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Periodical Utopianism:

Charles Fourier, *Playboy*, and Erotic Serialization

MICHAEL DANGO

The Present Labor of Future Dreams

This article proposes a formal connection between two unlikely bedfellows: the canonical utopian writing of Charles Fourier in the early nineteenth century and issues of *Playboy* magazine beginning in the mid-twentieth century. Put together, they bring out aspects latent in each. Playboy not only amplifies the eroticism of Fourier's utopianism—which was already explicit for this theorist of "very brilliant orgies" (Fourier 1971: 263; see also Wark 2013: chap. 8)—but also, more importantly, highlights the fact that Fourier's writings were, like the magazine, serialized. In return, Fourier reframes *Playboy*'s project as utopian in its promise of future bounties of pleasure. For both, serialization provides a form of erotic labor that keeps open these promises without realizing them; whereas the erotic is often seen as opposed to repetition or to something like what Fourier called "logic," this utopian serialization is a way of maintaining and renewing desire even as the basic mechanics of sex do not themselves become new. By suggesting a resonance between them that is primarily formal, I draw upon Fredric Jameson's own formalist approach to utopian writing, but I also argue his approach to Fourier is actually not formalist enough. I also seek to extend Frances Ferguson's compelling if idiosyncratic take on pornography as a utilitarian genre by considering what is at stake in calling it utopian instead.

In *Archaeologies of the Future* (2005), Jameson set out to guide us away from reading utopian writing just for its ideas, that is, for its content. In the essays that comprise the first part of *Archaeologies*, Jameson not only details various

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Line 1 features of the utopian genre—most importantly for my purposes, a systems theory of the utopian text that attends to the necessary condition of a differentiated social space in which imaginary enclaves, or subtractions from real social space, can be elaborated and dilated to the level of an alternate world—but also meditates on the formal tradition of textual utopianism. Jameson (2005: 3) tracks two lines of descent from Thomas More's inaugural *Utopia*: "the one intent on the realization of the Utopian program, the other an obscure yet omnipresent Utopian impulse finding its way to the surface in a variety of covert expressions and practices." Clearly, Fourier belongs to the former line, and he has great importance 10 there. In particular, in Jameson's account, Fourier is the utopian who elaborates the bourgeois enclave of subjectivity itself. For Fourier, the perfect society comes 11 12 from "passionate attraction," a perfect matching of sexual partners. For all think-13 ers who follow in Fourier's tradition, the political program of utopianism must then be eminently a project of "ontological" (rather than, say, technological or 14 15 economic) revolution; the Fourierian program is to have an affective and finally 16 erotic superstructure coordinate the economic base (Jameson 2005: 19). First, 17 create the conditions for the full and coordinated exercise of the passions; then, 18 utopia follows (245). 19

But what do we make of the second line of utopian descent, and how do we distinguish between a "program" and an "impulse"? For Jameson (2005: 143), "one of the unique features of the Utopian tradition consists in the way in which the form itself seems to interiorize differences which generally remain implicit in literary history," which is to say not only that utopianism synchronically cannibalizes other genres and puts them into dialogue in the production of a different newness, but also that a given utopian text diachronically absorbs its predecessors in order to present this production as the final answer. Caught between the plurality of its past and the prophecy it makes of the future, the form of the utopian text cannot help but be an ambivalent mediation. Here Jameson's account of utopian ambivalence is remarkably close to Theodor Adorno's aesthetic theory of the modernist artwork, always caught up in the simultaneity of its conservative and revolutionary impulses, but Jameson's intervention is to name the synthetic impulse utopian and then, surprisingly, to find it distributed in a wider range of texts. Because, for Jameson (1979), it is not just someone like Fourier who is utopian; mass-cultural products like the films Jaws and The Godfather are also utopian in their alienation from the world as it actually exists.

The Jamesonian heuristic that finds utopian impulses distributed every-

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where, across genres, leaves little room for the specificity of the "programmatic" utopian genre itself and its textual practice of imagining not only to the possibility but also the shape and functioning of alternative worlds. My complaint is that the utopian formalist too often declines to give attention to the form of texts they deem overtly utopian in content: it is as if the programmatic utopian text can speak the utopian shape of all other texts and therefore does not need any special characterization of its composure. Peculiarly, the avowed utopian text even ends up appearing less utopian than all the other texts that unwittingly bear its impulse, because the utopian text does not have a complicated enough, which is to say contradictory and ambivalent enough, relation to the world from which it comes. Jameson himself is guilty of this nonformalist reading when it comes to Fourier, the subject of the first chapter of the second part of *Archaeologies*. The program Jameson extracts from Fourier is given directly in the noncontradictory contents of Fourier's writings, which Jameson submits to a decidedly nonformalist reading. Jameson's engagement with Fourier is primarily through four block quotes from Nouveu monde industriel (1829) and Nouveu monde amoreaux (1816-18). The critical exercise that Jameson undertakes is therefore essentially paraphrase and contextualization, putting Fourier's words into the vocabulary and formulas that make them commensurable with more recent theorists, preeminently Jean-Paul Sartre and Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe.

Where, then, is the formal contradiction that marks the utopian impulse, and does its absence from Jameson's account suggest Fourier provides a utopian program without a utopian impulse? Certainly, there is mention of contradiction because Fourier mentions contradiction, namely, as Jameson (2005: 245) paraphrases it, "the need, within unifying groups or groups-in-fusion, for fundamental internal dissonances and contradictions." But because Fourier is a programmatic rather than impulsive writer, Jameson declines to excavate his writing for the ambivalent mediation that its form is tasked to make between the absorptive present and the utopian future. Despite the great work that the first part of *Archaeologies* undertakes to establish the generic outlines of utopianism and the discontinuities of its contradictory temporality, Jameson's chapter on Fourier is a broad reading of the utopian's content, which is what secures Fourier's belonging to a utopian tradition.

