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Daisy Payling, Holly Ellis, Rebecca Jones and Ruth Atherton

Projecting Power in Sixth-Century Rome: The church of Santi Cosma e Damiano in the late antique Forum Romanum

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In the year 526 CE, the bishop of Rome, Pope Felix IV, petitioned the Ostrogoth king Theoderic for permission to convert a small complex in the Forum Romanum into a place of worship dedicated to the Saints Cosmas and Damian (fig. 1). The complex consists of two pre-Christian buildings—an apsidal hall in the corner of the Templum Pacis and a small rotunda facing the Via Sacra in the Forum Romanum—that were conjoined in the early-fourth century during the reign of the emperor Maxentius (figs. 2, 4). While Pope Felix IV did very little to alter the exterior of this complex, he installed in the apse of the narrow hall a stunning mosaic that depicts Christ, the apostles Peter and Paul and the patron saints Cosmas and Damian, as well the eastern military saint Theodore and a portrait of Felix IV himself (fig. 3). Although heavily restored in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this apse mosaic remains one of the finest and most historically significant examples of late antique Christian art in Rome. This paper critiques traditional interpretations of this church—its physical location and its apse mosaic—in light of new research that nuances our understanding of the historical context in which it was commissioned.

As the first Christian basilica constructed in the political and religious heart of ancient Rome, the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano and its impressive mosaic have traditionally been understood as emblematic of the demise of the ancient city and its institutions, and the simultaneous, rapid rise of ecclesiastical authority.[1] Scholars have long argued that the urban infrastructure and religious, cultural, and political institutions of ancient Rome began to crumble away in the decades following Constantine's departure for the Bosporus, allowing the bishop of Rome to step into the void and become the uncontested voice of authority within the city. According to this narrative, the construction of the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano in the Forum Romanum and the composition

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[1] The narrative of rapid decline and Christianization found in Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-88) remains influential in twentieth and twenty-first century scholarship. See, for example, André Piganiol, *L'empire chrétien (325-395),* 2 ed. (Paris, 1972). Richard Krautheimer also stresses a teleological picture of change: 'The Church was the only efficient organization left to maintain the economic, social, and indeed the political fabric of Rome,' (*Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 71; see also *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (University of California Press, 1987)). For a more recent example, see the work of Peter Heather and Bryan Ward-Perkins (Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (Oxford University Press, 2007); Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford University Press, 2005)). Other scholars such as Raymond Van Dam and John Curran present much more nuanced studies of Rome that nevertheless preserve aspects of what Peter Brown calls a 'catastrophic' approach (Raymond Van Dam, *Rome and Constantinople: Rewriting Roman History During Late Antiquity*, (Baylor University Press, 2010), esp. p. 39; John R. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), esp. pp. 142-155).

of this triumphant apse mosaic celebrated the complete Christianization of the city and its traditional institutions of authority.

Recent scholarship, however, critiques this teleological narrative of the Christianization of Rome for obscuring the city's gradual transformation in late antiquity; even as late as the sixth century, the bishop of Rome was but one of several authorities shaping a city that remained largely under the influence of senate.[2] This more nuanced understanding of late antique Rome has yet to be incorporated into scholarly discussions of Rome's early Christian churches, including the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano. The present essay considers how such shifting perspectives on late antique Rome may change the way we interpret the art and architecture of this complex period. More specifically, in this paper I argue that the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano should be understood not as a monument to the successful Christianization of Rome, but rather as an argument on behalf of Pope Felix IV for the authority and autonomy of the Roman Church, within a tumultuous political and religious environment where such papal power was anything but certain.[3] I suggest that the physical location of the church and its famous apse mosaic projected an image of power that Pope Felix IV believed rightfully belonged to his office as bishop of Rome, but that he did not yet fully possess.

Before turning to Santi Cosma e Damiano itself, we must consider more closely the building's immediate context—the Forum Romanum (fig. 1).[4] If, as Ömür Harmanshah suggests, the memory of a city is a material one, inscribed like a text on the surfaces of buildings and distinct

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[2] For an overview of recent scholarship on this period, see the new introduction to Peter Brown's *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity AD 200-1000* (Cambridge, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013); see also: Peter Brown**,** *The World of Late Antiquity: AD 150-750*, ed. Geoffrey Barraclough (W. W. Norton & Company, 1989); Averil Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire* (Harvard University Press, 1993); Jas Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph* (Oxford University Press, 1998); Patrick Geary, *Living With the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Cornell University Press, 1994); Mark Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope? Ceremonial, space, and authority at Rome from Constantine to Gregory the Great,' in *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300-900*, eds. Kate Copper and Julia Hillner (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 21-58, esp. p. 51). For more on the role of the bishop of Rome in the late antique city, see Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (University of California Press, 2005), esp. pp. 279-89; Kristina Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy: Roman Bishops and the Domestic Sphere* (Cambridge University Press, 2012); Claire Sotinel, 'Emperors and Popes in the Sixth Century,' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. Michael Maas (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[3] I should here note that I use the capitalized noun 'Church' throughout this paper to represent the Christian community in Rome as distinct from individual churches as buildings or houses of worship.

[4] David Watkin's study of the Forum is one of the most thorough explorations of this area of the ancient city that adheres to a more nuanced understanding of the late antique city as a place of gradual transformation. Watkin begins his study by asserting that 'the path from paganism to Christianity' was a far more gradual and complex phenomenon then previously thought (David Watkin, *The Roman Forum: Wonders of the World* (Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 107). On this process of change in the Forum, see also Richard Lim, 'Christian Triumph and Controversy,' in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, eds. G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown and Oleg Grabar (Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 196-218. Recent scholarship has even critiqued this binary between paganism and Christianity, as well as Roman and barbarian; this research paints yet a more complex picture of cultural and religious hybridity and syncretism in late antique Rome: Judith Lieu, North, J.A., and Rajak, T., *The Jews among the Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire* (London, 1992); Judith Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford University Press, 2004); Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (Yale University Press, 1997); Ramsay MacMullen, *Second Church: Popular Christianity A.D. 200-400* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009); Judith Perkins, *Roman Imperial Identities in the Early Christian Era* (London: Routledge, 2009); and most recently, Eric Rebillard, *Christians and Their Many Identities in Late Antiquity, North Africa, 200-450 CE* (Cornell University Press, 2012).

meaningful places, then the memory of Rome was especially poignant in and around the ancient Forum.[5] Located in the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills, the Forum was the center of Roman public life, the site of triumphal processions and elections, the venue for Rome's finest orators, and the nucleus of the city's commercial affairs. The Forum also served as an important center for religious activity and was home to several of the city's largest and most significant temples that tied the worship of the gods to that of Rome and its emperors. The traditional narrative of the rapid 'decline and fall' of Rome describes the late antique Forum as merely an outdoor-museum containing the ruined monuments to Rome's glorious past. Richard Krautheimer, for example, writes that the late antique Forum 'was a showplace, then largely deprived of its former administrative and representative functions, and had thus fallen into disuse.'[6] Abandoned by the dwindling senate and irrelevant to the political agendas of the Ostrogoths and the Byzantines, the Forum fell into disarray, allowing the Christians to move from the outskirts into the heart of Rome.[7]

The late antique Forum, however, was anything but abandoned or forgotten. The Forum remained alluring to the Roman emperors well after Constantine departed for his new capital. In an effort to preserve this area of the city and curb the increasingly frequent practice of spoliation, the emperor Constantius declared in 357 that 'no man shall suppose that municipalities may be deprived of their own ornaments, since indeed it was not considered right by the ancients that a municipality should lose its embellishments.'[8] In the *Codex Theodosianus*, emperor Theodosius II (r. 408-450) expresses his great concern for the continued preservation of the ancient buildings of Rome, including its 'pagan' temples.[9] In his fourth *Novella*, issued in 458, the emperor Majorian (r. 457-461) ordered that Rome's buildings, including its temples, be preserved as *ornamenta*.[10] The emperor Justinian I (r. 527-565) also exhibited an interest in Rome's imperial past and sought to protect and restore the buildings associated with Rome's historic splendor.

The emperors were not alone in their concern for the preservation of the Forum Romanum; the Roman senate, which continued to dominate the culture and society of the city throughout late antiquity, took great care to restore and maintain the Curia, their traditional meetinghouse in the

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[5] Ömür Harmanshah, *Imagined Cities: Architecture, Landscape and Commemoration in the Ancient Near East* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 191.

[6] Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a* City, p. 75. For a more detailed critique of this traditional position, see: Federico Marazzi, 'The Last Rome: From the End of the Fifth to the end of the Sixth Century,' in *The Ostrogoths From the Migration Period to the Sixth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. Barnish and Marazzi (Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 279-316, esp. p. 312; Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope? Ceremonial, Space, and Authority at Rome from Constantine to Gregory the Great,' in *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300-900*, eds. Cooper and Hillner (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 51-54.

[7] Again, Richard Krautheimer's understanding of the emergence of Christian churches in the Forum exemplifies this narrative: 'In the urban fabric of the city, the interplay of secular government and ecclesiastical administration and the gradual replacement of the former by the latter are first reflected in the Church takeover of public buildings,' (*Rome: Profile of a City*, p. 71).

[8] *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.1, 15.1.19; Joseph Alchermes, 'Spolia in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse,' in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 48 (1994), pp. 176-78.

[9] *Cod. Theod*. 15.1.1-19, 15.1.41, 16.10.3-18; see also, Helen Saradi-Mendelovici, 'Christian Attitudes Toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries,' in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 44 (1990), pp. 47-61.

[10] Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope?' pp. 41-42.

Forum, in an effort to make explicit the institution's continuity with the revered past (fig. 1).[11] In the late fifth and early sixth centuries, before Justinian's conquest of Italy, the Ostrogoth king Theoderic also strove to restore the physical fabric of Rome so that the glory of the imperial city would shine anew under his rule.[12] Believing as Augustus did that 'buildings proclaim your character,' Theoderic launched a massive program of restoration in an effort to promote himself 'as a rebuilder of the infrastructure of Roman Italy in the tradition of Roman leaders of the past.'[13]

Theoderic relied in part upon the senate's commitment to the preservation of Rome's most important buildings and monuments in order to accomplish his own program of restoration and rejuvenation.[14] He offered to reimburse individuals if they were willing to oversee and direct particular projects in his absence. Moreover, while Theoderic claimed legal rights to many of Rome's important buildings, he occasionally agreed to transfer ownership in exchange for the promise of restoration and continued upkeep.[15] This policy presented members of the aristocracy with a rare opportunity to further their own social standing and political leverage by associating their family name with a prestigious building from Rome's past.[16] For example, the letters written by Cassiodorus on behalf of Theoderic reveal that the king refunded the patrician Symmachus for his restoration of the great Theater of Pompey.[17] While it is not clear whether Theoderic actually transferred ownership of this theater to Symmachus, the latter was permitted to attach an inscription with his name to the façade of the theater so that he could 'gain reputation from so excellent a work' and be praised as 'an imitator of antiquity.'[18]

Aristocrats like Symmachus were not the only citizens of Rome intrigued by the financial and political incentives of Theoderic's program to rejuvenate the city's imperial past. The bishops of Rome had long relied upon imperial patronage to increase their presence within the city, and Pope Felix IV was particularly well positioned to benefit from Theoderic's program. The king appointed

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[11] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 194-95; Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, p. 461. For more on the senate's conservation of the Forum, see Federico Marazzi, 'Rome in Transition: Economic and Political Chance in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries,' in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia M. H. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 21-41, esp. 34.

[12] Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 112. Brick stamps and tiles bearing the king's seal have been found incorporated into many buildings and monuments in the Forum, including the Basilica Aemilia as well as the imperial palace on the Palatine Hill. This evidence also suggests that Theoderic helped to restore the Colosseum, the baths of Caracalla, the Aurelian walls, and many other buildings and monuments throughout the city: Marazzi, 'The Last Rome,' pp. 294-95; Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 1.21-25, 3.29-31, 3.51, 4.30, 4.51, 5.9, 7.7-15; Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 194-95; Mark J. Johnson, 'Toward a History of Theoderic's Building Program,' in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 42 (1988), pp. 73-96; for the importance of architecture under Augustus, see Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1988); Kalas, *Sacred Image*, p. 120; Magnus Cassiodorus, *Variae*, trans. S. J. B. Barnish (Liverpool University Press, 1992), 3.30, 3.31, 3.51.4, 4.51.1; Bertrand Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity: AD 312 – 609* (Routledge, 2001), p. 42.

[13] Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, p. 112.

[14] Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, p. 112; see also Cassiodorus, *Variae,* 4.51.1-12.

[15] *Cod. Theod*. 15.1.36, 16.10.20-25; Cassiodorus, *Variae,* 4.30, 4.41.1; see also Kalas, *Sacred Image*, p. 118.

[16] For more on the importance of architectural patronage and gift giving in Roman culture, see: P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*; see the essays by Kathryn Lomas, E. D. Hunt, and Rowland B. E. Smith in the anthology *Bread and Circuses: Euergetism and Municipal Patronage in Roman Italy*, eds. Kathryn Lomas and Tim Cornell (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 28-25, 105-124, 142-166, esp. p. 143; Arjan Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); Edmund Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age* (Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 70-90.

[17] Cassiodorus, *Variae,* 4.51.12.

[18] Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 4.51.1-12.

Felix to the papacy just before his death in 526 and he immediately granted the new bishop permission to restore and reuse the 'Temple of Romulus' and the apsidal hall in the Templum Pacis. For centuries the bishops of Rome had presided over basilicas constructed on the very outskirts of the city, but at long last Pope Felix IV found himself in a unique situation to expand the Christian sacred topography into the center of the ancient city.

Scholars have long interpreted the sudden shift toward the appropriation of ancient buildings in the heart of Rome as evidence of the rapid disintegration of the senate and the absence of imperial authority.[19] According to this narrative, Christians occupied buildings within the city center not to appropriate Rome's glorious past, but rather in an attempt to ensure Rome's past stayed in the past.[20] Gregor Kalas, for example, argues that new churches in the city center served not as gathering sites for worship, but rather as points of departure; the processions that left for the 'suburban hinterland' from these new churches were carefully designed to subvert the prominence of the ancient monuments and displace the Forum's historical associations.[21]

Such an approach to the 'Christianization of Rome' ignores the complexity of the political environment of sixth-century Rome and assumes that the bishops enjoyed an immense amount of power to completely reorient the city's landscape. The continued influence of Theoderic in Rome suggests instead that his willingness to grant Pope Felix IV space within the Forum says more about Theoderic's own political agenda than it does the bishop's power within the city. While the king offered to reimburse men like Symmachus for their efforts to beautify the ancient city, he was keenly aware of the animosity that the aristocratic elite harbored against Ostrogoth rule; his letters reflect a persistent fear that the senate would betray him into the hands of the emperor Justinian.[22] The fragile relationship between Rome and Ravenna suggests, as Peter Brown has argued, that the Ostrogoths survived 'as foreign bodies, perched insecurely on top of populations who ignored them and set about the more congenial business of looking after themselves.'[23]

Theoderic relied in part upon the Church and its bishops to make his presence felt among the senators during his absence. A conference held under the papacy of Pope Symmachus (498-514), not to be confused with the patrician of the same name mentioned above, decreed that the Church 'could be used to signal the authority of a secular ruler—and a heterodox one at that…'[24] It is significant to note that when the authority of Symmachus as the elected bishop of Rome was challenged during the so-called Laurentian Schism, it was Theoderic who intervened (twice) and

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[19] Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*, p. 22; Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, p. 33; John Osborne, 'The Jerusalem Temple Treasure and the Church of Santi Cosma e Damiano in Rome,' in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Vol. 76 (2008), p. 175.

[20] Kalas, *Sacred Image*, p. 292.

[21] Kalas, *Sacred Image*, p. 292; see also Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, pp. 71-75.

[22] One particularly well-known instance where we see this paranoia emerge is in the tumultuous events that ultimately led to the imprisonment and execution of the senator Boethius in 525 (Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity*, p. 42-52).

[23] Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*, p.125.

[24] Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope?' p. 48. The king's appointment of a bishop was nothing new; the election of Pope Symmachus (498-514) two decades before the papacy of Felix IV had been ratified by Theoderic's royal decree (Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope?' p. 48). See also Kristina Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy: Roman Bishops and the Domestic Sphere* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 103; Bart Ehrman and Andrew Jacobs, *Christianity in Late Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 129.

finally decreed the restitution of all the city's churches and property to Symmachus.[25] Several decades later, Theoderic's grandson Athalaric ordered the erection of marble tablets inscribed with his decrees in front of the atrium of St. Peter's Basilica.[26] As Mark Humphries notes, 'here we have an instance… of a secular ruler seeking to stamp a sign of his authority on the space of the church.'[27] Given that Pope Felix IV also owed his papacy to Theoderic, the construction of Santi Cosma e Damiano should be understood, in part, as a carefully calculated endeavor on the part of the king to ensure the preservation of yet another imperial building to glorify his rule as well as to visually represent his secular authority in close proximity to the senate's meetinghouse at the other end of the Forum.

This is not to suggest, however, that Pope Felix IV and the Christian community in Rome were mere pawns in the hands of the Ostrogoths. After all, it was Pope Felix who petitioned Theoderic for permission to appropriate the 'Temple of Romulus' in the Forum and the small apsidal hall in the Templum Pacis. Felix, who came from an aristocratic family like many of Rome's bishops in late antiquity, was well aware of the political advantages associated with occupying a prominent place in the ancient heart of Rome. To the west was the bustling meetinghouse of the senate and to the east was the Colosseum, which still erupted with the roar of the crowds enjoying traditional festivities. By appropriating a building for the purposes of Christian worship within this particular environment, Felix IV sought to further establish the Church as one of several authoritative institutions shaping the late antique city.[28] Just as the senate and Theoderic desired to reclaim the imperial past through the restoration of buildings and monuments, so to the late antique bishops of Rome sought to recast the pagan imperial past to demonstrate continuity with the emergence of the Christian church.[29] While the sacks of 410 and 455 may have led fifth-century Christians to dissociate their destiny from that of ancient Rome, an approach exemplified in Augustine's *City of God*, the Christians of the sixth century took a distinctly different approach.[30] By occupying particular buildings within the city walls, the bishops staked their claim to what Susan Alcock calls 'memory theaters': spaces that both evoke specific memories of the past through the use of monuments and also remind the community of their history and identity.[31] Association with the monuments and buildings of the past was a means by which the various institutions of Rome, the Church included, sought to rejuvenate and amplify their authority within the complex socio-political milieu of the city.

Here I should pause to emphasize that while the sixth-century Christian appropriation of pre-Christian buildings in Rome may also be construed as a form of triumphalism, this is a triumph not yet realized at this time. Indeed, the mere opportunity to construct a church in the Forum

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[25] Kalas, *Sacred Image*, pp. 215-16.
[26] Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope?' p. 48.
[27] Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope?' p. 48.
[28] Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope?' p. 25.
[29] For this emphasis on continuity, see the many works by Peter Brown, especially *The World of Late Antiquity*, and *The Rise of Western Christendom*. See also Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (University of California Press, 2005), as well as Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope?' in *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome.* This volume of collected essays provides an extensive bibliography on this subject of continuity in an 'age of transition.'
[30] Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity*, p. 161.
[31] Susan E. Alcock, 'The Reconfiguration of Memory in the Eastern Roman Empire,' in *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, eds., Alcock, Susan and Terence N. D'Altroy, Kathleen D. Morrison, Carla M. Sinopoli (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 334-335.

Romanum speaks to Christianity's growing influence, but what separates my interpretation of the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano from previous scholarship is the realization that this influence was still very much in flux; as the role of Theoderic in the construction of this church demonstrates, the Christian bishops had not yet achieved a position of power from which they could construct a monument of triumph over the city. In the early sixth century, Pope Felix IV was compelled to clearly articulate and project his claims to power in order to receive recognition within the city. As I will attempt to show below, the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano played a critical role in this legitimization of papal power. Before turning to the basilica's famous apse mosaic, I examine and critique current scholarship that has tried to explain why the church was constructed within these two small pre-Christian buildings in the Forum Romanum. I suggest that these theories fail to appreciate the site's historical connection with the emperor Constantine and I argue that the appropriation of this small complex was an attempt to emphasize the papacy's connection with Constantine's legendary role as the first Christian emperor and protector of the Church.

As mentioned above, the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano was built within a small complex consisting of two Roman buildings—the so-called Temple of Romulus and a small apsidal hall in the Templum Pacis (figs. 2, 4). The latter was constructed in 75 CE during the reign of the emperor Vespasian (r. 69-79) while the emperor Maxentius (r. 306-312) commissioned the former, the 'Temple of Romulus,' in the early fourth century. Scholars agree that Maxentius' building did not in fact serve as a temple to the emperor's deceased son Romulus, but rather the building appears to have functioned primarily as a vestibule connecting the Via Sacra in the Forum Romanum with the Templum Pacis in the Imperial Fora.[32] Despite the lack of evidence that this building ever served as a religious site, much of the historiography on the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano assumes that the church was constructed within an appropriated pagan temple that was dedicated to either Romulus or the healing gods Castor and Pollux.[33] Archaeological excavations have determined, however, that the temple of Castor and Pollux was located southeast of the Basilica Julia and west of the temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum.[34] Phil Booth provides an example of a church in Constantinople that was dedicated to the Christian saints Cosmas and Damian and constructed in close proximity to an aging temple of Castor and Pollux, suggesting that the church was intended to rival and eventually replace the popular cult to the pagan gods.[35] A similar explanation for why Felix IV chose to build in relatively close proximity to a temple dedicated to Castor and Pollux cannot be ruled out completely, but there is little evidence that this particular cult posed any threat to Christianity in Rome during the sixth century.[36]

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[32] J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 428-29; Stephen L. Dyson, *Rome: A Living Portrait of an Ancient City* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), pp. 349-52; Watkin, *The Roman Forum,* p. 42.

[33] Oakeshott, *Roman Mosaics*, p. 90; Heinz Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors* (West Germany: Aurel Bongers Recklinghausen, 1965), esp. p 12; Phil Booth, 'Orthodox and Heretic in the Early Byzantine Cult(s) of Saints Cosmas and Damian,' in *An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity* (Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 114-128.

[34] Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Archaeological Guide* (Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 60, 91.

[35] Booth, 'Orthodox and Heretic in the Early Byzantine Cult(s).'

[36] The emperor Theodosius I (379-395) forbade pubic sacrifices, closed temples, and appears to have encouraged acts of local violence by Christians against pagans and their temples. His grandson, Theodosius II (408-450) codified the edicts of his predecessors against paganism in the *Theodosian Code*. While these edicts cannot be taken as evidence of the eradication of paganism in Rome or the larger empire as a whole, they do appear to coincide with reduced pagan activity in the city and in the Forum in

Nevertheless, it does not appear that this particular complex was chosen at random; as Siri Sande points out, there were several buildings nearby far more suitable for the purpose of Christian worship.[37] John Osborne has proposed that the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano was built in part of the Templum Pacis because of the site's legendary association with the temple treasure of Jerusalem.[38] Although the treasure had been lost some seventy years before the construction of the church, Osborne argues that it is possible that some memory of these sacred objects lingered on, making this site particularly appropriate for a subsequent Christian presence.[39] While Osborne's argument is not implausible, he does not provide adequate evidence to make a convincing case.

Other scholars suggest that the site was chosen because this complex is one of only two points of access between the Forum Romanum and the Imperial Fora. Occupying this site would have given the Church greater control over the means of access to both of these important areas of the city. This argument, however, does not take into account that the only means of accessing the Templum Pacis and thus the Imperial Fora from the church was to walk around and behind the sacred space of the altar, through a small door in the apse that led into a narrow hallway, and eventually out into the Forum of Vespasian. Given that the space behind the altar was reserved for clergy, it seems highly unlikely that this path continued to function as a primary avenue between the Forum Romanum and the Imperial Fora.

The plan of Santi Cosma e Damiano and the pathways through this space also call into question the theory recently proposed by Gregor Kalas. Kalas expands upon the work of Alfred K. Frazer, who argued that Pope Felix IV was attracted to this site because of the famous *Forma Urbis Romae* that once occupied the exterior wall behind the apse of the church (fig. 4). Kalas argues that the enormous marble plan of Rome served as a site of memory for the grandeur of the imperial city and that Felix's appropriation of the map reflects his desire to transform the city into an *urbs Christiana*.[40] Kalas also suggests that the small passageway behind the apse allowed visitors to view the marble plan and hold this monument in tension with the heavenly realm depicted in the apse mosaic; the juxtaposition between these two monumental works of art encouraged visitors to (literally) turn their backs on the mundane city and instead turn their thoughts to a higher spiritual plane. But Kalas fails to address the fact that the lay visitor would have to trespass on the sacred space of the sanctuary normally reserved for clergy if they hoped to catch a glimpse of the *Forma Urbis Romae*. Moreover, as Kalas himself admits, there are serious doubts as to whether the marble plan was even intact in the early-sixth century.[41] If it was intact it seems far more likely that it was utilized by clergy, who certainly had access to the rooms behind the apse, for the design of liturgical processions; in his *Historia Francorum*, Gregory of Tours describes the departure points of various liturgical processions according to the seven classical regions of the city as laid out on the plan.[42]

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particular during the fourth and fifth centuries, at least a century before the construction of Santi Cosma e Damiano (Brown, *Rise of Western* Christendom, pp. 74-75).

[37] Siri Sande points to the Basilica Aemilia in particular ('Old and New in Old and New Rome,' in *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 17 (2003), p. 104). See also Osborne, 'The Jerusalem Temple Treasure,' p. 176.

[38] Osborne, 'The Jerusalem Temple,' p. 176.

[39] Osborne, 'The Jerusalem Temple,' p. 178.

[40] Kalas, *Sacred Image*; Osborne, 'The Jerusalem Temple Treasure,' p, 177.

[41] Kalas, *Sacred Image*, p. 132.

[42] '[The new Pope Gregory exhorted the population to perform penance in the following way.] The clergy will leave from the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano with the priests of Region VI; abbots and monks from SS. Gervasio e Protasio with the priests of Region IV; abbesses and their nuns from SS. Marcellion e

The plan may have thus functioned as an important reference tool for clergy but it is doubtful that the majority of visitors were expected or able to draw the comparison between the plan and the mosaic in the apse.[43]

One of the most popular theories concerning the location of Santi Cosma e Damiano in the complex composed of the 'Temple of Romulus' and the hall in the Templum Pacis argues that the construction of the Christian church displaced the important Roman office of the *praefectus urbis*.[44] This theory is largely based on the traditional narrative of Christianization that insists the sixth-century Church possessed the power necessary to replace or disband important secular authorities. The *Variae* of Cassiodorus, however, testifies to the position's activity in the mid-sixth century and the position of the prefect appears to have survived well into the seventh century with no indication of having been replaced or relocated by the bishops.[45] In fact, Bertrand Lançon, among others, argues convincingly that the absence of the imperial presence in Rome conferred an even more eminent role on the already prestigious position, making it unlikely that the office was moved on the whim of the bishop.[46]

All of the theories mentioned above approach the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano as a monument to the complete Christianization of Rome. Each approach fails to take into account the more complex and nuanced context of sixth-century Rome. I argue that the complex was relevant to the interests of Pope Felix *not* because of the function it had previously served but because of *who* was associated with its construction. While the emperor Maxentius constructed the 'Temple of Romulus' and connected it to the hall in the Templum Pacis, it was the emperor Constantine who ultimately claimed responsibility for the construction of the complex.

