GROUNDINGS
Volume 7, April 2014
www.gla.ac.uk/groundings

FRONT COVER
Zoe Grams
Ilian Mitev

WITH FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM
University of Glasgow Chancellor's Fund
Glasgow University Students' Representative Council

PRINTED BY
J. Thomson Colour Printers, Glasgow

PUBLISHED BY
Glasgow University Dialectic Society
Glasgow University Union, 32 University Avenue, Glasgow, G12 8LX

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EDITORIAL

In the year of the Scottish independence referendum, when national traditions are being questioned and competing political ideologies are at the forefront of many people's minds, this year's *Groundings* theme came naturally. 'Competition and Tradition' is applicable to the past, present and, most importantly, the future. In a year of unprecedented changes, both globally and locally, we are forced to re-evaluate our present attitudes and perspectives, especially when faced with the uncertainty of Scotland's future.

This collection of multifaceted articles covers a broad range of topics, tackling, amongst others, our social conscience and traditional notions of history, whilst interrogating competing arguments. The articles selected, yet again, demonstrate the excellence of undergraduate academia at the University of Glasgow; they are testament to the outstanding tradition of Higher Education in Scotland.

Groundings' presence on campus has grown concurrently with its breadth of vision, intellectual weight, and sheer number of pages. This year the Academic Advisory Board has also expanded, boasting members from hitherto unrepresented departments. The continuation of the journal is thanks, in no small part, to the tireless efforts of Glasgow University Dialectic Society and, of course, the undergraduate students of the University of Glasgow without whom there would be no contributions and no Editorial Board.

GROUNDINGS EDITORIAL BOARD

Cultural tourism and the portrayal of the Maya in the Yucatán peninsula

Ailish Carroll-Brentnall

This article explores the relationship of the tourist industry in Yucatán, Mexico, to Maya culture and how certain elements are used to further the marketing of the tourist industry. It is argued that this is done primarily for reasons of economic growth, not cultural conservation of the indigenous culture. Through its analysis, this article outlines how the current model of cultural tourism relies heavily on Maya culture but does not benefit the indigenous Maya, and in fact reinforces the marginalisation of the indigenous Maya in Mexican society.

In the wake of rapidly increasing globalisation, cultural and economic exchange across borders has kept pace accordingly. Spurred on by the North American Free Trade Agreement, President Peña Nieto's recent reforms[1] and the signing of the *Pacto Por Mexico* in December 2012,[2] Mexico is becoming one of the most important emerging economies[3] in Latin America. Tourism is already Mexico's 'fifth-biggest source of revenue and is seen taking on more economic importance by the end of 2018 as international visits rise'[4]. It forms a key part of the economy of the Yucatán Peninsula, which comprises the states of Quintana Roo, Yucatán

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[1] 'Central Intelligence Agency: The World Factbook' Central Intelligence Agency. Available: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mx.html#Econ> [Accessed 30.01 2014].

[2] 'Peña Nieto Firma ''Pacto por México"' El Informador. Available: <http://www.informador.com.mx/mexico/2012/421572/6/pena-nieto-firma-pacto-por-mexico.htm> [Accessed 30.01.2014].

[3] 'The World Bank: Mexico Overview' The World Bank. Available: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/mexico/overview> [Accessed 29.01.2014].

[4] J. E. Arrioja, 'Tourism Seen Jumping to No. 3 Mexico Cash Source by 2018' *Bloomberg* (24 June 2013). Available: <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2013-06-25/tourism-seen-jumping-to-mexico-s-3rd-biggest-cash-source-by-2018.html> [Accessed 29.01.2014].

and Campeche. The tourism in the Yucatán Peninsula is predominantly based around the natural beauty of the state and the Maya archaeological sites in the region. Despite its extensive reference to Maya culture, the scope of the tourist industry in the Yucatán Peninsula and its constant moves towards economic expansion stand in contrast, to some extent, with the traditional values of the Maya; despite the income generated by Maya cultural tourism, the indigenous people in the region remain 'mostly marginalised and in conditions of poverty' (my translation).[5] This raises the question of how these two elements - the competitive capitalist economy and the traditional Maya culture - are able to, apparently, be part and parcel of the same tourist endeavour, particularly when there is, simultaneously, such a divide between the social and economic status of the indigenous Maya people. It is this question which I would like to explore, by considering the representation and definition of the Maya culture by the tourist industry in the Yucatán Peninsula, and the degree to which the tourist industry concerns itself with respectful conservation of tradition and promotion of equality for the indigenous Maya people, as well as with financial development.

Although Mexico is sometimes still considered to be a developing country in comparison to its developed neighbours or the nations of the Western tourists who visit, there exist within it many complex socio-economic structures that are, when it comes to the indigenous people, inextricably linked to race. Tourism can aid in raising developing countries from a state of poverty or economic difficulty, but tourism occurring in Mexico cannot be simply seen as 'Mexican' tourism, as the society is not simply 'Mexican', and nor are the individuals involved in or affected by the tourist industry. In Mexico, the mixing of genes, culture and ethnicity in the wake of Spanish colonisation complicates many terms regarding social groups. For the sake of clarity in this article, I shall refer to the members of the ancient civilisation of the Maya empire as 'pre-Hispanic Maya' and their contemporary descendants as 'indigenous Maya'. Mexicans who do not identify as Maya and are not predominantly genetically Maya shall be referred to as non-Maya Mexicans. Though there are many indigenous groups in Mexico and the

[5] P. Bracamonte y Sosa, E. F. Q. Avilés, M. G. Pineda and L. H. B. Huerta, 'Situación Histórica y Actual del Pueblo Maya' *Instituto para el Desarrollo de la Cultura Maya del Estado de Yucatán* (July 2002), 2. Available: <http://www.indemaya.gob.mx/descargas/archivos/diagnostico-del-pueblo-maya.pdf> [Accessed 26.01.2014].

Maya people themselves are spread across neighbouring states and also into Guatemala and Belize, the article will focus solely on Maya in the Yucatán Peninsula.

The image of Maya culture which is presented by much of the tourist industry is mainly based around the culture of the pre-Hispanic Maya, due to the numerous pre-Hispanic Maya archaeological sites in the area, including Tulum, Uxmal and Chichén Itzá, deemed one of the New Seven Wonders of the World[6]. The industry mainly comprises tours, the sales of arts and crafts, and associated sectors of the hospitality industry, such as hotels, homestay programmes and restaurants. Many Mexicans express great pride in the Maya heritage of their country and many Mexican shops incorporate it into their branding. To a foreign tourist, the destination is partly sold by the 'authenticity' of the experience, an idea supported by the large population of indigenous Maya, numbering 1.5 million[7], and the continued use of the Mayan language by approximately 900,000 people[8]. However, within its domestic context the portrayal still neglects to include a holistic, complete representation of both pre-Hispanic and indigenous Maya and repeatedly separates the indigenous Maya population from the rest of Mexican culture. A prime example of this selective depiction of Maya culture is the marketing in the lead up to the end of the Maya calendar on the 21st December 2012. Though it was almost unanimously understood by the local population that the end of the calendar marked the end of an era for the pre-Hispanic Maya[9], certain members of the international community speculated that it heralded the end of the world. The tourist industry presented the event in its more dramatic guise in an attempt to draw 'apocalypse tourists' to the area, which directly contradicted the understanding of the indigenous Maya people and propagated deliberate cultural ignorance in order to boost the influx of tourists. The indigenous Maya who wished to practise their traditional ceremonies were prevented from doing so by the government body *Instituto Nacional de*

[6] 'Chichén Itzá Home Page'. Available: <http://www.chichenitza.com/> [Accessed 1.02.2014].

[7] G. Benchwick, *Lonely Planet Cancun, Cozumel & the Yucatan* (Hong Kong, China: Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd, 2010, 36.

[8] Ibid., 36.

[9] J. A. Schertow 'Maya banned from performing ceremonies at ancestral temples in Mexico' *IC Magazine*, December 6th 2012. Available: <http://intercontinentalcry.org/maya-banned-from-performing-ceremonies-at-ancestral-temples-in-mexico/> [Accessed 25.01.2014]

Antropología e Historia, on the basis that their rituals would damage the architectural sites. However, some indigenous Maya assert that this was a choice grounded in a desire to maintain the image of the campaign[10]. If so, the existing spiritual aspect of the indigenous Maya culture was, therefore, omitted from the tourist publicity for the 21st of December and also from the international tourist's awareness of Maya culture, because it was deemed unsuitable for the tourist industry's marketing image of Maya culture.

'Not all of the expressions of culture are appreciated in the same way',[11] (my translation) and the tourist industry highlighting and privileging certain elements of Maya culture has an impact on the way the culture is perceived, and therefore experienced by both the domestic non-Maya Mexican population and foreign tourists. This is not problematic in itself so much, as some aspects of a culture are always more prevalent than others; what is problematic is what determines the elevation of some aspects over others, and who influences those decisions. As is demonstrated by the above example, what is important to the indigenous Maya community is not being communicated or brought to the fore. The tourist industry amplifies the aspects of the culture which sell, which in turn are primarily defined by the external influence of Western tourists. The money generated by this industry does allow for the restoration and upkeep of, for example, Maya ruins and archaeological sites. It could, therefore, be argued that tourism does contribute to cultural conservation, which would not be possible without out it, and 'facilitates the preservation of a cultural tradition which would otherwise perish'[12]. The issue still remains that the parts of the culture which are being conserved are being defined by a Western group whose influence is financial. A tour guide interviewed also stated that there were 'federal

[10] Ibid.

[11] A. R. Mantecón 'Patrimonio Para La Inclusión? Hacia Un Nuevo Modela De Turismo Cultural' *Patrimonio Cultural y Turismo. Políticas Públicas y Turismo Cultural en América Latina: Siglo XXI* (Cuadernos #19 September 2012), 53. Available: <http://www.conaculta.gob.mx/turismocultural/cuadernos/pdf19/articulo5.pdf> [Accessed 28.01.2014].

[12] L. K. Medina 'Commoditizing culture: Tourism and Maya Identity' *Annals of Tourism Research* (Volume 30, Issue 2, April 2003), 355. Available: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0160738302000993> [Accessed 29.01.2014].

programmes who grant financing to different groups for tourist projects, but most of the time they do not centre on the real conservation of Yucatecan/Maya culture'.[13] (my translation) As the indigenous Maya are those who still identify Maya culture as being an authentic part of their identity, critics of the tourist industry believe that the indigenous Maya ought to have more say over cultural conservation projects and that 'tourist programs should encourage the education of interpreters and guides […] to increase the role of the local population in the presentation and interpretation of their own cultural values'.[14] (my translation) They also argue that the majority of the money generated by the tourist industry does not filter down to the indigenous Maya people, as 'the greatest economic beneficiary of the consumption of tourism is primarily the large investors; hotel owners, restaurant owners and owners of transport companies … the inhabitants and neighbours of these tourist destinations are benefited only through work as street vendors, offering services on a small scale, or the employment which they come to fill'.[15] (my translation)

If this is the case, it ultimately means that the financial power of the Western influence on the tourist industry is altering culture to take a form which is pleasing to the tourists, rather than something which has meaning for the society that culture originated from, so they are receiving the culture 'not as [it is] but as, for the benefit of the receiver, [it] ought to be'[16]. In this instance, the manipulation is split into two levels. For the most part, the people involved in the more lucrative sections of the tourist industry who are Mexican do not identify as Maya; however, they are the ones re-packaging the culture for a foreign, mostly Western, market. The culture is then received by the tourists, who pay for the aspects which interest them. These aspects then get further privileged and receive priority treatment for conservation or further exposure. The selective reinforcement of culture, therefore, has its basis in a view of that culture which is

[13] P. Toño, Interview by A. Carroll-Brentnall. Merida, Mexico, 24th January 2014.

[14] M. Martín 'Reflexiones críticas sobre Patrimonio, Turismo y Desarrollo Sostenible II' *Boletín de Interpretación* (Número 6, 2010), 4. Available: <http://www.interpretaciondelpatrimonio.com/boletin/index.php/boletin/article/viewFile/76/76> [Accessed 28.01.2014].

[15] Mantecón 'Patrimonio Para La Inclusión?, 56.

[16] E. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2003), 67. Available: <http://www.odsg.org/Said_Edward(1977)_Orientalism.pdf> [Accessed 26.012014].

twice filtered by economic factors: the first being the efforts made to increase marketability by the non-Maya Mexicans managing the tourist industry, and the second being the outside influence caused by the financial power of the tourist. Which elements of the culture are conserved is defined by a supply and demand relationship. The non-Maya Mexicans are the ones who profit most from the interaction, creating a competitive economic climate for only a certain, already privileged, section of Mexican society and, in turn, tacitly allowing the continued marginalisation of the Maya.

The non-Maya Mexicans, who so proudly extoll their Maya heritage, are the ones who largely benefit from the boosts to the economy and the external perception of the Yucatán Peninsula as a place of cultural value, and are not having to confront any of the challenges that come with being an indigenous Maya or a Mayan speaker. Discrimination against the indigenous Maya in Yucatán takes many forms, most notably having to face prejudice and insults[17], being economically disadvantaged[18], and not having sufficient linguistic provision in education, as 'in Yucatán there is no bilingual and intercultural educational system beyond elementary school'[19]. Maya culture and the lifestyles of the indigenous Maya in all their forms are not respected to the extent that the prevalence of 'Maya Palace' hotels would make it appear. In the tourist industry, then, Maya identity is primarily lauded not for its cultural value in and of itself but for its potential to be financially valuable.

The traditional Maya culture, therefore, is being used for the purpose of financial advancement for a specific demographic in Mexican society. Some of this may have a positive impact on certain aspects of conservation or in contributing to the

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[17] J. González 'Mayas de Mérida en desventaja cultural y discriminación' *Unión Yucatán*. Available: <http://www.unionyucatan.mx/articulo/2013/01/12/gobierno/merida/mayas-de-merida-en-desventaja-cultural-y-discriminacion> [Accessed 28.01.2014].

[18] P. Bracamonte and Sosa y Jesús L. Quijano 'Marginalidad indígena: una perspectiva histórica de Yucatán' *Desacatos. Revista de Antropología Social*. (Num 13, Winter 2003.). Available: <http://www.mayas.uady.mx/articulos/marginalidad.html> [Accessed 28.012014].

[19] J. C. Mijangos-Noh 'Racism against the Mayan population in Yucatan, Mexico: How current education contradicts the law' (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association San Diego, California, April 14th, 2009), 3. Available: <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED505698.pdf> [Accessed 29.01.2014].

economy, but there is still a disparity between the Maya world of promotional materials and the daily life of the indigenous people. To understand the reconciliation of this inconsistency in the minds of those involved in the tourist industry, it is helpful to look at the level of awareness of the two dichotomous sides of the reality, and how Maya culture is conceptualised by non-Maya, both Mexican and Western. Maya activists often bemoan the lack of focus on the culture of the living Maya, saying that 'nobody wants to talk about the living Mayans [sic], just the dead ones', meaning that living indigenous Maya 'remain invisible'[20]. This is presumably based on the strong tendency to simplify Maya culture, to focus only on the prehistoric Maya and discount the experiences of the indigenous Maya currently still living in the Yucatán Peninsula. A flattened, simplified version of the past is being projected onto the present by the non-Maya purveyors of Maya cultural tourism, to the detriment of the exposure and, consequently, people's awareness of the situation of modern indigenous Maya. Edward Said wrote that 'All cultures impose corrections upon raw reality, changing it from free-floating objects into units of knowledge. […] It is perfectly natural for the human mind to resist the assault on it of untreated strangeness.'[21] It is understandable for a tourists' knowledge to be lacking in complexity and nuanced understanding, however, there is a difficulty presented by how powerful that simplified version of culture can be, when it is the perception permeated by a group in a position of financial power in terms of the cultural exchange and also in a position of culturally hegemonic power in global terms.

I would here like to return to my earlier point of 'layers' of cultural interpretation. Maya culture being interpreted by non-Maya Mexicans to present to foreign tourists, and the foreign tourists' interpretation of that presentation, both exist as manipulations of the Maya culture by groups with much more power than the indigenous Maya. The emphasis on pre-Hispanic Maya culture has led to the historical aspect monopolizing the outward perception of Maya culture received by Western tourists, but it has also monopolized the outward perception being

[20] D. Dudenhoeffer, 'Dead Mayans Only, Please! Mexico Tourism Driven by Ruins, Shuns Natives' *Indian Country Today Media Network*, September 13th 2013. Available: <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2013/09/13/mexicos-mayans-last-benefit-tourism-151258> [Accessed 25.01.2014].

[21] Said, *Orientalism*, 67.

generated by the non-Maya Mexicans to be sold to the tourists. By relegating Maya culture to a fixed point in the past and then projecting that limited view onto the present indigenous Maya population, the need to address the difficult cultural issues is diminished, as the culture is no longer dynamic and living but a static representation affixed to a living population. It paints the culture as an exotic construct. The grandiose scope of the way the Maya culture is treated and the sheer quantity of the tourists present at some Maya sites, particularly in the wake of the so-called 'End of the World', has 'constituted a factor in the sensationalism and trivialisation of the cultural products which tourists come into contact with, which are not shown in all their complexity and richness' [22] (my translation), instead showing a culture devoid of its nuances and intricacies. The tourist industry does not concern itself with dead Maya; tourists are not interested in the Maya as a people, they are interested in the culture of the dead Maya, which has been affixed to the indigenous Maya to aid the marketing campaign.

Separating the elements of a culture which are deemed valuable from the remaining population who feel it is a relevant part of their identity and marginalising the rest of their culture, and then discriminating against the people themselves has, understandably, created a complicated situation for the state of indigenous Maya identity and ethnicity. 'In Mexico, the communally accepted indicator to identify members of an indigenous group … has been their language'[23] (my translation). In recent years many of the young generation, whose parents would have described themselves as Maya and were Mayan speakers, would now no longer necessarily feel they had a right to that label, or that they wanted to associate that label with themselves[24]. After this move away from their parents' traditions, the tourist industry is now prompting a younger generation to return to their Maya heritage in order to get jobs as guides or in other professions related to cultural tourism. They are not, however, going to the older people in their community - the native Mayan speakers or those who still practise Maya rituals - but are learning from Western representations of the culture, such as 'taking short courses from archaeologists […] and reading books they purchase themselves,

[22] Mantecón 'Patrimonio Para La Inclusión?', 54.
[23] B. Quijano & L. Quijano 'Marginalidad Indígena'.
[24] Medina, 'Commoditizing Culture', 359.

borrow from one another, or receive as gifts from archaeologists or tourists'[25]. The indigenous Maya are now generating what was originally the culture of their parents, as a performance learnt from a Western perspective due to the increasing tourist demand and the financial benefits it has. Though there are still Maya anthropologists or historians to refer to who take an essentialist, more spiritual approach to the culture and 'define it in terms of continuities that have persisted across centuries from pre-colonial times into the present'[26], learning from the West will clearly have an impact on the way Maya culture is enacted and perceived by the indigenous Maya themselves. Though culture is dynamic and there is nothing unprecedented about a culture adapting or changing over time, what is fascinating in this instance is that it is being altered to fit external perceptions of the culture in order to meet needs of another more globally powerful culture; that of the West. Certain members of the indigenous Maya community have taken the Western version of their own history and started to act it for a Western audience. Some anthropologists argue that such 'commoditization changes the meaning of cultural products and practices to such a degree that they eventually become meaningless for their producers'[27]. In terms of the conservation of a living culture, something which is clearly valued as indicated by the indigenous Maya who find fault with the over emphasis of dead Maya, this could lead to a further decrease in attention being paid to marginalised Maya groups, their customs and their way of life, as well as reinforcing a homogenised and performative version of Maya culture whose value derives from external perceptions.

One of the Yucatán Peninsula's selling points is the large Maya population, which allows the area to be advertised as a more 'authentic' experience. In this way, the indigenous Maya people themselves are being used to advertise a culture which is becoming further and further distanced from their lived reality. Though some tourist enterprises which are run by indigenous Maya exist, such as Sian Ka'an Community Tours whose website declares themselves to be a '100% Maya

[25] Ibid., 364.
[26] Ibid., 366.
[27] Ibid., 354.

community enterprise' [28]; they are rare and in order to make themselves competitive with the already established more financially stable tourist businesses, some may resort to fitting the same groove of imitating the prehistoric Maya culture or relearning their own history from Western sources. Given the dilemma as to whose culture the hybrid being sold by the tourist industry is and the fact that indigenous Maya who would not necessarily identify themselves as culturally Maya are now endorsing it, straight forward statements of cultural appropriation perhaps exist in too much of a grey area. What remains problematic is the fact that a culture that was extrapolated from one particular ethnic group, namely the prehistoric Maya and to some extent their descendants the indigenous Maya, is now being projected onto the same ethnic group to try and authenticate the culture in order to further boost marketability. This makes the indigenous Maya a tacitly consenting part of a system which further benefits the privileged non-Mayan Mexican population over the indigenous Maya through their mere existence. By having a culture externally attributed to them, the indigenous Maya become objectified, commodified, as a part of the tourist industry. They become a part of a marketing campaign to sell a certain image to a Western audience. The use of a particular group to help market a commodified culture, thereby, also commodifies and dehumanises members of that particular group.

Though it may first appear that the cultural tourism in the Yucatán allows both the emergence of a competitive economy and the preservation of the traditional Maya culture, the coexistence has continued until this point because the tourist industry has emphasised certain facets of Maya culture, primarily pre-Hispanic ones, and minimised others. It has externally defined Maya culture and in doing so has marginalised the elements which are indicated by the demand of the tourist market to be undesirable. This is not a balanced relationship between the two, but merely a variation of the same unequal power balance between the indigenous Maya and the non-Maya Mexican population, as well as a way of maintaining the culture's malleability as subject to the financial power of the West which defines the supply and demand type relationship and influences the cultural shift. Despite the trend of indigenous Maya relearning their cultural heritage from the West, the examples of Maya tourism by indigenous Maya such as Sian Ka'an show that

[28] 'Community Tours Sian Ka'an Home Page'. Available: <http://www.siankaantours.org/en/> [Accessed 30.01.2014].

alternative models of cultural tourism can bring income into the economy of the Yucatán Peninsula, as well as promoting living Maya culture, its heritage and economic equality, and without making the indigenous Maya part of the tourist product but not making them beneficiaries economically. Before the relationship between international tourism and the indigenous Maya can be resolved, it must be first defined who the Maya are now and what they define their culture to be in the aftermath of so much exchange and reinvention, which could be a lengthy and complex process. In the meantime, to reduce the commodification of the indigenous Maya and redress the portrayal which allows them to be flattened and simplified into a two dimensional cultural accessory, marginalised as a legitimate and complex social group, the tourist industry could eliminate using the indigenous Maya people as a part of their marketing and instead focus on a de-sensationalised, de-romanticised portrayal of pre-Hispanic Maya culture, while acknowledging that it is a historical narrative, not the lived reality of the modern indigenous Maya they are conveying. Ultimately, until the indigenous Maya are viewed as equal by the non-Maya Mexicans in the tourist industry and the tourists who visit the Yucatán, the relationship will remain unbalanced, the indigenous Maya will continue to not be the point of focus unless it is financially convenient, and the tourists will be deprived of a complex, honest and respectful dialogue with the culture they have come to seek.

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Competing interpretations of the land: presenting multi-experiential archaeology

Lauren Davidson

This article introduces multi-experiential archaeology, a critical concept incorporating aspects of agency, multi-vocal and landscape theories. Multi-experiential archaeologies explore a wider range of human experience than has been typical in traditional site-based and archaeo-centric approaches, but it can be argued that such an inclusive approach serves to undermine or destabilise the archaeological discipline. Case-studies drawn from indigenous-colonial interaction illustrate the potential of multi-experiential archaeology to present new, critically informed and ethically situated interpretations of the past.

In this discussion of multi-experiential archaeology, I will argue that multivocal and landscape archaeologies can be used in combination with inter-disciplinary approaches to explore a wider range of human experience than has been available through a traditional site-based approach to archaeology. I suggest that more critical, inclusive approaches to the past are best described as multi-experiential, as they go beyond multivocality to recognise the ways in which different understandings of the world impact on the human activities that archaeologists seek to reconstruct. To avoid the need for repetition of this point, the term 'viewpoint' will be used throughout to signify the ways of knowing particular to an individual or a group. While this term does seem to prioritise the visual experience, it is used to acknowledge the personal ideological lens through which human experience is filtered. Alternative terms, such as standpoint or worldview, were considered but discounted as suggestive of an inflexible viewpoint and cultural homogeneity respectively. Following an introduction to the term multi-experiential, we will explore the advantages and disadvantages of such an approach as observed in case studies drawn from indigenous archaeology. We will see that multi-experiential archaeologies are recovering new information, presenting more informed interpretations and having a positive impact on the understanding of indigenous cultures in the past and the present, but that the

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relativity and inclusivity of such an approach also threatens to undermine or destabilise the archaeological practice.

THE MULTI-EXPERIENTIAL APPROACH

As a critical concept, multi-experiential archaeology signifies those research projects which take into account that unique personal experiences have shaped not only the identities of the people we study, but influence contemporary perceptions of archaeology and generate individual or academic bias. By recognising and acknowledging this diversity, multi-experiential archaeologies seek to integrate, rather than polarise, multiple interpretations and to redress misconceptions informed by traditional opinions. These approaches also serve to recover information which has been excluded from dominant historical narratives and help to reassert the agency of individuals in the past. As indigenous archaeologies are particularly prone to being misperceived, ignored or homogenised, examples of interactions between colonial and indigenous societies are used to demonstrate the ability of multi-experiential archaeologies to present new, critically informed and ethically situated interpretations of the past. The practice of a multi-experiential archaeology is characterised by the inclusion of a range of different disciplinary, methodological, critical and theoretical approaches. These approaches vary according to the context they are employed in, but typically include aspects of landscape and multivocal theory, ethnography and analysis of the political context with the explicit aim of recovering the full range of past experiences.

RESISTANCE TO COLONIAL RULE

With a focus on a broader understanding of the range of human activities, multi-experiential archaeology has the potential to recover information which has traditionally been excluded or under-played in the archaeological narrative; for example, in the analysis of non-typical, lesser known or less significant sites. This is particularly relevant to the study of resistance to colonial rule, which often manifests as a number of distinctive practices, some of which were deliberately hidden from view. Michael Given's *The Archaeology of the Colonized* deals with the complexities of colonial archaeology, particularly with regard to identifying

the practices of resistance in the archaeological record.[1] Given's aim, to redress the tendency to 'lump together the colonized and stereotype them as passive, unthinking machines', highlights the absence of the colonized experience from the historical narrative and the need for a targeted approach to its recovery.[2] A multi-experiential approach, including aspects of mythology, landscape theory, multivocalism and politics, serves to uncover a highly nuanced account of the experiences of and responses to, colonisation. The advantage of the multi-experiential approach is not only that it gives us access to new information and interpretations, but can serve to reclaim the agency of colonized individuals who have traditionally been ignored, homogenised or over-simplified in historical narratives.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY

By acknowledging multiple viewpoints, we immediately recognise the diversity and complexities of both colonised and colonising societies. This can help us to break down the division between pre- and post-contact archaeologies which are problematic in that they separate the past into two temporally unbalanced phases and serve to homogenise pre-colonial activity, underplaying continuing indigenous experiences and suggesting a model of linear progression which can be used as a justification for colonial activity. In a multi-experiential narrative pre-contact indigenous societies are no longer reduced to one timeless and static culture or worldview, but are recognized as a range of communities and individuals whose experiences and viewpoints are determined by different temporal, geographic, social and personal experiences. This allows us to reconceive of Australian Aboriginality, for example, as the world's longest surviving cultural group, rather than the longest surviving cultural viewpoint.[3] This small change in nomenclature results in a new form of freedom for the understanding of Aboriginality as a cultural practice. Once we recognise the fluidity of how identity is enacted, modern-day practices of Aboriginality are no longer perceived as separate from 'traditional' practices, but are recontextualised as the diverse and on-going result of the interactions between social beliefs and personal context.

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[1] M. Given, *The Archaeology of the Colonized* (London, 2004).

[2] Ibid., 10.

[3] B. David, *Landscapes, Rock-Art and the Dreaming* (London, 2002), 1.

The ability to augment the historical record allows archaeology to play more than a theoretical role in the understanding of cultural diversity, and this recognition of multiple viewpoints serves as a reminder of the agency of individuals in the past. In the search for evidence of multiple viewpoints, multi-experiential archaeology can challenge inaccuracies such as the typical portrayal of a 'timeless' Aboriginal culture. Bruno David argues that we can identify the practices informed by specific Dreaming stories in the archaeological record and demonstrates that the physical responses to Aboriginal belief systems have changed over time. He uses ethnography to identify those Dreaming stories which have impacted people's interactions with landscape and conducts excavations to identify and analyse their effect. One such excavation took place at Ngarabullgan, a mountainous area described in the oral tradition as home to malicious spirits. Here, David conducted a number of excavations in areas displaying, or likely to yield, evidence of human activity. Across the area, radiocarbon dating indicated a systematic abandonment of sites around 600 years ago. This abandonment does not correlate to any regional changes in land use nor can it be explained by environmental change. The abandonment of caves and rock shelters at Ngarabullgan is therefore interpreted as a localised, social adaptation; a conclusion which could have been discounted as speculative had the local traditions not provided an explanation.[4] Without specific evidence explaining a changing practice, some archaeologists would tend to assume, and search for, an economic explanation, but David's work with the Aboriginal Dreaming stories has shown that change can also be socially motivated. When attention is brought to the different ways in which people understand the world, archaeologists are reminded of the range of possible motivations behind a decision which helps to prevent the over-playing of economic factors and encourages an approach which recognises the interplay of social and economic influence.