In this essay, I argue for renewed attention to the form of Fourier's writing, especially the punctuated temporality of repeating prophesies of the future in such a way, ironically, as to delay the work of ensuring the future's appearance.

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What follows is a utopian commitment to inhabiting and surviving the present rather than taking up fantastic residence in the promised, but not yet existing, land. For Fourier, this continual return to the present is erotic, and attending to the temporality of that erotics not only reframes a formalist understanding of his project, but also what the labor, rather than dream, of utopianism entails. In Reinhart Koselleck's ([1959] 1988) classic Critique and Crisis, utopianism emerged as a critique of Enlightenment politics but, deferring its own vision to the future, ended up missing politics altogether. The point was that utopia would miraculously arrive and thus the labor of revolution, or of bringing it about, was unnecessary. The utopian critic spoke from the position of the future to judge the present, having seen the superior order of things that his (always "his" in Koselleck's survey) reasoning revealed to him. The "hypocrisy" was that criticism extended into politics but was self-assured of its rightness because of its exemption from politics, its operation through neutral and "natural" (here replacing moral) reasoning. It became possible for the critical subject to "address[] the King on equal terms"; eventually, "the critic saw himself as the King of Kings, the true sovereign" (119). And so criticism, "which has initially kept itself apart from the State so as to be able to function unimpededly, now, by virtue of its own authority, eradicated the boundary line it had once drawn" (121). At the same time, assured of his natural rightness, the utopian critic declined the necessity of any labor to bring about his utopia. In an essentially progressivist philosophy of history, "the abolition of the State is planned and indirectly aspired to, but revolution is not necessary, for the State will collapse anyways. . . . The assurance of history ruled out the need for direct conflict" (133).

This refusal of direct conflict survives in more recent strands of utopianism, including the influential and beautiful *Cruising Utopia* by Jose Esteban Muñoz (2009: 4), who proposes a utopian methodology consisting of "a backward glance that enacts a future vision." In this double evacuation of the present, the critic looks to the past and to the future but never at where their feet are now, for "the present is a prison-house" (3). For other leftists, a messianic relation to time has meant designating the present as a waiting room for a miracle, whether Alain Badiou's (2008: 585; 2006, 173–83) "event," Quentin Meillassoux's (2011a: 187–88; 2011b) substitution of worlds, or Eric Santner's (2005) "calling" from beyond ideological interpellation. The challenge with these accounts is not that they propose what Ernst Bloch ([1954] 1995: 146) called "abstract utopias" with no sense of historical footing, for they do retain a sense of history and are in fact

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motored by the promise of historical change. Koselleck would worry, instead, that each of these theorists' attempts to get outside the impasses of politics in the present end up removing the option for actual political intervention, as the radicalism of the political intervention becomes judged precisely in terms of its inability to be intelligible in the present—off the ideological radar, so to speak.

When launched in 1953, *Playboy* positioned itself similarly, explicitly refusing the terms of politics and instead cultivating a space of erotic retreat that was self-assured of its rightness precisely because uncontaminated by what it called the "out-of-doors." This is the first way in which its project can be understood as utopian: when you cannot solve something like the Cold War, you can at least make sure your apartment has the right taste. But in this essay, I will argue Playboy is utopian in a more formal way as well, first modelled by Fourier, in its serialized labor of repetitively reminding us what this taste is. Both Fourier and Playboy incarnate the need not merely to be satisfied with a dream but to find a way of constantly talking about it with sufficient difference that it seems "new" each time—a problem both see as formally similar to that of maintaining erotic interest when the fundamental facts of sex remain basically the same. Through them, in turn, I suggest we might recast utopian hope as a form of erotic labor. The formal resemblance between the writings of Fourier and of *Playboy*, I argue, gives us more leverage on understanding what utopianism does as a periodic practice of taking up more and more space by delaying its climax. I also wonder if there might be something worth learning from this labor that sustains political projects of hoping for a radically other world in the face of relentless disappointment and an absence of evidence that such otherness is even remotely on the horizon. How do we make the waiting room for the revolution habitable, despite recurring delays?

In the writing project she was working on while battling breast cancer during the last years of her life, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (2011)—still our best pedagogue for the value of a hope that declines the "paranoid" totalization of the world, however persistently toxic—turned to Marcel Proust for some light on a similar question. She wanted to understand Proust's "continuing access to a psychology of surprise and refreshment, as well as his nourishing relation to work"

^{1.} Muñoz (2009: 3), who builds on Bloch, prefers "concrete utopias," which reference or anticipate political collectives "relational to historically situated struggles," to ahistorical "abstract utopias" that have value "only insofar as they pose a critique function."

(4). Like Sedgwick, I want to understand how utopianism sustains its messianic relation to the world—its belief that the world could be surprising and surprisingly better—and does not tire of the exhausting work that goes into recycling prophesy and hope after the daily disappointment of things turning out pretty much the same: how to keep the sex dream sexy after so many years. I appreciate that neither Fourier nor *Playboy* fit the bill when it comes to this gueer tradition from Proust to Sedgwick, and I do not wish to suggest that their utopian programs, which is to say the content of their writing, provide us any urgent answers. In contrast, one of the values of attending to them formally is to somewhat sidestep the masculinist nature of their politics in pursuit, more reparatively, of a possibly edifying pattern of action. In both Fourier and *Playboy*, the rehearsal of utopia in writing becomes a principally formal challenge of coordinating two different temporal scales: a larger scale on which the drama of world transformation plays out, and a smaller one on which the hope for this transformation is practiced and nourished. What their doubled temporality of promised but deferred pleasure makes possible—when formalized in periodical writing as a comforting, albeit ambivalent, state of suspension—is a kind of utopianism that locates itself in the activity of *planning* to build the world today, rather than living in the built world tomorrow.