Immediately after defeating Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, the victorious and politically savvy Constantine set about appropriating his rival's architectural achievements. He removed Maxentius' dedicatory inscription at the base of Nero's colossus and used the inscription as *spolia* in his own triumphal arch, which in turn reframed the colossus as a representation of the sun god Sol, to whom Constantine gave much credit for his rise to power.[47] Constantine also left his mark on the

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Pietro with the priests from Region I…' (trans. Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, trans. O. M. Dalton (Oxford, 1927) 425-28); Kalas, *Sacred Image,* pp. 316-317.

[43] For more on the origins and development of the stational liturgy in Rome, see John F. Baldovin *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Oriental Institute Press, 1987).

[44] Alfred K. Frazer, *Four Late Antique Rotundas: Aspects of Fourth-Century Architectural Style in Rome* (New York University, 1964), pp. 119-25; Osborne, 'The Jerusalem Temple Treasure,' pp. 177-78; Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, pp. 9, 28, 71. This view is also perpetuated in several recent guidebooks for tourists in Rome, including the guidebook sold in the Museo Nazionale in Rome: Andrea Augenti, ed., *Rome: Art and Archaeology* (Florence: Scala, 2000), pp. 79-80.

[45] Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 1.3.6, 1.4.6-8, 2.16.4-5, 3.20-27, 6.3, 8.31.3, 9.24.11-12, 9.25.12, 10.26.2, 11.16, 11.36, 11.38, 11.39.4-5, 12.5.1-9, 12.8, 12.13, 12.15.1-7, 12.16; a list of the prefects has been complied for the years between 312 and 604, testifying to the vitality of the office; see Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity*, p. 45.

[46] Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity,* pp. 45-56; Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, p. 111

[47] For more on the visual relationship between the Arch of Constantine, the colossus, and the Colosseum, see Elizabeth Marlowe, 'Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscapes,' in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 88, No. 2 (June, 2006), pp. 228-29; John Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C. – A.D. 315* (University of California Press, 2003), p. 58; Beat Brenk, 'Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology,' in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 41, (1987), pp. 103-109; Dale Kinney, 'Roman Architectural Spolia,' in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 145, No. 2 (2001), pp. 138-161.

Temple of Venus and Rome, a large double-apsed temple originally designed and built by Hadrian in the early-second century but repaired by Maxentius after a devastating fire destroyed much of the complex in 307 CE. While the emperor Hadrian had intended the temple to be a civic monument, Maxentius appropriated and altered the temple such that it fit 'very nicely into his own ideological identification with Rome, its history, and its gods.'[48] Soon after defeating Maxentius, Constantine appropriated the temple through the addition of a dedicatory inscription that now linked the complex to his own family.[49] In yet another act of *damnatio memoriae*, Constantine demolished the former barracks of Maxentius' imperial guard and in their place constructed the Christian basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano.[50] Perhaps Constantine's most emphatic statement came with the completion of the Basilica Nova. In addition to finishing the massive coffered vaulting, the new emperor added a monumental *pronaos* to the south façade and an apse in the north in which he set a colossal statue of himself.[51]

During his rapid appropriation of Maxentius' architectural achievements, Constantine did not neglect the smallest of his predecessor's buildings along the Via Sacra: the 'Temple of Romulus.' Constantine added his customary monumental inscription just above the doorway to identify himself as the donor of the building in accordance with a decree of the senate.[52] More significantly, he completely remodeled the building's exterior appearance through the addition of a highly ornate, concave façade that embraced and communicated with the Via Sacra, welcoming visitors into the rotunda.[53] Constantine's new façade was a two-story structure with apsidal niches framed by numerous columns that resembled other monuments of Roman 'show architecture' such as nymphaea, skene frons, palace façades and 'vigorously articulated triumphal arches.'[54] The new façade of the 'Temple of Romulus' stood out from these other architectural types by means of an particular element common in the architecture of the eastern provinces of the empire but almost unknown in the monumental architecture of Rome: columns set upon pedestal-like plinths.[55] While the majority of the façade has collapsed, this particular feature is still visible today in the twin porphyry columns that flank the building's original bronze doors (fig. 5). According to Alfred K. Frazer, the monumental porch Constantine added to Maxentius' Basilica Nova also contained

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[48] Dyson, *Rome: A Living Portrait,* p. 349.
[49] Marlowe, 'Framing the Sun,' p. 234.
[50] Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City,* pp. 21-23; Holloway, *Constantine and Rome*, pp. 77-84, 120-156.
[51] For information on the Basilica Nova and the colossus, see Watkin, *The Roman Forum*, p. 46, and Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture,* pp. 428-29. Ward-Perkins discusses Constantine's use of curve and counter curve, a technique also employed in the mausoleum of Helena (Tor Pignattara) and perhaps inspired by the Baths of Caracalla and the Temple of Venus at Baiae. Alfred Frazer points out that the monumental portal that Constantine added to the Basilica Nova is aligned with the concave façade of the Temple of Romulus. Frazer uses this observation to help confirm his hypothesis that Constantine was the emperor responsible for the rotunda's new façade (Frazer, *Four Late Antique Rotundas*, p .120; see also Kalas, *Sacred Image*, p. 141).
[52] Kalas, *Sacred Image*, p. 141; Filippo Coarelli, *Rome and Environs: An Archaeological Guide*, trans. James J. Clauss and Daniel P. Harmon (University of California Press, 2008), p. 90; Frazer, *Four Late Antique Rotundas,* p. 120. For a more detailed historiography of this inscription and its reception in the sixteenth century by Onofrio Panvinio, see Pier Luggi Tucci, 'The Revival of Antiquity in Medieval Rome: The Restoration of the Basilica of SS. Cosma e Damiano in the Twelfth Century,' in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. 49 (2004), pp. 108-12.
[53] Kalas *Sacred Image*, pp. 138-142; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, p. 89; Frazer, *Four Late Antique Rotundas*, p. 129.
[54] Frazer, *Four Late Antique Rotundas,* p. 129.
[55] Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture,* p. 428.

multiple porphyry columns setup on plinths flanking the primary entrance to the basilica.[56] I would add that the same unique feature is employed on a monumental scale in Constantine's triumphal arch (fig. 6).[57] With the exception of the Arch of Severus, Constantine appears to be the first emperor to frequently employ this architectural feature in the city of Rome. The use of this architectural element in the new façade of the 'Temple of Romulus' may have thus served to mark the building as his own and connect it to other sites in his imperial building program.[58]

That the new façade of the 'Temple of Romulus' incorporated columns made of porphyry may also have been significant in identifying Constantine as the patron of the building. Although Pliny reports that porphyry was appreciated for its 'imperial properties' as early as the first century CE, Constantine was one of the first emperors to use the material extensively in an effort to visually connect public monuments to the imperial cult. His extensive use of the marble in his triumphal arch as well as in the new façade of the 'Temple of Romulus' and the *pronaos* of the Basilica Nova served to connect these three sites, among others, and accentuate their imperial associations. Constantine also used porphyry to adorn many of the early-Christian basilicas constructed during his reign, not only in Jerusalem and Bethlehem but also in Rome; four enormous porphyry *rotae* commissioned by Constantine himself distinguished the liturgical processional path in Old Saint Peter's Basilica.[59] Constantine's prolific use of this 'royal marble' set the tone for successive Byzantine emperors such as Justinian; the latter frequently used porphyry 'to mark thresholds of significant ritual spaces' within the Great Palace and the attached basilica of Hagia Sophia, the patriarchal cathedral of Constantinople.[60] By the sixth century, therefore, the twin porphyry columns that frame the bronze doors of Santi Cosma e Damiano in Rome, and the many other porphyry columns that once adorned the greater façade, not only linked the site to Constantine and the Roman imperial past but also recalled the imperial palace and cathedral of the new capital on the Bosporus.

I suggest that these imperial associations provide a compelling explanation for why Pope Felix IV may have chosen this particular location in the Forum Romanum for the construction of the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano. The appropriation of such a site would have served to visually connect the Church with Rome's imperial past, lending greater prestige to the embattled office of the bishop.[61] While many of the buildings that Constantine commissioned or appropriated in Rome remained in use throughout late antiquity, the small complex consisting of the 'Temple of Romulus' and the apsidal hall of the Templum Pacis appears to have been abandoned in the sixth century and therefore likely stood as the only structure in the Forum attributed to Constantine that was also available to Pope Felix IV for restoration and reuse as a place for worship.[62] The association of this

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[56] Frazer, *Four Late Antique Rotundas*, p. 120.
[57] Jaś Elsner, 'From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms,' in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 68 (2000), pp. 149-184; Marlowe, 'Framing the Sun,' pp. 223-242.
[58] Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture,* p. 422.
[59] Dorothy F. Glass, *Studies on Cosmatesque Pavements* (Oxford: BAR International Series 82, 1980), p. 48.
[60] Thomas E. A. Dale, 'Sacred Space from Constantinople to Venice,' in *The Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 408.
[61] Marina Belozverskaya and Kenneth Lapatin, 'Antiquity Consumed. Transformations at San Marco, Venice,' in *Antiquity and its Interpreters*, eds. A. Payne, A. Kuttner and R. Smick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 91.
[62] The Basilica Nova, for example, may have served as the office of the urban prefect well into the seventh century. The Temple of Venus and Roma appears to have been protected from reuse by the edicts of the

complex and its magnificent façade with the emperor Constantine may have served Felix in his efforts to continue the work of his predecessors in projecting an image of authority that the bishops believed the emperor had bestowed upon their office.[63] Constantine was praised even during his reign as the first 'Christian emperor' and acknowledged for legalizing, protecting, and contributing to the early church.[64] While this is hardly an objective portrait of the emperor and his official policies, there is no doubt that his actions transformed the place of the Church within the religious milieu of the empire. The bishops of Rome frequently appealed to Constantine's construction of the Lateran Basilica as well as of Old Saint Peter's Basilica as evidence that he had granted them an unprecedented level of temporal power.[65] The appropriation of a building the Forum Romanum linked to Constantine served as a monumental reminder of this intimate relationship and the power it implied.

While such a statement of power publicly challenged Rome's traditional institutions of authority, especially the senate that met nearby in the Curia, the bishops had difficulty in asserting that Constantine's patronage put them in a position of religious authority over Theoderic's Arian Christians or other Christian communities around the Mediterranean. After all, Constantine had built splendid churches in his new capital of Constantinople, as well as in Trier, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Antioch. In an effort to proclaim authority over these various communities, the bishops of Rome appealed to the saints Peter and Paul. According to ancient Roman Catholic tradition, Peter served as the first bishop of Rome and was granted by Christ authority over the other apostles and their respective communities; this tradition, derived from John 21:15-17 and Matthew 16:17-20, declares that the authority of the Roman bishop is divinely sanctioned. Peter was later martyred just outside the walls of Rome and was buried in the Vatican necropolis where St. Peter's Basilica now stands.[66] The late antique Roman bishops also asserted their proximity to the remains of Saint Paul, who not only helped to found the church in Rome and was martyred and buried there soon after Peter, but who also was praised as the apostle to the Gentiles for his efforts to spread Christianity to the Greco-Roman communities located throughout the empire. That the Roman bishops regarded Paul as representative of the universal reach of the Christian Church can be

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emperor Majorian (r. 457-461) that ordered Rome's buildings, including its temples, be preserved as *ornamenta.* Indeed, it was not until the mid-ninth century, after a severe earthquake damaged the temple, that Pope Leo IV (r. 847-855) was granted permission to convert this site into the church of Santa Maria Nova. In addition to Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of A City*, see Humphries, 'From Emperor to Pope?' pp. 41-42.

[63] Peter Brown has continued the work of numerous other scholars in critiquing the traditional narrative of Constantine's unbridled enthusiasm for and support of the bishops. For example, Brown notes that although the Lateran basilica was 'given to the bishop of Rome to act as his cathedral, [the church] was built for the greater glory of Constantine and not for the great glory of the local Christians,' and that Constantine gave far less to 'the churches attended by the average Christians of Rome' than he gave to those buildings dedicated to his own family members such as Tor Pignattara and the Mausoleum of Constantina (*Through the Eye of a Needle*, pp. 242-44). See also Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity: AD 150-750*, ed. Geoffrey Barraclough (W. W. Norton & Company, 1989), p. 126; Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, p. 126; R. Ross Holloway, *Constantine and Rome* (New York: Yale University Press, 2004).

[64] Eusebius of Caesarea, *The Church History*, trans. Paul L. Maier (Michigan: Kregel Publications, 1999) 286-332; Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Harvard University Press, 2006); Ehrman and Jacobs, *Christianity in Late Antiquity*, pp. 24-25.

[65] Holloway, *Constantine and Rome*, pp. 57-156; Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, pp. 3-58; Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital*, pp. 70-156.

[66] For a more detailed discussion on the tomb of Saint Peter, see Holloway, *Constantine and Rome*, pp. 120-156.

clearly seen in the fifth-century mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore.[67]

The bishops of Rome made their connection to these two saints visually explicit in the *traditio legis*—a popular visual motif that developed in the fourth century depicting Peter, often accompanied by Paul, receiving the scroll of the law from Christ (figs. 8-11).[68] This motif likely decorated the apse of Old Saint Peter's Basilica, reminding all who entered the great church that the bishop of Rome drew his authority from these two apostles.[69] The motif appears on late antique Christian sarcophagi, such as that of the Roman senator and recently baptized Christian Junius Bassus (fig. 7), as well as in apse mosaics from Ravenna to Naples (figs. 8, 9). Another exquisite example from Rome is preserved in the Mausoleum of Constantina, known since at least the ninth century as the Church of Santa Costanza (fig. 10). The *traditio legis* disappeared from Christian art for about a century but was revived in the tense political climate of the late-fifth and early-sixth centuries, once again serving to project an image of papal power.[70]

One of the most significant examples of this revived motif is found in the apse mosaic of the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano (fig. 3). Christ appears in the center of the apse, suspended against a background of brilliant orange, red, and blue clouds that light up the dark blue evening sky that fills the rest of the apse (fig. 11). He is dressed in a golden tunic and his bearded face is framed by a gold halo outlined in light gray. His right hand is outstretched toward the congregation below and in his left hand he holds the tightly rolled scroll of the law. The pyramidal bank of clouds on which Christ stands draws the viewer's eye toward the six smaller figures who process toward Christ, three on either side, along the verdant banks of the River Jordan. Saints Peter and Paul, both dressed in classical white tunics with mantles, stand on the left and right sides of Christ respectively, in a direct application of the *traditio legis* motif popular during the fourth century. With one arm they each embrace one of the two patron saints of the church, Cosmas and Damian, who are rendered on an even smaller scale (fig. 12). With the other arm they gesture towards Christ to introduce the martyrs to their Lord. Cosmas and Damian each take a step towards Christ and offer to him their crowns of martyrdom. Behind the martyr on the viewer's right strides Saint Theodore, a military saint popular during late antiquity and who was martyred for destroying a pagan temple.[71] On the opposite side of the apse, behind the other patron saint, stands Pope Felix IV. He is dressed in the pontiff's robes and pallium and he offers to Christ a miniature model of the church. These

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[67] For a detailed discussion of these mosaics see Margaret R. Miles, 'Santa Maria Maggiore's Fifth-Century Mosaics: Triumphal Christianity and the Jews,' in *The Harvard Theological Review,* vol. 86, no. 2 (Apr., 1993), pp. 155-175. Miles' discussion is thorough, but she understands this mosaic program as constructed within 'the vacuum of political power in the West,' adopting Krautheimer's outdated narrative that 'the Empire in the West had collapsed. The emperor in Ravenna was a mere shadow. The Eastern emperor, powerful though he was, was distant and uninterested. The Roman aristocracy, pagan to the last, was gone as a political force' (Richard Krautheimer, 'The Architecture of Sixtus III: A Fifth-Century Renascence?' in *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York University Press, 1961), p. 301; Miles, 'Santa Maria Maggiore's Fifth-Century Mosaics,' p. 155). More recent scholarship disputes all and rejects many of these statements.

[68] For an overview of the academic conversation over this early Christian motif, see Bas Snelders, 'The *Traditio Legis* on Early Christian Sarcophagi,' in *Antiquité Tardive: revue internationale d'histoire et d'archéologie*, vol. 13 (MetaPress Journals, 2005), pp. 321-333.

[69] Joachim Poeschke, *Italian Mosaics 300-1300*, trans. Russell Stockman (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2010), p. 55; for a more thorough history of this motif, see also: Robin Margaret Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 20, 46, 89, 97, 100-108.

[70] Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, pp. 108-10.

[71] Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome* p. 92.

processing figures are framed by a single palm tree on either side of the composition and in the tree to the viewer's left, above Pope Felix IV, is perched a small but radiating phoenix, a popular symbol of resurrection.[72] Below the figures is a band of brilliant gold that outlines the familiar flock of twelve sheep processing towards the Agnus Dei standing on a rocky outcrop from which flow the four rivers of paradise. Sheep on the left of the Agnus Dei process from the gates of Jerusalem while those on the right depart from Bethlehem, although today both cities, along with the Agnus Dei, are obscured from view by the addition of the baroque triumphal arch and altar piece (fig. 13). The inscription below the sheep alludes to but does not name the saints Cosmas and Damian (*martyribus medicis*), but rather highlights the patronage of Felix IV and expresses the bishop's hope for eternal life in heaven (*ut aetheria vivat in arce poli*).[73]

This apse mosaic is often considered one of the finest examples of late antique Christian art in Rome, but it is important to note that the entire composition was extensively repaired and remodeled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[74] Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85) altered the portrait of Felix IV in order to depict the late-sixth-century bishop and saint Gregory the Great. In the middle of the seventeenth century, however, Pope Alexander VII (1655-67) restored the portrait of Felix IV.[75] The art historian Charles R. Morey, and more recently Walter Oakeshott, has argued that a close analysis of the extant mosaics suggests that the seventeenth-century artist who restored the donor's portrait had access to a copy of the original composition.[76] In other words, although the portrait of Felix IV and several of the sheep below date from the seventeenth century, the composition as a whole remains faithful to the original program designed in the mid-sixth century under the patronage of Felix IV.

Although this particular apse mosaic served as the visual focal point of the first Christian church in the Forum Romanum and exercised a profound artistic influence on the design of apsidal mosaics for the next several centuries, few scholars have sought to provide a detailed discussion of the composition. The art historian and classicist Ann Marie Yasin provides a brief but helpful interpretation, noting that 'the composition enforces a strict symmetry between the figures arranged on either side of the central axis…as a result, not only is Pope Felix IV elevated to the level of St. Theodore and the titular saints of Cosmas and Damian, but his church offering is also equated to the status of the martyrs' crowns.'[77] While an important observation, Yasin does not address the significance of the particular individuals or the implications of their incorporation into the *traditio legis* motif. For example, Yasin observes that the position of Pope Felix IV 'elevates' him to the level of the martyred saints, but she does not discuss Felix in relation to the figures of Peter and Paul or

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[72] Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome*, p. 92.

[73] The inscription reads: AULA DI [DEI] CLARIS RADIAT SPECIOSA METALLIS / IN QUA PLUS FIDEI LUX PRETIOSA MICAT / MARTYRIBUS MEDICIS POPULO SPES CERTA SALUTIS / VENIT ET EX SACRO CREVIT HONORE LOCUS / OPTULIT HOC DNO [DOMINO] FELIX ANTISTITE DIGNUM / MINUS UT AETHERIA VIVAT IN ARCE POLI. For a full translation, see Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome*, p. 94; for a discussion relating the inscription to the mosaic above, see Herbert L. Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 98-99.

[74] John Osborne and Amanda Claridge, *Early Christian and Medieval Antiquities, Vol. 1: Mosaics and Wallpaintings in Roman Churches* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996), p. 94.

[75] Guglielmo Matthiae, *Mosaici Medioevali delle Chiese di Roma* (Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1967), pp. 135-141, 203-211.

[76] Charles Rufus Morey, *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Middle Period* (Princeton University Press, 1915), pp. 2, 37; see also Walter Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome From the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries* (Connecticut: New York Graphic Society Ltd, 1967), p. 94.

[77] Ann Marie Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 276.

the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem in the lower register of the mosaic.

As noted above, the *traditio legis* motif depicting Peter and Paul flanking Christ originated in the fourth century, but was revived in the tense political climate of the late-fifth and early-sixth centuries to visually proclaim the divinely sanctioned authority of the presiding bishop of Rome. The inclusion of Pope Felix IV in an extended *traditio legis* composition makes explicit the connection between the current bishop and his spiritual ancestors, the saints Peter and Paul, the two most important patron saints of the Roman Church. That Peter and Paul were considered Roman saints is emphasized in the apse mosaic of Santi Cosma e Damiano through their dress; both apostles are clad in traditional white Roman tunics. Their place of primacy on either side of Christ in the apse mosaics of late antique churches in Rome, including Old Saint Peter's Basilica and Santi Cosma e Damiano, symbolizes the line of authority from Christ to Peter and from Peter to the presiding bishop. But the composition not only emphasizes the origins of the authority of the Roman bishops, it also conveys to the viewer the extent or reach of this power. As mentioned above, Peter and Paul were not only considered patrons of Rome but they were first and foremost praised as apostles to both the Jews and the Gentiles, respectively. The authority that Christ bestowed upon these two apostles, and Peter in particular, thus extended well beyond the walls of Rome.

The depiction of Bethlehem and Jerusalem in the lower register of the apse mosaic in Santi Cosma e Damiano underscores the universal nature of this divinely sanctioned authority. These two cities, from which the twelve sheep process toward the Agnus Dei, are common in late antique Christian art in Rome and likely represent the 'Ecclesia ex Circumcisione' and the 'Ecclesia ex Gentilibus,' the Church of the Jews and the Church of the Gentiles.[78] These two cities were also depicted in the apse mosaic of Old Saint Peter's and can still be seen in the late antique, albeit heavily restored, mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore. While the cities suggest that both Jewish and Gentile followers of Christ are members of the universal Christian Church, the looming portraits of Peter and Paul flanking Christ remind the viewer that the bishop of Rome is the divinely appointed leader of this universal Church.

The significance of the saints Theodore, Cosmas and Damian is less obvious than the relationship between Pope Felix IV, Peter and Paul, but no less essential to the interpretation of the mosaic. Situating the construction and decoration of the church within the context of Theoderic's program of restoration provides a compelling explanation for the presence of Saint Theodore. In return for permission to reuse the complex in the Forum, Pope Felix IV was required to somehow acknowledge the king for his generous donation.[79] Depicting the king as a beloved saint of legendary military prowess and steadfast faith, whose name is simply the Latinized version of

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[78] The literature on this motif is vast: Jean Paul Richter and Alicia Cameron Taylor were among the first to suggest that the two cities are architectonic symbols of the Church of the Jews and the Church of the Gentiles (*The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art* (London: Duckworth and Co., 1904)). Marguerite Van Berchem and Etienne Clouzot recognize the division of the Church into Jewish and Gentile but they argue that the two cities emphasize the triumph of Christianity by recalling the birth (Bethlehem), crucifixion, and resurrection (Jerusalem) of Christ (*Mosaiques chrétiennes du IVme au Xme siècle* (Genève, 1924); for this interpretation, see also Carlo Cecchelli, *I Mosaici di S. Maria Maggiore in Roma* (Torino: ILTE, 1956), p. 236, and Matthiae, *Mosaici Medioevali delle Chiese di Roma*, esp. pp. 91-98. Beat Brenk argues that the two cities represent the fulfillment of the promises made to the 'People of God' in the Old Testament (*Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975)).

[79] Gregor Kalas, 'Writing and Restoration in Rome: Inscriptions, Statues and the Late Antique Preservation of Buildings,' in *Cities, Texts and Social Networks: 400-1500* (Ashgate, 2010), pp. 21-44, esp. p. 26; Mazarri, 'The Last Rome,' pp. 294-95.

Theoderic, surely sufficed.

Depicting Theoderic as a popular saint in the apse mosaic would at first appear to undermine Felix's desire for greater autonomy and his staunch opposition to Arian theology. However, the position of Theodore within the mosaic may be seen as conveying a subversive message that reflects the complex relationship between the bishop of Rome and the foreign king. Theoderic is portrayed in the mosaic as subservient to and dependent upon Saint Peter and thus Peter's current representative, Felix IV, for his introduction to Christ, indeed for his salvation. Thus, the bishop's claims to authority are underscored by the very presence of Theoderic, whose witness to Peter's authority undermines his own. The emphasis placed on the primacy of Peter in the writings of Felix IV and his predecessors in the pontificate, as well as their efforts to seek autonomy from the Ostrogoths and the Roman senate, further suggests that the particular composition of this apse mosaic is intended to reaffirm the power of the Roman bishops as spiritual descendants of Saint Peter and Christ's representatives on earth. Thus, while Ann Marie Yasin may emphasize the symmetrical relationship between Felix IV and the personification of King Theoderic in the guise of Saint Theodore, a more nuanced interpretation suggests that the office Felix currently occupies is in fact elevated over that of Theoderic.

What then are we to make of Cosmas and Damian within this extended version of the *traditio legis*? Thomas Mathews suggests that the inclusion of these saints in the apse of a church in Rome is a celebration of the long-awaited victory over the Arian Ostrogoths that came with the reacquisition of Italy under Justinian.[80] On the one hand, I agree with Mathews that the saints are here employed as allusions to Justinian. Churches dedicated to these twin martyrs had been established in such late antique Christian centers as Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch as early as the fourth century. Cosmas and Damian became immensely popular in Constantinople where Theodore II (r. 408-450) dedicated a church in their name.[81] It was in that church that the two saints appeared to Justinian and cured him from a mysterious affliction.[82] In gratitude, Justinian enlarged the church and had it richly decorated with marble revetment and gold mosaics. The emperor also restored the saints' legendary home in the city of Cyrus, but brought their relics back to Constantinople and installed them in the restored fifth-century church.[83] Considering that even Procopius records Justinian's special affection for these two particular saints, Mathews' suggestion that Pope Felix IV employed Cosmas and Damian to allude to Justinian and the emperor's orthodox faith is well supported.[84]

I disagree, however, with Mathews' conclusion that Pope Felix dedicated his church to these two martyrs in order to honor Justinian for freeing Rome from Theoderic's Arian rule. To begin with, the church was completed almost a decade before Justinian's general captured Rome.[85] Moreover, Mathews' picture of an amicable relationship between the bishop of Rome and the eastern empire

[80] Thomas Mathews, *Clash of the Gods* (Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 169.
[81] Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors*, p. 10.
[82] Skrobucha, *The Patrons of the Doctors*, p. 10.
[83] Phil Booth suggests that the saints Cosmas and Damian were singled out, along with several other saints, because the various accounts of their lives testify to their willingness to heal anybody, even the heretic. Like a good emperor, Justinian always sought unity and stability, and thus he promoted their cult because of their ability to generate goodwill across the theological divide without promoting an overt theological agendum (Booth, 'Orthodox and Heretic,' p. 128).
[84] Procopius, *Buildings*, 1.6.5-8.
[85] Lançon, *Rome in Late Antiquity*, pp. 42-43.

ignores the bishops' fear of Byzantine rule.[86] They knew well that Justinian engaged in transactions involving ecclesiastical property because he believed that 'there is little difference between the priesthood and the empire and between sacred property and the property of the community or state.'[87] It is precisely such examples of the emperor intruding in ecclesiastical matters that prompted the Roman bishop Agapetus to journey to Constantinople in 535 to convince Justinian not to attack the Italian peninsula.[88] The pope was unsuccessful and Justinian invaded later that same year, but Agapetus convinced the emperor to sign an agreement acknowledging the importance of the Roman see, an agreement that the papacy later misinterpreted as evidence of imperial favor over the bishop of Constantinople.[89]

I argue that it is within this complex historical context that we should interpret the inclusion of saints Cosmas and Damian in the apse mosaic of Felix's sixth century church (fig. 12). The martyrs may indeed be allusions to the emperor Justinian, but like Saint Theodore, they are here depicted as dependent upon the patron saints of Rome; it is only through the generosity of the patrons of Rome that Cosmas and Damian are introduced to Christ. By extension, therefore, the incorporation of these twin martyrs into the *traditio legis* motif portrays a world in which even the emperor and his religious authorities are dependent upon the spiritual leadership and power of the bishop of Rome.