Multi-experiential archaeology helps us to take a more holistic approach to understanding the motivations and experiences of people in the past, and by understanding that there are multiple ways of knowing and being, we give agency back to the individuals who make up a society, and create a frame of reference for changing practices. This helps us to break down the barriers between contact and colonial history and recast different practices as a process of adapting and

[4] Ibid., 33-47.

integrating social practices. The advantage here is part of the move towards an understanding of the past which actively recognises and respects the variety of lived experiences within one cultural grouping; a move which allows us to recognise a cultural continuity which might otherwise have been missed, and to create more accurate and informed understandings of the past.

CULTURAL CONTINUITY

In the Australian context, the perceived lack of cultural continuity has been reinforced by a lack of formally acknowledged post-colonial indigenous sites. While there are on-going attempts to redress the imbalance at governmental and academic level (see, for example, the 'Living Places' project in New South Wales), there is a lack of awareness and representation of post-contact Aboriginality in the archaeological record which serves to further the notion of an ancient culture, severing contemporary Aboriginal people from their heritage and implying the sort of linear progressive model which has been used to justify colonisation. [5] By underrepresenting post-contact Aboriginality in the archaeological record, we deny the presence of indigenous culture in favour of a more simplistic definition of replacement. Although post-colonial indigeneity is harder to locate in the landscape on a practical level, as the inorganic materials present in European sites are more likely to survive and it can be hard to distinguish between colonial and Aboriginal use of European artefacts, this does not excuse the over-simplification of historical narratives, especially when these narratives serve to reinforce the position of a politically dominant community.[6] By focussing on a broader range of activities and experiences we can discover or recover information which is not necessarily included in the dominant narrative; multi-experiential archaeologies serve to redress inaccuracies and misconceptions.

Denis Byrne's focus on identifying post-colonial Aboriginal sites is both an academic and a social act. A multi-experiential approach shows there were at least two different ways of understanding and using the landscape; the documented grid through which Europeans tended to move, delineating areas of private and

[5] Department of Environment & Heritage, *Aboriginal 'Living Places'* (New South Wales, 2002).
[6] D. Byrne, 'Nervous Landscapes: Race and Space in Australia' (2003) *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 171-172.

public land, and the unwritten and over-lapping maps of individual Aboriginal experiences including areas of sustenance and social activity.[7] While both kinds of map used the same topographical basis and identify places for different activities and how to move between these, they share neither form nor effect. In the following example, we see that Aboriginal interaction with the post-colonial landscape was not necessarily influenced by the physical manifestations of colonialism:

> Balbuk had been born on Huirison Island at the Causeway, and from there a straight track had led to the place where she had once gathered jilgies and vegetable food with the women, in the swamp where Perth railway station now stands. Through fences and over them, Balbuk took the straight path to the end. When a house was built in the way, she broke its fence-pailings with her digging stick and charged up the steps and through the rooms.[8]

While there can be indefinite speculation as to Balbuk's intentions (for example, comfort in the face of change, unconcerned continuity or defiance of the colonial order), the act itself proves that there are more factors at play in deciding how to move through a landscape than functional consideration. This conclusion highlights the importance of taking into account different viewpoints in order to understand human behaviour. Multi-experiential approaches, which integrate different techniques and ways of knowing, enable us to understand conflict and resistance at an individual level, and to reconstruct a more personal experience of the past.

LIMITING THE HERITAGE PRACTITIONER

Though we have discussed a number of multi-experiential archaeology's advantages, it is important to recognise the disadvantages of such an approach, particularly with regard to the practice of archaeology. While we may gain a fuller understanding of the human experience in the past, we also lose the sense of

[7] Ibid., 180.

[8] S. Muecke, *No Road: bitumen all the way* (Freemantle, 1997), 183 (as cited in Byrne 2003, 182).

authority and certainty which some stakeholders, not least funders, expect from the archaeological discipline.

At Manning Valley, ethnography allows Byrne to identify the gaps in the colonial grid, such as pathways, waterways, external boundaries and areas set aside, but not yet developed, for public use, which he argues represent a form of Aboriginal 'subversion' of the prescribed colonial landscape.[9] The physical layout recorded in official maps does not represent the ultimate layout of a place such as Manning Valley, nor the ways in which people, both European and Aboriginal, chose to interact with it. By critically analysing the limitations of source material, multi-experiential archaeology is well placed to recognise misinformation and bias, and to counteract this with additional information. For Byrne this means integrating ethnography into the approach, but the same issues can arise when there is no access to contemporary records or memories. This poses a problem for the multi-experiential approach in that we do not necessarily have access to contemporary viewpoints in all situations; when we acknowledge the diversity of responses to a physical landscape, we become aware of our limitations as heritage practitioners. While this precludes the attribution of definite motivations to certain activities, it does allow for the consideration of more intuitive, humanistic suggestions. As with the Balbuk example above, the multi-experiential approach brings us closer to the human experience, but renders all interpretations relative and, therefore, indecisive.

As well as generating uncertainty, the multi-experiential mode of thinking is problematic as it calls into question the value of the archaeological practice. Many critiques of post-processual approaches similar to multi-experiential archaeology claim that engaging with issues such as agency and multivocality affects our ability to reach archaeological conclusions:

[9] Byrne 2003, 181-2.

> Much of the anxiety about multivocality has stemmed from a desire to avoid a slippage into a disabling relativism. As Bruce Trigger has insisted, archaeologists need to be able to evaluate different accounts of the past even if a diversity of indigenous and other perspectives is acknowledged and even celebrated.[10]

The concern with relativism is that we can never remove our own bias, nor synthesise all viewpoints, and so accepting the diversity of lived experiences paralyses the archaeological practice. While this argument is valid, and recognises the repercussions of multivocality - how can we secure funding without providing answers, how can we present findings if they are inherently biased and should we even practice archaeology if we are not working towards an objective understanding of the past - I would argue that the hyper-relativity argument is based upon another dichotomy which polarises objectivity and subjectivity. If we replace this with a sliding scale, we are able to move between subjectivity and objectivity as required, and we also recognise that the two are not mutually exclusive. As the successful approaches outlined above have shown, the acceptance of relativism does not render the archaeologist useless, but forces us to analyse and react to the biases created by personal, academic and nationalised viewpoints.

By identifying our biased tendencies we are in a position to challenge them using an understanding of alternative viewpoints, thus moving towards interpretations and narratives which are more, but not completely, objective. Although multi-experiential approaches force us to acknowledge our limitations, this can actually be perceived as an advantage in that it removes our obligation to an impossible objectivity and allows us to reconstruct a more inclusive and intuitive practice.

PRACTICING MULTI-EXPERIENTIAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The multi-experiential approach impacts not just how we interpret the past, but on the role and responsibilities of the heritage practitioner in contemporary

[10] M. Johnson, 'Making a Home: Archaeologies of the Medieval English Village' in: J. Habu, C. Fawcett & J. Matsunaga (eds.), *Evaluating Multiple Narratives: Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies* (New York, 2008), 51.

society. One example which illustrates both academic bias and the impact of recognising multiple viewpoints is found in Michael Blakey's study of the New York African Burial Ground. By analysing previous historical and anthropological narratives, Blakey identifies a tendency to deny the humanity of America's historic Black population. An awareness of this bias motivates Blakey to design a methodology which is critically aware and makes a deliberate effort 'to correct these distortions and omissions'.[11] His multi-experiential approach attempts to democratize the archaeological process by engaging in discussion with both the funding body and descendant communities prior to conducting research. While this step is legally required under The National Historic Preservation Act of the United States, 1966, it has not found favour with some heritage professionals who argue for their exclusive rights as stewards of the past. Blakey presents his decision to conduct community engagement as an ethically and academically motivated decision, rather than a legal obligation; this highlights the difficulty of enforcing heritage laws and the on-going authority of heritage professionals to make personally informed decisions.[12] Whatever the motivation, the result of Blakey's community engagement was the recognition that the traditional description of the African population in colonial America as 'slaves' denied any individual identity or agency prior to, and distinguished from, the role of servitude. The term 'enslaved Africans' recognises that individual identity is not based on a societal role and draws attention to the people who demanded and facilitated this slavery.[13] By taking into account the viewpoint of the present-day communities affected by his research, Blakey's report presents a more historically accurate and socially valuable understanding of slavery. Multi-experiential approaches have the ability not only to highlight historical truths, but to address issues which affect contemporary society.

A further result of Blakey's inclusive approach is the diversity of viewpoints represented by his team. While the integration of multiple disciplines, specialists and cultures is not exclusive to multi-experiential, nor critical, archaeology, it is

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[11] M. Blakey, 'An Ethical Epistemology of Publicly Engaged Biocultural Research' in: Habu, J., Fawcett, C. & Matsunaga, J. (eds.) *Evaluating Multiple Narratives: Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies* (New York, 2008), 19.

[12] Ibid., 20.

[13] Ibid., 21-22.

still worth examining the benefits of having access to multiple opinions while conducting research. At the New York West African Burial Ground:

> the diasporic scope of expertise allowed us to find meaningful evidence where narrower expertise could not have 'seen' it. The use of quartz crystals as funerary objects required an African archaeological background whereas Americanist archaeologists might have assigned them no meaning [reference omitted]; the heart-shaped symbol, believed to be of Akan origin and meaning [reference omitted], was assumed to have a European, Christian meaning in the absence of anyone who could recognize an Akan adinkra symbol.[14]

This is a simple illustration of the notion that interpretation, which is inevitably based upon particular experiences and knowledge, is subjective. Although we can recognise a symbol as having a particular meaning in one context, we cannot objectively conclude that it holds the same meaning in another; it is only by being aware of different ways of viewing the world that we become aware of alternative interpretations, which can then be integrated with archaeological knowledge to generate the most appropriate interpretation. While the New York African Burial Ground is not an example of colonising an indigenous homeland, it is still an example of interaction between two cultures, where one has been presumed to hold the majority of the power; if there is diversity, continuity and agency in individuals removed from their cultural heartland, then it stands to reason that there must certainly be individuality where people have been colonised in their own lands. Further, if multi-experiential approaches can recover useful information in the former, they have the potential to yield better results in the latter. The advantages of acknowledging different viewpoints in colonial archaeology is two-fold: by engaging with the community, we ensure that work is ethically sound and relevant to the wider community, and by engaging with alternative ways of knowing, we can generate more informed conclusions.

[14] Ibid., 26.

CONCLUSION

It is clear, then, that the practice of multi-experiential archaeology takes many forms and incorporates a range of practices, key to which is the recognition of multiple viewpoints and the reflection of this in the research methodology. Such an approach limits the potential to present conclusive interpretations of the past, but offers a more nuanced understanding of individual experiences. By seeking out practices of resistance to colonial rule, Michael Given reasserts the agency and individuality of colonised populations, while Bruno David's exploration of Aboriginal Dreaming demonstrates the evolution of cultural practices and helps to challenge the dominant perception of ancient cultures as static. With the deliberate intention of identifying post-contact Aboriginal sites, David Byrne discovers multiple ways of engaging with a prescribed landscape and helps to fill in the gap between pre- and post-contact Aboriginality. Michael Blakey engages with contemporary stakeholders and shows that a multi-experiential approach can produce ethically engaged research and contribute to a fuller understanding of non-Western cultures. These examples illustrate that by challenging dominant historical narratives, multi-experiential archaeologies can inform our understanding of modern-day indigeneity.

By limiting how far we can project our own experiences onto the past, we not only deter biased, false or hyper-interpretive conclusions, but we are also forced to be more innovative with what we do know and how we can know it. By acknowledging the many ways of experiencing and interpreting the world, we paradoxically create a more objective understanding of the past as made up of experiences which are themselves complex, diverse and indefinable. Acknowledging different ways of knowing is risky, as it leaves historical 'certainties' up for public debate, challenges traditional ways of knowing the past and threatens to undermine the authority of the archaeological discipline. Yet, it is only by engaging in wide-ranging discussion that we can generate more informed interpretations, and by challenging how we know that we can identify bias, errors and areas of potential, allowing us to re-examine existing evidence or to generate new information. When we deprivilege dominant viewpoints, we start a process of dialogue which brings to light forms of evidence and methods of interpretation which have not traditionally been adopted into the archaeological discipline, and pave the way for the inclusion of local, indigenous or religious communities

whose interpretations of the past have typically been ignored, homogenised or over-simplified. I would argue then, that the advantages and disadvantages of the multi-experiential approach are one and the same; by decentralising the subject, we diversify the practice of archaeology, resulting in something that is technically more complicated, yet more intuitive; less certain and therefore more accurate.

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The *U.S.A.* trilogy – a portrait of a nation: John Dos Passos' redefinition of American literary tradition through visual art

Josie Devine

The work of John Dos Passos is often overlooked in the American literary canon. The reason for this may lie in the fact that his work, interdisciplinary in nature, is inherently averse to definition. Whereas some critics have identified the influence of the visual arts on the author, none have dealt specifically with the impact of artists such as Pablo Picasso and George Braque on his methods of narrative construction and characterisation. Further, none have adequately expressed the gravity with which Dos Passos transformed the novel form. This article addresses the author's literary transcription of analytic cubism with particular view to his *U.S.A.* trilogy. The competing planes, sharp angles and bold juxtapositions of cubism, are identifiable in Dos Passos' work, and are employed by the author as a method of redefining an American literary tradition. The author explores identity both on an individual, national, and literary scale in an era of social, political and economic upheaval as he offers up a new model for the great American novel.

John Dos Passos' (1896-1970) *U.S.A.* trilogy is a strikingly original text. Its many different literary forms, which encompass both fiction and non-fiction (narrative, biography, newsreel and camera eye), combine to create a complex, panoramic view of the first three decades of the twentieth century. The literary innovation of the trilogy departs from, and redefines, a long-standing American novelistic tradition. Influences from all areas of modern culture can be identified in the text: realism, cubism, caricature, poetry, theatre, cinema, the list goes on. Inherent in its manifold influences and multifaceted form is an ambiguity in the identity of the text itself. Dos Passos himself recognises this ambiguity, and simultaneously provides the reason for contemporary literary critics' neglect of his work: 'there's this strange schizophrenia in American Publishing between fiction and nonfiction, and so people who review nonfiction have never read any of the fiction. It works

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both ways.'[1] It is true that in its distinct originality, *U.S.A.* occupies a unique position in the literary field, somewhere between fiction and nonfiction, but also – and critically to this study – between two competing *artistic* canons: realism and its fidelity to objective representation, and the avant-garde with its rendering of the subjective experience. This article, then, seeks to approach the text from its roots in the visual arts, and more specifically address the ways in which analytic cubism influenced the author's treatment of plot and characterisation in his multi-dimensional trilogy.

Following on from the influential work of authors such as Stephen Crane (1871-1900), Frank Norris (1870-1902), and Theodore Dreiser (1871-1945), Dos Passos is often grouped together with so-called 'second generation' realists such as F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896-1940) and Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961). [2] Their respective novels: *Tender is the Night* (1934) and *To Have and To Have Not* (1937) join, and often overshadow *U.S.A.*, as the most important literary works of the period, featuring the distinct pessimism symptomatic of their era. *U.S.A.* was published, first as three individual novels, *The 42nd Parallel* (1930), *Nineteen Nineteen* (1932) and *The Big Money* (1936), and subsequently as a trilogy in 1938. *U.S.A.* is a retrospective work, one which looks back on, and satirises, the decades that had just passed. It is therefore entwined with, and detached from, the period it represents. The 1930s, which bore the consequences of the Wall Street crash of 1929, became 'a period when American democracy was undermined.' [3] The devastating national and international reverberations of this event transformed American identity overnight, as the wealth and extravagance of the twenties dissolved to mythical illusion. Among the artists and writers of this unstable period 'there was a widespread commitment to a realism that aspired to present a truthful picture of the world.'[4] And in the arts, scene paintings which depicted images of America's founding history became increasingly popular – no doubt to reinforce national identity in a time of upheaval – and were a tradition within which the *U.S.A.* trilogy, as historical reflection, both adhered to in its subject

[1] J. Dos Passos in D. Sanders, 'Writers at Work: The 'Paris Review' Interviews', in J. Dos Passos, *John Dos Passos: The Major Nonfictional Prose*, (ed.) D. Pizer (Detroit, 1988), 241-252 (246).

[2] M. Geismar, *American Moderns: From Rebellion to Conformity* (Toronto, 1971), 25.

[3] P. Meecham, 'Realism and modernism', in (ed.) P. Wood, *Varieties of Modernism* (New Haven, 2004), 75-116 (88).

[4] Ibid.

matter yet ironized in its pessimism. Dos Passos provides an alternative founding history of the modern day; he identifies his contemporary flawed society of the thirties as a product of corrupt social, political and economic conditions of the years that went before. Alfred Kazin confirms that the trilogy 'shows history as a bloody farce, now unspeakably wrong, a mocking of the hopes associated with the beginning of the century.'[5]

In keeping with the realist tradition, much of what is said of Dos Passos' work, and specifically *U.S.A.*, centres on his concern for the accurate portrayal of a historical moment. Donald Pizer notes, 'he wanted to write objectively about America.'[6] Wagner similarly describes Dos Passos as an 'observer of American morality.'[7] And in his essay 'The Business of a Novelist' Dos Passos himself states that a novelist is not dissimilar to a historian, that one should create 'an accurate permanent record' of their time.[8] Yet it is problematic that these words 'observer' and 'record' – which evoke detachment and distance – are used when discussing *U.S.A.*, when, in many ways, the text can be regarded as autobiographical. The three novels deal so closely with events the author will have personally experienced that it is unlikely that they are treated impartially. History is in this way rendered by Dos Passos, with both objectivity *and* artistic flare; otherwise opposing concerns are juxtaposed, and simultaneously compete against and complement one another. The camera eye sections, for example, are described as a 'stylised recreation of feeling,' and act as the stream of the author's own consciousness in amongst the historical details of the newsreels and biographies. [9]

The camera eye sections of the trilogy evoke the pure subjectivity of authors such as James Joyce (1882) and William Faulkner (1897-1962), who, it is fair to say, brought the stream of consciousness technique to precedence. But they also reflect an affinity between words and visual art: Arnold L. Goldsmith writes that 'the Joycean device of combining words has the effect of wide, long brushstrokes on

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[5] A. Kazin, 'John Dos Passos and His Invention of America' (1985) 9 *The Wilson Quarterly* 154-166 (157).

[6] D. Pizer, *U.S.A.: A Critical Study* (Charlottesville, 1988), 30.

[7] L. Wagner, *Dos Passos: Artist as American* (Austin, 1979), xvi.

[8] Dos Passos, 'The Business of a Novelist', in *The Major Nonfictional Prose*, 160-161 (160).

[9] Pizer, *U.S.A.*, 58.

canvas.'[10] Dos Passos abandons punctuation and introduces phrases such as 'chromegreen,'[11] 'riversmell'[12] and 'dontjaunderstandafellersgottogetup,'[13] which display the influence of the *Ulysses* author on his own representation of the fluidity of thought as well as a cubistic rendering of prose, as words become planes that collide and fuse together. Dos Passos himself admitted to the difficulties of blending objectivity with fiction, yet ultimately concludes that the 'discussion is fruitless, Artistic works to be of lasting value must be both engaged and disengaged.'[14] So despite the personal, autobiographical nature of these sections, the trilogy remains, in the author's view, a viable and objective representation of American experience. In this vein, Dos Passos describes the camera eye as the 'safety valve' for his own feelings,[15] which 'made objectivity in the rest of the book much easier.'[16] David Sanders suggests instead that 'critics might drop labels altogether when they take up *U.S.A.*.'[17] Indeed part of Dos Passos' re-definition of tradition lies in the trilogy's unique position between fiction and nonfiction, history and art, and its aversion to absolute categorisation. Dos Passos suggests that these opposing concerns are not necessarily contradictory. He writes, 'I was thoroughly embarked on an effort to keep up a contemporary commentary, always seen by some individual's eyes, heard by some individual's ears, felt through some individual's nerves and tissues.'[18] Clearly then, historical record and subjective experience go hand in hand for Dos Passos.

Dos Passos and his contemporary writers of the so called 'lost' generation found themselves estranged from the previous generations of their parents and grandparents, and indeed of their literary idols, who did not know of the terrors of modern warfare, the mechanisation of the modern, industrial age, nor the economic hardships of the great depression. While strong influences remain from

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[10] A. L. Goldsmith, *The Modern American Urban Novel: Nature as 'Interior Structure'* (Detroit, 1991), 21.

[11] J. Dos Passos, *U.S.A.* (London, 2001), 350.

[12] Ibid., 351.

[13] Ibid., 480.

[14] Dos Passos, 'What Makes a Novelist', in *The Major Nonfictional Prose*, 268-275 (273).

[15] Dos Passos, in Sanders interview, 247.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Sanders, in interview with Dos Passos, 248.

[18] Dos Passos, 'What Makes a Novelist', 272.

authors such as Emile Zola (1840-1902) and Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880), *U.S.A.* incorporates the techniques of cubism, which, although a movement similarly detached from Dos Passos in years, was a more appropriate model on which to base the expression of his own era's complexities. The author re-locates literary and national identity, as well as the identity of his characters, as something unavoidably fragmented and disjointed, since the blind idealism of the twenties has all but dissolved.

The author's unique artistic handling of literature comes as no great surprise – both as a viewer and as an artist, Dos Passos had a great interest in the visual arts. As well as writing, he created some four hundred artworks, mainly watercolours and sketches, depicting the people and landscapes he had encountered on his travels.[19] In his essay 'What Makes a Novelist' (1967) he talks of his admiration of early Renaissance art: 'I am sure that the great narrative painting of the thirteen and fourteen hundreds profoundly influenced my ideas of how to tell a story in words.'[20] These artists, Dos Passos adds, 'had made eternal their view of the world they lived in. It was up to us to try to describe in colours that would not fade, our America that we loved and hated.'[21]

These 'colours that would not fade' could be found for Dos Passos in Europe, where a new visual language had emerged in the shape of the avant-garde. Artistic traditions were overthrown, and in the tumult of the thirties, so too did Dos Passos seek to redefine and indeed re-establish the literary language and tradition of his own country. There exist only a handful of accounts on the place of visual art within the trilogy. George Knox explores various artistic influences on the author's literary techniques, tracking his move away from the impressionism of his earlier novels to the increasingly cubist abstraction of *U.S.A.*.[22] Michael Spindler similarly explores the painterly concerns of the author, yet focuses primarily on *Manhattan Transfer* (1925).[23] What seems to have been brushed aside by both

[19] T. Stanciu, 'The Art of John Dos Passos', 10 September 2001. Available: <http://www.gadflyonline.com/9-10-01/art-passos.HTML> [accessed 15.11.13].

[20] Dos Passos, 'What Makes a Novelist', 269.

[21] Ibid.

[22] G. Knox, 'Dos Passos and Painting' (1964) 6 *Texas Studies In Literature & Language* 22-38.

[23] M. Spindler, 'John Dos Passos and The Visual Arts' (1981) 15 *Journal of American Studies* 391-405.

Knox and Spindler, and what this present study intends to confront, is the importance of visual art to one of the most central themes of the text – the displaced and fragmented identity of an era defined by disenchantment. The new visual language – of the European avant-garde, and more specifically analytic cubism – is of paramount importance to a consideration of *U.S.A.*. Dos Passos confronts the difficulties of the era with bold cubist juxtapositions, and conceives a new literary tradition, resurrecting the then outmoded novel form as an interdisciplinary, multi-faceted phenomenon – 'I refused to believe that the novel was dying.'[24]

It is interesting that Dos Passos' *U.S.A.,* a novel written some twenty years after the peak of cubism, is so bound up with the artistic movement. However, if one considers on one hand the tumult of the thirties in which the trilogy was written, and on the other, the social, political and economic fervour of the pre-, post- and mid- war years in which the novels are set, it is with increasing clarity that the movement is of particular relevance to the author. It too 'developed in (an) atmosphere of rapid change,'[25] the impending war, the discovery of the x-ray – which spurred on a growing mistrust in outward appearances – and, not least, Freud's research into the workings of the mind, that redefined consciousness, and compelled artists to get beneath the surface and explore perception and the mind. The philosophical lectures of Henri Bergson redefined common and accepted notions of time and space, which the cubists emulated and transcribed in their own re-evaluation of pictorial space in their fragmentary and many-sided views of the world.

With *U.S.A.*, the author reshapes the conventional novel and simultaneously captures the gravity of the 'seminal art movement of the twentieth century.'[26] As Dos Passos rebuilds a literary tradition, so too was Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) 'rebuilding' the eye.'[27] Cubism, broadly speaking, was a European art movement, based primarily in France and Spain that reached its peak in the years preceding the First World War, with artists such as Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque (1882-

[24] Dos Passos, 'What Makes a Novelist', 269.
[25] M. Antcliff and P. Leighton, *Cubism and Culture* (London, 2001), 9.
[26] Ibid., 7.
[27] Dos Passos, Introduction to *Three Soldiers*, in *The Major Nonfictional Prose*, 146.

1963), Juan Gris (1887-1927) and Robert Delaunay (1885-1941) at its helm. The cubists developed a particular approach to representation that firmly rejected the formal constraints of academic art – which was 'nothing but eye fooling illusionism' – as well as the delicate superficiality of their impressionist predecessors. [28] Taking their place was an interest in abstract forms, disjointed perspectives, perception, and the inanimate. These artists sought to project upon the canvas a subjective and perceptual experience of the world, while recognising and embracing that canvas as an entirely physical and defined surface – just as Dos Passos blends the historical objectivity and artistic subjectivity of his own 'contemporary chronicles.'[29]

Analytic cubism is of most relevance to this study. The term refers to the fragmentary break down of the subject matter into barely identifiable shards, as though seen through a cracked mirror. This branch of cubism is perhaps the most appropriate art form to be labelled cubist as the images produced within this sub-movement literally incorporate the abstract geometric forms of their namesake, putting the 'cube' in 'cubism'. Human subjects, as well as landscapes and still lifes, are viewed in an entirely new way as fragmented, broken and even mechanised objects, defined by lines and shapes and a new abstract treatment of light and colour. Some portraits are so abstracted that it becomes increasingly difficult to identify the subject, whose importance is sacrificed for the totality of abstraction. Perspectives compete, just as the subject and object compete as the primary concern.

Analytic cubism is of particular importance when considering Dos Passos' methods of composition as he structures his trilogy in a similarly fragmentary manner. The trilogy seems to lack a coherent plot due to its multiplicity of form, however Pizer makes a case for the unity of the text, as he describes the trilogy as 'a single object rendered through multiple angles of vision'.[30] These angles are embodied by the four narrative modes, as history, stream of consciousness, poetry and prose appear both intertwined and juxtaposed. Cubist use of light, shade, texture and perspective, is in this way transcribed by the author, creating an

[28] N. Cox, *Cubism* (London, 2000), 111.
[29] Dos Passos, in Sanders interview, 248.
[30] Pizer, *U.S.A.*, 55.

ambitious multi-dimensional portrait of American life. Charles Marz extends upon Pizer's statement and notes 'the trilogy must be understood dynamically. Its power and meanings come ultimately from vertical, a-temporal, simultaneous events.'[31] For this very reason it is challenging to identify specific examples from the text, since, just as the planes of a cubist painting such as George Braque's *Castle at La Roche Guyon* create energy and tension as they compete and collide, so too do Dos Passos' narrative modes create meaning through their relation to others.

An example of this type of meaning through juxtaposition can be found in 'Newsreel 47'. In this chapter opportunity is the key word, as the items that feature concern the thriving employment market: 'boy seeking future offered opportunity,' 'young man wanted,' 'young man for office, young man for stockroom.'[32] In the narratives that follow this section, Charley Anderson returns home to Minnesota following his time serving overseas. When he refuses his Brother Jim's offer of employment or indeed partnership in his 'Anderson Motor Sales Company' he is met by hostility from Hedwig as she scolds him: [33] 'I don't see how you're going to get anywhere if you turn down every opportunity.'[34] When Charley moves on to New York in search of greater opportunities in aviation, he is left disappointed as 'nobody could promise him a job.'[35] Eventually he settles for a position he finds in the newspaper job listings under the 'Mechanics and Machinists' section. [36] Clearly, though separated by boundaries of form, the different modes are linked through their content and concerns, as the search for, and availability of employment takes precedence. Newsreel 47 pre-empts Charley's job search both textually as we have seen, but also temporally. The reader knows that prior to his arrival in New York there were plenty of opportunities of which he has narrowly missed – 'if he'd only come a couple of months sooner.'[37] The juxtaposition of these segments portrays the volatility of the job market and, by the same token, the economy of the post-World War One era;

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[31] C. Marz, 'Dos Passos's Newsreels: The Noise of History' (1979) 11 *Studies in The Novel* 194-200 (194).

