Exploring Applications of Videogame Magic through Tumblr's Pop Culture Witchcraft

A. Rose Johnson

Keywords: *neopaganism; online cultures; pop culture witchcraft; spirituality; Tumblr; Undertale; videogames*

Introduction

The occult, once hidden and veiled in mystery, seems now to be emerging into the light, particularly on social media. The TikTok hashtag #witchtok, a portmanteau of 'witch' and 'TikTok,' has (at time of writing) over 24.9 billion views, and there are currently over 17.3 million posts under the hashtag #witch on Instagram (plus 7.2 million filed under #witchcraft, and 8.4 million under #witchesofinstagram). In 2018, makeup retailer Sephora set the blogosphere abuzz with their 'Starter Witch Kit,' a $42 USD set including a tarot deck, rose quartz crystal, sage 'smudge' stick, and several perfume samples. After outcry from practicing pagans, Sephora pulled the kit from shelves, but it is one example along many of the growing market for crystals, tarot decks, and other witchy ephemera among the TikTok and Instagram crowd (Villarreal 2018). If an aspiring spiritualist wishes to follow in #WitchTok's digital footsteps and take their #witchaethsthetic to the next level, embracing witchcraft as a practice or a religion, where might this beginner witch turn?

It is perhaps simplest to begin with religious witchcraft; this chapter will discuss secular witchcraft practice later. The 'occult spirituality' or 'New Age' section of any given bookstore is likely to stock texts by authors who structure their books as introductions to religious witchcraft, complete with strict rulesets. A glance among Amazon's top 20 best-selling Wicca, Witchcraft, and Paganism books[1] seems to target new witches specifically: eight books advertise as various types of guides or encyclopedias, and some books

1 ""Best Sellers – Wicca, Witchcraft, & Paganism." Amazon. Accessed 3/24/2022, https://www.amazon.com/b/?node=11309334011&ref_=Oct_d_odnav_22&pd_rd_w=uNueu&pf_rd_p=72459b27-e231-4837-b61c-b057ff0c50ac&pf_rd_r=T8TZN6ZBQ6X9QQ2K9K3N&pd_rd_r=3c11d748-92de-42b7-abdb-941a7c054a22&pd_rd_wg=YZM8X adjusted for repeats – Spell Book for New Witches ranks #4 in paperback and again at #8, but in hardcover.

feature 'beginner' or 'new witch' directly in the title. Barnes and Noble features chakra and crystal guides, scented candles topped with 'wellness crystals,' and texts like *Spells for Change* (Castanea 2022) under its 'New Age and Metaphysical Shop, and even without sorting specifically for Wicca, there is crossover between both retailers' bestselling offerings. Published texts on religious witchcraft carry a certain sense of authority: there is an assumption that a published text is somehow 'objectively correct,' and that, like other religious texts for sale in bookstores, the knowledge within is ancient. The book's presence on a store shelf suggests the existence and influence of editors, historians, fact-checking, and other signifiers of 'accurate information.' For millennials and Gen Z, who grew up with the internet and warnings that 'anyone can lie online,' published books might seem like a clever start. However, some beginner witches live with prying adults, lack disposable income, or any number of other factors that make the purchase or possession of witchy books risky. Even eBooks saved to a device might pose problems. In such an environment, where allowance money is preciously hoarded and secret shelf space is rare, choosing exactly the correct beginner book becomes fraught. In these cases, the beginner witch may turn to the black scrying mirror of their smartphone, to discern the 'best' book to start with.

Unfortunately, online research may only serve to complicate the problem. Authors with dozens of bestselling pagan titles to their names are not immune to online 'cancel culture,' nor to the extensive research powers (and long memories) of some online witches. Silver Ravenwolf, for example, has long been lambasted by both Wiccans and witches alike for the sheer amount of misinformation in her books, for encouraging teens to lie to their parents, and for selling racist 'mammy' dolls online. Some of Ravenwolf's purported crimes reveal inherent problems when writing non-fiction books on magic and the occult; what is immutable fact to one author is mere coincidence to another. How can an author unquestionably 'prove' that a spell has been successful? How do we academically (read: in an unbiased, clinical manner) address the feeling of the presence of deity? Other accusations against Ravenwolf, and discomfort with her work, stems from the social justice angle – she takes elements of 'closed' practices (faiths and religions like Hoodoo which belong to very specific cultures and therefore do not accept converts) and perpetuates racist stereotypes. Excluding individuals, 'nonfiction' research on witchcraft falls prey to the same sorts of problems any anthropological research does – history is written by those in power, and that power can lead to myopic viewpoints and unintentional bias. Zora Neale Hurston's interpretation of Haitian voodoo practices grants a respect and openness between observer and observed, whereas European explorer's descriptions of religious practice by indigenous North Americans tend towards dichotomies between 'civilized' Europeans and 'heathen' natives.[2] The 'history' of witchcraft is no different in this manner: the words of people of color are less likely to be touted as truth, and some magical practices, such as vodun or hoodoo, are primarily associated with people of color and therefore are historically negatively portrayed. Wicca, an allegedly pan-European religious craft founded by a British man, is commonly described as a religion of 'white magic,' magic of love and light, magic for healing and positivity; this type of framing sets up a racist dichotomy between 'good,

2 Haunani-Kay Trask's *From a Native Daughter* beautifully exemplifies this phenomenon.

pure,' white magic and 'black, dark,' or evil magic. For the reader sensitive to language like this, the published world of Wicca can seem exclusionary and harmful.

Many prominent 'New Age' authors such as Scott Cunningham, DJ Conway, and Silver Ravenwolf tend to conflate witchcraft in general with Wicca specifically[3], relying on and referring to a somewhat contested history of Wicca and a myopic concept of witchcraft practice. 'Wicca' refers to a full religious structure, with a witchcraft/magical element. This religion was either founded or 'discovered' by Gerald Gardner in England in the late 1930s. Some Wiccan authors, such as Buckland, maintain the idea that Gardner merely facilitated a resurgence of what was an ancient European nature religion, kept secret for thousands of years under threat of the global power of the Catholic/Christian church. Others believe that Gardner created an eclectic earth religion wholesale, from "any source that didn't run away too fast," (2004: 52) including Freemason traditions, Romantic interpretations of Greco-Roman mythology, and a loose (and vaguely racist) conceptualization of prehistoric society. Witchcraft practice, whether secular or religious but non-Wiccan, is much more expansive, and much more culturally diverse. Brazilian candomblé, Haitian vodun, Cornish folk tradition, or the Italian evil eye all comprise some element of folk magic practice, which may be entirely unrelated to the 'witchcraft' found in published texts – and whose practitioners may not even self-identify as witches.[4] To equate Wicca (specifically) and witchcraft practice (generally) not only leaves all of witchcraft susceptible to Gerald Gardner's reliability crisis, it erases important cultural distinctions and conflates unrelated traditions. Some types of witchcraft practice truly do predate Christianity; to imply that witchcraft as spiritual practice is less than a hundred years old is to do a great disservice to a great number of faiths. Further, this confusion of witch practice and Wiccan faith imposes specifically Wiccan structures and rules onto any type of witchcraft practice, whether or not those rules are justified or supported by its original tradition. For those seeking alternatives to Wicca, or those whose occult practice must stay hidden, the internet is full of anonymous corners where all sorts of witch-practitioners dwell, and many of those practitioners are very willing to offer up free advice.

Beginning the witchcraft journey online can grant access to these previously silenced voices and allow for more playful experimentation – breaking away from the rules and peculiarities of Wicca. If we acknowledge that the origins of modern witchcraft are wider than Wicca, both steeped in pre-Christian tradition **and** entirely invented, it becomes possible to continue to question and expand what witchcraft practice means today, for us as individuals. The social media website Tumblr, a microblogging site which functions as a haven for popular culture fan communities, finds itself home as well to many witch practitioners continuing Gardner's work of making "any source that doesn't run away too fast" (2001: 52) into a spiritual practice – and expands the net of those sources. On Tumblr, it is possible to brush up against Norse heathens, Mexican brujas, Greek polytheists, or

3 Although there are many 'types' of neopaganism, Wicca is a popular variant. Among Amazon and Barnes & Noble's top 10 Best Sellers in their Wicca, Witchcraft & Paganism sections, over half are Wicca-inspired or directly Wiccan.

4 For this reason, I will be interchangeably using the words 'witch' and 'witch-practitioner' to refer to non-Wiccan witchcraft practice.

people who worship the Nine Divines depicted in the *Elder Scrolls* videogame franchise. It is possible to find versions of witchcraft that encourage practitioners to hone their gut instincts and make connections that feel correct, to practice critical thinking and to adjust information to suit their needs, and to break the false dichotomy between 'black' and 'white' magics.

Although there are many types and varieties of witchcraft discussed on Tumblr, the practice of 'pop culture witchcraft' is of particular interest to this volume. This chapter will attempt a one-to-one comparison of 'published' Wicca versus pop culture witchcraft, utilizing *Buckland's Complete Book of Witchcraft* and the Wiccan standpoint as it compares to posts related to pop culture witchcraft and witchcraft practice on Tumblr. *Buckland's Complete Book of Witchcraft*, originally published in 1986, is self-defined as "foundation material" and the "introduction to Wicca for numerous seekers." (2002: 16) The *Book* is certainly exhaustive; it covers fifteen 'lessons' in just over 300 pages, spanning everything from dream interpretation to Wiccan weddings. While it is certainly a useful guidebook for beginning Wiccans, it is not without its issues. Although Buckland's book has stood the test of time (it is still among Amazon's best sellers), I find that it has specific issues for Tumblr's userbase: namely, millennials and Gen Z, those #witchtok and #witchesofinstagram audiences. Further, I believe Buckland's text is indicative of its entire genre; wider published 'pagan' nonfiction media falls into many of the same issues Buckland's *Complete Book* does, especially the idea that witchcraft automatically equates with 'Wicca.' By titling his book the *Complete Book of Witchcraft*, Buckland misleads and potentially serves the wrong audience. The book functions best as a guide to Wicca, not witchcraft. Witchcraft does not need to involve a highly structured religious system – there are atheist witches, secular witches, agnostic witches, and all types of combinations thereof.

