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■ **Derik A. Badman**, Academic Buffy Bibliography **PDF Version (Acrobat Reader Required)**

■ **Arwen Spicer** (University of Oregon), "Love's Bitch but Man Enough to Admit It": Spike's Hybridized Gender **PDF Version (Acrobat Reader Required)**

■ **Rhonda V. Wilcox** (Gordon College), T. S. Eliot Comes to Television: *Buffy*'s "Restless" **PDF Version (Acrobat Reader Required)**

■ **David Lavery** (Middle Tennessee State University), "'A Religion in Narrative": Joss Whedon and Television Creativity **PDF Version (Acrobat Reader Required)**

■ **Massimo Introvigne** (CESNUR), Brainwashing the Working Class: Vampire Comics and Criticism from Dr. Occult to *Buffy* **PDF Version (Acrobat Reader Required)**

Recommended. Here and in each issue of *Slayage* the editors will recommend writing on *BtVS* available on the Internet.

■ Todd Hertz, Don't Let Your Kids Watch *Buffy the Vampire Slayer: But You can Tape It and Watch After They Go to Bed"* in **Christianity**Today

■ Skippy R., Door Theologian of the Year [Buffy the Vampire Slayer]

■ Laurel Bowman, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*: The Greek Hero Revisited

■ Anne Crawford, Now It's Buffy the Thesis

Derik A. Badman

Academic Buffy Bibliography

Introduction

(1) With the recent slew of articles and books (not to mention online sources) coming out with academic/ critical views of the TV series Buffy the Vampire Slayer -- and to a lesser extent its spin-off Angel -- I thought it would be helpful to create a bibliography, enabling interested parties to quickly find sources rather than going out searching for them.

(2) I was not able to limit the scope of this project with any clear cut boundaries. Some articles obviously belong and some are more marginal. Inclusion is based on my subjective opinion of what constitute an academically or critically minded discussion of the series. Most of the pieces represented are taken from the two books published exclusively on the show (*Reading the Vampire Slayer*, *Fighting the Forces*, *Red Noise*, and *Buffy the Vampire Slayer and Philosophy*) and the online journal *Slayage*. The rest of the (print) articles were found by searching various databases related to (mostly) humanities. Weeding out irrelevant articles -- industry news, star-based articles, minor news bits, etc. -- became more difficult the closer I veered toward popular publications. Which is all to say, I may have missed a little or a lot, so please send me any suggestions for addition. Online articles are even more problematic with the surfeit of Buffy sites out there; separating the wheat from the chaff is more luck (and help from others) than anything else.

[The bibliography with limited annotations (and updated as necessary) can be found at http://madinkbeard. com/buffy.]

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Arwen Spicer
"Love's Bitch but Man Enough to Admit It": Spike's Hybridized Gender

 [1] The transgression (or lack thereof) of conventional gender roles in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* is a recurrent theme in *Buffy* criticism. Zoe-Jane Playden argues that *Buffy* challenges traditionally masculine definitions of autonomy by developing empowering models of community-based action (138). In contrast, Farah Mendlesohn points to the limits of the show's transgressiveness, exploring the mechanisms through which a queer reading of the Buffy/Willow relationship is systematically denied. I take up this theme of gender transgression through the particular instance of Spike. Though Spike initially appears as a strongly masculine character, I argue that he crosses the boundaries of conventional gender identifications, enacting a hybridized identity that is simultaneously coded masculine and feminine. While Spike's feminization becomes a locus of disempowerment for his character at various times, I suggest that it is his very liminality--the impossibility of consigning him to a predetermined gender category--that empowers him in the Buffyverse, enabling him to navigate the complex gender inversions that mark a community oriented around a heroic, female Slayer.

[2] As the field of gender studies increasingly distances itself from essentialism, its focus has shifted to the ideological construction of gender. In the words of Judith Butler, "There is no gender identity behind the expression of gender: that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (qtd. in Weir 214). Instead of being a passive category into which one is born, gender becomes a continuous personal activity that can either subvert or reproduce dominant ideologies--and often does both within the sphere of a single individual's actions. In *Buffy*, however, the subversive aspects of the characters' engagement with the ideologies of gender is stressed from the first scene of the first episode, in which the supposedly frightened, teenage girl, Darla, suddenly reveals herself to be a deadly vampire, thereby actively shifting her positioning from typical female victim to transgressively female victimizer ("Welcome to the Hellmouth" 1001). From the beginning, *Buffy* promises to be a show that will challenge prevailing gender categorizations.

[3] Such transgressive acts of individual construction can be measured against the necessarily patriarchal background of the town of Sunnydale, which for all its fantastical forces, remains a late-twentieth/early twenty-first century American town enmeshed in the power relations that typify that very real historical context, relations that traditionally cast women as inferior and subordinated to men. It is, therefore, not surprising that when male characters on *Buffy* are described as "feminized," the word is often linked to their subordination. A. Susan Owen, for instance, argues for Xander's feminization because he (and Willow) play "les femmes to Buffy's butch performance [. . .]" (26): they subordinate themselves to her dominant role. Likewise, Anne Millard Daugherty suggests that Giles's status as "feminized male" (150) in his first meeting with Buffy is linked to his subordination to her: "His gaze, obviously neither sexual nor objectifying, is rather like that one would give to a new master" (151).

[4] But while the fact of patriarchy is an inescapable element both in Sunnydale and in our readings of *Buffy*, the show's challenge to the patriarchal order is equally inescapable: the title character is a young woman hero who "kicks butt" and saves the world. In a social context of patriarchy, it can be argued that if Xander and Giles are men coded feminine, Buffy is a woman coded masculine. This observation is valid. At the same time, such codings have the potential to lead to the reification of masculine gender as synonymous with power, feminine gender with weakness, a move that undoes much of the transgressive work of placing a woman in an empowered and heroic position in the first place. There is a risk that Buffy, like Elizabeth I, may become reinscribed within the patriarchal order as a hero who is acceptable because she is really a masculine figure in a woman's body.

[5] I know of no one, however, who suggests that *Buffy* is this reductive. Its challenge to gender roles goes beyond a simple assignment of male roles to women and female roles to men. Instead *Buffy* repeatedly depicts a hybridization of conventional gender roles within individual personalities in ways that evade categorization. The traditional tropes of gender persist, but they become so dissociated from their traditional correlations to physical sex that they often interrogate more than support the gender roles they typically define. We may question whether this hybridization of conventional gender positionings is ultimately as challenging to notions of gender as the total dissolution of such positionings would be. But since the Buffyverse is situated in a patriarchal society that utilizes preestablished gender stereotypes, we must acknowledge that it would be difficult for *Buffy* to address issues of gender without engaging with such stereotypes. Whether or not *Buffy* could upset these conventions more than it does is a question for another essay. It is my intention, here, to explore how the highly reductive tropes of gender are rendered subversive through their unconventional utilization within the character of Spike.

[6] To a certain extent, Spike embodies the familiar figure of the strongly masculine man who becomes disempowered (emasculated) through his relegation to feminine roles. At the same time, he troubles the traditional identification of the male with power, the female with disempowerment by choosing to align himself with certain female-coded categories in a way that broadens his capacity for agency in a community that defies narrowly defined patriarchal power. The arc of Spike's character development throughout the first six seasons of *Buffy* can be described as a progressive movement away from an ultimately disempowering masculine alignment toward a more empowering hybridization of masculine and feminine gender roles.

[7] The Spike initially introduced in Season Two is in many ways a paragon of masculinity, one half of a symbolic whole completed by his ultra-feminine lover, Drusilla. Their very names establish this division of roles: "Spike" obviously phallic, "Drusilla" flowery and feminine. From their arrival in Sunnydale in "School Hard" (2003), the two vampires present gendered mirror images of each other. Spike is a bleach-blond who wears black (with a touch of red), Drusilla a brunette in white. Spike opts for hardwearing leather and denim, Drusilla for a lacy dress. Like their clothes, their behavior patterns typically fall into binary gender oppositions. Spike is the thinker and planner of the couple: his tactical skills are evident in his sneak attack on the high school in "School Hard." In contrast, Drusilla--who is so much the "irrational woman" that she is literally insane--makes up for her lack of mental clarity with a prophetic second sight, an enhanced version of "woman's intuition." Spike is physically strong: his first attack on Buffy nearly defeats her. Though Drusilla is intrinsically a formidable threat in her own right, when she is introduced, she is severely weakened as a result of an attack by an angry mob ("Lie to Me" 2007). Thus, she is circumstantially, if not essentially, the vulnerable damsel in need of continual care. While Spike delights in violence and mayhem, Drusilla seduces her victims with hypnosis ("Becoming Part 1" 2021): she is a vampire with "feminine wiles."

[8] Spike and Drusilla are introduced as a thoroughly harmonious couple; their roles--delineated by clear gender categories--complement each other ideally. Drusilla needs nurturing and protection; Spike is validated as a lover through his ability to provide them. When this happy arrangement breaks down as Season Two progresses, it is not surprising that it breaks along gender lines. Cracks appear, for instance, when Spike captures Angel, Drusilla's sire, so that they can use his blood in a spell to heal her ("What's My Line Part 2" 2010). In an attempt to anger Spike, Angel mocks him for not satisfying Drusilla sexually. That

the gibe succeeds in rankling Spike is evidence of his own insecurity with his masculine role. In the same episode, two other events occur that unsettle Spike and Drusilla's gender dynamic: Drusilla gets her health back, and Spike breaks his back. The episode closes with a reversal of gender roles, showing Drusilla rescuing Spike by physically carrying him to safety. For most of the remainder of Season Two, Spike, confined to a wheelchair, is reduced to being fed puppies ("Passion" 2017) by the woman for whom he used to bring home victims ("School Hard"). That this newly invigorated Drusilla abandons her white outfits in favor of black and red, Spike's signature colors, symbolically intensifies the growing ambiguity of their positions.

[9] The tensions escalate after "Innocence" (2014), which sees the return of a newly unsouled Angel/ Angelus to his old family, Spike and Dru. Owen argues that Angel--his name not withstanding--is one of the show's most masculine characters, a "site of perfected masculine appeal" for Xander and Cordelia and enabler of "various cliches of heterosexual romance" for Buffy (27). The extreme masculinity of his gendering is also evident in his relationships with his fellow vampires. Angelus is the progenitor of the other two. [1] Spike's one-time "Yoda" ("School Hard"), he has variously been father, mentor, and leader to the others and slips easily back into his prior role as dominant male. That Spike is wheelchair bound and--to judge from Angelus's jabs--incapable of having sex with Drusilla completes his relegation to emasculated other, substantially excluded from the plans and activities of the new male/female pair of Angelus and Drusilla. Needless to say, Spike is not pleased, and the end of the season finds him recovered from his injuries and making a concerted attempt to regain his old position as Drusilla's "man" by joining forces with Buffy against Angelus ("Becoming Part 2" 2022).

[10] Superficially, this attempt meets with some success: while Buffy is battling Angelus, Spike renders Dru unconscious and, in true caveman fashion, carries her off, bound for parts unknown. His triumph, however, is short-lived. In "Lover's Walk" (3008), a miserable Spike returns to Sunnydale, lamenting to anyone who will listen that Drusilla has left him because he "wasn't demon enough [read "man enough"] for the likes of her." Indeed, the fact that he did not get Drusilla away from Angelus on his own but required Buffy's (a woman's) help rendered his masculinity suspect before he ever left Sunnydale. Spike's solution is to win back Drusilla by reaffirming his male power over her: in other words, he will "be the man I was" and "tie her up and torture her until she likes me again" ("Lover's Walk"). There is an implicit contradiction here. Spike is identifying his "old self" with a pattern of behavior (torturing his girlfriend) that we have never seen in him. His interactions with Drusilla have typically been tender; when he punches her in "Becoming Part 2," he claims he does not want to hurt her, and she certainly appears unprepared for the blow. In effect, Spike is not proposing to become his old self at all but rather attempting to remake himself in the image of Angelus, the super-masculine dictator whose success with Dru and penchant for torture are well-documented (for example: "Innocence," "Passion," "Becoming" (parts 1 and 2)). Not only has Spike ceased to represent an image of unadulterated masculine power; judged by the standard of Angelus, he never represented it.

[11] In fact, from his introduction, Spike betrays characteristics that unsettle masculine stereotypes. He slays Slayers, who are all women. On the surface, this vocation can be read as a typical attempt to impose male physical power on the female, denying female agency by eliminating the strongest of female agents: the girls who save the world. This element is clearly present: Spike's gleeful assault on Buffy after a spell has turned her into a helpless eighteenth century princess ("Halloween" 2006) in particular comes to mind. But there is more than misogyny at work here. Spike loves a challenge. His pursuit of a prey whose primary mission in life is to prey on his kind demands a taste for danger. A Slayer is one of the most dangerous perils a vampire can face, and Spike's very interest in confronting them validates them as such. In essence, Spike perpetually chooses a woman to be his sworn nemesis: his approximately equal, opposite match. In placing himself on a level with the Slayer, he collapses the traditional hierarchy that places man above woman, embracing instead a field of battle in which gender becomes substantially irrelevant: the only qualifications that matter are strength and skill.