[32] Dos Passos, *U.S.A.*, 753.

[33] Ibid., 764.

[34] Ibid., 762.

[35] Ibid., 788.

[36] Ibid., 792.

[37] Ibid., 788.

Dos Passos becomes both social historian and cubist artist.[38] The factual and historical markers of the Newsreels are offset by the specific fictional experiences of his characters as he creates meaning in a cubist manner through the juxtaposition of competing planes.

The author's use of juxtaposition is a complex matter. The different narrative modes relate to one another in their immediate juxtapositions – as illustrated above – yet they also create meaning through the overarching effect of the trilogy as a whole. Pizer remarks that:

> The reader of the trilogy is … required to perform two simultaneous interpretive acts at any one moment in the trilogy. He must be aware of the implication of the fictional event he is experiencing in its immediate context, a context that will include adjacent segments of other modes. And he must be aware of an ever-increasing ripple of implication of the event within the trilogy as a whole.[39]

Pizer here confirms that each of the modes employed by Dos Passos (newsreel, camera eye and so on) interconnect and are in continuous dialogue with one another. He refers to the effect of the trilogy in its entirety; as these modes are juxtaposed they create an ever-expanding network of implications, which accumulate and gain meaning over the course of the text.

Picasso's use of colour, texture and interpenetrating planes creates unity in his analytic portraits as the subjects appear to be simultaneously at one with, yet separate from, the space they occupy. This is arguably an artistic representation of the way in which Cezanne 'believed that the depth of the world was a product of the human place in it.'[40] For Dos Passos, *characters* become the products, of the social, political and historical forces that shape them – similar to those of Hemingway's fiction. These systems are shown to the reader through the author's inclusion of factual information in the newsreels as well as the biographies, but their effect and depth is only achieved through the perceptual accounts of the

[38] Sanders, in interview with Dos Passos, 241.
[39] Pizer, *U.S.A.*, 114.
[40] Cox, *Cubism,* 99.

camera eye. Thus, the 'depth of the world' is not something that can be communicated through fact (or artistic representation) alone, it depends instead on experience – the viewer's personal experience of a painting, or Dos Passos' embodiment of this in the camera eye sections, as he traces his 'human place' in the era.

While purging his subjectivity in the perceptual impressions of the autobiographical camera eye sections, the characters that occupy the remainder of the text lack the same psychological complexity. Dos Passos does not represent his characters in depth but in breadth; rather than extended passages devoted to the inner workings of their minds, he provides a cubist, multi-perspectival position, as the reader views, and continuously re-views them through the narratives of others. A cubist portrait of one of the trilogy's central characters, Moorehouse, is not evoked through individual descriptions alone, but through the collection of several together which form an overall image of the man. While on the one hand, Eveline is comforted by his paternal character traits, Eleanor appreciates and is attracted to his 'oldschool gentlemanly manners.'[41] Later in *Nineteen Nineteen*, Richard Savage recognises something of 'the Southern Senator in his way of talking,' as he meets the 'large quiet spoken blue eyed jowly man' for the first time.[42] From these sparse snippets of information, certain characteristics prevail – blue eyes, Southern accent, prominent jowl; the identity of Moorehouse can therefore only partly be gauged through his own narrative sections, otherwise the reader is reliant on the piecing together planes of fragmentary perspectives and pieces of information.

This treatment of identity is not exclusive to the one character we have discussed; rather it is consistent with Dos Passos' treatment of characterisation throughout the trilogy. From her desk Janey looks 'enviously' at the 'welldressed' Eleanor as she visits Moorehouse.[43] In Paris, Richard Savage notices her as 'a frail looking woman with very transparent alabaster skin' who is once again 'stunningly welldressed.'[44] These sparse snippets of information act as brush strokes creating a

[41] Dos Passos, *U.S.A.*, 238.
[42] Ibid., 632.
[43] Ibid., 280.
[44] Ibid., 632.

character portrait. The fragmented planes are in this way complementary to one another. Pizer notes that 'In Janey's narrative Joe is an uncouth rough neck seaman'[45] as Dos Passos writes 'she thought of the rough life he must be leading, and when he came back she asked him why he didn't get a different job.'[46] While, in Joe's narrative he is a 'pathetic seeker of Janey's unforthcoming love'[47] – 'it made him feel like a bum going around with her.'[48] The reader can see from this that Janey and Joe have become barely recognisable to one another as their social positions – Janey the refined office clerk, and Joe the Merchant seaman – dictate their respective view of events, as well as the reader's experience of them. In this way the reader's sympathy is shifted back and forth as events are seen from competing angles; characterisation becomes a subjective concern entirely dependent on perspective. Pizer helpfully points out 'in *U.S.A.* characters do not develop … what changes in the course of time and event is our own understanding of the pattern of failure in the nation as a whole.'[49] In a cubist sense, the reader's idea of a character begins simply as an outline and only gains depth of meaning through the unravelling of the plot, and the planes of their portraits. Thus it can be argued that Dos Passos employs analytic cubism as a method of characterisation. His character portraits are essentially cubist in style, as one unified view is both lost through, and constituted by, competing or complementary fragmentary planes.

They too become the planes of Dos Passos' larger portrait, this time on a national scale, illustrating the breadth of the American experience. The author paints a dynamic picture of the era and, through many different channels, allows his reader to *experience* it. Analytic cubism has a clear impact on the author's work, most notably in his construction of the trilogy and his representation of characters. He presents many facets of his subject, through fact, fiction and perception, which create various layers of meaning. Thus, Dos Passos uses the visual art of analytic cubism to build upon his literary roots, in order to create a new tradition in American literature. The novel is transformed by Dos Passos into

[45] Pizer, *U.S.A.*, 138.
[46] Dos Passos, *U.S.A.*, 286.
[47] Pizer, *U.S.A.*, 138.
[48] Dos Passos, *U.S.A.*, 388.
[49] Pizer, *U.S.A.*, 71.

an all-encompassing, democratic literary form which may now find its source in the visual as well as the literary. What was brushed aside by both Knox and Spindler, and what this study has confronted, is the importance of visual art to this end, as the author represents the displaced and fragmented identity of an era.

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Should sex work 'be understood as legitimate work, and an expression of women's choice and agency' (Jeffreys 2009: 316)?

Sophia Gore

This article presents a radical feminist critique of how best to manage the increasingly complex social problems arising with the globalization of prostitution. It purports the essentialist arguments made by Sheila Jeffreys; that prostitution should not, and must never be perceived as a legitimate profession, regardless of its 'traditional' status as one of the oldest professions. The article systematically challenges liberal feminist arguments supporting legalization on the basis that working alongside and with prostitutes is a more effective way to improve working conditions and support the prostitutes. By no means discrediting the value of this perspective, this article criticizes the liberal ideology. It argues that liberal feminism fails to question the wider social structures upholding the practice of prostitution. This article recognizes prostitution as a social issue. It is inherently harmful for men as well as women and misconceives expectations of sex. It advocates the proactive Swedish approach to tacking prostitution, which makes it illegal to buy sex, as opposed to sell sex; sanctioning the 'demand' as opposed to the prostitute

A prostitute, defined by the Oxford English Dictionary, is 'a woman who engages in sexual activity in return for payment'; it continues, '(Formerly also) any promiscuous woman, a harlot.' Even within one of the most acclaimed dictionaries, prostitution is gendered. *Women* are portrayed as solely independent actors within the relationship between client and prostitute. In this article, a prostitute shall be defined as a woman or man, engaged in performing any form of sexual acts in return for monetary payment, social favours or, in less favourable circumstances, of trafficking, coerced to practice when being held either as a 'prisoner', or more commonly, by debt bondage. With the rise of globalisation and

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the increase of sex trafficking, the illicit traditional practice is once again publically subject to heightened discussion and scrutiny. The question raised is how to regulate the practice, when it appears, by its nature, inconceivable that it could ever be effectively curtailed and policed. Prostitution stands as one of the oldest and well-established professions within global society, however, it is becoming increasingly sinister in its globalised practice.

This article shall systematically discuss the title question, looking at the complexities of both liberal and radical feminist arguments. Though acknowledging that sex work takes many forms, from 'high end' reputable call girls and escorts, to 'low end' street work, this article will focus predominantly on the physical realities unanimously consistent within prostitution. Firstly, it will consider whether one can identify prostitution as 'legitimate work', followed by a discussion of whether or not prostitution as a profession offers women 'choice' and 'agency', or instead, embodies coercion, a last resort and 'disembodied agency'. [1] By examining case studies which document the experiences of prostitutes in Serbia,[2] Victoria, Australia[3] and Zambia[4] and through scrutinising both 'abolitionist' and 'sex as work' arguments, this article shall conclude by firmly arguing that sex work, although one of the oldest, fundamental institutions of traditional society cannot, and should not, be understood as 'legitimate work'. This conclusion lies on the basis that firstly, sex work is inherently harmful to those who practice it, secondly, prostitution inexorably embodies patriarchy and male subordination over women, and finally, because for the majority of cases prostitution is a very limited 'choice.' Nonetheless, as discussed, Djordjevic[5] and Ditmore[6] present tenacious liberal arguments that illustrate some

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[1] K. Miriam, 'Stopping the Traffic in Women: Power, Agency and Abolition in Feminist Debates over Sex-Trafficking'. (2005) *Journal of Social Philosophy*, Vol. 36, 1-17.

[2] J. Djordjevic, 'Social and Political inclusion as sex workers as a preventative measure against trafficking: Serbian experiences.' In, Cornwall, A., Correêa, S., Jolly, S. (eds.) *Development with a body: Sexuality, Human Rights and Development*, (London, 2008), 161-181.

[3] M. Sullivan, 'What Happens When Prostitution Becomes Work? An Update on Legalisation of Prostitution in Australia.' (2005) *Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, Australia,* 1-28.

[4] S. Agha, and M, C. Nchima, M, C. 'Life-Circumstances, Working Conditions and HIV Risk among Street and Nightclub-Based Sex Workers in Lusaka, Zambia.'(2004) *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 295.

[5] Djordjevic, 'Serbian experiences'.

of the harms that arise when prostitution is strictly illegal. They argue it is essential to work with prostituted individuals to improve the regulation and conditions of women, transsexuals and men currently working. In consideration of valid arguments, this article concludes by proposing the Swedish approach as the pre-eminent method to address prostitution. For, although abolitionist, it is sensitive to addressing wider social complexities within the abolitionist paradigm.

Being framed as a deep-rooted historical practice within all societies, I begin by questioning whether or not sex work can be considered 'legitimate work'. Liberal feminists, such as Ditmore and Djordievic argue that challenging stigmatisation of prostitution, and perceiving it as a 'legitimate' profession, will advance public perception of prostitutes. Liberal approaches, that advocate the liberal ideologies of individual rights and the right of choice, confer that greater public respect will improve prostitutes social security and reduce the experience of harm, violence and discrimination towards them. By challenging stereotypes of prostitution as 'dirty work',[7] liberal feminists argue there is no inherent reason why sex work cannot be considered a valued, professional service. St James and Alexander likewise adopt this perspective, highlighting the consequential effect of illegalising prostitution. De-legitimising the practice inhibits workers' rights for prostitutes. Illegalisation fails to protect prostitutes, as it alienates them from qualifying for workers entitlements, such as health care, sick leave, and workers compensation insurance. [8] By reconstructing prostitution as 'an intrinsically honourable profession that serves socially valuable ends',[9] liberal feminists seek to reclaim prostitution from its repugnant associations by recognising the value of their historic work and traditional role within society. Rather than dismissing prostitution, they seek to appreciate that prostitution provides an essential,

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[6] M. Ditmore, M. 'Sex work, trafficking and HIV: how development is compromising sex workers' human rights.' In Cornwall, A. et al (ed.), *Development with a Body: Sexuality, Human Rights and Development,* (London, 2008), 54-66.

[7] A. Dworkin, 1997. 'Prostitution and Male Supremacy.' In A. Dworkin, *Life and Death: unapologetic writings on the war against women,*(New York, 1997), 138-216.

[8] M. St James, and P. Alexander (1977) cited in V. Jenness, 'From Sex as Sin to Sex as Work: COYOTE and the Reorganization of Prostitution as a Social Problem'. *Social problems.* (1990), *Vol.* 37, 404.

[9] J. O'Connell Davidson, 'The Rights and Wrongs of Prostitution.' (2002) *Hepatia: Feminist Philosophies of Love and Work,* Vol. 17, 92.

humanistic social service. Liberal feminists who support the sex-as-work reasoning, illustrate how, if orchestrated professionally, sex work can be a legitimate profession that has important social value. Liberals also advocate that individuals should have a right to choose what they do with their body. Such reasoning 'focuses on the ways in which sexual commerce qualifies as work, involves human agency, and may be potentially empowering for workers'.[10] It is by reconstructing prostitution as 'legitimate work' and reclaiming the service from its disreputable associations, that liberal feminists seek to address the exploitative harm prostitutes are frequently subject of, and minimise discrimination towards workers within the profession.

Abolitionists delegitimize this liberal argument. They argue that sex work is inherently harmful to prostitutes psychologically; it is unavoidably violent and instils patriarchy in its most essential form. Furthermore, by legitimising sex work one consequentially normalises these values and perpetuates social constructs of inequality between men and women. It is on these grounds which abolitionists' contest that sex work can ever be perceived as 'legitimate work.' As O'Connell Davidson summed up, it is:

> The vexed relationship between sex and selfhood [which makes prostitution different from any other occupation]… the client must sell *herself* in a very different and much more real sense than that which is required by any other [profession]… [The client] parts with money in order to secure powers over the prostitute's person.[11]

O'Connell Davidson distinguishes sex work from any other profession by recognising that what is really 'bought' in such a transaction is the right to the prostitute's bodily orifices, in the most intimate and personal way. This inevitably is at the cost of emotionally affecting both client and patron. Such a 'transaction' cannot be perceived as congeneric to any other form of client, profession or wage labour.

[10] R. Weitzer, 'Sociology of Sex Work'. *Annual Review of Sociology* (2009) Vol. 35, 215.
[11] O'Connell Davidson, *The Rights and Wrongs of Prostitution,* 85-86.

Miriam endorses this concept in her essay *Stopping the Traffic in Women*. She defines the nature of the contract as a 'disembodied agency'.[12] She similarly claims that what is really sold in the prostitution contract is a relation of command; the prostitute sells command over his or her body to the 'john/pimp/employer in exchange for recompense'.[13] Prostitution is unique, for, especially in the case of 'low-end' sex work, prostitutes are expected to subordinate their will for the sexual gratification of the customers. Thus, for these reasons it cannot be considered a transaction of legitimate agency. Since prostitution remains a service overwhelmingly provided by women, who 'make up ninety per cent of the prostitution 'labour force'',[14] it seems fair to argue that such a practice instils patriarchy and subordination over women in its most innate and intimate form. Jeffreys reiterates the argument highlighting the sordid nature of the industry, removing it from its perhaps romanticised historical context as the world's oldest profession; her discourse of intentionally uncomfortable and graphic language puts the 'vaginas and anuses [back as] the raw materials of the industry'.[15] She proclaims that 'women's experience of the world starts from the body, the only territory that many women have, but not often under their control'.[16] Abolitionist feminists seek to expose the painful and very real, physical impact prostitution has on the body and mind, to explain in overt ways why prostitution is an exploitative, harmful and illegitimate form of labour. They recognise prostitution as, effectively, a form of socially accepted sexual abuse, legitimised by the historical traditional of mystifying (predominantly) women's bodies, and misconceiving sex as a legitimate, biological and desirable 'right' of all persons.

In terms of instilling patriarchal values, radical feminists highlight the inherently harmful and dominative nature of sex work, and the ways in which it affects men's perception of women. Dworkin uses these reasons to justify why sex work is never 'legitimate work.' She claims prostitutes are:

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[12] Miriam, *Stopping the Traffic in Women,* 8.

[13] Ibid, 5.

[14] M, Sullivan, *What Happens When Prostitution Becomes Work?,* 6.

[15] S. Jeffreys, 'Prostitution, Trafficking and Feminism: An update on the debate', (2009) *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 32, 316.

[16] Ibid, 317.

> Perceived as, treated as… vaginal slime… When men use women in prostitution, they are expressing a pure hatred for the female body… It is a contempt so deep... that a whole human life is reduced to a few sexual orifices, and he can do anything he wants.[17]

Although by no means all men perceive women in such ways, Dworkin's radical feminist argument raises the complications of perceiving sex work as a legitimate and traditional occupation. Supporting this argument, Sullivan discusses the impact of legalising prostitution in Victoria, Australia. Sullivan's report shows how despite perceiving sex as 'legitimate work', the inherent violent nature of the industry has not changed. Her case-work research interviewed legal prostitutes working in Victoria, and sought to evaluate whether legalising prostitution had affected and changed the illicit dynamic of prostitution. Even within the supposedly optimum and secure environments of legal brothels, her interviews confirmed that prostitutes, both men and women, continue to be raped and traumatised while working:

> Attempts to treat prostitution businesses as similar to other mainstream work-places actually obscure the intrinsic violence of prostitution. This violence is entrenched in everyday 'work' practices and the 'work' environment and results in ongoing physical and mental harm for women who must accept that in a legal system such violence has been normalised as just part of the job.[18]

Furthermore, since legalising prostitution, the number of men in Victoria who have admitted to paying for sex has increased considerably. By legalising and legitimising sex work, one incidentally normalises subjugation of sex workers, a profession which although is seeing an increase in male prostitution, remains predominantly dominated by the male client - female prostitute relationship. One in six men admits to having paid for sex work, whereas for women this figure remains negligible, even though prostitution has been legalised.[19] Nonetheless,

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[17] A. Dworkin. 1997, cited in S, A. Anderson, 'Prostitution and Sexual Autonomy: Making Sense of the Prohibition of Prostitution.' (2002) *Ethics,* Vol. 112, 753.

[18] M, Sullivan, *What Happens When Prostitution Becomes Work?* , 5.

[19] Ibid, 6.

such exploitation and abuse has likewise been reported within male prostitution, particularly that of transsexual or homosexual clientelism. Legalisation masks and entrenches these problems rather than addressing them. Until the essence of harmful female domination is tackled, prostitution will always and inherently be exploitative of the sex worker, and the practice subsumes the overarching structures of patriarchy. It is in consideration of such perspective that I concur that sex work, by its nature, cannot be considered 'legitimate work.'

A further contention arises when considering the ideological question of whether the state can legitimately interfere over individual rights over their body. This translates into the question of whether or not working in prostitution should be a respected 'choice' of the women and men who choose to work in or utilise the 'traditional' profession. Most sex workers 'are not forced or tricked into their jobs, but choose sex work from the limited opportunities available to them'.[20] The Oxford English Dictionary defined genuine choice as 'The act of choosing; preferential determination between things proposed.' Liberal Feminists, although anti-prostitution, respect the rights of the individual and the individual's autonomous will should themselves choose what they do with their body. Former prostitute Dolores French said she felt empowered by her choice of profession, and positioned that women have every right to sell sexual services as a means of occupation.[21] In accordance with this perspective, studies show that self–esteem increased consistently when one began sex work in high-end forms of prostitution.[22] Furthermore, one cannot contest that in reality 'most women who work as prostitutes choose to do so'.[23]

However, within this cognition two issues are raised. Firstly, it seems liberal feminists fail to acknowledge the traditional social and historical contexts of society framing prostitution; secondly, such a perspectives does not consider

[20] M. Ditmore, 'Sex work, trafficking and HIV: how development is compromising sex workers' human rights'. In Cornwall, A. et al (Eds.) *Development with a Body: Sexuality, Human Rights and Development,* (London, 2008), 54.

[21] D.French,1883, quoted in, V. Jennes, *From Sex as Sin to Sex as Work*, 405.

[22] R.Weitzer, R. Sociology of Sex Work. *Annual Review of Sociology,* (2009) Vol. 35, 221.

[23] V.Jenness, *From Sex as Sin to Sex as Work*, 405.

whether the 'choice' of prostitution is ever a legitimate one. Agha and Nchima's[24] case studies of 'low end' female street prostitutes in Zambia explore the underlying situational conditions that led their interviewees to become street and nightclub sex workers. What became apparent was the fact that in nearly all instances the women have turned to sex work due to the limited alternative options available to them. More than half the women interviewed 'began sex work after the failure of their marriage and their inability to find employment that would support them and their dependents'.[25] The overwhelming majority of sex workers were single women who were struggling to avoid economic poverty. Many who chose prostitution were divorced, widowed, or escaping abusive relationships, while those with dependent children chose sex work due to its appealing flexible hours that could accommodate child rearing. What became consistently apparent from the women interviewed was that they saw their work as something temporary, usually a quick solution to pressing economic difficulties. Agha and Nchima's primary research reported that instances of gang rape were remarkably common, and women were often threatened by their male clientele if they insisted on the use of condoms. The women explained how they lived in constant fear of abuse, often struggled to remain out of poverty, and were very concerned of contracting sexually transmitted infections.[26] Likewise, in Victoria, Sullivan reports that 'legalisation does not alter the reality that economic vulnerability to homelessness remains the prime reason why women 'choose' prostitution'.[27] In consideration of these facts, one is compelled to question whether sex work can reasonably be perceived as an expression of women's 'choice and agency'.

An alternative argument presented by Brison[28] contests that sex work can ever be perceived as a 'choice', on the grounds of societal construction. She develops the argument made by Hirschmann (2000), that 'patriarchy and male domination have

[24] S. Agha, and M, C. Nchima, M, C. 2004. 'Life-Circumstances, Working Conditions and HIV Risk among Street and Nightclub-Based Sex Workers in Lusaka, Zambia.' *Culture, Health & Sexuality,* (2004), Vol. 4, 295.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid, 296.

[27] M. Sullivan, *What Happens When Prostitution Becomes Work?,* 7.

[28] S, Brison, S. 2006. 'Contentious Freedom: Sex Work and Social Construction.' *Hepatia,* Vol. 21, 192-200.

been instrumental in the social construction of women's choices'.[29] She considers the effect pornography has on shaping men's attitudes towards women, and presents the question that, regardless of the assumed free choice of adult film makers participating in the sex industry, if their free choice hinders the freedoms of other women by shaping the 'traditional' view men have towards women, can that 'choice' be deemed legitimate?[30] By choosing to work in the sex industry, the individual inadvertently perpetuates traditional heteronormative patriarchal structures of society, indirectly shaping the 'social meaning of women'.[31] Brison frames her argument by questioning whether pornography may make rape and other forms of harm towards girls and women more likely.

Adapting Brison's ideas from pornography, it seems possible to apply her reasoning when questioning the legitimacy of 'choice' in prostitution. Even if the woman or man in question independently chooses to work as a prostitute, it is arguably inappropriate to support the choice of the individual. This argument rests on the basis that their choice may indirectly harm other women or men by altering social perceptions of sex and, subsequently, shape the role and expectations men have towards women, and vice versa. As discussed earlier, due to the dominance of male client - female prostitute relationship, prostitution is therefore inherent to the preservation of 'traditional' patriarchal values. It encapsulates and perpetuates female subordination and incites stigmatised sexualisation of *all* women within society.

Where my empathy to the radical feminist argument deviates and becomes uncertain however, is when it comes to discussing how to mediate and support women and men already working within the profession. Though having explained and advocated the radical feminist perspective, one must also recognise the value of the reformist, liberal arguments. Reformist liberals frame their arguments within the discourse of human rights. They consider it fundamentally imperative to improve the livelihoods and agency of current working prostitutes, and argue for the improvement of the conditions in which many of them work. Ditmore and Djordjevic contest that appalling treatment towards sex workers and poor

[29] Hirschmann, 2000. In S. Brison. *Contentious Freedom: Sex Work and Social Construction*, 195.
[30] Brison, Ibid.
[31] Ibid.

practices within the sex work profession are exacerbated due to the fact it is an illegal practice both regionally and internationally[32].

Ditmore illustrates how development policies of the UN protocol appear to disregard the benefit of NGOs working with sex workers in its overtly ideological, abolitionist sentiments; for instance, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) refuses to fund NGO operations which don't explicitly condemn prostitution and sex trafficking. [33] These ideological restrictions unfortunately meant some projects working productively with sex workers to promote their human rights and sexual health are condemned and refused funding, harming multiple successful projects whose efficiency and proactive work was widely praised.[34] Projects that involve and work *with* sex workers have greater success at combating abuses within the industry. Such projects promote legalisation due to the notion that it gives prostitutes a legal platform, bringing them back from the stigmatised shadows of society. Legalisation of prostitution promotes formal agency and strengthens their human rights by formally guaranteeing improved conditions, and greater legal protection while working.

By excluding prostitutes from the process of determining solutions, funding bodies threaten the efforts to improve working situations and secure the human rights of prostitutes. Djordjevic agrees and her liberal feminist perspective purports that the way to address prostitution is not with authority from above but by changing the structures from within, arguing that we should listen to the demands of prostitutes and sex-workers organisations. By challenging the stigma of sex work, including the stigma perpetuated by Dworkin and her followers, and tackling the attitudes embodied in the framework of society and state institution, we will enable sex workers to protect themselves while working, build their skills, and eventually mobilise them into a place where they have enhanced choice in regards to remaining in sex work.[35] Legalisation of sex work re-establishes the prostitutes'

[32] M. Ditmore, *Sex work, trafficking and HIV.*
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., 60-61.
[35] J. Djordjevic, *Serbian experiences,* 161.

voice in society and acknowledges the inevitable traditional role they have played in society, liberating them from the alienated and marginalised peripheries.

The arguments illustrated by Ditmore highlight the potentially harmful consequences delegitimizing sex work has on sex workers. Although strongly advocating the illegalisation of sex work, there are obvious negative implications of such a policy. However, a post-structuralist perspective would contest that liberals settle to working within, rather than challenge, the wider structures of entrenched and normalised patriarchy. The quintessential reasoning why one cannot advocate legalising prostitution is on the grounds that it fails to address the roots of exploitation and patriarchy entrenched within a traditional heteronormative society. By finding solutions to improve prostitution within the existing structures, it falls short of tackling the heart of the problem, which necessitates the deconstructing of existing societal frameworks. The traditional argument that prostitution 'has been around for ever, so it always will be,' (implying we should attempt to improve the existing situation), is a somewhat defeatist notion. Rather, an attempt to deconstruct normative modes of thought, resulting in the ultimate eradication of prostitution, should be considered. History is littered with examples of deconstruction; slavery, for example, had 'always existed', yet, over time, through the power of social movements and ideological deconstruction, the practice was ultimately rejected. For the potential of real reform of the sex industry, radical feminists are inclined to support ideological, social, and historical transformation of the gendered constructs framing our society.

Although supporting illegalisation of sex work, it is essential that such policies do not impinge on the work of successful, grass-roots organisations working alongside and supporting practicing prostitutes. One potentially creditable 'solution' is proposed by the sex-work policies of Sweden. Although the problem of prostitution is relatively small in comparison to other countries, the Swedish approach has concentrated on addressing prostitution as a social issue. They outlaw sex work as traditional, lawful work and introduced measures that were supported with government funding, to provide a proper and permanent support

system for prostitutes that offered counselling and retraining possibilities.[36] In 1999, legislation was introduced which criminalised the buying of sexual services with the intention to target the clients who use the service rather than the sex workers. Although, the Swedish sex-work industry is incomparable to that of the extensive and increasingly escalating sex industries of Eastern Europe and South East Asia, where sex trafficking and sex work is on a prolific, global scale.[37] The Swedish approach offers an invaluable alternative for recognising and seeking to tackle the overarching social issues and patriarchal structures that uphold and support the practice of prostitution. By targeting the client, making it illegal to *buy* sex, one addresses and attempts to suppress the 'demand' for prostitution. However, it is important to recognise that censoring and upholding such prosecution is difficult in areas in which prostitution is endemic. Nonetheless, this should be no reason to impinge change and challenge social conception that prostitution is one of the oldest, well-established professions imminent within all social spheres.

This article has considered and illustrated why sex work should not be perceived as a romanticised traditionally-accepted profession, nor as an expression of women's 'choice and agency'. This argument has been structured on the grounds, as explained by Jeffreys and O'Connell Davidson, that sex work is inherently abusive towards women both psychologically and physically. Sullivan illustrates how instances of legalisation in Victoria failed; instead of tackling the inherent violence prostitutes were subject to, legalisation incidentally led to a normalisation of violence against sex workers. Additionally, this article has illustrated how, in the majority of circumstances, the 'choice' of women is not valid, as it tends to stem from desperate economic motives, and because even if women 'choose' sex work, their choice has potential harmful implications on other women. Finally, because sex work reinforces and upholds gendered sociological assumptions of society, this article advocates it should remain an illegitimate form of work. Nonetheless, as discussed, Ditmore and Djordjevic highlight a problem circumscribed by advocating illegalisation of sex work. It forces the women

[36] J. Kilvington, S. Day, H. Ward. 'Prostitution Policy in Europe: A Time of Change?' *Feminist Review; Sex Work Reassessed,* (2001) Vol. 67, 83.

