general public. Zoom parties, family quiz nights, and kitchen discos became regular features of life through lockdown, as people grasped at the opportunity for fun, joy, and human connection, inventing

ever new uses for technology to combat dark and difficult times. Politicians and celebrities, broadcasting from box rooms and studies when the House of Commons or glossy TV studios were out of bounds, suddenly appeared human, breaking down traditional social boundaries that had existed for centuries.

Of course, one cannot consider these examples without acknowledging their negative aspects of online behaviour. According to Argandoña, digital technology in itself 'is neither good nor bad from a moral viewpoint and yet it is not neutral'.<sup>31</sup> This agency for good or ill is visible through its capacity to intensify and anonymise, not only positive interactions, but also deeply harmful ones. While human characteristics have not changed, perhaps technology simply serves to emphasise these elements, where slower face-to-face interactions in bygone communities may have muted such extremes. While observing the more nuanced activities online, we must be mindful of the blunt tool it can be.

## Conclusion

Considering the two decades since the rise of the social phenomenon that Gergen refers to as the '*saturated self*', surely it must be possible to assert whether Kristeva's fears for the soul, and the breakdown of privacy in the home, were justified. There is no doubt that the influx of the digital has brought with it a tsunami of change. The fact that we have so readily eschewed privacy within the home, in search of a form of community and connection, is telling. Yet while we may argue, criticise, and condemn online activity, social media has allowed us to meaningfully connect with more individuals than ever. We have danced together, sung together, laughed together, and mourned together, without ever leaving our homes. And in the intimacy of their most private spaces, in an act of supreme vulnerability which they themselves perhaps do not fully understand, the #sleepingsquad have invited the stranger in.

How we navigate 'vanishing privacy' within the home is yet to fully unfold.<sup>32</sup> But as an expression of the human self, and an extension of the soul/body entanglement, I argue that the house changes with us. As Gergen reminds us, we are relational beings.<sup>33</sup> While privacy is important, it will always be trumped by connection and community. As the multiple innovative, creative engagements with technology have proved, the human soul is alive and well, and quick to adapt to whatever lies ahead. In the words of the writer Elaine Scarry, 'we make things so that they will, in turn, remake us'.<sup>34</sup> We cannot fear inviting the stranger in, for that stranger is a creature of our own making. By accepting the stranger, we may find an expanded version of ourselves.

## Reconstructing Identity: Depictions of the Personality and Home of John Aubrey in Patrick Garland's Play *Brief Lives*

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### Set Design as a Tool for Manufacturing Identity on Stage

In his *Poetics of Space*, the French philosopher of poetics Gaston Bachelard explains the role of the house as ‘the stage setting [that] maintains the characters in their dominant roles’.<sup>1</sup> The home is a means of grounding the fundamental elements of our own individuality. On the stage, it is the designer’s role to create a space that aids the narrative and allows the audience to engross themselves in the story and characters. Often, as the audience enter the auditorium, they are met with the set before the performance begins. They are able to assess the setting and are invited to speculate on the contents and direction of the performance based solely on the design. Each object placed on stage carries the presumption of significance to the story because it is chosen and positioned under the designer’s vision.<sup>2</sup> The concept is pushed further in the case of reconstructing a home environment. As Bachelard stipulates: the home is a reflection of the person that lives in it, where ‘an entire past comes to dwell’.<sup>3</sup> Bachelard is especially relevant as his writing on poetics focuses prominently on the role of the home in building identity. Though intended in the settings of poetry, the notion is applicable to the stage, and any outward depictions of personality. A character can be built from the artefacts collected and displayed, and so a home-set specifically may be indicative of age, gender, sexuality, interests, and passions- any details of the character that inhabits it. Thus, the home-set can be manipulated by the designer to project the imagined person onto the constructed set and rebuild the character convincingly for the audience.