[12] This problematizing of gender identity is particularly evident in the showdown between Spike and Buffy in his introductory episode, "School Hard." Spike has attacked the high school on parent-teacher night. When Buffy confronts him, she is armed with an axe, he with a pole. She asks, "Do we really need weapons

for this?" In reply, he quips, "I just like them. They make me feel all manly," then drops the pole, prompting her to drop the axe. This interchange establishes an unsettling of gender roles in which Spike, with obvious irony, acknowledges his masculine positioning, then immediately undercuts it. He jokes that weapons make him feel "manly," but his rejection of the phallic pole suggests either that his confidence in his masculinity is not, in fact, linked to this traditional symbol of manliness or that he does not have a strong investment in defining himself in "manly" terms. Either way, he refuses masculine stereotyping just as Buffy, through her identity as the Slayer, refuses feminine stereotyping. Having cast away their weapons, Buffy and Spike engage in a hand-to-hand fight that can be read as a mutual rejection of phallic power--but manifestly not of physical force per se. In other words, their combat can be read as a confrontation in the sphere of feminine physical strength.

[13] It is only when Spike takes up a weapon again that he is able to get the upper hand, a move that seems to reassert traditional masculine dominance as well as reinscribing Spike as the traditional "manly man." Victory eludes him, however, for Buffy's mother, Joyce, comes to her daughter's rescue by hitting him over the head with the axe Buffy has dropped. Unable to fight off both Summers women, Spike beats a retreat with the final exasperated exclamation: "Women!"--perhaps in reference to the commonplaces of mother love and female solidarity as opposed to solitary male action. On one level, in keeping with Buffy's mission statement, female empowerment has triumphed over masculine power structures. Yet the scene's problematizing of gender runs deeper than a simple reversal that empowers the feminine and disempowers the masculine. It is through a hybridization of "feminine" family values and "masculine" physical force that Buffy and Joyce achieve their victory. Similarly, Spike's parting shot both disparages women as perennial irritations to men and acknowledges their (here quite literally physical) power to defend themselves and their communities against aggressive men. Even while he is regendered as conventionally masculine, Spike's (albeit tacit and grudging) regard for feminine power suggests that he retains his ability to question traditional gender alignments.

[14] In "Fool for Love" (5007), Spike's own account of killing his second Slayer makes his crossing of gender borders more explicit. We learn that his signature black coat is a trophy (or at least symbol of the original trophy) taken from this dead Slayer. One of his most enduringly masculine accouterments is, figuratively if not literally, an article of female clothing. In a sense, Spike is cross-dressing his way into the same gender positioning as the women he fights. This assumption of a feminine positioning is, in this instance, synonymous with his ability to kill Slayers. If Spike's ultimately too masculine gendering contributes to his failure to kill Buffy in "School Hard," his act of feminine self-gendering at the death of his second Slayer is linked to his formidability as a villain. The unalloyed power of patriarchy is not equipped to contend with a female Slayer, but Spike, in choosing to transcend simplistic masculine coding, becomes a contender.

[15] Spike's challenging of traditional gender dichotomies is an increasingly pronounced aspect of his character in Seasons Four through Six. In Season Four, the demon-fighting Initiative places a microchip in his head that causes him excruciating pain whenever he tries to hurt a human, effectively terminating his tenure as the "Big Bad." The chip, likewise, brands him as emasculated: his chipped state is likened to impotence in "The Initiative" (4007) and "Pangs" (4008) and to castration in "Villains" (6020). Thus neutered, Spike finds himself increasingly aligned with Buffy's Scooby Gang, particularly when he discovers he can still beat up demons and, therefore, indulge his taste for violence by helping the good guys. The end result, as Spike himself observes in a bit of metanarrative from "Normal Again" (6017), is to "make me soft so I'd fall in love with [Buffy], and then turn me into her sodding sex slave." Chipped Spike provides numerous opportunities for character exploration that would be denied to an unambiguous villain. The Spike who emerges is increasingly coded feminine. To be sure, he retains numerous stereotypically male traits: his name, his wardrobe, his fondness for smoking, drinking, poker, punk rock, cars, and motorcycles, to say nothing of his continuing delight in violence. He remains, at least overtly, vigorously--sometimes violently--heterosexual: toward the end of Season Six, he nearly rapes Buffy ("Seeing Red" 6019). At the same time, he acquires a growing number of female-coded characteristics, both new developments and revelations about his past.

[16] It becomes increasingly clear, for instance, that Spike eschews homosociality as a framework for his

relationships. His most intensely emotional ties have been to Cecily, Drusilla, Buffy, and Angelus: three women and one man. The women are all romantic interests, which I will discuss further in due course. Here, it is enough to observe that each woman is presented as a primary focus of Spike's attention in her own right. In no case does homosocial male rivalry play a determining role in his attachment. Moreover, his only significant relationship with a man, Angelus, is problematized by the suggestion of a sexual component. While the relationship presents no overt homosexuality, the two vampires share a physical closeness unusual in male-male relationships on *Buffy*. When Spike and Angel first encounter each other in Season Two, they unhesitatingly embrace ("School Hard"). (Compare this scene with Xander and Giles's awkward handshake-turned-hug in "Bargaining Part 1" (6001).) When Angelus rejoins Spike and Dru in "Innocence," one of his first acts is to kiss Spike on the forehead, a move that Kristina Busse observes is often read by fans as evidence of an emotional and physical involvement between the two vampires (210). If we read this relationship as homosexual, it fits a dominance-submission paradigm in which Spike is coded as submissive female; Angelus's dictatorship over the group does not readily admit another possibility. Thus, Spike's only close male-male relationship, far from following the "normal" pattern of homosocial bonding, implies his feminization, this time, in a typically disempowering light.

[17] More positively depicted, however, is his similarly feminine tendency to form platonic friendships with women. His only typically masculine friendship is with the sweet-tempered, floppy-eared demon, Clem, who becomes a minor recurrent character in Season Six: the two play cards ("Life Serial" 6005), watch TV, and munch buffalo wings together ("Seeing Red"). Although Spike spends part of Season Four living first with Giles and then Xander, his relations with both of them remain distant, becoming emotionally (and always negatively) intense only when mediated by the stronger connections each has to one of the female characters: typically Buffy or Anya. In contrast, Spike is surprisingly successful at maintaining friendships with women. He is emotionally attached to both Buffy's mother, Joyce, and younger-sister-who-is-really-the-mystical-Key, Dawn. Despite Joyce and Spike's rocky first encounter in "School Hard," they quickly settle into an amiable relationship. Over the years, we see them discuss his break-up with Drusilla ("Lover's Walk"), debate the soap opera, *Passions*, ("Checkpoint" 5012), and chat about Joyce's job ("Crush" 5014). When Joyce dies, Spike's genuine grief at least partly motivates his decision to help Dawn resurrect her: "I liked the lady," he says explicitly ("Forever" 5017). Spike and Dawn, meanwhile, become something of a duo in Season Five as Buffy entrusts him with the task of protecting her sister from the deadly god, Glory. Though Spike is primarily invested in Dawn because he wants to please Buffy, his solicitude toward her cannot be dismissed as solely an attempt to win points with the woman he loves. After Buffy's Season Five death, Spike continues to act as Dawn's "baby-sitter." The beginning of Season Six suggests that the two have developed a sincere friendship: they chat about Dawn's disaffection with school and play cards ("Bargaining Part 1"). Later, Spike not only attempts to defend her from invading demons but addresses her fears in a fashion that shows a certain degree of insight into her mental state: "Dawn, I get that you're scared. But I'm your sitter. So mind me. . . I'm not going to let any o' those buggers lay so much as a warty finger on you" ("Bargaining Part 2" 6002).

[18] Even in his peripheral relationships, Spike is more apt to seek companionship with women than men. In two episodes, "Where the Wild Things Are" (4018) and "Entropy" (6018), Spike and Anya commiserate over their love lives (and, by implication, their exclusion from the core of the Scooby Gang). Although they eventually have sex in the latter encounter, their primary interaction is not sexual. Rather they offer each other mutual support based on the common experience of rejection. Perhaps Spike's most unlikely companion, however, is his ditzy vampire girlfriend of Seasons Four and Five, Harmony. There is no question that this relationship, at least for Spike, is based on sex. His primary feeling for Harmony as a person appears to be annoyance: "I love syphilis more than I love you," he tells her in "The Harsh Light of Day" (4003). Yet though Harmony is the partner more invested in the relationship, she is the one who ultimately walks out on him ("Crush"). In fact, despite his irritation with her, Spike chooses to spend a great deal of time with her, even playing twenty questions with her at one point ("Out of My Mind" 5004). These various connections to the women on *Buffy* go a long way toward humanizing Spike's character. Through these relationships, he gets the chance to engage in normal, human conversations (or what pass for such in the Buffyverse); to be drawn into doing good deeds; and sometimes even to share the angst of the other characters. In as much as such occurrences are designed to make Spike a more sympathetic character, they make him more sympathetic to the other characters as well as the viewers. To a significant degree, it is Spike's ability to relate on friendly terms with women that wins him a place in Buffy's

substantially female community. In this community, an ability to form ties with women in much the same way as other women might is clearly an instance of social empowerment. If Spike's pronounced sociality is a strength, however, it also suggests the weakness of a fear of solitude; he would rather even be with Harmony than be alone.

[19] This need for companionship--in both its empowering and disempowering lights--can be read as another of Spike's feminine characteristics. Traditionally, masculinity implies being solitary and independent, a "lonely hero," in the words of Rhonda Wilcox (4). [2] Following this paradigm, Angel once again emerges as a traditionally masculine figure. He spends the better part of a century wandering by himself and, even in his later, more social, years has a tendency to insist on facing his troubles alone: he goes so far as to fire his team rather than accept to their criticism and their worry for him in "Reunion" (*Angel* 2010). In contrast, "femininity," as Playden has discussed, is aligned with defining oneself in terms of relationships with others. [3] It is this means of self-definition that Spike principally practices. He spends most of the twentieth century taking care of Drusilla. Yet in spite of his acute pain at losing her, he attaches himself to Harmony just a year later. While still involved with Harmony, he finds himself desperately in love with Buffy, and throughout much of Season Five and all of Season Six methodically constructs his behavior around (often misguided) attempts to win her favor, be it through protecting her sister, patrolling with her, or being sexually available.

[20] While this drive to seek personal meaning through other people clearly has its pathological overtones, it is also one of the chief factors that win Spike a place, albeit peripheral, in the Scooby Gang. Playden argues that the power structure endorsed by <u>Buffy</u> is oriented not around authority figures but around participatory citizenship in which each person's active contributions are valued: "The Scoobies' contingent, contextualised, functional form of participatory management is in strong contrast to the enforced, patriarchal, hierarchical structures which typify the series' evil leaders" (138). Among these leaders, Playden cites the Master, Principal Snyder, and the Mayor (138). Interestingly, she does not include Spike, though his entrance in Season Two places him, to some extent, in this paradigm of the patriarchal leader deploying his minions. Even in the beginning, however, Spike troubles the hierarchical model. In "School Hard," he rejects the authority of the Annointed One, while simultaneously limiting his own authority through cooperation with Drusilla. In later seasons, his ability to construct non-hierarchical relationships with several of the people who make up the Scooby Gang enables him to participate in the diffused power relations of that community.

[21] But if his tendency for relational self-definition wins him provisional acceptance among the Scoobies, it likewise heightens his suffering over his failed romances. Unhappily for Spike, it is these romantic relationships that are most constitutive for his sense of self. I have already mentioned that three of his four primary relationships are explicitly romantic; each one ends in his rejection. Cecily, the unrequited love of Spike's pre-vampire life, describes him as "beneath me" ("Fool for Love"); Drusilla leaves him for a chaos demon; Buffy at first rejects him outright, then, in Season Six, has a brief sexual relationship with him but continues to refuse an emotional connection. In "Lover's Walk," Spike remarks famously, "I may be love's bitch, but at least I'm man enough to admit it." In this explicit exercise in hybridizing gender, Spike casts his identity as a forlorn lover in the feminine and the courage required to confront that identity in the masculine. His assignment of these specific genderings is conventional. His feminizing of the heartbroken lover, in particular, follows the current pop culture notion that in romantic relationships, "men are from Mars; women are from Venus." In other words, men are substantially motivated by desire for sex, women by desire for love or companionship. [4] Though it goes without saying that Spike has a vigorous libido, "love's bitch" clearly inhabits the Venus side of the equation: he is a feminine lover.