[37] Dir: U.Biemann, *Remote Sensing.,* Culture Unplugged, 2001, Documentary.

working in the industry 'underground' to potentially more dangerous and unregulated peripheries. This has harmful implications on conditions of the prostitutes and inhibits their voice in society. I conclude by suggesting that one possible way to tackle this is by recognising prostitution as a social problem. As in Sweden, we must recognise the traditional gendered and patriarchal institutions that frame and uphold prostitution and face the issue by delegitimizing and penalising those who utilise the service. However, the principle ideology that needs to be entrenched for this perspective to be effective is that prostitution is not, and should never be perceived as, a legitimate, nor inherently traditional profession.

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Competition and tradition: Carolingian political rituals, 751-800

Ian McIver

In 751, the Carolingians supplanted the traditional ruling dynasty of Francia. This article surveys Carolingian political rituals between 751 and 800, and argues that ritual was one means through which this new royal family sought to construct and legitimate its authority against its dynastic competitors. This article also highlights the neglected spiritual dimension of many of these rituals. Whilst tradition often formed an important part in these ceremonies, early medieval ritual was not static, and there is evidence of innovation and improvisation. The meaning of rituals was also unfixed, as reflected and conditioned by competing textual accounts.

Peasant woman: How do you become king then?
King Arthur: The Lady of the Lake, her arm clad in the purest shimmering samite, held aloft Excalibur from the bosom of the water, signifying by divine providence that I, Arthur, was to carry Excalibur. That is why I am your king.
Dennis: Listen, strange women lying in ponds distributing swords is no basis for a system of government. Supreme executive power derives from a mandate from the masses, not from some farcical aquatic ceremony.[1]

King Arthur's encounter with the 'anarcho-syndicalist'[2] peasants in *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* provides an unlikely entrée into our topic. In the past fifty years or so, ritual has become an increasingly popular subject of historical study.[3] However, recent work by historians such as Phillipe Buc and Christina Pössel has sharply challenged how we conceptualise the notion of 'ritual' in the context of

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[1] *Monty Python and the Holy Grail.* Dirs. T. Gilliam & T. Jones (1975).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Interview with Janet Nelson (30 May 2008). Available: <http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/interviews/Nelson_Janet.html> [Accessed 17.1.13].

early medieval history.[4] In a controversial and strident critique of its traditional treatment by early medieval historians, Buc reconsiders rituals as inherently dangerous, given the potential for disruption, as well as for competition over meanings.[5] It is this latter danger that the Pythons' exasperated King Arthur discovers. Buc also stresses that we do not have full access to early medieval rituals; their meaning is mediated and manipulated through texts.[6] Similarly, Pössel argues in favour of the 'demystification' of ritual; rituals are not 'constitutive', as agency is the province not of ritual but of historical actors.[7] From this standpoint, Arthur's kingship is not contingent on the ritual that gave him possession of Excalibur, but on the acceptance of his authority.

A renewed focus on Carolingian political ritual is particularly appropriate in 2014, which marks the twelve-hundredth anniversary of the death of the dynasty's most prominent member, Charles the Great (d. 814), better known as Charlemagne. Hailed as the 'father of Europe' in his own time, Charlemagne conquered large swathes of Europe, and 'revived the office of Roman emperor in the West (not known there since 476)'.[8] His legacy is complex and contested; indeed, a curious company including twelfth-century emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Napoleon and the European Union have all laid some claim to the figure of Charlemagne since his death.[9]

Yet this article is not concerned only with endings, but also with beginnings. It will offer an exploration of Carolingian political ritual between the inauguration of the first Carolingian monarch, Pippin III, in 751, and the imperial coronation of Charlemagne in 800. It will explore inauguration rituals, alongside royal funerals and baptisms, political submissions, and liturgical developments. The world of the

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[4] See P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Oxford, 2001); C. Pössel, 'The magic of early medieval ritual', *Early Medieval History*, 17.2 (2009); cf. G. Koziol, 'The dangers of polemic: is ritual still an interesting topic of historical study?', *Early Medieval History*, 11.4 (2002).

[5] Buc, *Dangers*, 8-9.

[6] Ibid., 1-2.

[7] Pössel, 'The magic of early medieval ritual', 116 & n.17.

[8] J. Story, 'Introduction: Charlemagne's reputation' in her (ed.) *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 1-2.

[9] Ibid., 2; M. Becher, *Charlemagne*, trans. D.S. Bachrach (New Haven, 2003), 5.

Frankish aristocracy was inherently competitive,[10] and rituals were one means through which the new Carolingian dynasty could bolster its authority against potential challengers. As we shall see, tradition often played a significant role in these rituals. However the popular image, projected by such works as Anthony Hope's *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1894) and Hergé's Tintin adventure, *King Ottokar's Sceptre* (1938-39), of rulers as dependent on utterly inflexible rituals and traditions for their authority, is not reflective of medieval practice.[11] Rituals were often staged as ad hoc responses to crises, and innovation and improvisation clearly took place. This article will also stress the spiritual dimension of such 'political' rituals, which has often been underplayed in the traditional narrative. Ultimately, it will become clear that the meaning of rituals was often unfixed, and open to conflicting interpretations.

The ritual elevation of Pippin III, the father of Charlemagne, to the Frankish throne in 751 was fundamentally conditioned by crisis. The *Continuation of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, which is usually considered to be a contemporary narrative produced under the patronage of Pippin's uncle, claims that Pippin, with 'the consent and advice of all the Franks', sought and received papal endorsement for his elevation to the kingship.[12] The reported procedure for his inauguration is aligned with Frankish tradition: 'In accordance with that order anciently required, he was chosen king by all the Franks, consecrated by the bishops and received the homage of the great men.'[13] No reference is made to the deposition of the incumbent Merovingian monarch, Childeric III, whose dynasty, also known as the 'long-haired kings', had reigned for some 294 years.[14] The Continuator's refrain, laying stress upon the support of 'all the Franks', is an appeal to the established

[10] S. Airlie, 'Charlemagne and the aristocracy: captains and kings', in (ed.) J. Story, *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 90.

[11] S. Airlie, 'Thrones, dominions, powers: some European points of comparison for the Stone of Destiny' in (eds) R. Welander, D.J. Breeze & T.O. Clancy, *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon* (Edinburgh, 2003), 123-4.

[12] *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar*, trans. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill (London, 1960), 102; R. Collins, *Charlemagne* (Houndmills, 1998), 3.

[13] *Fredegar*, 102.

[14] P. Fouracre, 'The Long Shadow of the Merovingians', in (ed.) J. Story, *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 5.

consensual model of Frankish politics at the level of the elite; a model underscored by repeated references to political assemblies throughout the chronicle sources.[15]

The so-called *Royal Frankish Annals* offer a similar but more elaborate account, with an embassy dispatched to Pope Zacharias 'to inquire whether it was good or not that the king of the Franks should wield no royal power'. The response was that 'it was better to call him king who had the royal power than the one who did not', hence Zacharias 'commanded by virtue of his apostolic authority that Pepin should be made king.'[16] This probably amounts to an appeal to the moral and spiritual authority of the papacy, as in this period - centuries before the age of papal monarchy - the pope possessed no legal jurisdiction over such affairs. The *Annals* subsequently report that Pippin was 'elected king by the custom of the Franks', again emphasising the importance of the traditional acclamation of the new king by the assembled Frankish aristocrats.[17] Pippin was then 'anointed by the hand of Archbishop Boniface of saintly memory' at Soissons, and 'Childeric, who was falsely called king, was tonsured' and placed in monastic confinement.[18] This requires some unpacking. To begin with Childeric, the ritualised shearing of his hair transformed him into an ecclesiastical figure, and thus stripped him of his secular identity.[19] But he was also shorn of his dynastic identity as one of the 'long-haired kings', as the distinctive hairstyle of the Merovingians was 'a badge of rank' (although, as Nelson has convincingly argued, it was unlikely to have marked them as sacral figures).[20] The choice of Soissons as the site for Pippin's elevation could represent an attempt to exploit, and assert ownership of, the traditional royal associations of a Merovingian palace site.[21] However, the reported anointing of a Frankish king with unction (holy oil) in an inauguration ritual was a novelty and, coupled with the appeal to the papacy, could suggest that Pippin

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[15] J.L. Nelson, 'The Lord's Anointed and the people's choice: Carolingian royal ritual', in (eds) D. Cannadine & S. Price, *Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987), 147.

[16] *Carolingian Chronicles*, trans. B. Scholz (Michigan, 1972), 39.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] The same fate would befall prominent opponents of Charlemagne such as his rebellious son Pippin 'the Hunchback' and Duke Tassilo of Bavaria.

[20] Nelson, 'Lord's Anointed', 140-1.

[21] R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), 152; cf. Airlie, 'Thrones', 125.

and his adherents felt obliged to embrace new forms of authority in order to, in Enright's phrase, 'bridge the charismatic gap' and overcome the traditional authority of the Merovingians.[22] Enright contends that the innovative inclusion of unction may have appealed to Pippin as it bolstered his position through the notion of 'untouchability', derived from the Old Testament, although the impact of this ideal is questionable.[23] As Nelson has argued, the Frankish reception of this new rite was ambivalent, as reflected by the surprising absence of references to it in Carolingian court writings and correspondence.[24] What 'mattered most' to contemporaries appears to have been the Frankish (indeed, Merovingian) tradition of the acclamation.[25] This reverence for the customary is paralleled by the symbolic reissue of the traditional Frankish law-code, *Lex Salica*, by Pippin and later Charlemagne.[26]

Yet it is not certain whether Pippin was anointed in 751; the Continuator only tells us that Pippin was 'consecrated', which is an ambiguous term that could merely signify that he received a blessing from the bishops present.[27] The role of Boniface, Archbishop of Mainz, in proceedings can also be challenged. Correspondence between Pippin and Boniface evinces tension between them; moreover, Boniface has been seen as more closely connected with Pippin's brother and rival Carloman.[28] The fact that Boniface is referred to in the entry of 751 as 'of saintly memory', when he was martyred only in 754, betrays that this was not a contemporary composition; it seems more likely that this is a retrospective insertion to associate Pippin with an aura of saintly legitimacy and prestige.[29] McKitterick has argued that the *Continuation* is not a contemporary source, and also re-dates the *Clausula de Unctione Pippini* (which purports to be from 767 and

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[22] M.J. Enright, *Iona, Tara and Soissons* (Berlin, 1985), 122-3.

[23] Ibid., 117; Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals', in her *Politics and ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), 290.

[24] Ibid., 292; 290.

[25] Ibid., 291.

[26] P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1999), 35; 47.

[27] Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals', 291.

[28] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 150; Becher, 36.

[29] *Carolingian Chronicles*, 39-40.

largely echoes the claims of the *Royal Annals*) to the late ninth century.[30] Her argument for a later date for the *Continuation* is not conclusive, although the silence in papal sources can cast further doubt on the notion that Pippin was anointed in 751.[31] In any case, Pippin's undisputed (re-)anointing in 754 by Pope Stephen II, which will be discussed later, could suggest that the first ceremony was in some way problematic.

Charlemagne's biographer Einhard, writing after his subject's death, similarly claims that Childeric was deposed on papal authority - although he credits this to Pope Stephen II - and denigrates the Merovingians as impotent rulers, with only 'the empty name of king'; power instead rested in the hands of the mayors of the palace, most notably Pippin.[32] Thus the *Royal Annals* and Einhard present and justify the deposition of 751 as a crisis of Merovingian legitimacy. But underlying this was a power struggle within the Carolingian family itself. When Pippin's elder brother Carloman, with whom he shared power, had retired to a monastic life in 746, it can be inferred that a deal was made whereby the childless Pippin would respect the succession of Carloman's son Drogo. However, the birth of Pippin's first son Charles in 748 dramatically altered the political situation and naturally caused Pippin to renege on this agreement.[33] The opposition of Drogo, who remained a danger until his capture in 753, was compounded not only by the prospect of Carloman's return from his monastic exile, but also by the threat posed by Pippin's half-brother Grifo, 'a powerful alternative focus of loyalty for the aristocracy' as another son of Charles Martel.[34] Grifo was only neutralised in 753 when he was killed in battle.[35] This dynastic struggle, which can be partly reconstructed through charter evidence, is masked by the pro-Carolingian sources; Einhard's refusal to describe Charlemagne's childhood doubtless lay in a desire to avoid acknowledging the acrimony of this period.[36] Despite the claims that Pippin

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[30] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 138; a view endorsed by M. Costambeys, M. Innes, S. Maclean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011), 33.

[31] McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 144.

[32] Einhard, *The Life of Charlemagne*, trans. D. Ganz in his *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer: Two Lives of Charlemagne* (London, 2008), 20-1.

[33] Collins, *Charlemagne*, 32; Costambeys et al., 62; Enright, 114.

[34] Collins, *Charlemagne*, 32-3; Costambeys et al., 55-6.

[35] Collins, *Charlemagne*, 33.

[36] Fouracre, 15-17; Becher, 42; cf. Einhard, *Life of Charlemagne*, 21.

was elected with unanimity then, there was patently opposition to his rule. Whilst it is significant that he was able to attract sufficient support to stage the ritual in the first place,[37] the usurpation of 751 was clearly a significant risk, designed to raise Pippin over his dynastic competitors.[38]

By 754, Pippin's position appears more secure and it was a foreign, not domestic, crisis that triggered the next significant Carolingian political ritual. In the face of Lombard depredations against papal lands, Pope Stephen II personally crossed the Alps during the winter of 753-754 to appeal to Pippin for support.[39] This episode is instructive in a number of ways. The divergent accounts of the first meeting between the pope and Pippin at Ponthion exemplify Buc's argument concerning the textual function of ritual as the 'keystone to a narrative'.[40] Papal sources report that Pippin received the pope with great honour and prostrated himself before Stephen, whilst Frankish sources claim that it was the pope and his entourage who prostrated themselves before the Frankish king.[41] This underlines the potential for narrative manipulations of ritual to delineate power-relationships, which gives rise to competing accounts of early medieval ceremonies.

In exchange for Frankish support against the Lombards, the pope himself anointed Pippin and his two young sons, Charlemagne and Carloman, at the monastery of Saint-Denis; an important Frankish spiritual site.[42] This ceremony conferred additional legitimacy on Pippin, as it linked him to both the prestigious figure of the pope and, through him, St Peter. Moreover, it allowed Pippin to underpin the succession of his dynasty by hallowing his two sons. According to the papal account, the young Charlemagne had also been dispatched almost a hundred miles at the head of an advance party to greet the pope.[43] Thus the spotlight in 754 was

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[37] Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals', 151; Pössel, n.17.

[38] Becher, 33; Fouracre, 17; Costambeys, et al., 62.

[39] Nelson, 'The Lord's Anointed', 142.

[40] P. Buc, 'Political rituals and political imagination in the medieval West from the fourth century to the eleventh', in (eds) P. Linehan & J.L. Nelson, *The Medieval World* (London, 2001), 190; 198.

[41] Buc, *Dangers*, 260.

[42] *Carolingian Chronicles*, 40.

[43] *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, 2nd edn., trans. R. Davis (Liverpool, 2007), 62.

fixed firmly on Pippin and his immediate family, distinguishing them as special and hence worthy of obedience.[44] Yet the events of 754 should not be viewed only in light of an attempt to legitimise the Carolingian line. It can also be understood as an appeal for divine favour by Pippin on behalf of himself and his family,[45] and the setting of Saint-Denis is suggestive of an attempt to invoke the intercession of the eponymous Frankish saint.

Similarly, the life-cycle rituals of the ruling dynasty, such as their funerary rites, clearly possessed both a spiritual and political dimension, which could be harnessed to bolster dynastic authority.[46] In 768, the dying Pippin III divided his realm between his sons 'with the approval of the Frankish [elite]'.[47] He died on 24th September and was buried 'as he had wished' at the royal abbey of Saint-Denis, 'with great honour'.[48] Nelson plausibly envisages a restricted audience, but a high degree of elite participation in this ceremony.[49] Like his father before him, Pippin was inserting himself into a tradition of royal burials at Saint-Denis, and thus co-opted part of their prestige, as well as spiritual legitimacy through association with an important Frankish saint.[50] His eldest son likewise expressed a desire to be buried there, which could point to an attempt, albeit unsuccessful, to cultivate a more coherent strategy of legitimation.[51] Pippin's funerary arrangements would naturally have served to magnify the distinction of the royal family. However, the reputed manner of his burial, with the corpse notably positioned face-down and buried under the entrance of the church, is strongly suggestive of 'penitential humility' and a sincere desire to propitiate God - perhaps

[44] S. Airlie, 'Towards a Carolingian Aristocracy' in his *Power and Its Problems in Carolingian Europe* (Ashgate, 2012), 123; cf. Airlie, 'Thrones', 125.

[45] S. Airlie, pers. comm.

[46] M. McCormick, *Eternal victory: triumphal rulership in late Antiquity, Byzantium and the early medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986), 367-8.

[47] *Fredegar*, 121.

[48] Ibid.

[49] J.L. Nelson, 'Carolingian Royal Funerals' in (eds) F. Theuws & J.L. Nelson, *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (Boston: Brill, 2000), 142.

[50] Ibid., 141.

[51] Ibid., 144. Competition between Carloman and Charlemagne undercut this, as the former chose Rheims as his burial place, probably to differentiate himself from his rival, see 176; Charlemagne's plans moreover came to nothing, as he was buried at Aachen.

for the unscrupulous actions that won him the throne.[52] The spiritual dimension of this funerary ritual should not be neglected then.

Nevertheless, Pippin's funeral was followed swiftly by the synchronised royal elevation of his sons Charlemagne and Carloman in the episcopal cities of Noyon and Soissons respectively on the 9th October; significantly the feast day of Saint Denis, when the intercessory powers of the saint were thought to be most potent.[53] Whilst this event was evidently choreographed, Charlemagne is not thought to have returned to Noyon, thus the setting of his inauguration ceremony seems like an improvised response to what was effectively a crisis – a temporary disruption to the kingship brought about by the death of his royal father.[54] The funeral can thus be viewed as 'ritualised crisis' that allowed an expression of aristocratic unity before the realm was reconfigured.[55]

The baptismal rituals of the Carolingians were also exploited as a platform to highlight the distinction of the dynasty. The baptismal shroud of Gisela, Pippin's infant daughter, was transported to Rome in 758, and was deposited by the pope in the burial chapel of St Petronilla; a saint particularly venerated by the Carolingian royal house.[56] This act evidently had both spiritual and dynastic resonances. The choice of high-ranking, battle-hardened Frankish aristocrats as 'couriers' for this shroud was also significant, as such ritualised acts served to inculcate an appreciation of the 'sacred dynastic aura around the new royal family' amongst the elite.[57]

The baptism of Charlemagne's third son Carloman in Rome in 781 also provided the occasion for a dynastic statement. Pope Hadrian personally baptised Carloman and anointed him and his younger brother Louis as sub-kings over Italy and

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[52] Ibid., 142. By contrast, Pippin's father was buried under the choir. For Pippin's dubious actions, see Enright, 115.

[53] *Fredegar*, 121, n.2 & n.3; Becher, 46.

[54] D. Bullough, *The Age of Charlemagne*, 45; Nelson, 'Funerals', 135; cf. Collins, *Charlemagne*, 38.

[55] Buc, *Dangers*, 83; Nelson, 'Lord's Anointed', 151.

[56] *Liber Pontificalis*, 80, n.6.

[57] Airlie, 'Towards a Carolingian Aristocracy', 124.

Aquitaine respectively.[58] A papal baptism was clearly prestigious and appears to have been coveted by contemporary dynasts.[59] Together, the rituals of 781 stressed the specialness of the Carolingian royal line. The creation of the two sub-kings also represents the first expression of Charlemagne's succession plans. However, his eldest sons, Pippin 'the Hunchback' and Charles the Younger, had not yet been provided for.[60] Strikingly, Carloman was rechristened 'Pippin' at his baptism, and this has frequently been viewed as a signal implying that the elder Pippin was being edged out of the succession.[61] Conversely, as Nelson has demonstrated, he retained his prominent position at court.[62] The ins and outs of Pippin's fortunes need not concern us, but the very ambiguity of his position is significant. The uncertainties around these ceremonies may well reflect the often improvised nature of Carolingian political ritual. But this episode also suggests that the meaning of rituals was not always immediately transparent; indeed, with this ritual Charlemagne may have been deliberately circumspect. A clearer attempt to fix the status of the elder Pippin, which excludes him from the succession on the questionable grounds of illegitimacy, can be seen in the 'officially commissioned' history of the bishops of Metz, begun by Paul the Deacon three years later.[63]

The potential for uncertainty in the interpretation of rituals and the importance of texts in shaping their reception can be underscored by the case of the ritualised submission of Duke Tassilo, Charlemagne's cousin, in 787. Under Frankish military pressure, Tassilo 'delivered himself into vassalage... and confessed that he had sinned and acted wickedly'.[64] His 'humiliation' was amplified by the surrender of thirteen hostages, including his son, to Charlemagne.[65] In the ceremony of 787, Tassilo also ceded 'a staff on the head of which was the likeness of a man',

[58] P.D. King, *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Kendal, 1987), 81.

[59] Duke Tassilo of Bavaria had similarly arranged for his son, Theodo, to be baptised in Rome by the pope in 772. See S. Airlie, 'Narratives of triumph and rituals of submission: Charlemagne's mastering of Bavaria', *TRHS*, 9 (1999), 99.

[60] Pippin 'the Hunchback' was born of Himiltrude, Charlemagne's first partner. Charles the Younger, like Louis and Carloman, was born of Charlemagne's later wife Hildegard. See C.I. Hammer, '"Pippinus Rex": Pippin's Plot of 792 and Bavaria', *Traditio*, 63 (2008), 250.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Nelson, *Opposition to Charlemagne* (London, 2009), 23.

[63] Hammer, 250.

[64] King, 85.

[65] Airlie, 'Narratives of triumph', 105; King, 85.

seemingly an object symbolic of the traditional authority of his dynasty, the Agilolfings, over the duchy.[66] Tassilo was allowed to retain his dukedom; however, he now clearly held it directly from the Frankish king.[67] Both a contemporary Latin poem produced for Charlemagne's court, possibly intended to shape the Frankish opinion of Tassilo, and a Bavarian source which survives only through its early modern transmission, place a more positive spin on events. Tassilo's submission is balanced by his rehabilitation, as symbolised through the gifts bestowed on the humbled duke by Charlemagne.[68] That the latter was ultimately dissatisfied is clear from his subsequent actions. After a short interval, Tassilo was summoned and appeared at Ingelheim in 788, apparently without first seeking assurances in the form of hostages as he had at earlier meetings, which suggests that he felt he had 'gained a level of security' in the events of 787.[69] At Ingelheim, he was condemned at what was effectively a 'show-trial''.[70] With Tassilo tonsured and removed from secular affairs, Charlemagne was able to annexe Bavaria. The meaning of the ritual of 787 thus appears to have been somewhat ambiguous. Both parties exited the ceremony with different views of what had been achieved.[71] The sources moreover reveal that this ceremony could be configured in different ways. This episode is therefore illustrative of the contingency of ritual acts, and - as Airlie has noted - the 'active' role of texts as part of the 'apparatus' that conditioned how rituals were perceived.[72]

Turning to liturgical developments under the Carolingians, we can again see the interplay of tradition and innovation, similar to the case of Pippin's inauguration. The liturgy also represents another area in which political and religious concerns fundamentally intermeshed.[73] Crisis can be seen to have catalysed developments in

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[66] Ibid., 156; Airlie, 'Narratives of triumph', 111.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., 112-3.

[69] Ibid., 113.

[70] Ibid., 108; 113-4.

[71] Cf. T. Reuter, 'Contextualising Canossa: excommunication, penance, surrender, reconciliation' in his *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, (ed.) J.L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006), 165.

[72] Airlie, 'Narratives of triumph', 113.

[73] M. McCormick, 'The liturgy of war in the Early Middle Ages: crisis, litanies and the Carolingian monarchy', *Viator*, 15 (1984) 3; E. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, 1946), 14.

this sphere, particularly in the turbulent 790s.[74] A letter from Charlemagne to his queen, Fastrada, in September 791 on the eve of his crossing into Avar territory epitomises these changes. It relays in great detail the provisions for 'three days of litanies' by the army that included votive masses, litanic processions, a fast, and a sliding-scale of alms-giving in order to beseech divine favour for military victory.[75] Charlemagne also requested that Fastrada, at court in Regensburg, make similar arrangements.[76] The spontaneous character of the event is clear from both the letter and the account in the *Royal Annals*.[77] Whilst like anointing ceremonies, the initiative appears to have been clerical, royal authority was used to extend such liturgical practices.[78] This can be located within a wider context of royal sponsorship of victory liturgies under the Carolingians, as the production of the elaborate Sacramentaries (mass-books) of Angoulême and Gellone attest.[79] Victory services and prayers for rulers in time of conflict were not original; there is some evidence of similar Merovingian traditions in the eighth century.[80] What distinguishes Carolingian practice appears to be a marked expansion and intensification of these activities under direct royal patronage.[81] In such liturgies, the Carolingian royal family was once again foregrounded, along with key Frankish institutions, such as the judges and the army.[82] Indeed, McCormick contends that the likely purpose of such rituals was to intensify identification with the ruler amongst his subjects, bridging the gap between the centre and localities.[83] It is difficult to gauge the impact of these central commands on the ground, but the severity with which Charlemagne responded to the alleged refusal of Abbot Potho of St Vincenzo to honour the monarch in the traditional psalm may suggest that efforts were made at enforcement.[84] Yet the spiritual intention of

[74] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 353; cf. Kantorowicz, 47.
[75]King, 309-10.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid., 310, cf. 87; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 353.
[78] King, 310; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 347.
[79]Ibid., 347; 352.
[80] Ibid., 344-5.
[81] Ibid., 347.
[82] Nelson, 'The Lord's Anointed', 153.
[83] McCormick, 'The liturgy of war', 22; cf. Kantorowicz, 62.
[84] McCormick, 'The liturgy of war', 3-4.

these liturgical acts as part of an effort to secure divine favour for the dynasty and the realm should not be underestimated.

It is fitting to end with some consideration of Charlemagne's imperial coronation at St Peter's in Rome on Christmas Day 800. The *Royal Annals* report that Charlemagne was crowned by Pope Leo III and subsequently acclaimed as emperor.[85] The meaning of this ritual is inherently uncertain and the accounts we have are 'subtly argumentative and were written as part of a contemporary struggle to control interpretation'.[86] For example, the Frankish claim that the pope subsequently 'adored', or prostrated himself before, the new emperor finds no echo in the papal record and may reflect an effort to downplay Leo's seemingly superior role in bestowing the imperial title by placing him in a deferential position to Charlemagne.[87]

The context for the imperial coronation was that of two concurrent crises in Rome and, at least from a Frankish perspective, Byzantium.[88] The entries in the so-called *Annals of Lorsch* are our nearest contemporary source, and were likely composed shortly after 801.[89] Collins contends that these annals may represent how the issue of Charlemagne's elevation was first communicated to those in Francia.[90] The journey to Rome was precipitated by remembrance of the 'injury that the Romans had done to Pope Leo', when the latter had been attacked by a mob, apparently with the intention of mutilating him so as to render him unsuitable for office.[91] The entry for 801 justifies Charlemagne's elevation by claiming that the imperial title, the 'name of emperor', was vacant given the unprecedented rule of a woman, the Empress Irene, in Byzantium.[92] The Lorsch account also advances the

[85] King, 93.

[86] Costambeys, et al., 160; cf. Buc, *Dangers*, passim.

[87] King, 93; cf. *Liber Pontificalis*, 188. This discrepancy recalls the competing accounts of the meeting of Pippin III and Stephen II at Ponthion.

[88] J. Herrin, *Women in Purple: Rulers of Medieval Byzantium* (Oxford, 2001), 121.

[89] Collins, 'Charlemagne's imperial coronation and the Annals of Lorsch', in (ed.) J. Story, *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), 64.

[90] Ibid., 66.

[91] King, 144.

[92] Ibid.

territorial logic that Charlemagne held the traditional seats of empire in the west.[93] This challenge to Byzantine authority can also be situated within a broader context of Frankish competition with the Byzantines. The Franks had earlier taken aim at the eastern empire in the religious sphere, in the mistaken belief that the Byzantines had turned to idol-worship; a practice the Franks condemned in the *Libri Carolini*, or 'Books of Charles', and at the Council of Frankfurt in 794.[94] Frankish opposition to Byzantium should not be overstated though, as their efforts to secure Byzantine recognition of Charlemagne's imperial title attest.[95]

However, Einhard claims that Charlemagne 'was so averse to [the imperial title] that he said he would never have entered the church that day… if he had known the pope's plan beforehand.'[96] It is very plausible that the protestation ascribed to Charlemagne was in fact a manifestation of a classical trope whereby worthy candidates would initially refuse an office, thus underlining their humility.[97] Alternatively, Charlemagne's supposed displeasure may reflect some retrospective unease about the role of the pope in the ceremony. In 813, it was Charlemagne and not the pope who crowned his son Louis as co-emperor in Aachen, following in the tradition of the Roman emperors, whose authority was by no means dependent upon the papacy.[98] Whilst there is clear evidence of prior planning of the ritual, as suggested by the perfectly timed arrival of envoys with symbols of favour from Jerusalem, there does not appear to have been a completely coherent strategy behind the imperial coronation.[99] There was a surprising delay in the formulation of Charlemagne's imperial title, and it was arguably not until 812 that it was deployed on the Frankish coinage.[100] It is possible to view the imperial coronation rather as a tactical attempt to press Charlemagne's ambitions in Italy,

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[93] Ibid.