This projection of power based on the primacy of Saint Peter and Paul in the apse mosaic of Santi Cosma e Damiano should not be understood as a representation of a historical reality. It is possible to misinterpret the composition of the mosaic as supporting the traditional narrative of the Christianization of Rome. The visual relationship between Pope Felix IV and Saint Theodore, as well as the dependence of Cosmas and Damian on Saints Peter and Paul, may appear to suggest that the papacy had completely filled the power void in Rome created by the departure of Constantine. One could also appeal, as so many historians have done, to the physical location of Santi Cosma e Daminao in the Forum to suggest that the bishops were now in complete control of the city.[90]

Such interpretations of this church and its apse mosaic, however, fail to fully appreciate the complex political and religious environment of sixth-century Rome. Within this context, the apse mosaic of Santi Cosma e Damiano clearly projects a hope for a *future* reality that is currently only dreamed of. The mosaic serves as a declaration of how things *should* be, not an illustration of how things really are. Letters from several bishops to Theoderic pleading for him to reprimand the senate for interfering in papal affairs highlight that even in the sixth century, the bishop of Rome was not yet more powerful than the Roman senate, let alone Justinian or Theoderic. Nevertheless, Felix IV boldly continued the work of his predecessors in attempting to increase the power of the

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[86]Andrew Ekonomou concludes that 'the Christianization of the empire had not extirpated the undercurrent of suspicion and even disdain that still flowed between Latin West and Greek East. Nor had the Justinianic reconquest of Italy effaced it,' (*Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influenced on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, A.D. 590-752* (New York: Lexington Books, 2007), p. 2). Gilbert Dragon notes that many Roman citizens of the early sixth-century believed that separate laws should govern the appointment of the emperor, the role of the senate, and the election of the bishops; Justinian, however, brushed this sentiment aside, transforming the senate into a court aristocracy and strengthening his 'imperial omnipotence,' (*Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 15-16).

[87] Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, p. 304.

[88] Claire Sotinel, 'Emperors and Popes in the Sixth Century,' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. Michael Maas (Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 278.

[89] Sotinel, 'Emperors and Popes in the Sixth Century,' p. 278.

[90] See notes 1, 10, and 11 above.

papacy within the city and beyond. By taking advantage of Theoderic's project of restoration, Felix was able to appropriate a building in the heart of the ancient Forum that had long been attributed to the patronage of Constantine. The church thus served to intertwine the history of the Christian community in Rome with that of the empire and with the reign of Constantine in particular, thereby justifying the bishop's claims to an authority that the bishops believed Constantine himself had bestowed upon their office. Within the walls of Santi Cosma e Damiano, Pope Felix IV commissioned an exquisite apse mosaic that depicted the desired goal: a world in which both the secular and religious authorities of the Italian peninsula and the Roman empire in the east acknowledge the primacy of the Roman bishop as the descendent of both Peter and Paul, as well as Christ's representative on earth.

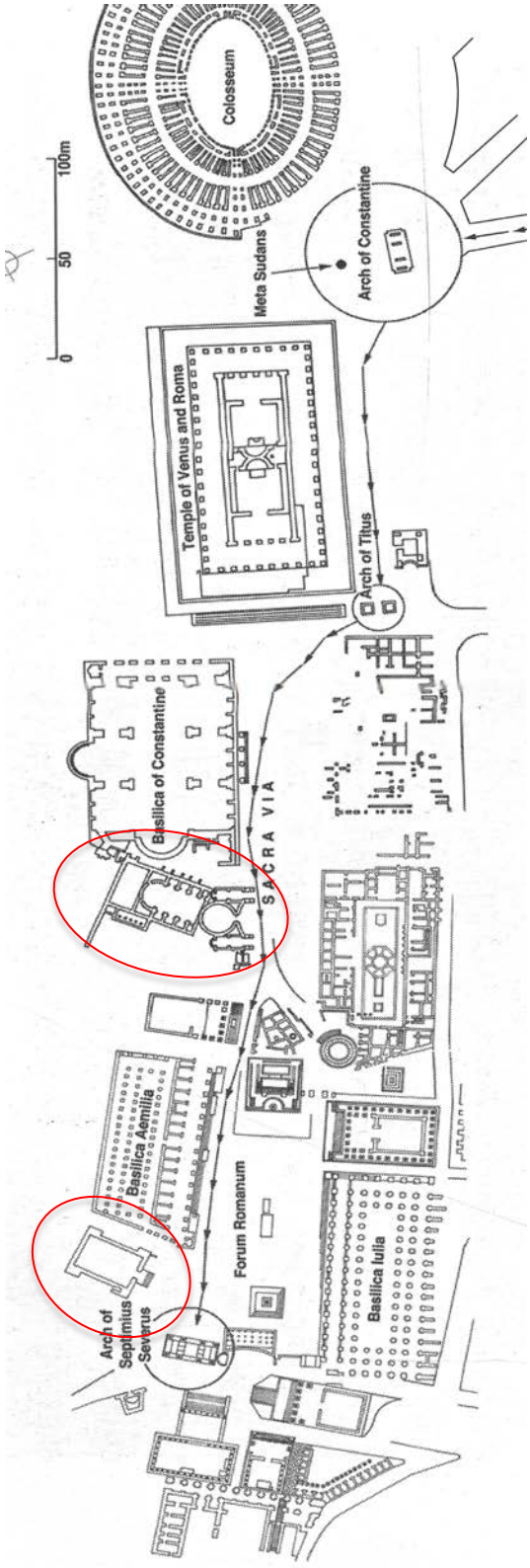

Figure 1: Plan of the Forum Romanum with path along the Via Sacra from Arch of Constantine to Arch of Septimius Severus, detail, the church of Santi Cosma e Damiano is (center) and the Curia (left) (from John R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, p. 58, fig. , fig. 28; courtesy of the University of California Press)

Figure 2: The Church of Santi Cosma e Damiano, Rome, detail, façade of the rotunda known as the Temple of Romulus facing the Via Sacra and the Forum Romanum

Figure 3: The apse mosaic of Santa Cosma e Damiano in Rome (from left to right: Pope Felix IV, Cosmas/Damian, Saint Paul, Christ, Saint Peter, Damian/Cosmas, and Saint Theodore; the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusale, as well as the Agnus Dei, are obscured from view by the Baroque additions to the apse)

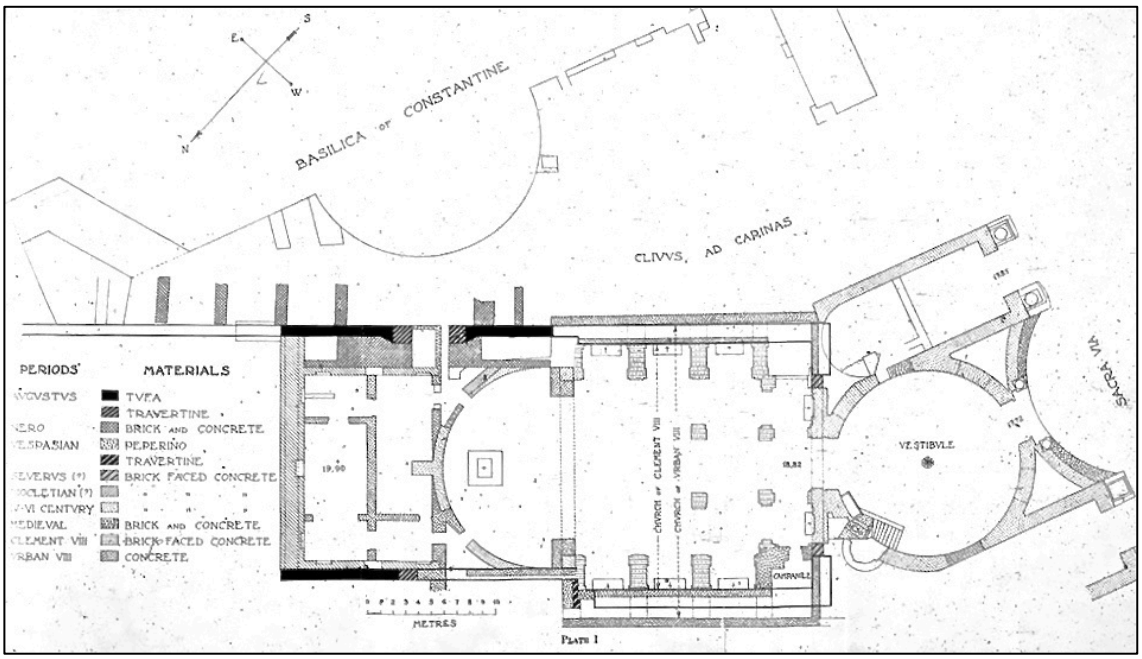

Figure 4: Plan of Santi Cosma e Damiano, note the two pre-Christian buildings: the 'Temple of Romulus' (right) and the apsidal hall of the Templum Pacis (left). The *forma urbis romae* was located on the outer northeastern wall (from P. Whitehead, 'The Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano,' plate I; courtesy of the Archaeological Institute of America and *American Journal of Archaeology*)

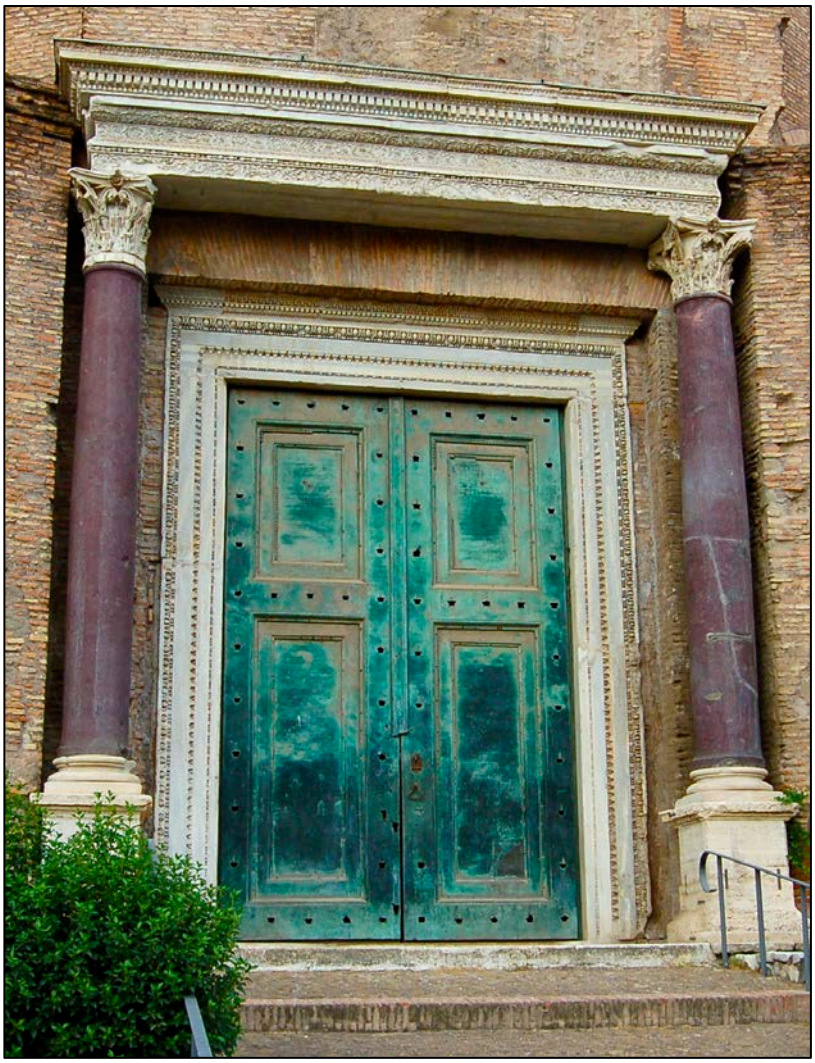

Figure 5: Santi Cosma e Damiano, detail, bronze doors flanked by twin porphyry columns on pedestal-like plinths

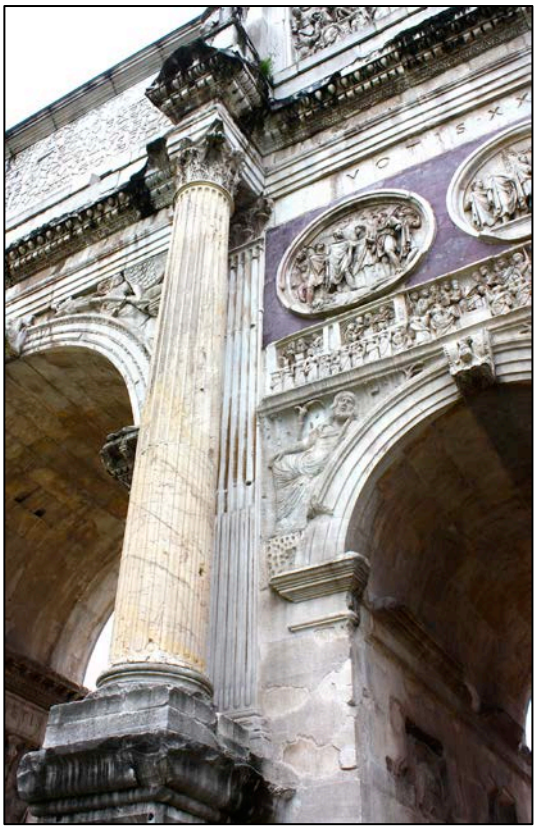

Figure 6: Arch of Constantine, Rome (4th century), detail, marble column on plinth, view from the north

Figure 7: Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (d. 359 CE) found in Old Saint Peter's Basilica: detail, *traditio legis* on the front panel and upper register of the sarcophagus (Museo Storico del Tesoro della Basilica di San Pietro, Museo Vaticano; photograph of plaster cast by author)

Figure 8: San Lorenzo, Milan, Italy (late 4th century), apse mosaic, detail, *Traditio legis*

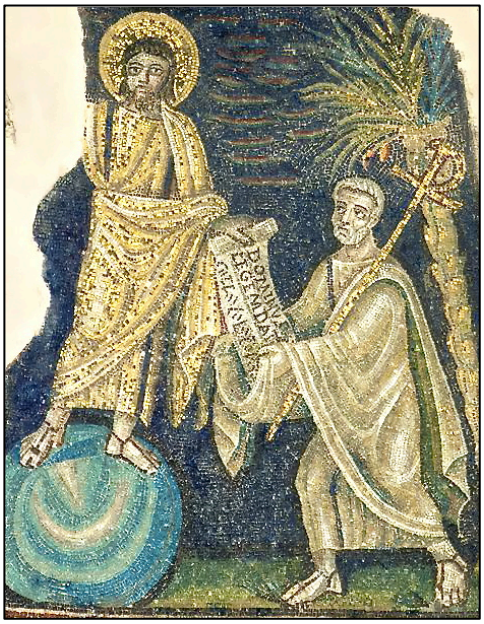

Figure 9: Cathedral of San Gennaro, Naples, Italy (4th century), mosaic, detail, *Traditio legis*

Figure 10: Church of Santa Costanza, Rome (c. 4th-5th centuries), apse mosaic, detail, *Traditio legis*

Figure 11: Santi Cosma e Damiano, apse mosaic, detail of Christ

Figure 12: Santi Cosma e Damiano, apse mosaic, detail showing the symmetrical composition of the apse mosaic.

Figure 13: Santi Cosma e Damiano, apse mosaic, detail of Bethlehem, sheep, and the dedicatory inscription

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Diplomacy as Black Cultural Traffic: debates over race in the Asian travels of Adam Clayton Powell and Carl Rowan

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In a letter to the 1956 Conference of Negro-African Writers and Artists in Paris, W.E.B. Du Bois sardonically remarked that African American diplomatic travelers spoke in ways synonymous with U.S. empire. 'Any Negro-American who travels abroad must either not discuss race conditions in the United States, or say the sort of thing which our State Department wishes the world to believe'.[91] If Du Bois's allegation was frank, then Julian Mayfield's 1963 essay, 'Uncle Tom Comes to Africa', was downright blunt. Mayfield's polemic argued that African Americans retained by the U.S. government and other institutions to work abroad were 'Ambassador Toms', the diplomatic equivalent to the obedient and submissive character made famous in Harriet Beecher Stowe's abolitionist classic, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

> Uncle Tom is more difficult to recognize in Africa than he is at home. This type of Tom is often a technician of some sort, in Africa on a two or three year contract, on the payroll of the U.S. Government or a private firm. Frequently he is a scholar or a writer who is merely passing through on a lecture or a study tour, sponsored by the State Department or one of the many wealthy foundations…Tom's philosophy is Don't Rock the Boat.[92]

Du Bois and Mayfield's articulations positioned state-sanctioned black diplomatic representatives as racial apologist agents of American foreign policy. Both men's arguments were based in claims about how a true representative of black American culture and politics should act and represent the black public when traveling abroad. In so doing, Mayfield and Du Bois, in some measure, fell into the trap of racial authenticity. Claims of black authenticity frame racial being, and blackness in particular, as divided between the authentic and the inauthentic, the 'real' and the 'fake'. Such dichotomous thinking relies on essentialist claims about what in fact blackness *is* and *isn't* and, moreover, over

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[91] W.E.B. Du Bois, 'To the Congress of Ecrivains et Artistes Noires,' *Presence Africaine* (June-November 1956): 383.

[92] Julian Mayfield, 'Uncle Tom Comes to Africa,' *Revolution* 1, Nos. 4-5 (August-September, 1963): 35-37.

who *is* black and who *isn't* black enough. From this perspective, Du Bois and Mayfield's critiques partially grounded blackness in authentic terms. By framing black Americanness as corresponding with a progressive black political outlook, they judged state-sanctioned black American diplomatic travelers as inauthentically black. Their arguments, however, were not unique. Throughout the mid- to late 1950s, the international environment of the Cold War was rife with claims, both inside and outside the U.S., about the role and utility, or lack thereof, of black American diplomacy in facilitating African American connections to the Third World. Encapsulated within these assertions, moreover, were particular ideas and assumptions about race, specifically notions of how a progressive and authentic black American politics should be performed outside U.S. borders.

Reconsidering early Cold War black American diplomatic travel provides an instructive template to think about the entanglement of ideas and discourses regarding blackness and racial performance within African American international and intercultural encounters. This article interrogates these themes by examining the experiences of Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., at the Bandung Asian-African Conference of 1955, and Carl Rowan's, *Minneapolis Tribune* correspondent, encounters traveling and speaking in India in 1954 as part of a U.S. State Department sponsored initiative.[93] In these different contexts, both men attempted to frame blackness in ways that linked black Americans to Asian and African populations, however each was met with extreme resistance. Dissatisfied with the two men's articulations, a number of African American and Asian journalists and newspaper readers harshly denounced and vilified them, to the point of dismissing and denying their racial identities and claims to blackness. Powell and Rowan's struggles to effectively navigate these two different international domains, therefore, offer intriguing portals to analyze the entanglement of mid-twentieth century arguments about African American diplomacy and the convergences and divergences of national and international conceptions of U.S. blackness within transnational and cross-cultural meeting spaces.

The article begins by briefly contextualizing the key themes and debates surrounding black diplomacy within American Cold War culture and laying out the main theoretical framework that informs my interrogation of Powell and Rowan's travel encounters. It then moves to its main argument and points of analysis.

The Cold War and Black Cultural Traffic

In the aftermath of World War II, the onset of the Cold War – what is generally understood as a complex shift in global relations and mobilization of a distinct international system by primarily, but not solely, the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, roughly during the period of 1945-1991 – produced a number of significant shifts in U.S. government policy, particularly regarding issues of race. The Harry S. Truman administration's (1945-1953) Committee on Civil Rights advised the President that the racial oppression and injustice experienced by black Americans and other U.S. racial minorities hurt America's image and credibility abroad.[94] To stem Soviet support for racial equality and decolonization of Asia and Africa and, moreover, the ease through which communist governments could argue that U.S. race relations pointed to the incongruity of the U.S.'s globalist

[93] Rowan would go on to become the Assistant Secretary of State in President John F. Kennedy's administration, the U.S. Ambassador to Finland, and director of the United States Information Agency during President Lyndon B. Johnson's administration.

[94] See Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 79-83.

claims of a democratic, multicultural landscape governed by freedom in the public sector and the market place, Truman promoted a liberal agenda of racial reform. In the face of the pro-Jim Crow outlook of his Southern allies in the Democratic Party, his administration began endorsing the gradual assimilation and integration of blacks and other racial minorities into national life. It was believed that this depiction would aid the United States in situating American national culture as embodying the multicultural, democratic archetype that industrial and financial capital and U.S. superintendence could help replicate elsewhere.

These policies took grandest shape first with the July 1948 issuance of Executive Order 9981, an act that formalized equal treatment and opportunity in the Armed Services and the protection of its employees from discrimination. The desegregation of the U.S. military produced a rapid growth in the numbers of black enlistment and black military personnel abroad.[95] This increase, furthermore, built on earlier shifts produced by World War II where, during the war, opportunities in government and non-governmental initiatives abroad led to increased African American employment overseas as aid workers, technicians, medical service personnel, educators, and engineers.[96] This expansion of what Truman, and later the Eisenhower administration (1953-1961), perceived as cultural workers abroad who could help repair America's image, was also aided by the government's selection of several African Americans to serve as national voices within the international arena. Alongside Ralph Bunche who had been working in various leading government positions since 1943, Edward R. Dudley was plucked as the first black American ambassador (to Liberia), and attorney Edith Sampson, activist and civic leader Channing Tobias, and later minister Rev. Archibald Carey were chosen as alternate United Nations delegates.[97] Black musicians, entertainers, and artists were also sent on government-sponsored international tours to perform and attest to America's racial advancement (several of these travelers, however, periodically strayed from the government's pasteurized message of racial reform).[98] In addition, the image of America's racial progress was circulated internationally through State Department-packaged junkets featuring images and narratives of black American achievement and enjoyment of middle-class life that were strategically placed within U.S. embassies, particularly in Asian and African territories.

Several scholars have noted how these alterations in the U.S. government's self-presentation of American race relations had a significant impact on African American political activism within international affairs. Historian Brenda Gayle Plummer explains,

> the new black approach to foreign affairs also echoed a theme already familiar on the domestic political front: patronage […] Once part of any administration's foreign policy team, of course, black representatives lost any power to execute, and in some cases even to articulate, a specifically Afro-American foreign affairs agenda […] Brokerage and patronage traditions infiltrated independent thought and action, substituting partisanship in their place.[99]

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[95] See Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relation in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 60, 74-78.
[96] See Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 121
[97] Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 211, 244-45; Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 78-79.
[98] See Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).
[99] Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 212-213.

The filtered renderings of black American life and racial injustice articulated by some government-selected racial spokespersons, however, were periodically met with disbelief and rejection within domestic and international circles. Various black Americans and non-Americans, particularly Asian and African intellectuals, radical leftists, and militant nationalists perceived such depictions as masking the realities of American racial and economic oppression and the U.S. government's imperial ambitions. Some of these critics of American foreign policy even went to the extent of identifying black state representatives as race traitors and talking heads for the government whose words, ideas, and racial subjectivities did not correspond with that of their racial siblings back in the U.S. In sum, it was argued that these envoys' articulations and performances of race while abroad were unacceptable and inauthentic.

Considering the criticisms made of such diplomatic representatives, Cold War historiography in general has under-theorized the discursive and performatory features of black internationalism when in transit. Historians Charles R. Lilley and Michael H. Hunt have brought attention to this shortcoming, explaining that many works 'ignore and downplay the patterns of social interaction produced between different peoples' and, therefore, treat 'culture and power as though they were largely divorced from, rather than wedded to, one another in important ways.'[100] The field's inattentiveness to the cultural politics of black internationalism contrasts with the attention paid to the subject by critical theorists on race, gender, and performance. Numerous scholars have situated African American travel as a source of power and knowledge where travelers often perform and are privileged and challenged with situations to rethink her or his historical circumstance and the frameworks, categories, and terms used to define the scope of their condition.[101]

An important concept that theorizes the politics of international and intercultural encounters within black political culture is that of 'black cultural traffic,' what historian Kennell Jackson defines as a system of 'exchange and/or commerce' and 'trade in ideas, styles, impressions, body language and gestures.' He points out, though, that an important feature of such traffic is the 'fragments of cultural complexes that break loose and assume a life of their own,' particularly contradictory ideas and arguments about race and blackness. Employing performance as an analytic, Jackson notes that it is in this space of cultural crossroads where the similarities and differences between the traveler's (i.e. the performer) and those with whom she encounters' (i.e. the audience) conceptions and projections of race become entangled:

> Few public spaces occupied by a black performance or black performer are entirely free. Few tabula rasa spaces exist […] the density of ideas about blacks pulls people in, even though they often bring along a jumble of troublesome notions of blackness […] Performance is a key element in such traffic […] The performance moment is key because it is the instance in which some representation of blacks, black cultural material, or blackness is offered […] These performances seem to work best at

[100] Charles R. Lilley and Michael H. Hunt, 'On Social History, the State, and Foreign Relations: Commentary on the Cosmopolitan Connection,' *Diplomatic History* 11 (Summer 1987): 247, 246.
[101] See for instance Farah J. Griffin, and Cheryl J. Fish, ed. *A Stranger in the Village: Two Centuries of African-American Travel Writing* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*; Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*: *Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Michael Cohn and Michael K. Platzer, *Black Men of the Sea* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978).

> projecting their representations when they are broadly suggestive about blacks and black culture, when they allow the audiences to insert its own ideas into the performance.