[22] This gender inversion is most plain in Spike and Buffy's Season Six liaison: he is in love with her; she is using him for sex. Indeed, Buffy repeatedly denies any emotional attachment, asserting that he is merely a "convenient" object ("Wrecked" 6010). Though her incessant dismissal of him as an evil, soulless thing has a touch of protesting too much, her declarations that she is not finally in love appear sincere. Once she is sufficiently recovered from the trauma of her death and resurrection to no longer need Spike in order to "feel," she seems content with her decision to break the relationship off. Spike, on the other hand, as much

as he enjoys sex with Buffy, is continually pushing for a deeper emotional tie. He avows at various points that he loves her and that she will love him ("Wrecked") or does love him ("Seeing Red"). In "Dead Things" (6013), he asks her sincerely, "What is this to you? This thing we have?" suggesting a need to understand her own view of her connection to him: sex without an interpersonal relationship is not enough.

[23] Ironically, it is this feminized status as the used and rejected lover that substantially prompts Spike's near rape of Buffy, an assault which is a desperate attempt to get her to acknowledge that she does "feel" something for him ("Seeing Red"). Here, the conjunction in Spike's character of the feminine convention of the clingy lover and the masculine convention of violent lover results in a violation of the woman he loves that horrifies even him. Yet out of this horror comes Spike's determination to transform himself by embarking on a journey that eventually leads to the restoration of his soul. The same hybrid identity that brings out some of his worst characteristics gives him the ability to surpass them.

[24] I have attempted to demonstrate that the incorporation of certain feminine positionings into Spike's character works to empower him as well as disempower him. Significantly, instances of disempowerment are correlated with passivity, instances of empowerment with active agency. Thus, when Spike is feminized by others, such as Angelus and Drusilla, he loses power. When he codes himself as feminine in his battles with Slayers, he typically gains power. The message, as one would expect from *Buffy*, is that self-authorization is vital to personal empowerment. To be constrained to enact any given set of gender constructs is to be reduced to a readily manipulable stereotype. To reject or claim such constructs according to one's own proclivities, however, is to establish an identity that cannot be categorized, and therefore readily controlled, by external ideological forces. Like every enduring character on *Buffy*, Spike slips through the fingers of definition, continually recreating himself through whatever codes, masculine or feminine, best suit his individuality. This ability to claim the prerogatives of both masculine and feminine conventions allows him to adapt and persist in the Buffyverse, where the characters' performance of their individual gender identities is constantly challenging the validity of reductive gender roles.

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Notes

[1] Angel's familial relationship to Spike has become an infamous example of a changed premise: In "School Hard," Spike identifies Angel as his sire, while in "Fool for Love," (5007) his sire is Drusilla. One could argue that the latter choice intensifies Spike's feminine alignment, placing him closer to a female than male line of succession. Whether Angel is Spike's sire or grandsire, however, he remains a potent male authority figure for the younger vampire.

[2] Wilcox argues that *Buffy* pointedly links the turmoil and alienation Buffy suffers at the end of Season Two and the start of Season Three to her positioning herself in this role of lonely hero (7). The message, Wilcox suggests, is that "when you go it alone, you go to hell"(7): through Buffy's misery, the show interrogates the valorization of the solitary masculine hero.

[3] Playden describes feminism as a system of thought that "places community and the organization of ideas in webs of relationship in the foreground" (126). She contrasts this community emphasis with the traditions of patriarchy that stress hierarchical leadership, "ranking ideas in strict layers of importance [. . .]" (126). Both Playden and *Buffy* advance the feminist model as a more productive, participatory means of social organization than the patriarchal model based on discipline and obedience. At the same time, the pre-feminist tradition that requires women to define themselves solely in terms of their relationships with others is itself an aspect of the patriarchal order that subordinates women to male authority. Playden cites the robot April as an example of relational definition taken to a pathological extreme: constructed by Warren purely to fill his own needs, April can find no reason to exist outside of him ("I Was Made to Love You" 5015; Playden 143). What *Buffy* finally advocates is a balance, what Playden calls "autonomy within relationality" (143), in which the traditionally masculine emphasis on a strong individual identity is put into the service of a system that values individuals as unique contributors within a social web.

[4] Victoria Spah has discussed how Spike and Buffy's Season Five relationship corresponds to the courtly romance tradition. According to this paradigm, Spike's obsessive devotion to Buffy in the face of her consistent rejection recalls the devotion of the knight to his lady, gendering Spike as masculine. Spah's reading of this relationship is undoubtedly valid, and there is no reason it cannot coexist with the more modern popular tradition that casts the "romantic" lover as feminine. Indeed, the fact that in this single plot line, Spike can be read as either masculine or feminine underscores the extent to which gender categories are socially constructed.

Rhonda V. Wilcox
T. S. Eliot Comes to Television: *Buffy's* "Restless"

This paper was first given at the Popular Culture Association in the South convention in Charlotte, NC, October 2002.

> What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow
> Out of this stony rubbish? Son of Man,
> You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
> A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,
> And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no relief,
> And the dry stone no sound of water.
>   T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*

[1] In 1945, Joseph Frank said of T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* that it "cannot be read; it can only be reread" (Brooker and Bentley 24). The same might be said of the *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* episode "Restless," which aired May 23, 2000, as the last episode of the fourth season (4022). (I use the term reader to refer to someone engaged in intellectually active television viewing; cf. Fiske and Hartley's *Reading Television)*. In the Wilcox and Lavery collection *Fighting the Forces: What's at Stake in Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, Don Keller notes a third season dream sequence that draws on imagery used in the section of *The Waste Land* called "What the Thunder Said" (175-76). I would like to propose an even more thoroughgoing correlation of technique between *The Waste Land* and the "Restless" episode. I should note that, like David Lynch and Mark Frost's *Twin Peaks*, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* is generally seen as *auteur* television, with the *auteur* in question being creator, writer, and director Joss Whedon (Lavery 251-52). I should also emphasize at the outset that although there are also some specific similarities of content, my main focus is on similarities of technique. Both works are fragmented into major sections; both depend on dream logic and non-linear segues. Both also depend heavily on allusion and symbolic resonance. Finally, both overcome the fragmentation by thematic unity and the power of myth.

[2] At its first appearance, *The Waste Land* received both praise and repudiation, in part because of its fragmentary, nonlinear organization. In 1939, Cleanth Brooks declared, "There has been little or no attempt to deal with it as a unified whole" (59); though he and others like him soon addressed that critical challenge. The five sections of *The Waste Land*--"The Burial of the Dead," "A Game of Chess," "The Fire Sermon," "Death by Water," and "What the Thunder Said" are now generally seen as depicting the sterility of modern life in light of the ancient myth of the Fisher King (as described by Jessie Weston), who needs to

be reborn and redeem the land. One dream-like sequence floats to the next, as we move from children at the archduke's to the Son of Man to the Hyacinth Girl to Madame Sosostris to Stetson's friend, and from the Cleopatra-like beauty at her dressing table to Philomela to Dido to Lil's friend in the pub, and so on and on.

[3] In television land, the dreamlike is justified by being presented as literal dream. The "Restless" episode is constituted of four dreams of the four main characters, enveloped by brief opening and closing segments in which we see that they have gathered for a late-night video-viewing, only to fall asleep. The four characters are the hero, nineteen-year-old Buffy Summers, the Chosen One who battles vampires, demons, and the forces of darkness; her mentor or Watcher, the British scholar Rupert Giles; and her best friends, the brainy young budding witch Willow Rosenberg, and the loyal, funny Xander Harris, brave but apparently incapable of worldly success. A typical *Buffy* season ends with the grand fight against the year's major villain, whether it be an ancient vampire, demonic ex-lover, town mayor turned gigantic snake, or bitch-goddess from another dimension. In "Primeval" (4021), season four's penultimate episode, Buffy and company fight the Big Bad of the year, a California version of the Frankenstein monster made up of not only people parts but silicon, steel, and various demon bits. When the seemingly hapless but often helpful Xander points out that they'd need a "combo-Buffy" with the group's various skills to defeat their monster, Giles prepares them and Willow guides them in performing a magical joining of which the creature's mechanistic patchwork is mere parody. Together, they call on the spirit of Sineya, the very first Slayer in the long unbroken line of female fighters against evil, and together, they defeat the monster, the technological product of the science labs of The Initiative, a government-run military-industrial complex which represents, of course, the military-industrial complex.

[4] "Restless," as I have noted elsewhere, represents the psychic cost of that joining of the four friends ("Who Died," 9); most clearly, the emotional effort necessary for the magical bonding in the one episode "Primeval," but also, the difficulty of rejoining at the end of Buffy's freshman year of college, during which time the four friends have drifted apart (as episodes such as "The Yoko Factor" [4020] make clear); even further, it might be said to represent the cost of the effort necessary throughout the entire series for the group to work together. And as many of us have noted, relationship in community versus solo heroism is a highly important theme in *Buffy* (Wilcox, "Who Died"; Playden; Rose; Wilcox, "Who Died").

[5] In *The Waste Land*, Tarot cards are used by Madame Sosostris on one level simply for cheap fortune-telling; however, her words also genuinely foretell the need for rebirth; she tells the truth in spite of herself. In "Primeval," Willow uses Tarot-like, large, named picture cards to identify each of the four main friends: Spiritus, spirit, for Willow, or Will, as she is called; Animus, Heart, for Xander; Sophus, Mind, for Giles; and Manus, the Hand, for Buffy. This segment is re-shown in the "Previously on *Buffy*" set of brief clips before the airing of "Restless" proper; and the dream sequences are presented in the given order: first Will's, then Xander's, then Giles's, then Buffy's. The card choices represent qualities of each of the characters: Willow, who as a witch acts in the spirit-world and whose very strong will-power is spiritual, not physical; the non-magical Xander, who often has nothing but heart to keep him going; Mind, for the erudition provided by the well-educated ex-librarian Giles; and Buffy the warrior as the hands in battle. It might also be argued, though, that Spirit, Heart, Mind, and Body can be seen as aspects of one person; the first three all being non-physical qualities, and the fourth representing incarnation in the form of the hero. Thus, too, the four dreams in "Restless," the four acts in the teleplay, can each be seen as representations of the psychic difficulties of the four characters, and can also be seen as aspects of character necessary to be explored and joined in order to achieve a heroic wholeness. It is only when we reach Buffy's dream that the foe is conquered.

[6] It should also be noted that the seemingly external threat battled in "Restless" is actually something from within (paralleling the idea that the whole dream-set represents aspects within a person, not just separate personalities). The characters only gradually catch glimpses of the threat: in Willow's first brief view it is not possible to tell if what she sees is human (it seems it might be a giant spider; it turns out to be a head of hair); and the same thing can be said in the second segment, Xander's. In Giles's view it can be identified as a person (one whom *Buffy*-creator Whedon referred to as The Primitive), and the attentive reader may know by the end of Giles's section that the being who "never had a Watcher" is the very first prehistoric Slayer, Sineya (the beginning of an unbroken line of female champions), whom they

called on in "Primeval." By the end of Buffy's segment, we are clearly seeing a young woman who, though she is dressed in ritual face paint, has a merely bemused expression on her face as she tips her head to listen to Buffy offering rather acerbic fashion correction. Though Buffy refuses to be controlled by the first Slayer (she tells her, "You're not the source of me"), still she recognizes that Sineya has shown her something within herself (the "roots that clutch"); and by the first episode of the following season, Buffy is asking Giles to help her explore that wilder side within. Thus the battle being fought in "Restless" can be seen as a struggle with the self. The unity of these friends is parallel and equivalent to unity within the self, unity of spirit, mind, and heart embodied in the hands that, in the larger myth of *Buffy*, hold the fate of existence (whether that existence is personal or universal). And the actions and interrelationships of these characters show some of the major themes of *Buffy*--communal connection vs. the solitary fight; growth and the search for self; and the importance of the ordinary in making meaning of life.

[7] A thorough-going analysis of "Restless" would probably need to proceed act by act with exegesis. But for this brief essay, I will, act by act, abstract some examples. In addition to the fragmentary but unified structure, a notable commonality of *The Waste Land* and "Restless" is the use of allusion to a degree atypical for their respective formats. T. S. Eliot, of course, provided extensive notes to explicate his allusions. Joss Whedon, on the other hand, does not use footnotes on network television (though I will nostalgically note that *Northern Exposure* once included a bibliographic entry in the closing credits); however, the information is accessible to TV readers through the many active internet discussions of *Buffy*. I mentioned exegesis a moment ago; Kip Manley has a website devoted to "Exegesis and Eisegesis" of "Restless." Often information comes out bit by bit in various online discussion groups; but it is a testament to this unusually rich text that "Restless" has its own site. It is worth noting that many readers of Whedon engage actively with the text in order to gain their equivalent of footnotes. More recently, Whedon has also offered voiceover commentary on the fourth season DVD. "Restless" uses both extratextual and intratextual allusions. The intratextual are perhaps the most important; but for this essay, I will focus on the extratextual, which are actually simpler, and which more directly follow Eliot's methods.