[94] Bullough, 111-2.

[95] Costambeys et al., 168.

[96] Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, trans. J.L. Nelson in her 'Why are there so many accounts of Charlemagne's imperial coronation?' in her *Courts, Elites and Gendered Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2007), 7.

[97] Collins, *Charlemagne*, 144; as Bullough has noted (*Age of Charlemagne*, 183), a modern parallel is when the Speaker of the House of Commons is elected and has to be 'dragged' to the chair.

[98] King, 105; cf. *Liber Pontificalis*, 187, n.59.

[99] King, 93.

[100] R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), 116.

exploiting Byzantine weakness and papal desperation; this is hinted at by the perceived threat to Byzantine Sicily recorded by the Eastern chronicler Theophanes.[101] Cumulatively, this reflects the often ad hoc character of Carolingian political ritual. There was some continuity in practice, however, in that ritual was once more used to underpin the future of the dynasty, as Charles the Younger was finally anointed king by the pope on the same occasion.[102]

In conclusion, the frequent foregrounding of members of the Carolingian family in key ceremonies served to shore up their dynastic authority in the competitive world of Frankish politics. This impression of Carolingian exaltation should not be pushed too far though: Charlemagne evidently remained a relatively accessible monarch.[103] Buc has rightly highlighted that the meaning of a ritual was unfixed and ultimately often contested, as witnessed by variations in the textual accounts. Whilst tradition could play a significant role in contemporary political ritual, the form of Carolingian rituals was likewise unfixed. There was a degree of improvisation and creativity, which would seem to be partly rooted in the fact that key rituals between 751 and 800 were often staged as ad hoc responses to both internal and external crises. That is not to say they were ineffective at fostering the legitimacy of the Carolingian line. The problematic origins of this new royal dynasty arguably continued to haunt the family's efforts to transmute its power into authority. This may also account for the new forms and authorities embraced in royal ritual, as well as in Carolingian exertions to shape perception through the writing and rewriting of history.[104] In some respects, the Carolingians were inventing a new tradition: one of Carolingian authority. Yet, it should not be forgotten that there was clearly a spiritual dimension to many of these 'political' rituals, which is often lost given the prevailing historiographical emphasis on legitimation. Moreover, it should be remembered that ritual was just one means of promoting legitimacy: judicious patronage, conspicuous Christianity, and military success likewise played an important part in securing the Carolingian line.

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[101] Costambeys et al., 167; Collins, *Charlemagne*, 148; King, 339.

[102] *Liber Pontificalis*, 188.

[103] Nelson, *Opposition to Charlemagne*, 6.

[104] See R. McKitterick 'Political ideology in Carolingian historiography' in (eds) Y. Hen & M. Innes, *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000).

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The strength of rhetoric in Christian conservative and radical feminist movements: comparisons and outcomes

Connor Evans Moreland·

Over the course of the latter twentieth century in the western world there has been a rise of several notable grassroots and counter cultural movements. This article aims to expose the similarities between two of these influential movements: Christian social conservatism and radical and cultural feminism, and to emphasize how both of these movements are largely founded upon a strong, unmovable rhetoric and the use of folk devils and an overall fear of any outside influence in order to legitimize their fears over a perceived threat. This article will also examine how changing perceptions and ideologies within both the Christian right and the radical feminist movement have resulted in a backlash amongst those who consider themselves the 'true' practitioners of their respective movements ideologies.

When analysing the cultural movements of the latter half of the twentieth century in the Western world it is important to explore their structures and ideologies, not as the products of static events and situations rooted in either the purely confrontational or as culturally and morally accepted notions of an idealised past, but instead as universal experiences, shared across cultures. This article will build upon this approach by analysing how these concepts can be applied to two very different examples of western identity politics. The similarities between these cultures in their approach to these concepts will then be analysed through the use of sociological theory, in order to explain why competition and tradition are so firmly rooted in these cultures, and yet at the same time, exist in a state of fluidity that means that they can represent completely different values.

AMERICAN SOCIAL CONSERVATIVES AND THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT

Practitioners of American social conservatism can be said to exist, and to be motivated almost entirely within their own self-created rhetoric. The most obvious example of this can be seen within the context of the so-called 'culture

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wars[1]', in which a morally absolute battle for America's very future is fought between those who support family, faith and the American way, and those who are seen as forcing a politically correct, anti-family and wholly anti-God rhetoric on 'the silent majority'.

This approach to political mobilisation appears to have some influence over both corporate and public opinion, and can be perceived as being somewhat legitimate. An example of this would be the controversy surrounding *Chick-fil-A* CEO Dan T. Cathy over comments he made on same-sex marriage,[2] stating that 'God's judgment' was coming as a result.[3] Cathy came under criticism from LGBT rights organisations for his views, with several protests and campaigns being organised to show contempt for his restaurant chain[4]. However, amidst this call to resistance appeared a large, grassroots show of support from the Christian Right. 2008 Republican Presidential candidate, Mike Huckabee, was amongst those who openly chose to show their support.

Taking advantage of social media outlets, Huckabee designated a 'Chick-fil-A Appreciation Day[5]', in which customers could show their support for *Chick-fil-A* by coming out in large numbers and eating there. This campaign was clearly a success[6]. The popular media reporting put particular emphasis on the sheer length of the lines amongst those waiting to be served, as well as the unexpectedly large turnout. This resulted in the 'silent majority' of conservative Christians now turning more vocal. The media could no longer dismiss Christian fundamentalists as a vocal minority, a relic from a more ignorant past. The numbers spoke for themselves, and the media would frame these numbers alongside those who were protesting, as to create the impression that both sides of the debate were now on equal standing and were both legitimate.

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[1] L. Wilcox, *Onward Christian Soldiers?* (USA, 2006), 22-23.

[2] M. Collier, *Chick-fil-A President says 'God's Judgement' Coming Because of Same-Sex Marriage* in *The Christian Post* (July 18 2012).

[3] Ibid.

[4] M. T. Hall, *Gay-rights supporters kiss in, kiss off Chick-fil-A* in *U-T San Diego* (August 3 2012).

[5] A. Bingham, *Chick-fil-A Supporters Line Up for Appreciation Day* in *Abc News* (August 1 2012).

[6] A. Bingham, *Chick-fil-A Has 'Record-Setting' Sales on Appreciation Day* in *Abc News* (August 2 2012).

Another example of this phenomenon would be that of the controversy surrounding the star of the A&E reality television programme *Duck Dynasty,* Phil Robertson. After Robertson was accused of making homophobic comments during an interview with GQ magazine[7], A&E network suspended Robertson out of fear of being associated with his controversial beliefs. However, upon hearing the news that Robertson was punished for his traditional Christian beliefs, many fans and conservative Christians reacted with shock[8]. A large grassroots movement sprung up. Like the *Chick-fil-A* controversy, the number of supporters for Robertson would have an impact on the media, with the controversy providing a clear incident that would visualise the culture war in terms that would be more comfortable for the religious right than the left; freedom of speech was now apparently under attack, and the right would emphasise this to claim legitimacy. By appealing to the American institution of free speech, the Christian Right was able to use a concept that appealed to the apolitical majority to boost its own argument. Like the *Chick-fil-A* controversy, the Robertson incident would prove the often claimed belief amongst the Christian Right that their traditions were held amongst a sizable number, and that the liberal media were actively competing for social acceptance of 'deviant' sexual behaviour[9].

These examples of political consumerism, and what it can tell us about the Christian Right, as well as the changes that the introduction of postmodern institutions such as the mass media have brought onto sociology, are important for a number of reasons. It is clear that an overtly competitive atmosphere can be seen not just in these controversies but in the Christian Right movement in general, both historically and today. Christian Right organisations and pressure groups frequently and repeatedly refer to the notion of 'spiritual warfare', and references to being 'at war' with the Devil and his army are not uncommon[10]. The 'culture war' for America's future carries with it moralist implications, with emphasis being on the clear divide between good and evil, God and Satan, the moral

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[7] D. Magary, *What the Duck?* in *GQ* (January 2014).

[8] *Reactions to Phil Robertson's suspension, supporters question A&E's decision: 'Miley Cyrus gets a laugh but Phil Robertson gets suspended'* in *Christian Today* (20 December 2013).

[9] *AFTAH stands with Duck Dynasty's Phil Robertson against GLAAD's 'Homo-Fascist' Campaign to Demonize Him* in *Americans For Truth About Homosexuality* (December 19 2013).

[10] Wilcox, *Onward Christian Soldiers?,* 135.

majority and the Hollywood progressives forcing their values down the throats of a hard-working, simple majority[11].

This rhetoric, based on a clear moral compass and an unmovable ideology based on affirming itself, creates many opportunities for threats to appear. Any new social movement that appears can be dismissed as being evil by biblical standards, with analysis of why this is so being a secondary concern to be added later. Thus, analysis comes only after a culture is judged by static biblical morality. Homosexuality and abortion are evil because the bible tells us so, and any social problems related are simply evidence that God is right. There is little room for critical analysis amongst the Christian Right community.

This brings us directly to the Christian Right movement's largely self-constructed approach to tradition. Tradition exists amongst Christian Right organisations largely as nostalgia for a vaguely defined 'golden age' of Christian identity, consisting of universally shared moral standards on sexuality and lifestyle. The consensus amongst the movement can be said to be that these values, as well as a Christian identity, still exist as a 'silent majority' and that the persuasive role that the mass media has had in promoting homosexuality, promiscuity and violence are presumably drowning out the voice of 'real' America[12].

The growth of the mass media, the most notable example being the internet, has given this claim of a 'silent majority' some legitimacy. While the overwhelming wave of support from working class, seemingly average Americans during the *Chick-fil-A* controversy provided a rare visual example of this in motion, it should also be noted that a clear process of political and consumerist mobilization by both religious and political leaders was also seen.

One example of this would be during the AIDS crisis in the 1980's, in which pastor and leader of predominant Christian Right pressure group *Moral Majority*[13]*,* Jerry Falwell, mobilised fellow Christians against the AIDS crisis, or rather those

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[11] *Translating the Democrats' 'Gay Pride' Proclamation* in *Americans For Truth About Homosexuality* (June 5 2008).

[12] L. Wilcox, *Onward Christian Soldiers?,* 182-3.

[13] Ibid., 41.

who could be easily blamed for it, i.e. homosexuals and the sexually promiscuous[14]. The AIDS crisis would benefit the Christian Right movement by providing the movement's notions of traditional sexual morality with a sense of legitimacy. In terms of which morality was destined to save America, AIDS would arguably show that the values of the Christian Right were 'right all along.[15]' This shows that the Christian Right, both in the past and today, has focused its efforts upon mobilizing large grassroots movements to influence society and politics.

By appealing to the Christian Right's nostalgia through conservative sexual values, religious leaders could engineer a moral panic regarding homosexuals. An example of this would be Anita Bryant's *Save our Children* campaign. Throughout the late 1970's, Bryant and her organisation would repeatedly attempt to link the gay rights movement directly to paedophilia[16]. Although Bryant's rhetoric has not aged well, attempts at linking homosexuality and gay rights to paedophilia have not disappeared.

Instead, it could be argued that the growth of the mass media has only allowed such views to be broadcast further. The LGBT rights movement is now using the internet as a platform for their activism, much of which is now aimed at young adults, such as the *It Gets Better* campaign, which is advocated by many popular celebrities[17]. This allows the Christian Right to claim legitimacy by claiming that these campaigns, which put increasing focus upon LGBT youth in schools, are both a threat to traditional values and an aggressive attack by the gay lobby, with intentions of recruiting the young. Comparisons to paedophilia are often made[18].
Linda Harvey, a committed anti-LGBT activist and founder of Christian Right organisation *Mission America*[19]*,* paints a uniquely dystopian image of what she sees as the natural conclusion of the LGBT rights movement in her *World Net*

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[14] M. Kitzinger, *Introduction* in *The Circuit of Mass Communication* (London, 1998), 4.

[15] Ibid.

[16] W. Hudson, *From Anita Bryant to Today: 'Critical Thinking' Debunks the 'Save our Children' Argument* in *The Huffington Post* (January 3 2013).

[17] The *It Gets Better Project* accessed at http://www.itgetsbetter.org/ (February 2 2014).

[18] P. Baklinski, *The real agenda behind gay anti-bullying clubs in your school* in *Lifes Site News* (September 6 2011).

[19] *Mission America: Christian Commentary on the Culture* accessed in http://www.missionamerica.com/ (February 2 2014).

Daily article, *Josh is taking Matt to the Prom*.[20] Harvey creates a dystopian future, made possible through excessive hate crime legislation and the acceptance of non-biblical lifestyles. To quote:

> With same-sex dating an accepted fact of life, homophobia will be defined as even a raised eyebrow of objectification to the new regime. So open, aggressive ogling and come-ons will be the daily locker-room life of every boy who takes gym.[21]

An emphasis on biblical morality as being the only possible construct for society is emphasised in almost every aspect of Christian conservative politics. Any social movement that begins outside the contexts of this uniquely American institution is immediately dismissed as a threat, with the gay rights movement being the most modern example. Increasing secularisation has only strengthened feelings of persecution, and so the grassroots movements raised are only the natural result of this sense of persecution amongst the Christian Right reaching boiling point.

RADICAL FEMINISM, LESBIAN FEMINISM AND CULTURAL FEMINISM

Another subculture that exists on notions of threat, resistance and a morally static culture would be the radical feminist movement, which reached its most radical during the 1970s and the early 1980s[22]. While the values of the radical feminist movement are almost the exact opposite of those of the Christian Right, some similarities are also seen, especially in regards to the creation of its own folk devils and its focus on creating new traditions based on cultural identity.

An example of this would be the belief amongst radical feminists in 'sexual politics', a concept that is often encapsulated through the phrase 'the personal is political.[23]' It can also be argued that the Christian Right itself adheres to its own form of sexual politics, through its promotion of the traditional family unit as

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[20] L. Harvey, *Josh is taking Matt to the Prom* in *World Net Daily* (August 9 2004).

[21] Ibid.

[22] A. Levy, *Lesbian Nation: When gay women took to the road* in *The New Yorker* (March 2 2009).

[23] L. Napikoski, *The Personal is Political* accessed in <http://womenshistory.about.com/od/feminism/a/consciousness_raising.htm> (February 2 2014).

being the only culturally acceptable model of sexuality. Many radical feminists have essentially the complete opposite of this view of sexual politics. Instead, marriage is seen as a patriarchal system based on oppression, with some radical feminists advocating political lesbianism as a revolutionary response to the oppressive nature of sexuality itself[24]. It should be noted that the 'political lesbianism' advocated at this time was not explicitly sexual as much as it was a form of celibacy.

Like the Christian Right of today, radical feminism was largely grounded in establishing a unique identity and a sense of a shared tradition and culture. However, this tradition was new and formed from the desire to redefine femaleness as being a cultural, rather than a purely biological trait, with the concept being that the identity of 'woman' came before any categorisation of ethnicity, religion or nationality. Women were to be something of a proto-nationality, defined by their biological status as women before any other cultural, social or racial ties.

Alternative spiritualities, which emphasised nature as being female, such as the kind offered by Zsuzsanna Budapest[25] and the work of philosopher Mary Daly, would also prove to be central in the creation of this cultural and spiritual feminism[26]. To quote Daly on patriarchy's destruction of nature, which she judged as being spiritually female:[27]

> This is an extremist book, written in a situation of extremity, written on the edge of a culture that is killing itself and all of sentient life. The Tree of Life has been replaced by the necrophilic symbol of a dead body hanging on dead wood.[28]

Labels of 'womyn' and 'wimmin' were regularly adopted, as to emphasise the movement's cultural uniqueness and separation from a culture that was seen as

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[24] S. Jeffreys, Leeds Revolutionary Feminist Group, *Love Your Enemy?*

[25] The Official Website of *Z. Budapest* . Available: <http://zbudapest.com/> [Accessed 2.02.2014].

[26] M. Daly *Gyn/Ecology,*(London, 1978), 422-24.

[27] Ibid., xi.

[28] Ibid., 17-18.

nothing more than an extension of patriarchy and women's oppression [29]. Women's culture now had to define what a woman was in order to determine if they could be included in what was to be a universal movement consisting of all women. Boundaries had to be set on what constituted femaleness. Transwomen, for example, lacked both certain female biological functions and the factor of being born as women. Their rejection would be based on this rhetoric of women's culture, while also using analysis based on victimhood to legitimise itself. This cultural uniqueness was fundamentally based on biology more than anything else, as the female body was seen as the basis for oppression. This was also seen as largely indifferent to the historical basis of culture, as it was argued that history was a male concept, artificial and mostly indifferent to women.[30]

As this culture was new and, therefore, vulnerable, defences had to be set up. Like the Christian Right, in its unwavering support for the family and its intuitional grounding in social conservatism and tradition, radical and cultural feminists would increasingly focus their movement's energies upon the defence of 'women's spaces', with some going as far as to live a separatist lifestyle, removing themselves from men entirely[31].

This fragility raised tensions between the radical/cultural feminist movements and both mainstream society and the liberal braches of feminism. An example of this difference would be radical feminism's approach to transsexuality.

As the Christian Right has historically done, and is continuing to do, the radical feminist movement would go on to have its very own folk devils. Not unlike the Christian Right's fears over sexual minorities invading and destroying their values and traditions through aggressive cultural competition, radical feminists too identified a social group that play out this invading role for their ideology.

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[29] S. Lucia-Hoagland, ed. *For Lesbians Only,* (London, 1988), Used throughout.

[30] Daly, *Gyn/Ecology,*(London, 1978), 17.

[31] Revolutionary Lesbians, *How to stop choking to death or: separatism* in *For Lesbians Only,* 22-24.

Male to female transsexuals would prove to be a controversial issue amongst radical feminists. Radical feminist academics, such as Janice G. Raymond[32] and Mary Daly[33], regularly denounced the experiences of transwomen, with the recurrent theme being that of the transgendered community as an invasive force, seeking to redefine, colonise and steal female identity from 'women born women.'

Janice G. Raymond's 1979 work *The Transsexual Empire* is perhaps the most infamous example of this theme of transwomen as invaders of female space. Raymond claims for instance that:

> All transsexuals rape women's bodies by reducing the real female form to an artefact, appropriating this body for themselves. However, the transsexually constructed lesbian-feminist violates women's sexuality and spirit.[34]

This view of transpersons as existing primarily to invade and attack women is shared by the Christian Right. Both groups consider transsexuality an artificial creation, formed from the worst aspects of both a patriarchal and god-hating society, respectively, and they exist as an image of a clearly defined 'enemy.'

However, it should be noted that *The Transsexual Empire* has noticeably weak foundations when examined from a sociological perspective. For example, Raymond accuses transwomen of attempting to violate 'women's spirit' from cisgendered women[35]. However, just what 'women's spirits' actually are is not given much depth. This proves its failure as a sociological or scientific work, and instead lets itself be known as a book written out of fear and vulnerability.

Raymond generally defines womanhood through biology and chromosomes[36]. Nevertheless, as her work is intended to explore and criticise transsexuality primarily as a social and political issue, there is little to no basis for a sociological

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32 J. G. Raymond, *The Transsexual Empire* (New York, 1994).

33 Daly, *Gyn/Ecology,* 420.

34 Raymond, *The Transsexual Empire,* 104.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., 3.

critique of trans individuals. Instead, Raymond relies on a vague, simplified and biased view of transwomen, based almost entirely upon a traditional assumption of womanhood as consisting entirely of biology first, with gendered socialisation being a result of said biology. To quote:

> Surgery may confer the artifacts of outward and inward female organs but it cannot confer the history of being born a woman in this society.[37]

This creates a notable shift in ideology, from social construct based radical feminism to biologically deterministic cultural feminism. This shows how analysis of femaleness can be stretched to suit an overall rhetoric of invasion and victimhood.

Raymond's constant emphasis on transwomen as a threat to cisgendered women creates a clear moral division inspired by the environment of radical and cultural feminism. The right to the female experience itself becomes something of a social prize. Once this sense of 'true' womanhood (itself being largely grounded upon the new 'traditions' discussed earlier) is won, a clear environment of competition between 'real' feminism (radical lesbian feminism) and those who operate under the label of a feminism considered less legitimate, such as liberal or socialist feminism, is established[38]. Heterosexual and bisexual women, considered tools of patriarchy at best, are also approached with much contempt in radical lesbian politics[39]. Much of this competition is formed and fought only through what its own ideology considers a threat to the very existence of the movement and its integrity.

Mary Daly's 1978 work *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaphysics of Radical Feminism,* which in itself would essentially form the basis for cultural feminism, paints a picture of the metaphorical battleground that radical feminism has with those seeking to influence it with liberal politics. Set in a fictional 'Un-convention'

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[37] Ibid., 114.

[38] Revolutionary Lesbians, *How to stop choking to death or: separatism* in *For Lesbians Only,* 22-24.

[39] C.L.I.T Collective, *C.L.I.T statement no. 2* in *For Lesbians Only,* 362-64.

which is populated mainly by the enemies of radical feminism, Daly writes of a group of 'Obsessors:'

> It is also noted that among this faction there are some who appear to be eunuchs. One is carrying a placard which reads: 'I am a lesbian-feminist male-to-female transsexual. Take me in.'[40]

Sheila Jeffreys is also highly critical of transsexuality. Her writings allow insight into the conflict, not just between radical feminists and heteronormative society (which despite sharing similar views on transsexuality, are divided on the nuclear family), but also between radical lesbian feminism and the inclusive and postmodernist queer branch of the LGBT movement. In *Unpacking Queer Politics,* Sheila Jeffreys criticises female-to-male transsexuality. She refers to transmen as engaging in 'the destruction of lesbians' and considers the radical, largely sex-negative beliefs of the 1970's and 80's as being ideologically pure and having nothing but the best intentions for women[41]. To quote:

> Women who had previously identified as butch lesbians, or been afraid to identify as women despite loving women, began to opt for surgical mutilation. I call this the destruction of lesbians, because lesbians are physically destroyed in this surgery.[42]

This shows that the concept of traditional sexual politics amongst the aging members of the original radical feminist movement continues to operate (although in a largely reduced capacity when compared to the movement's height in the 1970s), largely on the basis of social competition with those who are enrolled within the ranks of the 'Queer' movement of modern LBGT activism due to their differing values.

Clear similarities can be seen between these groups regarding how they construct folk devils, through the manipulation and conceptual stretching of analysis to better suit their own agendas. Both movements exist today, with Christian

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40 Daly, *Gyn/Ecology,* 420.

41 S. Jeffreys, *Unpacking Queer Politics* (Oxford, 2003), 1-8.

42 Ibid, 122.

conservatism being more visible, while Radical Feminism largely exists as an online movement.

Both are also notable for claiming legitimacy as being the 'true' vanguards of their movements, and thus still exist regardless of negative public reception, due to shared belief that both are the only legitimate forms of Christianity and Feminism remaining, and that the more liberal strands popular today are the result of the rhetoric being clouded by the influence of outsiders and postmodernism.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, when examining and attempting to properly analyse the broad concepts of competition and tradition, it is important to note that both of these concepts can be considered broad enough and fluid enough to be defined more by how individuals, organisations and subcultures entrench them within their own cultures and morality systems, rather than any historical concept.

The reason that these cultures have been chosen for comparison is relatively simple: the Christian Right and radical lesbian feminism, despite being opposites in regards to moral values, such as family, heteronormativity and spirituality, are otherwise able to provide a number of surprising similarities. These include, but are not limited to, a negative attitude towards explicit sexuality and the focus on a strong, unmovable cultural identity based on shared values and traditions.

The greatest similarity seen throughout this article is the creation of folk devils for the purpose of defending their communities from outside influence. These examples provide the key argument that these beliefs are fluid and its creation can sometimes be largely based upon what is considered crucial for group survival.

This use of comparison allows an examination of why mainstream Christian social conservatism has grown as a visible social movement, and radical lesbian feminism has been restricted to online communities and relatively underground festivals through the analysis of how tradition is structured. It can be safely assumed that Christian social conservatism, having claim to over 200 years of 'Christian America' and having its traditions based largely on the institutions of heterosexual marriage and family (something still understood by the mainstream in the modern

western world as being a positive force), is able to claim legitimacy based on these factors, and thus claim a solid grounding in modern American politics and remain relevant today. Radical feminism, being built upon a traditionalism created for the purpose of competing against the mainstream instead of appealing to it, now finds itself less influential to modern politics. This is due to the lack of any real historical legitimacy of 'womyn's' culture (which was created largely to justify its own rhetoric, rather than on any real historic basis) and the continued criticism of its message by the new, more trans and queer inclusive nature of the LGBT rights movement, and more mainstream forms of feminism.

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New horses for new courses: the necessity of human security in the post-Cold War world

Linus Siöland

In the post-Cold War world, a number of new, non-state based security threats have emerged. As a consequence, classical, state-based international relations theories are no longer sufficient for the analysis of threat scenarios and the preservation of security. The proliferation of sub-state threats such as civil war, genocide and human rights abuses has further compounded the need for new approaches to the study of international relations, and also increased the need for students of international politics to pay attention not only to the states in the international system, but also the people inhabiting them. This article will argue the case for the human security doctrine, whereby the referent object of study is changed from states in the international system, to the individuals inhabiting them. It will demonstrate that such an approach serves to secure increased security not only for civilians, but also for states.

INTRODUCTION

When Germans from both sides of the Berlin Wall started tearing it down in 1989, international relations scholars across the world were taken by surprise. The realist paradigm's focus on the bipolar relationship between the Soviet Union and the USA and the anarchic nature of international society had seemed perfectly suited for analysing and explaining the machinations of the Cold War, but still failed entirely to predict its end. This was of course a severe blow to the school's credibility, and in the 1990s followed a general confusion in which a plethora of new international relations theories saw the light of day. The fall of the Soviet Union caused some to take an optimistic view on the new situation, with US President Bush famously declaring the beginning of a 'new world order' of human rights and internationalism, and historian Francis Fukuyama to declare 'the end of history.'[1] This optimism came to an end with the terror attacks on the New York

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[1] F. Fukuyama, 'The End of History?', (Summer 1989) *The National Interest*.

City World Trade Centre on September 11th 2001, and saw the younger President Bush – the former's son – launch the War on Terror, which came to define the first decade of the 21st century.

It has become increasingly clear over the past two decades that the old explanations of international relations and security hold decidedly less traction in the new, post-Cold War world. While previous wars entailed stand-offs between sovereign nations, most violent conflicts in the 21st century international system take place on a subnational level, either in the form of civil wars or in the shape of threats such as international terrorism, which have no concern for nation state borders. For such threats, realism and other theories of international relations which use the state as their referent object of analysis, lack explanatory power.[2] Factions, such as al-Qaeda or al-Shabaab, have no sovereign territory, legal subjects or international recognition, but are still highly salient security threats which traverse borders. The same goes for other forms of civil strife and humanitarian disasters; whether genocide, civil war or environmental disasters. With traditional forms of inter-state conflict declining in occurrence, it seems apparent that new theories are needed to explain the changed situation.

One theory which has aimed to fill this gap is that of human security. Proponents of human security argue that analysis of the new security threats of the 21st century requires that the referent object of analysis is changed from the states in the international system, to the people inhabiting them. At its heart, the purpose of this change is to protect the people inhabiting the international system, who have all too often suffered in wars or civil conflict they never desired or initiated. Thus, if a state either cannot, or – in the case of e.g. genocide or violent repression – will not provide its citizens with security, other states are required to step in and either offer, or forcibly provide, that security. Some theorists have emphasised the need for human *security* alongside traditional concerns of human *development*, arguing that affixing a 'security label' gives the issue increased political saliency,

[2] For realism's emphasis on the value of state-based analysis, see e.g. K. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (London, 1979), J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York, NY, 2001). For the seminal, first prominent work of realist theory, see H. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York, NY, 1948).

increasing the chance of effective action being taken.[3] While some have protested that such a reorientation of focus obfuscates states' focus and may prove detrimental to national security, human security in fact also allows for the more convincing study of subnational security threats, such as international terrorism or civil conflict which risk spreading across borders. This article will argue that state security is pointless in isolation, and only actually valuable if the citizens of the polity are considered safe as well. It will also argue that such safety is best achieved when the state is also safe, and, that human security offers a framework wherein state and personal security are seen as interdependent. It is, therefore, both an important humanitarian tool, and an efficient analytical method of emerging threats against states. After first outlining the arguments in favour of human security and accounting for the debates and disagreements between human security scholars, the article will consider and counter the main criticisms that have been directed against the concept. It will then finish with a restatement of human security's importance in the post-Cold War world, particularly compared to traditional theories.