### John Aubrey – Antiquarian and Collector for Posterity

To create a home on stage that truly reflected the character was the exact challenge undertaken by Julia Trevelyan Oman for Patrick Garland’s play *Brief Lives* in 1967. The play focused on John Aubrey (1626-1697), an antiquarian and historian, who spent his life collecting antiquities, facts, and artifacts, ‘treasuring the past and salvaging ... it for posterity’.<sup>4</sup> Oman’s design can be seen in Figure 1, demonstrating Oman’s view on Aubrey’s collecting. Throughout his life, Aubrey



Fig 1 Julia Trevelyan Oman, untitled photograph (1967) chromogenic print, Julia Trevelyan Oman Archive, University of Bristol Theatre Collection. Courtesy of Sir Roy Strong.

collected stories about the people he knew and met, which became a series of short biographical portraits of over 426 people.<sup>5</sup> The manuscripts were left in chaos upon his death. Aubrey had intended for the papers to be put in the new Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, ‘alongside Elias Ashmole’s cabinet of curiosities,’ implying that his records were themselves documenting a series of curiosities.<sup>6</sup> However, it was not until 1813, 116 years after his death, that the first arrangement of Aubrey’s texts were published, entitled *Brief Lives*, opening the door for further research and investigation into his accounts.<sup>7</sup>

A summary of Aubrey’s life was not published for a further 34 years,<sup>8</sup> leading the author John Britton to write: ‘it is remarkable that Aubrey should have been so slightly noticed by those who have professed to write accounts of his life and literary works.’<sup>9</sup> The most recent publication of Aubrey’s lives, from 2016, dedicates the first chapter to Aubrey himself, written by his biographer, Ruth Scurr, who published his full biography a year earlier in 2015. This biography is unique in its format, presenting Aubrey’s life as a series of diary entries, which provides an intimate portrayal of the 17th-century antiquarian.

### Patrick Garland’s version of *Brief Lives*

The most notable version of Aubrey’s *Brief Lives* was organised by Oliver Lawson-Dick in 1949. It is this version which produced a renewed interest in the life and work of Aubrey in the twentieth century and inspired Patrick Garland’s play.<sup>10</sup> Though the play focuses on shedding light on the man behind the biographies as opposed to the biographies themselves, making him ‘much more human, and much more interesting’.<sup>11</sup>

The play is a 'dramatized adaptation of the stories, grumblings and scabrous gossip of the seventeenth century diarist', portrayed by a single actor, posing as Aubrey, retelling his tales to the audience as he goes about his day.<sup>13</sup> It originated as the sixth of a short series of programmes on the BBC, *Famous Gossips* (1965), conceived by Garland, designed by Oman, and starring Roy Dotrice. The series focused on six different historic literary figures, with the intention of presenting literary portraits of the characters in the style of Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*.<sup>13</sup> For the Aubrey episode, it symbolised the beginning of the collaboration between Oman, Garland, and Dotrice, which was carried forward into the stage production. Garland, in the preface to his published script, hails their collaboration as the foundation of the success of the performance. It 'had two runs on Broadway and was adapted for television',<sup>14</sup> but now the play is often remembered for the role of Dotrice, who portrayed the character for over forty years. At the time, however, the production was heralded for the contents of the 'splendid'<sup>15</sup> and 'absolutely unbelievable'<sup>16</sup> set. Indeed, Garland has since stated that Oman's part in the creation of *Brief Lives* and its subsequent success was 'equal to [his] own'.<sup>17</sup> For the rest of this paper, *Brief Lives*, when written thus, refers to Patrick Garland's Play, not Aubrey's text.

### Julia Trevelyan Oman - Designing John Aubrey's Home

At the time of the premier of the play, Oman was at the very beginning of her career, *Brief Lives* being her stage debut after eleven years at the BBC. Oman went on to design for the next twenty-five years and worked, notably, on the Royal Ballet's *The Nutcracker* (1984), her design for which is still in use today. She later received an honorary doctorate from the University of Bristol and a CBE for her contribution to design.<sup>18</sup>

Oman's work is characterised by a highly detailed naturalism, focused on bringing out elements of the original text or inspiration for the performance. Garland described her as having a 'meticulous eye for detail' and an 'obsession for authentic research' having a family background in historical scholarship.<sup>19</sup> Oman would reference her interest in design, as being 'interested in life in general, and how designing relates to life'.<sup>20</sup> Her interest in detail was important in building the life lived, pushing the audience to engage further in her work through encouraged observation: 'I like to carry detail into all my work because I think observation is important, I think it is terribly important to make people look more closely.'<sup>21</sup> Much of her work is still remembered for her commitment to building meaning through historical detail.

