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"Kill the boy, and let the man be born": youth, death and manhood in Game of Thrones

One of the most prominent recurring themes in A Song of Ice and Fire is the disavowal of hegemonic folk tales about heroic knights, charming princes and beautiful princesses. Looking at the emergence of the literary fairy tale in eighteenth century Europe, Jack Zipes has identified the centrality within this lore of discourses "about mores, values, and manners', which would be circulated 'so that children and adults would become civilized according to the social code of the time" (Zipes, 2006:3). This is most viscerally illustrated in George R.R. Martin's work through Sansa's tragic arc, as the character most heavily invested in such romantic myths from childhood. As Petyr Baelish explains to her, "life is not a song, sweetling" (Martin, 1996:473), and what she subsequently endures persuades her that "there are no heroes (...) in life, the monsters win" (Ibid:746). The traumas Sansa experiences point to a wider critique of the lasting consequences of indoctrination via patriarchal myth. The symbolic 'death' of the idealistic girl that the young Sansa was is what ultimately allows her to develop into one of the series' survivors, an increasingly resourceful and resilient young woman. A Song of Ice and Fire incorporates elements of high fantasy, political intrigue, and the medieval historical epic, and Martin uses this hybrid framework to challenge many of the familiar tropes of the genres he draws on.

Though gender studies of Martin's work have tended to focus predominantly on women, the young men of *A Song of Ice and Fire* are no less interpolated by myths of nobility, tradition, honour and bravery than girls like Sansa are by songs which sweeten a cruel patriarchy. The primary influences shaping discourses of masculinity and maturity within the text are both familial, that is to say lessons passed down by parents, and cultural. Connell (1985:186) observes that, throughout time, "hegemonic masculinity is naturalised in the form of the hero and presented through forms that revolve around heroes: sagas, ballads, westerns, thrillers". The songs and legends which are so central to Westerosi culture are an important element of this process, as too are official history, rituals and codes. In Westeros, many of these concepts are interconnected: the heroes of songs are often great knights and kings of bygone days, and cultural traditions often have some kind of cautionary legend attached to them.

Jon Snow offers a perfect study for analysis, not least because he is ostensibly the figure within Martin's saga that comes closest to the archetype of the hegemonic male hero. It is first necessary, though, to frame this analysis within the context of some of Snow's peers within the text, and how their exposure to masculine roles and expectations come to inform their eventual fate. Death plays an integral role in the narrative, the Braavosi mantra of "Valar Morghulis" (translated as "all men must die") standing as a recurring reminder of the fatalistic ethos underpinning the story. In order to understand the articulation of these cultural issues within the text, it is vital to also examine the role of death in the narrative, and Jon Snow's particular relationship to it.

Our ways are the old ways

On numerous occasions, the importance of songs within Westerosi culture as teaching tools to both children and adults is made clear. As Daenerys recalls, "in the songs, the white knights of the Kingsguard were ever noble, valiant and true" (Martin, 1996:391). Although Daenerys is herself long dispossessed of such illusions, there is no doubt that notions of chivalry and honor are integral to the images of normative masculinity that children of both sexes grow up with in Westeros. Charles Hackney suggests that the presentation of these concepts in Martin's work is "a clash between high idealism and grim reality" (Hackney, in Battis & Johnston, 2015:132), and this is particularly notable in the example of the Stark men. Though not a knight, Hackney identifies Ned Stark as a character who lives "by a code of honor" (Ibid: 133-4), and this is illustrated in the opening episode of the series when he executes a deserter from the Night's Watch in front of his sons (1x1 "Winter is Coming"). The scene is framed clearly as a didactic example for the Stark children, with Jon pointedly warning Bran not to look away. The themes of justice, duty, and history loom large in the lesson. As the condemned man awaits his face, Ned undertakes the formalities of the task, solemnly underscoring the responsibilities of his entrusted position ("I, Eddard of House Stark, Lord of Winterfell and Warden of the North (...) in the name of Robert of House Baratheon, King of the Andals and the first men"). When the deed is done, he approaches Bran to ensure that he has understood the reason for the act; though Ned is more concerned that Bran absorbs the importance of duty and personal responsibility, Bran's response demonstrates that he has also understood the weight of history and tradition on the Stark men: "our ways are the old ways."