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Sexy Formalism

What if, contra Jameson, the nineteenth-century canon of (especially socialist) utopian writing—which, following the Friedrich Engels of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1880), we might quickly specify as, in addition to Fourier, Robert Owen and Henri de Saint-Simon—marks not in content but in form a new genre? Then we might be compelled to see that the form of even "programmatic utopianism"—the media it took, the print culture that circulated it, and the material culture that commoditized it—is a primary component of what its utopianism *does*, besides what its content can, independently, be paraphrased to say. In particular, we might give importance to the fact that the format most utopian thought took in the nineteenth century was not the isolated essay, but the various media of periodical textuality, especially self-published newspapers and magazines. Indeed, it would seem that utopian programs do not come into their own as discrete things—as specific ontologies or political programs or sociological principles that can cohere under a (usually proper) name—until, in the 1830s or 1840s, they produce their

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own journal. Saint-Simon got most of his ideas out in journals in the 1810s, notably *L'industrie* (1816), *La politique* (1818), and *L'organisateur* (1819–20), and his disciples followed suit with their purchase of *Le globe* in 1830 and with their influential deployment of that newspaper in the succeeding two years (before it was banned). Owen, who never quite achieved the following of either Saint-Simon or Fourier, nonetheless had his *Millennial Gazette* (1856–58), the product of an almost melancholy logorrhea in the last two years of his life, when he seemed frantically bent on continually assuring the world and himself of the force and the singularity of his scientific utopian discovery (but why does something so singular require so multiple an exposition?).

It is obvious from Fourier's letters—but also, as I will demonstrate below, even from his treatises—that he, too, considered the formation of a journal the decisive step in his and any utopian agenda. Fourier, who dabbled in journalism, first found an audience for his ideas in such periodicals as the Catholic Gazette de France and the provincial Journal de Lyon. By 1829, he was getting wider and more devoted circulation through the Besançon newspaper Impartial, directed by his disciple Just Muiron. But after failing to reach his publicity goals for the distribution of his treatises in Paris in the 1820s and 1830s, Fourier was increasingly jealous of the Saint-Simonians and their Globe; after a conflict with the Saint-Simonians, he wrote Muiron, "If only I had a journal, how I would set upon those clowns" (quoted in Beecher 1987: 421). Without a journal of his own, Fourier was particularly impotent to engage in the public and ongoing debates of utopianism, making his ideas stagnate in the past stage of prophecy instead of becoming the real utopian thing he wanted them to be, a continued engagement with the present. When, in June 1832, Fourier's disciples had raised enough money for a journal and the first issue of *Le phalanstère* came out, it was therefore nothing less than what his biographer calls the realization of a "longstanding dream" (Beecher 1987: 432). But it was not only a dream, which would seem a species of hope always present in utopianism. It was also a new way of life: Fourier lived in an apartment adjoining the office in which Le phalanstère was produced, and it began to organize his daily habits, especially his writing, now synchronized to the rhythm of a dream being rehearsed and published every two weeks.

Le phalanstère only lasted two years, but it was instrumental to the propagation of Fourier's thought within France, extending through the provinces—and then beyond France, extending to the United States. In particular, it marks the origin of a number of other periodicals devoted to the realization of his sexually

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organized utopian spaces, or "phalanxes," across the world and makes this wider spread of utopian thought possible precisely by shifting the medium of its reception from the treatise to something more accessible and more easy to produce and reproduce. But the periodicals are more than the propagation of thought: they become the primary activity of utopianism as well, creating the scene of the collective enterprise that becomes its publication, first the Parisian office of Le phalanstère and then eventually such projects as far away as The Harbinger in Brook Farm, Massachusetts.² Indeed, it is possible to map the spread of Fourierist thought and practice throughout the United States in the 1840s as a network of periodicals: the *Phalanx*, edited by Albert Brisbane in New York City (for six weeks in 1840 and then again from 1843 to 1845); the Future, edited by Brisbane and Horace Greeley in New York City (for eight weeks in 1841); Brisbane's weekly column in Greeley's New-York Daily Tribune (1842-43); the Present, edited by William Henry Channing in New York City (1843–4) and the Spirit of the Age, Channing's second Fourierist journal (in 1849); the Social Reformer, published in Boston by John Allen and Joseph A. Whitmarsh (1844-45); and the *Harbinger*, which absorbed the *Phalanx* and the *Social Reformer* (1845–49).

Each of these journals or periodicals makes continual reference to a prior treatise and to a revelation offered therein that establishes a promise of a future perfect society: future perfect in both the semantic and grammatical senses. But the fact that these journals take on an autonomous publication history and subsume the energy of utopian publication altogether, instead of disciples investing energy in, say, the simple republication of said treatises, recommends them as a distinct genre and not merely, as they are often claimed themselves to be, translations of and writings continuous with a prior and static monograph. I call this genre, and the weird coordination it tries to make between, on the one hand, its present material existence and reception and, on the other hand, its fantastic temporal orientation to the future, the *utopian serial*.

Of course, utopian theory was not the only discourse to be serialized in the nineteenth century. Given the emergence not only of technologies for the mass publication of periodicals and of mechanisms for its wide and efficient distri-

^{2.} Brook Farm conveniently found itself to be home to four printers at the same time that it sought to establish its national presence in the Fourier movement and, as an added bonus, secure a stable source of income (see Delano 2004: 191). On the role of *The Harbinger* in uniting disparate associational energies in the nineteenth-century United States, and then how Fourierism dies out when *The Harbinger* ceases publication, see Guarneri 1991: 238, 291.