Sympathetic Magic

Both Wicca and many forms of 'online' paganism utilize a system of sympathetic magic – the idea that what is done symbolically is done in reality. Sympathetic magic is performed primarily through symbolism, visualization, and intention: specific **symbolic** items/ingredients are chosen to use in the spell, the practitioner **visualizes** something happening, and everything involved is catered towards reflecting the spell's particular purpose, or **intent**. Many systems of magic involve an extensive system of **correspondences:** colors, planetary symbols, moon phases, herbs, days of the week, and more that relate to or are used for various purposes or intentions. Llewellyn Publishing, a prominent Wiccan and pagan publishing house, releases an annual Witches' Calendar, featuring lists of colors, various planetary movements, and moon phases for each day of the month, as well as stones/crystals, animals, flowers, and zodiac signs for each full month. Spellwork for growth, money, or fertility, the calendar directs, should be conducted on a 'green' day. A money spell might be performed on a day associated with green, using a green candle, which is perhaps placed in a symbolic circle of coins or Monopoly money. Scott Cunningham, in his book *Magical Herbalism*, associates High John the Conqueror root with prosperity (2003: 166), so the aforementioned candle may be anointed with an oil containing this root for an extra boost. When anointing the candle, or placing it in the ring

of coins, the practitioner might envision leaving their boss's office after securing a raise, or receiving their unusually large tax return check, thereby visualizing the intended outcome of the spell. Within pop culture witchcraft, the practitioner can look for references to correspondences, either direct or indirect, in the media property they draw from, with varied levels of interpretation. The *Elder Scrolls* series feature specific in-game methods by which players can 'summon' its world's deities. The Daedric Prince Sheogorath, a deity of madness, is summoned to his Shrine with an offering of a head of lettuce, a skein of yarn, and a Lesser Soul Gem – if the 'real life' Sheogorath worshipper wishes to call upon him, they would only need to decide what type of crystal a Soul Gem might be. In *Dark Souls*, the player can summon another player for aid with a White Sign Soapstone, easily found in the 'real world,' so a spell for another person's assistance might feature a soapstone decorated to more closely resemble the image in the game, perhaps combined with more 'traditional' spell elements.

One of the most direct examples of sympathetic magic is the 'poppet' – a doll made to represent a certain person out of wax, clay, or fabric. Poppets are often stuffed with herbs associated with the spell's intent before being dyed, embroidered, or otherwise decorated with specific colors or motifs, and/or 'connected' to the spell's target in any number of ways. The witch then uses the poppet as a proxy for the person it represents: whatever is done to the poppet is symbolically done to the spell's target. Sympathetic magic does not, of course, need to be this explicit. Jar spells and bottle spells are very popular on Tumblr – a container is filled with herbs, crystals, or other magical items related to the spell's purpose, possibly including small trinkets (for the pop culture witch, videogame related keychains or other small figures would work well), then sealed with colored wax. The jar or bottle is then placed in a specific place concurrent with the spell's intention: home protection bottles might be buried in the backyard or in a flowerpot, safe travel bottles might be placed in a car's glove compartment, or home happiness bottles may be placed prominently in a sunny kitchen window.

Buckland's *Complete Book* places a great deal of emphasis on the religious and ritual elements of Wicca, and very little on spells or magic. In fact, Buckland creates a clear divide between the two at several points in his text; in Lesson One, he reminds his readers to keep spells separate from the "religious side of witchcraft," (2002: 39) and instructs his reader to learn more about the religion of Wicca (here conflated with witchcraft) before attempting to understand spells. When writing one's own spell, some understanding of sympathetic magic, correspondences, symbols, or astrological timing (moon phases, the zodiac, planetary movements) is necessary. If a beginner learned, from the previous lessons, how to set up an altar, which colors correspond with which ideas, etc., then the beginner would be prepared to create their own spell using these elements. The structure and organization of Buckland's text is therefore clearer to the experienced witch practitioner: with a stronger understanding of correspondence systems and sympathetic magic, one can break down Buckland's spells into their composite elements, and in doing so, discover how to alter or rewrite them to better reflect one's own mix of traditions and practice. But it bears repeating that not all witches are Wiccan, and even then, not all Wiccans 'need' every single tool and lesson Buckland prescribes. Nowhere in his text does Buckland indicate that skipping around in the lessons to suit one's own individual practice is permissible or encouraged. The reader is directed to follow Buckland's direc-

tions exactly, from his own tradition: most of the *Complete Book* deals with Seax-Wiccan rituals and methods, a sect of Wicca Buckland himself founded.

The following brief history of Wicca aims to distinguish the religion Buckland practiced from the wider practice of witchcraft, and to establish the creative space pop culture witchcraft utilizes.

The Published History of Wicca and Buckland's Approach to Magic

As alluded to earlier, a common assertion among published pagan texts positions Wicca as a revival of an ancient religion, persecuted for thousands of years and hidden from a conflation of the Catholic Church specifically and Christians in general. This religion, according to many Wiccans, was unearthed and revived in 1939 when British civil servant and amateur anthropologist Gerald Gardner was initiated into a Wiccan coven (the term for a group of practicing Wiccans) by a direct descendent of an ancient English pagan coven, the priestess 'Dafo.' This coven, according to Gardner, was a remnant of a pan-European "Witch Cult," (2004: 19) which had evaded persecution by Christians and survived for centuries underground. Many popular published witchcraft texts today follow in Gardner's wake, insinuating or directly claiming that global historical witch trials were intended for (and successful at) locating and punishing actual pre-Wiccan pagans. Although there is no evidence to suggest that those persecuted during historical witch trials performed rituals or believed in a religion analogous to today's modern neopagans, the pseudohistorical myth of the 'Burning Times' is a common one. Often, published pagan texts construct a dubious antagonistic relationship between Christianity and forms of paganism, using global witch trials (historical or modern), the Bible verse Exodus 22:18 ("Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live")[5] and the idea of Christianity as 'oppressive' as a basis. Buckland dismisses Christianity as 'man-made,' even as he uses obfuscating language to encourage the idea that the Wiccan 'Old religion' is, if not an unbroken line (and derived from the gods?), then at the least a family craft or 'religious cult' that lasted 'twenty thousand years' before Christianity (Buckland 2002: 25).

Unfortunately for Wiccans (but fortunately for pop culture witches), there is no evidence to suggest that the coven Gardner joined was truly an ancient, pre-Christian underground religion, nor much evidence for Murray's pan-European witch cult. Historian Ronald Hutton dismisses the ancient religion myth succinctly: "No academic historian has ever taken seriously Gardner's claim to have discovered a genuine survival of ancient religion." (1999: 206) Hutton exhaustively compares Wicca, other occult or secret societies and information on Gardner's associates and interests to point to Gardner as a 'founder' rather than a "discoverer." Indeed, Hutton addresses the creation and founding of other esoteric mystery societies such as the Rosicrucian Society in England and the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, both of which utilized existing rituals and traditions to gain legitimacy and claimed "initiatory link[s] with…respected older bod[ies]," (1999: 75) a pattern repeated in the framing/founding of Wicca by Gardner and his followers.

5 Interestingly, Bonewits and other authors suggest that the term 'witch' is here a mistranslation of a word for 'poisoner.' See Bonewits, *Witchcraft: a Concise Guide*, CA, Earth Religions Press, 2001, p.25.

Wicca relies on its mythological history to better support its ideas. If Gardner is not a 'reviver' but instead a 'founder,' Wicca becomes a comparatively young religion, and its principles become suspect. The Wicca that Buckland and others attempt to teach is a religion full of rules, with no clear reasonings behind them besides 'tradition:' but if this tradition is merely decades old, why stand on tradition? Throughout the text, Buckland uses historical art and literature to 'prove' Wicca and witchcraft's ancient nature. In one example, Buckland supports his argument that witches should work "skyclad," or naked, using "early illustrations of Witches at the sabbat." (2002: 71 ebook) These 'early illustrations' include works by Francisco Goya, who admittedly did paint naked witches, but also depicts clothed witches holding baskets of disassembled infants. If we can conclude from Goya's art that witches have 'always' worked skyclad, we can also conclude that they have also 'always' mutilated children or consorted with the Christian devil. If Catholics and Christians worked together to burn 'true' pre-Wiccan pagans at the stake, if there is truly such a rivalry between Wicca/pagans and Christians, why are the works of Christian and Catholic artists held up as accurate depictions of witchcraft?