Oman translated Aubrey's collections into around 2,500 props.<sup>22</sup> Many of these were loaned, bought by Oman, or hired to reduce cost without compromise,

as they were ‘determined to recreate as far as possible the authentic atmosphere of seventeenth century life’ the result of which Garland termed the ‘Jacobean kitchen sink’.<sup>23</sup> Garland claims that ‘both text and performance would be reduced without such atmosphere and with a less elaborate setting’.<sup>24</sup>

Garland fondly noted in his piece for the Folio Society’s Winter 1975 magazine that ‘it is ironic that whereas the original settings cost at Hampstead the budget of £1,000, a year later, when the same production arrived in New York, the costs had escalated to \$110,000’.<sup>25</sup> Much of the escalation in cost was due to the focus on detail, which Oman would not compromise on. When in London, Oman was able to borrow many of the props from friends, as the play transferred to the US, many of the props now had to be sourced at cost.

Amongst the many props, there were hundreds of books and papers, suits of armour, dried flowers, food, a bust, and a stuffed bear, seen in figure 2. The audience was able to view and assess the set during the interval as Garland ensured: ‘that the curtain remains up [...] throughout the performance’.<sup>26</sup> This allows the audience to interact with the set more closely as they are free to move around



Fig. 2 Julia Trevelyan Oman, untitled photograph (1967) silver gelatine print, Julia Trevelyan Oman Archive, University of Bristol Theatre Collection. Courtesy of Sir Roy Strong.

the auditorium during the interval. The result of this was a fame dedicated to the set itself. Sir Roy Strong (Oman's husband), recounts the impressions given of the 'props on stage, which was absolutely astounding, and, in the interval, people would go down and just gaze at this amazing compilation of stuff [...]. They had never seen anything like it before'.<sup>27</sup> The set was subjected to a level of scrutiny that was greater than usual, as the audience were able to engage more closely with the set for a longer period of time and were invited to view and approach it during the interval. The result of this was an increase in popularity for the play. The audience were able to see each of the props used and examine the different perceived fragments of Aubrey's life.

According to Scurr, Aubrey had developed a love of collecting from youth, and had been enamoured with Francis Bacon's philosophical approach to the past, particularly the notion of antiquities being like 'pieces of splintered wood that survive a shipwreck',<sup>28</sup> Aubrey often referring to his own collecting as 'rescues after shipwreck'.<sup>29</sup> The notion of 'rescue' reverberates through much of the writing on Aubrey, his obsession with collecting and continual lamentation over a lack of time to properly study, lace much of his own writing with a sense of loss. Even from childhood, Aubrey had written an account, detailing his sadness that the old manuscripts that used to be protected by the monasteries were now used to stopper leaks, before he was able to read them.<sup>30</sup>

### **Creating the Home-Set in Brief Lives: Antiques as Embodiments of Memoirs**

Brief Lives is itself a portrait of Aubrey; it 'attempts to represent a day in the life of John Aubrey when he stayed in lodgings in London in his final years'.<sup>31</sup> The set reflects the notion of a life lived through a display of the chaotic eccentricity of Aubrey and his collections. Every prop is significant in building the identity of the man. It is ironic that Aubrey had very few possessions at the end of his life, having given much of it to the Ashmolean Museum, but the set is designed to be 'one man's world in one room', a dedication with the emphasis being on the life that was lived as opposed to an accurate representation of Aubrey at the time of his death.<sup>32</sup>

Gaston Bachelard states that 'all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home', meaning that evidence of long-term habitation can be interpreted as a home.<sup>33</sup> The crowded, lived-in space Oman created through the chaotic, overflowing set implied long-term habitation on the stage. While Aubrey had not been long in London, the clear intention was to show the length of Aubrey's life (at 71 years) and the depth of his love for ephemera; the careful placement as evidence of past existence. In an interview, Oman claimed that 'it was the strange



FIG. 3. Julia Trevelyan Oman, untitled photograph (1967) silver gelatine print, Julia Trevelyan Oman Archive, University of Bristol Theatre Collection. Courtesy of Sir Roy Strong.

details like suddenly finding chicken bones down by the fire, how the man had thrown them out from his pots and pans, it was building up that type of thing which I found important'.<sup>34</sup> Oman was careful to consider the movements of Aubrey, how he might have lived in her imagined space, and how she could best evidence life through her design. The placement of these items also indicates the state of Aubrey in his old age, how he might have cared for himself and his home in isolation.