[8] Willow's dream begins with one of the most attention-getting extratextual allusions in "Restless." In season four Willow has entered into a lesbian relationship with Tara, a fellow UC Sunnydale student and witch, who makes her first appearance earlier in the season in the well-known episode "Hush" (4010). Willow's dream begins in Tara's red-curtained, womb-like room, where Willow is using a brush to write black Greek letters on Tara's back. It could hardly be more appropriate that she is spelling out a Sapphic ode, probably the most famous: the "Prayer to Aphrodite" ("[Throned in Splendor, Deathless, O Aphrodite]").[1] It is even more appropriate that in the second line, in the Richard Lattimore translation, Aphrodite is referred to as a "charm-fashioner"; the modern witch Willow is asking for a magic charm to gain love. Though in the source poem the love object is reluctant, Tara is not reluctant at this point (though she is later). However, Willow already has many self-doubts about her love relationships, which include years of unrequited love for Xander and a failed relationship with the werewolf musician Oz. Thus the allusion is multiply appropriate for Will because the poem touches on the ideas of Sapphic love, magic for love, and difficulty in love. Willow tells Tara, "I don't want to leave here"; she would prefer to stay in the womb-like space. But she needs to grow and uncover her true self.

[9] Outside the window is a glaring desert brightness which Willow contemplates but does not directly enter. (As Joseph Campbell notes, the desert is among "the regions of the unknown [. . . which] are free fields for the projections of unconscious content" [79], and which represent that other world in which a hero must quest [58].) Instead, having told Tara she may be late for drama class (cf. Alice in Wonderland), Willow finds herself at school in that class thrust into a performance of a cowboy musical version of *Death of a Salesman*, with stage curtains of the same dark red as Tara's room (and for that matter as the red-room dream space in *Twin Peaks*). Willow's fellow actor Buffy tells her, "Your costume's perfect. Nobody's going to know the truth--you know, about you." Tara, who is not in the play, serves now as a commentator to Willow (and later, even more like Eliot's Tiresias, to Buffy). When Willow asks Tara if something is following her and Tara says yes, Willow follows up by asking, "What should I do? The play's gonna start soon and I don't even know my lines." Tara answers, "The play's already started--that's not the point. [. . .] Everyone's starting to find out about you--the real you. If they find out, they'll punish you--I can't help you with that."

[10] In the sixth-season musical episode "Once More, with Feeling" (6007), one of the Whedon-written songs opens with the line, "Life's a show, and we all play our parts," and in "Restless," as in many other places in *Buffy*, the drama metaphor is very consciously explored. The play within Willow's dream has already started; the TV series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* is at that moment under way; and of course, Willow's life (not to mention all of *our* lives) is already ongoing. She will have to step out of that womb of safety whether she wants to or not. Willow's fear of revealing her real self is something with which many people can identify, and is certainly applicable to other *Buffy* characters. In this context the opening scene with the Sapphic ode may suggest that Willow fears others' judging her lesbian sexuality, which has only recently been revealed to her closest friends. But the fear for her (and some of us) has other elements; for Willow, her intellectualism has made her different. In the last scene of her dream, Willow has regressed to a young girl standing in front of a class giving a report on *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe*, being dressed in a childish jumper that looks just like the one she wore in the series' first episode (the clothing that lay underneath her college outfit when dream-Buffy ripped it off). She is being mocked by her current and former lovers and all the rest of her closest friends. "This book has many themes," offers the child-version of the young intellectual who grows up to write in Greek and who is very well aware that there should not be a cowboy in *Death of a Salesman*. As the Jewish Willow Rosenberg, always the good/obedient schoolgirl, begins to explicate a book well-known for its Christian symbolism, her breath, spiritus, is sucked out of her. This is the first of three deaths which reflect the victim's role as indicated by the Tarot-like cards.

[11] Eliot took his original epigraph for *The Waste Land* from Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness* (Brooker and Bentley 34), and *Heart of Darkness* in the cinematic form of *Apocalypse Now* is the guiding allusion for Xander's dream. In the opening envelope section, Xander asks the friends at this vid-fest to choose to view the "feel-good romp" of *Apocalypse Now*, though Will asks for something "less *Heart-of-Darknessy*." Both Eliot and Whedon chose *Heart of Darkness* in part, of course, because it is a story of a soul's descent into the underworld of darkness. Though the kindly Xander, the "heart" of the group, does not seem a candidate for darkness, and indeed his dream (like the entire series) has touches of revealing humor, it is still true that he grapples here with his own hidden problems. While Buffy and Willow have gone off to college, the academic underachiever Xander has not, and in the fourth season he searches fruitlessly for good work and is forced to live in the basement of his parents' home, a dark place from which he is unable to emerge. Metaphorically, he is unable to emerge from his parents' kind of life and from the darker sides of their natures. As the repeated line for Willow's dream is "they're going to find out about you," the repeated line for Xander (said by both Buffy and Willow) is "I'm way ahead of you." Near the beginning of Xander's segment, as they watch a purposefully bad dream representation of *Apocalypse Now*, " Giles says, "I'm beginning to understand. It's all about the journey," and on the journey of life Xander feels his friends are ahead of him. He is still in the dark place, as a seriocomic interlude with Sunnydale Principal Snyder in the role of Mr. Kurtz makes clear.

[12] David Lavery points out that in this dream sequence, the character/actor, in moving from one dream moment to another, is literally moving from one connected series set to another (253-54). In effect, the dark space we need to explore is not only the parental basement but also the backstage of the series (a continuation of the stage metaphor in Willow's segment)--and the subconscious of our minds. Xander tells Snyder, "I'm just trying to get away"; he tells Buffy, "You gotta be always moving forward." He addresses her as she plays in a sandbox which is film-cut to be revealed as a desert--the desert Willow saw out her window. When he warns Buffy that "it's a pretty big sandbox," she answers, "I'm way ahead of you, big brother." But every time he tries to move forward, he finds himself back in the basement. Time and again he looks up the stairs towards the place his parents live--parents that Buffy-readers know to be drunken, argumentative, and neglectful--and Xander says, "That's not the way out." (It is no wonder that two years later, the sight of his arguing parents decides him against going through with his own wedding ceremony.) In the last scene of his segment, he confronts the dream version of his father, who berates him for not coming upstairs, saying Xander cannot change things: "You haven't got the heart." Then we see a blurry image of the face of Sineya as she rips his heart from his chest. Xander may be trying to acknowledge his dark side, as represented by his failed familial relationships, his sexual desires, the qualities in himself he sees as like his parents, and his own self-doubts--but he is not yet truly ready to move forward.

[13] While Xander carries forth the desert motif, Giles moves forward more overtly with the dramatic motif. In his segment he takes a childlike Buffy and his overseas girlfriend Olivia, pushing an empty baby stroller, to a carnival in a cemetery, where the punk vampire Spike has hired himself out as a sideshow attraction. Like Willow, Giles is faced with performing in this segment, though he--the most mature member of the group--is not troubled by being on the stage of life, and sings quite comfortably at the local hangout, The Bronze (where Xander's girlfriend Anya also tells jokes in Giles's dreams). But like the others, he feels something is missing in life; both Buffy, as they enter the carnival, and Spike, as Giles turns from Spike's crypt, tell the Watcher, "You're gonna miss all the good stuff" (Spike says "miss everything"). Olivia reappears weeping by the overturned baby stroller, clearly suggesting some unfulfilled elements of Giles's life (and, in fact, of Buffy's life: a normal marriage with children seems unlikely for either). And Spike, as he vamps for tourist's photographs, admonishes Giles: "You gotta make up your mind, Rupes. What are you wasting time for? Haven't you figured it all out yet with your enormous squishy frontal lobes?" The power of the mind is not adequate to solve all problems, as Spike, the ultimate id-character (Wilcox, "'Every Night'"), well knows. The source of Giles's problem is indicated by an extratextual allusion. When Olivia tells him to "go easy on [Buffy] the girl," he answers, "This is my business--blood of the Lamb and all that." The blood of the Lamb, of course, is the sacrifice of the innocent, specifically Jesus; and, as more than one Buffy reader has noted, especially since her sixth season sacrificial death and rebirth, Buffy is often a Christ-figure. Giles's life is absorbed by guiding the savior of the world--to the point that he has perhaps lost perspective on life. In the opening and closing scenes of his dream, he refers directly to his job as Watcher. In the latter, he recognizes the first Slayer and declares, "I can defeat you with my intellect"; but we next see thick blood pouring down as Sineya, the Primitive, slices his head: sophus. No matter how noble your purpose, enormous squishy frontal lobes are not enough.

[14] In the last dream, the longest and farthest sojourn in the desert is made: by Buffy. There she sees a spirit guide in the form of Tara, who, like Eliot's Tiresias, is a character who has crossed sexual boundaries and now acts as a wise observer in strange places. On her way there, Buffy confronts her current boyfriend, an officer in The Initiative, and she meets the never-before-seen human version of The Initiative's Frankensteinian creature, who is himself an extratextual allusion, and not just to Mary Shelley. The creature is called Adam. Riley tells her, "Buffy, we've got important work to do. Lot of filing, giving things names." Buffy then asks of Adam, "What was yours?" And he answers, "Before Adam? Not a man among us can remember." After he says the name Adam, blue emergency lights come on and an intercom voice says, "The demons have escaped--run for your lives." When Adam says no one can remember the name he owned before he became changed by the military-industrial complex, he is referring to his loss of human identity. Also, though, given that he has worn the name of the Biblical first man, the namer of all creatures, it can be suggested that he refers to a prehistoric, pre-patriarchal age; and Zoe-Jane Playden connects *Buffy* to pre-biblical, female-centered mythology. Now in her dream Buffy goes forth to the place of testing in the desert (cf. Jesus) and meets the first Slayer, whom she is able to resist. She holds a stack of the Tarot-sized picture cards, and we see for the first time on the cards not a single still, drawn image, but the moving picture of the four friends, seated in Buffy's living room. With this talisman, visually representing the communal spirit of the four friends, Buffy is able to resist; and when told, "The Slayer does not walk in this world," she answers with an assertion combining the love of the simple and everyday with the voice of heroism and the saved Fisher King's prediction of the flood of redemption: "I walk. I talk. I shop. I sneeze. I'm going to be a fireman when the floods roll back. There's trees [cf. the tree of life] in the desert since you moved out. And I don't sleep on a bed of bones. Now give me back my friends!"

[15] Given this essay's limits, I cannot finish here, but I will briefly conclude. ("Hurry up, please, it's time.") It is not possible to fully understand "Restless" without having viewed the other 120+ hours of the *Buffy* series: it both reflects the past and predicts the future of the series. To give just one example: Don Keller points out that in Buffy's dream in the third season episode "Graduation Day" (part two), a second Slayer, Faith, refers prophetically to "Little Miss Muffet counting down from seven-three-o," and thus adumbrates the arrival of Buffy's heretofore nonexistent sister Dawn two years later, with 730 equalling two times 365 days, or two years (167; cf. Kaveney 24). Now, in "Restless," Buffy says, "Faith and I just made that bed," explicitly recalling the third-season dream (through the intermediate reminder of a dream in the fourth season's "This Year's Girl," [4015]) before we hear from another prophetic voice, Tara's. Buffy says that her friends need her to find them, and notes, "It's so late" (Xander and Willow have said the same). She looks at a clock which says 7:30 a.m.--showing the numeral seven-three-o, again; but

now spirit guide Tara says, "That clock's completely wrong," because, in fact, Dawn will appear in the next episode, the first of season five; she is no longer 730 days away. And as Buffy leaves, Tara quietly tells her, "Be back before dawn," referring to a time of day and naming a character not yet in existence, but prepared for two years earlier. In the depth of his intratextual references to over six seasons of material, Whedon explores untraveled territory. In this respect more than any other, perhaps, "Restless" needs to be re-read, not just read.

[16] But for now it is worth noting that in his extratextual allusions, dream logic, mythic explorations, and unity beyond fragmentation, Whedon follows the path of T. S. Eliot. This essay has only touched the deep waters of the desert dreams of "Restless." I'll close with the last words of the episode, spoken in the prophetic voice of Tara: they apply most directly to the nineteen-year-old Buffy, but also, as the episode's structure shows us, to the whole series (Lavery 254), to its authors, and to us the readers: "You think you know what's to come--what you are. You haven't even begun."

Notes
[1]Having studied Greek a bit myself, I used the pause button (repeatedly) to verify that it is, indeed (as various internet lists noted), Sappho's Aphrodite Ode written on Tara's back. The presentation is a bit confusing because the words are not separated; hence, on Tara's back, the second line begins "tAphrodite" (to use our alphabet).

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David Lavery
"A Religion in Narrative": Joss Whedon and Television Creativity

This paper was first given at the Blood, Text and Fears conference in Norwich, England, October 2002.