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bution (for instance, in the United States, distribution by the US Post Office), but also the emergence of an expanding literate population on both sides of the Atlantic and the capitalist incentives to consume print culture for a variety of motivations, this century saw the capture of a wide range of genres within magazines and newspapers, not least the novel.³ The great historians of the nineteenthcentury periodical have aptly shown how the synchronization of print production with such emerging routines as the paycheck facilitated the expanded commodification of public culture and private leisure, and all this remains relevant for the production of utopian newspapers and magazines as well. But a few particular attributes recommend the utopian serial as a distinct genre, and not only because the writing of utopian theory—unlike, say, the novel—exploded simultaneous with, and not anterior to, the explosion of periodicals in nineteenth-century print culture, which is to say it lacked autonomous media in which to develop its own generic identity. From the beginning, the utopian periodical has also been distinct because periodicity itself has a stranger relation to utopian content. Programmatic utopianism functions as revelation, the sudden discovery of a hitherto secret ontological or social truth that will spontaneously visualize the perfect society, thus the impact of its temporality is singular, marking an event that prophesies the future. But the generic temporality of the periodical is multiple, extending into the future but only as the continued saturation of connected presents with its recurring instantiations. Eventually, the tension between the singularity of its truth and the episodicity of its rehearsal seems to make the utopian serial a parody of itself: for what self-evident, natural, and transcendent truth requires the continued nurturance and proclamation of itself as such? The prophetic serial's repetitious form, and the routines it collects, would seem to detract from and in fact denigrate the rupture it speaks.4

The oddness of the utopian serial is dramatized in Fourier's handling of his own thought, even in the publications from the early nineteenth century before it appeared in programmatic periodicals like *Phalanstére*. The most important of his texts, in which appears the first but also most detailed account of his "social"

^{3.} The literature on serial publication and capitalist leisure is vast, but see especially Sutherland 1976; Feltes 1986; Hughes and Lund 1991; Erickson 1999; Turner 2000; Payne 2005.

^{4.} I mean to agree with Margaret Beetham's (1990: 25) point that "the formal qualities of the periodical are shaped by its particular relationship to time," but want also to suggest that, with utopianism, this relationship to time also makes form contradictory to content. See also an elaboration of Beetham in Murphy 2010.

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science" and which was the go-to text for his disciplines in the United States in the nineteenth century as well as today (when it remains the only substantial text completely and carefully translated into English), is Theory of the Four Movements ([1808] 1996), which was also intended as a serial of sorts. Four Movements is itself a collection of a first, second, and third treatise, and it alludes to future publications that will be made available by subscription. Of course, in that text, serial (and its nominative cousins) has special meaning. Fourier's "progressive Series" (or "Series of groups" or "passionate Series") refer to a population of people who will occupy his utopian phalanxes; the key to the proper functioning of a society, in Fourier's account, is a symmetrical distribution of unequal human beings, whose differences in "age, fortune, character, understanding, etc." will facilitate the natural forming of alliances and contrasts that make work pleasurable, as well as make possible the satisfaction of each person's passionate needs (292–93). Fourier's theory of history is also serialized, cutting up the life of the globe into its proper and again symmetrical periods. What makes Fourier's theory in both cases a "definitive science" (16), in his account, is that series have a mathematical logic, which is the God-given universal across all domains of existence that is, the titular four movements that are the material, organic, animal, and social (38). Thus, to give to the social domain a geometry that selects and arranges a population is to align it finally with nature, freeing the eternal passions of individuals to their full realization.

But the progressive series, which Fourier is always talking about and which serve as the telos for his entire project, he declines to fully theorize until the third treatise of the Four Movements, and even then, he defers complete elucidation for future explication: "This will be contained in six small memoranda which will appear one after another and in which I shall describe the combined order in action" (307); "subscribers to these six books about passionate attraction will be able to send me their objections and their comments on developments they consider necessary. I shall give them clarifications which will be of the general use and, as each book comes out, I shall devote a few pages to answering what seem to me to be the most important points raised by readers" (308). The entire movement of the Four Movements is one of delay and stalling, spacing out the revelation of the theory so that its event is serialized, occupying not an instant but a periodicity: "I have decided to postpone the theory of the combined order, or progressive Series, to the third treatise, and for the time being to put forward only the general results" (21); "all I am trying to do is to arouse curiosity in the

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treatises that follow. . . . So be patient until 1821!" (30); "I intend to reveal my theory just a little at a time, disseminating it imperceptibly in each treatise, only bringing it all together as a body of doctrine later. In brief, I mean to make the amounts of theory proportionate to the amount of curiosity I am able to arouse" (107–8); "some people want provisional accounts of the combined order—they want the prospect before the theory. I must do something to satisfy them in this prospectus, which has to take into account the tastes of different kinds of readers" (159); "I have already said that a complete demonstration of [some of the following claims] belongs in a full account of the mechanism of the progressive Series . . . ; until I have published this theory readers cannot expect proofs of these provisional descriptions (166); "all your objections are systematically resolved by the mechanism of the progressive Series, and the results of this order will provide not only the objects of your desires, but a happiness far beyond anything you can desire" (168); "until the laws of social movement have been published, I can only clothe this advertisement in negative proofs, such as the incapacities of our scholars to deal with the problems of the civilised mechanism" (192); "I cannot provide a more thoroughgoing demonstration before I publish the theory of passionate attraction" (307).

I quote at length from this large survey to foreground how much Fourier's writing is structured by the conclusion of an episode and therefore the delay of an explanation. The *Four Movements* delivers its content "proportionate to the amount of curiosity [Fourier is] able to arouse," ultimately giving its form an affectively determined organization (107–8). But this is also a technique of making the *Theory* longer and more sustainable, a project that is not just about the future, but about continuing to take up room in the present. Fourier wants to control the reception of his theory by serializing it, pointing toward a truth while denying its sudden appearance in order to saturate the ongoing present with a "curiosity" that seems finally to be the point of publication altogether.