Many of the props found by Oman were 'genuine seventeenth century, and earlier, furniture and books', some were even 'already antique when Aubrey was born'.<sup>35</sup> The foundations of the setting are inhabited, by both those they were made for, and the many persons who had inherited them before landing on the stage of the Hampstead Theatre in London, as well as the stages of subsequent productions.

Oman's care and attention to detail in *Brief Lives* is evident from her archive, in which there are over five folios dedicated to prop lists, costs, small images, and descriptions, which she used for the maintenance of her design vision through the transfers of location. Along with this is her sketchbook, pages of which are pictured in figure 4, showing how she drew the layout in detail for the construction to best represent her creative vision. Oman mentions the precise quantities of the objects along with the illustration of placement: figure 4 refers to the centre of the stage (in the middle of figure 3), showing the bear holding the book and the different vases placed on the balustrade behind Aubrey's desk as well as the two

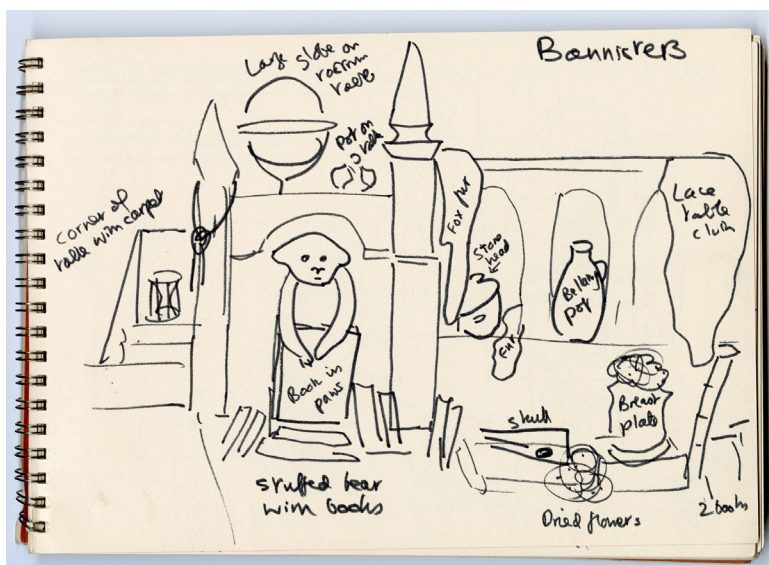


Fig. 4a + 4b Julia Trevelyan Oman, untitled sketches (1967) ink on paper, Julia Trevelyan Oman Archive, University of Bristol Theatre Collection. Courtesy of Sir Roy Strong.

central bookcases, the placement of the skull, helmet, and even the fallen books. Oman kept careful note of the cost of the production.

Throughout her career, Oman would incorporate antiques into her designs, often preferring them to commissioned props. While there is no documented explanation for this, Oman's 'obsession for authentic research' and desire to capture the 'essence' of a place and time to create a transportive element to the design might be the reason.<sup>36</sup> The genuine antiques not only provide a level of accuracy to the 'essence', but they serve as the embodiment of memory, a souvenir of Aubrey's life, preferred by Oman for the 'truth' to design.<sup>37</sup>

As Susan Stewart writes, the souvenir is a 'homomaterial replica, a metonymic reference existing between object/part and object/whole [...] [but] the sign functions not so much as object to object, but beyond this relation, metonymically, as object to event/experience', meaning that the souvenir is able to embody the memory of experience and come to represent it.<sup>38</sup> In the same way, antiques become tangible vessels of memory, representative of the people who made, held, and lived with them during the object's first life. When that first life is lost, the memory becomes an impression, adding to the impact of the objects in their current form. There is an imprint of humanity on the object, real and imposed, which is translatable and manipulatable by the designer through placement, movement, and lighting.