The codes of honor and tradition with which the Starks are raised are a clear example of the hegemonic myths which are brutally debunked within Martin's unforgiving universe¹. Ned's devotion to these notions render him fatally vulnerable to the ruthlessness of the Lannisters, and similar tendencies can be observed in his eldest son. Robb places too much trust in the loyalty of his bannerman, Roose Bolton, and in Walder Frey's observation of ancient codes such as guest rite, the consequences of this naivety unfolding disastrously at the Red Wedding (3x9 "The Rains of Castamere"). The stunting rigidity of such an apparently noble ethos is also apparent in Robb's decision to execute Lord Rickard Karstark for the murder of the Lannister hostages. Robb's insistence on upholding the lessons taught to him by his father on blind justice and the belief that "he who passes the sentence should swing the sword" (1x1) deprive him of the cold pragmatism necessary to see the importance of Karstark's bannermen to his own army, and to bend accordingly. Perhaps ironically, the connection between passing the sentence and swinging the sword is a lesson on taking responsibility for one's actions, and the consequences of those actions. While Robb may be willing to accept responsibility, his devotion to these codes renders him too myopic to objectively assess their consequences. Ultimately, this leaves his war effort woefully short of manpower, and leaves him to make increasingly desperate and devastating decisions.

An alternative argument is that it is not too much respect for codes of honor that dooms Robb, but too little. Breaking his arrangement with Walder Frey out of love for Talisa is the kind of quixotic act that does not resonate with the steadfast devotion to duty which characterised his father, and is ostensibly the seed that incites Frey's brutal act of revenge

at the Red Wedding. While Frey clearly holds a grudge against Robb for the perceived personal slight, however, he is ultimately an opportunist. Just as his original agreement to join Robb's rebellion is motivated above all by the promise of an advantageous political union – the marriage of one of his daughters to the King in the North – rather than any sense of personal loyalty to the Starks, the chance to punish the Starks for their 'betrayal' is a secondary incentive beyond the greater rewards offered as part of his new alliance with the Lannisters and Boltons. Walder Frey is not an honorable man, and his festering enmity towards Robb Stark is rooted in insult to personal vanity and thwarted ambition rather than any deeply-felt sense of duty. He does, however, take advantage of the Starks' trust in these codes, using their belief in guest right to persuade them to let down their guard in his castle by feeding them bread and salt. At least where this particular microcosm is concerned, we can again chart the lineage of such faith in the lore the Stark children are raised on: the most famous tale concerning guest rite is the legend of the Rat Cook, cursed by the Gods because he "slew a guest beneath his roof" (Martin, 2000:631). Robb is condemned by his trust in the old ways, and unable to adapt to the harsh nihilism of the new world.

And who are you, the proud lord said, that I must bow so low?

The Lannister conception of masculinity places far more emphasis on power than honor. Jaime Lannister exemplifies the apparent impossibility of a life in pursuit of such ideals: the archetypal valiant, handsome knight, beginning life with "a belief in glory and honor" (Carroll, in Young, 2015: 62), but now living in infamy as the "Kingslayer" due to his

inability to reconcile his chivalric duties with the competing drives of family loyalty and selfpreservation in the wake of the Mad King's rampage. The importance of songs in communicating meaning within this universe is once more relevant here; the Lannister song "The Rains of Castamere" is instructive in encapsulating several of these issues. The woeful lament of a rebellious vassal who rose up against Tytos Lannister, only to be mercilessly destroyed (along with his House) by his son, Tywin, the song underscores the importance of hierarchy to House Lannister. This hierarchy must be ruthlessly maintained through fear, and terrible displays of power against those who would challenge it. The song is used as a perennial reminder of the consequences that await any recalcitrant elements within the realm, as well as to remind future generations of Lannisters what is necessary to preserve their privilege. Donaldson (1993:646) describes hegemonic masculinity as "hierarchically differentiated (...) centrally connected with the institutions of male dominance." In Westeros, hegemonic masculinity intersects with the social hierarchies of the feudal system, and is reinforced through the subordination of others. There is no doubt that these principles have been internalised by Joffrey during his upbringing, and are exacerbated when he comes to the throne. He repeatedly attempts to reaffirm his position by having those he considers inferior beaten, abused, or murdered, the philosophy crudely elucidated when he tells Tyrion "everyone is mine to torment" (3x10 "Mhysa"). He refers to his hulking bodyguard Sandor Clegane condescendingly as "my dog", a reminder that far more physically powerful men are still subordinated by the structural power that comes with the Lannister name and the throne.