This perhaps explains why Fourier valued so much the establishment of a journal devoted to his thought not only as the sign that his thought had arrived and was being picked up by a wider public, but most importantly as a mechanism in tune with his own subjective orientation to his own prophetic utopianism. A journal materially actualizes the pacing aimed for already in *Four Movements* and extends the repetition of promise and the ritual of reminder into an indefinite (and optimistically infinite) future. Indeed, Fourier's habits of contribution to the *Phalanstére* suggest that the personal act of creating precisely this predictable

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ritual of rehearsal and preparation exceeded any motive for real publicity: he writes too many articles to ever be published in the eight pages of the biweekly journal, and he writes at times both too esoterically and too technically, such that even his disciples become alienated from his writing and seek to displace his editorial authority before finally abandoning the journal altogether. If the journal really were to serve only the practical aims it declared, namely the translation and distribution of Fourier's thoughts to a wider audience, Fourier's writing would have taken both a different style and a different scope of production. But it is precisely because the writing comes to take force as ritual, and because it is the production of the form of writing rather than its content that names the action of Fourier's utopianism, that Fourier declines to let his writing be coordinated by his disciples or by his public and insists instead on a habit that performs utopianism as the continued because serialized performance of a promise.

In the widely influential *Sade, Fourier, Loyola* ([1971] 1989), Roland Barthes diagnosed something similar in Fourier's queer temporality, which he called "counter-paralypse," delaying and denying the final revelation promised by his doctrine and investing instead in the promise itself. Fourier's discourse is "dilatory, incessantly withdrawn further away: only the signifier remains, stretching out of sight, *in the book's future*" (90). In Barthes's view, this method not only is a way of managing Fourier's fear of failure by delaying the exposure of the doctrine to be evaluated, but is also a way of deploying the failure of language itself to signify, to have the subject it speaks. For me, the main point of the dilatory discourse is that the utopian book cannot be a book, that the form utopianism must take as the promise of a revelation perpetually delayed can only be the form of a serial, unbound by covers, detached from the singular, static thing that a book is.

The serial provides a space of pleasurable suspension. A utopianism premised on the erotic must, Fourier's writing argues formally, be serial, for what exists is never enough; what I write today must be replaced by what I write tomorrow, just as my orgasm today does not satiate desire but motivates me to find better, more interesting orgasms tomorrow. What Fourier shows in his inhabitation of this restlessness—literally, in his taking up residence in the press of his journal; performatively, in his repetition of a prophecy—is that utopia is not that tomorrow itself. Utopia is not the orgasm deferred, but the pleasure of the deferral itself.

It is here that we return to Jameson's "enclave." Programmatic utopianism, with its official plan to transform the world, officially practices a kind of expansionism: circulating, exporting, proselytizing, building. But by calling the rest-

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lessness of Fourier a state of suspension, I mean to claim this going out into the world is in the last instance a retreat. It is not only that Fourier's journal, which has the official goal of "disseminating" his ideas, has the programmatic effect of keeping him inside all day, in the press that is his home, to write. It is also that the mode of being that this restless doing affords is itself a kind of hermitage, an isolation of one variable of the human experience that Fourier then dilates from part to whole so that it seems all of life can be lived in the anticipation of an erotic promise.

What such a program brings into relief, or what is the obverse side of this reduction to a single variable, is that what is wrong with the world, to Fourier, is how complex it is. His "Series" offer a logic to the world; his writings, serialized, perform the pleasures of logic's predictability. Such an isolation of the erotic variable is only possible in a functionally differentiated society, such as the one in which Fourier is coming into, in which there can be a private that is distinct from the public, a leisure that is distinct from labor, and so on. It is not just that industrialization makes possible Fourier's activity—the standardization of the printing press, the protocols of dissemination and subscription, the speculative imaginary of capital investment, which allows a futurity in which for the utopian promise to be lodged—but that it makes it necessary: to chart pathways through the complex world, Fourier imagines a life organized by, always in the orbit of, a Duke University Press repeated deferral of pleasure.

What Serialization Did to Action

It is popular to say that Fourier's disciples misunderstood him, not only because they did not understand his writing, but because they avoided the sexual connotations of it. Famously, Nathaniel Hawthorne's Blithedale Romance ([1852] 2009: 53), a satire of the agrarian and intellectual utopian attempt at Brook Farm in 1840s Massachusetts, picked on Fourier's more fantastic promises while ignoring as Brook Farm did, too—that Fourier's promise of a future was not some miraculous arrival of utopia but a dwelling within the erotic today: "When, as a consequence of human improvement," says the dreamer and narrator of the novel, "the globe shall arrive at its final perfection, the great ocean is to be converted into a particular kind of lemonade, such as was fashionable at Paris in Fourier's time. He calls it *limonade à cèdre*. It is positively a fact! Just imagine the city docks filled, every day, with a flood tide of this delectable beverage!" However,

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considered as a formal and generic matter—that is, if we are more interested in the shape of Fourier's writing rather than his musings on lemonade—Fourier's writing seems to have direct heirs in the periodical culture a century later, in the United States. Those heirs are the Gentlemen's Magazines of the mid-twentieth century, and especially *Playboy*.

In calling *Playboy* utopian, I do mean to advocate for its political project, one that relies on sexual and class exclusions. Indeed, my formalist approach means I am relatively agnostic to the magazine's "contents." Instead, I am interested in its temporal logic, its invitation into "exclusive" spaces that are always on the horizon instead of already here. In other words, in this section I mean to emphasize several matters of form. First, just as Fourier retreated from the complex world by emphasizing the single variable of the erotic, *Playboy* responds to the dangers of its Cold War world by offering a retreat into a Jamesonian "enclave"; Fourier had his publishing house, and *Playboy* offers up its "mansion." Second, the serialization of the magazine provides readers an opportunity to suspend themselves in the hope of a pleasure deferred, just as Fourier revels in the rehearsal of a promise, not its delivery. Pornography is organized by the sense that there is always another, better orgasm on the horizon. Third, utopia is to be locating in this suspension itself, in the serialization of the magazine rather than the future it promises.