Cultural traffic, therefore, speaks to multifarious and contradictory politics of such cross-cultural and international engagement where performances of blackness are always sights of intensive negotiation because perceptions and expectations of blackness 'crowd the performance space.' Jackson concludes, 'balancing a black presenter's sense of self with an audience's need for a particular black type was tricky […] Still within this problematic moment, a cultural exchange between blacks and others was going on.'[102]

Situating Cold War black diplomatic travel within the framework of cultural traffic relays how black envoys were tasked to perform as travelers and negotiate complex and contradictory perceptions of race. In the international arena, race and U.S. blackness were often framed by the U.S. state and by critics of American foreign policy in uneven and conflicting language and opposing ideologies. While the U.S. government depicted race and American blackness in ways useful towards advancing American foreign policy, African American radicals and foreign leftists and militant nationalists portrayed blackness as a subject-position mired by the injustice and inequality of U.S. racial discrimination. Their struggles were inherently linked with that of antiracist international movements struggling against western imperialism and global white supremacy.

Throughout the Cold War's first decades, numerous African American diplomatic travelers were confronted with these diametrical constructions of U.S. blackness. An important site for such projections was the Bandung Asian-African Conference of 1955. In mid-April of that year, delegates representing twenty-nine newly independent African and Asian nations and national liberation movements met in Bandung, Indonesia to carve out a global system of relations, exchanges, and definitions for humanity in opposition to the bipolar postwar world order decreed by the Soviet Union and the U.S. Together this group of Asian, African, and later Latin American populations came to embody what French anthropologist Alfred Sauvy described in 1952 as 'the Third World', and what Vijay Prashad has recently termed, 'The Third World Project', a decolonial movement that linked the destinies of over 2.1 billion people (over seventy percent of the world's population in 1960) during the 1950s-1970s.[103] The Asian-African conference was an outgrowth of a series of conferences organized by Asian delegations frustrated by the United Nations' failure to involve Africa and Asia in the decision-making process of the international body. At Bandung, the conference's participants promoted Asian-African goodwill and cooperation and reflected on the attending nations' mutual problems in terms of national sovereignty, military warfare, economic security, and social development – the palpable cultural trauma and socio-economic residue left by western imperialism.

One dark face serving under the Stars and Stripes

[102] Kennell Jackson, 'Introduction: Traveling While Black,' In *Black Cultural Traffic: Crossroads in Global Performance and Popular Culture,* Edited by Harry Justin Elam Jr. & Kennell Jackson, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 9, 11, 4, and 2.
[103] Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New Press, 2008).

Prior to the Bandung conference, one person who looked upon the impending international summit with avid intrigue was Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. of New York. He perceived it as an opportunity to push for greater U.S. relations with the nonaligned states of Asia and Africa and for greater African American involvement in U.S. state diplomacy. Powell was initially motivated to attend when he learned that the administration of U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower was not going to send representatives on its behalf. 'I don't believe that we or any country is strong enough to be representing 3/5 of the earth's population', Powell explained, and expressed to fellow government officials, 'we need to let the peoples of Asia and Africa know that we do not consider them second-class nations […] We need to let the two billion coloured peoples on earth, without whom we cannot continue much longer as a first-class power, know that America is a democracy of the people'.[104] Powell, moreover, blamed the Eisenhower administration's debacle on the U.S. State Department, arguing that the department's adherence to an outdated racial hierarchy in assessing foreign affairs prevented them from producing 'an adequate foreign policy for Asia and Africa'. According to Powell, too many State Department officials were willing to 'only see white'. Powell maintained that the State Department's 'crass stupidity and ignorance' could be most clearly discerned in its deafness to the role that race would play at the Bandung Conference.[105]

He, moreover, insisted that if the U.S. wanted to prevent communism's growth in Asia and Africa and cultivate strong relations with the governments of these continents, then the best soldiers and cultural diplomats to mobilize these relations were African Americans. 'The U.S. State Department must immediately send dark-skinned Americans at the highest possible levels to all American embassies in Asian countries. These people (Asians) look at a white face, well remembering colonialism'.[106] Powell countered that black Americans like himself could effectively solidify racial commonality between black Americans and the Asian and African attendees of the Bandung Conference by proving that, as he put it, 'America is not a white man's country' and emphasizing the 'tremendous advantages' that had been made in U.S. racial relations.[107] 'America's biggest selling point in Asia and Africa is the (its) 25 million coloured peoples', he rationalized. 'One dark face serving under the stars and stripes will do more good than millions of dollars for military aid'.[108]

Implicit within Powell's proposal were certain claims about race, skin-color, and skin-complexion. His emphasis on the role that 'dark faces' and 'dark-skinned' features could play in repelling communism in Asian-African disguise was reliant on notions of racial and phenotypic symmetry. Although Powell understood that African Americans' 'racial' tie to the Third World was based on more than just skin-color, but on their experiences with colonialism and white supremacy, he resorted to conventional biological conceptions of race. Powell's rhetorical representation of race framed blackness as homogenous and as 'a common, invariant racial identity capable of linking divergent black experiences across different spaces and times'.[109] By rigidly separating race and skin-colour into easily distinguishable binary camps, Powell turned a blind eye to the U.S.'s multiracial and multi-phenotypic realities and, additionally, collapsed the divergent viewpoints constitutive of

[104] 'Powell Tells Why He'll Defy Afro-Asia Meet Ban.' *Chicago Defender*, April 9, 1955, pg. 2 & Jay G. Hayden. 'U.S. Relaxing Concern Over Bandung Parley,' *The Milwaukee Journal*, April 18, 1955, pg. 2; Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., *Adam by Adam* (New York: Kensington Publishing Corporation, 1971), 103.
[105] Powell, *Adam by Adam*, 104, 118.
[106] Louis Lautier, 'Powell May Effect Fliers' Release.' *The Washington Afro-American*, April 26, 1955, pg. 9.
[107] 'Powell Tells Why He'll Defy Afro-Asia Meet Ban,' and 'U.S. Relaxing Concern Over Bandung Parley.'
[108] Alice A. Dunnigan, 'Powell Reports to Ike on Bandung Meet.' *Chicago Defender*, May 21, 1955, pg. 21.
[109] Paul Gilroy, *Small Acts (*Serpent's Tail, 1994), 2.

African American politics. Differences based on class and political and/or ideological sensibility were also irrelevant within Powel's proposal. Additionally, the masculinist undertones of Powell's remarks were far from camouflaged. In refuting the notion of America as a 'white man's country' Powell, despite challenging uni-racial (white) constructions of U.S. nationality, succumbed to defining U.S. nationality within gender-specific terms. His claim implicitly suggested that African Americans employ diplomacy as a means to abrogate their feminization and powerlessness 'to male-like 'Whiteness'.[110]

Powell's proposal was a strategic articulation. As a sound bite his comments were far more provocative than an oratorical disquisition on race's legacy in the U.S. or on the diversity of black life. Through the 'dark' metaphor Powell, moreover, mapped African Americans' identities and bodies within a global terrain of colour. In his vague schematic, they stood racially alongside various other 'darker' oppressed groups, a temporary rendering that simulated equivalency between these groups yet that also did not effectively speak to their numerous differences. Even so, Powell reasoned, among Third World nations, African Americans possessed a global cultural currency that white Americans lacked. The signifier of dark-skin and African Americans' experiences with racial discrimination and oppression provided black Americans with cross-cultural capital that could assist in transforming the U.S.'s image abroad. 'Darkening' the U.S.'s likeness could, therefore, function as an instrument of cultural diplomacy and as means of symbolically connecting the U.S. to other foreign publics.

Attending the Bandung conference as an 'unofficial observer', Powell put this project into action. Aiming to distance the U.S. from its repressive racial past and present, he informed a group of Indonesian reporters, 'To be a Negro in the U.S. is a distinction'.[111] This revisionist recoding of America's racial legacy was further emphasized when Powell asserted that racism and black Americans' second-class status were being eradicated in the U.S. When pushed to provide examples of such material and structural transformations in Jim Crow racism, Powell sidestepped the probes by defensively referencing discrimination in other countries including India and Indonesia. And even when he admitted to one journalist that, 'there isn't much difference between the Union of South Africa and the union of South Carolina', Powell nonetheless absented from making any all-out remarks about the state of U.S. racial discrimination. 'Let's not judge the United States by what is happening in its worst states, but […] by what is happening in most of its states', he commented.[112]

Furthermore, by positioning himself as a staunch defender of anticommunism and the U.S. government's opposition to Communist China, Powell worked to embody the kind of pro-U.S. diplomatic agency that he had attributed to black Americans. So, for instance, he critiqued the Chinese delegation's efforts to change the language of a resolution condemning racial discrimination. While the Chinese delegation wanted the resolution to liken racial discrimination in Africa to that in the U.S., Powell argued that the U.S. should not be specifically mentioned in the resolution.[113] China's effort to discredit the U.S. by calling awareness to the treatment of African

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[110] Wahneema Lubiano, 'Mapping the Interstices Between Afro-American Cultural Discourse and Cultural Studies – A Prolegomenon.' *Callaloo* 19.1 (1996): 68-77, (74).
[111] 'Adam At Them,' *Chicago Defender*, May 7, 1955, pg. 2.
[112] Powell, *Adam by Adam*, 108-109.
[113] 'Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference,' in George McTurnan Kahin, *The Asian-African Conference* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1956), 76-86.

Americans and other non-white American groups, according to Powell, represented a sly attempt to 'exploit the color question'.[114] Powell concluded,

> Make no mistake about it, the Soviet Union, through Red China, had deliberately planned in advance to take over the Bandung Conference and to make it the greatest propaganda victory to be won by any nation in modern times.[115]

The U.S. government and dominant news media championed Powell's actions at Bandung.[116] Members of the black press also extolled Powell's exploits. One reporter lauded how Powell 'defended the progress made in America toward better race relations'.[117] A journalist from the *Chicago Defender* on the other hand argued Powell had 'gained tremendous international stature' by serving notice to the U.S. government that 'America must clean up her own race problem', and take 'a forthright stand on such issues as colonialism and race repressions in South Africa'.[118] Another *Chicago Defender* reporter asserted that Powell's refusal 'to furnish grist for the Communist mill by sounding off against his native land' represented a larger anticommunist sensibility among African Americans. The journalist reveled in 'the fact that a Negro […] could so defend America confounded designers of a subtle plan to destroy the democracies of the world'.[119]

All African Americans, however, did not applaud Powell's deeds. Reporter Louis Lautier felt that the congressman 'made some extravagant statements' and, moreover, disagreed 'with his remarks on it's a great privilege to be a Negro in America at this time '.[120] Journalist James Hicks caused a media uproar when he tagged Powell as a 'giant killer' and accused the politician of 'directing a lynch mob' in various Asian leaders' directions. Hicks queried,

> As I see it, Mr. Powell, as a coloured man, is standing lonely and deep in the forest like all other coloured people of the world today […] Why should a coloured man of the stature of Mr. Powell take it upon himself to try to politically slay another coloured man who stands upright […] in forums of the world?[121]

Quite a few newspaper readers concurred with Hicks's commentary, such as Maria Price of Washington, DC, who wrote about Powell, 'How can he look people of his own race in the face after telling such ridiculous lies as he did at the Asian – African conference'? Another reader, S.J. Moore of New Rochelle, NY, agreed with Hicks's evaluation of Powell: 'He said what millions of other coloured people all over the world are thinking […] You can't serve two masters and Mr Powell at Bandung was a white man's man'.[122]

To identify Powell's actions at Bandung as the embodiment of serving "a master" branded Powell as the figurative slave of the U.S. government, the "Ambassador Tom" of U.S. globalism.

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[114] James Hicks, 'Nehru 'Done' – Powell.' *The Washington Afro-American*, May 3, 1955, pg. 1 & 2.
[115] Powell, *Adam by Adam*, 104, 118, 117.
[116] 'Democratic Whip Backs Powell on Asia,' *Chicago Defender*, June 11, 1955, pg. 12 & 'Laud Powell's Role In Asia,' *Chicago Defender*, May 7, 1955, pg. 1.
[117] 'Our Opinions, Diplomat Powell.' *Chicago Defender*, May 14, 1955, pg. 9.
[118] 'Laud Powell's Role In Asia.'
[119] 'Our Opinions, Diplomat Powell.'
[120] 'Powell didn't Stab Anyone, says Lautier.' *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 28, 1955, pg. 16.
[121] James Hicks, 'Voter's Vineyard,' *The Afro-American*, May 14, 1955, pg. 4.
[122] 'What Afro Readers Say,' *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 17, 1955, pg. 4.

Furthermore, painting Powell's critiques of Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai and India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as comparable to 'directing a lynch mob' explicitly associated Powell with a heinous act of terror that had a long and traumatic legacy in American life and history.[123] As an instrument of terror and regulation utilized by both the state and civil society to coerce African Americans and other groups into subservience and trepidation and police African Americans' will, lynching was a key tool in the arsenal of Jim Crow racial segregation and anti-black racism. Ultimately the depiction of Powell as a slave directing a lynch mob toward Zhou and Nehru exploited black newspaper readers' disdain for racial terror, slavery, and white paternalism. By thus maintaining that Powell had 'sold out' African Americans and the Third World, and as one black newspaper reader put it, 'sold colored people down the river', these journalists and newspaper readers dissociated Powell from common conceptions of blackness and simultaneously situated Zhou and Nehru within these same conceptions.[124] Thus, while the latter two men were discursively authenticated as symbolically 'black,' Powell was depicted as 'no longer black' and a race-traitor.

That African Americans partook in such stereotyping and racial discourse, even within arguments about diplomacy, is not surprising. Assertions about racial authenticity and discourses of 'selling out' – arguments about what being black is and what it is not and about the texture, or "look", of black political activity – have been historically employed to make particular claims about the function of African Americans in politics and diplomacy. In many ways, such propositions often silence the plurality of African American perspectives. Claims about racial authenticity thus can at times serve as a helpful tool in maintaining a specific hegemony of African American viewpoints and stances on what African Americans act and think like. Arguments about diplomacy are not left out of such constructions. The idea of 'selling out,' when critically unpacked, has certain rhetorical weight and merit when utilized in relation to U.S. foreign policy. Recognizing that the U.S. state has a monopoly of power and instruments of violence, coercion and incorporation, discourses of 'selling out' and arguments about authenticity are valuable currency and figuratively combustible and dangerous weaponry in the arsenal of the downtrodden and oppressed. Thus, within African American popular discourse, arguments about 'selling out' sometimes provided a useful binary to distinguish 'black diplomacy' as a political project whose aims and functions were in rigid alignment with the foreign policy objectives of the U.S. government.

Nonetheless, the representation of Powell as a 'white man's man' and thus an inauthentic black man, was not only constructed by African Americans, but also by Asian journalists and Bandung attendees. An unnamed *Chicago Defender* reporter commented that various wings of the Indonesian press were dissatisfied with Powell's charges about U.S. race-relations. Apparently Powell's positive portrayal left many of the reporters puzzled. The reporter asserted, 'They came to us for explanations […] It was a tough job explaining to them and we don't know if they were really convinced yet either on this or that things in the States are as rosy as Adam painted them'.[125] Furthermore, at times Powell's attempts to establish a sentiment of racial commonality between him and other attendees was ignored, or better stated, misread. Several attendees and journalists, most especially people from various Asian nations, were greatly confused over how to racially define Powell. Because of his fair-skin complexion, several attendees, reporters, and onlookers misidentified him as Caucasian. One journalist remarked that the 'biggest riddle to the local boys

[123] Hicks, 'Voter's Vineyard.'
[124] 'What Afro Readers Say: Letter from Jeanette Green of New York,' *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 17, 1955, pg. 4.
[125] 'Adam At Them,' *Chicago Defender*, May 7, 1955, pg. 2.

was Adam's explanation of his non-convincing appearance as a Negro […] Indonesian journalists ask, "Is he really a Negro"'?[126] When clarifying his race as 'coloured' or 'Negro,' Powell still discovered doubt among his receivers. A Chinese journalist responded, 'You are not a Negro. Your skin is white'.[127] Once Powell's race was confirmed, he was treated far differently. In explaining the actions and perspectives of various Asian attendees at Bandung, journalist Louis Lautier stated,

> Not only are they coloured, but they appear consciously biased in their friendship for other coloured people […] Ignored was Rep. Adam C. Powell because he looked like a white man. But when they found out that he, too, was coloured, they immediately began to bestow upon him the same type of attention they had given us[128]

Even Powell commented on this treatment:

> Frankly, at Bandung I wished my skin had been black, for it was a *mark of distinction*. The distinguished writer Vincent Sheehan told me […] he was going to hang a sign around his neck saying, 'Me coloured too,' so that people would speak to him.[129]

The skepticism over Powell's racial identity and disagreements with his portrayal of U.S. race relations both demonstrates and calls into question Powell's proposals for the darkening of the U.S. foreign services and diplomacy. That some Third World journalists and attendees at Bandung 'ignored Powell' does ambivalently verify Powell's claims about how 'white faces', 'dark skin', and 'dark faces' would be judged and engaged differently in Asian and African contexts. Powell ultimately was not 'dark enough'. His skin-complexion prevented him from accruing the immediate cultural currency and capital possessed by darker-skinned African Americans in Bandung and, therefore, testified to his point about the possible diplomatic potential of African Americans in the Third World. Powell's Bandung description of black skin as a 'mark of distinction' fits neatly with his pre-conference assertions about the power of the 'dark-skinned American' abroad.

Nonetheless, the denial and dismissal of Powell's racial identity also illuminates the complexity of blackness, that is the difficulty and shortcomings of defining race within the terms of physical features and skin-colour, and the problem of uncritically endowing blackness with a subversive and transgressive potential. Powell's doubters clearly had preconceived notions about how African Americans looked, acted, and perceived U.S. race relations. Their disregard for Powell's assurances that he was a black man displayed the group's ignorance about the history of miscegenation in African American and, moreover, American life. It also conveyed that they, similar to Powell's proposal about 'dark faces,' were incorrectly attributing race merely to skin-colour. Ultimately, their rejection of Powell's claims of racial progress, though warranted, confirm that Powell's representation of black life did not mesh with a their own conceptions of U.S. blackness and black political thought. Their expectations and disappointment in Powell's depiction of U.S. race

[126] Ibid.
[127] Powell, *Adam by Adam*, 110.
[128] Louis Lautier, 'Travelers to East learn our world is non-white,' *Washington Afro-American*, April 26, 1955, pg. 9.
[129] Powell, *Adam by Adam*, 110; emphasis added.

relations suggests that they construed U.S. black political struggles and African American political sensibilities as homogenously resistant and subversive.

In seeking to establish meaningful cross-cultural exchange, Powell and his critics' renderings of blackness thus hinged on gambles. Each constructed blackness in ways that they thought might help to create connections between African Americans and foreign populations of colour. The latter's articulations about blackness, for instance, were driven by their desire to assist in Asia, Africa, and Latin America's efforts to establish an autonomous and non-aligned Third Force against western dominance. Still, these articulations reveal how unstable and slippery the terrain of race and blackness can be in international and intercultural contexts and exchanges. In both Powell's depiction of African American diplomacy and his detractors' critiques, blackness at varying points was associated with corporeality and performance and ultimately framed consequently in limited, mainly symbolic terms.

Performing Blackness and the Geopolitics of Race

Another interesting and similar case to that of Powell is *Minneapolis Tribune* correspondent Carl Rowan's experiences traveling in India in 1954[130]. Throughout Rowan's three-month stay, he too encountered similar non-American articulations about how an African American diplomat should discuss race experiences. Rowan was a real-life example of Powell's claims about the possibilities of African American diplomacy in Asia. Invited by the State Department to travel to India under the auspices of the U.S. Leader Exchange Program, Rowan visited New Delhi, Assam, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and numerous villages; in these locations he lectured on the role of the free press in creating free societies.

Although Rowan depicted himself as a 'free agent and not as a spokesmen' or 'State Department lackey', many listeners of a radical bend could not turn a deaf ear to his quixotic portrayal of U.S. society and life. Rowan explained to them that the U.S. 'was in the process of taking great strides toward racial justice', and that he was 'optimistic about the willingness of the South to accept the end of Jim Crow'. Citing the vast changes made in U.S. racial segregation, he asserted that 'more progress towards ending it [racial discrimination] had been made in the United States than anywhere else' and referred to himself as 'a walking example of the opportunities' made available in the U.S.[131] Not persuaded by Rowan's explanations, attendees insisted he come clean about African Americans' experiences and everyday lives in the U.S. 'Inherently you are one of us […] Now, you tell us the real story about the treatment of your race in America', Rowan was repeatedly told.[132] Nonetheless, segments of the people he addressed were in deep disagreement with Rowan's contentions about U.S. race relations and the U.S.'s history of racial strife and, as a result, journalists frequently scolded him for his pro-America stance. They labeled him a 'black apologist' and 'an excellent propagandist for the U.S.' Editor R.K. Karanjia inquired, 'We are all interested in how a man with a black skin, who has been unable to know freedom because of it, can talk to us so learnedly about a free society.'[133]

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130 Brenda Gayle Plummer also briefly describes Rowan's travel to India. See Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 221-22.
131 Carl Rowan, *Breaking Barriers: A Memoir.* Perennial, 1992, 123-124; 'Newspaper Man One of America's Best 'Private' Ambassadors to India,' *Toledo Blade*, November 19, 1954, pg. 8.
132 Carl Rowan, 'This is India: Core of Cold War – Race Hatred in Reverse Jolts Writer.' *The Pittsburgh Press*, February 16, 1955, pg. 25.
133 Rowan, *Breaking Barriers*, pg. 124-25.

One particular dialogue dynamically displays the distance between Rowan's views and that of his Indian critics. In Assam, *Press Trust of India* newsman P. E. Shanker explained to Rowan,

> We trust you, and we speak to you frankly, because there is a common bond of colour. We hate the white man because he is the cause of all the trouble in Asia today. We respect you, but we hate white America […] We think she wants to dominate Asia, to make it her market.

Rowan retorted, 'Tell me where in America's history do you find evidence that she ever dominated any people for economic or ulterior motives'? Rowan continued, 'I simply cannot buy all this 'bound by color' nonsense […] I cannot accept your theory for a moment. I think it is ridiculous to argue that you can trust all coloured men, but no white men.' Dismayed by Rowan's refusal to acknowledge the severity of the U.S.'s problems with racial inequality, the editor of the *Assam Tribune* exclaimed, 'Why do you defend these white devils? Why do you go around saying there has been progress'?[134] Ruled by the American press as 'one of America's best private "ambassadors" to India' due to his defense of U.S. race-relations and awarded the coveted Sigma Delta Chi award for his foreign correspondence from India, Rowan's diplomatic efforts were met with extraordinary fervor and dissatisfaction among various segments of India's population. Although Rowan left the nation a hero in the eyes of many Americans, to pockets of India he was, as one Indian journalist curtly put it, a 'trained Negro parrot of the State Department'.[135] Even reporter Shanker conceded, 'I fear the insidious capitalistic influence has robbed us of a coloured brother'.[136]

Upon returning to the U.S., Rowan framed his experiences in India and the benefits of African American inclusion within U.S. diplomacy in a similar fashion to the image Congressman Powell would depict one year later. Rowan described his time abroad as a quotidian process of shielding the U.S. from communist attacks. Communists' exploit of the U.S.'s racial woes, he maintained, was taking a major toll on U.S. foreign policy - the former were publishing stories about U.S. racial discrimination and segregation in Indian newspapers and 'peddling the idea that Americans were against colored peoples'. To combat this bombardment of negative press, Rowan advised the news media and U.S. government to publicize African American achievements. Success stories like his own rise from rural backwoods childhood to Navy commissioned officer to world-traveling journalist and diplomatic officer, Rowan argued, were prime examples of the triumph of U.S. democracy that could beat back communism's sway in Asia. He disclosed,

> When I left India, I was of the opinion that the Communists were winning the battle in Asia, especially in India […] We're losing these places because they can only buy what you sell them. The idea is prevalent in India that you and I are frightened people. We aren't going to sell democracy in India unless we have confidence in it.[137]

Rowan's admonition and recommendations ultimately did not go unnoticed. One year later, CIA director Allen Dulles and the consul general of Hong Kong pushed for Rowan's presence at the

[134] Rowan, 'This is India: Core of Cold War – Race Hatred in Reverse Jolts Writer.'
[135] Rowan, 'Newspaper Man One of America's Best 'Private' Ambassadors to India.'
[136] Rowan, 'This is India.'
[137] Carl Rowan, 'India Being Lost to the Reds,' *The Milwaukee Journal*, October 6, 1955, pg. 2

Bandung Conference. Rowan, they asserted, was a U.S. asset whose race would assist him in conducting 'backstage public relations work for the United States among the delegates and observers'.[138]

The denunciations of Powell and Rowan's portrayals of U.S. race relations were more than just ideological and political disagreements. They were critiques of both men's performances of U.S. blackness. In Powell's and Rowan's encounters, cross-cultural and transnational ideas about U.S. blackness converged with the two men's physical bodies and their ideological viewpoints, that is with both men's corporeal and ideological articulations of blackness. In the eyes of their critics, the men's professional and class positioning and their allegiance to liberal American conceptions of internationalism and racial reform circumscribed their representations of black American life. In addition, Powell's complexion led several Asians to doubt his racial identity, the latter perceiving his skin-colour and moderate depiction of U.S. race relations as evidence of the failure of his claims to African American subjectivity.

However, by situating Powell and Rowan's actions as the work of 'Ambassador Toms', their critics narrowly reduced the complex and differing political landscapes each man was compelled to navigate and evaded broadening their criticisms of U.S. racial discrimination to also consider the ways race and class oppression structured life abroad. Powell's critiques of the State Department and his recommendation that the department reshape its foreign policy toward the Third World for instance counter W.E.B. Du Bois's claim that African Americans travelling and speaking abroad were working in cahoots with the State Department. It is also important to note that one of the biggest ironies to Rowan was that of the numerous Indians radicals who pestered him about his conservative depiction of American race relations. Few commented on and acknowledged the ways ideologies of skin-color, beauty, and caste impacted Indian social life. From his observations, while Indian newspapers featured advertisements lauding fair-skinned Indians, a disproportionate number of poor Indians of lower caste were dark-skinned.[139]

Despite these inconsistencies, though, what is nonetheless evident is that in Powell and Rowan's presentations abroad, each man's portrayal gave credence to the other half of Du Bois's claim - that African American state representatives could not openly discuss U.S. race conditions when traveling abroad. To some extent, representing the race in such transnational spaces was an oxymoronic task for these two privileged travelers, most especially considering the fact that both men's class and professional status made them highly unrepresentative of the majority of African Americans to whom they claimed to represent. Furthermore, their depiction of African Americans as cultural diplomats in Asia, Africa, and Latin America framed African Americans' contribution to U.S. state diplomacy generally in symbolic terms - the use of black faces and black bodies to internationally market inclusion and diversity, while at the same time extend U.S global hegemony. Their alignment of the Third World project of national liberation and self-determination with U.S. triumphalism and visionary globalism displayed the sad ironies and contradictory paradoxes of black uplift ideology.[140]

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[138] Dispatch, Drumright to the Department of State, January 20, 1955, 670.901/1-2055 & Cary Fraser, 'An American Dilemma: Race and Realpolitik in the American Response to the Bandung Conference, 1955,' 124, in *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988*, edited by Brenda Gayle Plummer, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

[139] See Plummer, *Rising Wind*, 222; Carl Rowan, *The Pitiful and the Proud* (New York: Random House, 1956), 154-156.