> I'm a very hard-line, angry
> atheist. . . . Yet I am fascinated
> by the concept of devotion.
> Joss Whedon

(1) At the end of the first episode of the new season of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer,* now beginning its seventh, and possibly last, season, an episode written by series' creator Joss Whedon, all the Big Bads from the first six seasons reappear. Warren morphs into Glory into Adam into Mayor Wilkins into Drusilla and finally into The Master, each picking up in turn, an oration delivered to the newly ensoulled, newly returned to Sunnydale, mentally disturbed Spike.

> SPIKE: The thing is . . . I had a speech. I learned it all. Oh, God. She won't understand, she won't understand.
> WARREN: Of course she won't understand, Sparky. I'm beyond her understanding. She's a girl. Sugar and spice and everything…useless unless you're baking. I'm more than that. More than flesh . . .
> GLORY: . . . more than blood. I'm . . . you know, I honestly don't think there's a human word fabulous enough for me. Oh, my name will be on everyone's lips, assuming their lips haven't been torn off. But not just yet. That's alright, though . . .
> ADAM: . . . I can be patient. Everything is well within parameters. She's exactly where I want her to be. And so are you, Number 17. You're right where you belong . . .
> THE MAYOR: . . . So what'd you think? You'd get your soul back and everything'd be Jim Dandy? Soul's slipperier than a greased weasel. Why do you think I sold mine? (laughs) Well, you probably thought that you'd be your own man, and I respect that, but . . .
> DRUSILLA: . . . you never will. You'll always be mine. You'll always be in the dark with me, singing our little songs. You like our little songs, don't you? You've always liked them, right from the beginning. And that's where we're going . . .
> THE MASTER: . . . right back to the beginning. Not the Bang . . . not the Word . . . the true beginning. The next few months are going to be quite a ride. And I think we're all going to learn something about ourselves in the process. You'll learn you're a pathetic schmuck, if it hasn't sunk in already. Look at you. Trying to do what's right, just like her. You still don't get it. It's not about right, not about wrong . . .
> BUFFY: . . . it's about power.

"Back to the beginning." "In our end is our beginning," as we know from Eliot, and if "the last of earth left to discover is that which was the beginning," as "Little Gidding" tells us, then it shouldn't surprise us that Whedon might seek there the narrative secret of his creation as it begins its possible end. Nor should it surprise us that the morphing finally reveals not a Big Bad but Buffy herself. For is it not Sarah Michelle Gellar's possible departure from *Buffy* that inspired all this talk of beginnings? (That the show just might go on without either its star or creator is both "the beauty and horror of it" [Longworth 218].) And was it not concerning Gellar's character that we heard (spoken by Tara, ventriloquized by the First Slayer) the

admonition, "You think you know . . . what's to come . . . what you are. You haven't even begun," Janus-words which this critic has always taken to be a meta-commentary—about the series itself, about its narrative potential as much as they are about its eponymous hero. "It's about power," she announces to Spike. Though we will no doubt need to follow the trajectory of Season 7's arc to its end before we know for certain what the "it" refers to, we have already met the "power." "You could never hope to know the source of our power," Über-Buffy scolds Adam before ripping out his uranium power core in Season Four's penultimate "Primeval." Adam might not know, but we have glimpsed its essence: *Buffy's* power source is narrative.

(2) Emily Nussbaum reports in a recent profile of Joss Whedon in the *The New York Times* that she witnessed "a dewy young woman" who "leaned forward and gripped [Whedon's] hand between hers, pulling him in for enforced eye contact: 'I just want you to know—we trust you. We know you know what you're doing. We know it will be great'." Asked in an interview about such fan idolization of his series and himself, Whedon modestly deflects the question, insisting that such adulation is not really personal.

> It's about the show, and I feel the same way about it. I get the same way. It's not like being a rock star. It doesn't feel like they're reacting to me. It's really sweet when people react like that, and I love the praise, but to me, what they're getting emotional about is the show. And that's the best feeling in the world. There's nothing creepy about it. I feel like there's a *religion in narrative*, and I feel the same way they do. I feel like we're both paying homage to something else; they're not paying homage to me. (*Onion AV Club* Interview; my italics)

"They" may not be but I am—continuing a process I began in the Afterword to *Fighting the Forces*, a brief essay I called "The Genius of Joss Whedon" and which I hope to continue in a book comparing and contrasting the creative processes of thirty-something Whedon and fifty-something David Chase, the television lifer who created *The Sopranos.* All I can offer here is a preliminary intelligence report on the avatar of this narrative religion. As John Briggs and Jonathan Gray have just admirably demonstrated, it is wise, after all, before reality and myth begin to blur, to establish whatever truth we can about the founder of a new faith.

(3) **Of course such attention to the creator** of a television series was, until recently, extremely rare. Since television arose in a time in which the "death of the author" was proclaimed by such important intellectual figures as Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault, and even the "death of the auteur," that supposed movie creator—first promulgated by French cineastes like François Truffaut and American critics like Andrew Sarris—capable of giving individual, even autobiographical, shape and substance to the highly collaborative process of cinematic creation, was likewise proclaimed, serious consideration of authorship in the often anonymous medium of television has been suspect from the beginning.

(4) But literary authors, oblivious to their extinction, continue to publish, cash in royalty checks (as William Gass once quipped), and appear on talk shows, movie directors continue to attract a good deal of attention, and now even television auteurs have become prominent in the way we think and write about the medium. The major figures at century's end—Steven Bochco (*L.A. Law, Hill Street Blues, NYPD Blue*), Joshua Brand and John Falsey (*St. Elsewhere, Northern Exposure*)—began to yield prominence to emerging new talents. Indeed, at the beginning of a new millennium we seem to be witnessing in the US the emergence of a number of significant, and sometimes prolific, television auteurs: David E. Kelley (*Picket Fences, The Practice, Ally McBeal, Boston Public*), J. J. Abrams (*Felicity, Alias*), Aaron Sorkin (*Sports Night, West Wing*), David Chase (*The Sopranos*), and Joss Whedon, spoken of, in a recent *Entertainment Weekly* piece, as the next new Bochco (Jensen).

(5) **We know quite a lot about Whedon's influences.** A graduate of Wesleyan University with a degree in film studies, Whedon, we know, loves Dickens. We know that he is the "world's biggest Sondheim fan" (and once dreamed, long before authoring the fabulous "Once More with Feeling," of creating a musical based on the Oliver North hearings). We know that Edward Gorey, Marvel Comics, especially early *Spiderman* and John Byrne-era *X-Men,* Frank Miller and Alan Moore are all major inspirations. That he greatly admires Steven Soderberg and Ang Lee and the Wachowski brothers (he speaks of wishing to eat their brains in order to acquire their genius). That he has watched admiringly *The Simpsons, Twin Peaks, West Wing, The Sopranos, Party of Five* ("a brilliant show," according to Whedon, which often "made me cry uncontrollably," but "suffered ultimately from a lack of rocket launchers"), and *My So-Called Life* (he has called *Buffy* a genetic splicing of it and *The X-Files,* and in a satellite seminar on "Writing for Teens on Television" Whedon bows down, literally, before *My So-Called's* creator Winnie Holzman). But we know, too, that he was a "PBS kid," "into the highbrow British stuff that my mother [Lee Stearns] watched," who wasn't really raised on American television (Longworth 207-208).

(6) We know he loves movies—that in his college days he'd "go out and see three classic films, stagger home at 2 a.m. and then watch whatever was on HBO" (Nussbaum), and, thanks to his commentary on the

Buffy DVDs, where he mentions Hitchcock, DePalma, Lynch, Leone, Abel Ferrara, Luc Besson, Sam Peckinpah, Tim Burton, Marcel Ophuls, Woody Allen, we know something about the directors whose work he remembers (not always favorably) and sometimes emulates.

(7) We know that he counts Wesleyan University scholar Richard Slotkin, author of books like *Gunfighter Nation, Fatal Environment,* and *Regeneration Through Violence* which examine the deep cultural roots of American "mythogenesis," "the creation, 'in both maker and audience, [of tales that are] mystical and religious, drawing heavily on the unconscious and the deepest levels of the psyche, defining relationships between human and divine things, between temporalities and ultimates" [Slotkin, quoted by Tucker] and that he once greatly admired Sartre's *Nausea*. We can be fairly certain that a man who is convinced that

ultimately, stories come from violence, they come from sex. They come from death. They come from the dark places that everybody has to go to. . . . If you raise a kid to think everything is sunshine and flowers, they're going to get into the real world and die. . . . That's the reason fairy tales are so creepy, because we need to encapsulate these things, to inoculate ourselves against them, so that when we're confronted by the genuine horror that is day-to-day life we don't go insane [Longworth 213) . . .

has read Bettelheim's *The Uses of Enchantment.* We can assume that someone who refers routinely to the "baroque" stage in the evolution of genre has absorbed Thomas Schatz' *Hollywood Genres: Formulas, Filmmaking, and the Studio System* and who speaks of understanding "the motivation of the man with the murderous gaze, . . . of the terrible objectifying male" (Longworth 215) has mastered the ideas of Laura Mulvey. The great directors of the 1970s and 80s often were film school grads. Tarantino established the 1990's video store auteur tradition. Though himself a former video store employee and cognizant of the new auteurhood trajectory—he has quipped that "Actors wait tables, directors work at video stores" (*Onion AV Club* Interview)—Whedon may well represent yet a new career path: the film studies auteur, just as likely to be familiar with critical schools and narratological theory as with lenses and filters and aspect ratios. Perhaps this is why *Buffy* scholars feel so strong an attraction to the show.

(8) We know that *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* was a recombinant hybrid of his obsessions: "We wanted to make that sort of short-attention-span, *The Simpsons*, cull-from-every genre all the time thing. You know, if we take this moment from *Nosferatu*, and this moment from *Pretty in Pink*, that'll make this possible. A little *Jane Eyre* in there, and then a little *Lethal Weapon 4.* Not *3*, but *4.* And I think this'll work" (*Onion AV Club* Interview).

(9) We know that, in addition to being executive producer extraordinaire, Whedon has <u>written/co-written twenty+ episodes</u> of *Buffy* and <u>directed nineteen</u>, in addition to several episodes of *Angel* and of his new series *Firefly* as well. Though by his own admission he knew very little about directing and virtually nothing about creating a television show prior to helming *BtVS*, Whedon, we know, has turned out some of the series'—and contemporary television's—most memorable, and most innovative, episodes, including "Innocence," in which Angel loses his soul and becomes the evil boyfriend from Hell Angelus after having sex with Buffy; "Becoming" (I and II), which was the first time the series shot on a soundstage and used historical settings and costumes; "Hush," a marvelous experiment, which broke him, he admits, out of a devolution into a "sort of a hack TV director" (Longworth 220), in which almost half the episode transpires in silence after fairy tale monsters The Gentlemen steal the voices of Sunnydale; "Restless," an all-dream episode, "basically a forty-minute poem" (as Whedon describes it [Longworth 220]), which I have described as a kind of television *8½* and Rhonda Wilcox has compared to Eliot's "The Wasteland"; "The Body," an emotionally-wrenching depiction of the aftermath of Buffy's mother's death; and "Once More with Feeling," an ingenious all-singing, all-dancing musical, the fulfillment of a long-time Whedon ambition. Whedon written and/or directed episodes exhibit stylistic and verbal signatures too complex to explore here.

(10) And we know that it is not just his own episodes that show his influence. "I have control over all the shows," Whedon explained to ET Online two years ago.

I'm responsible for all the shows. That means that I break the stories. I often come up with the ideas and I certainly break the stories with the writers so that we all know what's going to happen. Then once the writers are done, I rewrite every script. . . . Then I oversee production and edit every show, work with the composers and sound mixers. Inevitably every single show has my name on it somewhere and it is my responsibility to make it good. . . . Every week that show is on, I'm standing in the back row, biting my nails, hoping

people like it, so I feel a great responsibility. The good thing is that I'm surrounded by people who are much smarter than I am. So gradually I have been able to let certain things take care of themselves, because my crew, my writers, my post-production crew, everybody is so competent, that I don't have to run around quite as much as I used to.

Now again masterminding not only *Buffy* (due to Marti Noxon's maternity leave) and *Angel* (due to David Greenwalt's departure for ABC), not to mention his own new series, the sci-fi/western *Firefly*, the new spinoff *Ripper* (for British television), and a still-in-production *Buffy* cartoon series—all as part of his plans for "total world domination" (Adalian) by his Mutant Enemy production company, it would seem that Whedon's dream of peace and quiet will not be coming true any time soon.