The first issue of *Playboy*, from January 1953, began by offering an enclave. Announcing, on the first page, an allergy to the "out-of-doors" that other magazines took as their subject, "thrashing through thorny thickets or splashing about in fat flowing streams," Playboy explained it was less interested in hunting and fishing and preferred to spend "most of our time inside": "We like our apartment. We enjoy mixing up cocktails and an hors d'oeuvre or two, putting a little mood music on the phonograph, and inviting in a female acquaintance for a quiet discussion on Picasso, Nietzsche, jazz, sex" (3). Like Fourier retreating to his publishing house, and dwelling within the erotic as a buffer from everything else in the world, *Playboy* recommends you stay in. It is the pinnacle of a certain moment of private property ownership as buffer in increasingly discombobulating urban environments in which there are simply too many people; Beatriz Preciado (2014: 31) calls the success of *Playboy*'s "indoor man" model a "sign of the displacement from a disciplinary spatial biopolitics of gender to a postindustrial one." A reader wrote into the magazine for its May 1953 issue: "I whole-heartedly back your idea of staying at home. I'm getting tired of reading about 'Joe Jones' Jaguar Jaunts

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The asyndeton in *Playboy*'s preferred series of art ("Picasso"), philosophy ("Nietzsche"), music ("jazz"), and sex suggests some of the magazine's aim for urban domestic space to provide a convergence of disparate fields of experience, not only assimilating intellectual discussion to leisure time by eroticizing it, but also by intellectualizing sex, making it seem the inevitable conclusion to the trajectory of a conversation. Picasso, Nietzsche, and jazz protect the apartment's domestic eroticism from the great outdoors, allowing taste to curate the space of sexual possibility. *Playboy*'s preference for the indoors was also visually rendered on the opposing page's cartoon of a masculine bunny in a smoking jacket, holding a cocktail in front of a fireplace whose mantle features a trophy, a small collection of pipes, and three hardcover books secured between bookends sculpted in the figures of lounging women. The image of books and women echoes the formula of "Picasso, Nietzsche, jazz, sex" by visually figuring a dialectic between women and cultural knowledge: this knowledge is both supported by, literally held erect, by women; while the purpose of women, reduced to the function of bookend, is to prop up cultural knowledge.

Playboy's bachelor pad is an enclave that, premised on space more than institutions, is different from, say, the enclosure of marriage.⁵ Just as the nude bookends envelop the knowledge symbolized by the books, a larger nude statue seems to supervise the scene from her elevated position, facing the room to get a better view of if than even the bunny has. On the one hand, this is a fantasy, facilitated by capitalism's colonization of leisure time, that the good life follows from having the good things: the right taste in clothes, cigars, and spirits. But it is even more fundamentally a fantasy that your leisure time can be supervised by the erotic, that everything can be staged in reference to it. An earlier draft of the cartoon presented not a bunny but a stag as the protagonist of the magazine, but this seems to have provided too strong a citation to the outdoorsy masculinity *Playboy* sought to displace. A bunny, more familiar as a possible pet than as an object of hunting, fit in better with the domestic vision. The rounded features of the bunny, compared with the sharp lines and edges of a stag's muscularity, also

^{5.} On this point, and the collusion of women's liberation with pornography in their mutual promotion of sexuality outside of marriage, or opening up extra spaces for sex, see Pitzulo 2011.

suggested that masculinity was to be found not in the body but in its environment. This impersonalization of the masculine figure—it represented no person in particular—made its embodiment more accessible to a wider array of readers: even a bunny, if placed in this apartment, would become the man Playboy was trying to cultivate. In both the case of the "female acquaintance," whom Playboy invites "in," and the bunny, who might have belonged to the great outdoors but shows up in a smoking robe indoors, Playboy's original issue put forward the apartment as a sort of conversion machine, transforming the potentially unruliness of whatever lay beyond its walls into refinement and pleasurable availability.

It is as a policing of the boundaries of an enclave that the opening page's geopolitical language also makes sense. When *Playboy* explains that "affairs of state will be out of our province," it both deploys and disavows the language of politics, claiming the apartment of the "city-bred male" as a space that, too, has borders which ought to be policed, and asserting that one of the things it ought to be protected from are the anxieties of official politics. Thus, we return to utopia's self-aggrandizement as apolitical in Reinhard Koselleck's sense. *Playboy*'s explicit humility—"We don't expect to solve any world problems or prove any great moral truths"—is really its aggressive optimism that a space can be carved out of the world independent from, here, the economic and political systems of international relations and the ethics of religious discourse. *Playboy* wants to create a smaller world in which the concerns of this larger world are, not solved, but somehow invisible. So long as "Picasso, Nietzsche, jazz, sex" can take up the space of a man's mind and body, he is somehow outside the world beyond his walls, nourished in his own miniature utopia.

It matters that the bunny does not have a live partner; that the signs of femininity are merely prosthetic, in the pornographic statues on the mantle rather than in the flesh. *Playboy* is, like Fourier, a great believer in the erotic who lives alone—an aloneness that was not just sexual but social. In a June 1953 letter to the magazine, one reader remarked that "the Ale-house has long since vanished and the modern bar has not taken its place, but the best company, ribald laughter, comely wenches and other aspects of the Ale-house survive in the pages of PLAYBOY" (51). Why go to the bar when you can have one at home; who needs people, when you have pinups? It is this coincidence of the erotic and the enclave in the sexualized individual we have come to call the bachelor that also brings out an ambivalence latent in Fourier: that making the erotic your buffer to the world is also de-eroticizing the world by giving it a proper place rather than an

ever-present atmosphere. To give eroticism a place—safely secured within the walls of an urban apartment—is also to subtract its possibilities from the great outdoors. Eroticism in this view is not a force that saturates daily, public life with possibility, emerging at times in, say, a glance on the subway. Similarly, despite its public circulation, *Playboy* certainly does not produce a public sex culture alive to the possibility of sex in a widened range of times or places, as in, say, the bathhouse or tearoom subculture of gay male cruising.