As the play is set in the final years of Aubrey's life, he reminisces so as to renew his 'acquaintance with [his] old and deceased friends'.<sup>39</sup> It is a play of reminiscence, and the scattered chaotic display of a lifetime of collecting, built further by the stench of the food and tobacco, purposefully left to fill the auditorium and draw the audience into Aubrey's home. Aubrey recorded his love of collecting antiques throughout his life, and in his final known written account before his death, he wrote:

'I have always done my best to rescue and preserve antiquities, which would otherwise have been utterly lost and forgotten, even though it has been my strange fate never to enjoy one entire month, or six weeks, of leisure for contemplation. I have rescued what I could of the past from the teeth of time'.<sup>40</sup>

Though the collection is much like 'splinters', Aubrey's love of intricacies is evident. Aubrey claimed that 'A life [...] is a small history in which detail and minutiae are all'.<sup>41</sup> His Brief Lives themselves are an exercise in collecting; 426 stories, giving gossipy detail to the people he knew. Some entries are 'two words' while others are 'twenty-three thousand', small 'splinters' of their lives, which are now seen as chaotic, reflective of life itself and representative of Aubrey and his

own methods of collecting.<sup>42</sup> Aubrey would collect what he could of his friends' 'extracts from books or mere lists of dates and facts'.<sup>43</sup> While many have been discarded due to a lack of clarity of content, the manuscripts are a collection of his friends, and the snippets of information he deemed relevant to an understanding of their character, all of which remain in the archives at Oxford.

### The Impact and Legacy of Garland's Play

The legacy of the play is now contained in the published script, as the play has not been staged notably since 2016.<sup>44</sup> Within the opening preface, Garland not only mentions Oman by name, and stipulates her importance to the creation of the success of the production, but underscores significant props used by the pair to create the impression of Aubrey. The play was intended to show Aubrey in the final years of his life, highlighting what Aubrey termed the 'pleasure of old men'; the renewing of the 'acquaintance with my old and deceased friends'.<sup>45</sup> This was Aubrey's intention in beginning his manuscripts for *Brief Lives*. The result is a reconstructed home and person, and a renewed interest in Aubrey. The play broke records for audience attendance 'on both sides of the Atlantic' and 'the success of the play indirectly inspired a revisitation of the manuscripts' with John Buchanan-Brown's version published in 1972.<sup>46</sup> In 2008, *Brief Lives* was awarded a place in the Guinness book of records for the 'greatest number of solo performances', with Dotrice performing over 1,782 times, which helped in shifting the legacy of the play from the production to the performance in isolation.<sup>47</sup> While much of the play's success is now attributed to Dotrice's portrayal of the character, Garland certainly attributed more to Oman's ability to build the atmosphere and character from the set, and the portrayal of the person, within the performance as a whole. Though the play is no longer in production, and Oman's set was last used in the 1970s, the images that remain of the set demonstrate the impression of Aubrey that Oman was working to convey. It is also clear from the images that the set more closely resembles an inhabited home than a stage set.

### In Conclusion

Garland and Oman worked to resurrect John Aubrey for the stage, giving the man a new lease of life some 270 years after his passing. His character is built from the accumulation of 2,500 items including rotten food, borrowed suits of armour, and antique books, all of which demonstrated Aubrey's love of collecting and salvaging, which Aubrey himself claimed was for posterity. Not only do the vast quantities show Aubrey's age, but the disarray also shows his wealth and interests, how he would discard items, live in the home, and bring in more ephemera

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than he could keep in order. The character is convincing, and the clutter of the stage renders the audience instantly with the feeling of being inside a well lived-in home. Certainly, Oman was able to create Aubrey's personality through the details in building the set, and due to the nature of the play- being a portrait of a single man- the set works precisely to build Aubrey's personality, supporting and enhancing Dotrice's embodiment of the character.

## *The Healing Benefits of Molokhiya: On the importance of Gasp*

When in doubt ask

an Egyptian Teta and she will tell you that

الملوخية من غير شهقة ملهش طعم

—A gaspless molokhiya is a tasteless molokhiya—

If you do not gasp at your full lungs' capacity when adding the roasted mixture of garlic and coriander to the boiling molokhiya—it is doomed to lose its green deliciousness.