THE CASE FOR HUMAN SECURITY

Human security started garnering attention with the publication of the 1994 UN Human Development Report. In one of the most famous elaborations of what has become known as the *broad* school of human security, the report argued for an extension of the 'security' concept from military threats to seven subcategories of threat against the individual: economic; food; health; environmental; personal; community; and political security threats.[4] The crux of the argument, which has been adapted by the Japanese and Norwegian governments as a basis of their

[3] T. Owen, 'The Critique that Doesn't Bite: A Response to David Chandler,' (2008) 39.4 *Security Dialogue* 450. The idea of 'speaking security' and thus 'creating' security threats has primarily been developed by O. Wæver, cf. 'Securitization and Desecuritization' in R.D. Lipschutz (ed.) *On Security* (New York, NY, 1995) and 'The EU as a Security Actor: Reflections from a Pessimistic Constructivist on Post-Sovereign Security Orders' in M. Kelstrup and M. Williams (eds.) *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security and Community* (London 2000). For the first, authoritative elaboration of securitisation theory, see B. Buzan et al., *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, CO, 1998).

[4] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report 1994 – New Dimensions of Human Security* (New York, NY, 1994).

security policy,[5] is that being safe from the threat of violence is not enough: if you hunger, are ill, or suffer the risk of political repression or environmental disaster, you cannot be considered secure, as such. Traditionally, international relations scholars would not have concerned themselves with these issues as they do not have their origin in state or interstate conflict. Human security scholars instead argue that state-based theories of international relations are unsuitable for the study of international security, and that the anthropomorphisation of states both ignores problems specific to a certain state, as well as possible variation of conflict levels and nature within states.[6] State-based theories also fail to recognise that threats existing on such subnational levels may very well spread across borders, e.g. in the form of refugee streams or the spread of international terrorism networks. For this reason, national security and human security cannot be divorced from each other in a world where instances of inter-state conflict have decreased, while subnational strife and violence has increased: human security does not negate or threaten national security, but provides new tools for facing the new threats that exist against both states and their citizens.

In contrast, even if not in outright opposition, stands the *narrow* conception of human security. Here, the argument goes that while it is commendable to want to bring issues such as the right to education and the right to not be hungry into the security realm, these issues are, ultimately, better dealt with within the more established field of human development. Treating all issues under the same flag risks undermining aid efforts, and may ultimately undermine human security's utility for policy formulation.[7] Narrow human security policies have notably been adopted by the Canadian government as the guiding principle for their foreign and security policy; motivated by the desire to be 'narrow and operable' rather than 'broad and ideal'.[8] This is arguably the main fault-line between proponents of the

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[5] Cf. T. Owen, 'Human Security – Conflict, Critique and Consensus: Colloquium Remarks and a Proposal for a Threshold-Based Definition,' (2004) 35.3 *Security Dialogue*, 373-387 or S. Tadjbakhsh and A. Chenoy, *Human Security: Concepts and Implications* (London, 2007).

[6] P.H. Liotta and T. Owen, 'Why Human Security?' (2006) 7.1 *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, 37-54.

[7] Cf. G. King and C. Murray, 'Rethinking Human Security,' (2001/02) 116.4 *Political Science Quarterly*, 585-610 and N. Thomas and W. Tow, 'The Utility of Human Security: Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention,' (2002) 33.2 *Security Dialogue*, 177-192.

[8] Liotta and Owen, 'Why Human Security?'

narrow and broad schools: is it worthwhile to strive towards an ideal state of affairs, or will more good ultimately be done by accepting the discipline's restrictions and working to implement them?

This division may, at first, appear to discredit the usefulness of human security. If the proponents themselves cannot agree on the concept's purpose or aims, then what chance does it stand of influencing world affairs? One resolution of this conflict has been to reject the dichotomy entirely. Taylor Owen has argued that the distinction illustrates the breadth of scholarship, but ultimately makes the discipline seem more fragmented than it is: the ultimate goal, protection of civilians rather than states, remains common to both broad and narrow human security.[9] This is both a valid retort to critics of the human security concept, and a cautionary note for proponents caught up in academic tribalism. For those critical of human security's compatibility with national security, [10] a mechanism is provided whereby potential threats can be assessed and countered according to urgency and saliency. Meanwhile, proponents are reminded that ultimately, the discussion of human security and its place in the world should start with making a good case for changing the referent object from states to civilians. Only after that does it become a worthwhile exercise to formalise rules for its execution, or argue for its most efficient implementation.

FACING DOWN THE CRITIQUE

No challenge of dominant paradigms goes unnoticed, and human security is no exception. Critique has varied: on the one hand, there is the long-standing critique that applying security labels to non-security related issues hollows the concept of potency and makes the term 'security' so wide that it becomes useless.[11] This is a charge levelled not at human security specifically, but one shared with the wider school of securitisation. Other criticisms are more direct. Closely related to the

[9] T. Owen, 'The Critique that Doesn't Bite'; M. Martin and T. Owen, 'The Second Generation of Human Security: Lessons from the UN and EU Experiences,' (2010) 86.1 *International Affairs*, 211-224.

[10] E.g. D. Chandler, 'Human Security: The Dog that Didn't Bark,' (2008) 39.4 *Security Dialogue*, 427-438.

[11] See e.g. R. Paris, 'Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?' (2001) 26.2 *International Security*, 87-102, for one of many critiques on the subject.

first charge, human security has been accused of being kept 'so vague it verges on meaningless', primarily due to the unwillingness of human security theorists to name some threats to human security as more relevant than others.[12] Critical scholars have accused human security of being an easy way for imperialist-minded states to take 'the image of the velvet glove on the iron hand of power,' whereby status quo *realpolitik* and Western interventionism is given an air of respectability and enlightened cosmopolitanism.[13] Finally, there has been a general worry among security theorists about the possibly detrimental effect of human security on national security: if all and no threats are prioritised, it may lead to governments '[opting] out of taking responsibility for foreign policy', and instead encourage 'a shift from strategic thinking to sound bites and ad hoc policy-making'[14].

These are all relevant critiques, and human security, as a concept, is developed further by facing and engaging with them. To begin in due order, the allegation of widening the concept of security is a long-standing one often presented by proponents of state-based theories of security. It is undeniably true that if strictly and absolutely restricted to state security, the security label has a well-defined remit and is suitably defined. The issue, however, is to what extent state security as such is worth studying in today's world. Traditionally, states have had the right to retain sovereignty within their own borders and enjoy non-interference; only by everyone respecting each other's' sovereignty, it has been argued, can war be prevented. This system of nation-states going about their business freely dates back to the Peace of Westphalia, which concluded the Thirty Years' War in 1648, for which reason the system is commonly called 'the Westphalian system'. To an extent, this arrangement made sense in the days when war consisted of two geographically well-defined states warring against each other, but war between nation states is at a very low level in the 21st century. Conflict, instead, occurs on a subnational level in the form of civil strife, genocide, civil war, transnational security threats such as international terrorism, and large people movements as a

[12] Ibid, 102.

[13] K. Booth, *Theory of World Security* (Cambridge, 2007), 323-325; M. Duffield, 'Social Reconstruction and the Radicalisation of Development: Aid as a Relation of Global Liberal Governance,' (2002) 33.5 *Development and Change*, 1049-71.

[14] D. Chandler, 'Human Security', 436. See also Paris, 'Human Security' and B. Buzan, 'A Reductionist, Idealistic Notion that Adds Little Analytical Value,' (2004) 35.3 *Security Dialogue*, 369-370.

result of resource scarcity, environmental disaster or war. If security studies remain focused on the safety of states, human security proponents can retort: of what use is security studies if it only concerns the safety of abstract state apparati, rather than the people who inhabit them?

If traditional security scholars consider human security an irrelevant feel-good tool, critical theorists, instead, seem to think of it as a Trojan horse. The point that human security risks getting co-opted by imperialist or expansionary purposes is an important concern, but ultimately misguided, and most likely rooted in attempts by the UK and the US to cast the controversial 2003 Iraq War in humanitarian terms after no weapons of mass destruction were found, thus negating the original *casus belli*.[15] A quick survey of which states have adopted human security as the guiding principle for their foreign policy reveals the rather non-threatening troika of Japan, Norway and Canada, and human security projects which have been successful include the International Campaign to Ban Landmines and the Establishment of the International Criminal Court, as well as the development of an improved rapid response capability for the UN.[16] If human security has, indeed, been co-opted thus far, the results have been very benign.[17] There is a possible caveat to this defence, though: Behringer found that most human security policy victories have been the result of middle-power leadership, and dependent on US support or, at the very least, non-opposition.[18] It seems, then, that there is a far greater risk of human security being stonewalled by non-compliant great powers, than of said great powers hijacking it for their own purposes. To whatever extent there is a risk of such great power hijacking in the future, it is better countered by strengthening human security and its integration in international organisations, making its criteria subject to multilateral agreement within organisations such as the UN.

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[15] See e.g. A. Bellamy, 'Ethics and Intervention: The 'Humanitarian Exception and the Problem of Abuse in the Case of Iraq,' (2004) 41.2 *Journal of Peace Research* 131-147 or P. Lee, *Blair's Just War: Iraq and the Illusion of Morality*. (Basingstoke, 2012).

[16] R. Behringer, 'Middle Power Leadership on the Human Security Agenda,' (2005) 40.3 *Cooperation and Conflict* 305, 342.

[17] Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, *Human Security*; Owen, 'The Critique that Doesn't Bite,' 450.

[18] Behringer, 'Middle Power Leadership.'

Finally, there is the allegation that human security risks undermining national security. While the above argument that national security without human security is largely pointless still stands, a loss of national security may still cause a corresponding loss of a previously existing state of human security. An analogy can be made to that of a house: having a house with well-built walls and an insulated roof does not necessarily mean that its inhabitants are safe, or at all content. However, if they are secure, they will be less secure if said house is torn down, and they are left to the elements.[19] The specific concerns vary, from being concerned that human security's lack of prioritisation of threats will harm the state's ability to face such threats, to doubts whether securitisation of non-traditional security matters risks prompting militaristic, counter-productive responses that, in the end, do more harm than good. First of all, the criticism against human security's supposed unwillingness to prioritise threats is misguided. The reluctance is not specifically against prioritisation, but against prioritisation irrespective of context. [20] For instance, if policy-makers were to prioritise environmental disasters as the main relevant threat, they would effectively be misprioritising, until there actually was an environmental disaster to deal with. The same goes for traditional threats such as national security: why prioritise military, state-based threats as the paramount danger, if there is no credible risk of war or inter-state conflict?

One particularly convincing solution to the problem of prioritising targets has been presented by Taylor Owen in the form of the threshold-based approach, wherein a matter is classified as a human security issue according to severity and temporality rather than cause.[21] This method also serves the purpose of singling out issues better dealt with through long-term operations under the framework of human development. For instance, the aftermath of a typhoon in East Asia may elicit enough suffering to make it a human security issue, and a genocide carried out by a central African dictator may similarly make the situation severe enough to pass the threshold. A lack of education provision in a region, meanwhile, would

[19] A similar point is made in K. Booth in his account of 'utopian realism': 'Security and Emancipation,' (1991) 17 *Review of International Studies*, 313-326.

[20] Martin and Owen, 'The Second Generation.'

[21] Owen, 'Human Security' and 'The Critique that Doesn't Bite'; Martin and Owen, 'The Second Generation.'

be unlikely to ever cross the threshold. It also has the advantage of bridging the broad-vs.-narrow debate, arguing that the two must work in tandem to protect 'the vital core of all human lives'.[22] This means that any response by the international community to a human security crisis would be designed with the specific situation in mind, rather than being dogmatic and pre-determined, and should ideally work as a bulwark against military means being unnecessarily deployed to solve non-military issues. Owen's is not the only framework for human security action, but one which, here, serves the purpose of lending human security credibility and operability, which is vitally important given the concept's relative youth. Indeed, it appears as if most deficiencies of human security can be traced to disagreements typical of the early days of any discipline, rather than an innate unworkability.

SPRING CLEANING: OUT WITH THE OLD, IN WITH THE NEW

International society is a constantly evolving, never static organism. In the course of history, and as it is likely to remain, paradigmatic explanations will suddenly be faced with new events which they are unable to resolve, understand, explain or handle. The myriad of theories that found a space in the vacuum left by realism's fall from pre-eminence have enriched the international relations discipline, and the continuing sparring between different explanations of the world forces all its students to hone their arguments and fill gaps in their reasoning. Human security may never reach the heights once held by realism during the Cold War – and indeed, it should not; theories taken as self-evident or unassailable atrophy and fail to develop with the times – but it fills a valuable space in the literature by focusing on the people inhabiting the international system rather than the states to which they are supposed to pledge their allegiance. As has been argued above, this is good for a number of reasons. Firstly, it forces reflection on the meaning of security. It may very well be that state-based theories can analyse the security of states as discrete entities, but what use is that if the citizens within it remain unsafe? Who should ultimately benefit from state security, if not its inhabitants? Secondly, the proliferation of non-state based threats does not only affect civilians, but also poses problems for states. To insist that the abstract conception of the state, in such a context, is most needing of protection, is simply not convincing.

[22] Owen, 'Human Security,' 383.

Rather, it is a knee-jerk relic of the Cold War which is unhelpful in tackling modern challenges.

It is evident that human security is gaining ground. Since the 1994 UNDP report land mines have been banned, an International Criminal Court has been established. [23] Furthermore, the tragedy of the Rwandan genocide spurred movement towards the development of a doctrine declaring the responsibility of international society to protect civilian populations, notably advanced by the Canada-initiated International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS).[24] This commission launched what is called the Responsibility to Protect, or R2P, and entails a distinct departure from earlier discussions on the right to intervene. Through R2P, focus is back where it belongs: with the oppressed, the sufferers, and those in need of aid, rather than with the interventionists. [25] Propagated by both UN General Secretary Kofi Annan and his successor, Ban Ki-Moon, R2P is the first, tentative step towards an international order in which the needs and rights of civilians are prioritised above all else; a distinct departure from the nominally ideology-free *realpolitik* of the Cold War. That is not to say that international society is quite there yet. One issue with R2P is that sovereignty, whatever one might think of it, remains a commonly recognised right all over the world. While there is a philosophical argument to be made that sovereignty has to be earned, and can be revoked if misused, there is scepticism among the BRICS countries [26] and other African, Middle-Eastern and Asian nations that humanitarian interventions risk being used as a front for more insidious purposes, essentially harking back to Booth's critique of human security as a way to put a

[23] While it is questionable if the ICC will ever work properly before it is recognised by the United States, and extradition of US military personnel is possible, the establishment of an international body for the prosecution of crimes against humanity is undeniably a huge step forward. The only similar project was the Nuremberg Trials after World War II, which by necessity were ad hoc and only treated military and civilians associated with Hitler's Third Reich.

[24] For the full commission report of the ICISS, see G. Evans and M. Sahnoun, 'The Responsibility to Protect,' (2002) 81.6 *Foreign Affairs*, 99-110.

[25] Ibid, 101-102.

[26] BRICS: A common acronym for the economically fast-growing powers of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

velvet glove on an iron fist.[27] Indeed, some scholars have argued that the – possibly incorrect – invocation of R2P in the case of NATO's Libyan intervention risks having tainted it, what with the mission ending with the forcible deposition and execution of Muammar Gaddafi.[28] Even if the human security agenda is mainly led by middle-powers with no or little history of colonial ventures – and in Canada's case, actually being an ex-colony – it is understandable that suspicion still exists in the developing world over the intentions of Western interventionists.

Despite the obstacles which still need to be scaled, human security is poised to take an increasingly prominent place in 21st century international relations literature. There is much to be done before the UN's commitment to R2P materialises into a truly efficient doctrine of civilian protection, but even the watered-down and embattled version currently formally adopted by the UN is a valuable development of the UN's mission to protect humans across the world. The main challenges ahead are to rebuild trust between the Western, industrialised states and the rest of the world, and to clearly demarcate the mandates of any operations undertaken through human security or R2P. The NATO intervention in Libya was made possible by widespread regional agreement on the necessity for intervention, but had no mandate beyond the moral one to aid in the overthrow of Gaddafi. While it is nigh-on impossible to aid a side being brutalised in civil war without inadvertently aiding the defeat of the brutalising party,[29] Western powers would benefit from practising restraint and remaining sensitive of the sensibilities and norms of regional powers. While it would be tempting to advocate a gung-ho response to the Syrian conflict and the overthrow of Bashar al-Assad – and remain within the confines of human security's provisions – it would, most likely, lead to increased suspicion of the doctrine and damage the prospects of future R2P operations. Brutalising leaders should be bereft of some of the protection lent them by sovereignty, but more appropriate punitive measures may be trade blockades and increased pressure for mediated ceasefires. Time will tell exactly how it develops, but it should be clear to any

[27] A. Bellamy and P. Williams, 'The New Politics of Protection? Côte d'Ivoire, Libya and the Responsibility to Protect,' (2011) 87.4 *International Affairs*, 847-850. For Booth's critique, see *Theory of World Security*, 323-325.

[28] J. Morris, 'Libya and Syria: R2P and the Spectre of the Swinging Pendulum,' (2013) 89.5 *International Affairs* 1265-1283.

[29] R. Betts, 'The Delusion of Impartial Intervention,' (1994) 73.6 *Foreign Affairs* 20-33.

international scholar that human security is here to stay, and its success is in all our interests. The prolonged game of state-based, nuclear chess that was the Cold War is thankfully long gone, and a new world requires new forms of analysis, and new military doctrines.

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A *Children's Crusade*: legacy and the formation of adolescent identity in Marvel's *Young Avengers*

Adam Sorice

While Marvel's most iconic superheroes have played a prominent role within popular culture since their conception, little critical attention has been paid to the derivative characters that ground and populate their respective narratives. This article explores identity formation in the comic book text through *Young Avengers*, a 2000s series following the adventures of adolescent heroes who view established 'legacy' characters such as Captain America and Scarlet Witch as both role models and parental figures. This article, among the first academic analyses published on *Young Avengers*, argues that 'legacy' heroes represent both cultural figures for offshoot characters to emulate as well as cultural structures to rebel against, positioning the Young Avengers as the product of both their cultural upbringings and their own personal identities.

At its most basic level, the superhero text is intimately concerned with the concept of legacy.[1] While narratives may continuously evolve, the comic book genre is predominantly underpinned through the perpetuation of a recurring group of 'legacy' heroes: iconic characters defined by both a substantial period of cultural history[2] and a supporting group of derivative characters directly tied to their mythos.[3] While these entrenched superheroes may represent the public face of comics in 21st century media, the offshoot characters that legitimise their world represent a far more intriguing opportunity for literary consideration due to both their multifaceted relationships with 'legacy' characters and the process of identity formation within the superhero text. In this way, we can understand the very

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[1] Due to the diverse styles of comic book publishing, minor content variations often exist between physical, digital and anthologised copies of issues. To compensate, comic book citations within this article will reference the total number of pages of narrative content within the issue and the cited page being cited in relation. Further bibliography information on the editions cited is also provided at the end of this section.

[2] C. Hallquist, 'Legacy Sexism and Superheroes', *Patheos* (2013). Available: <http://www.bit.ly/1fL116B> [Accessed 04.02.2014.].

[3] A. Baxter, 'The importance of legacy in comics', *Times Union* (2013). Available:0<http://www.bit.ly/1gJjfJb> [Accessed 04.02.2014].

notion of tradition as a legitimising force in the characterisation of these derivative characters; their powers, morals, agency and ideology frequently informed by the influence of their respective 'legacy' characters.

Dependent characters often fulfil the role of the superhero sidekick (a typically adolescent figure) who has become a compelling and integral component of the superhero narrative since the introduction of Batman's sidekick, Robin, in 1940. However, despite the near ubiquity of the teenage hero, comic books have traditionally portrayed narratives of adolescent identity formation from predominantly parental and familial viewpoints. Prioritising the genre prestige of the 'legacy' hero, adolescent character narratives are typically used to counterbalance 'adult' stories, such as the numerous X-Men titles based around the series' mutant high school setting in which established characters double as mentors to the young students. Similarly, Grant Morrison argues that teenage sidekicks were never intended as independent characters with their own agency but instead introduced to compliment and refresh typically 'adult' narratives, noting, 'The introduction of Robin turned Batman's story from a shady crime-and-revenge narrative into the thrilling adventures of two swashbuckling friends'.[4]

As a result of the extensive portrayal of adolescent characters as traditionally derivative of 'legacy' heroes, comic book narratives that directly consider the cultural, psychological and social influence of legacy upon adolescent identity formation are rare – especially from a teenage perspective. This is a key inspiration for the *Young Avengers* series; a post-2000s comic book series following the adventures of a group of adolescent superheroes that are simultaneously interconnected to and disenfranchised from the legacies of the established heroes governing their lives. Introduced as 'the teen sidekicks-who-never-were', the Young Avengers must 'evolve into heroes in their own right',[5] putting them in direct competition with the traditions that have initially developed them.

Within *Young Avengers*, the conventional challenges of adolescent identity formation are mirrored by the difficulties of life as a super-powered teenager in which cultural icons also function as parental figures. The social independence

[4] G. Morrison, *Supergods: Our World in the Age of the Superhero*. (London, 2012), 75.
[5] A. Heinberg, *Young Avengers Ultimate Collection*. (New York, 2010), Conceptual Notes, 1.

required as an integral component of adolescent development – in which the young adult seeks a unique 'position within society and in relation to other selves'[6] – is explored on a super scale by the Young Avengers' active rejection of the heroic identities imposed upon them by 'legacy' figures. Concisely put by Kieron Gillen, writer of the book's 2013 run: '*Young Avengers* is a superhero comic that uses the metaphor of powers to explore the sensation of being 18.'[7]

This article will analyse and discuss the effects of tradition and legacy on the formation of the adolescent identity of both the Young Avengers as a group and, in particular, the central character of Wiccan. I will begin by discussing the role of legacy in relation to identity development within the central *Young Avengers* narrative before analysing the central 'legacy' characters within the series (Captain America and Scarlet Witch), considering their impact as both parental and ideological figures. Following this, I will consider the effect these influences have upon Wiccan, considering how his wish-fulfilment powers (a manifestation of Scarlet Witch's *écriture féminine* philosophy) represent a direct opposition to the 'traditional' nature of the series' social hegemony (symbolised by Captain America's role as the Phallus of the Symbolic Order.) Finally, I will conclude by considering the direct competition to the cultural status quo represented by the *Young Avengers*' identification with signifiers of cultural Otherness, paying particular attention to the series' depiction of queer sexuality.

In *Young Avengers*' opening arc, 'Sidekicks', a group of 'super-powered fanboys' are brought together to fight injustice – adopting identities derived from the classic members: Iron Man, Captain America, Thor and the Hulk – in the absence of the Avengers team. [8] This cultural absence of traditional authority figures, caused by Scarlet Witch turning against her former Avenger teammates due to the perceived loss of her children, creates a space through which the adolescent characters are able to enter the narrative. [9] The disbanding of their cultural heroes

[6] R. McCallum, *Ideologies of Identity in Adolescent Fiction: The Dialogic Construction of Subjectivity*. (New York & London, 1999), 3.

[7] A. Ching, 'Kieron Gillen writes a *Young Avengers* with no safety net', *Newsarama* (2012), quoting Gillen. Available: <http://www.bit.ly/18Zln9I> [Accessed 27.09.2013] .

[8] Heinberg, *Young Avengers Ultimate Collection*, #1, 5/22.

[9] B.M. Bendis, *Avengers: Disassembled* [*Avengers* Issues #500-#503, *Avengers Finale*]. (New York, 2005).

also can be understood to force *Young Avengers*' teenage heroes to make their own decisions as the removal of authority figures within their lives represents the cultural disconnection from 'any reliance on internalised parents'[10] required in the process of adolescent 'identity achievement'.[11]

When the media discover the teenagers' activity they are dubbed the 'Young Avengers', directly positioning them as part of the same legacy of heroes that they have culturally idolised. However, this news leads former Avengers Captain America and Iron Man to seek them out and attempt to stop them. When their right to use the 'Avengers' name is questioned the team explains an artificial intelligence identified them as each having 'some significant tie to the Avengers or Avengers history',[12] although these connections are not immediately apparent for several of the characters. This suggests legacy-derived characters are legitimised by the concept of tradition itself (rather than any particular notion of identity) and thus the Young Avengers' attempts to forge their own unique personas can be read as an active rejection of the seemingly inevitable acceptance of their conscribed 'legacy' identities. The Avengers threaten to tell the adolescents' parents about their heroic activities unless they promise to relinquish their superhero identities, resulting in the team operating illegitimately for a period of several years.[13] This explicit restriction of the Young Avengers' self-constructed identities and objectives can be understood to represent both the parental restraint of teenage rebellion as well as a suppression of alternative forms of expression that may threaten dominant power structures.

Adventures then follow in 'Family Matters' and *Young Avengers Presents* that facilitate the cohesion of the Young Avengers into a group whose mutual understanding of the isolation 'from any sense of wider community [caused] by their personal experience of the fantastic'[14] unites them as a 'family' in their own right.[15] The team returns in *Avengers: The Children's Crusade*, during which Wiccan's spell-casting powers are deemed dangerous to the wider world. While

[10] A. Waller, *Constructing Adolescence in Fantastic Realism*. (London & New York, 2009), 59.
[11] Ibid., 55.
[12] Heinberg, *Young Avengers Ultimate Collection*, #3 6/22.
[13] Ibid., #6, 16-22/22.
[14] Waller, *Constructing Adolescence in Fantastic Realism*, 55.
[15] Heinberg, *Young Avengers Ultimate Collection*, #11, 18/21.

the development of Wiccan's abilities primarily represents his ongoing maturation, Captain America and the Avengers interpret this as a direct form of competition to their hegemonic cultural control. Suspicions that Wiccan is Scarlet Witch's reincarnated son prompt the narrative's adult characters to try to control him, but the Young Avengers instead aim to find Wiccan's mother and end her emotional anguish caused by the loss of her children, hoping to resolve the situation.[16] The team's instinct to reach out to a maternal figure in their time of need reflects the duality of 'legacy' heroes as role models; the Young Avengers both aggressively reject and reluctantly embrace 'legacy' characters as mentors in their attempts to define their identities.

The series was relaunched in 2013 as the Young Avengers faced off against an inter-dimensional parasite called 'Mother' that rendered all adults oblivious to their plight. While the series was marketed with the tag line, 'Legacy isn't a dirty word, but it's an irrelevant one',[17] – suggesting the series aimed to distance itself from the scrutiny of tradition within the genre – the series once again rooted its narrative and character development in cultural notions of family and legacy. Gillen's run considered legacy through both its repositioning of parents as antagonistic forces within the narrative[18] and the creation of Mother by Wiccan, conceptualised as a reimagining of the infamous creation of the Avengers-foe Ultron by 'legacy' character, Henry Pym.[19] Following the conclusion of the run, Gillen argued that the series' intention had been to 'give them their own mythology', arguing that 'all tightly-woven Legacy Characters without their own story […] other than 'kids or stated successor of major hero' are […] limited enormously.'[20] This active distancing of the adolescent characters of *Young Avengers* from their adult counterparts can be understood as further exaggerating the series' portrayal of burgeoning identity development from an explicitly

[16] A. Heinberg, *Avengers: The Children's Crusade*. (New York, 2012), #1, 18-22/22.

[17] Marvel, *Young Avengers: Vol. 1 Style>Substance* product page, *Marvel* (2013). Available: <http://www.bit.ly/1fja7cA> [Accessed 20.11.2013].

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[19] R. Haupt, 'Take Some Time with the Young Avengers', *Marvel* (2013), quoting Gillen. Available: <http://www.bit.ly/1fL116B> [Accessed 04.02.2014.].

[20] M. Meylikhov, 'Saying Goodbye to the Young Avengers with Kieron Gillen [interview]', *Multiversity Comics* (2014), quoting Gillen. Available: <http://www.bit.ly/1lzwE8Q>. [Accessed 05.02.2014].

adolescent and transgressive narrative perspective, rejecting the hegemonic ubiquity of 'legacy' characters within the comic narrative world.

As noted above, many of the key events within the *Young Avengers* narrative are instigated, rooted or affected by the adult characters such as Captain America and Scarlet Witch, who can be understood to fulfil parental roles. In accordance with Robyn McCallum's view that notions of ideology 'pervade and underpin' the development of 'personal identity and selfhood' in adolescent fiction,[21] Captain America and Scarlet Witch can also be read as active metaphors for divergent cultural ideologies as their representations of order and chaos, male and female, known and unknown, position them as superheroic embodiments of the cultural worldviews outlined by Jacques Lacan's Symbolic Order and Hélène Cixous' *écriture féminine*.

Captain America's role as leader of the Avengers and an inherent symbol of American patriotism directly positions him as a figure at the centre of traditional social structures and identity discourses,[22] much like Lacan's Phallus. Just as the Phallus 'limits the play of elements and gives stability to the whole structure' so too Captain America aims to restrict the actions of the Young Avengers in order to preserve the pre-existing order.[23] Children must adhere to the 'Law of the Father' to gain access the Symbolic Order and 'enter' language and so too the Young Avengers can only become 'true' heroes with Captain America's permission, positioning him as a symbol of the 'patriarchal order of culture'.[24] While Captain America finally does recognise the teenagers as legitimate Avengers,[25] it is only after they have decided to no longer operate as heroes. Not only does this reinforce the character's function as a controlling influence of identity formation but also returns to the notion of the Symbolic Order; the Young Avengers are only perceived as 'grown-up' once they have agreed to follow cultural rules.