Pornography instead gives sex a proper time and place, where it is expected and often scripted. Its rehearsal of pleasure is in part born of its decision to avoid seeing pleasure anywhere else but in the scenes it establishes. This tension has been widely explored in critical accounts—both literary and anthropological—of the condensation of liberatory and oppositional energies in the space of carnival: whether a designated space and time for the inversion of norms feeds back into a general subversion of authority or else, precisely by being confined to a predictable spatiotemporal location, provides only the necessary relief that makes longer-term submission to authority palatable, sustainable, and even, for some, desirable.⁶ But here, *Playboy*'s utopianism is truly apparent: the point for the utopian is that there is "no place" in the world for the life it envisions, and so its enclave, here erotic, must be protected from the world it finds hostile to it. The point is that this hostility may be born from the production of the enclave itself, as a projection that legitimizes pornography's subtraction from the world.

In a fascinating article on the editorial afterlife of an eighteenth-century pornographic text—first published in 1749 and revised and condensed multiple times throughout the nineteenth century and into the mid-twentieth—Kathleen Lubey (2015: 899) has shown a historical contraction of pornographic narrative. Once upon a time, her persuasive story goes, texts with what we would now identify as pornographic content were crowded with multiple discourses more collaborative than competitive—religious, moral, philosophical, and nonerotic fictional—in turn offering a "miscellaneous model of reading" that invites the pleasure not merely of orgasm but of meandering among a field of discourses that

^{6.} Each in their own way, theorists and anthropologists such as Mikhail Bakhtin in *Rabelais and His World*, Barbara Babcock in *The Reversible World*, Clifford Geertz in "Ritual and Social Change," and Herbert Marcuse in *One-Dimensional Man* (where he coined the term "repressive desublimation") ask: Does having a space set in contrast to the everyday subvert or re-entrench the rhythms of the ordinary? The best answer is probably something like "a bit of both," like when Leah Marcus (1987: 7) talks about festivals' "inclusion of both normative and reactionary impulses" that can "constitutive a process of adjustment within a perpetuation of order."

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reference, but do not reduce to, sexual acts. The history of pornography is one of steadily pruning the genre, discarding both the "miscellaneous" parasexual discourses and experiences of the sexual that exceed the satisfaction of a bodily desire. Gone today is an erotic pleasure that is as much about mental imagination as genital stimulation; and gone with it is the messy, multiply categorizable text in which that pleasure participates. Parallel to this generic trimming run a couple other cuts: the creation of sexuality as identity rather than a polymorphous and unbounded sphere of experience; the cropping of sexual activity to center procreative, penetrative, heterosexual intercourse; and, concomitantly, the deletion of any motivation for sex beyond the essentially capitalist one of disciplined and efficient reproduction.⁷

What the Gentleman's Monthly genre brings out—as Fourier had originated in his own periodical—is the desirability of repetition once narrative has been trimmed down to the sexual, which is to say that the pressure the erotic puts on form is an impulse to serialization. From the very beginning, Playboy cultivated a readership that understood each issue as both a concentration of the erotic and a promise that it was the end-all, be-all of its presentation. One reader who preferred brunettes wrote to the editors not to complain that the first issue featured the blonde Marilyn Monroe but to announce his participation in an endless series: "I am sure you will cater to all tastes in each issue. Just pattern them after your first issue and you will have it made." The idea of "pattern" as being the desired thing more than the content—for different pictures can be plugged into the larger form of erotic rehearsal—picks up on the essentially formal nature of the prophetic periodical. And when a reader writes in the April 1953 issue that he "enjoyed your second issue from cover to cover. It was even better than the first, which leaves me anxiously waiting for the issues coming up" (2); or when *Playboy* itself promises in the same issue, "The very best issues of this new,

^{7.} On these last points, Lubey leans upon Henry Abelove (2003: 26), who has deduced from the great rise in procreation during the eighteenth century a privileging of heterosexual intercourse to completion as the only proper mode of sexuality, which he pairs as well with "the rise in production." As Lubey (2015: 929) glosses his argument about the long eighteenth century: "Non-reproductive sexual practices were widespread and fluid prior to this historical shift, Abelove speculates, and only with the rise of industrial capitalism do they become consigned to the status of 'foreplay,' or non-essential, 'preliminary' precursors to a more central act deemed to be intercourse itself"; she adapts his argument about sexuality to hers about pornography: "Like foreplay, non-sequential pieces that originally constituted pornography were redefined as ornaments or even barriers to some more primary spectacle—to those repeated penetrative acts we have naturalized as pornography but that we might now name, following Abelove, pornography so-called."

sophisticated magazine for men are coming up. A subscription will make certain you don't miss out on a single one of them. Guarantee yourself month after month of PLAYBOY pleasure by subscribing today" (2); or another reader suggests in the September 1953 issue, "I think your magazine is the best thing to hit the newsstands in my generation, and if I thought you could keep up the pace, I would order a lifetime subscription" (4) and another commits, "I'm finally convinced that you can continue the pace and live up to the promise of the first issues" (4): what is going on in all these writings is an echoing of Fourier's promises in *Four Movements* to give greater pleasure through longer subscription—an anticipation of an endless series ("a lifetime subscription") that is both familiar ("continue the pace" of a branded, which is to say generic "PLAYBOY pleasure") and refreshed (because next month may be different than this one).