[140] For more on uplift ideology see Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

Ultimately, Rowan and Powell's experiences abroad embodied highly contentious and dynamic sites of cultural traffic between their representation of American race relations and their critics' ideas about this subject. They demonstrate the *geopolitics of race*, that is to say the reality of globalization's intersections with the ever-changing meanings and structural inequalities inhabiting racial difference in different national and geographical contexts. This firstly refers to the processes through which socio-political constructions of racial difference and racial exclusion become embedded in modern nation-states and international relations, and structure domestic and global configurations of power. But it also intimates considering how particular racial formations, racial projects, and racial epistemologies take shape in spaces that exceed the nation, particularly transnational locations and crossroads where differing conceptions intersect, become embattled, and are forced to engage one another. Media scholar Radhika Parameswaran argues that scholarship and theorizations on racial formations must shift from examining race only through a national lens and instead 'problematize blackness in the context of global spaces as inciting new alliances and indexing social registers outside of race'.[141] Citing the work of Deborah Thomas and Kamari Maxine Clarke, Parameswaran asserts that only through this type of critical investigations can scholarship interrogate the 'new forms of subjectivity, cultural practice, and political action' that are molded within cross-cultural exchanges and traffic.[142] As Parameswaran notes, more attention must be paid to the multifaceted attributes and expectations of blackness and black Americanness in international contexts and to what happens as blackness and ideas about race travel. Such scholarship can complicate analysis of the entanglement of foreign affairs, diplomacy, and race. The reality that bodies are never *just* bodies but fluid points of intersection, interconnection, and confrontation where meanings are made, challenged, and shared, entails a rigorous diplomatic and cross-cultural outlook and orientation.

[141] Radhika Parameswaran, 'Facing Barack Hussein Obama: Race, Globalization, and Transnational America,' *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2009): 195-205 (202)
[142] K.M. Clarke & D. Thomas, 'Introduction: Globalization and the transformation of race,' Kamari Maxine Clarke & Deborah Thomas (Eds.), *Globalization and Race: Transformations in the Cultural Production of Blackness* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 1-36 (2-3).

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The Black and the White Bride: Dualism, Gender, and Bodies in European Fairy Tales

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Fairy tales are one of the most important folklore genres in Western culture, spanning literary and oral cultures, folk and elite cultures, and print and mass media forms. As Jack Zipes observes: 'The cultural evolution of the fairy tale is closely bound historically to all kinds of storytelling and different civilizing processes that have undergirded the formation of nation-states.'[143] Studying fairy tales thus opens a window onto European history and cultures, ideologies, and aesthetics.

My goal here is to examine how fairy-tale characters embody dualistic traits, in regard both to gender roles and to other dualisms, such as the divide between the mind and body, and the body's interior and exterior (as characterized by the skin). These and other dualisms have been theorized from many quarters. As Elizabeth Grosz states: 'Feminists and philosophers seem to share a common view of the human subject as a being made up of two dichotomously opposed characteristics: mind and body, thought and extension, reason and passion, psychology and biology.'[144] Further, 'Dichotomous thinking necessarily hierarchizes and ranks the two polarized terms so that one becomes the privileged term and the other its suppressed, subordinated, negative counterpart.'[145] Thus, any discussion of dualisms is automatically also a discussion of power relations. This article begins by summarizing the trajectory of dualism in Western intellectual history and culture, including how dualism fits within folkloristic and feminist scholarship. I then address the ways in which dualism is upheld or subverted in fairy tales, including topics such as transformations and skins, especially as they appear in the internationally known tale 'The Black and the White Bride' (ATU 403).[146]

This project utilizes a database containing body descriptions from six collections of tales: *Beauties, Beasts, and Enchantment: Classic French Fairy Tales* translated by Jack Zipes (covering the classical French tradition from the 1690s onward), *The Collected Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm* translated by Jack Zipes (based on the 1857 edition of the Grimms' tales), *Italian Popular Tales* compiled and translated by Thomas Crane (spanning Italian literary and folk tales primarily from the 1800s), *Folktales of France* edited by Geneviève Massignon (tales that she and others collected in the 1950s), *Folktales of Germany* edited by Kurt Ranke (compiled from fieldwork collections from approximately 1850-1950), and *Folklore by the Fireside* by Alessandro Falassi (tales that he collected

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[143] J. Zipes, *The Irresistible Fairy Tale: The Cultural and Social History of a Genre* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. xi.

[144] E. Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 3.

[145] Ibid., p. 3.

[146] For those unfamiliar with the ATU designation, it refers to the Aarne-Thompson-Uther tale type system, a means by which folklorists keep track of international folktale plots as they circulate through different regions and cultures. Widespread tales like 'Cinderella' do not bear the same title in every community that tells them, so assigning each tale a number helps facilitate comparative research.

in Tuscany in the 1970s and translated).[147] In each collection, I use only proper fairy tales or *zaubermärchen* in my analysis (those numbering 300-749 in the ATU tale type system, with a few exceptions for tales that fall outside that category but are still clearly tales of magic), discarding the legends and animal tales that appear in some of these collections. My selection balances between tales collected by single scholars, and tales written by single authors; folk and literary versions of tales, and classical and contemporary versions of tales.[148]

The goal of creating this database, containing 233 tales, was to be able to extract information about how the body is represented in European fairy tales in general.[149] Yet I also incorporate details from the texts under study (particularly versions of 'The Black and the White Bride'), in an effort to combine close reading with distant reading.[150] Culture has both qualitative and quantitative elements, and thus I believe our scholarship must emulate it wherever possible by seeking quantitative correctives to subjective interpretations. Here, quantitative elements find expression in simple statistics as well as charts that visually display the relationship of fairy-tale body parts to one another. Some of the findings discussed below – such as the correlations between men and the mind, and women and skin and beauty – point toward the dualisms discussed in the first sections of this paper. The corpus utilized here (and especially the fact that it draws on a hand-coded database) is unique, as are the combination of a digital humanities methodology with feminist concerns with the body, gender roles, and dualism in fairy tales.

[147] I work with the tales in English translation, using translations by folklorists or overseen by folklorists (as in the *Folktales of the World* collection, a project spearheaded by American folklorist Richard Dorson) where possible in order to ensure attention to cultural specificity. I chose to work with tales in translation in part because I am interested in the spread of international fairy tales through the English-speaking world, and in part to ensure that I had the ability to compare common body part terms such as heart, hair, and tears. I am aware that some of these terms may have been altered in translation, but since variation is the essence of folkloric transmission, I am able to take this into account. Working with large numbers of texts also helps offset the impact of small-scale variations.

[148] These six collections provide a beautiful balance: the literary French tales in the Zipes collection come from multiple authors, while the orally-collected French tales from Massignon's book were gathered by a handful of collectors under Massignon's supervision; the Grimms' tales were collected orally but reflect the brothers' literary and nationalistic agendas, while the German tales from Ranke's book were gathered from more recent folkloristic archives; and Crane's Italian tales were selected from the folkloristic collections of scholars like Giuseppe Pitré and Laura Gonzenbach who were nonetheless influenced by the literary innovators from Italy, while Falassi's book of Italian tales were collected folkloristically in a contemporary context.

[149] This question provided the framing focus for my dissertation, "Gender and the Body in Classical European Fairy Tales," completed at Indiana University in 2012. Many of the ideas under discussion here are expanded upon in the dissertation (such as the overall count of women's and men's bodies in my sample of fairy tales, as well as more in-depth analysis of tales with protagonists of different genders). My use of quantitative methods was inspired in part by Ruth Bottigheimer's excellent work on gendered language use in the Grimms' tales. See, for example, her 'Silenced Women in the Grimms' Tales: The "Fit" Between Fairy Tales and Society in Their Historical Context.' In R. Bottigheimer (ed.) *Fairy Tales and Society: Illusion, Allusion, and Paradigm* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986) pp. 115-131. I also wished to provide a corrective to quantitative studies of fairy tales done by scholars outside the discipline of folkloristics (such as Jonathan Gottschall) who seem ignorant of our discipline's contributions to the study of fairy tales. Donald Haase recently analyzed this phenomenon in his article 'Decolonizing Fairy-Tale Studies,' *Marvels & Tales* 24.1 (2010), pp. 17-38.

[150] See T. Tangherlini, 'Legendary Performances: Folklore, Repertoire, and Mapping,' *Ethnographia Europaea* 40 (2010), pp. 103-15.

Dualism in Western Thought and Scholarship

Before turning to 'The Black and the White Bride', in order to situate dualism as it relates to fairy tales, this first section of this article explores the main forms that dualism has taken in Western thought, including its evolution through different time periods and the main items that have been opposed to one another. These periods include the ancient world, the Middle Ages, and the Enlightenment. Keeping all these periods in mind while thinking through dualisms in fairy tales is helpful because many facets of folk culture retain aspects of earlier worldviews. The main terms of dualism I treat in this article include male/female, mind/body, and nature/culture, though I will mention others where relevant. Rather maddeningly, it is difficult to consider the various elements of dualism separately, which reveals how intertwined these concepts are in terms of their historical connection and ideological impact, an important point for my study.[151] As both categories of thought and assumptions that tend to go unexamined, these aspects of dualism can be difficult to separate. There is a tendency for people to assume that they 'know' the difference between male and female, for instance, even though the categories are confounded and challenged daily.

The split between mind and body is one of the oldest forms of dualism. Plato had a formative role in shaping mind/body dualism in the West. Elizabeth Spelman summarizes Plato's writings as promoting the idea that 'one has no hope of attaining [freedom] unless one works hard on freeing the soul from the lazy, vulgar, beguiling body.'[152] However, as Spelman demonstrates, Plato consistently equates the body with the feminine – one of the first of many inextricable links between various forms of dualism. For instance, Plato argued that concern for one's body rather than one's soul was womanly: 'When in our own lives some affliction comes to us…we plume ourselves…on our ability to remain calm and endure, in the belief that this is the conduct of a man, and [giving in to grief] that of a woman.'[153] The split between mind and body continued to be important to European Christians entering the Middle Ages. Grosz writes: 'Within the Christian tradition, the separation of mind and body was correlated with the distinction between what is immortal and what is mortal.'[154] This outlook contributed to the demonization of sexuality, which was thought to endanger the immortal soul by tempting the mortal body.

Letitia Meynell, in her introduction to *Embodiment and Agency*, states that the demarcation between body and mind is 'at the heart of the Abrahamic religious traditions. In these religions, persons are thought to survive bodily death and receive in the "afterlife" punishment or reward for their actions in their previous embodied lives. In this tradition, the person *is* the soul/mind, not the crude material stuff of the body.'[155] Embodiment and disembodiment thus form another ideological component of Western dualism. This dualism takes on a gendered dimension in medieval women's

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151 In order to provide an overview of dualistic thought within a short space in this essay, I have had to rely on scholarly analyses of primary texts to convey the main features of dualism in condensed form. I direct readers to Susan Bordo's analysis of the main features of Western dualistic thought, which she supplements with examples from primary sources, in *Unbearable Weight* (especially 144-145).

152 E. Spelman, 'Woman as Body: Ancient and Contemporary Views.' In Janet Price and Margaret Shildrick (eds.), *Feminist Theory and the Body: A Reader*. (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 32-41. p. 35.

153 Quoted in Ibid., p. 37.

154 Grosz, *Volatile Bodies,* p. 5.

155 L. Meynell, 'Introduction: Minding Bodies.' In Sue Campbell and Letitia Meynell (eds.), *Embodiment and Agency* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2009), pp. 1-21, p. 2, italics in original.

narratives of Christian spirituality, as in virgin martyr legends, wherein the more broken a woman's body becomes, the more whole/holy her spirit becomes.[156]

Moving forward in time, the Enlightenment was another significant period for the development of dualisms. Ludmilla Jordanova argues for the importance of this time: 'In this period the shifts in meaning and usage of words such as culture, civil, civilize, nature and life, provide indicators of deep changes in the way human society and its relations with the natural world were conceived.'[157] Alexandra Howson echoes this assessment: 'The period between the sixteenth and the end of the eighteenth centuries was characterized by rapid and extensive social change in relation to the nature of knowledge and the social position of women, as well as by broader shifts in the meaning of culture, nature, and civil society.'[158] Notably for this project, the period between the sixteenth and the end of the eighteenth centuries also marked the first wave of literary fairy tales, as writers Straparola, Charles Perrault, and Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy were among the first to transform folkloric themes and types in their tale collections.[159]

The 17th century philosopher Descartes has left one of the largest intellectual legacies with regard to dualism at this time, even giving his name to 'Cartesian dualism.' As Grosz writes: 'Descartes instituted a dualism which three centuries of philosophical thought have attempted to overcome or reconcile.'[160] Any discussion of dualism simply must include Descartes, for as Grosz states: 'The Cartesian tradition has been more influential than any other tradition in establishing the agenda for philosophical reflection and in defining the terrain, either negatively or positively, for later concepts of subjectivity and knowledge.'[161] The value judgments present in the work of Descartes have provoked a response from many feminist scholars, while other scholars (such as folklorists) have taken up the conversation about dualism without specific reference to Descartes or other philosophers, instead taking as a starting point the presence of dualism within cultural materials.

Feminist and Folklorist Responses to Dualism

The attention that feminists and folklorists have given dualism helps set the stage for many of the concerns explored here. For feminists, acknowledging the role of Descartes and Cartesian constructions of the body is an important step in addressing the dualisms that have become ubiquitous in Western accounts of how the mind and body (and thus the genders) relate.[162]One of the reasons feminists have attacked dualism is that dualisms impose hierarchies that are often

[156] Discussed in C. Marshall, 'The Politics of Self-Mutilation: Forms of Female Devotion in the Late Middle Ages.' In Darryll Grantley and Nina Taunton (eds.,), *The Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Burlington USA: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), pp. 11-21. p. 12-13.
[157] L. Jordanova, 'Natural Facts: A Historical Perspective on Science and Sexuality.' In Janet Price and Margaret Shildrick (eds.), *Feminist Theory and the Body: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 157-168. p. 158.
[158] A. Howson, *Embodying Gender* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), 65.
[159] Zipes, *Irresistible Fairy Tale*, pp. 14-15, 21-37.
[160] Grosz, *Volatile Bodies,* p. 6.
[161] Ibid., p. 10.
[162] Grosz gives a detailed description of 'at least three lines of investigation of the body in contemporary thought which may be regarded as the heirs of Cartesianism' (*Volatile Bodies*, p. 8). These include the body as an object for the natural sciences, the body as machine or tool, and the body as a vehicle for expression (Ibid., pp. 8-10). While these formulations fall outside the purview of my project, they are still interesting to note, as such understandings may inform other genres of folklore about the body and gender, or more literary or novelistic rewritings of the fairy tale.

gendered, and almost always seem to place women in the devalued category. As Spelman writes, Plato's misogyny 'is part of his somatophobia: the body is seen as the source of all the undesirable traits a human being could have, and women's lives are spent manifesting those traits.'[163] This legacy of somatophobia is problematic for feminists. Moira Gatens writes: 'Recent feminist research suggests that the history of western thought shows a deep hatred and fear of the body. This somatophobia is understood by some feminists to be specifically masculine and intimately related to gynophobia and misogyny.'[164] Somatophobia has also left a very specific legacy that belittles and endangers women: the dualistic construction of the virgin/whore complex, which only allows goodness for women that are distanced from sexuality and embodiment. Similarly dualistic portrayals of women in fairy tales will be discussed below.[165]

While folklorists have not been as explicitly concerned with dualisms or somatophobia for the majority of the discipline's history, these concerns have still surfaced in the scholarship and informed major works and trends. 'Dualism' tends to be coded in folkloristic work as 'opposition,' which immediately brings to mind structuralist work. Rather than surveying all structural studies that touch on oppositional thinking – for, as Alan Dundes has pointed out, 'the bibliography has become almost unmanageable'[166] – I will discuss some of the most important structuralist works to discuss oppositions.[167]

The main divide in structuralist thinking is between the syntagmatic and paradigmatic schools.[168] In the former, the structure being examined is the linear structure of the narrative or other kind of text; Vladimir Propp's work is held up as an example of this type of structuralism. In the latter, the emphasis is on opposing structural units that are reconciled in the narrative text. The work of Claude Lévi-Strauss represents this school. At its most basic level, Lévi-Strauss's structuralist approach can be characterized thus: 'We need only to assume that the two opposite terms with no intermediary always tend to be replaced by two equivalent terms which allow a third one as a mediator; then one of the polar terms and the mediator becomes replaced by a new triad and so on.'[169]

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[163] Spelman, 'Woman as Body,' p. 39.

[164] M. Gatens, 'Power, Bodies and Difference.' In Janet Price and Margaret Shildrick (eds.), *Feminist Theory and the Body: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 227-234. p. 228.

[165] Dualisms have also found their way into feminist research as a constructive rather than a destructive force. Though currently dismissed as overly simplistic, in the heyday of second wave feminism, dualist categories were utilized to analyze practically all forms of culture. Sherry Ortner's classic 1974 paper 'Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?' exemplifies this trend in examining linked dualisms. Similarly, Gayle Rubin's 1975 essay 'The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex' utilizes the nature/culture dichotomy as well as kinship structures and economic and psychological theories to posit a dichotomous construction of sex (the biological) and gender (the cultural). These studies and others of their cohort, while important, represent the enthusiasm of a particular era, the second wave feminism of the 1970s and 1980s, for the tools that dualistic categories represented. Later feminists, however, have largely regarded dichotomous concepts as too essentializing and reductionist to be of use unless in culturally specific contexts.

[166] A. Dundes, 'Structuralism in Folklore,' in Simon Bronner (ed.), *The Meaning of Folklore: The Analytical Essays of Alan Dundes*. (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2007 [1976]), pp. 126-144. p. 126.

[167] Also, as Dundes writes, 'there are already useful, fairly comprehensive surveys of the folkloristic structural scholarship available in print' (ibid., p. 126), which he discusses in note 9 of the same essay.

[168] For a discussion of these terms, see Dundes, ibid., p. 133.

[169] Quoted in Dundes, ibid., 126. Other oppositional structuralist approaches to folklore include Axel Olrik's epic Law of Contrast and the folktale oppositions explored by Pierre Maranda and Elli Köngas Maranda, which are relevant when dealing with oppositions in fairy tales specifically.

The majority of well-known structural studies of folklore have been performed on narratives such as myth, folktale, and epic, though Dundes makes a convincing case that 'If structural analysis works at all, then it should work as well with minor genres as with major genres.'[170] Among other reasons, minor genres are easier to investigate and break down into constituent structural units, whether syntagmatic or paradigmatic, by sheer virtue of their length (or lack thereof). Additionally, once one gets started enumerating the oppositions occurring in folkloric forms, it is hard to stop. As Dundes writes, 'it is tempting to argue that all folklore, not just myth, consists of forming and attempting to resolve oppositions. The oppositions may concern life/death, good/evil, truth/falsehood, love/hate, innocence/guilt, male/female, man/god, large/small, child/adult, etc.'[171]

In an effort to avoid universalizing statements, emic and etic distinctions allow folklorists to attend to the nuances of *whose* dualisms are being discussed. As Dundes writes: 'Native categories, from inside a culture, are always worth studying; but they may or may not constitute accurate empirical descriptions of data as sought by objective analysts from either inside or outside that culture.'[172] A rigorous attention to whether native categories or scholarly categories are being described is thus necessary for a discussion of dualism. Letting the words of fairy tales speak for themselves is a step in the right direction – and thus the next section of this article focuses on how the scholarship on fairy tales explores dualistic concepts within their cultural contexts.

Fairy Tales and Dualism: The Theories

I believe that fairy tales offer a wealth of information about how dualism is regarded and adapted by folk and literary sources. That dualism might *not* be important to the understanding of fairy tales never occurred to me. Among other reasons, certain tale titles foreground dual identities, such as 'Brother and Sister,' 'The Two Brothers,' 'The Thief and His Master,' 'The Two Travelers,' 'The Two Kings' Children,' 'Faithful Ferdinand and Unfaithful Ferdinand,' 'The Little Lamb and the Little Fish,' and 'Snow White and Rose Red' (all from the Grimms).[173] We have already seen that dualism was important during the Enlightenment, when fairy tales rose to prominence. Moreover, during the nineteenth century, folk and fairy tales alike were collected and written (and sometimes re-written) all over Europe; Gillian Rose is among the feminists to discuss how 'the nineteenth century in particular witnessed an enormous amount of ideological work which strengthened the masculine/feminine dualism, both establishing gender difference and assuming heterosexuality.'[174] Jennifer Schacker has made similar observations, based on the translation of folktale collections into English during the nineteenth century, which reified cultural dualisms by using folktales as a mirror to show how modern the English were in comparison to the primitive taletellers: 'Against a background of orality, superstition, and rustic simplicity emerges a portrait of modern, literate, cosmopolitan Englishness.'[175]

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[170] Ibid., 127.
[171] Ibid., 135.
[172] Ibid., 129.
[173] To be fair, many fairy-tale titles also feature tripling, which is unsurprising as the number three is a well-known motif in much folk narrative.
[174] G. Rose. 'Women and Everyday Spaces.' In Janet Price and Margaret Shildrick (eds.), *Feminist Theory and the Body: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 359-370. p. 360.
[175] J. Schacker, *National Dreams: The Remaking of Fairy Tales in Nineteenth-Century England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 12.

From a folkloristic perspective, fairy tales as a folk narrative genre have a structural relationship with dualisms. Dundes suggests that the Lack/Lack Liquidated functions of Propp's morphology are what most narrative structures boil down to, using Native American folktales as his test case. This fundamental opposition – a problem and its solution – is in fact at the heart of narrative, as something must occur for a plot to be considered such. Upon that opposition, and all the intervening motifs and plot devices that expand and complicate it, whole narrative genres are built and distinguished. Dundes acknowledges that European folktales have a greater 'motifemic depth' than their Native American counterparts, hypothesizing that this depth 'might reflect an important principle of European culture and that is the whole notion of deferred gratification or reward.'[176] The important thing to note is that 'the structure of narrative is closely related to principles or elements of world-view.'[177] For my purposes, the oppositional structure inherent to fairy tales – lack and lack liquidated in Propp's terms – as well as their complication through intervening narrative functions is deeply connected with the content of the tales, as well as the ideologies they express. Further, although Dundes did not take his structural analysis to this extent, I believe that the structural oppositions in fairy tales (lack/lack liquidated at the most basic level, along with test/response, difficult task/solution, and so on) are intertwined with the primary ideological oppositions in fairy tales: male/female, high/low, youth/adult. Dundes's observation about European folktales being more structurally complex to reflect a more socially complex (some might say needlessly complex) worldview about gratification and other social norms can be thus extended to posit a relation between the different kinds of oppositions in the texts (not merely the structural) and the worldviews they express.

Bengt Holbek's work on fairy tales has been important in establishing the structural and symbolic importance of oppositions in fairy tales. He writes that the efforts of fairy-tale characters are 'dominated by three sets of thematic oppositions: (1) that of the conflict between the generations, (2) that of the meeting between the sexes, (3) that of the social opposition between the "haves" and the "have-nots."'[178] Each of these oppositions is mediated in the wedding, the final act of many fairy tales, explaining for Holbek why 'The triumphant wedding dominates the tale from beginning to end and no analysis can succeed which does not take this into account.'[179] Structurally and symbolically, the opposite poles of fairy-tale identities are thus reconciled through the unique conventions of the fairy-tale plot. Nancy Canepa has also suggested that oppositions are central to the genre: 'it is characteristic of the folk- and fairy tale, too, to present absolute aesthetic and ethical categories: the characters that populate its world are either beautiful or ugly, good or bad, helpers or antagonists.'[180] Even in modern literary renditions of fairy tales, dichotomies are notable; as Laurence Talairach-Vielmas discusses, Victorian author George MacDonald in his fairy tales 'furthers such an ambivalent body/mind dichotomy in his portrait of a light-bodied and light-minded woman.'[181] Thus, while some fairy tale scholars have highlighted continuity rather than opposition when discussing how fairy tales operate (Max Lüthi comes to mind, with his emphasis on the

[176] Dundes, 'Structuralism and Folklore,' p. 138.
[177] Ibid., p. 138.
[178] B. Holbek, *Interpretation of Fairy Tales - Folklore Fellows Communications Series* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1998), p. 410.
[179] Ibid., p. 411.
[180] N. Canepa, *From Court to Forest: Giambattista Basile's* Lo Cunto de li Cunti *and the Birth of the Literary Fairy Tale* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), p. 176.
[181] L. Talairach-Vielmas, *Moulding the Female Body in Victorian Fairy Tales and Sensation Novels* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007), p. 39.

interconnectedness of fairy-tale characters), I believe that, for the reasons discussed above, it is necessary to take into account how dualisms function in fairy tales.

In terms of fairy tales' content in general, the beautiful/ugly and good/bad distinctions discussed in the above paragraph also find expression in the white/black dichotomy. Colors in fairy tales are already a somewhat problematic topic, as only a few colors tend to show up periodically, while the rest are neglected. Francisco Vaz da Silva, for instance, focuses on the well-known triad of white, red, and black, characterizing ideal fairy-tale heroines as white (which symbolizes purity) splashed with red, whereas blackness is related to death and enchantment.[182] However, Max Lüthi writes: 'Only a few things and persons are distinguished by a color term, and so they contrast all the more strongly with those that are colorless.'[183] Clearly, in the aesthetics of the fairy tale, it is possible for people to be described simply and in few words, and hence be 'colorless'; however, the social reality of the Western world does not allow for colorlessness. Whiteness is often the invisible, privileged state, whereas any other skin color is marked and laden with ideological judgments. In many cases, this type of racism is unconscious and does not mean that the writer bears ill-will toward people of color, rather, that they have not thought through the ramifications of race in society. This unconscious racism is subtly apparent in Lüthi's discussion of how color descriptions apply to folktale heroes: he mentions that folktale heroes and heroines are coated in gold or silver, or occasionally in pitch if they are to be punished, and their skin can be white as with Snow White or black as with 'black men – in Bulgarian folktales, as in the *Arabian Nights*, the Negro is a figure much favored.'[184] In other words, heroes and heroines can have white skin, but 'Negroes' (who are frequently villains) have black skin. Even though this may be unintentional and unconscious racism on Lüthi's part, the social meanings of dualistically distinct skins in fairy tales ought not go unremarked. The sheer number of black men and women who are represented as imposters and traitors ought to reinforce this point.[185]

Finally, I am not the first scholar to explicitly suggest such links between fairy tales and dualistic views of the body, though I am the first to address these links in a general analysis of European fairy tales rather than a specific cultural context. Combining feminist and folkloristic concerns, Elizabeth Tucker describes how Cartesian mind/body dualism, which was utilized to restrict French women from intellectual realms based on their bodies' reproductive functions, in turn influenced the tales they composed and shared.[186] Patricia Hannon locates French fairy-tale writer Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy as bucking mainstream dualism: 'In contrast to what has been described as the closure of the Cartesian subject, the *conteuse* invents a baroque self-in-process, an experimental site for the exploration of identities related to the body's enhanced status as a conduit for knowledge.'[187] Hannon contextualizes her discussion of dualism with a nuanced account of how seventeenth-century French writers interact with the writing of Descartes and other dualistic authors, noting, for instance: 'Women's inferior position in the marriage hierarchy results from their

[182] F. Vaz da Silva, 'Red as Blood, White as Snow, Black as Crow: Chromatic Symbolism of Womanhood in Fairy Tales,' *Marvels & Tales* 21.2 (2007): pp. 240-252, pp. 245-48.
[183] Lüthi, M. *The European Folktale: Form and Nature*. Trans. John D. Niles (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986 [1982]), p. 28.
[184] Ibid., pp. 27-28.
[185] Discussed in Cardigos, I. *In and Out of Enchantment: Blood Symbolism and Gender in Portuguese Fairytales* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1996). Pp. 65; 128-130.
[186] E. Tucker. *Pregnant Fictions: Childbirth and the Fairy Tale in Early-Modern France* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003).
[187] P. Hannon, *Fabulous Identities: Women's Fairy Tales in Seventeenth-Century France* (Amsterdam; Atlanta, Georgia: Rodopi, 1998), p. 17.

identification with the body as opposed to the mind, which, since Plato and Aristotle, had been equated with men.'[188] One of the main means by which writers such as d'Aulnoy could challenge the status quo was through the use of the fantastic; her 'metamorphosed characters seem to look back toward a pre-Cartesian worldview wherein the boundaries between self and universe, human and natural, are less clearly drawn.'[189] The body for Hannon is thus a political ground on which ideologies battle for dominance, in a war that ultimately empowers or disempowers women, depending on who is writing the body.