If Gardner drew from any source he pleased, using previous esoteric societies' practices and rituals to legitimize himself (and he is not alone; Cynthia Giles discusses the "synthetic process" (1992: 75) of occult writers in the aggregate in her history *The Tarot*), the pop culture witch is similarly empowered to take inspiration where they find it, and legitimize it however they please. The concept of Wicca as a decades-old religion instead of a centuries-old religion provides a great deal of 'wiggle room' to find a faith or a witchcraft practice that feels good, not necessarily one with any basis in 'objective truth.' To accept Wicca as invented from Freemasonry and other varied sources is to accept that 'mystery' traditions can be malleable, and that pop culture witchcraft is as valid as any other spiritual practice – or to accept that witchcraft practice does not need to be associated with an established 'historical' religious framework in order to be valid.

To conflate the practice of witchcraft with Gardner's invented Wicca is to whitewash and risk losing centuries of unrelated witchcraft and folk magic practices. Buckland himself attempts to distinguish Wiccans from witches at one point in his text: Wiccans are those who follow the Wiccan religion, whereas witches "start their own practices…draw[ing] on any, and often times, all available sources" (2002: 18 ebook). This is dangerous, according to Buckland, since most beginner witches "do not know what is valid and relevant," (ibid, 14) unlike, presumably, Buckland himself or Gerald Gardner. Buckland may be willing to dismiss the structure and hierarchy of Gardner's 'original' sect of Wicca[6], substituting his own Seax-Wiccan rules and structure, but he is very opposed to newcomers outside of Wiccan faith calling themselves witches. He goes on to express concern that there are covens mixing "smatterings of Satanism and odds and ends of Voodoo together with Amerindian lore." (2002: 18 ebook) This type of casual racism runs throughout his *Complete Book*. 'Amerindian lore' is so vague a phrase as to be functionally useless and perpetuates hundreds of years of European-American erasure, conflation, and violence against indigenous Americans and Alaskan natives. There is no singular 'Amerindian lore;' to conflate the disparate beliefs and traditions of 574 federally

6 There are many sects or types of Wicca. Buckland founded a tradition he calls Seax-Wicca, which he shows preference for in his *Complete Book*.

recognized tribes (National Conference of State Legislatures 2019) (and hundreds more unrecognized) in the United States alone is an egregious oversimplification. Voodoo, similarly, is often incorrectly used as shorthand for any number of pan-African religions across the diaspora. Even Satanism can refer to at least two distinct branches: the structured ceremony of the Church of Satanism as practiced by the followers of Anton LaVey, and the secular politics of the Satanic Temple. While it is true that a practitioner may draw from these disparate sources, they are not dissimilar to Wiccans themselves, combining Eastern ideas like chakras with concepts of Egyptian deity and European harvest festivals – but examples like voodoo and Satanism utilize racist and Christian concepts of 'darkness' to incite fear responses. To stray from Buckland's prescribed path is to open the new practitioner up to danger.

Buckland's text is set up to function as, as its title implies, a 'Complete Book' of Wiccan witchcraft. It holds fifteen lessons, three appendices, and a full recommended reading list. Each lesson concludes with two sets of questions: a reflective set and a set of 'examination' questions (with correct answers at the back of the text), and both mandatory and recommended reading lists. The order of the lessons may dismay the beginner witch in search of a handy spell or two; 'magick'[7] doesn't show up until Lesson Eleven, over two hundred pages into the print edition. Buckland devotes fourteen chapters to Wicca as it is worked in a coven (a group) before addressing the solitary practitioner at the very end of his text: he has covered everything from sewing ones' own leather sandals to petitioning the IRS to establish a new Wiccan church before addressing how to begin a witchcraft practice without a coven. Despite his assertions that Wicca is a religion for intelligent thinkers, Buckland leaves very little room for interpretation or personal flair throughout his *Complete Book*, and in fact leaves the careful reader with a great deal of questions. In his section on casting a ritual circle, Buckland instructs his readers at length on how to open a circle, what symbols to use if robed or naked/skyclad, and firmly directs them never to exit the circle once opened. He does not, however, tell us **why.** If people attracted to Wicca are 'thoughtful,' why not engage that trait with more than a series of reflective questions with prescribed answers? This rigid approach to occult religion seems to spring from a desire to establish Wicca as a 'legitimate' religion amongst the older faiths of the world – not dissimilar to its falsified history. Pop culture pagans, as this chapter will describe, instead choose to operate gleefully in the imaginary space – if everything is made up, everything is possible.

Making Magic from Wicca's Inclusivity Issues

Henry Jenkins (2016), scholar of fan practices and fan cultures, describes fandom (belonging to a fan community) as a "balance between fascination and frustration" (247). Feminist fan practice, including pop culture witchcraft, becomes a venue to rewrite stories, to insert oneself, or other marginalized voices, into popular media. Women rewrote *Final Fantasy XV* to 'correct' its sad ending: the world of *Final Fantasy XV* was

7 Aleister Crowley is commonly associated with adding the 'k' to the word 'magick,' but as Crowley is a controversial figure, I choose not to spell the word in his fashion for the rest of this paper.

inviting, well-built, and felt real, but the tragedy befalling their beloved characters frustrated them enough to take matters into their own pens. The connection between marginalized voices (particularly women) and fanfiction writing is well-documented, and pop culture witchcraft can sometimes become an extension of this practice.[8] For pop culture witches, the fascination and frustration does not solely lie with the media property: there is a frustration with pagan religion, often Wicca, itself.

Raymond Buckland attests that Wicca is a religion for "intelligent, community-conscious, thoughtful men and women of **today**," (emphasis his) and a religion with a focus on "equal rights [and] feminism." (2002: 18) Certainly, some feminists are attracted to the aesthetics or the religious elements of witchcraft; both Ronald Hutton and Margot Adler devote an entire chapter to specifically American feminist witchcraft practice in their witchcraft histories. Claiming space in fan culture, especially through spiritual practice, is a radical act, often undertaken by marginalized communities. Seizing power through witchcraft is attractive to women and queer-identified people; it is not uncommon to see books with titles like *Witches, Sluts, Feminists* (Sollee 2017) or *Becoming Dangerous: Witchy Femmes, Queer Conjurers, and Magical Rebels* (West/Elliot 2019) in either feminist studies or occult sections of stores, and there is a history of American feminists in particular utilizing witchcraft rhetoric to further radical feminism – such as groups like the short-lived Women's International Conspiracy from Hell, or WITCH (1968–1969). This is especially evidenced on Tumblr, where many witches, pop culture and otherwise, share stories of finding power in witchcraft practice. This chapter will deliberately conflate Tumblr witchcraft with feminist or other social justice practice; it is certainly true that not every witch on Tumblr declares themselves to be a feminist, but the group skews heavily in that direction. Spells designed to hex Donald Trump, for example, garnered thousands of notes – the sample population of witchy Tumblr surveyed for this chapter leans heavily left. In general, compared to other social media, Tumblr seems to skew more queer and more liberal (Tiidenberg/Hendry/Abidin 2021: 129), often with a specific focus on feminism, fan practices, and community action. The Tumblr community is, in many cases, a community for whom media has not traditionally represented them, or has represented them poorly, through tokenization or negative stereotyping. The intersection of pop culture witches, Tumblr, and Wicca is not without friction, but that friction can become the spark to fuel an inclusive, progressive magical practice.

At its core, Wicca is a duotheistic religion, worshiping binary God (sun) and Goddess (moon) archetypes (Buckland 2002: 119). However, these archetypes devolve into gender essentialism quite quickly, and Wiccan correspondences are littered with references to 'masculine' and 'feminine' energies. Although Wiccan practice tends to blend many European religious traditions into one (Cornish folk witchcraft, Norse heathenry, Egyptian mythology, Greco-Roman gods), it also tends to skip over or ignore elements that do not mesh with this strict gendered binary. Crossdressing or some type of gender fluidity appears in myths about Thor, Hapi, Gilgamesh, and the Greek prophet Teiresias, and the goddess Ishtar is often represented with a beard. Personal interpretation is a significant element of non-Wiccan witchcraft practice, and also of fanfiction. Queer and otherwise marginalized people scour media for subtext; statutes like the Hays Code or the strict

8 See Johnson dissertation, forthcoming.

regulations of the Chinese media market have ramifications on the way American media depicts relationships, and some elements of queer gender presentation or queer relationships become lost in translation. Fans bring subtext to the forefront in their fanfic or fan theorizing, and in this way make space for themselves and their identities in the media they love. But Buckland's Wicca does not provide this subtext, nor space for personal gnosis.

The God and Goddess are represented on Wiccan altars through statuary or symbols – often, a chalice for the Goddess, and a ritual dagger ('athame') for the God. Modern feminist thinking, cognizant of queer and trans identity, tends to conceive of gender along a spectrum, so Wicca's reliance on gender essentialist symbolism like 'woman = vagina = chalice' does not mesh with modern feminist ideals (or even the feminist ideals of past decades – Anne Fausto-Sterling's *The Five Sexes* questioned concepts like this in 1993). In rituals and celebrations involving the full coven, the chalice is often held by a female priestess, furthering its association with female anatomy, and the dagger wielded by a male priest. The phallic imagery in Wicca is sometimes taken to extremes – Buckland describes a 'priapic wand,' with a carved phallus on its end, used during certain festivals and rituals. A pagan religion with such a heavy symbolic emphasis on male/female sexual binary does not resonate with a group of people questioning the idea of gender as a dichotomy, gender as a system of 'opposites,' or gender that reduces a person to their anatomy – not to mention a group of people for whom secondary sex characteristics are not immutable fact. By reducing people to their anatomy and to gender essentialist concepts of the 'meaning' of that anatomy (men are strong and virile; women are passive and fertile), Wicca brings up potentially painful concepts of body and identity. The Goddess is often depicted in three aspects: Maiden, Mother, and Crone, but these aspects define the Goddess strictly through her fertility status (virgin; pregnant; barren). Pop culture witches or pagans have more options in this realm: videogames provide more shades and styles of female identity, as well as (especially in more modern games) depictions of genderfluid identity or nonbinary identity.