Serialization is central to the pornographic genre across media in the later twentieth century, most notably in film franchises—for example, *Anal Addicts 1* (2000), . . . , *Anal Addicts 10* (2002), . . . , and so on. Just as Lubey has tracked the condensing of pornographic discourse, pornography of the late twentieth century has seen a movement from the polyvocal text to the singular act. Classics of the so-called "golden age of porn," such as the 1973 *Devil in Miss Jones*, had relatively complex narratives (enough to be taken serious by critics including Roger Ebert) and extrasexual discourses (in this case, an engagement with Jean-Paul Sartre's *No Exit*). In contrast, a film like *Anal Addicts 10* or *Deep Throat This 54* (2012) is a sequence of sex scenes collected not by the continuity of a narrative but on account of being species of a common, branded genus or category. More importantly, their franchises are of the utopian serial form, like Fourier's *Phalanastére*, that performs a restless pleasure in pursuit of the new at the same time as pursuing the same.

The dialectic of familiarity and surprise is internal to any genre: if I say we are going to see a comedy, we both know what that feels like even before we experience the specific way in which *this* comedy will secure our laughs. And yet I am arguing there is something particular to the pornographic genre's formalization of temporality, giving a holding pattern to a desire whose pleasure becomes habitable in its deferral. This is also to shift the terms laid out in Frances Ferguson's (2003) description of pornography's role in the emergence of democratic modernity in *Pornography, the Theory: What Utilitarianism Did to Action.* Ferguson's description of pornography as a utilitarian genre for the appraisal of actions is a robust, if controversial, theory of what pornography, politically, *does.* For Fergu-

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son, utilitarian social structures—including institutions like the school, factory, and hospital—cultivate microworlds in which actions can be seen, presented, and given value. They restrict the claim of transcendental truths to the hyperlocal and specifically present situation in which actions are performed. In turn, people are not seen as having consistent identities that could be hierarchized across social contexts; what matters is their achievement of value through performing different actions in different and always shifting contexts. In other words, the shifting of context coordinates a shifting of the person (as the actions expected of and valued in me change when I go from the school to the hospital, etc.). The characters in Ferguson's pornographic novels similarly enter the scene of sex in order for their actions to take up a position in a hierarchy of value according to their performance and the pleasure it produces; pornography also offers a protocol of recognition in which readers feel out for environments in which their sexual behavior can be given meaning and in which, further, they finally recognize their sexual behavior as a pleasure, to be ranked according to the other outcomes of pleasure performed by parallel actions in the sexual economy.

Ferguson's theory of pornography's orientation to actions rather than actors seems right to me, but the utilitarian account is only part of the picture that connects pornography, action, and attachment to a social world. We both understand modern pornography as a shift of emphasis from content to environment, tied to an increasing attention not to what pornography shows, but in what context it shows it. And we both think of this context as what I have called, through Fourier, a reduction of complexity. The artificial social context of the school, for instance, values performance on just one variable, the demonstration of educational learning, and theoretically is indifferent to sexual performance. The opposite holds true for the artificial social context of pornography. What this artificiality brings out for me, first, is the inherently utopian nature of pornography, like any other institution designed to direct attention to one species, and only one species, of action. Indeed, we might recall that the paradigmatic model of the utilitarian institution for attributing value to action, Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, was never built and was therefore *u-topian* in a literal sense. But whereas a school or a panopticon can be built, and once it is built it permanently provides its utopian space, pornography requires a more vigilant, essentially performative, labor to keep its space open. Moreover, the work of creating the space becomes the action that is valued more than the sex acts within its boundaries; what Fourier and *Playboy* both bring out is the utopianism of suspending yourself in the serialized

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labor of creating erotica, of creating a space *for* orgasm rather than experiencing orgasm itself.

To see pornography in a utopian in addition to utilitarian tradition alters the place of pornography in the postwar twentieth century by shifting the terms of what its morphological changes—such as, following Lubey, the length and function of novelistic episodes—really index. In Ferguson's account, the utilitarian logic of pornography, and thereby pornography's participation in democratic systems of social attachment, reaches its logical exhaustion by precisely the time that something like *Playboy* gets underway. Through a reading of Bret Easton Ellis's American Psycho, Ferguson (2003: 146–56) claims that postmodernity has multiplied so many artificial social contexts that the people who traffic through them no longer have any coherence beyond the context itself; they aren't recognizable as people at all. In a final blow to an agency behind action, persons can only shift from one commodified naming of themselves to another. In contrast, I suggest that the migration of pornography from the novel to the periodical in the mid-twentieth century adds a different epilogue to pornography than does a novel like American Psycho. A periodical, unlike a novel but like the film franchises mentioned before, has shifting context built into its form from the beginning, and in fact derives its longevity from a calculated and serialized mutation that continually provides new contexts for essentially the same material: each issue of a magazine is both the specific issue and the temporally elongated genus that is its title. Thus, *Playboy* takes the contextual schizophrenia of something like American Psycho for granted, but distributes its contexts across time, providing an enduring project of mediating persons with a social world, even as both person and world remain undefined.

The serialization of a magazine, in other words, seems perfectly consonant with the utilitarian philosophy of proliferating ever-present but multiple artificial environments in which to process and evaluate action, and yet it is not until the mid-twentieth century, at precisely the moment that the form of the novel seems to suggest the fading of utilitarian efficacy, that the form of the magazine emerges so strongly with its utilitarian pornographic genre. This emergence comes as so many brands, *Playboy* obviously foremost among them in naming not just a magazine but a product and a range of other products collected under its commodifying reach; late capitalism—the proliferation of brands, the speed-up of commodification, and the attendant fragmentation of subjective objectification—is part of what, in Ferguson's account, makes the pornographic novel defeat its

Line 1 utilitarian origins and ambitions. But if the brand is the death of the novel, it is also, from the perspective of the utopian, what Fourier was all along after: a genus to oversee the regularized punctuation of an erotic promise.

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we should replace the legal and public health discourses that dominate contemporary discussions of sexual violence with an aesthetic vocabulary. His writing has also appeared or is forthcoming in publications including *differences*, *New Literary History*, *Signs*, *Social Text*, the *Los Angeles Review of Books*, *Public*

Books, and Artforum.

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