Lewis Seifert, also working on the French aristocratic tales, has a great many insights about how dualism influences the construction of the body, gender, and sexuality in the late 1600s and early 1700s. He proceeds on the assumption that 'fairy tales are a particularly apt means of studying the construction of sexuality and gender differences' as they are 'are highly economical and widely diffused, they present many of our most central myths about what divides the sexes and what constitutes desire.'[190] According to Seifert, the dualistic portrayals of women in fairy tales are due to patriarchal projections onto women, such that the rivalries between opposed women (such as the good/natural mother and the bad/step-mother), 'combined with the existential oppositions imposed on folk- and fairy-tale women (mind versus matter, intelligence versus beauty, imagination versus virtue, among others) make femininity a site of bitter internecine and internal psychological conflict.'[191] Thus, the dualisms portrayed in fairy tales and projected onto women's bodies are largely effects of patriarchy, which projects the uncertainties and contradictions of normative masculinity onto femininity, making women 'the deficient flipside of men.'[192] Seifert's observation of this dualistic construction of gender, complemented by a dualistic construction of good and evil roles in fairy tales, is relevant to my project as it may be marked on the body.

The tales in my study can be used to address the presence or absence of dualism in various facets of fairy tales. Like any area of expressive culture, fairy tales are complex and diverse enough that one would not expect them to reify any particular worldview exclusively. However, for the reasons discussed above, I believe that fairy tales are structured by, and respond to, dualistic thought, just as they also interact complexly with patriarchal notions of gender, exploitative class roles, and so on. However, even as much as gender and class roles are built on dualistic notions, identifying restrictive gender and class roles in fairy tales has proven easier than explicitly dealing with dualism, judging by the works on the former and not the latter.[193]

Fairy Tales and Dualism: The Data

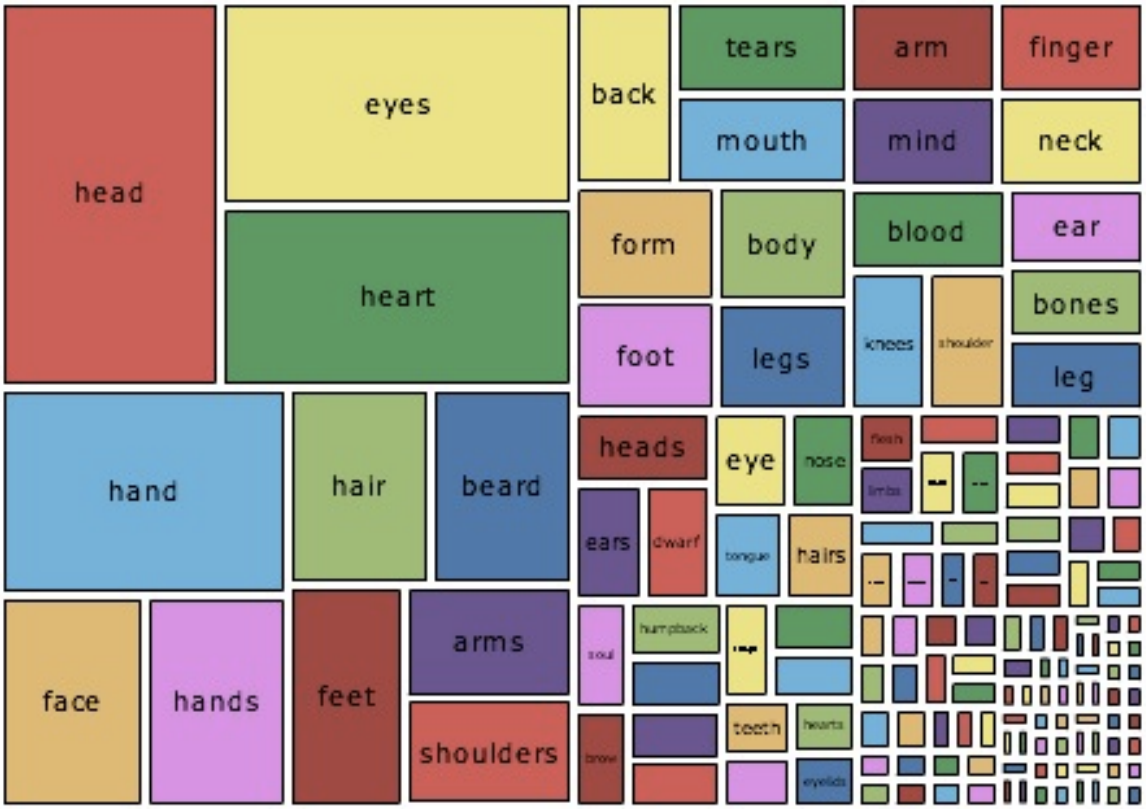
Turning to my corpus of 233 tales for a specific analysis, gender came to the forefront early on. The first area that I thought to tackle in regard to dualism was male-female dimorphism, or whether male and female bodies are actually quite different from one another, to the point of having

188 Ibid., p. 27.
189 Ibid., p. 81.
190 L. Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France, 1690-1715: Nostalgic Utopias* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 2-3
191 Ibid., p. 218.
192 Ibid., p. 218.
193 For works on class and fairy tales, see the writings of Jack Zipes, particularly *Breaking the Magic Spell*. Zipes has also addresses gender roles in fairy tales, as have a host of feminist scholars whose contributions have been summarized in D. Haase, 'Feminist Fairy-Tale Scholarship.' In D. Haase (ed.), *Fairy Tales and Feminism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), pp. 1-36.

opposing or complementary attributes, strengths, and weaknesses. It is worth noting that the entire corpus was evenly distributed among tales with male protagonists and tales with female protagonists, so there was no reason to believe that there would be drastically different numbers of men's or women's bodies; however, the descriptions of them might differ. I found that men's bodies and women's bodies in fact share many of the same descriptions, both in terms of nouns and adjectives. This is represented visually below using a mosaic chart (created using a Google web tool). Specifically, each square in the chart is proportionate to the number of times a word is represented in the overall corpus. A mosaic depicting all of the body part nouns used with women alongside a mosaic depicting all of the body part nouns used with men shows that there are not many differences between the two, with the women's chart (Figure 1) on the top, and the men's chart (Figure 2) below:

Figure 1

Figure 2



Men and women do not seem to be constituted of very different parts, though there are certain parts that received emphasis for one or the other (as with blood and hair referring more to women than to men, and beards appearing solely with men). The difference between hair being a top noun for women and head being a top noun for men might seem superficial, but the head in Western culture is the seat of cognition, while hair has little to do with thought, and much more to do with beauty. We gain another perspective, however, when the mosaics are generated to include not only explicitly named body part nouns, but also the themes such as death and beauty, which sometimes appear explicitly in the texts and sometimes must be implicitly drawn out.[194] Below is the mosaic representing women's body nouns and themes (Figure 3), followed by the mosaic representing men's body nouns and themes (Figure 4):

[194] In order to mark the difference between explicitly named body part nouns and those that are implied within the story, I used an exclamation mark when coding my database. So when the word 'death' actually appears, it is entered as 'death' in my database, but when a character dies without the word 'death' appearing, it is entered as 'death!'

Figure 3

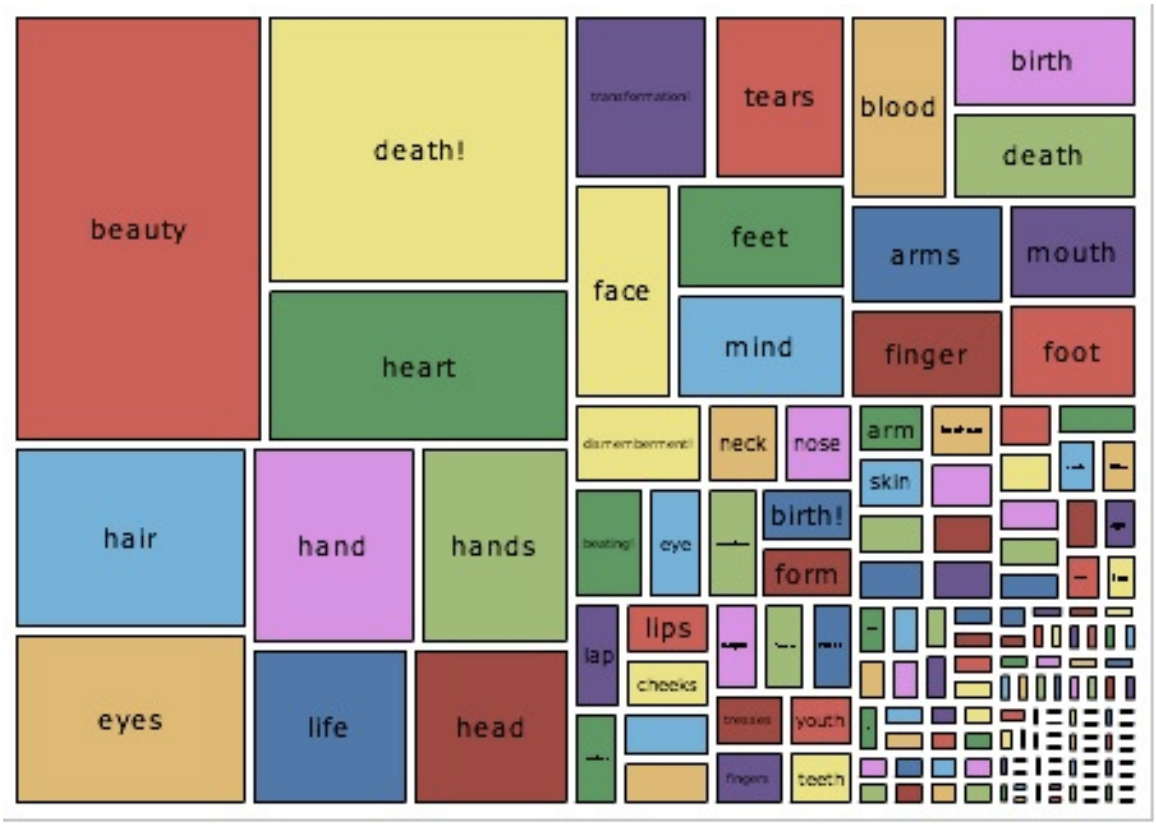


Figure 4

This skewing of beauty when representing women's bodies is echoed in the adjectives applied to women's bodies as opposed to the adjectives applied to men's bodies. The mosaics below depict, first, all of the adjectives used with women's bodies in the dataset (Figure 5), and second, all of the adjectives used with men's bodies in the dataset (Figure 6).

Figure 5

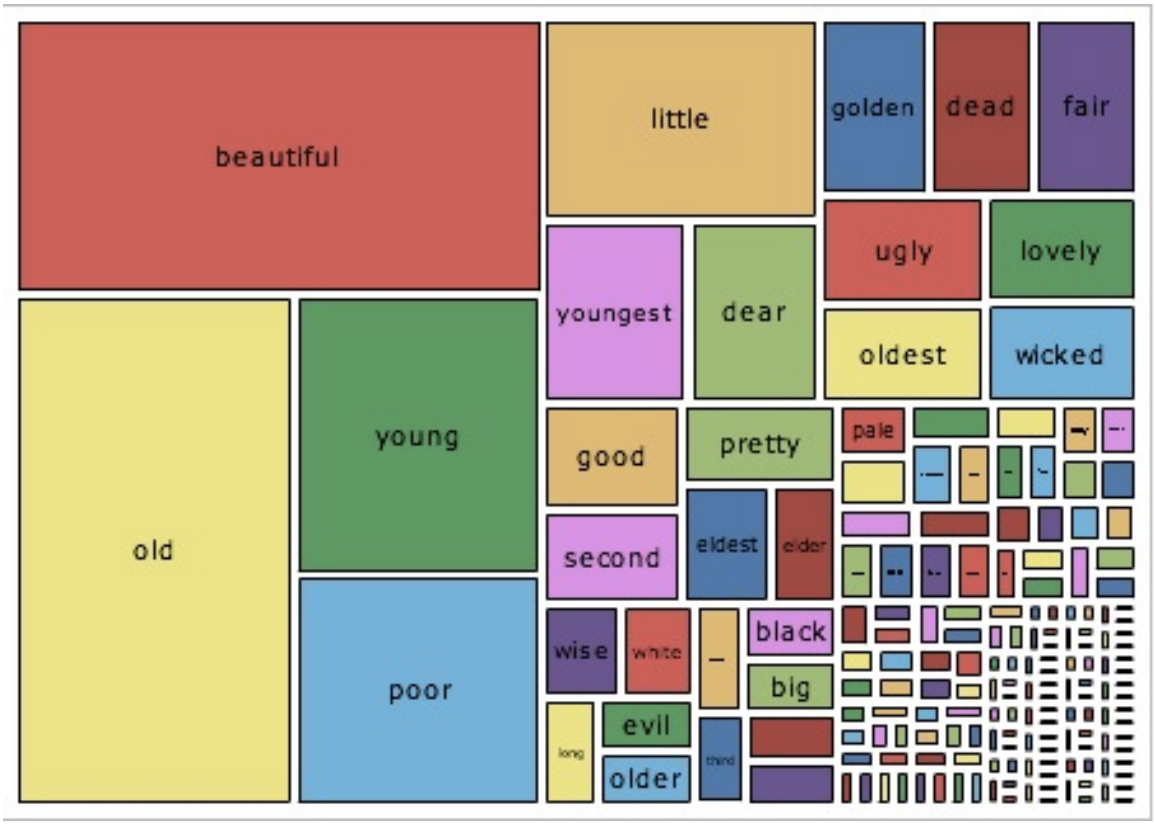
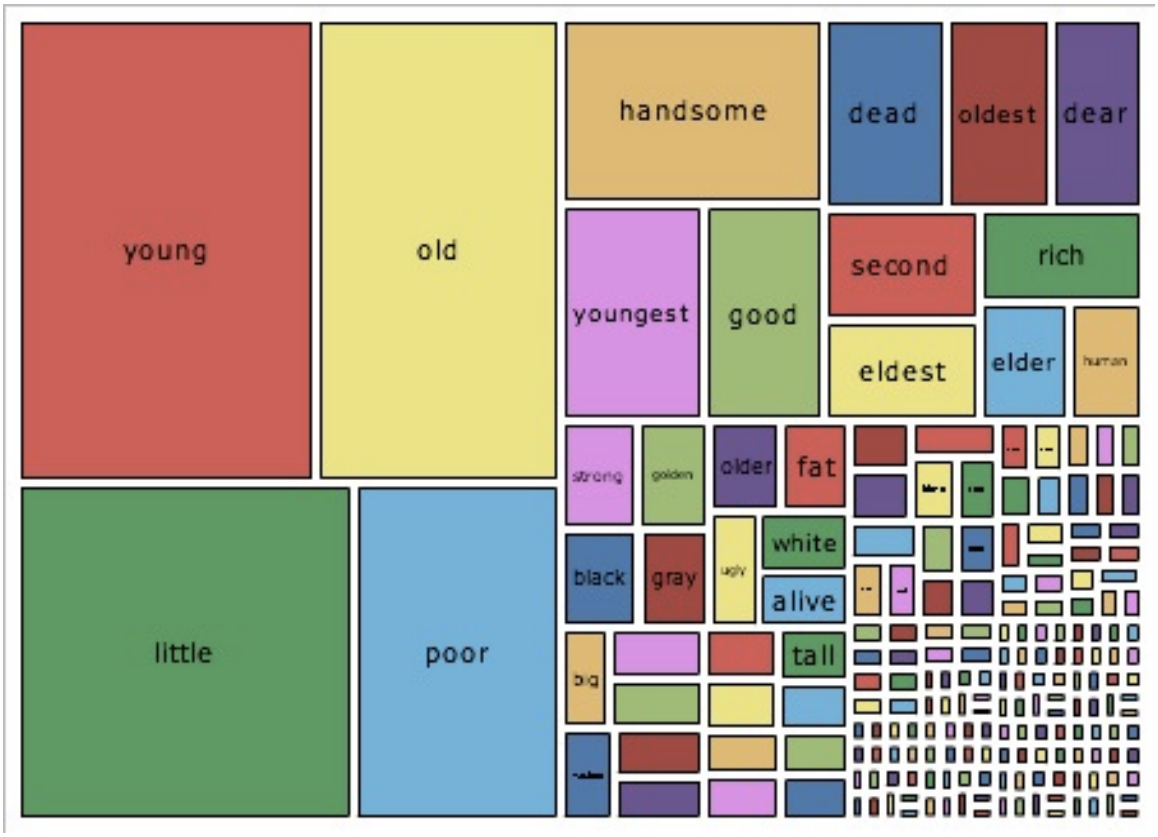


Figure 6



Beauty is thus one of the most important characteristics in representing women in fairy tales. This in itself is not a new insight,[195] though quantitative evidence for this association, as well as the importance of skin (discussed below), is a major innovative contribution of this study. Men's and women's bodies may be narratively composed of largely the same body parts, but the other nouns associated with their bodies create a dimorphic view of them. Hannon makes some incisive remarks on how beauty has become more important in seventeenth-century French writings on women regarding how 'women are synonymous with the body' and how 'the exclusive focus on female beauty and sexuality' is notable.[196] The use of beauty as a marker of difference is thus notable in an era known for producing fairy tales (many of which went on to influence other influential collectors and collections, as with the French informants who conveyed their tales to the Grimms).[197] This emphasis on beauty is profoundly gendered and dualistic, for as Hannon writes: 'Feminine beauty, eminently corporeal, is at once opposed and subordinated to masculine intellect.'[198] The emphasis on beauty for women is thus a marker of related dualisms – mind/body, intellect/ beauty – present in the construction of bodies in fairy tales. Undoubtedly the precise meanings and associations of

[195] For more on the historical of feminist engagement with beauty in fairy tales, see Donald Haase's 'Feminist Fairy-Tale Scholarship.' In D. Haase (ed.), *Fairy Tales and Feminism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), pp. 1-36.
[196] Hannon, *Fabulous Identities,* p. 33
[197] The French origins of many of the Grimms' informants have been thoroughly documented, perhaps most convincingly by Heinz Rölleke. See Linda Dégh's discussion of this evidence in 'Grimms' *Household Tales* and Its Place in the Household: The Social Relevance of a Controversial Classic.' *Western Folklore* 38.2 (1979): pp. 83-103.
[198] Hannon, *Fabulous Identities,* p. 29.

these dualisms changed depending on cultural context – where, when and by whom the tales were told, retold, and written – but the basic fact of dualism is so pervasive in the West as to influence this and other narrative forms.

Another area in which fairy tales reinforce mind/body dualism is the transformation of the body and retention of the mind and identity: specifically, how men undergo more transformations than women do. Women still undergo transformations in fairy tales, but they are less likely to be bodily transformations than superficial transformations in appearance (such as obtaining magical clothing, supernaturally enhanced beauty, and so on). This fact is also observable in the mosaic above depicting the body part nouns and themes that apply to men's bodies. I believe this to be a function of the association of men with the mind and women with the body. There is a long Western history, in popular as well as philosophical realms, of splitting the mind or soul from the body in cases of disembodied transformation. Meynell reminds us:

> 'While one might think such heady stuff is the purview only of philosophy, it is not uncommon for members of the public to think of themselves in dualistic ways – as minds that happen to be in particular bodies. Hence it seems quite natural to read science fiction stories of transplanting brains and downloading minds or ghost stories in which people's lives of thoughts, desires, and feelings continue after their deaths. In these stories the body is treated as a mere vessel.'[199]

The association of the body with a 'mere' vessel does not happen in a cultural vacuum, either. It is as though it is women that are 'mere' vessels, whereas men can transcend all that.

The ability of the mind or soul to separate itself from the body is reminiscent of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls from the Greco-Roman world.[200] However, as Graham Anderson notes, 'The main difference is that fairytales, while acknowledging multiple metamorphosis, do not embody transmigration as a philosophical doctrine, a natural cultural feature in Graeco-Roman educated literature.'[201] In other words, the transformations that occur in fairy tales are not religious or spiritual in nature, at least on the surface. Still, the recurrent mentions of transformations make it an important facet of the genre to study, even if their meaning has changed in nature.

Skin, Gender, and 'The Black and the White Bride'

Skin descriptions provide an important clue to the gendered nature of transformations in fairy tales. In my overall dataset, far more information was provided about women's skin than men's skin, though this finding is difficult to interpret. The meanings of skin, medically and culturally, were shifting around the same time that the fairy tale as a genre crystallized. Claudia Benthien and Thomas Dunlap note: 'In the premodern era, the skin still constituted a structurally impenetrable

[199] Meynell, 'Introduction,' p. 3.
[200] Indeed, Francisco Vaz da Silva connects ethnographic pan-European notions of the 'economy of souls' with ancient Greek cyclical notions of death and fertility as embodied in the figure of Persephone, noting that this is 'the same idea that we have found at the core of shamanism, European ecstatic representations, and fairy tales' in *Metamorphosis: The Dynamics of Symbolism in European Fairy Tales* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), p. 40.
[201] G. Anderson, *Fairytale in the Ancient World* (London, New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 108.

boundary to the invisible and mysterious inside.'[202] This description, coming from a medical summarization of the body and skin, stands in stark contrast to the permeable and penetrating descriptions of the grotesque body analyzed by Mikhail Bakhtin. To shift time periods to another important era in fairy tale creation and writing, the rise of dermatology around 1800 helped institute a change in how the body was perceived as well: 'Another important factor was the change in mentality that substituted the perception of the body as porous, open, and at the same time interwoven with the world in a grotesque way with one that viewed it as an individuated, monadic, and bourgeois vessel that the subject was considered to inhabit.'[203] Thus, because the skin's meanings were shifting in medical as well as cultural spheres during the centuries when the fairy tales in my dataset were collected or written, it is difficult to generalize about what skin might have meant in these various cultural contexts, so I have only the data to guide me.

Owing to my prior interest in skin in fairy tales, I decided while coding the database to include a column on skin descriptions, where I could note whether the noun, adjective, or theme from the text had any kind of skin description attached to it. Filtered through the lens of gender, I found that men had 43 instances of skin description in the dataset of 233 tales, while women had 78 instances of skin description. Thus, women's skin is described almost twice as frequently as men's skin. The descriptions were often adjectives denoting skin color, though of course skin color also has aesthetic connotations according to culture. The three most commonly used skin descriptions do, in fact, refer to color: 'black' appears 34 times (12 times with women, 22 times with men), 'white' appears 23 times (19 times with women, 4 times with men), and 'pale' appears 20 times (15 times with women, 5 times with men). 'Black' is one of four skin descriptions that appears predominantly with men, and the remainder are very few in number and appear exclusively with men: 'brown' appears twice, 'gold' appears twice, and 'golden' appears four times. In contrast, the remainder of the skin descriptions appears more with women than with men, and there are more of these skin words that describe women than describe men. The descriptions that appear solely with women are: 'blackened' (five times), 'fresh' (four times), 'lovely' (three times), 'white and beautiful' (twice), 'whitened' (twice), 'alabaster' (twice), 'beautiful complexions' (twice), 'dark' (once), and 'spotted' (once).[204]

The association of women with skin descriptions particularly focused on color is also interesting. In many cases, women are portrayed with pale skin. This could be due to various factors. As Nina Jablonski notes, it has been generally observed that women and infants tend to have lighter skin than adult men, regardless of or within a particular race or ethnic group. She theorizes that there is 'lighter skin evolved in females to mimic the paler skin of infants, who in all populations have the lightest skin. By imitating the infant condition…females could garner some measure of the same social protection afforded to infants.'[205] Relying on similar associations but placing causality elsewhere, others believe 'that lighter skin in females can be traced to a history of conscious choices by males who prefer more lightly pigmented females as mates, possibly because of the association

[202] C. Benthien, T. Dunlap, *Skin: On the Cultural Border Between Self and the World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 10.
[203] Ibid., p. 37.
[204] The other skin descriptions not yet mentioned, which do not occur that frequently and are split between men and women, include: 'red' (used once with men, five times with women), 'fair' (used twice with men, once with women), and 'yellow' (used once with men, twice with women).
[205] N. Jablonski, *Skin: A Natural History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2006), p. 88.

between light skin and infancy.'[206] Whatever the origin(s) of the association, it has been taken up in multiple forms of expressive culture, not limited to the fairy tale. Benthien and Dunlap observe of skin color: 'Literature in general, but especially the psychologized realistic novel of the nineteenth century, employed the classical color code of painting in its pathognomic and physiognomic descriptions (for example, women usually have a lighter skin tone).'[207]

The connection between women and skin in fairy tales seems to have many causes or factors. First, the appearance of one's skin is valued in the West as an element of beauty. Thus, many of the descriptions of women's skin in the dataset are words that indicate beauty. This extends to descriptions of paleness or whiteness, which, although they may have evolutionary reasons, are also cultural. As feminist Joanna Frueh notes: 'Female perfection reeks of a high femininity molded out of racial purity and class privilege: white is the cleanest color, unflawed by the "defect" of darkness; and perfection, which the fashion and beauty industries try to persuade us will be ours if we work hard enough at it, is an upper-class possession.'[208] The class and race associations of white skin are explored explicitly in some fairy tales, as in 'The Black and the White Bride' and related tales of bride substitution wherein an ugly, blackened, and often lower-class woman takes the place of the beautiful, pale, and virtuous woman who is the king's intended. Class implications are not always overtly present, as in the Grimms' 'The White Bride and the Black Bride,' where the heroine and her competition are ostensibly of the same social class at the tale's start. However, during their encounter with the donor figure, 'the dear Lord' in the guise of a poor man, the stepdaughter and her mother spurn the poor man and are cursed to become 'black as night and ugly as sin.'[209] The good daughter is granted three wishes, one of which makes her 'as white and beautiful as the day' and the other of which gives her 'a money purse that is never empty.'[210] The purse is relegated to the tale's background and is never mentioned again, for it is the good daughter's beauty that causes the king to want to marry her, and her stepsister and stepmother to resent her to the point of trying to kill her. However, the very mention of the purse granting the good daughter unlimited wealth may indicate a connection with race found in other forms of false bride tales, such as Basile's frame tale in which the bride-to-be Zoza is replaced by a black slave girl.[211]

Skin color and gender are intricately interconnected in the fairy-tale tradition. Francisco Vaz da Silva makes the important point that whiteness (including white skin) is significant insofar as it is related to the other two colors that make up the chromatic tricolor symbolism of fairy-tale womanhood, red and black. He writes that 'in tales as well as elsewhere, white stands for luminosity and untainted sheen, thus for luminous heaven as much as for purity.'[212] Vaz da Silva explains that black fits into this paradigm as a time of cyclic enchantment and death, as 'part of a general

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[206] Ibid., p. 88.
[207] Benthien and Dunlap, *Skin*, p. 103. While it is outside the scope of this project to document the range of meanings skin has had in literary genres, it is interesting to note connections between lighter skin being associated with women and genres such as the novel and fairy tales which may share some of the same roots.
[208] J. Frueh, *Monster/Beauty: Building the Body of Love* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2001), p. 251.
[209] W. Grimm and J. Grimm, *The Collected Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm. Third Edition,* trans. Jack Zipes (New York: Bantam Books, 2003), p. 440.
[210] Ibid., 440.
[211] See Canepa, *From Court to Forest*, for a greater elaboration on the role of the black slave girl in the frame narrative.
[212] Vaz da Silva, 'Red as Blood,' p. 245.

encoding of cultural values in sensory-based categories.'[213] White and black thus represent opposite poles of the spectrum of enchantment in fairy tales. The dyadic relationship between white and black constitutes a dualism, although according to Vaz da Silva, the symbolic associations are at their fullest when introduced into a triad with the color red. I would carry this principle of relatedness even further, asserting that the sensory-based categories that are written on the body display a deep interrelatedness with one another based on the ideological dualisms they employ. In other words, the body is not a neutral ground, and bodily descriptions carry meanings that become evident when taken in a larger context of the oppositions they display.