Wicca's gender essentialist and heteronormative ideas of anatomy, sex characteristics and gender performance extend to practices as innocuous seeming as the traditional Wiccan greeting. Buckland's proposed greeting from one Wiccan to another is "Blessed be," (2002: 289) which is a shortened version of the Wiccan Five-Fold Kiss. To perform the Kiss, one coven member greets another through five kisses, reciting a line of the following blessing as they kiss each body part:

> "Blessed be thy feet, that have brought thee in these ways.
> Blessed be thy knees, that shall kneel at the sacred altar.
> Blessed be thy womb/phallus, without which we would not be.
> Blessed be thy breasts/chest, erected in beauty/strength.
> Blessed be thy lips, that shall utter the sacred names." (ibid: 229)

Contemporary feminists, particularly those who advocate for queer and transgender rights, balk at the assumption that it is possible to 'tell' whether a person has a womb or a phallus from their outward appearance, let alone the idea of greeting someone through their genitals. Performing the entire Five-Fold Kiss, or greeting someone with the short-

ened 'Blessed be,' excludes not merely trans and gender dysphoric practitioners, but practitioners who have undergone mastectomies or hysterectomies. Further, consent to sexual acts and individual bodily autonomy are integral parts of modern feminism; although any individual may be willing to consent to the entirety of the Five-Fold Kiss with another specific individual, using such an intimate greeting casually with all other Wiccans runs counter to feminist ideals and sensitivities.

Buckland's interpretation of Wicca is extremely heteronormative and myopic in approach. Each love spell in his *Complete Book* refers to a man/woman pairing, each ritual involving a full coven requires both a priest and a priestess, and his handfasting/handparting (wedding/divorce) rituals refer to a male groom and a female bride. Homosexuality or queer identity is barely referenced at all, but for once in the section on reincarnation: "a person male in one lifetime and then female in the next…might have carried over feelings and preferences from one life to the next." (2002: 26) Treating heterosexual sex as inherently some type of 'magic,' worthy of being depicted repeatedly throughout the year's holidays, while homosexual identity is merely an aberration in reincarnation, further demonizes and 'others' people already forced to the fringes of society. The concept of transgender identity or gender fluidity do not appear in Buckland's text; people are reduced to completely fixed symbolic parts. Meanwhile, *The Legend of Zelda* games *Ocarina of Time* (1998) and *The Wind Waker* (2002) gave us a crossdressing Princess Zelda – pop culture witches of the late 90s had their own framework for moving out of damsel in distress tropes or gendered approaches to stories. Buckland claims the learned Wiccan practitioner can heal another person's maladies by directing positive energies at the afflicted; that there is no space for queer identity or magical gender fluidity in the same religion seems outrageous. It may be tempting to attribute this negative concept of queer identity to the time period in which Buckland was writing – but books such as *Gay Witchcraft* (Penczak 2003) and *The Gay Wicca Book* (Willborn 2002) were published contemporaneously with Buckland's revision of his *Complete Book*, and Isaac Bonewits refers completely neutrally to the idea of queer witches in his *Concise Guide*, revised in 2001.

For the holiday Beltane (May 1), Buckland's suggested ritual involves a Maypole dance, which symbolizes the "union of male and female." (2002: 127) Beltane is associated with "breeding seasons for animals, both wild and domestic," (2002: 126) therefore a ritual centered on reproductive, heterosexual sex is, according to Buckland, apropos. Beltane is not the only ritual with these sexual motifs: the athame and chalice are popular in Gardnerian Wicca, the 'sect' of Wicca descended directly from Gerald Gardner's work. Some sects of Wicca even feature a 'Great Rite,' a 'symbolic or actual' depiction of heterosexual sex through ritual. When depicted symbolically, a priest inserts a ritual athame into a chalice held by a priestess (Adler 2010: 170). Buckland (2002) devotes several pages to 'sex magick' in particular, outlining exactly how this magic is to be conducted – but only between a male coven member and a female (or a solitary practitioner alone). Even without the heterosexist assumptions, and without assigning sacred meaning to bodily anatomy, many feminists would express discomfort with this focus on ritualized reproductive sex. Feminists worked for decades to eliminate cultural ideas that women's societal value is tied up in their reproductive abilities, and the question of legal access to safe abortion remains thorny in many parts of the world. Many people, regardless of their life experiences or feminist identity, would not wish to participate in a ritual during which

at least two participants openly copulate, even without considering feminist concepts of consent or power dynamics inherent in relationships. Though Buckland and others tout Wicca's freedom from prudish, Christian ideas toward sex, the attitudes evident in Buckland's *Complete Book* demonstrate their own sense of sexual mores: yes, (heterosexual) sex is more openly discussed and encouraged, but queer sex and queer relationships do not appear here. Feminism and social justice, particularly fan interpretation of popular media (Dym et al 2019: 154), often function as refuge for queer-identified, asexual, or transgender individuals, as well as individuals who have experienced rape or sexual abuse. Fan practices, such as fan fiction or pop culture witchcraft, often function as ways to navigate trauma and redefine existing media as a safe haven. By combining spiritual practice with fan practice (i.e. flexibly adapting media for inclusive, feminist purposes), and specifically by moving away from Wicca's focus on male/female sexual activity, pop culture witches reconceptualize myths or stories to suit and complement their identities and spiritual needs. Difficulties in translation can become fuel for alternate 'readings' of characters, providing ripe opportunities for pop culture witches to latch onto characters or stories. The character Poison, from Capcom's *Final Fight* and *Street Fighter* franchises, was introduced by Japanese developers to break up the all-male Mad Gear gang roster. But Capcom worried that American audiences would react poorly to depictions of violence against women, so Poison was (derogatorily, at the time) referred to as a cross-dresser, and replaced in American ports of the game with a male character. Despite this, the concept of Poison as gender transgressing stuck, and today she may serve as an archetype or deity figure for pop culture witches: an out and proud trans woman. Similarly, the character Bayonetta (from the *Bayonetta* series) can serve as an example of either a queer woman, a trans woman, or simply a sex-positive woman with her own sexual agency, depending on whose interpretation one leans into (Myers 2014).

Even without questioning base ideas of gender presentation and bodies, Buckland does not come across as particularly feminist, nor interested in women as distinct individuals. In his lesson on herbalism (herbal healing), he first lists chamomile as a treatment for "cases of nervous hysteria and all nervous complaints in women," then later refers to pennyroyal and rue as herbs useful for "female complaints" and "female disorders," respectively (2002: 194). Both pennyroyal and rue can be used as abortifacients – is Buckland suggesting that the only female complaint or disorder is unwanted pregnancy? Nearly every other herb in the lesson addresses a much more specific ailment. "Female complaints" or "female disorders" do not seem to be code for menstruation, as he refers directly to "menstrual problems" (2002: 315) in his lesson on more general healing, and two different colors are suggested for treating "menstrual problems" and "female complaints." (2002: 271) Hysteria has a long history in sexist medical practices, a history Buckland seems content to add to. Why are "nervous complaints" in women treated with chamomile, but damiana or skullcap can be used to treat "nervous and debilitated persons" (2002: 226) more generally? What is the functional difference between women's nerves and men's? The closest Buckland comes to an explanation is in his section on dosages: the reader is instructed that "the state of the uterine system must never be overlooked," (2002: 207) without any further instruction on what to look for or consider. Admittedly, the herbalism lesson is vague in reference to several ailments, and this does seem to be part of the nature of herbal healing.

However, Buckland's dismissive treatment of women and their bodies appears again and again in his *Complete Book*. Menstrual blood is a suggested ingredient in a protective witch's bottle, along with broken glass, old razor blades, rusty nails, and urine. (2002: 281 ebook) By returning to the concept of sympathetic magic, the reader can decode the purpose of these ingredients – sharp, dangerous objects and bodily waste (urine) are repellant, therefore they can be contained in a bottle designed to repel negative energy. Buckland appears to be suggesting that menstrual blood is 'waste' like urine, or at least something to be avoided – but he equates salt, a potent magical ingredient, with semen and therefore with life. Many feminists and witch-practitioners interpret menstrual blood as protective and nourishing, as menstruation is a shedding of tissue the body has accumulated to create a 'nest' to sustain a pregnancy. Judika Illes, in her *Element Encyclopedia of 5,000 Spells*, refers to menstrual blood as "the force that activated conception," (2004: 442) and as "the single most potent magic spell ingredient" (2004: 703). Illes lists spells using menstrual blood for love potions, protection (similar to Buckland), fertility, and more – her spells are sourced globally, not merely from the Gardnerian and Seax-Wiccan traditions, as Buckland's are, and include traditions Buckland spurns, such as vodun or hoodoo.