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[21] McCallum, *Ideologies of Identity in Adolescent Fiction*, 3.

[22] Ching, 'Kieron Gillen writes a *Young Avengers* with no safety net', quoting K. Gillen.

[23] M. Klages, *Literary Theory: A Guide for the Perplexed*. (London & New York, 2006), 84.

[24] Ibid., 86.

[25] Heinberg, *Avengers: The Children's Crusade*, #9 19-20/20.

In contrast, Scarlet Witch becomes an active metaphor for both motherhood and chaos, possessing the ability to change reality that often leads to revolutionary or anarchic outcomes. The character signifies a direct antithesis to Captain America's paternalistic control of the Young Avengers through her representation of social transgression, cultural rebellion and self-acceptance to the adolescents. Scarlet Witch's powers also echo the intentions of Cixous' *écriture féminine*, a radical form of feminine expression that 'un-thinks the unifying, regulating history' upheld by the Symbolic Order.[26]

The empowering and productive nature of *écriture féminine* – 'Her language does not contain, it carries; it does not hold back, it makes possible'[27] – relates to Scarlet Witch's ability to use 'chaotic' magic to literally reshape the world as she wishes. This productive potential is directly utilised by Scarlet Witch in her creation of Wiccan, whom she 'wishes' into existence rather than through biological conception, reaffirming the cultural connections between witchcraft and the 'female reproductive system'.[28] Within *Young Avengers*, Scarlet Witch becomes a symbol for maternity, possibility, cultural subversion, radical empowerment and alternative sexualities; her portrayal as an inherent manifestation of cultural instability comes into competition with the very establishing context that perpetuates her position as a 'legacy' character. This legacy of instability also underpins Scarlet Witch as a rare female character within the medium who transcends mere gender tokenism and fulfils a variety of intriguing narrative roles (including leader, anti-hero, rebel, mother, villain and saviour) that the majority of male characters appear unable to move between.

Considering these factors, the Young Avengers' search and subsequent alliance with the Scarlet Witch can be understood as a manifestation of their desire to radically redefine their culturally prescribed roles. Just as the teenage heroes can only 'discover their individuality' by 'questioning parental ideology',[29] their inherent desire to rebel against the limiting rules of society represented by Captain

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[26] H. Cixous, 'The Laugh of the Medusa', in Vincent B. Leitch et al. (eds), *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism, Second Edition*, 1942-1959. (New York & London, 2010), 1949.

[27] Ibid., 1955.

[28] B. Creed, *The Monstrous-Feminine: Film, Feminism and Psychoanalysis*. (London & New York, 1993), 77.

[29] Waller, *Constructing Adolescence in Fantastic Realism*, 59.

America can be understood to manifest in the radical nature of the mysterious and unstable Scarlet Witch. While she may represent a maternal figure to Wiccan, her cultural role as 'the antilogos weapon'[30] – an empowering cultural force in direct competition with the hegemonic structures of organised society – positions her as an anarchic force that encourages the Young Avengers to actively break the rules as they attempt to push the limits of the cultural power structures imposed upon them.

Breaking the rules is both a family matter and a process of identity formation for Wiccan as his wish-fulfilment powers are directly inherited from Scarlet Witch. In accordance with Anthony Baxter's identification of the ways in which 'legacy' as a narrative concept can be passed from one comic book character to another: mentorship, inheritance or idolisation, [31] and Jason Southworth and Ruth Tallman's argument that 'There is a long tradition in the Marvel Universe of family legacies of heroism and villainy',[32] Wiccan's initial cultural uncertainties within *Young Avengers* can be read as a manifestation of his disconnection from both his biological mother and 'legacy' inspiration, Scarlet Witch. His subsequent searching for her is also rooted in his hopes of identity formation as he explains, 'I know what I **think** I am, but… I have to be **sure**. I have to know my past, my history',[33] once again affirming the key role of both familial and cultural legacy in the development of adolescent and superheroic characters respectively.

This centrality of familial and social legacy to the formation of personal identity within the series is subsequently reflected in Wiccan's determination to find and rehabilitate his mother against the wishes of the narrative's 'legacy' characters. Whilst the legitimate Avengers, led by Captain America, aggressively aim to perpetuate the strictly organised cultural system that has been developed since the exclusion of the anarchic Scarlet Witch, Wiccan instead seeks to journey to the very source of 'without', to 'the heath where witches are kept alive; from below, from beyond culture'.[34] While Captain America's Lacanian conceptualisation of a

[30] Cixous, 'The Laugh of the Medusa', 1947.

[31] Baxter, 'The importance of legacy in comics'.

[32] J. Southworth & R. Tallman, 'The Avengers: Earth's Mightiest Family' in Mark D. White (ed.), *The Avengers and Philosophy*, 28-40. (Hoboken, 2012), 28.

[33] R. Aguirre-Sacasa, *Young Avengers Presents* #3 (of 6) (New York, 2008), 2/22.

[34] Cixous, 'The Laugh of the Medusa', 1944.

world 'without' order is one of unsignified disorder, the Young Avengers instead view it as a 'culture' of possibilities that prioritises literal potential over social cohesion, mirroring Captain America's unitary function within the narrative to Scarlet Witch's radical diversity of social roles. The return of the Scarlet Witch into the superhero community at the climax of *The Children's Crusade* symbolises the systemic shift from social adherence to personal empowerment for the series' adolescent characters. As the Young Avengers successfully overthrow the traditionally restrictive control of their parental figures through the active disruption of 'partitions, classes, and rhetorics, regulations and codes',[35] their support of Scarlet Witch represents the creation of a new realm of diversity and acceptance based upon social disorder.

The origin of Wiccan's personal empowerment through the manifestation of his wish-fulfilment powers can also be traced to his idolisation of Scarlet Witch and her representation of social change. Following a chance encounter with his 'favourite Avenger',[36] Wiccan is encouraged to stand up to a school bully and, in doing so, triggers the manifestation of his wish-fulfilment powers through his decisive rejection of the status quo of his life. Following the personal inspiration of Scarlet Witch, Wiccan's 'wish' to no longer be a victim within his own narrative is made literal as he finds himself able to control his own destiny. Wiccan's challenging of the seemingly 'normal' social dynamic once again represents the liberating possibilities of rejecting the restrictive control of the Symbolic Order by developing meaningful alternatives to self-identification, the character's personal empowerment directly enabled by his desire for cultural self-determination.

The subsequent establishment of Scarlet Witch as Wiccan's mother can also be understood to tie directly into the desire for cultural alternatives as Gillen notes, 'The emotional state and wishes of Reality Warpers can create effects – even to the level of creating whole people'.[37] From this perspective we can interpret an even more radical relationship between the two: Wiccan's desire to empower and understand himself can be understood to have predicated the very creation of a

[35] Ibid., 1952.

[36] Heinberg, *Young Avengers Ultimate Collection*, #13 15/36.

[37] K. Gillen, 'Writer Notes: *Young Avengers* 13', *Another Way To Breathe* (2013). Available: <http://www.bit.ly/1clJr4B> [Accessed 10.12.2013].

radical legacy to emulate and idolise in the form of Scarlet Witch. Just as Alison Waller argues that fantastic narratives portray 'new and interesting ways of becoming and being adolescents',[38] Wiccan's formulation of his own past sees the character construct both a personal ideology to follow and a social purpose to fulfil, similar to Scarlet Witch's literal 'creation' of a child to love and nurture. As a result, both characters can be understood to actively conceptualise a cultural purpose for themselves in their literal creation of each other, interlinking the relationship between icon and admirer, mother and son, 'legacy' hero and derivative character in radical new ways.

Both Wiccan's abilities and actions directly position him as a competitive threat to the pre-existing order of the world around him, as typified by Captain America's repeated attempts to constrain his powers. Although his powers represent the 'very possibility of change',[39] his personal identity is equally subversive to the traditional superhero persona. Just as he was unable to challenge the bully before he realised his own potential, Wiccan's culturally transgressive nature is based upon his rejection of social restrictions placed upon him as he comes to accept both his queer sexuality and limitless potential. Although Wiccan has the power to change the world (a power he discovers he will one day inherit)[40] this potential is directly linked to his ability to accept the difficult realities of growing up and teenage life, a key task for the adolescent character in comic book narratives.

Issues of cultural difference are often positioned with *Young Avengers* as subversions of the traditional superhero figure, as the acceptance of alternative ethnic, sexual and gender identities by the adolescent characters aim to reflect that '(adult) responsibilities and burdens play a part in shaping identity'. [41] This realisation of the marginal cultural positions inhabited by the central characters represents both their active challenging of the 'legacy' superhero figure as an inherently privileged individual and the acknowledgement of their social instability as individuals between the spheres of infancy and adulthood. As Robyn McCallum argues, 'The position of characters on the margins of, or in a

[38] Waller, *Constructing Adolescence in Fantastic Realism*, xiii.
[39] Cixous, 'Laugh of the Medusa', 1946.
[40] K. Gillen, *Young Avengers, Volume 2: Alternative Cultures*. (New York, 2014), #9, 16-17/22.
[41] Waller, *Constructing Adolescence in Fantastic Realism*, 113-114.

transgressive relation to, a represented society or culture provides a way of exploring […] the dominant cultural and social paradigms for the construction of subjects'.[42] Thus the teenage Young Avengers' lack of a 'theoretical place' in culture, due to being neither child nor adult,[43] uniquely positions to explore the 'cultural paradigms' that intersect with identity formation.

From this understanding, the consideration of identity challenges within *Young Avengers* can be read as not merely engaging with these social issues but also representing them through its characters. In the opening scene of *Avengers: Children's Crusade*, the teenage heroes are portrayed in a battle against a militarised 'white supremacist' organisation.[44] As we are formally introduced to each team member by Wiccan's narration, which explicitly identifies their familial, cultural and personal connections to classic Avengers as a central component of their superhero identity, the team discuss how their opponents are not only racist but also 'hate gays and lesbians' and 'uppity women'. These prejudices lead Hawkeye to argue that, due to the noticeable diversity of the group, 'we must be their least favourite superhero team **ever**.'[45]

In this scene, the Young Avengers' moral duty to fight against injustice, their lived experience of identity challenges and their connections to parental and legacy figures are all portrayed as interconnected and interdependent factors that collectively inform their heroic and personal identities. Rather than portray these cultural differences as problematic to the legitimacy of the Young Avengers as genuine superheroes, Heinberg instead uses these features to explicitly define them *as* heroes. While 'legacy' heroes may typically fulfil the role of straight, white, middle-class men who subscribe to traditional social hierarchy, *Young Avengers* directly aims to portray different kinds of heroes that not only compete with established legacies but also come to represent meaningful alternatives of self-expression. The series also aims to offer alternatives to cultural hegemony directly to its readership as *Young Avengers* can be seen as one of a select number of mainstream titles to 'understand that a vast number of the books readers aren't

[42] McCallum, *Ideologies of Identity in Adolescent Fiction*, 69.
[43] Waller, *Constructing Adolescence in Fantastic Realism*, 5.
[44] Heinberg, *Avengers: The Children's Crusade*, #1 2/22.
[45] Ibid., #1 2/22.

heterosexual men'.[46] (Sava, 2013) The series' inclusive depiction of alternative ethnicities, sexualities and gender identities in the context of widely normative 'legacy' heroes is undeniably a conscious attempt by the series' creators to broaden the positive social representation found within mainstream comic book texts, celebrating the plurality of readers' 'attitudes' and 'lifestyles' just as it does its characters' 'diversity'.[47]

The series' most prominent exploration of adolescent identity challenges is the ongoing romantic relationship between Wiccan and his boyfriend, Hulkling. While the series has been celebrated for its progressive consideration of homosexuality – the 2013 run features one of the few same-sex love triangles in the history of mainstream comic books[48] – *Young Avengers* is also not afraid to actively explore the marginalised cultural positions of adolescent queer individuals through its ostensibly supportive characters. A key example of this occurs in *The Children's Crusade* when Wiccan and Hulkling are invited to Avengers' Tower and are assigned a room with two single beds.[49] Despite Wiccan and Hulkling having the most traditionally romantic and enduring relationship of the series, the Avengers' refusal to acknowledge their personal relationship can be understood to represent traditional cultural views that prefer to mitigate, rather than advocate, queer sexuality.[50] In an example of his ability to refashion the world around him, Wiccan uses his reality-warping powers to transform the room, converting the single-beds into a double, and in doing so not only rejects any attempts to downplay his cultural difference but also celebrates that very difference as the source of his powers. Similarly in the final confrontation of the series' 2013 run, the story's key villain is overthrown by the transgressive potential of queer sexuality as Wiccan and Hulkling are reunited and discover the emotional strength in one another to overcome the restrictive forces limiting them. While the notion may seem clichéd – highlighted by Loki's outcry, 'Is love **really** going to

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[46] O. Sava, '*Young Avengers* #8 and the Rise of the Tumblrheroes', *A.V. Club* (2013). Available: <http://www.avc.lu/17IhGCW> [Accessed 28.10.2013].

[47] B. White, 'In Your Face Jam: *Young Avengers* Shows How Its Done', *Comic Book Resources* (2013). Available: <http://www.bit.ly/NS5Cu9> [Accessed 04.03.2014].

[48] Sava, '*Young Avengers* #8 and the Rise of the Tumblrheroes'.

[49] Heinberg, *Avengers: The Children's Crusade*, #1 18-19/22.

[50] SmileDesu, 'Displays of sexuality in Young Avengers, V1 vs. V2', *Tumblr* (2013). Available: <http://www.bit.ly/HqLCLN> [Accessed 04.03.2014].

save us all?'[51] – the series' portrayal of the redemptive potential of homosexuality (as opposed to heterosexuality) representing the solution to 'saving the day' not only reaffirms Wiccan's empowerment through cultural Otherness but also cites self-acceptance as the most revolutionary power of all.

In conclusion, *Young Avengers* portrays the role of legacy within the comic book genre as far more complex and pervasive to the formation of adolescent identity development than in conventional superhero texts but also succeeds in recognising its traditional narrative centrality. The Young Avengers may initially depend upon the 'legacy' characters to inform their cultural identities but over time these personas are cast aside as identity formation is shown to occur. However, while these traditional characters no longer directly dictate the identity of their successors, their roles as cultural icons, parental figures and representations of cultural ideology continue to pervade the series' narrative. While the cultural instability of Scarlet Witch is accepted and internalised by the characters as a revolutionary form of cultural potential, *Young Avengers* actively portrays adolescent and heroic identity formation as products of both the influence of 'legacy' figures and the transgressive nature of teenage life itself. Although the teenage characters may feel the need to choose between the tradition of Captain America and the radical alternatives of Scarlet Witch, between subscribing to cultural hegemony and following their own paths, the recurring message of *Young Avengers* is that legacies are merely waiting to be written. The Young Avengers have no need to 'assemble' themselves; their cultural legacy has just begun.

[51] K. Gillen, *Young Avengers, Volume 3: Mic-Drop at the Edge of Time and Space*. (New York, 2014) #13, 12/20.

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'The mounting spirit': empowering competition and challenging tradition in Shakespeare's *King John*

Andrew Steel

The Life and Death of King John by William Shakespeare is a dramatization of the reign of John, King of England. In comparison to Shakespeare's other history plays, the subversive ideological messages of the play have been somewhat overlooked by scholars. Theories which have enhanced understanding of the allusions to Republicanism in the works of Shakespeare allow for a more comprehensive interpretation of *King John* as a play which has an ideological purpose. This article explores the way in which self-referential and meta-theatrical devices within the text indicate an attempt on the part of Shakespeare to reflect the growing political awareness and aspirations of the burgeoning Fourth Circle. In doing so, it could be argued that Shakespeare subtly makes the case for an alternative method of government in a country that was beginning to change.

> But this is worshipful company / and fits the mounting spirit like myself[1]

Shakespeare's *The Life and Death of King John* (1596) has traditionally been considered a poor relation to his historical tetralogies. Previous interpretations of the play have focused on its rejection of history as having an ideological purpose, or have dismissed it owing to its structural untidiness. Cohen refers to the plot promising 'more coherence than it delivers'[2] and this lack of structural focus may have led critics to overlook encoded, potentially subversive, signals within the text. I will instead interrogate *King John* within the subcategory of 'republican Shakespeare studies' - examining whether the evidence in the text points to alternative sources of legitimisation of sovereignty within the context of the time. I will explore how self-referential and meta-theatrical evidence in the text highlights the intended link between message and audience, noting the way in which Shakespeare departs from the reactionary religious focus of the source

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[1] W. Shakespeare, *King John* in *The Norton Shakespeare Histories* (London, 1997), I.1.205-206.

[2] W. Cohen, 'Introduction to King John' in S. Greenblatt *et al* (eds.), *The Norton Shakespeare Histories* (London, 1997), 485.

material and turns his attention to a progressive alternative for the future; a refined version of Collinson's monarchical republic.[3] Delivered to the broad commons but aimed at a specific subsection of it, *King John* deserves reappraisal as one of Shakespeare's most daring political works.

THE POLITICS OF LATE TUDOR ENGLAND

Noting Shakespeare's opposition to the rule of corrupt or ineffective nobility, Skinner's conclusion that, for Shakespeare, 'the world of politics and the life of virtue appeared to be largely incompatible'[4] is hard to fault. It with this failure in mind that *King John* presents an alternative system to the audience, an alternative which is highlighted in the text, characters and the performative meta-theatricality of the play.

The claim that *King John* is partly aimed at the 'common playgoers standing in front of the stage'[5] requires a radically different view of the broad commons as seen in Shakespeare's work. Quentin Skinner notes that 'when the ordinary populace contribute to the action, they appear as little better than a fickle mob.'[6] Similarly, Cohen suggests that 'King John accords the English people an even more marginal role in constituting the nation'[7] than usual. However, while the political message of *King John* may be delivered to the broad commons of an audience, it is aimed at a specific subsection within it; those belonging to what we might call the 'Fourth Circle'. Identified by Collinson as those involved in local administration who governed autonomously but remained loyal to the crown. This subsection of the audience included capable townsmen who operated as effective administrators at a local level and had ambitions to govern nationally.[8] Shagan notes the tension inherent between 'the centralising impulse of humanist ideology and...the 'federal'

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[3] P. Collinson, 'The monarchical republic of Queen Elizabeth' in *Elizabethan Essays*, (London, 1994), 31-57.

[4] Q. Skinner, 'Afterword: Shakespeare and humanist culture' in D. Armitage *et al* (eds.), *Shakespeare & Early Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2012), 281.

[5] A. Hadfield, *Shakespeare & Republicanism*, (Cambridge, 2005), 3.

[6] Skinner, 'Afterword', 28.

[7] Cohen, 'Introduction to King John', 488-489.

[8] Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays,* 31-57.

impulse of traditionally heterogeneous communities'[9], and it seems logical that the sixteenth century drive and energy which Baldwin Smith identifies was present at a local level before spreading nation, and then world, wide:

> The population exploded with all the concomitant human misery and concerns of urban growth. Europe commenced that absolute upset of the world balance of power that for four centuries bestowed upon it the riches of the earth...the acquisitive spirit burst its Christian chains of moderation and charity, and with Cosimo de Medici claimed God the father, God the son, and God the Holy ghost as debtors.[10]

If we identify within the intended audience the politically frustrated competitive class which would go on to forge the modern England, we can find other examples in Shakespeare which support this theory of proto-democratisation. For example, the guildsmen of 'Richard III', who refuse to acclaim the Duke of Gloucester when Buckingham puts him forward for the throne[11], could hardly be described as 'a fickle mob': such a class of men would have constituted Collinson's proto-clubmen[12], and their desires could not always be satisfied using their existing powers. Such a class, keen to acquire status, wealth and the lifestyle associated with them, would have been influenced by the implicit message that England, in their hands, could have a prosperous future, unhindered by the dynastic wars which had drained so much of her wealth and blood in centuries past.

The England of this period can be described as lying somewhere between a coterminous repressive brutality and a loose central authority. This suggests that it was possible for a playwright to deliver this message to late Elizabethan society, at a time when Republicanism was not considered to be a serious threat to Monarchism. [13] While central governance, in the person of the Queen,

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[9] E. H. Shagan, 'The two republics: conflicting views of participatory local government in early Tudor England' in John F. MacDiarmid (ed.), *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England* (Hampshire, 2007), 20.

[10] L. Baldwin Smith, *Treason in Tudor England: Politics and Paranoia* (London, 1986), 179.

[11] W. Shakespeare, *Richard III* in S. Greenblatt *et al* (eds.), *The Norton Shakespeare Histories,* (London: 1997), Act III.7.5-55.

[12] Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays,* 396.

[13] Ibid., 401.

theoretically had ultimate authority, the reality was a country in which centralised control was weak: Loades speaks of 'great revolts in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Devon, Oxfordshire, Norfolk and Kent'.[14] Yet the implication of competition for legitimate sovereignty could only mean a weakening of power for those who held it. If we imagine a Shakespeare desperate for the patronage of Monarch, Lord or Bishop, such a reading of *King John* seems impossible. However, the example of Thomas Nashe shows us that an author could move from noble patronage to potentially dangerous levels of independence[15]; Nashe's work ranged from hagiography to 'completely new ways of experiencing the social, moral, political and material world of the 1590's'. [16] Hadfield has argued that republicanism, in one form or another, was a constant in English political life throughout the sixteenth century and was used by opposing factions dependent on which monarch they wished to support, depose or avenge.'[17] The point could be made that Shakespeare could hardly have avoided exposure to the furious political climate of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, one which 'no writer would have wished to avoid'.[18]

THE EVIDENCE OF THE CHARACTERS

Faulconbridge and the Citizen of Angers exemplify this interpretation of *King John*. Falconbridge's rise from the son of a soldier to the indispensable adjutant of a king surely surpassed the wildest dream of even the most ambitious members of Shakespeare's audience. Similarly, the Citizen of Angers' wise counsel and astute politicking on the walls of his town highlight both the failure of traditional kingship and an alternative method of effective statecraft and personal achievement, while simultaneously expressing the message that widening political enfranchisement, to include the 'Fourth Circle', could deliver fresh impetus and popular legitimacy to even the most usurping of monarchs.

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[14] D. Loades, 'Provincial & regional identity' in *Power in Tudor England* (Hampshire, 1997), 148-149.

[15] L. Hutson, 'Fictive acts: Thomas Nashe & the mid-Tudor legacy' in Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature 1485-1603* (Oxford, 2007), 721.

[16] Ibid., 732

[17] Hadfield, *Shakespeare & Republicanism,* 18-53.

[18] Ibid., 1.

It is possible that the 'Fourth Circle' may not have appreciated the similarity of their aims and those of a character called 'the bastard', but the character of Faulconbridge insists upon a visual, as well as a textual, interpretation. When attributing dialogue to Faulconbridge, Shakespeare repeatedly uses the word 'Bastard' to re-establish his social origins. When performed, however, Falconbridge's physical actions on the stage are a means of drawing attention to his impressive rise through the social hierarchy. The Falconbridge family represent the proto-middle class: the son of a knight (a knighthood earned by deed and not by inheritance) and, by the standards of the time, a comfortably wealthy soldier.[19] Falconbridge serves as an example of what can be achieved through self-belief, action and, that most indispensable of patrons, luck. There would surely have been an element of identification between the character and the audience: Faulconbridge spoke for many when he expressed his frustrations as the limit of his life: 'and why rail I on this commodity? | But for because he hath not woo'ed me yet!'.[20] And the ladder shall, in true aspirant fashion, be hauled up behind him: 'Well, whiles I am a beggar I will rail | and say there is no sin but to be rich | and being rich, my virtue shall then be | to say there is no vice but beggary.'[21] This expression of unwillingness to be constrained by traditional social boundaries is emphatic: the journey from 'beggar' to rich man may be a long one, but it would no longer be considered impossible.

Faulconbridge is hardly alone in being raised into such exalted company: in *Henry IV*, Falstaff enjoys the youth of the young Prince Henry as much as Prince Henry himself, he is forever on the point of being disgraced and abandoned through his misdeeds or affronts to royal dignity. Faulconbridge ensures this cannot happen – he is the self-made man who is considered to be indispensable by the King - and by so doing ensures his continued rise and safety. Serious and effective, he is the opposite of the debased and dishonourable Falstaff.

The play's concluding scene emphasises the extent to which Faulconbridge has risen through the social hierarchy. It is to Faulconbridge that John expresses his

[19] Shakespeare, *King John,* I.1.50-54.
[20] Ibid., II.1.589.
[21] Ibid., II.1.594-597.

dying affection: 'O cousin, thou art come to set mine eye'[22] and it is Faulconbridge, not the heir, Prince Henry, who commands attention throughout the conclusion of the play. Henry's lines are couplets, whereas Faulconbridge's dialogue is much more extensive, including the closing monologue with its ostensibly patriotic message:

> This England never did, nor never shall | Lie at the foot of a proud conqueror | But when it did first help to wound itself...Naught shall make us sue | If England to itself do rest but true.[23]

This dialogue is made all the more subtle by the ambiguity as to which 'England' he is referring to. The regret of such a man at the loss of his patron is to be expected, but the attention of the audience is, nevertheless, entirely focused on Faulconbridge and it is through him that Shakespeare delivers his final thoughts on kingship, purpose and politics [24] The disdain and contempt that Faulconbridge shows for the nobles as he addresses them is plain to see:

> Now, now, you stars that move in your right spheres / Where be your powers?[25]

It is Faulconbridge who even assumes responsibility for Prince Henry: 'And you, my noble prince, |with other princes that may best be spared, |shall wait upon your father's funeral.'[26] Rarely can self-promotion have reaped such a reward; Faulconbridge's expression of devotion shortly thereafter[27] reads more plausibly as deflecting his rise from bastard to de facto Protector than genuine angst; his intention to retain his influence over the new king is quite unmistakable. This is a character, having challenged the traditional order, who has no intention of abandoning his gains and joining John in heaven.[28]

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[22] Ibid., V.7.51.
[23] Ibid., V.7.112-118.
[24] Ibid., V.7.70-120.
[25] Ibid., V.7.74-75.
[26] Ibid., V.7.96-98.
[27] *Shakespeare, King John, V.7.100-105.*
[28] Ibid., V.7.70-72.

The character of the Citizen of Angers plays a smaller role compared to that of Faulconbridge in *King John,* but crucially he is used to contrast sharply with the destructive failure of traditional kingship and to convey the possibility of an alternative. Significantly, the Citizen of Angers is not ennobled in the *dramatis personae* (the Norton edition simply lists him as 'a CITIZEN of Angers') yet it is he that does not conform to expectations when he addresses King John and King Philip with the respect and reverence that they demand.[29] Placed in an impossible position – for the Citizen to recognise either party as liege would lead to destruction from the other – he ingeniously rebuffs their increasingly furious, but impotent, ultimatums: 'he that proves the king | to him we will be loyal. Till that time, | have we rammed up our gates against the world'.[30] The possessive 'our' when referring to the town gates, and also the rejection of the world out with those gates, indicates a growing sense of autonomy within the city. Further, there is, a suggestion that it will be the right of towns, rather than the right of kings, which takes precedence thereafter: 'Till you compound whose right is worthiest | We for the worthiest hold the right from both'. [31] While this certainly acknowledges that, eventually, suzerainty will be recognised, it must first go through the process of establishing their rights as citizens. Already we see a departure from feudal concept of 'might is right'. Furthermore, after the armies clash, Angers is still unwilling to declare for either side, and rejects each king's fictitious claims of victory. Faulconbridge, having dealt with the King of Austria and his army, summarises: 'By heaven, these scroyles of Angers flout you, Kings'.[32] This accurate summary of Angers attitude to the warring monarchs is all the more effective in that neither town nor citizens receive any form of chastisement for their insolence. The ethos of Divine Right is defeated by effective politics.

This is potentially the most subversive theme in *King John*, and that is why Shakespeare elsewhere in the play refers to 'all England' in 'this morsel of dead royalty'[33]: evidently discretion came along with democratic valour. A balance needed to be found between upholding traditional elitist rule and promoting the

[29] Ibid., II.1.
[30] Ibid., II.1.271-273.
[31] Ibid., II.1.281-282.
[32] Ibid., II.1.373.
[33] Ibid., IV.3.143-144.

legitimate interests of the burgeoning 'Fourth Circle'. In order to avoid the charge of sedition, there was a need to be subtle.

Eventually it is the Citizen who finds a way out of the destructive cycle of violent stalemate. While the kings are reduced to a nihilistic and illogical situation - reduce the town to rubble then fight over the ruins – it is the Citizen who proposes the alliance between Arthur and Blanche. [34] While making this proposition of 'peace and fair-faced league'[35], the Citizen also rearticulates the city's determination to maintain its defiant stance:

> But without this match | The sea enraged is not half so deaf, | Lions more confident, mountains and rocks | More free from motion, no, not Death himself | As we to keep this city.[36]

In addition to defiance, the reference to lions is a means of mocking the King of Austria, who wears Richard Coeur-de-Lion's lion skin, and is ridiculed mercilessly by Faulconbridge for doing so.[37] The citizen's speech also, however, appropriates the iconography not only of kingship (the lion) but of divinity: a reference to the created world, usually credited to God, elevates their determination above even death itself.