Joffrey wields power as a blunt instrument, and the forms his performance of masculinity takes are so crude and gratuitous as to ultimately reinforce his weakness and immaturity. Tywin grows weary of Joffrey's grotesque parodies of strength, telling him pointedly that "any man who must say 'I am the king' is no true king" (3x10). Tywin is frustrated by Joffrey's refusal to accept counsel, ostensibly spoiled irredeemably by his mother's indulgence and Robert's resentful disinterest, though in reality his ugly, unchecked sadism might be read as the manifestation of the familiar Lannister power principle of domination through terror, stripped of all civilising facades and taken to its logical ends. The situation is guite different when it comes to Joffrey's brother, and this difference is illustrated when Tywin counsels Tommen in the Sept of Baelor after Joffrey's inevitable murder (4x3 "Breaker of Chains"). Though Tywin's lecture focuses on the qualities of a good king, the subtext is rooted in the broader context of coming of age as a man: the need for wisdom, to procreate, and, most pointedly of all, to accept counsel. The importance of received history and how it is relayed and utilised to mold future generations is again resonant here. Tywin relates the stories of various esteemed kings of Westeros, noting that the qualities they were most famed for – holiness, justice, strength – were ultimately not sufficient to prolong the lives of these kings or the prosperity of their kingdom. The way in which Tywin shapes his historical discourse constitutes these men as cautionary tales, examples for Tommen to learn from, but not to emulate.

The scene is significant not so much for Tywin's words as for its design, and the power dynamics which play out within. Joffrey's corpse lies prone in the centre of the sept, the most recent cautionary tale in Tywin's inventory of doomed kings, with Tommen and his

grieving mother standing by. Cersei's apparent powerlessness at this stage of the series is emphasised when her father brusquely ignores her protestations at the timing of Tommen's "lesson", and this is entirely calculated on Tywin's part; it marks the symbolic point where responsibility for Tommen's upbringing is wrested from Cersei's grip. "Your brother was not a wise king – your brother was not a good king. If he had been, perhaps he'd still be alive", the elder Lannister pointedly tells Tommen, as the shot lingers on Cersei's tear-filled eyes. The implications are clear here: that Tywin blames her for Joffrey's maladjustment, and that he will not allow her the chance to redeem herself with Tommen. As if to make manifest this separation, Tywin turns his back on Cersei and physically leads Tommen away from his mother and brother as he explains to him the need to find a wife (the wife who, from this point on, will exercise a far greater influence over Tommen than Cersei ever will).

While Cersei is spiteful and manipulative, it is hard not to feel at least some sympathy for her in this scene. Though the worst aspects of her character were undoubtedly passed on to Joffrey through her tutelage, there is also no doubt that she is fiercely protective of her children and deeply affected by Joffrey's death. Joffrey's cruel, spoiled nature stems as much from Cersei and Robert's adversarial, dysfunctional relationship and the resentful distance maintained by the latter during his upbringing. That this is the result of a doomed political union conceived by Tywin himself seems to matter little to him as he takes stewardship of Tommen away from Cersei, just as he prepares the boy to enter into another political marriage. What is also significant here is that the history Tywin imparts to influence Tommen is an exclusively male history: it is one curated by men (maesters), with men as its central figures, and relayed by a family patriarch to convey particular "truths".

Underscoring the power play in which Tywin attempts to marginalise Cersei and position himself as mentor to Tommen, we can see here the ways in which the dominant Westerosi discourse of history is constructed in a Foucauldian sense to "constitute" and reinforce particular "knowledge" around gender and power (Foucault, 1979:27). Even despite Tywin's untimely death, Tommen seems to internalise the lessons on accepting counsel, to the extent that he eventually surrenders his independence almost completely to another older, male authority figure, the High Sparrow. While his brother's sadistic, sociopathic narcissism proved his own undoing, the very different Tommen also ultimately fails to mature, becoming so dependent on the approval and guidance of surrogate mentors that he finds himself incapable of going on when they are violently taken from him.