In his section on establishing a coven (a group of Wiccan practitioners), he takes a few paragraphs to explicitly declare modern women to be unfit Wiccan leaders: "These days there seem to be few women capable of handling the difficult position of High Priestess..." (Buckland 2002: 295), Today's women, according to Buckland, "get onto an ego trip," confer "degrees"[9] onto (presumably unworthy) coven members "like a mother doling out candy," and attempt to build up their covens' membership numbers "simply so that they can claim 'I'm a more important High Priestess/Queen than you are.'" (2002: 286) Accusing women of getting onto 'ego trips' is odd in a text this self-referential; in the introduction to *The Complete Book*, Buckland credits himself with bringing Wicca to the United States (2002: 15 ebook), and refers throughout the text to Seax-Wicca, a sect he himself created, while denigrating other traditions, sects, and practices. Many of the 'Suggested Reading' sections at the ends of chapters feature his own writing, as does his extensive 'Recommended Reading List' at the end of the text. Buckland cites Gerald Gardner as an authority figure; although Gardner was initiated into a practicing, existing coven, he is given license by Buckland to 'rewrite' their rituals 'as... they should have been' (2002: 10). Buckland credits Gardner "almost single-handedly" (2002: 15) with Wicca's revival, ignoring the influence of women such as Dafo, the priestess Gardner claims initiated him into her coven, and Doreen Valiente, an early Wiccan author and collaborator of Gardner. Dr. Margaret Murray's *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921) predates even Gardner's earliest work on Wicca. The shelves of modern New Age or pagan sections of bookstores are similarly full of women: DJ Conway, Ellen Dugan, and Silver Ravenwolf boast particularly prolific careers. It can certainly be argued that Gardner and Wicca are inextricably tied, but to imply (even at the time of *The Complete Guide's* first publication in 1986) that the resurgence of neopaganism, or the modernization of 'ancient' folk magic practice, is entirely Gardner's doing seems egregious. Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* (1979) predates

9 Traditions such as Gardnerian Wicca involve a system of 'degrees' to denote status within the coven.

Buckland himself by nearly a decade; women's contributions to this religion are innumerable.

"It's a Hellsite, But It's Our Hellsite"

The nature of different social media sites drives different types of community engagement; even the same users act differently on different sites, since each site serves its own purpose. Tumblr, originally designed for self-expression and "interest-driven community," (Tiidenberg/Hendry/Abidin 2021: 5) attracts a queer audience, deeply invested in fan communities and in the flavor of Tumblr (as a site, and a community) itself. (Tiidenberg/Hendry/Abidin 2021: 212–213) Each Tumblr user shares content from one of seven categories, including text, audio, video, photos, and web links, making Tumblr a good composite home for the varied elements of a users' online identity; the same blog can contain links to Spotify playlists, YouTube videos, or longer-form writing. There are a variety of ways to interact with other users on Tumblr, but they are all at a bit of a remove, and the site's bugs make even these interactions a challenge at times. Tumblr allows use of tagging, like other social media, which can facilitate finding blogs with similar content, but users have created a meta-language through the tag function, which famously doesn't always work. Tumblr users, often minoritized 'underdogs' themselves, have created a community out of lovingly mocking their 'underdog' social media; users share posts to sarcastic yet affectionate tags like 'functional website' or 'hellsite' to discuss the various bugs, odd behaviors, and UI choices Tumblr staff rolls out. Use of browser extensions or other workarounds are a popular method of bypassing Tumblr's various shortcomings. One popular extension is XKit, with features intended to improve accessibility for disabled users, hide ads, or hide unpopular features. Users lovingly lambast the site for 'eating' posts, asks, replies, and more – actual social participation on this social media is best achieved through reblogs, which are also the most public way to respond to someone else. They continue using the site because its pros outweigh its cons: for example, Tumblr displays posts chronologically, not algorithmically, a rarity in social media sites of 2022. This section will explore the various advantages of Tumblr for pop culture witches, a conglomerate of politically active, often queer people involved in fan communities and spiritual practice.

Crucially, Tumblr is anonymous. For queer, pagan, or politically active communities, this privacy is invaluable. Anonymity allows individuals experimenting with queer identity the space and freedom to explore personas away from judgmental family or employers, fanfiction authors a venue to connect and share ideas without fear of legal action from original media copyright holders, and pagans and witch practitioners a place to learn from each other with no 'paper trail.' Anyone not yet 'out of the broom closet' (or any other types of closets) might be unable to join publicly visible Facebook groups, or be willing to use their own face and voice to make content on TikTok, but Tumblr communities go unnoticed. And unlike other social media, Tumblr's design and function makes hiding in various closets much simpler. Tumblr blogs are easily hidden from Google search results, password protected, or locked down so that only other Tumblr users can see them. Users can 'follow' each other, but there isn't a 'friend' feature, or even a clear way to iden-

tify which users regularly interact (without following those users and noting patterns). Users who follow each other and regularly interact refer to each other as 'mutuals,' a word with much less 'real-life' meaning than 'friend.' A snooping parent would be hard-pressed to identify which Tumblr users their broom-closeted child regularly interacted with without closely reading a great deal of their blog's content, as well as the content on other people's blogs.

The structure and nature of Tumblr provides "high interactivity" but "low reactivity:"(Tiidenberg/Hendry/Abidin 2021: 44) the site encourages users to respond to each other, but this interaction is not quickly parsed as it is on other social networks. The main form of discourse and interaction on Tumblr comes from 'reblogging' – sharing one user's post to another user's blog, with or without commentary. Reblog chains can get quite long as users write back and forth to each other, discussing the content of the original post. Reblogging between mutuals is the most obvious method of communicating, since a reblog generates a post in the other user's dashboard and a notification, making the conversation difficult to miss amongst many notifications. But these notifications, while potentially irksome, are also a boon: all reactions to a post ('hearts' and 'reblogs') are contained under the heading 'notes,' and without drilling down into the notes themselves, it is not clear who reacted to a post, and in what way. By combining likes/hearts and reblogs with commentary, it is possible to see that a post is gaining traction, but not (at a glance) whether that traction is positive or negative.

Some users enable 'asks' on their blogs, a feature intended to allow other users to ask them questions. In reality, 'asks' become a popular way to interact with other users, especially those with larger followings – sometimes popular blog owners will invite their followers to share dreams they've had or tell stories in their ask boxes. Anonymous asks must be enabled separately – by default, a user must be logged in to submit an ask to another user. Author Neil Gaiman maintains a Tumblr blog, and he is therefore somewhat accessible to any Tumblr user. Warren Ellis, writer of the Netflix adaptation of *Castlevania*, shocked and alarmed Tumblr users in February 2020 by personally reblogging and responding to a joke post about the show (moonkitty 2020) and then referencing the post in an interview later that year (Stone 2020). This type of interaction is certainly impossible with Raymond Buckland (who died in 2017), or even with many other published pagan authors. For pop culture witches, easy access to creators can validate their readings of the source material: Gaiman, for example, is known to chime in on posts about *Good Omens* to clarify his intent for the book and later, the show.

Abigail Derecho describes fanfiction as 'archontic' literature "…with its parts and wholes that never stabilize into one definable text, with its texts in constant expansion and motion, its archives endlessly expanding…" (Derecho 2006: 75) Tumblr is a demonstration of archontic works – the more users who reblog a post and add text or tags, the more the post takes on a life of its own, divorced from its origins.[10] Each Tumblr blog functions as a personal archive curated and created by a single user, and once a post is reblogged, it becomes part of another user's archive, endlessly moving between and through archives. This motion away from original source is a boon for pop culture or

10 In fact, there is an entire genre of Tumblr witchcraft designed to strengthen the more the spell 'moves' between blogs.

other witchcraft practitioners: the use of recognizable symbols and commonly referenced correspondences in sympathetic magic combine with associations from a media property everyone participating in a given spell understands. Online, unlike in an edited, structured witchcraft text, it is unreasonable to expect that any given user will have the full context of a single blog. Each spell for the Tumblr audience must be written with the knowledge that it will be divorced from the rest of the original blog's content: each user sees their own individual 'dashboard' of content, generated mostly from content they have specifically opted to see (posts reblogged by users or tags they chose to follow). Each post containing a spell must have a complete set of instructions and information – any given user's system of correspondences or symbols may differ, so Tumblr spells invite revision or adaptation. Each spell needs to exist as part of the specific Tumblr ecosystem and archive, applicable to wide interpretation and spiritual practice. Tumblr, therefore, operates less like an exhaustive textbook and more like a stereotypical grimoire, or a wizard's spellbook in *DnD* (Gigax/Arneson 1974). This element also suits Tumblr well for 'in the broom closet' or less 'traditional' types of witchcraft practice, such as pop culture witchcraft. Art, writing, music, and links to other resources coexist within a single blog, structured exactly as the blog owner intends it, sometimes without direct commentary. Some witchcraft blogs are curated carefully to be digital shrine spaces, mixing spell posts with nature photography or high-quality gifs of candles flickering in lanterns. The blog in its entirety may be excused as merely an expression of a dark aesthetic, rather than evidence of a witchcraft or pagan practice. Other users share and reblog so much content, with so much of their own commentary, that anything incriminating is buried amongst memes, chatter about any variety of TV or movies, and more.