Feminists such as Leslie McCall have already argued for the analytical use of intersectionality, or the idea that 'the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations' ought to inform analysis.[214] Social class and skin color in fairy tales provide an example of intersectionality. The most commonly used skin description, 'black,' appears with high-class characters thrice, and with low-class characters 31 times in the dataset of 233 tales. The other skin descriptions are not as polarized, with 50 skin descriptions for high-class characters and 71 for low-class characters. In most instances, social class has not provided as useful a lens for analysis as I would have hoped, since the class of fairy-tale characters fluctuates as part of the function of the tales (in cases of social mobility, which is one of the main themes of fairy tales), and also because social class is inscribed on the body in less obvious ways than the other two identity oppositions I coded for, gender and age. Viewing skin and social class together, however, and seeing how blackness stands out as a co-indicator of low social class, is thus an argument in favor of the intersectionality of identity in fairy tales.[215]

Taken together, the key themes of skin and transformation express a bodily ideology in fairy tales that is found elsewhere in Western culture. Women, bound to their skins by standards of beauty and cultural expectations that also reinforce values according to class and age, are less free than men to shed their skins and transform into a new body, a new self. This reinforces basic tenets of mind/body dualism, wherein women are trapped in their bodies (here, their skin) whereas men, associated with the mind or soul, are not constrained by the boundaries of their skin. Transformations for women are more likely to entail becoming more beautiful (which is often enacted on the skin) rather than changing their physical being. To be sure, wearing fantastic disguises is one way of gaining empowerment in fairy tales, but I exclude those instances from discussion here because I am concerned with changes made to the body, not to whatever adorns the body. By this definition, my survey of bodies in fairy tales reveals that, whether for good or for ill, men undergo more transformations than women do. Marina Warner's work exemplifies one way to read the transformed male body, making the point that male characters who are enchanted into animal form often have their freedoms curtailed (such as the Beast from 'Beauty and the Beast,' ATU 425C)[216]. However, I would argue that in a society that upholds mind/body dualism and other forms of dualism, the ability to be transformed, to shed one's skin, has positive connotations even if in the immediate context of the plot, being transformed is undesirable. As Benthien and Dunlap write: 'It is

[213] Ibid., 250.
[214] L. McCall, 'The Complexity of Intersectionality.' *Signs* 30.3 (2005): pp. 1771-1800, p. 1771.
[215] Similarly, age and skin reveal interesting correlations. Youthful characters have skin descriptions 87 times, to the 27 skin descriptions of aged characters. Aged characters are only described with four of the word or phrases classified as skin descriptions in the dataset (the top four most frequently used skin descriptions, 'black,' 'white,' 'pale,' and 'red'), while youthful characters have another additional 15 skin description words or phrases that apply to them.
[216] Ibid., pp. 283-284.

revealing for the history of gender, however, that fantasies of leaving and overcoming one's own skin are positive only in male poets, philosophers, and artists.'[217] Men, conditioned by thousands of years of mind/body dualism to believe that their minds are their identities, are perhaps freer to fantasize about escaping their bodies than women are, which we see expressed in fairy tales as frequent magical transformations.[218] This conclusion is the result of using empirical approaches to fairy tales combined with an awareness of feminist theory and how gendered ideologies pervade every aspect of life.

To narrow these observations down further, the final part of this article turns to the tale 'The Black and the White Bride' (ATU 403) which contains useful clues as to the interrelationship of skin, gender, class, and beauty in European fairy tales (and not just clues – many of the versions explicitly lay out these connections in the title). The tale appears four times in my set of 233 tales, twice as a stand-alone tale and twice as a hybrid with other tales. The first two tales are the Grimms' 'The White Bride and the Black Bride' and Thomas Frederick Crane's 'Oraggio and Bianchinetta,' while the latter are the Grimms' 'The Three Little Gnomes in the Forest' and Marie Catherine d'Aulnoy's 'Princess Rosette.' All of the tales feature a virtuous, beautiful (usually pale) young female protagonist who is married to a king, but her ugly, dark-skinned, stupid, or cruel (sometimes all of the above) step-sister (or a stranger) takes her place in the marriage bed. The true bride is either transformed into a duck or thrown into the sea until the situation can be righted.

As a starting observation, my data on these versions of 'The Black and the White Bride' indicates that descriptions of women's bodies are much more important than those of men's bodies; there are 66 references to men's bodies and 166 references to women's bodies. In one sense, it is unsurprising that tales about women feature many more references to their bodies than to men's bodies, but it is important to emphasize that mine is the first empirical study to demonstrate that this is the case, rather than going on intuition or anecdotal observation. Nearly three-quarters of the bodies described in these four tales belong to women – and these bodies tend to skew between the very beautiful and the very ugly, with adjectives like 'beautiful,' 'old,' 'ugly,' 'black,' 'homely,' 'white,' and 'pretty' ranking highly in use. In fact, 'beautiful' is the only adjective that appears in all four tales. It is also intriguing to note that the tale emphasizes adjectival body descriptions over nouns, with 138 adjectives appearing over the four tales (102 with female bodies, 36 with male bodies), and only 94 nouns (64 with female bodies, 30 with male bodies). Adjectives in fairy tales tend to describe appearances but also moral states, and it is significant that in ATU 403, adjectives are used far more frequently with women than with men. The very title of the tale highlights the dualistic opposition of the kind, beautiful (light-skinned) protagonist and the ugly (dark-skinned) antagonist who displaces her temporarily. As discussed above, race dualisms emerge quite strongly in skin descriptions and the values attached to them. This tale does, however, feature the transformation of a woman into different bodily states, which is interesting given that I have found that transformations tend to be associated with men more than with women in fairy tales.

Many of the themes of dualism discussed earlier – alienation from and fear of the body; association of women with the body – emerge in ATU 403. In three of the versions in my dataset, 'Oraggio and Bianchinetta,' 'Princess Rosette,' and 'The White Bride and the Black Bride,' the

[217] Benthien and Dunlap, *Skin*, p. 237.
[218] Warner takes the opposite view: 'In a female protagonist's case, shape-shifting also shifts the conditions of confinement: this principle does not obtain for men enchanted into animal form.' In *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994), p. 283.

heroine's brother(s) must act as the intermediary between her and her intended husband (a king or prince). When the ugly bride is substituted for the true bride, the brother is condemned to death or suffering for misleading the king who thought he was getting a beautiful bride. The heroine's body is thus a source of danger to her male kin, as well as to herself. In Crane's version, 'Oraggio and Bianchinetta,' the heroine Bianchinetta is being transported by ship to meet her husband-to-be, the prince, who wishes to marry her because of a portrait that her brother, Oraggio, carries with him. Yet 'on the ship where Bianchinetta was, was also another young girl with her mother, both very homely. When they were near the harbor, the daughter gave Bianchinetta a blow, and pushed her into the see. When they landed, Oraggio could not recognize his sister; and that homely girl presented herself, saying the sun had made her so dark that she could no longer be recognized.'[219] Doomed to be the captive of a sea monster, Bianchinetta is in peril; failing to deliver the promised beautiful bride, Oraggio is sentenced to herd geese. When all is made right in the end, the ugly girl is 'burned in the public square, with the accustomed pitch-shirt.'[220] Intriguingly, this tale, unlike the other three versions in my dataset, offers not a single description of the male body. Men are alternately disgraced or must wait longer than anticipated for a bride; women are thrown in the sea and burned at the stake. Women's appearances are commented on, while men's are absent. While this version's title highlights the brother-sister relationship, others (and the title of the tale type) emphasize the dichotomy between the true bride and the false bride, one beautiful and the other ugly, one pale and the other dark, one fated to live despite threats to her personhood and the other destined to die.

Conclusion: Fairy tales, Dualism and Their Relation to Social Realities

The way that the black/white dualism corresponds to the bad/good dualism in this tale, and fairy tales in general, is disturbing from a social perspective – and, I would therefore argue, a social perspective is necessary in this analysis. Dorothy Hurley analyzes whiteness in Disney fairy tale films and their folkloric antecedents, and concludes that whiteness (as in white skin) is often 'used to symbolize beauty and goodness.'[221] By presenting her analysis of fairy tale color symbolism alongside classroom ethnographic studies of the self-esteem of children of color, and their reactions to fairy tales, Hurley makes the case that 'The problem of pervasive, internalized privileging of Whiteness has been intensified by the Disney representation of fairy tale princesses which consistently reinforces an ideology of White supremacy.'[222] This position argues, in contrast to Lüthi's observations about colorlessness in fairy tales, that the fairy tale's attraction to certain forms of beauty does carry social meaning. Lori Baker-Sperry and Liz Grauerholz concur from a feminist perspective, stating, 'beauty is often associated with being white, economically privileged, and virtuous.'[223] Because of these culturally pervasive ideological associations, I do not believe it is possible in fairy-tale interpretation to rely solely on the types of symbolic color associations that Vaz

[219] T. Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, ed. and with an introduction by Jack Zipes (Santa Barbara, Denver, and Oxford: ABC-CLIO, Inc. 2001), p. 48.
[220] Ibid., p. 49.
[221] D. Hurley, 'Seeing White: Children of Color and the Disney Fairy Tale Princess.' *The Journal of Negro Education* 74.3 (2005): pp. 221-32. p. 224.
[222] Ibid., 223.
[223] Baker-Sperry, L. and L. Grauerholz, 'The Pervasiveness and Persistence of the Feminine Beauty Ideal in Children's Fairy Tales.' *Gender and Society* 17.5 (2003): pp. 711-726.

da Silva focuses upon in his work, nor the psychological interpretations of fairy tales that view light and darkness as mere states of mind.[224]

Apart from the obviously racist implications of the tale's bodily descriptions and the titles of some versions, it is curious that this tale has not been adapted in many modern retellings. Perhaps there is too much sadistic glee at killing the false bride in the end, when modern audiences (primarily composed of children and their parents[225]) would prefer to see antagonists rehabilitated? Or perhaps the tale too obviously puts the fate of women's bodies into the hands of men, as it is the faithful brother who rescues his sister and restores her bodily autonomy (significantly, conveying her to the marriage bed) in so many versions.

Additionally, the dualism expressed in the tale many be too artless for modern audiences, though dualism has left an intellectual legacy that continues to impact fairly modern behaviors and expressive forms. As Susan Bordo notes, 'Disdain for the body, the conception of it as an alien force and impediment to the soul, is very old in our Greco-Christian traditions.'[226] Bordo then goes on to examine how precisely this same rhetoric appears in the testimonies of young female anorexics: the feelings of alienation from the body, the various techniques to exert control over the body, fantasies of disembodied omnipotence, and so on. That the mind/body split is so striking in contemporary pathological behavior – a pathology that exposes the tensions at the heart of normal identity construction, as Bordo argues – seems to me a strong argument for the prevalence of dualism in various cultural arenas.

Examining multiple versions of a tale, as well as the cultural context in which tales are told, are central tenets of the study of folklore. With its focus on expressive culture of both the past and present, the discipline of folkloristics has much to contribute to a discussion of identities and power relations within history and culture. Though fairy tales are often associated with children's culture and thus relegated to the margins, their political messages have not disappeared or gone unnoticed. In light of how pervasive fairy tales are as intertexts in Western storytelling modes from film to children's toys, feminist fiction to video games, we cannot afford to overlook their troubling relationship to dualism and gender roles. Tales like 'The Black and the White Bride,' with their foregrounding of women's appearances and their dualistic approach to class, ethnicity, and value, serve as a reminder that even the most fantastic of tales can still reflect cultural paradigms and reinforce normative social messages.

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[224] However, there is certainly a compelling case to be made that from a depth psychology perspective, darkness and light can refer to psychological aspects of human development (for instance, in the work of Jungian fairy-tale scholars like Marie-Louise Von Franz.). While my focus here is on social realities rather than psychological approaches to the tales, in another article I suggest that scholars should avoid the danger of dichotomizing psychological and social approaches to fairy tales. See J. Jorgensen, 'Sorting Out Donkeyskin (ATU510B): Toward an Integrative Literal-Symbolic Analysis of Fairy Tales.' *Cultural Analysis* 11 (2012), pp. 91-120.

[225] As many folklorists and fairy-tale scholars have noted, folktales and fairy tales were not originally intended solely for children. Children were among their audiences, but it was not until the popularization of the Grimms' tales for the children's literature market that fairy tales became so thoroughly associated with children's culture.

[226] Bordo, *Unbearable Weight,* p. 149.

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Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power by Inderjeet Parmar. Columbia University Press, 2012, 356 pages. ISBN: 9780231146289, Hardback, $27.50

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With *Foundations of the American Century,* Inderjeet Parmar has provided a masterfully constructed analysis of the often pernicious role that the "Big 3" foundations - Ford, Carnegie and Rockefeller - have had on US foreign policy over the last hundred years or so. The findings of this book may surprise some since, as Parmar points outs in his first sentence, "it is difficult to believe that philanthropy…could possibly be malignant." (p.1) Indeed, it is Parmar's aim to refute this myth, arguing that "despite claims to the contrary, the Big 3's large-scale aid programs for economic and political development failed to alleviate poverty, raise mass living standards, or better educate people." (p.3) Noting that only one monograph[227] had previously been written about the influence of foundations on American foreign policy, Parmar sets out to elevate our understanding of the interactions between non-state philanthropic organisations and state foreign policymaking circles.

Building upon the Establishment thesis of Godfrey Hodgson and the corporatist school of thought, Parmar adopts a neo-Gramscian framework through which he assesses the Big 3's activities and influence.[228] He persuasively argues that such a perspective reveals how "through struggle, compromise, and the building of enduring coalitions that cut across class, ethnic, and racial cleavages is formed the prevailing idea of 'reality,' the dominant concept that underlies a particular regime." (p.23) Integral to Parmar's thesis is the idea that a sense of "state spirit inspires leaders to take personally the concerns of the nation and state and to subordinate narrow economic and political interests to the broader, long-term interests of the state/nation as a whole." (p.23) The construction of this neo-Gramscian framework leads the author to reject traditional claims that foundations were and are "disinterested, apolitical, and non-ideological grant-making and investment initiatives that were independent of the American state." (p.25) Instead, these foundations sought to construct and perpetuate networks among elites, including academics, that would promote the globalising economic and developmental interests of the foundations – goals that, in the cases cited by Parmar, paralleled those of the United States. This can be seen in the brief biographies of the main leaders of the Big 3 – the John D. Rockefellers (senior and junior), Andrew Carnegie and Henry Ford – that explain their context and background. Parmar argues that these men and their (exclusively male) colleagues who laid the foundations were "part of a historic bloc of private and state elites cohered by a long-term globalist hegemonic project." (p.31)

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[227] Edward H. Berman, The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on U.S. Foreign Policy (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1983).

[228] Godfrey Hodgson, "The Establishment," *Foreign Policy* 10 (Spring, 1973), pp. 3-40. On the corporatist school, see Michael J. Hogan, "Corporatism: A Positive Appraisal," *Diplomatic History* 10.4 (October, 1986), pp. 363-372; Ellis W. Hawley, "The Discovery and Study of a 'Corporate Liberalism,'" *Business History Review* 12.3 (1978), pp. 309-320.

It is in the final two thirds of the book (chapters four to nine) that Parmar delves deeply into the archives to offer evidence for his assertions. Here we see that, in addition to the sophisticated theoretical framework set out in earlier sections, the author's argument is based upon excellent and wide-ranging research, making extensive use of the recently opened archives of the Big 3. Chapter four aside, which is devoted to the establishment of a Cold War American Studies network throughout Europe, each chapter examines a different case study in the developing world: Indonesia and the Asian Studies Network; Nigeria and the African Studies Network; Chile and Latin American Studies; and, finally, the post-Cold War era.

In each case, according to Parmar, the story is the same even if the characters sometimes change. In Indonesia, the Ford Foundation "constructed…an effective counter-hegemonic bloc of politically and militarily well-connected intellectuals who looked to the United States... for their country's economic modernization and progress." (p.148) In Nigeria, the Big 3 established networks designed to sustain their own hegemony, "undergirded by elitist, racial, and imperial assumptions." (p.178) Indeed, the author's argument is so resolutely researched and relentlessly put forward that one comes away either a convert – if they weren't already – or a disbeliever, in some cases accusing the author of writing a polemic.[229]

However, in the case of this reviewer, the book is – mostly – something of a triumph. It does have a few shortcomings, although most of these are minor. For instance, the Middle East, arguably one of the most significant political and economic arenas during the Cold War, is conspicuous by its absence. Iran in particular would have made a valuable case study given the activities of the Ford Foundation there in the 1950s and the influence of former staff, such as Harold Saunders, who went on to hold influential foreign policy positions within the Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations.[230] Occasionally, the book's passionate and strident tone – so often one of its greatest strengths – might be off-putting to some readers who do not already share Parmar's Marxist-Gramscian perspective.[231] On the other hand, Parmar might consider this to be an acceptable form of collateral damage. *Foundations of the American Century* could have been further improved had the author ventured to offer some solutions or alternatives to what he perceives to be the inherent failings of foundation philanthropy. If it is true that major philanthropic organisations do not always follow the best of intentions – or, at least, if they too often become subjugated to hegemonic interests – then this truly is a disconcerting scenario, desperately in need of remedy. However, these minor issues do not detract from what is a highly informative, thoroughly researched and extremely readable book. Rather, they point to the promising prospects for studies about the influence of American foundations on and their interaction with US foreign policy, for which Parmar has begun to pave the way.

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[229] For example, the historian Walter Russell Mead has criticised Parmar for being "too polemic." http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/137209/inderjeet-parmar/foundations-of-the-american-century-the-ford-carnegie-and-rockef

[230] Victor V. Nemchenok, "'That So Fair a Thing Should be So Frail': The Ford Foundation and the Failure of Rural Development in Iran, 1953-1964," *The Middle East Journal* 63.2 (Spring, 2009), pp. 261-284.

[231] In his review, Joel L. Fleishman argued that Parmar's style "has turned what might have been a lively discussion into a screed." http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storyCode=421031&sectioncode=26

Becoming Yellow: A Short History of Racial Thinking by Michael Keevak. Princeton University Press, 2011, 248 pages. ISBN: 9780691140315, Hardback, £24.95

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Since Said's famous work *Orientalism* (1978), historians of British imperial culture have increasingly taken a firm post-colonial interpretative stance in their exploration of the European cultural construction of the 'Orient'. Attached to the broader study of the penetration and physical conquest of the non-white world, significant attention has now been paid to the role of nineteenth century racial science and pseudo-scientific practices as a buttress to white supremacy in both colony and metropole.[232] Though historians such as Rotem Kowner have looked at racial constructions of the Japanese, attempts to trace the development of racial images of East Asians over the *longue durée* have often lacked nuance.[233] This is a niche that Michael Keevak's eclectic work seeks to occupy in its exploration of the complex development of colonial powers' haphazard racialization of East Asians.

The broad sweep of Keevak's approach attempts to trace the ways in which the discourse on East Asian behaviour and appearance, particularly skin colour, ebbed and flowed in often contradictory fashion, from descriptions in works such as *Dante's Inferno* until the latter half of the twentieth century. In plotting his narrative thread, he suggests that the description of East Asians as 'yellow' did not crystallise until the work of nineteenth-century racial scientists found unprecedented centrality. In addition the study explores not only the idea that European perceptions of the Chinese and Japanese were fluid and far from monolithic, but that these East Asian societies in fact played an important role in either influencing, endorsing or contesting western racial classifications. Racialisation, he therefore claims, was hardly a one-way street. [234]

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[232] Key works in this field include: Kenan Malik, *The meaning of race: race, history and culture in Western society*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1996). Daniel J. Kevles, *In the name of eugenics: genetics and the uses of human heredity*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1st. ed, 1995). Greta Jones, *Social Darwinism and English thought: the interaction between biological and social theory,* (Brighton: Harvester, 1980). Gavin Schaffer, *Racial science and British society, 1930-62*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). Elazar Barkan, *The retreat of scientific racism: changing concepts of race in Britain and the United States between the world wars,*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[233] See Rotem Kowner, 'Lighter than Yellow, but not Enough': Western Discourse on the Japanese 'Race', 1854-1904, *The Historical Journal* 43 (2000), pp. 103-131.

[234] As Keevak states at greater length, *"Trying to trace any straightforward development of the concept of yellowness is full of dead ends…like most other forms of racial stereotyping, it cannot be reduced to a simple chronology and was the product of often vague and confusing notions about physical difference, heritage, and ethnological specificity"*, (p.15)

The author embraces a rich range of sources, utilising works of European racial science and travel writing, covering a huge geographical and chronological vista that takes us from the art of Ancient Egypt to Kaiser Wilhelm II's invocation of the 'yellow peril'. Although the author makes an early disclaimer that a need for brevity has prevented an exploration of racial perceptions in imperial culture, the work is unbalanced by its omission of popular discourses, such as the dissemination of images and constructs through print media and popular fiction. The interaction between intellectual and popular discourse has proven heavily important even before John Mackenzie, with the ground-breaking work of Jean-Pierre Lehman, *The Image of Japan* (1978) proving that when looking at western imagining of an East Asian nation, the very public way in which elite agendas are consumed or contested must be recognised. Additionally Ariane Knüsel's more contemporary study of the mutating image of China in Britain, America and Switzerland has revealed that approaching transnational media discourse is highly necessary, although such a model would be difficult to achieve in the earlier stretches of this work's chronology.[235] As such it could be argued that Keevak's work has a somewhat elite focus. However the marshalling of a range of sources and summarising of such a disparate and contradictory discourse into a tight and concise narrative enables both beginners and academics to grasp the basic essence of the process by which racial thinking is constructed.

In the first chapter, it is postulated that in 'premodern' European travel writing and the reports of traders and missionaries, the peoples of East Asia were generally described as being 'white'. Marco Polo at the end of the 1200s indeed attributed whiteness to the people of both China and Japan. Although these colour definitions often fluctuated over the following centuries, Keevak argues that this still does not explain why East Asians were eventually 'coloured' yellow by Europeans. However, in chapter two, he cites the gradual construction of the 'Mongolian' type as a definition of Asianness in the eighteenth century by the anatomist Johan Blumenbach. By claiming that the shape of Mongolians skulls 'differed markedly from the Caucasian 'norm'' Blumenbach helped establish a stronger discourse of physical difference which gradually became allied to the 'generalised idea of yellowness' in nineteenth-century physical anthropology (p. 69).

In his third chapter, Keevak charts the process by which scientists, anatomists, anthropologists, and phrenologists devised complex colour tables and other measurements that more firmly established the 'yellowness' of East Asians by the 1870s. The linkage in chapter four of disorders such as Downs syndrome with the 'mongol' type, gave the stereotype of white physical superiority and eastern inferiority a 'supposedly scientifically validated literalness' (p. 62). This conveniently distanced the masculine, imperial Caucasian physique from the seemingly 'defective' bodies of the 'infantile' Far East.[236]

However, Keevak suggests that 'Western Orientalist attitudes' only fully awakened from indifference and came to a consensus on the idea of East Asian 'yellowness' when that region became recognised as an emerging threat to colonial dominance (p.124). Indeed, demonstrations of Chinese and Japanese military capability and effectiveness, such as the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5),

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[235] Ariane Knüsel, *Framing China: Media Images and Political Debates in Britain, the USA and Switzerland, 1900-1950*, (Ashgate, 2012)

[236] Keevak suggests that this movement in medical thought resonated with the vogue concept of physical degeneration that blossomed under the 'New Imperialism', *"Physicians…regularly described East Asians as having yellow bodies, but 'Mongolian' conditions could be linked to physiological degeneration and play into even older clichés about the static, infantile, imitative Far East"* , (p.62)

The Boxer War in China (1898-1900) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) arguably did place the threat of East Asia firmly at the forefront of official and popular consciousness. In the spectre of the 'yellow peril', contemporary anxieties surrounding 'oriental' migration into the European colonies and 'Western communities', combined with the image of the 'Mongolian' invasions of medieval nightmare, meant that the 'need to racialize had become stronger than ever' (p. 125).

Keevak also explores how racial classification was configured in East Asia. In China, yellow was the colour of the yellow river and the yellow emperor (p. 126), and although colour was used more to denote levels of civilisation than race in the western pseudo-scientific guise these ideas played a role in the re-invocation and shaping of Chinese identity. In Japan, 'yellowness' was contested far more vigorously than in China since it did not share these historical connotations. Commentators such as Meiji historian Ukichi Taguchi (1904) stressed that the Japanese were somehow distinctly 'less yellow', and therefore occupied a higher seat in the hierarchical stratum of 'races', in comparison to their Chinese counterparts.[237]

The book succeeds in highlighting the fluidity of scientific discourse, and the way in which social or colonial imperatives had a complex, mutually reinforcing influence on racial thinking. Where the argument is particularly interesting is in relation to the 'yellow peril' construction of the late nineteenth century, as the previous scientific establishment of racial difference was now employed to configure East Asians as more 'yellow' and more of a threat than ever before. The *longue durée* approach is also welcome, as Keevak is able to link these constructions of science and imperialism back to vague medieval fantasies of annihilation at the hands of the Mongols, a popular reference point to which the reader can relate.