(11) We know, too, that, though now deeply entangled in television, Whedon, like *Sopranos* creator Chase, really wants to make movies. He admits that his original dream after college had long been to "head toward the movie world" (Interview with David Bianculli). Though it was in the movies that he made his first breakthrough, when Fran Rubel Kuzui butchered his screenplay of *BtVS* in 1992, though he has contributed, often as a highly paid—and sometimes uncredited—"script doctor" to a variety of films both before (*Speed* [1994], *Toy Story* [1995], *Waterworld* [1995], *Twister* [1996]) and after (*Alien Resurrection* [1997], *X-Men* [2000], *Titan A.E.* [2000]), *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* the television series came on the air in 1997; though Anthony Stewart Head has remarked that "It's only a matter of time before we lose him to the cinema" (BBC Interview), Whedon himself confesses that "I have always felt my movie career was an abysmal failure" (quoted in Tracy 44). According to The Internet Movie Data Base, Whedon once directed an episode of the television sitcom *Boy Meets World.* Though Whedon denies having done so, he does insist that he is far prouder of the *Boy Meets World* episode he never directed than he is of his work on *Alien: Resurrection.*

(12) In the medium in which he has experienced his greatest success, we know that Whedon can claim a unique genealogy. A third generation contributor to television, perhaps the only one in existence—both Whedon's grandfather and father wrote for TV**[1]**—he speaks warmly of an important parental admonition: "The best advice [my father] every gave me . . . was, 'If you have a good story, you don't need jokes. If you don't have a good story, no amount of jokes can save you.' I'm not really that interested in jokes. I like the more dramatic stuff. But that tenet of 'the story is god' is the most important thing I could have learned" (*Onion AV Club* interview). Whedon himself, we know, would contribute to both *Roseanne* and *Parenthood* prior to the making of the original *BtVS* film.

(13) But he dreamed of directing, as he confessed to *The Onion:*

> I'm sure a lot of writers want to direct because they're bitter, which is not a reason to direct. I want to speak visually, and writing is just a way of communicating visually. That's what it's all about. But nobody would even consider me to direct. So I said, "I'll create a television show, and I'll use it as a film school, and I'll teach myself to direct on TV."**[2]**

We possess at least a preliminary understanding of Whedon's basic television aesthetics.

(14) We know that he expects the medium to be smart. "I hate it when people talk about Buffy as being campy . . ," he tells Nussbaum. "I hate camp. I don't enjoy dumb TV. I believe Aaron Spelling has single-handedly lowered SAT scores." We know that, in concurrence with the Gene Youngblood axiom that entertainment gives the audience what it wants while art contributes what it never dreamed it needed, he does not want his narrative religion to be merely entertainment. "Don't give people what they want," he tells *The Onion,*

> give them what they need. What they want is for Sam and Diane to get together. Don't give it to them. Trust me. . . . People want the easy path, a happy resolution, but in the end, they're more interested in . . . No one's going to go see the story of Othello going to get a peaceful divorce. People want the tragedy. They need things to go wrong, they need the tension. In my characters there's a core of trust and love that I'm very committed to. These guys would die for each other, and it's very beautiful. But at the same time, you can't keep that safety. Things have to go wrong, bad things have to happen.

(15) "One of the things TV is about," Whedon tells James Longworth (211), "is comfort, is knowing exactly where you are. I know they're going to invite Jessica Fletcher over, one of them is going to get killed, she very politely is going to solve it. I know what's going to happen when I tune in to a particular show." But

Whedon's narrative style takes a different approach:

> With *Buffy* we'll do French farce one week and *Medea* the next week. We try very hard structurally not to fall into a pattern either, so there's not a shoot-out in a warehouse every episode. I'm very much committed to keeping the audience off their feet. It's sort of antithetical to what TV is devised to do. (Longworth 211)

But we know too that Whedon's religion must entertain if it is to have adherents: "It's better to be a spy in the house of love, you know? . . . If I made 'Buffy the Lesbian Separatist,' a series of lectures on PBS on why there should be feminism, no one would be coming to the party, and it would be boring. The idea of changing culture is important to me, and it can only be done in a popular medium" (Nussbaum).

(16) **In *The Stuff Our Dreams Are Made Of:** How Science Fiction Conquered Reality,* the always irreverant Thomas Disch, contemplating the follies of Scientology, wonders out loud why it is that the only science fiction writer ever to found a religion had to be such an awful one. Why, oh why, could it not have been, say, Philip K. Dick whose theologizing found disciples and not the reprehensible L. Ron Hubbard? The "religion in narrative" now gestating—the magazine *The Door*, we should take note, recently named Buffy the Vampire Slayer its "theologian of the year" and the series has attracted a great deal of attention from CESNUR, as the presence of such scholars as Gordon Melton and Massimo Introvigne at this conference testifies—should produce no such qualms. It's difficult to imagine it in better hands than those of the "very hard-line, angry atheist" Joss Whedon.

Notes

[1] After a career in radio (writing for such shows as *The Great Gildersleeve*), Whedon's grandfather went on to contribute to *Donna Reed*, *Mayberry RFD*, *Dick Van Dyke Show*, *Room 222.* His father wrote for *Captain Kangaroo*, *The Dick Cavett Show*, *The Electric Company*, *Alice*, *Benson*, *Golden Girls*, and *It's a Living*.

[2]] In a recent article in *Slayage,* I have summarized and commented upon Whedon's DVD revelations about his education as a maker of television,

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JOSS WHEDON WRITTEN EPISODES			
Air Date	**Episode #**	**Title**	**Director**
03/10/97	1.01	Welcome to the Hellmouth	Charles Martin Smith
03/10/97	1.02	The Harvest	John T. Kretschmer
06/02/97	1.12	Prophecy Girl	Joss Whedon
09/15/97	2.01	When She Was Bad	Joss Whedon
11/03/97	2.07	Lie to Me	Joss Whedon
01/20/98	2.14	Innocence	Joss Whedon
05/12/98	2.21	Becoming (Part I)	Joss Whedon
05/19/98	2.22	Becoming (Part 2)	Joss Whedon
09/29/98	3.01	Anne	Joss Whedon
12/15/98	3.10	Amends	Joss Whedon
02/23/99	3.16	Doppelgängland	Joss Whedon
03/18/99	3.21	Graduation Day Part 1	Joss Whedon
07/13/99	3.22	Graduation Day Part 2	Joss Whedon
10/05/99	4.01	The Freshman	Joss Whedon
11/03/99	4.10	Hush	Joss Whedon
02/29/00	4.16	Who Are You?	Joss Whedon
05/23/00	4.22	Restless	Joss Whedon
11/07/00	5.06	Family	Joss Whedon
02/27/01	5.16	The Body	Joss Whedon
05/22/01	5.22	The Gift	Joss Whedon
11/06/01	6.07	Once More, with Feeling	Joss Whedon
9/24/02	7.01	Lessons	David Solomon

JOSS WHEDON DIRECTED EPISODES

Air Date	Episode #	Title	Writer
06/02/97	1.12	Prophecy Girl	Joss Whedon
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09/29/98	3.01	Anne	Joss Whedon
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05/22/01	5.22	The Gift	Joss Whedon
11/06/01	6.07	Once More, with Feeling	Joss Whedon

The following essay by Massimo Introvigne, founder of CESNUR, provides superb "deep background" on the historical context of vampire narratives. We include it here, with Dr. Introvigne's permission, because of its obvious interest to readers of *Slayage*.

-- David Lavery and Rhonda Wilcox

Massimo Introvigne

Brainwashing the Working Class: Vampire Comics and Criticism from Dr. Occult to *Buffy*

A paper presented at the conference *Blood, Text, and Fears: Reading Around "Buffy the Vampire Slayer"* – University of East Anglia, Norwich, 19-20 October 2002

"She [Buffy] spots a bunch of obscenely sexy
Vampirella-type action figures, frowns at them."
(Script of "Seeing Red", *Buffy the Vampire
Slayer*, Season 6)

(1) In the 1959 novel *The Manchurian Candidate* by Richard Thomas Condon (1915-1996), the sinister Dr. Yen Lo subjects an American patrol captured during the Korean War to brainwashing, and explains how it all works to an audience of Chinese and Soviet generals. Brainwashing is not so uncommon, Dr. Yen Lo explains: as a certain Dr. Wertham recently proved, even Americans routinely brainwash their working class children through horror comics featuring vampires and other monsters[1]. Condon's fictional character, by quoting the non-fictional Dr. Wertham within the context of the most famous literary depiction of brainwashing, reminds us of a connection between brainwashing and comics, particularly vampire comics, which has haunted popular culture studies for decades.

(2) The academic study of popular culture (including dime novels, pulps, comics, detective and Western novels, and later popular movies) was born under a cloud. The first question which led some left-wing scholars to seriously consider popular culture was why the masses, rather than enthusiastically embrace liberal political causes, largely supported conservative and reactionary movements. Around 1920, three members of the innermost circle of Sigmund Freud's students, all Socialist sympathizers, extended their teacher's critique of religious indoctrination methods to conservative politics and schools of thought hostile to Socialism. Paul Federn (1871-1950) was the first to define the concept of «authoritarianism» in 1919.[2] According to Federn (whose ideas on the subject were later explicitly accepted by Freud) authoritarianism is

a personality trait whereby individuals who cannot make decisions case by case, typically prefer to rely on absolute-type ideologies, either political or religious. It was Federn who introduced his student Wilhelm Reich (1897-1957) to psychoanalytic theory. In the 1920s, Federn also collaborated with Erich Fromm (1900-1980) at the Psychoanalytic Institute in Frankfurt.

(3) With Freud's support and approval, Federn, Reich and Fromm further developed the concept of the authoritarian personality. They traced its origins primarily to sexual repression and an authoritarian childhood education that fixated the individual at the anal and oral stage of the Freudian model of development. Such a situation could give rise to masochism (towards people who are believed to be in authority) and sadism (with respect to people of a lower station). This situation prevents the individual from reaching a higher, mature stage, variously defined as «genital» but also as «revolutionary» (Federn and Fromm), «liberal» and even «democratic.» We see in these reflections the first sketch of a theory that belief in an authoritarian worldview is the product of a combination of a character predisposition or tendency that was formed in childhood and of a cunning ideological indoctrination that relies on the sado-masochistic results of a failed childhood development, manipulating them for its own purposes.

(4) Beginning in 1929, under the National-Socialist regime, Federn, Reich and Fromm applied the authoritarian personality model to explain why Germans embraced or «converted» to Hitler's ideology. Particularly, Fromm's wide-ranging interests—from psychology and psychoanalysis to the social sciences—led him to Frankfurt's Institute for Social Research. Founded in 1923, the Institute gave birth to the «Frankfurt School,» a fusion of psychoanalysis and Marxism. The concept of the authoritarian personality, and the description of how Fascist regimes exploit the tendency to authoritarianism of some individuals by indoctrinating them, played a major role in the development of the Frankfurt School's body of theory, under the leadership of Max Horkheimer (1895-1973) and Theodor Wiesegrund Adorno (1903-1969).

(5) In the years from 1929 to 1932, under the sponsorship of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, Fromm conducted a qualitative and quantitative study of authoritarian trends in Germany. At the time, Fromm still firmly believed in Freud's developmental stages of childhood theory (he would later reject it) and came to the conclusion that an authoritarian education was more prevalent in the middle-lower classes, including the proletariat, predicting that these social classes would not fundamentally oppose Nazism. From a historical point of view, Fromm was right. However, his mistrust about the revolutionary potential of the proletariat was not well received in the ideologically prejudiced climate that prevailed among his Frankfurt colleagues in the early 1930s. As a matter of fact, Fromm's empirical study of the German working class would be published only half a century later.[3]

(6) The «authoritarian personality» and indoctrination theory became a widely accepted explanation of the broad popularity of Fascist and Nazi ideologies. As noted, it held that unscrupulous ideologues and reactionary regimes could easily indoctrinate individuals who had been so predisposed by the education they had received in childhood. Indoctrination, the Frankfurt school argued, took advantage of three principal means: religion, popular culture (Western pulps and cheap novels, popular in Germany, were particularly singled out), and political ideology reduced to simple, black-and-white slogan.

(7) The Nazi regime persecuted the leaders of the Frankfurt School both because they were political antagonists and because they were Jews; most of them migrated to the United States. In 1934, Frankfurt's Institute for Social Research was reorganized under the aegis of Columbia University in New York and took the name of International Institute for Social Research. The Institute collaborated with the University of California at Berkeley in the « Berkeley Authoritarianism Project,»[4] an important study of the authoritarian personality and its indoctrination. The « Berkeley Authoritarianism Project», whose results were published in 1950, measured the level of intolerance (that predisposes the individual to manipulation by authoritarian ideologies) by using four psychological scales, indicated by the letters F (Fascism), PEC (political and economical conservatism), A-S (anti-Semitism) and E («ethnocentrism,» i.e. an intolerance for ethnic and religious minorities, a concept born specifically out of the Berkeley study)[5]. The research was successful among academics, but was also criticized for its political bias. While the authors measured «conservatisms» of various kinds, they were less concerned about the type of personality or totalitarian manipulation that brought so many to embrace Communism.