Paganism on Tumblr

Tumblr blogs function at once as private and public space – by reblogging and tagging, users foster a collaborative, constructive approach to witchcraft practice, versus print media's instructive style. This fractured and user-generated curation of content, as well as its removal from Wicca, lends itself to a more relaxed approach to learning any sort of witchcraft practice. The online environment very often assumes a witch will practice alone; most rituals on Tumblr are nowhere near as elaborate, nor as structured, as the coven rituals Buckland outlines. Tumblr's anonymous nature makes it a popular witchcraft resource for beginners, as well as witches who are 'in the broom closet.' Unlike the exhaustive lists of 'necessary' tools and supplies given in Buckland's *Complete Book* and other published witchcraft texts, Tumblr witchcraft focuses on a more grounded, less expensive approach. Tumblr witches are as likely to live in cramped studio apartments and dorm rooms as rambling, haunted Victorians. The prudent Tumblr spellwriter cannot assume their audience has even an entire 'altar room' to themselves; 'pocket altars,' small enough to fit inside an Altoids tin, are quite popular. Accessibility and relevance of materials, herbs, and other supplies vary from witch to witch: there are no prescribed 'rules' for pocket altars, unlike Buckland's extensive directives throughout his Lesson Two. Witch practitioners share examples of their pocket altars and the items within, typically including some small crystals, birthday candles/tea lights, small

packets of herbs, or even miniature tarot decks or pendulums. The high scalability (Tiidenberg/Hendry/Abidin 2021: 43) of any individual Tumblr post creates an egalitarian approach to learning witch practice. Although there are certainly popular blogs with large followings, known for giving consistently good or practical witchcraft advice, any one user can write a spell that becomes popular through reblogs and tags.

Tumblr's longform discourse lends itself well to learning about a topic, whether that be a particular fandom or witchcraft practice. One such conversation began when Tumblr user fernandfaun wrote a post titled "Baby Witch Question," (fernandfaun 2022) tagging it with 'baby witch,' 'green witch,' and 'witchblr.' By tagging their post, fernandfaun attempted to expand its audience beyond their followers. Users who frequent or follow those tags reblogged the post, adding their commentary and advice. The post garnered (to date) 150 'notes,' or interactions (both likes and reblogs), from other witches, adding to it and elaborating on the question. There is a certain rigidity about most published pagan texts – spells are conducted in a certain manner simply because 'this is how it is done,' with little introspection or room for adjustment. The wide variety of traditions and witchcraft practices on Tumblr allows for more space for interpretation, adaptation, and the use of baneful magic (curses, hexes, or jinxes, frowned upon by traditional Wiccans like Buckland). Although it is true, as Buckland asserts, that "anyone [on the internet] can claim anything," (2002: 308) and there is a wide variety of nonsense on Tumblr, this is true of almost any topic on the modern internet, as well as in the published sphere. Critical thinking, then, becomes a vital skill for the witch learning online. Buckland's own text features a recommended reading list, but no bibliography or citations – and this is not unusual for 'New Age' or 'spiritual' texts, as alluded to above. Tumblr users are certainly not exempt from believing baseless internet lies, but there are prominent witchcraft-related blogs devoted solely to debunking common witchcraft myths, and to spreading accurate information. Pop culture magic frees practitioners further; any personal interpretation of media can be argued to be valid, and any spell can be adapted to better suit the practitioner's needs.

Buckland advises against adaptation at several points in his *Complete Book*, assuming that every Wiccan will need some element of the various methods he provides lessons for in order to build any spell at all – also presuming that his readers are **only** Wiccan, and are therefore bound by the Wiccan Threefold Law (energy put out into the world will return to the individual three times) and Wiccan Rede: "An' it harm none, do what thou wilt." (Buckland 2002: 13) Wiccans, especially when compared with witch practitioners online, are generally disdainful of curses and other baneful magic. For Tumblr, cursing is a method by which to take power, a method to do wrong to those who have wronged others. The image of the witch, the potential and threat of her power, is enough to cause a reaction. To identify with the frightening image of the witch is to break out of the stereotypically feminine, to ignore the male gaze, and to take on a mantle of danger. To comport oneself as a witch is to claim a specific type of power. As a home for minoritized communities, a social network that caters to and embraces queer identity, neurotypical identity, and the concept of the underdog in general (Tumblr of the 2010s leaned heavily into defining its users in opposition to users of other social networks, particularly Facebook, (Tiidenberg/Hendry/Abidin 2021: 1–2) and this mentality remains a decade later), Tumblr users are primed to embrace the wickedly powerful and the conventionally unattractive.

Tumblr girls are 'not like other girls,' who exist to be admired; Tumblr girls seize power to sink ships. The witch is free from the male gaze; she is a hag, a crone, or otherwise disgusting. The witch is a downtrodden figure, an outcast who takes control and power; she turns men to pigs and agrees to 'live deliciously.' (*The Vvitch,* Eggers 2015) She is a poisoner, a bride of the devil, a killer of children. She can cause crops to rot or her enemies to sicken or die. Published Wiccans, and some other witch-practitioners, are deeply invested in remedying this image in order to create a respectable status as a peaceful earth religion. This type of rhetoric leads Buckland to admonish cursing, and Silver Ravenwolf to advise teenagers to tell their parents they are working with 'angels' instead of gods or spirits, (Ravenwolf 2003: 232) but vigilante witchcraft in forms like this is attractive to the marginalized and those who feel otherwise powerless.

Pop culture witchcraft, a conflation of fan activity and witch practice, is a means to take power from archetypes, symbols, and themes in media, especially media already popular with marginalized groups. It can be examined through theories related to fan fiction – in particular, Mafalda Stasi's characterization of **fanon**. Fanon, a portmanteau of **fan** and **canon** (the 'factual' elements of original media works), "is developed by the fan community as an integral part of the process of interpretation" (Stasi 2006: 121) – as fans engage and connect with a piece of media, they interpret that media in personal, significant ways, including spiritual practice. Witchcraft and Wiccan practice itself is a series of these interpretations and communal shared practices: even while Buckland credits Gardner nearly 'single-handedly' with reinvigorating pagan practice, Buckland saw fit to adapt, re-interpret, and change Wicca to create his own sect of Seax-Wicca, and to acknowledge, even begrudgingly, other sects. The exact elements of witchcraft as religious practice that make it difficult to academically analyze – objective verification that a spell 'worked,' quantifiable evidence that a spirit or deity prefers one type of offering over another – suit it to the community-built practice of online witchcraft generally, or pop culture witchcraft specifically. Despite his insistence that there are, in fact, correct ways to witch, Buckland stresses that the importance of a coven is in its shared strength. One witch may be skilled at dream interpretation, another at reading tea leaves, and the whole coven is made stronger through each individual's specializations. There is no singular correct way to interpret religion or witchcraft practice, and by moving away from published pagan media and its focus on promoting individual authors' methods and styles, the neophyte witch can utilize the entire community to find an interpretation that feels correct.

Pop culture witchcraft is an interpretation of how pop culture's magic **could** work in 'the real world,' as well as an interpretation of how witchcraft **does** work, built by the people who practice it, through communal interpretation and various series of shorthand devices. In fan fiction writing, the original media serves as "powerful shorthand device:" (Stasi 2006: 122) the author and reader understand the setting, world, and characters already. There may be established relationships within the original media, or established endings, but fan fiction redevelops and reconceptualizes these based on subtexts and fan theories, as well as fans' communal interpretations. Fan practices, including pop culture witchcraft, take advantage of the gaps or creator oversights: what information is left out of canon? These gaps provide room to play and adapt. The pop culture witch practitioner takes ideas from a media property, simultaneously referring to and expanding on cor-

respondences and symbolism from Wicca, other pagan practices, or perhaps the symbolism and correspondences of the media itself. The spell needs to 'work' on two levels: within the context and canon of the media, as well as within the context and canon of modern witchcraft practice. Ingredients called for need to not only symbolize the sympathetic magic elements, but also the media itself. The link between the pieces of the spell – its symbols, visualization, and intent – is made clearer by the link to the media property. Pop culture witchcraft becomes more accessible to newcomers than the strict do's and don'ts of Wicca – it is not necessary to read 10 chapters on history, various correspondences, and an entire herbal encyclopedia to begin to build a spell. The existing pop culture canon establishes much of the framework itself, and examining other similar spells online helps fill in the gaps.

"You're Gunna Have a Bad Time Curse": Pop Culture Witchcraft on Tumblr

In this section, I will break down a spell inspired by the 2014 RPG *Undertale*, written by Tumblr user nightmarist (2015). The curse, titled 'You're Gunna Have a Bad Time Curse,' refers to a hidden boss fight in *Undertale* and assumes the reader has a deep familiarity with *Undertale*, its lore and story, and the mechanics of sympathetic magic – symbolism, visualization, and intention. *Undertale* is famous for its near-unique approach to gameplay: its tagline is "the RPG game where you don't have to destroy anyone." (*Undertale* website, 2014) *Undertale* and its characters refer to the creatures the player character will come up against as 'monsters,' rather than enemies, and every character except the player is some type of monster, serving to humanize the creatures and build player empathy. The game manipulates player expectations and the conventions of the RPG genre and subverts conventions of videogames in general, while simultaneously acknowledging them in tongue-in-cheek ways. The first character the player encounters, an anthropomorphic flower who introduces himself as Flowey, cheerily begins to instruct the player on the mechanics of the game. In most videogames, this type of character would guide the player through a short practice version of the game's battle system, but Flowey lies to the player about the game's mechanics before unfairly attempting to murder them. At this point, the maternal, kindly character Toriel (whose name is a play on 'tutorial') appears to the rescue. She proceeds to meticulously guide the player through the first level of *Undertale*, called the Ruins. Her approach is a direct opposite of Flowey's, and a mockery of tutorial levels of games in general – she would prefer the player not participate in battles at all, and she significantly comedically underestimates the player's ability. At one point, she literally takes the player character's hand to guide them through a very simple puzzle, taking the videogame slang for an overly involved tutorial ('hand-holding') to its extreme.