The prince that was promised

The examples explored so far depict young men who come to embody a range of hegemonic traits which are integral to normative masculinity in the feudal patriarchy of Westeros: honor, tradition, dominance, piety. All are ultimately doomed to die young, and, given Martin's propensity to subvert the norms of the genres he draws on, perhaps this is to be expected. However, Jon Snow also embodies this hegemonic template, at least to a degree. Writing about depictions of the medieval hero in historical cinematic epics, Ilan Mitchell-Smith (in McDonald, 2011:3) suggests that a typical male protagonist is defined and celebrated "by the violence he commits", and Jon Snow is certainly depicted as proficient in combat. He is also courageous, shows sufficient leadership qualities to be chosen as Lord

Commander by his Night's Watch peers, and, at least in the series, is classically attractive and (by Ygritte's testimony) sexually proficient, connoting the "sexual validation" that Donaldson (1993:645) associates with "culturally idealised" hegemonic masculinity. As much as Martin ostensibly sets out to challenge traditional representations of gender within the genres his work is influenced by, it is arguable that he ultimately reaffirms them through positioning a male character who embodies so many of these traits at the centre of this heroic narrative.

It is necessary, though, to qualify these claims. Though his physical strength is visually signified through his ripped torso, Jon is lean rather than thickly muscled, and significantly smaller than many of his peers; Jaime Lannister, archetype of the courtly knight in the series, looms noticeably taller than him on their first meeting, using his superior size and strength to intimidate as he pulls Jon in on a less than friendly handshake (1x1). Regarding Snow's attractiveness, it is worth noting that this is often framed within the series not as evidence of his rugged masculinity, but rather as a means of feminising him. Specifically, his appearance is most often described by other characters as "pretty". Ygritte calls him "a pretty lad" (2x7 "A Man Without Honor"), Orell decries her for thinking that "pretty" will make her happy, (3x7 "The Bear and the Maiden Fair"), and Craster tells Snow that he is "prettier than half my daughters" (2x1 "The North Remembers"). It is notable that this is a description which recurs specifically in Jon's encounters with wildlings, and that in none of these instances does it seem meant as a compliment. Rather, it is a way of reaffirming that Jon and other Westerosi men lack the hardness of those beyond the wall. Thus, it is a discourse which positions Jon's masculinity as subordinate within this world,

even when coming from Ygritte (it is worth noting here that it does not seem incongruent for Ygritte to insinuate herself within these hierarchical discourses, the culture of the "free folk" seeming somewhat more egalitarian and devoid of the more pronounced performance of gender roles that we often see in normative Westerosi society). This sort of framing extends even to the extra-textual life of the series, with Kit Harington complaining that being objectified with words like "hunk" in popular criticism is "demeaning (...) in the same way as it is for women (...) when an actor is seen only for her physical beauty" (*PageSix.com*, 2015). Again, physical attractiveness is framed here not as a hegemonic trait of the male hero, but rather an acutely feminising one.

There are signs from an early age that Jon resists typical Westerosi conceptions of gender and power. It is Jon who encourages Arya's rejection of the passive subjectivity she is indoctrinated into by gifting her with Needle, her first sword, as a leaving present, even in contravention of Ned's initial wishes. When he jokingly tells her to "stick 'em with the pointy end" (1x2 "The Kingsroad"), the symbolism in the implied appropriation of patriarchal power is obvious, and foreshadows the kind of subversive power Arya will eventually wield within the series. This tendency becomes even more pronounced in Jon as a result of his tumultuous relationship with Ygritte, during which he is forced to recognise her as a potentially lethal physical threat to him as much as a lover. As previously argued, the wildling culture is more egalitarian and gender-blind than that of Westeros, exemplified not just by Ygritte but by other spearwives like Osha, whose resourcefulness is such that Maester Luwin identifies her as "the only one" who can protect Bran and Rickon (2x2 "Valar Morghulis). The impact of Jon's time amongst this culture cannot be understated: "Aye, I

talk like a wildling. I ate with the wildlings, I climbed the wall with the wildlings, I laid with a wildling girl", he angrily responds when Janos Slynt questions his description of the free folk (4x1 "Two Swords"). While it would be wrong to describe the society that exists north of the wall as "uncultured", the untamed landscape does seem to lend itself to a way of life which lacks much of the systemic indoctrination inherent in "civilised" society, and this undoubtedly plays its part in shaping Jon's character.