Faulconbridge and the Citizen are ambitious, determined and have political objectives that they hope to achieve for themselves and for their city. The Citizen's self-assured insistence on legitimacy ('Till you compound whose right is worthiest | We for the worthiest hold the right from both')[38] is a clear expression of civic confidence. Shakespeare posits the idea of political empowerment and suggests that those who compromise the elite may be challenged and even replaced by those who have legitimate political demands. This reforming message is secreted amidst declaration of loyalty to great kings [39] and unconvincing

[34] Ibid., II.1.424-456.
[35] Ibid., II.1.418.
[36] Ibid., 451-454.
[37] Shakespeare, *King John,* II.1.290-293.
[38] Ibid., II.1.281-282.
[39] Ibid., II.1.417.

discussions about the unifying nature of royalty.[40] It is unlikely, however, that those in the 'Fourth Circle' would have missed Shakespeare's subtle message. In this regard, Shakespeare incorporates an ideological message into the dialogue of the play. The intended audience would have had an affinity with Faulconbridge and the Citizen because those characters vocalize the growing political awareness of the 'Fourth Circle'.

SELF-REFERENTIALITY AND META-THEATRICALITY

There are signposts for the audience to follow as the play progresses, some obvious and some hidden in a form of cipher, intended to be read by those comprising the 'Fourth Circle'. Actor-audience interaction is surely required in the opening lines, when Elinor responds to Chatillon's barbed address to John: 'A strange beginning, 'borrowed majesty'?'[41] While the 'fourth wall' is often absent in Tudor theatre, it is not always appropriate: it is hard to imagine an actor playing Cordelia slyly winking at the audience in the way that Eleanor does in *King John.* Yet, it is not a comedy: it is a history, and hardly a light one at that. Shakespeare involves the audience from the outset in order to engage their attention fully. This history play is by no means a didactic lesson from the past, but an interactive exchange in which the audience, far from losing themselves in the play, are encouraged to raise their political aspirations.

The artifice and performativity of what is before the audience is quite explicit, in evidence when Faulconbridge says 'By Heaven, these scroyles of angers flout you, kings / and stand securely on their battlements / as in a theatre, where they gape and point / at your industrious scenes and acts of death.'[42] There is a sense of inclusiveness in these lines, combined with the implied differentiation between those yokels who 'gape and point' and those 'industrious' audience members who are meant to engage with the message of the play. Those 'scroyles' of Angers could easily be the men of Swallowfield, Coventry or anywhere else in England, who 'will be esteemed.'[43] The theatre is the ideal medium in which to contemplate this

[40] Ibid., IV.3.144.
[41] Ibid., I.1.5.
[42] Ibid., II.1.373-376.
[43] Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays,* 33.

alternative vision of society, with the lines 'I am a scribbled form / drawn with a pen / upon a parchment'[44] suggesting that the majesty of kingship can be reduced to the compass of an upstart crow's quill, with the dying John contained like an imprisoned djinn.

SHAKESPEARE'S ALTERNATIVE FOCUS

The lack of focus that Shakespeare affords to religious affairs in *King John* strengthens the case for a reading which challenges established tradition. Although it is generally accepted that *King John* is sourced from both Bale's *King Johan* and the anonymous *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*, the focus in Shakespeare's play undergoes a paradigm shift, away from the bellicose religiosity of Bale and excising completely the broad humour and anti-clericalism of, for example, the monastery scene in *Troublesome Raigne*[45]. Given Shakespeare's own youthful, and perhaps lifelong, Catholicism[46], it is no surprise that he shows disdain for the rampant Protestant propaganda of Bale's *King Johan* in his own writing, while the years which passed between the two, between 30 to 54 years, may have played a part in reducing the need for Bale's less than subtle bombast.

It is undeniable that *King John* shows the Papal Legate Pandolph interfering with the politics of England and France. Given the degree of conflict between the two, however, it is tempting to read in the Cardinal a sympathetic political figure who contrasts with the thin-skinned kings and vacillating nobles. Even the fact that John's death is hastened by poison handed him by a monk, in revenge for the pillaging of the monasteries to fund John's wars, is understated by Shakespeare: 'The king, I fear, is poisoned by a monk'[47] and later 'A monk, I tell you; a resolved villain'.[48] When compared to the quantity of dialogue used to describe the regicide in *Troublesome Raigne's* - one hundred and eleven lines - it could be argued that Shakespeare did not want the murder of King John to overshadow the central message that he tries to convey to the audience.

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[44] Shakespeare, *King John*, V.7.32-33.
[45] Anon., *The Troublesome Raigne of King John,* (New York, 1979).
[46] R. Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare* (Manchester, 2004).
[47] Shakespeare, *King John*, V.4.24.
[48] Ibid., V.4.30.

CONCLUSION

It is difficult to read *King John* in conjunction with the source material and not be struck by the way in which Shakespeare takes the recognised story of King John in a completely new direction. I have set out what I believe this direction to be, but establishing the definitive meaning of a Shakespeare play is, in best theatrical tradition, fraught with trapdoors, smoke and mirrors. Condren, examining *Measure for Measure*, accurately observes 'the absence of a direct authorial voice to restrain our flights of fancy'[49] , which allows potential for elaborate re-encodings or, as he more politely puts it, 'the reader's diffuse imaginings.'[50] I certainly do not wish to argue that *King John* advocates the adoption in England of an *Unum e pluribus* system, but that it suggests taking into account the views and making use of the abilities of those born out with the charmed circle of aristocracy. Unlike previous interpretations of the play, which have focused either on its rejection of history or have dismissed it owing to its structural untidiness, the ideological purpose of *King John* has been repeatedly overlooked. Cohen refers to the plot promising 'more coherence than it delivers'[51] – a reasonable criticism which allows for a wide variety of different interpretations. Republican studies within the Shakespearean critical tradition have created an opportunity to reassess *King John* as a criticism of the established political order, hinting at a need for a limited popular mandate to legitimise sovereignty in late Elizabethan England. In this article I have argued that not only does *King John* explore the political and social concerns of the 'Fourth Circle', but that it does so in a way that encodes the suggestion – perhaps not revolutionary, but at least subversive and potentially seditious – that they, and not just the elite, had a part to play in deciding how England should be governed and what it could become.

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[49] C. Condren, 'Unfolding the properties of 'government' in D. Armitage *et al* (eds.), *Shakespeare & Early Modern Political Thought*, (Cambridge, 2009), 159.

[50] Ibid., 159.

[51] Cohen, 'Introduction to King John', 485.

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Masculinity and monasticism: an exploration of the ways in which traditional hegemonic masculinity was reconciled with the challenges of monasticism

Deborah White

The Late Antique and early medieval periods saw the growth of monastic communities in the West, as ideas about asceticism and cenobitic monasticism spread from Egypt. At the same time, a strict system of hierarchical gender identity operated in the Roman Empire, in which masculinity, and in particular, elite masculinity, was dominant. This article will explore the ways in which monasticism initially provided a threat to the hegemonic masculinity of its day before considering how it adapted, particularly considering differences in dress, labour and the public voice. It will conclude that through these adaptations, the two concepts were largely reconciled, allowing those who identified into the masculine elite to adopt monastic lifestyles with enthusiasm, eventually becoming dominant in monastic communities at the expense of women and non-elite men.

When monasticism first began to transition to the West, it was, perhaps surprisingly, adopted with great enthusiasm by a number of aristocratic Roman women, such as Paula and Melania.[1] Their male counterparts were, however, slower to adopt this new lifestyle. This may be because monasticism's model of manliness conflicted with traditional Roman masculinity, making monastic life unpopular amongst men who were unwilling to give up not only their social positions and freedoms but also a key part of their identity. For women, the dynamics were different; their limited power in the secular world meant that adopting a monastic or ascetic lifestyle was, potentially, a means to self-empowerment. Women could reduce their subjugation under men, whether as

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[1] Paula and Melania were two of the earliest examples of aristocratic women who adopted an ascetic lifestyle. Paula is known for her involvement with the theologian Jerome, with whom she settled in Bethlehem after some scandal involving the death of her daughter. Melania the Elder was, like Paula, a young widow and early adopter of the ascetic life; unlike Paula, she did not gain Jerome's favour due to her views on the Origen controversy. Both women are notable as they were from very wealthy families but nevertheless adopted a lifestyle based on the denial of earthly pleasures.

wife, daughter or mother. Indeed, Lina Ecktenstein, writing in the late nineteenth century, drew a parallel between her contemporaries fighting in the suffrage movement and women in the late Antique and early medieval periods who adopted the monastic life. Ecktenstein wrote: 'the woman of today, who realises that the home circle as at present constituted affords insufficient scope for her energies, had a precursor, in the nun who sought a field of activity in the convent.'[2] In contrast, elite men in the secular world did not face such constraints on their power and self-expression. Adopting a monastic life, therefore, involved markedly different motivations for men; this analysis will observe the consequences involved in adopting the monastic lifestyle and how such a shift could be reconciled with their sense of male identity.

Jenny Moore states 'that gender roles and relationships developed through time, varied across regions, and were determined by aspects of social status and position in the life cycle. We should think in terms not of a single universal gender system but of a multiple gender system'.'[3] For example, a Roman aristocratic male in the fourth century would have considered himself radically different from an Egyptian male peasant or woman of a similar background. Roberta Gilchrist argues that gender is a 'socially created and historically specific' concept, which intersects with class to form hierarchical social structures. [4] Elite Roman masculinity, then, was a distinct form of masculinity, applied to the upper classes of late Antique Roman society; it can be defined as much by what it was not as by what it was.

The Latin word for manliness is *virtus*, which has as its root 'vir', meaning man. *Virtus* means far more than simply one's gender identification as male, rather it is associated with the ideal conduct of a man.[5] *Virtus* was an ancient classicising value which allowed Rome to be what it was; in a speech by Cicero in 43BC, he stated 'with this *virtus* your ancestors conquered all Italy first, then razed

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[2]L. Ecktenstein, *Woman Under Monasticism: chapters on saint-lore and convent life between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1500,* (Cambridge, 1896), ix.

[3] J. Moore, ''Death Makes the Man'? Burial Rite and the Construction of Masculinities in the Early Middle Ages', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London, 1998), 37.

[4] R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: the Archaeology of Religious Women* (London, 1994), 1.

[5] M. *McDonnell*, *Roman Manliness*: *Virtus and the Roman Republic* (Cambridge, 2006), 2.

Carthage, overthrew Numantia, brought the most powerful kings and the most warlike peoples under the sway of this empire'.[6] Slaves and women are not associated with *virtus*; rather, it signifies a hegemonic masculinity that applied only to elite and powerful men.[7] Hegemonic masculinity is formed and challenged by the Other, that is, those who it marginalises and excludes; Julia Smith includes 'barbarians, elite women, eunuchs, slaves or political opponents' as examples of those excluded by hegemonic masculinity; nevertheless, these groups also compete with it and its self-proclaimed place in the hierarchy.[8] Monasticism is one such challenge to these ideas.

To identify the challenges posed by monasticism to the identity of elite men in late Antiquity, therefore, requires us to identify certain characteristics of elite Roman masculinity. These can be examined to give us some idea of how 'maleness', the state of being identified as a man, was perceived and why monasticism may have posed a threat. It is through power relations that elite masculinity was structured, and these power relations are manifest in a number of ways: dress, sexual relationships, and the possession of a public voice amongst others. For each of these areas, monasticism expected a standard which was markedly different to that experienced in the elite, secular sphere.

Dress, the first of these manifestations, is a difficult area to examine. Mary Harlow's study considers the problems involved in assembling textile remnants: much of the material is no longer available and so we are left to reconstruct dress from literary and artistic sources.[9] Nevertheless, dress is an important marker to study, as through people's attire we may observe tangible processes of othering, processes which also serve to define elite masculinity. The Romans are referred to in sources as the *gens togati;* those who wear togas, while non-Romans are the *pallati*; those who wear the Greek-associated *pallium*. Barbarians were known as *bracati*, or trouser-wearers. The term *a toga ad pallium* was used to mean the

[6] Ibid., 3.

[7] Ibid., 167.

[8] J.M.H. Smith 'Introduction: Gendering the Early Medieval World', in *Gender in the Early Medieval World,* ed. L. Brubaker and J M H Smith (Cambridge, 2006), 19.

[9] M. Harlow, 'Clothes maketh the man: power dressing and elite masculinity in the later Roman world' in *Gender in the Early Medieval World,* ed. L. Brubaker and J.M.H Smith (Cambridge, 2006), 45.

transition from a higher social position to a lower one.[10] Such terminology shows the importance of dress in the aristocratic Roman world. One's social and ethnic identity is inextricably linked to their clothing and visual presentation. These ideas were also reflected in law, for example, the prescriptions in *Justinian's Digest* meant that 'to dress inappropriately would cause censure.'[11] Those who did not dress according to these prescribed standards 'cast doubt upon their manliness in general' and were considered 'inferior and feminised.'[12] That is, to dress in a way other than that prescribed by society at large had legal and social consequences; conformity to the norm was key if one wanted to maintain his status.

For monks, however, dress served a far more practical purpose. It did not confer status; rather, it was intended to serve 'as a prophylactic against effeminate oozings and troublesome erections.'[13] Monks could be identified by their dress in the same way as elite Roman men were by theirs, but the purpose behind it was different: one was identified as a monk, a member of a particular order or community, not as a Roman or a member of the elite. Henrietta Leyser argues that the *Rule of St. Benedict* was well suited to the 'systematic obliteration of all class distinctions within the monastery.'[14] All monks dressed uniformly, and as monks came from a variety of social and ethnic backgrounds, this meant that when abandoning the Roman style of dress and adopting the monastic one, one abandoned too the visual markers of status and, in effect, a component of their identity. While the removal of distinction based on class may have attracted men from the lower echelons of society, the nobility were unlikely to be attracted to a lifestyle which involved rescinding their superiority, and risking their masculinity.

By virtue of being male, Roman aristocratic men had the right to a public voice, giving them a platform which allowed for the exercise of power and masculinity. This right to employ one's public voice in certain spaces, for example, the temple, the forum and law courts, is described by Lynda Coon as 'a marker both of the

[10] Ibid., 47.
[11] Ibid., 48.
[12] Ibid., 44.
[13] L. Coon, 'Gender and the Body' in eds. T.F.X Noble and J.M.H Smith, *Cambridge History of Christianity III: Early Medieval Christianities c 600-c1100* (Cambridge, 2008), 448.
[14] H. Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England, 450-1500* (London, 1996), 26.

masculinity of the speaker and his political authority.'[15] Masculinity and political authority go hand in hand, at least when considering elite men. The denial of a public voice to women, children and slaves showed their status as supposedly inferior beings. By removing the public voice, one removes their access to political authority and representation. Thus, by speaking in public forums, and accessing political authority, men were able to demonstrate that they were indeed men, and belonged to that small but powerful subset of society: the masculine elite.

Sexual activity was another mark of elite Roman masculinity. Due to low life expectancy among the general population (only four in every 100 men lived beyond the age of fifty), reproduction was encouraged through a combination of social pressure and imperial legislation.[16] While bachelors did exist in aristocratic circles, they were rebuked by emperors and encouraged to marry, partly in order to keep demographics stable.[17] Sexual activity was a way of proving a man's virility, of ensuring the continuation of his family line and of demonstrating power. Caroline Vout argues that 'if sex is *imperium*, then power… is penetration.'[18] Men were seen as sexual agents, as penetrators, and as performers, whereas women were sexual receivers, taking a passive role which denied them agency. If engagement in sexual activity can be seen as a display of male power and dominance, then having such activity forcibly denied to one (or being expected to deny it to oneself) would sit uneasily with an elite Roman man.

The Vestal Virgins were committed to sanctity, and so the idea of religious chastity was not unknown in Rome; however, such a commitment was specifically designated as a role for women. Mary Beard argues that the Vestal Virgins are painted very much as women, with feminine language; they are variously conceptualised as wives or mothers , just as nuns in Christian thinking are seen as the 'Bride of Christ' or referred to as 'Mother'. [19] In Christian monasticism, however, chastity was expected of men as well as women. *The Rule of Augustine*, a late fourth century text, states that 'it is wrong, however, to desire women or to

[15] Coon, 'Gender and the Body', 434.

[16] P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in early Christianity (*New York, 1988), 6.

[17] Ibid., 7.

[18] C. Vout, *Power and Eroticism in Imperial Rome* (New York, 2007), 19.

[19] M. Beard, 'The Sexual Status of Vestal Virgins' (1980) 70 *The Journal of Roman Studies.*

wish them to desire you.'[20] Therein, it was not only the act of copulation which was forbidden, but also the desire for it. This contrasts starkly to the normative Roman tradition, which encouraged the pursuit of sexual activity, albeit within certain confines, as a mark of virility. The ascetic and exegetist Jerome (347–420 CE) criticised Roman men for their sexual behaviour, saying that 'among the Romans, men's chastity goes unchecked, seduction and adultery are condemned, but free permission is given to lust to range the brothels and to have slave girls.'[21] He paints a picture of Roman masculinity as synonymous with sexual licentiousness, though this must be interpreted with care given that his perspective is somewhat distorted by his belief that all sexual activity is destructive.

Elite Roman masculinity was, therefore, concerned with demarcating oneself out as above the rest of society, as evidenced through dress and the utilisation of a public voice. It involved adopting a strict hierarchical and determinist viewpoint, in which elite men sit at the top and other groups are portrayed as naturally inferior. Peter Brown argues that 'in the second-century AD, a young man of the privileged classes of the Roman Empire grew up looking at the world through a prism of unchallenged dominance. Women, slaves and barbarians were unalterably different from him and inferior to him.'[22] As such, conceptions of masculinity were linked to the biological determinist view that elite men were naturally superior to othered groups. Roman masculinity, in particular, relied on the ability to exercise the power gained as a result of this superiority and the display of this power through dress and other means.

Differentiating oneself from the Other was necessary in order to maintain one's social and economic status. Elizabeth Schlüsser Fiorenza argues that a particularly Roman misogyny arose as a result of men 'whose psychic and economic reality were heavily determined by daily competition, and who therefore sought to maximise the 'natural' difference between women and men in order not to be

[20] G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule* (Oxford, 1988), 89.

[21] M. Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Chicago, 2001), 164.

[22] Brown, *The Body and Society,* 9.

replaced by women.'[23] If men were not seen as (and believed themselves to be) recognisably and naturally different from women, they risked losing their basis for their political, social and economic power.

If elite Roman masculinity is concerned with inherent superiority, displayed through the othering of those who do not or cannot display various markers of maleness, it is clear why the elite Roman male might have rejected monasticism as a structural threat to familiar masculinity. The monastic lifestyle conflicted in a number of ways with the conception of elite Roman masculinity, as this analysis has intimated. Monasticism provided an alternative to traditional hegemonic definitions of masculinity. Aaron Raverty suggests that those who adopted a monastic lifestyle were 'susceptible to gender-variant assignment;' that is, monks were a separate class of man and by adopting a monastic lifestyle, they relinquished their masculinity.[24]

As well as their renunciation of sexual activity and different style of dress, monks had to work, and by doing this, any privilege they once had due to being aristocratic and male was gone. St. Anthony's ascetic quest has been described as 'self-imposed annihilation of [his] social status'[25] This example is one which many elite Roman men were unwilling to follow. Some monastic work included stereotypically female activities, which Raverty calls 'gender role mixing'. [26] Examples of monks taking on these characteristics and roles more typically associated with women can be found in the *Rule of St Benedict.* St. Benedict writes about the need for monks to exercise 'gentleness'[27] and to 'love the young.'[28] Beyond these traditionally feminine roles, monks were also called upon to perform manual labour, meaning that they had to take on the role of another othered group in society: the peasantry. For aristocratic men, this would be antithetical to their carefully constructed superiority. Manual labour removes the individual

[23] H. Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago, 1991), 76.

[24] A. Raverty, 'Are we monks or are we men? The monastic gender model according to the Rule of St Benedict' (2006) 18 *Journal of Men's Studies,* 269.

[25] Brown, *The Body and Society,* 214.

[26] Raverty, 'Are we monks or are we men?', 273.

[27] St. Benedict, *Rule of St Benedict in English*, trans. Timothy Fry (Minnesota, 1982), 92.

[28] Ibid, 29.

from their lofty public sphere as orators and forces them to work the land alongside those of mixed social backgrounds.

Not only could non-elite men participate in monasticism or the ascetic life in the same way as their elite counterparts, but so too could women. Many of the great early ascetics were female, such as Paula and Melania (see n.1). Brown argues that 'women and the uneducated could achieve reputations for sexual abstinence as stunning as those achieved by any educated male.'[29] Women were able to exercise certain levels of power in monastic communities, as abbesses of double houses in particular. An important example of female monastic achievement can be found in Hild, the leader of a double house at Whitby in the seventh century. It was at this site that the synod which decided whether the English church would follow the Roman or Celtic tradition of dating Easter occurred; a pivotal event in the development of the English church.[30] Within monastic institutions, women and those of low birth could excel, as the traditional, elitist conception of masculinity was relegated to a position of less importance.[31] Those who keenly identified their worth with hegemonic masculinity would find the monastic alternative difficult to grasp and unappealing.

There were other, more practical, reasons for aristocratic Romans' uneasy feelings towards monasticism. Examples of formerly great patrimonies giving up all their wealth, as a result of decisions to adopt ascetic lifestyles, made monasticism seem like a huge danger to observing families. In one instance, Melania the Elder gave away the entirety of her wealth before becoming an ascetic.[32] In a more extreme case, Blesilla, the daughter of Paula, arguably adopted such an extreme ascetic lifestyle under the tutelage of Jerome that she died. Monasticism did not only pose

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[29] Brown, *The Body and Society,* 61.

[30] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, trans. Bertram Colgrave (New York, 2008), 154.

[31] This was not the case for the entirety of the medieval period; as segregation along gender lines in monasteries became more common (particularly due to the influence of Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury from 668) women found their role being diminished, but certainly in the early period many of the key figures, both in England and on the continent, were women.

[32] M. Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism: from the Desert Fathers to the early Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 2000), 61.

a threat to elite Roman males' sense of self and masculinity, it was also a threat to the wealth, and even health, of the individual. Upon commencing an ascetic lifestyle, they would have to rescind any claim to family wealth and inheritance under monastic rules regarding private ownership.[33]

Despite the numerous challenges that monasticism posed to hegemonic masculinity, evidence shows that there was an increasing adoption of the movement amongst elite Roman men and, consequently, an increasing renouncement of Rome's masculine hierarchy. Raverty notes that 'by the beginning of the fifth-century, monasticism had become the new Christian masculine ideal.'[34] This can be seen by the foundation of monasteries by Roman aristocrats, for example, Lérins was founded by the Gallo-Roman nobleman Honoratus.[35] Many of the monks at Lérins in the early fifth-century went on to become bishops; a sign of the ever closer ties between monastic culture and episcopal power. Domination of the episcopate aided the aristocracy's monastic venture; they transposed their power and voice from the secular to the religious realm by becoming bishops. This shift was further condoned by the Council of Chalcedon which declared all monasteries to be subject to authority of the bishop of their diocese.[36] Evidence of monastic uptake among the male aristocracy can also be seen at Martin of Tours' monastery; although he was not from the aristocracy, his charismatic style of leadership drew many aristocratic monks to Marmoutiers.[37]

It is clear that something changed in monastic life in order to make it attractive, when it had once been the antithesis of masculinity. This occurred, in part, through the incorporation of secular elite Roman masculine elements into monastic culture. This allowed monks to retain their status as men, albeit 'men with a somewhat restructured masculine gender status that would have stretched the boundaries of the normative masculinity of his day.'[38]

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[33] Raverty, 'Are we monks or are we men?', 276.
[34] Ibid, 269.
[35] Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, 82.
[36] Ibid, 96.
[37] Ibid, 61.
[38] Raverty, 'Are we monks or are we men?', 278.

The most important element which reconciled elite Roman masculinity with monasticism is the idea of self-control. This was a 'masculinising and classicising value.'[39] It was seen as a male virtue, as shown in numerous writings; for example, the testimony of Galen promotes the stereotype that while women were quick to anger, men were able to control their tempers. Galen stated that his father had been 'the most just, the most devoted and the kindest of men. My mother, however, was so very prone to anger that sometimes she bit her handmaids.'[40] An extract from a third-century Latin school exercise book also demonstrates the importance of self-control as a masculine trait; it describes the speech of a father to his misbehaving son, stating 'one who gives counsel to others must know how to rule himself.'[41]

Self-control in the field of sexual activity was also important. Though a full family life - and by extension, sexual intercourse - was encouraged for men, and Vout's thesis that power is penetration must be considered, over-indulgence in such things was seen as dangerous. Hypersexuality was disapproved of and seen as a feminine vice. Indeed, Marcus Aurelius wrote that 'sins of desire, in which pleasure predominates, indicate a more self-indulgent and womanish disposition.'[42] For an aristocratic Roman male, to be able to control one's desires and tempers was important. The same applies to overindulgence in food; while rich food was a mark of wealth and therefore a mark of eliteness, controlling one's intake demonstrated core masculine virtues. Likewise, while sexual activity was important in displaying virility and manliness, to allow desire to overpower oneself was seen as feminine and weak. Self-control is also a core tenet of monasticism, and it was increasingly stressed as monastic leaders and writers tried to encourage the male elite to join their crusade.

As with self-control, discipline and hierarchy were very important to elite Roman society, and these were taken and adapted by the writers of monastic rules. This is particularly true of the *Rule of St Benedict*, written in the sixth-century. Coon states that 'the Benedictine hierarchy parallels the social pyramid' of the classical

[39] Coon, 'Gender and the Body', 440.
[40] Brown, *The Body and Society*, 12.
[41] Ibid., 22.
[42] Ibid., 95.

Roman world.[43] Boys under the age of 15, who were not yet 'men', were at the bottom of this hierarchy, just as 'not-men' (whether women, slaves or those men who did not fit into hegemonic concepts of masculinity) were at the bottom of the secular order.[44] *Regulations for a Monastery* outlines ideas of regiment and obedience: 'all are to obey with fidelity, honour their father after God, defer to their superior in a manner worthy of holy men.'[45] These are ideas which elite Roman men would have been familiar with, as they were also important in secular society. The military language throughout the *Rule of St Benedict* would also have enticed such men. Raverty states that the 'military ethos' pervading the work is an 'emulation of the martial role' and that elements of a 'masculine soldier gender role', such as the insistence on rank, are present throughout the *Rule of St Benedict*.[46] While the creators of the monastic rules did not copy the Roman hierarchical model in its entirety, they did draw on it to create parallels within their religious orders.

As well as incorporating elements of elite masculinity into monasticism, concessions were made for aristocratic men. The *Regulations for a Monastery* allowed monks to consume wine at weekends, relaxing the strictness of the laws.[47] In Augustine's *Praeceptum*, the idea is elucidated that those who 'come to the monastery from a more comfortable manner of life' should be allowed some extra comforts due to having 'altered their lifestyle in order to embrace the present one' more than brothers from poorer backgrounds.[48] This was not the case at all monasteries and in all periods. Seventh century Whitby, for example, is recorded in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* as being far more reminiscent of the early church: 'no one was rich, no one was in need, for they had all things in common and none had any private property'.[49] Shifts away from egalitarianism, such as those made by Augustine, may have encouraged those from elite backgrounds to join monasteries, partly by allowing greater material comfort than they otherwise

[43] Ibid., 441.
[44] Ibid., 442.
[45] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule*, 77.
[46] Raverty, 'Are we monks or are we men?', 281.
[47] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule*, 77.
[48] Ibid., 87.
[49] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, 211.

would have been allowed, but also because it separated them, at least in part, from those of less well-off backgrounds.

Manual work was another issue that discouraged aristocrats from becoming monks. Many monasteries allowed monks to abstain from manual or agricultural work, for example, 'the monks of basilical monasteries in Italy and Gaul did not live the type of common life practised in the stricter monasteries.'[50] They were supported by the diocese financially and so did not have to perform manual work. This was more attractive to aristocrats. At Marmoutiers, ascetic life was easier than elsewhere as manual labour was not expected of all monks.[51] Former peasants performed manual labour, whilst aristocratic monks copied manuscripts. These concessions aided the transition of monasticism from something that primarily attracted elite women to a place in which men could, and did, exercise their own power in a realm alternative to the secular.

Monasticism competed with an established tradition of elite Roman masculinity. However, concessions made by both ideological systems allowed these elites to find their own place within the ascetic society of the monastery. Eventually, these men came to dominate, synthesising a new, alternative masculine identity. This new masculinity provided the opportunity for elite men to expand their power into the religious world, while retaining certain aspects of how their secular identity was structured. Monasticism, which once risked undermining the substantive tradition of male identity, offered a new site and form from which to express that identity. Through exercising self-control, bound within an increasingly strict system of hierarchy and discipline, men could indeed become monks, without renouncing their masculine identity.

[50] Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, 93.
[51] Ibid., 63.

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