Toriel instructs the player to 'stall' while encountering monsters by talking to them, until she can come and help. The battle system is one of the most significant departures from other videogames: in each battle, players have four options at the start of their turn: Fight, Act, Item, and Mercy. Each monster encounter in *Undertale* can be completed without fighting: the player must discover the correct action or combination of actions listed under 'Act' to unlock the ability to 'spare' the monster through 'mercy.' Actions vary from

monster to monster, sometimes themed around the opposing character's personality and appearance. Froglike monsters called Froggits have two possible options under Act: Compliment and Threaten. Complimenting Froggit will cause it to become 'reluctant to fight you,' explicitly indicating that it is able to be spared. Most types of monsters in the Ruins, the first level of the game, are very simply spared – some, such as Whimsums, can be spared on the first turn, without Acting at all. During opponent turns, monsters shoot projectiles at the player, who must navigate their 'soul,' a small red heart, away from the projectiles. The game explicitly and implicitly guides the player at length toward using 'actions' and sparing monsters rather than fighting – the first two battles in the game are scripted. In the first, Toriel asks the player to practice on an inanimate dummy, supervising and appearing visibly pleased if the player chooses not to fight. In the second battle, she interrupts partway through to glare at the opposing monster until it leaves. Even without Toriel's help, everything in the Ruins guides the player towards choosing mercy, and unlearning the habits gleaned from decades of earlier games. None of the monsters in the Ruins seem to be terribly interested in actually hurting the player; some give health back, others' projectiles lazily drift around and are easily avoided. One monster, a ghost named Napstablook, spends one of their turns displaying the text 'Really not feelin up to it right now. Sorry.' Instead of using projectiles against the player. Froggits appear outside of battle as well, to dialog with the player and provide more information on successfully sparing monsters. The boss (final) fight of the Ruins is Toriel herself – if the player spares her repeatedly, she gradually loses interest in fighting, until her projectiles actually repel away from the player and she relents, to let them pass. The world of *Undertale* is populated with heavily personified and characterized monsters; the game wants its player to feel empathy for the monsters and find the act of fighting them emotionally difficult.

Undertale works with some level of meta knowledge – Flowey, the game's antagonist, is entirely aware that he is in a videogame, and that the player can reload saves. If the player quits without saving and reloads, Flowey will snidely remark, and he appears after the Toriel fight to mock the player for their pacifist methods or otherwise comment on the turnout of the fight. *Undertale* does not easily allow the player to start a new save file – choosing Reset upon booting up the game only allows the player to reset their level and story progress. The player name will not change, and resetting progress provokes comment from Flowey as well as causes certain characters to remark that the player seems familiar. Even uninstalling and reinstalling the game will not reset it entirely; the player must actually delete files from their console or computer. This type of mechanic is certainly not specific to *Undertale* (the 2017 game *Doki Doki Literature Club* notoriously plays with character meta knowledge as well), but characters' meta knowledge, and the game's emphasis on empathy for other characters, is significant to the 'You're Gonna Have a Bad Time' curse.

There are three distinct endings in *Undertale*, each corresponding to a specific play style, or 'route.' If the player catches on quickly to the game's intended nonviolent strategy, killing close to zero enemies (the 'pacifist route'), they unlock the 'true ending,' after which they are encouraged not to play the game again, as the world of *Undertale* has now been made peaceful. If the player kills some enemies, or passes a certain story point and stops killing enemies, they unlock the 'neutral ending,' and can replay the game to see

the 'true ending' and complete the story (this is the 'neutral route,' which seems to be the most common). The requirements to spare some enemies are slightly obtuse, so the neutral route seems to be *Undertale*'s attempt to forgive ignorance.

The third ending, the 'bad ending,' is unlocked by completing what is colloquially referred to as the 'genocide route.' To complete a 'genocide route,' the player must, as the name implies, destroy absolutely all enemies they encounter. This goes against the concept and intention of the game, and even the conventions of most other videogames, and is therefore much more tedious and difficult than other playstyles in *Undertale*. The genocide route involves a good deal of 'grinding,' as the player must remain in each story area until there are absolutely no enemy encounters left, going out of their way to destroy all life in the world of *Undertale.* This is not only antithetical to the way *Undertale* wants to be played, it is also unusual in a traditional videogame sense. Generally, players kill enemies directly in their way (depending, of course, on genre). Upon saving at a save point during the genocide route, a dialog box will appear, specifying how many monsters are left to be killed in that level. The act of methodically seeking out increasingly rare monster encounters **solely** to commit murder is unusual in videogames and is designed to deepen the player's sense of embodying a cruel, inhuman creature. Monsters appear afraid of the player character – where they were plentiful in the true or neutral routes, there are far fewer repeat encounters in the genocide route. Completing the genocide route corrupts the save file, altering any future pacifist or neutral playthroughs. Each route significantly or slightly alters non-player character interactions with the player: notably, the characters Flowey and Sans, for whom the curse is named. The genocide route requires unwavering dedication; if the player stops killing every monster possible, the game reverts to a neutral route. The genocide route differs as well in that many of the more lighthearted sequences do not occur – the implication is that the characters involved are too afraid of the player to appear, or were evacuated by other characters. After a certain point, monster encounters are signified with a smiley face icon over the player character's head, instead of an exclamation point – the player is now characterized as so diabolical that they enjoy the act of killing, and finds the opportunity to do so exciting. Even Flowey, the character who tries to kill the player character at the first chance, seems afraid of what the player character has become during the genocide route.

In the true and neutral routes, Sans acts as a friendly guiding character for the player. He has a distinctive style of humor, is notably lazy, and at times appears to be one of only two characters aware that he is in a videogame, living in a world manipulated by the player's actions. After leaving the Ruins, the player is ominously stalked by Sans before he introduces himself with a whoopie cushion. He is established immediately as a carefree joker who deeply loves his brother, Papyrus. Papyrus' greatest dream is to capture a human, so Sans asks the player to cheer him up by playing along with and getting 'captured' by Papyrus. During the genocide route, Sans appears aware of the player's cruelty, even early on. He advises the player to keep 'pretending' to be a human, and the title of the curse, 'You're Gunna Have a Bad Time Curse' refers to a line of Sans' dialogue early on in the genocide route, reflecting the warning he gives for going against the 'correct' manner of playing *Undertale*, and ignoring the game's extensive warnings and instructions to choose nonviolence. Sans appears as a boss in the genocide route only, and his fight is especially punishing, requiring incredibly precise movements to survive, let alone win.

Some characters in *Undertale* alter the player character's movements during fights: Sans affects the impact of gravity on the player avatar, turning the red heart blue and delaying the reaction time between key input and movement, complicating the fight further. Additionally, Sans reacts to the way the player has manipulated the gameworld by manipulating the rules of his own fight: even if the player successfully completes an attack on Sans, he implies he is cheating and sidesteps the hit. Throughout the fight, Sans dialogues with the player, explaining that as he watched the player manipulate the world of *Undertale* and massacre everyone in their path, he decided he can't stand idly by while the player cruelly chooses to reset everything in the gameworld and destroy everyone. If the player manages to survive against Sans for this entire dialogue, Sans offers the player mercy, the mechanic the player was intended to use against all other enemies in the game. He cites friendship being important, another key theme of *Undertale*, and is the only other character besides his brother, Papyrus, to believe the player can change their murderous ways. If the player chooses to attempt another attack despite the mercy, Sans redoubles his efforts, manipulating the battle system even further. Sans breaks the 'rules' *Undertale* has so far established for the player, reflecting the player's choices to ignore the rules of the game. His attacks change speed, he continues to manipulate the speed at which the player avatar reacts to key inputs (changing it from blue to red over and over), and the battle system becomes nightmarishly difficult, and even more precise: the player barely has seconds to react to each change. Eventually, Sans 'gives up,' refusing to take his turn so that the player can't kill him. Like many fights in *Undertale*, the Sans fight becomes a test of patience more than endurance at this stage. At the end of the fight, Sans moves offscreen to die, asking his brother Papyrus (murdered by the player earlier in the game) a question, one final strike to the emotions.

The 'You're Gunna Have a Bad Time Curse' ingredients, in the manner of sympathetic magic and pop culture witchcraft, refer to and symbolize the imagery of the Sans fight: a black cloth, an animal skull (sic: 'cat skull (or a dog skull? Whatever kind of skull you think Gaster Blasters are))', a blue and red stone, blood, bones, and a candle. In this curse, the red stone represents the curse's target (a reference to the player character's "soul" during battles) and the imagery of *Undertale's* battle system. The instructions for performing the curse involve setting up an altar or working area to mimic the Sans fight, arranging the skull, bones, and red stone the way they would appear in the game. The animal skulls required for the curse represent Gaster Blasters, a skull-like weapon Sans uses. A mild argument arose through a reblog of nighmarist's curse: user zaphtiera adds that they believe the skulls to be goat skulls, not cat or dog spells as nightmarist suggests. Nightmarist responds, noting: "They're fictional skulls in a fictional piece of work… In spellcraft, you can use whatever proxy you like so long as you feel it's right for your intentions. Hell, doesn't even need to be a real skull…" (2016: n.p.) This is a unique concern of pop culture witchcraft, which tends to encounter materials or objects that do not exist in 'real life.' Sympathetic magic does tend to be made up of symbols, particularly when working spells directed at an individual. Love spells may call for clippings of hair or an object belonging to the target, and many spells and herbal/crystal encyclopedias suggest substitutions for rarer or difficult to find ingredients. Within pop culture witchcraft, the symbols and ingredients may become more abstract, and substitutions or interpretations become more necessary. The inhabitants of *Undertale* are monsters not found in

'the real world.' If a Gaster Blaster looks like a goat skull to zaphtiera and a canid skull to nightmarist, both interpretations are valid and permissible. Interpretation blends with intention, and with personal correspondence and accessibility. Perhaps the practitioner has a beaver or squirrel skull found in the woods, or a plastic Halloween decoration of a skeletal cat, and is willing to use them as proxy for 'whatever type of skull' Gaster Blasters are. Perhaps the practitioner is artistically inclined and interested in replicating a Gaster Blaster more accurately, using direct references to *Undertale.* Fanon slots into place as users build and share interpretations.