Even an Egyptian Teta

couldn't tell you why you must gasp at this specific moment—the mixture added to the molokhiya hardly makes any gasp-worthy sound—the sizzling fusion would have quieted down by then and would start hushing the roar of boiling soup. Perhaps—that is why you must make up for the absence of sound with your own gasp.



## Reflections on Poetry

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[doi.org/](https://doi.org/)

As an emerging Egyptian poet writing in English, I often face questions about my linguistic choices. English natives would wonder puzzledly why I write in non-native English, and Egyptians would ask indignantly why I don't write in Arabic. I don't have a poetic answer as to why I write in English, I certainly don't think or dream in English, and I don't speak it at home. And yet, I cannot escape it when I try to word the ineffable that goes on in my mind and dreams. Perhaps the most practical answer would be that this is what I grew up reading. French and English were the only ways to get a fancy, world-class education in Egypt, which is largely due to the residues of colonialism. The first time I encountered poetry was in French, the first poem I wrote was in French, and when I switched to writing in English this was entirely based on a practical decision. The only university in Egypt that taught creative writing was an American one.

My poems, 'Cairo' and 'The Healing Benefits of Molokhiya,' do not intend to answer the question of why I write in English, but they do embody my struggle to reconcile my cultural identity with a coloniser's language. Both poems use Egyptian food to invoke my homeland and culture through the bodily connection of taste. There is an Egyptian proverb that says: "Masr um el dunya" ("Egypt is the mother of the world"), and in that sense these two poems embody the maternal and domestic act of Egypt feeding the estranged poet.

'Cairo' is a longing for the childhood and maternal domesticity of one's homeland. The poem's form mimics the fluidity of Egyptian rice pudding as well as the movement of fingers making shadow wolves. The electric buzz of the refrigerator attempts to capture the mundane sounds of an Egyptian home in the early 2000s, but also the language in which the fridge speaks to the poet. The recurring "not nows" supposedly uttered by the fridge have different meanings on each line. The first one indicates that the speaker can't eat the rice pudding yet because it has not yet been properly refrigerated, as the Egyptians eat it cold. The second one indicates the speaker's refusal to grow up and leave the safety of this memory. The third one, which is the only one split into two lines, indicates the speaker's desire that the poem holding the memory she wants to keep reliving never comes to an end. The last line break then evokes the ending of the poem almost being dragged forcibly into existence against the poet's wishes.

‘The Healing Benefits of Molokhiya’ is a recipe poem, a form of poetry often associated with domesticity. It intertwines a well-known Egyptian superstition with personal and political commentary. The setting of the poem being a German kitchen, where the speaker is trying to cook an Egyptian recipe, is meant to parallel my alienated position as a poet within a language that is not my own. My fruitless attempt at making sense of an Egyptian superstition, such as gasping when making molokhiya, puts me face to face with the grave finality of many senseless cruelties of the world. Gasping becomes my only answer to such cruelties, so I begin trying to make sense of gasping in a way that heals me from all the years of not gasping, interpreting the old wives’ tale of gasping while cooking molokhiya as a cultural, ancestral, and communal cure against my estrangement.

*Aya Al-Telmissany*

2024

## Endnotes

The Welsh-Speaking Experience: Minoritised Language and Belonging Through the Lens of Phenomenology, pp. 12–19

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Foundations of Faith: Home, Belonging, and the Revival of English Monasticism at Downside Abbey, pp. 20–27

*Alice Morrey*

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“They Took from Me the Use of Mine Own House”: The Loss of Home in King Lear,  
pp. 28–33

*Katie-Louise Giles*

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'Where Does the Outside Stop and the Inside Begin?' Space, Gender and Identity in Sabba Khan's *The Roles We Play*, pp. 34-43

*Hanan Alahmadi*

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*Chindilani Filifilidh Andekalithan*

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## Home, Belonging, and Conservatism in the Romance Fiction of 1922, pp. 78-83

*Benjamin Bruce*

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### Inviting the Stranger In – Exchanging Privacy for Connectivity in the Digital Age, pp. 84–93

*Susan Francis*

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## Reconstructing Identity: Depictions of the Personality and Home of John Aubrey in Patrick Garland's Play *Brief Lives*, pp. 94–103

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