(8) As a matter of fact, the «Berkeley Authoritarianism Project» results were published only after the end of World War II, after the United States had replaced its anti-Nazi alliance with the Soviet Union with the Cold War. Culturally speaking, the research done by the Frankfurt School on right-wing authoritarianism was integrated into a more general theory of totalitarianism developed in Hannah Arendt's (1906-1975) work. Arendt collaborated with Carl Joachim Friedrich (1901-1984) in organizing the 1953 Boston Conference, sponsored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.[6] Psychoanalist Erik Homburger Erikson (1902-1994), a member of the Vienna Institute of Psychoanalysis who had migrated to the United States in 1934,

played an important role both at the conference and in the subsequent discussions on indoctrination. After the Boston conference, the group of post-Frankfurt theorists of totalitarian influence became divided between those who remained faithful to their left-wing politics, and others who accepted to focus their attention on indoctrination leading not to reactionary or conservative ideologies but to Communism. Most of the latter worked in projects sponsored by several U.S. government agencies.

(9) The Frankfurt theory, as re-elaborated in the United States, argued that vulnerable members of the society, including children in general and members of the working classes with limited education, are at first implicitly prepared and later subtly indoctrinated into totalitarian and authoritarian worldviews through the triple agency of authoritarian, "cultic" religion (that Fromm finally distinguished from the type of religion he called "humanistic"), popular culture, and black-and-white political slogans. To some extent in this criticism medium and message coincided: authoritarian (later called "cultic") religion, the simple ideology of popular culture, and Communism (or Fascism) were both the medium and the aim of totalitarian influence. It is also the case that, in traveling from continental Europe to the U.S., the Frankfurt theory of totalitarian influence was somewhat reduced in scope. Not all religion was believed to predispose to totalitarianism, only the "cultic" variety. Not all political black-and-white slogans were evidence of totalitarianism, only Communist (and Nazi, but the latter were no longer an actual danger). Not all popular culture was bad: the powerful American movie industry was largely left alone. The U.S. version of the Frankfurt theory became the theoretical support for a struggle against what one may call the three Cs: cults, Communism, and comics.

(10) To the oppositional counter-movements which opposed, for a variety of reasons, the allegedly damaging influence of "cultic" religion, popular culture, and Communism, the late-Frankfurt theory offered a secular explanation of how the weaker members of society were indoctrinated into totalitarian ideologies. As far as Communism was concerned, Cold War propaganda offered a simplified reduction of totalitarian influence theory under the name of "brainwashing", a word coined by Edward Hunter (1902-1978), an OSS and later CIA agent whose cover job was that of reporter, first with English-language publications in China and later at the *Miami Daily News*. Hunter expounded the theory of brainwashing in several books, starting from *Brain-Washing in Red China*,[7] first published in 1951. As used by CIA propaganda, the brainwashing theory was a caricature of the complex, Frankfurt-style scholarly analysis of totalitarian influence. In a 1953 speech Allen Welsh Dulles (1893-1969), then the CIA director, explained that Communists «wash the brain clean of the thoughts and mental processes of the past and, possibly through the use of some "lie serum," create new brain processes and new thoughts which the victim, parrotlike, repeats.»[8] In effect, «the brain under these circumstances becomes a phonograph playing a disc put on its spindle by an outside genius over which it has no control.»[9]

(11) Secular opposition to totalitarian indoctrination based on brainwashing both concurred and competed with religious opposition to the same groups perceived as totalitarian. Thus, the secular anti-cult movement which accused certain religious "cults" of brainwashing converts both co-operated and competed with a sectarian counter-cult movement which criticized "cults" because their "heretical" teachings were opposed to traditional Christianity. Whilst the distinction between "anti-cult" and "counter-cult" movements is common[10], a similar distinction can be established between a "secular" anti-Communism using the brainwashing argument and a religious counter-Communism opposing Communist atheism; and between a secular and a religious critic of popular culture.

(12) For a number of reasons, criticism of popular culture as a way of brainwashing both children and the working classes into a black-and-white totalitarian worldview focused on comics. Frankfurt theorists did notice comics at a quite early stage, and focused their criticism on the two most popular genres in the 1930s and 1940s: superhero and horror comics. After the early "platinum age" (a prehistory of sort for comics), modern comics were born in the 1930s with the predecessors of the companies still dominating the market today. Superheroes and vampire comics were born almost at the same time. Issue no. 6 of *New Fun Comics* (October 1935) by National Periodical Publications (the predecessor of contemporary DC) featured the first instalment of a story known as "Dr. Occult, the Ghost Detective". The story is famous for several reasons. It is the first story published in a comic book by Jerome "Jerry" Siegel (1914-1996) and Joseph Shuster (1914-1992) (disguised here under the pseudonyms of Leger and Reuths), the world-famous creators of Superman. As the reader will learn in subsequent instalments, Dr. Occult has special powers of his own, and he is in fact the first comic book superhero of the Siegel-Shuster duo. Last but not least, the first villain he meets is a vampire. From issue 7 (Jan. 1936) *New Fun Comics* will be renamed *More Fun Comics* and it will take two more issues, 8 (Feb. 1936) and 9 (Mar. 1936), for Dr. Occult to dispose of the vampire (and go on to deal with werewolves). Three years later, Batman himself in its fifth *Detective Comics* story (issues 31, Oct. 1939, and 32, Nov. 1939) had to deal with a vampire, The Monk, and his female assistant Darla in order to save his girlfriend Julie Madison. Batman did indeed have a girlfriend at that time, and as late as May 1997, in no. 94 of *Batman: Legends of the Dark Knight*, "Stories" by Michael Gilbert shows us the same Julie Madison, now an old lady, trapped in an elevator by

terrorists and remembering the events of 1939, when Batman saved her from the vampire. In the end, she is rescued again by Batman, confirming that The Monk, long gone, had not been really forgotten in the Batman universe. For whatever reason, vampires were very successful in comics. A bibliography I, Gordon Melton and Robert Eighteen-Bisang plan to publish next year includes more than 8,000 English-language comic books with at least one appearance by a vampire, making the vampire the second most featured character in comics history, although a distant second to the superhero.

(13) Frankfurt-style comics critics disliked both superheroes and vampires. Superheroes were criticized as quintessential icons of an omnipotent father, playing the same role authoritarian religion, in Freud's and Fromm's view, attributed to God. Readers of superhero comics were indoctrinated into the ultimately totalitarian idea that a benevolent supreme power (symbolized by the superhero, but being in the real world the State, the ruling class, or organized religion) will ultimately take care of the job, if only the common folks would learn to leave it to him (more rarely, as in the case of Wonder Woman, to her). Horror comics, in the late Frankfurt theory combining class sociology and psychoanalysis, perpetuated the fixation of both children and child-like illiterate working classes into the anal and oral stage of development, with their attending (or at least alleged) masochism and sadism predisposing those thus indoctrinated both to obey unconditionally the powers that be and to put their potential for violence at the disposal of the same powers.

(14) Late Frankfurt theorists, thus, developed the core arguments of an anti-comics theory, based on secular arguments. At the same time, both Roman Catholic and Protestant morality watchdogs (including the Catholic Legion of Decency, originally created in 1933 to lobby against immorality in motion pictures) [11] also focused on comics as pernicious elements of popular culture, for different reasons, branding them as immoral, not respecting the traditional taboos about sexuality and marriage, and conductive to juvenile delinquency (the latter a point of serious concern for secular critics, too)[12]. Both forms of criticism of comics are found in the 1930s and in the 1940s both in the U.S. and in Europe. However, as in the case of oppositional coalitions against Communism and "cultic" religion, political success could be achieved only through some degree of co-operation between the secular anti-comic movement and the religious counter-comic movement. They made strange bedfellows, since their original aims were not the same. Religious crusaders against comics were normally politically conservative, focused on sex and violence and targeted primarily horror comics. The politics of those influenced by the Frankfurt-style criticism were more often of the left-wing s type; and the allegedly "fascist" superhero comic was seen as a vehicle for brainwashing the masses into totalitarianism at least as dangerous as the horror comic. Coalitions, however, were built in several countries. In France, conservative Catholic criticism of comics , whose pioneer before World War II had been Father Louis Bethléem (1869-1940)[13], was substantially translated in their own languages by secular humanists and communists after 1945, leading to one of the largest hostile campaigns in comics history[14]. The situation in Europe (and in some Canadian provinces) was, however, different from the United States. Critics of comics outside the U.S. denounced them as a vehicle of postwar American cultural imperialism, a criticism that conservative religious and political left-wing activists may share[15]. In the U.S., of course, anti-Americanism could not be a factor, but populist opposition to "immoral big business" plaid very much the same role in building coalitions between religious and secular opponents of popular culture.

(15) How this strange alliance worked is described in Amy Kiste Nyberg' revisionist interpretation of *Seduction of the Innocent*,[16] a well-known book published in 1954 by the American psychiatrist Fredric Wertham (1895-1981)[17]. By 1954, the superhero genre had somewhat declined, and horror titles were booming, most of them including a substantial proportion of stories featuring vampires. According to Wertham, most comic books induce a sort of «negative conditioning» in America's youth leading to juvenile delinquency, totalitarian politics, and sexual problems (including homosexuality). Wertham's book and his testimony before Congress led to the signing in 1954 of the *Comics Code* that included a ban on representing horror themes and characters in American comic books. Similar or more draconian results were achieved in the U.K. through the passage of the Children and Young persons [Harmful Publications] Act and in France by the strict enforcement of the law of July 16, 1949 (which had introduced a censorship on all juvenile publications)[18], whilst in Italy an earlier anti-comic offensive led by Catholic politicians generated a draft law which was defeated in Parliament after some prominent Catholic intellectuals, including conservative novelist Giovanni Guareschi [1908-1968, who happened to be a comic fan himself], came out in favor of comics[19]. Whilst Wertham has been normally depicted by scholars of comics as the ultimate champion of censorship and bigotry, Nyberg shows how the New York psychiatrist was a politically liberal doctor who based his anti-comic crusade on the Frankfurt-style criticism of popular culture. Both superheroes and horror characters, Wertham concluded, were brainwashing children into different forms of violence and totalitarianism. Nyberg, however, is no unconditional admirer of Wertham. In fact, she notes that in order to (partially) achieve his aims the liberal, left-wing Wertham deliberately presented his anti-comic criticism in a form divorced from its political premises, and allied itself with the religious critics of comics. When, with the *Comics Code*, his campaign led to an almost total ban on horror comics, Wertham

was not satisfied, since his criticism also included superhero comics, which returned to the dominant position they had enjoyed before World War II once the horror competition was eliminated. However, since in order to carry its campaign to a larger public, Wertham had to downplay its philosophical roots in the Frankfurt criticism of popular culture, he ended up focusing on horror comics more than he had originally intended (although he always maintained that superheroes were harmful, too).

(16) Contrary to earlier opinions, recent scholars of comics no longer think that Wertham and the *Comics Code* administered a fatal blow to the U.S. comic industry. Sales did decline immediately after the *Code* came into effect, but started growing again in the late 1950s, with the return of the superheroes and the beginning of what was called the Silver Age. While other genres not affected by the *Code* (primarily funny animals and teen comics such as *Archie*) remained in business as usual, the pendulum simply switched back from horror-vampires to superheroes as the dominant presence in the market. Vampires were entirely forbidden by the *Comics Code* and disappeared from mainstream comics, although they occasionally showed up in humorous forms as opponents of Jerry Lewis or Bob Hope and became a significant presence in comics sold in magazine format, ostensibly intended for adults and, unlike comic books, escaping the limitations of the *Comics Code*[20]. Publisher Jim Warren launched the horror comic magazine with *Creepy* in 1964 (the very first issue featuring two vampire stories) and followed with *Eerie* (1965) and *Vampirella* (1969). The stories of Vampirella, a female vampire from Planet Drakulon who tries not to harm the innocent and to fight evil as best as she can, continue to this date (through a new publisher, Harris). Gold Key, a company not subscribing to the comics code (and protected by its fame of publisher of educational, quality comics) also capitalized on the success of the TV series *Dark Shadows* by introducing the corresponding comic, whose first issue was published in March 1969.