It would be too simplistic however, to conclude that Snow's uniqueness resides in his feminine or feminist qualities, or indeed that these qualities exist without ambiguity in the character. Much of Jon's narrative arc is, after all, a very homosocial one, from his voluntary immersion in the fraternal culture of the Night's Watch, up to his ultimately disastrous foray north of the wall with Beric, Jorah and the rest of the exclusively male raiding party (7x6 "Beyond The Wall"). For all his encouragement of Arya's rebellious side, he also struggles to trust Sansa's judgement or potential leadership skills after their reunion. If Jon is not an unproblematically feminist character, though, I would argue that he is a non-hegemonic character, in spite of ostensible appearances. Despite his lofty secret lineage, he is raised as a bastard, loved by most of his family but clearly demarcated as Other - like his direwolf, "the runt of the litter". From an essentialist perspective, Jon is not nearly as bound by the chains of symbolic history as his peers, since he is effectively an orphan (both biological parents dying before he is able to know them). His time at the wall also surely plays a part in his perception of normative Westerosi values and the nature of "knowledge" in Westeros. Spending a large portion of his formative years as part of a very masculine homosocial order might typically be expected to bind Jon to the prevailing hegemony of Westeros, but the

reality is very different. He is swiftly disillusioned of his notions about the Night's Watch as a noble vocation of warriors and heroes, finding instead a motley collection of rapists, thieves, and disgraced nobles who he must now count as his "brothers". This serves as a valuable lesson on the veracity of heroic myths in Westeros, and how these myths are constituted in service of power. The men of the Watch exist geographically and metaphorically at the margins of Westeros, and Jon's experience as part of this culture is another means by which he is distinguished from his significant peers within the text.

Where peers like Tommen defer to guidance from established authority figures, damning them to reconstitute the burdensome history and structures they represent, Jon's closest confidant and advisor is Samwell Tarly. Though highborn, Sam is disowned and regarded with contempt by his warrior father, who sees him as all the things he is not. Sam is "peaceable rather than violent, conciliatory rather than dominating" – the kind of character traits which Connell and Messerschmidt (2005:67) identify as typically subordinated within hegemonic formations of masculinity. This subordination often takes the form of "abuse" (Connell, 1995:79), verbal and physical, and Sam suffers both, threatened physically and taunted with names like "piggy" by other Night's Watch recruits. Jon steps in to defend him, and Sam eventually serves as a stand-in maester at Castle Black. A case can also be made that Snow is not quite so bound by codes of honour as the hegemonic archetype of the hero might typically connote, particularly as embodied in Robb or Ned. He willingly breaks his vows to the Night's Watch through his relationship with Ygritte, and, where Robb's deference to tradition and established codes loses him a large

part of his army with the execution of Karstark, Jon is pragmatic enough to cast aside generations of conflict with the free folk in order to recruit soldiers for his battles to come.

Killing the boy

In spite of the key differences I have underlined, Jon Snow does ultimately meet the same fate as these exemplars of flawed Westerosi masculinity. When read allegorically in light of the ultimately fatal flaws these characters carry with them from childhood, death works to constitute a definitive break with aspects of the old order. Death also has another function within the text, however, one concerning renewal. The insistence that "only death can pay for life" is a recurring theme within the narrative, so death is articulated as a highly ambiguous concept, one which also has productive power. That Jon is resurrected after his death sets him apart from the other characters explored in this chapter. The motif of "killing the boy" in order to "let the man be born" is an integral part of Jon's arc, beset with connotations of maturation as a hardening process. Aside from the violence inherent within the language, the implication is that the transition to manhood is not a process of evolution, but a clear break with childhood and all that goes with it. Snow is first confronted with the entreaty by Aemon Targaryen, maester at Castle Black, upon his initiation as Lord Commander (5x5 "Kill The Boy"). Aemon tells him this is necessary because "winter is almost upon us", and the sense of implicit pain in the allegorical act as both inevitable and necessary recalls the broader Stark family ethos, the familiar mantra of "winter is coming" not so much a grim forecast as a call to vigilance and preparedness. Although it is

configured in the narrative as a symbolic act which Aemon urges Jon to perform himself, it can also be read in the light of Jon's murder as something which Martin sees as necessary for his final evolution as a character, and to fully dispel the conventions he seeks to subvert through the character. Catherine Johnson argues that the ways in which fantasy texts engage their audiences invite them to question "not the fantastic aspects themselves, but the normative conventions of the everyday" (Johnson, 2005:7), and the use of resurrection in this case can be seen to perform a similar function.