Keevak concludes then that the process of creating a racial category was far less straightforward and teleological than has previously been suggested. This powerful yet compact work will prove valuable not only as an introduction and exploration of racial profiling via pseudo-science, but also as a cross-disciplinary bridge through which others such as anthropologists and medical academics can approach historical questions. The work certainly leaves plenty of room for a further consideration of the way that this informs and reflects popular discourses through a wider and even more eclectic source base.

[237] This idea was also explored in Kowner 'Lighter than Yellow'.

Ruin Nation: Destruction and the American Civil War by Megan Kate Nelson. University of Georgia Press, 2012, 400 pages. ISBN: 978-0-8203-4251-1, Paperback, $24.95

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Megan Kate Nelson's *Ruin Nation: Destruction and the American Civil War* analyzes the role of abstract and material ruination in constructing the Union and Confederate regional psyches. Synthesizing a vast and diverse thematic scope of ruination — urban, domestic, environmental and bodily — Nelson shows the war's dualistic power to simultaneously destroy and create. Considering the Civil War as an ongoing process of destruction and reconstruction, Nelson poses a fresh and compelling framework to examine the concept of ruination as an omnipresent continuum within the national narrative, with far-reaching implications beyond the war's end in 1865.

This book makes a unique contribution to two zeitgeist areas of interdisciplinary history: Environmental and Disability Studies. In the latter half of the book, Nelson executes a framework of analysis amalgamating these seemingly disparate arenas of study: both the environment of the home front and the wounded soldier's body physically map the trauma of the Civil War. The environment and body are microcosmic visual representations of the death and destruction of the macrocosmic military conflict. Extending the conceptual metaphor of the mutilated body to include the overarching devastation of the environment is an especially nuanced approach, and one that poses a new way of examining armed conflicts and wars. Moreover, Nelson provides new anecdotal and statistical information on Environmental and Disability Studies of the Civil War. In terms of environmental impact, she estimates the number of trees killed during the conflict — 2,000,000 from various building purposes and 25,000 from war wounds (p.152). In terms of disability, she chronicles the permeation of images and representations of disabled bodies in Civil War print culture. The production and circulation of these images testify to the ways in which the disabled body encompassed 'a range of social anxieties — including concerns about the impact of warfare on masculinity, the production of 'machine men', and the opportunities that wartime provided for fraudulent behavior' (p. 161).

Chapter One offers a particularly innovative approach; Nelson compares the multivalent effects of urban destruction North and South of the Mason-Dixon Line. Such an approach is useful as most scholarship focuses on the physical geography of the southern home front without providing a comparative context. Using Hampton, Virginia, Columbia, South Carolina and Chambersburg, Pennsylvania as case studies, Nelson draws out parallels between the physical processes of destruction and the effects of urban ruination on the respective regional psyches. Capturing the roles and responses of various actors in these episodes of urban destruction and decay — architects, citizens and military officers — the chapter creates a vibrant, fluid portrayal of these Civil War cities; offering perspectives from a diversity of positions within the localized social hierarchies.

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The book also introduces new information in its second chapter, with abundant anecdotal references to instances of rape on the home front, detailed in southern newspapers and personal diaries. This is extremely important as there is an infamous paucity of primary documentation addressing the threat of sexual violence in the nineteenth-century South. As such, this research will be very useful to future scholarship in both Gender Studies and the Civil War. This chapter also surveys the damage to women's domestic spaces on the southern home front. In particular, Nelson shows how the war reconfigured women's notion of home through various kinds of military interventions into the domestic sphere. In doing so she builds a solid argument. However, a more developed contextualization of this argument within the antebellum historiography — namely, Catherine Clinton's *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (1983) and *Tara Revisited: Women, War and the Plantation Legend* (1995) — would have provided an even more convincing thesis, showing how such activity disrupted not only Confederate, but antebellum notions of the mutually constituted realms of southern womanhood and domesticity. This chapter also includes slave cabins in its analysis of the ruination of domestic spaces. The significance of this lies in the fact that it theorizes an expanded domestic sphere of the elite plantation South to include slave cabins and not simply the plantation owner's house. Additionally, by asserting the architecture and materiality of the slave cabin itself as an expression of slave agency, Nelson supports Stephanie M.H. Camp's seminal work on slave agency and resistance, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (2004).

Nelson delivers a particularly ambitious conclusion to her book. She claims that fetishizing historic material objects and failing to confront the ruins of the Civil War worked to develop 'a tendency in American culture to consume rather than directly confront the past' (p. 229). Nelson goes on to link this Civil War consumption-oriented commemoration process to the modern architectural designs of the Oklahoma City and September 11th World Trade Center memorials. This is a provocative corollary, substantiated by a cogent contemporary study of the role of mourning in the 21st century American imagination. With such a bold conclusion — historicizing modern memorialization as informed by the national memory of the Civil War — Nelson successfully establishes a rich and fertile terrain for future scholarship to explore and extend.

Overall, *Ruin Nation* presents a persuasive case to consider the role of urban, domestic, environmental and bodily destruction in the national narrative of the Civil War. Stylistically, its clear, fluent prose makes it accessible to a wide readership, including undergraduate students. Moreover, *Ruin Nation* makes a significant contribution to a number of diverse fields: Disability, Environmental and American Studies and is highly recommended reading to scholars of nineteenth-century American History.

Sick from Freedom: African-American Illness and Suffering during the Civil War and Reconstruction
by Jim Downs. Oxford University Press, 2012, 280 pages. ISBN13: 9780199758722, Hardcover, $29.95

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Jim Downs offers a reinterpretation of emancipation during and after the American Civil War in his latest book, *Sick from Freedom*. Downs sets up his primary arguments by first viewing emancipation 'as a process' rather than a single, heroic moment. Through this perspective, we are able to more clearly see that emancipation 'liberated bondspeople from slavery, but they often lacked clean clothing, adequate shelter, proper food, and access to medicine in their escape to Union lines' (p.4). This view of emancipation as a process allows him to take a longer purview and move beyond the initial moment of abolition. He contends that Freedman's Bureau doctors and the federal government as a whole were unprepared for the burden and diseases that the Civil War and emancipation would eventually cause. Downs argues that this oversight occurred due to the primary focus of both the federal government and northern policy-makers upon political and strategic consequences of emancipation. He posits that historians have ignored the suffering the emancipation initiated because it does 'not fit into the patriotic narratives of the Civil War' (p.6). Throughout the book, he stresses the pervasive fear of African American dependency and the changing conceptions of employment and labor and how this fear interacted and affected the policy of emancipation.

While some readers might interpret Downs's thesis as a tacit endorsement of the benevolence of slavery and slaveholders, this is a gross overstatement of his central argument. He does not contend that slavery was a superior alternative to emancipation or that slavery itself was an inherently benevolent enterprise. Rather, he asserts that the federal government ultimately failed to meet the demands that emancipation created.

The fact that his thesis can be misconstrued in this manner is directly related to one of the book's few flaws. There are moments where Downs seems to place the blame for the disease and suffering of African Americans squarely on the federal government's policy of emancipation. Downs would have been better served to explore how the roots and limitations of slavery, not emancipation, were the predominant culprits in the suffering of freedpeople. The federal government should undoubtedly have been more responsive and proactive. The fact remains, however, that were it not for the institution of slavery and the desperation it created in those who fled so hurriedly, the mass suffering of escaping slaves would not have occurred. Downs finally addresses this point on the last page of his conclusion noting that descriptions of the malnourished and infected former slaves 'may say less about the severity of illness and the effects of emancipation and more about the conditions of slavery; those who encountered and described freedpeople were for the first time witnessing the effects of slavery' (p.170). This is a point that he should have explicitly emphasized throughout the book rather than adding it as an afterthought.

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Another small quibble is with Downs's epilogue. He cursorily describes the consequences of Reconstruction on the West and Native Americans. While this is an interesting and novel topic, it does not fall within the scope of his narrative and it jars the reader away from his already provocative arguments. A simple reference to potential for further research in the introduction would suffice.

Despite these minor qualms, Downs's contribution to the historiography of emancipation and race relations during the mid-nineteenth century cannot be understated. The interconnectedness of health care, labor, and civil rights offers unique opportunities for historians to push the boundaries of Civil War historiography. *Sick from Freedom* is a groundbreaking and important study on the harsh realities of the Civil War and emancipation and provides scholars with new avenues for compelling research.

Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and Museums by Mabel O. Wilson. University of California Press, 2012, 464 pages. ISBN: 9780520268425, Hardback, £27.95

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University of Liverpool

On a page entitled 'Our History' on the official website of the National Museum of African American History and Culture, a brief paragraph states that the institution was created by an Act of Congress in 2003.[238] Wilson's *Negro Building* effectively contextualises, complicates and extends the history of this controversial new museum, providing a detailed account of black exhibitionary practices from Emancipation to the present day. Using extensive archival research, Wilson has made an important contribution to the story of black public history and to the narrative on representations of black identity in the United States.

Wilson's interdisciplinary approach – which combines cultural, visual, and urban histories – utilises theoretical models on the public sphere and urban space, in order to discuss a particular aspect of the African American social experience.[239] Employing a chronological format, Wilson presents how the active 'black counterpublic sphere' promoted its agendas of 'social advancement, cultural identity, and national belonging' in public forums such as world's fairs, emancipation expositions and early black museums (p.8). One of the greatest strengths of *Negro Building* is the succinct yet thorough contextualisation of time and place that permeates each chapter. By locating her archival findings firmly within the political, economic, legal, social, and geographical framework of the moment, Wilson effectively demonstrates the challenges that the black grassroots movement faced.

In the first chapter entitled 'Progress of a Race: The Black Side's Contribution to Atlanta's World's Fair', Wilson details the activities of an emerging black elite as they attempted to negotiate the complexities of the New South and exhibit their hopes for the future of the race (p.30). She explains that the rationale for the exhibit's focus on industrial education was the white southern expectation for a new economy and the accommodationist stance exemplified by Booker T. Washington's infamous Atlanta Compromise speech.[240] Wilson is careful not to suggest that the motivations, ideologies, or responses of those involved were monolithic, and instead provides a nuanced view of both black and white leaders and audiences. Her inclusion of contemporary newspapers – particularly popular black publications – proves to be invaluable in indicating the varied discourses surrounding the exhibition of black identity, which not only cut across racial lines but also across class and region. By tracing the people behind the displays, Wilson uncovers the network of individuals and organisations involved in early black public history, which indicates how ideas, ambitions, and in some cases exhibitions travelled throughout the nation.

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[238] 'Our History', <http://nmaahc.si.edu/About/History>, page accessed 10/09/2012.

[239] Wilson cites Jürgen Habermas, Nancy Fraser, Rosalyn Deutsche, and Henri Lefebvre as influential to her argument.

[240] Booker T. Washington, the president of the Tuskegee Institute, announced a compromise between black and white southern leaders at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, 1895. In return for basic education, black citizens would submit to white rule, participate in the economy through labour, and not push for equality and integration.

Subsequent chapters follow a similar format to the first, allowing readers to comprehend the development of the black counterpublic sphere's engagement with public history. The second chapter details the representations of and by African Americans at early American world's fairs and at the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris. The third and fourth chapters focus on the black-organised Emancipation expositions in Northern cities, reflecting on the influence of the urban environment on the politicisation of the grassroots message. The fifth chapter traces the history of Detroit's International Afro-American Museum against the backdrop of the Civil Rights movement. This structure effectively demonstrates the move from the accommodationist stance of early black exhibitions which looked towards a promising future, to the more politicised displays of the mid-twentieth century that reclaimed black history and called for equality.

Wilson's interdisciplinary approach allows for a broad analysis of specific exhibits, which not only details the production and content of the displays, but also their symbolism and spatial positioning within the wider exposition context. Her approach could benefit scholars of public history and museology, yet also makes an interesting contribution to the history of world's fairs. *Negro Building* not only discusses black participation in smaller international expositions that rarely receive scholarly attention, but also ensures that the negative portrayals of African Americans are not the central focus of the book, choosing instead to highlight examples where segregation and racism could be disrupted.

The epilogue moves the narrative up to the present day, therefore allowing Wilson to connect her historical research to the opening of the Smithsonian's first museum dedicated to African American history and culture (p.297). This may have worked better as an additional chapter, as Wilson seems to rush through several decades of developments without the conscientious approach that makes the other chapters so strong. Yet for a work that spans such a complex historical period, Wilson provides an impressively thorough overview of black public history that will hopefully inspire further study of this topic in a number of disciplines.

Sui-Tang China and its Turko-Mongol Neighbours: Culture, Power, and Connections, 580-800 by Jonathan Karam Skaff. Oxford University Press, August 2012, 416 pages. ISBN: 978-0-19-973413-9, Hardback, £55.00

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In this work, the elaboration of his PhD thesis (University of Michigan, 1998), Jonathan Skaff throws open Inner Asia in the Sui-Tang period, exposing rich north-south interaction and exchange in an area usually viewed as an imperial periphery. This broad swathe of pastureland extending from the Yellow River to the Gobi Desert is best known as the area of the Great Walls, and as such has often been divided away into a line between essentialized binary opposites. This tendency, fostered by Sima Qian, the influential Han dynasty historian, has been most conspicuous in the Confucian sino-centrism of the Chinese dynastic histories and the work of later scholars, such as John King Fairbank, inspired by these to seek an intrinsic and clearly bounded 'Chinese' identity and worldview.[241] In response, materialist approaches to Inner Asian nomadism by Sechin Jagchid, Thomas Barfield and others have developed discourses based on a sharp separation between 'steppe' and 'sown' economies, approaches which have effectively emptied the frontier of its peoples and networks. Skaff, via detailed case studies sifted from the Tang standard histories and enriched by documents from Turfan and the Arabic histories of Western Asia, effectively repopulates this part of eastern Eurasia. In separating the extensive administrative material of Chinese historical works from their value-laden narrative he demonstrates the breadth and significance of interactions occurring within the borderlands and presents a model for future approaches to this material. Here the vitality and complexity of settlements in this region becomes clear, both in terms of their strategic role for powers based in the steppe and the Central Plains, and in their own right as the locus for cultural and economic exchange.

As Skaff demonstrates, this area was at times a key asset of the Türk Empire, not only as rich pasture which could be made available to clients, but as a staging point for military action undertaken from north of the Gobi. When controlled by the Tang, this pasture was not only denied to those forces, but made available for a range of other functions and clients, including the breeding of horses by the Tang court, the productivity of which at times eliminated the need for the large-scale horse trade central to the materialist thesis, and opened opportunities to build a variety of relationships with breeders around the region. Control of and access to this area was intertwined with the allegiances of its heterogeneous populations, many of whom were by no means limited or defined by nomad/sedentary or Chinese/Other oppositions. As Skaff demonstrates, many individuals were aware of their positions among multiple overlapping linguistic and cultural groupings, and able to identify, negotiate and deploy key elements of these as occasion required, through investiture, trade, diplomacy, marriage and other forms of interaction and patrimonial relationship. This, he argues, was in part because the logic behind these was familiar across Eurasia – his

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[241] On Sima Qian's textual placement of northern peoples in a fixed and oppositional relationship with the people of the Central Plains, see Nicola Di Cosmo, Ancient China and Its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Powers in East Asian History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 315-16.

work rejects models of Chinese (and steppe) exceptionalism, siting the region within a multipolar Eastern Eurasian complex, rather than on the edge of a Sinic zone.

Where aristocratic actors could extend military and cultural power and make flexible use of these elements, they could attract clients both within and beyond the borderlands. Dependent on contacts between individuals at many levels, these patrimonial relationships were in a state of continuous negotiation, siting the region far nearer the locus of power than has generally been appreciated. Skaff's case studies, informed by Geertz's 'thick description' approach, identify shifting groups of individuals who took part in and influenced these processes, from Türk qaghans and Han warlords to interpreters and traders combining Sogdian names with selected elements of Chinese language and education.

Skaff argues that the involvement of the Tang court was affected by friction between two broadly defined groups of civil and military officials. A northwestern faction, largely owing their careers to regional patronage or military success, tended to favour interaction with peoples and polities in and beyond the borderlands. Competing with them for the emperor's attention, and favouring what Skaff defines as an 'exclusivist' approach to the borderlands, were networks of mainly civil officials with roots in the northeast, whose careers were linked to Confucian literati patronage and connections through academies and the examination system. While Sui-Tang successes depended on balancing these constituencies, the standard histories on which historians of Eastern Eurasia often depend were largely informed by the interests of the latter tendency, and as such reflect a court-centred, didactic approach. Thus the rebellion of An Lushan in 755, a member of the northwest group, fed into 'exclusivist' discourses, unbalancing both policy and historiography. In presenting this division of the court the work perhaps misses an opportunity to extend to court networks the ambiguity and negotiability of identity that are so persuasively granted to borderland peoples. This is nonetheless a small criticism of a work that does a great deal, not just in breaking vital new ground on this region and period, but in developing fruitful approaches to utilizing the vast resources of the Chinese standard histories.

By Force and Fear: Taking and Breaking Monastic Vows in Early Modern Europe by Anne Jacobson Schutte. Cornell University Press, 2011, 285 pages. ISBN: 978-0-8014-4977-2, Hardcover, £27.95

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Anne Jacobson Schutte provides the first systematic exploration of the phenomenon of forced monachization, the practice in which elders compelled adolescents in their families to enter religious life against their will. She examines the records of the Holy Congregation of the Council (SCC) in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, looking specifically at 978 petitions for release submitted between 1668 and 1793 in Catholic Europe (plus a few from Latin America). Her specialty, however, is early modern Italian religion, and her book is slanted towards Italian petitions. This is due in part to their larger quantity because of the proximity of the plaintiffs to Rome (p. 238). They are also particularly suited to Schutte's aims insofar as they tend to use first person testimony, allowing us the opportunity to "think with" the various players in the case rather than "think about" the petitioners (p. 17).

Schutte is sensitive to other methodological issues: she is upfront in describing the reciprocal relationship between the cases and her interpretive framework and in explaining her tactical decisions. She does not skirt heuristic problems, but recognizes that her cases were constructed, "telling legal stories" rather than providing evidence of "what really happened" (p. 18). While instances of forced monachization most likely represent only a minority of those who desired release from monastic life, presenting a statistically small picture, Schutte shows that the stories in the SCC records can still shed light on the involuntary religious, their elders, witnesses, bishops, and the contexts that prompted these petitions.

The major stereotype that Schutte overturns in this book is that coerced monachization was primarily a female problem – of the 978 petitions she examines, 807 (82.5%) came from male religious. This false assumption began in the early modern period itself, as Schutte demonstrates in a survey of contemporary literature and expository prose. The majority of imaginative literature about the topic focused exclusively on women, but modern scholarship, too, has been prejudiced by the same kind of dramas that fixated on unwilling nuns, such as Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi.*[242] These writers were looking for suffering figures as protagonists for their stories, and tragic heroines, Schutte argues, fit that particular bill better than male victims. In fact, the most thorough and compelling stories provided by Schutte herself are those of women like Teresa Pallavicini, who was born out of rape, sent to a convent, and died there before her release could be processed.

Schutte combats another misconception – one regarding the early modern family – in her examination of involuntary monachization from the point of view of the parents. She explores their motivations, the means by which they accomplished it, and the legal and social contexts in which they were situated, including the systems of inheritance and the legal doctrine of *patria potestas*. Disregarding

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[242] See Francesca Medioli, *L'"Inferno monacale" di Arcangela Tarabotti* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990) and "To Take or Not to Take the Veil: Selected Italian Case Histories, the Renaissance and After," in *Women in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society*, edited by Letizia Panizza, 122-137 (Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre, 2000); Paola Vismara Chiappa, *Per vim et metum. Il caso di Paola Teresa Pietra*, Biblioteca della Società Pavese di Storia Patria, n.s. 3 (Como: New Press, 1991); Jutta Gisela Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

instructions from the Church (reiterated at Trent) that monastic contracts be made voluntarily, parents were primarily concerned to remove children from the inheritance stream. In order to keep the property in the family and to protect the (almost always male) heir from challenges, siblings (not only the younger ones, but in some circumstances the older) were pressured to take their vows. Large families, illegitimate children, blended families and stepchildren caused further economic strain, and monasteries were convenient places to store the excess population. Schutte thus adamantly rejects suggestions that families in early modern Europe were becoming more egalitarian and intimate. In this she contributes to countering the theses of Ariès and Stone, which have shaped the idea that something like a "modern" family existed in the eighteenth century.[243] The new concept of freedom of vocation was just starting to become, as Schutte says, "thinkable" in the late eighteenth century. But lawyers had every incentive to make their client appear as piteous as possible (this is one reason why women's claims tended to be more successful than men's, as she shows on pages 248-249), and it would be dangerous to use these rhetorical pieces to speculate on the dysfunctionality of family relations in early modern Europe. Nevertheless the sheer quantity of case studies presented successfully ties the victimization of young men and women to the financial needs and preferences of their families, whether to avoid paying dowries for women or inheritances for men.

Chapters 7 and 8 add little to the thesis other than further case studies – especially those in which the plaintiff had been broken down by both emotional and geographical separation from the family. The details she states are often repeated (e.g. monachization was contractual; parental pressure was hard to resist for both daughters and sons) or otherwise redundant (e.g. for both sexes, petitions submitted early stood a greater chance of success than those submitted years afterwards), but she does expand on the means by which elders inflicted physical and psychological abuse (withholding food, beatings, house arrests, death threats). Eventually, fewer families were prepared to force their children to don the cloth against their will, and Schutte concludes by suggesting that in the era heralding the Enlightenment more lawyers were willing to apply terms such as "freedom" to children and "tyranny" to parents.

This book's major contribution consists in bringing to light these documents and illustrating a process hitherto largely neglected in scholarship. Schutte reproduces with sympathy the difficulties faced by these young claimants with little knowledge of the law, no ability to afford a trial without the help of sympathetic relatives, and constant exposure to physical and psychological intimidation by both family members and fellow religious, who feared the damage to their morale and reputation by adverse publicity. The book is clearly written and offers invaluable sources and material for further studies on forced monachization as well as the early modern conceptions of the self, family, and liberty. To this end, Schutte has created a searchable database – *Monastic Hell* – that supplies references to the materials of her cases (http://faculty.virginia.edu/monhell/).

[243] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, translated by Robert Baldick (New York: Random House, 1962); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1977).

The Battle of Britishness: migrant journeys, 1685 to the present by Tony Kushner. Manchester University Press, 2012, 320 pages. ISBN: 978-0-719-066405, Hardback, £70.00

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The conceptual fragility of 'Britishness', its paradoxes and aporias, have only forcefully been addressed by academics towards the close of the twentieth century. From Pocock's seminal essays and the framing of the Four Nations model, to more contemporary offerings from historians and social scientists, conversations about the construction of British national identities have been notably magnified over the last few decades.[244] However, while these studies probe the complex, overlapping and at times conflicting locations of identity – both domestic and foreign – scholarly analysis of 'Britishness' has yet to enter a convincing dialogue with studies of migration and ethnicity.

Tony Kushner's *The Battle of Britishness* attempts to fill this gap in the existing historiography. In this impressively wide-ranging and profoundly insightful book, Kushner sets out to 'abandon the active amnesia concerning the immigration history of Britain' (p.22). In so doing, Kushner navigates the complexities of various migrant journeys in order to examine how the 'global' and the 'local' connect within the battle of Britishness. This, he explains, is a battle which is 'ultimately about twoness: it is about both famous and obscure journeys; about inclusion and exclusion; and about ambivalence and ambiguity in both migrant stories as well as the making and re-making of national identity over many centuries' (pp.3-4). This 'stark doubleness' is traced throughout the volume by considering not only the migrant journey itself, but also popular responses from the state and public. By adopting an interdisciplinary approach, a nuanced history of migration is thus presented in five masterfully crafted sections.

Organized chronologically from the seventeenth century onwards and framed by an introduction and conclusion, each section in the volume has two chapters that in turn explore two contrasting stories of migration. Part one, titled 'Introduction and Contexts', provides an overview of migrant journeys. It grapples with the politics of representation to reveal the fragmented nature of national identity and belonging. Here, popular responses to immigration are used to analyze the significance of memory work. Highlighting the role of diasporic agency, or lack thereof, in the case of Irish and Jewish groups, the section skillfully confronts the problematic interplay between migration narratives and the wider parables of 'our island story'.

Part two further interrogates the construction of migration myths. Using the Huguenots and the temporary transmigrancy of Volga Germans as case studies, Kushner emphasizes the ethnic

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[244] See J.G.A. Pocock, 'British History: a plea for a new subject' *The Journal of Modern History,* 47, (1975), pp. 601-602; H. Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); R. Samuel (ed.), *Patriotism: the making and unmaking of British national identity,* (London: Routledge, 1989); R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: past and present in contemporary culture*, (London: Verso, 1994); B. Parekh, 'Defining British National Identity' *The Political Quarterly,* 80, (2009), pp. S251-S262.

heterogeneity of pre-1945 Britain, thus undermining and challenging traditional mono-cultural models. Significantly, the juxtaposition of these case studies exposes how attitudes towards migrant groups help shape the theatre of national identity. As a symptom of anti-alienism in Britain, local responses to the Volga Germans are therefore used to particular effect.

In part three, 'The Nazi Era', the journeys of the *Kindertransport* and *St Louis* are examined to reveal the inner contradictions inherent in memory work. These case studies powerfully emphasize the complexity of British immigration policies, and demonstrate how heritage commemoration has served to transform and evolve the historical reality of Jewish 'refugeedom' to an increasingly 'mythical and celebratory' narrative (p.124). Conveniently forgetting the traumatic legacy of forced displacement, as well as the exclusion, deportation and interment of Jewish refugees, altruistic claims expounding Britain's historic treatment of immigrant populations are carefully re-examined by Kushner in one of the finest sections of the volume.

Similarly, part four explores the ways in which colonial and postcolonial journeys are fashioned to promote a pluralistic account of British history. The iconic myth of the *Empire Windrush* is paired with more obscure stowaway journeys to reveal the marginality of seemingly ill-fitting migration narratives within national histories. Part five, the final section, then follows to neatly conclude on the ambiguities that underlie contemporary notions of Britishness.

In all, *The Battle of Britishness* delivers both an expert guide to migrant journeys, as well as a sophisticated antidote to simplistic versions of Britain's immigration history. Stylishly written, one of its main achievements is its ability to condense an impressively large amount of source material without losing sight of its overall thesis. While this is not a comprehensive history of migration, Kushner's sharp eye for detail ensures that what is presented is a selective, lucid and well-researched set of micro-histories. Moreover, perhaps most remarkable is the volume's careful attention to the negotiations involved in national story telling. This ultimately gives way to an instructive critique of memory work, and is hugely relevant to wider debates concerning British national histories. *The Battle of Britishness* is therefore essential reading for not only students but also anyone interested in the social mechanics concerning the making and re-making of national identities.