By replicating one of the most mechanically difficult and, at some stages, most boring (Sans actually falls asleep at one point during the fight, wasting several turns) fights in *Undertale*, the 'You're Gunna Have a Bad Time Curse' symbolically brings a difficult, tedious struggle down on its target, as a reaction for entirely soulless behavior. The caster assumes the role of Sans, manipulating the 'battleground' and the target's reality, refusing to let the target see even if the caster has been beaten. The curse's target is someone who always chooses violence and cruelty, seeking out opportunities to harm others. By casting the curse, the caster is taking a last stand after repeated warnings and ignored opportunities for the target to change negative behavior.

Conclusion

The recent rise in interest among Gen Z and millennials to cultivate a witchy aesthetic or collect crystals may spark an interest in an actual witchcraft practice (secular, religious, or otherwise). There are number of resources for the budding witch practitioner to choose from, each with specific pros and cons: published resources in bookstores or libraries, though listed as 'nonfiction,' may refer to outdated, racist, or otherwise problematic ideas or false histories of witchcraft practice. Raymond Buckland's *Buckland's Complete Book of Witchcraft*, one such text, is an example of this type of material in the aggregate. Although it has been in print for decades, and is certainly an exhaustive approach to the Wiccan religion, some of its ideas and approaches may not resonate with younger practitioners, and its title (referring to Witchcraft rather than Wicca) may be misleading. Buckland's approach is geared towards the group practitioner, and his reliance on the Wiccan Gardnerian origin story may lose him credibility. Some potential witchcraft practitioners, for various reasons, may choose to seek information on witchcraft practice via the Internet: TikTok, Instagram, and Tumblr have become popular for 'baby witches.' The Tumblr approach to learning witchcraft can be far more inclusive (of traditions, sects, secular paths, etc.) and less strict; for example, Tumblr witch practitioners on the whole do not seem to have the concern with baneful magic, or cursing, that Buckland and other published Wiccan authors do.

Though the internet can certainly be misleading, Tumblr in particular lends itself to a collective version of witchcraft that empowers practitioners to create their own paths, picking and choosing gnosis that suits them. One such gnosis is pop culture witchcraft, a combination of fan practices like fan fiction and witchcraft practice. This practice is indicative of Tumblr itself: it is a conglomeration of fan and witchcraft practices, a chance to elevate media into spiritual practice through shorthands and personal archiv-

ing. It serves as a counterpoint to Raymond Buckland's heavily prescriptive approach to witchcraft, in conjunction with the wider Tumblr community. Pop culture witchcraft on Tumblr can be much more accessible and approachable for beginners, particularly when compared with Buckland's 300-page text. Any given pop culture spell features a shorthand likely already familiar to the average Tumblr user (references to a pop culture property, such as a videogame), and symbolism or a system of correspondences that at once relate to Wiccan or other more 'traditional' witchcraft practices, familiar to the average witch practitioner. Pop culture spells can therefore be simpler to parse for the newcomer: if the reader is familiar with witchcraft and has played *Undertale* (or even seen *Undertale* gameplay), they are equipped to use nightmarist's spell.

On Tumblr, the process of sharing others' content to ones' own blog (reblogging) and adding commentary makes pop culture witchcraft even more accessible. Reblogging a spell, such as user nightmarist's 'You're Gunna Have a Bad Time Curse,' saves it to another user's personal archive, with their own notes, adjustments, and suggestions. Reblogging additionally alerts the original poster (user nightmarist) of the response, potentially enabling a conversation with and access to the original author that is difficult to impossible with published pagan authors. Even if the reader has never read an offline pagan text, the use of shorthand, access to authors, and the contributions of users who shared the post first make a more accessible, customizable 'version' of witchcraft.

References

"Federal and State Recognized Tribes" (2010): *NCSL*. Accessed 16 March 2022,https://www.ncsl.org/legislators-staff/legislators/quad-caucus/list-of-federal-and-state-recognized-tribes.aspx.

"Fern and Faun 'Baby Witch Question'" (2022): *Tumblr*. Accessed 16 March 2022, https://fernandfaun.tumblr.com/post/678914076074803200/baby-witch-question.

Adler, Margot (2010): *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America*, New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Bonewits, Isaac (2001): *Witchcraft: a Concise Guide*, Berkeley, CA: Earth Religions Press.

Buckland, Raymond (2002): *Buckland's Complete Book of Witchcraft*, Woodbury: Llewellyn Publications.

Castanea, Frankie (2022): *Spells for Change: a Guide for Modern Witches*, Kansas City, MO: Andrews McMeel Publishing.

Cunningham, Scott (2003): *Magical Herbalism: the Secret Craft of the Wise*, Woodbury, NY: Llewellyn Publications.

Cunningham, Scott (2016): *Cunningham's Encyclopedia of Magical Herbs*, Woodbury, NY: Llewellyn Publications.

Derecho, Abigail (2006) "Archontic Literature: A Definition, a History, and Several Theories of Fan Fiction." In: Karen Hellekson; Kristina Busse (eds.), *Fan Fiction and Fan Communities in the Age of the Internet*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Publishers, pp. 61–78.

Dym, B., et al. (2019): "'Coming Out Okay:' Community Narratives for LGBTQ Identity Recovery Work." In: *Proc. ACM Hum.-Comput. Interact.* 3, pp. 154:1–154:28.

Eggers, Robert (2015); *The Witch,* Ontario, Canada.Fausto-Sterling, Anne (1993): "The Five Sexes." In: *The Sciences* 33, pp. 20–24.

Fox, Toby (2015): *Undertale*. Manchester: Toby Fox.

Gardner, Gerald (2004): *Witchcraft Today*, New York, NY: Citadel Press.

Gigax, Gary; Arneson, Dave (1974): *Dungeons and Dragons*, Lake Geneva, WI: Tactical Studies Rules.

Giles, Cynthia (1992): *The Tarot: History, Mystery, and Lore*, New York, NY: Paragon House.

Hutton, Ronald (1999): *The Triumph of the Moon: a History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Illes, Judika (2004): The Element Encyclopedia of 5,000 Spells, London, UK: Element.

Jenkins, Henry (2016): *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*, New York, NY: New York University Press.

moonkitty (2020): 'hello??' *Tumblr*. Accessed 15 March 2020, https://moonkitty.tumblr.com/post/612714285264748544/hello.

Myers, Maddy (2014): "Femme Doms of Videogames: Bayonetta Doesn't Care If She's Not Your Kink." *Paste Magazine*. Accessed 30 October 2014, https://www.pastemagazine.com/games/femme/femme-doms-of-videogames-bayonetta-doesnt-care-if/.

nightmarist (2015): "You're Gunna Have a Bad Time Curse." *Tumblr*. Accessed 9 December 2015, https://nightmarist.tumblr.com/post/136927861762/youre-gunna-have-a-bad-time-curse.

Penczak, Christopher (2003): *Gay Witchcraft: Empowering the Tribe*, Boston, MA: Weiser Books

RavenWolf, Silver (2003): *Teen Witch: Wicca for a New Generation*, Saint Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications.

Sollee, Kristen (2017): *Witches, Sluts, Feminists: Conjuring the Sex Positive*, Los Angeles, CA: ThreeL Media.

Starhawk (1979): *The Spiral Dance,* New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Stasi, Mafalda (2006): "The Toy Soldiers from Leeds: The Slash Palimpsest." In: Karen Hellekson; Kristina Busse (eds.), *Fan Fiction and Fan Communities in the Age of the Internet*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Publishers, pp. 115–33.

Stone, Sam (2020) "Castlevania: Warren Ellis and Kevin Kolde on Returning for Season 3." *CBR*. Accessed 14 March 2020, https://www.cbr.com/castlevania-warren-ellis-kevin-kolde-season-3-interview/

Tiidenberg, Katrin; Hendry, Natalie Ann; Abidin, Crystal (2021) *tumblr*, Cambridge: Polity.

Villarreal, Vanessa Angélica (2018) "Break the Spell: Witchcraft is Capitalism's New Trick." In: *Bitch Media*. Accessed 27 August 2023, https://www.bitchmedia.org/article/commodification-witchcraft-sephora.

West, Katie; Elliott, Jasmine (2019): *Becoming Dangerous: Witchy Femmes, Queer Conjurers and Magical Rebels*, Newburyport, MA: Weiser Books.

Wicca, Witchcraft & Paganism, Best Sellers. Accessed 27 August 2023, Amazon, https://www.amazon.com/b/?node=11309334011&ref_=Oct_d_odnav_22&pd_rd_w=uNueu&pf_rd_p=72459b27-e231-4837-b61c-b057ff0c50ac&pf_rd_r=T8TZN6ZBQ6X9QQ2K9K3N&pd_rd_r=3c11d748-92de-42b7-abdb-941a7c054a22&pd_rd_wg=YZM8X.

Willborn, Bruce (2002): *The Gay Wicca Book*, Fort Lee, NJ: Barricade Books.