After Jon's death and resurrection, he is more able to make a definitive break with the norms of the past. Where "killing the boy" in the other examples highlighted in this chapter constituted finality, an end to the ideological crutches that came to dominate the characters (and the culture surrounding them), in Jon's case it is an allegorical means of freeing him from the same constraints. Where previously he showed pragmatism where the wildlings were concerned, his attempts to balance this with appeasement of the traditions of the Night's Watch ultimately see him killed. His murder (5x10 "For The Watch") unfolds as a symbolic attempt to reassert the standards of the old order. Lured from his quarters to a post marked with the word "traitor", a procession of men line up to drive a dagger into him. Each one of Jon's assassins repeats the words "for the Watch" as they deal their blow, the mantra intended to underline the consequences for anyone who would attempt to change the old ways. After the "boy" in him has been exorcised, he condemns his betrayers to die with it, telling Edd after the executions that "my watch is ended" – a clear statement that any allegiance he held to the ways of the past is no more (6x3 "Oathbreaker").

The younger Jon demonstrated a willingness to test the boundaries of Westerosi gender norms, scorning the prescriptive subjectivity expected of women and recognising the warrior spirit in Arya and Ygritte, however he still spends much of his life in service to custodians of the old ways, such as Stannis. After his resurrection, he is able to fully break with these norms. It is significant that, while Jon is murdered by men in defence of the traditions of an exclusively male order, he is brought back from death by a woman, Melisandre (6x2 "Home"). Jon's "rebirth" is not instantaneous (each onlooker having left the room after the apparent failure of Melisandre's ritual before he awakens), and nor are the changes in his character – as previously mentioned, he is reluctant to cede significant responsibility to Sansa. When they do occur, however, they are far more definitive than previously, most emphatically demonstrated in willingly bending the knee to Daenerys (7x6 "Beyond the Wall"). Doubly significant here is that this occurs directly after Daenerys has rescued Jon from certain death, a reversal of the common theme within fantasy fiction of "women in need of rescue" (Westfahl, 2005:709). Jon's foray beyond the wall with Thoros, Gendry, Sandor, Beric, Jorah and Tormun is initially evocative of the archetypal outnumbered male "fellowship" that battles seemingly insurmountable odds to overcome evil, so the inglorious culmination of this mission is another example of the subversion of gender norms and heroic tropes within Jon's arc. This, then, marks the ultimate conclusion in his trajectory as an agent of disruption of hegemonic norms within the series.

Conclusions

Archetypes of hegemonic masculinity are prominent throughout *A Song of Ice and Fire*, part of an embattled culture in violent flux and increasingly struggling to endure as the story progresses. Jon Snow functions within this context as a vehicle through which Martin reconfigures the traditional male "hero". At once hegemonic and resistant, he is a contradictory figure – the embodiment of the symbolic union of Stark "ice" with Targaryen "fire" - who promises change even as he typifies the heroic archetype. Death, here, functions not only to suggest a break with the past, but also the possibility of renewal.

Though other young men in the story struggle to leave behind the burden of history, and so must die in order for these lingering influences to be exorcised, Snow's trajectory after resurrection suggests a more flexible embodiment of masculinity, one in which deference does not equate to weakness or subordination, and heroism is malleable rather than unyielding.

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¹ On numerous occasions, I refer to George R.R. Martin's storytelling or characters, though I use a combination of examples from both books and TV series to illustrate my points. Because of certain talking points which concern parts of the story which have not yet been reached within the novels, it is necessary to adopt this multimedia approach to my analysis, and any references to Martin as author which seem to conflate these

divergences reflect my trust that these representations constitute a faithful interpretation of his intention fo as yet unpublished works.	