(17) These developments eventually led to the revision of the *Comics Code*: as of 1971, vampires were permitted again in comic books guaranteed by the code seal. A company called Charlton Comics was the most prolific producer of vampire comics, but the main product of the *Code* revision was Marvel's *The Tomb of Dracula*, launched in April 1972 and continuing through August 1980, with a revival in 1991-1992 and further spin-offs focusing on one of its most popular character, the African American vampire hunter Blade, extending to the present day thanks to the two recent Blade movies. It has been argued that, although acclaimed by critics, *The Tomb of Dracula* failed to attract the youngest readers and for this reason never became a best seller able to compete with the superhero titles. The problem, however, was much broader. Starting with antitrust lawsuits launched in the 1950s against the largest U.S. newsstand distributors of comics, distribution problems continuously plagued the industry, until in the 1980s direct sales to specialty stores selling only comics and related articles and (unlike newsstand and supermarkets) buying on a non-return basis largely replaced newsstand distribution. By 1990 U.S. comic stores had raised from 25 in 1975 to around 5,000, and direct sales accounted for three quarters of the distribution[21]. Direct sales also helped independent companies to compete with the two giants DC and Marvel. The latter, however, maintained their predominance through the usual superheroes in the 1980s (although not without some financial problems, which became worse in the early 1990s), a decade where the vampire genre went into a state of crisis in the U.S., perhaps for lack of new ideas (whilst in the U.K. vampire characters such as Durham Red did maintain a significant following among the readers of *2000 A.D.* and parallel publications, and humorous vampires such as Dracula's daughter Draculass, who firstly appeared in *Monster Fun* on June 14, 1975, continued to figure prominently in the juvenile comics).

(18) Dr. Wertham did not kill the comics, nor was he the only responsible for decades of financial problems. Distribution problems and the competition of the TV for teen attention were at least as important as the *Comics Code* in creating difficulties, which were however not fatal. What Dr. Wertham did was to create (unwittingly) an unbalance, in favor of superheroes, in the competition between the two most popular comics character, the vampire and the superhero. After the *Comics Code* the vampire did manage to survive in comics, particularly after the 1971 revision, but its chance, perhaps real in the early 1950s, to compete with the superhero was lost forever. Also, the post-*Code* developments created a certain separation between comic books and the youngest teenagers (most affected by the parents' reactions to the anti-comics campaigns).

(19) Then, *Buffy* happened. The impact of the movie was immediately felt in comics. In January 1993 DC launched a comic featuring a female, Buffy-like vampire slayer, Scarlett, which however had but a limited success and was cancelled after issue no. 14. Although *Scarlett* was not a bad comic, as far as the average DC miniseries go, the impact of the real article was of a completely different scale of magnitude. Buffy the Vampire Slayer first appeared in comics in September 1998 in *Dark Horse Presents Annual 1988*. A comic called *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* followed suit in the same month, and reached issue 50 in October 2002. Stories from the U.S. comic are reprinted in the official U.K. magazine, and translated in French, German, and Spanish (whilst the Italian edition was short-lived and cancelled after four issues). There have also been three subsequent series of *Angel* comics, several miniseries, and some thirty trade paperbacks collecting story arcs featuring Buffy and/or Angel. Finally, in June 2001 Joss Whedon launched *Fray*, a

comic book about a slayer in a remote future, although the enormous success of the first issue was not replicated by subsequent installments.

(20) In comic format, Buffy has not pleased all the critics, but his success has been phenomenal. Exact figures are difficult to come by, but Buffy is surpassed only by Dracula and Vampirella as the most published vampire-related character in comics (if one includes the trade paperbacks and the miniseries), and may well be the most well sold in vampire comics history. Publisher Dark Horse spokespersons have indicated that the Buffy and Angel comics have a significant following among young teens and even pre-teens. If confirmed, this is indeed very significant and may show that the Buffy comics play a significant role in winning back a younger sector for comics (particularly non-superhero comics, and more specifically vampire comics), not by competing with TV but by concluding a strategic alliance with a successful TV saga and its makers. In the TV show Buffy herself seems to mark the divide between her approach to vampire entertainment and the old horror comics featuring scantily-clad female vampires. In the episode *Seeing Red* (Season 6) Buffy visits the evil trio's lair and, according the script, "spots a bunch of obscenely sexy Vampirella-type action figures, frowns at them". Given the trio's accomplishments, and the fact that what is shown is indeed a Vampirella action figure, Buffy seems paradoxically here to be in agreement with Dr. Wertham: memorabilia of characters from horror comics, particularly of curvaceous female characters in various states and grades of nudity, are indeed found in the rooms of juvenile delinquents. The (visual) statement can also be read as marking a border: we are not this, *Buffy* (and *Buffy* comics) offer a honest show about vampires suitable for all ages (almost), where good girls are attractive for their bravery rather than for their exposed curves. No matter how unfair to *Vampirella* (which always included more than curves), and even to Vampirella action figures (only a Taliban would call them today "obscenely sexy"), the message is easy to catch.

(21) Vituperations against comics in general are however, in the meantime, declining. In 1964, ten years after Dr. Wertham's *Seduction of the Innocent*, Umberto Eco published one of its most famous nonfiction work, *Apocalittici e Integrati*[22]. The book, largely devoted to comics, settled Eco's cultural accounts with the Frankfurt approach to popular culture. Eco criticized the "apocalyptic" approach to comics, and denied that they were capable of causing a left-wing apocalypse, brainwashing the working classes into reactionary ideologies. Eco's aesthetic taste (which influenced the academic study of comics in several European countries for decades) was not particularly attracted to either superheroes or vampires (he very much preferred *The Peanuts* or *Pogo*): but he was not persuaded that Superman or Dracula may cause a cultural disaster among the working classes. Eco also criticized the American scholars of comic art who were themselves comics fans (as such, too much "integrated" in the comics consumers community to keep the necessary critical distance) and focused only on aesthetics, dismissing early cultural studies as irrelevant. According to Eco, a genuinely social scientific approach to comics should be neither "apocalyptic" nor "integrated" and discuss the comics' very real aesthetic values within an appropriate sociological and political context.

(22) Just as he had insisted that comics did not brainwash working classes into slave-like allegiance to capitalism, in the late 1960s Eco led a campaign against the Italian statute regarding brainwashing (under the old Italian name of "plagio") as a criminal offense, when the statute was used against holders of minority or fringe opinions in matter religious, political, or sexual[23]. Eventually, efforts by Eco and other intellectuals (together with different arguments advanced from other quarters) influenced the decision by the Italian Constitutional Court of June 8, 1981 which declared the Italian statute against "plagio" as unconstitutional[24]. Although developments were partially different in the English-speaking world, by the early 1990s a majority of scholars maintained that brainwashing was a pseudo-scientific concept used as a political tool against unpopular groups or cultural forms, utterly incapable of explaining complicate social processes. Just as very few scholars would maintain today that new religious movements or radical political parties "brainwash" unwitting "victims" into conversion, the idea that comics, particularly horror comics, "brainwash" weaker members of our societies (including children and poorly literate blue collar workers) into compliance with authoritarian powers should also be largely regarded as a myth.

(23) In the last section of *Apocalittici e integrati*, Eco expressed his personal dislike of vampire comics, some of them he quoted as egregious examples of bad taste. In 1964, however, vampire comics known to Eco were mostly cheap magazines. He did know some of the pre-Code stories, however, but at that time their revival was far in the future – or perhaps the genre was simply remote from Eco's personal preferences. *De gustibus non est disputandum*. On the other hand, Eco's insights about both the importance of comics as indicators of broader social phenomena, and the necessity of a critical assessments of them, remain valid to this date. The scholarly study of comics has evolved into a recognized academic discipline, and the scholarly study of vampire comics is producing significant results. Once considered against this background, the contribution of *Buffy* the TV show to the world of comics, and the role of the comics featuring Buffy, may be re-assessed not only in terms of aesthetics but as part of the industry's answer to its crisis and of its attempts to reassert itself as a relevant part of the entertainment scene in a

world dominated by TV and the Internet. Perhaps not all Buffy comics are aesthetically successful. But, in contributing to the comics industry's revival (which is currently overcoming what may have been its worst crisis) and in keeping alive the key role of the vampire genre, Buffy has left her mark in the world of comics, too. Buffy has clearly influenced several other characters, including Sarah Bloodstone, a new member of the Marvel universe introduced in December 2001. Although her father, monster hunter Ulysses Bloodstone was well-known to Marvel readers from many years, Sarah is a combination of Buffy and of *Tomb Raider*'s Lara Croft. In the very different world of Italian comics, whose readership is much younger and where Disney still largely dominates the market, the greatest success story of the last few years, *W.I.T. C.H.*, the story of five teenage witches attending an American high school, clearly combines features of the early seasons of *Buffy* and of the TV serial *Charmed* (which in Italy has been more successful than *Buffy* and, unlike *Buffy*, has been upgraded to prime time by the largest Italian TV network). *W.I.T.C.H.*, like other recent titles produced by the Italian subsidiary of Disney (including *PK*, where a superhero Donald Duck fights extra-terrestrial psychic vampires from planet Evron; and *X-Mickey*, where Mickey Mouse is led by a Goofy-like friendly werewolf into a parallel world where he explores the paranormal and the occult), is aimed at keeping within the Disney fold the older pre-teens and teenagers who regards themselves as too old for staying with a regular diet of Mickey Mouse and Uncle Scrooge. Both *PK* and *W.I.T.C.H.* (originally introduced as *PK*'s counterpart for young girls, with an obvious allusion to the "girlie power" popularized by both *Buffy* and *Charmed*) are now published by the respective branches of Disney in most European languages (not including English, mostly because they are typical newsstand publications and would not fare well in countries where direct market prevails). Buffy, thus, continues to influence the evolution of comics in several countries. It is also easy to predict that, as it happened for Dark Shadows, Buffy comics will remain in print for years even after the TV show will be gone.

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[1] Richard Condon, *The Manchurian Candidate*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959, p. 40.

[2] See D. L. Anthony, *Brainwashing and Totalitarian Influence. An Exploration of Admissibility Criteria for Testimony in Brainwashing Trials*, Ph.D. thesis, Berkeley (California): Graduate Theological Union, 1996, p. 165.

[3] See Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination. A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923-1950*, Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1973.

[4] For the history of the Project, see M. Jay, *op. cit.*; and D. L. Anthony, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-190.

[5] See Theodor Adorno - Else Frenkel-Brunswick - Daniel J. Levinson - Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York: Norton & Co., 1950.

[6] See D. L. Anthony, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-159.

[7] See Edward Hunter, *Brain-Washing in Red China. The Calculated Destruction of Men's Minds*, New York: The Vanguard Press, 1951; 2nd expanded ed.: New York: The Vanguard Press, 1953.

[8] Cit. in A. Scheflin - E. Opton, *The Mind Manipulators. A Non-Fiction Account*, New York – London: Paddington, 1978., p. 437.

[9] *Ibidem*.

[10] See my "The Secular Anti-Cult and the Religious Counter-Cult Movement: Strange Bedfellows or Future Enemies?", in Eric Towler (ed.), *New Religions and the New Europe*, Aaarhus - Oxford - Oakville (Connecticut): Aarhus University Press, 1995, pp. 32-54.

[11] See Paul W. Facey, *The Legion of Decency: A Sociological Analysis of the Emergence and Development of a Social Pressure Group*, New York: Arno Press, 1974.

[12] See James Gilbert, *Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

[13] See Violaine Pellerin, "L'Abbé Béthléem, 1869-1940. Un pionnier de la lecture catholique", M.A. Diss., Université de Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines 1994.

[14] See Thierry Crépin, *"Haro sur le gangster!". La moralisation de la presse enfantine : 1934-1954*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 2001.

[15] For comparative perspectives, see John A. Lent (ed.), *Pulp Demons: International Dimensions of the Postwar Anti-Comics Campaign*, Madison – Teaneck: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 1999.

[16] Fredric Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent*, New York – Toronto: Rinehart & Co., 1954.

[17] Amy Kiste Nyberg, *Seal of Approval: The History of the Comics Code*, Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998.

[18] See Thierry Crépin – Thierry Groensteen (eds.), *"On tue à chaque page!": La loi de 1949 sur les publications destinées à la jeunesse*, Paris: Éditions du Temps, 1999.

[19] See Juri Meda, "Vietato ai minori. Censura e fumetto nel secondo dopoguerra fra il 1949 e il 1953", *Schizzo Idee* 10 [*Schizzo* 72], June 2002, pp. 73-88.

[20] J. Gordon Melton's general introduction to the bibliography of vampire comics we plan to publish will include a comprehensive overview of English-language vampire comics. In the meantime, information about the history of vampire comics is available in Mike Benton, *Horror Comics: The Illustrated History*,

Dallas: Taylor, 1992, while several monographic studies cover the main publishers and titles such as EC, Warren, and others.

[21] A. K. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[22] Umberto Eco, *Apocalittici e integrati. Comunicazioni di massa e teorie della cultura di massa*, Milan: Bompiani, 1964.

[23] See Alberto Moravia - Umberto Eco - Adolfo Gatti - Mario Gozzano - Cesare Luigi Musatti - Ginevra Bompiani, *Sotto il nome di plagio*, Milan: Bompiani, 1969.

[24] Corte Costituzionale, *Grasso* judgment of June 8, 1981, No. 96, in *Giurisprudenza Costituzionale*, 1, 1981, pp. 806-834.